

The Tujia Language

Cecilia Brassett
Philip Brassett
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Languages of the World/Materials

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ISBN 3 89586 995 3



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2006
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Published by LINCOM GmbH 2006.

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<http://home.t-online.de/home/LINCOM.EUROPA>
www.lincom-europa.com

webshop: lincom.at

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Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP Cataloguing-in-Publication-Data

A catalogue record for this publication is available from Die Deutsche Bibliothek (<http://www.ddb.de>)

Printed in E.C.
Printed on chlorine-free paper

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Term	Where Discussed
1pl	1st person plural pronoun	4.1.2
1sg	1st person singular pronoun	4.1.2
2pl	2nd person plural pronoun	4.1.2
2sg	2nd person singular pronoun	4.1.2
3pl	3rd person plural pronoun	4.1.2
3sg	3rd person singular pronoun	4.1.2
ACCOMP	accomplishment	7.2.1
ADVP	adverbial particle	4.6.3
AgNOM	agentive nominaliser	8.1
APPROX	approximation	6.4.4
ASSOC	associative particle	6.3
CAUS	causative marker	9.5
CL	classifier	4.5
CMPR	comparative marker	5.1
CONTR	continuing relevance	7.2.6
CRS	currently relevant state	7.2.6
DIM	diminutive suffix	3.2.2
DIR	directional verb particle	7.2.2
EMPH	emphasis	4.6.4
EXCL	exclamation	5.3.4
FUTR	future relevance	7.2.6
GOAL	goal marker	6.6.3
IMPF	imperfective verb particle	7.2.1
INT	interrogative marker	5.6
INTJ	interjection	4.8
INTS	intensifier	3.4.2; 7.2.1
IO	indirect object marker	6.6.1
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	—
IRR	<i>irrealis</i> particle	7.2.3
LocNOM	locative nominaliser	8.2
NEG	negation	7.2.5
NOM	general nominaliser	8.3
NP	noun phrase	Ch. 6
NUM	numeral	4.4
O	object	5.2
PART	particle	4.3
PERF	perfective verb particle	7.2.1
PL	pluralising suffix	3.2.2
PRESR	present relevance	7.2.6

Abbreviation	Term	Where Discussed
PRIOR	particle denoting priority	7.2.4
RDP	reduplication	3.4.2
REFL	reflexive pronoun	4.1.2
SRC	source marker	6.6.2
STAT	stative verb particle	7.2.1
SUBP	subordinating particle	9.2
SUP	superlative	8.3.3
TEL	telic verb particle	7.2.1
TOP	topic	5.3.3
V	verb	4.2
VP	verb phrase	Ch. 7

Preface

Although the Tujia people are the sixth largest ethnic minority in China and number over eight million, the Tujia language is now only spoken by less than 1% of the total Tujia population. Even in villages where Tujia is still in widespread use for daily communication, Chinese is becoming more prevalent. Most speakers are bilingual in Tujia and Chinese, and there are very few true monolingual Tujia speakers, nearly all of whom are elderly. Tujia may therefore be considered to be an endangered language. Indeed, if the current rate of decline in language use continues, it is likely that Tujia may disappear early in the 22nd century.

When we embarked on our project to record and document the language, there were still fluent speakers who could provide us with good language data. This is especially important since Tujia is an unwritten language and relies entirely on oral transmission. We were also keen to introduce the Tujia people and their language to a wider audience, as all the major publications concerning the Tujia have been written in Chinese. This grammar of the northern Tujia dialect is based on research conducted in the Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan Province, China, over an 18-month period from January 2002 to July 2003. In particular, language data were collected during two field trips undertaken in the summer of 2002 and early 2003. This book is based on the analysis of 3 hours of transcribed texts. Our primary language assistant and co-author, Lu Meiyun, comes from Qixin Village in Tasha Rural Township. Her mother tongue is Tujia, which she speaks fluently with friends and relatives; she is also a proficient speaker of *Putonghua*, the standard form of Mandarin spoken throughout China.

Previous to this, we have already published a volume describing Tujia history and culture, as well as a paper on sociolinguistic aspects. All the language data have also been transcribed and made generally available on our Tujia language and culture website at www.brassett.org.uk/tujia/ehome.html.

It is our hope that, through the documentation of the language and the analysis of its grammar, we have provided future generations of Tujia with the means to delve into their language should they so wish. As culture and language are necessarily intertwined, a record of the language will also enable us to appreciate the distinctive richness of Tujia culture, apart from the complexities of the language itself. We have adopted a functional approach in this volume, with a focus on usage rather than formal descriptions of structure. We are of course aware, however, that a number of questions remain unresolved, and many interesting features of the language are yet to be discovered. As Professor James Matisoff once described a grammar as "a work of art", so we regard this volume as a crude attempt to capture the beauty of the Tujia language, and to show, albeit inadequately, how the Tujia people are able to use their language to express their thoughts, feelings and fears.

Cecilia & Philip Brassett

Cambridge, UK

November 2005

Acknowledgements

We are greatly indebted to many friends and colleagues in the writing of this book. During our research, we interviewed over a hundred Tujia people, who willingly gave of their time and energy. We were also provided with much helpful advice and relevant literature by all our Tujia friends. Although they are too numerous to mention by name here, we are grateful to every one of them for contributing to our knowledge of their culture and language.

Our research was conducted under the auspices of the College of Literature and Journalism, Jishou University, Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan Province, China. We are grateful to Director Jian Debin and Vice-Director Tian Maojun of the College for their continual support and help during this project. Director Peng Shuiying and Mr Luo Jianping of the Foreign Affairs Office of Jishou University also assisted us in many practical ways.

We would like to thank the Longshan County Government, in particular Mr Li Ping, who gave us valuable assistance with our field research in the summer of 2002. Many other government officials in the Townships of Dianfang, Pojiao, and Tasha also provided us with much practical help. We would also like to thank the family and friends of Ms Lu Meiyin in the Qixin Village Cluster, Tasha Township for hosting us so graciously on a subsequent visit to the Tujia-speaking areas of Longshan County in early 2003.

Many Tujia friends provided us with the language data which have enabled us to appreciate the richness and complexity of their language. In particular, we would like to thank the following: Mrs Peng Xiucui, who gave us valuable assistance at the beginning of our project when we were analysing the phonological system; Mr Tian Jinggui, who provided several traditional story texts and some personal narratives; Mrs Tian Xintao, who sang a whole series of *kujia* ("crying wedding") songs and narrated stories from her childhood; Mr Peng Wugen, for an impromptu hunting duologue, and numerous procedural and narrative texts; and Mr Lu Bangzhen, for a riveting narrative of *tufei* bandits and a detailed description of New Year customs. Thanks are also due to the following speakers who provided us with a variety of language texts: Mr Gong Pingqing, Mr Peng Jingchun, Mr Peng Jizhen, Mr Peng Nanjing, Mr Peng Nanyan, Mr Peng Shikuan, Mr Tian Shunliang, Mr Wang Huanming, Mrs Peng Shicui, Mrs Peng Wanjiao, Mrs Tian Yuying, Mrs Xiang Peihua, Mrs Peng Cai'e, Mrs Tian Wucui, Mrs Zhang Fenglian, Mrs Liu Zhenying, and Ms Lu Yunhua.

We would also like to thank Professor Huang Xing and Professor Xu Shixuan at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China, for their helpful advice and support during this project. And last but not least, we would like to thank Professor Luo Anyuan of the Central University for Nationalities in Beijing, who is Tujia himself and who first gave us the idea and inspiration to research the language of his own ethnic group. Without his constant support and encouragement, this project would not have become a reality.

1 Introduction

1.1 The Tujia People

Tujia is the language of the Tujia people, the 6th largest ethnic minority in the People's Republic of China after the Zhuang, Manchu, Hui, Miao, and Uygur peoples. The 5th National Census of 2000 gives a figure of 8,028,133 for the total Tujia population in China. They are distributed in an area which occupies 100,000 square miles, straddling the common borders of the provinces of Hunan, Hubei, and Guizhou, as well as Chongqing Municipality (formerly part of Sichuan Province). These areas lie in a region generally known as "Central South China".

Most scholars believe that the Tujia are descendants of the ancient Ba people. The Ba Kingdom, centred on modern-day Chongqing, reached the zenith of its power during 600-400 B.C. but was destroyed by the Qin in 316 B.C.. The Ba migrated eastwards from Chongqing over a long period both before and after the collapse of their kingdom. Those living in present-day Tujia areas appear to have escaped subsequent assimilation and maintained their separate identity. After being referred to by a long succession of different names in ancient documents, they appear in historical records as the Tujia from about A.D. 1300 onwards.

Throughout much of China's history, the imperial court sought to establish control over minority areas by recognising existing hereditary chieftainships. One of these Tujia chieftainships was that of the Peng clan, who ruled over what is now northern Xiangxi Prefecture for 818 years. Under such long-lasting dynastic successions, the Tujia in different regions were able to establish semi-independent feudal kingdoms with only nominal imperial overlordship. During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the Tujia chieftains were accorded comparatively high status by the imperial court. They achieved this by becoming famous as providers of fierce, highly-disciplined fighting men, who were employed by the emperor to suppress revolts by other minorities. On numerous occasions, they also helped defend China against outside invaders, such as Japanese pirates who ravaged the coast during the 16th century.

In 1644, the Manchus conquered China and established the Qing Dynasty. In the early 1700s, the Qing court decided to regain direct control over minority areas. This process, known as *gaituguilu* (literally "replace the local [ruler], return to mainstream [central rule]"), was carried out throughout southwest China gradually and, in general, peacefully. The court adopted a carrot-and-stick approach of lavish pensions for compliant chieftains, coupled with a huge show of military force on the borders of their territories. Most of the Tujia areas returned to central control during the period 1728-1735. The reforms led to the massive influx of Han Chinese into Tujia regions, leading to extensive language contact and thus lasting effects on the Tujia language.

Following the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, the Tujia found themselves caught between various competing warlords. More and more land was given over to the cultivation

of high-earning opium at the insistence of wealthy landlords, and banditry was rife. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Tujia areas came under Communist control, and banditry was rapidly eradicated. The Tujia were officially recognised as one of the 55 ethnic minorities in January 1957, and a number of autonomous prefectures and counties were subsequently established.

The majority of Tujia are farmers, living in villages dotted throughout the rugged karst landscape. Economic development in these areas has kept pace with changes in the rest of China. Today, most villages are within a couple of miles of a road served by public transport, and the vast majority of them have electricity and telephones. Although traditionally wary of doing business, more and more Tujia are becoming successful businessmen. In addition, many middle-aged men, and young people of both genders, spend extended periods of time working in factories and on building sites in the big cities, with many making their way to the coastal provinces.

As the extent of assimilation to Chinese culture increases, traditional Tujia culture is rapidly declining. Language was the first casualty, and in many areas, the influx of Han Chinese settlers after the *gaitugui* reforms in the early 18th century led to swift abandonment of the Tujia language. Tujia speakers now comprise less than 1% of the total Tujia population. Apart from Tujia New Year, which is still widely celebrated in the countryside, most Tujia customs and practices are rarely seen nowadays, although attempts are being made to revive traditional culture, particularly dance forms such as *maogusi* and *baishouwu*.

1.2 The Tujia Language

Tujia belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages, which includes nearly 250 languages with about 65 million speakers distributed all over south, south-central, and southeast Asia. Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in southwestern China as well as in the countries of India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. The Tibeto-Burman family is itself part of the Sino-Tibetan phylum, which includes Chinese.

The specific genetic affiliation of Tujia within the Tibeto-Burman family remains unclear. One of the reasons for this is the very extensive contact of Tujia with Chinese over hundreds of years. Indeed, Tujia was previously thought to be a dialect of Chinese, and was only recognised as an independent language in the 1950s. In the earliest published descriptions of Tujia in China, it was described as being closely related to languages in the Yi branch of the Lolo-Burmese subgroup (Wang, 1955). Tian *et al.* (1986) considered Tujia to be an isolate within the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. More recently, a Chinese linguist He (2003) postulated that Tujia could be a member of the Qiang branch after a comparison of cognate words and patterns of phonological change.

Despite the large Tujia population, less than 1% still speak the Tujia language, with a fairly conservative estimate being around 60,000 speakers. This dramatic loss in the number

of speakers, which has mainly occurred over the past 300 years, is continuing inexorably, so much so that Tujia may be considered to be an endangered language.

Tujia comprises northern and southern dialects, which are not mutually intelligible and which are spoken in geographically separate areas. The majority of Tujia speakers live in the northern dialect region; there are currently fewer than 2,000 speakers of the southern dialect. Tujia-speaking communities are now essentially restricted to regions of the Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in northwestern Hunan Province. The northern dialect is spoken mainly in Longshan County, and to a lesser degree in Yongshun, Guzhang, and Baojing Counties; the southern dialect is restricted to a few villages in Luxi County.

In a typical rural situation where Tujia is still widely spoken, language use has the following generational distribution:

- great-grandparents monolingual Tujia speakers, but understanding a little Chinese
- grandparents Tujia speakers, can understand the local Chinese dialect
- parents bilingual speakers of Tujia and the local Chinese dialect
- children understand and speak some Tujia, but mainly speaking Chinese

Historical influences on language use have already been mentioned. Contemporary influences include factors such as language attitude, education, economics, and the influence of Chinese. Most Tujia adopt a pragmatic attitude: they recognise the practical value and necessity of speaking Chinese and readily acknowledge the limited social functions and narrow usage domains of Tujia. As Tujia is an unwritten language, education in Tujia-speaking areas is conducted in Chinese. An experimental bilingual education project was conducted for a number of years in Pojiao (Ye, 1995) but this is no longer in progress. Most parents now prefer their children to acquire Chinese as their mother tongue for future educational and economic advancement. Economic factors have also played a role in the declining use of Tujia: most younger villagers leave the local area to work in factories or on building sites in larger towns, where they need to speak Chinese. Electrification of remote villages has led to the acquisition of televisions, so that many villagers now spend much time watching soap operas or films in Chinese.

Today, only a handful of elderly men are able to narrate traditional Tujia tales and legends. Only a small number of Tujia women can sing traditional *kujia* ("crying wedding") songs. Thus, Tujia is currently in the latter phase of an apparently inexorable decline. Recent field research in Tujia-speaking areas has indicated that this decline will continue. The cohort of young children currently growing up in Pojiao Rural Township in Longshan County is likely to be the last such cohort in which the majority are still fluent in Tujia. A proportion of young children may continue to learn to speak Tujia over the next twenty years or so, and passive understanding may continue for rather longer. Extrapolating from current trends, the Tujia language may disappear early in the 22nd century.

1.3 About This Grammar

This volume is a description of the northern Tujia dialect. Language data were collected over a period of 18 months from January 2002 to July 2003, when the authors were resident in Jishou City in Xiangxi Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture, Hunan Province. A large part of the text data was obtained during field trips to Tujia-speaking communities in the southern part of Longshan County, specifically in villages belonging to the rural townships of Pojiao and Tasha, as well as Dianfang Township. This corpus of data includes texts from around 20 speakers of both genders and a wide age range. The total text corpus is around 3 hours in length.

One of the primary aims of the research project was to collect a corpus of language data for archiving purposes, in view of the degree of endangerment of Tujia. All these data have now been made available on the Internet, at www.brassett.org.uk/tujia/ehome.html, where there are also profiles of individual language informants. A more detailed analysis of the sociolinguistic situation of the Tujia language (Brassett & Brassett, 2005a) and a book on the history and culture of the Tujia people (Brassett & Brassett, 2005b) have already been published.

One of the co-authors of this grammar, Meiyun Lu, is a native Tujia speaker from Qixin Village in Tasha Rural Township. She was a student at the Teacher Training College of Jishou University during our period of research. We worked together on the transcription and glossing of Tujia language tapes, and had many stimulating discussions on the finer points of Tujia grammar. The majority of the example sentences in this book consist of actual sentences from recorded Tujia texts, so that natural speech is being illustrated. In some cases, Lu has provided some of the examples for clarification of specific grammatical points.

In writing this grammar, we have adopted a functional approach, and attempted to explain Tujia linguistic structure in terms of usage. We are aware that no language can be completely described by neatly ordered rules and that a “continuum”, rather than an “all-or-none” model, is a better characterisation of linguistic structure (Matisoff, 1973). We have attempted to present and analyse the data with as much clarity and consistency as possible, but are well aware that there will be many areas where further investigation is needed.

2 Phonology

Tujia phonology shows very marked similarities to that of the local Chinese dialects, which are forms of southwestern Mandarin. Onsets are always single consonants, and rhymes are either single vowels or glides. There are four contrastive tones whose values correspond closely to those in Mandarin. As with southwestern Mandarin, there is only a single nasal coda in Tujia, with no contrast between [n] and [ŋ].

2.1 Onsets

Tujia onsets comprise 15 consonant phonemes, as shown in Table 2.1. They are described in detail with examples in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1 Onsets in Tujia

		Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Plosives	voiceless aspirated	/p ^h /	/t ^h /	/k ^h /
	voiceless unaspirated	/p/	/t/	/k/
Fricatives	voiceless		/s/	/x/
	voiced		/z/	
Affricates	voiceless aspirated		/ts ^h /	
	voiceless unaspirated		/ts/	
Nasals/Approximants		/m/	/l/	/ŋ/
Null archiphoneme			/*/	

Table 2.2 Consonant phonemes in Tujia

/p ^h /	Realised as [p ^h] in all environments. Examples: [p ^h a ²¹] “to moisten”, [p ^h i ²⁴] “to drain”, [p ^h i ²⁴] “to vomit”, [p ^h v ⁵⁵] “to wrap”, [p ^h ɔ ²⁴] “to grind”, and [p ^h u ²⁴] “dragon”.
/p/	Realised as [p] in all environments. Examples: [pa ²¹] “mountainside”, [p ¹ e ⁵¹] “to fall”, [pi ²⁴] “son”, [pɣ ⁵¹] “to cradle”, [pɔ ²¹] “to have diarrhoea”, and [pu ²⁴] “to pound”.
/t ^h /	Realised as [t ^h] in all environments. Examples: [t ^h a ²¹] “to float”, [t ^h i ²⁴] “to pluck”, [t ^h i ²⁴] “to answer”, [t ^h u ²⁴] “to lop”, and [t ^h u ²⁴] “to pour”.
/t/	Realised as [t] in all environments. Examples: [ta ²¹] “to descend”, [t ¹ e ²⁴] “to remember”, [ti ²⁴] “to be painful”, [t ^h ɔ ²¹] “to float”, and [tu ²¹] “to cover”.
/k ^h /	Realised as [k ^h] in all environments. Examples: [k ^h a ²¹] “firewood”, [k ^h i ²⁴] “saw”, [k ^h v ⁵¹] “horn”, [k ^h ɔ ⁵⁵] “to break”, and [k ^h u ²¹] “to suck”.

/k/	Realised as [k] in all environments. Examples: [ka ²¹] “to be dry”, [ki ²¹] “to be hot”, [ky ⁵¹] “to fear”, [k ^u ɔ ²⁴] “3sg pronoun”, and [ku ²⁴] “face”.
/s/	Realised as [s] except before [i] or [i̯], where it is realised as [ç]. Examples: [sa ²¹] “to be cold”, [çi ²⁴] “to send”, [sɤ ⁵⁵] “to sow”, [s ^u ɔ ⁵¹] “to cut”, and [su ⁵¹] “to blow”.
/z/	Realised as a richly voiced [z] in all environments. Examples: [za ²¹] “chicken”, [zi ²⁴] “to do”, [zv ⁵⁵] “four”, [z ^u ɔ ²⁴] “goat”, and [zu ²¹] “to hear”.
/x/	Realised as [x] (with a relatively light degree of friction) in all environments. Examples: [xa ²¹] “to hit”, [xv ²¹] “drum”, [xi ²⁴] “ten”, [x ^u ɔ ²¹] “to hold”, and [xu ²¹] “to drink”.
/ts ^h /	Realised as [ts ^h] except before [i] or [i̯], where it is realised as [tç ^h]. Examples: [ts ^h a ²⁴] “to be good”, [ts ^h v ²¹] “water”, [tç ^h i ⁵¹] “to moisten”, [ts ^h u ^ɔ ⁵¹] “house”, and [ts ^h u ⁵⁵] “home”.
/ts/	Realised as [ts] except before [i] or [i̯], where it is realised as [tç]. Examples: [tsa ²⁴] “to wash”, [tsv ²¹] “to tell”, [tçi ²⁴] “to cry”, [ts ^u ɔ ⁵⁵] “to hang”, and [tsu ²⁴] “to get up”.
/m/	Realised as [m] in all environments. Examples: [ma ⁵⁵] “to heap”, [mv ²⁴] “sky”, [m ^e ɔ ²⁴] “to blow”, [mi ⁵¹] “fire”, [mɔ ²¹] “cat”, and [mu ²⁴ la ⁵⁵] “now”.
/l/	Realised as [l] or [n] in free variation, but [n] is preferentially used when there is nasalisation of the current or preceding syllable. Examples: [lɑ ²⁴] “to throw”, [nā ²¹] “to smell”, [li ²⁴] “tiger”, [l ⁱ ɛ ⁵⁵] “to lay eggs”, [nɔ ⁵⁵] “fire”, [lu ^ɔ ²⁴] “to cook”, and [lu ²⁴] “to borrow or lend”.
/ŋ/	Realised as [ŋ] except before [i] or [i̯], where it is realised as [ɲ]. Examples: [ŋɑ ²⁴] “1sg pronoun”, [ŋ ⁱ ɛ ⁵⁵] “two”, [ŋi ⁵⁵] “to look for”, and [ŋɔ ⁵¹] “silver”.
/*	Designated as the null archiphoneme, which may be realised as silence, but which is more commonly realised as the specific phonetic forms detailed below: [j] before [i] or [i̯] (approaches [j̥] before [i]). Examples: [[ji ²¹] “to see”, [j ⁱ ɛ ⁵¹] “to arrive”. [w] before [u] Example: [wu ²⁴] “cow”. [ɣ] before [i] or [ɤ] (varies from speaker to speaker, with some omitting it altogether). Examples: [ɣv ²⁴] “to steal”, [ɣi ²⁴] “to go”. ∅ or [ʔ] in all other environments. Examples: [ʔa ²⁴] “to write”, [ʔɛ ⁵⁵ ti ⁵⁵] “this”. [ŋ] if /*/ immediately follows a nasalised syllable in the same phonological word. Example: [ã ⁵⁵ ŋa ¹⁵¹] “younger brother”.

2.2 Rhymes

Tujia rhymes comprise 24 vowel phonemes, with 16 non-nasalised vowels and 8 nasalised vowel phonemes, as shown in Table 2.3. The vowel phonemes are described in detail with examples in Tables 2.4 & 2.5.

Table 2.3 Rhymes in Tujia

	Front	Mid	Back
Non-nasalised vowel phonemes			
High	/i/	/i/	/u/
Mid/Low		/a/	/ɔ/ /ɤ/
Glides	/e/ / ^u e/ / ⁱ ɛ/	/ ⁱ a/ / ^u a ^u / /a ^u /	/ ⁱ u/
Nasalised vowel phonemes			
High	/i/		
Mid/Low	/ɜ/	/ā/	/ɔ̃/
Glides	/ ^u ɜ/	/ ⁱ ɛ̃/ / ^u ā/	/ ⁱ ɔ̃/

Table 2.4 Non-nasalised vowel phonemes in Tujia

/i/	Realised as [i] in all environments. Examples: [pi ²⁴] “son”, [ti ⁵⁵] “to want”, [mi ²¹] “to spread”, and [li ²¹] “to say”.
/i̯/	Realised as [i̯] except after /ts ^h /, /ts/, /s/, or /z/, where it is realised as [ɪ]. Examples: [[k ^h i ⁵¹] “to kneel”, [ki ²¹] “to be hot”, [xi ⁵¹] “to rest”, [ts ^h ɣ ¹] “to be big”, [tsɪ ²¹] “cooked rice”, [sɪ ²¹] “to push”, and [zɪ ⁵⁵] “to do”.
/u/	Realised as [u] in all environments. Examples: [pu ²⁴] “to kill”, [ts ^h u ²¹] “to remove”, [ku ²⁴] “face”, and [xu ²¹] “to drink”.
/a/	Realised as [a] in all environments. Examples: [ta ²¹] “to descend”, [t ^h a ²⁴ p ^h a ⁵¹] “skin”, [sa ⁵¹] “duck”, [za ²⁴] “to fly”, and [tsa ⁵¹] “to hold”.
/ɔ/	Realised as [ɔ] after /p ^h /, /p/, /m/, or /ŋ/, and as [uɔ] after all other consonant phonemes. Examples: [p ^h ɔ ²⁴] “to grind”, [pɔ ²¹] “to escape”, [mɔ ²¹] “cat”, [ŋɔ ⁵¹] “silver”, [t ^h uɔ ⁵⁵] “to give back”, [t ^u ɔ ⁵⁵] “to place”, [ts ^h uɔ ⁵¹] “to lead”, [ts ^u ɔ ⁵¹] “daughter-in-law”, [s ^u ɔ ⁵¹] “to cut”, [z ^u ɔ ²⁴] “sheep”, [k ^h uɔ ⁵⁵ pa ⁵⁵] “head”, [k ^u ɔ ²⁴] “3sg pronoun”, [x ^u ɔ ²⁴] “cloth”, and [l ^u ɔ ²¹] “to scold”.

/v/	Realised as [v] in all environments. Examples: [p ^h v ⁵⁵] “night”, [pv ⁵¹] “to lift with both hands”, [k ^h v ⁵¹] “horn”, [kv ⁵⁵] “nine”, [ts ^h v ²¹] “water”, [tsv ²⁴] “to tell”, [xv ²¹] “to leak”, [mv ²⁴] “sky”, [sv ⁵⁵] “to sow”, and [zv ²⁴] “to swallow”.
/e ^l /	Realised as [e ^l] in all environments. Examples: [ts ^h a ⁵⁵ ts ^h e ^{l55}] “small one”, [k ^h e ^{l21}] “where”, and [t ^h a ⁵⁵ se ^{l55}] “butterfly”.
^u e ^l /	Realised as [^u e ^l] in all environments. Examples: [^u e ^{l24} ja ²¹ ci ²¹] “cicada”, [tō ²¹ tō ²¹ k ^{hu} e ^{l55}] “traditional flute”, and [ǰ ⁵⁵ ky ⁵⁵ la ⁵⁵ ku ^e l55] “yonder”.
^l e/	Realised as [^l e] in all environments. Examples: [p ^h l ^{e24}] “to drain”, [p ^l e ⁵¹] “to fall, drop”, [t ^h l ^{e24}] “to pick”, [t ^l e ⁵¹] “to wear (a hat)”, [t ^h l ^{e21}] “to plough”, [t ^l e ²¹] “to shout”, [ç ^l e ²⁴] “to have”, [m ^l e ⁵¹] “blood”, and [n ^l e ²⁴] “to go to bed”.
^l a/	Realised as [^l a] in all environments. Examples: [t ^h a ²⁴ t ^h a ²⁴ le ^{l55}] “katydid”, [ç ^l a ⁵⁵ ci ⁵⁵] “unable to deal with”, and [^l a ²⁴ mv ²⁴ t ^h a ²⁴ p ^h l ⁵⁵] “flour”.
^l a ^u /	Realised as [^l a ^u] in all environments. Examples: [p ^l a ^{u55}] “to glide”, [t ^h l ^a u ⁵¹] “to exchange”, [t ^h l ^a u ⁵⁵] “to castrate”, [l ^l a ^{u21}] “to cut into sections”, and [ç ^l a ^{u55}] “to push”.
^a u/	Realised as [^a u] in all environments. Examples: [ʔa ^{u55}] “there”, [ka ^{u24}] “here”, [la ^{u21}] “sun”, [sa ^{u21}] “sweet potato”, [t ^h a ^{u24}] “to not have now”, and [tsa ^{u21}] “to be gone”.
^a l/	Realised as [^a l] in all environments. Examples: [ʔa ^{l55} ti ⁵⁵] “that”, [pa ^{l55}] “child”, [t ^h a ^{l24}] “to not have”, [ka ^{l51}] “many, how many”, [la ^{l51}] “today”, [sa ^{l51}] “silkworm”, and [ts ^h a ^{l24}] “good one”.
^u a ^l /	Realised as [^u a ^l] in all environments. Examples: [k ^u a ^{l55}] “clever”, [k ^{hu} a ^{l51}] “both”, and [k ^{hu} a ^{l55} t ^h a ^{l55} la ⁵⁵] “earthworm”.
^u a/	Realised as [^u a] in all environments. Examples: [pi ²¹ ku ^{a21} t ^h a ²¹] “to be very flat”, [la ^{u55} x ^u a ⁵⁵] “much, a lot”, and [z ^u a ²¹] “to rub, twist”.
^l u/	Realised as [^l u] in all environments. Examples: [p ^l u ²⁴] “daughter”, [ǰ ²¹ t ^l u ²¹] “to come”, [l ^u o ²⁴ l ^u u ⁵⁵] “in the middle”, and [t ^l u ⁵¹] “to wring”.

Table 2.5 Nasalised vowel phonemes in Tujia

/i/	Realised as [i] in all environments. Examples: [t ^h i ²⁴ fi ⁵⁵] “joint in bamboo”, [ts ^h i ²¹ n ^l e ²⁴] “after, behind”, [ts ^h i ²⁴ t ^l e ⁵⁵] “baby”, and [ç ⁱ 24ka ⁵⁵] “to be green”.
/ǰ/	Realised as [ǰ] in all environments. Examples: [mǰ ²¹] “horse”, [sǰ ²¹] “to endure”, [sǰ ²¹ p ^h a ^{u24}] “cogongrass”, and [t ^h ǰ ²⁴] “to resist”.

/ā/	Realised as [ā] in all environments. Examples: [bā ²⁴] “to cook”, [mā ²¹] “milk”, [n ^l e ⁵⁵ lā ⁵⁵] “seed”, [p ^h ā ²¹] “to supply”, and [tsā ⁵¹] “to be frugal”.
/ō/	Realised as [ō] in all environments. Examples: [ǰō ²¹] “to sit”, [bō ²¹] “to bury”, [lō ²¹] “to give birth”, [k ^h a ²¹ mō ²¹] “tree”, [sō ²⁴] “fish”, and [zō ²⁴] “to crow”.
^u ǰ/	Realised as [^u ǰ] in all environments. Only in Chinese loans: [ç ^u ǰ ⁵⁵] “spring (season)”, [t ^h a ^{u55} l ^u ǰ ²⁴] “to discuss”, [s ^u ǰ ²⁴] “to obey”, and [ǰ ^u ǰ ²¹] “to be even”.
/ē/	Realised as [ē] in all environments. Examples: [t ^l ē ⁵¹] “to sow”, [m ^l ē ⁵⁵ t ^l e ⁵⁵] “to be red”, [n ^l ē ²¹ d ^l e ⁵⁵] “bamboo mat”, [t ^l ē ²⁴ ka ⁵⁵] “bracelet”, and [ç ^l ē ²¹] “to shut”.
^u ā/	Realised as [^u ā] in all environments. Examples: [t ^u ā ⁵¹] “to obstruct”, [k ^u ā ²¹ le ^{l55}] “frog”, [x ^u ā ²¹] “phoenix”, [s ^u ā ⁵¹] “to be small”, and [z ^u ā ²⁴] “water buffalo”.
/ǰ/	Realised as [ǰ] in all environments. Only in Chinese loans: [ʔǰ ⁵⁵ kā ⁵⁵] “to be brave”, [ti ²⁴ ç ^l ǰ ⁵⁵] “brother”, and [t ^h ǰ ⁵¹] “to be poor”.

2.3 Tone

Tujia has four tones: high level (55), low rising (24), low falling (21) and high falling (51). The fourth tone is frequently merged with the first tone by most male speakers and some female speakers. Where the fourth tone is retained, it is only consistently distinctive in monosyllabic words. Tian *et al.* (1986) in their brief description of Tujia did not distinguish the fourth tone, but almost all recent authors include it (Ye, 1995; Luo *et al.*, 2001; Zhang, 2002). Examples of words with these four tones are shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 The tones of Tujia

Name of Tone	Pitch	Examples	
High level	55	[ʔa ⁵⁵] “to be hungry”	[di ⁵⁵] “to place”
Low rising	24	[ʔa ²⁴] “to write”	[di ²⁴] “to light”
Low falling	21	[ʔa ²¹] “to fetch”	[di ²¹] “to get”
High falling	51	[ʔa ⁵¹] “to feed”	[di ⁵¹] “to wait”

2.4 Morphophonemic alternations

2.4.1 Tone sandhi

Tone sandhi in polysyllabic words and phrases may occur under the following circumstances:

- (1) The final tone in polysyllabic words comprising high level tones changes to a neutral tone (Table 2.7).
- (2) The second of two low rising tones becomes the high level tone (Table 2.8).
- (3) A high falling tone following a low rising syllable becomes the high level tone (Table 2.9).
- (4) A low rising tone following a low falling syllable becomes neutral when it is not in an accented slot within a phrase or clause (Table 2.10).
- (5) In some common phrases where a low falling tone precedes a bisyllabic word with two high level tones, all three syllables become low falling (Table 2.11).

Table 2.7 High level to neutral tone sandhi in polysyllabic words

[k ^h a ⁵⁵ p ^h u ⁵⁵]	→	[k ^h a ⁵⁵ p ^h u]	“flower”
[su ⁵⁵ su ⁵⁵]	→	[su ⁵⁵ su]	“to hide”
[wu ⁵⁵ s ^u ɔ ⁵⁵]	→	[wu ⁵⁵ s ^u ɔ]	“millet”
[xa ⁵⁵ ts ^h v ⁵⁵]	→	[xa ⁵⁵ ts ^h v]	“vegetables”
[pɣ ⁵⁵ l ^ɛ ɛ ⁵⁵ ci ⁵⁵]	→	[pɣ ⁵⁵ l ^ɛ ɛ ⁵⁵ ci]	“pear”
[p ^h a ⁵⁵ z ^u ɔ ⁵⁵ ku ⁵⁵]	→	[p ^h a ⁵⁵ z ^u ɔ ⁵⁵ ku]	“chilli”
[k ^h a ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵]	→	[k ^h a ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h i]	“aubergine”
[sa ⁵⁵ l ^ɛ ɛ ⁵⁵ ci ⁵⁵]	→	[sa ⁵⁵ l ^ɛ ɛ ⁵⁵ ci]	“plum”

Table 2.8 Low rising to high level tone sandhi in bisyllabic words

[l ^u ɔ ²⁴ pu ²⁴]	→	[l ^u ɔ ²⁴ pu ⁵⁵]	“eye(s)”
[sa ²⁴ t ^h i ^ɛ 24]	→	[sa ²⁴ t ^h i ^ɛ 55]	“to pack, tidy up”
[sa ²⁴ tɕ ^h i ²⁴]	→	[sa ²⁴ tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵]	“to hide”
[sɔ ²⁴ ka ²⁴]	→	[sɔ ²⁴ ka ⁵⁵]	“to pound”
[su ²⁴ su ²⁴]	→	[su ²⁴ su ⁵⁵]	“snow”

Table 2.9 High falling to high level tone sandhi in bisyllabic words

[lā ²⁴ ka ⁵¹]	→	[lā ²⁴ ka ⁵⁵]	“to be black”
[sɣ ²⁴ t ^h a ⁵¹]	→	[sɣ ²⁴ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	“at the side”
[t ^h i ^ɛ 24pa ⁵¹]	→	[t ^h i ^ɛ 24pa ⁵⁵]	“to be big”
[tɕ ^h ɛ ²⁴ su ⁵¹]	→	[tɕ ^h ɛ ²⁴ su ⁵⁵]	“bracelet”
[tɕ ^h ɛ ²⁴ t ^h ā ⁵¹]	→	[tɕ ^h ɛ ²⁴ t ^h ā ⁵⁵]	“wing”

Table 2.10 Low rising to neutral tone sandhi in bisyllabic words

[p ^h a ²¹ tɕ ^h i ^ɛ 24]	→	[p ^h a ²¹ tɕ ^h i ^ɛ]	“to send”
[ka ²¹ xa ²⁴]	→	[ka ²¹ xa]	“on the top”
[ci ²¹ t ^h i ^ɛ 24]	→	[ci ²¹ t ^h i ^ɛ]	“field(s)”
[ts ^h v ²¹ mō ²⁴]	→	[ts ^h v ²¹ mō]	“a well”
[ts ^h u ^ɔ 21c ^h ɛ ²⁴]	→	[ts ^h u ^ɔ 21c ^h ɛ]	“shoe(s)”

Table 2.11 Tone sandhi in some trisyllabic words

[k ^h u ²¹]	+	[ci ⁵⁵ pa ⁵⁵]	→	[k ^h u ²¹ ci ²¹ pa ²¹]	“clothing” (trousers + clothes)
[ci ²¹]	+	[k ^h a ⁵⁵ ts ^h a ⁵⁵]	→	[ci ²¹ k ^h a ²¹ ts ^h a ²¹]	“grass cuttings” (grass + residue)
[ci ²¹]	+	[lu ⁵⁵ ka ⁵⁵]	→	[ci ²¹ lu ²¹ ka ²¹]	“meaty bone” (meat + bone)
[za ²¹]	+	[k ^h u ^ɔ 55ts ^h u ^ɔ 55]	→	[za ²¹ k ^h u ^ɔ 55ts ^h u ^ɔ 55]	“chicken head” (chicken + head)

2.4.2 Deletion of syllable onsets

When the negating modal verb particle [ta⁵⁵t^hi⁵⁵] (“cannot”) follows a verb, the onset of its first syllable is often deleted, as shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 Deletion of syllable onsets

[zi ⁵⁵]	+	[ta ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	→	[zi ⁵⁵ a ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	“cannot do”
[ka ²⁴]	+	[ta ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	→	[ka ²⁴ a ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	“cannot eat”
[ta ²⁴]	+	[ta ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	→	[ta ²⁴ a ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	“cannot wear”
[tsa ²⁴]	+	[ta ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	→	[tsa ²⁴ a ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	“cannot wash”
[li ²¹]	+	[ta ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	→	[li ²¹ a ⁵⁵ t ^h i ⁵⁵]	“cannot say”

2.4.3 Assimilation with change of syllable rhymes

When a verb combines with the *irrealis* verb particle [i], the rhyme of the final syllable of the verb changes according to the rules below.

- (1) When the rhyme of the verb is [i], it changes to [e¹] (Table 2.13).
- (2) Other rhymes change to [a¹] (Table 2.14).

Table 2.13 Change of syllable rhymes from [i] to [e^l]

[ti ²⁴]	+	[i]	→	[te ^{l24}]	“about to tie”
[tɕ ^{hi51}]	+	[i]	→	[tɕ ^{he51}]	“about to weigh”
[çi ²¹]	+	[i]	→	[t ^l e ^{l24}]*	“about to comb”

*Note that tone sandhi occurs from low falling to low rising in this example.

Table 2.14 Change of syllable rhymes to [a^l]

[ka ²⁴]	+	[i]	→	[ka ^{l24}]	“about to eat”
[ta ²⁴]	+	[i]	→	[ta ^{l24}]	“about to wear”
[t ^l e ²¹]	+	[i]	→	[t ^l a ^{l24}]*	“about to break”
[l ^u ɔ ⁵¹]	+	[i]	→	[l ^u a ^{l51}]	“about to become warm”
[z ^u ɔ ²¹]	+	[i]	→	[z ^u a ^{l24}]*	“about to rub”
[a ⁵⁵ tɕ ^l e ⁵⁵]	+	[i]	→	[a ⁵⁵ tɕ ^l a ^{l55}]	“about to be cooked”
[lã ²⁴ ka ⁵⁵]	+	[i]	→	[lã ²⁴ ka ^{l55}]	“about to turn black”
[mian ⁵⁵ tɕ ^l e ⁵⁵]	+	[i]	→	[mian ⁵⁵ tɕ ^l a ^{l55}]	“about to turn red”

*Note that tone sandhi occurs from low falling to low rising in these two examples.

2.4.4 Coalescence

- (1) When the zero-onset rhyme [a] follows another [a] rhyme, the two coalesce to become a single [a], as shown in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15 Examples of coalescence

[za ²¹]	+	[a ⁵⁵ l ^l e ⁵⁵]	→	[za ²¹ l ^l e ²¹]*	“chicken egg” (chicken + egg)
[sa ⁵¹]	+	[a ⁵⁵ l ^l e ⁵⁵]	→	[sa ⁵¹ l ^l e ⁵⁵]	“duck’s egg” (duck + egg)

*Note that tone sandhi occurs in the second syllable of “egg”, from high level to low falling.

- (2) There is a group of verb particles which represents the combination of the *present relevance* particle [ku²⁴] with the particles [ti²⁴], [ta²⁴], [t^ha⁵⁵], [t^ha⁵⁵t^{hi}55], and [l^le⁵⁵]. Ellipsis of the consonant [k] occurs and there is also modification of the vowel from [u] to [a^u] in the cases of [ta^{u24}], [t^ha^{u55}], and [l^la^{u55}]. These changes are shown in Table 2.16.

Verb particles are discussed in detail in Section 7.2.

Table 2.16 Coalescence in Tujia verb particles

[ti ²⁴]	+	[ku ²⁴]	→	[t ^l u ²⁴]	“come now” (come + now)
[ta ²⁴]	+	[ku ²⁴]	→	[ta ^{u24}]	“not now” (not + now)
[t ^h a ⁵⁵]	+	[ku ²⁴]	→	[t ^h a ^{u55}]	“won’t now” (will not + now)
[t ^h a ⁵⁵ t ^{hi} 55]	+	[ku ²⁴]	→	[t ^h a ⁵⁵ t ^{hi} u ⁵⁵]	“can’t now” (cannot + now)
[l ^l e ⁵⁵]	+	[ku ²⁴]	→	[l ^l a ^{u55}]	“it’s past now” (perfective + now)

2.4.5 Deletion of whole syllables in connected speech

In connected speech, whole syllables may sometimes be deleted as the meaning is clear in context. This is often seen in commonly used words, including certain interrogative and possessive pronouns, as shown in Table 2.17.

Table 2.17 Examples of syllable deletion

[ã ²⁴ n ^l e ⁵⁵]	→	[ã ²⁴]	“ours”
[sv ²⁴ n ^l e ⁵⁵]	→	[sv ²⁴]	“yours”
[x ^u ɔ ²⁴ n ^l e ²¹]	→	[x ^u ɔ ²⁴]	“like this, in this way”
[xã ²⁴ lã ²¹]	→	[xã ²⁴]	“like that, in that way”
[tɕ ^{hi} e ⁵¹ ɕ ^l e ²¹]	→	[tɕ ^{hi} e ⁵¹]	“what”
[ku ²⁴ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	→	[ku ²⁴]	“face”
[my ²¹ k ^u ɔ ²¹]	→	[my ²¹]	“stomach”
[u ^ɔ 21sa ²¹]	→	[u ^ɔ 21]	“backbasket”
[sv ²⁴ t ^h a ⁵⁵ p ^h a ²¹]	→	[sv ²⁴ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	“at the side”
[çi ²¹ t ^{hi} e ²⁴ k ^h y ²¹]	→	[çi ²¹ t ^{hi} e ²⁴]	“field(s)”

2.5 Tone sandhi in classifiers and particles

Tone sandhi occurs with great frequency in Tujia classifiers and particles. As these words are never uttered on their own in normal speech, it is not possible to determine their “underlying tone” with any degree of certainty. One would question whether the concept of an underlying tone is meaningful or helpful in this context. In this section, we describe the tone sandhi observed in Tujia classifiers and particles, having divided them into groups according to their sandhi behaviour in different phonological environments. Different groups therefore have designated tones which are used throughout the book and in the lexicon.

2.5.1 Sandhi in classifiers

Native Tujia classifiers can be divided into three categories according to their sandhi behaviour when they follow numerals having different tones.

Classifiers showing tone sandhi

Group 1 Classifiers (*i.e.* designated as having the high level tone)

Classifiers in this group have the high level tone except when following a numeral with a low falling tone, when they also become low falling (Table 2.18). More classifiers belonging to this group are shown in Table 2.19.

Group 2 Classifiers (*i.e.* designated as having the low rising tone)

When used individually for counting (*i.e.* when no noun follows the numeral-classifier phrase), the classifiers in this group have the low rising tone. However, when used in the usual NUM+CL+NOUN combination, they have the high level tone following numerals with high level and low rising tones, and become neutral following numerals with low falling and high falling tones (Table 2.20). Other classifiers in this group are shown in Table 2.21.

Group 3 Classifiers (*i.e.* designated as having the low falling tone)

Classifiers in this group have the low falling tone except when following a numeral with a high level tone, when they also become high level, as shown in Table 2.22. Other classifiers in this group are shown in Table 2.23.

Table 2.18 Tone sandhi in Group 1 classifiers

NUM		CL		NUM + CL	Gloss	Tone
[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵]	+	[mō ⁵⁵]	→	[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵ mō ⁵⁵]	“two + CL for tree”	unchanged
[xi ²⁴]	+	[mō ⁵⁵]	→	[xi ²⁴ mō ⁵⁵]	“ten + CL for tree”	unchanged
[u ²¹]	+	[mō ⁵⁵]	→	[u ²¹ mō ²¹]	“six + CL for tree”	low falling
[ka ⁵¹]	+	[mō ⁵⁵]	→	[ka ⁵¹ mō ⁵⁵]	“some + CL for tree”	unchanged

Table 2.19 Other Group 1 classifiers

CL	Types of objects associated with CL
[ts ^h a ⁵⁵]	for boats, cooking tripods, pestle and mortar
[ts ^{hu} ɔ ⁵⁵]	for houses
[ɣi ⁵⁵]	for thin, flat objects such as paper, leaves, and flags
[lō ⁵⁵]	year
[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵]	day
[su ⁵⁵]	bowl, bowlful
[t ^h ō ⁵⁵]	nest, lair

Table 2.20 Tone sandhi in Group 2 classifiers

NUM		CL		NUM + CL	Gloss	Tone
[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵]	+	[tsy ²⁴]	→	[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵ tsy ⁵⁵]	“two mouthfuls”	high level tone
[xi ²⁴]	+	[tsy ²⁴]	→	[xi ²⁴ tsy ⁵⁵]	“ten mouthfuls”	high level tone
[u ²¹]	+	[tsy ²⁴]	→	[u ²¹ tsy]	“six mouthfuls”	neutral
[ka ⁵¹]	+	[tsy ²⁴]	→	[ka ⁵¹ tsy]	“some mouthfuls”	neutral

Table 2.21 Other Group 2 classifiers

CL	Types of objects associated with CL
[pu ²⁴]	for compact, round items such as eggs and stones
[ta ²⁴]	for hats, bowls, and trays
[xa ²⁴]	for baskets
[mō ²⁴]	for meals
[p ^h ō ²⁴]	for small plants
[tɕ ^{hi} ɛ ²⁴]	occasion, time
[tsi ²⁴]	for long thin objects such as roads, bamboo, and guns

Table 2.22 Tone sandhi in Group 3 classifiers

NUM		CL		NUM + CL	Gloss	Tone
[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵]	+	[k ^h y ²¹]	→	[n ¹ ɛ ⁵⁵ k ^h y ⁵⁵]	“two + CL for field”	high level tone
[xi ²⁴]	+	[k ^h y ²¹]	→	[xi ²⁴ k ^h y ²¹]	“ten + CL for field”	unchanged
[u ²¹]	+	[k ^h y ²¹]	→	[u ²¹ k ^h y ²¹]	“six + CL for field”	unchanged
[ka ⁵¹]	+	[k ^h y ²¹]	→	[ka ⁵¹ k ^h y ²¹]	“some + CL for field”	unchanged

Table 2.23 Other Group 3 classifiers

CL	Types of objects associated with CL
[ts ^h i ²¹]	for limbs, rice-cakes, buckets
[xu ²¹]	for people
[tɕi ²¹]	step
[lō ²¹]	for animals
[mi ²¹]	segment (of fruit)
[u ²¹]	load (in a backbasket)
[i ²¹]	item

The numeral for “one”

The Tujia numeral for “one”, [la²⁴], designated as having the low rising tone, changes to the high level tone before classifiers with the high level and low falling tones, as shown in Table 2.24.

Table 2.24 Tone sandhi in the Tujia numeral for “one”

“one”		CL		NUM + CL	Gloss	Tone
[la ²⁴]	+	[mō ⁵⁵]	→	[la ⁵⁵ mō ⁵⁵]	“one + CL for tree”	high level tone
[la ²⁴]	+	[tsv ²⁴]	→	[la ²⁴ tsv ²⁴]	“one mouthful”	unchanged
[la ²⁴]	+	[k ^h v ²¹]	→	[la ⁵⁵ k ^h v ²¹]	“one + CL for field”	high level tone

Chinese loans

Many classifiers now used in Tujia are Chinese loans. These can also be divided into three categories according to their sandhi behaviour:

- Group 1 loan classifiers behave in the same way as the native classifiers (see above).
- Group 2 loan classifiers have high level tones after numerals with high level and low rising tones; low rising tones after numerals with low falling tones; and become neutral after numerals with high falling tones.
- Group 3 loan classifiers retain their low falling tone after numerals of all four tones.

The other difference is that they are used almost exclusively with Chinese loan numerals rather than native Tujia numerals. Table 2.25 gives examples of sandhi in all three groups of Chinese loan classifiers.

Table 2.25 Tone sandhi in Chinese loan classifiers

NUM		CL		NUM + CL	Gloss	Tone
Group 1						
[sā ⁵⁵]	+	[tsā ⁵⁵]	→	[sā ⁵⁵ tsā ⁵⁵]	“three + CL for paper”	unchanged
[si ²⁴]	+	[tsā ⁵⁵]	→	[si ²⁴ tsā ⁵⁵]	“four + CL for paper”	unchanged
[si ²¹]	+	[tsā ⁵⁵]	→	[si ²¹ tsā ²¹]	“ten + CL for paper”	low falling
[wu ⁵¹]	+	[tsā ⁵⁵]	→	[wu ⁵¹ tsā ⁵⁵]	“five + CL for paper”	unchanged
Group 2						
[sā ⁵⁵]	+	[ts ^h u ³ 24]	→	[sā ⁵⁵ ts ^h u ³ 55]	“three inches”	high level
[si ²⁴]	+	[ts ^h u ³ 24]	→	[si ²⁴ ts ^h u ³ 55]	“four inches”	high level
[si ²¹]	+	[ts ^h u ³ 24]	→	[si ²¹ ts ^h u ³ 24]	“ten inches”	low rising
[wu ⁵¹]	+	[ts ^h u ³ 24]	→	[wu ⁵¹ ts ^h u ³]	“five inches”	neutral

Group 3						
[sā ⁵⁵]	+	[p ^h i ²¹]	→	[sā ⁵⁵ p ^h i ²¹]	“three bottles”	unchanged
[si ²⁴]	+	[p ^h i ²¹]	→	[si ²⁴ p ^h i ²¹]	“four bottles”	unchanged
[si ²¹]	+	[p ^h i ²¹]	→	[si ²¹ p ^h i ²¹]	“ten bottles”	unchanged
[wu ⁵¹]	+	[p ^h i ²¹]	→	[wu ⁵¹ p ^h i ²¹]	“five bottles”	unchanged

A complete list of native and loan classifiers can be found in Section 4.5.

2.5.2 Sandhi in particles

Unlike classifiers, there is a group of Tujia particles with *fixed* tones, irrespective of the tones of the preceding nouns or verbs. The remaining Tujia particles, as with the classifiers, can be divided into three categories according to their sandhi behaviour when they follow nouns or verbs having different tones. The features of these three categories are similar to those for the classifiers.

Fixed tone particles

Particles in this group have either high level or low falling tones, which remain unchanged after verbs or nouns of any tone, as shown in Table 2.26. Particles which are Chinese loans also have fixed tones.

Table 2.26 Fixed tone particles

Fixed high level tone						
V		PART “won’t”		V + PART	Gloss	Tone
[zi ⁵⁵]	+	[t ^h a ⁵⁵]	→	[zi ⁵⁵ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	“won’t do”	unchanged
[ʔa ²⁴]	+	[t ^h a ⁵⁵]	→	[ʔa ²⁴ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	“won’t write”	unchanged
[mi ²¹]	+	[t ^h a ⁵⁵]	→	[mi ²¹ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	“won’t spread”	unchanged
[pu ⁵¹]	+	[t ^h a ⁵⁵]	→	[pu ⁵¹ t ^h a ⁵⁵]	“won’t soak”	unchanged
Fixed low falling tone						
V		PART “go”		V + PART	Gloss	Tone
[zi ⁵⁵]	+	[lu ²¹]	→	[zi ⁵⁵ lu ²¹]	“go to do”	unchanged
[ʔa ²⁴]	+	[lu ²¹]	→	[ʔa ²⁴ lu ²¹]	“go to write”	unchanged
[mi ²¹]	+	[lu ²¹]	→	[mi ²¹ lu ²¹]	“go to spread”	unchanged
[pu ⁵¹]	+	[lu ²¹]	→	[pu ⁵¹ lu ²¹]	“go to soak”	unchanged

Particles showing tone sandhi

Group 1 Particles (*i.e.* designated as having the high level tone)

Particles in this group have the high level tone except when following a numeral with a low falling tone, when they also become low falling (Table 2.27). Other particles in this group are shown in Table 2.28.

Group 2 Particles (*i.e.* designated as having the low rising tone)

Particles in this group have the high level tone following verbs or nouns with high level and low rising tones. After a low falling tone, they are low rising; and after a high falling tone, they become neutral with a low pitch (Table 2.29). Other particles in this group are shown in Table 2.30.

Group 3 Particles (*i.e.* designated as having the low falling tone)

Particles in this group have the high level tone following verbs or nouns with high level and low rising tones. After falling tones, they become low falling. These changes are shown in Table 2.31. Other particles in this group are shown in Table 2.32.

Table 2.27 Tone sandhi in Group 1 particles

V		PART "finished"		V + PART	Gloss	Tone
[zi ⁵⁵]	+	[l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	→	[zi ⁵⁵ l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	"finished doing"	unchanged
[ʔa ²⁴]	+	[l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	→	[ʔa ²⁴ l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	"finished writing"	unchanged
[mi ²¹]	+	[l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	→	[mi ²¹ l ¹ e ²¹]	"finished spreading"	low falling
[pu ⁵¹]	+	[l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	→	[pu ⁵¹ l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	"finished soaking"	unchanged

Table 2.28 Other Group 1 particles

PART	Notes
[pɔ ⁵⁵]	noun particle, indicating goal
[l ¹ a ^{u55}]	verb particle, indicating currently relevant state
[l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	noun particle, indicating source
[l ¹ e ⁵⁵]	directional verb particle, away from speaker
[si ⁵⁵]	verb particle, used as an intensifying marker

Table 2.29 Tone sandhi in Group 2 particles

V		PART "do not"		V + PART	Gloss	Tone
[zi ⁵⁵]	+	[ta ²⁴]	→	[zi ⁵⁵ ta ⁵⁵]	"do not do"	high level
[ʔa ²⁴]	+	[ta ²⁴]	→	[ʔa ²⁴ ta ⁵⁵]	"do not write"	high level
[mi ²¹]	+	[ta ²⁴]	→	[mi ²¹ ta ²⁴]	"do not spread"	low rising
[pu ⁵¹]	+	[ta ²⁴]	→	[pu ⁵¹ ta]	"do not soak"	neutral

Table 2.30 Other Group 2 particles

PART	Notes
[ts ^h a ²⁴]	modal verb particle, meaning "want"
[ta ^{u24}]	negating verb particle, meaning "not now"
[ti ²⁴]	directional particle, towards the speaker
[t ^h u ²⁴]	directional particle, towards speaker with focus on present state
[ku ²⁴]	verb particle indicating present relevance
[tɕi ²⁴]	verb particle: telic aspectiviser
[n ^h e ²⁴]	verb particle indicating continuing relevance
[ɕi ²⁴]	nominalising particle
[ɕ ^h e ²⁴]	directional particle, used in imperative clauses

Table 2.31 Tone sandhi in Group 3 particles

V		PART "about to"		V + PART	Gloss	Tone
[zi ⁵⁵]	+	[xu ²¹]	→	[zi ⁵⁵ xu ⁵⁵]	"about to do"	high level
[ʔa ²⁴]	+	[xu ²¹]	→	[ʔa ²⁴ xu ⁵⁵]	"about to write"	high level
[mi ²¹]	+	[xu ²¹]	→	[mi ²¹ xu ²¹]	"about to spread"	low falling
[pu ⁵¹]	+	[xu ²¹]	→	[pu ⁵¹ xu ²¹]	"about to soak"	low falling

Table 2.32 Other Group 3 particles

PART	Notes
[pɔ ²¹]	stative verb particle
[t ^h ɔ ²¹]	modal verb particle meaning "must, ought to"
[la ²¹]	verb particle indicating continuous aspect

In the remaining chapters of this book, apart from instances of coalescence and lexicalised forms with established tone sandhi, standard phonetic forms are indicated. Tone sandhi has not been marked for classifiers and particles. For morphophonemic alternations that occur in connected speech, only the designated forms of the words are indicated and not the actual phonetic forms.

2.6 Orthography

An experimental orthography based on standard Mandarin, *Putonghua pinyin*, has been used in this book and for the text collection on our website. The usual Mandarin superscript tone marks of 1 to 4 are used for the four tones, as shown in Table 2.33.

Table 2.33 Orthography for Tujia tones

Name of Tone	Pitch	Symbol	Examples	
High level	55	¹	la ¹ "a while"	re ¹ "four"
Low rising	24	²	la ² "to lick"	re ² "wine"
Low falling	21	³	la ³ "to sew"	re ³ "pus"
High falling	51	⁴	la ⁴ "road"	re ⁴ "grandchild"

2.6.1 Onsets

Table 2.34 shows the symbols used for the onsets in Tujia.

Table 2.34 Orthography for Tujia onsets

Symbol	IPA	Example	Symbol	IPA	Example
b	[p]	bo ³ "to escape"	ng	[ŋ]	nga ² "I, me"
c	[tʰ]	cuo ⁴ "house"	p	[pʰ]	pa ¹ "Chinese"
d	[t]	die ² "to think of"	q	[tʰ]	qi ⁴ "to weigh"
g	[k]	ga ⁴ "some"	r	[z]	re ¹ "four"
h	[x]	hu ³ "to drink"	s	[s]	song ² "fish"
hh	[ʏ]	hhe ² "to steal"	t	[tʰ]	tu ² "to pour"
j	[tɕ]	jie ² "hand"	w	[w]	wu ² "cow"
k	[k]	ka ³ "firewood"	x	[ç]	xi ⁴ "to hear"
l	[l], [n]	long ¹ "year"	ɣ	[j]	ye ³ "object"
m	[m]	mi ⁴ "fire"	z	[ts]	zi ⁴ "pig"
n	[n]	ni ¹ "to look for"			

2.6.2 Rhymes

Table 2.35 shows the symbols used for the rhymes in Tujia.

Table 2.35 Orthography for Tujia rhymes

Symbol	IPA	Example	Symbol	IPA	Example
a	[a]	ba ⁴ "to look"	ing	[iŋ]	jing ² ki ¹ "all"
ai	[a ¹]	lai ⁴ "today"	iong	[¹ ɔŋ]	qiong ³ "poor"
an	[ɛn]	wan ² bang ¹ "eaves"	iu	[¹ u]	biu ² "daughter"

Symbol	IPA	Example	Symbol	IPA	Example
ang	[aŋ]	ang ¹ a ¹ "liver"	o	[ɔ]	bo ⁴ "to grind"
ao	[a ^u]	ao ¹ "there"	ong	[ɔŋ]	long ⁴ "to give birth"
e	[ɛ]	ce ³ "water"	ou	[o ^u]	sou ² "to send"
ei	[e ¹]	kei ² "which"	u	[u]	su ⁴ "to blow"
eng	[ɛŋ]	eng ¹ "this"	ua	[^u a]	rua ³ "to rub"
i	[i], [i]*	li ² "tiger"	uai	[^u a ¹]	kuai ⁴ "chair"
ia	[¹ a]	jia ² me ¹ "wheat"	uan	[^u ɛn]	duan ⁴ "to block"
ian	[¹ ɛn]	dian ⁴ "to sow"	ui	[^u e ¹]	bi ² kui ¹ "small one"
iao	[¹ a ^u]	biao ¹ "to glide"	un	[un]	sun ² "to obey"
ie	[¹ ɛ]	a ² jie ¹ "branch"	uo	[^u ɔ]	guo ² "he, him"

*[i] becomes [i] after c, g, h, hh, k, r, s, and z.

2.6.3 Syllabary

Table 2.36 shows the syllables found in Tujia. Syllables in square brackets only occur in Chinese loans.

Table 2.36 The Tujia syllabary

	i	u	a	o	e	ui	ai
*	y, hh	[y], w	y, [w]	w	y, hh	—	[w]
p, b, m	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	p, b, [m]
t, d, l	✓	✓	✓	—	d, l	[t], [d]	✓
k, g, h	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	✓	[k], g, [h]
c/q	✓	c	c	—	c	[c]	c
z/j	✓	z	z	—	z	[z]	z
s/x	✓	s	s	—	s	[s]	s
r	✓	r	r	—	r	—	—
n, ng	n	—	[n], ng	ng	—	—	ng

	ei	iu	ia	ie	ou	uo	ao
*	w	—	—	—	y	—	[y]
p, b, m	✓	b	—	✓	—	—	✓
t, d, l	l	✓	—	✓	[t], [d]	✓	✓
k, g, h	k, g	—	—	—	[g], [h]	✓	[k], g, h
c/q	c	[q]	q	q	[c]	c	[c]
z/j	z	j	j	j	[z]	z	z
s/x	s	[x]	x	x	s	s	s
r	—	—	—	—	—	r	—
n, ng	—	—	—	n	—	—	[ŋ]

	an	ua	un	ing	ang	ong
*	y, w	—	[y]	[y]	[w]	[y]
p, b, m	—	—	—	p, [b], [m]	—	✓
t, d, l	—	—	[l]	[t], [l]	✓	✓
k, g, h	[g]	[k], g, h	—	—	✓	k, [g], h
c/q	—	—	[c]	q	c	c
z/j	—	—	[z]	j	z	z
s/x	—	—	[s]	x	s	s
r	—	—	—	—	r	r
n, ng	—	—	—	—	[ng]	—

	eng	iong	ian	iao	uai	uan
*	[w]	—	—	—	—	[y]
p, b, m	[p], [b], m	—	✓	b, [m]	—	—
t, d, l	✓	—	✓	t, [d], l	—	t, d, [l]
k, g, h	✓	—	—	—	k, [g], [h]	✓
c/q	c	[q]	q	[q]	—	[c]
z/j	z	—	j	j	—	[z]
s/x	s	[x]	x	x	—	s
r	[r]	—	—	—	—	r
n, ng	[n], [ng]	—	n	[n]	—	—

Throughout this grammar, the above experimental orthography has been used to write Tujia. This is the same as that used for transcription of the text corpus on our website at www.brassett.org.uk/tujia/ehome.html.

3 The Lexicon

The majority of native Tujia morphemes are monosyllabic or bisyllabic, with words of three or more syllables usually being compounds or fixed expressions. Almost half of the lexicon consists of nouns, of which over half are bisyllabic. Verbs, however, are generally monosyllabic, with only a third being bisyllabic. Specific examples are given below.

3.1 Word Structure

3.1.1 Monosyllabic words

Monosyllabic words constitute around a third of the native Tujia words in our database. Over half of these are verbs, with only a third being nouns. The remaining monosyllabic words include classifiers, numerals, adverbs, and particles. Some examples of monosyllabic words are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Tujia monosyllabic words

a ²	write	di ⁴	want	ra ³	chicken	song ²	fish
ba ⁴	look	ru ³	hear	mi ⁴	fire	li ²	tiger
bu ²	CL	ong ¹	five	bo ³	PART	ao ¹	there
pi ¹	CL	ge ¹	nine	mo ³	PART	be ²	also

3.1.2 Bisyllabic words

Almost half of the native Tujia words in the database are bisyllabic. Of these, over half are nouns, with verbs comprising only a fifth. Other bisyllabic words include adverbs, onomatopoeic words, and fixed expressions. Examples are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Tujia bisyllabic words

a ³ tu ³	cave	eng ² qi ¹	nose	kuo ¹ ba ¹	head
me ² ze ³	rain	su ³ su ³	moon	wo ³ sa ³	backbasket
a ² li ¹	exchange	ha ⁴ ri ³	know	xi ⁴ ca ³	run
ai ¹ du ¹	there	da ² bie ¹	first	ma ³ li ²	quickly
ai ¹ cuo ¹	Come on!	xi ² lang ¹	Sorry!	wo ³ wu ⁴	hunting cry

3.1.3 Polysyllabic words

Around a quarter of native Tujia words consist of three or more syllables, with the majority being trisyllabic. Some of these are compounds comprising a root plus a prefix or suffix; others are NOUN+NOUN or NOUN+VERB combinations which are described in Section 3.4. Polysyllabic words include nouns, adverbs, fixed expressions, and onomatopoeic words. Longer polysyllabic words tend to be names of native flora and fauna. Table 3.3 shows some examples of polysyllabic words.

Table 3.3 Tujia polysyllabic words

ge ³ la ¹ bi ¹	here	bang ² ri ¹ cai ¹	noon
bi ² zi ¹ ka ³	Tujia	dong ³ dong ³ kui ¹	flute
ka ³ ki ¹ die ³	quietly	lao ³ gu ¹ lie ¹	only
la ³ ye ² hu ³	at dusk	ba ⁴ bo ³ hhi ²	Take care!
ce ³ ci ¹ ke ³	willow	ga ³ mu ³ se ³	maple
ca ³ ca ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	grasshopper	ce ² ce ¹ mi ¹ ma ¹	honeybee
qing ³ qing ³ wo ² si ³	cicada	di ² di ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	cricket
li ² ga ¹ ci ³ wo ² ga ¹ ci ³	praying mantis	qing ¹ kuo ¹ luo ¹ gang ³ ci ³	spider
ruan ¹ gu ¹ li ¹ ma ³ ma ¹	dragonfly		

3.2 Affixation

Polysyllabic words may be formed by adding an affix to a word stem. There are many more suffixes than prefixes, and some suffixes may be productive. Affixes are distinguished from noun particles in that the latter have grammatical functions, while affixes are primarily lexical. Noun particles are described in detail in Section 6.6.

3.2.1 Prefixes

Prefixes for kinship terms

Kinship terms are usually prefixed by a- or ang¹-. They are forms of address as well as terms of reference. This is, however, a closed group and the prefix is not productive. Some of these kinship terms are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Kinship terms

a ³ ba ¹	father	a ³ kuo ⁴	elder brother	ang ¹ ngai ⁴	younger brother
a ³ nie ¹	mother	a ² da ¹	elder sister	ang ¹ bei ¹	uncle

Prefixes in word families

There are particular “families” of words in Tujia which have the same prefixes.

➤ me²-

Terms relating to the weather and natural phenomena are prefixed with me²-, as me² on its own means “sky” (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Weather terms

me ² ca ²	sunny day	me ² ze ³	rain
me ² ta ¹ ce ³	thunder	me ² la ¹ ong ³	cloud
me ² yi ² la ¹ bie ⁴	to flash lightning (“sky-tongue”)		

➤ ce³-

Terms relating to water features, natural or artificial, are prefixed with ce³-, as ce³ on its own means “water” (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 Terms relating to water features

ce ³ la ³	drainage ditch	ce ³ mong ²	well
ce ³ si ³	saliva	ce ³ pu ³	pond
ce ³ la ¹ meng ³	sluice	ce ³ lu ¹ ga ¹	ice

➤ jie²-, ji³-

Terms relating to the “hand” and “foot” are prefixed with jie²- and ji³- respectively. The words on their own mean “hand” and “foot” (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7 Terms relating to the hand and foot

ji ³ mi ²	footprint	ji ³ pa ³	lower leg
ji ³ si ³ pe ¹	thigh	ji ³ mi ³ ti ¹	toe
ji ² li ¹ pu ³	sole	ji ³ mi ³ ti ¹ kuo ² ta ¹	toenail
jie ² bi ¹ ta ¹	palm	jie ² la ¹ pi ³	centre of palm
jie ² mi ¹ ti ³	finger	jie ² si ¹ pe ¹	arm
jie ² ti ¹ ke ¹	fist	jie ² mi ¹ ti ³ kuo ² ta ¹	finger nail

➤ ka³-

Terms relating to wood and trees are prefixed with ka³-, as ka³ on its own means “wood” (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8 Terms relating to wood and trees

ka ³ ba ³	board	ka ³ cuo ⁴	wooden hut
ka ³ mong ³	tree	ka ³ kuo ³	forest
ka ³ zu ³	stick	ka ³ tong ³	wooden pillar
ka ³ xie ³	comb	ka ³ ti ³ ke ³	tree stump
ka ³ ji ¹ la ³	root	ka ³ a ² jie ¹	branch

3.2.2 Suffixes

Suffix indicating household or clan

The suffix -ka³ is used to denote a household or clan. The examples shown in Table 3.9 are lexicalised terms.

Table 3.9 Lexicalised terms with the clan suffix

bi ² zi ¹ ka ³	Tujia people	pa ¹ ka ³	Han people
be ² ka ³	Miao people		

This suffix is productive and can be affixed on to pronouns and other nouns, as seen in the following examples taken from the text corpus:

- (1) ang²ni¹ cu¹ di²zu¹ -ka³
 1pl home landlord house

We are a family of landlords. (the word for “landlord” is a Chinese loan)

- (2) ang²ni¹ cu¹ xie² ma¹ -ka³ ze³ da²
 1pl home have AgNOM house be like NEG

Our home is not like a rich household. (xie²ma¹ = “rich person”, see Section 8.1.1)

Suffix indicating place of residence

The suffix -suo¹ is affixed to the name of a place to indicate where a person comes from, as in the following examples:

- (3) ge¹ze¹ si³ti³ -suo¹
 3pl Shidi place of residence

They are from Shidi.

- (4) nga² bao²ge³ -suo¹
 1sg Baogo place of residence

I am from Baogo.

Suffixes denoting gender in animals

For nouns denoting animals, gender may be indicated by two suffixes: -a¹ba¹ for male gender and -ni³ga³ for female gender (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10 Words with the gender suffixes

li ² a ¹ ba ¹	male tiger	zi ⁴ a ¹ ba ¹	hog, boar	sa ⁴ a ¹ ba ¹	drake
li ² ni ³ ga ³	tigress	zi ⁴ ni ³ ga ³	sow	sa ⁴ ni ³ ga ³	duck (female)

Note that for certain domestic animals, the a¹ in -a¹ba¹ is deleted in everyday use, as shown in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11 Deletion of initial syllable in the male gender suffix

wu ² ba ¹	ox, bull	ra ³ ba ³	cockerel
wu ² ni ³ ga ³	cow	ra ³ ni ³ ga ³	hen

Suffixes indicating specific locations

> -ku¹

The suffix -ku¹ is used to denote places with certain characteristics (Table 3.12):

Table 3.12 The locative suffix -ku¹

lao ³ ci ³	-ku ¹	me ² lu ¹	-ku ¹
sun	place	shade	place
<i>a sunny place</i>		<i>a shady place</i>	

> -diu¹

The suffix -diu¹ has the same meaning as -ku¹ but is less commonly used (Table 3.13):

Table 3.13 The locative suffix -diu¹

ka ³ kuo ³	-diu ¹	hu ³ pa ³	-diu ¹
forest	place	river	place
<i>a forested area</i>		<i>river valley</i>	

> -ta³

The suffix -ta³ denotes an adjacent location (Table 3.14):

Table 3.14 The locative suffix -ta³

se ³ ke ¹	-ta ³	pa ² qie ¹	-ta ³
field	side	corridor	side
<i>beside the field</i>		<i>beside the corridor</i>	
ce ³ mong ²	-ta ³	zuo ³ kong ¹	-ta ³
well	side	stove	side
<i>beside the well</i>		<i>beside the stove</i>	

Diminutive suffixes

> -bu¹

The suffix -bu¹ is used in certain nouns denoting objects which are essentially small and round. It does not appear to be productive, unlike -bu²li¹. Examples are shown in Table 3.15.

Table 3.15 Words with the diminutive suffix -bu¹

duo ⁴ bu ¹	red bean	la ² bu ¹	salt	li ² bu ¹	rice
qi ² bu ¹	soybean	luo ² bu ¹	eye		

> -bu²li¹

The word bu²li¹ actually means “fruit” in Tujia, and is also used for smallpox and similar diseases with pockmarks. The suffix -bu²li¹ is often used to indicate small round particles which may be considered to be the “progeny” of a parent substance; in other cases it is simply used as a diminutive. This suffix is productive and can be used with a number of different nouns.

- *as fruit* (Table 3.16)

Table 3.16 Use of -bu²li¹ to mean “fruit”

la ² tu ¹	melon	la ² tu ¹ bu ² li ¹	melon seed
si ³	grass	si ³ bu ² li ¹	grass seed

- *as a simple diminutive* (Table 3.17)

Table 3.17 Words with the diminutive suffix -bu²li¹

xi ⁴ bu ² li ¹	star	zi ¹ zi ¹ bu ² li ¹	bullet
---	------	---	--------

- *affixed to a parent noun to indicate a smaller object* (Table 3.18)

Table 3.18 Use of -bu²li¹ to indicate smaller size

jian ² ga ¹	bracelet	jian ² ga ¹ bu ² li ¹	ring
si ¹ ba ¹	clothing	si ¹ ba ¹ bu ² li ¹	button
a ³ ba ³	stone	a ³ ba ³ bu ² li ¹	gravel, sand
lie ² pe ³	scrotum	lie ² pe ³ bu ² li ¹	testes

The following are examples of the use of this suffix in Tujia story texts:

(5) pa²ni¹ ra²gu¹ -bu²li¹ ye³ bu² huo³ lie¹
 old lady tea leaf DIM eight CL take PERF

The old lady took eight tea leaves.

(6) ge¹ze¹ jie² nie¹ ci³ huo³lie³ luo⁴ zuo² bo³
 3pl hands two CL use people catch STAT
 la¹sa¹die¹ kuo¹ba¹ -bu²li¹ tie² lu³
 some people head DIM pluck DIR

They used their bare hands to catch people, plucking some of their heads off. (A vivid description in a story about the legendary Tujia heroes, the Eight Kings. They were so powerful that people's heads were like beans in their hands.)

➤ -ku¹li¹

The suffix -ku¹li¹ can be used as a straightforward diminutive or in lexicalised terms to represent small insects and birds. It is also used for naked objects, *i.e.* objects deprived of their outer coverings and hence smaller, as in the second set of examples.

- *as a diminutive or in lexicalised terms to indicate small objects* (Table 3.19)
- *for naked objects* (Table 3.20)

Table 3.19 Use of -ku¹li¹ as a diminutive and in lexicalised terms for small creatures

ca ³ ca ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	grasshopper
di ² di ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	cricket
ka ² ti ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	small bamboo basket
me ² ca ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	swallow

Table 3.20 Use of -ku¹li¹ to indicate “naked” objects

a ¹ ci ³ ku ¹ li ¹	unhusked grains of glutinous rice
dong ³ dong ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	naked body
ji ³ ca ³ ku ¹ li ¹	bare feet
luo ² ci ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	eyeball
me ³ ti ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	navel

The pluralising suffix

The suffix -die¹ is a pluralising suffix which is productive and which can be affixed to many different nouns.

- *it is mainly used to denote a group of people* (Table 3.21)

Table 3.21 Use of the pluralising suffix

a ² guo ¹	-die ¹	companions	luo ⁴ ba ¹	-die ¹	men
companion			man		
re ⁴ bi ²	-die ¹	grandchildren	bo ¹ li ³	-die ¹	children
grandchild			child		
biu ²	-die ¹	daughters	luo ⁴ bi ³	-die ¹	sons
daughter			son		
zuo ⁴ ni ³	-die ¹	relatives	po ² ga ¹	-die ¹	teachers
relative			teacher		
po ³ pa ¹	-die ¹	elderly men	pa ² ni ¹	-die ¹	elderly women
old man			old lady		

- *it is also used with Chinese loans* (Table 3.22)

Table 3.22 The pluralising suffix in Chinese loans

lao ⁴ reng ³ ga ³	-die ¹	elderly people	nian ³ qing ¹ reng ³	-die ¹	young people
elderly person			young person		
lao ⁴ be ³ xing ¹	-die ¹	general public			
ordinary citizen					

- it has a lexicalised form *luo⁴die¹*

The lexicalised form *luo⁴die¹* consists of *luo⁴* (“person”) and the pluralising suffix. It means either “people” in general or “other people” depending on the context, as in the following examples:

- (7) *mao³gu³si¹* *ri¹* *nie³* *xi²* *ge¹ze¹* *eng¹ge¹* *luo⁴die¹*
maogusi *do* *ASSOC* *NOM* *3pl* *there* *people*

The ones doing maogusi, they are people from there (i.e. a certain village). (“maogusi” is a traditional Tujia dance)

- (8) *a³nie¹* *a³ba¹* *luo⁴die¹* *bo³* *hu³ri¹*
mother *father* *other people* *IO* *work*

My mother and father worked for other people.

- (9) *ai¹* *la²* *long¹,* *wo⁴ta³* *nie³* *luo⁴die¹*
that *one* *year* *outside* *ASSOC* *people*

ang² *guo³jia¹* *ha³* *diu²*
lpl *country* *hit, fight* *DIR*

That year, people from outside (i.e. foreigners) came to attack our country.

- (10) *ang²* *nie³* *wu²,* *ang²duo³* *ka⁴* *duo³,*
lpl *ASSOC* *cow* *lpl REFL* *watch* *must*

luo⁴die¹ *ka⁴* *ta¹*
people *watch* *NEG*

We ourselves must watch our cow, other people won't do that.

3.3 Compounding

Compound words are formed from two or more content morphemes.

3.3.1 Compound nouns

Compounding of two nouns leads to the formation of a new noun which is semantically related to the parent nouns. Many Tujia words of over three syllables are compounds.

Bisyllabic compound nouns

Table 3.23 Examples of bisyllabic compound nouns

<i>ce³</i> water	<i>la⁴</i> road	<i>ce³la³</i> ditch	<i>ka³</i> wood	<i>cuo⁴</i> house	<i>ka³cuo⁴</i> wooden house
<i>re⁴</i> grandchild	<i>biu²</i> daughter	<i>re⁴biu²</i> granddaughter	<i>zi⁴</i> pig	<i>si³</i> meat	<i>zi⁴si³</i> pork

Trisyllabic compound nouns

Table 3.24 Examples of trisyllabic compound nouns

<i>a³ba³</i> stone	<i>cuo⁴</i> house	<i>a³ba³cuo⁴</i> stone house
<i>eng²qi¹</i> nose	<i>se³</i> waste	<i>eng²qi¹se³</i> nasal mucus
<i>ha⁴lie³</i> dog	<i>si³</i> meat	<i>ha⁴lie³si³</i> dogmeat
<i>luo²bu¹</i> eyes	<i>ce³</i> water	<i>luo²bu¹ce³</i> tears
<i>ha¹ce¹</i> vegetable	<i>ce³</i> water	<i>ha¹ce¹ce³</i> soup
<i>nie²bi¹</i> bird	<i>tong⁴</i> nest	<i>nie²bi¹tong⁴</i> bird's nest
<i>sa⁴</i> duck	<i>yi²la¹</i> tongue	<i>sa⁴yi²la¹</i> Monochoria (type of plant)
<i>tong³</i> tung tree	<i>se³si²</i> oil	<i>tong³se³si²</i> tung oil

Compound nouns with four or more syllables

Table 3.25 Examples of polysyllabic compound nouns

<i>ka³mong³</i> tree	<i>ta²pa⁴</i> skin	<i>ka³mong³ta²pa⁴</i> tree bark
<i>luo²bu¹</i> eye	<i>si²ga⁴</i> fine hair	<i>luo²bu¹si²ga⁴</i> eyebrow
<i>me²ze³</i> rain	<i>bi²kui¹</i> little one	<i>me²ze³bi²kui¹</i> drizzle
<i>sa²qi¹</i> hair	<i>hhe²la¹</i> string	<i>sa²qi¹hhe²la¹</i> hairband
<i>si¹lang¹</i> cloth	<i>ka¹pu¹</i> flower	<i>si¹lang¹ka¹pu¹</i> brocade
<i>si¹si¹</i> louse	<i>a¹lie¹</i> egg	<i>si¹si¹a¹lie¹</i> nit

3.3.2 Compound verbs

Compounding of a noun and a verb leads to the formation of a new verb whose meaning is derived from the component morphemes. The majority of these compound verbs are bisyllabic and trisyllabic, but there are also ones with four or more syllables.

Bisyllabic compound verbs

Table 3.26 Examples of bisyllabic compound verbs

ba ³ slope	gu ³ go up	ba ³ gu ³ <i>climb a mountain</i>	bu ⁴ boat	ong ³ sit	bu ⁴ ong ³ <i>ride in a boat</i>
ce ³ water	a ² cross	ce ³ a ² <i>cross a river</i>	gu ² face	wo ¹ wash	gu ² wo ¹ <i>wash one's face</i>
jie ² hand	za ⁴ grasp	jie ² za ⁴ <i>shake hands</i>	ka ³ wood	sa ¹ chop	ka ³ sa ¹ <i>chop firewood</i>
li ⁴ ground	pu ² hoe	li ⁴ pu ² <i>weed</i>	me ² sky	ha ³ hit	me ² ha ³ <i>thunder</i>
mi ⁴ fire	tu ² pour	mi ⁴ tu ² <i>throw out embers</i>	mie ⁴ blood	zu ² go out	mie ⁴ zu ² <i>bleed</i>
xie ⁴ iron	di ³ dig	xie ⁴ di ³ <i>forge iron</i>	zi ³ rice	luo ² cook	zi ³ luo ² <i>cook a meal</i>

Trisyllabic compound verbs

Table 3.27 Examples of trisyllabic compound verbs

a ³ ba ³ stone	ha ³ hit	a ³ ba ³ ha ³ <i>break rocks</i>
bu ¹ cuo ³ guest	si ² send	bu ¹ cuo ³ si ² <i>see a guest off</i>
bo ¹ li ³ child	long ⁴ give birth	bo ¹ li ³ long ⁴ <i>have a baby</i>
ci ¹ pu ¹ book	ba ⁴ look	ci ¹ pu ¹ ba ⁴ <i>read</i>
hhe ¹ ce ¹ urine	bo ³ pour	hhe ¹ ce ¹ bo ³ <i>urinate</i>
kuo ¹ ba ¹ head	xi ³ comb	kuo ¹ ba ¹ xi ³ <i>comb one's hair</i>
li ² bu ¹ paddy rice	ha ³ hit	li ² bu ¹ ha ³ <i>thresh rice</i>
long ¹ se ³ phlegm	pi ² vomit	long ¹ se ³ pi ² <i>spit</i>
suo ⁴ ti ³ body	gi ³ be hot, burn	suo ⁴ ti ³ gi ³ <i>have a fever</i>
tong ⁴ mu ³ thread	za ² spin	tong ⁴ mu ³ za ² <i>spin yarn</i>

Compound verbs of four syllables

Table 3.28 Examples of polysyllabic compound verbs

luo ² bu ¹ eye	ce ³ water	duo ³ flow	luo ² bu ¹ ce ³ duo ³ <i>weep, shed tears</i>
me ² sky	yi ² la ¹ tongue	bie ⁴ fall	me ² yi ² la ¹ bie ⁴ <i>flash lightning</i>
re ² wind	tie ² ba ¹ big one	su ⁴ blow	re ² tie ² ba ¹ su ⁴ <i>blow a gale</i>
ta ¹ nie ¹ back	bie ¹ li ³ lose		ta ¹ nie ¹ bie ¹ li ³ <i>lag behind</i>

3.4 Reduplication

3.4.1 Sequential reduplication

Sequential or distributive reduplication indicates that objects represented by the reduplicated numeral-classifier phrase are being considered one after the other. This is shown in the following examples:

- (11) cuo³xie² la² ru¹ la² ru¹ mo³ si² xie²
shoes one pair one pair ADVP send DIR

The shoes were delivered here pair by pair.

- (12) ni² ce²si¹ la² bu² la² bu² mo³ ga²
2sg satsuma one CL one CL ADVP eat

You ate the satsumas (mandarin oranges) one by one.

- (13) ruo² lao⁴ lao⁴ mo³ song¹kuo¹ lu³
goat one one ADVP return DIR

The goats went home one by one. (lao⁴ is a contracted numeral-classifier used for animals — see Section 6.4.2)

3.4.2 Emphatic reduplication

Emphatic reduplication intensifies or heightens the meaning of stative verbs functioning adjectivally. The whole word or final syllable is reduplicated to indicate an increase in the quality being described. Examples are shown in Table 3.29.

There is a certain flexibility as to which elements are reduplicated, so that “very dirty” may also be rendered: hhe¹hhe¹se¹se¹ or hhe¹se¹hhe¹se¹, although the latter is rarely used. Similarly, “very sweet” can also be expressed by: ong³zei²ong³zei², when there is a tone change from tone 1 to 2 on the last syllable.

Table 3.29 Examples of emphatic reduplication

a ³ pi ¹	pi ¹
sour	RDP

to be very sour

ki ² zi ¹	zi ¹
bitter	RDP

to be very bitter

hhe ¹ se ¹	se ¹
dirty	RDP

to be very dirty

ong ³ zei ¹	zei ¹
sweet	RDP

to be very sweet

wu ² qi ¹	qi ¹
cold	RDP

to be very cold

Another mechanism whereby the meaning of stative verbs can be heightened involves the insertion of an intensifying particle lie³ between the reduplicated verbs, as in the following examples:

- (14) ge³di¹ ce³ sa⁴ lie³ sa⁴
 this water to be cold INTS to be cold

This water is very cold.

- (15) ai¹di¹ ci¹pu¹ suo²li¹ lie³ suo²li¹
 that book to be clean INTS to be clean

That book is very clean.

- (16) guo² nie³ se³ke¹ ga³ lie³ ga³
 3sg ASSOC field to be dry INTS to be dry

His fields are very dry.

- (17) lai⁴ sa⁴, pu³ni³ gi³ lie³ gi³
 today cold yesterday to be hot INTS to be hot

Today is cold, yesterday was very hot.

Intensification of stative verbs in Tujia can also be achieved by the addition of a reduplicated particle. Examples are shown in Table 3.30.

Table 3.30 Addition of reduplicated particles to stative verbs

a ³ si ³	ceng ³ ceng ³
white	RDP

to be very white

wu ² qi ¹	dai ³ dai ³
cold	RDP

to be very cold

du ⁴ zi ³	qing ³ qing ³
heavy	RDP

to be very heavy

mian ¹ jie ¹	xian ³ xian ³
red	RDP

to be very red

lang ² ga ¹	zao ³ zao ³
black	RDP

to be very black

Another means by which intensification may be achieved is a morphological form which involves reduplication of the verb with the addition of two other particles in a fixed order: V-di¹-V-ga². These forms are essentially lexicalised and are only used predicatively. Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

- (18) lang³cai¹ pe¹ gai¹sang¹ luo⁴ ri³di¹ri³ga²
 evening night on the streets people to be very many

There were a lot of people on the streets at night.

- (19) cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ po¹ bo³ xi² nie²pong¹ si³tie²
 house inside put STAT NOM beds tables
 cuo¹ke¹ si¹ba¹ si¹lang¹ re⁴di¹re⁴ga²
 chairs clothing quilts to be very beautiful

Inside the house beautiful beds, tables, chairs, clothing, and quilts were on display. (lit. The beds, tables, etc. which had been put inside the house were very beautiful.)

- (20) ni² nie³ a³ba¹ ca²di¹ca²ga²
 2sg ASSOC father to be very good

Your father is very good.

3.4.3 Elaborate expressions

There are a number of four-element compounds in Tujia which are idiomatic expressions describing different types of situations. These types of compounds also abound in Chinese and in other Tibeto-Burman languages. The term "elaborate expressions" was coined by Matisoff in his description of Lahu in 1973. The structure of these compounds varies, and

often consists of reduplicated syllables. Their structural forms include A-A-B-B, A-A-B-C, A-B-A-B, A-B-A-C, A-B-C-B, A-B-C-C, and A-B-C-D. Examples of such expressions and their use in sentences are given below.

A-A-B-B

cu³cu³ca³ca³ (straight, stiff)

- (21) ni² cu³cu³ca³ca³ mo³ ao¹cai³ ta¹ zu¹zu⁴ bo³
 2sg straight and stiff ADVP there NEG stand STAT

Don't stand there in that stiff manner.

pe¹pe¹li¹li¹ (wrapped up neatly)

- (22) ni² guo² ai¹ ha¹ce¹ pe¹pe¹li¹li¹ mo³ huo³ lie³
 2sg 3sg that vegetables neatly wrapped ADVP take DIR

Wrap up those vegetables neatly and take them [home].

A-A-B-C

si¹si¹ha¹pa³ (to have gaps in one's teeth)

- (23) guo² qing³mo¹ si¹si¹ha¹pa³ liao¹ o
 3sg why gaps in his teeth CRS EXCL

Why are there so many gaps in his teeth?

A-B-A-B

ga²li¹ga²li¹ (slowly and lazily)

- (24) ni² ga²li¹ga²li¹ qie⁴ gao¹ la¹
 2sg slowly and lazily what do IMPF

What are you doing lazing about?

A-B-A-C

si³pi²si³pai² (to have a little meat in a meal)

- (25) ang² cu¹ la² mong² he⁴lie³ si³pi²si³pai² dian² xie²
 1pl house one meal every some meat a little have

We have a little meat at every meal.

A-B-C-B

zuo¹ni³mu¹ni³ (relatives and friends)

- (26) zuo¹ni³mu¹ni³ jie³ lie³ da⁴ ye³ la² mong² ga²
 relatives and friends call DIR together rice one CL eat

Ask [our] relatives and friends to come and have a meal together.

A-B-C-C

yi²la¹re⁴re⁴ (to sigh, moan, intone)

- (27) ni² yi²la¹re⁴re⁴ mo³ qie⁴ jie³ hang
 2sg sigh, moan ADVP what call, cry EXCL

What are you moaning about?

A-B-C-D

si¹ga¹mi¹la¹ (at a loose end, with nothing to do)

- (28) nga² qie⁴ si¹ga¹mi¹la¹ la² tai²
 1sg what nothing to do a little not have

I am at a loose end (I don't have anything to do).

3.5 Loan Words

Chinese loans are ubiquitous in the speech of Tujia speakers, even in the heartland areas of Xiangxi. In traditional stories and songs, the proportion of loan words ranges from 0-10% of the total number of words. However, in contemporary everyday speech, this percentage rises to 20% in Pojiao and Dianfang Townships and to over 30% in Tasha Village.

Loan words often blend into a predominantly Tujia sentence, with the loan words conforming to Tujia syntax, for example, by taking the relevant Tujia aspectual markers. Very occasionally, whole sentences will be uttered in Chinese, especially when explaining modern technological concepts. Loan words comprise all lexical categories, as can be seen in the examples given in this section.

3.5.1 Historical periods of borrowing

While an in-depth investigation of the historical relationships between Tujia and Chinese is beyond the scope of this book, three different periods of borrowing can be identified from the types of Chinese loans found in Tujia.

Modern loans

These represent loan words borrowed from the local Chinese dialect within the past 100 years. They are mainly concerned with technology, sociopolitical issues, and everyday items. Examples are shown in Table 3.31.

In general, since words are borrowed from the local dialect, the following patterns of tone changes may be observed when compared with *Putonghua*, the standard Mandarin dialect spoken throughout China. Thus, tone 1 remains unchanged, while tones 2, 3, and 4 become tones 3, 4, and 2 respectively.

Table 3.31 Examples of modern Chinese loans in Tujia

bing ⁴ gan ¹	biscuit	bo ¹ li ¹	glass
cao ⁴ yi ³	grass carp	dian ² deng ¹	electric light
dian ² ying ⁴	movie	gai ⁴ huan ²	Liberation (1949)
guai ³ jia ¹	country	hong ¹ zeng ¹	kite
hui ¹ ji ¹	aeroplane	huo ⁴ ce ¹	train
lan ³ qiu ³	basketball	mei ³ tan ²	coal
nong ³ yao ²	fertilisers	ping ³ guo ⁴	apple
qin ³ zong ²	the general public	si ¹ ji ¹	driver, chauffeur
suan ² su ²	arithmetic	tong ³ zi ²	comrade
tuo ¹ la ¹ ji ¹	tractor	wen ³ ge ³	Cultural Revolution
xian ² jiao ¹	rubber	zu ⁴ xi ³	chairman

Recent loans

Southwestern Mandarin, which was spoken by Han Chinese living in Tujia areas, was already well-established after the Ming Dynasty. Recent loans are those assimilated into Tujia during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties, *i.e.* from the latter part of the 13th century to the beginning of the 20th century. These words include cultural terms related to the above period of Chinese history as well as other items related to daily life. Examples are shown in Table 3.32.

Table 3.32 Examples of recent Chinese loans in Tujia

cun ²	unit of length (3.33cm)	sao ³	sweet potato
guan ¹	official	si ¹ su ¹	private school
huo ²	goods	tong ³	copper
lu ³ ban ³	floor board	wa ⁴	tile
ma ⁴	horse	wa ² zi ¹	socks
pao ³	gown, robe	zi ⁴	paper
qiao ³	bridge		

Ancient loans

As early as the Tang Dynasty (617-907AD), the Tujia were recognised as an independent ethnic group. Those living in Tujia areas would have come into contact with the local Chinese dialect spoken in the southwestern parts of China at the time. However, the exact nature of this southwestern dialect, including its phonological system, is not known, so it is often difficult to determine whether certain words in the Tujia lexicon are ancient loans - this is especially so for monosyllabic words. However, there are a few examples of bisyllabic words which are likely to be ancient Chinese loans (see Table 3.33). Reading, writing, and the making of bean curd would have been introduced into Tujia areas during the Tang Dynasty.

Table 3.33 Examples of ancient Chinese loans in Tujia

ci ¹ ci ¹	writing	die ¹ hi ¹	bean curd
ci ¹ tu ¹	to read, study		

3.5.2 Methods of borrowing

Full loans

Many Chinese words are borrowed in their entirety. These include words in almost all lexical categories, as shown in Table 3.34.

Table 3.34 Examples of full loans in Tujia

Nouns			
be ² cai ¹	cabbage	be ² bian ¹	north
hui ³ liao ²	fertiliser	bian ¹ dang ³	shoulder pole
mian ³ hua ³	cotton	cun ¹ tian ¹	spring
zuo ² zi ¹	table	pi ³ hai ³	leather shoes
Verbs			
bi ⁴ jiao ⁴	compare	hui ³ xing ³	reply to a letter
kai ¹ huan ²	open up	lian ³ kuai ²	be cool
liu ³ qing ³	show mercy	nian ³ qing ¹	be young
qi ² kui ¹	suffer loss	tui ² xiu ¹	retire
Adverbials			
da ² kai ¹	about	ca ¹ bu ¹ duo ¹	almost
gai ¹ sang ¹	on the street	dao ² cu ¹	everywhere
gang ⁴ kuai ²	quickly	ge ² wai ¹	especially
zui ² hao ⁴	best	zi ¹ hou ²	afterwards
Conjunctions			
dang ² si ²	but	ru ³ guo ⁴	if
huo ³ ze ⁴	or	sui ¹ rang ³	although
ying ¹ wei ³	because	suo ⁴ yi ⁴	therefore

Reversal of word order

When Chinese verb-noun compounds are borrowed, the order of the constituents is reversed to conform to Tujia word order, thus creating a verb-final compound. This is shown in Table 3.35.

Table 3.35 Examples of word order reversal in Chinese loans

cang ³ gang ⁴	go to market	(market — go)
guo ¹ cang ²	sing	(song — sing)
hui ² kai ¹	have a meeting	(meeting — convene)
ma ⁴ ji ⁴	ride a horse	(horse — ride)
wu ⁴ tiao ²	dance	(dance — jump)

Part loans

Apart from full loans, there are also many part loans in the Tujia lexicon. The resulting compounds combine native Tujia terms with Chinese loans, as shown in Table 3.36.

Table 3.36 Examples of part loans in Tujia

Native Tujia word	Chinese loan	Tujia-Chinese compound
he ³ drum	luo ² gong	he ³ luo ² <i>drums and gongs</i>
la ⁴ road	xiu ¹ build	la ⁴ xiu ¹ <i>build roads</i>
li ² tiger	jing ¹ demon	li ² jing ¹ <i>tiger demon</i>
me ² sky	la ² bian ¹ that side	me ² la ² bian ¹ <i>distant horizon</i>
ruo ¹ ci ¹ earth god	pu ³ sa ³ Bodhisattva	ruo ¹ ci ¹ pu ³ sa ³ <i>earth god</i>
sa ² qi ¹ hair	bian ¹ zi ¹ braid	sa ² qi ¹ bian ¹ zi ¹ <i>hair braid</i>
xie ⁴ iron	jian ² craftsman	xie ⁴ jian ² <i>ironsmith</i>
Chinese loan	Native Tujia word	Chinese-Tujia compound
di ² order, rank	suo ¹ three	di ² suo ¹ <i>the third</i>
ku ¹ dang ¹ gall bladder	ce ³ water	ku ¹ dang ¹ ce ³ <i>bile</i>
lai ² huan ³ lai ² huan ³ carefully	hhi ² go	lai ² huan ³ lai ² huan ³ hhi ² <i>take care (idiomatic expression)</i>
qiong ³ poor	ma ¹ person who is ...	qiong ³ ma ¹ <i>poor person</i>
sa ² fir	ka ³ mong ³ tree	sa ² ka ³ mong ³ <i>China fir</i>
si ² zi ¹ persimmon	bu ² li ¹ fruit	si ² zi ¹ bu ² li ¹ <i>persimmon</i>
tong ³ tung	se ³ si ² oil	tong ³ se ³ si ² <i>tung oil</i>
ze ³ reng ² responsibility	se ³ ke ¹ field	ze ³ reng ² se ³ ke ¹ <i>"responsibility" field</i>

Incorporation into idiomatic expressions

In some cases, Chinese loan words may be incorporated into native Tujia expressions. For example:

- The Tujia expression la¹nie¹la¹nie¹ means "day after day" (*lit.* one-day-one-day). The modern expression la¹si³la¹nie¹ is a modified version of the Tujia idiom which incorporates the Chinese loan word si³ ("time") and which means "every moment of every day" (*i.e.* constantly).
- There is an intensifying Tujia expression with the structure V-di²-V-ga², for example: re⁴di³re⁴ga² "to be very pretty" and ri³di²ri³ga² "to be very many". The expression ji²di¹ji²ga² incorporates the Chinese loan word ji² ("be anxious") and means "to be very anxious".

In this grammar, most examples that are used to illustrate points of Tujia grammar will consist mainly of native Tujia words. However, Chinese loans have already become an integral part of normal everyday conversation in areas where Tujia is still spoken, so that it is not always possible to avoid them. In the website comprising the text corpus that we collected and transcribed, Chinese loans are indicated in italics.

4 Lexical Categories

Tujia, like other Tibeto-Burman languages, is an analytic or isolating language, with syntactic relationships being expressed mainly through word order and a wide range of grammatical particles. Tujia has three major lexical categories: nouns, verbs, and particles. Minor categories include numerals, classifiers, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. Pronouns are considered subclasses of nouns, and adjectival functions are undertaken by a subclass of verbs. Although particles cannot occur alone in a phrase, they are considered to be separate words and not inflectional endings. They are bound morphemes with many different grammatical functions and are very important clausal constituents.

The main features of the eight lexical categories in Tujia will first be described in this chapter, with selected examples of their use in clauses. A more detailed discussion of their functions within the clause, along with further illustrative examples, will be found in Chapters 5 to 7, which deal with clause structure, the noun phrase, and the verb phrase. As is the case with all languages, the boundaries between different lexical categories are not always exact, with a certain degree of overlap. However, this classification into three major and five minor lexical categories appears to work well for describing Tujia.

4.1 Nouns

4.1.1 Types of nouns

Nouns are words that refer to persons, places, or objects. They can be divided into **proper** nouns, *i.e.* names, and **common** nouns. The majority of proper nouns in the text corpus are Chinese loans for names of people and places, although there are some native Tujia proper nouns, as in the names of the legendary "Eight Kings" (Table 4.1). These traditional names appear to vary in syllable number and the narrator was not able to tell us their meanings.

Table 4.1 Some native Tujia names

ngao ³ ce ³ huo ³ se ⁴	xi ¹ ti ¹ lao ⁴
xi ¹ a ¹ lao ⁴	li ¹ du ¹
su ¹ du ¹	la ¹ wu ¹ mi ¹
long ¹ ci ¹ ye ¹ suo ¹ ye ¹ cong ¹	jie ² ye ¹ hui ¹ ye ¹ la ¹ hui ¹ lie ¹ ye ¹

Common nouns account for the rest of the nouns. Most of the nouns in Tujia are **concrete** nouns which refer to material objects, as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Examples of common nouns

a ³ ba ³	stone	eng ² qi ¹	nose	kuai ¹ qi ¹ la ¹	earthworm
a ³ tu ³	cave	kuo ¹ ba ¹	head	li ²	tiger
lu ¹ ga ¹	bone	su ³ su ³	moon	wo ³ sa ³	backbasket
wu ¹ suo ¹	millet	yi ² la ¹	tongue	ze ⁴ ga ³	squirrel

Tujia does not have **abstract** nouns, *i.e.* nouns such as "peace", "hope", "joy".

Two other main groups of nouns are **temporal** and **locative** nouns. **Temporal** nouns may also function as adverbs, as described in Section 4.6.2. As shown in Table 4.3, Tujia has very specific and commonly used terms for up to three days or years before and after the current day or year. Many are clearly compounds but most of the exact meanings of the individual morphemes are no longer known by present-day speakers. Others are more general terms for periods of time.

Table 4.3 Examples of temporal nouns

gi ² da ¹ nie ³	three days ago	dian ¹ dong ¹ ji ³	three years ago
gi ² ni ¹	day before yesterday	dian ¹ dong ¹ bai ¹	year before last
pu ³ ni ³	yesterday	long ¹ dong ¹ bai ¹	last year
lai ⁴	today	long ³ bai ³	this year
lao ² zi ¹	tomorrow	la ³ kuo ³	next year
mi ² nie ⁴	day after tomorrow	mi ² kuo ¹	year after next
mi ² da ¹ nie ³	three days hence	mi ² da ¹ kuo ³	three years hence
la ³ tie ²	tonight	qie ² long ¹	a long time
pai ¹ lang ³	last night	di ¹ ga ³	many years ago
lao ² zi ¹ pai ⁴	tomorrow night		
mi ² nie ¹ pai ⁴	night of the day after tomorrow		

Locative nouns follow the noun that is the point of reference. Examples of their use as part of the noun phrase can be found in Section 6.5.1. Of the locative nouns listed here, zi¹gi¹, ta¹nie¹, and ba³ti³ can also function as temporal adverbs. For examples of such usage, see Section 4.6.2. Locative nouns are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Examples of locative nouns

ga ³ ha ²	top	zi ¹ gi ¹	front	wo ² tu ¹	inside
luo ² liu ¹	middle	ba ³ ti ³	below	ta ¹ nie ¹	back
wo ⁴ ta ³	outside				

There is no case, agreement, or grammatical gender in Tujia nouns.

4.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns are considered to be a subclass of nouns, as they can replace a noun phrase that has already been or is about to be mentioned in the clause. Tujia pronouns do not have gender or inclusive-exclusive distinctions, nor are there pronouns for distinctions of politeness, for establishing relative rank, or for indicating social status. They are a closed class.

Tujia **personal pronouns** are listed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Tujia personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	nga ²	ang ² ni ¹ (ang ²)
2nd	ni ²	se ²
3rd	guo ²	ge ¹ ze ¹ (ge ¹)

Note: The bracketed pronouns are abbreviated forms often used in everyday speech.

Reflexive pronouns are formed from personal pronouns by combining them with duo³, as shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Reflexive pronouns

Person	Singular		Plural	
1st	nga ² duo ³	I myself	ang ² duo ³	we ourselves
2nd	ni ² duo ³	you yourself	se ² duo ³	you yourselves
3rd	guo ² duo ³	he/she him/herself	ge ¹ duo ³	they themselves

Note: In forming the reflexive forms, the second syllables of the first and third person plural pronouns are always deleted, *i.e.* “we ourselves” is ang²duo³ and never ang²ni¹duo³, and “they themselves” is always ge¹duo³ and never ge¹ze¹duo³.

The duo³ that is used to form the reflexive pronouns listed above is likely to be derived from the Chinese adverb *dou*¹ “all”, which is used for emphasis. Thus, it is also used to express concepts that are usually represented by **indefinite pronouns**, but which do not exist as a separate category in Tujia (see below).

The two Tujia **demonstrative pronouns** are both singular and plural (Table 4.7). They can function either as determiners or pronouns within a noun phrase. Examples of their use in clauses can be found in Section 6.2.

Table 4.7 Demonstrative pronouns

Proximal	ge ³ di ¹	this, these
Distal	ai ¹ di ¹	that, those

Interrogative pronouns in Tujia are shown in Table 4.8. These pronouns replace noun phrases in interrogative clauses. Their use in such clauses is discussed in detail in Section 5.6.1.

Table 4.8 Interrogative pronouns

a ⁴ se ³	who, which
qie ⁴ xi ³ (qie ⁴)	what
kei ³ du ¹ (kei ³)	where
kei ² jiu ¹	when
gai ¹ , ga ⁴	how many
qing ³ mo ¹	why, how (in terms of how to do something)
qi ² du ¹	what date (in the lunar calendar)

Although **indefinite pronouns** do not exist, the particle duo³ can be used with interrogative pronouns to indicate “whatever”, “whoever”, “anyone”, and “anything”. The use of duo³ in such contexts is associated with emphasis of the noun which it modifies. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) ni² qie⁴ duo³ ga² ca²
2sg what all eat want

You want to eat anything. (implying that the hearer is greedy)

- (2) a⁴se³ duo³ ri¹ de¹xi³
who all do can

Anyone can do it.

- (3) ni² kei² duo³ hhi² de¹xi³
2sg where all go can

You can go anywhere.

The **quantitative pronouns** hu²ni¹, yi²si¹, and jing²ki¹ are used in Tujia to indicate “all” or “everybody”. In most cases, they are used together with the head nouns or personal pronouns that are being qualified. However, they can also be used alone.

• *used with personal pronouns*

Note that hu²ni¹ is used with people only; yi²si¹ can be used with things, animals, and people; and jing²ki¹ is used for inanimate objects.

- (4) ge¹ze¹ hu²ni¹ eng³zou²
3pl all come

They have all come.

- (5) nga² ge¹ze¹ hu²ni¹ ha³ liao¹
1sg them all hit CRS

I hit all of them.

- (6) ang²ni¹ yi²si¹ zi³ ga² la¹
1pl all rice eat IMPF

We are all eating rice.

- (7) wu² yi²si¹ eng³zou²
cattle all come

The cattle have all come.

- (8) nga² guo² ye³ jing²ki¹ lu³ liao¹
1sg 3sg things all sell CRS

I sold all the things.

• *used alone*

- (9) yi²si¹ eng³qie²
all come

Come, all of you!

- (10) mu²la¹ hu²ni¹ nie¹ cai² ka¹
now all day good live

Now all of us lead good lives.

- (11) jing²ki¹ ri¹ liao¹
all do CRS

All [that's necessary] has been done.

- (12) ye³hhe²ma¹ guo² jing²ki¹ hhe² ji² lu³
thieves 3sg all steal TEL DIR

The thieves stole everything.

4.2 Verbs

Verbs are words which describe events, actions, states, processes, and experiences. In Tujia, verbs form the nuclei of verb phrases, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 7. A number of verb particles are used with the verb to indicate concepts such as directionality, aspect, modality, and negation. These are also described in Chapter 7. Tujia verbs do not show case or agreement.

Tujia verbs may be divided into two main groups: **stative** and **activity** verbs. The former are essentially *adjectival* in function. The latter group may occur without an object (intransitive), with one direct object (transitive), or with both a direct and an indirect object (ditransitive). In addition, the copula verb “to be” and the existential verb “to have” are considered in some detail below in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Stative verbs

Stative verbs are verbs indicating states of being, such as ge⁴ “to fear, be afraid”, di² “be in pain, be ill”, gi³ “to be warm”, and ga³ “to be dry”. These verbs may be considered as being essentially *adjectival* in function. Table 4.9 lists some of the more commonly used stative verbs.

Table 4.9 Examples of stative verbs

ci ⁴	to be big	re ⁴	to be beautiful
suan ⁴	to be small	xi ⁴	to be sharp
hhe ³	to be long	gi ³	to be warm
zong ⁴	to be short	sa ⁴	to be cold
ca ²	to be good	ga ³	to be dry
suo ² li ¹	to be clean	hhe ¹ se ¹	to be dirty

Within a clause, stative verbs may function either *predicatively* or *attributively*. In order to function attributively, they require the addition of a nominalising particle. The use of stative verbs in clauses is described in detail in Chapter 7; the use of nominalising particles is discussed in Chapter 8. Stative verbs may be modified by different verb particles, which are described in detail in Section 7.2. Morphological modifications of stative verbs to indicate increased degree and intensity include reduplication and the use of special particles, which has been described in Section 3.4. Superlative degree requires the use of two verb particles and is discussed in Section 8.3.3.

All colour terms in Tujia function as stative verbs and are used with verb particles within a clause. There are relatively few colour terms in Tujia. Examples are given in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Examples of colour terms

a ³ hong ¹ cai ¹	to be light yellow
a ³ si ³	to be white
lang ² ga ¹	to be black
mian ¹ jie ¹	to be red
wan ³ ga ¹ la ¹	to be yellow
xing ² ga ¹	to be green

4.2.2 Activity verbs

Activity verbs indicate the performance of actions. Table 4.11 shows a selection of such verbs:

Table 4.11 Examples of activity verbs

a ³	to take a wife	si ¹ ma ³	to forget
ga ²	to eat	tie ²	to pick, pluck
ka ⁴	to guard	wo ⁴	to carry on the back
li ³	to say, speak	xi ⁴ ca ³	to run
nie ⁴	to smile	ye ⁴	to arrive
pu ²	to hoe	za ²	to wash

As many of these verbs may occur with or without an object depending on the clausal context, it is not appropriate to assign them rigidly to specific groups. The use of these verbs in **intransitive**, **transitive**, and **ditransitive** verb phrases, depending on whether and how many objects are present, is discussed in detail in Section 7.1.

Activity verbs can take many different verb particles. These are also discussed in detail in Section 7.2.

4.2.3 Copula

In general, a copula is not used, as in the following examples:

- (13) ge¹ze¹ be²ka³
3pl Miao

They are Miao.

- (14) guo² nga² nie³ biu²
3sg 1sg ASSOC daughter

She is my daughter.

There is, however, a copula sou² “to be”, which is usually used for saying “yes” in response to questions. However, it is also being used increasingly in Tujia-speaking areas even though it is grammatically superfluous. Thus, the following examples now resemble copula sentences in Chinese:

- (15) guo² mie²jian¹ sou²
3sg bamboo craftsman to be

He is a bamboo craftsman.

- (16) ni² luo⁴ ci¹ba¹ sou²
3sg person big one to be

You are a big chap.

Negative copular sentences require either sou³da² (= sou²da², with da² being a negating verb particle) or the Chinese loan bu²si¹.

- (17) nga² tian³ jia³ka³ bu²si¹/sou³da²
1sg Tian surname to be not

My surname is not Tian.

The Chinese loan, bu²si¹, is now used more frequently than sou³da². However, the latter is still preferred by elderly speakers. Note that in a negative clause like the above, using da² alone is unacceptable, and the copula sou³ must be used together with the negating suffix.

4.2.4 The existential verb

Apart from indicating possession, the Tujia verb xie² (“to have”) is also an **existential verb**. This verb also has several different forms, as shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Forms of the Tujia existential verb

xie ²	to have
xiao ²	to have now
tai ²	to not have
tao ²	to not have now

Note:

The forms xiao² and tao² are compounds: xie² + gu² and tao² + gu², with gu² being the *present relevance* verb particle (“now”). Phonologically, these forms have coalesced to give the final monosyllabic forms. Coalescence due to combination with gu² is also found in a number of verb particles (see Section 2.4.4).

Existential clauses are used to signal the existence of the referent of a noun phrase at a certain location. The use of these different forms is illustrated in the following examples:

> xie²

- (18) guo² luo⁴bi³ nie² la¹hu³ xie²
3sg son two CL to have

He has two sons.

- (19) ni² ci¹pu¹ xie² ma
2sg book(s) have INT

Do you have any books?

- (20) nie²pong¹ ga³ha² si¹lang¹ la² pi¹ xie²
bed top blanket one CL have

There is a blanket on the bed.

- (21) mi⁴tang³ wo²tu¹ xie⁴ca¹ xie²
fireplace inside tripod have

The tripod is in the fireplace.

> xiao²

The form xiao² is used when the speaker wants to refer to something which he did not have in the past, but which he does possess now. It is used in a similar way in existential clauses.

- (22) nga² se³ke¹ pe²ti¹ xiao²
1sg fields land have now

I own (fields and) land now.

- (23) lai⁴ ni² ci¹pu¹ xiao² ma
today 2sg book(s) have now INT

Do you have any books today?

- (24) ge³di¹ si²ge¹tie¹ wo²tu¹ wu² ga⁴ long³ xiao²
this field inside cows some CL have now

There are some cows in this field now.

- (25) cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ ra³ xiao²
house inside chickens have now

There are chickens in the house now.

➤ **tai²**

This is the negative form of xie², as shown in the following examples:

- (26) ge¹ze¹ wu²ni³ga³ tai²
 they cows not have

They do not have any cows.

- (27) cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ ka³ tai²
 house inside firewood not have

There is no firewood in the house.

- (28) ai¹di¹ biu² ku¹za⁴ ga³ha² tai²
 that girl hills top not have

The girl is not on the hills.

➤ **tao²**

This is the negative form of xiao², as shown in the following examples:

- (29) gao²cai³ li² tao²
 here tiger not have now

There are no tigers here now.

- (30) cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ ka³ tao²
 house inside firewood not have now

There is no firewood in the house now.

4.3 Particles

Tujia has a large number of particles. Although particles cannot occur alone in a phrase, they are considered to be separate words for the purposes of this grammar. Particles are morphemes with abstract grammatical functions and may be divided into several types. Table 4.13 shows the different types of particles in Tujia.

Table 4.13 Types of particles in Tujia

Noun particles	only follow nouns, e.g. indirect object marker bo ³
Quantifying particles	occur in classifier phrases, e.g. zai ²
Verb particles	only follow verbs, e.g. directional marker xie ²
Nominalising particles	usually follow verbs but may also follow phrases, e.g. xi ²
Adverbial particle	marks the end of an adverbial phrase: mo ³
Associative particle	links words or phrases: nie ³
Subordinating particle	marks a subordinate background action: zu ²
Pause particles	separate the topic from the comment in a sentence: me, le
Sentential particles	occur in the sentence-final position; include exclamatory and interrogative particles, e.g. heng, hong

4.3.1 Noun particles

Particles which can only follow nouns are shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14 Noun particles

Noun particle	Grammatical function
bo ³	indirect object marker (IO)
lie ¹	source marker (SRC)
bo ¹	goal marker (GOAL)

The following examples show their use in clauses. A detailed discussion of their use and further example sentences can be found in Section 6.6.

- (31) nga² ni² bo³ zi³ luo² la¹
 1sg 2sg IO rice cook IMPF

I am cooking a meal for you.

- (32) nga² ying¹seng³ lie¹ eng³zi³
 1sg Yongshun SRC come

I come from Yongshun.

- (33) guo² kang³ku¹ bo¹ hhi²
 3sg the mountains GOAL go

He is going up into the mountains.

4.3.2 Quantifying particles

In Tujia, there are four quantifying particles which are used in classifier phrases to express different quantities. These particles indicate approximate amounts, a quantity more than the amount specified, and inclusivity ("every"). They are listed in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 Quantifying particles

Quantifying particle	Used to indicate
zai ²	approximate amounts
ba ¹	approximate amounts, occurs only with Chinese loans
ta ² ci ¹	a quantity exceeding the amount specified ("plus")
he ¹ he ¹	inclusivity ("every", "each one")

A detailed discussion of their use within the noun phrase and example sentences can be found in Section 6.4.4.

4.3.3 Verb particles

This comprises the largest group of particles in Tujia. They can only occur after verbs and have a wide range of grammatical functions. They can be divided into several groups, as shown in Table 4.16. A detailed discussion of all these particles, their functions, and the order in which they appear after the verb, can be found in Section 7.2.

Table 4.16 Verb particles

Grammatical function	Verb particles
<i>Aspectual</i>	si ¹ , duo ^{3*} , ji ² , bo ³ , la ¹ , lie ¹
<i>Directional</i>	xie ² , lie ¹ , lu ³ , di ²
<i>Irrealis</i>	i
<i>Modal</i>	bie ¹ , pie ¹ , ce ¹ /hi ¹ ce ¹ , ca ² , de ¹ xi ³ /ta ¹ ti ¹ , duo ³ /ta ¹ duo ³ , hhe ¹ /ci ¹ hhe ¹ , ce ¹ /ta ¹ ce ¹
<i>Negation</i>	ta ¹ , da ²
<i>Relevance</i>	nie ² , gu ² , hu ³

* This duo³ is a Chinese loan and is distinct from the modal particle duo³.

Some of the above particles (lie¹, di², ta¹, da²) combine with the particle gu² to form the compound particles liao¹, diu², tao¹, and dao². The use of these compound forms are also discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

4.3.4 Nominalising particles

Tujia has three nominalising particles, two which are specific: the **agentive nominaliser** ma¹ and the **locative nominaliser** zuo³. There is also a **general nominaliser** xi². The use of these particles is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

4.3.5 The adverbial particle

The **adverbial** particle mo³ indicates the end of an adverbial phrase, which may consist either of a single word or a whole phrase. The use of this particle in different sentence types is discussed in Section 4.6.3 and also in Section 9.3.2.

4.3.6 The associative particle

The associative particle nie³ is ubiquitous in Tujia. It combines with words or phrases to form an **associative phrase** which precedes the head noun that is being modified. The precise meaning of the connection between the head noun and the associative phrase is determined entirely by the semantics of the specific nouns and phrases involved. This particle is often used in **possessive constructions**. Associative phrases are described in detail in Section 6.3.

4.3.7 The subordinating particle

The subordinating particle, zu², is used to indicate a subordinate background action that is happening at the same time as the action in the main clause. Its use is described in Section 9.2.

4.3.8 Pause particles

The pause particles me and le are used to separate the topic from the comment of a sentence. Their use is optional. They are described in detail in Chapter 5.

4.3.9 Sentential particles

These particles occur in the sentence-final position and operate on whole sentences. They do not carry any particular tone and are all optional. Their use appears somewhat idiosyncratic as some speakers rarely use such particles in daily conversations while they abound in the speech of others. There are many phonological variants. Sentential particles may be divided into several subclasses as shown in Table 4.17, although these may overlap.

Table 4.17 Sentential particles

Subclass	Sentential particles
<i>Declarative</i>	heng
<i>Deductive</i>	hong
<i>Interrogative</i>	la, a (wa, ya), o (yo)
<i>Interjectory</i>	ma, huo, la, a (wa, ya), o (yo)

The use of these particles is described in Section 5.3.4.

4.4 Numerals

There are only **cardinal** numbers in the Tujia lexicon, as all **ordinal** numbers are expressed using Chinese loans. Numbers such as “zero”, “ten thousand”, and “a hundred million” are also loans.

4.4.1 Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers are shown in Table 4.18. The term ta¹ for “hundred” does not seem to have been used for a few decades, as even elderly Tujia do not remember it. Words marked with asterisks are Chinese loans.

Table 4.18 Cardinal numbers

la ²	one	wo ³	six
nie ¹	two	nie ³	seven
suo ¹	three	ye ³	eight
re ¹	four	ge ¹	nine
ong ¹	five	hi ²	ten
ta ¹ /be ^{2*}	hundred	hi ² ta ¹ /qian ^{1*}	thousand
wuan ^{1*}	ten thousand	yi ^{2*}	a hundred million
leng ^{3*}	zero	la ¹ za ¹ /bang ^{1*}	half
ga ⁴	a few (<10)		

The Chinese loan *zao*² (from the Chinese word for “million”) is also used in Tujia to indicate an uncountable quantity. This numeral must be preceded by the number “one” in the Chinese loan form *yi*², as in the following example:

- (34) me² ga³ha² nie³ xi⁴bu²li¹ yi² zao² xie²
 sky on ASSOC stars one large number have

There are countless stars in the sky.

The numbers “ten” and “hundred” must be preceded by *la*² before combining with another numeral and classifier:

- (35) la² hi² nie¹ hu³
 one ten two CL

twelve items

- (36) la² hi² ong¹ qi¹
 one ten five catty

fifteen catties

In many areas today, the cardinal numbers “seven” and above are almost invariably represented by Chinese loans, as shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19 Chinese loans for numbers “seven” and above

qi ²	seven	ba ²	eight	jiu ¹	nine	si ³	ten
si ² yi ¹	eleven	si ³ e ²	twelve	e ² si ³	twenty		

4.4.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinals are Chinese loans, as shown in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20 Chinese loans for ordinal numbers

di ² yi ²	first	di ² e ²	second	di ² sang ¹	third
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When indicating seniority within the family, however, the above loan words are not used. Instead, the Tujia terms *ci*¹*ba*¹ “big one” and *bi*²*kui*¹ “small one” are used after the kinship terms (Table 4.21). These are both terms of address and of reference.

Table 4.21 Kinship terms

a ² da ¹ ci ¹ ba ¹	eldest sister	a ¹ mi ¹ bi ² kui ¹	youngest sister
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4.4.3 Approximations

Approximations are expressed by juxtaposing two cardinal numbers, as in:

- (37) nie¹ bu² suo¹ bu²
 two CL three CL

two or three

- (38) ong¹ bu² wo³ bu²
 five CL six CL

five or six

When using juxtaposed cardinals to express approximate numbers of persons, the first classifier can be omitted, as in:

- (39) nie¹ suo¹ la¹hu³
 two three CL

two or three people

- (40) ong¹ wo³ la¹hu³
 five six CL

five or six people

Approximate amounts can also be expressed in Tujia by using the particle *zai*² or *ba*¹ after the numeral-classifier phrase. The use of these *quantitative modifiers* is described in more detail in Section 6.4.4.

4.4.4 Fractions

The word *ti*¹*ke*¹ meaning “part” is used after cardinal numbers in the following ways to indicate fractions.

- (41) suo¹ ti¹ke¹ wo²tu¹ nie³ la² ti¹ke¹
 three part inside ASSOC one part

one-third

- (42) ong¹ ti¹ke¹ wo²tu¹ nie³ nie¹ ti¹ke¹
 five part inside ASSOC two part

two-fifths

The word *ti*¹*ke*¹ essentially functions as a classifier within a noun phrase, as in the following examples:

- (43) si³ ong¹ ti¹ke¹ pi³ bo³
 meat five part divide STAT

Divide the meat into five parts.

- (44) a³ba³ ga⁴ ti¹ke¹ huo³ xie²
 stone a few part bring DIR

Bring the pieces of stone here.

The word ti^1ke^1 is also found in the compound nouns shown in Table 4.22, where the concept of "part" is evident:

Table 4.22 Compound nouns with ti^1ke^1

pe^2	ti^1ke^1	jie^2	ti^1ke^1
arm	part	hand	part
<i>shoulder</i>		<i>fist</i>	

4.4.5 Multiples

To express multiples, ti^1kuo^1 is used, as in the following examples:

- (45) guo^2 ni^2 nie^3 suo^1 ti^1kuo^1 ri^1
 3sg 2sg ASSOC three times do, work

He works three times as much as you.

- (46) guo^2 ni^2 nie^3 nie^1 ti^1kuo^1 xie^2
 3sg 2sg ASSOC two times have

He is twice your size.

- (47) guo^2 nie^3 ye^3 ni^2 nie^3 suo^1 ti^1kuo^1 xie^2
 3sg ASSOC rice 2sg ASSOC three times have

He has three times as much rice as you have.

4.5 Classifiers

A classifier is a word which must occur with a number to form a numeral-classifier phrase that is used within a noun phrase. Tujia is very rich in classifiers, which are almost all monosyllabic morphemes. The choice of classifier is determined by the noun. Objects with similar characteristics are often used with the same classifier, such as hhi^1 , which is used for thin, flat objects such as sheets of paper, leaves, and flags. However, some classifiers may be used with a wide variety of different objects, such as bu^2 or ci^3 .

A numeral is almost invariably followed by a classifier, apart from counting and doing arithmetic, when they may occur alone. Even in counting, the classifier bu^2 is often used as well. All Tujia classifiers exhibit sandhi when used with a numeral. Sandhi rules governing classifiers when they are used with numerals are discussed in Section 2.4.

4.5.1 Specific classifiers

Most Tujia classifiers fall into this group. Specific classifiers are used for nouns which belong to a particular semantic category or which have particular shapes or special characteristics. Table 4.23 shows a list of such classifiers and the types of objects with which they are associated.

Table 4.23 Tujia classifiers

Classifier	Associated objects
bu^2	compact round items, such as eggs, stones, millet, firecrackers
ca^1	boats, tripods, pestle and mortar
ci^3	limbs, rice-cakes, buckets
da^2	trays, hats, bowl-shaped objects
$dong^{2*}$	holes, mouthfuls
ha^2	winnowing baskets
hu^3	people
hhi^{1*}	thin, flat things, such as sheets of paper, leaves, flags
ke^{3*}	field, bean curd
$long^3$	animals, fish, plants, logs, jars
ma^1	household
mi^3	segment (of fruit)
$mong^{1*}$	trees
$mong^2$	meals
pa^1	fires and objects grasped in the hand such as knives or flutes
pao^1	crowd
pe^{3*}	ear of grain
pi^1	clothes, blankets
$pong^2$	small plants
pu^{1*}	books
$rong^{1*}$	large backbaskets
ru^1	pair
su^1	bowful
suo^2	mortars
ta^1	ladleful
ti^3	bundles
wo^{3*}	backload
xi^1	bricks, money, planks, tiles
za^1	half
ze^2	mouthful, sentence
zi^2	long thin objects such as roads, sticks, guns, bamboo, candles

* These classifiers are derived from other Tujia words. They are obtained by using one syllable of a bisyllabic noun, with tone and rhyme modifications in some cases. These classifiers are shown with their corresponding nouns in Table 4.24.

4.5.2 Noun classifiers

A number of nouns can also function as classifiers, as shown in Table 4.25. In these cases, the noun does not need to take a classifier in a noun phrase.

Table 4.24 Examples of Tujia classifiers derived from nouns

Classifier	Noun	
dong ²	dong ³ ga ²	cave, hole
hhi ¹	hhe ¹ ta ¹	leaf
ke ³	se ³ ke ¹	field
mong ¹	ka ³ mong ³	tree
pe ³	a ¹ pe ³	ear of grain
pu ¹	ci ¹ pu ¹	book
rong ¹	rong ¹ ti ¹	large backbasket
wo ³	wo ³ sa ³	backbasket

Table 4.25 Noun classifiers

cuo ¹	house, building
ji ^{3*}	step
tong ⁴	nest, lair, spider's web
ye ³	item, object

*Note: The noun ji³ means "foot".

4.5.3 Measure classifiers

When a noun itself denotes a weight or a measurement, it can also function as a classifier. Measure classifiers that are native to Tujia are shown in Table 4.26. Table 4.27 lists measure words which are Chinese loans.

Table 4.26 Native Tujia measure words

po ²	10 litres (dry measure)
si ³	litre (dry measure)
qi ¹	catty (0.5 kg)
zi ¹	tael (0.05 kg)

Table 4.27 Chinese loan measure words

cun ²	unit of length (0.033 m)
ci ²	unit of length (0.33 m)
qia ³	handspan
pai ¹	double armspan
mu ¹	unit of area (0.067 hectares)
pi ⁴	bolt (cloth)

4.5.4 Time classifiers

Classifiers denoting periods of time can also occur without a head noun in a noun phrase (Table 4.28).

Table 4.28 Time classifiers

nie ¹	day
pe ¹	night
si ¹	month
long ¹	year

Other time classifiers denote more indefinite periods of time, and are used as units of measurement for actions or events. These are shown in Table 4.29. When such time classifiers are used with a numeral, the resulting numeral-classifier phrase then functions as an adverbial phrase which precedes the verb in the verb phrase. Examples of their use are given in Section 4.6.2.

Table 4.29 Indefinite time classifiers

dong ²	a fleeting action
qie ²	occasion, time
xie ¹	a while, short period of time

4.6 Adverbs

Adverbs are words which modify verbs. Their position in the clause is variable depending on their function. Tujia adverbs form a diverse category and include adverbs of place, time, and manner. There is also a very commonly used adverb of emphasis which appears to be a Chinese loan.

4.6.1 Locative adverbs

Tujia locative adverbs are shown in Table 4.30.

Table 4.30 Locative adverbs

gao ² cai ³	here
ao ¹ cai ³	there
eng ¹ ge ¹	over there, yonder
ke ³ du ¹	everywhere

Notes:

- There are less commonly used variants of the above terms: "here" may be rendered ge³du¹ or eng¹jie²; "there" may be rendered ao¹du¹ or ao¹jie². The term for "yonder" also has a longer form eng¹ge¹la¹bi³ which is sometimes heard, with the la¹bi³ component being a Chinese loan meaning "over there".
- In everyday conversation, the abbreviated forms gao² or ao¹ are often used.

Examples of the use of these adverbs are as follows:

- (48) gao²cai³ ta²ku¹ duo¹
here pot put

Put the pot here.

- (49) yi²si¹ ao¹cai³ ye⁴ ji² liao¹
all there arrive TEL CRS

Everything is already there.

- (50) hu²ni¹ da⁴ha³ eng¹ge¹ zu¹zu⁴ bo³ xie²
everyone together over there stand STAT DIR

Let's all stand over there together.

- (51) qie³bi² gao²cai³, pang³pang¹ ao¹cai³, bu¹zi¹ eng¹ge¹
bowls here plates there chopsticks over there

The bowls are here, the plates are there, and the chopsticks are over there.

- (52) re²su⁴ su⁴ ji², pu²ta¹ ke³du¹ ra²
wind blow TEL leaves everywhere fly

Blown by the wind, leaves fly everywhere.

Locative adverbs can also function as **nouns** and can be followed by noun particles indicating source or goal. Examples can be found in Sections 6.6.2 and 6.6.3.

4.6.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are most frequently placed in the clause-initial position, although they can also precede the verb. They provide a time frame within which the event described by the clause occurs. They can also function as **temporal nouns** and as such are listed under Section 4.1.1.

Clause-initial position:

- (53) pu³ni³ guo² si¹ba¹ za²
yesterday 3sg clothes wash

Yesterday she washed clothes.

- (54) lai⁴ nga² mi²mi¹ di³
today 1sg bamboo shoots dig

Today I am digging up bamboo shoots.

- (55) di¹ga³ qian¹ngai⁴ suo¹ la¹hu³ xie²
in the past brothers three CL have

Once upon a time there were three brothers.

- (56) la²bu¹ gu¹ce³ zu², lao²zi¹ me²ze³ hu³
salt weep SUBP tomorrow to rain FUTR

When salt weeps, it will rain tomorrow. (Tujia proverb)

Preceding the verb:

- (57) guo² lai⁴ ri¹
3sg today do

He is doing [it] today.

- (58) guo² da²bie¹ zao³
3sg first be gone

He left first.

- (59) da²bie¹ ru³ bo³, qi³nie² se² la² qie² tu¹
first listen STAT then 2pl one CL read

First listen, then read it once. (said by a teacher to her pupils)

The **locative nouns** zi¹gi¹, ta¹nie¹, and ba³ti³ can also function as **temporal adverbs**, to indicate "before", "after", and "next", as illustrated by the following examples:

- (60) ta¹nie¹ rong⁴ ang¹ngai⁴ lao⁴ xiao²
afterwards younger sister younger brother CL now have

Later, I had a younger brother and sister.

- (61) ba³ti³ xian²lao¹guan¹reng³ nie³ gu¹ lao⁴ li³
next Xianglaoguanren ASSOC story CL say

Now I am going to tell [you] the story of General Xiang.

- (62) nga² guo² zi¹gi¹ ga² pie¹
1sg 3sg before eat PRIOR

She ate before I did. (comparative constructions are discussed in Section 5.1)

When certain **time classifiers** are used with a numeral, the resulting numeral-classifier phrase then functions as an adverbial phrase which precedes the verb in the verb phrase. These phrases indicate the time period over which the action has occurred or the frequency with which an action is being performed. Examples of their use are as follows:

- (63) guo² ao¹cai³ la² xie¹ ong³ lie¹
3sg there one CL sit PERF

He sat there for a little while.

- (64) nga² guo² la² dong² ha³ lie¹
1sg 3sg one CL hit PERF

I hit him once.

- (65) guo² li² lao⁴ nie¹ qie² yi³ liao¹
3sg tiger one two CL see CRS

He has seen a tiger twice.

4.6.3 Adverbs of manner

Adverbial phrases are most commonly used in Tujia to indicate the manner in which an action is being performed, rather than isolated adverbs of manner. Such phrases always end with the particle *mo*³ and either precede the verb or the direct object if present. This particle often qualifies whole phrases within the clause rather than just a single word. The following are examples of such adverbial phrases in simple sentences with one main verb. The adverbial phrases are shown enclosed in square brackets.

The adverbial particle *mo*³ may qualify single words within the clause:

- (66) pai¹lang³ guo² [xie¹hu¹ mo³] zi³ ga²
 last night 3sg quickly ADVP rice eat
Last night he ate (rice) quickly.
- (67) pu³ni³ guo² [re²re² mo³] ba³gu³
 yesterday 3sg slowly ADVP go up the mountain
Yesterday he went slowly up the mountain.

It may also qualify short phrases, as in the following examples:

- (68) guo² [la²bie¹ la²bie¹ mo³] ga² la¹
 3sg a little a little ADVP eat IMPF
He is eating bit by bit.
- (69) nga² [la² ze² la² ze² mo³] li³ la¹
 1sg one sentence one sentence ADVP speak IMPF
I am speaking sentence by sentence.
- (70) cuo³xie² [la² ru¹ la² ru¹ mo³] si² xie²
 shoes one pair one pair ADVP send DIR
The shoes were delivered here pair by pair.
- (71) cen³po²ga¹ wang³po²ga¹ [da²bie¹ qi³nie² mo³] zao³
 Mr. Chen Mr. Wang first after ADVP be gone
Mr. Chen and Mr. Wang went out one after the other.

In a few cases where only a single morpheme combines with the particle *mo*³ to form an adverbial phrase, the resulting bisyllabic phrase has become lexicalised into a compound adverb of manner. Examples of such cases are *cai*³*mo*¹ ("well", *cai*² = "good") and *mo*¹*mo*³ (meaning "just now"):

- (72) hu²ni¹ cai³mo¹ ru³ bo³
 everyone well listen STAT
Listen carefully, everyone.

- (73) nga² mo¹mo³ eng³zi³
 1sg just come

I have just come.

The particle *mo*³ can also be used in sentences containing two separate verbs. Its use in such contexts is discussed in Section 9.3.3.

The adverb *da*⁴*ha*³ ("together, altogether"), however, is used on its own to indicate the simultaneous performance of an action by several people. It precedes the verb or the direct object if present and may be used together with other adverbs in the same clause. In everyday conversation, the second syllable is often omitted and only the abbreviated form *da*⁴ is used.

- (74) ni² nga² da⁴ha³ ka³ wo⁴ i
 2sg 1sg together firewood carry on back IRR
You and I will go and collect firewood together.
- (75) nga² ka³mong³ da⁴ha³ geng¹ke⁴
 1sg tree together fall over

The tree and I fell down together.

- (76) nga² pai¹lang³ ma³ma¹ da⁴ha³ wu⁴tiao² la¹
 1sg last night aunt together dance IMPF
I was dancing with my aunt last night.
- (77) guo² ni² da⁴ha³ ci¹tu¹
 3sg 2sg together study
He is studying together with you.

4.6.4 Adverb of emphasis

The adverb *duo*³ is used for *emphasis*, to intensify the verb it modifies. It is most likely to be a Chinese loan meaning "all" or "even". Examples of its use are as follows:

- (78) ka³ duo³ wo⁴ tao¹ song¹kuo¹ i hu³
 firewood EMPH carry NEG return IRR FUTR

[I] didn't even take the firewood and started to go home. (the narrator had just seen a tiger)

- (79) nie³ba³ la² long¹ duo³ ji³ku³ da²
 parents one year EMPH straw sandals wear

My parents wore straw sandals the whole year round. (emphasising poverty)

- (80) guo² nie³ ye³ la²bie¹ duo³ bie⁴ ta¹
 3sg ASSOC things a little EMPH throw NEG

She would not throw even a little bit of her things away. (emphasising the frugality of the narrator's grandmother)

4.7 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. In Tujia, the relationship between clauses is rarely made explicit by the use of conjunctions. Two clauses may simply be juxtaposed and the relationship between them is then determined by the context. However, in some cases, specific conjunctions are used to clarify the relationship.

Tujia conjunctions consist of one specific term used to link two noun phrases (nie¹, meaning “and”) and a few other terms which are compounds formed by combining ai¹ (the abbreviated form of ai¹di¹ “that”) with other morphemes. Chinese conjunctions are also being increasingly used in everyday speech.

4.7.1 Phrasal conjunction

The conjunction nie¹ (“and”) is used to link two noun phrases. It is not used for connecting clauses. It is distinct from the associative particle nie³.

Examples of its use are as follows:

- (81) luo⁴bi³ nie¹ biu² yi²si¹ ge³du¹
 boys and girls all here

The boys and girls are all here.

- (82) ang²ni¹ cu¹ wu² nie¹ ruo² xie²
 1pl home cattle and sheep have

We have cattle and sheep at home.

- (83) pu² nie¹ pu³ ge¹ze¹ bo³ li³:
 dragon and phoenix 3pl IO say
 "se² ta¹ ge³ci² gu²"
 2pl don't play PRESR

The dragon and phoenix said to them, "Don't play any more."

4.7.2 Clausal conjunctions

Tujia clausal conjunctions are all grammaticalised compounds of ai¹, which is the shortened form of the demonstrative pronoun ai¹di¹ “that”.

➤ ai¹lie¹

This conjunction represents the combination of ai¹ with the perfective aspectual particle lie¹. The resulting compound therefore means “that done”, i.e. “after that” or “then”, as in the following examples:

- (84) ni² xie⁴ lie¹, ai¹lie¹ ni² tian³ge³
 2sg peel PERF then 2sg reed
 ca³bi¹ce³ ci⁴ duo³
 saliva moisten have to

After you have peeled [it], you then have to moisten the reed with saliva. (in a procedural text explaining how to make a traditional Tujia musical instrument, the dongdongkui flute)

- (85) re² suo¹ ze² hu³ lie¹,
 wine three mouthfuls drink PERF
 ai¹lie¹ nie² bo³ hu³
 then sleep STAT FUTR

After having drunk three mouthfuls of wine, I get ready to go to sleep.

- (86) wo¹ lie¹ you² tong⁴, ai¹lie¹ la² pe¹ bu⁴
 wash PERF again steam then one night soak

After having washed [it], steam it again, and then soak [it] overnight. (in a procedural text describing how traditional tangsa crisped rice cakes are made)

➤ ai¹lie¹mo³

This is ai¹lie¹ + the adverbial particle mo³. The combination indicates a causal association between two clauses, i.e. “after this” or “therefore”. Sometimes a shorter form is used: ai¹mo³. Examples of its use to connect clauses are as follows:

- (87) guo² a³ba¹ se² liao¹, ai¹lie¹mo³ guo² eng³zi³ da²
 3sg father die CRS therefore 3sg come NEG

His father has died, so he has not come.

- (88) la³ye² liao¹, ai¹lie¹mo³ guo² cu⁴ bo¹ eng³zou²
 night CRS therefore 3sg home GOAL come

It's dark now, so he is coming home.

- (89) long³bai³ long¹ ca¹huo⁴, ai¹mo³ ye³ da⁴ liao¹
 this year year be bad therefore rice lack CRS

This year was not a good year, so there's not enough rice.

- (90) lai⁴ me²ze³ liao¹, ai¹mo³ ge¹ze¹ song¹kuo¹ da²
 today rain CRS therefore 3pl go home NEG

It's raining today, so they haven't gone home.

➤ ai¹me¹

This is ai¹ + me, the topic marker. The combination indicates “so”, “now” (= “that being the case”), and is used to indicate that the speaker is now ready to engage in a certain action. It has an imperative force, as seen in the following examples:

- (91) ca²i ai¹me¹ ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ ye³ ga² i hu³
good so, now 1pl together rice eat IRR FUTR

Good! Now we can start eating.

- (92) ba¹ba¹ bu² duo³, ai¹me¹ da⁴ha³ ba¹ba¹ bu²
ciba pound have to so, now together ciba pound

We need to pound ciba, so let's do it together now. (ciba are flat round cakes made by pounding steamed glutinous rice)

> ai¹ta¹

This conjunction consists of ai¹ + the negating verbal particle ta¹. The resulting compound therefore indicates "otherwise" (= "if that is not the case"), as in the following examples:

- (93) me²ze³ liao¹, ai¹ta¹ guo² gao² ye⁴ hu³
rain CRS if not 3sg here arrive FUTR

It's raining, otherwise he would be arriving very soon.

- (94) guo² nie²bie⁴ liao¹, ai¹ta¹ zi² i ya
3sg asleep CRS if not cry IRR EXCL

He must be asleep, if not he would be crying.

- (95) di²zu¹ nie³ qi³nie² luo⁴ da⁴ze³ da², ai¹ta¹
landlord ASSOC after person like NEG if not
nga² qing³mo¹ di²zu¹ -ka³
1sg how landlord clan, household

The descendants of a landlord are indeed different, otherwise how can I be a landlord now? (the speaker is descended from a family of landlords)

- (96) ang¹bei¹ ya, cong² ga⁴ zi² pu¹,
uncle EXCL gun some CL buy
ai¹ta¹ nga² you² ri¹ i
if not 1sg again do IRR

"Uncle, buy some guns, otherwise I will have to work again." (A tufei bandit was trying to persuade his uncle to provide him with guns, otherwise he would have to work for a living again.)

4.7.3 Chinese loans

Many Chinese conjunctions have been assimilated into the Tujia lexicon. Their functions and meanings remain unchanged. Conjunctions which are Chinese loans include ru³guo⁴ ("if"), dang²si² ("but"), huo¹ ("or"), sui¹rang³ ("although"), suo⁴yi⁴ ("therefore"), and ying¹wei³ ("because"). Selected examples of their use are given below.

- (97) ru³guo⁴ lao²zi¹ me²ze³ lie¹, nga² hi⁴ bo³ i
if tomorrow rain PERF 1sg rest STAT IRR

If it rains tomorrow, I will rest.

- (98) guo² sui¹rang³ tuan³ xie², nga² a²ci¹ da²
3sg although money have 1sg love NEG

Even though he is rich, I don't envy him.

- (99) ying¹wei³ me²ze³ liao¹, guo² cang³gang⁴ da²
because rain CRS 3sg go to market NEG

Because it rained, he didn't go to market.

- (100) suo⁴yi⁴ me³guo³ wo²tu¹ nie³ se³ ni²
therefore stomach inside ASSOC waste 2sg
a³ lie³ duo³
take DIR have to

Therefore you must take out the pith [inside the bamboo tube]. (part of a procedural text describing how to make a traditional dongdongkui flute)

In many cases, Tujia speakers may use *both* native terms and loan conjunctions side by side, so that one of the conjunctions is essentially redundant. The following are typical examples from spontaneous narratives, where ai¹lie¹ is immediately followed by the Chinese loan jiu¹, with both meaning "then":

- (101) nga² zu² liao¹, ce³ lian¹ tong¹ di¹di⁴,
1sg get up CRS water two bucket carry
ai¹lie¹ jiu¹ xie¹pong¹ la² dong² wo¹
then then (loan) pan one CL wash

After getting up, I fetch two buckets of water, then I give the cooking pot a rinse.

- (102) wo³sa³ lao³ga³ lao⁴ wo⁴, su¹ku¹ la²
backbasket big one CL carry on the back firewood knife one
pa¹ wo⁴, ai¹lie¹ jiu¹ ka³ ni¹ ya
CL carry on back then then (loan) firewood look for EXCL

[I] carry a big backbasket, take a firewood knife, and then go and look for firewood.

4.8 Interjections

Interjections are words used to express a variety of emotions. They have no fixed tones and are usually located at the beginning of a clause to indicate feelings such as surprise, shock, and praise. They characteristically occur in syntactic isolation. Commonly used Tujia interjections include the following:

- (103) me²a! ge¹ze¹ nie³ cu¹ wu² ji² liao¹
 INTJ 3pl ASSOC home burn TEL CRS

Oh dear [lit. sky]! Their home has burnt down completely!

- (104) ei¹ya¹! eng¹di¹ ga⁴ nie¹ gi³ la
 INTJ this few day be hot EXCL

Oh! These few days have been hot!

- (105) ye¹he¹! xie¹hu¹ xi⁴ca³
 INTJ quickly run

Hey! Run quickly!

- (106) woho! lao³ zu² diu² o
 INTJ sun come out DIR EXCL

Ah! The sun's come out!

5 Sentence Structure

In describing the sentence structure of Tujia, the element of "topic" must be taken into account in addition to the grammatical relations of "subject" and "object". Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages as well as Mandarin Chinese, Tujia is a topic-prominent language.

In this chapter, the notion of topic is first discussed, with examples being given to show how this concept affects the analysis of Tujia clause structure. The basic word order in Tujia and its relationship to Greenberg word order universals will also be described. The basic elements of simple sentences will then be discussed. Finally, four specific sentence types – copular, existential, imperative, and interrogative sentences – are described in detail.

5.1 Topic Prominence

The topic of a sentence may be defined as "what the sentence is about", and is always in the sentence-initial position. It is often followed by a pause in speech, which sets the topic apart from the rest of the sentence, also known as the "comment". The pause may be silent or may be signalled by specific particles, which are *me* and *le* in Tujia.

Topic differs from subject in that the latter must always have a direct semantic relationship with the verb as the one who performs the action, but this is not so for the topic. The notion of topic is crucial when analysing Tujia sentence structure.

Topic and subject may be related in different ways in Tujia sentences:

- **The topic may be identical to the subject**

In most sentences, the topic is identical to the subject, as in the following simple declarative sentences:

- (1) nga² si²ge¹tie¹ wo²tu¹ si³ka³ca³ pie⁴ la¹
 1sg field inside weed pull out IMPF

I am pulling out weeds in the field. (I = topic and subject)

- (2) ai¹ ha⁴lie³ lao⁴ cuo⁴ zi¹gi¹ zu¹zu⁴ bo³ la¹
 that dog CL house front stand STAT IMPF

That dog is standing in front of the house. (that dog = topic and subject)

- (3) nga² nie³ a³ba¹ ci¹ci¹ ha⁴tai²
 1sg ASSOC father words not know

My father is illiterate. (my father = topic and subject)

- **The topic may be different from the subject**

In the following sentences, the topic of the sentence, *i.e.* what the sentence is about, differs from the grammatical subject of the sentence.

- (4) nga² se³ke¹ pe²ti¹ me, nga² ri¹ hi¹ce¹
 1sg fields land TOP 1sg do, work not able

As for my fields and land, I cannot work [them]. (an elderly farmer discussing his lack of strength: "my fields and land" is the topic and "I" is the subject)

- (5) nga² nie³ ku³ me, se³gu³li¹ wo⁴ta³ la²
 1sg ASSOC trousers TOP bottom outside stick out

As for my trousers, my bottom was sticking out. (the narrator was so poor that there were holes in his trousers: "trousers" is the topic and "bottom" is the subject)

- (6) zi⁴ -ni³ga³ nie¹ long³, lao⁴ bi²bi¹ nie¹ long³
 pig female two CL one piglet two CL
 xia² liao¹
 give birth CRS

Concerning the two sows, one gave birth to two piglets. (the previous sentence described the raising of two sows by the narrator's family that year: "the two sows" is the topic and "one" is the subject)

- (7) si¹lie¹ong³ le, guo² duo³ ra³lie³ nie¹ bu²
 confinement TOP 3sg EMPH egg two CL
 ta² bo³
 fry STAT

In her confinement, she fries two eggs for herself. (it is the Tujia custom for women who have just delivered to be confined to the home for a month: "confinement" is the topic and "she" is the subject)

• **The topic may be a fronted grammatical object**

In many cases, the topic is the grammatical object which has been fronted, *i.e.* it is in the clause-initial position instead of following the subject. This fronted object may sometimes be repeated as a pronoun in the comment part of the clause.

- (8) ka³ me, ang²ni¹ la¹nie¹hi⁴lie³ wo⁴ ya
 firewood TOP 1pl every day carry EXCL

Firewood, we carry [it] everyday. ("firewood" is the topic and "we" the subject)

- (9) gang¹pe¹ me, guo² re¹ zi² xie²
 stick TOP 3sg four CL have

As for sticks, he has four. ("sticks" is the topic and "he" the subject)

- (10) zi⁴xi³, nga² guo² wu⁴ lie¹
 pigweed 1sg 3sg pull out PERF

The pigweed, I pulled it out. (when the speaker wants to clarify that it is pigweed that has been pulled out rather than any other plant; "pigweed" is the topic and "I" the subject)

• **The topic and comparative constructions**

The concept of topic prominence can be used to explain comparative constructions in Tujia. The topic is the person or item that is the "baseline" or "standard": this is then compared to another person or item. The particle nie¹ follows the verb to indicate that a comparison is being made. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (11) nga², guo² la²bie¹ si² nie¹
 1sg 3sg a little be fat CMPR

He's a little fatter than I am. (*lit.* Compared to me, he's a little fatter.)

- (12) guo² nie³, ni² nie³ ca² nie¹
 3sg ASSOC 2sg ASSOC be good CMPR

Yours is better than his. (*lit.* Compared to his, yours is better.)

- (13) ni² nie³ ha⁴lie³, nga² nie³ bie⁴ ci⁴ nie¹
 2sg ASSOC dog 1sg ASSOC a little be big CMPR

My dog is a little bit bigger than yours. (*lit.* Compared to your dog, my dog is a little bigger.)

- (14) ni² nie³ bo¹li³, guo² nie³ suo¹ se¹tong¹
 2sg ASSOC child 3sg ASSOC three year of age
 ci⁴ nie¹
 be big CMPR

His child is three years older than yours. (*lit.* Compared to your child, his child is three years older.)

5.2 **Basic Word Order**

The basic word order in Tujia is SOV (Subject-Object-Verb), as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (15) zuo²ku¹ sa⁴ ga²
 wildcats ducks eat

Wildcats eat ducks.

- (16) nga² li⁴ ga⁴
 1sg earth, soil dig

I am digging the soil.

- (17) a²da¹ ang¹ngai⁴ ha³
 elder sister younger brother hit

[The] elder sister is hitting [her] younger brother.

Greenberg¹ (1966) proposed “universals” or “cross-linguistic generalisations” based on a sample of 30 languages from different generic groups. His word-order typology was an attempt to show that, to a very large extent, the order of the verb with respect to the direct object correlates with the order of other clausal elements.

According to Greenberg’s observations, the order of the verb and the direct object tends to correlate with the order of modified element and modifying element. If the direct object *follows* the verb, the modifiers of the nouns tend to *follow* the noun and modifiers of the verb tend to *follow* the verb. The converse is true when the object precedes the verb. Thus, the order of all types of modifiers in relation to the words which they modify follows the same order as that of the verb and its direct object. Lehmann² (1978) also considered the order of V and O to be primary.

In Tujia, the order of direct subject and verb is OV and, in general, Tujia does adhere to the ordering of the other clausal elements as described by Greenberg. Table 5.1 shows the ordering of different elements in Tujia which accords with Greenberg’s pattern for OV languages.

Table 5.1 Ordering of clausal elements in Tujia

Modifier	Head
Adverb	Verb
Relative clause	Noun
Possessive	Noun
Verb	Auxiliary*
Noun	Postposition*
Existence of sentence-final question particles	

*Note: There are no “auxiliary verbs” as such in Tujia, but modal particles which indicate the same semantic relationships as auxiliaries (“can”, “may”) do follow the verb in Tujia. Tujia has no “postpositions” as such, but noun particles which signal the same semantic relationships such as location, source, and goal do follow the noun in Tujia.

The following sentences exemplify the ordering described above. Further examples can be found in Chapters 6 and 7, which describe the noun phrase and the verb phrase in detail.

Adverb-Verb:

- (18) guo² xie¹hu¹ mo³ xi⁴ca³ lu³
 3sg quickly ADVP run DIR

He ran away quickly. (the adverbial phrase precedes the verb)

¹ Greenberg, J.H. (ed.) 1966. *Universals of Language*. MIT Press.

² Lehmann, W.P. (ed.) 1978. *Syntactic Typology*. University of Texas Press.

Relative Clause-Noun:

- (19) se² da² nie³ luo⁴die¹ kuo¹ba¹ a²hu¹ mo³
 die NEG ASSOC people heads support ADVP
 xi⁴ca³ ji² lu³
 run TEL DIR

Those who had not died escaped, clutching their heads. (the relative clause “those who had not died” precedes the head noun “people”)

Possessive-Noun:

- (20) nga² nie³ biu² ye³ se¹tong¹ xiao²
 1sg ASSOC daughter eight years have now

My daughter is eight years old. (the possessive construction “my” precedes the head noun “daughter”)

Note that the same associative particle nie³ is used both in a possessive construction and to introduce a relative clause. A detailed description of the use of this particle can be found in Section 6.3.

Verb-Auxiliary:

- (21) nga² ce³ku¹ ce⁴ de¹xi³
 1sg hemp twist can

I can twist hemp. (the modal particle “can” follows the head verb “twist”)

Noun-Postposition:

- (22) guo² nie³ a³ba¹ zang¹jia¹gai² lie¹ eng³zi³
 3sg ASSOC father Zhangjiajie SRC come

His father comes from Zhangjiajie. (the noun particle indicating “source” follows the noun which it modifies)

Sentence-final question particles:

- (23) guo² song² lao⁴ pu¹ lie¹ ma
 3sg fish CL buy PERF INT

Did he buy a fish? (the sentence-final interrogative particle ma turns the sentence into a question)

5.3 Elements of the Sentence

5.3.1 The verb phrase

In Tujia, the **verb phrase (VP)** is the only essential element in a clause. A clause does not need to contain any noun phrases (NPs) in order to be complete in Tujia, as the context usually makes clear what is meant.

Thus, the following are typical examples of sentences consisting only of VPs in everyday conversations:

(24) huó³ diú²
bring DIR
[I've] brought [it].

(25) tí³ liáo¹
get CRS
[We've] got [it]!

(26) zú¹zú⁴ bó³ là¹
stand STAT IMPF
[I'm] standing [there] now.

(27) dà⁴hà³ hhi² hú³ là
together go FUTR PART
Let [us] go together now!

The verbal nucleus of a Tujia VP consists usually of a single verb. However, two or more verbs may be linked together by means of particles in the same sentence. The VP may also contain adverbs preceding the verb and particles following it. The Tujia VP with all its constituent elements is described in detail in Chapter 7. The following are examples of sentences consisting of different types of VPs (indicated by square brackets):

- VP consisting of a single verb with verb particles following it:

(28) ai¹ lí² láo⁴ cuó⁴ zǐ¹gǐ¹ [gú¹dú⁴ bó³ là¹]
that tiger CL house front crouch STAT IMPF
That tiger is crouching in front of the house.

- VP consisting of a single verb with an adverbial phrase preceding it:

(29) ní² [là²bié¹ là²bié¹ mó³ gā² là¹]
2sg a little a little ADVP eat IMPF
You are eating bit by bit.

- VP consisting of two verbs linked by particles:

(30) guó² [nié⁴ bó³ mó³ zǎo³]
3sg smile STAT ADVP be gone
He went away smiling.

The last type of VP, which consists of more than one verb, is described in detail in Section 9.3.

5.3.2 The noun phrase

Apart from the VP, simple sentences also comprise one or more **noun phrases** (NPs). A noun phrase may occur with a verb in a sentence as topic, subject, direct object, or indirect object. A noun phrase may consist of a single noun or a noun plus other elements, including demonstratives, associative phrases, classifier phrases, modifying elements, and noun particles. In Tujia, there is a relatively free order of NPs before the verb and several NPs indicating different relationships with the verb may also be simply juxtaposed. The Tujia NP with all its constituent elements is described in detail in Chapter 6. The following are examples of sentences consisting of different types of NPs:

- several juxtaposed NPs as subject in a presentative sentence:

(31) [xián¹xi¹ bì²zǐ¹kā³ wó²tu¹ hu²ni¹ hā⁴ri³ nié³
Xiangxi Tujia people inside everyone know ASSOC
dǐ¹gā³ nié³ luó⁴] suó¹ hu³ xié²
past ASSOC person three CL have

There are three historical figures known to every Tujia living in Xiangxi. (the phrase in square brackets constitutes the grammatical subject which comprises three NPs and two associative phrases)

- two juxtaposed NPs as direct object:

(32) guó² [tuó²gā¹ a³bú³] dǐ³ là¹
3sg bracken kudzu vine dig IMPF
He is digging bracken and kudzu vine.

- NP containing an associative phrase as indirect object:

(33) ní² [luó⁴dié¹ nié³ a³nié¹ a³bā¹ bó³]
2sg others ASSOC mother father IO
sun² bó³ duó³
be obedient STAT have to
You have to be obedient to other people's parents. (instructions to a bride)

5.3.3 Pause particles

The pause particles *me* and *le* function as topic markers, indicating that the preceding noun or phrase is the topic of the sentence. The topic may or may not be the ellipted subject of the following clause. Some speakers use only one of these particles and others do not use them at all.

(34) ngā² me, se² dà⁴hà³ hhi² i
1sg TOP 2pl together go IRR

As for me, I will go together with you all. (speaker from Dianfang Township)

- (35) nga² jie² la² ci³ le, si¹lang¹ la² pi¹
 1sg hand one CL TOP blanket one CL
 be⁴ bo³ la¹
 hold, clutch STAT IMPF

One hand, [it] was clutching a blanket. (speaker from Pojiao Rural Township)

Speakers who use both particles in their speech appear to differentiate between the two by using *me* when continuing with the current topic and *le* to indicate a change of topic, although this is certainly not a hard and fast rule. Examples of such differential use of *me* and *le* are as follows:

Current topic: **me**

- (36) xie² ma¹ me, bao¹bu¹ ga²
 have AgNOM TOP maize eat

Rich people, [they] ate maize. (in a conversation about rich landlords in the past)

- (37) ang²ni¹ wu² ka⁴ zu² me, ge³ci² ma¹ ge³ci²,
 1pl cattle watch SUBP TOP play AgNOM play
 ka³ wo⁴ ma¹ ka³ wo⁴
 firewood carry AgNOM firewood carry

When we were watching cattle, those [with nothing to do] enjoyed themselves, those who had come to fetch firewood got it. (in a conversation about watching cattle in the hills when the speakers were children)

Change of topic: **le**

- (38) nga² eng¹du¹ zu¹zu⁴ bo³ la¹. ni² le, cuo⁴
 1sg here stand STAT IMPF 2sg TOP house
 zi¹gi¹ zu¹zu⁴ bo³
 front stand STAT

I am standing here. You, [go and] stand in front of the house. (the speaker is positioning his team at the start of a hunt)

- (39) ang²ni¹ song¹kuo¹ i hu³. ai¹di¹ luo⁴ba¹ -die¹ le,
 1pl go home IRR FUTR that man PL TOP
 se² kei³du¹ hhi² ta¹duo³
 2pl where go don't

We are going home! You lads over there, don't run off all over the place.

A few sentential particles may also be used as pause particles by some speakers. These are described in the next section.

5.3.4 Sentential particles

Several sentence-final particles are also used in Tujia to convey different shades of meaning. They are all optional and do not carry any particular tone. Some speakers rarely use sentential particles in daily conversation while sentential particles may abound in the speech of other speakers. Sentential particles may be *declarative*, *deductive*, *interrogative*, or *interjectory* in function. Interrogative particles are described in Section 5.6.3; the others are discussed below.

- Declarative particle: **heng**

This particle does not have any particular meaning and simply indicates a casual "rounding off" of the sentence, as in the following examples:

- (40) guo² ga² liao¹ heng
 he eat CRS PART

He has already eaten.

- (41) guo² sa¹mi¹ la² su¹ za¹ bo³ heng
 3sg crisped rice cake one bowl soak STAT PART

She's steeping a bowl of crisped rice cakes.

- (42) ni² bo¹zuo¹ ga³ha² la² lie¹, ai¹di¹
 2sg grindstone top throw, put PERF that

ma³ma¹ -die¹ tie² heng
 woman PL pick PART

When you've put [it] on top of the grindstone, the women will pick [it and knead it into cakes]. (describing the making of glutinous rice cakes for Tujia New Year)

- Deductive particle: **hong**

This particle conveys a different shade of meaning from the more general *heng*. It is used when the statement is a *deduction* from observed facts, as in the following examples:

- (43) guo² nie² liao¹ hong
 3sg sleep CRS PART

He must be asleep. (the speaker deduces that he must be asleep because there are no lights on in his home.)

- (44) guo² eng³zi³ dao², guo² ye³ ga² liao¹ hong
 3sg come not now 3sg food eat CRS PART

He still hasn't come, he's probably eaten. (the speaker was originally waiting for him to come and eat)

- Interjectory particles: **la**, **o (yo)**, **a (wa, ya)**

➤ **la**

This particle can be used to express a variety of different emotions, including impatience, enthusiasm, joy, shock, anger, or a change of circumstances, as in the following:

- (45) guo² li³ de¹xi³ la
3sg speak can EXCL

He can speak now! (joy: the subject had been knocked unconscious by a fall)

- (46) nga² ye³ ga² i hu³ la
1sg rice eat IRR FUTR EXCL

I am going to eat now. (the speaker is very hungry and does not want to wait for the others before eating: the particle *la* signifies a degree of impatience)

- (47) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ hhi² hu³ la
1pl together go FUTR EXCL

Let's go! (enthusiastic appeal)

- (48) cu¹ ka³ tai² la
house firewood not have EXCL

There's no more firewood in the house! (surprise and dismay)

- (49) eng¹di¹ sa³ bi²kui¹ la, huan³sang²,
this matter be small EXCL Emperor
ni² ge⁴ ta¹duo³
you fear don't

This is just a small matter, Your Majesty, don't be afraid. (reassurance)

- (50) ei¹ya¹ nga² ka³mong³ da⁴ha³ geng¹ke⁴ la
INTJ 1sg tree together fall over EXCL

Oh no! Down I came with the tree! (shock)

- (51) li² lao⁴ nga² nie³ wu² ga² la
tiger one 1sg ASSOC cow eat EXCL

There's a tiger eating my cow! (fear, cry for help)

➤ **o (yo)**

The particle *o* or its variant *yo* is frequently used for emphasis by some speakers, as in the following examples:

- (52) guo² a²lie¹ xi³tai² o
3sg be hardworking SUP EXCL

He's really hardworking!

- (53) nga² nie³ me³ di² yo
1sg ASSOC stomach be painful EXCL

I have a terrible stomachache!

➤ **a (wa, ya)**

The particle *a*, or its variants *wa* and *ya*, may be used by some speakers for exclamatory remarks. In addition, *a* or *ya* can be used as pause particles for lists of objects.

As sentential particles:

- (54) nga² li²a⁴ a
1sg be hungry EXCL

I'm really hungry!

- (55) bo¹li³ -die¹ yi²si¹ ta¹nie¹ a
child PL all back EXCL

The children are all behind us! (replying to a question concerning the children's whereabouts)

- (56) cong² ha³ mo³ ang²ni¹ kuo¹ba¹ ga³ha² a
gun hit, fire ADVP 1pl head top EXCL

The guns were firing right over our heads!

As pause particles:

- (57) ang¹a¹ ya, se³pe³ ya, bi²la¹ ya,
liver PART stomach PART intestines PART
si³ ya, la²bie¹ luo² a
meat PART a little cook PART

Cook a little bit of everything: liver, stomach, intestines, flesh. (instructions for the feast after the pig had been killed)

- (58) nga² la² hu³ a, nga² hhi² a,
1sg one CL PART 1sg walk PART
hhi² a, ge⁴ da²
walk PART fear NEG

I was alone, I walked and walked, unafraid. (this was before the narrator saw a tiger)

5.4 Copular Sentences

Clauses that are usually known as copular sentences do not require a copula in Tujia. In practice, noun phrases are juxtaposed and the null copula is implied from the context.

- (59) guo² bi²zi¹ka³
3sg Tujia

He is Tujia.

- (60) lai⁴ long³ka¹
today New Year

Today is New Year's Day.

- (61) nga² ying¹seng³ nie³ luo⁴
 1sg Yongshun ASSOC person

I am from Yongshun. (lit. I am a person of Yongshun.)

In many areas where Tujia is spoken, a copula sou² is increasingly being used. This is a reflection of the way in which Chinese grammar is being assimilated into Tujia. Negative copular sentences also tend to use the Chinese loan bu²si¹ instead of the Tujia sou³da². Examples of these have already been cited in Section 4.2.3.

5.5 Existential Sentences

Existential sentences in Tujia contain the verb xie² 'to have'. They signal the existence of the referent of a noun phrase at a specified location. This verb may also be used to introduce a noun phrase which introduces an entity into a discourse, as in (64) below.

- (62) cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ luo⁴ xie²
 house inside person have

There is someone inside the house.

- (63) me² ga³ha² xi⁴bu²li¹ xie²
 sky top stars have

There are stars in the sky.

- (64) di¹ga³ qian¹ngai⁴ suo¹ la¹hu³ xie²
 past brother three CL have

Once upon a time, there were three brothers.

The forms of the verb xie² and examples of their use were described in Section 4.2.4.

5.6 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences, *i.e.* questions, in Tujia can be formed in different ways: by using interrogative pronouns, forming disjunctive questions by using the conjunction huo¹, or by using sentence-final interrogative particles.

5.6.1 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns that are used in Tujia have been listed in Section 4.1.2. When interrogative pronouns are used, a sentence-final interrogative particle is nearly always used as well to soften the tone and reduce the forcefulness of the question.

➤ a⁴se³ ("who", "which")

- (65) guo² a⁴se³ o
 2sg who INT

Who is he?

- (66) ge³di¹ ci¹pu¹ a⁴se³ nie³ o
 this book who ASSOC INT

Whose book is this?

- (67) ni² a⁴se³ bo³ ka³ pu³ o
 2sg who IO firewood tie INT

Whom are you tying this bundle of firewood for?

➤ qie⁴xi³ ("what")

- (68) ni² qie⁴xi³ di⁴ o
 2sg what want INT

What do you want?

- (69) ni² nie³ luo⁴bi³ qie⁴xi³ ga² la¹ o
 2sg ASSOC son what eat IMPF INT

What is your son eating?

➤ kei³du¹ ("where")

- (70) nga² ci¹pu¹ kei³du¹ la² lu³ o
 1sg book where leave DIR INT

Where did I leave [my] book?

- (71) nga² nie³ biu² kei³du¹ zao³ o
 1sg ASSOC daughter where be gone INT

Where has my daughter gone?

➤ kei²jiu¹ ("when")

- (72) se² kei²jiu¹ song¹kuo¹ o
 2pl when return INT

When are you coming back?

➤ gai¹, ga⁴ ("how many", "how much")

Note that gai¹ precedes adjectival verbs and ga⁴ precedes nouns:

- (73) ai¹di¹ la⁴ gai¹ hhe³ xie² o
 that road how much be long have INT

How long is that road?

- (74) ai¹di¹ zi⁴ gai¹ ci⁴ xie² o
 that pig how much be big have INT

How big is that pig?

- (75) guo² gai¹ du⁴ xie² o
 3sg how much be heavy have INT

How heavy is he?

- (76) ni² ga⁴ se¹tong¹ xiao² o
2sg how many year (age) have INT

How old are you?

- (77) guo² zu² lie¹ ga⁴ long¹ xiao² o
3sg go out PERF how many year have INT

How many years has he been gone?

➤ qing³mo¹ ("why", "how")

- (78) ang²ni¹ qing³mo¹ hhi² ta¹ti¹ a
1pl why go cannot INT

Why can't we go?

- (79) ni² qing³mo¹ ha¹ce¹ he²lang³ ri¹ a
2sg why dish (food) so many make INT

Why did you cook so many dishes?

- (80) ni² nie¹ qing³mo¹ ka¹ o
2sg days how live INT

How are you doing these days?

- (81) ge³di¹ sa³ la² ze² ni² bi²zi¹sa³ huo³lie³
this word one CL 2sg Tujia use

qing³mo¹ li³ o
how say INT

How do you say this word in Tujia?

➤ qi²du¹ ("what date")

- (82) lai⁴ qi²du¹ o
today what date INT

What date is it today?

5.6.2 Disjunctive questions

A disjunctive question is one in which the hearer is presented with a choice between two options. The conjunction used in Tujia, huo¹, is likely to be a Chinese loan, but is now used extensively in Tujia areas. The following are examples of disjunctive questions:

- (83) ni² lai⁴ ci¹ci¹ a² huo¹ a² ta¹
2sg today words write or write NEG

Are you writing today or not?

- (84) guo² lai⁴ ka³ wo⁴ huo¹ wo⁴ ta¹
3sg today firewood carry on the back or carry on the back NEG

Is he carrying firewood today or not?

- (85) ni² si²tie¹ qie³ huo¹ li⁴ ga⁴
2sg field plough or soil dig

Are you ploughing the fields or digging the soil?

- (86) ni² zi³ ga² huo¹ ka¹bie¹lie¹ ga²
2sg rice eat or porridge eat

Are you eating rice or porridge?

- (87) ge¹ze¹ cuo⁴ hhe³ huo¹ hhe³ da²
3pl house be far or be far NEG

Is their house far or not?

- (88) me²ze³ huo¹ ze³ da²
rain or rain NEG

Is it raining or not? (note the omission of the first syllable of me²ze³ on repetition)

- (89) guo² ca² huo¹ ca² da²
3sg good or good NEG

Is he nice or not?

- (90) ni² ge⁴ huo¹ ge⁴ da²
2sg be afraid or be afraid NEG

Are you afraid or not?

For a discussion of the difference between the two negation particles ta¹ and da², see Section 7.2.5.

5.6.3 Sentence-final interrogative particles

Many sentential particles are used in Tujia to indicate that the speaker is asking a question rather than making a statement. Some are also used in declarative clauses to express other emotions and have been discussed in Section 5.3.4. Two particles which are used primarily for interrogation are ma and huo: they do not have fixed tones. The former is likely to be a Chinese loan and is the most commonly used interrogative particle.

➤ ma

- (91) se² li² lao⁴ yi³ lie¹ ma
2pl tiger CL see PERF INT

Did you see a tiger?

- (92) ni² tong³qian³ xie² ma
2sg money have INT

Do you have any money?

- (93) guo² eng³zi³ ta¹ ma
3sg come NEG INT

Isn't he coming?

➤ **huo**

This particle is used when the speaker is unsure of the answer to his question:

- (94) guo² ri¹ i huo
 3sg do IRR INT

Is he really going to do [it]?

- (95) ni² ye³ ga² i huo
 2sg do eat IRR INT

Are you really going to eat?

- (96) ni² nie³ po²ga¹ ka³ wo⁴ i huo
 2sg ASSOC teacher firewood carry on the back IRR INT

Is your teacher really going to carry firewood?

Other sentential particles may also be used in questions:

➤ **la**

- (97) ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ nie¹ long³ la
 that dog two CL INT

What about the two dogs? (distributing the meat after a hunt)

- (98) se² cu¹ qing³mo¹ la
 2pl house how INT

What is your home like?

- (99) qing³mo¹ wu² nie¹ la¹hu³ xie² la
 why cow two CL have INT

Why are there two cows? (the second cow turned out to be a tiger)

➤ **o (yo)**

- (100) qing³mo¹ da⁴xi⁴ yo
 how help INT

How can [I] help?

- (101) huo¹sa¹ da³bi² ga⁴ ta¹, ni² qie⁴ ga² i yo
 wasteland near place dig not 2sg what eat IRR INT

If [we] don't work the land, what are you going to eat in the future? (emphatic interrogative)

➤ **a (wa, ya)**

- (102) kei³ bo¹ ye⁴ a
 where GOAL hide INT

Where [shall we go] to hide?

- (103) kei³ ye⁴ liao¹ wa
 where arrive CRS INT

Where have [you] got to?

5.7 Imperative Sentences

The term *imperative* refers to the form of a sentence which expresses a command. In practice, however, the dividing line between commands and non-commands is not always clear. In normal social interaction, speakers will often avoid giving direct orders and use ways of softening commands so that they sound like polite requests or suggestions. In Tujia, a declarative sentence may simply be turned into a command depending on the speaker's intonation. For example, the following simple sentence may either be a statement or command:

- (104) ni² ra³ki¹ce³ di³
 2sg wild onions dig

You are digging up wild onions. or Dig up wild onions!

Commands in Tujia are usually formed by using a verb phrase only without a subject. The verb particle duo³ may also be used to turn a statement into a command. Negative imperatives are formed by using a negating particle which precedes the verb.

5.7.1 Omitting the subject

Imperative clauses may be formed simply by omitting the 2nd person singular or plural pronouns, as in the following examples:

- (105) ra³ki¹ce³ di³
 wild onions dig

[Go and] dig up some wild onions.

- (106) ce³ si² xie²
 water bring DIR

Bring some water!

- (107) la³ye²hu³ me, jie² po¹
 dusk TOP hand release

It's dusk, stop working now. (lit. "take your hands off")

- (108) cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ eng³qie²
 room inside come

Come into the house. (often used to call children when it is cold outside)

- (109) wu² si³ ga²
 cow meat eat

Have some beef. (spoken by a host to a guest)

In many cases, the verbs in imperative clauses are used with the stative verb particle *bo*³ to indicate that the speaker wants the action to continue.

- (110) ong³ bo³
sit STAT

Sit down! (the implication is for the hearer to remain sitting)

- (111) nie² bo³
sleep STAT

Go to sleep!

- (112) ci¹pu¹ tong² bo³
book open STAT

Open your books. (used by a teacher in the classroom)

5.7.2 Verb particle conveying imperative mood

The modal verb particle *duo*³ (“must”, “have to”) may be used to turn statements into commands. In such cases, the grammatical subjects are retained in the clauses.

- (113) ang²ni¹ hhi² duo³
1pl go must

Let's go! (*We must go!*)

- (114) ni² si¹ba¹ za² mo³ suo²li¹ duo³
2sg clothes wash ADVP clean must

Wash the clothes clean! (*Give the clothes a good wash!*)

- (115) guo² jie³ mo³ ki²ki⁴ duo³
3sg call ADVP hang must

Tell him to hang [it] up!

5.7.3 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives are formed by using the particle *ta*⁴, which *precedes* the verb. This is different from negative declarative clauses, which are formed by using verb particles that *follow* the verb: these are discussed in Section 7.2.5. The following are examples of negative imperatives:

Negative statement:

- (116) ni² sa³ li³ da²
2sg word(s) say NEG

You are not speaking.

Negative commands:

- (117) sa³ ta⁴ li³
word NEG say

Don't speak.

- (118) a¹hong¹ ta⁴ ga²
raw NEG eat

Don't eat [it] raw.

- (119) da⁴ ta⁴ guo⁴
quarrel NEG quarrel

Don't quarrel. (Note that the particle *ta*⁴ precedes the second syllable of compound verbs such as *da*⁴*guo*⁴ “to quarrel” and *da*⁴*ha*³ “to fight”.)

6 The Noun Phrase

A **noun phrase** can be characterised in terms of both *function* and *form*. In terms of function, a noun phrase (NP) is a label for a person, an object, an activity, an event, or a concept. In a sentence, a noun phrase can occur with a verb as a topic, subject, direct object, or indirect object. In form, a noun phrase consists at least of a pronoun or a noun. When the noun occurs with other elements in a noun phrase, it is known as the **head noun**. Other elements that may occur with the head noun in a noun phrase include the following:

- demonstratives
- associative phrases
- classifier phrases
- modifying elements: locative and adjectival nouns
- noun particles

In this chapter, the different elements in a noun phrase will be described in detail and the order in which they occur in the noun phrase will also be discussed. In Tujia, many NPs consist simply of juxtaposed nouns, which are described in Section 6.1.

6.1 Juxtaposition of Nouns

In Tujia, many noun phrases consist simply of a number of nouns juxtaposed to form a composite NP. Nouns which are commonly juxtaposed in this way to constitute composite NPs without any intervening elements include the following (the NP is enclosed in square brackets):

- (1) [a³nie¹ a³ba¹] lu⁴die¹ bo³ hu³ri¹
mother father others IO work

[My] mother and father (parents) worked for other people.

- (2) nga² [qie³bi² bu¹zi¹] wo¹ la¹
1sg bowls chopsticks wash IMPF

I am washing the bowls and chopsticks ("the dishes").

- (3) guo² [se³ke¹ pe²ti¹] tai²
3sg fields land not have

He does not have any fields or land ("land for farming").

- (4) tu³ga³ [cuo³xie² ji²la¹] di⁴
matchmaker shoes socks want

The matchmaker wants shoes and socks (as payment for his/her services).

6.2 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives in Tujia: the proximal ge³di¹ ("this" or "these") and the distal ai¹di¹ ("that" or "those"). Within a noun phrase, they can function either as determiners or pronouns. As the former, they occur *preceding* the head noun.

- as determiners

- (5) ai¹di¹ lu⁴ suo³ la¹hu³ ci¹tu¹ ma¹
that person three CL study AgNOM

Those three are students.

- (6) ge³di¹ biu² re⁴ xi³tai²
this girl be beautiful SUP

This girl is very pretty.

- as pronouns

- (7) ai¹di¹ ni² nie³ ci¹pu¹
that 2sg ASSOC book

That is your book.

- (8) ge³di¹ nga² nie³ lang³qie³
this 2sg ASSOC fan

This is my fan.

6.3 Associative Phrases

The associative particle nie³ is used in Tujia to link words or phrases together to form an **associative phrase**. This *precedes* the head noun that is being modified. The meaning of the connection between the head noun and the associative phrase is determined by the semantics of the specific words and phrases involved.

6.3.1 Possession

One important and basic associative meaning is **possession**. The following examples illustrate the use of the associative particle nie³ in **possessive constructions**:

- (9) nga² nie³ ci¹pu¹
1sg ASSOC book

my book

- (10) nie²bi¹ nie³ si²ga⁴
bird ASSOC feathers

the bird's feathers

- (11) mo³ nie³ lie³pong²
 cat ASSOC tail

the cat's tail

- (12) a³ba¹ nie³ jie²zu¹
 grandmother ASSOC headscarf

grandmother's headscarf

- (13) qing²die¹ nie³ ci¹pu¹
 child ASSOC book

the child's book(s)

The associative particle nie³ is often omitted in expressions with the 1st person plural pronoun as possessor, as in:

- (14) ang² a³nie¹
 lpl mother

our mother

- (15) ang² cuo⁴
 lpl house

our house

- (16) ang² zi⁴
 lpl pig

our pig

Similarly the associative particle may also be omitted in associative phrases indicating parts of an animal. These are not "possessions" as such but are integral parts of the animal's body, as in:

- (17) zi⁴ eng³qie²
 pig ear

the pig's ear

- (18) ra³ luo²bu¹
 chicken eye

the chicken's eyes

- (19) mo³ lie³pong²
 cat tail

the cat's tail

6.3.2 Other semantic associations

Many other types of semantic associations between the head noun and its associative phrase are also possible, as in the following examples:

- (20) cu¹ nie³ ye³
 house ASSOC things

household chores

- (21) kang³ku¹ nie³ ha¹ce¹
 mountains ASSOC vegetables

wild vegetables ("vegetables growing in the mountains")

- (22) eng¹ge¹ nie³ luo⁴die¹
 that place ASSOC people

the people in that place

- (23) bi²zi¹ka³ nie³ ci¹pu¹
 Tujia ASSOC book

books about the Tujia people

6.3.3 Relative clauses

One other important function of the associative particle nie³ is as a **nominaliser** in **relative clause constructions**. These relative clause constructions may be considered to be a special subgroup of associative phrases. They restrict the reference of the head noun and further define the head noun. A relative clause construction consists of a verb phrase followed by the particle nie³. The following are examples of such constructions:

- (24) ka³ pu¹ nie³ luo⁴
 firewood buy ASSOC person

the person who buys firewood

- (25) suo¹ce³ ha³ nie³ pu²ta¹
 frost hit ASSOC leaves

leaves which are nipped by frost

- (26) hu²ni¹ ha⁴ri³ nie³ luo⁴
 everyone know ASSOC person

a famous person (a person whom everyone knows)

- (27) tie⁴tie³ ti² nie³ cuo⁴
 lantern to light ASSOC house

a house which is lit by lanterns

- (28) ma¹pa³ a³si³ nie³ po³pa¹
 beard be white ASSOC old man

an old man with a white beard

- (29) ye³ hi² se¹tong¹ nie³ a³ba¹
 eight ten year of age ASSOC father

a father who is eighty years old

- (30) suo¹ qi¹ ta²ci¹ nie³ pu¹ki¹
 three catty plus ASSOC hoe

a hoe which is over three catties in weight

6.4 Classifier Phrases

A **classifier phrase** consists of a numeral followed by a classifier. In a Tujia noun phrase, the classifier phrase *follows* the head noun. Tujia numerals and the different types of Tujia classifiers have been described in Sections 4.4 and 4.5. The examples below show classifier phrases following the head nouns:

- (31) luo⁴ la² hu³
 person one CL

one person

- (32) si¹ba¹ suo¹ pi¹
 clothing three CL

three pieces of clothing

- (33) qie³bi² ong¹ da²
 bowl five CL

five bowls

- (34) hhe²la¹ ye³ zi²
 string eight CL

eight pieces of string

6.4.1 Noun classifiers

When the noun itself also functions as a classifier, the noun directly follows the numeral to form a noun phrase, as in:

- (35) ong¹ cuo⁴
 five house

five houses

- (36) suo¹ ji³
 three foot

three steps

- (37) re¹ long¹
 four year

four years

- (38) ye³ nie¹
 eight day

eight days

6.4.2 Use of lao⁴

In Tujia, if the numeral is “one”, the classifier is often omitted, with lao⁴ being used to mean “one + classifier”.

- (39) seng¹ki¹ lao⁴
 toilet one

one toilet (seng¹ki¹ la²bu¹ is never used)

- (40) ra³ lao⁴
 chicken one

one chicken (ra³ la²long³ is never used)

6.4.3 Chinese loans

In everyday conversation, Chinese classifiers are frequently used. These are often borrowed as entire classifier phrases, *i.e.* with the nouns and numerals also being Chinese loans. However, the Tujia order of noun-numeral-classifier is retained, as in the following:

- (41) wa⁴ qi² kuai¹
 tile seven CL

seven tiles

- (42) zuo²zi¹ yi² zang¹
 table one CL

one table

6.4.4 Quantifying particles

Four particles can be grouped together in Tujia as they are used in classifier phrases following the numeral and classifier. They have already been listed in Section 4.3.2. They are used to express approximate amounts, a quantity which is slightly more than the amount specified, and inclusive amounts, *i.e.* “every”.

The two particles, zai² and ba¹, are used to refer to **approximate** amounts, *i.e.* “around” or “about”. The former may be used with both native Tujia nouns and Chinese loans, whereas the latter is used with Chinese loans and nouns without a preceding numeral.

➤ zai²

- (43) nie¹ bu² zai²
 two CL APPROX

two or so [things]

- (44) si³ nie¹ qi¹ zai² qi⁴ xie²
 meat two catty APPROX weigh out DIR

Weigh [me] out two catties or so of meat.

- (45) guo² si²ge¹tie¹ sang¹ mu¹ zai² xie²
 3sg fields three mu APPROX have

He has around three mu of land. (1 mu = 0.067 hectares)

➤ **ba¹**

- (46) ang²ni¹ la³tie² si³ jing¹ ba¹ xie²
 1pl tonight meat catty APPROX have

We have about a catty of meat tonight.

- (47) nga² sui² ba¹ zu², di²zu¹ mu²la¹
 1sg age APPROX SUBP landlords now
 da⁴ze³ dao²
 to be like not be

When I was about one, landlords were not like they are now. ("one" is implied here)

➤ **ta²ci¹**

This particle is used when the speaker wants to indicate that there is more than the amount specified. This is similar to the use of "plus" or "over" in English phrases such as "thirty-plus years" or "over forty people". Examples are as follows:

- (48) la² long¹ ta²ci¹
 one year plus

over a year

- (49) suo¹ qi¹ ta²ci¹
 three catty plus

over three catties

- (50) mu⁴nie³ suo¹ zi¹ ta²ci¹
 bamboo three CL plus

more than three pieces of bamboo

➤ **he¹he¹**

This particle is used to indicate inclusivity of all the items present, i.e. "every", as in the following examples:

- (51) la² cuo⁴ he¹he¹
 one house every

every house

- (52) la² nie¹ he¹he¹
 one day every

every day

- (53) la² ye³ he¹he¹
 one object every

every kind (of object)

- (54) si¹ba¹ la² pi¹ he¹he¹
 clothing one CL every

every piece of clothing

6.5 Modifying Elements

Two types of modifying elements may occur *following* the head noun in a noun phrase. They can function as nouns in their own right but are often used with a head noun as a modifying element. They consist of **locative nouns** and **adjectival nouns**.

6.5.1 Locative nouns

Locative nouns follow the head nouns which are being modified. The whole noun phrase is enclosed in square brackets in the following examples:

- (55) [si³tie² ga³ha²] qie³bi² la² da² xie²
 table top bowl one CL have

There is a bowl on (the top of) the table. (Note that in conversation, ga³ is often used as a short form of ga³ha².)

- (56) [cuo⁴ wo²tu¹] bo¹li³ ga⁴ la¹hu³ po¹
 house inside children a few CL put

Put a few children inside the house.

- (57) [cuo⁴ zi¹gi¹] ha⁴lie³ lao⁴ xie²
 house front dog one have

There is a dog in front of the house.

- (58) ra³ lao⁴ [ka³ luo²liu¹] ye⁴ bo³ la¹
 chicken one firewood middle hide STAT IMPF

A chicken is hiding in the middle of the firewood.

- (59) nga² nie³ jie²zu¹ [si¹lang¹ ba³ti³] xie²
 1sg ASSOC headscarf blanket below have

My headscarf is under my blanket.

- (60) [ka³mong³ ta¹nie¹] ye⁴ bo³ ze⁴ga³ ha³:
 tree back hide STAT squirrel hit
 ta¹nie¹ ye⁴ bo³ a¹ye³ ri¹
 back hide STAT ghost do

Hiding behind a tree to hit a squirrel, i.e. getting up to devilry behind the scenes. (traditional Tujia saying)

- (61) [zi⁴cuo⁴ wo⁴ta³] wo⁴ la² zi¹ xie²
 pigsty outside snake one CL have

There is a snake outside the pigsty.

The following is an example of two noun phrases each containing a locative noun, and which are juxtaposed to form a composite noun phrase (the whole NP is enclosed in square brackets):

- (62) ni² [cuo⁴ zi¹gi¹ bao¹zeng¹ ga³ha²] zu¹zu⁴ bo³
 2sg house front prominence top stand STAT

Stand on top of the mound in front of the house.

Apart from being a component of the noun phrase, locative nouns can also be used on their own as head nouns and can take noun particles, as in the following examples:

- (63) guo² [ga³ha² lie³] geng¹ke⁴ lie¹
 3sg top DIR roll down PERF

He rolled down from the top.

- (64) ang²ni¹ ge⁴ bo³ mo³ [wo⁴ta³ bo¹] xi⁴ca³
 1pl be afraid STAT ADVP outside GOAL run

Afraid, we ran outside.

- (65) se² [ta¹nie¹ lie¹] eng³qie²
 2pl behind SRC come

Follow along! (= "come from behind")

6.5.2 Adjectival nouns

In the discussion of lexical categories, it has already been noted that notional adjectives are expressed by stative verbs in Tujia. However, when they function *attributively* to modify the head noun within a noun phrase, they are nominalised by the addition of specific particles. These "adjectival nouns" then *follow* the head noun in a noun phrase but *precede* the classifier phrase. Table 6.1 lists some of these nouns with the corresponding stative verbs from which they have been derived.

Table 6.1 Adjectival nouns derived from verbs

ca ²	to be good	→	cai ²	good one
ci ⁴	to be big	→	ci ¹ ba ¹	big one
ga ³	to be dry	→	a ¹ ga ³	dry one
gi ³	to be warm	→	sa ² gi ¹	warm one
hhe ³	to be long	→	hhe ³ ba ³	long one
re ⁴	to be beautiful	→	re ⁴ kui ²	beautiful one
zong ⁴	to be short	→	zong ⁴ kui ²	short one

The above forms are essentially lexicalised and the affixes are not productive. For some other adjectival nouns, it is not clear if they have been derived from specific verbs. Two of these in common use are ca¹cei¹ ("small one") and wu²qi¹ ("cold one"). Where there are no specific adjectival nouns, a combination of the associative and general nominalising particles

(nie³xi²) is used to turn the stative verb into a noun to enable it to be used attributively within a noun phrase. The use of nominalising particles is discussed in detail in Section 8.3.2.

Colour terms are special as they can function both as nouns and verbs. They have been listed as stative verbs in Section 4.2.1 and function predicatively as verbs within clauses. As nouns, they can constitute the attributive adjectival elements within noun phrases.

The use of adjectival nouns within a noun phrase is shown below:

- (66) mu⁴nie³ hhe³ba³ suo¹ zi²
 bamboo long ones three CL

three long bamboos

- (67) ha⁴lie³ bi²kui¹ ong¹ long³
 dog small ones five CL

five small dogs

- (68) ka¹pu¹ mian¹jie¹ hi² pu³
 flower red ones ten CL

ten red flowers

- (69) luo⁴ cai²
 person good one

a good person

That these adjectival nouns can also function independently as head nouns of noun phrases is illustrated by the following examples. In practice, the actual item that is being referred to will already be known to the hearer in context.

- (70) nga² bi²kui¹ di⁴
 1sg small one want

I want a small one.

- (71) cai² la² bu² a³xie²
 good one one CL fetch

Fetch me a good one.

- (72) hhe³ba³ la² zi² huo³ xie²
 long one one CL bring DIR

Bring a long one.

- (73) ni² mian¹jie¹ guo² bo³ lie²
 2sg red one 3sg IO give

Give him the red one.

6.6 Noun Particles

Three particles are used only after nouns to mark the *indirect object*, the *source*, and *goal* of an action. They are bo^3 , lie^1 , and bo^1 . Their functions within the noun phrase are discussed in detail below.

6.6.1 Indirect object marker

The particle bo^3 follows and marks the *indirect object* in a clause. The indirect object denotes who or what is being affected by the action. The indirect object is almost always an animate noun representing a human being or an animal that is the *beneficiary* of the action. The indirect object in a Tujia clause is marked by the particle bo^3 and *precedes* the direct object in a clause where the verb is functioning ditransitively.

The following pair of sentences, (74) and (75), illustrate the importance of using bo^3 to make the speaker's meaning clear:

Without bo^3 , guo^2 is the direct object of the verb "speak", *i.e.* what the speaker is talking about:

(74) nga^2 guo^2 li^3 la^1
1sg 3sg speak, talk IMPF

I am talking about him.

When bo^3 follows guo^2 , it signals that guo^2 is the indirect object of the verb "speak", *i.e.* who the speaker is talking to:

(75) nga^2 guo^2 bo^3 li^3 la^1
1sg 3sg IO speak, talk IMPF

I am talking to him.

In everyday conversation, there are also instances when ellipsis of the direct object occurs. This happens most commonly in reply to a question where the direct object has already been explicitly stated, as in the following question-and-answer pair, (76) and (77). The indirect object is clearly marked by bo^3 in the reply so that there is no ambiguity.

Question:

(76) ni^2 a^4se^3 bo^3 zi^4 lie^2 i
2sg who IO pig give IRR

To whom are you giving the pig?

Reply:

(77) nga^2 guo^2 bo^3 lie^2 i
1sg 3sg IO give IRR

I'm giving [it] to him.

The following are more examples illustrating the use of bo^3 :

(78) a^3nie^1 a^3ba^1 luo^4die^1 bo^3 hu^3ri^1
mother father others IO work

[My] parents worked for others. (they did not have any land of their own)

(79) nga^2 ha^1ce^1 bo^3 se^3 tu^2 la^1
1sg vegetables IO manure pour IMPF

I am pouring out manure on to (for) the vegetables.

(80) ang^1bei^1 nga^2 bo^3 ci^1pu^1 lie^2 la^1
my uncle 1sg IO book give IMPF

My uncle is giving me books.

(81) nga^2 zi^4 bo^3 ye^3 luo^2 lie^1
1sg pig IO rice cook PERF

I am cooking some food for the pig.

(82) nga^2 guo^2 bo^3 ta^4 $song^1kuo^1$ li^3
1sg 3sg IO don't go home say

I told him not to go home. (lit. I said "Don't go home" to him.)

(83) nga^2 guo^2 (bo^3) li^4ming^3 jie^3 la^1
1sg 3sg IO Li Ming call IMPF

I call him Li Ming. (in this very common usage, the IO marker is often omitted)

When the indirect object is not a single noun but a whole noun phrase (indicated by square brackets), the particle bo^3 follows the last noun, as in the following examples:

(84) ni^2 [eng^1di^1 da^3guo^1] bo^3 zuo^4 lao^4 a^3 duo^3
2sg this brother IO wife one take a wife have to

You must get a wife for this chap.

(85) ni^2 [luo^4die^1 nie^3 a^3nie^1 a^3ba^1] bo^3
2sg other people ASSOC mother father IO

sun^2 bo^3 duo^3
obey STAT have to

You must be obedient to other people's mother and father. (advice to a bride)

(86) nga^2 [$song^2$ lu^3 nie^3 po^3pa^1] bo^3 ze^2 la^1
1sg fish sell ASSOC old man IO talk IMPF

I am talking to the old man who sells fish.

6.6.2 The source marker

The noun particle lie^1 indicates the **source** of an action and *follows* the noun in a noun phrase which functions as an oblique within a clause, as in the following examples:

- (87) guo² po¹jiao¹ lie¹ eng³zi³
 3sg Pojiao SRC come

He comes from Pojiao.

- (88) nga² eng¹ge¹ lie¹ ba⁴ bo³ i
 1sg there SRC watch STAT IRR

I will watch from there. (the locative adverb eng¹ge¹ is functioning as a noun in this clause)

- (89) nga² me³ lie¹ die²
 1sg stomach SRC think, remember

I will not forget this (lit. "from stomach remember").

This particle may also be used after *locative nouns*, to specify exactly *where* the action should take place:

- (90) long¹se³ guo² wo²tu¹ lie¹ song³ liao¹
 pith (lit. saliva) 3sg inside SRC stuff CRS

Pith is blocking the flute on the inside. (part of a procedural text describing how to make a traditional *dongdongkui* flute)

- (91) ba³ti³ lie¹ dong³ga² suo⁴
 underneath SRC hole cut

Cut a hole on the underside. (context as above)

Note: Without lie¹, the phrase "ba³ti³ suo⁴" would mean "to cut off the bottom of something" rather than "to cut something on the bottom".

6.6.3 The goal marker

The counterpart of the source marker lie¹, the noun particle bo¹ indicates the **goal** of an action. It also *follows* the noun in a noun phrase that functions as an oblique within a clause, as illustrated in the examples below.

- (92) nga² kang³ku¹ bo¹ hhi²
 1sg the mountains GOAL go

I am going up into the mountains.

- (93) li²bu¹ ke⁴ lie¹ jiu¹ cu¹ bo¹ song¹kuo¹
 grain carry PERF then home GOAL return

After carrying grain, [we] will go home.

- (94) pu²meng³ a³si³ jing¹ceng³ bo¹ xi⁴ca³ lie¹
 dragon-horse white one capital GOAL run PERF

The white dragon-horse ran to the capital.

As with lie¹, bo¹ is also often used after *locative nouns*. In such cases, the action occurs *away* from the speaker towards a distant goal.

- (95) ang²ni¹ wo⁴ta³ bo¹ zu² i hu³
 1pl outside GOAL go out IRR FUTR

We are about to go outside.

- (96) ku¹za⁴ ga³ha² bo¹ yi² pao¹ po¹
 hill top GOAL one shot let off

Let off a shot at the top of the hill. (in a hunting dialogue)

- (97) guo² a²ce¹ suo¹ ze² hu³ lie¹, hou²gong¹
 3sg tea three mouthful drink PERF concubines' palace
 wo²tu¹ bo¹ la² dong² peng²
 inside GOAL one CL spit, spurt

He drank three mouthfuls of tea, and then spat [them] inside the concubines' palace. (in a story about General Xiang, a Tujia hero, who put a fire out by doing this)

6.7 Order of Elements in the Noun Phrase

In practice, the majority of noun phrases that are used in everyday conversation will not comprise all the elements described above. However, it is useful to formulate an order for the different elements should they occur.

In order to do this, a noun phrase consisting of all these elements will be built up step by step and the final order will be expressed in the form of a phrase structure rule.

head noun (represented by **bold** gloss):

- (98) ha⁴lie³
dog
dog

plus demonstrative:

- (99) ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³
 that **dog**
that dog

plus adjectival noun:

- (100) ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ lang²ga¹
 that **dog** black one
that black dog

plus classifier phrase:

(101) ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ lang²ga¹ re¹ long³
 that dog black one four CL

those four black dogs

plus associative phrase:

(102) nga² nie³ ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ lang²ga¹ re¹ long³
 1sg ASSOC that dog black one four CL

those four black dogs of mine

plus locative noun:

(103) nga² nie³ ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ lang²ga¹
 1sg ASSOC that dog black one
 re¹ long³ ta¹nie¹
 four CL back

behind those four black dogs of mine

plus noun particle:

(104) nga² nie³ ai¹di¹ ha⁴lie³ lang²ga¹
 1sg ASSOC that dog black one
 re¹ long³ ta¹nie¹ lie¹
 four CL back SRC

from behind those four black dogs of mine

Figure 6.1 shows the order of the elements within a noun phrase:

Figure 6.1 Order of elements in the noun phrase

Associative Phrase	Demonstrative	HEAD NOUN	Adjectival Noun	Classifier Phrase	Locative Noun	Noun Particle
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7 The Verb Phrase

A Tujia clause must have a **verb phrase** (VP), whereas noun phrases are optional. The nucleus of a verb phrase is the verb. Verbs describe events, actions, states, processes, and experiences, and they presuppose the presence of noun phrases referring to the participants involved in those events. In Tujia verb phrases, the verb may be followed by verb particles, which are used to denote concepts such as aspect, modality, negation, directionality, and relevance. All Tujia verbs may be negated by an appropriate negating verb particle. In Sections 4.2 and 4.3.3, the different types of verbs and verb particles found in Tujia were briefly described. In this chapter, they will be discussed in detail and example sentences given to illustrate their functions.

7.1 Types of Verb Phrases

Functionally, a verb phrase acts as the *predicate* of a sentence, *i.e.* the part of a sentence in which something is asserted or denied about the subject of the sentence. Verb phrases may be classified according to whether they have no object, one object, or two objects. According to this classification, the types of verb phrases found in Tujia are *intransitive* (without a grammatical object), *transitive* (with a direct object), and *ditransitive* (with a direct and an indirect object).

7.1.1 Intransitive verb phrases

An intransitive verb phrase has as its nucleus a verb that does not take an object. Such verbs are usually stative verbs which include adjectival verbs, as described in Section 4.2.1. In the following examples, the verb phrase is indicated by square brackets.

In the first group of sentences, the verb phrase consists of a single verb only:

(1) lai⁴ [sa⁴]
 today to be cold

It is cold today.

(2) ge³di¹ ci¹pu¹ [hhe³]
 this book to be long

This book is long.

(3) guo² nie³ si¹ba¹ [hhe¹se¹]
 3sg ASSOC clothing to be dirty

His clothes are dirty.

In the second group of sentences, the verb phrase consists of a verb plus one or more verb particles:

- (4) ge³di¹ qie²si¹ [mian¹jie¹ la¹ hu³]
 this orange to be red IMPF FUTR

This orange is starting to become red (ripening).

- (5) guo² me³ [di² da²]
 3sg stomach be painful NEG

His stomach is not painful.

- (6) nga² nie³ biu² [nie⁴ la¹]
 1sg ASSOC daughter laugh IMPF

My daughter is laughing.

- (7) lai⁴ ce³ [ong² liao¹]
 today water rise CRS

Today the water has risen.

- (8) guo² [se² hu³]
 3sg die FUTR

He is about to die.

- (9) nga² nie³ tuo³tuo³ [xi⁴ dao²]
 1sg ASSOC knife to be sharp not now

My knife is not sharp anymore.

- (10) nga² nie³ tuo³tuo³ [xi⁴ da² nie²]
 1sg ASSOC knife to be sharp NEG still

My knife is not sharp yet. (in the process of grinding it)

7.1.2 Transitive verb phrases

In transitive verb phrases, two participants are required by the verb, with one doing something to or directing some behaviour at the other one. The former is the *subject* and the latter is the *direct object*. In Tujia, the direct object *immediately precedes* the verb; the verb may also be followed by one or more verb particles. In the following sentences, the transitive verb phrases are indicated by square brackets.

- (11) lai⁴ nga² [ye³ ga²]
 today 1sg rice eat

Today I am eating rice.

- (12) guo² [ci¹pu¹ a³ lu³]
 3sg book(s) fetch DIR

He's gone to fetch books.

- (13) ge¹ze¹ lai⁴ [ka³ wo⁴ i]
 3pl today firewood carry on the back IRR

They are going to collect firewood today.

- (14) ang²ni¹ cu¹ lai⁴ [li²bu¹ ha³ la¹]
 1pl home today grain hit IMPF

Our family is threshing grain today.

As Tujia is a topic prominent language, the direct object may sometimes be fronted and occur in the clause-initial position. This is discussed in Section 5.1.

7.1.3 Ditransitive verb phrases

Ditransitive verb phrases are those whose verbs require two objects, one of which is the direct object and the other the indirect object. In Tujia, the indirect object is marked by the noun particle bo³; its use has been discussed previously in Section 6.6.1. The verb phrases in the following sentences are indicated by square brackets.

- (15) ang¹bei¹ [nga² bo³ ci¹pu¹ lie²]
 uncle 1sg IO books give

My uncle is giving me books.

- (16) ni² [nga² bo³ ye³ la² su¹ huo³ xie²]
 2sg 1sg IO rice one bowl bring DIR

Bring me a bowl of rice.

- (17) nga² [guo² bo³ xing² la² cuo¹ a² la¹]
 1sg 3sg IO letter one CL write IMPF

I'm writing him a letter.

7.2 Verb Particles

Verb particles follow the verb and express a wide variety of semantic concepts, including aspect, directionality, modality, negation, and relevance. In this section, their usage will first be described in the above semantic groupings. In the next section, the order in which they occur after the verb and co-occurrence restrictions will be discussed.

7.2.1 Aspectual particles

The six verb particles in the first group are broadly classified as "aspectual" for convenience of description, although only the last two are strictly aspectual. This group of particles may be divided into the following three subgroups:

- si¹ and duo³, which are *intensifying* and *accomplishment* markers
- ji² and bo³, which are *telic* and *static* markers
- la¹ and lie¹, which indicate *imperfective* and *perfective* aspects

Subgroup 1

The two verb particles *si*¹ and *duo*³ are both used immediately following the verb.

> *si*¹

This verb particle is used as an *intensifying* marker, in order to stress the negative outcome of a situation. It may be related to the Tujia verb for “to die” (*se*²) but is more likely to be a Chinese loan, as its use is virtually equivalent to the use of the word *si*¹ (the same word as the Chinese verb “to die”) as an adverb meaning “extremely” or “... to death”. The following are some examples of its use in Tujia:

- (18) nga² guo² yi³ lie¹, nga² ge⁴ si¹ la¹ hu³
 1sg 3sg see PERF 1sg to fear INTS IMPF FUTR

When I saw it, I was frightened to death. (when the narrator came across a tiger)

- (19) me²ze³ da², li²bu¹ ga³ si¹ ji² lie¹
 rain NEG rice paddy be dry INTS TEL PERF

There is no rain, the paddy fields have dried up completely.

- (20) yi²la¹qi¹ tao², long¹se³ wo²tu¹ song³ si¹ lie¹
 reed not have saliva inside block INTS PERF

There is no reed now, saliva has completely blocked the inside (of the bamboo flute).

> *duo*³

This verb particle is used to indicate *accomplishment*, as in reaching a goal or obtaining a desired result. Its use in such contexts is identical to that of the adverbial use of the Chinese word *dao*¹, which as a verb means “to arrive”. The following are some examples of its use in Tujia:

- (21) ang²ni¹ guo² lai⁴ bu² duo³ ta¹ti¹
 1pl 3sg today kill ACCOMP cannot

We won't manage to kill him today. (a government official was trying to trap and kill a bandit)

- (22) eng¹di¹ ye³ -die¹, kuo¹ xie² ngo⁴ xie²,
 this thing PL gold have silver have
 pu¹ duo³ ta¹ti¹
 buy ACCOMP cannot

These things, [even if you] have gold or silver, [you] cannot buy [them].

- (23) la⁴ hhi² duo³ da² song¹kuo¹ de¹xi³,
 road go ACCOMP NEG return able to

sa³li³ duo³ da² song¹kuo¹ ta¹ti¹
 speak ACCOMP NEG return cannot

Wrongly taken steps can be retraced, but wrongly spoken words cannot be recalled. (Tujia proverb)

Subgroup 2

This subgroup comprises *ji*² and *bo*³. These two verb particles are used to change the *Aktionsart* interpretation for the verb. *Aktionsart* (“form of action”) was originally proposed by Vendler³ (1957) for classifying verbs in terms of their inherent temporal properties.

> *ji*²

This verb particle is a *telic* aspectiviser, and is used to focus on the inherent terminal point of the action described by the verb.

The first group of examples illustrates the use of *ji*² on its own in declarative clauses. In such cases, it focuses on the endpoint of the action.

- (24) da² ji², luo⁴ba¹ pa³pu¹ bie⁴
 wear TEL men grandfather leave

After [I've] put [them] on, [I] will leave the menfolk [of my home]. (said by a bride about to leave her family home after she has finished putting on her wedding clothes)

- (25) zao⁴gu¹die¹ zi³ ga² ji², ong¹ga³ tai²
 breakfast rice eat TEL lunch not have

When [we have] finished eating breakfast, there was nothing left for lunch. (describing a life of poverty after the death of a husband)

- (26) a²da¹ a¹mi¹ me²la¹ong³ da⁴ze³,
 elder sister younger sister cloud be like
 re²su⁴ re² ji², yi²si¹ zao³
 wind blow TEL all be gone

My sisters are like clouds, when the wind has finished blowing, they are all gone. (part of a bride's lament: her sisters will also marry into different families and be scattered)

The second group of examples illustrates the use of *ji*² followed by other verb particles. It may be used with the following types of particles:

- with *modal* verb particles:

The following sentences are taken from a description of activities during the Tujia New Year, focusing on what must be completed before celebrations can begin.

- (27) ci¹ tie²ba¹ ka¹ hu³, deng¹long³ gua² ji² duo³,
 year big one celebrate FUTR lantern hang TEL must
 da²men¹ ga³ha² ci¹ki¹ta¹ ba¹ ji² duo³
 front door top paper paste TEL must

[We are] about to celebrate Tujia New Year, [we] must finish hanging the lanterns and finish pasting paper on the front door.

³ Vendler, Z. 1957. Verbs and Times. *The Philosophical Review*, 66, pp.143-60. Cornell University Press.

- (28) me² ga³ha² xi⁴bu²li¹ ri³, hi⁴ ji² ta¹ti¹
 sky top star be many count TEL cannot

[There are] so many stars in the sky, [we] cannot finish counting them.

- with negating verb particles:

- (29) ai¹di¹ guo² ga² ji² ta¹
 that 3sg eat TEL NEG

He won't be able to finish eating that. (the object has been fronted here)

- (30) guo² huo³ ji² da²
 3sg take TEL NEG

He did not finish taking [them].

- with verb particles indicating relevance:

- (31) ge¹ze¹ ri¹ ji² hu³
 3pl work TEL FUTR

They are about to finish work.

- (32) ge¹ze¹ cuo⁴ su² ji² hu³
 3pl house build TEL FUTR

They are about to finish building their house.

It is often used in combination with the *perfective* aspectual particle lie¹ to emphasise completion of an event. This is discussed in more detail under Subgroup 3 of this section.

> bo³

This verb particle is a *static* aspectiviser. As such, it is intimately associated with the inherent property of a verb, and is therefore always located immediately following the verb. Its use in different clauses and with other verb particles is illustrated by specific examples in each section below.

The first group of examples illustrates its use with certain verbs in imperative clauses. These verbs describe actions which take very little time to complete, and the addition of bo³ focuses on the *static* element, indicating that the hearer is required to *maintain the completed state*. Therefore, it is often used in commands such as the following:

- (33) zu¹zu⁴ bo³
 stand STAT

Stand up! (the command is for the hearer to remain standing)

- (34) gu¹du⁴ bo³
 squat STAT

Squat! (the command is for the hearer to stay squatting)

- (35) ci¹pu¹ tong² bo³
 book open STAT

Open your books. (used by a teacher: the students are to keep their books open)

- (36) ni² nga² ta⁴ ba⁴ bo³
 2sg 1sg not to look STAT

Don't keep looking at me!

- (37) ka³ kuo¹lie¹ ga³ha² duo¹ bo³
 firewood frame above the fireplace top put STAT

Put the firewood on the frame above the fireplace. (and leave it there)

- (38) sa¹mi¹ la² su¹ za¹ bo³
 sami one bowl steep STAT

Steep a bowl of sami [in water]. (sami are deep-fried crisped glutinous rice cakes)

- (39) hu²ni¹ da⁴ha³ cai³mo¹ ru³ bo³
 everybody together well, properly listen STAT

Everybody, listen carefully to me.

The second group of examples illustrates the use of bo³ alone in declarative clauses. As in imperative clauses, bo³ focuses on the *static* element of the action, *i.e.* the maintenance of a state, as in the following examples:

- (40) ang²ni¹ zi¹gi¹ re¹ la¹hu³ gang¹pe¹ za⁴ bo³
 1pl front four CL stick hold STAT

The four of us in front are holding sticks.

- (41) guo² li² ta²pa⁴ ce²ce¹ -die¹ huo³ bo³,
 3sg tiger skin honey PL take STAT
 ma⁴ a³si³ jia¹ lie¹, jing¹ceng³ ye⁴
 horse white ride PERF capital city arrive

Taking tiger skins and honey, he rode his white horse and arrived at the capital city.

- (42) ang²ni¹ hu²ni¹ da⁴ha³ ni² bo³ jie²zu¹
 1pl everybody together 2sg IO headscarf
 a³si³ die⁴ bo³
 white wear STAT

All of us will be wearing white headscarves for you. (indication of mourning at a funeral)

The last group of examples illustrates the use of bo³ together with other groups of verb particles in the same verb phrase. In the following sentences, bo³ retains its position immediately after the verb.

- with *directional* verb particles:

(43) hu²ni¹ da⁴ha³ eng¹ge¹ zu¹zu⁴ bo³ xie²
 everybody together over there stand STAT DIR

Everybody, stand over there.

(44) guo² eng¹ge¹ ong³ bo³ lu³
 3sg over there sit STAT DIR

He went and sat over there.

(45) guo² ge³ ong³ bo³ di²
 3sg here sit STAT DIR

He came and sat over here.

- with *modal* verb particles:

(46) ni² luo⁴die¹ nie³ a³nie¹ a³ba¹ bo³
 2sg other people ASSOC mother father IO
 sun² bo³ duo³
 obey STAT must

You must obey someone else's parents. (to a bride about to leave her family home)

(47) ni² gao²cai³ ong³ bo³ de¹xi³
 2sg here sit STAT can

You can sit here.

(48) nga² ong³ bo³ ca²
 1sg sit STAT want

I want to sit down.

- with *negating* verb particles:

(49) nga² ang¹ngai⁴ rong⁴ yi²si¹ cuo³xie² ji²la¹ cai²
 1sg brothers sisters all shoes socks good
 da² bo³ da²
 wear STAT NEG

None of my brothers and sisters ever wore good shoes or socks.

(50) gu¹zu⁴ ji² lie¹, guo² se³ wo²tu¹
 hollow out TEL PERF 3sg pith inside
 song³ bo³ dao²
 fill STAT NEG

[It's] hollowed out, the pith inside is not blocking it now. (making a traditional dongdongkui flute)

- with verb particles indicating *relevance*:

(51) ni² guo² jiu¹ ri⁴ huo³lie³ tao² bo³ hu³
 2sg 3sg then clamp use hold STAT FUTR

Use a clamp to hold it, now. (in the context of hunting a deer)

(52) nga² ong³ bo³ i nie²
 1sg sit STAT IRR CONTR

I am going [to stay] sitting here.

(53) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ ong³ bo³ gu²
 1pl together sit STAT PRESR

Let's sit down together now.

Subgroup 3

The last subgroup consists of two verb particles, *la*¹ and *lie*¹, which express the category of *aspect*. Aspect does not refer to the chronological relationship between a situation and the time of the speech act, but indicates how the situation itself is being viewed with respect to its own internal makeup (Comrie, 1976)⁴.

➤ *la*¹

This verb particle is used to indicate *imperfective* aspect, *i.e.* presenting an event as being ongoing rather than referring to its beginning or its end. Thus, the event can be past, present or future in time. Used in this way, it is somewhat similar to the continuous forms of the tenses in English and to the durative marker *zai*⁴ in Mandarin Chinese. In addition, it is also used for habitual actions which are in effect timeless, with the emphasis being placed on the continual performance of the action.

The first group of examples using the verb particle *la*¹ consists of actions which are in progress at the time of speech. In this context, it is often used in everyday conversations, as illustrated by the following sentences:

(54) a²guo¹ -die¹ da⁴ha³ lai⁴ ge³ci² la¹
 companions PL together today play IMPF

My companions and I are playing today (at this moment).

(55) nga² la¹ba³ mie² la¹
 1sg trumpet blow IMPF

I am blowing a trumpet.

(56) ni² li²bu¹ ce³ po¹ la¹ tai²
 2sg rice plants water pour IMPF not have

Are you watering the rice plants or not?

⁴ Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge University Press.

- (57) ni² cuo⁴ zi¹gi¹ bao¹zeng¹ ga³ha² zu¹zu⁴ bo³.
 2sg house front prominence top stand STAT

Go and stand on the top of the mound in front of the house.

zu¹zu⁴ bo³ la¹
 stand STAT IMPF

Reply: *I am standing there.*

The second group of examples describes ongoing states in narratives of past events. When used to signal the continuation of a state in past narratives, this particle is often used in combination with the static aspectiviser bo³, as in the following:

- (58) nga² jie² la² ci³ si¹lang¹ la² pi¹
 1sg hand one CL blanket one CL
 be⁴ bo³ la¹
 hold STAT IMPF

In one hand, I was holding a blanket.

- (59) guo² lang³gang³ ga³ha² gu¹du⁴ bo³ mo³
 3sg fence top crouch STAT ADV
 zi¹ bo³ la¹
 watch STAT IMPF

It [the tiger], crouched on the top of the fence, was watching intently.

- (60) ai¹ la² long¹ guo² sa⁴ suo¹ long³
 that one year 3sg duck three CL
 long⁴ bo³ la¹
 raise STAT IMPF

That year, he raised three ducks.

The third group of examples involves habitual actions which may be either past or present events:

- (61) guo² qie³pa² tao¹tao¹ su², nga² guo²
 3sg farmwork very be good at 1sg 3sg
 ta¹nie¹ dang¹guo³ la¹
 back follow IMPF

She (the speaker's mother) was very good at farmwork, I was always following her.

- (62) nga² re² huan² di¹di⁴ bo³ hu³ la¹
 1sg wine always hold STAT drink IMPF

I would always hold the wine [bottle] and drink. (the speaker is relating what he does in the course of a typical day)

- (63) ni² nie³ ai¹di¹ li³ xi² zeng¹di¹hua¹, nga² be²
 2sg ASSOC that say NOM be true 1sg also
 li³ xi² xi⁴ la¹
 say NOM hear IMPF

What you are saying is true, I have also heard it being said.

- (64) nga² tian³jing¹gui² jie³ la¹
 1sg Tian Jinggui call IMPF

I am called Tian Jinggui (= My name is Tian Jinggui.)

In addition, the verb particle la¹ is often followed by the particles hu³ and nie¹. The use of these combinations is described in detail in Section 7.2.6.

➤ lie¹

This verb particle indicates *perfective* aspect, *i.e.* the event is being viewed in its entirety. These events are bounded temporally, spatially, or conceptually. The particle is often used for definite or specific events which have already happened in the past, as most perfective events reported in speech are those that had occurred prior to the time of the speech act. It is also frequently used as a marker for the first event in a sequence of actions in narrative texts, since the occurrence of the first action is bounded by subsequent actions. In procedural texts where the speaker is instructing the hearer, this verb particle is also used to signal the first step which has to be completed before the second stage can be undertaken.

This particle also combines with the *present relevance* particle gu² to form a commonly used suffix, liao¹, which focuses on the currently relevant state of the action. This is discussed in Section 7.2.6.

The first group of examples illustrates the use of lie¹ to indicate specific past events which are viewed as bounded events:

- (65) luo⁴bi³ ye³ la¹hu³ ku¹za⁴ da³ lie¹
 son eight CL mountain go down PERF

The eight sons went down the mountain.

- (66) guo² la¹ ba⁴ lie¹
 3sg one look PERF

He took one look (at the tiger).

- (67) bi²zi¹ka³ guo² die² bo³ mo³ tu¹wan³gong¹
 Tujia 3sg remember STAT ADVP Tuwang temple
 lao⁴ su² lie¹
 one build PERF

The Tujia people built a Tuwang temple in order to commemorate him.

- (68) peng³gong¹ sa³ ri¹ xi² ca², ye³ hi² hi²
 Duke Peng things do NOM be good eight ten ten
 nie¹ long¹ ong³ lie¹
 two year sit PERF

Duke Peng did everything well, and ruled for 802 years.

The second group of examples illustrates the use of lie¹ in narratives to indicate a completed first event, which is necessarily bounded:

- (69) huan³di² ha⁴ri³ lie¹, guo² yi³ ca²
 emperor know PERF 3sg see want
 After the emperor knew [about his exploits], he wanted to see him.
- (70) guo² ma⁴ a³si³ jia¹ lie¹, jing¹ceng³ ye⁴
 3sg horse be white ride PERF capital arrive
 He rode the white horse and arrived at the capital.

He rode the white horse and arrived at the capital.

- (71) guo² pu¹ki¹ be⁴ lie¹, a³bu³ tuo²ga¹
 3sg hoe lift PERF kudzu vine bracken
 di³ bo³ nie¹ka¹
 dig STAT live

He would lift a hoe [onto his shoulders], and go off to dig kudzu vine and bracken in order to survive. (narrating the daily life of an impoverished villager)

- (72) guo² a²ce¹ suo¹ ze² hu³ lie¹, hou²gong¹
 3sg tea three mouthful drink PERF concubines' palace
 wo²tu¹ bo¹ la² dong² peng²
 inside GOAL one mouthful spray

He drank three mouthfuls of tea, and then spat [them] inside the concubines' palace.

The third group of examples illustrates the use of lie¹ in imperatives and procedural texts to indicate an action which must first be completed before proceeding to another action:

- (73) zi⁴ bo³ ye³ luo² lie¹, wu² la¹ ka⁴
 pig IO food cook PERF cow a while watch

[When you've] cooked the pigfood, watch the cow for a while.

- (74) hhi³ ha³ lie¹, jiu¹ ba¹ba¹ bu²
 millet thresh PERF then glutinous rice cakes pound

[When you've] threshed the millet, pound the glutinous rice cakes.

- (75) mian³hua³ lang³lang² lie¹, ci¹ duo³
 cotton dry in the sun PERF card (v.) must

[When you've] dried the cotton in the sun, you must card it.

- (76) wo¹ lie¹, tong⁴; tong⁴ lie¹, la² pe¹ bu⁴
 wash PERF steam steam PERF one night soak

[When you've] washed [the rice], steam it; [when you've] steamed it, soak it overnight. (part of a procedural text describing how to make crisped rice cakes)

The last group of examples illustrates the combination of the *telic* aspectiviser ji² together with lie¹ to emphasise completion of a bounded event:

- (77) la¹long¹ sang¹zi²jing¹ be²jia¹xing² tu¹ ji² lie¹
 one year Sanzijing Baijixing study TEL PERF

In one year, [I] finished studying Sanzijing and Baijixing.

- (78) ge³di¹ ce³ hu³ ji² lie¹, li³ de¹xi³ la
 this water drink TEL PERF speak can EXCL

After [he] had finished drinking this water (medicine), [he] could speak!

- (79) lai⁴ sa³ tai², zao⁴huan³ ga² ji² lie¹,
 today words/things not have breakfast eat TEL PERF
 jiu¹ qie³bi² la¹ wo¹
 then bowl once wash

[I] haven't got anything to do today, so after finishing breakfast, I gave the bowls a wash.

7.2.2 Directional particles

There are four verb particles which indicate *directionality* and which follow the "aspectual" particles described above. The concept of direction may be geographical or relational. The particles are:

- xie² and di², for actions directed *towards* the speaker
- lie³ and lu³, for actions directed *away from* the speaker

The particle diu², which is a combination of di² with the *relevance* particle gu², is very commonly used, and will also be considered in detail in this section.

The following pairs of examples illustrate the most basic function of these directional particles in the context of a command and its corresponding response. Note that the English gloss of huo³ as "bring" or "take" depends on the directional verb particle involved.

- action towards the speaker, where xie² is used in command and diu² used in reply:

- (80) ci¹pu¹ huo³ xie²
 book bring/take DIR

Bring the book here.

- (81) nga² ci¹pu¹ huo³ diu²
 1sg book bring/take DIR

I'm bringing it [to you] now.

- action away from the speaker, where *lie³* is used in command and *lu³* used in reply:

(82) ci¹pu¹ huo³ lie³
book bring/take DIR

Take the book away.

(83) nga² ci¹pu¹ huo³ lu³
1sg book bring/take DIR

I'm taking the book there.

xie² and lie³

These two directional particles are most frequently used in imperative clauses. The following are more examples of their use in such contexts.

> xie²

(84) ha⁴lie³ nie¹ long³ cuo⁴ xie²
dog two CL lead DIR

Bring two dogs here. (cf. Example (91))

(85) yi²si¹ eng¹ge¹ ga² xie²
all there eat DIR

Come and eat with me there. (in this case, the direction is relational rather than geographical: the speaker is inviting others to come and eat with him; he is waiting at a specific place for the others)

As it is culturally inappropriate to ask people to eat elsewhere, *ga² lie³* is never used.

(86) ni² yan³huo¹ nga² bo³ la² xie²
2sg matches 1sg IO throw DIR

Throw the matches to me.

The following sentences are set in the context of a speaker organising different tasks for his fellow villagers and asking them to bring the objects back to him. Under such circumstances, the particle *xie²* functions as verbal shorthand for "bring it back to me":

(87) mian³hua³ la² pong² la² pong² mo³ tu¹ xie²
cotton one CL one CL ADVP pick DIR

Pick the cotton plant by plant and bring it back.

(88) ni² bong⁴ duo¹ xie²
2sg steamer put DIR

Put the steamer here.

(89) ni² qie¹hhe¹ la² ha² ha³ xie²
2sg glutinous rice one CL hit DIR

Thresh a basketful of glutinous rice and bring it here.

(90) mu⁴nie³ la² zi² ta⁴ xie²
bamboo one CL cut DIR

Cut a stick of bamboo and bring it here.

> lie³

(91) ha⁴lie³ nie¹ long³ cuo⁴ lie³
dog two CL lead DIR

Take two dogs away. (cf. Example (84))

(92) ni² wo³bi³ ca¹cei¹ lao⁴ wo⁴ lie³
2sg backbasket small one CL carry on back DIR

Take a small backbasket with you.

(93) eng¹di¹ se³ yi²si¹ a³ lie³ duo³
this pith all take DIR must

Get all the pith out. (part of a procedural narrative for making a *dongdongkui* flute, where all the pith inside the bamboo has to be removed)

(94) re² huo³ lie³ se² eng¹ge¹ luo⁴die¹
wine take DIR 3pl there people

hu²ni¹ da⁴ha³ hu³
all together drink

Take this wine back, and drink it together with the people in your village.

Apart from being used in imperatives, *xie²* and *lie³* can also be used in declarative clauses to indicate directionality:

> xie²

In the following examples describing past events, the use of *xie²* indicates that the speaker returned to his starting point after having performed the action stated:

(95) nga² lai⁴ ka³ wo⁴ xie²
1sg today firewood carry DIR

Today I fetched firewood and brought it back (to the house).

(96) guo² zi⁴cuo⁴ ka⁴ xie²
3sg pig pen guard DIR

He guarded the pig pen and came back (home).

> lie³

In declarative clauses, *lie³* may be used in combination with other verb particles, as in the following examples:

(97) nga² guo² huo³ lie³ hu³
1sg 3sg bring/take DIR FUTR

I'm about to take it away.

- (98) guo² gai² ci¹pu¹ huo³ lie³ ta¹
3sg this book take DIR NEG

He will not take this book (away).

- (99) nga² gai² ha¹ce¹ huo³ lie³ ca²
1sg these vegetables take DIR want

I want to take these vegetables.

diu² and lu³

In addition to their function in replying to imperatives formed using xie² and lie³, as in the examples at the beginning of this section, these directional particles can also be used alone in declarative clauses.

> diu²

The use of diu² focuses on a change of state, which usually involves starting an action. This accords with its use in response to a command with xie², where a reply using diu² indicates that the hearer has started to obey.

- (100) yi²si¹ song¹kuo¹ ji² diu², yi²si¹ lao²re¹ ba⁴ diu²
all come back TEL DIR together fun, bustle watch DIR

They have all come back together to watch the fun.

- (101) nga² jie²ri¹ nie³ du⁴zi³zi² ke⁴ diu²
1sg labour ASSOC be very heavy carry DIR

I started to take up the heavy burden of the farmer. (after the death of the narrator's father, he had to stop going to school and help on the farm)

- (102) guo² re²ti¹ku¹ huo³ bo³ song¹kuo¹ diu²
3sg flagon of wine take STAT go back DIR

Taking the flagon of wine, he started for home.

- (103) me²ze³ diu²
rain DIR

It's starting to rain.

- (104) guo² nie³ me³ di² xi³tai² eng²qi¹ luo²bu¹
3sg ASSOC stomach be painful very nose eyes
mie⁴ zu² diu²
blood come out DIR

His stomach was very painful, and blood started coming out of his nose and eyes. (the directional component here is towards the observer, i.e. what was previously invisible has now become visible)

- (105) pu³ tie²ba¹ lao⁴ ra² diu²
phoenix large one one fly DIR

A large phoenix came flying. (become visible to the observer, as above)

- (106) ai¹ la² long¹ wo⁴ta³ nie³ luo⁴die¹ ang²
that one year outside ASSOC other people 1pl
guai³jia¹ ha³ diu²
country fight DIR

That year people from outside came to attack our country.

- (107) nga² zao⁴gu¹die¹ ba²dian¹zong¹ zu² diu²
1sg morning eight o'clock get up DIR

I get up at eight in the mornings. (become visible to others)

> lu³

Like diu², when lu³ is used alone in declarative clauses, the focus is on a change of state. It is therefore used with verbs like "run" or "take", where no finite endpoint is evident at the time of the speech act but where the direction of the action is away from the speaker. This accords with its use in responding to a command with lie³.

- (108) ge⁴ da⁴ha³ dang¹guo³ lu³
3pl together follow DIR

They've gone off together. (part of a hunting dialogue, where a deer and a wild boar have just run off together)

- (109) guo² qi²bu¹li¹ bu⁴ la² ca¹ cu⁴ lie¹,
3sg soybeans boat one CL fill PERF
cang³die³ bo¹ lu³ lu³
Changde GOAL sell DIR

He filled a boat with soybeans to sell in Changde.

- (110) ai¹di¹ luo⁴ ka³kei¹la¹lei¹ mo³ xi⁴ca³ lu³
that person quietly ADVP run DIR

That person quietly ran away.

- (111) li² a³si³ ge⁴ mo³ xi⁴ca³ lu³
tiger white be afraid ADVP run DIR

Frightened, the white tiger ran away.

- (112) lao³ga³ ba³ti³ he³ lu³
large one below leak DIR

A large piece (of grain) has dropped down below. (out of sight of the observer)

- (113) wu³zuo³cong¹ luo³ta³gai² bo³ ye⁴ lu³
Wuzuocong Luotagai GOAL hide DIR

Wuzuocong went to Luotagai to hide. (become invisible)

- (114) ai¹ la² nie¹ bang² sa⁴ lao⁴ di¹di⁴ lu³
that one day eagle duck one carry DIR

One day, an eagle made away with a duck.

➤ di²

The particle di² indicates direction *towards* the speaker, but is used for an action which has already happened, as illustrated in the following sentences:

- (115) nga² huo³ di²
1sg bring DIR

I have already brought [it].

- (116) me²ze³ di²
rain DIR

It has already rained.

- (117) ni² nie³ biu² ci¹pu¹ huo³ di²
2sg ASSOC daughter book bring DIR

Your daughter has brought the book.

7.2.3 The irrealis particle

The *irrealis* particle *i* is used to indicate potential, hypothetical actions, which may either be past or future. In terms of postverbal order, *i* usually occupies a position following the directional particles but preceding the modal particles, as described in Section 7.3.1. However, we have noticed that certain speakers in a few villages tend to put it immediately after the verb. This variability may be due to its special phonological form, *i.e.* a single short vowel without a consonantal onset, so that if it is placed nearer the verb, it can be more easily distinguished by the hearer. The following examples illustrate its usual position in the postverbal string.

• use of *i* in past contexts:

The use of *i* as an *irrealis* marker for potential actions which had not actually taken place in the past is illustrated in the following examples:

- (118) lai⁴ nga² ye³ ga² i ya lie¹, nga²
today 1sg food eat IRR EXCL PERF 1sg
nie³ wu² hu¹ca³ lu³, ai¹lie¹ nga² ga² i da²
ASSOC cow run away DIR so 1sg eat IRR NEG

I had planned to eat today, but my cow escaped and so I did not eat.

In answer to the question, “Why did you go to see her in Longshan yesterday?”, the answer could be:

- (119) guo² nga² nie³ a³nie¹, ai¹ta¹
3sg 1sg ASSOC mother otherwise
nga² ba⁴ i ta¹
1sg see IRR NEG

She is my mother, otherwise I would not [have gone] to see [her].

In narratives, although the events described had happened in the past, *i* may sometimes be used following the verbs to heighten the dramatic effect, somewhat like the use of the “historic present” in English.

- (120) nga² guo² zun⁴bei³ ha³ i
1sg 3sg get ready hit IRR

I got ready to shoot it (a tiger).

- (121) guo² ze²ga³, ce³ hu³ i, yan³huo¹ la² zi²
3sg be thirsty water drink IRR match one CL
gua² lie¹
strike PERF

He was thirsty, wanted to drink, [and] struck a match. (describing how a notorious bandit inadvertently revealed his hiding-place and was finally caught)

• use of *i* in future contexts:

The *irrealis* marker *i* is more commonly used to indicate events in the future. The use of this particle allows for a considerable time lapse before the event happens or needs to be undertaken in the case of imperatives.

- (122) huo¹sa¹ da³bi² ga⁴ ta¹, ni² qie⁴ ga² i?
wasteland near place dig NEG 2sg what eat IRR

If you don't work the wasteland, what will you eat (in the future)? (a village elder encouraging the other villagers to work hard at digging up wasteland)

- (123) ang²ni¹ ku¹za⁴ ga³ha² bo¹ yi² pao¹ po¹,
1pl mountains top GOAL one a shot to fire
ai¹lie¹ da⁴ha³ song¹kuo¹ i
then together go home IRR

Let's fire a shot at the top of the mountain, and then go home together. (at the beginning of a hunt, when there is still a lot to do after firing the shot, so that returning home is still a distant goal)

- (124) bo¹li³, ni² lai⁴ ka³ la² pa¹ wo⁴ i
child 2sg today firewood one bundle carry on the back IRR

Son, go and fetch a bundle of firewood today. (mother to son at the start of the day; the son still has to finish breakfast)

- (125) guo² guo² a³ bo³ jian¹san¹ ka⁴ i
3sg 3sg take STAT country guard IRR

He [wanted to] retain him to guard the country. (in the story of General Xiang, a Tujia hero, whom the emperor wanted to employ to help defend the nation)

- use of *i* with other verb particles:

(126) nga² huo³ di² i
1sg bring DIR IRR

I will bring it [here].

(127) guo² ye³ ga² i ca²
3sg food eat IRR want

He wants to have some food.

(128) ni² ye³ ga² i de¹xi³
2sg food eat IRR can

You can have some food.

(129) nga² ye³ ga² i nie¹
1sg food eat IRR CONTR

I still have to eat. (the speaker has not eaten yet)

(130) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ ga² i hu³
1pl together eat IRR FUTR

Let's go together and eat now.

7.2.4 Modal particles

Modality in Tujia is expressed by a number of verb particles. These express desires, wishes, and intentions, and follow activity verbs. Most have corresponding negative particles. The modal particles may be divided into the following subgroups according to their semantic associations:

- particles indicating *ability*: de¹xi³/ta¹ti¹, hhe¹/ci¹hhe¹, ce¹/hi¹ce¹, bie¹
- particles indicating *obligation*: pie¹, duo³/ta¹duo³
- particles indicating *desire* or *willingness*: ca², ce¹/ta¹ce¹

Note that the first syllable of the negative forms ta¹ti¹, ta¹duo³, and ta¹ce¹ is the negating particle ta¹, which is discussed in Section 7.2.5. However, they are written in combination here for convenience of comparison with the positive modal forms.

In addition, there is a combination particle, ta¹tiu¹, which is derived from ta¹ti¹ and the present relevance particle gu², and which means “cannot at the moment”. The use of this combination particle is described at the end of this section.

Subgroup 1

These are particles which indicate *ability* or *inability* to perform an action. However, these three pairs of particles convey different shades of meaning:

- de¹xi³ and ta¹ti¹ indicate general ability, whether someone can do the action or not
- hhe¹ and ci¹hhe¹ are used more specifically to indicate actions which the speaker needs to learn to do properly
- ce¹ and hi¹ce¹ are used for actions whose performance requires strength on the speaker's part
- bie¹ indicates that the speaker has time to do the action required

The following examples illustrate the different uses of the above particles:

➤ de¹xi³ and ta¹ti¹

(131) guo² tu¹ de¹xi³
3sg read can

He can read.

(132) nga² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ de¹xi³
1sg flowers weave can

I can weave. (this refers to weaving patterned cloth on a loom)

(133) guo² tu¹ ta¹ti¹
3sg read cannot

He can't read. (either he does not know how to read, or he cannot read at the time of the speech act because it is too dark and he cannot see to read)

(134) nga² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ ta¹ti¹
1sg flowers weave cannot

I can't weave. (either I don't know how to weave, or there is not enough light for me to weave by at the time of the speech act)

➤ hhe¹ and ci¹hhe¹

(135) nga² se³ke¹ qie³ hhe¹
1sg fields plough know how to, be good at

I know how to plough well.

(136) guo² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ hhe¹
3sg flowers weave know how to, be good at

She is skilled at weaving.

(137) nga² bi²zi¹sa³ li³ ci¹hhe¹
1sg Tujia speak don't know how to, not good at

I don't speak Tujia well. (the speaker may be able to say a few words)

(138) guo² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ ci¹hhe¹
3sg flowers weave don't know how to, not good at

She is not good at weaving. (she can weave a little, but doesn't do it very well)

➤ **ce¹ and hi¹ce¹**

- (139) nga² ce³ ke⁴ ce¹
1sg water lift be strong enough to

I can lift [this bucket of] water.

- (140) nga² gai² ka³ la¹ pa¹ wo⁴ ce¹
1sg this firewood one bundle carry on the back be strong enough to

I can carry this bundle of firewood (on my back).

- (141) nga² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ hi¹ce¹
1sg flowers weave not strong enough to

I can't weave. (I am too tired or too old to do it)

- (142) nga² se³ke¹ pe²ti¹ ga⁴ dong² xie²,
1sg fields land a few CL have

- nga² ri¹ hi¹ce¹
1sg do not strong enough to

I have some fields and plots of land, [but] I can't work them myself. (the speaker is an elderly farmer who can no longer do strenuous manual labour)

➤ **bie¹**

This particle indicates that the speaker is able to perform a certain action because he has time to do so, *i.e.* "can do because I have time". It is not that commonly used but can be very useful in specific contexts. Examples of its use are as follows:

- (143) nga² ye³ ga² i ta¹ bie¹
1sg food eat IRR NEG have time to

I haven't got time to eat.

- (144) cun¹tian¹ ye⁴ liao¹, ye³ ri¹ duo³,
spring arrive CRS things work must

- gao¹ ta¹ bie¹
do NEG have time to

Once spring has come, [we] must work and won't have time to do [this]. (said by a villager who was trying to find a wife for a friend)

Subgroup 2

These are particles which indicate an *obligation* or a *need* to perform an action, corresponding to the English modal verbs "must", "have to", "ought to", and "need to". The following examples illustrate their use in different contexts:

➤ **duo³ and ta¹duo³**

- (145) ni² a² duo³
2sg write must

You must write.

- (146) nga² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ duo³
1sg flowers weave must

I need to weave. (either someone wants me to or I need to weave more cloth as there is none left in the house)

- (147) nga² re² ong¹ wo³ ze² hu³ duo³
1sg wine five six mouthful drink must

I need to drink five or six mouthfuls of wine. (an elderly Tujia speaker describing his daily activities)

- (148) nga² ka³ wo⁴ ti³ dao², ge⁴ ta¹duo³
1sg firewood carry get not now to fear need not

I won't be able to get firewood now, but I'm not bothered about it. (the speaker has an adequate store of firewood already at home)

- (149) ni² lao²zi¹ hhi² ta¹duo³
2sg tomorrow go must not

You must not go tomorrow. OR You need not go tomorrow.

In the last example, the difference between "must not go", *i.e.* a prohibition, telling the hearer that he cannot go; and "need not go", *i.e.* the hearer need not feel obliged to go but he can decide whether he wants to go or not, is expressed in Tujia by a different intonation pattern only. If the speaker wants to say "must not", the whole sentence is said slightly faster and at a higher pitch. In addition, the ta¹ in ta¹duo³ is deliberately stressed.

➤ **pie¹**

This particle adds priority to "must", and is best glossed in English as "must do first". When this is used in imperative clauses, the speaker is essentially asking the hearer to perform a certain action before doing anything else.

The first group of examples illustrates the use of pie¹ in commands. As pie¹ and duo³ both convey the concept of obligation, they are sometimes used together for increased pragmatic force.

- (150) sa¹mi¹ ri¹ pie¹
crisped rice cakes make PRIOR

Make the crisped rice cakes first. (organising tasks for New Year celebrations)

- (151) qie³ pie¹, ai¹lie¹ nie¹lang¹ yi²
plough PRIOR then seed sow

Plough first, then sow the seeds.

- (152) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ ce³ la² ze² hu³ pie¹
 1pl together water one mouthful drink PRIOR

Let's drink a mouthful of water first.

- (153) ni² eng¹di¹ da³guo¹ bo³ zuo⁴ la¹hu³
 2sg this elder brother IO daughter-in-law one
 a³ pie¹ duo³
 take a wife PRIOR must

You first need to find a wife for this chap.

The second group of examples consists of declarative clauses, where the temporal adverb *zi¹gi¹* is often used in front of the verb, in conjunction with *pie¹*. However, the use of the adverb is optional and is not required grammatically by the sentence.

- (154) guo², nga² zi¹gi¹ zu² pie¹
 3sg 1sg before go out PRIOR

I went out before she did. (note that *guo²* is the topic here and occurs in the clause-initial position; in everyday speech, the pause after *guo²* is virtually imperceptible)

- (155) ni², nga² zi¹gi¹ ci¹tu¹ pie¹
 2sg 1sg before study PRIOR

I went to school before you did. (again, *ni²* is the topic here)

- (156) guo² li⁴ zi¹gi¹ ga⁴ pie¹,
 3sg ground before dig PRIOR
 nie¹lang¹ qi³nie² la²
 seeds after sow

He dug the ground first, then sowed the seeds.

- (157) luo⁴die¹ zuo⁴ a³ zu², guo² zi¹gi¹
 others daughter-in-law take a wife SUBP 3sg before
 suo¹ pe¹ nie² pie¹ duo³
 three night sleep PRIOR must

When people got married, he insisted on first having three nights with the bride. (referring to the oppressive tyranny of the ancient Tujia chieftains)

Subgroup 3

The particle *ca²* indicates a *subjective desire* to perform an action, *i.e.* "to want", while the particles *ce¹* and *ta¹ce¹* indicates *willingness*, *i.e.* "to be willing to".

➤ ca²

- (158) nga² cu¹ hhi² ca²
 1sg home go want

I want to go home.

- (159) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ bi²zi¹ka³, a⁴se³ pa¹ li³
 1pl together Tujia who Chinese speak
 nga² nie⁴ ca²
 1sg smile, laugh want

We are all Tujia, if anyone speaks Chinese I want to laugh. (Tujia saying)

The negative form, "not want", is expressed by *ca²* followed by the negating particle *da²*, as in the following examples:

- (160) guo² cu¹ hhi² ca² da²
 3sg home go want NEG

He doesn't want to go home.

- (161) nga² ka¹pu¹ ta⁴ ca² da²
 1sg flowers weave want NEG

I don't want to weave. (I am tired; I want a rest)

The combination particle ta¹tiu¹

The combination particle *ta¹tiu¹*, which is a combination of *ta¹ti¹* and the *present relevance* particle *gu²*, means "cannot now, cannot any more". This combination form is very commonly used. Examples of its use are as follows:

- (162) ji³ di²di¹di²ga², hhi² ta¹tiu¹
 feet be in great pain go, walk cannot now

[My] feet are really painful, I can't walk any more.

- (163) bi²zi¹sa³ li³, mu²la¹ ang² pa¹sa³ li³ ta¹tiu¹
 Tujia speak now 1pl Chinese speak cannot now

Speak Tujia, we cannot speak Chinese from now on. (spoken by one of our language informants to another, when we were getting ready to record some Tujia conversation)

- (164) ci¹ bi²kui¹ ka¹ hu³, cu¹ mian³hua³
 year small one celebrate FUTR home cotton
 za² ta¹tiu¹
 spin cannot now

[We are] about to celebrate New Year, [we] cannot spin cotton at home any longer. (describing all the preparations that need to be done before New Year, saying that ordinary work must first be completed)

- (165) guo² ze²ga³, seng³ bo³ ta¹tiu¹, guo² ce³ hu³ i
 3sg to thirst tolerate STAT cannot now 3sg water drink IRR

He was thirsty, he couldn't stand it any longer, he wanted to drink some water.

7.2.5 Negation particles

The two negation particles are *da*² and *ta*¹, with the former indicating *objective* negation and the latter expressing a *subjective* decision by the speaker not to perform a certain action. These particles may also be combined with the *present relevance* particle *gu*² (see Section 7.2.6) to form the combination particles *dao*² and *tao*¹. These particles indicate actions which are no longer performed, but which had been in the past. Examples of their use are given in this section.

> *da*²

This particle indicates objective negation of a fact, state, or action:

- (166) lai⁴ sa⁴ da²
today cold NEG

It's not cold today.

- (167) ni² re² hu³ da²
1sg wine drink NEG

I don't drink (alcohol). (the speaker is teetotal; cf. Example (172))

- (168) guo² cong³lai¹ luo⁴ luo³ da²
3sg always people scold NEG

He never scolds people.

- (169) ge³di¹ ce³ sa⁴ da²
this water to be cold NEG

This water is not cold.

> *ta*¹

This particle expresses the speaker's belief or the speaker's decision not to perform a certain action:

- (170) lai⁴ sa⁴ ta¹
today to be cold NEG

It won't be cold today. (the speaker's opinion)

- (171) nga² cuo⁴ wo²tu¹ cuo³xie² da² ta¹
1sg house inside shoes wear NEG

I don't wear shoes inside the house. (I choose not to)

- (172) lai⁴ nga² re² hu³ ta¹
today 1sg wine drink NEG

I won't drink any wine today. (the speaker is not teetotal; cf. Example (167))

- (173) nga² ce³ku¹ ce⁴ ta¹
1sg hemp twist NEG

I won't twist hemp. (I have decided not to, I don't want to)

- (174) lai⁴ nga² ye³ ga² ta¹
today 1sg rice eat NEG

I'm not eating rice today. (I want to eat something else)

- (175) lai⁴ nga² eng³zi³ ta¹
today 1sg come NEG

I won't come today. (I'm busy; I'll come another day)

> *dao*²

This particle is used for objective statements about actions which are *no longer* being performed:

- (176) lai⁴ sa⁴ dao²
today cold NEG

It's not cold now. (implying that it was cold previously)

- (177) guo² luo⁴ yi³ dao²
3sg person see NEG

He looks down on everyone now. (figuratively)

- (178) nga² nie³ a³ba¹ se² liao¹ ci¹tu¹ dao²
1sg ASSOC father to die CRS study NEG

My father died, so I couldn't go to school anymore.

> *tao*¹

This particle is used to indicate a subjective decision by the speaker not to perform an action any longer, or a statement of the speaker's belief that an action will not continue in the future:

- (179) nga² re² hu³ tao¹
1sg wine drink NEG

I won't drink any more wine.

- (180) guo² zi² tao¹
3sg cry NEG

He is not going to cry any more.

- (181) nga² ka³ wo⁴ tao¹ song¹kuo¹ i hu³
1sg firewood carry on the back NEG to go home IRR FUTR

I won't carry any more firewood, I'm going home now.

7.2.6 Relevance particles

This group of verb particles comprises the particles *nie*², *gu*², and *hu*³. They have been termed *relevance* particles because of their communicative function. They show the hearer that the state or action in question is relevant in some way to the situation where the speech act is taking place. Pragmatically, the speaker uses these particles in order to convey

an implicit request or even command, or to state the implicit consequences of an action or state. These three relevance particles always occur at the end of the string of particles following the verb. The use of each of these particles will be discussed in detail below.

➤ **nie²**

This particle is used to indicate the *continuing relevance* of an action. In translation into English, it is probably best rendered by the adverb “still”. Pragmatically, *nie²* is often used when the continuance of a certain action implies that the hearer may need to make a specific response. This implied response is indicated in brackets in the example sentences below.

The examples show that *nie²* may be the only particle after a verb or the last one in a string of particles.

- (182) mu²la¹ bao¹jing³ sui¹ba¹dong¹ ye³ti³ci¹ba¹ nie³
 now Baojing (place name) the Eight Great Kings ASSOC
 miao² ti²mi¹ ai⁴duo³ xie² nie²
 temple ruins still have CONTR

Today, the ruins of the temple of the Eight Great Kings still exist in Baojing. (the hearer can go and visit them if he wishes)

- (183) nga² nie³ bo¹li³ zu² da² nie²
 1sg ASSOC children get up NEG CONTR

My children still haven't got up. (the speaker cannot serve breakfast yet)

- (184) ai¹ la² pe¹ ra³ rong² da² nie² guo² ze²ga³
 that one night cockerel crow NEG CONTR 3sg thirst (v.)

That night, when the cock had not yet crowed, he was thirsty.

- (185) nga² re² ong¹ wo³ ze² hu³ de¹xi³ nie²
 1sg wine five six mouthful drink can CONTR

I can still drink five or six mouthfuls of wine. (boast made by a retired villager)

- (186) guo² hhi² ta¹ti¹ nie²
 3sg walk cannot CONTR

He cannot walk yet. (so they have to wait for a bit longer)

The combination of *la¹*, the *imperfective* aspectual marker, and *nie²* is often used to emphasise that an action has not yet been completed.

- (187) nga² ye³ ga² la¹ nie²
 1sg rice eat IMPF CONTR

I am still eating. (the speaker does not want the food to be cleared away)

- (188) ang²ni¹ bi²zi¹sa³ a²hhi¹ la¹ nie²
 1pl Tujia learn IMPF CONTR

We are still learning Tujia. (emphasis on a continual learning process)

- (189) mu²la¹ ci¹tu¹ zu² ang²ni¹
 now study SUBP 1pl
 die² bo³ la¹ nie²
 remember STAT IMPF CONTR

Now, when [we are] studying, we still keep remembering [those times]. (two young girls reminiscing about their happy childhood)

➤ **gu²**

This particle is used to indicate *present relevance*. It may be used alone in imperative clauses and is best represented in English translation by the adverb “now”. Addition of *gu²* to the verb in such cases emphasises the immediacy or urgency of the request, in that the speaker wishes the command to be obeyed without delay.

- (190) ta⁴ ong³ bo³ gu² ang²ni¹ song¹kuo¹ hu³
 don't sit STAT PRESR 1pl go home FUTR

Don't stay sitting [there], let's go home!

- (191) ai¹di¹ nga² bo³ lie² gu²
 that 1sg IO give PRESR

Give that to me now!

- (192) ta⁴ ge³ci² gu² xie¹hu¹ nie³ba³
 don't play PRESR at once parents
 ba⁴ i duo³ hu³
 see IRR must FUTR

Don't play any more, [you] must go and see your parents at once.

- (193) ni² ta⁴ song¹kuo¹ gu² ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ ge³
 2sg don't go home PRESR 1pl together this
 nie¹ cai² ka¹ gu²
 day good one spend PRESR

Don't go home now, let's have a good time together here from now on.

The particle *gu²* also combines with certain particles to form compounds: namely, the directional particle *di²*, the negation particles *da²* and *ta¹*, and the negative modal particle *ta¹ti¹* to form the compound particles *diu²*, *dao²*, *tao¹*, and *ta¹tiu¹*. The addition of *gu²* adds *present relevance* to statements containing these particles. Examples of these compounds can be found in Sections 7.2.2, 7.2.3, and 7.2.4.

There is another compound particle *liao*¹, which consists of the perfective aspectual particle *lie*¹ and *gu*². This compound is frequently used and emphasises that the completion of the action is relevant to the current situation. Thus, *liao*¹ appears to have a communicative function in speech which is very similar to the "Currently Relevant State" (CRS) described by Li & Thompson (1989) for the Chinese sentence-final particle *le*.

The difference between the use of the perfective aspectual particle *lie*¹ on its own and *liao*¹ (*lie*¹ + *gu*²) may be illustrated by the following pair of responses to someone asking if the hearer has eaten. The English free translations are the same.

- (194) *ga*² *lie*¹
eat PERF

[I]'ve eaten. (simple statement of fact)

- (195) *ga*² *liao*¹
eat CRS

[I]'ve eaten. (I am no longer hungry, *i.e.* you don't have to offer me any food)

The following examples provide further illustrations of the use of *liao*¹ in this way:

- (196) *lao*³*ci*³ *eng*¹*ge*¹ *ye*⁴ *liao*¹, *wu*² *ka*⁴ *i* *hu*³
sun there arrive CRS cow watch IRR FUTR

The sun is high up in the sky, [we] will go and graze the cow.

- (197) *nga*² *la*² *hi*² *nie*¹ *se*¹*tong*¹ *zu*², *a*³*ba*¹
Isg one ten two year (age) SUBP father
*se*² *liao*¹, *ci*¹*tu*¹ *dao*²
die CRS study not now

When I was twelve, my father died, so I couldn't go to school any more.

- (198) *peng*³*gong*¹ *ra*⁴ *huo*³*lie*³ *guo*² *nie*³ *si*³ *jie*²*tang*¹*ke*¹
Duke Peng arrow use 3sg ASSOC flesh wing
*ra*⁴ *mo*³ *dong*³ *liao*¹, *ra*² *ta*¹*tiu*¹
shoot ADVP pierce CRS fly cannot now

Duke Peng used an arrow and, shooting at his wing, pierced it, so he couldn't fly any longer.

- (199) *nie*³*ba*³ *se*² *die*² *mo*³ *zi*² *mo*³
parents 3sg remember ADVP cry ADVP
*luo*²*bu*¹*ta*²*pa*⁴ *hu*³ *liao*¹
eyelids swell CRS

Your parents' eyelids are swollen with crying from missing you.

However, in imperative clauses, when the speaker wishes to emphasise that an action needs to be completed *immediately*, *gu*² is then separated off from *lie*¹ instead of being used together in the combined form *liao*¹, as in the following examples:

- (200) *ri*¹ *lie*¹ *gu*²
do PERF PRESR

Finish doing it now.

- (201) *guo*² *a*³ *lie*¹ *gu*²
3sg marry PERF PRESR

Marry him off now. (the speaker wants to get his friend married off before the New Year celebrations begin, otherwise there will not be enough time to do all that is necessary for the wedding)

➤ *hu*³

The particle *hu*³ indicates *future* relevance and, in most cases, may be represented in English translation by the adverb "soon". When used as the only particle after a verb, it signals an action which is imminent. When the speaker envisages some delay before the action occurs, it is used in combination with *i*, the *irrealis* marker. When used in combination with the imperfective aspectual marker *la*¹, it indicates an action which has just started, *i.e.* the completion of the event is still in the future.

The first set of examples illustrates the use of *hu*³ as the only particle after a verb, to indicate *imminent* action. This is so in both imperative and declarative clauses.

- (202) *tian*³*sang*¹*gang*¹, *da*⁴*ha*³ *hhi*² *hu*³
Tiansangang together go FUTR

Tiansangang, let's go together now!

- (203) *da*⁴*ha*³ *pu*³*sa*³ *jing*² *hu*³
together Bodhisattva give offerings to FUTR

Let's give offerings to the Bodhisattva now.

- (204) *nga*² *ga*² *hu*³
Isg eat FUTR

I'm about to eat now. (the speaker is holding a bowl of rice to his mouth; *cf.* Example (208) where the *irrealis* marker *i* is also used)

- (205) *nga*² *song*¹*kuo*¹ *hu*³
Isg go home FUTR

I am going home now. (when the speaker is about to go out of the door)

- (206) *song*²*ga*¹ *huo*³*lie*³ *ba*¹*ba*¹ *bu*² *duo*³,
pounder use ciba pound must
*ci*¹*ka*¹ *hu*³
celebrate New Year FUTR

Use a pounding machine to pound ciba (glutinous rice cakes), [we're] about to celebrate New Year.

- (207) sa³ ta⁴ li³, nga² yi²la¹ suo⁴ hu³
 words don't speak 1sg reed cut FUTR

Don't say a word, I'm about to start cutting the reed. (The speaker was asking those watching him to keep quiet, as he was about to start cutting the reed of the traditional *dongdongkui* flute: this is the most critical part of the whole process.)

The second set of examples illustrates the use of the *irrealis* particle *i* and *hu*³ to indicate a future action which is being planned. These two particles are used together when the speaker anticipates a certain delay before the start of the action. In the following examples, the action which is followed by *i* and *hu*³ is described as immediately following another action which is happening at the time of speech. As soon as this other action is finished, the speaker will go and perform the intended action. Thus, the action is more definite than if *i* were used alone, and less imminent than if *hu*³ were used on its own.

- (208) nga² ga² i hu³
 1sg eat IRR FUTR

I'm going to eat. (the speaker is intending to eat but may need to go somewhere else to do so, such as going home; cf. Example (204))

- (209) lao²zi¹ nga² song¹kuo¹ i hu³
 tomorrow 1sg go home IRR FUTR

I will go home tomorrow.

- (210) a²guo¹ -die¹ da⁴ha³ wu² ka⁴ i hu³
 friends PL together cow watch IRR FUTR

[Our] friends will be going together to watch the cattle soon. (in this context, the speaker is playing with his friends, but will stop playing to watch the cattle soon)

- (211) nga² zao⁴huan³ ga² lie¹, jiu¹ ka³ wo⁴ i hu³
 1sg breakfast eat PERF then firewood carry IRR FUTR

After I've eaten breakfast, I will go and carry firewood.

- (212) ang²ni¹ ke⁴ lie¹, da⁴ha³
 1pl carry on a shoulder pole PERF together

song¹kuo¹ i hu³
 go home IRR FUTR

After putting [it] on a shoulder pole, we will go home together.

The third set of examples illustrates another frequently used combination: the imperfective aspectual marker *la*¹ and *hu*³. The use of these two particles together after a verb signals *initiation* of an action whose completion is in the future.

- (213) yuan³ling³ be²ma¹du² ye⁴ lie¹, ze²ga³ la¹ hu³
 Yuanling Baimadu arrive PERF thirst (v) IMPF FUTR

When he arrived at Yuanling Baimadu, he began to feel thirsty.

- (214) guo² re² la² ze² hu³, kuo¹ba¹
 3sg wine one CL drink head
 ye³luo³ la¹ hu³
 revolve IMPF FUTR

As soon as he drank a mouthful of wine, his head began spinning round (or: he could feel the world whirling round him.).

- (215) ai¹di¹ li² guo² be⁴ tao¹, guo² nie³ jie²
 that tiger 3sg hold not now 3sg ASSOC arm
 be² die³ la¹ hu³
 also break IMPF FUTR

That tiger couldn't hold him any more, his arm was also starting to break. (in the context of a gripping narrative of a man fighting a tiger)

- (216) sa⁴ la¹ hu³, ji³ ga³ha² pi³hai³ da²,
 be cold IMPF FUTR feet top shoes wear
 sa⁴ da², a³ ta¹
 be cold not take will not

When it's starting to get cold, [we] wear shoes [on our feet]; when it's not cold, [we] are unwilling to use them.

7.3 Postverbal Order

7.3.1 Postverbal order and co-occurrence restrictions

All the verb particles described in Section 7.2 occur in a specific order after the verb. In addition, there are co-occurrence restrictions which are essentially semantic. For example, only one directional particle would be used at any one time following a particular verb. Table 7.1 shows the order in which they occur postverbally.

Table 7.1 Order of postverbal particles

ASP			DIR	IRR	Modal	NEG	Modal	NEG	REL
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
si ¹ duo ³	ji ² bo ³ i	la ¹ lie ¹	xie ² lie ³ lu ³ di ²	i	ce ¹ hi ¹ ce ¹ ca ² pie ¹	ta ¹	de ¹ xi ³ ta ¹ ti ¹ duo ³ ta ¹ duo ³ hhe ¹ ci ¹ hhe ¹ ce ¹ ta ¹ ce ¹ bie ¹	da ²	nie ² gu ² hu ³

The above table also indicates the general co-occurrence restrictions which apply to verb particles, *i.e.* particles in the same column, designated 1-10, do not co-occur in the same verb phrase. In addition, the following rules also govern their use:

- (a) Column 6 modals do not co-occur with Column 8 modals.
- (b) Column 7 (the subjective negation particle ta^1) does not co-occur with Column 9 (the objective negation particle da^2).
- (c) Column 10 particles always occur in the final position and are never followed by any other verb particles.

7.3.2 Examples of verb particle combinations

Although many combinations are theoretically possible, as shown above, long strings of particles following a single verb are not very commonly heard in everyday speech. In general, only one or two verb particles are used after a particular verb: numerous examples of such usage have already been listed in Section 7.2, where individual verb particles were discussed in detail.

The following are examples of verb phrases (indicated by square brackets) where the verb is followed by three or four verb particles belonging to different groups. It is clear that specific contexts are required for these particular statements to be made.

(217) guo^2 [ong³ bo³ hi¹ce¹ ta¹ nie²]
3sg sit STAT not able to NEG CONTR

He will be able to continue sitting. (this would be in response to the question: "He has been sitting there for so long, will he be able to go on sitting there?")

(218) ni^2 ce³ [ha² ji² ta¹duo³ nie²]
2sg water let out TEL not have to CONTR

You don't have to let all the water out yet. (the verb ha^2 is used to describe the cutting of a hole in the raised bank at the side of a paddy field in order to let water out)

(219) ni^2 ge³ [ong³ bo³ ta¹ti¹ da²]
2sg here sit, live STAT cannot NEG

It isn't that you can't live here.

(220) ge^1 [nie² bo³ ta¹duo³ nie²]
3pl sleep STAT not have to CONTR

They don't need to go to bed yet.

8 Nominalisation and Relativisation

Tujia has three nominalising particles which are used after verbs to form nominals. Two of these have very specific uses: ma^1 , the *agentive nominaliser* and zuo^3 , the *locative nominaliser*.

The third particle in this group is the *general nominaliser* xi^2 . It has many different functions, especially when used in combination with other particles. It is also used as a marker of *relative clauses*, which are discussed in Section 8.4.

8.1 The Agentive Nominaliser

The particle ma^1 is an **agentive nominaliser**, and is used to indicate a person who performs the action described by the preceding verb. It is similar to the function of the English suffix "-er" which denotes occupation.

8.1.1 Lexicalised forms

Table 8.1 shows commonly used forms which are essentially lexicalised.

Table 8.1 Lexicalised forms with the agentive nominaliser

ci^1tu^1 study <i>student</i>	ma^1 AgNOM	cuo^3xie^2 shoe <i>shoemaker</i>	ri^1 make	ma^1 AgNOM
xie^2 have <i>rich person</i>	ma^1 AgNOM	wo^1la^1 garden <i>gardener</i>	ri^1 do	ma^1 AgNOM
si^3jie^4 hunt <i>hunter</i>	ma^1 AgNOM	la^1meng^3 door <i>doorkeeper</i>	ka^4 guard	ma^1 AgNOM
ta^2ku^1 pan <i>tinker</i>	pu^2 mend	ma^1 AgNOM	wu^2 cattle	po^1 graze
zi^3 rice <i>cook</i>	$bang^2$ cook	ma^1 AgNOM	ye^3 things <i>businessman</i>	lu^3 sell
ye^3 things <i>thief</i>	hhe^2 steal	ma^1 AgNOM	zi^4 pig	bu^2 kill
				ma^1 AgNOM
				ma^1 AgNOM

The agentive nominaliser may also combine with Chinese loan words, as shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Chinese loans with the agentive nominaliser

qiong ³ poor <i>poor person</i>	ma ¹ AgNOM	kuai ² quick <i>quick one</i>	ma ¹ AgNOM
bao ⁴ protect <i>protector</i>	ma ¹ AgNOM		

8.1.2 In combination with other verbs

Apart from the above forms, this agentive nominaliser can also be used with other verbs in spontaneous dialogues, as in the following examples:

- (1) ge³ci² ma¹ xie² tai²
play AgNOM have not have

Is anyone coming to join in the fun?

- (2) duo¹ ma¹ duo¹
put AgNOM put

Those responsible for putting [the things there], do so.

- (3) ge³ci² ma¹ ge³ci², ka³ wo⁴ ma¹
play AgNOM play firewood carry AgNOM
ka³ wo⁴, wu² ka⁴ ma¹ wu² ka⁴
firewood carry cow guard AgNOM cow guard

Those who came to have fun had fun, those who came to collect firewood did so, those who came to look after cattle looked after cattle.

8.2 The Locative Nominaliser

There is a locative nominaliser in Tujia, zuo³, which is not very commonly used, but which does occur in our text corpus. It follows the verb and indicates the place where the action is taking place. However, it appears to be used only in very specific constructions, as illustrated in the following examples, and conveys, in practice, a meaning midway between location and possibility.

- (4) si¹ba¹ sa⁴ zuo³ xie² tai²
clothes dry in the sun LocNOM have not have

Is there anywhere for the clothes to dry in the sun?

- (5) ni² wo²tu¹ qie⁴li³ zuo³ tai²
2sg inside enter LocNOM not have

There's nowhere for you to go inside. (soldiers telling a bandit whom they were pursuing that he would not be able to escape once he had fled into the cave)

- (6) eng¹di¹ tong³qian³ huo³lie³ duo³ pu¹ zuo³ tai²
this money use need buy LocNOM not have

Money won't buy you one like this anywhere.

8.3 The General Nominaliser

The **general nominaliser**, xi², is used with individual words but is also often used to nominalise whole phrases. It is also frequently used together with the **associative particle** nie³ in the combination nie³xi². It also occurs with the **negative existential verb** tai² ("not have") to form the compound xi³tai² which is used after verbs to indicate superlative degree (see Section 4.2.4 for examples of the use of tai²).

8.3.1 Used alone postverbally

When xi² is used alone following a verb, with its associated object if present, it nominalises the verb and changes it into a subject, object, or complement of the main verb.

In the first group of examples, xi² follows a single verb:

- (7) ni² [jie²ri¹ xi²] ca²
2sg to work NOM be good

Your work is good.

- (8) da⁴ha³ ri¹, [tong⁴ xi²] tong⁴
together work steam NOM steam

Let's [get to] work, those who are [responsible for] steaming, start steaming. (the village leader organising the making of traditional crisped rice cakes by a team)

- (9) guo² re² huo³ lie¹, [se² xi²] ha⁴tai²
3sg wine take PERF die NOM not know

He took the wine, not knowing that [it would cause] death.

- (10) guo² [ga² xi²] ca², suo¹ nie¹ ping³huo³
3sg eat NOM be good three day feast
la² mong² ha³
one CL hit (have)

He ate well (what he ate was good), he would have a feast every three days.

In the second group of examples, xi² follows a verb with its associated object:

- (11) guo² [ci¹ci¹ a² xi² ze³
3sg writing write NOM be beautiful
He writes very beautifully. (the emphasis is on the way he writes rather than on the actual characters themselves)

- (12) nga² [ha⁴lie³ ong² xi² xi⁴ lie¹
1sg dog bark NOM hear PERF
I heard the barking of a dog.

- (13) [ka³ wo⁴ xi² ci⁴ ra³lie³
firewood carry on the back NOM be big chicken egg
la² bu² ta² duo³
one CL fry need, must

If our load of firewood was large, we would fry an egg. (as a reward for our hard work)

- (14) ni² nga² [ong¹ga³ ga² xi² jie³ da²
2sg 1sg lunch eat NOM call NEG
You did not call me for lunch.

In the third group of examples, xi² qualifies a whole phrase. In such cases, its role is often as a marker of *relative clauses*:

- (15) nga² wo³ se¹tong¹ zu², [a³ba¹ li³ xi² xi⁴
1sg six year (age) SUBP father say NOM listen
When I was six years old, I listened to what my father said.

- (16) bo¹li³ -die¹ [guo² pa³pa¹ li³ xi² ru³ ca²
child PL 3sg stories say NOM hear want
Children like to hear him telling stories.

- (17) [mu³ qian¹qian¹ huo³lie³ li³ xi² si¹ma³ liao¹
wooden hoop use say NOM forget CRS

[I] forgot to say [that you had] to use wooden hoops. (in a procedural text explaining how to make traditional crisped rice cakes)

- (18) wo²tu¹ [me² ba⁴ bo³ nie² xi² nie²,
inside sky look STAT sleep NOM sleep
[pe³ bo³ nie² xi² nie²
be prone STAT sleep NOM sleep

Inside, [some] were lying as those who were sleeping on their backs, [others] were lying prone. (in a narrative text describing the corpses of bandits who had been killed by soldiers shooting into the cave where they were hiding)

8.3.2 Used with the associative particle

The general nominaliser xi² is often used together with the **associative particle** nie³, which is discussed in some detail in Section 6.3. However, in addition to joining two NPs, nie³ may also function as a nominaliser when the following NP has been omitted and is only implied. Many native speakers prefer to use the combined form nie³xi² as a general nominaliser. When the context is clear, xi² or nie³ alone is used; but they are used together when further clarification or disambiguation is required.

In the first group of examples, nie³ is used alone as a nominaliser, with the second NP being implied by the context.

- (19) gai² si²ge¹tie¹ luo⁴die¹ nie³
this field other people ASSOC

This field is another person's [field].

- (20) la² si³ nie¹ se¹tong¹ zu², nga² jie²ri¹ nie³
one ten two year of age SUBP 1sg labour ASSOC
du⁴zi³zi² ke⁴ diu²
be heavy carry DIR

When I was twelve years old, I started to carry the heavy [burden] of manual labour.

- (21) kuo¹ nie³ wo⁴ nie³ ni² ba⁴ ti³ bo³ da²
gold ASSOC silver ASSOC 2sg see can STAT NEG

You won't be able to see gold and silver (articles). (part of a traditional *kujia* or "crying-wedding" song sung by the bride's mother, bemoaning the fact that she does not have any expensive articles to give her daughter on her marriage)

In the second group of examples, the combined form nie³xi² is used. In these cases, the nominalised verb *refers back to* and *is the same as* the topic (which is also the subject in the following clauses), hence the necessity to use the *associative particle* nie³ as well as the nominaliser xi².

- (22) ang²ni¹ cuo⁴ ci⁴ nie³ xi²
1pl house be big ASSOC NOM

Our house is a big one.

- (23) ge¹ze¹ luo² ha³ nie³ xi²
3pl gong hit ASSOC NOM

They are the ones playing the gongs.

- (24) guo² mu²la¹ mao³gu³si¹ ri¹ nie³ xi²
3sg now maogusi do ASSOC NOM

He is the one doing maogusi at the moment. (*maogusi* is a traditional Tujia dance)

- (25) gai² ku⁴ nie³ xi², nga² me³ lie¹ die²
 this be bitter ASSOC NOM 1sg stomach SRC remember

This, [your] bitter experience, I will remember. (a line from a song of welcome: the singer recounts the difficult journey his visitors must have had in coming to his remote mountain village)

The use of nie³xi² in the above examples accords with the use of this compound form with stative verbs in order to allow them to function *attributively*. (It has already been noted in Section 6.5.2 that specific nominal forms exist for certain stative verbs. In addition, colour terms do not require modification as they can function both as nouns and verbs.)

- (26) wo³sa³ suo²li¹ nie³ xi² re¹ da²
 basketball to be clean ASSOC NOM four CL

four clean backbaskets

- (27) qie³bi² hhe¹se¹ nie³ xi² suo¹ da²
 bowl to be dirty ASSOC NOM three CL

three dirty bowls

- (28) luo⁴ die²li¹ nie³ xi² ong¹ hhi³
 person to be capable ASSOC NOM five CL

five competent people

In the last group of examples, the use of nie³xi² to indicate the *topic* of the clause is even more evident. The nominalised phrase which ends in nie³xi² thus becomes the topic, *i.e.* what the clause is about.

- (29) cang³sa¹ bo¹ hhi² nie³ xi², nga² bo³ lao⁴ ze²
 Changsha GOAL go ASSOC NOM 1sg IO CL tell

[Your] trip to Changsha, tell me about it.

- (30) se² cu¹ li⁴ qie³ nie³ xi², nga² ha³ liao¹
 2pl house land plough ASSOC NOM 1sg hit CRS

That ploughshare in your house, it [fell down and] hit me.

- (31) ge¹ze¹ cu¹ wu² ka⁴ nie³ xi², nga² luo³ liao¹
 3pl house cattle watch ASSOC NOM 1sg scold CRS

The cowherd at their house, he scolded me.

- (32) long³sang¹ long³ce¹ nie³ se¹ba¹ ci¹ba¹
 Longshan Nongche ASSOC baishouwu dance big one

ri¹ nie³ xi², luo⁴ hu²ni¹ ri¹ de¹xi³
 do ASSOC NOM person everyone do be able to

[Performance of] the large-scale baishouwu dance in Nongche in Longshan, everyone knows how to do it.

8.3.3 Used to express superlative degree

Interestingly, the general nominaliser xi² is also used with the *negative existential verb* tai² ("not have") to indicate superlative degree. This is so commonly used in everyday speech that the combination of these two particles has become lexicalised. Native speakers no longer regard them as separate entities. Thus, the combination form xi³tai² (note that sandhi operates to change xi² to xi³, avoiding the successive use of two second tones) literally means "there is not one like that"; in practice, this is simply glossed as "very".

- (33) guo² re⁴ xi³tai²
 3sg to be beautiful SUP

She is very beautiful.

- (34) ge³di¹ la⁴ la² zi² hhe³ xi³tai²
 this road one CL long SUP

This road is very long.

- (35) tian³hao¹hang² nie³ pa³pa¹ ri³ xi³tai²
 Tianhaohan ASSOC story be many SUP

There are a great many stories about Tianhaohan. (= Stories about Hero Tian are very numerous.)

8.4 Relativisation

In Tujia, relative clauses are marked by the combination bo³xi², where bo³ is the *static aspectiviser* and xi² the general nominaliser. The use of bo³ as a verb particle has been described in Section 7.2.1.

In the following examples, the relative clauses are shown enclosed in square brackets:

- (36) si¹ba¹ [za² bo³ xi²] suo²li¹
 clothes wash STAT NOM be clean

The clothes which have been washed are clean.

- (37) la¹meng³ [xian³ bo³ xi²] kang¹lang¹ kang¹lang¹
 door close STAT NOM be tight RDP

The door which has been closed is [now] very tight.

- (38) ai¹di¹ ci¹ci¹ [a² bo³ xi²] re⁴ xi³tai²
 that writing write STAT NOM beautiful SUP

The words that have been written are very beautiful.

The following sentences have been taken from stories in the text corpus:

- (39) guo² [mu⁴nie³ huo³lie³ wo³ bo³ xi²]
 3sg bamboo use surround STAT NOM
 dong³qi²dong³ga² nie³ ka¹ba¹ cuo⁴ la² cuo¹ xie²
 full of holes ASSOC cogongrass house one CL have

He [lived in] a cogongrass house full of holes which he used bamboo to "patch up".
 (in the story of General Xiang)

- (40) ai¹di¹ zi⁴ [bu² bo³ xi²] ke⁴ i di² duo³
 that pig kill STAT NOM carry on a pole IRR DIR must

The pig that was killed, [you] must carry [it here]. (making arrangements for celebrating the Tujia New Year)

- (41) ai¹di¹ ci¹pu¹ [huo³ bo³ xi²] ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³
 that books bring STAT NOM 1pl together
 la² dong² ba⁴
 one CL look

Those books we had brought, we would have a look at them together. (childhood reminiscences of what they would do when looking after cows together on the hills)

9 Sentence Linking and Special Constructions

In Chapter 5, the structure of the *simple sentence* was discussed, with a simple sentence being defined as a sentence containing a single, final verb phrase (VP). The use of *clausal conjunctions* to link sentences with different types of semantic associations was also described in detail in Section 4.7.2.

In this chapter, other sentence types which are found in Tujia will be described. Instead of adhering to the traditional classification into compound and complex sentences, we have instead adopted a functional approach which relates to how these sentences are used in everyday situations. These types of sentences include:

- clauses linked by semantic association only
- clauses linked by the subordinating particle zu²
- concurrence constructions using bo³ and/or mo³
- instrumental constructions using the grammaticalised verb huo³lie³
- causative constructions using the grammaticalised verb duo³
- sequential constructions using the perfective verb particle lie³

9.1 Linking by Semantic Association

As there are very few clausal conjunctions in Tujia, most clauses simply succeed one another. The semantic association between two such clauses is usually clear from the context. The examples listed in the following subsections indicate some of the common associations which are expressed in Tujia.

9.1.1 Coordination

- (1) pa¹ka³ ri¹ de¹xi³, bi²zi¹ka³ be² ri¹ de¹xi³
 Han do can Tujia also do can

[What] the Han people can do, the Tujia can also do.

- (2) guo² ga² xi² ca², da² xi² ca²
 3sg eat NOM be good wear NOM be good

He eats well and dresses well.

9.1.2 Causality

- (3) nie¹ si¹ me²ze³ tai², li²bu¹ se² ji² liao¹
 two month rain not have rice die TEL CRS

Because it hasn't rained for two months, the rice plants have all died.

- (4) nga² zi³ ga² da², li²a⁴ xi³tai²
1sg rice eat NEG hungry very

I haven't eaten, so I am very hungry.

- (5) ni² ri¹ ta¹ti¹, nga² ri¹
2sg do cannot 1sg do

As you can't do [it], I'll do [it].

9.1.3 Conditionality

- (6) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ bi²zi¹ka³, a⁴se³ pa¹ li³,
1pl together Tujia who Chinese speak
nga² nie⁴ ca²
1sg laugh want

We are all Tujia: if someone speaks Chinese, I want to laugh. (traditional Tujia ditty)

- (7) ni² sa³ ru³ ta¹, me²ta¹ce³ ni² sa¹ i
2sg words listen NEG thunder 2sg cut IRR

If you don't listen to what I say, you will be struck by lightning.

- (8) lai⁴ ni² nga² jie³ di² da², nga² lai⁴
today 2sg 1sg call DIR NEG 1sg today
ka³ ga⁴ zi² wo⁴ i
firewood a few CL carry on back IRR

If you hadn't called me today, I would [have gone] to collect firewood.

9.1.4 Concession

- (9) guo² luo⁴ suan⁴, ci¹tu¹ xi² ca²
3sg person be small study NOM be good

Although he is young, he is good at his studies.

- (10) guo² ci¹ci¹ ha¹tai², guo² luo⁴ guai¹
3sg words not know 3sg person clever

Though he was illiterate, he was a clever man.

9.2 The Subordinating Particle

The particle zu² is used after words or phrases to indicate a background action which is occurring at the same time as the action in the main clause. It is equivalent to the use of "when" as a subordinating conjunction in English. It is used very frequently in narratives, as in the following examples:

- (11) ni² bi²kui¹ zu², nie¹ka¹ ca²
2sg be small SUBP live be good

When you were small, you had an easy life.

- (12) ang²ni¹ wu² ka⁴ zu², ge³ci² ca²
1pl cattle watch SUBP play be good

When we watched the cattle, we had a good time. (childhood reminiscences)

- (13) ang²ni¹ yi³ zu², ei¹ya¹ ang²ni¹ ge⁴di¹ge⁴ga²
1pl see SUBP INTJ 1pl very afraid

When we saw [this]: Oh! We were terribly frightened!

- (14) ni² eng³zi³ zu², guo² song¹kuo¹ liao¹
2sg come SUBP 3sg go home CRS

When you came, he had [already] gone home.

- (15) ha¹ce¹ ga² zu², re² hu³ zu²,
vegetables eat SUBP wine drink SUBP
guo² luo²bu¹ huo³lie³ ba⁴
3sg eyes use look

When he was eating and drinking, he kept his eyes wide open. (in a narrative where a notorious bandit was invited to dinner by the local government official, who was plotting to kill him that evening)

- (16) bi²zi¹ka³ se¹ba¹ ci¹ba¹ ri¹ zu², wei³zi³ ka³tong³
Tujia baishouwu large do SUBP pole wooden post
ga³ha² pu² nie¹ pu³ qi³ nie¹ hhi¹ zuo¹ bo³ duo³
top dragon and phoenix flag two CL hang STAT must

When the Tujia celebrate the large-scale baishouwu dance festival, [they] must hang two flags with dragon and phoenix designs on top of the posts.

9.3 Concurrence Constructions

There are several ways in which two actions which are occurring simultaneously may be expressed in Tujia. When one of the actions is essentially static and not in focus, the static aspectiviser bo³ is used; in other cases where both actions are similarly dynamic, the adverbial particle mo³ is used instead. In addition, both bo³ and mo³ may be used together to qualify the main verb.

9.3.1 Using the static aspectiviser bo³

The verb particle bo³ is used to indicate the occurrence of a background action, *i.e.* an unchanging state, at the same time as the main clause-final verb. In general, the verbs which are used with bo³ are *postural* verbs such as "sit" and "stand", or verbs indicating *thought* processes such as "remember" and "think", as these are essentially static actions which are not in focus.

- (17) guo² ong³ bo³ sa³ li³
3sg sit STAT words say

He was sitting talking.

- (18) guo² zu¹zu⁴ bo³ ci¹pu¹ ba⁴
3sg stand STAT book look (read)

He stood reading a book.

- (19) xian²lao¹guan¹reng³ nie⁴ bo³ li³, ...
Xianglaoguanren laugh STAT say

Laughing, General Xiang said, ...

- (20) kang³ku¹ ni²bi¹ nga² wo⁴ bo³ hhi²
mountains birds lsg carry on the back STAT go

[Let] the mountain birds carry me away. (lyrics of a lament sung by a bride-to-be in a traditional *kujia* or "crying-wedding" ceremony)

- (21) die² bo³ die² bo³ luo²bu¹ce³ zu²
remember STAT remember STAT tears come out

Remembering [those times, my] tears flowed.

- (22) ka³mong³ ta¹nie¹ ye⁴ bo³ ze⁴ga³ ha³:
tree back hide STAT squirrel hit
ta¹nie¹ ye⁴ bo³ a¹ye³ ri¹
back hide STAT ghost do

Hiding behind a tree to hit a squirrel, i.e. getting up to devilry behind the scenes. (traditional Tujia saying)

9.3.2 Using the adverbial particle mo³

The use of the particle mo³ to mark the end of an adverbial phrase within a simple sentence with a single main verb has been discussed in Section 4.6.3. In order to represent two actions which are occurring simultaneously, the adverbial particle mo³ can also be used to mark the background action. However, in contrast to the use of bo³, this "background" action is still in focus, as the speaker wishes to emphasise the *manner* in which the main action is taking place ("in this way", "-wise"). This is shown in the following examples:

- (23) ai¹yo³ [ba⁴ mo³] li¹kuo¹luo¹ di²
INTJ see ADVP heart to be painful

Oh, seeing [it] makes me so sad!

- (24) ang²ni¹ da⁴ha³ [wo³wu⁴ jie³ mo³] eng³zi³ duo³
lpl together hunting cry cry ADVP come must

Let's come back together, shouting our hunting cry!

- (25) ba¹ba¹ bu² lie¹ jiu¹ [da⁴pi³ mo³] ga²
rice cakes pound PERF then distribute ADVP eat

After pounding the rice cakes, [we] will eat, sharing them round.

- (26) nga² [ce³ lu³ ka³ lu³ mo³] nie¹ka¹
lsg water sell firewood sell ADVP make a living

I made a living selling water and firewood.

- (27) ang²ni¹ [kang³ku¹ nie³ ha¹ce¹ ga² mo³]
lpl mountains ASSOC vegetables eat ADVP
li²a⁴ bo³ da²
hungry STAT not

Eating wild vegetables on the mountains, we did not stay hungry.

- (28) a³nie¹ a³ba¹ luo⁴die¹ bo³ hu³ri¹, [luo⁴ nie³ se³ke¹
mother father others IO work people ASSOC fields
pe²ti¹ ri¹ tuo²ga¹ a³bu³ di³ mo³ nie¹ka¹
land work bracken kudzu vine dig ADVP make a living

My mother and father worked for other people, working their fields and digging bracken and kudzu vine to make a living.

- (29) pu²meng³ a³si³ luo⁴ sa³ ha⁴ri³, [xian²lao¹guan¹reng³
dragon-horse white people things know Xianglaoguanren
wo⁴ mo³] [be¹ce³cu¹cu¹ mo³] jing¹ceng³ bo¹
carry ADVP tears pouring down ADVP capital GOAL
xi⁴ca³ lie¹ huan³di² si¹lie³
run PERF emperor ask

The white dragon-horse understood human nature, and carrying General Xiang on its back, with tears streaming down its face, it galloped to the capital to ask the emperor. (in this sentence, two adverbial phrases ending in mo³ are used)

9.3.3 Using both bo³ and mo³

When the background verb is a static action but is one which the speaker wishes to keep in focus, both bo³ and mo³ are used together. The difference in focus is illustrated by the following pair of sentences (30) and (31):

- (30) nga² ong³ bo³ zi³ ga²
lsg sit STAT rice eat

I am sitting eating rice. (the action of sitting is not in focus)

- (31) nga² ong³ bo³ mo³ zi³ ga²
lsg sit STAT ADVP rice eat

I am seated, eating rice. (the speaker wants to let the hearer know *how* he is eating rice, i.e. seated, as opposed to standing for example)

Additional examples of the use of *bo*³ and *mo*³ together are as follows:

- (32) guo² [nie⁴ bo³ mo³] zao³
 3sg smile STAT ADVP be gone

He went away smiling.

- (33) ang²ni¹ [yan³yi¹ wu² bo³ mo³] ga²
 1pl potato roast STAT ADVP eat

We are roasting potatoes and eating.

- (34) guo² [lang³gang³ ga³ha² gu¹du⁴ bo³ mo³]
 3sg fence top crouch STAT ADVP

zi¹ bo³ la¹
 watch STAT IMPF

It [the tiger] was watching, crouched on top of the fence.

- (35) luo¹bi³ ye³ la¹hu³ nie³ba³ yi³ liao¹, [ki⁴ bo³ mo³]
 sons eight CL parents see CRS kneel STAT ADVP

a³nie¹ a³ba¹ jie³
 mother father call

When the eight sons saw their parents, they cried, "Mother! Father!", kneeling as they did so.

- (36) lai⁴ [a¹mi¹ wo⁴ bo³ mo³] mi⁴tang³ tu²
 today sister carry STAT ADVP fireplace pour into

Today [I], carrying my sister on my back, is putting her in the fire. (part of a traditional kujia or "crying-wedding" song, indicating the hardships to which the bride will be subjected)

9.4 Instrumental Constructions

These constructions involve the use of the verb "to use" *huo*³*lie*³, indicating the action of *using* an object to perform the main action indicated by the final verb. The verb *huo*³*lie*³ is very rarely used in the clause-final position and even when it is clause-final, the instrumental association is implicit – with the main action either having already been mentioned in a previous sentence, or being clarified in the following sentence. It is essentially a lexicalised combination of the verb *huo*³ "to hold" with the perfective verb particle *lie*¹ (note the tone sandhi which occurs in *lie*¹ following a low falling tone).

The use of *huo*³*lie*³ in instrumental constructions is illustrated in the following examples:

- (37) ha¹ce¹ wo¹ lie¹, jiu¹ tuo³tuo³ huo³lie³ suo⁴
 vegetables wash PERF then vegetable knife use cut

After washing the vegetables, [I] use a knife to cut [them].

- (38) mian³hua³ me, luo²tie¹ huo³lie³ cu⁴ bo³
 cotton PART bag use contain STAT

The cotton, use a bag to hold [it].

- (39) wu¹suo¹ ga⁴ bu² xie², song²ga¹ huo³lie³
 millet few CL have pounder use

bu² xie²
 pound DIR

There's some millet here, come and use the pounder to pound it.

- (40) dong² me, a³ba³ huo³lie³ song³ bo³
 cave PART rock use block STAT

The cave, [they] used rocks to block [the entrance].

- (41) guo² suo¹ qi¹ ta²ci¹ nie³ yan¹si¹ huo³lie³
 3sg three catty plus ASSOC key use

cuo⁴ la¹meng³ tong²
 house door open

He used a key weighing three or more catties to open the door to his house.

9.5 Causative Constructions

The use of *duo*³ as a modal particle to indicate obligation ("must", "have to") following the main verb in a clause was described in Section 7.2.4. However, it can also be used as a grammaticalised verb in a construction similar to that involving *huo*³*lie*³ in the previous section, in order to link two verbs within a single sentence. Semantically, its meaning is related to its modal use for obligation, in that it is *causative* or *permissive*. Depending on the context, it can therefore mean "make, cause to happen", or "let, allow to happen", as both meanings are related, with the speaker being either active or passive with regard to the action that has occurred. However, unlike *huo*³*lie*³, *duo*³ can never be used as the sole clause-final verb within a sentence.

The first group of examples illustrates its use in an active sense, with the speaker *wanting* or *making* someone else do something. The person who is being made to perform the action precedes *duo*³. The context makes it clear whether the action is already past ("made someone do something") or still in the future ("want someone to do something").

- (42) tu¹wan³ guo² duo³ jing²gong¹ xie²
 Tuwang 3sg CAUS pay tribute DIR

The emperor wanted him to come and pay tribute.

- (43) guo² xian²lao¹guan¹reng³ duo³ jing¹si¹ ri¹
 3sg Xianglaoguanren CAUS military adviser do

He wanted General Xiang to be his military adviser.

- (44) guo² seng²zi¹ da³ lie¹, ye³ hu³ qian¹ngai⁴die¹
 3sg edict hand down PERF eight CL brothers
 duo³ ha³ xie²
 CAUS hit DIR

He (the emperor) issued an edict, [he] wanted the eight brothers to come and fight [for the country].

- (45) ni² nga² duo³ guo² ha³ lie¹
 2sg 1sg CAUS 3sg hit PERF

You made me hit him.

- (46) bo¹li³ a³ba¹ duo³ ci¹pu¹ wo⁴ lu³
 child father CAUS book carry DIR

The child made his father carry the book.

The second group of examples illustrates the more passive, permissive use of duo³, where the meaning is "to let or allow something to happen". This has led to previous descriptions of duo³ as simply a marker of passive constructions, especially when native speakers are asked to translate Chinese sentences involving the passive marker *bei*⁴. However, it is clear from the preceding discussion that the scope of duo³ is much wider, and passive constructions are in fact very uncommon in everyday speech.

- (47) a³nie¹ bo¹li³ duo³ nie²
 mother child CAUS sleep

The mother let the child sleep.

- (48) a³nie¹ nga² duo³ si³ ga², guo² ga² ta⁴
 mother 1sg CAUS meat eat 3sg eat NEG

My mother let me eat the meat; she didn't eat any.

- (49) po²ga¹ ci¹tu¹ma¹ -die¹ duo³ ong³ bo³
 teacher student PL CAUS sit STAT

The teacher let the students sit down.

- (50) ka³mong³ luo⁴die¹ duo³ ta⁴ ji² liao¹
 trees people CAUS cut, fell TEL CRS

The trees were felled by the people. (lit. The trees "let" people cut them down.)

- (51) nga² ha⁴lie³ duo³ ga² liao¹
 1sg dog CAUS eat CRS

I was bitten by the dog. (lit. I "let" the dog bite me.)

When duo³ is used in these semantically passive constructions, notably the last two examples above, the main verb is the one in focus, as would be expected in such constructions (cf. the use of huo³lie³ in instrumental constructions, where the main verb is the one in focus.)

This is illustrated by the difference in focus if the factual content of the last sentence above were to be rendered thus:

- (52) ha⁴lie³ nga² ga² liao¹
 dog 1sg eat CRS

The dog bit me.

The above is a statement of fact in answer to the question "What happened?", whereas the construction with duo³ would be used to answer the question: "Why are you looking like this?", i.e. "I was bitten by the dog!".

9.6 Sequential Constructions

The perfective verb particle lie¹, which was previously described in Section 7.2.1, can be used in *sequential* constructions. When lie¹ follows a verb at the end of the first clause in a sequence of clauses, it indicates that it is the first verbal event to occur *before* the others in subsequent clauses. This is often used in narratives of past events where a sequence of events are being related by the speaker, or in procedural texts where the speaker is describing the order in which the hearer should perform a series of actions.

The first group of examples consists of sequences of past events which are being described in chronological sequence by the speaker:

- The following sentences are taken from the traditional Tujia story of Hero Tian:

- (53) guo² qi²bu¹li¹ bu⁴ la² ca¹ cu⁴ lie¹,
 3sg soybeans boat one CL fill PERF
 cang³die³ bo³ lu³ lu³
 Changde GOAL sell DIR

He loaded a boat with soybeans and went to Changde to sell them.

- (54) ai¹ luo⁴ lao⁴ bu⁴ gu³ lie¹, ji³ huo³lie³
 that person CL boat get on PERF foot use
 mu⁴nie³ jia²zu¹ za² mo³ kuo³ liao¹
 bamboo steering pole step ADVP break CRS

A certain person got on to the boat, and, stepping on to the bamboo steering pole with his foot, broke it.

- (55) ai¹ luo⁴ ge⁴ lie¹, ka³kei¹la³lei¹ mo³
 that person be afraid PERF quietly ADVP
 xi⁴ca³ lu³
 run DIR

That man was afraid, and quietly slipped away.

- The following sentences are taken from the traditional Tujia story of General Xiang:

(56) guo² ma⁴ a³si³ jia¹ lie¹, jing¹ceng³ ye⁴
 3sg horse white ride PERF capital arrive

He rode his white horse, and arrived at the capital.

(57) guo² suo¹ qi¹ ta²ci¹ nie³ pu¹ki¹ be⁴ lie¹,
 3sg three catty plus ASSOC hoe shoulder (v.) PERF
 a³bu³ tuo²ga¹ di³ bo³ nie¹ka¹
 kudzu vine bracken dig STAT make a living

He shouldered his three and a half pound hoe and went to dig for kudzu vine and bracken in order to survive.

(58) guo² be²ma¹du² ye⁴ lie¹, ze²ga³ la¹ hu³
 3sg Baimadu arrive PERF be thirsty IMPF FUTR

He arrived at Baimadu, and began to feel thirsty.

The second group of examples consists of steps in procedural texts:

- The following sentences are taken from a description of how to make *tangsa*, traditional Tujia crisped rice cakes:

(59) da¹mi¹ji¹ huo³lie³ qie¹hhe¹ ha³ lie¹,
 threshing machine use glutinous rice thresh PERF
 la² dong² ce¹
 one CL remove the chaff

After using the threshing machine to thresh the glutinous rice, remove the chaff.

(60) wo¹ lie¹, tong⁴; tong⁴ lie¹, la² pe¹ bu⁴
 wash PERF steam steam PERF one night soak

After washing, steam [them]; after steaming, soak [them] overnight.

(61) du³ lie¹, cu¹ jian¹si³ duo³ hu³
 cover PERF house store (v.) must FUTR

After covering [them], [you] must quickly store [them] in the house.

- The following sentences are taken from a description of how to make a *dongdongkui*, a traditional Tujia flute:

(62) eng¹di¹ a²jie¹ ti¹ lie¹, kei² yi² jie² diao¹
 this branch shave PERF that one section carve

After stripping the outer bark off this branch, carve it.

(63) ni² xie⁴ lie¹, tian³ge³ ca³bi¹ce³ ci⁴ duo³
 2sg pare PERF reed saliva moisten must

After paring it, you must moisten the reed with saliva.

- The following sentences are a series of instructions from the village chief to his fellow villagers:

(64) bao¹bu¹ se¹ lie¹, bao¹bu¹ pu²
 maize sow PERF maize hoe

After sowing the maize, hoe between the maize (to hoe up the weeds).

(65) ni² bo¹zuo¹ ga³ha² la² lie¹, ai¹di¹
 2sg millstone top put PERF those
 ma³ma¹ -die¹ tie²
 woman PL pluck

When you've put [them] on top of the millstone, the women will pluck [them].

10 Pronouns in Discourse

In this final chapter, two features of Tujia discourse will be discussed. These are:

- **zero anaphora**, whereby noun phrases that are understood from the context do not need to be specified
- **topic prominence** and the use of third person singular pronoun *guo*²

The concept of Tujia as a topic prominent language has already been described in Section 5.1.

10.1 Zero Anaphora

The term *anaphora* refers to the repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive clauses. In Tujia discourse, however, noun phrases that may be understood clearly from the context and/or preceding clauses are not repeated: this is known as *zero anaphora*. Generally, the subject noun phrase is stated at the beginning of the discourse, after which it is not mentioned again until there is a change of subject. Many languages have this property, including Chinese, Japanese, and Korean. This feature is illustrated in the following examples:

Here, the speaker describes what his parents had to do to survive:

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | a ³ nie ¹ | a ³ ba ¹ | luo ⁴ die ¹ | bo ³ | hu ³ ri ¹ , | luo ⁴ | nie ³ | se ³ ke ¹ | pe ² ti ¹ |
| | mother | father | others | IO | work | person | ASSOC | field | land |
| | ri ¹ , | tuo ² ga ¹ | a ³ bu ³ | di ³ , | zi ³ | cu ³ ga ³ la ² | ga ² | | |
| | work | bracken | kudzu vine | dig | rice | coarse one | eat | | |

My parents worked for others, [they] planted others' fields and land, [they] dug bracken and kudzu vine, and [they] ate rough food.

He goes on to describe what he had to do as a child to help his parents:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| (2) | nga ² | nie ³ ba ³ | da ⁴ xi ⁴ | mo ³ | zi ³ | luo ² , | ha ¹ ce ¹ | luo ² |
| | 1sg | parents | help | ADVP | rice | cook | vegetables | cook |
| | qie ³ bi ² | bu ¹ zi ¹ | wo ¹ , | cuo ⁴ | nie ³ | ye ³ | ri ¹ | |
| | bowl | chopsticks | wash | house | ASSOC | things | do | |

I, helping my parents, cooked rice, [I] cooked vegetables, [I] washed the bowls and chopsticks, [I] did the housework.

In the following example, a retired Tujia man describes his daily routine:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------|---|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (3) | zao ⁴ gu ¹ die ¹ , | nga ² | ba ² dian ¹ zong ¹ | zu ² | diu ² , | zu ² | lie ¹ , |
| | morning | 1sg | 8 o'clock | get up | DIR | get up | PERF |
| | ce ³ | lian ¹ | tong ¹ | di ¹ di ⁴ , | ai ¹ lie ¹ | xie ¹ pong ¹ | |
| | water | two | bucket | fetch | then | cooking pot | |
| | la ² | dong ² | wo ¹ | | | | |
| | one | CL | wash | | | | |

In the morning, I get up at 8 o'clock. After [I've] got up, [I] fetch two buckets of water, then [I] give the cooking-pot a bit of a wash.

The situations illustrated by the above sentences are sometimes also known as a *topic chain*. A referent is referred to in the first clause and after that, several clauses follow relating to the same referent who is not overtly mentioned again.

10.2 The Third Person Singular Pronoun

10.2.1 The use of *guo*² as topic and grammatical subject

An understanding of the notion of topic prominence is crucial to the analysis of Tujia sentence structure. One notable example is the way in which the following pair of sentences have been used in previous descriptions of Tujia grammar to illustrate that the third person singular pronoun *guo*² is a subject marker (Tian *et al.*, 1986; Ye, 1995). However, when *topic prominence* is taken into account, it is clear that the two sentences are *topic-comment* sentences which are being used in different contexts, with *guo*² simply functioning as the third person singular pronoun.

Consider the following pair of sentences, which were previously used to illustrate the use of *guo*² as a subject marker:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (4) | ang ¹ ngai ⁴ , | a ² da ¹ | guo ² | ha ³ | liao ¹ |
| | younger brother | older sister | 3sg | hit | CRS |

The younger brother, his sister hit him.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|
| (5) | a ² da ¹ , | guo ² | ang ¹ ngai ⁴ | ha ³ |
| | older sister | 3sg | younger brother | hit |

The elder sister, she is hitting her younger brother.

In the first sentence, the younger brother functions as the topic of the clause, and is used when the speaker sees the younger brother crying and is pointing out what has happened to him. There would usually be a slight pause after *ang¹ngai⁴*, with *guo²* representing the fronted object.

In the second sentence, the speaker is putting the focus on what the sister is doing. Hence the "older sister" is the topic and *guo²* is the grammatical subject, which is also the sister in this case.

The following are examples of *guo*² used in this way, *i.e.* as the grammatical subject which is also the topic of the sentence. In some cases, *guo*² may represent plural subjects as well as singular ones.

- (6) nga² a³nie¹, guo² nga² jie³,
1sg mother 3sg 1sg call

My mother, she called me [and said, ...] (at the beginning of a narrative)

- (7) li²bu¹ me, me²ze³ da², guo² ga³ si¹ ji² liao¹
rice seedlings TOP rain NEG 3sg dry INTS TEL CRS

As for the rice seedlings, [because] it hasn't rained, they have dried up completely. (guo² refers to the topic: the rice seedlings)

- (8) nie³ba³, guo² luo⁴bi³ -die¹ song¹kuo¹ xi² yi³ lie¹,
parents 3sg son PL return NOM see PERF
nie⁴ mo³ luo²bu¹ce³ sa²gi¹ duo³ diu²
smile ADVP tears be hot fall DIR

The parents, seeing that their sons had returned, shed tears of joy. (guo² refers to the parents as a unit)

10.2.2 The use of *guo*² to introduce an object

The third person singular pronoun *guo*² is also used in Tujia discourse to introduce an object. Previously, the use of *guo*² in such constructions has been interpreted as being equivalent to the verb *ba*³ in what is known as the “*ba* construction” in Chinese (Li & Thompson, 1981). This interpretation has originated as previous Tujia research appeared to have relied heavily on asking Tujia speakers to translate a series of Chinese sentences rather than on analysis of natural texts. On detailed examination of the text corpus and careful questioning of native speakers, it is clear that *guo*² is simply the third person singular pronoun, although it is often used in narratives to introduce an object.

The following “minimal pair” of sentences clarifies the use of *guo*² to introduce the object of a sentence:

- (9) ruan², guo² si³ka³ca³ ga² ji² liao¹
water buffalo 3sg grass eat TEL CRS

The water buffalo, it's eaten up all the grass.

- (10) ruan² guo² si³ka³ca³ ga² ji² liao¹
water buffalo 3sg grass eat TEL CRS

The water buffalo ate it, that is the grass, all up.

Thus, in the first sentence, there is a pause after “water buffalo”, which is the topic, and the *guo*² which follows refers to it, the grammatical subject of the clause. In the second sentence, however, *guo*² refers to the grass, which is the grammatical object of the clause.

The use of *guo*² in this way puts the object “in parentheses” and places the focus on the *verb*. In such cases, the subject and object are often already known information, with the action being new information that is being presented to the hearer. In narratives, *guo*² is frequently used in this way in order to put focus on the action rather than the object. In such cases, *guo*² may also represent third person plural objects as well as singular ones.

The following are examples taken from the text corpus:

- (11) ni² guo² ai¹ ha⁴lie³ cuo⁴ lie³
2sg 3sg that dog lead DIR

Take it, that is the dog, away.

- (12) la² si¹ ta²ci¹ wo⁴ nie³ a³ba³, guo²
one month plus carry on the back ASSOC stone 3sg
guo² la² nie¹ wo⁴ lie¹, wo⁴ ji² liao¹
3sg one day carry on the back PERF carry on the back TEL CRS

Stones that usually took over a month to move, he finished moving in a day. (the second guo² refers to the topic of the clause, which is actually a fronted object)

- (13) guo² li⁴ qie³, jie²po¹ zu², wu² hhi² xi²
3sg land plough finish work SUBP cow go NOM
die¹, guo² guo² wu² pe²ti¹ke¹ ga³ha² po¹ bo³
be slow 3sg 3sg cow shoulders top put STAT
cu¹ song¹kuo¹
home return

When he had finished ploughing, and his cow walked too slowly, he would put it on his shoulders and carry it home. (the last guo² refers to the cow, which is not in focus in the clause)

- (14) ni² guo² re² huo³ lie¹, se² eng¹ge¹ luo⁴die¹
2sg 3sg wine take PERF 3pl there people
hu²ni¹ da⁴ha³ hu³
all together drink

Take it, this wine, and drink it together with the people in your village. (in the traditional legend of General Xiang, where the Emperor gave him poisoned wine to take home; guo² refers to the wine)

Appendix 1 Lexicon

Some of the items in this lexicon are compounds. They have been included here as they are in common use and are regarded by native speakers as integral units.

onom. = onomatopoeia; *v.* = verb

1. Nature, Natural Phenomena

1.1 Sky and Weather

bong ³ long ³	sound of thunder (<i>onom.</i>)
bu ¹ li ¹	frost
ce ³ lu ¹ ga ¹	ice
ci ³	to shine (of the sun)
la ³ ye ²	night
la ³ ye ² hu ³	dusk
lao ³ ci ³ , lao ³	sun
lao ³ tai ²	to be cloudy
leng ² bang ¹	block of ice
leng ² sai ¹	hail
me ²	sky
me ² ca ²	sunny day
me ² ga ³	to be dry, have a drought
me ² ga ³ ha ²	in the sky
me ² ha ³	thunder (<i>v.</i>)
me ² la ¹ ong ³	clouds
me ² la ² bian ¹	distant horizon
me ² lu ¹	shade
me ² ong ³	to thunder
me ² su ³	dawn (<i>v.</i>)
me ² ta ¹ ce ³	thunder
me ² yi ² la ¹ bie ⁴	to flash (of lightning)
me ² ze ³	to rain
me ² ze ³ bi ² kui ¹	drizzle
me ² ze ³ ci ¹ ba ¹	downpour, heavy rain
me ² ze ³ nie ⁴	rainy day
re ²	wind
re ² su ⁴	to blow (of wind)
re ² su ⁴ bi ²	breeze, light wind
re ² su ⁴ dao ²	to drop (of wind)
re ² tie ² ba ¹ su ⁴	to blow a gale
sa ⁴	to be cold
su ² su ¹	snow

su²su¹zi²
 su³su³
 suo¹ce³
 suo¹ce³zi²
 suo¹pe³
 suo¹pe³zi²
 wo²
 xi⁴bu²li¹
 yan³guo²ce³
 ze³

to snow
 moon
 dew
 to bedew
 fog
 to become foggy
 to be overcast
 star
 rainwater
 to rain, abbreviated form of me²ze³

1.2 Earth and Fire

a ³ ba ³	stone
a ³ ba ³ bu ² li ¹ /a ³ bu ² li ¹	gravel, sand
a ³ ba ³ ci ¹ ba ¹	rock, boulder
a ³ ca ³	cliff
a ³ cuo ³	cave
a ³ ji ¹ la ³	foot of a mountain
a ³ pa ¹ la ¹ hu ²	mountain stream
a ³ ti ³ ke ³	piece of stone
a ³ tong ¹	cave, hollow in a rock
a ³ tu ³	mountain cave
ang ³ ga ³	hollow (in limestone country)
ba ⁴ za ³	mountainside
ba ³	mountain slope
ba ³ gu ³	to climb a mountain
ba ³ zi ²	mud, soil
ba ³ zi ² mian ² hu ¹	(liquid) mud
bao ¹ bao ¹ /bao ¹ zeng ¹	outcrop
bu ³ ci ²	ashes
ce ³	water
ce ³ a ²	to cross a river
ce ³ ba ³ ti ³	at the bottom of the river
ce ³ duo ³	to flow (of a river/water)
ce ³ ga ³ ha ²	on the river/water
ce ³ la ³	ditch
ce ³ pu ³	pond
ce ³ ti ¹ bi ¹	across the river
ce ³ wo ² tu ¹	in the water/river
da ⁴	to burn
dong ²	cave
dong ³ ga ²	cave, hole
hu ³ pa ³	river

hu³pa³ta²ka⁴
kang³ku¹
ke¹hao¹
ku¹lie¹
ku¹za⁴
kuo¹
mei³tan²
mi⁴
mi¹ra¹
mi¹si³kuo³
ngo⁴
qie¹sa¹
ruo⁴
ta²ka¹
xie⁴
yi⁴za³

1.3 Fauna

bang²
bao²qi¹
bu¹ce³tong⁴
bu¹ce³
ca²ca¹
ca³ca¹ku¹li¹
ca³di³ga³
ca³qi¹
cai³gou³zi³
cao⁴yi³
ci²zu¹
di²di¹ku¹li¹
du⁴bi³
ga³
gang³gu³li¹
guan³lei¹
hhe⁴
kuai¹qi¹la¹
jie²da¹
ka¹ba¹si³
ke³ci¹ba³
ki²li¹li³
la²ji¹
li²
li²a¹ba¹/li²ba¹

river bank
in the mountains
col
mountain
small hill
gold
coal
fire
flame
ember
silver
hill, mountain
ground
pit
iron
pit, cave

eagle
pheasant
spider's web
spider
magpie
grasshopper
huamei (kind of thrush)
golden pheasant
wolf
grass carp
hedgehog
cricket
maggot
crow
tadpole
frog (edible)
monkey
earthworm
wing
rosefinch
frog
bedbug
muntjac deer
tiger
male tiger

li²ga¹ci³wo²ga¹ci³
li¹li³
li²ni³ga³
long¹gu¹
ma¹ku³li³
ma¹kuo¹ci³
mao³tao²
me²ca¹ku¹li¹
mi⁴si³kuo²kuo¹
nie²bi¹/ni²bi¹
nie²bi¹tong⁴
pa¹cai¹
pang³ga¹
pi²ga¹
pie¹la¹
pu²
pu³
pu²meng³
pu²tu¹
qia²qia²lei¹
qia³kui¹ya³
qing¹kuo¹luo¹gang³ci³
qing³qing³wo²si³
ra²
ra³pi²gai¹
re³
re³ta³sei¹
ruan¹gu¹li¹ma³ma¹
se²xian¹
se³ga¹cei¹
si³
si¹ni³ga³
si¹si¹
si¹si¹a¹lie¹
ta¹sei¹
tie¹pe³
tong²long¹pe³
tong⁴
wan³ba³li¹lu¹
ze⁴ga³
wo⁴
wo¹ti¹mi¹
wu²se³tie¹pe³

praying mantis
flea
tigress
soft-shelled turtle
mosquito
owl
rabbit
swallow
glow-worm
bird
bird's nest
sparrow
crab
housefly
leech
dragon
phoenix
dragon horse
turtledove
katydid (grasshopper)
cuckoo
spider
cicada
to fly
midge
rat
bat
dragonfly
musk deer
a species of bird
beast
ant
louse
nit (louse egg)
butterfly
insect
cow louse
nest, lair, spider's web
golden oriole
squirrel
snake
lizard
dung beetle

xie ¹ ji ³ la ²	centipede
zao ¹ zao ¹	claw
zuo ² ku ¹	wild cat

1.4 Flora

a ³ bu ³	kudzu vine
ba ¹ suo ¹	mulberry plant
bang ¹ zu ¹	type of bamboo
be ¹ lie ¹ si ¹ ka ³ mong ³	pear tree
be ² zi ¹ ka ³ mong ³	pine tree
bu ² li ¹ zi ³	to bear fruit
ca ³ pai ¹	fruit of tea tree
ca ³ zi ³ ka ³ mong ³	tea oil tree
ce ³ ci ¹ ke ³	willow
ce ² si ¹ ka ³ mong ³	mandarin orange tree
ci ¹ ba ¹	ramee or China grass
ga ³ mu ³ se ³	maple tree
ha ¹ la ² ka ³	white <i>nanmu</i> tree
ha ⁴ lie ³ bi ² gai ¹ gai ¹	green bristlegrass
hhe ¹ ta ¹	leaf
ji ¹ la ³	root
jie ² mi ¹ ti ³ ka ¹ pu ¹	henna plant
ka ³	stem
ka ¹ ba ¹	couch grass
ka ¹ ca ¹	grass
ka ³ kuo ³	forest
ka ³ mong ³	tree
ka ³ mong ³ a ² jie ¹ /ka ³ a ² jie ¹	branch of a tree
ka ³ mong ³ ta ² pa ⁴ /ka ³ ta ² pa ⁴	tree bark
ka ¹ pu ¹	flower
ka ¹ pu ¹ pu ³	to bloom
ka ³ ti ³ ke ³	large block of wood
ka ³ ti ³ mi ¹	tree stump
ke ¹ xi ¹	wormwood (plant)
keng ¹ ke ¹ si ¹	an edible plant
ku ² ruo ¹ ka ³ mong ³	palm tree
lang ³ zu ¹	type of bamboo
lao ³ lao ¹ xi ¹	sunflower
mao ¹ cong ³ ka ³ mong ³	fir tree
me ² lu ¹	shade (of a tree)
mu ⁴ kuo ¹	bamboo grove
mu ⁴ nie ³	bamboo
pang ¹ qie ¹	Jew's ear fungus (<i>Auricularia spp.</i>)

pu ² ta ¹	leaf
ra ³ bi ³ la ¹	chickweed
ra ³ ki ¹ ce ³	wild onion
sa ²	fir
sa ² ka ³ mong ³	China fir tree
sa ¹ lie ¹ si ¹ ka ³ mong ³	plum tree
sa ³ yi ² la ¹	<i>Monochoria</i> (plant)
sang ¹ zu ¹	type of bamboo
seng ³ pao ²	cogongrass
si ³	grass
si ³ bu ² li ¹	grass seed
si ³ ka ³ ca ³	grass used as fodder
si ¹ si ¹ ka ³	red <i>nanmu</i> tree
sui ¹ zu ¹	a species of bamboo
ta ¹ la ¹	type of fodder plant
ta ² se ¹	thorn
ti ² ti ¹	type of plant
ting ² ting ¹	joint (in bamboo)
tong ¹ si ¹	mushroom
tong ³ you ³ ka ³ mong ³	tung tree
tuo ² ga ¹	bracken
wu ² xi ³	type of grass used for cattle fodder
yan ³ liu ¹ ka ³ mong ³	willow tree
ze ¹ guo ³	Chinese goldthread (plant)
zi ⁴ xi ³	pigweed
zuo ² gu ¹	wild pepper

2. The Human Body, Life Experiences, Relationships, and Occupations

2.1 Parts of the Body, Secretions

ang ¹ a ¹	liver
bi ² la ¹	intestines
bi ¹ ta ¹	thigh
bu ¹ jie ³	left hand
ca ³ bi ¹ ce ³	saliva
ce ³ si ³	child's dribble
dong ³ dong ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	naked body
eng ² qi ¹	nose
eng ² qi ¹ dong ³ ga ³	nostril
eng ² qi ¹ la ²	snivel
eng ² qi ¹ mie ⁴	nosebleed
eng ² qi ¹ se ³	nasal mucus
eng ³ qie ²	ear

eng ³ qie ² dong ³ ga ³	earhole
gu ² bi ¹ ta ¹ /gu ²	face
gu ¹ ce ³	sweat
hhe ¹ ce ³	urine
hhe ¹ ce ³ pe ³	bladder
ji ³	foot, step
ji ³ bi ³ ta ¹	sole of foot
ji ³ ca ³ ku ¹ li ¹	barefoot
ji ³ li ¹ pu ³	sole
ji ³ mi ²	footprint
ji ³ mi ³ ti ¹	toe
ji ³ mi ³ ti ¹ kuo ² ta ¹	toenail
ji ³ pa ³	lower leg
ji ³ si ³ pe ¹	thigh
ji ³ ti ³ ke ¹	kneecap
jie ²	hand, forearm
jie ² bi ¹ ta ¹	palm
jie ² da ¹ ji ³	armpit
jie ² la ¹ pi ³	centre of palm
jie ² mi ¹ ti ³	finger
jie ² mi ¹ ti ³ kuo ² ta ¹	finger nail
jie ² si ¹ pe ¹	arm
jie ² ti ¹ ke ¹	fist
ka ¹ ta ¹	head
ka ¹ ti ¹ ke ¹	forehead
kong ¹ di ¹	neck
kong ¹ long ¹	brain marrow
ku ¹ dang ¹	gall bladder
ku ¹ dang ¹ ce ³	bile
kuo ¹ ba ¹ /kuo ¹ cuo ¹	head
li ¹ kuo ¹ cong ¹	chest
li ¹ kuo ¹ luo ¹	heart
lie ² pe ³	scrotum
lie ² pe ³ bu ² li ¹	testes
long ¹ se ³	phlegm
luo ² bu ¹	eyes
luo ² bu ¹ ce ³	tears
luo ² bu ¹ se ³	gum in the eyes
luo ² bu ¹ si ² ga ⁴	eyebrow
luo ² bu ¹ ta ² pa ⁴	eyelids
luo ² ci ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	eyeball
lu ¹ ga ¹	bone
ma ¹ pa ³	beard

mang ³ pe ³	breast
me ³	stomach
me ³ ci ³ ke ¹	belly
me ³ guo ³	stomach
me ³ ti ² /me ³ ti ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	navel
mie ⁴	blood
ni ³ ga ³	thumb
nian ³ kui ¹	little finger
pe ²	arm
pe ² ti ¹ ke ¹	shoulder
pi ²	vomit
ra ³ ba ³	index finger
ri ³	male genital organs
sa ² qi ¹	hair
sang ² pong ⁴	lungs
se ³	waste, excrement
se ³ gu ³ li ¹	bottom
se ³ pe ³	stomach
si ¹ si ¹	tooth
si ¹ si ¹ ma ³ zi ³	teeth
suo ⁴ ti ³	body
ta ² bu ¹ jie ³	right hand
ta ² pa ⁴	skin
tie ³	female genital organs
yi ² la ¹	tongue
za ² qi ¹	mouth
za ² qi ¹ ta ² pa ⁴	lips
zuo ² ku ¹	ring finger

2.2 Body Movements and Actions

a ² za ²	to step over
ba ⁴	to look at
be ⁴	to cradle in the arms
bi ² la ¹	to scratch
biao ¹	to glide
bo ³	to escape
bong ² long ¹	to move
bu ¹ bu ³	to feel, touch
da ²	to fall
da ³	to stroke, touch
da ¹ bu ³	to wrestle (in play)
da ⁴ ha ³	to quarrel, fight
duan ²	to turn over

eng ³ jiu ³	to come
geng ¹ ke ⁴	to fall, topple
gu ¹ du ⁴	to crouch, squat
hhe ¹ ce ¹ bo ³	to urinate
hong ²	to lean against
hu ³	to swell up
jia ²	to jostle
jie ² da ¹ wu ⁴	to swim
ka ¹ ta ¹ bu ²	to <i>kowtow</i> (bow in obeisance)
ki ⁴	to kneel
ki ¹ ci ³	to clutch
ki ¹ si ¹	to shiver
ku ³	to suck
ku ² ku ¹	to stoop
ku ² ru ¹	to retract
ku ² su ¹	to pinch
la ²	to fling
la ²	to lap, lick
liao ²	to throw
lie ³	to squeeze
long ¹ se ³ pi ²	to spit
mo ² hu ¹	to shout, sing (also of birds)
nie ⁴	to smile, laugh
ong ³	to sit
qie ³	to chew
pe ³	to lie prone
re ²	to swallow
ru ³	to listen
rua ³	to rub (with the fingers)
se ³ bo ³	to defaecate
se ³ ci ²	to break wind
si ³	to push
si ¹ ta ¹	to crawl
si ¹ lie ¹	to stamp (with one's feet)
si ¹ nga ³	to itch
si ¹ sa ¹	to nibble, gnaw
si ¹ si ³	to shiver, tremble
song ¹	to support
song ¹ tu ³	to withdraw
ta ³	to float
ti ¹ ke ¹	to fall down
tie ³ ri ¹	to have sexual intercourse
tuo ³	to carry on the back

xi ⁴	to hear, listen
xi ⁴ ca ³	to run
xie ¹	to crawl
ye ²	to rub
ye ⁴	to pull
ye ⁴	to hide
ye ³ luo ³	to spin
yi ³	to see
za ⁴	to rub
zao ³	to be gone
zi ¹	to watch
zi ²	to change
zi ² zi ¹	to stretch
zi ² zi ¹ li ¹ li ¹	to wail
zu ¹ zu ⁴	to stand

2.3 Life Experiences, Sickness and Death

bo ³	to have diarrhoea
bong ³	to bury
bu ² li ¹	pock (<i>e.g.</i> smallpox)
ci ² ga ¹	ulcer, boil
ci ² ga ¹ zi ³	to have a boil
cuo ⁴ zu ⁴	to marry
di ²	to be painful
di ² di ¹ di ² ga ²	to be in great pain
hu ³	to swell up
ka ³	coffin
ka ³ ka ⁴	to carry a coffin
kuo ¹ ba ¹ di ²	to have a headache
la ³	to develop (of blisters)
long ¹	to cough
long ¹ se ³ pi ¹	to spit
luo ⁴ bong ³	to bury a person
luo ⁴ gi ³	to be feverish
luo ⁴ ka ³ si ²	to carry to burial
luo ⁴ se ² tu ¹	corpse
mie ⁴ duo ³	to bleed profusely
mie ⁴ zu ²	to bleed
nie ³ hhe ²	life (span)
nie ¹ ka ¹ , ka ¹	to make a living
ong ²	to grow up
po ¹	to marry (of a woman)
pu ² a ³	to marry (of a man)

qie ¹ xie ²	to be with child
qing ² die ¹ long ⁴ /long ⁴	to give birth to a child
re ²	pus
ri ¹	to work
sa ¹ bu ¹	malaria
se ²	to die
se ¹ tong ¹	year of age
si ³	to grow
si ¹ lie ¹ ong ³	confinement
si ² si ¹	breath, life
si ¹ si ¹ ha ¹ pa ³	to have gaps in one's teeth
suo ⁴ ti ³ gi ³	to have a fever
suo ⁴ ti ³ si ²	to be pregnant
tu ³ ga ³	matchmaker
xia ²	to give birth
zeng ⁴	to heal
zuo ¹ a ³	to acquire a daughter-in-law
zuo ¹ si ¹ ke ¹	grave

2.4 Kinship Terms and Other Human Relationships

a ¹ ma ¹	paternal grandmother
a ¹ mi ¹	younger sister
a ¹ mi ¹ bi ² kui ¹	youngest sister
a ² be ¹	uncle
a ² da ¹	elder sister
a ² da ¹ ci ¹ ba ¹	eldest sister
a ² da ¹ bi ²	younger elder sister
a ² guo ¹	companion
a ³ ba ¹	father
a ³ cuo ⁴	brother-in-law
a ³ kuo ⁴	elder brother
a ³ kuo ⁴ bi ²	male child
a ³ kuo ⁴ ci ¹ ba ¹	eldest brother
a ³ nie ¹	mother
ang ¹ bei ¹	uncle (father's younger brother)
ang ¹ ngai ⁴	younger brother
ang ¹ ngai ⁴ bi ²	youngest younger brother
ang ¹ ngai ⁴ ci ¹ ba ¹	oldest younger brother
ba ³ bu ¹ /ka ³ bu ³	maternal grandmother
ba ¹ ye ¹ a ³ ba ¹	uncle (father's elder brother)
ba ¹ ye ¹ a ³ nie ¹	aunt (wife of father's elder brother)
bi ²	son
bi ² suo ¹ die ¹	young men

biu ²	daughter
biu ² die ¹	young women
bo ¹ li ³	child
bo ¹ li ³ die ¹	children
bu ¹ suo ¹	younger brother
ca ³ ce ³	sister-in-law
di ¹ gui ¹	younger one
guo ² gui ¹	sister-in-law
ka ³ ki ³	father-in-law
luo ⁴ bi ³	son
luo ³ ga ³ ni ²	wife
ma ²	son-in-law
ma ³ ma ¹	woman, aunt
ni ¹ kuo ¹ a ³ ba ¹	uncle (husband of paternal aunt)
ni ¹ kuo ¹ a ³ nie ¹	paternal aunt
nie ³ ba ³	parents
nie ³ ci ¹	maternal aunt
nie ³ ti ³ ge ¹ ti ¹	ancestor
nie ¹ ye ¹ a ³ ba ¹	uncle (father's younger brother)
nie ¹ ye ¹ la ³ nie ¹ nie ³ nie ¹	aunt (wife of father's younger brother)
pa ³ pu ¹	grandfather
po ³ pa ¹	old man
pu ²	daughter-in-law
pu ¹ su ¹	genealogical register
qian ¹ ngai ⁴	brother
qing ² die ¹	child
re ⁴ bi ² /re ⁴	grandchild
re ⁴ biu ²	granddaughter
re ¹ ka ³ re ¹ nie ³	paternal great-grandmother
rong ⁴	younger sister
wai ² wai ¹	nephew, niece
zi ² ai ¹ zi ³	nephew
zi ² ni ¹ zi ¹	niece
zuo ⁴	daughter-in-law
zuo ¹ ba ¹	man
zuo ⁴ ni ³	relative
zuo ¹ ni ³ mu ¹ ni ³	relatives and friends

2.5 Occupations and Types of People

a ³ ha ³ ma ¹	stone-breaker
a ⁴ yi ³ luo ⁴	robber
a ³ zuo ⁴	stonemason
bai ¹ zi ¹	lame person

cuo ³ xie ² ri ¹ ma ¹	shoemaker
ga ³ ba ³	mute
ga ² me ¹	official
ga ² me ¹ ka ³	government
heng ¹ ma ¹	hero
hu ³ ri ¹ ma ¹	labourer doing longterm work
jie ² ri ¹ ma ¹	farmer
ka ³ ba ³ ki ² ma ¹	sawyer
ka ³ ke ⁴ ma ¹	pallbearer
ka ³ ta ¹ ma ¹	woodcutter
ki ² zuo ⁴	carpenter
kuo ¹ ba ¹ ti ¹ ma ¹	hairdresser
kuo ³ ha ³	beggar
la ¹ meng ³ ka ¹ ma ¹	doorkeeper
la ¹ sa ¹ die ¹	some people
la ⁴ xiu ¹	to build roads
la ⁴ xiu ¹ ma ¹	roadman
lao ⁴ reng ³ ga ³	elderly person
long ¹ tu ¹	deaf person
luo ⁴	person
luo ⁴ ba ¹	man
luo ⁴ ba ¹ die ¹	men
luo ⁴ bi ³ die ¹	boys
luo ⁴ cai ¹	good person
luo ⁴ ci ¹ ba ¹	adult
luo ⁴ die ¹	other people
luo ⁴ die ² ka ¹ la ¹	bad person
luo ² zi ¹	blind person
ma ³ ma ³ die ¹	young women
mie ² jian ¹	bamboo craftsman
ngai ³ jian ³	stonemason
nian ³ qing ¹ reng ³	young person
pa ² ni ¹	elderly lady
po ³ pa ¹ cei ¹	elderly person
qing ³ nie ² la ¹ hu ³	the last person
qiong ³ ma ¹	poor person
qiong ³ ma ¹ ka ³	poor household
sa ³ li ³ ma ¹	speaker
sa ³ ri ¹ ma ¹	cadre, official
si ¹ ba ¹ la ³ ma ¹	tailor
ta ² ku ¹ pu ² ma ¹	tinker
wo ¹ la ¹ ri ¹ ma ¹	gardener
wu ² po ¹ ma ¹	cowherd

xie ⁴ di ³	to mine iron ore
xie ⁴ ha ³	to forge iron
xie ⁴ jian ²	ironsmith
xie ² ma ¹	rich man
xie ² ma ¹ ka ³	rich household
xie ⁴ zuo ⁴	blacksmith
ye ³ a ⁴ yi ³ ma ¹	robber
ye ³ hhe ² ma ¹	thief
ye ³ ke ¹ ma ¹	porter
ye ³ lu ³ ma ¹	businessman
ye ³ ri ¹ ma ¹	farmer
zi ³ bang ² ma ¹	cook
zi ⁴ bu ² ma ¹	butcher
zi ⁴ po ¹ ma ¹	swineherd

3 Production Activities

3.1 Hunting and Fishing

bang ¹	to load (a gun)
cong ²	gun
duo ³	to hit
pao ¹	shot
ra ⁴	bow and arrows
ra ⁴	to shoot
ri ⁴	clamp
si ³ jie ⁴	to hunt
si ³ jie ⁴ ma ¹	hunter
song ² ji ³ ma ¹	fisherman
song ² si ³	fish (meat)
song ² za ²	to fish
wo ³ wu ⁴	hunting cry (<i>onom.</i>)

3.2 Domestic Animals

a ¹ lie ¹	egg
bi ² bi ¹	whelp
bu ³	to give birth (of animals)
ga ³ gi ¹	cock-a-doodle-doo! (<i>onom.</i>)
ge ³	horse
ha ⁴ lie ³	dog
ha ⁴ lie ³ pe ³ tong ³	dog kennel
jie ² tang ¹ ke ¹	wing
ka ³ ca ³	pen, enclosure

ke ⁴	horn
kuan ³ kuan ³ kuan ³	sound of dog barking (<i>onom.</i>)
lie ¹	to lay (an egg)
lie ³ pong ²	tail
long ⁴	to raise, breed
mo ³	cat
ong ²	to bark
pe ³	to incubate
qiao ¹	to castrate
ra ³	chicken
ra ³ ba ³	cockerel
ra ³ gu ³ cuo ⁴	hen coop
ra ³ lie ³	egg
ra ³ long ⁴	to raise chickens
ra ³ ni ³ ga ³	hen
rong ²	to crow (of a cock)
ruan ²	water buffalo
ruo ²	sheep
sa ⁴	duck
sa ⁴ a ¹ ba ¹	drake
sa ⁴ lie ¹	duck's egg
sa ⁴ ni ³ ga ³	duck (female)
si ² ga ⁴	feather
ti ³ kuo ³	hoof
wu ²	cow (general term)
wu ² ba ¹	bull
wu ² bi ¹	calf
wu ² bi ¹ bu ³	to calve
wu ² cuo ⁴	cow pen
wu ² ni ³ ga ³	cow
xian ²	to castrate (poultry)
xie ² xie ¹	livestock
zi ⁴	pig
zi ⁴ a ¹ ba ¹	hog, boar
zi ⁴ cuo ⁴	pigsty
zi ⁴ ni ³ ga ³	sow

3.3 Farming

a ¹ ci ³	hulled grain
a ¹ pe ³	ear of grain
ai ¹ ka ² se ¹ pa ²	agricultural work
bao ¹ bu ¹	maize
cai ² zi ¹	oilseed rape

ce ¹	to winnow
ce ³ kuo ¹ pi ³	hyacinth bean
ce ³ la ¹ meng ³	sluice
ce ³ po ¹	to draw/drain water
ce ³ tu ²	to pour water
ci ² pi ¹	fine bran
da ⁴	to thresh
da ⁴ dong ¹	threshing box
da ⁴ mi ⁴ ji ⁴	rice thresher
di ³	to dig
dian ⁴	to sow
duo ⁴ bu ¹	red bean
ga ⁴	to dig
gang ¹ za ¹ geng ¹	sugar cane
ha ²	to let out, drain
ha ³	to cut (grass, maize)
hhi ³	millet
huo ¹ sa ¹	wasteland
ji ³ ka ³	wooden seat on plough
ji ² me ¹	wheat
ka ¹ tie ¹	ploughshare
ke ³	field
lang ² ku ¹	yoke
li ⁴	land, ground
li ² bu ¹	rice, grain
li ² bu ¹ ha ³	to thresh rice
li ² bu ¹ nga ⁴ /li ² bu ¹ suo ⁴	to reap rice
li ¹ ga ¹ ci ³	hoe
li ⁴ hong ¹	field
li ² kuo ¹ tong ¹	ploughshare
li ⁴ pu ²	weed
li ⁴ pu ² ci ³	hoe
long ¹ mong ⁴	barley
nga ⁴	to cut, reap
nie ¹ lang ¹	seed
ong ¹ ba ¹	sorghum
pa ² ca ⁴	harrow
pe ¹ ta ¹ ci ² pi ¹	fine bran
pe ² ti ¹	land
po ¹ ta ¹	bran
po ¹ ta ¹ kuo ¹ cuo ¹	chaff, coarse bran
pu ¹ ki ¹	hoe
pu ²	to hoe

qie ³	to plough
qie ³	to harvest maize
qie ³ pa ²	farmwork
sao ³	sweet potato
se ¹	to sow
se ³ ke ¹	field
se ¹ pa ³	farm work
si ² ge ¹ tie ¹	field
si ¹ li ¹	rice plant
si ¹ li ¹ se ¹	to transplant rice seedlings
ti ² mi ¹	seedling
ti ² mi ¹ zuo ³	to sprout
wu ¹ suo ¹	millet
xi ³ pie ⁴	to pull up grass
ye ³ cu ¹ ci ³	granary
yi ²	to scatter
za ²	to slash and burn

3.4 Cottage Industries

ca ⁴	spinning wheel
ca ³ ku ³	residue from pressing tea oil
cai ² ku ³	residue from pressing rapeseed oil
ce ² ce ¹	honey
ce ² ce ¹ mi ¹ ma ¹	honeybee
ce ³ ku ¹	hemp fibres
ce ³ ci ³ la ¹	yarn
ce ³ ia ³	hempen cloth
ce ⁴	to twist hemp
ci ¹ ci ³ /ci ³	to card cotton (comb out seeds)
ma ³ ku ³	residue after pressing oil
mi ¹ ma ¹	honeybee
sai ⁴ ma ³ ma ¹ /sai ⁴	silkworm
se ³ si ² ha ³	to press oil
si ¹ lang ¹ ka ¹ pu ¹	brocade
ta ⁴	to weave
ta ⁴ qi ¹ ca ¹	weaving loom
tong ³	tung tree
tong ³ se ³ si ²	tung oil
tong ¹ mu ³	thread
tong ¹ mu ³ za ²	to spin yarn
xi ¹ lang ¹ ka ¹ pu ¹	brocade
zi ² la ¹ za ² /za ²	to spin

4 Daily Living

4.1 Dwellings

a ¹ ku ¹	corner
a ³ ba ³ cuo ⁴	stone house
a ³ pi ²	enclosure
ce ²	to build
ce ³ mong ²	well
cu ¹	home
cuo ⁴	house
cuo ⁴ ni ³	backyard
cuo ⁴ qing ³ nie ¹	behind the house
cuo ⁴ wo ³ ta ²	outside the house
cuo ⁴ wo ² tu ¹	inside the house
cuo ⁴ yan ³ gu ²	land behind a house
cuo ⁴ za ¹	courtyard
cuo ⁴ zi ¹ gi ¹	in front of the house
hang ¹ du ¹ ga ³	fireplace
hao ³	bar used to block entrance to enclosure
hong ¹ ba ¹	wall made of wooden planks
ka ³	wood, firewood
ka ³ ba ³	board
ka ¹ ca ¹ mu ¹ ca ¹	rubbish
ka ³ cuo ⁴	wooden house
ka ³ tong ³	wooden post
kuo ¹ lie ¹	wooden frame above fireplace
la ¹ meng ³	door
lang ³ gang ³	fence
lie ²	storied building
lie ² ba ³ ti ³	downstairs
lie ² da ³	to go downstairs
lie ² ga ³ ha ²	upstairs
lu ³ ban ³	floor board
mi ⁴ tang ³	fireplace
pa ² qie ¹	corridor
pi ²	stone wall
sa ² kuo ¹	bamboo fence
se ³ bo ³ cuo ⁴	toilet
seng ¹ ki ¹	toilet
su ²	to build
su ¹ pi ¹	lock
tang ³ long ³	main hall
wan ² bang ¹	eaves

wo¹la¹
wo¹pong³
xie⁴ca¹
yan³gu²
zuo³kong¹
zuo³kong¹ta¹

vegetable garden
thatched shack
tripod
backyard
stove
kitchen

4.2 Furniture and Tools

ao¹ki¹
bu¹se¹
ce³hu³ta³
cong²ti¹
cui³cui⁴
cuo¹ke¹
du³za²
gang¹pe¹
hhe²la¹
hu³
jia¹lian¹
jia²zu¹
jian¹jian¹
ka²ti¹
ka²ti¹kuo¹
ka³ti³ke³
ka³zu³
ke²ka⁴
ki²
ki¹ti¹
kong¹zi¹
kuai⁴
la²ta¹
lang³qie³
leng³tong³tong¹

luo³sai³
luo²tie¹
nian³die¹
pa³su²
qi⁴
qian¹qian¹
qian²qian¹
qing¹bao¹
rong¹ti¹

axe
mat
many things
water bucket
hammer
stool
lid (e.g. for a wok)
stick
string
work
tool, instrument
bamboo pole
scissors
bamboo basket
basket
large block of wood
stick
smoke
saw
washbasin
load
carved wooden chair
gourd (used as a ladle)
fan
large oval-shaped bucket (for scalding bristles from a pig)
shallow, tray-like basket
bag
bamboo mat
ladle
steelyard balance
hoop
fire tongs
cupboard
large backbasket

se¹ki¹ba¹
si³tie²
su¹ku¹
ta²ki¹
ti¹ku¹
tie⁴tie³
tuo⁴
tuo¹luo¹su¹ku¹
tuo³tuo³
wo³bi³
wo³sa³
wo³tong³
xiao¹ki¹ta¹
xiao²tiao¹
yan¹ji¹
yan⁴ji³luo¹
yan¹si¹
ye³
zao²ri³su¹ku¹

broom
table
firewood knife
dustpan, winnowing basket
large earthenware jar
lamp
trunk, chest
type of knife
knife
small backbasket
backbasket
cradle
shallow basket
shoulder pole
bench
ladder
key
item, thing
type of knife

4.3 Activities of Daily Living

a³
a¹jie³
a¹la³
a³ba³ha³
a⁴sa¹
a²tu¹
a⁴yi³
a³xie²
ai³xi²
ba¹
bang²
be²
be⁴
bi¹ci⁴
bie¹li³
bie⁴
bo¹li³long⁴
bo³
bu²
ca³
ca⁴
ce³he³

to fetch, take
to follow around
to stick
to break stones
to link
to tidy
to steal
to meet
to finish
to stick, paste
to cook
to cause to overflow
to cradle or hold
to break apart
to lose
to leave, fall
to give birth to a child
to pour
to kill
to insert
to cheat
to leak water

ce ³ za ⁴	to take a bath
ceng ¹ tu ¹	to do well
ci ⁴	to moisten
ci ¹ ca ⁴	to tear
ci ¹ ci ³	to pull
cu ⁴	to fill, contain
cuo ⁴	to lead, bring
da ¹	to drip
da ⁴	to lack
da ⁴ guo ⁴	to quarrel
da ⁴ pi ³	to divide
da ² tuo ¹	to lie across
dang ¹ guo ³	to follow
di ¹ di ⁴	to fetch, carry, hold
die ³	to break
dong ³	to pierce
du ³	to cover
duan ⁴	to block
duo ¹	to put
duo ³	to flow
eng ³ zi ³	to come
jian ¹ si ³	to store
ga ²	to eat
ga ⁴	to cut
ga ² ga ¹	to open wide
gao ¹	to do
gu ¹ zu ⁴	to hollow out
gu ³	to get on, go up
guo ²	to beg
guo ³	to wedge
guo ⁴	to quarrel
ha ²	to dissect
ha ³	to hit
he ³	to leak
he ⁴	to stab, puncture
hhe ²	to steal
hhi ²	to go
hhi ³	to sweep
hi ²	to remove, untie
hi ⁴	to rest
hu ¹ ca ³	to run away, escape
hu ³	to drink
hu ³ ri ¹	to work

hui ² kai ¹	to have a meeting
huo ³	to bring, take
huo ³ lie ³	to use
ji ¹	to fight
jie ⁴	to chase
jie ² po ¹	to finish work
jie ² ri ¹	to labour
jie ³	to call, cry
jiu ⁴	to wring
ka ³ sa ¹	to chop firewood
ka ⁴	to guard, watch
ke ⁴	to carry, lift, take up
ki ² ki ⁴	to hang
ki ² li ¹	to roll up
kuo ¹	to break (something hard)
kuo ³	to be broken
la ³	to close, shut
la ¹ ga ³ pi ³	to split open
la ¹ meng ³ tong ²	to open the door
la ¹ meng ³ xian ³	to shut the door
lang ³ lang ²	to dry in the sun
li ⁴	to string together
liao ³	to cut into sections
lie ²	to give
long ¹	to gather up
lu ¹	to scoop up
luo ³	to scold
luo ⁴ ha ³	to hit someone
ma ¹	to heap
mi ³	to spread
mi ⁴ po ¹	to set on fire
mi ⁴ ti ²	to light a fire
mi ⁴ tu ²	to throw out embers
mi ⁴ tu ⁴	to keep warm around the fire
mi ⁴ wu ²	to light a fire
mie ²	to blow
ngang ¹	to install
ngang ²	to submerge
ngo ²	to contain
ni ¹	to look for
ong ²	to rise, swell
ong ³	to sound
ong ³ cuo ⁴	to stay at home

pa ³	to moisten
pa ³	to shift responsibility
pe ¹	to wrap
peng ²	to spit, spurt
pi ³	to divide, break up
pie ²	to drain
pie ²	to overturn
pie ⁴	to pull out, pluck
po ¹	to put, release
po ¹ bo ¹	to put tidily
pu ³	to tie
qi ⁴	to weigh out
qi ⁴ qi ³	to shake
qia ¹	to bully
qie ⁴ li ³	to enter
qing ¹ ni ³ /qing ¹ qing ³	to shut
ra ¹	to hang
ra ⁴	to burn
ruo ³	to chop (firewood)
ruo ¹ hhi ³	to sweep the floor
sa ¹	to cut, chop
sa ⁴	to dry in the sun
sa ³ ri ¹	to work
seng ³	to tolerate
si ²	to send, bring
si ⁴	to use
si ¹ lie ³	to ask
si ¹ ma ³	to forget
si ² si ¹	to tidy up, trim
song ¹ kuo ¹	to return, go home
song ³	to block, stuff, fill
sou ²	to send
su ⁴	to blow
su ¹ su ¹	to store up
suo ⁴	to cut
ta ¹ nie ¹ bie ¹ li ³	to lag behind
ta ⁴	to cut
ti ¹	to place
ti ²	to light
ti ²	to bind
ti ³	to obtain, get
ti ⁴	to wait
ti ¹ ke ¹	to fall down

tie ¹	to pick, pluck
tong ¹	to poke, pierce
tong ²	to open
tu ¹	to pick
tu ²	to pour
tu ¹ tu ¹	to pick up
tu ¹ wu ³	to keep warm by the fire
tuo ¹	to drag
tuo ³	to lop (branches on a tree)
tuo ⁴	to knock
wo ¹	to wash
wo ³	to surround
wo ⁴	to carry on the back
wu ⁴	to pull out
wo ¹ ha ¹	to topple, collapse
wu ²	to burn
wu ³	to measure
xi ³	to pull up
xi ⁴	to lead
xian ³	to close, shut
xiao ¹	to push
xiao ²	to carry on a shoulder pole
ye ³ luo ³	to resolve
ye ⁴	to arrive
za ¹	to soak, steep
za ²	to step, tread
za ²	to wash
za ⁴	to grasp, hold
zao ³	to be gone
zi ²	to cry
zu ²	to come out, get up
zuo ¹	to hang

4.4 Food and Drink

a ² ce ¹	tea
a ¹ wu ¹	leftover food
ba ¹ ba ¹	glutinous rice cake
be ¹ lie ¹ si ¹	pear
bu ² li ¹	fruit
ce ³ ba ¹ suo ¹	grapes
ce ³ ci ³ ke ¹	sesame-coated fried glutinous rice dumpling
ce ³ ci ³ lang ³ tang ³	watery rice
ce ² si ¹	satsuma

ceng ³ zi ³	pomelo
die ¹ hi ¹	beancurd
ha ¹ ce ¹	vegetables
ha ¹ ce ¹ ce ³	soup
ha ⁴ lie ³ si ³	dogmeat
ka ¹ bie ¹ lie ¹	porridge
ka ¹ qi ¹ qi ¹	aubergine
kuo ¹ su ¹	ginger
kuo ² ti ¹	green beans
la ¹ be ¹	Chinese radish
la ² bu ¹	salt
la ² tu ¹	melon
la ² tu ¹ bu ² li ¹	melon seed
leng ² gou ¹ zi ¹	ice lolly
mang ³	milk
mang ¹ mang ¹	cooked food
mao ³ ni ¹ xia ² huo ¹	viscera
mi ² mi ¹	bamboo shoots
mo ³ si ³	cat meat
ni ¹ bi ¹	taro
ong ¹ ga ³	lunch
pa ¹ ruo ¹ gu ¹ /pa ¹ gu ¹	chilli pepper
ping ³ guo ⁴	apple
pu ² tu ¹ si ³	turtledove meat
qi ² bu ¹ /qi ² bu ¹ li ¹	soybean
qie ¹ hhe ¹	glutinous rice
qie ² si ¹	mandarin orange
ra ² ce ³	tea
ra ² gu ¹	tea-leaves
ra ³ si ³	chicken meat
re ²	wine
re ² ti ¹ ku ¹	large wine jar
re ² pa ¹	sweet wine
re ³ si ³	rat meat
re ² ti ¹ ku ¹	flagon of wine
ruo ² ke ¹ ba ¹ ba ¹	glutinous rice dumpling
ruo ² si ³	sheep/goat meat
sa ¹ lie ¹ si ¹	plum
sa ¹ mi ¹	crisped rice cake
sa ⁴ si ³	duck meat
sa ¹ tu ¹	prawn
si ¹ bu ² li ¹	kiwi fruit
si ² ku ¹ si ³	fat meat

si ¹ li ¹ zi ³	cooked rice
si ³ lu ¹ ga ¹	pig's bone
si ³ mei ²	lean meat
si ³ tuo ²	garlic
si ² zi ¹ /si ² zi ¹ bu ² li ¹	persimmon
si ³	meat
song ²	fish
su ² xi ¹ bu ² li ¹	chestnut
wo ⁴ si ³	snake meat
wu ² si ³	beef
xi ² pong ⁴	green leafy vegetable
xie ¹ bu ³	sesame
yan ¹ tu ³	tobacco pipe
yan ³ yi ¹	potato
ye ³	food, meal
zao ⁴ gu ¹ die ¹	breakfast
zi ³	cooked rice
zi ³ ga ³	dried cooked rice
zi ³ hhe ³	rice (as grain)
zi ⁴ si ³	pork

4.5 Food Preparation, Cooking, and Eating

a ² la ¹	to stir
a ⁴	to feed with
ba ²	tea tray
bo ⁴	to grind (with a hand mill)
bo ¹ zuo ¹	grindstone
bong ⁴	large wooden steamer
bu ²	to pound
bu ¹ zi ¹	chopsticks
bu ⁴	to soak
ce ³ ca ³	plaited wok stand
ce ³ pe ¹	to boil
dang ⁴	to parboil
huo ⁴	to mix
gi ³ pa ³	rice crust
ha ¹ ce ¹ cu ⁴	to serve food (into bowls)
ha ¹ ce ¹ ti ¹	to bring food (to the table)
ha ¹ ce ¹ tie ²	to pick vegetables
jia ² me ² ci ² pi ¹	flour
ku ¹ luo ¹	to knead
lao ¹ su ¹	wire strainer (for deep-drying)
luo ²	to cook

mi ¹ ka ³ ti ²	food that is half-burnt
pang ³ pang ¹	plate
pe ⁴	to boil
pe ⁴ ce ³	boiled water
pi ² pi ¹	powder
po ²	to grind
qi ³	to fry
qie ³ bi ²	bowl
qie ³ bi ² li ¹ pei ¹	bottom of the bowl
qie ³ bi ² pang ¹ lang ¹	cutlery and crockery
re ² tu ²	to pour wine
se ³ si ²	oil
si ³ pi ² si ³ pai ²	to have a little meat in a meal
song ² ga ¹	pounding machine
ta ²	to shallow fry
ta ²	to dry in the sun
ta ² ku ¹	pan, wok
tang ³ a ³	sound of pounding glutinous rice (<i>onom.</i>)
teng ² hhe ¹	large pan or wok
tong ⁴	to steam
wu ²	to roast
xie ¹ pong ¹	cooking pan
xie ³	to simmer
xie ⁴	to peel
xie ⁴ ca ¹	tripod
xie ⁴ pong ¹	three-legged pot for cooking rice
xie ³ qi ³ /xie ³	sieve
zeng ¹ pang ¹	chopping board
zi ³ bang ²	to cook a meal
zi ³ luo ²	to cook a meal

4.6 Clothes, Clothes-making, Grooming, and Sleeping

ang ¹ a ¹	needle
ang ¹ ka ¹	to cut with scissors
ca ¹ ca ¹ ku ³	split-crotch trousers (for infants)
cuo ³	to plait
cuo ³ xie ²	shoes
da ³	to wear
deng ¹ pong ³	bamboo hat
die ⁴	to wear (a hat)
gu ² wo ¹	to wash one's face
huo ²	cloth
ji ² la ¹	socks

ji ³ ku ³	straw sandals
jian ² ga ¹	bracelet
jian ² ga ¹ bu ² li ¹	ring
jie ² jie ¹	sleeve
jie ³ long ¹	skirt
jie ² su ¹	bracelet
jie ² zu ¹	headscarf
ka ³ xie ³	comb
ku ³	trousers
ku ³ hhe ² la ¹	trouser belt
kuo ¹ ba ¹ xi ³	to comb one's hair
la ³	to sew
la ² die ¹	nappy
me ³ pu ³ la ¹	belt
mu ³ zi ³	to dream
nie ² bie ⁴	to be asleep
nie ² bie ⁴ ta ⁴	to be unable to get to sleep
nie ² ke ¹ re ¹	to snore
nie ² pong ¹	bed
nie ² si ¹ /si ¹	to wake up
nie ² ta ¹ ti ³	to be unable to sleep
nie ² zuo ¹	bed
ong ¹ guo ³	earring
pao ³	gown, robe
pu ²	to mend
qi ² la ¹	cloth (for binding around foot)
sa ² qi ¹ bian ¹ zi ¹	hair braid
sa ² qi ¹ hhe ² la ¹	hairband
si ¹ ba ¹	clothes
si ¹ ba ¹ bu ² li ¹	button
si ¹ ba ¹ da ²	to wear clothes
si ¹ ba ¹ hi ²	to take off clothes
si ¹ ba ¹ la ³	to make clothes
si ¹ ba ¹ za ²	to wash clothes
si ¹ lang ¹	blanket
ti ⁴ ti ³	razor
tong ¹ mong ³	thread
wa ² zi ¹	socks
yan ³ jian ¹	soap
xi ³	comb
ze ³ si ³	raincoat (made of coir palm)
zong ² ba ¹ jie ² zu ¹	special type of headscarf

4.7 Travel and Hospitality

a ²	to cross
a ³	to meet, receive
a ² hu ¹	to help someone
a ³ po ¹ li ¹	to repeatedly urge (someone to stay)
ang ² zai ¹	to thank
bu ⁴	boat
bu ⁴ a ²	to travel by boat
bu ¹ cuo ³	house guest
bu ¹ cuo ³ cuo ⁴	guest room
bu ¹ cuo ³ si ²	to see a guest off
bu ⁴ da ³	to disembark
bu ⁴ gu ³	to embark
bu ⁴ ong ³	to travel by boat
da ³	to go down
da ⁴ xi ⁴	to help
ji ⁴	to ride
jia ¹	to ride
jia ² zu ¹	steering pole
jie ² za ⁴	to shake hands
la ⁴ dao ¹	a stretch of road
la ⁴ ka ¹	to pass through
la ⁴ po ¹	to give way (on a road)
luo ⁴ a ³	to meet
luo ⁴ si ²	to see someone off
ma ⁴ ji ⁴	to ride a horse
pa ³ qie ²	to send
ping ³ huo ³	meal with guests
re ² xi ³ po ¹	to hold a banquet
ta ⁴	to receive
xie ¹ la ⁴	railway
ye ³ si ²	to give a gift

5 Society and Culture

5.1 People and Places

be ² ka ³	Miao ethnic group
bi ² zi ¹ ka ³	Tujia ethnic group
dong ²	former tribal region in minority areas
jia ³ ka ³	surname
kuo ¹	place

la ⁴	road
lang ³ cang ³	place
luo ¹ you ¹	village
se ² ta ¹ suo ¹	neighbour
si ¹ ke ¹	a certain place
ti ² mi ¹	ruins
ye ³ ti ³ ci ¹ ba ¹	the Eight Great Kings

5.2 Economics and Commerce

a ² li ¹	to exchange
cang ³ gang ⁴	to go to market
cong ²	to borrow or lend money
lu ²	to borrow or lend
lu ³	to sell
ong ¹	to borrow or lend (tools, etc.)
pang ³	to supply
pu ¹	to buy
qi ² kui ¹	to suffer loss
se ⁴ da ⁴	to be in debt
tiao ⁴	to exchange
tong ³ kuo ³ zi ¹	copper coin
tuan ³	money
tuo ¹	to repay, give back
ye ³ lu ³ zu ²	shop

5.3 Sociocultural Activities: Sports, Recreation, and Education

a ²	to write
a ² hhi ¹	to learn, study
a ³	to take a wife
ci ¹	New Year
ci ¹ bi ²	23rd day of the 12th month (lunar calendar) “Little New Year”
ci ¹ ci ¹	writing, books
ci ¹ ka ¹	to celebrate New Year
ci ¹ ki ¹ ta ¹	paper
ci ¹ pu ¹ /ci ¹	book
ci ¹ pu ¹ ba ⁴	to read a book
ci ¹ pu ¹ ze ²	to teach
ci ¹ tu ¹	to read, study
ci ¹ tu ¹ ma ¹	student
ci ²	ruler
da ⁴ po ¹	<i>kujia</i> , to cry ceremonially before a wedding
dong ³ dong ³ kui ¹	traditional Tujia flute

ge ³ ci ²	to play, have fun
gu ¹	story
guo ¹ cang ²	to sing
hi ⁴	to count
he ³	drum
jia ¹ huo ¹	to perform <i>daliuzi</i> entertainment
ka ¹	to celebrate
ke ⁴	swing
la ¹ ba ³	trumpet
lao ² re ¹	fun, bustle
long ³ ka ¹	New Year
luo ²	gong
mao ³ gu ³ si ¹	<i>maogusi</i> , traditional Tujia dance
me ²	ink
mie ³ guo ³	folk song
pa ³ pa ¹	story
ping ³ huo ³	feast
po ² ga ¹	teacher
qian ⁴ qi ³	<i>suona</i> horn (musical instrument)
qie ³ ka ³	to celebrate a festival
qing ²	gong
se ¹ ba ¹	<i>baishouwu</i> dance
se ¹ ba ¹ ri ¹	to perform the <i>baishouwu</i> dance
se ¹ pa ¹ se ¹	to celebrate the <i>Shebajie</i> festival
ta ¹ die ¹ nie ³ zi ² xi ¹ sa ³	<i>kujia</i> songs
tian ³ ge ³	reed (of a flute)
tie ⁴ tie ³	lantern
wu ⁴ tiao ²	to dance
yi ² la ¹ qi ¹	reed (of a flute)
zi ⁴	paper

5.4 Religion

a ¹ ye ³ ti ¹ ku ¹ /a ¹ ye ³	ghost
bu ²	to <i>kowtow</i> , bow in obeisance
bu ¹ ci ¹	spirit
bu ¹ ci ¹ jie ³	to call on the spirits
hhe ⁴ jing ¹	monkey demon
li ² jing ¹	tiger demon
long ³	<i>fengshui</i> , geomantic omens
nie ¹ lu ¹	special votive day
ruo ¹ ci ¹	earth god
ruo ¹ ci ¹ ta ³	temple for earth god
sa ³ ka ³ ni ³	earth goddess

ti ¹ ma ¹	<i>tulaosi</i> , Tujia shaman
ye ³ cuo ³	<i>baishouwu</i> temple
ze ² la ¹ nie ³	earth god

6 Mental Activities, Sensations, Time and Space

6.1 Thoughts and Emotions, Speech, Sensations and Behaviour

a ¹	to be hungry
a ² ci ¹	to love
a ² re ¹	sound, voice
be ¹ ce ³ cu ¹ cu ¹	to cry copious tears
bi ² zi ¹ sa ³	Tujia language
bu ² si ¹	not be
ce ³	to agree
da ⁴ ze ³	to resemble
dj ¹	to want
die ²	to think, remember, feel
ga ²	to become angry
ge ⁴	to be afraid, to fear
ge ⁴ di ¹ ge ⁴ ga ²	to be very afraid
gu ¹ ce ³	to weep
ha ³	to become a sworn brother/sister
ha ¹ tai ²	not know
ha ⁴ ri ³	to know
jie ³	to be drunk
ka ¹ ca ¹ da ¹	to be unwell
lang ³	to smell
lao ¹ huo ⁴	to be tired
li ² a ⁴	to be hungry
li ³	to say, speak, talk
luo ⁴	to be warm
luo ² bu ¹ ce ³ duo ³	to shed tears
mao ³ tai ²	to be angry
me ³ ga ²	to be angry
me ³ jie ²	to be full (not hungry)
me ³ lie ¹	to feel, know
mie ¹ ra ²	to be angry
pa ¹ sa ³	Chinese language
pa ¹ sa ³ li ³	to speak Chinese
sa ³	word, matter
sa ³ li ³	to speak
si ⁴ hhe ³	to ask
sou ²	to be

sou ³ da ²	not be
ta ³ hong ²	not want
tai ²	not have
tao ²	to not have now
ti ²	to answer
tong ¹ mong ³	to sigh
wu ² qi ¹ qi ¹	to be very cold
xia ¹ xi ¹	to do something properly
xiao ²	to have now
xiao ¹ huo ³ zi ³	appearance
xie ²	to have
xie ³	to be angry
xie ¹ qi ¹	strength, effort
ya ²	to compare
yi ² la ¹ re ⁴ re ⁴	to sign, intone, moan
zao ¹ hu ¹	to pay attention to
ze ²	to tell
ze ³	to be like
ze ² ga ³	to be thirsty
zi ²	to cry, weep
zu ²	to be sufficient

6.2 Descriptions of Human Character

a ² lie ¹	to be hardworking
ba ⁴ ca ²	to be good-looking
dao ¹ ca ²	to get on well
die ¹	to be slow
die ² ka ¹ la ¹	to be bad
die ² li ¹	to be capable, competent
ga ² li ¹ ga ² li ¹	slowly and lazily
guai ¹	to be clever
heng ⁴	to be formidable
ji ² di ¹ ji ² ga ²	to be very anxious
jing ¹ wei ¹	to be cunning
lang ¹ pe ¹	to be lazy
lao ¹ ga ¹	to be old
li ¹ si ¹	to be very excited
liu ² ba ¹	to be agile
long ¹ ke ³ si ² li ¹	to be arduous
luo ⁴ zi ²	to be frank, honest
me ² di ¹	to be obedient
ming ² xing ¹ lang ¹	to be unlucky in life
mo ²	to be busy

nie ⁴ li ¹ nie ⁴ ga ²	to be cheerful
qiao ² se ¹	to be skilled, clever
re ⁴ kuo ³ kui ¹	to be beautiful
ru ¹ ga ³	to be shy
sao ³ bao ³	to be stupid
si ¹ ga ¹ mi ¹ la ¹	at a loose end, with nothing to do
si ³ ku ¹ tu ³	to be fat
su ²	to be good at
ta ² re ¹	to be ugly
ta ² si ¹	to be weak
wo ²	evil, wicked, fierce
za ² si ¹	to be formidable
za ³ za ³ hui ¹	to be true
zang ⁴	to be frugal

6.3 Attributes of Objects: Colour, Shape, Quality and Quantity

a ¹ ga ³	to become dry
a ¹ hong ¹	to be raw
a ¹ jie ¹	to be cooked
a ² pei ¹	to become old
a ³ hong ¹ cai ¹	to be light yellow
a ³ pi ¹	to be sour
a ¹ ri ¹	extra
a ³ si ³	to be white
a ³ si ³ ceng ³ ceng ³	to be gleaming white
a ² xi ¹	new (one)
bao ³ hui ¹ hui ¹	to be very thin
be ²	to be soft
be ³ bei ¹	to be very soft
bi ³	to be flat
bi ³ gua ³ ta ³	to be very flat
bi ² kui ¹	small (one)
bi ³ lian ¹ li ²	to be smooth
bi ¹ tiao ¹	to be flat
bo ³ luo ¹ luo ¹	to be round
bu ¹ luo ³	to be loose
ca ¹ huo ⁴	to not be good
ca ²	to be good
ca ² di ¹ ca ² ga ¹	to be very good
ca ¹ cei ¹	small (one)
cai ²	good (one)
cang ³ cang ³	to drip with
ceng ³ ta ³	to be very bright

ci ¹ ba ¹	large (one)
ci ⁴	to be big
cu ³ cu ³	to be straight
cu ³ cu ³ ca ³ ca ³	straight and stiff
cu ³ ga ³ la ²	coarse (one)
dian ¹ mei ¹ dian ¹	very little
dong ³ qi ² dong ³ ga ²	full of holes
du ⁴	to be heavy
du ⁴ zi ³	to be heavy
du ⁴ zi ³ zi ²	to be very heavy
ga ³	to be dry
ga ² ga ¹	to be bright
ga ² ga ¹ die ³	to be sparse
ga ² li ¹ ga ²	to shine brightly
gai ⁴ ba ³	size
gai ¹ ci ¹	to be very large
gang ³ gu ¹ die ³	to curve
gi ³	to be warm, hot
ha ¹ pa ³	defect
hhe ¹ se ¹	to be dirty
hhe ³	to be long
hhe ³ ba ³	long (one)
jie ² zuo ⁴ bi ³	small thing
ka ¹ bie ¹	to be wet
ka ¹ pu ¹ ka ¹ ta ¹	to be brightly-coloured
kang ¹ lang ¹	to be tight
ki ⁴	to be hard
ki ² zi ¹	to be bitter
ki ² zi ¹ zi ¹	to be very bitter
ku ¹ su ³ ga ²	to be bright
kuo ² kuo ¹	shell, outer covering
la ²	to be thick
la ³	to be salty
la ² pa ¹ ke ¹	to be thick
lang ³	to smell bad
lang ² ga ¹	to be black
lang ² ga ¹ zao ³ zao ³	to be very black
lang ³ si ³ si ¹	to be smelly
lao ³ ga ³	big one
lao ¹ hua ¹	much, many
leng ²	to be tender
leng ³ kuo ³	to be in large pieces
long ¹	to be rotten

long ¹ ga ¹ la ¹	something rotten
mao ³ mao ³ ka ³ ka ³	something containing impurities
mian ¹ jie ¹	to be red
ngang ³ huo ¹	to be suitable
ngang ³ ngang ³	small hole
ong ³ zei ¹	to be sweet
ong ³ zei ¹ zei ¹	to be very sweet
po ¹ la ¹	to be numerous
pu ¹ ci ³	to be few
qian ²	a little
qian ² la ² bu ¹	lots
qing ³ nie ² lao ⁴	the last one
re ⁴	to be beautiful
re ⁴ di ¹ re ⁴ ga ²	to be very beautiful
re ⁴ kui ²	beautiful one
ri ³	to be many
ri ³ di ¹ ri ³ ga ²	to be very many
ru ⁴	to be light, not heavy
sa ² gi ¹	warm one
sa ³ sa ³	to be thin
sang ² jing ¹	to be very good
si ²	to be fat
si ¹ lang ³	to stink
suan ⁴	to be small
suo ² li ¹	to be clean
ta ² xi ¹	to be blunt
tie ² ba ¹	big one
tuan ³ gu ¹ luo ³	to be round
tuan ³ tuan ³ zuan ² zuan ¹	to be round
wai ¹	to be thin
wan ³ ga ¹ la ¹	to be yellow
wo ³ ki ¹	to be dark
wo ³ ki ¹ dai ³ dai ³	to be very dark
wu ² qi ¹	cold one
xi ⁴	to be sharp
xi ² ga ¹ la ¹	to be fine
xi ¹ la ³	to be sharp
xian ¹ ying ¹	to be cheap
xing ³ di ¹ xing ³ ga ²	to be very bluish-green
xing ² ga ¹	to be green
za ² sai ¹	to be many
ze ³	to be good
ze ² si ¹	to be hot, spicy

zong⁴
zong⁴kui²

to be short or near
short one

6.4 Times and Seasons

bang ² ri ¹ cai ¹	noon
di ¹ ga ³	in the past
dian ¹ dong ¹ bai ¹	the year before last
dian ¹ dong ¹ ji ³	three years ago
gi ² da ¹ nie ³	three days ago
gi ² ni ¹	the day before yesterday
gi ² ni ¹ pe ¹	the night before last
gi ³ zu ¹	summer
la ¹ long ¹	one year
la ¹ nie ¹ hi ⁴ lie ³	every day
la ³ kuo ³	next year
la ³ tie ²	tonight
la ² xie ¹	a long while
lai ⁴	today
lang ³ cai ¹	evening
lang ² lang ¹ he ⁴ lie ³	every morning
lang ³ qi ¹	night-time
lang ³ qi ¹ cai ¹ nie ¹ lao ³	sunset
lao ³ bie ⁴ lie ⁴ huo ³	sunset
lao ² zi ¹	tomorrow
lao ² zi ¹ pai ⁴	tomorrow night
lao ² zi ¹ zao ¹ gu ¹ die ¹	tomorrow morning
lei ¹ huan ¹ lang ¹	this morning
long ¹	year
long ¹ dong ¹ bai ¹	last year
long ³ bai ³	this year
luo ¹ zu ²	spring
mi ² da ¹ kuo ³	three years hence
mi ² da ¹ nie ³	three days hence
mi ² kuo ¹	the year after next
mi ² nie ¹ pai ⁴	the night of the day after tomorrow
mi ² nie ⁴	the day after tomorrow
nie ¹	day
nie ¹ si ³	two months
ong ¹ ga ³ ga ² zu ¹	noon, lunchtime
pai ¹ lang ³	last night
pe ¹	night
pu ³ ni ³	yesterday
pu ³ ni ³ pe ¹	last night

qie ² long ¹	a long time
sa ³ guo ¹	to be at an end
sa ⁴ zu ²	winter
sang ¹ mei ¹ zai ¹	sometimes
si ¹	month
ta ¹ nie ³ ku ³	daytime
xian ¹ kui ¹ xian ¹ lie ¹	before this
zao ⁴ gu ¹ die ¹	morning

6.5 Directional and Positional Terms

ba ³ ti ³	below
be ² bian ¹ la ¹ bi ³	the north
cuo ⁴ da ³ bi ²	next to the house
da ³ bi ²	nearby place
dong ¹ bian ¹ la ¹ bi ³	the east
ga ³ ha ² /ga ³	top
ji ³ ta ³ /ji ³	below
ka ¹ tao ¹	on top
la ² bian ¹	that side
la ⁴ ku ¹ tu ³ /la ⁴ qi ¹ ku ¹	by the roadside
lang ³ bian ¹ la ¹ bi ³	the south
li ⁴ ga ³ ha ²	on the ground
li ⁴ ti ³	ground
liao ¹ kuo ¹ qi ¹	apex
luo ² liu ¹	middle
qing ³ nie ²	behind, after
se ² ta ¹	side
song ¹	backwards
ta ¹ nie ¹	back
tie ¹ bi ¹	opposite
wo ² tu ¹	inside
wo ⁴ ta ³	outside
xi ¹ bian ¹ la ¹ bi ³	the west
zi ¹ gi ¹	in front

7 Particles and Other Closed Classes

7.1 Particles

a	sentential particle (interrogative)
bie ¹	have time to (modal verb particle)
bo ¹	goal marker (noun particle)
bo ³	indirect object marker (noun particle)
bo ³	static aspectiviser (verb particle)

ci ¹ hhe ¹	can (modal verb particle)
da ²	negation verb particle
dao ²	not now (verb particle)
de ¹ xi ³	can (modal verb particle)
di ²	directional verb particle
die ³	emphatic particle
diu ²	directional verb particle
duo ³	need, ought, must (modal particle)
duo ³	emphatic particle
gu ²	present relevance (verb particle)
hang	exclamatory particle
heng	exclamatory particle
hhe ¹	modal verb particle
hi ¹ ce ¹	modal verb particle
huo	interjectory sentential particle
hong	sentential particle
hu ³	future relevance (verb particle)
i	<i>irrealis</i> (verb particle)
ji ²	telic aspectiviser (verb particle)
la	interrogative sentential particle
la ¹	continuous (verb particle)
le	pause particle
liao ¹	current relevance (verb particle)
lie ¹	source (noun particle)
lie ¹	perfective aspect (verb particle)
lie ³	intensifying particle
lie ³	directional verb particle
lu ³	directional verb particle
ma	interrogative sentential particle
ma ¹	agentive nominaliser
me	pause particle
mo ³	adverbial particle
nie ¹	comparative particle
nie ²	continuing relevance (verb particle)
nie ³	associative particle
o	sentential particle
pie ¹	modal verb particle
ta ¹	negation particle
ta ¹ ce ¹	modal verb particle
ta ¹ duo ³	modal verb particle
ta ¹ ti ¹	cannot (modal verb particle)
ta ¹ tiu ¹	cannot now (modal verb particle)
ta ⁴	negation particle (in imperatives)

wa	interrogative sentential particle
xi ²	general nominaliser
xi ³ tai ²	superlative particle (very)
ya	interrogative sentential particle
yo	interrogative sentential particle
zai ²	quantifying particle (approximation)
zu ²	subordinating particle
zuo ³	locative nominaliser

7.2 Numerals

da ² bie ¹ lao ⁴	first (one)
ga ⁴	how many, how much; a few, some
ge ¹	nine
hi ²	ten
hi ² ta ¹	thousand
jiu ¹	nine
la ²	one
la ² hi ¹ la ²	eleven
la ² hi ¹ nie ¹	twelve
la ² hi ¹ suo ¹	thirteen
la ¹ za ¹	half
lao ⁴	one (person or animal)
nie ¹	two
nie ³	seven
nie ¹ hi ¹	twenty
ong ¹	five
ong ¹ di ¹ gui ¹	fifth
re ¹	four
suo ¹	three
ta ¹	hundred
ti ¹ ke ¹	part
ti ¹ kuo ¹	times
ti ¹ kuo ¹ luo ¹	half
wo ³	six
ye ³	eight
za ¹	half
zao ²	large number

7.3 Classifiers

bu ²	for compact round items
ca ¹	for boats, tripods, pestle and mortar
ci ³	for limbs, rice-cakes, buckets
cuo ¹	for houses, buildings

cuo ¹	for letters
da ²	for bowls, backbaskets
dong ²	for holes, mouthfuls
dong ²	for fleeting actions
ha ²	for winnowing baskets
hhi ¹	for thin flat objects
hhi ³	for people
ke ³	for fields, bean curd
kong ⁴	bundle
la ¹	a while
la ¹ hu ³ /hu ³	for people
long ³	for animals, fish, plants, logs, jars
ma ¹	for households
mi ³	for a segment of fruit
mong ¹	for trees
mong ²	for meals
pa ¹	for fires, and objects grasped in the hand
pai ¹	double armspan
pao ¹	crowd
pe ³	for ears of grain
pi ¹	for clothes and blankets
pi ⁴	a bolt of cloth
po ²	ten litres (dry measure)
pong ²	for small plants
pu ¹	for books
pu ³	for flower
qi ¹	catty (0.5kg)
qia ³	handspan
qie ²	for occasion, time
rong ¹	for large backbaskets
ru ¹	pair
si ³ kuo ² /si ³	litre
su ¹	for bowlfuls
suo ²	for mortars
ta ¹	for ladlefuls
ti ³	for hanging bundles
ting ¹	section (of bamboo)
tong ⁴	for nests, lairs
wo ³	for a load carried on the back
xi ¹	for bricks, money, planks, tiles
xi ¹	yuan (unit of currency)
xie ¹	for a short period of time
ye ³	item

za ¹	load
zang ¹	for table
ze ²	sentence, mouthful
zi ¹	tael
zi ²	for long thin objects

7.4 Pronouns

a ⁴ se ³	who
ai ¹ di ¹ /ai ¹	that
ang ² duo ³	1pl reflexive
ang ² ni ¹ /ang ²	1pl
eng ¹ di ¹ /eng ¹	this
gai ¹	how many, how much
gai ²	this, these
gai ¹ jiu ¹	how long
gao ² cai ³ /gao ²	here
ge ³ di ¹ /ge ³	this, these
ge ¹ duo ³	3pl reflexive
ge ¹ ze ¹ /ge ¹	3pl
guo ²	3sg
guo ² duo ³	3sg reflexive
guo ² duo ³ nie ³	his
kei ² jiu ¹	when
kei ³ du ¹ /kei ³	where
la ¹ xi ³	what
lei ⁴ qie ³	how
nga ²	1sg
nga ² duo ³	1sg reflexive
ni ²	2sg
ni ² duo ³	2sg reflexive
ni ² duo ³ nie ³	yours
qi ² du ¹	what date (in the lunar calendar)
qie ⁴ xi ³ /qie ⁴	what
qing ³ lie ²	how
qing ³ mo ¹ nie ³ /qing ³ mo ¹	why, how
se ²	2pl
se ² duo ³	2pl reflexive
tuo ² ni ¹	another

7.5 Adverbs

a ¹ duo ¹ nie ³	thus, in that way
a ² bu ¹	rather
a ² ci ⁴	loudly

ai ¹ da ¹ ze ³	like that
ai ¹ du ¹ /ao ¹ du ¹	there
ai ² tian ¹ lie ³	from now on
ao ¹ cai ³ /ao ¹	there
be ²	also
bie ⁴	a little
cai ³ mo ¹	well
da ⁴ ha ³ /da ⁴	together
da ⁴ la ¹ ze ³	together
da ³ pie ¹	first, before
dao ²	on the contrary
dao ² cu ¹	everywhere
di ³ di ¹ da ³ tao ¹	in a mess
dian ² kui ¹	a little
duo ³	all
eng ¹ du ¹	here
eng ¹ ge ¹	that place, there
eng ¹ ge ¹ la ¹ bi ³	there
eng ¹ ge ¹ la ¹ gui ¹	yonder
eng ¹ jie ³	here
gai ² da ¹ ze ³	like this
ge ³ du ¹	here
ge ³ duo ¹ nie ¹	like this
ge ³ huo ⁴	so, in this way
ge ³ la ¹ bi ¹	here
geng ¹ dao ¹	quickly
gu ³ la ¹ bi ¹	there
hang ² la ³	like this
hang ² nie ³	like this
he ² ba ³	such a big one
he ¹ he ¹	every, each one
he ² kui ¹	such a small one
he ² lang ³	so many
hong ³ huan ⁴	always
hu ² ni ¹	all
huan ²	always
huo ² nie ³	so, in this way
ji ¹ li ¹ gu ¹ lu ¹	to dart about
jie ³ xi ²	all
jing ¹ duo ¹	often
jing ² ki ¹	all
ka ³ kei ¹ la ¹ lei ¹	quietly
ka ³ ki ¹ die ³	quietly

ke ³ du ¹	everywhere
la ¹ bai ¹ la ¹ bai ¹	methodically
la ² bie ¹ /la ²	a little
la ² bu ¹ la ² bu ¹	one by one
la ¹ cuo ¹ la ¹ lai ¹	as a household
la ¹ di ³	a little
la ¹ hu ³ la ¹ hu ³	one by one (persons)
la ⁴ li ³ die ²	even better
la ¹ nie ¹ la ¹ nie ¹ ka ¹	day in, day out
la ¹ si ³ la ¹ nie ¹	regularly
la ¹ ye ³ la ¹ si ¹	every kind
lai ² huan ³ lai ² huan ³	carefully
lao ³ gu ¹ lie ¹	only
lian ⁴ di ³ lang ¹	relatively
ma ³ li ²	quickly
mo ¹ cai ³	just now
mo ¹ mo ³	just now
mu ² la ¹	now
pe ¹ pe ¹ li ¹ li ¹	to be wrapped up neatly
qi ⁴	forwards
qi ³ nie ²	after
qian ²	that very (emphatic)
qian ² la ¹	well
qie ⁴	yet, but
re ¹ re ¹ mo ³	slowly
ta ² ci ¹	plus
ta ² mu ² la ¹ gai ¹	suddenly
tao ¹ tao ¹	very, extremely
xi ¹ ku ¹ li ¹	hardly
xie ¹ hu ¹	immediately
xie ¹ qi ¹ si ¹ bo ³	with hard work, strenuously
xing ¹	perhaps
ye ² guo ¹ ye ¹	more and more
yi ¹	in vain
yi ² ha ¹ lie ¹	together
yi ⁴ mo ³	just now
yi ² si ¹	all
zi ²	naturally

7.6 Conjunctions

ai ¹ lie ¹	then
ai ¹ lie ¹ mo ³ /ai ¹ mo ³	therefore
ai ¹ me ¹	so, now

ai ¹ ta ¹	otherwise, if not
ai ⁴ duo ³	yet, still
huo ¹	or
nie ¹	and
xie ¹ hu ¹	quickly
yi ² si ¹	all

7.7 Interjections and idiomatic expressions

a ³ nie ³	exclamation
ai ¹ cuo ¹	Come on! Faster!
ai ¹ yo ³	exclamation
ao ² luo ¹ luo ³	used in a lullaby
ba ⁴ bo ³ hhi ²	Take care!
eng	exclamation
eng ³ qie ²	Come! (imperative)
ei ¹ ya ¹	exclamation
la ² die ¹	Wait a moment!
lai ² huan ³ lai ² huan ³ hhi ²	Take care!
me ² a	exclamation
ni ² ca ²	How are you? Hello!
qie ¹ jia ¹ ka ¹	What is your name?
re ¹ re ¹ mo ³ hhi ¹	Take care! Go slowly!
sou ³ ma ¹	Isn't that so?
ta ⁴ hhi ²	Don't go!
ta ³ tie ³ bo ¹	Be quiet!
xi ² lang ¹	Sorry!
ye ¹ he ¹	exclamation

7.8 Affixes

-a ¹ ba ¹	male gender suffix
-bu ² li ¹	diminutive suffix
-die ¹	pluralising suffix
-diu ¹	locative suffix
-ka ³	clan, household
-ku ¹	locative suffix
-ku ¹ li ¹	diminutive suffix
-ni ³ ga ³	female gender suffix
-suo ¹	locative suffix (place of residence)
-ta ³	locative suffix

Appendix 2 Texts

The Story of Hero Tian

This text tells the traditional story of Hero Tian, who was a quasi-historical hero of the Tujia in Xiangxi in the 10th century. The tale focuses on his strength and martial prowess.

tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	nie ³	pa ³ pa ¹
Hero Tian	ASSOC	story

The story of Hero Tian.

lai ⁴	tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	nie ³	pa ³ pa ¹	lao ⁴	li ³
today	Hero Tian	ASSOC	story	one	speak, tell

Today, I am going to tell you a story about Hero Tian.

tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	bi ² zi ¹ ka ³	nie ³	xie ¹ qi ¹	ci ⁴	xi ³ tai ²
Hero Tian	Tujia people	ASSOC	strength	be big	SUP

nie ³	luo ⁴	la ²	hu ³
ASSOC	person	one	CL

Hero Tian was a mighty man among the Tujia.

guo ²	li ⁴	qie ³	jie ² po ¹	zu ² ,	wu ²	hhi ²	xi ²	die ¹ ,
3sg	land	to plough	finish	SUBP	cow	go	NOM	be slow

guo ²	guo ²	wu ²	pe ² ti ¹ ke ¹	ga ³	po ¹	bo ³	cu ¹	song ¹ kuo ¹
3sg	3sg	cow	shoulder	on top	put	STAT	home	return

Whenever he finished ploughing, his cow would walk home slowly, so he would put it on his shoulders and carry it home.

ai ¹	la ²	qie ² ,	guo ²	qi ² bu ¹ li ¹	bu ⁴	la ²	ca ¹
that	one	occasion	3sg	soybean	boat	one	CL

cu ⁴	lie ¹	cang ³ die ³	bo ³	lu ³	lu ³ ,	beng ⁴ si ³	xie ²
fill	PERF	Change	GOAL	sell	DIR	ability	have

nie ³	luo ⁴	lao ⁴	yi ³
ASSOC	person	one	see

Once, he had loaded a boat with soybeans and was on his way to Change to sell them, when a capable man noticed him.

ai ¹	luo ⁴	lao ⁴	bu ⁴	gu ³	lie ¹ ,	ji ³	huo ³ lie ³	mu ⁴ nie ³
that	person	one	boat	get on	PERF	foot	use	bamboo

jia ² zu ¹	za ²	mo ³	kuo ³	liao ¹ ,	guo ²	li ³ :	nga ²	xi ² lang ¹
steering pole	step	ADVP	break	CRS	3sg	say	1sg	be sorry

As the man boarded the boat, he stepped on the bamboo steering pole and broke it. "Sorry!" he said.

tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	li ³ :	qie ⁴	sa ³	tai ²	o!	jie ²	huo ³ lie ³
Hero Tian	say	what	matter	not have	EXCL	hand	use
mu ⁴ nie ³	kuo ² ti ¹	za ⁴	mo ³	pi ² pi ¹	zi ²	liao ¹ ,	hu ³ pa ³
bamboo	bean	take	ADVP	powder	become	CRS	river
bo ³	la ²	lu ³					
GOAL	throw	DIR					

Hero Tian replied, "That's no problem!" Taking the pole in his hand as though it were a bean, he crushed it into powder and threw it into the river.

ai ¹	luo ⁴	lao ⁴ ,	guo ²	qi ² bu ¹ li ¹	la ²	pa ¹	huo ³	lie ¹
that	person	one	3sg	soybean	one	handful	take	PERF
li ³ :	eng ¹	qi ² bu ¹ li ¹	ga ³	bo ³	la ¹	tai ²	ya?	
say	this	soybean	be dry	STAT	IMPF	not have	INT	
qi ² bu ¹ li ¹	za ⁴	mo ³	pi ² pi ¹	zi ²	liao ¹			
soybean	take	ADVP	powder	become	CRS			

The man grabbed a handful of soybeans and said: "Are these soybeans dry yet?" as he crushed them into powder.

tian ³ hao ¹ hang ² ,	guo ²	qi ² bu ¹ li ¹	la ²	pa ¹	a ³ ,	jie ²	wo ² tu ¹
Hero Tian	3sg	soybean	one	handful	take	hand	inside
za ⁴	mo ³	se ³ si ²	zu ²	diu ² ,	guo ²	li ³ :	qi ² bu ¹ li ¹
take	ADVP	oil	come out	DIR	3sg	say	soybean
ga ³	bo ³	da ²	qing ³ mo ¹	se ³ si ²	zu ²	ya?	
be dry	STAT	NEG	how	oil	come out	INT	

Hero Tian also grabbed a handful of soybeans and squeezed oil out from them, saying, "If the soybeans weren't dry, how would I be able to squeeze oil from them?"

ai ¹	luo ⁴	ge ⁴	lie ¹ ,	ka ³ lei ¹ la ³ lei ¹	mo ³	xi ⁴ ca ³	lu ³
that	person	be afraid	PERF	quietly	ADVP	run away	DIR

The man was afraid, and quietly slipped away.

ta ¹ nie ¹ ,	tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	wu ¹ hang ²	bo ³	ka ³ tong ³	lu ³	zu ² ,		
after	Hero Tian	Wuhan	GOAL	timber	sell	SUBP		
ka ³	pu ¹	nie ³	lao ¹ bang ¹	ha ³	xi ²	li ³ ,	tong ³ qian ²	
wood	buy	ASSOC	merchant	hit	NOM	say	money	
lie ²	ta ¹	zu ² ,	guo ²	guo ²	ha ³	mo ³	se ²	ta ¹
give	NEG	SUBP	3sg	3sg	hit	ADVP	die	NEG
ca ²	ta ¹	liao ¹						
be good	NEG	CRS						

Afterwards, Hero Tian went to Wuhan to sell timber. The timber merchant threatened him and would not pay up, so he gave the man a sound beating.

tu ¹ wan ³	lao ¹ si ¹ ceng ³	su ²	zu ² ,	guo ²	guo ²	hi ²	hi ²	
chieftain	citadel	build	SUBP	3sg	3sg	ten	ten	
nie ³	luo ⁴	jie ² ri ¹ ma ¹	da ⁴ xi ⁴ ;	la ²	si ¹	ta ² ci ¹		
ASSOC	person	labourer	help	one	month	plus		
wo ⁴		nie ³	a ³ ba ³ ,	guo ²	guo ²	la ²	nie ¹	lie ¹
carry on the back		ASSOC	stone	3sg	3sg	one	day	PERF
wo ⁴		ji ²	liao ¹					
carry on the back		TEL	CRS					

When the Tujia chieftain was building his citadel, Hero Tian helped hundreds of labourers. In a single day, he shifted stones which would have taken them more than a month to move.

tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	heng ⁴	xi ²	zu ²	lie ¹ ,	tu ¹ wan ³	guo ²
Hero Tian	powerful	NOM	go out	PERF	chieftain	3sg
a ² ci ¹	liao ¹					
like, love	CRS					

After Hero Tian's fame spread, he was greatly favoured by the chieftain.

tian ³ hao ¹ hang ²	nie ³	pa ³ pa ¹	ri ³	xi ³ tai ² ,	lai ⁴	jiu ¹
Hero Tian	ASSOC	story	be many	SUP	today	only
ai ¹	he ² liang ³	li ³				
that	this much	say, tell				

There are many more stories about Hero Tian, but that's enough for today.

Traditional Kujia Song

Kujia, literally "crying-wedding", is a custom found among a number of ethnic groups in China, but it was practised to a far more sustained degree among the Tujia than in other minority groups. During the period prior to her wedding, the bride visits various relatives or friends each evening, staying to weep and sing with them. The tradition is hundreds of years old. Although the practice has almost disappeared nowadays, many older women are still able to perform *kujia* songs.

The following is sung by the bride to her sisters, and is one of many in a cycle of *kujia* songs. It is in poetic form and has four four-line stanzas.

qie ² xi ¹	ga ²	ca ²	hi ²	nie ¹	mi ³ ,
orange	eat	be good	ten	two	segment

It's good to eat the twelve segments of an orange,

a ² da ¹	a ¹ mi ¹	ong ³	ca ²	da ⁴ pi ³	duo ³ ,
elder sister	younger sister	sit	be good	separate	must

It's good to be with your sisters, but one day you must separate;

ceng³zi³ ga² ca² ta²pa⁴ xie⁴
 pomelo eat be good skin discard

It's good to eat a pomelo, but you must discard the peel.

a²da¹ a¹mi¹ ong³ ca² be² pi³ bo³ xi²
 elder sister younger sister sit be good also separate STAT NOM

It's good to be with your sisters, but you will be parted.

ang²ni¹ ma³ma¹ die¹ luo⁴ la² hu³ da⁴ze³,
 1pl woman PL person one CL be like

We sisters are as one,

la¹si³la¹nie¹ be² pi³ ta¹ti¹,
 every day also separate cannot

Always inseparable,

di¹ga³ sa²qi¹ se²ta¹ xi³
 in the past hair side brush

Once we combed our hair to the side,

ca² nie³ a²da¹ a¹mi¹ eng³jiu³ diu²
 be good ASSOC elder sister younger sister come DIR

Good sisters, all of us are gathering together now.

lai⁴ nie⁴ sa²qi¹ ga³ha² xi³,
 today day hair top brush

Now our hair is combed on top,

ca² nie³ a²da¹ a¹mi¹ qing³nie² po¹,
 be good ASSOC elder sister younger sister after marry

One by one my good sisters have got married;

nga² qing³mo¹ ni² po¹ de¹xi³,
 1sg how 2sg release can

How can I let you go?

die² bo³ die² bo³ bu¹ce³ zu²
 think STAT think STAT tears come out

The more I think of it, the faster my tears flow.

a²da¹ a¹mi¹ me²la¹ong³ da⁴ze³,
 elder sister younger sister cloud be like

My sisters are like the clouds,

re²zu⁴ re² ji² yi²si¹ zao³,
 wind blow TEL all gone

Blown along by the wind never to return;

me²la¹ong³ me² ga³ha² su⁴,
 cloud sky top blow

The clouds drift along in the sky above,

ta¹nie¹ ba⁴ ang² nie³ luo¹you¹ nie³ luo⁴ yi³ da²
 behind look 1pl ASSOC village ASSOC person see NEG

Looking back at our village, there is no-one in sight.

Farming Song

This is a short traditional song which is sung when villagers are working together in the fields.

bi²zi¹ka³ luo⁴ yo wei, da⁴ bo³ ca² luo wei,
 Tujia people person PART PART together IO be good PART PART

The Tujia are good to one another,

ku²bi¹ bao¹bao¹ ga³ ong³ bo³ la¹ yo wei,
 Kubi outcrop top sit STAT IMPF PART PART

Sitting on Kubi Outcrop,

se³ke¹ pe²ti¹ jie³ xi² xie² luo wei
 field land call NOM have PART PART

We have our own fields and land.

la² long¹ ri¹ lie¹ qie⁴ duo³ xie² luo wei,
 one year do PERF what all have PART PART

A year's work gives us all we need,

ang² da⁴ ai¹ka²se¹pa² ri¹ ya, se¹pa² ri¹ yo wei
 1pl together farming work do PART work do PART PART

We work together in the fields, work in the fields.

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