A Grammar of Qiang

with

annotated texts and glossary

by

Randy J. LaPolla
City University of Hong Kong

with

Chenglong Huang
Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

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Abbreviations

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

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

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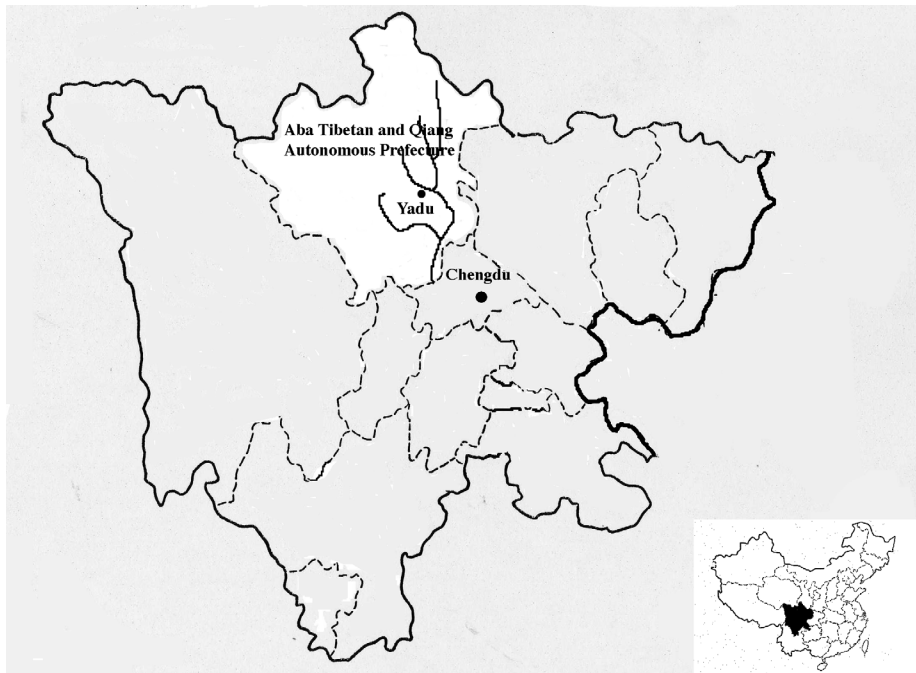
Plate 1: Sichuan Province, showing
Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture,
the Min River and Yadu Township

Plate 2: Ronghong Village

Plate 3: Watchtowers of Heihu Village

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1. The land

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

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

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

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

1.2. The language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 1: The Qiang orthography

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

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

1.3. The people and their culture

1.3.1. The people

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

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

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

1.3.2. *Architecture*

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

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

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

1.3.3. Food

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.4. Clothing
1.3.4.1. Men's clothing

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

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

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

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

1.3.4.2. Women's clothing

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

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

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

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

1.3.5. Family and kinship relations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.6. Religion

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.7. Mobility

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

1.3.8. Livelihood

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

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

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

1.4. Previous work on Qiang

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

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

1.5. The data and their presentation

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

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

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

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

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

1.6. Typological profile

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 2
The phonological system

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

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

(2.1)　*moʁu-ɕa-ka:*　　　　*de-w!*
　　　　wind-small-INDEF:CL　　DIR-exist
　　　　'There is a light wind (blowing)!'

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

2.1. Consonants

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

Table 2. The Qiang consonants

	labial	dental	retro-flex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t			k	q	(ʔ)
voiceless aspirated stop	ph	th			kh	qh	
voiced stop	b	d			g		
voiceless affricate		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
voiceless aspirated affricate		tsh	tʂh	tɕh			
voiced affricate		dz	dʐ	dʑ			
voiceless fricative	ɸ(f)	s	ʂ	ɕ	x	χ	h
voiced fricative	(v)	z	ʐ (ɹ)	(ʑ)	(ɣ)	ʁ	ɦ
nasal	m	n		ɲ¹⁰	ŋ		
voiceless lateral		ɬ					
voiced lateral		l					
approximant	(w)			(j)			

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

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

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

Following are examples of single consonant contrasts in initial position:

pa	'bloom (vi.)'	*ʐawa*	'stone'
pha	'sun (clothes) (vt.)'	*ɕa-*	INDTV prefix
ba	'old'	*tɕa-la*	'where'
fa	'clothes'	*tɕha*	'drink (1sg)'
ma	'mother (address term)'	*ɕi*	'release'
wa	(verb particle)	*tɕi*	'bear'
ta	'wear a hat'	*dʑi*	'brother's son'
tha	'there'	*ɲa*	'and'
das	'finish (v.)'	*ja ku*	'ivory'
tsa	'here'	*ka*	'go (1sg)'
tsha-tha	'wipe' (< Ch.)	*kha*	'rice husk'[11]
dza	'pursue'	*gan khəu*	'snap button' (< Ch.)
sa	'blood'	*xu*	'fragrant'
za	'rice ladle'	*ŋuə*	'silver'
na	'good'	*qa*	1sg pronoun
ɬa	'slippery'	*qha(q)*	'bitter'
la	'wolf' (< Ch.)	*χaf*	'grass'

tʂa	'filter, strain (solids)'	ʁa	locative postposition
tʂha	'deep'	ha-n̢i	'twelve'
dʐa	'early'	ha-qa	'go up'
ʂa	'border (garments) (vt.)'	ɦa-qa	'go down'

Following are examples of single consonants in final position:

ʂuap	'torch'	ataʐ	'immediately'
ʁuam	'servant'	tʂhətʂ	'weigh (vt.)'
χaf	'grass'	ɣzəɕ	'land otter'
wet	'stick'	ʂpetɕ	'patch (vt.)'
wəs	'egg'	ipək	'arrive'
dʐuz	'chew the cud'	jimigu̧	'trace'
tʂuats	'table' (< Ch.)	tʂhoŋ-tha	'aggressive' (< Ch.)
tʂhuen	'tread on' (< Ch.)	ʂuaq	'moonlight'
ju-ʂpul	'fist'	tʂueχ	'have the mumps'
tʂhəʂ	'spider'	haʁ	'exit (v.)'

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

mi:-xkam	'eyebrow'	χsu	'living, to be alive'
sta	'entrust to'	χʂə	'manure'
xsə	'new'	χtʂu	'six'
xtʂu	'sweat'	χɬu	'hawk'
xtʂap	'pitch dark'	χɬate	'wave'
xtɕepi	'knife'	ʐbu	'drum'
xʂu	'barking deer'	ʐgue	'fox'
xɬiex-buʐ	'loess soil'	ʐmu	'corpse'
zdu	'deer'	ʑdʑi	'disease'
ʂkuə	'thief'	ʁdua	'hammer (n.)'
ʂpa	'sorghum'	ʁlu	'stone'
ʂqu	'boil'	ʁnəi	'kind of wild goat'

ʂqa-n̠i	'dice'	*ʁzu*	'chisel (n.)'
ɣlu	'roll (v.)'	*ʁdʐəs*	'toenail'
ɣzə	'hot (peppery); numb'	*ʁn̠is*	'spring (of water)'
ɣʐem	'rice gruel, congee'	*ɕpies*	'noodle'
χqu	'gold'	*ɕtɕi:mi*	'heart'
ɣdʐə	'enough'	*ʑbie*	'soak (barley to make wine)'

Examples of some clusters in final position:

tʂhexɬ	'sip (vt.)'	*dʐaɕtɕ*	'laugh (v.)'
wəχʂ	'horse dung'	*laxʂ*	'palm (of hand)'
ləɣz	'book'	*əxtʂ*	'shade (vt.)'
əɣl	'upright'		

2.2. Vowels

2.2.1. The basic inventory

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

Table 3. The Qiang vowel inventory

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

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

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

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

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

Following are examples of the vowel contrasts in open syllables:

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

Examples of some of the vowels in closed syllables:

phiʂ	'white'	*buʐ me:¹*	'drizzle'
fen	'powder' (< Ch.)	*phoʂ*	'vulva'
dam	'forget'	*baq*	'scarf'
bəl	'maggot'		

2.2.2. Diphthongs and triphthongs

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

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

Examples of the native diphthongs and triphthong in open syllables:

mia-pi	'eyelid'	*ʁua*	'outside'
phie	'plant (vt.)'	*ʁua*	'left'
ei-ɳi	'next year'	*kuə ʂa*	'have diarrhea'
iʂpəi	'mother's brother's wife'	*gue-ɳi*	'near'
doʁoi	'call to, summon (vt.)'	*gue¹*	'army'
tɕye	'hoe (n.)'	*gue:¹*	'road'
tɕəu	'home'	*dza:khui*	'afternoon'
(ɕtɕy) heu	'repay (debt)'	*ʂkuəi*	'mountain goat'
phiɑ-que	'grey'		

Examples of the native diphthongs in closed syllables:

ji-miaq	'thumb'	*ʂuaq*	'moonlight'
pies	'meat'	*duaʁl*	'curved knife'
stuəʂ	'pot luck meal'	*tuəs*	'carrying pole'
təkhueʐ	'anger (vt.)'		

Examples of diphthongs and triphthongs due to Chinese borrowings:

phai	'playing cards'	*kuai-tha*	'blame (vt.)'
tɕau-tsə	'dumplings'	*phiau-tsə*	'paper money'

2.2.3. R-coloring

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

(2.3)   a. *tsa-χsəʴwu*   [this:one-few (< χsə):all]   'all these'
        b. *a-səʴwu*   [one-day (< ɑ-sə):all]   'all day'
        c. *a-jəʴwu*   [one-night (< ɑ-jə):all]   'all night'
        d. *miʴwu*   [person (< mi):all]   'all the people'

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

se	'sprinkle (vt.)'	*khəsta*	'husband's mother'
seʴ fu	'mourning apparel'	*khəʴ*	'saw (vt.)'
se:ʴ-mujʉ	'mushroom'	*phi-phi*	'dig'

sə	'day; wood'	*phiˀ-phiˀ*	'rip (v.)'
sə:ˀ	'willow tree'	*pauχuaˀ*	'shavings'
(səl	'face south')¹⁵	*guəˀ*	'army'
weˀ	'reduce'	*guə:ˀ*	'road'
we	'exist/be at'		

Examples in closed syllables:

kheˀx	'comb'	*ɦa-khəˀp*	'go blind'
paˀχ	'claw'	*dʐɥ-gəˀm*	'doorkeeper'
zə-teˀm	'earthquake'	*ʁəˀp*	'Han person'
peˀʐ	'breed, raise (vt.)'		

2.2.4. *Morphologically derived vowel forms*

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

a:ˀ	*tsa:ˀ*	(< *tse*)	'look (PRS:1pl)'
ɑ:ˀ	*pɑ:ˀ*	(< *pə*)	'buy (PRS:1pl)'
uˀ	*qhuˀ*	(< *qhu*)	'fire gun (1pl)'
yˀ	*tɕyˀ*	(< *tɕy*)	'bring/carry (1pl)'
ieˀ	*phieˀ*	(< *phie*)	'till land (1pl)'
ia:	*phia:*	(< *phie*)	'till land (PRS:1sg)'
ia:ˀ	*phia:ˀ*	(< *phie*)	'till land (PRS:1pl)'
uəˀ	*guəˀ*	(< *guə*)	'put on clothes (1pl)'
uɑ:	*guɑ*	(< *guə*)	'put on clothes (PRS:1sg)'
uɑ:ˀ	*guɑ:ˀ*	(< *guə*)	'put on clothes (PRS:1pl)'
yeˀ	*tɕhyeˀ*	(< *tɕhye*)	'pen livestock (1pl)'
ya	*tɕhya*	(< *tɕhye*)	'pen livestock (1sg)'
ya:	*tɕhya:*	(< *tɕhye*)	'pen livestock (PRS:1sg)'
ya:ˀ	*tɕhya:ˀ*	(< *tɕhye*)	'pen livestock (PRS:1pl)'
ua:	*stua:*	(< *stue*)	'pull up weeds (PRS:1sg)'
ua:ˀ	*stua:ˀ*	(< *stue*)	'pull up weeds (PRS:1pl)'

2.3. The syllable canon

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

$$\text{(C) (C}_i\text{) (V) V (V) (C) (C}_f\text{)}$$
[fric]   [glide]   [glide][fric]

Figure 1. The Qiang syllable canon

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

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

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

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

2.4. Phonological processes

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

2.4.1. Initial weakening

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

(2.4)   ph > ɸ ~ f:
      a.   ə- DIR   +   *phə* 'blow'   >   *əɸ*   'blow (imperative)'

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

(2.5)   kh > x:
    a.   *me:¹* 'rain'   +   *khə¹*   'fall (of frost)'   >   *meˣx*   'frost (n.)'
    b.   *nə-*   DIR   +   *khə¹te* 'hit (people)'   >   *nəxte*   'hit (perf.)'

(2.6)   dz > z:
    ə-   DIR +   *dzuə* 'sit'   >   *əz̥u̥ə̥*   'sit (imperative)'

(2.7)   dʐ > l:[20]
    ma- NEG +   *dʐə* 'able'   >   *ma-l*   'not able'

(2.8)   b   > w:
    a.   *tə-*   DIR   + *bə*   'pile'   >   *təw*   'piled (perf.)'
    b.   *tə-*   DIR   + *ba*   'big'   >   *təwa* 'become big'

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

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

(2.9)

Ronghong	Mawo	Gloss
xsə	*khsi*	'god'
xsə	*khsə*	'new'
xʂuɕtɕ	*khɕust*	'hear/listen'
χsutu	*qhsu*	'jump'
χsa	*qhsa*	'know/understand'
χʂə	*qhʂə*	'manure'
ɣzə	*gzə*	'government official'
ɣzəifa	*gzigua¹*	'wing'
ɣʐə	*gʐə*	'four'

2.4.2. Stress and its effects

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

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

(2.10) a. *ɦa-* DIR + *tʂha* 'deep' + *-ʐ* CAUS > *ɦátʂhəʐ* 'deepen'
        b. *tə-* DIR + *watsi* 'short' > *təwátsi*   'become short'
        c. *tɕa-* CON + *watsi* 'short' > *tɕáwətsi* 'still short'

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

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

(2.11) a. *ɦá-mə-tɕí-xtʂápə-tɕ*   b. *ɦá-xtʂəp-ɳike*
            DIR-NEG-CON-dark-GEN   DIR-dark-after
            'before it got dark'   'after it got dark'

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

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

(2.12) a. *a*   'one' + *guə* 'basket' > *agu̯ə*   'one basketfull'
        b. *ma-* NEG   + *ŋuə* COP   > *maŋu̯ə* 'is not'
        c. *ə-*   DIR   + *dzuə* 'sit'   > *əzu̯ə*   'sit! (imperative)'
        d. *a*   'one' + *tu*   'span'   > *atu̯*   'one handspan'

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

(2.13) a. *ə-*   DIR   + *dzə*   'eat'   > *əz*   'eat! (imperative)'
        b. *sə-* DIR   + *tɕhə* 'drink' > *sətɕ* 'drink! (imp.)'
        c. *bə*   'bee' + *χʂə*   'manure' > *bəχʂ* 'honey'
        d. *tsuə* 'water' + *ʐə*   'ox'   > *tsuəʐ* 'water buffalo'

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.3. Vowel harmony

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

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

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

(2.16) a. *ʁua* 'five' + *khe˞* 'hundred' > *ʁua˞-khe˞* 'five hundred'[23]
         b. *me* 'not' + *we˞* 'reduce' > *me˞-we˞* 'unceasingly'

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

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

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

2.4.4. Epenthetic vowels

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

(2.18)　a.　*ʐdʑi-tʂhop-əm*　[illness-cure-NOM (< -*m*)]　　'doctor'
　　　　 b.　*stuaha-bəl-əm*　[rice, food-do-NOM (< -*m*)]　'cook (n.)'
　　　　 c.　*bəl-əs-je*　　　[do-NOM (< -*s*)-good to eat]　'advantageous'
　　　　 d.　*bəl-əʐ-mo-ʁu*　[do-CAUS (< -ʐ)-NEG-allow] 'hinder'
　　　　 e.　*n̠iq-əʂ*　　　　[black-too (< -ʂ)]　　　　　 'too black'

2.4.5. Assimilation

In Section 2.1 it was mentioned that there is assimilation of the first consonant of a cluster in terms of voicing and place of articulation to that of the second consonant of the cluster, with the phonemically posited /ʂ/ becoming [s] before /t/ and /d/, and [ɕ] before /pi/, /pe/, /bi/, /tɕ/ and /dʑ/, and all the preinitials becoming voiced before voiced initials. Aside from this we also find assimilation of /l/ to [n] when it follows a nasal in rapid speech, as in [themne], an alternate form of the 3pl pronoun [themle], in several tokens of the word [leˑwu] 'all' in the Texts pronounced as [neˑwu] when it followed [-hɑn] 'kind' (e.g.

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

2.4.6. Free variation

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

phiʂ ~ phiχ ~ phi	'white'	*n̪iq ~ n̪ix*	'black'
muxu̠ ~ muɸu̠	'smoke'	*fut ~ futs*	'incense'
ʂquatʂ ~ χquatʂ	'steal'	*xupa ~ fupa*	'fur'
quət ~ quətɕ	'cover'	*ʂqu ~ χqu*	'mouth'
khesu ~ kheˈsu	'eighty'		

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

mutu ~ mutup 'sky'   *qha ~ qhaq* 'bitter'   *kap ~ kapətʂ* 'orphan'

Chapter 3
The noun phrase

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

3.1. Structure

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

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

Figure 2. The structure of the Qiang noun phrase

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

(3.1) a. *ʁuatʂa   lapa   ba*
bowl   flowery big
'big colorful bowl'

b. *fa   phiʂ   dʐə*
clothing white   long
'long white clothing'

c. *fa   phiʂ   ba*
clothing white   old
'old white clothing'

d. *fa   dʐə   ba*
clothing long   old
'old long clothing'

e. *mianpau phiʂ   matʂa*
bread   white soft
'soft white bread'

f. *tʂhetsə   xsə   na*
car   new   good
'good new car'

g. *xtʂepi dʐə   na*
knife   long   good
'nice long knife'

h. *səf po   ti-wi*
tree thick   DIR-tall
'tall thick tree'

i. *stei xsə   tse*
axe   new   sharp
'sharp new axe'

j. *mi   xsə   tshimpe*
person   new   smart
'smart young person'

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

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

b. *mi   na*
person   good
'(a) good person'

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

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

(3.3)   [*nes   lu-m   ʂpe   thə   xsə-zi]-wu*
         yesterday   come-NOM   Tibetan   that   three-CL-AGT
         tʂhetsə-le: de-ɕtɕi-ji-tɕi.
         car-DEF:CL   DIR-push-CSM-3pl
         'Those three Tibetans who came yesterday pushed the car away.'

(3.4)   *[qa pətsa-n̠i   zə-pə-tɕ   ba: n̠iq   tsa*
         1sg just.now-ADV   DIR-buy-GEN   cloth   black   this
         i-jə-tʂ]-ŋuən̠i   qa   ʔũ   de-le   ɕtɕaq-lu-a.
         one-two-feet-TOP   1sg   2sg   DIR-give   heart-come-1sg
         'I want to give you these few feet of black cloth that I just bought.'

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

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

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

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

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

     c. *tse* 'this' + *a* 'one' + *i* 'time' > *tsai* 'now'

It is also possible to have noun phrases in apposition to pronouns or other types of noun phrases where they specify the nature of the pronoun or first noun phrase, as in the following examples:

(3.8) a. *tɕile sətʂhuan mi*   b. *tɕile leɣz su-m*
            1pl Sichuan people   1pl book learn/teach-NOM
            'we/us Sichuan people'   'we/us scholars/teachers'

(3.9) *ʐmətʂi-le:*   *ŋa*   *ʐmətʂi-sətsim jautsan*
        emperor-DEF:CL   COM emperor-wife man.eating.devil
        dʑemi sə-l . . .   (T6:298-300)
        (name) DIR-look
        'The emperor and his wife, the man-eating devil Dʑemi, looked…'

Kinship terms used with personal names follow this pattern as well (unlike the order found in Chinese), e.g. [upu-χumtʂi] 'Uncle Xumtʂi'.

    Noun phrases can be omitted if they are recoverable from the context. There is no system for distinguishing more important third person referents from less important ones, such as in an obviative/proximate system; there is only the topic/non-topic contrast (see §3.2.1), the person marking (see §4.3.2), and the definite/indefinite contrast (see §3.1.4). (See also the discussion of the pronoun /qupu/ in §3.1.2, below for something of an exception to this statement).

3.1.1. The noun

The noun in Qiang may be defined as a free form that can be followed by an (in)definite marker[26] and a numeral-classifier phrase or number marking, and is generally not predicative without the use of a copula. Some nouns can also take gender and diminutive marking. When acting as a noun phrase, they can be followed by the relational morphemes that are introduced in Section 3.2, and can appear as the complement of a copula clause. Aside from being the head of a noun phrase, nouns can be used to modify other nouns directly (appearing immediately before the modified noun) or in a genitive phrase (also pre-head, with or

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

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

(3.10) a. *sə-ʁuatʂa*
          wood-bowl
          'wooden bowl'

      b. *bu-zdə*
           plank-ladder
           'plank ladder'

      c. *pie-nəs*
          pig-bed
          'pig-pen'

      d. *bə-xʂ*
          bee-manure
          'honey'

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

(3.11) a. *ep-ew*
          father-mother
          'parents'

      b. *tu-tuwa*
          yngr.brother-older.brother
          'brothers'

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

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

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

(3.13) a. *pies*   'meat'   + *qhua* 'cut'   + *-s* >
   piesqhuas 'chopping knife'
   b. *fa*   'clothing' + *jeji*   'sew'   + *-s* >
   fajejis   'needle & thread'
   c. *tɕymi* 'child'   + *bie*   'carry' + *-s* >
   tɕymi bies 'baby strap'

The nominalizing suffix /-m/ (< /mi/ 'man') is added to a verb or noun + verb combination to form an agentive noun (this term from Comrie & Thompson 1985), that is, one which refers to an animate being, generally a person ('one who . . .'):

(3.14) a. *ʁua*   'help'   + *-m* >   *ʁuam* 'servant'
   b. *tɕiʁua* 'house' + *le* 'exist' + *-m* > *tɕiʁualem* 'occupant'
   c. *ma*   NEG   + *qə* 'have' + *-m* > *maqəm*   'pauper'

Comrie & Thompson (1985) divide lexical nominalizations into two major categories, 'name of activity or state' and 'name of an argument', and divide the latter into six sub-types: 'agentive nouns', 'instrumental nouns', 'manner nouns', 'locative nouns', 'objective nouns', and 'reason nouns'. Qiang does not seem to have any nominalizations of the 'name of activity or state' type, and within the 'name of an argument' type have no 'manner nouns' or 'reason nouns' formed by lexical nominalization have been found. Examples of the other types were given above.

Nouns can also be formed from adjectives (reduplicated or not) by simply adding one of the definite markers after the adjective:

(3.15) a. *ȵiq* 'black' + *le:* DEF:CL   > *ȵiqle:* 'the black one'
   b. *ba* 'big'   + *te:* DEF:CL   > *bate:*   'the big one'
   c. *tiwi* 'tall' + *ke:* INDEF:CL > *tiwike:* 'a tall one'

There are few clear examples of nouns formed from a noun plus a classifier in Qiang (though this method of forming nouns is found in other Sino-Tibetan languages, e.g. Chinese; see Chao 1968:396). One example is the word /tɕisɑ/ 'room', from /tɕi/ 'house' plus /sɑ/, the classifier for rooms and sections.

The nouns formed from a noun plus verb combination without overt nominalization are sometimes straightforward, such as [sə-ste] 'fire

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

(3.16) a. *me:ˀx*   'frost'   < *me:ˀ* 'rain'   + *kheˀ* 'fall (of frost)'
         b. *zdəqhu* 'fog'   < *zdə*   'cloud'   + *qhu* 'descend (clouds)'
         c. *tsəpa* 'ice'   < *tsə*   'water'   + *pa* 'form (of ice)'
         d. *meˀgu̯* 'thunder' < *me:ˀ* 'rain'   + *gu* 'thunder (v.)'
         e   *ɕiʂue* 'moon'   < *ɕi*   'moon'   + *ʂue* 'bright'[28]
         f. *la(m)pa* 'flower'   < *la(m)* 'flower' + *pa* 'to bloom'[29]

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

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

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

e.	*ʁə'p*	'Han person'	< *ʁə¹*	'Han person'
f.	*məziq-pə*	'talk in sleep'	< *məzi*	'sleep'
g.	*ji-saq*	'finger' [hand-section]	< *sa*	'section, joint'
h.	*qhaq*	'bitter'	< *qha*	'bitter'
i.	*ɕtɕaq-lu*	'think of, want'	< *ɕtɕi*	'heart'
j.	*ʂuaq*	'light'	< *ʂue*	'bright'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1.1. Gender marking

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

(3.19)

xʂe-χ	'mixed breed ox'[30]	*khuə-(zdu)*	'dog'
xʂe-mi	'mixed breed cow'	*khuə-mi*	'bitch'
soʁu	'common cow'	*khuə-miaha*	'bitch'
ŋuə/ŋuə-mi	'female cow'	*puɳu*	'cat'
soʁu-ŋuə	'female cow'	*puɳu-zdu*	'male cat'
soʁu-ʐə	'bull'	*ʐətɕhaq*	'rabbit'
pie-ɕi	'male pig'	*ʐətɕhaq-zdu*	'male rabbit'
piej-mi	'sow'	*tɕy:*	'chicken'
tshe	'goat'	*jy-miaha*	'hen'
tshe-mi	'female goat'	*jy-pi (jy < tɕy:)*	'cock'
wə	'horse'		
wə-mi	'mare'		

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

3.1.1.2. Diminutive marking

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

(3.20) a. *xʂe-tʂuə ~ xʂetʂu̯* 'calf'   b. *ɳowu-zdue* 'kid'
        c. *tɕy-tʂu̯*   'chick'   d. *tshe-zdue* 'lamb'
        e. *khua-ʁl*   'puppy'

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

3.1.1.3. The kinship prefix

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

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

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

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

3.1.2. Pronouns

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

Table 4. The Qiang personal pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1	qa	tɕi-zzi	tɕi-le
2	ʔũ	ʔi-zzi	ʔi-le
3	the: / qupu	thi-zzi	them-le

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

(3.22) a. *qupu ʐdʑyta:*   *ɦa-qə.* (Closely related to the speaker)
           3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go
           'She (my wife) went to Chengdu.'

       b. *the: ʐdʑyta:*   *ɦa-qə.* (Not closely related to speaker)
           3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go.
           'She went to Chengdu.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 5. The Qiang demonstrative pronouns

	singular	plural	locative	locative (side)	extent/ method	kind
proximate	*tse*	*tsaha*	*tsa / tsu / tsakua*	*tsexʂe*	*tsəi*	*tsahan*
distal	*the*	*thaha*	*tha / thu / thakua*	*thexʂe*	*thəi*	*thahan*

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

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

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

Following is a list of the interrogative pronouns:

(3.24) a. *sə-(le:)*   'who'
      b. *tɕa-la ~ tɕa:* 'where'
      c. *ȵiɣi*   'what'
      d. *ȵiɣi-le:*   'which one'
      e. *ȵiɣi-la-kua*   'which side' [what-DEF:one-side]
      f. *ȵiɣi-lai*   'what time' [what-DEF:one:time]
      g. *ȵi-kai*   'how long (time)' [what-INDEF:one:time]
      h. *ȵa-wu / ȵa-we* 'how much/many'
      i. *ȵiɣi-χua-ȵi*   'why' [what-because-ADV]
      j. *ȵi-qəs*   'how'
      k. *ȵi-ke:*   'how'
      l. *tɕho:*   'when'
      m   *ȵa-tian*   'what hour'

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

(3.25) *tɕiʁua   ȵiɣi-leː-ta   le-ŋua?*
       house   which-DEF:CL-LOC   exist-Q
       'Which house does he live in?'

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

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

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

(3.27) *the: ȵa-ɕi-tɕ-ȵo-tɕu-ʁa   zdʑyta:*
       3sg   WH-month-GEN-WH-day-LOC   Chengdu:LOC
       ə-pə-l-ŋua?
       DIR-arrive-come-Q
       'When will he arrive in Chengdu?'

(3.28) *ʔile   tɕəu-la   mi   ȵa-tʂə   ʐə-i-wa?*
       2pl   home-LOC   person   WH-CL   exist-2pl-Q
       'How many people do you have at home (in your family)?'

(3.29) *ʔũ-tɕ-tuətʂ   ȵa-p   le-ji-wa?*
       2sg-GEN-yngr.brother   WH-year   exist-CSM-Q
       'How old is your younger brother?'
       (lit.: 'How many years does your younger brother have?')

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

(3.30) a. *ʔũ   sə-n̡a   ɦa-qə-n?*
           2sg   who-COM   DIR-go-2sg
           'With whom did you go?'

      b. *sə   ʔũ-n̡a   ɦa-qə?*
           who   2sg-COM   DIR-go
           'Who went with you?'

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

(3.31) *sə-(le:)   kə   ɕtɕaq u-lu-tu,   sə   ɕa-kə.*
        who-(DEF:CL)   go   heart DIR-come-LNK   who   INDTV-go
        'Let whoever wants to go go.'

(3.32) *qa   n̡iɣi   dzə-n̡i   n̡iɣi   dzə, . . .*   (T5:225)
        1sg   what   eat-ADV   what   eat
        'Whatever I eat, (you) will eat, . . . '

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

      b. A: *n̡iɣi   lə   ɦe-si.*
             what   also   DIR-allow
             'Anything would be fine.'

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

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

(3.34) *kə-ȼtȼaq-lu-m*   *la-heꜣwu*   *ȼa-kə-tȼi.*
         go-heart-come-NOM   DEF:one-pl:all   INDTV-go-3pl
         'Let all that want to go go.'

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

Table 6. The Qiang reflexive pronouns

	singular	plural
1	*qa-qəi*	*tȼil-tȼile*
2	*ʔĩ-ʔĩː*	*il-ile*
3	*(the:)n̪in̪i ~ n̪iː*	*n̪il-n̪ile*

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

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

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

(3.36) a.   *qaqəi*   *zə-dʑa.*   (< dzete)[33]
            1sgREFL   DIR-hit:1sg
            'I hit myself/I hit it myself.'
            (ambiguous between emphatic and reflexive)

        b.   *qaqəi-wu*   *ɦa-tshua.*   (emphatic)   (< tshuə)
            1sgREFL-AGT   DIR-smash:1sg
            'I myself smashed it (someone/something).'

        c.   *qaqəi-ta*   *ɦa-tshua.*   (reflexive)   (< tshuə)
            1sgREFL-DAT   DIR-smash:1sg
            'I smashed myself.'

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

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

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

(3.38) a.   *qaqəi-tɕ*   *pa:*
            1sgREFL-GEN   buy:PRS:1sg[34]
            'I'll buy it for myself.'

        b.   *ʔiʔi-ȵa*   *tɕe-khue.*
            2sgREFL-COM   NEG.IMP-upset
            'Don't be mad at yourself.'

        c.   *Khumtsi*   *upu-ta*   *kə*   *me-jə,*
            Khumtsi   uncle-DAT   thus   NEG-say
            ȵi:-tɕ-khuə-le: *u-tɕu-s*   *me-ʐi-ji.*
            3sgREFL-GEN-dog-DEF:CL   DIR-see-NOM   NEG-exist-CSM
            'Khumtsi did not tell her uncle that her dog is missing.'
            (lit.: 'Khumtsi did not say to her uncle, the seeing of self's dog does not exist now.')

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

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

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

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

3.1.3. Locational nouns

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

Table 7. Locational nouns for 'above' and 'below'

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

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

(3.40) a. *tɕiqua*   'inside'
       b. *ʐaχua*   'inside (deeper inside than /tɕiqɑ/)'
       c. *ʁua-la*   'outside'
       d. *tɕhupu*   'where the sun comes up'

e. *dʐupu*   'where the sun goes down'
f. *steke*   'behind'
g. *qə:¹*   'in front of'
h. *ʐekṵ*   'between'
i. *piena*   'near, (be)side'

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

3.1.4. Definite, indefinite marking

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

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

(3.41) a. *ep   lə   me-ʐi   ew   lə   me-ʐi-ke:*
            father also NEG-exist mother also   NEG-exist-INDEF:CL
            ŋuə-kəi-tɕu.
            COP-INF:HS-PART
            '(I) am one who has no father or mother.'

        b. *ɦe-zei-ke:*   *tse:-steke*   *dɑ-qə-kəi-stũ.*
            DIR-cry-INDEF:CL   this:CL-behind DIR-go-NAR-PART
            '(She) went (followed) behind him crying.'   (T4:16-17)

        c. *kapətʂ   tou-ŋuəɳi   ɦa-tsəi*
            orphan   DEF:one:CL-TOP   INT-this.manner
            mo-qu-ke: *ʐi-kəi.*[36]   (T3:99-100)
            NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL   exist-NAR
            'In this way the orphan was not afraid' (lit.: 'There was the
            orphan who was not afraid').

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

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

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

(3.42) a. *the: sum-ke-ze (or -ke:) ŋuə.*
      3sg teacher-INDEF-CL   COP
      'He is a teacher.'

    b. *the: sum-le: ŋuə.*
      3sg teacher-DEF:CL COP
      'He is the teacher.'

(3.43) a. *qa pi-le: me¹ʐa.*   (< me¹ʐ)
      1sg   pen-DEF:CL   search:1sg
      'I am looking for the pen.'

    b. *qa pi-a-la me¹ʐa.*   (< me¹ʐ)
      1sg   pen-one-CL   search:1sg
      'I am looking for a pen.'

(3.44) a. *ʐdʐyta: kə-tɕ tʂhetsə-e-ze*
      Chengdu:LOC   go-GEN   car-one-CL (one of several cars)
      'a car that is going to Chengdu'

    b. *ʐdʐyta: kə-tɕ tʂhetsə-le:*
      Chengdu:LOC   go-GEN   car-DEF:CL (one specific car)
      'the car that is going to Chengdu'

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

(3.45) *qe:¹-qe¹-tu fiala kapətʂ-**kou***
      before-before-LNK   INT   orphan-**INDEF:one:CL**
      ŋuə-kei-tɕu, ep lə me-ʐi ew
      COP-INF:HS-PART   father also NEG-exist   mother

> *ə   me-ʐi-**ke:**   ŋuə-kəi-tɕu.*
> also   NEG-exist-**INDEF:CL**   COP-INF:HS-PART
> *tu   ɦala   ʂkup-**le:**-ŋuən̻i   ɦa-tsu*
> RESULT   INT   orangutan-**DEF:CL**-TOP   INT-here
> *kapətʂ-**tou**   dzə   kantɕhi-kui-tɕu,*
> orphan-**DEF:one:CL**   eat   think/want-INF:HS-PART
> *kapətʂ-**lou**   dzə   kantɕi: tu   ɦala,*
> orphan-**DEF:one:CL**   eat   think/want   RESULT   INT
> *kapətʂ-**tou**   gəs-ta   ɦa-xtʂəpa:-jə-tu*
> orphan-**DEF:one:CL**   night-LOC   DIR-dark:PRS-REP-LNK
> *qu-kəpə-kəi-ʂ, . . .*   (T3:1-7)
> be.afraid-HABIT-INF:HS-LNK
> 'Long ago (there was) an orphan, one with no father or mother.
> The orangutan wanted to eat the orphan, wanted to eat the
> orphan, (so) the orphan was afraid at night, when it will get dark
> again, . . .'

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

3.1.5. Numerals and quantifiers

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

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

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

(3.46)

lin	'zero'	*χtʂu*	'six'
a	'one'	*ɕtɕə*	'seven'
jə	'two'	*khe¹ ~ khe³⁸*	'eight'
xsə	'three'	*ʐguə*	'nine'
ɣʐə	'four'	*hotɕu*	'ten'
ʁua	'five'		

hadʐi ~ hatʂi	'eleven'	*jusutʂi*	'twenty-one'
han̪i	'twelve'	*jusujə*	'twenty-two'
hasi	'thirteen'	*jusuxsə*	'twenty-three'
haʐ	'fourteen'	*xsusu*	'thirty'
haŋu̥	'fifteen'	*ɣʐusu*	'forty'
hatʂu̥	'sixteen'	*ʁosu*	'fifty'
haɕ	'seventeen'	*χtʂusu*	'sixty'
hakhe¹	'eighteen'	*ɕtɕusu*	'seventy'
hagu̥	'nineteen'	*khesu ~ khe¹su*	'eighty'
jusu	'twenty'	*ʐgusu*	'ninety'

*e-khe ~ e-khe:*¹	100	*a-stu*	1,000
e-khe-n̩a-e:(eze)	101	*a-ʁuan*	10,000

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

(3.47) a. *tɕi-qə:¹-le:* (most-front-DEF:CL) 'the first one'
 b. *tsə-steke-le:* (this-back-DEF:CL) 'the second/next one'
 c. *thə-steke-le:* (that-back-DEF:CL) 'the third one'
 d. *tɕi-steke-le:* (most-back-DEF:CL) 'the last one'

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

 Following are some other quantifiers:

(3.48) a. *mi¹wu* [person:all] 'each one'
 b. *a-ha* [one-pl] 'some/a few (number)'
 c. *e-ze* [one-CL] 'anyone'
 d. *e-ze e-ze* [one-CL] 'one by one'
 e. *a-za ~ a-zə* [one-CL] 'a little, some (quantity)'
 f. *əizi* [one:two:CL] 'several'
 g. *a-i* [one-time] 'a little while'
 h. *hodʐu-ma-xtʂe* 'ten odd'
 i. *aʂpala* 'somewhere'
 j. *iɣi-lə* 'what also; anything'
 k. *le¹wu* [pl:all] 'everyone/body; all'[39]
 l. *ʂəʂe:¹wu* [exist:REDUP:all] 'everything; all'
 m. *ɦa:n* 'about'

The modifier [ɑ:n ~ ɦɑ:n] 'about' follows a numeral expression:

(3.49) *ɣʐusu-n̩a-a-χau-ɦa:n tʂua.* (< tʂuə)
 fourty-and-one-size-about wear(shoes):1sg
 'I wear about a size 41 (of shoes).'

3.1.6. Classifiers and measure words

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

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

(3.50)   *e-ze*   General (default) classifier, used for people, houses, belts, and many other types of objects, particularly if one is unsure of the usual classifier used.

        a-la   Used for stick-like, long, thin objects, and clothes (native word).

        a-pa   Used for long stick-like objects (where the stick is a handle, e.g. a broom; < Chinese *bǎ).*

        e-xʂe   Used for one item of things that usually come in pairs, such as shoes and chopsticks.

        e-tue   One pair (< Chinese *dùi).*

        e-tsi   One pair (native word).

        o-u   Used generally for (small) round objects (such as steamed bread), but in some cases also for people (with the same semantics as [eze]).

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

a-gy̥ə̣   One backbasketful (cf. /guaχga/ 'backbasket'); also
         used as a classifier for houses.
o-ʐ̩bu   One team (of people).
a-han   One kind/type (sometimes pronounced [χɑn]).

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

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

Qiang word-Qiang classifier:

(3.51) a. *wets   e-tsi*   b. *khuə   e-ze*
          chopsticks   one-pair   dog   one-CL
          'one pair of chopsticks'   'one dog'

       c. *japa   e-xʂe*
          hand   one-CL
          'one hand'

Qiang word-Chinese classifier:

(3.52) a. *dzigy̥   e-pi*   b. *ləɣz   e-pen*
          money   one-CL   book   one-CL
          'one dollar'   'one book'

       c. *tolu   a-pa*
          broom   one-CL
          'one broom'

Chinese word-Qiang classifier:

(3.53) a. *phiɕye   e-tsi*   b. *thantsə e-ze*
            leather.boot one-CL   blanket one-CL
            'a pair of leather boots'   'one blanket'

        c. *pi: a-la*
            pen one-CL
            'one pen'

Chinese word-Chinese classifier:

(3.54) a. *phinko a-tɕ*   b. *tʂuats   a-tʂan*
            apple   one-catty   table   one-CL
            'one catty of apples'   'one table'

        c. *phitɕəu e-phin*
            beer   one-bottle
            'one bottle of beer'

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

(3.55) a. *a-ʂ (ulu)*   '(come in) one time'
        b. *o-qu (ətɕ)*   '(eat) one bite' (cf. *ʂqu* 'mouth')
        c. *e-χɬi (təχɬi)*   '(hit) one time'
        d. *a-tʂu (ətʂu̥)*   '(kick) one time'
        e. *a-xui (ək)*   '(go) one time' (< Chinese *húi)*
        f. *a-i (uzu̥lu)*   '(wait) a little while'
        g. *e-zdue (ɦan)*   '(sleep) one time'

3.1.7. Number marking

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

(3.56) a. *apə-le*   b. *upu-le*   c. *itɕi-le*   d. *tɕymi-le*
         'grandfathers'   'uncles'   'aunts'   'children'

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

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

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

      b. *qhal-tha-ha*   qa   de-l.
         steamed.bun-that:one-pl   1sg   DIR-give
         'Give me those steamed buns.'

    c. *qhal-la-ha*   *je-wa.*
        steamed.bun-DEF:one-pl   delicious-very
        'The steamed buns are very delicious.'

    d. *the:*   *qhal-a-ha*   *zə-p.*
        3sg   steamed.bun-one-pl   DIR-buy
        'He bought some steamed buns.'

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

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

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

3.2. Nominal relational morphology

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

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

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

3.2.1. Topic

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

(3.59) a. *dʐə-ŋuəɳi*   *qa*   *the:-ta*   *kə-ji-wa.*
affair-TOP   1sg   3sg-LOC   thus-say-3sgU:1sg
'I told him about the affair.'

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

    c. *tsa-tau-tu-ŋuəɳi*   *kapətʂ-tou-ŋuəɳi*
this:one-time-LNK-TOP orphan-DEF:one:CL-TOP
tsa-χsaˈwu   *gul*   *ɦe-se-kei-stu . . .*   (T3:79-80)
this:one-few:all   friend   DIR-make-INF:HS-PART
'This time, the orphan had made friends with all these, . . .'

    d. *tɕiqua-la-ŋuəɳi*   *tɕy-le:-ŋuəɳi*   *ʁoi-kə-m*
inside-LOC-TOP   chicken-DEF:CL-TOP   call-go-NOM
he-ɕi-kui-stũ, . . .   (T4:25-26)
DIR-send-INF:HS-PART
'(Uncle Snake) while inside sent the chicken to come and
call, . . . '

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

(3.60) *ma:-le:-wu*   *a-s-meqa-ŋuəɳi*   *ɳiu-ŋuəɳi*
Mom-DEF:CL-AGT   one-day-each-TOP   wool-TOP
a-s   *pan-tɕin-wu*   *pan-tɕin*   *tə-tʂhə-ɳi . . .*
one-day   half-kilo-INST   half-catty   DIR-weigh-ADV
'Each day Mom (takes) half a catty of wool and weighs it (to
make yarn balls).'

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

(3.61) a. *[ʔũ   pəs   ma-k]   ɦe-mə-si.*
　　　　 2sg   today   NEG-go   DIR-NEG-allow
　　　　 'You cannot not go today.'
　　　　 (lit.: 'Your not going is not allowed.')

　　　 b. *[pətsa-ɳi-zə-pə-ji-panə-la-ha]-ŋuəɳi*　　　　　 *qa*
　　　　 just.now-ADV-DIR-buy-CSM-thing-DEM:one-pl-TOP　 1sg
　　　　 the: de-l-wa.　　　　　　　　 (< le + wə + ɑ)
　　　　 3sg   DIR-give-3sgU:1sg
　　　　 'I gave him the things that were just bought.'

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

(3.62) *the:-ŋuəɳi   səkue   ʐdʑi.*
　　　　 3sg-TOP   stomach   pain
　　　　 'His stomach hurts.'

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

(3.63) *pitɕ-ŋuəɳi ʐmətʂi   ʂpi-ʂ,   qəˑ¹-ŋuəɳi juɑnʁuɑi ʐmə.*
　　　　 now-TOP   emperor   call-LNK   before-TOP yuanwai   be.named
　　　　 'Now he's called emperor; in the past, he was called yuanwai.'

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

(3.64) *ʐbə-ŋuəɳi xsə-zi   zə-p-ɳi   tɕaʁa-la*
　　　　 yak-TOP   three-CL   DIR-buy-ADV   cowpen-LOC
　　　　 ɦa-ʐdʑy-ɳi   ʑi-ʐə-kui-tɕu, . . .   (T5:69-70)
　　　　 DIR-tether-ADV   exist-CAUS-INF:HS-PART
　　　　 '(He) had three yaks (he) had bought and tethered in the cowpen.'

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

3.2.2. *Single direct argument of an intransitive verb*

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

Agentive:

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

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

(3.67) a. *the: tɕy-ta-wu   ɦo-χsu.*
          3sg   building-LOC-ABL   DIR-jump
          'He jumped from a/the building.'

      b. *the: tsə-ʁa   ʁlu.*
          3sg   water-LOC   swim
          'He is swimming in the river.'

Non-agentive:

(3.68) a. *khuaʁl-le: die-ʂe.*
          puppy-DEF:CL   DIR-die
          'The puppy died.'

(3.69) a. *me:¹   de-ɕi!*   b. *mə   χqa.*
          rain   DIR-fall   sky   clear
          'It's raining!'   'The sky is clear.'

      c. *məsi   ə-tsų̊.*
          sun   DIR-shine
          'The sun is out.'

(3.70) *the: tɕy-ta-wu   dʑəq   ɦa-lə.*
       3sg   building-LOC-ABL   floor   DIR-come
       'He fell down from a/the building.'

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

(3.71) *mi   wu-ŋua,   mo-wu-ŋua?*
       people   many-Q   NEG-many-Q
       'Are there many people?'

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

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

(3.72) a. *the: qəpɑtş ẓdẓi.*   b. *the: ku   şa.*
         3sg   head   ache   3sg   stomach runs
         'He has a headache.'   'He has diarrhea.'

3.2.3. *Actor of a transitive verb*

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

Agentive:

(3.73) a. *the:*   *pautʂə*   *tse.*
         3sg   newspaper   look.at/read
         'He is reading a/the newspaper.'

      b. *qa*   *pautʂə*   *tsa.*   (< tse + ɑ)
         1sg   newspaper   look.at/read:1sg
         'I am reading a/the newspaper.'

      c. *ʔũ*   *pautʂə*   *tse-n.*
         2sg   newspaper   look.at/read-2sg
         'You are reading a/the newspaper.'

(3.74) *qa*   *stuaha*   *tɕha.*   (< tɕhə)
       1sg   rice/food   eat:1sg
       'I am eating.'

(3.75) *χumtʂi*   *ʐ ətɕhaq-e-ze*   *ɦa-tʂ.*
       Xumtʂi   rabbit-one-CL   DIR-pierce(kill)
       'Xumtʂi killed a rabbit.'

(3.76) a. *the:* *fa*   *χuəla.*   b. *the: sə*   *gue.*
         3sg   clothes   wash   3sg firewood   chop
         'He is washing clothes.'   'He is chopping firewood.'

Non-agentive:

(3.77) a. *χumtʂi*   *khumtsi*[42]   *topu.*
         Xumtʂi   Khumtsi   like
         'Xumtʂi likes Khumtsi.'

      b. *qa*   *khumtsi*   *topu-ɑ.*
         1sg   Khumtsi   like-1sg
         'I like Khumtsi.'

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

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

(3.79) *the: isəu   pə.*
        3sg   sneeze   do
        'He sneezed.'

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

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

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

(3.81) a. *χumtʂi-(wu)   khumtsi   zə-dʐə-u.*   (< dʐete)
            χumtʂi-(AGT)   khumtsi   DIR-hit-VIS
            'χumtʂi hit Khumtsi.'

        b. *khumtsi   χumtʂi-wu   zə-dʐe-u.*   (< dʐete)
            khumtsi   χumtʂi-AGT   DIR-hit-VIS
            'Khumtsi was hit by χumtʂi.'

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

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

(3.82) a. *the:*   *qa*   *dʐete.*
            3sg   1sg   hit
            'He is hitting me.'

        b. *qa*   *the:-wu*   *zə-dʐe.*   (< dʐete)
            1sg   3sg-AGT   DIR-hit
            'I was hit by him.'

        c. *the:*   *qa-wu*   *zə-dʐa.*   (< dʐete)
            3sg   1sg-AGT   DIR-hit:1sg
            'He was hit by me.'

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

(3.83) *mi-wu*   *qa*   *zə-dʑi.*
        person-AGT   1sg   DIR-hit
        'Somebody hit me.'

(3.84) *moʁu-wu   qa   da-tuə-ʐ̪-(ʂa).*
      wind-AGT   1sg   DIR-fall.over-CAUS-1sgU
      'The wind knocked me over.'

(3.85) *tshəma-wu   qa-dʑoquq-ta   ə-tʂ-(ʂa).*
      thorn-AGT   1sg-foot-LOC   DIR-pierce-1sgU
      'A thorn pierced my foot.'

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

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

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

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

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

(3.87) a. *qa   dʑe-ʂa*   b. *ʔũ   dʑe-san*
       1sg hit-1sgU   2sg   hit-2sgU
       'I was hit (by him).'   'You were hit (by him).'

    c. *the: dʑe-w*
       3sg   hit-3sgU
       'He was hit (by him).'

3.2.4. Topic of a copula clause

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

(3.88) *the:-ŋuəɹ̣i   ṣpe   ŋuə.*
       3sg-TOP   Tibetan   COP
       'He is a Tibetan.'

(3.89) *qa   sum   ŋua.*   (< ŋuə)
       1sg   teacher   COP:1sg
       'I am a teacher.'

(3.90) *ləɣz-tse-pen   qa-tɕ   ŋuə.*
       book-this-CL   1sg-GEN   COP
       'This book is mine.'

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

(3.91) *qa   sum-le: ŋua.*   (< ŋuə)
       1sg   teacher-DEF:CL   COP:1sg
       'I am the teacher.'

3.2.5. Undergoer of a transitive verb

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

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

(3.92) *the: tsə-p   xsə-p   le-ji.*
        3sg   this-year   three-years   exist-CSM
        'He is three years old this year.'
        (lit.: 'He (now) has three years.')

(3.93) *the: qhal-xsə-zi   sə-dzə-ji.*
        3sg   steamed.bun-three-CL   DIR-eat-CSM
        'He ate three steamed buns.'

(3.94) *the: ləɣz-jə-pen   i-tsi-ji.*   (< tse[44])
        3sg   book-two-CL   DIR-look.at/read-CSM
        'He read two books.'

(3.95) *the: ləɣz-thə-jə-pen   i-tsi-ji.*
        3sg   book-that-two-CL   DIR-look.at/read-CSM
        'He read those two books.'

(3.96) *the: ləɣz-thə-jə-pen   leˈwu i-tsi-ji.*
        3sg   book-that-two-CL   all   DIR-look.at/read-CSM
        'He read both of those two books.'

(3.97) *ləɣz-thə-jə-pen   the: i-tsi-ji.*
        book-that-two-CL   3sg   DIR-look.at/read-CSM
        'Those two books he read.'

(3.98) qa   _tɕymi-tɕ-qəi_   ə-ma.   (< mə)
        1sg   child-GEN-voice   DIR-hear:1sg
        'I heard a/the child's voice.'

(3.99) χumtʂi   _the:-tɕ-tʂi-le:_   ɦa-təɕtɕy-n̩i
        χumtʂi   3sg-GEN-child-DEF:CL   DIR-take-ADV
        upu-tɕ-tɕəu-la   kə.
        uncle-GEN-house-LOC   go
        'χumtʂi took his son to (his) uncle's house.'
        (lit.: 'Taking his son (he) went to uncle's house.')

(3.100) _the:-tɕ-doqu-le:_   _ʐo:pu-e-ze_   de-w.   (< we)
         3sg-GEN-pants-DEF:CL   hole-one-CL   DIR-exist
         'There is now a hole in his pants.'

Non-referential/non-specific object:

(3.101) _the:_   _gue:ˈ-piena-la_   _bi_   ɕe.
         3sg   road-side-LOC   urine   release
         'He's urinating on the side of the road.'

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

(3.102) _pə-maha-ŋuən̩i_   _ʂkup-te:_   mo-qu-a.
         day-evening-TOP   orangutan-DEF:CL   NEG-be.afraid-1sg
         'Tonight (I) am not afraid of the orangutan.'

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

(3.103) _the:_   qa-ta   dʐe!
         3sg   1sg-DAT   hit
         'He is hitting me!'

(3.104) *khuə-le:*   *qa-ta*   *ɦa-ʁdʐe-ʂa.*
         dog-DEF:CL   1sg-DAT   DIR-bite-1sgU
         'The dog bit me.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3.107) a. *sum*   *the:-tɕ*   <u>*pi:-xsə-la*</u>   *de-l.*
         teacher   3sg-GEN   pen-three-CL DIR-give
         'The teacher gave him three pens.'

      b. *qa*   *the:-ta*   <u>*ʁzə-xsə-la*</u>   *zə-pa.*   (< pə)
         1sg   3sg-LOC   fish-three-CL   DIR-buy:1sg
         'I bought *three fish* from him.'

      c. *qa*   <u>*ʁzə-xsə-la*</u>   *the:-ta*   *zə-pa.*   (< pə)
         1sg   fish-three-CL   3sg-LOC   DIR-buy:1sg
         'I bought three fish *from him.*'

3.2.6. *Goal or recipient of a ditransitive verb*

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

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

(3.108) the: *ɋɑ-tɑ*   *ʁzə-xsə-la*   *tə-χua-(ʂa).*
         3sg   1sg-LOC   fish-three-CL   DIR-sell-1sgU
         'He sold me three fish.'

(3.109) *tʂhetsə-ʐ ə-ŋuəȵi*   *qa*   *the:-ta*   *kə-ja.*   (< ji)
         car-affair-TOP   1sg   3sg-LOC   thus-say:1sg
         'I told him about the car.'

(3.110) *qa*   *the:-(ta)*   *ʐ me-ʐ*   *su-a.*
         1sg   3sg-LOC   Qiang-language   teach-1sg
         'I teach him Qiang.'

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

(3.111) *the:-ŋuəȵi*   *qa-wu*   *ʐ me-ʐ*   *su-a.*
         3sg-TOP   1sg-AGT   Qiang-language   teach-1sg
         'I teach him Qiang.'

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

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

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

(3.113) a. *χumtʂi-wu* *tsi-le:*   *lisɹ-ta*   *tə-ɣʐə.*
χumtʂi-AGT daughter-DEF:CL Li.Si-LOC   DIR-marry.off
'Xumtʂi married off his daughter to Li Si.'

   b. *χumtʂi-wu* *tsi-le:*   *lisɹ-tɕ*   *tə-ɣʐə.*
χumtʂi-AGT daughter-DEF:CL Li.Si-GEN   DIR-marry.off
'Xumtʂi gave his daughter in marriage to Li Si.'

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

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

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

3.2.7. Standard of a comparative construction

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

(3.115)   *the:-ŋuən̠i*   *qa-s*   *ba-(ṣa).*
          3sg-TOP   1sg-COMP   big-1sgU
          'He is bigger than me.'

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

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

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

(3.118)   **the:-s-ŋuən̠i*   *qa*   *tɕe-fia.*
          3sg-COMP-TOP   1sg   CON-white:1sg

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

(3.119) *ʔũ-tɕ-tɕiʁa-le:*   <u>*the:-s*</u>   *tɕa-wa.*   (< ba)
2sg-GEN-house-DEF:CL   3sg-COMP   CON-big
'Your house is bigger than his.'

(3.120) *qa-kə-s-ta*   <u>*the:-s*</u>   *tɕa-dʐa.*
1sg-go-NOM-LOC   3sg-COMP   CON-early
'I went earlier than him.'
(lit.: 'When I went was earlier than (when) he (went.')

3.2.8. Standard of an equative comparative construction

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

(3.121) *ʔũ-ɳa-qa*   *a-qəs*   *ba¹.*   (< ba)
2sg-and-1sg   one-form   big:1pl
'You are as big as me.' (lit.: 'You and I are the same big.')

(3.122) *ʔũ-ɳa-the:-tɕ-tɕiʁua*   *a-qəs*   *ba-tɕi.*
2sg-and-3sg-GEN-house   one-form   big-3pl
'Your house is as big as his.'
(lit.: 'Your house and his house are the same big.')

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

(3.123) a. *tɕizzi*   *ʐuaha*   *a-qəs*   *we¹.*   (< we)
1dl   height   one-form   exist:1pl
'The two of us are of the same height.'

b. *thizzi*   *ʐuaha*   *a-qəs*   *we-(tɕi).*
3dl   height   one-form   exist-3pl
'Those two persons are of the same height.'

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

(3.124) *the:-ɳa-ɳile-ku:*   *a-qəs*   *me-w-(tɕi).*   (< we)
3sg-COM-3plREFL-brother   one-form   NEG-exist
'He is different from his brother.' (person marking is optional here)

(3.125) *the:* *ɳile-tatə-ɳa*   *a-qəs*   *we.*
3sg   3plREFL-father-COM   one-form   exist
'He is very much like his father.'

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

3.2.9. Predicate noun phrases

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

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

(3.126) *pəs   xsə-ɕə-tɕ-ʁo-tɕu.*
         today   three-month-GEN-five-beginning
         'Today (is) March fifth.'

(3.127) *khumtsi   akua-wutɕin-tɕə-sətsim.*
         Khumtsi   uncle-Wutɕin-GEN-wife
         'Khumtsi is Uncle Wutɕin's wife.'

(3.128) *the: mi   ŋuə.*
         3sg person   COP
         'He is a person (man).'

(3.129) *the:-ŋuəɳi   khumtsi   ŋuə / ʐmə.*
         3sg-TOP   Khumtsi   COP / be.called
         'She is (is called) Khumtsi.'

(3.130) *the: sum-(ke:)   pe.*
         3sg teacher-INDEF:CL   become
         'He became a teacher.'

(3.131) *butʂqha   xtʂampha-(ke:)   pe.*
         caterpillar   butterfly-INDEF:CL   become
         'The caterpillar became a butterfly.'

3.2.10. Benefactive

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

(3.132) *ʔũ   qa-tɕ   dʑy   de-ʐge-n-pa!*
2sg   1sg-GEN(BEN)   door   DIR-open-2sg-HORT
'Open the door for me!'

(3.133) *qa   ma:-tɕ   kuʂʮ   i-tʂhue-la.*
1sg   Mom-GEN(BEN)   vegetable   DIR-fry-REQU:1sg
'Let me fry Mom's vegetables.' / 'Let me fry vegetables for
Mom.'

(3.134) *ma: qa-tɕ   fa   ʂpetɕ.*
Mom   1sg-GEN(BEN) clothing   sew
'Mom is sewing my clothes,' / 'Mom is sewing clothes for me.'

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

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

(3.135) *the: qa-χua-ȵi   sə   gue-k.*
3sg   1sg-BEN-ADV   firewood   chop-go
'He went to chop wood for me.'

(3.136) *tɕile tɕy:mi-le:-χua-ȵi   ʐbotɕu-s   ŋuə-ŋʮə̥.*   (< wɑ)
1pl   child-DEF:CL-BENADV   think-NOM   COP-EMPH
'We should think about the child('s benefit).'

3.2.11. Source

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

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

(3.137)   *qa-ŋuəɳi*   <u>*the:-ta*</u>   *ə-ma.*   (< mə)
         1sg-TOP   3sg-LOC   DIR-hear:1sg
         'I heard it from him. '

(3.138)   *qa*   <u>*the:-ta*</u>   *ʁzə-xsə-la*   *zə-pa.*   (< pə)
         1sg   3sg-LOC   fish-three-CL   DIR-buy:1sg
         'I bought three fish from him.'

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

(3.139)   *steke*   *la-s-ʁa,*   <u>*tɕetɕi-la-wu*</u>   mufu̞
         behind   DEF:one-day-LOC   everywhere-LOC-ABL   smoke
         tə-la-i,   *tsəi-ɳike,*   *mi*   *lu-ji.*
         DIR-come-HS   like.this-after   people   come-CSM
         'The next day, smoke could be seen coming up out of everywhere, and from that time on there were people.' (T1:15-16)

(3.140)   <u>*the-χṣe-te:-wu*</u>   *ə-ma.*   (< mə)
         that-side-DEF:CL-ABL   DIR-hear:1sg
         '(I) heard (it) from there.'

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

(3.142)   *wətshi-le:*   <u>*ʐawə-wu*</u>   *tə-χqua-ji*   *ŋuə.*
         sparrow-DEF:CL   stone-INST   DIR-carve-CSM   COP
         'The sparrow was carved out of a stone.'

(3.143)   *the:*   <u>*ʐawə-wu*</u>   *wətshi-e-ze*   *tə-χqua.*
         3sg   stone-INST   sparrow-one-CL   DIR-carve
         'S/he carved a stone into a sparrow.'[47]

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

(3.144) *tshefu̠-ŋuə̠ɲi*   *tshe-ʁa*   *lu-ji*   *ŋuə.*
         wool-TOP   sheep-LOC   come-CSM   COP
         'Wool comes from sheep.'

(3.145) *me:¹-ŋuə̠ɲi*   *zdam-ʁa*   *lu-ji*   *ŋuə.*
         rain-TOP   cloud-LOC   come-CSM   COP
         'Rain comes out from clouds.'

3.2.12. Instrument

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

(3.146) a. *qa*   *ʁduaʂ-te:-wu*   *the:*   *dʑeta.*   (< dʑete)
             1sg   hammer-DEF:CL-INST   3sg   hit:1sg
             'I use the hammer to hit it.'

         b. *qa-ŋuə̠ɲi*   *the:*   *ʁduaʂ-te:-wu*   *dʑeta.*
             1sg-TOP   3sg   hammer-DEF:CL-INST   hit:1sg
             'I use *the hammer* to hit it.'

         c. *qa*   *ʁduaʂ-te:-wu*   *the:*   *zə-me-dʑa.*   (< dʑete)
             1sg   hammer-DEF:CL-INST   3sg   DIR-NEG-hit:1sg
             'I didn't use the hammer to hit it.'

(3.147) *qa* <u>*ʐɑwə-le:-wu*</u> *ʁduaʂ* *ha-ŋu̯ə-ʐə-ȵi*
1sg stone-DEF:CL-INST hammer DIR-COP-CAUS-ADV
tintsə *ʐeta.* (< ʐete)
nail pound:1sg
'I used the stone as a hammer to pound in the nail.'

(3.148) *fa-tsa-qəi-ŋuəȵi* *qa* <u>*ʁosu-pi-wu*</u> *zə-p-ji* *ŋuə.*
clothing-this:one-CL-TOP 1sg fifty-CL-INST DIR-buy-CSM COP
'This item of clothing I bought with fifty dollars.'

3.2.13. Comitative, conjunction

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

(3.149) *mə-ȵa-ɣlu-jə-tʂ-ŋuəȵi,* *zuamə-ɸu-o-ʐgu-ta*
brother-COM-sister-two-CL-TOP cypress-tree-one-CL-LOC
i-pi-χua-ȵi, *ɦo-mu-xtɕu-wei.* (T1:2-4)
DIR-hide-because-ADV DIR-NEG-burn-INF:HS
'Because the brother and sister hid in a cypress tree, they did not get burned.'

(3.150) *mutsitʂu-ȵa-tugantʂu* *zəpəq-ta* *ɦo-lu-a:-ji.* (T2:1)
Mutsitʂu-COM-Tugantʂu earth-LOC DIR-come-PRS-CSM
'Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu wanted to come to earth.'

(3.151) *qa   khumtsi-n̨a   tiantsə-ʁa   ka:.*
        1sg   Khumtsi-COM   store-LOC   go:PRS:1sg
        'I am going to go to the store with Khumtsi.'

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

(3.152) a. *the:-n̨a-themle-tatə   a-qəs   we-(tɕi).*
           3sg-COM-3pl-daddy   one-form   exist-3pl
           'He and his father are the same.'

        b. *the: themle-tatə-n̨a   a-qəs   we.*
           3sg   3pl-father-COM   one-form   exist
           'He is a lot like his father.'

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

(3.153) *ʔiʔi-n̨a   tɕe-khue.*
        2sgREFL-COM   NEG.IMP-upset
        'Don't be mad at yourself.'

(3.154) *kapətʂ-tou   . . .   χa-le:-n̨a*
        orphan-DEF:one:CL   needle-DEF:CL-COM
        e-tʂepe-kəi-tɕu.   (T3:5-10)
        DIR-meet-INF:HS-PART
        'The orphan . . . met (with) a needle.'

(3.155) *ʔũ-n̨a   ɦa-sə-n̨i   ɕtɕi-kų̆ə   na-wa.*
        2sg-COM   DIR-know-ADV   heart-base good-very
        'I am very happy to know (meet) you.'

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

3.2.14. Possessor in a possessive clause

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

(3.156) a. *qɑ-dzoqu-ji-tuɑ   wa.*   (< we)
            1sg-leg-two-CL   exist:1sg   (connected to main entity)
            'I have two legs.' (lit.: 'My two legs exist.')

      b. *ʔ̃ũ-dʐoʁu-le: qɑ-ta   ʂə.*   (inanimate)
            2sg-key-DEF:CL   1sg-LOC   exist
            'Your key is at my place.' / 'I have your key.'

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

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

(3.157)   *khumtsi   dzəgu̱   kən   a-ha   ʂə-ʐ.*   (inanimate)
          Khumtsi   money   very   one-pl   exist-CAUS
          'Khumtsi has a lot of money. '

(3.158)   *khumtsi   tutʂ-ɣʐə-zi   ʐi-ʐ.*   (animate)
          Khumtsi   younger.brother-four-CL   exist-CAUS
          'Khumtsi has four younger brothers.'

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

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

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

(3.160)   a.   *ʔũ   ʂku   qusu   qəqe-n.*
               2sg   gold   much   have-2sg
               'You have a lot of gold.'

          b.   *qupu   tɕymi   ʁua-tʂ   qəqe.*
               3sg   child   five-CL   have
               'S/he has five children.'

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

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

(3.161)   a.   *xtʂepi*   *ʂə-ʐ-əm*   (inanimate)
             knife   exist-CAUS-NOM
             '(the) person with (the) knife'

        b.   *xtʂepi*   *ma-ʂ-ʐ-əm*   (inanimate)
             knife   NEG-exist-CAUS-NOM
             '(the) person without (the) knife'

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

(3.162)   a.   *the:*   *qhu-s*   *we.*   (connected to main entity)
             3sg   hate-NOM   exist
             'S/he is very mischievous.'

        b.   *the:*   *qəpatʂ*   *le.*   (inside vessel)
             3sg   head   exist
             'S/he is very brainy.' (cf. English *She's got a head on her shoulders)*

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

3.2.15. Genitive

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

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

(3.163) a. *ɕiautʂaŋ-tɕə   puɳu*   b. *the:-tɕ   pi:*
             Little.Zhang-GEN   cat   3sg-GEN   pen
             'Little Zhang's cat'   'his/her pen'

(3.164) a. *qa-tɕ   ləɣz*   b. *ʔũ-tɕ   tɕiʁa*
             1sg-GEN   book   2sg GEN   house
             'my book'   'your house'

(3.165) a. *khuə   sikue*   b. *səf   qə-sta*
             dog   tail   tree   head-place
             '(a) dog's tail'   'top half of a tree'

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

(3.166) *ɕiautʂaŋ-tɕə-puɳu-le: tə-zdʑi.*
         Little.Zhang-GEN-cat-DEF:CL   DIR-sick
         Little Zhang's cat is sick.

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

(3.167) *tse: nəp-tɕ-pautʂə   ŋuə.*
         this:CL   last.year-GEN-newspaper   COP
         'This is last year's newspaper.'

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

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

3.2.16. Whole-part relations

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

(3.168) a. *themle-ʁa   xsə-zi   kə-s   ŋuə.*
          3pl-LOC   three-CL   go-NOM   COP
          'From among them, three people must go.'

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

(3.169) *themle   wu   stuaha   sə-tɕ-jy-(tɕi).*   (< tɕhə)
      3pl   all   rice/food   DIR-eat-ASP-3pl
      'They have all eaten.'

(3.170) a. *tʂi-ji-tʂ-ŋuəɳi   u-tɕu-s   me-ʐi-ji-(tɕi).*
          boy-two-CL-TOP   DIR-see-NOM   NEG-exist-CSM-3pl
          'Two of the boys (among them) have disappeared.'

      b. *tʂi-a-ha-ŋuəɳi   u-tɕu-s   me-ʐi-ji-(tɕi).*
          boy-one-pl-TOP   DIR-see-NOM   NEG-exist-CSM-3pl
          'Some of the boys have disappeared.'

(3.171) *stuaha*   *sə-tɕ-əm*[49]   *me-ʐi.*   (< tɕhə)
         rice/food   DIR-eat-NOM   NEG-exist
         'No one has eaten.'

3.2.17. Price, value

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

(3.172) *fa-tsa-qəi-ŋuəɻ̩i*   *qa* *ʁosu-pi-wu* *zə-p-ji*   *ŋuə.*
         clothes-this:one-CL-TOP 1sg fifty-CL-INST DIR-buy-CSM COP
         'I bought this piece of clothing for 50 dollars.'

(3.173) *fa-tha-qəi-ŋuəɻ̩i*   *qupu*   *ʁosu-pi-(ʁa)* *χua.*
         clothes-that:one-CL-TOP 3sg   fifty-CL-LOC   sell
         'S/he is selling that piece of clothing for fifty dollars.'

(3.174) *pi-tsa-la*   *e-khe-pi*   *ləla*   *dʐə.*
         pen-this:one-CL   one-hundred-CL   exchange   can
         'This pen is worth one hundred dollars.'

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

(3.175) *fa-tha-qəi-ŋuəɲi*   *ʁosu-pi*   *lu.*
clothes-that:one-CL-TOP   fifty-CL   worth
'That piece of clothing is worth fifty dollars.'

3.2.18. Extent, distance

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

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

(3.177) *hotɕu-tʂan-ti-wi-tɕ-səf*
ten-zhàng(CL)-DIR-tall-GEN-tree
'a ten-zhang[50] tall tree'

(3.178) *ʁua-stu-li-dʐə-tɕ-gue:[1]*
five-thousand-lĭ(CL)-long-GEN-road
'a distance (road) of five thousand li'

3.2.19. Inclusion, exclusion, addition

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

(3.179) *khumtsi*   *me-tɕhi*   *e-ɣle[1]wu*   *lu-ji-(tɕi).*
Khumtsi   NEG-only   one-pl:all   come-CSM-3pl
'Not just Khumtsi, but everyone came.'

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

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

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

(3.181) *khumtsi   mɑ-ŋ̍ʉə̯-ji   e-ɣleˉwu   lu-ji-(tɕi).*
        Khumtsi   NEG-COP-EXC   one-pl:all   come-CSM-3pl
        'Except for Khumtsi, everyone came.'

(3.182) *khumtsi mɑ-ŋ̍ʉə̯-ji   e-ɣleˉwu   mo-lu-ji-(tɕi).*
        Khumtsi NEG-COP-EXC   one-pl:all   NEG-come-CSM-3pl
        'No one came except Khumtsi / Only Khumtsi came.'

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

(3.183) *qa   ɣlu-o-u-tɕi   me-ʐi.*[51](3sg person marking)
        1sg   younger.sister-one-CL-EXC   NEG-exist
        'I only have one younger sister.'
        (lit.: 'Aside from my younger sister, there is no one.')

(3.184) *qa   ʐdʑyta: mɑ-ŋ̍ʉə̯-tɕi   mɑ-ka.*   (< kə)
        1sg   Chengdu:LOC   NEG-COP-EXC   NEG-go:1sg
        'I only go to Chengdu.'
        (lit.: 'I don't go anyplace that is not Chengdu.')

Either [mɑŋ̍ʉə̯-tɕi] or [tɕi ~ ji ~ jə][52] alone are possible, but the former is more emphatic. Compare the following two examples:

(3.185) a. *qa   fa-a-qəi-tɕi   mɑ-ʂə-ʐɑ.*   (< ʐə)
           1sg   clothes-one-CL-EXC   NEG-exist-CAUS:1sg
           'I only have one piece of clothing.'

b. *qa   fa-a-qəi   ma-ŋu̯ə-tɕi   ma-ʂə-ʐa.*   (< ʐə)
    1sg clothes-one-CL NEG-COP-EXC   NEG-exist-CAUS:1sg
    'I only have one piece of clothing.'

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

(3.186) *təp-ɳi-jə   dʐə   me-we.* (no reference to person)
        tomorrow-ADV-EXC   thing NEG-exist
        'I'm free (there is nothing) until tomorrow.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.20. Locative, directional phrases

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

(3.190) a. *petɕin-(la)* *ʐi*   b. *petɕin-la* *kə*
             Beijing-LOC exist   Beijing-LOC go
             '(someone) is in Beijing'   'go to Beijing'

(3.191) a. *tɕəu-la*   b. *tɕəu-la-wu*
             home-LOC   family-LOC-ABL
             'at home'   'from home'

(3.192) *the:*   *tɕiʁua-le:-ta*   *da-qa.*
         3sg   house-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-go:1sg
         'I went to his/her house.'

(3.193) a. *bəiχa   tʂuatsə-le:-məq-ta   la.*
          housefly   table-DEF:CL-above-LOC   fly
          'A fly is flying above the table.'

       b. *bəiχa   tʂuatsə-le:-ʂqəl-la   ʐi.*
          housefly   table-DEF:CL-under-LOC   exist
          'A fly is under the table.'

(3.194) a. *pi-le: tʂuatsə-le:-ta   ʂə.*
          pen-DEF:CL   table-DEF:CL-LOC   exist
          'The pen is on the table.'

       b. *the: za   ʁa   bələ-s-ta   he-the-wa.*
          3sg   land   LOC   do/work-NOM-LOC   DIR-capable-very
          'She is very good at working in the fields.'

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

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

The locational nouns /steke/ 'behind', /məq/ 'top, above', /ʐekʉ/ 'between, center', /ʂqəl/ 'below', /pienɑ/ 'near, (be)side', and /qə:/[1] 'before' do not require the genitive marker when in a genitive relation with a noun (e.g. /tɕiʁuɑ-le:-pienɑ/ 'beside the house', lit.: 'the house's side'). Use of the locative postposition with bisyllabic locational nouns is optional, but monosyllabic locational nouns must take a locative marker.

(3.196) a. *ʂqəl-la   kə*   b. *ʐekʉ-ta*
          under-LOC   go   between-LOC
          'go under'   'between (two things)'

(3.197) a. *ʁua-la*   *ʐi*   b. *tɕiʁua-le:-piena*   *ʐi*
             out-LOC   exist   house-DEF:CL-near   exist
             '(a person) is outside'   '(a person) is near the house'

(3.198) *tɕiʁua-le:-piena-la*   *kə*
         house-DEF:CL-nearby-LOC   go
         'go to the area near the house'

(3.199) a. *tʂhetsə-le:-qe:ˡ-la*   *ʐi*
             car-DEF:CL-before-LOC   exist
             '(a person) is in front of the car'

         b. *tʂhetsə-le:-steke-la*   *ʐi*
             car-DEF:CL-behind-LOC exist
             '(a person) is in back of the car'

(3.200) a. *tʂuatsə-le:-piena-la*   *ʐi*
             table-DEF:CL-nearby-LOC   exist
             '(a person) is beside the table'

         b. *ʁopu-le:-ta*   *da-qa*
             mountain-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-go
             'go over the mountain'

(3.201) a. *the-xʂ-ta*   b. *the:-xʂ-ta*
             that-side-LOC   that-side-LOC
             'on that side'   'on that side (farther away)'

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

(3.202) a. *pankoŋʂə-ʁa*   *ʐi*
             office-LOC   exist
             '(a person) is in the office'

b. *pankoŋʂə-ʁa   ə-qa*
   office-LOC   DIR-go
   'enter the office'

c. *the: ləɣz   su-ʁa   tshimpe-wa.*
   3sg   book   study-LOC   smart-very
   'She is very good at her studies.'
   (lit.: 'She is smart in her studies.')

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

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

         b. *petɕin-wu*
            Beijing-ABL
            'from Beijing'

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

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

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

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

(3.206) a. *pankoŋʂə-ʁa-wu ha-la*
        office-LOC-ABL   DIR-come
        'came out of the office'

     b. *tse-xʂe-wu   da-qa*
        this-side-ABL   DIR-go
        'cross over (go over from here)'

The postposition /-wu/ can also be used with a perlative meaning, 'along':

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

3.2.21. Temporal phrases

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

(3.208) *qa   a-i   pe-ȵi   lu-a:.*
        1sg   one-time   become-ADV   come-PRS:1sg
        'I'll come in a minute.'

(3.209) *qa   a-p   ʐa:.*   (< ʐi)
        1sg   one-year   exist:PRS:1sg
        'I'm going to stay one year.' (not there yet)

(3.210) a. *a-s-məqa*   b. *a-p-məqa*   c. *nə-s*
             one-day-each   one-year-each   last-day
             'each day'   'each year'   'yesterday'

(3.211) a. *ɕintɕhiji⁵⁴-ʁa*   b. *tha-s-ʁa*
             Monday-LOC   that:one-day-LOC
             'on Monday'   '(on) that day'

(3.212) a. *jə-ɕ-ʁa*   b. *jə-ɕə-tɕ-ju-tɕu-ʁa*
             two-month-LOC   two-month-GEN-two-first-LOC
             'in February'   'on the second of February'

(3.213) a. *ɕtɕi-tian-ʁa*   b. *ʐme-dʑe-ʁa*
             seven-o'clock-LOC   Qiang-festival-LOC
             'at seven'   'at the Qiang Festival'

(3.214) a. *jitɕəuwupaȵian-ʁa*   b. *suəq-ta*
             1958-LOC   autumn/winter-LOC
             'in 1958'   'in autumn/winter'

(3.215) a. *tsaq-ȵi*   b. *dza:-tɕikụ-ȵi*
             spring/summer-ADV   lunch-before-ADV
             'in spring/summer'   'in the morning'

(3.216) a. *jə-p   pe-ji*
             two-years   become-CSM
             'two years ago (two years have passed)'

         b. *jə-s   pe-ȵike*
             two-days   become-after
             'after two days'

(3.217) *eiȵi-ȵike   qa   tsa   ʐa:.   (< ʐi)*
         next.year-after   1sg   here   exist:PRS:1sg
         'After next year I am going to be here.'

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

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

(3.219)   *ɕintɕhiji-wu*
          Monday-ABL
          'starting Monday'

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

(3.220)   *a-s-ʁa-ŋuəɳi*   *mi-ʁua-tʂ*   *i-pə-l.*
          one-day-LOC-TOP   person-five-CL   DIR-arrive-come
          'In one day five people came.'

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

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

(3.222)   *ʐme-dʑe-ŋuəɳi*   *suəq-ɳi*   *ŋuə.*
          Qiang-festival-TOP   autumn/winter-ADV   COP
          'The Qiang festival is in autumn.'

(3.223)   *tse:*   *nəp-tɕ-pautʂə*   *ŋuə.*
          this:CL   last.year-GEN-newspaper   COP
          'This is last year's newspaper.'

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

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

    Some of the locational nouns are also used in a temporal sense, such as /steke/ 'behind', which is used for the meaning 'after (that time)', and /qə:¹/ 'before', which is used for the meaning 'before (that time)'. The latter is often used at the beginning of stories with the meaning 'long long ago . . .' (see ex. (3.45), above).

(3.225) *steke-ta*   *mi*   *pe¹ʐə-s*   *ŋuə-χua-n̠i, . . .*
        after-LOC   person   raise-NOM   COP-because-ADV
        'Later, in order to propagate descendants, . . .'   (T1:4-5)

(3.226) *qə:¹*   *jautsan*   *dʐemi*
        before   man.eating.devil (proper name)
        pe-m-le: (T6:192-193)
        become-NOM-DEF:CL
        'the one who had before become the man-eating devil Dʐemi'

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

(3.227) *tɕile-tɕ*   *jautɕhiu tɕiu-ʂə,*   *n̠iuχuan-ŋuən̠i* *a-tɕ,*
        1pl-GEN   demand just-is⁵⁵   bezoar-TOP   one-catty
        the-wu,   *mudʐu-ŋuən̠i* *a-w*   *phə*   *tɕhe-wa.*
        that-ABL   charcoal-TOP one-pile burn(blow) want-DTV
        'Our demand is that we want one catty of bezoar (a kind of medicine), and after that a pile of charcoal should be burned.'

(3.228) *tʂi* *pe-tu,*   *ɕtɕə-p*   *le-n̠i*   *ləɣz*
        boy become-LNK   seven-year exist-ADV book
        ta:-su-wa,   *the-wu*   *hatʂi-p*   *le-n̠i*
        DIR:INDTV-study-DTV that-ABL   eleven-year exist-ADV

> *qa   ta:-me¹ʐ-wa.*
> 1sg   DIR:INDTV-look for-DTV
> 'If it is a boy, (when the boy) is seven years old, have him
> study, after that, (when) he is eleven years old, have him come
> look for me.'

3.2.22. Form-function summary of relational marking

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

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

(3.229)   *mə   ȵa   ɣlu   jə-tʂ-**ŋuəȵi**,*
older.brother   COM   younger.sister   two-CL-TOP
zuamə-ɸu   o-ʐgu-ta   i-pi-χua-ȵi,
cypress-tree   one-CL-LOC   DIR-hide-because-ADV
ɦo-mu-xtɕu-wei.   (T1:2-4)
DIR-NEG-burn-INF:HS
'The brother and sister, because (they) hid in a cypress tree, they didn't burn (up).'

(3.230)   a.   "*ʂkup-te:-**wu**   maha   qa   dzə   la:"*
orangutan-DEF:CL-AGT   night   1sg   eat   come-PRS
jə-ʂə, . . .   (T3:13-14)
say-LNK
'"The orangutan is going to come and eat me", he said, . . .'

b.   *mə-le: tə-khueq,   duaʁl-le:-**wu***
older.brother-DEF:CL   DIR-angry   scythe-DEF:CL-INST
səxte-ȵi . . .   (T1:13-14)
chop-LNK
'The brother got angry and chopped (it) with a scythe . . .'

c.   *ʁu-q-ta-**wu**   ɦo-ɣlu,*   (T1:7)
mountain-peak(head)-LOC-ABL   DIR-roll
'(They) rolled it down from the mountain top.'

d.   *tsə-le:-piena-**wu**   kə*
water-DEF:CL-nearby-ABL   go
'going along the river'

(3.231)   a.   "*qa-**tɕ**-tʂi,   ȵiɣi   pənsə   u-su-n-aʔ"   jə-kui,*
1sg-GEN-son   what   ability   DIR-learn-2sg-Q   say-INF:HS
'"My son, what ability did you learn?", she said.'   (T5:47)

b.   *ma:-le:-**tɕ**-ŋuəȵi   ɕi-ŋuəȵi . . .   pantɕin*
mom-DEF:CL-GEN-TOP   wine-TOP   half.catty
lie-kəpə-kui-wa.   (T5:19-20)
carry-HABIT-INF:HS-EMPH
'For his mom (he) would bring back half a catty of liquor.'

(3.232) a. *qeˑlotʂu-ʁa, mutu-la   mujuqu̧ ʐguə-zi we-i.*
             the.past-LOC heaven-LOC   sun   nine-CL exist-HS
             'In the past there were nine suns in the sky.'   (T1:1)

         b. *mutu-la   tɕe-tse-ʂu.*   (T2:12)
             heaven-LOC   NEG.IMP-look-DTV
             'Do not look towards the heavens.'

(3.233) a. *buzd-le:-ku-ta   ɦa-nə-kui-tɕu.* (T3:115-16)
             plank.stairs-DEF:CL-foot-LOC DIR-sleep-INF:HS-PART
             '(The stone mortar) slept at the foot of the stairs.'

         b. *themle   zəpəq-ta   i-pə-l-n̪ike, . . .*   (T2:22)
             3pl   world-LOC   DIR-arrive-come-after
             'After they returned to the world, . . .'

         c. *steke-ta   mi   peˑʐə-s   ŋuə-χua-n̪i, . . .*
             later-LOC   people raise(child)-NOM   COP-because-ADV
             'Later, in order to propagate descendants, . . .'   (T1:4-5)

         d. *tʂhuatsə-le: sə-ta   tə-χua:-n-a?*
             table-DEF:CL   who-LOC   DIR-sell:PRS-2sg-Q
             'To whom are you going to sell the table?'

(3.234) a. *upu-bəs-te: qhaˑʁue-law-ʁa*
             uncle-snake-DEF:CL stone.pile-DEF:one:CL-LOC
             i-pə-k.   (T4:18)
             DIR-arrive-go
             'Uncle Snake went into a stone pile'

         b. *xsə-s-ʁa   i-me-tɕi-pə-l.*   (T6:327-328)
             three-day-LOC   DIR-NEG-CON-arrive-come
             'On the third day (they) had not yet come.'

(3.235) *qa   tɕəu-la   ou-tɕi   me-ʐa-wa.*   (< ʐi)
         1sg   home-LOC   one:CL-EXC   NEG-exist:1sg-EMPH
         'I am the only one at home'
         (lit.: 'Except for me there is no one at home.')

(3.236) a. *mə*   **ŋa** *ɣlu*   *lə-zi*   *i-dʐi-tɕi.*
         older.brother COM younger.sister DEF-CL DIR-discuss-3pl
         'The brother and sister talked (it) over.'   (T1:5-6)

     b. *ʔile-ep-te:*   *lə*   *tsoqpi*   **ŋa**
         2pl-father-DEF:CL   also this.family COM
         quəqua-s-ta-ŋuəȵi   *die-ʂe-jə-ka:-ji.*   (T6:336-338)
         fight-NOM-LOC-TOP   DIR-die-REP-INF:PRS-CSM
         'When your father also fought with this person he perhaps died.'

(3.237) a. *the:*   *qa-**s***   *a-zə*   *ti-wi.*
         3sg   1sg-COMP   one-CL   DIR-tall
         'S/he is a bit taller than I am.' (from Huang 1998:62)

     b. *qa*   *ʔ̃ũ-**ȵiki***   *ma-wa.*   (< ba)
         1sg   2sg-COMP   NEG-big:1sg
         'I am not as big as you are.'

(3.238) *maha-**ȵi***   *fio-lu-kəpə-wa.*   (T3:24)
         night-ADV   DIR-come-HABIT-EMPH
         '(He) comes at night.'

(3.239) *the:*   *qa-**χua-ȵi***   *sə*   *gue-k.*
         3sg   1sg-BEN-ADV   firewood   chop-go
         'He went to chop wood for me.'

Chapter 4
The verb complex

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

4.1. Structure

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

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

prefixes
1. intensifying adverb
2. direction/orientation prefix or 3rd person indirect directive marking prefix (or the two combined as one syllable)
3. simple negation /mə-/ or prohibitive /tɕə-/ prefix
4. continuative aspect marking prefix /tɕi-/

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suffixes
5. causative marking suffix /-ʐ/
6. prospective aspect marking suffix /-ɑː/
7. auxiliary directional verb /kə/ 'go' or /lə/ 'come'
8. repetition marking suffix /-jə/
9. change of state aspect marking suffix /-ji/
10. 1st person indirect directive marking suffix /-l-/
11. inferential evidential and mirative marking suffix /-k/
12. visual evidential marking suffix /-u/
13. non-actor person marking (1sg /-ʂɑ/, 2sg /-sɑn/, 1pl /-ʂəⁱ/, 2pl /-sɑi/, 3sg/pl [-wu/ ~ -u])
14. actor person marking (1sg /-ɑ/, 2sg /-n/, 1pl /-əⁱ/, 2pl /-i/, 3pl /-tɕi/)
15. hearsay evidential marking suffix /-i/

Figure 3. The structure of the Qiang verb complex

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

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

4.2. Verb types

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

4.2.1. Intransitive, transitive, reciprocal

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

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

(4.1) a. *ʐawa   ɦo-ɣlu.*   b. *qa   ʐawa   ɦo-ɣlu-a.*
           stone   DIR-roll   1sg stone   DIR-roll-1sg
           'The stone rolled down.'   'I rolled the stone down.'

       c. *qa   ʐawa   ɦo-ɣlu-ʐ-a.*
           1sg   stone   DIR-roll-CAUS-1sg
           'I caused the stone to roll down.'

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

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

(4.2) *χsutu*   'jump'   *ɕete*   'smell (v.)'
       qhutu   'spread, sprinkle'   *phəte*   'spit'
       ʐgutu   'throw'   *tshuete* 'peck'
       ɳete   'lick'   *ʐete*   'pound, knock'
       dʑete   'hit'   *lete*   'spin (yarn)'
       tshuate 'stamp the feet'   *phete*   'wag, shake, pat'
       ɣliete   'rub between the hands' *khəʔte*   'hit (people)'
       tshuate 'chop (e.g. meat)'   *ʁuəte*   'throw'
       wəte   'stir'

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

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

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

(4.3)　a.　*ʁu*　'curse'　　　>　　*ʁuʁu*　　　　'curse each other'
　　　　b.　*zdə* 'connect'　　>　　*zdəzdə*　　　'mutually connect'
　　　　c.　*ʁua* 'help'　　　>　　*ʁuəʁua*　　　'help each other'

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

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

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

(4.5)　*the:*　　　*sə*　　　　　*qhiqhi.*　　　　　　　　(< qhi)
　　　　3sg　　　firewood　　　chopping
　　　　'He is chopping firewood.'

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

(4.6) a. *khumtsi-ɳa-χumʈʂi*   *quəqua-tɕi.*   (< quɑ)
            Khumtsi-COM-Xumʈʂi   fight:RECIP-3pl
            'Khumtsi and Xumʈʂi are fighting.'

       b. *thizzi e:-wu   e:-ta   fa   phiᴵphiᴵ-tɕi.*
           3dl   one:CL-AGT one:CL-DAT clothing tear:RECIP-3pl
           'The two of them tore each other's clothes.'

In the negative, verbs do not require reduplication to be reciprocal, such as /sə/ 'to know (a person)' in (4.7). In the positive this would be [səsə:ᴵ].

(4.7) *tɕile   ma-sə:ᴵ.*
       1pl   NEG-know:1pl
       'We don't know each other.' (or 'We don't know it/him/her')

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

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

4.2.2. Causatives

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

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

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

(4.8) *moʁu-wu*   *qa*   *da-tuə-ʐ.*
       wind-AGT   1sg   DIR-fall.over-CAUS
       'The wind knocked me down.'

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

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

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

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

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

Unmarked intransitive:

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

Causativized intransitive:

(4.11) a. *qa   tsə   tu-χsu-ʐ̩-ja.*   (< ji + ɑ)
            1sg   water   DIR-boil-CAUS-CSM:1sg
            'I brought the water to a boil.'

        b. *qa   the: ʑdʑyta: ləɣz   su-kʉ-ʐa:.*   (< ʐə)
            1sg   3sg   Chengdu:LOC   book   study-go-CAUS:PRS
            'I am going to make him/her go to Chengdu to study (attend
            school).'

Causativized transitive:

(4.12) a. *xsə-han   thuntʂə   tu-p-ʐ̩ə.*   (T5:297)
            three-kind   notify   DIR-do-CAUS
            '(These) three things you must proclaim (to the people).'
            (lit.: cause someone to notify them')

        b. *qa   the:-wu   ləɣz   a-fəŋ   ɦe-ʐ̩i-ʐa.*   (< ʐə)
            1sg   3sg-AGT   book   one-CL   DIR-write-CAUS:1sg
            'I made him write a letter.'

        c. *χumtʂi   qa-wu   ʔũ   zə-dʑə-ʐ̩.*⁵⁸   (< ʐə)
            Xumtʂi   1sg-AGT   2sg   DIR-hit-CAUS
            'Xumtʂi made me hit you.'

Causativized ditransitive:

(4.13) *qa   χumtʂi-wu   ləɣz-te-pen   khumtsi-ta*
        1sg   Xumtʂi-AGT   book-DEF-CL   Khumtsi-LOC

tə-χua-ʐa:.   (< ʐ̩ə)
DIR-buy-CAUS:PRS:1sg
'I'm going to make Xumtʂi buy the book for Khumtsi.'

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

(4.14) a. *khuə-le:*   *puɳu*   *ha-ŋuə-ʐ.*
            dog-DEF:CL   cat   DIR-COP-CAUS
            'Make the dog replace/become the cat.' (Treat the dog as a cat.˚

        b. *tɕile the: ɦa-staqə-ɳi*   *linthau*   *ŋuə-ʐa:.*   (< ʐ̩ə)
            1pl   3sg   DIR-choose-ADV   leader   COP-CAUS:PRS
            'We chose him to be leader.'

In (4.14b), the verb /staqə/ 'choose' appears in a manner adverbial phrase modifying the main verb of the clause, the causativized copula, to express how the causee became the leader.[59]
   Causatives can also be used with reciprocals:

(4.15) *qa*   *thizzi*   *ləla-ʐa:.*   (< ʐ̩ə)
        1sg   3dl   exchange-CAUS:PRS:1sg
        'I had the two of them exchange with each other.'

(4.16) *qa*   *thizzi quəqua-ʐa:.*   (< ʐ̩ə)
        1sg   3dl   hit:REFL-CAUS:PRS:1sg
        'I had the two of them hit each other.'

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

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

(4.17)   simplex   causative
      a. *de-pe*   *ɦe-phe*   'tear (of clothes)'
      b. *da-ʁe*   *ɦa-qhe*   'break (of bowls, etc.)'
      c. *da-ʁli*   *ɦa-χɬi*   'break (in two) (of tree limbs, etc.)'

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

4.2.3. Intransitive state predicate verbs (adjectives)

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

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

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

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

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

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

          c. *the: a-za   ti-wi.*
                  3sg   one-CL   DIR-tall
                  'He is a bit taller.'

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

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

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

(4.20) a. *qhal   patʂpatʂ-ke:*
             steamed.bun   round.round-INDEF:CL
              'round steamed buns' (lit.: 'steamed buns, round ones')

        b. *fa   n̠iqn̠iqu:-ke:*
             clothing   black.black-INDEF:CL
              'very black clothing' (lit.: 'clothing, black ones')

   c. *paţşu:paţş*   *pana*   *la-ha*   *tɕa-la*   *şə?*
      round.round thing DEF:one-pl where-LOC exist
      'Where are the very round things?'

In most cases reduplicated forms do not modify a noun, but instead are simply nominalized by /-ke/ and used with the copula (e.g. [qhɑl paţşpaţş-ke: ŋuə] '*qhɑl* (steamed buns) are round things').

Adjectives are generally only nominalized by the definite and indefinite markers or reduplication, although, as mentioned in Section 3.1, in certain situations they can also be nominalized by /-m/ and /-tɕ/ (see §5.2 on these nominalizers). In the case of /-m/ nominalization, the referent is generally a person, as in the following examples:

(4.21) a. *mi*   *ba-m*   b. *mi*   *ti-wi-m*
         person big-NOM   person DIR-tall-NOM
         '(a) big person'   '(a) tall person'

In these particular examples, there are two noun phrases in apposition to each other, something like 'a person, a big one'. This contrasts with the usual form of the adjective without nominalization, e.g. *mi ba* [person big] 'big person'. In the case of nominalization by /-m/ or /-tɕ/, the form would generally be followed by the indefinite or definite marker, as in the following example:

(4.22) *fa*   *ɕupu-tɕ-ke:*   *şə.*
      clothing   red-GEN-INDEF:CL   exist
      'There is an item of red clothing.'

Although this form looks similar to a single noun phrase which has both a post-head adjective and indefinite marking (i.e. [fɑ-ɕupu-ke:] (clothing-red-INDEF:CL)), it is clearly two noun phrases, as the order of the two noun phrases could be reversed. This structure is used for emphasizing the quality of the referent in question, such as in a contrastive context.

Some adjectives are formed from noun + verb combinations with metaphorical meanings. Following are some examples using the noun /ɕtɕi:(mi)/ 'heart':

(4.23) a. ҫtҫi:mi-ʐdʑi   'sad'   <   'heart' + 'painful'
        b. ҫtҫi:mi-ba   'brave'   <   'heart' + ҫtҫi-ku̥ə̰-nɑ
        c. ҫtҫi-ku̥ə̰-nɑ   'happy'   <   'heart' + 'base' + 'good'

If a prepositional adverb modifies the verb, it appears after the noun and before the verb, e.g. [ҫtҫi-ku̥ə̰ kən nɑ] 'very happy'.

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

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

Modifying a noun:

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

Nominalized:

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

With prospective aspect marking:[62]

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

With person marking:

(4.27) a. *qa*   *ti-wia.*   b. *tҫile*   *ti-wiə̰¹.*   (< tiwi)
            1sg   DIR-tall:1sg   1pl   DIR-tall:1pl
            'I am tall/taller.'   'We are tall/taller.'

c. *ʔũ*   *ti-wi-n*   d. *ʔile*   *ti-wi-i.*
   2sg   DIR-tall-2sg   2pl   DIR-tall-2pl
   'You are tall/taller.'   'You(pl) are tall/taller. '

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

4.2.4. Existential/locative verbs

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

(4.28) *tʂuats-məq-ta*   *ləɣz-e-pen*   *ʂə.*   (inanimate)
       table-top-LOC   book-one-CL   exist
       'There is a book on the table.'

(4.29) *ku-ta*   *pi-ɑ-la*   *xu.*   (inaminate)
       floor-LOC   pen-one-CL   exist
       'There is a pen on the floor.'

(4.30) *zə-ʁa*   *jajəŋy̨*   *le.*[63]   (inside vessel)
        ground-LOC   potato   exist
        'There are potatoes in the ground.'

(4.31) *səf-tho-ʐgu-ta*   *wətshi-o-u*   *ʐi.*   (animate)
        tree-that:one-CL-LOC   sparrow-one-CL   exist
        'There is a sparrow in that tree.'

(4.32) a. *qəl-la*   *səf-o-ʐgu*   *we.*   (immovable, connected
            below-LOC   tree-one-CL   exist   to major entity)
            'There is a tree below.'

        b. *qa*   *dʐoqu-ji-tua*   *wa.*   (< we + ɑ)
            1sg   leg-two-CL   exist:1sg   (immovable, connected
            'I have two legs.'   to major entity)

        c. *the:*   *tʂheχuo*   *de-w(e).*   (happening)
            3sg   car.accident   DIR-exist
            'He had a car accident.'

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

(4.33) a. *tsə-ʁa*   *ʁzə*   *le.*   (inside vessel)
            water-LOC   fish   exist
            'There are fish in the water.'

        b. *tsə-ʁa*   *ʁzə*   *ʐi.*   (animate)
            water-LOC   fish   water
            'There are fish in the water.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4.36) a. *tsa   mi   ʐi-wa.*
          here person   exist-very
          'There are many people here.'

      b. *tsa   mi   tsan   me-ʐi.*
          here person   too   NEG-exist
          'There are not too many people here.'

      c. *le* 'exist (inside)'   >   *ləle* 'put inside'

      d. ʂə 'exist (inanimate)' **>**   ʂəʂə 'put (someplace)'

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

4.2.5. 'Come' and 'go'

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

4.2.6. Auxiliary verbs

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

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

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

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

(4.37) a. *the: tha-ʐi   kə   ʁu.*
       3sg   there-exist thus   willing/allow
         'S/he might be there.'

      b. *pəs   mə   ma-χqa,   tshəi   tə-ɳiχ   ʁu.*
         today   weather NEG-clear prickly.ash.peel DIR-black will
         'Today the weather is not good, the prickly ash peel will become black.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

      b. *kə   ma-tɕi-ʁze!*[65]
         go   NEG-CON-must
         '(You/we) needn't / shouldn't go yet!'

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

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

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

(4.42) *ɕoɕau-ʁa   ʐme-ʐ   dʐe   ɦe-se.*
      school-LOC   Qiang-language speak   DIR-allow
      'Speaking Qiang is permitted in school.'

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

4.2.7. The copula

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

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

(4.43) *pəs*   *xsə-ɕə-tɕ-ʁo-tɕu.*
        today   three-month-GEN-five-beginning
        'Today is March fifth.'

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

(4.44) a. *qa-wu*   *the:*   *zə-dʑi*   *ŋua.*   (< ŋuə)
            1sg-AGT   3sg   DIR-hit   COP:1sg
            'I hit him (emphatic) / I am the one who hit him.'

        b. *ʔũ-wu*   *the:*   *zə-dʑi*   *ŋuə-n.*
            2sg-AGT   3sg   DIR-hit   COP-2sg
            'You hit him (emphatic) / You are the one who hit him.'

4.3. Verbal morphology

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

4.3.1. Perspective

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

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

Compare the following three examples:

(4.45) a. *qa   khuə-e-zi   zə-pa.*   (< pə)
         1sg   dog-one-CL   DIR-buy:1sg
         'I bought a dog.'

     b. *khuə-le: qa-wu   pa: lu.*
         dog-DEF:CL 1sg-AGT buy:1sg:PRS will
         'I will buy the dog.' ('The dog I will buy.')

     c. *khuə-le: qa-(wu)   zə-p-ji   ŋuə.*
         dog-DEF:CL 1sg-AGT   DIR-buy-CSM   COP
         'It was I who bought the dog.' ('The dog was bought by me.')

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

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

(4.46) a. *qa   (mi-wu)   zə-dʑi.*
         1sg   person-AGT DIR-hit
         'I was hit.' (lit.: 'Someone hit me.')

     b. *mi-wu   qa   zə-dʑi.*
         person-AGT   1sg   DIR-hit
         'Someone hit me.'

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.2. Person marking

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

Table 8. The Qiang person marking suffixes for intransitive verbs

	1	2	3
singular	*-a*	*-n*	*-Ø*
plural	*-ᶦ*	*-i*	*-tɕi*

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

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

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

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

Following are full examples of the three singular markings:

(4.49) *qa*   *ʁosu-pi-wu*   *fa-a-qəi*   *zə-pa.*
        1sg   fifty-CL-INST   clothes-one-CL   DIR-buy:1sg
        'I bought one item of clothing for fifty dollars.'

(4.50) *ʔũ*   *ʁosu-pi-wu*   *fa-a-qəi*   *zə-pə-n.*
        2sg   fifty-CL-INST   clothing-one-CL   DIR-buy-2sg
        'You bought an item of clothing for fifty dollars.'

(4.51) *the:*   *ʁosu-pi-wu*   *fa-a-qəi*   *zə-pə.*
        3sg   fifty-CL-INST   clothing-one-CL   DIR-buy
        'S/he bought an item of clothing for fifty dollars.'

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

Table 9. The Qiang non-actor person marking suffixes

	1	2	3
sg	*-ṣa*	*-san*	*-wə ~ -u*
pl	*-ṣaˀ*	*-sai*	*-wə ~ -u*

The first and second person forms clearly incorporate the first and second person actor forms /-ɑ/, /-ˀ/ and /-n/, /-i/ respectively, but the origins of the initial of the first person forms and /sɑ/ of the second person forms are unclear.[67]

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

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

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

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

(4.53) a. *eiɳi   ʔũ   mo-lu-n-tu   the: mi-ta*
next.year 2sg   NEG-come-2sg-LNK   3sg   other.person-LOC
ɣʐɑ:-san.
marry:PRS-2sgU
'If you don't come back next year, she will marry someone else.'

b. *ʔũ   tsa   tɕa-lau-tha,   tatə   tə-khua:-san.*
2sg   here   NEG.IMP-be.noisy-AUX   father   DIR-angry:PRS-2sgU
'Don't be noisy here or your father will be angry (at you).'

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

Table 10. The Qiang person marking suffixes for transitive verbs

		Non-Actor					
		1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl	3sg	3pl
A	1sg			-a	-a	-wa	-wa
c	1pl			-^{1}	-^{1}	-wə^{1}	-wə^{1}
t	2sg	-n	-n			-wən	-wən
o	2pl	-i	-i			-wəi	-wəi
r	3sg	-ʂa	-ʂa^{1}	-san	-sai	-wə	-wə-tɕi
	3pl	-tɕi-ʂa	-tɕi-ʂa	-tɕi-san	-tɕi-sai	-wə-tɕi	-wə-tɕi

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

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

Imperfective:

(4.54) a. *lausə   qa   xe-ṣa.*
            teacher   1sg   scold-1sgU
            'The teacher is scolding me.'

        b. *lausə   tçile   xe-ṣaˑ.*
            teacher   1pl   scold-1plU
            'The teacher is scolding us.'

(4.55) a. *lausə   ʔũ   xe-san.*
            teacher   2sg   scold-2sgU
            'The teacher is scolding you(sg).'

        b. *lausə   ʔile   xe-sai.*
            teacher   2pl   scold-2plU
            'The teacher is scolding you(pl).'

(4.56) a. *lausə   the: xe-w.*
            teacher   3sg   scold-3U
            'The teacher is scolding him/her.'

        b. *lausə   themle   xe-w-tçi.*
            teacher   3pl   scold-3U-3pl
            'The teachers are scolding them.'

Prospective aspect:

(4.57) a. *lausə   qa   xa:.*
            teacher   1sg   scold:PRS:1sg
            'The teacher will scold me.'

        b. *lausə   tçile   xa:ˑ.*
            teacher   1pl   scold:PRS:1pl
            'The teacher will scold us.'

(4.58) a. *lausə* *ʔũ* *xa:-san.*
teacher 2sg scold:PRS-2sgU
'The teacher will scold you(sg).'

    b. *lausə* *ʔile* *xa:-sai.*
teacher 2pl scold:PRS-2plU
'The teacher will scold you(pl).'

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

    b. *lausə* *themle* *xe-wa:-tɕi.*
teacher 3pl scold-PRS:3U-3pl
'The teacher will scold them.'

Perfective:

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

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

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

    b. *tɕile* *nə-xe-ʂaˑ.*
1pl DIR-scold-1plU
'The teacher scolded us.'

(4.62) a. *ʔũ* *ne-xe-san.*
2sg DIR-scold-2sgU
'The teacher scolded you(sg).'

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

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

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

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

(4.64) *dʐə-ŋuəɳi   qa   the:-ta   kə-ji-wa.*   (< wə + ɑ)
thing-TOP   1sg   3sg-LOC   thus-say-3sgU:1sg
'I told him/her about something concerning him/her.'

(4.65) *dʐə-ŋuəɳi   ʔũ   the:-ta   kə-ji-wə-n.*
thing-TOP   2sg   3sg-LOC   thus-say-3sgU-2sg
'You told him/her something concerning him/her.'

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

(4.66) *qa-ɳa-the: itɕi   ka:.*
1sg-COM-3sg   together   go:PRS
'S/he and I will go together.'

(4.67) *xʂe-ɳa-tshe   za-ʁa   χaf   dzə.*
cow-COM-sheep field-LOC   grass   eat
'The cow and sheep eat grass in the field.'

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

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

(4.69)   *ʔũ-χua-(n̩i)*   *qupu*   *iɕtɕimaqa*   *ha-ʁ-n̩i*
         2sg-BEN-ADV   3sg   often   DIR-go-ADV
         səpe   *phiphi-kəpə-san.*
         medicine   dig-HABIT-2sgU
         'For your sake, s/he often goes to dig medicine.'

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

Following are the full paradigms for intransitive and transitive verbs with different types of finals, in their imperfective, prospective aspect and prefixed (perfective) forms:[68]

nə 'to sleep'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg sleep	*na:*	*na*	*ɦana*
2sg sleep	*na:n*	*nən*	*ɦanən*
3sg sleep	*na:*	*nə*	*ɦan*
1pl sleep	*na:ᴵ*	*nəᴵ*	*ɦanəᴵ*
2pl sleep	*na:i*	*nəi*	*ɦanəi*
3pl sleep	*na:tɕi*	*nətɕi*	*ɦantɕi*

zei 'to cry'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg cry	*zeia:*	*zeia*	*ɦezeia*
2sg cry	*zeia:n*	*zein*	*ɦezein*
3sg cry	*zeia:*	*zei*	*ɦezei*
1pl cry	*zeia:ᴵ*	*zeiəᴵ*	*ɦezeiəᴵ*
2pl cry	*zeia:i*	*zeiəi*	*ɦezeiəi*

| 3pl cry | *zeia:tɕi* | *zeitɕi* | *ɦezeitɕi* |

phu 'to flee'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg flee	*phua:*	*phua*	*duɸua*
2sg flee	*phua:n*	*phun*	*duɸun*
3sg flee	*phua:*	*phu*	*duɸu*
1pl flee	*phua:ᴵ*	*phuᴵ*	*duɸuᴵ*
2pl flee	*phua:i*	*phui*	*duɸui*
3pl flee	*phua:tɕi*	*phutɕi*	*duɸutɕi*

ʂue 'to shine'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg shine	*ʂua:*	*ʂua*	*iʂua*
2sg shine	*ʂua:n*	*ʂuen*	*iʂuen*
3sg shine	*ʂua:*	*ʂue*	*iʂue*
1pl shine	*ʂua:ᴵ*	*ʂueᴵ*	*iʂueᴵ*
2pl shine	*ʂua:i*	*ʂuei*	*iʂuei*
3pl shine	*ʂua:tɕi*	*ʂuetɕi*	*iʂuetɕi*

χsɑ 'understand'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg understand	*χsa:*	*χsa*	*təχsa*
2sg understand	*χsa:n*	*χsan*	*təχsan*
3sg understand	*χsa:*	*χsa*	*təχsa*
1pl understand	*χsa:ᴵ*	*χsaᴵ*	*təχsaᴵ*
2pl understand	*χsa:i*	*χsai*	*təχsai*
3pl understand	*χsa:tɕi*	*χsatɕi*	*təχsatɕi*

xe 'to scold/curse'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg scold 2sg	*xa:*	*xa*	*nəxa*
1sg scold 3sg	*xa: (xewa:)*	*xa (xewa)*[69]	*nəxewa*
1sg scold 2pl	*xa:*	*xa*	*nəxa*
1sg scold 3pl	*xa:*	*xa*	*nəxa*
2sg scold 1sg	*xa:n*	*xen*	*nəxen*
2sg scold 3sg	*xewa:n*	*xewen*	*nəxewen*
2sg scold 1pl	*xa:n*	*xen*	*nəxen*

2sg scold 3pl	*xewa:n*	*xewen*	*nəxewen*
3sg scold 1sg	*xa:*	*xe*	*nəxe*
3sg scold 2sg	*xa:san*	*xesan*	*nəxesan*
3sg scold 3sg	*xewa:*	*xew*	*nəxew*
3sg scold 1pl	*xa:*	*xe*	*nəxe*
3sg scold 2pl	*xa:sai*	*xesai*	*nəxesai*
3sg scold 3pl	*xewa:*	*xew*	*nəxw*
1pl scold 2sg	*xa:ɪ*	*xeɪ*	*nəxeɪ*
1pl scold 3sg	*xa:ɪ*	*xeɪ*	*nəxeɪ*
1pl scold 2pl	*xa:ɪ*	*xeɪ*	*nəxeɪ*
1pl scold 3pl	*xa:ɪ*	*xeɪ*	*nəxeɪ*
2pl scold 1sg	*xa:i*	*xei*	*nəxei*
2pl scold 3sg	*xewa:i*	*xewei*	*nəxewei*
2pl scold 1pl	*xa:i*	*xei*	*nəxei*
2pl scold 3pl	*xewa:i*	*xewei*	*nəxewei*
3pl scold 1sg	*xewa:tɕi*	*xetɕi*	*nəxetɕi*
3pl scold 2sg	*xa:san*	*xesan*	*nəxesan*
3pl scold 3sg	*xewa:tɕi*	*xewtɕi*	*nəxewtɕi*
3pl scold 1pl	*xa:tɕi*	*xetɕi*	*nəxetɕi*
3pl scold 2pl	*xa:sai*	*xesai*	*nəxesai*
3pl scold 3pl	*xewa:tɕi*	*xewtɕi*	*nəxewtɕi*

bie 'carry (on back)'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg carry 2sg	*bia:*	*bia*	*ɦeibia*
1sg carry 3sg	*bia:*	*bia*	*ɦeibia*
1sg carry 2pl	*bia:*	*bia*	*ɦeibia*
1sg carry 3pl	*bia:*	*bia*	*ɦeibia*
2sg carry 1sg	*bia:n*	*bien*	*ɦeibien(--bin)*
2sg carry 3sg	*biewa:n*	*biewən*	*ɦeibiwən*
2sg carry 1pl	*bia:n*	*bien*	*ɦeibin*
2sg carry 3pl	*biewa:n*	*biewən*	*ɦeibiwən*
3sg carry 1sg	*bia:*	*bie*	*ɦeibi*
3sg carry 2sg	*bia:san*	*biesan*	*ɦeibisan*
3sg carry 3sg	*biewa:*	*biew*	*ɦeibiw*
3sg carry 1pl	*bia:i*	*bie*	*ɦeibi*
3sg carry 2pl	*bia:sai*	*biesai*	*ɦeibisai*
3sg carry 3pl	*biewa:*	*biew*	*ɦeibiw*

	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1pl carry 2sg	*bia:ˡ*	*bieˡ*	*ɦeibieˡ*
1pl carry 3sg	*bia:ˡ*	*bieˡ*	*ɦeibieˡ*
1pl carry 2pl	*bia:ˡ*	*bieˡ*	*ɦeibieˡ*
1pl carry 3pl	*bia:ˡ*	*bieˡ*	*ɦeibieˡ*
2pl carry 1sg	*bia:i*	*biei*	*ɦeibii*
2pl carry 3sg	*biewa:i*	*biewei*	*ɦeibiwei*
2pl carry 1pl	*bia:i*	*biei*	*ɦeibii*
2pl carry 3pl	*biewa:i*	*biewei*	*ɦeibiwei*
3pl carry 1sg	*bia:itɕi*	*bietɕi*	*ɦeibitɕi*
3pl carry 2sg	*bia:san*	*biesan*	*ɦeibisan*
3pl carry 3sg	*biewa:itɕi*	*biewtɕi*	*ɦeibiwtɕi*
3pl carry 1pl	*bia:itɕi*	*bietɕi*	*ɦeibitɕi*
3pl carry 2pl	*bia:sai*	*biesai*	*ɦeibisai*
3pl carry 3pl	*biewa:tɕi*	*biewtɕi*	*ɦeibiwtɕi*

meˡʐ 'search for'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg search for 2sg	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐa*	*təmeˡʐa*
1sg search for 3sg	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐa*	*təmeˡʐa*
1sg search for 2pl	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐa*	*təmeˡʐa*
1sg search for 3pl	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐa*	*təmeˡʐa*
2sg search for 1sg	*meˡʐa:n*	*meˡʐən*	*təmeˡʐən*
2sg search for 3sg	*meˡʐwa:n*	*meˡʐwən*	*təmeˡʐwən*
2sg search for 1pl	*meˡʐa:n*	*meˡʐən*	*təmeˡʐən*
2sg search for 3pl	*meˡʐwa:n*	*meˡʐwən*	*təmeˡʐwən*
3sg search for 1sg	*meˡʐa:i*	*meˡʐ*	*təmeˡʐ*
3sg search for 2sg	*meˡʐa:san*	*meˡʐsan*	*təmeˡʐsan*
3sg search for 3sg	*meˡʐwa:*	*meˡʐw*	*təmeˡʐwə*
3sg search for 1pl	*meˡʐa:i*	*meˡʐ*	*təmeˡʐ*
3sg search for 2pl	*meˡʐa:sai*	*meˡʐsai*	*təmeˡʐsai*
3sg search for 3pl	*meˡʐwa:*	*meˡʐwə*	*təmeˡʐwə*
1pl search for 2sg	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐəˡ*	*təmeˡʐəˡ*
1pl search for 3sg	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐəˡ*	*təmeˡʐəˡ*
1pl search for 2pl	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐəˡ*	*təmeˡʐəˡ*
1pl search for 3pl	*meˡʐa:*	*meˡʐəˡ*	*təmeˡʐəˡ*
2pl search for 1sg	*meˡʐa:i*	*meˡʐəi*	*təmeˡʐəi*
2pl search for 3sg	*meˡʐwa:i*	*meˡʐwei*	*təmeˡʐwei*
2pl search for 1pl	*meˡʐa:i*	*meˡʐəi*	*təmeˡʐəi*

2pl search for 3pl	*meˑẓ wa:i*	*meˑẓ wei*	*təmeˑẓ wei*
3pl search for 1sg	*meˑẓ a:itçi*	*meˑẓ tçi*	*təmeˑẓ tçi*
3pl search for 2sg	*meˑẓ a:san*	*meˑẓ san*	*təmeˑẓ san*
3pl search for 3sg	*meˑẓ wa:*	*meˑẓ wə*	*təmeˑẓ wə*
3sg search for 1pl	*meˑẓ a:itçi*	*meˑẓ tçi*	*təmeˑẓ tçi*
3sg search for 2pl	*meˑẓ a:sai*	*meˑẓ sai*	*təmeˑẓ sai*
3sg search for 3pl	*meˑẓ wa:tçi*	*meˑẓ wətçi*	*təmeˑẓ wətçi*

zulu 'to wait for'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg wait for 2sg	*zulua:*	*zulua*	*uzu̧lua*
1sg wait for 3sg	*zulua:*	*zulua*	*uzu̧lua*
1sg wait for 2pl	*zulua:*	*zulua*	*uzu̧lua*
1sg wait for 3pl	*zulua:*	*zulua*	*uzu̧lua*
2sg wait for 1sg	*zulua:n*	*zuluən*	*uzu̧luən*
2sg wait for 3sg	*zulu̧wa:n*	*zulu̧wən*	*uzulu̧wən*
2sg wait for 1pl	*zulua:n*	*zuluən*	*uzu̧luən*
2sg wait for 3pl	*zulu̧wa:n*	*zulu̧wən*	*uzulu̧wən*
3sg wait for 1sg	*zulua:i*	*zulu̧*	*uzu̧lu*
3sg wait for 2sg	*zulua:san*	*zulu̧san*	*uzu̧lusan*
3sg wait for 3sg	*zulu̧wa:*	*zulu̧wə*	*uzulu̧wə*
3sg wait for 1pl	*zulua:i*	*zulu̧*	*uzu̧lu*
3sg wait for 2pl	*zulua:sai*	*zulu̧sai*	*uzu̧lusai*
3sg wait for 3pl	*zulu̧wa:*	*zulu̧wə*	*uzulu̧wə*
1pl wait for 2sg	*zulua:ᶦ*	*zuluəᶦ*	*uzu̧luəᶦ*
1pl wait for 3sg	*zulua:ᶦ*	*zuluəᶦ*	*uzu̧luəᶦ*
1pl wait for 2pl	*zulua:ᶦ*	*zuluəᶦ*	*uzu̧luəᶦ*
1pl wait for 3pl	*zulua:ᶦ*	*zuluəᶦ*	*uzu̧luəᶦ*
2pl wait for 1sg	*zulua:i*	*zului*	*uzului*
2pl wait for 3sg	*zulu̧wa:i*	*zulu̧wei*	*uzulu̧wei*
2pl wait for 1pl	*zulua:i*	*zului*	*uzului*
2pl wait for 3pl	*zulu̧wa:i*	*zulu̧wei*	*uzulu̧wei*
3pl wait for 1sg	*zulua:itçi*	*zulu̧tçi*	*uzulu̧tçi*
3pl wait for 2sg	*zulua:san*	*zulu̧san*	*uzulu̧san*
3pl wait for 3sg	*zulu̧wa:*	*zulu̧wə*	*uzulu̧wə*
3pl wait for 1pl	*zulua:itçi*	*zulu̧tçi*	*uzulu̧tçi*
3pl wait for 2pl	*zulua:sai*	*zulu̧sai*	*uzulu̧sai*
3pl wait for 3pl	*zulu̧wa:tçi*	*zulu̧wətçi*	*uzulu̧wətçi*

dʐete 'to hit'	Prospective	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg hit 2sg	*dʐeta:*	*dʐeta*	*zədʑita*
1sg hit 3sg	*dʐeta:*	*dʐeta*	*zədʑita*
1sg hit 2pl	*dʐeta:*	*dʐeta*	*zədʑita*
1sg hit 3pl	*dʐeta:*	*dʐeta*	*zədʑita*
2sg hit 1sg	*dʐeta:n*	*dʐeten*	*zədʑiten*
2sg hit 3sg	*dʐetewa:n*	*dʐetewən*	*zedʑitewən*
2sg hit 1pl	*dʐeta:n*	*dʐeten*	*zədʑiten*
2sg hit 3pl	*dʐetenwa:n*	*dʐetewən*	*zədʑitewən*
3sg hit 1sg	*dʐeta:i*	*dʐete*	*zədʑite*
3sg hit 2sg	*dʐeta:san*	*dʐetesan*	*zədʑitesan*
3sg hit 3sg	*dʐetewa:*	*dʐetew*	*zədʑitew*
3sg hit 1pl	*dʐeta:i*	*dʐete*	*zədʑite*
3sg hit 2pl	*dʐeta:sai*	*dʐetesai*	*zədʑitesai*
3sg hit 3pl	*dʐetewa:*	*dʐetew*	*zədʑitew*
1pl hit 2sg	*dʐeta:[1]*	*dʐete[1]*	*zədʑite[1]*
1pl hit 3sg	*dʐeta:[1]*	*dʐete[1]*	*zədʑite[1]*
1pl hit 2pl	*dʐeta:[1]*	*dʐete[1]*	*zədʑite[1]*
1pl hit 3pl	*dʐeta:[1]*	*dʐete[1]*	*zədʑite[1]*
2pl hit 1sg	*dʐeta:i*	*dʐetei*	*zədʑitei*
2pl hit 3sg	*dʐetewa:i*	*dʐetewei*	*zədʑitewei*
2pl hit 1pl	*dʐeta:i*	*dʐetei*	*zədʑitei*
2pl hit 3pl	*dʐetewa:i*	*dʐetewei*	*zədʑitewei*
3pl hit 1sg	*dʐeta:itɕi*	*dʐetetɕi*	*zədʑitetɕi*
3pl hit 2sg	*dʐeta:san*	*dʐetesan*	*zədʑitesan*
3pl hit 3sg	*dʐetewa:*	*dʐetew*	*zədʑitew*
3pl hit 1pl	*dʐeta:itɕi*	*dʐetetɕi*	*zədʑitetɕi*
3pl hit 2pl	*dʐeta:sai*	*dʐetesai*	*zədʑitesai*
3pl hit 3pl	*dʐetewa:tɕi*	*dʐetewtɕi*	*zədʑetewtɕi*

del 'to give'	Prospective [70]	Imperfective	Prefixed
1sg give 2sg	*dela:*	*dela*	*dela*
1sg give 3sg	*dela:*	*dela*	*dela*
1sg give 2pl	*dela:*	*dela*	*dela*
1sg give 3pl	*dela:*	*dela*	*dela*
2sg give 1sg	*dela:n*	*delən*	*delən*

2sg give 3sg	*delwa:n*	*delwən*	*delwən*
2sg give 1pl	*dela:n*	*delən*	*delən*
2sg give 3pl	*delwa:n*	*delwən*	*delwən*
3sg give 1sg	*dela:*	*del*	*del*
3sg give 2sg	*dela:san*	*delsan*	*delsan*
3sg give 3sg	*delwa:*	*delwə*	*delwə*
3sg give 1pl	*dela:*	*del*	*del*
3sg give 2pl	*dela:sai*	*delsai*	*delsai*
3sg give 3pl	*delwa:*	*delwə*	*delwə*
1pl give 2sg	*dela:¹*	*delə¹*	*delə¹*
1pl give 3sg	*dela:¹*	*delə¹*	*delə¹*
1pl give 2pl	*dela:¹*	*delə¹*	*delə¹*
1pl give 3pl	*dela:¹*	*delə¹*	*delə¹*
2pl give 1sg	*dela:i*	*deləi*	*deləi*
2pl give 3sg	*delwa:i*	*delwei*	*delwei*
2pl give 1pl	*dela:i*	*deləi*	*deləi*
2pl give 3pl	*delwa:i*	*delwei*	*delwei*
3pl give 1sg	*dela:tɕi*	*deltɕi*	*deltɕi*
3pl give 2sg	*dela:san*	*delsan*	*delsan*
3pl give 3sg	*delwa:itɕi*	*delwətɕi*	*delwətɕi*
3pl give 1pl	*dela:tɕi*	*deltɕi*	*deltɕi*
3pl give 2pl	*dela:sai*	*delsai*	*delsai*
3pl give 3pl	*delwa:tɕi*	*delwətɕi*	*delwətɕi*

4.3.3. Direction marking

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

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

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

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

lu 'come'

----

tulu	'come vertically up'
ɦolu	'come vertically down'
nulu	'come upstream'
sulu	'come downstream'
zulu	'come towards the center'
(no form)	
ulu	'come in'
holu	'come out'

ʁuəte 'throw'

----

təʁu̯	'throw vertically up'
ɦaʁu̯	'throw vertically down'
nəʁu̯	'throw upstream'
səʁu̯	'throw downstream'
zəʁu̯	'throw towards center'
daʁu̯	'throw out from center'
əʁu̯	'throw in'
haʁu̯	'throw out'

lə 'look'

----

təl	'look upward'
ɦal	'look downward'
nəl	'look upstream'
səl	'look downstream'
zəl	'look toward center'
dal	'look outward from center'
əl	'look in'
hal	'look out'

tʂhu 'stretch'

----

tutʂhu	'stretch upward'
ɦotʂhu	'stretch downward'
nutʂhu	'stretch upstream'
sutʂhu	'stretch downstream'
zutʂhu	'stretch toward center'
dotʂhu	'stretch out from center'
utʂhu	'stretch in'
hotʂhu	'stretch out'

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

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

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

(4.72) a. *ləla*   'change'   *zə-la da-la*   'change back and forth'
        b. *ʁuʁu*   'curse'   *zu-ʁu do-ʁu*   'curse back and forth'
        c. *pi*   'hide'   *i-pi he-pi*   'hide in and out'
        d. *ŋuasi* 'borrow'   *zi-ŋuasi de-ŋuasi* 'borrow back and forth'
        e. *keˀl*   'ask'   *zi-keˀl de-keˀl*   'ask back and forth'
        f. *ʁoi*   'treat'   *zu-ʁoi do-ʁoi*   'treat each other (to a meal)'

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

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

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

These four types can be distinguished using the three characteristics [± dynamic], [± telic], and [± punctual], as in the following chart:[72]

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

Each of these four types also has a causative form:

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

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

Verb Class   Logical Structure
STATE   **predicate´** (x) or (x,y)
ACTIVITY   **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x, y)])
ACHIEVEMENT   INGR **predicate´** (x) or (x,y), or
                          INGR **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x, y)])
ACCOMPLISHMENT   BECOME **predicate´** (x) or (x,y), or
                          BECOME **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x, y)])
CAUSATIVE   α CAUSE β, where α, β are LSs of any type

Following is an example of this type of representation for the English sentence *Max broke the window.*

(4.73) [do´ (Max, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **broken´** (window)]

In Qiang, the form of most verbs directly reflects the elements of the lexical decomposition, as the basic form of the verb is usually a state or activity, which becomes an achievement or accomplishment with the addition of the directional prefix, and becomes a causative with the addition of the causative suffix (see §4.2.2).[73] Following are some examples of this phenomenon:

(4.74) a. *ba*   **big´** (x)   State
        b. *təwa*   BECOME **big´** (x)   Accomplishment[74]
        c. *təwaʐ*   [**do´** (y, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **big´** (x)]
                                              Causative Accomplishment

(4.75) a. *χtʂa*   **small´** (x)   State
        b. *ɦaχtʂa*   BECOME **small´** (x)   Accomplishment
        c. *ɦaχtʂaʐ*   [**do´** (y, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **small´** (x)]
                                              Causative Accomplishment

(4.76) a. *tɕhə*   **do´** (x, [**eat´** (x) or (x, y)])   Activity
        b. *sətɕ*   BECOME **do´** (x, [**eat´** (x) or (x, y)])
                                                      Accomplishment
        c. *sətɕəʐ*
                [**do´** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **do´** (x,[**eat´** (x) or (x, y)])]
                                              Causative Accomplishment

(4.77) a. ɣlu   **do´** (x, [**roll´** (x) or (x, y)])   Activity
        b. doɣlu   INGR **do´** (x, [**roll´** (x) or (x, y)])   Achievement
        c. doɣluʐ
               [**do´** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **do´** (x, [**roll´** (x) or (x, y)])]
                                          Causative Achievement

This change is often used to affect something like a perfective sense (analyzed as past tense in Sun 1981a and Huang 1993). For this usage usually only one of the eight prefixes is regularly used, but which prefix is used differs between verbs, as can be seen from the examples just given. Because of this, the directional prefixes in some cases help to differentiate different verbs, as roots with the same form may take different prefixes. For example, /su/ can be 'learn' or 'dizzy', but 'learn' only takes the vocalic prefix ([usu]), while 'dizzy' only takes the prefix /ɦə-/ ([ɦosu]). In the case of 'become big' and 'become small' there is a semantic basis for the choice of prefix, as /tə-/ is for upward direction, and /ɦə-/ is for downward direction. This is also true for 'become fat' vs. 'become thin'. These two prefixes are the most commonly used with adjectives. Following are examples of prefixed forms of some adjectives where addition of one of these two prefixes gives the sense of an accomplishment verb:

(4.78) *təwa*   'become big'   *ɦaχtʂa*   'become small'
        təpha   'become fat'   *ɦaʁəi*   'become thin'
        təphi(ɸi)   'become white'   *tənʐiq*   'become black'
        tuȶupu   'become red'   *ɦaxtʂəp*   'become dark'
        tuxkuȶȶu 'become hard'   *ɦamətʂa* 'become soft'
        təʂue   'become light'   *ɦatʂha*   'become deep'
        təna   'become good'   *ɦaʁəi*   'become bad'
        təpha   'become swollen' *ɦeʂe*   'become less swollen'
        tujŭku   'become dry'   *ənʐi*   'become wet'
        təsi   'become hot'   *zəmpa*   'become cold'
        tətshimpe 'become smart'   (no corresponding antonym)

We can see from these examples that metaphorically becoming good or light is movement upwards, while becoming dark or bad is movement downwards (except in the case of 'become black'—colors all take the 'upwards' prefix; with 'become soft' either prefix is acceptable). The

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

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

(4.79) *da-ɬa*   'slip'   *ɦa-ɬa*   'slide'
       do-tshu   'fall (e.g. of fruit   *ɦo-tshu*   'pick (fruit from
                      from a tree)'   a tree)'
       de-phe   'break open (of bundle)'   *ɦe-phe*   'break open (a
                                                                bundle)'
       da-qhua   'collapse (of house)'   *ɦa-qhua*   'knock down
                                                                (a house)'
       da-ʁa   'smash (bowl; vi.)'   *ɦa-qhe*   'smash (bowl; vt.)
       da-ʁli   'break (tree branch; vi.)'   *ɦa-χli*   'break (tree
                                                                branch; vt.)'

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

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

(4.80) *ha-quətsu* 'lift the head'   *ɦa-quətsu* 'lower the head'
       a-qua   'turn off (a light)'   *ha-qua*   'close (a door)'
       tu-qu   'be victorious (in battle)' *ho-qu*   'lose (in battle)'

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

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

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

4.3.4. Aspect

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

4.3.4.1. Prospective aspect

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

(4.81) a. *pəs   məpa wa, təp-n̥i   tsə-s*
           today cold very tomorrow-ADV   this-COMP
           tɕa-məpɑː: lu.
           CON-cold:PRS   will
           'Today is very cold; tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.'

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

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

(4.82) a. *me:¹   ɕa:.*   (< ɕe)
            rain   fall:PRS
            'It's going to rain.'

        b. *the: zə   phia:.*   (< phie)
            3sg   land   till:PRS
            'S/he is going to till the land.'

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

(4.83) a. *qa   tha-s-ʁa   the: me¹ʐa:-n̠i   the: lu-ji.*
            1sg that:one-day-LOC 3sg look.for:PRS-ADV 3sg come-CSM
            'Just when I was going to (go) look for him, he came.'

        b. *qupu   nəmaha   ləɣz   tsa:-lai,*   (< tse)
            3sg   last.night book   read:PRS-DEF:one:time
            muwu   die-mi.
            lamp   DIR-go.out
            'Just when he was going to read last night, the lamp went out.'

        c. *itɕi khumtsi ɕi   χqu-a:-n̠i   tɕhoχu ma-ʂə-ji,*
            aunt khumtsi liquor boil-PRS-LNK yeast   NEG-exist-CSM

ɦo-mu-χqu.
DIR-NEG-boil
'Aunt Khumtsi was going to boil liquor, but there was no distiller's yeast, (so she) didn't boil (any).'

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

(4.84) a. *ʔũ   stuaha   tɕha:-n-a   ma-tɕhə-n-a?*
            2sg   food   eat-PRS-2sg-Q   NEG-eat-2sg-Q
            'Are you going to eat?'

        b. *eiɳi   ʔũ   mo-lu-n-tu   the: mi-ta*
            next year   2sg   NEG-come-2sg-if   3sg   other.person-LOC
            ɣʐa:-san.
            marry:PRS-2sgU
            'If you don't return next year, she is going to marry someone else.'

        c. *the: təp-ɳi   ma-ka:-ji,   pəs   ka:-ji.*
            3sg   tomorrow-ADV   NEG-go:PRS-HS   today go:PRS-HS
            '(I heard) he is not going to go tomorrow (but) will go today.'

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

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

4.3.4.2. Perfective and imperfective aspect

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

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

The first clause expresses a completed action, while the second clause expresses an action that was ongoing at the time referred to in the first clause.
    Now compare the two clauses of the following example:

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

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

(4.87) a. *the: kə-lai   ʐ̟botɕu.*
            3sg   go-DEF:one:time   think
            'S/he thinks while walking.'

        b. *qa   stuɑhɑ   tɕhə-lai,   the: jan   tʂhe.*
            1sg food/rice eat-DEF:one:time 3sg   cigarette smoke
            'When I am eating, s/he is smoking.'

4.3.4.3. Change of state aspect

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

(4.88) a. *me:¹   ɕi-ji.*
           rain   fall-CSM
           'It's started raining.'

   b. *me:¹   de-ɕi-ji.*
           rain   DIR-fall-CSM
           'It has already rained (and stopped).'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> *ʐdʑyta:*   *ɦa-qə-ji.*
> Chengdu   DIR-go-CSM
> 'Yesterday when I got to her/his home, s/he had gone to
> Chengdu.'

In (4.91), the action of studying had begun, so is marked with the change of state marker /-ji/, but there is no directional prefix on the verb, as the action was still in progress at the time expressed by the first clause. In the second example the action was already completed at the time referred to in the first clause, and so the verb has both the directional prefix (which here has double duty, showing actual direction plus completion) and the change of state marker.

 The change of state suffix can also be used together with prospective aspect marking to express the idea 'about to V', giving it a more immediate sense.

(4.93)   *me:¹*   *ça:-ji.*   (< çe)
         rain   fall:PRS-CSM
         'It's about to rain.'

 The change of state marker can be used after the auxiliary verb /dɑ-s/ 'finish' to express the completion of an action.

(4.94)   *the:*   *pie*   *çtcə*   *dɑ-s-ji.*
         3sg   pig   feed   DIR-finish-CSM
         'S/he finished feeding the pig.'

(4.95)   *the:*   *dzə*   *dɑ-s-ɑ:-ji.*
         3sg   eat   DIR-finish-PRS-CSM
         'S/he is going to finish eating soon.'

In many cases the change of state marker has the form /-jy/, and is often translated as meaning the action had 'already' begun or been carried out. It may be that this form is a combination of the usual form of the change of state marker /-ji/ plus the visual evidential /-u/ or the third person non-actor marker [-u ~ wə]. For this reason it is glossed as ASP instead of CSM. Following are some examples:

(4.96) *qa*   *a-tian*   *u-zu̠lu-jya.*   (< jy + ɑ)
      1sg   one-hour   DIR-wait-ASP:1sg
      'I have already waited for one hour. '

(4.97) *me:¹*   *de-ɕi-jy.*
      rain   DIR-fall-ASP
      'It's already raining.' (Just begun and still raining)

(4.98) *the:*   *stuaha*   *sə-tɕ-jy.*
      3sg   food/rice   DIR-eat-ASP
      'S/he has already eaten. '

(4.99) *the:*   *zə*   *i-fi-jy.*   (< phie)
      3sg   land   DIR-till-ASP
      'S/he has already tilled the land.' (just completed)

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

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

4.3.4.4. Experiential aspect

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

(4.101) *qa*   *ʑdʑyta:*   *ɦa-qə-dʑa.*   (< dʑe)
      1sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-EXP:1sg
      I have been to Chengdu.

(4.102) *qa*   *ləɣz-tse-pen*   *i-tsi-dʑa.*   (< dʑe)
      1sg   book-this-CL   DIR-read-EXP:1sg
      'I have read this book.'

(4.103)   *(panə)-tsa-han   themle   zə-pə-dʑe-tɕi.*
           thing-this:one-kind 3pl   DIR-buy-EXP-3pl
           'They have bought this kind of thing. '

   If the assertion is of having not yet experienced an action, the negative and contiuative aspect prefixes are prefixed to the auxiliary verb:

(4.104)   *qa   ləɣz-tse-pen   i-tsi-me-tɕi-dʑa.*   (< dʑe)
           1sg   book-this-CL   DIR-read-NEG-CON-EXP:1sg
           'I have not yet read this book.'

4.3.4.5. Repetition

Repetition of an action (though not iterative in the sense of, e.g. tapping one's fingers on the table; by repetition here is meant doing an action 'again') is expressed by the suffix /-jə/, which precedes the other aspect suffixes and person marking.[77] It can also be used with prospective aspect marking and the change of state marker.

(4.105)   a.   *me:¹   de-ɕi-jə-ji.*
                rain   DIR-fall/release-REP-CSM
                'It's raining again.'

          b.   *the: dzə-jə-ji.*
                3sg   eat-REP-CSM
                'He is eating again.'

(4.106)   *tə-wa-jə-ji-ji   jə.*
           DIR-big-REP-CSM-2pl   say
           'He said you(pl) have gotten big again.'

   This suffix is often used together in the same clause as a free morpheme /xsə/ 'again' (actually the word for 'new'), as in the following example:

(4.107) *xsə   me:ʰʐə-lə-m   i-pə-l-jə-kui.*   (T6:95-96)
again   look.for-come-NOM   DIR-arrive-come-REP-INF:HS
'Again someone came looking (for him).'
(lit.: 'one who was looking for him came again.')

4.3.4.6. Continuative aspect

The prefix [tɕe- ~ tɕi- ~ tɕɑ- ~ tɕo-] 'still, yet' is used to express continued actions or states, much like 'still' and 'yet' in English. In some cases this prefix has the same form as the prohibitive (negative imperative) prefix (see §4.3.5.2), but as the two prefixes appear in different types of contexts (and the negative imperative is not used with prospective aspect marking) there usually is no problem of ambiguity.[78]

(4.108) a. *me:ʰ   tɕe-ɕi.*
rain   CON-fall
'It's still raining (has been raining all along).'

b. *qa nəs   tsa zə-la-lai,   me:ʰ tɕe-ɕi.*
1sg yesterday here DIR-come-DEF:one:time   rain   CON-fall
'When I came here yesterday, it was still raining.'

(4.109) *the: zə   tɕe-fi.*   (< phie)
3sg   land   CON-till
'S/he's still ploughing (has been ploughing all along).'

This prefix can also be used with the prospective aspect to mean 'still wants to/is going to V' (that is, actions that have stopped but there is intention to continue or possibility that something will continue) ((4.110)-(4.112)), or with the negative prefix to mean 'not yet' ((4.113)-(4.114)).

(4.110) *(qa) tɕa-na:.*   (< nə)
1sg   CON-sleep:PRS
'I'm still going to sleep.' ('I want to sleep some more')

(4.111)   *me:¹   tɕe-ɕa:.*   (< ɕe)
        rain   CON-fall:PRS
        'It's still going to rain.'

(4.112)   *the: zə   tɕe-fia:.*   (< phie)
        3sg   land   CON-till:PRS
        'S/he is still going to till the land.'

(4.113)   *ɦa-mə-tɕi-qa*   (< kə)
        DIR-NEG-CON-go:1sg
        'I haven't gone yet.'

(4.114)   *nəs   qa kə   kantɕhi-lai,   the:*
        yesterday 1sg go   want-DEF:one:time   3sg
        i-mə-tɕi-pə-l.
        DIR-NEG-CON-arrive-come
        'Yesterday when I wanted to go, s/he hadn't returned yet.'

It can also be used with a prefixed verb to mean 'V a little longer' or 'continue to V', as in the following example:

(4.115)   *ʔile   a-za   a-tɕi-tɕə-i.*
        2pl   one-CL   DIR-CON-wait-2pl
        'Don't go now!' (lit.: 'Wait a while longer.')

This prefix sometimes also has the meaning of 'again (yet one more time)' or 'also', as in the following examples:

(4.116)   *tse-tsi   xsusu-ɳa-ʐ guə-χau-ɳa-pan,   ʔũ   a-ʂ*
        this-pair thirty-COM-nine-size-COM-half 2sg one-time
        i-tɕi-tsi-n.
        DIR-CON-see-2sg
        (trying on shoes) 'This pair (is a) size 39 1/2, you try once again' (lit.: 'see yet one (more) time')

(4.117)   *ʁzə-pies   a-fə¹   ha-tɕi-ŋuə̣.*
        fish-meat   one-portion   DIR-CON-COP
        'Also bring (give me) a portion of fish.'

4.3.4.8. Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect is expressed by adding the suffix /-kəpə/ or /-pə/ after a verb.[79] If the verb is a prefixed adjective (intransitive stative verb), then /-kəpə/ has the meaning that the subject 'has the ability/tendency to become' the state represented by the adjective, e.g. /tə-wa-kəpə/ (directional prefix + 'big (< /ba/)' + /-kəpə/) 'will/can become big'. This meaning is not possible without the directional prefix.

(4.118) *(qaqəi)-tɕəu-la   i-pə-k-əs   qə:¹,   qa*
         1sgREFL-home-LOC   DIR-arrive-go-NOM before 1sg
         iɕtɕimaqa   ə-jə-sa   ʁoi-kəpa.   (< kəpə)
         often   one-two-sentences   call-HABIT:1sg
         'Before returning to my own home, I often call out a few sentences.'

(4.119) *qə:¹-ta,   qa   iɕtɕimaqa   pies   dzə-pa.*   (< pə)
         before-LOC   1sg   often   meat   eat-HABIT:1sg
         'In the past I often ate meat.'

Habitual actions can also sometimes be expressed using simple unprefixed forms, as mentioned in the discussion of (4.87a-b), above. See also (4.174), below.

4.3.4.9. Resulting state

An on-going state resulting from a change of state or action can be expressed using the prefixed (achievement or accomplishment) form of the verb, the change of state marker, plus the copula. In this case the copula is the main verb, so if there is any person marking, then the person marking appears on the copula.

(4.120) *dʑy-le: de-ʐgə-ji   ŋuə.*
         door-DEF:CL   DIR-open-CSM   COP
         'The door is open.' ('The door remains open.')

4.3.4.10. Simultaneous actions

For two actions occurring simultaneously, the adverbial marker /ȵi/, sometimes combined with /iɕtɕi/ 'together', is used after the expression of the first action:

(4.121) a. *the: stuaha   tɕhə-ȵiɕtɕi   tianʂə   tse.*
                3sg   food/rice   eat-ADV:together   television   watch
                'S/he eats while watching television.'

        b. *ɦe-zei-ȵi   da-qə-jə-kəi.*   (T3:30)
                DIR-cry-ADV   DIR-go-REP-INF:HS
                '(He) went along again crying (as he went).'

4.3.5. Illocutionary force

Illocutionary force is the type of speech act, such as question, statement, order, warning, etc. performed by an expression. Here we are interested in the formal expressions most commonly used for performing these speech acts, such as the declarative (§4.3.5.1), the imperative and prohibitive (§4.3.5.2), and interrogative constructions (§4.3.5.3).[80] The forms discussed here involve marking both within and outside the verb complex, but as they are functionally similar, they are being discussed together. We will discuss each type in turn.

4.3.5.1. Declarative

The declarative is the unmarked form of the verb, used mainly for making statements. Almost all of the examples up to this point have been declarative clauses. In declarative clauses, it is possible to add the particle /-ja/ (said with falling intonation) to the end of the clause to make a stronger statement. Following is an example:

(4.122) *ʔ̃u   lu-s   ŋuə-ja!*
                2sg   come-NOM   COP-PART
                'You definitely must come!'

4.3.5.2. Imperative and prohibitive

The marking of an imperative clause involves the same prefixes used for direction marking, so in many cases has the same form as a normal declarative clause, and it is only the intonation and context that mark it as an imperative. In imperatives the prefix, which may be any one of the directionals, is stressed, unlike non-imperative directional prefixes.[81] A secondary characteristic of the imperative is that person marking is optional, though the imperative sense is stronger if person marking is used. In order to make an imperative more polite, it is possible to add the polite imperative particle /-nɑ/, which appears outside the verb complex, i.e. after the person marking.[82] There are various other particles that can be used with the imperative form (see examples further below). Following are examples showing the different prefixes used with different verbs, and their different forms with and without person marking, and with second person singular and plural person marking (the dual takes the same person marking as plural, so dual forms are not listed separately):

(4.123) a. *ə-z-(na)!*   b. *ə-zə-n-(na)!*
             DIR-eat-IMP   DIR-eat-2sg-IMP
             'Eat!'   'You(sg) eat!'

         c. *ə-zə-i-(na)!*
             DIR-eat-2pl-IMP
             'You(pl) eat!'

(4.124) a. *fia-qutə-(na)!*   b. *fia-qutə-n-(na)!*
             DIR-kneel-IMP   DIR-kneel-2sg-IMP
             'Kneel down!'   You(sg) kneel down!'

         c. *fia-qutə-i-(na)!*
             DIR-kneel-2pl-IMP
             'You(pl) kneel down!'

(4.125) a. *tu-ju-(na)!*   b. *tu-ju-n-(na)!*
             DIR-stand-IMP   DIR-stand-2sg-IMP
             'Stand up!'   'You(sg) stand up!'

    c. *tu-ju-i-(na)!*
       DIR-stand-2pl-IMP
       'You(pl) stand up!'

(4.126) a. *ha-fu̥!*   b. *ha-fu-n-(na)!*
          DIR-spit   DIR-spit-2sg-IMP
          'Spit it out!'   'You(sg) spit it out!'

    c. *ha-fu-i-(na)!*
       DIR-spit-2pl-IMP
       'You(pl) spit it out!'

In some cases of verb concatenation, the prefix and person marking are split between different verbs, as the person marking is added to the last element of the verb complex:

(4.127) *ʔũ*   *tsə-e-pei*   *ə-tɕ-kə-n.*
         2sg   water-one-CL   DIR-drink-go-2sg
         'Go drink a glass of water.'

It is also possible in imperatives to have free pronouns representing the actor appear before the verb. A noun phrase representing an undergoer, goal, or recipient may also appear in the clause. Following are some examples:

(4.128) a. *ʔũ*   *ə-zu̥ə̥!*   b. *ʔũ*   *ɦo-lu-n!*
          2sg   DIR-sit   2sg   DIR-come-2sg
          'You sit!'   'You come down here!'

(4.129) a. *qa*   *de-l!*   b. *dʑy-le:*   *de-ʐge-(n)!*
          1sg   DIR-give   door-DEF:CL DIR-open-2sg
          'Give me (it)!'   'Open the door!'

(4.130) a. *ʁuatʂa-la-ha*   *tə-xʂol-(ən)!*
         bowl-DEF:one-pl   DIR-gather-2sg
         'Gather the bowls together.'

b. *the: zə-l-(ən)!*
3sg   DIR-move-2sg
'Bring it (here)!'

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is expressed by the prefix [tɕɑ-
~ tɕə- ~ tɕo- ~ tɕe-] (from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ta-),* which appears in
the same position as the normal negative prefix, just before the verb,
after the directional prefix, if there is one (the directional prefix is not
obligatory in negative imperatives).

(4.131) a. *tɕo-lu-n-(na)!*   b. *tɕa-kə-n!*
NEG.IMP-come-2sg-IMP   NEG.IMP-go-2sg
'Don't come!'   'Don't leave!'

(4.132) a. *ha-tɕə-ʁ!*   b. *ɦa-tɕə-ʁu̯!*
DIR-NEG.IMP-go   DIR-NEG.IMP-throw
'Don't go out!'   'Don't throw it down!'

(4.133) *ʔũ   tsa tɕa-lau-tha,   tatə   tə-khua:-san.*
2sg here NEG.IMP-be.noisy-AUX father DIR-angry:PRS-2sgU
'Don't be noisy here or your father will be angry (at you).'

A more polite prohibitive is expressed by adding the phrase /ma-qe/
'can't' or /me-tɕhi/ 'not want' after the main verb. It is also possible to
use the hortative particles (discussed below) with the prohibitive
construction.

(4.134) *me:¹ de-ɕi-wa,   tɕile   kə-ma-qe-ʂa¹!*
rain   DIR-fall-RCA   1pl   go-NEG-able-HORT:1pl
'It's raining, so let's not go!'

There is a set of clause-final hortative particles for expressing the
idea that the speaker is directing or requesting the addressee to perform
an action. These particles can be used with either prefixed (i.e.
imperative) or unprefixed verbs. In the case of first person plural, the
form is /ʂɑ/ if there is only the speaker and one or two other people. If
there are a large number of people involved, then the form takes the
plural marking, becoming [ʂa¹], as in the example just given above.

(4.135)　*stuaha*　　*tɕhə-ʂa!*
　　　　　food/rice　　drink/eat-HORT:1sg
　　　　　'Let's eat!'

(4.136)　*tɕizzi*　*itɕi*　　　　*dzə-ʂa!*
　　　　　1dl　　together　　　eat-HORT:1sg
　　　　　'Let's eat together!'

(4.137)　*tɕile the:*　*ʁua*　*ʂa˧.*
　　　　　1pl　3sg　help　HORT:1pl
　　　　　'Let's help him/her!'

(4.138)　*tɕile tsai*　*tianjin*　*tse-k-ʂa˧.*
　　　　　1pl　now　movie　watch-go-HORT:1pl
　　　　　'Let's go watch a movie now!'

There is also a particle /wu/ which can be added after the first person hortative /ʂa/ or the indirect directive form /la/ (see below for /la/) to make the expression much more polite, and more of a request. Though the form /wu/ is the same form as the agentive/ablative/ instrumental postposition, which is also used on clauses in correlative comparative constructions (see §4.4.3) and to show the cause of some state of affairs (see §5.5), this form seems to be a separate morpheme.

(4.139)　*ma:,*　*kə-ʂa-wu?*
　　　　　mom　go-HORT:1sg-REQU
　　　　　'Mom, Let's go, O.K.?'

(4.140)　*tɕile*　*bəl-ʂa˧-wu?*
　　　　　1pl　　do-HORT:1pl-REQU
　　　　　'Let's do it, O.K.?'

(4.141)　*qa*　*tə-ʁua*　　*la-wu.*
　　　　　1sg　DIR-help　　INDTV:1sg-REQU
　　　　　'Let me help you, O.K.?'

(4.142) *χoitshu   a-zə   a-ʁu̥   la-wu.*
         hot.pepper   one-CL   DIR-put   INDTV:1sg-REQU
         'Let me put in a little hot pepper.'

For second person directives, the forms [pɑ ~ bɑ ~ wɑ] or /ʂu/ are used. The latter form has a somewhat stronger directive meaning. These forms contrast with the imperative marker /nɑ/, as [pɑ ~ bɑ ~ wɑ] is more polite than the imperative marker, and /ʂu/ has a stronger directive sense than the imperative marker.

(4.143) *ə-tɕhə-n-ba!*
         DIR-drink/eat-2sg-DTV
         'Please eat!'

(4.144) *na-ji   u-su-n-ba!*
         good-ADV   DIR-teach/study-2sg-DTV
         'Study hard!'

(4.145) *ʔũ   ʐme-ʐ   na-ji   u-su-n-ʂu.*   (emphatic)
         2sg   Qiang-language   good-ADV   DIR-teach/study-2sg-DTV
         'Learn Qiang well!'

The form /pu/ can also be used for requesting the addressee to do a certain action. This is the most polite of the particles discussed.

(4.146) *ʔũ   tɕhə-da-s-ȵi   ə-kə-(n)-na!*   (order)
         2sg drink/eat-DIR-finish-ADV   DIR-go-2sg-IMP
         'Finish eating before you go!'

(4.147) *ʔũ   tɕhə-da-s-ȵi   ə-kə-(n)-pu!*   (request)
         2sg drink/eat-DIR-finish-ADV   DIR-go-2sg-DTV
         'Why don't you finish eating before you go!'

(4.148) *ʔũ   ʐo:kum-le: a-ʂ   de-ʐge-n-pu.*   (request)
         2sg   window-DEF:CL   one-time   DIR-open-2sg-DTV
         'Could you open the window a bit?'

(4.149)   *ʔũ   qa-tɕ   dʑy   de-ʐɡe-n-pa.*   (request)
          ʔũ   qa-tɕ   dʑy   de-ʐɡe-n-pu.   (request; more polite)
          2sg   1sg-BEN   door   DIR-open-2sg-DTV
          'Open the door for me, would you?'

There is also a kind of indirect directive marking, the form of which differs with the person of the referent being directed or allowed to perform an action. For first person referents, the form is the verb-phrase-final particle /la/, which when added to a clause has the meaning 'let me . . .'. This form can also take plural marking, becoming /laˑ/,[83] and, as mentioned above, can be followed by the polite request particle /-wu/ (this latter particle is outside the verb complex, as defined here, because it follows the person marking).

(4.150)   *qa   dzə   la!*
          1sg   eat   INDTV:1sg
          'Let me eat!'

(4.151)   *qa   ʔũ   tʂauku   tu-pu̥   la.*[84]
          1sg   2sg   look.after   DIR-do   INDTV:1sg
          'Let me look after you.'

(4.152)   *qa   tə-ʁua   la-wu.*
          1sg   DIR-help   INDTV:1sg-REQU
          'Let me help!'

(4.153)   *tɕile   tə-ʁua   ləˑ-wu.*
          1pl   DIR-help   INDTV:1pl-REQU
          'Let us help!'

(4.154)   *qa   dʑy   de-ʐɡe   la-wu.*
          1sg   door   DIR-open   INDTV:1sg-REQU
          'Let me open the door!'

There is no second person form of indirect directive marking. For third person referents, the form is the prefix /ɕa:-/. There is no negative form of this; the phrase /me-tɕhi/ 'not want' is used after the verb instead.

(4.155) *stuaha*   *ɕa:-tɕ-kə.*
         food/rice   INDTV-eat-go
         'Let (him/her) go eat!'

If the verb taking the third person form also could take one of the directional prefixes (see §4.3.3) in a particular context, it is possible to either replace the prefix with /ɕa:-/, or simply change the vowel of the prefix to /ɑ:/, as in the following examples:

(4.156) a. *pə*   'buy'   >   *za:-pə ~ ɕa:-pə*   'allow 3sg to buy'
       b. *tɕhə* 'drink' >   *sa:-tɕ ~ ɕa:-tɕ*   'allow 3sg to drink'
       c. *tʂə*   'kill'   >   *ɦa:-tʂ ~ ɕa:-tʂ*   'allow 3sg to kill'
       d. *lu*   'come' >   *ta:-lu ~ ɕa:-lu*   'allow 3sg to come'
       e. *tse*   'look'   >   *a:-tse ~ ɕa:-tse*   'allow 3sg to look'
       f. *phe* 'dig (horizontally)' > *ɦa:-ɸe ~ ɕa:-ɸe* 'allow 3sg to dig'

The form with /ɕa:/ is more emphatic than the form where the initial of the prefix is retained. For plural referents the plural marker /-tɕi/ is added after the verb.

4.3.5.3. Interrogatives

Yes-no questions are marked by rising intonation and by the addition of the clause-final syllable /-nɑ/ for second person singular actors/topics, or /-ŋuɑ/ (often pronounced [wɑ]) for all actors/topics of all other persons and numbers. The question particle that is part of these forms is outside the verb complex, and so follows aspect and person/number marking, but is discussed here with the other illocutionary force markings. The form /-nɑ/ is comprised of the second person singular person marking /-n/ plus the question particle /-ɑ/, though the non-second person singular question particle /-ŋuɑ/ does not seem to derive from the copula /ŋuə/ plus /-ɑ/, as /ŋuɑ/ often follows the copula. It also does not seem to be a form of the third person non-actor marking (as is the case with the debitive construction; see §4.3.6.3) plus /-ɑ/, as the aspect and person marking suffixes appear on the element preceding /ŋuɑ/.

(4.157)   *ʔũ   ʐme   ŋuə-n-a?*
          2sg   Qiang   COP-2sg-Q
          'Are you(sg) Qiang (a Qiang person)?'

(4.158)   *the: ʐme   ŋuə-ŋua?*
          3sg   Qiang   COP-Q
          'Is s/he Qiang?'

(4.159)   *ʔile   ʐme   ŋuə-i-ŋua?*
          2pl   Qiang   COP-2pl-Q
          'Are you(pl) Qiang?'

(4.160)   *themle   ʐme   ŋuə-tɕi-ŋua?*
          3pl   Qiang   COP-3pl-Q
           'Are they Qiang?'

(4.161)   *ʔũ   ʐdʐyta: ɦa-qə-n-a?*
          2sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-2sg-Q
          'Did you go to Chengdu?'

(4.162)   *the: ʐdʐyta: ɦa-q-ŋua?*
          3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-Q
          'Did s/he go to Chengdu?'

   Rhetorical questions are marked by /-ja/ (the same form as for statements, but with different intonation) or /-tɕa/ or /-ŋui/. The form /ŋui/ is only for first person imperfective actions (often used together with prospective aspect marking), and can be used after regular polarity verb-not-verb type question formations.

(4.163)   *tɕile   wu   ʐme   ŋuə¹-ja?*
          1pl   all   Qiang   COP:1pl-Q
          'Are we all Qiang?'

(4.164)   *qa   ʐme   ma-ŋua-ja?*
          1sg   Qiang   NEG-COP:1sg-Q
          'Am I not Qiang?' ('Aren't I Qiang?')

(4.165) *qa   n̠iɣi   bəla:-ŋui?*
       1sg   what   do:PRS:1sg-Q
       'What am I going to do?'

(4.166) *qa   təp-n̠i   ka:-ŋua   ma-ka:-ŋui?*
       1sg   tomorrow-ADV   go:PRS-Q   NEG-go:PRS:1sg-Q
       'Am I going tomorrow or not? '

Guesses, either positive or negative, involving a request for confirmation, can be marked by the clause final particle /-luʁuɑ/.

(4.167) a. *the: ʐme   ŋuə-luʁua?*
           3sg   Qiang   COP-(guess)
           'S/he's Qiang, isn't s/he?'

       b. *the: ʐme   ma-ŋu̯ə-luʁua?*
           3sg   Qiang   NEG-COP-(guess)
           'S/he's not Qiang, is s/he?'

       c. *the: ə-qa-luʁua?*
           3sg   DIR-go-(guess)
           'S/he went in, didn't s/he?'

The form [luʁuɑ], when used alone, marks a type of tag question, but when used with the inferential evidential marker /-k/, as in (4.168), or the [tɑn/lɑhɑn] 'possibility' construction in (4.169) (see §4.3.7.4 for this construction), it simply marks the clause as less certain.

(4.168) *the: tshinpi-wa-k   luʁua.*
       3sg   intelligent-very-INF   Q
       'She is intelligent.' (guessing)

(4.169) *the: tshinpi   wa-m-tan   ŋuə   luʁua.*
       3sg   intelligent   very-NOM-appearance COP   Q
       She possibly is intelligent.

The form /luʁuɑ/ seems to involve two morphemes, /lu/ 'come', which can be used alone to express possibility and is used in the

compound /ɕtɕɑq-lu/ 'think of, want', and a second morpheme /ʁuɑ/, though the meaning of this second morpheme is not clear. Following is an example of /lu/ used alone:

(4.170) *pəs   məpa wa,   təp-n̠i   tsə-s*
         today   cold   very   tomorrow-ADV   this-COMP
         tɕa-məpa: lu.
         CON-cold:PRS   will
         'Today is very cold, tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.'

A post-nominal or post-clausal adverb, /luo/, can also be used to express possibility:

(4.171) *ʔũ   ha-ʁ-n̠i   a-ʂ   i-tsi-kə,   zə-ʁa*
         2sg   DIR-go-ADV   one-time   DIR-look-go   field-LOC
         wətshi   poquʂ-luo   ʐ̟i   ʁu.
         bird   livestock-perhaps exist   allow
         'You go out and take a look, perhaps there are livestock or birds in the field.'

The form /-wɑ/ (distinct from the alternate form of /ŋuɑ/) can be used as a reaffirmation question particle (e.g., 'Do you really want to go?').

(4.172) *ʔũ   ʐdʐyta: ka:-wa?*
         2sg   Chengdu:LOC   go:PRS-Q
         'Are you really going to Chengdu?'

Polarity ('yes-no') questions can be formed by repeating the entire verb complex, with the first token in the positive and the second token in the negative (sometimes called 'A-not-A' or 'verb-not-verb' questions), and the question particle on both tokens, as in (4.166) and the following examples:

(4.173) a. *ʔũ   ʐdʐyta: ɦa-qə-n-a   ɦa-mə-qa-n-a?*
             2sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-2sg-Q   DIR-NEG-go-2sg-Q
             'Did you go to Chengdu?'

b. *the:* *ẓdẓyta:* *ɦa-qə-ŋua* *ɦa-mə-qa-ŋua?*
  3sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-Q DIR-NEG-go-Q
  'Did he go to Chengdu?'

There is sometimes a difference in meaning between a polarity question with prospective aspect marking in the first clause and one without prospective aspect marking in the first clause. Compare the following two examples:

(4.174) *ʔũ* *jan* *tʂhe-n-a* *me-tʂhe-n-a?*
   2sg cigarette smoke-2sg-Q NEG-smoke-2sg-Q
   'Do you smoke?'

(4.175) *ʔũ* *jan* *tʂha:-n-a* *me-tʂhe-n-a?*
   2sg cigarette smoke:PRS-2sg-Q NEG-smoke-2sg-Q
   'Will you smoke?'

The first example does not have prospective aspect marking on the verb of the first clause, and so expresses the question of whether or not the addressee smokes as a habit; the second example has prospective aspect making on the verb in the first clause, and so is asking if the addressee intends or wants to smoke now.

Question particles are used even if interrogative pronouns are used in the clause. Interrogative pronouns can appear in initial position, second position, or immediately preverbal position, depending on the overall context (e.g. the difference between (4.176) and (4.177) is whether the table is topical (4.176) or not (4.177)), and can take the same case markers as lexical nouns and other pronouns (see §3.1.2).

(4.176) *tʂuatsə-le:* *sə-wu* *zə-p-wa?*
   table-DEF:CL who-AGT DIR-buy-Q
   'Who bought the table?'

(4.177) *sə-wu* *tʂuatsə-le:* *zə-p-wa?*
   who-AGT table-DEF:CL DIR-buy-Q
   'Who bought the table?'

(4.178) a. *pi:-tsa-la   sə-wu   ʔũ-(tɕ)   de-l-ŋua?*
              pen-this:one-CL who-AGT   2sg-GEN   DIR-give-Q
              'Who gave you this pen?'

        b. *ʔũ-tɕ   pi:-tsa-la   sə-wu   de-l-ŋua?*
              2sg-GEN   pen-this:one-CL who-AGT   DIR-give-Q
              'Who was it that gave you this pen?'

Just about any type of argument can be questioned using interrogative pronouns. Examples (4.176)-(4.178) are examples of interrogative pronouns representing actor arguments; following are examples of interrogative pronouns representing benefactive (4.179), recipient (4.180), genitive (4.181), and adverbial (4.182) arguments:

(4.179) *tʂhuatsə-le: sə-tɕ   zə-pa:-n-a?*
          table-DEF:CL   who-GEN   DIR-buy:PRS-2sg-Q
          'For whom are you going to buy the table?'

(4.180) *tʂhuatsə-le: sə-ta   tə-χua:-n-a?*
          table-DEF:CL   who-LOC   DIR-sell:PRS-2sg-Q
          'To whom are you going to sell the table?'

(4.181) *sə-tɕ-tʂhetsə-le: ɦa-χ-ŋua?*
          who-GEN-car-DEF:CL   DIR-bad/broken-Q
          'Whose car has broken down?'

(4.182) *tʂhetsə-le: ȵi-ke: tə-bələ-n-a?*
          car-DEF:CL   WH-INDEF:CL   DIR-do-2sg-Q
          'What did you do to the car?'

The order of words in the question is generally reflected in the answer, e.g. if the interrogative pronoun is in initial position, then the answer also appears in initial position. The answer to a question involving an interrogative pronoun can be a whole clause, or may simply be the noun phrase representing the information completing the open proposition (i.e. the question), with or without case marking. Compare the three different responses given below to the following question:

(4.183) Question:
     pi:-tsa-la   *sə-wu*   *ʔũ*   *de-l-ŋua?*
     pen-this:one-CL   who-AGT   2sg   DIR-give-Q
     'Who gave you this pen?'

     Answer:
     a. *khumtsi-wu*   *de-l.*
         khumtsi-AGT   DIR-give
         'Khumtsi gave it (to me).'
     b. *khumtsi-wu.*
         khumtsi-AGT
         'Khumtsi (did)'
     c. *khumtsi.*
         'Khumtsi (did).'

Echo questions take the same form as regular questions, though it is possible to use /-ja/ at the end of yes-no echo questions. More than one element of the clause can be subject to echo-questioning.

Leading questions can be asked using either the form /-ja/ or /-nɑ/. Following are two sets of question and answer (both positive and negative answers; no person marking appears in the confirmatory questions, and it is optional in the answers):

(4.184) Question:
     ʔũ   *kə*   *ɕtɕaq-mo-lu-ja?*
     2sg   go   heart-NEG-come-Q
     'Don't you want to go? '

     Answers:
     a. *ŋuə,* *(qa)*   *kə*   *ɕtɕaq-mo-lu.*
         COP   (1sg)   go   heart-NEG-come
         'No, I don't want to go'. (lit.: 'Yes, I don't want to go.')

     b. *ʔə̃hə̃,*[85] *(qa)*   *kə*   *ɕtɕaq-lu.*
         NEG   1sg   go   heart-come
         'Yes, I want to go.' (lit.: 'No, I want to go.')

(4.185)   Question:
　　　　ʔũ　　　stuaha　　　sə-tɕ-jy-na?
　　　　2sg　　food/rice　　DIR-eat-ASP-Q
　　　　'Have you already eaten? '

　　　　Answers:
　　　　a.　*ʔə̃,　(sə-tɕya).*
　　　　　　Yes,　(DIR-eat:ASP:1sg)
　　　　　　'Yes, I have. '

　　　　b.　*ʔə̃hə̃,　(sə-mə-tɕi-tɕha).*
　　　　　　NEG，　(DIR-NEG-CON-eat:1sg)
　　　　　　'No, I haven't eaten yet. '

　　　　c.　*sə-tɕya / sə-mə-tɕi-tɕha*
　　　　　　DIR-eat:ASP:1sg / DIR-NEG-CON-eat:1sg
　　　　　　'I have eaten' / 'I have not yet eaten'

　　There are no tag-question constructions in Qiang except for guesses marked by /luʁua/ (see above); the unmarked question form is used instead:

(4.186)　*ʔũ-tɕ　　ɕi　　a-zə　　fio-jy-la-ŋua?*
　　　　　2sg-GEN　wine　one-CL　DIR-pour-INDTV:1sg-Q
　　　　　'Will you let me pour you a little wine?'

4.3.6. Mood
4.3.6.1. Optative

The desire to do an action is expressed by the addition of the auxiliary verbs /ɕtɕaq-lu/ 'think of,want' ('heart' + 'desire' (< 'come') (/lu/ can also be used alone), /kantɕhi/ 'think/want', or /zulu/ 'wait' after the main verb, which is not overtly nominalized. First, second, and third person actors can all appear in this construction. First person marking on /ɕtɕaq-lu/ is optional, but /zulu/ inflects normally: [zulua, zulun, zulu̞]. The person marking reflects the actor of the matrix clause, i.e. the actor of /ɕtɕaq-lu/ or /zulu/, not of the subordinate clause. There is no person

marking of the subordinate (inner) verb, as only one verb in a sentence can take person marking (see §4.3.2), and that is the last (the matrix [outer]) verb, though aspect can be marked on the subordinate (inner) verb in these constructions. The construction with /zulu/ often has the verb before /zulu/ marked with prospective aspect.

(4.188) *the: tɕəu kə   ɕtɕaq-lu.*
      3sg   home   go   heart-come
      'S/he wants to go home.'

(4.189) a. *qa   tɕəu   kə   ɕtɕaq-lu-a.*
         1sg   home   go   heart-come-1sg
         'I want to go home.'

       b. *ʔũ   tɕəu   kə   ɕtɕaq-lu-n.*
         2sg   home   go   heart-come-2sg
         'You want to go home.'

(4.190) *khuə-le: qa-wu   pa: lu.*
      dog-DEF:CL   1sg-AGT   buy:PRS   will
      'I am going to buy the dog.' ('The dog will be bought by me.')

(4.191) a. *qa   the: i-pə-la: zulu-a.*
         1sg   3sg   DIR-arrive-come:PRS   wait-1sg
         'I hope s/he is going to return.'

       b. *ʔũ   the: i-pə-la: zulu-n.*
         2sg   3sg   DIR-arrive-come:PRS   wait-2sg
         'You hope s/he is going to return.'

       c. *the: the: i-pə-la: zulu̧.*
         3sg   3sg   DIR-arrive-come:PRS   wait
         'S/he hopes s/he is going to return.'

Another method for expressing the optative mood is to nominalize the verb with the instrumental nominalizer /-s/ and add /ŋuə-ɳi/ (copula + ADV), or /ma-ŋuə-tɕi/ ('not' + copula + ADV). The form /ŋuə-ɳi/ is used for positive clauses, and either /ma-ŋuə-ɳi/ or /ma-ŋuə-tɕi/ is used

for negatives. No aspect or person contrasts are marked in sentences with /mɑ-ŋuə-tɕi/ or /ŋuə-n̪i/.[86]

(4.192) *təp-n̪i*   *me:¹*   *ɕe-s*   *mɑ-ŋuə-tɕi.*
         tomorrow-ADV rain   release-NOM   NEG-COP- ADV
         'I hope it won't rain tomorrow.'

(4.193) a. *qa*   *tʂhetsə-le:*   *ɦa-χ-əs*   *mɑ-ŋuə-tɕi.*
             1sg   car-DEF:CL   DIR-bad/broken-NOM   NEG-COP- ADV
             'I hope my car hasn't broken down.'

         b. *the:*   *tʂhetsə-le:*   *ɦa-χ-əs*   *ŋuə-n̪i.*
             3sg   car-DEF:CL   DIR-bad/broken-NOM   COP-ADV
             'I hope his/her car has broken down.'

(4.194) a. *təp-n̪i*   *tianjin*   *ɕe-s*   *ŋuə-n̪i.*
             tomorrow-ADV   movie   release-NOM   COP-ADV
             'I hope a movie is showing tomorrow.'

         b. *təp-n̪i*   *tianjin*   *ɕe-s*   *mɑ-ŋu̯ə-tɕi.*
             tomorrow-ADV   movie   release-NOM   NEG-COP-PART
             'I hope no movie is showing tomorrow.'

In some cases the second person directive particle /-ʂu/ can be used as a strong expression of desire for the addressee to perform a particular action.

(4.195) a. *ʔũ*   *tɕo-lu-n-ʂu.*
             2sg   NEG.IMP-come-2sg-DTV
             'I hope you won't come.'

         b. *ʔũ*   *tɕa-kə-n-ʂu.*
             2sg   NEG.IMP-go-2sg-DTV
             'I hope you won't leave.'

(4.196) *təp-n̪i*   *χtʂu-tian-ʁa*   *i-pə-l-ən-ʂu.*
         tomorrow-ADV   six-o'clock-LOC   DIR-arrive-come-2sg-DTV
         'I hope you will come tomorrow at six o'clock.'

4.3.6.2. Intentional

To express the intention to carry out a particular action, the prospective aspect form of the verb can be used alone, or a nominalized verb form followed by /ŋuə-ȵi/ can be used. The construction with nominalized verb plus /ŋuə-ȵi/ was introduced above as a way of expressing the optative mood, and it has this use, but its main meaning is one of obligation (cf. English *I must have that piece of cake!).* It can also be used in some contexts to express intention. Between these two forms, the use of the prospective aspect marking has a stronger sense of intention than the use of /ŋuə-ȵi/.

(4.197) *qa   fa   ɕupu-a-thau   pa:.*   (< pə)
    1sg   clothes   red-one-CL   buy:PRS:1sg
    'I am going to buy a set of red clothes.'

(4.198) a. *qa   ʐme-ʐ   na-ji   su-a:.*
     1sg   Qiang-language   well-ADV   learn-PRS:1sg
     'I am going to learn Qiang well.'

    b. *the: ʐme-ʐ   na-ji   su-a:-i.*
     3sg   Qiang-language   well-ADV   learn-PRS-HS
     'I heard s/he is going to learn Qiang well.'

(4.199) a. *qa   ʁu-q-ta   ha-ʁa:.*
     1sg   mountain-peak(head)-LOC   DIR-go:PRS:1sg
     'I am going to go up to the mountain top.'

    b. *qa   ʁu-q-ta   ha-ʁə-s   ŋuə-ȵi.*
     1sg   mountain-peak(head)-LOC   DIR-go-NOM   COP-ADV
     'I am going to go up to the mountain top.'

The construction involving /ɕtɕaq-lu/ 'think of, want', also introduced as a way of expressing optatives, can be used to express intention as well.[87]

(4.200) *qa   tɕiʁua-leː   xɬie   ɕtɕaq-lu.*
       1sg   house-DEF:CL   build   heart-come
       'I want (plan) to build the house.'

4.3.6.3. Debitive (Obligation)

The construction used to express obligation to perform an action involves a nominalized verb followed by the copula /ŋuə/,[88] and this is followed optionally by /ʂa/ in the first person, /sɑn/ in the second person, or /ŋy̥ə̗/ in the third person. These forms are the non-actor person marking suffixes (see §4.3.2). (The form /ŋy̥ə̗/ is an alternate form of the third person non-actor marker /wə/, which by assimilation to /ŋuə/ becomes /ŋy̥ə̗/.) 'Must' and 'ought to' use the same construction. No formal distinction is made between moral and physical obligation. No distinction of degrees of obligation is marked. Epistemic and root modality are expressed using the same structures. Person marking on the verb is optional in this construction, but if it appears it is the non-actor marking that is used.

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

(4.202) a. *qa   ʐme-ʐ   na-ji   su-s   ŋuə-(ʂa).*
            1sg   Qiang-language   well-ADV   learn-NOM   COP-1sgU
       b. *ʔũ   ʐme-ʐ   na-ji   su-s   ŋuə-sɑn.*
            2sg   Qiang-language   well-ADV   learn-NOM   COP-2sgU
       c. *the: ʐme-ʐ   na-ji   su-s   ŋuə-ŋy̥ə̗.*
            3sg   Qiang-language   well-ADV   learn-NOM   COP-3sgU
       'I / you / s/he must learn Qiang well.'

(4.203) a. *qa   stuaha   bələ-s   ŋuə-ji-(ʂa).*
            1sg   food/rice   make-NOM   COP-CSM
       b. *ʔũ   stuaha   bələ-s   ŋuə-ji-sɑn.*
            2sg   food/rice   make-NOM   COP-CSM-2sgU

    c. *the:*   *stuaha*   *bələ-s*   *ŋuə-ji-ŋu̞ə̞.*
         3sg   food/rice   make-NOM   COP-CSM-3sgU
         'I / you / s/he must make the meal.' (prepare to begin)

The construction with nominalized verb plus /ŋuə-n̪i/, discussed above as having a sense of intention similar to the use of the prospective aspect marking, is also a way of expressing a kind of obligation or necessity. Contrast the following two examples, where the prospective aspect marking or nominalized verb plus /ŋuə-n̪i/ can be used in the same context, but the latter has more of a sense of necessity.

(4.204)   a. *qa*   *mausa*   *ka:.*   (intention)
             1sg   toilet   go:PRS:1sg
             'I'm going to go to the bathroom.'

            b. *qa*   *mausa*   *kə-s*   *ŋuə-n̪i.*   (necessity)
             1sg   toilet   go-NOM   COP-ADV
             'I have to go to the bathroom.'

An interesting feature of this construction is that if there is only one human referent referred to in the clause, as in the examples above, then the person marking on the verb reflects the person and number of that referent, but if there are two human referents referred to in the clause, then the person marking reflects the non-actor argument. The initial noun phrase of this construction is the topic of an identificational structure, and so normally we would expect agrreement with that argument, particularly as the other referent mentioned is mentioned within a nominalized clause, but instead we get agreement with the embedded argument. This is a clear example of how use of the non-actor person marking is not limited to specific semantic or grammatical roles. Following are examples where two human referents are referred to:

(4.205)   a. *the:*   *ʔũ-(ta)*   *ʁua-s*   *ŋuə-san.*
             3sg   2sg-DAT   help-NOM   COP-2sgU
             'S/he should help you.'

b. *tɕile   the: ʁua-s   ŋuə-ŋ̩ʐ̩.*
    1pl   3sg   help-NOM   COP-3sg
    'We ought to help him/her.'

c. *tɕile   tɕy:mi-le:-χua-n̩i   ʐbotɕu-s   ŋuə-(ŋ̩ʐ̩).*
    1pl   child-DEF:CL-BEN-ADV   consider-NOM   COP-3sg
    'We must consider the interests of the child.'

In two of the traditional stories that were recorded, the nominalization part of this structure appears in a non-final clause without the copula, but the sense of obligation or determination is the same. In (4.206), from "The Creation of the World", the structure appears twice, in the first line with the copula, followed by /χuɑ-n̩i/ 'because', and in line four, as simply a nominalization, but with the sense '(they) should (become a family)'. In (4.207), from "The Story of a Lazy Man" three nominalized clauses are subordinated to one copula.

(4.206) *steke-ta   mi   **pe⁺ʐə-s**   **ŋuə-χua-n̩i,** . . .*
         after-LOC   people   raise(child)-NOM   COP-because-ADV

2   *n̩utɕuku   dzuaʁl   e-xʂe   ɦei-bi-n̩i,*
    each   stone.mill   one-CL   DIR-carry.on.back-ADV

3   *ʁu-q-ta-wu   ɦio-ɣlu,   dzuaʁl   jə-xʂe*
    mountain-head-LOC-ABL   DIR-roll   stone.mill   two-CL

4   *e-tʂetup-tu,   n̩izzi   oqpi   **pə-s,***
    DIR-bump-LNK   3dl   one.family   become-NOM

5   *dzuaʁl   jə-xʂe   ɦio-ɣlu-s-ta,*
    stone.mill   two-CL   DIR-roll-NOM-LOC

6   *qhuat   e-tʂetup-wei,   ɦia-tsəi-n̩ike,*
    as.it.happens   DIR-bump.into-INF:HS   INT-this.manner-after

7   *mə   n̩a   ɣlu   lə-zi   oqpi*
    older.brother   COM   younger.sister   DEF-CL   one.family

8   *ɦio-pə-i.*   (T1:4-11)
    DIR-become-HS

    'Later, in order to propagate descendants, (the brother and sister decided that) each would carry a stone mill on his or her back and roll it down from the mountain peak. If the two stone mills joined together, the two should get married. As it happened, when the two stone mills rolled down (to the river

bank) they joined together, and so the brother and sister married (became a family).'

(4.207) *ʐmətşi-le:-tɕ*   *tsi-le:-ŋuəɳi*
         emperor-DEF:CL-GEN   daughter-DEF:CL-TOP

2   *χuan-tɕhianme˧-ta*   **ɣʐə-s,**
         Huang-Qianmen-DAT   marry-NOM

3   *χuan-tɕhianme˧-ŋuəɳi*   *ʐmətşi*   **dzu-s,**
         Huang-Qianmen-TOP   emperor   sit-NOM

4   *ʐmətşi-le:*   *tsi-le:-ŋuəɳi*   *ɦa-tha*
         emperor-DEF:CL   daughter-DEF:CL-TOP   INT-there

5   **de-l-əs,**   *ɦa-kə*   **ŋuə-ku-tu,** . . .   (T5:308-314)
         DIR-give-NOM   INT-thus   COP-INF:HS-LNK

'(Because the emperor had said he would marry his daughter to whoever found the parrot,) the emperor had to marry his daughter to Huang Qianmen, and Huang Qianmen became the emperor, (he had to) give (him) the daughter.'

In the following example from the story "An Orphan", the sense of the nominalization construction is of obligation in terms of the best thing to do in that situation. We can see in the fourth line of this example that even the copula can be nominalized and subordinated to the copula.

(4.208) *the-maha-ŋuəɳi (tɕiu)*   *şəşe:˧wu*   *ɳiantɕi*
         that-night-TOP   †(INT)   exist:REDUP:all   together

2   *ganphai-tu-pu̞-kəi-stu,*   *χa-le:-ŋuəɳi*   *tɕa-lə*
         arrange-DIR-do-INF:HS-PART   needle-DEF:CL-TOP   where-LOC

3   **je-s**   **ŋuə,**   *tɕa-lə*   *tɕa-lə*   **nə-s**
         live/stay-NOM   COP   where-LOC   where-LOC   sleep-NOM

4   **ŋuə,**   *tɕa-lə*   *tɕa-lə*   *ɳiɣi*   **ŋuə-s**   **ŋuə,**
         COP   where-LOC   where-LOC   what   COP-NOM   COP

5   *ɦa-tsəi*   *ganphai-tu-pu̞-kəi-tɕu.*   (T3:101-106)
         INT-this:manner   arrange-DIR-do-INF:HS-PART

'That night everybody made a plan together, where the needle should stay, where (each of them) should sleep and what not and it was all settled.'

Another form of this construction is where the continuative aspect prefix appears on the copula, i.e. [tɕa-ŋu̯ə] (CON + COP). The combination [tɕa-ŋu̯ə] can also take the negative prefix. (Without the continuative aspect prefix, the form would express an action that had been agreed upon or set beforehand.)

(4.209) a. *qa*   *kə-s*   *tɕa-ŋu̯ə.*
             1sg   go-NOM   CON-COP
             'I (still) must go.'

         b. *qa*   *kə-s*   *ma-tɕə-ŋuə.*
             1sg   go-NOM   NEG-CON-COP
             'I (still) shouldn't go.'

(4.210) a. *the:*   *ləɣz*   *zdə-s*   *tɕa-ŋuə.*
             3sg   book   read/study-NOM   CON-COP
             'I (still) must study.'

         b. *the:*   *ləɣz*   *zdə-s*   *ma-tɕə-ŋuə.*
             3sg   book   read/study-NOM   NEG-CON-COP
             'I (still) don't need to study.'

Obligation can also be expressed using the auxiliary verb /ʁze/ 'ought to'. If this auxiliary verb is negated ('must not') and/or takes the continuative aspect prefix [tɕi ~ tɕa ~ tɕe ~ tɕo], the negative or other prefix appears between the main verb and the auxiliary (i.e. is prefixed to the auxiliary verb).

(4.211) a. *stuaha*   *tɕhə-ʁze-ji.*
             food/rice   eat-must-CSM
             '(We/You/One) ought to eat!' (i.e., 'Time to eat!')

         b. *stuaha*   *tɕhə-ma-tɕi-ʁze.*
             food/rice   eat-NEG-CON-must
             '(We/You/One) ought not to eat yet!'

4.3.6.4. Potential

The potential to perform an action is expressed by the use of auxiliary verbs, with the choice of auxiliary verb depending on the type of potentiality. Person marking is added to the auxiliary verb. Following are examples of each type:

/ɣʐə/ for learned ability:

(4.212)   a.   *the:*   *ʐme-ʐ*   *dʑe*   *ɣʐə.*
               3sg   Qiang-language   speak   can
               'S/he can speak Qiang.'

          b.   *ʔũ*   *ʐme-ʐ*   *dʑe*   *ɣʐə-n.*
               2sg   Qiang-language   speak   can-2sg
               'You can speak Qiang.'

          c.   *qa*   *ʐme-ʐ*   *dʑe*   *ɣʐa.*   (< ɣʐə)
               1sg   Qiang-language   speak   can:1sg
               'I can speak Qiang.'

/dʐə/ or /qe/ for natural (physical) ability:[89]

(4.213)   a.   *mi*   *la*   *ma-l,*   *wə*   *la*   *dʐə.*   (< mə + dʐə)
               person   fly   NEG-able   bird   fly   able
               'People cannot fly, but birds can.'

          b.   *misaq-wu*   *qa*   *quaha*   *tə-ɳiχ-ʐ*   *dʐə.*
               sun-AGT   1sg   face   DIR-black-CAUS   able
               'The sun can make my face become black.'

          c.   *qa*   *u-tɕu*   *ma-la.*   (< mə + dʐə + ɑ)
               1sg   DIR-see   NEG-able:1sg
               'I can't see.'

(4.214)   *the:*   *ʐawa-le:*   *tə-tsi*   *qe-ŋua?*   (dʐə also possible here)
          3sg   rock-DEF:CL   DIR-lift   able-Q
          'Can s/he lift the rock?'

Comparing (4.215) and (4.216), below, we can see that while the forms /ɣʐə/ and /dʐə/ are phonetically similar, the meanings are somewhat different and /ɣʐə/ does not undergo phonetic reduction when it is prefixed.

(4.215) *tsiɕi   sei   ma-ɣʐ̩ə.*
         infant   walk   NEG-can
         'An infant cannot walk.' (not yet learned)

(4.216) *the:-dʑoqu-le: dak-wu,   pitɕ sei   ma-l-jy.*   (< dʐ̩ə)
         3sg-foot-DEF:CL break-INST now   walk NEG-able-ASP
         'His/her foot is broken so he/she cannot walk now.'

/gu/ for ability to fit into something else:

(4.217) *tʂuəwa-le-tsi   sə-le   gu-ŋua?*
         shoe-DEF-CL   DIR-pack   able.to-Q
         'Can this pair of shoes fit in?'

/ʁu/ or /se/ for the sense of 'willing' or '(be) allowed':

(4.218) a. *ɕoɕau-ʁa   ʐ̩me-ʐ̩   dʑe-ʐ̩   ʁu.*
             school-LOC   Qiang-language speak-CAUS   allow
             'Speaking Qiang is allowed in the school.'

         b. *ɕoɕau-ʁa   ʐ̩me-ʐ̩   dʑe-ʐ̩   ɦe-se.*
             school-LOC   Qiang-language speak-CAUS   DIR-allow
             'Speaking Qiang is allowed in school.'

/je/ 'good to eat' (an adjective) for the sense of 'possible':

(4.219) *tsa   ʐ̩e-s   me-je.*
         here write-NOM NEG-possible
         '(You) can't write here.'

A construction involving the exclusion particle on the main verb and the expression /me-tɕhi/ 'not want' following the main verb can also be

used to express the ability (either physical or learned) or permission to do something.

(4.220) a. *ɕoɕau-ʁa   ʐme-ʐ   dʑe-ji   me-tɕhi.*
         school-LOC Qiang-language speak-EXC NEG-want
         'It is all right to speak Qiang in school.'

     b. *tsə   tu-χsu-ji-wa,   tɕile quaha χuəla-jə*
         water DIR-boil-CSM-RCA 1pl   face   wash-EXC
         me-tɕhi-ji.
         NEG-want-CSM
         'The water's boiled, so we can wash our faces.'

4.3.7. Evidentials, degree of certainty/authority

The evidential system in Qiang basically has three terms, visual (§4.3.7.1), inferred/mirative (§4.3.7.2), and reported marking (§4.3.7.3) (this is the B1 type of system discussed in Aikhenvald 2003), but it does not necessarily involve marking of the evidential category on all clauses, and there are complications related to verb types and combinations of forms. The inferential can appear together with the hearsay or visual marker, therefore it may be seen as two systems rather than three paradigmatically related items in one system. The actor person marking, when used without the inferential/mirative marker, also is involved in expressing an evidential meaning, in that it implies direct observation, and cannot be used with the hearsay marker.

In general, an unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, most probably, but not necessarily, from having seen the situation or event first-hand, and so, for witnessed events, there is no obligatory marking of the events as witnessed. If the speaker wants to emphasize that he or she saw the event or that the statement represents incontrovertible common knowledge, then it is possible to use an overt marker, [-u ~ -wu], as in (4.221a) below. This marker is actually rarely used, and difficult to elicit from linguistically naive speakers. It is generally only used when the actor(s) of the clause is animate, and it is necessary to emphasize that the speaker actually saw the other person(s) carry out the action. This form is used together

with the actor person marking suffixes, but use of the person marking suffixes alone can also imply visual observation, as in (4.221b).

(4.221) a. *the:*   *ẓdʐyta:*   *ɦa-qə-(w)u.*
             3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-VIS
             'He went to Chengdu.' (used in a situation where the speaker saw the person leave and that person has not yet returned)

         b. *ʔũ*   *tɕeχun*   *tu-pu-ji-n.*
             2sg   marry   DIR-do-ASP-2sg
             'You got married.' (I saw you get married)

If the speaker is not completely sure of the information being presented in the utterance, which generally means s/he did not witness it, then it is necessary to use one of two non-visual markers. In reporting second-hand or third-hand knowledge of some situation or event the speaker is unsure of, the hearsay marking suffix /-i/ is used after the verb. Only one token of the hearsay marker is used in a clause; it cannot be repeated to show the number of sources between the speaker and the event, as in Tsafiki (Dickinson 2000:408).

Statements that represent "just discovered" information (mirative) or information based on inference derived from some physical or other non-visual evidence take the suffix /-k/ after the change of state marker, if there is one, but before the prospective aspect and person marking (if there is any—3sg animate and inanimates are unmarked), a different position in the verb complex from the narrative evidential marking. This marker in some contexts, and particularly in combination with the hearsay marker, can be used to mark simple uncertainty (not necessarily inference).

4.3.7.1. Direct evidential

The unmarked verb form can be used for visual evidence, and for generally known facts and for observations that lead to a strong conclusion, such as if you say 'He is a strong man' when you see him do

something that makes that obvious. In this latter case, use of the inferential marker would be optional, and would imply less certainty.

The visual evidential marker can be used for past events (as in exx. (4.221a-b)) or ongoing events, but not future events. When it is used, the visual marker is used together with the actor person marking. In most cases the person marking reflects the person and number of the actor of the clause, the usual situation with the person marking, as in (4.222a), but in the case of a 3sg actor, which would normally have zero person marking, it is possible to add 1sg person marking in order to particularly emphasize that the speaker saw the person do the action, as in (4.222b) (the resulting form, [wɑ], is to be distinguished from the clause-final emphatic particle /wɑ/, which appears in (4.222a)).

(4.222) a. *themle   jimi   de-se-ji-wu-tҫi-wɑ.*
3pl   fertilizer   DIR-spread-CSM-VIS-3pl-EMPH
'They spread the fertilizer.' (I saw them do it.)

b. *the: jimi   de-se-ji-w-ɑ.*
3sg   fertilizer   DIR-spread-CSM-VIS-1sg
'She spread the fertilizer.' (I saw her spread it.)

This same form is also used when the actor is 1sg, but then the meaning is one of unintentional action, as in (4.223).

(4.223) *qɑ   the:-tɑ   de-we-ʐ-u-ɑ.*
1sg   3sg-LOC   DIR-hit-CAUS-VIS-1sg
'I hit him (accidentally).' (The context for this was the speaker having hit the person while leaning back and stretching his arms back without looking behind him.)

The visual marker [-u ~ -wu] is only used for visual sensory information, not other types of sensory information. If you hear some noise, such as the sound of drums in the next room, and you want to say 'Someone is playing drums next door', you would use the inferential marker, as in (4.224). Even if you feel something in your hand but cannot see it, the inferential marker, not the visual marker, would be used.

(4.224) *mi   ʐbə ʐete-k!*
        person   drum beat-INF
        'Someone is playing drums.' (It seems to me from hearing a noise that sounds like drums.)

4.3.7.2. Inferential/mirative marking

The suffix /-k/ has both an inferential sense and a mirative sense. The inferential sense is primary when the action involved is an activity, as in (4.224) and (4.225a). The inference may be based on evidence obtained visually or by some other sense. If what is reported is a state or the resulting state of some action, as in (4.225b-c), then the meaning is mirativity ('just discovered').[90]

(4.225) a. *the: ʑdʑyta: ɦa-qə-k.*
            3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-INF
            'He went to Chengdu.' (Used in a situation where the speaker knew the person was supposed to go to Chengdu, but wasn't sure when, and then saw the person's luggage gone, so assumed he had left for Chengdu. /-k/ could not be used if the speaker saw the person leave.)

       b. *the: ɕtɕimi   ʑdʑi-k!*
            3sg   heart   sick-INF
            'He's unhappy!' (just discovered; relatively sure, not guess)

       c. *dʑy   de-ʐge-ji-k!*
            door   DIR-open-CSM-INF
            'The door is open!' (just discovered; see that the door was opened, but don't know who opened it)

If the speaker needs to express an inferential sense in talking about a state or perfective situation, then the speaker would use the adverbial phrase /χsu-ȵi/ 'seems' or the construction with [-tɑn] or [-lɑhɑn] for marking possibility (both discussed in §4.3.7.4 below), not the inferential marker. For example, if the speaker feels wind on her back and makes the assumption that the door is open, she could say (4.226).

(4.226) *dʑy*   *ʐge-m-tɑn*   *ŋuə.*
       door   open-NOM-appearance   COP
       'It appears the door is open.' / 'Apparently the door is open.'

Generally the inference marker is used for single instances of an event, such as if someone was supposed to quit smoking, but then the speaker sees cigarette butts in an ashtray, the speaker could use the inference marker to comment that (it seems) the person had smoked. If it was discussed as a habitual action, then again generally the construction with [tɑn] or [lɑhɑn] would be used.

(4.227) a. *the:*   *jan*   *tʂhe-m-tɑn*   *ŋuə.*
          3sg   cigarettes   smoke-NOM-appearance   COP
          'S/he might smoke (It seems s/he smokes).'
          (lit.: 'S/he is s smoker's appearance.')

      b. *the:*   *jan*   *tʂhe-m-la-han*   *ŋuə.*
          3sg   cigarettes   smoke-NOM-DEF:one-kind   COP
          'S/he might smoke (might be a smoker).'
          (lit.: 'S/he is a smoking kind of person.)

The inferential/mirative marker is also used together with the person marking, with the person marking always reflecting the person and number of the actor, as in (4.228a-b), but with first person actors the interpretation is not only that the action was just discovered, but also that it was unintentional or originally unknown, as in (4.228c-d)

(4.228) a. *panə-le:*   *ɦa-χ-k-ən.*
          thing-DEF:CL   DIR-broken-INF-2sg
          'You broke the thing.' (inference from seeing the broken pieces in the person's hands)

      b. *themle*   *stuaha*   *sə-tɕhə-ji-k-tɕi.*
          3pl   food/rice   DIR-eat-CSM-INF-3pl
          'They have already eaten.' (inference from seeing used dishes)

c. *qa   dzigu̬   tɕy-k-a-ɳ̩i!*
    1sg   money   bring-INF-1sg-ADV
    'I have money!' (Used when the speaker originally thought she didn't have money, but then opened her wallet and found she did have money.)

d. *(qa)   dʑy   fia-mə-sua-k-a!*
    1sg   door   DIR-NEG-lock-INF-1sg
    'I didn't lock the door!' (Used in a situation where the speaker had thought he had locked the door.)

The suffix /-k/ can appear alone with a mirative sense (e.g. (4.225b-c)), but often in these cases the particle /-ɳ̩i/ or /-wɑ/ is added at the end of the clause, as in (4.228c). The particle /-ɳ̩i/ is an adverbial marker used also to mark surprise and/or disbelief; /-wɑ/ is an emphatic marker. It's use with /-k/ gives the construction a stronger mirative sense. Examples (4.229a-b) show the use of the suffix /-k/ together with /-wɑ/ and /-ɳ̩i/ respectively.

(4.229) a. *me:ᴵ   de-ɕi-k-wa!*
       rain   DIR-release-INF-EMPH
       'It's raining!' (just discovered; this clause could also mean 'it has rained', with the statement based on inference from having seen the ground wet)

     b. *the: ʐdʑyta: fia-qə-k-ɳ̩i!*
       3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-INF-ADV
       'He went to Chengdu!' (just discovered)

The suffix /-k/ is used with 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person actors, though with first and second person actors, /wɑ/ is not used to emphasize the sense of 'just discovered'; instead /-ɳ̩i/, /-ʂ/ or /ɳ̩iɑu/ is used for first person actors (of these three, the latter is stronger) and /-ɳ̩i/ is used for second person actors (/-ɳ̩i/ can be used for other persons, but if the clause has a second person actor, then /-ɳ̩i/ must be used). The combination [-k-wɑ] is stronger (more certain) than /-k/ alone, but weaker than [-k-ɳ̩i], which can have the sense that you can't believe your own inference, that it is totally unexpected. The auxiliary verb /ʁu/

'willing, allow' can also be added after /-k/ to weaken (make less certain) the force of the statement. Following are examples of first and second person actors ((4.230a-b) respectively).

(4.230) a. *qa*   *da-m-k-a-ʂ!*   (if plural, then [k-ə˞-ʂ])
              1sg   DIR-forget-INF-1sg-EMPH
              'I (just realized I) forgot!'

          b. *ʔũ*   *sə*   *i-tɕhi-k-ən-n̠i!*   (if plural, then [k-əi-n̠i])
              2sg   wood   DIR-bring.in-INF-2sg-ADV
              '(I see) you brought the wood in!' (just discovered)

The inferential marker, the visual marker, and the person marking can all be used together for ongoing or past events. This would be possible given a situation such as the following: after having guessed someone was playing drums next door the speaker went next door and saw the person standing there holding a drum or drumsticks. When commenting that 'He WAS playing drums', adding (/-k/ + /-u/ > [ku]) after the verb (see ex. (4.231a)) adds the sense of 'as I had guessed and now pretty-well confirm'. This interpretation holds when the clause has a 2nd person actor ([k-u-ən] 2sg, as in (4.231b), [k-u-i] 2pl) or 3rd person plural actor ([k-u-ətɕi]).

If upon opening the door in that situation the person was still playing drums, the speaker could say (4.231c). Adding the 1sg person marking where the actor is 3sg marks the clause as representing information obtained by direct visual observation. The forms with [-k-] and the visual and person marking contrast with forms without [-k-] in that with the latter do not imply a previous supposition.

(4.231) a. *oh,*   *the:*   *ʐbə*   *ʐete-k-u!*
              oh   3sg   drum   beat-INF-VIS
              'Oh, he WAS playing drums!'

          b. *ʔũ*   *ʐdʐyta:*   *ɦa-qə-k-u-ən.*
              2sg   Chengdu   DIR-go-INF-VIS-2sg
              'You went to Chengdu.'

    c. *oh,   the: ʐbə   ʐete-k-u-a!*
       oh   3sg   drum   beat-INF-VIS-1sg
       'Oh, he IS playing a drum!'

If the actor is 1st person, use of the inferential, visual and person marking together involves an implication not only that the action was done unintentionally and just discovered, as with use of the inferential and person marking alone, but also that the action was a mistake of some kind, as in (4.232) (if the actor was 1pl, then the suffixes would be [k-u-əʳ]).

(4.232) *qa apə-tɕə-iantu-le: tsa   tɕy-k-u-a.*
         1sg grandfather-GEN-pipe-DEF:CL here bring-INF-VIS-1sg
         'I mistakenly brought Grandfather's pipe here.'

Usually no marking of evidentials is necessary in retelling dreams, as long as the speaker remembers the dream clearly, but if not, then the speaker would use the adverbial phrase /χsu-ȵi/ 'seems' or the construction with [-tɑn] or [-lɑhɑn] for marking possibility (both discussed below), not the inferential or hearsay markers. When retelling some event witnessed on TV the unmarked form can also be used, but often the hearsay marker would be used (the visual marker cannot be used), as when retelling something heard on the radio. There is no special marking for information that is not to be taken literally, such as metaphors or sarcasm.

4.3.7.3. Hearsay marking

The hearsay marking suffix /-i/, derived from the verb [jə ~ ji] 'to say', is used to mark hearsay of future or presently ongoing events (e.g. 'I heard he's leaving') or relatively recent past events, as in (4.233) (could be up to 40-50 years, but generally not ancient history, though there are exceptions).

(4.233) *the: ʐdʑyta: ɦa-qə-i.*
         3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-HS
         'He went to Chengdu.' (I heard)

The hearsay marker is used only for hearsay, and not for simple uncertainty, when it is used alone. It can also appear in narratives recounting distant past events (e.g., ex. (4.234a), the first line in the traditional creation story (T1:1)), but generally in distant past narratives (story-telling) it is used together with the inferential marker, to show a greater degree of uncertainty, as in ex. (4.234b), the first line of another traditional story.[91] The hearsay marking is not used together with second person marking (e.g. (4.234c)). Unlike in Jarawara (Dixon 2003), the hearsay particle is not used in clauses with a 2nd person actor to remind the person of what they said.

(4.234) a. *qe:ˀlotʂu-ʁa,   mutu-la   mujuqu̥   ʐguə-zi we-i.*
             before-LOC   heaven-LOC   sun   nine-CL exist-HS
             '(It is said) in the past there were nine suns in the sky.'

         b. *qe:ˀ-qe:ˀ-tu   ɦala   kapətʂ   kou*
             before-before-LNK   INT   orphan   INDEF:one:CL
             ŋuə-kəi-tɕu.   (T3:1)
             COP-INF:HS-PART
             '(It is said) in the past there was an orphan.'

         c. *ʔũ   tɕeχun tu-pu-ji-i-n̪i!*
             2sg   marry   DIR-do-ASP-HS-ADV
             '(I heard) you got married!'

Generally there is no difference between second-hand and third-hand reported information, but if the hearsay marker is used in a clause with 1sg marking on the verb, as in (4.235), the utterance must be interpreted as similar to a direct quote (even though the representation of the speaker quoted is 3rd person), with the assumption being that, for example in (4.235), that the referent mentioned in (4.235) himself told the speaker of (4.235) that he (the referent mentioned in (4.235)) is unhappy.[92] If instead the verb root is the third person form plus the hearsay marker (i.e. would be [ʐdʑi-i] in (4.235)), then the implication is that someone else told the speaker the other person was unhappy.

(4.235) *the: ɕtɕimi   ʐdʑa-i.*   (< ʐdʑi-ɑ-i)
         3sg   heart   sick:1sg-HS
         'He's unhappy.' (he told me)

4.3.7.4. Evidential strategies

Two other types of marking might be considered evidential strategies rather than evidential marking. The adverbial particle /χsu-ȵi/ can be added to the end of the clause, after the verb complex (and so does not take person marking), to show uncertainty about some information. This adverbial functions something like English 'seem', taking the whole clause in its scope. The (semantically) main clause may or may not take the hearsay evidential marker /-i/ (compare (4.236a) and (4.236b)).

(4.236) a. *the: ʐdʑyta: ɦa-qə-i   χsu-ȵi.*
             3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-HS   seem-ADV
             'It seems s/he went to Chengdu.' (guessing, unsure if true)

         b. *ʐdʑyta: le   χsu-ȵi.*
             Chengdu:LOC   exist   seem-ADV
             'It seems (s/he) lives in Chengdu.'

   For expressing contingent ('it is possible that', 'perhaps') situations, often a construction involving a clause nominalized by /-m/, plus [lɑ-hɑn ~ lɑ-hən] (definite marker + 'one' + 'kind'), [kɑ-hɑn ~ kɑ-hən] (indefinite marker + 'one' + 'kind'), or /tɑn/ ('appearance'), and the copula is used. This is structurally similar to the Japanese *yoo-da* and *soo-da* constructions (see Aoki 1986). Following are examples of a direct evidential ((4.237a)) and a construction using the nominalizer /-m/ plus /tɑn/ ((4.237b)).

(4.237) a. *the: thɑ   ʐi.*
             3sg   there   exist
             'S/he is there.'

         b. *the: thɑ-ʐi-m-tɑn   ŋuə.*
             3sg   there-exist-NOM-appearance   COP
             'S/he might be there.'
             (lit.: 'S/he is the appearance of one who is there.')

An expression with [-m-tɑn] is more of a certainty than one with [χsu-(ȵi)] 'seems'. The former can also be used for non-past events.

To make a strong statement of certainty, or of information that was not recently discovered, but known for some time, then a clause nominalized by /-s/ and followed by the copula is used without /tɑn/ or /lɑ-hən/ (this construction was also discussed in §4.3.6). This form cannot be used for past/perfective actions.

(4.238) a. *pəs   z̧mu   tsu-s   ŋuə.*
         today   meeting   hold-NOM   COP
         'There is a meeting today.' (set and known about beforehand)

         b. *the: tha-z̧i-s   ŋuə.*
         3sg   there-exist-NOM   COP
         'S/he is definitely there.'

4.3.7.5. Correlations with other grammatical categories

Use of evidential marking in a question is not obligatory, as long as no assumptions about the source of the addressee's information are made, but if it is used, in the case of the visual or hearsay marking it would imply the assumption that the hearer saw (visual, as in (4.239a)), or heard about (hearsay, as in (4.239b)), the action being questioned. It is the action that is questioned, not the source of the information.

(4.239) a. *the: ɦa-qə-u   ŋua?*
         3sg   DIR-go-VIS   Q
         'Did he go?'

         b. *the: ɦa-qə-i   ŋua?*
         3sg   DIR-go-HS   Q
         'Did he go?'

If the speaker of a question assumes the addressee of the question also does not have visual evidence of information about the situation being asked about (though knows more about the situation than the speaker), the inferential particle can be used in the question, as in (4.240):

(4.240)   *the:*   *ha-qə-k*   *ŋua?*
          3sg   DIR-go-INF   Q
          'Did he go?'

The form used by the one responding to the question would then depend on the source of that person's information, visual, inference or hearsay.

   If the speaker is asking the addressee about his or her own actions, then the inferential marker can still be used, but in this case would not represent a presupposition that the addressee is also not clear about the situation. Instead it would represent a guess about some aspect of the question, for example in (4.241), the guess that Chengdu is the place that the person went to. (The question marker used in this example also differs from the usual second person question marker /-ɑ/, in that it represents more of a guess about the situation.)

(4.241)   *ʔũ*   *ʐdʐyta:*   *ɦa-qə-k-ən*   *dʐa?*
          2sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-INF-2sg   Q
          'Did you go down to Chengdu?'

   Other examples of the use of the inferential marker in questions are given in (4.242a-b). (Ex. (4.242b) is actually a rhetorical question, from a traditional story, "The Old Man of the Chen Family".)

(4.242)   a.   *the:*   *ʐdʐyta:*   *ɦa-qə-k*   *ja?*
               3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go-INF   Q
               'Did he go down to Chengdu?'

          b.   *ʔũ*   *ɳa*   *qa*   *a-qəs*   *we-k-a:*[1]   *tɕi?*
               2sg   COM   1sg   one-form   exist-INF-PRS:1pl Q
               '(Could it be) yours and mine are the same?' (T6:137-138)

   The evidential markers can be used with causatives, just as with simplex clauses (see (4.223) and (4.243)).

(4.243)   *the:*   *ɦa-qə-ʐ-i.*
          3sg   DIR-go-CAUS-HS
          'He was made to go.' (I heard)

It is possible to use the evidential markers in some embedded clauses, with the acceptability of the marker depending somewhat on the matrix verb (contrast (4.244a) and (4.244b)).

(4.244) a. *the: pieye   tu-pu-ji-(u)   qa dʐ̩ukʉ   la.*
             3sg   graduate DIR-do-CSM-VIS 1sg knowledge exist:1sg
             'I know he graduated.'

         b. *the: pieye   tu-pu-ji-i   qa   ə-ma.*
             3sg   graduate DIR-do-CSM-HS   1sg   DIR-hear:1sg
             'I heard he graduated.'

With direct quotes, as in (4.245), different evidential marking can appear on the matrix and quoted clauses, e.g. in (4.245) the inferential marker appears in the quote, and the narrative marker appears on the verb of saying (from a traditional narrative).

(4.245) *"ta, qa ʔile ep   ŋuə-k-a,"   ikə   jə-kui.*
         INT 1sg 2pl father COP-INF-1sg   thus   say-INF:HS
         'He said, "Then, I am your father." (based on inference from what they had just said; T6:254-255))

In other types of complex sentences, evidential marking can appear either on only the final clause, when the initial clause has a hypotactic relation to the second clause, or on both clauses:

(4.246) a. *the: ʐdʐyta: ɦa-qa   me-tɕhi,   peitɕin-la*
             3sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go   NEG-want Beijing-LOC
             da-tɕə-qa-kəi.
             DIR-CON-go-INF:HS
             'It seems he not only went to Chengdu, he also went to Beijing.' (I heard, not too sure)

         b. *the: ʁu-q-ta   ha-qə-kəi-tu,*
             3sg   mountain-top-LOC   DIR-go-INF:HS-LNK

   tɕi-ke: *tu-tsu-kəi.*
   bear-INDEF:CL DIR-meet-INF:HS
   'When he went up on the mountain, he ran into a bear.' (I
   heard but I'm not too sure).

c. *the: dʐoqu-le: da-g-k-(əi),   pitɕ sei*
   3sg leg-DEF:CL DIR-break-INF-HS now walk
   ma-l-jy-k-(əi).
   NEG-able-ASP-INF-HS
   'It seems he broke his leg and now can't walk.' (I heard but
   I'm not too sure.)

  There is no marking of evidentials in relative clauses (4.247a), or conditional clauses (4.247b), or imperatives (4.248a), though the verb of saying can be added to an imperative to show that someone told the speaker to order the person to do something, as in a direct quote (4.248b).

(4.247) a. *qa-wu-panə-de-le-m*   *mi.*
    1sg-AGT-thing-DIR-give-NOM person
    'the person to whom I gave something'

   b. *the: mo-lu-tu,   qa-qəi ka:.* (< kə + ɑ: + ɑ)
    3sg NEG-come-LNK 1sg-self go:PRS:1sg
    'If s/he doesn't come, I'm going to go myself.'

(4.248) a. *ʔũ ə-zuə-n.*
    2sg DIR-sit-2sg
    'You sit!'

   b. *ʔũ ə-zuə-n   ji.*
    2sg DIR-sit-2sg say
    'You sit!' (someone else told me to say that)

  If the visual evidential marker is used in the negative, such as to say 'He didn't come', or 'It didn't rain', there is a presupposition that the speaker has visual evidence of the person not coming, that is, the speaker was in the place all day, and so would have seen the person if

he had come, or the speaker was outside all day, and so would have seen it had it rained. When the inferential or hearsay markers are used with a negative clause (e.g. [mɑ-tɕi-kə-k] [NEG-CON-go-INF] '(He) didn't go yet' [inferred from seeing his baggage still in the hallway]), the implication is that the negative proposition is an inference or hearsay, the same as with positive propositions. Unlike in Akha (Hansson 2003), the evidential particles cannot be negated to express the idea that the speaker doesn't know the reason for what is happening.

Generally actions performed by oneself do not need to be overtly marked with evidentials, but the visual evidential can be used with inadvertent actions, as mentioned above. In the case of one's mental or physical states, if one is not sure about some particular state, for example, whether one has caught a cold or not, usually the construction with [-tɑn] or [lɑhɑn] 'seems' would be used, e.g. 'It seems like I caught a cold', as in (4.249).

(4.249) *qa   tə-lian-tha-m-la-han   ŋuə.*
         1sg   DIR-catch.cold-AUX-NOM-DEF:one-kind   COP
         'I might have caught a cold.' (cf. English 'It's kind of like I caught a cold')

4.4. Adverbials

The adverbials to be discussed here are the elements that modify adjectives (intransitive state predicate verbs) and verbs, not the clause as a whole. We saw examples of locative and temporal adverbs which modify the whole clause in Sections 3.2.20 and 3.2.21, and examples of another type of adverb that takes the clause in its scope in Section 4.3.7.

4.4.1. Degree marking adverbs

There is some difference between the adverbs that adjectives and other verbs can take. Most adjectives, when they act as predicates, can take the postverbal adverb /-wa/ 'very' (e.g. /nɑ-wa/ (good + very) 'very good'), whereas verbs, except for /topu/ 'like', cannot take this adverb. Some adjectives also cannot take this adverb, but there does not seem to

be a semantic reason for this, as the adjectives that can take /-wa/ and those that cannot are often in the same semantic field, e.g. /phi-wa/ 'very white', but not */n̩iq-wa/ 'very black'. For the adjectives that cannot take /-wa/, the preverbal adverb [ken ~ kən] 'very' (possibly a loan of Chinese *gēng)* can be used. Following are some other examples of these two adverbs:

(4.250) a. *basta-wa*   b. *ba-wa*
             slow/late-very   big-very
             'very slow/late'   'very big'

         c. *kən   n̩iq*   d. *kən   sta*
             very black   very wide
             'very black'   'very wide'

Some adjectives can only take /-wa/, while some can only take /kən/, though some other adjectives can take either of the two adverbs, e.g. /ɕupu-wa/ ~ /kən ɕupu/ 'very red'. Some loan words can also take /-wa/, even when the loan word is followed by the auxiliary loan word particle (see §3.1.1). In this case /-wa/ follows the auxiliary particle, e.g. /khuai-tʰɑ/ ('fast' < Chinese *kuài* + auxiliary loan word particle) > [khuai-tʰɑ-wa] 'very fast'.

The adverb /-wa/ can be used with the negative prefix, though the negative prefix appears before the adjective, with /-wa/ modifying the whole negative plus adjective combination, e.g. [mɑ-nɑ-wa] (negative + 'good' + 'very') 'very not good' (this cannot have the meaning 'not very good'). The adverb /ken/ can be used with some verbs, e.g. /ken topu/ ('very' + 'like') 'like very much'. An adjective modified by /ken/ can directly modify a noun (e.g. /fɑ-ken-n̩iq/ ('clothing' + 'very' + 'black') 'very black clothing'), but this is not possible with /-wa/. The adverb /-wa/ can also be followed by a nominalizer, as in the following relative clause:

(4.251) *ʂku-wa-m-le-ze*
         lovely-very-NOM-DEF-CL
         'the very lovely person' (lit.: 'the person who is very lovely')

There is another postverbal adverb, /quəla/ 'very', used to modify adjectives and at least one auxiliary verb, e.g. /nɑ quəla/ 'very good', /ɕupu quəla/ 'very red', /dʐ̩ə quəla/ ('able' + 'very') 'very capable'. Adjectives can also be reduplicated for expressing greater intensity (see §4.2.3).

For expressing the meaning 'too much, excessively', either a preverbal adverb, /tsan/, or a postverbal adverb, /-ʂ/, can be used with most adjectives. The former is used only before the negative or prohibitive prefix.

(4.252) a. *n̩iq-əʂ*
         black-too
         'too black'

        b. *basta-ʂ*
         slow/late-too
         'too slow/late'

        c. *ba-ʂ*
         big-too
         'too big'

        d. mo-*po-ʂ*
         NEG-thick-too
         'not too thick'

(4.253) a. *tsan-ma-nə*
         too-NEG-good
         'not too good'

        b. *tsan-ma-n̩iq*
         too-NEG-black
         'not too black'

        c. *tsan-me-ʂue*
         too-NEG-bright
         'not too bright'

        d. *tsan-me-tsue*
         too-NEG-sour
         'not too sour'

(4.254) *ɑ-zə*   *χtʂa-kaː*   *a-ʁʮ,*   *tsan-tɕa-ɣzə-ʐ̩.*   (< ʁue)
        one-CL small-INDEF:CL DIR-put too-NEG.IMP-spicy-CAUS
        'Put a little (hot pepper), don't make it too spicy.'

The continuative aspect marker /tɕɑ/ ([tɕɑ ~ tɕi ~ tɕa ~ tɕo]) is used generally to mean 'still, yet' (see §4.3.4), but when used in the comparative construction (see §3.2.7), it has the effect of a relative degree marking adverb with the sense of 'relatively *adjective*' or 'even more *adjective*'. When this adverb appears with the negative and a directional prefix, the word order is [prefix-negative-/tɕɑ/-verb], as in (4.256b).

(4.255) a. *tɕa-wa*   (< ba)   b. *tɕa-ɳiq*
             CON-big   CON-black
             'relatively big'   'relatively black'

         c. *tɕa-basta*   d. *tɕo-po*
             CON-slow/late   CON-thick
             'relatively slow/late'   'relatively thick'

(4.256) a. *ma-tɕa-χtʂa*   b. *ɦa-mə-tɕa-χtʂa*
             NEG-CON-small   DIR-NEG-CON-small
             'not so small'   'not so reduced'

The superlative of adjectives and some stative verbs is marked by the prefix /tɕi/:

(4.257) a. *tɕi-wa-la-lə*   b. *tɕi-topu*
             most-big-DEF:one-CL   most-like
             'the biggest (stick-like object)' 'like (something) most'

         c. *tɕi-fi*   d. *tɕi-χtʂa*
             most-white   most-small
             'whitest'   'smallest'

The form of the superlative is similar to one of the harmony forms of the preverbal adverb for marking a relative degree, but the superlative does not undergo vowel harmony.

4.4.2. Negation

The negative adverbial prefix /mə/ ([mɑ ~ me ~ mi ~ mə ~ mo]) and the prohibitive prefix /tɕə/ ([tɕɑ ~ tɕe ~ tɕə ~ tɕo]) (the forms of both are affected by vowel harmony and stress) appear in the same position in the verb complex, following the directional prefix, so cannot be used together in the same verb complex, e.g., /hɑ-tɕə-ʁ/ (directional prefix + prohibitive + 'go') 'don't go out!'[93] vs. /hɑ-mɑ-qɑ/ (directional prefix + negative + 'go') 'didn't go out' (see §4.2.5 on changes in the root form of 'go'). It is possible to have double negation in a single clause if there

is an auxiliary verb. The resulting meaning is a positive one, e.g., /mɑ-q ɦe-mə-se/ ('not' + 'go' + directional prefix + 'not' + 'allow') 'to not go would not be allowed' = '(He) must go'. The same negative adverbial prefix is used for all types of negation except the prohibitive.

(4.258) a. *ma-na*   'not good'
        b. *ma-ʂ*   'not have'
        c. *V-ma-l*   'need not V' or 'cannot V'
        d. *mə-tɕi-V*   'not yet V'
        e. *V-me-tɕhi*   'need not V'

(4.259) *qa*   *u-tɕu*   *ma-la.*   (< dʐə)
        1sg   DIR-see NEG-able:1sg
        'I can't see.'

Other examples of the use of the negative and prohibitive adverbial prefixes can be found throughout Chapter 4. See especially §4.3.5.2 on the prohibitive prefix.

4.4.3. Adverbial phrases

Adverbial expressions that modify non-adjective verbs as manner adverbs generally precede the verbs, and can sometimes be marked by /-ȵi/ or /-ji ~ tɕi/. Generally manner adverbs take /-ȵi/, though if reduplicated, then /-ȵi/ is not used:

(4.260) a. *akha-kha* *ə-tɕ*   b. *akha-ȵi* *ə-tɕ* (< tɕhə)
           slow   DIR-eat   slow-ADV DIR-eat
           'eat slowly'   'eat slowly'

        c. *hama-ȵi*   *dzə*   d. *ata-ȵi*   *dzə*
           stealthy-ADV eat   fast-ADV eat
           'eat stealthily (on the sly)' 'eat quickly'

The words most frequently used in adverbial expressions are similar to adjectives, but differ slightly from adjectives. They mainly appear in adverbial phrases, but can also modify nouns (in the form of

appositional structures), and can act as head of a noun phrase themselves when nominalized by the definite or indefinite markers. Semantically they seem like adjectives, but they are unlike adjectives and verbs in that they cannot act as predicates and cannot take negation, and they are also unlike other adverbs in the language, in that they can modify nouns and take the (in)definite markers, as in (4.261a-b).

(4.261) a. *the: hama-le: ŋuə.*
             3sg   stealthy-DEF:CL COP
             'He is the evasive one.'

         b. *mi   hama-le:*
             person   stealthy-DEF:CL
             'the evasive person'

This class of forms can generally take the intensifying adverbs /kən/ and /-wa/, and the superlative /tɕi-/, but not the adverbs /tsan/ and /-ʂ/. They can appear before the noun as a modifier of the noun (e.g. hama-le: mi] 'the evasive person'), but this is rather rare.

More than one manner adverb can appear in a clause, with no change in marking, and no marking of coordination, and each conjunct may or may not have adverbial marking:

(4.262) *the: hama-ȵi   akhakha   ə-qa.*
         3sg   stealthy-ADV   slowly   DIR-go
         'S/he slowly and quietly goes/went in.'

Some adjectives can act as manner adverbs in adverbial expressions, usually followed by the adverbial marker [-ji ~ tɕi] or /-ȵi/:

(4.263) a. *the: na-ji   mo-su.*
             3sg   good-ADV   NEG-study
             'S/he doesn't study well.'

         b. *ʔũ   təp-ȵi   dalə-ȵi   tu-ju.*
             2sg   tomorrow-ADV   early-ADV DIR-rise
             'Get up early tomorrow.'

In some cases the manner adverb is a whole clause or verb complex:

(4.264)   *qa*   *kuiphatsə-le:*   *ɦe-tɕi-ɳi*   *sei-ja.*   (< ji)
         1sg   walking.stick-DEF:CL   DIR-poke-ADV   walk/run-CSM:1sg
         'I (now) walk leaning on the walking stick.'

(4.265)   *tɕile*   *the:*   *ɦa-staqə-ɳi*   *linthau*   *ŋuə-ʐa:.*   (< ʐ̩ə)
         1pl   3sg   DIR-choose-ADV   leader   COP-CAUS:PRS
         'We choose him/her to be leader.'

(4.266)   *qa*   *ʐawə-le:-wu*   *ʁduaʂ*   *ha-ŋu̯ə-ʐ̩ə-ɳi*
         1sg   rock-DEF:CL-INST   hammer   DIR-COP-CAUS-ADV
         tintsə   *ʐ̩eta.*   (< ʐ̩ete)
         nail(n.)   nail(v.):1sg
         'I hammer nails using the rock as a hammer.'

Ideophonic manner adverbs follow the usual phonotactics of the language. They are used for natural sounds, and not abstract concepts.

(4.267)   *qhua:*   *tsə*   *χua χua-ke:*   *sa.*
         river.velley   water   huahua-INDEF:CL   make.sound
         'The river water makes a "huahua" sound.'

(4.268)   *moʁu*   *bu bu (wu wu)-ke:*   *ʁu.*
         wind   wu wu-INDEF:CL   blow
         'The wind blows "wu wu".'

Adverbial expressions that are comparative in nature, rather than being simple manner adverbials, often follow the verb being modified. Following are examples of adverbial expressions of equality, and comparative and superlative adverbs.

(4.269)   *thizzi*   *a-qəs*   *sei*   *dʐ̩ə.*   (equality)
         3dl   one-form   walk/run   able
         'The two of them can run equally fast.'

(4.270) *the: qa-s   sei   tɕa-lə.*   (comparative; < dʐə)
         3sg   1sg-COMP   walk/run CON-able
         'S/he runs faster than I do.'

(4.271) *the: stuaha   tɕhə   khuai-tha-wa.*   (comparative)
         3sg   food/rice eat   fast-AUX-very
         'S/he eats very quickly.'

(4.272) *the: sei   tɕi   dʐə.*   (superlative)
         3sg   walk/run   most   able
         'S/he can run the fastest.'

The correlative comparative is marked by [ɑ-zə] (one-CL) 'a little' or [lewu] 'the more'; the clause linker /-wu/ (= the agentive and instrumental marker) appears at the end of the first clause.

(4.273) *the: a-zə   sə-dzi-wu,   a-zə   tsha   ha-la.*
         3sg one-CL   DIR-eat-LNK   one-CL   meat   DIR-come
         'The more s/he eats, the fatter s/he gets.'

(4.274) *the: a-zə   tə-wa-wu,   mi   ʐəwa mo-xʂuɕtɕ.*
         3sg one-CL   DIR-big-LNK   person   talk   NEG-listen
         'The bigger s/he gets, the more s/he doesn't listen/behave.'

(4.275) *zəp   lewu χtʂa-wu,   mi   lewu wu   qəs   we.*[94]
         place more small-LNK person   more many form   exist
         'The smaller the place, the more people it seems like there are.'

It is also possible to use the comparative construction (see §3.2.7) to express the sense of a correlative comparative.

(4.276) *mi-wu   kə-jə-wu-tu,   (the:)   tsə-s*
         person-AGT thus-say-LNK-LNK   (3sg)   this-COMP
         tə-ke-kəpə.
         DIR-spirited-HABIT
         'The more other people scold him/her, the more spirited (mischievous) he/she gets.'

The sense of 'almost', as in 'almost have something happen', can be expressed using /ɑ-zə tɕa-ŋuə-ʂə/ ('one-CL' CON-COP-LNK) '(except for) a little still is . . .' as a single clause, with the event that almost happened expressed in the following clause, as in the following example:

(4.277) *ɑ-zə   tɕa-ŋua:-ʂə,   qa i-pə-l*
     one-CL   CON-COP:PRS-LNK   1sg DIR-arrive-come
     ma-lə-jya.   (< jy)
     NEG-able-ASP:1sg
     'I almost couldn't return.'

To express the sense of 'almost', as in 'almost everyone came', the same clause-final particle /-ʂə/ is used at the end of the first clause, which is subordinated to the copula by the adverbial particle /-tɕi/, as in the following example:

(4.278) *eɣle   wu i-pə-la:-ʂə-tɕi   ŋuə.*
     whole   all   DIR-arrive-come:PRS-LNK-ADV   COP
     'Almost all the people have come.'

The same clause-final particle /-ʂə/ can be used in a similar structure to express the idea of 'a little . . .', e.g. in the following example, meaning 'a little bit alike':

(4.279) *thizzi a-qəs   wa:-ʂə   kəzzi   ŋuə.*
     3dl   one-form   exist:PRS-LNK   INDEF:two:CL   COP
     'The two of them are a little alike.'

There is another use of this same clause-final particle /ʂə/ to mark the first clause of a two-clause structure as expressing a hypothetical or counter-factual situation, which if realized would bring about or would have brought about the situation expressed in the second clause.[95] This is clear in the examples below. (For other examples see Huang Chenglong 2000:16.)

(4.280) a. *qa   jə-s   kə   ŋua:-ʂə   the:*
       1sg   say-NOM   thus   COP:PRS-LNK   3sg

       de-me-tshi-wu.
       DIR-NEG-wrong-3sgU
       'If you ask me, he was not wrong.'

b. *qa*   *nəs*   *ʂpəχs*   *sə-qa:-ʂə,*
    1sg   yesterday   Chibusu   DIR-go:1sg:PRS-LNK
    qa   *fa-a-qai*   *zə-pə-jya.*
    1sg   clothing-one-CL   DIR-buy-ASP:1sg
    'If I had gone to Chibusu yesterday, I would have bought a
     piece of clothing.'

c. *qa* *dziɡ̯ə̝* *qəqa:-ʂə,*   *qa* *ləɣz* *su-kə-jya.*
    1sg money have:PRS:1sg-LNK 1sg book study-go-ASP:1sg
    'If I had money, I would go to school.'

This seems to be the sense underlying the other uses of /-ʂə/ discussed above as well. That is, the sense of 'almost' in the example above is from 'had it remained that way a bit more, then . . .'; the sense of 'almost all' in (4.278) is from 'as if all . . .'; and the sense of 'a little alike' in (4.279) is from 'as if they are the same'.

Chapter 5
The clause and complex structures

In Chapters 3-4 we discussed the various elements within the clause, and have seen many clause types in the examples given. Here we will discuss the various combinations of elements possible in a clause (§5.1), nominalizations and their use in relative clauses (§5.2), complement clause structures (§5.3), coordination and disjunction (§5.4), complex structures made up of multiple clauses (§5.5) and the structure of narratives (§5.6).

5.1. Structure

The structure of the clause is to some extent affected by pragmatic factors, but this only applies to the order of noun phrases in the clause. The utterance-initial position is the unmarked topic position (though secondary topics can follow the primary topic), while the position immediately before the verb is the unmarked focus position, and so the focused element will generally appear there (see also §4.3.1). The verb always appears in final position; there is no possibility for the actor of a clause to appear in postverbal position, even if it is focal. The only exception to this is the occasional afterthought clarification of a noun phrase that was omitted or expressed as a pronoun in the clause (see T4:20-22 for an example). The clause may include a temporal phrase (TEMP); a locative phrase (LOC); the NPs representing the actor, the goal or recipient, and/or the undergoer (UG); an adverbial phrase (ADV); the verb complex (VC); and possibly a clause-final particle (PART). The most unmarked word order in the clause is given in Figure 4:

(TEMP) (LOC) (ACTOR) (GOAL/RECIPIENT) (ADV) (UG) VC (PART)

Figure 4. The structure of the Qiang clause

The verb complex is the only necessary element for an utterance to be considered a clause, and the verb complex may be simply a predicate noun. As discussed in §4.2, the verb complex may also include an adverbial.

While there are quite a few loan words in Qiang, and Qiang speakers will often code-mix, adding Chinese phrases when speaking Qiang, there does not seem to have been a lot of influence from Chinese on the grammar of Qiang. When Chinese phrases are treated as loans into Qiang, the order of elements is changed to fit the normal Qiang order. We saw examples of the this in forms such as /phitɕhi fɑ-pə/ (temper release-do) 'get angry', from Chinese *fā píqì* (release temper) 'get angry'. When Chinese is used in a code-mixing sense rather than a loan sense, the expressions follow Chinese word order. Code mixing is frequent, particularly among the younger people. During the recording of the stories given in the Texts the speakers tried not to use Chinese at all, but at least one speaker used several code-mixed expressions and often interspersed Qiang text with the Chinese filler *háishì* 'still is' (see in particular Text 5 for examples). Examples of code mixing can be seen in the following two segments:

(5.1) a. *pəs-ŋuəɻ̩i   ʐmətʂi-sətsim-le: **tɕiutɕin   ʂə***
           today-TOP   emperor-wife-DEF:CL   †(after.all   be)
           mi-le: ŋuə-ŋua?   (T6:305-306)
           person-DEF:CL   COP-Q
           'Today, is the emperor's wife a human?'

       b. *tʂe-kə-ʐən-la   mi-tse-ze-ŋuəɻ̩i,   "hai!*
           †(this-CL-person-TOP)   person-this-CL-TOP   INT
           *pefutsə,   **tʂe-kə   pefutsə   mə¹ ke   guo   zuo***
           †white.beard   †(this-CL   white.beard   cat   give   1sg   do
           ***χau   sə,"   *jə-i-stu.*   (T5:182-183)
           good   thing)   say-HS-PART
           'This person, this person said, "Hey, White Beard, this white beard cat did something good for me".'

In (5.1a) the words /tɕiutɕin/ and /ʂə/ are code-mixed Chinese, and the order of that phrase ('emperor's wife after all is human') is verb-medial, even though /mi-le/ 'human' is a Qiang word, and the larger, containing

structure is in the normal Qiang verb-final order and includes the Qiang copula. In (5.1b) there are two code-mixed segments, one of which is quite long. The speaker starts with a Chinese phrase meaning 'this person', but then repeats the same meaning in Qiang. The order within the two phrases is different: in the Chinese phrase the demonstrative and classifier precede the noun, while in the Qiang phrase they follow it. In the long segment beginning in the second line, the word order is completely that of the standard Mandarin Chinese equivalent, with the recipient in post-verbal position: *zhè-ge báihúzi māo gěi wǒ zùo hǎo shì* [this-CL white.beard cat give 1sg do good thing]. The speaker then finishes off the segment with the usual Qiang form for ending a quote.

5.2. Nominalization and relativization

As mentioned in earlier sections (§§3.1.1, 3.1.4, 4.2.3), nominalization in Qiang is achieved either by the use of one of three nominalizing clitics, /-s/, /-m/ or /-tɕ/, or by the use of a definite (/le/, /te/) or indefinite (/ke/) marker. The latter is generally possible only with adjectives and existential verbs. The nominalized forms created using the clitics reflect what were originally relative clause constructions where the relative clause (or simply a verb) modified a very general head noun.[96] The form /-m/ is derived from the word /mi/ 'man', and /-s/ may be derived from a word meaning 'earth' or location (cf. Tibetan /sa/ 'ground, place', also used as a nominalizer[97]), while /-tɕ/ is a palatalization of an original velar initial form (cf. Mawo dialect Qiang /-k/) that may be related to the Tibetan genitive (/kyi/). Unlike in some other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Chantyal, Noonan 1997; Lahu, Matisoff 1973), nominalized forms are not used as citation forms of verbs.

The creation of lexicalized deverbal nouns by adding the nominalizing suffixes /-s/ and /-m/ (e.g. [nəs] 'bed' and [ʁuam] 'servant') and the nominalization of adjectives by the use of a definite or indefinite marker (e.g. [n̻iq-le] 'the black one') were discussed in §3.1.1. Aside from the lexicalized deverbal nouns formed with the clitic nominalizers, nonce collocations can also be formed as needed from clauses to refer to particular objects or individuals, such as in the

examples in (5.2). Here the original function as a relative clause is most clear.

(5.2) a. *tawə-ta-m*   *le-ze*
           hat-wear-NOM   DEF-CL
           'the person wearing a hat'

       b. *gantsə*   *χua-m*   *tha*   *ʐ̣i.*   (T6:197)
           saddle   sell-NOM   there   exist
           'There is (a) saddle seller there.'

       c. *qa*   *ʁoi-kə-m*   *kən*   *he-ɕa-n̪i, . . .*
           1sg   call-go-NOM   very(many)   DIR-send:1sg-LNK
           'I have sent many to call you, . . .' (sent many who go to call
           you)   (T4:46-47)

       d. *wutɕupu*   *die-ʂe-m*   (T6:89)
           husband   DIR-die-NOM
           'one whose husband had died'

It is possible in this structure to have a pronoun that is coreferential with the head noun (now a nominalizer) retained when needed for clarity, as in (5.3), where the pronoun is needed to be able to add the genitive marker to explicitly mark the benefactive relationship:

(5.3) *qa*   *the:-tɕ*   *ləɣz*   *de-le-m*   *le:*
       1sg   3sg-GEN   book   DIR-give-NOM   DEF:CL
       'the person to whom I gave a book'

If the referent the nominalized clause represents is a location, or in some cases the time of an event, then the clause is nominalized by /-s/ and can be followed by the locative marker /-tɑ/, as in (5.4).[98]

(5.4) *qa-lu-s-tɑ*
       1sg-come-NOM-LOC
       'the place that I came from'

Clauses involving existential verbs can be nominalized by simply adding one of the definite markers or the indefinite marker after the verb:

(5.5) a. *ep   lə   me-ʐi   ew   lə*
          father also NEG-exist mother also
          me-ʐi-ke: ŋuə-kəi-tɕu.   (T3:2-3)
          NEG-exist-INDEF:CL COP-INF:HS-PART
          '(He was an orphan), one who didn't have a father or mother.'

      b. *the: tha-ʐi-k   ʁu.*
          3sg   there-exist-INF willing
          'S/he might be there.' (lit.: 'She might be one who is there.')

The nominalized constructions involving the nominalizers /-s/ and /-m/, and also another type formed with the genitive marker /-tɕ/, can be used to modify another noun or noun phrase, forming a NP + N(P) structure where the first NP modifies the second. That is, what was historically a relative clause plus head noun structure (at least in the case of /-s/ and /-m/) has been reanalyzed as simply a nominalized clause and is now used to modify another noun. This is now the main form of relative clause structure used in Qiang. It is also used for noun complement structures (such as in ex. (4.118) above (repeated below as (5.74)) and the /-tɑn/ structure discussed in §4.3.7.4).

There are no relative pronouns in Qiang. Definite marking may follow the head noun, as in (5.9). The type of nominalizer such a modifier (relative clause) takes depends on the semantics and animacy of the head noun. If the head noun is an undergoer or other non-instrument, including an inanimate actor, then the genitive marker /-tɕ/ is used:

(5.6) *pətsa-ȵi-tə-bəl-jy-tɕ   tʂuats*
        just.now-ADV-DIR-make-ASP-GEN   table
        'the table just made'

(5.7) *pətsa-ȵi-zə-p-jy-tɕ   fa*
        just.now-ADV-DIR-buy-ASP-GEN clothes
        'the clothes just bought'

(5.8) *qa-dʐoqu-de-we-tɕ*   *ʐawa*
       1sg-foot-DIR-exist-GEN   rock
       'the rock which crushed (lit.: came to be on) my foot'

If the head noun is an instrument (even if animate, as in (5.9)), then the nominalizer /-s/ is used:

(5.9) *do-qu-ʐə-s*   *khuə-le:*
       DIR-afraid-CAUS-NOM   dog-DEF:CL
       'the dog used to frighten people'

(5.10) *stuaha-tɕhə-s*   *tʂuats*
       food/rice-eat-NOM   table
       'the table used for eating food'

(5.11) *tɕɛχuen-pa:-ʁa-guə-s*   *fa*
       marry-do:PRS-LOC-wear-NOM   clothes
       'clothes worn when one is going to get married'

(5.12) *laupin-tʂhopu-s*   *səpe*
       tuberculosis-treat-NOM   medicine
       'medicine used to treat tuberculosis'

If the head noun has an animate referent, then the nominalizer /-m/ is used. As mentioned above, this form derives from the word /mi/ 'person', but it has fully grammaticalized into a nominalizer, to the point that it can be used together with /mi/ as the head noun, as in (5.14) and (5.15) (though it can be omitted, as in (5.16)). Notice also how the use of the agentive marking within the relative clause in (5.15) changes the interpretation of the semantic role of the head noun phrase relative to that in (5.14). Here the agentive marking is performing a disambiguating function, particularly necessary here because of the lack of person marking in nominalizations.

(5.13) *qa-fia-ʁdʐe-m*   *khuə*
       1sg-DIR-bite-NOM   dog
       'the dog which bit me'

(5.14) *qa-panə-dele-m*   *mi*
        1sg-thing-give-NOM   person
        'the person who gave me something'

(5.15) *qa-wu-panə-dele-m*   *mi*
        1sg-AGT-thing-give-NOM   person
        'the person to whom I gave something'

(5.16) *qupu*   *n̪iɣi-bələ-m*   *ŋuə-ŋua?*
        3sg   what-do-NOM   COP-Q
        'What kind of work does he do?'
        (lit.: 'He is a person who does what?')

(5.17) *mutu-la-fie-m*   *wə*
        sky-LOC-fly-NOM   bird
        'a bird flying in the sky'

(5.18) *pitɕ*   *phu-ʁa*   *ʐə-m*   *phu-xʂu*   *pe-wei.*
        nowadays forest-LOC exist-NOM   wild.animals become-HS
        '(They) became the wild animals who now live in the forests.'
                                                              (T2:21-22)

Relative clauses can be quite complex, involving a modifier with several clauses, as in (5.19), or a head noun that is a nominalized expression itself, as in (5.20):

(5.19) *[soqhu-sə-χlaʁu-n̪i,*   *tawə-fia-tə-n̪i*   *ʐi-m]*
        gun-DIR-carry.on.back-ADV   hat-DIR-wear-ADV   exist-NOM
        mi
        person
        'the person carrying a rifle on his back and wearing a hat'

(5.20) *tawə-ta-m*   *ʂku-wa-m-le-ze*
        hat-wear-NOM   lovely-very-NOM-DEF-CL
        'the lovely person wearing a hat'

It is possible to have a pronoun as the head noun of a relative clause:

(5.21) *nə-dʐə-m   the: tɕa-n.*
        sleep-able-NOM   3sg   CON-sleep
        'S/he who likes to sleep late is still sleeping.'

A second type of relative clause in Qiang is a post-head restrictive relative clause, which is used only in some cases when the head noun is the name of a person. The relative clause is nominalized in the same way as the prehead relative. This is in fact a case of apposition rather than being a true relative, but it has the function of a restrictive relative. Following are two examples:

(5.22) *upu   ɕi-tɕhə-topu-m-le: tɕəu-la   ʐi.*
        uncle wine-drink-like/love-NOM-DEF:CL home-LOC exist
        'The uncle who likes drinking liquor is at home.'

(5.23) *tsəi   lampa-ʂa-ɣʐə-m-le: pəs*
        older.sister flower-embroider-able-NOM-DEF:CL   today
        tʂuəwa-lampə-e-tse   ə-ʂa.
        shoe-flower-one-CL   DIR-embroider
        'The older sister who embroiders flowers well embroidered a pair of flowery shoes today.'

Another type of apposition structure that functions like a restrictive relative clause is when a locative phrase follows the head noun:

(5.24) *mi   ʐeku̜-te-zi*
        person   middle-DEF-CL
        'the person in the middle'

This structure is similar to the normal [head noun-adjective-definite marker] structure, but as the post-head element is a noun and not an adjective, I am assuming it is an appositional structure (generally if one noun modifiers another, it precedes it), while the following is a simple noun phrase structure:

(5.25) *mi-tɕi-wa-le-zi*
        person-most-big-DEF-CL
        'the biggest person'

See also Section 3.1 for more examples of relative clauses.

5.3. Complementation

There are two basic complement types in Qiang, one that has no overt nominalization and one that has a clitic nominalizer. Both of these are of the 'sentence-like complement' type discussed in Noonan 1985. The nominalized form is not like what Noonan calls a 'nominalized complement', where the internal structure of the clause is that of a noun phrase (e.g. English gerunds). The nominalized type can be distinguished into three types based on the particular nominalizer used. Qiang does not exhibit the type of complex, massive verb concatenation found, for example, in Jinghpaw and Lahu (see Matisoff 1969, 1973, 1974); there are only a few auxiliary verbs that form a single nucleus with the main verb (see for example §4.2.5). In other cases either what would be expressed in two verbs in some languages would be expressed with a single verb plus a directional prefix, or the secondary verb would appear in an adverbial phrase marked by /-ȵi/.

One complex structure where the complement does not require overt nominalization is where there is a topic-comment structure with a complement clause as the topic, such as with the use of the verbs /ʁu/ or /se/ for the sense of '(be) allowed' (discussed above in §4.2.6 and §4.3.6.4). These are what Dixon (1991, 1995) calls Secondary verbs, verbs which only take clausal complements as arguments. There is no person marking on the matrix verb in this type of clause, as the topic is the clause, not the human referent mentioned in the complement clause (it would be possible to have the topic marker /ŋuəȵi/ at the end of the topic clause). There is no overt marking on the complement clause to distinguish it from an independent clause. In (5.26a) brackets have been put around the complement clause to mark it off.

(5.26) a. [ʔũ   pəs   ma-k]   ɦie-mə-se.
            2sg   today   NEG-go   DIR-NEG-allow
            'You must go today.'/ 'Your not going today is not allowed.'

b. *çoçau-ʁa   ʐme-ʐ   dʑe-ʐ   ʁu.*
   school-LOC   Qiang-language speak-CAUS   allow
   'Speaking Qiang is allowed in school.'

c. *çoçau-ʁa   ʐme-ʐ   dʑe-ʐ   ɦe-se.*
   school-LOC   Qiang-language speak-CAUS   DIR-allow
   'Speaking Qiang is allowed in school.'

It is also possible that there is an understood impersonal third person actor, but it is not expressed overtly, and the complement clause can take the topic marker. The verb /ʁze/ 'ought to', which expresses physical or moral obligation to perform an action (see §4.2.6), seems to pattern this way, as there is no first-person or second-person marking on the verb, even when the expression refers to a first or second person actor.

(5.27) a. *kə ʁze-ji!*   b. *kə   ma-tɕi-ʁze!*
          go   must-CSM   go   NEG-CON-must
          '(I/we/you) must go.'   '(You/we) needn't/
          ('It's time to go!')   shouldn't go yet!'

In the case of the construction involving the expression /me-tɕhi/ 'not want' to express the ability or permission to do something (discussed in §4.3.6.4), the non-nominalized complement clause takes the exclusion particle (treating it as a noun phrase), and there is no agreement with the actor of the complement clause.

(5.28) a. *çoçau-ʁa   ʐme-ʐ   dʑe-ji   me-tɕhi.*
          school-LOC   Qiang-language   speak-EXC   NEG-want
          'It is all right to speak Qiang in school.'

      b. *tsə   tu-χsu-ji-(wa),   tɕile quaha χuəla-jə*
          water   DIR-boil-CSM-RCA   1pl   face   wash-EXC
          me-tɕhi-ji.
          NEG-want-CSM
          'The water's boiled, so we can wash our faces.'

Without the exclusion particle, the complement plus /me-tɕhi/ 'not want' can be used in a complex structure to express the idea 'not only X, but Y':

(5.29) *qa   ʐdʐyta: kə me-tɕhi, peitɕin-la   tɕa-ka:. (< kə)*
      1sg Chengdu:LOC go NEG-want Beijing-LOC CON-go:PRS:1sg
      'Not only am I going to Chengdu, but I am also going to Beijing.'

With another group of verbs, including what Dixon (1991, 1995) calls Primary B verbs, those that can take either a noun argument or a clause complement, such as 'like' and 'know', and Secondary verbs, the complement clause is either a complete clause or, when the actor of both clauses is the same, a reduced clause. The person marking on the Primary B or Secondary verb reflects the person of the actor of the matrix clause. For example, the verbs /ɕtɕɑq-lu/ 'think of, want' ('heart' + 'come'); /lu/ can also be used alone), /kɑntɕhi/ 'think/want', or /zulu/ 'wait', can be used to express the desire to do an action or the hope for some situation to happen. In (5.30a) the actor of the matrix and the complement clause are the same, while in (5.30b) the actors of the matrix and the complement clauses are different. In (5.30b) the person marking is of the actor of 'wait', not 'arrive'.

(5.30) a. *the: tɕəu   kə   ɕtɕɑq-lu.*
        3sg home   go   heart-come
        'S/he wants to go home.'

     b. *qa   the: i-pə-la: zulu-a.*
        1sg 3sg   DIR-arrive-come:PRS   wait-1sg
        'I hope s/he is going to return.'

For many verbs, such as /xʂu/ 'to dare', /dʐe/ (experiential aspect), /ɣʐ̩ə/ (potential for a learned ability), /dʐ̩ə/ and /qe/ (potential for a natural (physical) ability), only the pattern in (5.30a), with the actors of both verbs being the same, is found, probably because of the semantics of these particular verbs. Following are some examples:

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

(5.32) a. *qa   ʐdʑyta: ɦa-qə   dʑa.*   (< dʑe)
1sg   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go   EXP:1sg
'I have been to Chengdu.'

      b. *qa   ləɣz-tse-pen   i-tsi   me-dʑa.*   (< dʑe)
1sg   book-this-CL   DIR-read   NEG-EXP:1sg
'I have not read this book.'

(5.33) *qa   ʐme-ʐ   dʑe   ɣʐa.*   (< ɣʐə)
1sg   Qiang-language   speak   can:1sg
'I can speak Qiang.'

(5.34) *mi   la   ma-l,   wə   la   dʐə.*
person   fly   NEG-able   bird   fly   able
'People cannot fly, but birds can.'

(5.35) *the: ʐawa-le: tə-tsi   qe-ŋua?*
3sg   rock-DEF:CL   DIR-lift   able-Q
'Can s/he lift up this rock?'

Speech act verbs also take non-nominalized complements. In quoting another's speech, the quoted speech generally follows the noun phrases representing the speaker and addressee, and is followed by the verb /jə/ ([jə ~ ji]) 'to say'. Both direct and indirect quotation are possible. The structure for both types is the same; they differ only in the pronoun used. Compare the following three examples:

(5.36) a. *qa   qupu-ta   "(ʔũ)   lu-me-tɕhi"   ji-wa.*
1sg   3sg-DAT   2sg   come-NEG-want   speak-3sgU:1sg
'I told him/her, "Don't come."'

      b. *qa   qupuᵢ-ta   qupuᵢ   lu-me-tɕhi   ji-wa.*
1sg   3sg-DAT   3sg   come-NEG-want   speak-3sgU:1sg
'I told him/her not to come.'

    c. *qa   qupuᵢ-ta   the:ⱼ lu-me-tɕhi   ji-wa.*
       1sg   3sg-DAT   3sg   come-NEG-want speak-3sgU:1sg
       'I told him/her that he/she (a different person) shouldn't
       come.' / 'I told him/her, "S/he shouldn't come".'

In example (5.36a), the second person pronoun marks the embedded clause as a direct quote. The person marking is of a first person referent acting on a third person referent. In (5.36b) the two tokens of /qupu/ refer to the same referent, and so it is an indirect quote. Example (5.36c) is ambiguous out of context, as the pronoun /the:/ must refer to someone other than the referent of /qupu/, and so it could be either a direct or indirect quote.

    If there is a more specific verb of asking or replying, then this verb may precede the quoted speech, though the verb /jə/ 'to say' still follows the quote, as in the two tokens of this structure in the following section of the story "An Orphan" involving 'ask' and 'answer':

(5.37) *χsutsqha-le:-wu   tə-keˀl-kui,   "ha!   ʔũ*
       stomach-DEF:CL-AGT   DIR-ask-INF:HS   EXCL   2sg
       ȵi-χua-ȵi   kə-zei-n-a"   jə-kui,   "ȵiχuaȵi
       WH-because-ADV   DIR-cry-2sg-Q say-INF:HS   why
       kə-zei-n-a"   jə-kui -tu,   kapətʂ-tou
       DIR-cry-2sg-Q   say-INF:HS-LNK   orphan-DEF:one:CL
       he-ʐgue-kəi,   "qa-ŋuəȵi   ep   lə
       DIR-answer-INF:HS   1sg-TOP   father   also
       me-ʐə-i   əw   lə   me-ʐə-i,
       NEG-exist-CSM   mother also NEG-exist-CSM
       gəs-ȵi   ɦa-xtʂəp-ȵiaufu   ʂkup-le: qa
       night-ADV DIR-dark-LNK(as.soon.as) orangutan-DEF:CL 1sg
       dzə-la:"   jə-kəpə-ʂə, . . .   (T3:56-62)
       eat-come:PRS   say-HABIT-LNK
       'The stomach asked him, "Why are you crying?", he said, "Why are you crying?" The orphan answered, "I have neither father nor mother. As soon as it gets dark, the orangutan is going to come eat me."'

    Aside from these verbs which normally take non-nominalized complements, the copula can also take a non-nominalized complement.

This has an emphatic sense, somewhat similar to a cleft construction, as in (5.38).

(5.38) *panə-tse:*   *qa-wu*   *zə-p-ji*   *ŋuə.*
      thing-this:CL   1sg-AGT   DIR-buy-CSM   COP
      'This thing was bought by me.'

This form is often used for achieving the affect of clefting for highlighting adverbials:

(5.39) *the:*   *hama-ɲ̪i*   *kue-jy*   *ŋuə.*
      3sg   secretly-ADV   transport-ASP   COP
      'S/he was transported *secretly.'*

This construction differs from another construction with almost the same structure, but with a nominalized complement clause, used for making strong assertions. This is in fact pragmatically also like a cleft, in that a particular noun phrase is the focus constituent.

(5.40) *the:-(ŋuəɳ̪i)*   *tɕile*   *topu-s*   *ŋuə.*
      3sg-TOP   1pl   like-NOM   COP
      'The ones s/he likes are us.' ('We are the ones s/he likes.')

The position of the focused element is variable: the focus noun phrase can precede or follow the nominalized verb. Compare the following two examples:

(5.41) a. *tɕile-(ŋuəɳ̪i)*   *pə-s*   *pies*   *ŋuə.*
         1pl-TOP   buy-NOM   meat   COP
         'What we need (to buy) is meat.'

     b. *tɕile-(ŋuəɳ̪i)*   *pies*   *pə-s*   *ŋuə.*
         1p-TOP   meat   buy-NOM   COP
         'What we need (to buy) is meat.'

A variant of this construction has something of an epistemic sense. As we saw in the discussion of evidentials in §4.3.7, to make a strong statement of certainty, or of information that was not recently

discovered, but known for some time, then a complement clause nominalized by /-s/ is used, as in (5.42).

(5.42) *pəs   ʐmu   tsu-s   ŋuə.*
       today   meeting   hold-NOM   COP
       'There is a meeting today.' (set beforehand)

Another use of this structure is expressing the optative mood (§4.3.6.1). In this structure the complement is nominalized by /-s/ and the copula takes the particle /-ɳi/ in the positive or /-tɕi/ in the negative (both particles normally mark adverbial phrases). No aspect or person contrasts are marked in clauses with /ma-ŋuə-tɕi/ or /ŋuə-ɳi/.

(5.43) a. *təp-ɳi   me:¹   ɕe-s   ma-ŋuə-tɕi.*
          tomorrow-ADV   rain   fall-NOM NEG-COP-PART
          'I hope it won't rain tomorrow.'

       b. *the: tʂhetsə-le: ɦa-χə-s   ŋuə-ɳi.*
          3sg   car-DEF:CL   DIR-bad/broken-NOM   COP-ADV
          'I hope his/her car has broken down.'

This same structure, but with the copula followed optionally by /ʂa/ in the first person, /san/ in the second person, or [ŋy̥ə̃ ~ wə] in the third person, is used to express obligation to perform an action (debitive; see §4.3.6.3 for more examples).

(5.44) *the: tɕɕu-la   lu-s   ŋuə-ŋy̥ə̃.*
       3sg   home-LOC   come-NOM   COP-3sgU
       'S/he must come home!'

We saw in §4.3.7 that there is a copula construction with a nominalized complement, or in some cases a complement that is a relative clause with [la-han ~ la-hən] (definite marker + 'kind'), [ka-han ~ ka-hən] (indefinite marker + 'kind'), or /tan/ ('appearance') as the head noun, used to express contingent situations, as in (5.45) and (5.46).

(5.45) *the: tha-ʐi-m-tan   ŋuə.*
       3sg   there-exist-NOM-appearance COP
       'S/he might be there.'

(5.46) *me:ˈ   ɕi-m-la-hən   ŋuə.*
      rain   fall-NOM-DEF:one-kind   COP
      'It might rain.'

This then brings us to what might be considered a pseudo-cleft construction, where the sort of relative clause plus noun construction discussed above is used as a complement of a copula clause. The topic marker can optionally be used after this complement, as it is the topic of the construction, while the noun phrase in immediate preverbal (focus) position identifies the referent represented by the head of the relative clause, as in (5.47)-(5.49).

(5.47) *qa-zə-pə-tɕ-panə   tse: ŋuə.*
      1sg-DIR-buy-GEN-thing   this:CL   COP
      'The thing that I bought is this'

(5.48) *panə-tse:-zə-pə-m   qa-(wu)   ŋua.*
      thing-this:CL-DIR-buy-NOM   1sg-AGT   COP:1sg
      'I am the one who bought this thing.'

(5.49) *keˈlə-m   lə   ȵi: ŋuə-kəi,*
      ask-NOM   also   3sgREFL COP-INF:HS
      he-ʐgue-m   lə   ȵi: ŋuə-kəi,
      DIR-answer-NOM   also   3sgREFL COP-INF:HS
      'The one who asked was himself, the one who answered was himself.'

Another verb that takes nominalized complements is the existential verb /xu/, discussed in Section 4.2.4. Here is another example of its use:

(5.50) *tsə-s   a-z-ŋuəȵi   ɕi-la: ataʐ-ȵi*
      this-COMP   one-CL-TOP   small-DEF:CL   fast-ADV
      u-ʐmu   ȵa⁹⁹   u-tɕu-s-le: ə-mə-s
      DIR-dream   COM   DIR-see-NOM-DEF:CL   DIR-hear-NOM
      xu-tu, . . .
      exist-LNK
      'If you can dream of it a little faster, see or hear it, . . .'

Section 5.5 discusses other uses of nominalized clauses, but first we will discuss coordination and disjunction.

5.4. Coordination and disjunction

In coordinating nouns in Qiang, the following structures are possible, where X, Y, and Z are three different nouns, and /ȵa/ is the comitative/conjunction marker discussed in §3.2.13: XY, X-ȵa-Y, XY-ȵa, XYZ, X-ȵa-YZ, X-ȵa-Y-ȵa-Z, XY-ȵa-Z, XYZ-ȵa. Example (5.51) is of the X-ȵa-Y-ȵa-Z type, and (5.52) and (5.53), with only two nouns, are of the X-ȵa-Y type:

(5.51) *qa-ȵa-ʔũ-ȵa-the:*
   1sg-COM-2sg-COM-3sg
   'I and you and s/he'

(5.52) *utʂuqu*   *ɣʐə-pi-ȵa-ɕtɕi-tɕo*
   all.together four-CL-COM-seven-CL(1/10 of a dollar)
   'All together four dollars and seventy cents.'

(5.53) *qa* *qəpatʂ-ȵa-ʂuə* *wu* *ɦa-χyə̣la.*
   1sg head-COM-teeth all DIR-wash
   'I washed my hair and (brushed) my teeth, too.'

See the discussion in Section 3.2.13 on the differences in meaning between the X-ȵa-Y and XY-ȵa types.

It is also possible to coordinate adverbial nouns, either with the conjunction marker (e.g. [pəs-ȵa-təp-ȵi] 'today and tomorrow') or without it (e.g. [pəs-təp-ȵi] 'today and tomorrow'). Nominalized verbs can also be coordinated:

(5.54) *tɕhə-s-ȵa-dzə-s-ȵa-guə-s*
   drink-NOM-and-eat-NOM-and-wear-NOM
   'drink, food, and clothing'

In this case it would also be possible to just use a pause between the items instead of using the conjunction marker.

In coordinating clauses, they can be simply juxtaposed, with only the particle /lə/ 'also' appearing before each verb to show the relationship between the two clauses, as in (5.55a), or the clause-final linking particle /wu/ (= the ablative/instrumental postposition) can be used at the end of the first clause, as in (5.55b).

(5.55) a. *qa   χo:ts lə   ɦe-qhua,   quaha le*
            1sg   beard also DIR-shave:1sg face   also

            ɦa-χuəla-ja.   (ji + ɑ)
            DIR-wash-CSM:1sg
            'I washed my face and also shaved.'

        b. *ʔ̃ũ   mo-lu-n-wu,   tianχua lə   də-mu-ʁoi-n.*
            2sg   NEG-come-2sg-LNK telephone also DIR-NEG-call-2sg
            'You didn't come and didn't call either. '

Where two clauses have the same verb and only the referent(s) affected changes, verb ellipsis is not possible in the second clause, even if the verb form is the same.

(5.56) *peimtʂi   zdʐyta: ɦa-qə,   kheˈtʂi lə   ɦa-qa.*[100]
        Peimtʂi   Chengdu:LOC   DIR-go   Kertʂi   also DIR-go
        'Peimtʂi went to Chengdu and Khertʂi did also.'

That is, it is not possible to say the equivalent of 'John left, and Mary (did) too.' The verb must be repeated.

The coordination of adjectives can be done with the adverbial marker /n̠i/ ((5.57)) or with some of the other particles used for conjoining verbs, such as /me-tɕhi/ 'not only', as in (5.58).

(5.57) a. *ba-n̠i   n̠iq*   b. *na-n̠i   mo-ɸ̥ulu*
            old-ADV   black   good-ADV NEG-expensive
            'both old and black'   'good and inexpensive'

(5.58) *ba-me-tɕhi   n̠iq-ke: tɕa-ŋ̊uə̣.*
        old-NEG-only   black-INDEF:CL CON-COP
        '(It) is not only old but black as well.'

To express an 'either-or' (disjunction) relation, the expression /ŋuaɳi/ 'or' (distinct from the topic marker) is used, as in (5.59), below,[101] or, if it is a question, then the polarity verb-not-verb interrogative construction can be used, either with /ŋuaɳi/, as in (5.60), or without it, as in (5.61) and (5.62) (see also Section 4.3.5.3 on verb-not-verb interrogatives). In a two-clause structure, such as in (5.60), the particle either appears in its own intonation unit or in the intonation unit of the second clause.

(5.59) ʔũ   ŋuaɳi   the: e-ze   ʂpəχs-(ta)   sə-ʁə-i.
        2sg   or   3sg   one-CL   Chibusu-LOC   DIR-go-2pl
        'You or she (one of you) go to Chibusu (district).'

(5.60) ʔũ   qhəˀ   tɕha:-n-a,   ŋuaɳi   ɕpies   tɕha:-n-a?
        2sg   rice   eat:PRS-2sg-Q   or   noodles eat:PRS-2sg-Q
        'Will you eat rice or noodles?'

(5.61) ɳiq-ke: ŋuə-ŋua, ɕupu-ke: ŋuə-ŋua?
        black-INDEF:CL   COP-Q   red-INDEF:CL   COP-Q
        'Is it a red one or a black one?'

(5.62) ʔũ   dza:-tɕikṷ   ka:-n-a,   dza:-khui   ka:-n-a?
        2sg   lunch-before   go:PRS-2sg-Q   lunch-after go:PRS-2sg-Q
        'Are you going in the morning or the afternoon?'

5.5. Other complex structures

Aside from the embedding of complements discussed above, clauses, either nominalized or not, also appear in non-embedded hypotactic structures. In some cases there is no obvious nominalization by /-s/, /-m/ or /-tɕ/, but the clause takes one of the postpositions used for marking the relationship between a verb and its arguments (aside from the genitive; use of semantic role-marking postpositions for marking clause relations is a common strategy in Tibeto-Burman; see Genetti 1986, 1991). For example, the use of the ablative/instrumental marker /-wu/ after a clause marks a cause-effect relation with the following clause.

(5.63) *the:-dʑoqu-le: da-g-wu,   pitɕ sei   ma-l-jy.* (< dʐə)
3sg-foot-DEF:CL DIR-break-INST now walk NEG-able-ASP
'Because his foot is broken he cannot walk now. '

(5.64) *o-zu̱-wu   dʑoqu-pa   tə-ɣzə-ʂa.*[102]
DIR-sit-INST   foot-palm   DIR-numb-1sgU
'Because of sitting, my feet were numb.'

(5.65) *ɦa-n-wu   qəpatʂ   ɦo-su-ʐə-ʂa.*
DIR-sleep-INST   head   DIR-dizzy-CAUS-1sgU
'I felt dizzy from sleeping.'

A cause-effect relation can also be marked by adding the manner adverbial marker /ȵi/ to the first clause:

(5.66) *the: dʑiq   ɦa-qə-ȵi   die-ʂe.*
3sg   cliff   DIR-go-ADV   DIR-die
'S/he died (from) falling off the cliff.'

To mark the purpose of an action, the postposition /χuɑ-(ȵi)/ (discussed in §3.2.10 as a benefactive postposition), can be used, either after a noun, a clause, or a nominalized clause:

(5.67) *the: stuɑha   tɕhə-(s   ŋuə)-χua-ȵi,   (qupu)   dzigu̱*
3sg food/rice eat-NOM   COP-because-ADV 3sg   money
me·ɪʐ.
look.for(earn)
'In order to live, s/he seeks to earn more money.'

(5.68) *the: dzigu̱-χua-ȵi   ha-qə-ȵi   koŋtsuo-pə-k.*
3sg money-because-ADV DIR-go-ADV work-do-go
'For the sake of money, s/he goes out to (go to) work.'

(5.69) *ʐa   lu-ʐ-χua-ȵi,   zə-ʁa   the: jimi   se.*
crops come-CAUS-because-ADV field-LOC 3sg fertilizer spread
'S/he spreads fertilizer in the field in order to make the crops grow well.'

The cause of an action or situation can also be marked by /χuɑ-n̠i/:

(5.70) *the: zə-mə-la-χua-n̠i,   qaqəi   ka:.   (< kə)*
        3sg DIR-NEG-come-because-ADV 1sgREFL go:PRS:1sg
        'Because s/he hasn't come, I'm going to go myself. '

The particle /-le/ can be used instead used instead of /χuɑ-n̠i/ or /-ʂə/ to mark a condition or cause:

(5.71) *. . . quaha-χupi   lə   u-mu-tɕu-le,   tɕile   qəti*
        face-appearance also DIR-NEG-see-because 1pl   kill
        ɦe-me-se.   (T6:271-272)
        DIR-NEG-allow
        'Because we haven't even seen (her) face, you can't kill us.'

Many hypotactic clauses are nominalized using /-s/ or /-tɕ/. For example, if the action expressed by the second clause is said to precede the action expressed by the first clause, then the structure /mɑ-tɕi-Verb/ (NEG-CON-Verb) 'had not yet Verb; before Verb' is used in the first clause and it is nominalized by /-tɕ/.

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

(5.73) *təp-n̠i   ɦa-mə-tɕi-xtʂapə-tɕ,*
        tomorrow-ADV   DIR-NEG-CON-black-GEN
        ʔũ   tsa   i-pə-lə-n-pa.
        2sg   here   DIR-arrive-come-2sg-DTV
        'Come here tomorrow before it gets dark.'

(5.74) *qa   stuaha   ma-tɕi-tɕhə-tɕ,   japə   χuəla.*
        1sg   rice/food   NEG-CON-eat-GEN   hand   wash
        'Before I eat, I wash my hands.'

The initial clause may instead be nominalized by /-s/ and followed by /qe:¹/ 'before', i.e. the structure becomes that of a noun complement clause.

(5.75) *(qaqəi)-tɕəu-la   i-pə-k-əs   qe:ˑ¹,   qa*
1sgREFL-home-LOC   DIR-arrive-go-NOM   before 1sg
iɕtɕimaqa   ə-jə-sa   ʁoi-kəpa.
often   one-two-sentences   call-HABIT:1sg
'Before returning to my own home, I often call out a few sentences.'

The form given above in (5.4) (a clause nominalized by /-s/ and followed by the locative marker /-tɑ/) is also used in some cases to express a temporal adverbial phrase, as in (5.75a-b).

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

  b. *tʂhaq-ta   kuantsa   ʐi-s-ta*
market-LOC   restaurant   exist-NOM-LOC
a-ma-wa.   (T5:58-59)
DIR-hear:1sg-EMPH
'I heard (it) when I was in the restaurant at the market.'

For other types of clausal relation, there are different particles that can be used to show the particular relation between the clauses. If 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 /ȵike/ or /ȵiɑntɕi/ 'following' can be used at the end of the first clause:

(5.77) *qa   stuaha   sə-tɕ-ȵike,   ʂuə   χuəla.*
1sg   food/rice   DIR-eat-after   teeth   wash
'After I eat a meal, I brush my teeth.'

(5.78) *təp-ȵi   ɦa-xtʂəp-ȵike,   ʔũ   tsa*
tomorrow-ADV   DIR-black-after   2sg   here

i-pə-l-ən-pa.
DIR-arrive-come-2sg-DTV
'Come here tomorrow after dark. '

(5.79) *qa   tu-jụ-ɳike,   çtçes   sə-tç-ɳi,*
  1sg   DIR-get.up-after   breakfast   DIR-eat-ADV
  ʂanpan-pə-k   ha-qa.
  work-do-go   DIR-go:1sg
  'After I get up and eat breakfast, I go out to go to work.'

(5.80) *the: qa   u-tçu-ɳike,   de-xtse.*
  3sg   1sg   DIR-see-after   DIR-go.away
  'After s/he saw me, s/he went away.'

(5.81) *the: pie çtçə da-s-ɳike,   wə   dʐudʐụ.*
  3sg   pig feed DIR-finish-after   horse   feed
  'S/he finished feeding the pig and then went to feed the horse.'

(5.82) *tə-χquatʂ   ɳiantçi,   məq-ta   tuŋtuŋ   ʐo:pua-la*
  DIR-steal   after   above-LOC   cave   cave-LOC
  . . .   ɦa-ʐdʑy-ɳi   i-çi-kui.   (T5:73-76)
    DIR-tether-ADV   DIR-put-INF:HS
  'After stealing (the yaks) he tethered them in a cave.'

To make explicit the idea that an action immediately followed another, the particle /ɳiɑufu/ is used instead of /ɳike/ or /ɳiɑntçi/:

(5.83) *ə-qa-ɳiɑufu   kapətʂ-tou   nəʂ-ta:-ʁa*
  DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as)   orphan-DEF:one:CL   bed-DEF:CL-LOC
  mo-tha-jə-kui.   (T3:126-127)
  grope-AUX-REP-INF:HS
  'As soon as (the orangutan) went in, he groped again for the orphan in the bed.'

To express the conditional ('if'), then the particle /tu/ or /ta/ is added to the end of the first clause. No difference has been found in the degree of hypotheticality in conditional clauses.[103]

(5.84) *me:¹   me-ɕi-tu,   tɕile   kə-ji   me-tɕhi.*
       rain   NEG-fall-if   1pl   go-EXC   NEG-want
       'If it doesn't rain, we can go.'

(5.85) *the: mo-lu-tu,   qaqəi   ka:.*   (< kə)
       3sg   NEG-come-if   1sgREFL   go:PRS:1sg
       'If s/he doesn't come, I'm going to go myself.'

(5.86) *the: ma-k-tu,   qa   kə-s   pa:-ji.*   (< pe)
       3sg   NEG-go-if   1sg   go-NOM   become:PRS:1sg-PART
       'If s/he doesn't go, then I have to go.'

In (5.86) the particle /-ji/ expresses a lack of willingness to go, that is, that the speaker is going only because he or she has to.

    The form /tu/ is also often used with a negative copula to express the meaning 'only if'. In these cases the main verb appears as an adverbial element marked by /ɳi/.

(5.87) *ʔile dzə-i-ɳi   ma-ŋu̯ə-tu,   (nai)   dzə-m   me-ʐi.*
       2pl eat-2pl-ADV   NEG-COP-LNK   other   eat-NOM   NEG-exist
       'Only if you eat will other people eat'
       (lit.: If you(pl) don't eat, then there is no one (else) who will eat.)

(5.88) *the: lu-ɳi   ma-ŋu̯ə-tu,   qa   ma-ka.*   (< kə)
       3sg   come-ADV   NEG-COP-LNK   1sg   NEG-go:1sg
       'Only if s/he comes, will I go.' / 'I won't go unless she comes.'

(5.89) *ʑdʐyta: kə-ɳi   ma-ŋu̯ə-tu,   pə-s   ma-ʂə.*
       Chengdu:LOC   go-ADV   NEG-COP-LNK   buy-NOM   NEG-exist
       'You cannot buy it unless you go to Chengdu.' / 'Only if you go to Chengdu can you buy it.'

    There are also two examples in the Texts where the particles /-wu/ and /-ʁɑ/ (which are used after noun phrases as postpositions) are used with the sense of a conditional. In the case of /-wu/, this use occurs only after nominalized verb complexes, as in (5.90a) and (5.90b), both from the story "Uncle Snake".

(5.90) a. *"ʔũ tsi-la-han   qa   e:*
  2sg daugher-DEF:one-kind 1sg   one:CL
  de-mə-l-s-te:-wu,   qa-wu   ʔũ   japə-le:
  DIR-NEG-give-NOM-DEF:CL-if 1sg-AGT 2sg hand-DEF:CL
  da-g-ʐa-wa"   (T4:3-4)
  DIR-broken-CAUS:1sg-EMPH
  '(Uncle Snake said,) "If you don't give one of your
  daughters to me, I will chop off your hand"'

  b. *"tə-mə-χsa-n-ʁa,   qa   phusuluq-te:*
  DIR-NEG-understand-2sg-if 1sg clothing-DEF:CL
  ɦe-ge-n-ba, . . .   (T4:51)
  DIR-hold-2sg-DTV
  '(The old mother-in-law said,) "If you didn't understand,
  hold on to my clothes, . . ."'

To express a concessive ('although X, Y'), the phrase /hɑ-ŋu̜ə̰-lu/
(DIR-COP-'come') is added to the end of the first clause:

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

  b. *ɦa-tsa-qəi   ba-haŋu̜ə̰lu,   ə-lə   tɕa-na-wa.*
  clothes-this:one-CL old-although DIR-look CON-good-very
  'Although this piece of clothing is old, it still looks very
  good.'

In terms of cross-clause coreference, there do not seem to be either
accusative or ergative syntactic restrictions on control of the zero
anaphor of the second clause. Compare the following two examples:

(5.92) a. *khuə-le: ɦa-qə-n̺ike   mi-the:-(wu)*
  dog-DEF:CL DIR-go-after   person-that:CL-AGT
  u-tɕu-wu̜.
  DIR-see-3U
  'When the dog went down, that person saw (it).'

b. *mi-the:*　　*ɦa-qə-n̠ɪke*　　　*khuə-le:*　　*u-tɕu.*
person-that:CL DIR-go-after　　　dog-DEF:CL DIR-see
'When that person went down, (s/he) saw the dog.'

In the first example, the noun phrase representing the single direct argument of the first clause is coreferential with the zero pronoun representing the undergoer of the second clause. This would not be possible in a language with an accusative syntactic pivot for this construction unless the second verb was passivized. In the second example, the noun phrase representing the single direct argument of the first clause is coreferential with the zero pronoun representing the actor of the second clause. This would not be possible in a language with an ergative syntactic pivot for this construction unless the second verb was anti-passivized. (See LaPolla 1993, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Ch. 6 for the concepts used here and for evidence of a parallel situation in Chinese.)

5.6. The structure of narratives

In the stories recorded there is a clear pattern found where certain particles, such as /-tɕu/ and /-stun/ regularly appear at the end of a segment of text, and then a marker of summary, result, or change of scene, such as /tu/ starts a new segment, as in the following, from the story "An Orphan", where two verticle bars mark the new segment:

(5.93) *"ha　　qu　　me-tɕhi-wa,　　maha-n̠i-ŋuən̠i　　qa*
　　　　EXCL afraid NEG-want-DTV night-ADV-TOP　　1sg
　　　　ʔũ　gul　　　zu-lu-a:-wa,"
　　　　2sg companion DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH
　　　　jə-kui-tɕu.
　　　　say-INF:HS-PART
　　|| *tu　　ɦala ɦe-zei,　ɦe-zei-n̠i　　da-qə-kəi,*
　　　　RESULT INT DIR-cry DIR-cry-ADV　DIR-go-INF:HS

da-qə-kəi-tu.   (T3:16-19)
DIR-go-INF:HS-LNK
'"Ha, don't be afraid, at night I will come be your companion",
(he) said. | | Then/later/after that (the boy) went on his way,
crying, crying.'

The particle /tu/ or /ɦɑ-tu/ is very frequent in the texts other than in this
construction as well, marking a sort of transition. It is glossed as
RESULT because the action described in the clause that follows it is
often the result of the action or situation described in the clause that
precedes it (and it was translated as 'result' in Chinese), but it can mark
other types of transition as well. For example, in the following text
segment, from "The Orphan", it is marking a transition similar to a
change of paragraph:

(5.94) *kapətʂ   tou-ŋuəɳi   ɦɑ-tsəi*
         orphan   DEF:one:CL-TOP   INT-this.manner
         mo-qu-ke: ʐi-kəi.
         NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL   exist-NAR
    | | **tu**   *the-maha-ŋuəɳi tɕiu   ʂəʂe:ˈwu   ɳiantɕi*
         RESULT   that-night-TOP   †(then)   exist:REDUP:all   together
         ganphai-tu-pǔ-kəi-stu.   (T3:99-102)
         arrange-DIR-do-NAR-PART
         'In this way the orphan was not afraid (lit.: 'There was the
         orphan who was not afraid'). That night they all got together and
         arranged what to do.'

   Another pattern, the "tail-head" construction commonly found in
Tibeto-Burman languages, is for a verb to end a segment, either with the
evidential marking or with the evidential marking followed by one of
the segment-final particles mentioned above, and then be repeated at the
beginning of the next segment, followed by the linker /-tu/ (not the same
function as the independent segment-initial particle /tu/), as in (5.94),
from the story "Uncle Snake".

(5.95) *". . . qa   the: sətsim ha-ŋu̯ə̌-la,"*
              1sg   3sg   wife   DIR-COP-INDTV:1sg

> **ʝə-kui-tɕu.**
> say-INF:HS-PART
> || ɦa-kə   **ʝə-kəi-tu,**   ɦala   qhal
> INT-thus   say-INF:HS-LNK   INT   momo(a.kind.of.bread)
> *a-gṵə*   *u-lu-kui, . . .*   (T4:8-11)
> one-basketful   DIR-give.as.gift-INF:HS
> '"I will become his wife", she said. || Having said that, she
> was given a basketful of momo, and . . .'

We also find markers of discourse deixis in the Texts, using the demonstrative pronouns, as in the following two segments:

(5.96) *tʂi*   *pe-tu*   *ɕtɕə-p*   *le-ɳi*
male/son   become-LNK   seven-year   exist-ADV
ləɣz   *a:-su-wa.*   **the-wu**   *hatʂi-p*
book   DIR:INDTV-study-DTV   that-ABL   eleven-year
le-ɳi   *qa*   *ta:-me˦ʐ-wa.*   (T6:241-243)
exist-ADV   1sg   DIR:INDTV-seek-DVT
'If it is a son, send him to school when he is seven years old.
After that, when he is eleven, have him come look for me.'

(5.97) *tə-χsɑ*   *mɑ-ɣẓə-kəi-ʂə,*   ɦala   *tɕe-zei-kəi-stũ.*
DIR-understand   NEG-able-NAR-LNK   there   CON-cry-NAR-PART
ɦa-tu,   **tsu-ŋuəɳi,**   *pie-le:*   *hɑ-lə-ʝə-kui-stũ.* (T4:36-8)
INT-RESULT   here-TOP   pig-DEF:CL   DIR-come-REP-NAR-PART
'(She) was not able to understand, and so continued to cry.
Therefore, here (= at this point in the story) the pig came out.'

In (5.96) the distal demonstrative pronoun is used without a classifier, the only time this can be done, and is followed by the ablative marker, marking a temporal relation between two parts of the story, where the demonstrative is referring to the previous action, parallel to English *after that.* In (5.97) the locative proximal deictic pronoun is used to mark a point in the story, much like the use of English *here,* as in *Here I would like to mention ...*

Much more work needs to be done on discourse structure and other aspects of the grammar; these few comments are only a first step.

Texts

Text 1
The Creation of the World

zəp-le: ȵi-ke: pe-ji
earth-DEF:CL   WH-INDEF:CL become-CSM

1   qeˀlotʂu-ʁɑ,   mutu-lɑ   mujuqǔ ʐguə-zi we-i,
in.the.past-LOC heaven-LOC sun   nine-CL exist-HS

2   zəp-le: ə-tɕhəqhɑ-ʐ-əi.   mə   ȵɑ   ɣlu
earth-DEF:CL DIR-burn-CAUS-HS older.brother COM   younger.sister

3   jə-tʂ-ŋuəȵi,   zuɑmə-ɸu   o-ʐgu-tɑ   i-pi-χuɑ-ȵi,
two-CL-TOP   cypress-tree   one-CL-LOC   DIR-hide-because-ADV

4   ɦo-mu-xtɕu-wei.   steke-tɑ   mi   peˀʐə-s
DIR-NEG-burn-HS   later-LOC   people raise(child)-NOM

5   ŋuə-χuɑ-ȵi,   mə   ȵɑ   ɣlu   lə-zi
COP-because-ADV older.brother COM   younger.sister   DEF-CL

6   i-dʐi-tɕi,   ȵutɕuku dzuɑʁl e-xʂe ɦei-bi-ȵi,
DIR-discuss-3pl each   stone.mill one-CL DIR-carry.on.back-ADV

7   ʁu-q-tɑ-wu   ɦo-ɣlu,   dzuɑʁl   jə-xʂe
mountain-head-LOC-ABL   DIR-roll   stone.mill two-CL

8   e-tʂetup-tu,   ȵizzi   oqpi   pə-s,   dzuɑʁl
DIR-bump.into-LNK   3dl   one:family do-NOM   stone.mill

9   jə-xʂe   ɦo-ɣlu-s-tɑ,   qhuɑt
two-CL   DIR-roll-NOM-LOC   as.it.happens

10   e-tʂetup-wei,   ɦɑ-tsəi-ȵike,   mə   ȵɑ
DIR-bump.into-HS   INT-this.manner-after   older.brother   COM

11   ɣlu   lə-zi   oqpi   ɦo-pə-i.
younger.sister DEF-CL   one:family   DIR-do-HS

12   ə-jə-p   pe-ȵi,   ɣlu-le: mi   qes
one-two-year become-ADV younger.sister-DEF:CL people   form

13　　 mɑ-ŋu̥ə̥　　ke:　　　i-ɕi.　　　mə-le:　　　　　　tə-khueq,
　　　　NEG-COP　INDEF:CL　DIR-release　older.brother-DEF:CL　DIR-angry

14　　duɑʁl-le:-wu　　　sə-xte-n̩i　　tɕetɕi-lɑ　　　da-ʁu̥.
　　　　scythe-DEF:CL-INST　DIR-chop-LNK　everywhere-LOC　DIR-throw(away)

15　　steke　lɑ-s-ʁɑ,　　　　tɕetɕi-lɑ-wu　　　　　mufu̥　tə-lɑ-ji,
　　　　later　DEF:one-day-LOC　everywhere-LOC-ABL　smoke　DIR-come-CSM

16　　fiɑ-tsəi-n̩ike,　　　　　　mi　　　lu-ji.
　　　　INT-this.manner-after　　people　come-CSM

Narrator: Huang Chenglong 黃成龍
Born 1968
Recorded 1994

The Creation of the World

Long, long ago, there were nine suns in the heaven which burned the earth. Because a brother and younger sister hid in a great cypress (that honored the gods), they were not burned to death. Later, in order to propagate descendants, the brother and sister talked it over and decided that each would carry a stone mill on his or her back and roll it down from the mountain peak. If the two stone mills joined together, the two could get married. As it happened, when the two stone mills rolled down (to the river bank) they joined together, and so the brother and sister married. After a few years, the younger sister gave birth to a monster not of human form. The older brother was so angry he used a curved knife/scythe to chop it into pieces and scattered them wildly everywhere. The next day when they got up, they saw the smoke of cooking fires everywhere. And henceforth there was humankind.

Text 2
The Legend of the Origin of All Things
Mutsitşu n̠ɑ Tugantşu

1   mutsitşu   n̠ɑ   tugantşu   zəpəq-tɑ   ɦo-lu-ɑ:-ji.
            Mutsitşu COM Tugantşu   earth-LOC DIR-come-PRS-CSM

2   ɑpə   mupithɑ-ŋuən̠i, thəzzi-tɑ kə-ji,   "ʔizzi zəpəq-tɑ
    father(god) Mupithɑ-TOP   3dl-LOC thus-say   2dl   earth-LOC

3   ɦɑ-ʁɑ-i-tɑ   ɦɑ-ʁə-i."   thizzi kə   ʁzɑ-ʁɑ,   ɑpə-xsə-ŋuən̠i
    DIR-go-2pl-if   DIR-go-2pl   3dl   go   time-LOC   father-god-TOP

4   themle lu-zu   xsə-quɑt   de-l-wei,   ɦɑ-ʁə-n̠i
    3pl   China.fir-seed three-bushel DIR-give-HS   DIR-go-ADV

5   ʁopu   ɦie-gi-s-tɑ   i-phi-kəi,   nai
    mountain DIR-low(short)-NOM-LOC   DIR-plant-NAR   other

6   tshəmɑ we-tɕ   səɸ-zu   xsə-quɑt   de-tɕi-le-wei,
    thorn   exist-GEN   tree-seed three-bushel DIR-CON-give-HS

7   ʁopu   ti-wi-s-tɑ   i-phi-kəi,   nai   poquş
    mountain DIR-high-NOM-LOC   DIR-plant-NAR   other   livestock

8   e-khe-χan   de-tɕi-le,   thizzi   tə-wɑʁ,
    one-hundred-kind DIR-CON-give   3dl   DIR-drive.ahead

9   ɑ-stu-χan   phuxşu-ŋuən̠i   themle-steke
    one-thousand-kind wild.creatures-TOP 3pl-behind

10   ɑ-dzɑ-z̠-n̠i.   qalɑ-ʁa,
    DIR-follow-CAUS-ADV   separate/divide/leave-LOC

11   thizzi-tɑ   kə-ji-wei,   "ʔile gue:ꜝ-tɑ-ŋuən̠i   ha-l-n̠i
    3dl-LOC   thus-say-HS   2pl road-LOC-TOP   DIR-look-ADV

12   mutu-lɑ   tɕe-tse-şu."
    heaven-LOC   NEG.IMP-look-DTV

13   mutsitşu n̠ɑ   tugantşu-ŋuən̠i   ɕtɕi-kǔ
            Mutsitşu COM Tugantşu-TOP   heart/mind-inside

14   tə-nɑ-wei,   gue:¹-tɑ   kə ʁzɑ-ʁɑ   zəm   ɦɑ-tshuə-n̠i,
      DIR-good-HS   road-LOC   go time-LOC   song   DIR-sing-ADV

15   zəm   tu-χsu-n̠i   lu-ji.
      song   DIR-jump/dance-LNK   come-CSM

16   thizzi-ŋuən̠i qe:¹-tɑ   ɑpə   mupithɑ   thizzi   oqpi
      3dl-TOP   before-LOC   god   Mupithɑ   3dl   one:family

17   pə-z̠   mo-ʁu-χuɑ-n̠i,   hɑ-l-n̠i   mutu-lɑ
      do-CAUS   NEG-willing-because-ADV   DIR-look-ADV   heaven-LOC

18   tə-lə-n̠i   tse-i,   thəpɑktɑ,   n̠ile-steke
      DIR-look-LNK   see-HS   as.a.result   3plREFL-behind

19   ɑ-stu-χɑn   phuxʂu   doqu-z̠-ək
      one-thousand-kind   wild.animals   frighten-CAUS-INF

20   tɕetɕi-lɑ   du-fu-wei,
      everywhere-LOC   DIR-flee-HS

21   ɦɑ-tsəi-n̠i,   pitɕ   phu-ʁɑ   z̠i-m
      INT-this.manner-ADV   now   forest-LOC   exist-NOM

22   phuxʂu   pe-wei.   themle   zəpəq-tɑ   i-pə-l-n̠ike,
      wild.animals   become-HS   3pl   earth-LOC   DIR-arrive-come-after

23   e-tʂequɑ   de-tshe-n̠i   lu-zu-lɑ-hɑ   ʁopu
      DIR-remember   DIR-wrong-ADV China.fir-seed-DEF:one-pl   mountain

24   ti-wi-s-tɑ   de-se-ku,   tshəmɑ we-tɕ
      DIR-high-NOM-LOC   DIR-sow-NAR   thorn   exist-GEN

25   səɸ-zu-lɑ-hɑ-ŋuən̠i   ʁopu   ɦie-gi-s-tɑ
      tree-seed-DEF:one-pl-TOP   mountain   DIR-short-NOM-LOC

26   de-se-ku,   ɦɑ-tsəi   ŋuə-χuɑ-n̠i,
      DIR-sow-NAR   INT-this.manner   COP-because-ADV

27   ɦie-gi-s-tɑ-ŋuən̠i   tshəmɑ   tə-ʂ-jy   ŋuə.
      DIR-short-NOM-LOC-TOP   thorn   DIR-grow-ASP   COP

28 thizzi   zɑ-ʁə   bəl-dʐə-wa-χuɑ-ɳi,   lu
    3dl   earth-LOC   do-able-very-because-ADV China.fir

29 te-x-ɳi[104]   tɕiʁuɑ   tə-ɬi,   tshəmɑ   ɦa-xte-ɳi
    DIR-cut-ADV   house   DIR-build   thorn   DIR-cut.down-ADV

30 zə   tə-ʐge,   ʐmə   tɕhe-tɕ   ʐguə   i-ɸi-ji.
    land DIR-open   humankind want-GEN   grain DIR-plant-CSM

Narrator: Huang Chenglong 黃成龍
Born 1968
Recorded 1994

The Legend of the Origin of All Things
Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu

(The goddess) Mutsitʂu and (the mortal man) Tugantʂu wanted to come down to the earth. The god Mupitha said to them, "If you want to go down to the earth, then go." Just before Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu left, Mupitha gave them three bushels of China fir seeds and instructed them to plant them on low mountains. He also gave them three bushels of seeds for thorned bushes, and instructed them to plant them on high mountains. He also gave them a hundred kinds of livestock, which they drove before them, and a thousand kinds of birds and beasts, which followed behind them. When they parted, Mupitha said to them, "When you are on the road, do not look back at heaven."

Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu were extremely happy. The whole way they sang and danced as they walked. Because the god Mupitha had opposed them becoming one family before, they deliberately looked back at heaven, and the result was that they frightened the thousand kinds of birds and beasts following them, causing them to flee everywhere. In this way these animals became the wild animals now dwelling in the forests. After Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu arrived on the earth, they misremembered (what Mupitha had told them to do) and sowed the China fir seeds on high mountains and the thorny bushes on low mountains. As a result, the low areas grew full of brambles and thorns. (However,) because they were very able, they cut down the China firs and built houses, and they hacked through the brambles and thorns, opening up wilderness land, and planted the grain needed by humankind.

Text 3
An Orphan
kɑpətʂ kou
orphan INDEF:one:CL

1. qe:˩-qe:˩-tu   ɦɑlɑ kɑpətʂ kou   ŋuə-kei-tɕu,
    before-before-LNK   INT   orphan INDEF:one:CL COP-NAR-PART

2. ep   lə   me-ʐ̩i   ew   lə   me-ʐ̩i   ke:
    father also NEG-exist   mother   also NEG-exist   INDEF:CL

3. ŋuə-kəi-tɕu,   tu   ɦɑlɑ   ʂkup-le:-ŋuən̪i
    COP-NAR-PART   RESULT   INT   orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP

4. ɦɑ-tsu   kɑpətʂ tou   dzə kantɕhi-kui-tɕu,
    INT-here   orphan   DEF:one:CL   eat   think/want-NAR-PART

5. kɑpətʂ lou   dzə   kantɕi:-tu,   ɦɑlɑ,   kɑpətʂ
    orphan DEF:one:CL   eat   think/want-LNK   INT   orphan

6. tou   gəs-tɑ   ɦɑ-xtʂə-pɑ:-jə-tu
    DEF:one:CL   night-LOC   DIR-get.dark-become:PRS-REP-LNK

7. qu-kəpə-kəi-ʂ,   tɕəu-lɑ   kə ʁzɑ-ʁɑ,   zei
    ɦe-afraid-HABIT-NAR-LNK   home-LOC   go when-LOC   cry

8. ɦe-zei-n̪i   kə-kəpə-kəi-tɕu,   tu   ɦɑlɑ   dɑ-qɑ
    DIR-cry-ADV   go-HABIT-NAR-PART   RESULT   INT   DIR-go

9. dɑ-qɑ-tu   gue:˩-tɑ   ɦɑ-qɑ,
    DIR-go-LNK   road-LOC   DIR-go

10. χa-le:-n̪ɑ   e-tʂepe-kəi-tɕu.   χa-le:-wu
    needle-DEF:CL-COM   DIR-encounter-NAR-PART   needle-DEF:CL-AGT

11. tə-ke˩l-kui-tɕu,   "ha,   n̪i:-pe-wɑ,¹⁰⁵   n̪i:-pe-wɑ,"
    DIR-ask-NAR-PART   EXCL   WH-become-Q   WH-become-Q

12. jə-tu.   ɦɑ kɑpətʂ tou   hɑ-sə-kəi-ʂə,
    say-LNK   INT orphan DEF:one:CL   DIR-make.sound-NAR-LNK

13. "hi!   ʂkup-te:-wu   mɑhɑ   qɑ   dzə lɑ:,"
    EXCL   orangutan-DEF:CL-AGT   night   1sg   eat   come:PRS

14   jə-ʂə,   "qa   tɕəu-la   o-zǔ-ȵi   qa   ou-stu
        say-LNK   1sg   home-LOC   DIR-sit-ADV   1sg   one:CL-alone

15   je   qu-a-wa,"   jə-kui-tɕu.   tu
        live/stay   afraid-1sg-EMPH   say-NAR-PART   RESULT

16   χa-le:-ŋuəȵi,   "ha   qu   me-tɕhi-wa,   maha-ȵi-ŋuəȵi
        needle-DEF:CL-TOP   EXCL   afraid   NEG-want-DTV   night-ADV-TOP

17   qa   ʔũ-gul   zu-lu-a:-wa,"   jə-kui-tɕu.
        1sg   2sg-companion   DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH   say-NAR-PART

18   tu   ɦala   ɦe-zei,   ɦe-zei-ȵi   da-qə-kəi,
        RESULT   INT   DIR-cry   DIR-cry-ADV   DIR-go-NAR

19   da-qə-kəi-tu,   ɦala   qusap-te:-ȵa
        DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT   scissors-DEF:CL-COM

20   e-tʂepe-kəi-tɕu,   qusap-te:-wu
        DIR-encounter-NAR-PART   scissors-DEF:CL-AGT

21   "a   ʔũ   ȵiɣi-pe-wa?   ȵi-χua-ȵi   kə-zei-n-a?"
        EXCL   2sg   what-become-Q   WH-because-ADV   thus-cry-2sg-Q

22   jə-kui-tɕu.   ɦa   "qa   tɕəu-la   ou-tɕi
        say-NAR-PART   INT   1sg   home-LOC   one:CL-EXC

23   me-ʐa-wa,   ʂkup-te: qa   dza:,"
        NEG-exist:1sg-EMPH   orangutan-DEF:CL   1sg   eat:PRS

24   jə-kəpə-ʂə,   "maha-ȵi   ɦo-lu-kəpə-wa,"
        say-HABIT -LNK   night-ADV   DIR-come-HABIT-EMPH

25   jə-kui-tɕu.   "a: ke:-jə
        say-NAR-PART   EXCL   INDEF:CL-EXC

26   ma-ŋʉə̯-ta   ʐə   me-w,   maha   qa   ʔũ
        NEG-COP-if   matter   NEG-exist   night   1sg   2sg

27   gul   zu-lu-a:-wa,"   jə-kui-tɕu,   "ʔũ-gul
        companion   DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH   say-NAR-PART   2sg-friend

28   zu-lu-a:-wa,"   jə-kui-tu.
        DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH   say-NAR-LNK

29   ɦa-the-wu   χaiʂə   ɦe-zei   ɦe-zei-ȵi
      INT-that-ABL   †(still.is) DIR-cry   DIR-cry-ADV

30   dɑ-qə-jə   ɦe-zei   ɦe-zei-ȵi   dɑ-qə-jə-kəi-tu,
      DIR-go-REP   DIR-cry   DIR-cry-ADV   DIR-go-REP-NAR-LNK

31   χaiʂə   xsə   ȼtȼiȼtȼiɑq   tou-ȵɑ
      †(still.is) new(again)   magpie   DEF:one:CL-COM

32   e-tʂepe-kə-jə-kei-tȼu,   ȼtȼiȼtȼɑq
      DIR-encounter-go-REP-NAR-PART   magpie

33   tou-ȵɑ   e-tʂepe-kəi-tu,
      DEF:one:CL-COM   DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK

34   "a: ʔũ   ȵi-χua-ȵi   kə-zei-n-ɑ?"   jə-kui.
      EXCL   2sg   WH-because-ADV   thus-cry-2sg-Q   say-NAR

35   "qɑ-ŋuəȵi   tȼəu-lɑ   ou-jə   me-ʐa-wa,
      1sg-TOP   home-LOC   one:CL-EXC   NEG-exist:1sg-EMPH

36   tatə   lə   me-ʐi,   ma   lə   me-ʐi,
      father   also   NEG-exist   mother   also   NEG-exist

37   ep-ew   me-ʐi   ɦa-kou   ŋua-ʂə,
      father-mother NEG-exist   INT-INDEF:one:CL   COP:1sg-LNK

38   tȼəu-lɑ   ɦa-xtʂəp-ȵike,   ʂkup-le:-wu   qa   dzɑ:,"
      home-LOC   DIR-get.dark-after   orangutan-DEF:CL-AGT   1sg   eat:PRS

39   jə-kəpə-ʂə,   "qɑ   tȼəu-lɑ   je   qu-ɑ-wa,"
      say-HABIT-LNK   1sg   home-LOC   live/stay   afraid-1sg-EMPH

40   jə-kui-tȼu.   "hi!   qu   me-tȼhi-wa,   maha-ȵi
      say-NAR-PART   EXCL   afraid   NEG-want-EMPH   night-ADV

41   qɑ   ʔũ-gul   zu-lu-ɑ:-wa,"   jə-kui-tȼu.
      1sg   2sg-companion   DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH   say-NAR-PART

42   xsə   dɑ-qə   dɑ-qə-jə-kəi,   dɑ-qa
      new(again) DIR-go   DIR-go-REP-NAR   DIR-go

43   dɑ-qə-jə-kəi-tu,   ɦala   noʁu-le:-ȵɑ
      DIR-go-REP-NAR-LNK   INT   crow-DEF:CL-COM

44 e-tʂepe-kəi-tɕu,   noʁu-le:-n̠a
   DIR-encounter-NAR-PART crow-DEF:CL-COM

45 e-tʂepe-kəi-tu,   "ha! ʔũ n̠i-χuɑ-n̠i
   DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK EXCL 2sg WH-because-ADV

46 kə-zei-n-ɑ?" jə-kui. tu χaiʂə "qa ɦɑlɑ
   thus-cry-2sg-Q say-NAR RESULT †(still.is) 1sg INT

47 ep lə me-z̠i   əw lə me-z̠i,
   father also NEG-exist mother also NEG-exist

48 kapətʂ kou-jə   mɑ-ŋua-ʂə,   tu
   orphan DEF:one:CL-EXC NEG-COP:1sg-LNK RESULT

49 ɦɑlɑ   gəs-tɑ-ŋuən̠i
   INT   night-LOC-TOP

50 je qu-ɑ-wɑ, ʂkup-le:-ŋuən̠i qa dzɑ:-wɑ,"
   live/stay afraid-1sg-EMPH orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP 1sg eat:PRS-EMPH

51 jə-kui-tɕu. "ha, ta ke: ŋuə-ta, z̠ə me-w,
   say-NAR-PART EXCL if INDEF:CL COP-if matter NEG-exist

52 qɑ-ŋuən̠i maha zu-lǔ-n̠i,   ʔũ-gul
   1sg-TOP night DIR-come-ADV 2sg-companion

53 i-jə-lɑ-wɑ,"   jə-kui-tɕu.
   DIR-live-INDTV:1sg-EMPH say-NAR-PART

54   xsə   dɑ-qa dɑ-qə-jə-kəi,   ɦɑ
     new(again) DIR-go DIR-go-REP-NAR INT

55 dɑ-qə-kəi-tu, χsutsqhɑ-le:-n̠a e-tʂepe-kəi,
   DIR-go-NAR-LNK stomach-DEF:CL-COM DIR-encounter-NAR

56 χsutsqhɑ-le:-n̠a e-tʂepe-kəi-tu, χsutsqhɑ-le:-wu
   stomach-DEF:CL-COM DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK stomach-DEF:CL-AGT

57 tə-keˀl-kui, "ha! ʔũ n̠i-χuɑ-n̠i   kə-zei-n-ɑ?"
   DIR-ask-NAR EXCL 2sg WH-because-ADV thus-cry-2sg-Q

58 jə-kui, "n̠i-χuɑ-n̠i   kə-zei-n-ɑ?" jə-kui-tu.
   say-NAR WH-because-ADV thus-cry-2sg-Q say-NAR-LNK

59   kapətʂ   tou   he-ʐgue-kəi,   "qa-ŋuəɳ̍i
      orphan   DEF:one:CL   DIR-answer-NAR   1sg-TOP

60   ep   lə   me-ʐə-i   əw   lə
      father also NEG-exist-CSM   mother   also

61   me-ʐə-i,   gəs-ɳ̍i   ɦa-xtʂəp-ɳ̍iaufu
      NEG-exist-CSM   night-ADV   DIR-get.dark-LNK(as.soon.as)

62   ʂkup-le: qa   dzə-lɑ:,"   jə-kəpə-ʂə,   "qa
      orangutan-DEF:CL 1sg   eat-come:PRS   say-HABIT-LNK   1sg

63   qu-ɑ-wɑ,"   jə-kui.   "ha!   ke:-ji
      afraid-1sg-EMPH   say-NAR   EXCL   INDEF:CL-EXC

64   mɑ-ŋu̥ə̍-ta,   ʐə   me-w-wɑ,
      NEG-COP-if   matter   NEG-exist-EMPH

65   qɑ-ŋuəɳ̍i   ʔũ-gul   ha-ŋu̥ə̍-la-wɑ,
      1sg-TOP   2sg-companion   DIR-COP-INDTV:1sg-EMPH

66   maha-ŋuəɳ̍i qa ʔũ-gul   zu-lu-ɑ:-wɑ,"   jə-kui.
      night-TOP 1sg 2sg-companion   DIR-come-1sg:PRS-EMPH   say-NAR

67   ɦa-tsa-tau   ŋuə-tu, ɦala ɦe-zei   ɦe-zei-ɳ̍i
           INT-this:one-time   COP-LNK INT DIR-cry   DIR-cry-ADV

68   dɑ-qə-jə-kəi,   dɑ-qɑ   dɑ-qɑ-tu   ɦala
      DIR-go-REP-NAR   DIR-go   DIR-go-LNK   INT

69   thəl-le:-ɳ̍ɑ   e-tʂepe-kəi-stu,
      stone.pestle-DEF:CL-COM DIR-encounter-NAR-PART

70   thəl-le:-ɳ̍ɑ   e-tʂepe-kəi-tu,
      stone.pestle-DEF:CL-COM DIR-encounter-NAR-LNK

71   "ha!   ʔũ   ɳ̍i-χuɑ-ɳ̍i   kə-zei-n-ɑ?"   jə-kui,
       EXCL   2sg   WH-because-ADV   thus-cry-2sg-Q   say-NAR

72   tə- keʲl-kui.   "ɦa,   qɑ-ŋuəɳ̍i ep   lə   me-ʐə-i
      DIR-ask-NAR   EXCL   1sg-TOP father also NEG-exist-CSM

73   əw   lə   me-ʐə-i,   ɦa-xtʂəpɑ:
      mother   also   NEG-exist-CSM   DIR-get.dark:PRS

74   ququ,   pəs   lə   ɦɑ-xtʂəp-ja,   ʂkup-le:-ŋuəɳi
      afraid   today   also   DIR-get.dark-REP   orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP

75   maha   qa   dzə-lɑ:,"   jə-kəpə-wa,   jə-kui.
      night   1sg   eat-come:PRS   say-HABIT-EMPH   say-NAR

76   ɦɑ-tu-ŋuəɳi,   "ke:-ji   mɑ-ŋu̯ə̯-ta,   ʐə   me-w,
      INT-RESULT-TOP   INDEF:CL-EXC   NEG-COP-if   matter   NEG-exist

77   qɑ-ŋuəɳi ʔũ-gul   zu-lu-ɑ:,   maha-ɳi   qa
      1sg-TOP   2sg-companion   DIR-come-1sg:PRS   night-ADV   1sg

78   ʔũ-gul   zu-lǔ-lɑ-wa,"   jə-kui-tɕu.
      2sg-companion   DIR-come-INDTV:1sg-EMPH   say-NAR-PART

79   ɦɑ   tsa-tɑu-tu-ŋuəɳi,   kapətʂ   tou-ŋuəɳi
            INT   this:one-time-LNK-TOP   orphan   DEF:one-CL-TOP

80   ɦɑ-tsa-χsaˑwu   gul   ɦe-se-kei-stu.
      INT-this:one-few:all   companion   DIR-make-NAR-PART

81   gul   ɦe-se-kəi-tu,
      companion   DIR-make(friends)-NAR-LNK

82   maha   pe-k-kui,   tsa-χui-tu   ɦɑ-xtʂəp-ji   maha
      night   become-go-NAR   this:one-time-LNK   DIR-get.dark-CSM   night

83   i-pə-l-kui,   qusɑp   lə   i-pə-l-kui,
      DIR-arrive-come-NAR   scissors   also   DIR-arrive-come-NAR

84   ɕtɕəɕtɕaq   tou   lə   i-pə-l-kui,   noʁu
      magpie   DEF:one:CL   also   DIR-arrive-come-NAR   crow

85   lə   i-pə-l-kui,   ɦɑ   χsutsqhɑ,
      also   DIR-arrive-come-NAR   INT   stomach

86   thəl,   jankhui   ʂəʂə:ˑwu   i-pə-l-kui-tɕu.
      stone.pestle   stone.mortar   exist:REDUP:all   DIR-arrive-come-NAR-PART

87   tsa-χui-tu,   ʐmə   ɑ-la   ɦio-tsu-kəi,
      this:one-time-LNK   meeting   one-CL   DIR-hold-NAR

88   kapətʂ   tou-ŋuəɳi   ɕtɕi:-kǔ   kən   ɦɑ-nə-kui,
      orphan   DEF:one:CL-TOP   heart-inside   very   DIR-good-NAR

89　　"ɦa,　　　pəmaha-ŋuəȵi　　qa　　gul　　　　la-ha
　　　　EXCL　　tonight-TOP　　　　1sg　　companion　DEF:one-pl

90　　i-pə-l-jy,　　　　　　　　　pəmaha-ŋuəȵi　　ʂkup-te:
　　　　DIR-arrive-come-ASP　　　tonight-TOP　　　　orangutan-DEF:CL

91　　mo-qu-ɑ-wɑ,　　　　　　　　ɦa-kə
　　　　NEG-afraid-1sg-EMPH　　　　INT-thus

92　　mo-qu-ja-wɑ　　　　　　　　ike　　ʐi-kəi."　　　thɑ-χsɑ
　　　　NEG-afraid-CSM:1sg-EMPH　　thus　　exist-NAR　　that:one-few

93　　i-pə-l-ku-tu,　　　　　　　　　　"maha　　tɕo-qu-n-pɑ,
　　　　DIR-arrive-come-NAR-LNK　　　　night　　NEG.IMP-be.afraid-2sg-DTV

94　　do-tɕu-qu-n-pɑ,　　　　　　　　tɕile　　tsɑ-χsəˀwu
　　　　DIR-NEG.IMP-be.afraid-2sg-DTV　　1pl　　this:one-few:all

95　　gul-pɑ-ʂ,　　　　　　ʂkup-le:　　　　　i-me-pə-l-ȵi
　　　　companion-do-LNK　　orangutan-DEF:CL　　DIR-NEG-arrive-come-ADV

96　　mɑ-ŋʉə-tɕi.　　　　　i-pə-l-tu,
　　　　NEG-COP-EXC　　　　DIR-arrive-come-LNK

97　　tɕile　pəmaha　　tse:　　　qəta:-wa,"　　　　　jə-kui-tɕu.
　　　　2pl　　tonight　　this:CL　　beat.to.death:PRS-EMPH　　say-NAR-PART

98　　　　tu　　　　skup-le:　　　　lə　　mo-qu-ke:
　　　　　　RESULT　　orangutan-DEF:CL　　also　　NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL

99　　ɦa-lə-kəi,　　　　　kapətʂ　　tou-ŋuəȵi　　　ɦa-tsəi
　　　　DIR-come-NAR　　　orphan　　DEF:one:CL-TOP　　INT-this.manner

100　　mo-qu-ke:　　　　　　ʐi-kəi.
　　　　NEG-afraid-INDEF:CL　　exist-NAR

101　　　　tu　　　the-maha-ŋuəȵi　　tɕiu　　ʂəʂe:ˀwu　　　ȵiantɕi
　　　　　　RESULT　that-night-TOP　　†(then)　　exist:REDUP:all　　together

102　　gɑnphai-tu-pʉ̌-kəi-stu,　　　χa-le:-ŋuəȵi　　　tɕa-lə
　　　　arrange-DIR-do-NAR-PART　　needle-DEF:CL-TOP　　where-LOC

103　　je-s　　　　ŋuə,　　　　　tɕa-lə　　　　　tɕa-lə
　　　　live/stay-NOM　COP　　　　where-LOC　　　　where-LOC

104 nə-s   ŋuə,   tɕa-lə   tɕa-lə
     sleep-NOM   COP   where-LOC   where-LOC

105 n̠iɣi   ŋuə-s   ŋuə,   fia-tsəi
     what   COP-NOM   COP   INT-this:manner

106 ganphai-tu-pǔ-kəi-tɕu.   χa-le:-ŋuən̠i   fiala
     arrange-DIR-do-NAR-PART   needle-DEF:CL-TOP   INT

107 dzy-le:-ʁa   ə-tʂə-n̠i   fiala
     door-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-stab-ADV   INT

108 dzy-le:-ʁa   z̠i-kəi,   qusap-tou-ŋuən̠i
     door-DEF:CL-LOC   exist-NAR   scissors-DEF:one:CL-TOP

109 fiala   kapətʂ-tou-piena-la   naʂ-te:-piena
     INT   orphan-DEF:one:CL-beside-LOC   bed-DEF:CL-beside

110 tha   fia-nə-kəi,   ɕtɕiɕtɕaq-tou-ŋuən̠i   fiala
     there   DIR-sleep-NAR   magpie-DEF:one:CL-TOP   INT

111 mə-law-z̠aχua   fia-nə-kui-tɕu,
     fire-DEF:one:pile-inside   DIR-sleep-NAR-PART

112 noʁu-le:-ŋuən̠i   fiala   ʂuətʂhua   z̠aχua   fia-nə-kui,
     crow-DEF:CL-TOP   INT   water.jar   inside   DIR-sleep-NAR

113 fia   tsəi-ŋuən̠i,   χsutsqha-le:-ŋuən̠i
     INT   this.manner-TOP   stomach-DEF:CL-TOP

114 buzd-te:-qəpatʂa: fia-nə-kui-tɕu,
     plank.stairs-DEF:CL-head:LOC   DIR-sleep-NAR-PART

115 jankhui-le:-ŋuən̠i   buzd-le:-ku-ta
     stone.mortar-DEF:CL-TOP   plank.stairs-DEF:CL-base-LOC

116 fia-nə-kui-tɕu,   fia   thəl-le:-ŋuən̠i
     DIR-sleep-NAR-PART   INT   stone.pestle-DEF:CL-TOP

117 buzd-le:-qəpatʂa: i-jə-kui-tɕu.
     plank.stairs-DEF:CL-head:LOC   DIR-live/stay-NAR-PART

118   hi,   fia-xtʂəp   ʂkup-te: zə-la-jə-kui,
        EXCL   DIR-get.dark   orangutan-DEF:CL   DIR-come-REP-NAR

119   tsou   tɕymi-lou-ta   zə-la-kui-tu,
       this:one:CL   child-DEF:one:CL-DAT   DIR-come-NAR-LNK

120   dʐy-la:-ʁa   qeꟷ   ʂpaʂpa
       door-DEF:CL-LOC   before   like/as

121   dʐy-le:-ta   dzeke   i-ɕtɕi-kəi-tɕu,
       door-DEF:CL-LOC   (onomatopoeia)   DIR-push-NAR-PART

122   dʐy-le: i-ɕtɕi,   χa-la-ha   tha   ʐi-kui-n̥iau,
       door-DEF:CL   DIR-push   needle-DEF:one-pl   there   exist-NAR-PART

123   χa-la-ha   japə-le:-ta   ə-tʂə-n̥iaufu
       needle-DEF:one-pl   hand-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-stab-LNK(as.soon.as)

124   saq-phi-ke: ə-ʂə-kui-tɕu,   tu   χaiʂə
       blood-flow-INDEF:CL   DIR-put-NAR-PART   RESULT   †(still.is)

125   tɕəu-la   ə-ʁə   ɕtɕaq   tɕo-lu-kui-ʂə,
       home-LOC   DIR-go   heart   CON-come-NAR-LNK

126   ə-qa-jə-kui,   ə-qa-n̥iaufu
       DIR-go-REP-NAR   DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as)

127   kapətʂ-tou   nəʂ-ta:-ʁa   mo-tha-jə-kui,
       orphan-DEF:one:CL   bed-DEF:CL-LOC   grope.for-AUX-REP-NAR

128   χaiʂə   tɕa-lə   nə   meꟷʐ̥-kəi,   kapətʂ   tou
       †(still.is)   where-LOC   sleep   seek-NAR   orphan   DEF:one:CL

129   nəʂ-ta:-ʁa-ŋuən̥i,   kapətʂ-tou   meꟷʐ̥   kantɕhi
       bed-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP   orphan-DEF:one:CL   seek   think/want

130   qusap-te:-wu   japə-le:-xʂe   tu-tua-kui,   tha-χui
       scissors-DEF:CL-AGT   hand-DEF:CL-CL   DIR-cut-NAR   that:one-time

131   tu,   χtʂap-ke: ŋuə-kui-n̥iau,   qusap-te:-wu
       RESULT   black-INDEF:CL   COP-NAR-PART   scissors-DEF:CL-AGT

132   japə-le: tu-tua,   sa   tuetue-ke:-tɕi   da-qa-jantɕi,
       hand-DEF:CL   DIR-cut   blood   driping-INDEF:CL-ADV   DIR-go-after

133   mə-law   qhəꟷqhəꟷ-kəi,   mə-law   i-ʂue-n̥i
       fire-DEF:one:pile   open-NAR   fire-DEF:one:pile   DIR-set.fire-ADV

134 ȵiɣi-la-ha   kə-ẓi,   a-ʂ   tse   kantɕhi-kəi,
    what-DEF:one-pl   thus-exist   one-time   see   think/want-NAR

135 mə-law   da-qheˡ   kantɕhi   me-pe-ȵiaufu,
    fire-DEF:one.pile   DIR-open   think/want NEG-correct-LNK(as.soon.as)

136 xsə   ҫtҫiҫtҫaq-la-ha
    new(again)   magpie-DEF:one-pl

137 da-ʂp-jə-kui-stu,   tʂhəqtʂhaqtʂhəqtʂhaq-la-ha
    DIR-explode-REP-NAR-PART   (onomatopoeia)-DEF:one-pl

138 da-ʂp-ȵiaufu   mi: da-qə-kui,   mi:
    DIR-explode-LNK(as.soon.as)   eyes   DIR-go-NAR   eyes

139 da-qə-kui,   fia   tsa-χui-tu,
    DIR-go-NAR   INT   this:one-time-LNK

140 mi: da-qa,   mi: da-qə-tu,   ʂuətʂhua-la-ʁa
    eyes   DIR-go   eyes   DIR-go-LNK   water.jar-DEF:CL-LOC

141 sə-l-ȵiantɕi,   tsə-lo-qu   ŋuə-ȵiantɕi, quaha-lo-qu
    DIR-see-after   water-DEF:one-CL   COP-after   face-DEF:one-CL

142 χuəla kantɕhi-kəi-wa,   quaha χuəla   kantɕhi
    wash   think/want-NAR-EMPH   face   wash   think/want

143 ʂuətʂhua-la-ʁa   su-tʂhu,   noʁu-le-tɕi
    water.jar-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-reach.out   crow-DEF-CL

144 tha   ẓi-jə-kui-stu,   noʁu-le-tɕi-wu
    there exist-REP-NAR-PART   crow-DEF-CL-AGT

145 tshuaq   tshuaq   da-sə-ẓ,   miauʁdʐue-la-ʁa
    peck   peck   DIR-make.sound-CAUS   eye-DEF:CL-LOC

146 i-tshuete-kui-stu.   fia-tsa-χui-tu,   miauʁdʐue
    DIR-peck-NAR-PART   INT-this:one-time-LNK   eye

147 lə   me-le-jy,   japə e-xʂe lə   me-wə̌-jy.
    also NEG-exist-ASP   hand one-CL also NEG-exist-ASP

148 fiala   saq   tuetue-ke:-tɕi   du-ɸu-ȵi
    INT   blood driping-INDEF:CL-ADV   DIR-run.away-ADV

149   ha-ʁ   kantɕhi-kəi,   du-ɸu-n̪i   buzd-qə-ta
       DIR-go   think/want-NAR   DIR-run.away-ADV   plank.stairs-head-LOC

150   ha-ʁ   kantɕhi-kei-tu,   sə-qa,   sə-qa-n̪iaufu,
       DIR-go   think/want-NAR-LNK   DIR-go   DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as)

151   χsutsqha-la:-ʁa   fie-tʂhue,   χsutsqha-la:-ʁa
       stomach-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-step.on   stomach-DEF:CL-LOC

152   fie-tʂhue,   da-ła   buzd-le:-ta   dʑiq   fia-qə-i-stu.
       DIR-step.on   DIR-slip   plank.stairs-DEF:CL-LOC   floor   DIR-go-HS-PART

153   dʑiq   fia-qə-n̪iaufu   tʂhə-la   buzd-kuə-ta
       floor   DIR-go-LNK(as.soon.as)   ground.floor-LOC   plank.stair-foot-LOC

154   jankhui-le:-ʐaχua   fia-qa,   xsə   thəl-le:
       stone.mortar-DEF:CL-inside   DIR-go   new(again)   stone.pestle-DEF:CL

155   qəpatʂa: ʂə,   fia-la,   thəl-le:-wu
       head:LOC   exist   DIR-come   stone.pestle-DEF:CL-AGT

156   fie-tɕite   fie-tɕite,   fie-tɕite-n̪iaufu,   fia-tsu
       DIR-pound   DIR-pound   DIR-pound-LNK(as.soon.as)   INT-here

157   ʂkup-te:-ŋuən̪i   n̪i-qəti-n̪i
       orangutan-DEF:CL-TOP   DIR-beat.to.death-ADV

158   da-ʁu-kui-wa.
       DIR-throw-NAR-EMPH

       Narrator: Wang Lin 王林
       Born 1966
       Recorded 1996

An Orphan

Long ago, there was an orphan; he was one who had no father and no mother. There was an orangutan who wanted to eat this orphan. The orphan was always afraid when it got dark at night, and on his way home, he was crying and crying as he walked. He walked a while and met with a needle. The needle asked him, "What's the matter?" The

orphan answered, "Aye! The orangutan is going to come eat me at night. I'm afraid to be at home by myself." The needle said, "Hah! Don't be afraid. At night I'll come be your companion."

Later, again he was crying, crying as he walked. He walked a while and met some scissors. The scissors asked him, "Ah, what's the matter with you? Why are you crying like this?" The orphan said, "At my home, there's only me alone. The orangutan is going to come down to eat me. He comes at night." The scissors said, "Ah, if that is all it is, no problem, at night I'll come be your companion."

After that, the orphan still was crying and crying as he walked. He walked a while and met a magpie. The magpie asked him, "Why are you crying like this?" The orphan answered, "At home, there's only me alone. I have neither father nor mother. I am one without parents. When it gets dark, the orangutan is going to eat me. I'm afraid to be at home alone." The magpie said, "Aye! You need not be afraid. At night I'll come be your companion."

Again he went on, and after walking a while he met a crow, and the crow said, "Hah! Why are you crying?" The orphan said, "I have neither father nor mother. I'm only an orphan. At night I am afraid (to be at home alone); the orangutan is going to eat me." The crow said, "Hah! If that's the case, there's no problem, at night I'll come be your companion."

Again, the orphan went on crying as he walked. He walked a while and came across a stomach, and the stomach asked him, "Hah! Why are you crying like this?" The orphan answered, "I have neither father nor mother. At night, as soon as it gets dark, the orangutan is going to come eat me. I'm afraid." The stomach said, "Hah! If that's all it is, there's no problem, let me come be your companion at night. I'll come be your companion."

The orphan still was crying, crying as he walked. He walked a while and also came across a stone mortar, the stone mortar asked, "Hah! Why are you crying like this?" The orphan said, "Ah, I have neither father nor mother. I'm afraid of when it will get dark. When it gets dark again today, the orangutan is going to come eat me." The stone mortar said, "If that's all it is, no problem, I'll come be your companion. Let me come be your companion."

At this time the orphan had made friends with these (things) mentioned. When night came, they all came. The needle came, and the scissors came, and the magpie came, and the crow came, and the stomach, the stone mortar and a stone pestle all came. After they came, they held a meeting. The orphan was extremely happy. "Tonight my companions have come. Tonight I'm not afraid of the orangutan." After these [things] had all come, they told him, "Don't be afraid tonight. If the orangutan comes, we will beat him to death."

The orangutan wasn't afraid, and still came. The orphan was not afraid.

That night everybody made a plan together, where the needle should stay, where (each of them) should sleep and what-not and it was all settled. The needle was above the door to stab (the orangutan) in the doorway, the scissors slept beside the orphan on the bed, the magpie slept in the fire pile, the crow slept in the water jar, the stomach slept at the head of the stairs, the stone mortar was at the foot of the stairs, and the stone pestle was at the head of the stairs.

When it got dark, the orangutan came towards the orphan, the same as before. When he pushed the door with a creak, the needle was there, and as soon as the needle pricked his hand, his hand was all covered with blood, but he still wanted to go in the room. Once he was in the room and going to look for the orphan in the bed, the scissors cut off his hand. It was dark and the scissors had cut off his hand, and blood was dripping down. Then he went over to the fire pile, thinking to light it, to see what thing it was! As soon as the orangutan wanted to touch the fire pile, the magpie inside the fire pile burst out with a lot of noise and (the ashes) got into the orangutan's eyes. The orangutan went to the water jar, wanting to get some water to wash his face. He looked around and saw the water jar and after a mouthful of water wanted to wash his face, but the crow was there and the crow came out and pecked his eyes. This time the orangutan had no eyes and no hand and was covered with blood. He wanted to escape covered with blood. As soon as he got to the head of the stairs he stepped on the stomach and slipped and rolled down the staircase and into the stone mortar at the foot of the stairs. Then the stone pestle pounded and pounded and pounded down on him, and in this way pounded the orangutan to death and then (they) threw him away.

Text 4
Uncle Snake

upu   bəs
uncle   snake

1   i-tse,   pəs-ŋuəȵi ʁoʁu   lɑmpə lie-tu,   lie,
            DIR-look   today-TOP ram's.horn flower carry-LNK   bring

2   lie-tu,   lie-ȵi,   a:,   upu-bəs-ŋuəȵi,
    carry-LNK   carry-LNK   INT   uncle-snake-TOP

3   "ʔũ   tsi-la-han   qa   e: de-mə-l-əs-te:-wu,
      2sg daugher-DEF:one-kind 1sg one:CL DIR-NEG-give-NOM-DEF:CL-LNK

4   qa-wu   ʔũ-japə-le: da-g-ʐa-wa,"
    1sg-AGT   2sg-hand-DEF:CL   DIR-broken-CAUS:1sg-EMPH

5   ikə   jə-kui-tɕu.   fia-kə   jə-kui-tu,
    thus   say-NAR-PART   INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK

6   tsi   tɕi-χtʂa-le:-ŋuəȵi,   "ha,   tatə   ke:
    daugher most-small-DEF:CL-TOP EXCL father INDEF:CL

7   ŋuə-k-ta,   qa   ȵi: ŋuə   lə   ɕa:-ŋy̥ə̣,   ʔũ-japə-le:
    COP-INF-if 1sg what COP also INDTV-COP 2sg-hand-DEF:CL

8   da-g-ʐ̣ə̣-qəsta,   qa   the:-sətsim
    DIR-break-CAUS-not.as.good.as   1sg   3sg-wife

9   ha-ŋy̥ə̣-la,"   jə-kui-tɕu.
    DIR-COP-INDTV:1sg   say-NAR-PART

10   fia-kə   jə-kəi-tu,   fiala   qhɑl
         INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK   INT   momo(steamed.bread)

11   a-gy̥ə̣   u-lu-kui,   "fia,   upu-bəs-te:-steke
    one-basketful DIR-give.as.gift-NAR   EXCL uncle-snake-DEF:CL-behind

12   da-ʁə-n-ba,"   jə-kui-tɕu.   qhɑl
    DIR-go-2sg-DTV   say-NAR-PART   momo(steamed.bread)

13   a-gu̯ə̑   ɦei-bi-n̠i,   upu-bəs-te:
      one-basketful   DIR-carry.on.back-LNK   uncle-snake-DEF:CL

14   tɕiqə:ˈ   ʂua:m-ke:
      before   very.long-INDEF:CL

15   sei-k-kui,   n̠i:-ŋuən̠i   ɦa   steke   steke
      walk-go-NAR   3sgREFL-TOP   INT   behind   behind

16   ɦe-zei   ɦe-zei   ɦe-zei-ke: tse:-steke
      DIR-cry   DIR-cry   DIR-cry-INDEF:CL   this:CL-behind

17   dɑ-qə-kəi-stũ.   dɑ-qɑ,   dɑ-qɑ,   dɑ-qɑ-tu,
      DIR-go-NAR-PART   DIR-go   DIR-go   DIR-go-LNK

18   upu-bəs-te: ɦa   qhaˈʁue-law-ʁɑ   i-pə-k-
      uncle-snake-DEF:CL   INT stone.pile-DEF:one:CL-LOC   DIR-arrive-go-

19   tu,   u-tɕu   mɑ-lə-jy-tu,   qhaˈʁue-law   χanχa:
      LNK   DIR-see NEG-able-ASP-LNK   stone.pile-DEF:one:CL   crevice

20   ɦɑ-qə-tu,   ɦɑ-thu   tsi-lou-ŋuən̠i   ɦa
      DIR-go-LNK   INT-there   girl-DEF:one:CL-TOP   INT

21   ʁuaχɑ-lɑ   ɦe-zei   ɦe-zei-n̠i   tha
      courtyard-LOC   DIR-cry   DIR-cry-ADV   there

22   z̠i-kəi-stũ,   qhaˈʁue-law-pienɑ-lɑ.
      exist-NAR-PART   stone.pile-DEF:one:CL-beside-LOC

23   ɦɑ-thɑ-χui-tu,   tɕiquɑ-lɑ   hɑ-lə-n̠i
            INT-that:one-time-LNK   inside-LOC   DIR-come-ADV

24   ɦɑlɑ   tɕiquɑ-lɑ   ʁoi-kə-m   he-ɕi-kui-tɕu.
      INT   inside-LOC   call-go-NOM   DIR-send-NAR-PART

25   upu-bəs-te: xsə   ŋuə-kui-n̠i,   mi   tɕiquɑ-lɑ-ŋuən̠i
      uncle-snake-DEF:CL   god   COP-NAR-ADV   person   inside-LOC-TOP

26   tɕy-le:-ŋuən̠i   ʁoi-kə-m   he-ɕi-kui-stũ.
      chicken-DEF:CL-TOP   call-go-NOM   DIR-send-NAR-PART

27 "entɕi   qutaq.   entɕi   qutaq.
    uncle's.wife   (sound.of.chicken)   uncle's.wife   (sound.of.chicken)

28 entɕi   qutaq,"   jə-tu,
    uncle's.wife   (sound.of.chicken)   say-LNK

29 xsə   sa   jə-kui-tɕu.   xsə   sa   jə-kui-tu,
    three   sound   say-NAR-PART   three   sound   say-NAR-LNK

30 thou   tə-χsa   mɑ-ɣʐə-kəi-ʂə,
    that:one:CL   DIR-understand   NEG-able-NAR-LNK

31 fiɑ: tɕe-zei-kəi-stũ.
    INT   CON-cry-NAR-PART

32   tu,   tɕy-le: ə-qa-jə-kui,   xsə
        RESULT   chicken-DEF:CL   DIR-go-REP-NAR   new(again)

33 khuə-le: hɑ-lə-jə-kui-stũ.   khuə-le:
    dog-DEF:CL   DIR-come-REP-NAR-PART   dog-DEF:CL

34 hɑ-lə-jə-kui-tu,   fiala   "fiaŋǔ fiaŋǔ
    DIR-come-REP-LNK   INT   woof woof

35 entɕi   qutaq,   fiaŋǔ fiaŋǔ   entɕi   qutaq,"
    uncle's.wife   cluck   woof woof   uncle's.wife   cluck

36 jə-jə-kui-stũ.   tə-χsa   mɑ-ɣʐə-kəi-ʂə,
    say-REP-NAR-PART   DIR-understand   NEG-able-NAR-LNK

37 fiala   tɕe-zei-kəi-stũ.
    there   CON-cry-NAR-PART

38   fiɑ-tu,   tsu-ŋuəɲ̩i,   pie-le: hɑ-lə-jə-kui-stũ.
        INT-RESULT   here-TOP   pig-DEF:CL   DIR-come-REP-NAR-PART

39 pie-le: hɑ-lə-ɲ̩i   "fiə́ˈfiə́ˈ   entɕi   qutaq, fiə́ˈfiə́ˈ
    pig-DEF:CL   DIR-come-LNK   oink.oink   uncle's.wife   cluck oink.oink

40 entɕi   qutaq, fiə́ˈfiə́ˈ   entɕi   lantɕi lu-ɑ:-ji."
    uncle's.wife   cluck oink.oink   uncle's wife   flower come-PRS-CSM

41 tu   fiala tə-mə-χsa-kəi-ʂə,   ə-mə-qa-kəi-stũ.
    RESULT INT   DIR-NEG-understand-NAR-LNK   DIR-NEG-go-NAR-PART

42   ɦɑ-tɑ-χui-tu,   ɦɑ,   tɕiquɑ-lɑ   qodu-le:
            INT-that:one-time-LNK   INT   inside-LOC old.woman-DEF:CL

43   ɦɑ-lə-kui-stũ.   mɑ:-le: ɦɑ-lə-kui-stũ.
      DIR-come-NAR-PART   mama-DEF:CL   DIR-come-NAR-PART

44   ɦɑlɑ,   bəs   dʐel-pə-tɕ-mɑ:-le: ɦɑ-lə-kui-stũ.
      INT   snake feast[106]-do-GEN-mama-DEF:CL DIR-come-NAR-PART

45   mɑ:-le: ɦɑ-lə-tu,   ɦɑ:,   "qɑ-tsi
      mama-DEF:CL   DIR-come-LNK   INT   1sg-girl

46   ȵi:-le: zei-n-ɑ?   zei   me-tɕhe,   qɑ
      what-DEF:CL   cry-2sg-Q   cry   NEG-want   1sg

47   ʁoi-kə-m   kən   he-ɕa-ȵi,   ʔũ
      call-go-NOM   very(many)   DIR-send:1sg-LNK   2sg

48   ə-mə-lɑ-n-ʂə,   qɑ   ɦɑ-lɑ-wɑ,"
      DIR-NEG-come-2sg-LNK   1sg   DIR-come-EMPH

49   jə-kui-stũ.   tu,   ɦɑ   tsi-lou-ŋuəȵi,   "qɑ
      say-NAR-PART   RESULT   INT   girl-DEF:one:CL-TOP   1sg

50   tə-mə-χsɑ-wɑ,"   jə-kui-stũ.   ɦɑ-tu,
      DIR-NEG-understand-EMPH   say-NAR-PART   INT-RESULT

51   "tə-mə-χsɑ-n-ʁɑ,   qɑ-phusuluq-te: ɦe-ge-n-bɑ,
      DIR-NEG-understand-2sg-if 1sg-clothing-DEF:CL DIR-hold-2sg-DTV

52   qɑ-phusuluq-te: tə-tsəqɑ-ȵi   mi: ɦɑ-tʂə-n-bɑ,
      1sg-clothing-DEF:CL DIR-grab-ADV   eye   DIR-close-2sg-DTV

53   qɑ-steke   ɦɑ-ʐ̩ə-n-bɑ,"   jə-kui-stũ.   ɦɑ
      1sg-behind DIR-follow-2sg-DTV   say-NAR-PART   INT

54   tsɑ-tɑu-ŋuəȵi   ə-ʁ-ʁzɑ:-ʁɑ-ŋuəȵi   ʂkupu-ɑ-tɑu
      this:one-time-TOP   DIR-go-time-LOC-TOP   a.kind.of.thing-one-CL

55   de-le-kui-stũ.   tu,
      DIR-give-NAR-PART   RESULT

56 ɦɑlɑ   tɕiquɑ   ə-qɑ-kəi-tu,   χɑişə   tsəusə-bəl n̩i-ke:
    INT   inside   DIR-go-NAR-LNK   †(still.is)   marry-do   WH-INDEF:CL

57 ŋuə-kui-şə,   tɕiquɑ-lɑ   upu-bəs-lɑ-hɑ-ŋuən̩i
    COP-NAR-LNK   inside-LOC   uncle-snake-DEF:one-pl-TOP

58 ɕi   tşhe[107]-kəi-stũ.   qɑpə-lɑ-hɑ   ɦɑ-tsəi-ŋuən̩i,
    wine suck-NAR-PART   old.man-DEF:one-pl INT-this.manner-TOP

59 tsi-lou-ŋuən̩i   upu-bəs-le: zaʁue (sitsəm)
    girl-DEF:one:CL-TOP   uncle-snake-DEF:CL   helpmate (wife)

60 pe-kui-wɑ.
    become-NAR-EMPH

Narrator: Wang Lin 王林
Born 1966
Recorded 1996

Uncle Snake

Look, today the Snake (Uncle) is bringing ram's horn flowers.[108] He says (to the father), "If you don't give one of your daughters to me, I will chop off your hand." After Snake (Uncle) said this, the youngest daughter said (to her father), "Papa, it's better I do what I have to do and go become his (Snake's) wife, than for your hand to be cut off."

(The girl's family) gave her a basketful of momo (a kind of bread) (and said to her), "You go with Uncle Snake then." Uncle Snake went in front of the girl. The girl carried the momo and was crying and crying as she followed behind Uncle Snake. They kept going until they came to a pile of rocks, and then Uncle Snake disappeared. He had gone into the pile through a crevice in the rocks. The girl continued to cry in the courtyard beside the pile of rocks.

In fact, Uncle Snake was a god and he sent a chicken to call the girl. The chicken called, "Aunt-in-law" three times, but the girl didn't understand and still cried there.

Later, the chicken went in and a dog was sent out to call the girl to come inside. The dog also barked two times, but the girl still didn't understand, and still cried there.

In like manner a pig was sent to call her, and the girl still didn't understand and so didn't enter.

Finally, an old woman came out to call her (Snake's mother came out to call her), and said to the girl, "Child, what are you crying about? Don't cry. I've sent many to call you, but you haven't come in, so I came out myself." The girl said, "I didn't understand." The old mother-in-law said, "If you didn't understand, close your eyes and hold on to my clothes, and come with me." When they went in, she gave the girl something (skupu), and she went back inside. Inside it was as if a wedding was being held, and Uncle Snake and others were drinking wine. In this way, the girl became Uncle Snake's wife.

Text 5
The Story of a Lazy Man

lɑn-thə-m   ke: mə$^{\text{ɪ}}$ʂ
lazy-AUX-NOM   INDEF:CL story

1   qe:$^{\text{ɪ}}$-qe:$^{\text{ɪ}}$ ŋuə-tu,   tsisatʂǔ   jə-zi
        before-before COP-LNK   sisters   two-CL

2   ŋuə-kəi-wa,   tsisatʂǔ jə-zi   ŋuə-kəi-tu,
    COP-NAR-EMPH   sisters   two-CL   COP-NAR-LNK

3   sawu-le:-tɕ-te:-ŋuəɻi   tɕiuʂə,
    older.sister-DEF:CL-GEN-DEF:CL-TOP   †(that.is)

4   sawu-le: wutɕupu-ŋuəɻi   z�;mətʂi.
    older.sister-DEF:CL husband-TOP   emperor

5   (qe:$^{\text{ɪ}}$ ŋuə-tu,   "juanʁuɑi" ʂpə-k-tɕi-wa,   pitɕi-ŋuəɻi
    before   COP-LNK   emperor   call-INF-3pl-EMPH now-TOP

6   "z�;mətʂi" ʂpə$^{\text{ɪ}}$,   qe:$^{\text{ɪ}}$ ŋuə-tu,   juanʁuɑi.[109]) fia-tu
    emperor   call:1pl before COP-LNK emperor   INT-RESULT

7   satʂǔ-te:-tɕ-tʂi-le:-ŋuəɻi   tʂi   ou
    younger.sister-DEF:CL-GEN-man-DEF:CL-TOP son   one:CL

8   z�;i-kui,   fia-tu   kən lɑn-thɑ-le: ŋuə-kəi-wa,
    exist-NAR INT-RESULT very lazy-AUX-DEF:CL COP-NAR-EMPH

9   lɑn-thə-le: ŋuə-kəi-tu,   fiɑlɑ
    lazy-AUX-DEF:CL   COP-NAR-LNK   INT

10   mɑ:-le:-wu   a-s-məqa-ŋuəɻi
    Mama-DEF:CL-AGT one-day-each-TOP

11   fiatha ɳiu-ŋuəɻi   a-s   pantɕin-wu   pantɕin
    INT   sheep.wool-TOP one-day half.catty-INST half.catty

12   tə-tʂhə-ɳi   fia-tsəi   de-lde-ɳi[110]   ɳiu
    DIR-weigh-ADV INT-this.manner DIR-spin-ADV   sheep.wool

13   patʂ   de-lde-ɳi   fiɑlɑ, ɳiu   patʂ
    ball   DIR-spin-ADV   INT   sheep.wool ball

14   de-lde-ɳi   χaiʂə   ɦala-ŋuəɳi
     DIR-spin-ADV   †(still.is)   INT-TOP

15   ɦala   tʂi-le: lan-thə-le:-ŋuəɳi,   ɦala   tʂhaq-ta
     INT   son-DEF:CL   lazy-AUX-DEF:CL-TOP   INT   market-LOC

16   sə-ʁ-ɳi   çi   topu-wa-le: ŋuə-kəi,   çi   topu-le:
     DIR-go-ADV   wine like-very-DEF:CL   COP-NAR   wine like-DEF:CL

17   ŋuə-kəi-tu,   χaiʂə   ɦalə   sə-ʁ-ɳi   çi
     COP-NAR-LNK   †(still.is)   INT   DIR-go-ADV   wine

18   sə-tç-ɳi   nu-lu-kəpə-kəi,   ɦa-tu
     DIR-drink-ADV   DIR-come-HABIT-NAR   INT-RESULT

19   mɑː-le:-tç-ŋuəɳi   χaiʂə   çi-ŋuəɳi   χaiʂə
     mama-DEF:CL-BEN-TOP   †(still.is)   wine-TOP   †(still.is)

20   ɦa-tsəi   pantçin   lie-kəpə-kui-wa.
     INT-this.manner   half.catty   carry-HABIT-NAR-EMPH

21   ɦa-tə   sawu-le: tçiu   a!   ɦala
          INT-RESULT   older.sister-DEF:CL   †(then)   EXCL INT

22   satʂŭ-le:-ta   zə-la-kəi,   satʂŭ-le:-ta
     younger.sister-DEF:CL-LOC DIR-come-NAR   younger.sister-DEF:CL-LOC

23   zə-la-kəi-tu,   χaiʂə,   a!   satʂŭ-le:-ta
     DIR-come-NAR-LNK   †(still.is)   EXCL   younger.sister-DEF:CL-LOC

24   zə-la-kəi-tu,   ka-han   ŋuə-tu.
     DIR-come-NAR-LNK   INDEF:one-kind   COP-LNK

25   ɦa-tu   ɑ-s-ʁɑ   ŋuə-tu, sawu-le:-ŋuəɳi   ɦa-tha
     INT-RESULT   one-day-LOC   COP-LNK older.sister-DEF:CL-TOP   INT-there

26   pethɑu-pə-kui-wa,   ɦa-tu   satʂu-le: tçiu
     chat-do-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   younger.sister-DEF:CL   †(then)

27   "qɑ-tç-tʂi-le: ɦa-kə   lan-tha,   lan-thə-le:
       1sg-GEN-son-DEF:CL   INT-thus   lazy-AUX   lazy-AUX-DEF:CL

28   ŋuə-ʂ,"   jə-ɳi   ɦa-kə   pethiɑu-pu-kui. ɦa-tu
     COP-LNK   say-ADV   INT-thus   chat-do-NAR   INT-RESULT

29   ɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,   tse: satʂ̊ů   tʂi-le:-ŋuəɻi
     one-day-LOC-LNK   this:CL   younger.sister   son-DEF:CL-TOP

30   ɦɑlɑ   tɕiu-lɑ,   ɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,   tʂhɑq-tɑ
     INT   home-LOC   one-day-LOC-LNK   market-LOC

31   sə-ʁə   ʂpɑqtɑ-ɻi   ɦɑ-ke   dʐy-le: wəstɑ
     DIR-go   pretend-ADV   INT-thus   door-DEF:CL   behind

32   he-ʐ̢i-kui-wɑ.   ɦɑ-tu   sawu-le:
     DIR-exist-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   older.sister-DEF:CL

33   ɻɑ   satʂ̊ů-le: ɦɑlɑ   ə-dʐ̢ə-ɻi
     COM   younger.sister-DEF:CL   INT   DIR-face.to.face-ADV

34   pethiɑu-pə-kəi, ɦɑlɑ pethiɑu-pə-kəi-tu,   pethiɑu-pə-kəi-tu ɦɑlɑ
     chat-do-NAR   INT   chat-do-NAR-LNK   chat-do-NAR-LNK INT

35   me⁺x,   ɦɑlɑ   pethiɑu-pə-kəi-tu,   tʂi-le:-ŋuəɻi,
     pitiful   INT   chat-do-NAR-LNK   son-DEF:CL-TOP

36   satʂ̊ů-le: tʂi-le:-ŋuəɻi   ɦɑlɑ dʐy-le: wəstɑ
     younger.sister-DEF:CL   son-DEF:CL-TOP   INT   door-DEF:CL   behind

37   u-xʂuɕtɕu-kui.   u-xʂuɕtɕu-kui-tu,   ɦɑlɑ   tʂi-le:
     DIR-listen-NAR   DIR-listen-NAR-LNK   INT   son-DEF:CL

38   dʐe-kəi,   tʂi-le: dʐe-kəi-tu,   ɦɑ-tu
     discuss-NAR   son-DEF:CL   say-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT

39   tʂi-le:-ŋuəɻi   tʂhɑq-tɑ   sə-mə-qɑ-tɕi
     son-DEF:CL-TOP   market-LOC   DIR-NEG-go-NAR

40   ŋuəɻi   dʐy-le: wəstɑ   xʂuɕtɕu-kui. "qɑ
     INT   door-DEF:CL   behind   listen-NAR   1sg

41   tʂi-le: lɑn-thɑ"   jə-ɻi,   ɦɑ-thɑ-ŋuəɻi
     son-DEF:CL   laxy-AUX   say-ADV INT-there-TOP

42   ɦɑ-thɑ-hɑn   dʐe-kui.
     INT-that:one-kind   say-NAR

43   ɦɑ-tu   tʂi-le:-ŋuəɻi,   ɦɑ-tu   "pəs-ŋuəɻi, a!
       INT-RESULT   son-DEF:CL-TOP INT-RESULT   today-TOP EXCL

44 ma:-ŋuəɳi   qa   pəs-ŋuəɳi   i-pə-l-jy,   qa-ŋuəɳi
    mama-TOP   1sg   today-TOP   DIR-arrive-come-ASP   1sg-TOP

45 pəs-ŋuəɳi pənsə ɑ-χən   u-su-ɑ-wɑ,"   jə-kui.
    today-TOP ability one-kind DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH   say-NAR

46 "ha!   pənsə   ɑ-χən   u-su-ɑ-wɑ,"   jə-kui.
     EXCL   ability one-kind   DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH   say-NAR

47 "ha!   qa-tɕ-tʂi   ɳiɣi   pənsə   u-su-n-ɑ?"   jə-kui.
     EXCL   1sg-GEN-son   what   ability   DIR-learn-2sg-Q   say-NAR

48 "ha!   ʔile   pəs   tɕəu-lɑ   ɳiɣi   dze-jə-wɑ?"   jə-kui,
     EXCL   2pl   today   home-LOC   what   say-CSM-Q   say-NAR

49 "qa   ɦɑlɑ   tʂhə-ʐekǔ-tɑ   kuɑntsə   ɦɑ-kɑ:-ʁɑ,
    1sg   INT   market-center-LOC   restaurant INT-INDEF:one:CL-LOC

50 ʐi-s-tɑ-ŋuəɳi   qa   ə-mɑ-ʂ,   ɦɑ-tu   ʔile-ŋuəɳi
    exist-NOM-LOC-TOP   1sg   DIR-hear:1sg-LNK   INT-RESULT   2pl-TOP

51 ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn   dze-ji,   ɦɑ-kə   dze-ji-tu,   ɦɑtɑ   qa
    INT-INDEF:one-kind   say-CSM   INT-thus say-CSM-LNK   INT   1sg

52 ə-mɑ-ʂ,   qa   ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn-ŋuəɳi   pənsə ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn
    DIR-hear:1sg-LNK   1sg   INT-one-kind-TOP   ability INT-one-kind

53 u-su-ɑ-wɑ,   ɦɑ-kə   ə-m,   ɦɑ-kə   ʔile-wu
    DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH   INT-thus   DIR-hear   INT-thus   2pl-AGT

54 ɦie-dze   lɑ-hɑn-neꟷwu   ə-m   ɣʐə-tɕ,
    DIR-say   DEF:one-kind-all   DIR-hear   able-NOM

55 ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn   u-su-ɑ-wɑ,"   jə-kui-tɕu.   ɦɑ-kə
    INT-INDEF:one-kind   DIR-learn-1sg-EMPH   say-NAR-PART   INT-thus

56 jə-kui-tu,   ɦɑ-tu   "ɳiɣi ɳiɣi ɦie-dze:ꟷ"   jə-kui,
    say-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   what what   DIR-say:1pl   say-NAR

57 sawu-le: ɳɑ   satʂǔ-le:,   ɦɑtɑ   "ɦɑ-kə   dze
    older.siser-DEF:CL   COM   younger.sister-DEF:CL   INT   INT-thus   say

58 ɦɑ-kə   dze qa ɑ-mɑ-wɑ,   tʂhaq-tɑ   kuɑntsɑ
    INT-thus   say 1sg DIR-hear:1sg-EMPH   market-LOC   restaurant

59   ʐi-s-ta   ɑ-mɑ-wa,"   ɦa-kə   jə-kui-tu.
    exist-NOM-LOC   DIR-hear:1sg-EMPH   INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK

60   "a!   ʁat   ŋuə-k-ɳi,   qa-tɕ-tʂi,"   jə-kui.
     EXCL   truly   COP-INF-ADV   1sg-GEN-son   say-NAR

61   ɦa-tu   sawu-le:-tɕ,   sawu-le: wutɕupu-ŋuəɳi
       INT-RESULT oldr.sistr-DEF:CL-GEN oldr.sistr-DEF:CL husband-TOP

62   juanʁuai-ŋuəɳi ɦa-ke   ŋuə-kəi. ɦa-tu   pitɕ-ŋuəɳi ʐmətʂi,
    emperor-TOP   INT-thus COP-NAR INT-RESULT now-TOP   emperor

63   qe:ꞌ   ŋuə-tu,   ʐmətʂi laχ   "juanʁuai" ʂpə-x-ʂ,
    before COP-LNK emperor DEF:one:kind emperor   call-INF-LNK

64   ɦa-ke   ŋuə, ɦa-tu   "a!   ʁatɕhi qa-tɕ-tʂi-le:
    INT-thus COP INT-RESULT EXCL truly   1sg-GEN-son-DEF:CL

65   pənsə ɑ-χən u-su-k-ɳi,   ke: ŋuə-tu,   ʐə
    ability one-kind DIR-learn-INF-ADV INDEF:CL COP-if   thing

66   ha-sɑ,"   jə-kəi. ɦa-tu   kə-jə-kəi-tu,   ɦala
    DIR-make.sound say-NAR INT-RESULT thus-say-NAR-LNK   INT

67   ɦa-tsɑ-χui,   sawu-le:,   sawu-le: wutɕupu-ŋuəɳi
    INT-this:one-time older.sister-DEF:CL older.sister-DEF:CL husband-TOP

68   sənʐə bələ-s pe-kui-wa,   sənʐə bələ-s ka-han
    birthday do-NOM become-NAR-EMPH birthday do-NOM INDEF:one-kind

69   ŋuə-kui-tu,   ʐbə-ŋuəɳi xsə-zi zə-p-ɳi   tɕaʁa-la
    COP-NAR-LNK   yak-TOP three-CL DIR-buy-ADV   cowpen-LOC

70   ɦa-zdzy-ɳi   ʐi-ʐə-kui-tɕu.   ɦa-tu   tɕaʁa-la
    DIR-tether-ADV   exist-CAUS-NAR-PART INT-RESULT cowpen-LOC

71   ɦa-zdzy-ɳi   ʐi-ʐə-kui-tu,   tha-han,   ɦala-ŋuəɳi
    DIR-tether-ADV exist-CAUS-NAR-LNK that:one-kind INT-TOP

72   ɦa-tu   satʂŭ-le:-tʂi-le:-wu   "pənsə
    INT-RESULT younger-sister-DEF:CL-son-DEF:CL-AGT   ability

73   u-su-a-ʂə"   jə-m-le:-wu,[111]   gəs   da-qa-ɳi
    DIR-learn-1sg-LNK say-NOM-DEF:CL-AGT   night DIR-go-ADV

74 tə-χquatʂ-n̠iantɕi,   məq-ta   tuŋtuŋ ʐo:pua-la   ʁu
    DIR-steal-after   above-LOC   cave   cave-LOC   mountain

75 da-χla-jə-s-ta   ɦa-ʐdzy-n̠i
    DIR-cross-CSM-NOM-LOC   DIR-tether-ADV

76 i-ɕi-kui-wa.   ʁu   da-χla-jə-s-ta
    DIR-put-NAR-EMPH   mountain   DIR-cross-CSM-NOM-LOC

77 ɦa-ʐdzy-n̠i   i-ɕi-kui-tu.   ɦala   "sənʐə   bələ-ŋuən̠i
    DIR-tether-LNK   DIR-put-NAR-LNK   INT   birthday   do-TOP

78 ɦe-me-se"   jə-kui.   ɦe-me-se   ka-han
    DIR-NEG-allow   say-NAR   DIR-NEG-allow   INDEF:one-kind

79 ŋuə-kui-tu,   sawu-le:-ŋuən̠i
    COP-NAR-LNK   older.sister-DEF:CL-TOP

80 ɦala   wutɕupu-le:-ta-ŋuən̠i   pethiau-ɦo-pǔ-kə-kui,
    INT   husband-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP   chat-DIR-do-go-NAR

81   "qa-satʂǔ-te:-tʂi-ŋuən̠i   ɦa-kə   he-the,
        1sg-younger.sister-DEF:CL-son-TOP   INT-thus   DIR-able

82 u-ʐmu-n̠i   i-tʂi-ʐ   dʐə, u-xʂuɕtɕu
    DIR-dream-ADV   DIR-represent-CAUS   able DIR-listen

83 ə-m   dʐə,   ɦa-kə,   ɦa-kə   ɣʐə-wa,"
    DIR-hear   able   INT-thus   INT-thus   able-EMPH

84 ikə   jə-kui-stũ.
    thus   say-NAR-PART

85   ɦa-tu   tse: juanʁuai-le:-ŋuən̠i   gue¹
        INT-RESULT this:CL emperor-DEF:CL-TOP   soldier

86 ʐi-ʐə-kəi-ʂə,   gue¹   he-ɕi-n̠i
    exist-CAUS-NAR-LNK   soldier   DIR-send-ADV

87 ɦa-tsəi-ŋuən̠i   "me¹ʐə-k   tɕhe,"   jə-tu.
    DIR-this.manner-TOP   seek-go   want   say-LNK

88 tə-me¹ʐ-n̠i   da-tɕ-kə-kui,   da-tɕ-kə   ka-han   ŋuə-tu,
    DIR-seek-ADV DIR-find-go-NAR   DIR-find-go INDEF:one-kind   COP-LNK

89 χaiʂə,   da-tɕ-kə-ku-tu,   ɦa-tse:-ŋuəɳi,   χaiʂə
    †(still.is) DIR-find-go-NAR-LNK INT-this:CL-TOP †(still.is)

90 ɳi:-wu   ɦala ɦa-ʐdzy-ɳi   tə-χquatʂ-ɳi
    3sgREFL-AGT INT   DIR-tether-ADV   DIR-steal-ADV

91 ɦala ɦa-ʐdzy-ɳi   tuŋtuŋ   ʐo:pua   i-ɕi
    INT   DIR-tether-ADV   cliff.cave   cave   DIR-put

92 ŋuə-ku-tu.   χaiʂə   thɑ-χui   ŋuə-tu,   ɳi: lə
    COP-NAR-LNK   †(still.is) that:one-time COP-LNK   3sgREFL also

93 dʐukǔ-le:-kə-ʂ,   tɑntɑ-ke:
    knowledge-exist-INF-LNK   bold/daring-INDEF:CL

94 ʐi-kəi-wa,   tɑntɑ-ke:
    exist-NAR-EMPH   †bold/daring-INDEF:CL

95 ʐi-kəi-tu.   ɦa-thu-ŋuəɳi   "qhua:
    exist-NAR-LNK   DIR-there-TOP   river.valley

96 dɑ-ʁə-ja,   ɦa-thu-ŋuəɳi   ɕi-la: atɑʐ-ʂa,   a.
    DIR-go-REP:1sg   INT-there-TOP   little-DEF:one:CL fast-HORT   INT

97 qe:ʴ   ɑ-s   jə-s-ŋuəɳi.   kɑ-zə   dɑ-tɕ   ɦe-si-ŋua
    before one-day two-day-TOP   INDEF:one-CL   DIR-find   DIR-allow-Q

98 ɦe-me-si?"   jə-ɳi   ɦa-kə
    DIR-NEG-allow   say-ADV   INT-thus

99 ŋuə-kui-wa.   ɦa-tu,   ʂputhuʂ   lou
    COP-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   bamboo.tube   DEF:one:CL

100 tɕy-kəi-tu,   ʂputhuʂ   lou-ʁa
    carry-NAR-LNK   bamboo.tube   DEF:one:CL-LOC

101 hɑ-sə-m   lə   ɳi:
    DIR-make.sound-NOM   also   3sgREFL

102 ŋuə-kəi-wa,   keʴl-əm   lə   ɳi: ŋuə-kəi,
    COP-NAR-EMPH   ask-NOM   also 3sgREFL   COP-NAR

103 he-ʐgue-m   lə   ɳi: ŋuə-kəi,   ɦa-tu
    DIR-answer-NOM   also 3sgREFL   COP-NAR   INT-RESULT

104 n̠i: hɑ-sə-n̠i   n̠i:
     3sgREFL   DIR-make.sound-ADV   3sgREFL

105 he-z̠gue   fiɑ-ke: z̠i-kəpə-kəi.   fiɑ-tu,
     DIR-answer   INT-INDEF:CL   exist-HABIT-NAR   INT-RESULT

106 ɑ-s-ʁɑ   ŋuə-tu,   fiɑ-tu,   phɑwu-le:
     one-day-LOC   COP-LNK   INT-RESULT   older.sister-DEF:CL

107 wutɕupu-le:-ŋuən̠i,   qe:¹   ŋuə-tu,   "juanʁuai",   pitɕ-ŋuə-tu
     husband-DEF:CL-TOP   before   COP-LNK   emperor   now-COP-LNK

108 "z̠mətʂi"   ʂpe:¹-ʂ.   fiɑ-tu,   "a,   ɕi-la:
      emperor   call:1pl-LNK   INT-RESULT,   EXCL   little-DEF:one:CL

109 atɑz̠ tɕhe,   fiɑ-tu   a:-khuɑi-thɑ-ʂ   we-tu,"   jə-n̠iantɕi,
     fast want   INT-RESULT   INDTV-fast-AUX-LNK   exist-LNK   say-after

110 fiɑ-kə   jə-ku-tu,   "otsǔqua-ŋuən̠i   da-ʁ   dz̠ə-m,
     INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK   morning-TOP   DIR-go   able-NOM

111 uɬu   dz̠ə-mə:¹wu   me¹z̠-kə   tɕhe,"   fiɑ-kə
     fast   able-NOM:all   seek-go   want   INT-thus

112 jə-kui-wɑ.   fiɑ-tə,   zət   ɑ-s   ə-ʂ-kəi,   zət
     say-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   date   one-day   DIR-put-NAR   date

113 ə-ʂ-kəi-n̠i   χaiʂə,   fiala   tɕetɕi-le: wu
     DIR-put-NAR-ADV   †(still.is) INT   everywhere-DEF:CL   all

114 phə   hɑ-ɸə-s-tɑ-jantɕi,   fiɑ-tə-ŋuən̠i   "da-ʁə
     message   DIR-blow-NOM-LOC-after   INT-RESULT-TOP   DIR-go

115 dz̠ə-m   xʂuɕtɕu   dz̠ə-m   fiɑ-la-han-ne¹wu   tsɑ
     able-NOM   hear   able-NOM   INT-DEF:one-kind-all   here

116 zu-lǔ,   tɕile-ŋuən̠i   z̠mu   tsu-ɑ:,
     DIR-come   1pl-TOP   meeting   hold-PRS

117 zu-lǔ   tɕhe-wɑ,"   jə-kui-wɑ.   fiɑ-tu   tse:
     DIR-come   want-EMPH   say-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   this:CL

118 mi-tse:-ŋuən̠i   fiɑ-thɑ   tʂhetsə-qu-tɑ   sə-l-n̠i
     person-this:CL-TOP   INT-there   cart-top-LOC   DIR-look-ADV

119 ʂputhuʂ   tou-ʁa-ŋuəȵi   keˑ⁺l-jy,   tə-keˑ⁺l-jantɕi,
     bamboo.tube   DEF:one:CL-LOC-TOP   ask-ASP   DIR-ask-after

120 ɦɑ-tu   tə-keˑ⁺l-ȵi,   tə-keˑ⁺l-jantɕi,   ɦɑla
     INT-RESULT   DIR-ask-ADV   DIR-ask-after   INT

121 ʂputhuʂ   tou-ʁa-ŋuəȵi   mi   ɦɑla   ʐmətʂi-le:
     bamboo.tube   DEF:one:CL-LOC-TOP   person   INT   emperor-DEF:CL

122 ʐmu-tsu   la-s-ʁa-ŋuəȵi   ɦɑ-tha   tʂhetsə-qu-ta
     meeeting-hold   DEF:one-day-LOC-TOP   INT-there   cart-top-LOC

123 sə-l-ȵi   ɦɑ-ke   keˑ⁺l-kə-kui.   ɦɑ-tu,
     DIR-look-ADV   INT-thus   ask-go-NAR   INT-RESULT

124 "poquʂ-ŋuəȵi   do-ɣʐu-n-tu,   tɕɑ-la   ʐi?   ɦɑlə   ʐi
      livestock-TOP   DIR-lose-2sg-LNK   where-LOC   exist there   exist

125 ɦɑlə   ʐi-wa,   ʂku-wu   tə-χquatʂ-ȵi   ɦɑla
     there   exist-EMPH   thief-AGT   DIR-steal-ADV   there

126 tuŋtuŋ   ʐo:pa   ɦɑ-zdʐy-ȵi   ʐi-ʐ.   ʁu
     cliff.cave   cave   DIR-tether-ADV   exist-CAUS   mountain

127 χɬa-ji-wa,"   jə-ȵi   ɦɑ-kə   dʐe-ku.   ɦɑ-kə
     cross-CSM-EMPH   say-ADV   INT-thus   say-NAR   INT-thus

128 ʂpəthuʂ-ta:-ʁa-ŋuəȵi   ȵiȵi   ha-sə   ɦɑ-kə
     bamboo.tube-DEF:one:CL-LOC-TOP   3sgREFL   DIR-make.sound   INT-thus

129 keˑ⁺l-kə-ku,   ɦɑ-kə   keˑ⁺l   ka-han   ŋuə-ku-tu,
     ask-go-NAR   INT-thus   ask   INDEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-LNK

130 "ɑ-ʂ   tse-n-nɑ-ʂ,   ɦɑ-the-wu,   a,   ʂku-wu
      one-time   look-2sg-IMP-LNK   INT-that-ABL   INT   thief-AGT

131 tə-χquatʂ-kə,   ɦɑ-tha   da-χɬa: jəsai-wa,   ɦɑla-ŋuəȵi   thɑ
     DIR-steal-go   INT-there   DIR-cross:PRS fast-EMPH   INT-TOP   there

132 ʐi-wa,"   jə-ku.   ɦɑ-tu   tsoqpi   phɑwu-le:
     exist-EMPH   say-NAR   INT-RESULT   this:family   older.sister-DEF:CL

133 tɕymi-le:,   thoqpi-ŋuəȵi   ha-qə-ȵi   ȵi:-tɕ
     child-DEF:CL   that:family-TOP   DIR-go-ADV   3sgREFL-GEN

134   ɦɑlɑ gueˤ-n̪ɑ   tɦɑ-hɑn   he-ɕi-n̪i   tə-meˤz̢-s-tɑ,
        INT army-COM   that:one-kind   DIR-put-ADV   DIR-seek-NOM-LOC

135   ʁɑtɕhi   tɦɑ   z̢i-ku,   ɦɑ-tsɑ-χui,
        truly   there   exist-NAR   INT-this:one-time

136   tse:-ŋuən̪i,   a,   sɑtʂ̊ǔ-le: tʂi-le:-ŋuən̪i
        this: CL-TOP   INT   younger.sister-DEF:CL   son-DEF:CL-TOP

137   minjy-tɕiəu-kɑulɑ.   ɦɑ-tu   phɑwu-le: wutɕupu-n̪ɑ
        †(reputation-then-higher)   INT-RESULT   older.sister-DEF:CL   husband-COM

138   n̪iɣi   dzə-n̪i   n̪iɣi   tɕhə-tɕ   ɦɑ-tsəi
        what   eat-ADV   what   drink-GEN   INT-this.manner

139   ə-ʂ-jy   ŋuə-n̪i   ɦɑ-tsəi   pəˤz̢ə-kui-wɑ.
        DIR-put-ASP   COP-ADV   INT-this.manner   provide.for-NAR-EMPH

140   ɦɑ-tsɑ-χui-tu,   tse:-tɕ-ʁɑ[112]   tɕiu   tɕaitɕyela.
        DIR-this:one-time-LNK   this:CL-GEN-LOC   †(then   solved)

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141   ɦɑ-tu   steke-lɑ-χui-ʁɑ-tu,   tɕiuʂə
            INT-RESULT   later-DEF:one-time-LOC-LNK   †(that.is)

142   z̢mətʂi-le:-ŋuən̪i   ɦɑ-tɦɑ
        emperor-DEF:CL-TOP   INT-there

143   nai-e-fən-ʁɑ-tɕ-z̢mətʂi-ke: dzin-le:
        other-one-place-LOC-GEN-emperor-INDEF:CL   monk's.robe[113]-DEF:CL

144   do-ɣz̢u-kəi-hɑ,   z̢mətʂi   jən-le:,
        DIR-lose-NAR-PART   emperor   monk's.robe-DEF:CL

145   z̢mətʂi   jən-le: do-ɣz̢u
        emperor   monk's.robe-DEF:CL   DIR-lose

146   kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-kui-tu,   ɦɑ-tse:-wu   ɦɑ-tɦɑ,
        INDEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-LNK   INT-this:CL-AGT   INT-there

147   ɦɑ-lɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-kuɑ-ji,   ɑ-lə-wu   ɑ-lə[114]
        INT-DEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-HS   one-CL-AGT   one-CL

148   pethiɑu-ɦo-pu-n̡i   dʐukǔ   le   kɑ-hɑn
       chat-DIR-do-ADV   knowledge   exist   INDEF:one-kind

149   ŋuə-kuɑ-ji,   dʐukǔ   le-ku-tu,   ɦɑ-tu
       COP-NAR-HS   knowledge   exist-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT

150   dʐukǔ   de-l   kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-ku.   ɦɑ-tse:-ŋuən̡i
       knowledge   DIR-exist INDEF:one-kind COP-NAR   INT-this:CL-TOP

151   "meˣʐ-kə   tɕhe,   meˣʐ-kə   tɕhe,"   jə-ku.   ɦɑ-tu
       seek-go   want   seek-go   want   say-NAR INT-RESULT

152   "tə-meˣʐ-n̡i   ɦɑ-tse:-ŋuən̡i   ə-ʐmu   n̡i:
       DIR-seek-ADV   INT-this:CL-TOP   DIR-dream   3sgREFL

153   sə-tʂi   ɦe-dzi-n̡i   ə-m   dʐə-m   ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn
       DIR-represent DIR-say-ADV   DIR-hear able-NOM INT-INDEF:one-kind

154   ŋuə-ʂə,   ɦɑ-tse:-ŋuən̡i   ɦɑ-kə   he-the-le: ʐi-wɑ,"
       COP-LNK   INT-this:CL-TOP   INT-thus   DIR-able-DEF:CL exist-EMPH

155   jə-tu.   ɦɑ-tsoqpi-wu   phə   he-kue-n̡i,
       say-LNK   INT-this:family-AGT   message   DIR-take-ADV

156   phə   he-kue-n̡i   ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn   tə-bələ-ku-wɑ.
       message   DIR-take-ADV INT-INDEF:one-kind DIR-do-NAR-EMPH

157   ɦɑ-tsa-χui-tu,   tsoqpi   ʐmətʂi   jən-le:
       INT-this:one-time-LNK   this:family emperor   monk's.robe-DEF:CL

158   do-ɣʐu-m   tsoqpi-ŋuən̡i,   tse:-ŋuən̡i,   ɦɑ-tse:-ŋuən̡i
       DIR-lose-NOM   this:family-TOP   this:CL-TOP   INT-this:CL-TOP

159   tʂɑutɑulɑ   da-tɕ-ku-kui,   ɦɑ-tsə-tse:
       †(found)   DIR-find-go-NAR   INT-here-this:CL

160   da-tɕ-kə.   da-tɕ-kə   kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-tu,   χaiʂə
       DIR-find-go DIR-find-go INDEF:one-kind COP-LNK   †(still.is)

161   ə-pəˣʐ-kui-wɑ,   ʂətɕiɑn   ə-tin-thɑ-kəi,
       DIR-provide.for-NAR-EMPH   †time   DIR-set-AUX-NAR

162   ə-tin-thɑ-jantɕi   ɦɑlɑ   ɕtɕə-s   ə-ʂ-kəi,
       DIR-set-AUX-after   INT   seven-day DIR-put-NAR

163 "ɕtɕə-s-ʁɑ-ŋuəɳi   tse: ʐmətʂi   jin-ne:
     seven-day-LOC-TOP   this:CL   emperor   monk's.robe-DEF:CL

164 ɑ-zə   χqu   ɦɑtə   u-ʐmu-ɳi   i-tʂi-s-le:
    one-little   difficult INT   DIR-dream-ADV   DIR-sign-NOM-DEF:CL

165 ŋuə-ʂ,   ɦɑtɑ,   ke: tɕi-meⁱʐ-əs-ji   mɑ-ŋu̯ə̯-tɑ,
    COP-LNK   INT   INDEF:CL   CON-seek-NOM-EXC   NEG-COP-if

166 u-ʐmu-ɳi   i-tʂi-s   ʐmətʂi   jin-le: ŋuə-ʂə
    DIR-dream-ADV   DIR-sign-NOM   emperor monk's.robe-DEF:CL COP-LNK

167 ɑ-zə   χqu-ʂə,"   jə-ɳi,   ɦɑ-kə   dze-jə-kui.
    one-little   difficult-LNK   say-ADV   INT-thus   say-REP-NAR

168   ɦɑ-kə   ʂətɕiɑn ə-ʂə-kəi-tu,   ɕtɕə-s   ɳɑ
             INT-thus   time   DIR-put-NAR-LNK   seven-day   COM

169 ɕtɕə-jə   ŋuə-ɳi,   ɦɑtɑ,   ɦɑ-tsə   ʐmətʂi-le:-tɑ-ŋuəɳi
    seven-night COP-ADV   INT   INT-this   emperor-DEF:CL-DAT-TOP

170 sə-dzi-ku-wɑ,   sə-dze-tu,   ɑ-s-ʁɑ
    DIR-eat-NAR-EMPH   DIR-eat-LNK   one-day-LOC

171 ʐmətʂi-le:-ŋuəɳi,   "a,   qɑ-jin-le:-ŋuəɳi
    emperor-DEF:CL-TOP   EXCL   1sg-monk's.robe-DEF:CL-TOP

172 e:-wu   nai-ɑ-ʂpəq-tɑ   do-quq   ʁu-ʂ,"
    one:CL-AGT   other-one-place-LOC   DIR-move   willing-LNK

173 ɦɑ-tu   ɦɑ-kə   jə-ku,   ɦɑ-tu,   ɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,
    INT-RESULT   INT-thus   say-NAR   INT-RESULT   one-day-LOC-LNK

174 ɦɑ-tu,   stuɑhɑ   χaiʂə   ba   kə   tɕhə-kəpə-k,
    INT-RESULT   rice/food †(still.is) big   thus   eat-HABIT-INF

175 ɦɑ-tu,   ɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,   mɑutshɑ   sei-jə-kə
    INT-RESULT   one-day-LOC-LNK   toilet   relieve.oneself-REP-go

176 hɑ-qə-kəi-tu.   mɑutshə-le: dɑ-tɕ
    DIR-go-NAR-LNK   toilet-DEF:CL   DIR-find

177 mɑ-lə-kəi,   mɑutshə-le: dɑ-tɕ   mɑ-lə-kəi-tu,
    NEG-able-NAR   toilet-DEF:CL   DIR-find   NEG-able-NAR-LNK

178   ɦala   mautsha   sei-kəi-wa,   tu   puɳi-le:-wu,
                INT   toilet   relieve.oneself-NAR-EMPH   RESULT cat-DEF:CL-AGT

179   puɳu-lapa: lou-wu,   ɦata,
                cat-flower   DEF:one:CL-AGT   INT

180   ʁa-ŋuəɳi   ɦa-tha   mautshə-le:-qu-ta   ʁa
                roof.tile-TOP   INT-there   toilet-DEF:CL-top-LOC roof.tile

181   sə-ʐdʐy   la:-ʁa   ɦa-tha   ʐi-kui-wa.   ɦa-tu
                DIR-put   DEF:one:CL-LOC   INT-there   exist-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT

182   tʂekəʐ,ənla   mi-tse-ze-ŋuəɳi,   "hai!   pefutsə,   tʂekə
                †(this.person)   person-this-CL-TOP   INT   †white.beard(cat)   †(this

183   pefutsə   mə � ̍   ke   guo   zuo   χau   sə,"   jə-i-stu.
                white.beard   cat   give   1sg   do   good   thing)   say-HS-PART

184   ɦa-tu   puɳu-le:-wu   ɦa-tha   ʐ̩mətʂi
                INT-RESULT   cat-DEF:CL-AGT   INT-there   emperor

185   jin-le:-ta   ɦa-ʁdʐ̩e-jantɕi   ɦala
                monk's.robe-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-bite-after   there

186   u-zu-ɳi   ʐi-kui-ha,   ɦalə   u-zu-ɳi
                DIR-wait-ADV   exist-NAR-PART   there   DIR-wait-ADV

187   ʐi-kui-tu,   "a,   ʐa   ha-sa,[115]   tse: puɳu-le:-wu
                exist-NAR-LNK   INT   thing   DIR-make.sound   this:CL cat-DEF:CL-AGT

188   qa-tɕ   ʐa   ha-sa,   hi   qa-tɕ   χausə
                1sg-GEN   thing   DIR-make.sound   EXCL   1sg-GEN   †good.thing

189   tə-bəl-ən-ʂə,"   jə-ɳi,   ɦata   ŋuə-jantɕi,
                DIR-do-2sg-LNK   say-ADV   INT   COP-after

190   ɦala   puɳu-le:-ta   zə-ʐ̩-ɳiantɕi
                there   cat-DEF:CL-DAT   DIR-bring-after

191   ɦala   ʁa-ŋuəɳi   ɕtɕi-ɸi   tə-ʂe.   ɦa-the-wu,
                INT   roof.tile-TOP   seven-CL   DIR-count   INT-that-ABL

192   ʁa-ŋuəɳi   tə-tʂhatʂ   ŋuəɳi   ɕtɕə-χtʂ, nai e-ɸi
                roof.tile-TOP   DIR-vertically   TOP   seven-row other one-CL

193   e-ɸi   ŋuə-tu   ɕtɕə-ɸi   ɦalə-jantɕi   ʐmətʂi
      one-CL   COP-LNK   seven-CL   there-after   emperor

194   jin-le: ɦa-thu   tə-ʂuə-kəi-ha.
      monk's.robe-DEF:CL   INT-there   DIR-hide-NAR-PART

195   ɦa-tu,   tə-ʂuə   ka-han   ŋuə-kəi-tu,
      INT-RESULT DIR-hide   INDEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-LNK

196   ɦa-tsa-χui-tu,   ʐmətʂi-le:-ŋuəɳi,   "a,
      INT-this:one-time-LNK   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP   INT

197   a-zə-ŋuəɳi   ʂqu-ʂ-un,   qa   nai-a-ʂpaq-ta
      one-little-TOP   difficult-too-2sg   1sg   other-one-place-LOC

198   do-quq   ʁu-ɳi,   ɳi: ŋuə-ŋuəi?"
      DIR-move   willing-ADV   what   COP-Q

199   ɦata   tə-keˀl-kə-kui.
      INT   DIR-ask-go-NAR

200   ɦa-tha   tə-keˀl-kə-kui-tu,   "a,   soqho-ɳi-ŋuəɳi,"
      INT-there   DIR-ask-go-NAR-LNK   EXCL   tomorrow-ADV-TOP

201   ("təp-ɳi"   jə   lə   khuoji,   ɦe-se,
      tomorrow-ADV   say   also   †(be.possible)   DIR-allow

202   "soqho-ɳi"   jə   lə   khuoji),   "tɕile-ta,   a-s   a-s
      tomorrow-ADV   say   also   †(be.possible)   1pl-LOC   one-day   one-day

203   la-han-ʁa,"   ɦa-kə   jə-kui-tu.   "a,
      DEF:one-kind-LOC   that.manner   say-NAR-LNK   EXCL

204   ɦe-se."   tse:-ŋuəɳi,   χaiʂə   "qa   pəmaha   ɳi:-le:
      DIR-allow   this:CL-TOP   †(still.is)   1sg   tonight   what-DEF:CL

205   tə-sua,   ɦa-tu   ɕi-la: i-tʂi-s-ta-tu,
      DIR-divine(v.)   INT-RESULT   little-DEF:one:CL   DIR-sign-NOM-LOC-LNK

206   pəmaha   i-tʂi-la-wa.   otsûqua-ŋuəɳi
      tonight   DIR-sign-INDTV:1sg-EMPH   morning-TOP

207   thuntʂə   tu-pu-n-pa,
      notify   DIR-do-2sg-DTV

208 da-ʁ   dʐə-m,   ə-m   dʐə-m,   sei   dʐə-me˦wu
     DIR-go   able-NOM   DIR-hear   able-NOM   walk   able-NOM:all

209 lu   tɕhe,   ɦa-tsa-ha-ŋuəȵi   i-pə-l   tɕhe-wa,''
     come   want   INT-this:one-pl-TOP   DIR-arrive-come   want-EMPH

210 jə-kui.   ʐmu   tʂu-s-ŋuəȵi   ʐmətʂi-le:-ta-ŋuəȵi
     say-NAR   meeting   hold-NOM-TOP   emperor-DEF:CL-DAT-TOP

211 ɦa-kə   jə-kui-wa.   ɦata,   "ɑ,   thuntʂə-tu-pǔ-ȵi
     INT-thus   say-NAR-EMPH   INT   EXCL   notify-DIR-do-ADV

212 mi   ɦala da-ʁə   dʐə-m,   de-sei   dʐə-m-le:˦wu
     person   INT   DIR-go   able-NOM   DIR-walk able-NOM-all

213 lu-jə-kui.''   ɦata   me˦ʂ-ta-s-ʁa   ʐmu   ɦio-tsu.
     come-REP-NAR   INT   next-DEF:one-day-LOC   meeting   DIR-hold

214 tu   ɦa-tsu   ʂputhuʂ   tou-ʁa,
     RESULT   INT-here   bamboo.tube   DEF:one:CL-LOC

215 ɦa-tsou-ʁa   ke˦l-əm   lə   ȵi:
     INT-this:one:CL-LOC   ask-NOM   also   3sgREFL

216 ha-sə-m   lə   ȵi:-ŋuəȵi   ɦa-ke
     DIR-make.sound-NOM   also   3sgREFL-TOP   INT-thus

217 ʐi-kəi-wa,   ɦata   tɕa-la   ʂə,   tɕa-lə
     exist-NAR-EMPH   INT   where-LOC   exist where-LOC

218 mɑutshə-le:-ŋuəȵi   ɦala   ʁa-ŋuəȵi
     toilet-DEF:CL-TOP   INT   roof.tile-TOP

219 ȵa-χtʂ,   ɦa-tha   ȵe-ɸi   ŋuə
     WH:one-row   INT-there   WH:one-CL   COP

220 tə-ʂe-ȵiantɕi,   ɦa-thu   ʂə-wa,   jə-kui.
     DIR-count-after   INT-there   exist-EMPH   say-NAR

221 ɦa-tse:-ŋuəȵi   ȵim   ha-qə-stun,
     INT-this:CL-TOP   notice(n.)   DIR-go-PART

222 ȵim   ha-qa, ɦa-tsa-χui,   da-tɕ-kə-stun,   tsa-χui
     notice(n.)   DIR-go INT-this:one-time   DIR-find-go-PART   this:one-time

223   ŋuə-tu,   ɦɑ-tu   tse:-wu   n̦im   tə-s,[116]
      COP-LNK   INT-RESULT this:CL-AGT   notice(n.) DIR-make.sound

224   ɦɑ-tu   z̦mətʂi   tse:-ŋuən̦i   mi   χaiʂə
      INT-RESULT emperor   this:CL-TOP   INT   †(still.is)

225   kə-jə-ku,   "qa   n̦iɣi   dzə-n̦i   n̦iɣi   dzə,
      thus-say-NAR   1sg   what   eat-ADV   what   eat

226   qa   o-zǔ-n̦i   o-zǔ,   qa   tu-jǔ-n̦i   tu-jǔ.
      1sg   DIR-sit-ADV   DIR-sit   1sg   DIR-stand-ADV DIR-stand

227   ɦɑ-tsəi-ŋuən̦i,   ɦɑ-tha,   ɦɑ-ke   hɑ-ŋueᵗ-wa."
      this.manner-TOP   INT-there   INT-thus   DIR- COP:1pl-EMPH

228   jə-kui-ʂə,   mi   χaisə   ɦɑ-tsəi   ɦɑ-tse:-ŋuən̦i
      say-NAR-LNK   person   †(still) INT-this.manner INT-this:CL-TOP

229   kənʂə   tə-pəᵗz̦-n̦i   ɦɑ-ke   ŋuə-z̦-kui-ha.
      †even.more DIR-provide.for-ADV INT-thus   COP-CAUS-NAR-PART

      --
230   ɦɑ-tu   nai   ŋuə-tu,   z̦mətʂi nai-e: ŋuə-tu,
            INT-RESULT other COP-LNK   emperor other-one:CL COP-LNK

231   gənkuo   wətshi-ŋuən̦i   gən   phulu   χaiʂə
      parrot   bird-TOP   very   expensive †(still.is)

232   pɑufu-le: ŋuə-s   kɑ-han   ŋuə-kuɑ-ji, ɦɑ-ke
      retaliation-DEF:CL COP-NOM INDEF:one-kind COP-NAR-HS   INT-thus

233   do-ɣz̦u-kəi-wa,   genkuo   iʂə   wətshi   kɑ-han
      DIR-lose-NAR-EMPH   parrot   †(is) bird   INDEF:one-kind

234   z̦i-ku-ʂə,   ɦɑ-kɑ-han   z̦i-kui-tu,
      exist-NAR-LNK   INT-INDEF:one-kind exist-NAR-LNK

235   do-ɣz̦u-kəi.   tu,   ɦɑ-tsu   tse-xʂepi   z̦mətʂi
      DIR-lose-NAR RESULT   INT-here   this-side   emperor

236   jin   do-ɣz̦u-m-le:-wu   ɦɑ-tha   the-xʂepi-ʁɑ
      monk's.robe   DIR-lose-NOM-DEF:CL-AGT   INT-that   that-side-LOC

237 khuə-ŋuəɳi   tha   da-l-ʐə-kui,   "ɦɑ-tha-han
     dog-TOP   there   DIR-look-CAUS-NAR   INT-that:one-kind

238 do-ɣʐu-n-tu,   qa-ta   ɦɑ-keː   ʐi-wɑ,"
     DIR-lose-2sg-LNK   1sg-DAT   INT-INDEF:CL exist-EMPH

239 jə-kui. ɦɑ-tu   χaiʂə   ɑ-tɑu   tə-meˈʐ-ɳi
     say-NAR INT-RESULT   †(still.is) one-time DIR-seek-ADV

240 mi-leː   tha   i-pə-l-ɳi,   ɦɑ-tu
     person-DEF:CL there DIR-arrive-come-ADV   INT-RESULT

241 ʂətɕian   ə-tin-tha-ɳi   ɦɑ-tsəi
     †time   DIR-agree.on-AUX-ADV   INT-this.manner

242 ə-pəˈʐ-kə-kui,   ɦɑ-tu,   ə-pəˈʐ-ɳi
     DIR-provide.for-go-NAR   INT-RESULT   DIR-provide.for-ADV

243 kɑ-han   ŋuə-tu,   ɑ,   ɦɑ-tu,   χaiʂə,
     INDEF:one-kind   COP-LNK   EXCL   INT-RESULT   †(still.is)

244 "ɑ,   qa   tse: tsəpɑu-leː   mɑ-ŋųə̣-ʂə
      EXCL   1sg   this:CL inanimate.treasure-DEF:CL NEG-COP-LNK

245 χuopɑu-leː   ŋuə.   χuopɑu   ŋuə-ʂə
     live.treasure-DEF:CL   COP   live.treasure   COP-LNK

246 ɦie-ʂue-ɳi   ɑ-ʂpa-lɑ   die-ʂe-kə   ʁu."
     DIR-be.hungry-ADV   one-place-LOC   DIR-die-INF   may

247 ɦɑ-thə-ŋuəɳi   ʂətɕian-ŋuəɳi   ɕtɕə-s-ŋuəɳi,   "ɑ
     DIR-that-TOP   †time-TOP   seven-day-TOP   EXCL

248 tsə-s   az-ŋuəɳi   ɕi-lɑː   atɑʐ-ɳi
     this-COMP   one:CL-TOP   small-DEF:CL fast-ADV

249 u-ʐmu   ɳɑ   u-tɕu-s-leː
     DIR-dream   COM   DIR-see-NOM-DEF:CL

250 ə-mə-s   xu-tu,
     DIR-hear-NOM   exist-LNK

251 qa-tɕ-ŋuəɳi   ɕi-lɑː   atɑʐə-s-lɑː   ɕɑː-ŋua,
     1sg-GEN-TOP   small-DEF:CL   fast-NOM-DEF:CL   INDTV-COP:1sg

252   ɦɑ-tu,   a,   tʂentʂen   qɑ   tse: genkuo-le:
       INT-RESULT   EXCL   †really   1sg   this:CL   parrot-DEF:CL

253   dɑ-tɕə-s   kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-tu,   ɦɑ-tʰɑ   genkuo-le:
       DIR-find-NOM   INDEF:one-kind   COP-LNK   INT-there parrot-DEF:CL

254   dɑ-tɕi-n-tu,   qɑ-n̥ike   phin-tɕhi-phin-tsuo,   χaiʂə
       DIR-find-2sg-LNK   1sg-COM:thus   †(equal-stand-equal-sit)   †(still.is)

255   qɑ   n̥iɣi   dzə-n̥i   dzə,   ɦɑta   qɑ   tu-jǔ-n̥i
       1sg   what   eat-ADV   eat   INT   1sg   DIR-stand-ADV

256   tu-jǔ,   qɑ o-zu-n̥i   o-zu,   ɦɑta   qɑ   n̥iɣi   dzə-n̥i
       DIR-stand   1sg DIR-sit-ADV   DIR-sit   INT   1sg   what   eat-ADV

257   n̥iɣi   dzə   χaiʂə   ɦɑ-tsəi   hɑ-ŋueˉ-wɑ,"
       what   eat   †(still.is)   INT-this.manner   DIR-COP:1pl-EMPH

258   jə-n̥i   ŋuə-kui-tu.   mi   χaiʂə   ɦɑ-tu   ʂətɕian-ŋuən̥i
       say-ADV   COP-NAR-LNK   person   †(still.is)   INT-RESULT   †time-TOP

259   χaiʂə   ɦɑ-tu   tə-meˉz̥-lɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,
       †(still.is)   INT-RESULT   DIR-seek-DEF:one-day-LOC-LNK

260   sei-kə   hɑ-qə-kəi-wɑ.   sei-kə
       relieve.oneself-go   DIR-go-NAR-EMPH   relieve.oneself-go

261   hɑ-qə-kei-tu,   ɦɑ-tu   ɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,   tʰɑ-hɑn
       DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   one-day-LOC-LNK   that:one-kind

262   sei-kə   hɑ-qə-kei-tu.   ɦɑlɑ,
       relieve.oneself-go   DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT

263   ʁəˉ-tɑ-ŋuən̥i   kaijuɑn-ʁɑ   ʂpə
       Han.person-DAT-TOP   †street.edge-LOC   bamboo

264   me-we-m   me-z̥i,
       NEG-exist-NOM   NEG-exist

265   ɦɑta,   kaijuɑn-ʁɑ   ʂpə   we-wu-ʂə,[117]
       INT   †street.edge-LOC   bamboo   exist-VIS-LNK

266   ɑ-χtʂ   ɑ-χtʂ   tɑ-hɑn   we-wu-tu,   ʂpə
       one-row   one-row   DEF:one-kind   exist-VIS-LNK   bamboo

267 i-phi-n̯i   ɑ-χtʂ   ɑ-χtʂ   tɑ-han
    DIR-grow-ADV   one-row   one-row   DEF:one-kind

268 we-ku-tu,   fiɑ-thɑ   genkuo-le:-ŋuən̯i
    exist-NAR-LNK   INT-there   parrot-DEF:CL-TOP

269 ɣzəifɑ   qə-tɑ-ŋuən̯i   xʂul   lou   tə-χʂə-n̯i
    wing   top-LOC-TOP   rope   DEF:one:CL   DIR-tie-ADV

270 wet   lou   fiɑ-ke   tə-tʂhe-le:
    stick   DEF:one:CL   INT-thus   DIR-support-DEF:CL

271 we-kui-wɑ,   tu   fiɑlɑ   xʂul-le:-ŋuən̯i   ʂpə
    exist-NAR-EMPH   RESULT   INT   rope-DEF:CL-TOP   bamboo

272 χqɑ-lɑ   hɑ-jə-kui.   hɑ-jə-kui-tu,
    among-LOC   DIR-stick/be.caught-NAR   DIR-stick-NAR-LNK

273 fiɑlɑ,   mɑutshə   dɑ-tɕ   mɑ-lə-kəi-tu.
    INT   toilet   DIR-find   NEG-able-NAR-LNK

274 fiɑlɑ   sei-kəi-wɑ,   tu   fiɑlɑ,
    there   relieve.oneself-NAR-EMPH   RESULT   INT

275 sei-kəi-tu,   genkuo-le: ʐɑχuɑ-lɑ   ɕtɕeˀpɕtɕeˀp-le:
    relieve.oneself-NAR-LNK   parrot-DEF:CL   inside-LOC   (birdcall)-DEF:CL

276 thɑ   sɑ-kui-hɑ,   "tsɑ-χui   tse: genkuo-le:
    there   make.sound-NAR-PART   this:one-time   this:CL   parrot-DEF:CL

277 qɑ-tɕ   ʐɑ   hɑ-sə-ʂə,"   jə-n̯i   fiɑlɑ fiɑ-ke
    1sg-GEN   matter/affair   DIR-make.sound-LNK   say-ADV   INT   INT-thus

278 ʐə-kəi.   fiɑ-tu,   fiɑlɑ,   the: tə-tsəqɑ-jɑntɕi,
    exist-NAR   INT-RESULT   INT   3sg   DIR-grab-after

279 genkuo-le: tə-tsəqɑ-jɑntɕi,   fiɑtɑ,   ʂpə-ŋuən̯i
    parrot-DEF:CL   DIR-grab-after   INT   bamboo-TOP

280 ɑ-χtʂ   ɑ-χtʂ   tə-ʂə-jɑntɕi,   fiɑ-the-wu,
    one-row   one.row   DIR-count-after   INT-that-ABL

281 fiɑ-tsəi   ŋuə-jɑntɕi,   fiɑ-thu   i-ɕi
    INT-this.manner   COP-after   INT-there   DIR-put

282   ɦa-tsa-χui-tu,   a,   ɦa-tu,   ẓmətʂi-le:-ŋuəȵi
  INT-this:one-time-LNK   EXCL   INT-RESULT   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP

283   tu,   "a,   qa-χuopau-le:-ŋuəȵi   ʂkupa-mo-ʁu,
  RESULT   EXCL   1sg-live.treasure-DEF:CL-TOP   disaster-NEG-willing

284   χuopau-le: ŋuə-ʂə   a-ʂpa-la   die-ʂe-kə   ʁu,
  live.treasure-DEF:CL   COP-LNK   one-place-LOC   DIR-die-go   may

285   ɦe-ʂue-ȵi,"   jə-ȵi,   "a   ataẓə-s-la:
  DIR-be.hungry-ADV   say-ADV   INT   fast-NOM-DEF:CL

286   dzə-ȵi   ka-han   ŋuə-ʂa,   qa, ʔũ χaiʂə   qa ȵiɣi
  eat-ADV   INDEF:one-kind   COP-HORT   1sg 2sg †(still.is) 1sg what

287   dzə-ȵi   ȵiɣi   dzə-tɕ,   ɦa-tsəi-ŋuəȵi   ȵiɣi
  eat-ADV   what   eat-NOM   INT-this.manner-TOP   what

288   ʂətɕian   ɦa-tsə-ŋuəȵi   tu-wu-ȵi
  †time   INT-this-TOP   DIR-discuss-ADV

289   ɦa-kə   ə-ʂə-kəi-ha."
  INT-thus   DIR-put-NAR-PART

290   ɦa-tu   tʂekəẓənla   χaiʂə   ʂputhuʂ   lou
  INT-RESULT †(this.person) †(still.is)   bamboo.tube   DEF:one:CL

291   he-tɕy-ȵi,   ɦa-tu-ŋuəȵi,   ɦa-ka:-ʁa
  DIR-carry-LNK   INT-RESULT-TOP   INT-INDEF:one:CL-LOC

292   stuaha   tɕhə-s   ɦa-ka-han
  food   eat-NOM   INT-INDEF:one-kind

293   lez   tə-ʁə-s-le: we-kuai.
  fate/destiny   DIR-go-NOM-DEF:CL   exist-NAR

294   ɦa-tu,   ɦa-tsə   χuan-tɕhianme¹   ɦa-tse:-ŋuəȵi,
  INT-RESULT   INT-this   Huang Qianmen   INT-this:CL-TOP

295   χaiʂə   genkuo-le:,   genkuo-le: da-tɕ-kə-kuai-stun,
  †(still.is)   parrot-DEF:CL parrot-DEF:CL   DIR-find-go-NAR-PART

296   ɦa-tsu-ŋuəȵi   ȵi   ke   guo   san-jan,   ɦa-thu
  INT-here-TOP   †(2sg   give   1sg   three-kind)   INT-there

297   xsə-han   thuntʂə   tu-p-z̧ə-ku-ʂə,   ɦa-tu
      three-kinds   notify   DIR-do-CAUS-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT

298   z̧mətʂi-le: n̠iɣi dzə-n̠i   n̠iɣi   dzə,
      emperor-DEF:CL   what   eat-ADV   what   eat

299   ɦa-tu   ɦa-ka-han   ŋuə.
      INT-RESULT   INT-INDEF:one-kind   COP

300   χuan-tɕhianmeˑ-le: tha-han   ɦa-ke   ŋuə-kuə-wa.
      Huang-Qianmen-DEF:CL that:one-kind INT-thus   COP-NAR-EMPH

      --
301   ɦa-tu   z̧mətʂi-ŋuən̠i,   "ɦa-tse: genkuo-le:
            INT-RESULT   emperor-TOP   INT-this:CL   parrot-DEF:CL

302   da-tɕə-m-ŋuən̠i   ɦa-tha-ŋuən̠i,   qa-tsi-le:-ŋuən̠i,
      DIR-find-NOM-TOP   INT-there-TOP   1sg-daughter-DEF:CL-TOP

303   qa-luq-te:-ŋuən̠i   ʔũ   o-zu-n,"
      1sg-seat-DEF:CL-TOP   2sg   DIR-sit-2sg

304   ɦa-kə   jə-ji   ŋuə-wa.   (ɦa-tsu   χuan-tɕhianmeˑ,
      INT-thus   say-CSM   COP-EMPH   INT-here   Huang-Qianmen

305   ɦa-tsu   qa-wu   dze-tɕ   kopu-le:-ŋuən̠i,   qa
      DIR-here   1sg-AGT   say-NOM   root-DEF:CL-TOP   1sg

306   tɕiq   dze-s-ta-ŋuən̠i   z̧mə-la-sa   da-m-a,
      inside   say-NOM-LOC-TOP   name-DEF:one-CL   DIR-forget-1sg

307   ɦala   χuan-tɕhianmeˑ   z̧mə-w-wa.   χuan-tɕhianmeˑ
      INT   Huang-Qianmen   call-VIS-EMPH   Huang-Qianmen

308   z̧mə-w   ka-han   ŋuə-w-tu.)   z̧mətʂi-le:-ŋuən̠i
      call-VIS   INDEF:one-kind   COP-VIS-LNK   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP

309   tɕi-steke-la   ŋuə-tu,   ɦata   genkuo-le: da-tɕ-n̠i
      most-back-LOC   COP-LNK   INT   parrot-DEF:CL   DIR-find-ADV

310   ɦa-ka-han   ŋuə-w-tu,   ɦa-tu   z̧mətʂi-le:-tɕ
      INT-INDEF:one-kind   COP-VIS-LNK   INT-RESULT   emperor-DEF:CL-GEN

311   tsi-le:-ŋuəɳi   χuan-tɕhianmeɪ-ta   ɣʐə-s,
       daughter-DEF:CL-TOP   Huang-Qianmen-DAT   marry-NOM

312   χuan-tɕhianmeɪ-ŋuəɳi   ʐ̩mətʂi   dzu-s,   ʐ̩mətʂi-le:
       Huang-Qianmen-TOP   emperor   sit-NOM   emperor-DEF:CL

313   tsi-le:-ŋuəɳi   χaiʂə
       daughter-DEF:CL-TOP   †(still.is)

314   ɦɑ-thɑ   de-l-əs,   ɦɑ-kə   ŋuə-ku-tu.
       INT-there   DIR-give-NOM   INT-thus   COP-NAR-LNK

Narrator: Yu Zelong 余澤龍
Born 1960
Recorded 1996

The Story of a Lazy Man

A long time ago there were two sisters. The husband of the older sister was the emperor (previously called /juanʁuai/, now called /ʐ̩mətʂi/). The younger sister had a son who was very lazy. Every day the mother would weigh out half a catty of wool and spin yarn. The son liked to drink liquor and often went to a restaurant in town to drink. When he returned, he often brought back half a catty of liquor for his mother.

One day the older sister went to her younger sister's home and chatted with her. The younger sister told the older one, "My son is very lazy." One day the younger sister's son pretended to go to town but hid behind the door. The older and younger sister chatted inside and the son of the younger sister listened from behind the door. The two sisters spoke of the younger sister's son. This son had not gone to town, but was behind the door secretly listening. They said things like "My son is very lazy."

The younger sister's son then said to his mother, "I'm back. Today I learned an ability." The younger sister asked, "Son, what ability did you learn?" The son said, "What were you saying today at home? When I was in the restaurant in the center of town, I heard what you said (what you said, I learned to be able to hear it all)." The two sisters said, "What did we say?" The son of the younger sister said, "When I was in the restaurant in town, I heard you say this and that." The younger sister said, "That's really how it was, son."

The older sister's husband was emperor. The younger sister then said, "If my son has learned this kind of ability, it really is a good thing." One day, the older sister's husband was preparing for his birthday. He bought three yak and tethered them inside a cowpen. The son of the younger sister, the one who said "I have learned an ability", at night stole the yaks and crossed the mountain and tethered them in a mountain cave. The emperor could not proceed with his birthday (celebration). The older sister said to her husband (the emperor), "My younger sister's son has an ability. He can see in his dreams where something is. When he listens, he can hear." This emperor had soldiers, and sent his soldiers to look for the lost yaks. After this person had stolen the yaks, he tied them in a cave on the mountain. He himself knew, and he was relaxed and carefree. Almost at the river embankment, the person searching said, a little faster. See if it's possible to find [the yaks] a day or two ahead of time. [The one with an ability] brought a bamboo tube, and he himself asked on the bamboo tube and he himself answered (he asked himself and answered himself). One day, the older sister's husband (formerly called /juɑnʁuɑi/ [emperor], now called /ʐmətʂi/ [emperor]) said, "If one is able to go faster, then go a little faster. Those who can go tomorrow and can go fast must all go search." In this manner he selected a propitious day, and after the propitious day was selected, notified people everywhere. "Those who can go, and who can hear all come here. We will hold a meeting, and all must come here." On a cart this person [with an ability] used the bamboo tube to ask [the whereabouts of the yaks] on the day the meeting was held. On the cart he used the bamboo tube to ask where the emperor's livestock had been lost. There he said, "After a thief took the livestock, he drove them up on the mountain and tethered them in a mountain cave. Quickly now go over that mountain." Through the bamboo tube he himself answered and he himself asked. After asking, he said, "You see, that thief stole them. Quickly cross over that mountain. They are there!" This child of the older sister's family, this family's soldiers and the other people went to look, and when they went to look, the livestock really was there. At this time, as for this person, well! The younger sister's son's reputation went up greatly. Whatever the older sister's husband ate, he ate; whatever the emperor drank, he drank. It was discussed and agreed in advance to provide for him this way. Thus, this person's problems were solved.

Later, that time, the emperor of another place lost a "dzin" (also called a "jin." A monk's robe or "Huang Ma Gua"). After the emperor had lost the dzin, he was chatting with another person and learned about

(it). The emperor said, "(I) must have this person go search. This person can dream or hear other's words. This person has much ability." A person of this family took a message to him, and after taking him the message, he will find the emperor's dzin. After this person finds the dzin, the emperor will provide for him. He set a time, he set a time of seven days. "Within seven days he must find the emperor's dzin in his dreams. The difficulty is great."

For seven days and seven nights this person ate and drank at the emperor's. After eating, one day, the emperor said to him, "Ai! My dzin has been moved somewhere by someone." One day, the son ate too much and went to the toilet to relieve himself. There was a cat which had moved some roof tiles on top of the toilet and hidden the emperor's dzin among the tiles. When he went to look, he discovered the emperor's dzin. He said, "This brindled cat has done me a good deed," and took the dzin from the cat. He counted seven tiles, and stood up seven rows vertically; he hid the emperor's dzin there. At this time, the emperor said, "it will be a little difficult for you to find the dzin. I am willing to move to another place. How about that?" That person then said, "You come tomorrow" (we say "soqhuɳi" [tomorrow], and it can also be said "təpɳi" [tomorrow]). "Tonight I'll try to divine [its whereabouts], all right? Tomorrow I'll notify you and notify those who can walk and who can hear to come. These people must all come." To organize a meeting, this is how he spoke to the emperor. The next day, a meeting was held. He used the bamboo tube and asked himself and answered himself, where is the dzin. This person had them go look, counting out which roof tile in which row of tiles on which toilet. The emperor's dzin was in fact there. After finding it, they notified the emperor, and the emperor said to him, "Whatever I eat, you eat; when I sit, you sit; when I stand, you stand." In the end, he was even better provided for.

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There was another emperor who lost (had stolen) a very expensive kind of parrot, perhaps for revenge. After losing it, this emperor who had lost the dzin told this person who had lost the parrot, "A dog barks in that direction. You have lost this kind of bird, and I have there (in my place) one of this kind of bird." A person came here to search. When he went to search, those people set a time to feed this parrot. "This parrot of mine isn't a dead treasure, it's a living treasure. It might starve to death someplace. If you can dream of it a little faster, see or hear it, do it a little faster for me. If you can find the parrot, you may rise and sit with me (as my equal) and like me eat what I eat, stand when I stand, sit when I sit." The day he went to look for the parrot, he went to a place

where Han people live and went to relieve himself. Where the Han people live, each family grew bamboo. By the roadside there was row after row of bamboo trees. There was a rope tied around a small stick attached to the parrot's wing. The rope was wedged in the bamboo forest. This person couldn't find a toilet, so he went to relieve himself beside the bamboo forest. While relieving himself, he heard the parrot calling in the bamboo forest. He said, "This parrot has done a good thing for me," and he caught the parrot. After catching it, he counted the rows of bamboo and put the parrot there. The emperor said, "My living treasure might starve to death (it would be a disaster). It's a living treasure which may die someplace. If it could eat a little something as soon as possible, then like me, what I eat, you will eat." After this, they set a time (came to an agreement on it), and this person brought up the bamboo tube. He used the tube to eat (earn his living). Perhaps he had this kind of luck. This person was called Huang Qianmen. Huang Qianmen brought the parrot back and said to the emperor, "You must give me three things. These three things you must proclaim to the people." In the end, Huang Qianmen lived just like the emperor.

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    This emperor said, "The person who finds the parrot will marry my daughter and sit on my throne. (The Huang Qianmen I spoke of is the person I called "this person" before. When I was talking before, I forgot his name. This person's name is Huang Qianmen.) The emperor said, "To the person who finds the parrot I will marry my daughter," so Huang Qianmen married his daughter and became emperor.

Text 6
The Old Man of the Chen Family

tshəntɕa   qapə
Chen.family   old.man

1   qeᴵ   ŋuə-tu,   tshəntɕa   qapə   ŋɑ
       long.ago   COP-LNK   Chen.family   old.man   COM

2   e: ŋuə-tu,   a-sə-ʁa-n̡i   khuə   ɕe-k,
    one:CL   COP-LNK   one-day-LOC-ADV   dog   release-go

3   ɦɑ-tu   khuə   ɕe-kəi-tu,[118]
    INT-RESULT   dog   release-NAR-LNK

4   khuə   ɕe-kəi-tu,   a-sə-mɑqa   khuə   tə-ɕi-n̡i
    dog   release-NAR-LNK   one-day-each   dog   DIR-release-ADV

5   phantshə-ʁa   khuə   tə-ɕi-n̡i   stuɑha   tɕhə-m,
    traveling.expenses-LOC   dog   DIR-release-ADV   food   eat-NOM

6   ɦɑ-tu,   a-s-ʁa-tu   ha-qə-kəi-tu,   iɣi
    INT-RESULT   one-day-LOC-LNK   DIR-go-NAR-LNK   anything

7   de-me-zde-kəi,   ɦɑ-tu,   de-me-zde-kui-tu,
    DIR-NEG-hit-NAR   INT-RESULT   DIR-NEG-hit-NAR-LNK

8   z̢o:pu-le: ʂqəl-la-ŋuən̡i   bəs-le:
    cave-DEF:CL   below-LOC-TOP   snake-DEF:CL

9   u-tɕu-kəi-wa.   "ha,   pəs-ŋuən̡i   iɣi   lə
    DIR-see-NAR-EMPH   EXCL   today-TOP   anything   also

10   de-me-zde.   ɦɑ-ke   kə-ʁza-n̡i,   ɦɑ-kə
    DIR-NEG-hit   INT-thus   go-ought:1sg-ADV   INT-thus

11   xʂuɕtɕu-le: kə-qəstɑ,   u-tɕu-ja-n̡i
    empty.handed-DEF:CL   go-not.as.good.as   DIR-see-CSM:1sg-ADV

12   a-phɑu   qhu-ʂa."   jə-kəi.
    one-shot   shoot-HORT   say-NAR

13   a-phɑu   u-qhu-kəi-tu,   ɦɑ-tu   jɑutsan-le:
    one-shot   DIR-shoot-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   man.eating.demon-DEF:CL

14   ŋuə-kəi,   jautsan-le: ŋuə-kəi-tu.   fia-tu
     COP-NAR   man.eating.demon-DEF:CL   COP-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT

15   ɑ-phɑu   qhu-kəi-tu,   jautsan-le:-ŋuənʑi
     one-shot   shoot-NAR-LNK   man.eating.demon-DEF:CL-TOP

16   gəz   nə-qəti-kui.   gəz   nə-qəti-kui-tu.   the:-ŋuənʑi
     strangle(n.) DIR-kill-NAR   strangle(n.) DIR-kill-NAR-LNK 3sg-TOP

17   juanʁuɑi,   (pitɕ-ŋuənʑi   "ʐmətʂi"   ʂpi-ʂ   qə:ˈ-ŋuənʑi
     emperor   now-TOP   emperor   call-LNK   before-TOP

18   "juanʁuɑi"   ʐmə,   ʐmətʂi   laχ-ʁa   "juanʁuɑi"
     emperor   call   emperor   DEF:one:kind-LOC   emperor

19   ʂpu-ku-wa),   fia-tu,   jautsan-le:-ŋuənʑi
     call-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   man.eating.demon-DEF:CL-TOP

20   tə-pian-thɑ-ji   ŋuə-kui-wɑ.   ....   ʐmətʂi-le:-ŋuənʑi
     DIR-change-AUX-CSM   COP-NAR-EMPH   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP

21   "meˈʐ   kə   tɕhe,"   jə-nʑi   he-ɕi-kui.   ....   "nʑiχuɑ
     seek   go   want   say-ADV   DIR-send-NAR   why

22   ŋuə-nʑi   (hɑtu)   tə-ʐdʑi?"   ʂpaqta   fio-pǔ-kəi,   "nʑiɣi
     COP-ADV   INT   DIR-sick   pretend   DIR-do-NAR   what

23   tə-ʐdʑi-n?"   jə-nʑi,   "ʐdʑi   fio-tʂhup-nʑi   ʐdʑi   u-xʂu
     DIR-sick-2sg   say-ADV   sick   DIR-cure-ADV   sick   DIR-recover

24   mɑ-lə,   fia-tu,   ʐdʑi u-xʂu   mɑ-lə   kɑ-hɑn
     NEG-able   INT-RESULT   sick DIR-recover   NEG-able   INDEF:one-kind

25   ŋuə-tu,   ʔũ   nʑiɣi   ŋuə-s   ŋuə-ŋuɑ?"   fia-tu,
     COP-LNK   2sg what   COP-NOM   COP-Q   INT-RESULT

26   tə-keˈl-kə-kui,   ʐmətʂi-le:-wu,   ʐmətʂi-le:-wu
     DIR-ask-go-NAR   emperor-DEF:CL-AGT   emperor-DEF:CL-AGT

27   tə-keˈl   kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-kui-tu,   "fia,   qɑ   tshəntɕa
     DIR-ask   INDEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-LNK   EXCL   1sg   Chen.family

28   qapə-tɕ   ʂpəl   n̪a   ɕtɕi:mi   sə-dza-tu,
      old.man-GEN   kidney   COM   heart   DIR-eat:1sg-LNK

29   dʐə-wɑ,"   jə-kui.   ɦia-tu,   ʐmətʂi-le:-ŋuən̪i
      able-EMPH   say-NAR   INT-RESULT   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP

30   gue˩   he-ɕi-n̪i   tshəntɕa   qapə
      army   DIR-send-ADV   Chen.family   old.man

31   me˩ʐ̩   he-ɕi-kui-stũ.
      seek   DIR-send-NAR-PART

32   he-ɕi-kui   ja-tu,   ɦia-tu,   tse:-ŋuən̪i
            DIR-send   INT-LNK   INT-RESULT   this:CL-TOP

33   tshəntɕa   qapə   tɕəu-tha-tɕ,   tshəntɕa
      Chen.family   old.man   save-AUX-GEN(goal)   Chen.family

34   qapə-tɕ   tʂi-ŋuən̪i   tshəntitɕhən,
      old.man   male/son-TOP   Chen.Diqing

35   ɦia-tu   tshəntɕa   qapə-ŋuən̪i   suəsua
      INT-RESULT   Chen.family   old.man-TOP   divine(the.future)

36   ɣʐ̩ə-jy,   ɦala   tə-sua-n̪i   dʐukǔ   de-le,
      able-ASP   INT   DIR-divine-ADV   knowledge   DIR-exist

37   ɦia-kə   suəsua   ɣʐ̩ə-n̪i   "qa   ɦia-kə   me˩ʐ̩,   ɦiatə-ŋuən̪i,
      INT-thus   divine   able-ADV   1sg   INT-thus   seek   INT-TOP

38   a,   qa-tʂi,   ʔũ-ŋuən̪i   da-ɣzə-n,   qa-ŋuən̪i
      EXCL   1sg-son   2sg-TOP   DIR-set.out-2sg   1sg-TOP

39   fantʂənʂə   ʐmətʂi   tsoqpi   jəpa-q-ta-ŋuən̪i
      †(anyway.is)   emperor   this:family   hand-top-LOC-TOP

40   do-χlu   mɑ-lə-jya,   ɦia-tha-s-ʁa
      DIR-escape   NEG-able-ASP:1sg   INT-that:one-day-LOC

41   bəs-le: jopu-le: ʂqə-la
      snake-DEF:CL   cliff-DEF:CL   below-LOC

42   u-tɕya-paqta   ɦata   tse:-ŋuən̪i,   ɦia-tsoqpi-wu
      DIR-see:1sg-LNK(after)   INT   this:CL-TOP   INT-this:family-AGT

43   qɑ   meˈʐ-lə   tɕhe,   qɑ   ʂpəl   n̪ɑ   ɕtɕi:mi
     1sg   seek-come   want   1sg   kidney   COM   heart

44   sə-mə-dzə-s-te:-wu,   ɦɑta   tha-han   ŋuə-ʂ,
     DIR-NEG-eat-NOM-DEF:CL-if   INT   that:one-kind   COP-LNK

45   ɦɑ-tsɑ-χui-ŋuən̪i,   tshəntitɕhin   ʔũ   du-ɸu
     INT-this:one-time-TOP   Chen.Diqing   2sg   DIR-run.away

46   dʐə-tɕeˈwu   du-ɸu-n-pɑ,   qɑ-ŋuən̪i   tsoqpi
     able-AMP[119]:all   DIR-run.away-2sg-DTV   1sg-TOP   this:family

47   jəpa-q   ɦɑ-mə-ʁə-ʂə   ma-l-jya.''
     hand-top   DIR-NEG-go-LNK   NEG-able-ASP:1sg

48   ikə   jə-n̪i   ɦɑlɑ   du-ɸu,   tʂi-le:-ŋuən̪i
     thus   say-ADV   INT   DIR-run.away   son-DEF:CL-TOP

49   du-ɸu-n̪i   nai-e-tshin-ʁɑ   i-pə-kəi-wɑ,
     run.away-ADV   other-one-village-LOC   DIR-arrive-NAR-EMPH

50   nai-e-tshin-ʁɑ   i-pə-kəi-tu,
     other-one-village-LOC   DIR-arrive-NAR-LNK

51   ɦɑlɑ   da-qɑ   da-qɑ   da-qɑ-tu,   ɦɑlə
     INT   DIR-go   DIR-go   DIR-go-LNK   there

52   ŋuə-tu,   da-qɑ-tu   ɦɑlɑ   die-ʂe-m-le:
     COP-LNK   DIR-go-LNK   INT   DIR-die-NOM-DEF:CL

53   ʐi-kui,   wutɕupu-le:-ŋuən̪i   die-ʂe-kui,   wutɕupu-le:-ŋuən̪i
     exist-NAR husband-DEF:CL-TOP   DIR-die-NAR   husband-DEF:CL-TOP

54   die-ʂe-kui-tu,   ɦɑ-tu,   lokun   lokun
     DIR-die-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   sworn.brother   sworn.brother

55   phənjəu ɦie-se   ŋuə. tɕɑ-la   tsha-la-ʁɑ-ŋuən̪i
     friend   DIR-make(friends)   COP where-LOC   village-LOC-LOC-TOP

56   ''ɦɑ-tsəi   lokun   ɦie-seˈ-ʂ,
       INT-this.manner   sworn.brother   DIR-make(friends):1pl-LNK

57 ɦɑ-tsəi   ɦie-seꜟ."   ɦɑ-tsəi-ŋuəɳi
    INT-this.manner   DIR-make(friends):1pl   INT-this.manner-TOP

58 ɦie-se-kui-wɑ.   "ha,   tse:
    DIR-make(friends)-NAR-EMPH   EXCL   this:CL

59 fɑntʂənʂə   thɑ-hɑn   shenʐə   bələ-s   ŋuə,"   ikə
    †(anyway.is)   that:one-kind   birthday   make-NOM   COP   thus

60 jə-ɳi,   ɦɑ-ke: tə-bəl-kui.   ɦɑ-tu   χu
    say-ADV   INT-INDEF:CL   DIR-make-NAR   INT-RESULT   goods

61 ɳɑ   thɑ-hɑn   kuɑn-thɑ-m   əzzi   ʐi-kui.   ɦɑ-tu
    COM   that:one-kind   manage-AUX-NOM   a.few   exist-NAR   INT-RESULT

62 thɑ-hɑn   afəꜟali   mɑ-tʂhə-tɕ   lɑχuilai   χu.
    that:one-kind   †(least.amount)   NEG-lack-GEN   †(take.back)   goods

63 ɦɑ-tu-ŋuəɳi,   "kuɳɑtsə   ɳɑ   stumpətʂe[120]-ŋuəɳi,   tsɑ
    INT-RESULT-TOP   close.relatives   COM   relatives-TOP   here

64 ɑ-lɑ   tɕhe,   ʔũ-ŋuəɳi   ɑ-ʂpɑ   kə   lə
    DIR-come   want   2sg-TOP   one-place   go   also

65 ɦie-me-se,"   jə-kui.   ɦɑ-kə   jə-kui-tu,
    DIR-NEG-allow   say-NAR   INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK

66 ɦɑlə   ə-lɑ-kəi-wɑ.   ə-lɑ-kəi-tu,
    there   DIR-come-NAR-EMPH   DIR-come-NAR-LNK

67 χɑiʂə   ɦɑlɑ-ŋuəɳi ə-lɑ-kəi-tu,   tʂi-ŋuəɳi   tshənpe-khunpe.
    †(still.is)   there-TOP   DIR-come-LNK   son-TOP   smart-capable

68   ɦɑlɑ-ŋuəɳi   χɑiʂə   tɑulə tɕi   kuo jue   ʂəχəu
             there-TOP   †(still.is) arrive few CL month   time/when)

69 i-jə-ɕ   pe-tu,   χɑiʂə   ɦɑ-tsɑ   ʐmətʂi
    one-two-month   become-LNK   †(still.is)   INT-this   emperor

70 louqpi-wu   meꜟʐə-kui-wɑ.   ʐmətʂi   tsoqpi-wu
    DEF:one:family-AGT   seek-NAR-EMPH   emperor   this:family-AGT

71 me˥ʐ̩ə-kui-tu,   "a!   qɑ-ŋuəɳ̍i   mɑ-k
   seek-NAR-LNK   EXCL   1sg-TOP   NEG-go

72 ɦie-me-se,   kɑ:,"   ɦɑlɑ
   DIR-NEG-allow   go:PRS   INT

73 sətsim-le:-tɑ-ŋuəɳ̍i,   "a!   qɑ   thɑ-hɑn
   wife-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP   EXCL   1sg   that:one-kind

74 ŋuə-ʂ,   qɑ-ŋuəɳ̍i mɑ-k   ɦie-me-se-ʂ,   ɦɑ-tu-ŋuəɳ̍i
   COP-LNK 1sg-TOP NEG-go DIR-NEG-allow-LNK   INT-RESULT-TOP

75 tʂi   pe-tu   ŋuə-tu,   ɕtɕə-p   le-ɳ̍i
   son   become-LNK   COP-LNK   seven-years   exist-ADV

76 ləɣz   ɑ:-su-k-wɑ.   tsi   pe-tu,
   book   DIR:INDTV-study-go-DTV   daughter   become-LNK

77 χaiʂə   iɣi   qɑ   me˥ʐ̩ə-lə   me-tɕhi,
   †(still.is)   anything   1sg   seek-come   NEG-want

78 nai   tʂi   pe-tu   ʂə?ə˥sui
   other   son   become-LNK   †(twelve.years.old)

79 hani-p   le-ɳ̍i   ɦɑ-tu   qɑ   ta:-me˥ʐ̩-lə-wɑ,"
   twelve-year   exist-LNK   INT-RESULT   1sg   INDTV-seek-come-DTV

80 jə-jy.   ŋuəɳ̍i   sətsim-le:-tɑ-ŋuəɳ̍i   ə-χte-jy,
   say-ASP   TOP   wife-DEF:CL-LOC-TOP   DIR-exhort-ASP

81 ɦɑ-tu   "ʐ̩mə-ŋuəɳ̍i thɑnkhemu   ə-ʂpə-n-pa,"   jə-jy,
   INT-RESULT   name-TOP   Thɑnkhemu   DIR-call-2sg-DTV   say-ASP

82 "thɑnkhemu-ŋuəɳ̍i   ɦɑ-tsəi   ə-ʂpə-n-pa,   ɦɑ-tu
    Thɑnkhemu-TOP   INT-this.manner   DIR-call-2sg-DTV   INT-RESULT

83 ləɣz   u-su-ɳ̍i   ɕtɕə-p   le-ɳ̍i,   kə-ŋuə-tu
   book   DIR-study-ADV   seven-year   exist-ADV   thus-COP-LNK

84 i-pə-l-ɳ̍i   qɑ   ta:-me˥ʐ̩-wɑ."   ɦɑ-tu,
   DIR-return-come-ADV   1sg   DIR:INDTV-seek-DTV   INT-RESULT

85 xsə   nai-e-fən-ʁa   χaiʂə   me˥ʐ̩ə-lə-m-ŋuəɳ̍i
   new(again)   other-one-CL-LOC   †(still.is)   seek-come-NOM-TOP

86   steke-la   ə-dzɑ-lu-kui.
          behind-LOC   DIR-chase-come-NAR

87   ə-dzɑ-lu-kui-tu,   χaiʂə   du-ɸu-ɳi
            DIR-chase-come-NAR-LNK   †(still.is) DIR-run.away-ADV

88   kə-jə-kəi-tu,   nai-ɑ-ʂpaq-tɑ,   χaiʂə
          go-REP-NAR-LNK   other-one-place-LOC   †(still.is)

89   ŋuəɳi   wutɕupu   die-ʂe-m-le:-tɑ,   wutɕupu
          TOP   husband   DIR-die-NOM-DEF:CL-LOC   husband

90   die-ʂe-m-le:-tɑ   χaiʂə   fiɑ-ke:
          DIR-die-NOM-DEF:CL-LOC   †(still.is)   INT-INDEF:CL

91   pe-ɳi,   qe:ᴵ   ʂpaʂpa   fiɑ-ke:
          become-ADV   before   same.way   INT-INDEF:CL

92   tu-tsu-jə-kəi.   fiɑ-ke: tu-tsu-jə-kəi-tu,
          DIR-meet-REP-NAR   INT-INDEF:CL   DIR-meet-REP-NAR-LNK

93   fiɑ-ŋuəɳi   χu-pan-thɑ-luo,   fiɑ-la-han-ŋuəɳi,
          INT-TOP   goods-manage-AUX-perhaps   INT-DEF:one-kind-TOP

94   χaiʂə   thu   ə-mə-la-ʐ   mo-ʁu-jə-kui.
          †(still.is)   there   DIR-NEG-come-CAUS   NEG-willing-REP-NAR

95   fiɑ-thə   ə-la-kəi-tu,   xsə   me⁺ʐə-lə-m
          INT-there   DIR-come-NAR-LNK   new(again) seek-come-NOM

96   i-pə-l-jə-kui   "tʂi   pe-tu,   qa   me⁺ʐ-lə
          DIR-arrive-come-REP-NAR   son   become-LNK   1sg   seek-come

97   tɕhe-wa,   tsi   pe-tu,   me⁺ʐ-lə
          want-DTV   daughter   become-LNK   seek-come

98   me-tɕhe-wa,   tʂi   pe-tu,   fiala   ctɕə-p
          NEG-want-DTV   son   become-LNK   INT   seven.years

99   le-ɳi   ləɣz   ɑ:-su-ku,   hodʐy-p
          exist-ADV   book   DIR:INDTV-study-go:EMPH   ten-year

100 le-n̠i   qɑ   tɑ:-meᵻʐ-lə-wɑ,"   ɦɑ-kə
     exist-ADV   1sg DIR:INDTV-seek-come-DTV   INT-thus

101 jə-kui-tu.
     say-NAR-LNK

102   ɦɑ-tu   thɑnkhemu   n̠ɑ   likhemu   jə-ze   wu   tʂi
             INT-RESULT   Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu   two-CL all   son

103 pe-kui,   ɦɑ-tu,   ɑ-s-ʁɑ-ŋuən̠i   dɑ-ɣz-n̠i
     become-NAR   INT-RESULT   one-day-LOC-TOP   DIR-set.out-ADV

104 χaiʂə,   ɦɑ-thɑ   "ep-te: meᵻʐ   kɑ:,"
     †(still.is)   INT-there   father-DEF:CL   seek   go:PRS:1sg

105 jə-χuɑ,   "ep-te: meᵻʐ   kɑ:,"
     say-because   father-DEF:CL   seek   go:PRS:1sg

106 jə-χuɑ   ŋuən̠i   dɑ-qɑ   dɑ-qɑ-kəi-tu,
     say-because   TOP   DIR-go   DIR-go-NAR-LNK

107 bɑ-lɑ:-ʁɑ   e-tʂepe-kəi.   ɦɑ-tu
     flat.area.on.side.of.hill-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-encounter-NAR   INT-RESULT

108 tshəntitɕhin-ŋuən̠i   ep   ŋuə-w,   ep-le: meᵻʐə-k
     Chen.Diqing-TOP   father COP-VIS   father-DEF:CL   seek-go

109 dɑ-qə-kəi-tu,   ɦɑlɑ   gue:ᵻ-tɑ-ŋuən̠i   e-tʂepe-kəi.
     DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT   road-LOC-TOP   DIR-encounter-NAR

110 thɑnkhemu-ŋuən̠i   tə-keᵻl-kəi.   thɑnkhemu
     Thankhemu-TOP   DIR-ask-NAR   Thankhemu

111 tə-keᵻl-kəi-tu,   "ʔũ   tɕɑ   kɑ:-n-ɑ?"   jə-kui,   "ʔũ
     DIR-ask-NAR-LNK   2sg   where   go:PRS-2sg-Q   say-NAR   2sg

112 tɕɑ   kɑ:-n-ɑ?"   jə-kui-tu.   "ha,   qɑ   ep
     where   go:PRS--2sg-Q   say-NAR-LNK   EXCL   1sg   father

113 meᵻʐ   kɑ:"   jə-kui.   "ʔũ   ep   n̠iɣi ʐmə-wɑ?"
     seek   go:PRS:1sg   say-NAR   2sg   father what   call-Q

114   jə-tu,   "qa-ep   tshəntitçhin   ŋuə-ŋua,"[121]   jə-ji.
       say-LNK   1sg-father   Chen.Diqing   COP-VIS:1sg   say-CSM

115   thankhemu   ɦa-tsə   "ep   lə   tshəntitçhin   ŋuə,
       Thankhemu   INT-this   father   also   Chen.Diqing   COP

116   ʔũ   qa   ma-sun-ʂə,"   ikə   jə-kui,   "qa
       2sg   1sg   NEG-consider-LNK   thus   say-NAR   1sg

117   ma-sun-ʂə"   jə-kui-tu,   nə-quaq-tçə-i.   hai
       NEG-consider-LNK   say-NAR-LNK   DIR-fight-3pl-HS   EXCL

118   ne-quaq-kei-tu,   thankhemu-ŋuəɳi   "a,   ʔũ   ɳa   qa
       DIR-fight-NAR-LNK   Thankhemu-TOP   EXCL   2sg   COM   1sg

119   quəqua ma-qa¹,   ʔũ   ɳa   qa   quəqua   ma-qa¹,
       fight NEG-ought:1pl   2sg   COM   1sg   fight   NEG-ought:1pl

120   ə-zə   ə-zdʐ-ʂa,"   jə-kui.   a-zə   ə-zdʐ-tu,   ɦala
       one-CL   DIR-rest-HORT   say-NAR   one-CL   DIR-rest-LNK   INT

121   a-zə   ə-zdʐ-ɳiantçi, thankhemu-jə   ba-kəi-ʂə,   ɦala
       one-CL   DIR-rest-after Thankhemu-†(TOP)   big-NAR-LNK   INT

122   tə-ke¹l-kui,   likhemu   tə-ke¹l-kui-tu,   ɦala
       DIR-ask-NAR   Likhemu   DIR-ask-NAR-LNK   INT

123   likhemu-ŋuəɳi "ɳi:tsəi   ŋuə-ʐa:?"   jə-kui-ʂə.
       Likhemu-TOP   WH.kind   COP-CAUS:PRS:1pl   say-NAR-LNK

124   thankhemu-ŋuəɳi, "ʔũ   ɳa   qa   jə-ze   wu   tsəi-ŋuəɳi
       Thankhemu-TOP   2sg   COM   1sg   two-CL   all   this.manner-TOP

125   tha-han   ep   me¹ʐe:¹,   ep-te: kənti   e:
       that:one-kind   father seek:1pl   father-DEF:CL   jointly   one:CL

126   ŋuə-k-a:¹-tçi?   ta,   içtçi-ŋuəɳi   kə-ʂa,"
       COP-INF-PRS:1pl-Q   INT   together-TOP   go-HORT

127   jə-kui.   ɦa-thu-ŋuəɳi,   quəqua
       say-NAR   INT-there-TOP   fight

128 a-χə-n̩i   dɑ-qə-kəi-ha.
     DIR-stop-LNK   DIR-go-NAR-PART

129   dɑ-qɑ   dɑ-qɑ   dɑ-qə-tu,   ɦɑlɑ
         DIR-go   DIR-go   DIR-go-LNK   INT

130 xsə-tɕi-la:-ʁɑ   ə-wəi-jə-kəi   ha,
     god-house(temple)-DEF:CL-LOC DIR-stay/live-REP-NAR   INT

131 ə-wəi-jə-kəi-tu,   ɦɑ-tu   "the: maha-ŋuən̩i tshəntɕa
     DIR-stay/live-REP-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   3sg   night-TOP   Chen.family

132 qapa   n̩ɑ   tshəntitɕhin-tɕə   kuantausəje,   ɦɑlɑ-ŋuən̩i
     old.man   COM   Chen.Diqing-GEN   sword.and.bow   INT-TOP

133 ɦɑlɑ   xsə-tɕi   piena   tə-ʂuə-jə,   ɦɑ-kə
     INT   god-house   beside   DIR-hide-REP   that.manner

134 səɸǔ-le:-piena   tə-ʂuə-jə   ke: u-ʐmu-ɑ-wa,"
     tree-DEF:CL-beside DIR-hide-REP   INDEF:CL   DIR-dream-1sg-EMPH

135 jə-ji.   "ɦa,   ʔũ,   qa-tutʂ
     say-HS   EXCL   2sg   1sg-younger.brother

136 n̩i:-ke: u-ʐmu-n-ɑ?"   jə-i-tu,   "a,   qa   lə
     WH-INDEF:CL   DIR-dream-2sg-Q say-HS-LNK   EXCL   1sg   also

137 ɦɑ-kə   u-ʐmu-ɑ.   a,   ta,   ʔũ   n̩ɑ   qa   a-qəs
     INT-thus   DIR-dream-1sg EXCL   INT   2sg   COM   1sg   one-form

138 we-k-a:-¹-tɕi?   kuantausəje   ɦɑ-tsəi-ke:
     exist-INF-PRS:1pl-Q   sword.and.bow   INT-this.manner-INDEF:CL

139 u-ʐmu-ɑ-ʂə,   tshən-ŋuən̩i ɦɑ-tha   xsə-tɕi-le:-piena-ŋuən̩i
     DIR-dream-1sg-LNK   Chen-TOP   INT-there god-house-DEF:CL-beside-TOP

140 ʐoʁu-piena-la   wətshəi-le:-ta   ɦɑ-l-n̩i
     courtyard-beside-LOC   wild.prickly.ash-DEF:CL-LOC DIR-look-ADV

141 ɦɑ-ke-ze   ʐi-jə   kə   u-ʐmu-ɑ-wa,"
     INT-INDEF-CL   exist-REP   thus   DIR-dream-1sg-EMPH

142   jə-ji.   ɦɑ-tu   dɑ-qə-kəi-tu,
       say-CSM   INT-RESULT   DIR-go-NAR-LNK

143   ʁatɕhi   ɦala   gue:¹-le:-piena-ŋuəɳi
       really   INT   road-DEF:CL-beside-TOP

144   səɸ-lə-jin-tʂa   we-s-ta-ŋuəɳi   ɦala
       tree-DEF-few-CL   exist-NOM-LOC-TOP   INT

145   tsə-le: lu-ji,   tsə   ɦie-ɕpi-kei,
       water(river)-DEF:CL   come(flow)-HS   water DIR-thirsty-NAR

146   a-i   dɑ-qə-kəi-tu,   ɦa   tsə   ɦie-ɕpi-kəi-tu,
       one-time DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT water DIR-thirsty-NAR-LNK

147   ɦala   χqatsəimi-le: ɦa-lə-kui.
       INT   spring.water-DEF:CL   DIR-come-NAR

148   ɦa-tu-ŋuəɳi,   thankhemu-ŋuəɳi   tsə
       INT-RESULT-TOP   Thankhemu-TOP   water

149   tə-me¹z̦-kəi-tu,   ɦala   tsə   dɑ-tɕ-kəi,
       DIR-seek-NAR-LNK   there   water DIR-find-NAR

150   tsə   dɑ-tɕ-kəi-tu,   "likhemu,   ʔũ-ŋuəɳi   tɕhə
       water DIR-find-NAR-LNK   Likhemu   2sg-TOP   drink

151   ə-χə-n,   qa   tuwa-le:-ŋuəɳi   qe:¹
       DIR-stop-2sg   1sg older.brother-DEF:CL-TOP   before

152   sə-tɕ-la,   ɦa-tu   sə-tɕh-ɳi   qa
       DIR-drink-INDTV:1sg INT-RESULT DIR-drink-ADV   1sg

153   die-me-ʂa-tu,   ɦalə-ŋuəɳi, ʔũ   lə
       DIR-NEG-die:1sg-LNK   INT-TOP   2sg   also

154   ə-tɕhə-n-pa.   nai   qa   die-ʂa-tu,
       DIR-drink-2sg-DTV   other 1sg   DIR-die:1sg-LNK

155   ʔũ   tɕa-tɕhi-n-pa,"   jə-kui-tɕu.   ɦa-kə
       2sg   NEG.IMP-drink-2sg-DVT   say-NAR-PART   INT-thus

156 jə-kui-tu,   thɑ-χui-tu,   thɑnkhemu   sə-tɕ-kəi,
    say-NAR-LNK   that:one-time-LNK   Thɑnkhemu   DIR-drink-NAR

157 sə-tɕ-kəi-tu   ɦɑlɑ   ʐɑwɑ-ʂəpɑn-le:
    DIR-drink-NAR-LNK   INT   stone-†stone.slab-DEF:CL

158 ɦɑ-que-ji-le: tu-tsu-kəi,
    DIR-cover-CSM-DEF:CL   DIR-encouter-NAR

159 ɦɑ-tu   e:! tshəntɕɑ   qɑpɑ   ȵɑ tshəntitchin
    INT-RESULT EXCL Chen.family old.man   COM Chen.Diqing

160 kuɑntɑusəje   ɦɑlɑ   ɦie-le-ȵi   ʂə-ʐə-kui
    sword.and.bow   INT   DIR-pack-ADV   exist-CAUS-NAR

161 hɑ,   pɑnɑ   quəquɑ-s   pɑnɑ,
    INT   thing   fight-NOM   thing

162 kɑntɕhi,   ɦɑ-thɑ   ʂə-ʐə-kui-tu,
    club   INT-there   exist-CAUS-NAR-LNK

163 thɑ-hɑn,   ɦɑ-lɑ-χui-tu,   thɑnkhemu-ŋuəȵi   tsə
    that:one-kind INT-DEF:one-time-LNK   Thɑnkhemu-TOP   water

164 o-qu   sə-tɕ-kəi,   ɦɑlɑ   ʂəpɑn-le: ça-lɑ:
    one-mouthful DIR-drink-NAR INT   stone.slab-DEF:CL small-DEF:CL

165 tə-qe-kəi-tu.   ça-lɑ:-ji   tə-tsi   mɑ-lə-kəi,
    DIR-lift-NAR-LNK   small-DEF:CL-EXC   DIR-lift   NEG-able-NAR

166 ɦɑ-tu   "likhemu lə   ə-tɕhə-n   qɑ-tutʂu   ə-tɕhə-n,"
    INT-RESULT   Likhemu also DIR-drink-2sg   1sg-little.brother DIR-drink-2sg

167 jə-kui-ʂə,   sə-tɕ-tu,   ɦɑ-lɑ-χui-tu,
    say-NAR-LNK   DIR-drink-LNK   INT-DEF:one-time-LNK

168 jə-ze   wu   u-χsu,   u-χsu-ȵi   ɑ-thɑn
    two-CL   all   DIR-jump   DIR-jump-ADV   one-trip

169 tə-tsi-kəi-tu,   ɦɑlɑ   ça-lɑ:-ji
    DIR-lift-NAR-LNK   INT   small-DEF:CL-EXC

170 tə-me-qe-kəi,   ha,   ɑ-thən   sə-tɕi-tɕ-ʂɑ,   ɑ-thən
    DIR-NEG-lift-NAR   EXCL one-time DIR-CON-drink-LNK   one-time

171   sə-tɕi-tɕ-kəi,   fia-la-χui-tu,   sə-tɕ,   ʂəpɑn
      DIR-CON-drink-NAR   INT-DEF:one-time-LNK   DIR-drink stone.slab

172   tə-qe-n̠iɑufu,   fia-thɑ   tshəntɕɑ   qɑpə   n̠ɑ
      DIR-turn.over-LNK(as.soon.as) INT-there Chen.family old.man COM

173   tshəntitɕhin-wu   pɑnə   tə-ʂuə-jə,   fia   kuɑntɑusəje
      Chen.Diqing-AGT   thing   DIR-hide-CSM   INT   sword.and.bow

174   fia-la-hɑn   fiɑlɑ   i-le-n̠i   ʂə-kui,   fia-tu
      INT-DEF:one-kind there DIR-pack-ADV   exist-NAR   INT-RESULT

175   tə-xtʂe-kəi,   tə-xtʂe-n̠i   he-tɕy-n̠i
      DIR-take.out-NAR   DIR-take.out-ADV   DIR-carry-ADV

176   dɑ-qə-kəi.   a-i   dɑ-qə-kəi-tu,   fiɑlɑ
      DIR-go-NAR   one-time   DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT

177   gue:ˈ-guχu-lɑ   xsə-tɕi-le:-ʁɑ
      road-upper.part-LOC   god-house-DEF:CL-LOC

178   sin-le:-tɑ   fia-l-n̠i   z̠i-kui-wa,
      lion-DEF:CL-LOC   DIR-look-ADV   exist-NAR-EMPH

179   fiɑlə   z̠i-kui-tu,   "ha   qa   tshəntitɕhin
      there   exist-NAR-LNK   INT   1sg Chen.Diqing

180   n̠ɑ   tshəntɕɑ   qɑpə-tɕ   fia   sin   ŋuə-n-ʂa
      COM   Chen.family   old.man-GEN   INT   lion   COP-2sg-LNK

181   qap   fia-ʁu-n,[122]   sin   mɑ-ŋuə-n-ʂa,   tu
      head   DIR-throw-2sg   lion   NEG-COP-2sg-LNK   RESULT

182   qap   fia-tɕi-ʁu-n,   tɕile   dzɑ:-n-ʂa,
      head   DIR-NEG.IMP-throw-2sg   1pl   eat:PRS-2sg-LNK

183   ə-zə-n,   nai   tɕile-tɕ   sin   ŋuə-n-tu,
      DIR-eat-2sg   other 1pl-GEN   lion   COP-2sg-LNK

184   fiɑlɑ   qap   fia-ʁu-n,"   jə-kui.   fiɑlɑ   ŋuə-n̠i,
      there   head   DIR-throw-2sg   say-NAR   there   COP-ADV

185   qap   fia-ʁu-kui,   qap   fia-ʁu-kui-tu,   fialə
        head   DIR-throw-NAR   head   DIR-throw-NAR-LNK   there

186   ŋuə-tu,   kuɑntɑusəje   sin   tə-qətʂi-ȵi
        COP-LNK   sword.and.bow   lion   DIR-ride-ADV

187   dɑ-qə-kəi-wɑ.   sin   tə-qətʂi-ȵi
        DIR-go-NAR-EMPH   lion   DIR-ride-ADV

188   dɑ-qə-kəi-tu,   fia-tu   jautsan
        DIR-go-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   man.eating.demon

189   pe-m   fia-tu   ʐmətʂi-le:-tɕə,
        become-NOM   INT-RESULT   emperor-DEF:CL-GEN

190   fia-tse:-ŋuəȵi,   fiata   thankhemu   ȵa   likhemu,
        INT-this:CL-TOP   INT   Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu

191   the-wu   tshəntɕa   qapə,   tshəntitɕhin-ŋuəȵi,
        that-ABL   Chen.family   old.man   Chen.Diqing-TOP

192   tshəntɕa   qapə-ŋuəȵi   qe:ᶦ   jitɕin   jautsan
        Chen.family   old.man-TOP   before   †(already) man.eating.demon

193   dʐemi   pe-m-le:-wu   ʂpəl   ȵa   ɕtɕi:mi
        Dʐemi   become-NOM-DEF:CL-AGT   kidney   COM   heart

194   ha-xtʂe-ȵi   jitɕin   the-xʂepi-ʁa   ə-ʁa-s-ta
        DIR-take.out-ADV   †(already) that-side-LOC DIR-go-NOM-LOC

195   fiala tə-pian-tha-kəi,   tha   tə-pian-tha-ȵiantɕi,
        INT   DIR-change-AUX-NAR   there   DIR-change-AUX-after

196   gantsə   χua-m   fiala   ʐi-kəi.
        saddle   sell-NOM   there   exist-NAR

197   gantsə   χua-m   tha   ʐi-kəi-tu,   fiala
        saddle   sell-NOM   there   exist-NAR-LNK   INT

198   thankhemu   ȵa   likhemu-ŋuəȵi   fia-tha   meᶦʐ-kə
        Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu-TOP   INT-there   seek-go

199   ha-qa.   tshəntitɕhin   meˡʐ̩-kə   ha-qə-kə-wa.
      DIR-go   Chen.Diqing   seek-go   DIR-go-INF-EMPH

200   tɕhəntitɕhin   meˡʐ̩   ha-qa-tu,   fiala   tshəntɕa
      Chen.Diqing   seek   DIR-go-LNK   INT   Chen.family

201   qapə-ŋuəȵi   fiala   tə-pian-tha,   tə-pian-tha-tu,
      old.man-TOP   there   DIR-change-AUX   DIR-change-AUX-LNK

202   fiala   gantsə-ŋuəȵi fiala   sin   le-tue-ta   fia-ʂə-tɕ,
      INT   saddle-TOP   INT   lion   DEF-pair-LOC   DIR-put-GEN

203   fio-ʂu   kə   fia-thə   tə-bəl-ȵiantɕi
      DIR-wash.clean   thus   INT-there   DIR-make-after

204   gantsə   χua-m   fialə   ə-tɕ-kəi,   fia-tu
      saddle   sell-NOM   there   DIR-stop-NAR   INT-RESULT

205   thankhemu   ȵa   likhemu   i-pə-k-tu,   fiala   ʁo-men
      Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu   DIR-arrive-go-LNK   INT   city-gate

206   fio-tsu-ji-la:-ʁa   fiala, "ʔile tɕa: ka:-i-wa?"
      DIR-stand.up-CSM-DEF:CL-LOC   there   2pl where:LOC   go:PRS-2pl-Q

207   jə-tu,   "tɕile   tshəntitɕhin   meˡʐ̩   leˡ-wa,"
      say-LNK   1pl   Chen.Diqing   seek   come:1pl-EMPH

208   jə-kui.   "a,   gantsə   pa:-ji-ŋua?"   jə-kui-tu.
      say-NAR   EXCL   saddle   buy:PRS-2pl-Q   say-NAR-LNK

209   "a,   tɕile   sin-la:-ʁa   χoʂu-ʂə
       EXCL   1pl   lion-DEF:CL-LOC   fit-LNK

210   fia-ʂ-ʂa.   nai   mo-χoʂu-tu   ma-pəˡ-wa,"
      DIR-put-HORT   other   NEG-fit-LNK   NEG-buy:1pl-EMPH

211   jə-ji. fia-tu   fia-ʂ-kəi,   fia-ʂ-kəi-tu,   qhuat
      say-HS INT-RESULT   DIR-put-NAR   DIR-put-NAR-LNK   as.it.happens

212   tə-ʂ-ȵike   tu   te-qe   me-tɕhi, fia-tsəi
      DIR-grow-after   RESULT   DIR-reveal   NEG-want   INT-this.manner

213 tə-ʂ-n̪ike   ɦia-kə   pe-kui,   ɦia-tu   thankhemu   n̪a
DIR-grow-after   INT-thus   become-NAR   INT-RESULT   Thankhemu   COM

214 likhemu-ŋuən̪i   sin   tə-qtʂi-n̪i   kuantausəje
Likhemu-TOP   lion   DIR-ride-ADV   sword.and.bow

215 he-tɕy-n̪i   ə-qɑ-kəi.
DIR-carry-ADV   DIR-go-NAR

216 ə-qɑ-tu,   ɦia-tu   jautsan   dʐemi
DIR-go-LNK   INT-RESULT   man.eating.demon   Dʐemi

217 wutɕupu-ŋuən̪i   ɦiala   titɑu   tə-xkue-n̪i
husband-TOP   INT   †tunnel   DIR-dig-ADV

218 ɦia-tsəi   ə-ʂ-jy-kui-wa,   ɦia-tu
INT-this.manner   DIR-put-ASP-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT

219 tshəntitɕhin-tɕə   gueᴵ-n̪a   nə-quɑ-kui-ʂ,
Chen.Diqing-GEN   army-COM   DIR-fight-NAR-LNK

220 tʂi   thankhemu   n̪a   likhemu
male/son   Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu

221 tshəntitɕhin   n̪i:-epə-tɕ   gueᴵ-n̪a
Chen.Diqing   3sgREFL-father-GEN   army-COM

222 nə-quɑ-kəi-wa,   ɦia-tu   nə-quɑ-n̪i
DIR-fight-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   DIR-fight-ADV

223 ɦiala   ŋuə-tu,   steke   n̪i:-epə-te:-tɕ
there   COP-LNK   behind   3sgREFL-father-DEF:CL-GEN

224 gueᴵ-ŋuən̪i   nə-qəti   da-s.
army-TOP   DIR-beat.to.death   DIR-finish

225 nə-qəti   da-s-tu,   ɦiala   jautsan
DIR-beat.to.death   DIR-finish-LNK   there   man.eating.demon

226 dʐemi   ɦia-tsoqpi-tɕ   ʐmətʂi   ɦia-tse:-wu
Dʐemi   INT-this:family-GEN   emperor   INT-this:CL-AGT

227   taitaula,   tə-tsə̧qa-ku,   ɦa-tu   tshəntitɕhin   lə
     †(catch)   DIR-catch-NAR   INT-RESULT   Chen.Diqing   also

228   nə-χʂ-ku.   nə-χʂ-ɲi   ɦa-the-wu,   thankhemu
     DIR-tie.up-NAR   DIR-tie.up-ADV   INT-that-ABL   Thankhemu

229   ɲa   likhemu-ŋuəɲi   titau-ʁa   a-ʁů-ɲi
     COM   Likhemu-TOP   tunnel-LOC   DIR-throw-ADV

230   ɲisues   me-le:-tɕ-ŋuəɲi   sipe   da-ɕtɕ-jə,
     nearly.dead   NEG-exist-GEN-TOP   medicine   DIR-feed-CSM

231   sipe   da-ɕtɕ-jə-ku-tu,   ɦa-tu
     medicine   DIR-feed-CSM-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT

232   nə-χʂ-ɲi   χaiʂə   ɲi:-ep-te:-ɲa   ɦala
     DIR-tie.up-ADV   †(still.is)   3sgREFL-father-DEF:CL-COM   INT

233   aŋu̧ə   nə-χʂ-ɲi   i-ɕi-ku.   ɦa-tu   ep-te:-ŋuəɲi
     together DIR-tie.up-ADV   DIR-put-NAR INT-RESULT father-DEF:CL-TOP

234   ɦala   keˀl-jy,   ʂku-ʐ   pu-jy,[123]   ɦa-tsəi
     there   ask-ASP   orangutan-talk   do-ASP   INT-this.manner

235   ʂku-ʐ   ɦo-pu-ɲi,   "hã,   qa   ɦalə   ə-χte
     orangutan-talk   DIR-do-ADV   EXCL   1sg   there   DIR-exhort

236   la-han   tʂi   pe-ka:-ji,"   ikə-jə-ɲi   ɦa-kə
     DEF:one-kind   male/son become-INF:PRS-CSM thus-say-ADV INT-thus

237   ə-χte-ku,   ɦa-tu   thankhemu   ɲa   likhemu-ŋuəɲi
     DIR-exhort-NAR INT-RESULT   Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu-TOP

238   χaiʂəχuijələjitian,   ɦa-tsəi-ɲi   ɕtɕů
     †(also.recalled.a.little)   INT-this.manner-ADV   thought(n.)

239   zə-la-ɲi,   a,   ep-te:-wu   ɦa-tsəi
     DIR-come-ADV   EXCL   father-DEF:CL-AGT   INT-this.manner

240   ɦe-dʑi-kui,   ʂku-ʐ   ɦe-dʑi-ɲi   "tʂi
     DIR-say-NAR   orangutan-talk   DIR-say-ADV   male/son

241   pe-kɑ:-ji,   tʂi   pe-tu   ɕtɕə-p   le-ɳi
     become-INF:PRS-CSM male/son become-LNK seven-year exist-ADV

242   ləɣz   ɑ:-su-wɑ,   the-wu   hatʂi-p
     book   DIR:INDTV-study-DTV   that-ABL   eleven-year

243   le-ɳi   qɑ   ta:-meˠz̪-wɑ,   nai
     exist-ADV   1sg   DIR:INDTV-seek-DVT   other

244   steke-le:-ŋuən̪i   likhemu   ə-ʂp-ɳi,   likhemu-ŋuən̪i
     behind-DEF:CL-TOP   Likhemu   DIR-call-ADV   Likhemu-TOP

245   hotɕu-p   le-ɳi   qɑ   ta:-meˠz̪-lə-wɑ,
     ten-year   exist-ADV   1sg   DIR:INDTV-seek-come-DTV

246   tʂi   pe-tu,"   fiɑ-kə   jə-kui-wɑ,
     male/son   become-LNK   INT-thus   say-NAR-EMPH

247   fiɑ-tu   ʂku-z̪   pə-kəi.   fiɑ-tu
     INT-RESULT orangutan-talk   do-NAR   INT-RESULT

248   ep-te:-ŋuən̪i   fiɑ-kə   jə-kui-tɕu.   thɑnkhemu-ŋuən̪i,
     father-DEF:CL-TOP INT-thus   say-NAR-PART   Thɑnkhemu-TOP

249   "ʔũ   ɳɑ   qɑ   ɳiɣi   bəl-lə
     2sg   COM   1sg   what   do-come

250   hɑ-lə˥,   qɑ-tutʂ,"   jə-kui,   fiɑ-tu
     DIR-come:1pl   1sg-younger.brother say-NAR   INT-RESULT

251   fiɑ-kə   jə-kui-tu.   "a   ʔũ   ɳɑ   qɑ   ep
     INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK   EXCL   2sg   COM 1sg   father

252   meˠz̪   lə˥-ɳi,"   jə-kui,   "ep   meˠz̪   lə˥,"
     seek   come:1p-ADV say-NAR   father   seek   come:1pl

253   likhemu-ŋuən̪i kə-jə-kui.   fiɑ-lɑ-χui-tu,   ep-te:-tu,
     Likhemu-TOP   thus-say-NAR INT-DEF:one-time-LNK father-DEF:CL-LNK

254   e!   fiɑ-ʂən̪i-kə-tɕi-jə,   "ta,   qɑ   ʔile   ep
     EXCL   DIR-discuss-go-3pl-HS   INT   1sg   2pl   father

255   ŋuə-k-ɑ,"   ikə   jə-kui.
     COP-INF-1sg   thus   say-NAR

256   ɦɑ-kə   jə-kui-tu,   ɦɑ-ʂəȵi,
           INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK   DIR-discuss

257   ɦɑ-ʂəȵi   kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-tu,   meˈʂ-tɑ-s-ʁɑ-ŋuəȵi
      DIR-discuss   INDEF:one-kind   COP-LNK   next-DEF:one-day-LOC-TOP

258   qəti-s,   ɦɑtɑ   tshəntitɕhin
      beat.to.death-NOM   INT   Chen.Diqing

259   ȵɑ   thɑnkhemu,   likhemu   tsəzzi-ŋuəȵi
      COM   Thɑnkhemu   Likhemu   these.people-TOP

260   ɦɑlɑ   jɑutsan   dʐemi   wutɕupu-le:-ŋuəȵi,
      there   man.eating.demon   Dʐemi   husband-DEF:CL-TOP

261   χɑiʂə   z̩mətʂi-le: ŋuə-kəi-ȵi,
      †(still.is)   emperor-DEF:CL   COP-NAR-ADV

262   χɑiʂə   qəti-s   ə-ʂ-jy,
      †(still.is)   beat.to.death-NOM   DIR-release-ASP

263   jɑutsan   dʐemi   tse:-wu
      man.eating.demon   Dʐemi   this:CL-AGT

264   χɑiʂə   lɑupeɕi   lə   qusu   ə-tʂən-thɑ,
      †(still.is) †ordinary.citizens also   very.many   DIR-kill-AUX

265   gueˈ   ȵɑ   thɑ-hɑn,   tshenʂə   qusu
      army   COM   that:one-kind   dispute   very.many

266   tə-qɑ-z̩-kui-wɑ.   ɦɑ-tu   qusu
      DIR-go-CAUS-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT   very.many

267   tə-qɑ-z̩-ȵi   ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn   ŋuə-kui-tu.
      DIR-go-CAUS-ADV   INT-INDEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-LNK

268   ɦɑ-tu   tshəntitɕhin-ŋuəȵi   ɦɑ-tu   tijikuojɑutɕhiu,
      INT-RESULT Chen.Diqing-TOP   INT-RESULT   †(first.demand)

269   "soqho-ŋuəȵi   tɕile   ʂe   ʁze-jy,   ɦɑlɑ-ŋuəȵi,
       tomorrow-TOP   1pl   die   must-ASP   that-TOP

270   ʔũ-sətsim-le:-ŋuəȵi   tɕile χɑiʂə   tɕɑ: mi-le:
      2sg-wife-DEF:CL-TOP   1pl †(still.is) where:LOC   person-DEF:CL

271 ŋuə,   ɑ-ʂə   u-tɕu   tɕhe,   quɑhɑ-χupi   lə
     COP   one-time   DIR-see   want   face-appearance   also

272 u-mu-tɕu-le,   tɕile   qəti   ɦie-me-se."
     DIR-NEG-see-because   1pl   kill   DIR-NEG-allow

273 ʐ̩mətʂi-le:-tɑ-ŋuəȵi   ɦiɑ-kə   jautɕhiu-tu-pu-k-kui-stu.
     emperor-DEF:CL-DAT-TOP   INT-thus   demand-DIR-do-go-NAR-PART

274 ɦiɑ-tu   wutʂhu-pu-m-le-ɣlə-tɑ,   ɦiɑ-kə
     INT-RESULT   help-do-NOM-DEF-pl-LOC   INT-thus

275 jə-kui-tu,   ɦiɑ-kə   jə-kui-tu,
     say-NAR-LNK   INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK

276 "mi   χaiʂə   u-tɕu   ɦie-se-wɑ,"   jə-kui,
     person   †(still.is)   DIR-see   DIR-allow-EMPH   say-NAR

277 "khuoji   təp-ȵi   ʂe-ʁze-jə-u-ȵi
     †(is.possible)   tomorrow-ADV   die-must-CSM-VIS-ADV

278 ɑ-ʂ   u-tɕu   ŋuə   lə   khuoji,"
     one-time   DIR-see   COP   also   †(is.possible)

279 jə-kui-ʂə.   ɦiɑ-tu   ʐ̩mətʂi-le:-ŋuəȵi   sətsim-le:
     say-NAR-LNK   INT-RESULT   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP   wife-DEF:CL

280 ɦiɑ-thɑ   me⁺ʂ-tɑ-s-ʁɑ   ʐ̩mu   tsu-s-tɑ-ŋuəȵi
     INT-there   next-DEF:one-day-LOC   meeting hold-NOM-LOC-TOP

281 sətsim-le: tʂhetsə-quə-tɑ-ŋuəȵi   he-tɕhi-kəi,
     wife-DEF:CL   cart-top-LOC-TOP   DIR-bring-NAR

282 ɦiɑ-thɑ-ŋuəȵi,   tshəntitɕhin-ŋuəȵi,   "a!   otsǔquɑ-ȵi-ŋuəȵi
     INT-there-TOP   Chen.Diqing-TOP   EXCL   morning-ADV-TOP

283 tɕile-tɕ   jautɕhiu   tɕiuʂə,   ȵiuχuɑn-ŋuəȵi   ɑ-tɕ,
     1pl-GEN   demand   †(that.is)   bezoar-TOP   one-catty

284 the-wu,   kɑnthɑn   mudʐu-ŋuəȵi   ɑ-w   phə
     that-ABL   †charcoal   charcoal-TOP   one-pile   blow(burn)

285 tɕhe-wɑ,   tɕile   tu-jǔ-ȵi   ʐ̩a:,   ʔile-wu   tɕile
     want-DTV   1pl   DIR-stand-ADV   exist:PRS   2pl-AGT   1pl

286   tɕhanpi-pɑ:-j-jə-ʂ   qətia:-i   ji,   ɦɑ-thu-ŋuəȵi,
       †shoot-do:PRS-2pl-say-LNK   kill:PRS-2pl   say   INT-there-TOP

287   tɕile   putu-lɑ-ŋuəȵi   kanthan   ɑ-w   phə
       1pl   front-LOC-TOP   charcoal   one-pile   blow(burn)

288   tɕhe-wɑ,"   jə-kui-tɕu.   ɦɑ-tu   χaiʂə   "khuoji
       want-DTV   say-NAR-PART   INT-RESULT   †(still.is)   †(is.possible)

289   ɦie-se,"   jə-kui-ʂə,   ʐmətɕi-le:-ŋuəȵi   kə-jə-kui.
       DIR-allow   say-NAR-LNK   emperor-DEF:CL-TOP   thus-say-NAR

290   ɦɑ-tu   ȵiuχuɑn i-se-kui,   ɦɑ-tu   ʐmu   tsu
            INT-RESULT   bezoar   DIR-burn-NAR   INT-RESULT   meeting hold

291   χaiʂə   ŋuəȵi   mi   jautsan   dʐemi-le:
       †(still.is)   TOP   person   man.eating.demon   Dʐemi-DEF:CL

292   lə   hɑ-l-kəi,   ʐmətɕi   lə   hɑ-l-kəi,
       also   DIR-come-NAR   emperor   also   DIR-come-NAR

293   ʐmu-tsu   thontʂə-tu-pǔ-ȵi   ɦata
       meeting-hold   †notify-DIR-do-ADV   INT

294   hɑ-lə-kui,   hɑ-lə-kui-tu   ɦala
       DIR-come-NAR   DIR-come-NAR-LNK   INT

295   thɑ-s-ʁɑ-tu,   ɦɑ-thizzi-ŋuəȵi   tɕhanpi-pu-tɕ,   ɦala
       that:one-day-LOC-LNK   INT-3dl-TOP   †shoot-do-GEN   INT

296   qəti qəʐdʐi-jə-kui.   ɦɑ-tu   qəti qəʐdʐi-jə-kui-tu,
       kill prepare-CSM-NAR   INT-RESULT   kill prepare-CSM-NAR-LNK

297   χaiʂə   thɑ-han   ŋuə-ku-wɑ,   ɦɑ-tu-ŋuəȵi,   ɦɑ-thɑ
       †(still.is) that:one-kind COP-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT-TOP   INT-there

298   tʂhetsə-məq   iɕtɕi   sə-l-ȵi   ʐmətɕi-le: ȵɑ
       cart-top   together   DIR-look-ADV   emperor-DEF:CL   COM

299   ʐmətɕi   sətsim   jautsan   dʐemi,   ɦɑ-thɑ
       emperor   wife   man.eating.demon   Dʐemi   INT-there

300 sə-l-n̪i   ʐi-tu.   ɦɑlɑ   tshəntitɕhin-wu
    DIR-look-LNK   exist-LNK   INT   Chen.Diqing-AGT

301 n̪iuχuɑn-le-ste,   kɑnthɑn-məq-tɑ   n̪iuχuɑn-le-ste
    bezoar-DEF-CL   charcoal-top-LOC   bezoar-DEF-CL

302 ʂə-ku-tu,   ɦɑlɑ   ɦɑ-tsu   ʐmitʂi
    put/place-NAR-LNK   INT   INT-here   emperor

303 sətsim-le: jɑutsɑn   ŋuə-ku-ʂ.
    wife-DEF:CL   man.eating.demon   COP-NAR-LNK

304 jɑutsɑn-le:-ŋuən̪i   dzə   ɦɑ-lə-kəi-stun.
    man.eating.demon-DEF:CL-TOP   big.teeth   DIR-come-NAR-PART

305 "ha,   pəs-ŋuən̪i   ʐmətʂi   sətsim-le:
    EXCL   today-TOP   emperor   wife-DEF:CL

306 tɕiutɕin   ʂə   mi-le: ŋuə-ŋuɑ?
    †(actually   COP)   person-DEF:CL   COP-Q

307 jɑutsɑn   ŋuə,   ʔile   ɑ-ʂ   i-tse-i-wɑ,
    man.eating.demon   COP   2pl   one-time   DIR-look-2pl-DTV

308 ɦɑ-tse:-wu   lɑupeɕin   n̪ɑ   gue¹   n̪ɑ   thɑ-hɑn
    INT-this:CL-AGT   †ordinary.citizens   COM   soldier   COM   that:one-kind

309 qusu   sunʂə tə-qɑ-ʐə-ʂ,   ɦɑ-tse:-ŋuən̪i   ʔileile
    very.many   loss   DIR-go-CAUS-LNK   INT-this:CL-TOP   2plREFL

310 i-tse-i-wɑ,"   jə-kui-stu.   ɦɑ-kə   jə-kui-tu,
    DIR-look-2pl-DTV   say-NAR-PART   INT-thus   say-NAR-LNK

311 "a!   ʁɑt   ŋuə"   jə-n̪i,   "ʁɑt   ŋuə"   jə-j.
    EXCL   truly   COP   say-ADV   truly   COP   say-CSM

312 ɦɑ-the-wu,   "ʐmətʂi   nə-qəti,   ɦɑ   ʐmətʂi   tɑipu,
    INT-that-ABL   emperor   DIR-kill   INT   emperor   †capture

313 tə-tsə̣qɑ,   ɦɑlə ɦie-me-se,   ʁɑtɕhi   ŋuə,   kə
    DIR-capture   INT   DIR-NEG-allow   truly   COP   thus

314 ɦɑ-kə   thɑuluɑn   ɦɑ-qə-n̪i,"   jə-kui-stun.
    INT-thus   †discuss   DIR-go-ADV   say-NAR-PART

315 ɦialə ke-ŋuə-kui-tu, ɦia-la-χui-tu
   INT   thus-COP-NAR-LNK INT-DEF:one-time-LNK

316 tɕiu tshəntitɕhin n̪a thankhemu, likhemu ɦiatə tɕiu
  †(then) Chen.Diqing COM Thankhemu Likhemu INT †(then)

317 tsoqpi n̪a phinfanla, ɦia ẓə
  this:family COM †(redressed) INT affair

318 ɦia-qə-ẓə-k-wa,   ẓə ɦia-qə-ẓ-n̪i
  DIR-go-CAUS-INF-EMPH affair DIR-go-CAUS-ADV

319 ɦia-ke ŋuə-tu, χaiṣə ɦiala
  INT-thus COP-LNK †(still.is) INT

320 tɕiu akha, tɕiu-la lu-k. tɕəu-la
  †(then) slow home-LOC come-INF home-LOC

321 lu-kə:-tu, χaiṣə me˧χ, sətsim la-han,
  come-INF-LNK †(still.is) pitiful wife DEF:one-kind

322 thankhemu n̪a likhemu-tɕ ma: n̪a
  Thankhemu COM Likhemu-GEN mama COM

323 la-han   me˧ẓ kə-tɕi, me˧ẓ
  DEF:one-kind seek go-3pl seek

324 kə-tu, χaiṣə, ɦiala tə-me˧ẓ-n̪i dẓu-ŋuən̪i
  go-LNK †(still.is) there DIR-seek-ADV guest-TOP

325 xsə-s da-ɕtɕ-k-wa, tə-me˧ẓ-n̪i, dẓu xsə-s
  three-day DIR-host/feed-INF-EMPH DIR-seek-ADV guest three-day

326 da-ɕtɕə-kə:-tu, χaiṣə da-ɕtɕ-kə-n̪i,
  DIR-host/feed-go-LNK †(still.is) DIR-host/feed-go-LNK

327 xsə-s da-ɕtɕ-n̪i xsə-s-ʁa tɕiu
  three-day DIR-host/feed-ADV three-day-LOC †(then)

328 i-me-tɕi-pə-l,   ɦiatə γẓə-s-ta-s-ʁa
  DIR-NEG-CON-arrive-come INT four-day-DEF:one-day-LOC

329 da-tɕ-kə-tu, ɦiala tsi
  DIR-find-go-LNK there woman

330   su-ɣdu:-la   ʐ̩ə-m   ɦa,-kəzzi   pe-kui,
        DIR-left.over-LOC   exist-NOM   INT-INDEF:two:CL   become-NAR

331   ɦa-tu   ɦa-ke   pe-kui-tu,   a!   ɦala
        INT-RESULT   INT-thus   become-NAR-LNK   EXCL   INT

332   sə-xʂə-s-ta   ʐ̩ə-m   ɦala
        DIR-be.last-NOM-LOC   exist-NOM   INT

333   tsəzzi-ŋuəȵi   thankhemu   n̠ɑ   likhemu-tɕ   ma:
        this:two:CL-TOP   Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu-GEN   mama

334   ləzzi-ŋuəȵi   do-qu-kəi,   "ha!,   tɕile
        DEF:two:CL-TOP   DIR-afraid-NAR   EXCL   1pl

335   tsoqpi,   tɕile-apə   lə   tse-ze
        this:family   1pl-grandfather   also   this-CL

336   japəq-ta   die-ʂe-jy,   ɦa!   ʔile
        hand-LOC   DIR-die-ASP:EVID   EXCL   1pl

337   ep-te: lə   tsoqpi   n̠ɑ   quəqua-s-ta-ŋuəȵi
        father-DEF:CL   also   this:family   COM   fight-NOM-LOC-TOP

338   die-ʂe-jə-ka:-ji,   me-ʐ̩i-jy,   qa-tʂi-n̠ɑ
        DIR-die-REP-INF:PRS-CSM   NEG-exist-ASP:EVID   1sg-son-COM

339   tha-han   ho-jy-n̠i,   tɕal   kə   ma-n-jy-ɑ,
        that:one-kind   DIR-set.out-ADV   where:LOC   go   NEG-know-ASP-1sg

340   χaiʂə   tɕile   tsoqpi   jəpa-q   ʂe   ʁza:"
        †(still.is)   1pl   this:family   hand-top   die   must

341   tɕau-ʐ̩bə-kə-n̠i,   ɦa-ke   ʐ̩botɕu-kəi,
        think.to.oneself-INF-ADV   INT-thus   think-NAR

342   ɕtɕi:miq-ta-ŋuəȵi,   ɕtɕi:miq-ta   ɦa-ke   ʐ̩botɕu
        heart-LOC-TOP   heart-LOC   INT-thus   think

343   ka-han   ŋuə-kəi-tu,   ɦala   ɣʐ̩ə-s-ta-s-ʁa
        INDEF:one-kind   COP-NAR-LNK   INT   four-day-DEF:one-day-LOC

344 zə-lɑ-tu,   "sə-xʂə-s-tɑ   ɦɑlɑ   ŋuə-tu,   tsɑ
     DIR-come-LNK   DIR-be.last-NOM-LOC   INT   COP-LNK   here

345 ɑ-ʂ   u-lu   tɕhe-wɑ,"
     one-time   DIR-come   want-EMPH

346 jə-tu,   ʁu   nə-quɑ-kəi-wɑ,
     say-LNK   mountain   DIR-overturn-NAR-EMPH

347 ʁu   nə-qhuɑ-ȵi   ɦɑ-kɑ-hɑn
     mountain DIR-overturn-ADV   INT-INDEF:one-kind

348 ŋuə-jə-tu,   hai!   me-tɕhi   ɦɑ-thɑ
     COP-HS-LNK   EXCL   NEG-want INT-there

349 wutʂhu-ɦo-pu,   thankhemu   ȵɑ   likhemu-tɕ
     help-DIR-do   Thankhemu   COM   Likhemu-GEN

350 ʂɑʂəu   he-ɕi-ȵi,   wutʂhu-pu-m-le-ɣle
     †assassin   DIR-send-ADV   helper-do-NOM-DEF-pl

351 he-ɕi-ȵi   ŋuə-tu,   ɦɑlɑ   "tsɑ
     DIR-send-ADV   COP-LNK   INT   here

352 u-lu   tɕhe,   sə-xʂə-s-tɑ   ʐə-m
     DIR-come want   DIR-last-NOM-LOC exist-NOM

353 ləzzi-ŋuəȵi   tsɑ   ɑ-ʂ   i-le
     DEF:two:CL-TOP   here   one-while   DIR-bring

354 tɕhe-wɑ," jə-kui-wɑ,   ɦɑ-tu   i-tɕhi-kəi,
     want-DTV   say-NAR-EMPH   INT-RESULT DIR-bring-NAR

355 i-tɕhi-kəi-tu,   ɦɑlɑ   kəntau   ɦɑlɑ
     DIR-bring-NAR-LNK   INT   immediately INT

356 fusan-tu-pu-ȵi   fɑ   tə-lə̧lɑ-kəi-wɑ,
     help.up[124]-DIR-do-ADV clothing DIR-change-NAR-EMPH

357 fɑ   tə-lə̧lɑ-ȵiau   kəntau
     clothing DIR-change-LNK   immediately

358 ŋuə-ȵi   ɦɑ-tsəizzi-ŋuəȵi   ɦɑlɑ   mɑ: ȵɑ
     COP-ADV   INT-this:two:CL-TOP   INT   mama   COM

359 ɦɑ-lɑ-hɑn,   thɑnkhemu   n̠ɑ   likhemu   mɑ:
     INT-DEF:one-kind   Thɑnkhemu   COM   Likhemu   mama

360 lɑ-hɑn-ŋuən̠i   fɑ   tə-lə̩lɑ-n̠iɑufu
     DEF:one-kind-TOP   clothing   DIR-change-LNK(as.soon.as)

361 kəntɑu   χaiʂə   ɦɑ-kə   tə-bəl-kui-wɑ.
     immediately   †(still.is)   INT-thus   DIR-do-NAR-EMPH

Narrator: Yu Zelong 余澤龍
Born 1960
Recorded 1996

The Old Man of the Chen Family

Long ago there was an old man named Chen and another person. Every day they went hunting. They made a living hunting. One day they went up the mountain to hunt but didn't get a single animal. In a mountain cave they saw a snake and said, "Today we didn't get anything. It looks like we'll have to return empty-handed. It's better to kill [this snake] we've just seen with one shot." After they shot it once, [it turned out that] this wasn't a snake at all, but was an evil demon that ate people. He strangled it to death. She was the wife of the emperor (today we say /ʐmətʂi/, before we said /juɑnʁuai/ for 'emperor'), and had changed into an evil demon who ate people. ... The emperor said "Go find her", and sent people to find her. (After they found her) this evil demon who ate people pretended to be sick. The emperor asked, "What illness do you have? The doctor can't cure it. What will you do?" The evil demon who ate people answered, "If I eat the kidney and heart of Old Man Chen, I can be cured."

The emperor sent soldiers to find Old Man Chen. Old Man Chen's son was called Chen Diqing. Old Man Chen could foretell people's future. He divined his own future and said to his son Chen Diqing, "They are looking for me, son. Hurry and leave. I cannot escape. Because that day in the mountain cave I saw a snake, this snake (evil demon who eats people) will come looking for me. Only by eating my kidney and heart can its illness be cured. Chen Diqing, you hurry and escape. I cannot run away." The old man's son, Chen Diqing, ran away and arrived at another village. It happened that when he arrived at the other village, there was a woman whose husband had just died. He made friends there. The widow's family and friends made him stay

there. "You cannot go anyplace." So he stayed there. He was both smart and capable.

A couple of months passed and the emperor's family was again looking for him. He said to his wife, "I must go. I will go. (When our child is born) if he is a boy, make him go study when he is seven. If it is a girl, don't look for me. If it is a boy, have him come look for me when he is twelve. Give him the name "Thɑnkhemu". At seven have him go study and after he returns, have him come look for me." Later the people of another village came to look for Chen Diqing and Chen Diqing fled.

He arrived at another place and met another widow whose husband had just died, and again stayed at the widow's. Again some people came looking for him and he said to the widow. "If our child is a boy, have him come look for me. If it is a girl, you/she needn't look for me. If you give birth to a boy, have him go study at seven, and at ten come look for me. (His name should be Likhemu)."

Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu were both boys. One day each said "I will go find my father", and they set out to go find their father. After walking a while, the two met each other in a river valley. Thɑnkhemu asked Likhemu, "Where are you going?" Likhemu said, "I'm going to find my father." Thɑnkhemu further asked, "What is your father's name?" Likhemu said, "He's called Chen Diqing." Thɑnkhemu said, "My father is also called Chen Diqing. You aren't to be considered me." In this manner, the two started to fight. After fighting a while, Thɑnkhemu said, "Let's not fight. Let's rest a minute." After resting a while, Thɑnkhemu, who was older than Likhemu, asked Likhemu, "Now what shall we do? Both of us are looking for our father (Chen Diqing), and our father is perhaps one person. Let's go together." So the two of them stopped fighting and went together.

After walking a while, they put up at a temple. "Last night I dreamed I saw Old Man Chen and Chen Diqing's sword and bow hidden under a tree by the temple." Thɑnkhemu said. Likhemu said, "I dreamed the same." Thɑnkhemu said, "We both saw the sword and bow in our dreams. Could it be the same? We dreamed the sword and bow were on a wild prickly ash tree beside the temple courtyard." They went on again for a while, and in fact there were some trees beside the road. The two of them were very thirsty. Thɑnkhemu went to look for some water. After finding water, Thɑnkhemu said to Likhemu, "Likhemu, don't drink. Let me, your older brother, drink first. If I don't die after drinking, then you drink. If I die, then don't drink." Thɑnkhemu then drank. When he drank the water he encountered a stone slab cover. Eh! Old Man Chen and Chen Diqing's sword and bow were put there, a thing for fighting, a club, was there. Thɑnkhemu drank a mouthful of water and lifted the stone slab. He could only lift it a little bit.

"Likhemu, you drink too." Likhemu drank also, and the two of them together again lifted the stone slab. They still could only lift it a little way. The two drank a mouthful of water again and they turned over the stone slab, and then they saw Old Man Chen and Chen Diqing's sword and bow hidden inside and took them out. They went on again for a while, carrying the sword and bow, and then there was a lion looking down at them from within a temple above the road. The two of them said, "If you are (my) Chen Diqing and Old Man Chen's lion, then nod your head. If not, don't nod your head. If you are going to eat us, then eat us. If you are our lion, then nod your head." The head was nodded. Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu rode on the lion and went on. After Old Man Chen's heart and kidney had been taken out by the evil demon who ate people, he became a person who sold horse saddles (by the gate to the city). When Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu went out to find their father, they saw the old man there selling horse saddles. When Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu arrived at the city gate, Old Man Chen asked them, "Where are you going?" The two of them answered, "We're going to find Chen Diqing." The old man also asked, "Will you buy a saddle?" They said, "If it fits our lion, we will buy it. If not, we won't." They tried it and it fit just right, so they bought it. Riding a lion and carrying the sword and bow, Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu entered (the city).

The husband of the evil demon who ate people had already prepared a pit as a trap there. They fought with Chen Diqing's army, and Thankemu and Likhemu fought with their own father's army. Later Chen Diqing's soldiers were beaten to death. After that the man-eating demon and the emperor captured Chen Diqing and tied him up. After Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu were captured, they were thrown into the pit. They were almost beaten to death. After feeding them some medicines, they were tied up together with their father. Their father asked the two of them (using pantomime) "The matter I instructed my wives about, did they really have sons?" Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu recalled the past a bit. Their father used pantomime and said, "Can it really be that [my wives] gave birth to sons? If it was a son, at seven have him go study, and at eleven come look for me. Afterwards that [second] child, call him Likhemu, and at ten have him come look for me." Thɑnkhemu then said, "Little brother, what have the two of us come to do?" Likhemu answered, "We came to find our father." Thus their father said, "I am your father."

They then had a discussion. The husband [the emperor] of the evil demon who ate people [dʑemi], had already determined to beat Chen Diqing, Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu to death the next day. The evil demon who ate people [dʑemi] had already killed many ordinary people and soldiers. Their dispute had continuously escalated. Chen Diqing made a demand. "Tomorrow we must die. Because we still have not

seen your wife (haven't had one look at her face). It won't do to execute us like this.'' The emperor said, ''Tomorrow they must die. They may have a look (at my wife).'' The next day when they had a meeting, the emperor brought his wife out on a cart. Chen Diqing said further to the emperor, ''Tomorrow our demand is to bring half a catty of bezoar and some charcoal and set a fire. We will be standing and you will shoot us. In front of us, use charcoal and set a fire.'' The emperor agreed to this as well. The demon who ate people [dʑemi] and her husband [the emperor] notified everybody that they planned to shoot and execute Chen Diqing and his two sons. That day, the emperor and his wife, the demon who ate people, stood on the cart and watched. Chen Diqing put/burned a piece of the bezoar on top of the charcoal. The emperor's wife, the demon who ate people, grew long canine teeth. Chen Diqing said, ''Ha!, today see if your emperor's wife is human or not. She's a man-eating demon. You all look! This thing caused the loss of many soldiers and ordinary citizens. Look for yourselves!'' He said, ''It is true! It is true! Kill the emperor, capture the emperor. This can't be allowed, it is true, you should go discuss this.'' Thus they did this (the emperor was arrested and beaten to death). Thus Chen Diqing, Thɑnkhemu, and Likhemu were acquitted [their case was reversed/obtained justice]. The three of them, father and sons, slowly returned home.

After returning home, Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu went to find their mothers. In order to find them, they invited guests for three days. After three days of inviting guests, their mothers still had not returned. On the fourth day, they found them. At this time their mothers had already become the last two people. Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu's mothers were afraid. ''This family of ours, our grandfather died at the hands of this person, and is no longer with us. Your father also fought with this person and perhaps is dead. Our sons also went to find their father and we don't know where they've gone. Can it be that we will all die at this person's hands?'' That is what they thought in their hearts. On the fourth day they returned and the two of them said, ''The last few come in.'' (The result is that) the mountain peak has toppled. Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu sent out an assassin. ''You must come here. Those last two people, bring them in.'' The assassin brought in the two. They were brought in and immediately had their clothes changed, and these two were Thɑnkhemu and Likhemu's mothers.

English-Qiang glossary
arranged by semantic field

NATURAL PHENOMENA

sky mutup ~ mutu (mu < PTB *muw).

day breaks (vi.) mutu su (mutu = 'sky').

night falls (vi.) ɦa-xtʂəp ~ xtʂap (DIR + 'dark').

sun məsi / məsaq / mujuq.

rise (of the sun) məsi ətsu̞ ('sun' + 'shine').

set (of the sun) məsə ə-χɬ ~ məsi ə-χɬ ('sun' + DIR + χɬə 'disappear, descend').

become dusk ɦo-ful (< phul 'unclear, dusky').

sun (vt., vi.) məsi ʂkue ('sun (n.)' + 'bake').

shine (vi.) ə-tsu.

solar eclipse khuə-wu mujuq sə-dzi ('dog' + AGT + 'sun' + DIR + 'eat').

moon çi-ʂue ('moon/month' + 'bright'; çi possibly < PTB *s-la).

lunar eclipse khuə-wu çiʂue sə-dzi ('dog' + AGT + 'moon' + DIR + 'eat').

moonlight ʂuaq (= 'light').

star ʁdz̧ə.

meteor / falling star ʁdz̧ə do-tshu ('star' + DIR + 'fall').

light ʂuaq.

bright ʂue / ʂuex.

shiny, shining tə-ʂue (DIR + 'bright').

dark xtʂap / mo:tçu.

obscure, dark mo:tçu (mo: possibly < PTB *muk ~ *muŋ).

shadow ʂuaq (= 'light').

wind moʁu.

blow (of the wind) moʁu we (= 'there is wind') / moʁu ʁu ('wind' + 'blow'(?)—cognate

verb, from last syllable of 'wind').

stop blowing (of the wind) moʁu mə-wȩ-ji (= 'wind' + NEG + 'exist' + CSM).

storm (vi.) moʁu we (= 'there is wind').

whirl (vi., of the wind) ʁlaʂ.

whirlwind moʁu ʁlaʂ ('wind' + 'whirl').

dry up by the wind tu-ju̞ku-z̧ (DIR + 'dry' + causative suffix).

rain (n.) me:[1].

rain (vi.) me:[1] çe ('rain' + 'release, fall').

get wet (from the rain) inņi (< i-ņie DIR + 'wet').

stop (of the rain) me:[1] mə-çȩ-ji ('rain' + NEG + 'release, fall' + CSM).

drizzle buz̧ me:[1] ('dirt/soil' + 'rain').

raindrop çtçy.

drip (vi.) tshu.

drop (CL) tʂə.

rainbow tʂəqtʂə ʁuə ('rainbow' + 'to be bent') / tʂəqtʂə we ('rainbow' + 'exist').

cloud zdɑm.

disperse (of clounds) zdɑm ɦa-qatʂhe ('cloud' + DIR + 'disperse').

rosy clouds, rosy sunset stu tə-çi ('oil' + DIR + 'release'; used for colored clouds morning or night).

fog, mist zdə-qhu ~ zdo-qhu ('cloud' + 'descend').

spread (of fog) zdəqhu çe ('fog' + 'release/descend') / zdəqhu do-qhu ('fog' + DIR + 'descend (of fog)').

dew dz̧əq.

dewdrop dz̢əq ɕtɕy ('dew' + 'raindrop').

fall (of dew) dz̢əq de-we ('dew' + DIR + 'exist').

sleet (vi.) qhɑts.

frost meˑ-x ('rain' + 'form (of frost)').

snow pe.

snow (vi.) pe ɕe ('snow' + 'release, fall').

melt (of snow) (pe) ɦɑ-l ('snow' + DIR + 'melt').

hail zu.

hail (vi.) zu ɕe ('hail' + 'release, fall').

lightning (n.) ʂu(ə)-quɑ ('tooth' + 'lightning').

lightning (vi.) ʂuə-quɑ ('tooth' + 'lightening').

thunder (n.) meˑ-gṵ ('rain' + 'thunder').

thunder (vi.) meˑgu / sɑ (sɑ = 'to make loud noise').

be struck by lighting meˑgṵ ɦɑ-qɑ ('lightning' + 'go down (DIR + 'go')').

fine day, nice day mə χqɑ ('sky/heaven' + 'clear').

cloudy day, rainy day mə ʁəi ('sky/heaven' + 'bad').

drought mə tə-χqɑ ('sky' + DIR + 'clear').

seven sister stars tsi-sɑtʂṵ ɕtɕə-tʂ ('older sister' + 'younger sister' + 'seven' + CL).

south wind moʁu su-ʁu (= 'wind blows down-river' (relative to Ronghong village)).

north wind moʁu nu-ʁu (= 'wind blows up-river' (relative to Ronghong village)).

east wind moʁu to-ʁu (= 'wind blows up' (relative to Ronghong village)).

west wind moʁu ɦo-ʁu (= 'wind blows down' (relative to Ronghong village)).

air məs (= 'breath').

earth (the earth) zəp (zə = 'field, land, ground').

surface of the earth ləχ (not natural ground, but altered in some way, such as bottom floor of house, etc.).

land, ground zə.

earthquake zə teˑm ('earth/land' + 'shake').

crack, split (vi.) dɑ-tʂɑ.

soil, dirt buz̢ṵ.

mud mɑtʂɑ.

mire mɑhɑ.

stone z̢ɑwɑ / χɫu (χɫu < PTB *r-luŋ).

rock z̢guət.

pebble χqɑɳi.

sand tsə-ʂɑ ('water' + 'sand') / ʂɑts (< Ch. shā, shāzi').

hill, mound mountain ʁopu.~ʁu

climb a hill dəde.

peak ʁu-q ('mountain' + 'head').

halfway up a mountain ʁu e-dzue ('mountian' + 'one' + 'half').

foot of a hill je-kuə ('cliff' + 'base').

slope of a hill xepi.

loess xɫiex-buz̢ ('loess' + 'soil/dirt').

ravine, valley χot ~ χotʂ.

l a n d s l i d e ʁu do-tshu ('mountain' + 'fall down' (DIR + 'fall')).

hill without vegetation saˑ.

cliff ɟɑq.
cave, hole, crack ʐoːpu.
water tsə (< PTB *tsə).
freeze (vi.) tsəpɑ zu-pu̥ ('ice' +
  DIR + 'form(v.)').
ice tsəpɑ (cf. tsə 'water').
flow (vi., of water)   (tsə) lu
  ('water' + 'come').
wash down (vi., of water) sə-lɑ
  (DIR + 'come'; = 'come
  down').
soak, flood (vi.) inȵi (< i-ȵie
  DIR + 'wet').
flood (n.) ʂuəm (cf. ʂuə 'sea').
flood (vi.)   ʂuəm sə-lɑ ('flood
  (cf. ʂuə 'sea')' + 'come down
  (DIR + 'come')').
float (vi.) tə-q-tɑ.
sink (vi.) ɦɑ-q-tɑ.
clear (of water)   (tsə) qəˀq
  ('water' + 'clear').
muddy mɑ-qəˀq (NEG + 'clear').
dirt in water tsə-χʂ ('water' +
  'shit').
waterfall tsə ɦo-χu̥ ('water' +
  'fall down').
sea, lake ʂuə.
flow like a wave (vi.) χɬate.
rise (of the tide) tsə tə-wɑ
  ('water' + 'become big (DIR +
  'big')').
ebb (of the tide) tsə ɦɑ-χtʂɑ
  ('water' + 'become small (DIR
  + 'small')').
river, stream tsə / xsəts (large
  river) (tsə = 'water'; xsə-ts =
  'god' + 'water').
river valley qhuɑː.
river-bed   tsə-χu̥ə (tsə =
  'water').
embankment tsə qhɑts.
dredge a river tsə ɕe ('water/
  river' + 'release/do').
pond tshəthɑŋ (< Ch. chítáng).

puddle tɑn(tɑn) (< Ch. tān).
spring ʁȵis.
ditch, gully, g o r g e tsə-χu̥
  ('water' + 'mountain valley'
  (<χotʂu̥)).
foam, froth (n.) mɑtʂhəʂ.
foam (vi.) mɑtʂhəʂ tə-lɑ ('foam'
  + 'come up (DIR + 'come')').
gold χqu ~ ʂqu.
silver ŋuə (< PTB *d-ŋul).
copper, bronze χɑ. (possibly <
  PTB *kar)
iron somu.
rust zəxtʂ.
rust (vi.) təlqhuɑ (= 'alter /
  change form').
steel kɑŋχu (< Ch.).
tin χtʂə.
coal mei (< Ch. méi).
soot mu-ku̥-tɕhuʂ (mu = 'fire';
  muku̥ = 'fireplace'; tɕhu =
  'soot').
kerosene meijo (< Ch. méiyóu).
gasoline zdueː[1] (= 'oil').
mildew, mold phəm.
dust ʂpəl.
get dusty (vi.) ʂpəl de-we
  ('dust' + DIR + 'exist').
powder fen (< Ch. fěn).
fire mə (< PTB *mej).
burn (vi.) phu-x-tɕu (phu =
  'blow', can be used alone for
  'burn').
on fire, to catch fire (vi.) zəm
  de-we ('fire disaster' + DIR +
  'exist').
there is a fire mə de-we ('fire' +
  DIR + 'exist').
fire disaster zəm.
a s h tɕu-xu-buʐu̥ ('ash' +
  'smoke(?)' + 'dirt').
become ashes (vi.) tɕu-xu-buʐu̥
  pe ('ash' + 'smoke(?)' + 'dirt'

+ 'form/become') / de-we-dɑs
(DIR + 'exist' + 'finish').

smoke (n.) mu-ɸų̃ ~ mu-xų̃
('fire' + 'smoke').

smoke (meat) (vt.) tɕhəu-thɑ (<
Ch. (Sichuan dialect form for
'to smoke meat') + AUX).

flame mə-zdɑ (mə = 'fire', zdɑ
= 'cloud (?)').

vapor, steam lue.

congeal (vi.) tə-g (DIR +
'congeal').

stop up (a hole), fill (in land)
xtʂə.

stop the flow of water tsə xtʂə
('water' + 'stop up').

water gate tsulpi.

level up (vt.) sə-phin-thɑ (DIR +
'level (< Ch. píng)' + AUX).

enjoy coolness ʂuɑqqɑ ʐi ('cool
shade' + 'exist').

ANIMALS (Wild)

fur xupɑ (= 'feather').

tail sikue.

wag the tail sikue phete ('tail' +
'shake/pat').

claw (n.) pɑˠχ.

claw (vi.) gigi.

hoof tʂuəχ (cf. tʂuɑwɑ 'shoes'
and tʂuə 'wear (shoes)').

horn ʐaq.

chew the cud dʐu-z ('grass' +
'eat (< dzə)').

h e r d wu (with number
pronounced a-w(u) 'one
herd').

flock ʂpu.

herd together a-wu pe / a-wu
ŋuə ('form a herd' / 'is a
herd').

copulate (of animals) b ə l
(euphemistic term; = 'do').

**give birth to the young (of
animals)** tʂuə i-ɕi ('child' +
DIR + 'release/do').

hide, skin (n.) ʐəpi.

excrement jimi / χʂə.

nest ʐbaha.

beasts (wild animals) phuxʂu
(phu < phə 'tree/forest' +
xʂu 'roedeer').

dragon ʐbu ~ ʐbə.

tiger χu (< Ch. hǔ).

lion sin ~ siŋgi (< Tibetan <
Sanscrit siŋga) / sətsə (< Ch.
shīzi; former used mostly
by older people, latter by
younger people).

roar (as lion), howl (as wolf)
zdə.

leopard sə (< PTB *sik).

wolf lɑ (< Ch. láng).

jackal ʂpeɕi (ʂpe cf. Tib spjaŋ-
khu).

fox ʐgue.

fox, wildcat tue:ˈ.
weasel tʂoqu.
elephant jɑ:ku ~ jɑku (= 'bracelet').
deer zdu.
roedeer, barking deer xʂu.
musk, river deer, roedeer ju-xʂu (ju < jy 'female roedeer'; xʂu = 'roedeer').
roedeer (female) jy-mi (mi = female animal suffix).
wild boar pie-χu ('pig' + 'tiger (?)').
bear tɕi.
bear gall tɕi-xtʂ ('bear' + 'gall').
monkey ʁuɑsɑ.
ape, orangutan ʂkuəp ~ ʂkup.
badger tɕukų.
porcupine wəitsə (< Ch. wèizi (cìwèi)).
rabbit ʐətɕhaq.
rabbit (male) ʐətɕhaq-zdu ('rabbit' + male gender marker for small animals).
mouse, field mouse zexų.
mole zə-puku (zə = 'field, earth').
mountain goat ʂkuəi.
land otter ɣzəɕ (possible to eat this animal, but quite oily).
otter tsə-ɣz ('water' + 'land otter').
squirrel lubəi (lu = 'China fir tree').
silver monkey khuə-hi: (khuə = 'dog'?).

BIRDS

bird wə.
fly (vi.) lɑ (dɑ-lɑ).
wing ɣzəi-fɑ ('fly' (cf. Mawo gzi) + 'clothing' (?)).

feather xupɑ (= 'fur').
moult (vi.) xupɑ-ʁue ('feather' + 'throw, cast away').
beak zdekų.
peck (v.) tshuete.
gizzard dʐual.
egg (in general) wə-s ('bird' + nominalizer).
hawk χɬu.
owl wufų.
swallow (n.) jantʂhaquətsi (= 'long forked stick').
crow no-ʁu ('black' (?) + 'goose').
magpie ɕtɕiɕtɕɑq (onomato-poetic form).
sparrow wətshi (wə = 'bird').
pigeon wu-ʂpu / ȵuʂpu / gugų (wu < wə 'bird' + 'flock'; ȵu form possibly related to ȵukų bu 'deaf'; gugų is onomatopoetic form; wu-ʂpu / ȵuʂpu refers to wild pigeons, gugų to those raised by the family).
woodpecker luʁuɑ-tshuete-m ('China fir tree' + 'peck' + agentive nominalizer).
parrot ginguo ~ gənkuo.
pheasant wu-lu (wu < wə 'bird').
crane jugų.
bat (animal) pie-ʂpɑlɑ / pi-ʂpɑlɑ ('pig' + 'change (< ʂpata)').
cuckoo kuput ~ kupət (onomatopoetic form).
hunt khuə-ɕe ('dog' + 'release') / xʂu-qhu-k ('roedeer/wild animal' + 'hit/shoot' + 'go').
set a snare xʂul le (of a trap made of hemp rope; 'rope' + 'insert/install') / χɑnsu le (of a trap made of metal wire).

catch (vt.) gigi.
shoot qhu (soqhu qhu 'shoot a gun').
gun soqhu.

ANIMALS (Domestic)

livestock ketʂe.
rear (vt.), breed (vt.) pe˧ʐ̩.
kill tʂə.
remove fur xupu khue (from animals; 'fur' + 'scrape, shave').
butcher (vt.) tʂu-tʂu.
castrate ʁue.
castrated animal toʁu.
ox xʂe-x / ʐ̩ə ('cow' + castrated male marker / ʐ̩ə is stud male; also wild cow).
cow xʂe-mi ('cow' + female gender marker).
calf xʂe-tʂuə ~ xʂe-tʂu̩ ('cow' + 'child').
cow manure xʂe-χʂ ('cow' + 'manure, excrement').
buffalo tsuə-ʐ̩ ('water' + 'wild cow (< ʐ̩ə)').
common yellow cow soʁu.
common yellow cow, male soʁu-ʐ̩ə.
common yellow cow, female ŋuə / soʁu-ŋuə / ŋuə-mi (ŋuə < PTB *ŋwa).
wild cow ʐ̩ə.
yak ʐ̩bə (= 'dragon').
pianniu (a cross between a bull and a yak) xiɛ.
tend cattle xʂe ɕtɕy ('cow' + 'release/graze').
fight (of bulls), gore (vt.) tʂitʂi.
tie up a cow xʂe zdʐy ('cow' + 'tie up').
pierce the nose of a cow ɕtɕy ʂə ('nose' + 'pierce').

nose ring of cow jə.
pig pie (< PTB *p(w)ak).
pig (male) pie-ɕi.
s o w piejmi ('pig' + female gender marker).
breeding boar, sire pig tɕotʂo.
shoat, piglet (male) pie-ɕu̩.
half-grown pig pie-tɕatsə ('pig' + 'family' (< Ch. jiāzi 家子)).
root (vt., of pigs) ɣlə (= 'turn over').
pig's bristles tsum-phɑ ~ tson-phɑ (< Ch. zōng).
tend pigs pie ʁuɑʁu̩ ('pig' + 'tend').
pig feed pie-st ('pig' + 'food/rice').
sheep, mountain goat tshe.
drive (sheep) (tshe) we.
sheep (wool sheep) n̠owu ~ n̠o:wu.
goat (male) dʐe.
goat (female) tshe-mi ('sheep' + female gender marker).
kid n̠owu-zdue ('wool sheep' + diminutive for sheep).
l a m b tshe-zdue ('mountain sheep' + diminutive for sheep).
wool, fleece tshe-fu̩ ('mountain sheep' + 'fur' (fu̩ < xupɑ ~ ɸupɑ)) / n̠iu (wool of wool sheep).
sheepskin tsha:pi ('sheep' + 'skin' (< ʐ̩epi)).
horse wə (possibly < PTB *s-raŋ ~ *m-raŋ; cf. Mawo dial. ʁu < *raŋ).
mare wə-mi ('horse' + female gender marker).
horse dung wə-χʂ ('horse' + 'manure, excrement' (< χʂə)).

ride (a horse) tsɑ / qɑtʂhe.
horse feed pɑha (= 'dried grass').
ass, donkey dʐawa.
dog, hunting dog khuə (< PTB *kwəy).
dog, male khuə-zdu ('dog' + male gender marker for small mamals).
dog, female, bitch khu-mi / khuə-miaha ('dog' + female gender marker).
bark (vi.) te.
dog feed khu-st ('dog' + 'food/rice') / seɳiau (< Ch. sīliào).
cat puɳu.
cat (male) puɳu-zdu ('cat' + male gender marker for small mamals).
meow (vi.) mjɑu.
chicken tɕy:.
cock jy-pi ('chicken' (< tɕy:) + male gender marker for flying birds).
chicken dung tɕy:-χʂ ('chicken' + 'manure, excrement').
cockscomb jy-pi-qulu ('chicken' (< tɕy:) + male gender marker for flying birds + 'point').
crow (vi., of cock) se.
cock's tail tɕy: sikue ('chicken' + 'tail').
hen (before or after laying eggs) jy-miaha ('chicken' (< tɕy:) + female gender marker).
chick tɕy:-tʂ̩ ('chicken' + 'child').
lay eggs wəs kheᴵ (wəs = 'egg').
hatch (sit on eggs) tɕy: le ('chicken' + 'insert').
hatch (come out of egg) wəs phe(te) ('egg' + 'shake, pat, scratch') / tɕy: le ('chicken' + 'exist')
scratch for feed (chicken) phete ('shake, pat, scratch').
duck jɑts (< Ch. yāzi).
quack (vi.) qa qa.
tend ducks jɑts ʁuɑʁ̩ ('duck (< Ch.)' + 'tend').
goose ʁu (possibly < PTB *ŋa).
remove feathers xupɑ stue ('feathers' + 'pull out').
clip the wings ɣzəifɑ tuɑ ('wing' + 'cut').

INSECTS

insect, maggot, worm, riceworm bəl (bə < PTB *bu).
crawl (of insects) sei (= 'walk').
metamorphosis ʐepi ɦia-ʁue ('skin' + DIR + 'throw, cast away').
silkworm buqtʂhu.
bee bə (< PTB *b(y)a).
stinger of a bee/wasp ji.
sting (vt.) i-tʂue (DIR + 'sting').
honeycomb, beehive bət (bə = 'bee' + tɕi 'house' ?).
honey bə-χʂ ~ bə-xʂ ('bee' + 'excre-ment').
wasp, yellow jacket tshuɑʁɳi.
hornet biaŋ.
butterfly, moth xtʂɑmphɑ.
caterpillar soqhu ~ suqhu.
firefly butʂhuqu / dum.
fly, blue-bottle fly bəiχa.
mosquito, gnat, wriggler bunqutsə (there are no big mosquitos in the Qiang areas).
bite (vt., of mosquito) sɑ tʂhe ('blood' + 'suck').

mosquito bite (n.) tə-phɑ (DIR + 'swell').

spider tʂhəʂ.

spider's web tʂhəʂ-dʐu ('spider' + 'net').

spin a web (of spider) dʐu bəl ('net/web' + 'do').

ant, termite tɕukhu.

snail ʐum-me:[1].

earthworm ləχ-bəl ('ground/ earth' + 'worm').

centipede de:[1].

grassshopper tsho-χsu (χsu = 'jump').

snake (thick) bəs.

snake (thin) bəɣi.

red-spotted lizard ʂqu-tshe ~ ʂqu-tshi (= 'stutter'; ʂqu = 'mouth').

leech mɑχuɑn (< Ch. mǎ-huáng).

bedbug buqtɕhu (= 'silkworm').

louse, tick xtʂe (possibly < PTB *srik).

nit xtʂutsʅ.

flea tsun.

intestinal worm bəl-qhuɑ (bəl = 'worm').

insect which eats wood or bamboo bətʂ.

FISH, FROGS, & TURTLES

frog (green), toad dzupi ~ dzuəpi.

frog (black) dzuəpi ȵiq ('frog' + 'black').

turtle wukuəi (< Ch. wūgūi).

fish ʁzə.

swim (vi.) tsu ʁlu ('water' + 'swim') / ʁzə-lɑ (of fish; 'fish' + 'fly (v.)').

fish scale dze.

fish spawn ʁzə-wəs ('fish' + 'egg').

fish (with a rod) ʁzə ʁue (ʁzə = 'fish (n.)').

fishing rod jy ke[1] (< Ch. yú-gān).

fishing hook jy kəu (< Ch. yú-gōu).

catch fish with net or hands ʁzə gi ('fish' + 'grab/catch').

fishing net jy ʁuɑn (< Ch. yúwǎng).

PLANTS

grow (vi.) tə-ʂ.
creep (vi.) hɑ-tʂhɑ.
seed zuə ~ zu.
sprout (n.) tʂhoq.
sprout (as from seed) tʂhoq tə-ʂ ('sprout (n.)' + 'grow').
young shoots ʂə-q ('grow' + 'head').
tree, shrub sə-f ('wood' + 'forest' (f < phə)).
forest phə.
seedlings of a tree tshen miɑu (< Ch. qīngmiáo).
root kopu.
tree trunk ʂəq (= 'body').
bark səf z̺əpi ('tree' + 'skin').
branches z̺aji.
tree-fork, a forked stick jan tʂhɑ quə tsi (< Ch.)
resin, colophony luz (lu = 'fir tree').
pine tree ɕpie-ɸ ~ ɕpie-f ('pine' + 'tree/forest').
pine cone ɕpie-lu-quʂ ('pine' + 'fir' + ?).
fir tree lu / luʁu.
poplar tree ʁzu-fu̥.
cypress tree zuɑmə-ɸu.
willow tree sə:ᴵ.
birch tree z̺dz̺əs.
tree stump zeke.
leaf xtʂɑpɑ (used for all types of leaves, including those of vegetables).
shade (vt., of leaves) ə-xtʂ.
tree shade (n.) ʂuɑq (= 'shadow').
flower (n.), pollen lɑmpɑ ~ lɑpɑ.
bud (n.) lɑmpɑ tʂhuqu.
petals of a flower efi.
thorn tshəmɑ.

bloom (vi.) pɑ.
flowers falling/wilting ʁue.
bamboo ʂpə.
vine kum.
sunflower mu-n-tuq (mu = 'sun').
dandelion məq mahɑ ('top, above' + 'evening'/'mire').
moss tsə-χaf ('water' + 'grass').
bracken məʁl.
fennel χoɕiɑn (< Ch. húi-xiāng).
grass, thatch rushes χaf.
azalea ʁofu̥.
sheephorn flower, morning glory zeke lɑmpɑ.
cotton miæχu (< Ch. mián-huā).
grains dzə-s ('eat' + instrumental nominalizing suffix).
rice shoots, sprouting grain ʂəq (= 'sprouts').
rice (in field or hulled) qhə:ᴵ.
ear of grain, ears of wheat ɕtɕəq / dzəpat (ɕtɕəq < PTB *sni; cf. 'seven', 'heart', Tib. sn̥i-ma; q is secondary, possibly < qə 'head').
glutinous rice tɕiumi (< Ch. jiǔmǐ ('wine rice')).
long white rice qhə:ᴵ-xs ('rice' + 'new').
rice husk kha.
wheat ʁlə.
buckwheat dzuɑʁɑ.
tares pə.
wheat bran fəts (< Ch. fùzi).
gluten of wheat gə:ᴵ.
wheat flour bolu.
spiked millet kutsə (< Ch. gǔzi).
sorghum, glutinous millet ʂpɑ.
corn jima (< Ch. yùmǐ).
flax, hemp su.

hemp seed su-zu̜ə̯ ('hemp' + 'seed').
barley nəz.
highland barley dzə.
tsamba dʐu.
oats wəma.
wheat straw paha (= 'horse feed').
vegetables kus̜u̜.
sweet potato χoŋs̜au (< Ch. hóngsháo).
potato jajəŋu̜ (< Ch.).
cabbage tɕyan-ɕin-pe (< Ch. juǎnxīnbái).
Chinese cabbage patshai (< Ch. báicài).
spinach po-tshai (< Ch. bōcài).
rape seed plant tshət / tsə.
pumpkin, bottle gourd pakua (< Ch.).
winter melon toŋkua (< Ch. dōngguā).
cucumber χuaŋkua (< Ch. huángguā).
young cucumber kekua (< Ch.).
turnip lup (< Ch. lúobo).
carrot χolumpau (< Ch. húlúobo).
bean, pea, soybean də (said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan from Chinese, but said by Huang Chenglong to be a native word).
pea/bean shoots/sprouts də-s̜əq ('bean' + 'sprout').
soybean təutəu (< Ch. dòu).
hyacinth bean/lentil petəu (< Ch. biǎndòu, an older loan of same word as piantəu? — next item).
black-eyed pea, black bean, string bean, white bean piantəu (< Ch. biǎndòu).
horsebean χuthə[1].

snow pea-pod də (= 'bean') / ʁuantəu (< Ch. wǎndòu).
peanut χuasen (< Ch. huāshēng).
chives tɕiu tshai (< Ch. jǐucài).
celery tɕhin tshai (< Ch. qīncài).
coriander jansui (< Ch. yánsuī).
onion dutsha.
garlic tɕi-ɕ ('house' + 'garlic').
pepper χoitshu (< Ch. hǎijiāo).
ginger kuiʁua ~ kuiʁa.
laminaria, kelp taipi (< Ch.).
lettuce khuma tshai (tshai < Ch. cài).
fungus, mushroom muj̜u̜.
grass mushroom se:[1]-muj̜u̜ ('willow' + 'fungus / mushroom').
fruit zuə / səimi.
bear fruit zuə u-dʐu.
pear pie səimi ('pig' + 'fruit').
prune tshəp ki səimi.
grape kulumi.
jujube ʐuantsə[1].
walnut χathi (< Ch. hétáo).
apple phiŋkuo (< Ch. píngguǒ).
red bayberry buʐu̜ səimi ('dirt/earth' + 'fruit').
strawberry χaf-səimi ('grass' + 'fruit').
herb, medicine sipe.
danggui (a kind of medicinal root) tɕiquaki.
fritillary (Fritillaria thunbergii) bulb qupki.
rhubarb suaki.

FARMING

plant (vt.), sow seeds phie.

field zəp ~ zə (= 'earth').

plant a field zə phie ('field' + 'to plant').

weed (vt.) χɑ ste ('grass (< χɑf)' + 'get rid of').

gather night soil χʂə tɕy ('excrement' + 'pick up').

fertilize jimi ʁlie ('fertilizer (dry manure or grass stalks)' + 'use, apply').

graft (vt.) tɕɑ tɕe pə (< Ch. jiē zhī (in reverse order) + 'to do').

plow (n.) tuq.

plow-share gu:.

plow (a field) lə (= 'to turn over, roll up'; used with xʂe 'cow (pianniu)': xʂe lə 'plow the fields').

edges of a field zə-pienɑ ('field' + 'side/vicinity').

irrigate tsə ʂuə ('water' + 'irrigate').

water (vt.) tsə qhutu ('water' + 'to spread, sprinkle').

pick tshu-(tshu) (reduplicate for repeated action).

harvest (vt.) ku.

thresh (vt.) ʐe.

winnowing tray tshotɕu.

sieve (n.), sieve (vt.) se (native word, not loan).

flour sieve ʐbu.

soak (vt.) stə.

mill (n.) dzuɑ-ʁl ('grind' + 'stone (< ʁlu)').

grind (vt.) dzue.

grind, rub fine (vt.) kheˑ.

shell (vt.), peel (vt.) qeˑqeˑ (= 'open out, separate').

pound, hit ʐete.

peel with a peeler sue (< Ch. xuē).

climb (a tree) dide.

garden tseku̜.

vegetable garden kuʂu̜ tseku̜ ('vegetable' + 'garden').

store (grains) (vt.) ə-ʂu̜ə̧ (DIR + 'to put, place').

mow / cut grass (vt.) jimi gue ('fertilizer grass (grain stalks)' + 'to cut').

bind, tie up (grain stalks etc.) dʐuedʐuə.

grain stalk rack jimi-lɑquɑ.

hang (vt.) (on grain stalk rack) ju.

FOOD

food, provision ʐguə.

meal (CL) ʑdʑi (e-ʑdʑi).

breakfast ɕtɕes (possibly < *s-thə-s [causative prefix-eat-instrumental nominalizer] 'what is fed').

noon meal, lunch dza:.

evening meal, dinner j e s (possibly 'good to eat' + instrumental nominalizer] 'what is good to eat').

cooked rice, food stuɑhɑ.

cooked rice (dry or drained) ʂkum.

rice gruel, congee ɣʐem.

corn gruel, corn meal porridge mɑhɑ.

rice water mithɑn (< Ch. mǐ-tāng).

burnt rice that adheres to sides of pot kupɑ (< Ch. gūobā).

steamed or baked bread qhɑl.

round dumpling kuque / pɑutsə (< Ch. bāozi).

noodle(s) ɕpies.

thin vermicelli that has been hung to dry ɕpies / kuɑmin (< Ch. guàmiàn).

dregs (of solids or liquids) tʂatsə (< Ch. zhāzi).

flour bolu.

dishes of food kuʂu̞ (= 'vegetables').

soup thɑn (< Ch. tāng).

pork pie-pies ('pig' + 'meat' ('pig' + 'meat')').

meat pie-s ('pig' + 'meat' (< PTB *sya); now used for all kinds of meat).

fat meat piexu ~ piefu ('meat' + 'fat' (?)).

lean meat tshɑχə (χə < χɑ).

roast pork with skin pies-phuxtɕu ('meat' + 'roast').

pig's feet pie-dzoqu ('pig' + 'foot').

stomach (pork) kuiʁuɑ / χsutsqhɑ.

brain (as food) qəpatʂ (= 'head').

beef xʂe-pies / ʐbə-pies / soʁu-pies (pianniu meat / yak meat / cow meat).

beef stomach ʐguə-χqa ('grain' + 'transport').

tail sikue.

mutton tshə-pies / ȵo:wu-pies (mountain goat meat / wool-sheep meat).

egg wə-s ('bird' + nominalizer).

kidney ʂpəl.

bean curd de-ʐdʑ.

bean-thread fənthiautsə (< Ch. fěntiáozi).

dried fungus mɑk-ȵuku̞ (ȵuku̞ = 'ear').

leftover kuʂu̞-hogu̞-j ('vegetables' + 'left over' + CSM).

fried bread-stick jəuthiɑu (< Ch. yóutiáo).

small round soft cake of pounded glutinous rice, grass jelly ȵianfə¹ (< Ch. miànfěn; made of potatoes).

pastry, cake pintsə (< Ch. bǐngzi).

bean paste təutʂa (< Ch. dòu-shā).

melon seed kuatsə (< Ch. guāzǐ).

ingredients thiɑu niɑu (< Ch. tiáoliào).

oil zdue 'animal oil' / zdue:¹ 'plant oil' / ȵɑmɑ 'butter' (< Tib).

press out oil zdue:¹ thə ('plant oil' + 'squeeze').

lard pie-zdue ('pig' + 'animal oil').

salt tshə (< PTB *tsa).

soy sauce təujəu (< Ch. dòuyóu).

vinegar tshu (< Ch. cù).

sugar, candy mɑthɑ (< Ch. mátháng).

white sugar pethɑn (< Ch. báitáng).

black salted beans təuʂ (< Ch. dòuchǐ).

cornstarch təufən (< Ch. dòufěn).

bunge prickly ash peel (pericarpium zanthoxyli; sometimes called wild pepper; used for numb hotness) tshəi.

boiled water tsə tu-χʂə-l ('water' + 'come to a boil (DIR + 'boil (vi.)') + 'come (?)') / khɑiʂue (< Ch. kāishuǐ).

wine, liquor (made by Qiang; not filtered) ɕi.

liquor (made by Chinese) ʁəˈ-ɕi ('Han' + 'liquor'; Chinese-made white liquor).

brew wine ɕi ʂqu ~ ɕi χqu ('liquor' + 'boil').

sweet fermented rice qhəˈ-ɕi ('rice' + 'liquor').

distiller's yeast tɕhoχu (possibly < Tibetan).

milk papə (= 'breast').

cigarette tʂijan (< Ch. zhīyān).

smoke (cigarettes) (vt.) tʂhe (= 'suck').

be addicted to jin le (jin < Ch. yǐn + 'exist').

FOOD PREPARATION

cook (rice) stuɑhɑ bəl ('cooked rice' + 'do') / qhəˈ ʂqu ('uncooked rice' + boil') / qhəˈ tsə ('rice' + 'steam').

wash rice qhəˈ χuəlɑ ('rice' + 'wash') / thɑu-thɑ (< Ch. táo + AUX).

sort out vegetables kuʂu̥ stɑqɑ ('vegetables' + 'select').

large shallow basket (worn on back) peilantsə (< Ch. bēi-lánzi).

cut (with downward motion), cut into slices, threads or dice qhua.

cut with a rolling action khukhu.

cut with sideward motion ku.

chop, to mince tshuɑ.

cut in two ji-dzue pə ('two' + 'sections' + 'do').

chopper tshetoŋ (< Ch.).

cutting board bet (large cutting board) / tʂhafən (like small table < Ch.) / teɡu̥ (block of wood).

chop firewood sə gueˈ ('firewood' + 'chop').

firewood splitter duɑʁl.

kindling (for a fire) tshuχʂupi.

firewood sə.

charcoal muku̥-tɕhuʂ ('fireplace' (possibly < 'fire' + base')) + 'ash') / mutɕu ~ mudʐu ('fire' + 'ash'; small, used in making steel) / kɑnthan (large; < Ch.).

smother (charcoal) χethan (< Ch. hēitàn 'black charcoal') / pɑithan (< Ch. báitàn 'white charcoal'; use water).

make a fire mə phə ('fire' + 'blow').

light a fire dʐue.

burn (firewood) sə ɕtɕə ('firewood' + 'add').

bellows phete (= the verb phete 'blow').

kitchen range tsul.

fire hole in a kitchen range sə-ɕtɕə-sta ('firewood' + 'add' + 'place (-s nominalizer + LOC)').

stove χolutsə (< Ch. huǒlúzi).

brazier χophen (< Ch. huǒpén).

fire tongs sə-ste ('firewood' + 'pick up with chosticks').

frying pan dʐə.

lead cooking pan lɑ quɑ.

lid for cooking pan qutɕ.

food-turner tʂhantsə (< Ch. chǎnzi) / səpi (flat; has handle).

fire kettle tshue.

steamer tsentsə (< Ch. zhēng-zi).

heat up a pan tə-si (DIR + 'hot' = 'become hot').

soot of a pan ʁlaɳˌi.

scour a pan kupɑ-khue ('burnt rice (< Ch. gūobā)' + 'scrape').

stir wəte.

mix tsɑqɑ.

knead (dough) ɳˌethe (< Ch. niě).

mix (dough) sə-xtʂue.

roll into a ball with the hands ɣlu (= 'to roll').

wrap (dumplings) quəgue.

pound (garlic) tɕiɕ qhua (use back of knife; 'garlic' + 'cut').

put in (ingredients) ə-ʁǔ (DIR + 'to place').

sprinkle (vt.) se.

pour over qhutu.

soak stə.

rise (vi., of bread) fɑ-tha (< Ch. fā + AUX).

strain (strain away liquid) ʂɑ.

filter, to strain (strain away solid) tʂɑ.

crack an egg wəs pie.

cook (a few dishes) tʂhuətʂhue.

boil (vi.), (vt.) , stew (vt.) ʂqu.

boil for a long time lə.

boil (water; vt.) tshu.

boil (of water) tsə tu-χsu ('water' + 'come to a boil').

cook on a griddle, fry in fat or oil ɕe.

pop (of oil, etc.) dɑ-ʂp (= 'split apart').

deep-fry tʂɑ-tha (< Ch. zhá + AUX).

steam (vt.), smoke tsə.

roast phuxtɕu.

roast in hot ashes tshu.

warm, to roast, to bake ʂkue.

half-cooked χapət.

warm up leftovers sesi ('hot' + 'hot').

render fat tʂhə.

cook soup than bəl ('soup (< Ch. tāng)' + 'to do').

taste tse.

EATING AND STORAGE UTENSILS

set the table tʂuats əʂ ('table (< Ch.)' + 'to place').

dish out rice stuɑhɑ ju ('rice' + 'to spoon').

rice ladle zɑ.

cover (n.) quətɕ.

tray pe (< Ch. pén).

dish phantsə (< Ch. pánzi).

dip (vt.) ə-stu̧.

bowl ʁua-tʂa ('bowl (< Ch. wǎn)' + Qiang word for 'bowl').

chopsticks wets ~ wet-tsə (wet = 'stick'; tsə < Ch. zi).

pick up with chopsticks ste.

spoon (n.) thiɑukə[1] (< Ch. tiáo-gēng).

ladle, spoon (vt.), pour (tea) ju.

large open-mouthed jar ʂuə tʂhuɑ.

gourd used for a ladle tsuʁu.

bottle phintsə (< Ch. píngzi).

cork (vt.) sə-xtʂə.

hot water bottle pɑuwenphin (< Ch. bǎowēnpíng).

tea tʂha (< Ch. chá).

teapot tʂhaχu̧ (< Ch. cháhú).

infuse tea tʂha phɑu-tha (< Ch. chá pào ('tea' + 'infuse') + AUX).

cup peitsə (< Ch. bēizi).

large earthenware jar without handle, shaped like an upside-down pear ɑɑp (ɕi qɑp) ('liquor' + 'jar').

cooking utensils stuɑhɑ-bəl-əs ('rice' + 'to do' + instrumental nominalizer).

blowing pipe for kindling χothoŋ (< Ch. hǔotǒng).

CLOTH AND CLOTHING

cloth ba:.

cotton cloth mianpu (< Ch. miánbù).

printed cotton ba:-lɑmpɑ ('cloth' + 'flower(y)').

thin silk ʁua.

wool tshe-fu̥ ('sheep' + 'fur' (fu̥ < xupɑ ~ ɸupɑ)).

foreign woolen cloth n̠itsə (< Ch. nízi).

spin (yarn) (vt.) lete.

weave (vt.) tɕetɕi (< PTB *tak).

loom tɕe.

weaver's shuttle χaz̻u̥.

make clothes fɑ jəj ('clothing' + 'to sew').

cut tuɑ.

cutout in sewing qhəqhə.

sew jəj.

torn (of clothes) depi.

patch (vt.) ʂpetɕ.

needle χa (< PTB *kap)

eye of needle χa z̻opu ('needle' + 'hole').

thread a needle ba:-tʂhəl dɑ-ʂ ('thread' + DIR + 'place')

thimble tintʂen (< Ch. dǐng-zhēn).

thread ba:-tʂhəl (ba: = 'cloth').

spool puju.

wind thread ʁu.

sew on a button dz̻u.

make a button hole fie-phe.

border (garment, shoes) (vt.), embroider ʂɑ.

woollen thread mauɕian (< Ch. máoxiàn).

knit (vt.), weave a net kepi.

knitting needle kepi-s ('knit' + instrumental nominalizer).

brush (n.) ʂuatsə (< Ch. shuāzi).

brush (vt.) ʂua-tha (< Ch. shuā + AUX).

wash (clothes)   fa χuəla ('clothing' + 'to wash').

wooden stick for washing clothes ʁduaʂ (ʁdua = 'hammer').

wash clothes with stick dʐete (= 'hit').

shrink (vi., of clothes) tə-watsi (= 'become short (DIR + 'short')').

put on clothesline, sun (clothes) (vt.) pha.

dye (vt.) sə.

clothes fa ~ fua / guə-s ('to wear' + instrumental nominalizer).

wear (clothing)   guə (< PTB *gwa).

wear (shoes) tʂuə (cf. tʂuəχ 'hoof' and tʂuəwa 'shoes').

wear (pants) de.

undress da-qe.

change clothes ləla (= 'exchange').

hang (clothes) ʁuə ʁue.

naked sta ɕi pau (sta = 'buttocks'; cf. 'barefoot' for ɕi).

woollen sweater xʂufu̞.

leather, fur   ʐepi (= 'skin, hide').

fur garment phikuatsə (< Ch. píguàzi).

collar jinin (nin < Ch. lǐng).

sleeves juqu (ju = 'hand' (?)).

waist belt dzəidzi.

fasten the waist belt dzu dzu.

trousers, pants doqu.

trousers' seat doqu thunpa (doqu = 'trousers').

skirt tsulwa.

wear a skirt tsulwa ʁu.

button (n.) kata.

buttonhole kata-ʐop ('button' + 'hole (< ʐo:pu)').

snap button (n.) gan khəu (< Ch. ànkòu).

button (vt.) ə-tsu.

unbutton (vt.) fie-phe.

pocket   pau pau (< Ch. bāobāo).

hat tawa.

wear (a hat) ta.

head scarf ʂəpat.

scarf baq.

head wrapping thotho.

leg wrappings (leggings) ɕyde.

handkerchief ʂəuphatsə (< Ch. shǒupàzi).

apron wəiwəi (< Ch. wéi-(qún)).

shoes tʂuəwa (cf. tʂuəχ 'hoof' and tʂuə 'wear (shoes)').

tie (shoelace), make a knot tu tu.

untie (shoelace) phe˧ phe˧ (can be pronounced phe˧ʐ).

long boots ɕyets (< Ch. xuēzi).

socks ʁuats (< Ch. wàzi).

sheepskin vest lənkuats (< Ch.).

belt for carrying baby on the back tɕymi-bie-s ('child' + 'carry on back' + instrumental nominalizer).

carry on one's back bie.

mourning apparel se˧-fu (Qiang mourning apparel is white).

barefooted dʐoq(u) pa ɕi (dʐoqu pa = 'foot' + 'sole (palm of foot)').

necklace pio lu.

earring ȵupal (ȵu < ȵuku̞ 'ear' (?)).

pierce the ear lobe ʂə.

bracelet ji-de (ji = 'hand').

ring ji-sɑ ('hand' + CL for joints and sections).

umbrella tʂhuə-sɑ.

put up an umbrella tʂhuəsɑ tɑ (tɑ also used for 'to wear a hat').

walking stick kueiphɑtsə (< Ch.).

carry a walking stick kueiphɑtsə tɕə-tɕi.

tobacco pipe jɑn tu (< Ch. yāndŏu).

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

cattle pen xʂe-tɕaʁe ('cattle' + 'pen').

pigsty, hogpen pie-tɕaʁe ('pig' + 'pen/sty').

stable wə-tɕaʁe ('horse' + 'pen, stable').

manger wə-tshu (wə = 'horse').

kennel khuə-nəʂ ('dog' + 'bed').

chicken nest tɕy:-ʐbaha ('chicken' + 'nest').

bird's nest ʐbaha.

beast's cave ʐopu (= 'hole, cave').

house tɕi-ʁuɑ (tɕi alone also = 'house' < PTB *kjim; ʁuɑ is possibly an old classifier for house (it still is used as such in some other dialects), cf. tɕi-sɑ 'room' < 'house' + 'joint, classifier for sections').

dwell (vi.) le (= 'to exist in a container of some type').

move (house) pɑn-thɑ (< Ch. bān + AUX).

watch the house dʐy gəˈ ('door' + 'to guard').

storey sɑ (classifier for rooms, stories, and for joints and sections).

ground floor tʂhə.

upper storey tɕy.

second floor of house ji-sɑ ('two' + CL; same form as 'two rooms').

third floor of house xsə-sɑ ('three' + CL for rooms, stories, sections).

storehouse ʂpə.

room tɕi-sɑ ('house' + classifier for rooms, stories, sections).

kitchen tʂhufɑn (< Ch. chúfáng; the Qiang don't have separate kitchens; the cooking is done in the fireplace in the middle of the main (= 2nd) floor).

toilet mɑusə (< Ch. máocè).

corridor phetɕi / tsəulan (< Ch. zǒuláng).

roof qə-stɑ ('head' + 'place').

ceiling ʁuɑn pan (< Ch.).

beam tɑχu̥.

pillar tsu.

wall qhɑts (qhɑ = 'stone').

climb over a wall didi.

corner kuokuo (< Ch. jiǎo).

staircase, ladder (wooden) bu-zd ('board' + 'ladder').

ladder (to the roof) zdə.

railing japə-gigi-s ('hand' + 'grab' + instrumental nominalizer).

window ʐo:kum (ʐo: < ʐo:pu 'hole').

door dʑy.

knock at the door dʑy ʐ̣ete ('door' + 'hit, knock').

open a door dʑy ʐ̣ge ('door' + 'open').

close a door dʑy hɑ-quɑ ('door' + DIR + 'close').

door frame dʑoqpu.

doorway, an entrance dʑoqpu-q (dʑoqpu = 'doorframe).

step over the doorsill dɑ-ʁuɑ.

door bolt ʁlatʂhuɑ.

bolt (a door) (ʁlatʂhuɑ) del (< DIR + le 'insert').

lock (n.) dʑoʁu.

key quəsaʁu.

lock (vt.) suɑ.

steps luts-qhɑ (qhɑ = 'stone').

courtyard ʁuɑχ.

platform, level area dʑəq

well (n.) tsuək ~ tsəku̥ə ('water' + 'pit').

drying terrace (on roof of house) or yard tɕepi.

bamboo fence tseku̥pi.

fireplace mugu̥.

fireplace rack səi mi.

mill house dzuɑʁl ('grind' + 'stone (< ʁlu)').

build a house, pile up a wall χɬie.

lay the foundation of house ləthe.

roof (vt.) tɕi-sɑ-buʐ̣ ʐ̣dʑye ('room (< 'house' + CL for rooms)' + 'earth, dirt' + 'put roof together').

lime ʂəχui (< Ch. shíhūi).

cement ʂuiȵi (< Ch. shuǐní).

lumber panpan (< Ch. bǎn).

set up pillars tsu le ('pillar' + 'insert, move across').

paint, spread on (vt.) mə mɑ.

fence in pə.

collapse, fall on its own weight dɑ-qhua.

clean / tidy up (room, house) suəʂu̥ə.

broom tolu.

dust basket tsotɕu.

sweep the floor dʐ̣udʐ̣u.

splash water tsə se ('water' + 'splash, sprinkle').

dust cloth məmɑ-s ('to wipe' + instrumental nominalizer).

wipe (vt.) məmɑ (< Ch. (?)) / tshɑ-thɑ (< Ch. cā).

feather duster xʂe-sikue ('cow, cattle' + 'tail').

dust (vt.) phete.

water-drawing bucket tsə kut (tsə = 'water').

fetch water tsə bie ('water' + 'carry on back').

polish (vt.) ɦɑ-tshə-thɑ (DIR + 'wipe (< Ch.)' + AUX).

leak (v.) zə.

FURNITURE

furniture pɑnɑ (= 'things').

arrange / place (furniture) ə-ʂ.

table tʂuɑts (< Ch. zhuōzi).

cupboard ʁuɑn kui (< Ch. wǎnguì).

chair jəts (< Ch. yǐzi) / dzuə-s (< 'sit' + nominalizer, used for any thing to sit on).

stool, wooden bench pɑnte (< Ch. bǎndēng).

closet kuitsə (< Ch. guìzi).

drawers tʂhəu-tʂhəu (< Ch. chōu(tí)).

box qhuəʂ.

trunk ɕɑntsə (< Ch. xiāngzi).

bed bede / nə-s ~ nə-ʂ (< 'sleep' + instrumental nominalizer).

bed plank bu (= 'wooden board').

set up a bed bede-e-ze bəl ('bed' + 'one' + CL + 'to do').

mirror mi:-lɑŋu̥ (mi: = 'eye').

look in a mirror mi:-lɑŋu̥ tse ('mirror, lens' + 'look').

lamp muwu (mu < mə 'fire'; originally meant the burning of pine cones, now can refer to any kind of lamp).

turn on the light muwu de-ʐge ('lamp, light' + DIR + 'open').

turn off the light muwu ə-quɑ ('lamp, light' + DIR + 'close').

wick liɑn-χutsə (< Ch.).

candle lɑtʂu (< Ch. làzhú).

picture lɑmpə (= 'flower').

bedding tʂhuɑnpə (< Ch. chuángpu).

make the bed nəs phəphɑ ('bed' + 'to spread').

mattress ʐutsə (< Ch. rùzi).

mattress made of rice-stalks butshu.

mat sits (< Ch. xízi).

blanket tʂan (< Ch. zhàn).

quilt quɑtɕhi.

cover (with quilt) guə (= 'to wear').

spread (vt.) phəphɑ.

fold up tə-ɕtɕi.

pillow nəku̥.

lay on a pillow ə-ʂ (DIR + 'to place').

hang (a mosquito net) ʁue.

TOOLS

thing pɑnə.

matter ʐə.

method, way pɑnfɑ (< Ch. bànfǎ).

tools pɑnə (= 'things').

scissors quəsɑp.

cut with scissors tuɑ.

knife xtʂepi ~ xtɕepi.

back of a knife tuopi (< Ch. dāobèi).

sheath, scabbard tuoɕɑu (< Ch. dāoshāo (dāoqìao).

grindstone ʁlu-s (ʁlu = 'stone').

sharpen a knife su.

handle ji (= 'hand' (?)).

scrape (vt.) khue.

peel (vt.) sue.

split (wood) (vt.) qhe¹.

prick (vt.) ə-tʂ (DIR + 'to prick').

pierce (vt.) dɑ-tʂhuɑn-thɑ (DIR + < Ch. chuān + AUX).

hammer (n.) ʁduɑ (< PTB *m-twa).

hammer (vt.) dʑe.

axe stei.

chop with an axe khe.

pincers tɕhiantsə (< Ch. qiánzi).

pincer (vt.) xtʂe.

chisel (n.) ʁzu (cf. zu 'to chisel').

chisel (vt.) zu.

saw (n.) səqa.

saw (vt.) khəɪ.

file tshuotsə (< Ch. cuòzi).

awl or drill tsantsə (< Ch. zuànzi).

awl ʁən̩itʂu̩.

bore a hole tʂitʂi.

plane (n.) thuipɑu (< Ch. tuī-bào).

plane (vt.) thui-tha (< Ch. + AUX).

shavings pɑuχuɑɪ (< Ch. bào-huār).

hook (n.) tinniu (< Ch. dīng-niǔ).

hook (vt.) fiɑ-tʂuɑ.

nail (n.) tintsə (< Ch. dīngzi).

nail (vt.) ʐəʐi.

screwdriver luosətɑu (< Ch. lúosīdāo).

screw (n.) luosə (< Ch. lúosī).

screw in (a screw) quətʂue (= 'to turn').

carrying pole tuə-s ('carry' + instrumental nominalizer) / piantan (< Ch. biǎndàn).

roll (v.) ɣlu.

shovel, spade (n.) tʂhuɑntsə (< Ch. chǎnzi).

spade (vt.) tʂhuɑn-tha (< Ch. chǎn + AUX).

hoe (n.) tɕye.

hoe (vt.), dig (with tools) phiphi.

dig (with hands) pheɪ.

sickle set / duaʁl (the latter is a heavy curved knife used for chopping wood).

sickle with teeth used to cut grain crops kaset (also smaller than set and duaʁl).

stick wet.

beat (with a stick) dʑete.

whip (n.) piantsə (< Ch. biān-zi).

whip (vt.) zə-dʑi.

ropes, cordage jəl.

string, rope (n.) dʐəu / xʂul ('rope for traps') / tɕaʂuen (< Ch.).

twist ropes dʐəu bəl ('rope' + 'to do').

pail ʂuət.

hand bucket thoŋ (< Ch. tǒng).

crossbar at the top of a Chinese bucket ji (= 'handle' = 'hand' (?)).

basket lantsə (< Ch. lánzi).

small hand basket puku̩.

whistle (n.) ɕtɕyl.

matches janχu (< Ch. yánghuǒ).

torch ʂuɑp (cf. ʂue 'bright' and ʂuaq 'light'; -p possibly < paha 'straw').

flint ʁlu-fi ~ ʁlu-ɸi ('stone' + 'white'; this is the white stone used for decoration and to invest spirits in).

light a match khe.

straw paha.

board bu.

wire thiesə (< Ch. tiěsī).

gunpowder mu-dʑu ('fire' + 'powder').

wood sə (< PTB *sik).

tile ʁuɑ (< Ch. wǎ).

lacquer ləts (< Ch. (?)).

ivory jɑku (< Ch. yǎgǔ).
kiln jɑutsə (< Ch. yáozi).
winnowing shallow basket se.
net ʁuɑnʁuɑn (< Ch. wǎng).
sawdust tɕymutsə (< Ch.).
repair bəl (= 'to do') / ɕiu-thɑ (< Ch. xiū + AUX).
pierce with a fork ə-tʂ.

TRADE AND BUSINESS

trade (n.) təts.
do business təts pə ('trade' + 'to do').
buy pə.
sell χuɑ.
it sells well χuɑ-nɑ ('sell' + 'good').
capital pə-tshe (< Ch.běnqián).
earn money dzigu̯ qupu ('money' + 'earn').
lose money in business tə-phei-thɑ (DIR + < Ch. péi+ AUX).
accounts tʂan (< Ch. zhàng).
record accounts tʂe quɑ.
put on credit kuatʂi (< Ch.).
collect debts xʂolu̯.
make a quotation or offer phu dʐe ('price' + 'say').
how much (asking for price) ȵɑwe.
haggle over prices phə dʑidʑi ('price' + 'discuss').
become wealthy dziku̯ tu-qu̯pu ('money' + DIR + 'earn').
get promoted tə-qɑ (= 'go up (DIR + 'to go')').
get demoted ɦiɑ-la (= 'come down (DIR + 'to come')').
country market or fair tʂhɑq (= 'street').
open stall (n.) thɑntsə (< Ch. tānzi).
buy vegetables or groceries kuʂu̯ pə ('vegetables' + 'to buy').
settle a bill ɦiɑ-suɑ (DIR + 'compute').
inn (hostel) je tɕi ('live/stay (at)' + 'house').
stay at an inn je (= 'live/stay (at) (short term)') / wəi.
pawnshop phutsə (< Ch. pùzi).

mortgage (vt.) ti-tha (< Ch. dǐ + AUX).

money dzigu̠ ~ dziku̠ (dzi said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan of Chinese qián).

price phu ~ phə.

paper money phiautsə (< Ch. piàozi).

coins (small change) n̩epi (< Ch. nièbì ('nickel' + 'money') (鎳幣)).

dollar pi (epi) (< Ch. bì (幣)).

dime (ten fen) tɕo (otɕo) (< Ch. jiǎo).

cent fe�呈 (a-fe�呈) (< Ch. fèn).

spend money ʂə-tha (< Ch. shǐ (使) + AUX).

waste money χaχə the ('waste' + 'to use').

lend (money) he-ɕi.

borrow(money) ha-xku̠.

owe (money), debt ɕtɕy.

dun for (money, debt) ɕtɕy ŋuasi (ɕtɕy = 'debt'; ŋua = 'to loan, borrow' (?)).

return a borrowed object or money he-w.

return a debt ɕtɕy he-w ('debt' + 'return').

return change (from purchase) (ha)-tʂə.

interest paq.

worth (be worth) lu.

tax (n.) khe�ɪ / sui (< Ch. shuì).

tax (vt.) khe�ɪ ʂa ('tax' + 'to levy').

pay tax sui ʂa (sui < Ch.).

unite tʂuə tʂuə.

scale tʂhə (< Ch. chèng).

weigh (vt.) tʂhətʂ (tʂhə = 'scale').

measure (rice) ʁzi.

measure (cloth) ʁzəʁzi.

catty tɕ (a-tɕ) (< Ch. jīn).

tael, ounce lu (o-lu) (< Ch. liǎng).

mace, 1/10 tael tɕhan (a-tɕhan) (< Ch. qián).

peck, a dry measure (316 c. in.) quat.

pint, 1/10 peck pu.

measure of 10.8 feet tʂan (a-tʂan) (< Ch. zhàng).

yard ma (a-ma) (< Ch. mǎ).

foot (measure) tʂ (a-tʂ) (< Ch. chǐ).

inch tshuen (e-tshuen) (< Ch. cùn).

Chinese mile (360 paces, 1/2 km.) li (e-li) (< Ch. lǐ).

Chinese measure of land area (240 square paces) mu (o-mu) (< Ch. mù).

fathom (length of outstretched arms) ze (e-ze).

handspan (thumb to middle finger) tu (a-tu; < PTB *twa).

handspan (thumb to forefinger) tʂhe (e-tʂhe).

handspan (thumb to curled forefinger) qu tɕhe (o-qu tɕhe) (qu = 'mouth(ful)').

TOWN AND ROAD

town, city ʁu ~ ʁo (= 'mountain') / tʂhaq.

city gate ʁo men ('city' + 'gate (< Ch. mén)').

street tʂhaq.

go into town tʂhaq-ta kə ('street' + LOC + 'to go').

road, path gue:�ɪ.

walk on foot sei.

build a road guə:ꟲ bəl ('road' + 'to do, make').

forked road guə:ꟲ etʂetəpe-sta ('road'+ 'meet' + 'place').

bridge tshuɑ.

temporary bridge tshuɑ-stuɑ (tshuɑ = 'bridge').

village tshuɑ (= 'bridge').

county çan (< Ch. xiàn).

Chengdu zdʐytɑ (takes long ɑ: instead of locative particle).

Mao County χqunˌi(lɑ) ~ ʂqunˌi(lɑ).

Wenchuan County qhusu(lɑ).

Li County (Xue City) ʂatʂhə-(lɑ) (actually the name of the county town, Xue Cheng ('Xue City') but also used for the whole county).

Ronghong Village joχtɑ.

Muyu / Moyu Village buja(lɑ).

Guali Village quaʁlɑ.

Wowo Village ʁoʁu (lɑ).

Chibu Village tʂhəpɑ (pronounced tʂhəpɑ: including locative particle).

Matang Village tshoʁu (lɑ) (can be pronounced tshoʁuɑ: including locative particle).

Hexi Village χɬopɑ (pronounced χɬopɑ: including locative particle).

Xihu Village çəfy̥ (tɑ).

Kawo Village qhoʁu (lɑ) (= 'coffin').

Yadu Township joty̥.

Ekou Village gufy̥tɑ.

Daguazi Village quɑzdɑ.

Xiaoguazi Village çi-quɑzdɑ (çi- < Ch. xiǎo 'little').

Luhua Village ʁlo-χuɑ ('stone tower' + 'crooked').

Seergu Village seꟲgy̥.

Longba Village lunpɑqpə.

Wasi Village waxs.

Luoda Village ʁlota.

TRAVEL

travel (vi.) hɑ-qɑ (= 'go out (DIR + 'go')').

traveller dɑ-qɑ-m ('pass by (DIR + 'go')' + agentive nominalizer).

start on a journey ho-jy̥.

luggage pɑnə (= 'thing(s)').

pack (luggage) çtɕopy̥.

unpack (luggage) pheꟲʐ̥.

pass by a place dɑ-qɑ (= 'go by (DIR + 'go')').

guide (n.) qə-ʂə-m ('head' + 'lead' + agentive nominal-izer).

reach destination i-pə-k (DIR + 'arrive' + 'go') / i-pə-l (DIR + 'arrive' + 'come').

go home tɕəu-lɑ ipək ('home' + LOC + 'reach destination').

yoke çitʂy̥.

saddle gɑntsə (< Ch. ānzi).

sedan chair tɕautsə (< Ch. jiàozi).

carry a sedan chair tɕautsə tuə (< Ch. jiàozi + 'carry').

ride (a bicycle) tsɑ (= 'ride a horse') / qətʂi.

ride in a car tʂhetsə-ʁa dzu (car + LOC + 'sit').

automobile, car tʂhetsə (< Ch. chēzi).

have a holiday de-çe (DIR + 'release'; possibly a calque of Chinese fàngjià).

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

language ʐəwɑ.
pass on a message phə stɑ.
spoken words mele.
speak, say dʐe.
talk (vt.), say jə.
chat, gossip pethiɑu pə (< Ch. bǎitiáo).
ask keˀl.
answer (vt.) he-ʐgue (DIR + 'answer').
whisper (vi.) hama-ȵi kə-jə ('quiet' + adverbial marker + thus + 'say').
be silent ʂquə-stʉ̤ə ('mouth' + 'to store').
call (vi.), shout (vi.) ʁoi.
respond verbally hɑ-sɑ (= 'make a sound').
story ʂkupu-mele ('gorilla' + 'words').
tell a story ʂkupu-mele dʐe ('story' + 'say').
telephone (n.) tianχuɑ (< Ch. diànhuà).
telephone (v.) ʁoi (tianχuɑ ʁoi) (= 'shout, call').
letter, book ləɣz.
message (oral) phə.
write (a letter/book) ləɣz ʐe ('letter' + 'to write').
mail a letter ləɣz stɑ ('letter' + 'entrust to').
read a book ləɣz tse ('book' + 'to look at').
read aloud zdə.
recite lessons from memory ləɣz bie ('book' + 'carry on back' (calque from Chinese?)).
teach, study su.

literate ləɣz χsɑ ('letter' + 'understand').
illiterate ləɣz mɑ-χsɑ ('letter' + NEG + 'understand').
diligent nɑ-ji su ('good' + adverbial marker + 'study').
draw / paint a picture χuɑ-thɑ (< Ch. huà + AUX).
newspaper pɑutʂə (< Ch. bàozhǐ).
read newspaper pɑotʂə tse ('newspaper' + 'look at').
paper ze:ˀ.
pen, writing brush ʐe-s ('write' + instrumental nominalizer) / pi (< Ch. bǐ).
ink (fluid) me (< Ch. mò).
shape qəs.
sign (v., n.) suqhu / i-tʂi-(s) (becomes a noun with -s nominalizer).
trace jimi-gʉ (= 'footprint').
bundle (CL) pɑ (ɑ-pɑ; < Ch. bǎ).
paste, glue (n.) maha.
glue (vi.), paste, stick (vt.) məmɑ.
paste up ʂpe.

RELIGION

god ɑpə xsə ('grandfather' + 'god').

deity (family god) tɕi-xs ('house' + 'god').

worship god, sacrifice (to the gods) xsə ɕtɕə ('god' + 'feed; respect').

ghost, spirit du-gu̥-mi: (mi: = 'eye(s)').

incense fəts ~ fət ~ fut(s) (possibly < Tib. spos).

incense burner futs-ə-ʂə-s ('incense' + 'put, place' + instrumental nominalizer).

burn incense fut tsə ('incense' + 'burn').

temple xsə tɕi ('god' + 'house').

monastery xsə tɕi ('god' + 'house').

boddhisatva leme (< Tibetan).

tell the future suə suɑ (< Ch. suàn).

efficacious tʂe.

fate lez.

pagoda la-xse ('stone' + 'god').

auspicious jiqhuɑ ɕe ('chest (bodypart)' + 'beautiful').

white stone ʁlu-ɸi ('stone' + 'white'; the white stone (a piece of flint) is invested with spirits).

FESTIVALS

Qiang Festival (held in Autumn; also used for Lunar New Year) (ʐme) dʑe.

Solar New Year's Day ʁəˈ dʑe ('Chinese' + 'festival').

observe the New Year dʑe ɕe ('festival' + 'release').

crack firecrackers ɕe (= 'release').

swear brotherhood or sisterhood; to pledge in a sworn brotherhood gul se (= 'make friends'; gul = 'friend').

adopt, raise pəˈʐ.

take a wife də.

take a husband ɣʐə.

wedding or other set date zət.

groom, bride mi-xs ('person' + 'new'; calque from Chinese?).

remarry (of woman) ȵai-e:-tɑ ɣʐə ('another' + 'one (+CL)' + goal marker + 'marry').

birthday senʐə (< Ch. shēng-rì).

birthday mə (= 'one's symbolic animal').

celebrate birthday senʐə bəl (< Ch. shēngrì + 'do').

dress a newly dead person fɑ ləlɑ ('clothes' + '(ex)-change').

burial clothes lɑu-ji (< Ch. lǎo-yī (老 衣)).

coffin qhoʁu.

put the dead into the coffin qhoʁu-ʁɑ le ('coffin' + LOC + 'put in').

watch the coffin containing the corpse gəˈgəˈ.

hold a funeral procession he-kue (= 'take out').

inter, to bury guele ~ kuele.

grave məp.

tombstone mopei (< Ch. mù-bèi).

cremation ʐbə.

human nature, friendliness zen tshen (< Ch. rénqíng).

make friends　gul se ('friend' + 'make (friends)').

hail (v., to say hello)　z̺mətʂi pə.

keep company　gul pə ('friend' + 'do').

make a visit (to friends)　g u l tse-k ('friend' + 'look at' + 'go').

welcome, to receive　də.

receive (visitor), entertain　ɕtɕə (= 'feed').

host/master　tɕip (tɕi = 'house'; -p < PTB *pa 'male gender marker; formative suffix').

guest　dz̺u.

send presents　pɑnɑ dz̺u ('things' + 'send').

gift, present　u-lu-tɕ pɑnɑ (DIR + 'send' + genitive/relative marker + 'thing').

treat (others to a meal, etc.)　tɕip dzuə ('host/master' + 'sit').

invite guests to give a party　dz̺u-ɕtɕ ('guest' + 'invite/ feed').

see a visitor off　ɕe (= 'release').

be a guest　dz̺u pə-k ('guest' + 'do' + 'go').

set up a banquet　ə-ʂ (= 'to place').

take a seat at a dinner table　ə-zu̥ (DIR + dzu 'sit').

start serving a banquet　kuʂu̥ əʂ ('vegetables' + 'to place').

thank for a gift　z̺ə hɑ-sa ('affair, matter' + DIR + 'make sound').

thank for an act of kindness　z̺ə hɑ-sa ('affair, matter' + DIR + 'make sound').

'excuse me'　mɑ-tʂuə-s-tɑ ŋuə (NEG + 'pay attention' + nominalizer + LOC + copula).

'please have a seat'　ə-zu̥-nɑ (DIR + 'sit' + 'good').

'stop, don't trouble yourself to come out'　ə-tɕə (= 'stop (walking)').

GAMES AND PLAY

play　ʁz̺əlɑ / ʂuɑ-thɑ (< Ch. shuǎ + AUX; used more commonly than the native word ʁz̺əlɑ).

toy　ʂuɑ thə-s ('play' + AUX + instrumental nominalizer).

somersault　tɑntɕigugu.

shuttlecock　tɕantsə (< Ch. jiànzi).

play the shuttlecock　tɕantsə ʁue ('shuttlecock' + 'throw').

take a step　dɑ-ʁuɑ.

play hide and seek　e-wu e:-ipi-kə-bəl ('one' + agentive marker + 'one (plus classifier)' + 'hide' + 'go' + 'do').

cards　phai (< Ch. pái).

play card game　phai ɕe (phai < Ch. pái + 'release, play').

dice　ʂqɑn̺i (= 'stones').

play jacks, dice game　ʂqɑn̺i ʁue (ʂqɑn̺i is seven stones thrown like dice; ʁue = 'throw').

ball　pou tɑn.

play ball　pou tɑn thə.

song, music　zəm.

sing　zəm tshuə.

whistle (n.)　ɕtɕyl.

whistle (vt.)　ɕtɕyl phə ('whistle (n.)' + 'blow').

flute　tɕhəl.

play the flute　tɕhəl phə ('flute' + 'blow').

gong χomu.

sound the gong　χomu ʐete ('gong' + 'strike, beat').

drum ʐbu.

hit a drum ʐbu ʐete ('drum' + 'strike, beat').

dance zəm χsutu ('song' + 'jump').

movies tia-jin (< Ch. diàn-yǐng).

watch a movie tia-jin tse (= 'look at').

camera　tʂauɕan pə-s (< Ch. zhàoxiāng　+　'do'　+ instrumental nominalizer).

take a photo mi:-laŋu̯ qua ('mirror, lens' + 'close') / tʂauɕan pə / tʂauɕan qua (tʂauɕan < Ch. zhàoxiāng + pə 'do' or qua 'close').

win tu-qu.

lose ɦo-qu.

BODYPARTS

body pe˧ʂen.

body hair xupɑ (= 'fur').

skin ʐe:pi ~ ʐepi.

wrinkle phutu.

mole, birthmark ʂpaimi.

bone ʐeke.

marrow ʐeke-ʂ (ʐeke = 'bone').

tendon, vein gə˧.

fat (n.) tsha (< PTB *tsa, used to refer to the fat of animals) / tshini (used to refer to the fat of people).

blood sɑ.

bleed sɑ hɑ-lɑ ('blood' + 'come out ('DIR + 'come')').

sweat (n.) xtʂu.

sweat (v.) xtʂu lu ('sweat (n.)' + 'come').

body dirt khue.

callous, blister, corns on the feet tsuəq.

grow callous skin, raise a blister tsuəq sə˧-ʂp.

pus ʂpə-sɑ (sɑ = 'blood').

breathe (in) məs e-xku̯ ('breath' + 'inhale').

breathe out məs he-ɕi ('breath' + 'exhale ('release out (DIR + 'release')')').

pant (v.) (məs) ɕiɕi.

yawn (v.) laχu̯ tə-lɑ.

doze məzi pə / quətɑ.

head qə-pɑtʂ ('head' + 'round').

top of the head qə-stɑ ('head' + 'place').

dandruff zdadzi.

head hair qə-ŋu̯ ('head' + 'hair').

hair whorl ʐbə (= 'dragon').

bald-headed dzoq-pɑtʂ ('hair' + 'round').

back of the skull, occiput wulu-χotʂ (χotʂ = 'mountain ravine').

brain qə-n̠i ('head' + 'brain' < PTB *nuk).

temple qɑɕtɕy.

forehead zduxku.

face quaha.

eyebrow, eyelash mi:-xkɑm (mi: = 'eye(s)').

eyes, eyeball mi: (< PTB *mik ~ myak).

eyelid miapi ('eye' + 'skin (< z̟epi)').

white of the eye mi:-phiʂ ('eye' + 'white').

secretion in the eye mi:-χʂ ('eye' + 'excrement').

tears ʁləq.

shed tears ʁləq ɕi ('tears' + 'release').

cross-eyed mi:-daqhuɑ ('eye' + 'slanted, crooked').

twitching of the eyelid mi: χsutu ('eye' + 'jump').

have a sty qɑp sə-lɑ ('sty (= 'jar')' + DIR + 'come').

ears n̠ukṳ (n̠u possibly < PTB *g/r-na).

ear lobe n̠ukṳ-qulu ('ear' + 'point').

soft secretion of the ear n̠ukṳ-tshuʂ.

nose ɕtɕy-tsṳ (ɕtɕy < PTB *sna 'nose').

ridge of nose ɕtɕy-tsu: ('nose' + 'pillar').

base of nose ɕtɕyts-kopu ('nose' + 'root').

nostril ɕtɕyts-z̟o:pu ('nose' + 'hole').

mucus from the nose χa.

have a running nose χa lu ('mucus' + 'come').

blow the nose χa sue ('mucus' + 'blow (the nose)').

hard secretion from the nose χa-kupɑ ('mucus' + 'burnt rice (that sticks to pan < Ch. gūobā)').

flat-nosed ɕtɕyts-pɑtʂ ('nose' + 'round').

mouth, opening of the mouth ʂqu.

lips zdekṳ.

tongue zəq (q final probaby from qə 'head, point' (Liu 1984)).

tongue tip zəq-qulu ('tongue' + 'point').

root of the tongue zəq-kopu ('tongue' + 'root').

fur on the tongue ʂqu ma (ʂqu = 'mouth').

saliva, spittle tʂuɑ / tsə-s (tsə = 'water').

phlegm tshup-qha.

spit (v.) tʂuɑ phə ('saliva' + 'spit, blow').

teeth ʂuə (< PTB *swa).

incisors, front teeth ʂuə-zdu 'tooth' + male marker).

canine teeth dza.

tartar ʂuə-χʂ ('tooth' + 'excrement').

gums (of teeth) ʂuə-z (ʂuə = 'tooth').

lose one's milk teeth ʂuə ləlɑ ('tooth' + '(ex)change').

protruding teeth dza qəpi ('canine teeth' + 'protrude').

cheek tɕipi.

cheekbone tɕini.

sideburn, mustache, beard χots (< Ch. húzi).

dimples ɕi-ɕpie (ɕi = 'liquor' (+ 'thirsty'?—if this is a calque on Chinese jiǔwō it should

be 'nest', but 'nest' is
ʐbaha)).

chin dʐo:.

freckles nʐitsə (< Ch.).

neck tʂuəke ~ tʂuki.

throat muwu.

Adam's apple dzuqtɕhi-pɑtʂ
(pɑtʂ = 'round').

shoulder, forearm jipi (ji =
'hand, arm').

armpit dʐodʐə-ʂqəl / ʐdziχqɑ
(ʂqəl = 'under(neath)').

hand jɑpɑ (also ji in combin-
ation).

right-hand na-xʂe ('right' +
'side').

left-hand ʁua-xʂe ('left' +
'side').

arm lo-pu.

elbow la-ʁuəs.

wrist sɑ ʁua.

pulse of the wrist gəˀ (= 'vein,
tendon').

back of the hand pewe (=
'instep').

palm la-xʂ .

finger, knuckles ji-sɑq (ji =
'hand'; sɑ(q) = 'section,
joint').

finger tips qulu (= 'point, tip').

fingernail ʁdʐəs.

thumb ji-miaq ('hand' + female
marker).

little finger tɕi-χtʂɑ ('most' +
'small').

middle finger ʐekʉ-tɑ-lɑ
('middle, between' +
DEF:one + CL for long thin
objects).

lines of the palm ji-ləɣz ('hand'
+ 'letter, writing, book').

fist ju-ʂpul ('hand' + 'kidney').

chest ji-qhuɑ.

breast pɑpə (= 'milk').

nipple pɑpə-qulu ('breast' +
'point').

heart ɕtɕi:mi (ɕtɕi: < PTB
*sniŋ; mi is secondary, and
dropped in compounds).

lungs tshu (< PTB *tsjwap?).

stomach sikue.

waist ʂəq.

belly, intestines pə.

small intestine bitsi.

large intestine pə-po ('intes-
tine' + 'thick').

navel pu-tʂʉ (pu = 'belly').

liver sɑ-χɑ (sɑ = 'blood').

gall bladder xtʂə.

kidneys ʂpəl ~ ʂpul.

pancreas χɑtʂʉ.

bladder tʂhəʂ.

backbone thosu.

buttocks stɑstɑ.

anus χʂu-ʐʉ ('excrement' +
'hole' (< χʂu-ʐo:pu)).

feces mi-χʂ ('person' + 'excre-
ment').

defecate χʂə ju ('excrement' +
'to move from one container
to another (= 'to spoon, pour
(tea)')').

urine bi.

urinate bi ɕe ('urine' +
'release').

expulsion of intestinal gas χʂə
(= 'excrement').

expel intestinal gas χʂə ɕe
('intestinal gas' + 'release').

penis (common term) liaq.

penis (baby term) tɕutɕu.

testicles bəˀ.

sperm, semen lieʂ.

have nocturnal emissions lieʂ
sə-lɑ ('sperm' + DIR +
'come').

vulva (common term) phoʂ.

vulva (euphemistic term) ɕpie.

sexual intercourse (common term) staχu (sta = 'buttocks (?)').

sexual intercourse (euphemistic term) bəl (= 'to do').

pregnant tɕymi le ('child' + 'exist (in a container)').

give birth i-ɕi (DIR + 'release').

leg duɑ.

thigh duɑp (duɑ = 'leg'; -p < po 'thick'?).

kneecap ʐguəq.

shinbone gəˈ.

calf of the leg dʐiʂputʂ (possibly 'foot' + 'round').

foot dʐoqu.

heel jimi-patʂ ('foot(print)' + 'round').

instep pewe (= 'back of hand').

lower leg saq.

sole of the foot paq / dʐoq-pa.

toe ji-saq (= 'finger').

toenail ʁdʐəs (= 'fingernail').

point of the foot ji-saq-qulu ('toes' + 'point').

strength guəqe.

voice, sound, noise qəi.

ribs χa:.

back tsup / jipi (upper back; = 'shoulders').

ACTIONS INVOLVING BODYPARTS

raise the head qəpatʂ ho-ʁu.

droop the head qəpatʂ ɦa-quət.

turn the head ɦa-l.

turn around (the head) zə-l / dɑ-l.

look (vt.) tse / lə.

open the eyes mi: dɑ-tʂa (= 'crack/split').

close the eyes mi: ɦa-tʂa.

blink (v.) mi: phəqphəq pə (mi: = 'eye(s)'; pə = 'to do').

gaze fixedly or fiercely ʐɑ-tʂa.

look sideways pianχuəˈ (< Ch.).

aim at ʐuzdɑ.

hear xʂuɕtɕ (ɕtɕ < *st(front vowel) < *sn, ultimately < PTB *sna; cf. Mawo dial. khɕust, Taoping dial. tɕhy⁵⁵ ȵy⁵⁵ (data from Sun 1981a); compare also 'rest' and 'painful').

smell (vt.) ɕete.

open the mouth ʂqu dɑ-qa.

close the mouth ʂqu ɦa-mmə.

open the mouth a slit ʂqu dʐaha ('mouth' + 'slit open').

purse the lips zdekṳ su-tʂhu ('lips' + DIR + 'extend, stick out').

kiss (vt.) zde tʂue pə (zde = 'lips'; pə = 'to do').

eat dzə (dry foods; < PTB *dza) / tɕhə (liquidy foods; = 'drink').

drink (vt.) tɕhə / suqu.

suck (vt.), smoke (cigarettes) tʂhe.

bite (vt.), hold in the mouth ʁdʐe.

chew (vt.) dzidzi.

gnaw at a bone ʁałi (people or animals).

lick with tip of tongue ȵete.

taste (vt.) ɑ-ʂ tse ('one' + 'time' + 'look at').

sip (vt.), suck (fingers) tʂhe-xł (tʂhe = 'suck').

swallow (v.) səʁzṳ.

choke with food sukutsu.

spurt (vt.) ɦa-f (DIR + 'to spit, blow (< phə(te))').

spit (vt.), blow (vt.) phə(te).

drool tsəs ləˀ ('saliva' + 'drip, flow').

stick out the tongue zəq ho-tʂhu ('tongue' + DIR + 'extend, stick out').

tuck under the arm dʐodʐə-ʂqɑl ('armpit' + 'under').

elbow (v.), nudge thə.

raise the hand ho-tʂhu (DIR + 'extend, stick out').

stretch out the hand su-tʂhu (DIR + 'extend, stick out').

clap the hands lɑxʂ ʐete ('palm(s)' + 'hit, strike').

let loose of the hand de-ɕi (DIR + 'release').

shake hands ʁoʂəu pə (< Ch. wòshǒu + 'to do').

clench one's fist juʂpul zu-ʁu.

point (v.) tʂə-thɑ (< Ch. zhǐ + AUX).

hold with the hand, take in the fingers, carry in the hand(s), pick up, raise (vt.) tə-tsi.

carry, bring lie.

claw (v.), clutch zə-tʂuɑ (< Ch. zhuā (?), but cf. tʂuə-tʂuɑ 'twist, crush together in the hand').

gather together xʂol.

hold firmly zə-tʂhi.

bring (as a tray) tɕy (= 'carry').

bring (polite request) ha-xkue.

hold up in both hands i-tsi (same root as in 'hold with the hand, take in the fingers', and 'raise').

raise with the hands ho-tʂhu (= 'extend').

shoulder (a load), carry on the shoulders (two people) tuə.

raise by putting something under u-xʂu / tian-thɑ (< Ch. diàn + AUX).

transport ʂqa / pɑn-thɑ (pɑn-thɑ < Ch. bān + AUX).

feel, touch (vt.) sosu χtʂa.

put, place in/on ə-ʂ.

put down rudely da-ʁu̧ (< ʁue 'throw').

pile up bə.

rub, wipe ʂaxtʂa.

rub between the hands, rub, massage ɣliete.

rub on (oil) məmə.

press down fie-tʂhe.

twist (v.), wring (a wet towel), pinch with the fingers, clutch, grasp with the hand, screw (v.), turn (doorknob) quə-tʂue.

crowded ɕtɕiɕtɕi (= 'fold' (?)).

squeeze (out) zə-tʂhi.

strangle zə-xʂ.

twist, sprain (v.) pɑtəɣl.

twist, crush together in the hand (e.g. clothes) tʂuə tʂuɑ (cf. zə-tʂuɑ 'claw (v.), clutch').

scratch dze ɸe ('itch' + 'grab, scratch (< phe')').

push ɕtɕi / thui-thɑ (< Ch. tuī + AUX).

pull, drag (vt.) ʂe-xku̧.

pull at (a string) fiɑ-(ʂe)-xku̧.

pull out stue.

draw (lots) stɑqɑ (= 'select').

disperse (e.g. sand) se.

flay, peel (vt.), open out, separate qəˀqəˀ.

separate, divide, divorce qala.

rip, tear (vt.) phiˀphiˀ (< PTB *prak).

fold (vt.) ɕtɕiɕtɕi / zəɕtɕi.

hit, strike (vt.) dʐete.

slap (vt.) qhəli.

pound, tap, strike, rap on (the head), skim, fish out, massage the back by pounding ʐete.

pick at, scrape (e.g. the nose) tʂutʂu.

pat (on the shoulder) tə-χɬi (< qhəli 'slap').

pat (on the table) phete.

pound, ram dʑe.

poke (vt.) ə-tʂ.

break into two ji-dzue ɦo-p ('two' + 'sections' + DIR + 'to do').

shake stuəstuɑ.

shake out ɦe-ɸete (< phete).

pull out, take out (from pocket) χtʂə(χtʂe).

rummage (vt.) me˩ʐ (= 'look for').

throw ʐgutu / ʁuəte ~ ʁue.

throw away da-ʁu̜ (DIR + 'throw (< ʁuəte)').

take with the hand, receive, support, prop up ɦe-ke.

embrace, hug (v.) tə-χua.

carry in the arms ɦo-χua.

ward off ə-xtʂə (xtʂə = 'to stop up') / ta-thɑ (< Ch. dǎng + AUX).

prop up, stretch out tə-tɕ.

roll up ɣlə ~ ɣlu.

wrap (vt.) quəquɑ.

tie up, bind tə-χʂ.

fill up, load lələ.

carry in upper garment phəlɑ-tɑ del (phəlɑ is the part of the upper garment that comes across the chest).

shake open, spread by shaking da-qatʂhe.

lift open (a lid) tə-qe.

pry open tə-tɕhɑu-thɑ (DIR + < Ch. qiào + AUX).

cover from head down ɦɑ-ʂ / ɦɑ-que.

ladle (vt., water) tə-zɑ (zɑ = 'ladle (n.)').

scoop from one container to another ju.

line up, queue up phai-thɑ (< Ch. pái + AUX).

tread on tʂhuen (< Ch.).

stamp the feet dzoqu tshuate.

step across dɑ-ʁuɑ.

limp (n.) tɕhəq-lɑ.

run phu (possibly < PTB *ploŋ).

kick tʂhu.

kick (as a horse), kick back pɑχʂu tʂhu.

kick off coverings quɑtɕi sə-ʁu ('quilt' + 'turn over').

cross the legs zə-pelɑ.

bind the feet ɕyte-de ('binding' + 'wrap').

sit (up) dzuə (said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan of Ch. zuò).

sit down ə-dzuə.

stand (up), get up tu-ju.

squat tuen-thɑ (< Ch. dūn + AUX) / ɦe-gue (said by Sun (1988:58) to be an old loan from Chinese guì 'kneel').

stoop ɦo-ʁu.

kneel, bow (vi.), prostrate and knock head on ground ʁuə-tshu (tshu = 'jump').

lean against ə-qhuɑ (qhuɑ = 'slanted').

lie down ɦɑ-n (DIR + 'sleep').

lie flat on the stomach pun nu qu.

sleep face down pun nu qu-ȵi nə ('lie flat on stomach' + adverbial particle + 'sleep').

sleep on one's back   mutu tə-l-ȵi nə ('lie on back ('sky' DIR + 'look')' + adverbial particle + 'sleep').

sleep on one's side   e-xʂe dɑ-l-ȵi nə ('one' + 'side' + DIR + 'look' + adverbial particle + 'sleep').

slip (v.)   ɬɑ.

stumble, fall down, slip and fall   dɑ-ɬɑ (fall because ground is slippery (ɬɑ = 'slip'; < PTB *kla) / da-que (fall because of tripping over rock, etc.).

jump   χsutu / tshu.

crawl   bə-tɕ pə ('bug' + genitive particle + 'do').

rush on   zu-χsu (DIR + 'jump').

run against   ə-t.

move or slip away or to one side (v.)   de-xtse.

hide   i-pi (i-pi / i-pi-k) (< PTB *pak).

meet   e-tʂepe.

carry on the back (child or objects)   bie.

GROOMING

wash face   quaha χuəlɑ ('face' + 'wash').

pan for washing face   səlɑnphən (< Ch. xǐliǎnpén) / tshiphen.

take a bath   pe˧ʂen χuəlɑ ('body' + 'wash').

wash the feet   dʐoqu χuəlɑ ('feet' + 'wash').

shampoo the hair   qəpatʂ χuəlɑ ('head' + 'wash').

soap   jits (< Ch. yízi).

washcloth, bath towel   phɑtsə (< Ch. pàzi).

toothbrush   ʂuə-χuəlɑ-s ('tooth' + 'wash' + instrumental nominalizer).

brush one's teeth   ʂuə χuəlɑ ('tooth' + 'wash').

rinse one's mouth   ʂqu χuəlɑ ('mouth' + 'wash').

wipe the anus (after defecating)   tshɑ-thɑ (< Ch. cā + AUX).

make up (v.)   dʐə dʐə.

comb (n.)   quəsə ~ qusa ~ quə-si ('head' (?) + 'comb' (?) < PTB *si (?)).

comb the hair   qəpatʂ khe˧χ ('head' + 'comb' (khe˧χ < khe˧-khe˧ < PTB *kwi (?)).

dress up the hair   tutu.

pigtail (tied with hemp)   quxʂul.

pigtail (not tied with hemp)   dzoq / qutɕu.

plait the hair (vt.)   kepi.

have a haircut (male), shave the head   qəpatʂ khue ('head' + 'scrape, shave').

have a haircut (female)   tua (Qiang women don't normally cut their hair).

shave the head bald   kuɑŋthəu khue (< Ch. guāngtóu + 'scrape, shave').

shave beard   χots khue ('beard (< Ch. húzi)' + 'scrape, shave').

LIFE, DEATH, AND ILLNESS

life suə.
whole life (one's whole life) e-ṣe ('one' + 'die').
be born ʐi-ji ('exist' + CSM)
give birth i-ɕi (DIR + 'release')
living, to be alive χsu (= 'to jump' (?)).
raise (children) peˑʐ.
watch (the children) tse (= 'look at').
young in age ṣuəs me-le ('years/age' + NEG + 'exist').
grow up (vi.) tə-wa (DIR + 'big (< ba)').
be grown up tə-wa-ji (DIR + 'big (< ba)' + aspect marker (CSM)).
old of age, become old dɑ-p (DIR + 'old').
become tired tə-tʂhue ɕtɕaq mo-lu (DIR + 'move' + heart' + NEG + 'come' = 'not want to move').
rest ʑdʑə (< *na; cf. 'disease', 'hear', 'nose').
sleep nə (also used for 'lie down') / məzi (fully asleep).
dream (v.) u-ʐmu (DIR + 'dream'; < PTB *r-mang).
talk in sleep məzi-q pə (məzi = 'sleep'; pə = 'to do').
fatigued ɦo-ṣu.
part from qale.
die (vi.) ṣe (has special form for DIR prefix: die-ṣe).
have maggots bəl de-ʐi ('worm' + DIR (= become) + 'exist (animate refer-ent)').
corpse ʐmu ~ ʐmə.
age pə / ṣuəs (= 'years').
year old pə.

disease, illness, pain(ful) ʑdʑi (< *na; cf. 'hear', 'rest', 'nose').
ill tə-ʑdʑi (DIR + 'disease, be ill' = 'become ill').
infect dɑ-tsu.
not feel well leme mo-lu ('spirit, energy' + NEG + 'come').
moan (v.) tsəɣdʐ.
get well u-xṣu.
have headache qəpatʂ ʑdʑi ('head' + 'be painful, ill').
feel dizzy qəpatʂ su ('head' + 'turn, spin').
eyesight blurred mi: lampə tə-la ('eye(s)' + 'flower' + DIR + 'come').
deaf nuku bu ('ear' + 'deaf'; bu < PTB *baŋ).
sneeze (v.) i-səu pə (pə = 'to do').
have a stuffy nose ɕtɕyts mɑ-nə ('nose' + NEG + 'good').
remove teeth ṣuə stue ('tooth' + 'pull out').
have decayed teeth bəl-wu ṣuə dzə ('bug, insect' + agentive marker + 'tooth' + 'eat').
burp (v.) qhup-tul.
nauseating dowa-ṣ-ke: ŋuə ('vomit' + 'think about' + DEF:CL + copula).
vomit (v.) dowe.
have the mumps tʂueχ.
hoarse qei hɑ-sə-mɑ-lə ('voice' + DIR + 'make sound (< sɑ)' + NEG + 'able (< dʐə)').
nervous, palpitating heart ɕtɕi:mi χsutu ('heart' + 'jump').
heart disease ɕtɕi:mi-ʑdʑi ('heart' + 'disease; be ill, painful').

have tuberculosis lɑupin (< Ch. láobìng).

strain, sprain (one's back, muscles) do-quła.

have indigestion pə-le: mɑ-nə-ke: ŋuə ('intestines' + DEF:CL + NEG + 'good (< nɑ)' + INDEF:CL + copula).

have stomachache sikue qhə˩qhə˩ ('stomach/belly' + 'be painful, hurt (only used for stomach pain)').

have diarrhea sikue ʐdʑi ('stomach, belly' + 'disease; be ill, painful').

have dysentery, diarrhea kuə (tə)-ʂɑ.

feel numb tə-ɣzə (DIR + 'hot (peppery / spicy)').

have cramps gə˩ su ('tendon' + 'turn, spin').

shiver (v.), shudder (v.) leme xse ('spirit, energy' + 'move').

catch chill tə-nian-thɑ (DIR + < Ch. liáng + AUX).

have fever tə-si (DIR + 'hot' = 'become hot').

have the measles bu dɑ-tsu̥ ('rash' + DIR + 'meet with').

have pockmarked face matsə (< Ch. mázi).

dropsy pə phəphɑ ('intestines, belly' + 'swell').

have asthma tshup tshu (tshu = 'cough'; cf. tshup-qhɑ 'phlegm').

hysterical ʂentɕin tshu (< Ch. shénjīng + 'meet with').

have cholera ʂa-χʂə dɑ-tsu̥ ('blood' + 'stool(feces)' + 'meet with').

have leprosy dzu.

have lice xtʂe de-w ('lice' + DIR + 'exist').

have underarm odor tʂoqu-bəχtsi ('weasel' + 'smell bad').

have goose flesh pufu̥ hɑ-lɑ (hɑlɑ = 'come out').

have piles (hemorrhoid) luku ʐdʑi ('backside, read end' + 'illness, pain').

get a splinter tshəmɑ ə-tʂə ('thorn' + DIR + 'to stick').

scald oneself fie-tʂi.

heal, close (of wound) zəmmɑ.

grow into a scar jinpi quət ('wound' + 'cover (quə)').

whip mark jimi-ku̥ (jimi = 'footprint'(?)).

wound, sore jinpi.

get wounded ʂɑn tu-tsu̥ (< Ch. shāng + DIR + 'to get (illness), suffer').

wrap a wound lələ.

have prickly heat ʐ̩əfetsə (< Ch. rèfèizi).

have sores jinpi fio-p ('sores' + DIR + 'become')

have the itch, scabbies pie-dzu (pie = 'pig').

have nosebleed ɕtɕy-sɑ lu ('nose' + 'blood' + 'come').

constipation kaitʂu fio-p.

smallpox bu.

heal disease tʂhop.

examine the disease / see a doctor ʐdʑi tse ('illness' + 'look at').

acupuncture jin tʂen (< Ch. yínzhēn).

make up a prescription phei-thɑ (< Ch. pèi + AUX).

medicine sipe.

dose of medicine fu (ɑ-fu̥) (< Ch. fù).

pill sipe-patʂ ('medicine' + 'round').

liquid medicine sipe-tʰɑn ('medicine' + 'soup (< Ch. tāng)').

make a decoction sipe ʂqu ('medicine' + 'boil').

take medicine sipe dzə ('medicine' + 'eat').

drink liquid medicine sipe tɕʰə ('medicine' + 'drink').

medicinal plaster kɑojɑu (< Ch. gāoyào).

apply a plaster kɑujɑu ʂpe ('plaster' + 'to paste').

ointment jokɑu (< Ch. yào-gāo).

rub ointment jokɑu məma ('ointment' + 'rub').

poison duə.

hospital jiʁuɑn (< Ch. yīyuàn).

WARFARE

army gueˈ.

bow lə (< PTB *d-liy).

crossbow qʰuɑtəq.

slingshot pʰipʰəntsə (< Ch.).

shoot an arrow or gun qʰu.

gun soqʰu.

bullet xtʂə.

shoot a gun soqʰu qʰu.

target ʐuə.

shoot the target ʐuə zdɑ (ʐuə = 'target').

ambush (vt.) ipi (= 'to hide').

guard (vt.) gəˈgəˈ.

surround (vt.) tɕʰytɕʰy.

win (in some contest) tu-qu.

be defeated ɸio-qu.

truce ɸiɑ-tʂuə.

KINSHIP

name (n.), surname, clan name ʐmə (< PTB * r-miŋ).

be called, be named or surnamed ʐmə / ŋuə (ŋuə = copula).

regard as ŋuə (= copula).

count as ɕɑ-ŋu̜ ('allow' + copula).

relatives kuə-ɳ̺ɑ-tsə (< 'older brother' + 'and' + 'sister'; refers to close relatives) / stuəm ~ stum (refers to relatives with the same surname) / tsuoʁlumi (refers to women from a family who have married into other families).

married relationships tɕʰintɕia (< Ch. qīnjiā).

senior generation ʂuəs-le-m ('age, years' + 'exist' + agentive nominalizer).

great-grandfather jipɑ.

great-grandmother jimɑ.

paternal grandfather (address term), maternal grandfather (address and quoting term) ɑpɑ.

paternal grandfather (quoting term) ɑpɑ / qɑpɑ (-pɑ < PTB *pa).

paternal and maternal grandmother (address and quoting term) utumɑ.

parents mɑ:-ɳ̺ɑ-tɑtə ('mother' + 'and' + 'father').

father (address term) tɑtə.

father (quoting term) tɑtə / ep.

mother (address term) mɑ:.

mother (quoting term) əw.

husband's or wife's mother (address and quoting term) khəstɑ.

paternal uncles upu.

father's elder brother (address and quoting term), mother's sister's husband ipi.

father's elder brother's wife, mother's sister imi.

father's younger brother upu.

father's younger brother's wife, elder brother's wife itɕi.

father's sister's husband ɑtsɑ.

father's sister n̻in̻i.

wife's father (quoting term) puku̧.

mother's brother ɑkuɑ.

mother's brother's wife iʂpəi.

of the same generation e-pei ('one' + 'generation (< Ch. bèi)').

husband wutɕupu.

wife sətsim.

brothers tuə-tuə-wa (< tuətʂ-tuə-ba 'younger brother' + 'older brother ('brother' + 'big')').

elder brother (address term) ku: (< Ch. gē?).

elder brother (quoting term) tuə-wa ('brother' + 'big (< ba)').

sister call brother mə.

brother call sister ɣlu.

younger brother (quoting term) tuətsu̧.

sisters tsi-satsu̧ ('girl' + 'younger sister').

elder sister tsəi (< Ch. jiě).

elder sister's husband ɑtsɑ.

younger sister (quoting term) satsu̧.

siblings of father's sisters; of mother's brothers and

sisters, cousins lɑupiɑu (< Ch. lǎobiǎo).

cousins on father's or mother's side tuə-tuə-wa (= 'brothers').

junior generation ʂuəs-me-le-m ('age, years' + NEG + 'exist' + agentive nominal-izer).

son tʂi (= 'boy').

son's wife tsuɣzu (tsu < tsi 'girl/daughter' + ɣzu < ɣzə 'marry'(?)).

daughter tsi (= 'girl').

daughter's husband tʂi-mi ('boy/son' + 'person').

brother's son or daughter dzi.

sister's child ʂpəts (male or female).

grandchild zə-tʂu̧ (< PTB *za + tʂuə 'child').

great-grandson lə-tʂu̧ (< PTB *b-liy + tʂuə 'child').

family tɕəu-lo-qpi ('home' + DEF:one: + DEF:one-family).

sworn brothers lokun (< Ch. lǎogēng (老 庚)).

friend gul / tɑχu.

intimate friend gul.

neighbor məq-to-qpi ('above' + 'DEF:one-family') / thex-to-qpi ('that side' + 'DEF:one-family') / qəl-lo-qpi ('below' + 'DEF:one-family').

villagers (same village) ɑ-tshəp.

family members o-qpi ('one' + 'family').

baby tsiɕi.

child tɕymi / tʂuə (now used mainly for the young of animals, but appears in some compounds referring to humans).

boy, male, married man tʂi.

girl, female, married woman tsi.

young man ɕauχots (< Ch. xiǎohuǒzi) / ʂuəs-me-le-m ('age, years' + NEG + 'exist, have' + agentive nominalizer).

bachelor tokun (< Ch. dúgēn (獨根)).

unmarried young woman tsam.

pregnant woman tɕymi-le-m ('child' + 'exist (in container)' + 'agentive moninalizer).

widow kuɑmutsə (< Ch. kuǎmǔzi).

old man qɑpɑ (= 'paternal grandfather').

old woman qotu.

adult ba-tə-m (ba = 'big'; -m is agentive nominalizer).

first born tɕi-wa (< tɕi-ba; 'most' + 'big').

youngest child tɕi-χtʂɑ ('most' + 'small').

twins a-ʁue ('one' + 'placenta').

single child tʂi-xtʂ (male) / tsi-xtʂ (female).

orphan kɑp / kɑpətʂ.

TYPES OF PEOPLE

person, human being mi.

in-group tɕile-mi (3pl pronoun + 'person').

outsider tɕile-mi mɑ-ŋ̥ų̃ə (3pl pronoun + 'person' + NEG + copula).

stranger mɑ-sə-m mi (NEG + 'know, recognize' + animate nominalizer + 'person').

townpeople tʂhənʂɑ-mi (< Ch. chéngshì + 'person').

countryfolk zɑ-ʁə-bəl-əm ('earth, land' + locative particle + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).

person from another province waisen-mi (< Ch. wàishěng + 'person').

foreigner waikue-mi (< Ch. wàiguó + 'person').

bald-headed person dzoq-patʂ ('hair' + 'round').

blind person (mi:) khəᵻp (('eye') + 'blind').

blind mi: ɦa-khəᵻp ('eye' + DIR + 'blind') / mi: mo-tɕu ('eye' + NEG + 'see').

one-eyed person mi: e-xʂe khəᵻp ('eye' + 'one' + 'side' + 'blind').

person who wears glasses jantɕintsə-de-m (< Ch. yǎnjìngzi + 'wear' + agentive nominalizer).

deaf person n̠ukų pu ~ n̠ukų-bu ('ear' + 'deaf').

deaf bu (< PTB *baŋ).

dumb person ʁua.

dumb qəi hɑ-sə-mɑ-l ('sound' + DIR + 'make a sound' + NEG + 'able').

harelipped person o-qu tɕhuetɕhue ('one' + 'mouth' + < Ch. quē).

person who stutters tɕetsə (< Ch. jiēzi) / ʂqu-tshi (ʂqu = 'mouth').

person with missing front teeth ʂuə-ẓo:pu ('tooth' + 'hole').

person with pockmarks mɑtsə (< Ch. mázi).

lame person tɕhəqlɑ / peitsə (< Ch. bǒzi).

lame tɕhəqlɑ.

humpbacked tsupu.

simpleton he-me-the (DIR + NEG + 'able').

mad person, crazy person ʁuʁu-m ('curse, be crazy' + agentive nominal-izer).

Tibetan (name of ethnic group) ʂpe (= 'people of the grasslands').

Tibetan language ʂpe-ʐ ('Tibetan' + 'speech').

Han (name of ethnic group) ʁəˈ.

Han person (common derogatory term, literally 'rotten Han person') ʁəˈ-p-tsuquɑ ('Han person' + p + 'rotten').

Han language ʁəˈ-ʐ ('Han'+ 'speech').

rGyalrong (Jiarong; name of ethnic group) tʂhəp.

Qiang (name of ethnic group) ʐme.

Qiang language ʐme-ʐ ('Qiang' + 'speech').

Yi (name of ethnic group) lolo.

Hui (name of ethnic group; Moslems) pie-pies ma-se-m (< 'pig'-'meat' NEG-know-NOM 'those who don't know pork') / χuitsə (< Ch. húizi).

common people pesi (< Ch. bǎixìng).

poor people ma-qə-m (NEG + 'wealthy' + agentive nomi-nalizer).

rich people qəqə-m ('wealthy' + agentive nominalizer).

work (vt.) bəl (= 'to do').

train ɕunnʐian pə (< Ch. xùnliàn + 'to do').

hire, to employ ku (< Ch. gù).

salary ɕinʂui (< Ch. xīnshǔi).

master tɕi-p ('house' + formative affix < PTB *pa).

servant ʁua-m ('help' + agentive nominalizer).

officer ɣzə.

teacher ləɣz-su-m ('book, letter' + 'teach, study' + agentive nominalizer).

student ɕosen (< Ch. xuéshēng) / su-m ('teach, study' + agentive nominalizer).

farmer zɑ-ʁə-bəl-əm ('field, land' + locative postposition + 'to do' + agentive nomi-nalizer).

hunter qhu-m ('hunt' + 'agent-ive nominalizer).

landowner titʂu (< Ch. dìzhǔ).

herd, shepherd (v.) ɕtɕy

cattle shepherd xʂe-ɕtɕy-m ('cattle' + 'herd, shepherd (v.)' + agentive nominal-izer).

pig tender pie-ɕtɕy-m ('pig' + 'herd, shepherd (v.)' + agentive nominalizer).

butcher pie-tʂə-m ('pig' + 'kill' + agentive nominalizer).

woodchopper sə-gue-m ('wood' + 'chop' + agentive nominalizer).

tailor fɑ-jeji-m ('clothing' + 'sew' + agentive nominal-izer).

barber qəpɑtʂ-khue-m ('head' + 'scrape, shave' + agentive nominalizer).

carpenter mutsan (< Ch. mùjiàng).

blacksmith dʐy-m ('forge' + agentive nominalizer).

forge (thing) out of iron dʐy.

mason tɕi-xɬie-m ('house' + 'build (pile bricks)' + agentive nominalizer).

doctor ʐdʑi-tʂhop-əm ('illness' + 'heal, cure' + agentive nominalizer (with epenthetic vowel)) / ʐdʑi-i-thɑ-m ('illness' + 'heal, cure' < Ch. yī + AUX + agentive nominalizer).

household servant ʁu a - m ('help' + agentive nominalizer).

c o o k stuɑhɑ-bəl-əm ('food, rice' + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).

doorkeeper dʑy-gəˀ-m ('door' + 'to guard' + agentive nominalizer).

master of a trade səfə (< Ch. shīfù).

apprentice su-m ('teach, study' + agentive nominalizer) / thuti (< Ch. túdì).

merchant təts-pə-m ('trading' + 'to do' + agentive nominalizer).

do business təts pə ('trading' + 'to do').

shopkeeper χuɑ-m ('sell' + agentive nominalizer).

assistant in a shop, waiter gul (= 'friend').

soldier gueˀ.

military officer gueˀ-ɣz ('army' + 'leader').

jail keeper, guard gəˀgəˀ.

to guard gəˀ.

monk χoʂɑn (< Ch. héshàng).

beggar wasi-m ('beg, demand' + agentive nominalizer).

thief, pickpocket (n.) ʂkuə (< *PTB r-kuw).

VERBS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN PEOPLE

beg (for money) wasi (= 'demand').

steal, pickpocket (v.) ʂquatʂ.

rob dʐuədʐue.

cheat phian-thɑ (< Ch. piàn + AUX).

joke (verbally, v.) dʐaɕtɕi-s dʑe ('laugh' + instrumental nominalizer + 'say').

brag (v.) χtuχtu.

argue tsən-thɑ (< Ch. zhēng + AUX).

criticize phəiphan pə (< Ch. pīpàn + 'to do').

ridicule sarcastically or in disguise ʁuɑkhu pu (< Ch. wākǔ + 'to do').

lie (v.) pianχu ɕtɕe (pianχu = 'lie (n.)').

make a mistake de-tshi (< Ch. cuò).

incite to contention qəz ʁue.

tease (vt.) dʐaɕtɕi-ʐ ('to laugh' + causative suffix).

provoke ʐe-thɑ (< Ch. rě + AUX).

blame (vt.) kuɑi-thɑ (< Ch. guài + AUX).

upbraid xe.

scold, curse (v.) xe / ʁuʁu.

use bad words eˀ-kɑn-tsə (< Ch. èrgànzi).

get scolded tuəptɕi.

quarrel ʐməməˀ.

act as peacemaker , persuade someone not to fight xʂe.

intercede ɦiɑ-tʂu.

advise tɕhuan-thɑ (< Ch. quàn + AUX).

give in to ʐɑn-thɑ (< Ch. ràng + AUX).

deal with negligently məq-məq ('top, above' + 'top, above'; = 'sloppy').

conceal stuə.

assume falsely ʂpatə.

offend people tetsui pə (< Ch. dézuì + 'to do').

hinder, to get in the way mi-ʂkue-m ('(other) person' + 'pull' + agentive nominalizer) / bəl-əʐ-mo-ʁu ('to do' + causative suffix + NEG + 'allow').

bully (vt.) məq sə-lə ('top, above' + DIR + 'look').

compel, force (vt.) tɕhiɑnphe pə (< Ch. qiángpō + 'to do').

keep for oneself tʂɑn-thɑ (< Ch. zhàn + AUX).

wedge in; to crowd into the line tɕhɑ-thɑ (< Ch. chā + AUX).

intercept, to stop (vt.) fie-qe.

crowd (v.) tɕi-thɑ (< Ch. jǐ + AUX).

tell tales of, to play trick on suɑn-thɑ (< Ch. suàn + AUX).

fight (vt.) quə-quə (= reciprocal form of quɑ 'to hit').

get beaten zə-dʑi.

chase away he-w.

scram! he-xtse.

call 'help' tə-ʁuɑ-l (DIR + 'help' + 'come').

'don't move' tɕe-mexɬe (prohibitive prefix + 'move').

consult dʐidʑi (the NP representing the person consulted takes the comitative particle -ɳɑ).

beg (for a favor) tɕhiu-thɑ (< Ch. qiú + AUX).

promise (vt.) ʁu (= 'be willing').

imitate su (= 'study, teach').

depend on khɑu-thɑ (< Ch. kào + AUX).

help (vt.) ʁuɑ.

protect pɑufu pə (< Ch. bǎohù + 'to do').

rescue (vt.) tɕiu-thɑ (< Ch. jiù + AUX).

beware of i-tsi.

look after tʂɑuku pu (< Ch. zhàogù + 'to do').

attend (someone) tshiχou pə (< Ch. cìhòu + 'to do').

requite (vt.) pɑutɑ pə (< Ch. bàodá + 'to do').

avenge a grievance pɑutʂhəu pə (< Ch. bàochóu + 'to do').

meet with tse (= 'to look at, see').

meet (by chance) e-tʂipe ~ e-tʂepe.

summon (vt.) do-ʁoi (DIR + 'to call, yell').

send phɑi-thɑ (< Ch. pài + AUX).

give command minnɳin pə (< Ch. mìnglìng + 'to do').

lead (vt.) tɑ-ɕtɕy.

cause (vt.) bəl-əʐ (use -ʐ ~ -əʐ suffix after verb, or if no verb, then 'to do' + causative suffix).

wait for zuly.

hasten, to urge tshui-thɑ (< Ch. cūi + AUX).

give də-l ~ de-l (< DIR + le; cf. 2sg form: delen).

decline (refuse) fie-qe-mo-ʁu ('accept' + NEG + 'willing').

accept, seize and arrest fie-qe.

exchange (vt.) ləlɑ.

take the place of tɑithi pə (< Ch. dàitì + 'to do'; usually use causative suffix on copula to express this meaning).

compensate phei-thɑ (< Ch. péi + AUX).

hand down fiɑ-tʂhuɑn-thɑ (DIR + < Ch. chuán + AUX).

select (as) stɑqɑ.

hold a meeting ʐmu tsu ('meeting' + 'hold (meeting)').

meeting dismissed ʐmu tsu dɑ-s ('meeting' + 'hold (meeting)' + DIR + 'finish').

sue kɑu-thɑ (< Ch. gào + AUX).

search the person sɐu-thɑ (< Ch. sōu + AUX).

detain tɕynʐiu tu-pu̯ (< Ch. jū-liú + DIR + 'to do').

release (from captivity) de-ɕi (DIR + 'release').

flee du-fu (DIR + 'flee/run (< phu)'; possibly < PTB *ploŋ).

pursue dzɑ.

murder mi qəti ('person' + 'slaughter').

overtake (in pursuit) ə-dzɑ-k (DIR + 'pursue' + 'go').

use (vt.) ʂə-thɑ (< Ch. shǐ (使) + AUX).

waste (vt.) χɑχə pə ('waste' + 'to do').

keep (vt.) hɑ-ʂ (DIR + 'place').

try (vt.) ɑ-ʂ ('one' + measure word for actions; no auxiliary verb for this meaning, simply add this measure to imply doing tentatively).

prepare tʂunpəi pə (< Ch. zhǔnbèi + 'to do').

put (things) away, hide (things) tə-ʂu.

look for meⁱʐ.

forget (something), l e a v e behind, forget to take da-m (< DIR + root).

compare pi-thɑ (< Ch. bǐ + AUX).

make up the proper amount tshou-thɑ (< Ch. còu + AUX).

succeed he-the.

fail he-me-the (DIR + N E G + 'succeed').

OK, acceptable fie-se.

unable to sustain / resist ti-thɑ-mɑ-l (< Ch. dǐ + AUX + NEG + 'able').

mark / make a sign qhuə.

like, love (vt.) topu.

love (a child) (vt.), favor to excess ge.

spoil (a child) ge-tʂu̯ ('love' + 'child').

long for, want to (do something) ɕtɕək lu ~ ɕtɕɑq lu ('heart' + 'come').

fascinated by, addicted to fi o-topu (DIR + 'to like, love').

laugh (at) (v.), smile (v.) dʐɑɕtɕ.

anger (vt.) tə-khue-ʐ (DIR + 'angry' + causative suffix).

lose one's temper phitɕhi fa-thɑ ('temper (< Ch. píqì)' + < Ch. fā + AUX).

weep, to cry zei.

pity, piteous (vt.) ɕtɕi χqəs ('heart' + 'pity').

jealous, envy (vt.) qhu.

dislike (vt.) mo-topu (NEG + 'to like, love').

hate (vt.) χən-tha (< Ch. hèn + AUX) / qhu (= be jealous of, to envy).

tire of əʁn̩i (= 'fatty' (calque from Chinese?)).

fear (vt.), afraid (vi.), worried qu ('have been frightened' = do-qu (DIR + 'be afraid')).

opinion jitɕian (< Ch. yìjiàn).

decision, resolution tʂuji (< Ch. zhǔyì).

intention jisə (< Ch. yìsī).

plan, device tɕiχua (< Ch. jìhuà).

know, be clear about, understand, r e m e m b e r dʐukṳ le ('knowledge'(?) + 'exist (in a container)').

comprehend χsa.

become aware of, enlightened tɕowu (< Ch. juéwù).

misunderstand de-tsha (DIR + 'mistake').

think about, worry, to put to heart ʐbotɕu.

speculate, to guess tshai-tha (< Ch. cāi + AUX).

fancy, imagine ɦo-ɣodʐu.

believe ɕtɕe.

make an effort to remember tʂequa.

recognize, know (someone) sə(s).

recognize (on meeting someone, exchange chat) ʐmətʂi pə.

want tɕhe ~ tɕhi.

demand (vt.) wasi.

value, regard as rare ɕiχan (< Ch. xīhǎn).

ought to, should V-s ŋṳ ə (verb + instrumental nominalizer + copula) / ʁze (auxiliary verb).

have to V-s ŋṳ ə (verb + instrumental nominalizer + copula).

worthy of (doing), may do bəl-ji me-tɕhi ('to do' + exclusion particle + NEG + 'want'; = 'can do').

willing (to), prefer ʁu.

not willing mo-ʁu (NEG + 'willing').

dare xʂu.

capable of, know (how to) ɣʐə.

pretend ʂpaqta pə / tʂuaŋ-tha (< Ch. zhuāng + AUX).

ability, capability pənsə (le) (< Ch. běnshì (+ 'to exist')).

STATIVE VERBS (ADJECTIVES)

cold məpα.
cool stu.
hot, warm si.
hot (to the touch), sultry, stuffy and hot dʐidʐi.
stuffy məs tə-ɕi-mα-l ('air' + DIR + 'release' + NEG + 'able').
hungry ɦie-ʂue.
thirsty (ɦie)-ɕpi.
full, satiated χə ~ tə-χə.
fatty, oily (of food) əʁɳi.
drunk ɕi-q tə-qα ('liquor' + 'head' + DIR + 'go').
itchy dze.
comfortable (of person) ɕtɕi:mi-q-tα-nα-ke: ŋuə ('heart' + 'head' + locative postposition + 'good' + INDEF:CL + copula; = 'inside the heart is a good one').
busy, urgent, pressing tɕin-thα (< Ch. jǐn 'tight' + AUX).
leisurely, unimportant mα-tɕin-thα (NEG + 'busy (< Ch.)' + AUX).
tickle dʐαɕtɕi qhu ('laugh, smile' + 'carve').
frustrated bəl-ʂqu ('to do' + 'difficult').
delicious je.
it tastes bad me-j (NEG + 'delicious (< je)').
sweet tʂhə.
sour tsue.
bitter qhα ~ qhαq (< PTB *ka).
hot (peppery) ɣzə (= 'numb'; used for both numb-type hotness and chili-type hotness).
astringent tsisti.

salty dzə.
flavorless, insipid mα-zə (NEG + 'salty (< dzə)').
brittle, crunchy qhαpqhαp.
soft, uncrisp, spongy, fluffy mαtʂə.
smell (vt.) ɕete.
fragrant xu.
fresh (of food) ɕinɕyαn (< Ch. xīnxiān).
smell bad, musty (of cereals), rotten (of meat, etc.), rank (smell of urine, fish) bəχtʂi.
big bα.
small, tiny χtʂα / ɕi.
tall, high ti-wi (DIR + 'tall', but wi not used alone).
low, short (of height) ɦie-gi (DIR + 'short', but gi not used alone).
long dʐə (< PTB *s-riŋ (?)).
short (in length) watsi.
thick (eg. thread) po.
fine (eg. thread) bətsi.
broad, wide lα.
narrow tʂhitʂhi.
thick lie.
thin khikhi.
deep tʂhα.
shallow mα-tʂhα (NEG + 'deep').
round pαtʂ / jyαn-ti (< Ch. yuán de).
upright ə-ɣl (DIR + 'roll, turn'; = 'turn/roll over').
turn over (the wrong side), reversed ɦiα-ɣl (DIR + 'roll, turn').
upside down qə tə-tsʉ ('head' + DIR + 'stand, vertical').
slanted, inclined, sloping tα-qhuα (DIR + 'slanted').
horizontal (n.) χuαntɕhi (< Ch. héngzhe).

vertical tə-tsʉ.
straight stə.
steep xepi.
crooked qəwe.
level phin-(thɑ) (< Ch. píng; with -thɑ is adjective, without -thɑ is noun).
concave quətʂɑ.
convex tu-phuqʉ.
blurred u-tɕu-mɑ-l (DIR + 'see' + NEG + 'able').
good-looking ə-l-nɑ (DIR + 'look (< lə)' + 'good').
ugly looking ə-l-mɑ-nɑ (DIR + 'look (< lə)' + NEG + 'good').
giant tɑ-χəˡ (< Ch. dàhàn).
skinny die-ʂe-ʂ (DIR + 'die' + 'appearance' (used for cursing out someone)).
shabby, tattered garments bɑhɑ (= 'poor, remote, out of the way').
clumsy and bulky, bulging pie-se ('pig' + 'oil').
nauseating, unsightly dowɑ-ʂ ('vomit' + 'think about, want to').
vexed leme mo-lu / ɕtɕi-kʉ mɑ-nɑ ('spirit, energy' + NEG + 'come' / 'heart' + 'inside' + not' + 'good').
suitable qhuɑt (= 'just right').
angry tə-khue (DIR + 'angry').
sad ɕtɕi-kʉ mɑ-nɑ ('heart' + 'base' + NEG + 'good').
grievous, sad ɕtɕi χqəs we ('heart' + 'pity' + 'exist').
glad, happy ɕtɕi-kʉ nɑ ('heart' + 'base' + 'good').
self-satisfied qətsə-mɑ-l ('modest' + NEG + 'able').
detestable mei (< me NEG + jə 'good (to eat)' (?)).

terrible, frightening qu-s we ('be afraid' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').
bashful dʐoχu.
embarassed dʐoχu-s we ('be bashful' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').
lose face, be disgraced quahɑ me-we ('face' + NEG + 'exist').
shameful dʐoχu mɑ-χsɑ ('be bashful, ashamed' + NEG + 'know, understand').
distressed ɕtɕi:mi zdz(i) ('heart' + 'be ill, be painful').
patience ɕtɕi tse ('heart' + 'look at').
peaceful, quiet hama (of people) / ʂquap (of the surrounding environment).
free from anxiety qu me-tɕhi ('be afraid' + NEG + 'want').
grateful ʐɑhɑsɑ.
difficult(y), tired ʂqu ~ χqu.
red, pink ɕupu.
yellow, orange color χɑʂ.
blue lɑn-ti (< Ch. lán de).
white phiʂ ~ phi.
black n̠ix ~ n̠iq (< PTB *nak; the final is secondary).
green χɑf-ʐəu (χɑf = 'grass').
grey phiɑque.
colorful lɑpɑ (= 'flower').
loud sɑ.
soft voice qəi χtʂɑ ('sound' + 'small').
light (in weight) ɣʐu.
heavy dzə.
loose de-phɑʂ (DIR + 'loose', but phɑʂ not used alone).
tight ə-χʂ (DIR + 'tight', but χʂə not used alone).
cram in tightly sə-xtʂ-təi (DIR + 'cram' + 'very').

taut tə-χʂ-təi (DIR + 'tie' + 'very').

dry juku.

wet (n.) matʂɑ (takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

moistening zə-ʐuen-thɑ (DIR + < Ch. rùn + AUX).

soft matʂtʂɑ.

tender lən-thɑ (< Ch. nèn + AUX).

hard, tough (of meat, rice) ʂkuɕtɕu (tu-ʂkuɕtɕu = 'become hard').

tough, old, spoiled, bug-eaten (of vegetables) ɦɑ-tsu̥qɑ (if fruit on a tree, then hɑ-tsu̥qɑ).

scorched, burned (of rice) ɕtɕap.

raw χatʂəq.

done, ripe ɦɑ-m (DIR + 'done, ripe' < PTB *s-min).

cooked till tender ɦɑ-m-təi (DIR + 'done, ripe' + 'very').

thin (of liquid) thɑnəʂ.

thick (of liquid) be.

sparse, not dense qha.

dense tɕhi.

smooth ɬaɬə (cf. ɬɑ 'slippery').

slippery ɬɑ.

wrinkled ə-tuə (of clothing) / phə-tuə (of skin).

scattered ɕiɕi (ɕi = 'release').

empty me-le (NEG + 'exist (in a container)').

full tə-sue.

overflowing ha-χɬe.

hollow (of grain) zə-piaq (piaq < Ch. biǎn (?)).

solid (of grain) sə-p.

sharp tse.

dull me-tse (NEG + 'sharp').

pointed tsaq.

blunt ma-tsaq (NEG + 'pointed').

new xsə.

old bɑ.

steady wen-thɑ (< Ch. wěn + AUX).

unsteady stəstuɑ.

torn de-pi.

chipped (of cup, etc.) o-qu do-tshu ('one' + CL (mouth) + 'fall out').

broken da-ʁe.

fragmentary nin-ti (< Ch. líng de).

orderly, regular, uniform, even khep.

disorderly (of things), uneven luan (< Ch. luàn; with -thɑ is adjective, without -thɑ is noun).

mildewed and spoiled (of wood) səptsuqɑ.

strong, lasting ʐgue.

flimsy ma-gu̥ (NEG + 'strong, lasting (< ʐgue)').

good nɑ.

bad, not good enough, poor quality, mɑ-nɑ (NEG + 'good').

of passing/indifferent quality, plain, second-rate tsa:n-mɑ-nɑ ('too' + NEG + 'good', = 'not too good').

rare (n.) ɕiχan (< Ch. xīhǎn; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

unusual (n.) ɕitɕhi (< Ch. xīqí; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

strange (n.) tɕhikuai (< Ch. qíguài; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

difficult ʂqu.

easy ze.

knotty (problem) (n.) mɑfɑn (< Ch. máfán; takes the copula or pe 'become' to be predicative).

rough (of road) sei-mɑ-nɑ ('walk' + NEG + 'good').

expensive, valuable p h u - l u ('valuable' + 'cost').

cheap, worthless mo-fu̥lu (NEG + 'expensive (< phulu)').

worth, worthwhile χuɑsuan (< Ch. huāsuàn).

clean kantsi (< Ch. gānjìng; although this is a loan word, it is used as an adjective in Qiang without an auxiliary verb or copula).

dirty mɑ-kantsi (NEG + 'clean').

early dʐɑ.

late ʁlɑ.

quick, fast łułu-(wa) / sei-dʐə ('walk' + 'able') / khuɑi-thɑ-wɑ (< Ch. kuài + AUX + 'very').

slow bɑstɑ.

accurate ʐuə-stɑ ('target' + 'accurate').

bustling lauʐe (< Ch. nàorè; although this is a loan word, it is used as an adjective in Qiang without an auxiliary verb or copula).

crowded with (people) tɕi-thɑ (< Ch. jǐ + AUX).

remote, out of the way bɑhɑ (= 'poor').

safe qu-s me-we ('be afraid' + instrumental nominalizer + NEG + 'exist').

dangerous qu-s we ('be afraid' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').

harmful mei (< me NEG + jə 'good (to eat)' (?)).

harmless, unimportant qu me-tɕhi ('be afraid' + NEG + 'want').

advantageous bəl-əs je ('to do' + instrumental nominalizer + 'good (to eat)').

gay and extravagant, luxurious kən-nɑ ('very' + 'good').

fat (of people) tə-phɑ / tshini we ('fat (n.)' + 'exist').

fatty (of meat) tsha we ('fat' + 'exist').

lean tsha me-we ('fat' + NEG + 'exist').

thin (of people) bəʁei.

strong bedi.

weak fiɑ-tsə (become weak).

state of being well nɑ-ji ŋuə ('good' + adverbial particle + copula).

famous mintɕhi le (< Ch. míngqì + 'exist').

correct pe.

wrong me-pe (NEG + 'correct').

poor ma-qe (NEG + 'rich').

rich qəqe.

lucky lez we ('luck' + 'exist').

unlucky lez me-we̞ ('luck' + NEG + 'exist').

temper phitɕhi (< Ch. píqì).

behavior, attitude thɑitu (< Ch. tàidù).

bad-tempered, irritable phitɕhi mɑ-nɑ ('temper' < Ch. + NEG + 'good').

impatient ɕtɕi:mi χsutu-wa ('heart' + 'jump' + 'very').

fierce, courageous, brave χən-thɑ (< Ch. hěn (狠) + AUX).

trustworthy, honest pənfən (< Ch. běnfèn).

cunning tɕiɑu-thɑ (< Ch. jiǎo + AUX).

designing jin-səkue (< Ch. yǐn + 'tail').

k i n d ɕtɕi:mi nɑ ('heart' + 'good').

considerate ɕtɕi:mi ʂə ('heart' + 'exist').

strong character tshutɕu ʂku ('character' + 'hard (< ʂkuɕtɕu)').

weak (of character) tshutɕu mo-ʂku ('character' + NEG + 'hard (< ʂkuɕtɕu)').

bold, greedy for money ɕtɕi:mi bɑ ('heart' + 'big').

timid ɕtɕi:mi χtʂɑ ('heart' + 'small').

stubborn tshutɕu ʂku ('character' + 'hard (< ʂkuɕtɕu)').

bold and aggressive tʂhoŋ-thɑ (< Ch. chōng + AUX).

clever, smart tshimpe.

quick, smart qə łɑ ('head' + 'slippery'; calque from Chinese huátóu 'slippery head').

capable bəl-dʐə ('to do' + 'able').

stupid pən-thɑ (< Ch. bèn + AUX).

foolish, dull, stupid, ignorant (n. or v.) χɑpɑu (< Ch. cǎobāo; can take kən 'very', e.g. kən χɑpɑu le: 'the very stupid person').

cute topu-s we ('to like, love' + instrumental nominalizer + 'exist').

lively χsutu-dʐə ('jump' + 'able').

good (of a child) ʐəwɑ-xʂuɕtɕu̥ ('speech, words' + 'listen').

naughty, mischievous ʐ ə w ɑ mo-xʂuɕtɕu̥ ('speech, words' + NEG + 'listen').

spoiled (of child) məq tə-ʁɑ ('top' + DIR + 'go').

irritating, annoying (n.) t u p - tɕim.

proud tɕɑukɑu pə (< Ch. jiāo-ào + 'to do').

modest qətsə.

generous jɑpə bɑ ('hand' + 'big').

niggardly, miserly jɑpə χtʂɑ ('hand' + 'small').

mad, out of one's mind tu-ʁu (= 'become mad'; DIR + 'curse, crazy').

unconscientious məq-məq ('top' + 'top').

careful, conscientious ɕtɕi tse ('heart' + 'see').

careless, headless ɕtɕi me-tse ('heart' + NEG + 'see').

mean-spirited dʐuəʂ qhu ('teaching (jiàoxùn)' + 'hate').

act in a blushing manner dʐoχu (= 'be bashful, ashamed').

childish tɕymi-qəs we ('child' + 'form' + 'exist').

taciturn mele tsan-dʐe-kə mɑ-p ('words' + 'too' + 'say' + thus + NEG + 'to do').

long-winded, garrulous, talkative mele dze-dʐə ('words' + 'say' + 'able').

like to tell tales of others mi-wəstɑ-mi dʐe-kəpə ('person' + 'behind' + 'person' + 'say' + habitual aspect marker).

jokeful dʐɑɕtɕis dʐe-dʐə ('joke (< 'laugh' + instrumental nominalizer)' + 'say' + 'able').

diligent bəl-dʐə ('to do' + 'able').

lazy ʂqə / lɑn-tha (< Ch. lǎn).

nervous ɕtɕi:mi χsutu-wa ('heart' + 'jump' + 'very').

in a hurry, hurried ataʐ (= 'quickly').

bewildered, in a fluster χuɑn-tha (< Ch. huāng + AUX).

slyly hama-n̠i.

quick ɬuɬu-wa ('fast' + 'very').

sluggish bastə (= 'slow').

clumsy jɑpə mo-ʁu ('hand' + NEG + 'willing').

skillful jɑpə ʁu ('hand' + 'willing').

TIME PHRASES

four seasons t s a q - s u ə q ('spring/summer' + 'autumn/winter'; traditionally the Qiang only recognized two seasons).

spring-summer tsaq.

autumn-winter suəq.

year pə.

this year tsə-p ('this' + 'year').

next year ein̠i.

year after next dze-p-n̠i (cf. 'day after tomorrow', 'day after day after tomorrow'; p < pə 'year'; n̠i = adverbial marker).

last year nə-p (cf. 'yesterday'; p < pə 'year).

year before last dʐə-p (cf. 'day before yesterday'; p < pə 'year').

beginning of the year ɑ-pə-tɕ fio-luɑ: ('one' + 'year' + genitive marker + DIR + 'come' + PRS).

end of the year ɑ-pə-tɕ fio-tshu ('one' + 'year' + genitive marker + DIR + 'fall').

all year round ɑ-p ('one' + 'year').

month ɕ(ə) (= 'moon').

first lunar month tʂə-ɕ / a-ɕ (both 'one' + 'moon/month').

this month tsa-ɕ (('this' + 'one') + 'moon/month').

last month qə:¹-la-ɕ ('before' + DEF:one + 'moon/month').

next month steke-la-ɕ ('after' + DEF:one + 'moon/month').

end of the month a-ɕ fio-tshu ('one' + 'moon/month' + 'fall down (DIR + 'fall')').

first day of the lunar month tʂu-tɕu ('one' + 'beginning (< Ch. chū)').

day sə.

today pə-s (s = 'day').

tomorrow təp-ɳ̣i.

day after tomorrow sudʐu-ɳ̣i.

day after day after tomorrow dʐusu-ɳ̣i.

yesterday nə-s (cf. 'last year'; s = 'day').

day before yesterday dʐ̣ə-s (cf. 'year before last'; s = 'day').

day before day before yesterday dʐ̣ə-dʐ̣ə-s ('day before yesterday' reduplicated).

this morning pəsu-quɑ (pəsu (= pəs) 'today' + 'morning (< ətsquɑ)').

tomorrow morning təpotsquɑ ('tomorrow' + 'morning').

this evening pə-maha ('today' + 'evening').

tomorrow evening təp-maha ('tomorrow' + 'evening').

day after tomorrow evening sudʐu-maha ('day after tomorrow' + 'evening').

yesterday evening nə(i)-maha ('yesterday' + 'evening').

day before yesterday evening dʐ̣əi-maha (cf. 'day before yesterday' + 'evening').

daytime ɕtɕuχɭu (ɕtɕu < *ɕtɕə < PTB *sni; u due to vowel harmony).

nighttime gəs.

whole day ɑ-s ('one' + 'day').

from morning till night ɑ-sə˧wu ('one' + 'day' + 'all' (retroflex vowel on 'day' is part of 'all')).

whole night e-jə˧wu ('one' + 'night' + 'all' (retroflex vowel on 'night' is part of 'all')).

dawn, daybreak mu tu-su ('sky' + DIR + 'bright').

sunrise mujuq-ə-tsṳ ('sun' + DIR + 'shine').

morning ətsquɑ ~ otsṳquɑ.

before noon dza:-tɕikṳ ('midday meal' + 'before').

noon dza:-tɕhɑ-ʁɑ ('midday meal' + 'eat' + locative/temporal particle).

afternoon dza:-khui ('midday meal' + 'after').

sunset ɦɑ-xtʂəp (DIR + 'dark' (= 'become dark')).

evening maha.

night je (< Ch. yè).

midnight panji (< Ch. bànyè).

every other day ɑ-s-pe-ɳ̣i ('one' + 'day' + 'become' + adverbial particle).

overnight e-je-pe-ɳ̣i ('one' + 'night (< Ch.)' + 'become' + adverbial particle).

hour, o'clock tian (< Ch. diǎn).

what day is today? (ask date) ɳ̣ɑ-ɕə-tɕ-ɳ̣o-tɕu ('how much' + 'moon, month' + genitive postposition + 'how much' + 'beginning (< Ch. chū)').

what time is it? (ask time) ɳ̣ɑ-tian-pe-ji-ŋuɑ ('how much' + 'hour, o'clock (< Ch.)' + 'become' + CSM + Q).

week ɕiŋtɕi (< Ch. xīngqī).

LOCATION PHRASES

place zə-p / zə-pəq (zə = 'land, earth, field').

be at a place, existential verb, to have ʐ̩i (animate referents only) / we (immovable referents) / le (location within a container) / ʂə (inanimate movable referents only) / xu (similar to ʂə but also takes nominalized clause).

not at (home) me-ʐ̩i (NEG + 'exist (animate referent)').

face (to the east) ɑ-l (DIR (inside/toward the mountain) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

face (to the south) sə-l (DIR (downriver) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

face (to the north) nə-l (DIR (upriver) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

face (to the west) tə-l (DIR (up) + 'look'; use of directional prefix relative to position of village).

front tɕi-qe:ˈ ('most' + 'before, front').

central, middle ʐ̩egu̬ ~ ʐ̩eku̬.

back steke.

location, place where something is ʐ̩i-s-tɑ / we-s-tɑ (both 'exist' + nominalizer + locative postposition).

inside tɕiquɑ / ʐ̩aχuɑ (deeper inside than tɕiquɑ).

outside ʁuɑ-lɑ ('outer side' + locative postposition).

above məq-tɑ ('top' + locative postposition).

top (n.) qə-s-tɑ ('head' + 'place (nominalizer + locative postposition)').

below qəl-lɑ ('below' + locative postposition).

underneath ʂqəl.

side, neighboring, next door, surrounding pienɑ.

both sides ji-xʂe ('two' + 'side').

around dʐuku̬-tɑ.

opposite the-xʂe ('that' + 'side').

east mujuq-hɑ-lə-s-tɑ / musi-hɑ-lə-s-tɑ (both 'sun' + 'come out (DIR + 'come')' + nominalizer + locative postposition).

west mujuq-ə-xɬ-s-tɑ / musi-ə-xɬ-s-tɑ (both 'sun' + 'go down (DIR + 'move')' + nominalizer + locative postposition).

south khi-lɑ locational noun, 'downriver').

north n̩i-lɑ (locational noun, 'upriver').

left (side) ʁua.

right (side) na.

world ʐ̩mə-ʂ (the people of the world; ʐ̩mə = 'people').

home tɕəu-lɑ.

everywhere, the whole floor / ground tɕetɕi-lɑ.

along (the road) (gue:ˈ)-tɑ / -wu ('road' + locative or ablative postposition).

far guaha.

near gue-n̩i.

MOVEMENT

move mexɬe.

s t o p ə-χ (stop doing an activity) / ə-tɕə (stop walking).

start əʁʁe.

come   lu (imperfective) / lɑ (perfective).

go kə (unprefixed imperfective) / -ʁə prefixed imperfective or prospective (e.g. /daʁ/ 'go out') / -qɑ prefixed perfective (e.g. /ɦɑqɑ/ 'went down').

ascend tə-ʁ (DIR + 'go').

descend ɦɑ-ʁ (DIR + 'go').

enter, advance (v.) ə-ʁ (DIR + 'go').

exit hɑ-ʁ (DIR + 'go').

return (v.) (come back)   i-pə-l (DIR + 'arrive' + 'come').

cross (v.), go around dɑ-ʁ (DIR + 'go').

retreat (v.) hɑ-ʁ (DIR + 'go') / he-thue (DIR + 'retreat (< Ch. tuì)').

turn around ə-l (DIR + 'look').

turn a corner zə-fie (DIR + 'turn').

go around in a circle fie.

surround itɕhye.

pace back and forth zə-ʁ dɑ-ʁ (DIR + 'go' + DIR + 'go').

be (copula) ŋuə.

resemble a-qəs we ('one' + 'form' + 'exist').

appear hɑ-lɑ (DIR + 'come').

disappear me-ʐi-ji (NEG + 'exist' + change of state particle).

lose (thing) do-ɣʐu.

change (v.) pian-thɑ (< Ch. biàn + AUX); (changes of state are often marked by the addition of a directional prefix rather than by use of this loan word).

QUANTIFIERS

all (e-ɣle) wu (e-ɣle ('one' + plural marker) often appears as r-coloring on vowel of previous syllable + wu, e.g. sə˞ʔwu 'all day').

every (mi˞ʔ) wu (for people ('person' + 'all'; r-coloring is part of 'all')) / (as) maqa (for days, etc.).

very long (in time) kən a-ʂu pe ('very' + 'one' + CL + 'become').

whole (e-ze˞ʔ) wu (('one' + CL (with r-coloring from 'all)) + 'all').

half dzue (e-dzue 'one' + 'half').

greater half ba-le-dzue ('big' + DEF + 'half').

smaller half χtʂa-le-dzue ('small' + DEF + 'half').

one and a half e-zi-ȵa-e-dzue ('one' + CL + 'and' + 'one' + 'half').

twice as much / many e-pei ('one' + < Ch. bèi).

two times odd e-pei ma-χtʂe ('one' + 'time (< Ch. bèi)' + NEG + 'stop').

increase (v.) tə-wa (< tə-ba; DIR + 'big').

count (v.) ʂiʂi.

calculate, to count suəsuə (< Ch. suàn).

add tɕia-tha (< Ch. jiā + AUX).

subtract tɕian-tha (< Ch. jiǎn + AUX).

multiply ʂen-ji (< Ch. chéng).

divide tʂhu-ji (< Ch. chú).

zero lin (< Ch. líng).

one a / dʐə / tʂi / tʂuə (see §3.1.5 for the uses of these different forms).

two jə / ȵi (< PTB *g-ni-s/k; ȵi only used in ha-ȵi 'twelve').

three χsə / si (< PTB *g-sum; si only used in ha-si 'thirteen').

four ɣʐə (< PTB *b-lij ⋉ *b-ləj)

five ʁua (< PTB *l/b-ŋa; cf. 'fifteen').

six χtʂu (< PTB *d-(k)-ruk).

seven ɕtɕə (< PTB *s-nis).

eight khe˞ʔ (< PTB *b-r-gjat ⋉ *b-g-rjat.

nine ʐguə (< PTB *d-kəw ⋉ *s-gəw).

ten hotɕu ~ hodʐu.

eleven ha-dʐi ~ ha-tʂi ('ten' + 'one').

twelve ha-ȵi ~ ha-ȵi ('ten' + 'two').

thirteen ha-si ~ ha-si ('ten' + 'three').

fourteen ha-ʐ ('ten' + 'four').

fifteen ha-ŋuə ('ten' + 'five').

sixteen ha-tʂu ('ten' + 'six').

seventeen ha-ɕ ~ ha-ɕ ('ten' + 'seven').

eighteen ha-khe˞ʔ ~ ha-khe˞ʔ ('ten' + 'eight').

nineteen ha-gu ('ten' + 'nine').

twenty ju-su ('two' + 'ten').

twenty-one ju-su-tʂi ('two' + 'ten' + 'one').

twenty-two ju-su-jə ('two' + 'ten' + 'two').

twenty-three ju-su-xsə ('two' + 'ten' + 'three').

thirty xsu-su ('three' + 'ten').

forty ɣʐu-su ('four' + 'ten').

fifty ʁo-su ('five' + 'ten')

sixty χtʂu-su ('six' + 'ten')

seventy ɕtɕu-su ('seven' + 'ten')

eighty khe-su ~ kheᴵ-su ('eight' + 'ten')

ninety ʐgu-su ('nine' + 'ten')

h u n d r e d khe (e-khe 'one hundred'; < PTB *r-gya).

hundred and one e-khe-ɳɑ-e: ('one' + 'hundred' + 'and' + '(one + classifier)').

t h o u s a n d stu (ɑ-stu 'one thousand'; < Tibetan stuŋ (?)).

ten thousnd ʁuan (ɑ-ʁuan 'one ten-thousand'; < Ch. wàn).

ten odd hodʑu-ma-χʈʂe ('ten' + NEG + 'stop').

the first one tɕi-qəᴵ-le: ('most' + 'front' + DEF:CL).

the last one tɕi-steke-le: ('most' + 'back' + DEF:CL).

c h a m p i o n kuantɕyn (< Ch. guànjūn).

runner-up jatɕyn (< Ch. yǎjūn).

numbering χɑumɑ (< Ch. hàomǎ).

more or less, about, approximately ɑːn ~ fiɑːn (appears after numeral expression).

decrease fiɑ-χʈʂɑ (= 'become small'; DIR + 'small').

handful ɑ-pɑ (< Ch. bǎ).

some (number) ɑ-hɑ ('one' + plural marker).

several əizi (< 'one' + 'two' + CL).

a little, some (quantity) ɑ-zɑ ~ ɑ-zə (ɑ = 'one').

a little while a-i ('one' + 'time').

alone e-ze ('one' + CL).

time (one time) ʂə (ɑ-ʂ) / tɑu (< Sichuan dialect Chinese) / χui (ɑ-χui 'one time'; < Ch. húi).

PRONOUNS

I/me (1st sg. pronoun) qɑ.

you (thou) (2nd sg. pronoun) ʔũ.

he, she, it (3rd sg. pronoun) the: (< the 'distal demonstrative pronoun' + lengthened vowel to represent the classifier) / qupu (used for close relations and as logophoric pronoun).

we/us (1st plural pronoun) tɕi-le (le < ɣle plural marker; no inclusive/exclusive distinction).

we/us two (1st dual pronoun) tɕizzi (1pl pronoun + 'two' + classifier).

you (2nd pl. pronoun) ʔi-le (le < ɣle plural marker).

you two (2nd dual pronoun) ʔizzi (2pl pronoun + 'two' + classifier).

they (3rd pl. pronoun) them-le ~ themne (le < ɣle plural marker).

they/them two (3rd dual pronoun) thizzi (3pl pronoun + 'two' + classifier).

we all, all of us e-ɣle-wu ('one' + plural marker + 'all').

self, emphatic and reflexive pronoun qɑ-qəi (1sg), tɕil-tɕile (1pl), ʔĩ-ʔĩ: (2sg), il-ile (2pl), ɳi-ɳi ~ ɳi: (3sg), ɳil-ɳile (3pl) .

individual(ly) ɳutɕuku.

other people mi (= 'person').

other (things or people) nai.

whoever sə (= 'who').

a n y t h i n g iɣi (used with negative verb).

something   n̠iɣi (used with positive verb; = 'what').

everyone, all   ʐi-ʐi-me� (< 'exist (animate)' + reduplication + (animate nominalizer + plural marker + 'all')).

each one   miˀwu ('people' + 'all').

one by one   e-ze e-ze ('one' + CL + 'one' + CL).

possessive pronouns, mine   qɑ-tɕ (1sg + genitive postposition).

yours (sg.)   ʔũ-tɕ (2sg + genitive postposition).

his, hers   the:-tɕ (3sg + genitive postposition).

ours   tɕile-tɕ (1pl + genitive postposition).

yours (pl.)   ʔile-tɕ (2pl + genitive postposition).

theirs   themle-tɕ (3pl + genitive postposition).

this   tse.

that   the.

these   tsɑ-hɑ ('this' + 'one' + plural marker).

those   thɑ-hɑ ('that' + 'one' + plural marker).

here   tsɑ / tsɑkua (adding kua implies larger area than tsɑ alone) / tsu (smaller area than tsɑ).

there   thɑ / thɑkua (adding kua implies larger area than thɑ alone) / thu (smaller area than thɑ).

this side   tse-xʂe ('this' + 'side').

that side   the-xʂe ('that' + 'side').

this much, in this way   tsei ~ tsəi (tse 'this' + adverbial marker (< ji)).

that much, in that way   thei ~ thəi ('that' + adverbial marker (< ji)).

who?   sə / sə-le: (le: = DEF:CL).

what?   n̠iɣi.

which one?   n̠iɣi-le: (le = DEF:CL).

where?   tɕɑ-lɑ ~ tɕɑ: ('where' + locative postposition (or lengthened vowel representing the postposition)).

which side?   n̠iɣi-lɑ:-kua ('what' + DEF:one + 'side').

when?   n̠iɣi-lai ('what' + DEF + ɑ-i 'one' + 'time') / tɕho:.

how (to do?) -manner-   n̠i-ke: (WH-INDEF:CL).

how (in what way or form)   n̠i-qəs (WH + 'form'; this is the 'how' of peˀʂen n̠iqəs we [body how have] 'how is your health?').

why?   n̠iɣi-χuɑn̠i ('what' + cause marker).

how (good!) -degree-   wa (= 'very'; postverbal adverbial).

how much / how many   n̠a-wu ~ n̠a-we (WH + 'many').

how long (in time)   n̠i-kai (WH + INDEF + ɑ-i 'one' + 'time').

ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

also   lə.

also, in addition   jə (postverbal particle).

all   (e-ɣle)-wu (people) / ɑheˀ-wu (objects).

again   xsə (= 'new').

additionally   nai (= 'other').

mutually (mutually help each other)   e:-wu e:-tɑ ('one' +

agentive postposition + 'one' + dative postposition).

individually, separately ȵutɕuku.

o n l y ma-ŋu̯ə̯-ji (used after noun; N E G + copula + exception marker).

merely, scarcely, barely tɕi.

all together utʂuqu̯.

almost a-zə tɕa-tʂha.

previous qe:ᴵ (= 'front, before').

next steke (= 'back, after').

temporarily a-zə (= 'a little').

now tsai ('this (< tse)' + 'one time (< a-i)').

that time thai ('that (< the)' + 'one time (< a-i)').

in the future steke-ȵi ('back' + adverbial particle).

l a t e r (ɦa)-tsəi-ȵike (INT-this:ADV-after).

first (tɕi)-qe:ᴵ ('most' + 'front, before').

beforehand tɕi-qe:ᴵ.

start early a-zə dʐa-tɕ ('a little' + 'early' + genitive post-position).

continue tɕa-V.

finish (v.) da-s.

quickly, immediately ataʐ / ata-ȵi.

often, always, usually iɕtɕi-maqa ('together' + 'every').

then and only then tɕi (postposition used with negative verb to achieve this meaning).

already -ji ~ -jy (CSM).

recently tsu-ȵan-tɕi.

just now, just a while ago pə-tsa-ȵi.

formerly qe:ᴵ-lotʂu-ʁa.

from childhood tɕaχtʂəstə-wu.

just right, in the nick of time, exactly qhuat.

too late me-zde-ji (NEG-'enough time'-CSM).

still, as before, more tɕa ~ tɕe ~ tɕə ~ tɕi (preverbal adverb).

very, rather, pretty, quite w a (postverbal adverb; used mostly with stative verbs) / ken ~ gen; (preverbal adverb, has wider use than wa.).

most tɕi (verbal prefix).

too (adj.), excessively t ʂ a n (placed before adj.) / -ʂ.

slightly, somewhat a-zə (= 'a little'; 'one' + CL).

progressive aspect, 'he is eating' root form of verb: the: tɕhə [3sg eat].

perfective aspect, 'have you eaten?' prefix+V (+ ji) (ji = change of state marker): ʔũ stuaha sə-tɕh-ji-n-a? [2sg food DIR-eat-ASP-2sg-Q].

experiential aspect dʑe (post-verbal auxiliary verb).

inchoative aspect use directional prefix or change of state marker /ji/).

continuative aspect tɕa+V.

instantative aspect, 'as soon as (he eats, he vomits)' ......ȵike......pə.

additive, 'V some more!' a z ə ətɕi V.

really and truly ʁatɕhi.

terminative, 'finish (eating the rice)' V-da-s.

partitive, '(ate two apples) out of (five)' N-ʁa (= locative postposition).

possibly, perhaps V-m la-han-ŋuə (verb + agentive nomi-

nalizer + DEF:one + 'kind' + copula).

largely V-m tɑn ŋuə (verb + agentive nominalizer + appearance + copula).

not (e.g. it is not good) mɑ- ~ me- ~ mə- ~ mu- (verbal prefix).

in unison, together itɕi ~ iɕtɕi.

have not (e.g. he has no money) mɑ-ʂ (N E G + 'exist (inanimate object)').

not yet (e.g. he has not yet come) mə-tɕi-V (NEG + 'still, yet').

negative imperative, prohibitive tɕɑ-V.

need not (eg. you need not cry) V-me-tɕhi (NEG + 'want').

cannot (e.g. I cannot see) V-mɑ-lɑ (N E G + 'able (< dʐə)').

possessive marker (eg. my book) tɕ(ə) (genitive postposition).

comparative degree marker (eg. you are taller than him) s(ə) (used in following structure: NP1 + NP2-s(ə) + adj.).

empty-handed j ɑ p ə - x ʂ u ɕ u ('hand' + 'empty').

face to face utɕu-s-tɑ ('to see' + instrumental nominalizer + locative postposition).

as...as, same as (eg. you are as tall as he is) NP1 + n̠ɑ + NP2 aqəs + adj.

degree complement marker (eg. he runs very fast) V-dʐə wa ('able' + 'very').

secretly hama-n̠i.

seemingly qes-we ('form' + 'exist').

agentive marker (eg. he was hit by his brother) wu (same postposition as used for instrumental and ablative meanings).

instrumental marker (eg. to cut with a pair of scissors) wu (same postposition as used for agentive and ablative meanings).

side, inside, (locational particle) kua (used in combination with demonstrative pronouns, e.g. tsɑkua 'here'; also seems to be morpheme aside from 'heart' in ɕtɕiku̠ na 'happy' [heart-in good]).

from wu (ablative postposition; same form as agentive and instrumental postposition).

horizontally χuɑntɕhi (< Ch.).

in place of (eg. do it for him) χuan̠i / -tɕ.

vertically tutsu ji.

if tu / ta / ʂə (all clause-final linkers).

according to my view ... qɑ itsi n̠ike ŋua ʂa (1sg look LNK COP:1sg LNK).

except for mɑ-ŋu̠ə tɕi (NEG-COP ADV).

when (eg. when I came) ʁza-ʁa (time-LOC / lai (< DEF + 'one' + 'time').

before (eg. before I came) mo tɕu +V + tɕ.

after (eg. after I came) V-n̠ike (marks the action in the following clause as occuring after the action in the clause where n̠ike appears).

since (eg. since you were born) V-n̠ike (= 'after').

just before (eg. just before he left) ʁza-ʁa.

cause, reason for, because wu / χuaȵi (postpositions used after clause representing the cause).

for the sake of (eg. for the sake of him) χua-ȵi (used after an NP).

since (eg. since you don't like it) tu (used clause-finally).

unless ma-ŋv̩ə tu (NEG + COP + 'if').

although ha-ŋv̩ə-lu (DIR + COP + 'come').

and ȵa.

even, including (eg. even he doesn't want to go) lə (= 'also').

both...and lə...lə (= 'also').

at the same time, while..., as... (eg. he eats while he runs) e xʂe...e xʂe.

at one time ... at another time (eg. at one time he says he is coming at another time he says he is not coming), sometimes ... sometimes ... (eg. sometimes he is naughty, sometimes he is good) ai ŋuəȵi...ai ('one time' TOP ... 'one time').

not only...but also metɕhi...tɕa...

either ... or ... ... ŋuaȵi ... ŋuaȵi (... TOP ... TOP).

either...or (interrogative) (eg. are you eating rice or eating noodles?) ... n-a ... n-a? (... 2sg-Q ... 2sg-Q).

the ... the (eg. the older he grows the smarter he becomes) a zə wu a zə.

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Notes

1. In the stories the interjections often take the form of demonstrative pronouns, but are used as fillers rather than for their lexical content. This is common in Chinese as well, but I don't know if this is by chance or due to contact influence.
2. Other members of the Qiangic branch include Pumi (Prinmi), Muya, Ergong, Shixing, Namuzi (see Sun 1982, 1983, 1985). rGyalrong is often included in this group as well, though this categorization is less than certain (see LaPolla 2000b, 2003a).
3. Studies on the culture and history of the Qiang people include Zhuang 1937; Yan 1951; Graham 1958; Luo & Shi 1983; Ran, Li & Zhou 1984; Ren 1984; Ma 1984; Zhou & Liu 1993; Xu 1993; Li, Lin & Wang 1994; Meng, Gui & Lin 1994; and Wang 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2000, 2001a, 2001b.
4. These population figures are from Sun 1981a:177; Huang Bufan 1991:208 gives the total number of Qiang speakers as approximately one hundred thousand people. Neither author gives a source for these figures. According to the 1990 census (figures cited in Zhou & Li 1993), the total population of the Qiang people is one hundred ninety-eight thousand people (it had been 102,768 in the 1982 census). If Huang's number is correct, then only about half of the people of the Qiang nationality still speak the Qiang language fluently. This seems about right, as my understanding is that there are very few fluent speakers left in the majority of the southern Qiang areas. See also Lin 1990.
5. Having the animals within the same building was to prevent theft and to maintain warmth, but as this is a rather unhygienic arrangement, the government has been encouraging the Qiang to build separate pens for the animals.
6. Before 1949 the area was quite poor, and the main economic activity was opium growing and selling. Few Qiang people were able to attend schools or improve their livelyhood. Their situation was not unlike the difficult situation the Akha people in northern Thailand still live in today.
7. The Qiang are sometimes mistakenly believed to be worshiping the white stone itself, but they are in fact worshiping the spirit invested in the stone.
8. Liu (1998b:1-3) gives a detailed history of the work done by the team in the 1950's. Fieldwork was carried out in 32 different Qiang-speaking areas, and a large amount of data was collected. Work on this data stopped for many years because of the disruption of the Cultural Revolution, although Liu and Sun have since the late 1970's tried to work up and publish the data (Liu's book, Sun 1981a, and many of the other relatively recent publications are based largely on the data collected in the 1950's).

9. This list was compiled by Yu-hung Chang, Anne Y. Hashimoto and Jerry Norman, and published by Princeton University. While this was not an ideal word list for Qiang, as it included many lexical items specific to Southeast China, it was chosen because it had both English and Chinese glosses, semantic numbering, an index, and more items than the standard lists used in China. A revised version of this list is also being used for the Qiang Dialect Atlas Project.

10. The form /n̠/ is used instead of the standard IPA /ɲ/ simply to be consistent with other works on the language published in China (where this form is standard usage), and to have the palatal series consistently marked by the curl on the right.

11. The forms /khɑ/ and /xɑ/ do not appear in Qiang, though /k-/ and /kh-/ contrast in /kha/ 'rice husk' and /ka:/ 'teeth of a sickle', and /x-/ and /χ-/ contrast in /xa/ 'scold (1sg)' and /χa/ 'sword'.

12. The analysis of the phonemic form of the prefix as /ʂ-/ (rather than /s/) may seem odd from a Tibeto-Burman comparative perspective, but based on both internal evidence, and comparative evidence from other Qiang sub-dialects (e.g. cf. Mawo dialect /ʂpi/, Ronghong dialect [ɕpie] 'thirsty'), this seems the only choice.

13. It is a puzzle why the second person pronoun has a glottal or zero initial (they don't contrast) instead of /n/ or /n̠/, as the rhyme /u/ would be a regular development from the usual Tibeto-Burman second person singular pronoun *nang*. (PTB *n- has several reflexes in Qiang, but not usually [ʔ- ~ Ø].)

14. When r-coloring is added to /ɑ/, it is usually pronounced [əʴ] or [aʴ], so we cannot determine whether there are separate /aˠ/(/əˠ/) and /ɑˠ/ forms.

15. This example has been added to show that the final r-coloring contrasts with final /-l/.

16. Even though this is true, the forms of the second person pronouns, /ū/ (singular) and /i-/ (plural) are written in this grammar with a glottal stop onset, purely to give them graphic bulk.

17. Here we are treating the glides that appear after the initial as part of the final rather than as part of an initial cluster because they do not form part of the syllable-final clusters (which are formed from initial clusters), even though historically the high-front glide has affected the initial consonant or cluster, palatalizing the initial, or in some cases (where the initial is /p/) palatalized the preinitial (e.g. *ʂpie > [ɕpie]). See the discussion of clusters later in this section, and also footnote 12.

18. In general, prefixes are preserved in the second syllable of two-syllable combinations (unless the entire complex initial is reduced), except in the case of the numerals (see §3.1.5) (and a few very old compounds such as [magu̥] 'flimsy', from /ma/ NEG + /ʐgue/ 'strong'). This would be evidence that the numeral combinations were formed at a time when the prefixes were still productive, or at least were still not seen as integral to the root, and that other combinations (where the prefixes were preserved) developed after the prefixes had become fixed as part of an initial consonant cluster.

19. Even if the form does not become monosyllabic, there will still be a reduction in the number of syllables, e.g. in (2.5b), below, where three syllables reduce to two.

20. The lateral which occurs from the weakening of /dʐ-/ is somewhat retroflexed.

21. This contrasts with languages such as Dulong/Rawang and Jinghpaw, which generally have an iambic stress pattern, and so reduction is of the first syllable rather than the second syllable (basically a southern pattern within Tibeto-Burman, possibly due to Mon-Khmer influence). See Dai 1995, Dai & Xu 1995 on Jingpo initial syllable reduction.

22. There are several forms for 'one' and 'ten'; see §3.1.5.

23. The words for 'eight' and 'hundred' can both be pronounced [khe] or [kheˠ], though in context there doesn't seem to be a problem of ambiguity. It seems the r-coloring is in the process of being lost, at least in the speech of the younger people. This homophony might seem odd, but it also occurs in the Cantonese dialect of Chinese, when final /-k/ and final /-t/ both become glottal stop in rapid speech (i.e. baat[33] 'eight' and baak[33] 'hundred' both > baaʔ[33]).

24. If more than two need to be expressed, an adverbial marker would need to be added, e.g. [tʂhetsə xsə na-ȵi khuaitɑ] (car new good-ADV fast] 'good fast new car'.

25. In Chinese it is also the case that many nouns which are themselves measures do not take classifiers or measures, particularly those of units of time, such as *nián* 'year' and *tiān* 'day'.

26. A stative verb (adjective) can also be followed by the definite marker, though the resulting form functions as a noun, not a verb.

27. One example of a non-natural referent that seems to have this structure is /soqhu qhu/ 'to fire a gun', but I am not clear on the origin of the term /soqhu/ 'gun'. James A. Matisoff (p.c.) has suggested that the first syllable of /soqhu/ might be related to /somu/ 'iron'.

28. The semantics of this noun are exactly that of Chinese *yuèliàng* 'moon' (< 'moon' + 'bright'), but as it is an item of basic vocabulary and follows a general pattern of Qiang, and the pattern is also found in a number of other Tibeto-Burman languages (Xu 1997), it does not seem to be a calque on the Chinese.

29. In the case of 'flower', the form is sometimes pronounced [lɑpɑ], sometimes [lɑmpɑ]; in general, [lɑmpɑ] is used when referring to the actual flowers, and [lɑpɑ] is used when it is an adjective, 'flowery', modifying a noun. The form [lɑm] is not used alone for 'flower' , so the gloss here is speculative.

30. This is an animal that is a cross between a common cow and a yak.

31. In some northern Qiang sub-varieties, such as the Qugu variety, the form /qupu/ is used more generally.

32. In one elicited example, given in (3.201b), the form [the:-xʂ-tɑ] 'on that side', with a long vowel, was said to mean a position farther away than that meant by [the-xʂ-tɑ], with a short vowel, but this does not seem to be a regular pattern.

33. Where the form of the verb has been altered by the addition of person or aspect marking, the original form of the verb is given at the margin.

34. Here the verb is glossed as having first person singular marking (/-ɑ/), though because the form of the prospective aspect marking (/-ɑː/) incorporates that of the first person singular marking, there is no obvious difference between first person singular prospective aspect and third person singular (zero marking) prospective aspect forms of verbs. See §4.3.2 on person marking.

35. Given this situation, and the fact that an (in)definite marker plus classifier can form a complete noun phrase (see T3:63 for an example), plus the fact that cross-linguistically definite markers often derive from demonstrative pronouns, as in English, it seems likely that the definite markers (and locative markers) of Qiang also derive historically from demonstrative pronouns. The form /te/ is not very problematic in this regard, as it could easily be related to the contemporary distal demonstrative pronoun /the/ (both possibly < Proto-Tibeto-Burman *day;* see Benedict 1972:19), but the origin of /le/ is more puzzling, as the only evidence for a /le/ or /lɑ/ demonstrative pronoun other than that used for the definite marker is the form [ɦɑlɑ], which often appears as an interjection in the Texts and seems to mean 'there'. (See also footnote 53).

36. Here the copula could have been used instead of the existential verb, but the sense would be of a state that was permanent or at least lasted a rather long time.

37. In fact one expression meaning 'story' is /ʂkup-mele/, literally 'orangutan words'. (As far as I know, there are no orangutans in Sichuan, China, but the Chinese word for the type of animal involved in these stories, which matches the imagined form of the animal, translates as 'orangutan'.)

38. Both 'eight' and 'hundred' can be pronounced either [khe] or [kheˈ]. Only the context can distinguish the two. See footnote 23.

39. As mentioned in ⁶2.2.3, this expression appears as [wu], [le-wu], [ɣle-wu], [leˈwu], [-eˈwu], or [-ˈwu]. In the case of the latter form, the final vowel of the previous word becomes r-colored.

40. Although this form seems very similar to the form [o-u] given just above, this form is made up of the word 'one' plus the initial consonant of the word for 'pile' and so there is no vowel harmony, while [o-u] involves two vowels, and so there is vowel harmony.

41. It might be argued that there is only one topic in this example, as the expression /səkue ʐdʑi/ 'stomach hurts' is predicated about the main topic, but within this predication the stomach is also a topic about which a predication is made, and an adverb such as [kən ~ gən] 'very' can appear between the second noun phrase and the verb, so it can also be said there are two topics. The second topic is a secondary topic, though, and can only take topic marking in a quoted clause, e.g. [the:-ŋuəɻi səkue-ŋuəɻi ʐdʑi jə] (3sg-TOP stomach-TOP pain say) '(He) says his stomach hurts'. See LaPolla 1995a, LaPolla & Poa 2003, for discussion of this type of construction in Chinese.

42. [χumtʂi] and [khumtsi] are common Qiang names. They are derived from the name of the animal associated with the year of birth of the individual, plus a nominalizer /-m/, plus a suffix indicating whether the person is male (/tʂi/ = 'male child') or female (/tsi/ = 'female child'). In this case /χu/ means 'tiger',

and /khu/ means 'dog' (< /khuə/), so [χumtʂi] is a male child born in the year of the tiger, and [khumtsi] is a female child born in the year of the dog ([χu-lu-m] 'the one who came in the year of the tiger', etc. is also possible). There are several other common ways of forming Qiang names: using the name (= number) of the month the person was born in, e.g. the name [kheˑtʂi] is derived from [kheˑ-ɕ] 'August' (< /kheˑ/ 'eight' + /ɕə/ 'moon, month') plus the male child suffix, so [kheˑtʂi] is a male child born in August (the eighth month); using the age of one of the parents at the time of the child's birth, e.g. [ʁuɑsuetʂi] 'son of a fifty-year-old'; using the name of the place where the mother gave birth, e.g. [joʁotsi] 'girl born on the threshing ground'; using the weight of the child at birth, e.g. [wutɕin] (< Chinese *wǔjīn)* 'five catty'; using one of the five elements, e.g. [tɕinsen] (< Chinese *jīnshēng)* 'golden birth'; using a reference to the god who was prayed to in requesting the child be born, e.g. [xsə-lu-tʂi] 'god-coming-son'. See Huang, Yu, & Huang 1992.

43. There is also use of non-actor person marking to show affectedness; see §4.3.2.
44. Here the vowel change is due to harmonizing with /ji/, and then the prefix harmonizes with the changed vowel.
45. Notice in (3.121) and (3.122) that 2nd person plus 1st person results in 1pl person marking, while 2nd person and 3rd person result in 3pl person marking.
46. Qiang only has native words for two seasons, one (/tsaq/) representing both Spring and Summer, the other (/suəq/) representing both Autumn and Winter.
47. The third person pronoun is translated as 's/he' because there is no gender distinction, and except for those examples that are taken from the stories, there was no disambiguating context (Chinese, the working language, also has no gender distinction).
48. See LaPolla 1995d on the common development of ablative markers into instrumental and agentive markers in Tibeto-Burman languages.
49. Notice here how the verb is first reduced from /tɕhə/ to [-tɕ] and then an epenthetic vowel is inserted before the /-m/ suffix.
50. The Chinese measures *zhàng* in (3.177) and *lǐ* in (3.178) are equivalent to 3 1/3 meters, or 10.8 feet, and half a kilometer, or 1/3 of a mile, respectively.
51. In a kinship relation such as this, we would normally have causative marking on the verb (see §3.2.14), but in the exclusion construction, the verb is intransitive, and there is only one direct argument (here, 'my sister'). Another example would be (i):

(i) *the:*   *o-u-stu-tɕi*   *me-ʐi.*
    3sg   one-CL-alone-EXC   NEG-have/exist
    'There is only him alone.'

52. There does not seem to be any regularity as to when [tɕi] is used as opposed to [ji ~ jə], other than emphasis. That is, when the particle is emphasized, it is more likely to be pronounced [tɕi], but if it is not emphasized, it is often pronounced [ji] or [jə].

53. There is an interesting correlation between the two definite markers, /le/ and /te/, the demonstrative pronoun /the/ 'this' (also /thɑ/ 'there'), and these locative particles /lɑ/ and /tɑ/ (see also footnote 35).

54. This is a loan from Chinese, so the individual morphemes have not been given glosses. This is also the case with '1958' below.

55. The two phrases [jɑutɕhiu] 'demand' and [tɕiu-ʂə] 'just-is' are Chinese. This is possibly a case of code-mixing in the telling of the story rather than loans.

56. Middle voice marking is found in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages (see LaPolla 1995b, 1996, 2003a), but passive marking is rare.

57. This pattern is similar to that found in Dulong and Rawang (see LaPolla 2000, 2003b), but unlike in Dulong and Rawang, the noun phrase representing the causer cannot take topic marking in this example. In ex. (4.8), where the inanimate causer is marked with the agentive marker, it would be possible to have the noun phrase representing the causee in sentence-initial position and marked by the topic marker.

58. While this structure is acceptable, most often if the causer is 3rd person and the causee is 1st or 2nd person, the direct causative is not used. Instead a quotative structure is used, as in (i):

    (i) *the:*   *qɑ-ta*   *stuɑha*   *tə-bəl-i*   *kə-ji.*
        3sg   1sg-LOC   food   DIR-make-NAR   thus-say
        'He told me to make the food.'

59. In this example it would also be possible to use a directional prefix on the copula (i.e., [hɑ-ŋ̥ə̰-ʐə]), if the person had already assumed the office. As it stands, with no directional prefix and prospective aspect marking on the verb, the sentence assumes the person has been chosen, but has not yet assumed office. That is, the prospective aspect is relative only to the becoming, not to the choosing.

60. This is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for adjective status: except for /topu/ 'like', any verb that can take /-wa/ will be an intransitive state predicate verb, but a verb that cannot take /-wa/ may also be an intransitive state predicate verb (see §4.4.1).

61. It could be that the sense of plurality is involved in both types, as the reciprocal must involve more than one person.

62. Because of the semantic nature of adjectives as stative verbs, prospective aspect can only be used with an adjective if the continuative aspect marking is used together with it, marking the sense that a state will continue to exist or develop.

63. In the case of 'potatoes' in this example and 'fish' in (4.33a-b) below, number marking is not used (though it would be possible to add [ɑ-hɑ] 'some, a few') when the exact number of items is not relevant.

64. There is another verb /kə/ that means 'walk, leave', but does not undergo the changes that the form /kə/ 'go' undergoes when prefixed, e.g. /ə-kə/ 'leave!', /tɕɑ-kə/ 'don't leave!'.

65. The change of state marker /-ji/ is not used with the negative of this construction.

66. This distinction of actor vs. non-actor parallels the use of agentive and non-agentive (ergative and anti-ergative) marking on noun phrases (see LaPolla 1992a, 1995c), and makes the Qiang system quite different from many of the other Tibeto-Burman person marking systems, which mark person primarily, and not semantic role (they are hierarchical systems). For example, in Tangut or Dulong/Rawang, marking of a first person participant appears in a clause regardless of the semantic role of that participant (see LaPolla 1992b, 1994, 2003a for discussion of person marking).

67. In the Mawo dialect (Sun 1981:192), the form /sa/ is used for all persons and numbers in the non-actor paradigm: 1sg /sa/, 2sg /saɳi/, 3sg /saji/, 1pl /saˑ/, 2pl /satɕiɳi/, 3pl /satɕiji/. From the Mawo evidence it seems the actor marking, number marking, and non-actor marking were originally three different systems.

68. These are the maximum forms possible. As the non-actor marking is always optional, and the actor marking is sometimes optional, these are not necessarily the forms that appear in the examples throughout this grammar.

69. The non-actor person marking is optional in most cases.

70. The verb /le/ never appears alone without the directional prefix /də/ for the meaning 'give', therefore no unprefixed forms are given here. There are corresponding verbs [səle] 'pack in', [zəl(e)] 'take, bring over here', and [ile] 'bring in, put in', which leads one to assume there was originally a verb /le/ that meant some kind of change of possession or movement, with the four directional prefixes (movement away from the center vs. movement downstream (here used for down-in), movement toward the center vs. movement in) determining the meaning as 'give', 'pack in', 'take', or 'bring'. This verb may in fact be the existential verb /le/, which can have a transitive use in reduplicated form (see §4.2.4), but which would possibly lose the reduplicated token when a prefix is added. The word /-ʂə/ 'put' may also be the existential verb /ʂə/ (which can also have the sense of transitive 'put' in reduplicated form) when it takes a prefix.

71. The two systems do not correspond one-to-one, as the Taoping dialect uses the cognate of the Ronghong 'movement in' prefix for marking movement up-river, and it seems the cognates of the prefixes for marking movement toward or away from the center are used for movement towards the mountain and towards the river respectively. See Nishi 1990 and Huang Bufan 1991, 1994 for broader comparative treatments.

72. The assignment of a verb to a certain class is not arbitrary; it is done on the basis of tests for each type. See Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Chapter 3 for discussion.

73. One of the few exceptions to this found so far is the form [tiwi] 'tall, high'. This form is made up of the root /-wi/ and the directional prefix [ti-], but the root cannot be used without the prefix. The combined form has the simple meaning rather than the change or state meaning.

74. There is a contrast between a nominalized adjective used with the verb /pe/ 'become', and the form of the adjective (intransitive stative verb) with the directional prefix, which gives it the sense of 'become ADJECTIVE': /tə-ɳiq/

[DIR-black] 'become black' vs. /n̠iq-ke: pe/ [black-INDEF:CL become] 'become a black thing'.

75. Not all verbs can do this, even if the semantics might allow it; in some cases if the verb can take all of the directional prefixes, then the concrete directional sense will override the more abstract sense, e.g. [ɦoɣlu] 'roll down' has no connotation of agentiveness, because it can take all of the directional prefixes, and so the use of /ɦə-/ here will be based on the actual direction of rolling.

76. For discussion of *Aktionsart* differences expressed using the directional prefixes, see Section 4.3.3.

77. See also the discussion in §4.3.3 on the use of reduplication with different directional prefixes on each token for marking a type of repeated action.

78. While logically it would seem the two could be used together, they aren't. For example, if one wanted to express the meaning 'don't do it again/anymore', the form would not be */tɕə-tɕə-bəl/, but would be [tɕa-bəl-jy] (NEG.IMP-do-ASP); for 'don't let him come again/anymore' it would not be */ɕɑ:-tɕə-tɕə-la/, but would be [tɕo-lu-z̠-jy] (NEG.IMP-come-CAUS-ASP).

79. Huang Bufan (2000) has suggested this suffix derives from /kə/ 'thus' + /pə/ 'do', but except for 'come' and 'go', generally two verbs are not used together in that way (/pə/ can immediately follow the main verb), and it is possible to have another word for 'do' in between /kə/ and /pə/, as in (i), so it would seem /pə/ does not mean 'do'.

(i) *the: khuə   ɕe-k-kə-bəl-pə.*
    3sg   dog   release-go-thus-do-habitual
    'He goes hunting.'

80. It is important to emphasize that these are the formal means of marking the associated speech-act types, not necessarily the only way of performing these speech acts. Almost any formal type can be used to perform any type of speech-act.

81. In some cases, such as the verbs for 'eat' and 'drink', the prefix usually used for the imperative is different from the prefix usually used for the other uses of the directional prefixes: [sə-z] '(S/he) ate.' vs. [ə-z] 'Eat!' (both < prefix + dzə); [sə-tɕ]'(S/he) drank.' vs. [ə-tɕ] 'Drink!'.

82. The resulting form can appear to be the same as a question form, which also has [-nɑ] at the end of the clause (see §4.3.5.3), but it does not have the same origin, i.e. the imperative particle /nɑ/ does not involve person marking, as the question form /-n-ɑ/ does, and so can be added after 2sg/2pl marking, as in /ə-zə-n-nɑ/ (directional prefix + 'eat' + 2sg + polite imperative marker) '(Please) eat!'. It also can be used with the plural, whereas the question particle /nɑ/ cannot, and the imperative /nɑ/ has a falling rather than rising intonation.

83. The form /lɑ/ is glossed as 'INDTV:1sg', even though there is no non-first person form, because there is this first person plural form.

84. The form of the verb as [tu-pu] (i.e. with the [-u] vowel) is due to the fact that the unprefixed form of 'to look after someone' is [tʂɑuku pu] (< /tʂɑuku pə/, where

the vowel of the verb /pə/ becomes [-u] due to harmony with the final vowel of /tʂɑuku/. It is unclear whether the vowel of the prefix is due to harmony with the already harmonized vowel of the verb, or due to harmony with the final vowel of /tʂɑuku/.

85. The form /ʔə̃hə̃/ sounds like the English backchannel positive response, but its meaning is the opposite of that in English!

86. The form which results from /ŋuə/ + /n̠i/ is the same as the topic marker /ŋuən̠i/, and this may be the origin of the topic marker, but they are not felt to be the same thing in this context.

87. Compare Chinese yào (要) which has the same two uses.

88. This form of nominalized verb plus the copula is sometimes used for simple statements, and even in questions, with the meaning 'it is the case that', e.g.

(i) *dza:khui   ləɣz   su-s   ŋuə-ŋua?*
     afternoon book   learn-NOM   COP-Q
     'Is there class this afternoon?'

(ii) *dza:khui   ləɣz   su-s   mɑ-ŋuə.*
      afternoon book   learn-NOM   NEG-COP
      'There is no class this afternoon'

There are also examples of this form with only the nominalized clause without the copula:

(iii) *n̠iɣi-lai   kə-s?*
       what-time   go-NOM
       'What time (do we) go?'

89. /dʐ̩ə/ is an adjective, and seems to be the same word as /dʐ̩ə/ 'long'; it is reduced to a somewhat retroflexed /-l/ after a prefix, such as the negative and continuative prefixes.

90. Cf. the systems in Hare and Sunwari discussed by DeLancey (1997), where perfective contexts yield an evidential interpretation, and imperfective contexts yield a mirative interpretation. See also Zeisler 2000 for discussion on the relationship of tense/aspect and interpretation as mirative or not.

91. The combination of inferential and hearsay marking is sometimes pronounced [kui] in stories, as in (4), but there is no difference in meaning between [kəi] and [kui] in that context.

92. This form contrasts with a direct quote, which would involve a 1st person pronoun and a full verb of speaking (i), and an indirect quote, which would involve third person forms (ii):

(i) *"qɑ ɕtɕimi zdʐa"   jə.*   (ii) *the: ɕtɕimi zdʐi jə.*
    1sg heart sick+1sg say   3sg   heart   sick say
    'He said "I'm unhappy".'   'He said he's unhappy.'

93. As the prohibitive prefix and the continuative prefix have the same form in some contexts, 'still want to go out' would have almost the same structure as 'don't go out', but due to differences in stress and aspect, the pronunciation of the former would be a bit different: /hɑ-tɕi-ʁɑ:/.

94. In this clause, [mi lewu wu qəs] functions as one argument with [qəs] as the head, and so the existential verb used is one for inanimate objects rather than animate beings.

95. Although the prospective aspect marking in these cases seems more like an irrealis marker, it is not used in all hypothetical, conditional, or unrealized situations; /-tu/ and /-ta/ are more common as conditional markers, and generally do not appear with the prospective aspect marking.

96. Cross-linguistic comparison points to the original Sino-Tibetan relative clause structure being of this type, that is, a clause directly modifying a noun without nominalization or relative marking, although most Sino-Tibetan languages have grammaticalized some sort of nominalizer or complementizer for relativization (see for example, DeLancey 1986, Genetti 1992).

97. It is an open question whether the /-s/ form here is a native innovation or an old loan from Tibetan. The lexical form in Qiang corresponding to Tibetan /sa/ is /zə/ 'ground, earth'; the voiced initial makes it an unlikely source for the suffix. On the other hand, the uses of Tibetan /-sa/ and Qiang /-s/ are not completely the same: both can be used for locations, but Tibetan does not use this form for instrumentals. See Mazaudon 1978, DeLancey 1986 on the Tibetan relative formations.

98. Yoshio Nishi (personal communication) suggests the possibility that /-tɑ/ might be derived from a noun, and here might still be functioning as a noun head in a relative clause structure of the type discussed below.

99. Usually the comitative marker is not used to link verbs unless they are nominalized, but here the first verb is missing the marker of nominalization.

100. In this example, the vowel of the last verb could be pronounced [ə] or [ɑ]. While these two vowels are usually distinguished, especially in such cases where they can represent person marking, there are a number of cases where they are not carefully distinguished. Another example is [the: tɑwɑ ɦɑ-tɑ] (3sg hat DIR-wear) 'S/he put on a hat', the final vowel of which, although phonemically /-ɑ/, could also be pronounced [-ə].

101. Notice in (5.59) that the person marking is plural, unlike in English, where the verb agreement in a disjunction of two singular noun phrases like this would be singular.

102. In this example and the following one, the verb takes the non-actor person marking to show the affectedness of the referent involved. If the referent involved were 2nd person, the form would be the same except for the person marking, which would then be /-sɑn/ or /-sɑi/ for singular or plural respectively. There is no person marking in a subordinate clause marked by [-wu] or [-ȵi].

103. The particle /tu/ is also often used in narratives without the sense of a conditional, but more as a general linker of clauses (/ta/ is only used for

conditionals). See the Texts for examples. (Cf. the development of the use of the clause particle /na/ in Tibetan from a general marker of clause connectedness to a marker of conditionals, and the common use of *de-huà* 'if' in Chinese as a topic marker.) There is something of a contrast between /-tu/ and the clause-final marker /-ṣə/ discussed in §4.4, in that both are used for a broad range of meanings centered around the conditional, but /-ṣə/ is used only with a verb marked with prospective aspect marking, while /-tu/ appears with verbs without prospective aspect marking.

104. Here the verb [-x-] is a reduced form of /khe˧/. The form [xte] at the end of this line is a reduced form of /xtexte/.

105. Here [-wɑ] is a form of the question marker /-ŋuɑ/.

106. This 'feast' refers to the feast held two days after the new year, usually for the newly married man to visit his in-laws. /dʑe/ is the word for 'festival', particularly the new year festival.

107. The Qiang drink their home-made barley wine from large casks with straws, so the verb for 'suck' is used here instead of that for 'drink'. This verb is also used for 'smoke (cigarettes)'.

108. Ram's horn flower: among the Qiang this symbolizes true love. Whenever the ram's horn flower is in bloom, young men use the flower to express their feelings of love to their beloved.

109. The expression [ʐmətʂi] is from /ʐmə/ 'people' and /tʂi/ 'male, son', and here means the local leader, but when translating this term into Chinese, the term for 'emperor' *(huángdì)* was used, so I have followed that usage. Before 1949, the Chinese official system title *yuánwài* (pronunced [juɑnʁuɑi] by the Qiang) was used for local officials.

110. Here [delde] derives from /de-lede/. Although we would not normally expect a directional prefix on a habitual action, it seems the fact that this appears in an adverbial phrase ending with /-ȵi/ makes the prefix necessary.

111. In this clause, ["pənsə u-su-ɑ-ṣə" jə-m-le:-wu] 'the one who said "I have learned an ability"' is in apposition to [satʂǔ-le:-tʂi-le:-wu] 'the younger sister's son', clarifying which person is mentioned.

112. Here we would have expected a noun, such as /ʐə/ 'affairs, things', but it was left out by the speaker.

113. This object is either a monk's robe *(gāsā)* or a *Huáng Mǎ Guā* (a golden topcoat given by the emperor of China to people who had performed meritorious deeds for the emperor). Both [dzin] and [jən ~ jin] refer to the same object.

114. The expression [ɑ-l-wu ɑ-l] means 'one to the other' and gives the sentence a reciprocal sense.

115. The expression [ʐɑ hɑ-sɑ] is used to mean 'do something good for someone', and can be used as something like 'thank you'.

116. [ȵim təs] = 'notify'.

117. The visual evidential marker is used here to emphasize that this is common knowledge.

118. Here 'release dog' is an expression to mean 'go hunting'.

119. This syllable adds the meaning 'as much as possible; completely'.
120. The expression [kuə-ɻɑ-tsə] is literally 'older brother' + COM + 'sister', but here means close relatives. The expression [stumpətʂe] includes the word [stum ~ stuəm] 'same-surname relatives', and refers to a wider set of relatives. A third category of relatives is the [tsuɔʁlumi], the females from a family who have married into other families.
121. Here the form [-ŋuɑ] is derived from /-u-ɑ/ (VIS + 1sg), which normally produces [-wɑ], but the initial is influenced by the initial of the copula.
122. [qap ʁu] 'head throw' is an expression for 'nod the head'.
123. The expression 'do orangutan talk' means to use gestures instead of speech. As the vowel of 'do' harmonizes with the /u/ of /ʂku/, I have linked the parts with hyphens.
124. This word [fusan-pu] is a loan of Chinese *fú* 'to support under the arm to help a person get up or walk' plus possibly *shàng* 'up' or *chān* 'support under the arm'.

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1.　The Chinese word pronounced [tɕhiang⁵⁵] is written as <Qiang> throughout most of this book, following the official Chinese Pinyin orthography, but in some sources, such as this one, it is transliterated as <Ch'iang>.

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