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A Grammar of Qiang



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Matthew Dryer

Mouton de Gruyter  
Berlin · New York

# A Grammar of Qiang

with annotated texts and glossary

by

Randy J. LaPolla

with

Chenglong Huang

Mouton de Gruyter  
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## Abbreviations

|      |  |         |  |
|------|--|---------|--|
| 1    | first person   | HABIT   | habitual action marker   |
| 2    | second person  | HORT    | hortative marker   |
| 3    | third person   | HS      | hearsay marker   |
| ADJ  | adjective (stative verb)                               | imp.    | imperative verb form   |
| ADV  | adverbial marker                                       | IMP     | imperative suffix  |
| AGT  | agentive marker  | INDEF   | indefinite marker  |
| ASP  | aspect marker  | INDTV   | indirect directive marker  |
| AUX  | auxiliary particle for monosyllabic Chinese loan words | INF     | inferential/mirative evidential marker   |
| BEN  | benefactive marker                                     | INT     | interjection, intensifier <sup>1</sup>   |
| CAUS | causative suffix                                       | INST    | instrumental marker  |
| Ch.  | Chinese  | lit.    | literally  |
| CL   | classifier   | LOC     | locative marker (includes the use of the locative markers to mark temporal or other relations)                                     |
| COM  | comitative marker                                      | LNK     | clause linker  |
| COMP | comparative marker                                     | n.      | noun   |
| CON  | continuative aspect marker                             | NAR     | narrative (hearsay) form made up of the inferential and hearsay particles (this abbreviation is used in the stories to save space) |
| COP  | copula   | NEG     | negative prefix  |
| CSM  | change of state marker                                 | NEG.IMP | negative imperative (prohibitive) prefix   |
| DAT  | dative marker  | NOM     | nominalizer  |
| DEF  | definite marker  | NUM     | numeral  |
| DEM  | demonstrative pronoun                                  |         |  |
| DIR  | directional prefix                                     |         |  |
| dl   | dual   |         |  |
| DTV  | directive particle                                     |         |  |
| EMPH | emphatic sentence-final particle                       |         |  |
| EXC  | exclusion particle                                     |         |  |
| EXP  | experiential particle                                  |         |  |
| GEN  | genitive marker  |         |  |

|            |  |         |  |
|------------|--|---------|--|
| PART       | clause/sentence<br>final particle  | WH      | interrogative<br>pronoun   |
| perf.      | perfective form of a<br>verb   | †(...)  | a gloss that appears<br>in parentheses with<br>a dagger in front of<br>the parentheses   |
| PERF       | perfective marker  |         | glosses a Chinese<br>code-mixed stretch<br>of text (possibly<br>very short). Only<br>clear examples of<br>code mixing rather<br>than loan words are<br>marked this way.  |
| pl         | plural   |         | Items that have a<br>dagger but no<br>parentheses are<br>items that may be<br>either code mixing or<br>loans.  |
| POST       | postposition   |         |  |
| PRS        | prospective aspect<br>suffix   |         |  |
| PTB        | Proto-Tibeto-<br>Burman  |         |  |
| Q          | question marker  |         |  |
| RCA        | relevant condition<br>achieved marker  |         |  |
| RECIP      | reciprocal form  |         |  |
| REFL       | reflexive form   |         |  |
| REP        | repetition ('again')<br>marker   |         |  |
| REQU       | request marker   |         |  |
| RESULT     | this form marks a<br>transition in the Texts,<br>and was often translated<br>by the Chinese word<br><i>jiéguǒ</i> 'result' | ⊗       | allofam marker<br>(marks two<br>reconstructed forms<br>as being related<br>variants in the<br>protolanguage)   |
| sg         | singular   |         |  |
| Tib.       | Tibetan  |         |  |
| TOP        | topic marker   | / vs. ~ | In the glossary, a<br>slash (stroke)<br>between forms means<br>the two forms are<br>assumed to be different<br>words, whereas a tilde<br>between forms means<br>they are assumed to be<br>different pronunciations<br>for the same form. |
| U          | bound non-actor<br>marker (e.g. '2sgU'<br>means 'second person<br>non-actor marker')                                       |         |  |
| singular   |  |         |  |
| V          | verb   |         |  |
| v.         | ambitransitive verb  |         |  |
| vi.        | intransitive verb  |         |  |
| VIS        | direct (usually visual)  |         |  |
| evidential | marker   |         |  |
| vt.        | transitive verb  |         |  |

## Plates

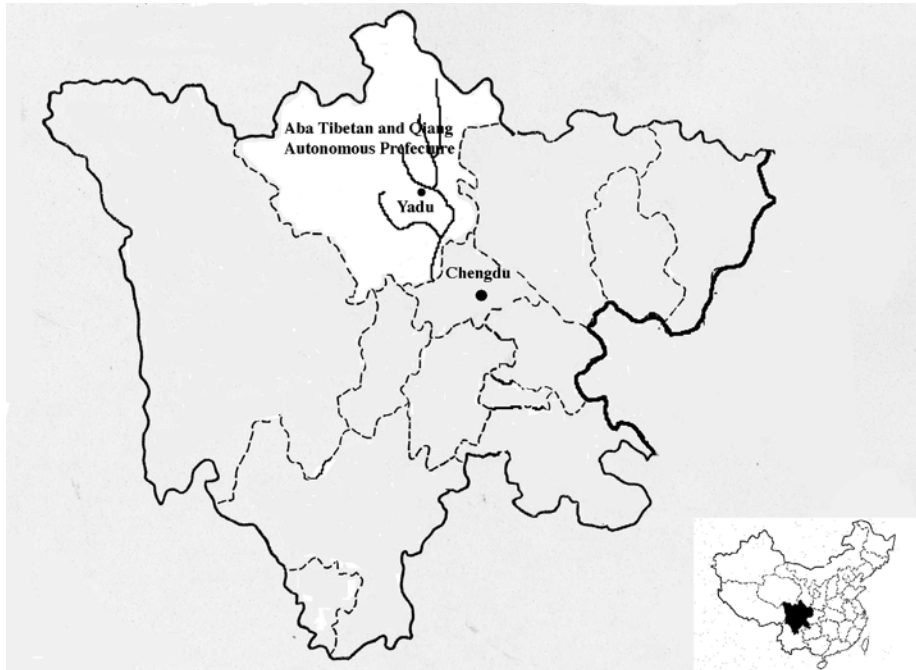


Plate 1: Sichuan Province, showing  
Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture,  
the Min River and Yadu Township



Plate 2: Ronghong Village





Plate 3: Watchtowers of Heihu Village



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. The land

The speakers of the Qiang language live in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, on the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau in the northwest part of Sichuan Province, China (roughly 103 to 104 degrees longitude east and 31 to 32 degrees north). The entire prefecture covers 4046.35 square kilometers. The Qiang people mainly live along the Min River and in tributaries in the counties of Mao, Wenchuan, Heishui, Songpan and Beichuan, all contiguous areas in the southeast of Aba Prefecture (see Plate 1). A small number of Qiang people live in Danba County of Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, to the west of Aba Prefecture, and in Shiqian and Jiangkou of the Tongren area in Guizhou province, to the east of Aba Prefecture.

The entire area is very mountainous, with many mountains 4,000 meters (13,000 feet) high. The Qiang build their villages on the top or side of the mountains, with generally one village (often thirty-odd families or less) per mountain side. In many cases there are no roads to the village, and as the villages are often 2,500-3,500 meters up the mountain, the only way to get to the village is to climb a steep path.

The weather is generally cold in the winter and cool in the summer. It is usually dry and windy and the temperature varies greatly between day and night. Weather conditions also vary greatly between the mountains and the valleys; in the springtime, there is still snow up in the mountains, but flowers are already blooming down in the valley. The weather in different valleys also varies. In those below 2,500 meters the weather is relatively warm, with very little rain. In those valleys above 2,500, the weather is cold all year round, with an average temperature of five degrees Celsius. Above 4000 meters it is very cold all year, often with snow ten months of the year. The topography and varied weather conditions contribute to the stunning beauty of the landscape.

The geographic features, weather conditions and soil composition also contribute to the abundance and peculiarities of the natural flora and fauna of the area. The mountains are heavily wooded. Ginkgo, camphor, Chinese hemlock, and Chinese little leaf box trees grow wild in the valleys, as do 189 types of grasses and bushes, including some rare medical herbs such as *Cordyceps sinensis*, *Fritillaria thunbergii* (unibract fritillary bulb; “chuan bei”, a popular sore throat remedy), and *gastrodia elata*. The Qiang will pick these for their own use and to sell. Forty-one types of wild animal, among them endangered species such as the giant panda, the small panda, the golden monkey, the wild donkey, and the musk deer, can be found in the area.

## 1.2. The language

The Qiang language belongs to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan stock. Some of the characteristics of the Qiangic branch include having a cognate set of direction marking prefixes; quite degenerate, though clearly cognate person marking paradigms; and radical loss of syllable final consonants, but preservation of complex initials and clusters.<sup>2</sup>

Sun (1981a:177-78) divides the Qiang language into two major dialects, Northern Qiang and Southern Qiang (see Wen 1941 for an earlier classification into eight dialects). Qiang speakers living in Heishui County and the Chibusu district of Mao County, including those designated by the Chinese government as Tibetans, are said to be speakers of the Northern dialect. Sun further subdivides the Northern dialect into the Luhua, Mawo, Cimulin, Weigu, and Yadu subdialects. Qiang speakers living in Li County, Wenchuan County, parts of Mao County other than Chibusu, and Songpan County are said to be Southern dialect speakers. The Southern dialect is also subdivided by Sun into the Daqishan, Taoping, Longxi, Mianchi, and Heihu subdialects. Liu (1998b:17) adds Sanlong and Jiaochang to the list of Southern subdialects. Recent fieldwork as part of the Qiang Dialect Map Project (funded by City University of Hong Kong and the Research Grants Council of Hong Kong) has called into question some aspects of this classification. In particular, dialects in Songpan County and the Sanlong area of Mao County are now considered to be within

the Northern dialect area. The dialect situation should become clearer with the completion of the Qiang Dialect Atlas Project.

Until recently there was no writing system for the language. The Qiang carved marks on wood to remember events or communicate. In the late 1980's a team of Qiang specialists from several different organizations developed a writing system for the Qiang language, based on the Qugu variety of the Yadu subdialect of the Northern dialect. In 1993 the government officially acknowledged the writing system.

The writing system uses 26 Roman letters to represent the 42 consonants and eight vowels in that variety of Qiang. Twenty of the consonants are represented by single Roman letters while the remaining 22 consonants are represented by double Roman letters (the letter *r* is not used as a single consonant). Five of the vowels are represented by single letters while the other three are represented by double letters. (See Table 1, overleaf).

The promulgation of the writing system has not been successful, and one of the main reasons is the complexity of the Qiang sound system and the concomitant complexity of the writing system. It is quite difficult for adult villagers, especially the illiterate peasants, to remember all of the letters and combinations representing different types of consonants and vowels. Another factor is the diversity of Qiang dialects. As the writing system is based on the Qugu variety of the Yadu subdialect of the Northern dialect, those who are not Northern dialect speakers resent learning another variety of the Qiang language in order to read and write (ideally they would eventually be able to write their own dialect, but would learn the script using the Qugu dialect). A third and very important factor is the fact that even if somebody masters the sound system and is able to read and write using the writing system, there are no reading materials available to make what they have learned useful.

Education in the Qiang areas is all in Chinese, though in recent years there has been a movement to implement bilingual education. Many of the children now can go to school, but the children often have to travel great distances to get to school. They will often live at the school, either for one week at a time, if the school is relatively close, or for months at a time, if it is farther away. Local educators have noticed that even with the opportunity for free education offered by the central government, there has been a continuously high drop-out rate among children from

remote villages. One reason, they believe, is that most of the children from the remote villages cannot cope with the school education because teaching in the schools is all in Chinese and they cannot speak Chinese. The call for a bilingual approach in education mainly refers to the use of spoken Qiang as a medium of instruction in the lower grades alongside Mandarin in order to facilitate the learning of Chinese. Another reason for the high drop-out rate is the fact that while schooling is technically free, the schools charge various fees and the cost of room and board, so it can be prohibitively expensive for the villagers.

*Table 1:* The Qiang orthography

| Qiang | IPA | Qiang | IPA |
|-------|-----|-------|-----|
| A a   | ɑ   | L l   | l   |
| AE ae | æ   | LH lh | ɬ   |
| B b   | p   | M m   | m   |
| BB bb | b   | N n   | n   |
| C c   | tsh | NG ng | ŋ   |
| CH ch | tʂh | NY ny | ɲ   |
| D d   | t   | O o   | o   |
| DD dd | d   | P p   | ph  |
| DH dh | dz̥ | Q q   | tch |
| E e   | ə   | RR rr | ʐ   |
| EA ea | e   | S s   | s   |
| F f   | f   | SH sh | ʂ   |
| G g   | k   | SS ss | z   |
| GG gg | g   | T t   | th  |
| GV gv | q   | U u   | u   |
| H h   | x   | V v   | ɣ   |
| HH hh | ɣ   | VH vh | fi  |
| HV hv | h   | VV vv | ʁ   |
| I i   | i   | W w   | w   |
| IU iu | y   | X x   | ɕ   |
| J j   | tɕ  | XX xx | ʒ   |
| JJ jj | dz  | Y y   | j   |
| K k   | kh  | Z z   | ts  |
| KV kv | qh  | ZH zh | tʂ  |
|       |     | ZZ zz | dz  |

In general, Chinese has been the main language of education and communication with non-Qiang people. The spoken form of Chinese used is the Western Sichuan subdialect of Southwest Mandarin, while the written form used is that of Standard Modern Chinese. The Qiang have been in contact with the Han Chinese for centuries (see Sun 1998). However, in the past, only the men who left the Qiang area to trade or work or had to deal with Han Chinese on a regular basis would learn Chinese. Children below the age of fifteen rarely spoke Chinese, but now with more universal access to Chinese schooling and to TV (which is all in Standard Modern Chinese), even small children in remote villages can speak some Chinese. Now very few Qiang people cannot speak Chinese, but there are many Qiang who cannot speak the Qiang language. In many villages by the main roads, and in some whole counties in the east of Aba Prefecture (where contact with the Han Chinese has historically been most intense), the entire population is monolingual in Chinese. The tendency toward becoming monolingual in Chinese is becoming more prevalent now than ever before due to strong economic and social pressure to assimilate, and to the popularization of free primary and secondary education in Chinese. The number of fluent Qiang speakers becomes smaller day by day. Qiang is therefore very much an endangered language. The culture of the Qiang people is also in jeopardy of disappearing. This loss of the Qiang language and culture was noted as early as the 1940's (Graham 1958; see also Sun 1988), and accelerated greatly after 1949. It is hoped that the linguistic and cultural information presented in the present volume will serve as a record of some part of this vanishing language and culture.

### **1.3. The people and their culture**

#### *1.3.1. The people*

In most studies of the Qiang, especially those written in China, there is an assumption that the people classified by the present Chinese government as the Qiang living in northern Sichuan can be equated with the Qiang mentioned in Chinese texts dating back to the oracle bone inscriptions written 3,000 years ago. A more careful view would be that the ancient "Qiang" were the ancestors of all or almost all of the modern Tibeto-Burman speakers, and the modern "Qiang" (who call themselves

*/z me/* in their own language, written *RRmea* in the Qiang orthography), are but one small branch of the ancient “Qiang”. They in fact did not think of themselves as “Qiang” (a Chinese exonym) until the early 20th century. It is clear that the culture of the stone watchtowers (see Plate 3), which can be identified with the modern Qiang people, has been in northern Sichuan since at least the beginning of the present era. Being in this area, the Qiang people are between the Han Chinese to the east and south and the Tibetans to the west and north. In the past fighting between these two larger groups often took place in the Qiang area, and the Qiang would come under the domination of one group or the other. At times there was also fighting between different Qiang villages. The construction of the watchtowers and the traditional design of their houses (with thick stone walls and small windows and doors; see Plate 2) give testimony to the constant threat of attack.<sup>3</sup>

The majority of Qiang speakers, roughly eighty thousand people, are members of the Qiang ethnicity, and the rest, approximately fifty thousand people, are a subgroup of the Tibetan ethnicity.<sup>4</sup> These ethnic designations are what they call themselves in Chinese. In Qiang they all call themselves */z me/* or a dialect variant of this word. Not all members of the Qiang ethnicity speak Qiang, and as just mentioned, not all of those who speak Qiang are considered members of the Qiang ethnicity.

### *1.3.2. Architecture*

The traditional Qiang house is a permanent one built of piled stones and has three stories. Generally one nuclear family will live in one house. The lowest floor houses the family’s animals, and straw is used as a ground covering. When the straw becomes somewhat rotted and full of manure and urine, it is used for fertilizer.<sup>5</sup> A steep wooden ladder leads to the second floor from the back of the first floor. On the second floor is the fireplace and sleeping quarters. Beds are wooden platforms with mats made of straw as mattresses. The third floor has more rooms for sleeping and/or is used for storage. A ladder also leads from there to the roof, which is used for drying fungi, corn or other items, and also for some religious practices, as a white stone (flint) is placed on the roof and invested with a spirit. The fireplace, which is the central point of the main room on the second floor, originally had three stones set in a circle



for resting pots on, but now most homes have large circular three or four-legged iron potholders. In some areas, particularly to the north, enclosed stoves are replacing the old open fires. On the side of the fireplace across from the ladder leading to the second floor there is an altar to the house gods. This is also the side of the fireplace where the elders and honored guests sit. Nowadays one often finds pictures of Mao Zedong and/or Deng Xiaoping in the altar, as the Qiang are thankful for the improved life they have since the founding of the People's Republic and particularly since the reforms instituted by Deng in the late 1970's and after.<sup>6</sup> Traditionally the Qiang relied on spring water, and had to go out to the spring to get it. In recent years pipes have been run into many of the houses, so there is a more convenient supply of water, though it is not like the concept of "running water" in the West. There are no bathrooms inside the house, though in some villages (e.g. Weicheng) a small enclosed balcony that has a hole in the floor has been added to the house to function as a second story outhouse. Many villages now have electricity, at least a few hours every night, and so a TV (relying on a large but inexpensive satellite dish) and in some cases a VCD player can be found in the house. All TV and VCD programs are in Chinese, and so the spread of electricity has facilitated the spread of bilingualism.

In the past each village had one or more watchtowers, six or seven story-high six- or eight-sided structures made of piled stones. The outside walls were smooth and the inside had ladders going up to the upper levels. These allowed early warning in the case of attack, and were a fallback position for fighting. In some villages underground passages were also dug between structures for use when they were attacked. In most villages the towers have been taken down and the stones used to build new houses.

### *1.3.3. Food*

The main staple foods are corn, potatoes, wheat, and highland barley, supplemented with buckwheat, naked oats, and rice. Wheat, barley and buckwheat are made into noodles. Noodles are handmade. Among the favorite delicacies of the Qiang are buckwheat noodles cooked with pickled vegetables. Because potatoes are abundant in the area, the

Qiang have developed many ways of cooking potatoes. The easiest ways to cook them is by boiling or baking (that is, placing the potatoes into the ashes around the fire). The more complicated and more special ways of preparing them involve pounding boiled potatoes in a stone mortar and then shaping the mashed potatoes and frying them to become potato fritters or boiling them with pickled vegetables. The latter is eaten like noodle soup, the same way as noodles made of buckwheat flour are eaten.

Since corn is also quite abundant in the area, the Qiang have also developed different ways of eating corn. Corn flour is cooked with vegetables to become a delicious corn porridge. Corn flour mixed with water without yeast and then left in the fire to bake is the Qiang style of corn bread. This bread is often eaten with honey. Honey is a delicacy in the Qiang area. It is not easy to come by as they have to raise the bees in order to collect honey. Another important item is salt. Because the Qiang live in the highlands, salt was traditionally difficult to come by, so when you are invited to eat in a Qiang family, the host will always try to offer you more salt or will see to it that the dishes get enough salt.

The Qiang also grow walnuts, red and green chili peppers, bunge prickly ash peel (*pericarpium zanthoxyli*), several varieties of hyacinth bean, apples, pears, scallions, turnips, cabbage, and some rape. Crops are rotated to preserve the quality of the fields, some of which are on the mountain sides and some of which may be on the side of the stream found at the bottom of many of the gorges between the mountains. Qiang fields are of the dry type and generally do not have any sort of irrigation system. Aside from what they grow, they are also able to collect many varieties of wild vegetables, fruit, and fungi, as well as pine nuts. They now eat rice, but as they do not grow rice themselves, they exchange other crops for rice. Many types of pickled vegetables are made as a way of preserving the vegetables, and these are often cooked with buckwheat noodles or potato noodles in a type of soup. Vegetables are also salted or dried in order to preserve them.

While grain is the main subsistence food, the Qiang eat meat when they can, especially cured pork. In the past they generally ate meat only on special occasions and when entertaining guests. Now their economic circumstances allow them to eat meat more frequently. They raise pigs, two kinds of sheep, cows, horses, and dogs, though they do not eat the horses or dogs. Generally there is only one time per year when the

animals are slaughtered (in mid-winter), and then the meat is preserved and hung from the rafters in the house. The amount of meat hanging in one's house is a sign of one's wealth. As there are no large fish in the streams and rivers, the Qiang generally do not eat fish. In the past they would hunt wild oxen, wild boars, several types of mountain goat, bears, wolves (for the skin), marmots, badgers, sparrows, rabbits, and musk deer (and sell the musk). They used small cross-bows, bows and arrows, pit traps, wire traps, and more recently flint-lock rifles to hunt. Now there are not many animals left in the mountains, and many that are there are endangered species, and so can no longer be hunted.

The low-alcohol liquor made out of highland barley (similar to Tibetan "chang") or occasionally corn or other grains, called /ci/ in Qiang, is one of the favorite beverages of the Qiang. It plays a very important role in the daily activities of the Qiang. It is an indispensable drink for use on all occasions. It is generally drunk from large casks placed on the ground using long bamboo straws. For this reason it is called *zājiǔ* 'sucked liquor' in Chinese. Opening a cask of /ci/ is an important part of hosting an honored guest.

#### *1.3.4. Clothing*

##### *1.3.4.1. Men's clothing*

At present only a few of the older Qiang men still wear the traditional Qiang clothing except on particular ceremonial occasions. One item of traditional clothing still popularly worn by men and women is the handmade embroidered shoes. These are made of cloth, shaped like a boat, with the shoe face intricately embroidered. The sole is made of thickly woven hemp. It is very durable and quite practical for climbing in the mountains. In the summer men often wear a sandal version of these shoes with a large pomp on the toe. These shoes are an obligatory item of a Qiang woman's dowry when she gets married. In many villages, embroidered shoe soles or shoe pads are still a popular engagement gift of a woman to her lover. Recently some women have taken to selling them as tourist souvenirs as well.

Another item still popular among the Qiang men and women as well is the goat-skin vest. The vest is reversible; in the winter it is normally worn with the fur inside for warmth, and when worn with the fur out, it

serves as a raincoat. It also acts as padding when carrying things on the back.

Qiang men often carry a lighter (traditionally it would be flint and steel) and knives on a belt around their waist. The belt has a triangular pouch in front. There are two types of these triangular pouches: one is made of cloth and intricately embroidered, another is made of leather (the skin of a musk deer). Men sometimes will also wear a piece of apron-like cloth (also embroidered with a floral pattern) over their buttocks, to be used as seat pad.

#### 1.3.4.2. Women's clothing

The majority of Qiang women in the villages still wear traditional clothing. Qiang women's clothing is very colorful, and also varies from village to village. The differences are mainly manifested in the color and styles of their robes and headdresses. Headdresses are worn from about the age of twelve. Women in the Sanlong area wear a square headdress embroidered with various floral patterns in wintertime. In the spring, they wear a headband embroidered with colorful floral patterns, and wear a long robe (traditionally made of hemp fiber) with fancily embroidered borders, and tie a black sheep-leather belt around the waist. Women of the Heihu area wear a white headdress, and are fond of wearing blue or light green robes (the borders are also embroidered with floral patterns). Women from the Weimen area wear a black headdress and a long robe. The border of the robe is embroidered with colorful floral patterns. They also often wear an embroidered apron (full front or from the waist down) and an embroidered cloth belt. The headdress worn by women of Mao county and the Muka area of Li county is a block-like rectangle of folded cloth, with embroidered patterns on the part that faces backwards when worn. Women in Puxi village of Li county wear plain black headdresses, oblong in shape with the two sides wider than the front. In the Chibusu district of Mao county women wear brick-shaped headdresses wrapped in braided hair. They braid their hair, and at the tip of their braid sometimes add a piece of blue fake hair braid in order to make the braid longer (if necessary), and then coil the braid around the headdress to hold it in place.

Clothing of those living near the Tibetan areas bear the influence of the Tibetan ways of clothing.

Other than the headdresses and the robes, Qiang women are also fond of wearing big earrings, ornamental hairpins, bracelets, and other silver jewelry. Jewelry pieces of those who are wealthier are inlaid with precious stones like jade, agate, and coral. They often hang a needle and thread box and sometimes a mouth harp from their belt.

Babies wear special embroidered hats with silver ornaments and bronze and silver bells, and a small fragrance bag.

### *1.3.5. Family and kinship relations*

Although in the Qiang language traditionally there are no surnames, for several hundred years the Qiang have been using Han Chinese surnames. The clans or surname groups form the lowest level of organization within the village above the nuclear family. In one village there may be only a few different surnames. The village will have a village leader, and this is now an official political post with a small salary. Many of the traditional “natural” villages have now been organized into “administrative” villages comprised of several “natural” villages. Before 1949 (as early as the Yuan dynasty—13-14th century), above the village level there was a local leader (called *tǔsī* in Chinese) who was enfeoffed by the central government to control the Qiang and collect taxes. This leader could also write his own laws and demand his own taxes and servitude from the Qiang people. The Qiang had to work for this local leader for free, and also give a part of their food to him. His position was hereditary, and many of these leaders were terrible tyrants and exploiters of the people. Some of the Qiang traditional stories are of overthrowing such tyrants.

Kinship relations are quite complex, and while generally patrilineal, the women have a rather high status, supposedly a remnant of a matriarchal past. Only men can inherit the wealth of the parents, but women are given a large dowry. Marriages are monogamous, and can be with someone of the same surname, but not within the same family for at least three generations. The general practice is to marry someone of the same village but it can also be with someone outside the village. Increasingly Qiang women are marrying out of the villages to Chinese

or Qiang living in the plains to have an easier life, and many of the young men who go out to study or work marry Han Chinese women. In the past marriages were decided by the parents of the bride and groom, although now the young people generally have free choice.

The traditional form of marriage in the village is characterized by a series of rituals focused around drinking and eating. It consists of three main stages: engagement, preparation for the wedding, and the wedding ceremony. The rituals start when the parents of a boy have a girl in mind for their son. The parents will start the “courtship” by asking a relative or someone who knows the girl’s family to find out whether she is available or not. If the girl is available, they will move on to the next step, that is, to ask a matchmaker to carry a package of gifts (containing sugar, wine, noodles, and cured meat) to the girl’s family. This is only to convey their intention to propose a marriage. If the girl’s parents accepted the gift, the boy’s parents will proceed to the next step, asking the matchmaker to bring some more gifts to the girl’s parents and “officially” propose. If the girl’s parents agree, then a date will be set to bring the “engagement wine” to the girl’s family. On that day, the girl’s parents and all the siblings will join in to drink and sing the “engagement song”. Once this is done, the couples are considered to be engaged, and there should be no backing out. After being engaged, the girl should avoid having any contact with members of the groom’s family.

Before the wedding, a member from the groom’s family will be accompanied by the matchmaker to the bride’s family, carrying with them some wine which they will offer to the bride’s family members and relatives of the same surname, to have a drink and decide on the date of the wedding. Once the wedding date has been set, the groom, accompanied by the matchmaker and carrying some more wine, personally goes to the bride’s family to have a drink with the bride’s uncles, aunts and other family members.

The wedding ceremony itself takes three days, and is traditionally hosted by the oldest brothers of the mothers of the bride and groom. On the first day, the groom’s family sends an entire entourage to the bride’s place to fetch the bride. The entourage usually consists of relatives of the groom and some boys and girls from the village whose parents are both still living, with two people playing the trumpet. They carry with them a sedan chair, horses (in some cases), clothing and jewelry for the

bride. The entourage has to arrive in the bride's village before sunset. They stay there overnight. The next day, the bride has to leave with the group to go to the groom's family. Before stepping out of her family door, she has to cry to show how sad she is leaving her parents and family members. One of her brothers will carry her on his back to the sedan chair. Once the bride steps out of her parents' house she should not turn her head to look back. She is accompanied by her aunts (wife of her uncle from her mother's side, and wife of her uncle from her father's side), sisters and other relatives. Before the bride enters the groom's house she has to step over a small fire or a red cloth (this part of the ceremony varies among areas). The bride enters the house and the actual wedding ceremony starts. The couple will be led to the front of the family altar, and, just like the wedding practice of the Chinese, the couple will first make vows to heaven and earth, the family ancestors, the groom's parents, the other relatives, and finally vows to each other. There is a speech by the hosting uncles, and the opening of a cask of highland barley wine. There will then be dancing and drinking. As the cask is drunk, hot water is added to the top with a water scoop, and each drinker is expected to drink one scoop's equivalent of liquor. If the drinker fails to drink the required amount, he or she may be tossed up into the air by the others in the party.

Before the couple enter the room where they are to live, two small children (whose parents are both still living) will be sent in to run around and play on the couple's bed, as a way of blessing the couple to soon have children.

On the third day the bride returns to her parents' home. When she leaves her newlywed husband's village, relatives of the husband wait at their doorways or at the main entrance to the village to offer her wine. The bride's family will also prepare wine and food to welcome the newlywed couple. The groom has to visit and pay respects to all of the bride's relatives. The bride then stays at her parents' house for a year or so, until the birth of the first child or at least until around the time of the Qiang New Year (see below). The groom will visit her there and may live in the woman's house. She returns to her husband's family to celebrate the birth or the New Year, and stays there permanently.

In recent years there has been movement away from traditional style marriage ceremonies towards more Han Chinese style or Chinese-Western-Qiang mixed style marriage ceremonies.

*1.3.6. Religion*

The Qiang native religion is a type of pantheism, with gods or spirits of many types. To this day when a cask of /ɕi/ (barley wine) is opened, a ritual is performed to honor the door god, the fireplace god, and the house god. Flint stone (called “white stone” in Qiang and Chinese) is highly valued, and when a house is built a piece of flint is placed on the roof of the house and a ceremony is held to invest the stone with a spirit.<sup>7</sup> The fireplace at the center of the house is considered to be the place where the fireplace spirit lives. Before each meal, the Qiang will place some food near the iron potholder for the fireplace spirit. The iron potholder is treated by the Qiang people with great respect, and cannot be moved at random. One cannot rest one's feet on it, or hang food there to grill. Most important is that one cannot spit in front of the potholder. When the Qiang drink barley wine or tea, or eat meals, an elderly person who is present has to perform the ritual of honoring the god of the fireplace, that is by dipping his finger or the drinking straw into the barley wine and splashing the wine into the fireplace.

Every household has an altar in the corner of the main floor of the house facing the door. It is usually ornately carved, and its size reflects the financial status of the family. The altar and the area around the altar is considered to be sacred. One cannot hang clothes, nor spit, burp, expel flatulence, or say inauspicious words around the altar area. Pointing one's foot toward the altar is strictly prohibited.

Other than believing in the spirits of the house and of the fireplace, the Qiang also believe in the spirits of all natural phenomena, such as heaven, earth, sun, moon, stars, rivers, hills and mountains. Two of the biggest festivals in the Qiang area are related to their worship of these spirits: the Qiang New Year, which falls on the 24th day of the sixth month of the lunar calendar (now the festival date is fixed on October 1st), and the Mountain Sacrifice Festival, held between the second and sixth months of the lunar calendar. The former is focused on sacrifices to the god of Heaven, while the latter is to give sacrifice to the god of the mountain.

Religious ceremonies and healing rituals are performed by shamans known as /ɕpi/ in Qiang and *Duān Gōng* in Chinese. To become such a shaman takes many years of training with a teacher. The *Duān Gōng* also performs the initiation ceremony that young men go through when



they are about eighteen years old. This ceremony, called “sitting on top of the mountain” in Qiang, involves the whole family going to the mountain top to sacrifice a sheep or cow and to plant three cypress trees. These shamans also pass on the traditional stories of the Qiang. The stories include the creation story, the history of the Qiang (particular famous battles and heroes), and other cultural knowledge (see the Texts for some of the stories). As there was no written language until recently, story telling was the only way that this knowledge was passed on. Very few such shamans are left, and little story telling is done now that many villages have access to TVs and VCD players.

### *1.3.7. Mobility*

Because the Qiang villages are generally high up on the mountains, and there often is no road to the village, only a steep narrow path (this is the case, for example, in Ronghong village [see Plate 2], where the nearest road is hours away), travel has traditionally been by foot, though horses are sometimes used as pack animals where the path or road allows it. In the summer the horses are taken to remote pastures to prevent them from eating the crops near the villages. In some cases there is a road to the village large enough for vehicles to pass, but the condition of the road is usually quite bad, and as it runs along the very edge of the mountain, it can be quite dangerous. On every field trip we saw at least one car or truck that had just fallen off the side of a mountain. Because the condition of the road varies with the weather and there are sometimes landslides, before attempting to drive to (or near) a village, one has to try to find out if the road is actually passable. The streams and rivers are too shallow to navigate, and so the Qiang do not make boats.

### *1.3.8. Livelihood*

In general it was the work of the men to hunt, weave baskets (large back baskets and small baskets), shepherd the cows, gather wild plants, and do some of the harder labor such as plowing the fields, getting wood, and building houses, and it was the work of the women to weave cloth,

embroider, hoe the fields, spread seeds, cook most of the food, and do most of the housework. In the winter men often went down into the flatlands to dig wells for pay (this often involved a twelve-day walk down to the Chengdu area!). Any trading was also only done by men. In the past the Qiang traded opium, animal skins and medicinal plants in order to get gold, silver, coral, and ivory. These items were often made into jewelry for the women. Nowadays both men and women cook and gather wild plants, and it is common for men to leave the village for long periods of time to go out to work in the flatlands or to sell medicinal herbs, wood, vegetables, animal skins or other items in exchange for money or rice.

Although some ancient ceramics have been unearthed in the Qiang areas, in the recent past ceramics were not made by the Qiang. Most Qiang-made utensils were of wood, stone or iron. There were specialists in metalworking. Nowadays most such items are bought from outside the Qiang area.

#### **1.4. Previous work on Qiang**

Fieldwork on Qiang and initial analysis was first carried out by Wen Yu in the late 1930's (Wen 1940, 1941, 1943a, 1943b, 1943c, 1945). Wen also did some initial comparisons and historical work on the language (1943b, 1947), and published two vocabularies of Qiang (1950, 1951). Chang Kun (1967) used Wen's data for a comparative study of the southern Qiang dialects, and attempted to reconstruct the proto-language. In the late 1950's the Chinese Academy of Sciences organized teams of linguists to go to the different areas where ethnic minority peoples lived and carry out fieldwork. Two members of the team that worked on Qiang were Sun Hongkai and Liu Guangkun.<sup>8</sup> An early report drafted by them was published with "Institute of Nationalities, Chinese Academy of Sciences" as the author in the journal *Zhongguo Yuwen* in 1962. They have also published much of the material available on Qiang since then (Sun 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1988; Liu 1981, 1984, 1987, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999). Huang Bufan, another member of the team, now retired from the Central University of Nationalities, has also done important work on Qiang (1987, 1991, 1994, 2000, 2002), and is now in the process of

writing a grammar of the Qugu Village variety of the Yadu subdialect of the Northern dialect. These three scholars have trained a native Qiang linguist, Huang Chenglong, who has published a number of articles on his native dialect, the Ronghong Village variety of the Yadu subdialect of the Northern dialect (1992, 1993, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Huang, Yu & Huang 1992), on which this grammar is also based. Sun Hongkai and Huang Chenglong are currently preparing a manuscript entitled *Studies on Qiang Dialects* that will compare 20 different Qiang dialects in terms of phonology and to some extent grammar as well. Randy LaPolla has published an overview sketch of Ronghong Qiang (LaPolla 2003c) and a paper on the evidentials of the Ronghong variety (LaPolla 2003d), as well as a lexical list and texts in the Qugu variety (LaPolla, 2003e; LaPolla & Poa, in press). Randy LaPolla and Huang Chenglong have presented papers on adjectives (LaPolla & Huang 2002a) and copula constructions (LaPolla & Huang 2002b) in Qiang. Jonathan Evans has published a monograph on the Southern Qiang lexicon and phonology (2001a) and a paper on contact-induced tonogenesis in Qiang (2001b), and has presented a paper on the directional prefixes (2000). Randy LaPolla, Huang Chenglong, Dory Poa, Jonathan Evans, and Wang Ming-ke are currently collaborating with Zhou Facheng and a team of other Qiang linguists on the Qiang Dialect Map Project, which will attempt to record the language and customs in at least fifteen Qiang villages and make the data and images available on an Internet web site (the Qiang Language and Culture Web Site: <http://victoria.linguistlist.org/~lapolla/qiang/index.htm>).

### **1.5. The data and their presentation**

All data presented in the Grammar, Texts, and Glossary are of the Yadu subdialect of northern Qiang spoken in Ronghong Village, Yadu Township, Chibusu District, Mao County (see Plates 1 and 2). The data are from Mr. Huang Chenglong, a native of Ronghong Village, and members of his family. The grammatical analysis is based on naturally occurring texts (narratives) as well as elicited sentence patterns. Examples taken from the Texts are marked by the number of the text and the line number(s) the example appears on. For example, “(T3:23-24)” means the example appears in lines 23-24 of Text 3, “An Orphan”.

Stories and lexical items were also collected from the Qugu variety of Northern Qiang, also of Chibusu district, from Mr. Chen Yonglin, though as the Qugu variety differs somewhat from the Ronghong variety, those data are not presented here. The lexical data and some of the stories have been published separately as LaPolla, 2003e, and LaPolla & Poa, in press, respectively. All of the fieldwork was carried out in Chinese, and the first draft of the grammar and stories had only Chinese glosses. The glosses and free translations were then translated into English. The English glosses for the items in the Glossary are largely from the *Handbook of Chinese Dialect Vocabulary*, which was used as a basis for the lexical elicitation.<sup>9</sup> For this reason the glosses are in a sense twice-removed (twice-translated) from the Qiang, and so some ambiguities may have been introduced that were not in the first translation. If readers have questions about any such items, they should contact Randy LaPolla (ctrandy@cityu.edu.hk). The glossary is also available as a freestanding Hypercard™ application which includes the original Chinese glosses (and the Qugu lexical data mentioned above), for those who might be able to make use of it. Again, contact Randy LaPolla. Reconstructions given for Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms are from Benedict 1972, except for the numerals, which are from Matisoff 1997.

The last section of this chapter is a typological overview of the language. The discussion in the rest of the grammatical description is divided into four main parts: the sound system of the language (Chapter 2), the form of representation of the participants of an action or state and the expression of their relationship to the verb and to each other (Chapter 3), the form of representation of an action or state (Chapter 4), and complex structures (Chapter 5). Following the grammatical description are Qiang oral texts, presented with interlinear glosses and a free translation at the end of each text. Following the Texts is an annotated glossary of basic Qiang vocabulary organized by semantic field, and an English alphabetical index to the glossary.

The *Lingua Descriptive Studies: Questionnaire* (Comrie & Smith 1977) was very helpful in collecting part of the data, though the mode of presentation in this grammar is not always that of the *Questionnaire*. The guidelines for summarizing grammatical information prepared as part of the research project “The Categories of Human Language” being carried out by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald were also

helpful in trying to make the information presented here as complete as possible.

### 1.6. Typological profile

Qiang is a largely agglutinative language, with some phonological processes of vowel harmony, lenition, and morpheme coalescence. Nouns take only a limited number of optional suffixes with restricted distribution, while verbs take up to three prefixes and four suffixes. Except for nominalizing suffixes and the causative suffix, which are derivational, all other verbal affixes are inflectional. Reduplication of verbs is of the whole root, and with active verbs it signifies reciprocal action (and intransitivization) or an iterative sense; with stative verbs it signifies intensification or plurality.

Qiang has a rather complex phonological system, with thirty-seven initial consonants, including voiced and voiceless fricatives at seven different points of articulation and many consonant clusters. Unlike most Tibeto-Burman languages, Qiang has many consonant finals, including clusters, due to the collapsing of two syllables into one (there is a tendency towards monosyllable words).

There are two open lexical classes: nouns, those forms which can take definite marking and number marking, and verbs, those forms which can take the negative prefix and person marking (see Chapters 3 and 4 respectively). Adjectives are a subset of the verbs, and can be identified as a set by their semantics and their morphosyntactic behavior (§4.2.3). Closed lexical classes include pronouns (including demonstratives, interrogatives, and personal pronouns; §3.1.2), classifiers (§3.1.6), postpositions (§3.2), definite/indefinite markers (§3.1.4), clause-final particles (§4.3), and adverbs (§4.4). Of these the pronouns and classifiers are subsets of the nouns.

Qiang has both head marking and dependent marking. Noun phrases can take enclitic postpositions to show their semantic or pragmatic role in the clause (§3.2), and there is person marking of an animate actor and/or an animate non-actor on the verb (§4.3.2). There is no other agreement marking in Qiang. Qiang has not grammaticalized syntactic relations (i.e. there are no syntactic pivots—see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Ch. 6 on this concept); the postpositions and person marking are

of the semantically based type discussed in Dixon 1994, Ch. 2. The use of the topic marker, and to some extent the non-actor person marking, are controlled by pragmatic factors. While the word order is generally verb-final, the order of noun phrases is determined by pragmatic factors. Negation precedes the verb, while modal and aspect marking follow the verb.

Within the noun phrase, the noun head can be preceded by a genitive phrase or relative clause, and may be followed by an adjective, a demonstrative pronoun or definite marker, and a numeral plus classifier phrase, in that order.

There are intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs, plus some ambitransitive verbs where the single argument of the intransitive use corresponds to the actor of the transitive use. Transitives can be formed from intransitives, or ditransitives from transitives, by the addition of the causative suffix. There is no intransitivizing marking other than the reduplication that marks the reciprocal. When a verb is part of a predicate (verb complex), it can be preceded by an adverbial, a directional prefix, a negative marking prefix, and an aspectual prefix, and can be followed by the causative suffix, aspectual suffixes, and person marking suffixes. This complex can be followed by clause final particles marking illocutionary force, modality, mood, and evidentials.

## Chapter 2

### The phonological system

In the context of Tibeto-Burman, the phonological system of Qiang is rather complex, as there are a large number of consonants, both in initial and final position, and a large number of complex consonant clusters, also both in initial and final position. In particular, having such a variety of consonant finals and clusters sets it apart from most other Sino-Tibetan languages. While the basic vowel inventory is not large, there are phonemic length and r-coloring distinctions. There is also a complex system of vowel harmony, and there are vowel changes due to differences in stress. We will discuss and exemplify the consonant system in §2.1, the vowel system in §2.2, the syllable canon in §2.3, and phonological processes in §2.4.

Sound symbolism does not seem to play a significant role in the language. The only somewhat sound symbolic form found was the use of /*ca*/ for the meaning ‘small’ instead of the usual word /*χt̪sa*/ (which is very un-sound-symbolic!) in one example:

- (2.1) *moku-ca-ka:*                    *de-w!*  
wind-small-INDEF:CL    DIR-exist  
‘There is a light wind (blowing)!’

The only iconic forms are the ideophonic adverbials, such as /*χua* *χua*/ ‘the sound of water flowing’ (see §4.4 for examples of these adverbial uses).

#### 2.1. Consonants

There are thirty-seven consonant phonemes found in the Qiang language, as listed in Table 2:

Table 2. The Qiang consonants

|                               | labial | dental | retro-<br>flex | palatal         | velar | uvular | glottal |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|----------------|-----------------|-------|--------|---------|
| voiceless stop                | p      | t      |                |                 | k     | q      | (ʔ)     |
| voiceless aspirated stop      | ph     | th     |                |                 | kh    | qh     |         |
| voiced stop                   | b      | d      |                |                 | g     |        |         |
| voiceless affricate           |        | ts     | tʂ             | tɕ              |       |        |         |
| voiceless aspirated affricate |        | tsh    | tʂh            | tɕh             |       |        |         |
| voiced affricate              |        | dz     | dʐ             | dʒ              |       |        |         |
| voiceless fricative           | ɸ(f)   | s      | ʂ              | ç               | x     | χ      | h       |
| voiced fricative              | (v)    | z      | ʐ (ɹ)          | (ʒ)             | (ɣ)   | ʁ      | ɦ       |
| nasal                         | m      | n      |                | ɲ <sup>10</sup> | ŋ     |        |         |
| voiceless lateral             |        | ɬ      |                |                 |       |        |         |
| voiced lateral                |        | l      |                |                 |       |        |         |
| approximant                   | (w)    |        |                | (j)             |       |        |         |

The items in parentheses in Table 2 are not phonemic: [ɹ] is an allophone of /ʐ/ in initial position; [ʒ] and [ɣ] are voiced allophones of /ç/ and /x/, respectively, when they appear as the first consonant of clusters where the second consonant is voiced (see the discussion of clusters below). A glottal stop can also often be heard when there is an absence of any other initial, but it does not contrast phonemically with a pure vocalic onset. There also does not seem to be a contrast between /u/ and /wu/ or /i/ and /ji/, but I am using the symbols /j/ and /w/ rather than /i/ and /u/ respectively for the relevant sounds when they appear in syllable-initial position to allow for easy syllable recognition in words such as [tiwike] ‘a tall one’. As these sounds do not follow the voicing harmony pattern of consonant clusters (that is, they can be preceded by a voiceless consonant, as in the second syllable of /zɑχua/ ‘inside’),



they are clearly within the vocalic segment of the syllable and not part of the initial, and so I have not used /j/ and /w/ when they are not the initial sound in the syllable (to avoid them being confused with consonant clusters).

All of the phonemic consonants can be initials, though /fi/ only appears as the initial of one of the directional prefixes and a commonly used filler/emphatic interjection /fiɑ/, and /ŋ/ only appears as an initial before the vowel /u/. Many of these consonants (almost all except the aspirated stops) can be finals. The large number of finals is not due to the preservation of Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals; all of the original Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals were lost (cf. Liu 1984, Benedict 1983, Huang 1998). Only in Chinese loan words can the finals be said to be “original”. After the loss of the original finals, and the destressing of second syllables in two syllable compounds, the two syllables merged, with the initial of the original second syllable, or a reduced form of it, becoming the final of the original initial syllable (e.g. [səf] ‘tree’ < /sə/ ‘wood’ + /phə/ ‘forest’, where /phə/ reduces to [f] in non-word-initial position due to the stress on the initial syllable; see §2.3).

Following are examples of single consonant contrasts in initial position:

|                 |                         |                 |                           |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>pa</i>       | ‘bloom (vi.)’           | <i>zawa</i>     | ‘stone’                   |
| <i>pha</i>      | ‘sun (clothes) (vt.)’   | <i>ca-</i>      | INDTV prefix              |
| <i>ba</i>       | ‘old’                   | <i>tca-la</i>   | ‘where’                   |
| <i>fa</i>       | ‘clothes’               | <i>tcha</i>     | ‘drink (1sg)’             |
| <i>ma</i>       | ‘mother (address term)’ | <i>ci</i>       | ‘release’                 |
| <i>wa</i>       | (verb particle)         | <i>tci</i>      | ‘bear’                    |
| <i>ta</i>       | ‘wear a hat’            | <i>dzi</i>      | ‘brother’s son’           |
| <i>tha</i>      | ‘there’                 | <i>ŋa</i>       | ‘and’                     |
| <i>das</i>      | ‘finish (v.)’           | <i>ja ku</i>    | ‘ivory’                   |
| <i>tsa</i>      | ‘here’                  | <i>ka</i>       | ‘go (1sg)’                |
| <i>tsha-tha</i> | ‘wipe’ (< Ch.)          | <i>kha</i>      | ‘rice husk’ <sup>11</sup> |
| <i>dza</i>      | ‘pursue’                | <i>gan khəu</i> | ‘snap button’ (< Ch.)     |
| <i>sa</i>       | ‘blood’                 | <i>xu</i>       | ‘fragrant’                |
| <i>za</i>       | ‘rice ladle’            | <i>ŋuə</i>      | ‘silver’                  |
| <i>na</i>       | ‘good’                  | <i>qa</i>       | 1sg pronoun               |
| <i>la</i>       | ‘slippery’              | <i>qha(q)</i>   | ‘bitter’                  |
| <i>la</i>       | ‘wolf’ (< Ch.)          | <i>χaf</i>      | ‘grass’                   |

|             |                           |               |                       |
|-------------|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>tʂa</i>  | ‘filter, strain (solids)’ | <i>ʌa</i>     | locative postposition |
| <i>tʂha</i> | ‘deep’                    | <i>ha-ŋi</i>  | ‘twelve’              |
| <i>dzɑ</i>  | ‘early’                   | <i>ha-qa</i>  | ‘go up’               |
| <i>ʂa</i>   | ‘border (garments) (vt.)’ | <i>fiɑ-qa</i> | ‘go down’             |

Following are examples of single consonants in final position:

|                |                    |                  |                      |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ʂuap</i>    | ‘torch’            | <i>ataz</i>      | ‘immediately’        |
| <i>kuam</i>    | ‘servant’          | <i>tʂhətʂ</i>    | ‘weigh (vt.)’        |
| <i>χaf</i>     | ‘grass’            | <i>yzəc</i>      | ‘land otter’         |
| <i>wet</i>     | ‘stick’            | <i>spetɕ</i>     | ‘patch (vt.)’        |
| <i>wəs</i>     | ‘egg’              | <i>ipək</i>      | ‘arrive’             |
| <i>dzuz</i>    | ‘chew the cud’     | <i>jimigu</i>    | ‘trace’              |
| <i>tʂuats</i>  | ‘table’ (< Ch.)    | <i>tʂhoŋ-tha</i> | ‘aggressive’ (< Ch.) |
| <i>tʂhuen</i>  | ‘tread on’ (< Ch.) | <i>ʂuaq</i>      | ‘moonlight’          |
| <i>ju-ʂpul</i> | ‘fist’             | <i>tʂueχ</i>     | ‘have the mumps’     |
| <i>tʂhəʂ</i>   | ‘spider’           | <i>hak</i>       | ‘exit (v.)’          |

Phonemically, consonant clusters are formed by /ʂ/ followed by /p, t, k, q, tɕ, b, d, g, m, dz/, /x/ followed by /k, s, tɕ, ʂ, tʂ, ʈ, l, z, dz, z, dz/, or /χ/ followed by /q, s, ʂ, tʂ, ʈ, l, d, z, n, dz, ŋ, z, dz/. Phonetically the situation is more varied, as /ʂ/ becomes [s] before /t/ and /d/, and becomes [ç] before /pi/, /pe/, /bi/, /tɕ/ and /dz/,<sup>12</sup> and the preinitials all become voiced before voiced initials. Following are examples of the various consonant clusters in initial position.

|                  |                |              |                       |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>mi:-xkam</i>  | ‘eyebrow’      | <i>χsu</i>   | ‘living, to be alive’ |
| <i>sta</i>       | ‘entrust to’   | <i>χʂə</i>   | ‘manure’              |
| <i>xsə</i>       | ‘new’          | <i>χtʂu</i>  | ‘six’                 |
| <i>xtʂu</i>      | ‘sweat’        | <i>χʈu</i>   | ‘hawk’                |
| <i>xtʂap</i>     | ‘pitch dark’   | <i>χʈate</i> | ‘wave’                |
| <i>xtɕepi</i>    | ‘knife’        | <i>zbu</i>   | ‘drum’                |
| <i>xʂu</i>       | ‘barking deer’ | <i>zgue</i>  | ‘fox’                 |
| <i>xʈiex-buz</i> | ‘loess soil’   | <i>zmu</i>   | ‘corpse’              |
| <i>zdu</i>       | ‘deer’         | <i>zdzi</i>  | ‘disease’             |
| <i>ʂkuə</i>      | ‘thief’        | <i>ɕdua</i>  | ‘hammer (n.)’         |
| <i>ʂpa</i>       | ‘sorghum’      | <i>ɕlu</i>   | ‘stone’               |
| <i>ʂqu</i>       | ‘boil’         | <i>ɕnəi</i>  | ‘kind of wild goat’   |

|                |                       |                |                              |
|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>ʂqa-n̩i</i> | ‘dice’                | <i>ɰzu</i>     | ‘chisel (n.)’                |
| <i>ɣlu</i>     | ‘roll (v.)’           | <i>ɰdzəs</i>   | ‘toenail’                    |
| <i>ɣzə</i>     | ‘hot (peppery); numb’ | <i>ɰn̩is</i>   | ‘spring (of water)’          |
| <i>ɣzɛm</i>    | ‘rice gruel, congee’  | <i>ɰpies</i>   | ‘noodle’                     |
| <i>ɣqu</i>     | ‘gold’                | <i>ɰtɕi:mi</i> | ‘heart’                      |
| <i>ɣdzə</i>    | ‘enough’              | <i>zbie</i>    | ‘soak (barley to make wine)’ |

Examples of some clusters in final position:

|               |              |               |                  |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>tʂhexʈ</i> | ‘sip (vt.)’  | <i>dzactɕ</i> | ‘laugh (v.)’     |
| <i>wəχɕ</i>   | ‘horse dung’ | <i>laxɕ</i>   | ‘palm (of hand)’ |
| <i>ləɣz</i>   | ‘book’       | <i>əxtɕ</i>   | ‘shade (vt.)’    |
| <i>əɣl</i>    | ‘upright’    |               |                  |

## 2.2. Vowels

### 2.2.1. The basic inventory

There are eight vowel positions, seven of which show a phonemic contrast in length. Table 3 gives the forms for all the Qiang vowels:

Table 3. The Qiang vowel inventory

|      | front       | mid | back  |
|------|-------------|-----|-------|
| high | i, i: y, y: |     | u, u: |
| mid  | e, e:       | ə   | o, o: |
| low  | a, a:       |     | ɑ, ɑ: |

The functional loads of the /u/-/o/ contrast and the /i/-/e/ contrast are not very great: in many cases /o/ and /u/ are interchangeable, and /i/ and /e/ are interchangeable. Aside from this, /o/ can also be pronounced [ɔ], and /e/ is often pronounced [ɛ]. The length contrast in some cases is lexical, but in many cases it is grammatical, reflecting a collapsing of a lexical item and a following classifier or locative postposition, or reflecting the prospective aspect marking, as in the following examples:

- (2.2) a. *the* ‘that’ + *ze* (CL) > *the:* 3sg pronoun  
 b. *tɕa* ‘where’ + *la* (LOC) > *tɕa:* ‘where’

- c. *zdzyta* ‘Chengdu’ + *la* (LOC) > *zdzyta:* ‘in/at Chengdu’  
 d. *qəpatʂ* ‘head’ + *la* (LOC) > *qəpatʂa:* ‘at the head’  
 e. *kə* ‘to go’ + *a:* (PRS) > *ka:* ‘will go’

There is also nasalization of some word-initial high vowels, such as in the second person singular pronoun /ʔũ/, but this may be related to what Matisoff (1975) has called rhinoglottophilia, the spontaneous nasalization of vowels when they are preceded by a glottal segment (see also the affirmative reply [ʔəhə̃], §4.3.5.3).<sup>13</sup>

Following are examples of the vowel contrasts in open syllables:

|                |                       |                |                    |
|----------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>pi</i>      | ‘pen, writing brush’  | <i>ba</i>      | ‘old’              |
| <i>pe</i>      | ‘snow’                | <i>ba</i>      | ‘big’              |
| <i>paha</i>    | ‘straw’               | <i>ba:</i>     | ‘cloth’            |
| <i>pə</i>      | ‘buy’                 | <i>khəsta</i>  | ‘husband’s mother’ |
| <i>pa</i>      | ‘bundle (CL)’         | <i>baha</i>    | ‘remote’           |
| <i>po</i>      | ‘thick (e.g. thread)’ | <i>zdzyta:</i> | ‘in/at Chengdu’    |
| <i>pu</i>      | ‘pint, 1/10 peck’     | <i>tʂo</i>     | ‘ten fen (cents)’  |
| <i>mi</i>      | ‘human being’         | <i>dzo:</i>    | ‘chin’             |
| <i>mi:</i>     | ‘eye’                 | <i>ku-tha</i>  | ‘hire, to employ’  |
| <i>phi-phi</i> | ‘dig’                 | <i>ku:</i>     | ‘elder brother’    |
| <i>se</i>      | ‘sprinkle (vt.)’      | <i>gu</i>      | ‘able to fit in’   |
| <i>sə</i>      | ‘day; wood’           | <i>gu:</i>     | ‘plow-share’       |

Examples of some of the vowels in closed syllables:

|             |                  |                            |           |
|-------------|------------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>phiʂ</i> | ‘white’          | <i>buz me:<sup>l</sup></i> | ‘drizzle’ |
| <i>fen</i>  | ‘powder’ (< Ch.) | <i>phoʂ</i>                | ‘vulva’   |
| <i>dam</i>  | ‘forget’         | <i>baq</i>                 | ‘scarf’   |
| <i>bəl</i>  | ‘maggot’         |                            |           |

### 2.2.2. *Diphthongs and triphthongs*

Aside from the monophthongs listed above, there are fourteen native diphthongs (/ia, iə, ie, ye, eu, əu, ei, əi, oi, uə, ua, uə, ue, ui/) and one native triphthong (/uəi/). Another diphthong, /ya/, only appears as a result of person marking, as in /teya/ ‘I carry’, from /teye/ + the first

person suffix /-a/ (when /a/ is added to a root ending in /-e/, /-i/, or /-y/, the resulting form is generally /-a/; see §4.3.2). There is also a long-vowel form of this diphthong (/tɕya:/), which appears only in the prospective aspect, as the prospective aspect marker is the suffix /-a:/ and is subject to the same assimilatory process (see §4.3.4). Among the native diphthongs there are both on-glides and off-glides. Some forms also show length and r-coloring distinctions (see below, §2.2.3). Aside from these native forms, there are two off-glide diphthongs (/ai/, /au/) and two triphthongs (/uai/, /iau/) that appear only in Chinese loan words (see examples below). In theory, all of the native diphthongs should be able to appear in both open and closed syllables, as originally, before the coalescence of two syllables into one that gave rise to the consonant finals, all were open syllables, but no unmarked lexical examples of /əi, oi, ye, eu, ui/ in closed syllables have been found. Even so, for those diphthongs where there are no lexicalized closed syllables, closed syllables could be formed by the addition of certain grammatical morphemes, such as the agentive nominalizer /-m/, the instrumental nominalizer /-s/, the comparative standard marker /-s/, and the genitive marker /-tɕ/. Following are examples of each type of diphthong and triphthong.

Examples of the native diphthongs and triphthong in open syllables:

|                   |                           |                 |                 |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>mia-pi</i>     | ‘eyelid’                  | <i>ɸua</i>      | ‘outside’       |
| <i>phie</i>       | ‘plant (vt.)’             | <i>ɸua</i>      | ‘left’          |
| <i>ei-ŋi</i>      | ‘next year’               | <i>kuə ʂa</i>   | ‘have diarrhea’ |
| <i>iʂpəi</i>      | ‘mother’s brother’s wife’ | <i>gʊe-ŋi</i>   | ‘near’          |
| <i>doŋoi</i>      | ‘call to, summon (vt.)’   | <i>gʊeˀ</i>     | ‘army’          |
| <i>tɕye</i>       | ‘hoe (n.)’                | <i>gʊeˀˀ</i>    | ‘road’          |
| <i>tɕəu</i>       | ‘home’                    | <i>dza:khui</i> | ‘afternoon’     |
| <i>(ɕtɕy) heu</i> | ‘repay (debt)’            | <i>ʂkuəi</i>    | ‘mountain goat’ |
| <i>phia-que</i>   | ‘grey’                    |                 |                 |

Examples of the native diphthongs in closed syllables:

|                |                 |              |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>ji-miaq</i> | ‘thumb’         | <i>ʂuaq</i>  | ‘moonlight’     |
| <i>pies</i>    | ‘meat’          | <i>duakɩ</i> | ‘curved knife’  |
| <i>stuəʂ</i>   | ‘pot luck meal’ | <i>tuəs</i>  | ‘carrying pole’ |
| <i>təkhuez</i> | ‘anger (vt.)’   |              |                 |

Examples of diphthongs and triphthongs due to Chinese borrowings:

|                 |                 |                  |               |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>phai</i>     | ‘playing cards’ | <i>kuai-tha</i>  | ‘blame (vt.)’ |
| <i>tcəu-tsə</i> | ‘dumplings’     | <i>phiau-tsə</i> | ‘paper money’ |

### 2.2.3. *R-coloring*

An additional aspect of the vowel system is r-coloring, which is a retroflexion of the tongue at the end of the vowel. At least four of the basic vowels show a contrast in lexical items (i, e, ə, a),<sup>14</sup> and all vowels can take r-coloring when they are the final vowel of a verb with first person plural marking (which is /-ʰ/; see §4.3.2). This r-coloring is often lost in rapid speech, and it seems that it is being lost completely among the younger people, as there is variation and uncertainty about its use. The r-coloring also often appears on words followed by the expression meaning ‘all’. This meaning is variously expressed as [wu], [le-wu], [yle-wu], [leʰwu], [-eʰwu], and [-ʰwu]. In the case of the latter form, the final vowel of the previous word becomes r-colored, e.g.:

- (2.3) a. *tsa-χsəʰwu* [this:one-few (< χsə):all] ‘all these’  
 b. *ɑ-səʰwu* [one-day (< ɑ-sə):all] ‘all day’  
 c. *ɑ-jəʰwu* [one-night (< ɑ-jə):all] ‘all night’  
 d. *miʰwu* [person (< mi):all] ‘all the people’

While the r-coloring is used to represent Chinese final /-ʰ/, /-n/ or /-ŋ/ in nativizations of some Chinese loan words (e.g., /feʰ/ ‘cent’ < Chinese *fēn*; /thiukəʰ/ ‘spoon’ < Chinese *tiáogēng*), and may in some cases be due to either the historical evolution of a post-initial retroflex segment (/ɹ/ or /ʒ/ e.g., \*phri > phiʰ; see Huang 1992:154, 157) or to synchronic assimilation to a following retroflex consonant, it is not treated here as a consonantal phoneme, as it participates in the vowel harmony scheme (see §2.4.3). Following are some examples of contrasting r-colored and non-r-colored vowels, and long and short r-colored vowels.

|                  |                    |                |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>se</i>        | ‘sprinkle (vt.)’   | <i>khəsta</i>  | ‘husband’s mother’ |
| <i>seʰ fu</i>    | ‘mourning apparel’ | <i>khəʰ</i>    | ‘saw (vt.)’        |
| <i>se:ʰ-mujʉ</i> | ‘mushroom’         | <i>phi-phi</i> | ‘dig’              |

|              |                 |                  |            |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>sə</i>    | ‘day; wood’     | <i>phiː-phiː</i> | ‘rip (v.)’ |
| <i>səːˀ</i>  | ‘willow tree’   | <i>pauxuaˀ</i>   | ‘shavings’ |
| ( <i>səl</i> | ‘face south’)15 | <i>guəˀ</i>      | ‘army’     |
| <i>weˀ</i>   | ‘reduce’        | <i>guəːˀ</i>     | ‘road’     |
| <i>we</i>    | ‘exist/be at’   |                  |            |

Examples in closed syllables:

|                |                      |                  |              |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>kheˀx</i>   | ‘comb’               | <i>fiə-khəˀp</i> | ‘go blind’   |
| <i>paˀχ</i>    | ‘claw’               | <i>dzy-gəˀm</i>  | ‘doorkeeper’ |
| <i>zə-teˀm</i> | ‘earthquake’         | <i>ɛəˀp</i>      | ‘Han person’ |
| <i>peˀz</i>    | ‘breed, raise (vt.)’ |                  |              |

#### 2.2.4. Morphologically derived vowel forms

The following are vowels and diphthongs that only appear in morphologically derived verb forms:

|             |                |                   |                            |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>aːˀ</i>  | <i>tʂaːˀ</i>   | (< <i>tʂe</i> )   | ‘look (PRS:1pl)’           |
| <i>ɑːˀ</i>  | <i>pɑːˀ</i>    | (< <i>pə</i> )    | ‘buy (PRS:1pl)’            |
| <i>uˀ</i>   | <i>qhuˀ</i>    | (< <i>qhu</i> )   | ‘fire gun (1pl)’           |
| <i>yˀ</i>   | <i>tɕyˀ</i>    | (< <i>tɕy</i> )   | ‘bring/carry (1pl)’        |
| <i>ieˀ</i>  | <i>phieˀ</i>   | (< <i>phie</i> )  | ‘till land (1pl)’          |
| <i>ia:</i>  | <i>phia:</i>   | (< <i>phie</i> )  | ‘till land (PRS:1sg)’      |
| <i>iaːˀ</i> | <i>phiaːˀ</i>  | (< <i>phie</i> )  | ‘till land (PRS:1pl)’      |
| <i>uəˀ</i>  | <i>guəˀ</i>    | (< <i>guə</i> )   | ‘put on clothes (1pl)’     |
| <i>ua:</i>  | <i>gua</i>     | (< <i>guə</i> )   | ‘put on clothes (PRS:1sg)’ |
| <i>uaːˀ</i> | <i>guaːˀ</i>   | (< <i>guə</i> )   | ‘put on clothes (PRS:1pl)’ |
| <i>yeˀ</i>  | <i>tɕhyeˀ</i>  | (< <i>tɕhye</i> ) | ‘pen livestock (1pl)’      |
| <i>ya</i>   | <i>tɕhya</i>   | (< <i>tɕhye</i> ) | ‘pen livestock (1sg)’      |
| <i>ya:</i>  | <i>tɕhya:</i>  | (< <i>tɕhye</i> ) | ‘pen livestock (PRS:1sg)’  |
| <i>yaːˀ</i> | <i>tɕhyaːˀ</i> | (< <i>tɕhye</i> ) | ‘pen livestock (PRS:1pl)’  |
| <i>ua:</i>  | <i>stua:</i>   | (< <i>stue</i> )  | ‘pull up weeds (PRS:1sg)’  |
| <i>uaːˀ</i> | <i>stuaːˀ</i>  | (< <i>stue</i> )  | ‘pull up weeds (PRS:1pl)’  |

### 2.3. The syllable canon

The coalescence of syllables resulting in the creation of new finals and clusters (discussed in §2.1) has affected the syllable canon, which is given in Figure 1:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} (C) & (C_1) & (V) & V & (V) & (C) & (C_f) \\ [fric] & [glide] & & [glide] & [fric] & & \end{array}$$

Figure 1. The Qiang syllable canon

The minimum syllable type is a single vowel, such as one of the forms for the word for ‘one’: /a/. While a glottal stop often appears at the beginning of a syllable with no other consonant initial, there is no phonemic difference between glottal stop onset and vocalic onset.<sup>16</sup> Glottal stops also often appear at the end of syllables with short vowels and no final consonant, but again, this is not phonemic. The initial consonant of the syllable may be any of the consonants listed in Table 2, but if there is a pre-initial consonant (i.e. the first consonant of a cluster), it must be a fricative.<sup>17</sup> As the final consonant clusters derive from initial clusters, the same restriction applies: the first consonant of the two must be a fricative.<sup>18</sup> Most of the combinations of the optional items given in parentheses in Figure 1 are possible forms in Qiang. I have not yet found an example where there is an off-glide and a following consonant cluster, though there is nothing in principle that would make this an impossible combination. Following are the possible syllable types and examples (“V” here is used for both full vowels and on/off glides within a single syllable):

|      |                 |            |        |               |            |
|------|-----------------|------------|--------|---------------|------------|
| V    | <i>a</i>        | ‘one’      | CVVC   | <i>duap</i>   | ‘thigh’    |
| VV   | <i>au</i>       | ‘one pile’ | CCV    | <i>xtʂe</i>   | ‘louse’    |
| VC   | <i>as</i>       | ‘one day’  | CCVV   | <i>ʂkue</i>   | ‘roast’    |
| VCC  | <i>əχʂ</i>      | ‘tight’    | CCVVV  | <i>ʂkuəi</i>  | ‘mt. goat’ |
| CV   | <i>pə</i>       | ‘buy’      | CCVC   | <i>ʂpəl</i>   | ‘kidney’   |
| CVV  | <i>khuə</i>     | ‘dog’      | CCVCC  | <i>ʂpəχs</i>  | ‘Chibusu’  |
| CVVV | <i>kuai-tha</i> | ‘strange’  | CCVVC  | <i>ʂquap</i>  | ‘quiet’    |
| CVC  | <i>paq</i>      | ‘interest’ | CCVVCC | <i>ɕpiexʔ</i> | ‘scar’     |
| CVCC | <i>bəχʂ</i>     | ‘honey’    |        |               |            |



The VC and VCC forms are generally formed from a single vowel form, such as the number ‘one’ or the ‘inner-directed’ directional prefix (§4.3.3), plus a reduced form of a classifier or verb, respectively.

The word in Qiang is defined on phonological grounds, as a free form with pauses at both ends within which the phonological processes discussed in §2.4 operate. It may include more than one grammatical word, such as when a directional verb follows a main verb and forms one phonological word with it. While very often bimorphemic, the word tends to reduce to a single syllable in the case of unmodified nouns and verbs. Huang (1998:64) counted 836 basic words, and found 444 were monosyllabic and 392 were bisyllabic or polysyllabic. Even when various derivational and relational affixes have been added the root may still be monosyllabic due to processes of syllable weakening and vowel dropping (see §2.4 below, and Huang 1998).<sup>19</sup> There is no sense of ‘word’ in the Qiang language (what we would call the sociological word), only /sa/ ‘sentence’. Other than the word, we recognize the noun phrase, the verb complex, the clause, and the complex sentence as levels of grammatical structure.

## 2.4. Phonological processes

In this section we will discuss the weakening of initial consonants, stress, vowel harmony and epenthesis. These phonological processes occur within a unit that can be defined as the phonological word.

### 2.4.1. Initial weakening

Several types of initial consonant undergo a form of weakening when, due to derivation, they appear in non-word-initial position, particularly in non-syllable-initial position. This occurs both in compounds and when the directional prefix is added to verb roots. Following are some examples (see also Huang 1998; see §2.4.2 on the effects of the change in stress on the vowels):

- (2.4) ph > φ ~ f:  
 a. ə- DIR + phə ‘blow’ > əφ ‘blow (imperative)’

- b. *sə* ‘tree’ + *phə* ‘forest’ > *səf* ‘tree/shrub’  
 c. *də-* DIR + *phu* ‘escape’ > *duφu* ‘escaped (perf.)’

(2.5) *kh* > *x*:

- a. *meːʰ* ‘rain’ + *khəʰ* ‘fall (of frost)’ > *meːx* ‘frost (n.)’  
 b. *nə-* DIR + *khəʰte* ‘hit (people)’ > *nəxte* ‘hit (perf.)’

(2.6) *dz* > *z*:

- ə-* DIR + *dzuə* ‘sit’ > *əzʉə* ‘sit (imperative)’

(2.7) *dz* > *l*:<sup>20</sup>

- ma-* NEG + *dzə* ‘able’ > *ma-l* ‘not able’

(2.8) *b* > *w*:

- a. *tə-* DIR + *bə* ‘pile’ > *təw* ‘piled (perf.)’  
 b. *tə-* DIR + *ba* ‘big’ > *təwa* ‘become big’

When an aspirated initial becomes the final of a preceding syllable, losing its own vowel, it also generally loses its aspiration. For example, when the word /tchə/ ‘drink, eat (wet foods)’ takes a directional prefix (as in an imperative), it becomes [sətɕ].

Comparing the Ronghong forms with those of some of the more conservative Qiang dialects, such as the Mawo dialect (Sun 1981a), we can see that a similar type of weakening has occurred historically to preinitial consonants in Ronghong. Compare the following Ronghong and Mawo dialect forms.

| (2.9) <u>Ronghong</u> | <u>Mawo</u>    | <u>Gloss</u>          |
|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>xsə</i>            | <i>khsi</i>    | ‘god’                 |
| <i>xsə</i>            | <i>khsə</i>    | ‘new’                 |
| <i>xʂuctɕ</i>         | <i>khɕust</i>  | ‘hear/listen’         |
| <i>χsutu</i>          | <i>qhsu</i>    | ‘jump’                |
| <i>χsa</i>            | <i>qhsa</i>    | ‘know/understand’     |
| <i>χʂə</i>            | <i>qhʂə</i>    | ‘manure’              |
| <i>yzə</i>            | <i>gzə</i>     | ‘government official’ |
| <i>yzəifa</i>         | <i>gziguaʰ</i> | ‘wing’                |
| <i>yzə</i>            | <i>gzə</i>     | ‘four’                |

2.4.2. *Stress and its effects*

Intonation is usually even in a clause, with no particular peaks on any one part of the clause. Stress is used for emphasis in, for example, imperative constructions, where the prefix and sometimes the root as well are stressed, but stress does not seem to be used for emphatic (focal) contrast, e.g. in English *I came YESTERDAY* with phonetic stress on *yesterday*, marking it as the focus of the assertion. To have emphatic focus on the verb in Qiang (e.g. the equivalent of English *I BOUGHT this, I didn't MAKE it*), it is necessary to use a cleft construction (see §5.2).

Within individual words, in most cases, the stress is on a single vowel, with the other vowels being to different degrees unstressed. Changes in stress often occur when syllables form compounds, or when grammatical morphemes are added to root forms. In cases where the unstressed vowel is any vowel other than /i/ or /e/, that vowel may be reduced to [ə], devoiced, or dropped altogether. Following are some examples (stress is marked by an acute accent mark in these examples):

- (2.10) a. *fi*a- DIR + *tʃ*ha ‘deep’ + -z CAUS > *fi*átʃhəz ‘deepen’  
 b. *tə*- DIR + *watsi* ‘short’ > *təw*átsi ‘become short’  
 c. *tə*a- CON + *watsi* ‘short’ > *tə*áwətsi ‘still short’

It seems in the examples of /watsi/ ‘short’ given in (2.10b-c) that there is a three-way pattern of stress and vowel form: without any prefix, the first vowel of the root is [a], with an unstressed prefix it is [ə], and with a stressed prefix, it is [ə̥].

In general there is a trochaic pattern of stress,<sup>21</sup> which leads to the loss of second syllables in bisyllabic words, but the stress of a particular derived form depends on the number and type of syllables that appear in the particular word, and this effects the realization of the vowels. Compare the following two examples:

- (2.11) a. *fi*á-mə-təí-xtʃápə-tə  
 DIR-NEG-CON-dark-GEN  
 ‘before it got dark’  
 b. *fi*á-xtʃəp-ŋike  
 DIR-dark-after  
 ‘after it got dark’

In (2.11a), there is stress on the continuative aspect prefix (as well as the directional prefix), even though it breaks the usual strong-weak stress pattern, as this prefix is always stressed, and on the root vowel, so the root vowel is realized as [ɑ], whereas in the example in (2.11b), the stress is only on the directional prefix, and so the root vowel reduces to [ə].

In cases where the final vowel of a compound or prefixed verb is /u/ or /uə/, unstressing/devoicing often gives a rounded quality to the preceding syllable (e.g. the prefix). Following are some examples of words where this happens (I do not have a way to mark the rounding, but the initial syllables in the forms on the right are more rounded than they would be in isolation):

- (2.12) a. *a* ‘one’ + *guə* ‘basket’ > *agʊə* ‘one basketfull’  
 b. *ma-* NEG + *ɲuə* COP > *maŋʊə* ‘is not’  
 c. *ə-* DIR + *dzuə* ‘sit’ > *əzʊə* ‘sit! (imperative)’  
 d. *a* ‘one’ + *tu* ‘span’ > *atʊ* ‘one handspan’

If the final is /ə/, then it is simply dropped. We saw several examples of this just above, in §2.4.1. Following are some other examples:

- (2.13) a. *ə-* DIR + *dzə* ‘eat’ > *əz* ‘eat! (imperative)’  
 b. *sə-* DIR + *tchə* ‘drink’ > *sətɕ* ‘drink! (imp.)’  
 c. *bə* ‘bee’ + *χʂə* ‘manure’ > *bəχʂ* ‘honey’  
 d. *tsuə* ‘water’ + *zə* ‘ox’ > *tsuəz* ‘water buffalo’

In some cases, where the final vowel of a bimorphemic compound that would otherwise be dropped becomes a non-final vowel due to the addition of a third syllable, the vowel takes on a full, harmonized form, e.g. [pəs] ‘today’ (< pə-sə), but [pəsʊ-qua] ‘this morning’.

This dropping of an unstressed final vowel is a regular phonological process, and has led to the total loss of the final vowel in some cases (i.e. it has lexicalized), e.g. there are two forms [pək] ‘arrive there’ and [pəl] ‘arrive here’. These are seen as indivisible lexical items by many Qiang speakers, yet they clearly derive from the verb /pə/ ‘arrive’ plus the deictic motion verbs /kə/ ‘go’ and [lu ~ lə] ‘come’ respectively.

There is also a loss of an unstressed vowel when a prefix is added to forms whose base form is a reduplicated form. E.g.:

- (2.14) a. *nə*- DIR + *ləla* ‘exchange’ > *nəlla* ‘exchanged’  
 b. *tə*- DIR + *tʂhətʂhə* ‘weigh’ > *tətʂtʂhə* ‘weighed’

Another type of vowel loss often occurs in certain combinations of demonstrative, number, and classifier (e.g. [tsou] < tse-o-u (this-one-CL) ‘this (child)’ or definite marker, number and classifier (e.g. /tou/ < /te-o-u/ (DEF-one-CL) ‘the (child)’). The word [tsai] ‘now’ is derived from such a coalescence: /tse-a-i/ (this-one-time).

### 2.4.3. Vowel harmony

In general, the pattern of vowel harmony is for the vowel of the first syllable of a compound or prefix + root combination to harmonize with the vowel of the second syllable or root. This is most common when the first vowel is /ə/. The harmony pattern is generally roughly in terms of the height of the vowel: before /o/ or /u/ the first vowel becomes [o] or [u], before /i/ or /e/ the first vowel becomes [i] or [e], before /a/ and /uə/ the first vowel becomes [a]. In cases where the first vowel is /a/ and the second vowel is /i/, then the first vowel often changes to [a]. Following are some examples (See also the examples of the kinship prefix in §3.1.1.1 and the directional prefixes in §4.3.3):

- (2.15) a. *wə* ‘bird’ + *ʂpu* ‘flock’ > *wuʂpu* ‘(wild) pigeon’  
 b. *mə* ‘fire’ + *-xu* ‘smoke’ > *muxu* ‘smoke’  
 c. *phə* ‘forest’ + *xʂu* ‘roe deer’ > *phuxʂu* ‘wild animal’  
 d. *ə*- DIR + *pi* ‘uncle’ > *ipi* ‘uncle’  
 e. *ə*- DIR + *tse* ‘look at’ > *itse* ‘saw’  
 f. *ha*- ‘ten’ + *tʂi* ‘one’<sup>22</sup> > *hatʂi* ‘eleven’  
 g. *ji* ‘two’ + *-su* ‘ten’ > *jusu* ‘twenty’

R-coloring is also involved in vowel harmony: if the second syllable of a compound or prefix + root form has r-coloring, in many cases the first syllable also takes on r-coloring. E.g.:

- (2.16) a. *ɤua* ‘five’ + *kheʰ* ‘hundred’ > *ɤuaʰ-kheʰ* ‘five hundred’<sup>23</sup>  
 b. *me* ‘not’ + *weʰ* ‘reduce’ > *meʰ-weʰ* ‘unceasingly’

This shows that r-coloring is feature of the vowel, and so is not a consonant phoneme (see §2.2.3).

There are also cases where the vowel harmony works in the opposite fashion, that is, the vowel of the second (or third) syllable harmonizes with the vowel of the preceding syllable, as in the following examples involving loan words from Chinese that take the Qiang verb /pə/ ‘to do’ (see §3.1.1 on loan words):

- (2.17) a. Chinese *zhàogù* + Qiang *pə* ‘to do’ > *tʂauku-pu* ‘take care of’  
 b. Chinese *wākǔ* + Qiang *pə* ‘to do’ > *kuakhu-pu* ‘be sarcastic of’

#### 2.4.4. Epenthetic vowels

While there are many consonant clusters in Qiang, there are restrictions on the type of clusters allowed by the syllable canon. When there is a collocation of consonants due to derivation or compounding that results in a cluster of consonants not allowed by the canon, an epenthetic vowel (/ə/) is inserted to break up the cluster. Following are some examples:

- (2.18) a. *zdzi-tʂhop-əm* [illness-cure-NOM (< -m)] ‘doctor’  
 b. *stuaha-bəl-əm* [rice, food-do-NOM (< -m)] ‘cook (n.)’  
 c. *bəl-əs-je* [do-NOM (< -s)-good to eat] ‘advantageous’  
 d. *bəl-əz-mo-ku* [do-CAUS (< -z)-NEG-allow] ‘hinder’  
 e. *ɳiq-əʂ* [black-too (< -ʂ)] ‘too black’

#### 2.4.5. Assimilation

In Section 2.1 it was mentioned that there is assimilation of the first consonant of a cluster in terms of voicing and place of articulation to that of the second consonant of the cluster, with the phonemically posited /ʃ/ becoming [s] before /t/ and /d/, and [ç] before /pi/, /pe/, /bi/, /tɕ/ and /dz/, and all the preinitials becoming voiced before voiced initials. Aside from this we also find assimilation of /l/ to [n] when it follows a nasal in rapid speech, as in [themne], an alternate form of the 3pl pronoun [themle], in several tokens of the word [le<sup>4</sup>wu] ‘all’ in the Texts pronounced as [ne<sup>4</sup>wu] when it followed [-han] ‘kind’ (e.g.

T5:54), and in several tokens of the definite marker /le/ in the Texts which were pronounced [ne], e.g. one token of [jin-ne:] (< /jin-le:/) ‘monk’s robe’ in “The Story of a Lazy Man” (T5:163). Vowel harmony, both in the position of articulation and the retroflexion of the vowel, discussed in Section 2.4.3, is also a kind of assimilation.

#### 2.4.6. Free variation

Quite a number of lexical items in Qiang allow variation of the preinitial, initial, vowel, or final consonant. Examples:

|  |          |                           |           |
|--|----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| <i>phis</i> ~ <i>phiχ</i> ~ <i>phi</i> | ‘white’  | <i>ŋiq</i> ~ <i>ŋix</i>   | ‘black’   |
| <i>muxu</i> ~ <i>muφu</i>              | ‘smoke’  | <i>fut</i> ~ <i>futs</i>  | ‘incense’ |
| <i>ʂquatʂ</i> ~ <i>χquatʂ</i>          | ‘steal’  | <i>xupa</i> ~ <i>fupa</i> | ‘fur’     |
| <i>quət</i> ~ <i>quətɕ</i>             | ‘cover’  | <i>ʂqu</i> ~ <i>χqu</i>   | ‘mouth’   |
| <i>khesu</i> ~ <i>khe’su</i>           | ‘eighty’ |                           |           |

The most common of these is the /ʂ/-/χ/ variation. There are also cases where there is variation not in the form of the final, but in whether there is a final or not, or whether there are two syllables or one, as in the following:

|                            |       |                          |          |                            |          |
|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|
| <i>mutu</i> ~ <i>mutup</i> | ‘sky’ | <i>qha</i> ~ <i>qhaq</i> | ‘bitter’ | <i>kap</i> ~ <i>kapətʂ</i> | ‘orphan’ |
|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|





## Chapter 3

### The noun phrase

In Section 3.1 we discuss the syntax of the noun phrase and certain individual elements of the noun phrase, plus modifiers of nouns within the noun phrase. In Section 3.2 we discuss the various roles the noun phrase can have in the clause and the different types of marking it takes when it has those roles.

#### 3.1. Structure

The structure of the noun phrase is generally head-initial, though a genitive phrase or relative clause (or both) precedes the head noun. The maximum structure of a simple noun phrase is as in Figure 2:

GEN phrase + Rel. clause + **Noun** + ADJ + DEM/DEF + (NUM + CL)/PL

*Figure 2.* The structure of the Qiang noun phrase

Any combination of the above elements is possible, as long as they follow the order given above, though a numeral must be followed by a classifier. Classifiers also occur with demonstratives alone (i.e. without numerals). A demonstrative plus classifier expression, or an adjective plus (in)definite marking and classifier, or even (in)definite marking plus classifier alone, can be used alone as a noun phrase. Some items can be doubled, such as the adjective (no more than two can appear together<sup>24</sup>). When more than one adjective appears in a noun phrase, the relative order of the adjectives in terms of type of adjective (value, shape, quality, age, or color; see Dixon 1982) is the mirror image of that in English (i.e. HEAD<sup>^</sup>color<sup>^</sup>shape<sup>^</sup>age<sup>^</sup>quality<sup>^</sup>value), but the same if one thinks in terms of order relative to the head. Compare the examples in (3.1a-j).

- (3.1) a. *kuatʂa lapa ba*  
bowl flowery big  
'big colorful bowl'
- b. *fa phiʂ dzə*  
clothing white long  
'long white clothing'
- c. *fa phiʂ ba*  
clothing white old  
'old white clothing'
- d. *fa dzə ba*  
clothing long old  
'old long clothing'
- e. *mianpau phiʂ matʂa*  
bread white soft  
'soft white bread'
- f. *tʂhetsə xsə na*  
car new good  
'good new car'
- g. *xtʂepi dzə na*  
knife long good  
'nice long knife'
- h. *səf po ti-wi*  
tree thick DIR-tall  
'tall thick tree'
- i. *stei xsə tse*  
axe new sharp  
'sharp new axe'
- j. *mi xsə tshimpe*  
person new smart  
'smart young person'

Modification of a noun by an adjective phrase can be done by either a non-nominalized post-head adjective, as in the examples in (3.1), or by a nominalized adjective in a pre-head relative clause structure. Whether a post-head adjective or a pre-head relative clause structure is used often depends on the complexity of the modifier: a complex modifier will appear in the pre-head relative clause structure, while the simple adjective will generally appear in the post-head position. Compare the following two examples:

- (3.2) a. *ctɕimi na-tɕ mi*  
heart good-GEN person  
'(a) good hearted person'
- b. *mi na*  
person good  
'(a) good person'

There is also a form where the head noun is followed by a nominalized adjective which is in apposition to the head, e.g. /mi ba-m/ [person big-NOM] 'a person, a big one' (see §4.2.3).

The noun phrase may also be followed by postpositions and/or the topic marker (see §3.2). Following are some examples of complex noun phrases (the noun phrases are in brackets for clarity):

- (3.3) [*nes lu-m spe thə xsə-zɪ*]-*wu*  
 yesterday come-NOM Tibetan that three-CL-AGT  
*tʂhɛtsə-le: de-ctci-ji-tci.*  
 car-DEF:CL DIR-push-CSM-3pl  
 ‘Those three Tibetans who came yesterday pushed the car away.’

- (3.4) [*qa pətsa-ŋi zə-pə-tɛ ba: ŋiq tsa*  
 1sg just.now-ADV DIR-buy-GEN cloth black this  
*i-jə-tʂ]-ŋuəŋi qa ʔũ de-le ctcaq-lu-a.*  
 one-two-feet-TOP 1sg 2sg DIR-give heart-come-1sg  
 ‘I want to give you these few feet of black cloth that I just bought.’

- (3.5) [*the:-tɛ-tciɪua ba the-zɪ*] *piena-la [zawa ba xsə-zɪ]*  
 3sg-GEN-house old that-CL beside-LOC rock big three-CL  
*ʂə.*  
 exist  
 ‘There are three big rocks beside that old house of his.’

- (3.6) [*tcile nəs i-pə-l-əm tuətʂy-le:*]  
 1pl yesterday DIR-arrive-come-NOM younger.brother-DEF:CL  
*χumtʂi ŋuə.*  
 (name) COP  
 ‘Our brother who returned yesterday was Xumtʂi.’

This last example has both a genitive phrase (though one not marked by the genitive postposition) and relative clause preceding the head noun.

In some instances, an adverbial noun phrase is formed from a combination of a demonstrative and a numeral plus classifier or measure word. In these cases it is as if the demonstrative pronoun precedes the head, though it is the normal order for DEM + (NUM)-CL.<sup>25</sup>

- (3.7) a. *tse* ‘this’ + *a* ‘one’ + *pə* ‘year’ > *tsəp* ‘this year’  
 b. *the* ‘that’ + *a* ‘one’ + *sə* ‘day’ > *thas* ‘that day’



without a genitive postposition). There does not seem to be any semantic restriction on the class of nouns (e.g. only words with concrete reference). In terms of structure, a noun may be as simple as a single monosyllable, or it may be a complex construction consisting of two nouns, one modifying the other, two tightly coordinated nouns, a nominalized verb, a noun plus classifier, or a noun plus verb combination.

As in all Sino-Tibetan languages, in the case of compound nouns where one noun modifies the other, the modifying noun must always precede the modified noun, as in (3.10):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (3.10) a. <i>sə-kuatʃa</i><br>wood-bowl<br>'wooden bowl' | b. <i>bu-zdə</i><br>plank-ladder<br>'plank ladder' |
| c. <i>pie-nəs</i><br>pig-bed<br>'pig-pen'                | d. <i>bə-xʃ</i><br>bee-manure<br>'honey'           |

In the case of tightly coordinated nouns, no mark of coordination is used, and the two nouns simply appear one after the other, as in (3.11):

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (3.11) a. <i>ep-ew</i><br>father-mother<br>'parents' | b. <i>tu-tuwa</i><br>yng.brother-older.brother<br>'brothers' |
|--|--|

Lexicalized deverbal nouns are formed using one of two types of marking. The nominalizing suffix /-s/ is used to form instrumental, locative, and object nouns out of verbs:

- |           |               |             |      |     |   |                |            |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|------|-----|---|----------------|------------|
| (3.12) a. | <i>nə</i>     | 'sleep'     | + -s | NOM | > | <i>nəs</i>     | 'bed'      |
| b.        | <i>guə</i>    | 'wear'      | + -s | NOM | > | <i>guəs</i>    | 'clothing' |
| c.        | <i>dzə</i>    | 'eat'       | + -s | NOM | > | <i>dzəs</i>    | 'grain'    |
| d.        | <i>suəsua</i> | 'calculate' | + -s | NOM | > | <i>suəsuas</i> | 'abacus'   |

In some cases a noun + verb combination is nominalized using the /-s/ suffix to form an instrumental noun phrase:



tongs', from 'firewood' + 'pick up with chopsticks', but often they involve a verb that is uniquely used for the action involving that noun, and it isn't clear whether the noun was formed from a monosyllabic noun plus the verb, or the verb was formed from part of the original disyllabic noun. Most of the examples are natural phenomena.<sup>27</sup> Following are some examples:

- (3.16) a. *me'x* 'frost' < *me:'* 'rain' + *khe'* 'fall (of frost)'  
 b. *zdəqhu* 'fog' < *zdə* 'cloud' + *qhu* 'descend (clouds)'  
 c. *tsəpa* 'ice' < *tsə* 'water' + *pa* 'form (of ice)'  
 d. *me'gy* 'thunder' < *me:'* 'rain' + *gy* 'thunder (v.)'  
 e. *ciʃue* 'moon' < *ci* 'moon' + *ʃue* 'bright'<sup>28</sup>  
 f. *la(m)pa* 'flower' < *la(m)* 'flower' + *pa* 'to bloom'<sup>29</sup>

In each case the verb can follow the combined noun plus verb form, e.g. /*tsəpa pə*/ 'to form ice', /*zdəqhu do-qhu*/ 'fog formed', /*lampə da-pa*/ 'flowers bloomed'.

There are many nouns which include an identifiable morpheme, but there is also an added final consonant relative to the usual form of the morpheme. This final consonant may be the result of compounding, though the rest of the original syllable has been lost, and so is no longer identifiable. In some cases, the form with the extra final consonant has the same or a very similar meaning to the plain form, but in some cases the meaning is quite different. The most common such finals are /-q/ and /-p/. The final /-q/ in many cases may be a remnant of /qə/ 'head'. The use of a morpheme meaning 'head' in forming nouns would parallel the use of *tóu* 'head' in Chinese, where it also sometimes changes the meaning of the root form and sometimes doesn't, e.g. *quán-tóu* [fist-head] 'fist', *chī-tóu* [eat-head] 'the quality of being good to eat'. The suffix /-p/, as suggested by James A. Matisoff (p.c., 1997), may derive from the common Tibeto-Burman suffix *\*-pa*. This is particularly likely in cases where the form with /-p/ refers to a type of person, as in (3.17a) and (3.17e), below. Following are more examples of both suffixes:

- (3.17) a. *təip* 'master' < *təi* 'house'  
 b. *zəp* 'earth, ground' < *zə* 'ground, land'  
 c. *mutup* 'sky' < *mutu* 'sky'  
 d. *duap* 'thigh' < *dua* 'leg'

|    |                  |                         |               |                  |
|----|------------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------|
| e. | <i>kə'p</i>      | 'Han person'            | < <i>kə'</i>  | 'Han person'     |
| f. | <i>məziq-pə</i>  | 'talk in sleep'         | < <i>məzi</i> | 'sleep'          |
| g. | <i>ji-saq</i>    | 'finger' [hand-section] | < <i>sa</i>   | 'section, joint' |
| h. | <i>qhaq</i>      | 'bitter'                | < <i>qha</i>  | 'bitter'         |
| i. | <i>ctəcaq-lu</i> | 'think of, want'        | < <i>ctəi</i> | 'heart'          |
| j. | <i>şuaq</i>      | 'light'                 | < <i>şue</i>  | 'bright'         |

There may even be related sets that have the same root but differ in terms of the finals, such as /liaq/ 'penis' and /lieş/ 'sperm, semen', though I do not have enough evidence to be sure of this sort of connection.

Some nouns, particularly the names of some birds, are iconic with the sound the bird makes: /gugū/ 'pigeon', /kuput/ 'cuckoo bird', /ctəictəcaq/ 'magpie'. Another type of iconic noun is a sound that represents an action, such as in /mi: phəq-phəq-pə/ [eyes-*phəq-phəq*-do] 'to bat the eyes, blink'. This type is rather rare.

A large number of loan words are also used by the Qiang people. The majority of these loan words are from Chinese (the Southwestern Mandarin dialect), as there has been substantial contact with Chinese since at least the thirteenth century (Sun 1988), but there are also some loan words from Tibetan. There are in fact two or more layers of loans from Chinese, as there are older, harder to identify loans, such as /lup/ 'radish' (< Chinese *lúobo*) and /la/ 'wolf' (< Chinese *láng*), and newer, more transparent loans, such as /kuntşhantan/ 'communist party' (< Chinese *gòngchǎndǎng*). As shown by Sun (1988), there are differences in the phonology and use between the old and the new loans.

The Tibetan loans are generally old loans, such as /sin/ (or /singi/) 'lion' (from Sanskrit, through Tibetan). This form is now being replaced by the Chinese loan /sətsə/ (< *shīzi*) in the speech of the younger Qiang speakers. Tibetan loans are somewhat more frequent in the Qiang spoken by the Tibetans of Heishui County. The loan words which appear in the Glossary are identified as being from Chinese or Tibetan. (See also Liu 1981 on the Tibetan loans).

When verbs (including stative verbs) are borrowed into Qiang, they are generally borrowed as nouns. In order to be used as verbs in Qiang, the suffix /-tha/ is added to monosyllabic borrowed verbs, and the verb /-pə/ 'to do' is added to polysyllabic borrowed verbs. Following are some examples:



- (3.18) a. *tuen-tha* ‘squat’ < *dūn* (蹲)  
 b. *ʂə-tha* ‘spend (money)’ < *shǐ* (使)  
 c. *thau-tha* ‘wash (rice)’ < *táu* (淘)  
 d. *χua-tha* ‘paint’ < *hùà* (畫)  
 e. *cunŋian-pə* ‘train’ < *xùnliàn* (訓練)  
 f. *tetsui-pə* ‘offend’ < *dézùi* (得罪)  
 g. *phəiphən-pə* ‘criticize’ < *pīpàn* (批判)  
 h. *pethiau-pə* ‘chat’ < *bǎitiáo* (擺條)

Even if the total phrase borrowed from Chinese involves more than one syllable, if the verbal part of it is monosyllabic, then /-tha/ is added, as in, for example, /phitchi fa-tha/ ‘to lose one’s temper’ (< Chinese *fā píqì* [emit temper]). In the case of verbs with the /-tha/ suffix, the borrowed verb, with the affix attached, is treated the same as a native verb, to the extent that it can take the directional prefixes, as in /sə-phin-tha/ ‘make level’ (< Chinese *píng*), and can take the postpositive adverb /-wa/, as in /khuai-tha-wa/ ‘very fast’ (< Chinese *kuài*). In the case of those loan words that take the native verb /pə/, the prefixes are added to this verb, as in /thuntʂə-tə-pə/ ‘notified’ (< Chinese *tōngzhī*). A few adjectives borrowed from Chinese, such as /phin/ ‘level’, can be used as nouns or verbs, taking /tha-/ when they are used as verbs. Another small set of adjectives recently borrowed from Chinese, such as /çixan/ ‘rare’ (< Chinese *xīhan*) and /tchikuai/ ‘strange’ (< Chinese *qíguài*), are only used as nouns, and take the copula if used predicatively.

With a small number of adjectives (intransitive stative verbs), possibly older loans, instead of having the /-tha/ suffix, the form /-ti/ follows the borrowed form, e.g. /nin-ti/ ‘fragmentary, piecemeal’ (< Chinese *líng*), /lan-ti/ ‘blue’ (< Chinese *lán*), /jyuan-ti/ ‘round’ (< Chinese *yuán*). This suffix is itself a loan form of the Chinese genitive/nominalizing particle *de*.

Aside from direct loans, there are a number of items that might be calques on Chinese expressions. For example, /ləyz-bie/ [‘book’ + ‘carry on back’] ‘recite lessons from memory, memorize’ is probably a calque on Chinese *bèi shū* [‘turn back on, carry on back’ + ‘book’] ‘recite lessons from memory, memorize’.

## 3.1.1.1. Gender marking

In Qiang there is no division of nouns into gender (or other) classes, and so there is no marking of grammatical gender, only of natural gender. In fact, only animals are marked for gender. For female animals the suffix is /mi/, though in a few cases /miaha/ can be used (e.g., as /jy-mi/ could be either ‘(female) chicken’ or ‘female musk-deer’, /miaha/ is added to /jy/ for ‘chicken’); for male animals, the suffixes used are /zdu/ (for small animals), /zə/ (for bovine only; this can be used alone to mean ‘stud bull’, or it can be suffixed to /soʊu/ ‘cow’), /-χ/ (for castrated male animals), /ci/ (for pigs), and /pi/ (for birds). Some examples:

|        |                   |                                |                             |               |
|--------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| (3.19) | <i>xʂe-χ</i>      | ‘mixed breed ox’ <sup>30</sup> | <i>khuə-(zdu)</i>           | ‘dog’         |
|        | <i>xʂe-mi</i>     | ‘mixed breed cow’              | <i>khuə-mi</i>              | ‘bitch’       |
|        | <i>soʊu</i>       | ‘common cow’                   | <i>khuə-miaha</i>           | ‘bitch’       |
|        | <i>ŋuə/ŋuə-mi</i> | ‘female cow’                   | <i>puŋu</i>                 | ‘cat’         |
|        | <i>soʊu-ŋuə</i>   | ‘female cow’                   | <i>puŋu-zdu</i>             | ‘male cat’    |
|        | <i>soʊu-zə</i>    | ‘bull’                         | <i>zətχaq</i>               | ‘rabbit’      |
|        | <i>pie-ci</i>     | ‘male pig’                     | <i>zətχaq-zdu</i>           | ‘male rabbit’ |
|        | <i>piej-mi</i>    | ‘sow’                          | <i>tɛy:</i>                 | ‘chicken’     |
|        | <i>tshe</i>       | ‘goat’                         | <i>jy-miaha</i>             | ‘hen’         |
|        | <i>tshe-mi</i>    | ‘female goat’                  | <i>jy-pi (jy &lt; tɛy:)</i> | ‘cock’        |
|        | <i>wə</i>         | ‘horse’                        |                             |               |
|        | <i>wə-mi</i>      | ‘mare’                         |                             |               |

There seems to be a markedness difference, where the male and female animal names form a privative opposition, but in the case of the larger animals, it is the male name that is unmarked, whereas for the smaller animals, it is the female name that is unmarked. That is, for larger animals, using the unmarked form, e.g. /wə/ ‘horse’, the implication is that it is male, and female gender marking is needed to mean ‘mare’, whereas for the smaller animals, e.g. /puŋu/ ‘cat’, the implication is that it is female, and male marking is necessary to express the meaning ‘male cat’ (cf. English *cat* vs. *tom cat*).

## 3.1.1.2. Diminutive marking

The diminutive, which is used only for animals, has one main form, /-tʂuə ~ tʂu/ (< /tʂuə/ ‘child’), and two forms with exclusive uses, /-ɪl/ and /-zdue/. These latter two are used for dogs and sheep respectively. None of these forms is widely used, and when they are used, they have the concrete sense of ‘child’. They are not used for hypocoristic or other abstract uses. The origins of the /ɪl/ and /zdue/ forms are unclear. Examples:

- (3.20) a. *xʂe-tʂuə* ~ *xʂetʂu* ‘calf’      b. *ŋowu-zdue* ‘kid’  
       c. *tɕy-tʂu* ‘chick’                    d. *tshe-zdue* ‘lamb’  
       e. *khua-ɪl* ‘puppy’

It seems the word /wətʂi/ ‘sparrow’ might be formed from the word for bird (/wə/) plus some sort of diminutive suffix, but it is the only such form found so far.

## 3.1.1.3. The kinship prefix

The majority of Qiang kinship terminology (largely terms for the older generation) is comprised of a vocalic prefix plus a root. The form of the prefix depends on the vowel of the root (see §2.4.3 on vowel harmony). Following are some examples (see the Glossary for other examples):

- (3.21) a. *a-pa* ‘grandfather’  
       b. *u-tuma* ‘grandmother’  
       c. *i-pi* ‘uncle (older brother of father)’  
       d. *i-mi* ‘aunt (wife of older brother of father)’  
       e. *u-pu* ‘uncle (younger brother of father)’  
       f. *i-tei* ‘aunt (wife of younger brother of father)’  
       g. *a-kua* ‘uncle (brother of mother)’  
       h. *i-ʂpəi* ‘aunt (wife of brother of mother)’  
       i. *a-tsa* ‘husband of father’s sister; brother-in-law’

An interesting feature of this system is that the male relatives on the father's side seem to be largely based on a /p/-initial form, with the

vowel of the root and prefix varying for the specific relation. In (3.21) compare ‘grandfather’, ‘uncle (older brother of father)’, and ‘uncle (younger brother of father)’, and also [ep] ‘father’, most likely a shortened form of \**epe*.

### 3.1.2. Pronouns

Three persons and three numbers are marked in the personal pronouns, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The Qiang personal pronouns

|   | singular           | dual           | plural         |
|---|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1 | <i>qa</i>          | <i>tci-zzi</i> | <i>tci-le</i>  |
| 2 | <i>?ũ</i>          | <i>?i-zzi</i>  | <i>?i-le</i>   |
| 3 | <i>the: / qupu</i> | <i>thi-zzi</i> | <i>them-le</i> |

There are two forms for the third person singular pronoun, /qupu/ and /the:/. The form /qupu/ is used to refer to a third person who has a close relationship to the speaker, such as a spouse (see the two examples in (3.22) below). It is also used as a logophoric pronoun, that is, in indirect quotes when the person quoted and the one being talked about are the same, as in (3.23) below.<sup>31</sup>

(3.22) a. *qupu zdzyta: fia-qə.* (Closely related to the speaker)  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go  
 ‘She (my wife) went to Chengdu.’

b. *the: zdzyta: fia-qə.* (Not closely related to speaker)  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go.  
 ‘She went to Chengdu.’

(3.23) *the:ᵢ qa-ta kə-ji qupuᵢ ma-ka:-i.*  
 3sg 1sg-LOC thus-say 3sg NEG-go:PRS-HS  
 ‘He told me he is not going to go.’

The form /the:/ is a reduced form of /the ze/ (‘that’ + classifier) ‘that one’. It is the most generally used form. Secondarily, a reduced form of the proximate demonstrative plus classifier (/tse/ + /ze/ > [tse:]) is also

sometimes used. The third plural pronoun /themle/ is often pronounced [themne], due to assimilation.

There is no exclusive/inclusive distinction in the pronouns, and there are no differences in the pronouns depending on semantic role or whether it is followed by a postposition, as is found in some Southern Qiang dialects, such as the Taoping dialect (Sun 1981, Liu 1987). While there are dual forms of the pronouns, the plural pronouns are not exclusively used for more than two referents; they can be used for dual referents when the precise number of referents is not important. The dual pronouns are used only for emphasis of the dual number. The dual and plural forms seem to be based on roughly the same root forms, but have different suffixes, [-zzi] (which possibly derives from a combination of /jə/ ‘two’ and the classifier /ze/, or a combination of a form of the plural marker /yle/ plus /jə/ ‘two’ and the classifier /ze/) in the case of the dual pronouns, and a form of the plural marker /yle/, discussed in §3.1.7, in the case of the plural pronouns.

The pronouns can appear in all positions, can be used in imperatives, can appear in cleft and pseudocleft constructions, and can be used in answer to ‘who is that?’: /qa ŋua!/ (1sg COP:1sg) ‘It’s me!’, and the demonstrative pronouns can be used anaphorically, including for discourse deixis (see the Texts for examples). Pronouns do not seem to be used for non-specific reference. They can be omitted if recoverable from context. In fact they are usually dropped except when there is a change of topic or when they are needed for emphasis. Pronouns are freely used; there does not seem to be any restriction, in terms of politeness, on addressing someone with a pronoun, as in Chinese, except one does not usually use /the:/ for one’s spouse.

Pronouns take the same cases and case marking forms as nouns. It is possible to associate numbers and classifiers with pronouns, as in the dual forms and in /tɕile χsə-tɕ/ (1pl three-classifier) ‘us three’. In pronoun-noun apposition constructions, all persons are possible, but only plural numbers are possible. There are no special adjectival forms of any pronouns; there are no special possessive/genitive pronouns (the postposition /-tɕ/ is added if necessary; see §3.2.15 on the genitive construction), and no pronominal possessive prefixes (such as those found in many other Tibeto-Burman languages), but the plural pronoun is generally used before kinship terms (this is considered more polite; e.g. /themle-tatə/ (3pl-‘father’) ‘his father’). No gender and no verbal

categories are reflected in the pronouns. There are no reciprocal pronouns, as reciprocal meaning is expressed by reduplication of the verb (see §4.2.1). Except for the use of /qupu/ and the use of the plural pronouns before kinship terms, no status distinctions (familiar, honorific) are marked in the pronouns. There is no construction meaning ‘John and the others’ involving pronouns as in Chinese (e.g. *Zhāngsān tāmen* (Zhangsan 3pl) ‘Zhangsan and the others’); instead the plural marker is used after the personal name, as discussed in §3.1.7.

The demonstrative pronouns mark relative distinctions from the point of view of the speaker only. There are only proximate and distal forms,<sup>32</sup> and there is no difference of visibility or not, or other factors. Table 5 gives the basic forms and several extended forms:

Table 5. The Qiang demonstrative pronouns

|           | singular   | plural       | locative                                   | locative<br>(side) | extent/<br>method | kind          |
|-----------|------------|--------------|--|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| proximate | <i>tse</i> | <i>tsaha</i> | <i>tse</i> / <i>tsu</i> /<br><i>tsakua</i> | <i>tsexse</i>      | <i>tsəi</i>       | <i>tsahan</i> |
| distal    | <i>the</i> | <i>thaha</i> | <i>tha</i> / <i>thu</i> /<br><i>thakua</i> | <i>thexse</i>      | <i>thəi</i>       | <i>thahan</i> |

Aside from the main locative forms, /tse/ and /tha/, given in Table 5, there are also two other less frequently used forms, /tsu/ and /thu/ that also mean ‘here’ and ‘there’ respectively, but /tsu/ refers to a smaller, more immediate area around the speaker than /tse/, and /thu/ means a place somewhat closer than /tha/. The third set of locative forms given in Table 5 include /-kua/ ‘side’.

The demonstrative pronouns are marked for number in the same way as nouns, by adding [a-ha], with the vowel of the demonstrative pronoun becoming [a] because of the addition of the word /a/ ‘one’, with which it coalesces. The demonstrative pronouns take the same postpositions as nouns, but cannot take the definite marker, as the demonstrative pronouns and the definite markers both fill the same functional slot. They must take a classifier (or numeral plus classifier), or the vowel can be lengthened to represent a classifier (e.g. /tse-ze/ or /tse:/). The one exception to this is the discourse deixis use of /the/ in the phrase /the-wu/ [that-ABL] ‘after that’ to refer to a previously mentioned action or set of actions (see T3:29, T5:130, T5:191, T6:191, T6:228, T6:242, T6:284 for examples). When the number following the

demonstrative pronoun is ‘two’, the combination of pronoun + number + classifier results in [tsəizzi] and [thəizzi]. The same form of the demonstrative pronoun is used for both free pronoun and adjectival uses. Demonstratives are also used in a number of temporal adverbials, such as /tsai/ ‘now’ < /tse/ ‘this’ + /a-i/ ‘one time’. In the Texts demonstrative pronouns often take the prefix /fiɑ-/ , which acts as an intensifier. For example, [fiɑ-tha] would represent a place farther away than [tha] ‘there’.

Following is a list of the interrogative pronouns:

- (3.24)
- |    |                      |   |
|----|----------------------|---|
| a. | <i>sə-(le:)</i>      | ‘who’                                   |
| b. | <i>tca-la ~ tca:</i> | ‘where’                                 |
| c. | <i>ŋiyi</i>          | ‘what’                                  |
| d. | <i>ŋiyi-le:</i>      | ‘which one’                             |
| e. | <i>ŋiyi-la-kua</i>   | ‘which side’ [what-DEF:one-side]        |
| f. | <i>ŋiyi-lai</i>      | ‘what time’ [what-DEF:one:time]         |
| g. | <i>ŋi-kai</i>        | ‘how long (time)’ [what-INDEF:one:time] |
| h. | <i>ŋa-wu / ŋa-we</i> | ‘how much/many’                         |
| i. | <i>ŋiyi-χua-ŋi</i>   | ‘why’ [what-because-ADV]                |
| j. | <i>ŋi-qəs</i>        | ‘how’                                   |
| k. | <i>ŋi-ke:</i>        | ‘how’                                   |
| l. | <i>tcho:</i>         | ‘when’                                  |
| m. | <i>ŋa-tian</i>       | ‘what hour’                             |

The majority of the forms here are built around a general interrogative morpheme [ŋɑ ~ ŋi ~ ŋo ~ ŋa], the most common derived form of which is [ŋi: ~ ŋiyi] ‘what, which’. The forms for ‘who’ and ‘what’ can sometimes take the definite marker /le/, with the meaning of ‘what’ becoming ‘which one’ (‘which side’ also includes this form and /a/ ‘one’). The form for ‘where’ includes the locative postposition /la/. The forms for ‘which one’, ‘which side’, and ‘what time’ have the same structure, the interrogative pronoun [ŋiyi] plus the definite marker, ‘one’, and a classifier, measure word, or locative noun, such as [kua] ‘side’ here, or as in [ŋiyi-la-tshua] ‘which village?’. The form for ‘how long (of time)’ has roughly the same structure, but with the indefinite marker rather than the definite marker. A second option is to have the noun before ‘which’, and so ‘which’ forms a modifier of the noun with the definite marker and classifier:

- (3.25) *tɕiɕua*    *ŋiɣi-le:-ta*                    *le-ŋua?*  
house    which-DEF:CL-LOC    exist-Q  
‘Which house does he live in?’

The expression /*ŋi-qəs*/ [what-form] is used for the sense of ‘how’ in /*peʰʂen ŋi-qəs we*/ [body what-form exist] ‘how is your health?’. The form meaning ‘why’ is that for ‘what’ plus the adverbial marker of cause. The form for ‘what hour?’ is the question particle plus the word for ‘hour’ (< Chinese *diǎn*; possibly a calque of Chinese *jǐdiǎn* ‘what time?’ plus borrowing). The expression [*ŋa-wu*] ‘how much/many’ involves the question word /*ŋa*/ plus /*wu*/ ‘many’. When it is used, it follows the noun it is modifying, just as with numeral plus classifier expressions:

- (3.26) *a-tɕ*                    *dzigũ-ŋawu*                    *ŋuə-ŋua?*  
one-catty    money-how.much    COP-Q  
‘How much money is one catty?’ (i.e., how much does one catty cost; ‘catty’ = one unit of 500 grams)

Other units of time or measurement or classifiers can also be used with the general interrogative particle, as in the following examples:

- (3.27) *the:*    *ŋa-ci-tɕ-ŋo-tɕu-ka*    *zdzyta:*  
3sg    WH-month-GEN-WH-day-LOC    Chengdu:LOC  
*ə-pə-l-ŋua?*  
DIR-arrive-come-Q  
‘When will he arrive in Chengdu?’

- (3.28) *?ile*    *tɕəu-la*                    *mi*                    *ŋa-tɕə*    *zə-i-wa?*  
2pl    home-LOC    person    WH-CL    exist-2pl-Q  
‘How many people do you have at home (in your family)?’

- (3.29) *?ũ-tɕ-tuətɕ*    *ŋa-p*                    *le-ji-wa?*  
2sg-GEN-yng.brother    WH-year                    exist-CSM-Q  
‘How old is your younger brother?’  
(lit.: ‘How many years does your younger brother have?’)



The interrogative pronouns take the same postpositions as lexical nouns, and can appear in any preverbal position in the clause.

(3.30) a. *ʔũ sə-ŋa fi-a-qə-n?*  
 2sg who-COM DIR-go-2sg  
 ‘With whom did you go?’

b. *sə ʔũ-ŋa fi-a-qə?*  
 who 2sg-COM DIR-go  
 ‘Who went with you?’

There is only one unique indefinite pronoun, /iyi/ ‘anything’, though the interrogative pronouns /sə/ ‘who’ and /ŋiyi/ ‘what’ can also be used as indefinite pronouns, as in (3.31)- (3.33a-b). The indefinite pronoun /iyi/ contrasts with the indefinite use of /ŋiyi/ in that /iyi/ is only used with a negated verb, while /ŋiyi/ is only used with a non-negated verb. Contrast (3.33b) and (3.33c).

(3.31) *sə-(le:) kə ctcaq u-lu-tu, sə ca-kə.*  
 who-(DEF:CL) go heart DIR-come-LNK who INDTV-go  
 ‘Let whoever wants to go go.’

(3.32) *qa ŋiyi dzə-ŋi ŋiyi dzə, . . .* (T5:225)  
 1sg what eat-ADV what eat  
 ‘Whatever I eat, (you) will eat, . . .’

(3.33) a. Q: *ʔũ ŋiyi dzə topu-n-a?*  
 2sg what eat like-2sg-Q  
 ‘What would you like to eat?’

b. A: *ŋiyi lə fi-e-si.*  
 what also DIR-allow  
 ‘Anything would be fine.’

c. *pəs-ŋuəŋi iyi lə de-me-zde.* (T6:9-10)  
 today-TOP anything also DIR-NEG-hit  
 ‘(He) didn't hit (kill) anything today.’

Otherwise a construction such as /mi e: le/ ('person' + 'one (plus lengthening representing classifier)' + 'exist') 'there is a person' or a nominalized clause is used for an indefinite referent.

- (3.34) *kə-çtəq-lu-m*      *la-he<sup>h</sup>wu*      *çə-kə-tçi.*  
 go-heart-come-NOM    DEF:one-pl:all    INDTV-go-3pl  
 'Let all that want to go go.'

Reflexive pronouns for first and second person are formed by reduplication of the regular pronouns. In the case of the 3rd person, there are the forms /*ŋiŋi*/ (3sg reflexive) and /*ŋil(e)*/ (3pl reflexive). It is also possible to add the third person pronoun before these latter forms. The reflexive pronouns exhibit person and number differences, as they are based on the regular pronouns, except that there are no dual reflexive forms. Table 6 gives the forms of the reflexive pronouns:

Table 6. The Qiang reflexive pronouns

|   | singular                | plural            |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | <i>qa-qəi</i>           | <i>tçil-tçile</i> |
| 2 | <i>ʔf-ʔf:</i>           | <i>il-ile</i>     |
| 3 | <i>(the:)ŋiŋi ~ ŋi:</i> | <i>ŋil-ŋile</i>   |

The reflexive pronouns can be marked for case, with the same postpositions as nouns. There is no other way than by reduplication of the pronouns to express reflexive meaning.

- (3.35) *ŋiŋi*      *die-çe.*  
 3sgREFL      DIR-die  
 '(S/he) committed suicide.'

The reflexive pronouns are also used as emphatic pronouns. In some cases there is ambiguity between an emphatic and a reflexive use, but case marking can be used to differentiate the two, as in (3.36b,c). It would also be possible to have both an emphatic and reflexive use in the same clause, though this would be unusual.

- (3.36) a. *qaqəi zə-dza.* (< dzete)<sup>33</sup>  
 1sgREFL DIR-hit:1sg  
 ‘I hit myself/I hit it myself.’  
 (ambiguous between emphatic and reflexive)
- b. *qaqəi-wu fi-a-tshua.* (emphatic) (< tshuə)  
 1sgREFL-AGT DIR-smash:1sg  
 ‘I myself smashed it (someone/something).’
- c. *qaqəi-ta fi-a-tshua.* (reflexive) (< tshuə)  
 1sgREFL-DAT DIR-smash:1sg  
 ‘I smashed myself.’

In some cases either type of marking (or no marking) may be possible:

- (3.37) *ʔiʔi:-(wu)/(ta) tʂauku tu-pu-n.*  
 2sgREFL-(AGT)/(DAT) take.care DIR-do-2sg  
 ‘You take care of yourself.’

It is also possible to have benefactive, genitive, and other non-direct-argument reflexives, as in the examples in (3.38a-c).

- (3.38) a. *qaqəi-tə pa:*  
 1sgREFL-GEN buy:PRS:1sg<sup>34</sup>  
 ‘I’ll buy it for myself.’
- b. *ʔiʔi-ŋa tʂe-khue.*  
 2sgREFL-COM NEG.IMP-upset  
 ‘Don’t be mad at yourself.’
- c. *Khumtsi upu-ta kə me-jə,*  
 Khumtsi uncle-DAT thus NEG-say  
*ŋi:-tə-khuə-le: u-tcu-s me-zɿ-ji.*  
 3sgREFL-GEN-dog-DEF:CL DIR-see-NOM NEG-exist-CSM  
 ‘Khumtsi did not tell her uncle that her dog is missing.’  
 (lit.: ‘Khumtsi did not say to her uncle, the seeing of self’s  
 dog does not exist now.’)

As can be seen from (3.38c), the antecedent of a reflexive/emphatic pronoun in Qiang does not have to be in the same clause as the pronoun.

For emphatic genitives, it is possible to have a genitive phrase with a reflexive/emphatic pronoun, as in /qɑqɑi-(tɕ)-fɑ-le:/ (1sgREFL-(GEN)-clothing-DEF:CL) ‘my own clothes’.

Following are a few other forms that have uses like pronouns:

- (3.39) a. *e-ɣlewu* [one-pl:all] ‘we all, all of us’  
 b. *mi* [= ‘person’] ‘other people’  
 c. *nai* [= ‘other’] ‘others’  
 d. *ŋutɕuku* ‘each, individually’  
 e. *ʂəʂe:ˀwu* [exist:REDUP:all] ‘everything; all of them’

### 3.1.3. Locational nouns

One closed class of items within the general class of nouns is the set of locational nouns. There is a complex subset of locational nouns where the form for a locational noun meaning ‘above/upper part’ or ‘below/lower part’ differs depending on the type of location. These are presented in Table 7, along with the locative postpositions they take if postpositions are used (see §3.2.20):

Table 7. Locational nouns for ‘above’ and ‘below’

| type of location  | above/upper part  | below/lower part          |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| mountain          | <i>məq-(ta)</i>   | <i>qəl-(la)~ʂqəl-(la)</i> |
| space             | <i>zuχu-(la)</i>  | <i>guaq-(ta)</i>          |
| river valley      | <i>ŋi-(la)</i>    | <i>khi-(la)</i>           |
| story of building | <i>tɕy-(ta)</i>   | <i>tʂhə-(la)</i>          |
| fireplace         | <i>wətɕi-(la)</i> | <i>wəi-(la)</i>           |
| house             | <i>tɕuχu-(la)</i> | <i>tɕike-(la)</i>         |

Aside from the forms given in Table 7, there are also the following forms:

- (3.40) a. *tɕiqua* ‘inside’  
 b. *zɑχua* ‘inside (deeper inside than /tɕiqua/)’  
 c. *kuɑ-la* ‘outside’  
 d. *tɕhupu* ‘where the sun comes up’

- e. *dzupu* ‘where the sun goes down’
- f. *steke* ‘behind’
- g. *qə:<sup>1</sup>* ‘in front of’
- h. *zeky* ‘between’
- i. *piena* ‘near, (be)side’

The forms for ‘behind’ and ‘in front of’ are also used for the temporal notions ‘after’ and ‘before, long ago’ (see §3.2.21). There is also some metaphorical use of body parts for certain locations, such as the use of /qəpatʂ/ ‘head’ for the top of a ladder (/buzd-te-qəpatʂa:/ [plank.stairs-DEF-head:LOC (LOC realized as a long /a:/ on ‘head’) ‘at the top of the stairs’) in the story “An Orphan” (T3:114).

#### 3.1.4. *Definite, indefinite marking*

In this variety of Qiang it is usual to have either definite or indefinite marking on referential noun phrases. Generics and mass nouns are not marked this way. There are two definite markers, /le/ and /te/; /le/ is used more for animate referents and after nouns that end in voiced segments, while /te/ is used more for inanimate referents and after nouns that end in voiceless segments, though very often they are interchangeable. There is also an indefinite marker, /ke/, which marks newly introduced referents and predicate noun phrases. Newly introduced referents can also be marked with just a number (usually ‘one’) and a classifier. All three of these markers appear after the head noun and post-head adjective, if there is one, in the same position as the demonstrative pronouns, so cannot appear together with the demonstrative pronouns.<sup>35</sup> They must be followed by a classifier or numeral plus classifier, though, as with the demonstrative pronouns, the classifier may simply be reflected in a lengthened vowel. The two definite markers can be used with proper names (though this is not common), but /ke/ cannot be used with proper names. All three can be used to nominalize adjectives (single argument state verbs), e.g. /ŋiq-le:/ or /ŋiq-te:/ ‘the black one’, /ŋiq-ke:/ ‘a black one’, and occasionally to nominalize other verbs, especially existential verbs, as in (3.41a), and when it nominalizes other verbs it can have the sense of a simultaneous action or state, as in (3.41b), or simply a state, as in (3.41c). This latter

sense is often expressed by using [kɑ-han] (INDEF:one-kind) instead of [ke:].

- (3.41) a. *ep lə me-zi ew lə me-zi-ke:*  
 father also NEG-exist mother also NEG-exist-INDEF:CL  
*ɲuə-kəi-tcu.*  
 COP-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘(I) am one who has no father or mother.’
- b. *fiə-zei-ke: tse:-steke da-qə-kəi-stū.*  
 DIR-cry-INDEF:CL this:CL-behind DIR-go-NAR-PART  
 ‘(She) went (followed) behind him crying.’ (T4:16-17)
- c. *kapətʂ tou-ɲuəŋi fiə-tsəi*  
 orphan DEF:one:CL-TOP INT-this.manner  
*mo-qu-ke: zi-kəi.<sup>36</sup>* (T3:99-100)  
 NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL exist-NAR  
 ‘In this way the orphan was not afraid’ (lit.: ‘There was the orphan who was not afraid’).

The use of /ke/ on a predicate noun (a non-referential noun which forms the main semantic content of the predicate) is not obligatory, but it is obligatory if /ke/ is acting as a nominalizer of a predicate noun formed from an adjective or verb.

With dual forms, the number and classifier merge with the (in)definite marker to form [ləzzi], [təzzi], and [kəzzi]. When the plural marker /ɑ-hɑ/ (§3.1.7) is added after any of these forms, the vowel of the definite/indefinite marker is supplanted by [ɑ]: [lahɑ], [tahɑ], [kɑhɑ]. The vowel of the definite marker often changes to [a] when it is followed by the locative postposition /ɬɑ/, but in this combination the vowel of the postposition also changes, so /le:-ɬɑ/ and /te:-ɬɑ/ result in [la:ɬɑ] and [ta:ɬɑ], respectively, in rapid speech. As mentioned in §2.4.2, in some cases the definite or indefinite marker combines with the number ‘one’ and a classifier to form a single syllable, e.g. [tou, lou, kou] (< /te, le, ke/ + [o] ‘one’ + u ‘classifier for round objects and groups’). As mentioned above, the vowel of the (in)definite marker can sometimes be lengthened to represent the marker plus a classifier. That is, rather than have a classifier following, for example, /ke/, the vowel is

lengthened, e.g. /ke-ze/ > /ke:/. If a referent is known to the speaker, but not to the hearer, then the indefinite form is used; there is no difference in marking of specific vs. non-specific referents. Space relations between referents do not affect the form of the definite marking. Following are some examples of the differences in meaning the use of the markers can make:

- (3.42) a. *the: sum-ke-ze (or -ke:) ηuə.*  
 3sg teacher-INDEF-CL COP  
 ‘He is a teacher.’
- b. *the: sum-le: ηuə.*  
 3sg teacher-DEF:CL COP  
 ‘He is the teacher.’
- (3.43) a. *qa pi-le: me<sup>1</sup>z̥a.* (< me<sup>1</sup>z̥)  
 1sg pen-DEF:CL search:1sg  
 ‘I am looking for the pen.’
- b. *qa pi-a-la me<sup>1</sup>z̥a.* (< me<sup>1</sup>z̥)  
 1sg pen-one-CL search:1sg  
 ‘I am looking for a pen.’
- (3.44) a. *zdzyta: kə-tc t̥shetsə-e-ze*  
 Chengdu:LOC go-GEN car-one-CL (one of several cars)  
 ‘a car that is going to Chengdu’
- b. *zdzyta: kə-tc t̥shetsə-le:*  
 Chengdu:LOC go-GEN car-DEF:CL (one specific car)  
 ‘the car that is going to Chengdu’

Following is the first part of one Qiang story, “An Orphan”, to show how the definite and indefinite markers are used in context.

- (3.45) *qe:<sup>1</sup>-qe:<sup>1</sup>-tu fiala kapəts-kou*  
 before-before-LNK INT orphan-INDEF:one:CL  
*ηuə-kei-tcu, ep lə me-z̥i ew*  
 COP-INF:HS-PART father also NEG-exist mother

ə      *me-z̥i-ke:*                                      *ŋuə-kəi-tcu.*  
 also   NEG-exist-**INDEF:CL**                      COP-INF:HS-PART  
*tu*      *fiala*      *ʃkup-le:-ŋuəŋi*                      *fia-tsu*  
 RESULT INT      orangutan-**DEF:CL**-TOP      INT-here  
*kapətʃ-tou*                                      *dzə*      *kantçi-kui-tcu,*  
 orphan-**DEF:one:CL**                      eat              think/want-INF:HS-PART  
*kapətʃ-lou*                                      *dzə*      *kantei:*              *tu*              *fiala,*  
 orphan-**DEF:one:CL**                      eat      think/want      RESULT INT  
*kapətʃ-tou*                                      *gəs-ta*              *fia-xtʃəpa:-jə-tu*  
 orphan-**DEF:one:CL**                      night-LOC      DIR-dark:PRS-REP-LNK  
*qu-kəpə-kəi-ʃ, . . .*                                      (T3:1-7)  
 be.afraid-HABIT-INF:HS-LNK  
 ‘Long ago (there was) an orphan, one with no father or mother.  
 The orangutan wanted to eat the orphan, wanted to eat the  
 orphan, (so) the orphan was afraid at night, when it will get dark  
 again, . . .’

In the first line the orphan is introduced with the /ke/ indefinite marker (in this case combined with the number ‘one’ and a classifier into a single syllable), and in the second line, in giving a characterization of the orphan as a person with no father or mother, the indefinite marker is again used, but after that (in lines four and five) the two definite markers are interchangeably used in referring to this referent. It is interesting that the /ʃkup/ ‘orangutan’ is not introduced into the story, but is assumed at its first mention to be accessible to the audience. The /ʃkup/ shows up in a lot of Qiang stories,<sup>37</sup> and is the typical bogeyman, and so is known to all the Qiang. It is for this reason that it does not need to be introduced.

### 3.1.5. Numerals and quantifiers

The cardinal numeral system is a simple decimal system, with ‘one’ to ‘ten’ being unique forms, ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ being ‘ten’ + ‘one’, etc., ‘twenty’ to ‘ninety’ being ‘two’ + ‘ten’, etc., and the numerals in between being ‘two’ + ‘ten’ + ‘one’, etc., though the forms for ‘ten’ used in ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ and ‘twenty’ and up are different: /ha/ is used for the former, and /su/ is used for the latter. The forms of the basic



numerals differ somewhat in word initial and non-initial position; most notable, the prefixes are dropped from ‘three’, ‘four’, ‘six’, and ‘nine’. As mentioned in §2.3, this is significant because more recent word formations generally preserve the prefixes of second syllables. The bisyllabic numerals then must have been formed and fossilized at a time before the prefixes became inseparable parts of the root morphemes. The element meaning ‘five’ in ‘fifteen’, [-ŋɯ] more closely reflects the original form of the word ‘five’ in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (*\*b/l-ŋa*). It is unclear whether the initial /ɤ-/ in /ɤua/ is the original prefix and has preempted the initial, or is a reflex of the original initial *\*ŋ-*. Counting of the numbers is done without classifiers: [ɑ, jə, xsə, ɣzə . . .].

All of the forms are the original Qiang forms, except for ‘zero’ and ‘ten thousand’, which are Chinese loan words. There are variant forms for ‘one’ ([dzə ~ tʃi]) which appear in ‘eleven’, ‘twenty-one’, ‘thirty-one’, etc., a form for ‘two’ ([ŋi]) which appears only in ‘twelve’, and a form for ‘three’ ([si]) which appears only in ‘thirteen’. The forms [dzə ~ tʃi] and /-ŋi/ representing ‘one’ and ‘two’ in combinations seem to be more direct descendants of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms *\*g-tik* ≠ *\*g-tyak* and *\*g-ni-s/k* respectively (the reconstructed forms are from Matisoff 1997). Following are the basic numbers and combinations:

|                          |             |   |                |
|--------------------------|-------------|---|----------------|
| (3.46) <i>lin</i>        | ‘zero’      | <i>χtʃu</i>                               | ‘six’          |
| <i>a</i>                 | ‘one’       | <i>ctcə</i>                               | ‘seven’        |
| <i>jə</i>                | ‘two’       | <i>khe<sup>1</sup> ~ khe<sup>38</sup></i> | ‘eight’        |
| <i>xsə</i>               | ‘three’     | <i>zɣuə</i>                               | ‘nine’         |
| <i>ɣzə</i>               | ‘four’      | <i>hotcu</i>                              | ‘ten’          |
| <i>ɤua</i>               | ‘five’      |   |                |
| <i>hadzɿ ~ hatʃi</i>     | ‘eleven’    | <i>jusutʃi</i>                            | ‘twenty-one’   |
| <i>haŋi</i>              | ‘twelve’    | <i>jusujə</i>                             | ‘twenty-two’   |
| <i>hasi</i>              | ‘thirteen’  | <i>jusuxsə</i>                            | ‘twenty-three’ |
| <i>haɕ</i>               | ‘fourteen’  | <i>xsusu</i>                              | ‘thirty’       |
| <i>haŋɯ</i>              | ‘fifteen’   | <i>ɣzusu</i>                              | ‘forty’        |
| <i>hatʃu</i>             | ‘sixteen’   | <i>ɤosu</i>                               | ‘fifty’        |
| <i>hae</i>               | ‘seventeen’ | <i>χtʃusu</i>                             | ‘sixty’        |
| <i>hakhe<sup>1</sup></i> | ‘eighteen’  | <i>ctcusu</i>                             | ‘seventy’      |
| <i>hagɯ</i>              | ‘nineteen’  | <i>khesu ~ khe<sup>1</sup>su</i>          | ‘eighty’       |
| <i>jusu</i>              | ‘twenty’    | <i>zɣusu</i>                              | ‘ninety’       |

|                              |     |               |        |
|------------------------------|-----|---------------|--------|
| <i>e-khe</i> ~ <i>e-khe'</i> | 100 | <i>a-stu</i>  | 1,000  |
| <i>e-khe-ŋa-e:(eze)</i>      | 101 | <i>a-ɸuan</i> | 10,000 |

There are no ordinal numerals in Qiang; only ‘the most front one’ (= ‘the first one’), ‘the one after this (one)’ (= ‘the next one’), ‘the one after that’ (= ‘the third one’), and ‘the last one’ have special forms, but they do not involve the use of numbers.

- (3.47) a. *tɕi-qə:'le:* (most-front-DEF:CL) ‘the first one’  
 b. *tsə-steke-le:* (this-back-DEF:CL) ‘the second/next one’  
 c. *thə-steke-le:* (that-back-DEF:CL) ‘the third one’  
 d. *tɕi-steke-le:* (most-back-DEF:CL) ‘the last one’

Above the first three, the cardinal numbers plus classifiers are used as ordinal numbers, e.g. /ɣzə-ze/ (‘four’ + classifier) ‘the fourth (one)’ (= ‘four (of something)’).

Following are some other quantifiers:

- (3.48) a. *mi'wu* [person:all] ‘each one’  
 b. *a-ha* [one-pl] ‘some/a few (number)’  
 c. *e-ze* [one-CL] ‘anyone’  
 d. *e-ze e-ze* [one-CL] ‘one by one’  
 e. *a-za* ~ *a-zə* [one-CL] ‘a little, some (quantity)’  
 f. *əizi* [one:two:CL] ‘several’  
 g. *a-i* [one-time] ‘a little while’  
 h. *hodzu-ma-xtɕe* ‘ten odd’  
 i. *aɕpala* ‘somewhere’  
 j. *iɣi-lə* ‘what also; anything’  
 k. *le'wu* [pl:all] ‘everyone/body; all’<sup>39</sup>  
 l. *ɕəɕe:'wu* [exist:REDUP:all] ‘everything; all’  
 m. *fi:a:n* ‘about’

The modifier [a:n ~ fi:a:n] ‘about’ follows a numeral expression:

- (3.49) *ɣzusu-ŋa-a-ɣau-fi:a:n* *tɕua.* (< tɕuə)  
 forty-and-one-size-about wear(shoes):1sg  
 ‘I wear about a size 41 (of shoes).’

### 3.1.6. Classifiers and measure words

Classifiers are necessary whenever a number, demonstrative pronoun or (in)definite marker is used, though often the classifier is simply reflected in a long vowel on the demonstrative pronoun or (in)definite marker. The long vowel can represent almost any classifier. That is, there is a neutralization of classifiers in rapid speech when the classifier is replaced by the lengthened vowel. Only one classifier can be used with a noun at any one time. The classifiers in Qiang are not used to mark specific referents the way they are in, for example, Cantonese, though a number plus classifier can be used without a head noun to refer to a referent (see §3.1.5).

The classifiers can be divided semantically into measure words and sortal classifiers, depending on whether they represent quantities rather than forms/functions, but syntactically they pattern in the same way. A number of both types, particularly measure words, are clearly related to nouns, e.g. /qu/ ‘mouthful’ < /ɣqu/ ‘mouth’, /tɕa/ ‘bowlfull’ < /tɕa/ ‘bowl’; /sa/ ‘classifier for sections’ < /saq/ ‘joint’. Following is a list of some common classifiers (the form of the number ‘one’ is given with each classifier to show how it varies due to harmony with the vowel of the classifier—the vowels of all of the numbers from ‘one’ to ‘ten’, except for ‘six’, ‘eight’, and ‘nine’ harmonize with the vowel of the classifier; numbers above ten do not harmonize with the classifier):

- (3.50) *e-ze*      General (default) classifier, used for people, houses, belts, and many other types of objects, particularly if one is unsure of the usual classifier used.
- a-la*      Used for stick-like, long, thin objects, and clothes (native word).
- a-pa*      Used for long stick-like objects (where the stick is a handle, e.g. a broom; < Chinese *bǎ*).
- e-xɕe*      Used for one item of things that usually come in pairs, such as shoes and chopsticks.
- e-tue*      One pair (< Chinese *dù*).
- e-tsi*      One pair (native word).
- o-u*      Used generally for (small) round objects (such as steamed bread), but in some cases also for people (with the same semantics as [eze]).

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>a-w</i>               | Used for piles of things (cf. the verb /bə/ ‘to pile’ which becomes [wə ~ w] when there is a prefix, e.g. [təw] ‘piled’). <sup>40</sup>   |
| <i>a-tʂ</i>              | Used only for people (there seems to be no difference in the semantics or occasion of use of the three classifiers that can be used for people, though there is a difference in frequency, with [eze] being the most frequent). |
| <i>e-pe</i>              | One bowl (of something).  |
| <i>a-tʂa</i>             | One bowl (of something) (< /tʂa/ ‘wooden bowl’).  |
| <i>o-z<sub>1</sub>gu</i> | One tree.   |
| <i>o-pu</i>              | One liter (of something).   |
| <i>a-zə</i>              | A little bit (of something).  |
| <i>e-fi ~ phi</i>        | Used for flat, thin things, such as a leaf.   |
| <i>e-pi</i>              | The form for a unit of currency (< Chinese <i>bì</i> ).   |
| <i>o-qpi</i>             | Used for a family of people.  |
| <i>e-kue</i>             | Used for a backload of things (< /kue/ ‘to transport’).   |
| <i>a-qə</i>              | Used for a string of small things, such as beads.   |
| <i>a-quət</i>            | One bushel (of something).  |
| <i>a-sa</i>              | One clause or other stretch of speech (< /sa/ ‘sound’).   |
| <i>o-xo</i>              | One box (of something) (possibly < Chinese <i>hé</i> ).   |
| <i>a-sa</i>              | Used for sections (e.g. room of a house), joints (cf. /saq/ ‘joint’).   |
| <i>a-tu</i>              | One handspan, thumb to tip of extended middle finger (< PTB <i>*twa</i> ).  |
| <i>e-ze</i>              | One fathom (finger to finger with arms outstretched).   |
| <i>a-p(ə)</i>            | One year (of time/age).   |
| <i>a-bua</i>             | One step (cf. /buatsi/ ‘to step over/across’). Also used as a classifier for houses in some dialects (e.g. Qugu).   |
| <i>e-ʂe</i>              | One lifetime.   |
| <i>a-s</i>               | One day.  |
| <i>a-c(ə)</i>            | One month.  |
| <i>o-lu</i>              | One ounce (< Chinese <i>liǎng</i> ).  |
| <i>e-pen</i>             | One volume (< Chinese <i>běn</i> ).   |
| <i>e-phin</i>            | One bottle (< Chinese <i>píng</i> ).  |
| <i>a-tʂan</i>            | Used for flat things, like tables (< Chinese <i>zhāng</i> ).  |
| <i>a-tc</i>              | One catty (a unit of 500 grams) (< Chinese <i>jīn</i> ).  |
| <i>a-qəp</i>             | One can/bottle (< /qəp/ ‘bottle’).  |

- a-gyø* One backbasketful (cf. /*guaχga*/ ‘backbasket’); also used as a classifier for houses.  
*o-zbu* One team (of people).  
*a-han* One kind/type (sometimes pronounced [*χan*]).

Of the two words for ‘pair’, /*tsi*/ is used for shoes, chopsticks, and (legs of) pants, while /*tue*/ is used for earrings and bracelets.

Some of the classifiers are borrowed from Chinese. A borrowed word will not necessarily take a borrowed classifier, though. Where the semantics of the Chinese word fit a native classifier, then a native classifier will be used. There are also cases where a native Qiang word is used with a borrowed classifier. Following are examples of these different possibilities.

Qiang word-Qiang classifier:

- (3.51) a. *wets e-tsi*  
 chopsticks one-pair  
 ‘one pair of chopsticks’
- b. *khuə e-ze*  
 dog one-CL  
 ‘one dog’
- c. *japa e-xʂe*  
 hand one-CL  
 ‘one hand’

Qiang word-Chinese classifier:

- (3.52) a. *dzigy e-pi*  
 money one-CL  
 ‘one dollar’
- b. *ləyz e-pen*  
 book one-CL  
 ‘one book’
- c. *tolu a-pa*  
 broom one-CL  
 ‘one broom’

Chinese word-Qiang classifier:

- (3.53) a. *phiçye e-tsi*  
 leather.boot one-CL  
 ‘a pair of leather boots’
- b. *thantsə e-ze*  
 blanket one-CL  
 ‘one blanket’
- c. *pi: a-la*  
 pen one-CL  
 ‘one pen’

Chinese word-Chinese classifier:

- (3.54) a. *phinko a-tc*  
 apple one-catty  
 ‘one catty of apples’
- b. *tşuats a-tşan*  
 table one-CL  
 ‘one table’
- c. *phitçəu e-phin*  
 beer one-bottle  
 ‘one bottle of beer’

Verbal action classifiers precede the verb they modify. They are often derived from the verbs themselves, as in the case of (3.55c,d) below. Following are some examples (verb forms that might be used with these classifiers are given in imperative form in parentheses in the normal word order):

- (3.55) a. *a-ş (ulu)* ‘(come in) one time’  
 b. *o-qu (ətç)* ‘(eat) one bite’ (cf. *şqu* ‘mouth’)  
 c. *e-çhi (təçhi)* ‘(hit) one time’  
 d. *a-tşu (ətşu)* ‘(kick) one time’  
 e. *a-xui (ək)* ‘(go) one time’ (< Chinese *húi*)  
 f. *a-i (uzulu)* ‘(wait) a little while’  
 g. *e-zdue (han)* ‘(sleep) one time’

## 3.1.7. Number marking

Number marking on nouns involves only singular and plural. Singular is unmarked. There are two plural markers, /a-ha/ [one-pl] ‘a few’, which is used for the vast majority of referent types, and [le] (< yle ‘few’), which is used only on pronouns, kinship terms, and some nouns referring to people. Following are examples of these latter two uses (see §3.1.2 for its use with pronouns):

- (3.56) a. *apə-le*                      b. *upu-le*                      c. *itei-le*                      d. *tɕymi-le*  
           ‘grandfathers’                  ‘uncles’                      ‘aunts’                      ‘children’

The full form of this latter marker, /yle/, appears only after the definite marker (possibly because the reduced form of the plural marker has the same form as the definite marker—the two are distinguished by the fact that the definite marker is followed by a classifier or has a long vowel), e.g. /tɕymi-le-yle/ (child-DEF-pl) ‘the children’, /wutʂhu-pu-m-le-yle/ (help-do-NOM-DEF-pl) ‘the helpers’; in all other cases the form is [le].

Aside from this use of [le] (/yle/), there is no animate vs. inanimate or other distinction in plural marking, all types take /a-ha/. The plural marker follows the definite marker or demonstrative pronoun, if there is one. It was mentioned in §3.1.4 above that the vowel of the definite/indefinite marker is supplanted by the /a/ of /a-ha/, becoming [laha], [taha], or [kaha]; this is true also of the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. /the/ + /a-ha/ > [thaha]. When there is no definite marker or demonstrative pronoun, /a-ha/ can be used alone. Following are some examples of the use of /a-ha/:

- (3.57) a. *qhal-la-ha*                      *qa*    *de-l.*                      (< le)  
           steamed.bun-DEF:one-pl    1sg    DIR-give  
           ‘Give me the steamed buns.’
- b. *qhal-tha-ha*                      *qa*    *de-l.*  
           steamed.bun-that:one-pl    1sg    DIR-give  
           ‘Give me those steamed buns.’

- c. *qhal-la-ha* *je-wa.*  
steamed.bun-DEF:one-pl delicious-very  
'The steamed buns are very delicious.'
- d. *the: qhal-a-ha* *zə-p.*  
3sg steamed.bun-one-pl DIR-buy  
'He bought some steamed buns.'

A less prototypical use of the plural marking is when it follows a proper name in order to refer to that person 'and others', as in the following example:

- (3.58) *tɕiqua-la* *upu-bəs-la-ha-ŋuəŋi* *ci*  
inside-LOC uncle-snake-DEF:one-pl-TOP liquor  
*tʂhe-kəi-stũ,* (T4:57-58)  
drink-INF:HS-PART  
'Uncle Snake and others are drinking inside.'

Plural marking is not used when a numeral + classifier phrase is used, and when plural marking is used, there is only one token of the number marking within a noun phrase. That is, there is no number marking on adjectives in agreement with nouns. In a noun phrase containing two coordinated plural noun phrases there may be one token of the plural at the end of the total noun phrase or one token at the end of each of the two coordinated noun phrases, e.g. [puŋu (la-ha) ŋa khuə la-ha] (cat-(DEF:one-pl) COM dog DEF:one-pl) 'the cats and the dogs'. Number marking on verbs is part of the person marking system (see §4.3.2) and unrelated to this system.

### 3.2. Nominal relational morphology

In this section we discuss the forms and uses of relational morphology, essentially postpositions, which express relations between the verb and its arguments or between the arguments themselves, but also word order. In this section we are only dealing with marking which appears on the noun phrase; for relational morphology marked on the verb, see Section 4.3.



The semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a clause are mainly expressed by word order and postpositions. Postpositions are used for marking some topics, some agents, instruments, genitives, goals, recipients, locatives, ablatives, allatives, perlatives, temporal expressions, comitatives, and comparatives, among others. There is no vocative marking postposition. Postpositions are generally used alone, but there are some instances where a locative and the ablative postposition, or a semantic postposition (e.g. a locative postposition) and the topic marker, are used together. The postpositions are enclitic on the noun phrase, that is, they follow whatever elements appear in the noun phrase and generally form a phonological unit with the noun phrase. The use of postpositions after nominalized verbs or clauses is the same as after non-derived nouns and noun phrases.

Below we will discuss each of the roles a noun phrase can play in a clause, and its marking when it has that role. See Section 3.2.22 for a form-function summary of the relational marking.

### 3.2.1. *Topic*

The topic is the first noun phrase or postpositional phrase in a clause, regardless of its semantic role, and sometimes there is a secondary topic after the first topic. If there are two topics, one is usually a scene-setting temporal or locative adverbial phrase. The topic may be a lexical noun, a pronoun, or a nominalized sentential complement (with or without overt nominalization marking). It is optional to use the topic marker /ŋuəŋi/ after a topic, and when there are multiple topics it is possible for there to be marking on the second topic and not the first, as in (3.59b), below, or on both topics, as in (3.59c-d). That is, there could be no overt topic marking on any topic, or there could be marking only on the first topic, or marking only on the second, or marking on both, depending on which topic(s) the speaker wants to emphasize. This marking is unlike the other types of marking to be discussed below, as it marks a pragmatic rather than a semantic status. Following are some examples of its use:

- (3.59) a. *dzə-ŋuən*i**    *qa*    *the:-ta*    *kə-ji-wa*.  
 affair-TOP    1sg    3sg-LOC    thus-say-3sgU:1sg  
 ‘I told him about the affair.’
- b. *təiqua-la*    *upu-bəs-la-ha-ŋuən*i**    *ci*  
 inside-LOC    uncle-snake-DEF:one-pl-TOP    liquor  
*tʂhe-kəi-stū*, . . .    (T4:57-58)  
 drink-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘Uncle Snake and others are drinking inside, . . .’
- c. *tša-tau-tu-ŋuən*i**    *kapətʂ-tou-ŋuən*i**  
 this:one-time-LNK-TOP    orphan-DEF:one:CL-TOP  
*tša-χsa<sup>4</sup>wu*    *gul*    *fiə-se-kei-stu* . . .    (T3:79-80)  
 this:one-few:all    friend    DIR-make-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘This time, the orphan had made friends with all these, . . .’
- d. *təiqua-la-ŋuən*i**    *təy-le:-ŋuən*i**    *voi-kə-m*  
 inside-LOC-TOP    chicken-DEF:CL-TOP    call-go-NOM  
*he-ci-kui-stū*, . . .    (T4:25-26)  
 DIR-send-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘(Uncle Snake) while inside sent the chicken to come and call, . . .’

There may even be three topics marked in a clause, as in (3.60) (in this case the first topic is marked by position alone, while the second and third are marked by the topic marker):

- (3.60) *ma:-le:-wu*    *a-s-meqa-ŋuən*i**    *ŋiu-ŋuən*i**  
 Mom-DEF:CL-AGT    one-day-each-TOP    wool-TOP  
*a-s*    *pan-tcin-wu*    *pan-tcin*    *tə-tʂhə-ŋi* . . .  
 one-day    half-kilo-INST    half-catty    DIR-weigh-ADV  
 ‘Each day Mom (takes) half a catty of wool and weighs it (to make yarn balls).’

The topic may also be a clausal complement or complex noun phrase in sentence-initial position. In this case it may or may not be followed by the topic marker:

- (3.61) a. *[ʔũ pəs ma-k] fie-mə-si.*  
 2sg today NEG-go DIR-NEG-allow  
 ‘You cannot not go today.’  
 (lit.: ‘Your not going is not allowed.’)
- b. *[pətsa-ŋi-zə-pə-ji-panə-la-ha]-ŋuən*i* qa*  
 just.now-ADV-DIR-buy-CSM-thing-DEM:one-pl-TOP 1sg  
*the: de-l-wa.* (< le + wə + a)  
 3sg DIR-give-3sgU:1sg  
 ‘I gave him the things that were just bought.’

There is also a “double topic” construction similar to that described for Chinese and Japanese, where there is a genitive or part-whole relation between the first and second topics, and in this case it is possible to have a topic marker after the first noun phrase in the construction:<sup>41</sup>

- (3.62) *the:-ŋuən*i* səkue zdzi.*  
 3sg-TOP stomach pain  
 ‘His stomach hurts.’

The topic marker is often used for contrastive topics, as in (3.63) (from T6:17-18):

- (3.63) *pitc-ŋuən*i* zmətʂi spi-ʂ, qə:ʔ-ŋuən*i* juanwai zmə.*  
 now-TOP emperor call-LNK before-TOP yuanwai be.named  
 ‘Now he’s called emperor; in the past, he was called yuanwai.’

In a noun phrase with a numeral expression modifying the head, the topic marker can appear between the head and the numeral expression, as in (3.64):

- (3.64) *z**bə**-ŋuən*i* xsə-zi zə-p-ŋ*i* tca**ka**-la*  
 yak-TOP three-CL DIR-buy-ADV cowpen-LOC  
*fi**a**-zdzy-ŋ*i* zi-zə-kui-tcu, . . .* (T5:69-70)  
 DIR-tether-ADV exist-CAUS-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘(He) had three yaks (he) had bought and tethered in the cowpen.’

In the sections to follow, we will state whether the noun phrase representing the particular role being discussed can be followed by the topic marker or not.

### 3.2.2. *Single direct argument of an intransitive verb*

The single direct argument of an intransitive verb is the only argument that is semantically necessary for the verb to be used in a clause. All other arguments are oblique arguments, are optional, and when present in a clause, are marked by some sort of relational morphology showing their non-direct status. The direct argument of an intransitive verb can be of at least two different semantic types, actor (including experiencer) or undergoer. In Qiang clauses where there is an intransitive verb, the single direct argument always precedes the verb, and is often in sentence-initial position, but may be preceded by a temporal or locative adverb(ial). There is no word order difference based on information structure (as is found, e.g. in Italian and Chinese, where the direct argument of an intransitive verb can occur after rather than before the verb if that argument is not topical). The single direct argument of an intransitive verb is generally a topic, and so can be followed by the topic marker /*ŋuən̩i*/, but no semantically based marking can be used, whether the argument is an actor or an undergoer (e.g., neither the agentive marker /-wu/ or the dative /-ta/ can be used with the single argument of an intransitive verb, though the locative and ablative markers can be used for a second non-direct argument). There is no difference whether the noun phrase is a pronoun or a lexical noun. Following are examples of agentive and non-agentive arguments:

Agentive:

(3.65) *qa*         *təu-la*         *ka:*                                 (< kə)  
           1sg         home-LOC         go:PRS:1sg  
           ‘I’m going to go home.’

(3.66) *the:*         *jəts-le:-ta*         *o-zu.*                                 (< dzu)  
           3sg         chair-DEF:CL-LOC         DIR-sit  
           ‘He sat down on the chair.’

- (3.67) a. *the: tɕy-ta-wu*                      *fiŋ-χsu.*  
 3sg building-LOC-ABL      DIR-jump  
 ‘He jumped from a/the building.’
- b. *the: tsə-ka*                      *βlu.*  
 3sg water-LOC      swim  
 ‘He is swimming in the river.’

Non-agentive:

- (3.68) a. *khuαβl-le:*                      *die-ʒe.*  
 puppy-DEF:CL      DIR-die  
 ‘The puppy died.’
- (3.69) a. *me:ʹ*                      *de-ci!*  
 rain      DIR-fall  
 ‘It’s raining!’
- b. *mə*                      *χqa.*  
 sky      clear  
 ‘The sky is clear.’
- c. *məsi*                      *ə-tsy.*  
 sun      DIR-shine  
 ‘The sun is out.’
- (3.70) *the: tɕy-ta-wu*                      *dzəq*                      *fiα-lə.*  
 3sg      building-LOC-ABL      floor                      DIR-come  
 ‘He fell down from a/the building.’

It is also possible to have a non-referential/impersonal subject, but again the marking (i.e., the lack of postposition, the word order) is the same:

- (3.71) *mi*                      *wu-ηua,*                      *mo-wu-ηua?*  
 people                      many-Q                      NEG-many-Q  
 ‘Are there many people?’

One subtype of intransitive clause is an exception to the rule given above in that it has two unmarked noun phrases. This is the double-topic construction mentioned in §3.2.1, for example (3.62), above, and (3.72a-b), below. Even though there are two unmarked noun phrases,

the clause is intransitive, as the primary topic of the clause is not acting on the secondary topic, but instead has a possessive relation with it. Although there is a possessive relation between the referents of, for example, [the:] ‘he’ and [qəpatʂ] ‘head’ in (3.72a) (the two topics), no genitive marking can appear between the two noun phrases, so they cannot be considered a single noun phrase. The latter noun phrase, while part of a comment about the primary topic, also cannot be considered part of the predication, as if an adverb is added to the predicate, it would follow the secondary topic, not precede it.

- (3.72) a. *the: qəpatʂ zdzi.*                      b. *the: ku            ʂa.*  
           3sg head ache                                3sg stomach runs  
           ‘He has a headache.’                      ‘He has diarrhea.’

### 3.2.3. *Actor of a transitive verb*

The actor of a transitive or ditransitive verb is the argument that performs, either volitionally or not, or experiences the action or state specified by the verb. Depending on the semantics of the verb and the context, the actor may be agentive, or it may be non-agentive, i.e., a force, an effector, or an experiencer. In both transitive and ditransitive clauses, if the word order is <Actor-(Recipient/Goal)-Undergoer-Verb>, that is, when the actor is the topic, then the noun phrase representing the actor need not take any agentive marking. With few exceptions, this is true regardless of whether the noun phrase is a noun or a pronoun, or whether the referent is first, second, or third person, or whether the argument is agentive or non-agentive, and is true for all aspects. The topic marker can be used after the noun phrase, though, to emphasize the topical nature of the actor referent. The person marking on the verb generally reflects the person and number of the actor, regardless of whether the actor is agentive or non-agentive. Following are some examples:

## Agentive:

- (3.73) a. *the: pautʂə tse.*  
 3sg newspaper look.at/read  
 ‘He is reading a/the newspaper.’
- b. *qa pautʂə tsa.* (< tse + a)  
 1sg newspaper look.at/read:1sg  
 ‘I am reading a/the newspaper.’
- c. *?ũ pautʂə tse-n.*  
 2sg newspaper look.at/read-2sg  
 ‘You are reading a/the newspaper.’
- (3.74) *qa stuaha tcha.* (< tchə)  
 1sg rice/food eat:1sg  
 ‘I am eating.’
- (3.75) *χumtʂi zətchaq-e-ze fi-a-tʂ.*  
 Xumtʂi rabbit-one-CL DIR-pierce(kill)  
 ‘Xumtʂi killed a rabbit.’
- (3.76) a. *the: fa χuəla.* b. *the: sə gue.*  
 3sg clothes wash 3sg firewood chop  
 ‘He is washing clothes.’ ‘He is chopping firewood.’

## Non-agentive:

- (3.77) a. *χumtʂi khumtʂi<sup>42</sup> topu.*  
 Xumtʂi Khumtʂi like  
 ‘Xumtʂi likes Khumtʂi.’
- b. *qa khumtʂi topu-a.*  
 1sg Khumtʂi like-1sg  
 ‘I like Khumtʂi.’

- c. *ʔũ khumtsi topu-n.*  
 2sg Khumtsi like-2sg  
 ‘You like Khumtsi.’

- (3.78) *qa the:-tɕ-zəwa me-ɕtɕa.* (< ɕtɕe)  
 1sg 3sg-GEN-word NEG-believe:1sg  
 ‘I don’t believe what he says.’

- (3.79) *the: isəu pə.*  
 3sg sneeze do  
 ‘He sneezed.’

There is an agentive marking postposition /-wu/, but generally only when there is marked word order, or when there is a need to emphasize the agentivity of the actor, is the agentive marker used after the noun phrase representing the actor, as in the following example:

- (3.80) *the:-tɕ pi:-xsə-la sum-wu de-l-ji ŋuə.*  
 3sg-GEN pen-three-CL teacher-AGT DIR-give-CSM COP  
 ‘The teacher gave him three pens.’

In this example, because the noun phrase representing the actor is not in the clause-initial topic position, in order to avoid ambiguity in the assignment of actor status (especially as the actor and recipient are both third-person singular referents, so person marking on the verb is of no assistance in identifying the actor), the agentive marker /-wu/ must appear after /sum/ ‘teacher’.

Consider the following two clauses:

- (3.81) a. *χumtʂi-(wu) khumtsi zə-dzə-u.* (< dzete)  
 χumtʂi-(AGT) khumtsi DIR-hit-VIS  
 ‘χumtʂi hit Khumtsi.’
- b. *khumtsi χumtʂi-wu zə-dze-u.* (< dzete)  
 khumtsi χumtʂi-AGT DIR-hit-VIS  
 ‘Khumtsi was hit by χumtʂi.’



In (3.81a), it is not necessary to have the agentive marker after the noun phrase representing the actor. If it is used, it is to emphasize that *χumtši*, and not someone else, is the actor. In (3.81b), as the noun phrase representing the actor is not in initial position, the agentive marker must be used. (This is not a passive clause, but the English passive translation comes closest to approximating the pragmatics of the word order difference.) This agentive marker can only be used on the actor of transitive clauses; it cannot be used in intransitive clauses.

As there has been no grammaticalization of a passive construction in Qiang (in the sense of a construction in which the actor of the verb does not appear as a direct argument and the verb is intransitive), in order to take the undergoer's perspective in presenting an action, generally the noun phrase representing the undergoer will be put in the clause-initial topic position, and possibly take the topic-marking postposition.<sup>43</sup> In this case the noun phrase representing the actor must take the agentive marking, otherwise the meaning might be unclear. In this regard, compare the following three clauses:

- (3.82) a. *the: qa dzete.*  
           3sg 1sg hit  
           ‘He is hitting me.’
- b. *qa the:-wu zə-dze.* (< dzete)  
           1sg 3sg-AGT DIR-hit  
           ‘I was hit by him.’
- c. *the: qa-wu zə-dza.* (< dzete)  
           3sg 1sg-AGT DIR-hit:1sg  
           ‘He was hit by me.’

In some cases, even when the word order is actor-undergoer, if the flow of action is marked (e.g. a third person referent is acting on a first person referent), or if the actor is inanimate, then agent marking is often used for clarity, as in the following examples:

- (3.83) *mi-wu qa zə-dzi.*  
           person-AGT 1sg DIR-hit  
           ‘Somebody hit me.’

- (3.84) *moxu-wu qa da-tuə-z-(sa).*  
 wind-AGT 1sg DIR-fall.over-CAUS-1sgU  
 ‘The wind knocked me over.’
- (3.85) *tshəma-wu qa-dzoquq-ta ə-tɕ-(sa).*  
 thorn-AGT 1sg-foot-LOC DIR-pierce-1sgU  
 ‘A thorn pierced my foot.’

These last two examples are evidence that non-animate actors can take the agentive marker /-wu/, so the condition on the use of /-wu/ is not related to volitionality. (In these two examples there is no need to mark the number or definiteness of the actor, and the 1sg non-actor marking is not obligatory; it would be used only for emphasizing one’s affectedness.)

If on the other hand the semantic relations are clear given the nature of the referents and the action involved, then even with marked word order the agent marking is not necessary, as in the following example:

- (3.86) *khuə-le: qa zə-p-ji ŋuə.*  
 dog-DEF:CL 1sg DIR-buy-CSM COP  
 ‘The dog was bought by me. / It was me who bought the dog.’

People buy dogs, dogs do not buy people, so even with marked word order and no agentive marking, the relationship between the two referents is still clear.

In many cases it is possible to omit the noun phrase representing the actor, particularly when the person and number of the actor and/or a non-actor animate argument are reflected on the verb (see §4.3.2). Following are some examples where there is no noun phrase representing an actor, but there is non-actor marking:

- (3.87) a. *qa dze-sa*                            b. *?ũ dze-san*  
 1sg hit-1sgU                                2sg hit-2sgU  
 ‘I was hit (by him).’                      ‘You were hit (by him).’
- c. *the: dze-w*  
 3sg hit-3sgU  
 ‘He was hit (by him).’

3.2.4. *Topic of a copula clause*

The nature of the initial noun phrase of an equational (identifying) or attributive copula clause is quite different from the direct argument of an intransitive verb or the actor of a transitive verb, in that it has no semantic role, only a pragmatic role, that of topic, but the formal treatment of this argument in Qiang does not differ from that of the direct argument of an intransitive verb. The noun phrase representing this referent must appear in clause-initial position, and no semantically-based postpositions can be used after the noun phrase. Only the topic marker can be used, as in (3.88) (see also (3.129) below).

- (3.88) *the:-ηuəŋi spe ηuə.*  
 3sg-TOP Tibetan COP  
 ‘He is a Tibetan.’

- (3.89) *qa sum ηua.* (< ηuə)  
 1sg teacher COP:1sg  
 ‘I am a teacher.’

- (3.90) *ləyz-tse-pen qa-tc ηuə.*  
 book-this-CL 1sg-GEN COP  
 ‘This book is mine.’

There is no formal difference between identificational and attributive copula clauses other than the addition of the definite marking in the case of the former. Compare (3.89) above (an attributive) with the following identificational clause:

- (3.91) *qa sum-le: ηua.* (< ηuə)  
 1sg teacher-DEF:CL COP:1sg  
 ‘I am the teacher.’

3.2.5. *Undergoer of a transitive verb*

The undergoer of a transitive verb is often within the focus of the information structure, and so the noun phrase representing the

undergoer often appears in the immediately preverbal focus position, following the noun phrases representing the actor and any locative and temporal adverbs. Less commonly it appears in the clause-initial topic position. In this case the noun phrase may be followed by the topic marker. Other than this, the noun phrase representing the undergoer of a transitive verb, whether it is a topic or part of the focus, is definite or indefinite, whether it is a pre-existing referent or one created by the action of the verb, generally does not take any marking of its undergoer status. (In the following examples the noun phrase representing the undergoer is underlined.)

- (3.92) *the: tsə-p      xsə-p      le-ji.*  
 3sg    this-year    three-years    exist-CSM  
 ‘He is three years old this year.’  
 (lit.: ‘He (now) has three years.’)
- (3.93) *the:      qhəl-xsə-zi      sə-dzə-ji.*  
 3sg      steamed.bun-three-CL      DIR-eat-CSM  
 ‘He ate three steamed buns.’
- (3.94) *the:      ləyz-jə-pen      i-tsi-ji.* (*< tse<sup>44</sup>*)  
 3sg    book-two-CL    DIR-look.at/read-CSM  
 ‘He read two books.’
- (3.95) *the:      ləyz-thə-jə-pen      i-tsi-ji.*  
 3sg      book-that-two-CL      DIR-look.at/read-CSM  
 ‘He read those two books.’
- (3.96) *the:      ləyz-thə-jə-pen      le’wu      i-tsi-ji.*  
 3sg      book-that-two-CL    all      DIR-look.at/read-CSM  
 ‘He read both of those two books.’
- (3.97) *ləyz-thə-jə-pen      the:      i-tsi-ji.*  
 book-that-two-CL      3sg      DIR-look.at/read-CSM  
 ‘Those two books he read.’

- (3.98) *qa*      *ṭɕymi-ṭɕ-qəi*      *ə-ma.*      (< mə)  
 1sg      child-GEN-voice      DIR-hear:1sg  
 ‘I heard a/the child’s voice.’
- (3.99) *χumṭʂi*      *the:-ṭɕ-ṭʂi-le:*      *fi-a-ṭəɕṭɕy-ŋi*  
*χumṭʂi*      3sg-GEN-child-DEF:CL      DIR-take-ADV  
*upu-ṭɕ-ṭɕəu-la*      *kə.*  
 uncle-GEN-house-LOC      go  
 ‘χumṭʂi took his son to (his) uncle’s house.’  
 (lit.: ‘Taking his son (he) went to uncle’s house.’)
- (3.100) *the:-ṭɕ-doqu-le:*      *ẓo:pu-e-ze*      *de-w.*      (< we)  
 3sg-GEN-pants-DEF:CL      hole-one-CL      DIR-exist  
 ‘There is now a hole in his pants.’

Non-referential/non-specific object:

- (3.101) *the:*      *gue:<sup>l</sup>-piena-la*      *bi*      *ce.*  
 3sg      road-side-LOC      urine      release  
 ‘He’s urinating on the side of the road.’

Stimulus of a cognitive verb (T3:90-91):

- (3.102) *pə-maha-ŋuəŋi*      *skup-te:*      *mo-qu-a.*  
 day-evening-TOP      orangutan-DEF:CL      NEG-be.afraid-1sg  
 ‘Tonight (I) am not afraid of the orangutan.’

The one exception to the lack of marking of the undergoer of a transitive verb is when the undergoer is animate and the noun phrase representing the actor does not have agentive marking, so there might be confusion of which referent is the actor and which is the undergoer. In this case the dative/allative marker /-ta/ can be used after the noun phrase representing the undergoer to disambiguate the actor from the undergoer or emphasize the undergoer, as in the following examples:

- (3.103) *the:*      *qa-ta*      *dze!*  
 3sg      1sg-DAT      hit  
 ‘He is hitting me!’

(3.104) *khuə-le:*            *qa-ta*            *fiə-ɸdzɛ-ʂa.*  
 dog-DEF:CL            1sg-DAT            DIR-bite-1sgU  
 ‘The dog bit me.’

(3.105) *xʂe-le:*            *?ũ-ta*            *ə-tə-san.*  
 bull-DEF:CL            2sg-DAT            DIR-gore-2sgU  
 ‘The bull gored you.’

In example (3.102) above about being afraid of the orangutan, no undergoer marking was necessary, as there is no possibility (in the story) of the orangutan being afraid of the young boy (the orphan). There is no change in the transitivity of the clause with the use of this marking (even though it is often used to mark peripheral arguments), as its use here is purely to distinguish semantic roles. While generally it is used when the agentive marking is not used, the two markers can appear in the same clause. For example, (3.103) could also have the agentive marker /-wu/ after the noun phrase representing the actor.

We can see the locative origins of this marking in examples that straddle the line between a purely locative sense and a non-actor direct argument sense, such as the following example:

(3.106) *xʂə*            *khuə-le:-ta*            *de-we!*  
 bullet            dog-DEF:CL-DAT            DIR-exist  
 ‘(The) bullet hit the dog!’ (as opposed to the intended target;  
 lit.: ‘. . . came to be at the dog.’)

The noun phrase representing the undergoer of a ditransitive verb also takes no marking other than the topic marker (and this only if it is in clause-initial position). Its position in the clause also depends on the information structure of the clause, appearing most often in the position immediately before the verb, following the noun phrases representing the actor, any locative and temporal adverbs, and the recipient/goal. Unlike the noun phrase representing the undergoer of a mono-transitive verb, though, the noun phrase representing the undergoer of a ditransitive verb has a third possibility in terms of position: if the undergoer is neither the topic nor the focus of the information structure, the noun phrase representing it can appear before the noun phrase in the

focus position but following any other noun phrases in the clause. Following are some examples; see also the examples in §3.2.6.

- (3.107) a. *sum*      *the:-tɕ*      *pi:-xsə-lɑ*      *de-l*.  
 teacher      3sg-GEN      pen-three-CL      DIR-give  
 ‘The teacher gave him three pens.’
- b. *qa*      *the:-ta*      *ɤzə-xsə-lɑ*      *zə-pa*.      (< pə)  
 1sg      3sg-LOC      fish-three-CL      DIR-buy:1sg  
 ‘I bought *three fish* from him.’
- c. *qa*      *ɤzə-xsə-lɑ*      *the:-ta*      *zə-pa*.      (< pə)  
 1sg      fish-three-CL      3sg-LOC      DIR-buy:1sg  
 ‘I bought three fish *from him*.’

### 3.2.6. Goal or recipient of a ditransitive verb

Qiang formally distinguishes between two types of argument that we will call goal and recipient. The goal of an action is the referent at which an action is directed, such as a person being told something. The verb involved may be a transitive or a ditransitive verb. The recipient of an action is the referent who receives some object as a result of the action. The verb expressing such an action must be ditransitive. These two types of argument are marked by different postpositions in Qiang. The positions in the clause in which noun phrases representing these arguments can appear are the same, though. The unmarked position is between the noun phrases representing the actor and the undergoer, but it is also possible to have the noun phrase representing the goal or recipient appear in the immediately preverbal focus position or the clause-initial topic position (see examples below).

The postposition used after a noun phrase which represents a goal argument is /-ta/, the same form as one of the locative postpositions. We saw above (§3.2.5) that this form is also used in some cases for the undergoer of a transitive verb. Following are examples of its use in ditransitive clauses and of the different positions in the clause in which the noun phrase representing the goal (here underlined) can appear.

- (3.108) *the: qa-ta*                    *ksə-xʂə-la*                    *tə-χua-(ʂa)*.  
 3sg 1sg-LOC                    fish-three-CL                    DIR-sell-1sgU  
 ‘He sold me three fish.’
- (3.109) *tʂhətsə-zə-ŋuəŋi*                    *qa*                    *the:-ta*                    *kə-ja*.                    (<ji)  
 car-affair-TOP                    1sg                    3sg-LOC                    thus-say:1sg  
 ‘I told him about the car.’
- (3.110) *qa*                    *the:-(ta)*                    *zme-z*                    *su-a*.  
 1sg                    3sg-LOC                    Qiang-language                    teach-1sg  
 ‘I teach him Qiang.’

In these clauses, the only postposition that can be used after the noun phrase representing the goal is /-ta/, it is not possible to use /-tə/, the postposition used for marking a recipient. For example, were (3.108) to have /-tə/ instead of /-ta/, then the meaning would be either ‘He sold fish for me’ or ‘He sold my fish’ (see Sections 2.2.10 and 2.2.15). What is possible, at least in (3.110), is to not use any postposition after the relevant noun phrase, as the fact that the first person is the actor is clearly marked on the verb, so there would be no ambiguity even if the postposition marking the goal were to be omitted. It would even be possible to omit the noun phrase representing the actor without any problem of ambiguity, as the person and number of the actor are recoverable from the person marking. Even so, if there is a marked word order, where the noun phrase representing the goal appears in topic position with only the topic marker following, then the noun phrase representing the actor would take the agentive marker /-wu/ (see §3.2.3), as in (3.111).

- (3.111) *the:-ŋuəŋi*                    *qa-wu*                    *zme-z*                    *su-a*.  
 3sg-TOP                    1sg-AGT                    Qiang-language                    teach-1sg  
 ‘I teach him Qiang.’

As mentioned above, the postposition used to mark a noun phrase representing a recipient argument is /-tə/, the same form as the genitive postposition. Consider the clause in (3.112):



- (3.112) *sum*            *the:-tɕ*            *pi:-xsə-la*            *de-l*.  
 teacher            3sg-GEN            pen-three-CL            DIR-give  
 ‘The teacher gave him three pens.’

While the recipient marker has the same form as the genitive marker, in this example [*the:-tɕ*] and [*pi:-xsə-la*] are two noun phrases (the word order could be changed with [*pi:-xsə-la*] appearing in topic position, and native speakers feel they are two separate arguments, not one possessed entity). In this clause, the noun phrase representing the recipient argument can only take the postposition */-tɕ/*, it cannot take */-ta/*. Comparing (3.108) and (3.112), we can see that even though the person to whom something is sold is often treated in grammatical theories as a semantic recipient, the formal treatment of this argument in the grammar of Qiang is not the same as the recipient of the verb ‘to give’. Yet there are some situations where the relevant referent can be profiled (presented) in the clause as either a goal or as a recipient, and therefore either */-ta/* or */-tɕ/* can be used, but the meanings of the resulting two clauses will differ somewhat. Compare (3.113a) and (3.113b).

- (3.113) a. *χumtʂi-wu tsi-le:*                    *lisɿ-ta*            *tə-γzə*.  
 χumtʂi-AGT daughter-DEF:CL Li.Si-LOC    DIR-marry.off  
 ‘Xumtʂi married off his daughter to Li Si.’
- b. *χumtʂi-wu tsi-le:*                    *lisɿ-tɕ*            *tə-γzə*.  
 χumtʂi-AGT daughter-DEF:CL Li.Si-GEN    DIR-marry.off  
 ‘Xumtʂi gave his daughter in marriage to Li Si.’

In (3.113a), the emphasis is on Li Si as the goal of the action, not as recipient of an object, whereas (3.113b) emphasizes the nature of Li Si as “recipient” of the woman in marriage.

If a true genitive phrase occurs in a clause with a recipient, then there can be two tokens of the same marker, but with different meanings, as in (3.114).

- (3.114) *qa*            *the:-tɕ-fa-le:*                    *the:-tɕ*            *de-l-a*.  
 1sg            3sg-GEN-cothing-DEF:CL    3sg-GEN            DIR-give-1sg  
 ‘I gave him his clothes.’

3.2.7. *Standard of a comparative construction*

In a comparative construction, the usual word order is as follows: [NP<sub>entity being compared</sub> | NP<sub>standard of comparison-COMP</sub> | Predicate]. The noun phrase representing the standard of comparison in a comparative construction follows the clause-initial topic noun phrase, and is followed by the comparative marker. In positive clauses, the comparative marker is /-s/, while in negative clauses it is /-ŋiki/. The clause initial noun phrase can take the topic marker, and actor person marking on the verb, if there is any, reflects the person and number of this topic. It is also possible to have non-actor person marking reflecting a salient standard of comparison, as in (3.115). (In the examples below, the standard of comparison is underlined.)

- (3.115) *the:-ŋuəŋi*      *qa-s*              *ba-(ša).*  
 3sg-TOP              1sg-COMP              big-1sgU  
 ‘He is bigger than me.’

- (3.116) *qa*      *ʔũ-ŋiki*              *ma-wa.*              (< ba)  
 1sg      2sg-COMP              NEG-big:1sg  
 ‘I am not as big as you are.’

- (3.117) *qa*      *the:-s*              *tçe-fia.*              (< phi)  
 1sg      3sg-COMP              CON-white:1sg  
 ‘I am lighter (in color) than him (a lot lighter).’

It is not possible, as it is in some other Tibeto-Burman languages, to change the order of the two noun phrases in a comparative construction, even if the topic marker is used after the fronted standard of comparison:

- (3.118) \**the:-s-ŋuəŋi*              *qa*      *tçe-fia.*  
 3sg-COMP-TOP              1sg      CON-white:1sg

Where long phrases or clauses are compared, only the referent(s) that differs between the two things or actions being compared need be mentioned in the standard of comparison:

- (3.119) *ʔũ-tɕ-tɕiɪa-le:*                      *the:-s*                      *tɕa-wa.*                      (< ba)  
 2sg-GEN-house-DEF:CL                      3sg-COMP                      CON-big  
 ‘Your house is bigger than his.’
- (3.120) *qa-kə-s-ta*                              *the:-s*                              *tɕa-dza.*  
 1sg-go-NOM-LOC                              3sg-COMP                              CON-early  
 ‘I went earlier than him.’  
 (lit.: ‘When I went was earlier than (when) he (went).’)

### 3.2.8. Standard of an equative comparative construction

In Qiang there is no way to say one referent is ‘the same as’ some other referent, but the same meaning can be expressed by saying that one referent and another are ‘the same’ in respect to some quality. If there are two noun phrases representing the two referents, they are joined by the comitative/conjunction marker /-ŋa/ (which comes between them; see §3.2.13), to form a single large noun phrase, and so the person marking on the verb, if there is any, is plural.<sup>45</sup> This larger noun phrase is the topic of the construction, so can be followed by the topic marker.

- (3.121) *ʔũ-ŋa-qa*                      *a-qəs*                      *baʔ.*                      (< ba)  
 2sg-and-1sg                      one-form                      big:1pl  
 ‘You are as big as me.’ (lit.: ‘You and I are the same big.’)
- (3.122) *ʔũ-ŋa-the:-tɕ-tɕiɪua*                              *a-qəs*                              *ba-tɕi.*  
 2sg-and-3sg-GEN-house                              one-form                              big-3pl  
 ‘Your house is as big as his.’  
 (lit.: ‘Your house and his house are the same big.’)

It is also possible to have one plural noun phrase representing the two referents:

- (3.123) a. *tɕizzi*                      *zuaha*                      *a-qəs*                      *weʔ.*                      (< we)  
 1dl                      height                      one-form                      exist:1pl  
 ‘The two of us are of the same height.’

- b. *thizzi zuaha a-qəs we-(tei).*  
 3dl height one-form exist-3pl  
 ‘Those two persons are of the same height.’

If, instead of the comitative/conjunction marker coming between the two noun phrases, it follows the second noun phrase, then the meaning is somewhat different, as there are then two arguments (one direct, one oblique) instead of one, and the person marking, which reflects the singular topic, is singular. Compare the following two examples:

- (3.124) *the:-ŋa-ŋile-ku: a-qəs me-w-(tei).* (< we)  
 3sg-COM-3plREFL-brother one-form NEG-exist  
 ‘He is different from his brother.’ (person marking is optional here)
- (3.125) *the: ŋile-tatə-ŋa a-qəs we.*  
 3sg 3plREFL-father-COM one-form exist  
 ‘He is very much like his father.’

In (3.124) the two referents form one plural topic. The literal meaning of the clause is ‘He and his brother do not have the same form’. In (3.125) the topic is the single third person referent, and the literal meaning is ‘He has the same form as his father’ (see §3.2.13 for more on the use of the comitative/conjunction marker).

### 3.2.9. *Predicate noun phrases*

Predicate noun phrases in some cases can appear without a following verb, as in (3.126) and (3.127), though in most cases the predicate noun phrase is followed by the copula, /ŋuə/, the verb /zɛmə/ ‘be called’, or the verb /pe/ ‘become’, as in (3.128) to (3.131). If the predicate noun phrase is attributive, it is often followed by the indefinite marker /ke/ plus a classifier (or the classifier is represented as a lengthened vowel on the indefinite marker: /ke:/). If it is identificational (equational), then it can be followed by the definite marker (/le/ or /te/; see discussion in §3.1.4) plus a classifier or lengthened vowel. There is no other formal difference between attributive and identifying copula clauses. The

initial noun phrase in this construction is a topic, and can take the topic marker (see §3.2.4).

- (3.126) *pəs*            *xsə-ɕə-tɕ-ɸo-tɕu*.  
 today        three-month-GEN-five-beginning  
 ‘Today (is) March fifth.’
- (3.127) *khumtsi*        *akua-wutɕin-tɕə-sətsim*.  
 Khumtsi        uncle-Wutɕin-GEN-wife  
 ‘Khumtsi is Uncle Wutɕin’s wife.’
- (3.128) *the: mi*            *ɲuə*.  
 3sg person        COP  
 ‘He is a person (man).’
- (3.129) *the:-ɲuəŋi*        *khumtsi*        *ɲuə / zmə*.  
 3sg-TOP            Khumtsi        COP / be.called  
 ‘She is (is called) Khumtsi.’
- (3.130) *the: sum-(ke:)*                            *pe*.  
 3sg teacher-INDEF:CL                            become  
 ‘He became a teacher.’
- (3.131) *butɕqha*            *xtɕampha-(ke:)*                            *pe*.  
 caterpillar        butterfly-INDEF:CL                            become  
 ‘The caterpillar became a butterfly.’

### 3.2.10. Benefactive

The benefactive is the referent for whose benefit an action is performed. The noun phrase representing this referent is generally marked with the postposition /-tɕ/, the same form as the genitive marker and recipient marker. As the form of the clause involving a benefactive argument with this marking is sometimes the same as the genitive construction, out of context there is the possibility of ambiguity, as in (3.133) and (3.134).

- (3.132) *ʔũ qa-tɕ dzy de-zge-n-pa!*  
 2sg 1sg-GEN(BEN) door DIR-open-2sg-HORT  
 ‘Open the door for me!’
- (3.133) *qa ma:-tɕ kuʂy i-tʂhue-la.*  
 1sg Mom-GEN(BEN) vegetable DIR-fry-REQU:1sg  
 ‘Let me fry Mom’s vegetables.’ / ‘Let me fry vegetables for Mom.’
- (3.134) *ma: qa-tɕ fa ʂpetɕ.*  
 Mom 1sg-GEN(BEN) clothing sew  
 ‘Mom is sewing my clothes,’ / ‘Mom is sewing clothes for me.’

As with the use of this marker for the recipient sense (see §3.2.6), native speakers feel, for example in (3.132), with a benefactive meaning, that the speaker and the door are two separate arguments, and not one argument with a possessor. The order of the noun phrases can also be reversed, such as if the door were made a topic.

Aside from the use of */-tɕ/*, it is also possible to mark a benefactive with the postposition */χua-ŋi/* ‘in order to, in place of, for, for the sake of’. (*/χua/* can be used by itself, but generally the adverbial marker */ŋi/* is used together with it.)

- (3.135) *the: qa-χua-ŋi sə gue-k.*  
 3sg 1sg-BEN-ADV firewood chop-go  
 ‘He went to chop wood for me.’
- (3.136) *tɕile tɕy:mi-le:-χua-ŋi zbotɕu-s ŋuə-ŋuə. (< wa)*  
 1pl child-DEF:CL-BENADV think-NOM COP-EMPH  
 ‘We should think about the child(’s benefit).’

### 3.2.11. Source

The type of marking that appears on a noun phrase representing a semantic source can be of three types, depending on the semantic nature of the source. If the source referent is a person, then the marking is the

locative postposition /-ta/. (In the following examples, the noun phrase representing the source is underlined.)

- (3.137) *qa-ηuəŋi*     *the:-ta*     *ə-ma.*     (< mə)  
 1sg-TOP     3sg-LOC     DIR-hear:1sg  
 ‘I heard it from him.’

- (3.138) *qa*     *the:-ta*     *ɛzə-xʂə-la*     *zə-pa.*     (< pə)  
 1sg     3sg-LOC     fish-three-CL     DIR-buy:1sg  
 ‘I bought three fish from him.’

If the source is the origin in time or location of an action, or is the object out of which something is made, then the marking used is the ablative postposition /-wu/.

- (3.139) *steke*     *la-s-ka,*     *tcetci-la-wu*     *mufu*  
 behind DEF:one-day-LOC     everywhere-LOC-ABL     smoke  
*tə-la-i,*     *tsəi-ŋike,*     *mi*     *lu-ji.*  
 DIR-come-HS     like.this-after     people     come-CSM  
 ‘The next day, smoke could be seen coming up out of everywhere, and from that time on there were people.’  
 (T1:15-16)

- (3.140) *the-χse-te:-wu*     *ə-ma.*     (< mə)  
 that-side-DEF:CL-ABL     DIR-hear:1sg  
 ‘(I) heard (it) from there.’

- (3.141) *tsaq-(ta)-wu*     *suəq*     *i-pə-k.*  
 Spring/Summer-LOC-ABL     Fall/Winter     DIR-arrive-go  
 ‘from tsaq (Spring/Summer) up to suəq (Fall/Winter)’<sup>46</sup>

- (3.142) *wətshi-le:*     *zawə-wu*     *tə-χqua-ji*     *ηuə.*  
 sparrow-DEF:CL     stone-INST     DIR-carve-CSM     COP  
 ‘The sparrow was carved out of a stone.’

- (3.143) *the:*     *zawə-wu*     *wətshi-e-ze*     *tə-χqua.*  
 3sg     stone-INST     sparrow-one-CL     DIR-carve  
 ‘S/he carved a stone into a sparrow.’<sup>47</sup>

If the source is some sort of containment out of which a referent comes, then the marking is the locative postposition /-ka/.

- (3.144) *tshefu-ηuəŋi*      *tshe-ka*      *lu-ji*      *ηuə.*  
 wool-TOP              sheep-LOC      come-CSM      COP  
 ‘Wool comes from sheep.’

- (3.145) *me:<sup>1</sup>-ηuəŋi*      *zdam-ka*      *lu-ji*      *ηuə.*  
 rain-TOP              cloud-LOC      come-CSM      COP  
 ‘Rain comes out from clouds.’

### 3.2.12. Instrument

The noun phrase representing an instrumental referent usually appears just before the noun phrase representing the undergoer, and after the noun phrase representing the actor, unless the instrumental noun phrase is the topic and therefore in clause-initial position. It is also possible for the instrumental noun phrase to follow the undergoer noun phrase, so that the instrumental noun phrase is in the immediately preverbal focus position. The instrumental noun phrase is marked by the postposition /wu/, the same form as the agentive and ablative markers.<sup>48</sup> Very often the definite marker appears between the noun and the instrumental marker if the referent is identifiable.

- (3.146) a. *qa*      *κduas-te:-wu*      *the:*      *dzeta.*      (< dzete)  
 1sg      hammer-DEF:CL-INST      3sg      hit:1sg  
 ‘I use the hammer to hit it.’
- b. *qa-ηuəŋi*      *the:*      *κduas-te:-wu*      *dzeta.*  
 1sg-TOP      3sg      hammer-DEF:CL-INST      hit:1sg  
 ‘I use *the hammer* to hit it.’
- c. *qa*      *κduas-te:-wu*      *the:*      *zə-me-dza.*      (< dzete)  
 1sg      hammer-DEF:CL-INST      3sg      DIR-NEG-hit:1sg  
 ‘I didn’t use the hammer to hit it.’



- (3.147) *qa zawə-le:-wu*      *ɸduaʂ*      *ha-ŋyɔ̄-zə-ŋi*  
 1sg stone-DEF:CL-INST hammer DIR-COP-CAUS-ADV  
*tintsə zeta.*      (*< zete*)  
 nail pound:1sg  
 ‘I used the stone as a hammer to pound in the nail.’
- (3.148) *fə-tsa-qəi-ŋuəŋi*      *qa ɸosu-pi-wu*      *zə-p-ji*      *ŋuə.*  
 clothing-this:one-CL-TOP 1sg fifty-CL-INST DIR-buy-CSM COP  
 ‘This item of clothing I bought with fifty dollars.’

### 3.2.13. Comitative, conjunction

A referent in a comitative relation with another referent is represented using one of two constructions: either the two noun phrases representing the two referents are conjoined together in a single large noun phrase with the comitative/conjunction marker /-ŋa/ between them, or one noun phrase is made the topic, and the second noun phrase is made an oblique argument followed by the comitative/conjunction marker. These two constructions express slightly different meanings: in the first case, the meaning is that the two referents are doing something together ((3.149)-(3.150)), whereas in the second the meaning is that one referent (the referent represented by the noun phrase in topic position) does something ‘with’, or ‘follows’, the second referent in doing something, similar to the difference between *John and Mary went to the store* and *John went to the store with Mary* ((3.151)).

- (3.149) *mə-ŋa-ɣlu-jə-tʂ-ŋuəŋi,*      *zuamə-ɸu-o-zgu-ta*  
 brother-COM-sister-two-CL-TOP cypress-tree-one-CL-LOC  
*i-pi-ɣua-ŋi,*      *fio-mu-xtcu-wei.*      (T1:2-4)  
 DIR-hide-because-ADV DIR-NEG-burn-INF:HS  
 ‘Because the brother and sister hid in a cypress tree, they did not get burned.’
- (3.150) *mutsitʂu-ŋa-tugantʂu*      *zəpəq-ta*      *fio-lu-a:-ji.*      (T2:1)  
 Mutsitʂu-COM-Tugantʂu earth-LOC DIR-come-PRS-CSM  
 ‘Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu wanted to come to earth.’

- (3.151) *qa khumtsi-ŋa tiantsə-ʋa ka:*  
 1sg Khumtsi-COM store-LOC go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I am going to go to the store with Khumtsi.’

Compare these structures with the equational clauses presented in §3.2.8, repeated below.

- (3.152) a. *the:-ŋa-themle-tatə a-qəs we-(təi).*  
 3sg-COM-3pl-daddy one-form exist-3pl  
 ‘He and his father are the same.’
- b. *the: themle-tatə-ŋa a-qəs we.*  
 3sg 3pl-father-COM one-form exist  
 ‘He is a lot like his father.’

The marker /ŋa/ is also used for certain arguments of certain verbs (e.g. the stimuli of some cognition verbs), such as in the examples below:

- (3.153) *ʔiʔi-ŋa tɕe-khue.*  
 2sgREFL-COM NEG.IMP-upset  
 ‘Don’t be mad at yourself.’
- (3.154) *kapətʂ-tou . . . ʎa-le:-ŋa*  
 orphan-DEF:one:CL needle-DEF:CL-COM  
*e-tʂepe-kəi-tɕu.* (T3:5-10)  
 DIR-meet-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘The orphan . . . met (with) a needle.’
- (3.155) *ʔũ-ŋa fiə-sə-ŋi ɕtci-kuə na-wa.*  
 2sg-COM DIR-know-ADV heart-base good-very  
 ‘I am very happy to know (meet) you.’

While /ŋa/ can be used for the comitative sense of English *with*, there is no use of this marker with, for example, a negative prefix for the privative sense of English *without*. A possessive structure with a negated possessive verb (see §3.2.14 below) must be used to express a privative meaning. See also §5.4 for more examples of coordination.

3.2.14. *Possessor in a possessive clause*

In a clause in which the predication expresses possession, the form that the possessor noun phrase takes depends on the type of relationship involved (temporary possession or ownership) and on the nature of the possessed referent. The verb involved in all cases is one of the existential verbs (see §4.2.4). If the relationship is inalienable possession and the referent is something that does not normally exist apart from the possessor, such as a body part, then the clause takes the form of a simple existential clause, and the possessor appears as a genitive possessor of the body part in a single noun phrase with the body part, and the verb is intransitive (with that one noun phrase as its sole argument), as in (3.156a). The person marking on the verb reflects the person and number of the possessor, not the possessed. If instead the relationship is one of temporary physical possession, and not ownership, and the referent is able to exist independently of the possessor, then the noun phrase representing the (temporary) possessor takes the locative/dative marker /-ta/, as in (3.156b). Here again the verb is intransitive, with the noun phrase representing the possessed referent as the single direct argument in an existential clause, but with the noun phrase representing the possessor appearing as an oblique argument and the person marking reflecting the person and number of the possessed referent rather than those of the possessor (inanimates are unmarked).

- (3.156) a. *qa-dzoqu-ji-tua wa.* (< we)  
 1sg-leg-two-CL exist:1sg (connected to main entity)  
 ‘I have two legs.’ (lit.: ‘My two legs exist.’)
- b. *?ũ-dzoku-le: qa-ta şə.* (inanimate)  
 2sg-key-DEF:CL 1sg-LOC exist  
 ‘Your key is at my place.’ / ‘I have your key.’

If the situation involves ownership of an object which is not part of the person (i.e. is not physically inalienable, including other people, such as in kinship relations), then the causative suffix (see §4.2.2) is used with the verb of possession to make it transitive. The noun phrases representing the possessor and the possessed referent then are both

direct arguments of the verb, and so the possessor does not take any semantic case marking, as in (3.157)-(3.159).

(3.157) *khumtsi dzəgy kən a-ha sə-z.* (inanimate)  
 Khumtsi money very one-pl exist-CAUS  
 ‘Khumtsi has a lot of money.’

(3.158) *khumtsi tutʂ-ɣzə-zi zi-z.* (animate)  
 Khumtsi younger.brother-four-CL exist-CAUS  
 ‘Khumtsi has four younger brothers.’

(3.159) *the: səf-a-ha we-z.* (connected to main entity)  
 3sg tree-one-pl exist-CAUS  
 ‘He has some trees.’

Verbs of possession/existence differ with the type of noun possessed (see §4.2.4; the type of possessed noun is given at the right margin of each example). There is no difference between present and past possession, and there are no nouns that are obligatorily possessed. There is also no difference in the construction based on whether the possessor is represented by a pronoun, a proper noun or common noun.

Aside from the verbs given above, which are inherently intransitive and have both existential and possessive uses, there is one verb, /qəqe/, which is inherently transitive and used only for possession, and particularly for personal ownership of some important or valuable entity, as in (3.160a-c). With this verb the noun phrase representing the possessor always is a direct argument, and does not take any semantic case marking.

(3.160) a. *?ũ ʂku qusu qəqe-n.*  
 2sg gold much have-2sg  
 ‘You have a lot of gold.’

b. *qupu tɕymi bua-tʂ qəqe.*  
 3sg child five-CL have  
 ‘S/he has five children.’

- c. *qa tshe a-wy qəqa.* (< qəqe)  
 1sg sheep one-flock have:1sg  
 ‘I have a flock of sheep.’

There is no preposition that can be used with the possessive sense of English ‘with’, as in ‘The man with the knife’, or ‘the man without the knife’; instead a relative clause using a possessive verb must be used.

- (3.161) a. *xtšepi sə-z-əm* (inanimate)  
 knife exist-CAUS-NOM  
 ‘(the) person with (the) knife’
- b. *xtšepi ma-s-z-əm* (inanimate)  
 knife NEG-exist-CAUS-NOM  
 ‘(the) person without (the) knife’

Possession of a quality involves the same structure as possession of an object; the use of a relative clause structure (see §5.2) is also possible ((3.162c)).

- (3.162) a. *the: qhu-s we.* (connected to main entity)  
 3sg hate-NOM exist  
 ‘S/he is very mischievous.’
- b. *the: qəpatš le.* (inside vessel)  
 3sg head exist  
 ‘S/he is very brainy.’ (cf. English *She’s got a head on her shoulders*)
- c. *ətšimi na-tə mi*  
 heart good-GEN person  
 ‘(a) good hearted person’

### 3.2.15. Genitive

A genitive noun phrase appears before the noun it modifies, and can be followed by the genitive marker /-tə(ə)/. When the relationship between

two nouns in a genitive relationship is clear, as in most cases of inalienable possession, the genitive marker is not needed. Generally the closer the relationship between the possessor and the thing possessed, the less likely the genitive marker will be used. With kinship relations, usually the plural pronoun of the possessor is used (to be more polite; see §3.1.2), and no genitive marker is used, but if the singular is used, then the genitive marker is often used.

- (3.163) a. *ciautsaŋ-təə puŋu*      b. *the:-tc pi:*  
 Little.Zhang-GEN cat      3sg-GEN pen  
 ‘Little Zhang’s cat’      ‘his/her pen’
- (3.164) a. *qa-tc ləyz*      b. *?ũ-tc tciβa*  
 1sg-GEN book      2sg GEN house  
 ‘my book’      ‘your house’
- (3.165) a. *khuə sikue*      b. *səf qə-sta*  
 dog tail      tree head-place  
 ‘(a) dog’s tail’      ‘top half of a tree’

Where the noun modified by the genitive phrase is a common noun (not a pronoun or proper name), and the noun phrase is identifiable, the noun phrase can take definite marking, as in the following example:

- (3.166) *ciautsaŋ-təə-puŋu-le:*      *tə-zdzi.*  
 Little.Zhang-GEN-cat-DEF:CL      DIR-sick  
 Little Zhang’s cat is sick.

The genitive postposition is also used for some temporal phrases that modify nouns:

- (3.167) *tse: nəp-tc-pautsə*      *ŋuə.*  
 this:CL last.year-GEN-newspaper COP  
 ‘This is last year’s newspaper.’

We have seen that the genitive marker is used for recipient (§3.2.6) and benefactive (§3.2.10) arguments, and for some nominalizations/relative

clauses (e.g. exx. (3.2) and (3.4)—see §5.2 for more on relative clauses).

### 3.2.16. Whole-part relations

Aside from the whole-part relationships discussed in Section 3.2.15, above, such as ‘dog’s tail’, etc., there are no expressions for ‘among’, ‘of’ (as in ‘two of (some set)’ or ‘a part of (some set)’ or ‘none of (some set)’). If the whole of the whole-part relation is mentioned, it usually is in topic position and takes the locative postposition meaning ‘location within some sort of containment’ ((3.168a-b)), unless the part is all of the whole, as in (3.169). If the whole is not mentioned, the relevant part can be made the topic, as in (3.170a-b). A nominalized structure is often used when the part equals zero ((3.171)).

(3.168) a. *themle-ka xsə-zi kə-s ηuə.*  
 3pl-LOC three-CL go-NOM COP  
 ‘From among them, three people must go.’

b. *qhal-bua-zi-ka qa ji-zi sə-dza.* (< dzə)  
 steamed.bun-five-CL-LOC 1sg two-CL DIR-eat:1sg  
 ‘I ate two of the five steamed buns.’

(3.169) *themle wu stuaha sə-tə-jy-(təi).* (< tchə)  
 3pl all rice/food DIR-eat-ASP-3pl  
 ‘They have all eaten.’

(3.170) a. *tʃi-ji-tʃ-ηuəŋi u-tcu-s me-z i-ji-(təi).*  
 boy-two-CL-TOP DIR-see-NOM NEG-exist-CSM-3pl  
 ‘Two of the boys (among them) have disappeared.’

b. *tʃi-a-ha-ηuəŋi u-tcu-s me-z i-ji-(təi).*  
 boy-one-pl-TOP DIR-see-NOM NEG-exist-CSM-3pl  
 ‘Some of the boys have disappeared.’

- (3.171) *stuaha*            *sə-tɕ-əm*<sup>49</sup>            *me-zi.*                    (< tɕhə)  
 rice/food            DIR-eat-NOM            NEG-exist  
 ‘No one has eaten.’

### 3.2.17. *Price, value*

When a noun phrase representing the price/value of a referent is added to a clause as an oblique argument, if it is marking the amount of money used to buy an item, it can be marked by the instrumental postposition /-wu/, as in (3.172), below, or it can take the locative marker /-ka/. If it is marking how much something sold for, it may not take any postposition, or it may take the locative postposition, as in (3.173). There seems to be a relationship between the completion or not of the action and the marking on the noun phrase representing the price/value involved, in that when it is completed, /-wu/ or /-ka/ can be used, but if the action is not completed, then no marking is used. In (3.174) no marking is possible because the auxiliary verb marks it as a state rather than a completed action. Without the auxiliary verb, /-wu/ or /-ka/ could be used.

- (3.172) *fə-tsa-qəi-ŋuən̩i*            *qa*   *kosu-pi-wu*   *zə-p-ji*            *ŋuə.*  
 clothes-this:one-CL-TOP 1sg fifty-CL-INST DIR-buy-CSM COP  
 ‘I bought this piece of clothing for 50 dollars.’
- (3.173) *fə-tha-qəi-ŋuən̩i*            *qupu*   *kosu-pi-(ka)*   *χua.*  
 clothes-that:one-CL-TOP 3sg fifty-CL-LOC sell  
 ‘S/he is selling that piece of clothing for fifty dollars.’
- (3.174) *pi-tsa-la*            *e-khe-pi*            *ləla*            *dzə.*  
 pen-this:one-CL one-hundred-CL exchange can  
 ‘This pen is worth one hundred dollars.’

If the price/value is a direct argument of the verb, then it does not take any postpositional marking, as in (3.175).



- (3.175) *fā-tha-qəi-ŋuən̩i*      *ʁosu-pi*      *lu*.  
 clothes-that:one-CL-TOP    fifty-CL      worth  
 ‘That piece of clothing is worth fifty dollars.’

### 3.2.18. *Extent, distance*

The extent of an action, or the distance covered by an action, is generally expressed by a preverbal adverbial with no adverbial or temporal/locative marking.

- (3.176) *qa*      *dza:-tɕəky*      *wu*    *the:*    *dza*.  
 1sg      lunch-before      all    3sg      chase:1sg  
 ‘I was chasing him/her all morning.’

- (3.177) *hotɕu-tʂan-ti-wi-tɕ-səf*  
 ten-zhàng(CL)-DIR-tall-GEN-tree  
 ‘a ten-zhang<sup>50</sup> tall tree’

- (3.178) *ʁua-stu-li-dzə-tɕ-gue:ʰ*  
 five-thousand-lǐ(CL)-long-GEN-road  
 ‘a distance (road) of five thousand li’

### 3.2.19. *Inclusion, exclusion, addition*

To express the idea ‘not only/aside from X but also Y’, [me-tɕhi] ‘not only’ is used after the X argument, which is the topic of the sentence, as in the following example:

- (3.179) *khumtsi*    *me-tɕhi*      *e-yleʰwu*    *lu-ji-(tɕi)*.  
 Khumtsi    NEG-only      one-pl:all    come-CSM-3pl  
 ‘Not just Khumtsi, but everyone came.’

If this sentence has a negative predicate phrase, then it means ‘all the people, including Khumtsi, didn’t come’:

- (3.180) *khumtsi me-tchi e-yle'wu mo-lu-ji-(tci).*  
 Khumtsi NEG-only one-pl:all NEG-come-CSM-3pl  
 'None of the people, not even Khumtsi, came.'

To express the concept 'except for X', then [ma-ŋyɔ̃-tci] ('not' + COP + exception marker) or the exception marker [tci ~ ji ~ jə] alone is used after the noun phrase, and the verb is not negated. The same structure, but with the verb negated, is used to express 'only X' (i.e. 'except for X, there is nothing else'; cf. Japanese *X sika nai* [X aside.from not.have/exist] 'there is only X'). Compare the following two examples:

- (3.181) *khumtsi ma-ŋyɔ̃-ji e-yle'wu lu-ji-(tci).*  
 Khumtsi NEG-COP-EXC one-pl:all come-CSM-3pl  
 'Except for Khumtsi, everyone came.'

- (3.182) *khumtsi ma-ŋyɔ̃-ji e-yle'wu mo-lu-ji-(tci).*  
 Khumtsi NEG-COP-EXC one-pl:all NEG-come-CSM-3pl  
 'No one came except Khumtsi / Only Khumtsi came.'

Following are more examples of the 'only X' usage:

- (3.183) *qa ylu-o-u-tci me-zɿ.<sup>51</sup>* (3sg person marking)  
 1sg younger.sister-one-CL-EXC NEG-exist  
 'I only have one younger sister.'  
 (lit.: 'Aside from my younger sister, there is no one.')

- (3.184) *qa zdzyta: ma-ŋyɔ̃-tci ma-ka.* (< kə)  
 1sg Chengdu:LOC NEG-COP-EXC NEG-go:1sg  
 'I only go to Chengdu.'  
 (lit.: 'I don't go anyplace that is not Chengdu.')

Either [maŋyɔ̃-tci] or [tci ~ ji ~ jə]<sup>52</sup> alone are possible, but the former is more emphatic. Compare the following two examples:

- (3.185) a. *qa fa-a-qəi-tci ma-ʂə-zɿ.* (< zə)  
 1sg clothes-one-CL-EXC NEG-exist-CAUS:1sg  
 'I only have one piece of clothing.'

- b. *qa fa-a-qəi ma-ŋyɔ̃-tɕi ma-ʂə-zɑ.* (< zɕə)  
 1sg clothes-one-CL NEG-COP-EXC NEG-exist-CAUS:1sg  
 ‘I only have one piece of clothing.’

If the noun phrase that precedes the exception marker is a time phrase, then the expression can have the meaning ‘only then’ or ‘until’:

- (3.186) *təp-ŋi-jə dzə me-we.* (no reference to person)  
 tomorrow-ADV-EXC thing NEG-exist  
 ‘I’m free (there is nothing) until tomorrow.’

This same structure, when used with the phrase [me-tchi] ‘not want’, has the meaning ‘can, be able to’.

- (3.187) *mutu su-ji-(wa), tɕile kə-jə me-tchi-ji.*  
 sky bright-CSM-RCA 1pl go-EXC NEG-want-CSM  
 ‘It’s daybreak; we can go.’

There is also a somewhat metaphorical use of this construction to mean ‘just X’ as in English *I’m just a kid*. In Qiang we have the following example from the story “An Orphan”:

- (3.188) *qa ep lə me-zɕi, əw lə me-zɕi,*  
 1sg father also NEG-exist mother also NEG-exist  
*kapətʂ-kou-jə ma-ŋua.* (T3:46-48)  
 orphan-INDEF:one:CL-EXC NEG-COP:1sg  
 ‘I have no father and no mother, I am just an orphan.’

To express ‘X, in addition to Y’, then a comitative structure (see §3.2.13) is used, as in the following example:

- (3.189) *mi-xsə-tʂə-ŋɑ-khumtsi lu-ji-(tɕi).*  
 people-three-CL-and-Khumtsi come-CSM-3pl  
 ‘In addition to Khumtsi, three people came.’

3.2.20. *Locative, directional phrases*

A noun phrase representing a locative referent may be marked in a number of ways. Noun phrases representing some large locations, such as cities, and some locational nouns, can appear without a locative postposition for unmarked location in that city or place. Most noun phrases representing locative referents require one of four types of locative postposition. The unmarked locative postpositions are /-ta/ and /-la/. Both of these postpositions also can have the meaning of an allative postposition, depending on the context. In the case of allative meaning, then the use of the locative postposition with the names of cities, etc. is not optional. Both these locative postpositions can be (though are not necessarily) used with the ablative postposition /-wu/ to form a more specific ablative (e.g. (3.191b)). The difference between /-la/ and /-ta/ is that /-la/ is more often used with bisyllabic place names or locational nouns, while /-ta/ is more often used with monosyllabic place names or locational nouns, though there are many common exceptions to this generalization, such as /təu-la/ ‘at home’.<sup>53</sup> It is also possible in some cases for the locative postposition to appear as a lengthened vowel on the noun representing the location, e.g. /zdzyta-la ~ zdzyta:/ ‘in/to Chengdu’. The locational nouns also take the locative markers; /məq/ ‘top’ and /zəkʏ/ ‘between’ take /-ta/, while the others all take /-la/ (see also below). The locative postpositions are also used for non-direct arguments of certain verbs, as in (3.194b) and (3.202c), below. Following are some examples of the use of /-la/ and /-ta/:

- (3.190) a. *petcin-(la)    zɿ*                      b. *petcin-la        kə*  
           Beijing-LOC exist                      Beijing-LOC go  
           ‘(someone) is in Beijing’            ‘go to Beijing’
- (3.191) a. *təu-la*  
           home-LOC  
           ‘at home’
- b. *təu-la-wu*  
           family-LOC-ABL  
           ‘from home’
- (3.192) *the:        tɕikua-le:-ta        da-qa.*  
           3sg        house-DEF:CL-LOC    DIR-go:1sg  
           ‘I went to his/her house.’

- (3.193) a. *bəiχa tʃuatsə-le:-məq-ta la.*  
housefly table-DEF:CL-above-LOC fly  
‘A fly is flying above the table.’
- b. *bəiχa tʃuatsə-le:-ʃqəl-la zi.*  
housefly table-DEF:CL-under-LOC exist  
‘A fly is under the table.’
- (3.194) a. *pi-le: tʃuatsə-le:-ta ʃə.*  
pen-DEF:CL table-DEF:CL-LOC exist  
‘The pen is on the table.’
- b. *the: za ka bələ-s-ta he-the-wa.*  
3sg land LOC do/work-NOM-LOC DIR-capable-very  
‘She is very good at working in the fields.’

It is also possible for noun phrases representing human referents to take the locative marker /ta/. Depending on the context, the meaning is either that of an undergoer or dative argument (see Sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.6), or that of a location associated with the human referent(s), as in the following example:

- (3.195) *qa themle-ta ja.* (< je)  
1sg 3pl-LOC live/stay:1sg  
‘I live at (am staying at) their place.’

The locational nouns /steke/ ‘behind’, /məq/ ‘top, above’, /zɛkɥ/ ‘between, center’, /ʃqəl/ ‘below’, /piena/ ‘near, (be)side’, and /qə:ʔ/ ‘before’ do not require the genitive marker when in a genitive relation with a noun (e.g. /tɕiɕua-le:-piena/ ‘beside the house’, lit.: ‘the house’s side’). Use of the locative postposition with bisyllabic locational nouns is optional, but monosyllabic locational nouns must take a locative marker.

- (3.196) a. *ʃqəl-la kə*  
under-LOC go  
‘go under’
- b. *zɛkɥ-ta*  
between-LOC  
‘between (two things)’

- (3.197) a. *ʋua-la zi*  
 out-LOC exist  
 ‘(a person) is outside’
- b. *tɛiʋua-le:-piena zi*  
 house-DEF:CL-near exist  
 ‘(a person) is near the house’
- (3.198) *tɛiʋua-le:-piena-la kə*  
 house-DEF:CL-nearby-LOC go  
 ‘go to the area near the house’
- (3.199) a. *tʂhɛtsə-le:-qe:<sup>1</sup>-la zi*  
 car-DEF:CL-before-LOC exist  
 ‘(a person) is in front of the car’
- b. *tʂhɛtsə-le:-steke-la zi*  
 car-DEF:CL-behind-LOC exist  
 ‘(a person) is in back of the car’
- (3.200) a. *tʂuatsə-le:-piena-la zi*  
 table-DEF:CL-nearby-LOC exist  
 ‘(a person) is beside the table’
- b. *ʋopu-le:-ta da-qa*  
 mountain-DEF:CL-LOC DIR-go  
 ‘go over the mountain’
- (3.201) a. *the-xʂ-ta*  
 that-side-LOC  
 ‘on that side’
- b. *the:-xʂ-ta*  
 that-side-LOC  
 ‘on that side (farther away)’

The locative postposition /-ʋa/ generally has an inessive, illative or relative meaning, i.e. it marks containment in some sort of vessel or container or movement in or out of one. This postposition can also be used together with the ablative postposition /-wu/ to make the relative sense more explicit (see ex. (3.206a)).

- (3.202) a. *paŋkoŋʂə-ʋa zi*  
 office-LOC exist  
 ‘(a person) is in the office’

- b. *pankoŋsə-ɓa ə-qa*  
 office-LOC DIR-go  
 ‘enter the office’
- c. *the: ləyz su-ɓa tshimpe-wa.*  
 3sg book study-LOC smart-very  
 ‘She is very good at her studies.’  
 (lit.: ‘She is smart in her studies.’)

The ablative postposition is the same form as the agentive and instrumental postposition, /-wu/. It can be used alone, or with one of the other locative postpositions introduced above.

- (3.203) a. *tcikua-le:-piena-wu lu*  
 house-DEF:CL-nearby-ABL come  
 ‘come from nearby the house’

- b. *petcin-wu*  
 Beijing-ABL  
 ‘from Beijing’

- (3.204) a. *məq-ta-wu la*  
 above-LOC-ABL fly  
 ‘fly from above’

- b. *tse-xʂe-wu da-qa*  
 this-side-ABL DIR-go  
 ‘go this way’

- (3.205) a. *the-xʂe-wu zə-la*  
 that-side-ABL DIR-come  
 ‘came from that direction’

- b. *ʂqəl-la-wu lu*  
 below-LOC-ABL come  
 ‘coming from below’

- (3.206) a. *pankoŋsə-ʋa-wu ha-la*  
 office-LOC-ABL DIR-come  
 ‘came out of the office’
- b. *tse-xʃe-wu da-qa*  
 this-side-ABL DIR-go  
 ‘cross over (go over from here)’

The postposition /-wu/ can also be used with a perlocative meaning, ‘along’:

- (3.207) *tsə-le:-piena-wu kə*  
 water-DEF:CL-nearby-ABL go  
 ‘going along the river’

### 3.2.21. *Temporal phrases*

A noun phrase representing a temporal referent in some cases can be unmarked, but if it takes a postposition, it takes one of the same postpositions as are used for the locative meanings, except for /-la/, or it takes the adverbial marker /-ŋi/. The form /-ta/ is used for some large time periods, such as seasons. The locative postposition /-ʋa/ is used for the meaning ‘within/at a time period’, but not for large time periods, where /-ta/ is used. The ablative postposition /-wu/ is used for temporal ‘from’. The adverbial marker /-ŋi/ (see §4.4) can be used for some adverbial time phrases. For shorter periods, /-ʋa/ and /-ŋi/ are both possible, but not /-ta/. To express the meaning ‘only then’, the exception construction is used (see §3.2.19).

- (3.208) *qa a-i pe-ŋi lu-a:.*  
 1sg one-time become-ADV come-PRS:1sg  
 ‘I’ll come in a minute.’
- (3.209) *qa a-p za:.* (< zɿ)  
 1sg one-year exist:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I’m going to stay one year.’ (not there yet)



- (3.210) a. *a-s-məqa*  
one-day-each  
'each day'
- b. *a-p-məqa*  
one-year-each  
'each year'
- c. *nə-s*  
last-day  
'yesterday'
- (3.211) a. *çintçiji<sup>54</sup>-ka*  
Monday-LOC  
'on Monday'
- b. *tha-s-ka*  
that:one-day-LOC  
'(on) that day'
- (3.212) a. *jə-ç-ka*  
two-month-LOC  
'in February'
- b. *jə-çə-tç-ju-tçu-ka*  
two-month-GEN-two-first-LOC  
'on the second of February'
- (3.213) a. *çtçi-tian-ka*  
seven-o'clock-LOC  
'at seven'
- b. *zme-dze-ka*  
Qiang-festival-LOC  
'at the Qiang Festival'
- (3.214) a. *jitçəuwurəŋian-ka*  
1958-LOC  
'in 1958'
- b. *suəq-ta*  
autumn/winter-LOC  
'in autumn/winter'
- (3.215) a. *tsaq-ŋi*  
spring/summer-ADV  
'in spring/summer'
- b. *dza:-tçiku-ŋi*  
lunch-before-ADV  
'in the morning'
- (3.216) a. *jə-p*      *pe-ji*  
two-years      become-CSM  
'two years ago (two years have passed)'
- b. *jə-s*      *pe-ŋike*  
two-days      become-after  
'after two days'
- (3.217) *eiŋi-ŋike*      *qa*      *tša*      *zə:*      (< z<sub>i</sub>)  
next.year-after      1sg      here      exist:PRS:1sg  
'After next year I am going to be here.'

As mentioned in the discussion of the marking of source arguments (§3.2.11), the postpositions /-ka/ and /-ta/ can be optionally used with /-wu/ after a temporal expression to mean ‘starting from that time’:

(3.218) *tsaq-(ta)-wu*                      *suəq*                      *i-pə-k.*  
 spring/summer-LOC-ABL      autumn/winter      DIR-arrive-go  
 ‘from spring/summer to autumn/winter.’

(3.219) *çintçiji-wu*  
 Monday-ABL  
 ‘starting Monday’

Temporal adverbials also often take the topic marker /*ɲuəɲi*/. This is true even if the actor or some other constituent in the clause is also marked by /*ɲuəɲi*/.

(3.220) *a-s-ka-ɲuəɲi*                      *mi-kuə-tʂ*                      *i-pə-l.*  
 one-day-LOC-TOP      person-five-CL      DIR-arrive-come  
 ‘In one day five people came.’

(3.221) *ma:-le:-wu*                      *a-s-məqa-ɲuəɲi*                      *ɲiu-ɲuəɲi*  
 Mom-DEF:CL-AGT      one-day-each-TOP      wool-TOP  
*a-s*                      *pan-tcin-wu*      *pan-tcin*      *tə-tʂhə-ɲi . . .*  
 one-day      half-kilo-INST      half-catty      DIR-weigh-ADV  
 Each day Mom (takes) half a catty of wool and weighs it (to  
 make yarn balls).    (T5:10-12)

Whether the temporal expression is adverbial or predicative, it often takes the adverbial marker /-*ɲi*/, though when the temporal phrase directly modifies a noun, it often takes the genitive marker.

(3.222) *zme-dze-ɲuəɲi*                      *suəq-ɲi*                      *ɲuə.*  
 Qiang-festival-TOP      autumn/winter-ADV      COP  
 ‘The Qiang festival is in autumn.’

(3.223) *tse:*      *nəp-tc-pautʂə*                      *ɲuə.*  
 this:CL      last.year-GEN-newspaper      COP  
 ‘This is last year’s newspaper.’

- (3.224) *tse: tep-ŋi-bəl-s ŋuə.*  
 this:CL tomorrow-ADV-make-NOM COP  
 ‘This is tomorrow’s work.’

In (3.224), the genitive cannot be used, as the temporal phrase is modifying the verb of the nominalized clause (/bəl/ ‘make, do’), not a noun phrase.

Some of the locational nouns are also used in a temporal sense, such as /steke/ ‘behind’, which is used for the meaning ‘after (that time)’, and /qə:/ ‘before’, which is used for the meaning ‘before (that time)’. The latter is often used at the beginning of stories with the meaning ‘long long ago . . .’ (see ex. (3.45), above).

- (3.225) *steke-ta mi pe<sup>ʔ</sup>zə-s ŋuə-χua-ŋi, . . .*  
 after-LOC person raise-NOM COP-because-ADV  
 ‘Later, in order to propagate descendants, . . .’ (T1:4-5)

- (3.226) *qə:<sup>ʔ</sup> jautsan dzemi*  
 before man.eating.devil (proper name)  
*pe-m-le:* (T6:192-193)  
 become-NOM-DEF:CL  
 ‘the one who had before become the man-eating devil Dzemi’

The ablative postposition /-wu/ is also used with the distal demonstrative to mean ‘aside from that’, ‘from that’ or ‘after that’ (T6:284 and T6:242 respectively):

- (3.227) *tcile-tc jautchiu tciu-şə, ŋiuxuan-ŋuəŋi a-tc,*  
 1pl-GEN demand just-is<sup>55</sup> bezoar-TOP one-catty  
*the-wu, mudzu-ŋuəŋi a-w phə tche-wa.*  
 that-ABL charcoal-TOP one-pile burn(blow) want-DTV  
 ‘Our demand is that we want one catty of bezoar (a kind of medicine), and after that a pile of charcoal should be burned.’

- (3.228) *tşi pe-tu, etcə-p le-ŋi ləyz*  
 boy become-LNK seven-year exist-ADV book  
*ta:-su-wa, the-wu hatşi-p le-ŋi*  
 DIR:INDTV-study-DTV that-ABL eleven-year exist-ADV

*qa ta:-me'z-wa.*

1sg DIR:INDTV-look for-DTV

'If it is a boy, (when the boy) is seven years old, have him study, after that, (when) he is eleven years old, have him come look for me.'

### 3.2.22. *Form-function summary of relational marking*

In the previous sections we looked at how various functions are coded in Qiang. In this section we will illustrate the functions that the different types of postpositions have. Following are the postpositions and the types of roles they mark. Two numbers are given after each function name: the first refers to an example of this type of usage given below (the relevant marker is given in bold in the examples); the second is the section of this chapter where that usage is discussed in detail.

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>ɲuəŋi</i>    | Topic (3.229), §3.2.1   |
| <i>wu</i>       | Agentive (3.230a), §3.2.3; Instrumental (3.230b), §3.2.12; Ablative (3.230c), §3.2.20; Perlative (3.230d) §3.2.20           |
| <i>tɕ(ə)</i>    | Genitive (3.231a), §3.2.15; Benefactive/Recipient (3.231b), §3.2.6, §3.2.10   |
| <i>la</i>       | Locative (3.232a), §3.2.20; Allative (3.232b) §3.2.20   |
| <i>ta</i>       | Locative (3.233a) (see also (3.235)), §3.2.20; Allative (3.233b), §3.2.20; Temporal (3.233c), §3.2.21; Goal (3.233d) §3.2.6 |
| <i>ka</i>       | Inessive/Illative/Elative (3.234a), §3.2.20; Temporal (3.234b) (see also (3.232)) §3.2.21                                   |
| <i>tɕi ~ ji</i> | Exception (3.235), §3.2.19  |
| <i>ɲa</i>       | Conjunction (3.236a) (see also (3.229)), Comitative, (3.236b) §3.2.13   |
| <i>s</i>        | Comparative (positive) (3.237a), §3.2.7   |
| <i>ɲiki</i>     | Comparative (negative) (3.237b), §3.2.7   |
| <i>ɲi</i>       | Adverbial (3.238), §3.2.21, §4.4  |
| <i>χua-(ɲi)</i> | Benefactive (3.239), §3.2.10  |



- (3.232) a. *qe<sup>l</sup>lotʃu-ka, mutu-la mujuqu z<sub>u</sub>guə-zi we-i.*  
 the.past-LOC heaven-LOC sun nine-CL exist-HS  
 ‘In the past there were nine suns in the sky.’ (T1:1)
- b. *mutu-la tce-tse-ʃu.* (T2:12)  
 heaven-LOC NEG.IMP-look-DTV  
 ‘Do not look towards the heavens.’
- (3.233) a. *buzd-le:-ku-ta fia-nə-kui-təu.* (T3:115-16)  
 plank.stairs-DEF:CL-foot-LOC DIR-sleep-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘(The stone mortar) slept at the foot of the stairs.’
- b. *themle zəpəq-ta i-pə-l-ŋike, . . .* (T2:22)  
 3pl world-LOC DIR-arrive-come-after  
 ‘After they returned to the world, . . .’
- c. *steke-ta mi pe<sup>l</sup>zə-s ŋuə-χua-ŋi, . . .*  
 later-LOC people raise(child)-NOM COP-because-ADV  
 ‘Later, in order to propagate descendants, . . .’ (T1:4-5)
- d. *tʃhuatsə-le: sə-ta tə-χua:-n-a?*  
 table-DEF:CL who-LOC DIR-sell:PRS-2sg-Q  
 ‘To whom are you going to sell the table?’
- (3.234) a. *upu-bəs-te: qha<sup>l</sup>bue-law-ka*  
 uncle-snake-DEF:CL stone.pile-DEF:one:CL-LOC  
*i-pə-k.* (T4:18)  
 DIR-arrive-go  
 ‘Uncle Snake went into a stone pile’
- b. *xəs-s-ka i-me-tci-pə-l.* (T6:327-328)  
 three-day-LOC DIR-NEG-CON-arrive-come  
 ‘On the third day (they) had not yet come.’
- (3.235) *qa təu-la ou-tci me-zə-wa.* (< z<sub>i</sub>)  
 1sg home-LOC one:CL-EXC NEG-exist:1sg-EMPH  
 ‘I am the only one at home’  
 (lit.: ‘Except for me there is no one at home.’)

- (3.236) a. *mə*            ***ŋa*** *ylu*            *lə-zi*    *i-dzi-tei*.  
 older.brother COM younger.sister DEF-CL DIR-discuss-3pl  
 ‘The brother and sister talked (it) over.’ (T1:5-6)
- b. *?ile-ep-te:*            *lə*    *tsoqpi*        ***ŋa***  
 2pl-father-DEF:CL also this.family COM  
*quəqua-s-ta-ŋuəŋi*    *die-ʒe-jə-ka:-ji*. (T6:336-338)  
 fight-NOM-LOC-TOP    DIR-die-REP-INF:PRS-CSM  
 ‘When your father also fought with this person he perhaps died.’
- (3.237) a. *the:*        *qa-s*                    *a-zə*        *ti-wi*.  
 3sg        1sg-COMP            one-CL        DIR-tall  
 ‘S/he is a bit taller than I am.’ (from Huang 1998:62)
- b. *qa*        *?ũ-ŋiki*                *ma-wa*.                    (< ba)  
 1sg        2sg-COMP            NEG-big:1sg  
 ‘I am not as big as you are.’
- (3.238) *maha-ŋi*            *fiə-lu-kəpə-wa*.                    (T3:24)  
 night-ADV            DIR-come-HABIT-EMPH  
 ‘(He) comes at night.’
- (3.239) *the:*        *qa-χua-ŋi*                *sə*                *gue-k*.  
 3sg        1sg-BEN-ADV            firewood        chop-go  
 ‘He went to chop wood for me.’





## **Chapter 4**

### **The verb complex**

For the purposes of this discussion, the verb complex is defined as the predicating part of the clause, not including the sentence final mood particles. The end of the verb complex is marked by the person marking; the last element of the verb complex takes the person marking suffix, and anything after that is considered to be outside the verb complex. This is done because the person marking is enclitic, and immediately follows the verb if there is no causative or aspect marking, but appears after the causative suffix if there is one, or after the aspect if there is any, but not after other particles that follow the verb complex. The beginning of the verb complex is the adverbials which modify the verb. No nominal arguments (all of which were discussed above) are included in the verb complex. Nominal predicates were discussed in §3.2.9. In this section we will focus on verbal predicates. In Section 4.1 we will discuss the structure of the verb complex, in Section 4.2 we will discuss the different types of verbs and derivational morphology, in Section 4.3 we will discuss the relational and other non-derivational morphology in the verb complex, and in Section 4.4 we will discuss adverbial modification.

#### **4.1. Structure**

The verb complex in its most expanded form has an adverbial (including manner adverbials, certain adverbs covered in §4.4, and the verbal action classifiers discussed in §3.1.6), a directional prefix, a negative prefix (either unmarked negative or prohibitive negative), a continuative aspect ('yet, still') prefix, the verb, causative marking, prospective aspect marking, change of state aspect marking, and person marking. There are three other particles that can follow the verb inside the verb complex. One ([jə], glossed 'REP') has the meaning 'again'. The meaning of this particle prevents it from occurring together with both

the negative and continuative aspect prefixes, as the meaning would be ‘not yet again V’. The second particle marks a first person indirect directive, and does not appear with prospective aspect marking. The third particle marks inferentially derived information (see §4.3.7), and also generally does not appear with prospective aspect marking. The full list of possible elements of a single-verb verb complex can be represented as in Figure 3 (not all of these affixes can occur together):

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| prefixes | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. intensifying adverb</li> <li>2. direction/orientation prefix or 3rd person indirect directive marking prefix (or the two combined as one syllable)</li> <li>3. simple negation /mə-/ or prohibitive /tə-/ prefix</li> <li>4. continuative aspect marking prefix /tci-/</li> </ol>  |
|          | <b>VERB ROOT</b>   |
| suffixes | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. causative marking suffix /-z/</li> <li>6. prospective aspect marking suffix /-a:/</li> <li>7. auxiliary directional verb /kə/ ‘go’ or /lə/ ‘come’</li> <li>8. repetition marking suffix /-jə/</li> <li>9. change of state aspect marking suffix /-ji/</li> <li>10. 1st person indirect directive marking suffix /-l-/</li> <li>11. inferential evidential and mirative marking suffix /-k/</li> <li>12. visual evidential marking suffix /-u/</li> <li>13. non-actor person marking (1sg /-ʂa/, 2sg /-san/, 1pl /-ʂəʔ/, 2pl /-sai/, 3sg/pl [-wu/ ~ -u])</li> <li>14. actor person marking (1sg /-a/, 2sg /-n/, 1pl /-əʔ/, 2pl /-i/, 3pl /-tci/)</li> <li>15. hearsay evidential marking suffix /-i/</li> </ol> |

Figure 3. The structure of the Qiang verb complex

A minimal verb complex would be just the verb and third person singular (zero) person marking. In some cases the prospective aspect marking will appear on the person marking suffix, e.g. [sum the: xə-wa:] [teacher 3sg scold-PRS:3sgU] ‘The teacher will scold him’, where /a:/ + /wə/ > [wa:]. There is also a 3rd person indirect directive prefix (/cə:/) that can appear in the same slot as the directional prefixes, either instead of a directional prefix or merged with it (see §4.3.5.2 for examples). If there is an auxiliary verb in the clause, then it follows the (semantically) main verb. In the case of ‘come’ / ‘go’ and ‘like’, when they follow another verb (e.g. /ʂoi-kə/ [call-go] ‘go call’, [ŋiɣi dzə topu-

n-a] [what eat like-2sg-Q] ‘what do/would you like to eat’), generally nothing comes between the two verbs. Person marking always appears on the last element of the verb complex, regardless of whether it is a main verb, an auxiliary, or an aspect marker. Prospective aspect marking may appear on the main verb even if there is an auxiliary verb. In the case of intransitive stative verbs, there are also some adverbs that follow the verb. Examples of the different combinations possible can be found in the discussions of the individual items that go into the verb complex in Sections 4.2 and 4.3.

## 4.2. Verb types

The verb in Qiang can be defined as an element that can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix, and the causative suffix. Below we discuss the different types of verbs, both derived and underived, that can appear in the verb complex.

### 4.2.1. *Intransitive, transitive, reciprocal*

Intransitive verbs take only one direct argument, and any other participants added to the clause must take some sort of semantic case marking (see §3.2.22 for a summary and examples). With transitive verbs there are two unmarked arguments. While most verbs in Qiang fall into these two classes, a number of verbs are ambitransitive, that is, they can be used either intransitively or transitively, such as /ɣlu/ ‘roll’ and /dzə/ ‘eat’. As there is no applicative construction that has the function of adding an undergoer or benefactive argument, for most of the verbs where the single argument of the intransitive use corresponds to the actor of the transitive use, such as ‘eat’ (e.g. ‘I eat’ vs. ‘I eat something’), the transitive and intransitive uses differ only in terms of whether an undergoer argument appears in the clause or context. That is, the single argument of the intransitive use corresponds to the actor of the transitive use. Where the single argument of the intransitive is semantically an undergoer, the transitive is generally formed using the causative suffix (see below), but for a few verbs the transitive can be formed by simply adding an actor, such as with /ɣlu/ ‘roll’, as in (4.1a-

b). With these verbs use of the causative is also a possibility, as in (4.1c), but the meaning is slightly different: in (4.1b) the actor must be involved in the rolling, whereas in (4.1c) the actor may have just done something that caused the stone to roll.

- (4.1) a. *zawa fio-yɫu.*                      b. *qa zawa fio-yɫu-a.*  
           stone    DIR-roll                      1sg stone    DIR-roll-1sg  
           ‘The stone rolled down.’            ‘I rolled the stone down.’
- c. *qa        zawa        fio-yɫu-z-a.*  
           1sg        stone        DIR-roll-CAUS-1sg  
           ‘I caused the stone to roll down.’

It is not possible to form an intransitive from a transitive simply by dropping the noun phrase representing the actor (at least in the case of first and second person actors) because of the person marking on the verb reflecting the person and number of the actor. In general there is no formal difference between telic and non-telic verbs other than use of a directional prefix to mark the fact that the logical conclusion of the telic situation has been reached.

In general there is no special citation form for verbs other than the unmodified root, but there are a few verbs that seem to have a final syllable /te/ or /tu/ (depending on harmony with the preceding vowel) in citation form that generally does not appear when the verbs are used in context. Following is a complete list of those we have found:

- (4.2) *χsutu*    ‘jump’                                      *çete*        ‘smell (v.)’  
           *qhutu*    ‘spread, sprinkle’                              *phəte*      ‘spit’  
           *zgutu*    ‘throw’    *tshuete*    ‘peck’  
           *ŋete*     ‘lick’    *zete*        ‘pound, knock’  
           *dzete*    ‘hit’     *lete*        ‘spin (yarn)’  
           *tshuate* ‘stamp the feet’                              *phete*      ‘wag, shake, pat’  
           *yliete*    ‘rub between the hands’                              *khəʔte*     ‘hit (people)’  
           *tshuate* ‘chop (e.g. meat)’                              *kuəte*      ‘throw’  
           *wəte*     ‘stir’

It is possible to derive verbs from nouns by putting the verb /pə/ ‘to do’ after the noun. We saw examples of this in the discussion of

Chinese loan words in §3.1.1. Other than this there is no way to derive verbs from nouns.

With some verbs intransitives can be formed by reduplicating the verb to make a reciprocal, as in the following examples:

- (4.3) a. *ku* ‘curse’ > *ku<sup>2</sup>ku* ‘curse each other’  
 b. *zdə* ‘connect’ > *zdəzdə* ‘mutually connect’  
 c. *kua* ‘help’ > *kuəkua* ‘help each other’

The verb in this construction can either take one plural argument (which is possibly comprised of two conjoined noun phrases) or two arguments, one of which is marked as an oblique argument by the comitative/conjunction marker /-ŋa/. In the first of these two situations, the verb would take plural person marking, in the second, the verb would take singular person marking.

In the case of certain verbs that involve some other referent than the two human referents that are mutually involved, or have only one human referent, the verb remains transitive with reduplication, and the meaning of reduplication can be iteration, such as with the verbs in (4.4).and (4.5).

- (4.4) a. *ma* ‘plaster (a wall)’ > *məma* ‘be plastering’  
 b. *stue* ‘pull (weeds)’ > *stuistue* ‘be pulling (weeds)’  
 c. *di* ‘climb’ > *didi* ‘be climbing (a tree)’

- (4.5) *the:* *sə* *qhiqui.* (< qhi)  
 3sg firewood chopping  
 ‘He is chopping firewood.’

Some verbs have a reduplicated form as their base form. In these cases, no further reduplication is necessary to express the reciprocal (e.g. /ʂqueʂque/ ‘pull’, /ləle/ ‘insert’). Reciprocal verbs can be nominalized, e.g. /lələ-s/ (‘exchange’ + nominalizer > ‘that which is exchanged’); the nominalized form expresses the goal of the action. Reciprocal meaning can also be emphasized by use of the adverbial expression /e:-wu e:-ta/ (one:CL-AGT one:CL-DAT) ‘each other’. Following are some examples of the use of reciprocals.

- (4.6) a. *khumtsi-ŋa-xumtʃi*                      *quəqua-tci.*                      (< qua)  
 Khumtsi-COM-Xumtʃi                      fight:RECIP-3pl  
 ‘Khumtsi and Xumtʃi are fighting.’
- b. *thizzi e:-wu*                      *e:-ta*                      *fa*                      *phi'phi'-tci.*  
 3dl                      one:CL-AGT                      one:CL-DAT                      clothing                      tear:RECIP-3pl  
 ‘The two of them tore each other’s clothes.’

In the negative, verbs do not require reduplication to be reciprocal, such as /sə/ ‘to know (a person)’ in (4.7). In the positive this would be [səsə:<sup>1</sup>].

- (4.7) *tɕile*                      *ma-sə:<sup>1</sup>.*  
 1pl                      NEG-know:1pl  
 ‘We don’t know each other.’ (or ‘We don’t know it/him/her’)

While there is marking of the reciprocal on the verb, and there are some verbs with an inherently reciprocal meaning, there is no marking of reflexives on the verb, and there are no verbs with an inherently reflexive sense. Instead, reflexive pronouns are used to express a reflexive meaning (see §3.1.2). There are also no middle voice<sup>56</sup> or passive constructions.

Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitives using the causative construction (see §4.2.2, below). It is also possible to add an oblique argument to a transitive or ditransitive verb by using the benefactive postposition /χua-ŋi/ (see §3.2.10).

#### 4.2.2. *Causatives*

There are three types of causative marking in Qiang, though only one of these is productive. This is the causative suffix /-z(ə)/, which increases the valency of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs. There is no difference in the causative marking of these three types of verbs. Causatives derived using this suffix can be permissive or causative, and either direct or indirect causatives. The actor person marking on the verb (§4.3.2, Table 8) reflects the person and number of the causer only, and the marking is added to (follows) the causative suffix, using the

same forms as for non-causativized verbs. Non-actor person marking (§4.3.2, Table 9), if there is any, marks the person and number of the causee, not the undergoer (only animates are marked). Prospective aspect marking, if there is any, also appears after the causative suffix.

In terms of the marking of the noun phrases representing the causer, there is no formal difference which depends on the agentivity and/or intentionality of the causer, but there is a difference which depends on the animacy of the causer; the noun phrase representing the causer of a derived monotransitive clause generally does not take the agentive marker /-wu/ unless it is inanimate, e.g. ‘wind’ in the following example:

- (4.8) *moxu-wu qa da-tuə-z.*  
 wind-AGT 1sg DIR-fall.over-CAUS  
 ‘The wind knocked me down.’

This clause is a causative of an intransitive, so the resulting form is a monotransitive clause, in this case with an inanimate actor/causer and animate undergoer/causee.

The noun phrase representing the causee can take agentive marking, though, if the basic clause from which it is formed is transitive, as in (4.9).<sup>57</sup> The use of the agentive marker is not related to the willingness of the causee to perform the action; s/he may be willing or not.

- (4.9) *qa the:-wu pəitsə-e-ze zə-p-za.* (< zə)  
 1sg 3sg-AGT cup-one-CL DIR-buy-CAUS:1sg  
 ‘I made him/her buy a cup.’

The noun phrase representing the causer can often be omitted, as the person marking on the verb reflects the person and number of the causer, but the noun phrase representing the causee cannot be omitted.

Following are some examples of causatives formed from different base types:

Unmarked intransitive:

- (4.10) *tsə tu-χsu-ji.*  
 water DIR-boil-CSM  
 ‘The water has come to a boil.’

Causativized intransitive:

- (4.11) a. *qa tsə tu-χsu-z-ja.* (< ji + a)  
 1sg water DIR-boil-CAUS-CSM:1sg  
 ‘I brought the water to a boil.’
- b. *qa the: zdzyta: ləyz su-ky-z-a:.* (< zə)  
 1sg 3sg Chengdu:LOC book study-go-CAUS:PRS  
 ‘I am going to make him/her go to Chengdu to study (attend school).’

Causativized transitive:

- (4.12) a. *xsə-han thuntşə tu-p-zə.* (T5:297)  
 three-kind notify DIR-do-CAUS  
 ‘(These) three things you must proclaim (to the people).’  
 (lit.: cause someone to notify them)’
- b. *qa the:-wu ləyz a-fəŋ fie-z-i-z-a.* (< zə)  
 1sg 3sg-AGT book one-CL DIR-write-CAUS:1sg  
 ‘I made him write a letter.’
- c. *χumtşi qa-wu ?ũ zə-dzə-z.<sup>58</sup>* (< zə)  
 Xumtşi 1sg-AGT 2sg DIR-hit-CAUS  
 ‘Xumtşi made me hit you.’

Causativized ditransitive:

- (4.13) *qa χumtşi-wu ləyz-te-pen khumtşi-ta*  
 1sg Xumtşi-AGT book-DEF-CL Khumtşi-LOC



*tə-χua-za:*. (*< zə*)  
 DIR-buy-CAUS:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I’m going to make Xumtši buy the book for Khumtsi.’

The copula can also take the causative suffix, as in translative constructions:

- (4.14) a. *khuə-le: puŋu ha-ŋuə-z.*  
 dog-DEF:CL cat DIR-COP-CAUS  
 ‘Make the dog replace/become the cat.’ (Treat the dog as a cat.)<sup>o</sup>
- b. *təile the: fiə-staqə-ŋi linthau ŋuə-za:*. (*< zə*)  
 1pl 3sg DIR-choose-ADV leader COP-CAUS:PRS  
 ‘We chose him to be leader.’

In (4.14b), the verb /*staqə*/ ‘choose’ appears in a manner adverbial phrase modifying the main verb of the clause, the causativized copula, to express how the causee became the leader.<sup>59</sup>

Causatives can also be used with reciprocals:

- (4.15) *qa thizzi ləla-za:*. (*< zə*)  
 1sg 3dl exchange-CAUS:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I had the two of them exchange with each other.’
- (4.16) *qa thizzi quəqua-za:*. (*< zə*)  
 1sg 3dl hit:REFL-CAUS:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I had the two of them hit each other.’

Of the two types of non-productive causative marking, one derives from the Proto-Sino-Tibetan \**s-* prefix (LaPolla 2003a:22 and references therein). Only one example of this has been found to date: /*çtçə*/ ‘feed (vt.)’, from /*tçhe*/ ‘eat (rice)/drink’ (with assimilation of the prefix to point of articulation of the initial). While this is the only such example found in Qiang, it matches well with forms found in closely related languages and dialects; the lack of examples may simply be due to lack of data or the obscuring of the prefix by assimilatory processes.

The second type of non-productive causative marking is a voiced-voiceless (aspirated) contrast in simplex-causative or intransitive-transitive pairs (also a feature of Proto-Sino-Tibeto—LaPolla 2003a:23). There is also a concomitant difference in the directional prefix used with each type (see §4.3.3 for more on this difference).

- |        |                  |                |  |
|--------|------------------|----------------|--|
| (4.17) | simplex          | causative      |  |
|        | a. <i>de-pe</i>  | <i>fiə-phe</i> | ‘tear (of clothes)’                    |
|        | b. <i>da-ʷe</i>  | <i>fiə-qhe</i> | ‘break (of bowls, etc.)’               |
|        | c. <i>da-ʷli</i> | <i>fiə-χʰi</i> | ‘break (in two) (of tree limbs, etc.)’ |

These are the only three forms we have found so far in the Ronghong subdialect, but there are quite a few more in the Mawo dialect (see Sun 1981a:192-3). This type has more of a sense of direct causation, and not permission, than the productive causative. These causative forms cannot take a further productive causative suffix.

#### 4.2.3. *Intransitive state predicate verbs (adjectives)*

In this section we will be discussing the nature of intransitive state predicate verbs, i.e. stative verbs with only one argument. (See also Huang Chenglong 1994, LaPolla & Huang 2002.)

Intransitive state predicate verbs form a separate sub-class of verb distinct from other transitive and intransitive verbs, and since they are words for dimension, age, value, color, quality, and shape, we can use the term ‘adjectives’ for this sub-class of verbs (they are morphosyntactically unlike English adjectives, though). They can be predicates without the use of the copula, as can verbs, and take the same person marking (agreement) forms, orientation/directional marking, causative marking, evidential marking, and most aspect and negation marking as non-stative intransitive verbs, but unlike non-stative verbs, they can be nominalized using the definite and indefinite markers (see §3.1.4—existential verbs can also be nominalized in this way), many can act as adverbials (taking the adverbial marker /-ŋi/), and many can take the postpositive adverb /-wa/ ‘very’.<sup>60</sup> Non-stative verbs can only modify a noun in the form of a pre-head relative clause construction, while adjectives can modify a noun directly in post-head position (as

well as appear in relative clause constructions), as in [mi nɑ] (person good) ‘(a) good person’. The meaning of reduplication for most verbs is reciprocity (see §4.2.1), while the meaning of reduplication for adjectives is intensification or plurality.<sup>61</sup> There is no morphology for deriving adjectives from non-adjectival verbs, although adjectives can take causative marking and become transitive verbs. There is no noun-adjective overlap, and no way to derive an adjective from a noun except by use of the auxiliaries /-thɑ/ and /-pə/ mentioned in §3.1.1 in the discussion of loan words above. This is done only with borrowed words, not with native words.

The class of adjectives is an open class with many members, although the majority of new members are loan-words from Chinese (see §3.1.1 on loan words). The class includes items related to dimension, age, value, color, physical property, human propensity, speed, difficulty, qualification, and quantification. Some meanings that are expressed by adjectives in other languages are not expressed by adjectives in Qiang. For example, words expressing the semantic field of position are (locational) nouns (/steke/ ‘behind’, /məq/ ‘top, above’, /zəkû/ ‘between, center’, /ʃqəl/ ‘below’, /piena/ ‘near, (be)side’, and /qə:/ ‘before’), numbers form a separate word class (they must appear with a classifier when used as modifier or predicate), and there are no words for similarity. Within some of the semantic types that are generally expressed by adjectives in Qiang there are some words that are not adjectives. For example, within the quantification type, the meanings ‘all’ and ‘only’ are represented by adverbs, and the meaning ‘some, a few’ is represented by the numeral for ‘one’ plus the plural marker ([ɑ-hɑ]), or ‘one’ + ‘two’ plus a classifier (e.g. [ə-jə-u]). Some concepts are not represented by basic words, but by negation of basic words, e.g. in qualification, ‘correct’ is a basic word, /pe/, but there is no basic native word for ‘incorrect’, only the negation of ‘correct’, /me-pe/.

Adjectives and certain other verbs which represent gradient concepts can appear as the predicate in a comparative construction (see §3.2.7 for examples), but adjectives can be comparative even without overt marking of comparison ((4.18a)). Addition of an adverbial meaning ‘very’ can clarify that a non-comparative sense is intended ((4.18b)). To specify a comparative sense, an adverbial such as [ɑ-zɑ] (‘one’-CL) ‘a little’ can be added before the adjective ((4.18c)).

- (4.18) a. *the: ti-wi.*  
3sg DIR-tall  
'He is tall/taller.'
- b. *the: ti-wi-wa.*  
3sg DIR-tall-very  
'He is very tall.'
- c. *the: a-za ti-wi.*  
3sg one-CL DIR-tall  
'He is a bit taller.'

There are only three types of reduplication of adjectives: AA, Au:A, AAu: (/u:/ is a syllable added to the reduplicated form—this type is only possible with adjectives); there is no ABB, ABAB, or AABB reduplication. Reduplicated forms are nominalized even without the (in)definite marking. The meaning of AA reduplication is plurality; the meaning of Au:A reduplication is intensification; the meaning of AAu: reduplication is plurality plus intensification. With AAu: and Au:A reduplication, the phonetic stress is on /u:/ (the stress is marked with an acute accent in the examples in (4.19)). Following are examples:

- (4.19) a. AA *patʂpatʂ* 'some round things'  
b. Au:A *patʂú:patʂ* 'very round things'  
c. AAu: *patʂpatʂú:* 'some very round things'

Reduplicated adjectives can appear together with a common noun, and are generally followed by the indefinite marker /-ke/. They are then noun phrases in their own right in apposition to the common noun, clarifying the nature of the referent of the common noun. In this structure the nominalized adjective can precede or follow the common noun. (See §3.1 on the modifiers of the noun phrase.) Following are examples:

- (4.20) a. *qhal patʂpatʂ-ke:*  
steamed.bun round.round-INDEF:CL  
'round steamed buns' (lit.: 'steamed buns, round ones')
- b. *fa ŋiqŋiqu:-ke:*  
clothing black.black-INDEF:CL  
'very black clothing' (lit.: 'clothing, black ones')



- (4.23) a. *ɕtɕi:mi-zdzi* ‘sad’ < ‘heart’ + ‘painful’  
 b. *ɕtɕi:mi-ba* ‘brave’ < ‘heart’ + *ɕtɕi-kuə-na*  
 c. *ɕtɕi-kuə-na* ‘happy’ < ‘heart’ + ‘base’ + ‘good’

If a prepositional adverb modifies the verb, it appears after the noun and before the verb, e.g. [*ɕtɕi-kuə kən nɑ*] ‘very happy’.

With adjectives, the expression of change of state requires a directional prefix (see §4.3.3), e.g. /*ba/* ‘big’, /*təwa/* ‘become big’ (here with change of initial, see §1.3.1).

Following are some examples of the use of adjectives in modifying nouns, as deverbal noun phrases, and as predicates, with prospective aspect marking and with person marking:

Modifying a noun:

- (4.24) *qa fa-xsə tupu-a.*  
 1sg clothes-new like-1sg  
 ‘I like new clothes.’

Nominalized:

- (4.25) *qa phiʂ-le: gua:.* (< *guə*)  
 1sg white-DEF:CL wear:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I want to wear the white one.’

With prospective aspect marking:<sup>62</sup>

- (4.26) *mə tca-χqa:.* (< *χqa*)  
 sky CON-clear:PRS  
 ‘The sky is still going to be clear.’

With person marking:

- (4.27) a. *qa ti-wia.* b. *tcile ti-wiəʹ.* (< *tiwi*)  
 1sg DIR-tall:1sg 1pl DIR-tall:1pl  
 ‘I am tall/taller.’ ‘We are tall/taller.’

- |    |                        |                |    |                            |                 |
|----|------------------------|----------------|----|----------------------------|-----------------|
| c. | <i>ʔũ</i>              | <i>tí-wi-n</i> | d. | <i>ʔile</i>                | <i>tí-wi-i.</i> |
|    | 2sg                    | DIR-tall-2sg   |    | 2pl                        | DIR-tall-2pl    |
|    | ‘You are tall/taller.’ |                |    | ‘You(pl) are tall/taller.’ |                 |

Some adjectives can appear in a serial verb structure where they modify another verb, e.g. /tse-na/ (‘look’ + ‘good’) ‘good looking’, /dzuə na/ (‘sit’ + ‘good’) ‘good to sit, there is room to sit’ (see also examples (4.269)-(4.272) in §4.4.3 below). In this structure, while the adverb semantically seems to function as an adverbial, it is syntactically the main verb, and so if the clause is negated or is in the continuative aspect, the negative and/or continuative aspect prefix is affixed to the adjective, not the verb, e.g. /tse-ma-na/ (‘look’ + NEG + ‘good’) ‘not good looking’, /tse-tca-na/ (‘look’ + CON + ‘good’) ‘still good looking’. The adjective can also take the adverb /-wa/, e.g. /tse-na-wa/ (‘look’ + ‘good’ + ‘very’) ‘very good looking’.

#### 4.2.4. Existential/locative verbs

There are five existential/locative verbs, the use of which depends on the semantics of the referent being located or shown to exist, or on the nature of its location: /sə/ and /xu/ for inanimate referents that are not in containers or immovable or inalienably connected to some larger entity, /le/ for a referent located in a containment of some type, /zi/ for animate referents, and /we/ for immovable referents, referents inalienably connected to a larger entity, and happenings. This last form is also used to express the possession of qualities. (See also Section 3.2.14 on possession.) Following are examples of the various types:

- |        |                                 |                   |            |             |
|--------|---------------------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|
| (4.28) | <i>tʂuats-məq-ta</i>            | <i>ləyz-e-pen</i> | <i>sə.</i> | (inanimate) |
|        | table-top-LOC                   | book-one-CL       | exist      |             |
|        | ‘There is a book on the table.’ |                   |            |             |
|        |                                 |                   |            |             |
| (4.29) | <i>ku-ta</i>                    | <i>pi-a-la</i>    | <i>xu.</i> | (inanimate) |
|        | floor-LOC                       | pen-one-CL        | exist      |             |
|        | ‘There is a pen on the floor.’  |                   |            |             |

- (4.30) *zə-ka*                      *jajəŋy*              *le.*<sup>63</sup>                      (inside vessel)  
 ground-LOC                  potato                  exist  
 ‘There are potatoes in the ground.’
- (4.31) *səf-tho-z<sub>u</sub>gu-ta*              *wətshi-o-u*              *zi.*              (animate)  
 tree-that:one-CL-LOC      sparrow-one-CL      exist  
 ‘There is a sparrow in that tree.’
- (4.32) a. *qəl-la*              *səf-o-z<sub>u</sub>gu*              *we.*              (immovable, connected  
 below-LOC      tree-one-CL      exist              to major entity)  
 ‘There is a tree below.’
- b. *qa*      *dzoqu-ji-tua*      *wa.*                      (< we + a)  
 1sg      leg-two-CL      exist:1sg              (immovable, connected  
 ‘I have two legs.’                      to major entity)
- c. *the:*      *tšhexuo*              *de-w(e).*              (happening)  
 3sg      car.accident      DIR-exist  
 ‘He had a car accident.’

Use of a particular verb in some cases can be a matter of perspective. For example, compare the following two clauses, the first of which presents the situation from the point of view of the fish being in the containment of the water, the second from the point of view of the fish as animate beings.

- (4.33) a. *tsə-ka*                      *ɸzə*              *le.*                      (inside vessel)  
 water-LOC                  fish                  exist  
 ‘There are fish in the water.’
- b. *tsə-ka*                      *ɸzə*              *zi.*                      (animate)  
 water-LOC                  fish                  water  
 ‘There are fish in the water.’

The existential verbs /sə/ and /xu/ are often used together with /tu/ ‘if’ after nominalized verbs. Here the possible existence of a referent is being predicated, but the whole meaning of the construction is more like ‘if there is such a situation’. Following are some examples:



- (4.34) *dzə-s    ʃə-tu    qa-tɕ    a-zə    zə-le.*  
 eat-NOM    exist-LNK    1sg-DAT    one-CL    DIR-take  
 ‘If there is something to eat, bring me a little.’

*bələ-s    xu-tu    the:    ta:-bəl-kə.*  
 do-NOM    exist-LNK    3sg    DIR:INDTV-do-go  
 ‘If there is something to be done, have him/her go do it.’

Because the nominalized verb refers to an inanimate referent or situation, only the /-s/ nominalizer can be used; the /-m/ and /-tɕ/ nominalizers cannot be used in the /xu tu/ construction (see §§5.2-5.3).

An existential verb can also be used in an imperative with an adverb, to tell someone, for example, to be quiet, as in (4.36).

- (4.35) *(a-zə)    hama    he-zi-(n).* (animate)  
 one-little    quiet    DIR-exist-2sg  
 ‘(Please) be quiet.’

The existential/locative verbs have many of the definitional properties of adjectives (see §4. 2.3 and LaPolla & Huang, in press, on adjectives), in that they are intransitive stative verbs that can be nominalized by the (in)definite markers, as in example (3.45), above, and can take the intensifying adverbs [gən ~ kən], /wa/, and /qusu/, and in the negative can take the adverb /tsan/ ‘too’, as in examples (4.36a-b), but differ from adjectives in that they cannot directly modify a noun and the meaning of reduplication is different. With adjectives, reduplication has the sense of intensification, but with existential verbs, reduplication can transitivize the verb, at least in some cases, as in (4.36c-d).

- (4.36) a. *tsa    mi    zi-wa.*  
 here    person    exist-very  
 ‘There are many people here.’
- b. *tsa    mi    tsan    me-zi.*  
 here    person    too    NEG-exist  
 ‘There are not too many people here.’
- c. *le* ‘exist (inside)’    >    *ləle* ‘put inside’

d.  $\text{ʂə}$  'exist (inanimate)' >  $\text{ʂəʂə}$  'put (someplace)'

Unlike in some other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Tibetan), the existential/locative verbs have not grammaticalized into any sort of construction marking tense, aspect, or evidentials.

#### 4.2.5. 'Come' and 'go'

'Come' and 'go' are somewhat irregular verbs. 'Go' has the following third person forms: /-qa/ prefixed perfective (e.g. /ʃaqa/ 'went down'), /kə/ unprefixes,<sup>64</sup> /-kə/ prefixed imperfective or prospective (e.g. /daʂ/ 'go out'). 'Come' has the following forms: /lu/ imperfective, /-la/ prefixed perfective, /lu-a:/ prospective aspect. (See §4.3.3 for discussion of the directional prefixes.) Both these verbs function as main verbs, and as directional auxiliary verbs, following other verbs. When used as auxiliary verbs, they form a single nucleus with the preceding verb, and so do not take prefixes separately. For example, in [stucha ɕa:-tɕ kə] (food/rice INDTV:3sg-eat go) 'Let (him/her) go eat!', the indirect directive prefix appears on the verb meaning 'eat', not on 'go'. With certain verbs 'come' and 'go' appear very regularly as auxiliaries, and this has led to the situation where the vowel of 'come' and 'go' has been lost, and the initial has fused with the preceding verb, forming a new verb, e.g. /pəl/ 'come back' < /pə/ 'arrive' + /lu/ 'come'; /pək/ 'go back' < /pə/ 'arrive' + /kə/ 'go'. In the case of these compound verbs and some others like this, they have lexicalized to the point that they are no longer seen as including the verbs 'come' and 'go' by the Qiang speakers.

#### 4.2.6. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs follow the (semantically) main verb, often in a complement-matrix structure (see §5.3 for the structure), generally with no nominalizing, adverbial or other marking between the two verbs. If there is person marking, the marking appears on the auxiliary or final particle of the verb complex, though aspect marking may appear on the embedded (main) verb. If there is negation of the auxiliary, the negative prefix appears on the auxiliary verb. There is no requirement that the

two verbs agree in transitivity (such as is found, for example, in Rawang [LaPolla 2000a]).

The potential to perform an action is expressed by use of the auxiliary verbs /ʏzə/ for learned ability, /dzə/ or /qe/ for natural (physical) ability, and /gu/ for ability to fit into something else. See Section 4.3.6.4 for examples of their use.

Willingness to perform an action or to allow others to perform an action is expressed by using the auxiliary verb /ɸu/. This verb can also be used for possibility, either directly following a verb or in a construction with a nominalized verb.

- (4.37) a. *the: tha-zi kə ɸu.*  
 3sg there-exist thus willing/allow  
 ‘S/he might be there.’
- b. *pəs mə ma-χqa, tshəi tə-ŋiχ ɸu.*  
 today weather NEG-clear prickly.ash.peel DIR-black will  
 ‘Today the weather is not good, the prickly ash peel will become black.’

The auxiliary verb /xʂu/ is used to express the idea ‘to dare’ to do an action.

- (4.38) *the: e-ze stu nə mo-xʂu.*  
 3sg one-CL alone sleep NEG-dare  
 ‘S/he doesn’t dare sleep alone.’

In some expressions, /xʂu/ can be used alone:

- (4.39) *khuə-ta mo-xʂu, piə-ta xʂu.*  
 dog-DAT NEG-dare pig-DAT dare  
 ‘Bully the weak and fear the strong.’  
 (lit.: ‘Doesn’t dare X to a dog, but will to a pig.’)

The auxiliary verb /ɸze/ ‘ought to’ can be used in some contexts to express obligation (physical or moral) to perform an action. There is no person marking when using this auxiliary verb, so even if a first or second person pronoun were added to, for example, (4.40a) or (4.40b),

specifying who must or must not go, there would be no change in the verb.

(4.40) a. *kə* *ɤze-ji!*  
 go must-CSM  
 ‘It’s time to go!’ (‘I/we/you must go!’)

b. *kə* *ma-tɕi-ɤze!*<sup>65</sup>  
 go NEG-CON-must  
 ‘(You/we) needn’t / shouldn’t go yet!’

(4.41) a. *stuaha tɕhə ɤze-ji.*  
 rice/food eat must-CSM  
 ‘It’s time to eat!’ (‘I/you/we must eat!’)

b. *stuaha tɕhə ma-tɕi-ɤze.*  
 rice/food eat NEG-CON-must  
 ‘I/we/you shouldn’t eat!’

The auxiliary verb /se/ is used to express permission or lack of it:

(4.42) *cocau-ka* *zme-z* *dze* *fi-se.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak DIR-allow  
 ‘Speaking Qiang is permitted in school.’

See also Section 4.3.6.1 for examples of the auxiliary verbs /tɕɕaq-lu/ ‘think of, want’, and /zulu/ ‘wait’, used in optative constructions, and Section 4.3.4.4 on the auxiliary verb /dze/, which is used to mark the experiential aspect.

#### 4.2.7. *The copula*

There is only one copula, /ŋuə/, which is used in identificational, attributive, and cleft constructions, and after nominalized verbs (see for example §4.3.6.3, §5.2). The copula can take person marking in some contexts, but often does not take aspect marking, unless it is causativized or appears with the particle /-s/ (see §4.4).

In some < NP NP > type equational clauses, most noticeably statements of the date or of the age of a person, the copula is optional, as in the following example:

- (4.43) *pəs*                    *xsə-çə-tç-ko-tçu.*  
 today                    three-month-GEN-five-beginning  
 ‘Today is March fifth.’

Following are examples of the copula with first and second person marking (see §5.3 on the structure of these examples):

- (4.44) a. *qa-wu*            *the:*    *zə-dzi*            *ŋua.*                    (< ŋuə)  
 1sg-AGT            3sg    DIR-hit            COP:1sg  
 ‘I hit him (emphatic) / I am the one who hit him.’
- b. *?ũ-wu*            *the:*    *zə-dzi*            *ŋuə-n.*  
 2sg-AGT            3sg    DIR-hit            COP-2sg  
 ‘You hit him (emphatic) / You are the one who hit him.’

### 4.3. Verbal morphology

This section presents the most complex aspect of Qiang grammar, the verbal morphology. It begins with a look at how a speaker can take different perspectives in profiling an event or situation using differences of word order (§4.3.1), then covers the different morphological systems for marking person (§4.3.2), the direction or orientation of the action (§4.3.3), aspect (§4.3.4), illocutionary force (§4.3.5), mood (§4.3.6), and evidentials (§4.3.7).

#### 4.3.1. Perspective

There is no voice opposition in the verb, though the perspective taken in expressing an action can differ due to changes in word order because of topicalization or the use of a cleft construction. The noun phrase representing the undergoer can be simply fronted to make it the topic, though the noun phrase representing the recipient generally must appear

in a cleft construction to be a topic. See also the section on transitive actors (§3.2.3).

Compare the following three examples:

- (4.45) a. *qa*      *khuə-e-zi*      *zə-pa.*      (< pə)  
 1sg      dog-one-CL      DIR-buy:1sg  
 ‘I bought a dog.’
- b. *khuə-le:*      *qa-wu*      *pa:*      *lu.*  
 dog-DEF:CL 1sg-AGT buy:1sg:PRS will  
 ‘I will buy the dog.’ (‘The dog I will buy.’)
- c. *khuə-le:*      *qa-(wu)*      *zə-p-ji*      *ŋuə.*  
 dog-DEF:CL 1sg-AGT DIR-buy-CSM COP  
 ‘It was I who bought the dog.’ (‘The dog was bought by me.’)

The clause in (4.45a) is an unmarked clause structure; most often the actor is the topic, and so the word order is Actor-Undergoer-Verb, but the word order does not determine grammatical or semantic relations and is not determined by grammatical or semantic relations. The clause in (4.45b) has the noun phrase representing the undergoer in topic position, while the one in (4.45c) has the undergoer as topic of a cleft construction. Because this last example has a third person referent as the first argument of the copula, there is no first person marking on the copula.

Of the following two examples, (4.46a) has the undergoer in topic position, and the reference to the non-specific actor is optional. In (4.46b) there is more emphasis on the non-specific actor, as the noun phrase used to refer to it is in topic position.

- (4.46) a. *qa*      (*mi-wu*)      *zə-dzi.*  
 1sg      person-AGT      DIR-hit  
 ‘I was hit.’ (lit.: ‘Someone hit me.’)
- b. *mi-wu*      *qa*      *zə-dzi.*  
 person-AGT 1sg      DIR-hit  
 ‘Someone hit me.’

It is also possible in many cases to omit reference to a referential actor, as in the following example. The identity of the referent is often still recoverable from the person marking on the verb, but omitting such reference puts more emphasis on the undergoer.

- (4.47) *panə-le:*                    *fiə-χ-kə-n.*  
 thing-DEF:CL            DIR-bad-INF-2sg  
 ‘It seems the thing was broken (by you).’  
 (lit.: ‘It seems you broke the thing.’)

Following is an example of the noun phrase representing the undergoer of a ditransitive clause in topic position (in a cleft construction):

- (4.48) *tʂhetsə-le:*   *qa*   *the:*   *de-l-ji*            *ŋuə.*  
 car-DEF:CL 1sg   3sg   DIR-give-CSM   COP  
 ‘The car was given to him by me.’

The non-actor person marking on the verb has the sense in some contexts of an adversative passive. See the next section (§4.3.2) for examples.

#### 4.3.2. Person marking

In general, the verb in a non-nominalized Qiang clause has marking which reflects the person and number of the actor of a transitive clause and the single direct argument of an intransitive clause. The marking takes the form of suffixes, which are added to the last element in the verb complex. The forms are given in Table 8.

Table 8. The Qiang person marking suffixes for intransitive verbs

|          | 1  | 2  | 3    |
|----------|----|----|------|
| singular | -a | -n | -Ø   |
| plural   | -ʰ | -i | -tci |

All verbs can take person marking, including adjectives (intransitive stative predicate verbs; see §4.2.3 for examples of person marking on

adjectives), but only animate arguments are reflected in the person marking. In some contexts, such as nominalizations, no person marking is used, while in other contexts, such as with some third-person plural actors, the person marking is optional. The use of the person marking also has meaning within the system of evidentials (see §4.3.7).

The suffix for first-person actor is /-a/ (possibly < Proto-Qiangic \*-ŋa), but if the final vowel of the verb complex is /e/ or in some cases /i/, the first-person actor marking combines with the final vowel of the root to become [a] (e.g. /tse/ ‘look at’ > [tsa] ‘I look at’; /zɿ/ ‘locative/existential verb for animates’ > [zɿa] ‘I am [at some location]’), or, if the vowel is /y/ or in some cases /i/, the first-person actor marking becomes [a] and is added after the final vowel (e.g. /jy/ ‘postverbal aspect particle’ > [jya]; /tiwi/ ‘tall’ > [tiwia] ‘I’m tall(er)’). If the final vowel of the verb complex is a schwa, then this vowel drops completely when /-a/ is added (e.g. /pə/ ‘buy’ > [pa] ‘I am buying’); otherwise the suffix is added after the final vowel (e.g. /zulu/ ‘wait’ > [zulua] ‘I am waiting’). When combined with prospective aspect marking, the vowel is lengthened (e.g. /pə/ ‘buy’, [pa] ‘I am buying’, [pa:] ‘I’m going to buy’).

The second person singular form possibly derives from a Proto-Qiangic \*-na, which itself (as well as the Proto-Qiangic first person singular form) would have been a grammaticalization of the free pronoun into person marking on the verb (cf. the discussion of the Tangut forms in LaPolla 1992b, 1994). The origin of the plural first and second person forms is unknown. The third person plural form seems, from comparative evidence, to derive from number rather than person marking: in the Mawo dialect (Sun 1981a; Liu 1999), the form /-tɕi/ is used for both second and third person plural forms, and is distinct from the person marking (/ -n/ and /-ji/ respectively). In the Mawo dialect the prospective aspect marker (/ -a:/) can appear between the number and person marking, e.g. [dzutɕa:n] (< /dzu + tɕi + a: + n/) ‘you(pl) will sit’ (cf. Liu 1998b), which shows they were originally two distinct grammatical categories, but in the Ronghong dialect this distinction has been lost.

Following are full examples of the three singular markings:



- (4.49) *qa*      *kosu-pi-wu*      *fā-a-qəi*      *zə-pa.*  
 1sg      fifty-CL-INST      clothes-one-CL      DIR-buy:1sg  
 ‘I bought one item of clothing for fifty dollars.’
- (4.50) *?ũ*      *kosu-pi-wu*      *fā-a-qəi*      *zə-pə-n.*  
 2sg      fifty-CL-INST      clothing-one-CL      DIR-buy-2sg  
 ‘You bought an item of clothing for fifty dollars.’
- (4.51) *the:*      *kosu-pi-wu*      *fā-a-qəi*      *zə-pə.*  
 3sg      fifty-CL-INST      clothing-one-CL      DIR-buy  
 ‘S/he bought an item of clothing for fifty dollars.’

There is another set of suffixes which can be used to mark the undergoer of a transitive verb, the goal/recipient of a ditransitive verb (the undergoer of a ditransitive verb is not reflected in the person marking), or even a genitive or benefactive argument.<sup>66</sup> These forms are given in Table 9:

Table 9. The Qiang non-actor person marking suffixes

|    | 1                       | 2            | 3                        |
|----|-------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| sg | - <i>sa</i>             | - <i>san</i> | - <i>wə</i> ~ - <i>u</i> |
| pl | - <i>sa<sup>t</sup></i> | - <i>sai</i> | - <i>wə</i> ~ - <i>u</i> |

The first and second person forms clearly incorporate the first and second person actor forms /-a/, /-<sup>t</sup>/ and /-n/, /-i/ respectively, but the origins of the initial of the first person forms and /sa/ of the second person forms are unclear.<sup>67</sup>

As mentioned above, the non-actor person marking also helps to show perspective, as it is generally used only when the topic is a non-actor human referent. Contrast (4.52a), which has a 1st person actor/topic and (4.52b), which has a third person non-actor/topic.

- (4.52) a. *qa-(wu)*      *the:*      *ləyz*      *e-pen*      *de-l-a.*  
 1sg-AGT      3sg      book      one-CL      DIR-give-1sg  
 ‘I gave him a book.’

- b. *the: qa-wu ləyz e-pen de-l-wa.* (< wə + a)  
 3sg 1sg-AGT book one-CL DIR-give-3sg:1sg  
 ‘Him I gave a book to.’

The non-actor marking is optional in most contexts, and when used it sometimes has the feeling of an adversative passive, as in (4.53a-b):

- (4.53) a. *eiŋi ʔũ mo-lu-n-tu the: mi-ta*  
 next.year 2sg NEG-come-2sg-LNK 3sg other.person-LOC  
*ɣʌa:-san.*  
 marry:PRS-2sgU  
 ‘If you don’t come back next year, she will marry someone else.’
- b. *ʔũ tsa tca-lau-tha, tatə tə-khua:-san.*  
 2sg here NEG.IMP-be.noisy-AUX father DIR-angry:PRS-2sgU  
 ‘Don’t be noisy here or your father will be angry (at you).’

Here the use of the non-actor marking is not marking an argument of the verb, but a referent who will be affected by the action (in a negative way). The forms for first and second person non-actor are generally used only when there is a third person actor. The entire set of possible suffixes for the transitive verb are given in Table 10.

*Table 10.* The Qiang person marking suffixes for transitive verbs

|   |     | Non-Actor |         |          |          |         |         |
|---|-----|-----------|---------|----------|----------|---------|---------|
|   |     | 1sg       | 1pl     | 2sg      | 2pl      | 3sg     | 3pl     |
| A | 1sg |           |         | -a       | -a       | -wa     | -wa     |
| c | 1pl |           |         | -ʻ       | -ʻ       | -wəʻ    | -wəʻ    |
| t | 2sg | -n        | -n      |          |          | -wən    | -wən    |
| o | 2pl | -i        | -i      |          |          | -wəi    | -wəi    |
| r | 3sg | -ʂa       | -ʂaʻ    | -san     | -sai     | -wə     | -wə-tci |
|   | 3pl | -tci-ʂa   | -tci-ʂa | -tci-san | -tci-sai | -wə-tci | -wə-tci |

Following are examples of the non-actor person marking that would be used in imperfective, prospective and perfective situations. The first person forms are generally not used in situations where the clause refers to some future event, and so the examples in (4.57a-b) do not have this marking, and instead have the marking usually used for first person

actors. This is quite exceptional in the overall system, which is generally clearly based on an actor/non-actor contrast.

Imperfective:

- (4.54) a. *lausə qa xe-ʂa.*  
 teacher 1sg scold-1sgU  
 ‘The teacher is scolding me.’
- b. *lausə tcile xe-ʂaʹ.*  
 teacher 1pl scold-1plU  
 ‘The teacher is scolding us.’
- (4.55) a. *lausə ?ũ xe-san.*  
 teacher 2sg scold-2sgU  
 ‘The teacher is scolding you(sg).’
- b. *lausə ?ile xe-sai.*  
 teacher 2pl scold-2plU  
 ‘The teacher is scolding you(pl).’
- (4.56) a. *lausə the: xe-w.*  
 teacher 3sg scold-3U  
 ‘The teacher is scolding him/her.’
- b. *lausə themle xe-w-tci.*  
 teacher 3pl scold-3U-3pl  
 ‘The teachers are scolding them.’

Prospective aspect:

- (4.57) a. *lausə qa xa:.*  
 teacher 1sg scold:PRS:1sg  
 ‘The teacher will scold me.’
- b. *lausə tcile xa:ʹ.*  
 teacher 1pl scold:PRS:1pl  
 ‘The teacher will scold us.’

(4.58) a. *lausə ?ũ xa:-san.*  
 teacher 2sg scold:PRS-2sgU  
 ‘The teacher will scold you(sg).’

b. *lausə ?ile xa:-sai.*  
 teacher 2pl scold:PRS-2plU  
 ‘The teacher will scold you(pl).’

(4.59) a. *lausə the: xe-wa:.*  
 teacher 3sg scold-PRS:3U  
 ‘The teacher will scold him/her.’

b. *lausə themle xe-wa:-tci.*  
 teacher 3pl scold-PRS:3U-3pl  
 ‘The teacher will scold them.’

Perfective:

(4.60) a. *the: nə-xe-w.*  
 3sg DIR-scold-3U  
 ‘(The teacher) scolded him/her.’

b. *themle nə-xe-w-tci.*  
 3sg DIR-scold-3U-3pl  
 ‘(The teachers) scolded them.’

(4.61) a. *qa nə-xe-ʂa.*  
 1sg DIR-scold-1sgU  
 ‘The teacher scolded me.’

b. *tciile nə-xe-ʂaʔ.*  
 1pl DIR-scold-1plU  
 ‘The teacher scolded us.’

(4.62) a. *?ũ ne-xe-san.*  
 2sg DIR-scold-2sgU  
 ‘The teacher scolded you(sg).’

- b. *ʔile ne-xe-sai.*  
 2pl DIR-scold-2plU  
 ‘The teacher scolded you(pl).’

Following is an example with third plural actor marking and first singular non-actor marking:

- (4.63) *themle qa xe-tci-ʂa.*  
 3pl 1sg scold-3pl-1plU  
 ‘They are scolding me.’

In the next two examples there is a first or second person actor and a third person undergoer, and so the verb exhibits first or second person actor marking and third person non-actor marking. In the case of ditransitives, such as these examples, the non-actor person marking reflects the person of the goal or recipient, not the undergoer.

- (4.64) *dzə-ŋuəŋi qa the:-ta kə-ji-wa.* (< wə + a)  
 thing-TOP 1sg 3sg-LOC thus-say-3sgU:1sg  
 ‘I told him/her about something concerning him/her.’

- (4.65) *dzə-ŋuəŋi ʔü the:-ta kə-ji-wə-n.*  
 thing-TOP 2sg 3sg-LOC thus-say-3sgU-2sg  
 ‘You told him/her something concerning him/her.’

The following two examples show one situation in which plural marking is not necessary, that where two referents are conjoined into a single plural argument by the conjunction /ŋa/:

- (4.66) *qa-ŋa-the: itci ka:.*  
 1sg-COM-3sg together go:PRS  
 ‘S/he and I will go together.’
- (4.67) *xʂe-ŋa-tshe za-ka ʂaf dzə.*  
 cow-COM-sheep field-LOC grass eat  
 ‘The cow and sheep eat grass in the field.’

The following three examples show person marking reflecting a possessor, a benefactive marked with /χua-ŋi/ and a benefactive marked with /-tɕ/, respectively:

- (4.68) *ʔũ-panə-la-ha tsa ʂə-san.*  
 2sg-thing-DEF:one-pl here exist-2sgU  
 ‘Your things are here.’

- (4.69) *ʔũ-χua-(ŋi) qupu ictɕimaqa ha-κ-ŋi*  
 2sg-BEN-ADV 3sg often DIR-go-ADV  
*səpe phiphi-kəpə-san.*  
 medicine dig-HABIT-2sgU  
 ‘For your sake, s/he often goes to dig medicine.’

- (4.70) *the: qa-tɕ zə-p-ʂa.*  
 3sg 1sg-GEN DIR-buy-1sgU  
 ‘S/he bought it for me.’

Following are the full paradigms for intransitive and transitive verbs with different types of finals, in their imperfective, prospective aspect and prefixed (perfective) forms.<sup>68</sup>

| <b>nə ‘to sleep’</b> | Prospective   | Imperfective | Prefixed       |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1sg sleep            | <i>na:</i>    | <i>na</i>    | <i>hana</i>    |
| 2sg sleep            | <i>na:n</i>   | <i>nən</i>   | <i>hanən</i>   |
| 3sg sleep            | <i>na:</i>    | <i>nə</i>    | <i>han</i>     |
| 1pl sleep            | <i>na:ʔ</i>   | <i>nəʔ</i>   | <i>hanəʔ</i>   |
| 2pl sleep            | <i>na:i</i>   | <i>nəi</i>   | <i>hanəi</i>   |
| 3pl sleep            | <i>na:tɕi</i> | <i>nətɕi</i> | <i>hantɕi</i>  |
| <b>zei ‘to cry’</b>  | Prospective   | Imperfective | Prefixed       |
| 1sg cry              | <i>zeia:</i>  | <i>zeia</i>  | <i>hezeia</i>  |
| 2sg cry              | <i>zeia:n</i> | <i>zein</i>  | <i>hezein</i>  |
| 3sg cry              | <i>zeia:</i>  | <i>zei</i>   | <i>hezei</i>   |
| 1pl cry              | <i>zeia:ʔ</i> | <i>zeiəʔ</i> | <i>hezeiəʔ</i> |
| 2pl cry              | <i>zeia:i</i> | <i>zeiəi</i> | <i>hezeiəi</i> |

|                            |                    |                                |                  |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| 3pl cry                    | <i>zeia:tei</i>    | <i>zeitci</i>                  | <i>fiezeitci</i> |
| <b>phu ‘to flee’</b>       | Prospective        | Imperfective                   | Prefixed         |
| 1sg flee                   | <i>phua:</i>       | <i>phua</i>                    | <i>duφua</i>     |
| 2sg flee                   | <i>phua:n</i>      | <i>phun</i>                    | <i>duφun</i>     |
| 3sg flee                   | <i>phua:</i>       | <i>phu</i>                     | <i>duφu</i>      |
| 1pl flee                   | <i>phua:ʔ</i>      | <i>phuʔ</i>                    | <i>duφuʔ</i>     |
| 2pl flee                   | <i>phua:i</i>      | <i>phui</i>                    | <i>duφui</i>     |
| 3pl flee                   | <i>phua:tei</i>    | <i>phutci</i>                  | <i>duφutci</i>   |
| <b>sue ‘to shine’</b>      | Prospective        | Imperfective                   | Prefixed         |
| 1sg shine                  | <i>sua:</i>        | <i>sua</i>                     | <i>isua</i>      |
| 2sg shine                  | <i>sua:n</i>       | <i>suen</i>                    | <i>isuen</i>     |
| 3sg shine                  | <i>sua:</i>        | <i>sue</i>                     | <i>isue</i>      |
| 1pl shine                  | <i>sua:ʔ</i>       | <i>sueʔ</i>                    | <i>isueʔ</i>     |
| 2pl shine                  | <i>sua:i</i>       | <i>suei</i>                    | <i>isuei</i>     |
| 3pl shine                  | <i>sua:tei</i>     | <i>suetcı</i>                  | <i>isuetci</i>   |
| <b>χsa ‘understand’</b>    | Prospective        | Imperfective                   | Prefixed         |
| 1sg understand             | <i>χsa:</i>        | <i>χsa</i>                     | <i>təχsa</i>     |
| 2sg understand             | <i>χsa:n</i>       | <i>χsan</i>                    | <i>təχsan</i>    |
| 3sg understand             | <i>χsa:</i>        | <i>χsa</i>                     | <i>təχsa</i>     |
| 1pl understand             | <i>χsa:ʔ</i>       | <i>χsaʔ</i>                    | <i>təχsaʔ</i>    |
| 2pl understand             | <i>χsa:i</i>       | <i>χsai</i>                    | <i>təχsai</i>    |
| 3pl understand             | <i>χsa:tei</i>     | <i>χsatci</i>                  | <i>təχsatci</i>  |
| <b>xe ‘to scold/curse’</b> | Prospective        | Imperfective                   | Prefixed         |
| 1sg scold 2sg              | <i>xa:</i>         | <i>xa</i>                      | <i>nəxa</i>      |
| 1sg scold 3sg              | <i>xa: (xewa:)</i> | <i>xa (xewa)</i> <sup>69</sup> | <i>nəxewa</i>    |
| 1sg scold 2pl              | <i>xa:</i>         | <i>xa</i>                      | <i>nəxa</i>      |
| 1sg scold 3pl              | <i>xa:</i>         | <i>xa</i>                      | <i>nəxa</i>      |
| 2sg scold 1sg              | <i>xa:n</i>        | <i>xen</i>                     | <i>nəxen</i>     |
| 2sg scold 3sg              | <i>xewa:n</i>      | <i>xewen</i>                   | <i>nəxewen</i>   |
| 2sg scold 1pl              | <i>xa:n</i>        | <i>xen</i>                     | <i>nəxen</i>     |

|               |                        |                       |                         |
|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 2sg scold 3pl | <i>xewa:n</i>          | <i>xewen</i>          | <i>nəxewen</i>          |
| 3sg scold 1sg | <i>xa:</i>             | <i>xe</i>             | <i>nəxe</i>             |
| 3sg scold 2sg | <i>xa:san</i>          | <i>xesan</i>          | <i>nəxesan</i>          |
| 3sg scold 3sg | <i>xewa:</i>           | <i>xew</i>            | <i>nəxew</i>            |
| 3sg scold 1pl | <i>xa:</i>             | <i>xe</i>             | <i>nəxe</i>             |
| 3sg scold 2pl | <i>xa:sai</i>          | <i>xesai</i>          | <i>nəxesai</i>          |
| 3sg scold 3pl | <i>xewa:</i>           | <i>xew</i>            | <i>nəxw</i>             |
| 1pl scold 2sg | <i>xa:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>xe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>nəxe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl scold 3sg | <i>xa:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>xe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>nəxe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl scold 2pl | <i>xa:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>xe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>nəxe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl scold 3pl | <i>xa:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>xe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>nəxe<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 2pl scold 1sg | <i>xa:i</i>            | <i>xei</i>            | <i>nəxei</i>            |
| 2pl scold 3sg | <i>xewa:i</i>          | <i>xewei</i>          | <i>nəxewei</i>          |
| 2pl scold 1pl | <i>xa:i</i>            | <i>xei</i>            | <i>nəxei</i>            |
| 2pl scold 3pl | <i>xewa:i</i>          | <i>xewei</i>          | <i>nəxewei</i>          |
| 3pl scold 1sg | <i>xewa:tci</i>        | <i>xetci</i>          | <i>nəxetci</i>          |
| 3pl scold 2sg | <i>xa:san</i>          | <i>xesan</i>          | <i>nəxesan</i>          |
| 3pl scold 3sg | <i>xewa:tci</i>        | <i>xewtci</i>         | <i>nəxewtci</i>         |
| 3pl scold 1pl | <i>xa:tci</i>          | <i>xetci</i>          | <i>nəxetci</i>          |
| 3pl scold 2pl | <i>xa:sai</i>          | <i>xesai</i>          | <i>nəxesai</i>          |
| 3pl scold 3pl | <i>xewa:tci</i>        | <i>xewtci</i>         | <i>nəxewtci</i>         |

|                              |             |              |          |
|------------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------|
| <b>bie ‘carry (on back)’</b> | Prospective | Imperfective | Prefixed |
|------------------------------|-------------|--------------|----------|

|               |                |               |                       |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1sg carry 2sg | <i>bia:</i>    | <i>bia</i>    | <i>feibia</i>         |
| 1sg carry 3sg | <i>bia:</i>    | <i>bia</i>    | <i>feibia</i>         |
| 1sg carry 2pl | <i>bia:</i>    | <i>bia</i>    | <i>feibia</i>         |
| 1sg carry 3pl | <i>bia:</i>    | <i>bia</i>    | <i>feibia</i>         |
| 2sg carry 1sg | <i>bia:n</i>   | <i>bien</i>   | <i>feibien(--bin)</i> |
| 2sg carry 3sg | <i>biewa:n</i> | <i>biewən</i> | <i>feibiwən</i>       |
| 2sg carry 1pl | <i>bia:n</i>   | <i>bien</i>   | <i>feibin</i>         |
| 2sg carry 3pl | <i>biewa:n</i> | <i>biewən</i> | <i>feibiwən</i>       |
| 3sg carry 1sg | <i>bia:</i>    | <i>bie</i>    | <i>feibi</i>          |
| 3sg carry 2sg | <i>bia:san</i> | <i>biesan</i> | <i>feibisan</i>       |
| 3sg carry 3sg | <i>biewa:</i>  | <i>biew</i>   | <i>feibiw</i>         |
| 3sg carry 1pl | <i>bia:i</i>   | <i>bie</i>    | <i>feibi</i>          |
| 3sg carry 2pl | <i>bia:sai</i> | <i>biesai</i> | <i>feibisai</i>       |
| 3sg carry 3pl | <i>biewa:</i>  | <i>biew</i>   | <i>feibiw</i>         |



|               |                         |                        |                           |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1pl carry 2sg | <i>bia:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>bie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>ʃeibie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl carry 3sg | <i>bia:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>bie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>ʃeibie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl carry 2pl | <i>bia:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>bie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>ʃeibie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl carry 3pl | <i>bia:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>bie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>ʃeibie<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 2pl carry 1sg | <i>bia:i</i>            | <i>biei</i>            | <i>ʃeibii</i>             |
| 2pl carry 3sg | <i>biewa:i</i>          | <i>biewei</i>          | <i>ʃeibiwei</i>           |
| 2pl carry 1pl | <i>bia:i</i>            | <i>biei</i>            | <i>ʃeibii</i>             |
| 2pl carry 3pl | <i>biewa:i</i>          | <i>biewei</i>          | <i>ʃeibiwei</i>           |
| 3pl carry 1sg | <i>bia:it̤ei</i>        | <i>biet̤ei</i>         | <i>ʃeibit̤ei</i>          |
| 3pl carry 2sg | <i>bia:san</i>          | <i>biesan</i>          | <i>ʃeibisan</i>           |
| 3pl carry 3sg | <i>biewa:it̤ei</i>      | <i>biewt̤ei</i>        | <i>ʃeibiw̄t̤ei</i>        |
| 3pl carry 1pl | <i>bia:it̤ei</i>        | <i>biet̤ei</i>         | <i>ʃeibit̤ei</i>          |
| 3pl carry 2pl | <i>bia:sai</i>          | <i>biesai</i>          | <i>ʃeibisai</i>           |
| 3pl carry 3pl | <i>biewa:t̤ei</i>       | <i>biewt̤ei</i>        | <i>ʃeibiw̄t̤ei</i>        |

| <b>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z</b> ‘search for’ | Prospective                  | Imperfective                         | Prefixed                               |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1sg search for 2sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             |
| 1sg search for 3sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             |
| 1sg search for 2pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             |
| 1sg search for 3pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z a</i>             |
| 2sg search for 1sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:n</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z ən</i>            | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z ən</i>            |
| 2sg search for 3sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wa:n</i>  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wən</i>           | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z wən</i>           |
| 2sg search for 1pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:n</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z ən</i>            | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z ən</i>            |
| 2sg search for 3pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wa:n</i>  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wən</i>           | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z wən</i>           |
| 3sg search for 1sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:i</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z</i>               | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z</i>               |
| 3sg search for 2sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:san</i> | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z san</i>           | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z san</i>           |
| 3sg search for 3sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wa:</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z w</i>             | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z wə</i>            |
| 3sg search for 1pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:i</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z</i>               | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z</i>               |
| 3sg search for 2pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:sai</i> | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z sai</i>           | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z sai</i>           |
| 3sg search for 3pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wa:</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wə</i>            | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z wə</i>            |
| 1pl search for 2sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl search for 3sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl search for 2pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl search for 3pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:</i>    | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z ə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 2pl search for 1sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:i</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z əi</i>            | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z əi</i>            |
| 2pl search for 3sg                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wa:i</i>  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z wei</i>           | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z wei</i>           |
| 2pl search for 1pl                  | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z a:i</i>   | <i>me<sup>ʔ</sup>z əi</i>            | <i>təme<sup>ʔ</sup>z əi</i>            |

|                    |                   |                   |                     |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 2pl search for 3pl | <i>me'zwa:i</i>   | <i>me'zwei</i>    | <i>təme'zwei</i>    |
| 3pl search for 1sg | <i>me'za:itci</i> | <i>me'z tci</i>   | <i>təme'z tci</i>   |
| 3pl search for 2sg | <i>me'za:san</i>  | <i>me'z san</i>   | <i>təme'z san</i>   |
| 3pl search for 3sg | <i>me'zwa:</i>    | <i>me'z wə</i>    | <i>təme'z wə</i>    |
| 3sg search for 1pl | <i>me'za:itci</i> | <i>me'z tci</i>   | <i>təme'z tci</i>   |
| 3sg search for 2pl | <i>me'za:sai</i>  | <i>me'z sai</i>   | <i>təme'z sai</i>   |
| 3sg search for 3pl | <i>me'zwa:tci</i> | <i>me'z wətci</i> | <i>təme'z wətci</i> |

| <b>zulu 'to wait for'</b> | Prospective       | Imperfective     | Prefixed          |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1sg wait for 2sg          | <i>zulua:</i>     | <i>zulua</i>     | <i>uzulua</i>     |
| 1sg wait for 3sg          | <i>zulua:</i>     | <i>zulua</i>     | <i>uzulua</i>     |
| 1sg wait for 2pl          | <i>zulua:</i>     | <i>zulua</i>     | <i>uzulua</i>     |
| 1sg wait for 3pl          | <i>zulua:</i>     | <i>zulua</i>     | <i>uzulua</i>     |
| 2sg wait for 1sg          | <i>zulua:n</i>    | <i>zuluən</i>    | <i>uzuluən</i>    |
| 2sg wait for 3sg          | <i>zulɥwa:n</i>   | <i>zulɥwən</i>   | <i>uzulɥwən</i>   |
| 2sg wait for 1pl          | <i>zulua:n</i>    | <i>zuluən</i>    | <i>uzuluən</i>    |
| 2sg wait for 3pl          | <i>zulɥwa:n</i>   | <i>zulɥwən</i>   | <i>uzulɥwən</i>   |
| 3sg wait for 1sg          | <i>zulua:i</i>    | <i>zulɥ</i>      | <i>uzulɥ</i>      |
| 3sg wait for 2sg          | <i>zulua:san</i>  | <i>zulɥsan</i>   | <i>uzulɥsan</i>   |
| 3sg wait for 3sg          | <i>zulɥwa:</i>    | <i>zulɥwə</i>    | <i>uzulɥwə</i>    |
| 3sg wait for 1pl          | <i>zulua:i</i>    | <i>zulɥ</i>      | <i>uzulɥ</i>      |
| 3sg wait for 2pl          | <i>zulua:sai</i>  | <i>zulɥsai</i>   | <i>uzulɥsai</i>   |
| 3sg wait for 3pl          | <i>zulɥwa:</i>    | <i>zulɥwə</i>    | <i>uzulɥwə</i>    |
| 1pl wait for 2sg          | <i>zulua:ʔ</i>    | <i>zuluəʔ</i>    | <i>uzuluəʔ</i>    |
| 1pl wait for 3sg          | <i>zulua:ʔ</i>    | <i>zuluəʔ</i>    | <i>uzuluəʔ</i>    |
| 1pl wait for 2pl          | <i>zulua:ʔ</i>    | <i>zuluəʔ</i>    | <i>uzuluəʔ</i>    |
| 1pl wait for 3pl          | <i>zulua:ʔ</i>    | <i>zuluəʔ</i>    | <i>uzuluəʔ</i>    |
| 2pl wait for 1sg          | <i>zulua:i</i>    | <i>zului</i>     | <i>uzului</i>     |
| 2pl wait for 3sg          | <i>zulɥwa:i</i>   | <i>zulɥwei</i>   | <i>uzulɥwei</i>   |
| 2pl wait for 1pl          | <i>zulua:i</i>    | <i>zului</i>     | <i>uzului</i>     |
| 2pl wait for 3pl          | <i>zulɥwa:i</i>   | <i>zulɥwei</i>   | <i>uzulɥwei</i>   |
| 3pl wait for 1sg          | <i>zulua:itci</i> | <i>zulɥtci</i>   | <i>uzulɥtci</i>   |
| 3pl wait for 2sg          | <i>zulua:san</i>  | <i>zulɥsan</i>   | <i>uzulɥsan</i>   |
| 3pl wait for 3sg          | <i>zulɥwa:</i>    | <i>zulɥwə</i>    | <i>uzulɥwə</i>    |
| 3pl wait for 1pl          | <i>zulua:itci</i> | <i>zulɥtci</i>   | <i>uzulɥtci</i>   |
| 3pl wait for 2pl          | <i>zulua:sai</i>  | <i>zulɥsai</i>   | <i>uzulɥsai</i>   |
| 3pl wait for 3pl          | <i>zulɥwa:tci</i> | <i>zulɥwətci</i> | <i>uzulɥwətci</i> |

| <b>dzete 'to hit'</b> | Prospective               | Imperfective             | Prefixed                   |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1sg hit 2sg           | <i>dzeta:</i>             | <i>dzeta</i>             | <i>zədzita</i>             |
| 1sg hit 3sg           | <i>dzeta:</i>             | <i>dzeta</i>             | <i>zədzita</i>             |
| 1sg hit 2pl           | <i>dzeta:</i>             | <i>dzeta</i>             | <i>zədzita</i>             |
| 1sg hit 3pl           | <i>dzeta:</i>             | <i>dzeta</i>             | <i>zədzita</i>             |
| 2sg hit 1sg           | <i>dzeta:n</i>            | <i>dzeten</i>            | <i>zədziten</i>            |
| 2sg hit 3sg           | <i>dzetewa:n</i>          | <i>dzetewən</i>          | <i>zədzitewən</i>          |
| 2sg hit 1pl           | <i>dzeta:n</i>            | <i>dzeten</i>            | <i>zədziten</i>            |
| 2sg hit 3pl           | <i>dzetenwa:n</i>         | <i>dzetewən</i>          | <i>zədzitewən</i>          |
| 3sg hit 1sg           | <i>dzeta:i</i>            | <i>dzete</i>             | <i>zədzite</i>             |
| 3sg hit 2sg           | <i>dzeta:san</i>          | <i>dzetesan</i>          | <i>zədzitesan</i>          |
| 3sg hit 3sg           | <i>dzetewa:</i>           | <i>dzetew</i>            | <i>zədzitew</i>            |
| 3sg hit 1pl           | <i>dzeta:i</i>            | <i>dzete</i>             | <i>zədzite</i>             |
| 3sg hit 2pl           | <i>dzeta:sai</i>          | <i>dzetesai</i>          | <i>zədzitesai</i>          |
| 3sg hit 3pl           | <i>dzetewa:</i>           | <i>dzetew</i>            | <i>zədzitew</i>            |
| 1pl hit 2sg           | <i>dzeta:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>dzete<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>zədzite<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl hit 3sg           | <i>dzeta:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>dzete<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>zədzite<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl hit 2pl           | <i>dzeta:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>dzete<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>zədzite<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl hit 3pl           | <i>dzeta:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>dzete<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>zədzite<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 2pl hit 1sg           | <i>dzeta:i</i>            | <i>dzetei</i>            | <i>zədzitei</i>            |
| 2pl hit 3sg           | <i>dzetewa:i</i>          | <i>dzetewei</i>          | <i>zədzitewei</i>          |
| 2pl hit 1pl           | <i>dzeta:i</i>            | <i>dzetei</i>            | <i>zədzitei</i>            |
| 2pl hit 3pl           | <i>dzetewa:i</i>          | <i>dzetewei</i>          | <i>zədzitewei</i>          |
| 3pl hit 1sg           | <i>dzeta:itci</i>         | <i>dzetetci</i>          | <i>zədzitetci</i>          |
| 3pl hit 2sg           | <i>dzeta:san</i>          | <i>dzetesan</i>          | <i>zədzitesan</i>          |
| 3pl hit 3sg           | <i>dzetewa:</i>           | <i>dzetew</i>            | <i>zədzitew</i>            |
| 3pl hit 1pl           | <i>dzeta:itci</i>         | <i>dzetetci</i>          | <i>zədzitetci</i>          |
| 3pl hit 2pl           | <i>dzeta:sai</i>          | <i>dzetesai</i>          | <i>zədzitesai</i>          |
| 3pl hit 3pl           | <i>dzetewa:tci</i>        | <i>dzetewtci</i>         | <i>zədzetewtci</i>         |
| <b>del 'to give'</b>  | Prospective <sup>70</sup> | Imperfective             | Prefixed                   |
| 1sg give 2sg          | <i>dela:</i>              | <i>dela</i>              | <i>dela</i>                |
| 1sg give 3sg          | <i>dela:</i>              | <i>dela</i>              | <i>dela</i>                |
| 1sg give 2pl          | <i>dela:</i>              | <i>dela</i>              | <i>dela</i>                |
| 1sg give 3pl          | <i>dela:</i>              | <i>dela</i>              | <i>dela</i>                |
| 2sg give 1sg          | <i>dela:n</i>             | <i>delən</i>             | <i>delən</i>               |

|              |                          |                         |                         |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2sg give 3sg | <i>delwa:n</i>           | <i>delwən</i>           | <i>delwən</i>           |
| 2sg give 1pl | <i>dela:n</i>            | <i>delən</i>            | <i>delən</i>            |
| 2sg give 3pl | <i>delwa:n</i>           | <i>delwən</i>           | <i>delwən</i>           |
| 3sg give 1sg | <i>dela:</i>             | <i>del</i>              | <i>del</i>              |
| 3sg give 2sg | <i>dela:san</i>          | <i>delsan</i>           | <i>delsan</i>           |
| 3sg give 3sg | <i>delwa:</i>            | <i>delwə</i>            | <i>delwə</i>            |
| 3sg give 1pl | <i>dela:</i>             | <i>del</i>              | <i>del</i>              |
| 3sg give 2pl | <i>dela:sai</i>          | <i>delsai</i>           | <i>delsai</i>           |
| 3sg give 3pl | <i>delwa:</i>            | <i>delwə</i>            | <i>delwə</i>            |
| 1pl give 2sg | <i>dela:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl give 3sg | <i>dela:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl give 2pl | <i>dela:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 1pl give 3pl | <i>dela:<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> | <i>delə<sup>ʔ</sup></i> |
| 2pl give 1sg | <i>dela:i</i>            | <i>deləi</i>            | <i>deləi</i>            |
| 2pl give 3sg | <i>delwa:i</i>           | <i>delwei</i>           | <i>delwei</i>           |
| 2pl give 1pl | <i>dela:i</i>            | <i>deləi</i>            | <i>deləi</i>            |
| 2pl give 3pl | <i>delwa:i</i>           | <i>delwei</i>           | <i>delwei</i>           |
| 3pl give 1sg | <i>dela:tci</i>          | <i>deltci</i>           | <i>deltci</i>           |
| 3pl give 2sg | <i>dela:san</i>          | <i>delsan</i>           | <i>delsan</i>           |
| 3pl give 3sg | <i>delwa:itci</i>        | <i>delwətci</i>         | <i>delwətci</i>         |
| 3pl give 1pl | <i>dela:tci</i>          | <i>deltci</i>           | <i>deltci</i>           |
| 3pl give 2pl | <i>dela:sai</i>          | <i>delsai</i>           | <i>delsai</i>           |
| 3pl give 3pl | <i>delwa:tci</i>         | <i>delwətci</i>         | <i>delwətci</i>         |

#### 4.3.3. *Direction marking*

There is a set of verbal prefixes in Qiang which mark the direction of the action. There are eight different prefixes, but not all verbs can take all eight prefixes; some, such as /tse/ ‘look at’ can only take one prefix. This restriction seems to be in some cases lexical rather than semantic (in some cases it is clearly semantic), as there is another verb, /lə/ ‘look at’ which has roughly the same semantics as /tse/, but can take all eight of the directional prefixes (see below). Out of a study of 400 verbs, Huang (1997:71) found that 104 of them (26%) took only one of the prefixes, 116 (29%) took two prefixes, 88 (22%) took all eight prefixes, and the rest took between three and seven of the prefixes. Of the prefixes that the verbs could take, the two marking ‘up’ and ‘down’ (see

below) were the most common, being used on 243 and 234 verbs respectively, while the rest were used on 123 to 199 verbs of the set. Huang explains this as being related to the fact that the Qiang people live on steep mountain sides. Another factor could be the many metaphorical uses of ‘up’ and ‘down’ (see the list of metaphorical pairs below).

While the systems of direction marking prefixes are generally similar among Qiang dialects (and is found in other Qiangic languages), the Ronghong dialect system differs from the Mawo dialect system discussed in Sun 1981a and Sun 1981b, in that it does not include the two forms referring to action towards or away from a stream in a mountain valley, and it also does not have a form for backward motion. Instead it has two other prefixes that mark the direction of action into some container or out of some container (distinct from the two prefixes marking direction towards the center and outward from the center). This system is then more similar to that in the southern Qiang dialect of Taoping, also discussed in Sun 1981a.<sup>71</sup>

The form of the prefix follows the rules of vowel harmony: with a stressed root vowel, the prefix harmonizes with it (see §2.4.3); with an unstressed root vowel, the vowel of the prefix is usually [-ə], [-a], or [-ɑ]. In a few cases, the vowel can become a diphthong: [fiei-bi] < /bie/ ‘carry on back’; [de-ʂe ~ die-ʂe] < /ʂe/ ‘die’; [da-qəθi ~ dia-qəθi ~ die-qəθi] ‘take (clothes, backpack) off from one’s back’; [de-mi ~ die-mi] ‘go out’. Following are examples of the use of the prefixes with different verbs.

**lu ‘come’**

-----

*tulu* ‘come vertically up’  
*fiolu* ‘come vertically down’  
*nulu* ‘come upstream’  
*sulu* ‘come downstream’  
*zulu* ‘come towards the center’  
 (no form)  
*ulu* ‘come in’  
*holu* ‘come out’

**kuəte ‘throw’**

-----

*təku* ‘throw vertically up’  
*fiaku* ‘throw vertically down’  
*nəku* ‘throw upstream’  
*səku* ‘throw downstream’  
*zəku* ‘throw towards center’  
*ɖaku* ‘throw out from center’  
*əkʊ* ‘throw in’  
*haku* ‘throw out’

**lə 'look'**

|             |                            |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| <i>təl</i>  | 'look upward'              |
| <i>fiəl</i> | 'look downward'            |
| <i>nəl</i>  | 'look upstream'            |
| <i>səl</i>  | 'look downstream'          |
| <i>zəl</i>  | 'look toward center'       |
| <i>dəl</i>  | 'look outward from center' |
| <i>əl</i>   | 'look in'                  |
| <i>hal</i>  | 'look out'                 |

**tʂhu 'stretch'**

|                |                           |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>tutʂhu</i>  | 'stretch upward'          |
| <i>fiotʂhu</i> | 'stretch downward'        |
| <i>nutʂhu</i>  | 'stretch upstream'        |
| <i>sutʂhu</i>  | 'stretch downstream'      |
| <i>zutʂhu</i>  | 'stretch toward center'   |
| <i>dotʂhu</i>  | 'stretch out from center' |
| <i>utʂhu</i>   | 'stretch in'              |
| <i>hotʂhu</i>  | 'stretch out'             |

Which prefix is used of course reflects where the person performing the action is relative to the goal. For example, in (4.71), we can guess that the addressee (not necessarily the speaker) is or will be in the Chibusu District, as the prefix marking movement down-river is used with the verb, and the Mao County county seat is down-river from Chibusu District:

- (4.71) *ʔũ*      *ʂquŋi*                      *sə-ka:-n-a?*  
 2sg      Mao.County                      DIR-go:PRS-2sg-Q  
 'Are you going (down-river) to the county seat?'

Repeating a verb with different prefixes can express a certain kind of repetition of an action by one or more people. (The /zə/ prefix marks movement towards the center, while /də/ marks movement away from the center; the vocalic prefix marks movement in, while the /hə/ prefix marks movement out.)

- (4.72) a. *ləla* 'change'    *zə-la də-la*                      'change back and forth'  
 b. *kuku* 'curse'        *zu-ku do-ku*                      'curse back and forth'  
 c. *pi* 'hide'            *i-pi he-pi*                      'hide in and out'  
 d. *ŋuasi* 'borrow'    *zi-ŋuasi de-ŋuasi*                'borrow back and forth'  
 e. *ke'l* 'ask'            *zi-ke'l de-ke'l*                      'ask back and forth'  
 f. *ko'i* 'treat'         *zu-ko'i do-ko'i*                      'treat each other (to a meal)'

Aside from marking the actual direction of the action, the directional prefixes also are used to mark a change in the *Aktionsart* (inherent verbal aspect) of the verb, from state or activity to achievement or

accomplishment, or from an absolute state to a contingent (temporary/abnormal) state. Let us first introduce some of the concepts to be employed here. If we look at the types of verbs found in the world's languages, we find the following semantic types (From Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Ch 3, based on Vendler 1967):

- a. States: *be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe, have*
- b. Achievements: *pop, explode, collapse, shatter* (all intransitive)
- c. Accomplishments: *melt, freeze, dry* (the intransitive versions); *recover from illness, learn*
- d. Activities: *march, walk, roll* (the intransitive versions); *swim, think, rain, read, eat*

These four types can be distinguished using the three characteristics [ $\pm$  dynamic], [ $\pm$  telic], and [ $\pm$  punctual], as in the following chart:<sup>72</sup>

- |                    |                                      |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. State:          | [- dynamic], [- telic], [- punctual] |
| b. Activity:       | [+ dynamic], [- telic], [- punctual] |
| c. Accomplishment: | [+ dynamic], [+ telic], [- punctual] |
| d. Achievement:    | [+ dynamic], [+ telic], [+ punctual] |

Each of these four types also has a causative form:

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| a. State:                     | The boy is afraid.                        |
| a'. Causative state:          | The dog frightens/scares the boy.         |
| b. Achievement:               | The balloon popped.                       |
| b'. Causative achievement:    | The cat popped the balloon.               |
| c. Accomplishment:            | The ice melted.                           |
| c'. Causative accomplishment: | The hot water melted the ice.             |
| d. Activity:                  | The ball rolled around the room.          |
| d'. Causative activity:       | The girl rolled the ball around the room. |

Using a form of lexical decomposition, we can represent these verbs types using the following form of notation:







antonyms of ‘become dry’ and ‘become hot’ are given in the lower right of this set of forms for the sake of completeness. These forms do not take the ‘up’ or ‘down’ prefixes; the form for ‘become wet’ takes the ‘in’ prefix, /ə-/ , presumably because the water seeps into something to make it wet, and the form for ‘become cold (feel cold)’ takes the ‘towards the center’ prefix /zə-/ (though [təmpə] is also possible), possibly like in English when we say *the cold gets into your bones*. Some of these metaphoric associations are found in English as well, such as *smarten up* vs. *dumb down*. Also *heat up*, *lighten up*, *soften up*, and *dry up*.

Use of a different directional prefix can also affect the agentivity of the argument of some intransitive verbs, or can be part of the causativization (see Section 4.2.2 on causatives) or transitivization of some verbs. Following are some examples of this difference in agentivity (cf. Huang 1997:73):<sup>75</sup>

|        |                |                                       |                 |                               |
|--------|----------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| (4.79) | <i>da-ʔa</i>   | ‘slip’                                | <i>fiə-ʔa</i>   | ‘slide’                       |
|        | <i>do-tshu</i> | ‘fall (e.g. of fruit<br>from a tree)’ | <i>fiə-tshu</i> | ‘pick (fruit from<br>a tree)’ |
|        | <i>de-phe</i>  | ‘break open (of bundle)’              | <i>fiə-phe</i>  | ‘break open (a<br>bundle)’    |
|        | <i>da-qhua</i> | ‘collapse (of house)’                 | <i>fiə-qhua</i> | ‘knock down<br>(a house)’     |
|        | <i>da-ka</i>   | ‘smash (bowl; vi.)’                   | <i>fiə-qhe</i>  | ‘smash (bowl; vt.)’           |
|        | <i>da-kli</i>  | ‘break (tree branch; vi.)’            | <i>fiə-χli</i>  | ‘break (tree<br>branch; vt.)’ |

In these examples, the prefixes involved are /də/, which marks movement away from the center, and /fiə/ which marks movement downward. In the first set, ‘slip’ is non-agentive, while ‘slide’ is the same action, but purposely carried out, i.e. agentive slipping. In the second set, the difference is whether the fruit falls out of the tree of its own accord, or is picked out of the tree.

There are some instances where use of different prefixes reflects different meanings or facets of the actions involved:

|        |                  |                             |                   |                    |
|--------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (4.80) | <i>ha-quətsu</i> | ‘lift the head’             | <i>fiə-quətsu</i> | ‘lower the head’   |
|        | <i>a-qua</i>     | ‘turn off (a light)’        | <i>ha-qua</i>     | ‘close (a door)’   |
|        | <i>tu-qu</i>     | ‘be victorious (in battle)’ | <i>ho-qu</i>      | ‘lose (in battle)’ |

In some of these cases (e.g. /qu/) the root form is never used alone, and so it is difficult to give it a distinct gloss.

When the habitual-marking verb suffix /-kəpə/ appears after a prefixed adjective, it has the meaning ‘has the ability/tendency to become the state represented by the adjective’ e.g. [tə-wa-kəpə] ‘will become big’. This meaning is not possible without the prefix.

The directional prefixes are also the main means of marking an imperative (see Section 4.3.5.2).

#### 4.3.4. Aspect

Qiang does not have grammaticalized tense marking, but it has several types of aspect marking, including prospective aspect marking, the use of the directional prefixes to mark perfective aspect,<sup>76</sup> change of state marking, experiential aspect marking, marking of repetition of an action, continuative aspect marking, habitual aspect marking, marking of a resultant state, and simultaneous action marking.

##### 4.3.4.1. Prospective aspect

Prospective aspect is the sense of English *going to*, as in *It is going to rain*. In Qiang it patterns most of the time very much like a future tense, and has been analyzed as such in the past (e.g. Sun 1981a, Huang Bufan 1991), but can be used in certain constructions involving past situations (see (4.83) below). It is marked by adding the suffix /-ɑ:/ to the verb, before the person marking, in some cases replacing the root vowel of the verb, when that vowel is /ɑ/ or /ə/, as in (4.81a), where /məpɑ/ becomes [məpɑ:] in the second clause, and (4.81b), where /pə/ becomes [pɑ:].

- (4.81) a. *pəs məpɑ wa, təp-ŋi tsə-s*  
 today cold very tomorrow-ADV this-COMP  
*təɑ-məpɑ: lu.*  
 CON-cold:PRS will  
 ‘Today is very cold; tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.’

- b. *qa fa cupu-a-thau pa:* (*< pə*)  
 1sg clothes red-one-CL buy:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I am going to buy a suit of red clothes.’

In cases where the root vowel (or the last part of a diphthong) is a front vowel, the prospective aspect suffix merges with that vowel, forming [a:].

- (4.82) a. *me:<sup>ʔ</sup> ca:* (*< ce*)  
 rain fall:PRS  
 ‘It’s going to rain.’
- b. *the: zə phia:* (*< phie*)  
 3sg land till:PRS  
 ‘S/he is going to till the land.’

The key examples for the determination of this marking as aspect rather than tense are those given in (4.83), where the marking appears in a clause representing an action that was ‘going to’ be carried out at some time in the past, which in some cases turned out not to have been done.

- (4.83) a. *qa tha-s-ka the: me<sup>ʔ</sup>za:-ŋi the: lu-ji.*  
 1sg that:one-day-LOC 3sg look.for:PRS-ADV 3sg come-CSM  
 ‘Just when I was going to (go) look for him, he came.’
- b. *qupu nəmahā ləyz tsa:-lai,* (*< tse*)  
 3sg last.night book read:PRS-DEF:one:time  
*muwu die-mi.*  
 lamp DIR-go.out  
 ‘Just when he was going to read last night, the lamp went out.’
- c. *itci khumtsi ci χqu-a:-ŋi tchoχu ma-ʂə-ji,*  
 aunt khumtsi liquor boil-PRS-LNK yeast NEG-exist-CSM

*fio-mu-χqu.*

DIR-NEG-boil

‘Aunt Khumtsi was going to boil liquor, but there was no distiller’s yeast, (so she) didn’t boil (any).’

Prospective aspect marking is generally not used in the negative clauses of polarity verb-not-verb question forms (i.e. where the question is formed by coordinating a positive and negative form of the verb), as in (4.84a) below, and often is not used with negatives in other types of constructions, such as the conditional phrase in the (4.84b) below, but there are some situations where the prospective aspect marking and the negative prefix can appear on the same verb, as in (4.84c).

- (4.84) a. *?ũ* *stuaha* *tcha:-n-a* *ma-tchə-n-a?*  
 2sg food eat-PRS-2sg-Q NEG-eat-2sg-Q  
 ‘Are you going to eat?’
- b. *eiŋi* *?ũ* *mo-lu-n-tu* *the: mi-ta*  
 next year 2sg NEG-come-2sg-if 3sg other.person-LOC  
*yzɑ:-san.*  
 marry:PRS-2sgU  
 ‘If you don’t return next year, she is going to marry someone else.’
- c. *the: təp-ŋi* *ma-ka:-ji,* *pəs ka:-ji.*  
 3sg tomorrow-ADV NEG-go:PRS-HS today go:PRS-HS  
 ‘(I heard) he is not going to go tomorrow (but) will go today.’

In (4.84a), the verb in the first part of the question (a polarity verb-not-verb question; see §4.3.5.3) is in the prospective aspect, asking the intention of the addressee, while the verb in the second clause is not in the prospective aspect, as it has the negative prefix. In (4.84c) the use of the prospective aspect marking is made necessary by the fact that the word for ‘tomorrow’ appears in the clause. The relevant factor in (4.84a) and (4.84c) seems to be intention. That is, in (4.84a) the speaker is asking about the addressee’s intention to eat (not his or her intention to

not eat), whereas in (4.84c) the speaker is talking about the person's intention to not go on a certain day.

#### 4.3.4.2. Perfective and imperfective aspect

Aside from marking pure direction, the directional prefixes also mark perfective action, while the unprefixated form of the verb is used for imperfective actions. Compare the two clauses in (4.85):

- (4.85) *nəs qa ə-qa-lai the: stuaha tchə.*  
 yesterday 1sg DIR-go:1sg-DEF:one:time 3sg food/rice eat  
 'Yesterday when I entered the room, s/he was eating.'

The first clause expresses a completed action, while the second clause expresses an action that was ongoing at the time referred to in the first clause.

Now compare the two clauses of the following example:

- (4.86) *the: sə-te-ŋike, buatşə χuəla-k.*  
 3sg DIR-eat-after bowl wash-go  
 'S/he finished eating and went to wash the bowl.'

In the first clause the action is expressed as completed, and so there is a directional prefix on the verb, while the action of washing the dishes expressed in the second clause had not been completed (or it was not relevant to mark it as completed), and so the verb does not have the directional prefix. If neither clause has a completed action, as in certain types of habitual action or simultaneous action, then neither verb has the directional prefix, as in the following examples:

- (4.87) a. *the: kə-lai z botəu.*  
 3sg go-DEF:one:time think  
 'S/he thinks while walking.'
- b. *qa stuaha tchə-lai, the: jan tşhe.*  
 1sg food/rice eat-DEF:one:time 3sg cigarette smoke  
 'When I am eating, s/he is smoking.'

## 4.3.4.3. Change of state aspect

The most common aspect marking is /-ji/, which marks a recent change of state or situation.

(4.88) a. *me:<sup>ʔ</sup> ci-ji.*  
rain fall-CSM  
'It's started raining.'

b. *me:<sup>ʔ</sup> de-ci-ji.*  
rain DIR-fall-CSM  
'It has already rained (and stopped).'

(4.89) a. *the: zə phie-ji.*  
3sg land till-CSM  
'S/he has begun to till the land.'

b. *the: zə i-fi-ji.* (< phie)  
3sg land DIR-till-CSM  
'S/he has already tilled the land.'

As /-ji/ expresses a recent change of state, it can have the sense of an inchoative aspect marker (see also §4.3.3 on the use of the directional prefixes in marking an inchoative aspect).

(4.90) *the: dzə-ji.*  
3sg eat-CSM  
'S/he has just begun to eat.'

Compare the following two sentences in terms of the interaction of the directional prefix and the aspect marking:

(4.91) *nəp, qa tɕəu-la kə-s-ta, the: ləyz su-ji.*  
last.year 1sg home-LOC go-NOM-LOC 3sg book study-CSM  
'Last year when I came home, s/he was already studying.'

(4.92) *nəs qa qupu-tɕəu-la kə-s-ta, the:*  
yesterday 1sg 3sg-home-LOC go-NOM-LOC 3sg





- (4.96) *qa a-tian u-zulu-jya.* (< jy + a)  
 1sg one-hour DIR-wait-ASP:1sg  
 ‘I have already waited for one hour.’
- (4.97) *me:<sup>t</sup> de-ci-jy.*  
 rain DIR-fall-ASP  
 ‘It’s already raining.’ (Just begun and still raining)
- (4.98) *the: stuaha sə-tc-jy.*  
 3sg food/rice DIR-eat-ASP  
 ‘S/he has already eaten.’
- (4.99) *the: zə i-fi-jy.* (< phie)  
 3sg land DIR-till-ASP  
 ‘S/he has already tilled the land.’ (just completed)

This form also can be (and often is) used with the auxiliary verb /da-s/ ‘finish’:

- (4.100) *the: dzə da-s-jy.*  
 3sg eat DIR-finish-ASP  
 ‘S/he has already finished eating.’

#### 4.3.4.4. Experiential aspect

Use of the auxiliary verb /-dze/ after the main verb marks the action represented by the verb as having been experienced by the actor of the clause:

- (4.101) *qa zdzyta: fi-a-qə-dza.* (< dze)  
 1sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-EXP:1sg  
 I have been to Chengdu.
- (4.102) *qa ləyz-tse-pen i-tsi-dza.* (< dze)  
 1sg book-this-CL DIR-read-EXP:1sg  
 ‘I have read this book.’

- (4.103) *(panə)-tsa-han themle zə-pə-dze-tci.*  
 thing-this:one-kind 3pl DIR-buy-EXP-3pl  
 ‘They have bought this kind of thing.’

If the assertion is of having not yet experienced an action, the negative and continuative aspect prefixes are prefixed to the auxiliary verb:

- (4.104) *qa ləyz-tse-pen i-tsi-me-tci-dza.* (< dze)  
 1sg book-this-CL DIR-read-NEG-CON-EXP:1sg  
 ‘I have not yet read this book.’

#### 4.3.4.5. Repetition

Repetition of an action (though not iterative in the sense of, e.g. tapping one’s fingers on the table; by repetition here is meant doing an action ‘again’) is expressed by the suffix /-jə/, which precedes the other aspect suffixes and person marking.<sup>77</sup> It can also be used with prospective aspect marking and the change of state marker.

- (4.105) a. *me:’ de-ci-jə-ji.*  
 rain DIR-fall/release-REP-CSM  
 ‘It’s raining again.’
- b. *the: dzə-jə-ji.*  
 3sg eat-REP-CSM  
 ‘He is eating again.’
- (4.106) *tə-wa-jə-ji-ji jə.*  
 DIR-big-REP-CSM-2pl say  
 ‘He said you(pl) have gotten big again.’

This suffix is often used together in the same clause as a free morpheme /xsə/ ‘again’ (actually the word for ‘new’), as in the following example:

- (4.107) *xsə me<sup>t</sup>zə-lə-m i-pə-l-jə-kui.* (T6:95-96)  
 again look.for-come-NOM DIR-arrive-come-REP-INF:HS  
 ‘Again someone came looking (for him).’  
 (lit.: ‘one who was looking for him came again.’)

#### 4.3.4.6. Continuative aspect

The prefix [tce- ~ tci- ~ tca- ~ tco-] ‘still, yet’ is used to express continued actions or states, much like ‘still’ and ‘yet’ in English. In some cases this prefix has the same form as the prohibitive (negative imperative) prefix (see §4.3.5.2), but as the two prefixes appear in different types of contexts (and the negative imperative is not used with prospective aspect marking) there usually is no problem of ambiguity.<sup>78</sup>

- (4.108) a. *me:<sup>t</sup> tce-ci.*  
 rain CON-fall  
 ‘It’s still raining (has been raining all along).’
- b. *qa nəs tsa zə-la-lai, me:<sup>t</sup> tce-ci.*  
 1sg yesterday here DIR-come-DEF:one.time rain CON-fall  
 ‘When I came here yesterday, it was still raining.’
- (4.109) *the: zə tce-fi.* (< phie)  
 3sg land CON-till  
 ‘S/he’s still ploughing (has been ploughing all along).’

This prefix can also be used with the prospective aspect to mean ‘still wants to/is going to V’ (that is, actions that have stopped but there is intention to continue or possibility that something will continue) ((4.110)-(4.112)), or with the negative prefix to mean ‘not yet’ ((4.113)-(4.114)).

- (4.110) *(qa) tca-na:.* (< nə)  
 1sg CON-sleep:PRS  
 ‘I’m still going to sleep.’ (‘I want to sleep some more’)

- (4.111) *me:<sup>l</sup> tce-ca:* (*< ce*)  
 rain CON-fall:PRS  
 ‘It’s still going to rain.’
- (4.112) *the: zə tce-fia:* (*< phie*)  
 3sg land CON-till:PRS  
 ‘S/he is still going to till the land.’
- (4.113) *fiə-mə-tci-qa* (*< kə*)  
 DIR-NEG-CON-go:1sg  
 ‘I haven’t gone yet.’
- (4.114) *nəs qa kə kantchi-lai, the:*  
 yesterday 1sg go want-DEF:one:time 3sg  
*i-mə-tci-pə-l.*  
 DIR-NEG-CON-arrive-come  
 ‘Yesterday when I wanted to go, s/he hadn’t returned yet.’

It can also be used with a prefixed verb to mean ‘V a little longer’ or ‘continue to V’, as in the following example:

- (4.115) *?ile a-za a-tci-tcə-i.*  
 2pl one-CL DIR-CON-wait-2pl  
 ‘Don’t go now!’ (lit.: ‘Wait a while longer.’)

This prefix sometimes also has the meaning of ‘again (yet one more time)’ or ‘also’, as in the following examples:

- (4.116) *tse-tsi xsusu-ŋa-zguə-χau-ŋa-pan, ?ũ a-ʂ*  
 this-pair thirty-COM-nine-size-COM-half 2sg one-time  
*i-tci-tsi-n.*  
 DIR-CON-see-2sg  
 (trying on shoes) ‘This pair (is a) size 39 1/2, you try once again’ (lit.: ‘see yet one (more) time’)
- (4.117) *ʌzə-pies a-fə<sup>l</sup> ha-tci-ŋuə.*  
 fish-meat one-portion DIR-CON-COP  
 ‘Also bring (give me) a portion of fish.’

## 4.3.4.8. Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect is expressed by adding the suffix /-kəpə/ or /-pə/ after a verb.<sup>79</sup> If the verb is a prefixed adjective (intransitive stative verb), then /-kəpə/ has the meaning that the subject ‘has the ability/tendency to become’ the state represented by the adjective, e.g. /tə-wa-kəpə/ (directional prefix + ‘big (< /ba/)’ + /-kəpə/) ‘will/can become big’. This meaning is not possible without the directional prefix.

- (4.118) *(qaqəi)-təu-la*      *i-pə-k-əs*      *qə:<sup>1</sup>*      *qa*  
 1sgREFL-home-LOC    DIR-arrive-go-NOM    before    1sg  
*ictəimaqa*    *ə-jə-sa*      *ɸoi-kəpa.*      (< kəpə)  
 often      one-two-sentences    call-HABIT:1sg  
 ‘Before returning to my own home, I often call out a few sentences.’

- (4.119) *qə:<sup>1</sup>-ta,*      *qa*    *ictəimaqa*    *pies*    *dzə-pa.*      (< pə)  
 before-LOC    1sg    often    meat    eat-HABIT:1sg  
 ‘In the past I often ate meat.’

Habitual actions can also sometimes be expressed using simple unprefix forms, as mentioned in the discussion of (4.87a-b), above. See also (4.174), below.

## 4.3.4.9. Resulting state

An on-going state resulting from a change of state or action can be expressed using the prefixed (achievement or accomplishment) form of the verb, the change of state marker, plus the copula. In this case the copula is the main verb, so if there is any person marking, then the person marking appears on the copula.

- (4.120) *dzy-le:*      *de-zgə-ji*      *ɲuə.*  
 door-DEF:CL    DIR-open-CSM    COP  
 ‘The door is open.’ (‘The door remains open.’)

## 4.3.4.10. Simultaneous actions

For two actions occurring simultaneously, the adverbial marker /ŋi/, sometimes combined with /ictɕi/ ‘together’, is used after the expression of the first action:

(4.121) a. *the: stuaha tɕhə-ŋictɕi tianʂə tse.*  
 3sg food/rice eat-ADV:together television watch  
 ‘S/he eats while watching television.’

b. *fiə-zei-ŋi da-qə-jə-kəi.* (T3:30)  
 DIR-cry-ADV DIR-go-REP-INF:HS  
 ‘(He) went along again crying (as he went).’

4.3.5. *Illocutionary force*

Illocutionary force is the type of speech act, such as question, statement, order, warning, etc. performed by an expression. Here we are interested in the formal expressions most commonly used for performing these speech acts, such as the declarative (§4.3.5.1), the imperative and prohibitive (§4.3.5.2), and interrogative constructions (§4.3.5.3).<sup>80</sup> The forms discussed here involve marking both within and outside the verb complex, but as they are functionally similar, they are being discussed together. We will discuss each type in turn.

## 4.3.5.1. Declarative

The declarative is the unmarked form of the verb, used mainly for making statements. Almost all of the examples up to this point have been declarative clauses. In declarative clauses, it is possible to add the particle /-ja/ (said with falling intonation) to the end of the clause to make a stronger statement. Following is an example:

(4.122) *ʔü lu-s ŋuə-ja!*  
 2sg come-NOM COP-PART  
 ‘You definitely must come!’

## 4.3.5.2. Imperative and prohibitive

The marking of an imperative clause involves the same prefixes used for direction marking, so in many cases has the same form as a normal declarative clause, and it is only the intonation and context that mark it as an imperative. In imperatives the prefix, which may be any one of the directionals, is stressed, unlike non-imperative directional prefixes.<sup>81</sup> A secondary characteristic of the imperative is that person marking is optional, though the imperative sense is stronger if person marking is used. In order to make an imperative more polite, it is possible to add the polite imperative particle /-na/, which appears outside the verb complex, i.e. after the person marking.<sup>82</sup> There are various other particles that can be used with the imperative form (see examples further below). Following are examples showing the different prefixes used with different verbs, and their different forms with and without person marking, and with second person singular and plural person marking (the dual takes the same person marking as plural, so dual forms are not listed separately):

- (4.123) a. *ə-z-(na)!*  
DIR-eat-IMP  
'Eat!'
- b. *ə-zə-n-(na)!*  
DIR-eat-2sg-IMP  
'You(sg) eat!'
- c. *ə-zə-i-(na)!*  
DIR-eat-2pl-IMP  
'You(pl) eat!'
- (4.124) a. *fi-a-qtə-(na)!*  
DIR-kneel-IMP  
'Kneel down!'
- b. *fi-a-qtə-n-(na)!*  
DIR-kneel-2sg-IMP  
'You(sg) kneel down!'
- c. *fi-a-qtə-i-(na)!*  
DIR-kneel-2pl-IMP  
'You(pl) kneel down!'
- (4.125) a. *tu-ju-(na)!*  
DIR-stand-IMP  
'Stand up!'
- b. *tu-ju-n-(na)!*  
DIR-stand-2sg-IMP  
'You(sg) stand up!'

- c. *tu-ju-i-(na)!*  
DIR-stand-2pl-IMP  
'You(pl) stand up!'
- (4.126) a. *ha-fu!*  
DIR-spit  
'Spit it out!'
- b. *ha-fu-n-(na)!*  
DIR-spit-2sg-IMP  
'You(sg) spit it out!'
- c. *ha-fu-i-(na)!*  
DIR-spit-2pl-IMP  
'You(pl) spit it out!'

In some cases of verb concatenation, the prefix and person marking are split between different verbs, as the person marking is added to the last element of the verb complex:

- (4.127) *?ũ tsə-e-pei ə-tɕ-kə-n.*  
2sg water-one-CL DIR-drink-go-2sg  
'Go drink a glass of water.'

It is also possible in imperatives to have free pronouns representing the actor appear before the verb. A noun phrase representing an undergoer, goal, or recipient may also appear in the clause. Following are some examples:

- (4.128) a. *?ũ ə-zuə!*  
2sg DIR-sit  
'You sit!'
- b. *?ũ fiə-lu-n!*  
2sg DIR-come-2sg  
'You come down here!'
- (4.129) a. *qa de-l!*  
1sg DIR-give  
'Give me (it)!'
- b. *dzy-le: de-zge-(n)!*  
door-DEF:CL DIR-open-2sg  
'Open the door!'
- (4.130) a. *ʋuatʂa-la-ha tə-xʂol-(ən)!*  
bowl-DEF:one-pl DIR-gather-2sg  
'Gather the bowls together.'



- b. *the: zə-l-(ən)!*  
 3sg DIR-move-2sg  
 ‘Bring it (here)!’

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is expressed by the prefix [tɕa- ~ tɕə- ~ tɕo- ~ tɕe-] (from Proto-Tibeto-Burman \**ta-*), which appears in the same position as the normal negative prefix, just before the verb, after the directional prefix, if there is one (the directional prefix is not obligatory in negative imperatives).

- (4.131) a. *tɕo-lu-n-(na)!*                      b. *tɕa-kə-n!*  
 NEG.IMP-come-2sg-IMP                      NEG.IMP-go-2sg  
 ‘Don’t come!’                                      ‘Don’t leave!’
- (4.132) a. *ha-tɕə-ɕ!*                              b. *fi-a-tɕə-ɕu!*  
 DIR-NEG.IMP-go                                      DIR-NEG.IMP-throw  
 ‘Don’t go out!’                                      ‘Don’t throw it down!’
- (4.133) *ʔũ tsa tɕa-lau-tha,                      tatə tə-khua:-san.*  
 2sg here NEG.IMP-be.noisy-AUX father DIR-angry:PRS-2sgU  
 ‘Don’t be noisy here or your father will be angry (at you).’

A more polite prohibitive is expressed by adding the phrase /*ma-qe/* ‘can’t’ or /*me-tɕhi/* ‘not want’ after the main verb. It is also possible to use the hortative particles (discussed below) with the prohibitive construction.

- (4.134) *me:<sup>ʔ</sup> de-ci-wa,                      tɕile kə-ma-qe-ʂa<sup>ʔ</sup>!*  
 rain DIR-fall-RCA 1pl go-NEG-able-HORT:1pl  
 ‘It’s raining, so let’s not go!’

There is a set of clause-final hortative particles for expressing the idea that the speaker is directing or requesting the addressee to perform an action. These particles can be used with either prefixed (i.e. imperative) or unprefixed verbs. In the case of first person plural, the form is /*ʂa/* if there is only the speaker and one or two other people. If there are a large number of people involved, then the form takes the plural marking, becoming [*ʂa<sup>ʔ</sup>*], as in the example just given above.

- (4.135) *stuaha tchə-ʂa!*  
 food/rice drink/eat-HORT:1sg  
 ‘Let’s eat!’
- (4.136) *tcizzi itci dzə-ʂa!*  
 1pl together eat-HORT:1sg  
 ‘Let’s eat together!’
- (4.137) *tcile the: kua ʂaʔ*  
 1pl 3sg help HORT:1pl  
 ‘Let’s help him/her!’
- (4.138) *tcile tsai tianjin tse-k-ʂaʔ*  
 1pl now movie watch-go-HORT:1pl  
 ‘Let’s go watch a movie now!’

There is also a particle /wu/ which can be added after the first person hortative /ʂa/ or the indirect directive form /la/ (see below for /la/) to make the expression much more polite, and more of a request. Though the form /wu/ is the same form as the agentive/ablative/ instrumental postposition, which is also used on clauses in correlative comparative constructions (see §4.4.3) and to show the cause of some state of affairs (see §5.5), this form seems to be a separate morpheme.

- (4.139) *ma:, kə-ʂa-wu?*  
 mom go-HORT:1sg-REQU  
 ‘Mom, Let’s go, O.K.?’
- (4.140) *tcile bəl-ʂaʔ-wu?*  
 1pl do-HORT:1pl-REQU  
 ‘Let’s do it, O.K.?’
- (4.141) *qa tə-bua la-wu.*  
 1sg DIR-help INDTV:1sg-REQU  
 ‘Let me help you, O.K.?’

- (4.142) *χoitshu a-zə a-βy la-wu.*  
 hot.pepper one-CL DIR-put INDTV:1sg-REQU  
 ‘Let me put in a little hot pepper.’

For second person directives, the forms [pa ~ ba ~ wa] or /ʃu/ are used. The latter form has a somewhat stronger directive meaning. These forms contrast with the imperative marker /na/, as [pa ~ ba ~ wa] is more polite than the imperative marker, and /ʃu/ has a stronger directive sense than the imperative marker.

- (4.143) *ə-tchə-n-ba!*  
 DIR-drink/eat-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Please eat!’

- (4.144) *na-ji u-su-n-ba!*  
 good-ADV DIR-teach/study-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Study hard!’

- (4.145) *?ũ zme-z na-ji u-su-n-ʃu.* (emphatic)  
 2sg Qiang-language good-ADV DIR-teach/study-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Learn Qiang well!’

The form /pu/ can also be used for requesting the addressee to do a certain action. This is the most polite of the particles discussed.

- (4.146) *?ũ tchə-da-s-ŋi ə-kə-(n)-na!* (order)  
 2sg drink/eat-DIR-finish-ADV DIR-go-2sg-IMP  
 ‘Finish eating before you go!’

- (4.147) *?ũ tchə-da-s-ŋi ə-kə-(n)-pu!* (request)  
 2sg drink/eat-DIR-finish-ADV DIR-go-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Why don’t you finish eating before you go!’

- (4.148) *?ũ zo:kum-le: a-ʃ de-zge-n-pu.* (request)  
 2sg window-DEF:CL one-time DIR-open-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Could you open the window a bit?’

- (4.149) *ʔũ qa-tɕ dzy de-zge-n-pa.* (request)  
*ʔũ qa-tɕ dzy de-zge-n-pu.* (request; more polite)  
 2sg 1sg-BEN door DIR-open-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Open the door for me, would you?’

There is also a kind of indirect directive marking, the form of which differs with the person of the referent being directed or allowed to perform an action. For first person referents, the form is the verb-phrase-final particle /*la*/, which when added to a clause has the meaning ‘let me . . .’. This form can also take plural marking, becoming /*laʔ*/,<sup>83</sup> and, as mentioned above, can be followed by the polite request particle /-*wu*/ (this latter particle is outside the verb complex, as defined here, because it follows the person marking).

- (4.150) *qa dzə la!*  
 1sg eat INDTV:1sg  
 ‘Let me eat!’
- (4.151) *qa ʔũ tʂauku tu-py la.*<sup>84</sup>  
 1sg 2sg look.after DIR-do INDTV:1sg  
 ‘Let me look after you.’
- (4.152) *qa tə-kua la-wu.*  
 1sg DIR-help INDTV:1sg-REQU  
 ‘Let me help!’
- (4.153) *tɕile tə-kua ləʔ-wu.*  
 1pl DIR-help INDTV:1pl-REQU  
 ‘Let us help!’
- (4.154) *qa dzy de-zge la-wu.*  
 1sg door DIR-open INDTV:1sg-REQU  
 ‘Let me open the door!’

There is no second person form of indirect directive marking. For third person referents, the form is the prefix /*ɕa*-/. There is no negative form of this; the phrase /*me-tɕhi*/ ‘not want’ is used after the verb instead.

- (4.155) *stuaha*      *ca:-tɛ-kə*.  
 food/rice      INDTV-eat-go  
 ‘Let (him/her) go eat!’

If the verb taking the third person form also could take one of the directional prefixes (see §4.3.3) in a particular context, it is possible to either replace the prefix with /*ca:-*/, or simply change the vowel of the prefix to /*a:*/, as in the following examples:

- (4.156) a. *pə* ‘buy’ > *za:-pə* ~ *ca:-pə* ‘allow 3sg to buy’  
 b. *tchə* ‘drink’ > *sa:-tɛ* ~ *ca:-tɛ* ‘allow 3sg to drink’  
 c. *tʂə* ‘kill’ > *fi:a:-tʂ* ~ *ca:-tʂ* ‘allow 3sg to kill’  
 d. *lu* ‘come’ > *ta:-lu* ~ *ca:-lu* ‘allow 3sg to come’  
 e. *tse* ‘look’ > *a:-tse* ~ *ca:-tse* ‘allow 3sg to look’  
 f. *phe* ‘dig (horizontally)’ > *fi:a:-pʰe* ~ *ca:-pʰe* ‘allow 3sg to dig’

The form with /*ca:-*/ is more emphatic than the form where the initial of the prefix is retained. For plural referents the plural marker /-*tɕi*/ is added after the verb.

#### 4.3.5.3. Interrogatives

Yes-no questions are marked by rising intonation and by the addition of the clause-final syllable /-*na*/ for second person singular actors/topics, or /-*ŋua*/ (often pronounced [wɑ]) for all actors/topics of all other persons and numbers. The question particle that is part of these forms is outside the verb complex, and so follows aspect and person/number marking, but is discussed here with the other illocutionary force markings. The form /-*na*/ is comprised of the second person singular person marking /-*n*/ plus the question particle /-*a*/, though the non-second person singular question particle /-*ŋua*/ does not seem to derive from the copula /*ŋuə*/ plus /-*a*/, as /*ŋua*/ often follows the copula. It also does not seem to be a form of the third person non-actor marking (as is the case with the debitive construction; see §4.3.6.3) plus /-*a*/, as the aspect and person marking suffixes appear on the element preceding /*ŋua*/.

(4.157) *?ũ*      *zme*      *ŋuə-n-a?*  
 2sg      Qiang      COP-2sg-Q  
 ‘Are you(sg) Qiang (a Qiang person)?’

(4.158) *the:*      *zme*      *ŋuə-ŋua?*  
 3sg      Qiang      COP-Q  
 ‘Is s/he Qiang?’

(4.159) *?ile*      *zme*      *ŋuə-i-ŋua?*  
 2pl      Qiang      COP-2pl-Q  
 ‘Are you(pl) Qiang?’

(4.160) *themle*      *zme*      *ŋuə-tci-ŋua?*  
 3pl      Qiang      COP-3pl-Q  
 ‘Are they Qiang?’

(4.161) *?ũ*      *zdzyta:*      *fiə-qə-n-a?*  
 2sg      Chengdu:LOC      DIR-go-2sg-Q  
 ‘Did you go to Chengdu?’

(4.162) *the:*      *zdzyta:*      *fiə-q-ŋua?*  
 3sg      Chengdu:LOC      DIR-go-Q  
 ‘Did s/he go to Chengdu?’

Rhetorical questions are marked by /-ja/ (the same form as for statements, but with different intonation) or /-tca/ or /-ŋui/. The form /ŋui/ is only for first person imperfective actions (often used together with prospective aspect marking), and can be used after regular polarity verb-not-verb type question formations.

(4.163) *tcile*      *wu*      *zme*      *ŋuə'-ja?*  
 1pl      all      Qiang      COP:1pl-Q  
 ‘Are we all Qiang?’

(4.164) *qa*      *zme*      *ma-ŋua-ja?*  
 1sg      Qiang      NEG-COP:1sg-Q  
 ‘Am I not Qiang?’ (‘Aren’t I Qiang?’)

- (4.165) *qa niyi bəla:-ŋui?*  
 1sg what do:PRS:1sg-Q  
 ‘What am I going to do?’
- (4.166) *qa təp-ŋi ka:-ŋua ma-ka:-ŋui?*  
 1sg tomorrow-ADV go:PRS-Q NEG-go:PRS:1sg-Q  
 ‘Am I going tomorrow or not?’

Guesses, either positive or negative, involving a request for confirmation, can be marked by the clause final particle /-luɕua/.

- (4.167) a. *the: zme ŋuə-luɕua?*  
 3sg Qiang COP-(guess)  
 ‘S/he’s Qiang, isn’t s/he?’
- b. *the: zme ma-ŋuə-luɕua?*  
 3sg Qiang NEG-COP-(guess)  
 ‘S/he’s not Qiang, is s/he?’
- c. *the: ə-qa-luɕua?*  
 3sg DIR-go-(guess)  
 ‘S/he went in, didn’t s/he?’

The form [luɕua], when used alone, marks a type of tag question, but when used with the inferential evidential marker /-k/, as in (4.168), or the [tan/lahan] ‘possibility’ construction in (4.169) (see §4.3.7.4 for this construction), it simply marks the clause as less certain.

- (4.168) *the: tshinpi-wa-k luɕua.*  
 3sg intelligent-very-INF Q  
 ‘She is intelligent.’ (guessing)
- (4.169) *the: tshinpi wa-m-tan ŋuə luɕua.*  
 3sg intelligent very-NOM-appearance COP Q  
 She possibly is intelligent.

The form /luɕua/ seems to involve two morphemes, /lu/ ‘come’, which can be used alone to express possibility and is used in the

compound /tɕɕaŋ-lu/ ‘think of, want’, and a second morpheme /kua/, though the meaning of this second morpheme is not clear. Following is an example of /lu/ used alone:

- (4.170) *pəs məpa wa, təp-ŋi tsə-s*  
 today cold very tomorrow-ADV this-COMP  
*tɕa-məpa: lu.*  
 CON-cold:PRS will  
 ‘Today is very cold, tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.’

A post-nominal or post-clausal adverb, /luo/, can also be used to express possibility:

- (4.171) *?ũ ha-k-ŋi a-ʂ i-tsi-kə, zə-ka*  
 2sg DIR-go-ADV one-time DIR-look-go field-LOC  
*wətshi poquʂ-luo zi ku.*  
 bird livestock-perhaps exist allow  
 ‘You go out and take a look, perhaps there are livestock or birds in the field.’

The form /-wa/ (distinct from the alternate form of /ŋua/) can be used as a reaffirmation question particle (e.g., ‘Do you really want to go?’).

- (4.172) *?ũ zdzyta: ka:-wa?*  
 2sg Chengdu:LOC go:PRS-Q  
 ‘Are you really going to Chengdu?’

Polarity (‘yes-no’) questions can be formed by repeating the entire verb complex, with the first token in the positive and the second token in the negative (sometimes called ‘A-not-A’ or ‘verb-not-verb’ questions), and the question particle on both tokens, as in (4.166) and the following examples:

- (4.173) a. *?ũ zdzyta: fi-a-qə-n-a fi-a-mə-qa-n-a?*  
 2sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-2sg-Q DIR-NEG-go-2sg-Q  
 ‘Did you go to Chengdu?’



- b. *the: zdzyta: fia-qə-ŋua fia-mə-qa-ŋua?*  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-Q DIR-NEG-go-Q  
 ‘Did he go to Chengdu?’

There is sometimes a difference in meaning between a polarity question with prospective aspect marking in the first clause and one without prospective aspect marking in the first clause. Compare the following two examples:

- (4.174) *ʔũ jan tʂhe-n-a me-tʂhe-n-a?*  
 2sg cigarette smoke-2sg-Q NEG-smoke-2sg-Q  
 ‘Do you smoke?’
- (4.175) *ʔũ jan tʂha:-n-a me-tʂhe-n-a?*  
 2sg cigarette smoke:PRS-2sg-Q NEG-smoke-2sg-Q  
 ‘Will you smoke?’

The first example does not have prospective aspect marking on the verb of the first clause, and so expresses the question of whether or not the addressee smokes as a habit; the second example has prospective aspect marking on the verb in the first clause, and so is asking if the addressee intends or wants to smoke now.

Question particles are used even if interrogative pronouns are used in the clause. Interrogative pronouns can appear in initial position, second position, or immediately preverbal position, depending on the overall context (e.g. the difference between (4.176) and (4.177) is whether the table is topical (4.176) or not (4.177)), and can take the same case markers as lexical nouns and other pronouns (see §3.1.2).

- (4.176) *tʂuatsə-le: sə-wu zə-p-wa?*  
 table-DEF:CL who-AGT DIR-buy-Q  
 ‘Who bought the table?’
- (4.177) *sə-wu tʂuatsə-le: zə-p-wa?*  
 who-AGT table-DEF:CL DIR-buy-Q  
 ‘Who bought the table?’

- (4.178) a. *pi:-tsa-la sə-wu ?ũ-(tɕ) de-l-ŋua?*  
 pen-this:one-CL who-AGT 2sg-GEN DIR-give-Q  
 ‘Who gave you this pen?’
- b. *?ũ-tɕ pi:-tsa-la sə-wu de-l-ŋua?*  
 2sg-GEN pen-this:one-CL who-AGT DIR-give-Q  
 ‘Who was it that gave you this pen?’

Just about any type of argument can be questioned using interrogative pronouns. Examples (4.176)-(4.178) are examples of interrogative pronouns representing actor arguments; following are examples of interrogative pronouns representing benefactive (4.179), recipient (4.180), genitive (4.181), and adverbial (4.182) arguments:

- (4.179) *tʃhuatsə-le: sə-tɕ zə-pa:-n-a?*  
 table-DEF:CL who-GEN DIR-buy:PRS-2sg-Q  
 ‘For whom are you going to buy the table?’
- (4.180) *tʃhuatsə-le: sə-ta tə-χua:-n-a?*  
 table-DEF:CL who-LOC DIR-sell:PRS-2sg-Q  
 ‘To whom are you going to sell the table?’
- (4.181) *sə-tɕ-tʃhetsə-le: fi-a-χ-ŋua?*  
 who-GEN-car-DEF:CL DIR-bad/broken-Q  
 ‘Whose car has broken down?’
- (4.182) *tʃhetsə-le: ŋi-ke: tə-bələ-n-a?*  
 car-DEF:CL WH-INDEF:CL DIR-do-2sg-Q  
 ‘What did you do to the car?’

The order of words in the question is generally reflected in the answer, e.g. if the interrogative pronoun is in initial position, then the answer also appears in initial position. The answer to a question involving an interrogative pronoun can be a whole clause, or may simply be the noun phrase representing the information completing the open proposition (i.e. the question), with or without case marking. Compare the three different responses given below to the following question:

(4.183) Question:

*pi:-tsa-la sə-wu ?ũ de-l-ŋua?*  
 pen-this:one-CL who-AGT 2sg DIR-give-Q  
 ‘Who gave you this pen?’

Answer:

- a. *khumtsi-wu de-l.*  
 khumtsi-AGT DIR-give  
 ‘Khumtsi gave it (to me).’
- b. *khumtsi-wu.*  
 khumtsi-AGT  
 ‘Khumtsi (did).’
- c. *khumtsi.*  
 ‘Khumtsi (did).’

Echo questions take the same form as regular questions, though it is possible to use /-ja/ at the end of yes-no echo questions. More than one element of the clause can be subject to echo-questioning.

Leading questions can be asked using either the form /-ja/ or /-na/. Following are two sets of question and answer (both positive and negative answers; no person marking appears in the confirmatory questions, and it is optional in the answers):

(4.184) Question:

*?ũ kə ctəaq-mo-lu-ja?*  
 2sg go heart-NEG-come-Q  
 ‘Don’t you want to go?’

Answers:

- a. *ŋuə, (qa) kə ctəaq-mo-lu.*  
 COP (1sg) go heart-NEG-come  
 ‘No, I don’t want to go.’ (lit.: ‘Yes, I don’t want to go.’)
- b. *?əhə,<sup>85</sup> (qa) kə ctəaq-lu.*  
 NEG 1sg go heart-come  
 ‘Yes, I want to go.’ (lit.: ‘No, I want to go.’)

(4.185) Question:

ʔũ      *stuaha*      *sə-tɕ-jy-na?*  
 2sg    food/rice      DIR-eat-ASP-Q  
 ‘Have you already eaten?’

Answers:

- a. ʔə, (*sə-tɕya*).  
 Yes, (DIR-eat:ASP:1sg)  
 ‘Yes, I have.’
- b. ʔəhə, (*sə-mə-tɕi-tcha*).  
 NEG, (DIR-NEG-CON-eat:1sg)  
 ‘No, I haven’t eaten yet.’
- c. *sə-tɕya* / *sə-mə-tɕi-tcha*  
 DIR-eat:ASP:1sg / DIR-NEG-CON-eat:1sg  
 ‘I have eaten’ / ‘I have not yet eaten’

There are no tag-question constructions in Qiang except for guesses marked by /luɕua/ (see above); the unmarked question form is used instead:

(4.186) ʔũ-tɕ      ɕi      a-zə      *fiŋ-jy-la-ŋua?*  
 2sg-GEN    wine    one-CL    DIR-pour-INDTV:1sg-Q  
 ‘Will you let me pour you a little wine?’

#### 4.3.6. Mood

##### 4.3.6.1. Optative

The desire to do an action is expressed by the addition of the auxiliary verbs /ɕtɕaq-lu/ ‘think of, want’ (‘heart’ + ‘desire’ (< ‘come’) (/lu/ can also be used alone), /kəntɕhi/ ‘think/want’, or /zulu/ ‘wait’ after the main verb, which is not overtly nominalized. First, second, and third person actors can all appear in this construction. First person marking on /ɕtɕaq-lu/ is optional, but /zulu/ inflects normally: [zulua, zulun, zulu]. The person marking reflects the actor of the matrix clause, i.e. the actor of /ɕtɕaq-lu/ or /zulu/, not of the subordinate clause. There is no person

marking of the subordinate (inner) verb, as only one verb in a sentence can take person marking (see §4.3.2), and that is the last (the matrix [outer]) verb, though aspect can be marked on the subordinate (inner) verb in these constructions. The construction with /zulu/ often has the verb before /zulu/ marked with prospective aspect.

(4.188) *the: tɕəu kə ɕtɕaɕ-lu.*  
 3sg home go heart-come  
 ‘S/he wants to go home.’

(4.189) a. *qa tɕəu kə ɕtɕaɕ-lu-a.*  
 1sg home go heart-come-1sg  
 ‘I want to go home.’

b. *?ũ tɕəu kə ɕtɕaɕ-lu-n.*  
 2sg home go heart-come-2sg  
 ‘You want to go home.’

(4.190) *khuə-le: qa-wu pa: lu.*  
 dog-DEF:CL 1sg-AGT buy:PRS will  
 ‘I am going to buy the dog.’ (‘The dog will be bought by me.’)

(4.191) a. *qa the: i-pə-la: zulu-a.*  
 1sg 3sg DIR-arrive-come:PRS wait-1sg  
 ‘I hope s/he is going to return.’

b. *?ũ the: i-pə-la: zulu-n.*  
 2sg 3sg DIR-arrive-come:PRS wait-2sg  
 ‘You hope s/he is going to return.’

c. *the: the: i-pə-la: zuly.*  
 3sg 3sg DIR-arrive-come:PRS wait  
 ‘S/he hopes s/he is going to return.’

Another method for expressing the optative mood is to nominalize the verb with the instrumental nominalizer /-s/ and add /ŋuə-ŋi/ (copula + ADV), or /ma-ŋuə-tɕi/ (‘not’ + copula + ADV). The form /ŋuə-ŋi/ is used for positive clauses, and either /ma-ŋuə-ŋi/ or /ma-ŋuə-tɕi/ is used

for negatives. No aspect or person contrasts are marked in sentences with /ma-ŋuə-tɕi/ or /ŋuə-ŋi/.<sup>86</sup>

- (4.192) *təp-ŋi*            *me:ʰ*    *ce-s*            *ma-ŋuə-tɕi*.  
tomorrow-ADV rain    release-NOM NEG-COP-ADV  
'I hope it won't rain tomorrow.'
- (4.193) a. *qa tʂhetsə-le: fia-χ-əs*            *ma-ŋuə-tɕi*.  
1sg car-DEF:CL DIR-bad/broken-NOM NEG-COP-ADV  
'I hope my car hasn't broken down.'
- b. *the: tʂhetsə-le: fia-χ-əs*            *ŋuə-ŋi*.  
3sg car-DEF:CL DIR-bad/broken-NOM COP-ADV  
'I hope his/her car has broken down.'
- (4.194) a. *təp-ŋi*            *tianjin*    *ce-s*            *ŋuə-ŋi*.  
tomorrow-ADV movie    release-NOM COP-ADV  
'I hope a movie is showing tomorrow.'
- b. *təp-ŋi*            *tianjin*    *ce-s*            *ma-ŋuə-tɕi*.  
tomorrow-ADV movie release-NOM NEG-COP-PART  
'I hope no movie is showing tomorrow.'

In some cases the second person directive particle /-ʂu/ can be used as a strong expression of desire for the addressee to perform a particular action.

- (4.195) a. *?ũ tco-lu-n-ʂu*.  
2sg NEG.IMP-come-2sg-DTV  
'I hope you won't come.'
- b. *?ũ tca-kə-n-ʂu*.  
2sg NEG.IMP-go-2sg-DTV  
'I hope you won't leave.'
- (4.196) *təp-ŋi*            *χtʂu-tian-ka*    *i-pə-l-ən-ʂu*.  
tomorrow-ADV six-o'clock-LOC DIR-arrive-come-2sg-DTV  
'I hope you will come tomorrow at six o'clock.'

## 4.3.6.2. Intentional

To express the intention to carry out a particular action, the prospective aspect form of the verb can be used alone, or a nominalized verb form followed by /*ŋuə-ŋi*/ can be used. The construction with nominalized verb plus /*ŋuə-ŋi*/ was introduced above as a way of expressing the optative mood, and it has this use, but its main meaning is one of obligation (cf. English *I must have that piece of cake!*). It can also be used in some contexts to express intention. Between these two forms, the use of the prospective aspect marking has a stronger sense of intention than the use of /*ŋuə-ŋi*/.

- (4.197) *qa fa cupu-a-thau pa:* (< pə)  
 1sg clothes red-one-CL buy:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I am going to buy a set of red clothes.’

- (4.198) a. *qa zme-z na-ji su-a:*  
 1sg Qiang-language well-ADV learn-PRS:1sg  
 ‘I am going to learn Qiang well.’

- b. *the: zme-z na-ji su-a:-i.*  
 3sg Qiang-language well-ADV learn-PRS-HS  
 ‘I heard s/he is going to learn Qiang well.’

- (4.199) a. *qa ku-q-ta ha-ka:*  
 1sg mountain-peak(head)-LOC DIR-go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I am going to go up to the mountain top.’

- b. *qa ku-q-ta ha-kə-s ŋuə-ŋi.*  
 1sg mountain-peak(head)-LOC DIR-go-NOM COP-ADV  
 ‘I am going to go up to the mountain top.’

The construction involving /*çtəq-lu*/ ‘think of, want’, also introduced as a way of expressing optatives, can be used to express intention as well.<sup>87</sup>

- (4.200) *qa tciɣua-le: xlie ɕtcaq-lu.*  
 1sg house-DEF:CL build heart-come  
 ‘I want (plan) to build the house.’

## 4.3.6.3. Debitive (Obligation)

The construction used to express obligation to perform an action involves a nominalized verb followed by the copula /*ɲuə*/,<sup>88</sup> and this is followed optionally by /*ʂa*/ in the first person, /*san*/ in the second person, or /*ɲuə*/ in the third person. These forms are the non-actor person marking suffixes (see §4.3.2). (The form /*ɲuə*/ is an alternate form of the third person non-actor marker /*wə*/, which by assimilation to /*ɲuə*/ becomes /*ɲuə*/.) ‘Must’ and ‘ought to’ use the same construction. No formal distinction is made between moral and physical obligation. No distinction of degrees of obligation is marked. Epistemic and root modality are expressed using the same structures. Person marking on the verb is optional in this construction, but if it appears it is the non-actor marking that is used.

- (4.201) *the: tɕəu-la lu-s ɲuə-ɲuə.* (< *wə*)  
 3sg home-LOC come-NOM COP-3sgU  
 ‘S/he must come home!’

- (4.202) a. *qa zme-z na-ji su-s ɲuə-(ʂa).*  
 1sg Qiang-language well-ADV learn-NOM COP-1sgU  
 b. *?ũ zme-z na-ji su-s ɲuə-san.*  
 2sg Qiang-language well-ADV learn-NOM COP-2sgU  
 c. *the: zme-z na-ji su-s ɲuə-ɲuə.*  
 3sg Qiang-language well-ADV learn-NOM COP-3sgU  
 ‘I / you / s/he must learn Qiang well.’

- (4.203) a. *qa stuaha bələ-s ɲuə-ji-(ʂa).*  
 1sg food/rice make-NOM COP-CSM  
 b. *?ũ stuaha bələ-s ɲuə-ji-san.*  
 2sg food/rice make-NOM COP-CSM-2sgU



- c. *the: stuaha bələ-s ηuə-ji-ηuə.*  
 3sg food/rice make-NOM COP-CSM-3sgU  
 ‘I / you / s/he must make the meal.’ (prepare to begin)

The construction with nominalized verb plus /*ηuə-ηi*/, discussed above as having a sense of intention similar to the use of the prospective aspect marking, is also a way of expressing a kind of obligation or necessity. Contrast the following two examples, where the prospective aspect marking or nominalized verb plus /*ηuə-ηi*/ can be used in the same context, but the latter has more of a sense of necessity.

- (4.204) a. *qa mausa ka:.* (intention)  
 1sg toilet go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘I’m going to go to the bathroom.’
- b. *qa mausa kə-s ηuə-ηi.* (necessity)  
 1sg toilet go-NOM COP-ADV  
 ‘I have to go to the bathroom.’

An interesting feature of this construction is that if there is only one human referent referred to in the clause, as in the examples above, then the person marking on the verb reflects the person and number of that referent, but if there are two human referents referred to in the clause, then the person marking reflects the non-actor argument. The initial noun phrase of this construction is the topic of an identificational structure, and so normally we would expect agreement with that argument, particularly as the other referent mentioned is mentioned within a nominalized clause, but instead we get agreement with the embedded argument. This is a clear example of how use of the non-actor person marking is not limited to specific semantic or grammatical roles. Following are examples where two human referents are referred to:

- (4.205) a. *the: ?ū-(ta) kua-s ηuə-san.*  
 3sg 2sg-DAT help-NOM COP-2sgU  
 ‘S/he should help you.’

- b. *tcile the: kua-s ηuə-ηuə.*  
 1pl 3sg help-NOM COP-3sg  
 ‘We ought to help him/her.’
- c. *tcile tcy:mi-le:-χua-ηi zbotcu-s ηuə-(ηuə).*  
 1pl child-DEF:CL-BEN-ADV consider-NOM COP-3sg  
 ‘We must consider the interests of the child.’

In two of the traditional stories that were recorded, the nominalization part of this structure appears in a non-final clause without the copula, but the sense of obligation or determination is the same. In (4.206), from “The Creation of the World”, the structure appears twice, in the first line with the copula, followed by /χua-ηi/ ‘because’, and in line four, as simply a nominalization, but with the sense ‘(they) should (become a family)’. In (4.207), from “The Story of a Lazy Man” three nominalized clauses are subordinated to one copula.

- (4.206) *steke-ta mi pe'zə-s ηuə-χua-ηi, . . .*  
 after-LOC people raise(child)-NOM COP-because-ADV  
 2 *ηutcuku dzuaɁl e-xʂe fei-bi-ηi,*  
 each stone.mill one-CL DIR-carry.on.back-ADV  
 3 *ku-q-ta-wu fiə-γlu, dzuaɁl jə-xʂe*  
 mountain-head-LOC-ABL DIR-roll stone.mill two-CL  
 4 *e-tʂetup-tu, ηizzi oqpi pə-s,*  
 DIR-bump-LNK 3dl one.family become-NOM  
 5 *dzuaɁl jə-xʂe fiə-γlu-s-ta,*  
 stone.mill two-CL DIR-roll-NOM-LOC  
 6 *qhuat e-tʂetup-wei, fiə-tsəi-ηike,*  
 as.it.happens DIR-bump.into-INF:HS INT-this.manner-after  
 7 *mə ηa γlu lə-zi oqpi*  
 older.brother COM younger.sister DEF-CL one.family  
 8 *fiə-pə-i. (T1:4-11)*  
 DIR-become-HS

‘Later, in order to propagate descendants, (the brother and sister decided that) each would carry a stone mill on his or her back and roll it down from the mountain peak. If the two stone mills joined together, the two should get married. As it happened, when the two stone mills rolled down (to the river

bank) they joined together, and so the brother and sister married (became a family).’

- (4.207) *z mətʃi-le:-tc*                      *tsi-le:-ŋuən*i**  
 emperor-DEF:CL-GEN      daughter-DEF:CL-TOP  
 2 *χuan-tchianme<sup>1</sup>-ta*      **γζə-s,**  
 Huang-Qianmen-DAT marry-NOM  
 3 *χuan-tchianme<sup>1</sup>-ŋuən*i** *z mətʃi*      **dzu-s,**  
 Huang-Qianmen-TOP emperor sit-NOM  
 4 *z mətʃi-le:*              *tsi-le:-ŋuən*i**              *fi-a-tha*  
 emperor-DEF:CL daughter-DEF:CL-TOP INT-there  
 5 **de-l-əs,**              *fi-a-kə*      **ŋuə-ku-tu, . . .**      (T5:308-314)  
 DIR-give-NOM INT-thus COP-INF:HS-LNK  
 ‘(Because the emperor had said he would marry his daughter to whoever found the parrot,) the emperor had to marry his daughter to Huang Qianmen, and Huang Qianmen became the emperor, (he had to) give (him) the daughter.’

In the following example from the story “An Orphan”, the sense of the nominalization construction is of obligation in terms of the best thing to do in that situation. We can see in the fourth line of this example that even the copula can be nominalized and subordinated to the copula.

- (4.208) *the-maha-ŋuən*i** (*tc*iu**)      *ʃəʃe:’wu*              *ŋ*i*ant*ei**  
 that-night-TOP †(INT) exist:REDUP:all together  
 2 *ganphai-tu-py-kəi-stu,*              *χa-le:-ŋuən*i**              *tca-lə*  
 arrange-DIR-do-INF:HS-PART needle-DEF:CL-TOP where-LOC  
 3 **je-s**                      **ŋuə,** *tca-lə*              *tca-lə*              **nə-s**  
 live/stay-NOM COP where-LOC where-LOC sleep-NOM  
 4 **ŋuə,** *tca-lə*              *tca-lə*              *ŋ*i*yi*      **ŋuə-s**              **ŋuə,**  
 COP where-LOC where-LOC what COP-NOM COP  
 5 *fi-a-tsəi*                      *ganphai-tu-py-kəi-t*eu*.*      (T3:101-106)  
 INT-this:manner arrange-DIR-do-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘That night everybody made a plan together, where the needle should stay, where (each of them) should sleep and what not and it was all settled.’

Another form of this construction is where the continuative aspect prefix appears on the copula, i.e. [tɕa-ŋuə] (CON + COP). The combination [tɕa-ŋuə] can also take the negative prefix. (Without the continuative aspect prefix, the form would express an action that had been agreed upon or set beforehand.)

(4.209) a. *qa kə-s tɕa-ŋuə.*  
1sg go-NOM CON-COP  
'I (still) must go.'

b. *qa kə-s ma-tɕə-ŋuə.*  
1sg go-NOM NEG-CON-COP  
'I (still) shouldn't go.'

(4.210) a. *the: ləyz zdə-s tɕa-ŋuə.*  
3sg book read/study-NOM CON-COP  
'I (still) must study.'

b. *the: ləyz zdə-s ma-tɕə-ŋuə.*  
3sg book read/study-NOM NEG-CON-COP  
'I (still) don't need to study.'

Obligation can also be expressed using the auxiliary verb /kze/ 'ought to'. If this auxiliary verb is negated ('must not') and/or takes the continuative aspect prefix [tɕi ~ tɕa ~ tɕe ~ tɕo], the negative or other prefix appears between the main verb and the auxiliary (i.e. is prefixed to the auxiliary verb).

(4.211) a. *stuaha tɕhə-kze-ji.*  
food/rice eat-must-CSM  
'(We/You/One) ought to eat!' (i.e., 'Time to eat!')

b. *stuaha tɕhə-ma-tɕi-kze.*  
food/rice eat-NEG-CON-must  
'(We/You/One) ought not to eat yet!'

## 4.3.6.4. Potential

The potential to perform an action is expressed by the use of auxiliary verbs, with the choice of auxiliary verb depending on the type of potentiality. Person marking is added to the auxiliary verb. Following are examples of each type:

/ɣzə/ for learned ability:

- (4.212) a. *the:*    *zme-z*            *dze*    *ɣzə.*  
           3sg    Qiang-language    speak    can  
           ‘S/he can speak Qiang.’
- b. *?ũ*        *zme-z*            *dze*    *ɣzə-n.*  
           2sg    Qiang-language    speak    can-2sg  
           ‘You can speak Qiang.’
- c. *qa*        *zme-z*            *dze*    *ɣza.*        (< ɣzə)  
           1sg    Qiang-language    speak    can:1sg  
           ‘I can speak Qiang.’

/dzə/ or /qe/ for natural (physical) ability:<sup>89</sup>

- (4.213) a. *mi*        *la ma-l,*        *wə la dzə.*        (< mə + dzə)  
           person fly NEG-able bird fly able  
           ‘People cannot fly, but birds can.’
- b. *misag-wu qa quaha tə-ŋiχ-z*        *dzə.*  
           sun-AGT 1sg face DIR-black-CAUS able  
           ‘The sun can make my face become black.’
- c. *qa u-tcu ma-la.*                            (< mə + dzə + ə)  
           1sg DIR-see NEG-able:1sg  
           ‘I can’t see.’
- (4.214) *the:* *zawa-le:*    *tə-tsi*    *qe-ŋua?* (dzə also possible here)  
           3sg rock-DEF:CL DIR-lift able-Q  
           ‘Can s/he lift the rock?’

Comparing (4.215) and (4.216), below, we can see that while the forms /ɣzə/ and /dzə/ are phonetically similar, the meanings are somewhat different and /ɣzə/ does not undergo phonetic reduction when it is prefixed.

(4.215) *tsiçi sei ma-ɣzə.*  
 infant walk NEG-can  
 ‘An infant cannot walk.’ (not yet learned)

(4.216) *the:-dzoqu-le: dak-wu, pitc sei ma-l-jy.* (< dzə)  
 3sg-foot-DEF:CL break-INST now walk NEG-able-ASP  
 ‘His/her foot is broken so he/she cannot walk now.’

/gu/ for ability to fit into something else:

(4.217) *tʂuəwa-le-tsi sə-le gu-ŋua?*  
 shoe-DEF-CL DIR-pack able.to-Q  
 ‘Can this pair of shoes fit in?’

/ku/ or /se/ for the sense of ‘willing’ or ‘(be) allowed’:

(4.218) a. *coçau-ka zme-z dze-z ku.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak-CAUS allow  
 ‘Speaking Qiang is allowed in the school.’  
 b. *coçau-ka zme-z dze-z fie-se.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak-CAUS DIR-allow  
 ‘Speaking Qiang is allowed in school.’

/je/ ‘good to eat’ (an adjective) for the sense of ‘possible’:

(4.219) *tsa ze-s me-je.*  
 here write-NOM NEG-possible  
 ‘(You) can’t write here.’

A construction involving the exclusion particle on the main verb and the expression /me-tchi/ ‘not want’ following the main verb can also be

used to express the ability (either physical or learned) or permission to do something.

- (4.220) a. *coəau-ɸa zme-z dze-ji me-tchi.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak-EXC NEG-want  
 ‘It is all right to speak Qiang in school.’
- b. *tsə tu-χsu-ji-wa, tɕile quaha χuəla-jə*  
 water DIR-boil-CSM-RCA 1pl face wash-EXC  
*me-tchi-ji.*  
 NEG-want-CSM  
 ‘The water’s boiled, so we can wash our faces.’

#### 4.3.7. Evidentials, degree of certainty/authority

The evidential system in Qiang basically has three terms, visual (§4.3.7.1), inferred/mirative (§4.3.7.2), and reported marking (§4.3.7.3) (this is the B1 type of system discussed in Aikhenvald 2003), but it does not necessarily involve marking of the evidential category on all clauses, and there are complications related to verb types and combinations of forms. The inferential can appear together with the hearsay or visual marker, therefore it may be seen as two systems rather than three paradigmatically related items in one system. The actor person marking, when used without the inferential/mirative marker, also is involved in expressing an evidential meaning, in that it implies direct observation, and cannot be used with the hearsay marker.

In general, an unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, most probably, but not necessarily, from having seen the situation or event first-hand, and so, for witnessed events, there is no obligatory marking of the events as witnessed. If the speaker wants to emphasize that he or she saw the event or that the statement represents incontrovertible common knowledge, then it is possible to use an overt marker, [-u ~ -wu], as in (4.221a) below. This marker is actually rarely used, and difficult to elicit from linguistically naive speakers. It is generally only used when the actor(s) of the clause is animate, and it is necessary to emphasize that the speaker actually saw the other person(s) carry out the action. This form is used together

with the actor person marking suffixes, but use of the person marking suffixes alone can also imply visual observation, as in (4.221b).

- (4.221) a. *the: zdzyta: fia-qə-(w)u.*  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-VIS  
 ‘He went to Chengdu.’ (used in a situation where the speaker saw the person leave and that person has not yet returned)
- b. *?ũ tceχun tu-pu-ji-n.*  
 2sg marry DIR-do-ASP-2sg  
 ‘You got married.’ (I saw you get married)

If the speaker is not completely sure of the information being presented in the utterance, which generally means s/he did not witness it, then it is necessary to use one of two non-visual markers. In reporting second-hand or third-hand knowledge of some situation or event the speaker is unsure of, the hearsay marking suffix /-i/ is used after the verb. Only one token of the hearsay marker is used in a clause; it cannot be repeated to show the number of sources between the speaker and the event, as in Tsafiki (Dickinson 2000:408).

Statements that represent “just discovered” information (mirative) or information based on inference derived from some physical or other non-visual evidence take the suffix /-k/ after the change of state marker, if there is one, but before the prospective aspect and person marking (if there is any—3sg animate and inanimates are unmarked), a different position in the verb complex from the narrative evidential marking. This marker in some contexts, and particularly in combination with the hearsay marker, can be used to mark simple uncertainty (not necessarily inference).

#### 4.3.7.1. Direct evidential

The unmarked verb form can be used for visual evidence, and for generally known facts and for observations that lead to a strong conclusion, such as if you say ‘He is a strong man’ when you see him do



something that makes that obvious. In this latter case, use of the inferential marker would be optional, and would imply less certainty.

The visual evidential marker can be used for past events (as in exx. (4.221a-b)) or ongoing events, but not future events. When it is used, the visual marker is used together with the actor person marking. In most cases the person marking reflects the person and number of the actor of the clause, the usual situation with the person marking, as in (4.222a), but in the case of a 3sg actor, which would normally have zero person marking, it is possible to add 1sg person marking in order to particularly emphasize that the speaker saw the person do the action, as in (4.222b) (the resulting form, [wa], is to be distinguished from the clause-final emphatic particle /wa/, which appears in (4.222a)).

- (4.222) a. *themle jimi de-se-ji-wu-tci-wa.*  
 3pl fertilizer DIR-spread-CSM-VIS-3pl-EMPH  
 ‘They spread the fertilizer.’ (I saw them do it.)
- b. *the: jimi de-se-ji-w-a.*  
 3sg fertilizer DIR-spread-CSM-VIS-1sg  
 ‘She spread the fertilizer.’ (I saw her spread it.)

This same form is also used when the actor is 1sg, but then the meaning is one of unintentional action, as in (4.223).

- (4.223) *qa the:-ta de-we-z-u-a.*  
 1sg 3sg-LOC DIR-hit-CAUS-VIS-1sg  
 ‘I hit him (accidentally).’ (The context for this was the speaker having hit the person while leaning back and stretching his arms back without looking behind him.)

The visual marker [-u ~ -wu] is only used for visual sensory information, not other types of sensory information. If you hear some noise, such as the sound of drums in the next room, and you want to say ‘Someone is playing drums next door’, you would use the inferential marker, as in (4.224). Even if you feel something in your hand but cannot see it, the inferential marker, not the visual marker, would be used.

- (4.224) *mi            z bə    zete-k!*  
 person    drum beat-INF  
 ‘Someone is playing drums.’ (It seems to me from hearing a noise that sounds like drums.)

#### 4.3.7.2. Inferential/mirative marking

The suffix /-k/ has both an inferential sense and a mirative sense. The inferential sense is primary when the action involved is an activity, as in (4.224) and (4.225a). The inference may be based on evidence obtained visually or by some other sense. If what is reported is a state or the resulting state of some action, as in (4.225b-c), then the meaning is mirativity (‘just discovered’).<sup>90</sup>

- (4.225) a. *the:    zdzyta:            fiā-qə-k.*  
 3sg    Chengdu:LOC    DIR-go-INF  
 ‘He went to Chengdu.’ (Used in a situation where the speaker knew the person was supposed to go to Chengdu, but wasn’t sure when, and then saw the person’s luggage gone, so assumed he had left for Chengdu. /-k/ could not be used if the speaker saw the person leave.)
- b. *the:    ctcimi        zdzi-k!*  
 3sg    heart        sick-INF  
 ‘He’s unhappy!’ (just discovered; relatively sure, not guess)
- c. *dzy        de-zge-ji-k!*  
 door        DIR-open-CSM-INF  
 ‘The door is open!’ (just discovered; see that the door was opened, but don’t know who opened it)

If the speaker needs to express an inferential sense in talking about a state or perfective situation, then the speaker would use the adverbial phrase /χsu-ŋi/ ‘seems’ or the construction with [-tan] or [-lahan] for marking possibility (both discussed in §4.3.7.4 below), not the inferential marker. For example, if the speaker feels wind on her back and makes the assumption that the door is open, she could say (4.226).

- (4.226) *dzy*      *zge-m-tan*                      *ɲuə*.  
 door      open-NOM-appearance              COP  
 ‘It appears the door is open.’ / ‘Apparently the door is open.’

Generally the inference marker is used for single instances of an event, such as if someone was supposed to quit smoking, but then the speaker sees cigarette butts in an ashtray, the speaker could use the inference marker to comment that (it seems) the person had smoked. If it was discussed as a habitual action, then again generally the construction with [tan] or [lahan] would be used.

- (4.227) a. *the: jan*              *tʃhe-m-tan*                      *ɲuə*.  
 3sg    cigarettes    smoke-NOM-appearance    COP  
 ‘S/he might smoke (It seems s/he smokes).’  
 (lit.: ‘S/he is s smoker’s appearance.’)
- b. *the: jan*              *tʃhe-m-la-han*                      *ɲuə*.  
 3sg    cigarettes    smoke-NOM-DEF:one-kind    COP  
 ‘S/he might smoke (might be a smoker).’  
 (lit.: ‘S/he is a smoking kind of person.’)

The inferential/mirative marker is also used together with the person marking, with the person marking always reflecting the person and number of the actor, as in (4.228a-b), but with first person actors the interpretation is not only that the action was just discovered, but also that it was unintentional or originally unknown, as in (4.228c-d)

- (4.228) a. *panə-le:*                      *fiə-χ-k-ən*.  
 thing-DEF:CL      DIR-broken-INF-2sg  
 ‘You broke the thing.’ (inference from seeing the broken pieces in the person’s hands)
- b. *themle*              *stuaha*                      *sə-tchə-ji-k-tci*.  
 3pl              food/rice              DIR-eat-CSM-INF-3pl  
 ‘They have already eaten.’ (inference from seeing used dishes)

- c. *qa dzigy tɛy-k-a-ŋi!*  
 1sg money bring-INF-1sg-ADV  
 ‘I have money!’ (Used when the speaker originally thought she didn’t have money, but then opened her wallet and found she did have money.)
- d. (*qa*) *dzy fi-a-mə-sua-k-a!*  
 1sg door DIR-NEG-lock-INF-1sg  
 ‘I didn’t lock the door!’ (Used in a situation where the speaker had thought he had locked the door.)

The suffix /-k/ can appear alone with a mirative sense (e.g. (4.225b-c)), but often in these cases the particle /-ŋi/ or /-wa/ is added at the end of the clause, as in (4.228c). The particle /-ŋi/ is an adverbial marker used also to mark surprise and/or disbelief; /-wa/ is an emphatic marker. Its use with /-k/ gives the construction a stronger mirative sense. Examples (4.229a-b) show the use of the suffix /-k/ together with /-wa/ and /-ŋi/ respectively.

- (4.229) a. *me:<sup>ʔ</sup> de-ci-k-wa!*  
 rain DIR-release-INF-EMPH  
 ‘It’s raining!’ (just discovered; this clause could also mean ‘it has rained’, with the statement based on inference from having seen the ground wet)
- b. *the: zdzyta: fi-a-qə-k-ŋi!*  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-INF-ADV  
 ‘He went to Chengdu!’ (just discovered)

The suffix /-k/ is used with 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person actors, though with first and second person actors, /wa/ is not used to emphasize the sense of ‘just discovered’; instead /-ŋi/, /-s/ or /ŋia/ is used for first person actors (of these three, the latter is stronger) and /-ŋi/ is used for second person actors (/ŋi/ can be used for other persons, but if the clause has a second person actor, then /-ŋi/ must be used). The combination [-k-wa] is stronger (more certain) than /-k/ alone, but weaker than [-k-ŋi], which can have the sense that you can’t believe your own inference, that it is totally unexpected. The auxiliary verb /ku/

‘willing, allow’ can also be added after /-k/ to weaken (make less certain) the force of the statement. Following are examples of first and second person actors ((4.230a-b) respectively).

(4.230) a. *qa da-m-k-a-ʂ!* (if plural, then [k-ə¹-ʂ])  
 1sg DIR-forget-INF-1sg-EMPH  
 ‘I (just realized I) forgot!’

b. *ʔũ sə i-ṭchi-k-ən-ŋi!* (if plural, then [k-əi-ŋi])  
 2sg wood DIR-bring.in-INF-2sg-ADV  
 ‘(I see) you brought the wood in!’ (just discovered)

The inferential marker, the visual marker, and the person marking can all be used together for ongoing or past events. This would be possible given a situation such as the following: after having guessed someone was playing drums next door the speaker went next door and saw the person standing there holding a drum or drumsticks. When commenting that ‘He WAS playing drums’, adding (/ -k/ + /-u/ > [ku]) after the verb (see ex. (4.231a)) adds the sense of ‘as I had guessed and now pretty-well confirm’. This interpretation holds when the clause has a 2nd person actor ([k-u-ən] 2sg, as in (4.231b), [k-u-i] 2pl) or 3rd person plural actor ([k-u-əṭɕi]).

If upon opening the door in that situation the person was still playing drums, the speaker could say (4.231c). Adding the 1sg person marking where the actor is 3sg marks the clause as representing information obtained by direct visual observation. The forms with [-k-] and the visual and person marking contrast with forms without [-k-] in that with the latter do not imply a previous supposition.

(4.231) a. *oh, the: ʒbə ʒete-k-u!*  
 oh 3sg drum beat-INF-VIS  
 ‘Oh, he WAS playing drums!’

b. *ʔũ zdzyta: fi-a-qə-k-u-ən.*  
 2sg Chengdu DIR-go-INF-VIS-2sg  
 ‘You went to Chengdu.’

- c. *oh, the: ẓbə ẓete-k-u-a!*  
 oh 3sg drum beat-INF-VIS-1sg  
 ‘Oh, he IS playing a drum!’

If the actor is 1st person, use of the inferential, visual and person marking together involves an implication not only that the action was done unintentionally and just discovered, as with use of the inferential and person marking alone, but also that the action was a mistake of some kind, as in (4.232) (if the actor was 1pl, then the suffixes would be [k-u-əʔ]).

- (4.232) *qa apə-ṭə-iantu-le: tsa ṭy-k-u-a.*  
 1sg grandfather-GEN-pipe-DEF:CL here bring-INF-VIS-1sg  
 ‘I mistakenly brought Grandfather’s pipe here.’

Usually no marking of evidentials is necessary in retelling dreams, as long as the speaker remembers the dream clearly, but if not, then the speaker would use the adverbial phrase /χsu-ŋi/ ‘seems’ or the construction with [-tan] or [-lahan] for marking possibility (both discussed below), not the inferential or hearsay markers. When retelling some event witnessed on TV the unmarked form can also be used, but often the hearsay marker would be used (the visual marker cannot be used), as when retelling something heard on the radio. There is no special marking for information that is not to be taken literally, such as metaphors or sarcasm.

#### 4.3.7.3. Hearsay marking

The hearsay marking suffix /-i/, derived from the verb [jə ~ ji] ‘to say’, is used to mark hearsay of future or presently ongoing events (e.g. ‘I heard he’s leaving’) or relatively recent past events, as in (4.233) (could be up to 40-50 years, but generally not ancient history, though there are exceptions).

- (4.233) *the: zdzyta: fi-a-qə-i.*  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-HS  
 ‘He went to Chengdu.’ (I heard)

The hearsay marker is used only for hearsay, and not for simple uncertainty, when it is used alone. It can also appear in narratives recounting distant past events (e.g., ex. (4.234a), the first line in the traditional creation story (T1:1)), but generally in distant past narratives (story-telling) it is used together with the inferential marker, to show a greater degree of uncertainty, as in ex. (4.234b), the first line of another traditional story.<sup>91</sup> The hearsay marking is not used together with second person marking (e.g. (4.234c)). Unlike in Jarawara (Dixon 2003), the hearsay particle is not used in clauses with a 2nd person actor to remind the person of what they said.

(4.234) a. *qe:<sup>1</sup>lotʃu-ka, mutu-la mujuqu z<sub>2</sub>guə-zi we-i.*  
 before-LOC heaven-LOC sun nine-CL exist-HS  
 ‘(It is said) in the past there were nine suns in the sky.’

b. *qe:<sup>1</sup>-qe:<sup>1</sup>-tu fiala kapətʃ kou*  
 before-before-LNK INT orphan INDEF:one:CL  
*ŋuə-kəi-tcu.* (T3:1)  
 COP-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘(It is said) in the past there was an orphan.’

c. *?ū tceχun tu-pu-ji-i-ŋi!*  
 2sg marry DIR-do-ASP-HS-ADV  
 ‘(I heard) you got married!’

Generally there is no difference between second-hand and third-hand reported information, but if the hearsay marker is used in a clause with 1sg marking on the verb, as in (4.235), the utterance must be interpreted as similar to a direct quote (even though the representation of the speaker quoted is 3rd person), with the assumption being that, for example in (4.235), that the referent mentioned in (4.235) himself told the speaker of (4.235) that he (the referent mentioned in (4.235)) is unhappy.<sup>92</sup> If instead the verb root is the third person form plus the hearsay marker (i.e. would be [zdzi-i] in (4.235)), then the implication is that someone else told the speaker the other person was unhappy.

(4.235) *the: ɕtɕimi zdza-i.* (< zdzi-a-i)  
 3sg heart sick:1sg-HS  
 ‘He’s unhappy.’ (he told me)

## 4.3.7.4. Evidential strategies

Two other types of marking might be considered evidential strategies rather than evidential marking. The adverbial particle /χsu-ŋi/ can be added to the end of the clause, after the verb complex (and so does not take person marking), to show uncertainty about some information. This adverbial functions something like English ‘seem’, taking the whole clause in its scope. The (semantically) main clause may or may not take the hearsay evidential marker /-i/ (compare (4.236a) and (4.236b)).

- (4.236) a. *the: zdzyta: fi-a-qə-i χsu-ŋi.*  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-HS seem-ADV  
 ‘It seems s/he went to Chengdu.’ (guessing, unsure if true)
- b. *zdzyta: le χsu-ŋi.*  
 Chengdu:LOC exist seem-ADV  
 ‘It seems (s/he) lives in Chengdu.’

For expressing contingent (‘it is possible that’, ‘perhaps’) situations, often a construction involving a clause nominalized by /-m/, plus [la-hən ~ la-hən] (definite marker + ‘one’ + ‘kind’), [ka-hən ~ ka-hən] (indefinite marker + ‘one’ + ‘kind’), or /tan/ (‘appearance’), and the copula is used. This is structurally similar to the Japanese *yoo-da* and *soo-da* constructions (see Aoki 1986). Following are examples of a direct evidential ((4.237a)) and a construction using the nominalizer /-m/ plus /tan/ ((4.237b)).

- (4.237) a. *the: tha zi.*  
 3sg there exist  
 ‘S/he is there.’
- b. *the: tha-zi-m-tan ŋuə.*  
 3sg there-exist-NOM-appearance COP  
 ‘S/he might be there.’  
 (lit.: ‘S/he is the appearance of one who is there.’)

An expression with [-m-tan] is more of a certainty than one with [χsu-(ŋi)] ‘seems’. The former can also be used for non-past events.



To make a strong statement of certainty, or of information that was not recently discovered, but known for some time, then a clause nominalized by /-s/ and followed by the copula is used without /tan/ or /la-hən/ (this construction was also discussed in §4.3.6). This form cannot be used for past/perfective actions.

- (4.238) a. *pəs zmu tsu-s ηuə.*  
 today meeting hold-NOM COP  
 ‘There is a meeting today.’ (set and known about  
 beforehand)
- b. *the: tha-zi-s ηuə.*  
 3sg there-exist-NOM COP  
 ‘S/he is definitely there.’

#### 4.3.7.5. Correlations with other grammatical categories

Use of evidential marking in a question is not obligatory, as long as no assumptions about the source of the addressee’s information are made, but if it is used, in the case of the visual or hearsay marking it would imply the assumption that the hearer saw (visual, as in (4.239a)), or heard about (hearsay, as in (4.239b)), the action being questioned. It is the action that is questioned, not the source of the information.

- (4.239) a. *the: ha-qə-u ηua?*  
 3sg DIR-go-VIS Q  
 ‘Did he go?’
- b. *the: ha-qə-i ηua?*  
 3sg DIR-go-HS Q  
 ‘Did he go?’

If the speaker of a question assumes the addressee of the question also does not have visual evidence of information about the situation being asked about (though knows more about the situation than the speaker), the inferential particle can be used in the question, as in (4.240):

- (4.240) *the:*    *ha-qə-k*            *ŋua?*  
           3sg    DIR-go-INF        Q  
           ‘Did he go?’

The form used by the one responding to the question would then depend on the source of that person’s information, visual, inference or hearsay.

If the speaker is asking the addressee about his or her own actions, then the inferential marker can still be used, but in this case would not represent a presupposition that the addressee is also not clear about the situation. Instead it would represent a guess about some aspect of the question, for example in (4.241), the guess that Chengdu is the place that the person went to. (The question marker used in this example also differs from the usual second person question marker /-a/, in that it represents more of a guess about the situation.)

- (4.241) *?ũ*    *zdzyta:*            *fi-a-qə-k-ən*        *dza?*  
           2sg    Chengdu:LOC    DIR-go-INF-2sg    Q  
           ‘Did you go down to Chengdu?’

Other examples of the use of the inferential marker in questions are given in (4.242a-b). (Ex. (4.242b) is actually a rhetorical question, from a traditional story, “The Old Man of the Chen Family”.)

- (4.242) a. *the:*        *zdzyta:*            *fi-a-qə-k*        *ja?*  
           3sg        Chengdu:LOC    DIR-go-INF        Q  
           ‘Did he go down to Chengdu?’
- b. *?ũ*    *ŋa*    *qa*    *a-qə-s*        *we-k-a:<sup>l</sup>*        *təi?*  
           2sg    COM    1sg    one-form    exist-INF-PRS:1pl    Q  
           ‘(Could it be) yours and mine are the same?’ (T6:137-138)

The evidential markers can be used with causatives, just as with simplex clauses (see (4.223) and (4.243)).

- (4.243) *the:*    *fi-a-qə-z-i.*  
           3sg    DIR-go-CAUS-HS  
           ‘He was made to go.’ (I heard)

It is possible to use the evidential markers in some embedded clauses, with the acceptability of the marker depending somewhat on the matrix verb (contrast (4.244a) and (4.244b)).

- (4.244) a. *the: pieye tu-pu-ji-(u) qa dzukʉ la.*  
 3sg graduate DIR-do-CSM-VIS 1sg knowledge exist:1sg  
 ‘I know he graduated.’
- b. *the: pieye tu-pu-ji-i qa ə-ma.*  
 3sg graduate DIR-do-CSM-HS 1sg DIR-hear:1sg  
 ‘I heard he graduated.’

With direct quotes, as in (4.245), different evidential marking can appear on the matrix and quoted clauses, e.g. in (4.245) the inferential marker appears in the quote, and the narrative marker appears on the verb of saying (from a traditional narrative).

- (4.245) “*ta, qa ?ile ep ŋuə-k-a,*” *ikə jə-kui.*  
 INT 1sg 2pl father COP-INF-1sg thus say-INF:HS  
 ‘He said, “Then, I am your father.” (based on inference from what they had just said; T6:254-255))

In other types of complex sentences, evidential marking can appear either on only the final clause, when the initial clause has a hypotactic relation to the second clause, or on both clauses:

- (4.246) a. *the: zdzyta: ha-qa me-tchi, peitcin-la*  
 3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go NEG-want Beijing-LOC  
*da-tə-qa-kəi.*  
 DIR-CON-go-INF:HS  
 ‘It seems he not only went to Chengdu, he also went to Beijing.’ (I heard, not too sure)
- b. *the: ku-q-ta ha-qə-kəi-tu,*  
 3sg mountain-top-LOC DIR-go-INF:HS-LNK

*tci-ke:*                    *tu-tsu-kəi.*  
 bear-INDEF:CL DIR-meet-INF:HS  
 ‘When he went up on the mountain, he ran into a bear.’ (I  
 heard but I’m not too sure).

- c. *the:* *dzoqu-le:*        *da-g-k-(əi),*            *pitc sei*  
 3sg leg-DEF:CL        DIR-break-INF:HS        now walk  
*ma-l-jy-k-(əi).*  
 NEG-able-ASP-INF:HS  
 ‘It seems he broke his leg and now can’t walk.’ (I heard but  
 I’m not too sure.)

There is no marking of evidentials in relative clauses (4.247a), or conditional clauses (4.247b), or imperatives (4.248a), though the verb of saying can be added to an imperative to show that someone told the speaker to order the person to do something, as in a direct quote (4.248b).

- (4.247) a. *qa-wu-panə-de-le-m*                    *mi.*  
 1sg-AGT-thing-DIR-give-NOM person  
 ‘the person to whom I gave something’
- b. *the:* *mo-lu-tu,*                    *qa-qəi ka:.*        (< kə + a: + a)  
 3sg NEG-come-LNK        1sg-self go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘If s/he doesn’t come, I’m going to go myself.’
- (4.248) a. *?ū ə-zuə-n.*  
 2sg DIR-sit-2sg  
 ‘You sit!’
- b. *?ū ə-zuə-n ji.*  
 2sg DIR-sit-2sg say  
 ‘You sit!’ (someone else told me to say that)

If the visual evidential marker is used in the negative, such as to say ‘He didn’t come’, or ‘It didn’t rain’, there is a presupposition that the speaker has visual evidence of the person not coming, that is, the speaker was in the place all day, and so would have seen the person if

he had come, or the speaker was outside all day, and so would have seen it had it rained. When the inferential or hearsay markers are used with a negative clause (e.g. [mɑ-tɕi-kə-k] [NEG-CON-go-INF] ‘(He) didn’t go yet’ [inferred from seeing his baggage still in the hallway]), the implication is that the negative proposition is an inference or hearsay, the same as with positive propositions. Unlike in Akha (Hansson 2003), the evidential particles cannot be negated to express the idea that the speaker doesn’t know the reason for what is happening.

Generally actions performed by oneself do not need to be overtly marked with evidentials, but the visual evidential can be used with inadvertent actions, as mentioned above. In the case of one’s mental or physical states, if one is not sure about some particular state, for example, whether one has caught a cold or not, usually the construction with [-tan] or [lahan] ‘seems’ would be used, e.g. ‘It seems like I caught a cold’, as in (4.249).

- (4.249) *qa tə-lian-tha-m-la-han ηuə.*  
 1sg DIR-catch.cold-AUX-NOM-DEF:one-kind COP  
 ‘I might have caught a cold.’ (cf. English ‘It’s kind of like I caught a cold’)

#### 4.4. Adverbials

The adverbials to be discussed here are the elements that modify adjectives (intransitive state predicate verbs) and verbs, not the clause as a whole. We saw examples of locative and temporal adverbs which modify the whole clause in Sections 3.2.20 and 3.2.21, and examples of another type of adverb that takes the clause in its scope in Section 4.3.7.

##### 4.4.1. Degree marking adverbs

There is some difference between the adverbs that adjectives and other verbs can take. Most adjectives, when they act as predicates, can take the postverbal adverb /-wa/ ‘very’ (e.g. /nɑ-wa/ (good + very) ‘very good’), whereas verbs, except for /topu/ ‘like’, cannot take this adverb. Some adjectives also cannot take this adverb, but there does not seem to

be a semantic reason for this, as the adjectives that can take /-wa/ and those that cannot are often in the same semantic field, e.g. /phi-wa/ ‘very white’, but not \*/ŋiq-wa/ ‘very black’. For the adjectives that cannot take /-wa/, the preverbal adverb [ken ~ kən] ‘very’ (possibly a loan of Chinese *gēng*) can be used. Following are some other examples of these two adverbs:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (4.250) a. <i>basta-wa</i><br>slow/late-very<br>‘very slow/late’ | b. <i>ba-wa</i><br>big-very<br>‘very big’     |
| c. <i>kən ŋiq</i><br>very black<br>‘very black’                  | d. <i>kən sta</i><br>very wide<br>‘very wide’ |

Some adjectives can only take /-wa/, while some can only take /kən/, though some other adjectives can take either of the two adverbs, e.g. /çupu-wa/ ~ /kən çupu/ ‘very red’. Some loan words can also take /-wa/, even when the loan word is followed by the auxiliary loan word particle (see §3.1.1). In this case /-wa/ follows the auxiliary particle, e.g. /khuai-tha/ (‘fast’ < Chinese *kuài* + auxiliary loan word particle) > [khuai-tha-wa] ‘very fast’.

The adverb /-wa/ can be used with the negative prefix, though the negative prefix appears before the adjective, with /-wa/ modifying the whole negative plus adjective combination, e.g. [ma-na-wa] (negative + ‘good’ + ‘very’) ‘very not good’ (this cannot have the meaning ‘not very good’). The adverb /ken/ can be used with some verbs, e.g. /ken topu/ (‘very’ + ‘like’) ‘like very much’. An adjective modified by /ken/ can directly modify a noun (e.g. /fa-ken-ŋiq/ (‘clothing’ + ‘very’ + ‘black’) ‘very black clothing’), but this is not possible with /-wa/. The adverb /-wa/ can also be followed by a nominalizer, as in the following relative clause:

- (4.251) *şku-wa-m-le-ze*  
lovely-very-NOM-DEF-CL  
‘the very lovely person’ (lit.: ‘the person who is very lovely’)

There is another postverbal adverb, /quəla/ ‘very’, used to modify adjectives and at least one auxiliary verb, e.g. /nɑ quəla/ ‘very good’, /cupu quəla/ ‘very red’, /dzə quəla/ (‘able’ + ‘very’) ‘very capable’. Adjectives can also be reduplicated for expressing greater intensity (see §4.2.3).

For expressing the meaning ‘too much, excessively’, either a preverbal adverb, /tsan/, or a postverbal adverb, /-s/, can be used with most adjectives. The former is used only before the negative or prohibitive prefix.

- (4.252) a. *ŋiq-əs*  
black-too  
‘too black’
- b. *basta-s*  
slow/late-too  
‘too slow/late’
- c. *ba-s*  
big-too  
‘too big’
- d. *mo-po-s*  
NEG-thick-too  
‘not too thick’
- (4.253) a. *tsan-ma-nə*  
too-NEG-good  
‘not too good’
- b. *tsan-ma-ŋiq*  
too-NEG-black  
‘not too black’
- c. *tsan-me-ʂue*  
too-NEG-bright  
‘not too bright’
- d. *tsan-me-tsue*  
too-NEG-sour  
‘not too sour’

- (4.254) *a-zə ɣtʂa-ka: a-βu, tsan-tca-γzə-z.* (< βue)  
one-CL small-INDEF:CL DIR-put too-NEG.IMP-spicy-CAUS  
‘Put a little (hot pepper), don’t make it too spicy.’

The continuative aspect marker /tca/ ([tca ~ tci ~ tca ~ tco]) is used generally to mean ‘still, yet’ (see §4.3.4), but when used in the comparative construction (see §3.2.7), it has the effect of a relative degree marking adverb with the sense of ‘relatively *adjective*’ or ‘even more *adjective*’. When this adverb appears with the negative and a directional prefix, the word order is [prefix-negative-/tca/-verb], as in (4.256b).

- (4.255) a. *tca-wa* (< ba)                      b. *tca-ŋiq*  
 CON-big    CON-black  
 ‘relatively big’                                      ‘relatively black’
- c. *tca-basta*    d. *tco-po*  
 CON-slow/late                                      CON-thick  
 ‘relatively slow/late’                              ‘relatively thick’
- (4.256) a. *ma-tca-χtʂa*                              b. *fi-mə-tca-χtʂa*  
 NEG-CON-small                                      DIR-NEG-CON-small  
 ‘not so small’    ‘not so reduced’

The superlative of adjectives and some stative verbs is marked by the prefix /tci/:

- (4.257) a. *tci-wa-la-lə*                              b. *tci-topu*  
 most-big-DEF:one-CL                              most-like  
 ‘the biggest (stick-like object)’                      ‘like (something) most’
- c. *tci-fi*    d. *tci-χtʂa*  
 most-white    most-small  
 ‘whitest’    ‘smallest’

The form of the superlative is similar to one of the harmony forms of the preverbal adverb for marking a relative degree, but the superlative does not undergo vowel harmony.

#### 4.4.2. Negation

The negative adverbial prefix /mə/ ([ma ~ me ~ mi ~ mə ~ mo]) and the prohibitive prefix /tca/ ([tca ~ tce ~ tca ~ tco]) (the forms of both are affected by vowel harmony and stress) appear in the same position in the verb complex, following the directional prefix, so cannot be used together in the same verb complex, e.g., /ha-tca-ɛ/ (directional prefix + prohibitive + ‘go’) ‘don’t go out!’<sup>93</sup> vs. /ha-ma-qa/ (directional prefix + negative + ‘go’) ‘didn’t go out’ (see §4.2.5 on changes in the root form of ‘go’). It is possible to have double negation in a single clause if there



is an auxiliary verb. The resulting meaning is a positive one, e.g., /mā-q fie-mə-se/ ('not' + 'go' + directional prefix + 'not' + 'allow') 'to not go would not be allowed' = '(He) must go'. The same negative adverbial prefix is used for all types of negation except the prohibitive.

- (4.258) a. *ma-na* 'not good'  
 b. *ma-ɣ* 'not have'  
 c. *V-ma-l* 'need not V' or 'cannot V'  
 d. *mə-tci-V* 'not yet V'  
 e. *V-me-tchi* 'need not V'

- (4.259) *qa u-tcu ma-la.* (< dzə)  
 1sg DIR-see NEG-able:1sg  
 'I can't see.'

Other examples of the use of the negative and prohibitive adverbial prefixes can be found throughout Chapter 4. See especially §4.3.5.2 on the prohibitive prefix.

#### 4.4.3. Adverbial phrases

Adverbial expressions that modify non-adjective verbs as manner adverbs generally precede the verbs, and can sometimes be marked by /-ŋi/ or /-ji ~ tci/. Generally manner adverbs take /-ŋi/, though if reduplicated, then /-ŋi/ is not used:

- (4.260) a. *akha-kha ə-tc* b. *akha-ŋi ə-tc* (< tchə)  
 slow DIR-eat slow-ADV DIR-eat  
 'eat slowly' 'eat slowly'  
 c. *hama-ŋi dzə* d. *ata-ŋi dzə*  
 stealthy-ADV eat fast-ADV eat  
 'eat stealthily (on the sly)' 'eat quickly'

The words most frequently used in adverbial expressions are similar to adjectives, but differ slightly from adjectives. They mainly appear in adverbial phrases, but can also modify nouns (in the form of

appositional structures), and can act as head of a noun phrase themselves when nominalized by the definite or indefinite markers. Semantically they seem like adjectives, but they are unlike adjectives and verbs in that they cannot act as predicates and cannot take negation, and they are also unlike other adverbs in the language, in that they can modify nouns and take the (in)definite markers, as in (4.261a-b).

- (4.261) a. *the: hama-le:           ŋuə.*  
           3sg stealthy-DEF:CL COP  
           'He is the evasive one.'
- b. *mi           hama-le:*  
           person stealthy-DEF:CL  
           'the evasive person'

This class of forms can generally take the intensifying adverbs /kən/ and /-wa/, and the superlative /tci-/, but not the adverbs /tsan/ and /-s/. They can appear before the noun as a modifier of the noun (e.g. *hama-le: mi* 'the evasive person'), but this is rather rare.

More than one manner adverb can appear in a clause, with no change in marking, and no marking of coordination, and each conjunct may or may not have adverbial marking:

- (4.262) *the: hama-ŋi       akhakha   ə-qa.*  
           3sg stealthy-ADV slowly       DIR-go  
           'S/he slowly and quietly goes/went in.'

Some adjectives can act as manner adverbs in adverbial expressions, usually followed by the adverbial marker [-ji ~ tci] or /-ŋi/:

- (4.263) a. *the: na-ji           mo-su.*  
           3sg good-ADV NEG-study  
           'S/he doesn't study well.'
- b. *?ū   təp-ŋi           dalə-ŋi   tu-ju.*  
           2sg tomorrow-ADV early-ADV DIR-rise  
           'Get up early tomorrow.'

In some cases the manner adverb is a whole clause or verb complex:

- (4.264) *qa kuiphatsə-le: fie-tci-ŋi sei-ja.* (< ji)  
 1sg walking.stick-DEF:CL DIR-poke-ADV walk/run-CSM:1sg  
 ‘I (now) walk leaning on the walking stick.’
- (4.265) *tcile the: fia-staqə-ŋi linthau ŋuə-za:.* (< zə)  
 1pl 3sg DIR-choose-ADV leader COP-CAUS:PRS  
 ‘We choose him/her to be leader.’
- (4.266) *qa zəwə-le:-wu kduaʃ ha-ŋuə-zə-ŋi*  
 1sg rock-DEF:CL-INST hammer DIR-COP-CAUS-ADV  
*tintsə zeta.* (< zəte)  
 nail(n.) nail(v.):1sg  
 ‘I hammer nails using the rock as a hammer.’

Ideophonic manner adverbs follow the usual phonotactics of the language. They are used for natural sounds, and not abstract concepts.

- (4.267) *qhua: tsə χua χua-ke: sa.*  
 river.velley water huahua-INDEF:CL make.sound  
 ‘The river water makes a “huahua” sound.’
- (4.268) *moku bu bu (wu wu)-ke: bu.*  
 wind wu wu-INDEF:CL blow  
 ‘The wind blows “wu wu”.’

Adverbial expressions that are comparative in nature, rather than being simple manner adverbials, often follow the verb being modified. Following are examples of adverbial expressions of equality, and comparative and superlative adverbs.

- (4.269) *thizzi a-qəs sei dzə.* (equality)  
 3dl one-form walk/run able  
 ‘The two of them can run equally fast.’

- (4.270) *the: qa-s sei tca-lə.* (comparative; < dzə)  
 3sg 1sg-COMP walk/run CON-able  
 ‘S/he runs faster than I do.’
- (4.271) *the: stuaha tchə khuai-tha-wa.* (comparative)  
 3sg food/rice eat fast-AUX-very  
 ‘S/he eats very quickly.’
- (4.272) *the: sei tci dzə.* (superlative)  
 3sg walk/run most able  
 ‘S/he can run the fastest.’

The correlative comparative is marked by [a-zə] (one-CL) ‘a little’ or [lewu] ‘the more’; the clause linker /-wu/ (= the agentive and instrumental marker) appears at the end of the first clause.

- (4.273) *the: a-zə sə-dzi-wu, a-zə tsha ha-la.*  
 3sg one-CL DIR-eat-LNK one-CL meat DIR-come  
 ‘The more s/he eats, the fatter s/he gets.’
- (4.274) *the: a-zə tə-wa-wu, mi zəwa mo-xʂuɕtɕ.*  
 3sg one-CL DIR-big-LNK person talk NEG-listen  
 ‘The bigger s/he gets, the more s/he doesn’t listen/behave.’
- (4.275) *zəp lewu χtʂa-wu, mi lewu wu qəs we.*<sup>94</sup>  
 place more small-LNK person more many form exist  
 ‘The smaller the place, the more people it seems like there are.’

It is also possible to use the comparative construction (see §3.2.7) to express the sense of a correlative comparative.

- (4.276) *mi-wu kə-jə-wu-tu, (the:) tsə-s*  
 person-AGT thus-say-LNK-LNK (3sg) this-COMP  
*tə-ke-kəpə.*  
 DIR-spirited-HABIT  
 ‘The more other people scold him/her, the more spirited (mischievous) he/she gets.’

The sense of ‘almost’, as in ‘almost have something happen’, can be expressed using /a-zə tɕa-ŋua-ʂə/ (‘one-CL’ CON-COP-LNK) ‘(except for) a little still is . . .’ as a single clause, with the event that almost happened expressed in the following clause, as in the following example:

- (4.277) *a-zə tɕa-ŋua:-ʂə, qa i-pə-l ma-lə-jya.* (*< jy*)  
 one-CL CON-COP:PRS-LNK 1sg DIR-arrive-come  
 NEG-able-ASP:1sg  
 ‘I almost couldn’t return.’

To express the sense of ‘almost’, as in ‘almost everyone came’, the same clause-final particle /-ʂə/ is used at the end of the first clause, which is subordinated to the copula by the adverbial particle /-tɕi/, as in the following example:

- (4.278) *eyle wu i-pə-la:-ʂə-tɕi ŋua.*  
 whole all DIR-arrive-come:PRS-LNK-ADV COP  
 ‘Almost all the people have come.’

The same clause-final particle /-ʂə/ can be used in a similar structure to express the idea of ‘a little . . .’, e.g. in the following example, meaning ‘a little bit alike’:

- (4.279) *thizzi a-qəs wa:-ʂə kəzzi ŋua.*  
 3dl one-form exist:PRS-LNK INDEF:two:CL COP  
 ‘The two of them are a little alike.’

There is another use of this same clause-final particle /ʂə/ to mark the first clause of a two-clause structure as expressing a hypothetical or counter-factual situation, which if realized would bring about or would have brought about the situation expressed in the second clause.<sup>95</sup> This is clear in the examples below. (For other examples see Huang Chenglong 2000:16.)

- (4.280) a. *qa jə-s kə ŋua:-ʂə the:*  
 1sg say-NOM thus COP:PRS-LNK 3sg

*de-me-tshi-wu.*

DIR-NEG-wrong-3sgU

‘If you ask me, he was not wrong.’

- b. *qa nəs spəχs sə-qa:-sə,*  
 1sg yesterday Chibusu DIR-go:1sg:PRS-LNK  
*qa fa-a-qai zə-pə-jya.*  
 1sg clothing-one-CL DIR-buy-ASP:1sg  
 ‘If I had gone to Chibusu yesterday, I would have bought a  
 piece of clothing.’

- c. *qa dziguḡ qəqa:-sə, qa ləyz su-kə-jya.*  
 1sg money have:PRS:1sg-LNK 1sg book study-go-ASP:1sg  
 ‘If I had money, I would go to school.’

This seems to be the sense underlying the other uses of /-sə/ discussed above as well. That is, the sense of ‘almost’ in the example above is from ‘had it remained that way a bit more, then . . .’; the sense of ‘almost all’ in (4.278) is from ‘as if all . . .’; and the sense of ‘a little alike’ in (4.279) is from ‘as if they are the same’.

## Chapter 5

### The clause and complex structures

In Chapters 3-4 we discussed the various elements within the clause, and have seen many clause types in the examples given. Here we will discuss the various combinations of elements possible in a clause (§5.1), nominalizations and their use in relative clauses (§5.2), complement clause structures (§5.3), coordination and disjunction (§5.4), complex structures made up of multiple clauses (§5.5) and the structure of narratives (§5.6).

#### 5.1. Structure

The structure of the clause is to some extent affected by pragmatic factors, but this only applies to the order of noun phrases in the clause. The utterance-initial position is the unmarked topic position (though secondary topics can follow the primary topic), while the position immediately before the verb is the unmarked focus position, and so the focused element will generally appear there (see also §4.3.1). The verb always appears in final position; there is no possibility for the actor of a clause to appear in postverbal position, even if it is focal. The only exception to this is the occasional afterthought clarification of a noun phrase that was omitted or expressed as a pronoun in the clause (see T4:20-22 for an example). The clause may include a temporal phrase (TEMP); a locative phrase (LOC); the NPs representing the actor, the goal or recipient, and/or the undergoer (UG); an adverbial phrase (ADV); the verb complex (VC); and possibly a clause-final particle (PART). The most unmarked word order in the clause is given in Figure 4:

(TEMP) (LOC) (ACTOR) (GOAL/RECIPIENT) (ADV) (UG) VC (PART)

*Figure 4. The structure of the Qiang clause*

The verb complex is the only necessary element for an utterance to be considered a clause, and the verb complex may be simply a predicate noun. As discussed in §4.2, the verb complex may also include an adverbial.

While there are quite a few loan words in Qiang, and Qiang speakers will often code-mix, adding Chinese phrases when speaking Qiang, there does not seem to have been a lot of influence from Chinese on the grammar of Qiang. When Chinese phrases are treated as loans into Qiang, the order of elements is changed to fit the normal Qiang order. We saw examples of the this in forms such as /phitchi fa-pə/ (temper release-do) ‘get angry’, from Chinese *fā píqì* (release temper) ‘get angry’. When Chinese is used in a code-mixing sense rather than a loan sense, the expressions follow Chinese word order. Code mixing is frequent, particularly among the younger people. During the recording of the stories given in the Texts the speakers tried not to use Chinese at all, but at least one speaker used several code-mixed expressions and often interspersed Qiang text with the Chinese filler *háishì* ‘still is’ (see in particular Text 5 for examples). Examples of code mixing can be seen in the following two segments:

- (5.1) a. *pəs-ŋuən̩i z mətʃi-sətsim-le: tɕiutɕin ʂə*  
 today-TOP emperor-wife-DEF:CL †(after.all be)  
*mi-le: ŋuə-ŋua?* (T6:305-306)  
 person-DEF:CL COP-Q  
 ‘Today, is the emperor’s wife a human?’
- b. *tʂe-kə-zən-la mi-tse-ze-ŋuən̩i, “hai!*  
 †(this-CL-person-TOP) person-this-CL-TOP INT  
*pefutsə, tʂe-kə pefutsə məʔ ke guo zuo*  
 †white.beard †(this-CL white.beard cat give 1sg do  
*χau sə,” jə-i-stu.* (T5:182-183)  
 good thing) say-HS-PART  
 ‘This person, this person said, “Hey, White Beard, this white beard cat did something good for me”.’

In (5.1a) the words /tɕiutɕin/ and /ʂə/ are code-mixed Chinese, and the order of that phrase (‘emperor’s wife after all is human’) is verb-medial, even though /mi-le/ ‘human’ is a Qiang word, and the larger, containing



structure is in the normal Qiang verb-final order and includes the Qiang copula. In (5.1b) there are two code-mixed segments, one of which is quite long. The speaker starts with a Chinese phrase meaning ‘this person’, but then repeats the same meaning in Qiang. The order within the two phrases is different: in the Chinese phrase the demonstrative and classifier precede the noun, while in the Qiang phrase they follow it. In the long segment beginning in the second line, the word order is completely that of the standard Mandarin Chinese equivalent, with the recipient in post-verbal position: *zhè-ge bái-húzi māo gěi wǒ zuò hǎo shì* [this-CL white.beard cat give 1sg do good thing]. The speaker then finishes off the segment with the usual Qiang form for ending a quote.

## 5.2. Nominalization and relativization

As mentioned in earlier sections (§§3.1.1, 3.1.4, 4.2.3), nominalization in Qiang is achieved either by the use of one of three nominalizing clitics, /-s/, /-m/ or /-tɕ/, or by the use of a definite (/le/, /te/) or indefinite (/ke/) marker. The latter is generally possible only with adjectives and existential verbs. The nominalized forms created using the clitics reflect what were originally relative clause constructions where the relative clause (or simply a verb) modified a very general head noun.<sup>96</sup> The form /-m/ is derived from the word /mi/ ‘man’, and /-s/ may be derived from a word meaning ‘earth’ or location (cf. Tibetan /sa/ ‘ground, place’, also used as a nominalizer<sup>97</sup>), while /-tɕ/ is a palatalization of an original velar initial form (cf. Mawo dialect Qiang /-k/) that may be related to the Tibetan genitive (/kyi/). Unlike in some other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Chantyal, Noonan 1997; Lahu, Matisoff 1973), nominalized forms are not used as citation forms of verbs.

The creation of lexicalized deverbal nouns by adding the nominalizing suffixes /-s/ and /-m/ (e.g. [nəs] ‘bed’ and [ɕuam] ‘servant’) and the nominalization of adjectives by the use of a definite or indefinite marker (e.g. [ɲiq-le] ‘the black one’) were discussed in §3.1.1. Aside from the lexicalized deverbal nouns formed with the clitic nominalizers, nonce collocations can also be formed as needed from clauses to refer to particular objects or individuals, such as in the

examples in (5.2). Here the original function as a relative clause is most clear.

- (5.2) a. *tawə-ta-m le-ze*  
 hat-wear-NOM DEF-CL  
 ‘the person wearing a hat’
- b. *gantsə χua-m tha zi.* (T6:197)  
 saddle sell-NOM there exist  
 ‘There is (a) saddle seller there.’
- c. *qa koi-kə-m kən he-ça-ηi, . . .*  
 1sg call-go-NOM very(many) DIR-send:1sg-LNK  
 ‘I have sent many to call you, . . .’ (sent many who go to call you) (T4:46-47)
- d. *wutcupu die-şe-m* (T6:89)  
 husband DIR-die-NOM  
 ‘one whose husband had died’

It is possible in this structure to have a pronoun that is coreferential with the head noun (now a nominalizer) retained when needed for clarity, as in (5.3), where the pronoun is needed to be able to add the genitive marker to explicitly mark the benefactive relationship:

- (5.3) *qa the:-te ləyz de-le-m le:*  
 1sg 3sg-GEN book DIR-give-NOM DEF:CL  
 ‘the person to whom I gave a book’

If the referent the nominalized clause represents is a location, or in some cases the time of an event, then the clause is nominalized by /-s/ and can be followed by the locative marker /-ta/, as in (5.4).<sup>98</sup>

- (5.4) *qa-lu-s-ta*  
 1sg-come-NOM-LOC  
 ‘the place that I came from’

Clauses involving existential verbs can be nominalized by simply adding one of the definite markers or the indefinite marker after the verb:

- (5.5) a. *ep lə me-zi ew lə*  
 father also NEG-exist mother also  
*me-zi-ke: ηuə-kəi-təu.* (T3:2-3)  
 NEG-exist-INDEF:CL COP-INF:HS-PART  
 ‘(He was an orphan), one who didn’t have a father or mother.’
- b. *the: tha-zi-k ku.*  
 3sg there-exist-INF willing  
 ‘S/he might be there.’ (lit.: ‘She might be one who is there.’)

The nominalized constructions involving the nominalizers /-s/ and /-m/, and also another type formed with the genitive marker /-tə/, can be used to modify another noun or noun phrase, forming a NP + N(P) structure where the first NP modifies the second. That is, what was historically a relative clause plus head noun structure (at least in the case of /-s/ and /-m/) has been reanalyzed as simply a nominalized clause and is now used to modify another noun. This is now the main form of relative clause structure used in Qiang. It is also used for noun complement structures (such as in ex. (4.118) above (repeated below as (5.74)) and the /-tan/ structure discussed in §4.3.7.4).

There are no relative pronouns in Qiang. Definite marking may follow the head noun, as in (5.9). The type of nominalizer such a modifier (relative clause) takes depends on the semantics and animacy of the head noun. If the head noun is an undergoer or other non-instrument, including an inanimate actor, then the genitive marker /-tə/ is used:

- (5.6) *pətsa-ŋi-tə-bəl-jy-tə* *təuats*  
 just.now-ADV-DIR-make-ASP-GEN table  
 ‘the table just made’
- (5.7) *pətsa-ŋi-zə-p-jy-tə* *fa*  
 just.now-ADV-DIR-buy-ASP-GEN clothes  
 ‘the clothes just bought’

- (5.8) *qa-dzoqu-de-we-tɕ*                      *zawa*  
 1sg-foot-DIR-exist-GEN                  rock  
 ‘the rock which crushed (lit.: came to be on) my foot’

If the head noun is an instrument (even if animate, as in (5.9)), then the nominalizer /-s/ is used:

- (5.9) *do-qu-zə-s*                              *khuə-le:*  
 DIR-afraid-CAUS-NOM                  dog-DEF:CL  
 ‘the dog used to frighten people’
- (5.10) *stuaħa-tɕhə-s*                      *tɕuats*  
 food/rice-eat-NOM                  table  
 ‘the table used for eating food’
- (5.11) *tɕeχuen-pa:-ka-guə-s*                  *fa*  
 marry-do:PRS-LOC-wear-NOM              clothes  
 ‘clothes worn when one is going to get married’
- (5.12) *laupin-tɕshopu-s*                      *səpɛ*  
 tuberculosis-treat-NOM                  medicine  
 ‘medicine used to treat tuberculosis’

If the head noun has an animate referent, then the nominalizer /-m/ is used. As mentioned above, this form derives from the word /mi/ ‘person’, but it has fully grammaticalized into a nominalizer, to the point that it can be used together with /mi/ as the head noun, as in (5.14) and (5.15) (though it can be omitted, as in (5.16)). Notice also how the use of the agentive marking within the relative clause in (5.15) changes the interpretation of the semantic role of the head noun phrase relative to that in (5.14). Here the agentive marking is performing a disambiguating function, particularly necessary here because of the lack of person marking in nominalizations.

- (5.13) *qa-ħa-ɕdzɛ-m*                      *khuə*  
 1sg-DIR-bite-NOM                  dog  
 ‘the dog which bit me’

- (5.14) *qa-panə-dele-m*      *mi*  
 1sg-thing-give-NOM      person  
 ‘the person who gave me something’
- (5.15) *qa-wu-panə-dele-m*      *mi*  
 1sg-AGT-thing-give-NOM      person  
 ‘the person to whom I gave something’
- (5.16) *qupu*      *ŋiyi-bələ-m*      *ŋuə-ŋua?*  
 3sg      what-do-NOM      COP-Q  
 ‘What kind of work does he do?’  
 (lit.: ‘He is a person who does what?’)
- (5.17) *mutu-la-fie-m*      *wə*  
 sky-LOC-fly-NOM      bird  
 ‘a bird flying in the sky’
- (5.18) *pitc*      *phu-ka*      *zə-m*      *phu-xsu*      *pe-wei.*  
 nowadays forest-LOC exist-NOM wild.animals become-HS  
 ‘(They) became the wild animals who now live in the forests.’  
 (T2:21-22)

Relative clauses can be quite complex, involving a modifier with several clauses, as in (5.19), or a head noun that is a nominalized expression itself, as in (5.20):

- (5.19) [*soqhu-sə-χlaku-ŋi*,      *tawə-ŋa-tə-ŋi*      *zi-m*]  
 gun-DIR-carry.on.back-ADV      hat-DIR-wear-ADV      exist-NOM  
*mi*  
 person  
 ‘the person carrying a rifle on his back and wearing a hat’
- (5.20) *tawə-ta-m*      *sku-wa-m-le-ze*  
 hat-wear-NOM      lovely-very-NOM-DEF-CL  
 ‘the lovely person wearing a hat’

It is possible to have a pronoun as the head noun of a relative clause:



See also Section 3.1 for more examples of relative clauses.

### 5.3. Complementation

There are two basic complement types in Qiang, one that has no overt nominalization and one that has a clitic nominalizer. Both of these are of the ‘sentence-like complement’ type discussed in Noonan 1985. The nominalized form is not like what Noonan calls a ‘nominalized complement’, where the internal structure of the clause is that of a noun phrase (e.g. English gerunds). The nominalized type can be distinguished into three types based on the particular nominalizer used. Qiang does not exhibit the type of complex, massive verb concatenation found, for example, in Jinghpaw and Lahu (see Matisoff 1969, 1973, 1974); there are only a few auxiliary verbs that form a single nucleus with the main verb (see for example §4.2.5). In other cases either what would be expressed in two verbs in some languages would be expressed with a single verb plus a directional prefix, or the secondary verb would appear in an adverbial phrase marked by /-ŋi/.

One complex structure where the complement does not require overt nominalization is where there is a topic-comment structure with a complement clause as the topic, such as with the use of the verbs /ɕu/ or /se/ for the sense of ‘(be) allowed’ (discussed above in §4.2.6 and §4.3.6.4). These are what Dixon (1991, 1995) calls Secondary verbs, verbs which only take clausal complements as arguments. There is no person marking on the matrix verb in this type of clause, as the topic is the clause, not the human referent mentioned in the complement clause (it would be possible to have the topic marker /ŋuŋi/ at the end of the topic clause). There is no overt marking on the complement clause to distinguish it from an independent clause. In (5.26a) brackets have been put around the complement clause to mark it off.

- (5.26) a. [ʔũ pəs ma-k] fiə-mə-se.  
 2sg today NEG-go DIR-NEG-allow  
 ‘You must go today.’/ ‘Your not going today is not allowed.’

- b. *ɕoɕau-ka zme-z dze-z ku.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak-CAUS allow  
 ‘Speaking Qiang is allowed in school.’
- c. *ɕoɕau-ka zme-z dze-z fie-se.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak-CAUS DIR-allow  
 ‘Speaking Qiang is allowed in school.’

It is also possible that there is an understood impersonal third person actor, but it is not expressed overtly, and the complement clause can take the topic marker. The verb /*ɕze*/ ‘ought to’, which expresses physical or moral obligation to perform an action (see §4.2.6), seems to pattern this way, as there is no first-person or second-person marking on the verb, even when the expression refers to a first or second person actor.

- (5.27) a. *kə ɕze-ji!*  
 go must-CSM  
 ‘(I/we/you) must go.’  
 ‘(It’s time to go!)’
- b. *kə ma-tɕi-ɕze!*  
 go NEG-CON-must  
 ‘(You/we) needn’t/  
 shouldn’t go yet!’

In the case of the construction involving the expression /*me-tchi*/ ‘not want’ to express the ability or permission to do something (discussed in §4.3.6.4), the non-nominalized complement clause takes the exclusion particle (treating it as a noun phrase), and there is no agreement with the actor of the complement clause.

- (5.28) a. *ɕoɕau-ka zme-z dze-ji me-tchi.*  
 school-LOC Qiang-language speak-EXC NEG-want  
 ‘It is all right to speak Qiang in school.’
- b. *tsə tu-ɕsu-ji-(wa), tcile quaha ɕuəla-jə*  
 water DIR-boil-CSM-RCA 1pl face wash-EXC  
*me-tchi-ji.*  
 NEG-want-CSM  
 ‘The water’s boiled, so we can wash our faces.’



Without the exclusion particle, the complement plus /me-t̤chi/ ‘not want’ can be used in a complex structure to express the idea ‘not only X, but Y’:

- (5.29) *qa zdzyta: kə me-t̤chi, peitcin-la t̤ca-ka:.* (< kə)  
 1sg Chengdu:LOC go NEG-want Beijing-LOC CON-go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘Not only am I going to Chengdu, but I am also going to Beijing.’

With another group of verbs, including what Dixon (1991, 1995) calls Primary B verbs, those that can take either a noun argument or a clause complement, such as ‘like’ and ‘know’, and Secondary verbs, the complement clause is either a complete clause or, when the actor of both clauses is the same, a reduced clause. The person marking on the Primary B or Secondary verb reflects the person of the actor of the matrix clause. For example, the verbs /t̤t̤caq-lu/ ‘think of, want’ (‘heart’ + ‘come’); /lu/ can also be used alone), /kant̤chi/ ‘think/want’, or /zulu/ ‘wait’, can be used to express the desire to do an action or the hope for some situation to happen. In (5.30a) the actor of the matrix and the complement clause are the same, while in (5.30b) the actors of the matrix and the complement clauses are different. In (5.30b) the person marking is of the actor of ‘wait’, not ‘arrive’.

- (5.30) a. *the: t̤əu kə t̤t̤caq-lu.*  
 3sg home go heart-come  
 ‘S/he wants to go home.’
- b. *qa the: i-p̤-la: zulu-a.*  
 1sg 3sg DIR-arrive-come:PRS wait-1sg  
 ‘I hope s/he is going to return.’

For many verbs, such as /x̤su/ ‘to dare’, /dze/ (experiential aspect), /ɣz̤ə/ (potential for a learned ability), /dz̤ə/ and /qe/ (potential for a natural (physical) ability), only the pattern in (5.30a), with the actors of both verbs being the same, is found, probably because of the semantics of these particular verbs. Following are some examples:

- (5.31) *the: e-ze stu nə mo-xʂu.*  
 3sg one-CL alone sleep NEG-dare  
 ‘S/he doesn’t dare sleep alone.’
- (5.32) a. *qa zdzyta: fia-qə dza.* (< dze)  
 1sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go EXP:1sg  
 ‘I have been to Chengdu.’
- b. *qa ləyz-tse-pen i-tsi me-dza.* (< dze)  
 1sg book-this-CL DIR-read NEG-EXP:1sg  
 ‘I have not read this book.’
- (5.33) *qa zme-z dze yza.* (< yzə)  
 1sg Qiang-language speak can:1sg  
 ‘I can speak Qiang.’
- (5.34) *mi la ma-l, wə la dzə.*  
 person fly NEG-able bird fly able  
 ‘People cannot fly, but birds can.’
- (5.35) *the: zawa-le: tə-tsi qe-ŋua?*  
 3sg rock-DEF:CL DIR-lift able-Q  
 ‘Can s/he lift up this rock?’

Speech act verbs also take non-nominalized complements. In quoting another’s speech, the quoted speech generally follows the noun phrases representing the speaker and addressee, and is followed by the verb /jə/ ([jə ~ ji]) ‘to say’. Both direct and indirect quotation are possible. The structure for both types is the same; they differ only in the pronoun used. Compare the following three examples:

- (5.36) a. *qa qupu-ta "(?ũ) lu-me-tchi" ji-wa.*  
 1sg 3sg-DAT 2sg come-NEG-want speak-3sgU:1sg  
 ‘I told him/her, “Don’t come.”’
- b. *qa qupu<sub>i</sub>-ta qupu<sub>j</sub> lu-me-tchi ji-wa.*  
 1sg 3sg-DAT 3sg come-NEG-want speak-3sgU:1sg  
 ‘I told him/her not to come.’

- c. *qa qupu<sub>j</sub>-ta the:<sub>j</sub> lu-me-tchi ji-wa.*  
 1sg 3sg-DAT 3sg come-NEG-want speak-3sgU:1sg  
 ‘I told him/her that he/she (a different person) shouldn’t  
 come.’ / ‘I told him/her, “S/he shouldn’t come.”’

In example (5.36a), the second person pronoun marks the embedded clause as a direct quote. The person marking is of a first person referent acting on a third person referent. In (5.36b) the two tokens of /qupu/ refer to the same referent, and so it is an indirect quote. Example (5.36c) is ambiguous out of context, as the pronoun /the:/ must refer to someone other than the referent of /qupu/, and so it could be either a direct or indirect quote.

If there is a more specific verb of asking or replying, then this verb may precede the quoted speech, though the verb /jə/ ‘to say’ still follows the quote, as in the two tokens of this structure in the following section of the story “An Orphan” involving ‘ask’ and ‘answer’:

- (5.37) *χsutsqha-le:-wu tə-ke<sup>l</sup>-kui, “ha! ?ũ*  
 stomach-DEF:CL-AGT DIR-ask-INF:HS EXCL 2sg  
*ŋi-χua-ŋi kə-zei-n-a” jə-kui, “ŋiχuanŋi*  
 WH-because-ADV DIR-cry-2sg-Q say-INF:HS why  
*kə-zei-n-a” jə-kui -tu, kapətʂ-tou*  
 DIR-cry-2sg-Q say-INF:HS-LNK orphan-DEF:one:CL  
*he-zgue-kəi, “qa-ŋuəŋi ep lə*  
 DIR-answer-INF:HS 1sg-TOP father also  
*me-zə-i əw lə me-zə-i,*  
 NEG-exist-CSM mother also NEG-exist-CSM  
*gəs-ŋi fi-a-xtʂəp-ŋiaufu ʂkup-le: qa*  
 night-ADV DIR-dark-LNK(as.soon.as) orangutan-DEF:CL 1sg  
*dzə-la:” jə-kəpə-ʂə, . . . (T3:56-62)*  
 eat-come:PRS say-HABIT-LNK  
 ‘The stomach asked him, “Why are you crying?”, he said, “Why  
 are you crying?” The orphan answered, “I have neither father  
 nor mother. As soon as it gets dark, the orangutan is going to  
 come eat me.”’

Aside from these verbs which normally take non-nominalized complements, the copula can also take a non-nominalized complement.

This has an emphatic sense, somewhat similar to a cleft construction, as in (5.38).

- (5.38) *panə-tse: qa-wu zə-p-ji ŋuə.*  
 thing-this:CL 1sg-AGT DIR-buy-CSM COP  
 ‘This thing was bought by me.’

This form is often used for achieving the affect of clefting for highlighting adverbials:

- (5.39) *the: hama-ŋi kue-ji ŋuə.*  
 3sg secretly-ADV transport-ASP COP  
 ‘S/he was transported *secretly*.’

This construction differs from another construction with almost the same structure, but with a nominalized complement clause, used for making strong assertions. This is in fact pragmatically also like a cleft, in that a particular noun phrase is the focus constituent.

- (5.40) *the:-(ŋuəŋi) tɕile topu-s ŋuə.*  
 3sg-TOP 1pl like-NOM COP  
 ‘The ones s/he likes are us.’ (‘We are the ones s/he likes.’)

The position of the focused element is variable: the focus noun phrase can precede or follow the nominalized verb. Compare the following two examples:

- (5.41) a. *tɕile-(ŋuəŋi) pə-s pies ŋuə.*  
 1pl-TOP buy-NOM meat COP  
 ‘What we need (to buy) is meat.’
- b. *tɕile-(ŋuəŋi) pies pə-s ŋuə.*  
 1p-TOP meat buy-NOM COP  
 ‘What we need (to buy) is meat.’

A variant of this construction has something of an epistemic sense. As we saw in the discussion of evidentials in §4.3.7, to make a strong statement of certainty, or of information that was not recently

discovered, but known for some time, then a complement clause nominalized by /-s/ is used, as in (5.42).

- (5.42) *pəs*      *zmu*      *tsu-s*      *ŋuə*.  
 today    meeting    hold-NOM    COP  
 ‘There is a meeting today.’ (set beforehand)

Another use of this structure is expressing the optative mood (§4.3.6.1). In this structure the complement is nominalized by /-s/ and the copula takes the particle /-ŋi/ in the positive or /-tci/ in the negative (both particles normally mark adverbial phrases). No aspect or person contrasts are marked in clauses with /ma-ŋuə-tci/ or /ŋuə-ŋi/.

- (5.43) a. *təp-ŋi*      *me:<sup>l</sup>*    *ce-s*      *ma-ŋuə-tci*.  
 tomorrow-ADV    rain    fall-NOM    NEG-COP-PART  
 ‘I hope it won’t rain tomorrow.’
- b. *the:*    *tʂhetsə-le:*    *fiə-χə-s*      *ŋuə-ŋi*.  
 3sg    car-DEF:CL    DIR-bad/broken-NOM    COP-ADV  
 ‘I hope his/her car has broken down.’

This same structure, but with the copula followed optionally by /sə/ in the first person, /san/ in the second person, or [ŋuə ~ wə] in the third person, is used to express obligation to perform an action (debitive; see §4.3.6.3 for more examples).

- (5.44) *the:*    *təu-la*      *lu-s*      *ŋuə-ŋuə*.  
 3sg    home-LOC    come-NOM    COP-3sgU  
 ‘S/he must come home!’

We saw in §4.3.7 that there is a copula construction with a nominalized complement, or in some cases a complement that is a relative clause with [la-hən ~ la-hən] (definite marker + ‘kind’), [ka-hən ~ ka-hən] (indefinite marker + ‘kind’), or /tan/ (‘appearance’) as the head noun, used to express contingent situations, as in (5.45) and (5.46).

- (5.45) *the:*    *tha-zɪ-m-tan*      *ŋuə*.  
 3sg    there-exist-NOM-appearance    COP  
 ‘S/he might be there.’

- (5.46) *me:t ci-m-la-hən ηuə.*  
 rain fall-NOM-DEF:one-kind COP  
 ‘It might rain.’

This then brings us to what might be considered a pseudo-cleft construction, where the sort of relative clause plus noun construction discussed above is used as a complement of a copula clause. The topic marker can optionally be used after this complement, as it is the topic of the construction, while the noun phrase in immediate preverbal (focus) position identifies the referent represented by the head of the relative clause, as in (5.47)-(5.49).

- (5.47) *qa-zə-pə-tə-panə tse: ηuə.*  
 1sg-DIR-buy-GEN-thing this:CL COP  
 ‘The thing that I bought is this’

- (5.48) *panə-tse:-zə-pə-m qa-(wu) ηua.*  
 thing-this:CL-DIR-buy-NOM 1sg-AGT COP:1sg  
 ‘I am the one who bought this thing.’

- (5.49) *keʔlə-m lə ηi: ηuə-kəi,*  
 ask-NOM also 3sgREFL COP-INF:HS  
*he-zgue-m lə ηi: ηuə-kəi,*  
 DIR-answer-NOM also 3sgREFL COP-INF:HS  
 ‘The one who asked was himself, the one who answered was himself.’

Another verb that takes nominalized complements is the existential verb /xu/, discussed in Section 4.2.4. Here is another example of its use:

- (5.50) *tsə-s a-z-ηuəηi ci-la: ataz-ηi*  
 this-COMP one-CL-TOP small-DEF:CL fast-ADV  
*u-zmu ηa<sup>99</sup> u-tcu-s-le: ə-mə-s*  
 DIR-dream COM DIR-see-NOM-DEF:CL DIR-hear-NOM  
*xu-tu, . . .*  
 exist-LNK  
 ‘If you can dream of it a little faster, see or hear it, . . .’

Section 5.5 discusses other uses of nominalized clauses, but first we will discuss coordination and disjunction.

#### 5.4. Coordination and disjunction

In coordinating nouns in Qiang, the following structures are possible, where X, Y, and Z are three different nouns, and /*ŋa*/ is the comitative/conjunction marker discussed in §3.2.13: XY, X-*ŋa*-Y, XY-*ŋa*, XYZ, X-*ŋa*-YZ, X-*ŋa*-Y-*ŋa*-Z, XY-*ŋa*-Z, XYZ-*ŋa*. Example (5.51) is of the X-*ŋa*-Y-*ŋa*-Z type, and (5.52) and (5.53), with only two nouns, are of the X-*ŋa*-Y type:

(5.51) *qa-ŋa-ʔũ-ŋa-the*:  
1sg-COM-2sg-COM-3sg  
'I and you and s/he'

(5.52) *utʂuqu ɣzə-pi-ŋa-ctci-təo*  
all.together four-CL-COM-seven-CL(1/10 of a dollar)  
'All together four dollars and seventy cents.'

(5.53) *qa qəpatʂ-ŋa-ʂuə wu fiə-χyəla*.  
1sg head-COM-teeth all DIR-wash  
'I washed my hair and (brushed) my teeth, too.'

See the discussion in Section 3.2.13 on the differences in meaning between the X-*ŋa*-Y and XY-*ŋa* types.

It is also possible to coordinate adverbial nouns, either with the conjunction marker (e.g. [*pəs-ŋa-təp-ŋi*] 'today and tomorrow') or without it (e.g. [*pəs-təp-ŋi*] 'today and tomorrow'). Nominalized verbs can also be coordinated:

(5.54) *təhə-s-ŋa-dzə-s-ŋa-guə-s*  
drink-NOM-and-eat-NOM-and-wear-NOM  
'drink, food, and clothing'

In this case it would also be possible to just use a pause between the items instead of using the conjunction marker.





To express an ‘either-or’ (disjunction) relation, the expression /*ɲuaŋi*/ ‘or’ (distinct from the topic marker) is used, as in (5.59), below,<sup>101</sup> or, if it is a question, then the polarity verb-not-verb interrogative construction can be used, either with /*ɲuaŋi*/, as in (5.60), or without it, as in (5.61) and (5.62) (see also Section 4.3.5.3 on verb-not-verb interrogatives). In a two-clause structure, such as in (5.60), the particle either appears in its own intonation unit or in the intonation unit of the second clause.

(5.59) *ʔũ ɲuaŋi the: e-ze spəχs-(ta) sə-kə-i.*  
 2sg or 3sg one-CL Chibusu-LOC DIR-go-2pl  
 ‘You or she (one of you) go to Chibusu (district).’

(5.60) *ʔũ qhəʔ tcha:-n-a, ɲuaŋi cpies tcha:-n-a?*  
 2sg rice eat:PRS-2sg-Q or noodles eat:PRS-2sg-Q  
 ‘Will you eat rice or noodles?’

(5.61) *ɲiq-ke: ɲuə-ɲua, cupu-ke: ɲuə-ɲua?*  
 black-INDEF:CL COP-Q red-INDEF:CL COP-Q  
 ‘Is it a red one or a black one?’

(5.62) *ʔũ dza:-tcikʏ ka:-n-a, dza:-khui ka:-n-a?*  
 2sg lunch-before go:PRS-2sg-Q lunch-after go:PRS-2sg-Q  
 ‘Are you going in the morning or the afternoon?’

### 5.5. Other complex structures

Aside from the embedding of complements discussed above, clauses, either nominalized or not, also appear in non-embedded hypotactic structures. In some cases there is no obvious nominalization by /-s/, /-m/ or /-tɕ/, but the clause takes one of the postpositions used for marking the relationship between a verb and its arguments (aside from the genitive; use of semantic role-marking postpositions for marking clause relations is a common strategy in Tibeto-Burman; see Genetti 1986, 1991). For example, the use of the ablative/instrumental marker /-wu/ after a clause marks a cause-effect relation with the following clause.

(5.63) *the:-dzoqu-le: da-g-wu, pitc sei ma-l-jy.* (< dzə)   
 3sg-foot-DEF:CL DIR-break-INST now walk NEG-able-ASP   
 ‘Because his foot is broken he cannot walk now.’

(5.64) *o-zu-wu dzoqu-pa tə-γzə-ξa.*<sup>102</sup>   
 DIR-sit-INST foot-palm DIR-numb-1sgU   
 ‘Because of sitting, my feet were numb.’

(5.65) *fi-a-n-wu qəpatʂ fi-o-su-zə-ξa.*   
 DIR-sleep-INST head DIR-dizzy-CAUS-1sgU   
 ‘I felt dizzy from sleeping.’

A cause-effect relation can also be marked by adding the manner adverbial marker /*ŋi*/ to the first clause:

(5.66) *the: dziq fi-a-qə-ŋi die-ξe.*   
 3sg cliff DIR-go-ADV DIR-die   
 ‘S/he died (from) falling off the cliff.’

To mark the purpose of an action, the postposition /*χua-(ŋi)*/ (discussed in §3.2.10 as a benefactive postposition), can be used, either after a noun, a clause, or a nominalized clause:

(5.67) *the: stuaha tchə-(s ŋuə)-χua-ŋi, (qupu) dzigu*   
 3sg food/rice eat-NOM COP-because-ADV 3sg money   
*meʹz.*   
 look.for(earn)   
 ‘In order to live, s/he seeks to earn more money.’

(5.68) *the: dzigu-χua-ŋi ha-qə-ŋi koŋtsuo-pə-k.*   
 3sg money-because-ADV DIR-go-ADV work-do-go   
 ‘For the sake of money, s/he goes out to (go to) work.’

(5.69) *za lu-z-χua-ŋi, zə-ka the: jimi se.*   
 crops come-CAUS-because-ADV field-LOC 3sg fertilizer spread   
 ‘S/he spreads fertilizer in the field in order to make the crops grow well.’

The cause of an action or situation can also be marked by /χua-ŋi/:

- (5.70) *the: zə-mə-la-χua-ŋi, qaqaɪ ka:.* (< kə)  
 3sg DIR-NEG-come-because-ADV 1sgREFL go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘Because s/he hasn’t come, I’m going to go myself.’

The particle /-le/ can be used instead used instead of /χua-ŋi/ or /-sə/ to mark a condition or cause:

- (5.71) ... *quaha-χupi lə u-mu-təu-le, tɕile qəti*  
 face-appearance also DIR-NEG-see-because 1pl kill  
*fiə-me-se.* (T6:271-272)  
 DIR-NEG-allow  
 ‘Because we haven’t even seen (her) face, you can’t kill us.’

Many hypotactic clauses are nominalized using /-s/ or /-tɕ/. For example, if the action expressed by the second clause is said to precede the action expressed by the first clause, then the structure /ma-tɕi-Verb/ (NEG-CON-Verb) ‘had not yet Verb; before Verb’ is used in the first clause and it is nominalized by /-tɕ/.

- (5.72) *nəs, qa ma-tɕi-kə-tɕ, the: qa səimi de-l.*  
 yesterday 1sg NEG-CON-go-GEN 3sg 1sg fruit DIR-give  
 ‘Yesterday before I left, s/he gave me (a package of) fruit.’

- (5.73) *təp-ŋi fiə-mə-tɕi-xtsəpə-tɕ,*  
 tomorrow-ADV DIR-NEG-CON-black-GEN  
*?ũ tsa i-pə-lə-n-pa.*  
 2sg here DIR-arrive-come-2sg-DTV  
 ‘Come here tomorrow before it gets dark.’

- (5.74) *qa stuaha ma-tɕi-tchə-tɕ, japə χuəla.*  
 1sg rice/food NEG-CON-eat-GEN hand wash  
 ‘Before I eat, I wash my hands.’

The initial clause may instead be nominalized by /-s/ and followed by /qɛ:/ ‘before’, i.e. the structure becomes that of a noun complement clause.



*i-pə-l-ən-pa.*

DIR-arrive-come-2sg-DTV

‘Come here tomorrow after dark.’

- (5.79) *qa tu-ju-ŋike, ctces sə-tə-ŋi,*  
 1sg DIR-get.up-after breakfast DIR-eat-ADV  
*ʂanpan-pə-k ha-qa.*  
 work-do-go DIR-go:1sg  
 ‘After I get up and eat breakfast, I go out to go to work.’

- (5.80) *the: qa u-təu-ŋike, de-xtse.*  
 3sg 1sg DIR-see-after DIR-go.away  
 ‘After s/he saw me, s/he went away.’

- (5.81) *the: pie ctəə da-s-ŋike, wə dzudzy.*  
 3sg pig feed DIR-finish-after horse feed  
 ‘S/he finished feeding the pig and then went to feed the horse.’

- (5.82) *tə-χquats ŋiantci, məq-ta tuŋtuŋ zo:pua-la*  
 DIR-steal after above-LOC cave cave-LOC  
 ... *fa-zdzy-ŋi i-ci-kui.* (T5:73-76)  
 DIR-tether-ADV DIR-put-INF:HS  
 ‘After stealing (the yaks) he tethered them in a cave.’

To make explicit the idea that an action immediately followed another, the particle /*ŋiaufu*/ is used instead of /*ŋike*/ or /*ŋiantci*/:

- (5.83) *ə-qa-ŋiaufu kapəts-tou nəʂ-ta:-ba*  
 DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as) orphan-DEF:one:CL bed-DEF:CL-LOC  
*mo-tha-jə-kui.* (T3:126-127)  
 grope-AUX-REP-INF:HS  
 ‘As soon as (the orangutan) went in, he groped again for the orphan in the bed.’

To express the conditional (‘if’), then the particle /*tu*/ or /*ta*/ is added to the end of the first clause. No difference has been found in the degree of hypotheticality in conditional clauses.<sup>103</sup>

(5.84) *me:*<sup>t</sup> *me-ci-tu,* *tcile* *kə-ji* *me-tchi.*  
 rain NEG-fall-if 1pl go-EXC NEG-want  
 ‘If it doesn’t rain, we can go.’

(5.85) *the:* *mo-lu-tu,* *qaqəi* *ka:.* (< kə)  
 3sg NEG-come-if 1sgREFL go:PRS:1sg  
 ‘If s/he doesn’t come, I’m going to go myself.’

(5.86) *the:* *ma-k-tu,* *qa* *kə-s* *pa:-ji.* (< pe)  
 3sg NEG-go-if 1sg go-NOM become:PRS:1sg-PART  
 ‘If s/he doesn’t go, then I have to go.’

In (5.86) the particle /-ji/ expresses a lack of willingness to go, that is, that the speaker is going only because he or she has to.

The form /tu/ is also often used with a negative copula to express the meaning ‘only if’. In these cases the main verb appears as an adverbial element marked by /*ŋi*/.

(5.87) *?ile* *dzə-i-ŋi* *ma-ŋyə-tu,* (*nai*) *dzə-m* *me-z*i*.*  
 2pl eat-2pl-ADV NEG-COP-LNK other eat-NOM NEG-exist  
 ‘Only if you eat will other people eat’  
 (lit.: If you(pl) don’t eat, then there is no one (else) who will eat.)

(5.88) *the:* *lu-ŋi* *ma-ŋyə-tu,* *qa* *ma-ka.* (< kə)  
 3sg come-ADV NEG-COP-LNK 1sg NEG-go:1sg  
 ‘Only if s/he comes, will I go.’ / ‘I won’t go unless she comes.’

(5.89) *zdzyta:* *kə-ŋi* *ma-ŋyə-tu,* *pə-s* *ma-şə.*  
 Chengdu:LOC go-ADV NEG-COP-LNK buy-NOM NEG-exist  
 ‘You cannot buy it unless you go to Chengdu.’ / ‘Only if you go to Chengdu can you buy it.’

There are also two examples in the Texts where the particles /-wu/ and /-ka/ (which are used after noun phrases as postpositions) are used with the sense of a conditional. In the case of /-wu/, this use occurs only after nominalized verb complexes, as in (5.90a) and (5.90b), both from the story “Uncle Snake”.

- (5.90) a. “*?ũ tsi-la-han qa e:*  
 2sg daughter-DEF:one-kind 1sg one:CL  
*de-mə-l-s-te:-wu, qa-wu ?ũ japə-le:*  
 DIR-NEG-give-NOM-DEF:CL-if 1sg-AGT 2sg hand-DEF:CL  
*da-g-zə-wa*” (T4:3-4)  
 DIR-broken-CAUS:1sg-EMPH  
 ‘(Uncle Snake said,) “If you don’t give one of your daughters to me, I will chop off your hand”’
- b. “*tə-mə-χsa-n-ka, qa phusuluq-te:*  
 DIR-NEG-understand-2sg-if 1sg clothing-DEF:CL  
*fiə-ge-n-ba, . . .*” (T4:51)  
 DIR-hold-2sg-DTV  
 ‘(The old mother-in-law said,) “If you didn’t understand, hold on to my clothes, . . .”’

To express a concessive (‘although X, Y’), the phrase /*ha-ŋuə-lu*/ (DIR-COP-‘come’) is added to the end of the first clause:

- (5.91) a. *qa quaha fiə-χuəla-haŋuəlu, χo:ts fiə-me-qhua.*  
 1sg face DIR-wash-although beard DIR-NEG-shave:1sg  
 ‘Although I washed my face, I didn’t shave.’
- b. *fə-tsa-qəi ba-haŋuəlu, ə-lə tca-na-wa.*  
 clothes-this:one-CL old-although DIR-look CON-good-very  
 ‘Although this piece of clothing is old, it still looks very good.’

In terms of cross-clause coreference, there do not seem to be either accusative or ergative syntactic restrictions on control of the zero anaphor of the second clause. Compare the following two examples:

- (5.92) a. *khuə-le: fiə-qə-ŋike mi-the:-(wu)*  
 dog-DEF:CL DIR-go-after person-that:CL-AGT  
*u-tcu-wu.*  
 DIR-see-3U  
 ‘When the dog went down, that person saw (it).’

- b. *mi-the:           fi-a-qə-ŋike           khuə-le:    u-tcu.*  
 person-that:CL DIR-go-after       dog-DEF:CL DIR-see  
 ‘When that person went down, (s/he) saw the dog.’

In the first example, the noun phrase representing the single direct argument of the first clause is coreferential with the zero pronoun representing the undergoer of the second clause. This would not be possible in a language with an accusative syntactic pivot for this construction unless the second verb was passivized. In the second example, the noun phrase representing the single direct argument of the first clause is coreferential with the zero pronoun representing the actor of the second clause. This would not be possible in a language with an ergative syntactic pivot for this construction unless the second verb was anti-passivized. (See LaPolla 1993, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Ch. 6 for the concepts used here and for evidence of a parallel situation in Chinese.)

### 5.6. The structure of narratives

In the stories recorded there is a clear pattern found where certain particles, such as /-tɕu/ and /-stun/ regularly appear at the end of a segment of text, and then a marker of summary, result, or change of scene, such as /tu/ starts a new segment, as in the following, from the story “An Orphan”, where two vertical bars mark the new segment:

- (5.93) “*ha    qu       me-tchi-wa,       maha-ŋi-ŋuəŋi    qa*  
 EXCL afraid NEG-want-DTV    night-ADV-TOP    1sg  
*?ũ    gul                zu-lu-a:-wa,*”  
 2sg companion    DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH  
*jə-kui-tcu.*  
 say-INF:HS-PART  
 || *tu       hala fie-zei,    fie-zei-ŋi       da-qə-kəi,*  
 RESULT INT   DIR-cry   DIR-cry-ADV   DIR-go-INF:HS



*da-qə-kəi-tu.* (T3:16-19)  
 DIR-go-INF:HS-LNK  
 ‘‘Ha, don’t be afraid, at night I will come be your companion’’,  
 (he) said. || Then/after/that (the boy) went on his way,  
 crying, crying.’

The particle /tu/ or /fiɑ-tu/ is very frequent in the texts other than in this construction as well, marking a sort of transition. It is glossed as RESULT because the action described in the clause that follows it is often the result of the action or situation described in the clause that precedes it (and it was translated as ‘result’ in Chinese), but it can mark other types of transition as well. For example, in the following text segment, from ‘‘The Orphan’’, it is marking a transition similar to a change of paragraph:

- (5.94) *kapəts tu-ŋuəŋi fiɑ-tsəi*  
 orphan DEF:one:CL-TOP INT-this.manner  
*mo-qu-ke: zi-kəi.*  
 NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL exist-NAR  
 || **tu** *the-maha-ŋuəŋi tciu səʒe:’wu ŋiantci*  
 RESULT that-night-TOP †(then) exist:REDUP:all together  
*ganphai-tu-pŭ-kəi-stu.* (T3:99-102)  
 arrange-DIR-do-NAR-PART  
 ‘In this way the orphan was not afraid (lit.: ‘There was the orphan who was not afraid’). That night they all got together and arranged what to do.’

Another pattern, the ‘‘tail-head’’ construction commonly found in Tibeto-Burman languages, is for a verb to end a segment, either with the evidential marking or with the evidential marking followed by one of the segment-final particles mentioned above, and then be repeated at the beginning of the next segment, followed by the linker /-tu/ (not the same function as the independent segment-initial particle /tu/), as in (5.94), from the story ‘‘Uncle Snake’’.

- (5.95) ‘‘... *qa the: sət sim ha-ŋuə-la,*’’  
 1sg 3sg wife DIR-COP-INDTV:1sg

***jə-kui-tcu.***

say-INF:HS-PART

- || *fi-a-kə jə-kəi-tu, fi-la qhal*  
 INT-thus say-INF:HS-LNK INT momo(a.kind.of.bread)  
*a-guə u-lu-kui, . . .* (T4:8-11)  
 one-basketful DIR-give.as.gift-INF:HS  
 “‘I will become his wife’”, she said. || Having said that, she  
 was given a basketful of momo, and . . .’

We also find markers of discourse deixis in the Texts, using the demonstrative pronouns, as in the following two segments:

- (5.96) *tʃi pe-tu ctəp le-ŋi*  
 male/son become-LNK seven-year exist-ADV  
*ləyz a:-su-wa. the-wu hatʃi-p*  
 book DIR:INDTV-study-DTV that-ABL eleven-year  
*le-ŋi qa ta:-meʔz-wa.* (T6:241-243)  
 exist-ADV 1sg DIR:INDTV-see-DVT  
 ‘If it is a son, send him to school when he is seven years old.  
 After that, when he is eleven, have him come look for me.’

- (5.97) *tə-χsa ma-γzə-kəi-ʃə, fi-la tce-zei-kəi-stū.*  
 DIR-understand NEG-able-NAR-LNK there CON-cry-NAR-PART  
*fi-a-tu, tsu-ŋuəŋi, pie-le: ha-lə-jə-kui-stū.* (T4:36-8)  
 INT-RESULT here-TOP pig-DEF:CL DIR-come-REP-NAR-PART  
 ‘(She) was not able to understand, and so continued to cry.  
 Therefore, here (= at this point in the story) the pig came out.’

In (5.96) the distal demonstrative pronoun is used without a classifier, the only time this can be done, and is followed by the ablative marker, marking a temporal relation between two parts of the story, where the demonstrative is referring to the previous action, parallel to English *after that*. In (5.97) the locative proximal deictic pronoun is used to mark a point in the story, much like the use of English *here*, as in *Here I would like to mention ...*

Much more work needs to be done on discourse structure and other aspects of the grammar; these few comments are only a first step.

# **Texts**



**Text 1**  
**The Creation of the World**

zəp-le:            ɲi-ke:            pe-ji  
earth-DEF:CL    WH-INDEF:CL    become-CSM

- 1            qe<sup>1</sup>lotʂu-ɛɑ,       mutu-la       mujuqũ    z<sub>2</sub>guə-zi    we-i,  
                  in.the.past-LOC    heaven-LOC    sun        nine-CL    exist-HS
- 2    zəp-le:            ə-tchəqha-z-əi.       mə            ɲɑ        ɣlu  
                  earth-DEF:CL    DIR-burn-CAUS-HS    older.brother    COM    younger.sister
- 3    jə-tʂ-ɲuəɲi,       zuamə-φu       o-z<sub>2</sub>gu-ta       i-pi-χua-ɲi,  
                  two-CL-TOP       cypress-tree    one-CL-LOC    DIR-hide-because-ADV
- 4    fiə-mu-xtəu-wei.    steke-ta       mi        pe<sup>1</sup>zə-s  
                  DIR-NEG-burn-HS    later-LOC    people    raise(child)-NOM
- 5    ɲuə-χua-ɲi,       mə            ɲɑ        ɣlu            lə-zi  
                  COP-because-ADV    older.brother    COM    younger.sister    DEF-CL
- 6    i-dz<sub>2</sub>i-təi,        ɲutəuku       dzuaɤl       e-xʂe       fiəi-bi-ɲi,  
                  DIR-discuss-3pl    each        stone.mill    one-CL    DIR-carry.on.back-ADV
- 7    ɤu-q-ta-wu                    fiə-ɣlu,       dzuaɤl       jə-xʂe  
                  mountain-head-LOC-ABL    DIR-roll    stone.mill    two-CL
- 8    e-tʂetup-tu,        ɲizzi        oqpi            pə-s,            dzuaɤl  
                  DIR-bump.into-LNK    3dl        one:family    do-NOM        stone.mill
- 9    jə-xʂe                fiə-ɣlu-s-ta,            qhuat  
                  two-CL                DIR-roll-NOM-LOC        as.it.happens
- 10    e-tʂetup-wei,        fiə-tsəi-ɲike,            mə            ɲɑ  
                  DIR-bump.into-HS    INT-this.manner-after    older.brother    COM
- 11    ɣlu                lə-zi        oqpi            fiə-pə-i.  
                  younger.sister    DEF-CL    one:family    DIR-do-HS
- 12    ə-jə-p            pe-ɲi,        ɣlu-le:            mi        qes  
                  one-two-year    become-ADV    younger.sister-DEF:CL    people    form

- 13 ma-ŋyɔ̃ ke: i-ci. mə-le: tə-khueq,  
NEG-COP INDEF:CL DIR-release older.brother-DEF:CL DIR-angry
- 14 duaɣl-le:-wu sə-xte-ŋi tətɛi-la da-ɬũ.  
scythe-DEF:CL-INST DIR-chop-LNK everywhere-LOC DIR-throw(away)
- 15 steke la-s-ka, tətɛi-la-wu mufũ tə-la-ji,  
later DEF:one-day-LOC everywhere-LOC-ABL smoke DIR-come-CSM
- 16 fi-a-tsəi-ŋike, mi lu-ji.  
INT-this.manner-after people come-CSM

Narrator: Huang Chenglong 黃成龍  
Born 1968  
Recorded 1994

### The Creation of the World

Long, long ago, there were nine suns in the heaven which burned the earth. Because a brother and younger sister hid in a great cypress (that honored the gods), they were not burned to death. Later, in order to propagate descendants, the brother and sister talked it over and decided that each would carry a stone mill on his or her back and roll it down from the mountain peak. If the two stone mills joined together, the two could get married. As it happened, when the two stone mills rolled down (to the river bank) they joined together, and so the brother and sister married. After a few years, the younger sister gave birth to a monster not of human form. The older brother was so angry he used a curved knife/scythe to chop it into pieces and scattered them wildly everywhere. The next day when they got up, they saw the smoke of cooking fires everywhere. And henceforth there was humankind.



- 14 tə-na-wei, gue:<sup>1</sup>-ta kə ʁza-ka zəm fi-a-tshuə-ŋi,  
DIR-good-HS road-LOC go time-LOC song DIR-sing-ADV
- 15 zəm tu-χsu-ŋi lu-ji.  
song DIR-jump/dance-LNK come-CSM
- 16 thizzi-ŋuəŋi qe:<sup>1</sup>-ta apə mupitha thizzi oqpi  
3dl-TOP before-LOC god Mupitha 3dl one:family
- 17 pə-z mo-ku-χua-ŋi, ha-l-ŋi mutu-la  
do-CAUS NEG-willing-because-ADV DIR-look-ADV heaven-LOC
- 18 tə-lə-ŋi tse-i, thəpakta, ŋile-steke  
DIR-look-LNK see-HS as.a.result 3plREFL-behind
- 19 a-stu-χan phuxsu doqu-z-ək  
one-thousand-kind wild.animals frighten-CAUS-INF
- 20 tətəi-la du-fu-wei,  
everywhere-LOC DIR-flee-HS
- 21 fi-a-tsəi-ŋi, pite phu-ka zi-m  
INT-this.manner-ADV now forest-LOC exist-NOM
- 22 phuxsu pe-wei. themle zəpəq-ta i-pə-l-ŋike,  
wild.animals become-HS 3pl earth-LOC DIR-arrive-come-after
- 23 e-tsequa de-tshe-ŋi lu-zu-la-ha ʁopu  
DIR-remember DIR-wrong-ADV China.fir-seed-DEF:one-pl mountain
- 24 ti-wi-s-ta de-se-ku, tshəma we-tə  
DIR-high-NOM-LOC DIR-sow-NAR thorn exist-GEN
- 25 səp-zu-la-ha-ŋuəŋi ʁopu fi-e-gi-s-ta  
tree-seed-DEF:one-pl-TOP mountain DIR-short-NOM-LOC
- 26 de-se-ku, fi-a-tsəi ŋuə-χua-ŋi,  
DIR-sow-NAR INT-this.manner COP-because-ADV
- 27 fi-e-gi-s-ta-ŋuəŋi tshəma tə-ɣ-jy ŋuə.  
DIR-short-NOM-LOC-TOP thorn DIR-grow-ASP COP



|    |                                       |                     |  |                     |                               |                           |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------------|--|---------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 28 | thizzi<br>3dl                         | zɑ-kə<br>earth-LOC  | bəl-dzə-wa-χua-ŋi,<br>do-able-very-because-ADV | lu<br>China.fir     |                               |                           |
| 29 | te-x-ŋi <sup>104</sup><br>DIR-cut-ADV | tɕiɕua<br>house     | tə-ɦi,<br>DIR-build                            | tshəma<br>thorn     | ɦa-xte-ŋi<br>DIR-cut.down-ADV |                           |
| 30 | zə<br>land                            | tə-zge,<br>DIR-open | zɕmə<br>humankind                              | tɕhe-tɕ<br>want-GEN | zɕuə<br>grain                 | i-ɦi-ji.<br>DIR-plant-CSM |

Narrator: Huang Chenglong 黃成龍  
Born 1968  
Recorded 1994

### **The Legend of the Origin of All Things Mutsit̕u and Tugant̕u**

(The goddess) Mutsit̕u and (the mortal man) Tugant̕u wanted to come down to the earth. The god Mupitha said to them, “If you want to go down to the earth, then go.” Just before Mutsit̕u and Tugant̕u left, Mupitha gave them three bushels of China fir seeds and instructed them to plant them on low mountains. He also gave them three bushels of seeds for thorned bushes, and instructed them to plant them on high mountains. He also gave them a hundred kinds of livestock, which they drove before them, and a thousand kinds of birds and beasts, which followed behind them. When they parted, Mupitha said to them, “When you are on the road, do not look back at heaven.”

Mutsit̕u and Tugant̕u were extremely happy. The whole way they sang and danced as they walked. Because the god Mupitha had opposed them becoming one family before, they deliberately looked back at heaven, and the result was that they frightened the thousand kinds of birds and beasts following them, causing them to flee everywhere. In this way these animals became the wild animals now dwelling in the forests. After Mutsit̕u and Tugant̕u arrived on the earth, they misremembered (what Mupitha had told them to do) and sowed the China fir seeds on high mountains and the thorny bushes on low mountains. As a result, the low areas grew full of brambles and thorns. (However,) because they were very able, they cut down the China firs and built houses, and they hacked through the brambles and thorns, opening up wilderness land, and planted the grain needed by humankind.

**Text 3**  
**An Orphan**  
**kapətʂ kou**  
 orphan INDEF:one:CL

- 1            qe:<sup>1</sup>-qe:<sup>1</sup>-tu            fiəla kapətʂ kou            ŋuə-kəi-təu,  
 before-before-LNK INT orphan INDEF:one:CL COP-NAR-PART
- 2    ep    lə    me-z̥i            ew    lə    me-z̥i            ke:  
 father also NEG-exist    mother also NEG-exist    INDEF:CL
- 3    ŋuə-kəi-təu,            tu            fiəla            ʂkup-le:-ŋuəŋi  
 COP-NAR-PART    RESULT INT    orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP
- 4    fiə-tsu            kapətʂ    tou            dzə kantʂi-kui-təu,  
 INT-here    orphan    DEF:one:CL    eat think/want-NAR-PART
- 5    kapətʂ lou            dzə    kantʂi:-tu,            fiəla,    kapətʂ  
 orphan DEF:one:CL    eat    think/want-LNK INT orphan
- 6    tou            ɡəs-ta            fiə-xtʂə-pa:-jə-tu  
 DEF:one:CL    night-LOC    DIR-get.dark-become:PRS-REP-LNK
- 7    qu-kəpə-kəi-ʂ,            təu-la            kə ɛza-ka,            ze  
 fiə-afraid-HABIT-NAR-LNK    home-LOC    go when-LOC    cry
- 8    fiə-zei-ŋi            kə-kəpə-kəi-təu,            tu            fiəla    da-qa  
 DIR-cry-ADV    go-HABIT-NAR-PART    RESULT INT    DIR-go
- 9    da-qa-tu            ɡue:<sup>1</sup>-ta            fiə-qa,  
 DIR-go-LNK    road-LOC    DIR-go
- 10    ʂa-le:-ŋa            e-tʂepe-kəi-təu.            ʂa-le:-wu  
 needle-DEF:CL-COM    DIR-encounter-NAR-PART    needle-DEF:CL-AGT
- 11    tə-ke<sup>1</sup>-kui-təu,            “ha,    ŋi:-pe-wa,<sup>105</sup>            ŋi:-pe-wa,”  
 DIR-ask-NAR-PART    EXCL WH-become-Q    WH-become-Q
- 12    jə-tu.            fiə    kapətʂ    tou            ha-sə-kəi-ʂə,  
 say-LNK INT orphan DEF:one:CL    DIR-make.sound-NAR-LNK
- 13    “hi!            ʂkup-te:-wu            maha    qa    dzə    la:,”  
 EXCL    orangutan-DEF:CL-AGT    night    1sg eat come:PRS

|    |  |  |   |                                     |                                |                          |
|----|--|--|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 14 | jə-ʂə,<br>say-LNK                          | “qa<br>1sg                             | təu-la<br>home-LOC                      | o-zũ-ŋi<br>DIR-sit-ADV              | qa<br>1sg                      | ou-stu<br>one:CL-alone   |
| 15 | je<br>live/stay                            | qu-a-wa,”<br>afraid-1sg-EMPH           |   | jə-kui-təu.<br>say-NAR-PART         | tu<br>RESULT                   |                          |
| 16 | χa-le:-ŋuəŋi,<br>needle-DEF:CL-TOP         | “ha<br>EXCL                            | qu<br>afraid                            | me-təhi-wa,<br>NEG-want-DTV         | maha-ŋi-ŋuəŋi<br>night-ADV-TOP |                          |
| 17 | qa<br>1sg                                  | ʔũ-gul<br>2sg-companion                | zu-lu-a:-wa,”<br>DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH  |                                     | jə-kui-təu.<br>say-NAR-PART    |                          |
| 18 |  | tu<br>RESULT                           | fiala<br>INT                            | fie-zei,<br>DIR-cry                 | fie-zei-ŋi<br>DIR-cry-ADV      | da-qə-kəi,<br>DIR-go-NAR |
| 19 | da-qə-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-go-NAR-LNK            | fiala<br>INT                           | qusap-te:-ŋa<br>scissors-DEF:CL-COM     |                                     |                                |                          |
| 20 | e-tʂepe-kəi-təu,<br>DIR-encounter-NAR-PART |  |   | qusap-te:-wu<br>scissors-DEF:CL-AGT |                                |                          |
| 21 | “a<br>EXCL                                 | ʔũ<br>2sg                              | ŋiyi-pe-wa?<br>what-become-Q            | ŋi-χua-ŋi<br>WH-because-ADV         | kə-zei-n-a?”<br>thus-cry-2sg-Q |                          |
| 22 | jə-kui-təu.<br>say-NAR-PART                | fiala<br>INT                           | “qa<br>1sg                              | təu-la<br>home-LOC                  | ou-təi<br>one:CL-EXC           |                          |
| 23 | me-za-wa,<br>NEG-exist:1sg-EMPH            | ʂkup-te:<br>orangutan-DEF:CL           | qa<br>1sg                               | dza:,”<br>eat:PRS                   |                                |                          |
| 24 | jə-kəpə-ʂə,<br>say-HABIT -LNK              | “maha-ŋi<br>night-ADV                  | fio-lu-kəpə-wa,”<br>DIR-come-HABIT-EMPH |                                     |                                |                          |
| 25 | jə-kui-təu.<br>say-NAR-PART                | “a:<br>EXCL                            |   | ke:-jə<br>INDEF:CL-EXC              |                                |                          |
| 26 | ma-ŋyə-ta<br>NEG-COP-if                    | zə<br>matter                           | me-w,<br>NEG-exist                      | maha<br>night                       | qa<br>1sg                      | ʔũ<br>2sg                |
| 27 | gul<br>companion                           | zu-lu-a:-wa,”<br>DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH |   | jə-kui-təu,<br>say-NAR-PART         | “ʔũ-gul<br>2sg-friend          |                          |
| 28 | zu-lu-a:-wa,”<br>DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH     |  | jə-kui-tu.<br>say-NAR-LNK               |                                     |                                |                          |



|    |  |  |  |                           |                      |
|----|--|--|--|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 44 | e-tʃepe-kəi-tɕu,<br>DIR-encounter-NAR-PART |  | noʊu-le:-ŋa<br>crow-DEF:CL-COM               |                           |                      |
| 45 | e-tʃepe-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK   |  | “ha! ʔũ ɲi-χua-ɲi<br>EXCL 2sg WH-because-ADV |                           |                      |
| 46 | kə-zei-n-a?”<br>thus-cry-2sg-Q             | jə-kui.<br>say-NAR                           | tu<br>RESULT                                 | χaiʃə<br>‡(still.is)      | “qa fiata<br>1sg INT |
| 47 | ep lə me-zɪ<br>father also NEG-exist       |  | əw lə me-zɪ,<br>mother also NEG-exist        |                           |                      |
| 48 | kapətʃ kou-jə<br>orphan DEF:one:CL-EXC     |  | ma-ɲua-ʃə,<br>NEG-COP:1sg-LNK                | tu<br>RESULT              |                      |
| 49 | fiata<br>INT                               | gəs-ta-ɲuənɪ<br>night-LOC-TOP                |  |                           |                      |
| 50 | je qu-a-wa,<br>live/stay afraid-1sg-EMPH   | ʃkup-le:-ɲuənɪ<br>orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP       | qa dza:-wa,”<br>1sg eat:PRS-EMPH             |                           |                      |
| 51 | jə-kui-tɕu.<br>say-NAR-PART                | “ha, ta ke:<br>EXCL if INDEF:CL              | ɲuə-ta, zə me-w,<br>COP-if matter NEG-exist  |                           |                      |
| 52 | qa-ɲuənɪ<br>1sg-TOP                        | maha zu-lũ-ɲi,<br>night DIR-come-ADV         | ʔũ-gul<br>2sg-companion                      |                           |                      |
| 53 | i-jə-la-wa,”<br>DIR-live-INDTV:1sg-EMPH    |  | jə-kui-tɕu.<br>say-NAR-PART                  |                           |                      |
| 54 | xsə<br>new(again)                          | da-qa<br>DIR-go                              | da-qə-jə-kəi,<br>DIR-go-REP-NAR              | fiata<br>INT              |                      |
| 55 | da-qə-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-go-NAR-LNK            | χsutsqha-le:-ŋa<br>stomach-DEF:CL-COM        | e-tʃepe-kəi,<br>DIR-encounter-NAR            |                           |                      |
| 56 | χsutsqha-le:-ŋa<br>stomach-DEF:CL-COM      | e-tʃepe-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK     | χsutsqha-le:-wu<br>stomach-DEF:CL-AGT        |                           |                      |
| 57 | tə-ke-l-kui,<br>DIR-ask-NAR                | “ha! ʔũ ɲi-χua-ɲi<br>EXCL 2sg WH-because-ADV | kə-zei-n-a?”<br>thus-cry-2sg-Q               |                           |                      |
| 58 | jə-kui,<br>say-NAR                         | “ɲi-χua-ɲi<br>WH-because-ADV                 | kə-zei-n-a?”<br>thus-cry-2sg-Q               | jə-kui-tu.<br>say-NAR-LNK |                      |

- 59 kapətʂ tou he-z<sub>g</sub>ue-kəi, “qa-ŋuən<sub>i</sub>  
orphan DEF:one:CL DIR-answer-NAR 1sg-TOP
- 60 ep lə me-zə-i əw lə  
father also NEG-exist-CSM mother also
- 61 me-zə-i, gəs-ŋ<sub>i</sub> fi-a-xtʂəp-ŋ<sub>i</sub>aufu  
NEG-exist-CSM night-ADV DIR-get.dark-LNK(as.soon.as)
- 62 ʂkup-le: qa dzə-la:,” jə-kəpə-ʂə, “qa  
orangutan-DEF:CL 1sg eat-come:PRS say-HABIT-LNK 1sg
- 63 qu-a-wa,” jə-kui. “ha! ke:-ji  
afraid-1sg-EMPH say-NAR EXCL INDEF:CL-EXC
- 64 ma-ŋyə-ta, zə me-w-wa,  
NEG-COP-if matter NEG-exist-EMPH
- 65 qa-ŋuən<sub>i</sub> ?ũ-gul ha-ŋyə-la-wa,  
1sg-TOP 2sg-companion DIR-COP-INDTV:1sg-EMPH
- 66 maha-ŋuən<sub>i</sub> qa ?ũ-gul zu-lu-a:-wa,” jə-kui.  
night-TOP 1sg 2sg-companion DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH say-NAR
- 67 fi-a-tsa-tau ŋuə-tu, fi-la fie-zei fie-zei-ŋ<sub>i</sub>  
INT-this:one-time COP-LNK INT DIR-cry DIR-cry-ADV
- 68 da-qə-jə-kəi, da-qa da-qa-tu fi-la  
DIR-go-REP-NAR DIR-go DIR-go-LNK INT
- 69 thəl-le:-ŋ<sub>a</sub> e-tʂepe-kəi-stu,  
stone.pestle-DEF:CL-COM DIR-encounter-NAR-PART
- 70 thəl-le:-ŋ<sub>a</sub> e-tʂepe-kəi-tu,  
stone.pestle-DEF:CL-COM DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK
- 71 “ha! ?ũ ŋ<sub>i</sub>-χua-ŋ<sub>i</sub> kə-zei-n-a?” jə-kui,  
EXCL 2sg WH-because-ADV thus-cry-2sg-Q say-NAR
- 72 tə-ke<sup>l</sup>-kui. “fi-a, qa-ŋuən<sub>i</sub> ep lə me-zə-i  
DIR-ask-NAR EXCL 1sg-TOP father also NEG-exist-CSM
- 73 əw lə me-zə-i, fi-a-xtʂəpa:  
mother also NEG-exist-CSM DIR-get.dark:PRS

|    |  |   |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|---|--|
| 74 | ququ,<br>afraid                        | pəs<br>today                                | lə<br>also                                 | fia-xtšəp-ja,<br>DIR-get.dark-REP           | škup-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP |
| 75 | maha<br>night                          | qa<br>1sg                                   | dzə-la:,”<br>eat-come:PRS                  | jə-kəpə-wa,<br>say-HABIT-EMPH               | jə-kui.<br>say-NAR                     |
| 76 | fia-tu-ŋuəŋi,<br>INT-RESULT-TOP        | “ke:-ji<br>INDEF:CL-EXC                     | ma-ŋyɔ̄-ta,<br>NEG-COP-if                  | zə<br>matter                                | me-w,<br>NEG-exist                     |
| 77 | qa-ŋuəŋi<br>1sg-TOP                    | ?ü-gul<br>2sg-companion                     | zu-lu-a:,<br>DIR-come-1sg:PRS              | maha-ŋi<br>night-ADV                        | qa<br>1sg                              |
| 78 | ?ü-gul<br>2sg-companion                | zu-lu-la-wa,”<br>DIR-come-INDTV:1sg-EMPH    |  | jə-kui-təu.<br>say-NAR-PART                 |  |
| 79 |  | fia<br>INT                                  | tša-tau-tu-ŋuəŋi,<br>this:one-time-LNK-TOP | kapətš<br>orphan                            | tou-ŋuəŋi<br>DEF:one:CL-TOP            |
| 80 | fia-tša-χsa’wu<br>INT-this:one-few:all | gul<br>companion                            | fie-se-kei-stu.<br>DIR-make-NAR-PART       |   |  |
| 81 | gul<br>companion                       | fie-se-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-make(friends)-NAR-LNK |  |   |  |
| 82 | maha<br>night                          | pe-k-kui,<br>become-go-NAR                  | tša-χui-tu<br>this:one-time-LNK            | fia-xtšəp-ji<br>DIR-get.dark-CSM            | maha<br>night                          |
| 83 | i-pə-l-kui,<br>DIR-arrive-come-NAR     | qusap<br>scissors                           | lə<br>also                                 | i-pə-l-kui,<br>DIR-arrive-come-NAR          |  |
| 84 | ətəətəaq<br>magpie                     | tou<br>DEF:one:CL                           | lə<br>also                                 | i-pə-l-kui,<br>DIR-arrive-come-NAR          | noβu<br>crow                           |
| 85 | lə<br>also                             | i-pə-l-kui,<br>DIR-arrive-come-NAR          | fia<br>INT                                 | χsutsqha,<br>stomach                        |  |
| 86 | thəl,<br>stone.pestle                  | jankhui<br>stone.mortar                     | šəšə:’wu<br>exist:REDUP:all                | i-pə-l-kui-təu.<br>DIR-arrive-come-NAR-PART |  |
| 87 | tša-χui-tu,<br>this:one-time-LNK       | zɔ̄mə<br>meeting                            | a-la<br>one-CL                             | fio-tsu-kəi,<br>DIR-hold-NAR                |  |
| 88 | kapətš<br>orphan                       | tou-ŋuəŋi<br>DEF:one:CL-TOP                 | ətəi:-kũ<br>heart-inside                   | kən<br>very                                 | fia-nə-kui,<br>DIR-good-NAR            |

- 89 “fiə, pəmaha-ŋuən̩i qɑ gul lɑ-hɑ  
EXCL tonight-TOP 1sg companion DEF:one-pl
- 90 i-pə-l-jy, pəmaha-ŋuən̩i ʂkup-te:  
DIR-arrive-come-ASP tonight-TOP orangutan-DEF:CL
- 91 mo-qu-ɑ-wɑ, fiɑ-kə  
NEG-afraid-1sg-EMPH INT-thus
- 92 mo-qu-ja-wɑ ike z̩i-kəi.” thɑ-χsɑ  
NEG-afraid-CSM:1sg-EMPH thus exist-NAR that:one-few
- 93 i-pə-l-ku-tu, “maha t̩o-qu-n-pɑ,  
DIR-arrive-come-NAR-LNK night NEG.IMP-be.afraid-2sg-DTV
- 94 do-t̩u-qu-n-pɑ, t̩ile t̩sɑ-χsə<sup>h</sup>wu  
DIR-NEG.IMP-be.afraid-2sg-DTV 1pl this:one-few:all
- 95 gul-pɑ-ʂ, ʂkup-le: i-me-pə-l-ŋi  
companion-do-LNK orangutan-DEF:CL DIR-NEG-arrive-come-ADV
- 96 mɑ-ŋuə-t̩i. i-pə-l-tu,  
NEG-COP-EXC DIR-arrive-come-LNK
- 97 t̩ile pəmaha t̩e: qəta:-wɑ,” jə-kui-t̩u.  
2pl tonight this:CL beat.to.death:PRS-EMPH say-NAR-PART
- 98 tu ʂkup-le: lə mo-qu-ke:  
RESULT orangutan-DEF:CL also NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL
- 99 fiɑ-lə-kəi, kɑpətʂ tou-ŋuən̩i fiɑ-tsəi  
DIR-come-NAR orphan DEF:one:CL-TOP INT-this.manner
- 100 mo-qu-ke: z̩i-kəi.  
NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL exist-NAR
- 101 tu the-maha-ŋuən̩i t̩iu ʂʂs̩e:<sup>h</sup>wu ŋiant̩i  
RESULT that-night-TOP †(then) exist:REDUP:all together
- 102 ɡɑnphai-tu-p̩-kəi-stu, χɑ-le:-ŋuən̩i t̩ɑ-lə  
arrange-DIR-do-NAR-PART needle-DEF:CL-TOP where-LOC
- 103 j̩e-s ŋuə, t̩ɑ-lə t̩ɑ-lə  
live/stay-NOM COP where-LOC where-LOC



|     |   |   |  |                                   |
|-----|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| 104 | nə-s<br>sleep-NOM                                 | ηυə,<br>COP   | tɕa-lə<br>where-LOC                            | tɕa-lə<br>where-LOC               |
| 105 | ηιγι<br>what                                      | ηυə-s<br>COP-NOM                                    | ηυə,<br>COP                                    | fiɑ-tɕəi<br>INT-this:manner       |
| 106 | gɑnphai-tu-pũ-kəi-tɕu.<br>arrange-DIR-do-NAR-PART |   | χa-le:-ηυəηι<br>needle-DEF:CL-TOP              | fiɑɑ<br>INT                       |
| 107 | dzy-le:-kɑ<br>door-DEF:CL-LOC                     |   | ə-tɕə-ηι<br>DIR-stab-ADV                       | fiɑɑ<br>INT                       |
| 108 | dzy-le:-kɑ<br>door-DEF:CL-LOC                     | zi-kəi,<br>exist-NAR                                | qusɑp-tou-ηυəηι<br>scissors-DEF:one:CL-TOP     |                                   |
| 109 | fiɑɑ<br>INT                                       | kɑpətɕ-tou-piəna-lɑ<br>orphan-DEF:one:CL-beside-LOC | nəɕ-te:-piəna<br>bed-DEF:CL-beside             |                                   |
| 110 | thɑ<br>there                                      | fiɑ-nə-kəi,<br>DIR-sleep-NAR                        | ɕtɕiɕtɕɑq-tou-ηυəηι<br>magpie-DEF:one:CL-TOP   | fiɑɑ<br>INT                       |
| 111 | mə-law-zɑχua<br>fire-DEF:one:pile-inside          |   | fiɑ-nə-kui-tɕu,<br>DIR-sleep-NAR-PART          |                                   |
| 112 | noβu-le:-ηυəηι<br>crow-DEF:CL-TOP                 | fiɑɑ<br>INT   | ɕuətɕhua<br>water.jar                          | zɑχua<br>inside                   |
| 113 | fiɑ<br>INT  | tɕəi-ηυəηι,<br>this.manner-TOP                      | χsutsqha-le:-ηυəηι<br>stomach-DEF:CL-TOP       |                                   |
| 114 | buzd-te:-qəpɑtɕɑ:<br>plank.stairs-DEF:CL-head:LOC |   | fiɑ-nə-kui-tɕu,<br>DIR-sleep-NAR-PART          |                                   |
| 115 | jankhui-le:-ηυəηι<br>stone.mortar-DEF:CL-TOP      |   | buzd-le:-ku-tɑ<br>plank.stairs-DEF:CL-base-LOC |                                   |
| 116 | fiɑ-nə-kui-tɕu,<br>DIR-sleep-NAR-PART             | fiɑ<br>INT  | thəl-le:-ηυəηι<br>stone.pestle-DEF:CL-TOP      |                                   |
| 117 | buzd-le:-qəpɑtɕɑ:<br>plank.stairs-DEF:CL-head:LOC |   | i-jə-kui-tɕu.<br>DIR-live/stay-NAR-PART        |                                   |
| 118 |   | hi,<br>EXCL   | fiɑ-xtɕəp<br>DIR-get.dark                      | ɕkup-te:<br>orangutan-DEF:CL      |
|     |   |   |  | zə-lɑ-jə-kui,<br>DIR-come-REP-NAR |

- 119 tsou            tɛymi-lou-ta            zə-la-kui-tu,  
this:one:CL    child-DEF:one:CL-DAT    DIR-come-NAR-LNK
- 120 dzy-la:-ɬa            qe¹            ʂpaʂpa  
door-DEF:CL-LOC    before            like/as
- 121 dzy-le:-ta            dzeke            i-ɕtɕi-kəi-tɕu,  
door-DEF:CL-LOC    (onomatopoeia)    DIR-push-NAR-PART
- 122 dzy-le:            i-ɕtɕi,            ɣa-la-ha            tha    zɿ-kui-ŋiau,  
door-DEF:CL    DIR-push    needle-DEF:one-pl    there    exist-NAR-PART
- 123 ɣa-la-ha            jəpə-le:-ta            ə-tʂə-ŋiaufu  
needle-DEF:one-pl    hand-DEF:CL-LOC    DIR-stab-LNK(as.soon.as)
- 124 saq-phi-ke:            ə-ʂə-kui-tɕu,            tu            ɣaiʂə  
blood-flow-INDEF:CL    DIR-put-NAR-PART    RESULT    †(still.is)
- 125 tɕəu-la            ə-ɬə            ɕtɕaɕ            tɕə-lu-kui-ʂə,  
home-LOC    DIR-go            heart            CON-come-NAR-LNK
- 126 ə-qa-jə-kui,            ə-qa-ŋiaufu  
DIR-go-REP-NAR            DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as)
- 127 kapətʂ-tou            nəʂ-ta:-ɬa            mo-tha-jə-kui,  
orphan-DEF:one:CL    bed-DEF:CL-LOC    grope.for-AUX-REP-NAR
- 128 ɣaiʂə            tɕə-lə            nə    me¹z-kəi,    kapətʂ    tou  
†(still.is)    where-LOC    sleep    seek-NAR    orphan    DEF:one:CL
- 129 nəʂ-ta:-ɬa-ŋuəŋi,            kapətʂ-tou            me¹z            kantɕi  
bed-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP    orphan-DEF:one:CL    seek            think/want
- 130 qusap-te:-wu            jəpə-le:-xʂe            tu-tua-kui,            tha-ɣui  
scissors-DEF:CL-AGT    hand-DEF:CL-CL    DIR-cut-NAR            that:one-time
- 131 tu,            ɣtʂap-ke:            ŋuə-kui-ŋiau,            qusap-te:-wu  
RESULT    black-INDEF:CL    COP-NAR-PART            scissors-DEF:CL-AGT
- 132 jəpə-le:            tu-tua,    sa    tuetue-ke:-tɕi            da-qa-jantɕi,  
hand-DEF:CL    DIR-cut    blood    dripping-INDEF:CL-ADV    DIR-go-after
- 133 mə-law            qhə¹qhə¹-kəi,    mə-law            i-ʂue-ŋi  
fire-DEF:one:pile    open-NAR            fire-DEF:one:pile            DIR-set.fire-ADV

- 134    ɲiɣi-la-ha            kə-zɿ,            ɑ-ʂ            tse    kantçi-kəi,  
           what-DEF:one-pl    thus-exist      one-time      see    think/want-NAR
- 135    mə-law                da-qhe<sup>1</sup>      kantçi      me-pe-ɲiaufu,  
           fire-DEF:one.pile    DIR-open      think/want    NEG-correct-LNK(as.soon.as)
- 136    xsə                      ɕtɕictɕaɣ-la-ha  
           new(again)            magpie-DEF:one-pl
- 137    da-ʂp-jə-kui-stu,                                      tʂhəqtʂhaqtʂhəqtʂhaq-la-ha  
           DIR-explode-REP-NAR-PART                                      (onomatopoeia)-DEF:one-pl
- 138    da-ʂp-ɲiaufu                                      mi:    da-qə-kui,      mi:  
           DIR-explode-LNK(as.soon.as)    eyes    DIR-go-NAR      eyes
- 139    da-qə-kui,            fiɑ            tsa-χui-tu,  
           DIR-go-NAR            INT            this:one-time-LNK
- 140    mi:    da-qa,      mi:    da-qə-tu,      ʂuətʂhua-la:-ɓɑ  
           eyes    DIR-go      eyes    DIR-go-LNK      water.jar-DEF:CL-LOC
- 141    sə-l-ɲiantçi,      tsə-lo-qu                                      ɲuə-ɲiantçi, quaha-lo-qu  
           DIR-see-after      water-DEF:one-CL                                      COP-after      face-DEF:one-CL
- 142    χuəla    kantçi-kəi-wa,                                      quaha χuəla      kantçi  
           wash    think/want-NAR-EMPH                                      face    wash      think/want
- 143    ʂuətʂhua-la:-ɓɑ                                      su-tʂhu,                                      noʊu-le-tçi  
           water.jar-DEF:CL-LOC                                      DIR-reach.out                                      crow-DEF-CL
- 144    tha            zɿ-jə-kui-stu,                                      noʊu-le-tçi-wu  
           there            exist-REP-NAR-PART                                      crow-DEF-CL-AGT
- 145    tshuaq      tshuaq                                      da-sə-zɿ,                                      miɑuɓdzue-la:-ɓɑ  
           peck            peck                                      DIR-make.sound-CAUS                                      eye-DEF:CL-LOC
- 146    i-tshuete-kui-stu.                                      fiɑ-tsa-χui-tu,                                      miɑuɓdzue  
           DIR-peck-NAR-PART                                      INT-this:one-time-LNK                                      eye
- 147    lə    me-le-jy,                                      japə e-xʂe    lə    me-wě-jy.  
           also    NEG-exist-ASP                                      hand one-CL    also    NEG-exist-ASP
- 148    fiɑla      saq      tuetue-ke:-tçi                                      du-φu-ɲi  
           INT      blood    dripping-INDEF:CL-ADV                                      DIR-run.away-ADV

- 149 ha-ɛ kantçi-kəi, du-φu-ŋi buzd-qə-ta  
DIR-go think/want-NAR DIR-run.away-ADV plank.stairs-head-LOC
- 150 ha-ɛ kantçi-kei-tu, sə-qa, sə-qa-ŋiaufu,  
DIR-go think/want-NAR-LNK DIR-go DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as)
- 151 χsutsqha-la:-ɛa fie-tʃhue, χsutsqha-la:-ɛa  
stomach-DEF:CL-LOC DIR-step.on stomach-DEF:CL-LOC
- 152 fie-tʃhue, da-ta buzd-le:-ta dziq fia-qə-i-stu.  
DIR-step.on DIR-slip plank.stairs-DEF:CL-LOC floor DIR-go-HS-PART
- 153 dziq fia-qə-ŋiaufu tʃhə-la buzd-kuə-ta  
floor DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as) ground.floor-LOC plank.stair-foot-LOC
- 154 jankhui-le:-zαχua fia-qa, xsə thəl-le:  
stone.mortar-DEF:CL-inside DIR-go new(again) stone.pestle-DEF:CL
- 155 qəpatʃa: ʃə, fia-la, thəl-le:-wu  
head:LOC exist DIR-come stone.pestle-DEF:CL-AGT
- 156 fie-tçite fie-tçite, fie-tçite-ŋiaufu, fia-tsu  
DIR-pound DIR-pound DIR-pound-LNK(as.soon.as) INT-here
- 157 ʃkup-te:-ŋuəŋi ŋi-qəti-ŋi  
orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP DIR-beat.to.death-ADV
- 158 da-ɛu-kui-wa.  
DIR-throw-NAR-EMPH

Narrator: Wang Lin 王林  
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### An Orphan

Long ago, there was an orphan; he was one who had no father and no mother. There was an orangutan who wanted to eat this orphan. The orphan was always afraid when it got dark at night, and on his way home, he was crying and crying as he walked. He walked a while and met with a needle. The needle asked him, “What’s the matter?” The

orphan answered, "Aye! The orangutan is going to come eat me at night. I'm afraid to be at home by myself." The needle said, "Hah! Don't be afraid. At night I'll come be your companion."

Later, again he was crying, crying as he walked. He walked a while and met some scissors. The scissors asked him, "Ah, what's the matter with you? Why are you crying like this?" The orphan said, "At my home, there's only me alone. The orangutan is going to come down to eat me. He comes at night." The scissors said, "Ah, if that is all it is, no problem, at night I'll come be your companion."

After that, the orphan still was crying and crying as he walked. He walked a while and met a magpie. The magpie asked him, "Why are you crying like this?" The orphan answered, "At home, there's only me alone. I have neither father nor mother. I am one without parents. When it gets dark, the orangutan is going to eat me. I'm afraid to be at home alone." The magpie said, "Aye! You need not be afraid. At night I'll come be your companion."

Again he went on, and after walking a while he met a crow, and the crow said, "Hah! Why are you crying?" The orphan said, "I have neither father nor mother. I'm only an orphan. At night I am afraid (to be at home alone); the orangutan is going to eat me." The crow said, "Hah! If that's the case, there's no problem, at night I'll come be your companion."

Again, the orphan went on crying as he walked. He walked a while and came across a stomach, and the stomach asked him, "Hah! Why are you crying like this?" The orphan answered, "I have neither father nor mother. At night, as soon as it gets dark, the orangutan is going to come eat me. I'm afraid." The stomach said, "Hah! If that's all it is, there's no problem, let me come be your companion at night. I'll come be your companion."

The orphan still was crying, crying as he walked. He walked a while and also came across a stone mortar, the stone mortar asked, "Hah! Why are you crying like this?" The orphan said, "Ah, I have neither father nor mother. I'm afraid of when it will get dark. When it gets dark again today, the orangutan is going to come eat me." The stone mortar said, "If that's all it is, no problem, I'll come be your companion. Let me come be your companion."

At this time the orphan had made friends with these (things) mentioned. When night came, they all came. The needle came, and the scissors came, and the magpie came, and the crow came, and the stomach, the stone mortar and a stone pestle all came. After they came, they held a meeting. The orphan was extremely happy. "Tonight my companions have come. Tonight I'm not afraid of the orangutan." After these [things] had all come, they told him, "Don't be afraid tonight. If the orangutan comes, we will beat him to death."

The orangutan wasn't afraid, and still came. The orphan was not afraid.

That night everybody made a plan together, where the needle should stay, where (each of them) should sleep and what-not and it was all settled. The needle was above the door to stab (the orangutan) in the doorway, the scissors slept beside the orphan on the bed, the magpie slept in the fire pile, the crow slept in the water jar, the stomach slept at the head of the stairs, the stone mortar was at the foot of the stairs, and the stone pestle was at the head of the stairs.

When it got dark, the orangutan came towards the orphan, the same as before. When he pushed the door with a creak, the needle was there, and as soon as the needle pricked his hand, his hand was all covered with blood, but he still wanted to go in the room. Once he was in the room and going to look for the orphan in the bed, the scissors cut off his hand. It was dark and the scissors had cut off his hand, and blood was dripping down. Then he went over to the fire pile, thinking to light it, to see what thing it was! As soon as the orangutan wanted to touch the fire pile, the magpie inside the fire pile burst out with a lot of noise and (the ashes) got into the orangutan's eyes. The orangutan went to the water jar, wanting to get some water to wash his face. He looked around and saw the water jar and after a mouthful of water wanted to wash his face, but the crow was there and the crow came out and pecked his eyes. This time the orangutan had no eyes and no hand and was covered with blood. He wanted to escape covered with blood. As soon as he got to the head of the stairs he stepped on the stomach and slipped and rolled down the staircase and into the stone mortar at the foot of the stairs. Then the stone pestle pounded and pounded and pounded down on him, and in this way pounded the orangutan to death and then (they) threw him away.

**Text 4**  
**Uncle Snake**  
 upu bəs  
 uncle snake

- 1 i-tse, pəs-ηuəŋi ʋoʋu ləmpə lie-tu, lie,  
 DIR-look today-TOP ram's.horn flower carry-LNK bring
- 2 lie-tu, lie-ŋi, a:, upu-bəs-ηuəŋi,  
 carry-LNK carry-LNK INT uncle-snake-TOP
- 3 “ʔü tsi-la-han qa e: de-mə-l-əs-te:-wu,  
 2sg daughter-DEF:one-kind 1sg one:CL DIR-NEG-give-NOM-DEF:CL-LNK
- 4 qa-wu ʔü-jəpə-le: da-g-zə-wa,”  
 1sg-AGT 2sg-hand-DEF:CL DIR-broken-CAUS:1sg-EMPH
- 5 ikə jə-kui-təu. fiə-kə jə-kui-tu,  
 thus say-NAR-PART INT-thus say-NAR-LNK
- 6 tsi tci-χtʂa-le:-ηuəŋi, “ha, tatə ke:  
 daughter most-small-DEF:CL-TOP EXCL father INDEF:CL
- 7 ηuə-k-ta, qa ŋi: ηuə lə əa:-ηyʊ, ʔü-jəpə-le:  
 COP-INF-if 1sg what COP also INDTV-COP 2sg-hand-DEF:CL
- 8 da-g-zə-qəstə, qa the:-sətsim  
 DIR-break-CAUS-not.as.good.as 1sg 3sg-wife
- 9 ha-ηyʊ-la,” jə-kui-təu.  
 DIR-COP-INDTV:1sg say-NAR-PART
- 10 fiə-kə jə-kəi-tu, fiəla qhal  
 INT-thus say-NAR-LNK INT momo(steamed.bread)
- 11 a-gyʊ u-lu-kui, “fiə, upu-bəs-te:-steke  
 one-basketful DIR-give.as.gift-NAR EXCL uncle-snake-DEF:CL-behind
- 12 da-ʋə-n-ba,” jə-kui-təu. qhal  
 DIR-go-2sg-DTV say-NAR-PART momo(steamed.bread)

- 13 a-gy̯ə̯ one-basketful      fi̯ei-bi-ŋi, DIR-carry.on.back-LNK      upu-bəs-te: uncle-snake-DEF:CL
- 14 t̥eiqə:ʰ before      ʂua:m-ke: very.long-INDEF:CL
- 15 sei-k-kui, walk-go-NAR      ŋi:-ŋuən̄i 3sgREFL-TOP      fi̯a INT      steke behind      steke behind
- 16 fi̯e-zei DIR-cry      fi̯e-zei DIR-cry      fi̯e-zei-ke: DIR-cry-INDEF:CL      tse:-steke this:CL-behind
- 17 da-qə-kəi-stũ. DIR-go-NAR-PART      da-qa, DIR-go      da-qa, DIR-go      da-qa-tu, DIR-go-LNK
- 18 upu-bəs-te: uncle-snake-DEF:CL      fi̯a INT      qha'ʂue-law-ʂa stone.pile-DEF:one:CL-LOC      i-pə-k- DIR-arrive-go-
- 19 tu, LNK      u-t̥əu DIR-see      ma-lə-jy-tu, NEG-able-ASP-LNK      qha'ʂue-law stone.pile-DEF:one:CL      ʂanʂa: crevice
- 20 fi̯a-qə-tu, DIR-go-LNK      fi̯a-thu INT-there      tsi-lou-ŋuən̄i girl-DEF:one:CL-TOP      fi̯a INT
- 21 ʂuaʂa-la courtyard-LOC      fi̯e-zei DIR-cry      fi̯e-zei-ŋi DIR-cry-ADV      tha there
- 22 z̥i-kəi-stũ, exist-NAR-PART      qha'ʂue-law-piəna-la. stone.pile-DEF:one:CL-beside-LOC
- 23      fi̯a-tha-ʂui-tu, INT-that:one-time-LNK      t̥eiqua-la inside-LOC      ha-lə-ŋi DIR-come-ADV
- 24 fi̯ala INT      t̥eiqua-la inside-LOC      ʂoi-kə-m call-go-NOM      he-ʂi-kui-t̥əu. DIR-send-NAR-PART
- 25 upu-bəs-te: uncle-snake-DEF:CL      x̥sə god      ŋuə-kui-ŋi, COP-NAR-ADV      mi person      t̥eiqua-la-ŋuən̄i inside-LOC-TOP
- 26 t̥əy-le:-ŋuən̄i chicken-DEF:CL-TOP      ʂoi-kə-m call-go-NOM      he-ʂi-kui-stũ. DIR-send-NAR-PART



- 27   “entɕi           qutaq.                   entɕi           qutaq.  
uncle's.wife (sound.of.chicken) uncle's.wife (sound.of.chicken)
- 28   entɕi                   qutaq,”                   jə-tu,  
uncle's.wife           (sound.of.chicken)       say-LNK
- 29   xsə     sa     jə-kui-tɕu.           xsə     sa     jə-kui-tu,  
three   sound   say-NAR-PART       three   sound   say-NAR-LNK
- 30   thou           tə-χsa                   ma-γzə-kəi-şə,  
that:one:CL   DIR-understand       NEG-able-NAR-LNK
- 31   fiɑ:           tɕe-zei-kəi-stū.  
INT           CON-cry-NAR-PART
- 32           tu,     tɕy-le:                   ə-qa-jə-kui,       xsə  
          RESULT chicken-DEF:CL   DIR-go-REP-NAR   new(again)
- 33   khuə-le:     ha-lə-jə-kui-stū.           khuə-le:  
dog-DEF:CL   DIR-come-REP-NAR-PART   dog-DEF:CL
- 34   ha-lə-jə-kui-tu,       fiɑla   “fiɑŋŋ fiɑŋŋ  
DIR-come-REP-LNK   INT     woof woof
- 35   entɕi           qutaq,     fiɑŋŋ fiɑŋŋ     entɕi           qutaq,”  
uncle's.wife   cluck     woof woof     uncle's.wife   cluck
- 36   jə-jə-kui-stū.           tə-χsa                   ma-γzə-kəi-şə,  
say-REP-NAR-PART   DIR-understand       NEG-able-NAR-LNK
- 37   fiɑla           tɕe-zei-kəi-stū.  
there           CON-cry-NAR-PART
- 38           fiɑ-tu,           tsu-ŋuəŋi,   pie-le:       ha-lə-jə-kui-stū.  
          INT-RESULT   here-TOP   pig-DEF:CL   DIR-come-REP-NAR-PART
- 39   pie-le:       ha-lə-ŋi           “fiə'fiə'   entɕi           qutaq, fiə'fiə'  
pig-DEF:CL   DIR-come-LNK   oink.oink   uncle's.wife   cluck   oink.oink
- 40   entɕi           qutaq, fiə'fiə'       entɕi           lantɕi lu-ɑ:-ji.”  
uncle's.wife   cluck   oink.oink   uncle's wife   flower come-PRS-CSM
- 41   tu           fiɑla   tə-mə-χsa-kəi-şə,           ə-mə-qa-kəi-stū.  
RESULT INT   DIR-NEG-understand-NAR-LNK   DIR-NEG-go-NAR-PART

- 42           fiɑ-thɑ-χui-tu,                   fiɑ,   tɕiɣɑ-lɑ   qodu-le:  
          INT-that:one-time-LNK   INT   inside-LOC   old.woman-DEF:CL
- 43   hɑ-lə-kui-stũ.                   mɑ:-le:                   hɑ-lə-kui-stũ.  
          DIR-come-NAR-PART   mama-DEF:CL   DIR-come-NAR-PART
- 44   fiɑlɑ,   bəs   dzel-pə-tɕ-mɑ:-le:                   hɑ-lə-kui-stũ.  
          INT   snake   feast<sup>106</sup>-do-GEN-mama-DEF:CL   DIR-come-NAR-PART
- 45   mɑ:-le:                   hɑ-lə-tu,                   fiɑ:,           “qɑ-tsi  
          mama-DEF:CL   DIR-come-LNK   INT           1sg-girl
- 46   ɲi:-le:                   zei-n-ɑ?                   zei           me-tɕhe,           qɑ  
          what-DEF:CL   cry-2sg-Q   cry           NEG-want           1sg
- 47   ɸoi-kə-m                   kən                   he-ɕɑ-ɲi,           ʔũ  
          call-go-NOM           very(many)   DIR-send:1sg-LNK   2sg
- 48   ə-mə-lɑ-n-ɣə,                   qɑ           hɑ-lɑ-wɑ,”  
          DIR-NEG-come-2sg-LNK   1sg           DIR-come-EMPH
- 49   jə-kui-stũ.                   tu,           fiɑ   tsi-lou-ɲuəɲi,           “qɑ  
          say-NAR-PART   RESULT   INT   girl-DEF:one:CL-TOP   1sg
- 50   tə-mə-χsɑ-wɑ,”                   jə-kui-stũ.                   fiɑ-tu,  
          DIR-NEG-understand-EMPH   say-NAR-PART   INT-RESULT
- 51   “tə-mə-χsɑ-n-ɸɑ,                   qɑ-phusuluq-te:           fiə-ge-n-bɑ,  
          DIR-NEG-understand-2sg-if   1sg-clothing-DEF:CL   DIR-hold-2sg-DTV
- 52   qɑ-phusuluq-te:                   tə-tsəqɑ-ɲi                   mi:   fiɑ-tɕə-n-bɑ,  
          1sg-clothing-DEF:CL   DIR-grab-ADV   eye   DIR-close-2sg-DTV
- 53   qɑ-steke   hɑ-zɕə-n-bɑ,”                   jə-kui-stũ.                   fiɑ  
          1sg-behind   DIR-follow-2sg-DTV   say-NAR-PART   INT
- 54   tsɑ-tau-ɲuəɲi                   ə-ɸ-ɸzɑ:-ɸɑ-ɲuəɲi                   ɣkupu-ɑ-tau  
          this:one-time-TOP   DIR-go-time-LOC-TOP   a.kind.of.thing-one-CL
- 55   de-le-kui-stũ.                   tu,  
          DIR-give-NAR-PART   RESULT

- 56 fiala tɕiqua ə-qa-kəi-tu,                   χaiʂə       tsəusə-bəl ɲi-ke:  
INT   inside DIR-go-NAR-LNK           ‡(still.is) marry-do WH-INDEF:CL
- 57 ɲuə-kui-ʂə,                   tɕiqua-la       upu-bəs-la-ha-ɲuəɲi  
COP-NAR-LNK                   inside-LOC     uncle-snake-DEF:one-pl-TOP
- 58 ɕi       tʂhe<sup>107</sup>-kəi-stü.       qapə-la-ha                   fiɑ-tsəi-ɲuəɲi,  
wine   suck-NAR-PART   old.man-DEF:one-pl INT-this.manner-TOP
- 59 tsi-lou-ɲuəɲi                   upu-bəs-le:                   zakue (sitsəm)  
girl-DEF:one:CL-TOP   uncle-snake-DEF:CL   helpmate (wife)
- 60 pe-kui-wa.  
become-NAR-EMPH

Narrator: Wang Lin 王林  
Born 1966  
Recorded 1996

### Uncle Snake

Look, today the Snake (Uncle) is bringing ram's horn flowers.<sup>108</sup> He says (to the father), "If you don't give one of your daughters to me, I will chop off your hand." After Snake (Uncle) said this, the youngest daughter said (to her father), "Papa, it's better I do what I have to do and go become his (Snake's) wife, than for your hand to be cut off."

(The girl's family) gave her a basketful of momo (a kind of bread) (and said to her), "You go with Uncle Snake then." Uncle Snake went in front of the girl. The girl carried the momo and was crying and crying as she followed behind Uncle Snake. They kept going until they came to a pile of rocks, and then Uncle Snake disappeared. He had gone into the pile through a crevice in the rocks. The girl continued to cry in the courtyard beside the pile of rocks.

In fact, Uncle Snake was a god and he sent a chicken to call the girl. The chicken called, "Aunt-in-law" three times, but the girl didn't understand and still cried there.

Later, the chicken went in and a dog was sent out to call the girl to come inside. The dog also barked two times, but the girl still didn't understand, and still cried there.

In like manner a pig was sent to call her, and the girl still didn't understand and so didn't enter.

Finally, an old woman came out to call her (Snake's mother came out to call her), and said to the girl, "Child, what are you crying about? Don't cry. I've sent many to call you, but you haven't come in, so I came out myself." The girl said, "I didn't understand." The old mother-in-law said, "If you didn't understand, close your eyes and hold on to my clothes, and come with me." When they went in, she gave the girl something (skupu), and she went back inside. Inside it was as if a wedding was being held, and Uncle Snake and others were drinking wine. In this way, the girl became Uncle Snake's wife.



- 14 de-lde-ŋi                      χaiʒə                      fiʌa-ŋuəŋi  
DIR-spin-ADV                      †(still.is)                      INT-TOP
- 15 fiʌa tʃi-le:                      lan-thə-le:-ŋuəŋi,                      fiʌa                      tʃhaq-ta  
INT son-DEF:CL                      lazy-AUX-DEF:CL-TOP                      INT                      market-LOC
- 16 sə-ɛ-ŋi                      ɕi                      topu-wa-le:                      ŋuə-kəi,                      ɕi                      topu-le:  
DIR-go-ADV                      wine                      like-very-DEF:CL                      COP-NAR                      wine                      like-DEF:CL
- 17 ŋuə-kəi-tu,                      χaiʒə                      fiʌə                      sə-ɛ-ŋi                      ɕi  
COP-NAR-LNK                      †(still.is)                      INT                      DIR-go-ADV                      wine
- 18 sə-tɕ-ŋi                      nu-lu-kəpə-kəi,                      fiʌ-tu  
DIR-drink-ADV                      DIR-come-HABIT-NAR                      INT-RESULT
- 19 ma:-le:-tɕ-ŋuəŋi                      χaiʒə                      ɕi-ŋuəŋi                      χaiʒə  
mama-DEF:CL-BEN-TOP                      †(still.is)                      wine-TOP                      †(still.is)
- 20 fiʌ-tʂəi                      pantɕin                      lie-kəpə-kui-wa.  
INT-this.manner                      half.catty                      carry-HABIT-NAR-EMPH
- 21                      fiʌ-tə                      sawu-le:                      tɕiu                      a!                      fiʌa  
                    INT-RESULT                      older.sister-DEF:CL                      †(then)                      EXCL                      INT
- 22 satʃu-le:-ta                      zə-lə-kəi,                      satʃu-le:-ta  
younger.sister-DEF:CL-LOC                      DIR-come-NAR                      younger.sister-DEF:CL-LOC
- 23 zə-lə-kəi-tu,                      χaiʒə,                      a!                      satʃu-le:-ta  
DIR-come-NAR-LNK                      †(still.is)                      EXCL                      younger.sister-DEF:CL-LOC
- 24 zə-lə-kəi-tu,                      ka-han                      ŋuə-tu.  
DIR-come-NAR-LNK                      INDEF:one-kind                      COP-LNK
- 25 fiʌ-tu                      a-s-ɛa                      ŋuə-tu,                      sawu-le:-ŋuəŋi                      fiʌ-tha  
INT-RESULT                      one-day-LOC                      COP-LNK                      older.sister-DEF:CL-TOP                      INT-there
- 26 pethau-pə-kui-wa,                      fiʌ-tu                      satʃu-le:                      tɕiu  
chat-do-NAR-EMPH                      INT-RESULT                      younger.sister-DEF:CL                      †(then)
- 27 “qa-tɕ-tʃi-le:                      fiʌ-kə                      lan-tha,                      lan-thə-le:  
1sg-GEN-son-DEF:CL                      INT-thus                      lazy-AUX                      lazy-AUX-DEF:CL
- 28 ŋuə-ʒ,”                      jə-ŋi                      fiʌ-kə                      pethiau-pu-kui.                      fiʌ-tu  
COP-LNK                      say-ADV                      INT-thus                      chat-do-NAR                      INT-RESULT

- 29 a-s-ka-tu, tse: satʃu tʃi-le:-nuəŋi  
one-day-LOC-LNK this:CL younger.sister son-DEF:CL-TOP
- 30 fiəla tʃiu-la, a-s-ka-tu, tʃhaq-ta  
INT home-LOC one-day-LOC-LNK market-LOC
- 31 sə-kə ʃpaqta-ŋi fiə-ke dzy-le: wəsta  
DIR-go pretend-ADV INT-thus door-DEF:CL behind
- 32 he-zɪ-kui-wa. fiə-tu sawu-le:  
DIR-exist-NAR-EMPH INT-RESULT older.sister-DEF:CL
- 33 ŋa satʃu-le: fiəla ə-dzə-ŋi  
COM younger.sister-DEF:CL INT DIR-face.to.face-ADV
- 34 pethiau-pə-kəi, fiəla pethiau-pə-kəi-tu, pethiau-pə-kəi-tu fiəla  
chat-do-NAR INT chat-do-NAR-LNK chat-do-NAR-LNK INT
- 35 meʰx, fiəla pethiau-pə-kəi-tu, tʃi-le:-nuəŋi,  
pitiful INT chat-do-NAR-LNK son-DEF:CL-TOP
- 36 satʃu-le: tʃi-le:-nuəŋi fiəla dzy-le: wəsta  
younger.sister-DEF:CL son-DEF:CL-TOP INT door-DEF:CL behind
- 37 u-xʃuctɕu-kui. u-xʃuctɕu-kui-tu, fiəla tʃi-le:  
DIR-listen-NAR DIR-listen-NAR-LNK INT son-DEF:CL
- 38 dze-kəi, tʃi-le: dze-kəi-tu, fiə-tu  
discuss-NAR son-DEF:CL say-NAR-LNK INT-RESULT
- 39 tʃi-le:-nuəŋi tʃhaq-ta sə-mə-qa-tɕi  
son-DEF:CL-TOP market-LOC DIR-NEG-go-NAR
- 40 nuəŋi dzy-le: wəsta xʃuctɕu-kui. “qa  
INT door-DEF:CL behind listen-NAR 1sg
- 41 tʃi-le: lan-tha” jə-ŋi, fiə-tha-nuəŋi  
son-DEF:CL laxy-AUX say-ADV INT-there-TOP
- 42 fiə-tha-han dze-kui.  
INT-that:one-kind say-NAR
- 43 fiə-tu tʃi-le:-nuəŋi, fiə-tu “pəs-nuəŋi, a!  
INT-RESULT son-DEF:CL-TOP INT-RESULT today-TOP EXCL

- 44 ma:-*ɲuən̩i* qa pəs-*ɲuən̩i* i-pə-l-jy, qa-*ɲuən̩i*  
 mama-TOP 1sg today-TOP DIR-arrive-come-ASP 1sg-TOP
- 45 pəs-*ɲuən̩i* pənsə a-χən u-su-a-wa,” jə-kui.  
 today-TOP ability one-kind DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH say-NAR
- 46 “ha! pənsə a-χən u-su-a-wa,” jə-kui.  
 EXCL ability one-kind DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH say-NAR
- 47 “ha! qa-tɛ-tʃi *ɲi*yi pənsə u-su-n-a?” jə-kui.  
 EXCL 1sg-GEN-son what ability DIR-learn-2sg-Q say-NAR
- 48 “ha! *ʔile* pəs tɛəu-la *ɲi*yi dze-jə-wa?” jə-kui,  
 EXCL 2pl today home-LOC what say-CSM-Q say-NAR
- 49 “qa *fi*la tʃhə-zəkũ-ta kuantsə *fi*a-ka:-ka,  
 1sg INT market-center-LOC restaurant INT-INDEF:one:CL-LOC
- 50 z*i*-s-ta-*ɲuən̩i* qa ə-ma-ʃ, *fi*a-tu *ʔile*-*ɲuən̩i*  
 exist-NOM-LOC-TOP 1sg DIR-hear:1sg-LNK INT-RESULT 2pl-TOP
- 51 *fi*a-ka-han dze-ji, *fi*a-kə dze-ji-tu, *fi*ata qa  
 INT-INDEF:one-kind say-CSM INT-thus say-CSM-LNK INT 1sg
- 52 ə-ma-ʃ, qa *fi*a-ka-han-*ɲuən̩i* pənsə *fi*a-ka-han  
 DIR-hear:1sg-LNK 1sg INT-one-kind-TOP ability INT-one-kind
- 53 u-su-a-wa, *fi*a-kə ə-m, *fi*a-kə *ʔile*-wu  
 DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH INT-thus DIR-hear INT-thus 2pl-AGT
- 54 *fi*e-dze la-han-ne<sup>1</sup>wu ə-m *ʃ*zə-tɛ,  
 DIR-say DEF:one-kind-all DIR-hear able-NOM
- 55 *fi*a-ka-han u-su-a-wa,” jə-kui-tɛu. *fi*a-kə  
 INT-INDEF:one-kind DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH say-NAR-PART INT-thus
- 56 jə-kui-tu, *fi*a-tu “*ɲi*yi *ɲi*yi *fi*e-dze:’” jə-kui,  
 say-NAR-LNK INT-RESULT what what DIR-say:1pl say-NAR
- 57 sawu-le: *ɲa* satʃũ-le:, *fi*ata “*fi*a-kə dze  
 older.siser-DEF:CL COM younger.sister-DEF:CL INT INT-thus say
- 58 *fi*a-kə dze qa a-ma-wa, tʃhaq-ta kuantsa  
 INT-thus say 1sg DIR-hear:1sg-EMPH market-LOC restaurant



- 59    ẓi-s-ta                    a-ma-wa,”                    f̄a-kə                    jə-kui-tu.  
 exist-NOM-LOC            DIR-hear:1sg-EMPH            INT-thus            say-NAR-LNK
- 60    “a!                    ʔat                    ɲuə-k-ŋi,                    qa-tɛ-tʂi,”                    jə-kui.  
 EXCL                    truly                    COP-INF-ADV                    1sg-GEN-son                    say-NAR
- 61                    f̄a-tu                    sawu-le:-tɛ,                    sawu-le:                    wutɕupu-ɲuəŋi  
 INT-RESULT            oldr.sistr-DEF:CL-GEN            oldr.sistr-DEF:CL            husband-TOP
- 62    juanɕuai-ɲuəŋi f̄a-ke                    ɲuə-kəi. f̄a-tu                    pitɛ-ɲuəŋi ẓmətʂi,  
 emperor-TOP            INT-thus                    COP-NAR                    INT-RESULT            now-TOP            emperor
- 63    qe:<sup>1</sup>                    ɲuə-tu,                    ẓmətʂi                    laɣ                    “juanɕuai”                    ʂpə-x-ʂ,  
 before                    COP-LNK                    emperor                    DEF:one:kind                    emperor                    call-INF-LNK
- 64    f̄a-ke                    ɲuə,                    f̄a-tu                    “a!                    ʔatchi                    qa-tɛ-tʂi-le:  
 INT-thus                    COP                    INT-RESULT                    EXCL                    truly                    1sg-GEN-son-DEF:CL
- 65    pənsə                    a-ɣən                    u-su-k-ŋi,                    ke:                    ɲuə-tu,                    ẓə  
 ability                    one-kind                    DIR-learn-INF-ADV                    INDEF:CL                    COP-if                    thing
- 66    ha-sa,”                    jə-kəi.                    f̄a-tu                    kə-jə-kəi-tu,                    f̄ala  
 DIR-make.sound            say-NAR                    INT-RESULT                    thus-say-NAR-LNK                    INT
- 67    f̄a-tsa-ɣui,                    sawu-le:,                    sawu-le:                    wutɕupu-ɲuəŋi  
 INT-this:one-time            older.sister-DEF:CL            older.sister-DEF:CL            husband-TOP
- 68    sənzə                    bələ-s                    pe-kui-wa,                    sənzə                    bələ-s                    ka-han  
 birthday                    do-NOM                    become-NAR-EMPH                    birthday                    do-NOM                    INDEF:one-kind
- 69    ɲuə-kui-tu,                    ẓbə-ɲuəŋi                    xsə-zi                    zə-p-ŋi                    tɕaba-la  
 COP-NAR-LNK                    yak-TOP                    three-CL                    DIR-buy-ADV                    cowpen-LOC
- 70    f̄a-zdzy-ŋi                    ẓi-zə-kui-tɕu.                    f̄a-tu                    tɕaba-la  
 DIR-tether-ADV                    exist-CAUS-NAR-PART                    INT-RESULT                    cowpen-LOC
- 71    f̄a-zdzy-ŋi                    ẓi-zə-kui-tu,                    tha-han,                    f̄ala-ɲuəŋi  
 DIR-tether-ADV                    exist-CAUS-NAR-LNK                    that:one-kind                    INT-TOP
- 72    f̄a-tu                    satʂu-le:-tʂi-le:-wu                    “pənsə  
 INT-RESULT                    younger-sister-DEF:CL-son-DEF:CL-AGT                    ability
- 73    u-su-a-ʂə”                    jə-m-le:-wu,<sup>111</sup>                    gəs                    da-qa-ŋi  
 DIR-learn-1sg-LNK                    say-NOM-DEF:CL-AGT                    night                    DIR-go-ADV

- 74 tə-χquats-ηiantci, məq-ta tuntuŋ zɔ:pua-la ɣu  
DIR-steal-after above-LOC cave cave-LOC mountain
- 75 da-χla-jə-s-ta fi-a-zdzy-ηi  
DIR-cross-CSM-NOM-LOC DIR-tether-ADV
- 76 i-ci-kui-wa. ɣu da-χla-jə-s-ta  
DIR-put-NAR-EMPH mountain DIR-cross-CSM-NOM-LOC
- 77 fi-a-zdzy-ηi i-ci-kui-tu. fi-a-la “sənzə bələ-ηuəŋi  
DIR-tether-LNK DIR-put-NAR-LNK INT birthday do-TOP
- 78 fi-e-me-se” jə-kui. fi-e-me-se ka-han  
DIR-NEG-allow say-NAR DIR-NEG-allow INDEF:one-kind
- 79 ηuə-kui-tu, sawu-le:-ηuəŋi  
COP-NAR-LNK older.sister-DEF:CL-TOP
- 80 fi-a-la wutɕupu-le:-ta-ηuəŋi pethiau-fi-o-pũ-kə-kui,  
INT husband-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP chat-DIR-do-go-NAR
- 81 “qa-satšũ-te:-tši-ηuəŋi fi-a-kə he-the,  
1sg-younger.sister-DEF:CL-son-TOP INT-thus DIR-able
- 82 u-zmu-ηi i-tši-z dzə, u-xɕuctɕu  
DIR-dream-ADV DIR-represent-CAUS able DIR-listen
- 83 ə-m dzə, fi-a-kə, fi-a-kə ɣzə-wa,”  
DIR-hear able INT-thus INT-thus able-EMPH
- 84 ikə jə-kui-stũ.  
thus say-NAR-PART
- 85 fi-a-tu tse: juanɕuai-le:-ηuəŋi gue<sup>1</sup>  
INT-RESULT this:CL emperor-DEF:CL-TOP soldier
- 86 zɿ-zə-kəi-ɣə, gue<sup>1</sup> he-ci-ηi  
exist-CAUS-NAR-LNK soldier DIR-send-ADV
- 87 fi-a-tsəi-ηuəŋi “me<sup>1</sup>zə-k tɕhe,” jə-tu.  
DIR-this.manner-TOP seek-go want say-LNK
- 88 tə-me<sup>1</sup>z-ηi da-tɕ-kə-kui, da-tɕ-kə ka-han ηuə-tu,  
DIR-look-ADV DIR-find-go-NAR DIR-find-go INDEF:one-kind COP-LNK

- 89 χαισə, da-tɕ-kə-ku-tu, fiɑ-tse:-ŋuən̩i, χαισə  
†(still.is) DIR-find-go-NAR-LNK INT-this:CL-TOP †(still.is)
- 90 ŋi:-wu fiɑɑ fiɑ-zdzy-ŋi tə-χquats-ŋi  
3sgREFL-AGT INT DIR-tether-ADV DIR-steal-ADV
- 91 fiɑɑ fiɑ-zdzy-ŋi tun̩tun̩ zɔ:pua i-ci  
INT DIR-tether-ADV cliff.cave cave DIR-put
- 92 ŋuə-ku-tu. χαισə tha-χui ŋuə-tu, ŋi: lə  
COP-NAR-LNK †(still.is) that:one-time COP-LNK 3sgREFL also
- 93 dzukũ-le:-kə-ʂ, tanta-ke:  
knowledge-exist-INF-LNK bold/daring-INDEF:CL
- 94 zɿ-kəi-wɑ, tanta-ke:  
exist-NAR-EMPH †bold/daring-INDEF:CL
- 95 zɿ-kəi-tu. fiɑ-thu-ŋuən̩i “qhua:  
exist-NAR-LNK DIR-there-TOP river.valley
- 96 da-ɛə-ja, fiɑ-thu-ŋuən̩i ɕi-la: ataz-ʂɑ, a.  
DIR-go-REP:1sg INT-there-TOP little-DEF:one:CL fast-HORT INT
- 97 qe:<sup>1</sup> a-s jə-s-ŋuən̩i. kɑ-zə da-tɕ fiə-si-ŋua  
before one-day two-day-TOP INDEF:one-CL DIR-find DIR-allow-Q
- 98 fiə-me-si?” jə-ŋi fiɑ-kə  
DIR-NEG-allow say-ADV INT-thus
- 99 ŋuə-kui-wɑ. fiɑ-tu, ʂpuθuʂ lou  
COP-NAR-EMPH INT-RESULT bamboo.tube DEF:one:CL
- 100 tɕy-kəi-tu, ʂpuθuʂ lou-ɛɑ  
carry-NAR-LNK bamboo.tube DEF:one:CL-LOC
- 101 hɑ-sə-m lə ŋi:  
DIR-make.sound-NOM also 3sgREFL
- 102 ŋuə-kəi-wɑ, ke<sup>1</sup>-əm lə ŋi: ŋuə-kəi,  
COP-NAR-EMPH ask-NOM also 3sgREFL COP-NAR
- 103 he-zgue-m lə ŋi: ŋuə-kəi, fiɑ-tu  
DIR-answer-NOM also 3sgREFL COP-NAR INT-RESULT

|     |  |  |                                      |  |                             |             |
|-----|--|--|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|-------------|
| 104 | ηi:<br>3sgREFL                           | ha-sə-ηi<br>DIR-make.sound-ADV               | ηi:<br>3sgREFL                       |  |                             |             |
| 105 | he-z.gue<br>DIR-answer                   | fi-a-ke:<br>INT-INDEF:CL                     | zi-kəpə-kəi.<br>exist-HABIT-NAR      | fi-a-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                                 |                             |             |
| 106 | a-s-ka<br>one-day-LOC                    | ηuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                           | fi-a-tu,<br>INT-RESULT               | phawu-le:<br>older.sister-DEF:CL                       |                             |             |
| 107 | wutcupu-le:-ηuəηi,<br>husband-DEF:CL-TOP | qe: <sup>1</sup><br>before                   | ηuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                   | “juanβuai”,<br>emperor                                 | pitc-ηuə-tu<br>now-COP-LNK  |             |
| 108 | “z.mətʃi”<br>emperor                     | spe: <sup>1</sup> -ʃ.<br>call:1pl-LNK        | fi-a-tu,<br>INT-RESULT,              | “a,<br>EXCL  | ci-la:<br>little-DEF:one:CL |             |
| 109 | ataz tche,<br>fast want                  | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT                        | a:-khuai-tha-ʃ<br>INDTV-fast-AUX-LNK | we-tu,”<br>exist-LNK                                   | jə-ηiantci,<br>say-after    |             |
| 110 | fi-a-kə<br>INT-thus                      | jə-ku-tu,<br>say-NAR-LNK                     | “otsũqua-ηuəηi<br>morning-TOP        | da-β<br>DIR-go   | dzə-m,<br>able-NOM          |             |
| 111 | uʃu<br>fast                              | dzə-mə: <sup>1</sup> wu<br>able-NOM:all      | me <sup>1</sup> z-kə<br>seek-go      | tche,”<br>want   | fi-a-kə<br>INT-thus         |             |
| 112 | jə-kui-wa.<br>say-NAR-EMPH               | fi-a-tə,<br>INT-RESULT                       | zət<br>date                          | a-s<br>one-day   | ə-ʃ-kəi,<br>DIR-put-NAR     | zət<br>date |
| 113 | ə-ʃ-kəi-ηi<br>DIR-put-NAR-ADV            | χaiʃə,<br>†(still.is)                        | fi-a<br>INT                          | tətci-le:<br>everywhere-DEF:CL                         | wu<br>all                   |             |
| 114 | phə<br>message                           | ha-φə-s-ta-jantci,<br>DIR-blow-NOM-LOC-after | fi-a-tə-ηuəηi<br>INT-RESULT-TOP      | “da-βə<br>DIR-go                                       |                             |             |
| 115 | dzə-m<br>able-NOM                        | xʃuctcu<br>hear                              | dzə-m<br>able-NOM                    | fi-a-la-han-ne <sup>1</sup> wu<br>INT-DEF:one-kind-all | tʃa<br>here                 |             |
| 116 | zu-lũ,<br>DIR-come                       | tci-le-ηuəηi<br>1pl-TOP                      | z.mu<br>meeting                      | tsu-a:,<br>hold-PRS                                    |                             |             |
| 117 | zu-lũ<br>DIR-come                        | tche-wa,”<br>want-EMPH                       | jə-kui-wa.<br>say-NAR-EMPH           | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT                                  | tse:<br>this:CL             |             |
| 118 | mi-tse:-ηuəηi<br>person-this:CL-TOP      | fi-a-tha<br>INT-there                        | tʃhetsə-qu-ta<br>cart-top-LOC        | sə-l-ηi<br>DIR-look-ADV                                |                             |             |

- 119 sputhuş tou-ḅa-ḡuəḡi ke'l-jy, tə-ke'l-jantəi,  
bamboo.tube DEF:one:CL-LOC-TOP ask-ASP DIR-ask-after
- 120 fīa-tu tə-ke'l-ḡi, tə-ke'l-jantəi, fīala  
INT-RESULT DIR-ask-ADV DIR-ask-after INT
- 121 sputhuş tou-ḅa-ḡuəḡi mi fīala zməṭṣi-le:  
bamboo.tube DEF:one:CL-LOC-TOP person INT emperor-DEF:CL
- 122 zmu-tsu la-s-ḅa-ḡuəḡi fīa-tha tṣhətsə-qu-ta  
meeeting-hold DEF:one-day-LOC-TOP INT-there cart-top-LOC
- 123 sə-l-ḡi fīa-ke ke'l-kə-kui. fīa-tu,  
DIR-look-ADV INT-thus ask-go-NAR INT-RESULT
- 124 “poquş-ḡuəḡi do-γzu-n-tu, tca-la zi? fīalə zi  
livestock-TOP DIR-lose-2sg-LNK where-LOC exist there exist
- 125 fīalə zi-wa, ṣku-wu tə-χquatṣ-ḡi fīala  
there exist-EMPH thief-AGT DIR-steal-ADV there
- 126 tuṅtuṅ zo:pa fīa-zdzy-ḡi zi-z. ḅu  
cliff.cave cave DIR-tether-ADV exist-CAUS mountain
- 127 χṭa-ji-wa,” jə-ḡi fīa-kə dze-ku. fīa-kə  
cross-CSM-EMPH say-ADV INT-thus say-NAR INT-thus
- 128 sṑəthuş-ta:-ḅa-ḡuəḡi ḡiḡi ha-sə fīa-kə  
bamboo.tube-DEF:one:CL-LOC-TOP 3sgREFL DIR-make.sound INT-thus
- 129 ke'l-kə-ku, fīa-kə ke'l ka-han ḡuə-ku-tu,  
ask-go-NAR INT-thus ask INDEF:one-kind COP-NAR-LNK
- 130 “a-ṣ tse-n-na-ṣ, fīa-the-wu, a, ṣku-wu  
one-time look-2sg-IMP-LNK INT-that-ABL INT thief-AGT
- 131 tə-χquatṣ-kə, fīa-tha da-χṭa: jəsai-wa, fīala-ḡuəḡi tha  
DIR-steal-go INT-there DIR-cross:PRS fast-EMPH INT-TOP there
- 132 zi-wa,” jə-ku. fīa-tu tsoqpi phawu-le:  
exist-EMPH say-NAR INT-RESULT this:family older.sister-DEF:CL
- 133 tcyimi-le:, thoqpi-ḡuəḡi ha-qə-ḡi ḡi:-tc  
child-DEF:CL that:family-TOP DIR-go-ADV 3sgREFL-GEN

- 134 fi<sup>la</sup> gue<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ŋ</sup>a tha-han he-ci-<sup>ŋ</sup>i tə-me<sup>1</sup>z-s-ta,  
INT army-COM that:one-kind DIR-put-ADV DIR-seek-NOM-LOC
- 135 kətchi tha zi-ku, fi<sup>a</sup>-t<sup>a</sup>-χui,  
truly there exist-NAR INT-this:one-time
- 136 tse:-<sup>ŋ</sup>u<sup>ŋ</sup>i, a, satʂu<sup>1</sup>-le: tʂi-le:-<sup>ŋ</sup>u<sup>ŋ</sup>i  
this: CL-TOP INT younger.sister-DEF:CL son-DEF:CL-TOP
- 137 minjy-t<sup>ei</sup>əu-kau<sup>la</sup>. fi<sup>a</sup>-tu phawu-le: wut<sup>ə</sup>pu-<sup>ŋ</sup>a  
†(reputation-then-higher) INT-RESULT older.sister-DEF:CL husband-COM
- 138 <sup>ŋ</sup>i<sup>yi</sup> dzə-<sup>ŋ</sup>i <sup>ŋ</sup>i<sup>yi</sup> t<sup>ch</sup>ə-t<sup>ə</sup> fi<sup>a</sup>-t<sup>sə</sup>i  
what eat-ADV what drink-GEN INT-this.manner
- 139 ə-ʂ-jy <sup>ŋ</sup>uə-<sup>ŋ</sup>i fi<sup>a</sup>-t<sup>sə</sup>i pə<sup>1</sup>zə-kui-wa.  
DIR-put-ASP COP-ADV INT-this.manner provide.for-NAR-EMPH
- 140 fi<sup>a</sup>-t<sup>a</sup>-χui-tu, tse:-t<sup>ə</sup>-k<sup>a</sup><sup>112</sup> t<sup>ei</sup>u t<sup>ə</sup>ait<sup>ə</sup>yela.  
DIR-this:one-time-LNK this:CL-GEN-LOC †(then solved)
- 
- 141 fi<sup>a</sup>-tu steke-la-χui-k<sup>a</sup>-tu, t<sup>ə</sup>i<sup>u</sup>ʂə  
INT-RESULT later-DEF:one-time-LOC-LNK †(that.is)
- 142 z<sup>ə</sup>mətʂi-le:-<sup>ŋ</sup>u<sup>ŋ</sup>i fi<sup>a</sup>-tha  
emperor-DEF:CL-TOP INT-there
- 143 nai-e-fən-k<sup>a</sup>-t<sup>ə</sup>-z<sup>ə</sup>mətʂi-ke: dzin-le:  
other-one-place-LOC-GEN-emperor-INDEF:CL monk's.robe<sup>113</sup>-DEF:CL
- 144 do-γzu-k<sup>ə</sup>i-ha, z<sup>ə</sup>mətʂi jən-le:,  
DIR-lose-NAR-PART emperor monk's.robe-DEF:CL
- 145 z<sup>ə</sup>mətʂi jən-le: do-γzu  
emperor monk's.robe-DEF:CL DIR-lose
- 146 ka-han <sup>ŋ</sup>uə-kui-tu, fi<sup>a</sup>-tse:-wu fi<sup>a</sup>-tha,  
INDEF:one-kind COP-NAR-LNK INT-this:CL-AGT INT-there
- 147 fi<sup>a</sup>-la-han <sup>ŋ</sup>uə-kua-ji, a-lə-wu a-lə<sup>114</sup>  
INT-DEF:one-kind COP-NAR-HS one-CL-AGT one-CL

|     |   |                                      |                                  |                                   |
|-----|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 148 | pethiau-fiə-pu-ŋi<br>chat-DIR-do-ADV                    | dzukũ<br>knowledge                   | le<br>exist                      | ka-han<br>INDEF:one-kind          |
| 149 | ŋuə-kua-ji,<br>COP-NAR-HS                               | dzukũ<br>knowledge                   | le-ku-tu,<br>exist-NAR-LNK       | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT              |
| 150 | dzukũ<br>knowledge                                      | de-l<br>DIR-exist                    | ka-han<br>INDEF:one-kind         | ŋuə-ku.<br>COP-NAR                |
|     |   |                                      |                                  | fiə-tse:-ŋuəŋi<br>INT-this:CL-TOP |
| 151 | “me <sup>1</sup> z-kə<br>seek-go                        | tche,<br>want                        | me <sup>1</sup> z-kə<br>seek-go  | tche,”<br>want                    |
|     |   |                                      |                                  | jə-ku.<br>say-NAR                 |
|     |   |                                      |                                  | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT              |
| 152 | “tə-me <sup>1</sup> z-ŋi<br>DIR-seek-ADV                | fiə-tse:-ŋuəŋi<br>INT-this:CL-TOP    | ə-zmu<br>DIR-dream               | ŋi:<br>3sgREFL                    |
| 153 | sə-tʃi<br>DIR-represent                                 | fiə-dzi-ŋi<br>DIR-say-ADV            | ə-m<br>DIR-hear                  | dzə-m<br>able-NOM                 |
|     |   |                                      |                                  | fiə-ka-han<br>INT-INDEF:one-kind  |
| 154 | ŋuə-ʂə,<br>COP-LNK                                      | fiə-tse:-ŋuəŋi<br>INT-this:CL-TOP    | fiə-kə<br>INT-thus               | he-the-le:<br>DIR-able-DEF:CL     |
|     |   |                                      |                                  | zɿ-wa,”<br>exist-EMPH             |
| 155 | jə-tu.<br>say-LNK                                       | fiə-tsoqpi-wu<br>INT-this:family-AGT | phə<br>message                   | he-kue-ŋi,<br>DIR-take-ADV        |
| 156 | phə<br>message  | he-kue-ŋi<br>DIR-take-ADV            | fiə-ka-han<br>INT-INDEF:one-kind | tə-bələ-ku-wa.<br>DIR-do-NAR-EMPH |
| 157 | fiə-tsa-χui-tu,<br>INT-this:one-time-LNK                | tsoqpi<br>this:family                | zɿmətʃi<br>emperor               | jən-le:<br>monk's.robe-DEF:CL     |
| 158 | do-γzu-m<br>DIR-lose-NOM                                | tsoqpi-ŋuəŋi,<br>this:family-TOP     | tse:-ŋuəŋi,<br>this:CL-TOP       | fiə-tse:-ŋuəŋi<br>INT-this:CL-TOP |
| 159 | tʃautaula<br>†(found)                                   | da-tə-ku-kui,<br>DIR-find-go-NAR     |                                  | fiə-tsə-tse:<br>INT-here-this:CL  |
| 160 | da-tə-kə.<br>DIR-find-go                                | da-tə-kə<br>DIR-find-go              | ka-han<br>INDEF:one-kind         | ŋuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                |
|     |   |                                      |                                  | χaiʂə<br>†(still.is)              |
| 161 | ə-pə <sup>1</sup> z-kui-wa,<br>DIR-provide.for-NAR-EMPH |                                      | ʂətɕian<br>†time                 | ə-tin-tha-kəi,<br>DIR-set-AUX-NAR |
| 162 | ə-tin-tha-jantɕi<br>DIR-set-AUX-after                   | fiəla<br>INT                         | ɕtɕə-s<br>seven-day              | ə-ʂ-kəi,<br>DIR-put-NAR           |

- 163 “*ɕtɕə-s-ka-ŋuən̩i*                    *tse:*                    *z̩mət̩ʃi*                    *jin-ne:*  
seven-day-LOC-TOP                    this:CL                    emperor                    monk's.robe-DEF:CL
- 164 *a-zə*                    *χqu*                    *fiatə*                    *u-z̩mu-ŋi*                    *i-t̩ʃi-s-le:*  
one-little                    difficult                    INT                    DIR-dream-ADV                    DIR-sign-NOM-DEF:CL
- 165 *ŋuə-ʃ,*                    *fiata,*                    *ke:*                    *t̩ci-me'z̩-əs-ji*                    *ma-ŋuə-ta,*  
COP-LNK                    INT                    INDEF:CL                    CON-look-NOM-EXC                    NEG-COP-if
- 166 *u-z̩mu-ŋi*                    *i-t̩ʃi-s*                    *z̩mət̩ʃi*                    *jin-le:*                    *ŋuə-ʃə*  
DIR-dream-ADV                    DIR-sign-NOM                    emperor                    monk's.robe-DEF:CL                    COP-LNK
- 167 *a-zə*                    *χqu-ʃə,”*                    *jə-ŋi,*                    *fi-a-kə*                    *dze-jə-kui.*  
one-little                    difficult-LNK                    say-ADV                    INT-thus                    say-REP-NAR
- 168                    *fi-a-kə*                    *ʃət̩cian*                    *ə-ʃə-kəi-tu,*                    *ɕtɕə-s*                    *ŋa*  
INT-thus                    time                    DIR-put-NAR-LNK                    seven-day                    COM
- 169 *ɕtɕə-jə*                    *ŋuə-ŋi,*                    *fiata,*                    *fi-a-tsə*                    *z̩mət̩ʃi-le:-ta-ŋuən̩i*  
seven-night                    COP-ADV                    INT                    INT-this                    emperor-DEF:CL-DAT-TOP
- 170 *sə-dzi-ku-wa,*                    *sə-dze-tu,*                    *a-s-ka*  
DIR-eat-NAR-EMPH                    DIR-eat-LNK                    one-day-LOC
- 171 *z̩mət̩ʃi-le:-ŋuən̩i,*                    “*a,*                    *qa-jin-le:-ŋuən̩i*  
emperor-DEF:CL-TOP                    EXCL                    1sg-monk's.robe-DEF:CL-TOP
- 172 *e:-wu*                    *nai-a-ʃpəq-ta*                    *do-quq*                    *ku-ʃ,”*  
one:CL-AGT                    other-one-place-LOC                    DIR-move                    willing-LNK
- 173 *fi-a-tu*                    *fi-a-kə*                    *jə-ku,*                    *fi-a-tu,*                    *a-s-ka-tu,*  
INT-RESULT                    INT-thus                    say-NAR                    INT-RESULT                    one-day-LOC-LNK
- 174 *fi-a-tu,*                    *stuaha*                    *χaiʃə*                    *ba*                    *kə*                    *t̩chə-kəpə-k,*  
INT-RESULT                    rice/food                    †(still.is)                    big                    thus                    eat-HABIT-INF
- 175 *fi-a-tu,*                    *a-s-ka-tu,*                    *mautsha*                    *sei-jə-kə*  
INT-RESULT                    one-day-LOC-LNK                    toilet                    relieve.oneself-REP-go
- 176 *ha-qə-kəi-tu.*                    *mautshə-le:*                    *da-t̩*  
DIR-go-NAR-LNK                    toilet-DEF:CL                    DIR-find
- 177 *ma-lə-kəi,*                    *mautshə-le:*                    *da-t̩*                    *ma-lə-kəi-tu,*  
NEG-able-NAR                    toilet-DEF:CL                    DIR-find                    NEG-able-NAR-LNK



- 178 fiala mautsha sei-kəi-wa, tu puŋi-le:-wu,  
INT toilet relieve.oneself-NAR-EMPH RESULT cat-DEF:CL-AGT
- 179 puŋu-lapa: lou-wu, fiata,  
cat-flower DEF:one:CL-AGT INT
- 180 ɛa-ŋuəŋi fiata mautshə-le:-qu-ta ɛa  
roof.tile-TOP INT-there toilet-DEF:CL-top-LOC roof.tile
- 181 sə-zdzy la:-ɛa fiata zɿ-kui-wa. fiata-tu  
DIR-put DEF:one:CL-LOC INT-there exist-NAR-EMPH INT-RESULT
- 182 tšekəzəŋla mi-tse-zə-ŋuəŋi, “hai! pefutsə, tšekə  
†(this.person) person-this-CL-TOP INT †white.beard(cat) †(this
- 183 pefutsə mə<sup>1</sup> ke guo zuo ɣau sə,” jə-i-stu.  
white.beard cat give 1sg do good thing) say-HS-PART
- 184 fiata-tu puŋu-le:-wu fiata zɿmətsɿ  
INT-RESULT cat-DEF:CL-AGT INT-there emperor
- 185 jin-le:-ta fiata-ɛdzɛ-jantɿi fiala  
monk's.robe-DEF:CL-LOC DIR-bite-after there
- 186 u-zu-ŋi zɿ-kui-ha, fiata u-zu-ŋi  
DIR-wait-ADV exist-NAR-PART there DIR-wait-ADV
- 187 zɿ-kui-tu, “a, zɿ ha-sa,<sup>115</sup> tse: puŋu-le:-wu  
exist-NAR-LNK INT thing DIR-make.sound this:CL cat-DEF:CL-AGT
- 188 qa-tɛ zɿ ha-sa, hi qa-tɛ ɣausə  
1sg-GEN thing DIR-make.sound EXCL 1sg-GEN †good.thing
- 189 tə-bəl-ən-sə,” jə-ŋi, fiata ŋuə-jantɿi,  
DIR-do-2sg-LNK say-ADV INT COP-after
- 190 fiala puŋu-le:-ta zə-zɿ-ŋiantɿi  
there cat-DEF:CL-DAT DIR-bring-after
- 191 fiala ɛa-ŋuəŋi ɛtɿi-phi tə-ʂe. fiata-the-wu,  
INT roof.tile-TOP seven-CL DIR-count INT-that-ABL
- 192 ɛa-ŋuəŋi tə-tʂatʂ ŋuəŋi ɛtɿə-χtʂ, nai e-phi  
roof.tile-TOP DIR-vertically TOP seven-row other one-CL



- 208 da-ɛ dzə-m, ə-m dzə-m, sei dzə-me<sup>1</sup>wu  
DIR-go able-NOM DIR-hear able-NOM walk able-NOM:all
- 209 lu tche, fi-tsa-ha-ŋuəŋi i-pə-l tche-wa,”  
come want INT-this:one-pl-TOP DIR-arrive-come want-EMPH
- 210 jə-kui. zmu tʂu-s-ŋuəŋi zmətʂi-le:-ta-ŋuəŋi  
say-NAR meeting hold-NOM-TOP emperor-DEF:CL-DAT-TOP
- 211 fi-kə jə-kui-wa. fiata, “a, thuntʂə-tu-pŭ-ŋi  
INT-thus say-NAR-EMPH INT EXCL notify-DIR-do-ADV
- 212 mi fiata da-ɛ dzə-m, de-sei dzə-m-le:<sup>1</sup>wu  
person INT DIR-go able-NOM DIR-walk able-NOM-all
- 213 lu-jə-kui.” fiata me<sup>1</sup>ʂ-ta-s-ɛa zmu fi-tsu.  
come-REP-NAR INT next-DEF:one-day-LOC meeting DIR-hold
- 214 tu fi-tsu ʂputhuʂ tou-ɛa,  
RESULT INT-here bamboo.tube DEF:one:CL-LOC
- 215 fi-tsou-ɛa ke<sup>1</sup>-əm lə ŋi:  
INT-this:one:CL-LOC ask-NOM also 3sgREFL
- 216 ha-sə-m lə ŋi:-ŋuəŋi fi-ke  
DIR-make.sound-NOM also 3sgREFL-TOP INT-thus
- 217 zɿ-kəi-wa, fiata tɛa-la ʂə, tɛa-lə  
exist-NAR-EMPH INT where-LOC exist where-LOC
- 218 maushə-le:-ŋuəŋi fiata ɛa-ŋuəŋi  
toilet-DEF:CL-TOP INT roof.tile-TOP
- 219 ŋa-χtʂ, fi-tha ŋe-phi ŋuə  
WH:one-row INT-there WH:one-CL COP
- 220 tə-ʂe-ŋiantɕi, fi-thu ʂə-wa, jə-kui.  
DIR-count-after INT-there exist-EMPH say-NAR
- 221 fi-tse:-ŋuəŋi ŋim ha-qə-stun,  
INT-this:CL-TOP notice(n.) DIR-go-PART
- 222 ŋim ha-qa, fi-tsa-χui, da-tɛ-kə-stun, tsa-χui  
notice(n.) DIR-go INT-this:one-time DIR-find-go-PART this:one-time

- 223    ηυə-tu,    fiɑ-tu            tse:-wu            ηim            tə-s,<sup>116</sup>  
 COP-LNK INT-RESULT this:CL-AGT    notice(n.)    DIR-make.sound
- 224    fiɑ-tu            zmətʂi            tse:-ηυəηi            mi            χaisə  
 INT-RESULT emperor    this:CL-TOP            INT            †(still.is)
- 225    kə-jə-ku,                    “qa    ηiyi            dzə-ηi            ηiyi            dzə,  
 thus-say-NAR                    1sg    what            eat-ADV            what            eat
- 226    qa            o-zũ-ηi            o-zũ,            qa            tu-jũ-ηi            tu-jũ.  
 1sg            DIR-sit-ADV            DIR-sit            1sg            DIR-stand-ADV            DIR-stand
- 227    fiɑ-tsəi-ηυəηi,            fiɑ-tha,            fiɑ-ke            ha-ηue<sup>1</sup>-wa.”  
 this.manner-TOP            INT-there            INT-thus            DIR- COP:1pl-EMPH
- 228    jə-kui-şə,            mi            χaisə            fiɑ-tsəi            fiɑ-tse:-ηυəηi  
 say-NAR-LNK            person            †(still)            INT-this.manner            INT-this:CL-TOP
- 229    kənşə            tə-pə<sup>1</sup>z-ηi                    fiɑ-ke            ηυə-z-kui-ha.  
 †even.more            DIR-provide.for-ADV            INT-thus            COP-CAUS-NAR-PART
- 
- 230                    fiɑ-tu            nai    ηυə-tu,    zmətʂi    nai-e:            ηυə-tu,  
                           INT-RESULT other COP-LNK emperor other-one:CL COP-LNK
- 231    gənkuo            wətshi-ηυəηi            gən            phulu            χaisə  
 parrot            bird-TOP                    very            expensive            †(still.is)
- 232    paufu-le:                    ηυə-s            ka-han                    ηυə-kua-ji,    fiɑ-ke  
 retaliation-DEF:CL COP-NOM INDEF:one-kind COP-NAR-HS INT-thus
- 233    do-γzu-kəi-wa,            genkuo    işə    wətshi    ka-han  
 DIR-lose-NAR-EMPH            parrot            †(is)            bird            INDEF:one-kind
- 234    zi-ku-şə,                    fiɑ-ka-han                    zi-kui-tu,  
 exist-NAR-LNK            INT-INDEF:one-kind            exist-NAR-LNK
- 235    do-γzu-kəi.    tu,            fiɑ-tsu            tse-xşepi    zmətʂi  
 DIR-lose-NAR            RESULT            INT-here            this-side            emperor
- 236    jin                    do-γzu-m-le:-wu                    fiɑ-tha            the-xşepi-ka  
 monk's.robe            DIR-lose-NOM-DEF:CL-AGT            INT-that            that-side-LOC

|     |   |                                      |   |   |
|-----|---|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| 237 | khuə-ŋuəŋi<br>dog-TOP                                 | tha<br>there                         | da-l-zə-kui,<br>DIR-look-CAUS-NAR             | “fiə-tha-han<br>INT-that:one-kind       |
| 238 | do-γz u-n-tu,<br>DIR-lose-2sg-LNK                     | qa-ta<br>1sg-DAT                     | fiə-ke:<br>INT-INDEF:CL                       | zi-wa,”<br>exist-EMPH                   |
| 239 | jə-kui.<br>say-NAR                                    | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                 | χaiʂə<br>†(still.is)                          | ɑ-tau<br>one-time                       |
|     |   |                                      |   | tə-me <sup>1</sup> z-ŋi<br>DIR-look-ADV |
| 240 | mi-le:<br>person-DEF:CL                               | tha<br>there                         | i-pə-l-ŋi,<br>DIR-arrive-come-ADV             | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                    |
| 241 | ʂətɕian<br>†time                                      | ə-tin-tha-ŋi<br>DIR-agree.on-AUX-ADV | fiə-tsəi<br>INT-this.manner                   |   |
| 242 | ə-pə <sup>1</sup> z-kə-kui,<br>DIR-provide.for-go-NAR | fiə-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                | ə-pə <sup>1</sup> z-ŋi<br>DIR-provide.for-ADV |   |
| 243 | ka-han<br>INDEF:one-kind                              | ŋuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                   | ɑ,<br>EXCL                                    | fiə-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                   |
|     |   |                                      |   | χaiʂə,<br>†(still.is)                   |
| 244 | “ɑ,<br>EXCL   | qa<br>1sg                            | tse:<br>this:CL                               | tsəpau-le:<br>inanimate.treasure-DEF:CL |
|     |   |                                      |   | ma-ŋyɔ-ʂə<br>NEG-COP-LNK                |
| 245 | χuopau-le:<br>live.treasure-DEF:CL                    | ŋuə.<br>COP                          | χuopau<br>live.treasure                       | ŋuə-ʂə<br>COP-LNK                       |
| 246 | fiə-ʂue-ŋi<br>DIR-be.hungry-ADV                       | ɑ-ʂpa-la<br>one-place-LOC            | die-ʂe-kə<br>DIR-die-INF                      | ɛu.”<br>may                             |
| 247 | fiə-thə-ŋuəŋi<br>DIR-that-TOP                         | ʂətɕian-ŋuəŋi<br>†time-TOP           | ɕtɕə-s-ŋuəŋi,<br>seven-day-TOP                | “ɑ<br>EXCL                              |
| 248 | tsə-s<br>this-COMP                                    | ɑz-ŋuəŋi<br>one:CL-TOP               | ɕi-la:<br>small-DEF:CL                        | ataz-ŋi<br>fast-ADV                     |
| 249 | u-z mu<br>DIR-dream                                   | ŋɑ<br>COM                            | u-tɕu-s-le:<br>DIR-see-NOM-DEF:CL             |   |
| 250 | ə-mə-s<br>DIR-hear-NOM                                |                                      | xu-tu,<br>exist-LNK                           |   |
| 251 | qa-tɕ-ŋuəŋi<br>1sg-GEN-TOP                            | ɕi-la:<br>small-DEF:CL               | atazə-s-la:<br>fast-NOM-DEF:CL                | ɕɑ:-ŋua,<br>INDTV-COP:1sg               |

- 252 fɿa-tu, a, tʂentʂen qa tse: genkuo-le:  
INT-RESULT EXCL †really 1sg this:CL parrot-DEF:CL
- 253 da-tɕə-s ka-han ŋuə-tu, fɿa-tha genkuo-le:  
DIR-find-NOM INDEF:one-kind COP-LNK INT-there parrot-DEF:CL
- 254 da-tɕi-n-tu, qa-ŋike phin-tɕhi-phin-tsuo, ɕaiʂə  
DIR-find-2sg-LNK 1sg-COM:thus †(equal-stand-equal-sit) †(still.is)
- 255 qa ŋiyi dzə-ŋi dzə, fɿata qa tu-jũ-ŋi  
1sg what eat-ADV eat INT 1sg DIR-stand-ADV
- 256 tu-jũ, qa o-zu-ŋi o-zu, fɿata qa ŋiyi dzə-ŋi  
DIR-stand 1sg DIR-sit-ADV DIR-sit INT 1sg what eat-ADV
- 257 ŋiyi dzə ɕaiʂə fɿa-tsəi ha-ŋue<sup>1</sup>-wa,”  
what eat †(still.is) INT-this.manner DIR-COP:1pl-EMPH
- 258 jə-ŋi ŋuə-kui-tu. mi ɕaiʂə fɿa-tu ʂətɕian-ŋuəŋi  
say-ADV COP-NAR-LNK person †(still.is) INT-RESULT †time-TOP
- 259 ɕaiʂə fɿa-tu tə-me<sup>1</sup>z-la-s-ka-tu,  
†(still.is) INT-RESULT DIR-look-DEF:one-day-LOC-LNK
- 260 sei-kə ha-qə-kəi-wa. sei-kə  
relieve.oneself-go DIR-go-NAR-EMPH relieve.oneself-go
- 261 ha-qə-kei-tu, fɿa-tu a-s-ka-tu, tha-han  
DIR-go-NAR-LNK INT-RESULT one-day-LOC-LNK that:one-kind
- 262 sei-kə ha-qə-kei-tu. fɿala,  
relieve.oneself-go DIR-go-NAR-LNK INT
- 263 kə<sup>1</sup>-ta-ŋuəŋi kaijuan-ka ʂpə  
Han.person-DAT-TOP †street.edge-LOC bamboo
- 264 me-we-m me-z<sub>i</sub>,  
NEG-exist-NOM NEG-exist
- 265 fɿata, kaijuan-ka ʂpə we-wu-ʂə,<sup>117</sup>  
INT †street.edge-LOC bamboo exist-VIS-LNK
- 266 a-ɕtʂ a-ɕtʂ ta-han we-wu-tu, ʂpə  
one-row one-row DEF:one-kind exist-VIS-LNK bamboo

|     |  |   |                                  |                                       |                                    |
|-----|--|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 267 | i-phi-ŋi<br>DIR-grow-ADV               | a-χtɕ<br>one-row                        | a-χtɕ<br>one-row                 | ta-han<br>DEF:one-kind                |                                    |
| 268 | we-ku-tu,<br>exist-NAR-LNK             |   | fi-a-tha<br>INT-there            | genkuo-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>parrot-DEF:CL-TOP |                                    |
| 269 | yzəifa<br>wing                         | qə-ta-ŋuəŋi<br>top-LOC-TOP              | xʂul<br>rope                     | lou<br>DEF:one:CL                     | tə-χsə-ŋi<br>DIR-tie-ADV           |
| 270 | wet<br>stick                           | lou<br>DEF:one:CL                       | fi-a-ke<br>INT-thus              | tə-tʂhe-le:<br>DIR-support-DEF:CL     |                                    |
| 271 | we-kui-wa,<br>exist-NAR-EMPH           | tu<br>RESULT                            | fi-a-la<br>INT                   | xʂul-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>rope-DEF:CL-TOP     | ʂpə<br>bamboo                      |
| 272 | χqa-la<br>among-LOC                    | ha-jə-kui.<br>DIR-stick/be.caught-NAR   |                                  | ha-jə-kui-tu,<br>DIR-stick-NAR-LNK    |                                    |
| 273 | fi-a-la,<br>INT                        | mautshə<br>toilet                       | da-tɕ<br>DIR-find                | ma-lə-kəi-tu.<br>NEG-able-NAR-LNK     |                                    |
| 274 | fi-a-la<br>there                       | sei-kəi-wa,<br>relieve.oneself-NAR-EMPH | tu<br>RESULT                     | fi-a-la,<br>INT                       |                                    |
| 275 | sei-kəi-tu,<br>relieve.oneself-NAR-LNK | genkuo-le:<br>parrot-DEF:CL             | zaxua-la<br>inside-LOC           | ctce'pctce'p-le:<br>(birdcall)-DEF:CL |                                    |
| 276 | tha<br>there                           | sa-kui-ha,<br>make.sound-NAR-PART       | “tsa-χui<br>this:one-time        | tse:<br>this:CL                       | genkuo-le:<br>parrot-DEF:CL        |
| 277 | qa-tɕ<br>1sg-GEN                       | zɑ<br>matter/affair                     | ha-sə-ʂə,”<br>DIR-make.sound-LNK | jə-ŋi<br>say-ADV                      | fi-a-la fi-a-ke<br>INT INT-thus    |
| 278 | zə-kəi.<br>exist-NAR                   | fi-a-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                  | fi-a-la,<br>INT                  | the:<br>3sg                           | tə-tsəqa-jantɕi,<br>DIR-grab-after |
| 279 | genkuo-le:<br>parrot-DEF:CL            | tə-tsəqa-jantɕi,<br>DIR-grab-after      | fi-a-la,<br>INT                  | ʂpə-ŋuəŋi<br>bamboo-TOP               |                                    |
| 280 | a-χtɕ<br>one-row                       | a-χtɕ<br>one.row                        | tə-ʂə-jantɕi,<br>DIR-count-after | fi-a-the-wu,<br>INT-that-ABL          |                                    |
| 281 | fi-a-tsəi<br>INT-this.manner           | ŋuə-jantɕi,<br>COP-after                | fi-a-thu<br>INT-there            | i-ɕi<br>DIR-put                       |                                    |

- 282 *fi*-*t*sa-*χ*ui-*t*u,                    *a*,        *fi*-*t*u,                    *z*mətʃi-*le*:-*ŋ*uəŋi  
INT-this:one-time-LNK    EXCL    INT-RESULT    emperor-DEF:CL-TOP
- 283 *t*u,                    “*a*,        *q*a-*χ*uopau-*le*:-*ŋ*uəŋi                    *ʃ*kupa-*mo*-*ku*,  
RESULT    EXCL    1sg-live.treasure-DEF:CL-TOP                    disaster-NEG-willing
- 284 *χ*uopau-*le*:                    *ŋ*uə-*ʃ*ə        *a*-*ʃ*pa-*la*                    *die*-*ʃ*e-*k*ə    *ku*,  
live.treasure-DEF:CL    COP-LNK    one-place-LOC                    DIR-die-go    may
- 285 *fi*e-*ʃ*ue-*ŋ*i,”                    *j*ə-*ŋ*i,                    “*a*                    *a*ta*z*ə-*s*-*la*:  
DIR-be.hungry-ADV                    say-ADV                    INT                    fast-NOM-DEF:CL
- 286 *d*zə-*ŋ*i                    *k*a-*han*                    *ŋ*uə-*ʃ*a,                    *q*a,    *ŋ*ü    *χ*ai*ʃ*ə                    *q*a    *ŋ*i*yi*  
eat-ADV                    INDEF:one-kind                    COP-HORT    1sg 2sg    †(still.is)    1sg    what
- 287 *d*zə-*ŋ*i                    *ŋ*i*yi*                    *d*zə-*t*ə,                    *fi*a-*t*səi-*ŋ*uəŋi                    *ŋ*i*yi*  
eat-ADV                    what                    eat-NOM                    INT-this.manner-TOP                    what
- 288 *ʃ*ət*ɕ*ian                    *fi*a-*t*sə-*ŋ*uəŋi                    *t*u-*w*u-*ŋ*i  
†time                    INT-this-TOP                    DIR-discuss-ADV
- 289 *fi*a-*k*ə                    ə-*ʃ*ə-*k*əi-*ha*.”  
INT-thus                    DIR-put-NAR-PART
- 290 *fi*a-*t*u                    *t*ʃekəzən*la*                    *χ*ai*ʃ*ə                    *ʃ*pu*tu*ʃ                    *lou*  
INT-RESULT    †(this.person)                    †(still.is)                    bamboo.tube                    DEF:one:CL
- 291 *he*-*t*ɕ*y*-*ŋ*i,                    *fi*a-*t*u-*ŋ*uəŋi,                    *fi*a-*k*a:-*ka*  
DIR-carry-LNK                    INT-RESULT-TOP                    INT-INDEF:one:CL-LOC
- 292 *stu*aha                    *t*əhə-*s*                    *fi*a-*k*a-*han*  
food                    eat-NOM                    INT-INDEF:one-kind
- 293 *le*z                    *t*ə-*k*ə-*s*-*le*:                    *we*-*ku*ai.  
fate/destiny                    DIR-go-NOM-DEF:CL                    exist-NAR
- 294 *fi*a-*t*u,                    *fi*a-*t*sə                    *χ*uan-*t*chianme<sup>t</sup>                    *fi*a-*t*se:-*ŋ*uəŋi,  
INT-RESULT    INT-this                    Huang Qianmen                    INT-this:CL-TOP
- 295 *χ*ai*ʃ*ə                    *gen*kuo-*le*:,                    *gen*kuo-*le*:                    *d*a-*t*ə-*k*ə-*ku*ai-*stun*,  
†(still.is)                    parrot-DEF:CL                    parrot-DEF:CL                    DIR-find-go-NAR-PART
- 296 *fi*a-*t*su-*ŋ*uəŋi                    *ŋ*i                    *ke*                    *guo*                    *san*-*jan*,                    *fi*a-*tu*  
INT-here-TOP                    †(2sg                    give                    1sg                    three-kind)                    INT-there



- 297 xsə-han thuntʂə tu-p-zə-ku-ʂə, fiə-tu  
three-kinds notify DIR-do-CAUS-NAR-LNK INT-RESULT
- 298 zməʂi-le: ɲiɣi dzə-ɲi ɲiɣi dzə,  
emperor-DEF:CL what eat-ADV what eat
- 299 fiə-tu fiə-ka-han ɲuə.  
INT-RESULT INT-INDEF:one-kind COP
- 300 ɣuan-tʂianme¹-le: tha-han fiə-ke ɲuə-kuə-wa.  
Huang-Qianmen-DEF:CL that:one-kind INT-thus COP-NAR-EMPH
- 301 -- fiə-tu zməʂi-ɲuəɲi, “fiə-tse: genkuo-le:  
INT-RESULT emperor-TOP INT-this:CL parrot-DEF:CL
- 302 da-tʂə-m-ɲuəɲi fiə-tha-ɲuəɲi qa-tsi-le:-ɲuəɲi,  
DIR-find-NOM-TOP INT-there-TOP 1sg-daughter-DEF:CL-TOP
- 303 qa-luq-te:-ɲuəɲi ʔü o-zu-n,”  
1sg-seat-DEF:CL-TOP 2sg DIR-sit-2sg
- 304 fiə-kə jə-ji ɲuə-wa. (fiə-tsu ɣuan-tʂianme¹,  
INT-thus say-CSM COP-EMPH INT-here Huang-Qianmen
- 305 fiə-tsu qa-wu dze-tʂə kəpu-le:-ɲuəɲi, qa  
DIR-here 1sg-AGT say-NOM root-DEF:CL-TOP 1sg
- 306 tʂiq dze-s-ta-ɲuəɲi zmə-la-sa da-m-a,  
inside say-NOM-LOC-TOP name-DEF:one-CL DIR-forget-1sg
- 307 fiəla ɣuan-tʂianme¹ zmə-w-wa. ɣuan-tʂianme¹  
INT Huang-Qianmen call-VIS-EMPH Huang-Qianmen
- 308 zmə-w ka-han ɲuə-w-tu.) zməʂi-le:-ɲuəɲi  
call-VIS INDEF:one-kind COP-VIS-LNK emperor-DEF:CL-TOP
- 309 tʂi-steke-la ɲuə-tu, fiəta genkuo-le: da-tʂə-ɲi  
most-back-LOC COP-LNK INT parrot-DEF:CL DIR-find-ADV
- 310 fiə-ka-han ɲuə-w-tu, fiə-tu zməʂi-le:-tʂə  
INT-INDEF:one-kind COP-VIS-LNK INT-RESULT emperor-DEF:CL-GEN

- 311 tsi-le:-ηuəŋi            χuan-tchianme<sup>1</sup>-ta            ʏzə-s,  
daughter-DEF:CL-TOP    Huang-Qianmen-DAT    marry-NOM
- 312 χuan-tchianme<sup>1</sup>-ηuəŋi            zmətʃi            dzu-s,            zmətʃi-le:  
Huang-Qianmen-TOP            emperor            sit-NOM            emperor-DEF:CL
- 313 tsi-le:-ηuəŋi            χaiʃə  
daughter-DEF:CL-TOP            †(still.is)
- 314 fi-a-tha            de-l-əs,            fi-a-kə            ηuə-ku-tu.  
INT-there            DIR-give-NOM            INT-thus            COP-NAR-LNK

Narrator: Yu Zelong 余澤龍  
Born 1960  
Recorded 1996

### The Story of a Lazy Man

A long time ago there were two sisters. The husband of the older sister was the emperor (previously called /juənkuəi/, now called /zmətʃi/). The younger sister had a son who was very lazy. Every day the mother would weigh out half a catty of wool and spin yarn. The son liked to drink liquor and often went to a restaurant in town to drink. When he returned, he often brought back half a catty of liquor for his mother.

One day the older sister went to her younger sister's home and chatted with her. The younger sister told the older one, "My son is very lazy." One day the younger sister's son pretended to go to town but hid behind the door. The older and younger sister chatted inside and the son of the younger sister listened from behind the door. The two sisters spoke of the younger sister's son. This son had not gone to town, but was behind the door secretly listening. They said things like "My son is very lazy."

The younger sister's son then said to his mother, "I'm back. Today I learned an ability." The younger sister asked, "Son, what ability did you learn?" The son said, "What were you saying today at home? When I was in the restaurant in the center of town, I heard what you said (what you said, I learned to be able to hear it all)." The two sisters said, "What did we say?" The son of the younger sister said, "When I was in the restaurant in town, I heard you say this and that." The younger sister said, "That's really how it was, son."

The older sister's husband was emperor. The younger sister then said, "If my son has learned this kind of ability, it really is a good thing." One day, the older sister's husband was preparing for his birthday. He bought three yak and tethered them inside a cowpen. The son of the younger sister, the one who said "I have learned an ability", at night stole the yaks and crossed the mountain and tethered them in a mountain cave. The emperor could not proceed with his birthday (celebration). The older sister said to her husband (the emperor), "My younger sister's son has an ability. He can see in his dreams where something is. When he listens, he can hear." This emperor had soldiers, and sent his soldiers to look for the lost yaks. After this person had stolen the yaks, he tied them in a cave on the mountain. He himself knew, and he was relaxed and carefree. Almost at the river embankment, the person searching said, a little faster. See if it's possible to find [the yaks] a day or two ahead of time. [The one with an ability] brought a bamboo tube, and he himself asked on the bamboo tube and he himself answered (he asked himself and answered himself). One day, the older sister's husband (formerly called /*juan<sub>h</sub>kuai*/ [emperor], now called /*z<sub>h</sub>mətʃi*/ [emperor]) said, "If one is able to go faster, then go a little faster. Those who can go tomorrow and can go fast must all go search." In this manner he selected a propitious day, and after the propitious day was selected, notified people everywhere. "Those who can go, and who can hear all come here. We will hold a meeting, and all must come here." On a cart this person [with an ability] used the bamboo tube to ask [the whereabouts of the yaks] on the day the meeting was held. On the cart he used the bamboo tube to ask where the emperor's livestock had been lost. There he said, "After a thief took the livestock, he drove them up on the mountain and tethered them in a mountain cave. Quickly now go over that mountain." Through the bamboo tube he himself answered and he himself asked. After asking, he said, "You see, that thief stole them. Quickly cross over that mountain. They are there!" This child of the older sister's family, this family's soldiers and the other people went to look, and when they went to look, the livestock really was there. At this time, as for this person, well! The younger sister's son's reputation went up greatly. Whatever the older sister's husband ate, he ate; whatever the emperor drank, he drank. It was discussed and agreed in advance to provide for him this way. Thus, this person's problems were solved.

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Later, that time, the emperor of another place lost a "dzin" (also called a "jin." A monk's robe or "Huang Ma Gua"). After the emperor had lost the dzin, he was chatting with another person and learned about

(it). The emperor said, "(I) must have this person go search. This person can dream or hear other's words. This person has much ability." A person of this family took a message to him, and after taking him the message, he will find the emperor's dzin. After this person finds the dzin, the emperor will provide for him. He set a time, he set a time of seven days. "Within seven days he must find the emperor's dzin in his dreams. The difficulty is great."

For seven days and seven nights this person ate and drank at the emperor's. After eating, one day, the emperor said to him, "Ai! My dzin has been moved somewhere by someone." One day, the son ate too much and went to the toilet to relieve himself. There was a cat which had moved some roof tiles on top of the toilet and hidden the emperor's dzin among the tiles. When he went to look, he discovered the emperor's dzin. He said, "This brindled cat has done me a good deed," and took the dzin from the cat. He counted seven tiles, and stood up seven rows vertically; he hid the emperor's dzin there. At this time, the emperor said, "it will be a little difficult for you to find the dzin. I am willing to move to another place. How about that?" That person then said, "You come tomorrow" (we say "soqhun̄i" [tomorrow], and it can also be said "təp̄n̄i" [tomorrow]). "Tonight I'll try to divine [its whereabouts], all right? Tomorrow I'll notify you and notify those who can walk and who can hear to come. These people must all come." To organize a meeting, this is how he spoke to the emperor. The next day, a meeting was held. He used the bamboo tube and asked himself and answered himself, where is the dzin. This person had them go look, counting out which roof tile in which row of tiles on which toilet. The emperor's dzin was in fact there. After finding it, they notified the emperor, and the emperor said to him, "Whatever I eat, you eat; when I sit, you sit; when I stand, you stand." In the end, he was even better provided for.

--

There was another emperor who lost (had stolen) a very expensive kind of parrot, perhaps for revenge. After losing it, this emperor who had lost the dzin told this person who had lost the parrot, "A dog barks in that direction. You have lost this kind of bird, and I have there (in my place) one of this kind of bird." A person came here to search. When he went to search, those people set a time to feed this parrot. "This parrot of mine isn't a dead treasure, it's a living treasure. It might starve to death someplace. If you can dream of it a little faster, see or hear it, do it a little faster for me. If you can find the parrot, you may rise and sit with me (as my equal) and like me eat what I eat, stand when I stand, sit when I sit." The day he went to look for the parrot, he went to a place

where Han people live and went to relieve himself. Where the Han people live, each family grew bamboo. By the roadside there was row after row of bamboo trees. There was a rope tied around a small stick attached to the parrot's wing. The rope was wedged in the bamboo forest. This person couldn't find a toilet, so he went to relieve himself beside the bamboo forest. While relieving himself, he heard the parrot calling in the bamboo forest. He said, "This parrot has done a good thing for me," and he caught the parrot. After catching it, he counted the rows of bamboo and put the parrot there. The emperor said, "My living treasure might starve to death (it would be a disaster). It's a living treasure which may die someplace. If it could eat a little something as soon as possible, then like me, what I eat, you will eat." After this, they set a time (came to an agreement on it), and this person brought up the bamboo tube. He used the tube to eat (earn his living). Perhaps he had this kind of luck. This person was called Huang Qianmen. Huang Qianmen brought the parrot back and said to the emperor, "You must give me three things. These three things you must proclaim to the people." In the end, Huang Qianmen lived just like the emperor.

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This emperor said, "The person who finds the parrot will marry my daughter and sit on my throne. (The Huang Qianmen I spoke of is the person I called "this person" before. When I was talking before, I forgot his name. This person's name is Huang Qianmen.) The emperor said, "To the person who finds the parrot I will marry my daughter," so Huang Qianmen married his daughter and became emperor.

**Text 6**  
**The Old Man of the Chen Family**  
tshəntɕa      qapə  
Chen.family    old.man

|    |                                       |                                    |  |  |                             |
|----|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------|
| 1  | qe'<br>long.ago                       | ɲuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                 | tshəntɕa<br>Chen.family                      | qapə<br>old.man                        | ɲa<br>COM                   |
| 2  | e:<br>one:CL                          | ɲuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                 | ɑ-sə-ɕa-ɲi<br>one-day-LOC-ADV                | khuə<br>dog                            | ɕe-k,<br>release-go         |
| 3  | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                  | khuə<br>dog                        | ɕe-kəi-tu, <sup>118</sup><br>release-NAR-LNK |  |                             |
| 4  | khuə<br>dog                           | ɕe-kəi-tu,<br>release-NAR-LNK      | ɑ-sə-maqa<br>one-day-each                    | khuə<br>dog                            | tə-ɕi-ɲi<br>DIR-release-ADV |
| 5  | phantshə-ɕa<br>traveling.expenses-LOC | khuə<br>dog                        | tə-ɕi-ɲi<br>DIR-release-ADV                  | stuaha<br>food                         | təhə-m,<br>eat-NOM          |
| 6  | fiɑ-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                 | ɑ-s-ɕa-tu<br>one-day-LOC-LNK       | hɑ-qə-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-go-NAR-LNK              | iɣi<br>anything                        |                             |
| 7  | de-me-zde-kəi,<br>DIR-NEG-hit-NAR     | fiɑ-tu,<br>INT-RESULT              | de-me-zde-kui-tu,<br>DIR-NEG-hit-NAR-LNK     |  |                             |
| 8  | zɔ:pu-le:<br>cave-DEF:CL              | ʂqəl-la-ɲuəɲi<br>below-LOC-TOP     | bəs-le:<br>snake-DEF:CL                      |  |                             |
| 9  | u-tɕu-kəi-wa.<br>DIR-see-NAR-EMPH     | “hɑ,<br>EXCL                       | pəs-ɲuəɲi<br>today-TOP                       | iɣi<br>anything                        | lə<br>also                  |
| 10 | de-me-zde.<br>DIR-NEG-hit             | fiɑ-ke<br>INT-thus                 | kə-ɕza-ɲi,<br>go-ought:1sg-ADV               | fiɑ-kə<br>INT-thus                     |                             |
| 11 | xʂuɕtɕu-le:<br>empty.handed-DEF:CL    | kə-qəstɑ,<br>go-not.as.good.as     | u-tɕu-ja-ɲi<br>DIR-see-CSM:1sg-ADV           |  |                             |
| 12 | ɑ-phau<br>one-shot                    | qhu-ʂɑ.”<br>shoot-HORT             | jə-kəi.<br>say-NAR                           |  |                             |
| 13 | ɑ-phau<br>one-shot                    | u-qhu-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-shoot-NAR-LNK | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                         | jautsan-le:<br>man.eating.demon-DEF:CL |                             |



- 28 qapə-tc      spəl      ɲa      ɕtɕi:mi      sə-dza-tu,  
old.man-GEN      kidney      COM      heart      DIR-eat:1sg-LNK
- 29 dzə-wa,”      jə-kui.      fiɑ-tu,      zmətʂi-le:-ɲuən̩i  
able-EMPH      say-NAR      INT-RESULT      emperor-DEF:CL-TOP
- 30 gueʰ      he-ci-ɲi      tshəntɕa      qapə  
army      DIR-send-ADV      Chen.family      old.man
- 31 meʰz      he-ci-kui-stū.  
seek      DIR-send-NAR-PART
- 32      he-ci-kui      ja-tu,      fiɑ-tu,      tse:-ɲuən̩i  
DIR-send      INT-LNK      INT-RESULT      this:CL-TOP
- 33 tshəntɕa      qapə      tɕəu-tha-tɕ,      tshəntɕa  
Chen.family      old.man      save-AUX-GEN(goal)      Chen.family
- 34 qapə-tc      tʂi-ɲuən̩i      tshəntɕhən,  
old.man      male/son-TOP      Chen.Diqing
- 35 fiɑ-tu      tshəntɕa      qapə-ɲuən̩i      suəsua  
INT-RESULT      Chen.family      old.man-TOP      divine(the.future)
- 36 γzə-jy,      fiɑla      tə-sua-ɲi      dzukũ      de-le,  
able-ASP      INT      DIR-divine-ADV      knowledge      DIR-exist
- 37 fiɑ-kə      suəsua      γzə-ɲi      “qa      fiɑ-kə      meʰz,      fiɑtə-ɲuən̩i,  
INT-thus      divine      able-ADV      1sg      INT-thus      seek      INT-TOP
- 38 a,      qa-tʂi,      ʔũ-ɲuən̩i      da-γzə-n,      qa-ɲuən̩i  
EXCL      1sg-son      2sg-TOP      DIR-set.out-2sg      1sg-TOP
- 39 fantʂənʂə      zmətʂi      tsoqpi      jəpa-q-ta-ɲuən̩i  
†(anyway.is)      emperor      this:family      hand-top-LOC-TOP
- 40 do-χlu      ma-lə-jya,      fiɑ-tha-s-ɕa  
DIR-escape      NEG-able-ASP:1sg      INT-that:one-day-LOC
- 41 bəs-le:      jopu-le:      ʂqə-la  
snake-DEF:CL      cliff-DEF:CL      below-LOC
- 42 u-tɕya-paqta      fiɑta      tse:-ɲuən̩i,      fiɑ-tsoqpi-wu  
DIR-see:1sg-LNK(after)      INT      this:CL-TOP      INT-this:family-AGT



|    |   |   |   |                              |  |                                 |                  |
|----|---|---|---|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------|
| 43 | qa<br>1sg   | me <sup>1</sup> z-lə<br>seek-come       | təhe,<br>want                           | qa<br>1sg                    | ʃpəl<br>kidney                                       | ŋa<br>COM                       | ətci:mi<br>heart |
| 44 | sə-mə-dzə-s-te:-wu,<br>DIR-NEG-eat-NOM-DEF:CL-if        |   | fata<br>INT                             | tha-han<br>that:one-kind     |  | ŋuə-ʃ,<br>COP-LNK               |                  |
| 45 | fia-tsa-χui-ŋuəŋi,<br>INT-this:one-time-TOP             |   | tshəntitchin<br>Chen.Diqing             | ʔü<br>2sg                    |  | du-φu<br>DIR-run.away           |                  |
| 46 | dzə-tce <sup>1</sup> wu<br>able-AMP <sup>119</sup> :all |   | du-φu-n-pa,<br>DIR-run.away-2sg-DTV     |                              | qa-ŋuəŋi<br>1sg-TOP                                  | tsoqpi<br>this:family           |                  |
| 47 | jəpa-q<br>hand-top                                      |   | fia-mə-εə-ʃə<br>DIR-NEG-go-LNK          |                              | ma-l-jya.”<br>NEG-able-ASP:1sg                       |                                 |                  |
| 48 | ikə<br>thus   | jə-ŋi<br>say-ADV                        | fiala<br>INT                            | du-φu,<br>DIR-run.away       |  | tʃi-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>son-DEF:CL-TOP |                  |
| 49 | du-φu-ŋi<br>run.away-ADV                                |   | nai-e-tshin-εa<br>other-one-village-LOC |                              | i-pə-kəi-wa,<br>DIR-arrive-NAR-EMPH                  |                                 |                  |
| 50 | nai-e-tshin-εa<br>other-one-village-LOC                 |   | i-pə-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-arrive-NAR-LNK      |                              |  |                                 |                  |
| 51 | fiala<br>INT  | da-qa<br>DIR-go                         | da-qa<br>DIR-go                         | da-qa-tu,<br>DIR-go-LNK      | fialə<br>there                                       |                                 |                  |
| 52 | ŋuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                                      |   | da-qa-tu<br>DIR-go-LNK                  | fiala<br>INT                 | die-ʃe-m-le:<br>DIR-die-NOM-DEF:CL                   |                                 |                  |
| 53 | zɿ-kui,<br>exist-NAR                                    | wutcupu-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>husband-DEF:CL-TOP |   | die-ʃe-kui,<br>DIR-die-NAR   | wutcupu-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>husband-DEF:CL-TOP              |                                 |                  |
| 54 | die-ʃe-kui-tu,<br>DIR-die-NAR-LNK                       |   | fia-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                   | lokun<br>sworn.brother       | lokun<br>sworn.brother                               |                                 |                  |
| 55 | phəŋjəu<br>friend                                       | fie-se<br>DIR-make(friends)             |   | ŋuə. tca-la<br>COP where-LOC | tsha-la-εa-ŋuəŋi<br>village-LOC-LOC-TOP              |                                 |                  |
| 56 | “fia-tsəi<br>INT-this.manner                            |   | lokun<br>sworn.brother                  |                              | fie-se <sup>1</sup> -ʃ,<br>DIR-make(friends):1pl-LNK |                                 |                  |

- 57    *fiə-tseɪ*                    *fiə-seʰ.*”                    *fiə-tseɪ-ŋuən̩i*  
 INT-this.manner    DIR-make(friends):1pl    INT-this.manner-TOP
- 58    *fiə-se-kui-wa.*                    “*ha,*                    *tse:*  
 DIR-make(friends)-NAR-EMPH    EXCL                    this:CL
- 59    *fantsəŋsə*                    *tha-han*                    *shenzə*                    *bələ-s*                    *ŋuə,”*                    *ikə*  
 †(anyway.is)                    that:one-kind                    birthday                    make-NOM                    COP                    thus
- 60    *jə-ŋi,*                    *fiə-ke:*                    *tə-bəl-kui.*                    *fiə-tu*                    *χu*  
 say-ADV                    INT-INDEF:CL                    DIR-make-NAR                    INT-RESULT                    goods
- 61    *ŋa*                    *tha-han*                    *kuan-tha-m*                    *əzzi*                    *zɿ-kui.*                    *fiə-tu*  
 COM                    that:one-kind                    manage-AUX-NOM                    a.few                    exist-NAR                    INT-RESULT
- 62    *tha-han*                    *afəʰali*                    *ma-tʃhə-tɕ*                    *laχuilai*                    *χu.*  
 that:one-kind                    †(least.amount)                    NEG-lack-GEN                    †(take.back)                    goods
- 63    *fiə-tu-ŋuən̩i,*                    “*kuŋatsə*                    *ŋa*                    *stumpətʃe*<sup>120</sup>-*ŋuən̩i,*                    *tsa*  
 INT-RESULT-TOP                    close.relatives                    COM                    relatives-TOP                    here
- 64    *a-la*                    *tche,*                    *ʔü-ŋuən̩i*                    *a-ʃpa*                    *kə*                    *lə*  
 DIR-come                    want                    2sg-TOP                    one-place                    go                    also
- 65    *fiə-me-se,”*                    *jə-kui.*                    *fiə-kə*                    *jə-kui-tu,*  
 DIR-NEG-allow                    say-NAR                    INT-thus                    say-NAR-LNK
- 66    *fiələ*                    *ə-la-kəi-wa.*                    *ə-la-kəi-tu,*  
 there                    DIR-come-NAR-EMPH                    DIR-come-NAR-LNK
- 67    *χaiʃə*                    *fiəla-ŋuən̩i*                    *ə-la-kəi-tu,*                    *tʃi-ŋuən̩i*                    *tshənpe-khunpe.*  
 †(still.is)                    there-TOP                    DIR-come-LNK                    son-TOP                    smart-capable
- 68                    *fiəla-ŋuən̩i*                    *χaiʃə*                    *taulə*                    *tɕi*                    *kuo*                    *jue*                    *ʃəχəu*  
                   there-TOP                    †(still.is)                    arrive                    few                    CL                    month                    time/when)
- 69    *i-jə-ɕ*                    *pe-tu,*                    *χaiʃə*                    *fiə-tsa*                    *z mətʃi*  
 one-two-month                    become-LNK                    †(still.is)                    INT-this                    emperor
- 70    *louqpi-wu*                    *meʰzə-kui-wa.*                    *z mətʃi*                    *tsoqpi-wu*  
 DEF:one:family-AGT                    seek-NAR-EMPH                    emperor                    this:family-AGT

|    |   |                                       |   |  |   |
|----|---|---------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| 71 | me <sup>1</sup> zə-kui-tu,<br>seek-NAR-LNK  | “a!<br>EXCL                           | qa-ηuəŋi<br>1sg-TOP                               | ma-k<br>NEG-go                                     |   |
| 72 | fiə-me-se,<br>DIR-NEG-allow                 | ka:,”<br>go:PRS                       | fiəla<br>INT                                      |  |   |
| 73 | sətsim-le:-ta-ηuəŋi,<br>wife-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP | “a!<br>EXCL                           | qa<br>1sg   | tha-han<br>that:one-kind                           |   |
| 74 | ηuə-ξ,<br>COP-LNK                           | qa-ηuəŋi<br>1sg-TOP                   | ma-k<br>NEG-go                                    | fiə-me-se-ξ,<br>DIR-NEG-allow-LNK                  | fiə-tu-ηuəŋi<br>INT-RESULT-TOP                        |
| 75 | tʃi<br>son                                  | pe-tu<br>become-LNK                   | ηuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                                | çtçə-p<br>seven-years                              | le-ŋi<br>exist-ADV                                    |
| 76 | ləyz<br>book                                | ɑ:-su-k-wa.<br>DIR:INDTV-study-go-DTV | tʃi<br>daughter                                   | pe-tu,<br>become-LNK                               |   |
| 77 | χaiʃə<br>‡(still.is)                        | iʃi<br>anything                       | qa<br>1sg   | me <sup>1</sup> zə-lə<br>seek-come                 | me-tçi,<br>NEG-want                                   |
| 78 | nai<br>other                                | tʃi<br>son                            | pe-tu<br>become-LNK                               | ʃəʔə <sup>1</sup> sui<br>‡(twelve.years.old)       |   |
| 79 | hani-p<br>twelve-year                       | le-ŋi<br>exist-LNK                    | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                              | qa<br>1sg  | ta:-me <sup>1</sup> zə-lə-wa,”<br>INDTV-seek-come-DTV |
| 80 | jə-jy.<br>say-ASP                           | ηuəŋi<br>TOP                          | sətsim-le:-ta-ηuəŋi<br>wife-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP        | ə-χte-jy,<br>DIR-exhort-ASP                        |   |
| 81 | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                        | “z mə-ηuəŋi<br>name-TOP               | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu                            | ə-ʃpə-n-pa,”<br>DIR-call-2sg-DTV                   | jə-jy,<br>say-ASP                                     |
| 82 | “thankhemu-ηuəŋi<br>Thankhemu-TOP           | fiə-tsəi<br>INT-this.manner           | ə-ʃpə-n-pa,<br>DIR-call-2sg-DTV                   | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                               |   |
| 83 | ləyz<br>book                                | u-su-ŋi<br>DIR-study-ADV              | çtçə-p<br>seven-year                              | le-ŋi,<br>exist-ADV                                | kə-ηuə-tu<br>thus-COP-LNK                             |
| 84 | i-pə-l-ŋi<br>DIR-return-come-ADV            | qa<br>1sg                             | ta:-me <sup>1</sup> zə-wa.”<br>DIR:INDTV-seek-DTV | fiə-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                              |   |
| 85 | xsə<br>new(again)                           | nai-e-fən-βa<br>other-one-CL-LOC      | χaiʃə<br>‡(still.is)                              | me <sup>1</sup> zə-lə-m-ηuəŋi<br>seek-come-NOM-TOP |   |

- 86 steke-la ə-dza-lu-kui.  
behind-LOC DIR-chase-come-NAR
- 87 ə-dza-lu-kui-tu, χaiʂə du-φu-ŋi  
DIR-chase-come-NAR-LNK †(still.is) DIR-run.away-ADV
- 88 kə-jə-kəi-tu, nai-a-ʂpaq-ta, χaiʂə  
go-REP-NAR-LNK other-one-place-LOC †(still.is)
- 89 ŋuəŋi wutɕupu die-ʂe-m-le:-ta, wutɕupu  
TOP husband DIR-die-NOM-DEF:CL-LOC husband
- 90 die-ʂe-m-le:-ta χaiʂə fi-a-ke:  
DIR-die-NOM-DEF:CL-LOC †(still.is) INT-INDEF:CL
- 91 pe-ŋi, qe:<sup>1</sup> ʂpaʂpa fi-a-ke:  
become-ADV before same.way INT-INDEF:CL
- 92 tu-tsu-jə-kəi. fi-a-ke: tu-tsu-jə-kəi-tu,  
DIR-meet-REP-NAR INT-INDEF:CL DIR-meet-REP-NAR-LNK
- 93 fi-a-ŋuəŋi χu-pan-tha-luo, fi-a-la-han-ŋuəŋi,  
INT-TOP goods-manage-AUX-perhaps INT-DEF:one-kind-TOP
- 94 χaiʂə thu ə-mə-la-zɕ mo-ku-jə-kui.  
†(still.is) there DIR-NEG-come-CAUS NEG-willing-REP-NAR
- 95 fi-a-thə ə-la-kəi-tu, xsə me<sup>1</sup>zə-lə-m  
INT-there DIR-come-NAR-LNK new(again) seek-come-NOM
- 96 i-pə-l-jə-kui “tʂi pe-tu, qa me<sup>1</sup>zə-lə  
DIR-arrive-come-REP-NAR son become-LNK 1sg seek-come
- 97 tɕhe-wa, tʂi pe-tu, me<sup>1</sup>zə-lə  
want-DTV daughter become-LNK seek-come
- 98 me-tɕhe-wa, tʂi pe-tu, fi-a-la ɕtɕə-p  
NEG-want-DTV son become-LNK INT seven.years
- 99 le-ŋi ləyʒ a:-su-ku, hodzy-p  
exist-ADV book DIR:INDTV-study-go:EMPH ten-year

|     |   |   |   |                                   |                                 |              |                     |
|-----|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 100 | le-ŋi<br>exist-ADV                                | qa<br>1sg                                 | ta:-me <sup>1</sup> z-lə-wa,”<br>DIR:INDTV- <i>seek-come</i> -DTV | fi-a-kə<br>INT-thus               |                                 |              |                     |
| 101 | jə-kui-tu.<br>say-NAR-LNK                         |   |   |                                   |                                 |              |                     |
| 102 | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT                             | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu                    | ŋa<br>COM   | likhemu<br>Likhemu                | jə-ze<br>two-CL                 | wu<br>all    | tʃi<br>son          |
| 103 | pe-kui,<br>become-NAR                             | fi-a-tu,<br>INT-RESULT                    | α-s-βa-ŋuəŋi<br>one-day-LOC-TOP                                   | da-γz-ŋi<br>DIR-set.out-ADV       |                                 |              |                     |
| 104 | χaiʃə,<br>†(still.is)                             | fi-a-tha<br>INT-there                     | “ep-te:<br>father-DEF:CL  | me <sup>1</sup> z<br>seek         | ka:,”<br>go:PRS:1sg             |              |                     |
| 105 | jə-χua,<br>say-because                            | “ep-te:<br>father-DEF:CL                  | me <sup>1</sup> z<br>seek   | ka:,”<br>go:PRS:1sg               |                                 |              |                     |
| 106 | jə-χua<br>say-because                             | ŋuəŋi<br>TOP                              | da-qa<br>DIR-go   | da-qa-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-go-NAR-LNK   |                                 |              |                     |
| 107 | ba-la:-βa<br>flat.area.on.side.of.hill-DEF:CL-LOC | e-tʃepe-kəi.<br>DIR-encounter-NAR         | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT   |                                   |                                 |              |                     |
| 108 | tʃhəntitʃin-ŋuəŋi<br>Chen.Diqing-TOP              | ep<br>father                              | ŋuə-w,<br>COP-VIS   | ep-le:<br>father-DEF:CL           | me <sup>1</sup> zə-k<br>seek-go |              |                     |
| 109 | da-qə-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-go-NAR-LNK                   | fi-ala<br>INT                             | gue: <sup>1</sup> -ta-ŋuəŋi<br>road-LOC-TOP                       | e-tʃepe-kəi.<br>DIR-encounter-NAR |                                 |              |                     |
| 110 | thankhemu-ŋuəŋi<br>Thankhemu-TOP                  | tə-ke <sup>1</sup> -l-kəi.<br>DIR-ask-NAR | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu  |                                   |                                 |              |                     |
| 111 | tə-ke <sup>1</sup> -l-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-ask-NAR-LNK  | “ʔũ<br>2sg                                | təa<br>where  | ka:-n-a?”<br>go:PRS-2sg-Q         | jə-kui,<br>say-NAR              | “ʔũ<br>2sg   |                     |
| 112 | təa<br>where                                      | ka:-n-a?”<br>go:PRS--2sg-Q                | jə-kui-tu.<br>say-NAR-LNK   | “ha,<br>EXCL                      | qa<br>1sg                       | ep<br>father |                     |
| 113 | me <sup>1</sup> z<br>seek                         | ka:”<br>go:PRS:1sg                        | jə-kui.<br>say-NAR  | “ʔũ<br>2sg                        | ep<br>father                    | ŋiγi<br>what | z-mə-wa?”<br>call-Q |

- 114 jə-tu, “qa-ep tshəntitchin ɲuə-ɲuə,”<sup>121</sup> jə-ji.  
say-LNK 1sg-father Chen.Diqing COP-VIS:1sg say-CSM
- 115 thankhemu fiə-tsə “ep lə tshəntitchin ɲuə,  
Thankhemu INT-this father also Chen.Diqing COP
- 116 ʔũ qa ma-sun-ʂə,” ikə jə-kui, “qa  
2sg 1sg NEG-consider-LNK thus say-NAR 1sg
- 117 ma-sun-ʂə” jə-kui-tu, nə-quaq-təə-i. hai  
NEG-consider-LNK say-NAR-LNK DIR-fight-3pl-HS EXCL
- 118 nə-quaq-kei-tu, thankhemu-ɲuəɲi “a, ʔũ ɲa qa  
DIR-fight-NAR-LNK Thankhemu-TOP EXCL 2sg COM 1sg
- 119 quəqua ma-qa<sup>1</sup>, ʔũ ɲa qa quəqua ma-qa<sup>1</sup>,  
fight NEG-ought:1pl 2sg COM 1sg fight NEG-ought:1pl
- 120 ə-zə ə-zdz-ʂa,” jə-kui. ə-zə ə-zdz-tu, fiəla  
one-CL DIR-rest-HORT say-NAR one-CL DIR-rest-LNK INT
- 121 ə-zə ə-zdz-ɲiantei, thankhemu-jə ba-kəi-ʂə, fiəla  
one-CL DIR-rest-after Thankhemu-†(TOP) big-NAR-LNK INT
- 122 tə-ke<sup>1</sup>-kui, likhemu tə-ke<sup>1</sup>-kui-tu, fiəla  
DIR-ask-NAR Likhemu DIR-ask-NAR-LNK INT
- 123 likhemu-ɲuəɲi “ɲi:tsəi ɲuə-zɑ:?” jə-kui-ʂə.  
Likhemu-TOP WH.kind COP-CAUS:PRS:1pl say-NAR-LNK
- 124 thankhemu-ɲuəɲi, “ʔũ ɲa qa jə-ze wu tsəi-ɲuəɲi  
Thankhemu-TOP 2sg COM 1sg two-CL all this.manner-TOP
- 125 tha-han ep me<sup>1</sup>zɛ:<sup>1</sup>, ep-te: kənti e:  
that:one-kind father seek:1pl father-DEF:CL jointly one:CL
- 126 ɲuə-k-ɑ:<sup>1</sup>-təi? ta, iətəi-ɲuəɲi kə-ʂa,”  
COP-INF-PRS:1pl-Q INT together-TOP go-HORT
- 127 jə-kui. fiə-thu-ɲuəɲi, quəqua  
say-NAR INT-there-TOP fight



- 142 jə-ji.           fiə-tu           də-qə-kəi-tu,  
say-CSM       INT-RESULT       DIR-go-NAR-LNK
- 143 kətchi       fiəla       gue:<sup>1</sup>-le:-piəna-ŋuəŋi  
really       INT       road-DEF:CL-beside-TOP
- 144 səf-lə-jin-tʂa       we-s-ta-ŋuəŋi       fiəla  
tree-DEF-few-CL   exist-NOM-LOC-TOP   INT
- 145 tsə-le:                   lu-ji,                   tsə       fiə-ɕpi-kei,  
water(river)-DEF:CL   come(flow)-HS       water   DIR-thirsty-NAR
- 146 a-i           də-qə-kəi-tu,           fiə tsə       fiə-ɕpi-kəi-tu,  
one-time   DIR-go-NAR-LNK       INT water   DIR-thirsty-NAR-LNK
- 147 fiəla       χqatsəimi-le:           fiə-lə-kui.  
INT       spring.water-DEF:CL       DIR-come-NAR
- 148 fiə-tu-ŋuəŋi,       thankhemu-ŋuəŋi       tsə  
INT-RESULT-TOP   Thankhemu-TOP       water
- 149 tə-me<sup>1</sup>z-kəi-tu,       fiəla       tsə       də-tɕ-kəi,  
DIR-see-2sg-NAR-LNK   there       water   DIR-find-NAR
- 150 tsə       də-tɕ-kəi-tu,           ‘likhemu,       ʔü-ŋuəŋi       tɕhə  
water   DIR-find-NAR-LNK       Likhemu       2sg-TOP       drink
- 151 ə-χə-n,           qa       tuwa-le:-ŋuəŋi           qe:<sup>1</sup>  
DIR-stop-2sg       1sg       older.brother-DEF:CL-TOP   before
- 152 sə-tɕ-la,                   fiə-tu           sə-tɕh-ŋi           qa  
DIR-drink-INDTV:1sg   INT-RESULT   DIR-drink-ADV       1sg
- 153 die-me-ʂa-tu,           fiələ-ŋuəŋi,       ʔü       lə  
DIR-NEG-die:1sg-LNK   INT-TOP       2sg       also
- 154 ə-tɕhə-n-pa.           nai       qa       die-ʂa-tu,  
DIR-drink-2sg-DTV       other       1sg       DIR-die:1sg-LNK
- 155 ʔü       tɕa-tɕhi-n-pa,”           jə-kui-tɕu.       fiə-kə  
2sg       NEG.IMP-drink-2sg-DVT       say-NAR-PART   INT-thus



- 156 jə-kui-tu, tha-χui-tu, thankhemu sə-tɛ-kəi,  
say-NAR-LNK that:one-time-LNK Thankhemu DIR-drink-NAR
- 157 sə-tɛ-kəi-tu fiala zawa-səpan-le:  
DIR-drink-NAR-LNK INT stone-†stone.slab-DEF:CL
- 158 fia-que-ji-le: tu-tsu-kəi,  
DIR-cover-CSM-DEF:CL DIR-encouter-NAR
- 159 fia-tu e:! tshəntɛa qapa ŋa tshəntitchin  
INT-RESULT EXCL Chen.family old.man COM Chen.Diqing
- 160 kuantausəje fiala fie-le-ŋi sə-zə-kui  
sword.and.bow INT DIR-pack-ADV exist-CAUS-NAR
- 161 ha, pana quəqua-s pana,  
INT thing fight-NOM thing
- 162 kantchi, fia-tha sə-zə-kui-tu,  
club INT-there exist-CAUS-NAR-LNK
- 163 tha-han, fia-la-χui-tu, thankhemu-ŋuəŋi tsə  
that:one-kind INT-DEF:one-time-LNK Thankhemu-TOP water
- 164 o-qu sə-tɛ-kəi, fiala səpan-le: ɕa-la:  
one-mouthful DIR-drink-NAR INT stone.slab-DEF:CL small-DEF:CL
- 165 tə-qe-kəi-tu. ɕa-la:-ji tə-tsi ma-lə-kəi,  
DIR-lift-NAR-LNK small-DEF:CL-EXC DIR-lift NEG-able-NAR
- 166 fia-tu “likhemu lə ə-tɕhə-n qa-tutʂu ə-tɕhə-n,”  
INT-RESULT Likhemu also DIR-drink-2sg 1sg-little.brother DIR-drink-2sg
- 167 jə-kui-sə, sə-tɛ-tu, fia-la-χui-tu,  
say-NAR-LNK DIR-drink-LNK INT-DEF:one-time-LNK
- 168 jə-ze wu u-χsu, u-χsu-ŋi a-than  
two-CL all DIR-jump DIR-jump-ADV one-trip
- 169 tə-tsi-kəi-tu, fiala ɕa-la:-ji  
DIR-lift-NAR-LNK INT small-DEF:CL-EXC
- 170 tə-me-qe-kəi, ha, a-thən sə-tɛi-tɛ-ʂa, a-thən  
DIR-NEG-lift-NAR EXCL one-time DIR-CON-drink-LNK one-time

- 171 sə-tɕi-tɕ-kəi,                      fɪa-la-χui-tu,                      sə-tɕ,                      ʂəpan  
DIR-CON-drink-NAR                      INT-DEF:one-time-LNK                      DIR-drink                      stone.slab
- 172 tə-qe-ŋiəufu,                      fɪa-tha                      tʂhəntɕa                      qapə                      ɲa  
DIR-turn.over-LNK(as.soon.as)                      INT-there                      Chen.family                      old.man                      COM
- 173 tʂhəntitɕhin-wu                      panə                      tə-ʂuə-jə,                      fɪa                      kuantausəje  
Chen.Diqing-AGT                      thing                      DIR-hide-CSM                      INT                      sword.and.bow
- 174 fɪa-la-han                      fɪala                      i-le-ŋi                      ʂə-kui,                      fɪa-tu  
INT-DEF:one-kind                      there                      DIR-pack-ADV                      exist-NAR                      INT-RESULT
- 175 tə-xtɕe-kəi,                      tə-xtɕe-ŋi                      he-tɕy-ŋi  
DIR-take.out-NAR                      DIR-take.out-ADV                      DIR-carry-ADV
- 176 da-qə-kəi.                      a-i                      da-qə-kəi-tu,                      fɪala  
DIR-go-NAR                      one-time                      DIR-go-NAR-LNK                      INT
- 177 gue:<sup>1</sup>-guχu-la                      x sə-tɕi-le:-ɕa  
road-upper.part-LOC                      god-house-DEF:CL-LOC
- 178 sin-le:-ta                      fɪa-l-ŋi                      ʂi-kui-wa,  
lion-DEF:CL-LOC                      DIR-look-ADV                      exist-NAR-EMPH
- 179 fɪalə                      ʂi-kui-tu,                      ‘‘ha                      qa                      tʂhəntitɕhin  
there                      exist-NAR-LNK                      INT                      1sg                      Chen.Diqing
- 180 ɲa                      tʂhəntɕa                      qapə-tɕ                      fɪa                      sin                      ɲuə-n-ʂa  
COM                      Chen.family                      old.man-GEN                      INT                      lion                      COP-2sg-LNK
- 181 qap                      fɪa-ɕu-n,<sup>122</sup>                      sin                      ma-ɲuə-n-ʂa,                      tu  
head                      DIR-throw-2sg                      lion                      NEG-COP-2sg-LNK                      RESULT
- 182 qap                      fɪa-tɕi-ɕu-n,                      tɕile                      dza:-n-ʂa,  
head                      DIR-NEG.IMP-throw-2sg                      1pl                      eat:PRS-2sg-LNK
- 183 ə-zə-n,                      nai                      tɕile-tɕ                      sin                      ɲuə-n-tu,  
DIR-eat-2sg                      other                      1pl-GEN                      lion                      COP-2sg-LNK
- 184 fɪala                      qap                      fɪa-ɕu-n,                      jə-kui.                      fɪala                      ɲuə-ŋi,  
there                      head                      DIR-throw-2sg                      say-NAR                      there                      COP-ADV

|     |                                    |  |                                      |  |                             |
|-----|------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 185 | qap<br>head                        | fiə-βu-kui,<br>DIR-throw-NAR           | qap<br>head                          | fiə-βu-kui-tu,<br>DIR-throw-NAR-LNK          | fiələ<br>there              |
| 186 | ɲuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                 | kuantausəje<br>sword.and.bow           | sin<br>lion                          | tə-qətʂi-ŋi<br>DIR-ride-ADV                  |                             |
| 187 | da-qə-kəi-wa.<br>DIR-go-NAR-EMPH   | sin<br>lion                            | tə-qətʂi-ŋi<br>DIR-ride-ADV          |  |                             |
| 188 | da-qə-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-go-NAR-LNK    | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                   | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon          |  |                             |
| 189 | pe-m<br>become-NOM                 | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                   | ʒmətʂi-le:-tə,<br>emperor-DEF:CL-GEN |  |                             |
| 190 | fiə-tse:-ɲuəŋi,<br>INT-this:CL-TOP | fiata<br>INT                           | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu               | ŋa<br>COM                                    | likhemu,<br>Likhemu         |
| 191 | the-wu<br>that-ABL                 | tshəntə<br>Chen.family                 | qapə,<br>old.man                     | tshəntitʂhin-ɲuəŋi,<br>Chen.Diqing-TOP       |                             |
| 192 | tshəntə<br>Chen.family             | qapə-ɲuəŋi<br>old.man-TOP              | qe:ʔ<br>before                       | jitein<br>†(already)                         | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon |
| 193 | dzemi<br>Dzemi                     | pe-m-le:-wu<br>become-NOM-DEF:CL-AGT   | ʂpəl<br>kidney                       | ŋa<br>COM                                    | ətci:mi<br>heart            |
| 194 | ha-xtʂe-ŋi<br>DIR-take.out-ADV     | jitein<br>†(already)                   | the-xʂepi-βa<br>that-side-LOC        | ə-βa-s-ta<br>DIR-go-NOM-LOC                  |                             |
| 195 | fiəla<br>INT                       | tə-pian-tha-kəi,<br>DIR-change-AUX-NAR | tha<br>there                         | tə-pian-tha-ŋiantʂi,<br>DIR-change-AUX-after |                             |
| 196 | gantsə<br>saddle                   | χua-m<br>sell-NOM                      | fiəla<br>there                       | ʒi-kəi.<br>exist-NAR                         |                             |
| 197 | gantsə<br>saddle                   | χua-m<br>sell-NOM                      | tha<br>there                         | ʒi-kəi-tu,<br>exist-NAR-LNK                  | fiəla<br>INT                |
| 198 | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu             | ŋa<br>COM                              | likhemu-ɲuəŋi<br>Likhemu-TOP         | fiə-tha<br>INT-there                         | meʔʒ-kə<br>seek-go          |

- 199    ha-qa.                    tshəntitchin    me<sup>1</sup>z-kə    ha-qa-kə-wa.  
       DIR-go                    Chen.Diqing    seek-go    DIR-go-INF-EMPH
- 200    tshəntitchin    me<sup>1</sup>z    ha-qa-tu,    fiāla    tshəntəa  
       Chen.Diqing    seek    DIR-go-LNK    INT    Chen.family
- 201    qa-pə-ŋuəŋi    fiāla    tə-pian-tha,    tə-pian-tha-tu,  
       old.man-TOP    there    DIR-change-AUX    DIR-change-AUX-LNK
- 202    fiāla    gantsə-ŋuəŋi    fiāla    sin    le-tue-ta    fiā-şə-tə,  
       INT    saddle-TOP    INT    lion    DEF-pair-LOC    DIR-put-GEN
- 203    fiō-şu                    kə            fiā-thə    tə-bəl-ŋiantci  
       DIR-wash.clean    thus            INT-there    DIR-make-after
- 204    gantsə    ɣua-m    fiālə    ə-tə-kəi,    fiā-tu  
       saddle    sell-NOM    there    DIR-stop-NAR    INT-RESULT
- 205    thankhemu    ŋa    likhemu    i-pə-k-tu,    fiāla    ʁo-men  
       Thankhemu    COM    Likhemu    DIR-arrive-go-LNK    INT    city-gate
- 206    fiō-tsu-ji-la:-ka                    fiāla,    “?ile tca:    ka:-i-wa?”  
       DIR-stand.up-CSM-DEF:CL-LOC    there    2pl    where:LOC    go:PRS-2pl-Q
- 207    jə-tu,                    “təile    tshəntitchin    me<sup>1</sup>z    le<sup>1</sup>-wa,”  
       say-LNK                    1pl    Chen.Diqing    seek    come:1pl-EMPH
- 208    jə-kui.                    “a,    gantsə    pa:-ji-ŋua?”    jə-kui-tu.  
       say-NAR                    EXCL    saddle    buy:PRS-2pl-Q    say-NAR-LNK
- 209    “a,                    təile    sin-la:-ka                    ɣoşu-şə  
       EXCL                    1pl    lion-DEF:CL-LOC                    fit-LNK
- 210    fiā-ş-şā.                    nai    mo-ɣoşu-tu    mā-pə<sup>1</sup>-wa,”  
       DIR-put-HORT                    other    NEG-fit-LNK    NEG-buy:1pl-EMPH
- 211    jə-ji.    fiā-tu    fiā-ş-kəi,    fiā-ş-kəi-tu,    qhuat  
       say-HS    INT-RESULT    DIR-put-NAR    DIR-put-NAR-LNK    as.it.happens
- 212    tə-ş-ŋike                    tu    te-qe    me-tchi,    fiā-tsəi  
       DIR-grow-after                    RESULT    DIR-reveal    NEG-want    INT-this.manner

|     |                                      |                                      |  |   |                        |           |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|------------------------|-----------|
| 213 | tə-ʃ-ŋike<br>DIR-grow-after          | fiɑ-kə<br>INT-thus                   | pe-kui,<br>become-NAR                  | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                        | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu | ŋɑ<br>COM |
| 214 | likhemu-ŋuəŋi<br>Likhemu-TOP         | sin<br>lion                          | tə-qtʃi-ŋi<br>DIR-ride-ADV             | kuantausəje<br>sword.and.bow                |                        |           |
| 215 | he-tɕy-ŋi<br>DIR-carry-ADV           |                                      | ə-qɑ-kəi.<br>DIR-go-NAR                |   |                        |           |
| 216 |                                      | ə-qɑ-tu,<br>DIR-go-LNK               | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                   | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon                 | dzemi<br>Dzemi         |           |
| 217 | wutɕupu-ŋuəŋi<br>husband-TOP         | fiɑlɑ<br>INT                         | titau<br>†tunnel                       | tə-xkue-ŋi<br>DIR-dig-ADV                   |                        |           |
| 218 | fiɑ-tsəi<br>INT-this.manner          |                                      | ə-ʃ-jy-kui-wɑ,<br>DIR-put-ASP-NAR-EMPH | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                        |                        |           |
| 219 | tʃhəntitʃin-tɕə<br>Chen.Diqing-GEN   |                                      | gue <sup>1</sup> -ŋɑ<br>army-COM       | nə-qua-kui-ʃ,<br>DIR-fight-NAR-LNK          |                        |           |
| 220 | tʃi<br>male/son                      | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu               | ŋɑ<br>COM                              | likhemu<br>Likhemu                          |                        |           |
| 221 | tʃhəntitʃin<br>Chen.Diqing           | ŋi:-epə-tɕ<br>3sgREFL-father-GEN     |  | gue <sup>1</sup> -ŋɑ<br>army-COM            |                        |           |
| 222 | nə-qua-kəi-wɑ,<br>DIR-fight-NAR-EMPH |                                      | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                   | nə-qua-ŋi<br>DIR-fight-ADV                  |                        |           |
| 223 | fiɑlɑ<br>there                       | ŋuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                   | steke<br>behind                        | ŋi:-epə-te:-tɕ<br>3sgREFL-father-DEF:CL-GEN |                        |           |
| 224 | gue <sup>1</sup> -ŋuəŋi<br>army-TOP  |                                      | nə-qəti<br>DIR-beat.to.death           | da-s.<br>DIR-finish                         |                        |           |
| 225 | nə-qəti<br>DIR-beat.to.death         | da-s-tu,<br>DIR-finish-LNK           | fiɑlɑ<br>there                         | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon                 |                        |           |
| 226 | dzemi<br>Dzemi                       | fiɑ-tsoqpi-tɕ<br>INT-this:family-GEN | zɕmətʃi<br>emperor                     | fiɑ-tse:-wu<br>INT-this:CL-AGT              |                        |           |

- 227 taitaula, tə-tsəqqa-ku, fiɑ-tu tshəntitchin lə  
‡(catch) DIR-catch-NAR INT-RESULT Chen.Diqing also
- 228 nə-χs-ku. nə-χs-ηi fiɑ-the-wu, thankhemu  
DIR-tie.up-NAR DIR-tie.up-ADV INT-that-ABL Thankhemu
- 229 ηɑ likhemu-ηuəηi titau-βɑ a-βũ-ηi  
COM Likhemu-TOP tunnel-LOC DIR-throw-ADV
- 230 ηissues me-le:-tə-ηuəηi sipe da-ctə-jə,  
nearly.dead NEG-exist-GEN-TOP medicine DIR-feed-CSM
- 231 sipe da-ctə-jə-ku-tu, fiɑ-tu  
medicine DIR-feed-CSM-NAR-LNK INT-RESULT
- 232 nə-χs-ηi χaişə ηi:-ep-te:-ηɑ fiɑla  
DIR-tie.up-ADV ‡(still.is) 3sgREFL-father-DEF:CL-COM INT
- 233 aηuə nə-χs-ηi i-ci-ku. fiɑ-tu ep-te:-ηuəηi  
together DIR-tie.up-ADV DIR-put-NAR INT-RESULT father-DEF:CL-TOP
- 234 fiɑla ke<sup>l</sup>-jy, şku-z pu-jy,<sup>123</sup> fiɑ-tsəi  
there ask-ASP orangutan-talk do-ASP INT-this.manner
- 235 şku-z fiɑ-pu-ηi, “hã, qa fiɑlə ə-χte  
orangutan-talk DIR-do-ADV EXCL 1sg there DIR-exhort
- 236 la-han tşi pe-ka:-ji,” ikə-jə-ηi fiɑ-kə  
DEF:one-kind male/son become-INF:PRS-CSM thus-say-ADV INT-thus
- 237 ə-χte-ku, fiɑ-tu thankhemu ηɑ likhemu-ηuəηi  
DIR-exhort-NAR INT-RESULT Thankhemu COM Likhemu-TOP
- 238 χaişəχuijələjitian, fiɑ-tsəi-ηi ctəũ  
‡(also.recalled.a.little) INT-this.manner-ADV thought(n.)
- 239 zə-la-ηi, a, ep-te:-wu fiɑ-tsəi  
DIR-come-ADV EXCL father-DEF:CL-AGT INT-this.manner
- 240 fiə-dzi-kui, şku-z fiə-dzi-ηi “tşi  
DIR-say-NAR orangutan-talk DIR-say-ADV male/son

|     |                                      |  |   |   |                                   |                                |              |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 241 | pe-ka:-ji,<br>become-INF:PRS-CSM     | tʃi<br>male/son                              | pe-tu<br>become-LNK                             | ɕtɕə-p<br>seven-year                                    | le-ŋi<br>exist-ADV                |                                |              |
| 242 | ləʏz<br>book                         | ɑ:-su-wa,<br>DIR:INDTV-study-DTV             |   | the-wu<br>that-ABL                                      | hatʃi-p<br>eleven-year            |                                |              |
| 243 | le-ŋi<br>exist-ADV                   | qa<br>1sg                                    | ta:-me <sup>1</sup> z-wa,<br>DIR:INDTV-look-DVT |   | nai<br>other                      |                                |              |
| 244 | steke-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>behind-DEF:CL-TOP | likhemu<br>Likhemu                           | ə-ʃp-ŋi,<br>DIR-call-ADV                        |   | likhemu-ŋuəŋi<br>Likhemu-TOP      |                                |              |
| 245 | hotɕu-p<br>ten-year                  | le-ŋi<br>exist-ADV                           | qa<br>1sg                                       | ta:-me <sup>1</sup> z-lə-wa,<br>DIR:INDTV-look-come-DTV |                                   |                                |              |
| 246 | tʃi<br>male/son                      | pe-tu,”<br>become-LNK                        | fiɑ-kə<br>INT-thus                              | jə-kui-wa,<br>say-NAR-EMPH                              |                                   |                                |              |
| 247 | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                 | ʃku-z<br>orangutan-talk                      | pə-kəi.<br>do-NAR                               | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT                                    |                                   |                                |              |
| 248 | ep-te:-ŋuəŋi<br>father-DEF:CL-TOP    | fiɑ-kə<br>INT-thus                           | jə-kui-tɕu.<br>say-NAR-PART                     |   | thankhemu-ŋuəŋi,<br>Thankhemu-TOP |                                |              |
| 249 | “ʔü<br>2sg                           | ŋɑ<br>COM                                    | qa<br>1sg                                       | ŋiʏi<br>what  | bəl-lə<br>do-come                 |                                |              |
| 250 | ha-lə <sup>1</sup> ,<br>DIR-come:1pl | qa-tutʃ,”<br>1sg-younger.brother             |   | jə-kui,<br>say-NAR                                      | fiɑ-tu<br>INT-RESULT              |                                |              |
| 251 | fiɑ-kə<br>INT-thus                   | jə-kui-tu.<br>say-NAR-LNK                    | “a<br>EXCL                                      | ʔü<br>2sg   | ŋɑ<br>COM                         | qa<br>1sg                      | ep<br>father |
| 252 | me <sup>1</sup> z<br>seek            | lə <sup>1</sup> -ŋi,”<br>come:1p-ADV         | jə-kui,<br>say-NAR                              | “ep<br>father   | me <sup>1</sup> z<br>seek         | lə <sup>1</sup> ,”<br>come:1pl |              |
| 253 | likhemu-ŋuəŋi<br>Likhemu-TOP         | kə-jə-kui.<br>thus-say-NAR                   | fiɑ-lɑ-χui-tu,<br>INT-DEF:one-time-LNK          |   | ep-te:-tu,<br>father-DEF:CL-LNK   |                                |              |
| 254 | e!<br>EXCL                           | fiɑ-ʃəŋi-kə-tɕi-jə,<br>DIR-discuss-go-3pl-HS | “ta,<br>INT                                     | qa<br>1sg   | ʔile<br>2pl                       | ep<br>father                   |              |
| 255 | ŋuə-k-ɑ,”<br>COP-INF-1sg             | ikə<br>thus                                  | jə-kui.<br>say-NAR                              |   |                                   |                                |              |

|     |  |                                       |                                   |  |                             |
|-----|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 256 | fi-a-kə<br>INT-thus                        | jə-kui-tu,<br>say-NAR-LNK             |                                   | fi-a-ʂəŋi,<br>DIR-discuss                      |                             |
| 257 | fi-a-ʂəŋi<br>DIR-discuss                   | ka-han<br>INDEF:one-kind              | ŋuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                | me'ʂ-ta-s-ɛa-ŋuəŋi<br>next-DEF:one-day-LOC-TOP |                             |
| 258 | qəti-s,<br>beat.to.death-NOM               |                                       | fiata<br>INT                      | tshəntitchin<br>Chen.Diqing                    |                             |
| 259 | ŋa<br>COM                                  | thankhemu,<br>Thankhemu               | likhemu<br>Likhemu                | tsəzzi-ŋuəŋi<br>these.people-TOP               |                             |
| 260 | fiala<br>there                             | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon           | dzemi<br>Dzemi                    | wutcupu-le:-ŋuəŋi,<br>husband-DEF:CL-TOP       |                             |
| 261 | χaiʂə<br>†(still.is)                       | z mətʂi-le:<br>emperor-DEF:CL         | ŋuə-kəi-ŋi,<br>COP-NAR-ADV        |  |                             |
| 262 | χaiʂə<br>†(still.is)                       | qəti-s<br>beat.to.death-NOM           |                                   | ə-ʂ-jy,<br>DIR-release-ASP                     |                             |
| 263 | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon                |                                       | dzemi<br>Dzemi                    | tse:-wu<br>this:CL-AGT                         |                             |
| 264 | χaiʂə<br>†(still.is)                       | laupeci<br>†ordinary.citizens         | lə<br>also                        | qusu<br>very.many                              | ə-tʂən-tha,<br>DIR-kill-AUX |
| 265 | gue' <sup>t</sup><br>army                  | ŋa<br>COM                             | tha-han,<br>that:one-kind         | tshenʂə<br>dispute                             | qusu<br>very.many           |
| 266 | tə-qa-z-kui-wa.<br>DIR-go-CAUS-NAR-EMPH    |                                       | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT             | qusu<br>very.many                              |                             |
| 267 | tə-qa-z-ŋi<br>DIR-go-CAUS-ADV              |                                       | fi-a-ka-han<br>INT-INDEF:one-kind | ŋuə-kui-tu.<br>COP-NAR-LNK                     |                             |
| 268 | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT                      | tshəntitchin-ŋuəŋi<br>Chen.Diqing-TOP | fi-a-tu<br>INT-RESULT             | tijikuojautchiu,<br>†(first.demand)            |                             |
| 269 | “soqho-ŋuəŋi<br>tomorrow-TOP               | tɕile<br>1pl                          | ʂe<br>die                         | ɛze-jy,<br>must-ASP                            | fiala-ŋuəŋi,<br>that-TOP    |
| 270 | ʔü-sətsim-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>2sg-wife-DEF:CL-TOP | tɕile<br>1pl                          | χaiʂə<br>†(still.is)              | tɕa:<br>where:LOC                              | mi-le:<br>person-DEF:CL     |



|     |  |   |  |                                     |                               |              |
|-----|--|---|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| 271 | ηυə,<br>COP                                    | α-şə<br>one-time                                  | u-tçu<br>DIR-see                                       | tche,<br>want                       | quaha-χupi<br>face-appearance | lə<br>also   |
| 272 | u-mu-tçu-le,<br>DIR-NEG-see-because            | tçile<br>1pl                                      | qəti<br>kill   | fiə-me-se.”<br>DIR-NEG-allow        |                               |              |
| 273 | z mətşi-le:-ta-ηυəŋi<br>emperor-DEF:CL-DAT-TOP | fiə-kə<br>INT-thus                                | jautçhiu-tu-pu-k-kui-stu.<br>demand-DIR-do-go-NAR-PART |                                     |                               |              |
| 274 | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                           | wutşhu-pu-m-le-γlə-ta,<br>help-do-NOM-DEF-pl-LOC  | fiə-kə<br>INT-thus                                     |                                     |                               |              |
| 275 | jə-kui-tu,<br>say-NAR-LNK                      | fiə-kə<br>INT-thus                                | jə-kui-tu,<br>say-NAR-LNK                              |                                     |                               |              |
| 276 | “mi<br>person                                  | χaişə<br>†(still.is)                              | u-tçu<br>DIR-see                                       | fiə-se-wa,”<br>DIR-allow-EMPH       | jə-kui,<br>say-NAR            |              |
| 277 | “khuoji<br>†(is.possible)                      | təp-ŋi<br>tomorrow-ADV                            | şe-ɸze-jə-u-ŋi<br>die-must-CSM-VIS-ADV                 |                                     |                               |              |
| 278 | α-ş<br>one-time                                | u-tçu<br>DIR-see                                  | ηυə<br>COP   | lə<br>also                          | khuoji,”<br>†(is.possible)    |              |
| 279 | jə-kui-şə.<br>say-NAR-LNK                      | fiə-tu<br>INT-RESULT                              | z mətşi-le:-ηυəŋi<br>emperor-DEF:CL-TOP                | sətsim-le:<br>wife-DEF:CL           |                               |              |
| 280 | fiə-tha<br>INT-there                           | me <sup>1</sup> ş-ta-s-ka<br>next-DEF:one-day-LOC | z mu<br>meeting  | tsu-s-ta-ηυəŋi<br>hold-NOM-LOC-TOP  |                               |              |
| 281 | sətsim-le:<br>wife-DEF:CL                      | tşhetsə-quə-ta-ηυəŋi<br>cart-top-LOC-TOP          | he-tçi-kəi,<br>DIR-bring-NAR                           |                                     |                               |              |
| 282 | fiə-tha-ηυəŋi,<br>INT-there-TOP                | tshəntitchin-ηυəŋi,<br>Chen.Diqing-TOP            | “a!<br>EXCL  | otsuqua-ŋi-ηυəŋi<br>morning-ADV-TOP |                               |              |
| 283 | tçile-tç<br>1pl-GEN                            | jautçhiu<br>demand                                | tçiuşə,<br>†(that.is)                                  | ŋiuxuan-ηυəŋi<br>bezoar-TOP         | α-tç,<br>one-catty            |              |
| 284 | the-wu,<br>that-ABL                            | kanthan<br>†charcoal                              | mudzu-ηυəŋi<br>charcoal-TOP                            | α-w<br>one-pile                     | phə<br>blow(burn)             |              |
| 285 | tche-wa,<br>want-DTV                           | tçile<br>1pl                                      | tu-jũ-ŋi<br>DIR-stand-ADV                              | za:<br>exist:PRS                    | ?ile-wu<br>2pl-AGT            | tçile<br>1pl |

- 286 tchanpi-pa:-j-jə-ʂ qətia:-i ji, fiə-thu-ŋuəŋi,  
 †shoot-do:PRS-2pl-say-LNK kill:PRS-2pl say INT-there-TOP
- 287 tɕile putu-la-ŋuəŋi kanthan ə-w phə  
 1pl front-LOC-TOP charcoal one-pile blow(burn)
- 288 tche-wa,” jə-kui-tɕu. fiə-tu χaiʂə “khuoji  
 want-DTV say-NAR-PART INT-RESULT †(still.is) †(is.possible)
- 289 fie-se,” jə-kui-ʂə, zmətʂi-le:-ŋuəŋi kə-jə-kui.  
 DIR-allow say-NAR-LNK emperor-DEF:CL-TOP thus-say-NAR
- 290 fiə-tu ŋiuxuan i-se-kui, fiə-tu zmu tsu  
 INT-RESULT bezoar DIR-burn-NAR INT-RESULT meeting hold
- 291 χaiʂə ŋuəŋi mi jautsan dzemi-le:  
 †(still.is) TOP person man.eating.demon Dzemi-DEF:CL
- 292 lə ha-l-kəi, zmətʂi lə ha-l-kəi,  
 also DIR-come-NAR emperor also DIR-come-NAR
- 293 zmu-tsu thontʂə-tu-pŋ-ŋi fiata  
 meeting-hold †notify-DIR-do-ADV INT
- 294 ha-lə-kui, ha-lə-kui-tu fiata  
 DIR-come-NAR DIR-come-NAR-LNK INT
- 295 tha-s-ɛə-tu, fiə-thizzi-ŋuəŋi tchanpi-pu-tɕ, fiata  
 that:one-day-LOC-LNK INT-3dl-TOP †shoot-do-GEN INT
- 296 qəti qəzdzi-jə-kui. fiə-tu qəti qəzdzi-jə-kui-tu,  
 kill prepare-CSM-NAR INT-RESULT kill prepare-CSM-NAR-LNK
- 297 χaiʂə tha-han ŋuə-ku-wa, fiə-tu-ŋuəŋi, fiə-tha  
 †(still.is) that:one-kind COP-NAR-EMPH INT-RESULT-TOP INT-there
- 298 tʂhetsə-məq iɕtɕi sə-l-ŋi zmətʂi-le: ŋa  
 cart-top together DIR-look-ADV emperor-DEF:CL COM
- 299 zmətʂi sətʂim jautsan dzemi, fiə-tha  
 emperor wife man.eating.demon Dzemi INT-there

|     |  |                                    |                                 |                                       |                                 |                          |                  |
|-----|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| 300 | sə-l-ŋi<br>DIR-look-LNK                          | ʒi-tu.<br>exist-LNK                | fiala<br>INT                    | tshəntitchin-wu<br>Chen.Diqing-AGT    |                                 |                          |                  |
| 301 | ŋiuχuan-le-ste,<br>bezoar-DEF-CL                 | kanthan-məq-ta<br>charcoal-top-LOC | ŋiuχuan-le-ste<br>bezoar-DEF-CL |                                       |                                 |                          |                  |
| 302 | ʂə-ku-tu,<br>put/place-NAR-LNK                   | fiala<br>INT                       | fia-tsu<br>INT-here             | ʒmitʂi<br>emperor                     |                                 |                          |                  |
| 303 | sətsim-le:<br>wife-DEF:CL                        | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon        | ŋuə-ku-ʂ.<br>COP-NAR-LNK        |                                       |                                 |                          |                  |
| 304 | jautsan-le:-ŋuəŋi<br>man.eating.demon-DEF:CL-TOP |                                    | dzə<br>big.teeth                | fia-lə-kəi-stun.<br>DIR-come-NAR-PART |                                 |                          |                  |
| 305 | “ha,<br>EXCL                                     | pəs-ŋuəŋi<br>today-TOP             | ʒmətʂi<br>emperor               | sətsim-le:<br>wife-DEF:CL             |                                 |                          |                  |
| 306 | tɕiutɕin<br>†(actually                           | ʂə<br>COP)                         | mi-le:<br>person-DEF:CL         | ŋuə-ŋuə?<br>COP-Q                     |                                 |                          |                  |
| 307 | jautsan<br>man.eating.demon                      | ŋuə,<br>COP                        | ?ile<br>2pl                     | a-ʂ<br>one-time                       | i-tse-i-wa,<br>DIR-look-2pl-DTV |                          |                  |
| 308 | fia-tse:-wu<br>INT-this:CL-AGT                   | laupeɕin<br>†ordinary.citizens     | ŋa<br>COM                       | gue <sup>1</sup><br>soldier           | ŋa<br>COM                       | tha-han<br>that:one-kind |                  |
| 309 | qusu<br>very.many                                | sunʂə<br>loss                      | tə-qa-ʒə-ʂ,<br>DIR-go-CAUS-LNK  | fia-tse:-ŋuəŋi<br>INT-this:CL-TOP     | ?ileile<br>2plREFL              |                          |                  |
| 310 | i-tse-i-wa,”<br>DIR-look-2pl-DTV                 | jə-kui-stu.<br>say-NAR-PART        | fia-kə<br>INT-thus              | jə-kui-tu,<br>say-NAR-LNK             |                                 |                          |                  |
| 311 | “a!<br>EXCL                                      | ʒat<br>truly                       | ŋuə”<br>COP                     | jə-ŋi,<br>say-ADV                     | “ʒat<br>truly                   | ŋuə”<br>COP              | jə-j.<br>say-CSM |
| 312 | fia-the-wu,<br>INT-that-ABL                      | “ʒmətʂi<br>emperor                 | nə-qəti,<br>DIR-kill            | fia<br>INT                            | ʒmətʂi<br>emperor               | taipu,<br>†capture       |                  |
| 313 | tə-tsəqa,<br>DIR-capture                         | fialə<br>INT                       | fie-me-se,<br>DIR-NEG-allow     | ʒatɕhi<br>truly                       | ŋuə,<br>COP                     | kə<br>thus               |                  |
| 314 | fia-kə<br>INT-thus                               | thauluan<br>†discuss               | fia-qə-ŋi,”<br>DIR-go-ADV       | jə-kui-stun.<br>say-NAR-PART          |                                 |                          |                  |

- 315    *fiələ*                    *ke-ŋuə-kui-tu,*                    *fiə-lə-χui-tu*  
 INT                            thus-COP-NAR-LNK                    INT-DEF:one-time-LNK
- 316    *tɕiu*            *tshəntitchin*    *ŋɑ*            *thankhemu,*    *likhemu*    *fiətə*    *tɕiu*  
 †(then)    Chen.Diqing    COM            Thankhemu    Likhemu    INT    †(then)
- 317    *tsoqpi*            *ŋɑ*            *phinfaŋla,*            *fiə*            *zɕə*  
 this:family    COM            †(redressed)    INT            affair
- 318    *fiə-qə-zɕə-k-wa,*                    *zɕə*            *fiə-qə-z-ŋi*  
 DIR-go-CAUS-INF-EMPH                    affair            DIR-go-CAUS-ADV
- 319    *fiə-ke*                    *ŋuə-tu,*                    *χaiʂə*            *fiələ*  
 INT-thus                    COP-LNK                    †(still.is)            INT
- 320    *tɕiu*            *akha,*            *tɕiu-lə*            *lu-k.*            *tɕəu-lə*  
 †(then)    slow            home-LOC            come-INF            home-LOC
- 321    *lu-kə:-tu,*                    *χaiʂə*            *me'χ,*            *sətsim*            *lə-han,*  
 come-INF-LNK                    †(still.is)            pitiful            wife            DEF:one-kind
- 322    *thankhemu*            *ŋɑ*            *likhemu-tɕ*            *mɑ:*            *ŋɑ*  
 Thankhemu            COM            Likhemu-GEN            mama            COM
- 323    *lə-han*                    *me'zɕ*                    *kə-tɕi,*            *me'zɕ*  
 DEF:one-kind                    seek                    go-3pl            seek
- 324    *kə-tu,*            *χaiʂə,*            *fiələ*            *tə-me'zɕ-ŋi*            *dzu-ŋuəŋi*  
 go-LNK            †(still.is)            there            DIR-seek-ADV            guest-TOP
- 325    *xsə-s*            *də-ɕtɕ-k-wa,*                    *tə-me'zɕ-ŋi,*    *dzu*            *xsə-s*  
 three-day            DIR-host/feed-INF-EMPH            DIR-seek-ADV    guest            three-day
- 326    *də-ɕtɕ-kə:-tu,*                    *χaiʂə*            *də-ɕtɕ-kə-ŋi,*  
 DIR-host/feed-go-LNK                    †(still.is)            DIR-host/feed-go-LNK
- 327    *xsə-s*                    *də-ɕtɕ-ŋi*                    *xsə-s-ɔɑ*            *tɕiu*  
 three-day                    DIR-host/feed-ADV            three-day-LOC            †(then)
- 328    *i-me-tɕi-pə-l,*                    *fiətə*            *ɣzɕə-s-tə-s-ɔɑ*  
 DIR-NEG-CON-arrive-come            INT            four-day-DEF:one-day-LOC
- 329    *də-tɕ-kə-tu,*                    *fiələ*                    *tsi*  
 DIR-find-go-LNK                    there                    woman



|     |  |  |  |                              |             |
|-----|--|--|--|------------------------------|-------------|
| 344 | zə-la-tu,<br>DIR-come-LNK                            | “sə-xşə-s-ta<br>DIR-be.last-NOM-LOC      | fiala<br>INT                               | ɲuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK           | tsa<br>here |
| 345 | a-ş<br>one-time                                      | u-lu<br>DIR-come                         | tche-wa,”<br>want-EMPH                     |                              |             |
| 346 | jə-tu,<br>say-LNK                                    | ku<br>mountain                           | nə-qua-kəi-wa,<br>DIR-overturn-NAR-EMPH    |                              |             |
| 347 | ku<br>mountain                                       | nə-qhua-ɲi<br>DIR-overturn-ADV           | fia-ka-han<br>INT-INDEF:one-kind           |                              |             |
| 348 | ɲuə-jə-tu,<br>COP-HS-LNK                             | hai!<br>EXCL                             | me-tchi<br>NEG-want                        | fia-tha<br>INT-there         |             |
| 349 | wutşhu-fio-pu,<br>help-DIR-do                        | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu                   | ɲa<br>COM                                  | likhemu-tə<br>Likhemu-GEN    |             |
| 350 | şaşəu<br>†assassin                                   | he-ci-ɲi,<br>DIR-send-ADV                | wutşhu-pu-m-le-yle<br>helper-do-NOM-DEF-pl |                              |             |
| 351 | he-ci-ɲi<br>DIR-send-ADV                             | ɲuə-tu,<br>COP-LNK                       | fiala<br>INT                               | “tsa<br>here                 |             |
| 352 | u-lu<br>DIR-come                                     | tche,<br>want                            | sə-xşə-s-ta<br>DIR-last-NOM-LOC            | zə-m<br>exist-NOM            |             |
| 353 | ləzzi-ɲuəɲi<br>DEF:two:CL-TOP                        | tsa<br>here                              | a-ş<br>one-while                           | i-le<br>DIR-bring            |             |
| 354 | tche-wa,”<br>want-DTV                                | jə-kui-wa,<br>say-NAR-EMPH               | fia-tu<br>INT-RESULT                       | i-tchi-kəi,<br>DIR-bring-NAR |             |
| 355 | i-tchi-kəi-tu,<br>DIR-bring-NAR-LNK                  | fiala<br>INT                             | kəntau<br>immediately                      | fiala<br>INT                 |             |
| 356 | fusan-tu-pu-ɲi<br>help.up <sup>124</sup> -DIR-do-ADV | fa<br>clothing                           | tə-ləla-kəi-wa,<br>DIR-change-NAR-EMPH     |                              |             |
| 357 | fa<br>clothing                                       | tə-ləla-ɲiau<br>DIR-change-LNK           | kəntau<br>immediately                      |                              |             |
| 358 | ɲuə-ɲi<br>COP-ADV                                    | fia-tsəizzi-ɲuəɲi<br>INT-this:two:CL-TOP | fiala<br>INT                               | ma:<br>mama                  | ɲa<br>COM   |

|     |                                   |                        |  |                                   |             |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 359 | fi-a-la-han,<br>INT-DEF:one-kind  | thankhemu<br>Thankhemu | ŋa<br>COM                                    | likhemu<br>Likhemu                | ma:<br>mama |
| 360 | la-han-ŋuən̩i<br>DEF:one-kind-TOP | fa<br>clothing         | tə-ləla-ŋiaufu<br>DIR-change-LNK(as.soon.as) |                                   |             |
| 361 | kəntau<br>immediately             | χaiʒə<br>†(still.is)   | fi-a-kə<br>INT-thus                          | tə-bəl-kui-wa.<br>DIR-do-NAR-EMPH |             |

Narrator: Yu Zelong 余澤龍  
Born 1960  
Recorded 1996

### The Old Man of the Chen Family

Long ago there was an old man named Chen and another person. Every day they went hunting. They made a living hunting. One day they went up the mountain to hunt but didn't get a single animal. In a mountain cave they saw a snake and said, "Today we didn't get anything. It looks like we'll have to return empty-handed. It's better to kill [this snake] we've just seen with one shot." After they shot it once, [it turned out that] this wasn't a snake at all, but was an evil demon that ate people. He strangled it to death. She was the wife of the emperor (today we say /z̩mətʂi/, before we said /juənkuai/ for 'emperor'), and had changed into an evil demon who ate people. ... The emperor said "Go find her", and sent people to find her. (After they found her) this evil demon who ate people pretended to be sick. The emperor asked, "What illness do you have? The doctor can't cure it. What will you do?" The evil demon who ate people answered, "If I eat the kidney and heart of Old Man Chen, I can be cured."

The emperor sent soldiers to find Old Man Chen. Old Man Chen's son was called Chen Diqing. Old Man Chen could foretell people's future. He divined his own future and said to his son Chen Diqing, "They are looking for me, son. Hurry and leave. I cannot escape. Because that day in the mountain cave I saw a snake, this snake (evil demon who eats people) will come looking for me. Only by eating my kidney and heart can its illness be cured. Chen Diqing, you hurry and escape. I cannot run away." The old man's son, Chen Diqing, ran away and arrived at another village. It happened that when he arrived at the other village, there was a woman whose husband had just died. He made friends there. The widow's family and friends made him stay

there. "You cannot go anyplace." So he stayed there. He was both smart and capable.

A couple of months passed and the emperor's family was again looking for him. He said to his wife, "I must go. I will go. (When our child is born) if he is a boy, make him go study when he is seven. If it is a girl, don't look for me. If it is a boy, have him come look for me when he is twelve. Give him the name "Thankhemu". At seven have him go study and after he returns, have him come look for me." Later the people of another village came to look for Chen Diqing and Chen Diqing fled.

He arrived at another place and met another widow whose husband had just died, and again stayed at the widow's. Again some people came looking for him and he said to the widow. "If our child is a boy, have him come look for me. If it is a girl, you/she needn't look for me. If you give birth to a boy, have him go study at seven, and at ten come look for me. (His name should be Likhemu)."

Thankhemu and Likhemu were both boys. One day each said "I will go find my father", and they set out to go find their father. After walking a while, the two met each other in a river valley. Thankhemu asked Likhemu, "Where are you going?" Likhemu said, "I'm going to find my father." Thankhemu further asked, "What is your father's name?" Likhemu said, "He's called Chen Diqing." Thankhemu said, "My father is also called Chen Diqing. You aren't to be considered me." In this manner, the two started to fight. After fighting a while, Thankhemu said, "Let's not fight. Let's rest a minute." After resting a while, Thankhemu, who was older than Likhemu, asked Likhemu, "Now what shall we do? Both of us are looking for our father (Chen Diqing), and our father is perhaps one person. Let's go together." So the two of them stopped fighting and went together.

After walking a while, they put up at a temple. "Last night I dreamed I saw Old Man Chen and Chen Diqing's sword and bow hidden under a tree by the temple." Thankhemu said. Likhemu said, "I dreamed the same." Thankhemu said, "We both saw the sword and bow in our dreams. Could it be the same? We dreamed the sword and bow were on a wild prickly ash tree beside the temple courtyard." They went on again for a while, and in fact there were some trees beside the road. The two of them were very thirsty. Thankhemu went to look for some water. After finding water, Thankhemu said to Likhemu, "Likhemu, don't drink. Let me, your older brother, drink first. If I don't die after drinking, then you drink. If I die, then don't drink." Thankhemu then drank. When he drank the water he encountered a stone slab cover. Eh! Old Man Chen and Chen Diqing's sword and bow were put there, a thing for fighting, a club, was there. Thankhemu drank a mouthful of water and lifted the stone slab. He could only lift it a little bit.



“Likhemu, you drink too.” Likhemu drank also, and the two of them together again lifted the stone slab. They still could only lift it a little way. The two drank a mouthful of water again and they turned over the stone slab, and then they saw Old Man Chen and Chen Diqing’s sword and bow hidden inside and took them out. They went on again for a while, carrying the sword and bow, and then there was a lion looking down at them from within a temple above the road. The two of them said, “If you are (my) Chen Diqing and Old Man Chen’s lion, then nod your head. If not, don’t nod your head. If you are going to eat us, then eat us. If you are our lion, then nod your head.” The head was nodded. Thankhemu and Likhemu rode on the lion and went on. After Old Man Chen’s heart and kidney had been taken out by the evil demon who ate people, he became a person who sold horse saddles (by the gate to the city). When Thankhemu and Likhemu went out to find their father, they saw the old man there selling horse saddles. When Thankhemu and Likhemu arrived at the city gate, Old Man Chen asked them, “Where are you going?” The two of them answered, “We’re going to find Chen Diqing.” The old man also asked, “Will you buy a saddle?” They said, “If it fits our lion, we will buy it. If not, we won’t.” They tried it and it fit just right, so they bought it. Riding a lion and carrying the sword and bow, Thankhemu and Likhemu entered (the city).

The husband of the evil demon who ate people had already prepared a pit as a trap there. They fought with Chen Diqing’s army, and Thankhemu and Likhemu fought with their own father’s army. Later Chen Diqing’s soldiers were beaten to death. After that the man-eating demon and the emperor captured Chen Diqing and tied him up. After Thankhemu and Likhemu were captured, they were thrown into the pit. They were almost beaten to death. After feeding them some medicines, they were tied up together with their father. Their father asked the two of them (using pantomime) “The matter I instructed my wives about, did they really have sons?” Thankhemu and Likhemu recalled the past a bit. Their father used pantomime and said, “Can it really be that [my wives] gave birth to sons? If it was a son, at seven have him go study, and at eleven come look for me. Afterwards that [second] child, call him Likhemu, and at ten have him come look for me.” Thankhemu then said, “Little brother, what have the two of us come to do?” Likhemu answered, “We came to find our father.” Thus their father said, “I am your father.”

They then had a discussion. The husband [the emperor] of the evil demon who ate people [dzemi], had already determined to beat Chen Diqing, Thankhemu and Likhemu to death the next day. The evil demon who ate people [dzemi] had already killed many ordinary people and soldiers. Their dispute had continuously escalated. Chen Diqing made a demand. “Tomorrow we must die. Because we still have not

seen your wife (haven't had one look at her face). It won't do to execute us like this." The emperor said, "Tomorrow they must die. They may have a look (at my wife)." The next day when they had a meeting, the emperor brought his wife out on a cart. Chen Diqing said further to the emperor, "Tomorrow our demand is to bring half a catty of bezoar and some charcoal and set a fire. We will be standing and you will shoot us. In front of us, use charcoal and set a fire." The emperor agreed to this as well. The demon who ate people [dzemi] and her husband [the emperor] notified everybody that they planned to shoot and execute Chen Diqing and his two sons. That day, the emperor and his wife, the demon who ate people, stood on the cart and watched. Chen Diqing put/burned a piece of the bezoar on top of the charcoal. The emperor's wife, the demon who ate people, grew long canine teeth. Chen Diqing said, "Ha!, today see if your emperor's wife is human or not. She's a man-eating demon. You all look! This thing caused the loss of many soldiers and ordinary citizens. Look for yourselves!" He said, "It is true! It is true! Kill the emperor, capture the emperor. This can't be allowed, it is true, you should go discuss this." Thus they did this (the emperor was arrested and beaten to death). Thus Chen Diqing, Thankhemu, and Likhemu were acquitted [their case was reversed/obtained justice]. The three of them, father and sons, slowly returned home.

After returning home, Thankhemu and Likhemu went to find their mothers. In order to find them, they invited guests for three days. After three days of inviting guests, their mothers still had not returned. On the fourth day, they found them. At this time their mothers had already become the last two people. Thankhemu and Likhemu's mothers were afraid. "This family of ours, our grandfather died at the hands of this person, and is no longer with us. Your father also fought with this person and perhaps is dead. Our sons also went to find their father and we don't know where they've gone. Can it be that we will all die at this person's hands?" That is what they thought in their hearts. On the fourth day they returned and the two of them said, "The last few come in." (The result is that) the mountain peak has toppled. Thankhemu and Likhemu sent out an assassin. "You must come here. Those last two people, bring them in." The assassin brought in the two. They were brought in and immediately had their clothes changed, and these two were Thankhemu and Likhemu's mothers.

**English-Qiang glossary  
arranged by semantic field**



## NATURAL PHENOMENA

**sky** mutup ~ mutu (mu < PTB \*muw).

**day breaks (vi.)** mutu su (mutu = 'sky').

**night falls (vi.)** fiα-xtsəp ~ xtsəp (DIR + 'dark').

**sun** məsi / məsaq / mujuq.

**rise (of the sun)** məsi ətsu ('sun' + 'shine').

**set (of the sun)** məsə ə-χt̩ ~ məsi ə-χt̩ ('sun' + DIR + χt̩ə 'disappear, descend').

**become dusk** fiə-ful (< phul 'unclear, dusky').

**sun (vt., vi.)** məsi şkue ('sun (n.)' + 'bake').

**shine (vi.)** ə-tsu.

**solar eclipse** khuə-wu mujuq sə-dzi ('dog' + AGT + 'sun' + DIR + 'eat').

**moon** ci-şue ('moon/month' + 'bright'; ci possibly < PTB \*s-la).

**lunar eclipse** khuə-wu cişue sə-dzi ('dog' + AGT + 'moon' + DIR + 'eat').

**moonlight** şuaq (= 'light').

**star** ɛdzə.

**meteor / falling star** ɛdzə do-tshu ('star' + DIR + 'fall').

**light** şuaq.

**bright** şue / şuex.

**shiny, shining** tə-şue (DIR + 'bright').

**dark** xtsəp / mo:təu.

**obscure, dark** mo:təu (mo: possibly < PTB \*muk ~ \*muŋ).

**shadow** şuaq (= 'light').

**wind** moʁu.

**blow (of the wind)** moʁu we (= 'there is wind') / moʁu ɛu ('wind' + 'blow'(?))—cognate

verb, from last syllable of 'wind').

**stop blowing (of the wind)** moʁu mə-wə-ji (= 'wind' + NEG + 'exist' + CSM).

**storm (vi.)** moʁu we (= 'there is wind').

**whirl (vi., of the wind)** ɛlaş.

**whirlwind** moʁu ɛlaş ('wind' + 'whirl').

**dry up by the wind** tu-juku-z (DIR + 'dry' + causative suffix).

**rain (n.)** me:ʔ.

**rain (vi.)** me:ʔ ɛe ('rain' + 'release, fall').

**get wet (from the rain)** inni (< i-niə DIR + 'wet').

**stop (of the rain)** me:ʔ mə-ɛə-ji ('rain' + NEG + 'release, fall' + CSM).

**drizzle** buz me:ʔ ('dirt/soil' + 'rain').

**raindrop** ɛtəy.

**drip (vi.)** tshu.

**drop (CL)** tsə.

**rainbow** tsəqtşə ɛuə ('rainbow' + 'to be bent') / tsəqtşə we ('rainbow' + 'exist').

**cloud** zdam.

**disperse (of clouds)** zdam fi-qatşhe ('cloud' + DIR + 'disperse').

**rosy clouds, rosy sunset** stu tə-ɛi ('oil' + DIR + 'release'; used for colored clouds morning or night).

**fog, mist** zdə-qhu ~ zdo-qhu ('cloud' + 'descend').

**spread (of fog)** zdəqhu ɛe ('fog' + 'release/descend') / zdəqhu do-qhu ('fog' + DIR + 'descend (of fog)').

**dew** dzəq.

- dewdrop** dzəq ɕɛy ('dew' + 'raindrop').
- fall (of dew)** dzəq de-we ('dew' + DIR + 'exist').
- sleet (vi.)** qhats.
- frost** me<sup>1</sup>-x ('rain' + 'form (of frost)').
- snow** pe.
- snow (vi.)** pe ɕe ('snow' + 'release, fall').
- melt (of snow)** (pe) fiɑ-l ('snow' + DIR + 'melt').
- hail** zu.
- hail (vi.)** zu ɕe ('hail' + 'release, fall').
- lightning (n.)** su(ə)-qua ('tooth' + 'lightning').
- lightning (vi.)** suə-qua ('tooth' + 'lightening').
- thunder (n.)** me<sup>1</sup>-gɥ ('rain' + 'thunder').
- thunder (vi.)** me<sup>1</sup>gu / sa (sa = 'to make loud noise').
- be struck by lightning** me<sup>1</sup>gɥ fiɑ-qa ('lightning' + 'go down (DIR + 'go)').
- fine day, nice day** mə χqa ('sky/heaven' + 'clear').
- cloudy day, rainy day** mə ɛəi ('sky/heaven' + 'bad').
- drought** mə tə-χqa ('sky' + DIR + 'clear').
- seven sister stars** tsi-satɕɥ ɕtɕə-tɕ ('older sister' + 'younger sister' + 'seven' + CL).
- south wind** moɕu su-ɕu (= 'wind blows down-river' (relative to Ronghong village)).
- north wind** moɕu nu-ɕu (= 'wind blows up-river' (relative to Ronghong village)).
- east wind** moɕu to-ɕu (= 'wind blows up' (relative to Ronghong village)).
- west wind** moɕu fiə-ɕu (= 'wind blows down' (relative to Ronghong village)).
- air** məs (= 'breath').
- earth (the earth)** zəp (zə = 'field, land, ground').
- surface of the earth** ləχ (not natural ground, but altered in some way, such as bottom floor of house, etc.).
- land, ground** zə.
- earthquake** zə te<sup>1</sup>m ('earth/land' + 'shake').
- crack, split (vi.)** da-tɕɑ.
- soil, dirt** buzɥ.
- mud** matɕɑ.
- mire** maha.
- stone** zɑwɑ / χ<sup>1</sup>tu (χ<sup>1</sup>tu < PTB \*r-luŋ).
- rock** zɥuət.
- pebble** χqɑŋi.
- sand** tsə-ɕɑ ('water' + 'sand') / ɕats (< Ch. shā, shāzi').
- hill, mound mountain** ɛopu.~ɕu
- climb a hill** dəde.
- peak** ɕu-q ('mountain' + 'head').
- halfway up a mountain** ɕu e-dzue ('mountian' + 'one' + 'half').
- foot of a hill** je-kuə ('cliff' + 'base').
- slope of a hill** xepi.
- loess** x<sup>1</sup>ɛx-buzɥ ('loess' + 'soil/dirt').
- ravine, valley** χot ~ χotɕ.
- landslide** ɕu do-tshu ('mountain' + 'fall down' (DIR + 'fall')).
- hill without vegetation** sa<sup>1</sup>.

**cliff** jaq.  
**cave, hole, crack** zɔ:pu.  
**water** tsə (< PTB \*tsə).  
**freeze (vi.)** tsəpa zu-pu ('ice' + DIR + 'form(v.)').  
**ice** tsəpa (cf. tsə 'water').  
**flow (vi., of water)** (tsə) lu ('water' + 'come').  
**wash down (vi., of water)** sə-la (DIR + 'come'; = 'come down').  
**soak, flood (vi.)** inni (< i-nie DIR + 'wet').  
**flood (n.)** suəm (cf. suə 'sea').  
**flood (vi.)** suəm sə-la ('flood' (cf. suə 'sea') + 'come down' (DIR + 'come')).  
**float (vi.)** tə-q-ta.  
**sink (vi.)** hā-q-ta.  
**clear (of water)** (tsə) qə'q ('water' + 'clear').  
**muddy** ma-qə'q (NEG + 'clear').  
**dirt in water** tsə-χs ('water' + 'shit').  
**waterfall** tsə hio-χu ('water' + 'fall down').  
**sea, lake** suə.  
**flow like a wave (vi.)** χtate.  
**rise (of the tide)** tsə tə-wa ('water' + 'become big' (DIR + 'big')).  
**ebb (of the tide)** tsə hā-χtsa ('water' + 'become small' (DIR + 'small')).  
**river, stream** tsə / xsəts (large river) (tsə = 'water'; xsə-ts = 'god' + 'water').  
**river valley** qhua:.  
**river-bed** tsə-χuə ('tsə = 'water').  
**embankment** tsə qhats.  
**dredge a river** tsə cə ('water/river' + 'release/do').  
**pond** tshəthəŋ (< Ch. chítáng).

**puddle** tan(tan) (< Ch. tǎn).  
**spring** knis.  
**ditch, gully, gorge** tsə-χu ('water' + 'mountain valley' (< χotʂu)).  
**foam, froth (n.)** matʂhəs.  
**foam (vi.)** matʂhəs tə-la ('foam' + 'come up' (DIR + 'come')).  
**gold** χqu ~ squ.  
**silver** ŋuə (< PTB \*d-ŋul).  
**copper, bronze** χa. (possibly < PTB \*kar)  
**iron** somu.  
**rust** zəxtʂ.  
**rust (vi.)** təlqhua (= 'alter / change form').  
**steel** kaŋχu (< Ch.).  
**tin** χtsə.  
**coal** mei (< Ch. méi).  
**soot** mu-ku-tchuʂ (mu = 'fire'; muku = 'fireplace'; tchu = 'soot').  
**kerosene** meijo (< Ch. méiyóu).  
**gasoline** zdue:ʔ (= 'oil').  
**mildew, mold** phəm.  
**dust** spəl.  
**get dusty (vi.)** spəl de-we ('dust' + DIR + 'exist').  
**powder** fen (< Ch. fěn).  
**fire** mə (< PTB \*mej).  
**burn (vi.)** phu-x-təu (phu = 'blow', can be used alone for 'burn').  
**on fire, to catch fire (vi.)** zəm de-we ('fire disaster' + DIR + 'exist').  
**there is a fire** mə de-we ('fire' + DIR + 'exist').  
**fire disaster** zəm.  
**a s h** təu-xu-buzu ('ash' + 'smoke(?)' + 'dirt').  
**become ashes (vi.)** təu-xu-buzu pe ('ash' + 'smoke(?)' + 'dirt')

+ 'form/become') / de-we-das  
(DIR + 'exist' + 'finish').

**smoke (n.)** mu-ϕy ~ mu-xu  
(‘fire’ + ‘smoke’).

**smoke (meat) (vt.)** tchəu-tha (<  
Ch. (Sichuan dialect form for  
‘to smoke meat’) + AUX).

**flame** mə-zda (mə = ‘fire’, zda  
= ‘cloud (?)’).

**vapor, steam** lue.

**congeal (vi.)** tə-g (DIR +  
‘congeal’).

**stop up (a hole), fill (in land)**  
xtʂə.

**stop the flow of water** tsə xtʂə  
(‘water’ + ‘stop up’).

**water gate** tsulpi.

**level up (vt.)** sə-phin-tha (DIR +  
‘level (< Ch. píng)’ + AUX).

**enjoy coolness** suaqqa zi (‘cool  
shade’ + ‘exist’).

## ANIMALS (Wild)

**fur** xupa (= ‘feather’).

**tail** sikue.

**wag the tail** sikue phete (‘tail’ +  
‘shake/pat’).

**claw (n.)** pa<sup>4</sup>χ.

**claw (vi.)** gigi.

**hoof** tʂuəχ (cf. tʂuəwa ‘shoes’  
and tʂuə ‘wear (shoes)’).

**horn** zəq.

**chew the cud** dzu-z (‘grass’ +  
‘eat (< dzə)’).

**h e r d** wu (with number  
pronounced a-w(u) ‘one  
herd’).

**flock** ʂpu.

**herd together** a-wu pe / a-wu  
ŋuə (‘form a herd’ / ‘is a  
herd’).

**copulate (of animals)** b ə l  
(euphemistic term; = ‘do’).

**give birth to the young (of  
animals)** tʂuə i-çi (‘child’ +  
DIR + ‘release/do’).

**hide, skin (n.)** zəpi.

**excrement** jimi / χʂə.

**nest** zəbaha.

**beasts (wild animals)** phuxʂu  
(phu < phə ‘tree/forest’ +  
xʂu ‘roedeer’).

**dragon** zəbu ~ zəbə.

**tiger** χu (< Ch. hǔ).

**lion** sin ~ siŋgi (< Tibetan <  
Sanskrit siŋga) / sətʂə (< Ch.  
shīzi; former used mostly  
by older people, latter by  
younger people).

**roar (as lion), howl (as wolf)**  
zdə.

**leopard** sə (< PTB \*sik).

**wolf** la (< Ch. láng).

**jackal** ʂpeçi (ʂpe cf. Tib spjaŋ-  
khu).

**fox** zəgue.



**fox, wildcat** tue:<sup>1</sup>.  
**weasel** tʂoqu.  
**elephant** ja:ku ~ jaku (= ‘bracelet’).  
**deer** zdu.  
**roedeer, barking deer** xʂu.  
**musk, river deer, roedeer** ju-xʂu (ju < jy ‘female roedeer’; xʂu = ‘roedeer’).  
**roedeer (female)** jy-mi (mi = female animal suffix).  
**wild boar** pie-χu (‘pig’ + ‘tiger (?)’).  
**bear** tci.  
**bear gall** tci-xtʂ (‘bear’ + ‘gall’).  
**monkey** kuasa.  
**ape, orangutan** ʂkuəp ~ ʂkup.  
**badger** tʂuku.  
**porcupine** wəitsə (< Ch. wèizi (cìwèi)).  
**rabbit** zətʂhaq.  
**rabbit (male)** zətʂhaq-zdu (‘rabbit’ + male gender marker for small animals).  
**mouse, field mouse** zexu.  
**mole** zə-puku (zə = ‘field, earth’).  
**mountain goat** ʂkuəi.  
**land otter** yzəc (possible to eat this animal, but quite oily).  
**otter** tsə-yz (‘water’ + ‘land otter’).  
**squirrel** lubəi (lu = ‘China fir tree’).  
**silver monkey** khuə-hi: (khuə = ‘dog?’).

## BIRDS

**bird** wə.  
**fly (vi.)** la (da-la).  
**wing** yzəi-fa (‘fly’ (cf. Mawo gzi) + ‘clothing’ (?)).

**feather** xupa (= ‘fur’).  
**moult (vi.)** xupa-kuə (‘feather’ + ‘throw, cast away’).  
**beak** zdekü.  
**peck (v.)** tshuete.  
**gizzard** dzual.  
**egg (in general)** wə-s (‘bird’ + nominalizer).  
**hawk** χtu.  
**owl** wufü.  
**swallow (n.)** jantʂhaquətsi (= ‘long forked stick’).  
**crow** no-ku (‘black’ (?) + ‘goose’).  
**magpie** tʂeictʂəq (onomatopoeic form).  
**sparrow** wətʂhi (wə = ‘bird’).  
**pigeon** wu-ʂpu / ŋuʂpu / gugü (wu < wə ‘bird’ + ‘flock’; ŋu form possibly related to ŋuku bu ‘deaf’; gugü is onomatopoeic form; wu-ʂpu / ŋuʂpu refers to wild pigeons, gugü to those raised by the family).  
**woodpecker** lukua-tshuete-m (‘China fir tree’ + ‘peck’ + agentive nominalizer).  
**parrot** ginguo ~ gənkuo.  
**pheasant** wu-lu (wu < wə ‘bird’).  
**crane** jugu.  
**bat (animal)** pie-ʂpala / pi-ʂpala (‘pig’ + ‘change’ (< ʂpata’)).  
**cuckoo** kuput ~ kupət (onomatopoeic form).  
**hunt** khuə-cə (‘dog’ + ‘release’) / xʂu-qhu-k (‘roedeer/wild animal’ + ‘hit/shoot’ + ‘go’).  
**set a snare** xʂul le (of a trap made of hemp rope; ‘rope’ + ‘insert/install’) / χansu le (of a trap made of metal wire).

**catch (vt.)** gigi.  
**shoot** qhu (soqhu qhu ‘shoot a gun’).  
**gun** soqhu.

### ANIMALS (Domestic)

**livestock** ketše.  
**rear (vt.), breed (vt.)** pe<sup>1</sup>z.  
**kill** tšə.  
**remove fur** xupu khue (from animals; ‘fur’ + ‘scrape, shave’).  
**butcher (vt.)** tšu-tšu.  
**castrate** ɤue.  
**castrated animal** toɤu.  
**ox** xše-x / zə (‘cow’ + castrated male marker / zə is stud male; also wild cow).  
**cow** xše-mi (‘cow’ + female gender marker).  
**calf** xše-tšuə ~ xše-tšy (‘cow’ + ‘child’).  
**cow manure** xše-χš (‘cow’ + ‘manure, excrement’).  
**buffalo** tsuə-z (‘water’ + ‘wild cow (< zə)’).  
**common yellow cow** soɤu.  
**common yellow cow, male** soɤu-zə.  
**common yellow cow, female** ŋuə / soɤu-ŋuə / ŋuə-mi (ŋuə < PTB \*ŋwa).  
**wild cow** zə.  
**yak** zɤbə (= ‘dragon’).  
**pianniu** (a cross between a bull and a yak) xiə.  
**tend cattle** xše ɕtɕy (‘cow’ + ‘release/graze’).  
**fight (of bulls), gore (vt.)** tšitši.  
**tie up a cow** xše zdzy (‘cow’ + ‘tie up’).  
**pierce the nose of a cow** ɕtɕy šə (‘nose’ + ‘pierce’).

**nose ring of cow** jə.  
**pig** pie (< PTB \*p(w)ak).  
**pig (male)** pie-ci.  
**s o w** piejmi (‘pig’ + female gender marker).  
**breeding boar, sire pig** tɕotšo.  
**shoat, piglet (male)** pie-ɕy.  
**half-grown pig** pie-tɕatsə (‘pig’ + ‘family’ (< Ch. jiāzi 家子)).  
**root (vt., of pigs)** ɣlə (= ‘turn over’).  
**pig’s bristles** tsum-pha ~ tson-pha (< Ch. zōng).  
**tend pigs** pie ɤuakɤ (‘pig’ + ‘tend’).  
**pig feed** pie-st (‘pig’ + ‘food/rice’).  
**sheep, mountain goat** tshe.  
**drive (sheep)** (tshe) we.  
**sheep (wool sheep)** ŋowu ~ ŋo:wu.  
**goat (male)** dze.  
**goat (female)** tshe-mi (‘sheep’ + female gender marker).  
**kid** ŋowu-zdue (‘wool sheep’ + diminutive for sheep).  
**l a m b** tshe-zdue (‘mountain sheep’ + diminutive for sheep).  
**wool, fleece** tshe-fy (‘mountain sheep’ + ‘fur’ (fy < xupa ~ φupa)) / ŋiu (wool of wool sheep).  
**sheepskin** tsha:pi (‘sheep’ + ‘skin’ (< zɕpi)).  
**horse** wə (possibly < PTB \*s-raŋ ~ \*m-raŋ; cf. Mawo dial. ɤu < \*raŋ).  
**mare** wə-mi (‘horse’ + female gender marker).  
**horse dung** wə-χš (‘horse’ + ‘manure, excrement’ (< χšə)).

**ride (a horse)** tsa / qatʃhe.  
**horse feed** paha (= ‘dried grass’).  
**ass, donkey** dzawa.  
**dog, hunting dog** khuə (< PTB \*kwəy).  
**dog, male** khuə-zdu (‘dog’ + male gender marker for small mammals).  
**dog, female, bitch** khu-mi / khuə-miaha (‘dog’ + female gender marker).  
**bark (vi.)** te.  
**dog feed** khu-st (‘dog’ + ‘food/rice’) / seŋiaɯ (< Ch. siliào).  
**cat** puŋu.  
**cat (male)** puŋu-zdu (‘cat’ + male gender marker for small mammals).  
**meow (vi.)** mjau.  
**chicken** tɕy:.  
**cock** jy-pi (‘chicken’ (< tɕy:) + male gender marker for flying birds).  
**chicken dung** tɕy:-χʂ (‘chicken’ + ‘manure, excrement’).  
**cockscorn** jy-pi-qulu (‘chicken’ (< tɕy:) + male gender marker for flying birds + ‘point’).  
**crow (vi., of cock)** se.  
**cock’s tail** tɕy: sikue (‘chicken’ + ‘tail’).  
**hen (before or after laying eggs)** jy-miaha (‘chicken’ (< tɕy:) + female gender marker).  
**chick** tɕy:-tʂy (‘chicken’ + ‘child’).  
**lay eggs** wəs khe<sup>t</sup> (wəs = ‘egg’).  
**hatch (sit on eggs)** tɕy: le (‘chicken’ + ‘insert’).  
**hatch (come out of egg)** wəs phe(te) (‘egg’ + ‘shake, pat,

scratch’) / tɕy: le (‘chicken’ + ‘exist’).  
**scratch for feed (chicken)** phete (‘shake, pat, scratch’).  
**duck** jats (< Ch. yāzi).  
**quack (vi.)** qa qa.  
**tend ducks** jats ɬuəɬy (‘duck’ (< Ch.) + ‘tend’).  
**goose** ɬu (possibly < PTB \*ŋa).  
**remove feathers** xupa stue (‘feathers’ + ‘pull out’).  
**clip the wings** ɣzəifa tua (‘wing’ + ‘cut’).

## INSECTS

**insect, maggot, worm, riceworm** bəl (bə < PTB \*bu).  
**crawl (of insects)** sei (= ‘walk’).  
**metamorphosis** zɕepi ŋa-ɬue (‘skin’ + DIR + ‘throw, cast away’).  
**silkworm** buqtʃhu.  
**bee** bə (< PTB \*b(y)a).  
**stinger of a bee/wasp** ji.  
**sting (vt.)** i-tʂue (DIR + ‘sting’).  
**honeycomb, beehive** bət (bə = ‘bee’ + tɕi ‘house’?).  
**honey** bə-χʂ ~ bə-xʂ (‘bee’ + ‘excrement’).  
**wasp, yellow jacket** tʃhuəɬi.  
**hornet** biaŋ.  
**butterfly, moth** xtʃampha.  
**caterpillar** soqhu ~ suqhu.  
**firefly** butʃhuqu / dum.  
**fly, blue-bottle fly** bəiχa.  
**mosquito, gnat, wriggler** bunqutsə (there are no big mosquitos in the Qiang areas).  
**bite (vt., of mosquito)** sa tʃhe (‘blood’ + ‘suck’).

**mosquito bite (n.)** tə-pha (DIR + 'swell').  
**spider** tʂhəʂ.  
**spider's web** tʂhəʂ-dzu ('spider' + 'net').  
**spin a web (of spider)** dzu bəl ('net/web' + 'do').  
**ant, termite** tɕukhu.  
**snail** zum-me:<sup>1</sup>.  
**earthworm** ləχ-bəl ('ground/earth' + 'worm').  
**centipede** de:<sup>1</sup>.  
**grasshopper** tʂho-χsu (χsu = 'jump').  
**snake (thick)** bəs.  
**snake (thin)** bəyi.  
**red-spotted lizard** ʂqu-tʂhe ~ ʂqu-tʂhi (= 'stutter'; ʂqu = 'mouth').  
**leech** məχuan (< Ch. mǎ-huáng).  
**bedbug** buqtɕhu (= 'silkworm').  
**louse, tick** xtʂe (possibly < PTB \*srik).  
**nit** xtʂutsy.  
**flea** tsun.  
**intestinal worm** bəl-qhua (bəl = 'worm').  
**insect which eats wood or bamboo** bətʂ.

## FISH, FROGS, & TURTLES

**frog (green), toad** dzupi ~ dzuəpi.  
**frog (black)** dzuəpi ŋiq ('frog' + 'black').  
**turtle** wukuəi (< Ch. wūgūi).  
**fish** ɛzə.  
**swim (vi.)** tsu ɛlu ('water' + 'swim') / ɛzə-la (of fish; 'fish' + 'fly (v.)').  
**fish scale** dze.

**fish spawn** ɛzə-wəs ('fish' + 'egg').  
**fish (with a rod)** ɛzə ɛue (ɛzə = 'fish (n.)').  
**fishing rod** jy ke<sup>1</sup> (< Ch. yú-gān).  
**fishing hook** jy kəu (< Ch. yú-gōu).  
**catch fish with net or hands** ɛzə gi ('fish' + 'grab/catch').  
**fishing net** jy ɛuan (< Ch. yúwǎng).

## PLANTS

**grow (vi.)** tə-ʂ.  
**creep (vi.)** ha-tʂha.  
**seed** zuə ~ zu.  
**sprout (n.)** tʂhoq.  
**sprout (as from seed)** tʂhoq tə-ʂ  
 ('sprout (n.)' + 'grow').  
**young shoots** ʂə-q ('grow' +  
 'head').  
**tree, shrub** sə-f ('wood' +  
 'forest' (f < phə)).  
**forest** phə.  
**seedlings of a tree** tshen miəu  
 (< Ch. qīngmiáo).  
**root** kopu.  
**tree trunk** ʂəq (= 'body').  
**bark** səf zəpi ('tree' + 'skin').  
**branches** zəji.  
**tree-fork, a forked stick** jan  
 tʂha quə tsi (< Ch.)  
**resin, colophony** luz (lu = 'fir  
 tree').  
**pine tree** ɕpie-ɸ ~ ɕpie-f ('pine'  
 + 'tree/forest').  
**pine cone** ɕpie-lu-quʂ ('pine' +  
 'fir' + ?).  
**fir tree** lu / luku.  
**poplar tree** ɛzu-fy.  
**cypress tree** zuamə-ɸu.  
**willow tree** sə:ʰ.  
**birch tree** zdzəs.  
**tree stump** zeke.  
**leaf** xtʂapa (used for all types  
 of leaves, including those of  
 vegetables).  
**shade (vt., of leaves)** ə-xtʂ.  
**tree shade (n.)** ʂuaq (= 'shadow').  
**flower (n.), pollen** lampa ~  
 lapa.  
**bud (n.)** lampa tʂhuqu.  
**petals of a flower** efi.  
**thorn** tshəma.

**bloom (vi.)** pa.  
**flowers falling/wilting** ɛue.  
**bamboo** ʂpə.  
**vine** kum.  
**sunflower** mu-n-tuq (mu =  
 'sun').  
**dandelion** məq maha ('top,  
 above' + 'evening'/'mire').  
**moss** tsə-χaf ('water' + 'grass').  
**bracken** məɛl.  
**fennel** χoɕian (< Ch. húi-  
 xiāng).  
**grass, thatch rushes** χaf.  
**azalea** ɛofy.  
**sheeporn flower, morning  
 glory** zeke lampa.  
**cotton** miəχu (< Ch. mián-  
 huā).  
**grains** dzə-s ('eat' + instru-  
 mental nominalizing suffix).  
**rice shoots, sprouting grain** ʂəq  
 (= 'sprouts').  
**rice (in field or hulled)** qhəʰ.  
**ear of grain, ears of wheat**  
 ɕtəəq / dzəpat (ɕtəəq < PTB  
 \*sni; cf. 'seven', 'heart', Tib.  
 sŋi-ma; q is secondary,  
 possibly < qə 'head').  
**glutinous rice** tɕiumi (< Ch.  
 jiūmǐ ('wine rice')).  
**long white rice** qhəʰ-xɛ ('rice' +  
 'new').  
**rice husk** kha.  
**wheat** ɛlə.  
**buckwheat** dzuaɛa.  
**tares** pə.  
**wheat bran** fəts (< Ch. fūzi).  
**gluten of wheat** gəʰ.  
**wheat flour** bolu.  
**spiked millet** kutsə (< Ch.  
 gūzi).  
**sorghum, glutinous millet** ʂpa.  
**corn** jima (< Ch. yùmǐ).  
**flax, hemp** su.

**hemp seed** su-zuə ('hemp' + 'seed').

**barley** nəz.

**highland barley** dzə.

**tsamba** dzu.

**oats** wəmə.

**wheat straw** paha (= 'horse feed').

**vegetables** kuşu.

**sweet potato** xoŋsau (< Ch. hóngháo).

**potato** jajəŋu (< Ch.).

**cabbage** tɕyan-cin-pe (< Ch. juǎnxīnbái).

**Chinese cabbage** patshai (< Ch. báicài).

**spinach** po-tshai (< Ch. bōcài).

**rape seed plant** tshət / tsə.

**pumpkin, bottle gourd** pakua (< Ch.).

**winter melon** toŋkua (< Ch. dōngguā).

**cucumber** xuaŋkua (< Ch. huángguā).

**young cucumber** kekua (< Ch.).

**turnip** lup (< Ch. lúobo).

**carrot** xolumpau (< Ch. hú-lúobo).

**bean, pea, soybean** də (said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan from Chinese, but said by Huang Chenglong to be a native word).

**pea/bean shoots/sprouts** də-şəq ('bean' + 'sprout').

**soybean** təutəu (< Ch. dòu).

**hyacinth bean/lentil** petəu (< Ch. biǎndòu, an older loan of same word as piantəu?—next item).

**black-eyed pea, black bean, string bean, white bean** piantəu (< Ch. biǎndòu).

**horsebean** xuthəʔ.

**snow pea-pod** də (= 'bean') / kuantəu (< Ch. wǎndòu).

**peanut** xuasen (< Ch. huāshēng).

**chives** tɕiu tshai (< Ch. jǐucài).

**celery** tɕhin tshai (< Ch. qīncài).

**coriander** jansui (< Ch. yánsuī).

**onion** dutsha.

**garlic** tɕi-c ('house' + 'garlic').

**pepper** xoitshu (< Ch. hǎijiāo).

**ginger** kuikua ~ kuika.

**laminaria, kelp** taipei (< Ch.).

**lettuce** khuma tshai (tshai < Ch. cài).

**fungus, mushroom** mujū.

**grass mushroom** se:ʔ-mujū ('willow' + 'fungus / mushroom').

**fruit** zuə / səimi.

**bear fruit** zuə u-dzu.

**pear** pie səimi ('pig' + 'fruit').

**prune** tshəp ki səimi.

**grape** kulumi.

**jujube** zuantsəʔ.

**walnut** xathi (< Ch. hétáo).

**apple** phiŋkuo (< Ch. pínggǔo).

**red bayberry** buzu səimi ('dirt/earth' + 'fruit').

**strawberry** xaf-səimi ('grass' + 'fruit').

**herb, medicine** sipe.

**danggui (a kind of medicinal root)** tɕiquaki.

**fritillary (Fritillaria thunbergii) bulb** qupki.

**rhubarb** suaki.

## FARMING

**plant (vt.), sow seeds** phie.  
**field** zəp ~ zə (= 'earth').  
**plant a field** zə phie ('field' + 'to plant').  
**weed (vt.)** χα ste ('grass (< χaf) + 'get rid of').  
**gather night soil** χξə tɕy ('excrement' + 'pick up').  
**fertilize** jimi ɰlie ('fertilizer (dry manure or grass stalks)' + 'use, apply').  
**graft (vt.)** tɕa tɕe pə (< Ch. jiē zhī (in reverse order) + 'to do').  
**plow (n.)** tuq.  
**plow-share** gu:.  
**plow (a field)** lə (= 'to turn over, roll up'; used with xɕe 'cow (pianniu)': xɕe lə 'plow the fields').  
**edges of a field** zə-piəna ('field' + 'side/vicinity').  
**irrigate** tsə ɕuə ('water' + 'irrigate').  
**water (vt.)** tsə qhutu ('water' + 'to spread, sprinkle').  
**pick** tshu-(tshu) (reduplicate for repeated action).  
**harvest (vt.)** ku.  
**thresh (vt.)** zɕe.  
**winnowing tray** tshotɕu.  
**sieve (n.), sieve (vt.)** se (native word, not loan).  
**flour sieve** zɕbu.  
**soak (vt.)** stə.  
**mill (n.)** dzua-ɰl ('grind' + 'stone (< ɰlu)').  
**grind (vt.)** dzue.  
**grind, rub fine (vt.)** khe¹.  
**shell (vt.), peel (vt.)** qe¹qe¹ (= 'open out, separate').  
**pound, hit** zɕete.

**peel with a peeler** sue (< Ch. xuē).  
**climb (a tree)** dide.  
**garden** tsekɰ.  
**vegetable garden** kuɕɰ tsekɰ ('vegetable' + 'garden').  
**store (grains) (vt.)** ə-ɕyɕ (DIR + 'to put, place').  
**mow / cut grass (vt.)** jimi gue ('fertilizer grass (grain stalks)' + 'to cut').  
**bind, tie up (grain stalks etc.)** dzuedzue.  
**grain stalk rack** jimi-laqua.  
**hang (vt.) (on grain stalk rack)** ju.

## FOOD

**food, provision** zɕuə.  
**meal (CL)** zdzi (e-zdzi).  
**breakfast** ɕtɕes (possibly < \*s-thə-s [causative prefix-eat-instrumental nominalizer] 'what is fed').  
**noon meal, lunch** dza:.  
**evening meal, dinner** j e s (possibly 'good to eat' + instrumental nominalizer] 'what is good to eat').  
**cooked rice, food** stuaha.  
**cooked rice (dry or drained)** ɕkum.  
**rice gruel, congee** ɰzɕem.  
**corn gruel, corn meal porridge** maha.  
**rice water** mithan (< Ch. mǐ-tāng).  
**burnt rice that adheres to sides of pot** kupa (< Ch. gūobā).  
**steamed or baked bread** qhal.  
**round dumpling** kuque / pautsə (< Ch. bāozi).

**noodle(s)** ɕpies.  
**thin vermicelli that has been hung to dry** ɕpies / kuamin (< Ch. guàmiàn).  
**dregs (of solids or liquids)** tʂatsə (< Ch. zhāzi).  
**flour** bolu.  
**dishes of food** kuʂu (= ‘vegetables’).  
**soup** than (< Ch. tāng).  
**pork** pie-pies (‘pig’ + ‘meat’ (‘pig’ + ‘meat’)).  
**meat** pie-s (‘pig’ + ‘meat’ (< PTB \*sya); now used for all kinds of meat).  
**fat meat** piexu ~ piefu (‘meat’ + ‘fat’ (?)).  
**lean meat** tʂaxə (xə < ɕa).  
**roast pork with skin** pies-phuxtəu (‘meat’ + ‘roast’).  
**pig’s feet** pie-dzoqu (‘pig’ + ‘foot’).  
**stomach (pork)** kuĩua / ɕsutsqha.  
**brain (as food)** qəpatʂ (= ‘head’).  
**beef** xʂe-pies / zɕə-pies / soʂu-pies (pianniu meat / yak meat / cow meat).  
**beef stomach** zɕuə-ɕqa (‘grain’ + ‘transport’).  
**tail** sikue.  
**mutton** tʂə-pies / ŋo:wu-pies (mountain goat meat / wool-sheep meat).  
**egg** wə-s (‘bird’ + nominalizer).  
**kidney** ʂpəl.  
**bean curd** de-zdz.  
**bean-thread** fənthiautsə (< Ch. fěntiáozi).  
**dried fungus** mak-ŋukɕ (ŋukɕ = ‘ear’).  
**leftover** kuʂu-hoɕu-j (‘vegetables’ + ‘left over’ + CSM).

**fried bread-stick** jəuthiau (< Ch. yóutiáo).  
**small round soft cake of pounded glutinous rice, grass jelly** ŋianfə<sup>1</sup> (< Ch. miànfěn; made of potatoes).  
**pastry, cake** pintsə (< Ch. bǐngzi).  
**bean paste** tətʂa (< Ch. dòu-shā).  
**melon seed** kuatsə (< Ch. guāzǐ).  
**ingredients** thiau niu (< Ch. tiáoliào).  
**oil** zdue ‘animal oil’ / zdue:<sup>1</sup> ‘plant oil’ / ŋama ‘butter’ (< Tib).  
**press out oil** zdue:<sup>1</sup> thə (‘plant oil’ + ‘squeeze’).  
**lard** pie-zdue (‘pig’ + ‘animal oil’).  
**salt** tʂə (< PTB \*tsa).  
**soy sauce** təujəu (< Ch. dòuyóu).  
**vinegar** tʂu (< Ch. cù).  
**sugar, candy** matha (< Ch. mátháng).  
**white sugar** pethan (< Ch. báitáng).  
**black salted beans** təuʂ (< Ch. dòuchǐ).  
**cornstarch** təufən (< Ch. dòufěn).  
**bunge prickly ash peel (pericarpium zanthoxyli; sometimes called wild pepper; used for numb hotness)** tʂəi.  
**boiled water** tsə tu-ɕʂə-l (‘water’ + ‘come to a boil (DIR + ‘boil (vi.)’) + ‘come (?)’) / khaiʂue (< Ch. kāishǔi).



**wine, liquor** (made by Qiang; not filtered) ci.  
**liquor (made by Chinese)** kə<sup>1</sup>-ci ('Han' + 'liquor'; Chinese-made white liquor).  
**brew wine** ci s̥qu ~ ci χqu ('liquor' + 'boil').  
**sweet fermented rice** qhə<sup>1</sup>-ci ('rice' + 'liquor').  
**distiller's yeast** tchoχu (possibly < Tibetan).  
**milk** papə (= 'breast').  
**cigarette** t̥sijan (< Ch. zhīyān).  
**smoke (cigarettes) (vt.)** t̥she (= 'suck').  
**be addicted to** jin le (jin < Ch. yīn + 'exist').

#### FOOD PREPARATION

**cook (rice)** stuaha bəl ('cooked rice' + 'do') / qhə<sup>1</sup> s̥qu ('uncooked rice' + 'boil') / qhə<sup>1</sup> tsə ('rice' + 'steam').  
**wash rice** qhə<sup>1</sup> χuəla ('rice' + 'wash') / thau-tha (< Ch. táo + AUX).  
**sort out vegetables** kuşu staqa ('vegetables' + 'select').  
**large shallow basket (worn on back)** peilantsə (< Ch. bēilánzi).  
**cut (with downward motion), cut into slices, threads or dice** qhua.  
**cut with a rolling action** khukhu.  
**cut with sideward motion** ku.  
**chop, to mince** tshua.  
**cut in two** ji-dzue pə ('two' + 'sections' + 'do').  
**chopper** tshetəŋ (< Ch.).

**cutting board** bet (large cutting board) / t̥shafən (like small table < Ch.) / tegu (block of wood).  
**chop firewood** sə gue<sup>1</sup> ('firewood' + 'chop').  
**firewood splitter** duakl.  
**kindling (for a fire)** tshuχs̥upi.  
**firewood** sə.  
**charcoal** muk̥u-təhuş ('fireplace' (possibly < 'fire' + 'base')) + 'ash') / mut̥cu ~ mudzu ('fire' + 'ash'; small, used in making steel) / kanthan (large; < Ch.).  
**smother (charcoal)** χethan (< Ch. hēitàn 'black charcoal') / paithan (< Ch. báitàn 'white charcoal'; use water).  
**make a fire** mə phə ('fire' + 'blow').  
**light a fire** dzue.  
**burn (firewood)** sə ət̥ə ('firewood' + 'add').  
**bellows** phete (= the verb phete 'blow').  
**kitchen range** tsul.  
**fire hole in a kitchen range** sə-ət̥ə-sta ('firewood' + 'add' + 'place (-s nominalizer + LOC)').  
**stove** χolutsə (< Ch. hǔolúzi).  
**brazier** χophen (< Ch. hǔopén).  
**fire tongs** sə-ste ('firewood' + 'pick up with chosticks').  
**frying pan** dzə.  
**lead cooking pan** la qua.  
**lid for cooking pan** qut̥ə.  
**food-turner** t̥shantsə (< Ch. chǎnzi) / səpi (flat; has handle).  
**fire kettle** tshue.  
**steamer** tsentsə (< Ch. zhēngzi).

**heat up a pan** tə-si (DIR + ‘hot’ = ‘become hot’).  
**soot of a pan** ɛlan̩i.  
**scour a pan** kupa-khue (‘burnt rice (< Ch. gūobā)’ + ‘scrape’).  
**stir** wəte.  
**mix** tsaqa.  
**knead (dough)** ŋethe (< Ch. niě).  
**mix (dough)** sə-xtsue.  
**roll into a ball with the hands** ɣlu (= ‘to roll’).  
**wrap (dumplings)** quəgue.  
**pound (garlic)** tɕie qhua (use back of knife; ‘garlic’ + ‘cut’).  
**put in (ingredients)** ə-ɛũ (DIR + ‘to place’).  
**sprinkle (vt.)** se.  
**pour over** qhutu.  
**soak** stə.  
**rise (vi., of bread)** fa-tha (< Ch. fā + AUX).  
**strain (strain away liquid)** ʂa.  
**filter, to strain (strain away solid)** tʂa.  
**crack an egg** wəs pie.  
**cook (a few dishes)** tʂhuətʂhue.  
**boil (vi.), (vt.), stew (vt.)** ʂqu.  
**boil for a long time** lə.  
**boil (water; vt.)** tshu.  
**boil (of water)** tsə tu-ɣsu (‘water’ + ‘come to a boil’).  
**cook on a griddle, fry in fat or oil** ɕe.  
**pop (of oil, etc.)** da-ʂp (= ‘split apart’).  
**deep-fry** tʂa-tha (< Ch. zhá + AUX).  
**steam (vt.), smoke** tsə.  
**roast** phuxtəu.  
**roast in hot ashes** tshu.  
**warm, to roast, to bake** ʂkue.

**half-cooked** ɣapət.  
**warm up leftovers** sesi (‘hot’ + ‘hot’).  
**render fat** tʂhə.  
**cook soup** than bəl (‘soup (< Ch. tāng)’ + ‘to do’).  
**taste** tse.

## EATING AND STORAGE UTENSILS

**set the table** tʂuats əʂ (‘table (< Ch.)’ + ‘to place’).  
**dish out rice** stuaha ju (‘rice’ + ‘to spoon’).  
**rice ladle** za.  
**cover (n.)** quətə.  
**tray** pe (< Ch. pén).  
**dish** phantsə (< Ch. pánzi).  
**dip (vt.)** ə-stʂ.  
**bowl** ɛua-tʂa (‘bowl (< Ch. wǎn)’ + Qiang word for ‘bowl’).  
**chopsticks** wets ~ wet-tsə (wet = ‘stick’; tsə < Ch. zi).  
**pick up with chopsticks** ste.  
**spoon (n.)** thiakə¹ (< Ch. tiáogēng).  
**ladle, spoon (vt.), pour (tea)** ju.  
**large open-mouthed jar** ʂuə tʂhua.  
**gourd used for a ladle** tsukə.  
**bottle** phintsə (< Ch. píngzi).  
**cork (vt.)** sə-xtʂə.  
**hot water bottle** pauwenphin (< Ch. bǎowēnpíng).  
**tea** tʂha (< Ch. chá).  
**teapot** tʂhaɣy (< Ch. cháhú).  
**infuse tea** tʂha phau-tha (< Ch. chá pào (‘tea’ + ‘infuse’) + AUX).  
**cup** peitsə (< Ch. bēizi).

**large earthenware jar without handle, shaped like an upside-down pear** qap (ei qap) ('liquor' + 'jar').  
**cooking utensils** stuaha-bəl-əs ('rice' + 'to do' + instrumental nominalizer).  
**blowing pipe for kindling** xothoŋ (< Ch. hǔotǒng).

## CLOTH AND CLOTHING

**cloth** ba:.  
**cotton cloth** mianpu (< Ch. miánbù).  
**printed cotton** ba:-lampa ('cloth' + 'flower(y)').  
**thin silk** ɣua.  
**wool** tshe-fy ('sheep' + 'fur' (fy < xupa ~ φupa)).  
**foreign woolen cloth** ɳitsə (< Ch. nízi).  
**spin (yarn) (vt.)** lete.  
**weave (vt.)** tətətɛi (< PTB \*tak).  
**loom** tɛe.  
**weaver's shuttle** ɣazɥ.  
**make clothes** fə jəj ('clothing' + 'to sew').  
**cut** tua.  
**cutout in sewing** qhəqhə.  
**sew** jəj.  
**torn (of clothes)** depi.  
**patch (vt.)** ʂpetɛ.  
**needle** ɣa (< PTB \*kap).  
**eye of needle** ɣa zɔpu ('needle' + 'hole').  
**thread a needle** ba:-tʂhəl dɑ-ʂ ('thread' + DIR + 'place').  
**thimble** tintʂen (< Ch. dǐng-zhēn).  
**thread** ba:-tʂhəl (ba: = 'cloth').  
**spool** puju.  
**wind thread** ɣu.  
**sew on a button** dzu.  
**make a button hole** fiə-phe.  
**border (garment, shoes) (vt.), embroider** ʂɑ.  
**woollen thread** maucian (< Ch. máoxiàn).  
**knit (vt.), weave a net** kepi.  
**knitting needle** kepi-s ('knit' + instrumental nominalizer).  
**brush (n.)** ʂuatsə (< Ch. shuāzi).

**brush (vt.)** ʃua-tha (< Ch. shuā + AUX).  
**wash (clothes)** fa χuəla ('clothing' + 'to wash').  
**wooden stick for washing clothes** ɤduaʃ (ɤdua = 'hammer').  
**wash clothes with stick** dzete (= 'hit').  
**shrink (vi., of clothes)** tə-watsi (= 'become short (DIR + 'short')').  
**put on clothesline, sun (clothes) (vt.)** pha.  
**dye (vt.)** sə.  
**clothes** fa ~ fua / guə-s ('to wear' + instrumental nominalizer).  
**wear (clothing)** guə (< PTB \*gwa).  
**wear (shoes)** tʃuə (cf. tʃuəχ 'hoof' and tʃuəwa 'shoes').  
**wear (pants)** de.  
**undress** da-qe.  
**change clothes** ləla (= 'exchange').  
**hang (clothes)** ɤuə ɤue.  
**naked** sta ɛi pau (sta = 'buttocks'; cf. 'barefoot' for ɛi).  
**woollen sweater** χʃufu.  
**leather, fur** zɛpi (= 'skin, hide').  
**fur garment** phikuatsə (< Ch. píguāzi).  
**collar** jinin (nin < Ch. líng).  
**sleeves** juqu (ju = 'hand' (?)).  
**waist belt** dzəidzi.  
**fasten the waist belt** dzu dzu.  
**trousers, pants** doqu.  
**trousers' seat** doqu thunpa (doqu = 'trousers').  
**skirt** tsulwa.  
**wear a skirt** tsulwa ɤu.  
**button (n.)** kata.

**buttonhole** kata-zop ('button' + 'hole (< zɔ:pu)').  
**snap button (n.)** gan khəu (< Ch. ànkòu).  
**button (vt.)** ə-tsu.  
**unbutton (vt.)** fiə-phe.  
**pocket** pau pau (< Ch. bāo-bāo).  
**hat** tawa.  
**wear (a hat)** ta.  
**head scarf** ʃəpat.  
**scarf** baq.  
**head wrapping** thoθo.  
**leg wrappings (leggings)** ɛyde.  
**handkerchief** ʃəuphatsə (< Ch. shōupàzi).  
**apron** wəiwəi (< Ch. wéi-qún)).  
**shoes** tʃuəwa (cf. tʃuəχ 'hoof' and tʃuə 'wear (shoes)').  
**tie (shoelace), make a knot** tu tu.  
**untie (shoelace)** phe<sup>1</sup> phe<sup>1</sup> (can be pronounced phe<sup>1</sup>z).  
**long boots** ɛyets (< Ch. xuēzi).  
**socks** ɤuats (< Ch. wàzi).  
**sheepskin vest** lənkuats (< Ch.).  
**belt for carrying baby on the back** tɛymi-bie-s ('child' + 'carry on back' + instrumental nominalizer).  
**carry on one's back** bie.  
**mourning apparel** se<sup>1</sup>-fu (Qiang mourning apparel is white).  
**barefooted** dzoq(u) pa ɛi (dzoqu pa = 'foot' + 'sole (palm of foot)').  
**necklace** pio lu.  
**earring** nupal (nɤ < nɤkɤ 'ear' (?)).  
**pierce the ear lobe** ʃə.  
**bracelet** ji-de (ji = 'hand').

**ring** ji-sa ('hand' + CL for joints and sections).

**umbrella** tʃhuə-sa.

**put up an umbrella** tʃhuəsa ta (ta also used for 'to wear a hat').

**walking stick** kueiphatsə (< Ch.).

**carry a walking stick** kueiphatsə tɕə-tɕi.

**tobacco pipe** jan tu (< Ch. yāndǒu).

## BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

**cattle pen** xʃe-tɕaɕe ('cattle' + 'pen').

**pigsty, hogpen** piə-tɕaɕe ('pig' + 'pen/sty').

**stable** wə-tɕaɕe ('horse' + 'pen, stable').

**manger** wə-tʃu (wə = 'horse').

**kennel** khuə-nəʃ ('dog' + 'bed').

**chicken nest** tɕy:-zɕbaha ('chicken' + 'nest').

**bird's nest** zɕbaha.

**beast's cave** zɕopu (= 'hole, cave').

**house** tɕi-ɕua (tɕi alone also = 'house' < PTB \*kʃim; ɕua is possibly an old classifier for house (it still is used as such in some other dialects), cf. tɕi-sa 'room' < 'house' + 'joint, classifier for sections').

**dwell (vi.)** le (= 'to exist in a container of some type').

**move (house)** pan-tha (< Ch. bān + AUX).

**watch the house** dzy gə' ('door' + 'to guard').

**storey** sa (classifier for rooms, stories, and for joints and sections).

**ground floor** tʃhə.

**upper storey** tɕy.

**second floor of house** ji-sa ('two' + CL; same form as 'two rooms').

**third floor of house** xʃə-sa ('three' + CL for rooms, stories, sections).

**storehouse** ʃpə.

**room** tɕi-sa ('house' + classifier for rooms, stories, sections).

**kitchen** tʃhufan (< Ch. chufáng; the Qiang don't have separate kitchens; the cooking is done in the fireplace in the middle of the main (= 2nd) floor).

**toilet** mausə (< Ch. máocè).

**corridor** phetɕi / tsəulan (< Ch. zǒuláng).

**roof** qə-sta ('head' + 'place').

**ceiling** ɕuan pan (< Ch.).

**beam** taχy.

**pillar** tsu.

**wall** qhats (qha = 'stone').

**climb over a wall** didi.

**corner** kuokuo (< Ch. jiǎo).

**staircase, ladder (wooden)** bu-zd ('board' + 'ladder').

**ladder (to the roof)** zdə.

**railing** jəpə-gigi-s ('hand' + 'grab' + instrumental nominalizer).

**window** zɔ:kum (zɔ: < zɔ:pu 'hole').

**door** dzy.

**knock at the door** dzy zɛte ('door' + 'hit, knock').

**open a door** dzy zɛge ('door' + 'open').

**close a door** dzy ha-qua ('door' + DIR + 'close').

**door frame** dzoqpu.

**doorway, an entrance** dzoqpu-q (dzoqpu = 'doorframe').

**step over the doorsill** da-ɕua.

**door bolt** ɕlatʃhua.

**bolt (a door)** (ɕlatʃhua) del (< DIR + le 'insert').

**lock (n.)** dzɔɕu.

**key** quəsəɕu.

**lock (vt.)** sua.

**steps** luts-qha (qha = 'stone').

**courtyard** ɕuaχ.

**platform, level area** dzəq

**well (n.)** tsuək ~ tsəkyə ('water' + 'pit').

**drying terrace (on roof of house) or yard** tɕepi.

**bamboo fence** tsekypi.

**fireplace** mugy.

**fireplace rack** səi mi.

**mill house** dzuaɕl ('grind' + 'stone (< ɕlu)').

**build a house, pile up a wall** χɕie.

**lay the foundation of house** ləthe.

**roof (vt.)** tɕi-sa-buzɕ zdzye ('room (< 'house' + CL for rooms)' + 'earth, dirt' + 'put roof together').

**lime** ʃəχui (< Ch. shíhūi).

**cement** ʃuinɿ (< Ch. shǔiní).

**lumber** panpan (< Ch. bǎn).

**set up pillars** tsu le ('pillar' + 'insert, move across').

**paint, spread on (vt.)** mə ma.

**fence in** pə.

**collapse, fall on its own weight** da-qhua.

**clean / tidy up (room, house)** suəʃyɕə.

**broom** tolu.

**dust basket** tsotɕu.

**sweep the floor** dzudzu.

**splash water** tsə se ('water' + 'splash, sprinkle').

**dust cloth** məma-s ('to wipe' + instrumental nominalizer).

**wipe (vt.)** məma (< Ch. (?)) / tsha-tha (< Ch. cā).

**feather duster** xʃe-sikue ('cow, cattle' + 'tail').

**dust (vt.)** phete.

**water-drawing bucket** tsə kut (tsə = 'water').

**fetch water** tsə bie ('water' + 'carry on back').

**polish (vt.)** fiɑ-tshə-tha (DIR + 'wipe (< Ch.)' + AUX).  
**leak (v.)** zə.

### FURNITURE

**furniture** pana (= 'things').  
**arrange / place (furniture)** ə-ŋ.  
**table** tʃuats (< Ch. zhuōzi).  
**cupboard** ɤuan kui (< Ch. wǎngù).  
**chair** jəts (< Ch. yǐzi) / dzuə-s (< 'sit' + nominalizer, used for any thing to sit on).  
**stool, wooden bench** pante (< Ch. bǎndēng).  
**closet** kuitsə (< Ch. gùizi).  
**drawers** tʃhəu-tʃhəu (< Ch. chōu(tí)).  
**box** qhuəŋ.  
**trunk** ɕantsə (< Ch. xiāngzi).  
**bed** bede / nə-s ~ nə-ŋ (< 'sleep' + instrumental nominalizer).  
**bed plank** bu (= 'wooden board').  
**set up a bed** bede-e-ze bəl ('bed' + 'one' + CL + 'to do').  
**mirror** mi:-lanɣ (mi: = 'eye').  
**look in a mirror** mi:-lanɣ tse ('mirror, lens' + 'look').  
**lamp** muwu (mu < mə 'fire'; originally meant the burning of pine cones, now can refer to any kind of lamp).  
**turn on the light** muwu de-zɣe ('lamp, light' + DIR + 'open').  
**turn off the light** muwu ə-qua ('lamp, light' + DIR + 'close').  
**wick** lian-χutsə (< Ch.).  
**candle** latʃu (< Ch. làzhú).

**picture** lampə (= 'flower').  
**bedding** tʃhuanpə (< Ch. chuángpu).  
**make the bed** nəp phəpha ('bed' + 'to spread').  
**mattress** zutsə (< Ch. rùzi).  
**mattress made of rice-stalks** butshu.  
**mat** sits (< Ch. xízi).  
**blanket** tʃan (< Ch. zhàn).  
**quilt** quatɕhi.  
**cover (with quilt)** guə (= 'to wear').  
**spread (vt.)** phəpha.  
**fold up** tə-ɕtɕi.  
**pillow** nəkɣ.  
**lay on a pillow** ə-ŋ (DIR + 'to place').  
**hang (a mosquito net)** ɤue.

### TOOLS

**thing** panə.  
**matter** zə.  
**method, way** panfa (< Ch. bànfǎ).  
**tools** panə (= 'things').  
**scissors** quəsap.  
**cut with scissors** tua.  
**knife** xtʃepi ~ xtɕepi.  
**back of a knife** tuopi (< Ch. dāobēi).  
**sheath, scabbard** tuoɕau (< Ch. dāoshāo (dāoqiào)).  
**grindstone** ɤlu-s (ɤlu = 'stone').  
**sharpen a knife** su.  
**handle** ji (= 'hand' (?)).  
**scrape (vt.)** khue.  
**peel (vt.)** sue.  
**split (wood) (vt.)** qheʔ.  
**prick (vt.)** ə-tʃ (DIR + 'to prick').  
**pierce (vt.)** da-tʃhuan-tha (DIR + < Ch. chuān + AUX).

**hammer (n.)** ɛdua (< PTB \*m-twa).  
**hammer (vt.)** dze.  
**axe** stei.  
**chop with an axe** khe.  
**pincers** tɕhiantɕə (< Ch. qiánzi).  
**pincer (vt.)** xtɕe.  
**chisel (n.)** ɛzu (cf. zu ‘to chisel’).  
**chisel (vt.)** zu.  
**saw (n.)** səqa.  
**saw (vt.)** khə¹.  
**file** tshuotɕə (< Ch. cuòzi).  
**awl or drill** tsantsə (< Ch. zuànzi).  
**awl** ɛəŋitɕy.  
**bore a hole** tɕitɕi.  
**plane (n.)** thuiɕəu (< Ch. tuībào).  
**plane (vt.)** thui-tha (< Ch. + AUX).  
**shavings** pəuɕua¹ (< Ch. bàohuār).  
**hook (n.)** tinniu (< Ch. dīngniǔ).  
**hook (vt.)** fiə-tɕua.  
**nail (n.)** tintɕə (< Ch. dīngzi).  
**nail (vt.)** zəzi.  
**screwdriver** luosətəu (< Ch. lúosīdāo).  
**screw (n.)** luosə (< Ch. lúosī).  
**screw in (a screw)** quətɕue (= ‘to turn’).  
**carrying pole** tuə-s (‘carry’ + instrumental nominalizer) / piantan (< Ch. biǎndàn).  
**roll (v.)** ylu.  
**shovel, spade (n.)** tɕhuantsə (< Ch. chǎnzi).  
**spade (vt.)** tɕhuan-tha (< Ch. chǎn + AUX).  
**hoe (n.)** tɕye.  
**hoe (vt.), dig (with tools)** phiphi.

**dig (with hands)** phe¹.  
**sickle** set / duaɕl (the latter is a heavy curved knife used for chopping wood).  
**sickle with teeth used to cut grain crops** kaset (also smaller than set and duaɕl).  
**stick** wet.  
**beat (with a stick)** dzete.  
**whip (n.)** piantsə (< Ch. biānzi).  
**whip (vt.)** zə-dzi.  
**ropes, cordage** jəl.  
**string, rope (n.)** dzəu / xɕul (‘rope for traps’) / tɕəɕuen (< Ch.).  
**twist ropes** dzəu bəl (‘rope’ + ‘to do’).  
**pail** ɕuət.  
**hand bucket** thoŋ (< Ch. tǒng).  
**crossbar at the top of a Chinese bucket** ji (= ‘handle’ = ‘hand’ (?)).  
**basket** lantsə (< Ch. lánzi).  
**small hand basket** puky.  
**whistle (n.)** ɕtɕyl.  
**m a t c h e s** janɕu (< Ch. yánghuǒ).  
**torch** ɕuap (cf. ɕue ‘bright’ and ɕuəq ‘light’; -p possibly < paha ‘straw’).  
**flint** ɛlu-fi ~ ɛlu-phi (‘stone’ + ‘white’; this is the white stone used for decoration and to invest spirits in).  
**light a match** khe.  
**straw** paha.  
**board** bu.  
**wire** thiesə (< Ch. tiěsī).  
**gunpowder** mu-dzu (‘fire’ + ‘powder’).  
**wood** sə (< PTB \*sik).  
**tile** ɛua (< Ch. wǎ).  
**lacquer** ləts (< Ch. (?)).



**ivory** jaku (< Ch. yǎgǔ).  
**kiln** jautsə (< Ch. yáozi).  
**winnowing shallow basket** se.  
**net** ɕuanɕuan (< Ch. wǎng).  
**sawdust** tɕymutsə (< Ch.).  
**repair** bəl (= ‘to do’) / ɕiu-tha  
 (< Ch. xiū + AUX).  
**pierce with a fork** ə-tɕ.

## TRADE AND BUSINESS

**trade (n.)** təts.  
**do business** təts pə (‘trade’ + ‘to do’).  
**buy** pə.  
**sell** ɕua.  
**it sells well** ɕua-na (‘sell’ + ‘good’).  
**capital** pə-tshe (< Ch. bĕnqián).  
**earn money** dzigɸ qupu  
 (‘money’ + ‘earn’).  
**lose money in business** tə-phei-tha  
 (DIR + < Ch. péi+ AUX).  
**accounts** tɕan (< Ch. zhàng).  
**record accounts** tɕe qua.  
**put on credit** kuatɕi (< Ch.).  
**collect debts** xɕolɸ.  
**make a quotation or offer** phu  
 dze (‘price’ + ‘say’).  
**how much (asking for price)**  
 n,awe.  
**haggle over prices** phə dzidzi  
 (‘price’ + ‘discuss’).  
**become wealthy** dziku tu-qupu  
 (‘money’ + DIR + ‘earn’).  
**get promoted** tə-qa (= ‘go up  
 (DIR + ‘to go’)).  
**get demoted** fi-a-la (= ‘come  
 down (DIR + ‘to come’)).  
**country market or fair** tɕhaq (= ‘street’).  
**open stall (n.)** thantsə (< Ch. tānzi).  
**buy vegetables or groceries**  
 kuɕɸ pə (‘vegetables’ + ‘to buy’).  
**settle a bill** fi-a-sua (DIR + ‘compute’).  
**inn (hostel)** je tɕi (‘live/stay  
 (at)’ + ‘house’).  
**stay at an inn** je (= ‘live/stay  
 (at) (short term)’ / wəi).  
**pawnshop** phutsə (< Ch. pùzi).

**mortgage (vt.)** ti-tha (< Ch. dǐ + AUX).  
**money** dzigu ~ dziku (dzi said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan of Chinese qián).  
**price** phu ~ phə.  
**paper money** phioutsə (< Ch. piàozǐ).  
**coins (small change)** ŋepi (< Ch. nièbì ‘nickel’ + ‘money’) (鏰幣).  
**dollar** pi (epi) (< Ch. bì (幣)).  
**dime (ten fen)** tɕo (otɕo) (< Ch. jiǎo).  
**cent** fe¹ (a-fe¹) (< Ch. fèn).  
**spend money** ʂə-tha (< Ch. shǐ (使) + AUX).  
**waste money** ɣaɣə the (‘waste’ + ‘to use’).  
**lend (money)** he-çi.  
**borrow(money)** ha-xkù.  
**owe (money), debt** ɕtɕy.  
**dun for (money, debt)** ɕtɕy ŋuasi (ɕtɕy = ‘debt’; ŋua = ‘to loan, borrow’ (?)).  
**return a borrowed object or money** he-w.  
**return a debt** ɕtɕy he-w (‘debt’ + ‘return’).  
**return change (from purchase)** (ha)-tʂə.  
**interest** paq.  
**worth (be worth)** lu.  
**tax (n.)** khe¹ / sui (< Ch. shuì).  
**tax (vt.)** khe¹ ʂa (‘tax’ + ‘to levy’).  
**pay tax** sui ʂa (sui < Ch.).  
**unite** tʂuə tʂuə.  
**scale** tʂhə (< Ch. chènɡ).  
**weigh (vt.)** tʂhətʂ (tʂhə = ‘scale’).  
**measure (rice)** ɛzi.  
**measure (cloth)** ɛzəɛzi.

**catty** tɕ (a-tɕ) (< Ch. jīn).  
**tael, ounce** lu (o-lu) (< Ch. liǎng).  
**mace, 1/10 tael** tɕhan (a-tɕhan) (< Ch. qián).  
**peck, a dry measure (316 c. in.)** quat.  
**pint, 1/10 peck** pu.  
**measure of 10.8 feet** tʂan (a-tʂan) (< Ch. zhàng).  
**yard** ma (a-ma) (< Ch. mǎ).  
**foot (measure)** tʂ (a-tʂ) (< Ch. chǐ).  
**inch** tshuen (e-tshuen) (< Ch. cùn).  
**Chinese mile (360 paces, 1/2 km.)** li (e-li) (< Ch. lǐ).  
**Chinese measure of land area (240 square paces)** mu (o-mu) (< Ch. mù).  
**fathom (length of outstretched arms)** ze (e-ze).  
**handspan (thumb to middle finger)** tu (a-tu; < PTB \*twa).  
**handspan (thumb to forefinger)** tʂhe (e-tʂhe).  
**handspan (thumb to curled forefinger)** qu tche (o-qu tche) (qu = ‘mouth(ful)’).

## TOWN AND ROAD

**town, city** ɓu ~ ɓo (= ‘mountain’) / tʂhaq.  
**city gate** ɓo men (‘city’ + ‘gate’ (< Ch. mén)).  
**street** tʂhaq.  
**go into town** tʂhaq-ta kə (‘street’ + LOC + ‘to go’).  
**road, path** gue:¹.  
**walk on foot** sei.

**build a road** guə:<sup>1</sup> bəl ('road' + 'to do, make').

**forked road** guə:<sup>1</sup> etʂetəpe-sta ('road' + 'meet' + 'place').

**bridge** tshua.

**temporary bridge** tshua-stua (tshua = 'bridge').

**village** tshua (= 'bridge').

**county** ɕan (< Ch. xiàn).

**Chengdu** zdzyta (takes long a: instead of locative particle).

**Mao County** χquŋi(la) ~ ʂquŋi(la).

**Wenchuan County** qhusu(la).

**Li County (Xue City)** ʂatʂhə-l(a) (actually the name of the county town, Xue Cheng ('Xue City') but also used for the whole county).

**Ronghong Village** joχta.

**Muyu / Moyu Village** buja(la).

**Guali Village** quakla.

**Wowo Village** ʋoʋu(la).

**Chibu Village** tʂhəpa (pronounced tʂhəpa: including locative particle).

**Matang Village** tshoʋu(la) (can be pronounced tshoʋua: including locative particle).

**Hexi Village** χtəpa (pronounced χtəpa: including locative particle).

**Xihu Village** ɕəfʋ(ta).

**Kawo Village** qhoʋu(la) (= 'coffin').

**Yadu Township** jotʋ.

**Ekou Village** gufʋta.

**Daguazi Village** quazda.

**Xiaoguazi Village** ɕi-quazda (ɕi- < Ch. xiǎo 'little').

**Luhua Village** ʋlo-χua ('stone tower' + 'crooked').

**Seergu Village** se<sup>4</sup>gʋ.

**Longba Village** lunpaqpa.

**Wasi Village** waxs.

**Luoda Village** ʋlota.

## TRAVEL

**travel (vi.)** ha-qa (= 'go out (DIR + 'go')').

**traveller** da-qa-m ('pass by (DIR + 'go')' + agentive nominalizer).

**start on a journey** ho-ju.

**luggage** panə (= 'thing(s)').

**pack (luggage)** ɕtəopʋ.

**unpack (luggage)** phe<sup>1</sup>z.

**pass by a place** da-qa (= 'go by (DIR + 'go')').

**guide (n.)** qə-ʂə-m ('head' + 'lead' + agentive nominalizer).

**reach destination** i-pə-k (DIR + 'arrive' + 'go') / i-pə-l (DIR + 'arrive' + 'come').

**go home** tɕəu-la ipək ('home' + LOC + 'reach destination').

**yoke** ɕitʂʋ.

**saddle** gantsə (< Ch. ānzi).

**sedan chair** tɕautsə (< Ch. jiàozi).

**carry a sedan chair** tɕautsə tuə (< Ch. jiàozi + 'carry').

**ride (a bicycle)** tsa (= 'ride a horse') / qətʂi.

**ride in a car** tʂhetsə-ʋa dzu (car + LOC + 'sit').

**automobile, car** tʂhetsə (< Ch. chēzi).

**have a holiday** de-ɕe (DIR + 'release'; possibly a calque of Chinese fàngjià).

## LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

**language** zəwa.  
**pass on a message** phə stə.  
**spoken words** mele.  
**speak, say** dze.  
**talk (vt.), say** jə.  
**chat, gossip** pethiau pə (< Ch. bǎitiáo).  
**ask** ke<sup>1</sup>.  
**answer (vt.)** he-zəgue (DIR + ‘answer’).  
**whisper (vi.)** hama-ŋi kə-jə (‘quiet’ + adverbial marker + thus + ‘say’).  
**be silent** ʂquə-styḡ (‘mouth’ + ‘to store’).  
**call (vi.), shout (vi.)** ʁoi.  
**respond verbally** hɑ-sɑ (= ‘make a sound’).  
**story** ʂkupu-mele (‘gorilla’ + ‘words’).  
**tell a story** ʂkupu-mele dze (‘story’ + ‘say’).  
**telephone (n.)** tianχua (< Ch. diànhuà).  
**telephone (v.)** ʁoi (tianχua ʁoi) (= ‘shout, call’).  
**letter, book** ləyz.  
**message (oral)** phə.  
**write (a letter/book)** ləyz zə (‘letter’ + ‘to write’).  
**mail a letter** ləyz stə (‘letter’ + ‘entrust to’).  
**read a book** ləyz tse (‘book’ + ‘to look at’).  
**read aloud** zdə.  
**recite lessons from memory** ləyz bie (‘book’ + ‘carry on back’ (calque from Chinese?)).  
**teach, study** su.

**literate** ləyz χsa (‘letter’ + ‘understand’).  
**illiterate** ləyz ma-χsa (‘letter’ + NEG + ‘understand’).  
**diligent** na-ji su (‘good’ + adverbial marker + ‘study’).  
**draw / paint a picture** χua-tha (< Ch. huà + AUX).  
**newspaper** pautḡə (< Ch. bàozhǐ).  
**read newspaper** paotḡə tse (‘newspaper’ + ‘look at’).  
**paper** ze:<sup>1</sup>.  
**pen, writing brush** zə-s (‘write’ + instrumental nominalizer) / pi (< Ch. bǐ).  
**ink (fluid)** mə (< Ch. mò).  
**shape** qəs.  
**sign (v., n.)** suqhu / i-tḡi-(s) (becomes a noun with -s nominalizer).  
**trace** jimi-gy (‘footprint’).  
**bundle (CL)** pa (ɑ-pa; < Ch. bǎ).  
**paste, glue (n.)** maha.  
**glue (vi.), paste, stick (vt.)** məmə.  
**paste up** ʂpe.

## RELIGION

**god** apə xsə ('grandfather' + 'god').

**deity (family god)** tci-xs ('house' + 'god').

**worship god, sacrifice (to the gods)** xsə ctəə ('god' + 'feed; respect').

**ghost, spirit** du-gu-mi: (mi: = 'eye(s)').

**incense** fəts ~ fət ~ fut(s) (possibly < Tib. spos).

**incense burner** futs-ə-ʂə-s ('incense' + 'put, place' + instrumental nominalizer).

**burn incense** fut tsə ('incense' + 'burn').

**temple** xsə tci ('god' + 'house').

**monastery** xsə tci ('god' + 'house').

**bodhisatva** leme (< Tibetan).

**tell the future** suə suə (< Ch. suàn).

**efficacious** tʂe.

**fate** lez.

**pagoda** la-xse ('stone' + 'god').

**auspicious** jiqhua ce ('chest (bodypart)' + 'beautiful').

**white stone** ɤlu-phi ('stone' + 'white'; the white stone (a piece of flint) is invested with spirits).

## FESTIVALS

**Qiang Festival (held in Autumn; also used for Lunar New Year)** (zme) dze.

**Solar New Year's Day** ɤəʔ dze ('Chinese' + 'festival').

**observe the New Year** dze ce ('festival' + 'release').

**crack firecrackers** ce (= 'release').

**swear brotherhood or sisterhood; to pledge in a sworn brotherhood** gul se (= 'make friends'; gul = 'friend').

**adopt, raise** pəʔz.

**take a wife** də.

**take a husband** ʃzə.

**wedding or other set date** zət.

**groom, bride** mi-xs ('person' + 'new'; calque from Chinese?).

**remarry (of woman)** ɲai-e:-ta ʃzə ('another' + 'one (+CL)' + goal marker + 'marry').

**birthday** senzə (< Ch. shēng-rì).

**birthday** mə (= 'one's symbolic animal').

**celebrate birthday** senzə bəl (< Ch. shēngrì + 'do').

**dress a newly dead person** fa ləla ('clothes' + '(ex)-change').

**burial clothes** lau-ji (< Ch. lǎo-yī (老衣)).

**coffin** qhoku.

**put the dead into the coffin** qhoku-ka le ('coffin' + LOC + 'put in').

**watch the coffin containing the corpse** gəʔgəʔ.

**hold a funeral procession** he-kue (= 'take out').

**inter, to bury** guele ~ kuele.

**grave** məp.

**tombstone** mopei (< Ch. mù-bèi).

**cremation** zibə.

**human nature, friendliness** zen tshen (< Ch. rénríng).

**make friends** gul se ('friend' + 'make (friends)').

**hail (v., to say hello)** z mətʃi pə.

**keep company** gul pə ('friend' + 'do').

**make a visit (to friends)** gul tse-k ('friend' + 'look at' + 'go').

**welcome, to receive** də.

**receive (visitor), entertain** ɛtɕə (= 'feed').

**host/master** tɕip (tɕi = 'house'; -p < PTB \*pa 'male gender marker; formative suffix').

**guest** dzu.

**send presents** pana dzu ('things' + 'send').

**gift, present** u-lu-tɕ pana (DIR + 'send' + genitive/relative marker + 'thing').

**treat (others to a meal, etc.)** tɕip dzuə ('host/master' + 'sit').

**invite guests to give a party** dzu-ɕtɕ ('guest' + 'invite/feed').

**see a visitor off** ɕe (= 'release').

**be a guest** dzu pə-k ('guest' + 'do' + 'go').

**set up a banquet** ə-ʃ (= 'to place').

**take a seat at a dinner table** ə-zu (DIR + dzu 'sit').

**start serving a banquet** kuʃu əʃ ('vegetables' + 'to place').

**thank for a gift** zə ha-sa ('affair, matter' + DIR + 'make sound').

**thank for an act of kindness** zə ha-sa ('affair, matter' + DIR + 'make sound').

**'excuse me'** ma-tʃuə-s-ta ŋuə (NEG + 'pay attention' + nominalizer + LOC + copula).

**'please have a seat'** ə-zu-na (DIR + 'sit' + 'good').

**'stop, don't trouble yourself to come out'** ə-tɕə (= 'stop (walking)').

## GAMES AND PLAY

**play** ɸzəla / ʃua-tha (< Ch. shuǎ + AUX; used more commonly than the native word ɸzəla).

**toy** ʃua thə-s ('play' + AUX + instrumental nominalizer).

**somersault** tantɕigugu.

**shuttlecock** tɕantsə (< Ch. jiànzi).

**play the shuttlecock** tɕantsə ɸue ('shuttlecock' + 'throw').

**take a step** da-ɸua.

**play hide and seek** e-wu e:-ipi-kə-bəl ('one' + agentive marker + 'one (plus classifier)' + 'hide' + 'go' + 'do').

**cards** phai (< Ch. pái).

**play card game** phai ɕe (phai < Ch. pái + 'release, play').

**dice** ʃqɑŋi (= 'stones').

**play jacks, dice game** ʃqɑŋi ɸue (ʃqɑŋi is seven stones thrown like dice; ɸue = 'throw').

**ball** pou tan.

**play ball** pou tan thə.

**song, music** zəm.

**sing** zəm tshuə.

**whistle (n.)** ɕtɕyl.

**whistle (vt.)** ɕtɕyl phə ('whistle (n.)' + 'blow').

**flute** tɕhəl.

**play the flute** tɕhəl phə ('flute' + 'blow').

**gong** χomu.  
**sound the gong** χomu zɛte  
 ('gong' + 'strike, beat').  
**drum** zbu.  
**hit a drum** zbu zɛte ('drum' +  
 'strike, beat').  
**dance** zəm χsutu ('song' +  
 'jump').  
**movies** tia-jin (< Ch. diàn-  
 yǐng).  
**watch a movie** tia-jin tse (= 'look at').  
**camera** tʂauçan pə-s (< Ch. zhàoxiāng + 'do' +  
 instrumental nominalizer).  
**take a photo** mi:-lanɥ qua  
 ('mirror, lens' + 'close') /  
 tʂauçan pə / tʂauçan qua  
 (tʂauçan < Ch. zhàoxiāng +  
 pə 'do' or qua 'close').  
**win** tu-qu.  
**lose** fio-qu.

## BODYPARTS

**body** pe'ʂen.  
**body hair** xupa (= 'fur').  
**skin** zɛ:pi ~ zɛpi.  
**wrinkle** phutu.  
**mole, birthmark** ʂpaimi.  
**bone** zɛke.  
**marrow** zɛke-ʂ (zɛke = 'bone').  
**tendon, vein** gə'.  
**fat (n.)** tsha (< PTB \*tsha, used  
 to refer to the fat of animals)  
 / tshini (used to refer to the  
 fat of people).  
**blood** sa.  
**bleed** sa ha-la ('blood' + 'come  
 out ('DIR + 'come')').  
**sweat (n.)** xtʂu.  
**sweat (v.)** xtʂu lu ('sweat (n.)' +  
 'come').  
**body dirt** khue.  
**callous, blister, corns on the feet**  
 tsuəq.  
**grow callous skin, raise a blister**  
 tsuəq sə'-ʂp.  
**pus** ʂpə-sa (sa = 'blood').  
**breathe (in)** məs e-xkɥ ('breath'  
 + 'inhale').  
**breathe out** məs he-çi ('breath'  
 + 'exhale ('release out (DIR  
 + 'release')')').  
**pant (v.)** (məs) çiçi.  
**yawn (v.)** laχɥ tə-la.  
**doze** məzi pə / quəta.  
**head** qə-patʂ ('head' + 'round').  
**top of the head** qə-sta ('head' +  
 'place').  
**dandruff** zdadzi.  
**head hair** qə-ŋɥ ('head' +  
 'hair').  
**hair whorl** zɛbə (= 'dragon').  
**bald-headed** dzoq-patʂ ('hair' +  
 'round').

**back of the skull, occiput** wulu-  
χotɕ (χotɕ = ‘mountain  
ravine’).

**brain** qə-ŋi (‘head’ + ‘brain’ <  
PTB \*nuk).

**temple** qacetɕ.

**forehead** zduxku.

**face** quaha.

**eyebrow, eyelash** mi:-xkam  
(mi: = ‘eye(s)’).

**eyes, eyeball** mi: (< PTB \*mik  
~ myak).

**eyelid** miapi (‘eye’ + ‘skin (<  
zɛpi)’).

**white of the eye** mi:-phiɕ (‘eye’  
+ ‘white’).

**secretion in the eye** mi:-χɕ  
(‘eye’ + ‘excrement’).

**tears** Ɂləq.

**shed tears** Ɂləq ci (‘tears’ +  
‘release’).

**cross-eyed** mi:-daqhua (‘eye’ +  
‘slanted, crooked’).

**twitching of the eyelid** mi:  
χsutu (‘eye’ + ‘jump’).

**have a sty** qap sə-la (‘sty (=‘  
jar’) + DIR + ‘come’).

**ears** ŋukɕ (ŋu possibly < PTB  
\*g/r-na).

**ear lobe** ŋukɕ-qulu (‘ear’ +  
‘point’).

**soft secretion of the ear** ŋukɕ-  
tshuɕ.

**nose** cɛɕy-tɕy (cɛɕy < PTB \*sna  
‘nose’).

**ridge of nose** cɛɕy-tsu: (‘nose’ +  
‘pillar’).

**base of nose** cɛɕyts-kopu (‘nose’  
+ ‘root’).

**nostril** cɛɕyts-zo:pu (‘nose’ +  
‘hole’).

**mucus from the nose** χa.

**have a running nose** χa lu  
(‘mucus’ + ‘come’).

**blow the nose** χa sue (‘mucus’  
+ ‘blow (the nose)’).

**hard secretion from the nose**  
χa-kupa (‘mucus’ + ‘burnt  
rice (that sticks to pan < Ch.  
gūobā)’).

**flat-nosed** cɛɕyts-patɕ (‘nose’ +  
‘round’).

**mouth, opening of the mouth**  
ɕqu.

**lips** zdekɕ.

**tongue** zəq (q final probably  
from qə ‘head, point’ (Liu  
1984)).

**tongue tip** zəq-qulu (‘tongue’ +  
‘point’).

**root of the tongue** zəq-kopu  
(‘tongue’ + ‘root’).

**fur on the tongue** ɕqu ma (ɕqu =  
‘mouth’).

**saliva, spittle** tɕua / tsə-s (tsə =  
‘water’).

**phlegm** tshup-qha.

**spit (v.)** tɕua phə (‘saliva’ +  
‘spit, blow’).

**teeth** ɕua (< PTB \*swa).

**incisors, front teeth** ɕua-zdu  
(‘tooth’ + male marker).

**canine teeth** dza.

**tartar** ɕua-χɕ (‘tooth’ + ‘excre-  
ment’).

**gums (of teeth)** ɕua-z (ɕua =  
‘tooth’).

**lose one’s milk teeth** ɕua ləla  
(‘tooth’ + ‘(ex)change’).

**protruding teeth** dza qəpi  
(‘canine teeth’ + ‘protrude’).

**cheek** tɛpi.

**cheekbone** tɛini.

**sideburn, mustache, beard** χots  
(< Ch. húzi).

**dimples** cɛ-cɛpie (cɛ = ‘liquor’ (+  
‘thirsty’? — if this is a calque  
on Chinese jiǔwō it should



be ‘nest’, but ‘nest’ is ẓbaha)).

**chin** dzo:.

**freckles** ŋitsə (< Ch.).

**neck** ṭsuəke ~ ṭsuki.

**throat** muwu.

**Adam’s apple** dzuqṭchi-paṭʂ (paṭʂ = ‘round’).

**shoulder, forearm** jipi (ji = ‘hand, arm’).

**armpit** dẓodẓə-ʂqəl / zdziχqa (ʂqəl = ‘under(neath)’).

**hand** japa (also ji in combination).

**right-hand** na-x̣ʂe (‘right’ + ‘side’).

**left-hand** ɤua-x̣ʂe (‘left’ + ‘side’).

**arm** lo-pu.

**elbow** la-kuəs.

**wrist** sa ɤua.

**pulse of the wrist** gə¹ (= ‘vein, tendon’).

**back of the hand** pewe (= ‘instep’).

**palm** la-x̣ʂ.

**finger, knuckles** ji-saq (ji = ‘hand’; sa(q) = ‘section, joint’).

**finger tips** qulu (= ‘point, tip’).

**finger nail** ɛdẓəs.

**thumb** ji-miaq (‘hand’ + female marker).

**little finger** ṭei-χṭʂa (‘most’ + ‘small’).

**middle finger** ẓeky-ta-la (‘middle, between’ + DEF:one + CL for long thin objects).

**lines of the palm** ji-ləyz (‘hand’ + ‘letter, writing, book’).

**fist** ju-ʂpul (‘hand’ + ‘kidney’).

**chest** ji-ghua.

**breast** papə (= ‘milk’).

**nipple** papə-qulu (‘breast’ + ‘point’).

**heart** ɛṭci:mi (ɛṭci: < PTB \*sniŋ; mi is secondary, and dropped in compounds).

**lungs** ṭshu (< PTB \*tsjwap?).

**stomach** sikue.

**waist** ʂəq.

**belly, intestines** pə.

**small intestine** bitsi.

**large intestine** pə-po (‘intestine’ + ‘thick’).

**navel** pu-ṭʂy (pu = ‘belly’).

**liver** sa-χa (sa = ‘blood’).

**gall bladder** xṭʂə.

**kidneys** ʂpəl ~ ʂpul.

**pancreas** χaṭʂy.

**bladder** ṭʂhəʂ.

**backbone** thosu.

**buttocks** stasta.

**anus** χ̣ʂu-ẓy (‘excrement’ + ‘hole’ (< χ̣ʂu-ẓo:pu)).

**feces** mi-χ̣ʂ (‘person’ + ‘excrement’).

**defecate** χ̣ʂə ju (‘excrement’ + ‘to move from one container to another (= ‘to spoon, pour (tea)’)).

**urine** bi.

**urinate** bi ɛe (‘urine’ + ‘release’).

**expulsion of intestinal gas** χ̣ʂə (= ‘excrement’).

**expel intestinal gas** χ̣ʂə ɛe (‘intestinal gas’ + ‘release’).

**penis (common term)** liaq.

**penis (baby term)** ṭcuṭɕu.

**testicles** bə¹.

**sperm, semen** lieʂ.

**have nocturnal emissions** lieʂ sə-la (‘sperm’ + DIR + ‘come’).

**vulva (common term)** phoʂ.

**vulva (euphemistic term)** ɛpie.

**sexual intercourse (common term)** staχu (sta = ‘buttocks (?)’).

**sexual intercourse (euphemistic term)** bəl (= ‘to do’).

**pregnant** tçymi le (‘child’ + ‘exist (in a container)’).

**give birth** i-ci (DIR + ‘release’).

**leg** dua.

**thigh** duap (dua = ‘leg’; -p < po ‘thick?’).

**kneecap** zçguəç.

**shinbone** gə’.

**calf of the leg** dz i ç p u t ç (possibly ‘foot’ + ‘round’).

**foot** dzoqu.

**heel** jimi-patç (‘foot(print)’ + ‘round’).

**instep** pewe (= ‘back of hand’).

**lower leg** saq.

**sole of the foot** paq / dzoq-pa.

**toe** ji-saq (= ‘finger’).

**toenail** ɛdzəs (= ‘fingernail’).

**point of the foot** ji-saq-qulu (‘toes’ + ‘point’).

**strength** guəç.

**voice, sound, noise** qəi.

**ribs** χa:.

**back** tɕup / jipi (upper back; = ‘shoulders’).

#### ACTIONS INVOLVING BODYPARTS

**raise the head** qəpatç ho-ku.

**droop the head** qəpatç fiə-quət.

**turn the head** ha-l.

**turn around (the head)** zə-l / da-l.

**look (vt.)** tse / lə.

**open the eyes** mi: da-tçə (= ‘crack/split’).

**close the eyes** mi: fiə-tçə.

**blink (v.)** mi: phəqphəq pə (mi: = ‘eye(s)’; pə = ‘to do’).

**gaze fixedly or fiercely** zçə-tçə.

**look sideways** pianχuə’ (< Ch.).

**aim at** zçuzda.

**hear** xçuətç (çtç < \*st(front vowel) < \*sn, ultimately < PTB \*sna; cf. Mawo dial. khçust, Taoping dial. tçhy<sup>55</sup> ny<sup>55</sup> (data from Sun 1981a); compare also ‘rest’ and ‘painful’).

**smell (vt.)** çete.

**open the mouth** çqu da-qa.

**close the mouth** çqu fiə-mmə.

**open the mouth a slit** çqu dzaha (‘mouth’ + ‘slit open’).

**purse the lips** zdekü su-tçhu (‘lips’ + DIR + ‘extend, stick out’).

**kiss (vt.)** zde tçue pə (zde = ‘lips’; pə = ‘to do’).

**eat** dzə (dry foods; < PTB \*dza) / tçə (liquid foods; = ‘drink’).

**drink (vt.)** tçə / suqu.

**suck (vt.), smoke (cigarettes)** tçhe.

**bite (vt.), hold in the mouth** ɛdzə.

**chew (vt.)** dzidzi.

**gnaw at a bone** ɛkəi (people or animals).

**lick with tip of tongue** ɛtç.

**taste (vt.)** a-ç tse (‘one’ + ‘time’ + ‘look at’).

**sip (vt.), suck (fingers)** tçhe-xł (tçhe = ‘suck’).

**swallow (v.)** səɛzɛ.

**choke with food** sukutsu.

**spurt (vt.)** fiə-f (DIR + ‘to spit, blow (< phə(te))’).

**spit (vt.), blow (vt.)** phə(te).  
**drool** tsəs lə<sup>1</sup> ('saliva' + 'drip, flow').  
**stick out the tongue** zəq ho-tʃhu ('tongue' + DIR + 'extend, stick out').  
**tuck under the arm** dz<sub>o</sub>dzə-sqal ('armpit' + 'under').  
**elbow (v.), nudge** thə.  
**raise the hand** ho-tʃhu (DIR + 'extend, stick out').  
**stretch out the hand** su-tʃhu (DIR + 'extend, stick out').  
**clap the hands** ləxʃ z<sub>e</sub>te ('palm(s)' + 'hit, strike').  
**let loose of the hand** de-ɕi (DIR + 'release').  
**shake hands** ɸoʃəu pə (< Ch. wòshǒu + 'to do').  
**clench one's fist** juʃpul zu-ku.  
**point (v.)** tʃə-tha (< Ch. zhǐ + AUX).  
**hold with the hand, take in the fingers, carry in the hand(s), pick up, raise (vt.)** tə-tsi.  
**carry, bring** lie.  
**claw (v.), clutch** zə-tʃua (< Ch. zhuā (?), but cf. tʃuə-tʃua 'twist, crush together in the hand').  
**gather together** xʃol.  
**hold firmly** zə-tʃhi.  
**bring (as a tray)** tɕy (= 'carry').  
**bring (polite request)** ha-xkue.  
**hold up in both hands** i-tsi (same root as in 'hold with the hand, take in the fingers', and 'raise').  
**raise with the hands** ho-tʃhu (= 'extend').  
**shoulder (a load), carry on the shoulders (two people)** tuə.

**raise by putting something under** u-xʃu / tian-tha (< Ch. diàn + AUX).  
**transport** ʃqa / pan-tha (pan-tha < Ch. bān + AUX).  
**feel, touch (vt.)** sosu xʃtʃa.  
**put, place in/on** ə-ʃ.  
**put down rudely** da-ɸy (< ɸue 'throw').  
**pile up** bə.  
**rub, wipe** ʃaxʃa.  
**rub between the hands, rub, massage** yliete.  
**rub on (oil)** məmə.  
**press down** fie-tʃhe.  
**twist (v.), wring (a wet towel), pinch with the fingers, clutch, grasp with the hand, screw (v.), turn (doorknob)** quə-tʃue.  
**crowded** ɕtɕiɕtɕi (= 'fold' (?)).  
**squeeze (out)** zə-tʃhi.  
**strangle** zə-xʃ.  
**twist, sprain (v.)** patəyl.  
**twist, crush together in the hand (e.g. clothes)** tʃuə tʃua (cf. zə-tʃua 'claw (v.), clutch').  
**scratch** dze ɸe ('itch' + 'grab, scratch (< phe)').  
**push** ɕtɕi / thui-tha (< Ch. tuī + AUX).  
**pull, drag (vt.)** ʃe-xkɸ.  
**pull at (a string)** ɸa-(ʃe)-xkɸ.  
**pull out** stue.  
**draw (lots)** staqa (= 'select').  
**disperse (e.g. sand)** se.  
**flay, peel (vt.), open out, separate** qə'qə'.  
**separate, divide, divorce** qala.  
**rip, tear (vt.)** ɸi'ɸi' (< PTB \*prak).  
**fold (vt.)** ɕtɕiɕtɕi / zəɕtɕi.  
**hit, strike (vt.)** dzete.  
**slap (vt.)** qhəli.

**pound, tap, strike, rap on (the head), skim, fish out, massage the back by pounding** zete.  
**pick at, scrape (e.g. the nose)** tʃutʃu.  
**pat (on the shoulder)** tə-χʰi (< qhəli 'slap').  
**pat (on the table)** phete.  
**pound, ram** dze.  
**poke (vt.)** ə-tʃ.  
**break into two** ji-dzue fiə-p ('two' + 'sections' + DIR + 'to do').  
**shake** stuəstua.  
**shake out** fiə-φete (< phete).  
**pull out, take out (from pocket)** χʰtʃə(χʰtʃe).  
**rummage (vt.)** meʰzɿ (= 'look for').  
**throw** zɿgutu / kuəte ~ kue.  
**throw away** da-ku (DIR + 'throw (< kuəte)').  
**take with the hand, receive, support, prop up** fiə-ke.  
**embrace, hug (v.)** tə-χua.  
**carry in the arms** fiə-χua.  
**ward off** ə-xtʃə (xtʃə = 'to stop up') / ta-tha (< Ch. dǎng + AUX).  
**prop up, stretch out** tə-tɕ.  
**roll up** ɣlə ~ ɣlu.  
**wrap (vt.)** quəqua.  
**tie up, bind** tə-χʃ.  
**fill up, load** lələ.  
**carry in upper garment** phəla-ta del (phəla is the part of the upper garment that comes across the chest).  
**shake open, spread by shaking** da-qatʃhe.  
**lift open (a lid)** tə-qe.  
**pry open** tə-tɕhau-tha (DIR + < Ch. qiào + AUX).

**cover from head down** fiə-ʃ / fiə-que.  
**ladle (vt., water)** tə-za (za = 'ladle (n.)').  
**scoop from one container to another** ju.  
**line up, queue up** phai-tha (< Ch. pái + AUX).  
**tread on** tʃhuen (< Ch.).  
**stamp the feet** dzəqu tʃshuate.  
**step across** da-kuə.  
**limp (n.)** tɕhəq-la.  
**run** phu (possibly < PTB \*ploŋ).  
**kick** tʃhu.  
**kick (as a horse), kick back** pəχʃu tʃhu.  
**kick off coverings** quatɕi sə-ku ('quilt' + 'turn over').  
**cross the legs** zə-pela.  
**bind the feet** ɕyte-de ('binding' + 'wrap').  
**sit (up)** dzuə (said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan of Ch. zuò).  
**sit down** ə-dzuə.  
**stand (up), get up** tu-ju.  
**squat** tuen-tha (< Ch. dūn + AUX) / fiə-gue (said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan from Chinese guì 'kneel').  
**stoop** fiə-ku.  
**kneel, bow (vi.), prostrate and knock head on ground** kuə-tʃhu (tʃhu = 'jump').  
**lean against** ə-qhua (qhua = 'slanted').  
**lie down** fiə-n (DIR + 'sleep').  
**lie flat on the stomach** pun nu qu.  
**sleep face down** pun nu qu-ŋi nə ('lie flat on stomach' + adverbial particle + 'sleep').

**sleep on one's back** mutu tə-l-  
ŋi nə ('lie on back ('sky' DIR  
+ 'look')' + adverbial  
particle + 'sleep').

**sleep on one's side** e-xʂe da-l-  
ŋi nə ('one' + 'side' + DIR +  
'look' + adverbial particle +  
'sleep').

**slip (v.)** ʎa.

**stumble, fall down, slip and fall**  
da-ʎa (fall because ground is  
slippery (ʎa = 'slip'; < PTB  
\*kla) / da-que (fall because  
of tripping over rock, etc.).

**jump** ʂsutu / tshu.

**crawl** bə-tə pə ('bug' + genitive  
particle + 'do').

**rush on** zu-ʂsu (DIR + 'jump').

**run against** ə-t.

**move or slip away or to one  
side (v.)** de-xtse.

**hide** i-pi (i-pi / i-pi-k) (< PTB  
\*pak).

**meet** e-tʂepe.

**carry on the back (child or  
objects)** bie.

## GROOMING

**wash face** quaha ʂuəla ('face' +  
'wash').

**pan for washing face** səlanphən  
(< Ch. xǐliǎnpén) / tshiphen.

**take a bath** peʎʂen ʂuəla ('body'  
+ 'wash').

**wash the feet** dzoqu ʂuəla  
(('feet' + 'wash').

**shampoo the hair** qəpatʂ ʂuəla  
(('head' + 'wash').

**soap** jits (< Ch. yízi).

**washcloth, bath towel** phatsə (<  
Ch. pàzi).

**toothbrush** ʂuə-ʂuəla-s ('tooth'  
+ 'wash' + instrumental  
nominalizer).

**brush one's teeth** ʂuə ʂuəla  
(('tooth' + 'wash').

**rinse one's mouth** ʂqu ʂuəla  
(('mouth' + 'wash').

**wipe the anus (after defecating)**  
tsha-tha (< Ch. cā + AUX).

**make up (v.)** dzə dzə.

**comb (n.)** quəsə ~ qusa ~ quə-  
si ('head' (?) + 'comb' (?) <  
PTB \*si (?)).

**comb the hair** qəpatʂ kheʎʂ  
(('head' + 'comb' (kheʎʂ <  
kheʎ-kheʎ < PTB \*kwi (?)).

**dress up the hair** tutu.

**pigtail (tied with hemp)** quxʂul.

**pigtail (not tied with hemp)**  
dzoq / qutəu.

**plait the hair (vt.)** kepi.

**have a haircut (male), shave the  
head** qəpatʂ khue ('head' +  
'scrape, shave').

**have a haircut (female)** tua  
(Qiang women don't  
normally cut their hair).

**shave the head bald** kuəŋthəu  
khue (< Ch. guāngtóu +  
'scrape, shave').

**shave beard** ʂots khue ('beard'  
< Ch. húzi) + 'scrape,  
shave').

**LIFE, DEATH, AND ILLNESS****life** suə.**whole life (one's whole life)** e-  
še ('one' + 'die').**be born** zi-ji ('exist' + CSM)**give birth** i-ci (DIR + 'release')**living, to be alive** χsu (= 'to  
jump' (?)).**raise (children)** pe'z.**watch (the children)** tse (= 'look at').**young in age** suəs me-le ('years/age' + NEG + 'exist').**grow up (vi.)** tə-wa (DIR + 'big (< ba)').**be grown up** tə-wa-ji (DIR + 'big (< ba)' + aspect marker (CSM)).**old of age, become old** da-p (DIR + 'old').**become tired** tə-tšhue ətəq mo-lu (DIR + 'move' + heart' + NEG + 'come' = 'not want to move').**rest** zdzə (< \*na; cf. 'disease', 'hear', 'nose').**sleep** nə (also used for 'lie down') / məzi (fully asleep).**dream (v.)** u-z<sub>2</sub>mu (DIR + 'dream'; < PTB \*r-mang).**talk in sleep** məzi-q pə (məzi = 'sleep'; pə = 'to do').**fatigued** fiə-šu.**part from** qale.**die (vi.)** še (has special form for DIR prefix: die-še).**have maggots** bəl de-z<sub>2</sub>i ('worm' + DIR (= become) + 'exist (animate refer-ent)').**corpse** z<sub>2</sub>mu ~ z<sub>2</sub>mə.**age** pə / suəs (= 'years').**year old** pə.**disease, illness, pain(ful)** zdzi (< \*na; cf. 'hear', 'rest', 'nose').**ill** tə-zdzi (DIR + 'disease, be ill' = 'become ill').**infect** da-tsu.**not feel well** leme mo-lu ('spirit, energy' + NEG + 'come').**moan (v.)** tsəydz.**get well** u-xšy.**have headache** qəpatš zdzi ('head' + 'be painful, ill').**feel dizzy** qəpatš su ('head' + 'turn, spin').**eyesight blurred** mi: lampə tə-la ('eye(s)' + 'flower' + DIR + 'come').**deaf** ŋuky bu ('ear' + 'deaf'; bu < PTB \*baŋ).**sneeze (v.)** i-səu pə (pə = 'to do').**have a stuffy nose** ətəyts mə-nə ('nose' + NEG + 'good').**remove teeth** suə stue ('tooth' + 'pull out').**have decayed teeth** bəl-wu suə dzə ('bug, insect' + agentive marker + 'tooth' + 'eat').**burp (v.)** qhup-tul.**nauseating** dowa-š-ke: ŋuə ('vomit' + 'think about' + DEF:CL + copula).**vomit (v.)** dowe.**have the mumps** tsueχ.**hoarse** qei ha-sə-mə-lə ('voice' + DIR + 'make sound (< sa)' + NEG + 'able (< dzə)').**nervous, palpitating heart** ətəi:mi χsutu ('heart' + 'jump').**heart disease** ətəi:mi-zdzi ('heart' + 'disease; be ill, painful').

**have tuberculosis** laupin (< Ch. láobìng).

**strain, sprain (one's back, muscles)** do-quǎ.

**have indigestion** pə-le: ma-nə-ke: ηuə ('intestines' + DEF:CL + NEG + 'good (< na)') + INDEF:CL + copula).

**have stomachache** sikue qhə<sup>4</sup>qhə<sup>1</sup> ('stomach/belly' + 'be painful, hurt (only used for stomach pain)').

**have diarrhea** sikue zdzi ('stomach, belly' + 'disease; be ill, painful').

**have dysentery, diarrhea** kuə (tə)-ʂa.

**feel numb** tə-γzə (DIR + 'hot (peppery / spicy)').

**have cramps** gə<sup>1</sup> su ('tendon' + 'turn, spin').

**shiver (v.), shudder (v.)** leme xse ('spirit, energy' + 'move').

**catch chill** tə-nian-tha (DIR + < Ch. liáng + AUX).

**have fever** tə-si (DIR + 'hot' = 'become hot').

**have the measles** bu da-tʂu ('rash' + DIR + 'meet with').

**have pockmarked face** matsə (< Ch. mázi).

**dropsy** pə phəpha ('intestines, belly' + 'swell').

**have asthma** tshup tshu (tshu = 'cough'; cf. tshup-qha 'phlegm').

**hysterical** ʂentəin tshu (< Ch. shénjīng + 'meet with').

**have cholera** ʂa-χʂə da-tʂu ('blood' + 'stool(feces)' + 'meet with').

**have leprosy** dzu.

**have lice** xtʂe de-w ('lice' + DIR + 'exist').

**have underarm odor** tʂoqu-bəχtsi ('weasel' + 'smell bad').

**have goose flesh** pufu ha-la (hala = 'come out').

**have piles (hemorrhoid)** luku zdzi ('backside, rear end' + 'illness, pain').

**get a splinter** tshəma ə-tʂə ('thorn' + DIR + 'to stick').

**scald oneself** fie-tʂi.

**heal, close (of wound)** zəmma.

**grow into a scar** jinpi quət ('wound' + 'cover (quə)').

**whip mark** jimi-ku (jimi = 'footprint'(?)).

**wound, sore** jinpi.

**get wounded** ʂan tu-tʂu (< Ch. shāng + DIR + 'to get (illness), suffer').

**wrap a wound** lələ.

**have prickly heat** zəfetsə (< Ch. rèfēizi).

**have sores** jinpi fio-p ('sores' + DIR + 'become')

**have the itch, scabbies** pie-dzu (pie = 'pig').

**have nosebleed** etəy-sa lu ('nose' + 'blood' + 'come').

**constipation** kaitʂu fio-p.

**smallpox** bu.

**heal disease** tʂhop.

**examine the disease / see a doctor** zdzi tse ('illness' + 'look at').

**acupuncture** jin tʂen (< Ch. yínzhēn).

**make up a prescription** phei-tha (< Ch. pèi + AUX).

**medicine** sipe.

**dose of medicine** fu (a-fu) (< Ch. fù).

**pill** sipe-patʂ ('medicine' + 'round').  
**liquid medicine** sipe-than ('medicine' + 'soup (< Ch. tāng)').  
**make a decoction** sipe ʂqu ('medicine' + 'boil').  
**take medicine** sipe dzə ('medicine' + 'eat').  
**drink liquid medicine** sipe tɕhə ('medicine' + 'drink').  
**medicinal plaster** kaojau (< Ch. gāoyào).  
**apply a plaster** kaujau ʂpe ('plaster' + 'to paste').  
**ointment** jokau (< Ch. yào-gāo).  
**rub ointment** jokau məma ('ointment' + 'rub').  
**poison** duə.  
**hospital** jikuən (< Ch. yīyuàn).

## WARFARE

**army** gue¹.  
**bow** lə (< PTB \*d-liy).  
**crossbow** qhuatəq.  
**slingshot** phiphəntsə (< Ch.).  
**shoot an arrow or gun** qhu.  
**gun** soqhu.  
**bullet** xtʂə.  
**shoot a gun** soqhu qhu.  
**target** zuə.  
**shoot the target** zuə zda (zuə = 'target').  
**ambush (vt.)** ipi (= 'to hide').  
**guard (vt.)** gə¹gə¹.  
**surround (vt.)** tɕhytɕhy.  
**win (in some contest)** tu-qu.  
**be defeated** fiə-qu.  
**truce** fiə-tʂuə.

## KINSHIP

**name (n.), surname, clan name** zuə (< PTB \*r-miŋ).  
**be called, be named or surnamed** zuə / ŋuə (ŋuə = copula).  
**regard as** ŋuə (= copula).  
**count as** ɕa-ŋu ('allow' + copula).  
**relatives** kuə-ŋa-tsə (< 'older brother' + 'and' + 'sister'; refers to close relatives) / stuəm ~ stum (refers to relatives with the same surname) / tsoəʌlumi (refers to women from a family who have married into other families).  
**married relationships** tɕhintɕia (< Ch. qīnjiā).  
**senior generation** ʂuəs-le-m ('age, years' + 'exist' + agentive nominalizer).  
**great-grandfather** jipa.  
**great-grandmother** jima.  
**paternal grandfather (address term), maternal grandfather (address and quoting term)** apa.  
**paternal grandfather (quoting term)** apa / qapa (-pa < PTB \*pa).  
**paternal and maternal grandmother (address and quoting term)** utuma.  
**parents** ma:-ŋa-tatə ('mother' + 'and' + 'father').  
**father (address term)** tatə.  
**father (quoting term)** tatə / ep.  
**mother (address term)** ma:.  
**mother (quoting term)** əw.



**husband's or wife's mother**  
(address and quoting term)

khəstə.

**paternal uncles** upu.

**father's elder brother (address and quoting term), mother's sister's husband** ipi.

**father's elder brother's wife, mother's sister** imi.

**father's younger brother** upu.

**father's younger brother's wife, elder brother's wife** itci.

**father's sister's husband** atsa.

**father's sister** ŋiŋi.

**wife's father (quoting term)**

pukū.

**mother's brother** akua.

**mother's brother's wife** iŋpəi.

**of the same generation** e-peɪ  
(‘one’ + ‘generation (< Ch. bèi)’).

**husband** wutəpu.

**wife** sətəsim.

**brothers** tuə-tuə-wa (< tuətɕ-tuə-ba ‘younger brother’ + ‘older brother (‘brother’ + ‘big’)’).

**elder brother (address term)** ku:  
(< Ch. gē?).

**elder brother (quoting term)**  
tuə-wa (‘brother’ + ‘big (< ba)’).

**sister call brother** mə.

**brother call sister** ɣlu.

**younger brother (quoting term)**  
tuətɕu.

**sisters** tsi-satɕu (‘girl’ + ‘younger sister’).

**elder sister** tsəi (< Ch. jiě).

**elder sister's husband** atsa.

**younger sister (quoting term)**  
satɕu.

**siblings of father's sisters; of mother's brothers and**

**sisters, cousins** laupiau (< Ch. lǎobiǎo).

**cousins on father's or mother's side** tuə-tuə-wa (= ‘brothers’).

**junior generation** ɕuəs-me-le-m  
(‘age, years’ + NEG + ‘exist’ + agentive nominal-izer).

**son** tɕi (= ‘boy’).

**son's wife** tsuɣzu (tsu < tsi ‘girl/daughter’ + ɣzu < ɣzə ‘marry’(?)).

**daughter** tsi (= ‘girl’).

**daughter's husband** tɕi-mi  
(‘boy/son’ + ‘person’).

**brother's son or daughter** dzi.

**sister's child** ɕpəts (male or female).

**grandchild** zə-tɕu (< PTB \*za + tɕuə ‘child’).

**great-grandson** lə-tɕu (< PTB \*b-liy + tɕuə ‘child’).

**family** tɕəu-lo-qpi (‘home’ + DEF:one: + DEF:one-family).

**sworn brothers** lokun (< Ch. lǎogēng (老庚)).

**friend** gul / tɕɣu.

**intimate friend** gul.

**neighbor** məq-to-qpi (‘above’ + ‘DEF:one-family’) / thex-to-qpi (‘that side’ + ‘DEF:one-family’) / qəl-lo-qpi (‘below’ + ‘DEF:one-family’).

**villagers (same village)** a-tshəp.

**family members** o-qpi (‘one’ + ‘family’).

**baby** tsici.

**child** tɕymi / tɕuə (now used mainly for the young of animals, but appears in some compounds referring to humans).

**boy, male, married man** tɕi.

**girl, female, married woman** tsi.  
**young man** ɕauχots (< Ch. xiāohǔozi) / ʂuəs-me-le-m ('age, years' + NEG + 'exist, have' + agentive nominalizer).  
**bachelor** tokun (< Ch. dūgēn (獨根)).  
**unmarried young woman** tsam.  
**pregnant woman** tɕymi-le-m ('child' + 'exist (in container)' + 'agentive nominalizer').  
**widow** kuamutsə (< Ch. kuǎmǔzi).  
**old man** qapa (= 'paternal grandfather').  
**old woman** qotu.  
**adult** ba-tə-m (ba = 'big'; -m is agentive nominalizer).  
**first born** tɕi-wa (< tɕi-ba; 'most' + 'big').  
**youngest child** tɕi-χtʂa ('most' + 'small').  
**twins** a-kuə ('one' + 'placenta').  
**single child** tʂi-xtʂ (male) / tʂi-xtʂ (female).  
**orphan** kap / kapətʂ.

#### TYPES OF PEOPLE

**person, human being** mi.  
**in-group** tɕile-mi (3pl pronoun + 'person').  
**outsider** tɕile-mi ma-ŋuə (3pl pronoun + 'person' + NEG + copula).  
**stranger** ma-sə-m mi (NEG + 'know, recognize' + animate nominalizer + 'person').  
**townpeople** tʂhəŋsa-mi (< Ch. chéngshì + 'person').

**countryfolk** za-ka-bəl-əm ('earth, land' + locative particle + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).  
**person from another province** waisen-mi (< Ch. wàishěng + 'person').  
**foreigner** waikue-mi (< Ch. wàiguó + 'person').  
**bald-headed person** dzoq-patʂ ('hair' + 'round').  
**blind person** (mi:) khəp (('eye') + 'blind').  
**blind** mi: ɦa-khəp ('eye' + DIR + 'blind') / mi: mo-tɕu ('eye' + NEG + 'see').  
**one-eyed person** mi: e-xʂe khəp ('eye' + 'one' + 'side' + 'blind').  
**person who wears glasses** jantɕintsə-de-m (< Ch. yǎnjǐngzi + 'wear' + agentive nominalizer).  
**deaf person** ŋukʊ pu ~ ŋukʊ-bu ('ear' + 'deaf').  
**deaf** bu (< PTB \*baŋ).  
**dumb person** ɦua.  
**dumb** qəi ɦa-sə-ma-l ('sound' + DIR + 'make a sound' + NEG + 'able').  
**harelipped person** o-qu tɕhuetɕhue ('one' + 'mouth' + < Ch. quē).  
**person who stutters** tɕetsə (< Ch. jiēzi) / ʂqu-tʂhi (ʂqu = 'mouth').  
**person with missing front teeth** ʂuə-zo:pu ('tooth' + 'hole').  
**person with pockmarks** matsə (< Ch. mázi).  
**lame person** tɕhəqla / peitsə (< Ch. bǒzi).  
**lame** tɕhəqla.  
**humpbacked** tsupu.

- simpleton** he-me-the (DIR + NEG + 'able').
- mad person, crazy person** kuku-m ('curse, be crazy' + agentive nominalizer).
- Tibetan (name of ethnic group)** spe (= 'people of the grasslands').
- Tibetan language** spe-z ('Tibetan' + 'speech').
- Han (name of ethnic group)** kə¹.
- Han person (common derogatory term, literally 'rotten Han person')** kə¹-p-tsuqa ('Han person' + p + 'rotten').
- Han language** kə¹-z ('Han' + 'speech').
- rGyalrong (Jiarong; name of ethnic group)** tshəp.
- Qiang (name of ethnic group)** zme.
- Qiang language** z m e - z ('Qiang' + 'speech').
- Yi (name of ethnic group)** lolo.
- Hui (name of ethnic group; Moslems)** pie-pies ma-se-m (< 'pig'-'meat' NEG-know-NOM 'those who don't know pork') / χuitsə (< Ch. húizi).
- common people** pesi (< Ch. bǎixìng).
- poor people** ma-qə-m (NEG + 'wealthy' + agentive nominalizer).
- rich people** qəqə-m ('wealthy' + agentive nominalizer).
- work (vt.)** bəl (= 'to do').
- train** cunnian pə (< Ch. xùnliàn + 'to do').
- hire, to employ** ku (< Ch. gù).
- salary** cìnshui (< Ch. xīnshǔi).
- master** tci-p ('house' + formative affix < PTB \*pa).
- servant** kua-m ('help' + agentive nominalizer).
- officer** γzə.
- teacher** ləyz-su-m ('book, letter' + 'teach, study' + agentive nominalizer).
- student** cōsen (< Ch. xuéshēng) / su-m ('teach, study' + agentive nominalizer).
- farmer** za-kə-bəl-əm ('field, land' + locative postposition + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).
- hunter** qhu-m ('hunt' + 'agentive nominalizer').
- landowner** titsu (< Ch. dìzhǔ).
- herd, shepherd (v.)** ctəy
- cattle shepherd** xse-ctəy-m ('cattle' + 'herd, shepherd (v.)' + agentive nominalizer).
- pig tender** pie-ctəy-m ('pig' + 'herd, shepherd (v.)' + agentive nominalizer).
- butcher** pie-tşə-m ('pig' + 'kill' + agentive nominalizer).
- woodchopper** sə-gue-m ('wood' + 'chop' + agentive nominalizer).
- tailor** fa-jeji-m ('clothing' + 'sew' + agentive nominalizer).
- barber** qəpatş-khue-m ('head' + 'scrape, shave' + agentive nominalizer).
- carpenter** mutsan (< Ch. mùjiàng).
- blacksmith** dzy-m ('forge' + agentive nominalizer).
- forge (thing) out of iron** dzy.

**mason** tci-xlie-m ('house' + 'build (pile bricks)' + agentive nominalizer).

**doctor** zdzi-tshop-əm ('illness' + 'heal, cure' + agentive nominalizer (with epenthetic vowel)) / zdzi-i-tha-m ('illness' + 'heal, cure' < Ch. yī + AUX + agentive nominalizer).

**household servant** ɤ u a - m ('help' + agentive nominalizer).

**cook** stuaha-bəl-əm ('food, rice' + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).

**doorkeeper** dzy-gə<sup>1</sup>-m ('door' + 'to guard' + agentive nominalizer).

**master of a trade** səfə (< Ch. shīfù).

**apprentice** su-m ('teach, study' + agentive nominalizer) / thuti (< Ch. túdì).

**merchant** tətš-pə-m ('trading' + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).

**do business** tətš pə ('trading' + 'to do').

**shopkeeper** χua-m ('sell' + agentive nominalizer).

**assistant in a shop, waiter** gul (= 'friend').

**soldier** gue<sup>1</sup>.

**military officer** gue<sup>1</sup>-γz ('army' + 'leader').

**jail keeper, guard** gə<sup>1</sup>gə<sup>1</sup>.

**to guard** gə<sup>1</sup>.

**monk** χoʂan (< Ch. héshàng).

**beggar** wasi-m ('beg, demand' + agentive nominalizer).

**thief, pickpocket (n.)** ʂkuə (< \*PTB r-kuw).

## VERBS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN PEOPLE

**beg (for money)** wasi (= 'demand').

**steal, pickpocket (v.)** ʂquatʂ.

**rob** dzuədzue.

**cheat** phian-tha (< Ch. piàn + AUX).

**joke (verbally, v.)** dzactci-s dze ('laugh' + instrumental nominalizer + 'say').

**brag (v.)** χtuχtu.

**argue** tsən-tha (< Ch. zhēng + AUX).

**criticize** phəiphən pə (< Ch. pīpàn + 'to do').

**ridicule sarcastically or in disguise** ɤuakhu pu (< Ch. wākū + 'to do').

**lie (v.)** pianχu ctce (pianχu = 'lie (n.)').

**make a mistake** de-tshi (< Ch. cuò).

**incite to contention** qəz ɤue.

**tease (vt.)** dzactci-z ('to laugh' + causative suffix).

**provoke** ze-tha (< Ch. rě + AUX).

**blame (vt.)** kuai-tha (< Ch. guài + AUX).

**upbraid** xe.

**scold, curse (v.)** xe / ɤuɤu.

**use bad words** e<sup>1</sup>-kan-tsə (< Ch. èrgānzi).

**get scolded** tuəptci.

**quarrel** zməmə<sup>1</sup>.

**act as peacemaker, persuade someone not to fight** xʂe.

**intercede** fiə-tʂu.

**advise** tchuan-tha (< Ch. quàn + AUX).

- give in to** z<sub>an</sub>-tha (< Ch. ràng + AUX).
- deal with negligently** məq-məq ('top, above' + 'top, above'; = 'sloppy').
- conceal** stuə.
- assume falsely** şpatə.
- offend people** tetsui pə (< Ch. dézuì + 'to do').
- hinder, to get in the way** mi-şkue-m ('(other) person' + 'pull' + agentive nominalizer) / bəl-əz<sub>l</sub>-mo-ku ('to do' + causative suffix + NEG + 'allow').
- bully (vt.)** məq sə-lə ('top, above' + DIR + 'look').
- compel, force (vt.)** tchianphe pə (< Ch. qiángpō + 'to do').
- keep for oneself** tşan-tha (< Ch. zhàn + AUX).
- wedge in; to crowd into the line** tcha-tha (< Ch. chā + AUX).
- intercept, to stop (vt.)** fie-qe.
- crowd (v.)** tci-tha (< Ch. jǐ + AUX).
- tell tales of, to play trick on** suan-tha (< Ch. suàn + AUX).
- fight (vt.)** quə-quə (= reciprocal form of qua 'to hit').
- get beaten** zə-dzi.
- chase away** he-w.
- scram!** he-xtse.
- call 'help'** tə-kuə-l (DIR + 'help' + 'come').
- 'don't move'** tce-mexle (prohibitive prefix + 'move').
- consult** dzidzi (the NP representing the person consulted takes the comitative particle -nə).
- beg (for a favor)** tchiu-tha (< Ch. qiú + AUX).
- promise (vt.)** ku (= 'be willing').
- imitate** su (= 'study, teach').
- depend on** khau-tha (< Ch. kào + AUX).
- help (vt.)** kuə.
- protect** paufu pə (< Ch. bǎohù + 'to do').
- rescue (vt.)** tciu-tha (< Ch. jiù + AUX).
- beware of** i-tsi.
- look after** tşauku pu (< Ch. zhàogù + 'to do').
- attend (someone)** tshixou pə (< Ch. cìhòu + 'to do').
- requite (vt.)** pauta pə (< Ch. bàodá + 'to do').
- avenge a grievance** pautşhəu pə (< Ch. bàochóu + 'to do').
- meet with** tse (= 'to look at, see').
- meet (by chance)** e-tşipe ~ e-tşepe.
- summon (vt.)** do-koì (DIR + 'to call, yell').
- send** phai-tha (< Ch. pài + AUX).
- give command** minn<sub>in</sub> pə (< Ch. mìnglìng + 'to do').
- lead (vt.)** ta-ctəy.
- cause (vt.)** bəl-əz<sub>l</sub> (use -z<sub>l</sub> ~ -əz<sub>l</sub> suffix after verb, or if no verb, then 'to do' + causative suffix).
- wait for** zuly.
- hasten, to urge** tshui-tha (< Ch. cūi + AUX).
- give** də-l ~ de-l (< DIR + le; cf. 2sg form: delen).
- decline (refuse)** fie-qe-mo-ku ('accept' + NEG + 'willing').
- accept, seize and arrest** fie-qe.
- exchange (vt.)** ləla.

**take the place of** taithi pə (< Ch. dàitì + ‘to do’; usually use causative suffix on copula to express this meaning).

**compensate** pheì-tha (< Ch. péi + AUX).

**hand down** fiá-tshuan-tha (DIR + < Ch. chuán + AUX).

**select (as)** staqa.

**hold a meeting** z<sub>1</sub>mu tsu (‘meeting’ + ‘hold (meeting)’).

**meeting dismissed** z<sub>1</sub>mu tsu da-s (‘meeting’ + ‘hold (meeting)’ + DIR + ‘finish’).

**sue** kau-tha (< Ch. gào + AUX).

**search the person** səu-tha (< Ch. sōu + AUX).

**detain** tcyñiu tu-pu (< Ch. jū-liú + DIR + ‘to do’).

**release (from captivity)** de-ci (DIR + ‘release’).

**flee** du-fu (DIR + ‘flee/run (< phu)’; possibly < PTB \*ploŋ).

**pursue** dza.

**murder** mi qəti (‘person’ + ‘slaughter’).

**overtake (in pursuit)** ə-dza-k (DIR + ‘pursue’ + ‘go’).

**use (vt.)** sə-tha (< Ch. shǐ (使) + AUX).

**waste (vt.)** χαχə pə (‘waste’ + ‘to do’).

**keep (vt.)** ha-ş (DIR + ‘place’).

**try (vt.)** a-ş (‘one’ + measure word for actions; no auxiliary verb for this meaning, simply add this measure to imply doing tentatively).

**prepare** tşunpəi pə (< Ch. zhǔnbèi + ‘to do’).

**put (things) away, hide (things)** tə-şu.

**look for** me<sup>1</sup>z.

**forget (something), leave behind, forget to take** da-m (< DIR + root).

**compare** pi-tha (< Ch. bǐ + AUX).

**make up the proper amount** tshou-tha (< Ch. còu + AUX).

**succeed** he-the.

**fail** he-me-the (DIR + NEG + ‘succeed’).

**OK, acceptable** fiə-se.

**unable to sustain / resist** ti-tha-ma-l (< Ch. dǐ + AUX + NEG + ‘able’).

**mark / make a sign** qhuə.

**like, love (vt.)** topu.

**love (a child) (vt.), favor to excess** ge.

**spoil (a child)** ge-tşy (‘love’ + ‘child’).

**long for, want to (do something)** cteək lu ~ cteaq lu (‘heart’ + ‘come’).

**fascinated by, addicted to** fi o-topu (DIR + ‘to like, love’).

**laugh (at) (v.), smile (v.)** dzactə.

**anger (vt.)** tə-khue-z<sub>1</sub> (DIR + ‘angry’ + causative suffix).

**lose one’s temper** phitçhi fa-tha (‘temper (< Ch. píqì)’ + < Ch. fā + AUX).

**weep, to cry** zeì.

**pity, piteous (vt.)** cteì χqəs (‘heart’ + ‘pity’).

**jealous, envy (vt.)** qhu.

**dislike (vt.)** mo-topu (NEG + ‘to like, love’).

**hate (vt.)** χən-tha (< Ch. hèn + AUX) / qhu (= be jealous of, to envy).

**tire of** əβŋi (= 'fatty' (calque from Chinese?)).

**fear (vt.), afraid (vi.), worried** qu ('have been frightened' = do-qu (DIR + 'be afraid')).

**opinion** jitəian (< Ch. yìjiàn).

**decision, resolution** tşuji (< Ch. zhúyì).

**intention** jisə (< Ch. yìsī).

**plan, device** tciχua (< Ch. jìhuà).

**know, be clear about, understand, remember** dzukū le ('knowledge' (?) + 'exist (in a container)').

**comprehend** χsa.

**become aware of, enlightened** təowu (< Ch. juéwù).

**misunderstand** de-tsha (DIR + 'mistake').

**think about, worry, to put to heart** zbotəu.

**speculate, to guess** tshai-tha (< Ch. cāi + AUX).

**fancy, imagine** fiə-yodzu.

**believe** ctəe.

**make an effort to remember** tşequa.

**recognize, know (someone)** sə(s).

**recognize (on meeting someone, exchange chat)** zmətşi pə.

**want** tche ~ tchi.

**demand (vt.)** wasi.

**value, regard as rare** ciχan (< Ch. xīhǎn).

**ought to, should** V-s ŋuə (verb + instrumental nominalizer + copula) / ɤze (auxiliary verb).

**have to** V-s ŋuə (verb + instrumental nominalizer + copula).

**worthy of (doing), may do** bəl-ji me-tchi ('to do' + exclusion particle + NEG + 'want'; = 'can do').

**willing (to), prefer** ku.

**not willing** mo-ku (NEG + 'willing').

**dare** xşu.

**capable of, know (how to)** ʏzə.

**pretend** şpaqta pə / tşuan-tha (< Ch. zhuāng + AUX).

**ability, capability** pənsə (le) (< Ch. běnshì (+ 'to exist')).

**STATIVE VERBS  
(ADJECTIVES)**

**cold** məpa.

**cool** stu.

**hot, warm** si.

**hot (to the touch), sultry, stuffy  
and hot** dzidzi.

**stuffy** məs tə-ci-ma-l ('air' +  
DIR + 'release' + NEG +  
'able').

**hungry** fiə-ʂue.

**thirsty** (fiə)-ɕpi.

**full, satiated** ɣə ~ tə-ɣə.

**fatty, oily (of food)** əʂŋi.

**drunk** ci-q tə-qa ('liquor' +  
'head' + DIR + 'go').

**itchy** dze.

**comfortable (of person)**  
ɕtɕi:mi-q-ta-na-ke: ŋuə  
(‘heart’ + ‘head’ + locative  
postposition + ‘good’ +  
INDEF:CL + copula; = ‘inside  
the heart is a good one’).

**busy, urgent, pressing** tɕin-tha  
(< Ch. jǐn ‘tight’ + AUX).

**leisurely, unimportant** ma-tɕin-  
tha (NEG + ‘busy (< Ch.)’ +  
AUX).

**tickle** dzɕɕtɕi qhu (‘laugh,  
smile’ + ‘carve’).

**frustrated** bəl-ʂqu (‘to do’ +  
'difficult').

**delicious** je.

**it tastes bad** me-j (NEG +  
'delicious (< je)').

**sweet** tʂhə.

**sour** tsue.

**bitter** qha ~ qhaq (< PTB \*ka).

**hot (peppery)** ɣzə (= ‘numb’;  
used for both numb-type  
hotness and chili-type  
hotness).

**astringent** tsisti.

**salty** dzə.

**flavorless, insipid** ma-zə (NEG  
+ ‘salty (< dzə)').

**brittle, crunchy** qhapqhap.

**soft, uncrisp, spongy, fluffy**  
matʂə.

**smell (vt.)** ɕete.

**fragrant** xu.

**fresh (of food)** ɕinɕyan (< Ch.  
xīnxiān).

**smell bad, musty (of cereals),  
rotten (of meat, etc.), rank  
(smell of urine, fish)** bəɣtʂi.

**big** ba.

**small, tiny** ɣtʂa / ɕi.

**tall, high** ti-wi (DIR + ‘tall’, but  
wi not used alone).

**low, short (of height)** fiə-gi  
(DIR + ‘short’, but gi not  
used alone).

**long** dzə (< PTB \*s-riŋ (?)).

**short (in length)** watsi.

**thick (eg. thread)** po.

**fine (eg. thread)** bətsi.

**broad, wide** la.

**narrow** tʂhitʂhi.

**thick** lie.

**thin** khikhi.

**deep** tʂha.

**shallow** ma-tʂha (NEG +  
'deep').

**round** patʂ / jyan-ti (< Ch. yuán  
de).

**upright** ə-ɣl (DIR + ‘roll, turn’;  
= ‘turn/roll over’).

**turn over (the wrong side),  
reversed** fiə-ɣl (DIR + ‘roll,  
turn’).

**upside down** qə tə-tʂu (‘head’ +  
DIR + ‘stand, vertical’).

**slanted, inclined, sloping** ta-  
qhua (DIR + ‘slanted’).

**horizontal (n.)** ɣuantɕhi (< Ch.  
héngzhe).



- vertical** tə-tsu.  
**straight** stə.  
**steep** xepi.  
**crooked** qəwe.  
**level** phin-(tha) (< Ch. píng; with -tha is adjective, without -tha is noun).  
**concave** quətʂa.  
**convex** tu-phuqu.  
**blurred** u-tɕu-ma-l (DIR + 'see' + NEG + 'able').  
**good-looking** ə-l-na (DIR + 'look (< lə)' + 'good').  
**ugly looking** ə-l-ma-na (DIR + 'look (< lə)' + NEG + 'good').  
**giant** ta-χə<sup>1</sup> (< Ch. dàhàn).  
**skinny** die-ʂe-ʂ (DIR + 'die' + 'appearance' (used for cursing out someone)).  
**shabby, tattered garments** baha (= 'poor, remote, out of the way').  
**clumsy and bulky, bulging** pie-se ('pig' + 'oil').  
**nauseating, unsightly** dowa-ʂ ('vomit' + 'think about, want to').  
**vexed** leme mo-lu / ɕtɕi-kɕ ma-na ('spirit, energy' + NEG + 'come' / 'heart' + 'inside' + 'not' + 'good').  
**suitable** qhuat (= 'just right').  
**angry** tə-khue (DIR + 'angry').  
**sad** ɕtɕi-kɕ ma-na ('heart' + 'base' + NEG + 'good').  
**grievous, sad** ɕtɕi χqəs we ('heart' + 'pity' + 'exist').  
**glad, happy** ɕtɕi-kɕ na ('heart' + 'base' + 'good').  
**self-satisfied** qətsə-ma-l ('modest' + NEG + 'able').  
**detestable** mei (< me NEG + jə 'good (to eat)' (?)).
- terrible, frightening** qu-s we ('be afraid' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').  
**bashful** dzoxu.  
**embarrassed** dzoxu-s we ('be bashful' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').  
**lose face, be disgraced** quaha me-we ('face' + NEG + 'exist').  
**shameful** dzoxu ma-χsa ('be bashful, ashamed' + NEG + 'know, understand').  
**distressed** ɕtɕi:mi zdz(i) ('heart' + 'be ill, be painful').  
**patience** ɕtɕi tse ('heart' + 'look at').  
**peaceful, quiet** hama (of people) / ʂquap (of the surrounding environment).  
**free from anxiety** qu me-tchi ('be afraid' + NEG + 'want').  
**grateful** zahaasa.  
**difficult(y), tired** ʂqu ~ χqu.  
**red, pink** ɕupu.  
**yellow, orange color** χaʂ.  
**blue** lan-ti (< Ch. lán de).  
**white** phiʂ ~ phi.  
**black** ŋix ~ ŋiq (< PTB \*nak; the final is secondary).  
**green** χaf-zəu (χaf = 'grass').  
**grey** phiaque.  
**colorful** lapa (= 'flower').  
**loud** sa.  
**soft voice** qəi χtʂa ('sound' + 'small').  
**light (in weight)** ʂzu.  
**heavy** dzə.  
**loose** de-phaʂ (DIR + 'loose', but phaʂ not used alone).  
**tight** ə-χʂ (DIR + 'tight', but χʂə not used alone).  
**cram in tightly** sə-xtʂ-təi (DIR + 'cram' + 'very').

**taut** tə-χs-təi (DIR + 'tie' + 'very').

**dry** juku.

**wet (n.)** matʂa (takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

**moistening** zə-zuən-tha (DIR + < Ch. rùn + AUX).

**soft** matʂʂa.

**tender** lən-tha (< Ch. nèn + AUX).

**hard, tough (of meat, rice)** ʂkuɕtɕu (tu-ʂkuɕtɕu = 'become hard').

**tough, old, spoiled, bug-eaten (of vegetables)** fiə-tʂuqa (if fruit on a tree, then ha-tʂuqa).

**scorched, burned (of rice)** ɕtɕap.

**raw** χatʂəq.

**done, ripe** fiə-m (DIR + 'done, ripe' < PTB \*s-min).

**cooked till tender** fiə-m-təi (DIR + 'done, ripe' + 'very').

**thin (of liquid)** thanəʂ.

**thick (of liquid)** be.

**sparse, not dense** qha.

**dense** tchi.

**smooth** ɬatə (cf. ɬa 'slippery').

**slippery** ɬa.

**wrinkled** ə-tuə (of clothing) / phə-tuə (of skin).

**scattered** ciçi (ci = 'release').

**empty** me-le (NEG + 'exist (in a container)').

**full** tə-sue.

**overflowing** ha-χtɕe.

**hollow (of grain)** zə-piaq (piaq < Ch. biǎn (?)).

**solid (of grain)** sə-p.

**sharp** tse.

**dull** me-tse (NEG + 'sharp').

**pointed** tsaq.

**blunt** ma-tsaq (NEG + 'pointed').

**new** xsə.

**old** ba.

**steady** wen-tha (< Ch. wěn + AUX).

**unsteady** stəstua.

**torn** de-pi.

**chipped (of cup, etc.)** o-qu do-tshu ('one' + CL (mouth) + 'fall out').

**broken** da-ke.

**fragmentary** nin-ti (< Ch. líng de).

**orderly, regular, uniform, even** khep.

**disorderly (of things), uneven** luan (< Ch. luàn; with -tha is adjective, without -tha is noun).

**mildewed and spoiled (of wood)** səptʂuqa.

**strong, lasting** zgue.

**flimsy** ma-gu (NEG + 'strong, lasting (< zgue)').

**good** na.

**bad, not good enough, poor quality,** ma-na (NEG + 'good').

**of passing/indifferent quality, plain, second-rate** tsa:n-ma-na ('too' + NEG + 'good', = 'not too good').

**rare (n.)** ciχan (< Ch. xīhǎn; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

**unusual (n.)** cičhi (< Ch. xīqí; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

**strange (n.)** tchikuai (< Ch. qíguài; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

**difficult** ʂqu.

**easy** ze.

**knotty (problem) (n.)** mafan (< Ch. máfán; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

**rough (of road)** sei-ma-na ('walk' + NEG + 'good').

**expensive, valuable** p h u - l u ('valuable' + 'cost').

**cheap, worthless** mo-fūlu (NEG + 'expensive (< phulu)').

**worth, worthwhile** χuasuan (< Ch. huāsuan).

**clean** kantsi (< Ch. gānjìng; although this is a loan word, it is used as an adjective in Qiang without an auxiliary verb or copula).

**dirty** ma-kantsi (NEG + 'clean').

**early** dzɑ.

**late** βla.

**quick, fast** ʃuʃu-(wa) / sei-dzə ('walk' + 'able') / khuai-tha-wa (< Ch. kuài + AUX + 'very').

**slow** basta.

**accurate** zuə-sta ('target' + 'accurate').

**bustling** lauze (< Ch. nàorè; although this is a loan word, it is used as an adjective in Qiang without an auxiliary verb or copula).

**crowded with (people)** tci-tha (< Ch. jǐ + AUX).

**remote, out of the way** baha (= 'poor').

**safe** qu-s me-we ('be afraid' + instrumental nominalizer + NEG + 'exist').

**dangerous** qu-s we ('be afraid' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').

**harmful** mei (< me NEG + jə 'good (to eat)' (?)).

**harmless, unimportant** qu me-tchi ('be afraid' + NEG + 'want').

**advantageous** bəl-əs je ('to do' + instrumental nominalizer + 'good (to eat)').

**gay and extravagant, luxurious** kən-na ('very' + 'good').

**fat (of people)** tə-phə / tshini we ('fat (n.)' + 'exist').

**fatty (of meat)** tsha we ('fat' + 'exist').

**lean** tsha me-we ('fat' + NEG + 'exist').

**thin (of people)** bəkei.

**strong** bedi.

**weak** ɦɑ-tsə (become weak).

**state of being well** na-ji ɦuə ('good' + adverbial particle + copula).

**famous** mintchi le (< Ch. míngqì + 'exist').

**correct** pe.

**wrong** me-pe (NEG + 'correct').

**poor** ma-qe (NEG + 'rich').

**rich** qəqə.

**lucky** lez we ('luck' + 'exist').

**unlucky** lez me-wə ('luck' + NEG + 'exist').

**temper** phitchi (< Ch. píqì).

**behavior, attitude** thaitu (< Ch. tàidù).

**bad-tempered, irritable** phitchi ma-na ('temper' < Ch. + NEG + 'good').

**impatient** ctei:mi χsutu-wa ('heart' + 'jump' + 'very').

**fierce, courageous, brave** χən-tha (< Ch. hěn (狠) + AUX).

**trustworthy, honest** pənfən (< Ch. běnfèn).

**cunning** tɕiɑu-thɑ (< Ch. jiǎo + AUX).

**designing** jin-səkue (< Ch. yǐn + ‘tail’).

**kind** ɕtɕi:mi na (‘heart’ + ‘good’).

**considerate** ɕtɕi:mi ʂə (‘heart’ + ‘exist’).

**strong character** tʂutɕu ʂku (‘character’ + ‘hard (< ʂkuɕtɕu)’).

**weak (of character)** tʂutɕu mo-ʂku (‘character’ + NEG + ‘hard (< ʂkuɕtɕu)’).

**bold, greedy for money** ɕtɕi:mi ba (‘heart’ + ‘big’).

**timid** ɕtɕi:mi ɣtʂɑ (‘heart’ + ‘small’).

**stubborn** tʂutɕu ʂku (‘character’ + ‘hard (< ʂkuɕtɕu)’).

**bold and aggressive** tʂhoŋ-thɑ (< Ch. chōng + AUX).

**clever, smart** tʂhimpe.

**quick, smart** qə ɬɑ (‘head’ + ‘slippery’; calque from Chinese huátóu ‘slippery head’).

**capable** bəl-dzə (‘to do’ + ‘able’).

**stupid** pən-thɑ (< Ch. bèn + AUX).

**foolish, dull, stupid, ignorant (n. or v.)** ɣapau (< Ch. cáobāo; can take kən ‘very’, e.g. kən ɣapau le: ‘the very stupid person’).

**cute** topu-s we (‘to like, love’ + instrumental nominalizer + ‘exist’).

**lively** ɣsutu-dzə (‘jump’ + ‘able’).

**good (of a child)** zəwɑ-xʂuɕtɕu (‘speech, words’ + ‘listen’).

**naughty, mischievous** zəwɑ mo-xʂuɕtɕu (‘speech, words’ + NEG + ‘listen’).

**spoiled (of child)** məq tə-kɑ (‘top’ + DIR + ‘go’).

**irritating, annoying (n.)** tu p-tɕim.

**proud** tɕaukau pə (< Ch. jiāo-ào + ‘to do’).

**modest** qətsə.

**generous** japə ba (‘hand’ + ‘big’).

**niggardly, miserly** japə ɣtʂɑ (‘hand’ + ‘small’).

**mad, out of one’s mind** tu-ku (= ‘become mad’; DIR + ‘curse, crazy’).

**unconscientious** məq-məq (‘top’ + ‘top’).

**careful, conscientious** ɕtɕi tse (‘heart’ + ‘see’).

**careless, headless** ɕtɕi me-tse (‘heart’ + NEG + ‘see’).

**mean-spirited** dzuəʂ qhu (‘teaching (jiàoxùn)’ + ‘hate’).

**act in a blushing manner** dzəoɣu (= ‘be bashful, ashamed’).

**childish** tɕymi-qəs we (‘child’ + ‘form’ + ‘exist’).

**taciturn** mele tsan-dze-kə mə-p (‘words’ + ‘too’ + ‘say’ + thus + NEG + ‘to do’).

**long-winded, garrulous, talkative** mele dze-dzə (‘words’ + ‘say’ + ‘able’).

**like to tell tales of others** mi-wəstɑ-mi dze-kəpə (‘person’ + ‘behind’ + ‘person’ + ‘say’ + habitual aspect marker).

**jokeful** dzəɕtɕeis dze-dzə (‘joke (< ‘laugh’ + instrumental nominalizer)’ + ‘say’ + ‘able’).

**diligent** bəl-dzə ('to do' + 'able').

**lazy** ʂqə / lan-tha (< Ch. lǎn).

**nervous** ətci:mi χsutu-wa ('heart' + 'jump' + 'very').

**in a hurry, hurried** ataz (= 'quickly').

**bewildered, in a fluster** χuan-tha (< Ch. huāng + AUX).

**slyly** hama-ŋi.

**quick** ɬuɬu-wa ('fast' + 'very').

**sluggish** bastə (= 'slow').

**clumsy** jəpə mo-ku ('hand' + NEG + 'willing').

**skillful** jəpə ku ('hand' + 'willing').

## TIME PHRASES

**four seasons** tsa q - su ə q ('spring/summer' + 'autumn/winter'; traditionally the Qiang only recognized two seasons).

**spring-summer** tsaq.

**autumn-winter** suəq.

**year** pə.

**this year** tsə-p ('this' + 'year').

**next year** eini.

**year after next** dze-p-ŋi (cf. 'day after tomorrow', 'day after day after tomorrow'; p < pə 'year'; ŋi = adverbial marker).

**last year** nə-p (cf. 'yesterday'; p < pə 'year').

**year before last** dzə-p (cf. 'day before yesterday'; p < pə 'year').

**beginning of the year** a-pə-tə fiə-lua: ('one' + 'year' + genitive marker + DIR + 'come' + PRS).

**end of the year** a-pə-tə fiə-tshu ('one' + 'year' + genitive marker + DIR + 'fall').

**all year round** a-p ('one' + 'year').

**month** ɕ(ə) (= 'moon').

**first lunar month** tʂə-ɕ / a-ɕ (both 'one' + 'moon/month').

**this month** tsa-ɕ (('this' + 'one') + 'moon/month').

**last month** qə:<sup>1</sup>-la-ɕ ('before' + DEF:one + 'moon/month').

**next month** steke-la-ɕ ('after' + DEF:one + 'moon/month').

**end of the month** a-ɕ fiə-tshu ('one' + 'moon/month' + 'fall down (DIR + 'fall)').

**first day of the lunar month** t̥su-t̥cu ('one' + 'beginning' (< Ch. chū)).

**day** sə.

**today** pə-s (s = 'day').

**tomorrow** t̥əp-ŋi.

**day after tomorrow** sudzu-ŋi.

**day after day after tomorrow** dzusu-ŋi.

**yesterday** nə-s (cf. 'last year'; s = 'day').

**day before yesterday** dzə-s (cf. 'year before last'; s = 'day').

**day before day before yesterday** dzə-dzə-s ('day before yesterday' reduplicated).

**this morning** pəs-u-qua (pəs (= pəs) 'today' + 'morning' (< ətsqua)).

**tomorrow morning** t̥əpotsqua ('tomorrow' + 'morning').

**this evening** pə-maha ('today' + 'evening').

**tomorrow evening** t̥əp-maha ('tomorrow' + 'evening').

**day after tomorrow evening** sudzu-maha ('day after tomorrow' + 'evening').

**yesterday evening** nə(i)-maha ('yesterday' + 'evening').

**day before yesterday evening** dzəi-maha (cf. 'day before yesterday' + 'evening').

**daytime** ɕtɕuχtu (ɕtɕu < \*ɕtɕə < PTB \*sni; u due to vowel harmony).

**nighttime** gəs.

**whole day** ɑ-s ('one' + 'day').

**from morning till night** ɑ-sə'wu ('one' + 'day' + 'all' (retroflex vowel on 'day' is part of 'all')).

**whole night** e-jə'wu ('one' + 'night' + 'all' (retroflex

vowel on 'night' is part of 'all')).

**dawn, daybreak** mu tu-su ('sky' + DIR + 'bright').

**sunrise** mujuq-ə-t̥su ('sun' + DIR + 'shine').

**morning** ətsqua ~ ɔtsuqua.

**before noon** dza:-t̥eiku ('midday meal' + 'before').

**noon** dza:-t̥ɕa-βa ('midday meal' + 'eat' + locative/temporal particle).

**afternoon** dza:-khui ('midday meal' + 'after').

**sunset** fiɑ-xt̥səp (DIR + 'dark' (= 'become dark')).

**evening** maha.

**night** je (< Ch. yè).

**midnight** panji (< Ch. bàn yè).

**every other day** ɑ-s-pe-ŋi ('one' + 'day' + 'become' + adverbial particle).

**overnight** e-je-pe-ŋi ('one' + 'night' (< Ch.)) + 'become' + adverbial particle).

**hour, o'clock** tian (< Ch. diǎn).

**what day is today? (ask date)** ŋɑ-ɕə-t̥e-ŋo-t̥cu ('how much' + 'moon, month' + genitive postposition + 'how much' + 'beginning' (< Ch. chū)).

**what time is it? (ask time)** ŋɑ-tian-pe-ji-ŋua ('how much' + 'hour, o'clock' (< Ch.)) + 'become' + CSM + Q).

**week** ɕiŋt̥ei (< Ch. xīngqī).

## LOCATION PHRASES

**place** zə-p / zə-pəq (zə = 'land, earth, field').

**be at a place, existential verb, to have** z<sub>i</sub> (animate referents only) / we (immovable referents) / le (location within a container) / ʂə (inanimate movable referents only) / xu (similar to ʂə but also takes nominalized clause).

**not at (home)** me-z<sub>i</sub> (NEG + 'exist (animate referent)').

**face (to the east)** a-l (DIR (inside/toward the mountain) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

**face (to the south)** sə-l (DIR (downriver) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

**face (to the north)** nə-l (DIR (upriver) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

**face (to the west)** tə-l (DIR (up) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

**front** tci-qe:<sup>1</sup> ('most' + 'before, front').

**central, middle** z<sub>e</sub>g<sub>y</sub> ~ z<sub>e</sub>k<sub>y</sub>.

**back** steke.

**location, place where something is** z<sub>i</sub>-s-ta / we-s-ta (both 'exist' + nominalizer + locative postposition).

**inside** tciqua / z<sub>a</sub>χua (deeper inside than tciqua).

**outside** kua-la ('outer side' + locative postposition).

**above** məq-ta ('top' + locative postposition).

**top (n.)** qə-s-ta ('head' + 'place (nominalizer + locative postposition)').

**below** qəl-la ('below' + locative postposition).

**underneath** ʂqəl.

**side, neighboring, next door, surrounding** piəna.

**both sides** ji-xʂe ('two' + 'side').

**around** dz<sub>u</sub>k<sub>y</sub>-ta.

**opposite** the-xʂe ('that' + 'side').

**east** mujuq-ha-lə-s-ta / musi-ha-lə-s-ta (both 'sun' + 'come out (DIR + 'come')' + nominalizer + locative postposition).

**west** mujuq-ə-x<sub>l</sub>-s-ta / musi-ə-x<sub>l</sub>-s-ta (both 'sun' + 'go down (DIR + 'move')' + nominalizer + locative postposition).

**south** khi-la locational noun, 'downriver'.

**north** ŋi-la (locational noun, 'upriver').

**left (side)** kua.

**right (side)** na.

**world** z<sub>e</sub>mə-ʂ (the people of the world; z<sub>e</sub>mə = 'people').

**home** tɕəu-la.

**everywhere, the whole floor / ground** tɕetci-la.

**along (the road)** (gue:<sup>1</sup>)-ta / -wu ('road' + locative or ablative postposition).

**far** guaha.

**near** gue-ŋi.

**MOVEMENT****move** mexɬe.**stop** ə-χ (stop doing an activity) / ə-tɕə (stop walking).**start** əββe.**come** lu (imperfective) / la (perfective).**go** kə (unprefixed imperfective) / -kə prefixed imperfective or prospective (e.g. /daβ/ 'go out') / -qa prefixed perfective (e.g. /fiɑqa/ 'went down').**ascend** tə-β (DIR + 'go').**descend** fiɑ-β (DIR + 'go').**enter, advance (v.)** ə-β (DIR + 'go').**exit** hɑ-β (DIR + 'go').**return (v.) (come back)** i-pə-l (DIR + 'arrive' + 'come').**cross (v.), go around** dɑ-β (DIR + 'go').**retreat (v.)** hɑ-β (DIR + 'go') / he-thue (DIR + 'retreat (< Ch. tuì)').**turn around** ə-l (DIR + 'look').**turn a corner** zə-fie (DIR + 'turn').**go around in a circle** fie.**surround** itɕhye.**pace back and forth** zə-β dɑ-β (DIR + 'go' + DIR + 'go').**be (copula)** ŋuə.**resemble** a-qəs we ('one' + 'form' + 'exist').**appear** hɑ-la (DIR + 'come').**disappear** me-zɿi-ji (NEG + 'exist' + change of state particle).**lose (thing)** do-γzu.**change (v.)** pian-thɑ (< Ch. biàn + AUX); (changes of

state are often marked by the addition of a directional prefix rather than by use of this loan word).



## QUANTIFIERS

**all** (e-ɣle) wu (e-ɣle ('one' + plural marker) often appears as r-coloring on vowel of previous syllable + wu, e.g. sə<sup>1</sup>wu 'all day').

**every** (mi<sup>1</sup>) wu (for people ('person' + 'all'; r-coloring is part of 'all')) / (as) maqa (for days, etc.).

**very long (in time)** kən a-ʂu pe ('very' + 'one' + CL + 'become').

**whole** (e-ze<sup>1</sup>) wu (('one' + CL (with r-coloring from 'all') + 'all').

**half** dzue (e-dzue 'one' + 'half').

**greater half** ba-le-dzue ('big' + DEF + 'half').

**smaller half** ɣtʂa-le-dzue ('small' + DEF + 'half').

**one and a half** e-zi-ŋa-e-dzue ('one' + CL + 'and' + 'one' + 'half').

**twice as much / many** e-pei ('one' + < Ch. bèi).

**two times odd** e-pei ma-ɣtʂe ('one' + 'time' (< Ch. bèi) + NEG + 'stop').

**increase (v.)** tə-wa (< tə-ba; DIR + 'big').

**count (v.)** ʂiʂi.

**calculate, to count** suəsua (< Ch. suàn).

**add** tɕia-tha (< Ch. jiā + AUX).

**subtract** tɕian-tha (< Ch. jiǎn + AUX).

**multiply** ʂen-ji (< Ch. chéng).

**divide** tʂhu-ji (< Ch. chú).

**zero** lin (< Ch. líng).

**one** a / dzə / tʂi / tʂua (see §3.1.5 for the uses of these different forms).

**two** jə / ŋi (< PTB \*g-ni-s/k; ŋi only used in ha-ŋi 'twelve').

**three** ɣsə / si (< PTB \*g-sum; si only used in ha-si 'thirteen').

**four** ɣzə (< PTB \*b-lij ≠ \*b-ləj).

**five** ɤua (< PTB \*l/b-ŋa; cf. 'fifteen').

**six** ɣtʂu (< PTB \*d-(k)-ruk).

**seven** ɕtɕə (< PTB \*s-nis).

**eight** khe<sup>1</sup> (< PTB \*b-r-gjat ≠ \*b-g-rjat).

**nine** zɤua (< PTB \*d-kəw ≠ \*s-gəw).

**ten** hotɕu ~ hodzu.

**eleven** ha-dzi ~ ha-tʂi ('ten' + 'one').

**twelve** ha-ŋi ~ ha-ŋi ('ten' + 'two').

**thirteen** ha-si ~ ha-si ('ten' + 'three').

**fourteen** ha-zɤ ('ten' + 'four').

**fifteen** ha-ŋuə ('ten' + 'five').

**sixteen** ha-tʂu ('ten' + 'six').

**seventeen** ha-ɕ ~ ha-ɕ ('ten' + 'seven').

**eighteen** ha-khe<sup>1</sup> ~ ha-khe<sup>1</sup> ('ten' + 'eight').

**nineteen** ha-gu ('ten' + 'nine').

**twenty** ju-su ('two' + 'ten').

**twenty-one** ju-su-tʂi ('two' + 'ten' + 'one').

**twenty-two** ju-su-jə ('two' + 'ten' + 'two').

**twenty-three** ju-su-xsə ('two' + 'ten' + 'three').

**thirty** xsu-su ('three' + 'ten').

**forty** ɣzu-su ('four' + 'ten').

**fifty** ɤo-su ('five' + 'ten')

**sixty** ɣtʂu-su ('six' + 'ten')

**seventy** ɕtɕu-su ('seven' + 'ten')

**eighty** khe-su ~ khe<sup>1</sup>-su ('eight' + 'ten')

**ninety** z<sub>l</sub>gu-su ('nine' + 'ten')

**hundred** khe (e-khe 'one hundred'; < PTB \*r-gya).

**hundred and one** e-khe-ŋ<sub>l</sub>a-e: ('one' + 'hundred' + 'and' + '(one + classifier)').

**thousand** stu (a-stu 'one thousand'; < Tibetan stuŋ (?)).

**ten thousand** kuan (a-kuan 'one ten-thousand'; < Ch. wàn).

**ten odd** hodzu-ma-χtʂe ('ten' + NEG + 'stop').

**the first one** tci-qə<sup>1</sup>-le: ('most' + 'front' + DEF:CL).

**the last one** tci-steke-le: ('most' + 'back' + DEF:CL).

**champion** kuantcyn (< Ch. guànjūn).

**runner-up** jatcyn (< Ch. yǎjūn).

**numbering** χauma (< Ch. hàomǎ).

**more or less, about, approximately** a:n ~ fi:a:n (appears after numeral expression).

**decrease** fi-a-χtʂa (= 'become small'; DIR + 'small').

**handful** a-pa (< Ch. bǎ).

**some (number)** a-ha ('one' + plural marker).

**several** əizi (< 'one' + 'two' + CL).

**a little, some (quantity)** a-za ~ a-zə (a = 'one').

**a little while** a-i ('one' + 'time').

**alone** e-ze ('one' + CL).

**time (one time)** ʂə (a-ʂ) / tau (< Sichuan dialect Chinese) / χui (a-χui 'one time'; < Ch. húi).

## PRONOUNS

**I/me (1st sg. pronoun)** qa.

**you (thou) (2nd sg. pronoun)** ?ũ.

**he, she, it (3rd sg. pronoun)** the: (< the 'distal demonstrative pronoun' + lengthened vowel to represent the classifier) / qupu (used for close relations and as logophoric pronoun).

**we/us (1st plural pronoun)** tci-le (le < yle plural marker; no inclusive/exclusive distinction).

**we/us two (1st dual pronoun)** tciizzi (1pl pronoun + 'two' + classifier).

**you (2nd pl. pronoun)** ?i-le (le < yle plural marker).

**you two (2nd dual pronoun)** ?izzi (2pl pronoun + 'two' + classifier).

**they (3rd pl. pronoun)** them-le ~ themne (le < yle plural marker).

**they/them two (3rd dual pronoun)** thizzi (3pl pronoun + 'two' + classifier).

**we all, all of us** e-yle-wu ('one' + plural marker + 'all').

**self, emphatic and reflexive pronoun** qa-qəi (1sg), tciil-tciile (1pl), ?ĩ-?ĩ: (2sg), il-ile (2pl), ŋi-ŋi ~ ŋi: (3sg), ŋil-ŋile (3pl).

**individual(ly)** ŋutcuku.

**other people** mi (= 'person').

**other (things or people)** nai.

**whoever** sə (= 'who').

**anything** iyi (used with negative verb).

**something** ɲiɣi (used with positive verb; = ‘what’).  
**everyone, all** zɿ-zɿ-me<sup>4</sup>wu (< ‘exist (animate)’ + reduplication + (animate nominalizer + plural marker + ‘all’)).  
**each one** mi<sup>4</sup>wu (‘people’ + ‘all’).  
**one by one** e-ze e-ze (‘one’ + CL + ‘one’ + CL).  
**possessive pronouns, mine** qa-tɕ (1sg + genitive postposition).  
**yours (sg.)** ʔũ-tɕ (2sg + genitive postposition).  
**his, hers** the:-tɕ (3sg + genitive postposition).  
**ours** tɕile-tɕ (1pl + genitive postposition).  
**yours (pl.)** ʔile-tɕ (2pl + genitive postposition).  
**theirs** themle-tɕ (3pl + genitive postposition).  
**this** tse.  
**that** the.  
**these** tsa-ha (‘this’ + ‘one’ + plural marker).  
**those** tha-ha (‘that’ + ‘one’ + plural marker).  
**here** tsa / tsakua (adding kua implies larger area than tsa alone) / tsu (smaller area than tsa).  
**there** tha / thakua (adding kua implies larger area than tha alone) / thu (smaller area than tha).  
**this side** tse-xɕe (‘this’ + ‘side’).  
**that side** the-xɕe (‘that’ + ‘side’).  
**this much, in this way** tsei ~ tsəi (tse ‘this’ + adverbial marker (< ji)).

**that much, in that way** thei ~ thəi (‘that’ + adverbial marker (< ji)).  
**who?** sə / sə-le: (le: = DEF:CL).  
**what?** ɲiɣi.  
**which one?** ɲiɣi-le: (le = DEF:CL).  
**where?** tɕa-la ~ tɕa: (‘where’ + locative postposition (or lengthened vowel representing the postposition)).  
**which side?** ɲiɣi-la:-kua (‘what’ + DEF:one + ‘side’).  
**when?** ɲiɣi-lai (‘what’ + DEF + a-i ‘one’ + ‘time’) / tɕho:.  
**how (to do?) -manner-** ɲi-ke: (WH-INDEF:CL).  
**how (in what way or form)** ɲi-qəs (WH + ‘form’; this is the ‘how’ of pe<sup>4</sup>ʂen ɲiqəs we [body how have] ‘how is your health?’).  
**why?** ɲiɣi-ɕuanɲi (‘what’ + cause marker).  
**how (good!) -degree-** wa (= ‘very’; postverbal adverbial).  
**how much / how many** ɲa-wu ~ ɲa-we (WH + ‘many’).  
**how long (in time)** ɲi-kai (WH + INDEF + a-i ‘one’ + ‘time’).

## ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

**also** lə.  
**also, in addition** jə (postverbal particle).  
**all** (e-ɣle)-wu (people) / ahe<sup>4</sup>-wu (objects).  
**again** xsə (= ‘new’).  
**additionally** nai (= ‘other’).  
**mutually (mutually help each other)** e:-wu e:-ta (‘one’ +

agentive postposition + 'one' + dative postposition).  
**individually, separately** ɲutɕuku.  
**only** ma-ɲuə̃-ji (used after noun; NEG + copula + exception marker).  
**merely, scarcely, barely** tɕi.  
**all together** utʂuqu.  
**almost** a-zə tɕa-tʂha.  
**previous** qe:ʰ (= 'front, before').  
**next** steke (= 'back, after').  
**temporarily** a-zə (= 'a little').  
**now** tsai ('this (< tse)') + 'one time (< a-i)').  
**that time** thai ('that (< the)') + 'one time (< a-i)').  
**in the future** steke-ɲi ('back' + adverbial particle).  
**later** (fiə)-tsəi-ɲike (INT-this:ADV-after).  
**first** (tɕi)-qe:ʰ ('most' + 'front, before').  
**beforehand** tɕi-qe:ʰ.  
**start early** a-zə dzɕa-tɕ ('a little' + 'early' + genitive postposition).  
**continue** tɕa-V.  
**finish (v.)** da-s.  
**quickly, immediately** atazɕ / ata-ɲi.  
**often, always, usually** iɕtɕi-maqa ('together' + 'every').  
**then and only then** tɕi (postposition used with negative verb to achieve this meaning).  
**already** -ji ~ -jy (CSM).  
**recently** tsu-ɲan-tɕi.  
**just now, just a while ago** pə-tsa-ɲi.  
**formerly** qe:ʰ-lotʂu-ka.  
**from childhood** tɕaxtʂəstə-wu.

**just right, in the nick of time, exactly** qhuat.  
**too late** me-zde-ji (NEG-'enough time'-CSM).  
**still, as before, more** tɕa ~ tɕe ~ tɕə ~ tɕi (preverbal adverb).  
**very, rather, pretty, quite** w a (postverbal adverb; used mostly with stative verbs) / ken ~ gen; (preverbal adverb, has wider use than wa.).  
**most** tɕi (verbal prefix).  
**too (adj.), excessively** tʂa n (placed before adj.) / -ʂ.  
**slightly, somewhat** a-zə (= 'a little'; 'one' + CL).  
**progressive aspect, 'he is eating'** root form of verb: the: tɕhə [3sg eat].  
**perfective aspect, 'have you eaten?'** prefix+V (+ ji) (ji = change of state marker): ?ũ stuaha sə-tɕh-ji-n-a? [2sg food DIR-eat-ASP-2sg-Q].  
**experiential aspect** dze (postverbal auxiliary verb).  
**inchoative aspect** use directional prefix or change of state marker /ji/).  
**continuative aspect** tɕa+V.  
**instantative aspect, 'as soon as (he eats, he vomits)'** .....ɲike.....pə.  
**additive, 'V some more!'** a zə ətɕi V.  
**really and truly** katchi.  
**terminative, 'finish (eating the rice)'** V-da-s.  
**partitive, '(ate two apples) out of (five)'** N-ka (= locative postposition).  
**possibly, perhaps** V-m la-han-ɲuə (verb + agentive nomi-

- nalizer + DEF:one + 'kind' + copula).
- largely** V-m tan ηuə (verb + agentive nominalizer + appearance + copula).
- not (e.g. it is not good)** ma- ~ me- ~ mə- ~ mu- (verbal prefix).
- in unison, together** itci ~ ictci.
- have not (e.g. he has no money)** ma-ʂ (NEG + 'exist (inanimate object)').
- not yet (e.g. he has not yet come)** mə-tci-V (NEG + 'still, yet').
- negative imperative, prohibitive** tca-V.
- need not (e.g. you need not cry)** V-me-tchi (NEG + 'want').
- cannot (e.g. I cannot see)** V-ma-la (NEG + 'able (< dzə)').
- possessive marker (e.g. my book)** tɕ(ə) (genitive postposition).
- comparative degree marker (e.g. you are taller than him)** s(ə) (used in following structure: NP1 + NP2-s(ə) + adj.).
- empty-handed** j a p ə - x ʂ u ɕ u ('hand' + 'empty').
- face to face** utcu-s-ta ('to see' + instrumental nominalizer + locative postposition).
- as...as, same as (e.g. you are as tall as he is)** NP1 + ηa + NP2 aqəs + adj.
- degree complement marker (e.g. he runs very fast)** V-dzə wa ('able' + 'very').
- secretly** hama-ηi.
- seemingly** qes-we ('form' + 'exist').
- agentive marker (e.g. he was hit by his brother)** wu (same postposition as used for instrumental and ablative meanings).
- instrumental marker (e.g. to cut with a pair of scissors)** wu (same postposition as used for agentive and ablative meanings).
- side, inside, (locational particle)** kua (used in combination with demonstrative pronouns, e.g. tsakua 'here'; also seems to be morpheme aside from 'heart' in cteiku na 'happy' [heart-in good]).
- from** wu (ablative postposition; same form as agentive and instrumental postposition).
- horizontally** χuantchi (< Ch.).
- in place of (e.g. do it for him)** χuanηi / -tɕ.
- vertically** tutsu ji.
- if** tu / ta / ʂə (all clause-final linkers).
- according to my view ...** qa itsi ηike ηua ʂa (1sg look LNK COP:1sg LNK).
- except for** ma-ηuə tci (NEG-COP ADV).
- when (e.g. when I came)** kza-ka (time-LOC / lai (< DEF + 'one' + 'time')).
- before (e.g. before I came)** mo tɕu +V + tɕ.
- after (e.g. after I came)** V-ηike (marks the action in the following clause as occurring after the action in the clause where ηike appears).
- since (e.g. since you were born)** V-ηike (= 'after').

**just before (eg. just before he left)** ɛza-ɛa.

**cause, reason for, because** wu / χuaŋi (postpositions used after clause representing the cause).

**for the sake of (eg. for the sake of him)** χua-ŋi (used after an NP).

**since (eg. since you don't like it)** tu (used clause-finally).

**unless** ma-ŋuə tu (NEG + COP + 'if').

**although** ha-ŋuə-lu (DIR + COP + 'come').

**and** ŋa.

**even, including (eg. even he doesn't want to go)** lə (= 'also').

**both...and** lə...lə (= 'also').

**at the same time, while..., as... (eg. he eats while he runs)** e xʂe...e xʂe.

**at one time ... at another time (eg. at one time he says he is coming at another time he says he is not coming), sometimes ... sometimes ... (eg. sometimes he is naughty, sometimes he is good)** ai ŋuəŋi...ai ('one time' TOP ... 'one time').

**not only...but also** metchi...təa...

**either ... or ...** ... ŋuaŋi ... ŋuaŋi (... TOP ... TOP).

**either...or (interrogative) (eg. are you eating rice or eating noodles?)** ... n-a ... n-a? (... 2sg-Q ... 2sg-Q).

**the ... the (eg. the older he grows the smarter he becomes)** a zə wu a zə.

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## Notes

1. In the stories the interjections often take the form of demonstrative pronouns, but are used as fillers rather than for their lexical content. This is common in Chinese as well, but I don't know if this is by chance or due to contact influence.
2. Other members of the Qiangic branch include Pumi (Prinmi), Muya, Ergong, Shixing, Namuzi (see Sun 1982, 1983, 1985). rGyalrong is often included in this group as well, though this categorization is less than certain (see LaPolla 2000b, 2003a).
3. Studies on the culture and history of the Qiang people include Zhuang 1937; Yan 1951; Graham 1958; Luo & Shi 1983; Ran, Li & Zhou 1984; Ren 1984; Ma 1984; Zhou & Liu 1993; Xu 1993; Li, Lin & Wang 1994; Meng, Gui & Lin 1994; and Wang 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000, 2001a, 2001b.
4. These population figures are from Sun 1981a:177; Huang Bufan 1991:208 gives the total number of Qiang speakers as approximately one hundred thousand people. Neither author gives a source for these figures. According to the 1990 census (figures cited in Zhou & Li 1993), the total population of the Qiang people is one hundred ninety-eight thousand people (it had been 102,768 in the 1982 census). If Huang's number is correct, then only about half of the people of the Qiang nationality still speak the Qiang language fluently. This seems about right, as my understanding is that there are very few fluent speakers left in the majority of the southern Qiang areas. See also Lin 1990.
5. Having the animals within the same building was to prevent theft and to maintain warmth, but as this is a rather unhygienic arrangement, the government has been encouraging the Qiang to build separate pens for the animals.
6. Before 1949 the area was quite poor, and the main economic activity was opium growing and selling. Few Qiang people were able to attend schools or improve their livelihood. Their situation was not unlike the difficult situation the Akha people in northern Thailand still live in today.
7. The Qiang are sometimes mistakenly believed to be worshipping the white stone itself, but they are in fact worshipping the spirit invested in the stone.
8. Liu (1998b:1-3) gives a detailed history of the work done by the team in the 1950's. Fieldwork was carried out in 32 different Qiang-speaking areas, and a large amount of data was collected. Work on this data stopped for many years because of the disruption of the Cultural Revolution, although Liu and Sun have since the late 1970's tried to work up and publish the data (Liu's book, Sun 1981a, and many of the other relatively recent publications are based largely on the data collected in the 1950's).

9. This list was compiled by Yu-hung Chang, Anne Y. Hashimoto and Jerry Norman, and published by Princeton University. While this was not an ideal word list for Qiang, as it included many lexical items specific to Southeast China, it was chosen because it had both English and Chinese glosses, semantic numbering, an index, and more items than the standard lists used in China. A revised version of this list is also being used for the Qiang Dialect Atlas Project.
10. The form /ŋ/ is used instead of the standard IPA /ɲ/ simply to be consistent with other works on the language published in China (where this form is standard usage), and to have the palatal series consistently marked by the curl on the right.
11. The forms /kha/ and /xa/ do not appear in Qiang, though /k-/ and /kh-/ contrast in /kha/ ‘rice husk’ and /ka:/ ‘teeth of a sickle’, and /x-/ and /χ-/ contrast in /xa/ ‘scold (1sg)’ and /χa/ ‘sword’.
12. The analysis of the phonemic form of the prefix as /s-/ (rather than /s/) may seem odd from a Tibeto-Burman comparative perspective, but based on both internal evidence, and comparative evidence from other Qiang sub-dialects (e.g. cf. Mawo dialect /sɸi/, Ronghong dialect [ɸpie] ‘thirsty’), this seems the only choice.
13. It is a puzzle why the second person pronoun has a glottal or zero initial (they don’t contrast) instead of /n/ or /ŋ/, as the rhyme /u/ would be a regular development from the usual Tibeto-Burman second person singular pronoun \*nang. (PTB \*n- has several reflexes in Qiang, but not usually [ʔ- ~ Ø].)
14. When r-coloring is added to /a/, it is usually pronounced [əʔ] or [aʔ], so we cannot determine whether there are separate /aʔ/(/əʔ/) and /a/ forms.
15. This example has been added to show that the final r-coloring contrasts with final /-l/.
16. Even though this is true, the forms of the second person pronouns, /ũ/ (singular) and /i-/ (plural) are written in this grammar with a glottal stop onset, purely to give them graphic bulk.
17. Here we are treating the glides that appear after the initial as part of the final rather than as part of an initial cluster because they do not form part of the syllable-final clusters (which are formed from initial clusters), even though historically the high-front glide has affected the initial consonant or cluster, palatalizing the initial, or in some cases (where the initial is /p/) palatalized the preinitial (e.g. \*sɸie > [ɸpie]). See the discussion of clusters later in this section, and also footnote 12.
18. In general, prefixes are preserved in the second syllable of two-syllable combinations (unless the entire complex initial is reduced), except in the case of the numerals (see §3.1.5) (and a few very old compounds such as [magu] ‘flimsy’, from /ma/ NEG + /zgue/ ‘strong’). This would be evidence that the numeral combinations were formed at a time when the prefixes were still productive, or at least were still not seen as integral to the root, and that other combinations (where the prefixes were preserved) developed after the prefixes had become fixed as part of an initial consonant cluster.



19. Even if the form does not become monosyllabic, there will still be a reduction in the number of syllables, e.g. in (2.5b), below, where three syllables reduce to two.
20. The lateral which occurs from the weakening of /dz-/ is somewhat retroflexed.
21. This contrasts with languages such as Dulong/Rawang and Jinghpaw, which generally have an iambic stress pattern, and so reduction is of the first syllable rather than the second syllable (basically a southern pattern within Tibeto-Burman, possibly due to Mon-Khmer influence). See Dai 1995, Dai & Xu 1995 on Jingpo initial syllable reduction.
22. There are several forms for ‘one’ and ‘ten’; see §3.1.5.
23. The words for ‘eight’ and ‘hundred’ can both be pronounced [khe] or [khe<sup>h</sup>], though in context there doesn’t seem to be a problem of ambiguity. It seems the r-coloring is in the process of being lost, at least in the speech of the younger people. This homophony might seem odd, but it also occurs in the Cantonese dialect of Chinese, when final /-k/ and final /-t/ both become glottal stop in rapid speech (i.e. baat<sup>33</sup> ‘eight’ and baak<sup>33</sup> ‘hundred’ both > baa<sup>h33</sup>).
24. If more than two need to be expressed, an adverbial marker would need to be added, e.g. [tʂhetsə x sə na-ŋi khuaiθa] (car new good-ADV fast) ‘good fast new car’.
25. In Chinese it is also the case that many nouns which are themselves measures do not take classifiers or measures, particularly those of units of time, such as *nián* ‘year’ and *tiān* ‘day’.
26. A stative verb (adjective) can also be followed by the definite marker, though the resulting form functions as a noun, not a verb.
27. One example of a non-natural referent that seems to have this structure is /soqhu qhu/ ‘to fire a gun’, but I am not clear on the origin of the term /soqhu/ ‘gun’. James A. Matisoff (p.c.) has suggested that the first syllable of /soqhu/ might be related to /somu/ ‘iron’.
28. The semantics of this noun are exactly that of Chinese *yuèliàng* ‘moon’ (< ‘moon’ + ‘bright’), but as it is an item of basic vocabulary and follows a general pattern of Qiang, and the pattern is also found in a number of other Tibeto-Burman languages (Xu 1997), it does not seem to be a calque on the Chinese.
29. In the case of ‘flower’, the form is sometimes pronounced [lpa], sometimes [lampɑ]; in general, [lampɑ] is used when referring to the actual flowers, and [lpa] is used when it is an adjective, ‘flowery’, modifying a noun. The form [lam] is not used alone for ‘flower’, so the gloss here is speculative.
30. This is an animal that is a cross between a common cow and a yak.
31. In some northern Qiang sub-varieties, such as the Qugu variety, the form /qupu/ is used more generally.
32. In one elicited example, given in (3.201b), the form [the:-xʂ-ta] ‘on that side’, with a long vowel, was said to mean a position farther away than that meant by [the-xʂ-ta], with a short vowel, but this does not seem to be a regular pattern.
33. Where the form of the verb has been altered by the addition of person or aspect marking, the original form of the verb is given at the margin.

34. Here the verb is glossed as having first person singular marking (/ -a/), though because the form of the prospective aspect marking (/ -a:/) incorporates that of the first person singular marking, there is no obvious difference between first person singular prospective aspect and third person singular (zero marking) prospective aspect forms of verbs. See §4.3.2 on person marking.
35. Given this situation, and the fact that an (in)definite marker plus classifier can form a complete noun phrase (see T3:63 for an example), plus the fact that cross-linguistically definite markers often derive from demonstrative pronouns, as in English, it seems likely that the definite markers (and locative markers) of Qiang also derive historically from demonstrative pronouns. The form /te/ is not very problematic in this regard, as it could easily be related to the contemporary distal demonstrative pronoun /the/ (both possibly < Proto-Tibeto-Burman \*day; see Benedict 1972:19), but the origin of /le/ is more puzzling, as the only evidence for a /le/ or /la/ demonstrative pronoun other than that used for the definite marker is the form [fiɬa], which often appears as an interjection in the Texts and seems to mean ‘there’. (See also footnote 53).
36. Here the copula could have been used instead of the existential verb, but the sense would be of a state that was permanent or at least lasted a rather long time.
37. In fact one expression meaning ‘story’ is /ʂkup-mele/, literally ‘orangutan words’. (As far as I know, there are no orangutans in Sichuan, China, but the Chinese word for the type of animal involved in these stories, which matches the imagined form of the animal, translates as ‘orangutan’.)
38. Both ‘eight’ and ‘hundred’ can be pronounced either [khe] or [kheʰ]. Only the context can distinguish the two. See footnote 23.
39. As mentioned in §2.2.3, this expression appears as [wu], [le-wu], [ɣle-wu], [leʰwu], [-eʰwu], or [-ʰwu]. In the case of the latter form, the final vowel of the previous word becomes r-colored.
40. Although this form seems very similar to the form [o-u] given just above, this form is made up of the word ‘one’ plus the initial consonant of the word for ‘pile’ and so there is no vowel harmony, while [o-u] involves two vowels, and so there is vowel harmony.
41. It might be argued that there is only one topic in this example, as the expression /səkue zdzi/ ‘stomach hurts’ is predicated about the main topic, but within this predication the stomach is also a topic about which a predication is made, and an adverb such as [kən ~ gən] ‘very’ can appear between the second noun phrase and the verb, so it can also be said there are two topics. The second topic is a secondary topic, though, and can only take topic marking in a quoted clause, e.g. [the:-ŋuəŋi səkue-ŋuəŋi zdzi jə] (3sg-TOP stomach-TOP pain say) ‘(He) says his stomach hurts’. See LaPolla 1995a, LaPolla & Poa 2003, for discussion of this type of construction in Chinese.
42. [χumtʂi] and [khumtsi] are common Qiang names. They are derived from the name of the animal associated with the year of birth of the individual, plus a nominalizer /-m/, plus a suffix indicating whether the person is male (/tʂi/ = ‘male child’) or female (/tʂi/ = ‘female child’). In this case /χu/ means ‘tiger’,

and /khu/ means ‘dog’ (< /khuə/), so [χumtʃi] is a male child born in the year of the tiger, and [khumtsi] is a female child born in the year of the dog ([χu-lu-m] ‘the one who came in the year of the tiger’, etc. is also possible). There are several other common ways of forming Qiang names: using the name (= number) of the month the person was born in, e.g. the name [khe<sup>1</sup>tʃi] is derived from [khe<sup>1</sup>-c] ‘August’ (< /khe<sup>1</sup>/ ‘eight’ + /cə/ ‘moon, month’) plus the male child suffix, so [khe<sup>1</sup>tʃi] is a male child born in August (the eighth month); using the age of one of the parents at the time of the child’s birth, e.g. [kʉasuetʃi] ‘son of a fifty-year-old’; using the name of the place where the mother gave birth, e.g. [jʉʉotsi] ‘girl born on the threshing ground’; using the weight of the child at birth, e.g. [wutʃin] (< Chinese *wǔjīn*) ‘five catty’; using one of the five elements, e.g. [tʃinsen] (< Chinese *jīnshēng*) ‘golden birth’; using a reference to the god who was prayed to in requesting the child be born, e.g. [xsə-lu-tʃi] ‘god-coming-son’. See Huang, Yu, & Huang 1992.

43. There is also use of non-actor person marking to show affectedness; see §4.3.2.
44. Here the vowel change is due to harmonizing with /ji/, and then the prefix harmonizes with the changed vowel.
45. Notice in (3.121) and (3.122) that 2nd person plus 1st person results in 1pl person marking, while 2nd person and 3rd person result in 3pl person marking.
46. Qiang only has native words for two seasons, one (/tsaq/) representing both Spring and Summer, the other (/suəq/) representing both Autumn and Winter.
47. The third person pronoun is translated as ‘s/he’ because there is no gender distinction, and except for those examples that are taken from the stories, there was no disambiguating context (Chinese, the working language, also has no gender distinction).
48. See LaPolla 1995d on the common development of ablative markers into instrumental and agentive markers in Tibeto-Burman languages.
49. Notice here how the verb is first reduced from /tʃhə/ to [-tʃ] and then an epenthetic vowel is inserted before the /-m/ suffix.
50. The Chinese measures *zhàng* in (3.177) and *lǐ* in (3.178) are equivalent to 3 1/3 meters, or 10.8 feet, and half a kilometer, or 1/3 of a mile, respectively.
51. In a kinship relation such as this, we would normally have causative marking on the verb (see §3.2.14), but in the exclusion construction, the verb is intransitive, and there is only one direct argument (here, ‘my sister’). Another example would be (i):

(i) *the:*    *o-u-stu-tʃi*                    *me-z.i.*  
           3sg    one-CL-alone-EXC    NEG-have/exist  
           ‘There is only him alone.’

52. There does not seem to be any regularity as to when [tʃi] is used as opposed to [ji ~ jə], other than emphasis. That is, when the particle is emphasized, it is more likely to be pronounced [tʃi], but if it is not emphasized, it is often pronounced [ji] or [jə].

53. There is an interesting correlation between the two definite markers, /le/ and /te/, the demonstrative pronoun /the/ ‘this’ (also /tha/ ‘there’), and these locative particles /la/ and /ta/ (see also footnote 35).
54. This is a loan from Chinese, so the individual morphemes have not been given glosses. This is also the case with ‘1958’ below.
55. The two phrases [jautchiu] ‘demand’ and [tɕiu-ʂə] ‘just-is’ are Chinese. This is possibly a case of code-mixing in the telling of the story rather than loans.
56. Middle voice marking is found in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages (see LaPolla 1995b, 1996, 2003a), but passive marking is rare.
57. This pattern is similar to that found in Dulong and Rawang (see LaPolla 2000, 2003b), but unlike in Dulong and Rawang, the noun phrase representing the causer cannot take topic marking in this example. In ex. (4.8), where the inanimate causer is marked with the agentive marker, it would be possible to have the noun phrase representing the causee in sentence-initial position and marked by the topic marker.
58. While this structure is acceptable, most often if the causer is 3rd person and the causee is 1st or 2nd person, the direct causative is not used. Instead a quotative structure is used, as in (i):

(i) *the:*      *qa-ta*            *stuaha*      *tə-bəl-i*                      *kə-ji.*  
           3sg      1sg-LOC      food            DIR-make-NAR            thus-say  
           ‘He told me to make the food.’

59. In this example it would also be possible to use a directional prefix on the copula (i.e., [ha-ŋyɔ̄-zə]), if the person had already assumed the office. As it stands, with no directional prefix and prospective aspect marking on the verb, the sentence assumes the person has been chosen, but has not yet assumed office. That is, the prospective aspect is relative only to the becoming, not to the choosing.
60. This is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for adjective status: except for /topu/ ‘like’, any verb that can take /-wa/ will be an intransitive state predicate verb, but a verb that cannot take /-wa/ may also be an intransitive state predicate verb (see §4.4.1).
61. It could be that the sense of plurality is involved in both types, as the reciprocal must involve more than one person.
62. Because of the semantic nature of adjectives as stative verbs, prospective aspect can only be used with an adjective if the continuative aspect marking is used together with it, marking the sense that a state will continue to exist or develop.
63. In the case of ‘potatoes’ in this example and ‘fish’ in (4.33a-b) below, number marking is not used (though it would be possible to add [ɑ-hɑ] ‘some, a few’) when the exact number of items is not relevant.
64. There is another verb /kə/ that means ‘walk, leave’, but does not undergo the changes that the form /kə/ ‘go’ undergoes when prefixed, e.g. /ə-kə/ ‘leave!’, /tɕɑ-kə/ ‘don’t leave!’.
65. The change of state marker /-ji/ is not used with the negative of this construction.

66. This distinction of actor vs. non-actor parallels the use of agentive and non-agentive (ergative and anti-ergative) marking on noun phrases (see LaPolla 1992a, 1995c), and makes the Qiang system quite different from many of the other Tibeto-Burman person marking systems, which mark person primarily, and not semantic role (they are hierarchical systems). For example, in Tangut or Dulong/Rawang, marking of a first person participant appears in a clause regardless of the semantic role of that participant (see LaPolla 1992b, 1994, 2003a for discussion of person marking).
67. In the Mawo dialect (Sun 1981:192), the form /sa/ is used for all persons and numbers in the non-actor paradigm: 1sg /sa/, 2sg /saŋi/, 3sg /saji/, 1pl /saʔ/, 2pl /satçiŋi/, 3pl /satçiŋi/. From the Mawo evidence it seems the actor marking, number marking, and non-actor marking were originally three different systems.
68. These are the maximum forms possible. As the non-actor marking is always optional, and the actor marking is sometimes optional, these are not necessarily the forms that appear in the examples throughout this grammar.
69. The non-actor person marking is optional in most cases.
70. The verb /le/ never appears alone without the directional prefix /də/ for the meaning 'give', therefore no unprefixated forms are given here. There are corresponding verbs [səle] 'pack in', [zəl(e)] 'take, bring over here', and [ile] 'bring in, put in', which leads one to assume there was originally a verb /le/ that meant some kind of change of possession or movement, with the four directional prefixes (movement away from the center vs. movement downstream (here used for down-in), movement toward the center vs. movement in) determining the meaning as 'give', 'pack in', 'take', or 'bring'. This verb may in fact be the existential verb /le/, which can have a transitive use in reduplicated form (see §4.2.4), but which would possibly lose the reduplicated token when a prefix is added. The word /-sə/ 'put' may also be the existential verb /sə/ (which can also have the sense of transitive 'put' in reduplicated form) when it takes a prefix.
71. The two systems do not correspond one-to-one, as the Taoping dialect uses the cognate of the Ronghong 'movement in' prefix for marking movement up-river, and it seems the cognates of the prefixes for marking movement toward or away from the center are used for movement towards the mountain and towards the river respectively. See Nishi 1990 and Huang Bufan 1991, 1994 for broader comparative treatments.
72. The assignment of a verb to a certain class is not arbitrary; it is done on the basis of tests for each type. See Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Chapter 3 for discussion.
73. One of the few exceptions to this found so far is the form [tiwi] 'tall, high'. This form is made up of the root /-wi/ and the directional prefix [ti-], but the root cannot be used without the prefix. The combined form has the simple meaning rather than the change or state meaning.
74. There is a contrast between a nominalized adjective used with the verb /pe/ 'become', and the form of the adjective (intransitive stative verb) with the directional prefix, which gives it the sense of 'become ADJECTIVE': /tə-ŋiq/

[DIR-black] ‘become black’ vs. /ŋiq-ke: pe/ [black-INDEF:CL become] ‘become a black thing’.

75. Not all verbs can do this, even if the semantics might allow it; in some cases if the verb can take all of the directional prefixes, then the concrete directional sense will override the more abstract sense, e.g. [fiɔɣlu] ‘roll down’ has no connotation of agentiveness, because it can take all of the directional prefixes, and so the use of /fiə-/ here will be based on the actual direction of rolling.
76. For discussion of *Aktionsart* differences expressed using the directional prefixes, see Section 4.3.3.
77. See also the discussion in §4.3.3 on the use of reduplication with different directional prefixes on each token for marking a type of repeated action.
78. While logically it would seem the two could be used together, they aren’t. For example, if one wanted to express the meaning ‘don’t do it again/anymore’, the form would not be \*/tɕə-tɕə-bəl/, but would be [tɕə-bəl-jy] (NEG.IMP-do-ASP); for ‘don’t let him come again/anymore’ it would not be \*/çɑ:-tɕə-tɕə-lɑ/, but would be [tɕo-lu-z-jy] (NEG.IMP-come-CAUS-ASP).
79. Huang Bufan (2000) has suggested this suffix derives from /kə/ ‘thus’ + /pə/ ‘do’, but except for ‘come’ and ‘go’, generally two verbs are not used together in that way (/pə/ can immediately follow the main verb), and it is possible to have another word for ‘do’ in between /kə/ and /pə/, as in (i), so it would seem /pə/ does not mean ‘do’.

(i) *the: khuə çə-k-kə-bəl-pə.*  
 3sg dog release-go-thus-do-habitual  
 ‘He goes hunting.’

80. It is important to emphasize that these are the formal means of marking the associated speech-act types, not necessarily the only way of performing these speech acts. Almost any formal type can be used to perform any type of speech-act.
81. In some cases, such as the verbs for ‘eat’ and ‘drink’, the prefix usually used for the imperative is different from the prefix usually used for the other uses of the directional prefixes: [sə-z] ‘(S/he) ate.’ vs. [ə-z] ‘Eat!’ (both < prefix + dzə); [sə-tɕ] ‘(S/he) drank.’ vs. [ə-tɕ] ‘Drink!’.
82. The resulting form can appear to be the same as a question form, which also has [-nɑ] at the end of the clause (see §4.3.5.3), but it does not have the same origin, i.e. the imperative particle /nɑ/ does not involve person marking, as the question form /-n-ɑ/ does, and so can be added after 2sg/2pl marking, as in /ə-zə-n-nɑ/ (directional prefix + ‘eat’ + 2sg + polite imperative marker) ‘(Please) eat!’. It also can be used with the plural, whereas the question particle /nɑ/ cannot, and the imperative /nɑ/ has a falling rather than rising intonation.
83. The form /lɑ/ is glossed as ‘INDTV:1sg’, even though there is no non-first person form, because there is this first person plural form.
84. The form of the verb as [tu-pu] (i.e. with the [-u] vowel) is due to the fact that the unprefixed form of ‘to look after someone’ is [tɕauku pu] (< /tɕauku pə/, where

the vowel of the verb /pə/ becomes [-u] due to harmony with the final vowel of /tʃauku/. It is unclear whether the vowel of the prefix is due to harmony with the already harmonized vowel of the verb, or due to harmony with the final vowel of /tʃauku/.

85. The form /ʔəhã/ sounds like the English backchannel positive response, but its meaning is the opposite of that in English!
86. The form which results from /ŋuə/ + /ŋi/ is the same as the topic marker /ŋuəŋi/, and this may be the origin of the topic marker, but they are not felt to be the same thing in this context.
87. Compare Chinese yào (要) which has the same two uses.
88. This form of nominalized verb plus the copula is sometimes used for simple statements, and even in questions, with the meaning ‘it is the case that’, e.g.

(i) *dza:khui ləyz su-s ŋuə-ŋua?*  
 afternoon book learn-NOM COP-Q  
 ‘Is there class this afternoon?’

(ii) *dza:khui ləyz su-s ma-ŋuə.*  
 afternoon book learn-NOM NEG-COP  
 ‘There is no class this afternoon’

There are also examples of this form with only the nominalized clause without the copula:

(iii) *ŋiŋi-lai kə-s?*  
 what-time go-NOM  
 ‘What time (do we) go?’

89. /dzə/ is an adjective, and seems to be the same word as /dzə/ ‘long’; it is reduced to a somewhat retroflexed /-l/ after a prefix, such as the negative and continuative prefixes.
90. Cf. the systems in Hare and Sunwari discussed by DeLancey (1997), where perfective contexts yield an evidential interpretation, and imperfective contexts yield a mirative interpretation. See also Zeisler 2000 for discussion on the relationship of tense/aspect and interpretation as mirative or not.
91. The combination of inferential and hearsay marking is sometimes pronounced [kui] in stories, as in (4), but there is no difference in meaning between [kəi] and [kui] in that context.
92. This form contrasts with a direct quote, which would involve a 1st person pronoun and a full verb of speaking (i), and an indirect quote, which would involve third person forms (ii):

(i) “*qa cteimi zdza*” *jə.*  
 1sg heart sick+1sg say  
 ‘He said “I’m unhappy”.’

(ii) *the: cteimi zdzi jə.*  
 3sg heart sick say  
 ‘He said he’s unhappy.’

93. As the prohibitive prefix and the continuative prefix have the same form in some contexts, ‘still want to go out’ would have almost the same structure as ‘don’t go out’, but due to differences in stress and aspect, the pronunciation of the former would be a bit different: /hɑ-tɕi-ɬɑ:/.
94. In this clause, [mi lewu wu qəs] functions as one argument with [qəs] as the head, and so the existential verb used is one for inanimate objects rather than animate beings.
95. Although the prospective aspect marking in these cases seems more like an irrealis marker, it is not used in all hypothetical, conditional, or unrealized situations; /-tu/ and /-ta/ are more common as conditional markers, and generally do not appear with the prospective aspect marking.
96. Cross-linguistic comparison points to the original Sino-Tibetan relative clause structure being of this type, that is, a clause directly modifying a noun without nominalization or relative marking, although most Sino-Tibetan languages have grammaticalized some sort of nominalizer or complementizer for relativization (see for example, DeLancey 1986, Genetti 1992).
97. It is an open question whether the /-s/ form here is a native innovation or an old loan from Tibetan. The lexical form in Qiang corresponding to Tibetan /sa/ is /zə/ ‘ground, earth’; the voiced initial makes it an unlikely source for the suffix. On the other hand, the uses of Tibetan /-sa/ and Qiang /-s/ are not completely the same: both can be used for locations, but Tibetan does not use this form for instrumentals. See Mazaudon 1978, DeLancey 1986 on the Tibetan relative formations.
98. Yoshio Nishi (personal communication) suggests the possibility that /-ta/ might be derived from a noun, and here might still be functioning as a noun head in a relative clause structure of the type discussed below.
99. Usually the comitative marker is not used to link verbs unless they are nominalized, but here the first verb is missing the marker of nominalization.
100. In this example, the vowel of the last verb could be pronounced [ə] or [ɑ]. While these two vowels are usually distinguished, especially in such cases where they can represent person marking, there are a number of cases where they are not carefully distinguished. Another example is [the: tawa fiɑ-ta] (3sg hat DIR-wear) ‘S/he put on a hat’, the final vowel of which, although phonemically /-ɑ/, could also be pronounced [-ə].
101. Notice in (5.59) that the person marking is plural, unlike in English, where the verb agreement in a disjunction of two singular noun phrases like this would be singular.
102. In this example and the following one, the verb takes the non-actor person marking to show the affectedness of the referent involved. If the referent involved were 2nd person, the form would be the same except for the person marking, which would then be /-san/ or /-sai/ for singular or plural respectively. There is no person marking in a subordinate clause marked by [-wu] or [-ŋi].
103. The particle /tu/ is also often used in narratives without the sense of a conditional, but more as a general linker of clauses (/ta/ is only used for



- conditionals). See the Texts for examples. (Cf. the development of the use of the clause particle /na/ in Tibetan from a general marker of clause connectedness to a marker of conditionals, and the common use of *de-huà* 'if' in Chinese as a topic marker.) There is something of a contrast between /-tu/ and the clause-final marker /-ɣə/ discussed in §4.4, in that both are used for a broad range of meanings centered around the conditional, but /-ɣə/ is used only with a verb marked with prospective aspect marking, while /-tu/ appears with verbs without prospective aspect marking.
104. Here the verb [-x-] is a reduced form of /kheʹ/. The form [xte] at the end of this line is a reduced form of /xtexte/.
  105. Here [-wa] is a form of the question marker /-ŋua/.
  106. This 'feast' refers to the feast held two days after the new year, usually for the newly married man to visit his in-laws. /dze/ is the word for 'festival', particularly the new year festival.
  107. The Qiang drink their home-made barley wine from large casks with straws, so the verb for 'suck' is used here instead of that for 'drink'. This verb is also used for 'smoke (cigarettes)'.
  108. Ram's horn flower: among the Qiang this symbolizes true love. Whenever the ram's horn flower is in bloom, young men use the flower to express their feelings of love to their beloved.
  109. The expression [ẓmətʃi] is from /ẓmə/ 'people' and /tʃi/ 'male, son', and here means the local leader, but when translating this term into Chinese, the term for 'emperor' (*huángdì*) was used, so I have followed that usage. Before 1949, the Chinese official system title *yuánwài* (pronounced [juanɣuɑi] by the Qiang) was used for local officials.
  110. Here [delde] derives from /de-lede/. Although we would not normally expect a directional prefix on a habitual action, it seems the fact that this appears in an adverbial phrase ending with /-ŋi/ makes the prefix necessary.
  111. In this clause, ["pənsə u-su-ɑ-ɣə" jə-m-le:-wu] 'the one who said "I have learned an ability"' is in apposition to [satʃu-le:-tʃi-le:-wu] 'the younger sister's son', clarifying which person is mentioned.
  112. Here we would have expected a noun, such as /ẓə/ 'affairs, things', but it was left out by the speaker.
  113. This object is either a monk's robe (*gāsā*) or a *Huáng Mǎ Guā* (a golden topcoat given by the emperor of China to people who had performed meritorious deeds for the emperor). Both [dzin] and [jən ~ jin] refer to the same object.
  114. The expression [ɑ-l-wu ɑ-l] means 'one to the other' and gives the sentence a reciprocal sense.
  115. The expression [ẓɑ hɑ-sɑ] is used to mean 'do something good for someone', and can be used as something like 'thank you'.
  116. [ŋim təs] = 'notify'.
  117. The visual evidential marker is used here to emphasize that this is common knowledge.
  118. Here 'release dog' is an expression to mean 'go hunting'.

119. This syllable adds the meaning ‘as much as possible; completely’.
120. The expression [kuə-ŋɑ-tɕə] is literally ‘older brother’ + COM + ‘sister’, but here means close relatives. The expression [stumpətɕe] includes the word [stum ~ stuəm] ‘same-surname relatives’, and refers to a wider set of relatives. A third category of relatives is the [tsuəklumi], the females from a family who have married into other families.
121. Here the form [-ŋuɑ] is derived from /-u-ɑ/ (VIS + 1sg), which normally produces [-wɑ], but the initial is influenced by the initial of the copula.
122. [qap ɛu] ‘head throw’ is an expression for ‘nod the head’.
123. The expression ‘do orangutan talk’ means to use gestures instead of speech. As the vowel of ‘do’ harmonizes with the /u/ of /ɕku/, I have linked the parts with hyphens.
124. This word [fusan-pu] is a loan of Chinese *fú* ‘to support under the arm to help a person get up or walk’ plus possibly *shàng* ‘up’ or *chān* ‘support under the arm’.

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1. The Chinese word pronounced [tchiang<sup>55</sup>] is written as <Qiang> throughout most of this book, following the official Chinese Pinyin orthography, but in some sources, such as this one, it is transliterated as <Ch'iang>.

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