

Matthias Gerner
A Grammar of Nuosu

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Matthias Gerner

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For Ling 玲
(an exceptional woman)



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



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Preface

I started research on the Nuosu language at the *Chinese Academy of Social Sciences* in Beijing in 1995, travelled to Liángshān several times and held many interactive sessions with native informants.

The Nuosu data in this grammar originate from folk stories (Chén & Wū 1998), natural dialogues (Lǐ & Mǎ 1981) and sentences elicited from native speakers. Part of the data was also obtained through questionnaires.

In the first phase, the Nuosu data were edited as separate research papers on syntax (Gerner 2004a) and TAM particles (Gerner 2002a, 2002b, 2004b, 2007, 2010, 2013a). These articles provide the basis of this grammar but were completely rewritten to fit the format of this monograph. Most of this grammar represents original research not published previously in any form.

The first draft was completed at the end of 2011. The manuscript was checked by Zhū Wén Xù 朱文旭 from the *University of Nationalities* in Beijing. I went with him page by page through the draft to discuss his comments. A complete revision of this draft was submitted to *Mouton de Gruyter* in 2012.

This monograph is informed by different linguistic theories but does not adhere to a particular model. The content is descriptive in nature but contains a few sections with theoretical implications of the data.

All example sentences are edited in the Nuosu script and Romanized script. The grammar is written for linguists and students of Nuosu, especially foreign missionaries.

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Abbreviations

* (before expression)	ungrammatical
# (before expression)	unnatural, odd
< >	infix
~	reduplication
1P.DL	First Person Dual
1P.DL.POSS	First Person Dual Possessive
1P.NMT	First Person Nominative
1P.PL	First Person Plural
1P.PL.POSS	First Person Plural Possessive
1P.SG	First Person Singular
1P.SG.POSS	First Person Singular Possessive
2P.DL	Second Person Dual
2P.DL.POSS	Second Person Dual Possessive
2P.PL	Second Person Plural
2P.PL.POSS	Second Person Plural Possessive
2P.SG	Second Person Singular
2P.SG.POSS	Second Person Singular Possessive
3P.ABS	Third Person Absolutive
3P.DL	Third Person Dual
3P.DL.POSS	Third Person Dual Possessive
3P.PL	Third Person Plural
3P.PL.POSS	Third Person Plural Possessive
3P.SG	Third Person Singular
3P.SG.POSS	Third Person Singular Possessive
A	Agent role of monotransitive predicate
ADJ	Adjective
ADVL	Adverbializer
ALT	Alternative question
ART	Article
AUD	Audio information source
CAUS	Causative particle
CL	Classifier
CL*	Classifier with sandhi tone
CL'	Classifier-bar
CLF	Cleft focus
COME	Phasal auxiliary derived from 'come'
COMP	Complementizer

CONJ	Conjunction
CONJ.and	Conjunction ‘and’
COP	Copular
COV	Coverb
COV.see	Coverb derived from ‘see’
D	Dependent
DEFFUT	Definite future
DEM	Demonstrative
DEM.DD	Discourse deictic demonstrative
DEM.DIST	Distal demonstrative
DEM.PROX	Proximal demonstrative
DEM.INDEF	Indefinite demonstrative
DEM.here	Demonstrative ‘here’
DET	Determiner
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Directional
DP	Dynamic perfect
EMP	Emphatic
END	Resultative derived from ‘endure’
EXCL	Exclamative
EXH	Exhaustion particle
EXIT	Phasal auxiliary derived from ‘exit’
EXP	Experiential
EXPR	Expressive
EXT	Extent
FOC	Focus
FOC.even	Focus particle ‘even’
FEAR	Fear attitude particle
FUT	Futur tense
GET	Resultative derived from ‘get’
H	Head
HAB	Habitual
HIT	Resultative derived from ‘hit’
IDE	Ideophone
IND	Indefinite pronoun
IND.whatever	Indefinite pronoun ‘whatever’
IMFUT	Immediate future
IMP	Imperative
INSERT	Phasal auxiliary derived from ‘insert’
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Interrogative

INT.what	Interrogative ‘what’
INTENS	Intensification
LINK	Linker
LOC	Locative
LOC.under	Locative ‘under’
LOG.DL	Dual logophor
LOG.PL	Plural logophor
LOG.SG	Singular logophor
LOG.SG.POSS	Possessive singular logophor
LOOK	Phasal auxiliary derived from ‘look’
META	Metapragmatic
MOD	Modal auxiliary
MOD.should	Modal auxiliary ‘should’
N	Noun
NCL	Noun classifier
NEG	Negation
NEG.IMP	Negative imperative
NOM	Nominalization
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Number
NUM.8	Number eight
O	Patient role of monotransitive predicate
ObjectComp	Object of comparison
ONO	Onomatopoeic
OPT	Optative
ORD	Ordinal number
PASS	Passive
PAT	Patient
PER	Periodical
POEP	Possible epistemic modality
POSS	Possessive
POST	Postposition
PRO	Pronoun
PRO.DIR	Directional pronoun
PRO.LOC	Locative pronoun
PRO.PAT	Patient pronoun
PRO.REC	Recipient pronoun
PROG	Progressive
PUT	Resultative derived from ‘put’
QUOT	Quotative
QUANT	Quantifier

QUANT.all	Quantifier 'all'
RC	Relative clause
RECL	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
REGR	Regret particle
RES	Resultative
S	Argument role of intransitive predicate
SEND	Resultative derived from 'send'
SENT.TOP	Sentence topic
SOL	Solicitation, feedback
StandardComp	Standard of comparison
STP	Stative perfect
SUFF	Suffix
SUG	Suggestion
SUP	Superlative
SYL	Syllable
TAM	Tense, aspect, modality
TOP	Topic
TR	Transitive
TS	Time of situation
TT	Time of topic
TU	Time of utterance
V	Verb
VIS	Visual information source
VP	Verb phrase
VCL	Verb classifier
VCL.pickaxe	Verb classifier 'pickaxe'
WISH	Wish attitude particle

Chapter 1

The people and their environment

The Nuosu form the principal ethnic group of the Yi (彝) nationality in terms of language homogeneity and number of speakers. Anthropological accounts on the Nuosu exist in Chinese and English which I shall quote and summarize: on Nuosu history (section 1.1), Nuosu society (section 1.2), culture and religion (section 1.3). In this chapter, I use materials published in Gerner (2013b).

1.1 Nuosu history

Historical information on the Yi is available from indigenous written records (genealogies, myths and legends), from Chinese sources (ethnographic writers and annals at the county, prefecture and province level) and from Western accounts (travelers, missionaries and scholars). Westerners started to travel to and interact with the Yi at the end of the 19th century. Early professional travelers include the British diplomat Baber (1882) and the French physician Legendre (1913) who published travel accounts. French Catholic missionaries evangelized in several spots of Southwest China and recorded their cultural and linguistic observations (e.g. Swaine 1995, on Father Paul Vial).

There is great unanimity among ethnographic writers that the origins of the Yi trace back more than 2000 years to an ancient group called Ni people (Bradley 2001; Harrell 2001). Harrell (1995: 76) quoting the Chinese ethno-historiographer Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1985: 100) believes that the earliest mention of the Yi is in historical accounts of the Zhou dynasty (1048–250 B.C.). Early Chinese records referred to Southwestern peoples as *Wūmán* 乌蛮 (Black Barbarians) and *Báimán* 白蛮 (White Barbarians). These names may point to the basic color labels that apply to virtually every minority in Southwest China, not only the Yi but also other groups such as the Miao, Tai, Lahu, Lisu. Chinese sources of the late first millennium A.D. mention the Yi by referring to particular dynasties in Yúnnán, such as the Diān 滇 kingdom close to Kūnmíng, which was ruled by tribes thought to be the ancestors of the Yi. The last important involvement of Yi-type groups with a Southwestern dynasty was the Nánzhào 南诏 kingdom near Dàlǐ 大理 (Yúnnán). This kingdom was defeated in the 13th century by Kublai Khan, the Mongol ruler of China. After the 12th century, Chinese sources gradually employed the name *Lúo* 罗 containing the pejorative animal radical (Bradley 2001: 201). The name evolved subsequently into its reduplicated form *Lolo*. This appellation was the designation used by Chinese and Westerners for many centuries until 1949 when, with the arrival of the People's Republic of China, it was substituted by the name Yí 彝. In the language classification literature, *Lolo* survived within the group designation *Loloish languages*. The

name Yi arose during the Míng dynasty as an alternative designation for all non-Chinese groups in the Southwest. The character originally employed to write it was 夷.

No grouping uses Yi as an autonym. Perhaps 15% of the Yi population call themselves by *Lolo* or *Lalo*. The remaining tribes employ heterogeneous names such as *Nuosu*, *Nisu*, *Nasu*, *Ni*, *Azhe*, *Kopho*, *Mutsi*, *Phula*, *Hlehle* and so forth. These groups perceive *Lolo* as pejorative and prefer the collective name *Yi* instead. The classification of these groups within the Yi nationality did not take place through a process of group awareness, which is impossible for a cluster of rural communities spread out across hundreds of kilometers. The decision was made through an authoritative process initiated by the Chinese Nationalities Commission in the 1950s.¹ Harrell (1995: 66) (based on Chinese sources) describes this process as follows:

“So the problem presents itself clearly not as ‘Who are the Yi?’ which is easily answerable by ‘Whoever the Nationalities Commission says they are,’ but rather ‘How did the Yi get an identity?’ The quick answer to the question when phrased this way is ‘Through the process of ethnic identification conducted in the 1950s, which employed Stalin’s criteria of a nationality as having a common territory, language, economy, and psychological makeup expressed in a common culture.’”

The Nuosu in Liángshān prefecture constitute the largest homogenous Yi group with about 2.5 Million members. Different opinions on the historical origin of the Nuosu exist. Several Western writers suggest an old connection of the Nuosu to the Liángshān area. Dessaint (1980: 12) and Winnington (1959: 15), for example, believe that the Yi have inhabited the Liángshān area since the early years of our era or at least since the tenth century A.D. Harrell (2001: 85 and p.c.) also sees support in indigenous reports and Chinese historiographies for roots of the Nuosu in Liángshān since at least the Sòng dynasty (960–1279).

A different origin of the Nuosu is suggested in the annals of Wēining County (Western Guìzhōu). The Nuosu would originate from or be redefined by a migration wave in the 17th century from Guìzhōu province. This migration wave was triggered by warfare that the Míng dynasty general Wú Sāngù 吴三桂 brought upon local Yí lords (*tǔsī*) in Western Guìzhōu in the 1660s. A large portion of the Yi in Guìzhōu fled to Sīchuān where they populated the Liángshān area (Wēining Mínwēi 1997: 50–51).²

1 In practice, the Chinese Nationalities Commission allowed any group to apply for the status of *Mínzú* 民族, i.e. nationality. According to Harrell (1995: 82), there were 260 groups in Yúnnán alone who requested this status in the 1950s. After registration of their names, teams specialized in culture and language examined the validity of these claims and, based on Stalin’s four criteria, they established the 56 nationalities.

2 The official historiography of this event is as follows. Through false reporting of an imminent Yi rebellion against the imperial authority, Wú Sāngù received authorization to attack local Yí lords (*tǔsī*) in Guìzhōu province. After two decisive battles, one of which took place at Yáncāng 盐仓 township in Wēining County, the resistance of the Yi was defeated. During the following years, an important portion of the Western Guìzhōu Yi emigrated to Liángshān 凉山 (Sīchuān province) and Hónghé 红河 (Yúnnán province) (Wēining Mínwēi 1997: 50–51).

Harrell (p.c. in February 2011) does not accept a recent settlement of the Nuosu in Liángshān 350 years ago, as suggested in the Wēining annals, but would only consider the fringes of Liángshān (e.g. Pānzhīhuā area) as possible landing sites of Yi groups from Guìzhōu. He mentions two reasons for an ancient connection of the Nuosu with the Liángshān area.

Firstly, the Nuosu have ceremonial texts (*bimo teyy*) that differ from other Yi groupings suggesting that the Nuosu lived isolated from surrounding groups when the texts were recorded. Isolation from other Yi peoples is most credible to have occurred in Liángshān. The Nuosu religious manuscripts do not mention the social castes (section 1.2) whose existence Harrell traces back to the time after the 13th century. This absence in the texts suggests a presence of the Nuosu in Liángshān before the 13th century.

Secondly, comparison between different Yi scripts shows that at the earliest stage characters had a vertical orientation before they were rotated into a horizontal pattern. This ‘rotation reform’ happened gradually for the different Yi groupings. In Nuosu, genealogies of individual clans contain up to 30 generations and reach back to the earliest recorded ancestors at least 900 years in the past. These genealogical recordings use characters with a horizontal orientation which suggests that for the Nuosu the ‘rotation reform’ must have occurred more than 900 ago. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that texts of other Yi groupings like the Nasu in Northern Yúnnán still used ‘upright’ characters at that time. Consequently, the Nuosu must have been isolated from other Yi groups at least until the 12th century. The only area in which the Nuosu could have lived isolated is Liángshān.

To illustrate this point, the standardized Nuosu script of 1978 uses the original upright characters. Handwritten manuscripts from Yúnnán and Guìzhōu demonstrate that many cognate characters have horizontal orientation.

Meaning	Nuosu script of 1978	Yi in Yúnnán (‘Ashima’ Poem ³)	Yi in Guizhou
‘mountain’	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 ‘Six Patriarch Epic’ ⁴
‘snow’	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 ‘The origin of the Yi’ ⁵
‘tree’	𠄎	𠄎	𠄎 ‘Six Patriarch Epic’

3 The characters for ‘mountain’, ‘snow’ and ‘tree’ are quoted from the ‘Ashima’ Poem (Huáng Jiànmíng 黄建明, Pǔ Wēihuá 普卫华 and Liáng Hóng 梁红 (1985). *Āshīmǎ* 阿诗玛. Beijing: College of Nationalities). The ‘Ashima’ Poem was written in the Yi language of Shílín 石林 County in 1813. It is about a girl whose name ‘Ahima’ literally means ‘more precious than gold’.

4 The characters for ‘mountain’ and ‘tree’ are quoted from ‘Six Patriarch Epic’, a narrative about the six founding patriarchs of the Yi people (Zhāng Délin 张德林, Liǔ Guāngfú 柳光福 and Wéi Dìngfū 韦定富 (1983). *Migration of the Six Patriarchs* 彝族六祖迁徙典籍选编. Beijing: College of Nationalities). The manuscript is from Dàfāng 大方 County, Guìzhōu Province.

5 The character for ‘tree’ is quoted from the Guìzhōu narrative ‘The origin of the Yi’ (Bijié writing group (1991). *The origin of the Yi* 彝族源流. Guiyáng: Guìzhōu Nationalities Press).

The Nuosu caste society surfaced after the Mongols extended their subsidiary ruling system based on indigenous chieftains (*tǔsī*) all over China in the 13th century. The rise of the caste system is probably directly related to the installment of indigenous chieftains by the imperial administration. The *nzy mo*⁶ constituted a relatively small group of indigenous landowners chosen by the central government from several spots in Liángshān. The *nuoho* caste⁷ constitutes a much larger class of ethnic aristocrats, but not acknowledged by the central government. Further, the *quho* caste⁸ consists of ordinary people. The Chinese historiographer Mǎ Chángshòu 马长寿 (1985: 105–109) reports that conflicts between the *nzy mo* and *nuoho* castes started during the Míng dynasty around the 15th century and escalated gradually into the ejection of the Lili Nzomo from Meigu county by sections of the *nuohu* caste. Until the dawn of the 20th century these conflicts persisted with the rise of new centrally appointed *nzy mo* and their displacement enforced by insubordinate *nuoho* and *quhuo*.

At the same time, internal fights among *nuoho* clans resulted in migration of defeated clans to the outskirts of the Liángshān area (Xīchāng 西昌, Yánbiān 盐边, Miǎnníng 冕宁 and Nínglàng 宁蒗 in Northern Yúnnán). In these counties, the Nuosu coexist with other groups, mainly Han, whereas the Nuosu almost exclusively populate the core counties of Liángshān (Meīgū 美姑, Zhāojié 昭觉, Xǐdé 喜德, Pǔgē 普格) until the current time (Harrell 2001: 87).

The Red Army passed on its Long March through the Liángshān area in April 1935 and the relatively smooth traversal helped the Nuosu gain credit with the Central Government after the People's Republic was founded in 1949. In the aftermath, Liángshān was established as Yi autonomous prefecture and Xichang became its capital. The caste society was abolished. In 1957–59, at the time of the Great Leap Forward, a rebellion of disillusioned Yi leaders broke out and was defeated.

During the Cultural Revolution 1966–1976, ethnic culture was suppressed, like all over China, but experienced revival in the 1980s. In 1978, the Government standardized and issued an official Nuosu syllabary of 1119 characters in which bilingual Nuosu-Han education was sponsored. In the wake of Maó Zédōng's 毛泽东 great investigation into Chinese minority peoples in the 1950s, Nuosu was one of the few groups whose writing system was officially recognized. The modern syllabary consists of characters with vertical orientation which links this script to ancient times when the characters stood upright (section 3.3).

1.2 Nuosu society

Nuosu society is organized along two coordinates, the clan and caste orders, which are the warp and the woof of the social fabric (Harrell 2001: 94).

⁶ Nuosu term for *tǔsī*, which can be translated by 'governor'.

⁷ The name *nuoho* means literally 'black group' in Nuosu.

⁸ *Quho* means 'white group'.

Nuosu society is a clan order of patrilineal lineage (Harrell 2001: 91). Every Nuosu belongs to one clan that is associated with one caste. Each caste consists of several clans. The number of clans that inhabit a given area is limited and known to the residents of that region. Solidarity among clan members is a social imperative. Nuosu clans are exogamous and marriage between clans serves the purpose of establishing kinship networks. Male membership to a clan is inherited from the father, whereas female membership is acquired through marriage.

The prototypical exogamous marriage arrangement is between cross-cousins. Marriage is arranged between a man and his female cross-cousin, the daughter of his father's sister or his mother's brother, or between a woman and her male cross-cousin, the son of her mother's brother or her father's sister.

Nuosu prioritize clan membership over attachment to homeland compared to the Han emphasis on attachment to place. For the Nuosu, clan bondage is always stronger than affinity to a physical place. Evidence for this difference can be found in the rites for the soul of the deceased. The Nuosu priest (*bimo*) assists the soul of the deceased to migrate back to the ancestor's departure point so that people with a common genealogy are concentrated at the same place in the afterworld. In the Han metaphysics, the soul of the deceased can be found by a bureaucratic address in the afterworld matching the physical place in this world (Harrell 2001: 93).⁹

Nuosu clans are associated with one of three castes, *nzyimo*, *nuoho* or *quho*. The *nzyimo* caste consists of less than one percent of the Liángshān population. They are the descendants of former aristocrats recognized by the imperial government. The *nuoho* caste consists of the descendants of former aristocrats that were not recognized by the imperial government. The *quho* caste comprises independent farmers. The clans within a caste are exogamous but each caste is strictly endogamous. A *nzyimo* marries a *nzyimo* (with some recent relaxation), a *nuoho* marries a *nuoho* and a *quho* marries a *quho*. In the wake of the takeover in 1949, the economic aspects of the caste system were abolished but conscience of the castes survived until today.

In addition to these three strata, there is a fourth caste, the *ga xy* houseslaves, which are not associated with any clan. They are the descendants of people that were captured as slaves from the Han area or of aliens that ventured into Nuosu territory without adequate local protection. This four-way caste system have given the Nuosu a prominent place among ethnic groups in China. Communist writers before and after the Cultural Revolution used Nuosu society as an illustration for the Marxist theory of social evolution in which societies pass from the primitive to the feudal stage. During my initial research semester at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, I was shown an educational movie on the traditional slave system in Liángshān.

⁹ For Han metaphysics, Harrell quotes Martin & Ahern (1972: 232), see Martin E. and Ahern, E. (1972). *The cult of the Dead in a Chinese village*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1.3 Nuosu culture and religion

In addition to clans and casts, Nuosu society acknowledges several social offices not tied to the descent of the holder: *surgga* ‘wealthy person’, *ndeggu* ‘mediator’, *ssakuo* ‘warrior’, *gemo* ‘craftman’, *bimo* ‘priest’, *sunyi* ‘shaman’. I summarize descriptions provided by Harrell (2001: 96–98).

The *surgga* is a person whose material possessions in land, livestock and slaves provide him a recognized status as entrepreneur. The *ngeddu* is a person with a special track record in mediating social conflicts. In traditional society, the *ssakuo* is a warrior who has proven himself to be hero on the battlefield. The *gemo* is a craftsman, either a blacksmith, a gold or silversmith.

The *bimo* ‘priest’ and *sunyi* ‘shaman’ are ministers of the Nuosu folk religion which incorporates elements of spiritism and animism. The *bimo* performs all kind rituals, especially death rituals, through chanting of texts. *Bimo* are male, are almost always *quho* and are considered to be the guardians of the Nuosu traditional script. The office of *bimo* is acquired through a long process of apprenticeship. The most prominent ritual that *bimo* are called for is the ritual that guides the soul of a deceased person to the place of his ancestors.

The *sunyi* is a shaman whose experience is not acquired through ritual texts but through interaction with the spiritual world. The office of *sunyi* is not tied to caste, clan or gender. The *sunyi* enters trance and becomes possessed by spirits when called upon to perform rituals such as exorcising or curing diseases.

The Nuosu calendar uses elements of the Chinese zodiac (shēngxiào 生肖) which has wide circulation in East Asia. It uses the twelve zodiac animals to divide days, months and years but the order differs from the Han calendar. The Nuosu month-cycle starts in August with the month of the Rat and is ordered by Rat (≈ August), Ox (≈ September), Tiger (≈ October), Rabbit (≈ November), Dragon (≈ December), Snake (≈ January), Horse (≈ February), Sheep (≈ March), Monkey (≈ April), Chicken (≈ May), Dog (≈ June) and Pig (≈ July). The Nuosu zodiac terms are listed in section 4.4.1.

Across the Liángshān area, the Nuosu celebrate the Torch Festival in July. A mythical legend has the Yi ancestors fighting pests sent by the god *Entiguzi* to destroy their crops. By holding up torches they defeated the pests and the god who sent them. Every year in the month of the Dog, on the day chosen by the *bimo* torches are lit to commemorate the victory.

Chapter 2

Language background

In this chapter, I situate Nuosu in the family of Tibeto-Burman languages (section 2.1), describe its dialectal spread (section 2.2), survey previous linguistic accounts (section 2.3), and present a preview of its typological features (section 2.4). I incorporate again materials published in Germer (2013b).

2.1 Genetic affiliation of Nuosu

Nuosu belongs to the Tibeto-Burman language family. According to scholars who have classified Tibeto-Burman languages such as Benedict (1972), Bradley (1997), Sūn 孙 (1998), van Driem (2001) and Matisoff (2003), the Loloish languages (Sūn 孙 uses the term ‘Yi group’) constitute the principal component of the Burmese-Lolo language group. The Burmese-Lolo languages have seven or eight sister groups and Tibeto-Burman is the higher-level language family on top of these nodes. Bradley (1997), van Driem (2001) and Matisoff (2003) differ from Benedict (1972) in excluding Qiang, the extinct Tangut (西夏) language and Nung from Burmese-Lolo. Sūn 孙 (1998) includes the Bai, Bisu and Tujia languages within the Yi (Loloish) group; these languages are classified by Western scholars in other groups of Tibeto-Burman.

Another difference pertains to the internal subdivisions of the Loloish languages. Sūn 孙 (1998) does not propose any internal structure. Benedict (1972) and van Driem (2001) envisage a bipartite structure for Loloish, Northern and Southern, whereas Bradley (1997) and Matisoff (2003) identify a tripartite subdivision, Northern, Central and Southern. The Yi languages are present in each of these subdivisions. The exact position of individual Loloish languages is not agreed upon, but Nuosu is classified within the Northern Loloish languages. See table 2.1.

One of several open questions is whether all groups whose autonym sounds like Nosu, Nasu, Nesu, Nisu, Nyisu or Ngopho should be included in the Northern Loloish branch. In virtually every county of Southwest China we can find small, medium and large groupings with this selfname. The internal classification of the Loloish languages must be re-established in the future by considering more data sets and also grammatical features.

2.2 Nuosu and its dialects

Liángshān Nuosu has five dialects: Shynra, Suondi, Adur, Yynuo, and Lindimu (Han-Chinese: Tianba). In this grammar, I shall describe the principal dialect, Shynra as spoken in Xide County, the place chosen by the Government for language standardization. Little is known about the relationship of the five Nuosu dialects. Shynra,

Table 2.1: The Loloish languages

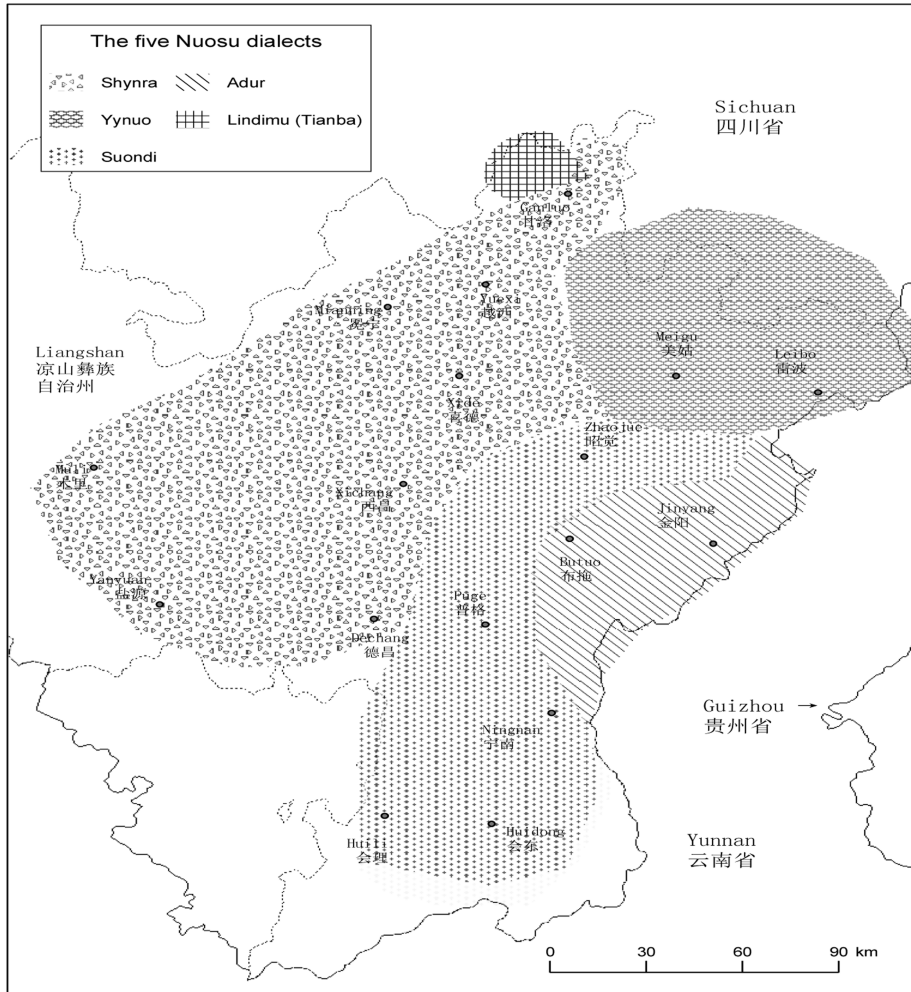
Loloish Benedict (1972)	Loloish Bradley (1997)	Yi Sūn 孙 (1998)	Loloish van Driem (2001)	Loloish Matisoff (2003)
Northern Independent Lolo, Lisu, Ahi, Nyi, Ulu	Northern Nosu , Nasu Sami, Kepo Phula, Laka (...) Central Sani (Nyi), Axi Azhe, Liphon, Lisu Lalo, Lahu (...)	Yi , Lisu, Hani, Lahu Naxi, Jinuo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

Table 2.2: Population statistics for the Nuosu dialects

County/ municipality	Population	Shynra	Suondi	Adur	Yynuo	Lindimu (Tianba)
Xīchāng 西昌	818,033	71,400	10,200	–	–	–
Mùlǐ 木里藏族自治县	195,938	51,000	–	–	–	–
Yányuán 盐源县	469,674	212,500	–	–	–	–
Déchāng 德昌县	286,574	13,600	51,000	–	–	–
Huǐlǐ 会理县	676,360	–	105,400	–	–	–
Huìdōng 会东县	566,111	–	79,900	–	–	–
Níngnán 宁南县	260,844	–	54,400	–	–	–
Pǔgé 普格县	221,630	–	68,000	93,500	–	–
Bùtuō 布拖县	220,991	–	–	205,700	–	–
Jīnyáng 金阳县	214,332	–	83,300	71,400	11,900	–
Zhāojié 昭觉县	349,996	117,300	96,900	30,600	86,700	–
Xǐdé 喜德县	207,478	173,400	–	–	–	–
Miǎnníng 冕宁县	474,624	142,800	–	–	–	–
Yuèxī 越西县	363,674	239,700	–	–	5,100	–
Gānlùò 甘洛县	266,847	15,300	–	–	86,700	69,700
Měigū 美姑县	261,215	–	–	–	251,600	–
Léibō 雷波县	361,953	–	–	40,800	119,000	–
Total for Liángshān:	6,216,281	1,037,000	549,100	442,000	561,000	69,700

Suondi and Adur appear to be mutually intelligible, whereas Yynuo and Lindimu may constitute separate languages.

The information in table 2.2 on the geographical distribution of these dialects is based on fieldwork carried out during 2000–2001 and on extrapolated population figures from the 1980s (*Survey of Liángshān Yi Autonomous Prefecture*, Liángshān writing committee 1985).



Map: The dialects of Liángshān Nuosu

Shynra has the highest number of speakers with more than one Million speakers. It is the Government-sponsored standard dialect of Nuosu. From the numbers in table 2.2, we can draw the geographical distribution of the five dialects on the map above. (The Nuosu living in Xiǎo Liángshān, Yúnnán, and Pānzīhuā, Sìchuān, are not represented on this map.)

2.3 Literature survey on Nuosu

Linguistic data collection undertaken by native Chinese started before Western travelers, missionaries and linguists reached the groups known today as the Yi.

According to Fù Màoji 傅懋勳 (1997: 37–38), the earliest written record from a Yi-type language was a poem from an ancient language called *Bailang* language which was transcribed in Chinese characters. The manuscript dates from 58–75 A.D. Fù believes that *Bailang* may be an ancestor of Loloish-Naxi languages. Later in the 7th century, the *Mán Shū* 蛮书 ('Book of the Southern Barbarians') included eight words of the *Wūmán* language. Fù views these words as partially cognate to items in the modern vocabulary of Liángshān Nuosu. In the 18th century, several wordlists, one containing 800 words, were recorded in imperial collections using the Lolo script (Fù 1997: 39).

In the first part of the 20th century, Chinese scholars became interested in Yi languages, but examined only the Yi script and did not study the structure of the language (except for Fù's grammar). The language was first studied by missionaries and travelers, mainly of French nationality. At the end of the 19th century, diverse writers published vocabularies from Yi languages in Yúnnán and Sìchuān such as Boell (1899), Bonifacy (1904), Clarke (1911) and Liétard (1911, 1912). Two studies provided sketches of grammatical structures in two Yi languages, Ngi of Lùnán county and Axi of Mílè county of Yúnnán province. Vial (1909) appended a grammatical sketch to his French-Ngi dictionary. Liétard (1909, 1911) published a more detailed grammar on Axi. These were the sole Yi languages described by Western writers until 1990 when the linguist Bradley (1990) wrote a paper on the grammatical tone in Liángshān Nuosu. Björverud published a grammar of Lalo (Dàlǐ 大理) as her Ph. D. dissertation at Lund University in 1998.

Fù Màoji's *Descriptive grammar of Lolo* represents the sole available Nuosu grammar in English. This work was submitted in August 1950 as doctoral thesis at Cambridge University and reprinted in an issue of *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* in 1997. Fù collected the Nuosu data of his thesis during 1938–1949. Fù provided large amounts of comparative data from other Nuosu dialects and Yi languages spoken in Yúnnán province. He also traced back the origins of the Yi writing systems. The grammar proper is organized in five chapters: (II) Phonetics, (IV) Parts of Speech, (V) Word formation, (VI) Syntax: General, (VII) Syntax: Special.

Chén Shílín 陈士林 *et al.* (1985)'s *Sketch of the Yi language* introduces basic sentence patterns in Nuosu and other Yi 'dialects'. Chén 陈 & Wū 巫 (1998)'s *Yi grammar* is a more detailed description of Nuosu in Chinese. The co-author Wū Dá 巫达 is native Nuosu speaker from Ganluo county. Like many grammars published in China during the 1970–90s, grammatical properties are mainly discussed in a lexicon-oriented chapter titled 'parts of speech'. Chén & Wū append a collection of twelve lengthy folk stories to their book.

Furthermore, at least 25–30 linguistic journal articles on Nuosu have been published since 1979, mainly in *Mínzú Yǔwén* ('Ethnic language & literature'), a journal published by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing six times a year. Most of these papers represent lexical and morphological studies.

Table 2.3: Chinese research papers on Nuosu

Category	Topic and papers
1) phonology:	– complex consonants (Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1989)
2) morphology:	– affixation (Zhū Jiànxīn 朱建新 1984, 1986) – proverb quadruplets (Lǐ Xiùqīng 李秀清 1985; Wū Dá 巫达 1995)
3) lexicon:	– proper names (Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1987) – kinship terms (Sū Liánkē 苏连科 1988; Bāqiě Rìhuǒ 巴且日火 2000) – adjectives (Xiǎomén Diǎnfū 小门典夫 2002) – determiners (Chén Shìlín 陈士林 1989) – sound-symbolic words (Mǎ Xīngúo 马兴国 1991) – Chinese loanwords (Zhū Wénxù 朱文旭 1997)
4) syntax:	– syntactic roles (Hú Sùhuá 胡素华 2005; Wū Dá 巫达 2009)
5) semantics:	– TAM (Chén Kāng 陈康 1996; Liú 刘 & Gù 顾 2008; Dài 戴 & Hú 胡 1998)
6) pragmatics:	– topic construction (Hú Sùhuá 胡素华 2004)
7) diachrony:	– grammaticalization (Shāmǎ Dǎgè 沙马打各 2005)

The native Nuosu linguist Hú Sùhuá 胡素华 (2002) published a book in Chinese on *the structural particles in Yi* in which she catalogues and explains the function of grammatical particles in Nuosu. Her work is more detailed on grammatical properties than Chén & Wū’s grammar. There are also scores of papers on Yi languages published in regional journals of Southwest China.

2.4 Typological profile of Nuosu

I shall classify Nuosu for an array of morphosyntactic types and catalogue rare properties of Nuosu some of which I previously published in journals.

2.4.1 Phonology

Firstly, Nuosu has in its sound inventory a rare bilabial voiced trill, represented as [B]. It occurs always before the vowel [u] in either noncreaky [B] or creaky syllables [B̥], and sometimes with alveolar consonant onset as in [tB] or [tB̥]. The trill is more pronounced in creaky syllables and with alveolar consonant onset. (More information is provided in section 3.1.1.A.)

[B]:	yi bbux	‘roof’	[B]:	bbut shy	‘meadow’
[B̥]:	shax bbur	‘bread’	[B̥]:	bbur	‘write’
[tB]:	ddut	‘poison’	[tB]:	she ddu	‘steel’
[tB̥]:	bbux ddur	‘East’	[tB̥]:	ta ddur	‘paralyzed’

Secondly, the syllable structure in Nuosu is simple. Syllables exhibit an open structure: C(C)V. Thirdly, Nuosu has a four-way contrast “prenasalized-voiced-voiceless-aspirated” for all major points of articulation (section 3.1.1.A).

[mb]: nbo ‘roll’	[b]: bbo ‘go’	[p]: bo ‘rent’	[p ^h]: po ‘escape’
[nd]: ndat ‘enough’	[d]: ddat ‘bear’	[t]: da ‘put’	[t ^h]: ta ‘earthen jar’
[ŋg]: mge ‘buckwheat’	[g]: gge ‘hear’	[k]: ge ‘tell’	[k ^h]: ke ‘dog’

Finally, Nuosu exhibits three tones plus a fourth sandhi tone which contrasts weakly with the other three tones. Compared with other isolating languages in East-Asia, Nuosu has a relatively small number of tones.

2.4.2 Morphology

Nuosu displays an isolating morphology. In the basic vocabulary, most nouns are disyllabic, whereas verbs tend to be monosyllabic. Nuosu is a predominantly suffixing language.

Nuosu exhibits a strong synesthetic sound symbolism (for this semiotic notion, see Waugh 1992, 1994). For a closed set of gradual antonym pairs, prefixing *i-* to an adjectival root produces the diminutive member, whereas prefixing *a-* to the same root yields the augmentative member of that pair.

Table 2.4: Synesthetic sound symbolism

[i] diminutive			[a] augmentative		
𑑖𑑗	ix sho	‘short’	𑑖𑑘	a sho	‘long’
𑑖𑑙	ix du	‘thin’	𑑖𑑚	a du	‘thick’
𑑖𑑛	ix ly	‘light’	𑑖𑑜	ax ly	‘heavy’
𑑖𑑞	ix jji	‘narrow’	𑑖𑑟	a jji	‘wide’
𑑖𑑢	ix nyi	‘few’	𑑖𑑣	ax nyi	‘much, many’
𑑖𑑥	ix fu	‘fine’	𑑖𑑦	a fu	‘coarse’
𑑖𑑩	ix nu	‘soft’	𑑖𑑪	ax guo	‘hard’
𑑖𑑫	iet zyr	‘small’	𑑖𑑬	ax yy	‘big’

Nuosu exhibits an African-style logophor (with two suppletive forms). The two logophors track the source whose speech is reported (section 5.4.1.B).

- (1) a. 𑑖𑑢₁ 𑑗𑑘₂ 𑑖𑑛_{1/*2/*3} 𑑖𑑞_𑑛 𑑖𑑩_𑑛。
lu dda₁ mu ga₂ jox hxip go **i**_{1/*2/*3} jjiex mguo ox ddux.
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP LOG.SG clear DP QUOT
 ‘Ludda₁ told Muga₂ that he_{1/*2/*3} understood it clearly.’

Nuosu uses two modal particles that express the wishes and fears of the speaker through a socialized agent. The wish particle is reminiscent of the optative mood conjugation in Ancient Greek, while the fear particle is cross-linguistically unmatched. Both particles are studied in Gerner (2010) or in section 15.3.

(4) a. མཚན་ཤིང་ལོང་ལྟོགས་ལྡན་པའི་ལོང་ལོང་།

cy jjo ssy sho **ddep lox**.
3P.SG life span long WISH
'It is desirable (= I hope) that he has a long life.'

b. མ་ལྟོང་ལྟོགས་ལྡན་པའི་ལོང་ལོང་།

zzyt mu cyx ma ssut lup ba la **mat**.
world DEM.PROX CL throw into disorder FEAR
'It is to be feared (= I fear) that the world is being thrown into disorder.'

All major Nuosu word categories allow reduplication with a variety of meanings (section 4.3): nouns (diminutive), numeral classifiers (ordinal numbers), personal pronouns (emphatic meaning), verbs and adjectives (alternative question), adverbs of manner (intensification).

(5) Diminutive nouns

a. ཇམ་ལྟོགས་ལྡན་པའི་ལོང་ལོང་།

zza go **uo nyie uo nyie** ji gox qo.
dish LOC hair ~DIM CL LOC have
'In the dish, there are some hairs.'

b. ལྟོགས་ལྡན་པའི་ལོང་ལོང་།

vox vox bbo nyi jjip ndit.
snow ~DIM CL also fall PER
'There is also a small snow shower.'

(6) Ordinal Numbers

a. ཇམ་ལྟོགས་ལྡན་པའི་ལོང་ལོང་།

bbu dde nyip **ma max** su dax hna sa.
story NUM.2 CL ~ORD-DET rather hear SUFF
'The second story is quite amusing.'

b. ཇམ་ལྟོགས་ལྡན་པའི་ལོང་ལོང་།

si hni hxit **yuop yuop** su
woman NUM.8 CL ~ORD-DET
'the eighth woman'

(7) Emphatic pronouns

a. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖。

ngat ngat yiet hxop yiet.

1P.SG~EMP song sing

‘I am singing myself (not with the help of others).’

(8) Alternative question for verbs and adjectives

a. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖?

cop wox ne **gux gu?**

3P.PL 2P.SG call ~ALT

‘Did they call you?’

b. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖?

hxop ci ix **fu fu?**

cord fine ~ALT

‘Is the cord fine (enough)?’

(9) Intensification of manner adverbs

a. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖。

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

rain intensive ~INTENS ADVL fall DP

‘It is raining intensively.’

b. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖。

ne **hxit jjo hxit jjo** mu ngat ddip la.

2P.SG quick ~INTENS ADVL 1P.SG at come

‘Please come here very quickly!’

2.4.3 Syntax

Nuosu exhibits an aspect-conditioned word order split for simple clauses (Gerner 2004a; section 10.2): SOV order in ‘on-going’ (≈ imperfective) clauses and OSV in ‘resultative’ (≈ perfective) clauses.

(10) SOV order in ‘Ongoing clauses’

a. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖。

at nyop mu rryr la hxex njuo.

female name male name love PROG

‘Anyo is waiting for Mudge.’

OSV order in ‘Resultative clauses’

b. 𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖𑏖。

at nyop mu ga wep mo ox.

female name male name GET see DP

‘Anyo was seen by Muga.’

Table 2.5: Dependency orders

Level	Relation	First slot	Second slot
Phrase	Possessive	Possessor noun (D)	Possessee noun (H)
	Adjectival	Noun (H)	Adjective (D)
	Nominalization	Relative clause (D)	Noun (N)
		Noun (H)	Relative clause (D)
	Adpositional	Noun phrase (D)	Postposition (H)
Clause	Predicational	Argument/adjunct (D)	Predicate (H)
	Adverbial	Adverb (D)	Verb (H)
	Negation	Negative particle (H)	Verb (D)
	TAM	Verb (D)	Auxiliary (H)
Sentence	Subordination	Embedded clause (D)	Complementizer (H)

Several of Greenberg (1966)'s universals connect the relative order of O and V to other dependency orders. This fact led Lehmann (1973) to view the relative order of direct object and verb (VO or OV) as a deep property that impacts the relative order of other dependency relations. In Nuosu, which is verb-final, the dependent element generally precedes the head except for adjectival modification, negation and relative clauses (table 2.5). Nuosu thus complies with Lehmann's predictions to a certain degree.

Below, I illustrate the relative order of head and dependent element for various syntactic relations. In (11), possessors always precede possessees.

- (11) a. $\text{xi} \text{ nyie} \text{ sse} \quad \text{i} \text{ qi}$
 cat head
 Possessor (D) Possessee (H)
 'the cat's head'
- b. $\text{ngat} \quad \text{ix} \text{ yi}$
 1P.SG.POSS younger brother
 Possessor (D) Possessee (H)
 'my brother'

For adjectival modification, the dependent element follows the head, an order that contrasts with the other dependency orders (section 5.2.3).

- (12) a. $\text{bbox} \text{ bu} \quad \text{ax} \text{ hmu} \quad \text{ma}$
 mountain high CL
 Noun (H) Adjective (D)
 'A high mountain'
- b. $\text{co} \quad \text{sur} \text{ ggat} \quad \text{bbu}$
 person rich CL
 Noun (H) Adjective (D)
 'A rich household'

Relative clauses represent an exception. They can be attached to the left and to the right of the head noun. Left-branching relative clauses restrict the reference of the head, while right-branching clauses are nonrestrictive (section 5.2.4).

(13) Relative clause built on common nouns

a. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

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

Restrictive: ‘the people who have an ailment.’

Relative clause built on proper nouns

b. 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

nax	jjo	mgo	jjo	su	mux ga	(Left-branching)
<u>illness</u>	have	illness	have	NOM	male name	

Nonrestrictive (appositive): ‘ailing Muga.’

Postpositions always occur after the NPs they mark for case. Most postpositions are derived from verbs.

(14) a. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

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

‘Their family gave me pig meat.’

b. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

ngop	wox	rruo	nuo	da	cyp	nyip	gat qip.
1P.PL	<u>Mianning</u>	<u>COV.put</u>			NUM.1	day	delay
	Noun (D)	Coverb=postposition (H)					

‘We were delayed in Xichang for one day.’

In the same vein, predicates always follow noun phrases which they modify as arguments or as adjuncts.

(15) a. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

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

‘Lupo praises Adge.’

b. 喇 拜 拜 拜 拜 拜

ddox	mu	ke	jo	ix cy	hxep da	zhe.
knife	mouth	handle	<u>downwards</u>	<u>COV.see</u>	<u>cut</u>	
			Adjunct (D)		Verb (H)	

‘You should cut with the knife-edge facing down’

b. མི་མང་པོ་འདྲེན་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་།

cop wox tit la
3P.PL here come

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

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

c. བཤམ་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་།

ne bbut cy ndo
2P.SG medicine drink

sat	go shex	hxax.
EXH	HAB	IMP
Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 4

‘Drink always all the medicine, I suggest.’

2.4.4 Pragmatics

Nuosu exhibits two topic particles, *ne* communicates maintaining topic and *li* contrastive topic. Both particles are attached to the sentence-initial NP.

(22) a. བུ་ལྷོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་།

vut nyop **ne** mu jie ap- syp bur zzur.
female name TOP male name NEG- know seem
‘As for Vunyo, she appears not to know Mujie.’

b. ལྷོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ་།

a yit **li** rrop jji -mu ddop hxip.
female name TOP natural -ADVL word say
‘(Differently from what you might think) Ayi spoke naturally.’

Chapter 3

Phonology

I present the Nuosu sounds in section 3.1, its phonological processes in section 3.2 and its logographic script in section 3.3.

3.1 Sounds and tones

3.1.1 Consonants

Nuosu exhibits 43 consonant phonemes, presented below in the Romanized script (Nuosu Pinyin) and in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

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

Remarkable features of the consonant system are the four fully contrastive phonation types: prenasalized, voiced, unvoiced and aspirated. A rare sound is the labial trill [ᵇ], which is an allophone of [b]. The words listed in this section are quoted from Mă & Walters & Walters (2008) and from my own database.

A. Stops

The labial stop [b] is in complementary distribution with the bilabial trill [ᵇ] before the back vowel [u]. The trill is more pronounced if the vowel is creaky: [u̠] (written as *ur*). Both allophones are represented in Nuosu Pinyin by *bb*. Furthermore, the prenasalized consonants [mb] / [mᵇ] form another pair of allophones before the vowel [u], which are written as *nb* in Nuosu Pinyin.

nb [mb/mɓ]	bb [b/ɓ]	b [p]	p [p ^h]
nbi 'distribute' (tr.)	bbi 'spread' (intr.)	bi 'read'	pi 'cut open'
nbie 'shoot'	bbie 'penis' (coll.)	bie 'kick'	pie 'malaria'
nba 'bundle'	bba 'carry on back'	ba 'exchange'	pat 'hatch out'
nbo 'roll'	bbo 'go, leave'	bo 'rent'	po 'escape'
nbu 'curse'	bbu 'exist'	bu 'porcupine'	pu 'price'
nbur 'full'	bbur 'write'	bur 'return; again'	pur 'turn over'
	bbyp 'give'	byp 'compensate'	pyp 'inhale'
nbyr 'peel, cut off'		byr 'child diarrhea'	pyr 'fold (clothes)'

The alveolar stops [nd] and [d] are pronounced as [ndɓ] and [dɓ] before the back vowel [u]. These allophones are trills onset by an alveolar stop. The trills are more marked if the back vowel is creaky: [ɯ].

nd [nd/ndɓ]	dd [d/dɓ]	d [t]	t [t ^h]
ndi 'contain'	ddi 'bad, rotten'	di 'single, alone'	ti 'mean, signify'
ndie 'skillful'	ddie 'make'	die 'layer'	tie 'nominalizer'
ndat 'enough'	ddat 'accept'	da 'put'	ta 'earthen jar'
	dduo 'climb'	duo 'hold in arms'	tuo 'sharp, keen'
ndo 'drink'	ddop 'word'	dop 'point at'	to 'cut swiftly'
	dde dde mu 'often'	dep 'rise up'	te 'time'
ndu 'dig'	ddu 'home'	dut 'step on'	tut 'family'
ndur 'shake grain'	ddur 'exit'	dur 'thousand'	tur 'chop up'

The four phonation types are also fully contrastive for the velar point of articulation.

mg [ŋg]	gg [g]	g [k]	k [k ^h]
	ggit 'die out'	gip 'care for'	ki 'have contact'
mgie 'tell lies'	ggie 'break' (intr.)	gie 'guess'	kie 'chop'
mga 'pass'	gga 'road'	ga 'drop, shake'	ka 'want'
mguo 'embroider'	gguo 'rake'	guo 'fierce'	kuo 'brave'
mgo 'cold'	ggo 'used up'	go (pronoun)	ko 'spread'
mge 'buckwheat'	gge 'hear'	ge 'foolish'	ke 'dog'
mgu 'love, like'	ggu 'nine'	gu 'call'	ku 'steal'
mgur 'pick up'	ggur 'frightened'	gur 'frighten'	kur 'year, age'

B. Fricatives

There are eleven fricative phonemes. They are contrastive for most vowels, as illustrated for different neighbouring consonants.

f [f]	v [v]	w [ɥ]	
jix fi 'separate'	vit 'time'		
fat 'set free'	va 'chicken'	wat 'saddle'	
pu fox 'mislead'	vo 'snow'	wo 'bear'	
fut 'six'	vu 'go crazy'		
fur 'pour'	vur 'enter'		
fy 'ugly'	vy 'buy'		
ss [z]	s [s]	r [ʒ]	sh [ʃ]
ssi 'use'	si 'choose'		
ssa kuo 'hero'	sat 'mark, sign'	ra 'make noise'	sha 'splash'
	suo 'three'	ruop 'pull trigger'	shuo 'scrape'
sso 'study'	sot 'breath'	ro 'frugal'	sho 'harvest'
sse 'son'		rep 'gather'	she 'meat'
ssut 'mix'	su (nominalizer)	rup 'unlucky'	shut 'remember'
	sur 'repay'	rur 'weed'	shur 'lake'
ssy 'lifetime'	sy 'blood'	ry 'early'	shy 'gold'
ssyr 'press down'	syr 'sweep'	ryr ggur ggur 'firm'	shyr 'yell'
y [ʒ]	x [ç]	w [ɥ]	h [x]
yit 'needle'	xi 'arrive'		hit 'harm'
yie (classifier)	xie 'pick, pluck'		
		wa 'behind'	hat 'cover'
yuo (classifier)	xuo 'slip, slide'	wuo 'pull up'	huo 'pour'
yo 'sheep'	xop 'leak out'	wo 'group'	ho 'pen, fold'
		we 'strength'	he 'good'
yy 'water'	xy 'foot'		
x [ç]	h [x]	hx [h]	
xit 'bite'	hit 'harm'	hxit 'eight'	
xie 'catch fish'		hxie mat 'heart'	
	ha 'advise'	hxa 'hundred'	
xuo 'slip, slide'	huop lyt 'apricot'	hxuo 'mix, add'	
xop 'leak out'	hot 'bow'	hxo 'grow, raise'	
	he vat 'very good'	hxe 'fish'	

C. Affricates

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

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

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

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

D. Nasals and laterals

There are six nasal consonants, four voiced and two unvoiced, and two lateral consonants, one voiced and one unvoiced.

m [m]	n [n]	ny [n̩]	ng [ŋ]
mit 'hungry'	nit 'your'	nyi 'sit'	
mie 'nimble'	hxa nie 'tongue'	nyiet 'late'	ngie 'turn over'
mat (illocut. part.)	na 'ill; ache'		nga 'I'
muo (classifier)	nuo 'hide'	nyuo bby 'tears'	nguo 'chest'
mo 'see'	not 'flesh'	nyot 'paste, stick'	ngo 'cry'
	ne 'you'		nge 'be'
mup 'hemp'	nut 'sunken'	nyu 'crawl'	
murx nyie 'pamper'	nur ma 'soybean'		

m [m]	hm [m̩]	n [n]	hn [n̩]
mix 'even'	hmi 'name'	ni 'sprout'	ax hni 'red'
miep 'front'	hmie 'poke, flick'	niep sha 'Liángshān'	xyx hnie 'shoe'
ma (classifier)	hmat 'teach'	nax li 'chronic ill'	hna 'ask'
iet muop 'dream'		ax nuo 'hide'	
mot 'soldier'	hmo 'blow'	nop 'you' (pl.)	hnop 'drive'
		ne (topic particle)	hne (classifier)
mu 'do, make'	hmu 'mushroom'	ix nu 'soft'	a hnut 'deep'
mur hni 'siblings'	hmur 'explode'	nur ji 'soybean pod'	
myt 'strop'	hmyt 'end'		

n [n]	l [l]	hn [n̩]	hl [l̩]
ni 'scent'	li 'go upwards'	hnip 'smell'	hlit 'dry in sun'
niep ga 'pumpkin'	lie 'scald'	hniet rra 'vegetable'	hlie 'spleen'
na shy 'typhus'	la 'come'	hna 'listen'	hla 'soul'
nuo su 'Nuosu'	luo 'instance'		hluo 'rinse'
no 'equal'	lo 'boat'	hnox 'until'	hlo 'entertain'
ne 'stop'	le 'ox'	nep ndit 'lack'	hlepe 'month'
nu 'leprosy'	lu 'dragon'	hnut kip 'deep soil'	hlu 'stir fry'
nur ni 'sprout'	lur kur 'city'		hlur 'fester'
	ly 'four'		hly 'winnow'
	lyr 'bind, wind'		hlyr 'stir up'

3.1.2 Vowels

Nuosu exhibits eight vocalic phonemes: two front vowels, two central vowels and four back vowels. They are represented in Nuosu Pinyin and IPA below.

	Front		Central		Back	
	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	i [i]		y [i]		e [u]	u [u]
Close-mid						o [o]
Open-mid	ie [ɛ]					uo [ɔ]
Open				a [a]		

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

i [i]	ie [ɛ]	y [i]	e [u]
i (logophor)	ie 'duck'		e 'yes' (agreement)
bi 'scatter'	bie 'have diarrhea'	by 'cry (eagle)'	
ddip 'be called'	ddie 'serve as'		dde (nominalizer)
gi 'official'	gie 'strange'		get 'groom hair'
vi mop 'ax'	vie hlur 'worried'	vy 'millet'	
sit 'kill'	sie 'touch, pat'	syp 'know'	
		shyp 'seven'	shep 'search'
zzip 'compete'	zzie 'engrave'	zzyt mu 'world'	zze 'wear out'
		zhyp 'urge'	zhet 'correct'
iji 'bee'	ijie 'leave'	jjyt 'short person'	
mix (Future Tense)	mie lie 'steep'	myt 'purse lips'	
nit 'shift blame'	niep nie 'breast milk'		nep 'germs'
lip 'elephant'	lie 'pop up'	ly 'request'	lep 'swing'

u [u]	o [o]	uo [ɔ]	a [a]
	op 'goose'	uox ba 'frog'	ap (negator)
bu (classifier)	bop 'show'	buo 'colour-match'	bat zhu 'small cup'
ddu (nominalizer)	ddox mu 'knife'	dduo zip 'ladder'	ddap 'or'
gut 'support'	go (classifier)	guo 'too much'	gat 'dress'
vu 'intestines'	vot 'pig'		vat 'dollar'
sup 'resemble'	sot 'calculate'	suo 'quietly'	sat 'all; finish'
shu 'make'	shot 'shameful'	shuo 'brush by'	shax tur 'bullet'
zzup zzup 'icicle'			zzat 'stare at'
zhut nyot 'curl up'	zhop 'coax'	zhuop zy 'table'	zhat 'embroider'
jjut 'medium'	jjop 'cut'	jjuo 'chop'	
mup 'hemp'	mo 'plow'	muo (classifier)	ma 'bamboo'
nu 'leprosy'	not 'flesh'	nuo 'peep'	na ddi 'epidemic'
lut 'enough'	lot 'hand'	luop (expressive)	lat 'tea'

3.1.3 Tones

There are three tonemes, [55], [33], [21], and a fourth tone sandhi [44] whose phonological status is weak (section 3.2.2). The sandhi tone is mainly attested in disyllabic words. Very few monosyllabic words carry this tone.

-t [55]	-(no letter) [33]	-p [21]	-x [44]
xit 'bite'	xi 'thread'	xip 'such a'	xix 'what'
lot 'hand'	lo 'ravine'	lop 'surround'	lox 'after'
jjut 'waist'	jju 'oats'	jjup 'mark, track'	jjux (nominalizer)
bbot 'group'	bbo (classifier)	bbop 'possess'	bbox zze 'man'
vut 'press, mash'	vu 'corn stalk'	vup 'intestinal gas'	vux nuo 'intestine'
dit 'cloth layer'	di 'lacquer'	dip 'grind'	dix lo 'concave'
hlit 'flash'	hli 'heap things up'	hlip 'unbent'	hlix ndo 'lose'
not 'rich soil'	no 'equal'	nop 'faint'	nox nzy 'family status'
shyt 'put to bed'	shy 'twist'	shyp 'lead'	shyx ba 'golden'
chet 'distribute'	che 'be kidnapped'	chep 'spread legs'	chex zi 'rice silk'
nyit 'make room'	nyi 'exist'	nyip 'dax'	nyix dde 'seat'
hxot 'apply'	hxo 'steam'	hxop 'dye'	hxox ssu 'sparse'
yot 'incorrect'	yo 'sheep'	yop 'rock, shake'	yox mu 'fly, insect'

3.2 Phonological processes

3.2.1 Creaky voice

Syllables with medium vowel *y* [i] and back vowel *u* [u] can be laryngealized resulting in two set of vowels: one with, the other without creaky voice. Creaky voice is written in Nuosu Pinyin by *-r* after the vowel.

u [u]	ur [ʊ]	y [i]	yr [i̥]
nbu 'bore a hole'	nbur 'full'	nbyt 'overflowing'	nbyr 'peel'
bu (classifier)	bur 'return'	by 'cry (goat)'	byr 'diarrhea'
pu 'gush'	pur 'blow (wind)'	py 'mouth painful'	pyr 'plot'
hmu 'boil in water'	hmur 'inflate'	hmy 'tail'	hmyr 'close, shut'
vu 'flock'	vur 'turn over'	vy 'millet'	vyr 'scratch'
tu 'tung tree'	tur 'chisel'		
hlu 'leather'	hlur 'burnt up'	hlyp 'shed, molt'	hlyr 'escape'
lup 'take by force'	lur 'stuffy, stifling'	ly 'moan, groan'	lyr 'wrap up'
zu 'set upright'	zur bop 'origin'	zy 'accept, receive'	zyr 'accumulate'
sut 'other people'	sur ggat 'rich'	sy 'still, yet'	syr 'wipe clean'
zhup 'soak'	zhur 'cheat'	zhyp 'throw'	zhyr 'pull up'
shut 'China fir'	shur 'lake, sea'	shy 'liter'	shyr 'yell'
rrut 'bin'	rrur 'lie down'	rry 'corner'	rryr 'worn out'
ju 'bell'	jur 'blame'	jy 'provoke'	jyr 'slip away'
		xy 'foot'	xyr xyr 'continuous'
yu 'pick up'	yur 'wind into roll'	yy 'laugh'	yyr 'image'

3.2.2 Tone sandhi

The sandhi tone -x [44] has a weak phonological status. It is the result of a dissimilatory process in which a monosyllabic word with neutral tone [33] is adjacent to another syllable with [33]-tone. One of the tones is raised to differentiate it from the other. Most sandhi tones occur within compound words. A few cases are syntactically motivated and happen when two independent words stand next to each other. Eight such contexts are identified below.

(1) a. Sandhi Rule 1 (meaningful tone):

Singular personal pronouns take the sandhi tone [44] if they are patient noun phrases of a monotransitive verb in the [33]-tone (see section 10.2.3.A).

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|----|------------------------|
| b. | 𑄢𑄣 | → | c. | 𑄢𑄣 |
| | nga gu | | | ngax gu |
| | 1P.SG call | | | 1P.SG call |
| | ‘I called (someone).’ | | | ‘(Someone) called me.’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|----|------------------------|
| d. | 𑄢𑄤 | → | e. | 𑄢𑄤 |
| | ne mgu | | | nex mgu |
| | 2P.SG love | | | 2P.SG love |
| | ‘You love (someone).’ | | | ‘(Someone) loves you.’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|----|------------------------|
| f. | 𑄢𑄥 | → | g. | 𑄢𑄥 |
| | cy jie | | | cyx jie |
| | 3P.SG fear | | | 3P.SG fear |
| | ‘He fears (someone).’ | | | ‘(Someone) fears him.’ |

(2) a. Sandhi Rule 2 (not carrying meaning):

A monosyllabic noun with [33]-tone takes the sandhi tone [44] if it stands next to a classifier with [33]-tone.

- | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|----|------------|
| b. | *𑄢𑄦 | → | c. | 𑄢𑄦 |
| | *co ma | | | cox ma |
| | person CL | | | person CL |
| | ‘a person’ | | | ‘a person’ |
-
- | | | | | |
|----|------------|---|----|------------|
| d. | *𑄢𑄧 | → | e. | 𑄢𑄧 |
| | *zzi gur | | | zzix gur |
| | bridge CL | | | bridge CL |
| | ‘a bridge’ | | | ‘a bridge’ |

- (3) a. Sandhi Rule 3 (not carrying meaning):
A monosyllabic (pro)noun with [33]-tone takes the sandhi tone [44] before one of the topic markers *li* or *ne*.

- b. *ꠘꠞꠞ → c. ꠘꠞꠞ
*cy ne cyx ne
3P.SG TOP 3P.SG TOP
'as for him' 'as for him'
- d. *ꠘꠞꠞꠞ → e. ꠘꠞꠞꠞ
*co li cox li
person TOP person TOP
'as for the man' 'as for the man'

- (4) a. Sandhi Rule 4 (not carrying meaning):
A monosyllabic (pro)noun with [33]-tone takes the sandhi tone [44] before the noun conjunction *si nip* 'and'.

- b. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ → c. ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ
*ne si nip nga nex si nip nga
2P.SG and 1P.SG 2P.SG and 1P.SG
'You and I' 'You and I'

- (5) a. Sandhi Rule 5 (not carrying meaning):
A monosyllabic reduplicated verb/adjective with [33]-tone takes the sandhi tone [44] before its reduplicant.

- b. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞ? → c. ꠞꠞꠞꠞ?
*ku ku? kux ku?
steal ~ALT steal ~ALT
'steal?' 'steal?'
- d. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞ? → e. ꠞꠞꠞꠞ?
*ssi ssi? ssix ssi?
bright ~ALT bright ~ALT
'bright?' 'bright?'

- (6) a. Sandhi Rule 6 (not carrying meaning):
A monosyllabic verb with [33]-tone takes the sandhi tone [44] before the postverbal adverb *sy* 'still'.

- b. *ꠞꠞꠞꠞ → c. ꠞꠞꠞꠞ
*la sy lax sy
come still come still
'still come' 'still come'

- d. * $\text{Ჟ} \text{Ვ}$ → e. $\widehat{\text{Ჟ}} \text{Ვ}$
 *zze sy zzex sy
 eat still eat still
 ‘still eat’ ‘still eat’

- (7) a. Sandhi Rule 7 (not carrying meaning):
 A monosyllabic verb/adjective with [³³]-tone takes the sandhi tone [⁴⁴]
 before the nominalizers *su* or *dde*.

- b. * $\text{Ჟ} \text{Თ}$ → c. $\widehat{\text{Ჟ}} \text{Თ}$
 *rro su rrox su
 straight NOM straight NOM
 ‘the one that is straight’ ‘the one that is straight’

- d. * $\text{Ვ} \text{Თ} \text{Ვ} \text{Თ}$ → e. $\text{Ვ} \text{Თ} \text{Ვ} \text{Თ}$
 *vit gga cy dde vit gga cy Ვ dde
 clothes wash NOM clothes wash NOM
 ‘the place to wash clothes’ ‘the place to wash clothes’

The last sandhi rule is the result of a dissimilatory process in which the low [²¹]-tone, not the neutral [³³]-tone, switches to the sandhi [⁴⁴]-tone.

- (8) a. Sandhi Rule 8 (meaningful tone):
 Monosyllabic verbs with underlying [²¹]-tone and word order OAV take
 the sandhi [⁴⁴]-tone and impose the word order AOV (see section 10.2.3.B).

- b. $\text{Თ} \text{Ვ} \text{Თ} \text{Თ}$ → c. $\text{Თ} \text{Ვ} \text{Თ} \text{Თ}$
 mu jy lu ti shep mu jy lu ti she Ვ
 male name male name look for male name male name look for
 ‘Mudje looks for Luti.’ ‘Luti looks for Mudje.’

- d. $\text{Თ} \text{Ვ} \text{Ვ} \text{Თ}$ → e. $\text{Თ} \text{Ვ} \text{Ვ} \text{Თ}$
 lu po cy ndup lu po cy ndu Ვ
 male name 3P.SG beat male name 3P.SG beat
 ‘He beats Lupo.’ ‘Lupo beats him.’

3.2.3 Syllable structure

The Nuosu syllable structure is regular and simple. Every syllable is open, has a vowel and a tone.

- (9) Nuosu syllable structure:
- (S)(F)VT S = Stop; F = Fricative; V = Vowel; T = Tone
 - NVT N = Nasal; V = Vowel; T = Tone
 - LVT L = Lateral; V = Vowel; T = Tone

When nasals and laterals co-occur with the central vowel y [i], they are in free variation with syllabic consonants:¹

Syllable (without tone)	Basic pronunciation	Free variation
my	mi	m̩
hmy	m̩i	m̩̩
ny	(not attested)	(not attested)
hny	(not attested)	(not attested)
ly	li	l̩
hly	l̩i	l̩̩
ngy	(not attested)	(not attested)

The attested Nuosu syllables are shown in section 3.3.2.

3.3 The logographic script

3.3.1 Introduction

The different Yi groupings share a long history of religious and secretive texts using a syllabic script. The priests, the experts of the Yi writing, employed largely similar character sets throughout the Yi residence area. The oldest traces of the Yi script go back to stone and pottery inscriptions dating from the 8th century B.C. (Wu Gu 2001: 24).²

Each grapheme of the Yi system corresponds to one syllable. After 1000 A.D., the priests conducted a writing reform by rotating the vertical orientation of characters into a horizontal one. For the most populous branch of Yi, the Nuosu of Liángshān prefecture (Sìchuān), the Chinese Government standardized in 1978 a set of 1119 characters. For this set, the orientation of graphemes was reverted to a vertical pattern similar to the one used in ancient times. The systems of other Yi groups were not standardized and differ from the Nuosu system through the ‘reclining’ appearance of graphemes. The Nuosu system is used as a teaching medium in

¹ Two sounds or syllables are in *free variation*, if they are not in complementary distribution and if the substitution of one by the other does not alter the meaning.

² In this subsection, I am using again material published in Gerner (2013b).

primary schools and some secondary schools of Liángshān prefecture. Official documents are drafted in both languages, Chinese and Nuosu. The International Standardisation Organisation (ISO) reserved space for the Nuosu character set in Unicode in 1995. With the Unicode support of Windows 2000, typewriting is possible by using special input software.

3.3.2 Nuosu syllabary

Unlike the Chinese logographic script, Nuosu syllables stand in one-to-one correspondence with graphemes of the script. Nuosu has 44 *initial* segments (43 consonants plus empty initial segment), ten *final* segments (eight plain vowels and two creaky vowels) and four *suprasegments* (three tonemes and one tone sandhi). The theoretical number of logical syllables the script should provide graphemes for is 1,760. Since certain combinations of initials and finals are not attested in any dialect of Nuosu, the designers of the Government-sponsored Nuosu script only standardized 1,119 graphemes in 1978. In the standard Shynra dialect an even smaller number of graphemes is in actual use, about 1,005.

Logical Syllables:	1,760 (= 44 Initials × 10 Finals × 4 Suprasegments)
Graphemes in Nuosu Script:	1,119
Graphemes in actual use:	1,005

Graphemes that represent syllables in the sandhi tone have a bonnet compared to the grapheme symbolizing the syllable with [33]-tone.

𑄎	mi	𑄎̂	mix
𑄏	juo	𑄏̂	juox
𑄐	lu	𑄐̂	lux

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

𑄑	vep	𑄑̂	vex
𑄒	nzop	𑄒̂	nzox

In the attached syllabary, I have marked those graphemes of the script that are not in actual use with gray shade. Three folk stories with interlinear Nuosu script, romanization, IPA transcription, English glosses and translation are appended to this grammar.

Chapter 4

Word structure

Nuosu has isolating morphology. Grammatical categories can be expressed on the noun or verb but do not need to. This chapter is divided into four sections, a preview on the basic word categories in Nuosu (section 4.1), a section on affixation (section 4.2), on reduplication (section 4.3), and on word compounding (section 4.4).

4.1 Word categories

4.1.1 Open categories

Nuosu nouns, verbs and adjectives are open word classes. They are defined syntactically not morphologically. Verbs and adjectives always occur in the rightmost slot of a minimal simple clause. Nouns always occur in nonfinal position of a minimal simple clause. Nuosu adjectives differ from verbs (section 6.1.3). They are always intransitive and cannot take the progressive marker *-njuo*. Those verbs that do not co-occur with *-njuo* are gradable and monotransitive.

Widespread homophony and polysemy result in overlap of the category of nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Table 4.1: Open word categories

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives
lyp 'seed'	lyp 'sow'	
jjie 'fork'	jjie 'separate'	
njot 'ice'	njot 'freeze'	
gguo 'harrow'	gguo 'drag a harrow'	
	dop 'adapt'	dop 'well-suited'
	jjip 'become'	jjip 'full'

4.1.2 Closed and semi-closed categories

In Nuosu, there are five closed and three semi-closed word categories. Closed categories have a small and definite number, semi-closed categories a medial and vague number of members.

Table 4.2: Closed and semi-closed word categories

Category	Subcategory	Section	
Determiners (semi-closed)	Classifier (semi-closed)	section 5.2.1	
	Quantifier (closed)	section 5.3.2	
	Demonstrative (closed)	section 5.4.3	
	Article (semi-closed)	section 5.4.5	
Pronouns (closed)	Personal (closed)	section 5.4.1	
	Anaphor (closed)	section 5.4.2	
	Interrogative/indefinite (closed)	section 5.4.6	
Coverbs (closed)		section 6.2	
Auxiliaries (closed)	Phasal (closed)	section 7.2	
	Resultative (closed)	section 7.3	
	Modal (closed)	section 8.2	
Particles (closed)	Nominalizer (closed)	section 5.2.4	
	Progressive aspect (closed)	section 7.4	
	Perfective aspect (closed)	section 7.5	
	Quantitative aspect (closed)	section 7.6	
	Perfect (closed)	section 7.7	
	Tense (closed)	section 7.8	
	Quotative (closed)	section 8.3.1	
	Negation (closed)	section 9.2	
	Topic (closed)	section 14.1	
	Focus (closed)	section 14.2	
	Illocutionary (closed)	section 15	
	Adverbs (semi-closed)	Movable (semi-closed)	section 9.1.2
		Immovable (semi-closed)	section 9.1.3
Postverbal (semi-closed)		section 9.1.4	
Conjunctions (semi-closed)	Noun (closed)	section 5.3.3	
	Forward-linking (semi-closed)	section 13.1.2	
	Backward-linking (semi-closed)	section 13.1.3	
Complementizers (closed)		section 13.2	

The exact definition of these categories relies on morphosyntactic and semantic features and is described in the relevant sections.

4.2 Affixation

Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1990) found that suffixation is more common than prefixation at the ratio of 3:1. For verb-final languages the ratio is 5:1, for verb-initial languages it is still 2:1. The preference for suffixing was explained in terms of grammaticalization and cognitive processing of the human mind (Whaley 1997). This preference for suffixation also exists in Nuosu.

4.2.1 Inventory of prefixes

I present nine derivative prefixes in this section. However, only the size and fruit prefixes are true prefixes (section A–B). The other seven morphemes are prefixes in the making (section C–I). They are bound morphemes that were used as independent nouns at a previous point in time.

A. Size prefixes

Nuosu exhibits two sound-symbolic prefixes. The diminutive prefixes *i-* and the augmentative prefix *a-* can be prefixed to a set of adjectival roots generating pairs of antonyms.

Table 4.3: Synesthetic sound symbolism

[i] diminutive			[a] augmentative		
𐌺𐌱	ix sho	‘short’	𐌺𐌱	a sho	‘long’
𐌺𐌹	ix du	‘thin’	𐌺𐌹	a du	‘thick’
𐌺𐌻	ix ly	‘light’	𐌺𐌻	ax ly	‘heavy’
𐌺𐌵	ix jyy	‘narrow’	𐌺𐌵	a jyy	‘wide’
𐌺𐌽	ix nyi	‘few’	𐌺𐌽	ax nyi	‘much, many’
𐌺𐌿	ix fu	‘fine’	𐌺𐌿	a fu	‘coarse’
𐌺𐌾	ix nu	‘soft’	𐌺𐌾	ax guo	‘hard’
𐌺𐌿	iet zyr	‘small’	𐌺𐌿	ax yy	‘big’

B. Fruit prefix *syp-*

𐌺𐌵	syp vo	‘peach’	𐌺𐌵	syp ndat	‘pear’
	fruit	–		fruit	–
𐌺𐌾	syp hmi	‘walnut’	𐌺𐌾	syp yi	‘apricot’
	fruit	–		fruit	–
𐌺𐌿	syp ga	‘plum’	𐌺𐌿	syp hni	‘apple’
	fruit	–		fruit	–
𐌺𐌾	syp nju	‘citrus orange’			
	fruit	–			

C. *gga-* ‘road’

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

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

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

E. *ddop-* ‘word’

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

F. *hxie-* ‘heart’

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

G. *ke-* ‘mouth’

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

H. *mu-* ‘place, sky, steam’

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

I. *o-* ‘head’

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

𐌆𐌱	o-	kup	‘pillow’	𐌆𐌵	o-	go	‘headband’
		head	–			head	LOC
𐌆𐌴	o-	ji	‘pointed’	𐌆𐌶	o-	zzy	‘pointless’
		head	CL			head	–
𐌆𐌸	o-	bu	‘bald’	𐌆𐌹	o-	bbu	‘intelligent’
		head	–			head	–
𐌆𐌺	o-	mop	‘dizzy; giddy’	𐌆𐌻	o-	vu	‘dizzy’
		head	–			head	dry
𐌆𐌼	o-	hmy	‘start & end’	𐌆𐌽	o-	qu	‘old person’
		head	tail			head	white
𐌆𐌾	o-	ngep	‘nod head, agree’	𐌆𐌿	o-	qyp	‘lift head’
		head	lean			head	lift

4.2.2 Inventory of suffixes

In this section, I present three nominalizer suffixes (section A), four gender/age suffixes (section B), and two adjectivizer suffixes (section C).

A. Nominalizer suffixes

There are three nominalizers that derive lexical nouns from verbs: The action nominalizer *-lu*, which is unproductive, the quality/extent nominalizer *-jjux* and the manner nominalizer *-tie*, which are both productive.

Verb	-lu (action)	-jjux (quality or extent)	-tie (manner)
mgu ‘love’	mgu- lu ‘love’ (n.)	mgu- jjux ‘extent of love’	mgu- tie ‘way of loving’
zze ‘eat’	zze- lu ‘diet’	zze- jjux ‘quality of diet’	zze- tie ‘way of eating’
syp ‘know’	syp- lu ‘knowledge’	syp- jjux ‘extent of knowledge’	syp- tie ‘way of knowing’
ju ‘govern’	ju- lu ‘act of governing’	ju- jjux ‘extent of government’	ju- tie ‘way of governing’
hmat ‘teach’	hmat- lu ‘teaching’	hmat- jjux ‘quality of teaching’	hmat- tie ‘way of teaching’
hxip ‘speak’	hxip- lu ‘speech’	hxip- jjux ‘quality of speech’	hxip- tie ‘way of speaking’
chyp ‘weave’	chyp- lu ‘act of weaving’	chyp- jjux ‘weaving quality’	chyp- tie ‘way of weaving’
mu ‘do’	mu- lu ‘acts’	mu- jjux ‘extent of deeds’	mu- tie ‘way of doing’
ggat ‘wear’	ggat- lu ‘wardrobe’	ggat- jjux ‘quality of clothing’	ggat- tie ‘way of wearing’
hxep ‘see’	hxep- lu ‘view’	hxep- jjux ‘vision’	hxep- tie ‘way of seeing’
ndo ‘drink’	ndo- lu ‘act of drinking’	ndo- jjux ‘extent of drinking’	ndo- tie ‘way of drinking’
bbur ‘write’	bbur- lu ‘writing’	bbur- jjux ‘quality of writing’	bbur- tie ‘way of writing’
nra ‘measure’	nra- lu ‘act of measuring’	nra- jjux ‘measure’ (abstract)	nra- tie ‘way of measuring’
get ‘comb’	get- lu ‘act of combing’	get- jjux ‘quality of combing’	get- tie ‘way of combing’
yy ‘laugh’	yy- lu ‘act of laughing’	yy- jjux ‘extent of laughing’	yy- tie ‘way of laughing’
ggut ‘sew’	ggut- lu ‘act of sewing’	ggut- jjux ‘quality of sewing’	ggut- tie ‘way of sewing’
bi ‘read’	bi- lu ‘act of reading’	bi- jjux ‘extent of reading’	read- tie ‘way of reading’

The verbs listed above can take all three nominalizers. The verbs listed below only take *-jjux* and *-tie*, not *-lu*. The suffix classes of *-jjux* and *-tie* are largely identical.

Verb	-jjux (quality or extent)	-tie (manner)
zhe ‘cut, fell’	zhe- jjux ‘extent of cutting’	zhe- tie ‘manner of cutting’
shut ‘remember’	shut- jjux ‘extent of memories’	shut- tie ‘manner of memorizing’
hxe ‘lend’	hxe- jjux ‘extent of lending’	hxe- tie ‘manner of lending’
gu ‘call, crow’	gu- jjux ‘extent of crowing’	gu- tie ‘manner of crowing’
kie ‘fell’	kie- jjux ‘extent of felling’	kie- tie ‘manner of felling’
ngo ‘weep’	ngo- jjux ‘extent of weeping’	ngo- tie ‘manner of weeping’
vy ‘buy’	vy- jjux ‘extent of buying’	vy- tie ‘manner of buying’
la ‘come’	la- jjux ‘quality of coming’	la- tie ‘manner of coming’
syr ‘sweep’	syr- jjux ‘extent of sweeping’	syr- tie ‘manner of sweeping’
sot ‘count’	sot- jjux ‘extent of counting’	sot- tie ‘manner of counting’
ku ‘steal’	ku- jjux ‘extent of stealing’	ku- tie ‘manner of stealing’
nzyt ‘bite’	nzyt- jjux ‘extent of biting’	nzyt- tie ‘manner of biting’
zyt ‘dig’	zyt- jjux ‘extent of digging’	zyt- tie ‘manner of digging’
lo ‘scald, burn’	lo- jjux ‘extent of scalding’	lo- tie ‘manner of scalding’
hlu ‘cook’	hlu- jjux ‘quality of cooking’	hlu- tie ‘way of cooking’
hxip ryt ‘admit’	hxip ryt- jjux ‘admission’	hxip ryt- tie ‘way of admission’
la hxex ‘wait’	la hxex- jjux ‘extent of waiting’	la hxex- tie ‘manner of waiting’
hxo lo ‘depend’	hxo lo- jjux ‘dependance’	hxo lo- tie ‘kind of dependance’
nyie ‘shear’	nyie- jjux ‘extent of shearing’	nyie- tie ‘way of shearing’
mgot ‘chase’	mgot- jjux ‘extent of chasing’	mgot- tie ‘manner of chasing’

The three suffixes *-lu*, *-jjux* and *-tie* scope over the verb alone, not over the verb phrase (the verb, its complements and adjuncts). No complement noun phrase may be added. The agent of the verb can be expressed as the possessor of the nominalized verb.

- (1) a. * $\text{H}\text{ry}\text{ndo}$ -**lu**
 wine drink NOM
 ‘act of drinking wine’
- b. * $\text{H}\text{qi}\text{get}$ -**jjux**
 head comb NOM
 ‘act of combing one’s hair’
- c. * $\text{H}\text{tep}\text{yy}\text{bi}$ -**tie**
 book read NOM
 ‘the manner of reading books’
- d. * $\text{H}\text{hxie}\text{mgat}\text{syp}$ -**jjux**
 Chinese know NOM
 ‘the extent of knowing Chinese’
- e. * $\text{H}\text{vy}\text{lot}\text{mu}$ -**lu**
 business do NOM
 ‘the act of doing business’
- f. * $\text{H}\text{vit}\text{gga}\text{ggat}$ -**tie**
 clothes wear NOM
 ‘the manner of wearing clothes’

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

B. Gender/age suffixes

There are three gender and one age suffixes attached to animal names: *-bat* (male), *-bu* (male), *-mop* (female) and *-sse* (young). The two male suffixes occur after different nouns. Several nouns can use both suffixes. For inanimate nouns, the female suffix *-mop* and the age suffix *-sse* have developed secondary functions as augmentative and diminutive suffixes (see Jurafsky 1996; Matisoff 1991).

Noun	-bat (male)	-bu (male)	-mop (female)	-sse (young)
le ‘ox’	le- bat ‘bull’	le- bu ‘ox’	le- mop ‘cow’	le- sse ‘calf’
mu ‘horse’	mu- bat ‘stallion’	mu- bu ‘stallion’	mu- mop ‘mare’	mu- sse ‘colt, foal’
yo ‘sheep’	yo- bat ‘ram’	yo- bu ‘wether’	yo- mop ‘ewe’	yo- sse ‘lamb’
vot ‘pig’	vot- bat ‘boar’	–	vot- mop ‘sow’	vot- sse ‘piglet’
ke ‘dog’	ke- bat ‘dog’	–	ke- mop ‘bitch’	ke- sse ‘puppy’
ax nyie ‘cat’	–	ax nyie- bu ‘tomcat’	ax nyie- mop ‘queen’	ax nyie- sse ‘kitten’
va ‘chicken’	–	va- bu ‘rooster’	va- mat ‘hen’	va- sse ‘chick’
ie ‘duck’	–	ie- bu ‘drake’	ie- mat ‘female duck’	ie- sse ‘duckling’
op ‘goose’	–	op- bu ‘gander’	op- mop ‘female goose’	op- sse ‘gosling’
lat- ‘wolf’	–	lat- bu ‘male wolf’	lat- mop ‘wolf’	lat- sse ‘pup’
wo- ‘bear’	–	wo- bu ‘he-bear’	wo- mop ‘she-bear’	wo- sse ‘cub’
lot jy ‘finger’	–	–	lot- mop ‘thumb’	lot jy- sse ‘little finger’
bbo ‘mountain’	–	bbo- bu ‘mountain’	–	bbo- sse ‘hill’
vat ‘rock’	–	vat- bu ‘rock’	vat- mop ‘big rock’	vat- sse ‘small rock’
lur (mat) ‘stone’	–	–	lur- mop ‘big stone’	lur- sse ‘little pebble’
yyp- ‘water’	–	–	yyp- mop ‘river’	yyp- sse ‘creek’
ggap- ‘path’	–	–	ggap- mop ‘road’	ggap- sse ‘lane’

In addition, *-mop* and *-sse* can also co-occur with several verbs to derive lexical nouns.

Verb	-mop (female)	-sse (son)
bi ‘read’	bi- mop ‘priest’	bi- sse ‘apprentice of priest’
get ‘able’	get- mop ‘master’	get- sse ‘apprentice’
hlut ‘pasture’	hlut- mop ‘shepherd’	hlut- sse ‘shepherd boy’
hmat ‘teach’	hmat- mop ‘teacher’	–
sso ‘study’	–	ssox- sse ‘pupil’
surx sha ‘poor’	–	sha- sse ‘poor guy’

C. Adjectivizer suffixes

Two suffixes derive adjectives from verbs. The suffix *-sa* encodes the easiness or pleasure of doing an activity. The suffix *-we* expresses the opposite state of difficulty. The suffix *-we* is less productive than *-sa*, as illustrated below. The derived adjectives are gradable and can be intensified with *-jy-*.

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

4.3 Reduplication

In Nuosu, all major word categories allow reduplication with an array of meanings: nouns (section 4.3.1), numeral classifiers (section 4.3.2), personal pronouns (section 4.3.3), verbs (section 4.3.4), adjectives (section 4.3.5), and ideophones (section 4.3.6).

In addition, Nuosu idioms are composed of four partially reduplicated syllables (section 4.3.7).

4.3.1 Nouns

Nouns are wholly reduplicated in three constructions.

- | (3) | Structure | Input nouns | Gloss |
|-----|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| a. | N N + CL | N common nouns | ‘some’, ‘a few’ |
| b. | N N (+ ART/DEM+CL) | N body part term | ‘only’, ‘always’ |
| c. | N-jjy-N | few common nouns | ‘real’, ‘authentic’ |

In all three constructions, monosyllabic nouns are reduplicated as AA and dissyllabic nouns as ABAB. In the first construction, most common nouns can be reduplicated and followed by a classifier to encode a diminutive meaning.

- (4) a. 日暮时云多，几几几几云在山顶上。
 mu ket te go ne, **mu di mu di** nzy nyi go ndit la yip luop
 evening when TOP cloud~DIM CL also LOC attached come META REGR
 ‘Oh a few clouds appear in the evening.’
- b. 早晨时风多，呼呼呼呼吹来。
 mu ti te go ne, **mu hly mu hly** tu pur la ndit.
 morning when TOP wind~DIM CL blow come PER
 ‘A slight wind is blowing sometimes in the morning.’
- (5) a. 这块地有许多石头。
 mux dde cy jot **lur mat lur mat** ma gox rrur.
 soil DEM CL stone~DIM CL LOC lie about
 ‘Some stones lie about this piece of land.’
- b. 森林里有一条小路。
 syr juo go **ggap mop ggap mop** zha nyi gox bbu yip luop.
 forest LOC path~DIM CL also LOC exist META REGR
 ‘There is a small pathway in the forest.’
- (6) a. 晚上几只狗在叫。
 ket mop si qix suo ko ko, **kex ke** ma go jjo vot ndit.
 night calm~DIM dog~DIM CL LOC have bark PER
 ‘At night a few dogs are barking sometimes.’
- b. 草地上几朵花开了。
 bbut jjuop go **viex vie viex vie** bu vie.
 grass LOC flower~DIM CL blossom
 ‘A few flowers blossom in the grassland.’

Terms for unique or double body parts can be reduplicated with the sense of exclusive predicational relation glossable as *only* or as *always*.

- (7) a. $\text{ax pa li he sat, ngat i qi i qi max su ax di na go shex.}$
 other TOP good EXH 1P.SG.POSS head~only ART only ill HAB
 ‘Otherwise everything’s ok, only my head always aches.’
- b. $\text{bbu sse ngat ka nyuo ka nyuo go ax di cyt la go shex.}$
 mosquito 1P.SG.POSS face~only LOC only sting come HAB
 ‘The mosquitoes only sting my face.’
- c. $\text{va cyx ma ax yi lot lot go da zza tur la go shex.}$
 hen DEM CL child hand~only LOC COV crops peck come HAB
 ‘The hen is always pecking food from the child’s hand.’
- d. $\text{ax rryr cyp bbur lie bbur lie go nyi la go shex.}$
 female name 3P.SG.POSS thigh~only LOC sit come HAB
 ‘Adge always comes to sit on his thighs.’

The third reduplication pattern is not productive. Several common nouns can undergo epenthetic reduplication by using the intensifier infix *-jyy-* ‘very’. This process emphasizes the definitional properties of the noun and can be glossed as *real* or *authentic*.

- (8) a. $\text{nop it dde li la dda -jyy- la dda ji nge.}$
 2P.PL hometown TOP valley very valley CL COP
 ‘Your hometown is in a real valley.’
- b. $\text{cop jiet lap bbu a zzyx ji, le -jyy- lex ji nge.}$
 3P.PL.POSS home ox DEM CL ox (general) very ox CL COP
 ‘Their family’s ox is a real ox.’

4.3.2 Classifiers

In combination with numerals, classifiers can be wholly reduplicated in three constructions.

- c. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌, 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓.
 ne cop wox zzy yyx si-ap-ssop, **cop cox** la yix syp.
 2P.SG 3P.PL accompany not need 3P.PL~EMP come still
 ‘You do not need to accompany them, they are coming on their own.’

4.3.4 Verbs

All verbs can be reduplicated to encode alternative questions. Gradable verbs can further undergo epenthetic reduplication with the intensifier infix *-jy-*.

(14)	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Input verbs</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
a.	V V	V verb	Alternative question
b.	V-jy-V	V gradable verb	Intensification

For alternative questions, monosyllabic verbs with mid- or low tone have their base raised to sandhi tone -x and the reduplicant preserving the original tone. Dissyllabic verbs AB reduplicate in an unpredictable way for both constructions, partially as ABB (AB-jy-B) or wholly as ABAB (AB-jy-AB).

Alternative questions are formed through whole or partial reduplication of the verb. Some dissyllabic verbs are reduplicated as ABAB/ABB, some only as ABB.

Table 4.4: Reduplication in a representative sample of verbs

Verb	Alternative question	Intensification
mgu ‘love’	mgux mgu	mgu-jy-mgu
qyt ‘bind’	qyt qyt	–
ndup ‘beat’	ndux ndup	ndup-jy-ndup
lot buop ‘help’	lot buop buop	–
uo mur tit ‘worship’	uo mur tit tit	–
bu dex ‘praise’	bu dex bu dex / bu dex dex	bu dex-jy-bu dex
hxie vur ‘like’	hxie vur vur	hxie vur-jy-hxie vur / hxie vur-jy-vur
ggat qip ‘delay’	ggat qip ggat qip / ggat qip qip	–
la hxex ‘wait’	la hxex hxep	–
lyrx nyie ‘move’	lyrx nyie nyie	lyrx nyie-jy-lyrx nyie
jy jie ‘fear’	jy jiex jie	jy jie-jy-jy jie / jy jie-jy-jie
hxie nep ndit ‘regret’	hxie nep ndit ndit	hxie nep ndit-jy-ndit hxie nep ndit-jy-hxie nep ndit
ggup cyr ‘rescue’	ggup cyrx cyr	–
lyr ggex ‘tremble’	lyr ggex gge	lyr ggex-jy-lyr ggex / lyr ggex-jy-ggex
hxie jjuo ‘move (sb)’	hxie jjuo jjuo	hxie jjuo-jy-hxie jjuo
syp mgep ‘chat’	syp mgep mgep	–
yyx zyr ‘drench’	yyx zyr zyr	–

- (15) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌?
 cox ku max su cop sip **qyt qyt?**
 people steal ART 3P.PL take bind~ALT
 ‘Did they get hold of the thief?’
- (16) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍?
 hmat mop ssox sse max su **bu dex bu dex?**
 teacher student ART praise~ALT
 ‘Did the teacher praise the student?’
- b. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎?
 hmat mop ssox sse max su **bu dex dex?**
 teacher student ART praise~ALT
 ‘Did the teacher praise the student?’
- (17) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏?
 ne ip si cyp vit ngop **la hxex hxex?**
 2P.SG just now NUM.1 time 1P.PL wait~ALT
 ‘Have you been waiting for us just now?’

Gradable verbs can be intensified through reduplication and epenthesis of the infix *-jy-*. For dissyllabic verbs the pattern is AB-*jy*-AB or AB-*jy*-B.

- (18) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑?
 nga ax mo **mgu -jy- mgu.**
 1P.SG mother love very love
 ‘I love mother very much.’
- b. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕?
 nga ngat mu ddix **ngop -jy- ngop.**
 1P.SG 1P.SG.POSS hometown think, miss very think, miss
 ‘I am missing my hometown very much’
- (19) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘?
 bbu dde cyx ma cox **hxie jjuo -jy- hxie jjuo.**
 story DEM CL people heart-move very heart-move
 ‘This story is very moving.’

4.3.5 Adjectives

Adjectives can also be reduplicated to express alternative question. Gradable adjectives can further be reduplicated with the epenthetic intensifier infix *-jy-*.

(20)	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Input adjectives</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	a. A A	A adjective	Alternative question
	b. A-jjy-A	V gradable adjective	Intensification

Adjectives and verbs are reduplicated in the same way. For pattern (20a), the base of monosyllabic adjectives with mid- or low tones rises to the sandhi tone -x while the reduplicant preserves the original tone. Dissyllabic verbs AB reduplicate partially as ABB (AB-jjy-B), or wholly as ABAB (AB-jjy-AB). The availability of partial or whole reduplication is unpredictable.

Table 4.5: Reduplication in a representative sample of adjectives

Adjective	Alternative question	Intensification
ge 'stupid'	gex ge	ge-jjy-ge
o bbu 'intelligent'	o bbux bbu	o bbu-jjy-o bbu
ax yy 'big'	ax yy ax yy / ax yy yy	ax yy-jjy-ax yy / ax yy-jjy-yy
ix fu 'thin'	ix fu ix fu / ix fu fu	ix fu-jjy-ix fu / ix fu-jjy-fu
a hmu 'high'	a hmu a hmu / a hmu hmu	a hmu -jjy-a hmu / a hmu-jjy-hmu
ix sho 'short'	ix sho ix sho / ix sho sho	ix sho -jjy-ix sho / ix sho-jjy-sho
gga sho 'far'	gga shox sho	gga shox-jjy-gga sho
ix jjy 'narrow'	ix jjy jjy	ix jjy-jjy-ix jjy
ix bbo 'thin'	ix bbo bbo	ix bbo-jjy-ix bbo
wox bu 'fat'	wox bu wox bu / wox bu bu	wox bu-jjy-wox bu / wox bu-jjy-bbu
ax nyi 'many'	ax nyi nyi	ax nyi-jjy-ax nyi
mip ji 'pointed'	mip jix ji	mip ji-jjy-mip ji / mip ji-jjy-ji
lap rryt 'skew'	lap rryt rryt	lap rryt-jjy-lap rryt
ax nuo 'black'	ax nuo nuo	ax nuo-jjy-ax nuo / ax nuo-jjy-nuo
chyp hni 'stinky'	chyp hnix hni	chyp hn -jjy-chyp hni / chyp hni-jjy-hni
ce qy 'salty'	ce qyx qy	ce qyx -jjy-ce qyx / ce qyx-jjy-qyx
sha qip 'exhausting'	sha qip qip	sha qip -jjy-sha qip / sha qip-jjy-qip

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

- (21) མ་གཏུ་མཚོན་པའི་སྒྱུ་ལྡན་གྱི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་?
 ma gop cyx ji **ssix ssi?**
 lamp DEM CL bright~ALT
 'Does this lamp shine brightly?'

- (22) a. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་?
 ngat ix di ggux su **zhut zhut?**
 1P.SG.POSS clothes ART crinkly~ALT
 'Are my clothes crinkly?'

- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 (𠄎) 𠄎?
 xyx hnie cyx zzip **iet zyr (iet) zyr?**
 shoe DEM CL small~ALT
 ‘Is this pair of shoes small?’
- c. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎?
 op rro shur mop **a hxuox hxuo?**
 Xichang lake deep~ALT
 ‘Is the lake of Xichang deep?’

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

- (23) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ip nyip mo mu **mgo -jyy- mgo.**
 today sky, weather cold very cold
 ‘Today the weather is very cold.’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
ngat pax shu **jjip -jyy- jjip.**
 1P.SG.POSS bag full very full
 ‘My bag is very full.’
- (24) 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎?
 ngat nyuo zzy **a hnix hnix?**
 1P.SG eye red~ALT
 ‘Are my eyes red?’

4.3.6 Colour ideophones

Colour adjectives take reduplicated ideophones to express colour nuances. They evoke images in the mind of the addressee. The ideophone is meaningless in isolation. The following list is nonexhaustive.

Adjective root	Ideophonic expression	Gloss
a shyx ‘yellow’	shyx ndo ndo	yellow full of fruits
	shyx bur bur	yellow and pale
	shyx juo juo	yellow full of poultis or blooms
	shyx lo lo	yellow in sky before thunderstorm
	shyx ssy ssy	a lot of yellow entities together
	shyx jie jie	yellow colour of stars in the sky

	shyx ly ly	yellow colour of body hair
	shyx mo mo	very pale yellow
	shyx ggo ggo	yellow colour of roasted fish
	shyx ba ba	yellow colour of buckwheat cake
	shyx mge mge	yellow colour in face of ill person
ax hni 'red'	hnix sy sy	red colour of glowing fire
	hnix lo lo	very red
	hnix zhyr zhyr	reddish colour of human face
	hnix jjo jjo	area-wide red
	hnix mo mo	red and pale
	hnix xyx xyx	red and healthy colour of face
	hnix njie njie	a lot of red entities together
	hnix ssyr ssyr	full of red dots
	hnix zzyr zzyr	ordered red blocks
	(hni mox vu)	('pink')
a vut 'green'	vut mo mo	green and pale
	vut lo lo	azure, sapgreen
	vut nyie nyie	green and foggy
	vut zhu zhu	lively green
	vut zhyr zhyr	green colour of moss
	vut hlip hlip	green colour of crops in field
	vut jjo jjo	glossy and green
sox 'silver, grey'	sox bo bo	silver-grey
	sox mo mo	light grey
a qu 'white'	qux zyr zyr	snow-white
	qux juo juo	white dots area-wide
	qux shy shy	snow-white area-wide
	qux sha sha	foamy-white
	qux zi zi	white thread on dark background
	qux mo mo	dirty-white
	qux jie jie	ashen, pale as a sheet
	qux bbie bbie	beaming white
	qux sy sy	little white on dark background
	qux ndo ndo	white colour of earthworm
ax nuo 'black'	nuo jjur jjur	shiny black colour of hair
	nuo chuo chuo	black colour of face
	nuo zzyt zzyt	deep black
	nuo bbip bbip	roughly black
	nuo sot sot	dark-grey
	nuo ddie ddie	layered black
	nuo ddep ddep	black-green colour of forest

More illustrations are provided below.

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

4.3.7 Idioms

Nuosu makes extensive use of four-syllable idioms to capture certain states of affairs. A varied use of these idioms in every day situations shows a high command of the stylistic register. Based on their form, idioms can be classified into five categories: AABB, ABAB, ABAC (frequent), ABCB (frequent), ABCD. Examples are drawn from Chén & Lǐ (1996)’s *dictionary of idioms*.

AABB

Very few Nuosu idioms exhibit the internal structure AABB.

𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉	dop	dop	zzy	zzy	‘not so good’
	can	can	–	–	(dop dop ‘insufficient’)
𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐	ggur	ggur	chyr	chyr	‘tireless’
	sturdy	sturdy	tear open	tear open	

ABAB

The structure ABAB is also rarely attested for idioms. Below, one example is provided in which the second A has the tone sandhi -x.

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

ABCB

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

单口大口	lit	yy	dat	yy	‘arrogant’
	pharynx	big	pawn	big	
日世日世	pat	shut	mop	shut	‘remember one’s parents’
	father	remember	mother	remember	
巾巾字巾	xy	ggot	lot	ggot	‘muscle ache’
	foot	ache	hand	ache	
条条巾条	ssup	hlit	sha	hlit	‘dry barley and wheat in the sun’
	barley	dry in sun	wheat	dry in sun	
丰日日日	dur	mu	vat	mu	‘become a great multitude’
	1000	do	10000	do	

For the following idioms, A and C form disyllabic words or two independent words with similar meanings.

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

Sometimes, A and C form two independent antonymic words.

日世日世	ot	jjip	tot	jjip	‘easy come easy go’
	downside	become	upside	become	
日世日世	ku	ddop	hxi	ddop	‘insider talk and outsider talk’
	inside	word	outside	word	

One common subtype uses the coverb *ddie* ‘prepare’ (section 6.2.2.A): AB-*ddie*-B.

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

ABAC

Another frequent idiom pattern is ABAC. In some cases, B and C form together a word or are independent words with similar meanings.

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

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

𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼	mga	yy	mga	la	‘coming and going’
	pass	go down	pass	come	

In the following idiom, AB and AC form two words that are antonymic.

豐收 歉收 vop mu vop ngo ‘rich harvest and famine’
 – do – weep (vop mu ‘harvest’; vop ngo ‘famine’)

In the next idiom, AB forms a word that is partially repeated. The third and fourth syllables have no relevant meaning.

龍 龍 龍 龍 lu byx lux ji ‘folk story idioms’
 dragon – dragon CL (lu byx ‘idiom’)

ABCD

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

日 月 財 力 rre quo zzax bi ‘waste resources’
 money tear down food scatter
 嫁 女 拜 堂 xyp xi hni jyx ‘wedding’
 bride reach female – xyp xi ‘wedding’

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

酒 肉 醉 飽 nry ndo she zze ‘feast, regale oneself’
 wine drink meat eat
 病 疴 痼 疾 na ndit mgox zzur ‘chronically ill’
 ill attached ache stick up
 頭 腦 不 用 o hxi hmy ga ‘refuse any advice or task’
 head shake tail drop
 口 無 遮 羞 ke ssyt nyuo hxi ‘naughty’
 mouth bite eye wave

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

頭 尾 一 貫 o go hmy sat ‘from beginning to end’
 head LOC tail EXH (o go ‘life’; hmy sat ‘end’)
 頭 穿 鞋 襪 o syr xy shox ‘dressed up and decorated’
 head wipe foot clean (syr shox ‘sweep’)
 上 下 翻 轉 ot bur tot lie ‘turn something upside down’
 downside turn upside turn (bur lie ‘turn’)

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

心 碎 口 裂 hxie bba la jjuo ‘heart broken’
 heart carry come broken

4.4 Compounding

We illustrate several groups of compound words: nominal compounds (section 4.4.1), verbal compounds (section 4.4.2) and mixed compounds (section 4.4.3).

4.4.1 Nominal compounds

The meaning of nominal compounds may be related to the meaning of its components in different ways. I have distinguished 15 cases in this subsection.

A and B are unrelated in meaning

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

A and B are figuratively related

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

A and B are parallel

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

A is the material of which B is made

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

B denotes a part of A

𑖀𑖫𑖮	i dix clothes	lot hand	‘sleeve’
𑖮𑖮	syr tree	lot hand	‘branch’
𑖀𑖫	ie duck	she meat	‘duck meat’

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

A is the producer of B

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

A is processed into B

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

A describes the kind or nature of B

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

B is a unit of A

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

A denotes the body part on which B is worn

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

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

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

B denotes the dwelling or storing place of A

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

A denotes the body part of disease B

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

B is a representative symbol for A

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

A denotes the sign in Chinese zodiac for time unit B

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

4.4.2 Verbal compounds

Verbal compounds relate to the meaning of their components in four major ways, as listed below. Directional verb compounds are presented in section 6.4.1.

A and B are unrelated

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

A and B are antonymic

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

A and B are parallel

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

B denotes resultative state of A

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

4.4.3 Mixed compounds

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

A is noun and B is verb

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

A is noun and B is classifier

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

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

A is verb and B is classifier

𠃉 𠃉	yur	nyip	'birthday'
	be born	CL.day	
𠃉 𠃉	ngop	jix	'thought'
	think	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	sat	ma	'mark, symbol'
	point at	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	bbur	ma	'letter'
	write	CL	
𠃉 𠃉	ko	lo	'mattress'
	spread (a mat...)	CL	

Chapter 5

The noun phrase

The Nuosu noun phrase represents rare features such as the existence of semi-open classes of in/definite articles and of an African-style logophor. This chapter is divided into four sections, an overview section (section 5.1), a section on classifiers, possession, adjectival modification, and relativization (section 5.2), a section on quantification (section 5.3), and a section on deixis and definiteness (section 5.4).

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Constructions of the noun phrase

The *noun phrase* (NP) was replaced in recent versions of Generative Grammar by *determiner phrase* (DP) whose head is a determiner like the definite article *the* (Carnie 2007). For Chinese, there is a controversy on the structural unit that would correspond to the English article *the* as the head of DP (Tang 1990; Cheng & Sybesma 1999; Wu & Bodomo 2009). Since classifiers in Cantonese can have definite reference, Cheng & Sybesma (1999) argue for the classifier to be the head of DP, which they call the head of the *classifier phrase*. Wu & Bodomo (2009), citing empirical constraints, disagree with this position.

This discussion has relevance for Nuosu in which the classifier contributes to the formation of indefinite and definite determiners (section 5.4.5). As this grammar is not committed to one particular syntactical framework, we will continue to employ the notion of noun phrase instead of determiner phrase, but adopt one structural unit that is reminiscent of labels used in Generative Grammar: the unit CL' (classifier-bar) which is a unit greater than a bare classifier but smaller than the whole noun phrase.

Table 5.1: The unit CL' in three types of determiners

Demonstratives	N	DEM	CL	CL'
Indefinite articles	N		CL	
Definite articles	N		CL <i>su</i>	

Demonstratives, indefinite articles and definite articles require classifiers. Definite articles are derived from indefinite articles by appending the nominalizer *-su* (see section 5.2.4.C). The particle *-su* cannot be directly suffixed to the noun but must be complemented by other elements. It is thus not the element which encodes the determiner function, but it contributes to establishing definite determiners. The element that encodes the determiner function is the classifier.

Table 5.2: Noun phrase constructions

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

Table 5.2 provides an overview of the constructions of the noun phrase. Different columns of the table show the relative order of multiple components.

5.1.2 The order of components in the noun phrase

Noun phrases in Nuosu consist at least of a bare noun and at most of four different components (classifier, adjective, possessor and relative clause). If several of these elements appear, their order is fixed according to the following schema:

- (1) *Left- and right-attached material:*
- relative + possessor + noun + adjective + relative + classifier
 clause + component + noun + component + clause + component

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

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

- b. a vut su ngat i dix $\text{ap ndi hxix vy six la}$
 green NOM 1P.SG.POSS garment yesterday buy RES come
 suo ggux su
 NUM.3 ART=CL-DET
 ‘my three green shirts which I bought yesterday’
- c. ngat i dix a vut su $\text{ap ndi hxix vy six la su}$
 1P.SG.POSS garment green NOM yesterday buy RES come NOM
 ‘my green shirts which I bought yesterday’
- d. ngat i dix a vut su
 1P.SG.POSS garment green NOM
 $\text{ap ndi hxix vy six la suo ggux su}$
 yesterday buy RES come NUM.3 ART=CL-DET
 ‘my three green shirts which I bought yesterday’
- (3) a. cop chex zy $\text{syt ddur da lat jjip su}$
 3P.PL.POSS car affair exit STP broken NOM
 $\text{shyt nyi a shyt pux nyi liex guo ggex su}$
 new also new price also expensive ART=CL-DET
 ‘Their new and expensive car which was damaged in a car accident.’
- b. $\text{op rro da la su o bbu su}$ ssox sse
 Xichang COV.put come NOM intelligent NOM student
 $\text{xip kep nyip yuot.}$
 DEM.INDEF several CL
 ‘Several intelligent students who arrived from Xichang.’
- c. $\text{op rro it su mu ga}$ $\text{vyt vu ix yi si nip hnip mop}$ nrat
 Xichang live NOM name brothers and sisters nice
 ly yuox su
 NUM.4 ART=CL-DET
 ‘Muga’s four nice brothers and sisters who live in Xichang.’

5.2 Qualifying nouns

5.2.1 Noun classifiers

Classifiers in Asian languages assume an *individualizing* function. Individualization is the assignment of shape boundaries to a nominal concept (Burling 1965: 259–260; Greenberg 1972: 10; Croft 1994: 162–163; Bisang 1999: 115; Gerner 2006: 241). Bisang (1999: 121) distinguishes between *actualizing* and *creative* individualization. If a noun referent *has* inherent shape boundaries, a classifier *actualizes* them (actualizing individualization). Otherwise, a classifier *imposes* shape boundaries (creative individualization).

In theory, *sortal* classifiers actualize and *mensural* classifiers create shape boundaries. This division is sometimes blurred in Nuosu. Sortal classifiers might also create shape boundaries. For example, the sortal classifier for one-dimensional entities can co-occur with mass nouns such as *gold* to convey the sense of *gold bar*. Classifiers are therefore *predominantly sortal* or *predominantly mensural*.

As a general rule, sortal classifiers are clitics with bleached nominal meanings, while mensural classifiers are independent words that contribute stronger meanings to the noun. Almost all Nuosu classifiers are monosyllabic and have the neutral mid-tone [33]. This situation is expected, as classifiers are grammaticalized nouns which have undergone tone lenition (high and low tones weakened to midtones).

We distinguish eight groups of classifiers: animate sortal classifiers (section A), inanimate sortal classifiers (section B), small-range sortal classifiers (section C), double nominal and verbal classifiers (section D), collectivizers (section E), partitioners and subclassifiers (section F), measure words (section G), and auto-classifiers (section H).

A. Animate sortal classifiers

There is one human classifier, one classifier for body parts and one for plants. The human classifier *ma* is the same as the general classifier (section B). The human classifier is number-sensitive. For the numbers one or two modulo ten,¹ the form is *ma*, for the numbers three to five, nine and ten modulo ten, the form switches to *yuo* (midtone). For six and eight modulo ten, the classifier form is *yuop* (low tone) and for seven modulo ten the form is *yuot* (high tone).

¹ The modulo operation finds the remainder of division of one number by another (for example: $11 \bmod 3 = 2$, since $11 = 3 \times 3 + 2$). Several Yi languages have classifiers which are sensitive for the modulo operation (Gerner 2003: 993).

Classifier: ma (1–2); yuo (3–5, 9, 10); yuop (6,8); yuot (7)

Classifieds: people

co ‘person’ ax yi ‘child’ bbox zze ‘man’
 si hni ‘woman’ bi mox ‘priest’ qop bop ‘friend’

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

- (4) a. 一个人 b. 三个人
 co cyp **ma** co suo **yuo**
 person NUM.1 CL person NUM.3 CL
 ‘one person’ ‘three persons’
- c. 八个女人 d. 七个牧师
 si hni hxit **yuop** bi mox shyp **yuot**
 woman NUM.8 CL priest NUM.7 CL
 ‘eight women’ ‘seven priests’

The classifier *pot* categorizes body parts of dual number (hand, arm, foot, eye and so forth) as well as pieces of clothing (shoe, gloves, sleeves and so forth). It is the counterpart of the classifier *zzi* ‘pair’ (section E) which subcategorizes the same nouns.

Classifier: pot

Classifieds: dual body parts and certain pieces of clothing

hnap bo ‘ear’ lot ‘hand’ hlop bbop ‘arm’
 ka nyuo ‘face’ mip bup ‘lip’ bbur lie ‘thigh’
 jy xy ‘foot’ ddur ‘wing’ xyx hnie ‘shoes’
 i dix lot ke ‘sleeve’

- (5) a. 一只手 b. 两只袖子
 lot cyp **pot** i dix lot ke nyip **pot**
 hand NUM.1 CL sleeve NUM.2 CL
 ‘one hand’ ‘two sleeves’

The plant classifier *bbo* is predominantly sortal with several mensural uses. It co-occurs with fruit nouns and several nouns not related to plants. For example, *bbo* categorizes the noun *snow* as *show shower*, the noun *stone* as *pile of stones* and *medicine* as *bag of medicine*. The relation of these mensural uses to the plant classifier meaning is uncertain.

Classifier: bbo ‘shower’, ‘pile’, ‘bag’

Classifieds: plants, trees and a few other nouns

syr bbo ‘tree’	te bbo ‘pine’	ma ‘bamboo’
syp vo ‘peach’	hly vo ‘cherry’	syp ndat ‘pear’
syp hmi ‘nut’	nyi mop syp vo ‘grape’	che ‘paddy rice’
sha ‘millet’	it mup ‘maize’	hxa bit ‘vegetable’
yiep yot ‘potato’	niep ga ‘pumpkin’	mup ly ‘sesame’
sha zzit ‘chili’	bbut ‘grass’	chu ‘thorn’
ce ‘salt’	vo ‘snow’	lur mat ‘stone, rock’
bbut cy ‘medicine’		

- (6) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎
syp vo cyp **bbo**
peach NUM.1 CL
‘one peach tree’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎
hxa bit nyip **bbo**
vegetable NUM.2 CL
‘two vegetable plants’
- c. 𠄎𠄎𠄎
ce cyp **bbo**
salt NUM.1 CL
‘one bag of salt’
- d. 𠄎𠄎𠄎
bbut cy suo **bbo**
medicine NUM.3 CL
‘three bags of medicine’
- e. 𠄎𠄎𠄎
lur mat nyip **bbo**
stone NUM.2 CL
‘two piles of stones’
- f. 𠄎𠄎𠄎
vo suo **bbo**
snow NUM.3 CL
‘three snow showers’

B. Inanimate sortal classifiers

Nuosu exhibits several one-dimensional classifiers (subsection i), several two-dimensional classifiers (subsection ii), and a large number of three-dimensional classifiers (subsection iii).

(i) One-dimensional shape classifiers

There are one wide-range and five small-range classifiers in this group. The wide-range classifier *ji* categorizes nouns that have lengthy one-dimensional shape, though several items are not directly related to shape.

Classifier: *ji* ‘bar’**Classifieds:** one-dimensional entities, tools and several other nouns

le ‘ox’	hxe ‘fish’	bbup ddi ‘worm’
bbu shy ‘snake’	uo nyie ‘hair of head’	nyie ‘hair of body’
vup ddu ‘bone’	lot jy ‘finger’	hxa nie ‘tongue’
pup shu ‘tail’	rry ‘tooth’	syr dda ‘stem’
syr lot ‘branch’	njip ‘root’	ma ‘bamboo’
hni bbu ‘sprout’	chu ‘thorn’	tep ke ‘cucumber’
jie dda ‘stick, club’	sha zzit ‘chili’	jie shat ‘street’
ggap mop ‘road’	yyp hmop ‘river’	la dda ‘valley’
shy ‘gold’	jyy ‘copper’	she ddu ‘steel’
xi ‘thread’	yiex syr ‘broom’	syr dda ‘wood’
o gat ‘comb’	hxi ‘arrow’	she ki ‘nail’
nyie da ‘scissors’	yit ‘needle’	nrur pop ‘key’
jjup hlup ‘flute’	hxiet ggur ‘sickle’	ssi mgu ssi mge ‘tool’
ciep yiet ‘thing’	ddax dda ‘pole’	zhiep sse ‘bowl’
pip nzy ‘plate’	mu zyr ‘thunder’	syt ‘event’
ngop jjux ‘thought’	jix po ‘method’	li yot jjux ‘mistake’
lie ba jjux ‘danger’	jjy ap sup jjux ‘difference’	mgat jip ‘advantage’

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

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

- (9) a. 𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓 b. 𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘
 mu zyr cyp **ji** li yot jjux nyip **ji**
 thunder NUM.1 CL mistake NUM.2 CL
 ‘four thunderclaps’ ‘two mistakes’

The classifier *hmo* is restricted to the noun ‘river’ which has the shape of a one-dimensional axis in the landscape.

Classifier: hmo**Classifieds:** river

yy ‘river’

Four classifiers categorize tools with a one-dimensional shape. The classifiers *qit* and *pit* contribute similar meanings to the noun phrase. All of these classifiers modify small ranges of nouns.

Classifier: qit**Classifieds:** tool

ddox mu ‘knife’ nyie da ‘scissors’ yyrt shup ‘saw’
 vi mop ‘ax’ luot guop ‘harrow’ zyt mop ‘hoe’
 hxiet ggur ‘sickle’

Classifier: pit**Classifieds:** tool

ddox mu ‘knife’

Classifier: zi**Classifieds:** certain tools

syr ggut ‘plough’ dut zi ‘torch’

Classifier: zzyr**Classifieds:** tool

syr ggut ‘plough’ hnap chot ‘gun’ hot ‘bow’

(ii) Two-dimensional shape classifiers

There are six two-dimensional classifiers in Nuosu, three relate to the natural landscape, three others categorize flat objects such as paper, mats and so forth. The classifier *ggat* co-occurs with the generic noun for places.

Classifier: ggat**Classifieds:** place

mu ddix ‘place’

The classifier *jot* categorizes nouns of land surface and crops. For crops, it contributes the meaning of piece of land on which the crops grow. The classifier *gu* expresses the meaning of a large piece of land.

Classifier: jot ‘small piece’

Classifieds: cultivated land

mux dde ‘land’ che ‘paddy rice’ sha ‘millet’
 hxa bit ‘vegetable’ yiep yot ‘potato’ jju ‘oat’
 zza bbo ‘crops’

- (10) a. ມຸຂ໌ດ໌ຊ໌ b. ສາ ສວ ຈ໌
 mux dde ly **jot** sha suo **jot**
 land NUM.4 CL millet NUM.3 CL
 ‘four pieces of land’ ‘three fields of millet’

Classifier: gu ‘big piece’

Classifieds: land

mux dde ‘land’

The classifier *bbut* categorizes flat objects shown in the chart below. The classifier *qi* is an auto-classifier and co-occurs with nouns of leaves and paper. The classifier *zzit* is reserved for books, manuscripts and related documents.

Classifier: bbut

Classifieds: mainly two-dimensional entities

njyx gur ‘skin’ max juo ‘bamboo mat’ ip ko ‘door’
 vap hat ‘gate’ tep yy ‘letter’ yip bbur ‘picture’
 a ji ‘sieve’

Classifier: qi ‘leaf’

Classifieds: two-dimensional entities

syr qi ‘leaf’ tep yy ‘paper’

Classifier: zzit

Classifieds: books

tep yy ‘book’

(iii) Three-dimensional shape classifiers

There are one general and three small-range classifiers in this group. The general classifier *ma* individualizes a wide range of nouns, many denoting entities with a three-dimensional shape. Some classifieds of *ma*, however, do not extend physically in three dimensions (e.g. *street*); some denote mental states or events (e.g. *dream*,

thought). Unlike the human classifier *ma*, the general classifier *ma* involves the same form for all numerals it co-occurs with. This classifier has cognates in most Yi languages. For example, *ma*⁵⁵ is the general classifier in Weishan Lalo (Björverud 1998: 69).

Classifier: *ma* (general)

Classifieds: wide range of nouns

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

(11) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅

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

b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅

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

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

The classifier *nzy* is the sortal classifier for clouds. It actualizes the inherent boundaries of the classified.

Classifier: *nzy*

Classifieds: clouds

mu di ‘cloud’

The sortal classifier *zha* categorizes entities of tiny size such as granulated materials. It also functions as mensural classifier for certain mass nouns contributing the sense of *a little*, as illustrated in (12).

Classifier: *zha*

Classifieds: entities with tiny shape

ciep yiet ‘thing’ hmyx shy ‘sand’ ce ‘salt’
mup ly ‘sesame’ sha ‘millet’ zza ‘food’

- (12) a. 𑄎𑄗𑄢𑄜 b. 𑄎𑄗𑄢𑄜
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>hmyx shy ly zha
 sand NUM.4 CL
 ‘four grains of sand’</p> | <p>zza nyip zha
 food NUM.2 CL
 ‘two tiny bits of food’</p> |
|---|--|

The classifier *tot* categorizes small amounts of liquid that appear in the shape of drops, typically body liquids.

Classifier: *tot* ‘drop’

Classifieds: liquids

yy ‘water’ sy ‘blood’ nyo bby ‘tear’
gup ma ‘sweat’

The sortal classifier *ggu* categorizes garments except those that co-occur with the classifier *pot* (see above). In addition, *ggu* is a classifier for looms which is related to the production of clothing.

Classifier: *ggu*

Classifieds: garment

vit gga ‘garment’ hlat ‘trousers’ nbo jjuo ‘skirt’
vap la chyp ddu ‘loom’

C. Diverse small-range sortal classifiers

There are six sortal classifiers that categorize small ranges of noun referents. The classified nouns do not always exhibit a three-dimensional shape. The classifier *jjur* categorizes openings in a building such as doors or windows.

Classifier: *jjur*

Classifieds: narrow openings

ip ko ‘door’ siex nyuo ‘window’

The classifier *lo* is restricted to valleys and reflects the omnipresence of the mountains on which the Nuosu people live.

Classifier: *lo*

Classifieds: valley

la dda ‘valley’

The sortal classifier *gur* co-occurs with a couple of unrelated countable classifiers for which it actualizes shape boundaries.

Classifier: *gur*

Classifieds: diverse

zzi ‘bridge’ hmyp ‘snare, trap’ njit ‘net’

Moreover, there are three sortal classifiers of mental states and events. Most classifieds have conceptual boundaries that are actualized by the classifiers. The classifier *jjit* categorizes abstract states and events. The form *ka* classifies dreams. The classifier *go*, which is homophonous to the pronoun *go* (section 5.4.1.G), categorizes speech such as words, jokes, riddles.

Classifier: *jjit***Classifieds:** certain mental states and events

syt ‘event’ li yot *jjux* ‘mistake’ lie ba *jjux* ‘danger’
 jyj ap sup *jjux* ‘difference’ mgat *jip* ‘advantage’ ssi chot *jjo* ‘usefulness’

Classifier: *ka***Classifieds:** dream

iet muop ‘dream’

Classifier: *go***Classifieds:** speech

ddop ma ‘word’ lu byx ‘proverb’ yyp ddu ‘joke’
 gie ddop ‘riddle’ hne gge ddop ‘news’

- (13) a. 𑄎𑄓𑄚𑄛 b. 𑄎𑄚𑄛𑄚𑄛
 ddop ma hxit **go** lu byx nyip **go**
 word NUM.8 CL proverb NUM.2 CL
 ‘eight words’ ‘two proverbs’

D. Mixed nominal and verbal classifiers

Verb classifiers categorize verbs by applying temporal boundaries to the referring event. In Nuosu, the classifier *vit* ‘time’ is a double noun classifier and verb classifier (section 7.6.4.D). With nouns like *rain*, which allow material and process interpretations, the classifier *vit* can occur in different argument slots of the predicate and is a double noun and verb classifier.

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

Similarly, the classifier *tu* ‘shower’ is a double noun and verb classifier.

Classifier: tu ‘shower’, ‘drench’

Classifieds: weather phenomena

ma hxa ‘rain’ mu hly ‘wind’ hlyx shy ‘dust’

E. Collectivizers

Collectivizers are classifiers that group several tokens of a noun together in a collection. In Nuosu, there are several collectivizers. The most common is *gge* that can co-occur with most count and mass nouns.

Classifier: gge

Classifieds: wide range of count and mass nouns

co ‘person’ le ‘ox’ syr bbo ‘tree’
 ie qyt ‘water’ nry ‘wine’ ce ‘salt’
 (...)

The classifier *gge* may not co-occur with numerals except *cyp* ‘one’ with which it developed into a quantifier. However, *gge* is compatible with demonstrative pronouns and the definite article, see (16c–d).

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

The collectivizer *wo* is the same form as the plural suffix for personal pronouns. The classifier *wo* categorizes people, animals and also *she* ‘meat’ for which it contributes the meaning of *piece*. It switches to the tone sandhi *wox* for the two nouns *ke* ‘dog’ and *vot* ‘pig’.

Classifier: wo ‘group, flock, herd’

Classifieds: animate nouns and meat

co ‘person’	ax yi ‘child’	bbox zze ‘man’
si hni ‘woman’	bi mox ‘priest’	qop bop ‘friend’
le ‘ox’	yo ‘sheep’	chyt ‘goat’
ke ‘dog’	va ‘hen’	ie ‘duck’
ji ‘bee’	she ‘meat’	

- (17) a. ㊦㊧㊨
 qop bop cyp **wo**
 friend NUM.1 CL.group
 ‘one group of friends’
- b. ㊩㊪㊫
 she nyip **wo**
 meat NUM.2 CL.piece
 ‘two pieces of meat’
- c. ㊬㊭㊮
 ke suo **wox**
 dog NUM.3 CL.group
 ‘three packs of dogs’
- d. ㊯㊰㊱
 vot ly **wox**
 pig NUM.4 CL.group
 ‘four herds of pigs’

Classifier: bbot ‘group’

Classifieds: mainly people

co ‘person’ ax yi ‘child’ bbox zze ‘man’
 si hni ‘woman’ bi mox ‘priest’ qop bop ‘friend’

The collective classifiers *rre* and *pip* both contribute the meaning of *row* and co-occur with entities that can be piled up in a line.

Classifier: rre ‘row’

Classifieds: a few nouns whose referents can be arranged in a row

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

Classifier: pip ‘row’

Classifieds: tiles

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

The classifier *zzi* categorizes nouns denoting dual body parts (e.g. *ear*, *hand*, *eye*) and their associated articles of clothing (e.g. *gloves*, *sleeves*). Its classifieds cover the same range of nouns as the classifier *pot* (section A).

Classifier: zzi ‘pair’

Classifieds: dual body parts and certain items of clothing

hnap bo ‘ear’ lot ‘hand’ hlop bbop ‘arm’
 ddur ‘wing’ xyx hnie ‘shoes’ i dix lot ke ‘sleeve’

- (18) a. ㊲㊳㊴
 lot cyp **zzi**
 hand NUM.1 CL.pair
 ‘one pair of hands’
- b. ㊵㊶㊷㊸
 xyx hnie ly **zzi**
 shoe NUM.4 CL.pair
 ‘four pairs of shoes’

The classifiers *bbur* ‘breed’ and *ke* ‘nest’ collectivize small groups of livestock, insects and birds. The morpheme *ke* also functions as existential verb in the sense of *live in a nest* (section 12.1.2.K).

Classifier: *bbur* ‘breed’

Classifieds: animals

kep sse ‘puppy’ va zyt sse ‘chick’

Classifier: *ke* ‘nest’

Classifieds: certain animal nouns

jji ‘bee’ hxie zyr ‘bird’ jyx zo ‘ant’

- | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|----------------|----|-----------------------|
| (19) a. | 𑌒𑌔𑌕𑌔 | | b. | 𑌒𑌔𑌕𑌔 |
| | kep sse cyp | bbur | | hxie zyr ly |
| | puppy | NUM.1 CL.breed | | bird |
| | ‘one breed of puppy’ | | | NUM.4 CL.nest |
| | | | | ‘four nests of birds’ |

The classifier *kie* categorizes nouns for villages of an area and contributes the meaning of *range* or *area*.

Classifier: *kie* ‘range’, ‘area’

Classifieds:

bbap ga ‘village’

The dissyllabic collective classifier *zzyr ggup* ‘set’ categorizes clothes that are worn during social events. It appears to be the sole dissyllabic classifier besides a few *ad-hoc* dissyllabic classifiers (which can be derived from container nouns of materials or liquids).

Classifier: *zzyr ggup* ‘set’

Classifieds: garment

vit gga ‘garment’

F. Partitioners and subclassifiers

Collective classifiers, partitive classifiers and subclassifiers act upon entities with shape boundaries and individualize these boundaries. They create new conceptual boundaries by grouping several tokens into a collection (collective classifiers, see section E), or by cutting a part off a whole (partitive classifiers). The following two charts present partitive classifiers, *zip* categorizes storeys of buildings, *bbop* refers to rooms of houses.

Classifier: zip ‘layer’

Classifieds: layered entities

lix ti ‘storied building’ dduo zip ‘stairs’

Classifier: bbop ‘room’

Classifieds: houses

yi ‘house’ lix ti ‘building’ le ho ‘cow barn’

da yi ‘storehouse’

- (20) a. 三層樓 b. 四房
- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------|------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| lix ti | cyp | zip | le ho | ly | bbop |
| building | NUM.1 | CL.storey | cow barn | NUM.4 | CL.room |
| ‘three storeys in the building’ | | | ‘four rooms in the cow barn’ | | |

A subclassifier divides a class of entities into subclasses, each associated with a different bundle of features. The morpheme *yiet* ‘kind’ is a subclassifier which can co-occur with most common nouns. For certain mental states and events, *yiet* is the sole available form of individualization. The subclassifier *yiet* is not naturally used with nouns of unique reference, e.g. *nose*, *heart*.

Classifier: yiet ‘kind’

Classifieds: most common nouns

lur mat ‘stone, rock’	shy ‘gold’	qu ‘silver’
mu ‘horse’	she ddu ‘steel’	ax nyie ‘cat’
hxie zyr ‘bird’	yo ‘sheep’	jjj ‘bee’
bbut vup ‘ant’	ka bba ‘gift’	
(...)	(...)	(...)
hxop ‘language’	hne gge ddop ‘news’	hmi ‘name’
ngop jjux ‘thought’	jix po ‘method’	jjip jjup ‘appearance’
we vi ‘power’	jjo jjux ‘life’	jjy ap sup jjux ‘difference’
mgat jip ‘advantage’	ssi chot ‘usefulness’	shax ndur jjux ‘suffering’
ssi mgu ssi mge ‘tool’	ddut ‘poison’	li yot jjux ‘mistake’

- (21) a. 八種禮物 b. 二種方法
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------|---------------|-------|-------------|
| ka bba | hxit | yiet | jix po | nyip | yiet |
| gift | NUM.8 | CL.kind | method | NUM.2 | CL.kind |
| ‘eight kinds of gift’ | | | ‘two methods’ | | |

- c. #丕米卍 𠄎
 #hnap bbi suo **yiet**
 nose NUM.3 CL.kind
 ‘three noses’
- d. #𠄎米卍 𠄎
 #ip mo nyip **yiet**
 belly NUM.2 CL.kind
 ‘two bellies’

G. Measure Words

Standard measures are socially recognized with a precise value. They measure the length, weight, volume, time, and other aspects of entities. In Nuosu, several more or less standard measures exist. These measures are not borrowed from Chinese, except for *jip* ‘pound’ (Chinese *jīn* 斤).

Standard Measure Words

Classifieds

shy ‘liter’ (container measure)	e.g. sha mox ‘flour’
muo ‘measure of ca. 13 liter’ (container measure)	e.g. jju ‘oats’
yi ‘measure of ca. 350 liter’ (container measure)	e.g. nry ‘wine’
bu ‘measure of one barrel’ (container measure)	e.g. sha mox ‘flour’
jip ‘measure of one pound’ (weight measure)	e.g. ce ‘salt’
ne kop ‘measure of ca. 500m’ (length measure)	e.g. ggap mop ‘road’
lot wap nuo ‘measure of one cubit’ (length measure)	e.g. xi ‘thread’
dur ‘penny’ (currency measure)	e.g. rre mop ‘money’
vat ‘dollar’ (currency measure)	e.g. rre mop ‘money’
yop ‘ounce’ (measure of precious metals)	e.g. qu ‘silver’

Among these standard measure words, the classifier *bu* is predominantly mensural but also has sortal uses. As sortal classifier, it categorizes plants such as flowers. As collective classifier, it co-occurs with nouns of cotton (with the sense of *ball*) and grape (contributing *vine*). For liquids and finely granulated materials, *bu* is a measure word (*barrel*).

Classifier: bu ‘barrel’

Classifieds: flower, cotton and grape; certain mass nouns

viex vie ‘flower’	vie bbup ‘bud’	nyi mop syp vo ‘grape’
sax le ‘cotton’	ie qyt ‘water’	nry ‘wine’
sha mox ‘flour’	lyp ma ‘seedling’	

- (22) a. 𠄎 𠄎 卍 卍
 viex vie cyp **bu**
 flower NUM.1 CL
 ‘one flower’
- b. 𠄎 卍 卍 卍 卍 卍
 nyi mop syp vo nyip **bu**
 grape NUM.2 CL
 ‘two grape vines’

The time measure word *kur/kut* ‘year’ is socially recognized as the period of one year. It categorizes the noun *kut ti* ‘age’ and is number-sensitive. With numbers seven modulo ten, it is pronounced *kur* with creaky voice and pronounced *kut* with a non-creaky sound for all other numbers.

Classifier: *kur* (with numeral *seven*); *kut* (with other numerals) ‘year’

Classifieds: age

kut ti ‘age’

The set of non-standard measures is open, since many entities can be transformed into containers or limiters of other objects. Non-standard measures share the property of being vague and not socially recognized. Below, several non-standard measures are provided. Illustrations of their use follow in (23a–f).

Classifier: *gep* ‘handful’

Classifieds: hair

uo nyie ‘hair’ *nyie* ‘animal hair’ *zza lyx* ‘seed’

Classifier: *luo zzi* ‘double-hand measure’

Classifieds: certain mass nouns

hmyx shy ‘sand’ *syx jo* ‘earth, mud’

Classifier: *ta* ‘jar’ (loaned from the Chinese *tán* 坛)

Classifieds: certain mass nouns

qu ‘silver’ *nry* ‘wine’

Classifier: *zhep* ‘bowl’ (loaned from the Chinese *zhǎn* 盏)

Classifieds: mass nouns

ie qyt ‘water’ *yy* ‘soup’ *sha mox* ‘flour’
nry ‘wine’ *lat yy* ‘tea’

Classifier: *pip* ‘bottle’ (loaned from the Chinese *píng* 瓶)

Classifieds: liquids

ie qyt ‘water’ *nry* ‘wine’

Classifier: pax shu ‘bag’

Classifieds:

hmyx shy ‘sand’ syx jo ‘earth, mud’ lyp ma ‘seedling’
 sha ‘millet’ jju ‘oats’ sha mox ‘flour’

- (23) a. 𑎖𑎡𑎢𑎣 b. 𑎗𑎛𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣
 nyie nge **gep** hmyx shy cyp **luo zzi**
 animal hair NUM.5 CL sand NUM.1 CL
 ‘five handfuls of animal hair’ ‘one double-hand of sand’
- c. 𑎖𑎡𑎢𑎣 d. 𑎗𑎛𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣
 qu suo **ta** lat yy nyip **zhep**
 silver NUM.3 CL.jar tea NUM.2 CL.bowl
 ‘three jars of silver’ ‘two bowls of tea’
- e. 𑎗𑎛𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣 f. 𑎗𑎛𑎟𑎠𑎡𑎢𑎣𑎤𑎥
 nry nyip **pi** syx jo nyip **pax shu**
 wine NUM.2 CL.bottle mud NUM.2 CL.bag
 ‘two bottles of wine’ ‘two bags of mud’

Finally, there are other frequently used measure words. The container measure word *ga* ‘stem’ individualizes tobacco as cigarettes. The measure word *bo* ‘ball’ individualizes material as clustered balls. The measure word *cup* collectivizes nouns denoting hair as *coil* or *buckle*.

Classifier: ga ‘stem’

Classifieds: tobacco

yi ‘tobacco’

Classifier: bo ‘ball’, ‘clew’ (Chinese loanword 包)

Classifieds: certain mass nouns

ce ‘salt’ xi ‘thread’

Classifier: cup ‘coil’, ‘buckle’

Classifieds: hair

uo nyie ‘hair’

H. Auto-classifiers

Auto-classifiers are nouns that serve as their own classifier. The term was coined by Matisoff (1973: 89) for Lahu, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Thailand. Many Lahu nouns function as their own classifier.

- (24) Thailand Lahu (Matisoff 1973: 89)
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|------------------|----|---------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| a. | zɛ ²¹ | te ⁵⁴ | zɛ ²¹ | b. | q ^h aŋ ⁴⁵ | ni ⁴⁵ | q ^h aŋ ⁴⁵ |
| | house | NUM.1 | CL.house | | village | NUM.2 | village |
| | ‘one house’ | | | | ‘two villages’ | | |

Auto-classifiers are broadly attested in Lahu and other Yi languages, but in Northern Yi to which Nuosu belongs few examples exist. For some dissyllabic nouns, the second syllable is an auto-classifier.

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

5.2.2 Possession

Although the concept of in/alienability² has no significance for the grammar of Nuosu, the concept is helpful for the organization of the amorphous possessor-possessee pairs. Scholars (Gerner 2005: 310; Langacker 1991a: 169; Riegel 1984; Taylor 1989) sketch the notion of in/alienation as a prototypical category with two feature axes: conceptual distance (small ↔ great) and durability (permanent ↔ temporary), see figure 5.1.

Possessive noun phrases exhibit several so-called possessive roles. These roles may be associated with the two macro-roles of *possessor* and *possessee*. Nuosu does not use morphological marking but word order to encode possessor and possessee roles.

- (26) *Possessive constructions*: N_{POSSESSOR} + N_{POSSESSEE}

² A possessor-possessee relationship is *alienable* if the possessee can be easily separated or “alienated” from the possessor (John’s hair), whereas it is *inalienable*, if it cannot be easily separated (John’s heart).

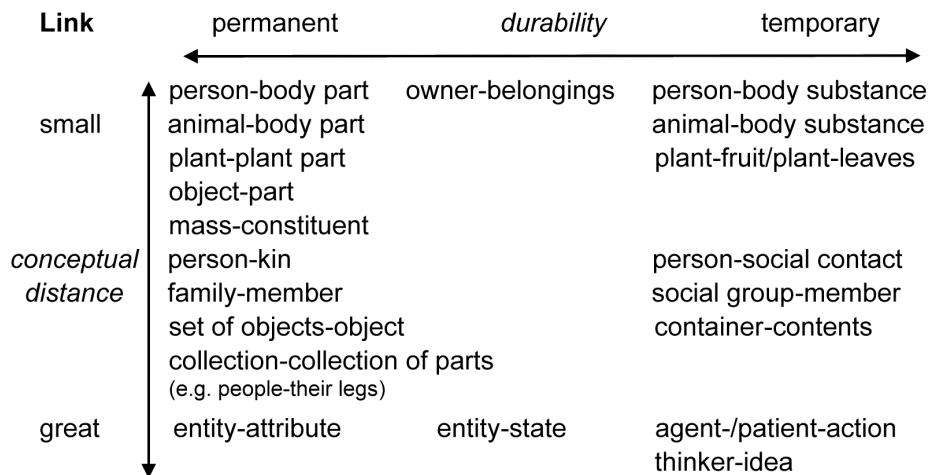


Figure 5.1: A cognitive map of possessor-possessee pairs

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

(27) Kinship

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

(28) Person-body part

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. ལྟམ་གྱི་མི་ལྟམ་
 nit nyuo zzyo
 2P.SG.POSS eye
 'your eye'</p> | <p>b. མཚམས་པ་གྱི་ལྟམ་
 ngat ix yi lot ggur
 1P.SG.POSS brother bracelet
 'my brother's bracelet'</p> |
|--|--|

(29) Person-body substance

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. མཚམས་པ་གྱི་མཚམས་པ་
 hnip mop uo nyie
 sister hair
 'the hair of my sister'</p> | <p>b. ལྟམ་གྱི་ལྟམ་
 cyp nyuo bby
 3P.SG.POSS tears
 'his tears'</p> |
|--|---|

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

(35) Substance-constituent

ᠵᠠᠨᠢᠨᠠᠵᠤᠴᠢᠨᠠᠵᠤᠰᠤ

ie qyt cyp zhep go ce ggex su
 water NUM.1 CL.bowl LOC salt ART=CL-DET
 ‘the salt content of that bowl of water’

(36) Container-contents

a. ᠵᠢᠶᠢᠭᠢᠰᠢᠵᠢ

jie vi go jiex jie
 law LOC prescription
 ‘the prescriptions of the law’

b. ᠬᠤᠯᠤᠮᠤᠵᠢᠵᠢ

hxo pu go lur mat
 mountain LOC stone
 ‘the stones of the mountain’

c. ᠵᠡᠫᠤᠰᠡᠴᠢᠬᠤᠵᠠᠵᠤ

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

(37) Entity-attribute

a. ᠰᠢᠶᠢᠮᠤᠵᠢ

ax pu kut ti
 grandfather age
 ‘the age of (my) grandfather’

b. ᠵᠢᠶᠢᠵᠢᠵᠤᠷ

cyp jjip jjup
 3P.SG.POSS character
 ‘his character’

c. ᠮᠤᠫᠤᠳᠤᠴᠢᠵᠤᠰᠢ

mup dut ca jjux
 fire heat
 ‘the heat of the fire’

d. ᠨᠤᠰᠤᠮᠤᠫᠤᠵᠢᠵᠤᠷ

nuo su mu pix nzop ndit
 Nuosu traditions
 ‘the traditions of the Nuosu people’

e. ᠵᠠᠵᠤᠵᠤᠮᠤᠵᠢ

zhu zhu pu jiet
 pearl price
 ‘the pearl’s price’

(38) Person-social contact

ᠨᠠᠭᠠᠲᠤᠴᠢᠫᠤᠰᠤᠰᠤᠰᠤ

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

(39) Agent/patient-action

- a. 𐄣𐄡𐄣𐄣
 cyp mu jjux
 3P.SG.POSS deed
 ‘his deeds’
- b. 𐄣𐄢𐄣𐄣
 ngat hmat mop
 1P.SG.POSS teacher
 ‘my teacher’

- c. 𐄣𐄢𐄣𐄣
 cyp hxip tie
 3P.SG.POSS tone
 ‘his tone, way of talking’

(40) Thinker-idea

- 𐄣𐄢𐄣𐄣
 ngat ngop jjux
 1P.SG.POSS idea
 ‘my ideas’

5.2.3 Adjectival modification

Adjectives that modify nouns require the nominalizer *su* and/or a classifier. Adjectives that restrict reference of the head noun are attached right to it; appositive adjectives with non restricting reference occur left to the head noun.

- (41) *Adjectival modification*: (i) ADJ+*su*+N; (Appositive)
 (ii) ADJ+*su*+N+ CL'; (Appositive)
 (iii) N+ADJ+*su*; (Restrictive)
 (iv) N+ADJ+ CL'. (Restrictive)

Examples (42a) and (43a) represent appositive adjectives, whereas (42b) and (43b) restrictive adjectives.

- (42) a. 𐄣𐄢𐄣𐄣𐄢𐄣𐄣𐄣𐄣
 mi yi yi su **hmiep chur yit mop** qit
 sharp NOM sword CL
 ‘a sharp sword (appositive: a sword which is sharp)’
- b. 𐄢𐄣𐄣𐄣𐄣𐄢𐄣𐄣𐄣𐄣
hmiep chur yit mop mi yi yi qit
 sword sharp CL
 ‘a sharp sword (restrictive: a sword that is sharp)’

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

In (44), appositive and restrictive adjectives are illustrated for three types of determiners: indefinite articles, definite articles and demonstratives.

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

Monosyllabic adjectives with the midtone [33] take the sandhi tone [44] before the nominalizer *su* or before a classifier (sandhi rule 7, section 3.2.2). All other adjectives do not change their tone when preceding *su*.

- (45) a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
 vot **cux** su
 pig fat NOM
 ‘fat pigs (res.)’
- b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
 gga mop **hxuox** ji
 road slippery CL
 ‘a slippery road (res.)’
- c. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
 co **nbop** su
 person good NOM
 ‘good people (res.)’
- d. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
 viex vie **nrat** bu
 flower beautiful CL
 ‘a beautiful flower (res.)’

It is possible to omit the head noun if it is salient from the discourse context.

- (46) a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
 sur sha max su
 poor ART=CL-DET
 ‘the poor’
- b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎𐄎
 ddi a zzyx gge
 evil DEM.DIST CL
 ‘those evil ones’

Examples (47a+b) consist of headless nominalized adjectives that have been lexicalized as nouns.

- (47) a. 𐄎𐄎𐄎
 nuo su
 black NOM
 ‘Nuosu (= black) people’
- b. 𐄎𐄎𐄎
 mop su
 old, great NOM
 ‘old person’

5.2.4 Nominalization

Nuosu relative clauses are marked by invariable particles, notably the morpheme *su* (section A). The two morphemes *ddu* and *dde* have restricted usage as nominalizer (section B). The multiple functions of *su* are historically derived from the indefinite pronoun *sut* (section C).

A. The nominalizer *su*

Some of the material presented in this subsection has been published in Gerner (2004a: 139–142).

The nominalizer *su* encodes restrictive, appositive (nonrestrictive), and free (headless) relative clauses. Free relative clauses built on bare verbs are ambiguous. They refer to the activity or to a participant of the activity. Free relative clauses with bare verbs are employed only when the context provides clear cues about the identity of the referents.

Chén & Wū (1998: 116)

- (48) a. 𠵿𠵿H𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 hxip -**su** mu -**su** jjyx- qo ssox.
 say NOM do NOM RECL- follow MOD.should
 (i) ‘(A person’s) speech should agree with (his) deeds.’
 (ii) ‘Walk your talk (*lit.* the speaker should agree with the doer).’
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 hxip six mo **su** gex xi.
 talk RES see NOM tell arrive
 (i) ‘(Let’s) talk about the view.’ (ii) ‘(Let’s) talk about the watchers.’
- c. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 sy **su** ap- jjo ox.
 die NOM NEG- exist DP
 (i) ‘Death is no more.’ (ii) ‘The dead (person) is no more.’

In (49a+b), we have a headless relative clause referring to the A- and O-arguments of the relative clause in which they are gapped.

- (49) a. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 sut co mox da ngax wa zyt bit **su** jjo.
 someone else COV.see 1P.SG after criticize NOM have
 ‘There are those who speak badly about me in front of others.’
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 at gop yu six la zzit **su**
 name grasp RES come ART=CL-DET
 ‘The one (=book) that Ago grasped yesterday’

Relative clauses can be attached to the left and right of a head noun. The left-branching nominalized phrase should not be reduced to a bare verb. It can be a bare verb, if it is right-branching.

- (50) a. *𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 *zze **su** co
 eat NOM person
 ‘the eating person’
- b. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 co zze **su**
 person eat NOM
 ‘the person who is eating’
- c. *𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 *gat qip **su** co
 delay NOM person
 ‘the delaying person’
- d. 𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿𠵿。
 co gat qip **su**
 person delay NOM
 ‘the person who is delaying’

Left-branching relative clauses are *appositive* and do not restrict possible referents. Right-branching relative clauses are *restrictive relative clauses*. If the head noun is a common noun, left- and right-branching relative clauses are both grammatical, as in (51a+b). For proper nouns or nouns with unique reference, only left-branching relative clauses are grammatical, see (52a+b).

(51) RC built on common nouns

- a. ㄹ ㅈ ㅅ ㅈ ㅈ ㅈ
 co nax jjo mgo jjo **su** (Right-branching)
 person illness have illness have NOM
Restrictive: ‘the people who have an illness.’
- b. ㅈ ㅈ ㅅ ㅈ ㅈ ㄹ
 nax jjo mgo jjo **su** co (Left-branching)
 illness have illness have NOM person
Nonrestrictive (appositive): ‘the ill people.’

(52) RC built on proper nouns

- a. *ㅅ ㅈ ㅈ ㅈ ㅈ ㅈ
 *mu ga nax jjo mgo jjo **su** (Right-branching)
 name illness have illness have NOM
Restrictive: ‘Muga who has an illness.’
- b. ㅈ ㅈ ㅅ ㅈ ㅈ ㅅ ㅈ
 nax jjo mgo jjo **su** mu ga (Left-branching)
 illness have illness have NOM name
Nonrestrictive (appositive): ‘ill Muga.’

We can distinguish five basic relative constructions, a headless, two left- and two right-attached constructions.

- (53) *Relative constructions*: (i) RC+su; (Free)
 (ii) RC+su+N; (Appositive)
 (iii) RC+su+N+CL'; (Appositive)
 (iv) N+RC+su; (Restrictive)
 (v) N+RC+CL'. (Restrictive)

The head of the relative construction is co-referential with a gapped or resumed argument in RC. The following arguments can be gapped or resumed.

(61) སྤྲུལ་པ་མོ་མཉེན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་མཉེན་མོ་མོ་།

ax yi child	nga 1P.SG	bbux dde sip story	cop COV.take	ge 3P.PL	ggex su tell ART=CL-DET	o very	bbu-jjy-o bbu. intelligent
-----------------------	--------------	-----------------------	-----------------	-------------	----------------------------	-----------	----------------------------------

‘The children to whom I told the story are very intelligent.’

In Nuosu, it is not possible to relativize other semantic roles than A, O and recipient. There is no direct strategy to express constructions like *the man by/through/for whom*.

B. The nominalizers *ddu* and *dde*

For instruments and locations, Nuosu uses two nominalizers distinct from *su*: *ddu* (instrumental) and *dde* (locative). These particles have limited productivity. They can only scope over untensed verb phrases and nominalize unspecific events.

(62) a. ལཱ་ལྡེད་ལཱ་ཁྱིལ་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་།
 zza zze **ddu** ssi bux ssi ot
 food eat NOM utensil
 ‘the utensils of food consumption’

b. *ལཱ་ལྡེད་ལཱ་ཁྱིལ་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་།
 *zza zze ox **ddu** ssi bux ssi ot
 food eat DP NOM utensil
 Intended meaning: ‘*the utensils that were used for food consumption’

(63) a. མུ་ག་ཡི་ཨུ་མཉེན་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་།
 mu ga it **dde** yi
 name live NOM house
 ‘the house where Muga lives’

b. *མུ་ག་ཡི་ཨུ་མཉེན་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་ལྡེད་།
 *mu ga it da **dde** yi
 name live STP NOM house
 Intended meaning: ‘*the house where Muga is living (now)’

In (62) and (63), the second example is ungrammatical because the nominalization particles *ddu* and *dde* nominalize verb phrases marked by the perfect particles *ox* and *da* whose function is to refer to specific events.

These nominalizers might be historically derived from one proto-form before splitting into *ddu* and *dde*. In Wēining Neasu, a close genetic relative of Nuosu, there is a cognate nominalizer, *dv*³³, for both instrumental and locative.

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

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

(i) The nominalizer *ddu*

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

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

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

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

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

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

Verbs nominalized by *ddu* can be modified by certain nominal modifiers, for example by the classifier *yiet* 'kind', see (67a). The possibility of using numerals hinges on the degree these nominalized expressions are lexicalized, see (67b).

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

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

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

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

- (68) a. 𐎎𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗?
 ne xix mu jy jie **ddu** jjo?
 2P.SG INT.what do fear NOM have
 ‘Why are you afraid?’
- b. 𐎎𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗?
 ne co jox ap cy **ddu** xix jjo?
 2P.SG person toward more NOM INT.what have
 ‘What do you have that others do not have?’
- c. 𐎎𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗。
 cy ddie co box **ddu** ap- jjo.
 3P.SG COV.prepare people show NOM NEG- have
 ‘He has no accomplishments’ (*lit.* ‘he has nothing to show to others.’)

(ii) The nominalizer *dde*

The particle *dde* can nominalize any verb/adjective whose referring event/state is tied to a fixed place. It may be attached to subject-verb, object-verb or verb-verb phrases. In each case the verb/adjective must refer to generic nonspecific events/states. In particular, the verb or adjective cannot be suffixed by an aspect particle as shown in (69b).

- (69) a. $\text{li ngat it nyi gu dde nge.}$
 DEM.PROX TOP 1P.SG.POSS sleep NOM COP
 ‘This is my sleeping place.’
- b. * $\text{li ngat it nyi gu ox dde nge.}$
 DEM.PROX TOP 1P.SG.POSS sleep DP NOM COP
 Intended meaning: ‘This is the place where I slept.’

The particle *dde* is attached to a subject-verb phrase in (70a) and to an object-verb phrase in (70b–d).

- (70) a. $\text{cop cy shyp six qop bop max su jjox dde go xi ox.}$
 3P.PL 3P.SG lead RES friend ART=CL-DET live NOM LOC arrive DP
 ‘He led them to the place where his friend lived.’
- b. re mop dax dde
 money put NOM
 ‘place to put money’
- c. $\text{co zzax zze dde go nyi ggex su li, hxie mgat nyip}$
 person food eat NOM LOC sit ART=CL-DET TOP Han NUM.2
 ma qo.
 CL contain
 ‘Among the people who sit at the table, there are two Han Chinese.’
- d. $\text{cy ma gop ddie ma gop dit dde go dit da.}$
 3P.SG lamp COV.prepare lamp hang NOM LOC hang STP
 ‘He had the lamp placed on the lamp pedestal.’

In (70e) *dde* nominalizes a directional verb phrase which then is individualized by a classifier.

- e. $\text{mu ddix cop gox bbo dde ggat su}$
 place 3P.PL PRO.LOC go NOM ART=CL-DET
 ‘the place they are going to’

The particle *dde* can also nominalize stative verbs and adjectives as long as they encode generic states that can be associated with fixed places.⁴

- (71) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘。
 ke co gep mgot hnop hxi jox nuo jy jyx **dde** bbo ox.
 dog person PASS drive out outside towards black-IDE~EXPR NOM go DP
 ‘The dog was driven out by someone into the darkness.’

The particle *dde* was lexicalized after a few verbs. In (72a), *ssox dde* does not denote an *ad-hoc* place of study, but is the noun for *school*.

- (72) a. 𐄙𐄚 **dde**
 ssox **dde**
 study NOM
 ‘school’
- b. 𐄜𐄝𐄞 **dde**
 mot it **dde**
 soldier live NOM
 ‘barracks’
- c. 𐄟𐄠𐄡 **dde**
 mop mge **dde**
 meet NOM
 ‘assembly, meeting place’
- d. 𐄣𐄤 **dde**
 nyix **dde**
 sit NOM
 ‘seat’

The particle *dde* can be used in expressions $V_1\text{-}dde\text{-}V_2\text{-}dde$ to denote abstract concepts. These expressions are partly lexicalized.

- (73) 𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢。
 co cyx ma li xix **dde** jjip **dde** ap- jjo su nge.
 person DEM.PROX CL TOP arrive NOM become NOM NEG- have NOM COP
 ‘This man does not have any credibility (i.e. is exaggerating).’

C. Appendix: The particle *su*

The particle *su* exhibits six grammatical functions which are analyzed in different parts of this grammar and summarized in this subsection.

Meanings	Section of grammar
(i) Indefinite pronoun <i>sut</i> ‘someone else’	section 5.4.1.E
(ii) Determiner particle <i>su</i>	section 5.4.5
(iii) Nominalizer <i>su</i>	section 5.2.4.A
(iv) Focus particle <i>su</i>	section 14.2.2
(v) Topic particle <i>su</i>	section 14.1.2
(vi) Complementizer <i>su</i>	section 13.2.3

⁴ For instance, the verb *ngop* ‘think’ cannot be nominalized by *dde* as **ngop dde*. The activity of thinking cannot be easily associated with a place.

(i) As indefinite pronoun *sut* ‘someone else’

An indefinite pronoun is a pronoun that refers to one or more beings, objects, or places unfamiliar to the addressee. *Sut* ‘someone else’ is an indefinite pronoun.

- (74) a. མཁུ་ལྷན་སྐད་གཅེན་པོ།
 mu ga **sut** wa ddop ddi hxa ddi hxip ox.
 name someone else behind evil words speak DP
 ‘Muga has slandered other people.’
- b. མཁུ་ལྷན་མཁུ་མཁུ།
 mu ga **sut co** sha mu hxi.
 name someone else have compassion
 ‘Muga cares for others.’

The indefinite pronoun *sut* is derived from the common noun **su* ‘person’ in an ancestor language of Nuosu. There are several residual words using this form in the modern language.

- (75) a. མཁུ་ལྷན་
su hlit
 person young
 ‘adolescent’
- b. མཁུ་ལྷན་
sux yy
 person great
 ‘(tribal) elder’
- c. མཁུ་ལྷན་
su nyit
 person magic arts
 ‘priest’
- d. མཁུ་ལྷན་
 mop **su**
 old, great person
 ‘old person’

(ii) As determiner particle *su*

The morpheme *su* is not an independent determiner but contributes to the formation of a definite article together with a classifier (see section 5.4.5).

- (76) a. མཁུ་ལྷན་མཁུ་
 kep sse **bburx su**
 puppy ART=CL-DET
 ‘the breed of puppy’
- b. མཁུ་ལྷན་མཁུ་
 iet muop **kax su**
 dream ART=CL-DET
 ‘the dream’

(iii) As nominalizer *su*

The morpheme *su* is a marker of relative clauses. The semantic roles which *su* can relativize are S, A, O and Recipient. In (77), the head noun is coreferential with the gapped O-argument of the relative clause.

Table 5.3: The major arithmetical bases for number systems in the world

Base	Name of system	Language examples
10	Decimal (+hybrid)	English, Chinese, Nuosu
20	Vigesimal (+hybrid)	Diola-Fogny (Niger-Congo: Senegal; Sapir 1965: 84–85)
Other (e.g. 60)	Other (e.g. sexagesimal)	Sexagesimal: Ekari (Trans-New Guinea: Indonesia; Drabbe 1952: 30)
Body parts	Extended body-part system (fingers, arm etc.)	Kobon (Trans-New Guinea: Papua; Comrie 2005: 530)
No	Restricted (using only \approx 20 numbers)	Pirahã (Mura in Brazil; cited in Comrie 2005: 530)

(i) 1–20

1	cyp	11	cix zy
2	nyip	12	ci nyix
3	suo	13	ci suo
4	ly	14	ci ly
5	nge	15	ci nge
6	fut	16	ci fut
7	shyp	17	ci shy
8	hxit	18	ci hxit
9	ggu	19	cix ggu
10	ci	20	nyip zi

(ii) 20–100

20	nyip zi	61	fut ci cyx
21	nyip ci cyx	62	fut ci nyix
22	nyip ci nyix	70	shyp ci
30	suo ci	71	shyp ci cyx
31	suo ci cyx	72	shyp ci nyix
32	suo ci nyix	80	hxit ci
40	ly ci	81	hxit ci cyx
41	ly ci cyx	82	hxit ci nyix
42	ly ci nyix	90	ggu ci
50	nge ci	91	ggu ci cyx
51	nge ci cyx	92	ggu ci nyix
52	nge ci nyix	100	cyp hxa
60	fut ci		

(iii) 100–1,000

100	cyp hxa	555	nge hxa nge ci nge
101	cyp hxa nip cyp	600	fut hxa
111	cyp hxa cix zy	606	fut hxa nip fut
200	nyip hxa	666	fut hxa fut ci fut
202	nyip hxa nip nyip	700	shyp hxa
222	nyip hxa nyip ci nyip	707	shyp hxa nip shyp
300	suo hxa	777	shyp hxa shyp ci shyp
303	suo hxa nip suo	800	hxit hxa
333	suo hxa suo ci suo	808	hxit hxa nip hxit
400	ly hxa	888	hxit hxa hxit ci hxit
404	ly hxa nip ly	900	ggu hxa
444	ly hxa ly ci ly	909	ggu hxa nip ggu
500	nge hxa	999	ggu hxa ggu ci ggu
505	nge hxa nip nge	1,000	cyp dur

(iv) 1,000–1,000,000,000

1,000	cyp dur	11,000	cyp vat cyp dur
1,001	cyp dur nip cyp	20,000	nyip vat
1,010	cyp dur nip ci	100,000	ci vat
1,100	cyp dur cyp hxa	1,000,000	cyp hxa vat
2,000	nyip dur	10,000,000	cyp dur vat
3,000	suo dur	100,000,000	cyp sur
10,000	cyp vat	200,000,000	nyip sur
10,001	cyp vat nip cyp	1,000,000,000	ci sur

For large numbers, languages differ in the use of exponentiation of the numeral base. English, for example, has a decimal system and uses a special term for 10^2 , which is *hundred*, one for 10^3 , *thousand*, as well as one for 10^6 , *million*. Nuosu uses exponential bases that partially differ from English, see table 5.4 below.

B. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers identify the position of an element in a set relative to other members of the same set (Hurford 1975, 1987; Stolz & Veselinova 2005). In Nuosu, ordinal numbers employ cardinal numbers, a classifier and the nominalization particle *su* as in the following construction:

(81) *Ordinal number construction*: NUM+CL+CL*+su.

If the classifier has the midtone [33] in isolation, then the second copy takes the sandhi tone [44]. If the classifier is in the low tone [21], the tone of the second copy is

Table 5.4: Exponential bases of 10 in English and Nuosu

Exponentiation	Number	English base	Nuosu base
10 ¹	10	ten	ci
10 ²	100	hundred	hxa
10 ³	1,000	thousand	dur
10 ⁴	10,000	–	vat
10 ⁵	100,000	–	–
10 ⁶	1,000,000	million	–
10 ⁷	10,000,000	–	–
10 ⁸	100,000,000	–	sur

low too. If the classifier has the high tone [55], then the second copy occurs in the same tone [55]. The string CL*+su is a definite article.

- (82) a. 𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒
 co cyp **ma max su**
 person NUM.1 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the first person’
- b. 𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒
 si hni hxit **yuop yuop su**
 woman NUM.8 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the eighth woman’
- c. 𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒
 bi mox shyp **yuot yuot su**
 priest NUM.7 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the seventh priest’
- d. 𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒
 o get suo **ji jix su**
 comb NUM.3 CL ART=CL-DET
 ‘the third comb’

The above construction is available for sortal as well as for mensural classifiers, as illustrated by the following example.

- (83) 𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒𐌒
 ie qyt nyip **zhep zhep su**
 water NUM.2 CL.bowl ART=CL-DET
 ‘the second bowl of water’

5.3.2 Noun quantifiers

In this section I describe the scope and function of more than ten noun quantifiers (section A–section I). One of them, the quantifier *mu* ‘all’ has a wide range of grammatical functions overviewed in section J.

A. The quantifier *mu* ‘whole/all’

The particle *mu* occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase and assumes the function of collective universal quantifier. It acts upon definite noun phrases marked by demonstratives or definite articles. Bare nouns that have a definite interpretation also co-occur with *mu*.

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

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

- (85) a. ཨན་ལྷོ་མཚོ་ལྗང་ལོ་ལོ་ བྱམ་ མཉམ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
mu di cyx ggat **mu** hnix lo lo.
cloud DEM.PROX CL QUANT.whole red IDE~EXPR
‘This whole cloud is very red.’
- b. རྩ་ལྗང་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ མཚུ་ མཚུ་ མཚུ་ མཚུ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
ip mop max su **mu** ma wa ddur.
stomach ART=CL-DET QUANT.whole ulcer exit
‘The whole stomach is full of ulcers.’
- c. ཨཕ་ལྷོ་མཚོ་ལྗང་ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
mu hly cyx tu **mu** la bbap ga vur.
wind DEM.PROX CL QUANT.whole come village enter
‘This whole wind blew into the village.’
- d. ལྗང་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ མཚུ་ མཚུ་ མཚུ་ མཚུ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
yy jjur max su **mu** ie qyt jjip ox.
spring ART=CL-DET QUANT.whole water become DP
‘The whole spring is full of water.’
- e. སྐྱི་ལྷོ་མཚོ་ལྗང་ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་ ལོ་
ax hxie cyx ma **mu** ax nyie gax zze.
mouse DEM.PROX CL QUANT.whole cat COV.drop eat
‘The cat ate the whole mouse.’

The quantifier *mu* can be used with a bare noun, if the context provides a definite quantity.

- (86) ① 他汗擦干净了。
 gup ma **mu** cy syr gox sha.
 sweat QUANT.all 3P.SG wipe SEND
 'He wiped away all the sweat.'

The quantifier *mu* must refer to definite quantities of the noun referent. With indefinite numeral expressions, it is ungrammatical.

- (87) a. *吃一个苹果。
 *pip go cyp ma **mu**
 apple NUM.1 CL whole
 'a whole apple'
- b. *三头牛。
 *le suo ji **mu**
 ox NUM.3 CL whole
 'all three oxen'

The noun phrase must consist of a common noun. Plural pronouns cannot co-occur with the quantifier *mu*. Plural pronouns can be instead universally quantified with the verb particle *sat* (section 7.5.1).

- (88) a. *他们来了。
 *cop wox **mu** la ox.
 3P.PL QUANT.all come DP
 Intended meaning: 'They all came.'
- b. 他们来了。
 cop wox la sat ox
 3P.PL come EXH DP
 'They all came.'

Nouns for punctual events such as *thunderclap* are ungrammatical with the quantifier *mu* even if modified by a classifier. In (89a+b), a unique thunderclap is not compatible with *mu*, whereas a definite set of thunderclaps is.

- (89) a. *这阵雷声很大。
 *mu zyr jix su **mu** mo -jy- mo.
 thunder ART=CL-DET QUANT.whole loud very loud
 'The whole thunderclap was very loud.'
- b. 这阵雷声很大。
 mu zyr ggex su **mu** mo -jy- mo.
 thunder ART=CL-DET QUANT.all loud very loud
 'All the thunderclaps were very loud.'

The exhaustion particle *sat* quantifies the sentence-initial NP (*all*) and also functions as event quantifier (*completely*). It may occur independently or in combination with the nominal quantifier *mu*.

- (90) 雪从那阵雨完全融化了。
 vo a zzyx bbo **mu** jjy sat ox.
 snow DEM.DIST CL QUANT.whole melt EXH DP
 ‘All the snow from that shower has completely melted away.’

The quantifier *mu* can act upon count nouns whose cardinality is two in contrast to English which would involve *both* rather than *all*.

- (91) 两只眼睛都病了。
 nyuo zzyz **mu** na ox.
 eye QUANT.all sick DP
 ‘be sick in both eyes’

The quantifier *mu* modifies sentence-initial NPs. It is ungrammatical after the second noun phrase in the sentence.

- (92) *他们全部把汗擦掉了。
 *gup ma nyop mu co ggex su **mu** syr gox sha.
 sweat peasant ART=CL-DET QUANT.all wipe SEND
 Intended meaning: ‘All the peasants wiped their sweat away.’

The abstract noun *ngop jjux* ‘idea’ can be individualized by the classifier *ji* but then cannot be quantified by *mu* ‘whole’. If it is categorized by the collective classifier *gge*, it can be quantified by *mu*.

- (93) a. *那整个想法都好。
 *ngop jjux cyx ji **mu** he-jjy-he.
 idea DEM.PROX CL QUANT.all good-very-good
 Intended meaning: ‘That whole idea is good.’
- b. 那些想法都好。
 ngop jjux cyx gge **mu** he-jjy-he.
 idea DEM.PROX CL QUANT.all good-very-good
 ‘All the ideas are good.’

B. The quantifier *zzix ap zzi* ‘every’

The quantifier *zzix ap zzi* is a distributive universal quantifier. Similar to *mu*, the quantifier *zzix ap zzi* acts upon a definite set of referents. Its distributive meaning is enforced by the numeral *cyp* ‘one’ and the quantifier *mu*.

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

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

- (95) a. མུཊ་འཕུལ་ཤིང་མཉམ་པུ་མུ་
 mux dde cyp jot **zzix ap zzi mu** zzax zy da.
 land NUM.1 CL QUANT.every QUANT.all crops plant STP
 ‘Crops are planted on every plot of land.’
- b. དུ་མུ་འཕུལ་ཤིང་མཉམ་པུ་
 ie qyt cyp zhep **zzix ap zzi mu** ndo sat.
 water NUM.1 CL.bowl QUANT.every QUANT.all drink EXH
 ‘Every bowl of water has been finished.’
- c. འཕུལ་ཤིང་མཉམ་པུ་མུ་
 la dda cyp lo **zzix ap zzi mu** ry jjo.
 valley NUM.1 CL QUANT.every QUANT.all grass have
 ‘Every valley has grass.’
- d. མུ་མུ་འཕུལ་ཤིང་མཉམ་པུ་
 uo nyie cyp ji **zzix ap zzi mu** ax nuo.
 hair NUM.1 CL QUANT.every all black
 ‘Every hair is black.’
- e. མུ་འཕུལ་ཤིང་མཉམ་པུ་
 hxe cyp ji **zzix ap zzi mu** nge vat ly.
 fish NUM.1 CL QUANT.every all NUM.5 CL.dollar require
 ‘Every fish costs five dollars.’

Although it is natural to have NPs quantified by *zzix ap zzi* occurring in sentence-initial position, they may also be found after NPs in second position.

- (96) མུ་མུ་འཕུལ་ཤིང་མཉམ་པུ་
 lur mat co cyp ma **zzix ap zzi mu** nrep six bbo.
 stone person NUM.1 CL QUANT.every all move RES go
 ‘Every man moved the stones away.’

Dual noun phrases can be used in the *zzix ap zzi*-construction with the meaning of *both*.

(97) 丕@丌𠵹𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳。

hnap bo cyp pot **zzix ap zzi** gge ap- hxit ox.
 ear NUM.1 CL QUANT.every hear NEG- can DP
 ‘Both ears cannot hear.’

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

(98) 𠵹𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳。

co cyp ma **zzix ap zzi** xip mu hxip sat.
 person NUM.1 CL QUANT.every DEM.DD talk EXH
 ‘Everyone is talking in this way.’

C. The quantifier *kep nyix* ‘several’

The quantifier *kep nyix* ‘several’ is a non-proportional quantifier with vague numeral value. It requires the presence of a classifier interpreted with indefinite reference.

(99) a. *The kep nyix-construction: N+kep nyix+CL*

This quantifier can modify almost every count, mass and event noun. Unique body parts for which counting is pragmatically odd should not involve the quantifier *kep nyix*, as in (100g).

(100) a. 𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳。

niep sha mu ddix yy hmo **kep nyip** ji jjip.
 Liángshān area river QUANT.several CL become
 ‘In the Liángshān area there are several rivers.’

b. 𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳。

op rrop bbo su ggap mop **kep nyip** ji jjip.
 Xichang go NOM road QUANT.several CL become
 ‘There are several roads that lead to Xichang.’

c. 𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳。

a ddit go syr juo ax yy **kep nyip** ma jjip.
 there LOC forest big QUANT.several CL become
 ‘There are several forests in that area.’

d. 𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳𦉳。

gup ma **kep nyix** tot cyp ka nyuo go ndit.
 sweat QUANT.several CL.drop NUM.1 face LOC have
 ‘There are several sweat drops on his face.’

- e. 坐客多来。
 ddiḡ vip **kep nyix** gge la ox.
 guest QUANT.several CL come DP
 ‘Several guests have come.’
- f. 母鸡多下蛋。
 va mat **kep nyix** gge qip ox.
 hen QUANT.several CL lay egg
 ‘Several hens have laid eggs.’
- g. 脸多。
 #ka nyuo **kep nyix** ma
 face QUANT.several CL
 ‘several faces’

D. The quantifier *ax pa* ‘other’

The quantifier *ax pa* ‘other’ can but need not use classifiers for individualizing the noun. It is attached right to the head noun and before the classifier complex.

(101) *The ax pa-construction*: N+*ax pa* (+CL)

The quantifier *ax pa* ‘other’ has the same binding properties as pronouns which are captured by Chomsky’s binding principle B: “A pronoun must be free in its binding domain” (Chomsky 1981: 188). A noun phrase with *ax pa* refers to an entity not mentioned in the same sentence but salient from the discourse context. This property is called by some authors the *discourse anaphoric* property (Beck 2000: 103).

- (102) a. 他不能做别的事。
 cy syt **ax pa** mu ap- dop ox.
 3P.SG strength QUANT.other do NEG- can DP
 Discourse anaphoric: ‘He cannot do other things’ (different from some contextually salient things).
- b. 他不会说别的话。
 nga ddot ma **ax pa** ap- hxip ox.
 1P.SG word QUANT.other NEG- say DP
 Discourse anaphoric: ‘I do not say anything else’ (in addition to some contextually salient utterances).
- c. 他还需要别的笔。
 bbur ddu **ax pa** kop yip sy.
 pen QUANT.other need yet
 Discourse anaphoric: ‘He still needs other pens’ (more than those he has been using already).

d. ກິນອື່ນໆບໍ່ມີ.

cy zze ddu **ax pa** ap- jjo ox.
3P.SG food QUANT.other NEG- have DP

Discourse anaphoric: 'He doesn't have any other food' (than that contextually salient food).

e. ອື່ນໆບໍ່ເຮັດແລ້ວ.

mge fu **ax pa** max su li ap- hmip sy.
buckwheat loaf QUANT.other ART=CL-DET TOP NEG- done still

Discourse anaphoric: 'The other buckwheat loaf is not done yet' (implying that one buckwheat loaf is done).

f. ກິນອື່ນໆຊື້.

cy i dix **ax pa** ggu vy ox.
3P.SG shirt QUANT.other CL buy DP

Discourse anaphoric: 'He bought other clothes' (than those at hand).

E. The quantifiers *ax nyi* 'much' / *ix nyi* 'few'

The quantifiers *ax nyi* 'much' and *ix nyi* 'few' act upon noun phrases and verb phrases. When they modify noun phrases, they co-occur with the collective classifier *gge*. The diminutive noun quantifier must be used as the reduplicated form *ix nyi nyi gex*. When the quantifiers target verb phrases, they are marked by the adverbializer *mu*.

- (103) *The ax nyi/ix nyi-constructions:*
- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------|
| (i) | N+ <i>ax nyi</i> + <i>gge</i> | (nominal) |
| (ii) | N+ <i>ix nyi nyi gex</i> | (nominal) |
| (iii) | <i>ax nyi</i> / <i>ix nyi</i> + <i>mu</i> +V | (verbal) |

No other classifier except *gge* can be used in (103i). *Ax nyi* and *ix nyi* are proportional quantifiers and incompatible with the universal quantifier *mu*.

(104) a. ລີ່ງຊົນໆມີພູ.

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

b. ກິນຫຸ້ນໆຊື້ (*ມຸ) ຈຸດ.

cy vot i qi **ax nyi** **gge** (*mu) vup ox.
3P.SG pig head QUANT.many CL QUANT.all sell DP
'He has sold a lot of pig heads.'

The collective classifier *gge* attaches the quantifiers *ax nyi* / *ix nyi* to the head noun, while the adverbializer *mu* connects them to the verbal complex.

- c. 𑍚𑍩𑍛𑍚𑍛𑍛𑍚𑍛𑍛𑍚𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛。
 mux dde cy jot xy **ix nyi nyi gex** gep ox.
 ground DEM.PROX CL fertilizer QUANT.few add DP
 ‘[He] applied little fertilizer to this field.’

F. The quantifier *cyp gge* ‘some’

The quantifier *cyp gge* ‘some’ is composed of *cyp* ‘one’ and the collective classifier *gge* (section 5.2.1.E). This quantifier is attached right to the head noun and no other modifying material can occur in the noun phrase.

(109) *The cyp gge-construction*: N+*cyp gge*

It is a partial quantifier which focuses on a portion of a contextually salient referent. Count and mass nouns can both be quantified by *cyp gge*.

- (110) a. 𑍓𑍩𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛。
 mu jjur **cyp gge** li ma gop ap- ndit.
 hole QUANT.some TOP lamp NEG- put, exist
 ‘Some holes do not have lamps stuck into.’
- b. 𑍔𑍩𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛。
 ie qyt **cyp gge** cy fur gox sha ox.
 water QUANT.some 3P.SG pour SEND DP
 ‘He poured out some water.’
- c. 𑍕𑍩𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛。
 le **cyp gge** hlix ndo ox.
 ox QUANT.some lose DP
 ‘Some oxen got lost.’
- d. 𑍖𑍩𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛𑍛。
 syr zza lur ma **cyp gge** go ap- hmip sy.
 fruit QUANT.some PRO.LOC NEG- ripe still
 ‘Some fruit is not ripe yet.’

G. The quantifier *ax di* ‘only’

The quantifier *ax di* ‘only’ can occur within the NP, before or after the head noun, or outside the NP as adverb. The quantifier *ax di* must be reduplicated as *ax di di* within the noun phrase. It can be reduplicated outside the noun phrase if adverbialized by *-mu*.

(111) *The ax di-constructions:*

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (i) ax di di+su+N | } | NP-internal: |
| (ii) ax di di+su+N+CL' | | left-branching, appositive |
| (iii) N+ax di di+su | } | NP-internal: |
| (iv) N+ax di di+CL' | | right-branching, restrictive |
| (v) NP+ax di | } | NP-external |
| (vi) NP+ax di di+mu | | adverbial constructions |

When the quantifier *ax di di* is right-branching, it marks the noun referent as unique for the property encoded in the noun, as in (112a). If it is left-branching, the noun referent is unique for the property of the noun *or for some other property*, as in (112b).

(112) NP-internal (right-branching)

- a. ཚོ་གློ་མོ་ཤི་ལོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་མེད།
sse **ax di di** su bbur ma sso bbo.
son only NOM character learn go
‘The unique son is attending school (he is unique in the family).’

NP-internal (left-branching)

- b. ཚོ་གློ་མོ་ཤི་ལོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་མེད།
ax di di su sse bbur ma sso bbo.
only NOM son character learn go
‘The unique son is attending school (he is unique for a property).’

The quantifier can only be attached to the left side of a proper noun but not to its right side. This is also true for nouns with unique referents.

(113) NP-internal (left-branching)

- a. ཚོ་གློ་མོ་ཤི་ལོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་མེད།
ax di di su mu jie max su op rro it da.
only NOM name ART=NOM+DET Xichang live STP
‘Mujie who is a lonely person lives in Xichang.’

NP-internal (right-branching)

- b. *ཚོ་གློ་མོ་ཤི་ལོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅི་མེད།
*mu jie **ax di di** su op rro it da.
name only NOM Xichang live STP
Intended meaning: ‘The Mujie who is alone lives in Xichang.’

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

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

- (115) NP-internal / NP-external
- a. རྩོམ་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 sse **ax di** bbur ma sso bbo.
 son only character learn go
 NP-internal: (i) ‘The unique son attends school (only son).’
 NP-external: (ii) ‘The son is attending school alone (only attender).’
- NP-external
- b. རྩོམ་པོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 sse max su **ax di** bbur ma sso bbo.
 son ART=CL-DET only character learn go
 ‘The son alone is attending school (without any company).’
- NP-external
- c. མུ་ཇེ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་
 mu jie **ax di** op rro it da.
 name only Xichang live STP
 ‘Mujie lives alone in Xichang.’

As external quantifier, it may take the forms *ax di* and *ax di di mu*. The form *ax di* can target noun phrases in any argument role. *Ax di di mu* only aims at agents.

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

- (117) a. ལམ་ཅན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཅོལ།
 cy vot she **ax di** zze.
 3P.SG pork alone eat
 'He only eats pork.'
- b. *ལམ་ཅན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཅོལ་མེ།
 *cy vot she **ax di di mu** zze.
 3P.SG pork alone eat
 Intended meaning: 'He eats pork alone.'

The property of agent-orientation is imposed by the adverbializer *-mu* which requires the preceding noun phrase to be the controlling entity of the situation. This constraint is violated in (117b) and (118c).

- (118) a. ལྟོག་ཅན་གྱི་ཉམ་ཅོད།
 nga **ax di** syt cyp jjit mu.
 1P.SG alone matter NUM.1 CL do
 'I alone did one thing.'
- b. ལྟོག་ཉམ་ཅོད་གྱི་ཉམ།
 nga syt cyp jjit **ax di** mu.
 1P.SG matter NUM.1 CL only do
 'I only did one thing.'
- c. *ལྟོག་ཉམ་ཅོད་གྱི་ཉམ་ཅོད་མེ།
 *nga syt cyp jjit **ax di di mu** mu.
 1P.SG matter NUM.1 CL alone do
 Intended meaning: 'I did one thing alone.'

The quantifier *ax di* after a temporal NP has the function to emphasize the short duration of the time stretch.

- (119) རྒྱལ་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ཉམ་ཅོད།
 cyx luo **ax di** nga bbyx mo shux.
 DEM.PROX instant only 1P.SG COV.give see CAUS
 'Let me see for one instant only.'

H. The quantifiers *ax nyi yix nyi* 'at most' / *ix nyi yix nyi* 'at least'

The two quantifiers are *ax nyi yix nyi* 'at most' and *ix nyi yix nyi* 'at least' are embedded in noun phrases with numerals. They contain the quantifiers *ax nyi* 'many' and *ix nyi* 'few' (section E). The second component *yix nyi* 'even if' is a clausal conjunction (section 13.1.2.C). Both quantifiers imply numeral ranges below or above the value provided in the NP.

(120) *The ax nyi yix nyi / ix nyi yix nyi-constructions:*

- (i) N+ax nyi yix nyi+NUM+CL ‘at most’
- (ii) N+ix nyi yix nyi+NUM+CL ‘at least’

English approximations for these quantifiers are *if much then only 60 years* and *if few then only 60 years*.

(121) a. 𑍉𑍆𑍇𑍅𑍃𑍆𑍃𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆 .

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

b. 𑍉𑍆𑍇𑍅𑍃𑍆𑍃𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆 .

si hni cyx ma kut ti **ix nyi yix nyi** fut ci kut jjo.
woman DEM.PROX CL age QUANT.more NUM.60 year have
‘This woman is at least 60 years old.’

I. Other quantifying expressions

Several quantifiers in English are nominal, while their counterparts in Nuosu are encoded as adverbial expressions.

(i) ‘more than five’

The adverb *ap cy* ‘more’ is used in comparative constructions after the predicate or before the predicate using the adverbializer *-mu*.

(122) a. 𑍉𑍆𑍇𑍅𑍃𑍆𑍃𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆 .

sy jox nge che **ap cy** mu ka.
clay NUM.5 CL.car, load more ADVL need, want
‘More than five loads of clay are needed.’

b. 𑍉𑍆𑍇𑍅𑍃𑍆𑍃𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆 .

zhep sse go she nge ma **ap cy** mu it.
bowl LOC meat NUM.5 CL more ADVL lie
‘More than five pieces of meat are in the bowl.’

(ii) ‘different’

In order to convey the English meaning *different*, a periphrastic construction is used in Nuosu: *not resemble each other*.

(123) 𑍉𑍆𑍇𑍅𑍃𑍆𑍃𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍆 .

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

(iii) ‘special’

The adjective *special* is expressed in Nuosu as the complex predicate *qop ap sup* ‘follow-not-resemble’.

- (124) 𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘。
 mu ga **qop ap-** **sux.**
 name follow NEG- resemble
 ‘Muga is special.’

J. Appendix: The particle *mu*

The particle *mu* exhibits five functions that are analyzed in different parts of this grammar.

Meanings	Section of grammar
(i) Main verb <i>mu</i> ‘do’	
(ii) Quantifier <i>mu</i> ‘whole/all’	section 5.3.2.A
(iii) Adverbializer <i>mu</i> and <i>mu da</i>	section 7.7.1.B, section 9.1.3.A
(iv) Circumstantial conjunction <i>mu da</i>	section 7.7.1.B
(v) Circumstantial conjunction <i>mu</i> (in negated clauses)	

In this section, we summarize the different functions of *-mu*.

(i) As main verb

The morpheme *mu* has a limited use of main verb with the sense *do*, *function as*. It predicates nouns denoting professions, offices or other functions. With the noun *syt* ‘affair’, it refers to specific activities of someone.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (125) a. 𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙。 | b. 𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙。 |
| cy hmat mop mu. | cy sip po mu. |
| 3P.SG teacher do | 3P.SG landlord do |
| ‘He is a teacher.’ | ‘He is a landlord.’ |
| c. 𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙。 | d. 𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙? |
| nga vy lot mu. | ne xix syt mu? |
| 1P.SG business do | 2P.SG INT.what affair do |
| ‘I am doing business.’ | ‘What are you doing?’ |

With the event noun *nyop* ‘labor’, *mu* means ‘do’; the noun for *peasant* was lexicalized as *work-do-person*.

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

(ii) As quantifier *mu* ‘whole/all’

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

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

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

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

- (128) a. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 nji **mu / mu da** zze!
 quick ADVL eat
 ‘Eat quickly!’
- b. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 fu zzi ax yy **mu / mu da** hxip!
 voice big ADVL speak
 ‘Speak louder!’
- c. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 cy we zze **mu / mu da** bot.
 3P.SG spending strength ADVL run
 ‘He ran with particular effort.’

Some adjectives are lexicalized as fixed adverbials like the following:

- (129) a. མེད་མེད་།
 dde dde **mu**
 no meaning
 ‘often’
- b. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 ap nryr **mu**
 honest
 ‘really’
- c. མེད་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 box gu ap cy nge **mu** xie sat.
 maize roughly harvest EXH
 ‘We have roughly finished harvesting the maize.’

(iv) As circumstantial conjunction *mu da*

Moreover, the compound *mu da* (though not *mu* alone) can be used as circumstantial conjunction to attach clauses to a main clause. In (130), *mu da* cannot be replaced by a unique occurrence of *mu*.⁶

- (130) (….) 刈竹園字謂H刈H。

 (...) cy sip jit tuo -jy- tuo **mu da** mu zyt.

 3P.SG take sharpen pointed very pointed CONJ soil dig

 ‘Having sharpened [the bamboo rod] very much, he ploughed the earth

 to earn a living.’

(v) As circumstantial conjunction *mu* (in negated clauses)

The particle *mu* can link a negated clause to a main clause with a circumstantial meaning, as in (131a–c). Positive circumstantial sentences lacking the negator cannot be attached to a main clause with *mu*, as shown in (131d).

- (131) a. 刈肉非食H肉非食。

 cy le she ap- zze **mu** vot she zze.

 3P.SG ox meat NEG- eat CONJ pig meat eat

 ‘He is not eating beef, only pork.’
- b. 例年昨日向H去H樂能去。

 cop wox ap ndi hxix op rro ap- bbo **mu** chep du bbo.

 3P.PL yesterday Xichang NEG- go CONJ Chengdu go

 ‘They did not go to Xichang yesterday but to Chengdu.’
- c. 例年向客去H非向客去。

 cop wox nyop bbop ap- bbo **mu** jie shat ggep bbo.

 3P.PL work NEG- go CONJ street entertain go

 ‘They did not go to work but looked for entertainment in the street.’
- d. *刈肉非食H肉非食。

 *cy le she zze **mu** vot she zze.

 3P.SG ox meat eat CONJ pig meat eat

 Intended meaning: ‘He is eating pork while eating beef.’

5.3.3 The additive noun conjunction *si nip* ‘and’

The noun conjunction *si nip* ‘and’ serves two functions. First, it juxtaposes two NPs in different syntactic positions of the sentence. *Si nip* combines two agents in (132a), two patients in (132b) and two recipients in (132c).

⁶ Adapted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 218).

In order to juxtapose two adjectives or verbs, the conjunction *si nip* cannot be used, but another type of construction, illustrated in (135b), is employed.

- (135) a. * $\text{v\ddot{u}t gga cyx ggu a shyt si nip pux liex guo}$.
 *vit gga cyx ggu a shyt **si nip** pux liex guo
 clothes DEM.PROX CL new CONJ.and expensive
 Intended meaning: ‘new and expensive clothes’
- b. $\text{v\ddot{u}t gga cyx ggu shyt nyi a shyt, pux nyi liex guo}$.
 vit gga cyx ggu shyt **nyi** a shyt, pux **nyi** liex guo.
 clothes DEM.PROX CL new also new price also expensive
 ‘new and expensive clothes’

Secondly, *si nip* can be used as a postposition for the oblique semantic role of *companion*, a kind of secondary agent. When *si nip* acts as noun conjunction, it is inserted in between two NPs; when it functions as postposition for the role of companion, it occurs after the second NP.

- (136) a. $\text{cyx si nip cyp qop bop jyy gex ggap mox go njuo}$.
 cyx **si nip** cyp qop bop jyy gex ggap mox go njuo.
 3P.SG CONJ 3P.SG.POSS friend together road LOC walk
 ‘He and his friends are walking on the road.’
- b. $\text{cyx cyp qop bop si nip jyy gex ggap mox go njuo}$.
 cyx cyp qop bop **si nip** jyy gex ggap mox go njuo.
 3P.SG 3P.SG.POSS friend POST together road LOC walk
 ‘He is walking with his friends on the road.’

With the reciprocal verb prefix *jyy-*, the postposition *si nip* marks the NP with which the primary S- or A-argument has a relationship of reciprocity.

- (137) a. $\text{nga ngat ix yi si nip jyyx-nzur-jyyx-yie}$.
 nga ngat ix yi **si nip** jyyx-nzur-jyyx-yie.
 1P.SG 1P.SG.POSS brother POST RECL-angry-RECL-angry
 ‘I am angry with my younger brother.’
- b. $\text{ne cy si nip jyy-sux mu sso jjix ddep lox}$.
 ne cy **si nip** jyy-sux mu sso jjix ddep lox.
 2P.SG 3P.SG POST RECL-resemble ADVL perfect WISH
 ‘It is desirable that you are as perfect as he.’

5.4 Localizing nouns

In this section, we describe the set of personal pronouns (section 5.4.1), the reflexive pronoun *zyt jie* ‘self’ (section 5.4.2), the set of demonstratives (section 5.4.3), the function of bare nouns (section 5.4.4), the set of in/definite articles (section 5.4.5) and the set of interrogative/indefinite pronouns (section 5.4.6).

5.4.1 Personal pronouns

An overview of the set of personal pronouns is provided in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Personal pronouns

Person	S/A	O	Emphatic (S/A)	Possessive adnominal	Possessive pronominal
1P.SG	nga	ngax	ngat ngat	ngat	ngat vi
LOG.SG	i	ix	it it	it	it vi
2P.SG	ne	nex	nit nit	nit	nit vi
3P.SG	cy	cyx	cyp cyx	cyp	cyp vi
1P.DL	ngap nyit	ngap nyit	–	ngap nyit	ngap nyit vi
LOG.DL	ip nyit	ip nyit	–	ip nyit	ip nyit vi
2P.DL	nep nyit	nep nyit	–	nep nyit	nep nyit vi
3P.DL	cyp nyit	cyp nyit	–	cyp nyit	cyp nyit vi
1P.PL	ngop wox	ngop wox	–	ngop	ngop vi
LOG.PL	op	op	–	op	op vi
2P.PL	nop wox	nop wox	–	nop	nop vi
3P.PL	cop wox	cop wox	–	cop	cop vi
Versatile		go			

In this set, the logophor with two suppletive forms as well as the reduplicated emphatic pronouns represent rare pronouns.

For a short discussion of some of the Nuosu pronouns in a pan-Burmese-Lolo perspective, see Bradley (1993: 185). I analyze the set of basic pronouns (section A), the set of logophoric pronouns (section B), the set of dual pronouns (section C), the set of possessive pronouns (section D), the indefinite personal pronoun *sut* ‘someone else’ (section E), and the versatile pronoun *go* ‘him/her/them’ (section F). In the appendix (section G), I summarize the grammatical functions of *go*.

A. The basic pronouns

Nuosu has three basic personal pronouns for speaker, addressee and third person. Plural pronouns are derived from the singular pronouns with the plural suffix *wox*. The singular pronouns have further undergone anticipatory assimilation of their

(i) Bound in reported speech clauses

In binding theory (Chomsky 1981: 188), the English reflexive anaphor *himself* is required to be dependent on a c-commanding NP which occurs in the same simple clause. The Nuosu logophors have different binding conditions.

(151) *Binding conditions on logophors:*

The interpretation of the logophors *i* and *op* must depend on a secondary speaker (SOURCE).

The logophors *i* and *op* have no antecedent in the same simple clause and need not be c-commanded by their antecedent. The logophors and antecedents are at different clausal levels, as in (152). The logophors need not be c-commanded by their antecedent, as in (152b+c).

(152) a. 𐄀𐄁₁ 𐄀𐄂₂ 𐄀𐄃𐄄_{1/*2/*3} 𐄀𐄅𐄆。

lat ti₁ mu nyox₂ jox hxip go i_{1/*2/*3} bbo ox ddix.
male name male name to say SENT.TOP LOG.SG go DP QUOT
'Lati₁ told Munyo₂ that he_{1/*2/*3} had already left.'

b. 𐄀𐄁₁ 𐄀𐄂₂ 𐄀𐄃𐄄_{1/2/*3} 𐄀𐄅𐄆。

lat ti₁ mu nyox₂ ddix da gge go i_{*1/2/*3} bbo ox ddix.
male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.SG go DP QUOT
'Lati₁ heard from Munyo₂ that he_{*1/2/*3} had already left.'

c. 𐄀𐄁₁ 𐄀𐄂₂ d𐄃𐄄 𐄀𐄅𐄆_{*1/2/*3} 𐄀𐄇𐄈。

lat ti₁ mu nyox₂ ddix da gge go op_{*1/2/*3} bbo ox ddix.
male name male name from STP hear SENT.TOP LOG.PL go DP QUOT
'Lati₁ heard from Munyo₂ that they_{*1/2/*3} had already left.'

The logophor can occur in any syntactic position of the reported speech clause: as subjects as in (152), as direct objects as in (153a), or as adjunct noun phrases as in (153b).

(153) a. 𐄀𐄁₁ 𐄀𐄃𐄄₁ 𐄀𐄅𐄆₂ 𐄀𐄇𐄈₁ 𐄀𐄉𐄊 𐄀𐄋𐄌 𐄀𐄍𐄎 𐄀𐄏𐄐。

mu ga₁ hxip go la hxa₂ ix₁ nzur jox jjip ox ddix.
male name say SENT.TOP male name LOG.SG hate POEP DP QUOT
'Muga₁ said that Laha₂ might hate him₁.'

b. 𐄀𐄁₁ 𐄀𐄃𐄄₁ 𐄀𐄅𐄆₂ 𐄀𐄇𐄈₁ d𐄃𐄄 𐄀𐄉𐄊₁ 𐄀𐄋𐄌 𐄀𐄍𐄎 𐄀𐄏𐄐。

lu po₁ hxip go cop wox₂ ix₁ yy ddi mu da la
male name say SENT.TOP 3P.PL LOG.SG because CONJ come
su nge ddix.
NOM COP QUOT

'Lupo₁ said that they₂ would come because of him₁.'

The other pronouns and the reflexive anaphor *zyt jie* (section 5.4.2) are illicit in reported speech constructions if they are taken to depend on a SOURCE. (154a) and (154b) show that third person pronouns cannot track secondary speakers.

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

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

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

If the speaker reports his own utterance, the logophor is illicit. In this case, the reflexive anaphor or the first person pronoun should track the speaker.

(156) *Constraint of primary speaker:*

The logophor cannot depend on a secondary speaker (SOURCE) who is also the primary speaker.

Examples in (157) illustrate this constraint.

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

- b. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
nga₁ hxip go **zyt jie**₁ ko wex ox mu.
 1P.SG say SENT.TOP REFL pass exam DP ADVL
 ‘I₁ said that I₁ had passed the exam.’
- c. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
nga₁ hxip go **nga**₁ ko wex ox mu.
 1P.SG say SENT.TOP 1P.SG pass exam DP ADVL
 ‘I₁ said that I₁ had passed the exam.’

When the secondary speaker is the addressee or a third person, then the logophor should be used, as in (158) and (159).

- (158) a. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
ne₁ hxip go **i**₁ ko wex ox ddix.
 2P.SG say SENT.TOP LOG.SG pass exam DP QUOT
 ‘You₁ said that you₁ had passed the exam.’
- b. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
ne₁ hxip go **ne**_{*1/2} ko wex ox ddix.
 2P.SG say SENT.TOP 2P.SG pass exam DP QUOT
 ‘You₁ said “You_{*1/2} passed the exam” (= that I₂ passed the exam).’
- (159) a. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
cy₁ hxip go **i**₁ ko wex ox ddix.
 3P.SG say SENT.TOP LOG.SG pass exam DP QUOT
 ‘He₁ said that he₁ had passed the exam.’
- b. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
cy₁ hxip go **cy**_{*1/2} ko wex ox ddix.
 3P.SG say SENT.TOP 3P.SG pass exam DP QUOT
 ‘He₁ said he_{*1/2} had passed the exam.’

In very specific contexts, logophors may take referents outside the sentence, but only if it is understood that the immediately preceding sentence has an identifiable secondary speaker. The logophors cannot refer to someone in the physical world not mentioned in the discourse.

- (160) a. ལྟའི་བཤམ་ལྟའི་སྐྱོན་ལོང་།
nga₂ **ix**_{1/*2/*3} hxep yy.
 1P.SG LOG.SG respect
 ‘(Lupo₁ said that) I₂ respect him_{1/*2/*3}.’

- b. X_2 ᠬᠢ _{1/*2/*3} ᠨᠠᠳ 。
 cy₂ **ix**_{1/*2/*3} hxep yy.
 3P.SG LOG.SG respect
 ‘(Adje₁ said that) he₂ respects her_{1/*2/*3}.’

(ii) Free in simple clauses

Similar to personal pronouns, the logophor cannot take its antecedent in the simple clause.

(161) *Simple clause constraint.*

The logophor must be free in simple clauses.

(162a) illustrates that two singular logophors in the same simple clause are illicit, (162b) shows the same point for the plural logophor, and (162c) for mixed singular-plural logophor pairs. The reflexive anaphor *zyt jie* should track the logophor in simple clauses, as in (162d).

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

(iii) Bound by nearest secondary speaker

An ambiguity arises when two speech reports are embedded in each other with two secondary speakers. This ambiguity is resolved in Nuosu in the following way.

(163) *Nearest secondary speaker constraint.*

The logophor is dependent on the nearest secondary speaker (SOURCE) in case that there is more than one.

When attitudes are reported, then two internal logophoric roles are assigned to constituents in the complex clause: SOURCE and SELF. The reflexive anaphor tracks the SELF and the logophor the SOURCE, as illustrated in (167a+b). The pronoun can also depend on the SELF (in addition to exophoric reference possibilities) but not on the SOURCE, see (167c).

- (167) a. $H_{1/2}$ $mu\ jy_1$, $xi\ x_2$ $hxip$ go , $ax\ ga_2$ $i_{1/2}$ $tep\ yy$ bi
 male name say SENT.TOP female name LOG.SG book read
 xi mgu ddix.
 hope QUOT
 ‘Mudje₁ said that Aga₂ hoped that he_{1/2} would attend school.’
- b. $H_{1/2}$ $mu\ jy_1$, $xi\ x_2$ $hxip$ go $ax\ ga_2$ $zyt\ jie_{1/2}$ $tep\ yy$ bi
 male name say SENT.TOP female name REFL book read
 xi mgu ddix.
 hope QUOT
 ‘Mudje₁ said that Aga₂ hoped that she_{1/2} would attend school.’
- c. $H_{1/2}$ $mu\ jy_1$, $xi\ x_2$ $hxip$ go $ax\ ga_2$ $cy_{1/2/3}$ $tep\ yy$ bi
 male name say SENT.TOP female name 3P.SG book read
 xi mgu ddix.
 hope QUOT
 ‘Mudje₁ said that Aga₂ hoped that she_{1/2/3} would attend school.’

C. The dual pronouns

Nuosu exhibits semi-grammaticalized dual pronouns. The dual forms are made up of the singular pronouns and the number *nyip* ‘two’. They have undergone the following tone changes.

Table 5.8: Dual pronouns

Person	Basic pronouns		‘two’		Basic dual pronouns
1P	nga	+	nyip	→	ngap nyit
LOG.SG	i	+	nyip	→	ip nyit
2P	ne	+	nyip	→	nep nyit
3P	cy	+	nyip	→	cyp nyit

In isolation, the plural pronouns refer to quantities equal to or greater than two. In the presence of a dual, however, the plural always denotes at least three participants. This effect on the interpretation of the plural pronouns is a cross-linguistic

pronominal possessives are invariably derived from adnominal possessives by suffixing the morpheme *-vi*.

Table 5.10: Possessive Pronouns

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	adnom.	pronom.	adnom.	pronom.	adnom.	pronom.
1P	ngat	ngat vi	ngap nyit	ngap nyit vi	ngop	ngop vi
1P LOG	it	it vi	ip nyit	ip nyit vi	op	op vi
2P	nit	nit vi	nep nyit	nep nyit vi	nop	nop vi
3P	cyp	cyp vi	cyp nyit	cyp nyit vi	cop	cop vi

Several possessive forms are exemplified below. Examples (169e+f) illustrate that the plural possessive forms cannot append the suffix *-wox*; examples in (170) exhibit pronominal possessives pronouns.

- (169) a. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
cyp jjip tie
 3P.SG.POSS character
 ‘his character’
- b. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
nit mu tie
 2P.SG.POSS handling
 ‘your handling’
- c. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
cyp nyit rre mop
 3P.DL.POSS money
 ‘The money of them both’
- d. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
ngap nyit ndit fu ndit hne
 1P.DL.POSS jewelry
 ‘the jewelry of us both’
- e. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
nop (*wox) ip mop
 2P.PL.POSS belly
 ‘your(pl.) bellies’
- f. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
ngop (*wox) rry ma
 1P.PL.POSS teeth
 ‘our teeth’
- (170) a. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
 cyp nyit hxi p go hlat cyx gge **ip nyit-vi** nge ddix.
 3P.DL say SENT.TOP trousers DEM.PROX CL LOG.DL-POSS COP QUOT
 ‘Both said that these trousers are theirs.’
- b. 𑜃𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂𑜆𑜄𑜂
 mu ga hxi p go tep yy cy zzit **it-vi** nge ddix.
 name say COMP book DEM.PROX CL LOG.SG-POSS COP QUOT
 ‘Muga said that this book is his.’

E. The personal pronoun *sut* ‘someone else’

The morpheme *sut* (high tone) is an indefinite personal pronoun with the meaning *someone else*. Sometimes, it can be used adnominally with other human common nouns such as *co* ‘person’.

- (171) a. མཉམས་ཤིང་འགྲོ་བའི་མཉམས་པོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པའོ།།
 cy jjie bbo yix ne hxi yip **sut** ddip jjip hxit.
 3P.SG leave go provided that again someone at become can
 ‘If she leaves, she can go to another (= marry someone else).’
- b. མཉམས་པོ་ལྟོས་ལྟོས་ཀྱི་མཉམས་པོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པའོ།།
 lat ti **sut** ax pa guop jiet ddop ma hxp hxit.
 male name someone other country language speak can
 ‘Lati can speak the language of other countries.’
- c. མཉམས་པོ་ལྟོས་ལྟོས་ཀྱི་མཉམས་པོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པའོ།།
 cy **sut co** miep lie da yiet hxop yiet.
 3P.SG someone in front of COV.put song sing
 ‘He is singing in front of others.’

Similar to the quantifier *ax pa* ‘other’ (section 5.3.2.D), the pronoun *sut* exhibits binding properties captured by Chomsky’s binding principle B: “A pronoun must be free in its binding domain” (1981: 188). The pronoun *sut* refers to an entity not mentioned in the same sentence but salient from the discourse context. We refer to this property as the *discourse anaphoric* property (Beck 2000: 103).

- (172) a. མཉམས་པོ་ལྟོས་ལྟོས་ཀྱི་མཉམས་པོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པའོ།།
 cyx li **sut** nzy ke lap vut jjo da syt mu.
 3P.SG TOP someone power under have STP business do
 Discourse anaphoric: ‘He does business under the authority of others’
 (different from himself).
- b. མཉམས་པོ་ལྟོས་ལྟོས་ཀྱི་མཉམས་པོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པའོ།།
 cy **sut** ix go it.
 3P.SG someone home LOC live
 Discourse anaphoric: ‘He lives in the home of others’ (not his own).
- c. མཉམས་པོ་ལྟོས་ལྟོས་ཀྱི་མཉམས་པོ་ཡི་ཡོད་པའོ།།
sut co bbyx cyp rre mop vup shux.
 others give 3P.SG.POSS money count CAUS
 Discourse anaphoric: ‘Let others count his money’ (different from him).

F. The versatile pronoun *go*

As a pronoun, the morpheme *go* refers to individual people or objects, collections of entities, places or destinations. Syntactically, it may not function as the subject (agent) of the clause and may not occur at the beginning of the sentence. With a few verbs, the morpheme *go* developed into fixed lexicalized and grammaticalized expressions.

(i) For O-argument

The pronoun *go* can track a person or thing that occupies the role of patient (O). If the verb is monosyllabic and has a basic midtone [33], then the pronoun *go* switches to the sandhi tone *gox* (see Sandhi Rule 1, section 3.2.2).

- (173) a. ັໂຊຳໂຸ.
at nyop **go** ndux.
female name PRO.PAT beat
‘Anyo beats him/her/it/them.’
- b. ັຊໂຳໂຸ.
at zop **gox** mgu.
female name PRO.PAT miss
‘Adzo misses him/her/them.’

Many monotransitive verbs in Nuosu encode the semantic roles of A and O ambiguously if both arguments have human or animate referents (for details, see section 10.2.3). In a sentence like (174), the distributions of roles is uncertain.

- (174) a. ັລຸໂຳໂຸໂຳໂຸ.
lu po mu gox lot buop.
male name male name help
‘Lupo helps Mugo / Mugo helps Lupo.’

One technique of disambiguation is to use the morpheme *go* as resumptive pronoun for the O-role (section 10.2.3.C).

- b. ັລຸໂຳໂຸໂຳໂຸໂຳໂຸ.
lu po₁ mu gox **go**₁ lot buop.
male name male name PRO.PAT help
‘Lupo₁, Mugo helps him₁.’

(ii) For recipient

The pronoun *go* can also represent recipient noun phrases (indirect objects). As recipients tend to be animate, *go* refers to animate beings in this function.

- (175) ལོ་མུ་འཇེ་ཀེ་ཇོ་གོ་བལྟ་དམ་ཏེ།
 vo mu nze ke jo go bbyx da.
 king power hand over PRO.REC give STP
 ‘The king handed over his power to him/her/them.’

(iii) For location

Positional verbs such as *stand*, *sit*, *lie* require the specification of locative phrases, while most activity verbs allow locative phrases. The locative phrase may consist of just *go* which refers then to a place that is salient in the discourse situation.

- (176) བུ་འཇེ་ལྟོ།
 vut nyop go nyi.
 female name PRO.LOC sit
 ‘Vunyo is sitting here/there.’

(iv) For direction

In the same vein, directional verbs (*go*, *come*, *enter*) require the presence of a directional phrase. The pronoun *go* can track destinations of directional verbs.

- (177) མི་ཅེ་འཇེ་ལོ།
 co ma go vur la ox.
 person CL PRO.DIR enter come DP
 ‘Someone came in.’

(v) Lexicalized / grammaticalized meanings

The pronoun *go* has been lexicalized and grammaticalized in the neighborhood of a few verbs. With the directional verb *ddur* ‘exit’, it was lexicalized into an abstract predicate, *happen*. With two other verbs, *go* formed two resultative auxiliaries. With the verb *shep* ‘search’, it was grammaticalized as habitual aspect marker.

Table 5.11: Lexicalized / grammaticalized expressions with *go*

Form	Lexicalized / grammaticalized meaning	Meaning of verb	Section
gox ddur	‘happen’, ‘occur’	ddur ‘exit’	
go xiz	Phase auxiliary (INSERT)	zip ‘insert’	section 7.2.2.C
gox sha	Resultative auxiliary (SEND)	sha ‘send’	section 7.3.2.B
gox ssop	Resultative auxiliary (HIT)	ssop ‘endure’	section 7.3.2.C
go shex	Habitual aspect particle (HAB)	shep ‘search’	section 7.6.3

These meanings are analyzed in different parts of the grammar. Below are illustrations for each of these expressions.

- (178) a. པ་ལ་ཤིས་ལ་བྱུང་བཤེན།。
 syt cy jjit **gox** ddur su nge.
 thing DEM.PROX CL happen FOC COP
 ‘This thing will happen.’
- b. ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ།。
 cy **go** zix zzax zze ge.
 3P.SG INSERT food eat PROG
 ‘He is in the process of eating.’
- c. ལའ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ།。
 lat sse cyp xyp mop zip **gox** sha ji ngox.
 male name 3P.SG.POSS wife divorce SEND intend
 ‘Laze intends to divorce his wife.’
- d. ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ།。
 cy ddop hxip **go** ssop.
 3P.SG word speak HIT
 ‘He will say it right.’
- Gerner (2004b: 1357)
- e. ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ་ཤིས་ལོ།。
 ke cyx ma yo mgot **go** shex.
 dog DEM.PROX CL sheep chase HAB
 ‘This dog used to chase sheep.’

G. Appendix: The particle *go*

Besides its pronominal use, the morpheme *go* exhibits one lexical and three grammatical meanings that are analyzed in different parts of this grammar.

Meanings	Section of grammar
(i) Classifier for speech	section 5.2.1.C
(ii) Pronoun for O- and oblique arguments	section 5.4.1.F
(iii) Locative case particle	section 10.2.3.C
(iv) Complementizer	section 13.2.2
(v) Topic particle	section 14.1.3

(i) As classifier for speech

The morpheme *go* functions as classifier for speech and categorizes a small range of speech-related nouns (see section 5.2.1.C).

- (179) a. 三言三語
 ddop ma suo **go**
 word NUM.3 CL
 ‘three words’
- b. 一个笑话
 yyp ddu cyp **go**
 joke NUM.1 CL
 ‘one joke’

(ii) As pronoun for O- and oblique arguments

As a pronoun, *go* can represent people, things and places that are patients, recipients, locations or destinations of some activity. The pronoun *go* cannot function as subject or occur in clause-initial position. Examples were supplied in the previous subsection and are not repeated here (see also Gerner 2004a).

(iii) As locative case particle

The morpheme *go* also acts as locative case marker (Gerner 2004a). The specification of a locative phrase is obligatory for positional verbs (*nyi* ‘sit’, *hxit* ‘stand’, *it* ‘lie’ and so forth) and *go* is the default marker, unless the speaker wants to express a more specific position.

- (180) 小鸟在窗口站着。
 hxie zyr sse siex nyuo **go** hxit da.
 small bird window LOC stand STP
 ‘A small bird was sitting in the window.’

For verbs of motions, *go* functions as case marker of directional noun phrase to indicate the destination of a motion.

- (181) 名字从窄门穿过。
 mu ga ip ko ix jjy jjurx su **go** mga li.
 name door narrow ART=CL-DET DIR cross go
 ‘Muga goes through the narrow door.’

(iv) As complementizer

The particle *go* also is complementizer of certain matrix predicates. The verb phrase or clause marked by *go* is part of the argument structure of the main predicate. Complement clauses typically occur in initial position (see section 13.2.2).

- (182) a. 雪会不会下得很大?
 vo jjip **go** hxuo ddap ap- hxuo?
 snow become COMP strong or NEG- strong
 ‘Was the snowfall dangerous?’

- b. 狗拿肉去喂狗不好。
 le she sip gup ke zha **go** li ap- zhet su nge.
 beef take throw dog feed COMP TOP NEG- good NOM COP
 ‘It is not good to throw the beef to the dogs.’
- c. 看电影的时候你害怕吗?
 diep yyr cyx ma hxep **go** ne jjur hla ddap jjur-ap-hla?
 film DEM.PROX CL watch COMP 2P.SG fear or fear<NEG>
 ‘Were you afraid watching the film?’

(v) As topic particle

The particle *go* can mark sentence topics that are not part of the argument structure of a predicate. Sentence topics occur in initial position and can optionally be marked by one of the topic markers *ne* (maintaining topic) or *li* (contrasting topic). For further information, see section 14.1.3.

- (183) a. 在我看来这件事很奇怪。
 nga hxep **go** syt cy jjit ga ap nzie.
 1P.SG see SENT.TOP matter DEM.PROX CL strange<NEG>
 ‘In my view, this thing isn’t strange.’

Lǐ & Mǎ (1981: 89)

- b. “应该学吗?” – “应该学点什么?”
 “kat ap- sso mix?” “ap sso **go** ne kep mu
 INT.where NEG- study SOL NEG study SENT.TOP TOP INT.how
 syp la?”
 know come
 “‘Why shouldn’t we study?’
 ‘If we do not study, how can we become knowledgeable?’”
- c. 小偷来的时候只偷。
 shyrx rruo la **go** ne ku ax di ku.
 robber come SENT.TOP TOP steal only steal
 ‘If the robber comes, all he does is steal.’
- d. 胡同自杀的人倒在街上。
 mu rryr op rro bbo **go** li ggap mop go da
 male name Xichang go SENT.TOP TOP road LOC COV.put
 jji go ndox bbo su nge.
 fall LOC RES go FOC COP
 ‘If Mudge goes to Xichang, he will collapse on the way.’

5.4.2 Reflexive anaphors

Nuosu is in process of substituting an older reflexive anaphor, *yip dde* ‘self’, by *zyt jie* ‘self’, a form which is borrowed from the Chinese reflexive anaphor *zìjǐ* (e.g. Li & Thompson 1981; Huang & Liu 1993).

A. *zyt jie* ‘self’ as short-distance anaphor

In binding theory (Chomsky 1981: 188), a short-distance anaphor must depend on a c-commanding NP which occurs in the same simple clause (“Binding Condition A”). In Nuosu, two basic expressions serve as reflexive anaphor.

Table 5.12: Reflexive anaphors

Short form:	<i>zyt jie</i>	‘oneself’
Long form:	<i>zyt jie yip dde zyt jie</i>	‘oneself’

The short form is preferred by young speakers, the longer form is used by elder speakers. Both include *zyt jie* which is borrowed from Chinese *zìjǐ*. The form *yip dde* is in process of being lost in Modern Nuosu. It preserved an independent use as emphatic pronoun (section D).

(184) O-argument

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

(i) Antecedent is possessor of possessive phrase

When the anaphor is the direct object, as in (187a), or the possessor of the direct object, as in (187b), then the subject antecedent “sub-commands” the antecedent (Huang & Liu 1993: 142).⁹

- (187) a. i_{1i} $\text{ɕ} \text{ɔ}_2$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ gat tat- qip!
- nit₁ ngop lu₂ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_1 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_1 \end{array} \right\}$ gat tat- qip!
- 2P.SG.POSS idea REFL hamper NEG.IMP- hamper
 ‘Don’t let [your₁ ideas]₂ hinder yourself₁!’
- b. $\text{H} \text{li}_{1i}$ $\text{ɕ} \text{ɔ}_2$ zyt jie_1 ngop ddux_3 zie .
- male name words REFL thought match
 ‘[Muhlie₁’s words]₂ match [his₁ thoughts]₃.’

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

- c. $\text{ɕ} \text{ɔ}_1$ $\text{ɕ} \text{ɔ}_2$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_2 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_2 \end{array} \right\}$ hxep yy .
- cyp₁ qop bop₂ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_2 \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_2 \end{array} \right\}$ hxep yy.
- 3P.SG.POSS friend REFL respect
 ‘His₁ friend₂ loves himself₂.’

(ii) Antecedent is at higher syntactic level of matrix clause

The anaphor tracks the SELF in a matrix clause, “the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes” (Sells 1987). Example (188) illustrates the anaphor *zyt jie* for a verb of thinking, (189) for a verb of fearing. Only *zyt jie* (not the long form) occurs as the subject of the embedded clause. Alternatively, the SELF can also be tracked by the pronoun *cy*, see (188b) and (189b).

- (188) a. $\text{H} \text{go}_1$ ngop go $\text{zyt jie}_{1/*2}$ vot zza dop bbo tat xi ox .
- male name think SENT.TOP REFL pig food feed go should DP
- Main clause Embedded clause
- ‘Mugo₁ thinks he_{1/*2} should go to feed the pigs.’

⁹ “Sub-command” is a weaker version of “c-command”. A constituent A *sub-commands* a constituent B if and only if a constituent C which is mother or grandmother of A dominates B.

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

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

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

Examples in (190) represent reported speech. In (190a), both reflexive anaphors are bound by a third person pronoun which in turn can depend on Muga in the matrix clause or on some external referent.

- (190) a. $\text{H}\text{e}\text{t}_1 \text{ H}\text{X}_2 \text{ s}\text{y}\text{p}\text{e}\text{t}_2 \text{ X}_{2/3} \text{ t}\text{a}\text{t}\text{H}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_{2/3} \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_{2/3} \end{array} \right\}$ $\text{t}\text{a}\text{t}\text{H}\text{e}\text{t}_2$
 lat mop₁ mu ga₂ jop hxip go cy_{2/3} a hnat mu
 male name male name to say SENT.TOP 3P.SG especially
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zyt jie}_{2/3} \\ \text{zyt jie yip dde zyt jie}_{2/3} \end{array} \right\}$ syp tat xi ddix.
 REFL know should QUOT
 'Lamo₁ told Muga₂ that he_{2/3} should better know himself_{2/3}.'

When we replace the third person singular pronoun by a second person, then reference to antecedents in the matrix clause is blocked, as in (190b). When we replace it by a logophoric pronoun, reference is routed to the speaker whose speech is reported, Lamo, as in (190c).

(192) 兼職の客, 兼職の暇。

zyt jiet nyop bbop, **zyt jiet** mgat.
 REFL work REFL advantageous
 ‘If one is working, then one is happy.’

D. *yip dde* ‘original-self’ as emphatic pronoun

The expression *yip dde* (which is a component of the reflexive anaphor *zyt jie yip dde zyt jie*) has limited use as emphatic pronoun after a subject noun phrase.

(193) a. 隹ノ名夏リトモト。

lat sse **yip dde** li hmat mop nge.
 male name original-self TOP teacher COP
 ‘Originally, Laze is a teacher.’

b. ノ名夏リトモトノ名夏リトモト。

cyp **yip dde** li ax ga la ap- dop su cy dde jji.
 3P.SG original-self TOP female name come NEG- can COMP 3P.SG know
 ‘He originally knew that Aga cannot come.’

c. 隹ノ名夏リトモトノ名夏リトモト。

nga hxep go ngat **yip dde** nyi cyx mo li ap- but.
 1P.SG see SENT.TOP 1P.SG original-self also 3P.SG see go up NEG- dare
 ‘In my view, I originally do not dare to go to see him.’

Derived from the function of emphatic pronoun is the adverb *yip dde go* ‘originally’ whose position is immovable after the subject of the clause.

(194) 夏リトモトノ名夏リトモト。

cyx gge li **yip dde go** nop gox mu tat xi.
 DEM.PROX CL TOP originally 2P.PL PRO.PAT do should
 ‘Originally, you should do these things.’

5.4.3 Demonstratives

Nuosu employs two basic demonstratives with exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric, and recognitional uses (Diessel 1999). Furthermore, there is an *indefinite demonstrative* that can be glossed by ‘such as this/that’. Indefinite demonstratives are attested in several languages worldwide. They are often morphologically derived from definite

demonstratives (Lyons 1999: 151).¹⁰ Rarely, they are single morphemes as in Nuosu. The indefinite demonstrative may be compounded with definite demonstratives to express discourse deictic meanings. There are also three adverbial demonstratives, two encode relative distance to the speaker, one expresses discourse deixis.

Table 5.13: Demonstratives

Distance value	Definite determiner	Indefinite determiner	Pronoun	Adverb
indefinite		xip	xip	xip mu
proximal / recent	cyx		cyp xip	tit
distal / remote	a zzyx		a zzyx xip	a ddit

The demonstratives in Table 5.13 have overlapping discourse functions. The following table shows the different discourse function of each demonstrative.

Table 5.14: Pragmatic uses of demonstratives

Pragmatic uses	Form	Pragmatic uses	Form
Exophoric: indefinite	xip	Anaphoric	cyx, a zzyx
Exophoric: proximal	cyx, tit	Cataphoric	cyx, xip, xip mu
Exophoric: distal	a zzyx, a ddit	Recognitional	a zzyx
Discourse deixis: indefinite	xip, xip mu		
Discourse deixis: recent	cyp xip		
Discourse deixis: remote	a zzyx xip		

The demonstratives *cyx*, *a zzyx* and *xip* are adnominal determiners attached to the right of a common noun. They require a classifier in order to individuate the nominal concept.

(195) *The demonstrative determiner construction:* N+DEM+CL

The analysis of demonstratives proceeds in the following order: *cyx* and *a zzyx* (section A), *xip* (section B), *cyp xip*, *a zzyx xip* and *xip mu* (section C), *tit* and *a ddit* (section D).

¹⁰ Turkish and Japanese have two contrastive sets of definite and indefinite demonstratives:

	DEF.PROX	DEF.MED	DEF.DIST	INDEF.PROX	INDEF.MED	INDEF.DIST
Turkish	bu	şu	o	böyle	şöyle	öyle
Japanese	kono	sono	ano	konna	sonna	anna

A. The demonstratives *cyx* and *a zzyx*

The demonstrative *cyx* tracks noun referents that are located close to the deictic center, either physically to the speaker or temporally to the time of utterance. The demonstrative *a zzyx* is the counterpart of *cyx*. It indicates relative distance from the deictic center. The morphemes *cyx* and *a zzyx* have four pragmatic uses: exophoric, anaphoric, cataphoric and recognitional.

(i) Exophoric uses

Demonstratives refer exophorically when their referents are located in the physical speech situation. Exophoric reference is the core function of the demonstratives *cyx* and *a zzyx*. Examples (196a–c) illustrate the proximal *cyx* which refers to real world entities that are obvious and at hand.

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

The distal demonstrative in (197a) can be uttered by a speaker who looks over a village from the top of a mountain. The context of (197b) suggests visibility of the village. It is naturally uttered in a context in which the speaker uses fingers to point at the referent in the speech situation.

- (197) a. འདི་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་།
 cop wox co **a zzyx** yie go jjie bbo mat.
 3P.PL person DEM.DIST CL LOC leave go FEAR
 ‘It is a worry that they leave that family.’
- b. མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་།
 ngap nyit bbap ga **a zzyx** ma go hxep da li.
 1P.DL village DEM.DIST CL LOC COV.watch go up
 ‘Let’s go up to that village (on top of the mountain).’

(199) ㄏㄨㄍㄚ ㄏㄒㄧㄆ ㄍㄠ ㄧ ㄇㄨㄆ ㄕㄩㄣ ㄛㄆ ㄕㄨㄛ ㄌㄚ
 mu ga hxip go i mup shy dex op rro la

name say COMP LOG.SG tomorrow Xichang come

yip ddix, tit nga hxep go, co cyx ma
 EXCL QUOT but 1P.SG see COMP man DEM.PROX CL

cy mgie ngap nyit zi hxit.
 3P.SG cheat 1P.DL cheat say

'Muga said that he would come to Xichang tomorrow. In my opinion,
 this man is cheating us both.'

The following dialogue exhibits two sentences of semi-direct speech (in which some but not all of the deictic centers are converted). The first utterance introduces a dog which is not in visible reach of the speech site. The second utterance refers to that dog by means of the proximal demonstrative *cyx*.

(200) Chén & Wū (1998: 217)

ㄕㄨㄣ ㄉㄩ ㄅㄨ ㄌㄚ ㄩ, “ㄕㄨㄣ ㄌㄚ ㄕㄨㄣ” ㄕㄨㄣ, “ㄕㄨㄣ ㄌㄚ ㄕㄨㄣ” ㄕㄨ。
 “ㄕㄨㄣ ㄌㄚ ㄕㄨㄣ” ㄕㄨ。

vyt vu gox hna lax sy, “ne xix sip
 elder brother PRO.PAT ask come still 2P.SG INT.what COV.take

mux mo zze” ddix go ne, “i kex ma sip
 soil plough eat QUOT COMP TOP LOG.SG dog CL COV.take

mux mo zze” ddix. ix yi jox hxip “nit
 soil plough eat QUOT younger brother to say 2P.SG.POSS

ke cyx ma sip ix hxe lax sy” ddix.
 dog DEM.PROX CL COV.take LOG.SG borrow come still, again QUOT

'The elder brother asked him again: “With what do you plough the earth to
 make a living?” (His brother replied:) “I am using a dog.” (He said) again to
 the younger brother: “Let me borrow (*this*) your dog.”'

(iii) Cataphoric uses

Only the proximal demonstrative *cyx*, but not the distal *a zzyx*, can have cataphoric reference. Nuosu resembles English in this regard which only uses *this* not *that* for cataphoric reference. Example (201a) with *cyx* has a natural cataphoric reading although it may also be interpreted anaphorically, especially if we omit the locative demonstrative *tit*. By contrast, (201b) is only understood anaphorically since *a zzyx* must refer back to a referent mentioned previously.

- (201) a. ་(་) ་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་。
 ne (tit) **ddop ma cyx** go cuop luo hna.
 2P.SG DEM.here word DEM.PROX CL little bit listen
 ‘Please listen to this word (that will follow).’
- b. ་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་。
 ne **ddop ma a zzyx** go cuop luo hna.
 2P.SG word DEM.DIST CL little bit hear
 ‘Please listen to that word (that you heard previously).’

(iv) Recognitional uses

Recognition is a type of reference to entities whose knowledge is shared by the speaker and the addressee (Himmelman 1996: 230–239; Diessel 1999: 106). The shared knowledge is usually new, not mentioned in previous discourse, unactivated and consisting of *private* information not readily available to outsiders. It is part of the specific history of the speaker and addressee.

In Nuosu, only *a zzyx* not *cyx* can have recognitional uses. In (202), *a zzyx* reactivates the experience shared by the speaker and addressee about a heavy storm. The proximal demonstrative *cyx* cannot be employed here, at least not with a recognitional meaning.

- (202) ་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་ (/#་) ་་་་་་་་་ ་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་་？
 ap nyip mieh ma hxa ax guo mu jjip **a zzyx** (/ #**cyx**)
 recently before rain violent ADVL fall DEM.DIST DEM.PROX
 ddip hxix ne syt ap- jjo mu ix go xi ox bat?
 day 2P.SG incident NEG- have ADVL house arrive DP SUG
 ‘Did you arrive home safe with *that* awful storm last week?’

B. The demonstrative *xip*

The term *indefinite demonstrative* is used in two ways. In languages of Middle and South America (Tupí, Cariban and Amazonian families), this term describes indefinite pronouns like *someone*, *something*, *somewhere*, which can be turned into interrogative pronouns in the presence of an additional interrogative particle (see Hoff 1968: 271; Bhat 2004: 236–237).

The name of indefinite demonstrative is also used for forms that convey a ‘variety interpretation’ and can be paraphrased by *such as* or *of this/that kind* (Lyons 1999: 40–41).

- (203) a. I wish I could afford to buy *that* car.
 b. I wish I could afford to buy *such a* car.

- (209) 𐎛𐎠𐎶𐎫𐎹𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵: (…)
 vo mu ne vup zzyx **xip** ji jjo: (...)
 king TOP custom DEM.INDEF CL have
 ‘The king had a custom like this...’

In (210), *xip* co-occurs with the collective classifier *gge*. The referent is established through comparison with a contextually salient participant.

- (210) 𐎧𐎻𐎠𐎵𐎻𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵 𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵.
 hot put kep nyix **xip** gge jgy gex op rro da dduur la.
 people QUANT.several DEM CL together Xichang COV.put exit come
 ‘A group of several people like this moved out of Xichang.’

C. The demonstratives *cyp xip*, *a zzyx xip* and *xip mu*

Two pronominal demonstratives express the concept of discourse deixis: *cyp xip* and *a zzyx xip* which are complex demonstratives consisting of *cyp* ‘this’ or *a zzyx* ‘that’ and the indefinite demonstrative *xip* ‘such as’.

A form has discourse deictic reference if it is coreferential not with a noun phrase but with an abstract entity evolving from discourse: a thought, an event, a proposition or an illocution. The English pronominal demonstratives *this* and *that* (not *these* and *those*) can express discourse deixis. Discourse deictic elements aim to stratify the flow of information. They draw the addressee’s attention to speech-related entities which do not have any existence in the outside world or even in subsequent discourse. The following example illustrates a discourse deictic use of *that* (Himmelman 1996: 224–229):

- (211) Teams have been working together since August to get here and we want them to have a good time. *That’s* why Pop Warner moved to the Disney complex three years ago. (USA Today, 12th December 1997)

The demonstratives *cyp xip* and *a zzyx xip* exclusively serve the function of discourse deixis: *cyp xip* represents the abstract entity as something close to the deictic center, *a zzyx xip* as something remote from the deictic center.

- (212) 𐎠𐎢𐎵: “𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵” 𐎧𐎶𐎵。
 𐎠𐎢𐎵: “𐎠𐎢𐎵 / 𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎢𐎵𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎵!” 𐎧𐎶𐎵。
 mu nyox: “co ddir go ap hxiet ddir kut sut
 male name people say COMP last year other people
 yox ma ne ku six bbo” ddix.
 sheep CL 2P.SG steal RES go QUOT
 lat hxa: “**cyp xip** / **a zzyx xip** mux ke dop su ap map!” ddix.
 male name DEM.DD DEM.DD nonsense NOM EXCL QUOT
 ‘Munyo: “Some people say that you stole a sheep last year.”
 Laha: “This (= proposition) / that (= past situation) is nonsense!”’

In (213), *cyp xip* and *a zzyx xip* refer to a past event not the proposition previously uttered. They indicate different degrees of remoteness of the event.

- (213) 兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂。兂兂 / 兂兂兂兂 兂兂兂兂。

sut co nop wox ssot six vat jly vat.

other people 2P.PL entertain RES good very good

cyp xip / **a zzyx xip** nga wep mo ox.

DEM.DD DEM.DD 1P.SG get see DP

'You treat other people very well. I saw this (recent) / that (remote).'

Sometimes *cyp xip* and *a zzyx xip* are reduced to *xip*, especially when occurring in sentence-initial topic position. The demonstrative *xip* may co-occur with the topic marker *li*.

- (214) 兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂。

co cyx gge turx jo! **xip** li cop wox mu

people DEM.PROX CL beware DEM.DD TOP 3P.PL do

jox dop su zzip ngop bbop.

intend NOM pay attention

'Beware of these people! This is what they do, pay attention.'

The demonstrative adverb *xip mu* 'in this/that way' consists of *xip* and the adverbializer *mu* (section 5.3.2.J). It is used for discourse deixis, oriented toward past discourse, as in (215)–(216), or future discourse, as in (217).

- (215) 兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂。兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂...

lu ti ap si si mu op rro bbo ji ngox. cy **xip mu**

male name secretly ADVL Xichang go intend 3P.SG DEM.DD

ngop te go ne cox ma cyp jox hxip...

think time LOC TOP person CL 3P.SG to say

'Luti intended to go to Xichang on his own. While he was thinking over this (*lit.* in this way), someone told him...'

- (216) 兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂。兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂兂。

ssox sse nop mox gex nep gox jjo ox

student 2P.PL before only then PRO.LOC have DP

ggex su, lat mop nyi **xip mu** cop wox hxop hmat.

ART=CL-DET male name also DEM.DD 3P.PL teach

'Lamo also taught the students who were here before you in that way.'

(217) Chén & Wū (1998: 230)

↓ 卒集寸 里 × 响 同 非 到 日 日: “ 非 日 来 × 掌 中 器 非 可 (…) ”。

cyp ggup jjux ne bbap ga co ggex su
3P.SG afterwards TOP village people ART=CL-DET**xip mu** hxip: “jjix mu vyt hop lot ji jjuo su li (..)
DEM.DD say name hand CL cut off NOM TOP

‘Afterwards, the village people spoke like this: “Jimu Vuho’s hand was cut off because...’

The expression *xip mu da* ‘therefore’ is composed of *xip mu* and *da* and is a metasequential marker indicating a conclusion of some preceding reasoning.

(218) 谁 靠 谁 才 能 解 决 难 题 呢? 为 此 原 因, 你 应 该 对 穆 加 很 好。

nop wox kax ddi hxo lo da syt mu su nge? –
2P.PL INT.who depend STP affair do NOM COP*xip mu da*, *mu ga* sso six vat-jjy-vat tat xi.
therefore name treat RES good-very-good should

‘On whom do you depend to solve difficult situations? – For this reason, you should treat Muga very well.’

D. The demonstratives *tit* and *a ddit*

The term demonstrative adverb is reserved for the locative deictic pronouns *here* and *there*. They indicate the location of an event in respect to the deictic center.

In Nuosu, *tit* ‘here’ and *a ddit* ‘there’ are demonstrative adverbs. They occur before the verb phrase. Both demonstratives must take the locative particle *go* or coverb *da*. The bare demonstratives can be used with locative verbs (*sit*, *stand*, *lie*) and basic directional verbs (*go*, *come*).

(219) a. 你 为 什 么 回 家 呢?

ne xix mu bur six **tit** ngat ddi la?
2P.SG INT.why return RES here 1P.SG LOC.at come
‘Why are you coming back here (where I am)?’

b. 你 为 什 么 回 家 呢?

ne xix mu bur six **a ddit** ngat ddi la?
2P.SG INT.why return RES there 1P.SG LOC.at come
‘Why will you be coming back there (where I will be)?’

c. 穆 加 在 这 里 和 木 加 说 话。

mu ga **tit** da *mu rryr* jop ddop hxip.
male name here COV.put male name to word speak
‘Muga is talking here with Mudge.’

- d. མི་ཤིན་པོ་ལ་འདྲེན་པོ།
 cy **a ddit** go da qie ot yy.
 3P.SG there LOC COV.put spring low go down
 ‘He can jump down from there.’
- e. མི་ལ་ཤིན་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྐབས་ལ། འདྲེན་པོ།
 mu ga **a ddit** nyi ggup jjux ne, tep yy bi.
 male name there sit afterwards book read
 ‘After Muga sat there, he read a book.’

Sentences in (219a–e) have SV or AOV order in which the demonstratives *tit* and *a ddit* occur after the S/A- and before the O-argument (if there is any). When the clause has an obligatory OAV order, the adverbs occur after the O- and A-arguments, as in (220a+b).

- (220) a. ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ།
 vit gga ax mo **tit** da cy six tu mu tux zyr zyr.
 clothes mother here COV wash RES snow-white
 ‘Mom washed here the clothes as white as snow.’
- b. མི་ལ་ཤིན་པོ་ལ་མི་ལ་ཤིན་པོ་ལ་མི་ལ་ཤིན་པོ་ལ།
 co dur co hxa cyx gge mu ga **a ddit** go
 people thousand people hundred DEM CL name there LOC
 wep mo ox.
 see DP
 ‘Muga saw thousands of people there.’

The demonstrative adverb *tit* has been grammaticalized into a contrastive conjunction with the sense *but* (section 13.1.3.A). This development is comparable to the English time deictic *now* which has non-deictic discourse-marking functions in sentences like *now that was a good objection*. When *tit* is employed as conjunction, it must occur in sentence-initial position.

- (221) a. མི་ལ་ལུ་པོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ།
 mu ga lu po jox ddop hxp, **tit** lu po ne it nyi gu ox.
 male name male name to word say but male name TOP sleep DP
 ‘Muga said something to Lupo, but Lupo was sleeping.’
- b. ལྷོ་མཁའ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་ལ།
 vit gga li bbox sho su nge, **tit** jyy gex bbox sho sat
 clothes TOP clean NOM COP but all clean EXH
 su ap- nge.
 NOM NEG- COP
 ‘The clothes are clean, but not all of them.’

5.4.4 Bare common nouns

Nuosu allows bare common nouns to have generic, specific indefinite and specific definite reference. We understand *specificity* as the existence of the referent in the physical world (for discussion, see Farcas 2002). *Definiteness*, by contrast, refers to the guarantee of identifiability of the referent (section 5.4.5).

In Nuosu, bare common nouns in topical position are either generic or definite specific. Example (222) expresses a general truth and has the bare common noun *co* ‘person’ in sentence-initial position. The bare common noun is marked by a topic morpheme.

- (222) 𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛。
cox li nge get jyj- ap lop sup.
 man TOP QUANT.all RECL- roughly resemble
 ‘All people are roughly the same.’

The bare noun *bi mop* ‘priest’ in (223) is more natural with a specific definite reading. (Usually, there is only one priest per village).

- (223) 𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛。
bi mop li nyop mu *co* mgep da zzax zze.
 priest TOP peasant together food eat
 ‘The priest is eating together with the peasants.’

The second mention of *nzy mop* ‘governor’ in (224) is a bare noun which is interpreted as specific and definite.

- (224) 𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛。 𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛。
 mu jie nzy mop cyx ma jox ddot hxi.
 male name governor DEM.PROX CL to word speak
nzy mop cy shu hxie qyt la sha.
 governor 3P.SG CAUS greatly worried
 ‘Mujie spoke to the governor and made the governor greatly worried.’

Nominal predicates that are bare nouns generally have a generic meaning.

- (225) 𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛𑄛。
 nga **mop su** ox.
 1P.SG old man DP
 ‘I am an old man now.’

Bare common nouns that are direct objects of monotransitive verbs can have generic, specific-definite and specific-indefinite reference. The bare noun *vot bbu sse* ‘piglet’ in (226a) has a generic and specific-indefinite reading; the bare noun *ma gop* ‘lamp’ in (226b) is specific-indefinite, and *vo mu* ‘king’ in (226c) is specific-definite.

- (226) a. 牪牪牪牪牪牪。
mu ga **vot bbu sse** vup.
name piglet sell
(i) ‘Muga sells piglets (*now*: specific-indefinite).’
(ii) ‘Muga sells piglets (*it is his job*: generic).’
- b. 牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪。
ngop wox jjyx rex dde go **ma gop** ddie go dut da.
1P.PL meeting point LOC lamp COV PRO.LOC lighten put
‘At our meeting point there were lamps lit with fire.’
- c. 牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪牪。
cyp syt jjit su cop wox hxi **vo mu** ge.
3P.SG.POSS matter ART=CL-DET 3P.PL say king tell
‘They told the king about his problem.’

When bare common nouns are direct objects of monotransitive verbs that are negated or modified by modal verbs, they are typically interpreted as generic (unspecific and indefinite).

- (227) a. 牪牪牪牪牪牪。
nga **nry** ap- ndo ox.
1P.SG wine NEG- drink DP
(i) ‘I did not drink the wine (specific and definite).’
(ii) ‘I did not drink wine (generic).’
- b. 牪牪牪牪牪牪。
cy **nry** ndo mo ddix.
3P.SG wine drink MOD.committed
(i) ‘He wants to drink the wine (specific and definite).’
(ii) ‘He wants to drink wine (generic).’

5.4.5 Indefinite and definite articles

Cheng & Sybesma (1999) argue for Chinese that classifiers are the counterpart of the definite article *the* in English, while Wu & Bodomo (2009) disagree. In Nuosu, definiteness and indefiniteness are marked in the noun phrase. The classifier contributes to the formation of indefinite and definite articles. There are two semi-open classes of articles indexed by the set of classifiers.

- (228) *In/definite article constructions:* (i) N+CL; (indefinite)
 (ii) N+CL*+su. (definite)

The asterisk indicates tone sandhi changes of the classifiers (section 3.2.2). If the classifier in isolation has the midtone [33] as most classifiers do, then it switches to the tone sandhi [44]. If the classifier is in the low tone [21] or has the high tone [55], then the tone does not change. The particle *su* contributes to the formation of the definite article (Chén 1989). The view that *su* functions as determiner (Hú 2002: 140; 2004) is not correct as it does not directly modify bare nouns.

- (229) a. *人 个
 *co su
 person DET
 Intended meanings: ‘the man’
- b. *牛 头
 *le su
 ox DET
 ‘the ox’

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

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

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

One view of definiteness is known as the *familiarity hypothesis*. On this view, definite noun phrases signal that the referent is familiar to both the speaker and hearer. Indefinite noun phrases do not indicate such shared familiarity. The familiarity hypothesis was originally formulated by Christophersen (1939). Hawkins (1978) is one modern work within this tradition.

Some scholars proposed to replace familiarity by identifiability as in certain sentences definite articles cannot be understood to indicate familiarity but rather a guarantee of identifiability. The *identifiability hypothesis* was put forward by Lyons (1999: 6–7) who provided the following English example in which Ann is trying to put up a picture on the wall. Without turning round, she says to Joe who just entered:

(231) Pass me **the** hammer, will you?

Joe looks around and sees a hammer on a chair. The definite article in (231) tells the addressee that he can identify the hammer Ann is talking about. Familiarity would not be an appropriate characterization for this use of *the*.

The Nuosu definite articles provide a guarantee of identifiability but exhibit differences with their English counterpart. Firstly, like Ancient Greek and Modern German but unlike English, Nuosu can use definite articles for proper names and clan names. Indefinite articles can specify clan names but not proper names.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Proper names | |
| (232) a. *𠄎.𠄎
*mu jie ma
male name CL
‘a Mujie’ | b. 𠄎.𠄎.𠄎
mu jie max su
male name ART=CL-DET
‘the Mujie’ |

- Clan names
- (233) a. མཁའ་མགོ་མོ་
 sha mat **ma**
 clan name CL
 ‘a member of the Shama clan’
- b. མཁའ་མགོ་མོ་རྩ་
 sha mat **max su**
 clan name ART=CL-DET
 ‘the member of the Shama clan’

For entities with a unique referent in the real world, identifiability is derived from general world knowledge. In (234), the sun or other unique celestial bodies have definite reference. The use of the definite article is grammatical, the indefinite article is ungrammatical.

Referents whose uniqueness is derived from world knowledge

- (234) མཚན་མོ་ (*མོ་ / མོ་རྩ་) འཕྲུག་ལ། ཡོད་ཅིང་ལེན་པོ་
 mu ti hxo bbu (***ma** / **max su**) ddur la te go, cy zzax zze ox.
 morning sun CL / ART=CL-DET exit come when 3P.SG food eat DP
 ‘When the sun rose in the morning, he ate some food.’

The noun *zzyt mu* ‘physical world’ often co-occurs with the demonstrative determiner *cyx* ‘this’ but is compatible with the definite article as well, see (235a+b). The function of the demonstrative is to contrast this world with the afterworld. The indefinite article cannot be used, as in (235c).

- (235) a. ཞུ་མཁའ་མོ་མཁའ་བོ་།
 zzyt mu cyx ma mu cy ju.
 world DEM.PROX CL QUANT.whole 3P.SG rule
 ‘He rules this whole world.’
- b. ཞུ་མཁའ་མོ་རྩ་མཁའ་བོ་།
 zzyt mu **max su** mu cy ju.
 world ART=CL-DET QUANT.whole 3P.SG rule
 ‘He rules the whole world.’
- c. ཞུ་མོ་ (*མོ་) མཁའ་བོ་།
 zzyt mu (***ma**) mu cy ju.
 world CL QUANT.whole 3P.SG rule
 Intended meaning: ‘He rules a whole world.’

The noun *vo mu* ‘emperor, king’ is taken to be the supreme ruler of a given area. It can be used as bare noun or with the definite article but not with the indefinite article as it would imply that there is more than one supreme leader.

- (236) a. \times 系 系 系 系 系 系 系 系。
 cy ddop shep hnox vo mu ddix xi bbo.
 3P.SG appeal EXT.until king LOC.at arrive go
 ‘He is appealing to the king.’
- b. * \times 系 系 系 系 系 系 系 系。
 *cy ddop shep hnox vo mu **ma** ddix xi bbo.
 3P.SG appeal EXT.until king CL LOC.at arrive go
 ‘He is appealing to a king.’
- c. \times 系 系 系 系 系 系 系 系。
 cy ddop shep hnox vo mu **max su** ddix xi bbo.
 3P.SG appeal EXT.until king ART=CL-DET LOC.at arrive go
 ‘He is appealing to the king.’

Nuosu definite articles have exophoric and anaphoric uses which are also the functions of demonstratives. Articles express a guarantee of identifiability, whereas demonstratives incorporate deictic meaning.

- (237) Exophoric uses
- a. \times 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿。
 ne vit gga **ggux su** ddie cyx gat.
 2P.SG clothes ART=CL-DET COV.prepare 3P.SG put on
 ‘Please dress him with the clothes (here).’
- b. \times 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿 穿。
 ne vit gga **cyx** **ggu** ddie cyx gat.
 2P.SG clothes DEM.PROX CL COV.prepare 3P.SG put on
 ‘Please dress him with these clothes (finger pointing).’

Demonstratives and definite articles differ in that definite articles can but demonstratives cannot express associated anaphora (Hawkins 1978: 150–151; Himmelmann 1996: 210–211). For associated anaphora, the referent is associated with an entity previously mentioned. In (238), the definite article is used for associated anaphora and cannot be substituted by a demonstrative.¹¹

- (238) Associated anaphora
 \times 系 系 系 系 系 系 系 系 (/* \times 系 系) 系 系 系 系 系 系 系 系。
 tit cyp xyp mop **max su** (/ *cyx ma) ssa hxuo ggup jjux,
 but 3P.SG.POSS wife ART=CL-DET DEM CL capable afterwards
 ddop hxip get xip ma.
 word speak can DEM.INDEF CL
 ‘But his wife was capable and wise in speech.’

¹¹ Quoted from the folk story “The earnest man” (Chén & Wū 1998: 221).

Table 5.16: Indefinite pronouns

kax ddi (ma)...nyi	'whoever'	kep te nyi	'whenever'
xix (+CL)...nyi	'whatever'	kep mu nyi	'whatever way'
kat go nyi	'wherever'		

A. The pronoun *kax ddi* 'who'

The interrogative pronoun *kax ddi* 'who' refers to people. If a classifier is employed, it must be the human classifier *ma*. The classifier is understood as marker of specificity with some exceptions. Classifiers tend to be more frequent as subject of a sentence, as in (241a+b), because subjects are more often specific. The classifier is more likely omitted when it is direct object, as in (241c), or when it occurs in an equative copular clause, as in (241d+e).

- (241) a. 𑄂𑄃𑄆𑄇𑄈𑄉𑄊𑄋𑄌?
 ip nyip **kax ddi** ma nga shex?
 today INT.who CL 1P.SG look for
 'Who was looking for me today?'
- b. 𑄍𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗?
 cop wox ggu dut go **kax ddi** ma sse jjo?
 2P.PL among LOC INT.who CL son have
 'Who among them has a son?'
- c. 𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠, 𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦𑄧𑄨𑄩𑄪.
 ne **kax ddi** bbyx gox zy shux,
 2P.SG INT.who CAUS 3P.SG receive CAUS
kax ddi ax di gox zy su nge.
 INT.who only 3P.SG receive NOM COP
 'Whoever you are giving it will receive it.'
- d. 𑄫𑄬𑄭𑄮𑄯𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴?
 ssox sse ddip go cy **kax ddi** nge?
 student say COMP 3P.SG INT.who COP
 'Whom do the students say that he is?'
- e. 𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿𑅀𑅁𑅂𑅃𑅄𑅅𑅆𑅇𑅈𑅉?
 ngop bbap ga da ax yy-jjy-ax yy max su **kax ddi** nge?
 1P.SG village COV.put great-very-great ART INT.who COP
 'Who is the most important in my village?'

The indefinite pronoun *kax ddi* can act as subject or object. No classifier should be used with the indefinite pronoun *kax ddi*.

- c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐?
 ne vit gga **xix** ggu cy qi?
 2P.SG clothes INT.what CL wash want
 ‘What clothes do you want to wash?’

- (245) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑?
 cyp sse li **xix** ggat da yur su?
 3P.SG.POSS son TOP INT.what CL COV.put bear NOM
 ‘Where was her son born?’

The pronoun *xix* is universal indefinite pronoun when the adverb *nyi* ‘also’ is added. Other elements may intervene in between *xix* (+CL)...*nyi*. The indefinite pronoun can have the S/A-role, as in (246a), or the O-role, as in (246b+c).

- (246) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑。
 ku jox **xix** **nyi** ap- rru.
 LOC.inside to INT.what also, all NEG- lie
 ‘There is nothing inside.’
- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓。
 zza **xix** **zha** nyi cy zze sat ox.
 food IND.whatever CL also, all 3P.SG eat EXH DP
 ‘He has consumed whatever small amount of food he could find.’
- c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙。
 cy bbyx syt **xix** mu **nyi** go mox max su
 3P.SG COV.give issue IND.whatever do also first ART
 jjip shux.
 become CAUS
 ‘Let him be the first for whatever issue.’

C. The pronoun *kep nyix* ‘how much/many’

The pronoun *kep nyix* ‘how much/many’ acts as interrogative pronoun and requires a classifier.

- (247) Construction of *kep nyix*: (N)+*kep nyix*+CL.

The interrogative pronoun *kep nyix* is derived from the non-interrogative quantifier *kep nyix* ‘several’ (section 5.3.2.C). The pronoun *kep nyix* does not give rise to a universal indefinite pronoun.

It refers to quantities of noun phrases that occur in every syntactic position of the sentence. In (248a–c), *kep nyix* occupies the S-role, in (249a+b) the A-role, and in (250a+b) in the O-role. In (251a+b), *kep nyix* is part of the predicate.

- (248) a. ㄞ 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙?
 yo **kep nyix** **ma** po bbo ox?
 sheep INT.how many CL run go DP
 ‘How many sheep escaped?’
- b. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞?
 bbu xot lot **kep nyix** **zha** qie bbo ox?
 grasshopper INT.how many CL bounce go DP
 ‘How many grasshoppers went bouncing along?’
- c. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟?
 yy go syr ddip **kep nyix** ji bbu njuo?
 water LOC piece of wood INT.how many CL float PROG
 ‘How many pieces of wood are floating in the water?’
- (249) a. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡?
 syt cy jjit co **kep nyix** **ma** wep mo ox?
 subject DEM.PROX CL people INT.how many CL get see DP
 ‘How many people saw this event?’
- b. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢?
 co **kep nyix** **ma** nit jop ddop hxip?
 people INT.how many CL 2P.SG to words speak
 ‘How many people are talking to you?’
- (250) a. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣?
 nop wox bbap ga go co **kep nyix** **yuop** jjo?
 2P.PL village LOC people INT.how many CL have
 ‘How many people do you have in the village?’
- b. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥?
 mge fu **kep nyix** **ma** mu jie zze gox sha ox?
 wheat cake INT.how many CL male name eat SEND DP
 ‘How many wheat cakes did Mujie consume?’
- (251) a. 𑄎𑄏𑄐𑄑𑄒𑄓𑄔𑄕𑄖𑄗𑄘𑄙𑄚𑄛𑄜𑄝𑄞𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦?
 mux dde cy jot **kep nyix** mo nge?
 field DEM.PROX CL INT.how many CL.acre COP
 ‘How many acres does this piece of land have?’

- b. 耨ノクハ幾キハ?
 zyt mop cy qit **kep nyix** mu?
 hoe DEM.PROX CL INT.how much make
 ‘What does this hoe cost?’

D. The pronoun *kat go* ‘where’

The locative interrogative pronoun *kat go* is oriented toward places and co-occurs with motion and non-motion verbs. The locative coverb *da* is often attached to *kat go* to make up a locative phrase. The following three sentences exhibit non-motion verbs: an intransitive verb in (252a), a clause with obligatory AOV order in (252b), and a clause with obligatory OAV order in (252c).

- (252) a. 犬ニテ寝テヤ?
 ke max su **kat go** it?
 dog ART=CL-DET INT.where lie
 ‘Where is the dog lying?’
- b. 誰ニテ教テヤ?
 cy **kat go** da co hxox co hmat?
 3P.SG INT.where COV.put people teach people teach
 ‘Where is he teaching others?’
- c. 酒ニテ飲テヤ?
 nry cop **kat go** da ndo sat ox?
 wine 3P.PL INT.where COV drink EXH DP
 ‘Where did they finish drinking all the wine?’

With verbs of motion, the interrogative pronoun *kat go* represents either the destination of the motion or its origin. For verbs of motion, the coverb *da* marks the origin of movement, as in (253a–c).

- (253) a. 何処ニテ来テヤ?
 cop wox li co **kat go** da lax gge nge su
 3P.SG TOP person INT.where COV.put come CL COP NOM
 nga gox dde-ap-jji.
 1P.SG PRO.PAT know<NEG>
 ‘I do not know where they are from.’
- b. 草ニテ来テヤ?
 vy cyx gge **kat go** ddur la su nge?
 weeds DEM.PROX CL INT.where exit come NOM COP
 ‘Where do these weeds come from?’

- c. 匪H𠵼𠵼匪𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼?
 ddox mu jix su **kat go** da vy six la su nge?
 knife CL NOM INT.where COV.put buy RES come NOM COP
 ‘Where did you buy the knife from?’

The locative particle *go* in *kat go* is generally required. With certain verbs like *bbo* ‘go’ and *rrur* ‘lie’, it can be omitted, especially in conventionalized expressions like greetings.

- (254) a. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼?
 ne **kat** bbo ox?
 2P.SG INT.where go DP
 ‘Where are you going?’
- b. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼?
 rre mop **kat** rrur su nge?
 money INT.where lie NOM COP
 ‘Where is the money?’

The universal indefinite pronoun *kat go nyi* ‘everywhere’ functions as independent locative phrase. No other element can intervene between *kat go* and *nyi* which is one lexicalized unit.

- (255) a. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 lat ti bbap ga **kat go nyi** cy jo mga.
 male name village IND.wherever 3P.SG pass through
 ‘Lati passed through all the villages (*lit.* the village wherever).’
- b. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
kat go nyi vop ngo ddi si sat.
 IND.wherever famine EXP
 ‘There is a famine everywhere.’
- c. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。
 ne **kat go nyi** co gep sip zhot cur ddi dit.
 2P.SG IND.wherever person COV COV.take offend
 ‘Everywhere people have said something offensive about you.’

E. The pronoun *kep te go* ‘when’

The interrogative pronoun *kep te go* consists of *kep te* and the locative particle *go*. It refers to the event time. The string *kep te go* is one unit and *go* should not be dropped. The pronoun *kep te go* occurs either in sentence-initial position, as in (256a), or after the S/A argument, as in (256b–d).

- (256) a. $\text{kep te go ne nax mgo nzox?}$
 INT.when 2P.SG ill EXP
 ‘When have you been ill?’
- b. $\text{syx gge kep te go ddu?}$
 affair DEM.PROX CL INT.when exit
 ‘When will these things happen?’
- c. $\text{ne kep te go xyp mop xyp?}$
 2P.SG INT.when wife marry
 ‘When will you have your wedding?’
- d. $\text{shu kut ngop wox kep te go pup bbo hlo bbo?}$
 this year 1P.PL INT.when tomb pay visit go
 ‘This year, when will we go to the cemetery?’

The pronoun *kep te* together with the sentence adverb *nyi* can be used as universal indefinite pronoun: *kep te nyi* ‘whenever, always’. No element intervenes between *kep te* and *nyi* which functions as one lexical unit.

- (257) a. $\text{cyp te kop li kep te nyi zox nze go shex.}$
 3P.SG time TOP IND.whenever available HAB
 ‘He is always available (*lit.* his time is always available).’
- b. $\text{kep te nyi syx gge cop gox jjiex mguo ap-dop.}$
 IND.whenever affair DEM.PROX CL 3P.PL PRO.PAT understand NEG-can
 ‘They are never able to understand these things.’
- c. $\text{kep te nyi nbop mu nrat qip tat xi.}$
 IND.whenever do good deeds should
 ‘One should always do good.’

F. The pronoun *kep mu* ‘how’

The interrogative pronoun of manner *kep mu* ‘how’ consists of *kep* and the adverbializer *mu*. It is an interrogative pronoun for manner. A derived meaning is interrogative for reason and motif. In some sentences both meanings appear, in others only one meaning is present.

- (258) a. 𐌒𐌔𐌍𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌒𐌕𐌔𐌑𐌕?
 pat mop **kep mu** cop wox sse mu hnie mgu? (manner)
 parents INT.how 3P.PL children love
 ‘How do parents love their children?’
- b. 𐌔𐌐𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌔?
 hxa bit cy yiet **kep mu** hlu? (manner)
 vegetable DEM.PROX CL INT.how cook
 ‘How should the vegetables be cooked?’
- c. 𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕?
 ne **kep mu** tep yy sso ap- bbo? (reason)
 2P.SG INT.how book study NEG- go
 ‘Why don’t you take on your studies’
- d. 𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕?
 zyt jie bur zyt jie jox da su nge ox, (manner)
 REFL return REFL be against STP NOM COP DP
 guop jiet **kep mu** da at mgut la mix?
 country INT.how STP prosper come SOL
 ‘If it is divided, how can the country prosper?’
- e. 𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕?
 ne **kep mu** co zyt? (reason)
 2P.SG INT.how person blame
 ‘Why do you blame people?’
- f. 𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕?
 nop wox hxep jjux **kep mu** jjix? (manner)
 2P.PL view INT.how become
 ‘What is your view on this?’
- g. 𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕。
 syr bbo **kep mu** jjix su nga dde jji ox. (manner)
 tree INT.how become NOM 1P.SG know DP
 ‘I know what type of species the tree is.’

Together with the sentence adverb *nyi* ‘also, all’, *kep mu* forms an indefinite pronoun with the sense ‘whatever way’. The string *kep mu nyi* forms a close unit and no other element may be intercalated.

- (259) a. 𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕𐌕。
 ne **kep mu nyi** go ap- njyp go shex.
 2P.SG IND.however PRO.PAT NEG- believe HAB
 ‘You never believe anything.’

- b. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅
kep mu nyi ap- zhet!
 IND.however NEG- good
 ‘You can never do it!’

The indefinite pronoun sometimes conveys the meaning of deontic or epistemic necessity (‘whatsoever’) for which Nuosu lacks special auxiliary verbs.

- c. 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌, 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒.
 cop wox kax mu kax yot su, **kep mu nyi** bie jjuo su nge.
 3P.PL CLF do CLF make NOM IND.however destroy NOM COP
 ‘What they are doing must be destroyed.’

G. The pronoun *xix jjip hnex* ‘why’

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

- (260) a. 𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜?
 cy **xix jjip hnex** xip mu guo luo mut?
 3P.SG INT.why DEM.DD angry
 ‘Why is he angry like this?’
- b. 𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤?
 yo **xix jjip hnex** mu po bbo sat?
 sheep INT.why ADVL run go EXP
 ‘Why have all the sheep run away?’
- c. 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭?
 ne **xix jjip hnex** mu yi ngox su nge?
 2P.SG INT.why ADVL cry NOM COP
 ‘Why are you crying?’
- d. 𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺?
 ap ndop hxot it kie go **xix jjip hnex** mu yix qy ndit?
 yesterday evening village LOC INT.why ADVL house catch fire
 ‘Why did the village catch fire yesterday evening?’

Unlike for the other pronouns, we cannot derive an indefinite pronoun from the interrogative pronoun *xix jjip hnex* ‘why’ by means of the adverb *nyi*.

Chapter 6

The verb phrase

The Nuosu verb phrase exhibits several special features such as a large set of simplex/complex verb pairs (section 6.1.4.E), about 20 coverbs some of which are polysemous (section 6.2) and a set of compositional direction verbs (section 6.4.1). This chapter contains four sections: predicative constructions (section 6.1), coverbs (section 6.2), locational phrases (section 6.3) and directional phrases (section 6.4).

6.1 Predicative constructions

Four lexical categories may function as predicates: nouns (section 6.1.1), copular (section 6.1.2), adjectives (section 6.1.3) and verbs (section 6.1.4).

6.1.1 Nominal predicates

Bare nominal predicates consist of a common noun. The nominal predicate has unspecific reference. Nominal predicates are intransitive. Their sole argument is specific, definite and often presented with a topic particle (section 14.1.1.).

(1) NP+TOP+ Nominal predicate

(2) a. 𑏃𑏄𑏅𑏆。

cyx li **nzy mop.**

3P.SG TOP Tūsī (土司)

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

b. 𑏇𑏈𑏉𑏊。

ngax li **hxie die co.**

1P.SG TOP foreigner

‘I am a foreigner.’

Nominal predicates tend to have support from the copular verb, but in two contexts bare nominal predicates are used frequently: in contrastive pairs of nominal predicates, as in (3), and temporal nominal predicates, as in (4).

(3) a. 𑏋𑏌𑏍𑏎𑏏𑏐, 𑏑𑏒𑏓𑏔𑏕𑏖𑏗。

mu hlie li **yix cur lut gur,** lu ti li **syr zyt lut gur.**

male name TOP architect male name TOP carpenter

‘Muhlie is an architect, Luti is a carpenter.’

- b. མེལ་ལོ་སུ་, ལྷོ་ལོ་སུ་。
 cyx li **qu sse**, ngax li **nuo sse**.
 3P.SG TOP White Yi 1P.SG TOP Black Yi
 ‘He is a White Yi, I am a Black Yi.’

- (4) འདི་ལྟིལ་ལོ་སུ་ལྷོ་ལོ་སུ་。
 ip nyip li **xyx ne ddip hxix**.
 today TOP resting day
 ‘Today is resting day.’

The nominal predicate must consist of a bare noun. When the predicate is modified by a classifier, it must be supported by the copular.

- (5) a. མེལ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་。
 mu gox li **hmat mop**.
 male name TOP teacher
 ‘Mugo is a teacher.’
- b. མེལ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་。
 mu gox li hmat mop ma nge.
 male name TOP teacher CL COP
 ‘Mugo is a teacher.’

6.1.2 Copular predicate

The Nuosu copular predicate is *nge*. As in other languages (Higgins 1979), it assumes three basic functions (equative, predicational, specificational) and a contextually derived meaning of focus element.

The copular verb is incompatible with most aspect, tense and modal markers. It can co-occur with modal elements that mark speaker attitudes such as the matrix adjective *jox jjiip* ‘possible’, the adverb *ap nryr mu* ‘really’ or the modal auxiliary *tat xi* ‘should’, as in (6). It is incompatible with most other modal auxiliary verbs, as illustrated in (7), and rejects aspect and tense particles, as shown in (8).

- (6) a. མེལ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་。
 cyx li nuo su **nge** jox jjiip.
 3P.SG TOP Nuosu COP possible
 ‘He might be a Nuosu.’
- b. མེལ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་ལོ་སུ་。
 cy nuo su **nge** tat xi.
 3P.SG Nuosu COP should
 ‘He should be a Nuosu.’

- c. $\overline{\text{Ń}}\text{v}^{\text{r}} \text{f} \text{H} \text{Y} \text{f} \text{Q} \text{Ń} \text{H} \text{O} \text{O} \text{Ń}$.
 cyx li ap nryr mu syr zyt lut gur ma **nge**.
 3P.SG TOP really carpenter CL COP
 ‘He must really be a carpenter.’
- (7) a. * $\text{H} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Q} \text{H} \text{H} \text{O} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Y}$.
 *mu rryr li nyop mu co **nge** but.
 male name TOP peasant COP dare
 Intended meaning: ‘Mudge dares to be a peasant.’
- b. * $\text{H} \text{H} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Q} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$.
 *mu jy li cyp qop bop **nge** qi.
 male name TOP 3P.SG.POSS friend COP want
 Intended meaning: ‘Mudje is in the process of being his friend.’
- (8) a. * $\overline{\text{Ń}}\text{v}^{\text{r}} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$.
 *cyx li ngat ddip vip **nge** njuo.
 3P.SG TOP 1P.SG.POSS peasant COP PROG
 Intended meaning: ‘He is in the process of being a peasant.’
- b. * $\text{H} \text{X} \text{v}^{\text{r}} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$.
 *mu ga li hmat mop **nge** nzox.
 male name TOP teacher COP EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘He was once a teacher.’
- c. * $\overline{\text{Ń}}\text{v}^{\text{r}} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń} \text{Ń}$.
 *ngax li bi mop ma **nge** mix.
 1P.SG TOP priest CL COP FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘I will be a priest.’

Nuosu copular clauses tend to mark the first NP by a topic particle, either by *ne* (maintaining topic) or by *li* (contrastive topic). Both particles are not required though. We discuss the three basic functions of the copular verb *nge* in subsection A and its contextually derived focus meaning in subsection B.

A. Basic functions

Cross-linguistically, copular verbs assume three functions (Akmajian 1979; Higgins 1979; Mikkelsen 2005); they serve to equate two noun referents, to predicate a noun referent and to specify a noun referent.

(i) Equative function

The first function of the copular verb *nge* is to equate the referents of two expressions, either single individuals or groups of individuals.

- (9) a. ᄃᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ .
 ngax li lu pox **nge**.
 3P.SG TOP male name COP
 ‘I am Lupo.’
- b. $\text{ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ}$.
 cyp nyit li mu ga si nip mu rryr **nge**.
 3P.DL TOP male name and male name COP
 ‘These two are Muga and Mudge.’
- c. $\text{ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ}$.
 mu ti te go mu jy max su li ket mop te go mu jy max su **nge**.
 morning at time of star ART TOP evening at time of star ART COP
 ‘The morning star is the evening star.’
- d. ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ .
 cyx li ngat ax da **nge**.
 3P.SG TOP 1P.SG.POSS father COP
 ‘He is my father.’

Sometimes, a copular construction is compatible with an equative and a predicational reading. The intended interpretation depends on background knowledge and speaker intention.

- (10) ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ .
 cyx li ngat pat vu **nge**.
 3P.SG TOP 1P.SG.POSS uncle COP
 ‘He is my uncle / He is one of my uncles.’

(ii) Predicational function

Predicational copular clauses tell us something about the referent of the sentence-initial subject (Mikkelsen 2005: 1). A predicational copular clause like *Susan is a doctor* is similar to a non-copular clause like *Susan runs the marathon* by virtue of the fact that both express a property of the subject referent.

- (11) a. ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ .
 cyx li shyryx rruo ma **nge**.
 3P.SG TOP thief CL COP
 ‘He is a thief.’
- b. ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ ᆞᆫ .
 cyx li sse ge ma **nge**.
 3P.SG TOP fool CL COP
 ‘He is a fool.’

- c. 𐄚𐄗𐄏𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢.
 op rro li lur kur nrat vie ma **nge**.
 Xichang TOP city beautiful CL COP
 ‘Xichang is a beautiful city.’

There is thus no fundamental difference between copular clauses in which the second argument contains a nominal predicate, as in (11), and those in which the second argument is a nominalized verb phrase, as in (12).

- (12) a. 𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲.
 vut sa li ap ndi hxix la su **nge**.
 name TOP yesterday come NOM COP
 ‘Vusa is the one who came yesterday.’
- b. 𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳.
 ngax li la ap- qi su ap- **nge**.
 1P.SG TOP come NEG- want NOM NEG- COP
 ‘It is not the case that I do not want to come.’

Predicational copular clauses sometimes contain temporal or locative nouns as the first NP.

- (13) a. 𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳.
 ip nyip ngat yur nyip **nge**.
 today 1P.SG.POSS birthday COP
 ‘Today is my birthday.’
- b. 𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿.
 mup shy dex li cy go mox vit su gga sho mu bbo su **nge**.
 tomorrow TOP 3P.SG first ART journey go NOM COP
 ‘Tomorrow is the first time he embarks on a journey.’
- c. 𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐄠𐄡.
 a ddit bbop jox li ssox dde ma **nge**.
 there CL at, to TOP school CL COP
 ‘Ahead there is a school.’

(iii) Specificational function

Specificational predicate clauses differ from predicational copular clauses by the inversed order of the two arguments. Specificational predicate clauses introduce a referent into discourse defined through a property and tell us *who* or *what* the referent is (Akmajian 1979: 162–165). Predicational copular clauses, by contrast, state something *about* the referent of the first NP.

- (14) a. མཁྲིལ་མོ་བྲལ་བའི་ཚུ་བཟོན།
 nry ndo ap- qi max su li cy **nge.**
 wine drink NEG- want ART TOP 3P.SG COP
 ‘The one who does not want to drink is he.’
- b. ཇི་སྐོར་མཚན་གཞི་ཚུ་བཟོན།
 ssox sse he-jy-he max su li mu gox **nge.**
 student good-very-good ART TOP male name COP
 ‘The best student is Mugo.’
- c. སྤོད་མཚན་མགྲོན་མཚན་གཞི་ཚུ་བཟོན།
 a ddit go da yiet hxop yiet max su li nga **nge.**
 there LOC at song sing ART TOP 1P.SG COP
 ‘The one who is singing songs is I.’
- d. བཞེན་ཅེ་ཡོད་ཚུ་བཟོན།
 nit jop yyp ddu bit su li vut sa **nge.**
 2P.SG toward joke open NOM TOP name COP
 ‘The one who is joking with you is Vusa.’

B. Derived functions

In Sino-Tibetan languages, nominalization particles like *su* often generate focus meaning (Bickel 1999; Paul & Whitman 2008). This focus meaning is contextually derived as opposed to encoded. The copular verb supports the nominalization particle in expressing focus meaning.

In Chinese, for example, the *shì...de*-construction (*shì* is the copular verb and *de* the nominalization particle) focuses on the constituent immediately following the copular *shì* (Paul & Whitman 2008: 415).

(15) Mandarin Chinese

- a. tā shì zài **běi jīng** xué yǔ yán xué de.
 3P.SG COP at Beijing learn linguistics NOM
 ‘It is in Beijing that he studied linguistics.’

There is a second focus construction in Chinese with the copular verb *shì* only, called the *bare shì*-construction. In contrast to the *shì...de*-construction, the *bare shì*-construction is an *association-with-focus* pattern (Jackendoff 1972; Rooth 1985) in which any constituent following the copular can be focused by assigning it intonational prominence.

- b. tā shì zài běi jīng xué yǔ yán xué.
 3P.SG COP at Beijing learn linguistics
 ‘It is in Beijing that he studied linguistics.’

In Nuosu, the bare copular *nge* (without *su*) is ungrammatical after other verbs. The *su nge*-construction has developed focus meaning. The *su nge*-construction is an *association-with-focus* pattern in which every constituent can be focused by assigning it intonational prominence, as in (16).

- (16) 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆, ...
 ne syt xip mu da,...
 2P.SG matter DEM.DD do STP
 ‘If you proceed in this way,...’
- a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌,
cy nex mo go hxie mat ci su nge,
 3P.SG 2P.SG toward PRO.PAT heart fall NOM COP
 ‘he will be disappointed about you...’
 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
nga nex mo go hxie mat ap-ci su nge,
 1P.SG 2P.SG toward PRO.PAT heart NEG-fall NOM COP
 ‘but I won’t.’
- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌,
 cy **nex** mo go hxie mat ci su nge,
 3P.SG 2P.SG toward PRO.PAT heart fall NOM COP
 ‘he will be disappointed about you...’
 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
 cy **ngax** mo go hxie mat ap-ci su nge,
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward PRO.PAT heart NEG-fall NOM COP
 ‘not about me.’
- c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
 cy nex mo go **a hnat mu** hxie mat ci su nge,
 3P.SG 2P.SG toward PRO.PAT especially heart fall NOM COP
 ‘he will be especially disappointed about you...’
 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
cuop luo ax di ci su ap- nge,
 a little bit only fall NOM NEG- COP
 ‘not only slightly.’
- d. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑,
 cy nex mo go **hxie mat** ci su nge,
 3P.SG 2P.SG toward PRO.PAT heart fall NOM COP
 ‘he will be disappointed about you...’

nex mo go **hxie we nyi** su ap- nge,
 2P.SG toward PRO.PAT faith sit NOM NEG- COP
 ‘not being confident about you.’

6.1.3 Adjectival predicates

As in other languages, Nuosu adjectives fall into two groups, gradable and ungradable adjectives. Both share morphosyntactic properties with verbs and also differ from verbs. For four features, ungradable adjectives contrast with gradable adjectives and align with activity verbs.

Table 6.1: Morphosyntactic properties of adjectives

	Gradable adjectives	Ungradable adjectives	Verbs
Sole predicate	yes	yes	yes
Negation	yes	yes	yes
Reduplication	yes	yes	yes
Progressive <i>njuo</i>	no	no	yes/no
Dynamic perfect <i>ox</i>	most	most	yes
Stative perfect <i>da</i>	yes	yes	yes
Experiential <i>nzox</i>	few	no	yes/no
Comparative construction	yes	no	yes/no
Intensifier <i>-jy-</i>	yes	no	yes/no
Exhaustion particle <i>sat</i>	yes	no	yes/no
Superlative <i>-lop-</i>	yes	no	no

Most adjectives act as the sole predicate of an intransitive clause without support of other elements. The copular verb is never used to prop up adjectives.

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

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

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

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

Some ungradable adjectives are nominalized by *su* or complemented by the perfect particle *ox* as the predicate of the sentence. Examples (20a) and (20c) with bare predicates are dispreferred, but (20b) and (20d) are preferred.

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

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

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

- b. ལྷོ་ལྗོངས་ལོ་སྤུན་ལོ་སྤུན་།
 vo **qux go go**.
 snow white IDE~EXPR
 ‘The snow is very white.’

Adjectives can be negated like verbs by inserting the particle *ap-* before the last syllable of the adjective. Adjective-ideophone compounds are negated by nominalizing or adverbializing the compound and negating the predicate.

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

As for verbs, adjectives can be partially reduplicated (their last syllable) to express the concept of alternative question.

- (23) a. ལྡན་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་།
 mux dde cy jot go zap bbyp **ax guo guo?**
 field DEM.PROX CL LOC earth hard~ALT
 ‘Is the earth of this field hard?’
- b. ལྡན་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་ལྗོངས་།
 ddox mu cy pit **tuox tuo?**
 knife DEM.PROX CL sharp~ALT
 ‘Is this knife sharp?’

Even if they designate dynamic properties, adjectives cannot co-occur with the progressive marker *njuo*.

- b. * \uparrow 焠 0 夏 焠 焠 焠 焠。
 *cyp ddop ma **vu jji-jjy-vu jji.**
 3P.SG word true-very-true
 Intended meaning: ‘His words are very true.’

Finally, gradable adjectives can be used in comparative constructions (section 11.4.1.A), whereas ungradable adjectives cannot.

- (31) a. \times 焠 焠 焠 焠。
 cy ne **yyx** ap cy.
 3P.SG 2P.SG tall more
 ‘He is taller than you.’
- b. * \uparrow 0 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠 焠。
 *at nyop lu ti jox ap cy mu **gex zhy.**
 female name male name toward more true
 ‘Anyo is more real than Luti.’

6.1.4 Verbal predicates

Verbal predicates differ from adjectival predicates with respect to a number of tests (table 6.1). Four types of verbs are scrutinized below, intransitive verbs (section A), monotransitive verbs (section B), ambitransitive verbs (section C) and ditransitive verbs (section D). Furthermore, there are verb pairs, called simplex/complex verbs, which differ through a change of valency and devoicing of the initial consonant (section E).

A. Intransitive verbs

Except for pro-drop contexts,² intransitive verbs require exactly one NP argument. Intransitive verbs can take control and noncontrol arguments.

Table 6.2: Intransitive verbs

Control argument	Noncontrol argument	
bbo ‘go’	jjj ‘fall down, collapse’	ddur ‘exit, happen’
li ‘go up’	jjip ‘fall’ (rain)	rryrx jjuo ‘collapse’
jjj ‘fly’	hlix ndo ‘go astray’	lat jjip ‘bust’
vot ‘bark’	jjip qot ‘change’	wop ‘swell’
qi ‘jump’	ggit ‘sink’	mop jjip ‘pass away’
it ‘lie’	sy ‘die’	vi ‘blossom’
nyi ‘sit’	mop jjip ‘pass away’	nyop ‘sink’
(...)	yit jjuo ‘in disharmony’	(...)

² Pro-drop or zero-anaphora contexts are contexts in which an argument that is required by a predicational frame can be omitted if it can be inferred by the context (Fillmore 1986; Rizzi 1986).

Many intransitive verbs allow optional adjunct elements such as locational phrases.

- (32) a. ㄹㄷㄱㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ .
 hxie zyr wo mu vut go **ggi** njuo.
 bird CL.group sky LOC fly PROG
 ‘A flock of birds is flying in the sky.’
- b. ㄱㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ .
 kex ma njie ggup go da **vot**.
 dog CL courtyard LOC COV bark
 ‘A dog is barking in the courtyard.’

Positional intransitive verbs require a locational phrase or pronoun. These elements cannot be omitted. Positional verbs are therefore not intransitive verbs.

- (33) a. ㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ . b. *ㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ .
 mu ga gox **nyi**. *mu ga **nyi**.
 male name PRO.LOC sit male name sit
 ‘Muga sits here.’ Intended meaning: ‘Muga sits.’
- c. ㄴㄷㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ .
 nit nrur pop hox ho sse go **it**.
 2.PG.POSS key small box LOC lie
 ‘Your keys are in the small box.’

Intransitive verbs of motion require noun phrases indicating the destination. The directional NP is inserted between the verb of motion and a directional verb.

- (34) a. ㄹㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ .
 lo gux su nyop yy go **vur bbo** ox.
 ship ART=CL-DET sink water LOC enter go DP
 ‘The ship was sinking in the water.’

Many intransitive verbs are unvolitional and take NP arguments that undergo the effects of some change.

- (35) a. ㄷㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ . b. ㄴㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅㅅ .
 yo **hlix ndo** ox. co a zzyx ma **ggit** ox.
 sheep get lost DP person DEM.DIST CL sink DP
 ‘The sheep went astray.’ ‘The man sank to the bottom.’

- c. ມຸຸ່ໂໂ。
 syt **ddur** ox.
 event happen DP
 ‘An event happened.’
- d. ເຂັ້ມໂໂ。
 za pux **jjj** ox.
 wall collapse DP
 ‘The wall collapsed.’
- e. ັໂໂໂໂໂໂ。
 cyp ax pu **mop jjip** ox.
 3P.SG.POSS grandfather pass away DP
 ‘His grandfather passed away.’
- f. ັໂໂໂໂໂໂ。
 cyp bbo lo **wop** ox.
 3P.SG face swell DP
 ‘His face became swollen.’
- g. ັໂໂໂໂໂໂໂໂ。
 co cyx yie **yit jjuop** ox.
 person DEM.PROX family in disharmony DP
 ‘This family in not united.’

B. Monotransitive verbs

Monotransitive verbs require two arguments except for pro-drop contexts. They refer to events in which one participant is doing something to or directing some behavior at the other one. Table 6.3 provides a non-exhaustive list.

Table 6.3: Monotransitive verbs

mgu ‘love’	bit ‘take out’	hlut ‘lead to pasture’
zyt ‘plane off’	jyt ‘beat (with stick)’	zie ‘match’
yiet ‘sing’	nrur ‘lock’	zhe ‘cut’
zze ‘eat’	shut ‘remember’	mge ‘chew’
ndo ‘drink, smoke’	bbur ‘write’	sit ‘kill’
ndup ‘beat’	kie ‘fell’	yot ‘lick’
nyiet ‘fish’	ku ‘steal’	bie ‘kick’
ssyr ‘press’	nzyt ‘bite’	tu ‘perforate’
chyp ‘weave’	jot ‘cook’	hlu ‘cook’
wep ‘get, obtain’	la hxex ‘wait’	bi ‘read’
mgur ‘pick up’	hxo lo ‘depend’	ngo ‘touch’
yu ‘take’	zhyp ‘throw’	yyt ‘saw’
sso ‘study’	mgot ‘chase’	jyt ‘breathe’
nyie ‘cut’	yip bbur ‘paint’	rrot ‘weave’
hlit ‘dry in the sun’	ga ‘shake, make’	kie ‘fell’
cur ‘build’	nyot ‘seal’	nbot ‘hide’
ggit cyr ‘cause to perish’	jip ndip ‘protect’	qup ‘keep watch’
syp ‘know’	dit lyp ‘force’	mgup ddie ‘heal’ (...)

In pro-drop contexts, an omitted participant is inferred from the context but can always be specified if needed.

- (36) a. X³ ʒ³ ʃ³.
 cy **shut** ox.
 3P.SG remember DP
 ‘She remembered.’
- b. ʃ³ X³ ʒ³ ʃ³.
 nga cy **shut** ox.
 1P.SG 3P.SG remember DP
 ‘She remembered me.’

All of the verbs in Table 6.3 license control agents, as illustrated in (37), and sometimes they also admit noncontrol agents, as shown in (38).

- (37) a. ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 nga ce te sox ji **hlu.**
 1P.SG dish NUM.3 CL cook
 ‘I cooked three dishes.’
- b. ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 at nyop nex **mgu.**
 female name 2P.SG love
 ‘Anyo loves you.’
- c. ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 cop wox yiet hxop **yiet.**
 3P.PL song sing
 ‘They sing songs.’
- d. HX ʃ³ ʃ³.
 mu ga yi **ndo.**
 male name tobacco smoke
 ‘Muga smokes tobacco.’
- e. X³ X³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 cy ka bba **wep** nzox.
 3P.SG present get EXP
 ‘He got a prize.’
- f. ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 ip mi ne ip ko **qu.**
 tonight 2P.SG door watch
 ‘You should watch the door tonight.’

- (38) ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 cyp ddop ma ngat ngop jjux (go) **zie.**
 3P.SG.POSS word 1P.SG.POSS idea PRO.PAT match
 ‘His words match my ideas.’

Simple monotransitive clauses do not use case-marking coverbs except those described in section 6.2.1 and section 6.2.2. More examples are provided in (39).

- (39) a. ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 cyp jiet yi a shyt ma **cur** mo ddix.
 3P.SG.POSS family house new CL build MOD.committed
 ‘His family is committed to build a new house.’
- b. ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³ ʃ³.
 lu po cy qop bop **jip ndip.**
 male name 3P.SG.POSS friend protect
 ‘Lupo protected his friend.’

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

- (40) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉。
 ax yi ngat bbo lo **nzyt**.
 child 1P.SG.POSS face bite
 ‘The child bit my face.’
- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋。
 ax yi **nzyt** ngat bbo lo dit.
 child bite 1P.SG.POSS face put
 ‘The child bit me on the face.’
- (41) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍。
 mu ga cyp i qi **ndup**.
 male name 3P.SG.POSS head hit
 ‘Muga hit his head.’
- b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏。
 mu ga **ndup** cyp i qi dit.
 male name hit 3P.SG.POSS head put
 ‘Muga him him on the head.’

C. Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs are verbs which have intransitive and monotransitive uses. Their intransitive use cannot be interpreted as pro-drop. Most authors distinguish two types of ambitransitive verbs, unergative and unaccusative verbs.³ Unergative verbs align the intransitive S- and monotransitive A-argument, whereas unaccusative verbs group the intransitive S and the monotransitive O together.

Table 6.4: Ambitransitive verbs

Unergative	Unaccusative		
gu ‘crow, call’	gat qip ‘hamper’	sot ‘count’	jjie shyr ‘tear’
ra ‘scold’	lyrx nyie ‘move’	jjix mguo ‘clear’	pop ‘open’
bot ‘run’	ggot ‘close’	lix qy ‘break’	
dde jji ‘know’	mge ‘boil, broil’	lyt ‘peel off’	
yy ‘laugh’	yyx zyr ‘steep, soak’	yyr ‘be born, bear’	
ddiex bur ‘change’	xyp ‘marry’	njie ‘broke, break’	

³ Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000: 20) disprefer to employ these terms thinking that they are used with many different senses in the literature, without clear cross-linguistic criteria being involved.

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

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

Unaccusative verbs are reminiscent of simplex/complex verb pairs scrutinized in (section E) below.

- (48) a. པ་མེད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད་ཅོད།
 syt cy jjit **jjlex mguo** ox.
 matter DEM.PROX CL clear DP
 ‘This matter becomes clear.’
- b. མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད་ཅོད།
 cy hxip su nga **jjlex mguo** ox.
 3P.SG say NOM 1P.SG understand DP
 ‘I understand what he is saying.’
- (49) a. ལྗེ་མེད་ཅོད།
 zhep sse **njie** ox.
 bowl broken DP
 ‘The bowl is broken.’
- b. ལྗེ་མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད།
 zhep sse cy **njie** gox sha.
 bowl 3P.SG break SEND
 ‘The bowl was broken by him.’
- (50) a. རྒྱུ་མེད་ཅོད།
 zzi **lix qy** ox.
 bridge break DP
 ‘The bridge is broken.’
- b. རྒྱུ་མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད།
 bip cy **lix qy** gox sha.
 pen 3P.SG break SEND
 ‘The pen was broken by him.’
- (51) a. བུ་མེད་ཅོད།
 ngat ddop hxip **sot**.
 1P.SG word speak count
 ‘My word counts.’
- b. མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད།
 cop wox jyy gex rre mop **sot**.
 3P.PL together money
 ‘They counted the money together.’
- (52) a. མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད།
 ax yi **yur** ox.
 child be born DP
 ‘The child was born.’
- b. མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད་ཅོད།
 ax mo mu ti te go nex **yur**.
 mother morning time 2P.SG bear
 ‘Mother gave birth to you in the morning.’
- (53) a. ལྗེ་མེད་ཅོད།
 vit gga **jjie shyr** ox.
 clothes tear DP
 ‘The garment tore.’
- b. ལྗེ་མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད།
 tep yy cy **jjie shyr** gox sha.
 book 3P.SG tear SEND
 ‘He tore the book apart.’
- (54) a. ལྗེ་མེད་ཅོད།
 syr bbo **lyrx nyie** ox.
 wood CL move DP
 ‘The tree moved.’
- b. ལྗེ་མེད་ཅོད་ཟེར་གྱི་མེད།
 ne ax yi **lyrx-tat-nyie!**
 2P.SG child move<NEG.IMP>
 ‘Don’t move the child!’

- (55) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 syp hmi njy **lyt** ox.
 walnut shell, skin peel off DP
 ‘The walnut peeled off its skin.’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ne xyx hnie tat- **lyt.**
 2P.SG shoe NEG.IMP- take off
 ‘Don’t take your shoes off!’
- (56) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 syt cy jjit a hxox mu **gat qip** ox.
 matter DEM.PROX CL long time ADVL delay DP
 ‘This matter was delayed for a longer time.’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 nop wox syt cy jjit **gat-tat-qip!**
 2P.PL matter DEM.PROX CL delay<NEG.IMP>
 ‘Don’t delay this matter any further!’
- (57) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 a yit ap mu shu kut **xy.**
 female name this year marry
 ‘Ayi gets married this year (woman’s perspective).’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 muga nyiet hxie ddip kut xy mop **xyp.**
 male name next year wife marry
 ‘Muga gets married next year (man’s perspective).’
- (58) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ip ko **ggot da** ox.
 door close DP
 ‘The door closed.’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ip ko cy **ggot da** ox.
 door 3P.SG close DP
 ‘He closed the door.’
- (59) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ip ko zyt jie **pop** ox.
 door REFL open DP
 ‘The door opens by itself.’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ne ip ko **pop!**
 2P.SG door open
 ‘Open the door!’
- (60) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 vit gga **yyx zyr** ox.
 clothes soak DP
 ‘The clothes soaked with water.’

- b. བཤུ་མེད་མི་སྐྱོ་བཤུ་མེད།
 ne vit gga cyx ggu **yyx zyr** da.
 2P.SG clothes DEM.PROX CL soak STP
 'Please soak this garment.'

- (61) a. འཇུ་བྱེད།
 yy **mge** ox.
 water boil DP
 'The water is boiling.'
- b. མི་འཇུ་བྱེད།
 cy yyx **mge** ox.
 3P.SG water boil DP
 'He is boiling water.'

There are two pseudo-ambitransitive examples, verbs for which the intransitive and monotransitive verbs differ phonologically. In (62), the intransitive verb is disyllabic and the monotransitive verb monosyllabic. In (63), the low tone [21] is associated with the intransitive verb, and the sandhi tone [44] with the monotransitive verb.

- (62) a. མི་ཇི་ཇི།
 cy **ji jie** ox.
 3P.SG be afraid DP
 'He was afraid.'
- b. སྐོམ་མི་ཇི།
 ax yi cop wox **jie**.
 child 3P.PL frighten
 'The children frighten others.'
- (63) a. མི་སྐོམ་བྱེད།
 cy **ngop die** ox.
 3P.SG doubt DP
 'He doubted.'
- b. མི་ལྟོ་བྱེད།
 cy nga **ngox die**.
 3P.SG 1P.SG doubt
 'He doubted me.'

D. Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs must specify three arguments. These arguments are semantically encoded as A, O and B (Dixon 1994). In Nuosu, there is a set of ditransitive verbs including several *simplex/complex verbs* which we analyze in section E. They are indicated in Table 6.5 in bold font.

Table 6.5: Ditransitive verbs

hmat 'teach'	bbyp 'give'	box 'show'
sur 'return' (borrowed item)	sha 'sprinkle'	dit 'dress' (hat)
hxe 'borrow, lend'	gup 'throw'	dox 'make drink'
vup 'sell'	nbi 'distribute'	zha 'feed'
rrep 'move'	bbur 'write'	gat 'dress' (shirt)
nyop 'bequeath'	gep 'add'	ge 'tell'
zi 'keep for'	hna 'ask'	

Nuosu ditransitive clauses always mark either O or B by a coverb (postposition): O by the coverb *ddie* (section 6.2.2.A) or B by the coverb *bbyp* (section 6.2.4.A). Ditransitive clauses that do not mark semantic roles with coverbs are almost inexistent in Nuosu. In (64a), the verb *hna* ‘ask’ does not use syntactic marking on its arguments. In (64b), the O argument *yyx* ‘water’ is partly lexicalized with the verb *sha* ‘sprinkle’ with which it forms a monotransitive verb.

- (64) a. $\text{nga syt kep nyix jjit cyx hna ox.}$
 1P.SG matter several CL 3P.SG ask DP
 ‘I asked him about several things.’
- b. $\text{cy bbut vie yyx sha.}$
 3P.SG flower water sprinkle
 ‘He watered the flowers.’

Ditransitive verbs close to the idea of physical transfer tend to use the preverbal coverb *ddie* on the O-argument as, for example, the verb *bbyp* ‘give’.

- (65) a. $\text{nga hxe ddie lu ti bbyp.}$
 1P.SG fish COV male name give
 ‘I gave Luti a fish.’
- b. $\text{cy rre mop ddie ngax sur.}$
 3P.SG money COV 1P.SG return
 ‘He returned me the money.’
- (66) a. $\text{nga ce bop ddie cyx hxe.}$
 1P.SG salt CL COV.prepare 3P.SG lend
 ‘I lent him a packet of salt.’
- b. $\text{vit gga a shyt ggux su ddie cyx box.}$
 clothes new ART COV.prepare 3P.SG show
 ‘I showed him the new clothes.’

Ditransitive verbs for which the idea of transfer is more indirect and abstract prefer the postverbal coverb *bbyp* on the B-argument (see section 6.2.4.A).

- (67) a. འཁ་དམ་ལྷ་རིམ་ལྷ་མོ་སྟེང་།
 ax da qy ly bip nyop sse **bbyp** ox.
 father heritage CL bequeath son COV.give DP
 'The father bequeathed his son.'
- b. ལྷ་མོ་གཞི་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 nga zhuop zyx ma nrep cy **bbyx**.
 1P.SG table CL move 3P.SG COV.give
 'I moved a table for/to him.'
- c. མུ་གོ་མ་ལྷ་མོ་སྟེང་།
 mu gox hxa bit vup nga **bbyx**.
 male name vegetable sell 1P.SG COV.give
 'Mugo sells vegetables to me.'

Speech-related verbs mark the addressee of a speech event with the preverbal
 coverb *jox* (section 6.2.4.B).

- (68) a. ལཱོ་མོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 lat mop ssox sse jox bbur ma **hmat**.
 male name pupil toward written language teach
 'Lamo teaches the written language to his pupils.'
- b. ལྷ་མོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 cy ngap jox hxie mgat hxop **hxip**.
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward Han spoken language speak
 'He is speaking to me in Chinese.'

Ditransitive verbs indicating physical transfer must specify all three arguments,
 as for example the verb *bbyp* 'give'.

- (69) a. ལྷ་མོ་དབུ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 nga tep yy cyp zzit ddie mu ga **bbyp**.
 1P.SG book NUM.1 CL COV male name give
 'I gave one book to Muga.'
- b. *ལྷ་མོ་དབུ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 *nga tep yy cyp zzit **bbyp**.
 1P.SG book NUM.1 CL give
 'I gave one book.'

Ditransitive verbs with an abstract idea of transfer can omit arguments as
 pro-drop.

- (70) a. 𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄐𐄑𐄑。𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑。
 lat hxa ssox sse jox **hmat**.
 male name pupil toward teach
 ‘Laha teaches his pupils.’
- b. 𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑。𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑。
 mu rryr ssox sse **hmat**.
 male name pupil teach
 ‘Mudge teaches his pupils.’
- c. 𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。
 mu rryr nuosu bbur ma **hmat**.
 male name Nuosu written language teach
 ‘Mudge teaches the written Nuosu language.’

E. Simplex/complex verb pairs

A remarkable process of lexicalization occurred in Nuosu and other Yi languages (Gerner 2007b). For about 20 mainly monosyllabic verbs, it is possible to devoice the initial consonant and to derive verbs with causative meaning. For example, the verb *ggat* ‘wear’ in *Mary wears a red shirt* has a devoiced counterpart *gat* ‘dress = cause to wear’ which is used in clauses like *Mary dressed her daughter with a red shirt*. The voiced component is called the *simplex* and the devoiced member the *complex* of the pair.

- (71) a. 𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。
 cy i di nrat ggu **ggat**.
 3P.SG clothes beautiful CL wear
 ‘He wears a beautiful clothing.’
- b. 𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。
 ax mo i di ddie cy **gat**.
 mother clothes COV.prepare 3P.SG dress
 ‘Mom dressed him.’

Simplex/complex pairs are ordered in Table 6.6 by the point of articulation (bilabial, alveolar, velar).

Other phonological phenomena such as aspiration, as in (76), or vowel change, as in (80), might join the devoicing process.

- (72) a. 𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。𐄃𐄇𐄒𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑𐄑。
 cy ngax mox da **bbit** bbo ox.
 3P.SG 1P.SG in front of appear, exit go DP
 ‘He appeared in front of me.’

Table 6.6: Simplex/complex verb pairs

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

b. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

(73) a. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

b. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

(74) a. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

b. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

(75) a. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

b. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

(76) a. མཉམ་པུ་མཉམ་པུ་།

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

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

- (83) a. ນີ ມີ ຢູ່ ຕົ້ນ.
 ne miep **nyi.**
 2P.SG in front sit
 ‘Sit in front!’
- b. ນີ ມີ ຢູ່ ຕົ້ນ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 ax yi ax mo ddie it ggo go **hnip** da.
 child mother COV.prepare bed LOC make sit STP
 ‘The mother made her child sit on the bed.’
- (84) a. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ.
 nga **ggur** ox.
 1P.SG fear DP
 ‘I am afraid.’
- b. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ.
 nga cyx **gur.**
 1P.SG 3P.SG frighten
 ‘I frighten him.’
- (85) a. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 she xi **lap ggut** ox.
 iron thread bend DP
 ‘The iron thread bent (by itself).’
- b. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 nga she xi **kut.**
 1P.SG iron thread bend
 ‘I bent the iron thread.’

All examples listed above have a valency increase from one-place to two-place predicates. For five pairs below, the simplex predicate is a two-place predicate and the complex member a ditransitive predicate.

- (86) a. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 nga uop lur **ndit.**
 1P.SG hat wear
 ‘I wear a hat.’
- b. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 nga uop lur ddie nex **dit.**
 1P.SG hat COV 2P.SG put on
 ‘I put your hat on you.’
- (87) a. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 bbox zze max su nry ap- **ndo.**
 man ART wine NEG- drink
 ‘This person doesn’t drink wine.’
- b. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 nga ie qyt ddie ne **dox.**
 1P.SG water COV 2P.SG make drink
 ‘I gave you water to drink.’
- (88) a. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 cy le she **zze.**
 3P.SG ox meat eat
 ‘He is eating ox meat.’
- b. ນ້ຳ ອັງ ມີ ມາ ທີ່ ບຸນ.
 ne zzax ddie ax yi **zha.**
 2P.SG food COV child feed
 ‘Feed the child!’

- (89) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅。
 nit ddop ma nga **gge** ox.
 2P.SG.POSS word CL 1P.SG hear DP
 ‘I heard your word.’
- b. 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌。
 nga bbux dde syp cyx **ge**.
 1P.SG story converse 3P.SG tell
 ‘I tell him a story.’

There is one pair of verbs, one having a voiced, the other a voiceless consonant. However, both are montransitive verbs with similar meanings.

- (90) a. 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓。
 ne ngat xyx hnie **ssip** da.
 2P.SG 1P.SG shoe use STP
 ‘You use my shoes.’
- b. 𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛！
 jjot bbip nga **sip** mo!
 bag 1P.SG take IMP
 ‘I’ll take the bag, ok?’

6.2 Coverbs

The term *coverb* has different meanings. For linguists of Australian and South American languages (McGregor 2002; Dickinson 2002), coverbs are uninflected verbs that form an open class and co-occur with a small set of inflected classificatory verbs. For linguists of Asian languages, coverbs are verbs which grammaticalized as pre- or postpositions.

It is not possible to reconstruct a verbal meaning for all postpositions in Nuosu. There are three verb-like properties of coverbs: the possibility of reduplication, the possibility of negation and the possibility of appending aspect, tense or modality particles. Moreover, some coverbs must be adjacent to the NPs they mark, while others can be variably attached to the subject or to another noun phrase. Some coverbs are polysemous serving multiple grammatical functions.

Coverbs in this section are arranged in the following order: agent coverbs (section 6.2.1), goal coverbs (section 6.2.2), recipient coverbs (section 6.2.3), locative coverbs (section 6.2.4), directional coverbs (section 6.2.5) and other oblique coverbs (section 6.2.6).

- d. འདྲེན་མཛུགས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་པོ་།
 tep yy bbut su cy **gep** bi ngax ge.
 book, letter ART 3P.SG COV.add read 1P.SG tell
 ‘The letter was read to me by him.’
- e. མཛུགས་ཀྱི་མཛུགས་པོ་ལ་།
 ka bba yiet su cy **gep** ddie nga bbyx su nge.
 gift ART 3P.SG COV.add COV 1P.SG give NOM COP
 ‘The gift was given by him to me.’

The concept of affectedness is crucial. The same verb may be compatible or incompatible with *gep* depending on the expression of affectedness.

- (94) a. *ལྟོགས་པོ་ལ་།
 *nga lat hxo **gep** syp ox.
 1P.SG male name COV.add know DP
 Intended meaning: ‘I am known by Laho.’
- b. ལྟོགས་པོ་ལ་ཁོ་ལྟོ།
 nga lat hxo **gep** syp ndox ox.
 1P.SG male name COV.add know PUT DP
 ‘I am recognized by Laho.’
- (95) a. *འདྲེན་པོ་ལ་།
 *tep yy nga **gep** hxep ox.
 book 1P.SG COV.add see (read) DP
 Intended meaning: ‘The book was seen by me.’
- b. འདྲེན་པོ་ལ་ཞེས་པོ་།
 tep yy nga **gep** hxep jjie mguo ox.
 book 1P.SG COV.add see (read) fall apart DP
 ‘The book was read by me (and as a result) fell apart.’

In (96a), the bare verb *wep* ‘receive’ does not convey affectedness. In (96b–c), the post-predicate elements imply a resultative reading.

- (96) a. *རྩོམ་པོ་ལ་།
 *rre mop nga **gep** wep ox.
 money 1P.SG COV.add get DP
 Intended meaning: ‘The money was received by me.’

- d. མུཔ་ནིཏི་སེ་ལའ་མུཔ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ལམ་ལ་འཁོར་བའོ།
 mup njit sse lat mop sip zzy.
 colt male name COV.take ride
 ‘Lamo is riding on a colt.’

Sometimes, the concept of disposal is more indirect or abstract as illustrated in the following examples.

- (99) a. རྒྱུ་མཚམས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ལམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའོ།
 yiet hxop max su cy sip yiet.
 song ART 3P.SG COV.take sing
 ‘He sings a song (by holding a song book).’
- b. འཇིགས་སྤྱོད་པའི་ལམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའོ།
 ssox sse suo yuo at nyop sip hmat.
 pupil NUM.3 CL name COV.take teach
 ‘Anyo teaches three pupils.’

The agentive coverb *sip* is banned if the main predicate does not communicate the idea of (physical) disposal, as in (100).

- (100) a. *འཁོར་བའོ།
 *nga cy sip gat qip.
 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.take delay, hinder
 Intended meaning: ‘I was delayed by him.’
- b. *འཁོར་བའོ།
 *zzi at nyop sip mga ox.
 bridge name COV.take cross DP
 Intended meaning: ‘The bridge was crossed by Anyo.’
- c. *འཁོར་བའོ།
 *ngat ix yi nga sip ngop ddie ox.
 1P.SG.POSS brother 1P.SG COV.take doubt DP
 Intended meaning: ‘I mistrust my younger brother.’

As coverb, *sip* cannot be negated or reduplicated, but can co-occur with the perfect particle *da* which illustrates that its verbal meaning is still alive.

- (101) a. རྒྱུ་མཚམས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ལམ་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའོ།
 rre mop cyx gge sip da vit gga vy yy.
 money DEM.PROX CL COV.take STP clothes buy go
 ‘Take this money and buy some clothes.’

C. The complex coverb *gep sip*

The complex coverb *gep sip* combines the agent coverbs *gep* ‘add’ and *sip* ‘take’. Its meaning expresses the agentive concept of disposal, similar to *sip*.

- (102) a. 嗶×匹×烟×烟。
 yi cy **gep sip** ndo hxex.
 tobacco 3P.SG COV drink, inhale LOOK
 ‘He is trying to smoke tobacco.’
- b. 丫××××××××××××××××。
 syr pip cyx gge cy **gep sip** get zyt.
 wooden beam DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG COV cupboard polish, cut
 ‘He is taking this wooden beam to make a cupboard.’
- c. 穿××××××××××××××××。
 vit gga cy **gep sip** ix go da.
 clothes 3P.SG COV home put
 ‘He put the clothes at home.’

D. Appendix: The particles *sip/six*

The morphemes *sip/six* cover several functions, one lexical and three grammatical functions.

Meanings	Section of grammar
(i) Main verb <i>sip</i> ‘take’	
(ii) Agentive postposition <i>sip</i>	section 6.2.1.B
(iii) Instrumental postposition <i>six</i>	section 6.2.7.A
(iv) Resultative conjunction <i>six</i>	section 12.2

Below, I briefly illustrate these uses and reconstruct the historical origin and development of *sip/six*.

(i) As main verb *sip* ‘take’

The verb *sip* ‘take’ in simple clauses has the low tone and allows both orders: AOV and OAV.

- (103) a. 嗶×烟×烟×烟×烟。
 vot she gge mu hlie **sip**.
 pork CL male name take
 ‘Muhlie took the pork.’
- b. 烟×烟×烟×烟×烟。
 mu hlie vot she gge **sip**.
 male name pork a little bit take
 ‘Muhlie took the pork.’

(ii) As agentive postposition *sip*

As agentive postposition, *sip* marks the agent, which is the second NP in the clause, and conveys the meaning that the patient is handled in a certain way.

- (104) 𐌵𐌳𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌳𐌰𐌸𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌰。
 nga ax da **sip** zyt.
 1P.SG father take scold
 'I am scolded by my father.'

(iii) As instrumental postposition *six*

As instrumental postposition, *six* marks the instrument by means of which the agent affects the patient. The instrumental NP occurs before the patient NP.

- (105) 𐌵𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰。
 ngop wox zza **six** va hxo.
 1P.PL corn take hen feed
 'We fed the hens with corn.'

(iv) As resultative conjunction *six*

After main verbs, the morpheme *sip/six* developed into a resultative conjunction, reminiscent of *so that*, which encodes the state resulting from an activity.

- (106) a. 𐌵𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰。
 vit gga cy ddiex bur **six** iet zyr ox.
 clothes 3P.SG change RES small DP
 'She downsized the clothes.'
- b. 𐌵𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰。
 cyp jy xy cy tit **six** wop ox.
 3P.SG.POSS foot 3P.SG stamp RES swollen DP
 'She stamped with her foot so much that it got swollen.'

(v) Historical development

The different meanings of *sip/six* developed through syntactic reanalysis in serial verb constructions: the postpositional meanings (agentive, instrumental) from pre-verbal rebracketing and the resultative meaning from postverbal rebracketing.

Preverbal Reanalysis:

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

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

Postverbal Reanalysis:

$NP_1 [NP_2 V] [NP_3 \textit{six}] [NP_4 V] \rightarrow NP_1 [NP_2 V] [NP_3 \textit{six} NP_4 V]$

Both reanalyses occurred only when two of the arguments NP_1 , NP_2 or NP_3 were co-referential and the second co-referential arguments was deleted. The meanings of agentive coverb, instrumental coverb and resultative particle surfaced in three kinds of co-referential patterns.

- Agentive coverb (Preverbal Reanalysis, coreferential NP_2 and NP_3)

The meaning of agentive coverb developed through preverbal reanalysis in which NP_3 is deleted since it is coreferential to NP_2 .

(107) 𐑆𐑉 𐑆𐑊 𐑆𐑋𐑌 𐑆𐑍。
 yi max su cy **sip** Ø syr.
 house ART 3P.SG COV.take sweep
 'He swept the house.'

- Instrumental coverb (Preverbal Reanalysis, different NP_2 and NP_3)

The instrumental coverb is the result of reanalysis of the meaning of *take* as an instrumental postposition. No coreferential deletion occurs.

(108) 𐑆𐑊 𐑆𐑋 𐑆𐑌𐑍 𐑆𐑎𐑏 𐑆𐑐𐑑。
 cy yiet hxie **six** yiep but chyp.
 3P.SG loom COV.take cloth weave
 'He is weaving cloth with a loom.'

- Resultative marker (Postverbal Reanalysis, coreferential NP_1 and NP_3)

Postverbal reanalysis of *six* occurred when NP_3 was coreferential to NP_1 . It was reinterpreted first as purposive and then as resultative marker.

(109) 𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉 𐑆𐑊𐑋 𐑆𐑌𐑍 𐑆𐑎𐑏 𐑆𐑐𐑑𐑒。
 cy rre mop hxe Ø **six** nre sur.
 3P.SG money borrow RES debt pay back
 'He borrowed money so that he can pay back his debts.'

6.2.2 Patient coverbs

There is one patient coverb which is obligatory in most ditransitive constructions, *ddie* 'prepare'.

- b. ㄎㄨㄟㄇㄛˊㄉㄧㄨㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊ。
 rre mop cyp hxa vat cy **ddie** ngat lot go zip.
 money NUM.100 Yuan 3P.SG COV 1P.SG.POSS hand LOC put
 ‘100 Yuan was put by him into my hand.’

The coverb *ddie* is also obligatory with ditransitive complex verbs (see section 6.1.4.E) or with verbs for which the idea of transfer is only indirect.

- (113) a. ㄉㄧˊㄒㄩˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊ。
 i dix cyx ggu nga **ddie** lu po gat.
 coat DEM.PROX CL 1P.SG COV.prepare male name dress
 ‘I dressed Lupo with this coat.’
- b. ㄋㄟˊㄋㄩˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊ。
 ne nry zhеп **ddie** ddip vip dop.
 2P.SG wine CL COV.prepare guest give to drink
 ‘Give the guests a bowl of wine.’
- c. ㄋㄧˊㄊㄧˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊ。
 nit tep yy **ddie** nga box.
 2P.SG book COV.prepare 1P.SG reveal, let see
 ‘Show me your book.’

As postposition, *ddie* has lost most other verbal properties. It cannot be negated, reduplicated or suffixed by a TAM particle.

6.2.3 Causee coverbs

Four coverbs mark the causee noun phrase with different semantic nuances: *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’ (section A), *ddie* ‘prepare’ (section B), *ga* ‘drop’ (section C), *shu* ‘make’ (section D).

A. The coverb *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’

The verb *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’ evolved before other predicates into a causee postposition, after other predicates into a recipient postposition (section 6.2.4.A). The tone alternation is driven by a process of tone dissimilation. If the immediately preceding tone is [⁴⁴] or [⁵⁵], then *bbyp* takes the low tone, whereas if the midtone [³³] or low tone [²¹] precedes it, then *bbyx* takes the higher sandhi tone.

- (114) a. ㄗㄩˊㄆㄨˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊㄗㄩㄢˊ。
 cy ap mut shu kut zza ma ax nyi gge **ddie** ngop **bbyx** ox.
 3P.SG this year crops much CL COV 1P.PL give DP
 ‘He provided us with abundant crops.’

- b. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 cop jiet le ji ddie ngop jiet **bbyp** ox.
 3P.PL.POSS family ox CL COV 1P.PL.POSS family give DP
 ‘Their family gave our family an ox.’

The coverb *bbyp/bbyx* together with the causative particle *shux* (section 6.2.3.D) frame the causative verb phrase. The coverb *bbyp/bbyx* marks the causee.

- (115) a. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 ax da ax mo li ap my **bbyx** bbox zze cyx ma jjip
 father mother TOP daughter COV.give man DEM.PROX CL make
 shux ap- qi.
 CAUS NEG- want
 ‘The parents don’t want to let their daughter marry this man.’
- b. ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 mge fu cop ddie nga **bbyx** zze shux.
 buckwheat bread 3P.PL COV 1P.SG COV eat CAUS
 ‘They fed me with buckwheat bread.’
- c. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 mop mgep te go, co **bbyx** ra ap- shup hxit.
 meeting when people COV make noise NEG- CAUS can
 ‘It is forbidden to make noise during the meeting.’
- d. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 cy ngop **bbyx** syt cy jjit dde jji ap- shup.
 3P.SG 1P.PL COV matter DEM.PROX CL know NEG- CAUS
 ‘He doesn’t let us know about this matter.’
- e. འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 ngop ip nyip ax mo **bbyx** hxie mat kat shux.
 1P.PL today mother COV heart CAUS
 ‘We made Mom happy today.’

With ditransitive verb phrases, the coverb *bbyp/bbyx* may be used twice, the first as causative coverb, the second as recipient coverb.

- (116) འཇིགས་ལུང་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 nga hmat mop **bbyx** tep yy bbut bbur ngat ix go
 1P.SG teacher COV.give book CL write 1P.SG.POSS home
bbyp shux.
 COV.give CAUS
 ‘I made the teacher write a letter to my family.’

As causative coverb, *bbyp/bbyx* must be adjacent to the causee NP, cannot be negated or reduplicated and cannot be directly followed by a TAM particle.

B. The coverb *ddie* ‘prepare’

Besides ditransitive clauses (section 6.2.2.A), *ddie* functions as causative postposition. It must co-occur with the valence particle *shux* (section 11.3.2) in one of the following constructions.

- | | | | | |
|-------|----|--|--|-----------------------|
| (117) | a. | Causee+Causer+ <i>ddie</i> +VP+ <i>shux</i> | | in-/monotransitive VP |
| | b. | Causer+O+ <i>ddie</i> +Causee+ <i>bbyx</i> +V+ <i>shux</i> | | monotransitive VP |

The next three examples illustrate the pattern (117a). The first two examples in (118) use an intransitive verb, (119) uses a monotransitive verb.

- (118) a. ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོང་།
 ax yi ne **ddie** gox shyр shux.
 cat 2P.SG COV.prepare LOC cry CAUS
 ‘Let the child cry.’
- b. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 nga cop **ddie** it nyi gu shux.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.prepare sleep CAUS
 ‘They let me sleep.’
- (119) མེ་ལོ་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོང་།
 cop cy **ddie** le sit shux.
 3P.PL 3P.SG COV.prepare ox kill CAUS
 ‘He let them kill the ox.’

The use of the two causative postposition, *ddie* and *bbyx*, implies the sense that the causer hands the patient over to the causee for further processing.

- (120) a. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 cy syr **ddie** nga bbyx mgo shux.
 3P.SG wood COV.prepare 1P.SG COV.give pull, move CAUS
 ‘He made me move the firewood.’
- b. མེ་ལོ་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོང་།
 cop ce **ddie** ax lyr bbyx yot shux.
 3P.PL salt COV.prepare goat COV.give lick CAUS
 ‘They let the goat lick the salt.’

C. The coverb *ga* ‘drop’

The coverb *ga* is another causative postposition which conveys a permissive sense to the clause. As verb, it has the meaning ‘drop’ or ‘shake off’.

- (121) ཁོ་ཚུ་ཉེ་པུ་ཡུ་མེན་ལྟོག་ཅིང་།
 xyx hnie go syx jo cop **ga** gox sha.
 shoe LOC mud 3P.PL drop SEND
 ‘They shook the mud off their shoes.’

As causee coverb, *ga* can occur in two causative constructions either alone, with *shux* or with *bbyx* and *shux*.

- (122) a. Causee+Causer+*ga*+VP+(*shux*) | in-/monotransitive VP
 b. Causer+O+*ga*+Causee+*bbyx*+V+*shux* | monotransitive VP

The valency particle *shux* tends to be present if the causee is human or animate, as in (123), and absent if it is inanimate, as in (124).

- (123) a. འཇིག་ལྷོ་མོ་བཏུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 hxie zyr cy **ga** jji bbo shux ox.
 bird 3P.SG COV.drop fly go CAUS DP
 ‘He let the bird fly away.’
- b. འཇིག་ལྷོ་མོ་བཏུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 ne cyx **ga** bur bbo shux.
 2P.SG 3P.SG COV.drop return go CAUS
 ‘He let you go back.’
- c. མི་ལོ་ལྷོ་མོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 ax yi **ga** xip mu shyr tat- shup ox.
 child COV.drop DEM.DD scream NEG.IMP- CAUS DP
 ‘Don’t allow the child to scream like this.’
- d. འཇིག་ལྷོ་མོ་བཏུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 va bu **ga** gox gu shux.
 rooster COV.drop LOC crow, call CAUS
 ‘Let the rooster crow.’
- (124) a. རྒྱུ་ལྷོ་མོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 rre mop ax yi **ga** hlix ndo mat.
 money child COV.drop lose FEAR
 ‘I am afraid of letting the child waste the money.’

- b. 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼?
 zhep sse **ga** kat qyp da?
 bowl COV.drop where put STP
 ‘Where did you put the bowl?’
- c. 𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼。
 yix bo cy **ga** nga dox.
 tobacco CL 3P.SG COV.drop 1P.SG smoke
 ‘He let me smoke a packet of cigarettes.’
- d. 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿?
 nit uop lur cyx ma **ga** nga dit go zhet zhet?
 2P.SG hat DEM.PROX CL COV.drop 1P.SG put on COMP good~ALT
 ‘Would it be ok for me to put on your hat?’

Furthermore, *ga* also co-occurs with the causee postposition *bbyx* and the valence particle *shux*. The coverb *ga* marks the patient, *bbyx* marks the causee.

- (125) a. 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌽𐌾𐌿。
 xyp mop **ga** mu jie bbyx yu shux.
 wife, bride COV.drop male name COV.give marry CAUS
 ‘Let Mujie choose his wife.’
- b. 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿 (*𐌵) 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐌽𐌾𐌿。
 bbu dde cyx ma **ga** mu hlie bbyx hxip shux.
 story DEM.PROX CL COV.drop male name COV say CAUS
 ‘Let Muhlie tell the story.’

Finally, as a postposition, *ga* cannot be negated, reduplicated and compounded by TAM.

D. The coverb *shu* ‘make’

The coverb *shu* is derived from a dummy verb that can be glossed by ‘make’ or ‘get’. It belongs to a stylistically low register and is identified by native speakers as careless talk similar to English *I made three glasses of beer* in lieu of *I drank three glasses of beer*. As verb, *shu* subcategorizes a wide range of nouns.

- (126) a. 𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿?
 ne nry **shux shu**?
 2P.SG wine make~ALT
 ‘Did you drink wine?’

- b. 佻事冇事。

cop wox syt ap- **shu**.

3P.PL thing NEG- do

'They did nothing.'
- c. 事食咗。

ngop wox zzax **shu** ox.

1P.PL food make DP

'We have already eaten.'
- d. 佻射鸟。

hxie zyr cy **shu** ssop ox.

bird 3P.SG make END DP

'He shot the bird down.'

Furthermore, *shu* functions as causative postposition. The word order of causer and causee is variable. It is regulated by the same principles as the order of subject and object in simple clauses (section 10.2).

- (127) a. Causee+Causer+*shu*+VP
 b. Causer+Causee+*shu*+VP

In (128a), *shu* is attached to the causer (first person pronoun with midtone). In (128b) it is postposed to the causee (first person pronoun with sandhi tone).

- (128) a. 佻佻佻事。

ap ndi hxix cop wox nga **shu** rre hlut bbo.

yesterday 3P.PL 1P.SG COV.make pasture livestock go

'Yesterday I caused them to pasture the livestock.'
- b. 佻佻佻事。

ap ndi hxix cop wox ngax **shu** rre hlut bbo.

yesterday 3P.PL 1P.SG COV.make pasture livestock go

'Yesterday they caused me to pasture the livestock.'

If the third person pronoun *cy* (midtone) occurs directly before *shu*, it is often understood non-deictically as an impersonal causee, as in (129a–b). Depending on the context, *cy* may also be interpreted deictically, as in (129c–d).

- (129) a. 事此, 事。

syt cy jjit ggup jjux ne, ngop cy **shu** ngop die ox.

matter DEM.PROX CL after TOP 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make doubt DP

'After this matter, it left us in doubt.'

- b. 吓死我了。
 nga cy **shu** jy jie sy dax qi.
 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make fear die almost
 ‘It scared me almost to death.’
- c. 他带我们走。
 ngop cy **shu** ddur bbo.
 1P.SG 3P.SG COV.make exit go
 ‘He made us go out.’
- d. 他的手被他的歌感动了。
 ngop wox cy **shu** hxie njuo da yiet ox.
 1P.PL 3P.SG COV.make move heart STP sing DP
 ‘We were moved by his song.’

As a postposition, *shu* cannot be negated, reduplicated or suffixed by TAM particles. It functions also as valence particle at the end of the clause to indicate an increase of valence of the clause. Most causative clauses require the presence of *shu* (section 11.3.2). The valence particle *shu* (with allotones *shup* and *shux*) has preserved the verb property of negation.

- (130) a. 他心里想了一天。
 ne ddie cy bbyx cyp nyip ngop **shux**.
 2P.SG COV 3P.SG COV NUM.1 day think CAUS
 ‘Let him think (about it) for one day.’
- b. 医生不允许病人动手术。
 na mgup co co na bbyx lyrx nyie ap- **shup**.
 doctor ill person COV.give move NEG- CAUS
 ‘The doctor didn’t allow the sick person to move.’

6.2.4 Recipient coverbs

Two coverbs are reserved for marking the recipient noun phrase of a ditransitive clause, *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’ (section A) and *jox* (section B).

A. The coverb *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’

Besides the function of preverbal causative coverb (section 6.2.3.A), *bbyp/bbyx* also acts as postverbal coverb for recipient noun phrases in ditransitive clauses. The coverb *bbyp/bbyx* divides ditransitive verbs up into three groups, those that require marking by *bbyp/bbyx*, those that tolerate but do not require its marking and those that ban its presence.

Table 6.9: Verbs that are in/compatible with *bbyp/bbyx*

<i>bbyp</i> obligatory	<i>bbyp</i> optional	<i>bbyp</i> forbidden
sha 'send, sprinkle'	sur 'return'	bbyp 'give'
nbi 'distribute'	hxe 'borrow, lend'	hmat 'teach'
bbur 'write'		hna 'ask'
zi 'keep for'		lup 'rob'
sip 'take, bring'		ku 'steal'
jo 'hand in'		sso 'study'
gup 'throw'		zha 'feed'
vup 'sell'		gat 'dress'
nyop 'bequeath'		ge 'tell'
bur 'return'		dox 'make drink'
gup 'throw'		

Firstly, examples in (131) require the marking of the recipient by *bbyp/bbyx* at the end of the sentence.

- (131) a. རྩེད་མཉམ་པར་ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའོ།
 rre mop cy gep bur nga **bbyx**.
 money 3P.SG COV.add return 1P.SG COV.give
 'The money was returned by him to me.'
- b. ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའོ།
 nga tep yy bbut bbur cy **bbyx**.
 1P.SG letter CL write 3P.SG COV.give
 'I write him a letter.'
- c. ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའོ།
 nga she a zzyx ma gup ke **bbyx**.
 1P.SG meat DEM.DIST CL throw dog COV.give
 'I tossed that piece of meat to the dog.'
- d. ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའོ།
 cy sha jji map tap nbi ax yi **bbyx**.
 3P.SG sweets distribute child COV.give
 'He distributed sweets to the children.'

Secondly, the main verbs in the following examples necessitate either marking by the preverbal coverb *ddie* or by the postverbal coverb *bbyp*.

- (132) a. ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའི་ལྷོད་པའོ།
 nga zza ma ddie nex sur.
 1P.SG crops COV 2P.SG return
 'I return to you the crops.'

- b. ນ້າ ຈາ ມາ ສູນ ເນ ບ້ຍຂ.
 nga zza ma sur ne **bbyx**.
 1P.SG crops return 2P.SG lend
 ‘I return to you the crops.’
- (133) a. ຈຶ່ງ ມອບ ດື່ງ ເນ ຈຶ່ງ ຂໍ.
 cy rre mop ddie nex hxe.
 3P.SG money COV 2P.SG lend
 ‘He lends you money.’
- b. ຈຶ່ງ ມອບ ຈຶ່ງ ເນ ບ້ຍຂ.
 cy rre mop hxe ne **bbyx**.
 3P.SG money lend 2P.SG lend
 ‘He lends you money.’
- Thirdly, several ditransitive verbs cannot take *bbyx* to mark recipient NPs. The verb *bbyp* ‘give’ itself cannot mark its recipient by *bbyx*. Ditransitive verbs that forbid the use of *bbyp* involve other coverbs.
- (134) a. *ນ້າ ດອບ ມາ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ.
 *nga ddop ma cyp go hna nex **bbyp**.
 1P.SG word NUM.1 CL ask 2P.SG COV
 ‘I ask you one word.’
- b. ນ້າ ດອບ ມາ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ.
 nga ddop ma cyp go **six** nex hna.
 1P.SG word NUM.1 CL COV 2P.SG ask
 ‘I ask you one word.’
- (135) a. *ຈຶ່ງ ນຽ ດອ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ.
 *cy nry dox nga **bbyx**.
 3P.SG wine make drink 1P.SG COV
 ‘He gave me wine to drink.’
- b. ຈຶ່ງ ນຽ ດື່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ.
 cy nry ddie nga dox.
 3P.SG wine COV 1P.SG make drink
 ‘He gave me wine to drink.’
- (136) a. *ລູ ພອ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ ຈຶ່ງ.
 *lu po hxie mgat sso nga **bbyx** qi.
 male name Chinese study 1P.SG COV want
 ‘Lupo wants to learn Chinese from me.’

- b. ພຸ່ນຜູ້ຊາວຈີນຮຽນຈາກຂ້າຍຂ້າຍ.
 lu ti nga qo da hxie mgat sso qi.
 male name 1P.SG COV STP Chinese study want
 ‘Luti wants to learn Chinese from me.’

The postverbal postposition *bbyp/bbyx* cannot be negated or reduplicated but can attach TAM particles. It must be adjacent to the NP it marks.

B. The coverb *jox*

The coverb cannot be used as verb and its original verbal meaning, if any, is uncertain. For motion verbs, it marks the direction towards which an entity moves. For a few non-motion verbs, *jox* codes the recipient of a directed activity.

- (137) a. ພວກເຮົາຈະໄປເຊື້ອ.
 ngop juo jjop **jox** li.
 1P.PL Zhaojue County toward go up
 ‘Let us go up to Zhaojue.’
- b. ພຽງເຮົາຈະໄປເຊື້ອ.
 hxie zyr jji yyx hmy **jox** bbo.
 bird fly south toward go
 ‘The bird flies towards the south.’
- c. ມຸ້ງຈະໄປເຊື້ອ.
 mu ga ngat **jox** hxep da lur mat gup.
 name 1P.SG toward in direction of stone throw
 ‘Muga throws a stone in my direction.’
- (138) a. ຂ້າຍຂ້າຍຈະໄປເຊື້ອ.
 cy ngat **jox** lot hxi.
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward hand wave
 ‘He is waving his hand toward me.’
- b. ພາບບາດເຈັບຈະໄປເຊື້ອ.
 syt cy jjit nga shu cyp **jox** hxip.
 matter DEM.PROX CL 1P.SG COV.make 3P.SG toward speak
 ‘He spoke to me about this matter.’
- c. ມາແມ່ຈະໄປເຊື້ອ.
 ax mo ax yi **jox** zyt.
 mother child toward scold
 ‘The mother is scolding the child.’

- d. 𐌆𐌵𐌿𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰。
 mu ga ngop **jox** ra.
 name 1P.SG toward scream
 ‘He is screaming at me.’
- e. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰。
 ne op bbop **jox** (da) hxep ap- hxit.
 2P.SG front toward STP look NEG- MOD
 ‘You can’t look ahead.’

For gradable adjectives or verbs, the postposition *jox* encodes the NP that is understood as the standard of comparison against which another NP is evaluated. Comparative constructions are scrutinized in section 11.4.1.

- (139) a. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰。
 nga cy **jox** ap cy mu ax yy.
 1P.SG 3P.SG toward more big
 ‘I am bigger than he.’
- b. 𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰。
 cy ngat **jop** ap cy mu zzax zze nyiet.
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward more meal eat late
 ‘He is eating later than I am.’

The postposition *jox* cannot be negated or reduplicated, but can be suffixed by the perfect particle *da* as *jox da*, as in (138e).

6.2.5 Locative coverbs

Four coverbs mark the location at which an event happens: *da* ‘put’ (section A), *ddip/ddix* ‘say’ (section B), *zyp/zyx* ‘lean’ (section C) and *mo* (section D).

A. The coverb *da* ‘put’

The morpheme *da* is a predicate (*put*), a locative coverb before and a perfect particle after other predicates (section 7.7.3). The following two examples illustrate *da* as predicate.

- (140) a. 𐌶𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺𐌰。
 nry zhiep ddie hxat **da** da.
 wine CL COV upside put STP
 ‘Put the bowl of wine on top of it (= the ancestral altar).’

- b. 嗷 𐌒 𐌐 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑
 co cyx ma kep nyix nyip **da**?
 person DEM.PROX CL how many day put
 ‘How many days will the body be put on display?’

As postposition, *da* is the principle marker of locative phrases. Locative phrases have the following structure.

(141) NP+locative particle+*da*

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

- (142) a. 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑.
 cop wox yi wax nuo jox **da** nyop mu ge.
 3P.PL house behind LOC COV work PROG
 ‘They are working behind the house.’
- b. 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑.
 cy hxie mat go **da** ngop die ox.
 3P.SG heart LOC COV doubt DP
 ‘He is doubting in his heart.’
- c. 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑.
 hxie zyr ma mo mu go **da** vo njuo.
 bird CL sky LOC COV fly PROG
 ‘A bird is flying in the sky.’
- d. 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑.
 at nyop ku jox **da** ip ko ggot.
 female name inside LOC COV door close
 ‘Anyo closes the door from the inside.’
- e. 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑 𐌒 𐌑.
 mu nyox syr bbo go **da** qie la.
 male name tree LOC COV jump come
 ‘Munyo is jumping down from the tree.’

The contrast between the locative coverb *da* and the source coverb *da* is illustrated for the following minimal pair of examples.

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

- b. $\text{nga} \quad \text{bbox} \quad \text{sse} \quad \text{go} \quad \mathbf{da} \quad \text{hxep.}$
 1P.SG mountain LOC COV see
 ‘I am watching something from (i.e. standing on) the mountain.’

Place names are directly followed by the postposition *da* without an intervening locative particle.

- (144) $\text{ngop} \quad \text{wox} \quad \text{op} \quad \text{rro} \quad \mathbf{da} \quad \text{cyp} \quad \text{nyip} \quad \text{gat} \quad \text{qip.}$
 1P.PL Xichang COV NUM.1 day delay
 ‘We were delayed in Xichang for one day.’

As postposition, *da* cannot be negated, reduplicated or followed by a TAM particle. Example (145) shows the impossibility of negation.

- (145) $*\text{c} \text{op} \quad \text{wox} \quad \text{ggap} \quad \text{mop} \quad \text{ap-} \quad \mathbf{da} \quad \text{bur} \quad \text{bbo.}$
 3P.PL road NEG- COV return go
 ‘They did not return when they were on the road.’

B. The coverb *ddip/ddix* ‘say’

The verb *ddip/ddix* ‘say’ acquired multiple grammatical functions (section 8.3.1). After other main predicates, it surfaced as quotative particle, complementizer and before the predicate as locative postposition of human nouns. This function is reminiscent of the French preposition *chez* ‘at the place of’.

The morpheme *ddip/ddix* is the formerly productive verb for *say* now supplanted by *hxip* (section 8.3.1.A). It still functions marginally as the main predicate *be named*.

- (146) $\text{nga} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{hlie} \quad \mathbf{ddix.}$
 1P.SG male name be named
 ‘My name is Muhlie.’

As postposition, *ddip/ddix* must be adjacent to a human noun. It indicates the association of the subject referent with the location of someone. This sense is reanalyzed from the verbal meaning of *ddip/ddix* (someone is associated with a name). The postposition *ddix* marks the location of a human referent as the place of an activity or as the origin/destination of a motion.

- (147) a. $\text{syt} \quad \text{cy} \quad \text{jjit} \quad \text{cop} \quad \mathbf{ddix} \quad \text{ddur} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{ox.} \quad \text{Location}$
 matter DEM.PROX CL 3P.PL COV happen DP
 ‘This matter happened at their house.’

- b. བུ་བུ་ལྔ་ཁའོ་བློ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ།
 ne ngop **ddix** bbo la, bbo dde jjip. Location
 2P.SG 1P.PL COV run come run-SUFF become
 ‘Come to our place for running a race, there is enough space.’
- c. མཉམས་ལྔ་བུ་ལྔ།
 ix yi vyt vu **ddix** la. Origin
 younger brother elder brother COV come
 ‘The younger brother comes from his brother’s home.’
- d. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ།
 vit gga cy sip ngop **ddix** ddiex bur. Destination
 clothes 3P.SG COV.take 1P.PL COV alter
 ‘He took the garment to have it altered at our house.’

The following use of the postposition *ddip/ddix* is metaphorical in that causees are viewed as sources.

- (148) ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ།
 nit re cop **ddix** sot.
 2P.SG.POSS money, account 3P.PL COV calculate
 ‘Let them settle your account (= Your account is settled at their place).’

The tone of *ddi** switches to the low tone [21] if the preceding syllable has a high tone. It adopts the sandhi tone [44] if the preceding tone is a low or midtone.

- (149) a. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ།
 nit hmi ngat **ddip** da cy jji su.
 2P.SG.POSS name 1P.SG.POSS COV STP 3P.SG know NOM
 ‘He got to know your name from me.’
- b. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ།
 lat rep ngop **ddix** ku ap- la.
 thief 1P.PL COV steal NEG- come
 ‘Thieves don’t come to our house to steal.’

The postposition *ddip/ddix* cannot co-occur with TAM particles except for the perfect particle *da*. The string *ddix da* emphasizes the stative aspect of the locative relation.

- (150) a. ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ལྔ།
 tep yy cy zzit cyp **ddix** da nga sip la.
 book DEM.PROX CL CL COV STP 1P.SG take come
 ‘I took this book away from him.’

- b. ນາ ດອບ ດດິບ ດາ ຍິ ກ ດາ ນດອ ອຸ.
 nga cop **ddix** da yix ga ndo ox.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV STP tobacco CL smoke DP
 ‘I smoked a cigarette at their place.’

The postposition *ddip/ddix* rejects any other aspect particle. The morpheme *njuo* in (151b) is used as verb not in the function of progressive aspect (section 7.4.1).

- (151) a. *ນາ ດອບ ດດິບ ນຊອ ວຽ ດາ ດອ ປູ ດຊາ ປຽ ຈຽ.
 *nry cyp **ddix** nzox vy dax pu ggap jjyx.
 wine 3P.SG COV EXP buy price light
 ‘The wine that can be bought at his place is rather cheap.’
- b. ຈຽ ດອ ນາ ດອ ດດິບ ດາ ນຊອ.
 cy yo hlut ggex su **ddix** njuo.
 3P.SG sheep pasture ART COV move
 ‘He is out with the shepherds.’

In section 5.4.3.D, we scrutinized the locative demonstrative *a ddit* ‘there’ which is lexicalized from the verb *ddip/ddix* ‘say’ by introducing a tone change for *ddi**.

- (152) ນາ ດອ ມາ ດ ດດິບ ດາ ນດອ ດາ.
 lur mat gge cy gep bbo **a ddit** da.
 stone CL 3P.SG COV.add push there put
 ‘Stones were moved by him here.’

Finally, the postposition *ddip/ddix* cannot be negated or reduplicated and must be adjacent to the NP it marks.

C. The coverb *zyp/zyx* ‘lean’

The morpheme *zyp/zyx* functions as independent verb (‘lean’) and also as weakly grammaticalized postposition (‘close to’).

- (153) ນາ ດອ ດດິບ ຈາ ປຸ ຈຽ ດາ.
 get ddie za pux **zyp** da.
 cupboard COV wall lean STP
 ‘Let the cupboard stand close to the wall.’

As a postposition, *zyp/zyx* modifies the subject noun phrase before the main predicate, as in (154a). After the main predicate, *zyp/zyx* modifies the direct object which, as result of the activity, is moved to a certain place, as in (154b).

- (154) a. མཁོ་གཅིག་ཅེ་མཉམ་པར་བྱུང་།
 co nyip ma bbop **zyx** da jgy- ndux.
 person NUM.2 CL ahead COV.lean STP RECL- hit
 ‘Two people leaned forward to beat each other.’
- b. ཡུ་མེ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཚུ་ལྷོ་བྱུང་།
 syr pip ggex su ssyr jgy- **zyx** da.
 beam ART press RECL- COV.lean STP
 ‘Press the beams closely together.’

The tone of *zy** is conditioned by a process of tonal dissimilation. If the preceding tone is a high tone or midtone, then *zyp* takes the low tone; if the preceding syllable has the low tone, then *zyx* has the elevated sandhi tone. If it has the midtone, then native speakers accept both tone variants *zyp/zyx*.

- (155) a. མཁོ་ལྷོ་བྱུང་བའི་མཚམས་ལ་བཞུགས་པར་བྱུང་།
 mu jy zax pu **zyp** da tep yy hxep.
 male name wall COV.lean STP book read
 ‘Mudje leans on a wall reading a book.’
- b. མི་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཚུ་ལྷོ་བྱུང་བའི་ལུ་ལྷོ་བྱུང་།
 lat rep suo yuox su jgy- **zyx** da cox ku.
 thief NUM.3 ART RECL- COV.lean STP person steal
 ‘The three thieves rob others as a team.’

The postposition *zyp/zyx* is obligatorily followed by the stative perfect particle *da*. It cannot be negated or reduplicated and must be adjacent to the locative noun it marks.

D. The coverb *mo* ‘see’

The postposition *mox* ‘in front of’ is probably derived from the verb *mo* ‘see’. The verb *mo* is not productive anymore. It does not function as sole predicate anymore but is lexicalized with *wep* ‘get’ into the telic verb *wep mo* ‘perceive’.

- (156) མཁོ་ལ་བྱུང་བའི་བུ་གོ་བོ་ལ་བྱུང་།
 mu ga vut gop wep **mo** ox.
 male name female name GET see DP
 ‘Muga has seen Vugo.’

As verb, *mo* ‘see’ assumes the midtone, whereas as locative postposition, *mox* ‘in front of’ exhibits the sandhi tone.

- (157) a. ວິເສຍໂຮງຮຽນໃນກ້ອງຂອງຜູ້.
 ax mo ne cy **mox** da ax yi a zzyx ma ka ap- hna.
 mother TOP 3P.SG in front STP child DEM CL want NEG- willing
 ‘The mother refused to acknowledge the child in his presence
 (his = someone given by context).’
- b. ຫົວໜ້າບໍ່ອາດຈາກເດັກໆ.
 nit shax jji sip ax yi **mox** da tat- zze.
 2P.SG sweets COV child COV.see STP NEG.IMP- eat
 ‘Don’t eat sweets before the children.’
- c. ບໍ່ອາດອ່ານຊື່ຂອງຕົນເອງ.
 ne sut co **mox** da ngat hmi tat- gu.
 2P.SG others person COV STP 1P.SG.POSS name NEG.IMP- call
 ‘Don’t pronounce my name in front of others.’

The postposition *mox* often co-occurs with the stative perfect particle *da* but cannot append any other aspect particle. It cannot be reduplicated or negated.

- (158) a. ຜູ້ເດີນທາງບໍ່ສາມາດສັກເຮືອ.
 ddip vip **mox** da yix syr ap- hxit. with *da*
 guest COV STP house sweep NEG- can
 ‘One cannot sweep the house in the presence of guests.’
- b. ຜູ້ດື່ມເບືອບໍ່ມີຂ້າງ.
 cy nga **mox** nry ndo. without *da*
 3P.SG 1P.SG COV wine drink
 ‘He drank wine in front of me.’

6.2.6 Directional coverbs

Three directional coverbs exists that mark the destination of a motion event: *xi* ‘arrive’ (section A), *hxep/hxex* ‘see’ (section B) and *chop* ‘along’ (section C).

A. The coverb *xi* ‘arrive’

The coverb *xi* ‘arrive’ cannot be used as sole predicate of a clause but occurs after other predicates to mark a physical destination or temporal endpoint.

The concept of *arrive* is represented by a directional verb, *la* ‘come’ or *bbo* ‘go’, one of the two conjunctions *six* (section 6.2.1.D) or *hnox* (section 13.1.2.C), and *xi* ‘arrive’. The expressions *six...xi* and *hnox...xi* function as circumpositions.

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

- b. X 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄓。
 cy bbo **hnox** njit la bux te **xi**.
 3P.SG go EXT.until Butuo County COV.arrive
 ‘He is going straight to Butuo County.’

The circumposition *six...xi* should only mark the directional component not the temporal endpoint. The circumposition *hnox...xi* emphasizes the lack of interruption in the reaching of the physical or temporal endpoint.

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

- (161) 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 / 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓。
 cop wox jie o da mga **six** / **hnox** jie hmy **xi**.
 3P.PL start of street COV pass DIR EXT.until end of street COV.arrive
 ‘They went straight from the beginning of the street to the end.’

With temporal nouns, *xi* marks the endpoint of event. The coverb *xi* cannot directly precede verb phrases but is nominalized by means of the noun *te* ‘time’.

- (162) a. 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓。
 syt cy jjit nga shut **hnox** ap hxiet ddip ku **xi**.
 matter DEM CL 1P.SG remember EXT.until last year COV
 ‘I remembered this matter right up to last year.’
- b. 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓。
 nga syt cy jjit ngop die **hnox** cyx te go **xi**.
 1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL doubt EXT.until 3P.SG time LOC COV
 ‘I will doubt this matter until I see (proof of) it.’
- c. 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓 𐄒𐄔𐄕𐄓。
 sux yy a zzyx ma mu ddix cy ggat ju **hnox** syx te go **xi**.
 leader DEM CL place DEM CL rule EXT.until die time LOC COV
 ‘That leader ruled over this place until his death.’

The postposition *xix* is placed at the end of the clause. It has preserved most verb properties such as reduplication, negation and suffixation of TAM particles (especially *da* and *ox*).

- (163) a. $\text{nop wox ndo hnox mu ti te go xix xix?}$
 2P.PL drink EXT morning time LOC COV~ALT
 ‘Have you been drinking until the dawn?’
- b. $\text{ip nyip cy sso hnox tit ap-xi.}$
 today 3P.SG study EXT here NEG-COV
 ‘He hasn’t studied up to this point today.’

B. The coverb *hxep/hxex* ‘see’

The verb *hxep/hxex* ‘see’ developed into a directional and reference postposition (*according to*). It functions as sole predicate of a clause, as in (164), and may co-occur with the postposition *hxep/hxex*, as in (165).

- (164) $\text{ne ngat vit gga cyx ggu hxep.}$
 2P.SG 1P.SG.POSS clothes DEM.PROX CL see
 ‘Look at my clothes.’
- (165) $\text{nga sut co hxex da hxep.}$
 1P.SG other person COV.see STP see
 ‘I am looking towards others.’

The tone of *hxe** is not syntactically conditioned but depends on the tone of the preceding syllable. As a result of tonal dissimilation, it assumes the low tone [2¹] when preceded by a high tone. It has the sandhi tone [4⁴] when preceded by a low tone. It takes either low [2¹] or high tone [4⁴], when preceded by a midtone.

- (166) a. $\text{get sse get mop hxep da syr zyt.}$
 apprentice master joiner COV.see STP wood shape
 ‘The apprentice is shaping wood according to the master joiner.’
- b. $\text{ne a zzyx pot jop hxex da cyx gu.}$
 2P.SG DEM.DIST side LOC see STP 3P.SG call
 ‘Look into that direction when you call him.’

With motion verbs, *hxep/hxex* encodes the direction in which an entity moves, as in (167). With non-motion verbs, *hxep/hxex* functions as a reference coverb marking noun phrases as abstract reference points, as in (168).

(167) ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

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

(168) a. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

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

b. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

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

c. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

cy gga sho jox **hxep** da ngop.
3P.SG distant LOC COV.see STP think
'He has a broad perspective on things.'

As postposition, *hxep/hxex* cannot be negated or reduplicated. It is always followed by the stative perfect particle *da* with which it forms a close unit.

(169) ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

lat rep co **hxex** da cox ku.
thief person COV.see STP person steal
'The thief is selective in his targets.'

C. The coverb *chop* 'along'

The coverb *chop* 'go along' can be employed as monotransitive verb with the role of *path* as argument. The morpheme *chop* always occurs in low tone. As verb, it is compatible with the progress marker *njuo*.

(170) a. ㄸㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴㄴ。

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

- b. ຄົນ ຈີ ຈັກ ມອບ ຈອບ ນຈູອ.
 lex ji ggap mop **chop** njuo.
 ox CL road go along PROG
 ‘An ox is moving along the road.’

As postposition, *chop* occurs with motion verbs or with those non-motion verbs that can show progression along a path. It must be followed by the stative perfect particle *da*.

- (171) a. ນອ ສາຕ ມາ ຈຸຍ ຈີ ຈອບ ດາ ຈຸຕ.
 ne sat ma cyx ji **chop** da zyt.
 2P.SG check mark DEM.PROX CL COV.along STP dig
 ‘Dig along this check mark.’
- b. ຈຸຍ ຈີ ຈັກ ຈອບ ດາ ມຈາ.
 cy zzi ji bbu **chop** da mga.
 3P.SG bridge beside COV STP cross
 ‘He is crossing along the edges of the bridge.’
- c. ຈາ ບຸ ຈາ ປຸຂ ຈອບ ດາ ຈຸ.
 va bu za pux **chop** da gu.
 rooster wall COV.along STP call
 ‘The rooster crows while moving along the wall.’

The coverb *chop* is often used as reference coverb with metaphorical meaning. The marked noun phrase is viewed as model or standard to follow.

- (172) a. ນອ ຈຸປ ຈັດ ຈອບ ດາ ວິຕ ຈຈາ ດເດີ ຈາ ດເດີ ຈຸຢ ດາ.
 ne cyp ddop **chop** da vit gga ddie a ddit qyp da.
 2P.SG 3P.SG.POSS word COV STP clothes COV there put STP
 ‘According to his advice, put the clothes there.’
- b. ກາຂ ດເດີ ນຢີ ຈຸປ ປຸ ຈີເຕ ຈີຂ ສຸ ຈອບ ດາ ສອຕ.
 kax ddi nyi cyp pu jiet jix su **chop** da sot.
 whoever also 3P.SG.POSS price ART COV STP calculate
 ‘All want to adapt calculations according to his price (standard).’

Like many other postpositions, *chop* cannot be negated or reduplicated but it must be followed by the stative particle *da*.

6.2.7 Oblique coverbs

Seven oblique coverbs mark secondary semantic roles not required by the argument structure of the main predicate: *six* ‘take’ (section A), *sat* ‘point to’ (section B), *mga*

B. The coverb *sat* ‘point to’

The coverb *sat* ‘point to’ acquired the function of reference postposition (‘*about*’) and also of aspect particle (section 7.5.1). It can occur as sole predicate of a sentence and be preceded by the morpheme *dop*.

- (176) a. 他指着那里。

kat bbo su cy **sat** da.

where go NOM 3P.SG point out STP

‘He pointed out where to go.’
- b. 这里有一个牌子，解释这个地方。

mux dde xix ggat nge su cop **sat** da ox.

area INT.what CL COP NOM 3P.PL point out STP DP

‘They have put up a sign that explains what place this is.’

In serial verb constructions, *sat* developed two functions. First, it surfaced as speech verb (‘point out’, ‘emphasize’). In this role, *sat* is compatible with other verbs if it is amenable to an interpretation of contrastive focus. Examples in (177) consist of two events, the event of emphasizing and the event of the second VP.

- (177) a. 他们指出，他们只会吃猪肉。

cop wox **sat** da vot she ax di zze.

3P.PL point out, emphasize STP pig meat only eat

‘They emphasized that they would only eat pig meat.’
- b. 这个组强调，他们只会去西昌。

co cy bbot **sat** da op rro bbo.

people DEM.PROX CL emphasize STP Xichang go

‘This group emphasized that they would (only) travel to Xichang.’

Second, verbs that can be understood as directed activities incorporate *sat* as directional postposition. These activities denote single events.

- (178) a. 瞄准靶子。

nit hot **sat** da nbie.

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

‘Shoot at the target.’
- b. 瞄准那棵树。

cy syr bbo a fu bbox su **sat** da kie.

3P.SG tree thick ART COV STP fell

‘He is aiming at the tree (with an axe).’

With speech and attitudinal verbs, *sat* functions as reference postposition (‘about’) and marks the topic of a speech or attitude. Speech events or attitude expressions can be understood as directed abstract activities.

- (179) a. ແທ້ໆນີ້ເຮົາເວົ້າກັບເລເຊ້.
 ddot ma cyx go li lat sse jox **sat** da hxip su nge.
 word DEM.PROX CL TOP male name toward COV STP say NOM COP
 ‘This word was said with respect to Laze.’
- b. ມຸເຈີເວົ້າເຖິງມຸເອັມເອັມ (…).
 mu jie cyp jox **sat** da xip mu hxip (...)
 male name 3P.SG toward COV.point out STP DEM.DD say
 ‘Mujie is saying the following about him.’
- c. ຈາກນັ້ນຄົນນັ້ນເວົ້າກັບເລເຊ້.
 cy co nop zi nop hnart ggex su jox **sat** da hxip.
 3P.SG person 2P.PL cheat 2P.PL cheat ART toward COV STP say
 ‘He is talking about those that cheat you.’
- d. ມຸເຈີເຈັຍເວົ້າເຖິງເນັງເດີເອັມ.
 ngop jyy gex cyp jox **sat** da ngox die sat.
 1P.PL together 3P.SG toward COV STP doubt EXH
 ‘We have doubts about him.’

As postposition, *sat* is always followed by the stative perfect particle *da*, cannot be negated and should not be reduplicated.

The morpheme *sat* evolved as aspect particle after other predicates. The functions of postposition and aspect particle (section 7.5.1) surfaced in preverbal and postverbal slots of serial verb constructions. The exact process of semantic re-analysis for the aspectual meaning is not known at this point.

C. The coverb *mga* ‘pass’

The coverb *mga* ‘pass’ functions as sole predicate and as postposition with directional (‘through’) and abstract (‘according to’) meanings. The meaning of the verb is illustrated in (180), and of the postposition in (181) and (182).

- (180) a. ທ່ານີ້ໄປຜ່ານທາງນີ້.
 at nyop gga mop cyx ji **mga**.
 name road DEM.PROX CL pass
 ‘Anyo is going through this path.’
- b. ຈາກນັ້ນເວົ້າຜ່ານຮາວ.
 nop wox zzi **mga** yy.
 2P.PL bridge pass go down
 ‘Go down over the bridge.’

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

- (188) a. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 nga cop **mgex** da jjiex mguo ox.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.mix STP understand DP
 ‘I have progressed in my understanding together with them.’
- b. མ་ལོ་མ་ཡི་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 ax mo ax yi **mgex** da shax jji mge.
 mother child COV.mix STP candy chew
 ‘The mother is eating candies with her child.’
- c. མ་ཡི་མ་ལོ་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 ax yi ax mo **mgex** da ngo.
 child mother COV.mix STP weep
 ‘The child is weeping together with her mother.’
- d. ཁྱང་ཡི་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 ngax nyi nzip ap- dop mu cop **mgex** da yy.
 1P.SG also bear NEG- can ADVL 3P.PL COV STP laugh
 ‘I also can’t bear that they are laughing together.’

The coverb does not necessarily require control verbs but many noncontrol verbs are incompatible with *mgep/mgex* as for the attitude verbs in (189).

- (189) a. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 #nga cop wox **mgep** da jy jie.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.mix STP fear
 ‘I am afraid of them.’
- b. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 #nga cop wox **mgep** da syp.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.mix STP know
 ‘I am knowing together with them.’

E. The coverb *rrox mu*

The postposition *rrox mu* is composed of the first syllable of the verb *rrop zip* ‘replace’ and the adverbializer *mu* (section 5.3.2.J). The verb *rrop zip* occurs as independent predicate, as in (190a), and in serial verb constructions, as in (190b).

- (190) a. ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་ལྟུང་།
 nga ap lit da, cy la ngat **rrop zip**.
 1P.SG busy 3P.SG come 1P.SG replace
 ‘I am busy, so he replaces me.’

- b. འཇམ་ལྔ་ལྔ་རྩི་བཅོས་ལེན་པའོ།
 cop wox ngop wox **rrop** zip da lur ma lyrx nyie.
 3P.PL 1P.PL replace STP stone move
 ‘They replaced us to move the stones.’

The postposition *rrox mu* cannot function as predicate but marks the semantic role of beneficiary, substitute or cause. It is often but not always followed by the perfect particle *da*.

- (191) a. ལྟོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་བུ་ལ་བཤད་པའོ།
 nga nit **rrox mu** da hxip.
 1P.SG 2P.SG.POSS COV STP speak
 ‘I am speaking for (replacing / in favor of) you.’

- b. ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་བྱི་གཉེན་པོ་རྒྱུ་ལེན་པའོ།
 ax mo ax yi **rrox mu** zze.
 mother child COV eat
 ‘The mother helps the child to eat the meal.’

- c. ལོ་རྒྱུ་རྩི་བཅོས་པའོ།
 ax mo sse **rrox mu** ngo.
 mother son COV cry
 ‘The mother cries for (= because of) her son.’

- d. རེ་བྱ་རྩི་བཅོས་པའོ།
 pat mop sse **rrox mu** xyp mop xyp.
 parents son COV bride, woman marry
 ‘The parents help their son find a bride.’

- e. རྟེན་ལ་བཤད་པའོ།
 hmat mop ssox sse **rrox mu** bip mgur.
 teacher student COV pen pick up
 ‘The teacher picks up the pen for (replacing / in favor of) the student.’

- f. འཇམ་ལྔ་ལྔ་རྩི་བཅོས་ལེན་པའོ།
 cop wox cyp **rrox mu** lat rep mgot.
 3P.PL 3P.SG COV thief chase
 ‘They were chasing the thief for (= replacing / in favor of) him.’

The use of the postposition is almost unrestricted, but for some mental verbs the concept of beneficiary, substitute or cause is incompatible.

- (192) *ལྟོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་བུ་ལ་སྐོར་བཤད་པའོ།
 *nga syt cy jjit nit **rrox mu** syp.
 1P.SG matter 3P.SG CL 2P.SG COV know
 ‘I know about this matter for you.’

e. དེའི་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལ་འགྲོ་བཞུགས།

ly yi ax pu **qo** da rre hlut bbo.
 grandson grandfather COV.follow STP pasture go
 'The grandson goes to pasture with his grandfather.'

f. ལྟན་ལྟན་ལ་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལ་འགྲོ་བཞུགས།

nga qop bop **qo** cyp xyp mop yu bbo.
 1P.SG friend COV.follow 3P.SG.POSS bride take go
 'Together with my friend, I go to welcome his bride.'

(195) a. ལྟན་ལྟན་ལ་འགྲོ་བཞུགས།

nga nex **qo** da na ox. low-control event
 1P.SG 2P.SG follow STP ill DP
 'I am ill together with you.'

b. ལྟན་ལྟན་ལ་གཞན་གྱི་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལ་འགྲོ་བཞུགས།

nga sut co **qo** hxa cie mu ox. low-control event
 1P.SG others follow sneeze DP
 'I am sneezing together with others.'

The postposition *qo* cannot be employed with noncontrol verbs as in (196).

(196) *ལྟན་ལྟན་ལ་འགྲོ་བཞུགས།

*nit ddop ma cyp ddop ma **qo** zie.
 2P.SG.POSS word 3P.SG.POSS word COV.follow match
 'Your words match with his words.'

The postposition *qo* cannot be negated or reduplicated. However, *qo* can be negated in a construction by using the adverbializer *-mu* (see section 5.3.2.J).

(197) མཉམ་འཇུག་ལ་མཉམ་འཇུག་མེད།

cy ngop ap- **qo** mu bbo.
 3P.SG 1P.PL NEG- follow ADVL go
 'He did not go together with us.'

As shown in the above examples, the postposition *qo* is typically followed by the stative aspect particle *da*. It cannot be followed by other TAM particles.

G. The coverb *wa mgot* 'pursue'

The expression *wa mgot* is composed of the locative particle *wa* 'behind' and the predicate *mgot* 'pursue'. It functions as independent predicate.

- (198) མུཔ་སྲེ་མུཔ་མུཔ་ རྒྱལ་མཁོ་གཏོག་པོ་།
 mup sse mup mop **wa mgot**.
 colt mare pursue
 ‘The colt follows the mare.’

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

- (199) a. ཡི་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 cyx nyi ngat **wa mgot** da jy jie ox.
 3P.SG also 1P.SG COV.after STP fear DP
 ‘He was afraid after I was.’
- b. ཡི་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 ngax nyi cyp **wa mgot** da ndup ssop ox.
 1P.SG also 3P.SG COV.after STP beat END DP
 ‘I also got a beating after he did.’
- c. ལྟོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 nga cop **wa mgot** da shut la ox.
 1P.SG 3P.PL COV.after STP remember come DP
 ‘I remembered it after they did.’
- d. མུ་ག་མུ་གོ་མུ་གོ་མུ་གོ་མུ་གོ་མུ་གོ་མུ་གོ་།
 mu ga mu gox **wa mgot** da ka bba wep ox.
 male name male name COV.after STP prizet receive DP
 ‘Muga received a prize after Mugo did.’
- e. འཇིགས་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 ne ngat **wa mgot** da bi.
 2P.SG 1P.SG COV.after STP read
 ‘Read after me.’

The coverb *wa mgot* is often followed by the stative perfect particle *da* but cannot be negated or reduplicated.

6.3 Locative phrases

Locative phrases have an elaborate internal structure (section 6.3.1); their position in the clause is always before the predicate (section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 The structure of locative phrases

Locative phrases indicate the immovable place at which an event happens or a position is held. Locative phrases use common nouns or place names, a locative particle and the coverb *da* (section 6.2.5.A).

(200) NP + Locative Particle + *da*

The following example illustrates a locative phrase marked by underlining.

- (201) མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྩོད་ཀྱི་རྩོད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་
 cop wox mux dde **nzix da** xyx ne.
 3P.PL field edge of COV rest
 'They rest at the edge of the field.'

The purpose of locative particles is to specify the activity at the mentioned location with greater precision. Omitting the locative particle would render the locative phrases too underspecified and thus ungrammatical.

- (202) a. *མི་ལོ་ལྔ་པ་ལྟ་བུ་གི་སྐོར་ལ་
 *ax yi max su syr bbo **da** ngo.
 child ART tree COV cry
 Intended meaning: 'The child cries at the tree.'
- b. *མུ་གུ་ལྟ་བུ་གི་སྐོར་ལ་
 *mu ga lur kur **da** syt mu njuo.
 name of man city COV business do PROG
 Intended meaning: 'Muga is doing business (in) the city.'

There are restrictions on the use of the locative particle. No locative particle, only the coverb *da*, can be used after place names.

- (203) མུ་གུ་གི་མཚམས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་
 mu ga op rro (***go**) **da** hxie mgat hmat.
 name Xichang LOC COV Chinese teach
 Intended meaning: 'Muga is teaching Chinese in Xichang.'

The coverb *da* is ungrammatical if the main predicate is not a control verb as in (204), if it is a motion verb as in (205), or if it contains *da* as lexicalized component as in (206).

- (204) a. མུ་གུ་ལྟ་བུ་གི་སྐོར་ལ་
 yi hxi jox (***da**) ma hxa jjip.
 house outside COV rain become
 'It is raining outside the house.'

- b. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 cop wox yi ssox dde lax vy jox (*da) jjip.
 3P.PL house school left of COV become
 ‘Their house is on the left side of a school.’
- (205) a. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 cy ap ndi hxix ngop ji bbu (*da) njuo.
 3P.SG yesterday 1P.PL beside COV move, go
 ‘Yesterday, he went along at our side.’
- b. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 cy ap ndi hxix ngop ji bbu da yi ngox.
 3P.SG yesterday 1P.PL beside COV cry
 ‘Yesterday, he wept at our side.’
- (206) a. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 xyy hnie get sse lap vut (*da) qyp da.
 shoe cupboard LOC.under COV put
 ‘Put the shoes under the cupboard.’
- b. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 ip ko yi ku jox (*da) ggot da.
 door house LOC.inside COV close
 ‘Close the door in the house.’

Locative particles exist in bare form, with *da*, with *jop/jox*, with *jop/jox* and *da*. The bound morpheme *jop/jox* also functions as recipient postposition *jox* ‘to’ (section 6.2.4.B).

The bare particles are locational pronouns, they can replace other nouns.

- (207) a. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 cy tot it.
 3P.SG above live
 ‘He lives above.’
- b. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 nga ot it.
 1P.SG below live
 ‘I live below.’
- c. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 cy hxi hxep.
 3P.SG outside look
 ‘He looks outside.’
- d. མཉམ་ཁུངས་འདི་ལ་ལོ་སྐོར་གྱི་འོག་ལ་ (*ལ) རྒྱུ་ བྱུང་།
 ne wax mga bbo.
 2P.SG behind cross go
 ‘You pass behind.’

Table 6.10: Locative particles

Bare	with <i>da</i>	with <i>jop/jox</i>	with <i>jop/jox</i> and <i>da</i>	Gloss
tot	tot da	tot jop	tot jop da	'above'
ot	ot da	ot jop	ot jop da	'below'
lap vut	lap vut da	lap vut jop	lap vut jop da	'under'
ku	ku da	ku jox	ku jox da	'inside'
gat zyr	gat zyr da	gat zyr jox	gat zyr jox da	'middle of'
hxi	hxi da	hxi jox	hxi jox da	'outside'
miep	miep da	miep jox	miep jox da	'in front'
op bbop	op bbop da	op bbop jox	op bbop jox da	'in front'
ji bbu	ji bbu da	ji bbu jop	ji bbu jop da	'beside'
a ggux a lex	a ggux a lex da	a ggux a lex jop	a ggux a lex jop da	'around'
wa	wa da	wa jox	wa jox da	'behind'
wa nuo		wa nuo jox		'in back of'
		lax vy jox	lax vy jox da	'left of'
		lax yi jox	lax yi jox da	'right of'
bbux ddur		bbux ddur jox	bbux ddur jox da	'east of'
bbux jji		bbux jji jox	bbux jji jox da	'west of'
yyx hmy		yyx hmy jox	yyx hmy jox da	'south of'
yyx o		yyx o jox	yyx o jox da	'north of'
i qix	i qix da			'on top of'
nzix	nzix da			'at edge of'
go	go da			'in, at, on'

Bare particles must be used pronominally. Nonbare particles are used adnominally after nouns to specify a position at or on the noun referent.

- (208) a. * $\text{ㄴㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ}$.
 *syt a zzyx jjit bbox sse wax ddur su.
 matter DEM.DIST CL hill behind happen NOM
 'This story happened over the hill.'
- b. $\text{ㄴㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ}$.
 syt a zzyx jjit bbox sse wax jop ddur su.
 matter DEM.DIST CL hill behind happen NOM
 'This story happened over the hill.'
- (209) a. * $\text{ㄴㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ} \text{ ㄱㄴ}$.
 *cy lur kur hxi it.
 3P.SG city outside live
 'He lives outside the city.'

- b. ສຳຮຸ້ນຜູ້ຢູ່ນອກເມັງ.
 cy lur kur hxi jox it.
 3P.SG city outside live
 ‘He lives outside the city.’
- (210) a. ພົນເຮົາຢູ່ຕາເວັນຕົກຂອງໂຮງຮຽນ.
 cop mu ddix bbux ddur jox da ne la hxex.
 3P.PL field, land east COV 2P.SG wait
 ‘They wait for you at the eastside of the field.’
- b. ມຸງາຢູ່ກາງຄູ່ມືຂອງພວກເຂົາ.
 mu ga cop wox gat zyr jox da ddop hxi p
 name 3P.PL in middle of LOC STP word say
 ‘Muga is standing in their midst.’
- c. ພົນເຮົາກິດໂປກກ້ວຍຮອບບ້ານແລະເມັງ.
 cop wox yix kie bbap ga a ggux a lex jox da vot sit.
 3P.PL village and township around LOC COV pig kill
 ‘They killed pigs around the villages and townships.’

6.3.2 The position of locative phrases

The position of the locative phrase is always before the predicate. In dynamic events, the locative phrase is also placed after the subject NP.

- (211) a. ພຽງວຽງຢູ່ລຸ່ມຕົວ.
 vyt vu ot jop da tep yy sso.
 elder brother downstairs COV book study
 ‘The brother is studying downstairs.’
- b. ສຳຮຸ້ນຜູ້ຢູ່ນອກເມັງ.
 cy ma wa i qix bbut cy hxot.
 3P.SG wound LOC.on top ointment apply
 ‘He applied some ointment to the wound.’

In presentative constructions (section 12.1), the locative phrase is found in sentence-initial position. The coverb *da* is omitted in this construction.

- (212) a. ພຽງວຽງ (ສຳຮຸ້ນ) ຢູ່ໃນເມັງນ້ອຍ.
 get sse go (*da) burx yyr ax nyi mu it.
 little box LOC COV photo many ADVL lie
 ‘In the little box, there are many photos.’

- b. ພື່ອນຳ (*ເຊີ) ພົບ ທີ່ ດ້ານ ຂອງ ບ້ານ.
- yi hxi jox (*da) cox ma ip ko ndup njuo.
- house outside COV person CL door knock PROG
- ‘There is someone outside knocking at the door.’

6.4 Directional phrases

A special feature are the four cardinal directional verbs (see section 6.4.1). The directional coversbs introduced in the previous section help to distinguish three types of directional phrases (section 6.4.2).

6.4.1 Directional particles and verbs

Four directional particles are used with motion verbs to indicate the direction. These particles are used adnominally or pronominally. They differ from other locative particles (table 6.9) in that they are restricted to motion verbs.

Table 6.11: Directional particles

uo mgut ‘upwards’	hxat ‘upwards’ (only pronominally)
ix cy ‘downwards’	jjyp ‘downwards’ (only pronominally)

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

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

- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 syp mop **jjyp** la da.
 scholar down come STP
 ‘The scholar comes down.’

Besides particles, there are four primary and five secondary directional verbs. They generate twenty compound verbs with compositional meanings.

Table 6.12: Directional verbs

Secondary ↓ / Primary →	<i>la</i> ‘come’	<i>bbo</i> ‘go’	<i>li</i> ‘go up’	<i>yy</i> ‘go down’
vur ‘enter’	vur la	vur bbo	vur li	vur yy
ddur ‘exit’	ddur la	ddur bbo	ddur li	ddur yy
bur ‘return’	bur la	bur bbo	bur li	bur yy
dep ‘rise’	dep la	dep bbo	dep li	dep yy
mga ‘cross’	mga la	mga bbo	mga li	mga yy

The four primary verbs can function as independent predicates. One indicates movement towards the speaker (*la* ‘come’), the other three encode movement away from the speaker (*bbo* ‘go’; *li* ‘go up’; *yy* ‘go down’).

- (215) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 cop wox **la** sat ox.
 3P.PL come EXH DP
 ‘They have all come.’
- b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 cy lip mu mo ggux **bbo**.
 3P.SG Meigu County go
 ‘He went to Meigu.’
- c. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 ngop wox hxo pu go da ix cy **yy**.
 1P.PL mountain LOC COV downwards go down
 ‘We went down the mountain.’
- d. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。
 cy uo mgut **li**.
 3P.SG upward go up
 ‘I am going up into the house.’

Among the secondary predicates, *bur* ‘return’, *dep* ‘rise’ and *mga* ‘cross’ can be used as sole predicates, but *vur* ‘enter’ and *ddur* ‘exit’ are not productive independent predicates anymore and must be used with other directional verbs. The verb *bur* ‘return’ posed after other verbs means ‘again’.

- (216) a. *མ་ངམ་མཚན་ལོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 *nga ix go da **ddur** ox.
 1P.SG house COV exit DP
 ‘I return from here.’
- b. *མ་ངམ་མཚན་ལོ་འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 *nga ix go go **vur** ox.
 1P.SG house LOC enter DP
 ‘I rise from here.’
- c. མ་མཚན་ལོ་འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 nga tit da **dep** ox.
 1P.SG here COV rise DP
 ‘I rise from here.’
- (217) a. མ་མཚན་ལོ་འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 nga tit da **bur** ox.
 1P.SG here COV return DP
 ‘I return from here.’
- b. མུ་ག་ རྒྱུ་ལུ་ འཇོག་ལེ་ འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 mu ga rruo nuo **bur** la ox.
 male name Mianning County return come DP
 ‘Muga came back from Mianning County.’
- c. འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 bburx **bur**
 write return
 ‘write again’
- d. འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 hxip **bur**
 say return
 ‘say again.’
- e. མ་མཚན་ལོ་འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 ne ngat ddop tat- **bur**.
 2P.SG 1P.SG word NEG.IMP- return
 ‘Don’t answer me.’

Examples in (218) illustrate the status of directional compounds as independent predicates.

- (218) a. མཚན་ལོ་འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 hxit jo mu **dep** **la**.
 quick ADVL stand up come
 ‘Stand up quickly.’
- b. མ་ངམ་མཚན་ལོ་འཇོག་ཅིང་།
 nga wax bbu hlep **bur** **bbo**.
 1P.SG next month return come
 ‘I go back next month.’

- c. ㇾㇿㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼ 。
 hxie zyr gox **mga** li ox.
 bird DIR cross go DP
 ‘The bird went across to the higher side.’
- d. ㇿㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼ 。
 cop bbap ga a zzyx ma gox da **ddur yy**.
 3P.PL village DEM.DIST CL LOC COV exit go down
 ‘They went out of the village to the lower side.’

All primary and compound directional verbs of Table 6.11 can be suffixed to other motion verbs.

(219) NP + V_{MOTION} + NP + V_{DIR-1}V_{DIR-2}

If a source or destination is specified, it is placed between the motion verb and the direction verb complex, generally according to the structure in (219).

- (220) a. ㇿㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼ 。
 ngop fi jy nyi sha he **xi la** ox.
 1P.PL airplane sit Shanghai arrive come DP
 ‘We flew to Shanghai.’
- b. ㇿㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼ 。
 bbu shy nju mu jjur go **vur yy** ox.
 snake crawl earth hole LOC enter go down DP
 ‘The snake is crawling into the earth hole.’
- c. ㇿㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼ 。
 cox gge bbap ga go **vur li** da.
 people CL village LOC enter go up STP
 ‘He ran up into the village.’
- d. ㇿㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼㇼ 。
 mu nyox it dde go da **dep li** ox.
 male name residence place LOC COV rise go up DP
 ‘Munyo rose up from where he was.’

6.4.2 Types of directional phrases

Directional phrases incorporate one of the three directional coverbs, *xi* (section 6.2.6.A), *hxep/hxex* (section 6.2.6.B) and *chop* (section 6.2.6.C). Directional phrases contain a motion verb and/or one of the directional coverbs.

Chapter 7

Tense and aspect

The Nuosu aspectual apparatus is sophisticated with rare features. The chapter contains eight sections: an introduction (section 7.1), a section on phasal auxiliaries (section 7.2), resultative auxiliaries (section 7.3), progressive aspect (section 7.4), perfective aspect (section 7.5), quantitative aspect (section 7.6), perfect (section 7.7), and tense (section 7.8).

7.1 Introduction

In this section, we choose a theory of situation types (section 7.1.1), a theory of tense (section 7.1.2) and overview aspect and tense categories in Nuosu (section 7.1.3).

7.1.1 The theory of situation types

We briefly survey theories of event and argument structure: the classical Vendlerian Aktionsarten (section A), and mereological approaches (section B). This survey draws on a more extensive elaboration by Gerner (2007a).

A. The four Vendlerian situation types

Vendler (1967) classified situations as achievements, accomplishments, activities and states based on their compatibility with *in-*, *at-* and *for-*adverbials.

Table 7.1: The four Vendlerian situation types in English

	in	for	at	Verb+ing
Achievement	+	-	+	-
Accomplishment	+	-	-	+
Activity	-	+	-	+
State	-	+	+	-

Contrary to Vendler's characterization, scholars noted that the progressive can be used in achievements (Leech 1971: 1-27; Comrie 1976: 43):

- (1) He is dying slowly.
- (2) He is reaching the station.
- (3) He is winning the match.

Scholars also questioned the genuine punctual character of achievements and their modifiability of achievements by *at-*adverbials (Verkuyl 1993: 46-50):

- (4) He typed the letter *p* at noon sharp.
 (5) He typed a business letter *at noon sharp.

Because of these difficulties, achievements and accomplishments should be defined differently, that is as *quantized* and *bounded events* (see section 7.1.2).

B. Object, event and state structure

The *mereological approach* (Link 1983; Bach 1986; Krifka 1989, 1992, 1998) builds on the parallels that exist between the ontological structure of objects, temporal structure of events and degree structure of states. We distinguish four types of objects, events and states: (i) Singular; (ii) Homogenous; (iii) Quantized; (iv) Bounded.

(i) Singular objects, events and states

Nominal count expressions of the following kind denote *singular objects*:

- singular count expressions (*one potato*)
- singular proper names (*John, Mary*)
- singular pronouns (*I, you, he/she/it*)
- singular definite expressions (*this bed, the pen*)
- singular possessive expressions (*John's nose*).

Clauses with punctual verbs of the following type denote *singular events*:

- (6) S/he typed the letter *p* in an instant/*in one hour.
 (7) S/he touched the dog in an instant/*in an hour.

Stative clauses with ungradable predicates of the following type denote *singular states*:

- positional states (*sit on chair, pregnant, dead*)
- other ungradable states (*brandnew*)

(ii) Homogenous objects, events and states

The homogenous reference type is the conjunction of two properties: *Cumulativity* (Quine 1960: 91, “any sum of parts which are water is water”) and *Divisibility* (Cheng 1973, “any part of something that is water is water”).

In Nuosu, every common noun (*person, water*) is cumulative; not every common noun is divisible. Items left to ‘sand’ in the following list use a sortal classifier, items right to it use a mensural classifier. In Nuosu, items with minimal parts are like ‘sand’, items without minimal parts are like ‘powder’.¹

¹ In English, most people would probably draw a line somewhere between ‘raspberry’ and ‘rice’, because their morpho-syntactic properties are different: three raspberries, *three rices.

(8) Apple-tangerine-raspberry-rice-sand-powder-air.

There are three types of verbs that refer to homogenous events:

- incremental verbs with homogenous patient noun phrase (*eat cake, breathe air, walk distances, waste time*);
- non-incremental verbs (*laugh, cry, snore, push a cart*).

For gradable predicates ('tall'), a *class of comparison* is a group of objects against which a vague statement ('Bill is tall') is evaluated. A class of comparison is contextually conditioned. A state is homogenous if its comparison class is homogenous as an object.

(iii) Quantized objects, events and states

Objects or events of a given denotation are quantized if no proper part is again of the same denotation (Krifka 1992, 1998). Objects like *five people* or events like *drink four litres of water* do not admit any proper part that again matches the same denotation *five people* or *drink four litres of water*. The following nominal expressions denote quantized objects:

- count expressions (*three apples, five liters of water, 2 kg of tomatoes*)
- proper names (*John, Peter and Mary*)
- pronouns (*I, you, they*)
- definite expressions (*the women, this/that blueberry, these houses*)
- possessive expressions (*John's books, his tea*)

In quantized events, something must be gradually processed. Dowty (1991) used the term "Incremental Theme" which can be a physical patient, a spatial entity, or a temporal entity.

- incremental verb with quantized physical entity as patient (*eat two sandwiches, waste 100 ¥, breathe three cubic meter of air, type 100 letters*);
- incremental verb with quantized spatial entity as patient (*walk two kilometers, push a cart two kilometers*);
- incremental verb with quantized temporal entity as patient (*serve two years, waste two hours*).

A state is quantized if its comparison class is quantized as an object.

(iv) Bounded events

Bounded events are characterized by the property of closure under final segment (Naumann 2001: 30). For the bound event of *walking to the station* every final segment is again an event of the type *walking to the station*.

- Boundary through a resultative state (*work to exhaustion, eat to fullness*);
- Boundary as the destination of motion verb (*walk to station, swim to coast*);
- Boundary in the lexical structure of the verb (*die, close the door, win a match, reach the summit*).

States also exhibit a temporal structure. A state is *individual-level* if an entity is in that state for the entire lapse of its existence. The state is *stage-level* if the entity is in that state for a limited period of time (Carlson 1977; Kratzer 1995). For example, the predicate *be father of* is individual-level, the predicate *be ill* is stage-level. These two notions play an important role in the characterization of selectional restrictions of quantificational aspect particles (section 7.6).

7.1.2 The theory of tense

Tense is important for an account of the quantitative aspect particles (section 7.6), of the perfect particles (section 7.7) and of the future tense particle (section 7.8).

There is a linguistic tradition that distinguishes three time concepts in communication (Klein 1992, 1994; Reichenbach 1948). We use Klein's labels.

Definition

Time of situation TS	time referred to by non-finite component of the clause
Time of topic TT	time for which, on some occasion, a claim is made
Time of utterance TU	time of making an utterance

In the example that Klein provides,

- (9) a. What did you notice when you checked the cellar?
 b. Chris left his house.
 c. The door was open.
 d. The door was wooden.

the discourse topic in (9) is the *witness's checking of the cellar* and TT the *time of checking the cellar*. The event of leaving the house in (9b) is short and TS is before TT or included in TT. In (9c), the TS likely includes TT. In (9d), the TS is permanent and includes TT. From this picture, Klein (1992: 536) defines *tense* as a relation between TT and TU not between TT and TS:

TT and TU

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

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

TT and TS

Perfective	$TS_{\text{END}} \subseteq TT$	(TT including end of TS)
Imperfective	$TT \subsetneq TS$	(TT properly in TS)
Prospective	$TT < TS$	(TT in the pretime of TS)

The perfective is part of the exhaustion (section 7.5.1) and dynamic perfect particles (section 7.7.2); the imperfective is part of the progressive particles (section 7.4).

7.1.3 Aspect and tense categories in Nuosu

The following table provides an overview of the aspect and tense categories that are expressed in the grammatical systems of languages of the world and of Nuosu (Bybee 1994; Dahl 1985: chap 3 & 4; Dik 1997: 217–243).

Table 7.2: Aspect and tense categories in Nuosu

Aspect/tense subareas	Aspect/tense categories	Subsection in grammar of attested Nuosu category
phasal aspect	ingressive	section 7.2
	continuous	section 7.2
	egressive	section 7.2
	resultative	section 7.3
perfectivity/imperfectivity	progressive aspect	section 7.4
	perfective aspect	section 7.5
quantitative aspect	experiential	section 7.6.1
	periodical	section 7.6.2
	habitual	section 7.6.3
perspectival aspect	perfect	section 7.7
absolute tense	past	–
	future	section 7.8

7.2 Phasal auxiliaries

In Nuosu, two specialized expressions (section 7.2.1) and three grammaticalized verbs (section 7.2.2) mark the individual phases of events.

7.2.1 Specialized expressions

There are no phasal verbs corresponding to ‘start’ and ‘finish’, but there is one expression close to the idea of starting phase: *go mox* ‘beginning’ (section A). Furthermore, there is the verb *jjup zot da* ‘continue’ (section B).

- (15) a. འགྲོ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
 nga nex la **hxex**.
 1P.SG 2P.SG wait=come+look
 'I wait for you.'
- b. མཁུ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
 pat mop ngax hxo **hxex**.
 parents 1P.SG look after=feed look
 'My parents look after me.'
- (16) a. ཇི་ཅི་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ་?
 ddop ma cyx go xix hxip **hxex**?
 word DEM.PROX CL INT.what say LOOK
 'What does this word try to say?'
- b. ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ།
 nop wox zyt jie cuop luog ngop mge **hxex**.
 2P.PL REFL a little bit judge LOOK
 'Try to judge it on your own.'
- c. ཇི་ཅི་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ་དང་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ།
 lat mop nry cuop luog ndo **hxex** lox ndo hna.
 male name wine a little bit drink LOOK CONJ.and drink want
 'Lamo tried some of the wine and liked it.'
- d. ཇི་ཅི་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ་དང་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ།
 nga xix sip syt cy jjit sup **hxex** mix?
 1P.SG INT.what take matter DEM.PROX CL resemble LOOK SOL
 'With what should I compare this.'
- e. ཇི་ཅི་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ་དང་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ།
 cy zyp hmyop kep mu jjix su ne shut **hxex**.
 3P.SG result INT.how become NOM 2P.SG remember LOOK
 'Try to remember how it ended.'

B. la 'come'

After adjectives, the directional verb *la* 'come' developed the grammatical function of inchoative auxiliary reminiscent of the Chinese *qǐ lái* 'rise' (Gerner 2002a: 64–66). As main predicate, *la* can stand alone or occur after other verbs of motion, see (17).

- (17) a. མུ་རྟུ་དྲེད་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ།
 mu rryr dde dde mu **la** go shex da ngat hxie ndot.
 male name often come HAB STP 1P.SG.POSS heart bother
 'Mudge often comes to bother me.'
- b. མུ་རྟུ་དྲེད་ལྟོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྗོད་སྲིད་ལེན་པ།
 mu ga a ddit mga **la** ox.
 male name there pass come DP
 'Muga came through that place.'

- c. 𐄎𐄏 𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖。
 ngax sha mu hxit **la** xi mgu.
 1P.SG be compassionate come hope
 'I hope that you come and sympathize with me.'

As auxiliary, *la* occurs after adjectives with a potential dynamic onset, such as emotional states or states resulting from natural processes. The auxiliary is often accompanied by the dynamic perfect particle *ox*.

- (18) a. 𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞。
 ax yi max su nrat **la** ox.
 child ART=CL-DET beautiful COME DP
 'The child is becoming beautiful.'
- b. 𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦。
 mu ga hxie qyt **la** sha **la**.
 male name worried COME worried COME
 'Muga becomes very worried.'
- c. 𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮。
 viex vie ggex su a hni **la** ox.
 flower ART=CL-DET red COME DP
 'The flowers reddened.'
- d. 𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵。
 syp vo hmip **la** ox.
 peach ripe COME DP
 'The peaches ripened.'

C. *go zix* 'insert'

The auxiliary *go zix* 'in process of' is composed of the indefinite pronoun *go* (section 5.4.1.F) and the verb *zip* 'insert'. As main verb, *zip* is illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. 𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂。
 nrur pop kat **zip** da su cy bbyx shut hhex shux.
 key where insert STP COMP 3P.SG COV remember LOOK CAUS
 'Let him try to remember where he put the key.'
- b. 𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏。
 vit gga ddie pip nzy **zip** da yyx zyr.
 clothes COV bassin insert STP dye
 'Put the clothes into the basin and dye them.'

- c. 猪皮放在嘴里嚼。
 vot njyx gur cy shu kap pit **zip** da mge.
 pig skin 3P.SG CAUS mouth insert STP chew
 'He put a piece of pig skin in his mouth and chewed it.'
- d. 木匠被打屁股。
 mu rryr co gep ndup bbur lie go zip.
 male name people COV.add hit thigh LOC insert, put
 'Mudge wat beaten on his thigh.'

The verb *zip* is also part of several lexicalized expressions, as shown in the following table.

Table 7.3: Lexicalized expressions with *zip*

rrop zip 'replace'	lur ddip zip 'stairs'	ddop ggut zip 'exhort'
xyp mop zip 'divorce'	nrur zip 'enchain'	

As auxiliary, the verb together with the pronoun *go* was grammaticalized as progressive phase auxiliary *go zix*. It occurs before the main predicate.

- (20) a. 任何女正在说。
 at nyop **go zix** ddop hxip (ge).
 female name INSERT word speak PROG
 'Anyo is in the process of saying something.'
- b. 我正在数钱时，木匠看见我。
 nga **go zix** rre mop vup te go, nga mu hlie wep mo.
 1P.SG INSERT money count when 1P.SG male name GET see
 'When I was counting the money, Muhlie saw me.'
- c. 有声音在哭。
 fu zzi **go zix** shyр su jjo.
 voice INSERT shout, cry NOM have
 'There is a voice shouting.'

D. *ddur* 'exit'

The directional verb *ddur* 'exit' developed into the completive phase auxiliary *ddur* 'finish' (Gerner 2002a: 69). The grammatical function was established through metaphorical reanalysis. For native speakers, completing an activity is similar to leaving a physical container. Examples in (21)–(23) illustrate *ddur*, as independent verb and after other directional or cognitive verbs.

- (21) གཤམ་ལྷོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 ngop wox jgy gex ku vur hxi **ddur**.
 1P.PL together inside enter outside exit
 ‘We enter and go out together.’
- (22) འགྲོ་ལོ་གཤམ་ལོ།
 cyp nyit **ddur** bbo ox.
 3P.DL exit go DP
 ‘They both went out.’
- (23) a. གཤམ་ལྷོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 nga syt cy jjit hxep **ddur** la ox.
 1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL see exit come DP
 ‘I recognized this matter.’ (*lit.* recognize = see-exit-come)
- b. འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 cy kap pit go xix hxip **ddur** la ox?
 3P.SG mouth LOC INT.what speak exit come DP
 ‘What did he speak of?’

As transitive verb, *ddur* predicates body substances such as *sweat*, *blood* or *ulcers*. A special lexicalized form is the verb *gox ddur* ‘happen’ (section 5.4.1.F).

- (24) a. གཤམ་ལྷོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 nga gup ma ax nyi gge **ddur** ox.
 1P.SG sweat QUANT.much CL exit DP
 ‘I am sweating a lot.’
- b. འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 nit lot jy sy **ddur**.
 2P.SG.POSS finger blood exit
 ‘Your finger is bleeding.’
- c. འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 cyp ip mop ma wa **ddur**.
 3P.SG.POSS stomach ulcer exit
 ‘He has ulcers in his stomach.’
- d. གཤམ་ལྷོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 syt cy jjit **gox ddur** ox.
 thing DEM.PROX CL happen DP
 ‘This thing has happened.’

- e. ལོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 nuo su kut shyr **ddur** ox.
 Nuosu New Year appear DP
 ‘The Nuosu New Year has arrived.’

After non-motion activity verbs (other than cognitive verbs), *ddur* developed into the phasal auxiliary ‘finish’, as shown in the following examples.

- (25) a. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 nga zzax zze **ddur** ox.
 1P.SG food eat EXIT DP
 ‘I finished eating.’
- b. ལཱ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 lat sse ax yi hmat **ddur** ox.
 male name child teach EXIT DP
 ‘Laze finished teaching the children.’
- c. ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་།
 tep yy ssox **ddur** ox.
 book study EXIT DP
 ‘(He) finished studying.’

7.3 Resultative auxiliaries

Resultative auxiliaries reveal something about the state that is the outcome of the event. Resultative auxiliaries mark an event for being bound with the resultative state being the boundary. We investigate one periphrastic expression (section 7.3.1) and four grammaticalized verbs that indicate resultative states (section 7.3.2).

7.3.1 Specialized expressions

The serial verb construction *got...jjip* indicates that something is transformed into a resultative state. The construction contains *got* ‘change’ and the existential verb *jjip* ‘become’ (section 12.1.2.C).

- (26) a. ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་།
 nit uo nyie **got** a qu **jjip** ox.
 2P.SG.POSS hair change white become DP
 ‘Your hair became white.’

b. ㄉㄨㄟㄉㄨㄟㄩㄟㄩㄟㄩㄟ。

yy jjur yy **qot** ndo ap- hxit su **jjip**.
 spring water change drink NEG- can NOM become
 ‘The spring water became undrinkable.’

7.3.2 Grammaticalized verbs

Four productive resultative auxiliaries exist in Nuosu: *wex* ‘get’ (section 7.3.2.A), *sha* ‘send’ (section 7.3.2.B), *ssop* ‘shine’ (section 7.3.2.C), *ndox* ‘put’ (section 7.3.2.D). Their presence imposes an invariable OAV order on the clause (section 10.2.2.A). The resultative auxiliaries in this section have been analyzed in Gerner (2002a: 91–121).

A. *wex* ‘get’

The verb *wex* ‘get’ (with allotones *wep* and *wex*) evolved into the preverbal modal auxiliary *wep* ‘get the chance’ and into the postverbal resultative auxiliary *wex* ‘succeed’. In (27), its function as sole predicate is illustrated.

(27) ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

cy sha vi ndur vi **wep** ox.
 3P.SG hardship get DP
 ‘He had endured some hardship.’

Before other main predicates, *wep* (with low or midtone) functions as a modal auxiliary with the meaning ‘get the chance’.

(28) ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

tep yy ne bbur da bbut su nga **wep** hxep ox.
 book 2P.SG write STP ART 1P.SG get chance see DP
 ‘I got the chance to see the book you have written.’

The resultative auxiliary *wex* (with tone sandhi) is compatible with verbs of acquisition either physical, abstract or metaphorical.

(29) a. ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

mux dde mu gox si nip lat sse nyix nbi **wex** su nge.
 earth male name and male name NUM.2 distribute GET FOC COP
 ‘The land will be distributed to both, Mugo and Laze.’

b. ㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟㄨㄟ。

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

- c. ㄏㄨㄎ ㄆㄨㄆㄨ ㄆㄨㄨ。
 mu ga ggup cyr **wex** ox.
 male name save, preserve GET DP
 ‘Muga was preserved (from danger).’
- d. ㄌㄨ ㄨㄨ ㄏㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ。
 le cyx ji mu rryr si **wex** ox.
 ox DEM.PROX CL male name choose GET DP
 ‘Mudge chose this ox.’
- e. ㄩㄣ ㄉㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ。
 rre mop cyp dur vat nga shep **wex** ox.
 money NUM.1000 dollar 1P.SG search GET DP
 ‘I found 1000 dollars.’
- f. ㄆㄨ ㄨㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ。
 ax yi max su ap my sse mgur **wex** ox.
 child ART=CL-DET young woman take up GET DP
 ‘The woman took the child up (in her arms).’
- g. ㄏㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ。
 mu ga hxie mgat hxop sso **wex** ox.
 male name Chinese language learn, acquire GET DP
 ‘Muga has learnt Chinese.’

For the sight and audition verbs *mo* ‘see’ and *gge* ‘hear’, the auxiliary must be preposed rather than postposed: *we mo* ‘see-get’ and *we gge* ‘hear-get’ (not: **mo wex* or **gge wex*). (30) shows two verbs that are incompatible with *wex*.

- (30) a. *ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ
 *gup **wex**
 throw GET
 ‘throw on target’
- b. *ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ
 *hmat **wex**
 teach GET
 ‘teach successfully’

B. *sha* ‘send’

The Nuosu verb *sha* ‘send’ with cognates in other Yi languages (Gerner 2002a: 91–101) developed into a resultative auxiliary with the sense ‘away’. As main predicate, *sha* appears as sole predicate or in serial verb constructions.

- (31) ㄌㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ ㄆㄨ。
 lat mop xy byp mux dde go **sha** ox.
 male name fertilizer carry soil PRO.PAT spill DP
 ‘Lamo sprinkled the fertilizer on the soil.’

- (32) a. ລຳນ້ຳຖືກລຸກອອກນອກຜູ້ມຸກ。
 ie qyt ggex su li mu ga gep fur hxi jox **sha** da.
 water ART TOP male name COV spill outside send STP
 ‘The water was spilled outside by Muga.’
- b. ພົນນຳຮ້ອນຖືກລຸກອອກ。
 co ggex su go mgot hxi jox **sha** da ox.
 person ART PRO.PAT chase outside disperse STP DP
 ‘Chase the crowd out and disperse them.’

The verb *sha* has merged with the indefinite pronoun *gox* (section 5.4.1.F) into the resultative auxiliary *gox sha* ‘away’ which cannot occur after intransitive verbs. The use of *gox sha* imposes the order OAV.

- (33) a. ກົນຄິດຖືກລຸກອອກ。
 lyp dde cyx ji cy ap- shut **gox sha**.
 idea DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG NEG- remember SEND
 ‘He discarded the idea.’
- b. ກິນນ້ຳຖືກຮັບອິດສະລະຢ່າງສິດສິນຊັບ。
 hxie zyr ggex su cy tip **gox sha**.
 bird ART=CL-DET 3P.SG set free SEND
 ‘He set the birds free.’
- c. ພົນເຂົ້າຖືກລຸກອອກຢ່າງສິດສິນຊັບ。
 sha hlox cy zhyr **gox sha** ox.
 wheat 3P.SG uproot SEND DP
 ‘He uprooted the wheat.’

The resultative auxiliary *gox sha* is used after activity verbs for which the patient can be easily removed from the site of activity.

- (34) a. ລຸກອອກຢ່າງສິດສິນຊັບ **gox sha**
 qyr dix **gox sha**
 bury SEND
 ‘bury’
- b. ລຸກອອກຢ່າງສິດສິນຊັບ **gox sha**
 sit **gox sha**
 kill SEND
 ‘massacre’
- c. ລຸກອອກຢ່າງສິດສິນຊັບ **gox sha**
 mgot **gox sha**
 drive SEND
 ‘drive out; drive away’
- d. ລຸກອອກຢ່າງສິດສິນຊັບ **gox sha**
 bie cy **gox sha**
 remove SEND
 ‘remove’

- e. ལོ་ཕྱི་མུ་
 pop **gox sha**
 open SEND
 ‘open up’
- f. ལོ་ཕྱི་མུ་
 vup **gox sha**
 sell SEND
 ‘sell out’
- (35) a. *ལྷུ་གུ་
 *hlut **gox sha**
 pasture SEND
 ‘finish pasturing’
- b. *ལྷུ་གུ་
 *hmat **gox sha**
 teach SEND
 ‘finish teaching’

C. *ssop* ‘shine’

The resultative auxiliary *ssop* ‘endure’ is derived from the verb *ssop* ‘shine, affect’. The use of sole predicate is illustrated in the two following examples.

- (36) a. དུ་འོ་མེ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་
 hxo bby xy ddur six cop wox **ssop** ox.
 sunlight exit RES 3P.PL shine DP
 ‘The light shines on them.’
- b. ཡོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་
 syt cyx gge kep mu nyi la nit i qi ap- **ssop**.
 matter DEM.PROX CL INT.how also come 2P.SG.POSS head NEG- affect
 ‘This matter will not affect you (*lit.* your head).’

As auxiliary, *ssop* conveys two meanings which depend on the word order of the clause. If the word order is AOV, then *ssox* (tone sandhi) is a deontic auxiliary with the sense *must*. This meaning surfaced through metaphorical reanalysis. If someone is obliged to do something, then he is affected by the activity. The deontic meaning of *ssox* is illustrated in (37a–d).

- (37) a. དེ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་
 ne bur ix go bbo **ssox**.
 2P.SG return home go MOD.must
 ‘He must go back home.’
- b. ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་
 cyx li shyryx rruo zzip ngop bbop **ssox**.
 3P.SG TOP robber beware MOD.must
 ‘He must beware of robbers.’
- c. ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་
 lat sse li nop wox gox jie **ssox**.
 male name TOP 2P.PL PRO.PAT fear MOD.must
 ‘You should be afraid of Laze.’

- d. ຂົວຊາຍເຮັດສົບ。
 cyx li jjip yur **ssox**.
 3P.SG TOP perfect MOD.must
 ‘He must be perfect.’

If the word order is OAV, then *ssop* ‘endure’ (low tone) is a resultative auxiliary. The construction must be matched with an idea of affectedness.

- (38) a. ມູເລືອນມູກມາເຮັດສົບ。
 mu hlie li mu ga ndup **ssop**.
 male name TOP male name hit END
 ‘Muhlie endured Muga’s beating.’
- b. ຂົວບຸກເນື້ອເປັນເຮັດສົບ。
 cy gop bo go na **ssop**.
 3P.SG body LOC ill END
 ‘He is ailing in his body.’
- c. ອົງແອ່ນຊາຍມາເຮັດສັບສົນສົບ。
 le jix su mu ga gep sit **ssop**.
 ox ART=CL-DET male name PASS kill END
 ‘The ox was killed by Muga.’

There is a related auxiliary, *si ssop* ‘need’, which is derived from the verb *si* ‘choose’ and *ssop* ‘shine’.

- (39) ພົວຄົວບາດເຈັບຮ້າຍເຮັດສື່ສົບ。
 cox li vit gga nrat su ggat **si ssop**.
 people TOP clothes nice NOM wear need
 ‘People need to wear nice clothes.’

D. *ndox* ‘put’

The resultative auxiliary *ndox* is derived from the main verb *ndop* ‘put’ (low tone), but this morpheme has almost lost its function of independent predicate. It only occurs in serial verb constructions to indicate the destination of a movement.

- (40) a. ມຸດເຈັ້ງບຸກໜ້າຂອງຂ້າເຮັດສົບ。
 mu rryr vix bbo cy ddie ngat liex bba
 male name burden 3P.SG COV.prepare 1P.SG.POSS shoulder
 go **ndop**.
 PRO.LOC put
 ‘Mudge put a burden on my shoulders.’

- b. ལྷམ་རྒྱུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 le nga mgot ggap mop go **ndop**.
 ox 1P.SG draw road LOC put
 'I drew the ox onto the road.'

As a resultative auxiliary, *ndox* (sandhi tone) co-occurs with a large range of activity verbs and indicates a resultative positional state ('placed', 'secured').

- (41) a. རྩོམ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 rre mop cyp dur vat cox ma wep **ndox** ox.
 money NUM.1000 dollar person CL get PUT DP
 'Someone got the 1000 dollars.'
- b. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 le jix su ci shur go vur lox yy **ndox** sy ox.
 ox ART fall lake LOC enter and descend PUT die DP
 'The ox fell into the lake and drowned.'
- c. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 cy ngop gep yu **ndox**.
 3P.SG 1P.PL COV arrest PUT
 'He was arrested by us.'
- d. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 mu ga nge dur vat zhot **ndox** ox.
 male name NUM.5000 dollar earn PUT DP
 'Muga earned 5000 dollars.'
- e. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 xyp mop vu-ap-jji ma mu rryr zi hnat **ndox** ox.
 bride, wife true<NEG> CL male name deceive PUT DP
 'A false bride deceived Mudge.'

The resultative auxiliary *ndox* requires verbs referring to activities that have a potentially successful outcome.

- (42) a. ལྷོ་
 vy **ndox**
 buy PUT
 'buy successfully'
- b. ལྷོ་
 sip **ndox**
 take PUT
 'take on'
- c. ལྷོ་
 gge **ndox**
 hear PUT
 'tune in one's ears'
- d. ལྷོ་
 si **ndox**
 guess, slect PUT
 'guess right, make a valid choice'

- | | |
|---|---|
| e. 𑖀𑖂𑖄
syp ndox
know PUT
‘know accurately’ | f. 𑖀𑖂𑖄
jjiex mguo ndox
understand PUT
‘understand correctly’ |
|---|---|

7.4 Progressive aspect

In Nuosu, there are two progressive aspect particles placed after the main predicate, *njuo* and *ge*. Both have overlapping uses, though *njuo* manifests more selectional restrictions than *ge* on the situation type of the lower clause.

7.4.1 The progressive particle *njuo*

The particle *njuo* is a grammaticalized verb and still has limited use as main verb. It means *move* or *float around* as shown in (43a–c). It cannot specify destinations, see (43b), only surface areas that contain the movement, see (43c).

- (43) a. 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄.
 lat ti shur nzix **njuo.**
 male name sea on surface of float, move
 ‘Lati is floating around on the surface of the sea.’
- b. *𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄.
 *lat hxa pu jjit hxep da **njuo.**
 male name Puge county COV.watch move
 ‘Laha is moving towards Puge County.’
- c. 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄.
 vut jy a ddit **njuo.**
 female name there move
 ‘Vudje is moving around there.’

Unlike the English progressive, *njuo* imposes many selectional restrictions and is only fully compatible with homogenous events and positional states.

A. Punctual events

The progressive aspect marker *njuo* is incompatible with punctual events since these events do not allow a view *from within*.

- (44) a. *𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄 𑖀𑖂𑖄.
 *cop vox lu po si nip jjyx- zzi **njuo.**
 3P.PL male name and RECL- meet PROG
 ‘They were meeting with Lupo.’

b. * $\text{shax tur cy ji cy ndup njuo.}$

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

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

lightning come tree DEM.DIST go END PROG
‘The lightning is striking the tree.’

The property of punctual event is not a clear-cut property but can have ambiguous readings. In (45), the use of *njuo* imposes an extended event time, although jumping over a door step is normally conceptualized as punctual.

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

3P.SG door sill jump PROG
‘He is jumping over the door step.’

The use of plural or mass nouns sometimes transforms punctual events into multi-occurrence events that allow a view from within.

(46) a. $\text{mo mu mu hlit njuo.}$

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

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

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

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

bomb ART=CL-DET INSERT explode PROG
‘The bombs are exploding.’

B. Homogenous events

Homogenous events are extended in time and do not incorporate an endpoint or a holistic measure function. They are fully compatible with *njuo* except for a few cases discussed below.

- (47) a. 唸呷唸母对非拿葛。
 hxi jox cox ma ip ko ndup **njuo**.
 LOC.outside person CL door knock PROG
 'There is someone knocking at the door outside.'
- b. 唸回宰麻葛母丫歪字非非事葛。
 ax va nzup hxie zyr ma syr bbo go bbup ddi tur **njuo**.
 woodpecker bird CL tree LOC beak knock PROG
 'A woodpecker is pecking with its beak at a tree.'
- c. 对ㄇㄇㄇㄇㄇㄇㄇㄇㄇ。
 ip mop mit sip gup lu lup mu mo **njuo**.
 belly hungry RES IDE ADVL growl PROG
 'His belly is growling with hunger.'
- d. 唸唸丫丫字唸ㄇㄇ唸唸唸唸唸唸唸。
 cop wox syr juo go da yo hlix ndo max su shep **njuo**.
 3P.PL forest LOC COV.put sheep lose ART seek PROG
 'They were seeking for the lost sheep in the forest.'
- e. ㄊ唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸。
 cyp xip li xix ti su nge mu ngop die **njuo**.
 DEM.DD TOP INT.what mean NOM COP ADVL puzzle PROG
 '[They] were puzzling about what the meaning of this would be.'

As *njuo* is grammaticalized from a verb of undirected movement, it does not allow the specification of a destination or origin of movement.

- (48) a. *唸唸唸唸井ㄊ唸唸唸唸唸唸唸。
 *hxie zyr wo jji yyx hmy jox hxep da bbo **njuo**.
 bird CL.group fly south to COV.watch go PROG
 'A flock of birds is flying south.'
- b. *唸唸唸唸唸。
 *vip si bur la **njuo**.
 houselord return come PROG
 'The houselord is returning.'
- c. *唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸唸。
 *cy yi cyx bbop go da bbit bbo **njuo**.
 3P.SG house DEM.PROX CL LOC COV.put exit go PROG
 'He is coming out of the house.'

C. Quantized events

Quantized events typically involve an incremental verb and a quantified patient noun phrase. When the patient noun phrase has the singular reference type, the use of *njuo* is grammatical, but the sentence exhibits the so-called *imperfective paradox* (Landman 1992; Portner 1998).²

- (49) a. X 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎.
 cy yiet hxop cyp sho yiet **njuo**.
 3P.SG song NUM.1 CL sing PROG
 'He is singing one song.'
- b. X 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎.
 cy tep yy cyp zzit sip **njuo**.
 3P.SG book NUM.1 CL hold PROG
 'He is holding one book.'

When the patient noun phrase is quantified by numerals greater than one, then *njuo* implies that the patient referents are processed simultaneously leading sometimes to ungrammatical sentences.

- (50) a. X 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎.
 cy va qip suo ma zze **njuo**.
 3P.SG egg NUM.3 CL eat PROG
 'He is eating three eggs (at the same time).'
- b. *X 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎.
 *lu ti yi nge ga ndo **njuo**.
 male name tobacco NUM.5 CL smoke PROG
 'Luti is smoking five cigarettes (at the same time).'
- c. *X 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎 𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎𑄎.
 *mu ga tep yy ci zzit bi **njuo**.
 male name book NUM.10 CL read PROG
 'Muga is reading ten books (at the same time).'

² In both examples, the progressive focuses on a proper subevent of *singing one song* and of *holding one book*. Any proper subevent of *singing one song* is not again of the type *singing one song*, whereas any proper subevent of *holding one book* is again of the type *holding one book*. (49a) only yields true descriptions of the reality insofar the subevent can be extended into an event of the type *singing one song*. This, however, may not be possible in *all* contexts in which (49a) is uttered, but only in *certain* contexts. (49b) always gives true descriptions of the reality. The discrepancy of (49a) has been called in the literature the *imperfective paradox*.

(53) 𑑖𑑢𑑧𑑢𑑢𑑨𑑣𑑦𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣。

le co mgot le ho go zip **njuo**.
 ox people chase stable LOC put into PROG
 ‘The oxen are being chased into the stable.’

E. States

The progressive marker *njuo* is compatible with controlling positional states but does not match with any other state.

(i) Positional states

As *njuo* is grammaticalized from the sense of undirected motion (‘wander’, ‘float’), it can co-occur with verbs of posture like *stand*, *sit*, *live*.

(54) a. 𑑕𑑣𑑢𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣。

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

b. 𑑦𑑢𑑧𑑢𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣。

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

c. 𑑣𑑢𑑧𑑢𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣。

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

d. 𑑕𑑣𑑢𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣。

cy bbo xy go da it nyi gu **njuo**.
 3P.SG grassland LOC COV.put sleep PROG
 ‘He is sleeping on the grass.’

The semantics of *la hxex* ‘wait’ also matches the sense of undirected movement. The particle *njuo* can act as progressive marker.

(55) a. 𑑣𑑢𑑧𑑢𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣𑑦𑑢𑑣。

nyop mu co ma hxa jjip su la hxex **njuo**.
 peasant rain become COMP wait for PROG
 ‘The peasants are waiting for rain.’

Positional states in which the subject does not exert control over the situation cannot be marked by the progressive marker.

- (60) ལྟོག་པོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ལོ་སྟེང་།
 nga hmat mop cyx ma hxie vur **njuo.**
 1P.SG teacher DEM.PROX CL like PROG
 'I like this teacher.'

7.4.2 The progressive particle *ge*

The progressive particle *ge* overlaps with the marker *njuo*. Its etymology is unclear (certainly unrelated to the verb *ge* 'tell'). It does not manifest the same selectional restrictions as *njuo* and is sensible to the distinction of dynamized/stable states.³ The bigger picture of *ge* is similar to *njuo*: *ge* is compatible with homogenous events, incompatible with punctual and bounded events and partially compatible with quantized events. The particles *ge* and *njuo* differ in that *njuo* expresses a more colourful lexical meaning. While *njuo* conveys the view that the subject of the sentence moves through the activity expressed, *ge* only provides a general view from within.

A. Punctual events

The progressive *ge* is banned from sentences in which the event running time is reduced to a point.

- (61) a. *ལྟོག་པོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ལོ་སྟེང་།
 *yi zhap dap gep hmur **ge.**
 house bomb COV.add blow up PROG
 'The house is blown up by a bomb.'
- b. *མི་ལོ་སྟེང་། ལྟོག་པོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ལོ་སྟེང་།
 *cy bot ddat hmyp sat xi mguo **ge.**
 3P.SG run finishing line run through PROG
 'He is running through the finishing line.'
- c. *ལྟོག་པོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ལོ་སྟེང་།
 *le jix su diep nyut **ge.**
 ox ART=CL-DET electricity strike PROG
 'The ox was struck by electric current.'

The verb 'sneeze' is ambiguous for the reading of unique/multiple occurrence. The particle *ge* selects the multiple-occurrence reading which corresponds to a homogenous event.

- (62) ལྟོག་པོ་ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པའི་མི་ལོ་སྟེང་།
 la hxa hxa tie mu **ge.**
 male name sneeze PROG
 'Laha is sneezing.'

³ A dynamized state has a temporal structure and is a homogenous event (section 7.1.1.B).

B. Homogenous events

The progressive marker *ge* is compatible with homogenous event denotations as illustrated in the following three examples.

- (63) a. དབྱི་བོ་ལྔ་མཉམ་པུ་ཤེས་པར་གྲོལ་བཤུགས་པོ་ལྔ་ཤེས་པོ་།
 syr bbo go syr qi mu hly gep pur ci bbo **ge**.
 tree LOC leaf wind COV blow fall go PROG
 ‘The tree leaves are being blown away.’
- b. མཉམ་པུ་ཤེས་པར་གྲོལ་བཤུགས་པོ་ལྔ་ཤེས་པོ་།
 ap ndip hxix mat hlop ngop wox shyx rruo mgot **ge**.
 yesterday noon 1P.PL roober chase PROG
 ‘Yesterday at noon we were chasing the robber.’
- c. ལྟག་ལྔ་ལོ་ཤེས་པར་གྲོལ་བཤུགས་པོ་ལྔ་ཤེས་པོ་།
 ngat vyt vu hxa bit zy **ge**.
 1P.SG.POSS elder brother vegetables plant PROG
 ‘My brother is planting vegetables.’

The verb *zo* ‘run into’ is punctual with human patient noun phrases, but extended in time with abstract noun phrases like *we zze ddu* ‘difficulty’. The abstract event denotation is compatible with *ge* but not with *njuo*.

- (64) a. ལྟག་ལྔ་ལོ་ཤེས་པོ་།
 nga we zze ddu zox **ge**.
 1P.SG difficulty run into PROG
 ‘I am running into difficulties.’
- b. *ལྟག་ལྔ་ལོ་ཤེས་པོ་།
 *nga we zze ddu zox **njuo**.
 1P.SG difficulty run into PROG
 Intended meaning: ‘I am running into difficulties.’

C. Quantized events

Similar to *njuo* (section 7.4.1.C), the progressive marker *ge* can be used with an incremental verb and a noun phrase of the quantized reference type.⁴

- (65) མཉམ་པུ་ཤེས་པར་གྲོལ་བཤུགས་པོ་ལྔ་ཤེས་པོ་།
 ma hxa cyp vit jjip **ge**.
 rain NUM.1 time become PROG
 ‘A rain shower is pouring down.’

⁴ The sentence (65) exhibits again the *imperfective paradox* (Landman 1992, Portner 1998).

When the patient noun phrase is quantified by numerals greater than *one*, the processing of the patient referents must represent an incremental unique event, as in (66a+b). If this interpretation is not available, as in (67), then *ge* should not be used.

(66) a. $\text{H}\times\text{Y}\text{X}\text{N}\text{N}\text{S}\text{C}\text{X}\text{Y}$.
 mu ga vit gga suo ggu yyx cy **ge**.
 male name clothes NUM.3 CL wash PROG
 ‘Muga is washing three clothes.’

b. $\text{X}\text{C}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{Z}\text{Z}\text{Y}$.
 cy yyp ddu ly go hxip **ge**.
 3P.SG joke NUM.4 CL say PROG
 ‘He is telling four jokes.’

(67) $\#\text{H}\text{X}\text{N}\text{Y}\text{Z}\text{Y}$.
 #ma hxa nyip vit jjip **ge**.
 rain NUM.2 time become PROG
 ‘Two rain showers are pouring down.’

D. Bounded events

The progressive marker *ge* is not compatible with bounded events. In (68a), the boundary is given by the resultative auxiliary *gox sha* ‘away’. For (68b), the boundary is the destination of the movement, the hands of the subject referent.

(68) a. $\text{*}\text{H}\text{X}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{Y}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{X}\text{Y}\text{S}\text{U}\text{K}\text{I}\text{E}\text{G}\text{O}\text{X}\text{S}\text{H}\text{A}$.
 *cop wox yy hxox ax yy bbox su kie gox sha **ge**.
 3P.PL pine tree great ART=CL-DET fell SEND PROG
 ‘They are cutting down the great pine tree.’

b. $\text{*}\text{H}\text{C}\text{Y}\text{Z}\text{Z}\text{I}\text{T}\text{C}\text{Y}\text{S}\text{I}\text{X}\text{L}\text{A}$.
 *tep yy zzit cy six la **ge**.
 book CL 3P.SG RES come PROG
 ‘He is taking a book into his hands.’

For motion events that do not imply that a destination is reached, the use of *ge* is possible. Such events are homogenous, not bounded.

(69) a. $\text{N}\text{G}\text{A}\text{R}\text{R}\text{U}\text{O}\text{N}\text{U}\text{O}\text{J}\text{O}\text{X}\text{H}\text{X}\text{E}\text{P}\text{D}\text{A}\text{B}\text{B}\text{O}$.
 nga rruo nuo jox hxep da bbo **ge**.
 1P.SG Mianning county to COV.watch go PROG
 ‘I am going in the direction of Mianning county.’

b. vut jie dduo hxo pu li **ge**.

female name climb mountain go up PROG
 ‘Vujie is climbing the mountain.’

E. States

The progressive *ge* divides states up according to the dynamized/stable distinction. Unstable states that can undergo changes are compatible with the progressive *ge*.

(i) Dynamized states

The following examples represent unstable physical states that can take the progressive marker *ge*.

(70) a. viex vie a vu su ie qyt kop **ge**.

flower dry NOM water need PROG
 ‘The flower is needing water.’

b. syr zza lur ma hmip **ge**.

fruit ripe PROG
 ‘The fruit is becoming ripe.’

c. bbut juop go bbut vut lo lo **ge**.

grassland LOC grass green IDE~EXPR PROG
 ‘The grasslands are becoming very green.’

Sleeping and waiting are unstable states that match the meaning of the progressive particle *ge*.

(71) a. at nyop yi go da it nyi gu **ge**.

female name house LOC COV.put sleep PROG
 ‘Anyo is sleeping at home.’

b. vut rryr ssox dde go da nex la hxex **ge**.

female name school LOC COV.put 2P.SG wait PROG
 ‘Vudge is waiting for you at school.’

Abstract mental states are unstable but not conceivable as dynamic situations in Nuosu. They are incompatible with *ge*.

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

(ii) Stable states

Most so-called individual-level states and many stage-level states (Carlson 1977; Kratzer 1995) are stable states that cannot be conceptualized with a dynamized initial phase. They are incompatible with *ge*.

- (73) a. *lat hxa li ax yy ge.
 male name TOP big PROG
 Intended meaning: 'Laha is big.'
- b. *ax yi zzyx ma ngop -vi nge ge.
 pig DEM.DIST CL 1P.PL -POSS COP PROG
 Intended meaning: 'That pig belongs to us.'

The Nuosu language treats positional states as non-dynamic. Verbs of posture are ungrammatical with *ge*.

- (74) a. *ax yi max su it ggo tot hxit ge.
 child ART=CL-DET bed LOC.on stand PROG
 Intended meaning: 'The child is standing on the bed.'
- b. *vu nyop vit gga a hni su ggat ge.
 female name clothes red NOM wear PROG
 Intended meaning: 'Vunyo is wearing red clothes.'

7.5 Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect is one of the meanings of a verb particle, called *exhaustion particle*. This particle also functions as universal quantifier and superlative particle.

7.5.1 The exhaustion particle *sat*

The exhaustion particle *sat* (Gerner 2007a)⁵ is a cross-categorical modifier acting on noun phrases (as non-distributive universal quantifier), on verb phrases (as *completive particle*), and on adjectival phrases (as *superlative particle*). Its selectional restrictions are shown below (using labels introduced in section 7.1.1.B).

Table 7.4: Input structures of the exhaustion particle

	Objects	Events	States	EXH
Singular	individual	punctual	ungradable	*
Quantized	quantized	quantized	quantized comparison class	√
Homogenous	homogenous	homogenous	homogenous comparison class	#
Bounded	–	bounded	–	*

The exhaustion particle directly occurs after the predicate (SOV+EXH) and shares its position with a host of other verb particles. The exhaustion particle contributes up to three different meanings to the clause of which one or all may be cancelled because of its selectional restrictions (table 7.4):

- (i) EXH acts as universal quantifier of the sentence-initial noun phrase;
- (ii) EXH acts as completive particle for dynamic events;
- (iii) EXH acts as superlative particle for gradable states;
- (iv) combination of (i) and (ii), or of (i) and (iii).

These meanings are processed in parallel. One or several meanings may be cancelled due to the selectional restrictions of the exhaustion particle on the lower clause. If all meanings are cancelled, then the sentence is ungrammatical. If none is deleted, the sentence is ambiguous. This rare pattern of quantification is unfamiliar in European languages, but is attested cross-linguistically. Straits Salish, a native North American language, has a morpheme that covers the functions (i) and (ii) above (Jelinek 1995).⁶

⁵ The term ‘exhaustion particle’ is inspired from Björverud (1998: 82), although she uses this name for a type of particle which I characterize as *send* auxiliary (section 7.3.2.B; Gerner 2002: 88).

⁶ The Nuosu particle *sat* is reminiscent of Jelinek’s Straits Salish quantifier *mək*^w. There is one difference between the Nuosu particle and Salish *mək*^w. The Salish quantifier does not seem to take a stative predicate in its scope with superlative meaning. Otherwise, there seems to be much similarity. Witness (Jelinek 1995: 512–514):

mək^w ɪ ‘əw’ ɲa-t-Ø cə sčeenx^w.
ALL 1P.NMT LINK eat-TR-3P.ABS DET fish

(i) ‘We ate all the fish.’ (ii) ‘We all ate the fish.’ (iii) ‘We ate the fish up completely.’

A. Objects

The exhaustion particle *sat* quantifies over the clause-initial noun phrase, which may be an agent or patient noun phrase.

(i) Singular and dual objects

The exhaustion particle *sat* is incompatible with noun phrases that denote an individual or a pair of individuals. When, in addition, *sat* is incompatible with the verb phrase, as in (75a) and (75b), then the whole sentence is ungrammatical.

(75) a. *Hx 圣 去 晒。

*mu ga bbo **sat** ox.
male name go EXH DP
'*Muga went all.'

b. *Hx 泉 友 晒 晒 (非) 圣 去 晒。

*mu ga si nip vut nyop (nyix) bbo **sat** ox.
male name and female name NUM.2 go EXH DP
'Muga and Vunyo went both.'

c. 晒 圣 去 晒。

cop wox bbo **sat** ox.
3P.PL go EXH DP
'They all went.'

Example (76a) is ungrammatical, but if it was uttered in the Chinese prehistorical myth of a world with exactly 10 suns, the sentence would be acceptable and translate as 'The suns have all risen.'

(76) a. *x 晒 晒 晒。

*hxo bbu ddur la **sat**.
sun exit come EXH
Intended meaning: 'All the sun has risen.'

b. 晒 晒 晒 晒 晒 晒 晒 晒 晒 晒, x 晒 晒 晒。

gge fut hlep shyp jjox te go, hxo bbu ddur la **sat**.
day NUM.6 month NUM.7 have time sun exit come EXH
'In prehistorical times, all the suns arose.'

Numerals with value above two are compatible, and those below two are incompatible with *sat*. (77a+b) both show that *sat* targets patient noun prases in sentence-initial position.

- (77) a. *ㄸㄩㄷㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ.
 *tep yy a zzyx nyip bbut nga sip bbo **sat.**
 book DEM.DIST NUM.2 CL 1P.SG take go EXH
 ‘I took both books away.’
- b. ㄸㄩㄷㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ.
 tep yy a zzyx suo bbut nga sip bbo **sat.**
 book DEM.DIST NUM.3 CL 1P.SG take go EXH
 ‘I took all three books away.’

Example (78a) exhibits a sentence-initial argument with vague number value. The exhaustion particle *sat* selects a plural interpretation that represents a culturally rare situation: Almost no individual has all the houses at the river side.

- (78) a. #ㄸㄩㄷㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ.
 #cyp yi yy nzix jjip **sat.**
 3P.SG.POSS house river side be at EXH
 ‘His/her house is at the river side.’
- b. ㄸㄩㄷㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ.
 cop yi yy nzix jjip **sat.**
 3P.PL.POSS house river side be at EXH
 ‘Their houses are all at the river side.’

(ii) Quantized objects

Noun phrases with the quantized reference property are compatible with *sat*. The exhaustion particle acts as a universal non-distributive quantifier. Example (79) denotes a homogenous event with a quantized noun phrase in initial position.

- (79) ㄸㄩㄷㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ.
 co hxit yuop su tep yy hxep **sat.**
 people NUM.8 ART=CL-DET book see, read EXH
 ‘The eight people are all reading books.’

Example (80) is a quantized event involving the gradual verb ‘drink’. Its quantized incremental theme is in clause-initial position. This setting creates two readings, which turn out to be equivalent in meaning.

- (80) ㄸㄩㄷㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ ㄹㄹ.
 ie qyt nyip ji nga gax ndo **sat** ox.
 water NUM.2 CL.bottle 1P.SG COV.drop drink EXH DP
 (i) ‘Both bottles of water were drunk by me.’
 (ii) ‘Two bottles of water were completely drunk by me.’

The exhaustion particle is grammatical in (81a) and (81b) which exhibit two quantized NPs modified by the plural demonstrative and definite article; (81c), (81d), and (81e) use vague noun quantifiers that are incompatible with *sat*.

- (81) a. 那些狗都在门外。
 ke a zzyx gge ip ko hxi jox jjo **sat**.
 dog DEM.DIST CL door LOC.outside have EXH
 ‘Those dogs are all outside the door.’
- b. 那些狗都在门外。
 ke ggex su ip ko hxi jox jjo **sat**.
 dog ART=CL-DET door LOC.outside have EXH
 ‘The dogs are all all outside the door.’
- c. *那些狗都在门外。
 *ke a zzyx ma ip ko hxi jox jjo **sat**.
 dog DEM.DIST CL door LOC.outside have EXH
 Intended meaning: ‘That dogs are all outside the door.’
- d. *那些狗都在门外。
 *ke gge ip ko hxi jox jjo **sat**.
 dog CL door LOC.outside have EXH
 Intended meaning: ‘Some dogs are all outside the door.’
- e. *那些狗都在门外。
 *ke ax nyi gge ip ko hxi jox jjo **sat**.
 dog many CL door LOC.outside have EXH
 Intended meaning: ‘Many dogs are all outside the door.’

(iii) Homogenous objects

The exhaustion particle cannot quantify mass bare nouns in sentence-initial position, unless the speaker wants to refer to the totality of this mass in the world. Example (82) has a noun phrase in initial position that refers to all trees and stones in the world.⁷

- (82) 一切草木石都变成金银。
 syr bbo lur ma qot qu shy jjip **sat** ox.
 tree stone change silver gold become EXH DP
 (i) ‘All the wood and stones were changed into silver and gold.’
 (ii) ‘The wood and stones were changed completely into silver and gold.’

⁷ Quoted from the folk story “The emperor and his daughter” (Chén & Wü 1998: 266).

Example (83) refers to a gradable state and exhibits a mass bare noun in clause-initial position. The exhaustion particle acts as superlative marker and as universal quantifier on the mass bare noun.

- (83) མཉམ་གྲོལ་ཕྱི་མཆོག་ལྔ་མཆོག་།
 shur fur yy mgo guo guo **sat**.
 lake; sea water cold too much too much EXH
 (i) 'All the water in the sea is extremely cold.'
 (ii) 'The water in the sea is the coldest.'

B. Events

There are four event types that interact with the exhaustion particle: punctual events, quantized events, bounded events and homogenous events. The exhaustion particle is fully compatible only with quantized events.

(i) Punctual events

The exhaustion particle cannot be used with punctual events denotations. The verb *zo* 'run into' is punctual and compatible with *sat* only when the clause-initial argument is not singular.

- (84) a. མཉམ་མི་མཉམ་མི་ལྔ་མཆོག་།
 cop wox mu hlie zo **sat** ox.
 3P.PL male name meet, run into EXH DP
 'They all ran into Muhlie.'
- b. *མཉམ་མི་མཉམ་མི་ལྔ་མཆོག་།
 *lat mop cop wox zo **sat** ox.
 male name 3P.PL meet, run into EXH DP
 Intended meaning: 'Lamo all ran into them.'
- c. *མཉམ་མི་མཉམ་མི་ལྔ་མཆོག་།
 *mu ga at nyop zo **sat** ox.
 male name female name meet, run into EXH DP
 Intended meaning: 'Muga all ran into Anyo.'

Examples (85a+b) uses the intransitive verb 'sneeze', and (86a+b) the transitive verb 'electrify'.

- (85) a. *མཉམ་མི་མཉམ་མི་ལྔ་མཆོག་།
 *cy ax cie mu **sat** ox.
 3P.SG sneeze EXH DP
 Intended meaning: 'S/he sneezed completely.'

b. 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍。
 ngop wox ax cie mu **sat** ox.
 1P.PL sneeze EXH DP
 ‘We all sneezed.’

(86) a. *𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗。
 *syr a zzyx bbo die nyut **sat** ox.
 tree DEM.DIST CL electricity touch EXH DP
 Intended meaning: ‘That tree completely received an electric shock.’

b. 𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗。
 syr a zzyx gge die nyut **sat** ox.
 tree DEM.DIST CL electricity touch EXH DP
 ‘All the trees got an electric shock.’

(ii) Quantized events

Quantized events stop when the patient entity is completely processed. The exhaustion particle contributes two distinct senses to quantized clauses that may collapse. It quantifies the sentence-initial argument, both agent and patient, and acts as complete particle. These two interpretations are equivalent if the sentence-initial noun phrase is the patient noun phrase.

(87) a. 𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤。
 cop wox syp hmi ci ma zze **sat** ox.
 3P.PL nut NUM.10 CL eat EXH DP

- (i) ‘They all ate ten nuts.’
 (ii) ‘They completely ate up ten nuts.’
 (iii) ‘They all ate up ten nuts.’

b. 𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤。
 cy syp hmi ci ma zze **sat** ox.
 3P.SG nut NUM.10 CL eat EXH DP
 ‘S/he completely ate up ten nuts.’

c. 𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤。
 syp hmi ci ma cy zze **sat** ox.
 nut NUM.10 CL 3P.SG eat EXH DP
 (i) ‘All of the ten nuts were eaten by him/her.’
 (ii) ‘Ten nuts were completely eaten by him/her.’

The idea in (88) is that of a fierce battle where Redisofu successively uses up nine loads of bamboo rods.⁸

⁸ Quoted from the folk story “Redisofu overcomes the sorceress”(Chén & Wū 1998: 237–252).

(88) 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

ma dda ggu vi jyt **sat**.
bamboo rod NUM.9 CL.load whip EXH

(i) '(Redisofu) used up all nine loads of bamboo rods in beating (her).'

(ii) '(Redisofu) completed all the beating that involved nine loads of bamboo rods.'

In the wash-face event in (89), the face is a quantized expression. The event stops when the washing of all parts of the face is completed.⁹

(89) a. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

nga ka nyuo cy **sat** ox.
1P.SG face wash EXH DP
'I have completed washing my face.'

b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

ngop wox ka nyuo cy **sat** ox.
1P.PL face wash EXH DP

(i) 'We have all washed our faces.'

(ii) 'We have completely washed our faces.'

(iii) 'We have all washed our faces completely.'

When the initial argument is singular as in (89a), then *sat* acts as a completive particle. When it is plural, as in (89b), three readings are implied.

(iii) Homogenous events

The exhaustion particle *sat* is incompatible with homogenous events, or pragmatically odd at best: '#Peter ran completely'. There are two types of homogenous events: events with nonincremental arguments, as in (90), or events with homogenous arguments, as in (91)–(92).

(90) a. *𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

*cy bbox dduo li **sat**.
3P.SG mountain(ous area) climb go up EXH

Inteded meaning: 'S/he walks completely in the mountains.'

b. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

cop wox bbox dduo li **sat**.
3P.SG mountain(ous area) climb go up EXH

'They all walk in the mountains.'

⁹ Sentence (89a) is quoted from Lǐ & Mǎ's conversational textbook (1981: 23).

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

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

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

- (92) a. θ θ θ .
 mu ti ox.
 sky dawn DP
 ‘It became dawn.’
- b. # θ θ θ θ .
 #mu ti **sat** ox.
 sky dawn EXH DP
 Intended meaning: ‘It completely became dawn.’

(iv) Bounded events

The exhaustion particle is incompatible with bounded events because in contrast to quantized events, no measure of the entire event is given, only an endpoint. The directional verb *la* ‘come’ is a bounded event with an encoded endpoint.¹⁰ (The counterpart *bbo* ‘go’ is homogenous.)

- (93) a. θ θ θ θ θ ?
 co la **sat sat** ox?
 person come EXH~ALT DP
 ‘Did all the people come?’
- b. * θ θ θ θ θ ?
 *cy la **sat sat** ox?
 3P.SG come EXH~ALT DP
 Intended meaning: ‘Has he all come?’

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

Every directional verb with an explicit destination represents a bounded event, as in (94).

- (94) *𐑈𐑉𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞。
 *nga rruo nuo yy sat ox
 1P.SG Mianning go down EXH DP
 Intended meaning: 'I have completely gone down to Mianning.'

Other verbs that encode a lexical endpoint are verbs such as *sy* 'die' or *ggot da* 'close'.

- (95) 𐑈𐑉𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞。
 ip ko mu hly gep ggot da sat ox.
 door wind COV close EXH DP
 'All the doors were closed by the wind.'

Other bounded events are formed by compound verbs V_1V_2 with a main verb V_1 and a grammaticalized resultative verb V_2 which expresses a boundary of the whole event. The particle *sat* is ungrammatical with these events and shrinks to a universal quantifier.

- (96) 𐑈𐑉𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞。
 mu ga ngop wox mu ga shep wex sat ox.
 male name 1P.PL male name seek GET EXH DP
 'Muga found us all.'

C. States

Ungradable states exhibit a singular comparison class, gradable states a comparison class that is quantized or homogenous (section 7.1.1.B).

(i) Ungradable states

The exhaustion particle is incompatible with ungradable states whose comparison class is singular such as positional states (*sit*, *live*) and intensified adjectives (*brandnew*).

- (97) a. *𐑈𐑉𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞。
 *nga lur mat tot nyi sat.
 1P.SG stone LOC.on sit EXH
 Intended meaning: 'I all sit on the rock.'
- b. 𐑈𐑉𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞。
 ngop lur mat tot nyi sat.
 1P.PL stone LOC.on sit EXH
 'We all sit on the rock.'

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

- (100) a. 花全紅 (Hjj) ㄟ。
 bbut vie hnix lo lo (mu jjix) sat.
 flower very red ADVL become EXH
 ‘The flowers are all very red.’
- b. 人黑 (Hjj) ㄟ。
 co ggex su nuo pup pup (mu jjix) sat.
 people ART=CL-DET very black ADVL become EXH
 ‘(The square) is black of people.’

(ii) Gradable states

Gradable states such as *Bill is tall* are compared to the size of other individuals. Each gradable state exhibits a class of objects, a comparison class. Every gradable state can be embedded into a context with a quantized or homogenous comparison class. The particle *sat* is compatible with the reading of quantized but incompatible with that of homogenous comparison class.

In (101a–i), the comparison class is a class of garments that is definite and quantized in the mind of the speaker. On a second reading, glossed in (101a–ii), the comparison class is cumulative / homogenous.

- (101) a. 这件衣服最美。ㄟ。
 i dix a zzyx ggux nrat sat.
 garment DEM.DIST CL beautiful EXH
 (i) ‘That garment is the most beautiful.’
 (ii) ‘That garment is the most beautiful in the world.’

When the argument is marked as a definite plural, two readings are imposed by *sat*: universal quantification on the first noun phrase and superlative marking.

- b. 衣服都美。ㄟ。
 i dix ggex su nrat sat.
 garment ART=CL-DET beautiful EXH
 (i) ‘All the garments are beautiful.’
 (ii) ‘The garments are most beautiful.’
 (iii) ‘All the garments are most beautiful.’

The comparison class in (102) consists of two groups: the guests and others. There are again three meanings: universal quantification, superlative and a combination of both.

- (102) a. 坐位用者皆饿。
 ddip vip ggex su ip mop mit sat.
 guest ART=CL-DET belly hungry EXH
 (i) 'All the guests are hungry.'
 (ii) 'The guests are extremely hungry.'
 (iii) 'All the guests are extremely hungry.'

The first and the third meaning are cancelled if the argument is changed into a singular noun phrase.

- b. 坐位用者, 他是饿。
 co ggex su go, cy ip mop mit sat.
 people ART LOC 3P.SG belly hungry EXH
 'Among the people present, he is the most hungry.'

The class of those who admire Anyo is potentially definite and quantized. The exhaustion particle contributes the meaning of superlative.

- (103) 女名喜放爱最多。
 at nyop dax mu ga hxie vur sat mu jjix.
 female name COV.put male name love EXH ADVL become
 'Muga perhaps loves Anyo the most.'

D. Synthesis

The exhaustion particle has scope over both noun phrases in sentence-initial position and verb phrases. It occurs immediately after the predicate, but before other aspect and modality particles.

There are restrictions on the noun and verb phrases that serve as input of the exhaustion particle. Either noun or verb phrase must have the quantized reference property.

Only quantized domains are fully compatible with *sat*. The operation of EXH can be described as a second-order universal quantifier whose cumulative input is NPs and VPs (Gerner 2007a). Its operation on NPs can be described as universal noun quantifier (*all*), and its operation on VPs either as completive (*completely*) or as superlative (*most*).

Table 7.5: The quantificational meaning of the exhaustion particle

<i>First NP: Object Denotation</i>						
	Singular		Quantized		Homogenous	
<i>VP: Event Denotation</i>	EXH	Example	EXH	Example	EXH	Example
Singular	*	(84c)	($\forall, -$)	(85b)	#	
Quantized	($-, \forall$)	(87b)	(\forall, \forall)	(87a)	($-, \forall$)	(82)
Homogenous	*(#)	(90a)	($\forall, -$)	(90b)	#	(92b)
Bounded	*	(94)	($\forall, -$)	(95)	#	(91b)
<i>VP: State Denotation</i>						
Singular	*	(97a)	($\forall, -$)	(98a)	#	(100a)
Quantized	($-, \forall$)	(101a-i)	(\forall, \forall)	(100b)	($-, \forall$)	(102a-ii)
Homogenous	#	(101a-ii)	($\forall, -$)	(83-i)	#	(83-ii)
	(\forall, \forall): universal (i) object, (ii) event/state quantification, (iii) (i) + (ii)					
	($\forall, -$): universal object but (no universal event/state) quantification					
	($-, \forall$): universal event/state (and no universal object) quantification					

7.6 Quantitative aspect

Nuosu has a rich grammatical system of quantificational aspect with three aspect markers, *experiential* (section 7.6.1), *periodical* (section 7.6.2) and *habitual* aspect (section 7.6.3). In this subsection, I am using material published in Gerner (2004b).

Cross-linguistically, the *habitual* is widely attested. In the 94-language GRAMCATS sample (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994), the *habitual* (without tense restrictions) is a grammatical category in 26 languages representing most of the major language families in the world. The *experiential* is restricted to two regions of the world: Africa and East Asia (Dahl 1985: 140). Languages with *experiential* aspect include Korean (Kim 1998), Japanese (Inoue 1975) and Chinese (Pān & Lee 2004). The *experiential* aspect is also standard in a wide range of Tibeto-Burman, Kadai and Miao languages. The *periodical* is a rare category and seems to exist only in Nuosu (Gerner 2004b).

Table 7.6: Three quantificational aspects in Nuosu

	Nuosu particle	Gloss
Experiential	nzop	'it happened once that'
Periodical	ndit	'once in a while'
Habitual	go shex	'often, be used to'

The resultative auxiliaries (section 7.3), the progressive (section 7.4) and exhaustion particles (section 7.5) are all *aspects of the first kind*. They interact with the situation type of the clause. The experiential, periodical and habitual are *aspects of the second kind* for which the situation type is not a revealing tool. These aspects are

sensible to a modal parameter and to the notion of repeatability which is defined in terms of the topic time (TT) and situation time (TS), see section 7.1.2.

Table 7.7: The modal parameter

impossible	The situation <i>cannot</i> be realized in TT (e.g. <i>sunrise tonight</i>).
possible	The situation <i>can</i> but <i>need not</i> be realized in TT (e.g. <i>eat</i>).
necessary	The situation <i>must</i> be realized in TT (e.g. <i>sunrise today</i>).

Table 7.8: The parameter of repeatability

unrepeatable	If the situation is realized once, then the situation <i>cannot</i> be realized another time afterwards (e.g. <i>die</i>).
weak-repeatable	If the situation is realized once, then the situation <i>can</i> but <i>need not</i> be realized afterwards (e.g. <i>wash a car</i>).
strong-repeatable	If the situation is realized once, then the situation <i>must</i> be realized at any later time (e.g. <i>mountain is high</i>).

The Nuosu *experiential*, *periodical* and *habitual* aspects require situations whose occurrence is possible within the topic time. The *experiential* and *periodical* aspects are only compatible with weak-repeatable events not with unrepeatable and strong-repeatable events. The *habitual* aspect is incompatible with unrepeatable, but compatible with weak- and strong-repeatable situations.

7.6.1 The experiential particle *nzox*

The experiential particle *nzox* can co-occur with specific and unspecific events, the two other particles only with unspecific events.

A. Unrepeatable situations

The experiential marker is incompatible with unrepeatable situations, such as birth-, death-related events or unique events in the life span of a creature.

(104) a. * $\text{bbup ddi sse qot bbup hlup jjip nzox}$.

caterpillar change butterfly become EXP

Intended meaning: ‘The caterpillar has already changed into a butterfly.’

b. * $\text{va zyt sse va qip bburx gur go da ddur la nzox}$.

chicken egg shell LOC COV exit come EXP

Intended meaning: ‘The chicken has hatched out.’

- c. *ལྱག་གི་ཤིང་།
 *vot na sy **nzox**.
 pig ill die EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘The pig was ill and died.’
- d. *ལྱག་གི་ལོ་ཟླ་མཇུག་པོ་ཤིང་།
 *ngat a hxo te jjyp go mga bbo **nzox**.
 1P.SG youth PRO.DIR pass go EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘My youth has already passed.’

B. Weak-repeatable situations

The experiential marker *nzox* is compatible with weak-repeatable situations that are possible within the topic time (TT). The event of drinking water is possible within the time interval of *today* (TT). Within *one year*, however, the event of drinking water is necessary.

- (105) a. བུ་ལོ་ལྷོང་།
 ip nyip nga yy ndo **nzox**.
 today 1P.SG water drink EXP
 ‘Today I have drunken water.’
- b. *ལོ་ལྷོང་པོ་ལྷོང་།
 *ap hxiet ddip kut nga yy ndo **nzox**.
 last year 1P.SG water drink EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘Last year I drank water.’

In (106), sunset at a specific time point of the evening is a possible event, whereas it is a necessary event within the time span of one day.

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

The following three examples are weak-repeatable and possible to occur within the implied time frame (TT).

- (107) a. $\text{ʃo mo cyp kur hxo bbu ke zze su nga mo nzoX.}$
 year before last sun dog eat NOM 1P.SG see EXP
 ‘In the year before last I witnessed once a solar eclipse.’
- b. $\text{cyp uo nyie ax nyi mu ndit nzoX.}$
 3P.SG hair much ADVL exist EXP
 ‘His hair was once abundant.’
- c. $\text{mu ga rry ni nzoX.}$
 male name tooth grow EXP
 ‘Muga already grew teeth.’

Unrepeatable situations can be transformed into weak-repeatable if we allow the arguments to have unspecific reference.

- (108) a. $\text{ʃu kut zza ma ax hxie gep gax zze nzoX ox.}$
 this year crops mouse PASS COV eat EXP DP
 ‘This year’s crops were already eaten by mice.’
- b. $\text{mu vut go mu di jjit ap gge nzoX.}$
 sky LOC cloud perceive-not-perceive EXP
 ‘Clouds in the sky already disappeared once.’

The experiential marker can be negated with the sense of *never*. The negation particle is placed between the main verb and the experiential marker.

- (109) a. $\text{mu rryr yi cyx bbop go da bbit bbo ap- nzoX.}$
 male name house DEM.PROX CL LOC COV leave NEG- EXP
 ‘Mudge has never left that house.’
- b. $\text{lu po si nip cop wox jjyx zzi ap- nzoX.}$
 male name and 3P.PL meet NEG- EXP
 ‘Lupo never met them.’

C. Strong-repeatable situations

Strong-repeatable situations are “eternal situations” or individual-level (Kratzer 1995). Strong-repeatable are incompatible with the experiential marker *nzoX*.

- (110) a. * 𑌛𑌸𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌶𑌵𑌲𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌵 .
 *bbo a zzyx ma a hmu-jjy-a hmu **nzox**.
 mountain DEM.DIST CL high-very-high EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘The mountain was once high.’
- b. * 𑌲𑌸𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌶𑌵𑌲𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌵 .
 *cyp kur ne kop nge ci nyix ma jjo **nzox**.
 3P.SG year week NUM.52 CL have EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘One year once had 52 weeks.’
- c. * $\text{𑌮𑌸𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌶𑌵𑌲𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌵𑌲𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌵𑌲𑌸𑌰𑌵𑌰𑌵}$.
 *ngop jip xi nge get got bu liet tuo nge ddx xip ggat go
 1P.PL ancestor all Gobulietuo COP LOC DEM place LOC
 jjo **nzox**.
 have EXP
 Intended meaning: ‘All our ancestors were once at a place called Gobulietuo.’

D. Synthesis

The experiential marker *nzox* exhibits complex selectional restrictions with aspectual, temporal, modal and quantificational components.

Table 7.9: Profile of the experiential marker

Constraints on underlying clause		Aspect-Tense	Quantification
unrepeatable		*(ungrammatical)	
weak-repeatable	impossible	*(ungrammatical)	‘at least once’
	possible	TS < TT	
	necessary	*(ungrammatical)	
strong-repeatable		*(ungrammatical)	

For clauses that are compatible with *nzox*, the experiential marker expresses that the situation occurred at least once before the topic time.

7.6.2 The periodical particle *ndit*

The aspect particle *ndit* marks low frequency events (*once in a while*). The marker *ndit* is only associated with unspecific events. It is only compatible with weak-repeatable situations that are possible within a given time frame (TT).

A. Unrepeatable situations

Similar to other quantificational aspects, the periodical marker is incompatible with unrepeatable situations. The following examples illustrate this point.

- (111) a. * $\text{花 花 又 小 开 过 一 次 。$
 *viex vie cyx bu a vu **ndit**.
 flower DEM.PROX DEM.PROX dry PER
 Intended meaning: ‘The flower has been dry once in a while.’
- b. * $\text{爷爷 有 不 治 之 症 。$
 *cyp ax pu ggit na yiet wep **ndit**.
 3P.SG grandfather incurable disease CL get PER
 Intended meaning: ‘His grandfather had an incurable disease once in a while.’
- c. * $\text{这孩子 在 中国 注册 。$
 *ax yi cyx ma hmi cur **ndit**.
 child DEM.PROX CL name register PER
 Intended meaning: ‘This child has been registered once in a while (at the Public Security Bureau in China; in Chinese: *shàng hùkǒu*).’
- d. * $\text{他 妈 妈 去 年 中 国 妈 妈 死 了 。$
 *cyp a mat ap hxiet ddip kut mop jii **ndit**.
 3P.SG mother last year decease PER
 Intended meaning: ‘His mother died last year.’
- e. * $\text{雪 昨 天 下 过 就 化 了 。$
 *vo ap ndi hxix jjip su jyy **ndit**.
 snow yesterday become NOM melt PER
 Intended meaning: ‘The snow that fell yesterday melted once in a while.’

B. Weak-repeatable situations

Weak-repeatable events with possible implementation are compatible. The particle *ndit* may be negated with the sense of *rarely*, *almost never*.

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

- (114) a. 我哋區震。

ngop mu ddix mu lyr **ndit.**

1P.PL area shake PER

'Our area has had earthquakes once in a while.'
- b. 我哋區幾乎不震。

ngop mu ddix mu lyr ap- **ndit.**

1P.PL area ground shake NEG- PER

'Our area almost never had an earthquake.'

The negative particle must be placed after the verb and before *ndit*. Most examples below have positive and negative versions.

- (115) a. 佢名來我哋區。

mu ga pu jjit la **ndit.**

male name Puge County come PER

'Muga comes to Puge County once in a while.'
- b. 佢名幾乎不來我哋區。

mu ga pu jjit la ap- **ndit.**

male name Puge County come NEG- PER

'Muga almost never comes to Puge County.'
- (116) a. #客人嘅肚好餓。

#ddip vip ggex su ip mop mit **ndit.**

guest ART=CL-DET belly hungry PER

Odd: 'The guests are hungry once in a while.'
- b. #客人嘅肚好少餓。

#ddip vip ggex su ip mop mit ap- **ndit.**

guest ART=CL-DET belly hungry NEG- PER

Odd: 'The guests are rarely hungry.'
- (117) a. 我好累。

nga jjix do **ndit.**

1P.SG tired PER

'I am tired once in a while.'
- b. #我好幾不累。

#nga jjix do ap- **ndit**

1P.SG tired NEG- PER

Odd: 'I am almost never tired.'
- (118) a. 嗰度有風吹。

a ddit go hlyx guo pur **ndit.**

there LOC storm blow PER

'It is storming once in a while.'

- b. ㄉㄉㄉ ㄍㄛ ㄏㄩㄝ ㄍㄨㄛ ㄆㄨㄝ ㄆㄛ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 a ddit go hlyx guo pur ap- ndit.
 there LOC storm blow NEG- PER
 ‘There is rarely a storm.’

- (119) a. ㄇㄞ ㄇㄞ ㄉㄧ ㄇㄛ ㄍㄛ ㄎㄨ ㄌㄚ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 cop jiet co gox ku la ndit.
 3P.PL.POSS home person LOC steal come PER
 ‘Their home is broken into once in a while.’

- b. ㄇㄞ ㄇㄞ ㄉㄧ ㄇㄛ ㄍㄛ ㄎㄨ ㄌㄚ ㄆㄛ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 cop jiet co gox ku la ap- ndit.
 3P.PL.POSS home person LOC steal come NEG- PER
 ‘Their home is rarely broken into.’

- (120) a. ㄐㄩ ㄇㄛ ㄛ ㄛ。
 cyp gop bo vat ndit.
 3P.SG body good PER
 ‘His/her health is good occasionally.’

- b. ㄐㄩ ㄇㄛ ㄛ ㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 cyp gop bo vat ap- ndit.
 3P.SG body good NEG- PER
 ‘His/her health is rarely good.’

- (121) a. ㄎㄨㄉㄜ ㄐㄞ ㄇㄚ ㄎㄚ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 vut jy hxie mat kat ndit.
 female name heart happy PER
 ‘Vudje is happy once in a while.’

- b. ㄎㄨㄉㄜ ㄐㄞ ㄇㄚ ㄎㄚ ㄆㄛ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 vut jy hxie mat kat ap- ndit.
 female name heart happy NEG- PER
 ‘Vudje is almost never happy.’

A portion of the above examples are odd because they are close to impossible or necessary situations.

- (122) a. ㄆㄞ ㄇㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄍㄛ ㄐㄩ ㄋㄉㄧ。
 ax mo vit gga yyx cy ndit.
 mother clothes wash PER
 ‘Mother washes clothes once in a while.’

- b. *ㄋㄨㄙ ㄙㄨ ㄘㄛ ㄋㄩㄣ ㄍㄨㄒ ㄆㄚ ㄙㄨ ㄙㄧ ㄘㄩㄛ ㄧ ㄋㄉㄧ 。
 *nuo su co ax nyi ggux pa su sip chuo it **ndit**.
 Nuosu person many CL.part NOM Sichuān live PER
 ‘Most Nuosu lived in Sīchuān (*once in a while).’
- c. *ㄞ ㄋㄚ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ ㄞ 。
 *ngat vyt vu yur nyip li ly hlep te go nge **ndit**.
 1P.SG elder brother birthday TOP April time COP PER
 ‘My brother’s birthday is in April (*once in a while).’

D. The verbal meaning of *ndit*

The periodical aspect marker is historically derived from the existential verb *ndit* with the sense *have, wear* (section 12.1.2.D). It subcategorizes entities such as body parts attached to the body (*hand*), clothing items worn on the extremities of the body (*gloves*), plants (*leaves*) and a few abstract items (*name, letter*).

- (127) a. ㄘㄩ ㄩㄛ ㄋㄩㄣ 。 b. ㄘㄩ 。
 cy uo nyie **ndit**. cy hnap bo **ndit**.
 3P.SG hair have 3P.SG ear have
 ‘He has hair.’ ‘He has ears.’
- c. ㄘㄩ ㄌㄛ 。 d. ㄘㄩ ㄋㄩㄚ ㄗㄩ 。
 cy lot **ndit**. cy nyuo zzy **ndit**.
 3P.SG hand have 3P.SG eye have
 ‘He has hands.’ ‘He has eyes.’
- e. ㄙㄩ ㄅㄛ ㄙㄩ ㄑㄩ 。 f. ㄙㄩ ㄅㄛ ㄇㄚ ㄇㄚ 。
 syr bbo syr qi **ndit**. syr bbo max ma **ndit**.
 tree leaves have tree fruit bear
 ‘The tree has leaves.’ ‘The tree bears fruit.’
- g. ㄊㄞ ㄘㄩ ㄅㄅㄩ ㄇㄚ 。 h. ㄘㄩ ㄏㄚㄩ 。
 tep yy bbur ma **ndit**. cy hmi **ndit**.
 book letter write 3P.SG name have
 ‘It is written in the book.’ ‘He has a name.’

The verb *ndit* and the periodical aspect marker *ndit* can co-occur in one clause exactly if the possessee is alienable. The aspect particle *ndit* has preserved verb properties such as the possibility of negation and reduplication. If the aspect particle is reduplicated, the second copy has its tone lowered.

- (128) ㄘㄩ ㄌㄩ ㄏㄌㄩ ㄋㄩㄣ ㄗㄩ 。
 cyx li hlu njy jjut va **ndit ndi**.
 3P.SG TOP leather belt wear PER
 ‘He wore a leather belt occasionally.’ (Other meaning: Did he wear a leather belt?)

- (129) 他们多久打一次架?
 cop wox jiyx- ga **ndit ndi**?
 3P.PL RECL- beat PER~ALT
 ‘Did they have a fight once in a while?’

E. Synthesis

The periodical marker *ndit* does not exhibit temporal meaning only aspectual meaning. Sentences with *ndit* express unspecific existential meanings and have a topic time with wide scope. The topic time contains the situation time.

Table 7.10: Profile of the periodical marker

Constraints on underlying clause		Aspect-Tense	Quantification
unrepeatable		*(ungrammatical)	
weak-repeatable	impossible	#(pragmatically odd)	‘once in a while’
	possible	TS ⊆ TT	
	necessary	#(pragmatically odd)	
strong-repeatable		*(ungrammatical)	

Clauses that have impossible or necessary implementation in the time frame (TT) are pragmatically odd with the periodical marker *ndit*.

7.6.3 The habitual particle *go shex*

The habitual marker *go shex* is grammaticalized from the verb *shex/shex* ‘seek’ and the versatile pronoun *go* (section 5.4.1.F). In the typological literature, various lexical sources for the habitual aspect were proposed such as *sit*, *live*, *know*, *see* but not *seek* (Bybee et al. 1994: 154–155). From early on, the Nuosu verb *seek* might have developed into the sense of *try several times*.

I sought to come to Xichang = I tried (several times) to come to Xichang.

This construction was used with human subjects and appeared in present and past tense. Later, it occurred with inanimate subjects as well.

A. Unrepeatable situations

The habitual particle *go shex* cannot mark events that are unrepeatable. The following four unrepeatable situations show this point.

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

- c. 任何人的生日都在三月。
at nyop yur nyip li suo hlep te go nge **go shex**.
female name birthday TOP March time LOC COP HAB
‘Anyo’s birthday is always in March.’

For states of alienable possession, *go shex* does not express a recurrent but a continuous uninterrupted pattern. The periodical marker *ndit* cannot be used in these clauses.

- (137) a. 他的头发很多。
cyp uo nyie ax nyi mu ndit **go shex**.
3P.SG hair much ADVL attached to HAB
‘His hair is always abundant.’
- b. 他在这段时间手指。
cy lot jy ci ji ndit **go shex**.
3P.SG finger NUM.10 CL attached to HAB
‘He has ten fingers during all this time.’

The habitual marker *go shex* has preserved the verbal properties of negation and reduplication.

- (138) a. 他不常吸烟。
cy yi ndo **go-ap-shex**.
3P.SG tobacco smoke HAB<NEG>
‘He does not smoke often.’
- b. 他不常吸烟吗?
cy yi ndo **go shex she?**
3P.SG tobacco smoke HAB~ALT
‘Does he often smoke?’

C. Strong-repeatable situations

The habitual marker *go shex* cannot be used with strong-repeatable or so-called eternal situations.

- (139) a. *那达圣山很高。
*ndap ssyp bbo a hmu-jjy-a hmu **go shex**.
Ndase mountain high-very-high HAB
Intended meaning: ‘The Ndase mountain is always very high.’
- b. *兴城很远。
*op rro lip mu mo ggux si nip a sho mu gat **go shex**.
Xichang Meigu County with distant ADVL distant HAB
Intended meaning: ‘Xichang used to be at a very long distance from Meigu.’

c. * $\mu\text{g}\text{a}$ li cyp sse nge go shex .

male name TOP 3P.SG.POSS son COP HAB

Intended meaning: ‘Muga is always his son.’

D. Synthesis

The habitual marker is incompatible with unrepeatable and strong-repeatable situations. It can also occur with situations that happen necessarily within a time frame. It then expresses *always*. Sentences with *go shex* are unspecific and generic. The habitual marker is associated with topic times that contain the situation time (TSit \subseteq TT).

Table 7.11: Profile of the habitual marker

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

7.6.4 Verb classifiers

While the experiential, periodical and habitual aspects convey vague quantitative values, verb classifiers provide precise frequency measures.

A. Terminology

Classifiers are morphemes with selectional restrictions in morphosyntactic constructions. Noun classifiers subcategorize nouns in numeral, quantifier, demonstrative pronoun and sometimes possessive constructions.

(140) μsu yo

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

The classifier *yo* requires human nouns and partitions nouns into human and nonhuman nouns. As a system, the set of classifiers categorize nouns into partially overlapping classes.

For verb phrases there is a frequency construction in which the verb is modified by a VP-adjunct, a numeral with an instrumental noun. The term *verb classifiers* for instrumental nouns is adopted.

- (141) 𐀓𐀔𐀙𐀓𐀚𐀖𐀗𐀓。
 nga nyip **cha** zyt.
 1P.SG NUM.2 VCL.pickaxe dig
 ‘I dug with a pickaxe twice’ (*lit.* I dug two pickaxes)’

Only a small range of verbs with the thematic role of instrument can be used in this frequency construction. Verb classifiers may be divided into *sortal* versus *mensural* verb classifiers. Sortal classifiers are verb classifiers proper derived from instrumental nouns. They exhibit proportional relations between the sets of classifiers and classifieds. The small Nuosu system of sortal verb classifiers is classificatory in this sense.

By contrast, mensural verb classifiers manifest no selectional restrictions and are not classificatory in a strict sense. They convey a temporal concept and are classificatory only in the sense that they occupy the same syntactic position as sortal verb classifiers.

- (142) 𐀓𐀚𐀔𐀙𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀚𐀖𐀗𐀓。
 nga hxe cyp **nyip** mgot.
 1P.SG fish NUM.1 day catch
 ‘I have been fishing a whole day.’

The mensural verb classifier *nyip* ‘day’ imposes a temporal measure on the event.

B. Sortal verb classifiers

The Nuosu sortal verb classifiers occur in two types of constructions: one with a bare instrument noun, the other with an instrumental noun together with the general verb classifier *luo*.

- (143) a. N₀ NUM VCL V
 b. N₀ INSTR N NUM VCL: luo V

The first construction uses one of the Nuosu VCL listed in Table 7.12 below. These morphemes are historically derived from instrumental nouns which in some cases were replaced by new forms, as in (144b).

- (144) a. 𐀓𐀔𐀙𐀓𐀚𐀖𐀗𐀓𐀚𐀖𐀗𐀓。
 nga nyip **cha** njyr.
 1P.SG NUM.2 VCL.pickaxe dig
 ‘I dug with a pickaxe twice (*lit.* I dug two pickaxes).’
 b. 𐀓𐀚𐀔𐀙𐀓𐀗𐀓𐀚𐀖𐀗𐀓𐀚𐀖𐀗𐀓。
 nga **zyt mop** six njyr.
 1P.SG pickaxe COV dig
 ‘I dug with a pickaxe.’

Table 7.12: Sortal verb classifiers

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

(145) 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

cy nyip **bba hluop** ngax nzyt.
 3P.SG NUM.2 VCL.mouth 1P.SG bite
 'He bit me twice (*lit.* He bit me two mouths).'

The second construction employs a general VCL, the classifier *luo*, and an instrumental noun. It is also possible to omit the instrumental noun.

(146) 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

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

(147) 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

cy **vi mop** cyp **luo** syr kie.
 3P.SG axe NUM.1 VCL.time wood cut
 'He cut once with the axe.'

In Nuosu, there are only 3–4 sortal verb classifiers that categorize about 12 activity verbs (see table 7.12). With this low number of VCLs and classified verbs, it is difficult to justify them as classifiers since there must be a basic statistical ratio between the set of classifiers and classifieds. We continue to call them verb classifiers because they occur in the same position as sortal VCLs in Mandarin which number about 50 members and categorize 70–80 activity verbs (Gerner, forthcoming).

C. Mensural verb classifiers

Sortal VCLs *actualize* minimal temporal or phasal parts which are intrinsic to the verb concept, whereas mensural VCLs *create* or *impose* temporal boundaries which are not inherent to the verb (Matthews & Yip 1999).

The prototypical example of a verb concept with minimal parts is *beat*. Its phasal boundaries are given by the idea of punctual collision. Sortal VCLs such as *rod* or *fist* actualize the idea of collision. Verbs such as *wait* do not display any smallest phase. Mensural VCLs like *day* impose artificial temporal boundaries that are alien to the verb concept.

For mensural classifiers, another distinction can be recycled from the nominal domain. Some scholars divide mensural NCLs further into *collective* NCLs and *measure* NCLs (Bisang 1999: 122; Rijkhoff 1991). Collective NCLs erase the minimal part structure of an object and impose a different collective structure (*a group of students, a collection of stamps, a flock of sheep*). Entities without minimal parts do not permit collective classifiers: **a group of wine, *a collection of air*. Measure NCLs modify nouns without inert minimal parts like *a cup of water, a cubic meter of air*. They can modify objects with minimal parts, but are pragmatically marked like in *#a container of people, #a box of mice*.

Table 7.13: Collective and measure noun classifiers

	Collective NCLs	Measure NCLs
Objects with minimal parts	group of students	#container of people
Objects without minimal parts	*group of wine	cup of water

Collective VCLs modify verbs that have individuable phases, and set up a new grouping of these parts. The noun *round* is a prototypical collective VCL. Temporal nouns like *hour, day* or *year* are *measure* VCLs. They impose standard time measures onto events. They naturally co-occur with verbs without minimal parts such as *wait* or *love*. However, many mensural VCLs have not a clear-cut behaviour for the collective vs. measure distinction. The generic VCL *time*, for instance, can modify verbs with and without individuable phases, although it is used more naturally with verbs with individuable phases.

Table 7.14: Collective and measure verb classifiers

	Collective VCLs	Measure VCLs
Events with minimal parts	box one round	(#)box for an hour
Events without minimal parts	#wait one round	wait for an hour

(i) Collective verb classifiers

There are five collective VCLs in Nuosu. Some of them manifest almost no selectional restriction and can be used with a wide range of verbs (for example the VCL *vit*). Some are restricted to a few verbs (for instance the VCL *jjj*).

Table 7.15: Collective verb classifiers

Collective Verb Classifier	Nuosu	Mandarin
'time'	vit ʘ	cì 次
'quick time'	luo 𐄀	xià 下
'round'	jjj 𐄁	dùn 顿
'round' (mainly motions)	jo ʘ	tàng 趟
'round'	ggup 𐄂	huí 回
'process'	–	biàn 遍

The classifier *luo* means *quick time*. In Nuosu, *luo* is selective though there is no straightforward semantic principle. The Chinese counterpart is *xià* which is compatible with a wide range of verbs.

Mandarin

- (148) tā kǔ le yī xià.
 3P.SG cry DP NUM.1 VCL.time
 'He cried once (briefly).'

Nuosu

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

- e. * ngop cyp **luo** vu .
 1P.PL NUM.1 VCL.time buy
 ‘We bought (it) in one go.’

Three verb classifiers that can be translated by *round* with different ranges of compatible verbs each time. The VCL *ji* ‘round’ categorizes verbs of consumption such as *eat*, *drink*. Out of a sample of 122 basic verbs, 15 verbs are compatible and 107 verbs incompatible with *ji*.

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

Another collective classifier is the morpheme *jo* ‘round, section’. Out of a sample of 122 basic verbs, 33 verbs appeared compatible and 89 verbs incompatible with this VCL.

- (151) a. nga mu suo **jo** zzy ox .
 1P.SG horse NUM.3 VCL.round ride DP
 ‘I rode a horse in three rounds.’
- b. nga ip ko nyip **jo** ggot ox .
 1P.SG door NUM.2 VCL.round close DP
 ‘I closed the door on two occasions.’
- c. lat sse gga cyp **jo** shyp ox .
 male name road NUM.1 VCL.round lead DP
 ‘Laze led (people) along a path on one occasions.’

- d. 阿哥跑三圈。
 mu jie suo jo bot ox.
 male name NUM.3 VCL.round run DP
 ‘Mujie ran on three occasions.’
- e. 阿哥偷两圈。
 cy suo jo ku ox.
 3P.SG NUM.3 VCL.round steal DP
 ‘He engaged in two robberies.’

The VCL *ggup* ‘round’ can be traced back to the Proto-Yi directional verb for *go back* (Gerner 2002a: 29). The Mandarin VCL *huí* is also derived from *go back*. The selectional restrictions of *ggup* and *huí* are very different though. The Nuosu VCL *ggup* categorizes a large range of verbs but is incompatible with mental verbs like *think* and *know*.

- (152) a. 改一次。
 ne cyp **ggup** ddiex bur.
 2P.SG NUM.1 VCL.time correct, change
 ‘Change it once.’
- b. 为什么过桥一次?
 cy xix mu zzi cyp **ggup** mga?
 3P.SG INT.why bridge NUM.1 VCL.time cross
 ‘Why did he cross the bridge once?’
- c. 他一次怕。
 cy cyp **ggup** jy jie?
 3P.SG NUM.1 VCL.time fear
 ‘He was afraid once.’
- d. *过一次。
 *nga cyp **ggup** dde jji.
 1P.SG NUM.1 VCL.time know
 ‘I knew (it) once.’

In Nuosu, there is no VCL that is equivalent to the Mandarin *biàn* as in the following example.

- Mandarin
 (153) tā zhī le yī biàn.
 3P.SG weave DP NUM.1 VCL.process
 ‘He engaged in one process of weaving (*lit.* he weaved once).’

(ii) Measure verb classifiers

Measure VCLs are time-units, natural or man-made, and indicate the duration of an event or state. They typically modify verbs that do not incorporate minimal phases, although in practice they are also compatible with verbs with minimal phases. Measure VCLs select compatible verbs if the duration fits in the verb's time frame. Mandarin Chinese serves again as point of comparison.

Table 7.16: Measure verb classifiers

Measure Verb Classifier	Nuosu	Mandarin
'while / hour'	tu 〇 (short) / put 卌 (long)	kè 刻
'two hours'	te 卌	shí 时
'evening & night'	hxuo ㄥ	wǎn 晚
'day'	nyip ㄩ	tiān 天
'month'	bbu hlep 卍ㄹ	yuè 月
'year'	kur 卍	nián 年
'lifespan'	jjo ssy 卍卍	bèi 辈

Measure VCL-phrases can be viewed as East Asian equivalents of FOR-adverbials in English (*for two hours*). They co-occur with homogenous events (Vendler 1967; section 7.1.1.A).

- (154) a. 卍卍卍卍卍卍卍。
 nga cyp **jjo ssy** mu nex mgu.
 1P.SG NUM.1 VCL.lifespan ADVL 2P.SG love
 'I love you for all of my life.'
- b. ㄩ卍卍卍卍卍卍卍。
 cy mux dde cyp **bbu hlep** mo.
 3P.SG soil NUM.1 month plough
 'He ploughed the earth for one month.'

VCLs are incompatible with quantized events but acceptable with bounded events. Example (155a) without the VCL-phrase would be a quantized event. If the VCL was changed into a sort of IN-adverbial, as in (155b), the sentence would be grammatical. Example (156) is a bounded event.

- (155) a. *ㄩ卍卍卍卍卍卍卍。
 *cy nry nyip zhep cyp **put** ndo.
 3P.SG wine NUM.2 CL.cup NUM.1 VCL.vague hour drink
 'He drank two cups of wine in about an hour.'

b. ㄨㄣˊㄉㄩ̀ㄇㄨˊㄩㄥˊㄏㄨㄣˊㄉㄩ̀ㄇㄨˊ。

cy cyp **put** ax di mu nry nyip zhep ndo.
 3P.SG NUM.1 VCL.vague hour only ADVL wine NUM.2 CL.cup drink
 ‘He drank two cups of wine in an hour.’

(156) ㄨㄣˊㄉㄩ̀ㄇㄨˊㄩㄥˊㄏㄨㄣˊㄉㄩ̀ㄇㄨˊ。

cy cyp **hxuo** ax di mu ggax shu yy nzix xi.
 3P.SG NUM.1 VCL.evening only ADVL road make river along arrive
 ‘He walked to the river in one evening.’

The VCL *tu* ‘while’ manifests selection restrictions. It sometimes means *crisis time* and should co-occur with verbs compatible with this concept, as in (157). The VCL *put* ‘vague hour’ in (158) has almost no selectional restriction.

(157) ㄨㄣˊㄉㄩ̀ㄇㄨˊㄩㄥˊ。

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

(158) ㄨㄣˊㄉㄩ̀ㄇㄨˊ。

nga nyip **put** ne.
 1P.SG NUM.2 VCL.vague hour rest
 ‘I have rested for two hours.’

D. Double classifiers of nouns and verbs

In Chinese, certain morphemes function as mensural VCLs and sortal/mensural NCLs (Paris 1989: 4–5; Matthews & Yip 1999: 11–12; Matthews & Leung 2001; Yang 2001: 129–137). The same type of overlap can also be observed in Nuosu.

(i) Certain mensural verb classifiers do function as noun classifiers

No sortal VCL in Nuosu can function as classifier of nouns. Certain mensural VCLs, however, also assume the function of NCL. Yang (2001: 129–137) described the Chinese generic *cì* ‘time’ as NCL and VCL.

The Nuosu generic VCL *vit* ‘time’ also has a double function of NCL and VCL. The generic VCL *vit* divides the class of nouns up into three subclasses, class₁, class₂ and class₃, defined by the grammaticality pattern (*= ungrammatical) that matches that of *cì* in Chinese (Yang 2001: 129–137), see table 7.17.

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

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

Table 7.17: Constructions with NCLs and the generic VCL

S/A-slot		O-slot			Verb-slot
a.	Class ₁ -N Class ₂ -N *Class ₃ -N	NUM	NCL	(NP)	V
b.	NP			Class ₁ -N Class ₂ -N *Class ₃ -N	NUM NCL V
c.	*Class ₁ -N Class ₂ -N Class ₃ -N	NUM	<i>vit</i>	(NP)	V
d.	NP			Class ₁ -N Class ₂ -N Class ₃ -N	NUM <i>vit</i> V

Table 7.18: Class₁ nouns

Class ₁ Nouns	Nuosu	Mandarin
'food'	zza 𠵹	fàn 饭
'wine'	nry 𠵹	jiǔ 酒
'water'	yy 𠵹	shuǐ 水
'person'	co 𠵹	rén 人
'ox'	le 𠵹	niú 牛
'clothes'	vit gga 𠵹𠵹	yīfú 衣服
'road'	gga 𠵹	lù 路

- (159) a. Class₁ 𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹。
NCL in S/A-slot gga cyx **ji** xiet ddop bbo.
road DEM.PROX NCL Xide Count go
'This road leads to Xide county.'
- b. Class₁ 𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹。
NCL in O-slot cy vit gga nge **ggu** vy.
3P.SG clothes NUM.5 NCL buy
'He bought five sets of clothes.'
- c. Class₁ *𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹。
VCL in S/A-slot *vit gga ly **vit** ap- he.
clothes NUM.4 VCL.time NEG- good
'Four sets of clothes were not good.'
- d. Class₁ 𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹𠵹。
VCL in O-slot nga ap ndi hxix gga nyip **vit** ddie.
1P.SG yesterday road NUM.2 VCL.time repair
'Yesterday I twice repaired the road.'

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

Table 7.21: Profile of the verb classifiers

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

7.7 Perfect

The Nuosu particles *da* and *ox* both convey *current relevance*, the definitional property of *perfect*. They represent two types of perfect, an English-style (present perfect) and a Chinese-style perfect (the particle *le*). Both perfects relate the utterance situation to the discourse topic: $TU \subseteq TT$ (Klein 1992; section 7.1.2).

A controversial point in the literature on the English present perfect and of other languages (Mandarin's *le*) is whether *current relevance* is *encoded* in the perfect construction or *contextually derived* from its aspect-tense meaning. Those who think that current relevance is encoded propose distinctions like the following (Comrie 1976; Huddleston 1969; Li & Thompson 1981):

- (163) Perfect of result/Stative perfect ('John has arrived')
- (164) Experiential perfect ('Mary has been in Moscow')
- (165) Perfect of persistent situation/ Inclusive perfect ('He/she has studied Chinese for ten years')
- (166) Perfect of recent past ('Who has left his/her socks here?')
- (167) 'Hot news' perfect ('The president has been assassinated')
- (168) Change of state (Li & Thompson 1981: 249)
 tiān hēi le. (Chinese)
 sky dark DP
 'It's dark (now).' Or: 'It has become dark (before it wasn't).'
- (169) Correct a wrong assumption (Li & Thompson 1981: 263)
 wǒ yào hē le. (Chinese)
 1P.SG want drink DP
 'I want to drink it (contrary to what you might think).'

- (170) Progress so far (Li & Thompson 1981: 271) (Chinese)
 fēijī chū le máobing le.
 airplane exit DP trouble DP
 ‘The airplane has developed some trouble.’
- (171) What happens next (Li & Thompson 1981: 281) (Chinese)
 kuài xiǎng le.
 fast sound DP
 ‘It’s (i.e. the alarm-clock) about to ring (so let’s get up).’
- (172) Closing a statement (Li & Thompson 1981: 284) (Chinese)
 xuéfèi tài guì le!
 tuition too expensive DP
 ‘(I tell you,) the tuition is too high! (This is what I think about it).’

Other authors think that current relevance is a consequence of a past event viewed from a present point of view (Declerck 1991; Depraetere 1998; Klein 1992; Michaelis 1994). These scholars derive current relevance from the interaction between the present perfect and the situation type of a construction. We adopt this view in our analysis of *da* and *ox*. This section uses material published in Gerner (2002b).

7.7.1 The stative perfect particle *da*

The particle *da* has a wide range of meanings of which *stative perfect* is one (section 7.7.1.A). The particle *da* combines with other grammatical particles to form the circumstantial conjunctions *mu da* and *nyi mu da* (section 7.7.1.B).

A. Basic analysis

The particle *da* conveys the view of a clause as stative situation with relevance for the ongoing discourse. It can be glossed by the English construction *it is the case that*. It is used at the end of a single / complex clause, or at the end of the first component clause of a complex clause. Current relevance (*it is the case that*) is only conveyed when *da* occurs at the end of clauses used in dialogue. If *da* is used at the end of a sentence in a narrative, it expresses that the propositional content is relevant for points mentioned in the narrative.

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

The particle *da* does not manifest any restriction on the use of deictic time adverbials such as *last year* or *next year*. The so-called *present perfect puzzle* (Klein 1992) has thus no relevance for the particle *da*.

(iii) Quantized events

For quantized events, the use of *da* expresses that the event as a whole has current relevance. The event itself can be in the past, present or future. The particle *da* thus corresponds to the English *past*, *present* and *future perfect*.

- (178) a. 侬是烟三只喫。
 lat ti yi suo ga ndo **da**.
 male name tobacco NUM.3 CL smoke STP
 ‘It is the case that Lati smoked (smokes / will smoke) three cigarettes.’
- b. 侬是夜三烟喫。
 lat ti ap ndop hxot yi suo ga ndo **da**.
 male name yesterday evening tobacco NUM.3 CL smoke STP
 ‘It is the case that Lati smoked three cigarettes last night.’
- c. 侬是明天三烟喫。
 lat ti mup shy dex yi suo ga ndo mix **da**.
 male name tomorrow tobacco NUM.3 CL smoke FUT STP
 ‘It is the case that Lati will smoke three cigarettes tomorrow.’

(iv) Bounded events

Example (179) illustrates an imperative clause whose aspectual structure is bounded. The perfect particle *da* adds a note of urgency to the command.

- (179) 回去差!
 ix go bbo **da**!
 home go STP
 ‘Go back home (I tell you)!’

The particle *da* in (180) is used to indicate that the clause is a relevant reply to a previous question.¹³

- (180) “‘侬是埋狗在地下’” 差。
 “ke i ndup six a ddit mux dde go zip **da**” ddix.
 dog LG.SG dig RES there soil LOC bury STP QUOT
 ‘(The elder brother:) “I have buried the dog in the ground over there”.’

(v) States

The perfect particle *da* may freely co-occur with stage-level and individual-level predicates. The first two examples exhibit stage-level states that apply for a limited period of time.

¹³ Quoted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wü 1998: 216–221).

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

*hxi jox kex ma go it **nyi mu da**.
 outside LOC dog CL LOC lie STP
 ‘There is a dog lying outside.’

(ii) In complex clauses

The marker *mu da* appends a stative, as in (194a), or negated clause, as in (194b), to the main clause.

(194) a. $\text{lat} \text{ti} \text{zyt} \text{jie} \text{jjip} \text{hnex} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{rruo} \text{nuo} \text{bbo} \text{ap-} \text{qi}$.

lat ti zyt jie jjip hnex **mu da** rruo nuo bbo ap- qi.
 male name REFL because of CONJ Mianning County go NEG- want
 ‘Lati does not want to go to Mianning for private reasons.’

b. $\text{mu} \text{rryr} \text{ap-} \text{lut} \text{mu} \text{ddie} \text{ne} \text{ap-} \text{bby} \text{mu} \text{da}$,

mu rryr ap- lut mu ddie ne ap- bby **mu da**,
 male name NEG- enough ADVL COV 2P.SG NEG- give CONJ
 nep nyit jyy- hxix ap- da ddap?
 2P.DL RECL- speak NEG- STP INT

‘It is not the case that Mudge did not give you enough; didn’t you both agree on it?’

The main function of *nyi mu da* is to mark one event as synchronic to another event. The expression *nyi mu da* is often complemented by the conjunction *go ne* ‘when’, as in (195b). Bounded events that as simple clauses cannot use *nyi mu da*, may append this marker when embedded in a complex clause, see (195c).

(195) a. $\text{ip} \text{ko} \text{wa} \text{nuo} \text{jox} \text{bbut} \text{su} \text{ggot} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{cy} \text{a} \text{ddit} \text{mga} \text{la}$.

ip ko wa nuo jox bbut su ggot **nyi mu da** cy a ddit mga la.
 door back ART close CONJ 3P.SG there pass come
 ‘He came through the back door which had been closed.’

b. $\text{mu} \text{rryr} \text{ddop} \text{hxip} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{go} \text{ne} \text{nga} \text{ip} \text{go} \text{vur}$

mu rryr ddop hxip **nyi mu da** go ne, nga ip go vur
 male name word speak CONJ SENT.TOP TOP 1P.SG door enter
 la ox.
 come DP

‘Just when Mudge was speaking, I entered the house.’

c. $\text{ryrx} \text{rruo} \text{ku} \text{ny} \text{mu} \text{da} \text{cop} \text{yu} \text{ndox}$.

ryrx rruo ku **nyi mu da** cop yu ndox.
 robber steal CONJ 3P.PL arrest PUT
 ‘Just when the robber was stealing, he was arrested.’

d. 佢係打咗兩隻鳥，佢就返嚟。

hxie zyr nyip ma cy ndup shu la **nyi mu da**, vip si
 bird NUM.2 CL 3P.SG hit cause come CONJ houselord
 bur la.
 return come

‘While he shot down two birds, the houselord returned.’

7.7.2 The dynamic perfect particle *ox*

The perfect particle *ox* expresses current relevance derived from a complex aspect-tense meaning. It emphasizes the time interval that lies after the rightmost time point encoded in the clause. When the clause is unbounded, the rightmost point is the beginning point TS_{BEG} and *ox* is inchoative. When the clause is bounded, the rightmost point is the endpoint TS_{END} and *ox* is perfective.

When *ox* occurs in non-final position of the clause, the sense of current relevance is deleted. The tense and aspect parts of the perfect particle *ox* can be sketched in the following way:

	<i>Tense: TT and TU</i>	<i>Aspect: TT and TS</i>
Final position of clause	$TU \subseteq TT$	$TT > TS_{\text{BEG}}$ (S homogenous)
	$TU \subseteq TT$	$TT > TS_{\text{END}}$ (S quantized, bounded)
Non-final position of clause	–	$TT > TS_{\text{BEG}}$ (S homogenous)
	–	$TT > TS_{\text{END}}$ (S quantized, bounded)

A. Basic analysis

The study of *ox* is structured by the situation type of the example sentences: (i) punctual events, (ii) homogenous events, (iii) quantized events, (iv) bounded events and (v) states.

(i) Punctual events

The particle *ox* in punctual events places an emphasis on the aftermath of the event. The clause is perfective and relevant for the ongoing discourse.

(196) 佢係捉住隻鷹。

hxie zyr jot sip bbo **ox**.
 bird eagle take go DP
 ‘A bird was caught by an eagle.’

(ii) Homogenous events

Homogenous events have no internal endpoint. The dynamic perfect particle *ox* expresses current relevance and an inchoative meaning.

(iv) Bounded events

In bounded events, the dynamic perfect particle *ox* conveys perfective meaning and current relevance. In (199), the first occurrence of *ox* is in a bounded event.¹⁴

- (199) 州中杉非果夏非梁子叶叶。
 bba ma ji jjox nyi vyt vu sip qyr gox sha **ox**.
 bamboo CL have also elder brother COV burn SEND DP
 nyop bbop zze ap- dop **ox**.
 labor eat NEG- can DP
 “My brother has burnt the bamboo shoot and [now I] have no way to
 earn a living.”

The following two examples describe movement with an explicit destination.

- (200) a. 爬百寸目山。
 cy dduo hxo pu xi **ox**.
 3P.SG climb mountain arrive DP
 ‘He climbed up a mountain.’
- b. 丫咄X泥片夏子叶叶。
 syr zhep cy zhyp mux dde go njie **ox**.
 wodden bowl 3P.SG bash soil LOC break DP
 ‘He broke the cup on the ground.’

(v) States

With adjectives or stative verbs, both stage-level and individual-level, the perfect particle *ox* indicates a change of state. In (201), both occurrences of *ox* modify stage-level predicates.¹⁵

- (201) 坐客叶非非子叶叶, 客口叶非非叶叶。
 ddip vip curx su nyi jjy **ox** mgu, xyp mop max su qot ddop njyp **ox**.
 guest ART also true DP think wife ART nonsense believe DP
 ‘The guests believed (= started to believe) that the nonsense his wife was
 telling was true.’

The following examples all illustrate changes of state: (202a) for a positional verb and (202b–d) for stage-level adjectives, (202e–f) for individual-level states.

¹⁴ Quoted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 216–221).

¹⁵ Quoted from the folk story “The earnest man” (Chén & Wū 1998: 223).

- (202) a. 佢哋日漸好非以前。

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

3P.PL wealth much ADVL have DP

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

co cyx gge nryp yit **ox**.

person DEM.PROX CL wine drunk DP

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

syp vo hmip **ox**.

peach ripe DP

'The peaches are ripe now.'
- d. 佢名好。

mu ga jjix do **ox**.

male name tired DP

'Muga is tired now.'
- e. 佢哋係漢人。

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

3P.PL TOP Chinese COP DP

'They are Han now.'
- f. 佢哋係兄弟。

cyp nyit li vyt vu ix yi nge **ox**.

3P.DL TOP elder & younger brother COP DP

'They are brothers now.'

B. Co-occurrence of *ox* and *da*

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

- (203) 𠵼快好快, 𠵼食。

hxit jjo mu dep la, zzax zze la mix **da ox**.

quick ADVL get up come food eat come FUT STP DP

'Get up immediately and have some food! [Quickly! Don't be so lazy.]'

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

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

- (204) 天昏地暗，地主回来。
 mu ket ox **da**, vip si bur la **ox**.
 sky dark DP STP houselord return come DP
 ‘As the sky darkened, the houselord returned.’

7.7.3 Appendix: The particle *da*

The particle *da* originates from the verb ‘put’. It underwent polygrammaticalization and developed several grammatical functions.

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

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

A. The main verb *da* ‘put’

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

- (205) ... 点米装下几担水放在屋檐下。...
 ... ie qyt ggu bu cyx gge shep yi mox mgap
 water NUM.9 CL DEM.PROX CL search house facing eaves
 lap vut **da** yix ne ngap nyit le mgo six sit zze la mo.
 LOC.under put provided that 1P.DL ox pull RES kill eat come MOD
 ‘‘[If you can help me] find [...] nine barrels of water and put them under
 the eaves, then we two can kill an ox and eat it.’’

B. The conjunction *mu da*

The use of *da* as a circumstantial conjunction is analyzed in section 7.7.1.B. The following example provides an additional illustration (Dài & Hú 1998: 50).

- (206) 他开门不锁就出去了。
 cy ip ko ap- nrur **mu da** bbit bbo ox.
 3P.SG door NEG- lock CONJ exit go DP
 ‘He went out, not having locked the door.’

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

C. The perfect particle *da*

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

- (207) 女Q穿裤子在那里。
 vut nyop vit gga ddie a ddit da **da**.
 female name clothes COV.prepare there put STP
 ‘It is the case that Vunyo put the clothes there.’

D. The perfect particle *da* with coversbs

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

Table 7.22: Three complex coversbs with *da*

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

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

- (208) a. 根据你的需要，我会给你。
 kop ddie ddu ddie **mga da** nga ne bbyx.
 need NOM COV.prepare COV 1P.SG 2P.SG give
 ‘According to your needs, I’ll give.’
- b. 羊皮鼓由他带来，在他面前。
 nyit sse go zzi byp ma la six cyp **mox da** mga.
 priest sheep skin drum carry CL come RES 3P.SG COV pass
 ‘A priest carrying a drum made of sheep skin passed by in front of him.’
- c. (...) 他朝门走来，他手指疼。
 cy (...) ip ko **hxep da** la lox ip ko go mga
 3P.SG door COV come CON:and door DIR pass
 la go ne, lot ji ggu bo da (...)
 come SENT.TOP TOP finger hurt STP
 ‘He came toward the door and, as he passed through,
 he hurt his finger.’

E. The location coverb *da*

The particle *da* is also employed as coverb. In combination with non-motion verbs, it functions as location coverb.¹⁸

(209) 丁巳年正月初九日寅时于林角相遇。

cyp nyip ne syr jo ggut lyp ma go **da** lat mop wa ba.
 NUM.1 day TOP forest corner CL LOC COV tiger behind discuss
 ‘One day, they met in a corner of the forest and spoke about the tiger.’

F. The source coverb *da*

With verbs of movement, *da* functions as source coverb which marks the place from which an entity moves, as illustrated in the following example.¹⁹

(210) “[The brother:] 我睡在南瓜里，一只猴子把它抬起来，拿回家去了(…)” 哥。

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

‘[The brother:] “When I slept in the pumpkin, a monkey lifted it up and took it home from where [the gold] was taken away.”’

G. Historical development

The two groups of grammatical meanings sketched above, coverb and perfect, originate from the main verb *da* ‘put’ through syntactic reanalysis in serial verb constructions.

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

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

The meaning of coverb surfaced through preverbal reanalysis and the function of perfect particle through postverbal rebracketing. It is difficult to decide which type of reanalysis occurred first.

Step 1 (preverbal syntactic reanalysis)

When *da* occurred before other verbs whose referring events have a fixed place, the scope of that verb extended to *da* and its complement NP_j. Speakers started to view the complement NP_j of *da* as a complement of the main verb. The verbal meaning of *da* was semantically reanalyzed as locative postposition.

¹⁸ Quoted from the folk story “The forest meeting” (Chén and Wū 1998: 260).

¹⁹ Quoted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 220).

Step 2 (postverbal syntactic reanalysis when $NP_k = NP_j$ coreferential)

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

Step 3 (complex coverbs and conjunctions)

When *da* was grammaticalized as perfect particle, it further underwent changes in the neighbourhood of a few verbs which were on a path of grammaticalization themselves. The verbs *mga* ‘pass’, *mo* ‘watch’ and *hxep* ‘see’ merged with *da* into complex coverbs.

7.8 Tense

Tense is defined as a relationship between the topic time and the utterance time of a sentence. In section 7.1.2, we defined three types of abstract tense.

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

No particle in Nuosu exclusively marks the meaning of past tense or present tense, but the particle *mix* is reserved for future tense.

7.8.1 The future tense particle *mix*

The morpheme *mix* is a future tense particle with an evidential constraint (section 7.8.1.A) which requires that the speaker must be the controlling subject of the clause (section 7.8.1.B). The use of *mix* implies future time reference (section 7.8.1.C). It assumes a limited function of relative future tense (section 7.8.1.D). In combination with other aspect articles, the first person effect might be suspended (section 7.8.1.E). I incorporate materials published in Gerner (2013a).

A. Introduction

Examples in (211) illustrate that the use of *mix* is a sufficient but not necessary condition for future time reference.

The morpheme *mix* encodes future tense and is incompatible with explicit non-future time reference, as shown in (211a+b). Future time reference can also be expressed without the particle, as illustrated in (211c).

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

The particle *mix* is subject to a first person constraint. It is compatible with first person, and incompatible with second and third person subjects.

- (212) a. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut nga yiep yot zy mix.}$
 next year 1P.SG potato plant FUT
 ‘I will plant potatoes next year.’
- b. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut ne yiep yot zy (*mix).}$
 next year 2P.SG potato plant FUT
 ‘You will plant potatoes next year.’
- c. $\text{nyiet hxie ddip kut cy yiep yot zy (*mix).}$
 next year 3P.SG potato plant FUT
 ‘He will plant potatoes next year.’

B. First person effect

A sentence denotes a situation controlled by the speaker if and only if a first person pronoun assumes the function of subject and the predicate allows the idea of control. The speaker makes an assertion whose outcome s/he guarantees. This idea is present in the following examples.

- (213) a. $\text{nga nit hmi max su bbur ngat lot go}$
 1P.SG 2P.SG.POSS name ART=CL-DET write 1P.SG.POSS hand LOC
 dit da mix.
 attach put FUT
 ‘I will write your name on my hand.’

- g. *མཚན་མཚན་མཚན་གྲོ་བུ་ལོ་
 *mup shy dex mo mu gga mgop la **mix**.
 tomorrow sky, weather cold come FUT
 ‘Tomorrow the weather will get cold.’
- h. *ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་
 *vo jjip la **mix**.
 snow become come FUT
 ‘It will be snowing.’

In (215), the speaker assumes the function of non-controlling subject. As the predicates convey a low degree of control, the sentences are ungrammatical.

- (215) a. *ཤར་མེད་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 *nga o qu **mix**.
 1P.SG head white FUT
 ‘I will have grey hair.’
- b. *ཤར་མེད་མེད་ལྷོ་
 *nga i qi na **mix**.
 1P.SG head ill FUT
 ‘I will have a headache.’

Many languages with evidentials in the grammatical system exhibit “first-person” effects (Aikhenvald 2004: 219–233). When the speaker talks about an event in which she or he participates, the evidence of this involvement will semantically react to the use of evidentials. Certain evidentials may acquire secondary meanings and overtones when a first person pronoun is employed. The range of secondary meanings attested in different languages is covered in the literature by the term “first-person” effects.

The particle *mix* indicates the evidence that the speaker as controlling event participant possesses. Situations in which this kind of control-evidence is not available are incompatible with *mix*. First-hand evidence is not a sense encoded in *mix* but arises from the elements *mix* co-occurs with.

The particle *mix* can be used in reported speech clauses, if the subject of the embedded clause is co-referential with the speaker whose speech is reported, as in (216a+b). If the subject of the embedded clause is not co-referential to the secondary or primary speaker, then the use of *mix* is ungrammatical, as in (217b).

- (216) a. མུ་གཱ་འི་ཏེཔ་ཡེ་ཡེ་ཙུའི་བུའི་མུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་
 mu ga i tep yy cy zzit bbur **mix** mu hxiip.
 male name LOG.SG book DEM.PROX CL write FUT ADVL say
 ‘Muga said that he will write this book.’

- b. ㄉㄛ ㄍㄞ ㄙㄨ ㄏㄒㄧ ㄍㄜ ㄛ ㄇㄨ ㄉㄉㄒ ㄞ ㄗㄩ ㄍㄞ ㄊ
 co ggex su hxip go op mu ddix a zzy ggat
 person ART=CL-DET say LOC LOG.PL area DEM.DIST CL
 ggax jjie **mix** mu hxip.
 leave FUT ADVL say
 ‘The people said that they will leave the area.’

- (217) a. ㄌㄞ ㄙㄞ ㄌ ㄒㄟ ㄩ ㄅㄅㄨ ㄅㄅㄨ ㄇㄒㄧ ㄇㄨ ㄏㄒㄧ.
 lat sse i tep yy bbut bbur **mix** mu hxip.
 male name LOG.SG letter CL write FUT ADVL say
 ‘Laze said that I will put the letter in the mailbox.’

- b. *ㄚ ㄋㄩ ㄛ ㄏㄒㄧ ㄍㄜ ㄇㄞ ㄏㄒㄞ ㄗㄕㄧ ㄉㄉㄒ.
 *at nyop hxip go ma hxa jjip **mix** ddix.
 female name say SENT.TOP rain become FUT QUOT
 Intended meaning: ‘Anyo said that it will rain.’

C. Sufficient condition of future tense

If *mix* is appended to a simple clause, the clause always refers to the future of the time of speaking (sufficient condition). The converse is not true. Future time reference does not necessarily trigger the use of *mix* (necessary condition). Most scholars view linguistic forms whose use is either sufficient or necessary for *past/present/future* time reference as encoding tense.

For simple clauses, the sufficient condition and failure of necessary condition was already illustrated in examples (211). In this section, we catalogue further examples in which *mix* is prohibited: clauses with past tense reference and generic clauses. Habitual clauses with speaker control are grammatical with *mix*.

- (218) a. *ㄞ ㄋㄉㄒ ㄏㄒㄧ ㄍㄞ ㄔㄞ ㄑㄩ ㄩ ㄇㄒㄧ.
 *ap ndi hxix nga che qu vy **mix**.
 yesterday 1P.SG rice buy FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘I bought rice yesterday.’ Past Time
- b. *ㄎㄍㄞ ㄌㄞ ㄋㄨㄛ ㄙㄨ ㄍㄞ ㄇㄒㄧ.
 *ngax li nuo su nge **mix**.
 1P.SG TOP Nuosu COP FUT Timeless
(individual-level)
 Intended meaning: ‘I will be a Nuosu.’
- (219) ㄎㄞ ㄕㄟ ㄇㄛ ㄔㄩ ㄔㄩ ㄏㄒㄨㄛ ㄗㄗㄒ ㄞ ㄗㄕㄞ ㄋㄩ ㄋㄉ
 nga ket mop cyp hxuo zzix ap zzi nry ndo
 1P.SG evening NUM.1 CL QUANT.every wine drink
 go shex **mix**.
 HAB FUT Habitual
 ‘I will always drink wine every evening.’

The particle *mix* can only occur in declarative sentences but not in imperative or optative sentences. Imperative clauses refer to orders that are relevant at the time of speaking, not in the indefinite future to which *mix* points. Optative clauses prohibit *mix* because they refer to events that are not controlled by the speaker.

- (220) a. * $\text{ne jjo} \text{t} \text{bbip} \text{cyx} \text{ma sip} \text{bbo} \text{mix}$. Imperative
 2P.SG bag DEM.PROX CL take go FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘Take this bag away!’
- b. * $\text{ne xip} \text{mu} \text{tat-ge} \text{mix}$. Imperative
 2P.SG DEM.DD NEG.IMP- stupid FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘Don’t be stupid!’
- c. * $\text{nga xyp} \text{mop} \text{xyp} \text{ddep} \text{lox} \text{mix}$. Optative
 1P.SG wife, bride marry WISH FUT
 Intended meaning: ‘Hopefully, I will get married.’

D. Relative future tense

For *absolute tense*, topic time and utterance time are identical. For *relative tense*, topic time and utterance time differ. Comrie (1985: 74–75) defines *relative past tense* and *relative future tense* as follows.

Relative past tense: situation time < topic time

Relative future tense: topic time < situation time

Relative past tense has two cross-linguistically attested exponents (Comrie 1985: 65–71): *pluperfect* and *future perfect*. Relative future tense also has two exponents, *future in the future* and *future in the past*, but these two concepts are not widely expressed in the world’s languages. For future in the past, English employs the temporal *would* which must be distinguished from its modal use (Comrie 1985: 75), see table 7.23.

The particle *mix* conveys *absolute future tense* with one exception. In reported speech constructions, *mix* takes the deictic center of the embedded clause and expresses future in the past, as in (221a). In all other complex clauses, *mix* is prohibited, as in (221b), or encodes absolute future tense, as in (221c).

- (221) a. $\text{ap} \text{hxiet} \text{ddip} \text{kut} \text{cy} \text{hxip} \text{go} \text{i} \text{ba} \text{njie} \text{juo} \text{jjop} \text{it}$
 last year 3P.SG say SENT.TOP LOG.SG move Zhaojue stay
 bbo **mix** ddix.
 go FUT QUOT
 ‘Last year he said that he would move to Zhaojue to live there.’

- b. 屆業週時得悉手 (*混) 非得時下。。
 zzip hxex te go nga we dox (***mix**) su nga go njyp ox.
 compete when 1P.SG get able FUT COMP 1P.SG PAT believe DP
 ‘I believe that I will win the competition.’
- c. 睇得個伴夏門混非到至來時得悉。。
 nit xyp mop xyp dde la **mix** su qop bop a zzyx
 2P.SG.POSS bride marry NOM come FUT NOM friend DEM.DIST
 ma nga mo ox.
 CL 1P.SG see DP
 ‘I saw the friend who will attend your wedding.’

Table 7.23: Four relative tenses

Types	Definition	English Examples
Pluperfect	TS < TT < TU	‘John had already left at 10pm.’
Future perfect	Cases: (a) TS < TU < TT (b) TS = TU < TT (c) TU < TS < TT	‘John will have left by tomorrow.’ → He has already left. → He is leaving now. → He will leave before midnight.
Future in the future	TU < TT < TS	‘John will be about to leave.’
Future in the past	Cases: (a) TT < TS < TU (b) TT < TS = TU (c) TT < TU < TS	‘John said that he would return.’ → John has already returned. → John returns now. → John has not returned yet.

E. When the first person effect is suspended

The particle *mix* has compounded with several other aspect particles to convey the meaning of definite and immediate future tense.

Table 7.24: Four compound particles for definite and immediate future

Compound Particle	Type and Gloss	FUT	PROG	STP	DP
mix da	DefFut: ‘it is the case that...will’	mix		da	
mix ox	ImFut: ‘about to’	mix			ox
mix da ox	ImFut: ‘definitely about to’	mix		da	ox
mix ge ox	ImFut: ‘about to, very soon’	mix	ge		ox

These compound particles are not subject to the type of person and control constraints described for bare *mix*. Among these four particles, *mix da* is a definite future particle.

- (222) a. ㄉㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄜ ㄅㄛˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄏㄚˊ ㄐㄧˊ ㄌㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ。
 mup shy dex ma hxa jjip la **mix da**.
 tomorrow rain become come DEFFUT
 ‘Tomorrow it will rain.’
- b. ㄉㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄏㄚˊ ㄅㄨˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄙㄙㄜ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ。
 mup shy dex bbur ma ap- sso **mix da**.
 tomorrow written character NEG- study DEFFUT
 ‘No classes tomorrow.’
- c. ㄌㄨˊ ㄆㄜˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄞˊ ㄉㄧˊ ㄩㄛˊ ㄊㄨㄛˊ ㄌㄨˊ ㄕㄨˊ ㄅㄛ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ, ㄏㄒㄧˊ ㄎㄚˊ ㄉㄉㄧˊ
 lu po cy ax di vyt tuo lur kur bbo **mix da**, hxip kax ddi
 male name 3P.SG only Yuexi County go DEFFUT say INT.who
 nyi ap- ge.
 also NEG- tell
 ‘Lupo will go to Yuexi County on his own, so he doesn’t tell anyone.’

The marker *mix ox* with the perfect particle *ox* adds urgency to the sentence. The underlying clause must be dynamic but no meaning of speaker control is required.

- (223) a. ㄉㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄅㄛˊ ㄩˊ ㄅㄛ ㄅㄛ ㄇㄧˊ ㄛˊ。
 cop wox ix go bbo **mix ox**.
 3P.PL home go IMFUT
 ‘They went home immediately.’
- b. ㄉㄞˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄏㄚˊ ㄅㄨˊ ㄕㄨˊ ㄞˊ ㄕㄨㄚˊ ㄐㄧˊ ㄌㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄛˊ。
 ngop wox mu kut a shyt zzyx jie la **mix ox**.
 1P.PL year new celebrate come IMFUT
 ‘We are about to celebrate the New Year.’

The triple marker *mix da ox* combines the idea of definite and immediate future. It is frequently used and often occurs in imperative clauses, as in (224b).

- (224) a. ㄎㄚˊ ㄅㄨˊ ㄍㄨˊ ㄌㄚˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ ㄛˊ。
 va bu gu la **mix da ox**.
 rooster cry come IMFUT
 ‘The rooster is about to cry.’
- b. ㄩㄝˊ ㄉㄜˊ ㄆㄜˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄞˊ ㄉㄉㄧˊ ㄋㄚˊ ㄅㄞˊ ㄩˊ ㄇㄧˊ ㄉㄚˊ ㄛˊ!
 rre mop ci vat ddie nga bbyx **mix da ox**!
 money NUM.10 dollar COV.prepare 1P.SG give IMFUT
 ‘Give me ten dollars now!’

- c. 雪字至堆是尽。 *vo jji bbo sat mix da ox.*
 snow melt go EXH IMFUT
 ‘The snow is about to melt completely.’

The compound *mix ge ox* including the progressive marker *ge*. This complex particle has imminent future and progressive meanings.

- (225) a. 我考虑此事现在。 *nga syt cy jjit ngop mix ge ox.*
 1P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL think IMFUT
 ‘I am thinking about this problem right now.’
- b. 山目地庄稼能收。 *hxo pu go zza bbo yyt zzy hxit mix ge ox.*
 mountain LOC crops harvest can IMFUT
 ‘The crops on the mountain can be harvested soon.’

The idea of remote future can only be expressed by bare *mix* (by respecting the person and control constraint).

- (226) 我老了到时我在山上买房子。 *nga mop su te go ne hxo pu go yix ma vy mix.*
 1P.SG old man time SENT.TOP TOP mountain LOC house CL buy FUT
 ‘When I am old I will buy a house in the mountains.’

7.8.2 Appendix: The particle *mix*

The morpheme *mix* functions as discourse particle soliciting feedback from the addressee. It also occurs in preverbal position as focus particle (*even*) of the noun phrase it follows.

A. As solicitation particle

In *wh*-questions and alternative questions, the discourse marker *mix* emphasizes the speaker’s wish for feedback, glossable as ‘what do you think’.

- (227) a. 谁在家，在哪里？ *co cyx yie ix go ap- jjo, kat bbo mix?*
 people DEM.PROX CL home NEG- have INT.where go SOL
 ‘Nobody is at home, where have they gone?’

- b. ໄຊ້ວິໄສອັນໃດທີ່ບໍ່ມີເປົ້າໝາຍ?
 cyx li xix ma hxip ddie dduur yip sy **mix**?
 3P.SG TOP INT.what CL say need still SOL
 ‘Needless to say something about him! (*lit.* What needs to be said about him?)’
- c. ພື້ນຖານຮ້າຍແຮງມີເປັນຈັດເທົ່າ?
 vit gga cyx ggu pu kep nyi bbyp **mix**?
 clothes DEM.PROX CL price QUANT.how many give SOL
 ‘How much is the price of this garment?’
- d. ຈຸດຜູ້ຮຽນມາເຊິ່ງນີ້ມາຕົວເອງບໍ່?
 ap ndi hxix hmat mop tit go lax la **mix**?
 yesterday teacher here LOC come~ALT SOL
 ‘Did the teacher come yesterday?’

B. As focus adverb

The morpheme *mix* can occur before the verb in various positions and functions as a focus adverb (‘*even*’) of the NP it follows (section 9.1.3.B). It can scope over noun phrases in every syntactic position. In (228a), it focuses the initial S-argument; in (228b) the A-argument; in (228c) the benefactive NP; and in (228d) an oblique object.

- (228) a. ມຸກາມາເຫຼືອຄັ້ງ.
 mu ga **mix** la nyiet ox.
 male name FOC.even come late DP
 ‘Even Muga came late.’
- b. ທ່ານໄດ້ຍິນເລື່ອງນີ້ແລ້ວບໍ່?
 ne **mix** gge syt cy jjit ne gge ox.
 2P.SG FOC.even hear matter DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG hear DP
 ‘Even you have heard about this matter.’
- c. ທ່ານໄດ້ໃຫ້ເປັນສິນເປົ້າໝາຍແກ້.
 cy ka bba ddie nga **mix** bbyp ox.
 3P.SG present COV.prepare 1P.SG FOC.even give DP
 ‘He even gave a present to me.’
- d. ທ່ານບໍ່ມາເຊິ່ງນີ້ເຖິງປີໃໝ່.
 cy kut shyr te go **mix** go ap- la.
 3P.SG new year time LOC FOC.even PRO.DIR NEG- come
 ‘He does not come home even for the New Year.’

Chapter 8

Modality and evidentiality

After a brief introduction (section 8.1), we analyze the modal auxiliaries (section 8.2) and the evidential particles in Nuosu (section 8.3).

8.1 Introduction

Modality is the expression of attitudes ascribed to speech participants (Lyons 1977: 739; Palmer 1986: 16). Most scholars distinguish between *epistemic modality* and *deontic modality*. Epistemic modality describes the knowledge, belief or opinions of speech participants. Deontic modality captures the obligation, permission or prohibition for speech participants to perform acts. *Evidentiality* is defined as the linguistic encoding of information sources used for asserting a proposition.

The relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality is not agreed upon (Dendale & Tasmowski 2001: 342). Some scholars include evidentiality within epistemic modality (Palmer 1986: 51; Mithun 1999: 170; Willett 1988: 52), others establish epistemic modality under evidentiality (Chafe 1986: 271; Matlock 1989: 215). Still others identify an overlap (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998: 86). A fourth group of scholars emancipates evidentiality and modality as two distinct categories (Lazard 1999, 2001: 360; Faller 2002: 8; Aikhenvald 2004: 7).

Epistemic modality and evidentiality are conceptually close. The source from which information is gained naturally impacts truth judgment. We can distinguish between *encoding* and conversationally *implicating* a linguistic concept. The critical test is the possibility of cancelling an interpretation in the Gricean sense of cancelling a conversational implicature (Grice 1975: 57–58). Encoded meaning can never be cancelled independently of the context considered, whereas implicated meaning can be cancelled.

A form encoding epistemic modality implicates an inferential process as the information source. A marker encoding the information source of inferential process implicates the sense of epistemic modality.

The Nuosu particles expressing modality are analyzed in this and other chapters (section 13, section 15). In this chapter, we describe modal auxiliary verbs which are defined by morphosyntactic properties (section 8.2). Evidentiality is mainly encoded by matrix verbs (section 13.2). There is one evidential type that is grammaticalized in Nuosu, the quotative information source (section 8.3.1).

8.2 Modality

In section 8.2.1, we define modal auxiliaries by morphosyntactic properties. The class of modal auxiliaries is closed and has 15 members (section 8.2.2).

8.2.1 The morphosyntax of modal auxiliaries

Modal auxiliaries are defined as distribution classes based on language-specific morphosyntactic properties: ten criteria in Mandarin Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981: 172–183), or seven criteria in English (Radford 1988: 149–154). Nuosu modals exhibit twelve properties separating them from matrix verbs and adverbs.

Table 8.1: Morphosyntactic properties of modal auxiliaries

	Modal auxiliaries	Matrix Verbs	Adverbs
Sole predicate	no	yes (most)	no
NP-complement	no	yes (most)	no
VP-complement	yes	yes/no	no
Clause-complement	no	yes	no
With complementizer	no	yes (most)	no
Focus construction ... <i>su nge</i>	no	yes	no
Answer fragment	yes	yes	no
Position in sentence	end	end	variable
Negation	yes	yes	no
Reduplication (alt. question)	yes	yes	yes/no
TAM particles	yes	yes	no
with <i>ox</i>			
with other TAM	(generally) no	yes/no	no
Gradable	yes/no	yes/no	yes/no

These tests are presented in two groups in which they help contrast modals with matrix verbs (section 8.2.1.A), and modals with adverbs (section 8.2.1.B).

A. Modal auxiliary verbs versus matrix verbs

Modal auxiliaries are different from matrix verbs in six regards: (i) sole predicate; (ii) NP-complement; (iii) VP-complement; (iv) clause-complement; (v) presence of complementizer; (vi) focus construction with ...*su nge*.

(i) Modal auxiliaries cannot occur as sole predicates

Modal auxiliaries cannot occur as the sole predicate of an independent sentence. They share this property with adverbs. Matrix verbs generally can stand alone.

Modal auxiliary verbs can be used as the sole predicate only in answer fragments to a question. In this case the eclipsed verb is understood. In (1)–(3), the (a) version is ungrammatical unless it assumes the function of answer fragment. The (b) version is grammatical as it incorporates a VP-complement.

- (1) a. * $\text{H}\times\text{ㄅ}\text{ㄨ}\text{ㄎ}$.
 *mu ga tat xi.
 male name MOD.should
 Intended meaning: ‘Muga should.’

- b. 日峇中仔有休息。
 mu rryr xyx ne **tat xi** ox.
 male name rest MOD.should DP
 ‘Mudge should have a rest.’
- (2) a. *刈刈。
 *cy **qi**.
 3P.SG MOD.want
 Intended meaning: ‘He wants.’
- b. 刈仔买衣服。
 cy vit gga vy **qi** ox.
 3P.SG clothes buy MOD.want DP
 ‘He wants to buy clothes.’
- (3) a. *刈独自己肯。
 *cy zyt jie ax di **hna**.
 3P.SG REFL only MOD.be willing
 Intended meaning: ‘He is willing alone.’
- b. 刈独自己去。
 cy zyt jie ax di bbo **hna** ox.
 3P.SG REFL only go MOD.be willing DP
- Matrix verbs can occur as sole predicate independently of other predicates. This is even true for the matrix verbs which do not take NP-complements. When these verbs occur as sole predicate, the clause-complement is a pro-drop argument.
- (4) a. 你试过解决问题。
 nop wox cuop luo **po shy**.
 2P.PL a little solve problem
 ‘You tried to solve the problem.’
- b. 刈仔怎么回家去。
 cy cop wox kep mu ix go bbo su **po shy** njuo.
 3P.SG 3P.PL INT.how home go COMP solve problem PROG
 ‘He is solving the problem of how to get home.’
- (5) a. 日成。
 mu jy **nge hna**.
 male name agree, promise
 ‘Mudje agrees.’

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

1P.SG education study go COMP parents allow<NEG>

‘My parents do not agree that I should be a student.’

The matrix adjective *jox jjip* ‘possible’ is not an independent predicate. It only takes one obligatory argument which is a clause. One may want to classify *jox jjip* ‘possible’ as modal auxiliary but for two core properties it behaves like a matrix verb. It subcategorizes clause-complements and disallows VP-complements. (It disallows VP-complements by virtue of the fact that the subject of the embedded clause cannot control the predicate *jox jjip* ‘possible’.)

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

matter DEM.PROX CL possible DP

Intended meaning: ‘This event is possible.’

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

this evening snow fall come possible DP

‘It may be snowing this evening.’

(ii) Modal auxiliaries cannot take NP-complements

Modal auxiliaries do not subcategorize NP-complements, but most matrix verbs do. This property is illustrated in (7)–(9) for the modal auxiliaries *but* ‘dare’, *dop* ‘can’ and *ssox* ‘should’.

(7) a. $\text{*}\text{ne ddop but ox.}$

2P.SG word MOD.dare DP

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

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

2P.SG word speak MOD.dare DP

‘You dare to talk.’

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

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

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

- b. བཟོལ་མི་གཅིག་གིས་ལྔ་བུ་གཅིག་ལ་བྲལ་བ་ལྟོགས་པའོ།།
 bboz zze cyx ma mge fu suo ma zze **dox**.
 man DEM.PROX CL barley loaf NUM.3 CL eat MOD.can
 'This guy can eat three barley loaves.'

- (9) a. *ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པའོ།།
 *nga ip nyip **ssox** ox.
 1P.SG today MOD.should DP
 Intended meaning: 'I should today.'

- b. ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་བྲལ་བའོ།།
 nga ip nyip nyop bbop bbo **ssox** ox.
 1P.SG today work go MOD.should DP
 'I should go to work today.'

Most matrix verbs take NP- and clause-complements, but disallow VP-complements. The matrix verb *nzit* 'appropriate' is an exception. It subcategorizes NP- and VP-complements but cannot take clause-complements.

- (10) a. ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པའོ།།
 cy vit gga a vut xip ggu **nzit**.
 3P.SG clothes blue DEM.INDEF CL appropriate
 'Blue clothes suit him.'

- b. ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པའོ།།
 lat hxa hmat mop mu **nzit**.
 male name teacher do appropriate
 'It is appropriate for Laha to be a teacher.'

- c. *ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པའོ།།
 *cy ne bbut cy ndo **nzit**.
 3P.SG 2P.SG medicine drink appropriate
 Intended meaning: 'It is appropriate for you him to take some medicine.'

(iii) **Modal auxiliaries should take VP-complements**

Many matrix verbs can take clause-complements but not VP-complements. In (11a–d), we illustrate matrix verbs that cannot take VP-complements.

- (11) a. *ལྟོགས་པ་ལྟོགས་པའོ།།
 *cy nry ndo **durx xie**.
 3P.SG wine drink block, resist
 Intended meaning: 'He resisted drinking wine.'

- b. *X₁ 哈 哈 哈 哈 哈 哈 哈。
 *cy bbur ma sso bbo su **ngop die.**
 3P.SG written material study go COMP doubt
 Intended meaning: ‘He doubts whether he himself went to school.’
- c. *X₁ (羞 羞) 心 胆 胆 胆 胆 胆 胆。
 *cy (zyt jie) hxie mat xix ngop su **sip ngop** njuo.
 3P.SG REFL heart INT.what think COMP test PROG
 Intended meaning: ‘He tested what he was thinking in his heart.’
- d. *X₁ 手 手 手 手 手 手 手。
 *cop wox yix cur su **ke bbo** ox.
 3P.PL house build COMP allow DP
 Intended meaning: ‘They allowed themselves to build a house.’

On the other hand, modal auxiliaries take VP-complements but no clause-complements as illustrated in (12a–d).

- (12) a. 手 手 手 手 手 手 手。
 nga syr zyt lur zyt **get.**
 1P.SG tree-work-stone-work MOD.can
 ‘I can move the tree.’
- b. 手 手 手 手 手 手 手。
 vut ga vot she zze **qi.**
 male name pig meat eat MOD.want
 ‘Vuga wants to eat pig meat.’
- c. 手 手 手 手 手 手 手。
 yo max su ix go la **yix syp.**
 sheep ART=CL-DET home come MOD.can
 ‘The sheep can find their way back home.’
- d. 手 手 手 手 手 手 手。
 cop wox tit go nge nyip ggep **jox dop.**
 3P.PL here LOC NUM.5 day play MOD.prepare
 ‘They prepare to play here for five days.’

(iv) Modal auxiliaries do not take clause-complements

For clause-complements, the situation is inverted. Matrix verbs subcategorize clauses, whereas modal auxiliaries never scope over clauses. In (13a–d), the subject of the matrix verb/auxiliary verb is different from the embedded subject.

- b. 望见用非中籍门口才又望不腻。
 ddip vip ggex su ngap jiet la go cy **ddie-ap-mga.**
 guest ART=CL-DET 1P.SG.POSS home come COMP 3P.SG please<NEG>
 ‘He is not pleased that the guests come to my house.’
- c. 望重子前仍中他人时不偷东西。
 lu dda li ax yi cyx ma co ap- ku ddix
 male name TOP child DEM.PROX CL people NEG- steal COMP
ddop zy ssi.
 testimony use
 ‘Ludda testified that this child did not steal from others.’

It is ungrammatical to use complementizers together with modal auxiliaries as demonstrated for the following three auxiliary verbs.

- (16) a. *望手时非中用果只非望也。
 *nop wox a hnat mu we ga su **ddie ddur.**
 2P.PL especially make effort COMP MOD.need
 Intended meaning: ‘You need to make a special effort.’
- b. *又敢捉蛇。
 *cy bbu shy yu ddix **but.**
 3P.SG snake snatch COMP MOD.dare
 Intended meaning: ‘He dares to catch a snake.’
- c. *又想买几双鞋才买。
 *cy xyx hnie cyp zzip vy go **mo ngu.**
 3P.SG shoe NUM.1 CL buy COMP MOD.intend
 Intended meaning: ‘He intends to buy a pair of shoes.’

(vi) Modal auxiliaries do not occur in the focus construction ...*su nge*

Nuosu involves the nominalization particle *su* and the copular *nge* to emphasize certain elements of the sentence individually (section 14.2.2). Modal auxiliaries cannot occur as the sole verbal element in this focus construction. The nominalized auxiliaries in (17) and (18) are therefore ungrammatical.

- (17) A: 这个人不可说服, 我们劝不动他。
 co cyx ma li hxip guo guo, ngop wox li
 person DEM.PROX CL TOP uncontrollable 1P.PL TOP
 go hxix ap- **dop.**
 PRO.PAT say NEG- MOD.can
 ‘This man is uncontrollable. We cannot persuade him.’

B: * $\text{nop wox dop su nge.}$

2P.PL MOD.can FOC COP

Intended meaning: ‘You can.’

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

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

‘He shouldn’t joke with you.’

B: * X tat xi su nge.

3P.SG MOD.should FOC COP

Intended meaning: ‘He should.’

By contrast, matrix verbs and ordinary verbs can be nominalized in the focus construction with *su nge*. This property is illustrated for the matrix verb *hxie nep ndit* ‘regret’ in a short piece of dialogue.

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

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

‘He doesn’t regret having done it.’

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

3P.SG regret FOC COP

‘He does.’

B. Modal auxiliaries verbs versus adverbs

Modal auxiliaries differ from adverbs for (i) answer fragments; (ii) sentence-end position; (iii) negation; (iv) reduplication; (v) TAM particles; (vi) gradability.

(i) Modal auxiliaries occur in answer fragments

Modal auxiliaries cannot be nominalized in focus constructions, but can occur in minimal answer fragments by omitting the subject. Adverbs cannot be involved in either construction.

(20) A: $\text{nga syt xip jjit hxip hxit ddap ap- hxit?}$

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

‘Can I say such a thing?’

B: (*ㄋㄟ) ㄏㄒㄧㄣˊ。

(*ne) **hxit**.

2P.SG MOD.can

‘You can.’

(21) A: ㄋㄟ ㄏㄒㄧㄣˊ ㄇㄉ ㄏㄒㄧㄣˊ ㄏㄒㄧㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ?

ne hxie mgat hxop hxip **yix syp** ddap ap- **syp**?

2P.SG Chinese language speak MOD.can or NEG- MOD.can

‘Can you speak Chinese?’

B: ㄋㄟ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ。

yix-ap-syp.

MOD.can<NEG>

‘No, I can’t.’

(22) A: ㄋㄟ ㄇㄉ ㄇㄉ ㄆㄛˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ ㄩㄣˊ?

ne ip nyip ciep yiet vy **ddie ddur** ddap **ddie-ap-ddur**?

2P.SG today things buy MOD.need or MOD.need<NEG>

‘Do you need to buy something today?’

B: ㄆㄛˊ ㄩㄣˊ。

ddie ddur.

MOD.need

‘I do.’

Adverbs do not serve as the sole element in an answer fragment, as shown in (23)–(24). An exception is the lexical adverb *nyiet* ‘late’, as illustrated in (25).

(23) A: ㄋㄟ ㄆㄛˊ ㄏㄒㄧㄣˊ ㄆㄛˊ ㄩㄣˊ?

ne **ap nryr mu** la ddap ap- la?

2P.SG definitely come or NEG- come

‘Will you definitely come?’

B: *ㄆㄛˊ ㄏㄒㄧㄣˊ。

***ap nryr mu**.

definitely

Intended meaning: ‘Definitely.’

(24) A: ㄎㄩ ㄩ?

cy iet zyr ddap iet-ap-zyr **yip sy** ox?

3P.SG small or small<NEG> still DP

‘Is he still young?’

B: *ㄅㄩ。

*yip sy.

still

Intended meaning: ‘Still.’

(25) A: ㄅㄨㄗㄣˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄗㄗㄞˊ ㄗㄟ ㄋㄩㄣˊ ㄉㄉㄞˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄋㄩㄣˊ?

bbup zzi cy zzax zze nyiet ddap ap- nyiet?
afternoon 3P.SG food eat late or NEG- late

Intended meaning: ‘Did he eat late in the afternoon?’

B: ㄆㄞˊ。

ap- nyiet.

NEG- late

‘Not late.’

(ii) The position of modal auxiliaries is at the end of the sentence

Modal auxiliary verbs are placed after the VP-complement at the end of the sentence.

Most adverbs occur in the middle of the sentence, some after the verb.

(26) ㄅㄨㄞˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄩㄝㄆㄩˊ ㄩㄚˊ ㄗㄩˊ ㄇㄛˊ ㄉㄉㄞˊ。

ngop wox yiep yot zy mo ddix.

1P.PL potato plant MOD.committed

‘We are committed to growing potatoes.’

Most adverbs occur in the middle of the sentence, as exemplified in (27a). A small set of adverbs can also be posed after the main predicate (section 9.1.4).

(27) a. ㄅㄨˊ ㄌㄧˊ ㄎㄞˊ ㄍㄛˊ ㄍㄛˊ ㄇㄨˊ ㄍㄛˊ ㄖㄨˊ ㄗㄞˊ。

po lix at ggop ggop mu gox rrur sat.
bamboo basket in vain, idle PRO.LOC stay EXH

‘The bamboo baskets are all staying here without any use.’

b. ㄌㄧㄤˊ ㄕㄢˊ ㄕㄞˊ ㄇㄨˊ ㄉㄉㄞˊ ㄋㄚˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄐㄚˊ ㄇㄍㄞˊ ㄆㄞˊ ㄗㄞˊ ㄕㄩˊ。

niep sha mu ddix nop wox jo mga ap- sat sy.

Liángshān area 2P.PL pass through NEG- EXH still, yet

‘You have not yet passed through the whole Liángshān area.’

(iii) Modal auxiliaries can be negated

Modal auxiliaries can be negated like ordinary verbs, while adverbs cannot be negated. If the modal auxiliary is monosyllabic, then the negation particle *ap* is prefixed; if it is polysyllabic, then *ap* is infixes before the last syllable (for negation rules, see section 9.2). The adverb *nyiet* ‘late’ is an exception, see (29c).

- (28) a. ນຳ ຈັດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ.
 nga zyt jie ax di ix go bbo ap- **but**.
 1P.SG REFL only home go NEG- MOD.dare
 ‘I do not dare to go home on my own.’
- b. ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ.
 ngop jiet ax yi zzyx **ddie-ap-ddur**.
 1P.PL home child escort MOD.need<NEG>
 ‘It is not necessary to escort our children back home (from school).’
- (29) a. * ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ.
 *lat sse **dde dde-ap-mu** zzax mu.
 male name often<NEG> food, dish make
 Intended meaning: ‘Laze does not often cook food.’
- b. * ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ.
 *cy ip mop **hxi-ap-yip** na ox.
 3P.SG belly again<NEG> ill DP
 Intended meaning: ‘His belly wasn’t again aching.’
- c. ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ.
 va bu gu ap- **nyiet**.
 rooster crow NEG- late
 ‘The rooster has not crowed late.’

(iv) Modal auxiliaries can be reduplicated in alternative questions

Modal auxiliaries can be reduplicated to express the sense of alternative question. Monosyllabic auxiliaries are wholly reduplicated. If it has a low or middle tone, then the first copy appears in the low tone [21]. Dissyllabic modal auxiliaries have their second syllable reduplicated.

- (30) a. ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ?
 ngop wox mop mgep **ssox-ss0?**
 1P.PL have meeting MOD.should~ALT
 ‘Should we have a meeting?’
- b. ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ?
 sux yy mo nyop mup mit ju hmox **tat xi-xi?**
 leader farming circumstance control MOD.should~ALT
 ‘Should the leader control the farming activities?’
- c. ນໂ ຈັ ດ ຈິ ຂ ດີ ອັ ກ໌ ບໂ ອັ ບູ ທ?
 ax yi sse a ddit hxit **dop dox?**
 infant there stand MOD.can~ALT
 ‘Can the infant stand on his feet?’

- b. 两个家庭都在一起(多)吗?
 co cyx nyip bbup nyop -vi **jy gex (*-gex)** bbop.
 person DEM.PROX NUM.2 CL labor -POSS together-ALT do
 ‘Both households are working very much together?’

(v) Modal auxiliaries generally do not co-occur with TAM particles

Modal auxiliaries cannot co-occur with TAM particles *except for* the perfect particle *ox*. Adverbs can co-occur the perfect particle *ox* but with no other TAM.

- (34) a. 他应该今天来这里。
 cy ip nyip tit go la **tat xi ox**.
 3P.SG today here LOC come MOD.should DP
 ‘He should come here today.’
- b. 他愿意非常愿意工作。
 cy nyop bbop **hna** -jy- **hna ox**.
 3P.SG work MOD.willing very MOD.willing DP
 ‘He is very much willing to work.’
- c. 他打算卖一只小猪。
 cy vot bbu sse vup **mo ngu ox**.
 3P.SG piglet sell MOD.intend DP
 ‘He intended to sell a piglet.’

Other TAM particles cannot be directly attached to modal auxiliaries with several exceptions. The auxiliary *dop* ‘able’ allows the experiential marker *nzox* and the auxiliary *mo ddix* ‘committed’ the progressive marker *njuo*.

- (35) a. 我年轻的时候能喝五斤酒。
 nga a shyt te go nry nge jip ndo **dox nzox**.
 1P.SG young time wine NUM.5 pound, liter drink MOD.can EXP
 ‘When I was young, I could drink five liters of wine.’
- b. 老师对学生表扬自己。
 hmat mop ssox sse nge yuo zhux by **mo ddix njuo**.
 teacher student NUM.5 CL praise MOD.committed PROG
 ‘The teacher commits himself to praising the students.’

Only sentence-end adverbs can be marked by TAM particles. Example (36a) illustrates an ungrammatical use of *ox* after a preverbal adverb. TAM particles can be placed after the postverbal adverb *nyiet* ‘late’ in (36b).

- (36) a. *མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་མཉམས་པ་།
 *cop wox **ap mu ox** pat vu ddu jjo.
 3P.PL now DP uncle home have
 Intended meaning: ‘They are now at their uncle’s home.’
- b. བོད་ཆེན་མོ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་།
 ssox sse max su nyip vit la **nyiet nzoX**.
 student ART NUM.2 time come late EXP
 ‘The student was late twice.’

(vi) Modal auxiliaries are gradable

Most modal auxiliaries are gradable and can use the infix intensifier *-jy-*, as shown in (37). A few auxiliaries ban the infix *-jy-*, as in (38).

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

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

- b. * ne zzax zze **sy-ap-jjo!**
 2P.SG food eat OPT.do only<NEG>
 Intended meaning: ‘May you not have some food!’

The lexicalized expression *si ap ssop* ‘not need’ must occur in negative imperative clauses, and cannot be negated.

- (43) a. nop wox ddop ma hxip **si ap ssop.**
 2P.PL word say IMP.need not
 ‘No need to say anything.’
- b. * nop wox ddop ma hxip **si ap-ap-ssop.**
 2P.PL word say IMP.need not<NEG>
 Intended meaning: ‘You need to say something.’

8.2.2 The semantics of modal auxiliaries

In Nuosu, there is no modal of necessity corresponding to English *must*. There are two weaker forms (*should*) and four markers of possibility (*can* and *may*).

A. The modal *ddie ddur* ‘need’

The modal auxiliary *ddie ddur* ‘need’ differs from the matrix verb *kop* ‘need’. Morphosyntactically, *kop* takes NP-complements, whereas *ddie ddur* only subcategorizes VPs, as illustrated in (44).

- (44) a. nga na-mgux-co **kox.**
 1P.SG ill-heal-person need
 ‘I need a doctor.’
- b. lat sse tep yy zzit su bi te go jjie x mguo **ddie ddur.**
 male name book ART read when understand MOD.need
 ‘Laze needs to show understanding when reading the book.’

Semantically, *ddie ddur* refers to a need that can be assessed in an objective manner.

- (45) a. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་སྲི་དཀྱིལ་འཇུག་པུ་།
 mu jie mu ma ssi **ddie ddur.**
 male name horse CL use MOD.need
 ‘Mujie needs a horse (*lit.* Mujie needs to use a horse).’
- b. མུ་སྐྱུ་ལྟོ་མུ་མུ་ལུ་འཇུག་པུ་།
 cy syt xip lot buop **ddie ddur.**
 3P.SG matter DEM.DD help MOD.need
 ‘He needs help in this regard.’
- c. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་གྲེ་ལྟོ་མུ་མུ་ལུ་འཇུག་པུ་།
 cy ddop ma gge nit jop hxip **ddie ddur.**
 3P.SG word CL 2P.SG to speak MOD.need
 ‘He needs to tell you something.’
- d. མུ་ཇེ་མུ་མ་གྲེ་ལྟོ་མུ་མུ་ལུ་འཇུག་པུ་།, མུ་སྐྱུ་ལྟོ་མུ་མུ་ལུ་འཇུག་པུ་།
 mu cyp ma nga vy da ox, nga go hxex bbo **ddie ddur.**
 horse NUM.1 CL 1P.SG buy STP DP 1P.SG PRO.PAT see go MOD.need
 ‘I have just bought a horse, I need to inspect it.’

B. The modal *tat xi* ‘should’

In Nuosu, there is no strong deontic modal corresponding to ‘must’ but there are two weak deontic modals (Palmer 1986: 100): *tat xi* (section B) and *ssox* (section C). A strong deontic meaning can be expressed by combining the modal *tat xi* with the preverbal adverb *ap nryr mu* ‘definitely’.

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

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

- (47) * $\text{we-mu-su zze ddu ndo yy wep su li tat xi su nge.}$
 worker food and drinks get NOM TOP MOD.should FOC COP
 ‘The peasants should receive their salary (= food and drinks).’

C. The modals *ssox* ‘should’ and *ddip ssox* ‘should’

The modal auxiliaries *ssox* and *ddip ssox* ‘should’ are derived from *ssop/ssox* ‘shine’ (section 7.3.2.C) which is associated with the alternation of OAV/AOV order (see section 10.2). The morpheme *ssop* (associated with OAV) developed into a resultative auxiliary verb (section 7.3.2.C), whereas *ssox* (associated with AOV) evolved into a modal auxiliary verb. The obligation of doing something is metaphorically viewed as similar to the state of being affected by it.

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

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

- b. 𐌽𐌰𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌰.
nga cyx te kop la nyiet ap-**qi**.
1P.SG DEM.PROX time come late NEG-MOD.want
'I do not want to upset this time schedule.'
- c. 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
cy ip nyip syr kie **qi** -jy- **qi**.
3P.SG today tree fell MOD.want very MOD.want
'He wants to fell the tree today.'
- d. 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
syt cy jjit nga dde jji **qi**.
matter DEM.PROX CL 1P.SG know MOD.want
'I want to know about this situation.'

The auxiliary *qi* must be distinguished from the main non-auxiliary verb *ka* 'want' which only takes NP-complements but no VP- or clause-complements.

- (52) a. 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
ax yi max su ggep ddu **ka**.
child ART=CL+NOM toys want
'The child wants toys.'
- b. *𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
*cy sha zzit zze ap- **ka**.
3P.SG chilli eat NEG- want
Intended meaning: 'He does not like chili.'

E. The modal *hna* 'willing'

The modal auxiliary *hna* 'willing' satisfies all morphosyntactic conditions of modal auxiliaries but must be distinguished from related forms illustrated in (54).

- (53) a. 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
cyp yiet zha nyix ke bbo ap- **hna**.
3P.SG kind CL all promise NEG- MOD.willing
'He is not willing to cooperate at all.'
- b. 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
bbox zze max su rre mop sur **hna** -jy- **hna**.
guy ART money return MOD.willing very MOD.willing
'The guy is very willing to return the money.'
- c. 𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰𐌶𐌰.
mu nyox nyop bbop **hna** ddap ap-**hna**?
male name work MOD.willing or NEG-MOD.willing
'Is Munyo willing to work or not?'

c. 日心 煎片, 子, 子。

mu jy rrup ssi **get** -jy- **get**.
male name chopsticks use MOD.can very MOD.can
'Mudje can use chopsticks very well.'

d. 子, 子, 子, 子, 子。

cy syt cy jjit hxip ryt ap- **get**.
3P.SG matter DEM.PROX CL confess NEG- MOD.can
'He is unable to admit this bad situation.'

Besides the meaning of *able*, the auxiliary *get* has also developed a more abstract epistemic meaning. It occurs in nominalized constructions in which the potential existence of the noun referent is stated.

(58) *Existential construction: N+VP+su jjo get.*

Possible and impossible existence of events is illustrated in (59).

(59) a. 人 身 子 子 子 子 子 子 子 子。

co zyt jie gop bo bop shep ap- syp su jjo **get**.
person REFL body preserve NEG- know NOM have MOD.can
'There may be someone who does not know how to care for himself.'

b. 人 身 子 子 子 子 子 子 子 子。

co zyt jie gop bo bop shep ap- syp su jjo ap- **get**.
person REFL body preserve NEG- know NOM have NEG- MOD.can
'There can't be anybody who hates his/her own body.'

c. 人 子 子 子 子 子 子 子 子。

co hxi jox ip ko ndup su jjo **get**.
person outside door knock NOM have MOD.can
'There may be somebody outside knocking at the door.'

d. 子 子 子 子 子 子 子 子。

vit gga go ddut pa qip su jjo ap- **get**.
clothes LOC cloth darn NOM have NEG- MOD.can
'There can't be anybody darning the clothes.'

H. The modal *hxit* 'can'

The second possibility modal is *hxit*. It expresses external and moral permission. The negated form *ap hxit* conveys prohibition.

- (60) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃, 𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇。
 cox ra ap- **hxit**, co ndux ap- **hxit**.
 person curse NEG- MOD.can person beat NEG- MOD.can
 ‘You must not curse and must not beat others.’
- b. 𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌。
 nop ngat qop bop ddie **hxit**.
 2P.PL 1P.SG friend make, prepare MOD.can
 ‘You can be my friends.’
- c. 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙。
 nop wox lu po hxep da sso **hxit** -jyy- **hxit**.
 2P.PL male name COV.watch learn MOD.can very MOD.can
 ‘You can learn very much from Lupo.’
- d. 𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠。
 ne xyx hnie ddie cy box **hxit**.
 2P.SG shoe COV.prepare 3P.SG show MOD.can
 ‘You can show him your shoes.’
- e. 𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭。
 nit xyp mop kep mu nyi nbot hat da ap-**hxit**.
 2P.SG wife IND.however hide put NEG-MOD.can
 ‘You really can’t hide your wife.’
- f. 𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 nga cyp zha nyix lyr nyie ap-**hxit**.
 1P.SG NUM.1 VCL.a little bit also move NEG-MOD.can
 ‘I can’t even move it a little bit.’

I. The modal *dop* ‘can’

Among the four possibility modal auxiliaries, *dop* ‘can’ is the broadest. It covers permissive, ability and epistemic meanings.

- (61) a. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 cy jie yi go da bbit la ap-**dop**.
 3P.SG prison LOC COV.put exit come NEG-MOD.can
 ‘He cannot come out of prison.’
- b. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿。
 va qip qot va zyr sse jjip **dox**.
 egg change chicken become MOD.can
 ‘The egg become a chicken.’

- c. 䄀䄁䄂䄃䄄䄅䄆䄇。
lur kur cyx ma gox zzur **dox**.
city DEM.PROX CL LOC stand MOD.can
'This city can stand firm.'
- d. 䄈䄉䄊䄋䄌䄍䄎䄏䄐䄑。
ax yi max su nge ci jix byp **dox**.
child ART=CL-DET NUM.50 CL.pound carry MOD.can
'The child can carry 50 pounds.'
- e. 䄒䄓䄔䄕䄖䄗䄘䄙䄚䄛。
cy zzyt bbo mu yyx jy **dox**.
3P.SG alone swim MOD.can
'He can swim alone.'
- f. 䄜䄝䄞䄟䄠䄡, 䄣䄤䄥䄦䄧。
ne kax mo su nga mo qi, tit gox mo ap- **dop**.
2P.SG CLF see NOM 1P.SG see MOD.want but PRO.PAT see NEG- MOD.can
'I would like to see what you see, but I can't.'

J. The modal *yix syp* 'able, know-how'

The modal auxiliary *yix syp* 'can' has a more restricted sense of (mental) ability. Its first syllable is without relevant meaning, but the second syllable is the verb *syp* 'know'. The auxiliary *yix syp* cannot be used as sole predicate.

- (62) a. 䄉䄊䄋䄌䄍䄎䄏䄐䄑䄒。
cy lur nbie nbie **yix syp**.
3P.SG slingshot sling MOD.can
'He can sling a slingshot.'
- b. 䄔䄕䄖䄗䄘䄙䄚䄛䄜䄝。
a yit uo fa mguo **yix syp**.
female name headscarf embroider MOD.can
'Ayi can embroider headscarves.'
- c. 䄞䄟䄠䄡䄢䄣䄤䄥䄦䄧䄨䄩䄪䄫。
ngat mup mit ne zyt die **yix-ap-syp**.
1P.SG situation 2P.SG analyze MOD.can<NEG>
'You cannot analyze my situation.'
- d. 䄌䄍䄎䄏䄐䄑䄒䄓, 䄕䄖䄗䄘, 䄙䄚䄛䄜䄝䄞䄟。
shyrx rruo la go ne, ku ax di ku,
robber come COMP TOP steal only steal
bie ax di bie quo **yix syp**.
destroy only destroy MOD.can
'When, the robber comes, he is only able to steal and to destroy.'

- b. 尙下尙非×尙丁尙非×非非尙。
 ssox sse max su ka bba cyp vit wep **hxi nyi** su nge.
 student ART prize NUM.1 VCL get MOD.intend FOC COP
 ‘The student intends to win a prize.’

The modal auxiliary *hxi nyi* is compatible with the dynamic perfect marker *ox* and with the experiential marker *nzox* (section 7.6.1), but not with the progressive *njuo* (section 7.4.1) or periodic marker *ndit* (section 7.6.2).

- (66) a. 尙非×尙尙尙尙尙尙非非尙。
 nga ap hxiet op rro it bbo **hxi nyi** **nzox**.
 1P.SG before Xichang live go MOD.intend EXP
 ‘I once wanted to live in Xichang.’
- b. *尙非×尙非非尙。
 *ax yi la **hxi nyi** **njuo**.
 child come MOD.intend PROG
 Intended meaning: ‘The child is willing to come.’

L. The modal *mo mgu* ‘intend’

The modals *mo mgu* (section L) and *hxi nyi* (section K) have similar meanings but have different lexical make-up: *mo mgu* means ‘see-think’; *hxi nyi* is derived from ‘heart-sit’. The string *mo mgu* satisfies all properties of a modal auxiliary (e.g. sole main predicate, only VP-complements but no clause-complements).

- (67) a. 尙非×尙非非非非尙。
 ngax li ke dit sip li **mo mgu**.
 1P.SG TOP dog lead go MOD.intend
 ‘I intend to lead the dog away.’
- b. 尙非×尙非非非非尙。
 nga ie qyt tip ne dox **mo mgu**.
 1P.SG water scoop 2P.SG give to drink MOD.intend
 ‘I will scoop water for you to drink.’
- c. 尙非×尙非非非非尙。
 ax pa syt xix yiet nyi ddie jjip **mo mgu**.
 other matter IND.whatever CL also manage MOD.intend
 ‘(He) intends to manage all things.’
- d. 尙非×尙非非非非尙。
 kax ddi ma ngat jop hxip su nga gox hna **mo mgu**.
 INT.who CL 1P.SG to speak NOM 1P.SG PRO.PAT listen MOD.intend
 ‘I intend to listen to who was speaking to me.’

- b. $\text{xp} \text{ li} \text{ mu} \text{ ga} \text{ } \mathbf{jox dop} \text{ da} \text{ hxip} \text{ su} \text{ nge.}$
 DEM.DD TOP male name to point at STP say FOC COP
 ‘This is referring to (*lit.* talking about) Muga.’

The string *jox dop* can also be preceded by a verb phrase. In this function, it was reanalyzed as modal auxiliary with the sense *prepared to*. It acquired all morpho-syntactic properties of modal auxiliary verbs. Semantically, its meaning shifted from *pointing to an object* to *preparing a state of affairs*.

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

8.3 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the domain of information sources which indicate how one learnt something (Aikhenvald 2004: 1; Willet 1988: 51). In about a quarter of the world’s languages, information sources are encoded in the grammatical system. With bound morphemes, the sentence must indicate the type of source on which it is based. In a chapter of the *World Atlas of Language Structures*, De Haan (2005) identifies North and South America as the principle areas of languages with grammaticalized information sources.

Individual languages exhibit between one and five grammaticalized information sources (Aikhenvald 2004: 60): visual testimony (VIS); auditory (AUD); sensory and participatory experience (EXP); specific quotative (QUOT) and unspecific hearsay (HEAR). In Nuosu, evidentiality is not encoded in the grammar – with one exception, quotation (section 8.3.1). All other information sources are lexically encoded and are briefly surveyed in section 8.3.2.

8.3.1 The quotative information source

Information reported to the speaker originate from a *quotative* source. In Nuosu, the quotative source is marked by the sentence particle *ddix*. This morpheme also serves other grammatical functions, as particle of direct and indirect quotation (section A) and as complementizer (section B). There are also lexical expressions containing *ddix* (section C).

A. The quotative particle *ddix*

The particle *ddip/ddix* is the formal mark of quotative constructions. It is grammaticalized from the proto-Yi main verb **di* ‘say’ (Gerner 2012). *Ddip* (low tone) can be used as independent predicate to introduce a quote.

- (71) *The quotative particle ddix:*
- ddip go*+ [quotative clause]+ *ddix*
 - ddip go*+ [quotative clause]+ *mu hxip*
 - hxip go*+ [quotative clause]+ *ddix*
- (72) a. ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ.
 mu rryr **ddip** go i shax jji bit **ddix**.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG candy chew QUOT
 ‘Mudge said that he is chewing candies.’
- b. ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ.
 mu rryr **ddip** go i shax jji bit mu **hxip**.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG candy chew ADVL say
 ‘Mudge said that he is chewing candies.’
- c. ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ ɰʌʌʌʌʌʌʌʌ.
 mu rryr **hxip** go i shax jji bit **ddix**.
 male name say SENT.TOP LOG.SG candy chew QUOT
 ‘Mudge said that he is chewing candies.’

The verb *ddip/ddix* also occurs as the sole predicate of a clause with the sense *be named*. It does not mean *speak*. (73a) illustrates a well-formed and (73c) an ill-formed example.

- (73) a. མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།
 cy mu gox **ddix**.
 3P.SG name be named
 ‘His name is Mugo.’
- b. མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་། c. *མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།
 cy ddop hxip ox. *cy ddop **ddip** ox.
 3P.SG word say DP 3P.SG word say say
 ‘He has spoken.’ ‘He has spoken.’

Otherwise, *ddix* is the formal mark of direct quotes, as in (74), and of indirect quotes, as in (75). It is always the element of final sentence closure.

- (74) a. མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་: “ཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།” ལྟོ་མོ་།
 mu ga ddip go: “nga ket zza zze ap- la ox” **ddix**.
 male name say SENT.TOP 1P.SG dinner eat NEG- come DP QUOT
 ‘Muga said: “I won’t come for dinner”.’
- b. མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་: “ཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།” ལྟོ་མོ་།
 sut co xip mu hxip: “at nyop jjiex mguo ox” **ddix**.
 other people DEM.DD say female name understand DP QUOT
 ‘Other people say: “Anyo has understood it”.’
- c. མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་: “ཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།” ལྟོ་མོ་།
 lat mop hxip go: “nga hxe nyiet njuo” **ddix**.
 male name say SENT.TOP 1P.SG fish catch DP QUOT
 ‘Lamo said: “I am fishing”.’

The quotative particle *ddix* is used as closure of indirect quotes, often in combination with logophors (section 5.4.1.B). Sometimes, the adverbial *mu hxip* can be used as well, see (75d).

- (75) a. མཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་: ཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།
 mu ga hxip go ip ko i gep ggot da ox **ddix**.
 male name say SENT.TOP door LOG.SG PASS shut STP DP QUOT
 ‘Muga said that the door was shut by him.’
- b. ཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་: ཉམ་པོ་ལྟོ་མོ་།
 ne hxip go cy shut jji nyuo tuo ox **ddix**.
 2P.SG say SENT.TOP 3P.SG recover consciousness DP QUOT
 ‘You said that he regained consciousness.’

- c. འཇགས་པ་འདེད་པའི་མཁའ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ།།
 cop wox ddirp go hmat mop op gu ox **ddix**.
 3P.PL say SENT.TOP teacher LOG.PL call DP QUOT
 ‘They said that the teacher called them.’
- d. ལོ་ལོ་སྐོར་བའི་མི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷོ་བའི་མཁའ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ།།
 at nyop hxip go ax yi max su hmat dde jji ox **mu hxip**.
 female name say SENT.TOP child ART teach grow up DP ADVL say
 ‘Anyo said that the child is educated.’

Direct quotes embedded within other direct quotes are marked with two successive occurrences of *ddix*, as shown in (76a). Indirect quotes within other indirect quotes are marked with only one occurrence of *ddix*, as in (76b).

- (76) a. ལམ་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ་ལམ་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ་ལམ་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ་ལམ་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ།།
 cy ddirp go: “cox ma shyr da hxip: ‘shyr ruo la ox’
 3P.SG say SENT.TOP person CL shout STP say robber come DP
ddix” ddirp.
 QUOT QUOT
 ‘He said: “Someone shouted: ‘A thief has come’”.’
- b. ལོ་ལོ་སྐོར་བའི་མི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷོ་བའི་མཁའ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ།།
 lat hxa hxip ngop ge, mu ga ddirp go,
 male name say 1P.SG tell male name say SENT.TOP
 i syt lat ax nyi guo **ddix**.
 LOG.SG affair many extraordinary QUOT
 ‘Laha told us that Muga said that he is extremely busy.’

The quotative particle at the end of the sentence cannot be reduplicated and negated by *ap*.

- (77) a. *ལོ་ལོ་སྐོར་བའི་མི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷོ་བའི་མཁའ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ།།
 *ne hxip go lu po mu dut jie ox **ddix ddirp?**
 2P.SG say SENT.TOP male name fire lighten DP QUOT~ALT
 Intended meaning: ‘Did you say that Lupo lit a fire?’
- b. *ལོ་ལོ་སྐོར་བའི་མི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷོ་བའི་མཁའ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལྷོད་པའོ།།
 *ne hxip go lu po mu dut jie ox **ap- ddirp**.
 2P.SG say SENT.TOP male name fire lighten DP NEG- QUOT
 Intended meaning: ‘You did not say that Lupo lit a fire.’

Moreover, *ddix* is used in two types of nominalizations. With a proper name, it is nominalized with the sense of *so-called*, see (78a). With an indirect speech clause and a classifier, it encodes a nominal complement clause, as in (78b).

- (78) a. མི་འདི་ལ་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 cyx li mu jy **ddix** max su nge.
 3P.SG TOP male name be named ART=CL-DET COP
 ‘He is the one who is called Mudje.’
- b. “མི་འདི་ལ་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།” ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 “cyx li hxie mgat ma nge” **ddix** gox su ddop vu-ap-ji.
 3P.SG TOP Chinese CL COP QUOT ART=CL-DET word true<NEG>
 ‘The statement that he is a Chinese is not true.’

B. The complementizer *ddix*

The particle *ddix* also functions as complementizer of speech verbs, the same verbs which co-occur with the quotative particle *ddix*. The verb of speech occurs after the complementizer *ddix*.

- (79) *The complementizer ddix:*
 NP+[embedded clause]+*ddix*+V_{SPEECH}.

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

- (80) a. མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་། མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 cop wox hxi yip ngat jop op hmi tat- ti
 3P.PL further 1P.SG to LOG.PL.POSS name NEG.IMP- spread
ddix hxip.
 COMP say
 ‘They further told me not to spread their name.’
- b. མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་། མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 a mat ngop jox tat- bbo **ddix** gox xie njuo.
 grandmother 1P.PL to NEG.IMP- go COMP urge PROG
 ‘The grandmother urged us not to leave.’
- c. མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་། མི་ལྟོ་ཟེང་།
 cy sip hni max su co ap- ku **ddix** ddop zy ssi.
 3P.SG woman ART people NEG- steal COMP testimony use
 ‘He testified that the woman had not stolen from other people.’

Ddix is the complementizer for direct and indirect quotes. It contrasts with the English complementizer *that* which does not subcategorize direct quotes.

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

b. ་་འདུལ་ལྟོ་མཚན་འཁོར་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་།
 at nyop nga jop i ip nyip la hxit **ddix** hna.
 female name 1P.SG toward LOG.SG today come can COMP ask
 ‘Anyo asked whether she could come today.’

(82) a. ་་མུ་ག་ ག་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་།
 mu ga ngat jop “nga la ap- hxit” **ddix** ddop bur.
 male name 1P.SG to 1P.SG come NEG- can COMP reply
 ‘Muga said to me: “I cannot come”.’

b. ་་མུ་ག་ ག་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་།
 mu ga ngat jop i la ap- hxit **ddix** ddop bur.
 male name 1P.SG to LOG.SG come NEG- can COMP reply
 ‘Muga said to me that he cannot come.’

C. Other expressions incorporating *ddix*

Several expressions in Nuosu integrate the morpheme *ddix*. They relate back to the blending of the verb **ddi* ‘say’ and other forms at an earlier stage of the language.

Table 8.3: Expressions including *ddix*

Term	Meaning	Section of grammar
<i>ddix</i>	‘at’ (for people)	section 6.2.5.B
<i>ddip ssox</i>	‘should’	section 8.2.2.C
<i>mo ddix</i>	‘committed’	section 8.2.2.M
<i>ap ddi ddix</i>	‘if’	section 13.1.2.A
<i>ddix ap bbo</i>	‘furthermore’	section 13.1.3.B
<i>ddix sy ne</i>	‘as soon as’	section 13.1.2.C

The postposition *ddix* ‘at the place of’ must co-occur with human nouns (reminiscent of the French preposition *chez*). It is probably cognate with the quotation particle *ddix*.

(83) a. ་་མུ་ག་ ག་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་།
 cy cyp xyp mop **ddix** ap- li.
 3P.SG 3P.SG.POSS wife LOC.at place of NEG- go
 ‘He didn’t go to his wife.’

b. ་་མུ་ག་ ག་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་ལྟོ་མཚན་།
 nyit cy li ax yi max su **ddix** da jjie bbo ox.
 ghost TOP child ART=CL-DET LOC.at place of COV.put leave go DP
 ‘The ghost left the child.’

Moreover, *ddix* is part of the two modal auxiliaries *ddip ssox* ‘should’ (section 8.2.2.C) and *mo ddix* ‘committed’ (section 8.2.2.M). Both modals have commissive meanings with a more or less direct link to speech.

- (84) a. $\text{ne ngax ddie nit qop bop ma mu da ddip ssox.}$
 2P.SG 1P.SG COV.prepare 2P.SG.POSS friend CL do put MOD.should
 ‘You should adopt me as one of your friends.’
- b. $\text{cy la mo ddix su nga dde-ap-jji.}$
 3P.SG come MOD.committed COMP 1P.SG know<NEG>
 ‘I don’t know whether he intends to come.’

Finally, there are three conjunctions containing *ddix*. The conjunction *ap ddi ddix* ‘if’ (section 13.1.2.A) is composed of the quantifier *ax di* ‘only’ (section 5.3.2.G) and *ddix* ‘say’. *Ap ddi ddix* prompts the use of *yix ne* at the end of the first clause.

- (85) $\text{ap ddi ddix ma hxa jjip yix ne, mu ga op rro}$
 if rain become provided that male name Xichang
 bbo ap-hxit.
 go NEG-MOD.can
 ‘If it is raining tomorrow, Muga can’t go to Xichang.’

The conjunction *ddix ap bbo* ‘furthermore’ contains the intransitive verb *bbo* ‘go’. The meaning *furthermore* is reanalyzed in two steps from *not going to say* and then *needless to say*.

- (86) $\text{mu ga ap ndip hxix cyp ix go li ox, ddix ap bbo}$
 male name yesterday 3P.SG.POSS home go DP furthermore
 ngap nyit gex jjyx- mo ox.
 1P.DL all, even RECL- see DP
 ‘Muga went to his home yesterday, and both of us met there.’

The conjunction *ddix sy ne* ‘as soon as’ is composed of **ddi* ‘say’, *sy* ‘yet’ and the topic marker *ne*. These three words literally mean *while saying*. This meaning was reanalyzed as *as soon as*.

- (87) རྒྱལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལ་
 ax da ssox dde xi la **ddix sy ne**, syt cy jjit cy
 father school arrive come as soon as matter DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG
 hxip ngop ge.
 say 1P.PL tell
 ‘As soon as the father arrived at the school, he told us what happened.’

8.3.2 Other information sources

In Nuosu, only the quotative information source is grammatically encoded. In the Yi group on a whole, evidentiality is not a feature of the grammar.¹

In Nuosu, the information sources of visual (VIS), auditory (AUD) testimony, sensory/participatory experience (EXP) are expressed lexically, mainly with matrix verbs.

- (88) a. རྒྱལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལ་
 ddip vip kep nyix mu la su nga **wep mo** ox.
 guest INT.how much ADVL come COMP 1P.SG GET see DP
 ‘I have seen that guests are coming in high numbers.’
- b. རྒྱལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་
 ngop wox nop wox go hxep ap- ddi su mu ga **gge** ox.
 1P.PL 2P.PL PRO.PAT see NEG- evil COMP name hear DP
 ‘Muga heard that we do not despise you.’
- c. རྒྱལ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྱེད་
 cyp gop bop go nax mgo su sa mu ddu ap-
 3P.SG.POSS body LOC illness bear NOM recover event NEG-
 jjo su cy **sip ngop** ox.
 have COMP 3P.SG feel DP
 ‘He felt that he had completely recovered from his illness.’

¹ In Weishan Lalo, a Yi language spoken in Yúnnán Province, the visual information source is expressed as grammatical particle (Björverud 1998: 136–138).

Chapter 9

Adverbs and negation

In this chapter, we analyze adverbial expressions (section 9.1) and negation strategies (section 9.2).

9.1 Adverbs

Adverbs modify parts of speech other than nouns: verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and clauses. We present syntactical and semantic differences of adverbs in section 9.1.1 and classify them syntactically in section 9.1.2.

9.1.1 Adverbial constructions

We distinguish between predicate-level and sentence-level adverbials (section A). We identify the Nuosu equivalent of depictives (section B). We elaborate on the semantic orientation of adverbials toward the agent, the patient or the event (section C). We investigate free adjuncts, adverbials that are loosely attached to the main predicate (section D).

A. Predicate-level and sentence-level adverbials

Predicate-adverbials modify the predicate, whereas sentence-adverbials target the whole sentence. Sentence-adverbials often reflect the speaker's attitude.

Predicate-level and sentence-level adverbials can be morphosyntactically derived from each other. In (1a), the adjective *gex yi* 'stupid' gives rise to the predicate-level adverb *gex yi mu* 'stupid'. In (1b), the sentence-level adverbial construction can be expressed by a nominalization predicated by *gex yi* 'stupid'.

- (1) a. $\text{H}\times\text{F}\text{H}\text{H}\text{F}$ 。
mu ga **gex yi mu** ddop bur.
name stupid ADVL answer
'Muga answered the question stupidly.'
- b. $\text{H}\times\text{F}\text{H}\text{F}\text{F}\text{H}\text{F}\text{H}\text{F}\text{H}\text{F}\text{H}\text{F}\text{H}\text{F}$ 。
mu ga ddop cyx go bur su, xip li **gex yi**
name word DEM.PROX CL return SENT.TOP DEM.DD TOP stupid
su nge.
NOM COP
'It was stupid of Muga to answer the question.'

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

- (2) a. རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ།
 ax ga **rrop jji mu** ddop hxip.
 female name naturally word say
 ‘Aga spoke naturally.’
- b. ལྟོགས་པའོ།, རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ།
hxip ddie-ap-ddur, ax ga ddop hxip ox.
 say need<NEG> female name word say DP
 ‘Naturally (= it was obvious that), Aga spoke.’

B. Constructions equivalent to depictives

Cross-linguistically, secondary predication is a syntactic construction with two predicates that express two relations within the same event (Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005). Secondary predication is reminiscent of serial verb constructions and can be subdivided into depictives and resultatives.

- (3) a. George bought the carrots **fresh**. Depictive secondary predication
 b. Georges boiled the carrots **soft**. Resultative secondary predication

In Nuosu, the closest equivalent of English secondary predications are adverbial constructions (section 9.1.1) and resultative constructions (section 12.2). The Nuosu equivalent of English depictives is a construction in which the second predicate is adverbialized by *-mu*, as shown in (4a). The adjective cannot be simply appended to the main predicate, as illustrated in (4b).

- (4) a. མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ།, རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ།
 mu rryr hxix ke vop nzi **a shyt shyp mu** cy vy six la.
 male name carrot fresh ADVL 3P.SG buy RES come
 ‘Mudge bought the carrots fresh.’
- b. *མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ།, རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་ལྟར་ལྟོགས་པའོ། (ཡ)
 *mu rryr hxix ke vop nzi cy vy **a shyt (shyp)**.
 male name carrot 3P.SG buy fresh
 Intended meaning: ‘Mudge bought the carrots fresh.’

The adverbializer *-mu* is described in detail at different places of this grammar (section 5.3.2.J, section 9.1). In Nuosu, depictive and adverbial constructions are structurally indistinguishable and contrast with English (see gloss of 5a).

- (5) a. າໍ່ມຸ້ເຂົ້າຫ້ອງ ສຳເລັດໄປທັງໝົດ.
 at gop **guo luo mut zzy** mu yi go da bbit bbo ox.
 female name angry ADVL house LOC COV go out DP
 ‘Ago left the room angry/Or: Ago left the room angrily.’

The adverbializer *-mu* conveys manner. Semantic nuances such as circumstantial or resultative can be captured by other particles.

- b. າໍ່ມຸ້ເຂົ້າຫ້ອງ ສຳເລັດໄປທັງໝົດ.
 at gop **guo luo mut zzy** da yi go da bbit bbo ox.
 name angry STP house LOC COV go out DP
 ‘Having become angry, Ago left the room.’
- c. າໍ່ມຸ້ເຂົ້າຫ້ອງ ສຳເລັດໄປທັງໝົດ.
 at gop **guo luo mut zzy** six yi go da bbit bbo ox.
 name angry RES house LOC COV go out DP
 ‘Ago was so angry that she left the room.’

C. Oriented adverbials

Predicate-level adverbs can be event-oriented, agent-oriented or patient-oriented. Event- and agent-oriented adverbs generally take the adverbializer *mu*, as in (6a+b), patient-oriented adverbs are posed after the predicate often together with the resultative particle *sip/six* (section 12.2.2), as illustrated in (6c).

- (6) a. ຈາຍ ຈາຍ ສາຍ ສາຍ ມຸ້ ສົງ.
 cy a **shyt shyp** mu sy.
 3P.SG young ADVL die
 ‘She died young.’
- b. ພົງສາ ຈັດສັດ ຈັດສັດ ສົງ ສົງ ສຸດ ສຸດ ສາ ສາ ມຸ້.
 cop wox **ix ssa ie ssa** mu ssox dde max su hxep da bbo.
 3P.PL very slowly ADVL school ART COV STP go
 ‘They went to the school very slowly.’
- c. ມຸ້ ກາ ນິເປກ ກາ ຈາຍ ຈັດ ຈັດ ຈັດ ຈັດ ມຸ້.
 mu ga niep ga cy jot **ix nu** ox.
 male name pumkin 3P.SG boil soft DP
 ‘Muga cooked the pumkin soft.’

D. Free adjuncts

Free adjuncts are adverbial expression consisting of a secondary predicate that is only loosely attached to the primary predicate. Stump (1985: 41–42) distinguished between weak and strong free adjuncts. Weak free adjuncts set the momentary stage

for the main predication while strong free adjuncts provide a permanent platform for the predication.

- (7) a. weak: Standing on a chair, John can touch the ceiling.
 b. If he stands on a chair, John can touch the ceiling.
- (8) a. strong: Having unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling.
 b. Because he has unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling.

Free adjuncts in Nuosu correspond to serial verb constructions and other coordinate clauses. The equivalent of Stump's examples in Nuosu is provided in (9): weak free adjuncts in (9a) and strong free adjuncts in (9b).

- (9) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉, 𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑。
 nyix dde ma tot hxit yix ne, mu gox lot rrep
 seat CL on top stand provided that male name hand stretch
 yi lo hmy.
 collar beam reach
 'Standing on a seat, Mugo can reach with his hand up to the collar beam.'
- b. 𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙, 𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡。
 lot a sho-jjy-a sho da, mu gox lot rrep yi lo hmy.
 arm long-very-long STP male name hand stretch collar beam reach
 'Having very long arms, Mugo can touch the collar beam.'

9.1.2 Movable adverbs

We use the term *movable adverbs* in a similar way Li & Thompson (1981: 320) do for Chinese. Movable adverbs occur in clause-initial position or after the first NP which might be the subject or direct object. Movable adverbs set an interpretative frame for the whole sentence. There are temporal adverbs and other adverbs in this category.

A. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs locate the reference time with respect to the event time and utterance time. Temporal adverbs are sentential and contrast with aspectual adverbs ('already') and frequency adverbs ('always') which are not sentential.

The examples below illustrate the two syntactic positions in which temporal adverbs occur.

Table 9.1: Movable temporal adverbs

ap mu 'now'	ap ndi hxix 'yesterday'
ap mut sip 'just now'	nyiet hxie ddip kut 'next year'
ap hxiet mieh jox 'before'	ap hxiet ddip kut 'last year'
kep te gex nep 'already before'	hxo bbu ddur wa 'in the morning'
ip nyip 'today'	jjo hnox la 'ever'
mup shyp nyip 'tomorrow'	wax la cyp nyip ne 'in future' (...)

(10) a. 𑏃𑏧𑏪𑏫𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑒀𑒁𑒂𑒃𑒄𑒅𑒆𑒇𑒈𑒉𑒊𑒋𑒌𑒍𑒎𑒏𑒐𑒑𑒒𑒓𑒔𑒕𑒖𑒗𑒘𑒙𑒚𑒛𑒜𑒝𑒞𑒟𑒠𑒡𑒢𑒣𑒤𑒥𑒦𑒧𑒨𑒩𑒪𑒫𑒬𑒭𑒮𑒯𑒰𑒱𑒲𑒳𑒴𑒵𑒶𑒷𑒸𑒻𑒻𑒼𑒽𑒾𑒿𑓀𑓁𑓃𑓂𑓄𑓅𑓆𑓇𑓈𑓉𑓊𑓋𑓌𑓍𑓎𑓏𑓐𑓑𑓒𑓓𑓔𑓕𑓖𑓗𑓘𑓙𑓚𑓛𑓜𑓝𑓞𑓟𑓠𑓡𑓢𑓣𑓤𑓥𑓦𑓧𑓨𑓩𑓪𑓫𑓬𑓭𑓮𑓯𑓰𑓱𑓲𑓳𑓴𑓵𑓶𑓷𑓸𑓹𑓺𑓻𑓼𑓽𑓾𑓿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸𑝹𑝺𑝻𑝼𑝽𑝾𑝿𑞀𑞁𑞂𑞃𑞄𑞅𑞆𑞇𑞈𑞉𑞊𑞋𑞌𑞍𑞎𑞏𑞐𑞑𑞒𑞓𑞔𑞕𑞖𑞗𑞘𑞙𑞚𑞛𑞜𑞝𑞞𑞟𑞠𑞡𑞢𑞣𑞤𑞥𑞦𑞧𑞨𑞩𑞪𑞫𑞬𑞭𑞮𑞯𑞰𑞱𑞲𑞳𑞴𑞵𑞶𑞷𑞸𑞹𑞺𑞻𑞼𑞽𑞾𑞿𑟀𑟁𑟂𑟃𑟄𑟅𑟆𑟇𑟈𑟉𑟊𑟋𑟌𑟍𑟎𑟏𑟐𑟑𑟒𑟓𑟔𑟕𑟖𑟗𑟘𑟙𑟚𑟛𑟜𑟝𑟞𑟟𑟠𑟡𑟢𑟣𑟤𑟥𑟦𑟧𑟨𑟩𑟪𑟫𑟬𑟭𑟮𑟯𑟰𑟱𑟲𑟳𑟴𑟵𑟶𑟷𑟸𑟹𑟺𑟻𑟼𑟽𑟾𑟿𑠀𑠁𑠂𑠃𑠄𑠅𑠆𑠇𑠈𑠉𑠊𑠋𑠌𑠍𑠎𑠏𑠐𑠑𑠒𑠓𑠔𑠕𑠖𑠗𑠘𑠙𑠚𑠛𑠜𑠝𑠞𑠟𑠠𑠡𑠢𑠣𑠤𑠥𑠦𑠧𑠨𑠩𑠪𑠫𑠬𑠭𑠮𑠯𑠰𑠱𑠲𑠳𑠴𑠵𑠶𑠷𑠸𑠺𑠹𑠻𑠼𑠽𑠾𑠿𑡀𑡁𑡂𑡃𑡄𑡅𑡆𑡇𑡈𑡉𑡊𑡋𑡌𑡍𑡎𑡏𑡐𑡑𑡒𑡓𑡔𑡕𑡖𑡗𑡘𑡙𑡚𑡛𑡜𑡝𑡞𑡟𑡠𑡡𑡢𑡣𑡤𑡥𑡦𑡧𑡨𑡩𑡪𑡫𑡬𑡭𑡮𑡯𑡰𑡱𑡲𑡳𑡴𑡵𑡶𑡷𑡸𑡹𑡺𑡻𑡼𑡽𑡾𑡿𑢀𑢁𑢂𑢃𑢄𑢅𑢆𑢇𑢈𑢉𑢊𑢋𑢌𑢍𑢎𑢏𑢐𑢑𑢒𑢓𑢔𑢕𑢖𑢗𑢘𑢙𑢚𑢛𑢜𑢝𑢞𑢟𑢠𑢡𑢢𑢣𑢤𑢥𑢦𑢧𑢨𑢩𑢪𑢫𑢬𑢭𑢮𑢯𑢰𑢱𑢲𑢳𑢴𑢵𑢶𑢷𑢸𑢹𑢺𑢻𑢼𑢽𑢾𑢿𑣀𑣁𑣂𑣃𑣄𑣅𑣆𑣇𑣈𑣉𑣊𑣋𑣌𑣍𑣎𑣏𑣐𑣑𑣒𑣓𑣔𑣕𑣖𑣗𑣘𑣙𑣚𑣛𑣜𑣝𑣞𑣟𑣠𑣡𑣢𑣣𑣤𑣥𑣦𑣧𑣨𑣩𑣪𑣫𑣬𑣭𑣮𑣯𑣰𑣱𑣲𑣳𑣴𑣵𑣶𑣷𑣸𑣹𑣺𑣻𑣼𑣽𑣾𑣿𑤀𑤁𑤂𑤃𑤄𑤅𑤆𑤇𑤈𑤉𑤊𑤋𑤌𑤍𑤎𑤏𑤐𑤑𑤒𑤓𑤔𑤕𑤖𑤗𑤘𑤙𑤚𑤛𑤜𑤝𑤞𑤟𑤠𑤡𑤢𑤣𑤤𑤥𑤦𑤧𑤨𑤩𑤪𑤫𑤬𑤭𑤮𑤯𑤰𑤱𑤲𑤳𑤴𑤵𑤶𑤷𑤸𑤹𑤺𑤻𑤼𑤽𑤾𑤿𑥀𑥁𑥂𑥃𑥄𑥅𑥆𑥇𑥈𑥉𑥊𑥋𑥌𑥍𑥎𑥏𑥐𑥑𑥒𑥓𑥔𑥕𑥖𑥗𑥘𑥙𑥚𑥛𑥜𑥝𑥞𑥟𑥠𑥡𑥢𑥣𑥤𑥥𑥦𑥧𑥨𑥩𑥪𑥫𑥬𑥭𑥮𑥯𑥰𑥱𑥲𑥳𑥴𑥵𑥶𑥷𑥸𑥹𑥺𑥻𑥼𑥽𑥾𑥿𑦀𑦁𑦂𑦃𑦄𑦅𑦆𑦇𑦈𑦉𑦊𑦋𑦌𑦍𑦎𑦏𑦐𑦑𑦒𑦓𑦔𑦕𑦖𑦗𑦘𑦙𑦚𑦛𑦜𑦝𑦞𑦟𑦠𑦡𑦢𑦣𑦤𑦥𑦦𑦧𑦨𑦩𑦪𑦫𑦬𑦭𑦮𑦯𑦰𑦱𑦲𑦳𑦴𑦵𑦶𑦷𑦸𑦹𑦺𑦻𑦼𑦽𑦾𑦿𑧀𑧁𑧂𑧃𑧄𑧅𑧆𑧇𑧈𑧉𑧊𑧋𑧌𑧍𑧎𑧏𑧐𑧑𑧒𑧓𑧔𑧕𑧖𑧗𑧘𑧙𑧚𑧛𑧜𑧝𑧞𑧟𑧠𑧡𑧢𑧣𑧤𑧥𑧦𑧧𑧨𑧩𑧪𑧫𑧬𑧭𑧮𑧯𑧰𑧱𑧲𑧳𑧴𑧵𑧶𑧷𑧸𑧹𑧺𑧻𑧼𑧽𑧾𑧿𑨀𑨁𑨂𑨃𑨄𑨅𑨆𑨇𑨈𑨉𑨊𑨋𑨌𑨍𑨎𑨏𑨐𑨑𑨒𑨓𑨔𑨕𑨖𑨗𑨘𑨙𑨚𑨛𑨜𑨝𑨞𑨟𑨠𑨡𑨢𑨣𑨤𑨥𑨦𑨧𑨨𑨩𑨪𑨫𑨬𑨭𑨮𑨯𑨰𑨱𑨲𑨳𑨴𑨵𑨶𑨷𑨸𑨹𑨺𑨻𑨼𑨽𑨾𑨿𑩀𑩁𑩂𑩃𑩄𑩅𑩆𑩇𑩈𑩉𑩊𑩋𑩌𑩍𑩎𑩏𑩐𑩑𑩒𑩓𑩔𑩕𑩖𑩗𑩘𑩙𑩚𑩛𑩜𑩝𑩞𑩟𑩠𑩡𑩢𑩣𑩤𑩥𑩦𑩧𑩨𑩩𑩪𑩫𑩬𑩭𑩮𑩯𑩰𑩱𑩲𑩳𑩴𑩵𑩶𑩷𑩸𑩹𑩺𑩻𑩼𑩽𑩾𑩿𑪀𑪁𑪂𑪃𑪄𑪅𑪆𑪇𑪈𑪉𑪊𑪋𑪌𑪍𑪎𑪏𑪐𑪑𑪒𑪓𑪔𑪕𑪖𑪗𑪘𑪙𑪚𑪛𑪜𑪝𑪞𑪟𑪠𑪡𑪢𑪣𑪤𑪥𑪦𑪧𑪨𑪩𑪪𑪫𑪬𑪭𑪮𑪯𑪰𑪱𑪲𑪳𑪴𑪵𑪶𑪷𑪸𑪹𑪺𑪻𑪼𑪽𑪾𑪿𑫀𑫁𑫂𑫃𑫄𑫅𑫆𑫇𑫈𑫉𑫊𑫋𑫌𑫍𑫎𑫏𑫐𑫑𑫒𑫓𑫔𑫕𑫖𑫗𑫘𑫙𑫚𑫛𑫜𑫝𑫞𑫟𑫠𑫡𑫢𑫣𑫤𑫥𑫦𑫧𑫨𑫩𑫪𑫫𑫬𑫭𑫮𑫯𑫰𑫱𑫲𑫳𑫴𑫵𑫶𑫷𑫸𑫹𑫺𑫻𑫼𑫽𑫾𑫿𑬀𑬁𑬂𑬃𑬄𑬅𑬆𑬇𑬈𑬉𑬊𑬋𑬌𑬍𑬎𑬏𑬐𑬑𑬒𑬓𑬔𑬕𑬖𑬗𑬘𑬙𑬚𑬛𑬜𑬝𑬞𑬟𑬠𑬡𑬢𑬣𑬤𑬥𑬦𑬧𑬨𑬩𑬪𑬫𑬬𑬭𑬮𑬯𑬰𑬱𑬲𑬳𑬴𑬵𑬶𑬷𑬸𑬹𑬺𑬻𑬼𑬽𑬾𑬿𑭀𑭁𑭂𑭃𑭄𑭅𑭆𑭇𑭈𑭉𑭊𑭋𑭌𑭍𑭎𑭏𑭐𑭑𑭒𑭓𑭔𑭕𑭖𑭗𑭘𑭙𑭚𑭛𑭜𑭝𑭞𑭟𑭠𑭡𑭢𑭣𑭤𑭥𑭦𑭧𑭨𑭩𑭪𑭫𑭬𑭭𑭮𑭯𑭰𑭱𑭲𑭳𑭴𑭵𑭶𑭷𑭸𑭹𑭺𑭻𑭼𑭽𑭾𑭿𑮀𑮁𑮂𑮃𑮄𑮅𑮆𑮇𑮈𑮉𑮊𑮋𑮌𑮍𑮎𑮏𑮐𑮑𑮒𑮓𑮔𑮕𑮖𑮗𑮘𑮙𑮚𑮛𑮜𑮝𑮞𑮟𑮠𑮡𑮢𑮣𑮤𑮥𑮦𑮧𑮨𑮩𑮪𑮫𑮬𑮭𑮮𑮯𑮰𑮱𑮲𑮳𑮴𑮵𑮶𑮷𑮸𑮹𑮺𑮻𑮼𑮽𑮾𑮿𑯀𑯁𑯂𑯃𑯄𑯅𑯆𑯇𑯈𑯉𑯊𑯋𑯌𑯍𑯎𑯏𑯐𑯑𑯒𑯓𑯔𑯕𑯖𑯗𑯘𑯙𑯚𑯛𑯜𑯝𑯞𑯟𑯠𑯡𑯢𑯣𑯤𑯥𑯦𑯧𑯨𑯩𑯪𑯫𑯬𑯭𑯮𑯯𑯰𑯱𑯲𑯳𑯴𑯵𑯶𑯷𑯸𑯹𑯺𑯻𑯼𑯽𑯾𑯿𑰀𑰁𑰂𑰃𑰄𑰅𑰆𑰇𑰈𑰉𑰊𑰋𑰌𑰍𑰎𑰏𑰐𑰑𑰒𑰓𑰔𑰕𑰖𑰗𑰘𑰙𑰚𑰛𑰜𑰝𑰞𑰟𑰠𑰡𑰢𑰣𑰤𑰥𑰦𑰧𑰨𑰩𑰪𑰫𑰬𑰭𑰮𑰯𑰰𑰱𑰲𑰳𑰴𑰵𑰶𑰷𑰸𑰹𑰺𑰻𑰼𑰽𑰾𑰿𑱀𑱁𑱂𑱃𑱄𑱅𑱆𑱇𑱈𑱉𑱊𑱋𑱌𑱍𑱎𑱏𑱐𑱑𑱒𑱓𑱔𑱕𑱖𑱗𑱘𑱙𑱚𑱛𑱜𑱝𑱞𑱟𑱠𑱡𑱢𑱣𑱤𑱥𑱦𑱧𑱨𑱩𑱪𑱫𑱬𑱭𑱮𑱯𑱰𑱱𑱲𑱳𑱴𑱵𑱶𑱷𑱸𑱹𑱺𑱻𑱼𑱽𑱾𑱿

ip nyip cy op rro che qu vy yy.
today 3P.SG Xichang rice buy go
'Today, he went to Xichang to buy rice.'

b. 𑏃𑏧𑏪𑏫𑏯𑏰𑏱𑏲𑏳𑏴𑏵𑏶𑏷𑏸𑏹𑏺𑏻𑏼𑏽𑏾𑏿𑐄𑐅𑐆𑐇𑐈𑐉𑐊𑐋𑐌𑐍𑐎𑐏𑐐𑐑𑐒𑐓𑐔𑐕𑐖𑐗𑐘𑐙𑐚𑐛𑐜𑐝𑐞𑐟𑐠𑐡𑐢𑐣𑐤𑐥𑐦𑐧𑐨𑐩𑐪𑐫𑐬𑐭𑐮𑐯𑐰𑐱𑐲𑐳𑐴𑐵𑐶𑐷𑐸𑐹𑐺𑐻𑐼𑐽𑐾𑐿𑑀𑑁𑑂𑑃𑑄𑑅𑑆𑑇𑑈𑑉𑑊𑑋𑑌𑑍𑑎𑑏𑑐𑑑𑑒𑑓𑑔𑑕𑑖𑑗𑑘𑑙𑑚𑑛𑑜𑑝𑑞𑑟𑑠𑑡𑑢𑑣𑑤𑑥𑑦𑑧𑑨𑑩𑑪𑑫𑑬𑑭𑑮𑑯𑑰𑑱𑑲𑑳𑑴𑑵𑑶𑑷𑑸𑑹𑑺𑑻𑑼𑑽𑑾𑑿𑔀𑔁𑔂𑔃𑔄𑔅𑔆𑔇𑔈𑔉𑔊𑔋𑔌𑔍𑔎𑔏𑔐𑔑𑔒𑔓𑔔𑔕𑔖𑔗𑔘𑔙𑔚𑔛𑔜𑔝𑔞𑔟𑔠𑔡𑔢𑔣𑔤𑔥𑔦𑔧𑔨𑔩𑔪𑔫𑔬𑔭𑔮𑔯𑔰𑔱𑔲𑔳𑔴𑔵𑔶𑔷𑔸𑔹𑔺𑔻𑔼𑔽𑔾𑔿𑕀𑕁𑕂𑕃𑕄𑕅𑕆𑕇𑕈𑕉𑕊𑕋𑕌𑕍𑕎𑕏𑕐𑕑𑕒𑕓𑕔𑕕𑕖𑕗𑕘𑕙𑕚𑕛𑕜𑕝𑕞𑕟𑕠𑕡𑕢𑕣𑕤𑕥𑕦𑕧𑕨𑕩𑕪𑕫𑕬𑕭𑕮𑕯𑕰𑕱𑕲𑕳𑕴𑕵𑕶𑕷𑕸𑕹𑕺𑕻𑕼𑕽𑕾𑕿𑖀𑖁𑖂𑖃𑖄𑖅𑖆𑖇𑖈𑖉𑖊𑖋𑖌𑖍𑖎𑖏𑖐𑖑𑖒𑖓𑖔𑖕𑖖𑖗𑖘𑖙𑖚𑖛𑖜𑖝𑖞𑖟𑖠𑖡𑖢𑖣𑖤𑖥𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩𑖪𑖫𑖬𑖭𑖮𑖯𑖰𑖱𑖲𑖳𑖴𑖵𑖶𑖷𑖸𑖹𑖺𑖻𑖼𑖽𑖾𑗀𑖿𑗁𑗂𑗃𑗄𑗅𑗆𑗇𑗈𑗉𑗊𑗋𑗌𑗍𑗎𑗏𑗐𑗑𑗒𑗓𑗔𑗕𑗖𑗗𑗘𑗙𑗚𑗛𑗜𑗝𑗞𑗟𑗠𑗡𑗢𑗣𑗤𑗥𑗦𑗧𑗨𑗩𑗪𑗫𑗬𑗭𑗮𑗯𑗰𑗱𑗲𑗳𑗴𑗵𑗶𑗷𑗸𑗹𑗺𑗻𑗼𑗽𑗾𑗿𑘀𑘁𑘂𑘃𑘄𑘅𑘆𑘇𑘈𑘉𑘊𑘋𑘌𑘍𑘎𑘏𑘐𑘑𑘒𑘓𑘔𑘕𑘖𑘗𑘘𑘙𑘚𑘛𑘜𑘝𑘞𑘟𑘠𑘡𑘢𑘣𑘤𑘥𑘦𑘧𑘨𑘩𑘪𑘫𑘬𑘭𑘮𑘯𑘰𑘱𑘲𑘳𑘴𑘵𑘶𑘷𑘸𑘹𑘺𑘻𑘼𑘽𑘾𑘿𑙀𑙁𑙂𑙃𑙄𑙅𑙆𑙇𑙈𑙉𑙊𑙋𑙌𑙍𑙎𑙏𑙐𑙑𑙒𑙓𑙔𑙕𑙖𑙗𑙘𑙙𑙚𑙛𑙜𑙝𑙞𑙟𑙠𑙡𑙢𑙣𑙤𑙥𑙦𑙧𑙨𑙩𑙪𑙫𑙬𑙭𑙮𑙯𑙰𑙱𑙲𑙳𑙴𑙵𑙶𑙷𑙸𑙹𑙺𑙻𑙼𑙽𑙾𑙿𑚀𑚁𑚂𑚃𑚄𑚅𑚆𑚇𑚈𑚉𑚊𑚋𑚌𑚍𑚎𑚏𑚐𑚑𑚒𑚓𑚔𑚕𑚖𑚗𑚘𑚙𑚚𑚛𑚜𑚝𑚞𑚟𑚠𑚡𑚢𑚣𑚤𑚥𑚦𑚧𑚨𑚩𑚪𑚫𑚬𑚭𑚮𑚯𑚰𑚱𑚲𑚳𑚴𑚵𑚷𑚶𑚸𑚹𑚺𑚻𑚼𑚽𑚾𑚿𑛀𑛁𑛂𑛃𑛄𑛅𑛆𑛇𑛈𑛉𑛊𑛋𑛌𑛍𑛎𑛏𑛐𑛑𑛒𑛓𑛔𑛕𑛖𑛗𑛘𑛙𑛚𑛛𑛜𑛝𑛞𑛟𑛠𑛡𑛢𑛣𑛤𑛥𑛦𑛧𑛨𑛩𑛪𑛫𑛬𑛭𑛮𑛯𑛰𑛱𑛲𑛳𑛴𑛵𑛶𑛷𑛸𑛹𑛺𑛻𑛼𑛽𑛾𑛿𑜀𑜁𑜂𑜃𑜄𑜅𑜆𑜇𑜈𑜉𑜊𑜋𑜌𑜍𑜎𑜏𑜐𑜑𑜒𑜓𑜔𑜕𑜖𑜗𑜘𑜙𑜚𑜛𑜜𑜝𑜞𑜟𑜠𑜡𑜢𑜣𑜤𑜥𑜦𑜧𑜨𑜩𑜪𑜫𑜬𑜭𑜮𑜯𑜰𑜱𑜲𑜳𑜴𑜵𑜶𑜷𑜸𑜹𑜺𑜻𑜼𑜽𑜾𑜿𑝀𑝁𑝂𑝃𑝄𑝅𑝆𑝇𑝈𑝉𑝊𑝋𑝌𑝍𑝎𑝏𑝐𑝑𑝒𑝓𑝔𑝕𑝖𑝗𑝘𑝙𑝚𑝛𑝜𑝝𑝞𑝟𑝠𑝡𑝢𑝣𑝤𑝥𑝦𑝧𑝨𑝩𑝪𑝫𑝬𑝭𑝮𑝯𑝰𑝱𑝲𑝳𑝴𑝵𑝶𑝷𑝸

- b. နဂါးလၢဝဲၣ်နီၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်။
 nga **wax la cyp nyip ne** rre mop ddie nex sur mix.
 1P.SG in future money COV 2P.SG return FUT
 ‘I will return the money to you.’ (The topic marker *ne* is lexicalized)

The movable adverb *jjo hnox la* ‘ever’ must co-occur with the negated experiential aspect marker *ap nzop* to convey the meaning *never before*.

- (14) a. နဂါးလၢဝဲၣ်နီၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်။
jjo hnox la vo xip yyx bbo co gox mo ap- **nzop**.
 ever snow DEM.DD big CL person PRO.PAT see NEG- EXP
 ‘Such a big snowfall was never seen before.’
- b. နဂါးလၢဝဲၣ်နီၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်။
 vo xip yyx bbo **jjo hnox la** co gox mo ap- **nzop**.
 snow DEM.DD big CL ever person PRO.PAT see NEG- EXP
 ‘Such a big snowfall was never seen before.’

B. Other adverbs

Other movable adverbs consist of attitudinal adverbs, which convey the speaker’s attitude, and one frequency adverb.

Table 9.2: Other movable adverbs

nyip mop nyip ‘in the past’	bip ap jjo mu ‘for no reason’
cyx luo mu ‘suddenly’	hxix hxi mu ‘intentionally’
hxo ap lo tu ddx ‘at once’	nyuo ba ba mu ‘clearly’
tuo tuo mu ‘by chance’	nyuo mo hne gge mu ‘obviously’
wox dde mu go ‘originally’	ap dda yix nyi ‘at least’
ap bo ap de (mu) ‘by any standard’	ap lop ne ‘apparently’
o njit mu ‘roughly’	bur lop bur mu ‘again and again’

Most of the sentential adverbs in Table 9.2 append the phrasal suffix *-mu* (section 5.3.2.J, section 9.1.2.A). These adverbs are not derived from adjectives, at least not synchronically. The presence of *-mu* is a general marker of adverbhood. The following examples show the adverb in initial position and after the first NP.

- (15) ဂါးလၢဝဲၣ်နီၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်ဒၣ်။
nyip mop nyip nga nry ndo.
 in the past 1P.SG wine drink
 ‘In the past, I drank wine.’

- (16) a. ສັດສະໄໝຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
cyx luo mu ma hxa jjip ox.
 suddenly rain become DP
 ‘Suddenly, it rained.’
- b. ອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
 ma hxa **cyx luo mu** jjip ox.
 rain suddenly become DP
 ‘Suddenly, it rained.’
- (17) a. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
hxop ap lo tu ddix cyp hlut bbup mu hly pur six bbo ox.
 at once 3P.SG.POSS hat wind blow RES go DP
 ‘His headscarf was blown away at once.’
- b. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
 cyp hlut bbup **hxop ap lo tu ddix** mu hly pur six bbo ox.
 3P.SG.POSS hat at once wind blow RES go DP
 ‘His headscarf was blown away at once.’
- (18) a. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
wox dde mu go cy xyx hnie vy ji ngop.
 originally 3P.SG shoe buy want, think
 ‘Originally, he wanted to buy shoes.’
- b. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
 cy **wox dde mu go** xyx hnie vy ji ngop.
 3P.SG originally shoe buy want, think
 ‘Originally, he wanted to buy shoes.’
- (19) a. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
tuo tuo mu nga la cyx zo da.
 by chance 1P.SG come 3P.SG meet STP.
 ‘I came to meet him by chance.’
- b. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
 nga **tuo tuo mu** la cyx zo da.
 1P.SG by chance come 3P.SG meet STP.
 ‘I came to meet him by chance.’
- (20) a. ມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາແລະມາເຮັດອອກມາ.
o njit mu cy hxip jjip ox.
 roughly 3P.SG say become DP
 ‘He said it roughly.’

- b. ກ່ອນທີ່ເຈົ້າຈະເວົ້າ.
 cy **o njit mu** hxip jjip ox.
 3P.SG roughly say become DP
 ‘He said it roughly.’

- (21) a. ຕ້ອງການອື່ນໆຢ່າງໃດ.
bip ap jjo mu cy sut co jox zyt.
 for no reason 3P.SG other people toward abuse, scold
 ‘He abuses others for no obvious reason.’

- b. ກ່ອນທີ່ເຈົ້າຈະເວົ້າ.
 cy **bip ap jjo mu** sut co jox zyt.
 3P.SG for no reason other people toward abuse, scold
 ‘He abuses others for no obvious reason.’

- (22) a. ອັດຕະໂນມາດເຮັດໃຫ້ເຈົ້າເຮັດ.
nyuo ba ba mu cy mgie ngax ge
 obviously 3P.SG cheat 1P.SG tell
 ‘Obviously, he cheated me.’ (adversity context)

- b. ອັດຕະໂນມາດເຮັດໃຫ້ເຈົ້າເຮັດ.
 cy **nyuo ba ba mu** mgie ngax ge.
 3P.SG obviously cheat 1P.SG tell
 ‘Obviously, he cheated me.’ (adversity context)

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

- (23) a. ຈົ່ງໃຫ້ເຈົ້າອອກເງິນຢູ່ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງສິບ.
ap dda yix nyi ne nge ci vat ddur luop.
 at least 2P.SG NUM.50 dollar exit REGR
 ‘You should give out at least 50 RMB.’
- b. ຈົ່ງໃຫ້ເຈົ້າອອກເງິນຢູ່ນ້ອຍໜຶ່ງສິບ.
 ne **ap dda yix nyi** bbop cyp zha zze.
 2P.SG at least invite, request NUM.1 CL eat
 ‘You are at least invited to eat a little bit.’

The adverb *ap lop ne* ‘apparently’ must occur in a comparative construction or co-occur with the verb *sup* ‘resemble’.

- (24) a. ຈົ່ງເບິ່ງຄືຄົນທີ່ບໍ່ຮູ້ເຈົ້າ.
ap lop ne cy nga ap- syp ma sup.
 apparently 3P.SG 1P.SG NEG- know CL resemble
 ‘He looks like someone who doesn’t know me.’

- b. ນ້ຳຂ້າງຕາເຮົາຕາເຮົາດີຄືມືໜ້າດີ.
nga cyx si nip **ap lop ne** jji-yyx.
1P.SG 3P.SG with apparently RECL-big
‘I and he apparently have the same size.’

The sole frequency adverb in this group is *bur lop bur mu* ‘again and again’.

- (25) a. ທ່ານຮ້າງສິ່ງທີ່ຕ້ອງເຮັດຄືນຳມາຮ້າງຄືນຳ.
bur lop bur mu syt cy jjit ne hxip ddi-ap-ddur ox.
again and again matter DEM CL 2P.SG say need<NEG> DP
‘You need not repeat this matter over and over again.’
- b. ທ່ານນັ້ນຈຶ່ງຄືນຳມາກັບຄືນຳມາເປັນສະໄໝມາດືນຢູ່ເທິງຖະໜົນນັ້ນ.
bbox zze cyx ma **bur lop bur mu** jie shat jo njuo go shex.
man DEM CL again and again street turn move HAB
‘This man staggers forth and back in the street.’

9.1.3 Immovable adverbs

Immovable adverbs only occur after the first NP, not in sentence-initial position. Immovable adverbs fall into two semantic categories: manner adverbs and functional (quantificational, syntactic) adverbs.

A. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs append the phrasal suffix *-mu* (section 5.3.2.J) which assumes a function similar to the Germanic suffix *-ly* and the Romance suffix *-ment*.

Table 9.3: Immovable manner adverbs

at ggop ggop mu ‘aimless, in vain’ (A)	iex ssa iex ssa mu ‘slowly’
xy xy zzyt zzyt mu ‘meticulously’ (A)	bbop bbop do do mu ‘soberly’
ryr ggur ggur mu ‘earnestly’ (A)	cy jjip cy jjix mu ‘naturally’
guo luo mut zzi zzi mu ‘angry’ (A)	ax ddi ddi mu ‘alive’
gex zhy mu ‘really’ (A)	hxie ggur nyuo gga mu ‘enthusiastically’
vu jji mu ‘truly’ (A)	miep wa mu ‘orderly’
nji mu ‘quickly’ (A)	ap si si mu ‘secretely’
hxit jjo mu ‘quickly’	ggup lep mu ‘in a circle’

Some manner adverbs are not derived from adjectives. The suffix *-mu* only functions as a general mark of adverbhood. Adverbs derived from adjectives are indicated by (A) in Table 9.3. Many manner adverbs are derived from simple, reduplicated or antonymic adjectives by appending *-mu*.

- (26) a. འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 cyp ngop lu **ap ggop**.
 3P.SG.POSS thought aimless, in vain
 ‘His thought is futile.’
- b. འདི་རྩི་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 ip nyip cop wox **ap ggop ggop mu** ix go jjo.
 today 3P.PL aimless, in vain home be at
 ‘Today we remained idle at home.’

Manner adverbs occur after the subject and before or after the direct object. Manner adverbs are oriented toward the event or toward the NP that immediately precedes them.

- (27) ཡམས་ལྷན་པའི་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 syt cy jjit nga **xy xy zzyt zzyp mu** ti hox bbap ga co
 event DEM.PROX CL 1P.SG carefully spread village people
 ge bbo ox.
 tell go DP
 ‘I communicated carefully what happened to the villagers.’
- (28) འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 nga lat hxo jox **ryr ggur ggur mu** gox hxix.
 1P.SG male name toward earnestly admonish
 ‘I warned Laho earnestly.’
- (29) འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 nga **guo luo mut zzi zzi mu** cy gep bie cyp luo bbyp.
 1P.SG angry 3P.SG COV kick NUM.1 VCL give
 ‘I was kicked by him severely.’
- (30) a. འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 cy **gex zhy mu** gox xi la ox.
 3P.SG real LOC arrive come DP
 ‘He really arrived (= It is the reality that he arrived).’
- b. འཇམ་ལུ་འགྲོ་ལོ་འགྲོ་ལོ།
 cy **vu jji mu** gox xi la ox.
 3P.SG truly ADVL LOC arrive come DP
 ‘He truly arrived (= It is the truth that he arrived).’

- (37) 日米ヲ泉泉日密呼命召来也。
 mu rryr **ap si si mu** hxi jox co ggex su gu six la.
 male name secretly foreigner ART call RES come
 ‘Mudge secretly summoned the foreigners.’
- (38) 命王喜呼王王也。
 cop wox **hxie ggur nyuo gga mu** vo mu bop shep.
 3P.PL enthusiastically king serve
 ‘They enthusiastically serve the king.’

B. Other adverbs

There are several other immovable adverbs with quantificational and coordinating functions. Some append the phrasal suffix *-mu* but are not derived from adjectives, at least not in Modern Nuosu. Two exceptions are the non-manner adverbs *ryx mu* ‘early’ and *ap nryr mu* ‘really’ which are derived from adjectives. Some adverbials originate from negated verbs: *ap ne mu* ‘not-cess = constantly’ and *sat ap hxit mu* ‘exhaust-not-can = in great numbers’. Three adverbs function also as coordinate conjunctions: *yix nip* ‘just now’ (section 13.1.2.C), *gex nep* ‘originally’ (section 13.1.2.C) and *tat lyp* ‘but’ (section 13.1.3.C).

Table 9.4: Other immovable adverbs

a hnat mu ‘very’	ax nyi pa jop ‘in many ways’
a hnat...a hnat... ‘the more...the more...’	ap bo ap de mu ‘by any standard’
dax mu ‘rather’	zzip mu ‘together’
jiox dde jiox ‘gradually’	dde dde mu ‘often, always’
cuop luo ‘a little bit’	lot ggo mu ‘immediately’
miep ‘in advance, first’	hxi mu ‘especially for’
hxi yip ‘again’	ggup lep mu ‘around, in a circle’
ax di ‘only’	ryx mu ‘early’
nge get ‘all’	ap nryr mu ‘definitely, really’
jjy gex ‘together, all’	ap ne mu ‘constantly’
mix ‘even’	sat ap hxit mu ‘in great numbers’
nyi ‘also’	yix nip ‘only then’
ap lo ‘almost’	gex nep ‘originally, actually’
go mox ‘beginning’	tat lyp ‘but’

These immovable adverbs occur after the subject or topic noun phrase, and before or after the direct object. The first adverb, *a hnat mu* ‘very’, modifies gradable adjectives and verbs. It also occurs in complex clauses as *a hnat...a hnat...* ‘the more...the more...’.

- (39) a. ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ།
 nga **a hnat mu** jy jie ox.
 1P.SG very fear DP
 ‘I was particularly afraid.’
- b. ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ་མཉམ་བཤུགས་བྱེད།
 ne **a hnat mu** hxie zut da sso.
 2P.SG very make efforts STP study
 ‘You must make special efforts in your studies.’

- (40) ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ་ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ།
 nga **a hnat** ddop hxip **a hnat** jy jie ox.
 1P.SG the more word speak the more fear DP
 ‘The more I speak the more I am afraid.’

The adverbs *dax mu* ‘rather’ and *jfox dde jfox dde* ‘gradually’ are used with gradable adjectives and verbs.

- (41) a. མཉམ་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ་མཉམ་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ།
 mu ga si nip mu gox nyix li, mu gox **dax mu** gop bo ax yy.
 name and name NUM.2 TOP name rather body big
 ‘As for Muga and Mugo, Mugo is taller.’
- b. མཉམ་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ་མཉམ་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ།
 get zo zza ma **jfox dde jfox dde** ix nyi la.
 cupboard cereals gradually few COME
 ‘The cereals in the cupboard decreased gradually.’

The adverb *cuop luo* ‘a little’ modifies activity verbs and indicates the extent of the activity carried out.

- (42) ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ་ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ།
 nop wox tat-ra mu da, cy bbyx **cuop luo** hxip shux.
 2P.PL NEG.IMP-noisy ADVL 3P.SG COV a little speak CAUS
 ‘Be silent and let him speak a little.’

The adverb *miep* ‘at first’ can be employed in simple clauses and also co-occur with the adverb *wax* ‘afterwards’ in coordinate clauses.

- (43) a. ལྟོས་མཉམ་འཇུག་ལྡན་ཏེ།
 vyt vu **miep** hxip!
 elder brother at first speak
 ‘The elder brother may speak first.’

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

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

- (47) a. 叻 叻 日叻 叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻。
 co cyx nyip bbup nyop vi **jy ge** bbop.
 person DEM.PROX NUM.2 CL labour together do
 ‘These two families are working together.’
- b. 叻 叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻。
 cop wox **jy ge** ix go bbo ox.
 3P.PL together, all home go DP
 ‘They all went home.’

The focus adverb *mix* ‘even’ modifies the immediately preceding noun phrase which assumes different semantic roles (see also section 7.8.2.B).

- (48) 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻。
 mu ga **mix** it nyi gu ox.
 male name even sleep DP
 ‘Even Muga slept.’

The adverb *ap lo* ‘almost’ is used before and after the predicate (see section 9.1.4). It implicates one or two meanings. It implicates that an activity was not carried out at all. For incremental verbs, it implicates that an activity was not carried out completely.

- (49) a. 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻。
 lat hxo op rro **ap lo** bbo.
 male name Xichang almost go
 ‘Laho almost went to Xichang.’ (i.e. ‘Laho did not go to Xichang.’)
- b. 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻 日叻。
 lat hxo op rro **ap lo** xi bbo.
 male name Xichang almost arrive go
 ‘Laho almost went to Xichang.’ [(i) ‘Laho did not go to Xichang.’
 (ii) ‘Laho did not go all the way to Xichang.’]

The adverb *go mox* ‘at first’ is already sketched in section 7.2.1.A. The adverb *ax nyi pa jop* ‘in many ways’ is related to the conjunction *cyp pa jop* ‘in one aspect’ (section 13.1.2.B).

(55) 佢哋𠵼手𠵼脚𠵼咁多𠵼吓𠵼口𠵼吐。

cop wox **hxi mu** tit da nit jop kax sha sha la su nge.
 3P.PL especially here 2P.SG to thank come NOM COP
 ‘They came here especially to thank you.’

The preverbal adverb *ryx mu* ‘early’ is derived from the adjective *ryx* ‘early’ and contrasts with the postverbal adverb *nyiet* ‘late’ (see section 9.1.3).

(56) a. 佢哋𠵼𠵼𠵼。

cop wox li **ryx** -jyy- **ryx**.
 3P.PL TOP early very early
 ‘They were very early.’

b. 佢哋𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。

cop wox **ryx mu** la sat ox.
 3P.PL early come EXH DP
 ‘They all arrived early.’

The adverb *ap nryr mu* ‘really’ is derived from the adjective *ap nryr* ‘honest’ with a slight semantic shift.

(57) a. 佢𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。

co cyx ma **ap nryr** su nge.
 person DEM.PROX CL honest NOM COP
 ‘This person is honest.’

b. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。

nga **ap nryr mu** ddiex bur.
 1P.SG really correct
 ‘I really want to improve.’

The following two adverbs are derived from two negated verbs.

(58) a. 佢哋𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。

cop wox **ap ne mu** ip ko ndup.
 3P.PL not-cease=constantly door knock
 ‘They knocked constantly at the door.’

b. 𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼𠵼。

vit gga **sat ap hxit mu** sip go vux njuo.
 clothes exhaust-not-can=in great numbers take PRO.PAT sell PROG
 ‘Take clothes in large numbers and sell them.’

The adverb *yix nip* ‘only then’ depends on the clause-initial constituent which is interpreted as a condition for the realization of the event. In (59a), *tomorrow* is interpreted as temporal condition of the event. In (59b), the subject NP is understood as abstract condition of a potential event. In (59c), the subject NP is understood as a default temporal condition of a completed event.

- (59) a. ㄨㄝㄜㄣㄉㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟ。
 cy mup shy dex **yix nip** op rro la dox.
 3P.SG tomorrow only then Xichang come can
 ‘He cannot come to Xichang until tomorrow.’
- b. ㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟ。
 ne **yix nip** syt cy jjit mu dox.
 2P.SG only then affair DEM.PROX CL do can
 ‘It is only you who can manage this thing.’
- c. ㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟ。
 ne **yix nip** syt cy jjit mu sat ox.
 2P.SG just now affair DEM.PROX CL do EXH DP
 ‘It is just now that you have completed this task.’

The adverb *gex nep* ‘originally’ is a temporal focus adverb. *Gex nep* also functions as conjunction whose meaning is described in section 13.1.2.C.

- (60) ㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟ。
 cop wox **gex nep** xip sso ap- nzop da.
 3P.PL originally, actually DEM.INDEF study NEG- EXP STP
 ‘Originally they did not study such content.’

The adverb *tat lyp* ‘but’ marks contrast with a previous utterance or situation. The sentence in which it is used stands alone. *Tat lyp* also functions as backward-linking conjunction (section 13.1.3.B).

- (61) ㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟㄟ。
 syt cy jjit **tat lyp** ne hxip gox sha tat xi.
 affair DEM.PROX CL but, after all 2P.SG say SEND should
 ‘After all, you should solve this.’

9.1.4 Postverbal adverbs

There are several postverbal adverbs with aspectual or frequency meanings. They are listed in the following table.

Table 9.5: Postverbal adverbs

guo ‘too much’	ddep lox ‘originally’
ap lo ‘almost’	sy ‘still’
da qix ‘almost’	yip sy ‘still, yet’
ap cy ‘more’	nyiet ‘late’
bur ‘again’	lut ‘enough’

The adverb intensifier *guo* ‘too much’ is placed after gradable adjectives, as in (62a+b). The adverb *ap lo* ‘almost’ implicates two interpretations for incremental verbs: *almost do* and *not completely do*, as in (63). The adverb *da qix* ‘almost’ is an intensifier restricted to states of extensive fatigue, as in (64).

- (62) a. ཡལ་མི་སྐྱོད་ལྟོགས། བཟུང་མེད།
 vit gga cyx ggu ax yy **guo**, nga go ggat ap- dop.
 clothes DEM CL big too much 1P.SG PRO.PAT wear NEG- can
 ‘This garment is too big, I cannot wear it.’
- b. འདིར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྟོགས།
 ip nyip mo mu cax **guo**.
 today sky hot too much
 ‘Today the weather is too hot.’
- (63) མཚུ་མེད་པའི་སྤྱི་ལོ།
 cy nry zhep ndo **ap lo**.
 3P.SG wine CL drink almost
 ‘He almost drank a bowl of wine.’ [(i) no wine drinking;
 (ii) wine drinking but of less than a bowl]
- (64) མཚུ་རྒྱུ་བུ་ལྷོ་ལྟོགས།, ཇུ་ལོ་གླིང་ལྟོགས།
 cy jjix do sy **da qix** da, cyp nyip xyx ne ox.
 3P.SG tired die almost STP NUM.1 day rest DP
 ‘He got extremely tired and rested for a whole day.’

The adverb *ap cy* ‘more’ is used in comparative structures (section 11.4.1.A).

- (65) ཇུ་མཚོ་འདི་ལོ་ལྟོགས་ལྷོ་ལྟོགས།
 hxo pu cyx ma hxo pu a zzyx ma hmup **ap cy**.
 mountain DEM.PROX CL mountain DEM.DIST CL high more
 ‘This mountain is higher than that mountain.’

The frequency adverb *bur* ‘again’ is derived from the verb *bur* ‘return’ (section 6.4.1), as illustrated in (66).

- (66) རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ།
 ne rre mop sot **bur**.
 2P.SG money count again
 ‘Count your money again.’

The two-syllabic *ddep lox* is an optative particle in clauses with present or future time reference (section 15.3.1). In clauses with past time reference it functions as adverb ‘originally’.

- (67) ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ།
 hmat mop xyx ne ox **ddep lox**.
 teacher rest DP originally
 ‘Originally, the teacher was resting.’

The adverbs in Table 9.5 disallow TAM particles except for *ddep lox*, *sy*, *yip sy*, *nyiet*, *bur* and *lut* which are compatible with *ox*. The perfect particle *ox* is appended left of *ddep lox* and right of the other adverbs. Below are illustrations.

- (68) a. རྩེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ།
 ne vat -jy- vat mu ssox **sy** ox.
 2P.SG well very well ADVL study still DP
 ‘You studied very well.’
- b. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ།
 a zzyx te go nga iet zyr **yip sy** ox.
 DEM.DIST time 1P.SG small still DP
 ‘At that time I was still young.’
- c. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ།
 ap ndip hxix mo mgep go, nep nyit xix mu xi **nyiet** ox?
 yesterday meeting SENT.TOP 2P.DL why arrive late DP
 ‘Why did both of you arrive late at the meeting yesterday?’
- d. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ།
 cop jiet zzax zze **lut** ox.
 3P.PL.POSS family food eat enough DP
 ‘Their family has already enough to eat.’

9.2 Negation

In Nuosu, the negation particle *ap* ‘not’ is used in declarative and interrogative clauses, and the particle *tat* ‘do not’ in imperative clauses. They occur in different slots and scope over different constituents of the sentence.

9.2.1 Nouns

There are no negative determiners in Nuosu that negate nouns. English *no+N* constructions are translated by negated existential constructions. Most of these constructions are nominalizations with *-su* and the existential verb *jjo* ‘have’.

- (69) a. $\text{zax da yi go che ma go ap- it}$ Subject
 storehouse LOC rice LOC NEG- lie
 ‘No grain is left in the storehouse.’
- b. $\text{co op rro la su ap- jjo.}$ Subject
 person Xichang come NOM NEG- have
 ‘Nobody came to Xichang.’
- c. $\text{nga suo nyip zza ap- zze ox.}$ Direct object
 1P.SG NUM.3 day food NEG- eat DP
 ‘I have eaten no food for three days.’
- d. $\text{ngat hmi nga hxip cox ge su ap-jjo}$ Indirect object
 1P.SG.POSS name 1P.SG say person tell NOM NEG-have
 ‘I have revealed my name to nobody.’
- e. $\text{cy vi mop ax- sip syr kie su nge.}$ Instrument
 3P.SG axe NEG- COV tree fell NOM COP
 ‘He felled the tree without an axe.’

9.2.2 Noun quantifiers

Noun quantifiers are negated with nominalization constructions with *-su* and the copular verb *nge*. The negated copular verb has the effect of negating the quantifier.

- (70) a. \odot $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$.
 nyop mu co **nge get** jie shat bbo su **ap-** nge.
 peasant all street go NOM NEG- COP
 ‘Not all the peasants went to the street market.’
- b. \times $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ ($\text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$) $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$.
 cy co **cyp gge** (ax di) zi su **ap-** nge.
 3P.SG person some only cheat NOM NEG- COP
 ‘He cheated not (only) a few people.’
- c. \odot $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$.
 ssox sse **ax nyi** su mop mgep la su **ap-** nge.
 student many NOM hold meeting come NOM NEG- COP
 ‘Not many students attended the meeting.’
- d. \times $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$.
 cy nry **ix nyi** mu ndo su **ap-** nge.
 3P.SG wine few ADVL drink NOM NEG- COP
 ‘He not only drank a little wine.’

9.2.3 Adjectives

Gradable adjectives are monosyllabic or dissyllabic, sometimes multisyllabic. They can be negated by placing the particle *ap* before the last syllable of the adjective. The particle *ap* is a prefix in (71a–b) and an infix in (72a–c).

- (71) a. $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H}$.
 mu cyx ma **ap-nji**.
 horse DEM.PROX CL NEG-quick
 ‘This horse is not fast.’
- b. \times $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$.
 cy hxep go bbox zze a zzyx ma **ap-ge**.
 3P.SG see SENT.TOP man DEM.DIST CL NEG-stupid
 ‘In his view, that man is not stupid.’
- (72) a. $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H}$.
 hxop ci **ix-ap-fu**.
 rope thin<NEG>
 ‘The rope isn’t thin.’
- b. \odot $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ $\text{H} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$?
 co nge ci yuot la go **ax-ap-nyi**?
 person NUM.15 CL come SENT.TOP many<NEG>
 ‘Fifteen people are not many?’

- c. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔。
ngat ddox mu cyx ji **mip-ap-ji**.
1P.SG.POSS knife DEM.PROX CL keen<NEG>
‘My knife is not keen.’

The negation strategy for ungradable adjectives is more complicated. Several ungradable adjectives in English (*alive, dead, pregnant*) are translated in Nuosu by positional verbs which are negated as verbs.

- (73) a. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑。
cy go **ap-jjo**.
3P.SG LOC NEG-have
‘He is not here.’
- b. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒。
cy go **ap-jjo** ox.
3P.SG LOC NEG-have DP
‘He is not alive.’
- (74) a. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓。
cy ax yi **ap-bbop**.
3P.SG child NEG-sit, possess
‘She is not pregnant.’
- b. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔。
cy ax yi **ap-bbop** ox.
3P.SG child NEG-possess DP
‘She did not have children.’

Second, ungradable adjectives are formed by a root and an ideophonic element which is often reduplicated (section 4.4.4). The negation particle is infixes between the adjective and the ideophone, generally in non-reduplicated form.

- (75) a. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕。
she a zzyx ma **chyp-ap-hni**.
meat DEM.DIST CL smelly-IDE<NEG>
‘This meat is not very smelly.’
- b. 𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘。
cit la hxa bit **jjip-ap-hmur** mu it.
basket vegetable full-IDE<NEG> ADVL lie
‘The vegetable basket is not completely full.’

- c. འཇོན་ལྗང་།
 cit la **ggop-ap-ga**.
 basket empty-IDE<NEG>
 ‘The basket is not completely empty.’
- d. ཡོན་ཤིང་མཚན་མེད་ཤིང་།
 syr a zzyx bbo **vut-ap-lo** mu jjix.
 tree DEM.DIST CL green-IDE<NEG> ADVL become
 ‘That tree is not sap-green.’
- e. དེའི་ལྗང་ལྕམ་གྱི་ལྗང་།
 ie qyt a zzyx zhep **mguox-zhyr-ap-zhyr**. Reduplicated
 water DEM.DIST CL cold-IDE~EXPR<NEG>
 ‘This bowl of water is ice-cold.’

9.2.4 Verbs

Verbs are mono- or dissyllabic, sometimes also multi-syllabic. Verbs are negated by inserting the negation particle *ap* before the last syllable of the verb.

- (76) a. མཚོ་མཁོ་ཕུ་གོ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལས་འགན་།
 cy hxo pu go syt **ap-mu**.
 3P.SG mountain LOC affair NEG-do
 ‘He is not working on the mountain.’
- b. རྒྱུ་བུ་གི་མི་གསུམ་པོ་ལ་།
 nga yi suo ma **ap-bbop**.
 1P.SG house NUM.3 CL NEG-possess
 ‘I do not possess three houses.’
- c. ཡོན་ཤིང་མཚན་མེད་ཤིང་།
 syt cy jjit **gat-ap-qip**.
 affair DEM.PROX CL delay<NEG>
 ‘The event was not delayed.’
- d. མཚོ་མཁོ་ཕུ་གོ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལས་འགན་།
 cy tep yy **jjie-ap-shyr**.
 3P.SG book, paper tear<NEG>
 ‘He did not tear apart the book.’
- e. ཡོན་ཤིང་མཚན་མེད་ཤིང་།
 syr bbo **lyr bbur-ap-cyr**.
 tree move<NEG>
 ‘The tree does not move.’

- f. 他 没 得 怒。
 lat hxo **guo luo-ap-mut.**
 male name upset<NEG>
 ‘He did not get angry.’

Negated events are interpreted as states which can be complemented by the stative expression *mu da* (section 7.7.1.B).

- (77) 它 在 两 天 之 内 没 读 两 本 书。
 nyip nyip kep ku cy tep yy nyip zzit **ap- bi** mu da.
 day NUM.2 within 3P.SG book NUM.2 CL NEG- read make
 ‘It is the case that he hasn’t read two books in two days.’

9.2.5 Adverbs

There are movable, immovable and postverbal adverbs. Movable adverbs set a frame for the whole sentence. Negating the predicate entails that the event did not take place in the frame set by the adverb.

- (78) 刚 现在 男性 借 钱 没 借。
ap mut sip mu gox nit rre mop hxe **ap-** li ox.
 just now male name 2P.SG.POSS money borrow NEG- go DP
 ‘Mugo has not borrowed money from you just now.’

Similarly, immovable adverbs can only be negated when the predicate is negated, as in (79). Sometimes a negated existential construction is used, as in (80).

- (79) 我 非 常 恐 惧。
 nga a hnata mu **jy-ap-jie.**
 1P.SG very fear<NEG>
 ‘I am not particularly fearful.’
- (80) 这 棵树 自 然 长 不 出 来。
 syr bbo **cy jjip cy jjix ap-** jjip **mu** hni la.
 tree naturally NEG- become ADVL grow come
 ‘The tree did not grow out naturally.’

Several manner adverbs derived from verbs can be directly negated. The effect is the same as negating the predicate directly.

- (81) a. ກຸ່ມທຸກຄົນກໍບໍ່ເອີ້ນ.
 cy syt mu **xy-ap-zzyt-mu**.
 3P.SG business do carefully-ADVL<NEG>
 'He did not work carefully.'
- b. ກຸ່ມທຸກຄົນກໍບໍ່ເອີ້ນ.
 cy **xy zzyt zzyt-mu** syt ap-mu.
 3P.SG carefully-ADVL business NEG-do
 'He did not work carefully.'

The postverbal adverbs *guo*, *nyiet*, *bur* and *lut* can be negated, as shown in (82). No other adverb of Table 9.5 can be negated, as illustrated in (83).

- (82) a. ພື້ນນີ້ກໍບໍ່ເອີ້ນ.
 le she i nu **ap-guo**.
 beef soft NEG-too much
 'The beef is not too soft.'
- b. ທ່ານກໍບໍ່ມາເລີຍ.
 cy ssox dde la **ap-nyiet**.
 3P.SG school come NEG-late
 'He did not come late to school.'
- c. ມື້ນີ້ກໍບໍ່ນຳເອົາເງິນ.
 cy rre mop sot **ap-bur**.
 3P.SG money count NEG-again
 'He did not count the money again.'
- (83) a. *ຜູ້ນີ້ກໍບໍ່ອາໄສ.
 *mu ga zzax zze **ap-sy**.
 male name food eat NEG-still
 Intended meaning: 'Muga has not eaten yet.'
- b. *ຜູ້ນີ້ກໍບໍ່ສູງກວ່າຂ້າພວກຂ້າ.
 *lat ti ngat jop ax yy **ap-ap-cy**.
 male name 1P.SG.POSS to big more<NEG>
 Intended meaning: 'Lati is not taller than me.'
- c. *ກຸ່ມນີ້ກໍບໍ່ເອີ້ນເລີຍ.
 *cy syt mu ox **ddep-ap-lox**.
 3P.SG business do DP originally<NEG>
 Intended meaning: 'Originally, he hasn't been doing business.'

- (92) a. \times 劫岁燕圣己H组尔。
 cy i xiet ddop bbo nzox mu xip **ap-hxip**.
 3P.SG LOG.SG Xide county go EXP ADVL DEM.DD NEG-say
 ‘He did not say that he went to Xide County.’
- b. \times 劫尔尔尔尔尔。
 cy nit vup lut jjip **ap-qi**.
 3P.SG 2P.SG.POSS neighbour become NEG-want
 ‘He did not want to become your neighbour.’
- (93) a. H 尔尔尔尔?
 mu jy **ap-nge** ddap?
 male name NEG-COP INT
 ‘Wasn’t this Mudje?’
- b. H 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔?
 lat hxa sse suo yuo **ap-jjo** ddap?
 male name son NUM.3 CL NEG-have INT
 ‘Hasn’t Laha three sons?’
- c. \times 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔?
 zza cyx jji xix mu ne zze go **ap-nbop**?
 food DEM.PROX CL why 2P.SG eat SENT.TOP NEG-good
 ‘Why don’t you enjoy your meal?’

9.2.8 Imperatives

Negative imperative sentences have the illocutionary force of interdictions. They use the negation particle *tat* which is infixes before the last syllable. In (94), *tat* is prefixed to a monosyllabic verb; in (95), it is infixes.

- (94) a. 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔!
 ne ge yip yip mu **tat-jjip** ox!
 2P.SG stupid ADVL NEG.IMP-become DP
 ‘Don’t behave stupidly!’
- b. 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔!
 ne nit sso qop jox ddop **tat-hxip**!
 2P.SG 2P.SG.POSS classmate toward word NEG.IMP-say
 ‘Don’t talk to your classmates!’
- c. 尔尔尔尔尔尔尔!
 syt cy jjit go da mgat jip **tat-shep**!
 affair DEM.PROX CL LOC COV advantage NEG.IMP-look for
 ‘Don’t take advantage of this situation!’

Chapter 10

Subject and object

Nuosu exhibits a syntactic split conditioned by aspect. This chapter uses materials published in Gerner (2004a). Simple clauses fall into three aspectual categories:

- (i) *imperfective* clauses with AOV order,
- (ii) *resultative* clauses with OAV order,
- (iii) clauses with variable word order and potentially ambiguous semantic roles.

Bare simple clauses with two human arguments are ambiguous. A clause like *John Mary bite* can mean *John bites Mary* or *Mary bites John*. In coordinate and relative clauses, Nuosu exhibits a consistent constraint for the deletion of the second co-referential NP which must be in *initial* position of the second clause. The (partial) grammatical relations can be defined as follows:

	<i>Intransitive clauses</i>	<i>Imperfective clauses</i>	<i>Resultative clauses</i>
SUBJECT	Unique NP	First NP	First NP
OBJECT	–	Second NP	Second NP

10.1 Introduction

Many languages manifest inconsistencies in their morphosyntax. They may display an ergative morphology (alignment of S and O) along with an accusative syntax (alignment of S and A).¹ Several scholars have questioned the status of ergativity as ‘deep’ language feature (Anderson 1976, 1977; Dixon 1994; Haig 1998). In the typological literature, their position is a correction to earlier scholars who believed ergativity (or accusativity) are ‘deep’ phenomena (Shaumjan 1985; Plank 1985).

Nuosu is not an ergative language, but it manifests great consistency in aligning agent and patient across syntactic constructions. We show the existence of grammatical relations in the following constructions:

- (i) the simple-clause construction (section 10.2);
- (ii) the coordinate-clause construction (section 10.3.1);
- (iii) the relative-clause construction (section 10.3.2);
- (iv) the matrix-clause construction (section 10.3.3).

Simple clauses associate S with A or O morphosyntactically. Complex clauses display syntactic constraints for the deletion of co-referential noun phrases. These

¹ S, A and O are pervasive labels in the typological literature (Dixon 1979, 1994). They represent intermediate notions between semantic role (agent, patient) and syntactic relation (subject, object). In contrast to the syntactic relations of subject and object, S, A and O are universal. They are best understood as an *extensional* grouping of semantic roles.

10.2.1 AOV order in imperfective clauses

The feature of *imperfective* has a broader scope than the notion of progressive aspect. *Imperfective* clauses in Nuosu are marked by the following lexical and grammatical elements:

- Progressive aspect markers;
- A- or V-orientated manner adverbs;
- V = V₁V₂ (V₁ is an activity verb and V₂ is a directional verb).

Imperfective clauses in Nuosu always require AOV order. The initial noun phrase is always interpreted as A and the second noun phrase as O.

A. Progressive aspect markers

When the continuous aspect markers *njuo* and *ge* are posed after a transitive verb, the compulsory order is AOV.

- (2) a. མཁ་རྩེམ་མཚོ་ལྷོ་བུ་ རྩེམ་མཚོ་ ལྷོ་བུ་ **njuo**.
 mu ga at zop gur **njuo**.
 male name female name frighten PROG
 ‘Muga is frightening Adzo.’
- b. ལྷོ་བུ་ མཚོ་ལྷོ་བུ་ ལྷོ་བུ་ **ge**.
 at nyop mu gox la hxex **ge**.
 female name male name wait PROG
 ‘Anyo is waiting for Mugo.’
- (3) a. *མཚོ་ལྷོ་བུ་ རྩེམ་མཚོ་ ལྷོ་བུ་ **njuo**.
 *zza mu rryr zze **njuo**.
 food, meal male name eat PROG
 Impossible meaning: ‘The food is eating Mudge.’
- b. *ལྷོ་བུ་ ལྷོ་བུ་ ལྷོ་བུ་ **ge**.
 *gup cy ddu **ge**.
 sweat 3P.SG exit PROG
 Impossible meaning: ‘The sweat is pouring out of him.’

If *njuo* or *ge* was omitted in (2), we would face the same kind of ambiguity described above in example (1). Consider another example.²

² Adapted from the folk story “Looking for mother” (Chén & Wü 1998: 253).

(4) 非 米 生 生 寺 寺 “ 佛 日 米 米 长 长 佛 佛, 寺 米 水 水 ” 寺。

su	nyit	ddip	go	ne:	“ngax	li	nyit	fup	bi	fup	njuo,
sorcerer	say	SENT.TOP	TOP	<u>1P.SG</u>	TOP	ritual text	SYL	read	SYL	PROG	
				A				O+V			

nex mgo ap- lit” ddix.
2P.SG pull out NEG- free QUOT

‘The priest said: “I am very busy reading the texts.
I am not free to lift you out [of the pit].”’

B. A- or V-oriented manner adverbs

Manner adverbs relate semantically to the verb (e.g. *dance beautifully*), to the A-argument (e.g. *answer eagerly*) or to the O-argument (e.g. *write clearly*). In Nuosu, A- and V-oriented manner adverbs impose the AOV order.³

(5) 喇 中 喇。

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

mga yy ox.
pass go down DP

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

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

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

(6) 丁。

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

hxe	la	lox...
<u>borrow</u>	<u>come</u>	and
V ₁	V ₂	

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

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

⁴ Quoted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 216).

grammatical tone on singular pronouns (section A); with a grammatical tone on a set of monosyllabic verbs (section B); with a patient pronoun (section C); and passive marker (section D).

A. The grammatical tone on pronouns

There are three tones in Nuosu with a solid phonological status: the 55-, the 33-, and the 21-tone. The 44-tone is a sandhi tone with weak phonological standing. Few independent monosyllabic lexemes carry this tone.

(12) *xip* ‘such a’ *xi* ‘arrive’ *xix* ‘what’

(13) *cyp* ‘one’ *cy* ‘he/she’ *cyx* ‘this’

Almost all other occurrences of the 44-tone are sandhi tones derived from an underlying 33-tone (section 3.2.2). Additionally, there are grammatical 44-tones on pronouns and verbs. Singular personal pronouns exhibit 33/44-tone variants encoding the contrast of S/A versus O-roles (section 5.4.1.A).

Table 10.2: Nuosu tone-sandhi pronouns

Singular pronouns	S/A	O
1P.SG	nga	ngax
LOG.SG	i	ix
2P.SG	ne	nex
3P.SG	cy	cyx

The following sentence contrasts the second person O-pronoun *nex* with the first person A-pronoun *nga* and illustrates also the second person S-pronoun *ne*.⁸

- (14) “ $\text{\textcircled{\small{ne}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{nyip}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{mop}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{nyip}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{yox}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{sse}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{si}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{nip}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{va}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{yu}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{go}}}$ || $\text{\textcircled{\small{ssa}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{kuo}}}$ - $\text{\textcircled{\small{jjy}}}$ - $\text{\textcircled{\small{ssa}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{kuo}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{da}}}$,
 2P.SG In the past lamb and hen catch TOP || courage-very-courage STP
 $\text{\textcircled{\small{nga}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{mup}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{dde}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{nep}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{nex}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{pu}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{yy}}}$ || $\text{\textcircled{\small{ap}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{mu}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{cyx}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{ggup}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{lat}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{mop}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{jox}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{ddop}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{ma}}}$
 1P.SG really 2P.SG admire || now DEM VCL tiger to word
 A O V ||
 $\text{\textcircled{\small{nyip}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{go}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{hxip}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{li}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{go}}}$ || $\text{\textcircled{\small{ne}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{miep}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{li}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{go}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{tat}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{xi}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\small{ox}}}$ ” $\text{\textcircled{\small{ddix}}}$.
 NUM.2 CL say go SENT.TOP || 2P.SG first go follow should DP QUOT
 S

“In the past you caught a lamb and a hen. You are extremely courageous and I really admire you for this. This time just go to the tiger and speak a few words with him. It is up to you to do this first.”

⁸ Quoted from the folk story “The forest meeting” (Chén & Wū 1998: 261–262).

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

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

- (18) *མཉམ་ལྟོག་པ་ལྟོག་པ་།
 *mu ga zza **go** zze.
 male name food PRO.PAT eat
 —————
 O A O V
 Intended meaning: ‘Muga eats food’

Many stative predicates do not have ambiguous frames but encode the semantic roles as AOV. The use of the resumptive pronoun *go* is ungrammatical.

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

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

Table 10.4: Unambiguous and ambiguous verb frames in Nuosu

Verbs with unambiguous AOV order (<i>go</i> forbidden)			
<i>bba</i>	'carry on back'	<i>hxo</i>	'feed, bring up'
<i>duo</i>	'hold in arms'	<i>mgu</i>	'love'
Verbs with unambiguous AOV order (<i>go</i> possible)			
<i>nzur</i>	'hate'	<i>hxo lo</i>	'depend on'
<i>shut</i>	'remember'		
Verbs with inherently ambiguous coding (<i>go</i> obligatory)			
<i>lop bop</i>	'help'	<i>bie</i>	'kick'
<i>jup po</i>	'rule, administer'	<i>zi</i>	'cheat'
<i>dit lyp</i>	'oppress, force'	<i>ggup cyr</i>	'save'
<i>bu dex</i>	'praise'		

D. The passive marker *gep*

The passive particle *gep* also disambiguates between A and O by fixing the word order as OA *gep* V (section 11.1). Passives can be defined in a language, only if it has the grammatical relations of subject and object. In section 10.4, we claim that Nuosu has subjects and objects. Below are given two illustrative examples.

(20) a. $\text{xi}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2 \text{x}^2$

ax yi cy **gep** zi hnata cox ku bbo shux.
 child 3P.SG COV lure STP people steal go CAUS
 'The child was lured by him into stealing.'

b. $\text{x}^2 \text{xi}^2$

cy ax yi max su **gep** shu ke ci -jy- ke ci ox.
 3P.SG child ART=CL-DET COV COV obey very obey DP
 'She was made obedient by the child.'

10.2.4 Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation is the placement of a noninitial NP into initial position by leaving an optional resumptive pronoun in the original slot. Syntactic constraints on left dislocation reveal how a language aligns S, A and O.

In Mandarin Chinese, for example, the basic order is AVO. Left-dislocation of O is possible but a pause (particle) must be used after O. Pauses or pause particles do not appear after S and A which occur in front position naturally.

(21) nèi zhī gǒu $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ a \\ me \\ ne \end{array} \right\}$ wǒ yǐjīng kàn guo le.

DEM.DIST CL dog PAUSE 1P.SG already see EXP DP

'The dog, I have already seen.' (Li & Thompson 1981: 86)

In Nuosu, left-dislocation of the noninitial noun phrase in both AOV and OAV orders is possible. The following example illustrates both types of left-dislocation (the resumptive pronoun is marked in bold font).¹⁰

- (22) “ $\text{nga} \text{ cyx}_1 \text{ shy ap- dop mu}$ 1P.SG 3P.SG overcome NEG- able ADVL”
 sorceress
 topic A O V
 “ $\text{la ru cy}_1 \text{ gax zze lox bbo ox}$ ” ddix.
 dried meat 3P.SG COV.drop eat CONJ.and go DP QUOT
 O A V
 “I could not overcome the sorceress and she just took the meat.””

The extraposed topic of (22), the sorceress, is tracked in both clauses by a resumptive pronoun. Left-dislocation does not exhibit syntactic constraints on A or O.

10.2.5 The exhaustion particle

The exhaustion particle *sat* (section 7.5.1) always scopes over the clause-initial noun phrase, either A or O. *Sat* thus targets not a semantic role but a syntactic position, *the subject*.

- (23) a. $\text{cop wox bbox a zzyx ma dduo li sat.}$ Initial NP is A
 3P.PL mountain DEM.DIST CL climb go EXH
 A O V
 (i) ‘They all climbed up the mountain.’ (ii) ‘They completely climbed up the mountain.’
- b. $\text{ngop wox ip ko bbux da nex la hxex sat.}$ Initial NP is A
 1P.PL door STP 2P.SG wait EXH
 A O V
 ‘We are all waiting for you at the entrance door.’

¹⁰ Example (22) is quoted from the folk story “Redisofu overcomes the demon with wisdom” (Chén & Wü 1998: 239).

c. 他们喝完酒了。

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

Initial NP is A

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

(24) a. 他们喝完酒了。

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

Initial NP is O

'They finished all the wine.'

b. 他打鸟了。

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

Initial NP is O

'He has shot down all the birds.'

c. 我受尽苦了。

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

Initial NP is O

'I endure all hardships.'

10.2.6 Pro-Drop

Pro-drop (or zero-anaphora) is the omission of obligatory arguments in contexts in which they are understood. Pro-drop is widespread in languages with verb agreement like Italian but not allowed in languages with no or poor verb agreement like English (Rizzi 1986). An exception are languages like Chinese, called *radical pro-drop languages*, which lack agreement but allow pro-drop (Huang 1984; Neeleman & Szendrői 2007). Sometimes languages reveal additional constraints on the argument that is omitted.

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

(25) a. Customer: “ 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙, 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙。”

Customer: “uop lur cyx ma iet zyr guo,
 hat DEM.PROX CL small too much
 Ø ax yy ma sip nga bbyx la.”
[empty] great CL COV.take 1P.SG give come
 A O B V

‘Customer: “This hat is too small, give me a bigger one.”’

In (25a), the coverb *sip* must be specified. When the O-argument is omitted, as in (25b), the coverb *sip* is optional.

b. Customer: “ 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙, 尙 尙 尙 尙。”

Customer: “uop lur cyx ma da dop ox,
 hat DEM.PROX CL put able DP
 Ø Ø sip nga bbyx la.”
[empty] [empty] COV.take 1P.SG give come
 A O B V

‘Customer: “This hat is suitable, give it to me.”’

Benefactive and oblique NPs cannot be deleted whatever the discourse settings are. The arguments in bold font must be specified.

(26) a. 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙 尙。

nga tep yy bbut bbur **cy** bbyx.
1P.SG book CL write 3P.SG COV.give
 A O V B

Benefactive

‘I write him/her a letter.’

b. 尙 尙 尙 尙, 尙 尙 尙 尙。

cy **op rro** it, nga nyi **tit go** it.
3P.SG Xichang live 1P.SG also here PRO.LOC live
 S₁ V₁ S₂ V₂

Locative

‘S/he lives in Xichang, and I also live there.’

By contrast, the semantic role of *direction* can be omitted in appropriate discourse settings (Lǐ & Mǎ 1981: 2).

(27) A: “𐑦𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴。” “nga op rro yy.” (...) <u>1P.SG Xichang go down</u> S V	B: “𐑦𐑱 (𐑱𐑲) 𐑳𐑴。” “nga nyi (op rro) yy.” <u>1P.SG also Xichang go down</u> S V
---	---

‘A: “I go to Xichang.” (...) B: “I also go to Xichang.”’

The constraints on pro-drop of various semantic roles is summarized in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5: Semantic roles and pro-drop in Nuosu

Semantic roles	Pro-drop
S	✓
A	✓
O (with or without the coverb <i>sip</i>)	✓
Benefactive (with the coverb <i>bbyp</i>)	✗
Benefactive (without the coverb <i>bbyp</i>)	✗
Instrument (with the coverb <i>sip</i>)	✗
Location	✗
Direction	✓

10.3 Complex clauses

When two noun phrases in a complex clause are coreferential, the second noun phrase can be elipsed *if* both coreferential noun phrases occur in initial position of their respective clause. In this section, we investigate coordinate clauses (section 10.3.1), relative clauses (section 10.3.2) and matrix clauses (section 10.3.3).

10.3.1 Coordinate clauses

The second coreferential noun phrase in S-A, S-O and A-O sequences can be deleted.

A. S-A sequence

The second clause in (28) is imperfective with obligatory order AOV. The elipsed noun phrase is in initial position of the second clause. The coordinate clause is an S-A sequence.¹¹

¹¹ Quoted from the folk story “The drunk man” (Chén & Wū 1998: 229).

(28) 丁巳年日午時酒醉出門視田。

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

S V

∅ che mu yy hxex bbo.
 [empty] rice water field see go

‘On a day, Jjimuvuho was drunk and went out to inspect his rice field.’

The next example is an A-A-S sequence of coreferential noun phrases.¹²

(29) a. 先生家門被石磚堵住，先生就睡了。

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

A₁ O₁ V₁ A₂ O₂

ddie da ∅ it
 block STP [empty] sleep

V₂ S₃ V₃

‘Mister Pu’s family blocked the entrance gate with stone bricks and then fell asleep.’

The property of coreferential deletion in initial position can be tested by imposing in the second clause the word order OAV (with the resultative auxiliary *gox sha*). The modified construction is ungrammatical.

b. *先生家門被石磚堵住，先生就睡了。

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

A₁ O₁ V₁ O₂ A₂

ddie gox sha da ∅ it
 block SEND STP [empty] sleep

V₂ S₃ V₃

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

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

¹² Quoted from the folk story “The sleepy Mister Pu” (Chén & Wū 1998: 233).

¹³ Quoted from the folk story “Fear the wives” (Chén and Wū 1998: 226).

(30) $\overline{\text{cyx}}$ $\overline{\text{ly}}$ $\overline{\text{yuo nbot}}$ $\parallel \parallel \emptyset$ $\overline{\text{yi}}$ $\overline{\text{wa}}$ $\overline{\text{nry}}$
 DEM.PROX NUM.4 CL hide \parallel [empty] house behind wine
 $\overline{\text{S}_1}$ $\overline{\text{V}_1}$ \parallel $\overline{\text{A}_2}$ $\overline{\text{O}_2}$
 $\overline{\text{ndo}}$ $\parallel \parallel \emptyset$ $\overline{\text{gox}}$ $\overline{\text{nyi da}}$ $\parallel \parallel \emptyset$ $\overline{\text{jjyx-}}$ $\overline{\text{ly (...)}}$
 drink \parallel [empty] PRO.LOC sit STP \parallel [empty] RECL- discuss
 $\overline{\text{V}_2}$ \parallel $\overline{\text{S}_3}$ $\overline{\text{V}_3}$ $\parallel \parallel$ $\overline{\text{S}_4}$ $\overline{\text{V}_4}$

‘These four men hid and drank wine behind the house; they sat there and discussed...’

Example (31a) contains an A-S sequence.¹⁴ If we permute the order of arguments in the first clause, the coreferential NP is not in the initial position and the whole construction is ungrammatical.

(31) a. $\overline{\text{tit da}}$ $\overline{\text{vo mu}}$ $\overline{\text{max su}}$ $\overline{\text{ket mop ne}}$ $\overline{\text{qu}}$ $\overline{\text{shy}}$ $\overline{\text{ngo}}$ $\overline{\text{da}}$
 thus king ART=CL-DET evening TOP silver gold touch STP $\parallel \parallel$
 $\overline{\text{A}_1}$ $\overline{\text{O}_1}$ $\overline{\text{V}_1}$ $\parallel \parallel$
 \emptyset $\overline{\text{it nyi}}$ $\overline{\text{gu ap-}}$ $\overline{\text{hna}}$ $\overline{\text{ox}}$.
 [empty] sleep NEG- willing DP
 $\overline{\text{S}_2}$ $\overline{\text{V}_2}$

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

b. * $\overline{\text{tit da}}$ $\overline{\text{qu}}$ $\overline{\text{shy}}$ $\overline{\text{ket mop ne}}$ $\overline{\text{vo mu}}$ $\overline{\text{max su}}$ $\overline{\text{ngo}}$ $\overline{\text{da}}$
 thus silver gold evening TOP king ART touch STP $\parallel \parallel$
 $\overline{\text{O}_1}$ $\overline{\text{A}_1}$ $\overline{\text{V}_1}$ $\parallel \parallel$
 \emptyset $\overline{\text{it nyi}}$ $\overline{\text{gu ap-}}$ $\overline{\text{hna}}$ $\overline{\text{ox}}$.
 [empty] sleep NEG- willing DP
 $\overline{\text{S}_2}$ $\overline{\text{V}_2}$

Intended meaning: ‘In the evening the silver and gold was caressed so much by the emperor that it did not want to sleep.’

¹⁴ Quoted from the folk story “The emperor and his daughter” (Chén & Wü 1998: 265).

B. S-O sequence

The type of sequence displayed in (32) is INSTR-S-O.¹⁵

- (32) 𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪。
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|-----|
| ke | cy | sip | mux | mo | go | ne | |
| <u>dog</u> | <u>3P.SG</u> | <u>COV</u> | <u>earth</u> | <u>plough</u> | <u>SENT.TOP</u> | <u>TOP</u> | |
| INSTR | A ₁ | | O ₁ | V ₁ | | | |
| ∅ | gox | yy | ap- | hna | lox | | |
| <u>[empty]</u> | <u>PRO.DIR</u> | <u>descend</u> | <u>NEG-</u> | <u>willing</u> | <u>CONJ</u> | | |
| S ₂ | | | | V ₂ | | | |
| ∅ | cy | uo | ga | sy | gox | sha | ox. |
| <u>[empty]</u> | <u>3P.SG</u> | <u>hit, beat</u> | <u>die</u> | <u>SEND</u> | <u>DP</u> | | |
| O ₃ | A ₃ | | V ₃ | | | | |

‘He took the dog to plough the soil, but it didn’t want to move.
So he beat the dog to death.’

Sentence (33) represents an S-O sequence. The second clause is resultative with an O-orientated adverb.¹⁶

- (33) 𠬪𠬪 𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪, 𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪 𠬪𠬪𠬪𠬪。
- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|----|
| ke | mo | max | su | zyp | dde | go | bba | ma | bbo | tit | ni |
| <u>dog</u> | <u>carcass</u> | <u>ART</u> | <u>bury</u> | <u>NOM</u> | <u>LOC</u> | <u>bamboo</u> | <u>CL</u> | <u>here</u> | <u>sprout</u> | | |
| | | | | | LOC | | S ₁ | | | V ₁ | |
| la | lox, | | ∅ | cy | sip | jit | tuo-jjy-tuo | mu | da | | |
| <u>come</u> | <u>CONJ</u> | | <u>[empty]</u> | <u>3P.SG</u> | <u>take</u> | <u>sharpen</u> | <u>very pointed</u> | <u>CONJ</u> | | | |
| V ₁ | | | O ₂ | A ₂ | V ₂ | | RES | | | | |

‘At the place where the dog’s body was buried, a bamboo shoot was growing.
He took it and sharpened it to a point.’

Example (34) is an O-S sequence.¹⁷

¹⁵ Quoted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 217).

¹⁶ Quoted from the folk story “The elder and the younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 217).

¹⁷ Quoted from the story “Redisofu overcomes the demon with wisdom” (Chén & Wū 1998: 239).

Table 10.6: Gapped and resumed head nouns of relative clauses

Obligatory word order in relative clause	Role of extraposed head	Use of resumptive pronoun
AOV	A	[_{RC} ∅ _A ...] +su+N
OAV	A	[_{RC} ... PRO _A V] +su+N
AOV	O	[_{RC} ∅ _O ...] +su+N
OAV	O	[_{RC} ... PRO _O V] +su+N

We will again use the notion of *sequence* to refer to pairs of coreferential noun phrases in the main clause and relative clause.

A. S-A sequence

In (37), the relative clause has the word order AOV. The gapped head noun has the A-role and is in initial position of the relative clause.¹⁹

- (37) 喇丁峇燕丁非非相闻。
 co || ∅ cyp nyit ddop njyp su || ap- jjo da.
 person || [empty] 3P.DL speech believe NOM || NEG- have STP
 S₁ || A₂ O₂ V₂ || V₁
 ‘There was nobody who believed what they said.’

The relative clause in (38) is resultative and has obligatory OAV order. The extraposed head noun has the A-role but does not occur in initial position of the relative clause. It leaves a resumptive pronoun in the original slot.

- (38) 喇丁峇燕丁非非相闻。
 co || ∅ syt cy jjit cop we mo su || ap- jjo da.
 person || [empty] event DEM CL 3P.PL GET see NOM || NEG- have STP
 S₁ || A₂ O₂ A₂ V₂ || V₁
 ‘There was nobody who had seen this event.’

B. S-O sequence

The relative clause in (39) contains the resultative auxiliary *gox sha* and has obligatory OAV order. The extraposed head noun has the O-role and is in initial position of the relative clause.

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

(39) མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་།

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

‘The books which were thrown away by Muga were brand-new.’

The relative clause in (40) is imperfective with obligatory AOV word order. As the extraposed head noun is O but not in initial position of the relative clause, it is left-dislocated by leaving a resumptive pronoun in the original slot.

(40) ཡུལ་གྱི་མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་།

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

‘The clothes that Mum is washing are many.’

10.3.3 Causative clauses

Causative clauses seem to align S with A versus O. The causee must be either S or A but not O. This alignment of S and A does not reveal anything about the syntax of Nuosu but is implied by universal semantic properties of causative constructions.

A. Causee = S

When the causee is coreferential with the S of a causative clause, it is deleted. The causee can be animate, as in (41), or inanimate, as in (42).

(41) མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་།

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

‘The neighbour makes me happy.’

(42) མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་གྱི་མཚན་མཉམ་ཅི་མཚན་།

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

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

B. Causee = A

The causee can be coreferential to the A of an imperfective causative clause, as in (43),²⁰ or to the A of a resultative causative clause, as in (44).

(43) 让·苏·福·让·他·看·家。

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

‘Redisofu let him guard the house.’

(44) 胡·戈·让·穆·吃·上·饭。

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

‘Muga made Mugo eat up the food.’

C. Causee ≠ O

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

(45) *胡·戈·让·猪·吃·上·饭。

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

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

10.4 Synthesis

Some authors argued that a language uses the notion of *subject* and *object* only if it morphosyntactically aligns S with A or with O (van Valin & LaPolla 1997). LaPolla (1993) demonstrated that in Mandarin Chinese a viable definition of subjects and objects is not possible as there are no clear S/A or S/O pivots.

In Nuosu, S is not morphosyntactically aligned with A or with O either. However, a purely syntactic definition of subject and object is possible. The initial NP is the subject, the second NP is the direct object. This definition is only partial. It does not account for *indeterminate clauses*, which are neither imperfective nor resultative.

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

Table 10.7: Partial grammatical relations in Nuosu

	Intransitive clauses	Imperfective clauses	Resultative clauses
SUBJECT	Unique NP	First NP	First NP
OBJECT	–	Second NP	Second NP

The syntax of Nuosu requires a revision of the idea that syntactic relations should be defined in terms of *S/A* or *S/O* pivot (Dixon 1994; van Valin & LaPolla 1997). Gerner (2004a) discusses these findings in detail.

Chapter 11

Valency changing constructions

Nuosu employs two valency decreasing constructions, passive (section 11.1) and reciprocal (section 11.2), and two valency increasing constructions, causative (section 11.3) and comparative (section 11.4).

11.1 Passive

In section 10, we argued for the existence of subject and object in *imperfective* and *resultative* clauses. For languages with syntactic relations, we can evaluate the existence of passive constructions. (For languages without subject and object, the concept of passive cannot be defined.)

A passive construction satisfies the following three properties (Dixon 1994: 146; Haspelmath 1990: 27; Palmer 1994: 117–141; Siewierska 1984: 2–3):

- (1) a. the subject is demoted to a non-core argument or deleted,
- b. the object is promoted to subject,
- c. the valency of the predicate is decreased.

We argue in this section that the coverb *gep* (section 6.2.1.A) is the formal mark of constructions that satisfy (a), (b) and in a certain sense also (c). Nuosu therefore exhibits a passive construction though not the most prototypical.

We discuss the origin of the coverb *gep* in section 11.1.1, the concept of adversity often associated with passives in East Asian languages in section 11.1.2, the omission of unimportant demoted subjects in section 11.1.3, and the exclusion of low-transitivity verbs in section 11.1.4. This subsection uses material published in Gerner (2004a).

11.1.1 The passive postposition

The postposition *gep* is derived from the verbal predicate *gep* ‘add’ (section 6.2.1.A). Its meaning as predicate is illustrated in (2).

- (2) ① 煮辣椒(菜)。(Nuo)
- ce te sha zzit **gep** (da hlu).
- dish chili add STP cook
- ‘Add chili to the dish (and cook it).’

In the passive construction, the postposition *gep* marks the agent noun phrase in second position.

- (3) a. 丁字手切血。

cyp lot cy **gep** zhe sy ddur ox.

3P.SG.POSS hand 3P.SG COV cut blood exit DP

'His hand, cut by himself, bled.'
- b. 大奖品被他赢。

ka bba ax yy cy **gep** ngo ndox ox.

prize big 3P.SG COV touch PUT DP

'A big prize was won by him.'

The passive meaning is historically derived from the main verb *add*. A noun phrase referent was associated with the patient as a companion in the event. The meaning of companion was eventually reanalyzed as agent.

11.1.2 The concept of adversity

Many East Asian languages have passive constructions that convey adversity, the idea that the situation is unfortunate. The concept of adversity is unknown in the languages of Europe. In Nuosu, adversity is not conveyed by *gep*. The particle *gep* is compatible with euphemic contexts without implicating adversity.

- (4) 主宾位上客人被很好款待。

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

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

O A V

'The guests were entertained very well by him.'

11.1.3 Omission of unimportant demoted subjects

Pro-drop is widespread in Nuosu (section 10.2.6). It is possible to delete A whenever it may be inferred from the context and represent unimportant pragmatic information. It is not possible to delete A when it is marked by *gep*. By contrast, the Chinese passive marker *bèi* allows deletion of the agent NP.

- (5) tā **bèi** Ø mà le. (Li and Thompson 1981: 493)

3P.SG PASS [empty] scold DP

'He/she was scolded.'

In the following Nuosu example, it is not possible to delete the agent *Xido Bo'ondju* before the postposition *gep*, although it can easily be inferred from the context.¹

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

In summary, Nuosu displays two sorts of passives: an *imperfective passive* derived from ongoing AOV clauses and a *resultative passive* derived from resultative OAV clauses.

11.2 Reciprocal

In a reciprocal clause, two noun phrases occupy interchangeable semantic roles of the predicate. The clause *John and Peter shoot arrows at each other* implies that *John shoots arrows at Peter* and *Peter shoots arrows at John*. Cross-linguistically, reciprocal constructions use anaphors such as *each other* or verb affixes. Reciprocal anaphors do not decrease the valency of the predicate but verb affixes do.

The Nuosu verb prefix *jjy-* decreases the valency of the predicate. It cannot be prefixed to intransitive verbs, only to mono- and ditransitive verbs.

- (8) a. *H×泉才望时字译⑩。
 *mu ga si nip lu ti **jjy-** na ox.
 male name and male name RECL- ill DP
 ‘Intended meaning: ‘Muga and Luti are both ill.’
- b. *中米字⑩⑩。
 *ngap nyit **jjy-** nbur ox.
 1P.DL RECL- full DP
 ‘Intended meaning: ‘Both of us are full.’

The predicate must allow two argument slots to be permutable. It must be possible that both arguments occur variably in both semantic roles.

- (9) a. 译译字⑩⑩⑩⑩。
 nop wox **jjyx-** la hxex da bbo.
 2P.PL RECL- wait STP go
 ‘When you go wait for each other.’
- b. 译⑩译⑩⑩⑩⑩⑩。
 ax yi sux yy mox da **jjy-**mgot njuo.
 child older people in front of STP RECL-pursue PROG
 ‘The children chase each other in front of older people.’
- c. 中米字⑩⑩。
 ngap nyit **jjyx-** hxi zy.
 1P.DL RECL- trust
 ‘We both trust each other.’

- d. ທຳຮ້າງກັນທຳຮ້າງກັນ.
 ngop wox **jjy-** ap-ly-ap-tie.
 1P.PL RECL- NEG-discuss<NEG>
 ‘We did consult each other.’
- e. ຄົນນັກສຶກສາສອງກຸ່ມວາງຄວາມຮ້ອຍກັນ.
 ssox sse a zzyx nyip bbot ip nyip **jjyx-** hxip bot.
 student DEM.DIST NUM.2 CL today RECL- debate
 ‘Those two groups of students argue today with each other.’

The reciprocal marker *jjy-* can also be prefixed to ditransitive verbs and even to coverbs.

- (10) a. ຄົນສາມຄົນກຳລັງໃຫ້ສິນຄ້າກັນ.
 cop wox ka bba ddie **jjy-**bbyx.
 3P.PL present COV RECL-give
 ‘They gave each other presents.’
- b. ສາມຄົນຄູ່ຄ້າກັນ.
 ngop nyip bbup **jjyx-**nre sur.
 1P.DL family RECL-debt return
 ‘Our families are paying off debts to each others.’
- c. ທຳຮ້າງກັນເປັນກຸ່ມ.
 ngop wox **jjy-**rrox mu da ddop hxip.
 1P.SG RECL-COV STP word speak
 ‘We are speaking on behalf of each other.’
- d. ນັກສຶກສາແລະນັກສຶກສາຮ້ອຍກັນ.
 ax mo ax yi **jjy-**mgex da ngo.
 mother child RECL-COV.mix STP cry
 ‘Mother and child are weeping together.’

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

- (11) a. ກົວນີ້ຍາວເທົ່າກັບກົວນັ້ນ.
 ggap mop cyx ji si nip a zzyx ji **jjy-** shox.
 road DEM.PROX CL and DEM.DIST CL RECL- long
 ‘This road is as long as that one.’
- b. ຝັງນີ້ໃຫຍ່ເທົ່າກັບຝັງນັ້ນ.
 syp ga cyx nyip ma **jjy-** yyx.
 pear DEM.PROX NUM.2 CL RECL- big
 ‘Both pears are equally big.’

- c. 禾田比甲泉比田比甲宽。

che mu cyx jot si nip a zzyx jot **jjy**-ap-fi.

rice paddy field DEM.PROX CL and DEM.DIST CL RECL-NEG-wide

'This rice field is not as wide as that one.'

11.3 Causative

Three structural causative types are reckoned in the typological literature (Whaley 1997): lexical causatives (*kill = cause to die*), morphological causatives (affix + Verb), and analytic causatives (*make to do*). Haiman (1983) argued for an iconic correspondence between the structural types and the concept of direct causation. Lexical causatives display a close relation between the causing event and the caused event, whereas for analytic causatives the link is looser.

Table 11.1: Haiman's iconic causation correspondences

Structural Types	Causation Types
lexical causatives	more direct
morphological causatives	medial
analytic causatives	less direct

Nuosu has several analytic causatives with different semantic nuances and overtones. These constructions have two formal marks, the causative coverb and the causative particle *shux* which occurs after the verb of the embedded clause.

Table 11.2: List of causative coverbs

Coverb	occurs after	Structure
bbyp/bbyx 'give'	causee	...bbyp/bbyx...V + shux
ddie 'prepare'	causer or causee	...ddie.....V + shux
ga 'drop'	causer or causee	...ga.....V(+ shux)
shu 'make'	causer or causee	...shu.....V

We survey the four causative coverbs in section 11.3.1 (see also section 6.2.3) and the causative particle *shux* in section 11.3.2.

11.3.1 Causative coverbs

Languages with morphological case use different cases for the causee. Comrie (1989) argues for an iconic link between case and the degree of control that the causee retains in the event. Nominative case encodes greater control for the causee than accusative case.

Table 11.3: Comrie's iconic case-control correspondences

Morphological case	Causee's degree of control
nominative	high
oblique	less
accusative	none

The Nuosu coverb *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’ encodes the causee as a recipient to whom an event is commissioned. The control retained by the causee is low. The coverbs *ddie* ‘prepare’ and *shu* ‘make’ treat the causee as a manipulated patient with no control over the event. The coverb *ga* ‘drop’ has permissive meaning giving the causee a high degree of control over the event.

Table 11.4: Nuosu coverbs and the causee's degree of control

Nuosu causative coverbs	Causee's degree of control
<i>bbyp/bbyx</i> ‘give’	less
<i>ddie</i> ‘prepare’	none
<i>ga</i> ‘drop’	high
<i>shu</i> ‘make’	none

The coverb *bbyp/bbyx* ‘give’ (section 6.2.3.A) is adjacent to the causee noun phrase and requires the predicative particle *shux* at the end of the clause.

- (12) a. $\text{ɳŋa ɳx yi bbyx mup dut jie shux.}$
 1P.SG child COV.give fire burn CAUS
 ‘I summon the child to light a fire.’
- b. $\text{ɳɿ dɿdɿ yɿ lut mu yɿ shux.}$
 3P.SG COV.give laugh enough ADVL laugh CAUS
 ‘Let him have a laugh.’

The coverb *ddie* ‘prepare’ (section 6.2.3.B) is postposed after the causer, the second noun phrase. The causee appears in sentence-initial position. The use of the predicative particle *shux* is obligatory.

- (13) a. $\text{ɳɿ ŋɔp ddie a ddit da mu ga la hxex shux.}$
 3P.SG 1P.SG COV.prepare there COV male name wait CAUS
 ‘We caused him to wait there for Muga.’

- b. མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་
 hnip mop ax mo **ddie** vit gga ggut **shup**.
 elder sister mother COV.prepare clothes sew CAUS
 ‘My mother made my sister sew the clothes.’

The coverb *ga* ‘drop’ (section 6.2.3.C) can be adjacent to the causer or causee noun phrase. It does not require the particle *shux* at the end of the clause.

- (14) དུ་མི་ལ་རྩ་བུ་ལོ་ཤིང་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་
 ke max su **ga** ix go vur tat-**shup**.
 dog ART COV.drop house enter NEG.IMP-CAUS
 ‘Don’t let the dog come in.’

The coverb *shu* (section 6.2.3.D) is derived from a dummy verb. The postposition *shu* cannot co-occur with the predicative particle *shux*. *Shu* is adjacent to either causer or causee.

- (15) མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་
 mu ga ngop wox **shu** zzi mga bbo.
 male name 1P.PL COV.make bridge cross go
 ‘Muga made us cross the bridge.’

11.3.2 The causative particle

The postverbal particle *shux* is the formal mark of causative constructions. Its presence encodes the embedded clause as caused event. It is grammaticalized from a verb that is unproductive in Modern Nuosu, the same verb that developed into a causative postposition (section 6.2.3.D) before the main predicate.

- (16) a. མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་
 bbut cy cy gge ga cy bbyx yyx sha **shux**.
 herb DEM.PROX CL COV 3P.SG COV sprinkle CAUS
 ‘Let him pour water on the herbs.’
- b. མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་མཉམ་
 za pux cop ga gox jjuo **shux**.
 wall 3P.PL COV.drop PRO.LOC collapse CAUS
 ‘They let the wall collapse.’

11.4 Comparison

Three basic comparison constructions exist in Nuosu (section 11.4.1) as well as strategies to intensify predicates and to form their superlative (section 11.4.2).

11.4.1 Comparative Constructions

There are superiority constructions (section A), inferiority constructions (section B) and equality constructions (section C).

A. Superiority

The superiority construction exhibits a short and an extended version, as presented in (17). Constituents that may be compared are noun phrases or nominalized verb phrases suffixed by *-ddux*, as in (18).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|----------|
| (17) | a. | ObjectComp+StandardComp+Predicate <i>ap cy</i> | Short |
| | b. | ObjectComp+StandardComp- <i>jox+ap cy-mu</i> +Predicate | Extended |
| | | | |
| (18) | a. | ObjectComp and StandardComp are both NPs | NPs |
| | b. | ObjectComp and StandardComp are both VP- <i>ddux</i> | VPs |

The string *ap cy* functions as adjective and adverb. Example (19a) illustrates *ap cy* as main predicate, (19b) as postverbal adverb and (19c) as adverbialized adjective. As adjective, *ap cy* can be nominalized by *-ddu* with the meaning *ap cy-ddu* ‘advantage’, see (19d).

- (19) a. 부@4330푸*용*#4.
 gop bo li rre mop jox **ap cy** su nge.
 body TOP money toward more NOM COP
 ‘Health is more (important) than money.’
- b. 0*#4*#4*용*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4.
 qop bop miep nyix **ap cy** xip gge cy gu six la.
 friend before many more DEM.INDEF CL 3P.SG call RES come
 ‘He invited more friends than the previous time.’
- c. 4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4.
 ngat i dix viex vie cyx bu jox **ap cy mu** a hni.
 1P.SG.POSS clothes flower DEM.PROX CL toward more ADVL red
 ‘My clothes are more reddish than this flower.’
- d. *#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4*#4.
 cyx li sut co jox **ap cy ddu** xix gge jjo?
 3P.SG TOP other person toward more NOM what CL have
 ‘What advantage does he have compared with others?’

Only a few dimensional adjectives can be employed in the short version (17a). These adjectives can also be prefixed by the equality morpheme *jyy-*.

Table 11.5: Comparative forms of dimensional adjectives

adjective	ap cy 'more'	jyy- (equality)
ax yy 'big'	yxx ap cy 'bigger than'	jyy-yxx 'as big as'
ax fu 'rough'	*fu ap cy 'rougher than'	jyy-fu 'as rough as'
ax hmu 'high'	hmu ap cy 'higher than'	jyy-hmux 'as high as'
ax sho 'long'	sho ap cy 'longer than'	jyy-shox 'as long as'
ax fi 'wide'	fi ap cy 'wider than'	jyy-fix 'as wide as'
ax du 'thick'	du ap cy 'thicker than'	jyy-dux 'as thick as'
ax nyi 'many'	nyi ap cy 'more than'	jyy-nyix 'as many as'
ax ly 'heavy'	ly ap cy 'heavier than'	jyy-lyx 'as heavy as'

- (20) a. $\text{H}\text{X}\text{ḡ}\text{ḁ}\text{Ḃ}\text{ḃ}$.
 mu ga nga yxx **ap cy**. Short
 name 1P.SG big more
 'Muga is bigger than me.'
- b. $\text{H}\text{X}\text{Ḃ}\text{Ḃ}\text{Ḃ}\text{Ḃ}\text{Ḃ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}$.
 mu ga ngat jox **ap cy mu** ax yy. Extended
 name 1P.SG to more ADVL big
 'Muga is bigger than me.'
- (21) a. $\text{Ḅ}\text{Ḅ}\text{Ḅ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}$.
 vot ba cyx ma a zzyx ma lyx **ap cy**. Short
 pig DEM.PROX CL DEM.DIST CL heavy more
 'This pig is heavier than that one.'
- b. $\text{Ḅ}\text{Ḅ}\text{Ḅ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}\text{ḁ}$.
 vot ba cyx ma a zzyx ma jox **ap cy mu** ax ly. Extended
 pig DEM.PROX CL DEM.DIST CL to more ADVL heavy
 'This pig is heavier than that one.'

Other multisyllabic adjectives can only occur in the extended version, as illustrated in (22).

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

- b. $\text{E\#VQ\Upsilon\#X\H\Xi\#V\#E\#}$.
 shy hni li qu **jox ap cy mu** pu lu ggo su nge.
 gold TOP silver toward more ADVL precious NOM COP
 'Gold is more precious than silver.'

In addition to adjectives, we can use gradable verbs, verbs modified by speed and manner adverbs and auxiliary verbs in the superiority construction.

- (23) a. $\text{H\X\#V\#E\#X\H\Xi\#}$.
 mu ga lu dda **jox ap cy mu** bot nji.
 male name male name toward more ADVL run quickly
 'Muga runs faster than Ludda.'
- b. X\#V\#X\H\Xi\#E\# .
 cy nga **jox ap cy mu** zzax zze nyiet.
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward more ADVL food eat late
 'He is eating later than I am.'
- c. $\text{E\#C\Xi\#H\#C\#V\#E\#X\H\Xi\#}$.
 ngat tep yy cyx zzit tep yy a zzyx zzit **ap cy mu** hxep qi.
 1P.SG.POSS book DEM CL book DEM.DIST CL more ADVL see want
 'I like to study this book more than that book.'

Verb classifiers (section 7.6.4) indicate the degree by which the object of comparison is superior to the standard of comparison.

- (24) H\#V\#X\#E\#X .
 nga nyip kur cy yyx **ap cy**.
 1P.SG NUM.2 year 3P.SG big more
 'I am older than he by two years.'

When subjects are compared, the order of elements should be as in (25).

- (25) $\text{H\#V\#X\H\Xi\#E\#V\#E\#E\#}$.
 nga cyp **jox ap cy mu** nex hxie vur su nge.
 1P.SG 3P.SG toward more ADVL 2P.SG love NOM COP
 'I love you more than he does.'

Direct objects can only be compared in nominalized VPs with *-ddux*. The order of constituents should be as in (26b) not as in (26a).

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

For gradable matrix predicates like *zhet* ‘good’, the object and standard of comparison are argument clauses nominalized by *su*.

- (27) $\text{op rro bbo su op rro ap- bbo su jox ap cy mu}$
 Xichang go NOM Xichang NEG- go NOM toward more ADVL
zhet su nge.
 good NOM COP
 ‘It is better to go to Xichang than not to go.’

B. Inferiority

There are two structures, one for noun phrases, the other for nominalized verb phrases. For noun phrases, inferiority is expressed by *ngex ngep* suffixed to the constituent that serves as standard of comparison and by the negation particle *ap-*. For verb phrases, two constituents nominalized by the suffix *-ddux* are compared in a construction using the negated existential predicate *jjip* ‘become’.

- (28) a. $\text{NP}_{\text{object}} + \text{NP}_{\text{standard}} - \text{ngex ngep} + \text{ap-Predicate} / \text{ap-jjip}$ | NPs
 b. $\text{VP}_{\text{object}} - \text{ddux} + \text{VP}_{\text{standard}} - \text{ddux} (\text{ngex ngep}) + \text{ap-jjip}$ | VPs

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

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

- b. ཡ་མེ་ལོ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་
 ngat mu cyx ma nit mu **ngex ngep** bbur-**ap-jjip**.
 1P.SG.POSS horse DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG.POSS horse similarly obey<NEG>
 ‘My horse is less obedient than yours.’
- c. སེ་ཡ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་
 ne cy **ngex ngep** lie-**ap-ba** su nge.
 2P.SG 3P.SG similarly dangerous<NEG> NOM COP
 ‘You are less in danger than he.’
- d. མུ་ག་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་
 mu ga ne **ngex ngep** but-**ap-ndit**.
 name 2P.SG similarly daring<NEG>
 ‘Muga is less courageous than you.’
- e. ལུ་མེ་ལོ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་
 zze ti cyx ma li a zzyx ma **ngex ngep** a-**ap-du**.
 table DEM.PROX CL TOP DEM.DIST CL similarly thick<NEG>
 ‘This table is less thick than that table.’

When subjects of a gradable verb are compared, then the construction follows (30a). When direct objects are compared, then the comparison is constructed with the nominalizer *-ddux* as in (30b).

- (30) a. འ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་
 nga nex ddop njyp ddux cy nit ddop njyp ddux
 1P.SG 2P.SG word believe NOM 3P.SG 2P.SG.POSS word believe NOM
ngex ngep ap- jjip.
 similarly NEG- become
 ‘I believe you less than he does.’
- b. འ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ་
 nga nex ddop njyp ddux nga cyp ddop njyp ddux
 1P.SG 2P.SG word believe NOM 1P.SG 3P.SG.POSS word believe NOM
ngex ngep ap- jjip.
 similarly NEG- become
 ‘I believe you less than I believe him.’

C. Equality

The equality construction has short and extended versions. The extended version substitutes the reciprocal prefix *jjy-* by the expression *jjy sux mu*. Both NPs and nominalized VPs can be compared in the equality construction.

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

The postposition *si nip* ‘with’ has several functions that are analyzed elsewhere in this grammar (section 5.3.3, section 12.2.1). The reciprocal prefix *jy-* (section 11.2) is prefixed in (33b) to the main verb *sup/sux* ‘resemble’.

- (33) a. ສະ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່.
sse ax da **sux**.
son father resemble
‘The son resembles his father.’
- b. ທັງ ມັນ ຈື່ ທັງ.
cop wox **jy-sux**.
3P.PL RECL-resemble
‘They resemble each other.’

Only disyllabic size adjectives of Table 11.5 may occur in the short version. In this case, the size prefix *a-* or *i-* is omitted (compare with section 11.4.1.A).

- (34) a. ຖື ພື້ນ ທີ່ ທຳ ນິ ທຳ ນີ ຈີ ດ້າ ທີ ຈີ ສິ ນິ ພື້ນ ຈື່ ສະ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່.
yit cyx ji ngat uo nyi cyx ji si nip **jy-sho**.
needle DEM.PROX CL 1P.SG hair DEM.PROX CL with RECL-long
‘This needle is as long as this hair of mine.’
- b. ຖື ພື້ນ ທີ່ ທຳ ນິ ທຳ ນີ ຈີ ດ້າ ທີ ຈີ ສິ ນິ ພື້ນ ຈື່ ສະ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່.
yit cyx ji ngat uo nyi cyx ji si nip **jy-sux-mu** a sho.
needle DEM CL 1P.SG hair DEM CL with RECL-resemble-ADVL long
‘This needle is as long as this hair of mine.’
- (35) a. * ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່.
*ap mu shu kut ap hxiet ddip kut si nip **jy-zzyr muo**.
this year last year with RECL-peaceful
‘Intended meaning: ‘This year is as peaceful as last year.’
- b. ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ຈື່ ພໍ່ ດ້າ ຈື່ ພໍ່.
ap mu shu kut ap hxiet ddip kut si nip **jy-sux-mu** zzyr muo.
this year last year with RECL-resemble-ADVL peaceful
‘This year is as peaceful as last year.’

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

- (36) ལྷམ་ལྷ་མཉམ་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 vyt vu ix yi si nip ngax **jjy-gix**.
 elder brother younger brother with 1P.SG RECL-care
 ‘My elder brother is concerned about me as is my younger brother.’

The extended version of the equality construction does not require the predicate to be gradable since it only expresses that two different referents participate in a state or event in an equivalent way.

- (37) ལྷམ་ལྷ་མཉམ་པའི་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 nit yo ngat yo si nip **jjy-sux-mu** hlix ndo nzox.
 2P.SG.POSS sheep 1P.SG.POSS sheep with RECL-resemble-ADVL get lost EXP
 ‘Your sheep got lost as did mine.’

A similar meaning can also be expressed by the adverb *ngex ngep* ‘similarly’. It does not require the predicate to be gradable.

- (38) a. ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 mu ga ax pu si nip lat hxa ax pu **ngex ngep** sy ox.
 male name grandfather with male name grandfather similarly die DP
 ‘Muga’s grandfather is dead and so is Laha’s grandfather.’
- b. ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 kut shyv vot ba cyx ma si nip a zzyx ma **ngex ngep** cu.
 New Year pig DEM.PROX CL with DEM.DIST CL similarly fat
 ‘The New Year’s pig is as fat as this pig.’
- c. ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།
 vit gga a hni su si nip vit gga a shy su **ngex ngep** nrat.
 clothes red NOM with clothes yellow NOM similarly nice
 ‘The red clothes are as beautiful as the yellow clothes.’

11.4.2 Intensification and superlative

There are two infixes that are inserted between a gradable predicate and its reduplicated last syllable or its full copy. The intensifier *-jjy-* and superlative *-lop-* occupy the same morphological positions in the predicate.

A. The intensifier -jyy-

The infix -jyy- ‘very’ must be distinguished from the prefix *jyy-* ‘each other’ (section 11.2). The infix -jyy- is inserted before a fully reduplicated copy of a gradable predicate.

- (39) a. 𑄟𑄠𑄡𑄢𑄣𑄤𑄥𑄦𑄧𑄨𑄩𑄪𑄫𑄬𑄭𑄮𑄯𑄰.
 mu ga qop bop ddop mu -jyy- ddop mu.
 male name friend obey very obey
 ‘Muga obeys his friends very much.’
- b. 𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑅀𑅁𑅂𑅃𑅄𑅅𑅆𑅇𑅈𑅉𑆀𑆁.
 mu rryr ddop ma cyx gge ngox die -jyy- (ngox) die.
 male name word DEM.PROX CL doubt very doubt
 ‘Mudge doubts very much these words.’
- c. 𑆂𑆃𑆄𑆅𑆆𑆇𑆈𑆉𑆊𑆋𑆌𑆍𑆎𑆏𑆐𑆑𑆒𑆓𑆔𑆕𑆖.
 cy bbu shy a zzyx ji mo go jjur hla -jyy- jjur hla.
 3P.SG snake DEM.DIST CL see COMP anxious very anxious
 ‘He is very anxious to encounter that snake.’
- (40) 𑆗𑆘𑆙𑆚𑆛𑆜𑆝𑆞𑆟𑆠𑆡𑆢𑆣𑆤𑆥𑆦𑆧.
 xyx hnie cyx zzip a shyt -jyy- (a) shyt.
 shoe DEM.PROX CL new very new
 ‘This pair of shoes is brand new.’

Ungradable predicates can co-occur with the infix -jyy-, sometimes with a derived meaning. It indicates a greater speaker certainty for making an assertion. Alternatively, -jyy- can simply convey the sense of intense activity.

- (41) a. 𑆧𑆨𑆩𑆪𑆫𑆬𑆭𑆮𑆯.
 nga jie shat bbo -jyy- bbo.
 1P.SG street go very go
 ‘I am absolutely staying on the road.’
- b. 𑆰𑆱𑆲𑆳𑆴𑆵𑆶𑆷𑆸𑆹.
 a bbe! jjie -jyy- jjie ddix.
 EXCL burn very burn QUOT
 ‘Oh! This is to say that it is burning strongly.’
- c. 𑆺𑆻𑆼𑆽𑆾.
 ax yi ngo -jyy- ngo.
 child weep very weep
 ‘The child is crying bitterly.’

The infix *-jyy-* can also be inserted in the middle of a fully reduplicated common noun. It intensifies the defining properties of a noun concept. It can be glossed by *real* or *worthy of its name*.

- (42) a. \times $\text{b} \text{b} \text{z} \text{z} \text{e} \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{c} \text{l} \text{o} \text{p}$.
 cy bboz zze **-jyy-** bboz zze ma nge.
 3P.SG man very man CL COP
 ‘He is a man worthy of this name.’
- b. $\text{n} \text{o} \text{p} \text{i} \text{t} \text{d} \text{d} \text{e} \text{l} \text{i} \text{l} \text{a} \text{d} \text{d} \text{a} \text{j} \text{j} \text{y} \text{l} \text{a} \text{d} \text{d} \text{a} \text{j} \text{i} \text{n} \text{g} \text{e}$.
 nop it dde li la dda **-jyy-** la dda ji nge.
 2P.PL township TOP valley very valley CL COP
 ‘Your township is a real valley.’
- c. $\text{c} \text{y} \text{k} \text{e} \text{a} \text{z} \text{z} \text{y} \text{x} \text{m} \text{a} \text{k} \text{e} \text{j} \text{j} \text{y} \text{k} \text{e} \text{x} \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{e}$.
 cyp ke a zzyx ma ke **-jyy-** kex ma nge.
 3P.SG.POSS dog DEM.DIST CL dog very dog CL COP
 ‘His dog is really a good dog.’

B. The superlative *-lop-*

The superlative infix *-lop-* is inserted between a gradable predicate and its fully reduplicated copy.

- (43) a. $\text{c} \text{y} \text{i} \text{e} \text{t} \text{z} \text{y} \text{r} \text{l} \text{o} \text{p} \text{i} \text{e} \text{t} \text{z} \text{y} \text{r} \text{z} \text{h} \text{a} \text{x} \text{s} \text{u} \text{n} \text{g} \text{e}$.
 cy iet zyr **-lop-** iet zyr zhax su nge.
 3P.SG small SUP small ART COP
 ‘He is the smallest.’
- b. $\text{m} \text{u} \text{n} \text{y} \text{o} \text{x} \text{l} \text{i} \text{g} \text{g} \text{u} \text{t} \text{n} \text{y} \text{i} \text{l} \text{o} \text{p} \text{g} \text{g} \text{u} \text{t} \text{n} \text{y} \text{i} \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{e}$.
 mu nyox li ggut nyi **-lop-** ggut nyi ma nge.
 male name TOP diligent SUP diligent CL COP
 ‘Munyo is the most diligent.’
- c. $\text{s} \text{i} \text{p} \text{h} \text{n} \text{i} \text{s} \text{h} \text{a} \text{x} \text{n} \text{d} \text{u} \text{r} \text{l} \text{o} \text{p} \text{s} \text{h} \text{a} \text{x} \text{n} \text{d} \text{u} \text{r} \text{m} \text{a} \text{a} \text{d} \text{d} \text{i} \text{t} \text{g} \text{o} \text{i} \text{t}$.
 sip hni shax ndur **-lop-** shax ndur ma a ddit go it.
 woman diligent SUP arduous CL there LOC live
 ‘The most diligent woman lives there.’
- d. $\text{l} \text{a} \text{r} \text{u} \text{n} \text{b} \text{o} \text{p} \text{l} \text{o} \text{p} \text{n} \text{b} \text{o} \text{p} \text{s} \text{u}$.
 la ru nbop **-lop-** nbop su.
 bacon fragrant SUP fragrant NOM
 ‘the most fragrant bacon’

e. ຖ້ອນໄຫຼ່ທີ່ຫິ່ນ。

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

f. ນ້ອຍປຸ່ງຊຸມຊື່ນທີ່ນັ້ນເຮົາເຮົາຮຸ່ນຮຸ່ນທີ່ນັ້ນຮຸ່ນຮຸ່ນ。

ax pu kut ti li tit bbap ga go ax yy **-lop-** ax yy max su nge.
 grandfather age TOP here village LOC old SUP old ART COP
 ‘Grandfather is the oldest in the village.’

Chapter 12

Versatile constructions

In this chapter, we scrutinize presentative constructions (section 12.1), resultative constructions (section 12.2) and extent constructions (section 12.3).

12.1 Presentative constructions

Presentative constructions introduce a new discourse referent in space and sometimes time. Presentative constructions consist of an existential verb, an indefinite noun phrase, and a locative noun phrase. The presentative construction in which the locative NP comes first contrasts with the locative construction in which the presented NP comes first.

- | | | |
|--|--|--------------|
| (1) a. NP + Locative NP + Existential Verb | | Locative |
| b. Locative NP + Presented NP + Existential Verb | | Presentative |

Presentative constructions in East Asian languages have special features, either special word order as in Mandarin Chinese (section 12.1.2.M) or large sets of existential verbs as in Nuosu and other Tibeto-Burman languages (section 12.1.2).

12.1.1 The presented and locative noun phrases

The presented noun phrase consists of a common noun, as in (2), or a proper noun, as in (4). If it is a common noun, it must be indefinite not definite, as in (3).

- (2) a. 小盒子里面很多照片。
get sse go **bburx yyr** ax nyi mu it.
litte box LOC picture many ADVL lie
'There are many photographs in the little box.'
- b. 小盒子里面有一张照片。
get sse go **bburx yyr ma** it.
litte box LOC picture CL lie
'There is a photograph in the little box.'
- c. 院子为什么有这么大的声音?
nje ggup go xix mu **fu zzi xip** **yyx su** jjo?
courtyard LOC why voice DEM.INDEF great NOM have
'Why is there such a loud noise in the courtyard?'

- (3) *ཁོ་ཕྱི་མཐའ་ལྗོངས་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མཛེས་སྟན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་ལོག་པའོ།
 *bbop jox **bbut vie juox juox max su** go jjix.
 in front garden ART LOC located
 Intended meaning: ‘In front there is the garden.’
- (4) མཛེས་སྟན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མཛེས་སྟན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་ལོག་པའོ།?
 tit go mu ga **it ix?**
 here LOC name live~ALT
 ‘Does Muga live here?’

The locative phrase consists of a common noun, place name, or possibly of a locative particle (e.g. *go*, *tot* and so forth).

- (5) NP + (Locative Particle)

As the locative phrase occurs in sentence-initial position, the coverb *da* is not associated with the presentative construction (see section 6.3.1).

12.1.2 The existential predicate

Most languages have two or three existential verbs such as *be*, *have* and *exist* in English. Several authors report high numbers of existential verbs for Tibeto-Burman languages: Qiang (LaPolla 2003), Hani (Bái 1991), and Nuosu (Walters & Ndaxit 2006).¹ In these languages there are between five and thirteen existential verbs. Nuosu has the maximal number of thirteen verbs which are described in detail by Walters & Ndaxit (2006), see table 12.1 below.

Some of these verbs are pure existential verbs, others are posture verbs with implied existential meanings. Existential verbs vary for the range of entities whose existence they state. An entity might be predicated simultaneously by several existential verbs with different nuances of meaning, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) a. ཁོ་ཕྱི་མཐའ་ལྗོངས་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མཛེས་སྟན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་ལོག་པའོ།
 a ddit syr bbo bbo **zzur**.
 there tree CL stick up
 ‘There is a tree (standing).’
- b. ཁོ་ཕྱི་མཐའ་ལྗོངས་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་མཛེས་སྟན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་ལོག་པའོ།
 a ddit syr bbo bbo **rrur**.
 there tree CL lie flat
 ‘There is a tree (lying flat).’

¹ For a cross-linguistic study of existential verbs, see LaPolla (1994: 75).

Table 12.1: Existential verbs

Verb	Section	Description
jjo 'have'	12.1.2.A	location, existence, possession for animate, inanimate
rrur 'lie about'	12.1.2.B	disorderly posture for inanimate entities
jjip 'located'	12.1.2.C	location for landmarks in landscape
ndit 'attached'	12.1.2.D	attachment for inanimate entities
qo 'contain'	12.1.2.E	animate, inanimate entities included in larger groups
rryp 'stick to'	12.1.2.F	attachment for inanimate entities
it 'lie'	12.1.2.G	posture for animate and some inanimate entities
nyi 'sit'	12.1.2.H	posture for animate and some inanimate entities
hxit 'stand'	12.1.2.I	posture only for animate entities
zzur 'stick up'	12.1.2.J	posture for mainly inanimate entities
ke 'nest'	12.1.2.K	existence for nests of birds and bees
bbu 'exist'	12.1.2.L	existence for several unrelated inanimate entities

- (7) a. 狗在外面。 *hxi jox kex ma go jjo.*
 outside dog CL LOC have
 'There is a dog outside.'
- b. 狗在外面。 *hxi jox kex ma go it.*
 outside dog CL LOC live, lie
 'There is a dog lying outside.'
- c. 狗在外面。 *hxi jox kex ma go nyi.*
 outside dog CL LOC sit
 'There is a dog sitting outside.'

Existential verbs are mainly intransitive, stative and ungradable. They cannot be modified by intensifiers. Existence is a black-and-white property.

A. The existential verb *jjo* 'have'

Of all existential verbs, *jjo* 'have' covers the broadest range of meanings. Example (8a) expresses possession, (8b) existence in space, (8c) existence in time, and (8d) abstract containment.

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

- b. བྱི་མི་ལྔ་མཚོ་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 ngop bbap ga go bboz zze vut ga hmi xip ma **jjo**.
 1P.PL village LOC man name named DEM.INDEF CL exist
 ‘In our village there is a man whose name is Vuga.’
- c. འདྲེན་མུ་ཤུ་ཀུ་མཉམ་ཞུ་བའི་ཉེར་ལོ་ལྔ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 ap mu shu kut xyp xi hni jyx vit **jjo**.
 this year wedding VCL.time have
 ‘This year there is a wedding.’
- d. དེ་ལོ་དེ་ལོ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྔ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 cyp kur ne kop nge ci nyix ma **jjo**.
 NUM.1 year week, section NUM.52 CL have
 ‘A year has 52 weeks.’

The verb *jjo* also states existence in time. The following example is quoted from Walters & Ndaxit (2006: 134) and Zhao & Zhū (1986: 1).

- (9) འཇོན་མེད་ཀྱི་འདྲི་ལོ་དེ་དུས་རྒྱུ་ལྔ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། འཇོན་མེད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྔ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 ip si mox a hle sy sse six sse yurx te go nuos su sy sse
 a long time ago supernatural being born when Nuosu supernatural being
 zhyx ge ax lu nge ddix xip ma **jjo**.
 name COP QUOT DEM.INDEF CL have
 ‘Long ago in the days of supernatural men, there was a Nuosu immortal
 called Zhygeaxlu.’

B. The existential verb *rrur* ‘lie about’

The verb *rrur* means ‘lie about’ and is used for inanimate entities that lie about on the ground in a disorderly way.

- (10) a. འདྲི་ལོ་ལྔ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 a ddit go lur ma ax yy xip ma go **rrur**.
 there LOC stone big DEM.INDEF CL LOC rest
 ‘There is a big stone.’
- b. དུ་གཉེན་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ས་གནས་ལ་
 syr ggut kat go **rrur**?
 plough where LOC rest
 ‘Where is the plough?’
- c. དུ་སྐྱོ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྔ་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
 syr zza lur ma bbo gox **rrur**.
 fruit CL LOC rest
 ‘There was a pile of fruit.’

Finally, the verb *jjip* has compounded with other words and given rise to a range of lexicalized words.

Table 12.2: Lexicalized expressions with *jjip*

jox jjip 'possible'	jjip hnex mu 'therefore'	lat jjip 'spoiled'
bbur jjip 'overcome'	ke jjip 'praise, agree'	hmat jjip 'educated'
hxop jjip 'overripe'	bup jjip 'brittle, rotten'	

D. The existential verb *ndit* 'attached'

The existential verb *ndit* is used for inanimate entities that can be attached to other things such as body parts (arm, hand, leg), fruits and vegetables, written characters on a surface and so forth. *Ndit* also has the grammatical function of quantificational aspect (section 7.6.2).

- (14) a. ㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽。

za pux go bbur ma ly ma go **ndit.**

wall LOC written character NUM.4 CL LOC attached

'Four letters are written on the wall.'
- b. ㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽。

ngat qop bop miep zyt ax nyi mu **ndit.**

1P.SG.POSS friend beard much ADVL attached

'My friend has full beard.'
- c. ㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽。

bbu nyip mop ji xy hxit pot **ndit.**

spider leg NUM.8 CL attached

'The spider has eight legs.'

E. The existential verb *qo* 'contain'

The existential verb *qo* predicates animate or inanimate entities that are contained in bigger ensembles or masses. Only very small animals such as worms may co-occur with the existential verb *qo*.

- (15) a. ㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽。

gop bo yyr hla ap- **qo** su nge.

body spirit NEG- contain NOM COP

'The body is without spirit.'
- b. ㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽㉽。

ngop wox cyx **qo** zzax zze.

1P.PL 3P.SG contain food eat

'We had a meal with him.'

- c. ຈາ ຈາ ເກ ລຸ ຈຍ ສະ ຈອ.
 cha zza go lur zhyr sse **qo**.
 rice LOC little stone contain
 ‘There are little stones in the rice.’
- d. ອາ ຕ ເກ ບບຸ ດ ດ ສະ ຈອ.
 ce te go bbup ddi sse **qo**.
 dish LOC worm contain
 ‘There are worms in the dish.’
- e. ມາ ມູ ເກ ມູ ຈຍ ສະ ຈອ.
 mo mu go mu jy hlop bbop **qo**.
 sky LOC star moon contain
 ‘There are the stars and the moon in the sky.’

The existential verb *qo* ‘exist’ is incompatible with bigger animals in a confined area for which *it* ‘lie’ or *jjo* ‘have’ should be used.

- (16) a. *ດາ ຈາ ຈີ ນ ຈາ ຈອ.
 *yy go hxe ax nyi mu **qo**.
 river LOC fish much contain
 ‘The river contains many fish.’
- b. *ຢ ຈອ ຈອ ຈອ.
 *syr juo go ssyt **qo**.
 forest LOC tiger contain
 ‘There are tigers in the forest.’

F. The existential verb *rryp* ‘stick to’

The existential verb *rryp* ‘stick to’ is similar to *ndit* ‘attached’ but is used for other referents. The verb *rryp* ‘stick to’ mainly predicates inanimate entities that somehow stick to other entities. Some of these associative relations are alienable, some are inalienable.

- (17) a. ລີ ອ ເອ ນຍິ ປ ດ ຈຽ ຈອ.
 le o ho nyip pot **rryp**.
 ox horn NUM.2 CL stick to
 ‘The ox has two horns.’
- b. ຈັ ຈ ຈຽ ຈອ ມາ ວາ ມາ ຈຽ ຈອ.
 cyp jy xy go ma wa ma **rryp**.
 3P.SG.POSS foot LOC wound CL stick to
 ‘There is a wound on his foot.’

c. གྲུ་ལྟ་བུ་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

cyp lot go bbu shy ji **rryp**.
 3P.SG.POSS hand LOC snake CL stick to
 'There is a snake stuck to his hand.'

The following example is quoted from Walters & Ndaxit (2006: 141) respectively from Zhaò & Zhū (1986: 42).

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

hex jyy pup mit ggex su pur cyp gop bo go **rryp** sat da.
 pot ashes ART blow 3P.SG.POSS body LOC stick to EXH STP
 'There were ashes from the pot all over her body.'

G. The existential verb *it* 'lie'

The existential posture verb *it* 'lie' as well as the verbs in the next two sub-section *nyi* 'sit' and *hxit* 'stand' predicate animate, especially human, referents.

(19) a. གཞི་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

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

b. ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

mot **it** dde
 soldier live NOM
 'barracks'

The verb *it* also takes inanimate subjects, as shown in (20). The entity is presented in lying position although, of course, the idea of posture cannot be defined for liquids. (20a+b) are quoted from Walters & Ndaxit (2006: 131, 136).

(20) a. ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

yy ix nyi nyip gex lo go **it** yip sy.
 water, soup little little pot live still
 'There is still a little soup in the pot.'

b. ལྗང་ལྟོང་བའི་ལྗང་།

hox ho sse ku jox yit ji ax di go **it**.
 box within needle CL only LOC lie
 'There is only one needle in the box.'

- d. 𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 gop bo li sy nyi sot **nyi**.
 body TOP blood sit breath sit
 'He is someone with blood and flesh.'

Furthermore, the verb *nyi* is part of several compound words that describe mental states.

Table 12.3: Lexicalized expressions with *nyi*

we nyi 'strong'	xy nyi 'consider, reflect'	shot nyi 'honest'
hxie zyp nyi 'patient'	ggut nyi 'diligent and frugal'	

I. The existential verb *hxit* 'stand'

The posture verb *hxit* is restricted to animate referents and has not developed metaphorical extensions as the other posture verbs *it* 'lie' and *nyi* 'sit'.

- (23) a. 𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 hxi jox mu ga a ddit **hxit** da.
 outside name there stand STP
 'There is Muga standing outside.'
- b. 𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 bbox zze max su dep go **hxit** da.
 man ART rise LOC stand STP
 'The man rose and stood there.'

J. The existential verb *zzur* 'stick up'

The verb *zzur* 'stick up' states the existence of entities that stick out of the ground or landscape. It has secondary meanings such as *stand up* and *establish*.

- (24) a. 𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 hxo pu go syr go ap- **zzur**.
 mountain LOC tree LOC NEG- stick up
 'There are no trees on the mountain.'
- b. 𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 lur kur hxi jox ssox dde max su gox **zzur** ap- dop.
 city outside school ART LOC stick NEG- can
 'The school cannot be built outside the city.'

- c. མཚན་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ།
 cy ddop hxiḡ ngax jox **zzur**.
 3P.SG word say 1P.SG toward stand up, oppose
 ‘He speaks out against me.’

The verb *zzur* is a component of a range of complex words with metaphorical or abstract meanings. The verb *bbur zzur* ‘seem’, for example, is composed of *bbur* ‘image’ and *zzur*, and has the meaning of *seem = image+stand up*.

Table 12.4: Lexicalized expressions with *zzur*

hxiḡ zzur ‘naughty’	hmi zzur ‘famous’	zzurx xie ‘oppose’
bbur zzur ‘seem’	mut zzur ‘angry’	

K. The existential verb *ke* ‘nest’

The existential verb *ke* ‘nest’ functions as classifier of birds and bees (section 5.2.1.E). It is also found as existential predicate for the same kind of entities.

- (25) a. འོ་མཚན་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ།
 o bbop jox bbut vup ke go **ke**.
 ahead ant CL LOC nest
 ‘There is an antnest ahead.’
- b. ཅེ་ལྗང་རྩེ་ལྟོགས་པོ།
 vat bu go jjix ke go **ke**.
 mountain rock LOC bee CL LOC nest
 ‘There is a bee hive on the mountain rock.’
- c. ཡལ་མཚན་པོ་ལྟོགས་པོ།
 syr bbo tot hxiḡ zyr ke go **ke**.
 tree top of bird CL LOC nest
 ‘There is a bird nest on top of the tree.’

L. The existential verb *bbu* ‘exist’

The verb *bbu* ‘exist’ is used for predicating a few specific but unrelated nouns such as doors, wrinkles and footprints. The verb has lost productivity and might disappear from the language in the future.

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

- b. ་་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 cyp ax pu nyiet gga **bbu** ox.
 3P.SG.POSS grandfather wrinkle have DP
 'His grandfather has wrinkles on his face.'
- c. ་་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 tit go ggap mop ji **bbu**.
 here LOC road CL have
 'There is a road here.'
- d. ་་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 vo go xyx ddux gox **bbu**.
 snow LOC footprint LOC have
 'There is a footprint in the snow.'
- e. ་་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 za pux go buo gga **bbu**.
 wall LOC crack have
 'There is a crack in the wall.'

M. Motional verbs are not presentational

In Mandarin Chinese, clauses with motional verbs can express existential meanings if the order of the presented noun and the verb is inverted. The following example contrasts this presentative construction with the ordinary intransitive construction.

- (27) Mandarin Chinese (Li & Thompson 1981: 517)
- a. chū lái le yī ge kèrén. Presentative construction
 exit come DP NUM.1 CL guest
 'There is a guest coming out.'
- b. yī ge kèrén chū lái le. Intransitive construction
 NUM.1 CL guest exit come DP
 'A guest has come out.'

In Nuosu, both Mandarin constructions collapse. Motional verbs cannot be used with a special presentational meaning.

- (28) a. ་་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 tep yy dax dde go bbup zhyt gap nyiep ma gox **njuo**.
 book shelf LOC cockroach CL LOC move around
 'A cockroach moves around on the bookshelf.'
- b. ་་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་མཁོ་།
 yo nyip ma **jjie bbo** ox.
 sheep NUM.2 CL leave go DP
 'Two sheep ran away.'

- c. ㊦㊧㊨㊩㊪㊫㊬㊭。
 rrur ggu cyp gge gox **xi** ox.
 goods QUANT.some PRO.LOC arrive DP
 ‘A load of goods arrived.’
- d. ㊮㊯㊰㊱㊲㊳㊴㊵㊶㊷㊸㊹㊺㊻㊼㊽㊾㊿。
 ngop ket mop ggep dde go mu ga si nip mu gox nyix
 1P.PL evening amuse NOM LOC name and name NUM.2
 ax di gox **xi la**.
 only PRO.LOC arrive come
 ‘Only Muga and Mugo came to our evening gathering.’
- e. ㊿㊾㊽㊼㊽㊾㊿㊾㊽㊼㊽㊾㊿。
 bbu sse ma **jjj** hxi jox **ddur la** ox.
 fly CL fly outside exit come DP
 ‘A fly flew outside.’

12.2 Resultative constructions

According to Boas (2003), linguists of English distinguish three classes of resultative constructions (RP = resultative phrase):

- (i) the RP predicates a subcategorized object of a transitive verb;
- (ii) the RP predicates a nonsubcategorized object of an intransitive verb;
- (iii) the RP predicates a nonsubcategorized object of a transitive verb.

- (29) i. I dyed **my grey school skirt** *dark red*. (Boas 2003: 1)
 ii. Frank sneezed **the napkin** *off the table*. (Goldberg 1995: 152)
 iii. She drank **him** *under the table*. (Boas 2003: 7)

In English, it is not possible that the resultative phrase predicates the subject of a transitive verb, a property that Levin & Rappaport (1995) call the *direct object restriction*.

- (30) *John drank the whiskey drunken.

By contrast, Nuosu resultative phrases can predicate the subject of a transitive verb. There are three classes: agent-resultative constructions (section 12.3.1); patient-resultative constructions (section 12.3.2); resultative constructions of non-arguments (section 12.3.3). Some of the examples in this section are Nuosu equivalents of examples in Boas’s book that I discussed with native Nuosu.

12.2.1 Agent-resultative construction

We can ascribe a resultative state to the agent of a clause by a special construction which uses a reduplicated verb and the conjunction *si nip* (section 5.3.3).

(31) NP+(NP)+Verb Verb+*si nip*+Resultative Phrase

One important constraint is imposed on this construction. The verb must be intransitive, as in (32), monotransitive, as in (33), or unergative (section 6.1.4), as in (34a–c). It cannot be unaccusative, as in (34d).

(32) a. HX ㄨㄛ ㄅㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄆㄛ ㄟ ㄙㄞ ㄎㄞ ㄙㄞ ㄩ ㄩ。

mu ga bot bo **si nip** sot bbu sot shy ddux ox.
male name run run and breathlessly DP
'Muga got out of breath from running.'

b. ㄆㄞ ㄙㄞ ㄍㄞ ㄍㄞ ㄆㄞ ㄙㄞ ㄩ ㄩ。

ngop wox shyryx shyr **si nip** fup sot ox.
1P.PL shout shout and hoarse DP
'We yelled ourselves hoarse.'

c. ㄎㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄩ ㄩ。

at gop mu ga gep mgo six biex qie qie **si nip** gup ddur ox.
name name COV pull RES dance dance and sweat exit DP
'Muga danced with Ago so much that she sweated.'

(33) a. ㄌㄨ ㄉㄉ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄅㄞ ㄩ ㄩ。

lu dda ax rryr mgot mgot **si nip** hxie ci ox.
male name female name persue persue and give up = heart-fall DP
'Ludda courted Adge to the point of giving up.'

b. ㄎㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄩ ㄩ。

vut gop vot she zzex zze **si nip** ndat-jjy-ndat ox.
female name pork eat eat and disgusted-very-disgusted DP
'Vugo felt disgusted after the consumption of so much pork.'

c. ㄌㄨ ㄊㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄕㄞ ㄩ ㄩ。

lu ti mu cyx ma zzyx zzy **si nip** jjix do ox.
male name horse DEM.PROX CL ride ride and exhausting DP
'Luti rode this horse and was exhausted.'

The verbs *yy* 'laugh', *ddiex bur* 'change' and *ngo* 'cry' are unergative. A resultative state can be ascribed to their agent by the structure (31). By contrast, an unaccusative verb, like *mge* 'boil' in (34d), is ungrammatical in this structure.

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

Resultative compounds usually do not use resultative linkers but can be coerced as in the examples (35b) and (36b). The resultative phrase predicates the subject.

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

12.2.2 Patient-resultative construction

Another construction is available to ascribe a resultative state to the entity that undergoes the situation. This construction uses the linker *sip/six* and requires the undergoing NP to be in sentence-initial position.

(37) NP+(NP)+Verb+*sip/six*+Resultative Phrase

The linker is historically derived from the verb *sip/six* ‘take’ (section 6.2.1.D). In order to use *sip/six* for ascribing a resultative state, the main verb must allow for the idea of disposal. We can employ intransitive and monotransitive verbs in (37) if the first noun phrase is the undergoer of the situation. In (38), we consider intransitive verbs, in (39) monotransitive verbs and in (40) unaccusative verbs.

- (38) a. 湖凍得硬邦邦的。
 shur njot **sip** ga jie jie ox.
 lake freeze RES hard, solid DPD
 ‘The lake froze solid.’
- b. 他的臉特別大。
 cyp bbo lo wop **six** a hnāt mu ax yy ox.
 3P.SG.POSS face swollen RES especially big DP
 ‘His face swelled very big.’
- (39) a. 路波喝得酒不醒。
 lu po nry yit **six** dep la ap- dop ox.
 male name wine drunk RES rise come NEG- MOD.can DP
 ‘Lupo got so drunk that he could not stand up.’
- b. 母親把蛋糕切成小塊。
 mge vat ax mo xip **six** iet zyr guo ox.
 buckwheat cake mother cut RES small very much DP
 ‘Mother cut the buckwheat cake into small pieces.’
- c. 桌子被穆加掃得乾乾淨淨。
 zhuop zi mu ga gep syr **six** bbox sho ox.
 table male name COV sweep RES clean DP
 ‘The table was swept clean by Muga.’
- d. 穆諾把房子刷成紅色。
 yi max su mu nyox hxop **six** a hni mu da ox.
 house ART male name paint RES red ADVL DP
 ‘Munyo painted the house red.’

- e. འདོད་ཀྱི་ཚུ་ལ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་།
 tep yy zzit su at gop yu **six** la ox.
 book ART female name take RES come DP
 ‘Ago took the book away (= take-come).’
- f. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 syr ddir mup bat gep mgo **six** bax juo juo ox.
 log horse COV pull RES smooth DP
 ‘The horses dragged the logs smoothly.’
- g. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 wax ddip hxix mu ti te go mu ga nga cy gep lit
 next day morning when name 1P.SG 3P.SG COV shake
six it nyi la ox.
 RES awake COME DP
 ‘The next morning Muga shook me awake.’
- h. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 bbut vie lat hxa gep yyx sha **six** yyx jjur jjur ox.
 flower male name COV water RES flat, full of water DP
 ‘Muga watered the flowers well.’

Unaccusative verbs can ascribe a resultative state to the entity that undergoes the effect of the event by using the linker *six*.

- (40) a. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 vup du jix su lix qy **six** rret mop ddir ox.
 bone ART break RES piece exit DP
 ‘The bone broke into pieces.’
- b. ལྷན་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 vit gga po hxo **six** a hni mu da ox.
 clothes dye RES red ADVL DP
 ‘The clothes were dyed red.’

Resultative phrases that comment on the event rather than on the patient of the main verb should not use the marker *sip/six*.

- (41) a. འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་འདོད་པོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་།
 ip kop cy bie (#**six**) pop la ox.
 door 3P.SG kick RES open come DP
 ‘He kicked the door open.’

- b. ດຳນົມປາບລຸກ (ຮ້າ) ຜູ້ຄືນ.
 cop wox nry cyp pip ndo (**#six**) zzi lox.
 3P.PL wine NUM.1 bottle drink RES left over
 ‘They drank wine leaving one bottle.’
- c. ນາມເຈ໋ພຸມລຸກ (ຮ້າ) ນາມເຈ໋ພຸມລຸກ.
 at gop cyp bbox zze cy zyt (***six**) ke she zha ap- jyip.
 name 3P.SG.POSS man 3P.SG scold RES flea CL NEG- become
 ‘Ago scolded her husband that he would become a good for nothing bum.’

12.2.3 Nonargument-resultative constructions

There is a category of resultative constructions in which the resultative phrase ascribes a state to a non-argument. The first kind of non-arguments are body parts or items related to the agent. They are ascribed a resultative state by *si nip*.

- (42) a. ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ.
 ngop wox shyrx shy **si nip** zyt jie fup bbip mix fup sot ox.
 1P.PL shout shout and REFL throat even hoarse DP
 ‘We yelled ourselves hoarse.’
- b. ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ.
 lu pox yyx yy **si nip** sip ggot ox.
 male name laugh laugh and liver pain DP
 ‘Lupo laughed so much that he got a stomach ache.’
- c. ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ.
 cy hxit hxit **si nip** xy li ggot.
 3P.SG stand stand and leg ache
 ‘His legs ached from standing so long.’
- d. ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ.
 ax yi max su ngox ngox **si nip** hxie mat ho ox.
 child ART weep weep and heart sad DP
 ‘The child cried so much he became sad.’
- e. ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ.
 cy hxa tie mux mu **si nip** lot syr pa yyx ggie ggie ox.
 3P.SG sneeze sneeze and handkerchief soggy, wet DP
 ‘He sneezed (so much) his handkerchief (became) soggy.’
- f. ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ ພ້ອມປາບລຸກ.
 cy ngox ngo **si nip** o kup nyo bby lo ox.
 3P.SG cry cry and pillow tears block DP
 ‘She cried so much that the pillow became wet with her tears.’

A non-argument can also be predicated by the resultative phrase by using the linker *six*, if it is related to the patient referent who undergoes the effect of the activity.

- (43) a. 佢改咗本书，佢咁高兴。
 tep yy cy ddiex bur **six** tep yy bbur su co bbyx
 book 3P.SG change RES book write NOM person CAUS
 hxie kat-jjy-hxie kat shux ox.
 happy-very-happy CAUS DP
 ‘He changed the book in such a way that the author was very happy.’
- b. 我哋被佢领入灾祸。
 ngop wox cy gga shyx **six** syt dduur ox.
 1P.PL 3P.SG lead RES event exit DP
 ‘We were led by him into calamity.’

The use of *si nip* in (44a) and *sip/six* in (44b) depends on the availability of a resultative interpretation. If resultative meaning is only a marginal interpretation, then *si nip* and *six* should be omitted.

- (44) a. 你食(食自己)到死。
 ne zze (#zze **si nip**) nit gop bo hit njuo su nge ox.
 2P.SG eat eat and 2P.SG.POSS body harm PROG NOM COP DP
 ‘You are eating yourself to death.’
- b. 佢哋(佢哋)无左饮。
 nry cop wox ndo (**#six**) cyp pip mix zzi-ap-lop.
 wine 3P.PL drink RES NUM.1 bottle even left<NEG>
 ‘They drank up the wine with nothing left.’

Chapter 13

Complex sentences

In this chapter, we analyse two types of complex sentences, coordinating constructions (section 13.1) and subordinating constructions (section 13.2). *Serial verb constructions* are sentences that contain two or more juxtaposed verb phrases without any syntactic marker that indicates the semantic relationship between them. Some serial verb constructions are coordinating constructions, others are subordinating constructions.

13.1 Coordinating constructions

We examine serial verb constructions in section 13.1.1, coordinate sentences with a conjunction in the first clause in section 13.1.2, and coordinate sentences with a conjunction in the second clause in section 13.1.3.

13.1.1 Zero linking

Cross-linguistically, serial verb constructions (SVCs) are constructions with at least two verbs satisfying the following features (Aikhenvald 2006: 4–21). SVCs have (i) single event interpretation; (ii) single clause intonation; (iii) shared tense, aspect and modality values; (iv) at least one argument shared by two verbs.

SVCs are common in Nuosu and generally comply with these four conditions except that SVCs can refer to two closely associated events. The semantic relationship between both events is often vague and ambiguous. SVCs give rise to consecutive, simultaneous, conditional, circumstantial, purposive interpretations, or to any combination of these.

(1) xi ʃi ʃɛ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ.

cy gox nyi da zzax zze tat xi.
3P.SG LOC sit STP food eat should
Simultaneous: 'He should sit and eat.'

(2) he ʃɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ.

lat hxo yi ku jox la nga hxip cyx ge.
male name house inside come 1P.SG say 3P.SG tell
Consecutive: 'Laho went inside the house and I told him.'

(3) ʃɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ ɳɳ.

ne ddox mu ggep nit lot cy zhe mat.
2P.SG knife play 2P.SG.POSS hand 3P.SG cut FEAR
Conditional: 'If you play with a knife, you will hurt your hand.'

- (4) 刈律耶米多畜毋。
 cy lap bbu mo mup bat hlut.
 3P.SG ox plough horse pasture
 Simultaneous: ‘He is ploughing and pasturing.’
 Circumstantial: ‘As he was ploughing the earth with an ox, he pastured some horses.’
- (5) 宀𠃉𠃉非且耕夏宀𠃉𠃉。
 vy ddu ax nyi mu jjo vu ga vit gga vy.
 items much ADVL have name clothes buy
 Causal: ‘Because there are many items, Wuga bought clothes.’
 Circumstantial: ‘As there are so many items, Wuga bought some clothes.’
- (6) 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉。
 nga yy mge furx ndo.
 1P.SG cool water pour drink
 Consecutive: ‘I poured cold water (in my cup) and then drank it.’
 Purposive: ‘I poured cold water (in my cup) to drink it.’
- (7) 𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉𠃉。
 cop wox mop mgep la ox.
 3P.PL hold meeting come DP
 Purposive: ‘They came to hold a meeting.’

Generally, it is not possible to convey resultative interpretations by SVCs. Resultative constructions employ syntactic markers such as *six* (section 12.3). The following three examples contrast purposive, consecutive and resultative meanings.

- (8) a. 刈律耶米𠃉。
 cy lap bbu hxe bbo.
 3P.SG ox borrow go
 Purposive: ‘He went to borrow an ox.’

(8a) is an SVC; the movement of the person is prior to the borrowing of the ox. When we employ the consecutive conjunction *lox*, the movement of the person is posterior to the borrowing, see (8b). When we insert the resultative marker *six* and inverse the order of subject and object, it is the ox which moves as a result of the action of borrowing, see (8c).

- b. 刈律耶米𠃉𠃉。
 cy lap bbu hxe lox bbo.
 3P.SG ox borrow and then go
 Consecutive: ‘He borrowed an ox and then went away.’

- c. ལམ་བུ་མེ་མོ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་།
 lap bbu cy hxe six bbo.
 ox 3P.SG borrow RES go
 Resultative: 'He borrowed an ox and (as a result) the ox was gone.'

13.1.2 Forward-linking conjunctions

Similar to adverbs (section 9.1), there are three types of forward-linking conjunctions: movable conjunctions (section A), immovable conjunctions (section B), clause-final conjunctions (section C).

A. Movable conjunctions

Movable conjunctions can occur at the beginning of the first clause or after the topic. The only forward-linking movable conjunction is *ap ddi ddix* 'if'. It co-occurs with a clause-final conjunction in the first clause, either *yix ne* or *go li*.

- (9) a. འགྲོ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་ནེ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་། ལམ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་།
ap ddi ddix ne bbo **yix ne**, ngat jop hxip.
 if 2P.SG go provided that 1P.SG to say
 'If you leave, please tell me.'
- b. མེ་མོ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་ནེ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་། ལམ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་།
 cy **ap ddi ddix** vit gga vy **yix ne**, ngat ddir vy la.
 3P.SG if clothes buy provided that 1P.SG at buy come
 'If she wants to buy clothes, let her come here to get some.'
- (10) a. འགྲོ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་ནེ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་། ལམ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་།
ap ddi ddix nga bbo ap- dop **go li**, ne bbo.
 if 1P.SG go NEG- can SENT.TOP 2P.SG go
 'If I can't go, then (please) go.'
- b. འགྲོ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་ནེ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་། ལམ་བུ་ལྷོ་གཏོང་།
 nop **ap ddi ddix** mop mgep **go li**, nga la ap- qi.
 2P.SG if hold meeting SENT.TOP 1P.SG come NEG- want
 'If you hold a meeting, I don't want to come.'

B. Immovable conjunctions

Immovable forward-linking conjunctions can be used only after the topic in the first clause. They require the presence of a backward-linking conjunction in the second clause.

Table 13.1: Immovable forward-linking conjunctions

Forward-linking conjunction	Required Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
cyx pa jop ‘on the one hand’	a zzyx pa jop ‘on the other hand’	
miep pa jop ‘firstly’	wa pa jop ‘secondly’	
nyi ‘both...and’	nyi ‘both...and’	section 9.1.3.B

The first two forward-linking conjunctions occur before the direct object. The conjunction *nyi...nyi...* is inserted between the direct object and verb in both clauses.

(11) a. ✕ 𑌗𑌘𑌙𑌚𑌛𑌜𑌝, 𑌞𑌟𑌠𑌡𑌢𑌣𑌤。

cy **cyp pa jop** rre mop shep, **a zzyx pa jop** bbur ma sso.
3P.SG on one side money earn on one side course study
‘They both work for a living and attend lessons.’

b. 𑌥𑌦𑌧𑌨𑌩𑌪𑌫𑌬𑌭𑌮𑌯, 𑌰𑌱𑌲𑌳。

lu ti cyp nyip zzix ap zzi yiet hxop **nyi** yiet, tep yy **nyi** bbur.
male name every day song also sing book also write
‘Luti is singing and writing letters every day.’

C. Clause-final conjunctions

Most forward-linking conjunctions are found at the end of the first clause. A list of these conjunctions is presented in Table 13.2. With two exceptions, conjunctions do not require a conjunction in the second clause. Furthermore, two of these conjunctions can be used as adverbs in simple sentences (section 9.1.2.B).

Table 13.2: Clause-final forward-linking conjunctions

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

The conjunction *yix ne* ‘provided that’ presents the first clause as background information. It is compatible with conditional, causal and temporal interpretations.

- (12) ɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉ
 ne hxip da **yix ne,** nga hxip ddie-ap-ddur ox.
 2P.SG say put provided that 1P.SG say need<NEG> DP
 ‘Given the fact that you made the point, I need not add anything.’

With the adverb *ax di* ‘only’, *yix ne* frames the VP of the first clause as an event excluded from a set of background events. The combined conjunction expresses the meaning *except that*.

- (13) ʉɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉ
 cy **ax di** ke she zze **yix ne,** ngop wox nge get vot she zze ox.
 3P.SG only dog meat eat given that 1P.PL all pig meat eat DP
 ‘We were all eating pig meat except that he was eating dog meat.’

If the verb phrase in *ax di...yix ne* is empty, the conjunction changes into a postposition with the sense *except for*.

- (14) ɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉ
 ke she **ax di yix ne,** ax pa cy xix she nyi zze.
 dog meat except other 3P.SG INT.what meat also eat
 ‘Except for dog meat, he eats everything else.’

There are four concessive conjunctions in Nuosu: the conjunctions *yix nyi* ‘even if’, *yix go* ‘although’, *dda mo* ‘no matter what’ and *ax di...ap nge mu* ‘not only...but also...’.

- (15) a. ʉɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉ
 cy ndit **yix nyi,** ne xip mu cyp jox zyt tat-ap-xi.
 3P.SG bear even if 2P.SG DEM.DD 3P.SG.POSS to scold should<NEG>
 ‘Even if he bears the responsibility, you should not scold him.’
- b. ɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉ
 mu gox ax yi zha nge **yip go,** syp ddu ax nyi mu jjo.
 male name child CL COP although knowledge much ADVL have
 ‘Although Mugo is a child, he has a lot of knowledge and skills.’
- c. ɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉɣɛp̚ʉʉʉ
 ne ax pa syt xix jjo **dda mo,** ca pot nyip
 2P.SG other affair INT.what have no matter what day after tomorrow
 la go shex.
 come HAB
 ‘No matter what other things you have on, you must come the day after tomorrow.’

- d. ᠮᠤᠭᠣᠰ ᠶᠢᠨᠢ ᠶᠢᠨᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠ ᠰᠤ ᠠᠮᠨᠭᠡᠮᠤ, ᠳᠳᠢᠠᠫᠤ ᠪᠪᠣᠠᠫᠤ ᠮᠣᠫᠤ ᠶᠢᠨᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠᠰᠤ
mu gox **ax di** la su **ap nge mu**, ddx ap bbo ap mop ax yi
male name only come NOM not only but also mother child
jy gex la sat.
together come EXH
‘Mugo came not alone but together with his wife and children.’

The remaining conjunctions in this group convey temporal meanings. The most common is the consecutive linker *lox* ‘and then’ which juxtaposes two events in the temporal order in which they occur.

- (16) ᠠᠰᠣᠬᠤ ᠰᠡ ᠭᠭᠡᠬᠤ ᠰᠤ ᠰᠣ ᠰᠠᠲᠤ ᠬᠣᠰ, ᠵᠵᠢ ᠭᠡᠬᠤ ᠶᠢᠨᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠᠰᠤ
ssox sse ggex su sso sat **lox**, jyy gex ix go bbo ox.
students ART study EXH and then together home go DP
‘The students finished the lesson and (then) went home together.’

The conjunction *hnox* ‘until’ in the first clause must be co-associated with the expression *te go xi* ‘up to when’ in the second clause.

- (17) a. ᠴᠢ ᠨᠢᠷᠠᠫᠤ ᠠᠨᠳᠣ ᠮᠤ ᠬᠠᠨᠣᠬᠤ, ᠶᠢᠨᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠᠰᠤ ᠶᠢᠨᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠᠰᠤ
cy nry ap- ndo mu **hnox**, ax yi max su yurx te go xi.
3P.SG wine NEG- drink ADVL EXT.until child ART bear when arrive
‘She did not drink wine until the birth of her child.’
- b. ᠮᠤ ᠨᠢᠶᠣᠬᠤ ᠲᠡᠫᠤ ᠶᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠᠰᠤ, ᠨᠢᠶᠢᠵᠢ ᠬᠤᠲᠤ ᠲᠡ ᠭᠠ ᠶᠢᠨᠠᠳᠢᠯᠠᠰᠤ
mu nyox tep yy sso **hnox**, nyip zzi kut te go xi.
male name book study EXT.until NUM.20 year when arrive
‘Munyo attended school until the age of twenty.’

The conjunction *yix nip* ‘only then’ encodes temporal succession and logical implication. It also functions as adverb in simple clauses posed after the topic noun phrase (section 9.1.2.B).

- (18) a. ᠨᠠ ᠬᠠᠰᠢᠫᠤ ᠴᠢᠬᠡ ᠭᠡ ᠶᠢᠬᠢᠨᠢᠫᠤ, ᠴᠢ ᠰᠬᠤ ᠯᠠ
nga hxip cyx ge **yix nip**, cy shut la.
1P.SG say 3P.SG tell only then 3P.SG remember come
‘He did not remember until I told him.’

The remaining conjunctions of this group emphasize different temporal relations such as immediate succession, simultaneity and precedence.

- (19) a. 𑄣𑄧𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿, 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿。
 ax da ix go xi la **ddix sy ne**, syt cy jjit cy hxip ngop ge.
 father home arrive come as soon as event DEM CL 3P.SG say 1P.PL tell
 ‘As soon as Daddy came home, he told us what had happened.’
- b. 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿, 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿。
 ap bbo gox jjo **sy zzy mu**, sse max su nzy ke ssi ap- dop.
 father LOC have as long as son ART power use NEG- can
 ‘As long as a father is alive, the son is not able to exert power.’
- c. 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿, 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿。
 ax yi it nyi-ap-gu sy **gex nep**, zza ddie cyx zha.
 child sleep<NEG> still at the origin of food COV 3P.SG feed
 ‘Before the child is sleeping, let him eat.’

The linkers *te go* ‘when’ and *ggup jjux ne* ‘after’ are standard temporal conjunctions. The linker *te go* is composed of the truncated noun *te kop* ‘time’ and the locative marker *go*.

- (20) a. 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿, 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿。
 mu ga nyop bbop **te go**, dde dde mu yiet hxop yiet.
 name work when often song sing
 ‘When Muga is working, he often sings songs.’
- b. 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿, 𑄰𑄱𑄲𑄳𑄴𑄵𑄶𑄷𑄸𑄹𑄺𑄻𑄼𑄽𑄾𑄿。
 cop wox ba njiet six op rro it **ggup jjux ne**, cy lat ti yur.
 3P.PL move DIR Xichang live after 3P.SG male name bear
 ‘After they moved to Xichang, she bore Lati.’

13.1.3 Backward-linking conjunctions

Four types of backward-linking conjunctions can be distinguished in Nuosu based on their syntactic slot: clause-initial conjunctions (section 13.1.3.A), movable conjunctions (section 13.1.3.B), clause-second conjunctions (section 13.1.3.C) and clause-final conjunctions (section 13.1.3.D).

A. Clause-initial conjunctions

There are two backward-linking conjunctions that are placed in initial position of the second clause (and cannot occur after the subject noun phrase). They do not require the co-occurrence of forward-linking conjunctions in the first clause.

Table 13.3: Clause-initial backward-linking conjunctions

Compatible Forward-linking conjunction	Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
	tit ‘however, but’	
	ap nge ox go ‘either...or...’	

The first conjunction, *tit* ‘but’, is derived from the demonstrative *tit* ‘here’ (section 5.4.3.D). It indicates a shifting topic in the same way the demonstrative adverb *now* in *Now that wasn’t a bad idea* marks a discourse shift in English.

- (21) $\text{nga ggap mop go da cop wox ke hxox ji la hxex,}$
 1P.SG road LOC COV 3P.PL long period wait
tit cop wox go ap- la.
 however 3P.PL LOC NEG- come
 ‘I was waiting on the road for a long time, but they did not come.’

The disjunctive conjunction *ap nge ox go* is composed of the negated copular verb *nge*, the perfect particle *ox* and the complementizer *go*. The whole complex literally means ‘(if) it is not the case that’.

- (22) $\text{ne rre hxep bbo, ap nge ox go cop qo mu zyt bbo.}$
 2P.SG pasture livestock go or 3P.PL follow soil dig go
 ‘You pasture the livestock or you go with them to dig the soil.’

B. Movable conjunctions

Several backward-linking conjunctions occur in initial and non-initial position of the second clause. They are movable and are presented in Table 13.4.

Table 13.4: Movable backward-linking conjunctions

Compatible Forward-linking conjunction	Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
	xip hnex ‘therefore’	
	jjip hnex ‘therefore’	
	ddix ap bbo ‘moreover, actually’	
	cyp ggup jjux ‘afterwards’	

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

- (23) 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙, 𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢.
 ap ndi hxix ma hxa jjip, **xip hnex** ngop wox nyop bbop ap- bbo.
 yesterday rain get therefore 1P.PL work NEG- go
 ‘Yesterday it was raining, therefore we did not go to work.’

The conjunction *ddix ap bbo* ‘moreover’ literally means ‘needless to say’ but has the current menaing of ‘actually’. It details information provided by the first clause.

- (24) a. 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟, 𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩.
 cy ap ddi hxix op rro la ox, **ddix ap bbo** ngap nyit gex
 3P.SG yesterday Xichang come DP actually 1P.DL both
 jjyx- mo ox.
 RECL- see DP
 ‘He came to Xichang yesterday, so we actually saw each other.’
- b. 𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦, 𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯.
 ngop wox cyp jox ba ox, ngap nyit **ddix ap bbo** cyp
 1P.PL 3P.SG toward notify DP 1P.DL actually 3P.SG.POSS
 ix go li ox.
 home go DP
 ‘We briefed him. Two of us actually went to his home.’

The conjunction *cyp ggup jjux* ‘afterwards’ is formed of the proximal demonstrative *cyp* and the postposition *ggup jjux* ‘after’.

- (25) 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙, 𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡.
 ne hxip nga nyip vit ge, nga **cyp ggup jjux** syp ox.
 2P.SG say 1P.SG NUM.2 time tell 1P.SG afterwards know DP
 ‘You told me twice and I was aware of it afterwards.’

C. Clause-second conjunctions

There are three backward-linking conjunctions that must occur after the first noun phrase of the second clause: *tat lyp* ‘but’, *gga gga lox* ‘moreover’ and *bur six* ‘to the contrary’. All three conjunctions are immovable.

Table 13.5: Clause-second backward-linking conjunctions

Compatible Forward-linking conjunction	Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
yip go ‘although’ yix nyi ‘even if’ (ax di ap nge mu ‘not only...’)	tat lyp ‘but’ gga gga lox ‘furthermore’ bur six ‘to the contrary’	section 9.1.2.B

The conjunction *tat lyp* ‘but’ marks overt contradiction with the previous clause that is either uttered by the same speaker or by someone else. If the previous clause is not uttered by the same speaker, *tat lyp* assumes the function of immovable adverb (see section 9.1.2.B).

- (26) $\text{su} \text{yy} \text{ma} \text{nge} \text{yip} \text{go}, \text{tat} \text{lyp} \text{cop} \text{mgex} \text{da} \text{mu}.$
 2P.SG leader CL COP although but 3P.PL mix STP do
 ‘Although you are a leader, you nevertheless socialize with them.’

The conjunction *gga gga lox* ‘furthermore’ presents the second clause as a piece of information unrelated to the information in the first clause.

- (27) $\text{ggap} \text{mop} \text{mga-ap-sa} \text{su} \text{ax} \text{di} \text{ap-nge} \text{mu},$
 road easy to pass<NEG> NOM only NEG- COP ADVL
 $\text{cop} \text{wox} \text{gga} \text{gga} \text{lox} \text{la} \text{ma} \text{hxa} \text{jjip} \text{xip} \text{luo} \text{zo}.$
 3P.PL furthermore come rain become DEM.INDEF time meet
 ‘The road is not only hard to travel, furthermore it began to rain.’

The conjunction *bur six* ‘to the contrary’ marks irreconcilable contrast and conveys a stronger value than *tat lyp* ‘but’ (above) or *tit* ‘however’ (section 13.1.3.A).

- (28) $\text{mu} \text{jie} \text{hxip} \text{go} \text{“ne} \text{jy-tat-jie”} \text{ddix}, \text{cy}$
 male name say SENT.TOP 2P.SG fear<NEG.IMP> QUOT 3P.SG
bur six $\text{mu} \text{jie} \text{yyx}.$
 to the contrary male name laugh
 ‘Mujie said (to him) “Don’t worry”, but he laughed at Mujie.’

D. Clause-final conjunctions

There are two backward-linking conjunctions that occur at the end of the second clause. They are immovable.

Table 13.6: Clause-final backward-linking conjunctions

Compatible Forward-linking conjunction	Backward-linking conjunction	Adverb
(su)	yy ddi ‘because’	–
(go)	ssi ap dda ‘so perhaps’	–

They do not require a linker in the first clause, but the first clause provides background information and is optionally marked by *su* (section 5.2.4.C) or *go* (section 5.4.1.G). The marker *yy di* ‘because’ is the standard causal conjunction and typically co-occurs with the sentence topic particle *su*.

- (29) རྒྱུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བྱེད་པའི་མཉམ་པོ་ལྷོ་བྱེད་པའོ།
 ax yi a zzyx ma yi ngox su li
 child DEM.DIST CL cry SENT.TOP TOP
 cyp ax mo cyp jox zyt **yy ddi.**
 3P.SG.POSS mother 3P.SG toward scold because
 ‘The child is crying because his mother scolded him.’

The conjunction *ssi ap dda* ‘so perhaps’ evaluates the likelihood of a situation based on information provided in the first clause.

- (30) མི་ལྷོ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་ལྷོ་བྱེད་པའོ།
 ip nyip ma hxa jjip go mu jy ix go jjo **ssi ap dda.**
 today rain become SENT.TOP male name home have so perhaps
 ‘Today it is raining, so perhaps Mudje is at home.’

13.2 Subordinating constructions

Subordinate constructions consist of two clauses in which one clause, the *embedded clause*, is the syntactic argument of the predicate of the second clause. The superordinate predicate is called the *matrix predicate*. In section 8.2.1.A, we compare matrix verbs and modal auxiliary verbs. Matrix verbs can occur as sole predicates of the clause, can take NP-complements as well as clause-complements (though generally not VP-complements), and require one of three complementizers (*go*, *su*, *ddix*) with a few exceptions.

We investigate matrix predicates without complementizers in section 13.2.1, with complementizer *go* in section 13.2.2, *su* in section 13.2.3 and *ddix* in section 13.2.4. Semantically, matrix predicates designate mental activities or states and also speech events. The complementizer *go* tend to subcategorize mental activities, *su* mental products and *ddix* speech events, although there are exceptions.

13.2.1 Zero marking

In Mandarin Chinese, matrix predicates do not mark the embedded clause with a complementizer. Subordinate constructions are therefore serial verb constructions (Li & Thompson 1981: 598–606).

In Nuosu only few matrix predicates do not mark the embedded clause. There are several intransitive matrix predicates which do not take any NP or VP but only the embedded clause as argument: *bur zzur* ‘seem’, *jox jjip* ‘possible’ and *jiox bbu* ‘probable’. These intransitive matrix predicates subcategorize clause-complements and not of VP-complements.

(31) a. *H×¹𐄂𐄃.

*mu ga **bur zzur**.

name seem

Intended meaning: ‘Muga appears.’

b. *×¹𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓.

*cy ngop wox yy go hxit da hxe nyiet **bur zzur**.

3P.SG 1P.PL river LOC stand STP fish catch seem

Intended meaning: ‘For him we seem to stand at the river fishing.’

c. 𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓.

ne nga ap- syp **bur zzur**.

2P.SG 1P.SG NEG- know seem

‘It seems that you do not know me.’

d. ×¹𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓.

cy nra hxex su nrax ddur **bur-ap-zzur**.

3P.SG examination measure-exit seem<NEG>

‘It does not seem that he was successful at the exam.’

(32) a. *𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕.

*syt cy jjit **jox jjip**.

event DEM.PROX CL possible

Intended meaning: ‘This event is possible.’

b. 𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟.

ip mi ma hxa jjip la **jox jjip** ox.

this evening rain become come possible DP

‘It is perhaps raining this evening.’

c. 𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡.

ip nyip jie shat go zziet ma pu jjo **jox-ap-jjip**.

today street LOC pepper price have possible<NEG>

‘It is impossible that pepper is expensive in the street market today.’

(33) a. *𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙.

*syt suo jjit **jjox bbu**.

event NUM.3 CL probable

Intended meaning: ‘Three events are probable.’

- b. ㄨㄚ ㄓㄜ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄑㄩㄞ ㄒㄩㄝ。
 cy bbo ox **jjox bbu** ox.
 3P.SG go DP probable DP
 ‘It is probable that he is going.’

Two verbs of thinking, *yip mgu* and *mgu mu ngop*, do not mark the embedded clause with a complementizer. Both ascribe a belief to a subject and embed the belief as a clause.

- (34) a. ㄨㄚ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ。
 cy nga ip nyip la ap- dox **yip mgu**.
 3P.SG 1P.SG today come NEG- can consider
 ‘He considered that I could not come today.’
- b. ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ ㄒㄩㄝ。
 ngax li mu gox jjix do **mgu mu ngop**.
 1P.SG TOP male name tired think
 ‘I think that Mugo became tired.’

13.2.2 With complementizers *su* and *go*

The complementizers *su* and *go* assume other functions analyzed in different parts of this grammar. For overviews of their meanings, see section 5.2.4.C (*su*) and section 5.4.1.G (*go*). Most matrix verbs can co-occur with both complementizers with a difference in meaning. The complementizer *su* marks the embedded clause as a proposition, while *go* imports the meaning of abstract locative (‘in the event of’). The following table lists matrix verbs compatible with both *su* and *go*.

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

lie ba ‘dangerous’	hxi zy ‘trust’	nuo chex ‘spy on’
ggap jiyx ‘easy’	bbup ‘admire’	hxip ryt ‘confess’
nbop ‘good’	ddie mga ‘please’	durx xie ‘oppose, block’
zhet ‘fine’	ke bbo ‘promise, allow’	nge hna ‘agree, allow’
hxie kat ‘glad’	hxie ca ‘eager’	jjur hla ‘fear’
gat qip ‘delay’	nrax xie ‘measure’	

To start with a controversial predicate, the adjective *vu jji* ‘true’ sub-categorizes noun phrases not clauses. *Vu jji* is not a matrix predicate although its English equivalent *true* is. *Vu jji* cannot take clause arguments, as shown in (35c), but can take headless relative clauses, as in (35d).

- (35) a. ㄆㄣˊㄛ ㄇㄛˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄅㄅㄨˊ ㄨㄩˊ ㄆㄩˊ ㄐㄟㄣˊ。
 rre mop cy bbut vu-ap-jji.
 money 3P.SG CL true<NEG>
 ‘This bill is fake.’
- b. ㄉㄉㄛˊ ㄇㄚˊ ㄨㄩˊ ㄐㄟㄣˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄍㄛ。
 ddop ma vu jji cyx go.
 word true DEM.PROX CL
 ‘one true word’
- c. *ㄘㄩˊ ㄋㄍㄚˊ ㄐㄛˊ ㄋㄨㄛ ㄙㄨ ㄏㄨㄛㄆ ㄏㄨㄟㄆ { ***su** } ㄨㄩˊ ㄐㄟㄣˊ。
 *cy ngat jox nuo su hxop hxip { ***su** } vu jji.
 3P.SG 1P.SG toward Nuosu language speak COMP true
 Intended meaning: ‘It is true that he talks to me in Nuosu.’
- d. ㄘㄩˊ ㄏㄨㄟㄆ { **su** } ㄨㄩˊ ㄐㄟㄣˊ ㄉㄉㄛˊ ㄨㄩˊ ㄐㄟㄣˊ。
 cy hxip { **su** } vu jji -jy- vu jji.
 3P.SG say COMP true very true
 ‘What he says is very true.’

The following matrix adjectives are intransitive and take noun phrases and clauses as arguments.

- (36) a. ㄋㄛˊ ㄌㄧㄝ ㄅㄚˊ ㄛˊ。
 nop lie ba ox.
 2P.PL dangerous DP
 ‘You are in danger.’
- b. ㄘㄛˊ ㄨㄛˊ ㄎㄜˊ ㄇㄛˊ ㄍㄍㄚˊ ㄕㄨˊ { **su** } ㄌㄧㄝ ㄅㄚˊ。
 cop wox ket mop ggax shu { **su** } lie ba.
 3P.PL evening walk COMP dangerous
 ‘It is dangerous that they walk in the evening.’
- (37) a. ㄨˊ ㄩˊ ㄘㄩˊ ㄉㄛˊ ㄍㄍㄆ ㄐㄟㄣˊ ㄇㄩˊ ㄍㄍㄆ ㄐㄟㄣˊ。
 syt jjit su a hnata mu ggap jyx.
 issue ART very easy
 ‘The issue is very easy (to solve).’

- b. 𐌜𐌿𐌸𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌻𐌾𐌿 { 𐌸𐌾 } 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿。
 cop wox uop lur ndit { **su** } nga ddie-ap-mga.
 3P.PL hat wear COMP 1P.SG please<NEG>
 ‘I did not like that they wear a hat.’

- (45) a. 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿。
 cy rre mop nge hxa vat ke bbo.
 3P.SG money NUM.500 RMB promise
 ‘He promised 500 RMB.’

- b. 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿 { 𐌸𐌾 } 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿。
 nga op rro bbo { **su** } cy ke bbo ox.
 1P.SG Xichang go COMP 3P.SG promise DP
 ‘He promised that I would go to Xichang.’

There are several control predicates such as *hxie ca* ‘eager’ which can take noun phrases and verb phrases but not clausal arguments.

- (46) a. 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿。
 bbox zze cyx ma **hxie ca** ndit.
 man DEM.PROX CL get nervous PER
 ‘This man gets nervous sometimes.’
- b. 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿 { 𐌸𐌾 } 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿。
 ax mo cyx ma ax yi zzyx { **su** } hxie ca.
 mother DEM.PROX CL child pick up COMP eager
 ‘The mother is eager to pick up her child.’

The following matrix predicates subcategorizes noun phrases and clauses but not verb phrases.

- (47) a. 𐌸𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿𐌸𐌾𐌿。
 cy mux dde suo juo nrax xie ox.
 3P.SG land NUM.3 CL measure DP
 ‘He measured three pieces of land.’

b. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌 { 𐄍 } 𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑。

hmat mop ssox sse xix ngop {su} nrax xie njuo.

teacher student INT.what think COMP measure PROG
‘The teacher is finding out what the students think.’

(48) a. 𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗。

cy bbu jji nuo chex.

3P.SG enemy spy on

‘He spied on his enemies.’

b. 𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟 { 𐄠 } 𐄡𐄢𐄣。

bbox zze max su cop wox syt mu {su} nuo chex njuo.

man ART 3P.PL thing do COMP spy on PROG
‘The man is spying on how they are working.’

(49) a. 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬。

cy yot vi nge ji hxip ryt ox.

3P.SG crime, sin NUM.5 CL admit DP

‘He admitted five crimes.’

b. 𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲 { 𐄳 } 𐄴𐄵𐄶。

cy cop wox rre mop ku {su} hxip ryt ox.

3P.SG 3P.PL money steal COMP admit DP

‘He admitted that they stole money.’

(50) a. 𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽。

cy ngop nge yuo durx xie.

3P.SG 1P.PL NUM.5 CL oppose

‘He opposes us five people.’

b. 𐄿𐄾𐄿𐄾𐄿𐄾𐄿𐄾 { 𐄿𐄾 } 𐄿𐄾𐄿𐄾。

ax mo ax da yo vup {su} durx xie.

mother father lamb sell COMP oppose

‘My mother opposed my father selling the sheep.’

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

- (51) a. \times $\text{cy} \text{ ssox dde bbo} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nge hna.}$
 3P.SG school go COMP willing
 ‘He is willing to attend school.’
- b. $\text{mu gox ax di bbo} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nga nge hna.}$
 name only go COMP 1P.SG agree
 ‘I agreed that Mugo would go on his own.’

The matrix verb *jjur hla* ‘fear’ in (52) only takes clauses as arguments not noun phrases or verb phrases.

- (52) $\text{ma hxa a hnat mu jjip} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ nga jjur hla ox.}$
 rain especially become COMP 1P.SG fear DP
 ‘I was afraid of the strong rain.’

13.2.3 With complementizer *su* alone

The use of *go* is more restricted than that of *su*. The verbs in Table 13.8 require *su* but reject *go*. They are incompatible with the idea of locative expressed by *go*.

Table 13.8: Matrix predicates using *su* but rejecting *go*

hxo lo ‘depend’	shy gox ‘deceive, conceive’	hxip pie ‘attest’
ngop jix ‘consider’	njyp ‘believe’	po shy ‘deceive’
ngop bur jix bur ‘reconsider’	ngop die ‘doubt’	mox po ‘evade, avoid’
turx jo ‘defend, prevent’	nra hox ‘train, measure’	xi mgu ‘hope’
sso ‘learn, imitate’	shut die ‘remember’	jie ‘afraid’

Several matrix predicates subcategorize, noun phrases, verb phrases and clauses, as the verbs in (53)–(55).

- (53) a. $\text{nga ax mo ax da hxo lo.}$
 1P.SG parents depend
 ‘I depend on my parents (for a living).’
- b. $\text{nga ax mo sse ddi hxo } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ hxo lo.}$
 parents only son capable COMP hope
 ‘Mom hopes in her only son’s strength.’
- (54) $\text{nga mop su te go kat it } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ngop jix ox.}$
 1P.SG old NOM time where live COMP think about DP
 ‘I am thinking about where I will live when I am old.’
- (55) a. $\text{gup na bba na turx jo.}$
 plague prevent
 ‘prevent a pandemic’
- b. $\text{ngop wox ke cyx ma co xit } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ turx jo.}$
 1P.PL dog DEM.PROX CL person bite COMP prevent
 ‘We prevent this dog from biting other people.’

Others co-occur only with noun phrases and verb phrases not with whole clauses in which the subject is different from the subject of the matrix predicate.

- (56) $\text{nga bbur ma bbur } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{su} \\ \text{*go} \end{array} \right\} \text{ sso njuo.}$
 1P.SG written language write COMP study PROG
 ‘I am learning how to write.’

Still others select noun phrases and clauses as arguments but reject verb phrases for which the subject is the same as the matrix subject.

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

- b. 噶唎H倮丕H倮倮 { $\begin{matrix} \text{H} \\ * \text{倮} \end{matrix}$ } 倮丕。
- lu ti mu jie hnap chot ndup $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{su} \\ * \text{go} \end{matrix} \right\}$ mox po.
 male name male name gun beat COMP escape
 ‘Luti escapes Mujie’s gun shooting.’

Finally, the following two matrix predicates only subcategorize clauses but cannot take noun phrase and verb phrase arguments.

- (64) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄 { $\begin{matrix} \text{H} \\ * \text{倮} \end{matrix}$ } 𐄅𐄆。
- nga co ip ko pop $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{su} \\ * \text{go} \end{matrix} \right\}$ xi mgu.
 1P.SG person door open COMP hope
 ‘I hope that someone opens the door.’

- (65) 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈 { $\begin{matrix} \text{H} \\ * \text{倮} \end{matrix}$ } 𐄉。
- nga zzyt mu cyx ma ssut lup ba la $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{su} \\ * \text{go} \end{matrix} \right\}$ jie.
 1P.SG world DEM.PROX CL throw into disorder COMP
 ‘I fear that the world is in turmoil.’

13.2.4 With complementizer *ddix*

The morpheme *ddix* functions as quotative marker (section 8.3.1) and as complementizer. As quotative marker, *ddix* occurs at the end of the clause. As complementizer, it is placed before the matrix predicate.

- (66) a. N+V_{SPEECH}+go+[reported speech clause]+*ddix*. | quotative *ddix*
 b. N+[embedded clause]+*ddix*+V_{SPEECH}. | complementizer *ddix*

The matrix predicates that co-occur with the complementizer *ddix* are speech act verbs. The embedded clause is conceptualized as speech product.

Table 13.9: Matrix predicates using the complementizer *ddix*

gox xie ‘exhort, urge’	hxip ‘say’	ddop bur ‘reply’
ddop zy ssi ‘witness’	hna ‘ask’	

Chapter 14

Topic and focus

Topic and focus are information units the speaker uses to stratify the discourse. We analyze Nuosu topic constructions in section 14.1 and focus constructions in section 14.2.

14.1 Topic

Topic is an important concept in Nuosu. The topic is the discourse portion *about which* the predication is made (Dik 1997: 312–314, Lambrecht 1994: 118, Reinhart 1982: 58–59) or which *sets a framework* within which the predication holds (Chafe 1976: 50, Li & Thompson 1981).

Topics in Nuosu occupy an extra-clausal position (“specifier of CP”). A topic consists of a noun phrase, time adverbial or whole sentence. Topics can be morphologically marked. Nuosu employs the following topic particles.

Table 14.1: Topic particles

Syntactic unit	Topic particle	Function	Section
NP, time adverbial	ne	Maintaining topic	section 14.1.1
NP, time adverbial	li	Contrasting topic	section 14.1.1
Clause	su	Sentence topic	section 14.1.2
Clause	su ne	Maintaining sentence topic	section 14.1.2
Clause	su li	Contrasting sentence topic	section 14.1.2
Clause	go	Sentence topic	section 14.1.3
Clause	go ne	Maintaining sentence topic	section 14.1.3
Clause	go li	Contrasting sentence topic	section 14.1.3

The sentence topic particles *su* and *go* also function as complementizer (section 13.2.2 and section 13.2.3). Both functions target clausal constituents.

14.1.1 The topic particles *ne* and *li*

The morpheme *ne* marks *maintaining topic* (Dik 1997: 315–316), the sense that a piece of information fits under the ongoing discourse topic. *Li* encodes *contrasting topic*, the idea of a change in the discourse topic or of unexpected information about the current discourse topic.

Both topic particles are appended to common nouns, proper nouns, locative expressions and time adverbials.

In (6b), the topic moves from the story’s protagonist to his wife and then to a particular day in their life. The noun phrases are marked by the maintaining topic particle *ne*.²

- b. 他面带愁容, 手不释卷地在书桌上写字。一天, 他的妻子很能干, ...
 ro ndit xip ma, tit cyp
 earnest face put on DEM.INDEF CL however 3P.SG.POSS
 xyp mop max su **ne** ssa hxuo ggup jjux ddop hxip get
 wife ART TOP capable further word say can
 xip ma cyp nyip **ne**, cyp jiet ddu ddiip vip
 DEM.INDEF CL NUM.1 day TOP 3P.SG.POSS home guest
 cur gox xi la,...
 CL LOC arrive come
 ‘..., but was also putting on an earnest face. His wife, however, was skillful and capable in speech. On one day, there were guests who came to their home.’

The topic marker *li* is used in the middle of a folk story to shift attention to a discourse referent different from the one mentioned before.³

- (7) “去家里和父母住, 尽量多挖南瓜”
 “ne nit ax mo ax da ddu bbo, ngax **li** ndu
 2P.SG 2P.SG.POSS parents home go 1P.SG TOP crawl
 niep ga kux lur jox it bbo mo” ddix.
 pumpkin inside to live go intend QUOT
 ‘Go back to your parents. As far as I am concerned I plan to dig into a pumkin and live in it.’
- (8) 他虽然害羞, 但很聪明。他怕老婆, 怕老婆怕老婆怕老婆怕老婆怕老婆。
 tit da cyx suo yuo nyiet jie da
 however STP DEM.PROX NUM.3 CL embarrassed STP
 iex ssa iex ssa mu nuo six go hxex la go ne,
 slow slow ADVL covert RES LOC see come SENT.TOP TOP
 cyx **li** xyp mop ggex su gep gur bbur jyt ap- get.
 3P.SG TOP wife ART COV frighten answer NEG- can
 ‘However, the three were embarrassed and slowly withdrew;
 he (mentioned before) was frightened by the wives being left speechless.’

² Quoted from the folk story “The earnest man” (Chén & Wū 1998: 221–222).

³ (7) is quoted from the folk story “The elder and younger brother” (Chén & Wū 1998: 219) and (8) from the story “Fearing the wives” (Chén & Wū 1998: 226–227).

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

- (9) a. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅, 𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉。
 nga **li** nuo su, cyx **li** hxie mgat.
 1P.SG TOP Nuosu 3P.SG TOP Han
 ‘I am Nuosu, he is Han.’
- b. 𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎, 𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕。
 mu jy yur nyip **li** ip nyip, mu gox yur nyip **li** mup shy dex.
 name birthday TOP today name birthday TOP tomorrow
 ‘Mudje’s birthday is today, Mugo’s birthday is tomorrow.’

The topic marker *ne* is a lexicalized part of several conjunctions (section 13.1.2.C). The conjunction *ddix sy ne* ‘as soon as’ literally means *while still speaking*. The conjunction *xix mu ne* ‘it is because’ is composed of *xix mu* ‘why’ and *ne*. The conjunction *yix ne* ‘provided that’ merged the exclamation particle *yip* and *ne*.

- (10) a. 𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛, 𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟。
 cy zzax zze sat **ddix sy ne**, cy jjie bbo ox.
 3P.SG meal eat EXH as soon as 3P.SG leave go DP
 ‘As soon as he finished his meal, he left.’
- b. 𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣 (𐄤) 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫。
xix mu ne cy (li) ap ndi hxix la su nge.
 it is because 3P.SG TOP yesterday come NOM COP
 ‘It is because he came yesterday.’
- c. 𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰, 𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵!
 cy zyt qi **yix ne**, ga go bbyx zyt shux!
 3P.SG bluster want provided that COV 3P.SG COV bluster CAUS
 ‘If he wants to bluster, let him do so!’

14.1.2 The sentence topic particle *su*

The topic particle *su* marks a clause for being an extra-clausal constituent. Sentence topics marked by *su* can be often glossed by *because*. The sequence *su ne* in (11) has the maintaining topic marker *ne* as optional component.

- (11) 𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅。
 syt cy jjit go ddur **su** **ne** ngop wox
 event DEM.PROX CL happen SENT.TOP TOP 1P.PL
 hxiet kat -jyy- hxie kat tat xi.
 happy very happy should
 ‘Because it happened we should be happy.’

In (12), the accident of Jimu Vuho's finger cut off is described in the preceding discourse and is thus familiar. It is marked by *li* as it introduces unexpected information.⁴

(12) 𑊐𑊓𑊘𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿

bbap ga co ggex su xip mu hxip: “jjix mu vyt hop lot jy jjuo
village people ART DEM.DD say name finger fell

su li nry yit yy ddi su...”

SENT.TOP TOP drunk reason NOM

‘The village people said the following: “Jimu Vuho cut off his finger, because he was drunk”.’

14.1.3 The sentence topic particle *go*

The sentence topic particle *go* marks a clause as condition for the main clause. This interpretation of topics was first proposed by Haiman (1978). The topic marker *go* is compatible with both *ne* and *li*.⁵

(13) “𑊐𑊓𑊘𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿” 𑊿𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿”

“jy yip, cyx **ne** le xip ji ap- jjo **go ne**
very-EXCL DEM.PROX TOP ox DEM.INDEF CL NEG- have SENT.TOP TOP
kep mu da nit go zzi xip zyt dop hxax” ddix.

INT.how STP 2P.SG.POSS drum DEM.INDEF sew can IMP QUOT

‘O yes, given this (situation), if there is no such an ox, how can you sew such a drum?’

In (14), the sentence topic marker *go ne* marks a direct speech clause as background information.⁶

(14) a. “𑊐𑊓𑊘𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿” 𑊿𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿” 𑊿𑊚𑊛𑊜𑊞𑊟𑊠𑊡𑊣𑊤𑊥𑊦𑊧𑊨𑊩𑊪𑊫𑊬𑊭𑊮𑊯𑊰𑊱𑊲𑊳𑊴𑊵𑊶𑊷𑊸𑊹𑊺𑊻𑊼𑊽𑊾𑊿”

“ne xix sip mu zyt zze ddix” **go ne**,
2P.SG what, why COV ground dig eat QUOT SENT.TOP TOP

“it ke zyp dde go bba ma ji i zzit
LOG.SG.POSS dog bury NOM LOC bamboo CL LOG.SG fell

sip la lox, cyx ji sip mu zyt zze” ddix.

take come and DEM CL take earth dig eat QUOT

‘When (the elder brother asked) how he would plough the ground, (his brother replied that) he felled the bamboo tree that grew out of the place where his dog was buried and ploughed the ground with it’.

4 Quoted from the story “The drunk man” (Chén & Wü 1998: 230).

5 Quoted from the folk story “The drum and the ox” (Chén & Wü 1998: 225).

6 Quoted from the folk story “The elder and younger brother” (Chén & Wü 1998: 218).

Example (15), taken from spoken discourse, also exhibits the semantics of conditional clauses.

- (15) ㄱㄹ ㄴㅇ ㅅㅈ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㄱㄹ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ.
 ne sut co lot-ap-bop **go** **li** sut co nyi nex
 2P.SG other people help<NEG> SENT.TOP TOP other person also 2P.SG
 lot-ap-bop.
 help<NEG>
 ‘If you don’t help others, others won’t help you.’

14.2 Focus

14.2.1 The focus particle *li*

When the morpheme *li* is postposed after the first constituent, it encodes the constituent as contrastive topic. After the second constituent, it marks it as the contrastive focus and must be followed by a second contrastive sentence.

- (16) *ㄷㄹ ㄴㅇ ㅈㅅ, ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ.
 cy rre mop **li** ap- jjo, tit vot va ax nyi mu jjo.
 3P.SG money TOP NEG- have but pig chicken many ADVL have
 ‘He has no money, but he has a lot of pigs and chickens.’

14.2.2 The sentence focus particle *su*

The morpheme *su* in optional combination with the copular verb *nge* form a focus construction, called the *association with focus pattern*, which we analyzed in section 6.1.2.B.

- (17) ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ, ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ.
 ax mo nyo bby ddur go hxie kat **su** nge, hxie qyt **su** ap- nge.
 mother tears exit SENT.TOP happy FOC COP sad FOC NEG- COP
 ‘Mother is weeping. It is for joy and not for sadness.’
- (18) ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ, *ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ ㅈㅅ.
 ddop ma cyx go ne hxip **su** nge, cy hxip **su** ap- nge.
 word DEM.PROX CL 2P.SG say FOC COP 3P.SG say FOC NEG- COP
 ‘You made this statement not he.’

14.2.3 The pseudo-cleft construction with *kax*

Nuosu pseudo-cleft constructions use the preverbal particle *kax* and the nominalizer *su*. Pseudo-cleft constructions are either headless or appended right to a head noun. Like relative clauses, they restrict the reference of the head noun. Unlike relative clauses pseudo-cleft constructions only relativize S- or O-arguments, but never A-arguments.

- (19) *Pseudo-cleft constructions*: (i) $(N_A)+kax+V+su$; (Headless)
 (ii) $(N_A)+kax+V+CL$; (Headless)
 (iii) $N_{S/O}+(N_A)+kax+V+su$; (Restrictive)
 (iv) $N_{S/O}+(N_A)+kax+V+CL$ (Restrictive)

Pseudo-cleft constructions function as new or contrastive topic at the beginning of a larger sentence. They can be glossed by *what is happening is [comment]* (if the relativized verb is intransitive) or *what X is doing is [comment]* (if the relativized verb is monotransitive).

- (20) a. $\text{sy}t \quad \text{kax} \quad \text{jjo} \quad \text{cyx} \quad \text{gge} \quad \text{gox} \quad \text{ddur} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{nge}$.
 matter CLF have DEM.PROX CL happen FOC COP
 ‘All these things actually happened’ (*lit.* those things that exist actually happened).
- b. $\text{ddop} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{kax} \quad \text{ddur} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{ggex} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{ngat} \quad \text{hxie} \quad \text{vur}$.
 word mouth LOC CLF exit come ART=CL-DET 1P.SG like
 ‘I like the words that came out of (your) mouth.’

In (21), the pseudo-cleft constructions are headless and relativize the O-argument of a monotransitive verb.

- (21) a. $\text{cy} \quad \text{kax} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{li} \quad \text{nga} \quad \text{gox} \quad \text{dde} \quad \text{ap} \quad \text{jni}$.
 3P.SG CLF do NOM TOP 1P.SG PAT know<NEG>
 ‘I was not aware of what he was doing.’
- b. $\text{kax} \quad \text{zzi} \quad \text{ggex} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{hxip} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{nip} \quad \text{jy} \text{-mu} \text{-jy} \text{-sux}$.
 CLF encounter ART=CL-DET 2P.SG say NOM and RECL-make-RECL-resemble
 ‘What (we) encountered corresponds to what you said.’

Chapter 15

Speech act particles

Several sentence-end particles encode the illocutionary function of an utterance: interrogative (section 15.1), imperative (section 15.2) and expressive (section 15.3).

15.1 Interrogative

15.1.1 The particle *ddap*

The morpheme *ddap* assumes two functions. It connects a positive and negated verb form as choices in an alternative question.

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

As sentence-end particle, *ddap* encodes an utterance as Yes/No-question, as shown in (2). It might be preceded by the discourse particle *yip* which communicates that the utterance is up for discussion, as illustrated in (3).

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

c. 𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉, 𐄊𐄋𐄌?

xyp mop a shyt po bbo ox, mgot mgot **mix**?
 wife new run go DP chase~INT SOL
 ‘The bride escaped. Should we chase after her?’

d. 𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕, 𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝?

nyip mop nyip cy ryx mu la go shex, ip nyip xix mu la nyiet
 usually 3P.SG early come HAB today why come late
 su nge **mix**?
 NOM COP SOL
 ‘Usually he comes early. Why is he late today?’

It is homophonous to the future tense particle *mix* (section 7.8.1 and section 7.8.2.A).

15.2 Imperative

Three particles encode imperative clauses, the first person imperative particle *mo* (section 15.2.1), the second and third person imperative particle *map* (section 15.2.2) and the politeness particle *yip su* (section 15.2.3).

15.2.1 The particle *mo*

As bare verb particle, *mo* is restricted to first person subjects and communicates a gentle self-oriented summon to action. *Mo* also combines with other particles and relaxes then some of these constraints (see section 15.3.3).

(6) a. 𐄞𐄟! 𐄠𐄡𐄢 (𐄣) 𐄤!

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

b. 𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵!

nga jix po xix yiet sip syt cy jjit mu su nga hxip
 1P.SG method what CL COV matter DEM CL do COMP 1P.SG say
 nop ge **mo**!
 2P.PL tell IMP

‘Well, let me tell you the method I am using for doing this.’

c. 𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑!

ngop wox cop wox bbyx syt cy jjit ju hmox shux **mo!**
 1P.PL 3P.PL give matter DEM CL arrange CAUS IMP
 ‘Well, we let them take care of this.’

Second and third person subjects cannot be used with the bare verb particle *mo*. This constraint is lifted if *mo* combines with other verbal particles.

(7) a. *𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑!

*ne tep yy a shyt zzit su dop cyx box **mo!**
 2P.SG book new ART point at 3P.SG show IMP
 Intended meaning: ‘You may show him the new book.’

b. 𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡.

ne tep yy a shyt zzit su dop cyx box **ox mo.**
 2P.SG book new ART point at 3P.SG show REGR
 ‘Unfortunately, you showed him the new book.’

(8) a. *𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄!

*cy hxip **mo!**
 3P.SG say IMP
 Intended meaning: ‘Let him say something.’

b. 𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄!

cy hxip shux **mo!**
 3P.SG say CAUS IMP
 ‘Let him say something.’

(9) *𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄!

*ma hxa jjip **mo!**
 rain become IMP
 Intended meaning: ‘May it rain!’

The clause in which the bare particle *mo* is used must allow subject control. If the predicate does not allow control, the use of *mo* is ungrammatical.

(10) a. *𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅!

*nga hxie kat **mo!**
 1P.SG happy IMP
 ‘Let me be happy!’

b. *𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅!

*nga hxie jjuo **mo!**
 1P.SG depressed, disappointed IMP
 ‘Let me be depressed!’

The following two examples are proverbs built on the particle *mo*.

- (11) a. 𐀄𐀇𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 sit la cyp nyip kuo **mo!**
 warfare NUM.1 day hero IMP
 ‘Want to be a hero in a day of war!’
- b. 𐀄𐀇𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 nyop mu cyp nyip ggat **mo!**
 labour NUM.1 day rich IMP
 ‘Want to be rich in a day of labour!’

15.2.2 The particle *map*

The imperative particle *map* is complementary to *mo*. *Map* requires second or third person subjects and is incompatible with first person subjects.

- (12) a. 𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 ne cy go ap- shut **map!**
 2P.SG 3P.SG PRO.PAT NEG- remember IMP
 ‘Don’t remember him!’
- b. 𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 cy zze **map!**
 3P.SG eat IMP
 ‘Let him eat!’
- c. 𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 nga vy bbo mo, ne xyx ne **map!**
 1P.SG buy go IMP 2P.SG rest IMP
 ‘I will go shopping. Have a rest here!’
- d. 𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 hxi jox mgo-jjy-mgo, lu dda vit gga ddie ggat **map!**
 outside cold-very-cold male name clothes COV wear IMP
 ‘It is very cold outside. Ludda should wear clothes!’

First person singular subjects cannot co-occur with *map* but first person plural subjects can. *Mo* sets a gentler tone than *map*, as illustrated (13b+c).

- (13) a. *𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆𐀆!
 *nga le hlut **map!**
 1P.SG ox pasture IMP
 Intended meaning: ‘I may pasture the oxen!’

- b. ལྟོག་ལེ་ལྷུ་ **mo!**
 ngop le hlut **mo!**
 1P.PL ox pasture IMP
 ‘Let us pasture the oxen.’
- c. ལྟོག་ལེ་ལྷུ་ **map!**
 ngop le hlut **map!**
 1P.PL ox pasture IMP
 ‘We must pasture the oxen.’

Map also combines with the perfect particle *ox* as a regret particle (section 15.3.3).

- (14) འཕྲིན་མཉམ་ལྷན་ལྷན་ **ox map.**
 ap ndip hxix mux lyr **ox map.**
 yesterday earthquake REGR
 ‘Unfortunately, there was an earthquake yesterday.’

15.2.3 The particle *yip su*

The preverbal particle *yip su* softens the tone of a command and corresponds to English *please*. It often co-occurs with the imperative particle *map*.

- (15) a. ལྟོག་ལེ་ལྷུ་ **yip su** nga bbo ggu ddux ne go jox hxip map.
 2P.SG IMP 1P.SG go after 2P.SG PRO.PAT to say IMP
 ‘After I am gone, please talk to him.’
- b. ལྟོག་ལེ་ལྷུ་ **yip su** it map!
 2P.SG IMP sleep IMP
 ‘Please have a sleep.’

15.3 Expressive

Expressive speech act particles express the attitude of the speaker, his wishes (section 15.3.1), his fears (section 15.3.2) and his regrets (section 15.3.3). This section uses material published in Gerner (2010).

15.3.1 The wish particle *ddep lox*

The verb particle *ddep lox* expresses the wish of the speaker. It communicates the same meaning as optative mood conjugations in Ancient Greek or Sanskrit.

- (16) a. 侬也亦非和平也哉。
 nop wox kax ddi nyi zzyr muo **ddep lox.**
 2P.PL who also peace(ful) WISH
 'May you enjoy peace!'
- b. 年长也忌胖也哉。
 kut shyv vot ba cu **ddep lox.**
 New Year hog fat WISH
 'It is desirable that the New Year's pig is fat.'
- c. 佢理亦非明白也哉。
 lyx dde cyx ji cy syp **ddep lox.**
 common sense DEM.PROX CL 3P.SG understand WISH
 'It is desirable that he understands this argument.'
- d. 俾人亦非开门也哉。
 co ip ko pop da su jjo **ddep lox.**
 person door open STP NOM have WISH
 'It is desirable that someone opens the door.'

Ddep lox conveys the perspective of an impersonal agent which functions as a guise for the speaker's own wishes. The speaker's and the impersonal agent's attitude cannot be separated. Moore's Paradox (Levinson 1983: 105) holds therefore for *ddep lox*. (17) shows that the speaker cannot use *ddep lox* and negate the wish in the same sentence.

- (17) 俾人亦非开门也哉, #手甲俾人亦非开门也。
 co ip ko pop da su jjo **ddep lox,**
 person door open STP NOM have WISH
 #tit nga co ip ko pop da su **xi-ap-mgu.**
 but 1P.SG person door open STP NOM hope<NEG>
 Intended meaning: '#It is desirable that someone opens the door,
 but I don't want that to happen'.

Ddep lox cannot be used in sentences that express socially unacceptable values. The predicate *xi mgu* 'wish', by contrast, can ascribe values that are contrary to the Nuosu norm. The attitude holder is then depicted as abnormal.

- (18) a. #风也毁收也哉。
 #shyp lyt hxa ma zza bbo cy dip guox bba **ddep lox.**
 storm crops 3P.SG destroy ferocious WISH
 'It is desirable that the storm destroys the crops!'

- b. ཇུ་ཡུ་ལཏ་ལྷ་མ་ཟ་བོ་ཅུ་དུ་གུམ་བཟུ་སུ་མི་མགུ་
 nga shyp lyt hxa ma zza bbo cy dip guox bba su **xi mgu.**
 1P.SG storm crops 3P.SG destroy ferocious NOM hope
 ‘I hope that the storm destroys the crops.’

Ddep lox cannot be used in sentences that presuppose the speaker’s knowledge. For example, a wedding requires mental and practical preparation. Nobody can be unaware of his own wedding on the eve of the ceremony.

- (19) #ཇོ་ཤེ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅུ་འཇུ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅོ་
 #mup shy dex nga bbox zze ma ddix jjip bbo **ddep lox.**
 tomorrow 1P.SG man CL to, at become go WISH
 ‘#It is desirable for me to get married tomorrow.’

As wish particle, *ddep lox* applies to non-past events. When the clause has past time or completed reference, it switches to the sense of *originally* (section 9.1.4).

- (20) ཇུ་ཏ་ལྷ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅུ་འཇུ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅོ་
 lat hxo hmat mop xyx ne ox **ddep lox.**
 male name teacher rest DP WISH
 ‘Originally, Teacher Laho was taking a nap.’

15.3.2 The fear particle *mat*

The verb particle *mat* voices the speaker’s anxiety. It has similar properties as *ddep lox* which we investigate below.

- (21) a. ཇུ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅུ་འཇུ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅོ་
 zzyt mu cyx ma zzux lup ba la **mat.**
 world DEM CL throw into disorder FEAR
 ‘It is to be feared that the world is being thrown into disorder.’
- b. ཇུ་མི་མཉམ་མེད་ཅོ་
 cy a hnata mu shy **mat.**
 3P.SG very much shout FEAR
 ‘I am afraid of his shouting.’
- c. ཇུ་ལྷ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅུ་འཇུ་མཉམ་མེད་ཅོ་
 sse nge yuox su pat mop yix kur **mat.**
 son NUM.5 ART parents house share FEAR
 ‘It is to be feared that the five sons share their parents inheritance.’

Mat expresses the stance of the speaker via an impersonal agent in similar way as *ddep lox*. Again, the speaker's and the impersonal agent's attitude cannot be separated. (22) shows that the speaker cannot use *mat* and negate this fear in the same sentence.

- (22) 'ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ, #ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ.
 ke ma la **mat**, # tit nga ke ap- **jie**.
 dog CL come FEAR but 1P.SG dog NEG- fear
 'It is to be feared that a dog is coming, but I am not afraid of dogs.'

Mat cannot be used felicitously for situations that express socially positive values. On the other hand, the predicate *jie* 'fear' can take clauses with ethically positive values but then the attitude holder is presented as abnormal.

- (23) a. #ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ.
 #cyp gop bop sa mu ddu ap- jjo **mat**.
 3P.SG.POSS body recover event NEG- have FEAR
 'It is to be feared that he completely recovered.'
- b. ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ.
 nga cyp gop bop sa mu ddu ap- jjo su **jie**.
 1P.SG 3P.SG.POSS body recover event NEG- have COMP fear
 'I fear that he completely recovered.'

Furthermore, anxiety cannot be voiced about situations that the speaker is supposed to be aware of. *Mat* cannot be used in such situations.

- (24) #ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ.
 #ngop wox mu ddix go yyp mop a sho-jjy-a sho **mat**.
 1P.PL place LOC river long-very-long FEAR
 'It is to be feared that a very long river goes through my native place.'

In coordinate clauses, *mat* can be attached to the first and second clause. After the first clause, *mat* expresses fear about a potential situation that would be the outcome if the warning expressed by the second clause were not considered.

- (25) ᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆᄆ.
 ne cy ap- dda **mat**, go tat- gep.
 2P.SG 3P.SG NEG- overcome FEAR 3P.SG NEG.IMP- wrestle
 'I am afraid that you won't overcome him, so don't wrestle with him.'

After the second clause, *mat* communicates fear about a situation that would be the outcome, if the advice encoded in the first clause were not accepted.

- (26) བཤམ་པོ་ལ། མཚན་མཚམས་མཚམས།
 ne go jox hxip, ip ko cy ggot da **mat**.
 2P.SG PRO.PAT to say door 3P.SG close FEAR
 ‘Talk to him, otherwise, I am afraid, he will close the door.’

15.3.3 Regret particles

There are three compound particles that communicate the speaker’s regret about a situation. These compound particles are composed of the perfect particle (section 7.7.2) and different imperative and exclamative particles. Furthermore, the simple particle *luop* expresses the speaker’s complaint.

Table 15.1: Three regret compound particles

Particle	Meaning	1st particle	2nd particle
ox mop	regret about situation in distant past	ox	mo (section 15.2.1)
ox map	regret about situation in close past	ox	map (section 15.2.2)
ox lip	regret about loss or fallout	ox	lip
luop	complaint		

The compound particle *ox mo* represents new meaning not closely related to the imperative particle *mo* (section 15.2.1). *Ox mo* adds a note of fate to the proposition: *that’s it, we can’t do anything about it*.

- (27) a. རྩ་ལོ་ལྷོ་ལོ།
 yo hlix ndo **ox mop**.
 sheep loose REGR
 ‘The sheep is lost (it is too late).’
- b. མཚན་མཚམས་མཚམས།
 cy cep yy wep **ox mop**.
 3P.SG cold get REGR
 ‘He caught a cold, unfortunately.’
- c. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ།
 ap ndip hxix mux lyr **ox mop**.
 yesterday earthquake REGR
 ‘Yesterday, there was an earthquake.’

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

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Appendix

Folk Stories

The following three folk stories were compiled in 2000 with the help of Sūn Zi Xiā Xiā 孙子呷呷, a native Nuosu speaker from Xidé County 喜德县.

呷呷 人 日 生 呷 呷 呷

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

Why do men have their livestock stay close to home?

呷呷 人 日 生 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷

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

In ancient times, the people and all the animals

呷呷 人 日 生 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷

xix xix nyi nyop mu vi yot yix-ap-syp yip sy te go,
 ʂ⁴⁴ʂ⁴⁴ ni³³ ŋ³³o²¹ŋ³³ vi³³ʒo⁵⁵ zi⁴⁴-a²¹-si²¹ zi²¹si³³ t^hu³³ko³³,
 INT.what~all also work carry load MOD.can<NEG> still, yet time
 were not yet capable of ploughing and carrying loads.

呷呷 人 日 生 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷

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

Zhege'alu committed himself to training the animals

呷呷 人 日 生 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷

cyx gge hxop hmat six nyop mu vi yot zze mo ddix da,
 ts^hi⁴⁴ gu³³ ho²¹ŋa⁵⁵ si⁴⁴ ŋ³³o²¹ŋ³³ vi³³ʒo⁵⁵ dzu³³ mo³³ di⁴⁴ ta³³,
 DEM.PROX CL teach, train RES work carry load eat IMP QUOT STP
 to plough the earth and to carry loads.

呷呷 人 日 生 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷 呷

nyix bbu hxit bbu lyr lyr go kax jjo mu cy gu
 ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵b^vu³³ li³³li³³ ko³³ k^ha⁴⁴ dzo³³ ŋ³³ ts^hi³³ ku³³
 wild animal moving entity LOC CLF have ADVL 3P.SG call

All the wild animals and everything that moves

××××××××××××××××××××: “×××

cyp rep six cyp gga da cop wox jop: ngat sse
ts^{hi33} zu²¹ si⁴⁴ ts^{hi21}ga³³ ta³³ ts^{ho21}yo⁴⁴ tso²¹: “ŋa⁵⁵ zu³³
3P.SG gather RES together STP 3P.PL toward 1P.SG.POSS son
were brought together by him and told, “My sons

××××××××××××××××××××

ngat lu wo ip nyip lip wax ne nop wox kax ddi nyi
ŋa⁵⁵ lu³³ yo³³ i²¹ni²¹ li²¹ya⁴⁴ nu³³ no²¹yo⁴⁴ k^{ha44}di³³ ni³³
1P.SG.POSS grandson CL today afterwards TOP 2P.PL INT.who also
and grandsons, starting from today you all

××××××××××××××××××××

zyt jie we vi go hxo lox da, mux dde wax dde mux yot da zze
tsi⁵⁵tce³³ yu³³vi³³ ko³³ ho³³lo⁴⁴ ta³³, m̃⁴⁴du³³ya⁴⁴du³³ m̃⁴⁴zo⁵⁵ ta³³ dzu³³
REFL strength LOC depend STP earth and field act, do STP eat
must rely on your own strength to cultivate the earth.”

××××××××××××××××××××

yix nip zhet ox” ddix. tit cyp ddop mu
zi⁴⁴ni²¹ tʂu⁵⁵ o⁴⁴” di⁴⁴. t^{hi55} ts^{hi21} do²¹ m̃³³
only then good, ok DP QUOT but 3P.SG.POSS word do
However, there wasn’t anyone who was willing to obey,

××××××××××××××××××××

hna su ap-jjo mu, vo co ax di cyp ddop mu da.
ŋa³³ su³³ a²¹-dzo³³ m̃³³, vo³³ts^{ho33} a⁴⁴ti³³ ts^{hi21} do²¹ m̃³³ ta³³.
MOD.willing NOM NEG-have ADVL man only 3P.SG.POSS word do STP
and only human beings listened to his words.

××××××××××××××××××××

cyp nyip lox cyp nyip, cyp hlep lox cyp hlep,
ts^{hi21} ni²¹ lo⁴⁴ ts^{hi21} ni²¹, ts^{hi21} tʂu²¹ lo⁴⁴ ts^{hi21} tʂu²¹,
NUM.1 day and NUM.1 day NUM.1 month and NUM.1 month
Day after day, month after month,

××××××××××××××××××××

cyp kur lox cyp kur mu mux dde mu yot zze.
ts^{hi21} kh^{y33} lo⁴⁴ ts^{hi21} kh^{y33} m̃³³ m̃⁴⁴du³³ m̃³³zo⁵⁵ dzu³³.
NUM.1 year and NUM.1 year ADVL earth do (farming) eat
year after year, they cultivated the earth.

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

vo³³ts^ho³³ m̄⁴⁴du³³ya⁴⁴du³³ m̄³³ʒo⁵⁵ dza⁴⁴tsi³³ʒə³³tɕ^hi⁴⁴ su³³
 mankind earth and field do (farming) plant seedlings NOM

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

ㄘㄩˋ ㄇㄛˋ ㄊㄛ ㄍㄛˋ ㄋㄟ, ㄘㄩˋ ㄏㄒㄧㄝ ㄎㄚ ㄎㄚ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄎㄚ ㄉㄚ ㄍㄛ ㄐㄛˋ:

ts^hi³³ mo⁴⁴ tu³³ko⁴⁴ nu³³, ts^hi³³ he³³k^ha⁵⁵no³³k^ha⁵⁵ ta³³ ko³³ tɕo⁴⁴:
 3P.SG see when TOP 3P.SG very happy STP 3P.PL toward
 planted seedlings, he was very glad and told them,

“ㄆㄛˋ ㄨㄛˋ ㄋㄍㄚ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄏㄌㄚ ㄇㄨˋ ㄏㄒㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄏㄇㄚ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄏㄚ

“no²¹yo⁴⁴ ŋa⁵⁵ do²¹ m̄³³ ɬa³³ m̄³³, ho²¹ do²¹ ma⁵⁵ do²¹ ŋa³³
 2P.PL 1P.SG.POSS word do soul do admonish word teach word listen

“You obeyed my words and listened to my teaching

ㄉㄧ ㄋㄩㄧ ㄍㄍㄨ ㄐㄐㄩˋ ㄋㄟ, ㄋㄛ ㄨㄛˋ ㄕㄨˋ ㄋㄩㄛ ㄅㄅㄛ ㄉㄚ ㄗㄌㄛ ㄉㄉㄨ ㄍㄍㄚ ㄉㄉㄨ

i²¹ni²¹ gu²¹dzu⁴⁴ nu³³, no²¹yo⁴⁴ ʂu³³ no²¹bo²¹ ta³³ dzu³³ -du³³ ga⁵⁵ -du³³
 today afterwards SENT.TOP 2P.PL make labour STP eat NOM wear NOM
 so from today on, you will get enough food and clothing.

ㄋㄟ, ㄆㄛˋ ㄨㄛˋ ㄕㄨˋ ㄐㄐㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄛ ㄅㄅㄨ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄒㄧ ㄕㄨˋ” ㄉㄉㄩˋ。

wep, nop wox shu jjox dde o bbu dde xi shux” ddix.
 yu²¹, no²¹yo⁴⁴ ʂu³³ dzo⁴⁴ du³³ o³³bu³³ du³³ ɕi³³ ʂu⁴⁴ di⁴⁴.
 get 2P.PL make live, have the more intelligent the more arrive CAUS QUOT
 You will become more and more intelligent.”

ㄘㄩˋ ㄋㄩㄧˋ ㄅㄅㄨ ㄏㄒㄧ ㄅㄅㄨ ㄍㄍㄞ ㄙㄨˋ ㄐㄛˋ ㄋㄟ: “ㄆㄛˋ ㄨㄛˋ ㄋㄍㄚ

ts^hi³³ ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵ b^vu³³ gu⁴⁴su³³ tɕo⁴⁴ nu³³: “no²¹yo⁴⁴ ŋa⁵⁵
 3P.SG wild animal ART toward TOP 2P.PL 1P.SG.POSS
 He said to the wild animals, “You were

ㄉㄉㄛ ㄇㄨˋ ㄏㄌㄚ ㄇㄨˋ ㄆ- ㄏㄚ, ㄋㄍㄚ ㄏㄒㄛ ㄉㄉㄛ ㄏㄇㄚ ㄉㄉㄛ

do²¹ m̄³³ ɬa³³ m̄³³ a²¹ ŋa³³, ŋa⁵⁵ ho²¹ do²¹ ma⁵⁵ do²¹
 word do soul do NEG- willing 1P.SG.POSS admonish word teach word
 not willing to obey my words and listen to my teaching,

日尔尔尔; 尔尔尔尔, 尔尔尔

mu ap- hna su ngox; ip nyip ggup jjux ne, nop wox shu
 ɳ³³ a²¹- ɳa³³ su³³ ŋo⁴⁴; i²¹ni²¹ gu²¹dzu⁴⁴ nuw³³, no²¹yo⁴⁴ ʂu³³
 do NEG- willing COMP think today afterwards TOP 2P.PL make
 so from today on, you must

尔尔尔尔尔尔” 尔。尔尔尔尔

bbut zze da jjo ddep lox ddix. ap mu cyx te go
 bu⁵⁵ dzu⁴⁴ ta³³ dzo³³ du²¹lo⁴⁴ di⁴⁴. a²¹ɳ³³ ts^{hi}⁴⁴ tu³³ko³³
 grass eat STP live WISH QUOT now DEM.PROX time
 live by eating grass.” This is the reason why from that very moment

日尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔。

rre mop ssyr nyuo tat lyp bbut zze yip sy su li xip yy ddi ddix.
 dzu³³mo²¹zi³³no³³ t^ha⁵⁵li²¹ bu⁵⁵ dzu³³ zi²¹si³³ su³³ li³³ ʂi²¹ zo³³di³³ di⁴⁴.
 livestock but grass eat still, yet TOP TOP DEM.DD because QUOT
 livestock were eating grass.

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔

nyix bbu hxit bbu ggex su gat zyr ssyt nuop si nip lat ne nyop mux
 ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵ b^vu³³ gu⁴⁴su³³ ka⁵⁵tsi³³ zi⁵⁵no²¹ si³³ni²¹ la⁵⁵ nu³³ no²¹ɳ⁴⁴
 wild animal ART=CL-DET middle tiger and wolf TOP work
 Among the wild animals, the tiger and the wolf

尔尔尔尔尔, 尔尔尔尔尔尔。尔尔

vi yot nyi ap- hna, bbux hlou nyi zze ap- hna. tit da
 vi³³zo⁵⁵ ni³³ a²¹- ɳa³³, b^vu⁴⁴ɳ³³ ni³³ dzu³³ a²¹- ɳa³³. t^hi⁵⁵ta³³
 carry load also NEG- willing grass also eat NEG- willing thus
 didn't like to work and didn't like to eat grass.

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔、尔尔、尔、尔

nyix bbu hxit bbu ax pa ggex su mup bat、 lap bbu、 qyt、 yo
 ni⁴⁴b^vu³³hi⁵⁵ b^vu³³ a⁴⁴p^ha³³ gu⁴⁴su³³ ɳ²¹pa⁵⁵ la²¹b^vu³³ t^hi⁵⁵ zo³³
 wild animal other ART=CL-DET horse ox goat sheep
 The other wild animals such as the horse, ox, goat, and sheep

尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔尔。

cyx gge ne zhyt ge ax ly ddix da nyo lyx gge hmot la.
 ts^{hi}⁴⁴ gu³³ nu³³ t^ʂo⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ di⁴⁴ ta³³ no³³li⁴⁴gu³³mo⁵⁵ la³³.
 DEM.PROX CL TOP name of god COV.at STP complain come
 came to Zhege'alu to complain.

𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙

got pu nyi suo vit mu it jji ox. mo mu bbur ddur
 ko⁵⁵p^hu³³ ni³³ so³³ vi⁵⁵ ŋ³³ i⁵⁵ dzi³³ o⁴⁴. mo³³ŋ³³ bu⁴⁴du³³
 chuckoo also NUM.3 time ADVL sleep awake DP sky east
 and the cuckoo woke up three times. When the sky dawned

𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿

ap mop bbop la ox su wep mo gox ne, got pu ddur kax
 a²¹mo²¹bo²¹ la³³ o⁴⁴ su³³ yu²¹mo³³ ko⁴⁴ nu³³, ko⁵⁵p^hu³³ d^ɕu³³ ka⁴⁴
 bright come DP NOM see SENT.TOP TOP cuckoo wing flap, beat
 in the East, the cuckoo saw it, started to flap its wings and,

𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿

lox, syr lot go hxit da fu zzi ax hmu mu: “got pu! got pu!”
 lo⁴⁴, si³³lo⁵⁵ ko³³ hi⁵⁵ ta³³ fu³³dzi³³ a⁴⁴ŋu³³ ŋ³³: “ko⁵⁵p^hu³³! ko⁵⁵p^hu³³!”
 and branch LOC stand STP voice high ADVL cuckoo cuckoo
 standing on a branch, called with a loud voice, “Cuckoo! Cuckoo!”

𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿

mu yiet. hxo bbux nyi got pu gep gu shu la ox, nyi hly
 ŋ³³ ze⁵⁵. ho³³Bu⁴⁴ ni³³ ko⁵⁵p^hu³³ ku²¹ ku³³ ɕu³³ la³³ o⁴⁴, ni⁴⁴ɔ³³
 ADVL sing sun also cuckoo COV call make come DP spring wind
 The sun was called into rising by the cuckoo, the spring wind

𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿

nyi gu shu la ox. got pu nyop mu co jox “nop zzax cy yy
 ni³³ ku³³ ɕu³³ la³³ o⁴⁴. ko⁵⁵p^hu³³ no²¹ŋ³³ts^ho³³ tɕo⁴⁴ “no²¹ dza⁴⁴ ts^hi³³ ʒo³³
 also call make come DP cuckoo peasant toward 2P.PL crops plant crops
 was called into existence. The cuckoo told the peasants, “(It is time to) plant

𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿

qyp da ox!” ddix. bbox ot cy gu vut la hlop gop ddur,
 tɕ^hi²¹ da³³ o⁴⁴!” di⁴⁴. bo⁴⁴ o⁵⁵ ts^hi³³ ku³³ vu⁵⁵ la³³to²¹go²¹ d^ɕu³³;
 put STP DP QUOT mountain below 3P.SG call green IDE~EXPR exit
 the crops”. The mountains were called into becoming very green.

𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿

bbut la hlu vie cy yiet vie kep kep ox. ddu ndit dur lap vat
 bu⁵⁵la³³ɕu³³ve³³ ts^hi³³ ze⁵⁵ ve³³ k^hu²¹k^hu²¹ o⁴⁴. d^ɕu³³ndi⁵⁵ tu³³la²¹va⁵⁵
 grass & flower 3P.SG sing flower beautiful DP bird NUM.1000 & 10000
 Grass and flowers were sung into beautiful existence. Thousands and

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

mu cy shyr dep la ox. tap hly jox hxp: “tap hly ap! nga
 ṁ³³ tsh³³ ṣ³³ tu²¹ la³³ o⁴⁴. t^ha²¹ṭ³³ tṣo⁴⁴ hi²¹ “t^ha²¹ṭ³³ a²¹ ŋa³³
 ADVL 3P.SG shout rise come DP dove to say dove EXCL 1P.SG
 thousands of birds were urged to sing. It said to the dove, “Oh dove! I

ཡུལ་འདི་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ལྷ་མོ་།

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

མཁའ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ལྷ་མོ་། “ཅུ་ཅུ་ཅུ་” ལྷ་

gu hxi jit ap- get ox?” ddix. tap hly ne: “Gu! Gu! Gu!” mu
 ku³³ hi³³tṣi⁵⁵ a²¹ ku⁵⁵ o⁴⁴?” di⁴⁴. t^ha²¹ṭ³³ nu³³: “ku³³! ku³³! ku³³!” ṁ³³
 sleep shameful NEG- can DP QUOT dove TOP EXCL EXCL EXCL ADVL
 was sleeping. Aren’t you ashamed?” The dove only replied: “Gu! Gu! Gu!”,

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

yi ngox la ox. got pu ne tit da ddu ndit sux yy ddie ox.
 ṣi³³ŋo⁴⁴ la³³ o⁴⁴. ko⁵⁵p^hu³³ nu³³ t^hi⁵⁵ta³³ dbu³³ndi⁵⁵ su⁴⁴z³³ de³³ o⁴⁴.
 cry, weep COME DP cuckoo TOP thus bird leader do DP
 and started to weep. The cuckoo thus became the leader of all the birds.

ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་མོ་།

zhyt ge ax ly mu zyr bbur
 tṣ⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ ṁ³³tsi³³ bu³³
name of god thunder tame

Zhege'alu tames the thunder

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

ip si ax hlex mop, mu vut go mu zyr lix guo -jyy- lix guo, cy
 i²¹si³³a⁴⁴tu⁴⁴mo²¹, ṁ³³vu⁵⁵ ko³³ ṁ³³tsi³³ li⁴⁴ ko³³ -dzi³³- li⁴⁴ ko³³, tsh³³
 long time ago sky on thunder powerful very powerful 3P.SG

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

非也” 曰。 唯其非也： “非其非也”

su nge” ddux. co bbup sux ne: “ngop wox zzax mu yy yot
su³³ ɲu?” di⁴⁴. ts^ho³³ bu²¹su⁴⁴ nu³³: “o²¹ɣo⁴⁴ dza⁴⁴ ɲ³³ ʒə³³ ʒo⁵⁵
NOM COP QUOT person ART TOP 1P.PL food do soup, water do
Members of that household replied, “It is not the case that we don’t want

吃食非其也， 食非其也

zze ap- qi su ap- nge mu, mu zyr ngop bbyp zzax mu
dzwu³³ a^{2L} tɕ^hi³³ su³³ a^{2L} ɲu³³ ɲ³³, ɲ³³tsi³³ ɲo²¹ bɰ⁴⁴ dza⁴⁴ ɲ³³
eat NEG- think NOM NEG- COP ADVL thunder 1P.PL COV food do
to cook food and soup, but the thunder doesn’t allow us to cook

吃食也。 食非其也， 食非其也

zze ap- shup su. kax ddi yie ddu mu gu ddu lix ne, cy
dzwu³³ a^{2L} ʃu²¹ su³³. k^ha⁴⁴di³³ ʒe³³dbu³³ ɲ³³ku³³ dɥ³³ li⁴⁴ nu³³, ts^hi³³
eat NEG- CAUS NOM INT.who house smoke rise go up TOP 3P.SG
and to eat. Whichever household has smoke going up, is

食非其也。 食非其也， 食非其也

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

“食非其也， 食非其也， 食非其也”

“zyt dop da mup dut jiex da zzax mu zze li, ap ddi ddux mu zyr
“tsi⁵⁵to²¹ ta³³ ɲ³³tbu⁵⁵ tɕe⁴⁴ ta³³ dza⁴⁴ ɲ³³ dzwu³³ li³³, a²¹di³³di⁴⁴ ɲ³³tsi³³
prepare STP fire burn STP food do eat go if thunder
“Go, make a fire and prepare food. If the thunder is going to strike,

食非其也， 食非其也， 食非其也”

la yix ne nga gox yu la mo” ddux. zhyt ge ax ly li sy sse
la³³ ʒi⁴⁴nu³³ ɲa³³ ko⁴⁴ ʒu³³ la³³ mo³³” di⁴⁴ tɕə⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ li³³ si³³zu³³
come given that 1P SG PAT seize come IMP QUOT name of god TOP son of god
I’ll seize it.” As Zhege’alu is a god,

食非其也， 食非其也， 食非其也

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

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

ne ap- jjix sho mu: “hxax yip, mu zyr vyt vu, ne jjy jyt she
nuu³³ a²¹ dzi⁴⁴ so³³ ṁ³³: “ha⁴⁴zi²¹, ṁ³³tsi³³ vi⁵⁵vu³³, nuu³³ dʒi³³ tci⁵⁵ su³³
TOP NEG- know pretend ADVL EXCL thunder brother 2P.SG lead beat steel
put on a brave front and asked: “Hah, brother thunder! For what purpose

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

jyt six xix mu mix?” ddix hna. mu zyr jix su ne zhyt ge ax ly
tci⁵⁵ si⁴⁴ ci⁴⁴ ṁ³³ mi⁴⁴?” di⁴⁴ ṅa³³. ṁ³³tsi³³ tci⁴⁴su³³ nuu³³ tʂo⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³
beat RES INT.what do SOL say ask thunder CL TOP name of god
do you prepare steel and lead?” The thunder did not recognize Zhege'alu

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

cy cyx ap- syp da: “nga ddie six shyp mux nge jyx zhyt ge ax ly
tsh³³ tsh⁴⁴ a²¹ si²¹ ta³³: “a³³ de³³ si⁴⁴ so²¹ṁ⁴⁴ ṅu³³dʒo⁴⁴ tʂo⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³
3P.SG 3P.SG NEG- know STP 1P.SG do RES Universe Earth name of god
(who had changed his clothes) and said, “I am committed to strike Zhege'alu

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

go nzie yy mo ddix su” ddix. zhyt ge ax ly ne: “ne
ko³³ ndze³³ zo³³ mo³³di⁴⁴ su³³” di⁴⁴. tʂo⁵⁵ku³³a⁴⁴li³³ nuu³³: “nuu³³
PRO.PAT strike go MOD.committed FOC QUOT name of god TOP 2P.SG
on earth or in heaven.” Zhege'alu continued, “On what day are you

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

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

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

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

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