CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

QIANG[*]

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Qiang is spoken in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in northwest Sichuan Province, China, by people classified as either Tibetan (Heishui county) or Qiang (other areas), though all use the autonym *ʐme* or some variant of this form. The Qiang language has been said to belong to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman (Sun 1982; but see Chirkova 2012 questioning the validity of this grouping, and Thurgood, this volume for current thinking on this question). Sun Hongkai (1981a: 177–78) has suggested there are two major Qiang dialects, Northern Qiang (spoken in Heishui County and the Chibusu district of Mao County; roughly 70,000 speakers) and Southern Qiang (spoken in Li County, Wenchuan County, Mao County, and Songpan County; about 60,000 speakers). Recent as yet unpublished work by Jackson T-S. Sun and Jonathan Evans, and by Nathaniel Sims, has called this division into question, but a clear division of the varieties will have to await further fieldwork and comparison (see Chang 1967 and work by Evans 2001a-b for comparative studies). The dialect presented here is the Northern Qiang variety spoken in Ronghong Village, Yadu Township, Chibusu District, Mao County. See LaPolla with Huang 2003 (including texts and glossary) and other work by LaPolla and Huang Chenglong (a native linguist) for a more complete description of this variety. See Liu 1998b and other work by Liu Guangkun and Sun Hongkai and also J. T-S. Sun and Jonathan Evans on the Mawo variety; Huang Chenglong 2004/2007 and Huang & Wang 2007 on the Puxi variety of Qiang; Liu Huiqun 2011 on the Muka variety; and work by Huang Bufan and Zhou Facheng and also LaPolla 2003a and LaPolla & Poa 2003 on the Qugu variety. Other works on the history, culture and literature of the Qiang are given in the references.

1 THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Qiang has thirty-nine consonants at seven points of articulation (Table 39.1), plus complex consonant clusters, both in initial and final position.

Items in parentheses are not phonemic: [v] is an allophone of /w/ when it appears before front vowels; [z] and [ɣ] are allophones of /ɕ/ and /x/, respectively, when followed by a voiced consonant. There is no phonemic contrast between a glottal stop onset and a pure vocalic onset or between /u/ and /wu/. Almost all of these consonants, except the aspirated stops and aspirated affricates, can be finals. All of the original Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals were lost (cf. Liu 1984), but new ones were created from the merging of two syllables where the de-stressing of the second syllable led to the loss of the final vowel (and often reduction of the original initial, e.g. [səf] 'tree' < /sə/ 'wood' + /phə/ 'forest').

Phonemically, consonant clusters are formed by /ʂ/ and one of the following initials: /p, t, k, q, tɕ, b, d, g, m, dʑ/, /x/ followed by /k, s, tɕ, ʂ, tʂ, ɬ, l, z, dz, ʐ, dʐ/, or /χ/ followed by /q, s, ʂ, tʂ, ɬ, l, d, z, n, dz, ŋ, ʐ, dʐ/. Phonetically /ʂ/ becomes [s] before /t/ and /d/, and becomes [ɕ] before /pi/, /pe/, /bi/, /tɕ/ and /dʑ/, and the pre-initials all become voiced before voiced initials (e.g. /mi:-xkɑm/ 'eyebrow'; /χsu/ 'living', 'to be alive'; /stɑ/ 'entrust to'; /ʐbu/ 'drum'; /zdu/ 'deer'; /ʐdʑi/ 'disease'; /ʁdzəs/ 'toenail'). Some examples of clusters in final position: /tʂhexɬ/ 'sip (vt.)'; /dʑɑɕtɕ/ 'laugh (v)'; /wəχʂ/ 'horse dung'; /laxʂ/ 'palm'; /əxtʂ/ 'shade (vt)'.

TABLE 39.1 THE QIANG CONSONANTS

	Labial	*Dental*	*Retroflex*	*Palatal*	*Velar*	*Uvular*	*Glottal*
Voiceless stop	p	t			k	q	
Aspirated stop	ph-	th-			kh-	qh-	
Voiced stop	b	d			g		
Voiceless affricate		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
Asp. affricate		tsh	tʂh	tɕh			
Voiced affricate		dz	dʐ	dʑ			
Voiceless fricative	ɸ(f)	s	ʂ	ɕ	x	χ	h
Voiced fricative	(v)	z	ʐ	(ʑ)	(ɣ)	ʁ	ɦ
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Voiceless lateral		ɫ					
Voiced lateral		l					
Approximant	w			j			

The Qiang vowels are given in (1):

(1) i, i: y, y: u,u:

         e, e: o,o:

                ə

         a, a: ɑ, ɑ:

There are fourteen native diphthongs (/ia, iɑ, ie, ye, eu, əu, ei, əi, oi, uɑ, ua, uə, ue, ui/) and one native triphthong (/uəi/). The diphthongs [ya] and [ya:] occur when the first person suffix /-ɑ/ or the prospective aspect marker /-ɑ:/ is added to a root such as /tɕye/ 'carry': [tɕya] 'I carry', [tɕya:] 'going to carry'. Two diphthongs (/ai/, /au/) and two triphthongs (/uai/, /iɑu/) appear only in Chinese loan words.

Four of the basic vowels (i, e, ə, a) show a lexical contrast in r-colouring, a retroflexion of the tongue at the end of the vowel, and all vowels can take r-colouring when they are the final vowel of a verb with 1pl marking (which is /-ˡ/). The r-colouring participates in the vowel harmony scheme (see below) and so is treated as a vowel feature rather than a consonant. We do not find the sort of tongue backing (uvularization) found in the Mawo dialect (Evans, Sun, Chiu, & Liou 2016).

The syllable canon is given in (2):

(2) (C)   (Cᵢ)   (V)   V   (V)   (C)   (C_f)
     [fric]   [glide]   [glide]   [fric]

The minimum syllable is a single vowel, e.g. /ɑ/ 'one', the maximum is CCVVCC, e.g. /ɕpiexɬ/ 'scar'. Any of the consonants listed in Table 39.1 can be the initial consonant of a syllable, but only fricatives can be the first consonant of a cluster. The same restriction applies to final consonant clusters.

When certain consonants appear in non-word-initial position due to affixation or compounding, they undergo lenition, e.g. /p/ > [ɸ/f]: DIR + /phə/ 'blow' > [əɸ] 'blow (imperative)'; /kh/ > [x]: DIR + /khəᵗte/ 'hit (people)' > [nəxte] 'hit (perfective)'; /dʐ/ > [l]: /mɑ/ NEG + /dʐə/ 'able' > [mɑ-lɐ̊] 'not able'; /dz/ > [z]: DIR + /dzuə/ 'sit' > [əzǔɐ̊] 'sit (imperative)'; /k/ > [ʁ]: DIR + /kə/ 'go' > [dɑʁ] 'go out'; /b/ > [w]: DIR + /bə/ 'pile' > [təw] 'piled'. Comparing Ronghong and Mawo dialect (Sun 1981a) forms, we can see that a similar type of weakening has occurred historically to pre-initial consonants in Ronghong (e.g. Mawo /khsi/, Ronghong /xsə/ 'god').

In general, stress is trochaic, which leads to the loss of second syllables in bisyllabic words, particularly if the final is /ə/, e.g. /sə/ prefix + /tɕhə/ 'drink' > [sətɕ] 'drink!' (imperative).

There is a pattern of vowel harmony where the vowel of the first syllable of a compound or prefix + root combination harmonizes wholly or partially (e.g. becomes fronted) with the vowel of the second syllable or root (e.g. /wə/ 'bird' + /ʂpu/ 'flock' > [wuʂpu] '(wild) pigeon'; /hɑ/ 'ten' + /tʂi/ 'one' > [hatʂi] 'eleven'). If the second syllable of a compound or prefix + root form has r-colouring, in many cases the first syllable also takes on r-colouring (e.g. /me/ 'not' + /weʴ/ 'reduce' > [meʴ-weʴ] 'unceasingly').

When a collocation of consonants due to derivation or compounding results in an unacceptable cluster of consonants, an epenthetic schwa is inserted to break up the cluster (e.g. [zdʑi-tʂhop-əm] [illness-heal- NOM (<-m)] 'doctor').

These phonological processes (the stress pattern, harmony, epenthesis) occur within a unit that can be defined as the phonological word.

Many lexical items in Qiang allow free variation of the pre-initial, initial, or final consonant (e.g. *phiʂ ~ phiχ* 'white'; *ŋiq ~ ŋix* 'black'; *muxǔ ~ muɸǔ* 'smoke'; *ʂqu ~ χqu* 'mouth'; *xupa ~ fupa* 'fur'; *mutu ~ mutup* 'sky'; *qha ~ qhaq* 'bitter').

2 THE NOUN PHRASE

The order of the constituents in an NP is given in (3):

(3)   GEN + REL + Head + ADJ + DEM/DEF + (NUM + CL)/PL

Any combination of the elements in (3) is possible, though a numeral must be followed by a classifier. Classifiers also occur with demonstratives. Adjective modifiers can appear either as non-nominalized post-head adjectives (generally simple adjectives) or nominalized adjectives in pre-head relative clause structures (generally complex modifiers). When more than one adjective appears in an NP, the order of the adjectives in terms of type of adjective is the mirror image of that in English. Ex. (4) contains two NPs (bracketed).

(4) [*the:-tɕə̂-tɕiʁua*   *ba-the-zi*]   *piena-la*   [*ʐawa*   *ba-xsə-zi*]   *ʂə.*
    3sg-GEN-house   old-that-CL   beside-LOC   rock   big-three-CL   have/exist
    'There are three big rocks beside that old house of his.'

NPs and pronouns can be omitted if they are recoverable from the context.

A noun in Qiang is an element that can take definite marking and case marking. A deverbal noun may be formed from a plain verb or a noun + verb combination using one of two nominalizers: /-s/ for inanimate nouns, e.g. /nə/ 'sleep' + /-s/ > /nəs/ 'bed'; /-m/ (< /mi/ 'person') for animate nouns, e.g. /ʁua/ 'help' + /-m/ > /ʁuam/ 'servant'. Nouns can also be formed from adjectives by simply adding one of the definite markers, e.g. /ŋiq-le/ [black-DEF] 'the black one'. As in all Sino-Tibetan languages, in compound nouns where one noun modifies another, the modifying noun always precedes the modified noun, e.g. /sə-ʁuatʂa/ [wood-bowl] 'wooden bowl'.

Many Qiang speakers also speak Chinese (and/or Tibetan), and education is generally in Chinese. Qiang has absorbed a large number of Chinese and Tibetan loanwords (see Liu 1981 on Tibetan loans). Verbs borrowed into Qiang are treated as nouns, and take the verbalizing suffix /-thɑ/, if monosyllabic, or the verb /-pə/ 'to do', if polysyllabic, e.g. /tuen-thɑ/ 'squat' < dūn (蹲); /ɕunŋian-pə/ 'train' < xùnliàn (訓練). A few intransitive stative verbs, older Chinese loans, have /-ti/ (< Chinese nominalizer de (的)) instead of /-thɑ/, e.g. /lan-ti/ 'blue' (< Chinese lánde (藍的)).

In Qiang only the natural gender of animals is marked: /-mi/ or /miaha/ for females; /zdu/, /ʐə/, /xə̂/, /ɕi/, and /pi/ for males, depending on the animal. The diminutive has the concrete sense of 'child'; it is not used for hypocoristic or other abstract uses: /-tʂuə ~ tʂǔ/ (< /tʂuə/ 'child' (general)); /-ʁl/ (dogs), /-zdue/ (sheep).

Most Qiang kinship terms are comprised of a vocalic prefix plus a root, where the prefix harmonizes with the vowel of the root, e.g. *a-pa* 'grandfather', *u-tuma* 'grandmother'.

It is obligatory to have either definite or indefinite marking on all referential count nouns. Of the two definite markers, /le/ and /te/, /le/ is used more frequently for animate referents, while /te/ is used more frequently for inanimate referents. The definite markers are occasionally used with proper names. Newly introduced referents and predicate NPs generally take the non-referential/indefinite marker /ke/. Newly introduced referents can also be marked with just a number and a classifier.

Number marking on nouns is singular (zero) or plural. There are two plural markers: /hɑ/, used for the vast majority of referent types, and /le/ (> /ɣle/ 'few'), used only on words referring to people, e.g. /ipi-le/ 'uncles'.

Following a proper name, the plural means that person 'and others', e.g. /upu-bəs-lɑ-hɑ/ [uncle-snake-DEF-PL] 'Uncle Snake and others'. The number 'one' can be added to /hɑ/ to form /ɑhɑ/ 'a few'. Plural marking is not used when a numeral + classifier phrase is used.

The personal pronouns are given in Table 39.2.

TABLE 39.2 THE QIANG PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Reflexive (sg/pl)
1	qa	tɕizzi [tɕi-zi]	tɕi-le	qa-qəi/tɕil-tɕile
2	ʔũ	ʔizzi [ʔi-zi]	ʔi-le	ʔĩ-ʔĩ:/il-ile
3	the:/qupu	thizzi [the-zi]	them-le	(the:) ŋiŋi/ ŋil- ŋile

The third person pronoun /qupu/ is used to refer to a third person who has a close relationship to the speaker, such as a spouse, and as a logophoric pronoun, that is, in indirect quotes when the person quoted and the one being talked about are the same. The form [the:] is a reduced form of /the ze/ ('that' + classifier) 'that one'. Reflexive pronouns for first and second person are formed by reduplication of the regular pronouns. The reflexive pronouns are also used as emphatic pronouns. There are no possessive/genitive pronouns or prefixes.

The demonstrative pronouns mark only proximate /tse/ (plural [tsɑhɑ]) and distal /the/ (plural [thɑhɑ]). They must take a classifier, or the vowel can be lengthened to represent a classifier (e.g. /tse-ze/ or [tse:]). The same form of the demonstrative pronoun is used for both free pronoun and adjectival uses.

The main interrogative pronouns are given in (5):

(5) sə-(le)   who? / whoever   ŋawu / ŋawe   how much/many?
     tɕa -la ~ tɕa: where?   ŋi:ke   how?
     ŋiɣi   what? / whatever   tɕho: when?
     ŋiɣi-χuaŋi   why?

The numeral system is a simple decimal system, with 'one' to 'ten' being unique forms, 'eleven' to 'nineteen' being 'ten' + 'one' etc., 'twenty' to 'ninety' being 'two' + 'ten', etc., and the numerals in between being 'two' + 'ten' + 'one', etc. There are no ordinal numbers in Qiang; /tɕi-qə¹-le/ (most-front-DEF) 'the first one', /tsə-steke-le/ (this-back-DEF) 'the next one', /thə-steke-le/ (that-back-DEF) 'the one after that' are used for the 'first' to 'third', but after that the cardinal numbers plus classifiers are used as ordinal numbers.

Classifiers or measure words are necessary whenever a number or demonstrative pronoun is used. A number of both types are clearly related to nouns, e.g. /qu/ 'mouthful' < /ʂqu/ 'mouth', /sɑ/ 'classifier for sections' < /sɑq/

'joint'. Many others are loans from Chinese. Some common classifiers: /ze/ general classifier, used for people and many other objects; /lɑ/ for stick-like objects; /xʂe/ for one item of a pair.

3 NOMINAL RELATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

The semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a sentence are mainly expressed by word order and the following enclitics:

Topic marker	*ŋuəŋi*
Agent, instrumental, ablative, perlative ('through', 'along') marker	*wu*
Genitive, recipient marker	*tɕə̂*
Locative, allative marker	*la*
Locative, allative, temporal, goal marker	*ta*
Locative, temporal marker	*ʁa*
Comitative, conjunction marker	*ŋa*
Comparative marker	*sə̂/ŋiki*

These markers are generally used alone, but there are some instances where a locative and ablative marker, or a semantic marker and the topic marker, are used together.

In both transitive and ditransitive sentences, if the actor is the topic (initial NP), then the NP representing the actor need not take any agentive marking. Generally only when there is marked word order, or when there is a need to emphasize the agentivity of the actor, is the agentive marker /-wu/ used after the NP representing the actor, as in (6).

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

In some cases, even when the word order is actor-undergoer, if the flow of action is marked (e.g. a third person referent is acting on a first person referent), or if the actor is inanimate, then agent marking is necessary for clarity, as in (7):

(7) a. *mi-wu   qa   zə-dzi.*
       person-AGT   1sg   DIR-hit
       'Somebody hit me.'
    b. *moʁu-wu   qa   da-tuə-ʐə̂-ʂa.*
       wind-AGT   1sg   DIR-fall.over-CAUS-1sgU[1]
       'The wind knocked me over.'

An instrumental NP is marked by the postposition /wu/, the same form as the agentive and ablative markers.[2]

(8) a. *qa   ʁduaʂ-te-wu   the: dzeta.*
       1sg   hammer-DEF-INST   3sg   hit:1sg
       'I use the hammer to hit it.'

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[1] U is the gloss for a bound non-actor marker, e.g. '1sgU' means '1sg non-actor'.
[2] See LaPolla 1995b on the development of such isomorphic patterns in Tibeto-Burman languages.

A genitive NP appears before the noun it modifies, and can be followed by the genitive marker /-tɕə̂/, e.g. /ɕiɑutʂaŋ-tɕə̂ puɳu/ [Little.Zhang-GEN cat] 'Little Zhang's cat'. When the relationship between two nouns in a genitive relationship is clear, as in most cases of inalienable possession, the genitive particle is not needed.

In general, the NP representing the undergoer of a transitive verb does not take any marking of its undergoer status, though if the undergoer is animate and the NP representing the actor does not have agentive marking the locative marker /-tɑ/ can be used after the NP representing the undergoer for clarity.

(9) a. *the:* *qa-ta* *dʐe*!
        3sg 1sg-LOC hit
        'He is hitting me!'

In ditransitive clauses Qiang formally distinguishes between goal, the referent at which an action is directed, and recipient, the referent who receives some object as a result of the action. The postposition used after an NP which represents a goal argument is the locative /-tɑ/.

(10) *tʂhetsə-ʐə-ŋuəɳi* *qa* *the:-ta* *kəja.*
      car-affair-TOP 1sg 3sg-LOC tell:1sg
      'I told him about the car.'

The postposition used to mark an NP representing a recipient argument is /-tɕə̂/, the genitive postposition:

(11) *sum* *the:-tɕə̂* *pi:-xsə-la* *de-l.*
      teacher 3sg-GEN pen-three-CL DIR-give
      'The teacher gave him three pens.'

The NP representing a benefactive, the referent for whose benefit an action is performed, is also generally marked with the postposition /-tɕə̂/. As the form of the clause involving a benefactive argument with this marking is the same as the genitive construction, the addressee must depend on the context for proper interpretation.

(12) *ma:* *qa-tɕə̂* *fa* *ʂpetɕ.*
      Mom 1sg-GEN(BEN) clothing sew
      'Mama sews my clothes.' / 'Mama sews clothing for me.'

It is also possible to mark a benefactive with the postposition /χuaɳi/ 'because', 'in order to', 'in place of', 'for':

(13) *the:* *qa-χuaɳi* *sə* *ge-kə̂.*
      3sg 1sg-because firewood chop-go
      'He went to chop wood for me.'

A comitative relation can be represented by two NPS conjoined together in a single large NP with the comitative/conjunction particle /-ŋɑ/ between them, in which case the meaning is that the two referents are doing something together, or one NP can be made the topic and the second NP is then followed by /-ŋɑ/. In the latter case the meaning is that the referent represented by the topic NP does something 'with', or 'follows' the second referent in doing something.

(14) a. *mutsitʂu-ŋa-tugantʂu* *zəpəq-ta* *ɦo-lua-ji.*
        Mutsitʂu-COM-Tugantʂu earth-LOC DIR-come-CSM
        'Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu came to earth.'

    b.   *qa*   *khumtsi-ŋa*   *tiantsə-ʁa*   *ka:.*
        1sg   Khumtsi-COM   store-LOC   go:1sg:PROSP
        'I'm going to go to the store with Khumtsi.'

The particle /ŋa/ is also used for the arguments of certain verbs, such as in (15):

(15)   a.   *ʔiʔi-ŋa*   *tɕe-khue.*
           2sgREFL-COM   NEG.IMP-upset
           'Don't be angry at/with yourself.'

In comparative clauses, the positive comparative marker is /-sə̊/, while the negative comparative is /-ŋ̩iki/.

(16)   a.   *qa*   *the:-sə̊*   *tɕe-fia.*
           1sg   3sg-COMPAR   still-white:1sg
            'I am lighter (in colour) than him.'
       b.   *qa*   *ʔū-ŋ̩iki*   *ma-wa.*
           1sg   2sg-COMPAR   NEG-big:1sg
           'I am not as big as you are.'

The unmarked locative/allative postpositions are /-tɑ/ and /-lɑ/, e.g. /petɕin-lɑ kə/ [Beijing-LOC go] 'go to Beijing'. It is also possible in some cases for the locative postposition to appear as a lengthened vowel on the noun representing the location, e.g. /ʐdʐytɑ-lɑ ~ ʐdʐytɑ:/ 'in/to Chengdu'.

The locative /-ʁɑ/ generally marks containment in some sort of vessel or movement in or out of one, e.g. /pankoŋʂə-ʁɑ/ [office-LOC] 'in the office'.

The ablative postposition is the same form as the agentive and instrumental postposition, /-wu/. It can be used alone (/petɕin-wu/ 'from Beijing'), or with one of the other locative post-positions introduced above (/məq-tɑ-wu lɑ/ [above-LOC-ABL fly] 'fly from above (from on high)'). It can also be used with a perlative meaning, 'along'.

In a possessive construction, if the object is owned by the person, or is physically part of the person, then there is no marking on the possessor (17a), but if the situation is simply one of temporary possession and not ownership, then the possessor takes the locative/dative marker /-tɑ/ (17b). If the situation involves ownership of an object or relationship (brother, sister, etc.) (17c), then no marking is required on the nouns, but the causative suffix must be used with the appropriate verb of possession, which differs with the type of noun possessed or the nature of the possession (see below).

(17)   a.   *qa*   *dzoqu-ji-tua*   *wa.*
           1sg   leg-two-CL   have/exist:1sg
           'I have two legs.'
       b.   *ʔū-dzoʁu-le*   *qa-ta*   *ʂə.*
           2sg-key-DEF   1sg-LOC   have/exist
           'I have your key.'

c. *khumtsi*   *tutʂə̀-ɣʐə-zi*   *ʐi-ʐə̀.*
Khumtsi   younger.brother-four-CL   have/exist-CAUS
'Khumtsi has four younger brothers.'

4 THE VERB COMPLEX

The verb complex is defined as the predicating part of the clause, not including the sentence-final mood particles. In its most expanded form, the verb complex has a manner adverbial, an orientation prefix, a negative prefix, an aspectual prefix, the verb, causative marking, aspect marking, and person marking, in that order. A particle which means 'again' can also follow the verb, though does not occur with the negative or the aspectual prefix. There is an adverb of degree that follows some intransitive stative verbs. If there is an auxiliary verb, then it follows the main verb.

The verb in Qiang can be defined as an element that can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix, and/or the causative suffix. Many verbs in Qiang can be used either intransitively or transitively. There is no applicative construction for adding an undergoer or benefactive argument. It is possible to derive verbs from nouns by putting the verb /pə/ 'to do' after the noun.

Intransitives can be formed by reduplicating the verb to make a reciprocal, e.g. /ʁu/ 'curse' > [ʁuʁu] 'curse each other'. The verb in this construction can either take one plural argument or two arguments, one of which is marked as an indirect argument by the comitative postposition /-ŋɑ/. While there is marking of the reciprocal on the verb, there is no marking of reflexives on the verb, and also no middle voice or passive constructions.

Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitives using the causative suffix /-ʐə̀/, which increases the valency of intransitive (18a), transitive (18b), and ditransitive (18c) verbs. Causatives derived using this suffix can be permissive or causative, and either direct or indirect causatives. The NP representing the causee can take agentive/instrumental marking if the basic clause from which it is formed is transitive. The person marking on the verb reflects the person and number of the causer.

(18) a. *qa*   *tsə*   *tu-χsu-ʐə̀-ja.*
    1sg   water   DIR-boil-CAUS-CSM:1sg
    'I brought the water to a boil.'

  b. *qa*   *the:-wu*   *pəitsə-e-ze*   *zə-pə̀-za.*
    1sg   3sg-AGT   cup-one-CL   DIR-buy-CAUS:1sg
    'I made him buy a cup.'

  c. *qa*   *χumtʂi-wu*   *ləɣz-te-pen*   *khumtsi-ta*   *tə-χua-ʐa:.*
    1sg   Xumtʂi-AGT   book-DEF-CL   Khumtsi-LOC   DIR-buy-CAUS:1sg:PROSP
    'I'm going to make Xumtʂi buy the book for Khumtsi.'

Three sets of verbs reflect an old voiced–voiceless (aspirated) contrast in simplex–causative pairs (see LaPolla, this volume, Ch 2).[3] This type has a sense of direct causation, and not permission; they cannot take a further productive causative suffix.

(19) *simplex*   *causative*
  de-pe   *ħe-phe*   tear (of clothes)
  da-ʁe   *ħa-qhe*   break (of bowls, etc.)
  da-ʁli   *ħa-χłi*   break (in two) (of tree limbs, etc.)

There is also one clear example of a reflex of the old PST *s- causative prefix (see Ch 2): *ɕtɕə* 'feed' < *tɕhə* 'eat' (with assimilation of the prefix to point of articulation of the initial). While this is the only such example found

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[3] See Sun 1981a:192-3 for more examples of this phenomenon in the Mawo dialect of Qiang.

in Qiang, it matches well with forms found in closely related languages and dialects; the lack of examples may simply be due to lack of data or the obscuring of the prefix by assimilatory processes.

Intransitive stative verbs form a separate class from transitive and activity intransitive verbs, so can be called 'adjectives'. They can be predicates without the use of the copula, and take the same person marking forms as other intransitive verbs, but unlike verbs, they can be nominalized using the definite and indefinite markers, and those representing gradient concepts can take the postpositive adverb /-wa/ 'very'. The meaning of reduplication for most verbs is reciprocity, while the meaning of reduplication for adjectives is intensification or plurality. Intransitive stative verbs are comparative even without overt marking of comparison.

There are only three types of reduplication of adjectives: AA (marks plurality; *patşpatş* 'some round things'), Au:A (intensification; *patşú:patş* 'very round'), AAu: (plurality plus intensification; *patşpatşú:* 'some very round things'; /u:/ is a stressed syllable added to the reduplicated form).

There are four main existential/locative verbs: /şə/, for inanimate referents that are not in containers or immovable or inalienably connected to some larger entity; /le/, for a referent located in a containment of some type; /ʐi/, for animate referents; and /we/, for possession of qualities and for immovable referents or referents inalienably connected to a larger entity.

TABLE 39.3 THE QIANG PERSON MARKING SUFFIXES FOR INTRANSITIVE VERBS

	1	*2*	*3*
Singular	-ɑ	-n	zero
Plural	-ɹ	-i	-tɕi

Following are some auxiliary verbs and their meanings/uses: /ɣʐə/ learnt ability; /dzʐə/ or /qe/ natural (physical) ability; /gu/ ability to fit into something else; /ʁu/ willingness to perform an action or to allow others to perform an action, or in some cases the possibility of some situation; /xşu/ 'to dare'; /ʁze/ 'ought to'; /se/ permission or lack of it; /ɕtɕɑq-lu/ 'want'; /zulu/ 'wait' (used in optative constructions); /dʐe/ experiential aspect. These verbs take a complement clause that is not nominalized, but does not take person marking.

Person marking suffixes on the verb generally reflect the person and number of the actor of a transitive clause, the single direct argument of an intransitive clause, and the causer of a causative construction.

All verbs can take person marking, but only animate arguments are marked. In some contexts, such as nominalizations and some complement clauses, no person marking is used, while in other contexts, such as with some third-person plural actors, the person marking is optional. Table 39.3 gives the forms of the suffixes.

Another set of suffixes can be used for marking empathy with an affected salient non-actor human referent.[4] These forms are given in Table 39.4:

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[4] This distinction of actor vs non-actor parallels the use of agentive and non-agentive marking on NPS (as in exx. (6)-(9) above; see LaPolla 1992a, 1994, 1995a), and makes the Qiang system quite different from many of the other Tibeto-Burman

TABLE 39.4 THE QIANG NON-ACTOR PERSON MARKING SUFFIXES

	1	*2*	*3*
Singular	-ʂɑ	-sɑn	-wə~-u
Plural	-ʂaˈ	-sɑi	-wə~-u

A set of eight verbal prefixes marks the orientation of the action vis-à-vis the speaker. Not all verbs can take all eight prefixes; e.g. /tse/ 'watch, read' only takes one prefix. The form of the prefix follows the rules of vowel harmony. Following are the prefixed forms of the verb /lə/ 'look':

(20) *təl*   look upwards   *ɦal*   look downwards
      zəl   look towards centre   *dal*   look outwards from centre
      nəl   look upstream   *səl*   look downstream
      əl   look in   *hal*   look out

Aside from marking the actual direction of the action, the orientation prefixes are also used to mark a change in the *Aktionsart* of the verb, from state or activity to achievement or accomplishment, e.g. /ba/ 'big', [təwa] 'become big'; /tɕhə/ 'eat' (activity), [sətɕə̊] 'eat' (active accomplishment); /ɣlu/ 'roll' (activity), [doɣlu] 'roll' (active accomplishment). This change is often used to affect something like a perfective sense. For this usage usually only one of the eight prefixes is regularly used, but which prefix is used differs between verbs.

Use of a different orientation prefix can also affect the interpretation of the agentivity or volitionality of the argument of some intransitive verbs, or can be part of the causativization or transitivization of some verbs, e.g. [dɑ-ła] 'slip', [ɦɑ-ła] 'slide'; [do-tshu] 'fall (e.g. of fruit from tree)', [ɦo-tshu] 'pick (fruit from tree)' (see also (19); cf. Huang 1997: 73).

There are several suffixes for marking the different types of aspect. Prospective aspect is marked by the suffix /-ɑ:/, which replaces the root vowel of the verb if it is /ə/ or /ɑ/, as in (21), where /məpɑ/ becomes [mə̊pɑ:] in the second clause.

(21) *pəs*   *məpa*   *wa*,   *təp-ŋi*   *tsə-s*   *tɕa-mə̊pa:*   *lu*.
      today   cold   very   tomorrow   this-COMPAR   still-cold:PROSP will
      'Today is very cold, and tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.'

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

(22) a. *meˈ:* *ɕi-ji*.   b. *meˈ:* *de-ɕi-ji*.
          rain   fall-CSM   rain   DIR-fall-CSM
          'It's started raining.'   'It has already rained (and stopped).'

person marking systems, which are hierarchical, that is, mark person primarily, and not semantic role (see LaPolla 1992b, 1994 for discussion of person marking).

As /-ji/ expresses a recent change of state, it can have the sense of an inchoative aspect marker. This suffix can also be used together with prospective aspect marking to express the idea 'about to V'.

(23) *me⁴:* *ɕa:-ji.*
      rain fall:PROSP-CSM
      'It's about to rain.'

The form /-jy/ marks an action that has 'already' begun or been carried out, like a perfect:

(24) *qa* *a-tian* *u-zǔlu-jya.*
      1sg one-hour DIR-wait-PERF:1sg
      'I have already waited for one hour.'

The prefix [tɕe- ~ tɕi- ~ tɕa- ~ tɕo-] 'still', 'yet' is used to express present progressive actions. In some cases this prefix has the same form as the prohibitive prefix, but as the two prefixes appear in different types of contexts (and the prohibitive is not used with prospective marking) there usually is no problem of ambiguity.

(25) *me⁴:* *tɕe-ɕi.*
      rain   still-fall
      'It's still raining (has been raining all along).'

The marking of an imperative sentence involves the same prefixes used for direction marking, plus the optional polite imperative particle /-nɑ/. The prefix, which may be any one of the directionals, is stressed, unlike non-imperative directional prefixes.[5] In an imperative clause the person-marking is optional, though the imperative sense is stronger if person marking is used (*ə-zə̂-na*! [DIR-eat-IMP] 'Eat!' vs *ə-zə-n-na* [DIR-eat-2sg-IMP] 'You eat!').

The prohibitive is expressed by the prefix /tɕɑ-/ ([tɕɑ ~ tɕe ~ tɕə ~ tɕo]) (< PTB *tɑ-), which appears in the same position as the negative prefix. For example: *ha-tɕə-ʁə̂*! [DIR-NEG.IMP-go] 'Don't go out!'.

Polarity questions are marked by rising intonation and by the addition of the clause-final particle /-nɑ/ (2sg /-n/ plus question particle) for 2sg actors/topics, or /-ŋuɑ/ (often pronounced [wɑ]) for all other persons or numbers.

(26) a. *ʔũ* *ʐme* *ŋuə-n-aʔ*   b. *the:* *ʐme* *ŋuə-ŋuaʔ*
         2sg Qiang COP-2sg-Q   3sg   Qiang COP-Q
         'Are you a Qiang (person)?'   'Is s/he a Qiang?'

Polarity questions can also be formed by repeating the entire verb complex, with the first token in the positive and the second token in the negative, and the question particle on both tokens:

(27) *ʔũ* *zdzyta:* *ha-qə-n-a*   *ha-mə-qa-n-a?*
      2sg Chengdu   DIR-go-2sg-Q DIR-NEG-go-2sg-Q
      'Did you go to Chengdu?'

Question particles are used even if interrogative pronouns are used in the sentence.

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[5] In some cases the prefix usually used for the imperative is different from the prefix usually used for the other uses of the directional prefixes: *sə-z* '(S/he) ate'. vs *ə-z* 'Eat!'; *sə-tɕ* '(S/he) drank'. vs *ə-tɕ* 'Drink!'

Epistemic and root modals are expressed using the same structure, a nominalized clause followed by the copula, or the auxiliary verb /ʁze/ 'ought to'. Person marking on the verb is optional in this construction, but if it appears, it is the non-actor marking that is used.

(28) *the*: *tɕəu-la*   *lu-s*   *ŋuə-ŋů̂ə̀. (< wə̀)*
        3sg   home-LOC   come-NOM   COP-3sgU
        'S/he must come home!'

The potential to perform an action is also expressed by the use of auxiliary verbs, with the choice of auxiliary verb depending on the type of potentiality (see the discussion of verb types above).

In Qiang the unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, like a direct evidential. To express the fact that what the speaker is reporting is hearsay, /-i/ (< /jə / 'to say') is added to the end of the verb complex.

(29) *the:* *zdʐytā*   *ħa-qə-i.*
        3sg   Chengdu   DIR-go-HS
        'He went to Chengdu.' (indirect evidential, hearsay)

If rather than hearing about an action, one sees the result of the action (but not the action itself) and infers that the action took place based on that evidence, this lack of direct evidence is expressed by adding the particle /-k/ to the verb, after the change of state marker and any other aspect markers, but before the person marking.

(30) *dʐy* *de-ʐge-ji-k.*
        door   DIR-open-CSM-INFR
        'The door is open!' (guess)

If the situation is such that one has just discovered the evidence of the action (mirative), then this can be expressed by adding the particle /wɑ/ after /-k/.

5 ADVERBIALS

The relative degree marking adverb /tɕɑ / ([tɕɑ ~ tɕi ~ tɕa ~ tɕo]) (also used to mean 'still', 'yet') is generally used in the comparative construction (*tɕa-wa* [still-big] 'relatively big'). The superlative of adjectives and some stative verbs is marked by the prefix /tɕi/: *tɕi-wa-la-lə* [most-big-that-CL] 'the biggest (stick-like object)'. The form of the superlative is similar to one of the harmony forms of the preverbal adverb for marking a relative degree, but the superlative does not undergo vowel harmony.

The negative adverbial prefix /mə/ ([mɑ ~ me ~ mi ~ mə ~ mo]) appears after the orientation prefix, e.g. /ħɑ-mɑ-qɑ/ (orientational prefix + negative + 'go') 'didn't go out'. The same negative adverbial prefix is used for all types of negation except the prohibitive.

Generally manner adverbs take /-ŋi/, though if reduplicated, then /-ŋi/ is not used:

(31) a. *akha-kha* *ə-tɕhə̀*   b. *akha-ŋi*   *ə-tɕhə̀*
            slow   DIR-eat   slow-ADV   DIR-eat
            'eat slowly'   'eat slowly'

Some adjectives, when acting as manner adverbs, take /-ji/ or /tɕi/ rather than /-ŋi/, e.g. /nɑ/ 'good' > /nɑ-ji/ 'well'.

6 THE CLAUSE

The order of the NPS in the clause is affected by pragmatic factors such as topicality, but the verb always appears in final position. The only exception to this is the occasional afterthought clarification of an NP that was omitted or expressed as a pronoun in the clause. The most unmarked word order in the clause is given in (35).

(32) (TEMP)-(LOC)-(actor)-(goal/recipient)-(undergoer)-VC-(PRT).

The main type of relative clause is a pre-head nominalized clause. Which nominalizer a relative clause takes depends on the semantics of the head noun. If the head noun is an undergoer or other non-instrument, including an inanimate actor, then the genitive marker /-tɕ/ is used:

(33) *pətsa-ŋi*   *tə-bəl-jy-tɕ*   *tʂuatsᵊ*
       [just.now-ADV   DIR-make-ASP-NOM]_RC   table
       'the table just made'

If the head noun is an instrument (even if it is animate), then the nominalizer /-s/ is used:

(34) *doqu-ʐə-s*   *khuə-le*
       afraid-CAUS-NOM   dog-DEF
       'The dog used to frighten people.'

If the head noun is an animate actor, then the nominalizer /-m/ is used. This form derives from the word /mi/ 'person', but it has fully grammaticalized, to the point that it can be used together with /mi/ as the head noun. (Contrast (34) and (35).)

(35) *qa   ħa-ʁdʑe-m*   *khuə-le*
       1sg DIR-bite-NOM   dog-DEF
       'the dog which just bit me'

Complement clauses of most secondary verbs are not nominalized (e.g. (36)), but complements of the copula are generally nominalized, mostly by /-s/ (e.g. 37) but sometimes by /-m/.

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

(37) *tɕile-ŋuəŋi*   *pə-s*   *pies*   *ŋuə.*
       1pl-TOP   buy-NOM   meat   COP
       'What we need is meat.'

Generally hypotactic clause juncture involves nominalization of the subordinate clause, with various particles used to express the relationships between the actions expressed by the two clauses. If the action expressed by the second clause preceded the action expressed by the first clause, then the predicate can take the form /mɑ-tɕi-Verb/ 'had not yet Verb' in the first clause and be nominalized by /-tɕ/, as in (38).

(38) *nəs,*   *qa*   *ma-tɕ-kə-tɕ,*   *the*: *qa*   *səimi*   *de-l.*
       yesterday   1sg   NEG-yet-go-GEN   3sg   1sg   fruit   DIR-give
       'Yesterday before I left, s/he gave me a package of fruit.'

Another option is to have the initial clause nominalized by /-s/ and followed by /qeˡː/ 'before'. If instead the action expressed by the second clause is said to follow the action of the first clause (whether or not the first action was completed), then the particle /ŋike/ or /ŋiɑntɕi/ 'following' is used at the end of the first clause:

(39) *qa   stuaha   sə-tɕhə̂-ŋike,   ʂuə   χuəla.*
       1sg   food/rice   DIR-eat-following   teeth   wash
       'After I eat a meal, I brush my teeth.'

To make explicit the idea that an action immediately followed another, the particle /ŋiaufu/ is used instead of /ŋike/ or /ŋiantɕi/. To mark the purpose of an action, the post-position /χuaŋi/, can be used, either after a noun, a clause, or a nominalized clause. The cause of an action or situation can also be marked by /χuaŋi/.

A cause–effect relation can also be marked by adding the instrumental postposition /wu/ or the manner adverbial marker /ŋi/ to the end of the first clause:

(40) *the:-dʐoqu-le   dagə̂-wu,   pitɛ   sei   ma-lə̂-jy.*
       3sg-foot-DEF   break-INST   now   walk   NEG-able-ASP
       'His/her foot is broken so he/she cannot walk now.'
(41) *the: dziq   ɦa-qə-ŋi   die-ʂe.*
       3sg   cliff   DIR-go-ADV   DIR-die
       'S/he died from falling off the cliff.'

To express the concessive, the phrase /ɦa-ŋů̂-lu/ (DIR-COP-'come') is added to the end of the first clause:

(42) *qa   quaha   ɦa-χuəla-haŋů̂lu,   χo:ts   ɦe-me-qhua.*
       1sg   face   DIR-wash-although   beard   DIR-NEG-shave:1sg
       'Although I washed my face, I didn't shave.'

In quoting another's speech, the quoted speech generally follows the NPs representing the speaker and addressee, and is followed by the verb /jə/ ([jə ~ ji]) 'to say'. Both direct and indirect quotation are possible. If there is a more specific verb of asking or replying, then this verb may precede the quoted speech, though the verb /jə/ 'to say' still follows the quote, as in the two tokens of this structure in (43):

(43) *χsutsqha-le-wu   tə-keˡl-kui,   'ha!   ʔũ   ŋi-χuaŋi   kə-zei-n-a?'*
       stomach-DEF-AGT   DIR-ask-HS   EXCL   2sg   what-because   DIR-cry-2sg-Q

       jə-kui,   'ŋiχuaŋi   kə-zei-n-a?'   jə-kui-tu,   kapətʂ-tou
       say-HS   why   DIR-cry-2sg-Q   say-HS-LINK   orphan-DEF:one:CL

       ɦe-ʐgue-kəi,   ˈqa-ŋuəŋi   ep   lə   me-ʐə-i
       DIR-answer-HS   1sg-TOP   father   also   NEG-have/exist-CSM

       əw   lə   me-ʐə-i,   gəs-ŋi   ɦa-xtʂəp   ŋiaufu
       mother   also   NEG-have/exist-CSM   night-ADV   DIR-dark   as.soon.as

       ʂkup-le   qa   dzə-la:,'   jə-kəpə-ʂə, ...
       orangutan-DEF   1sg   eat-come:PROSP   say-HAB-LINK
       'The stomach asked him, "Why are you crying?", he said, "Why are you crying?" The orphan answered, "I have neither father nor mother. As soon as it gets dark, the orangutan (a boogeyman in such stories) is going to come eat me." '

In terms of cross-clause coreference, there are neither accusative nor ergative syntactic restrictions on control of the zero anaphor of the second clause.

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