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CITY UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

香港城市大學

A Reference Grammar of the Puxi Variety of Qiang

羌語蒲溪話參考語法

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Abstract

This thesis provides a comprehensive and in-depth description and typological analysis of the Puxi variety of Qiang. The investigation of this dissertation is a significant first step toward understanding the Qiang language from typological and functional perspectives.

Chapter 1 of this study introduces the geographical distribution of the Puxi variety of Southern Qiang, the ethnological background and demography of the speakers, previous research on the language, aspects of language use, the classification of the varieties, the genetic affiliation, data collection and research methodology.

Chapter 2 introduces some typological features in phonology, morphology and syntax of the Puxi variety of Qiang. The Puxi variety of Qiang is a verb-final, agglutinative, atonal language, and the most common word order is SV (intransitive clause) /APV (transitive clause).

In chapter 3, we discuss the rather complex phonological system of the Puxi variety of Qiang. Most of the final consonants are not preserved Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals. The finals now found in the Puxi variety resulted from two syllables having

merged, with the initial of the original second syllable becoming the final of the original initial syllable.

In chapter 4, we discuss word classes, and give the semantic and syntactic function of each class. Nouns, verbs, adjectives (which are a subclass of stative verbs) are open classes, while adverbs, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, classifiers and measure words, interjections, and final particles are closed classes.

In chapter 5, we give a detailed description of the forms and functions of nominal morphology, in particular, the enclitic postpositions, which mark relations between the verb and its arguments or between the arguments themselves. Together with word order, these postpositions mainly express the semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a clause or complex sentence.

Chapter 6 studies the many types of morphology of the verb complex, concentrating on the person marking, aspect marking, orientation marking, negative marking and the mutual interaction of the markings as well.

In chapter 7, we focus on the minimal sentence structures, such as the basic constituent order, interrogatives, negation, existential and possessive construction, comparative construction, topic-comment construction and topicalization.

In chapter 8, we describe the various combinations of elements possible in a sentence of the Puxi variety, like conjunctive and disjunctive constructions, syntactic processes, and other complex sentences.

In chapter 9, we discuss the characteristics and the structure of discourse found in narrative texts.

To my uncle *Lankem* and my aunt *Kvubizi*,

who adopted me!

and to my elder sister *Chengxian Huang*,

who has been gone one year ago!

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ABBREVIATIONS

1sg	1 st person singular	EXCL	exclusive
2sg	2 nd person singular	FEM	feminine marker
3sg	3 rd person singular	GEN	genitive marker
1dl	1 st person dual	HEARS	hearsay evidential marker
2dl	2 nd person dual	IMP	imperative marker
3dl	3 rd person dual	INCL	inclusive
1pl	1 st person plural	INFER	inferential marker
2pl	2 nd person plural	INDEF	indefinite marker
3pl	3 rd person plural	INSTR	instrumental marker
A	actor	LNK	clause linker
ABL	ablative marker	LOC	locative marker
Adj	adjective	MAS	masculine marker
ADV	adverbial marker	NEG	negative prefix
AGT	agentive marker	NOM	nominalizer
AUX	auxiliary particle	NUM	numeral
CAUS	causative suffix	NTP	non-topic pronoun
CC	copula complement	P	patient/undergoer
Ch.	Chinese	PERMS	permissive prefix
CL	classifier	PL	plural marker
COMIT	comitative marker	PM	person marking

COMP	comparative marker	PROH	prohibitive prefix
CONJ	conjunctive marker	PROS	prospective aspect
CONT	continuative aspect marker	PRT	particle
COP	copula	QUES	question marker
CSM	change of state marker	REDUP	reduplication
DAT	dative marker	REFL	reflexive pronoun
DEF	definite marker	REP	repetition marker
DEM	demonstrative	SUPER	superlative marker
DIM	diminutive marker	TOP	topic marker
DIR	directional prefix	TP	topic pronoun
EMPH	emphatic marker		

Plates



Plate 1: Sichuan Province, China
(taken from the Qiang Language & Culture Web Site)



Plate 2: Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture
(taken from the Qiang Language & Culture Web Site)



Plate 3: Shaman Wang in Puxi Township



Plate 4: Watchtowers of Taoping Village

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation is a reference grammar of the Puxi variety of Qiang (羌語蒲溪話). This work is the first attempt to analyze in-depth the grammar of this variety, providing a description of how the grammatical system of the Puxi variety is organized. It includes a typological overview followed by detailed discussion of the phonological system, word classes, nominal morphology (such as gender marking, number marking, diminutive marking, (in)definite marking, case marking, and topic marking), verbal morphology (such as person marking, orientation/direction marking, aspect marking, evidential marking, negative marking, prohibitive marking, causative marking, and mood), simple structures, complex structures (such as relative clauses, complementation, the pseudo-cleft construction, the conjunctive and disjunctive constructions, and subordinate constructions), and discourse structure. The data for this work were collected during two field trips to Sichuan province, China, from 15 July to 30 August, 2001, and from 13 June to 10 July, 2002.

Puxi is a township located in the eastern part of Li County (理縣) in the north-western part of Sichuan Province. More than 2,000 people of the Qiang nationality(羌族), who mainly speak the Qiang language, live there. Almost all adults can also speak Mandarin Chinese. The Puxi variety belongs to the Southern Dialect of Qiang (Wen 1941, Sun 1981a, Liu 1998).

There are 306,072 Qiang people in the Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan (四川阿壩藏族羌族自治州), China (2000 census). The Qiang language is spoken by about 80 thousand Qiang (羌族) and Zang (Tibetan) people (藏族). The majority of Qiang speakers are members of the Qiang minority living within Mao County (茂縣), Wenchuan County (汶川縣), Li County (理縣), and Songpan County (松潘縣), and the rest, who live in Heishui County (黑水縣), have been classified as a subgroup of the Zang nationality (藏族).

In this chapter I briefly introduce the Qiang language, including the geographical distribution of the speakers of the Puxi variety of Southern Qiang in §1.1, their ethnological background in §1.2, previous investigations in §1.3, genetic classification in §1.4, the classification of the dialects in §1.5, the status of the language in §1.6, the data collection in §1.7, and the research methodology in §1.8.

1.1. Geographical position

The speakers of the Puxi variety of Qiang inhabit Puxi Township, Li County, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. Puxi Township is located in the eastern part of Li County, between Xuecheng Township (薛城鄉) in the north-east, and Nongjiale Township (農家樂鄉) and Ganpu Township (甘堡鄉) in the west, and is north of Mianchi Town (綿池鎮), Wenchuan County. Puxi Township includes the villages of Xiuxi (休溪), Dapuxi (大蒲溪), Se'er (色爾), Kuizhai (奎寨), and Heba (河壩). The total population is 2017 (2000 census).

The Puxi variety of Qiang is surrounded by south-western Mandarin and the rGyalrong languages. rGyalrong rarely influences the Puxi variety. Mandarin influences the Puxi variety in terms of phonology, lexicon and syntax, e.g. phonologically, the Puxi variety has triphthongs which are borrowed from Mandarin. Many words, especially cultural words, professional words, technological words, and so on, also are borrowed from Mandarin. Syntactically, some subordinators and sentential adverbials are borrowed from Mandarin (see §3.6.1, §4.4 and §8.3).

1.2. Ethnological background

1.2.1. History

In historical documents ‘Qiang’ referred to nomadic herders living to the west of China. Mention of the Qiang can be found in many of Chinese historical documents. They originated in the North-western part of what is now China (i.e. Qinghai Province, Gansu Province) according to their own epics and legends. According to their epic ‘Qiang-Ge War’ (羌戈大戰), their ancestors moved to the area where they now live about the time of the Qin-Western Han dynasties (around 200 B.C.). Their epic is in accordance with Chinese historians’ viewpoint that the Qiang who are now settled in the Min valley (岷山) came out of one branch of the Qiang tribes of the Gan-Qing plateau (甘青高原). Speakers of Qiang living in Heishui County, who call themselves *zme*, were classified as Zang (Tibetan) by the Chinese government in the 1950’s due to most of them being believers of Tibetan-style Buddhism.

1.2.2. *Social culture*

Although the Qiang people have had in contact with other nationalities, such as the Han Chinese and the Tibetans, especially with the Han Chinese, for a long time, and are influenced by Han culture in their spiritual beliefs and social culture, they still keep their traditions in some ways, such as polytheism. Their deities include the heaven deity symbolized by a white stone, the ancestor deity, the cow deity, the sheep deity, the forest deity, the mountain deity, the fire deity, the water deity, and the house deity. Of these the heaven deity is the head of all other deities.

Traditionally there was a shaman in each village who took care of sacrificing to the gods, fulfilling vows to the gods, exorcising evil, performing funerals, marriages, and other religious rituals, and curing diseases. He had the respect of all villagers because he knew much of the traditional knowledge of the Qiang people. Now there are only a few shamans left.

In the past the Qiang cremated the dead, and each clan in each village had a crematorium, but now they have shifted to burying the dead. Cremation is used only for somebody who died by strangling, by violence, by suicide, or by infectious disease.

The main source of protein is pork, which the family mainly supplies itself, but now they also buy fresh meat from the market. In the past the Qiang rarely ate fresh meat. When a pig is slaughtered, generally in mid-winter, its meat is cured and hung in the rafters. They do not eat meat at every meal or every day.

1.2.2. *Economy*

The Qiang are agricultural cultivators who grow mainly corn, wheat, barley (for brewing beer), buckwheat, potatoes, and soybeans. Cash income comes from selling herbal medicines, different kinds of mushrooms, and wild peppers to buy salt, liquor, clothing, and other daily necessities.

1.3. Previous investigations

The study of the Qiang language was begun in the 30's to 50's of the 20th century. Wen Yu was the first to go to the Qiang areas (e.g. Wenchuan County and Li County) to do fieldwork from the end of the 1930's to the early 1940's. He collected about 400 vocabulary items and some example sentences of the Southern dialect. He divided the Qiang dialects of Wenchuan and Li Counties into eight dialects, based on the degree to which they exhibited morphological case. He treated Puxi as a unique dialect (蒲溪土語), including the southwest of Li County (1940b). Wen wrote a number of articles about Qiang, ranging from phonetics and phonology (1940a, 1943a, 1943c, 1945, 1947) and lexicon (1950, 1951) to nominal and verbal morphology (1940b, 1943b).

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Academia Sinica (now the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) organized teams of linguists to carry out fieldwork on ethnic minority peoples' languages and history. The seventh team investigated the Tibetan and the Qiang languages. Sun Hongkai, Liu Guangkun, and Huang Bufan were members of this team, and they recorded data of 31 Qiang sites, including the Puxi variety. Data of Mawo and Taoping Qiang have been published,

but the others have never come out.

Sun (1981a) presented the view that there are two major dialects, Northern Qiang and Southern Qiang, and a number of subdialects of each. Sun (1981a) and Liu (1998) categorized the Puxi variety as belonging to the Daqishan subdialect (大歧山土語) of Southern Qiang. Sun (1982, 1983a, 1983b, and 2001) was the first to propose a separate Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, with Qiang as a member of this branch, along with Primi, rGyalrong, Ergong, Tangut, Muya, Shixing, Ersu, Guiqiong, Queyu, Zhaba, Lawurong, and Namuyi.

Randy LaPolla and Dory Poa have done fieldwork on the Northern Qiang dialect of Ronghong and Qugu since 1994, and have completed a full reference grammar of the Ronghong variety with annotated texts and glossary (LaPolla 2003) and a set of annotated texts of the Qugu variety.

Aside from my own articles (Huang 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000a, 2003) about Northern Qiang, LaPolla has published several papers (2003b, 2003c) on the Ronghong variety of Northern Qiang. LaPolla also with me published *A Grammar of Qiang with annotated texts and glossary* (2003), and we collaborated on ‘Adjectives in Qiang’ (2004), and ‘Existential Clauses and Copula Clauses in Qiang’ (LaPolla & Huang, 2002) as well. Liu has published *A Study of Mawo Qiang* (1998) and written about the case forms of the personal pronouns of Southern Qiang (1987) and the person marking (1999) in Mawo Qiang. There are also two other descriptions of Qiang that have been published: Sun (1981a), *Qiangyu Jianzhi (A Brief Description of the Qiang Language)*, on the Taoping variety of Southern Qiang, and

Huang Bufan (1991), ‘An overview of the Qiangic languages’. Sun (1981b) published one article on the verbal orientation prefixes in Qiang, and Huang Bufan (1994) has published a comparative article on these prefixes in all of Qiangic. Jonathan Evans has published a monograph on the Southern Qiang lexicon and phonology (2001a) and one article on contact-induced tonogenesis in Qiang (2001b). LaPolla (collaborating with Dr. Dory Poa, Dr. Wang Ming-ke, Dr. Jonathan Evans, Mr. Zhou Facheng and myself) is currently working on the Qiang Dialect Atlas Project.

These publications form a good foundation for work on Qiang in general and for more in-depth analyses of particular dialects. Although Chinese scholars investigated the Puxi variety in the 1950’s, there are no publications using this data. This gives me a great chance to describe the Puxi variety in-depth in terms of my first-hand data using a comprehensive typological framework.

1.4. Genetic classification

The speakers of the Puxi variety call themselves *zma*, and Qiang speakers in the other areas call themselves *ima*, *zme*, or *ma*. The Qiang language belongs to the Qiangic (羌語支) sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman family (藏緬語族), Sino-Tibetan stock (漢藏語系), as in Figure 1:

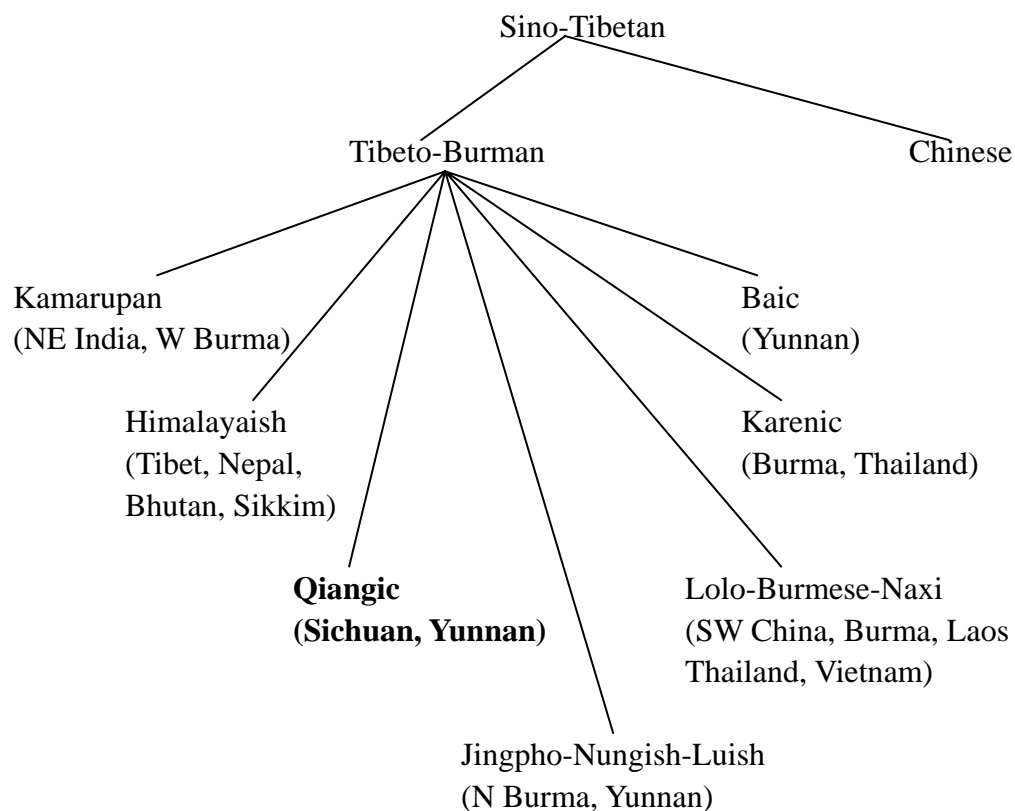


Figure 1. *Sino-Tibetan stock* (Matisoff 2000: 348)

The Qiangic languages include Qiang (羌語), Primi (普米語), rGyalrong (嘉戎語), Ergong (爾龔語), Tangut (西夏語), Muya (木雅語), Shixing (史興語), Ersu (爾蘇語), Guiqiong (貴瓊語), Queyu (卻域), Zhaba (紮巴語), Lawurong (拉塢戎語) and Namuyi (納木依語) (Sun 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 2001, Liu 1998). The subgroups of the Qiangic branch are given in Figure 2:

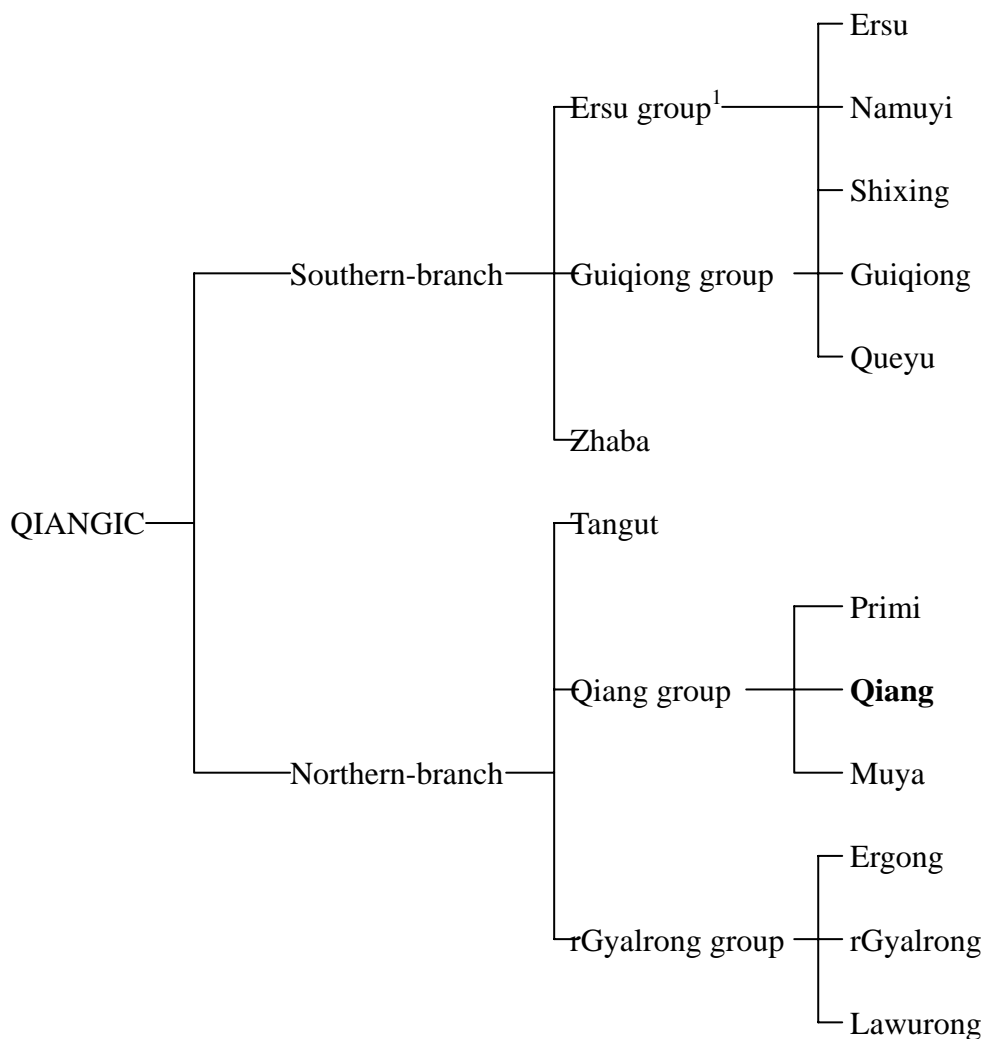


Figure 2. *The subgroups of the Qiangic branch* (Sun 2001: 160)

1.5. Dialects

The Qiang language is divided into two dialects, the Northern dialect and the Southern dialect (Sun 1981a: 177-178). The speakers of the Northern dialect live in Heishui County and the Chibusu district of Mao County (茂縣赤不蘇區). Within the Northern dialect Sun distinguishes five subdialects: Luhua (蘆花土語), Mawo (麻窩土語), Cimulin (茨木林土語), Weigu (維古土語), and Yadu (雅都土語). The

¹ Sun did not mark the boundary between the Ersu group and the Guiqiong group.

Southern dialect speakers live in Li County, Wenchuan County, Mao County, and the Zhenjianguan district of Songpan County (松潘縣鎮江關區). The Southern dialect is also subdivided by Sun into five subdialects: Daqishan (大歧山土語), Taoping (桃坪土語), Longxi (龍溪土語), Mianchi (綿池土語), and Heihu (黑虎土語). According to Sun (1981a), the Puxi variety belongs to the Daqishan subdialect (大歧山土語). There is more divergence within the Southern Dialect than within the Northern Dialect. Liu (1998) proposes that the Southern Qiang can be subdivided into seven subdialects, adding Sanlong (三龍土語) and Jiaochang (較場土語). The dialects and subdialects of Qiang are as in Figure 3:

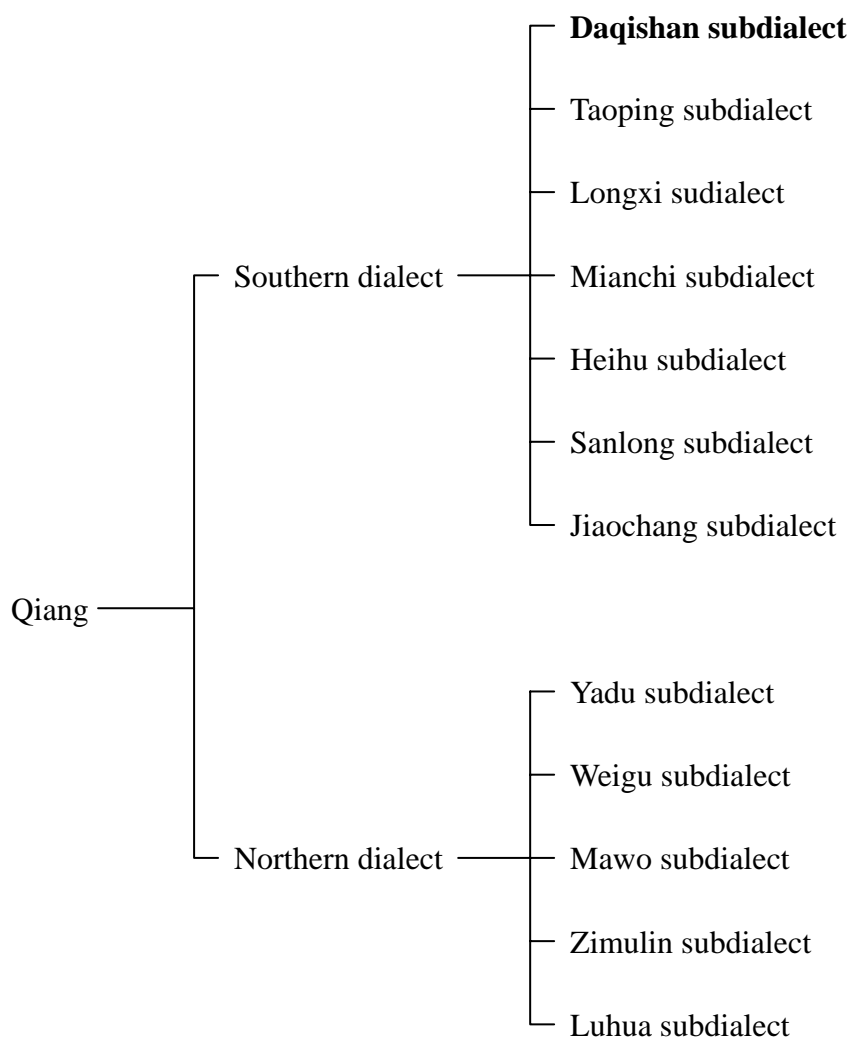


Figure 3. *The dialects and subdialects of Qiang*

1.6. Status of the language

The Qiang live in the region between China and Tibet, and have for many centuries been in close contact with the Chinese on their east and the southeast. Most Qiang can speak Chinese, and in some areas the younger generation cannot speak the Qiang language any more. They speak only Chinese and are also literate in Chinese (Sun 1988). The development of telecommunications and the media (radio and television), as well as increased contact with people outside the area, such as through migration,

temporary labor from outside, marriage, etc. are all direct threats to the future of the Qiang language. The number of Qiang speakers is gradually decreasing. At present, along the course of the highways and near towns and cities, the majority of young people and children cannot speak Qiang. With the continuing increase in interaction with other communities, this trend is becoming more and more evident (Huang 2000b: 195-196). The threat to the Qiang language and culture was noted as early as the 1940's by Graham (1958). Qiang is therefore very much an endangered language (LaPolla 2003).

In Puxi Township the children firstly learn Qiang when they can talk. They start to learn Mandarin when they go to primary school. The adults are all bilingual, but in most cases they use their native language with each other. If they talk to someone who cannot speak their language, then they would shift to Mandarin. Young men sometimes use their native language, and sometimes use Mandarin to communicate with each other. The situation is already serious. Some ceremonies are less frequent. If nothing happens to change this scenario, the language will be lost in a few more generations.

1.7. Data collection

I have been participating in a research project, run by my supervisor, Prof. Randy J. LaPolla, which involves going to Sichuan Province, including Mao, Wenchuan, Songpan, Heishui, and Li counties to investigate the Qiang language and culture. I spent the month of August, 2001 and from 13 June to 10 July, 2002 in Puxi Township,

Li County, collecting phonetic, lexical, grammatical, and textual data of the Puxi variety of Qiang for my thesis. These data were provided by a 28 year-old male, a 25 year-old male, a 50 year-old male, and a 56 year-old male, native speakers of the Puxi variety who were born and grew up in Puxi Township. In 2001 I was able to access the data from the earlier fieldwork done by the Academia Sinica team on the phonological inventory and about 2,000 glossary items of the Puxi variety from the Institute of Nationalities Studies (now the Institute for Ethnology & Anthropology), CASS. These data are useful for me to compare with my own collected data.

In this dissertation, I use first-hand linguistic data from native speakers of the Puxi variety. Some examples were elicited using grammatical questionnaires, for the development of which I consulted *Lingua Descriptive Studies: Questionnaire* (Comrie & Smith 1977), “The Categories of Human Language” (R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald 1995) and the vocabulary & grammatical questionnaire of the Qiang Dialect Atlas Project (LaPolla 2001). Other examples are taken from the texts collected. The texts are of several genres: historical narratives, explanation of cultural facts, and narratives of daily life events. I also collected some folk songs, which were provided by several other consultants.

1.8. Research methodology

I have been studying linguistic typology and functionalism since I came to CityU. The analysis will be based on the standard typological framework (now often called basic linguistic theory), borrowing also concepts introduced in *Syntax: Structure, meaning*

and function (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). The framework of linguistic typology is very important and very useful in the study of unknown languages or dialects, such as the Puxi variety of Qiang. I describe and discuss the phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse of Puxi Qiang from typological and functional perspectives. My goal in writing this dissertation is to give the reader a comprehensive and in-depth description and typological analysis of Puxi Qiang. The investigation presented in this thesis is a significant first step toward understanding the Qiang language from typological and functional perspectives. It is useful for promoting comparative research and reconstruction of Proto-Qiang, Proto-Qiangic, Proto-Tibeto-Burman, and even Proto-Sino-Tibetan in the future, and for cross-linguistic research. I would like to suggest that a comparison of morphology and syntax of Qiang dialects should be performed, such as person marking, orientation marking, aspect marking, causative marking, case marking, and word order. Of these types of marking, which were parts of Proto-Qiang? Which are parallel grammaticalizations, and which are due to language contact?

Chapter 2

Typological Overview

In this chapter, I briefly outline the typological features of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Puxi variety of Qiang.

The Puxi variety of Qiang is a verb-final, agglutinative, atonal language, and the most common word order is *SV/APV*.

2.1. Phonology

Phonologically, the Puxi variety of Qiang has no tones, and has a complex system of initial consonants. There are 33 simple initial consonants, 38 cluster initials, 13 final consonants (see §3.1 and §3.2), and 12 vowel phonemes in the Puxi variety (see §3.3). The finals in the Puxi variety of Qiang result from syllable reduction. Among the 12 vowels, four show a retroflex and non-retroflex contrast.

The initial consonant system includes a three-way contrast of voiced/voiceless unaspirated/voiceless aspirated for stops and affricatives. There are 4 sets of stops, 3 sets of affricates, and 5 sets of fricatives. There are no phonemic voiceless sonorant initials.

Syllables can have the structure of *V*, or *CV/CCV/CCCV*, or *VC/VCC*, or *CVC/CCVC/CCVCC* (see §3.5). A particular feature of the Puxi variety is that the nasals */m/*, */n/* and */ŋ/* can form syllables alone.

Stress is unpredictable (see §3.7): sometimes stress falls on the first syllable, and sometimes stress occurs on the last syllable. If the last syllable within a polysyllabic word is unstressed, its vowel is dropped or devoiced.

2.2. Morphology

The Puxi variety of Qiang is agglutinative (prefixing and suffixing), and has both head marking (person marking) and dependent marking (case marking, gender marking, diminutive marking and (in)definite marking). Nouns have gender marking, diminutive marking, number marking and indefinite/definite marking (see §5.0). Verbs have direction marking, person marking, aspect marking, negative marking, evidential marking, and causative marking (see §6.0). Subordinating clause conjunction markers usually occur at the end of the subordinate clause (see §8.5).

Puxi Qiang has a highly developed pronoun system with singular, dual, and plural in first, second, and third person. The third person form developed out of a demonstrative pronoun. There is no distinction between animate and inanimate in third person, but there is an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singular (see §4.1.6.1).

2.3. Syntax

The basic constituent order of the Puxi variety is SV (with one argument) / APV (the most common order with two arguments).

Nouns function as the head of NPs and NPs function as the core arguments of the clause. An NP can occur as the complement of a copula clause. Nouns may take nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numeral-classifier phrases and relative clauses as their modifiers. They may modify other nouns directly. Genitives always precede the noun when they modify a noun. The demonstratives may precede or follow the noun which they modify. Adjectives and numeral-classifier phrases follow the head of the NP. Relative clauses include both a head-internal type and a head-external type. The head-external type can precede or follow the noun which it modifies.

Verbs function as the head of the verb complex. In general, they are clearly transitive or intransitive. There are also some ambitransitive (S=A or S=O) and ditransitive verbs. Verbs can modify nouns in NPs, though they must take a nominalizing suffix to form a pre-head or post-head relative clause. Reduplication of transitive verbs may result in an intransitive reciprocal predicate. As in many Tibeto-Burman languages, when auxiliaries modify main verbs, they appear after the main verb.

Adjectives (a subclass of intransitive state predicate verbs) may be distinguished from the other intransitive and transitive verbs by their semantics (DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, COLOR, AGE, SHAPE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, VALUE, DIFFICULTY, QUALIFICATION, AND QUANTIFICATION) and their morphosyntactic behavior (see §4.2.2, also see LaPolla & Huang 2004, Huang 1994).

Adjectives can be predicates and take the same person marking (agreement) form, orientation / direction marking, causative marking, evidential marking, some aspect marking and negative marking as non-stative verbs, but unlike non-stative verbs, they may be nominalized using the definite or indefinite marking to function as an argument. Adjectives can be reduplicated to express intensification.

Adverbs usually appear before the head of a verb complex to modify the verb complex except for the adverb *tsyj* 'very', which occurs after the verb (see §4.3).

As in many verb-final languages, the standard of comparison in a comparative construction is placed after the item being compared.

There are two types of complementation, one has no overt nominalization and one has one of the clitic nominalizers.

There is no *it*-cleft or *wh*-cleft clause, but there is a pseudo-cleft construction. In the basic pseudo-cleft construction, a clause appears in initial position to function as the topic, and a noun occurs before the copula to function as narrow focus.

Chapter 3

The Phonological System

The phonological system of the Puxi variety of Qiang is rather complex. There is a large number of consonants. The initial consonants, in particular, are more complex than the final consonants. There are 33 simple initial consonants, 38 cluster initials, and 13 final consonants in the Puxi variety. There are no lexical tones. In §3.1 I describe the initial consonants, the consonant phoneme inventory and initial clusters. Section 3.2 is an analysis of the final consonants. The vowel phoneme inventory and diphthongs/triphthongs are discussed in §3.3. Section 3.4 is a brief discussion of the issue of tones. The syllable structure is presented in §3.5, syllable weakening is discussed in §3.6, and stress is discussed in §3.7.

3.1. Initial Consonants

As mentioned above, the Puxi variety of Qiang has 33 consonantal phonemes. These phonemes all may occur in initial position, and these phonemes may combine to form 38 consonant clusters. In the following sections we will discuss them in detail.

3.1.1. Simple Initials

The thirty-three initials belong to six places of articulation and six manners of articulation, as shown in Table 1:

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Voiceless stop	p	t			k	q
Voiceless aspirated stop	p ^h	t ^h			k ^h	q ^h
Voiced stop	b	d			g	
Voiceless affricate		ts	tɕ	tʃ		
Voiceless aspirated affricate		ts ^h	tɕ ^h	tʃ ^h		
Voiced affricate		dz	dʒ	dʒ		
Voiceless fricative	f	s	ʂ	ɕ		χ
Voiced fricative	(v)	z	ʐ	(ʒ)		ʁ
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral		l				
Approximant	(w)			(j)		

Table 1. *Consonants of the Puxi variety of Qiang*

The items in parentheses in Table 1 are not phonemes. I am using the symbols /w/ or /v/ and /j/ rather than /u/ and /i/ respectively in initial position for easy recognition of syllable-initial position in words, such as [aɲe] ‘father’ and [ɑvɑ] ‘mother’, although there is no contrast between /u/ and /wu/ or /i/ and /ji/. The fricative /v/ usually appears in a polysyllabic word, while the approximant /w/ occurs in a monosyllabic word. The fricative /ʐ/ occurs only in clusters (see §3.1.2), and the approximant /j/ is an allophone of /i/.

There are four sets of stops, three of which have a three-way distinction among unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced. The uvular set has only voiceless unaspirated vs. voiceless aspirated. Minimal or near minimal pairs establishing the status of bilabial, dental, velar and uvular stops are given below:

/p/	<i>pie</i>	‘pig’
/p ^h /	<i>p^hie</i>	‘to dig’
/b/	<i>bie</i>	‘to carry on one’s back’
/t/	<i>tu</i>	‘to answer’
/t ^h /	<i>t^ho</i>	‘there’
/d/	<i>du</i>	‘chopsticks’
/k/	<i>kou</i>	‘locative marker’
/k ^h /	<i>k^ho</i>	‘room’
/g/	<i>go</i>	‘when/if’
/q/	<i>qi</i>	‘to peel’
/q ^h /	<i>q^hi</i>	‘to separate’

There are also three sets of affricates: dental, retroflex, and palatal, all of which distinguish unaspirated, aspirated and voiced in a three-way contrast. Minimal sets to establish the phonemic status of dental, retroflex and palatal affricates are as follows:

/ts/	<i>tsue</i>	‘river’
/ts ^h /	<i>ts^hue</i>	‘village’
/dz/	<i>dzui</i>	‘to melt’
/tʂ/	<i>tʂe</i>	‘tendon’
/tʂ ^h /	<i>tʂ^he</i>	‘to weigh’
/dʒ/	<i>dʒə</i>	‘thing’
/tʃ/	<i>tʃe</i>	‘to steam’
/tʃ ^h /	<i>tʃ^he</i>	‘wine’
/dʒ/	<i>dʒe</i>	‘festival’

Note that the retroflex affricates /tʂ/, /tʂ^h/, and /dʒ/ are pronounced more forward in the mouth, similar to the alveolar affricates /tʃ/, /tʃ^h/ and /dʒ/, when they occur before the high front vowel /i/.

There are four places of articulation for nasal consonants and there is one lateral consonant, but there are no phonemic aspirated or voiceless sonorants. In a cluster, when sonorants follow a voiceless fricative, they are voiceless. The nasals and the lateral may occur either in the initial or the coda except for the palatal nasal, which appear only in initial position. Following are examples of minimal pairs of the nasals and the lateral:

/m/	<i>ma</i>	‘like, love’
/n/	<i>na</i>	‘good’

/ŋ̄/	<i>ŋ̄o</i>	‘negative copula’
/ŋ/	<i>ŋa</i>	‘exist’
/l/	<i>la</i>	‘wolf’

The nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ may be syllabic. Following are several examples of syllabic nasals:

<i>m̄</i>	‘fire’	<i>m̄-pa</i>	‘snow’
<i>n̄</i>	‘two’	<i>n̄</i>	‘very’
<i>ŋ̄</i>	‘black’	<i>ŋ̄-k^hue</i>	‘smoke’

It is quite clear that there are five sets of fricatives, three of which show a voiceless versus voiced contrast. Examples:

/f/	<i>fe</i>	‘share’ (< Ch.)	<i>futs</i>	‘wheat bran’ (< Ch.)
/s/	<i>suə</i>	‘to sharpen’	<i>sə</i>	‘to know’
/z/	<i>zue</i>	‘field’	<i>zə</i>	‘to exist’
/ʃ/	<i>ʃi</i>	‘to sieve’	<i>ʃa</i>	‘who’
/ʒ/	<i>zj</i>	‘soup’	<i>zɑ</i>	‘to live’
/p̄/	<i>pey</i>	‘fragrant’	<i>pe</i>	‘iron’
/x/	<i>xe</i>	‘needle’	<i>xu</i>	‘vegetable’
/β/	<i>βe</i>	‘fish’	<i>βu</i>	‘bowl’

The approximate /w/ is usually pronounced as a labiodental /v/, particularly in loan words from Southwestern Mandarin or polysyllabic words. The approximate /j/ varies between alveo-palatal fricative and high front vowel /i/, this is a common feature of Southwestern Mandarin. Examples:

/w/	<i>wa</i>	‘exist’		
/v/	<i>ava</i>	‘mother’		
/j/	<i>ja</i>	‘dumb’	<i>jo</i>	‘to use’

Each consonant may occur in the initial position of the syllable, but only /-p/, /-ts/, /-m/, /-n/, /-ŋ/, /-l/, /-s/, /-z/, /-ʂ/ appear in the final position of the syllable, and all are due to syllable reduction (see §3.2.).

3.1.2. Cluster initials

There are thirty-eight consonant cluster initials in the Puxi variety of Qiang, which may be classified into two kinds: one is where the initial consonant of the cluster is a fricative, and the second consonant of the cluster is one of the other consonants, including all places of articulation. Another kind is where the first element of the cluster is a bilabial, and the second element one of the fricatives, /z/, /z̥/ or /ʂ/. The different clusters occur with different frequencies; the former are more frequent, while latter are less frequent.

3.1.2.1. Clusters with pre-initials

This type of cluster is always composed of only two consonants. The first element is a fricative, phonetically, /z/, /ʒ/, /z̥/, /ʒ̥/, /z̥̥/, /ʒ̥̥/, or /ɸ/, while phonemically, /ʒ/ and /χ/, and the second element is one of the other consonants: /ʒ/ becomes [ɸ] before /pi/, /pie/, and /tɸ/. If initials are voiced, pre-initials become voiced. The sonorants /m/, /n̥/, /n/ and /l/ are voiceless /m̥/, /n̥̥/, /n̥̥̥/, and /ɸ/ when /m/, /n̥/, /n/ follow the pre-initial /ʒ/ or when /l/ and /m/ appear after the pre-initial /χ/. There are 32 clusters of this type, as in Table 2:

Pre-initials	Cluster initials											
z-	zd											
ʒ-	ʒt	ʒk						ʒm	ʒn̥	ʒn		
z̥-	z̥p	z̥d	z̥g						z̥m			
ɸ-	ɸp						ɸtɸ					
z̥̥-						z̥̥d̥̥	z̥̥m	z̥̥n̥̥				
χ-	χp	χk	χq	χts	χtɸ	χtɸ	χl	χm	χs	χɸ		
ɸ-						ɸdz	ɸdz̥	ɸd̥̥	ɸl	ɸz	ɸz̥	ɸz̥̥

Table 2. Clusters with pre-initials

The following examples are of this type of consonant cluster:

/zd/	<i>zde</i>	‘ladder’	<i>zduzda</i>	‘spell, curses’
/ʃt/	<i>ʃtua</i>	‘to pull’	<i>ʃtə</i>	‘straight’
/ʃk/	<i>ʃke</i>	‘servant’	<i>ʃkuɛtɕe</i>	‘tough’
/ʃm/	<i>ʃmien</i>	‘mole’		
/ʃn/	<i>ʃna</i>	‘smooth’		
/ʃn̩/	<i>ʃn̩o</i>	‘oil’	<i>ʃn̩e</i>	‘fatty’
/zβ/	<i>zβu</i>	‘dragon’	<i>zβa</i>	‘sleepy’
/zd/	<i>zdə</i>	‘to scold’	<i>zda</i>	‘to give, to send’
/zg/	<i>zga</i>	‘to run’	<i>zguə</i>	‘nine’
/zm/	<i>zmu</i>	‘corpse’	<i>zme</i>	‘name’
/ɕp/	<i>ɕpi</i>	‘vulva’	<i>ɕpie</i>	‘to be thirsty’
/ɕtɕ/	<i>ɕtɕya</i>	‘blind’	<i>ɕtɕe</i>	‘to sacrifice’
/zm/	<i>zmie</i>	‘to look for’		
/z̥n̩/	<i>t̥ɕi-z̥n̩o</i>	‘awl’		
/z̥d̥/	<i>z̥d̥e</i>	‘disease’	<i>z̥d̥an-t̥sə</i>	‘temple’
/χp/	<i>χpu</i>	‘pus’	<i>χpə</i>	‘niece’
/χq/	<i>χqui</i>	‘to breathe in’	<i>χqa</i>	‘difficult’
/χts	<i>χtsu</i>	‘sweat’	<i>χtsə</i>	‘gall bladder’
/χtɕ/	<i>χtɕə</i>	‘lice’	<i>χtɕa</i>	‘to unpack’
/χl/	<i>χlu</i>	‘to hinder’	<i>χla</i>	‘to release’

/χm/	χmə	‘to be called’	χmexmε	‘to smell’
/χs/	χsi	‘god’	χsə	‘new’
/χʂ/	χʂə	‘feces’		
/ʋdz/	χa-ʋdzə	‘to open’	ʋdze	‘officer’
/ʋdz/	ʋdzə	‘enough’	ʋdzuʋdzu	‘angle’
/ʋdʒ/	ʋdʒε	‘pungent’	ʋdʒy	‘light’
/ʋl/	ʋlio	‘to roll’	ʋle	‘wheat’
/ʋz/	ʋzu	‘debt’	ʋze	‘to measure’
/ʋʒ/	ʋʒə	‘Han nationality’		
/ʋʒ/	ji-ʋʒo	‘lapel’		

3.1.2.2. Clusters with post-initials

There are only six clusters composed of bilabials followed by the fricatives /z/, /z̥/, or /ʒ/. In this type, the bilabial is the initial consonant, while the fricative is a post-initial. There is also a cluster that comprises three consonants /χpz/. It seems /p/ is the initial, with /χ/ as pre-initial and /z/ as post-initial, as in Table 3:

Post-initial	Cluster initials		
-z	pz	bz	χpz
-z̥	p ^h z̥	bz̥	
-ʒ		bʒ	

Table 3. *Clusters with post-initials*

Examples of this type of cluster:

/pʒ/	<i>pʒə</i>	‘intestines’	<i>ʁə pʒə</i>	‘manure’
/bz/	<i>bzə</i>	‘tears’	<i>bzəŋe</i>	‘cloth’
/p ^h z/	<i>p^hzj</i>	‘to tear’	<i>p^hzə</i>	‘to remove’
/bz/	<i>bzj</i>	‘big, whip’	<i>bzə</i>	‘bad smell’
/bʒ/	<i>bʒi</i>	‘urine’		
/χpʒ/	<i>χpʒə</i>	‘vulva’ (euphemism)		

3.2. Final consonants

In the Puxi variety of Qiang there are thirteen final consonants. The final consonants are not preserved Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals; the original Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals were entirely lost (Liu 1984). The finals now found in the Puxi variety resulted from two syllables having merged, with the initial of the original second syllable becoming the final of the original initial syllable (e.g. *lop* ‘turnip’ < *lo* + *pu* (< Ch. loan), *tsaxl* ‘this month’ < *tsa* ‘this’ + *χlə* ‘month’. Examples:

/-p/	<i>lup</i>	‘pine needles’	<i>lop</i>	‘turnip’
/-ts/	<i>tʂ^həts</i>	‘ruler (a measure)’ (< Ch.)	<i>futs</i>	‘wheat bran’ (< Ch.)
/-l/	<i>sal</i>	‘rope’	<i>zɖal</i>	‘the nether world’
/-m/	<i>χqum</i>	‘neck’	<i>zɖim</i>	‘cloud’
/-n/	<i>χqon</i>	‘throat’	<i>ʂən</i>	‘red’

/-ŋ/	<i>taŋ</i>	‘how many’	<i>t^haŋ</i>	‘truly’
/-s/	<i>tɕ^has</i>	‘sheets’	<i>n^his</i>	‘bed’
/-z/	<i>zaz</i>	‘travel’		
/-ʂ/	<i>pəʂ</i>	‘scarcely’	<i>χoʂ</i>	‘fit, suit’
/-zm/ ¹	<i>tezɹm</i>	‘to forget’		
/-χ/	<i>dzəχ/</i>	‘April’	<i>tɕ^haχ/</i>	‘August’
/-ʋdz/	<i>miʋdz</i>	‘not to be enough’		
/-ʋ/	<i>χaʋ/</i>	‘to open (a lid)’		

3.3. Vowels

In this section we will describe the basic vowels, retroflex vowels, diphthongs/triphthongs and morphophonemic vowels.

3.3.1. Basic vowels

There are eight basic vowels and four retroflex vowels in the Puxi variety of Qiang.

The 12 vowel phonemes are given in Table 4:

¹ The clusters /-zm/, /-ʋdz/ and /-ʋ/ only appear in verbs due to unstressed syllables.

i	y		u/uʰ
e/eʰ		ə/əʰ	o
a			ɑ/ɑʰ

Table 4. *Inventory of vowel phonemes*

Examples:

/i/	<i>si</i>	‘timber’	<i>ʒi</i>	‘soup’
/y/	<i>sy</i>	‘to learn’	-	
/e/	<i>se</i>	‘medicine’	<i>ʒe</i>	‘horn’
/a/	<i>sa</i>	‘blood’	<i>ʒa</i>	‘cliff’
/ə/	<i>sə</i>	‘to know’	<i>ʒə</i>	‘to sew’
/ɑ/	<i>sɑ</i>	‘flax’	<i>ʒɑ</i>	‘to dwell’
/o/	<i>so</i>	‘wintertime’	<i>ʒo</i>	‘dative marker’
/u/	<i>su</i>	‘to dip’	<i>ʒu</i>	‘horse’

Vowels are somewhat lengthened in open syllables, but we have not found that there are any minimal pairs between short vowels and long. The vowels /u/, /e/, /ə/, and /ɑ/ have a retroflex/non-retroflex distinction (R-coloring). Examples:

/e/	<i>se</i>	‘medicine’	<i>qe</i>	‘top’
/eʰ/	<i>seʰ</i>	‘willow’	<i>qeʰ</i>	‘before’
/a/	<i>za</i>	‘to cry’	<i>qa</i>	‘family (classifier)’
/aʰ/	<i>zaʰ</i>	‘to call’	<i>qaʰ</i>	‘face’
/ə/	<i>tsʰə</i>	‘voice’	<i>pə</i>	‘to do’
/əʰ/	<i>tsʰəʰ</i>	‘bone’	<i>pəʰ</i>	‘to rear’
/u/	<i>χa-u</i>	‘to get up’		
/uʰ/	<i>uʰ</i>	‘to say’		

3.3.2. Diphthongs/triphthongs

There are 18 diphthongs and 2 triphthongs in the Puxi variety of Qiang. There are both on-glide and off-glide diphthongs, generally, diphthongs are not retroflexed, except derived ones. All diphthongs and triphthongs are given in Table 5:

<i>ei</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>əi</i>	<i>əu</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>au</i>	
<i>ie</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>io</i>				<i>iau</i>
<i>ui</i>	<i>ue</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>uə</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>uaʰ</i>	<i>uai</i>
<i>yi</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ya</i>				

Table 5. *Diphthongs & Triphthongs*

Following are examples of the diphthongs:

<i>pie</i>	‘pig’	<i>pəi</i>	‘tombstone’ (< Ch.)
<i>lie</i>	‘to plough’	<i>ləi</i>	‘steam’
<i>ʋlio</i>	‘to roll’	<i>ʋlie</i>	‘to grind’
<i>tui</i>	‘to unite’	<i>tua</i>	‘to fall’
<i>tsue</i>	‘water’	<i>tsua</i>	‘saliva’
<i>suə</i>	‘teeth’	<i>sua</i>	‘tail’
<i>ʋua</i>	‘to help’	<i>ʋuaʹ</i>	‘to call’
<i>zio</i>	‘to sing’	<i>tʂiu</i>	‘home’
<i>lei</i>	‘to forge’	<i>ləi</i>	‘sperm, semen’
<i>ɕya</i>	‘bright, light’	<i>kou</i>	‘locative marker’
<i>syisyi</i>	‘to count’		

There are only two triphthongs, /uai/ and /iau/. They occur only in loanwords from Southwestern Mandarin, for instance:

<i>k^huai-t^ha</i>	‘fast’	<i>kuai-t^ha</i>	‘to blame’
<i>ʂəu pi<u>au</u></i>	‘wrist watch’	<i>p^hiau</i>	‘ticket’

3.3.3. Morphophonemic vowels

There are some retroflex vowels and diphthongs that occur only in morphologically derived verb forms or genitive forms of the noun phrase. Following are some examples of this type (the genitive and 1sg/pl marker is the retroflexion of the root vowel -^ʰ):

<i>iʰ</i>	<i>tsiʰ</i>	(< <i>tsi</i>)	‘look (1sg/pl)’
<i>yʰ</i>	<i>tsʰyʰ</i>	(< <i>tsʰy</i>)	‘dare to (1sg/pl)’
<i>aʰ</i>	<i>qaʰ</i>	(< <i>qa</i>)	‘1sg:GEN’
<i>oʰ</i>	<i>dzoʰ</i>	(< <i>dzo</i>)	‘sit down (1sg/pl)’
<i>ioʰ</i>	<i>zioʰ</i>	(< <i>zio</i>)	‘study (1sg/pl)’
<i>ueʰ</i>	<i>kueʰ</i>	(< <i>kue</i>)	‘2sg:GEN’

3.4. The Issue of Tones

Sun (1981a: 7) and Huang (1991: 228) stated that the Southern dialect of Qiang has phonemic tones, while the Northern dialect has no tones. I found, however, not all varieties of the Southern dialect have tone systems. As one variety of the Southern dialect, Puxi Qiang has no phonemic tones.

3.5. Syllable structure

The minimum syllable type is a single vowel, such as the word /a/ ‘one’, or a syllabic nasal, such as /m̩/ ‘fire’. The initial consonant of the syllable can be any of the consonants. If there is a pre-initial or post-initial consonant, it must be a fricative. If there is a cluster final, the first consonant of the two must also be a fricative. There are 17 syllable types in the Puxi variety. In the following we enumerate instances of each type:

C (syllabic)	<i>m̩</i>	‘fire’	CVCC	<i>dzəχl</i>	‘April’
V	<i>a</i>	‘one’	CCV	<i>zde</i>	‘ladder’
VV	<i>ou</i>	‘where’	CCVV	<i>zgua</i>	‘fox’
VCC	<i>aχl</i>	‘January’	CCVC	<i>χqon</i>	‘neck’
CV	<i>sa</i>	‘flax’	CCVVC	<i>smien</i>	‘mole’
CVV	<i>pie</i>	‘pig’	CCVCC	<i>χsɪχl</i>	‘March’
CVC	<i>pal</i>	‘piglet’	CCVVCC	<i>zguəχl</i>	‘September’
CVVC	<i>βuats</i>	‘socks’	CCCV	<i>χpze</i>	‘vulva’
CVVV	<i>p^hiau</i>	‘ticket’			

3.6. Syllable weakening

Syllable weakening often happens in the Northern dialect of Qiang. When the vowel of an unstressed final syllable in a polysyllabic word is schwa /ə/, or /u/, or /uə/, the vowels usually are lost or become voiceless (Huang 1998). In some cases /a/ is also lost.

3.6.1. *Loss of schwa and vowel /a/*

In nominalized native words, the nominalizer *sa* sometimes drops its vowel, and its consonant cliticizes to the previous syllable. Examples:

<i>tʂʰas</i>	‘sheets’	<	<i>tʂʰa</i> ‘to lay out’ + <i>sa</i> ‘NOM’
<i>pʰapʰas</i>	‘shop’	<	<i>pʰapʰa</i> ‘trade’ + <i>sa</i> ‘NOM’
<i>paŋi tan-tʰas</i>	‘pawnshop’	<	<i>paŋi</i> ‘goods’ + <i>tan-tʰa</i> ‘pawn’ + <i>sa</i> ‘NOM’

As a rule, the nominalizer *mə*, which refers to an animate referent, loses its vowel and the consonant *-m* becomes the final of the previous syllable, for example:

<i>sum</i>	‘student’	<	<i>su</i> ‘learn’ + <i>mə</i> ‘NOM’
<i>dʒo tsim</i>	‘door keeper’	<	<i>dʒo</i> ‘door’ + <i>tsi</i> ‘look at’ + <i>mə</i> ‘NOM’
<i>zəzəm</i>	‘sewer’	<	<i>zəzə</i> ‘sew’ + <i>mə</i> ‘NOM’
<i>paŋi pum</i>	‘worker’	<	<i>paŋi</i> ‘goods’ + <i>pu</i> ‘do’ + <i>mə</i> ‘NOM’

In some early loanwords from Southwestern Mandarin which have *tsə* as the final syllable, the schwa is dropped, and the consonant attaches to the previous syllable.

Examples:

<i>futs</i>	‘wheat bran’	<	<i>fuzi</i> ‘麩子’ (Mandarin)
<i>vuats</i>	‘socks’	<	<i>wazi</i> ‘襪子’ (Mandarin)

<i>jits</i>	‘chair’	< <i>yizi</i> ‘椅子’ (Mandarin)
<i>ʒets</i>	‘mat’	< <i>xizi</i> ‘席子’ (Mandarin)
<i>tʂ^həts</i>	‘ruler’	< <i>chizi</i> ‘尺子’ (Mandarin)
<i>ʂats</i>	‘sand’	< <i>shazi</i> ‘沙子’ (Mandarin)

Recent loanwords from Southwestern Mandarin do not undergo syllable reduction.

Examples:

<i>tsautsə</i>	‘Chinese date’	< <i>zaozi</i> ‘棗子’ (Mandarin)
<i>ʂətsə</i>	‘lion’	< <i>shizi</i> ‘獅子’ (Mandarin)
<i>tʂ^hantsə</i>	‘pincers’	< <i>qianzi</i> ‘钳子’ (Mandarin)
<i>p^hintsə</i>	‘bottle’	< <i>pingzi</i> ‘瓶子’ (Mandarin)

3.6.2. Vowel devoicing

When the vowel *u* occurs in the last syllable of a word, and if the last syllable is not stressed, it becomes voiceless, even after a voiced consonant. Word-final vowel devoicing is attributed to de-stressing, as in the following examples:

<i>qes_u</i>	‘head scarf’ (normal)	<i>qesu</i>	(emphasis)
<i>mə^hw_u</i>	‘rain’ (normal)	<i>mə^hwu</i>	(emphasis)

3.7. Stress

Stress in the Puxi variety of Qiang is unpredictable (Sun, J. 2003): stress sometimes falls on the final syllable of polysyllabic words, but sometimes stress occurs in the first syllable within a polysyllabic word. In disyllabic words, in general, the first syllable is unstressed, and that of the second syllable is stressed, which is the stress of the whole word, as in the following examples:

<i>ta-'əpie</i>	'story'	<i>me-'pəi</i>	'father'
<i>m-'pa</i>	'snow'	<i>zgua-'ma</i>	'moss'
<i>χa-'zə</i>	'to stand up'	<i>ə-'ts^hie</i>	'to suppress'
<i>ne-'tʂ^hə</i>	'two hundreds'	<i>tʂa-'χa</i>	'these'
<i>qe-'ŋi</i>	'all, entirely'	<i>t^hi-'mi</i>	'other'
<i>kaŋ-'ka</i>	'exactly'	<i>ʂən-'ta</i>	'next'

In the Northern dialect of Qiang, such as in the Ronghong and Mawo varieties, the stress usually falls on the first syllable in compound words, therefore, historically disyllabic words merged into one syllable (Huang 1998), but in the Southern dialect (Puxi and Taoping), the stress sometimes falls on the second syllable except for unstressed words, where the stress seems to fall on the first syllable (see § 3.6), and so disyllabic words still remain disyllabic.

Puxi	Taoping	Ronghong	Mawo	
<i>zue-'pe</i>	<i>zuə³¹-pe³³</i>	<i>zəp</i>	<i>zəp</i>	'earth'
<i>tse-'pə</i>	<i>tsə³¹-pə³³</i>	<i>tsəp</i>	-	'this year'
<i>ne-'pə</i>	<i>ŋi³¹-pə³³</i>	<i>nəp</i>	<i>nəp</i>	'last year'

Chapter 4

Word classes

In Puxi Qiang there is no word for ‘word’. The basic unit of speech is *sə*, meaning ‘segment of speech’, which may be a word or be composed of a few constituents or a complete clause, but we can distinguish words from clauses in terms of their phonology, morphology, semantic properties, and syntactic functions.

The word in the Puxi variety of Qiang may be defined as a minimum free form in which new elements, including pauses, cannot be inserted within words in normal speech. A word at least consists of one (or more than one) syllable. For instance, *a* ‘one’, *m* ‘ox’, and *tə^ha* ‘goat’, are each one word corresponding with one syllable. There are also some words corresponding to more than one syllable, e.g. *mesə* ‘sun’, *qetu* ‘pigtail’, *zatsə* ‘to vomit’, *tseka* ‘rough’, *atətətəi* ‘slowly’, and so on, which are all composed of two or three syllables. In disyllabic words, the first syllable is usually less stressed than the second syllable. In trisyllabic words, the first syllable is usually less stressed than the second syllable, and the second syllable is usually less stressed than the third syllable. If the last syllable within a polysyllabic word is de-stressed, its stress shifts to the first syllable, e.g. *qesʉ* ‘scarf’, so in polysyllabic words, the stress falls on the last syllable or on the first syllable.

Apart from words, the Puxi variety of Qiang has enclitics, which are attached to their host (phrase): case marking, (in)definite marking, comparative marking, topic marking, and subordinators. All of them co-occur with an NP, or a clause rather than

occur alone, and their orders are fixed. Enclitics are unstressed.

There are five kinds of prefixes: kinship prefixes, direction prefixes, the negative prefix, the continuative prefix, and the permissive prefix. Puxi Qiang also has four kinds of suffixes on the verb: person marking, aspect marking, causative marking, and evidential marking suffixes, and has two suffixes on the noun: gender marking and plural marking.

Words may be grouped into classes based on their semantics and morphosyntactic behavior. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives (which are a subclass of state verbs) are open classes. Others, like adverbs, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, classifiers and measure words, interjections, and final particles, are closed classes. In this chapter we discuss the lexical forms and syntactic functions of each class of word.

4.1. Nouns

The noun in the Puxi variety of Qiang can be defined as a free item that may be followed by the number marking, the indefinite/definite marker and a numeral-classifier phrase. Nouns cannot be predicative without use of a copula. Some nouns may also take gender marking and diminutive marking. Nouns can be subdivided into common nouns, proper nouns, person nouns, location nouns and temporal nouns in terms of their semantics and syntactic behavior. There are four types of derived nouns (see § 4.1.5). In the following sections we will discuss their forms and functions.

4.1.1. *Common nouns*

Common nouns can take gender marking, number marking, diminutive marking, definite/indefinite marking, case marking, comparative marking, and topic marking. Semantically, these nouns may be used as core arguments and/or oblique arguments. Syntactically, they may occur as the head of a noun phrase, or can be used as modifiers.

4.1.2. *Proper nouns*

Proper nouns can fall into two subtypes, i.e. place names and person names. Place names can take locative case marking, ablative marking, comparative marking, and topic marking, and are used usually as oblique arguments. Proper nouns can modify the noun directly, as in (1) and (2). In some environments, place names are also used as core arguments, as in (3), where *peitəin* ‘Beijing’ is the topic of the copula *məi*:

(1) *χqan* *ts^hen* *ŋ* *χsa*.

Mao.County wild.pepper very good

‘The wild pepper of Mao County is very good quality.’

(2) *zɬeta* *m̩* *mi-χsa*.

Chengdu weather NEG-good

‘The weather of Chengdu changes a lot.’

- (3) *peitʃin* *tʃoŋkueʹ* *ʃəutu* *məi.*
 Beijing China:GEN capital COP
 ‘Beijing is the capital of China.’

Person names can take any kind of case marking, topic marking and comparative marking, but may not take other markings. Semantically and/or syntactically, person names, like common nouns, can be used as core arguments or obliques, and can be used as the head of an NP or be the modifier of a noun, as in (4), where the person name *ʃuwen* is used for the core argument, while the person name *ʃute* is used for the modifier of the noun *tustu* ‘younger brother’.

- (4) *ʃuwen* *ʃute* *tustu* *məi.*
 Shuwen Shude younger.brother COP:3
 ‘Shuwen is Shude’s younger brother.’

4.1.3. *Location nouns*

Location nouns, generally speaking, are words denoting spatial orientation. Location nouns in the Puxi variety show a four-way distinction. Each location word has proximal, distal, remote and far remote forms. The location words are given in Table 6:

	Proximal	Distal	Remote	Far remote
Straight up	<i>qeti</i>	<i>t^he qeti</i>	<i>t^het^he qeti</i>	<i>la qeti</i>
Straight down	<i>q^heko</i>	<i>t^he q^heko</i>	<i>t^het^he q^heko</i>	<i>la q^heko</i>
Upstream	<i>ja'</i>	<i>t^he ja'</i>	<i>t^het^he ja'</i>	<i>la ja'</i>
Downstream	<i>sa'</i>	<i>t^he sa'</i>	<i>t^het^he sa'</i>	<i>la sa'</i>
Inside	<i>kou</i>	<i>t^he kou</i>	<i>t^het^he kou</i>	<i>la kou</i>
Outside	<i>zali</i>	<i>t^he zali</i>	<i>t^het^he zali</i>	<i>la zali</i>
Front	<i>qe'</i>	<i>t^he qe'</i>	<i>t^het^he qe'</i>	<i>la qe'</i>
Back	<i>saⁿta</i>	<i>t^he saⁿta</i>	<i>t^het^he saⁿta</i>	<i>la saⁿta</i>

Table 6. *Location words*

Location words, unlike proper nouns, do not take locative marking, but they can take the ablative marker, as in (5). Location words are usually clause-level adverbs when they are used as modifiers of the verb complex, as in (6a) and (7a). In topic-comment constructions, location words may take the topic marker and be used as the topic of a clause, as in (6b) and (7b):

- (5) *no* *qeti-tə* *ə'-tsi-n.*
 2sg:TP above-ABL DIR-look.at-2

‘You look at (it) from above.’

- (6) a. *qeti tubzj a-n-tɕi əˈχla*
 above elder.brother one-two-CL DIR-lay.down
te-ʂako-i.

DIR-finish-CSM:3

‘The elder brothers finished laying logs down on top of the hill.’

- b. *qeti-la tubzj a-n-tɕi əˈχla*
 above-TOP elder.brother one-two-CL DIR-lay.down
te-ʂako-i.

DIR-finish-CSM:3

‘As for top of the hill, the elder brothers finished laying logs down.’

- (7) a. *zali m̩ pəi, kou sə-sə.*
 outside weather cold inside warm-REDUP

‘It is cold outside, while it is warm inside.’

- b. *zali-la m̩ pəi, kou-la sə-sə.*
 outside-TOP weather cold inside-TOP warm-REDUP

‘As for the outside, it is cold; as for the inside, it is warm.’

Location words can modify a noun. When location words modify a noun they do not take the genitive marker, but occur before the noun directly, as in the first clause of (8). In the contrastive construction, the head of the noun phrase may be omitted, but the location words must take definite marking, as in the second clause of (8):

- (8) *zali paŋi xa-dʒya, kou-lei te-tʂua.*
 outside thing DIR-leave inside-DEF DIR-take
 ‘(You) leave outside’s goods, and take inside’s goods.’ (lit.: Leave the stuff outside, take the stuff inside.)

Location words can also function as topic of the copula clause, as in the following examples:

- (9) [*qaʹ zɔtsʰəpɪ*] [*qaʹ tutsu*] (*məi*).
 1sg:NTP:GEN left 1sg:NTP:GEN younger.brother (COP)
 ‘On my left is my younger brother.’

- (10) *qeti gui (məi), qʰeko pieta.*
 above Kui.village (COP) below Heba.village
 ‘The one above is Kui village, and the one below is Heba village.’

4.1.4. *Temporal nouns*

Temporal nouns refer to various divisions of time or to points in time relative to the present. Following are some examples of temporal nouns:

<i>t̥aqa̯i</i>	‘spring/summer’	<i>so</i>	‘fall/winter’
<i>pesi</i>	‘today’	<i>n̥ex̥la</i>	‘daytime’
<i>tepa̯i</i>	‘tomorrow’	<i>d̥zetsə</i>	‘evening’
<i>ned̥z̥e</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>sugo</i>	‘midnight’
<i>tsepə</i>	‘this year’	<i>suapə</i>	‘next year’
<i>nepə</i>	‘last year’	<i>qe’χa</i>	‘before’
<i>ʂanta</i>	‘after’		

Temporal nouns can take locative marking, comparative marking, or topic marking, and they can modify the verb complex, but they are often used as clause-level adverbs. They may occur in topic position in topic-comment constructions which can take the topic marker, as in (11)-(13):

(11) *qe’χa-ʂə* *tʰi* *ə’-tsie-pa-zə.*

before-TOP that:CL DIR-fumigate-do-CAUS

‘At first, that (the white stone) is smoked out.’ (This occurs in a narrative text.

In Qiang culture, when one got sick, his family would go to invite a shaman to fumigate the sick to exorcise evil out of the patient’s body.)

- (12) *pesi-(la)* *χsisa* *pe-i.*
 today-TOP thirty become-CSM
 ‘Today is the thirtieth.’

- (13) *pesi-(la)* *mesi* *χsa.*
 today-TOP sun good
 ‘Today is a good day.’

Temporal nouns can also modify the head of a noun phrase. When temporal nouns modify a noun, they precede the noun, as in (14) and (15):

- (14) *ŋa* *pesi* *dzə* *qen̩i* *te-pu-qe-si.*
 1sg:TP today thing all DIR-do-finish-CSM:1
 ‘I have done today’s work.’

- (15) *t^hala* *ned̩ze* *dzə* *te-mi-pu.*
 3sg yesterday thing DIR-NEG-do:3
 ‘S/he did not do yesterday’s work.’

In copula clauses, a temporal noun may function as the topic of the copula clause, as in the following examples:

- (16) *pesi* *dʒe* *məi/pe-i*
 today festival COP/become-CSM
 ‘Today is the Spring Festival.’

- (17) *tepei* *ɛintɕ^hit^hian* *məi*
 tomorrow Sunday COP
 ‘Tomorrow is Sunday.’

4.1.5. Derived nouns (Nominalization)

There are four kinds of derived nouns in the Puxi variety. One kind is verbs or noun-verb phrases to which the nominalizer *-m* has been added to form agentive nouns, which refer to a person carrying out the activity represented by the verb.

Following are some examples of agentive nominalization:

<i>su</i>	‘to learn’	+	<i>-m</i>	<i>sum</i>	‘apprentice’
<i>zga</i>	‘to run’	+	<i>-m</i>	<i>zgam</i>	‘waiter’
<i>qetu</i>	‘hair’ + <i>t^hə</i> ‘to cut’	+	<i>-m</i>	<i>qetu t^həm</i>	‘barber’
<i>dʒo</i>	‘door’ + <i>tsi</i> ‘to watch’	+	<i>-m</i>	<i>dʒo tsim</i>	‘doorkeeper’

A second kind is verbs to which the nominalizer *sa* (which has three allomorphs: when stress falls on *sa*, it is represented by *sā*; while stress occurs on another syllable, it is represented by *sə* or *-s*) has been added to form instrumental nouns and object

nouns, as in the following examples:

<i>tʂʰɑ</i>	‘to spread out’	+	<i>sa</i>	<i>tʂʰɑ-sa</i>	‘blanket’
<i>ŋi</i>	‘to sleep’	+	<i>sa</i>	<i>ŋi-sa/ŋis</i>	‘bed’
<i>tʂʰe</i>	‘to drink’	+	<i>sa</i>	<i>tʂʰe-sə</i>	‘drinks’
<i>dze</i>	‘to eat’	+	<i>sa</i>	<i>dze-sa</i>	‘food’

The derived noun may be used as the head of an NP, as in (18) or the modifier of an NP, as in (19):

- (18) *ŋa tʂʰe-sa ŋaʼ.*
 1sg:TP drink-NOM exist:1
 ‘I have drinks.’

- (19) *ŋa qaʼ χuəla-pa-sa paŋi te-po-si.*
 1sg:TP face wash-do-NOM thing DIR-buy-CSM:1
 ‘I bought goods for washing my face.’

Adjectives which are reduplicated or take the definite marker *-ei* are a third type of nominalization. As nouns, they may occur as the head of noun phrases (see §4.2.2).

- (20) *ʂən-ʂən-lei* *χsa,* *ʂe-ʂe-lei* *mi-χsa.*
 red-REDUP-DEF good yellow-REDUP-DEF NEG-good

‘The red one is beautiful, and the yellow one is not beautiful.’

- (21) *t^halaʼ* *ɸu* *tsyi-tsyi-lei* *a-gu.*
 3sg:GEN bowl small-REDUP-DEF one-CL

‘His/her bowl is the small one.’

Nouns may also be derived from some verbs by adding the definite marking after the verb (see (171-172)), as in (22)-(23):

- (22) a. *ts^hu* *ʂe-dze-i* *go,* *n̩i-lei* *mi-pa.*
 meal DIR-eat-CSM LNK sleep-DEF NEG-do

‘After a meal, sleeping is not good for you.’ (lit.: Sleeping is not done.)

- b. *ts^hu* *ʂe-dze-i* *go,* *n̩i* *mi-pa.*
 meal DIR-eat-CSM LNK sleep NEG-do

‘After a meal, (one) doesn’t sleep.’

- (23) a. *dzə* *pu-lei* *ʂepəi-zo* *zazo* *sə.*
 thing do-DEF body-DAT very good

‘Doing work is very good for (one’s) body.’

- b. *dzə pu ʒepəi-zo zəzo sə.*
 thing do body-DAT very good

‘Doing work is very good for (one’s) body.’

Note that the examples in (22a), (23a) and (22b), (23b) show a little bit of difference.

The examples (22a) and (23a) take the definite marker *-lei* to function as an argument of the clause, whereas the examples (22b) and (23b) are used as verbs.

Nouns may also be formed from reduplicated adjectives and a few other verbs using the indefinite marker *-təi*, as in (24)-(25):

- (24) *tʰala ʒən-ʒən-təi te-po-i,*
 3sg red-REDUP-INDEF DIR-buy-CSM:3
ŋa pʰzj-pʰzj-təi te-po-si.
 1sg:TP white-REDUP-INDEF DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘S/he bought a red one, and I bought a white one.’

- (25) *ŋa (zmu) te-ʒe-təi te-təu-si,*
 1sg:TP dead.body DIR-die-INDEF DIR-see-CSM:1
tʰala ʒsazʒo-təi te-təu-i.
 3sg live-INDEF DIR-see-CSM:3

‘I saw a dead body, and s/he saw a live one.’

In general, nominalized verbs/adjectives are treated as NPs, so they may function as core arguments of the clause.

4.1.6. *Pronouns*

Pronouns may be subdivided into personal pronouns in §4.1.6.1, reflexive pronouns in §4.1.6.2, demonstrative pronouns in §4.1.6.3, interrogative pronouns in §4.1.6.4 and indefinite pronouns in §4.1.6.5.

4.1.6.1. Personal pronouns

There are three persons and three numbers marked in the personal pronouns in the Puxi variety of Qiang. There is an exclusive/inclusive distinction in the first person non-singular and a topic/non-topic distinction in first and second person singular.

There are also dual forms of the pronouns, as given in Table 7:

	Topic	Non-topic	Inclusive	Exclusive
1sg	<i>ŋa/ŋa</i>	<i>qa/qo</i>	-	-
2sg	<i>no</i>	<i>kue</i>	-	-
3sg	<i>t^ha-la</i>	<i>t^ha-la</i>	-	-
1dl	-	-	<i>tsy-n</i>	<i>qa-n</i>
2dl	<i>kue-n</i>	<i>kue-n</i>	-	-
3dl	<i>t^he-n</i>	<i>t^he-n</i>	-	-
1pl	-	-	<i>tsy-la</i>	<i>qa-la</i>
2pl	<i>kue-la</i>	<i>kue-la</i>	-	-
3pl	<i>t^ha-χa</i>	<i>t^ha-χa</i>	-	-

Table 7. *Personal pronouns*

Among personal pronouns, the first person singular and the second person singular in the Puxi variety of Qiang show a topic vs. non-topic distinction, although the first person plural, the second person plural and the third person pronoun do not show such a distinction:

- (26) *ŋa* *t^hala* *seˀ*
 1sg:TP 3sg beat:1
 ‘I am beating him/her.’

- (27) *t^hala* *qa* *ʒe*.
 3sg 1sg:NTP beat:3
 ‘S/he is beating me.’
- (28) *no* *qa* *ʒe-n*.
 2sg:TP 1sg:NTP beat-2
 ‘You are beating me.’
- (29) *ŋa* *kue* *ʒeʹ*.
 1sg:TP 2sg:NTP beat:1
 ‘I am beating you.’
- (30) *tsyla* *t^haχa* *ʒeʹ*.
 1pl:INCL 3pl beat:1
 ‘We are beating them.’
- (31) *t^haχa* *tsyla* *ʒe*.
 3pl 1pl:INCL beat:3
 ‘They are beating us.’ (Inclusive)

- (32) *qala* *kuela* *se'*
 1pl:EXCL 2pl beat:1
 'We are beating you.'

- (33) *kuela* *qala* *se-n*
 2pl 1pl:EXCL beat-2
 'You are beating us.' (Exclusive)

- (34) *qa'* *sepəi* *zɔʒe* *la*
 1sg:NTP:GEN body illness exist
 'I am sick.' (lit.: My body has illness.)

- (35) *kue'* *qezbe-ta* *papa-təi* *wa*
 2sg:NTP:GEN head-LOC scar -INDEF exist
 'There is a scar on your head.' (lit.: Your head has a scar.)

From the examples above, we can see that *ŋa* and *no* occur only in topic position, as in examples (26), (28) and (29), so we call them topic pronouns, while *qa* and *kue* never occur in topic position, but appear in other positions, as in (27) to (35), therefore we call them non-topic pronouns.

Table 7 shows that the first person and the second person plural are composed of the singular non-topic forms plus the number marker *-la*, first person exclusive *qa-la* (exclusive) and second person plural *kue-la*. First person inclusive is also formed by adding the plural marker *-la*, i.e. *tsy-la* (inclusive). The third person singular *t^ha* is same form as the distal demonstrative pronoun, and *la* is a classifier (see §4.1.6.3), and the plural form of the third person includes a unique plural marker, *-χa*. The 1st person dual forms show an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction involving the same forms as appear in the inclusive plural and singular non-topic pronouns plus *ŋ* ‘two’: *qa-n* ‘we two’ (exclusive), *kue-n* ‘you two’, or first person inclusive and the third person singular plus *ŋ* ‘two’: *tsy-n* ‘we two’ (inclusive), and *t^he-n* ‘they two’.

Personal pronouns can take case marking, but the topic pronouns can only take the agentive marker and the topic marker, while the non-topic pronouns can take dative marking, genitive marking, benefactive marking, ablative marking, and comparative marking (see §5.5). First person non-topic singular *qa* becomes *qo* when it takes the dative marking *-zo*, (compare (36) and (37)). The pronouns may occur in all positions except for the first person topic pronoun and the second person topic pronoun, which occur only in topic/actor position. The third person pronouns may be used anaphorically to refer to a referent mentioned previously (see § 9.2.2).

- (36) *t^hala* *qa* *te-di-i*
 3sg 1sg:NTP DIR-beat-CSM:3
 ‘S/he beat me.’

- (37) *t^hala qo-zo dzə a-zməi ze-ze^l-i.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT thing one-kind DIR-tell-CSM:3
 ‘S/he told me one thing.’

The reason I do not treat *ŋa* and *no* as being in the nominative case, but treat them as topic forms is that although the topic pronouns *ŋa* and *no* can represent an actor, and may take the agentive marker *-i* or a topic marker, if an undergoer, a causee, a recipient, or a benefactive occurs in initial position to function as topic, it is represented by a topic pronoun (*ŋa* or *no*), as in (38):

- (38) a. *t^hala qo-zo kue-zo paŋi ze-χtsuə-zə-i.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:NTP-DAT things DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3
 ‘S/he made me give you the thing.’ / ‘S/he made me give the thing to you.’
- b. *ŋa t^hala-i paŋi kue-zo ze-χtsuə-zə-i.*
 1sg:TP 3sg-AGT thing 2sg:NTP-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3
 ‘I was made to give you the thing by him/her.’
- c. *no t^hala-i paŋi qo-zo ze-χtsuə-zə-i.*
 2sg:TP 3sg-AGT thing 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3
 ‘You were made to give the thing to me by him/her.’

In (38a) the third person singular *t^hala* functions as causer and topic, *qo* ‘I’ and *kue* ‘you’, both non-topic forms, are marked by the dative marker *-zo*, and *pani* ‘thing’ is the undergoer. In (38b) the causee, represented in (38a) by *qo*, appears in initial position as the topic, in the topic form *na*, and the causer *t^hala* is marked by the agentive marker *-i*. In (38c) the recipient, represented by *kue* ‘you’ in (38a), appears in sentence-initial position to function as the topic, and is represented by the topic pronoun *no* ‘you’, while the causer is again marked by the agentive marker *-i*.

In examples (38b) and (38c), the topic is not the actor, but causee or recipient, and is represented by topic form *na* or *no*. Therefore I do not treat *na* and *no* as nominative or agentive forms, but treat them as topic pronouns.

4.1.6.2. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns exhibit person and number distinctions, as they are based on the regular pronouns and take the same case marking. The singular reflexive pronouns are distinct from the dual and plural reflexive pronouns, as in Table 8:

Pronoun	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>na ku/joqe</i>	<i>tsyn joqe</i>	<i>tsyla joqe</i> (inclusive)
		<i>qan joqe</i>	<i>qala joqe</i> (exclusive)
2	<i>ku</i>	<i>kuen joqe</i>	<i>kuela joqe</i>
3	<i>mu</i>	<i>t^hen/mun joqe</i>	<i>t^haxa/mula joqe</i>

Table 8. Reflexive pronouns

From Table 8 we can see that the reflexive of the 1st person singular is *ŋa ku* or *joqe*, the reflexive of the 2nd person singular is *ku* and the reflexive of the 3rd person singular pronoun is *mu*. The reflexives of dual and plural are formed by adding *joqe* after the personal pronouns. To express a reflexive sense the same reflexive pronoun is used to represent both the actor and the undergoer in a transitive clause, and the token representing the actor takes the agentive marker, as in (39)-(42):

- (39) *ŋaku-i* *ŋaku* *tsi'*.
 1sg:REFL-AGT 1sg:REFL look.at:1
 'I myself am looking at myself.'

- (40) *mu-i* *mu* *se*.
 3sg:REFL-AGT 3sg:REFL beat:3
 'S/he is beating herself/himself.'

- (41) *t^haχa-joqe-i* *mu-la* *džadzə*.
 3pl-REFL-AGT 3sg:REFL-PL ask:3
 'They ask themselves.'

- (42) *ku-i* *ku* *džadzə-n*.
 2sg:REFL-AGT 2sg:REFL ask-2
 'You ask yourself.'

The reflexive pronouns may also be used as emphatic pronouns, as in (43)-(50):

emphatic-actor:

- (43) *ŋaku zedə a-pen te-po-si.*
 1sg:REFL book one-CL DIR-buy-CSM:1
 ‘I myself bought a book.’

emphatic-genitive:

- (44) *ŋa ŋakuʹ zedə a-pen te-po-si.*
 1sg:TP 1sg:REFL:GEN book one-CL DIR-buy-CSM:1
 ‘I bought one book for myself.’

emphatic-actor:

- (45) *tša-pen zedə ŋaku-i te-po-si.*
 this-CL book 1sg:REFL-AGT DIR-buy-CSM:1
 ‘This book I bought myself.’

emphatic-genitive:

- (46) *joqe qaʹ la mi-ŋa pə-u-a.*
 1sg:REFL face also NEG-exist do-PROS-1
 ‘I would also lose my own face.’

emphatic-topic:

- (47) *ku* *kue-lu*.
 2sg:REFL IMP-come
 ‘You come by yourself.’

emphatic-possessor:

- (48) *tʰa* *vaje* *paŋi* *tʰe-ne-zmæi*
 3sg:GEN father thing that-two-kind
da-zda-i *go*, *mu* *tauli* *ŋa*.
 DIR-give-CSM:3 LNK 3sg:REFL truth exist:3
 ‘His father gave (him) two these things; he will find a way himself.’

emphatic-genitive:

- (49) *apu mepæi* *mu* *kebzə* *qezbe* *la-sa*
 old.man 3sg:REFL child head exist-NOM
mi-ŋa-tɕi *sə* *ŋi* *χazə* *χsa-χsa* *a-la*
 NEG-exist-INDEF know ADV wife good-REDUP one-CL
te-zmie *ŋi* *tsə-si* *zetse* *ko-tʰa-zə* *kala*.
 DIR-look.for ADV son-COMIT life live-AUX-CAUS want:3
 ‘The old man knows his own son is stupid, so he wants to cause his son to find
 a good wife to live with.’

emphatic-actor:

(50) *mu-i* *tʂ^ha-pu.*

3sg:REFL-AGT PERMS-do

‘Let s/he do it by herself/himself.’

4.1.6.3. Demonstratives

The demonstratives show a two-term system in terms of proximate and distal, which are *tʂa* and *t^ha* respectively. The proximate is used when the referent is near the speaker. The distal is used when the object referred to is far away or out of vision. The classification of demonstratives is shown in Table 9:

Proximate	Distal	Semantics
<i>tsa-la</i>	<i>t^ha-la</i>	human reference ('this person', 'that person')
<i>tsa-χa</i>	<i>t^ha-χa</i>	quantity ('this much', 'that much')
<i>tsi</i>	<i>t^hi</i>	object ('this', 'that')
<i>tsa-d̥ʒu</i>	<i>t^ha-d̥ʒu</i>	location ('here', 'there')
<i>tsa-ts^hue</i>	<i>t^ha-ts^hue</i>	location ('this side', 'that side')
<i>tso</i>	<i>t^ho</i>	location ('here', 'there')
<i>tsa-t̥^ho</i>	<i>t^ha-t̥^ho</i>	time ('at this time', 'at that time')
<i>tsa-tui</i>	<i>t^ha-tui</i>	time ('now', 'then')
<i>tsa-l</i>	<i>t^ha-l</i>	time ('now', 'then')
<i>tsa-k^ha</i>	<i>t^ha-k^ha</i>	time ('in these days', 'in those days')
<i>tsa-zm̥əi</i>	<i>t^ha-zm̥əi</i>	kinds/means ('this way', 'that way')

Table 9. *Demonstrative pronouns*

It seems that the proximate *tsa* and distal *t^ha* are the basic forms of demonstratives. The demonstratives referring to human reference, *tsa-la* / *t^ha-la*, are formed from the demonstrative *tsa* / *t^ha* plus the classifier *-la*. The demonstratives referring to quantities, *tsa-χa* 'these' / *t^ha-χa* 'those', comprise *tsa* / *t^ha* with the plural marker *-χa*. The demonstratives referring to objects, *tsi* / *t^hi*, may be combinations of the demonstrative *tsa* / *t^ha* with the classifier *-zi* (*tsi* < *tsa* + *zi*, *t^hi* < *t^ha* + *zi*). There is no difference semantically or syntactically between *tso* 'here' / *t^ho* 'there' and *tsad̥ʒu* 'here' / *t^had̥ʒu* 'there' representing locations. The demonstratives referring to

manner, *tʂa-zməi* ‘this way’ / *tʰa-zməi* ‘that way’, consist of the demonstrative *tʂa* / *tʰa* plus the classifier *zməi* ‘kind’, whereas *tʂa-tʂʰue* ‘this side’ / *tʰa-tʂʰue* ‘that side’ are composed of *tʂa* / *tʰa* plus the classifier *tʂʰue* ‘side’. It is interesting that demonstratives referring to time have four forms: *tʂa-tʂʰo* / *tʰa-tʂʰo*, *tʂa-kʰa* / *tʰa-kʰa*, *tʂa-l* / *tʰa-l* and *tʂa-tui* / *tʰa-tui*. The demonstratives *tʂa-tʂʰo* / *tʰa-tʂʰo* refer to the longest time span, and *tʂa-kʰa* / *tʰa-kʰa* represent a longer time span than *tʂa-tui* / *tʰa-tui* and shorter than *tʂa-tʂʰo* / *tʰa-tʂʰo*, while *tʂa-l* / *tʰa-l* are similar to *tʂa-tui* / *tʰa-tui*, referring to the shortest time span.

The demonstratives are both free pronouns and demonstrative adjectives and have the same form in both uses. If the demonstratives are used as free pronouns, they may function as head of an NP, as in (51)-(52). If they are adjectives, they can modify the head of an NP, as in (53):

- (51) *tʰadʒu-ʂə* *abu apa* *ɛtʂe* *pa.*
 there-TOP ancestor feed do

‘As for that place, ancestors are worshiped there.’

- (52) *tʰa-zi* *qaʹ* *məi.*
 that-CL 1sg:NTP:GEN COP

‘That (thing) is mine.’

- (53) *tʰi* *zedə-lei* *tʰo* *əʰ-qʰu-i*.
 that:CL book-DEF there DIR-drop.off-CSM
 ‘That scripture dropped off there.’

4.1.6.4. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask WH-questions (content questions). The main interrogative pronouns are as follows:

<i>ʂa/ʂe/ʂi/ʂeʰ</i>	‘who’	<i>ɲi-dzua</i>	‘what’
<i>taŋ</i>	‘how many/how much’	<i>ou-dzua</i>	‘where’
<i>ana</i>	‘which’	<i>ɲi-tɕi</i>	‘what’
<i>ana-tɕʰo</i>	‘when’	<i>ɲi-pi</i>	‘why’
<i>taŋ-tɕʰo</i>	‘how long’	<i>anaŋ</i>	‘how’

The forms for *ɲi-dzua/ ɲi-tɕi* ‘what’, and *ɲi-pi* ‘why’ involve the same morpheme, *ɲi*. The form for ‘when’ *ana-tɕʰo* is formed by *ana* ‘which’ plus *tɕʰo* ‘classifier for time’. The form *taŋ-tɕʰo* ‘how long’ is formed by *taŋ* ‘how many’ plus *tɕʰo* ‘classifier for time’. The form *ou-dzua* is formed by *ou* ‘where’ plus *dzua* ‘classifier for object’.

The interrogative pronoun for ‘who’ has four forms, as in Table 10:

Transitive Topic	Intransitive Topic	Undergoer	Genitive
<i>ʂi</i>	<i>ʂa</i>	<i>ʂe</i>	<i>ʂeʹ</i>

Table 10. *The forms of ‘who’*

Table 10 shows that *ʂi* (which may be derived from *ʂa* plus the agentive marker /-i/) marks a transitive topic, *ʂa* an intransitive topic, *ʂe* a transitive undergoer or copula complement, and *ʂeʹ* a genitive. Following are some examples of these pronouns with human referents:

transitive topic:

- (54) *ʂi-i* *pie* *t^ha-zi* *ʂe-tsə-i?*
 who-AGT pig that-CL DIR-kill-CSM
 ‘Who killed that pig?’

transitive topic:

- (55) *ʂi-i* *ʂe* *qu?*
 who-AGT who:P scare
 ‘Who scares whom?’

transitive topic:

- (56) *ʒi-i* *ʒe* *ma?*
 who-AGT who:P love:3
 ‘Who loves whom?’

intransitive topic:

- (57) *ʒa-tʃi* *kue-lu-i?*
 who-INDEF DIR-come-CSM
 ‘Who is coming?’

copula complement:

- (58) *no* *ʒe-n?*
 2sg:TP who:CC-2
 ‘Who are you?’

genitive:

- (59) *tʰala-i* *ʒeʹ* *paŋi* *te-dʒya-i?*
 3sg-AGT who:GEN thing DIR-lose-CSM:3
 ‘S/he lost whose belongings?’

Interrogative pronouns may also be used to express an indefinite meaning, as in Mandarin. When interrogative pronouns are used, they may be followed by the adverb *la* ‘also, even’ in affirmative or negative clauses with the meaning of ‘anyone’, as in (60), ‘anything’, as in (61), ‘anywhere’, as in (62), or ‘anytime’, as in (63) and (64):

- (60) *t^hala se-tɕi la mi-qu.*
 3sg who-INDEF also NEG-afraid:3
 ‘S/he is not afraid of anyone.’

- (61) *t^hala ɲi-tɕi la mi-ma.*
 3sg what-CL also NEG-like:3
 ‘S/he does not like anything.’

- (62) *ŋa ou-dzua la ke kala’.*
 1sg:TP where-CL also go want:1
 ‘I would like to go anywhere.’

- (63) *no ana-tɕ^ho la ze-lu qe-n.*
 2sg:TP which-time also DIR-come can-2
 ‘You may come whenever you want.’

- (64) *ana-tui la qe.*
 which-time also can
 ‘(You) may do it anytime.’

4.1.6.5. Indefinite pronouns

Aside from the use of the interrogative pronouns as indefinite pronouns, there are three indefinite pronouns, *t^himi* ‘other thing’, *me* ‘(other) person’ and *qaqa* ‘other’ in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The indefinite pronoun *me* ‘other person’ may be used as the head of an NP, as in (65), and may also be used as the modifier of the head of an NP, as in (66). The indefinite pronoun *qaqa* may be used as the modifier of the head of an NP, as in (67), and *t^himi* is used as the modifier of an NP, as in (68), or the head of an NP, as in (69):

- (65) *apu mepəi, no me mi-q^ho-n ba?*
 old.man 2sg:TP other.person NEG-cheat-2 PRT
 ‘Old man, didn’t you cheat someone?’

- (66) *tətəi n̩i ə^htəi, me tsə-lei*
 eldest.sister CONJ second.eldest.sister other.person son-DEF
dzɑ-dzɑ o!
 laugh.at-REDUP PRT

‘Eldest Sister and Second Eldest Sister, (you) are laughing at another person’s

son.’

- (67) *qaqa a-zmæi ze-zda.*
 other one-kind DIR-give

‘(You) give (me) another thing.’

- (68) *t^himi p^hu pi-ŋa.*
 other clothing CONT-need

‘(We) still need another piece of clothing.’

- (69) *no t^himi a-guə ə^l-pi-lopa.*
 2sg:TP other one-CL DIR-CONT-add

‘You add another one.’

4.1.7. *Numerals and Quantifiers*

In most cases, numerals and quantifiers are used to modify the head of an NP.

Whenever they modify the noun, they follow the noun they modify.

4.1.7.1. Numerals

The numeral system is a simple decimal system in the Puxi variety. Native terms for numbers may be up to ‘ten thousand’:

<i>a</i>	‘one’	<i>χatɕi</i>	‘eleven’
<i>ŋ</i>	‘two’	<i>χan</i>	‘twelve’
<i>χsi</i>	‘three’	<i>χaχsi</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>dzə</i>	‘four’	<i>χadzə</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>ɸua</i>	‘five’	<i>χaŋa</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>χtsu</i>	‘six’	<i>χaχtsu</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>ɕən</i>	‘seven’	<i>χaɕən</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>tɕ^ha</i>	‘eight’	<i>χatɕ^ha</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>zguə</i>	‘nine’	<i>χazguə</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>χadɕy</i>	‘ten’	<i>ŋsa</i>	‘twenty’
<i>χsisa</i>	‘thirty’	<i>dzəsa</i>	‘forty’
<i>χtsusa</i>	‘sixty’	<i>ɕənsa</i>	‘seventy’
<i>tɕ^hasa</i>	‘eighty’	<i>zguəsa</i>	‘ninty’
<i>a-tɕ^ha</i>	‘one hundred’	<i>a-ɕto</i>	‘one thousand’
<i>a-yue</i>	‘one ten thousand’	<i>a-yueyue</i>	‘one hundred thousand’

As the examples above show, the numerals from one to nine in the Puxi variety of Qiang are all monosyllables, but the numerals from ten to nineteen have the morpheme *χa* before one of the numerals from one to nine, and the numerals from twenty to ninety have the morpheme *sa* after the numerals from one to nine. The words *tɕ^ha* ‘hundred’, *ɕto* ‘thousand’, and *yue* ‘ten thousand’ are classifiers, like in Chinese; when the classifier *tɕ^ha* is added after the numeral *a* ‘one’ it is to form

a-tʂʰa ‘one hundred’, if the classifier *ʂto* is added after the numeral *a* ‘one’, it is to form *a-ʂto* ‘one thousand’, and when the classifier *yue* is added after the numeral *a* ‘one’, it forms *a-yue* ‘ten thousand’. If the classifier *yue* is reduplicated and is added after the numeral *a* ‘one’, it forms *a-yueyue* ‘one hundred thousand’.

There is no ordinal system in the Puxi variety of Qiang. Puxi Qiang uses locational forms to express ordinal numbers:

<i>la-qe'</i>	(most-front)	‘the first one’
<i>ʂənta</i>	(back)	‘the next one’
<i>tʰe-ʂənta</i>	(that-back)	‘the third one’
<i>tʰe-tʰe-ʂənta</i>	(that-that-back)	‘the fourth one’
<i>la-ʂənta</i>	(most-back)	‘the last one’

4.1.7.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers mainly function as modifiers of the noun. The quantifier *an* ‘several’ is a combination of the numeral *a* ‘one’ and *ŋ* ‘two’. Following is a list of all quantifiers:

<i>a-n-la</i>	‘several’	<i>a-χa</i>	‘some’
one-two-CL		one-PL	
<i>a-n-tʂʰə</i>	‘hundreds’	<i>a-n-ʂto</i>	‘thousands’
one-two-hundred		one-two-thousand	

<i>a-n-yue</i>	‘tens of thousands’	<i>qen-i-χa</i>	‘all’
one-two-ten.thousand		all-PL	
<i>tʂa-ta/-χa</i>	‘these’	<i>t^ha-ta/-χa</i>	‘those’
this-PL		that-PL	

4.1.8. *Classifiers and measure words*

Classifiers always occur with a number or demonstrative pronoun when the latter modifies the head of an NP. The classifiers may be divided into sortal classifiers and measure words in terms of semantics. There is no grammatical difference between measure words and sortal classifiers, but there is a semantic distinction between individual entities and mass entities. Following is a list of some classifiers of individual entities (the numeral *a* ‘one’ is given with the classifiers):

<i>a-tʂei</i>	used for people
<i>a-la</i>	used for human beings, or things
<i>a-zi</i>	used for non-human beings, like animals
<i>a-dzj</i>	used for stick-like, long, thin objects or flowers (native word)
<i>a-βui</i>	used for small trees or flowers
<i>a-tʂ^ha</i>	used for flat, thin things
<i>a-gu</i>	used for (small) round objects
<i>a-χqa</i>	used for one mouthful of things (cf. the noun <i>χqa</i> ‘mouth’)

<i>a-p^ho</i>	one tree (cf. the noun <i>p^ho</i> ‘tree’) or forest
<i>a-guə</i>	one dollar
<i>a-tʂ^hə</i>	one cent
<i>a-tuə</i>	one handspan (thumb to tip of extended middle finger)
<i>a-zie</i>	one fathom (finger to finger with arms outstretched)

The following are used for groups of individuals:

<i>a-qa</i>	used for a family of people
<i>a-dzuə</i>	used for a pair of things (such as ‘shoes’)
<i>a-bu</i>	used for a crowd of people or haystack

There are a few classifiers borrowed from Southwestern Mandarin. Examples:

<i>a-p^hin</i>	one bottle (< Ch. <i>pin</i> ‘瓶’)
<i>a-ka</i>	one cigarette (< Ch. <i>gen</i> ‘根’)
<i>a-pəi</i>	one backload of things (< Ch. <i>bei</i> ‘背’)
<i>a-tʂ^huan</i>	used for a string of small things (< Ch. <i>chuan</i> ‘串’)
<i>a-χo</i>	used for one box of things (< Ch. <i>he</i> ‘盒’)
<i>a-pa</i>	used for long stick-like object or knife (< Ch. <i>ba</i> ‘把’).
<i>a-tʂ^he</i>	one foot (< Ch. <i>chi</i> ‘尺’)

Apart from nominal classifiers, there are some verbal action classifiers which precede the verb they modify. Following are some verbal action classifiers:

<i>a-tui</i>	(hit/) one time
<i>a-ts^hua</i>	(chop) one time
<i>a-l</i>	(come) one time
<i>a-tue</i>	(sleep) one time
<i>a-χt̚sua</i>	(punch) one time
<i>a-to</i>	(feed) one time
<i>a-ji</i>	(beat) one time
<i>a-ɬzi</i>	(kick) one time

Following are some examples of verbal action classifiers:

- (70) *t^hala a-l da-ts^hua-i.*
 3sg one-CL DIR-cut-CSM:3
 ‘S/he cut one time.’

- (71) *ŋa t^hala a-ji de-dy-si.*
 1sg:TP 3sg one-CL DIR-beat-CSM:1
 ‘I beat him/her one time.’

- (72) *t^hala qa a-χtsuən̩i ze-tsa-i.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP one-fist DIR-hit-CSM:3
 ‘S/he gave me a punch.’

- (73) *t^hala qa a-d̩zi ze-ts^huə-i.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP one-foot DIR-kick-CSM:3
 ‘S/he kicked me one time.’

4.2. Verbs

The verb in Puxi Qiang can be defined as an element that can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix, and /or the causative suffix. I divide the verbs into eight types: intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs, and ambitransitive verbs in § 4.2.1, intransitive state predicate verbs (Adjectives) in § 4.2.2, existential/locative verbs in § 4.2.3, the copulas in § 4.2.5, and matrix (complement-taking) verbs in § 4.2.6.

4.2.1. *Transitivity*

The verbs in the Puxi variety can be classified into intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and ambitransitive verbs by reference to the number of arguments the verb takes. Some verbs have the same form for both intransitive and transitive usage, and only differ with respect to an actor occurs in the sentence, as in (90)-(91) (see § 4.2.1.4 below). Intransitives can be formed from transitives by reduplicating the verb to form

a reciprocal, e.g. *tʂʰə* ‘change’ is transitive, while its reduplicated form *tʂʰə-tʂʰə* ‘exchange’ is intransitive. Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitive verbs by using the causative construction, e.g. *pʰu* ‘run’ is an intransitive, and *ʂe-pʰu-zə* ‘cause to run’ is its causative. Transitives can become ditransitive by adding the causative marking, e.g. *tsi* ‘read’ is a transitive, and *ʂe-tsi-zə* ‘cause to read’ is its causative form.

In discussing the various verb types, I will use [S] for the single direct argument of an intransitive, [A] for the actor of a transitive, and [P] for the undergoer of a transitive.

4.2.1.1. Intransitive

Intransitive verbs take one core argument. In English, in some circumstances, the verb may have zero arguments semantically, though the structure requires one argument, and so a dummy subject, ‘it’, will appear in the clause, as in (74) and (75):

(74) It is raining.

(75) It is sunny.

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, however, at least one overt argument must appear in each clause, as in (76)-(77):

- (76) *me'wu* *lu*.
rain [S] come
‘It is raining.’

- (77) *m̩* *na*.
weather [S] good
‘It is sunny.’

In (76) the single argument *me'wu* ‘rain’[S] functions as topic of the intransitive directional verb *lu* ‘come’. In (77) the single argument *m̩* ‘weather’ [S] functions as the topic of the stative verb *na* ‘good’.

An intransitive verb can be formed by reduplicating a transitive verb to make a reciprocal which has one plural argument (see § 6.8.2), for example:

Transitive			Intransitive	
<i>n̩e</i>	‘lick’	>	<i>n̩en̩e</i>	‘lick each other’
<i>t͡ʂʰə</i>	‘change’	>	<i>t͡ʂʰət͡ʂʰə</i>	‘exchange’
<i>d̩i</i>	‘beat’	>	<i>d̩idi</i>	‘beat each other’
<i>zdə</i>	‘connect’	>	<i>zdəzdə</i>	‘mutually connect’

4.2.1.2. Transitives

Transitive verbs take two core arguments. The prototypical transitive verb semantically requires an actor who carries out an action which in turn causes something to happen to an undergoer. In general, the arguments of transitive verbs usually do not take case marking (see §5.6), as in (78) and (79):

- (78) *ŋa* *t^hala* *seʹ*
 1sg:TP [A] 3sg [P] beat:1
 ‘I am beating him.’

- (79) *t^hala* *zedə* *tsi*
 3sg [A] book [P] look.at:3
 ‘S/he is reading a book.’

In example (78) the first person singular *ŋa* functions as [A] of the transitive verb *seʹ* ‘beat’, and the third person singular *t^hala* functions as [P] of the same verb. In (79) the third person singular *t^hala* functions as [A] of the transitive verb *tsi* ‘look at’, and *zedə* ‘book’ functions as [P] of the same verb.

In some specific contexts, one of the arguments of a transitive verb may be unstated, as in (80), (81) and (82):

- b. *ts^he* (*ŋa*) *te-po-si*.
 salt [TOPIC] 1sg:TP DIR-buy-CSM:1
 ‘Salt, I have bought.’

- (84) a. *ŋa* *ts^ha* *ə^l-p^ho-t^ha-si*.
 1sg:TP [A] tea [P] DIR-soak-AUX-CSM:1
 ‘I have made tea.’

- b. *ts^ha* (*ŋa*) *ə^l-p^ho-t^ha-si*.
 tea [TOPIC] 1sg:TP DIR-soak-AUX-CSM:1
 ‘Tea, I have made.’

Both (83a) and (84a) are actor-undergoer structures in which the actor/topic is first person singular *ŋa*. In both (83b) and (84b) the actor may be omitted, and the undergoer appear in initial position, however, in this case the undergoer *ts^he* ‘salt’ in (83b) and *ts^ha* ‘tea’ in (84b) became more topical because of the omission of the actor. There is no change in the number of arguments.

4.2.1.3. Ditransitives

The recipient, source or benefactive arguments of ditransitive verbs are usually marked by the dative marker, the ablative marker or the agentive marker, as in (85)-(88):

- (85) *t^hala kue-zo ρin a-fən ze-χtsu-i.*
 3sg 2sg:NTP-DAT letter one-CL DIR-send-CSM:3
 ‘S/he has sent a letter to you.’
- (86) *ava qo-zo p^hu a-la te-zə-i.*
 mother 1sg:NTP-DAT clothing one-CL DIR-sew-CSM:3
 ‘My mother sewed a piece of clothing for me.’
- (87) *t^hala qa-tə ρtəindzi χadzɣ-gu te-ŋa-lu-i.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-ABL money ten-CL DIR-borrow-come-CSM:3
 ‘S/he borrowed ten dollars from me.’
- (88) *t^hala ρtəindzi kue-zo ze-təoti.*
 3sg money 2sg:NTP-DAT DIR-hand.over:3
 ‘S/he handed over money to you.’

In example (85) the ditransitive verb *χtsu* ‘send’ takes the actor *t^hala* ‘s/he’, the undergoer *ρin a-fən* ‘one letter’ and the recipient *kue* ‘you’ marked by the dative marker *-zo*. In example (86) the ditransitive verb *zə* ‘sew’ takes the actor *ava* ‘mother’, the undergoer *p^hu a-la* ‘one piece of clothing’ and the benefactive *qo* ‘I’ marked by the dative marker *-zo*. In (87) the ditransitive verb *ŋa* ‘borrow’ takes the actor *t^hala* ‘s/he’, the undergoer *ρtəindzi χadzɣ-gu* ‘ten dollars’ and the source *qa*

'I' marked by the ablative marker *-tə*. In example (88) *təoti* 'hand over' takes the actor *t^hala* 's/he', the undergoer *ətəindzi* 'money' and the recipient *kue* 'you' also marked by the dative marker *-zə*.

If the recipient occurs in topic position, it does not take case marking, but the actor is marked by the agentive marking, as in (89) below. The ditransitive verb *zda* 'give' takes the actor *ŋa* 'I', the undergoer *pu a-la* 'a piece of clothing', and the recipient *t^hala* 'her/him', but the recipient occurs in topic position, and does not take dative marking and the actor takes the agentive marker *-i*, as in (89):

- (89) *t^hala* *ŋa-i* *pu* *a-la* *da-zda-si*.
 3sg 1sg:TP-AGT clothing one-CL DIR-give-CSM:1

'As for her/him, I gave her/him a piece of clothing.'

4.2.1.4. Ambitransitives

Some verbs in the Puxi variety of Qiang may be use as either intransitives or transitives, such as *ɓlio* 'roll', and *qu* 'scare' (intransitive or transitive). The intransitive and transitive differ only in terms of whether an actor occurs in the clause or context, as in (90) and (91):

- (90) a. *sabzj* *te-qu*. (intransitive)
 elder.sister [S] DIR-scare:3

'Elder sister scared.'

- b. *t^hala* *sabzi* *qu.* (transitive)
 3sg [P] elder.sister [A] scare:3
 ‘S/he scares her/his sister.’
- (91) a. *Ɂloto-lei* *ə^l-Ɂlio.* (intransitive)
 stone-DEF [S] DIR-roll
 ‘The stone rolled down.’
- b. *ŋa* *Ɂloto-lei* *ə^l-Ɂlio-si.* (transitive)
 1sg:TP [A] stone-DEF [P] DIR-roll-CSM:1
 ‘I rolled the stone down.’

In (90a) *qu* ‘scare’ is used as an intransitive verb, but in (90b) it is used as a transitive (causative) verb. In (91a) *Ɂlio* ‘roll’ is also used as an intransitive verb, in (91b), however, it is used as a transitive verb.

4.2.2. *Adjectives (Intransitive state predicate verbs)*

Adjectives are a subtype of the verb because they can be predicates without the use of copulas, and when adjectives are used as predicates, they take the same verbal morphology as non-stative verbs:

- (92) *p^ho* *bzi*.
 tree [S] big
 ‘(The) tree is big.’
- (93) *p^ho* *χa-bzi-qe-i*.
 tree [S] DIR-big-finish-CSM
 ‘The trees became big.’
- (94) *p^hu* *te-bet^hi-(qe)-i*.
 clothes [S] DIR-small-(finish)-CSM
 ‘These clothes became tight.’
- (95) *tsue* *te-bet^hi-i*.
 water [S] DIR-small-CSM
 ‘A /The river became small.’

In both (92) and (93) *bzi* ‘big’ is the predicate and takes the argument *p^ho* ‘tree’. In (94) *p^hu* ‘clothes’ and in (95) *tsue* ‘water’ are the arguments [S] of the intransitive stative verb *bet^hi* ‘small’.

Adjectives can take the same person marking forms as intransitive verbs when they function as predicates, as in (96) to (99):

- (96) a. *ŋa* *bzj'*. b. *ŋa* *χa-bzj-si*.
 1sg:TP big:1 1sg:TP DIR-big-CSM:1
 'I am old.'
- (97) a. *no* *bzj-n*. b. *no* *χa-bzj-so*.
 2sg:TP big-2 2sg:TP DIR-big-CSM:2sg
 'You are old.'
- (98) a. *kuela* *bzj-n*. b. *kuela* *χa-bzj-son*.
 2pl big-2 2pl DIR-big-CSM:2pl
 'You are old.'
- (99) a. *t^hala* *bzj*. b. *t^hala* *χa-bzj-i*.
 3sg big:3 3sg DIR-big-CSM:3
 'S/he is old.'

From these examples, we can see that there is a distinction between (96a), (97a), (98a), (99a) and (96b), (97b), (98b), (99b). The examples in (96a), (97a), (98a), and (99a) are all marked by the imperfective person markers, while all examples in (96b), (97b), (98b), and (99b) are all marked by change of state person markers and directional prefixes.

Reduplication of adjectives may nominalize adjectives. Reduplicated adjectives which usually take the definite marker /lei/ can occur in the topic or undergoer position (can be used as an argument), as in (100)-(102), or as a modifier of a noun, as in (103)-(105). Reduplicated adjectives can also take adverbial modification, as in (102):

- (100) *ŋa* *dzila-la-lei*¹ *ma-u-a,*
 1sg:TP long-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-1
 no *mia-mia-lei* *kue-ma.*
 2sg:TP short-REDUP-DEF DIR-demand

‘I’ll take the long one, and you take the short one.’

- (101) *t^hala* *yɔ̃y-yɔ̃y-lei* *tɕ^ha-bie,*
 3sg light-REDUP-DEF PERMS-carry
 no *dzə-dzə-lei* *kue-bie.*
 2sg:TP heavy-REDUP-DEF DIR-carry

‘Let him/her carry the light one, and you carry the heavy one.’

¹ If the adjective is a disyllabic word, the second syllable is reduplicated, such as with *dzila* ‘long’, which has the reduplicated form *dzila-la* ‘long one; *naɕpie* ‘black’ reduplicates as *naɕpie-ɕpie* ‘black one’. The reduplicated adjective *yan-lele* ‘round one’ is like reduplicated form ‘ABB’ in Chinese.

- (102) a. *no la-yan-lele-lei ma-u-an me,*
 2sg:TP SUPER-round-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-2sg QUES
(la)-pie-pie-lei ma-u-an?
 (SUPER)-flat-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-2sg
 ‘Will you demand the roundest one or the flattest one?’
- b. *ŋa la-yan-lele-lei ma-u-a.*
 1sg:TP SUPER-round-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-1
 ‘I will need the roundest one.’

As the examples above show, *dzila-la-lei* ‘the long one’ and *mia-mia-lei* ‘the short one’ in (100), *ɣɔy-ɣɔy-lei* ‘the light one’ and *dzə-dzə-lei* ‘the heavy one’ in (101), and in (102) *la-yan-lele-lei* ‘the roundest one’ and *(la)-piepie-lei* ‘the flattest one’ all function as [P] arguments of each of their predicates. In these examples, in fact, all of their head nouns, which are co-ordinate with the definite NPs, are omitted. We can add their head nouns, and this does not change the meanings, as in (103)-(105):

- (103) *ŋa p^hu dzila-la-lei ma-u-a,*
 1sg:TP clothing long-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-1
no (p^hu) mia-mia-lei kue-ma.
 2sg:TP clothing short-REDUP-DEF DIR-demand
 ‘I’ll take the long clothing, and you take the short one.’

- (104) *t^hala pan_ɲi yɔ̌y-yɔ̌y-lei tɕ^ha-bie,*
 3sg thing light-REDUP-DEF PERMS-carry
no (pan_ɲi) dzə-dzə-lei kue-bie.
 2sg:TP thing heavy-REDUP-DEF DIR-carry

‘Let him/her carry the light thing, and you carry the heavy one.’

- (105) a. *no p^hitɕ^hu (la)-yan-lele-lei ma-u-an*
 2sg:TP ball SUPER-round-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-2sg
me, (p^hitɕ^hu) (la)-piepie-lei ma-u-an?
 QUES ball (SUPER)-flat-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-2sg

‘Will you demand the roundest ball or the flattest one?’

- b. *ŋa (p^hitɕ^hu) la-yan-lele-lei ma-u-a.*
 1sg:TP ball SUPER-round-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-1

‘I will need the roundest one.’

In addition to being used as predicates, adjectives may also occur after the head of a noun to modify the noun. When adjectives are predicates or modifiers of nouns, they can take a degree adverb. Following are some examples of adjectives being used as predicates or modifiers with degree adverbs modifying the adjective:

(106) a. *p^ho* *bzi* (*a-p^ho*) (modifier)

tree big one-CL

‘(a) big tree’

b. *p^ho* (*t_{sa}-p^ho*) *bzi.* (predicate)

tree this-CL big

‘(This) tree is big.’

(107) a. *p^ho* *pəipəi/ŋ/sa* *bzi* (*a-p^ho*) (modifier)

tree very tree one-CL

‘(a) very big tree’

b. *p^ho* (*t_{sa}-p^ho*) *pəipəi/ŋ/sa* *bzi.* (predicate)

tree one-CL very tree

‘(This) tree is very big.’

(108) a. *p^ho* *la* *bzi* (modifier)

tree SUPER big

‘the biggest tree’

b. *p^ho* (*t_{sa}-p^ho*) *la* *bzj.* (predicate)

tree this-CL SUPER big

‘(This) tree is the biggest.’

(109) a. *patsu* *ʂən* (*a-ʂue*) (modifier)

flower red one-CL

‘(a) red flower’

b. *patsu* (*t_{sa}-ʂue*) *ʂən.* (predicate)

flower this-CL red

‘(This) flower is red.’

(110) a. *pastu* *pəipəi/ŋ/sa* *ʂən* (*a-ʂue*) (modifier)

flower very red one-CL

‘(a) very red flower’

b. *patsu* (*t_{sa}-ʂue*) *pəipəi/ŋ/sa* *ʂən.* (predicate)

tree this-CL very red

‘(This) flower is very red.’

(111) a. *patsu* *la* *ʒən* (modifier)

flower SUPER red

‘the reddest flower’

b. *patsu* (*tʂa-bue*) *la* *ʒən.* (predicate)

flower this-CL SUPER red

‘(This) flower is the reddest.’

4.2.3. *Existential / Locative verbs*

Existential/locative verbs have two arguments, one core argument which is unmarked, and one oblique argument which is sometimes marked by a locative marker. If the oblique argument is a temporal noun or a demonstrative referring to location, as in (112) and (113) below, it does not need to take a locative marker. The oblique argument must be marked by a locative marker when it is some other kind of noun. Oblique arguments usually occur in sentence-initial positions followed by the core arguments. There are four existential / locative verbs, the use of which depends on the semantics of the referent being located or shown to exist, or on the nature of its location:

zə for animate referents, as in (112) and (113)

la for a referent located in a container, as in (114)

wa for immovable referents or referents inalienably connected to a larger entity, as in (115)

ŋa for inanimate referents, as in (116)

Animate:

- (112) *ŋa* *tso* *zəʔ*
 1sg:TP here exist:1
 ‘I am here.’

Animate:

- (113) *qeʔχa* *me* *a-qa* *zə-i-u*
 before people one-CL exist-CSM:3-HEARS
 ‘Long long ago, there was one family.’

Inanimate/animate-inside vessel:

- (114) *tsue-kou* *ve* *la*
 river-LOC fish exist
 ‘There are fish in the river.’

Inanimate-immovable:

(115) *χsu-qi-ta* *p^ho* *wa*.

mountain-top-LOC tree exist

‘There are trees on the mountain.’

Inanimate:

(116) *zuepe-ta* *χi* *a-dzj* *ηa*.

earth-LOC needle one-CL exist

‘There is a needle on the ground.’

The existential verbs may be used to express possessive meanings. When they are used in a possessive construction, they usually take two core arguments, one is the possessor, and the other is the possessed. The verb also takes person marking which marks the possessor’s person. There is no marking of the change in valency on the verb.

Possessive-two core arguments (animate existence):

(117) *ηa* *tutsu* *a-la* *zə^l*.

1sg:TP [A] younger.brother [P] one-CL have:1

‘I have a younger brother.’

Possessive-two core arguments (animate existence):

- (118) *no* *kebzj* *zə-n* *me?*
 2sg:TP [A] kids [P] have-2 QUES
 ‘Do you have kids?’

Possessive-two core arguments (inanimate existence):

- (119) *ŋa* *jatsu* *ŋaʹ*
 1sg:TP [A] ring [P] have:1
 ‘I have a ring.’

Possessive-two core arguments (inanimate existence):

- (120) *tʰala* *ɕtɕindzi* *ŋa.*
 3sg [A] money [P] have:3
 ‘S/he has money.’

When the existential verbs *la* and *wa* are used in possessive constructions, if the possessee is a body part, the NP representing the possessor can take genitive marking and the NP representing the possessee may take locative marking; though the possessor seems to be represented by a genitive phrase in an NP, the person marking is of the possessor, as in (121) and (122):

Possessive-two core arguments (in a container):

- (121) *qa'* *sepəi-(ta)* *zɔɛ* *la'*
 1sg:NTP:GEN body-(DAT) [A] disease [P] have:1
 'I am sick.' (lit.: My body has disease.)

Possessive-two core arguments (immovable existence):

- (122) *qa'* *sepəi-(ta)* *ɸdzə* *a-gu* *wa'*
 1sg:NTP:GEN body-(DAT) [A] scar one-CL [P] have:1
 'I have a scar on my body.'

The inanimate existential verb *ŋa* in the possessive construction may take three arguments, as in (123), where the verb *ŋa* takes the possessor *ŋa* 'I', the possessee *jitɕan* 'opinion' and the goal *sudzi* 'teacher', which is marked by the dative marker *-zo*.

Possessive-three arguments (inanimate existence):

- (123) *ŋa* *sudzi-zo* *jitɕan* *ŋa'*
 1sg:TP [A] teacher-DAT opinion [P] have:1
 'I have complaints about my teacher.'

4.2.4. *Aktionsart*

In the previous sections we discussed the forms, and morphological and syntactic functions of the verb. In this section I further discuss the verb in terms of ‘state of affairs’: events, actions, processes, and situations of the Puxi variety of Qiang (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, chapter 3).

Verbs may be classified into four semantic types in terms of their internal temporal properties in the Puxi variety. In this language, generally, the form of verbs directly reflects the elements of the lexical decomposition. *State* or *activity* is the basic form of the verb, which becomes an achievement or accomplishment when it takes an orientation prefix and the change of state suffix *-i*, and becomes a causative achievement or accomplishment when it takes the causative suffix and the change of state suffix. We summarize the *Aktionsart* of the verb in Puxi Qiang, as in Figure 4:

- (1) DIR + *States* + CSM → *Accomplishments*
- (2) DIR + *Activities* + CSM → *Active Accomplishments / Active Achievements*
- (3) *Activities* + CAUS → *Causative Activities*
- (4) *Accomplishments / Achievements* + CAUS →
Causative Accomplishments / Causative Achievements

Figure 4. *Changing Aktionsart of the verb*

As the Figure 4 shown, states are static and temporally unbounded, such as state predicate verbs (adjectives), existential verbs, perception verbs, cognition verbs, desire verbs, and emotion verbs (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:115). Following are some examples of state verbs which can become accomplishments by adding the direction prefixes and the change of state suffix or causative accomplishments by adding direction prefixes, the causative-forming suffix and the change of state suffix:

<i>betʂ^{hi}</i>	‘small’	State
<i>ə^l-betʂ^{hi}-i</i>	‘become small’	Accomplishment
<i>ə^l-betʂ^{hi}-zə-i</i>	‘cause to become small’	Causative Accomplishment
<i>p^hzj</i>	‘white’	State
<i>te-p^hzj-i</i>	‘become white’	Accomplishment
<i>te-p^hzj-zə-i</i>	‘cause to become white’	Causative Accomplishment

From the examples above, we can see that state verbs change into accomplishment verbs when a directional prefix and the change of state marker are added. Accomplishments become causative accomplishments if they take the causative suffix *-zə*. There is a semantic basis for the choice of prefix, as *ə^l* is for ‘downward’ direction, and *te-* is for ‘upward’ direction, respectively. The direction prefixes *ə^l* and *te-* are the most commonly used prefixes with stative verbs (adjectives).

Activities, in general, are dynamic and temporally unbounded, such as motion, light emission, sound emission, performance, consumption, creation, repetitive action, directed perception, and use (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:115). In the Puxi variety of Qiang, activities, like states, use the orientation prefixes and the change of state marking to form achievements or accomplishments, and take the causative suffix to express causative achievements and accomplishments:

<i>vuɑ</i>	‘to collapse’	Activity
<i>əʰ-vuɑ-i</i>	‘to have collapsed’	Achievement
<i>əʰ-vluɑ-zə-i</i>	‘to cause to become collapsed’	Causative Achievement
<i>la</i>	‘to fly’	Activity
<i>da-la-i</i>	‘to have flied’	Accomplishment
<i>da-la-zə-i</i>	‘to cause to become flied’	Causative Accomplishment

Accomplishments may take the causative suffix *-zə* to form a causative accomplishment:

<i>te-zba-i</i>	‘to get tired’	Accomplishment
DIR-tired-CSM		
<i>te-zba-zə-i</i>	‘to cause to become tired’	Causative Accomplishment
DIR-tired-CAUS-CSM		

tə-m-i ‘to get ripe’ Accomplishment

DIR-ripe-CSM

tə-m-zə-i ‘to cause to become ripe’ Causative Accomplishment

DIR-ripe-CAUS-CSM

Achievements may add the causative suffix *zə* to form a causative achievement as well:

əʰ-buɑ-i ‘to collapse’ Achievement

DIR-collapse-CSM

əʰ-buɑ-zə-i ‘to cause to collapse’ Causative Achievement

DIR-collapse-CAUS

ʂe-qʰi-i ‘to shatter to pieces’ Achievement

DIR-shatter-CSM

ʂe-qʰi-zə-i ‘to cause to shatter’ Causative Achievement

DIR-shatter-CAUS-CSM

4.2.5. *Copulas*

There are two copulas in the Puxi variety: *məi* and *no*. The copula *məi* is used in identificational, equational, attributive, and pseudo-cleft constructions. It also appears after nominalized verbs. In most cases, the copula may be omitted when the copula

complement (CC) or a clause in the pseudo-cleft construction takes the indefinite marker *-tʂi*, as in (126):

- (124) *tʂa-la* *pʰu* *qa'* *məi*.
 this-CL clothing 1sg:NTP:GEN [CC] COP

‘This item of clothing is mine.’

- (125) *tʰa-χa* *tʂuatʂə* *naɛpie-ɛpie-tʂi* (*məi*).
 that-PL table black-REDUP-INDEF COP

‘Those tables are very black ones.’

- (126) *ŋa* [*zu* *tʂa-ŋi* *kue-lu-si-tʂi*] (*məi*).
 1sg:TP horse ride -ADV DIR-come-CSM:1-INDEF COP

‘It is on horse that I came here.’

The copulas can take person marking in the identificational construction, but do not take aspect marking or causative marking. Examples (127)-(131) show copulas with first and second person marking.

- (127) *no* *χpa-tʂi* (*məi-n*).
 2sg:TP[TOP] Tibetan-INDEF [CC] COP-2

‘You are a Tibetan.’

In yes-no questions, the copula may not be omitted. The copula *no* occurs only in answer to a ‘yes-no’ question, and is usually used to express a negative answer.

Question:

- (128) *no* *ʒute* *məi-n* *me?*
 2sg:TP Shude (a person name) COP-2 QUES
 ‘Are you Shude?’

Answers:

- (129) a. *məi*, (*ŋa* *ʒute* *məi-əʹ*).
 COP 1sg:TP Shude COP-1
 ‘Yes, (I am Shude.)’
- b. *me-no*, (*ŋa* *ʒute* *mi-məi-əʹ*).
 NEG-COP 1sg:TP Shude NEG-COP-1
 ‘No, (I am not Shude.)’

Question:

- (130) *no* *ʒute* *mi-məi-n* *me?*
 2sg:TP Shude NEG- COP-2 QUES
 ‘Aren’t you Shude?’

Answer:

- (131) a. *məi*, (*ŋa* *ʒute* *mi-məi-əʹ*).
 COP 1sg:TP Shude NEG-COP-1
 ‘No, (I am not Shude.)’

- b. *mə-ŋə*, (*ŋa* *ʒute* *məi-əʹ*).
 NEG-COP 1sg:TP Shude COP-1
 ‘Yes, (I am Shude.)’

In some cases, the auxiliary verb *pe* ‘become’ acts as a copula in temporal copula clauses, and the copula is optional. The copula can be omitted in the following examples:

- (132) a. *pesi* *təi-χau* (*pe-i*) / (*məi*)?
 today how.much-CL (become-CSM) / (COP)
 ‘What day is it today?’

- b. (*pesi*) *zguə* (*pe-i*) / (*məi*).
 today nine become-CSM COP
 ‘It is the ninth.’

4.2.6. *Matrix verbs*

Matrix verbs are usually complement-taking verbs, they are not auxiliaries like Chinese and English, which are subordinate to the main verb (see §8.2). In general, matrix verbs follow a verb, and take non-nominalized complements. Matrix verbs can be modified by the degree adverbials which intervene between the two verbs. If there is negation of the matrix verb, it precedes the matrix verb. If there is person marking, it appears on the matrix verb.

4.2.6.1. The matrix verb *BU*

The matrix verb *BU* means willingness to perform an action or to allow others to perform an action. It can take a complement clause, as in (133):

- (133) *t^hala lu mi-BU.*
 3sg come NEG-will:3
 ‘S/he is not willing to come.’

4.2.6.2. The matrix verb *qe*

The matrix verb *qe* is used to express both natural (physical) ability to perform an action and learned ability. It is a complement-taking verb and sometimes expresses permission:

(134) *t^hala dzə pu pəipəi qe.* (physical ability)

3sg thing do very can:3

‘S/he is able to do many things.’

(135) *qala zedə si qeʹ.* (intellectual ability)

1pl book write can:1

‘We can write.’

(136) *t^hala ke qe.* (permission)

3sg go may:3

‘S/he may leave.’

4.2.6.3. The matrix verb *məi*

The matrix verb *məi* (which is the same word as the positive copula) is used to express learned ability. It may replace the matrix verb *qe* to encode intellectual ability:

(137) *t^haxa zedə si məi.*

3pl book write can:3

‘They can write.’

- (138) *t^hala* *ɸzə* *ɸtɕe* *u'* *mi-məi.*
 3sg Han.people speech say NEG-can:3
 ‘S/he cannot speak Chinese.’

4.2.6.4. The matrix verb *ts^hy*

The matrix verb *ts^hy* is used to express the notion ‘to dare’ to do an action:

- (139) *no* (*zeme*) *ze'* *mi-ts^hy-n-na*, *ŋa* *ze'* *ts^hy'.*
 2sg:TP (speech) say NEG-dare-2-PRT 1sg:TP say dare:1
 ‘You do not dare to say it, but I dare to say it.’

4.2.6.5. The matrix verb *kala*

The matrix verb *kala* is used to express the idea ‘intend’, ‘would like’, and ‘want’ to do an action:

- (140) *ŋa* *zɔɕe-ta* *ke* *kala'.*
 1sg:TP Chengdu go want:1
 ‘I want to go to Chengdu.’

4.2.6.6. Perception and cognition verbs

Perception or cognition verbs are also matrix verbs, which usually take a complement clause and can take person marking, as in (141)-(143):

- (141) *ŋa* [*no* *ts^huə-n*] *te-no-si*.
 1sg:TP 2sg:TP cough-2 DIR-hear-CSM:1
 ‘I heard you are coughing.’

- (142) *ŋa* [*no* *se-ke-so*] *te-təu-si*.
 1sg:TP 2sg:TP DIR-go-CSM:2sg DIR-see-CSM:1
 ‘I saw you leave.’/ ‘I saw that you left.’

- (143) *t^hala-i* [*t^hala* *ke-i*] *u’*.
 3sg-AGT 3sg go-CSM:3 say
 ‘S/he said, “s/he left.”’

4.2.7. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs *lu* ‘come’, *sə* ‘go’ and *pu* ‘do’ are grammaticalized from main verbs. On one hand, they are used as main verbs, on the other hand, they are used as auxiliary verbs. When verbs *lu* ‘come’, *sə* ‘go’ and *pu* ‘do’ are used as auxiliary verbs, they occur after main verbs and are subordinate to the main verb

4.2.7.1. The auxiliaries ‘come’ and ‘go’

The direction verb *lu* ‘come’ in some circumstances is a grammaticalized auxiliary verb, which occurs after the main verb, and cannot take negative marking, as in (144b). The direction verb *ke* ‘go’ is an intransitive verb, but there is an auxiliary verb

-sə that encliticizes to the main verb. No element can intervene between the main verb and the auxiliary verb *-sə*, as in (145b):

- (144) a. *tʰala* *χqan* *y-lu-i* (as main verb)
 3sg Mao.County DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘S/he came to Mao County.’
- b. *ŋa* *χqan* *dzə* *pu-lu-si* (as auxiliary verb)
 1sg:TP Mao.County thing do-come-CSM:1
 ‘I came to work in Mao County.’
- (145) a. *tʰala* *zɔ̌ɛta* *əʰ-ke-u* (as main verb)
 3sg Chengdu DIR-go-PROS:3
 ‘S/he will go to Chengdu.’
- b. *tʰala* *zɔ̌ɛta* *zedə* *zio-sə-u* (as auxiliary verb)
 3sg Chengdu book study-go-PROS:3
 ‘S/he will go to study in Chengdu.’

Note that the verb *lu* in (144a) is an intransitive verb functioning as predicate, while *-lu* in (144b) is an auxiliary verb. In (145a) *ke* is an intransitive verb, whereas in (145b) *-sə* is an auxiliary verb which cannot be used as a main verb.

4.2.7.2. The auxiliary ‘do’

There is an auxiliary verb *pu* which has several variants: *pə*, *pɑ*, *pə*, and *pí*. This verb has many different meanings in different contexts.

1. The auxiliary *pu* / *pə*

In general, the basic meaning of *pu* and *pə* is ‘to do (something)’, in this sense, *pu* / *pə* are used as main verbs, as in the following examples:

zama pu ‘to be courteous’

guest do

dzə pu ‘to work’

thing do

mazie pu ‘to snore’

snore do

dzɑ pu ‘to laugh at someone’

joke do

p^hu pə ‘to make clothes’

clothes do

duə qa’ pə ‘to make fun of’

ghost.face do

atə^hye pə ‘to sneeze’

sneeze do

(146) *tʂi pu-i.*

house do-CSM:3

‘(They) have started to build a house.’

(147) *tʂi te-pu-zə-i.*

house DIR-do-CAUS-CSM:3

‘A house is being built.’

(148) *no ɲi-dzua pə-n?*

2sg what-CL do-2

‘What are you doing?’

The polysyllabic loanwords from Southwestern Mandarin must take the native morpheme *pu* / *pə* to be used as verbs:

ʂousu pu ‘to perform an operation’ *ʂenp^han pu* ‘to bring to trial’

operation do judge do

paumin pə ‘to enroll, to register’ *minlin pə* ‘to issue an order’

enrollment do order do

From the examples above shown, it is clear that the verb *pu/pə* means ‘to do (something)’, but in many cases *pu/pə* is used as the auxiliary with another verb to achieve an aspectual or modal sense:

pə occurs with the continuative aspect prefix *pi-* when what is being expressed is that two states or situations are on-going at the same time (done simultaneously). It takes a non-nominalized clause, as in (149)-(150):

- (149) *t^hala ts^hu pi-dze-pə tianʒə pi-tsi-pə.*
 3sg meal CONT-eat-do TV CONT-look.at-do

‘S/he eats while watching the TV.’

- (150) *t^hala pi-tsi pi-tsi-pə n̩i te-dzɑ-i.*
 3sg CONT-look.at CONT-look.at-do ADV DIR-smile-CSM:3

‘S/he smiled while reading (it).’

pə/pu may also occur with a nominalized complement and the change of state aspect suffix to indicate deontic modality, ‘should’, ‘ought to’, or ‘it is time to do something’, as in (151)-(154):

- (151) *tubzj qa vuɑ', ŋa ke-sa pə-i.*
 elder.brother 1sg:NTP call 1sg:TP go-NOM do-CSM:3
 ‘My elder brother is calling me, I have to leave.’

- (152) *ŋi-dzua pe-sa pə-i?*
 what-CL become-NOM do-CSM
 ‘What should be done?’

- (153) *anaŋ pe-sa pə-i?*
 how become-NOM do-CSM
 ‘How should I do it?’

- (154) *zɑsti dze-sa pə-i, sabzj p^hap^ha-təi*
 dinner eat-NOM do-CSM sister phapha-INDEF
te-pu-i.
 DIR-do-CSM:3
 ‘It is time to have dinner, sister cooked papa (corn noodles).’

2. The auxiliary *pa/pa*

In the Puxi variety of Qiang *pa* can be used as the main verb to express ‘do something’. It can combine with the change of state or co-occur with iterative verbs, matrix verbs, and adverbs to express the following meanings:

The verb *pa* appears with auxiliary *kuetsi* ‘is about to’ with a nominalized complement to express something which is about to do, as the examples in (155)-(156):

- (155) *Ɂle ku-sa pa-kuetsi-i.*
 wheat harvest-NOM do-be.about.to-CSM
 ‘The wheat is about to be harvested.’

- (156) *patsu xa-pa-kuetsi-i.*
 flower DIR-blossom/do-be.about.to-CSM
 ‘The flowers are about to blossom.’

In some cases, the verb *pa* indicates ‘to be regarded as, act as’:

- bzi pa* ‘to be a matchmaker’ *dzua pa* ‘to be a soldier’
 big be.regarded.as soldier be.regarded.as

- (157) *ŋa qeʹ dzua pa-si.*
 1sg:TP before soldier do-CSM:1
 ‘I was a soldier before.’

- (158) *peti dzua pa-m taŋ-la zə me?*
 now soldier be.regarded.as-NOM how.many-CL exist QUES
 ‘How many people join in the army now?’

The verb *pa* may co-occur with the prohibitive marker or the negative marker to express ‘do not do (something)’, as in (159), or ‘not long time’, as in (160), or ‘not going on’, as in (161):

- (159) *no t^hala tse-še pa-so.*
 2sg:TP 3sg PROH-beat do-CSM:2sg
 ‘You don’t beat him/her.’

- (160) *t^hala tɕiu kue-lu taŋ-tɕ^ho mi-pa.*
 3sg home DIR-come how.many-time NEG-do
 ‘It is not a long time since s/he came home.’

- (161) *pesi ʂute kue-mi-lu pa-i.*
 today Shude DIR-NEG-come do-CSM:3
 ‘Shude will not come today.’

The verb *pa* co-occurs with the change of state maker and/or directional prefix to express a sense of change of situation ('to recover, to succeed, to win, or can do something'):

- (162) *t^hala zɔ̀zɛ te-pa-i,* *ts^hu dze da-vazə-i.*
 3sg disease DIR-do-CSM:3 meal eat DIR-begin-CSM:3

'S/he has recovered from the illness, and can have a meal.'

- (163) *dzə te-pa-i.*
 thing DIR-do-CSM:3

'S/he won/succeeded in something.'

- (164) *no kue-lu taŋ-pu pa-so me?*
 2sg:TP DIR-come how.many-year do-CSM:2sg QUES

'How many years have you been staying here?'

- (165) *t^sa-gu kebzə zeme ze' məi pa-i/pə-i.*
 this-CL child speech speak can become-CSM:3

'This child can speak now.'

The verb *pa* can also be used to mark an action that used to be done or a situation that used to exist, but is not now done or will not be done, as in (166)-(170):

- (166) *ŋa tsal ʂanta je mi-tʂ^he pa-si.*
 1sg:TP this.time after cigarette NEG-smoke do-CSM:1
 ‘I will quit smoking in the future.’

- (167) *ŋa qe' je tʂ^he-si, peti-go*
 1sg:TP before cigarette smoke-CSM:1 now-LOC
mi-tʂ^he pa-si.
 NEG-smoke do-CSM:1
 ‘I smoked cigarettes before, but I don’t smoke any more.’

- (168) *tsi qe'χa tian me-ŋa-i, peti-go*
 this:CL before electronic NEG-exist-CSM now-LOC
te-ŋa-i / te-ŋa pa-i.
 DIR-exist-CSM / DIR-exist do-CSM
 ‘There was no electricity before, but now there is electricity.’

- (169) *tsi qe'χa u' bzj me-ŋa-i, peti-go*
 this:CL before road big NEG-exist-CSM now-(LOC)
te-ŋa pa-i.
 DIR-exist do-CSM
 ‘There was no highway in the past, but now there is a highway.’

- (170) *a-ma-lei a-si-si kuekue tʂʰə pa-i.*
 mother-DEF one-day-REDUP the.more thin do-CSM:3
 ‘Mother has become thinner and weaker.’

The verb *pa* also occurs with a verb which is marked by the definite marking to express ‘to be good for doing something’ or to encode ‘to be not good for doing something, when it takes the negative prefix, as in (171)-(172):

- (171) *tsʰu ʂe-dze-i go, zga-lei mi-pa,*
 meal DIR-eat-CSM LNK run-DEF NEG-do
atəitəi gegu-lei pa.
 slow walk-NOM do
 ‘After someone has eaten, running is not good for him/her, but walking is good for him/her.’

- (172) *tsʰu ʂe-dze-i go, n̩i-lei mi-pa.*
 meal DIR-eat-CSM LNK sleep-NOM NEG-do
 ‘After a meal, sleeping is not good for someone (someone’s health).’

The verb *pa* occurs with change of state marking to express ‘forget about it, don’t worry about it’ (lit.: stop it, cut it out):

- (173) *no t^haŋ mi-qe-so, pa-i.*
 2sg:TP thus NEG-can-CSM:2sg stop-CSM
 ‘If you can not do thus, forget about it.’

- (174) *no te-mi-tɕu-so go, pa-i.*
 2sg:TP DIR-NEG-see-CSM:2sg LNK stop-CSM
 ‘If you have not seen (it), forget about it.’

The verb *pa* can also be used as the auxiliary, which co-occurs with reduplicated verbs in reciprocal constructions to encode events which are on going mutually, as in (175)-(176):

- (175) *t^haχa dzu di-di-pa.*
 3pl mutually beat-REDUP-do
 ‘They are beating each other.’

- (176) *k^hue ne-zi χtɕi-χtɕi-pa.*
 dog two-CL bite-REDUP-do
 ‘Two dogs are biting each other.’

The auxiliary *pa* or *pa* is lexicalized in some cases, bound with other morphemes to encode some lexical meanings:

<i>tɕ^he-pa</i>	‘to support’	<i>tsya-pa</i>	‘run against’
<i>χa-tɕ^hi-pa</i>	‘slip to one side’	<i>χuəχuəla-pa</i>	‘to be grooming’
<i>tsotso-pa</i>	‘to make up’	<i>χpati-pa</i>	‘to shiver’
<i>ɕtu-pa</i>	‘to hide’	<i>susu-pa</i>	‘to train’

3. The auxiliary *pe / pi*

pe / pi appear with change of state marking to express a change of situation or state, as in (177)-(179):

(177)	<i>zapie</i>	<i>ɕe-zduəzduə</i>	<i>pe-i.</i>
	leather	DIR-wear.out	become-CSM

‘The leather has worn out.’

(178)	<i>tutsu</i>	<i>dzo</i>	<i>ɕənta</i>	<i>da-ɕtu-pa</i>	<i>n̩i</i>	<i>pudzo-i</i>
	brother	door	behind	DIR-hide-do	ADV	basket-INSTR

ə^l-tsua-pa-i, *q^hua-lei* *k^hənk^he-ta*

DIR-cover-do-CSM:3 demon-DEF hole-LOC

ə^l-guate *pi-i.*

DIR-drop become-CSM:3

‘The younger brother hid behind the door and covered himself with a basket, ...the demon dropped into the hole.’

- (179) *tʂutsu (jy)* *mi-dze* *pi-i*
 chicken NEG-eat become-CSM:3
 ‘The chickens are not eating.’

The verb *pe* may occur in a copula clause to replace the copula, as in (180):

- (180) *pesi* *tʂi-χau* *(pe-i)?* *pesi* *zguə*
 today how.much-CL (become-CSM) today nine
(pe-i/məi).
 (become-CSM/COP)
 ‘What day is it today? It is the ninth.’

From the examples above, we can see that in most cases *pu* is used as a main verb, but in some cases, it is also used as an auxiliary verb, hence we treat *pu* as the base form. As an auxiliary, *pu* has several variants: *pə*, *pa*, *pa*, *pe* and *pi*. The auxiliary *pu* has many kinds of meaning in different contexts. Basically, the auxiliary *pu* has three meanings: ‘to do something’, ‘on-going events’ or ‘change of state’ (with change of state marker). We summarize its specific meanings in Figure 5:

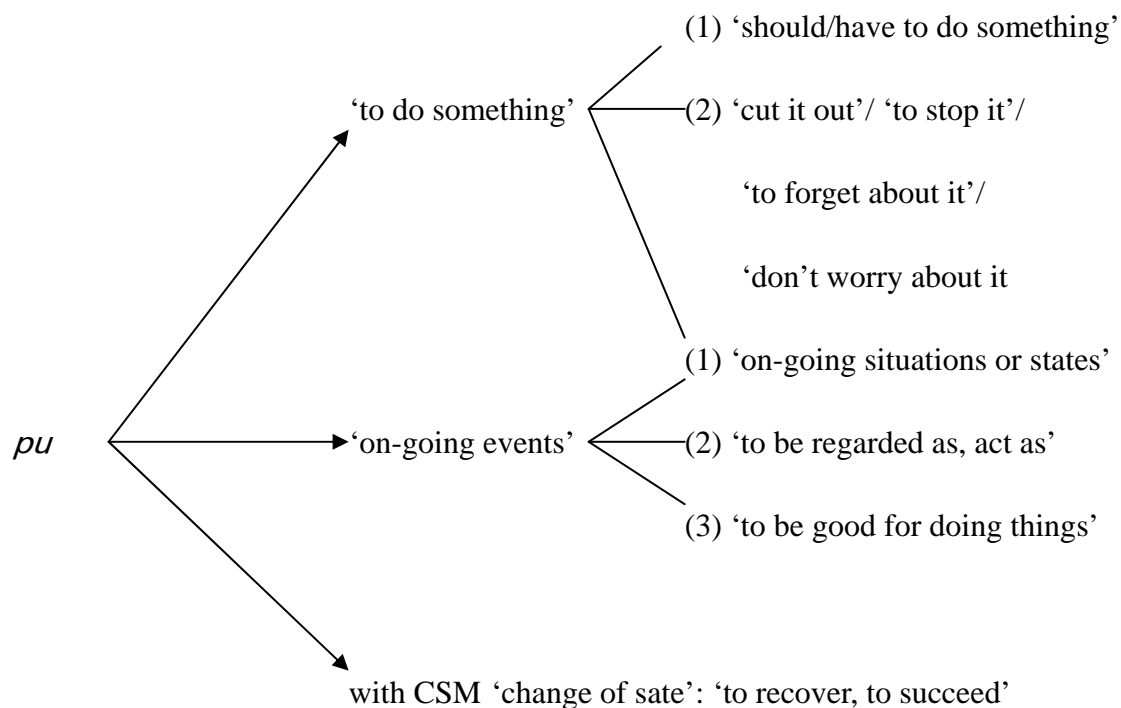


Figure 5. *Semantics of the auxiliary pu 'do'*

4.3. Adverbs

Adverbs precede and modify the predicate of a sentence. Some adverbs may appear not only after the actor or the topic of a sentence and before the verb complex but in sentence-initial position as well. As a rule, temporal adverbs may be movable and provide a semantic frame within which the event described by the sentence occurs. Temporal adverbs function as sentential adverbs and denote the time at which or during which the entire event described by the sentence occurs.

(181) *neɔze* *ŋa* *paŋi* *po-sə-si.*
 yesterday 1sg:TP thing buy-go-CSM:1

‘Yesterday, I went to buy something.’

- (182) *ŋa* *nedze* *paŋi* *po-sə-si*.
 1sg:TP yesterday thing buy-go-CSM:1
 ‘I went to buy something yesterday.’

- (183) *ŋa* *paŋi* *nedze* *po-sə-si*.
 1sg:TP thing yesterday buy-go-CSM:1
 ‘I went to buy something yesterday.’

Most adverbs, however, may not be moved, such as manner adverbs, degree adverbs, and so on. Manner adverbs and degree adverbs are associated with the verb rather than the entire clause.

- (184) *ŋa* *kənto* *lu-u-a*.
 1sg:TP right.away come-PROS-1
 ‘I will be there right away.’

- (185) *qa'* *tutsu* *tʰimatsi* *kue-tə-i*.
 1sg:NTP:GEN younger.brother just DIR-arrive-CSM:3
 ‘My younger brother just arrived.’

- (186) [*no ze'-so t^ha-ta*] *ŋa qeŋi sə'*
 2sg:TP say-CSM:2sg those-PL 1sg:TP all know:1
 'What you said I completely understand.'

- (187) *no atɕitɕi kue-ke.*
 2sg:TP slowly IMP-go
 'You walk slowly.'

- (188) *no zedə tɕotɕo kue-zio.*
 2sg:TP book well IMP-study
 'You should study hard.'

- (189) *ŋa la ɸzə ɕtɕi ze' məi-ə'.*
 1sg:TP also Han speech speak can-1
 'I can also speak Chinese.'

There are a few degree adverbs: *taŋ* 'relatively', *ŋ* / *pəipəi* 'very' and *-tsyɪ* 'too'.

When degree adverbs modify an adjective, *taŋ* 'relatively', and *ŋ* or *pəipəi* 'very' precede the adjective, while *-tsyɪ* 'too' follows the adjective. *-tsyɪ* 'too' is more like a suffix, and the adjective has to take the directional prefix. The following are some examples of degree adverbs:

<i>taŋ</i>	<i>bzj</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>gega</i>
relatively	big	relatively	thick
‘relatively big’		‘relatively thick’	

<i>taŋ</i>	<i>naɛpie</i>	<i>taŋ</i>	<i>vue</i>
relatively	black	relatively	slow
‘relatively black’		‘relatively slow’	

<i>ŋ/pəipəi</i>	<i>bzj</i>	<i>ŋ/pəipəi</i>	<i>gega</i>
very	big	very	thick
‘very big’		‘very thick’	

<i>ŋ/pəipəi</i>	<i>naɛpie</i>	<i>ŋ/pəipəi</i>	<i>vue</i>
very	black	very	slow
‘very black’		‘very slow’	

<i>kue-bzj-tsyi</i>	<i>kue-gega-tsyi</i>
DIR-big-too	DIR-thick-too
‘too big’	‘too thick’

kue-naɕpie-tsyi

DIR-black-too

‘too black’

kue-bue-tsyi

DIR-slow-too

‘too slow’

The degree adverbs can modify adjectives, emotion verbs, existential/locative verbs, and some matrix verbs, as in (190) to (200):

- (190) [*patsu* *ʂən*] [*ŋ* [*χpa* *ʂe*]].
 flower red very shape good
 ‘Red flowers are very nice.’

- (191) *ŋa* *tʰala* *ŋ* *zbadzuʹ*.
 1sg:TP 3sg very miss:1
 ‘I miss him/her very much.’

- (192) *ŋa* *tʰala* *ŋ* *maʹ*.
 1sg:TP 3sg very like:1
 ‘I love him/her very much.’

- (193) *tʰala* *ɕtɕindzi* *ŋ* *ŋa*.
 3sg money very exist:3
 ‘S/he is very rich.’ (lit.: S/he has a lot of money.)

- (194) *t^hala qazbe η la.*
 3sg head very exist:3
 ‘S/he is very smart.’ (lit.: S/he has head very much.)

- (195) *χsuqi p^ho η wa.*
 hill tree very exist
 ‘There are many trees on the hill.’

- (196) *qe-ta me η zə.*
 street-LOC people very exist:3
 ‘The street is full of people.’

- (197) *t^hala zeme ze^ʹ η məi.*
 3sg speech speak very can:3
 ‘S/he is skilled in speech.’

- (198) *t^hala dzə pu η bu.*
 3sg thing do very will:3
 ‘S/he is willing to work.’

- (199) *t^hala dzə pu ŋ qe.*
 3sg thing do very can:3
 ‘S/he can do a lot of work.’

- (200) *t^hala la ts^hy.*
 3sg SUPER dare:3
 ‘S/he is the bravest person.’

The adverb *la* ‘(the) most’ is placed before the stative verb which it modifies to express the superlative degree, as in (201), or before a matrix verb, which is a stative verb, as in (202). In the negative superlative degree, the negative marker *mí* is inserted between the superlative marker and the stative verb, as in (203):

- (201) *t^hala la χsa.*
 3sg SUPER good:3
 ‘S/he is the best.’

- (202) *t^hala dzə pu la qe.*
 3sg thing do SUPER can:3
 ‘S/he can do work most.’

- (203) *t^hala la mi-χsa.*
3sg SUPER NEG-good:3
'S/he is the worst.'

4.4. Other closed classes

There are also a few closed classes, i.e. interjections, subordinators and final particles.

Interjections usually occur in the initial or final position of the clause (see §6.9.5).

Subordinators occur at the end of the subordinate clause to link the subordinate and the main clause (see §8.5). Final particles occur at the end of the clause (see §6.9 and §7.2) for detailed discussion.

Chapter 5

Nominal Morphology

In this chapter I will discuss nominal morphology, i.e. the gender marking in §5.1, the diminutive marking in §5.2, the kinship prefixes in §5.3, the definite/indefinite marking in §5.4, the number marking in §5.5, the case marking in §5.6, the comparative marking in §5.7, and the topic marking in §5.8.

5.1. Gender marking

The nouns which represent animals and some which represent inanimate objects are marked for gender in the Puxi variety of Qiang. Different suffixes are added to the noun in order to encode masculine and feminine gender. The gender markers encode natural genders for animals and flowers, but they also grammatically mark the good / poor quality of metals and utensils. The suffix *-qu* marks ‘masculine, and *-ka* expresses ‘feminine’. Following are some examples:

<i>jy-qu</i>	‘cock’	<i>jy-ka</i>	‘hen’
cock-MAS		hen-FEM	
<i>m-qu</i>	‘ox’	<i>m-ka</i>	‘cow’
ox-MAS		ox-FEM	

<i>pie-qu</i>	‘pig’	<i>pie-ka</i>	‘sow’
pig-MAS		pig-FEM	
<i>zu-qu</i>	‘horse’	<i>zu-ka</i>	‘mare’
horse-MAS		horse-FEM	
<i>k^hue-qu</i>	‘dog’	<i>k^hue-ka</i>	‘bitch’
dog-MAS		dog-FEM	
<i>patsu-qu</i>	‘staminate flower’	<i>patsu-ka</i>	‘pistillate flower’
flower-MAS		flower-FEM	

The gender markers *-qu* and *-ka* may also occur after metals and utensils to express abstract meanings. The masculine marker *-qu* encodes a good quality of metals or utensils, and the feminine marker *-ka* indicates a poor quality of metals and utensils, as in the following examples:

<i>tɕotsu-qu</i>	‘good quality knife’	<i>tɕotsu-ka</i>	‘poor quality knife’
knife-MAS		knife-FEM	
<i>le-qu</i>	‘good quality arrow’	<i>le-ka</i>	‘poor quality arrow’
arrow-MAS		arrow-FEM	

<i>χtʂi-qu</i>	‘good quality sword’	<i>χtʂi-ka</i>	‘poor quality sword’
sword-MAS		sword-FEM	

<i>kaŋχu-qu</i>	‘good quality steel’	<i>kaŋχu-ka</i>	‘poor quality steel’
steel-MAS		steel-FEM	

5.2. Diminutive marking

The diminutive marker *tsui*, which may be related to *tsə* ‘son’, occurs after a noun to mark diminutive in the Puxi variety of Qiang, as in the following examples:

<i>laqua</i>	‘pot’	<i>laqua tsui</i>	‘small pot’
pot		pot	DIM

<i>kua</i>	‘hoe’	<i>kua tsui</i>	‘small hoe’
hoe		hoe	DIM

<i>χsu</i>	‘mountain’	<i>χsu tsui</i>	‘small mountain’
mountain		mountain	DIM

There are some words which may be marked either by the diminutive marker *tsui* or by the word *bets^{hi}*, meaning ‘small’. Following are some examples:

<i>tɕ^he</i>		‘scale’	<i>p^ho</i>		‘tree’
<i>tɕ^he</i>	<i>tsui</i>	‘small scale’	<i>p^ho</i>	<i>tsui</i>	‘small tree’
scale	DIM		tree	DIM	
<i>tɕ^he</i>	<i>bets^hi</i>	‘small scale’	<i>p^ho</i>	<i>bets^hi</i>	‘small tree’
scale	small		tree	small	

In addition to *tsui*, there are other ways to lexically express a diminutive meaning, such as *tsi* ‘chick’ or ‘poodle’, *pəi* ‘kid’, *bu* ‘calf’, *tsatɕa* referring to any ‘small thing’, and *zguzgu* referring to ‘small stone’, as in the following examples:

<i>jy</i>		‘chicken’	<i>jy</i>	<i>tsi</i>	‘chick’
chicken			chicken	small	
<i>k^hue</i>		‘dog’	<i>k^hue</i>	<i>tsi</i>	‘poodle’
dog			dog	small	
<i>tɕ^ha</i>		‘goat’	<i>tɕ^ha</i>	<i>pəi</i>	‘kid’
goat			goat	small	
<i>m̩</i>		‘cow’	<i>m̩</i>	<i>bu</i>	‘calf’
cow			cow	small	

<i>χpo</i>	‘bamboo’	<i>χpo</i>	<i>ʧatʧa</i>	‘small bamboo’
bamboo		bamboo	small	

<i>ʋlotu</i>	‘stone’	<i>ʋlo</i>	<i>zɡuzɡu</i>	‘small stone’
stone		stone	small	

In at least one case a different lexical root is used to encode the diminutive meaning:

we have the word *pie* ‘pig’, but its diminutive is another root *pal* ‘piglet’:

<i>pie</i>	‘pig’	<i>pal</i>	‘piglet’
pig		pig:DIM	

There is no grammatical marking for the augmentative of the noun phrase. Puxi Qiang uses the word *bzi* ‘big’ to indicate the augmentative meaning if it is needed. The following are some examples:

<i>laqua</i>	<i>bzi</i>	‘big pot’	<i>p^ho</i>	<i>bzi</i>	‘big tree’
pot	big		tree	big	

<i>tɕ^he</i>	<i>bzi</i>	‘big scale’	<i>ʋlotu</i>	<i>bzi</i>	‘big stone’
scale	big		stone	big	

<i>χsuqi</i>	<i>bzi</i>	‘big mountain’	<i>tɕi</i>	<i>bzi</i>	‘big house’
mountain	big		house	big	

5.3. The kinship prefixes

In the Puxi variety of Qiang the kinship terms for the older generation take a vocalic prefix *a-* or *a-*, or the prefix *va-* before the roots. The vocalic prefix is used in direct address, whereas the prefix *va-* appears in indirect address. The vocalic prefix preserves vowel harmony only in the kinship terms; the prefix /*a-*/ harmonizes with back vowels, and the prefix /*a-*/ with front vowels. The following are some examples of the kinship terms:

<i>a-pa</i>	‘great-grandfather’
<i>a-da</i>	‘great-grandmother’
<i>a-bu</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>a-le</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>a-je</i>	‘father’ (direct)
<i>a-ka</i>	‘father’ (direct) / ‘uncle (brother of father)’
<i>va-je</i>	‘father’ (indirect)
<i>a-va / a-ma</i>	‘mother’ (direct)
<i>va-mie</i>	‘mother’ (indirect)
<i>a-matə</i>	‘aunt (wife of younger brother of father)’
<i>a-ku</i>	‘uncle (mother’s brother)’ (direct)

va-ku 'uncle (mother's brother)' (indirect)

5.4. Definite/Indefinite marking

There is a distinction between indefinite and definite in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The enclitics *dzua* and *tɕi* are used to mark an indefinite noun phrase when the referent is unidentifiable. There is no distinction between the enclitics *dzua* and *tɕi*, either can be used for an animate or inanimate entity. The indefinite markings *dzua/tɕi* are the classifiers *dzua* and *tɕi*, for instance, *a-dzua/a-tɕi* refers to 'one person' or 'one object'. The enclitic *lei* marks a definite noun phrase. Following are some examples:

- (204) *zuepe-ta* *ɸlotu-dzua/tɕi* *ŋa.*
 earth-LOC stone-INDEF exist
 'There is a stone on the ground.'

- (205) *tɕiu* *me-dzua/tɕi* *zə.*
 home people-INDEF exist
 'There is a person at home.'

- (206) *ɸuatsu* *tsi* *p^he-tɕi* *mi-ŋa.*
 walking.stick this:CL value-INDEF NEG-exist
 'This walking stick is not valuable.'

The following is an extended text example. In line (207b), the indefinite marker *-tɕi* is used in referring to the new referent (*tsəvuɑ-tɕi* ‘an idiot’), it may also refer to more than one referent, as in (207d). In line (207g), again, the indefinite marker *-tɕi* indicates another new referent (*pəida-tɕi* ‘a tiger’). In line (207h), however, the definite marker *-lei* is used in referring to the given referent (*pəida-lei* ‘the tiger’). In line (207j), the definite marker *-lei* is used to refer to the first established referent (*tsəvuɑ-lei* ‘the idiot’).

- (207) a. *tsə* *qe'χɑ* *me* *a-qɑ* *zə-i,*
 this:CL before people one-CL exist-CSM:3
 tsəʂtu *χsi-la* *zə-i.*
 brother three-CL exist-CSM:3
- b. *la-betʂʰi-la* *tsəvuɑ-tɕi* *məi.*
 SUPER-small-TOP idiot-INDEF COP:3
- c. *vaje* *mi-zə-pə-i,* *vamie* *a-la* *pəʂ*
 father NEG-exist-do-CSM:3 mother one-CL only
 mi-zə-pə-i.
 NEG-exist-do-CSM:3
- d. *a-si-go,* *tubzj* *a-n-tɕi* *si*
 one-day-LOC brother one-two-CL firewood
 zgue-sə-i.
 cut-go-CSM:3

- e. *tutsu* *ts^hu* *kue-tsu*.
 younger.brother lunch DIR-send
- f. *ts^hu* *tsu-nɿ* *χtsuə-kou* *u^l-ta*
 lunch send-ADV hill-LOC road-LOC
kue-tə-i-u.
 DIR-arrive-CSM:3-HEARS
- g. *pəida-tɕi* *te-χsə-i-u*,
 tiger-INDEF DIR-meet-CSM:3-HEARS
- h. *tsa* *pəida-lei* *me* *χtɕi* *vavv*,
 this:CL tiger-DEF people eat want:3
- i. *tsəvuə-ta* *k^hap^hie-u*,
 idiot-DAT roar-HEARS
- j. *tsa* *tsəvuə-lei* *te-kots^hi-pə-i-u*.
 this:CL idiot-DEF DIR-angry-do-CSM:3-HEARS

‘A long time ago, there was a family which had three brothers. The youngest brother was **an idiot**. Their father had died, and they had only their mother. One day the idiot’s elder brothers went to cut firewood. The youngest brother (the idiot) went to bring them lunch. When he arrived at a road on a hill, he met **a tiger**. **The tiger** wanted to eat the man, and then roared. **The idiot** got angry.’

5.5. Number marking

There is no grammatical form (inflection) to mark the number of a noun, but there are some suffixes to indicate the meaning of number within the NP. In the Puxi variety of Qiang, as a rule, *-χa* (which is the plural numeral-classifier) usually occurs after nouns and the demonstrative pronoun to encode plural number and also after *a* ‘one’ to form *a-χa* ‘some’, as in the following examples:

- (208) *χsu-qi* *p^ho-(a)-χa* *qen_i* *se-ts^hua-(-zə)-i*
 hill-top tree-(one)-PL all DIR-fell-(CAUS)-CSM
 ‘All of the trees on the hill have been cut down.’

- (209) [*k^hue* *n_a-χa*] *se-sa-zə-i*
 dog very:one-PL DIR-die-CAUS-CSM
 ‘Many dogs were killed.’ (Many dogs were caused to die.)

- (210) *zedə* *t^ha-χa* *tsi-qe-i*
 book that-PL look.at-finish-CSM:3
 ‘(They) have read those books.’

There is another suffix *-la* which appears after the first person non-topic singular pronoun and the second person non-topic singular pronoun to form the first person plural and the second person plural:

Singular	Singular	Plural
<i>ŋa</i> ‘I’ (TP)	<i>qa’qo</i> ‘I’ (NTP)	<i>qa-la</i> ‘we’ (EXCL) <i>tsy-la</i> ‘we’ (INCL)
<i>no</i> ‘you’ (TP)	<i>kue</i> ‘you’ (NTP)	<i>kue-la</i> ‘you’

There is also one suffix *-ta* that may occur with the demonstrative pronouns, a numeral or a reduplicated stative verb to mark plural number, for instance, *tsa-ta* ‘these’, as in (211), or with the numeral *a* ‘one’ in *a-ta* ‘some’, as in (212), or with a reduplicated stative verb, *χsa-χsa-ta* ‘good quality goods’, as in (213):

- (211) *p^he-lu-lu* *tsa-ta* *qen_i* *ə^l-stu* *te-ŋa*.
value-come-REDUP this-PL all DIR-hide DIR-need
‘(You) should hide all of the valuable goods.’

- (212) *tš^haqa* *a-ta* *la* *mi-sə*.
sound one-PL also NEG-make.sound
‘(Her father-in-law) was not saying a word.’

- (213) *paŋ^ɲi* *χsa-χsa-ta* *qen^ɲi* *ə^l-ʂtu-i*.
 thing good-REDUP-PL all DIR-hide-CSM:3
 ‘All good quality goods were hidden.’

5.6. Case marking

In this section I will discuss the forms and functions of the case markings (the postpositions), which mark relations between the verb and its arguments or between the arguments themselves. We find that the Puxi variety of Qiang has the following case markers:

the agent/instrumental marker *-i*

the genitive marker *-ʹ*

the dative, the recipient, translative and benefactive marker *-zɔ*

the locative markers *-ta*, and *-kou*

the locative/temporal markers *-go*, and *-q^ho*

the ablative marker *-tə*

the comitative maker *-si*

Case marking is non-systematic, and the agentive marking is non-obligatory. Case marking is used when it is needed for disambiguation. In the following we present an analysis of their roles and functions in the noun phrase.

5.6.1. Agentive

The agentive case expresses the initiator or causer of an action, and is usually denoted by the use of the enclitic *-i*. The agentive marking is not obligatory and not systematic. The use of the agentive is determined by semantics, so I do not call it ergative marking, but call it agentive marking. There are constraints on using the agentive marker or not. If the actor is an inanimate entity (e.g. a natural force), then the agentive marker is used, as in (214). When there is need to emphasize ‘who did it’ (focus), the agentive marker is also used, as in (215) and (216), or when the undergoer is moved (fronted) to the sentence-initial position as a topic, then the agentive marker occurs obligatorily, as in (217). Otherwise, the agentive marking appears optionally, as in (218)-(222):

- (214) *məi-i* *p^ho* *se-χulie*.
 wind-AGT tree DIR-blow.down

‘The wind blew down the tree.’

- (215) *χla-i* *tʂutʂujy* *se-ʂtua-i*.
 hawk-AGT chicken DIR-capture-CSM:3

‘THE HAWK captured the chicken.’

- (216) [*qa ma qa ka*]-*i* “*buatsu*
 1sg:NTP mother 1sg:NTP father-AGT walking.stick
p^he mi-lu” *u’*.
 value NEG-come say
 ‘MY MOTHER and MY FATHER said (to me), “the walking stick is not
 valuable.’”
- (217) *ŋa t^hala-i te-di-i*.
 1sg:TP 3sg-AGT DIR-beat-CSM:3
 ‘S/he beat me.’
- (218) *no mi-məi-n, ŋa-(i) te-pu-u-a*.
 2sg:TP NEG-can-2 1sg:TP-(AGT) DIR-do-PROS-1
 ‘You cannot do (it), I’ll do (it).’
- (219) *t^hala-(i) bu se-q^he-i*.
 3sg-(AGT) bowl DIR-break-CSM:3
 ‘S/he has broken the bowl.’
- (220) *t^hala-(i) kebzə-zo se se-t^he-zə-i*.
 3sg-(AGT) child-DAT medicine DIR-drink-CAUS-CSM:3
 ‘S/he made the child take medicine.’

- (221) *t^hala-(i)* *qo-zo* “*kue-ke-u*” / “*kue-ke-zə*” *u’*
 3sg-(AGT) 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-go-PROS:3 / DIR-go-CAUS say
 ‘S/he said, “s/he will let me go.”’

- (222) *t^hala-(i)* *qo-zo* “*p^hu* *t^sa-la* *kue-zo*
 3sg-(AGT) 1sg:NTP-DAT dress this-CL 2sg:NTP-DAT
ze-zda-zə-i / *ze-zda-i*” *u’*
 DIR-give-CAUS-CSM / DIR-give-CSM say
 ‘S/he said, “s/he made me give you this piece of clothing.”’

5.6.2. Genitive

The genitive case encodes the meaning of ‘belonging to’ or ‘possession’ or similar relations. The genitive case is expressed by the use of retroflexion of the final root vowel -*’*. Following are some examples:

- (223) [*vaje’* *zɔʒe*] *te-pa-i*
 father:GEN disease DIR-do-CSM
 ‘(My) father is well again.’
- (224) [*kue’* *tɕiu*] [*me* *taŋ-la*] *zə* *me?*
 2sg:NTP:GEN family people how.many-CL exist:3 QUES
 ‘How many people are in your family?’

- (225) [*t^hala* *vamiə*] *kue-lu-i*.
 3sg mother DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘Her/His mother is coming.’

The genitive/possessive shows an alienable vs. inalienable distinction as in the Northern dialect. Alienable possession must take the genitive marker -ʼ, due to the loose relationship between the two referents (possessor and possessee). This means that the possessee may be separated from the possessor. Inalienable possession, however, is unmarked. Inalienable means only physically inalienable, and doesn't include other categories that are often included in “inalienable”, such as kinship relations. Inalienable indicates that the possessee is part of the possessor or has a tight relationship or is inseparable from the possessor. Compare the following examples:

<i>Alienable</i>			<i>Inalienable</i>		
<i>qaʼ</i>	<i>taba</i>	‘my cap’	<i>k^hue sua</i>		‘dog’s tail’
1sg:NTP:GEN	cap		dog	tail	
<i>t^halaʼ</i>	<i>soupiəu</i>	‘his wrist watch’	<i>t^huatse d^zi</i>		‘legs of table’
3sg:GEN	wrist.watch		table	leg	
<i>a-tsiʼ</i>	<i>qe^zu</i>	‘sister’s scarf’	<i>qa</i>	<i>ji</i>	‘my hands’
sister:GEN	scarf		1sg:NTP	hand	

<i>kue'</i>	<i>zedə</i>	‘your book’	<i>pie</i>	<i>ts^he</i>	‘pork’
2sg:GEN	book		pig	meat	

In the texts, in most cases, the genitive marker is merged with the personal pronouns, as in the following examples:

<i>t^ha</i>	<i>qa</i>	‘his/their family’
3sg:GEN	family	

<i>tsia/tsa</i>	<i>zma</i>	<i>ɕtɕi</i>	‘our (1pl:INCL) Qiang language’
1pl:INCL:GEN	Qiang	speech	

<i>kua</i>	<i>tɕap^ho</i>	‘your grandmother’
2sg:NTP:GEN	grandmother	

<i>qa</i>	<i>vaje</i>	‘my / our father’
1sg:NTP:GEN	father	

5.6.3. Dative

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, the enclitic *-zɔ* marks the recipient or goal of a ditransitive verb, as in the following examples:

The dative marker *-zɔ* is also used for the causee of causativized verbs, as in (220)-(221), repeated here:

- (220) *t^hala-(i)* *kebzə-zɔ* *se* *se-t^he-zə-i*.
 3sg-(AGT) child-DAT medicine DIR-drink-CAUS-CSM:3
 ‘S/he made the child take medicine.’

- (221) *t^hala-(i)* *qo-zɔ* *p^hu* *t^sa-la* *kue-zɔ*
 3sg-(AGT) 1sg:NTP-DAT dress this-CL 2sg:NTP-DAT
ze-zda-zə-i.
 DIR-give-CAUS-CSM:3
 ‘S/he had me give you this piece of clothing.’

5.6.4. Benefactive

The recipient and dative marker *-zɔ* may also be used to mark the benefactor of the action, as in (231) to (235):

- (231) *p^hu-zə-m* *qo-zɔ* *p^hu* *a-la*
 clothing-sew-NOM 1sg:NTP-DAT clothing one-CL
tə-zə-i.
 DIR-sew-CSM:3
 ‘The tailor sewed a piece of clothing for me.’

- (232) *kanpu dzə-pu-m-zo zua ku-sə-i.*
 cadre thing-do-NOM-DAT crops harvest-go-CSM:3

‘The cadres gathered in the crops for farmers.’

- (233) *ts^hue-pə lo, bua-bua-m lo, tsa-χa-zo tɕ^he*
 village-man PRT help-REDUP-NOM PRT this-PL-DAT wine
χa-tɕ^he ŋa.
 DIR-drink need

‘(They) need to serve wine for the villagers and helpers to drink.’

- (234) *t^halke qeɕu ɕti-sa pi-i,*
 that.time mourning.apparel cut.out-NOM do-CSM
kadzj lo, tuə-ŋi-na lo, tsa-χa-zo
 relatives PRT member.of.one’s.own family PRT this-PL-DAT
qeɕu te-ɕti-i.
 mourning.apparel DIR-cut.out-CSM

‘...then, it is time to cut the cloth into mourning kerchiefs (for (his) relatives and members of (his) own family).’

- (235) *a-va me-zo p^hu χuəla (bua).*
 mother other.people-DAT clothing wash:3 (help)

‘Mother is washing clothing for other people.’

5.6.5. Ablative

The ablative case marker *-tə* marks locative and temporal arguments as the source or referent point away from which the action of the proposition is directed, as in the following examples:

- (236) *no* *ou-dzua-tə* *kue-lu-so?*
 2sg:TP where-CL-ABL DIR-com-CSM:2sg
 ‘Where did you come from?’

- (237) *ŋa* *peitəin-tə* *lu-si.*
 1sg:TP Beijing-ABL come-CSM:1
 ‘I came from Beijing.’

- (238) *t^hala* *qeti-tə* *q^heko* *tsi.*
 3sg upper-ABL lower look.at:3
 ‘S/he is looking at the lower from the upper.’

- (239) *zəzeta-tə* *χqan* *anaŋ* *ke* *ŋa?*
 Chengdu -ABL Mao.County how go need
 ‘How do (I) go to Mao County from Chengdu?’

The ablative marker *-tə* can be also used to express ‘through’, as in (240):

- (240) *tʰala* *χqan-tə* *zɰɰeta* *ʂe-ke-i*
 3sg Mao.County-ABL Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3
 ‘S/he went to Chengdu via Mao County.’

The ablative marker *-tə* can co-occur with the locative marker *-ta*. The locative marker *-ta* is used alone to express location, whereas the ablative marker *-tə* just expresses the source, like ‘from’ in English, but the ablative and the locative are used together to express both the location and the source like ‘from on/in/around...’ in English, as in (241):

- (241) *qe'zbe-ta-tə* *ɰzi-ta* *ɸua-tsʰe* *ŋa*.
 head-LOC-ABL feet-LOC five-CL exist
 ‘There is five feet high from on the top to the bottom.’

5.6.6. Locative

The locative case expresses the meaning of location either in space or time. In the Puxi variety of Qiang, the enclitic *-ta* marks spatial location or translative, *-kou* denotes the interior of an object, *-qʰo* refers to within a specific time or the idea of parts of a whole, and *-go* expresses time duration. Following are some examples:

- (242) *t^hala* *ɲi-s-ta* *ɲi.*
 3sg sleep-NOM-LOC sleep:3

‘S/he is sleeping on the bed.’

- (243) *tɕi* *ʂkueʂkue-ta* *dzua* *zə.*
 house around-LOC army exist:3

‘There is a team of soldiers around the house.’

- (244) *zue-ta* *me* *ɲa-bo* *zə.*
 ground-LOC people very:one-CL exist:3

‘There are many people on the field.’

- (245) *tsue-kou* *ʋe* *zə.*
 water-LOC fish exist

‘There are fish in the water.’

The locative marker also has the translative meaning ‘over’, as in (246):

- (246) *t^hala* *ts^he-ta* *da-ke-i.*
 3sg bridge-LOC DIR-go-CSM:3

‘S/he went over the bridge.’

The locative *-ta* appears after temporal nouns to encode temporal adverbials.

Following are some examples of this phenomenon:

ʃən-lə-ta ‘at 7 o’clock’

seven-CL-LOC

mazbəi-ta ‘in the afternoon’

afternoon-LOC

ɕintɕ^hiji-ta ‘on Monday’

Monday-LOC

a-χl-ta ‘in January’

one-month-LOC

jitɕiutɕ^helu-nian-ta ‘in 1976’

1976-year-LOC

dʒe-ta ‘in spring festival’

holiday-LOC

dʒaŋe-ta ‘in spring’
spring-LOC

The enclitic *-qʰo* ‘within’ appears after temporal nouns to encode temporal adverbials, as in the following examples:

ne-lə-qʰo ‘within two hours’
two-CL-LOC

a-lə-qʰo ‘within one hour’
one-CL-LOC

The enclitic *-qʰo* may also express the idea of parts of a whole, similar to English ‘among’, as in the following examples:

<i>tsə-χa-qʰo</i>	<i>(me)</i>	<i>ne-la</i>	‘two among the boys’
boy-PL-LOC	people	two-CL	

<i>tsə-χa-qʰo</i>	<i>(me)</i>	<i>a-χa</i>	‘some among the boys’
boy-PL-LOC	people	one-PL	

<i>tsə-χa-q^ho</i>	<i>(mɛ)</i>	<i>mi-zə</i>	‘none of the boys’
boy-PL-LOC	people	NEG-exist	

It is also possible to use the enclitic *-go* after temporal nouns, *-go* is also used for subordinate clause (see §8.5.1 and §8.5.2):

<i>a-si-go</i>	‘one day’	<i>tepəi-go</i>	‘tomorrow’
one-day-LOC		tomorrow-LOC	
<i>t^hal-go</i>	‘at that time’	<i>tsal-go</i>	‘at this time’
that.time-LOC		this.time-LOC	
<i>pesi-go</i>	‘today’		
today-LOC			

5.6.7. Instrumental

The marker *-i*, which has the same form as the agentive marking, occurs after NPs referring to inanimate objects used as instruments. Following are some examples:

(247)	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>bu-i</i>	<i>tsue</i>	<i>tɕ^he-u-a.</i>
	1sg:TP	bowl-INSTR	water	drink-PROS-1

‘I will drink water with the bowl.’

(248) *t^hala p^həntsə-i qa' χuəla.*

3sg basin-INSTR face wash:3

‘S/he washes her/his face with the basin.’

(249) *tsi tɕotsu-i da-ts^hua-i-tɕi.*

this:CL knife-INSTR DIR-chop-CSM-INDEF

‘This was chopped with the knife.’

The agentive marker *-i* and the instrumental marker *-i* can appear together in the same clause, as in (250):

(250) *zedə t^hala-i tsituə-i tsu.*

paper 3sg-AGT scissors-INSTR cut:3

‘Paper is cut by him/her with a pair of scissors.’

5.6.8. Comitative marker

The enclitic *-si* indicates that one referent does something ‘with’, or ‘follows’ a second referent, as in the following examples:

(251) *t^hala qa-si petsu ke-u.*

3sg 1sg:NTP-COMIT Xuecheng go-PROS:3

‘S/he wants to go to Xuecheng with me.’

- (252) *ŋa tʰala-si zedə zioʹ*
 1sg:TP 3sg-COMIT book learn:1
 ‘I am learning from him/her.’

5.7. Comparative marker

The enclitic *-so* marks the comparative construction. It is placed after the standard of comparison, as in the following examples:

- (253) *tʰa-gu tʰi tʰa-gu-so bzu.*
 this-CL house that-CL-COMP high
 ‘This house is higher than that one.’

- (254) [*qaʹ pʰatsə*] [*tʰalaʹ pʰatsə*]-*so* *ɕyɕy.*
 1sg:NTP:GEN handkerchief 3sg:GEN handkerchief-COMP clean
 ‘My handkerchief is cleaner than his.’

- (255) *ŋa satsu-so bua-pə bziʹ*
 1sg:TP younger.sister-COMP five-CL big:1
 ‘I am five years older than my younger sister.’

<i>zya-u</i> [COMMENT2],	[<i>zedə</i>	<i>n̩i</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>pzə-sa</i>] [COMMENT2],	
hold-HEARS	paper	CONJ	cypress	burn-NOM	
[<i>laqua</i>]- <i>sə</i> [TOPIC3]	[<i>tsə</i>	<i>betʂʰi-tʂʰi</i>	<i>zya-u</i>] [COMMENT3],		
pot-TOP	son	small-REDUP	hold-HEARS		
[<i>zu</i>	<i>m̩</i>	<i>qʰue</i>]- <i>sə</i> [TOPIC4]	[<i>tʂabzu</i>	<i>te-tʂua-zə-u</i>] [COMMENT4],	
cypress	fire	ladle-TOP	son's.wife	DIR-take-CAUS-HEARS	
[<i>zedə</i>	<i>tʂi</i>	<i>lo,</i>	<i>tantʂʰo</i>	<i>lo,</i>	<i>tʰa-ta</i>]- <i>sə</i> [TOPIC5]
paper	house	PRT	fag	PRT	that-PL-TOP
[<i>tsʰueχe-pə</i>	<i>kebzi</i>	<i>a-χa-zo</i>	<i>da-tʂua-zə-u</i>] [COMMENT5].		
whole.village-man	child	one-PL-DAT	DIR-hold-CAUS-HEARS		

‘When the corpse is being carried to the ceremony, (his) eldest son is holding the incense burner, and (his) youngest son is holding the pot for burning cypress and paper made to resemble money. His son’s wife is taking the ladle, and the village’s children are holding the house made from paper and flags.’

[This is a procedural text; the informant narrates the procedure of the ceremony.]

Note that in example (256) there are three topic-comment clauses which are embedded between the topic [*vaku-qa, mipu-qa, pibu-qa*] [TOPIC1] and comment [*dzo-sa tʂi*] [COMMENT1] in the matrix topic-comment construction. Example (257) consists of five topic-comment constructions, among the topic-comment constructions, the topic₁ [*z̩mu*] ‘corpse’ is omitted due to the referent being recoverable from the

text. There is a secondary scene-setting topic [*qe'*] in the second topic-comment construction, and the topic₂ [*tsə la-bzi-bzi-ʂə*] takes two comments: [*ʂaŋlu zya-u*] [COMMENT2] and [*zedə ŋi zu pzə-sa*] [COMMENT2] which are appositive. The five topic-comment constructions of example (257) appear in sequence in the text.

There is another topic marker *-la*, which may appear either in colloquial or in narrated texts:

- (258) *ŋa-la* [TOPIC] [*te-gegu* *mi-qe-pa-si*] [COMMENT].
 1sg:TP-TOP DIR-walk NEG-can-do-CSM:1
 ‘I cannot walk.’

- (259) *bzə-la* [TOPIC] [*mi-təu-pa-si*] [COMMENT].
 eye-TOP NEG-see-do-CSM:1
 ‘My eyes cannot see anything.’

- (260) *no-la* [TOPIC1] [*me* *qa'* *tse-p^ha-pa-so*
 2sg:TP-TOP other.person face PROH-lose-do-CSM:2sg
ŋi *ke-sə* *e*]! [COMMENT1]
 ADV go-go PRT
no-ʂə [TOPIC2] [*zipu-pu* *təiu* *me* *zə-sa-təi*
 2sg:TP-TOP rich-REDUP family people exist-NOM-INDEF

mi-n̄o-n [COMMENT2], [*ke-sə e*]! [COMMENT3]

NEG-COP-2 go-go PRT

‘You do not lose your face to (the other person). Let’s go! You are not someone who stays in a rich family’s home. Let’s leave!’

(261) *ŋa-(la)* [TOPIC] [*dzet̚o* *pet̚in*
1sg:TP-(TOP) the.day.before.yesterday Beijing

kue-tə-si-t̚i] [COMMENT].

DIR-arrive-CSM:1-INDEF

‘I arrived in Beijing the day before yesterday.’

(262) *t^hala-(la)* [TOPIC] [*nepu* *kue-lu-i-t̚i*] [COMMENT].
3sg-(TOP) last.year DIR-come-CSM:3-INDEF

‘S/he came last year.’

The topic marker *-la* might be related to the adverb *la* ‘also’. In (263) the first *-la* is the topic marker, and the second one is the adverb. In (264) and (265) *la* is the adverb:

(263) *t^hala-(la)* [TOPIC] [*ts^hu* *la* *mi-dze*] [COMMENT].
3sg-(TOP) meal also NEG-eat:3

‘S/he does not even eat a meal.’

(264) *tʂa tʂiu tʂə-lei*_[TOPIC] [*dza-sa la mi-ŋa*]_[COMMENT].

this:CL home son-DEF clever-NOM also NEG-exist:3

‘This son at home is not clever.’

(265) *no*_[TOPIC] [*kebzi zɪpu-pu a-qa-tʂi*

2sg:TP child rich-REDUP one-CL-INDEF

ʂe-ke-so go]_[COMMENT1], [*dzə te-pu la*

DIR-go-CSM:2sg LNK thing DIR-do also

mi-məi-n]_[COMMENT2].

NEG-able-2

[*qa' la ʂe-p^ha-so*]_[COMMENT3].

face also DIR-lose -CSM:2sg

‘You, my child, went to a rich family, but you cannot do anything. You have lost face.’

Chapter 6

Verbal Morphology

There are many types of morphology on the verb complex in the Puxi variety of Qiang, such as person marking, direction/orientation marking, aspect marking, negative marking, prohibitive marking, permissive marking, evidential marking, causative marking, reciprocal marking and mood marking.

There is no marking of reflexives on the verb as in Rawang (a Tibeto-Burman language) (LaPolla, 2002), and there are no verbs with an inherently reflexive sense. A reflexive pronoun is used to express a reflexive/emphatic meaning and functions as an argument (see §4.1.6.2). There are no voice distinctions.

6.1. Person marking

First person and second person actors are marked on the verb, and third person is zero marked. The marking takes the form of suffixes, which are added to the final verb in a finite sentence. They reflect only the person of the actor of the sentence. The markers for imperfective (progressive, habitual) verbs are given in Table 11:

1	2	3
-ɿ	-n	-∅

Table 11. *Person marking suffixes for unmarked (imperfective) verbs*

As can be seen from Table 11, no number distinction is made in the suffixes. The first person marking is the retroflexion of the root vowel, and the second person marking is the final consonant *-ŋ*. This is different from other varieties or dialects of Qiang (such as Mawo, Taoping, and Ronghong), which have different markers to distinguish between singular and plural. All verbs can take person marking, including adjectives (intransitive state predicate verbs) and some matrix verbs, but inanimate arguments are not reflected in the person marking. The following are examples of the person marking:

(266) *ŋa* *ts^hu* *dze^ʔ*
 1sg:TP meal eat:1
 ‘I am eating.’

(267) *qan* *ts^hu* *dze^ʔ*
 1dl meal eat:1
 ‘We two are eating.’

(268) *qala* *ts^hu* *dze^ʔ*
 1pl meal eat:1
 ‘We are eating.’

(269) *no* *ts^hu* *dze-n.*

2sg:TP meal eat-2

‘You are eating.’

(270) *kuen* *ts^hu* *dze-n.*

2dl meal eat-2

‘You two are eating.’

(271) *kuela* *ts^hu* *dze-n.*

2pl meal eat-2

‘You are eating.’

(272) *t^hala* *ts^hu* *dze.*

3sg meal eat:3

‘S/he is eating.’

(273) *t^hen* *ts^hu* *dze.*

3dl meal eat:3

‘They two are eating.’

(274) *tʰaxa* *tsʰu* *dze*.
 3pl meal eat:3
 ‘They are eating.’

The system given above is for unmarked (imperfective) aspect. Looking at the other types of aspect, the system is much more complicated; the person marking and the aspect marking are marked by a single form. Let us look at Tables 12 and 13 first:

	Prospective	(Unmarked) imperfective	Change of state
1sg	dzo-u-a	dzoʹ	dzo-si
2sg	dzo-u-an	dzo-n	dzo-so
3sg	dzo-u	dzo	dzo-i
1pl	dzo-u-a	dzoʹ	dzo-si
2pl	dzo-u-ən	dzo-n	dzo-so(n)
3pl	dzo-u	dzo	dzo-i

Table 12. *The aspect-person marking of the verb dzo ‘to sit down’*

	Prospective	(Unmarked) imperfective	Change of state
1sg	dze-u-a	dze ^ʰ	dze-si
2sg	dze-u-an	dze-n	dze-so
3sg	dze-u	dze	dze-i
1pl	dze-u-a	dze ^ʰ	dze-si
2pl	dze-u-ən	dze-n	dze-so(n)
3pl	dze-u	dze	dze-i

Table 13. *The aspect-person marking of the verb dze ‘to eat’*

From Table 12 and Table 13 above, we can see that the suffix *-u* marks third person prospective aspect, *-u-a* marks first person prospective aspect, while *-u-an* expresses the prospective aspect of the second person singular, and *-u-ən* marks the prospective aspect of the second person plural. The forms for change of state aspect also combine person and number: the suffix *-si* marks first person change of state, the suffix *-so* represents second person singular change of state, and the suffix *-son* marks second person plural change of state, but *-son* is optional, in most cases, second person singular change of state takes the form *-so*. The suffix *-i* expresses third person change of state, as in Table 14:

Person	Prospective	Imperfective	Change of state
1	-u-a	- ¹	-si
2	-u-an (2sg) /-u-ən (2pl)	-n	-so(2sg)/-so(n) (2pl)
3	-u	-∅	-i

Table 14. *Person marking with aspect in the Puxi variety of Qiang*

Following are some examples of the combined person marking and aspect marking in the Puxi variety of Qiang:

(275) *ŋa dzə pu-u-a.*
 1sg:TP thing do-PROS-1
 ‘I will work.’

(276) *no dzə pu-u-an me?*
 2sg:TP thing do-PROS-2sg QUES
 ‘Will you work?’

(277) *t^hala dzə pu-u.*
 3sg thing do-PROS:3
 ‘S/he will work.’

- (278) *ŋa* *dzə* *te-pu-si*.
 1sg:TP thing DIR-do-CSM:1
 ‘I worked.’
- (279) *kuela* *dzə* *te-pu-so(n)*.
 2pl thing DIR-do-CSM:2pl
 ‘You worked.’
- (280) *t^hala* *ts^hu* *ʂe-dze-i*.
 3sg meal DIR-eat-CSM:3
 ‘S/he has eaten.’
- (281) *t^haxa* *dzə* *te-pu-i*.
 3pl thing DIR-do-CSM:3
 ‘They worked.’

6.2. Orientation/Direction Marking

In the Puxi variety there are eight prefixes which mark the orientation of the action relative to the speaker. The prefix *te-* means ‘toward vertically up’, *ə^l-* means ‘toward vertically down’, *y-* means ‘toward upstream’, *ʂe-* means ‘toward downstream’, *kue-* means ‘in’, *xa-* means ‘out’, *ze-* means ‘towards the center’, and *da-* means ‘outward from center’. Following are some examples of the direction markings on the verb:

ke 'go'

Prefixes	Examples	Meaning
<i>te-</i>	<i>te-ke</i>	'go vertically up'
<i>əʰ-</i>	<i>əʰ-ke</i>	'go vertically down'
<i>y-</i>	<i>y-ke</i>	'go upstream'
<i>ʂe-</i>	<i>ʂe-ke</i>	'go downstream'
<i>kue-</i>	<i>kue-ke</i>	'go in'
<i>χa-</i>	<i>χa-ke</i>	'go out'
<i>ze-</i>	-	no form
<i>da-</i>	<i>da-ke</i>	'go outward from center'

lu 'come'

Prefixes	Examples	Meaning
<i>te-</i>	<i>te-lu</i>	'come vertically up'
<i>əʰ-</i>	<i>əʰ-lu</i>	'come vertically down'
<i>y-</i>	<i>y-lu</i>	'come upstream'
<i>ʂe-</i>	<i>ʂe-lu</i>	'come downstream'
<i>kue-</i>	<i>kue-lu</i>	'come in'
<i>χa-</i>	<i>χa-lu</i>	'come out'
<i>ze-</i>	<i>ze-lu</i>	'come towards the center'
<i>da-</i>	-	no form

p^hu ‘run away’

Prefixes	Examples	Meaning
<i>te-</i>	<i>te-p^hu</i>	‘run away vertically up’
<i>ə^l-</i>	<i>ə^l-p^hu</i>	‘run away vertically down’
<i>y-</i>	<i>y-p^hu</i>	‘run away upstream’
<i>ʒe-</i>	<i>ʒe-p^hu</i>	‘run away downstream’
<i>kue-</i>	<i>kue-p^hu</i>	‘run away in’
<i>χa-</i>	<i>χa-p^hu</i>	‘run away out’
<i>ze-</i>	-	no form
<i>da-</i>	<i>da-p^hu</i>	‘run away outward from center’

ɛtɕe ‘push/pull’

Prefixes	Examples	Meaning
<i>te-</i>	<i>te-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push vertically up’
<i>ə^l-</i>	<i>ə^l-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push vertically down’
<i>y-</i>	<i>y-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push upstream’
<i>ʒe-</i>	<i>ʒe-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push downstream’
<i>kue-</i>	<i>kue-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push in’
<i>χa-</i>	<i>χa-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push out’
<i>ze-</i>	<i>ze-ɛtɕe</i>	‘pull towards the center’
<i>da-</i>	<i>da-ɛtɕe</i>	‘push outward from center’

χsu ‘jump’

Prefixes	Examples	Meaning
<i>te-</i>	<i>te-χsu</i>	‘jump vertically up’
<i>əʼ-</i>	<i>əʼ-χsu</i>	‘jump vertically down’
<i>y-</i>	<i>y-χsu</i>	‘jump upstream’
<i>ʒe-</i>	<i>ʒe-χsu</i>	‘jump downstream’
<i>kue-</i>	<i>kue-χsu</i>	‘jump in’
<i>χa-</i>	<i>χa-χsu</i>	‘jump out’
<i>ze-</i>	<i>ze-χsu</i>	‘jump towards the center’
<i>da-</i>	<i>da-χsu</i>	‘jump outward from center’

Among the five verbs above shown, *ke* ‘go’, *lu* ‘come’ and *p^hu* ‘run away’ are directional verbs; all of them may take seven of the eight orientation prefixes. The directional verb *ke* ‘go’ and *p^hu* ‘run away’ cannot take the prefix *ze-* which expresses ‘towards the centre’, and the directional verb *lu* ‘come’ may not take the prefix *da-* which encodes ‘outward from centre’. The activity verbs *εtεe* ‘push/pull’ and *χsu* ‘jump’ may take all eight direction prefixes.

Verbs which have no inherent directional properties usually take one of orientation prefixes. Some verbs may take one or two of orientation prefixes, whereas some verbs, such as adjectives, emotion verbs, affect verbs, thinking verbs, speaking verbs, and sensory verbs take only one prefix. Following are some examples of these verbs:

<i>kue-ŋi</i>	‘to get into bed’
DIR-sleep	
<i>da-ts^hə</i>	‘to return (money)’
DIR-return	
<i>zed da-zio</i>	‘to enter school’
book DIR-study	
<i>se-t^hi</i>	‘to choke with food’
DIR-choke	
<i>te-sə</i>	‘to understand’
DIR-know	
<i>χa-zbadzu</i>	‘to remember’
DIR-remember	
<i>te-zm</i>	‘to forget’
DIR-forget	

ʒe-χe 'to be drunk'

DIR-drunk

There are also some verbs to which different orientation/direction prefixes are added to express different meanings, for example:

χa-zdi 'to overtake' *ə'-χla* 'to let flow'

y-zdi 'to go beyond' *χa-χla* 'to set free'

The orientation prefixes are also involved in the marking of the imperative. In most cases, the orientation/direction prefix *kue-* is used to mark the imperative, as in (282) and (283). In some cases, however, other directional prefixes may also mark the imperative, as in (284) to (286):

(282) *p^hu* *kue-guə!*

clothing DIR-wear

'(You) wear clothing!'

(283) *(no)* *tɕ^he* *kue-tɕ^he!*

(2sg:TP) wine DIR-drink

'(You) drink (wine)!'

(284) *te-tʃua!*

DIR-hold

‘Hold this!’

(285) *əʔ-ʃən!*

DIR-stop

‘Stop it!’

(286) *ze-buaʔ!*

DIR-call

‘Call someone!’

6.3. Aspect Marking

There are nine different types of aspect marking. Of these, the perfective, the change of state, and the continuative are marked by prefixes together with suffixes, while the prospective, inchoative, change of state and the repetitive are marked by suffixes, and iterative is marked by reduplication of the verb. Aside from simple use of one of these affixes, there are also interesting combinations of these different types of marking for achieving particular meanings.

The imperfective, including progressive and habitual, has no morphological marking on the verb (see§ 6.3.7).

6.3.1. *Prospective Aspect*

In Puxi Qiang the prospective aspect is represented by the prospective marking *-u*, combined with the person marking in the case of 1st and 2nd person actor. The matrix verb *da-vazə* ‘begin’ can also be added optionally before the prospective marker, as in (287) and (288):

(287) *ŋa ts^hu pu (da-vazə)-u-a.*

1sg:TP meal do (DIR-begin)-PROS-1

‘I am about to cook.’

(288) *t^hala ts^hu pu (da-vazə)-u.*

3sg meal do (DIR-begin)-PROS:3

‘S/he is about to cook.’

It is also possible to use the auxiliary verb *kuetsi* ‘be about to/be on the point of’ with the change of state marker *-i* to mark the prospective aspect, as in (289)-(290):

(289) *ɬle ku-sa pa kuetsi-i.*

wheat harvest-NOM do is.about.to-CSM

‘The wheat should be about to be harvested.’

- (290) *t^hala* *ts^hu* *dze* *kuetsi-i*.
 3sg meal eat is.about.to-CSM:3
 ‘S/he is about to eat.’

6.3.2. Inchoative Aspect

Inchoative aspect marks the action or event as having just started. Inchoative in the Puxi variety of Qiang is usually marked by the matrix verb *da-vazə* ‘to begin’ followed by the change of state marker *-i*, as in (291)-(293):

- (291) *mə^hwu* *ə^h-lu* *da-vazə-i*.
 rain DIR-come DIR-begin-CSM
 ‘It has begun to rain.’

- (292) *ŋa* *zedə* *tsi* *da-vazə-si*.
 1sg:TP book look.at DIR-begin-CSM:1
 ‘I have begun to read.’

- (293) *ŋa* *ts^hu* *pu* *da-vazə-si*.
 1sg:TP meal do DIR-begin-CSM:1
 ‘I have started to cook.’

6.3.3. *Change of state*

Change of state expresses a recent change of state or situation. This aspect is marked by the suffix *-i*, which combines with person marking in the case of 1st and 2nd person actor, as in (292)-(293) and (294)-(295); or by one of the orientation prefixes together with the change of state suffix, as in (296)-(299):

- (294) *tʰaxa qo-zo tsʰu mi-dze-pa-zə a-n-si pa-i.*
 3pl 1sg:NTP-DAT meal NEG-eat-do-CAUS one-two-day do-CSM:3
 ‘They made me not eat for a few days.’

- (295) *pesi tɕi-xau (pe-i)? pesi zguə*
 today how.much-CL (become-CSM) today nine
pe-i.
 become-CSM
 ‘What day is it today? It is the ninth.’

- (296) *zapie ʒe-zduəzduə-i.*
 leather DIR-wear.out-CSM
 ‘The leather became worn out.’

(297) *me'wu* *ə'-lu* *(da-vazə)-i*.

rain DIR-com (begin)-CSM

'It has started to rain.'

(298) *m̩* *ə'-etəya-i*.

sky DIR-dark-CSM

'It has already become dark.'

(299) *kebzi* *ʒe-za-i*.

child DIR-cry-CSM:3

'The child cried.'

The auxiliary verb *pi* 'become' appears after the verbs of negative existential constructions to express the change of situation or state, as in (300) and (301):

(300) *dze-sa* *me-ŋa-pi-i*.

eat-NOM NEG-exist-become-CSM

'(We) have run out of food.'

(301) *m̩* *tʰa-χo-ta* *zmam-χa* *mi-zə-pi-i*.

ox that-PL-LOC cow-PL NEG-exist-become-CSM

'The cows have disappeared among those oxen.'

6.3.4. *Continuative Aspect*

The continuative aspect refers to an action that is on-going in the past or present or future temporal frame. In the Puxi variety the prefix *pi-* is used for this meaning. The action, in general, may not discontinue, as in (302)-(303):

- (302) *qala zedə pi-tsi'*
 1pl book CONT-look.at:1
 'We are still reading a book.'

- (303) *t^hala ts^hu pi-dze.*
 3sg meal CONT-eat:3
 'S/he is still eating.'

If the continuative prefix *pi-* is used in a future temporal frame, it refers to an action that is continuously progressing, or may have stopped but will continue again later.

Following are some examples of this sense:

- (304) *t^haxa ts^hu pi-dze-u.*
 3pl meal CONT-eat-PROS:3
 'They will still want to eat.'

- (305) *kuela ts^hu pi-dze-u-ən.*
 2pl meal CONT-eat-PROS-2pl

‘You will still want to eat.’

- (306) *t^haxa zedə pi-tsi-u.*
 3pl book CONT-look-PROS:3

‘They will still want to read a book.’

- (307) *a-tui pi go, t^hala ts^hu pi-dze-u.*
 one-time become LNK 3sg meal CONT-eat-PROS:3

‘For a while, s/he will still eat.’

The continuative marker *pi-* occurs in ‘doing something simultaneously’ to express some actions which are going on at the same time, as in (308)-(310):

- (308) *t^hala ts^hu pi-dze-pə zedə pi-tsi-pə.*
 3sg meal CONT-eat-do book CONT-look.at-do

‘S/he eats while reading a book.’

- (309) *t^hala ts^hu pi-dze-pə tianşə pi-tsi-pə.*
 3sg meal CONT-eat-do TV CONT-look.at-do

‘S/he eats while watching the TV.’

- (310) *t^hala pi-tsi pi-tsi-pə n̩i te-dza-i.*
 3sg CONT-look.at CONT-look.at-do ADV DIR-smile-CSM:3
 ‘S/he smiled while reading (it).’

The continuative marker may co-occur with a numeral-classifier phrase to express an additive sense, for example:

- (311) *a-pzə ʒe-pi-dze.*
 a-little DIR-CONT-eat
 ‘Eat some more!’

6.3.5. Perfective Aspect

Unlike in the Northern dialect the directional prefix alone does not have a perfective sense. Perfective is expressed by making use of the verb *qe* ‘to finish’, either as the main verb, as in (312) and (313), or as an auxiliary verb which occurs after the verb and before the change of state suffix *-i*, as in (314)-(315):

- (312) *t^ha-ta te-pu-i go, tsalke t^ha-si qe-u.*
 that-PL DIR-do-CSM LNK this.time that-day finish-HEARS
 ‘After doing those things, now (they) finished that day’s (work).’

- (313) *t^hala t^ha-si dzə qe-i.*
 3sg that-day thing finish-CSM:3
 ‘S/he finished that day’s work.’

- (314) *ŋa t^himatsi dze qe-si.*
 1sg:TP just eat finish-CSM:1
 ‘I have just eaten.’

- (315) *t^hala ŋi qe-i.*
 3sg sleep finish-CSM:3
 ‘S/he has slept.’

The auxiliary verb *-qe* following a verb with the directional prefix can encode a perfective sense, as in (316a) and (317a). In negative perfective constructions, the negative prefix *m̄i* occurs before the auxiliary verb *pi*, as in (316b) and (317b):

- (316) a. *t^hala ts^hu se-dze qe-i.*
 3sg meal DIR-eat finish-CSM:3
 ‘S/he has had a meal.’ (lit.: S/he finished eating a meal.)

b. *t^hala* *ts^hu* *ʂe-dze* *mi-pi* *qe*.
 3sg meal DIR-eat NEG-do finish:3

‘S/he has not had a meal.’ (lit.: S/he did not finish eating a meal.)

(317) a. *ŋa* *zedə* *ʂe-tsi* *qe-si*.
 1sg:TP book DIR-look.at finish-CSM:1

‘I have read a book.’ (lit.: I finished reading a book.)

b. *ŋa* *zedə* *ʂe-tsi* *mi-pi* *qe’*.
 1sg:TP book DIR-look.at NEG-do finish:1

‘I have not read a book.’ (lit.: I did not finish reading a book.)

Unlike in the Northern dialect of Qiang, the auxiliary verb *qe* with the suffix *-i* in the Puxi variety of Qiang can also express the experiential meaning, as in (318)-(320):

(318) *kuela* *ʂəʂeta* *ke* *qe-son*.
 2pl Chengdu go finish-CSM:2pl

‘You have been to Chengdu.’

(319) *t^hala* *zu* *ts^he* *dze* *qe-i*.
 3sg horse meat eat finish-CSM:3

‘S/he has eaten horse meat.’

- (320) *no* *tʂoŋkue* *ke* *qe-so* *me?*
 2sg:TP China go finish-CSM:2sg QUES
 ‘Have you ever been to China?’

Perfective in the Puxi variety of Qiang may also be marked by the main verb *ʂako* ‘to finish’ (borrowed from Southwestern Mandarin ‘煞過’), as in (321). The verb *ʂako* can also be used as a matrix verb, as in (322):

- (321) *tʰe* *te-ʂako-i* *go,* *tʰa-si* *dzə* *qe-i*
 that:CL DIR-finish-CSM LNK that-day thing finish-CSM
 ‘After (they) finished that (thing), (they) have done that day’s work.’

- (322) *tsʰu* *tʂa-ɸu* *ʂe-dze* *te-ʂako*.
 meal this-CL DIR-eat DIR-finish
 ‘(You) finish eating the rice.’

6.3.6. Repetition

Repetition means doing an action ‘again’. This form is expressed by the suffix *-tsʰə*, which precedes the other suffixes, such as aspect marking and person marking. It can be used with the change of state marker:

- (323) *me'wu* *ə'-lu* *(da-vazə)-ts^hə-i*.
rain DIR-come (DIR-begin)-REP-CSM
‘It is raining again.’
- (324) *ŋa* *zedə* *tsi* *da-vazə-ts^hə-si*.
1sg:TP book look.at DIR-begin-REP-CSM:1
‘I have begun to read again.’
- (325) *kuela* *zɬɛta* *ʂe-ke-ts^hə-son-a?*
2pl Chengdu DIR-go-REP-CSM:2pl-QUES
‘Did you go to Chengdu again?’
- (326) *tɕipu-lei* *y-pi-ke-ts^hə-i*.
daughter-DEF DIR-CONT-go-REP-CSM:3
‘The daughter went upstream again.’

6.3.7. Imperfective

The unmarked aspect form covers a range of prototypically imperfective uses, including progressive, as in (266)-(274), and habitual, as in (327)-(329). Habitual encodes the meaning of ‘often/usually/always do something’, or ‘be used to doing something’. In the Puxi variety the quantifier *a-si* ‘one day’ precedes the verb to express a habitual meaning, though there is no grammatical marking on the verb for

habitual aspect:

- (327) *t^hala* *a-si* *zedə* *tsi*.
 3sg one-day book look.at:3

‘S/he usually reads books.’

- (328) *t^hala* *laqe^ʹ* *a-si* *tə^he* *tə^he*.
 3sg before one-day wine drink:3

‘S/he used to drink wine (but now s/he does not drink much/doesn’t drink any more).’

- (329) *tubzi* *a-si* *tutsu* *ʂe*.
 elder.brother one-day younger.brother hit:3

‘The elder brother often hits the younger brother.’

6.3.8. Iterative

Iterative expresses an action which inherently involves iteration of the action rather than mutual action. In the Puxi variety of Qiang this aspect is represented by a reduplicated verb plus the auxiliary verb *pə* or *pɑ*. Following are some examples:

- ʂtu-ʂtu* *pə* ‘to play hide and seek’
 hide-REDUP do

χυə-χυəla *pa* ‘to be grooming’

wash-REDUP do

tso-tso *pa* ‘to make up’

make.up-REDUP do

su-su *pa* ‘to train’

train-REDUP do

6.4. Negative marking

The negative prefix *mi-* is added before the verb, as in (330), or before the matrix verb, as in (331), to form a negative clause, depending on which verb is being negated.

The negative prefix only has scope over the immediately following verb.

(330) *mepəi-ʂə* *mi-zə-pi-i.*

old.man-TOP NEG-exist-become-CSM:3

‘(His/her) father died.’

(331) *a-ma* *mazi* *χa-u* *mi-βu-i.*

mother asleep DIR-get.up NEG-will-CSM:3

‘(My) mother is asleep and won’t get up.’

The negative prefix *mi-* is used in both imperfective and perfective clauses, as in (332)-(333). In both (332a) and (333a), the negative prefix is used in an imperfective clause, whereas in (332b) and (333b) the negative prefix appears in a perfective clause.

(332) a. *ŋa mi-dze!*

1sg:TP NEG-eat:1

‘I do not eat.’

b. *ŋa mi-dze-si.*

1sg:TP NEG-eat-CSM:1

‘I did not eat.’ / ‘I have not eaten.’

(333) a. *no qo-zo ɛtɛindzi mi-zda-n.*

2sg:TP 1sg:NTP-DAT money NEG-give-2

‘You do not give me money.’

b. *no qo-zo ɛtɛindzi ze-mi-zda-so.*

2sg:TP 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-NEG-give-CSM:2sg

‘You have not given me money.’

Apart from the negative prefix *mí-*, the prohibitive (the negative imperative prefix) *tse-* also expresses a negative sense (see §6.9.4).

6.5. Adverbial Marking

There is an adverbial relational marker *-nɿ* which may follow a verb, as in (334), or a verb complex, as in (335), or a clause, as in (336). Though the adverbial marker has the same form as the coordinate marker (see § 8.4), they are different. The coordinate marker *-nɿ* marks two NPs or clauses which are paratactically conjoined, while the adverbial marker *-nɿ* links two verb complexes or clauses, and the first is subordinated to the second. The *nɿ* clause has either a purpose reading, as in (334)-(336), or a manner adverbial reading, as in (337):

- (334) *pesi ɲa te-tsua-nɿ petsu ke-si.*
 today 1sg:TP DIR-early-ADV Xuecheng go-CSM:1
 ‘Today I went early to Xuecheng.’

- (335) *ɲa zɔzeta se-ke-nɿ qaʹ sudze*
 1sg:TP Chengdu DIR-go-ADV 1sg:NTP:GEN teacher
tsi-sə-u-a.
 look.at-go-PROS-1
 ‘I will go to Chengdu to see my teacher.’

- (336) [*kua* *taba* *ta-m* *ni* *ŋa-sə*]
 2sg:NTP:GEN cap wear-NOM CONJ 1sg:TP-TOP
χa-ke-ke-ni *ətəindzi* *a-gu* *te-zmie-si*.
 DIR-go-REDUP-ADV money one-CL DIR-look.for-CSM:1
 ‘Your husband and I went out to make some money.’

- (337) *tʰala* *tʂʰetsə* *dzo-ni* *zedə* *zio-sə-i*.
 3sg bus sit-ADV book study-go-CSM:3
 ‘S/he went to school by bus.’

6.6. Modality

Modality is the deontic or epistemic sense of the clause (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 41). Deontic modality involves obligation (must, have to, or ought to, should), capability (can or be able to), necessity (need) and permission (may). Epistemic modality includes probability and possibility. In Puxi Qiang there are a number of modal senses which are achieved with the use of matrix verbs (which are parallel to modal auxiliary in English and Chinese), adverbs and particles.

6.6.1. Deontic Modality

6.6.1.1. Obligation

The prospective maker *-u*, used together with an adverb borrowed from Chinese *jitin* ‘must’, expresses obligation, in this case, the adverb *jitin* must take the emphatic particle *-la*, as in (338)-(340):

- (338) *ŋa pesi jitin-la ve a-zi te-tə^hi pa-u-a.*
 1sg:TP today must-EMPH fish one-CL DIR-grasp do-PROS-1
 ‘I must catch a fish today.’

- (339) *t^hala pesi jitin-la ke-u.*
 3sg today must-EMPH go-PROS:3
 ‘Today s/he must go.’

- (340) *no tsi dzə jitin-la te-pu te-şako.*
 2sg:TP this:CL thing must-emphatic DIR-do DIR-finish
 ‘You must finish this thing.’

To express strong obligation like in English ‘have to’, the main verb is nominalized, and takes the auxiliary *pə* with change of state marking:

- (341) *tepəi tsyla p^hitɕ^hiu χli-sa pə-i.*
 tomorrow 1pl:INCL ball play-NOM do-CSM
 ‘We have to play ball tomorrow.’

- (342) *pesi ŋa-i tɕi ɸya-sa pə-i.*
 today 1sg:TP-AGT house clean-NOM do-CSM
 ‘Today I have to clean up the house.’

- (343) *pesi zeme χeχe-sa pə-i.*
 today speech talk-NOM do-CSM
 ‘(We) have to attend a meeting.’

The matrix verb *ŋa* ‘should’ marks weak obligation, but it can not take the person marking, as in (344)-(346):

- (344) *t^hala zɔɕe al da-tsi-sə ŋa.*
 3sg disease one:CL DIR-look.at-go should
 ‘S/he should go to see a doctor.’

- (345) *no ɸepəi tɕotɕo tɕyjy ŋa.*
 2sg:TP body well take.care.of should
 ‘You should take care of yourself.’

- (346) *no dzə tɔtɔ pu ŋa.*
 2sg:TP thing well do should
 ‘You should do the thing carefully.’

The matrix verb *ŋa* can also express deontic modality like English ‘need’, as in

(347)-(348):

- (347) *pie tsa-χa-q^ho ne-zi sa ŋa.*
 swine this-CL-LOC two-CL kill need
 ‘It is necessary to kill two swine among them.’

- (348) *t^hαχa-q^ho χsi-la ke-u ŋa.*
 3pl-LOC three-CL go-PROS:3 need
 ‘Among them three persons need to go.’

6.6.1.2. Permission

The matrix verb *qe* ‘may, can’ in some contexts is used to express permission to do something:

- (349) *ŋa tsa-la dze qe me?*
 1sg:TP this-CL eat may QUES
 ‘May I eat this?’

(350) *tʰaxa ke qe.*

3pl go may

‘They are allowed to go.’/ ‘They may go.’

6.6.1.3. Capability

Capability is expressed by the matrix verb *qe* ‘may, can’, which expresses natural (physical) ability or learned ability, or *məi* ‘can’, which indicates learned ability only:

(351) *tʰa-zi zu zga qe.*

this-CL horse run can

‘This horse can run fast.’

(352) *kuela zedə si qe-n me?*

2pl letter write can-2 QUES

‘Can you write?’

(353) *tʰaxa zedə si məi.*

3pl letter write can:3

‘They can write.’

6.6.2. Epistemic Modality

Epistemic modality comprises probability and possibility. Puxi Qiang has possibility.

This form is expressed by the particle *ba*, which follows any aspectual suffix and the person marking:

- (354) *no* *ʋzə* *zedə* *si* *skə-n* *ba*.
 2sg:TP Han letter write good-2 PRT

‘You probably write Chinese characters well.’

- (355) *t^hala* *ʋzə* *zedə* *si* *məi* *ba*.
 3sg Han letter write can:3 PRT

‘S/he probably can write Chinese characters.’

- (356) *t^haxa* *zɔ̃ɛta* *ʒe-ke-i* *ba*.
 3pl Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3 PRT

‘They probably went to Chengdu.’

6.7. Evidentials

Evidential marking marks the sources of information which form the basis of what we are saying (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 43). Qiang has markings of certain evidential distinctions, such as direct vs. hearsay vs. inferential knowledge of an event.

The unmarked clause expresses knowledge which the speaker has from having seen

the situation; it is a direct evidential. If *-u* (which is grammaticalized from the verb *u* ‘say’) is added to the end of the verb complex, it marks what the speaker is reporting as second-hand information. The hearsay evidential suffix *-u* is the same as the prospective aspect marker *-u* formally, but we can distinguish the hearsay evidential from the prospective aspect. The prospective aspect marker never follows the change of state marker, whereas the hearsay evidential marker follows the change of state marker. If *-ba* (which is the same as the possibility particle *ba*) occurs in the final position of the clause, it denotes evidence that the speaker obtained based on seeing the result of the action:

(357) *t^hala zɔʒeta se-ke-i.*

3sg Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3

‘S/he went to Chengdu.’ (direct evidential)

(358) *t^hala zɔʒeta se-ke-i-u.*

3sg Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3-HEARS

‘(I heard) s/he went to Chengdu.’ (hearsay: reported second-hand information)

(359) *t^hala zɔʒeta se-ke-i-ba.*

3sg Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3-INFER

‘(I guess) s/he went to Chengdu.’ (inferential evidential)

- (360) *tʂu zɔŋtʂi tsoŋli χqan kue-lu-i.*
 Zhu Rongji Premier Mao.County DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘Premier Zhu came to Mao County.’ (direct evidential)

- (361) *tʂu zɔŋtʂi tsoŋli χqan kue-lu-i-u.*
 Zhu Rongji Premier Mao.County DIR-come-CSM:3-HEARS
 ‘(I heard) Premier Zhu came to Mao County.’ (hearsay: reported second-hand information)

- (362) *tʂu zɔŋtʂi tsoŋli χqan kue-lu-i-ba.*
 Zhu Rongji Premier Mao.County DIR-come-CSM:3-INFER
 ‘(I guess) Premier Zhu came to Mao County.’ (inferential evidential)

- (363) *tʰala zɔzeta ʂe-mi-ke-tsʰə-i-u.*
 3sg Chengdu DIR-NEG-go-REP-CSM:3-HEARS
 ‘(I heard) s/he did not go to Chengdu again.’ (hearsay)

6.8. Valence Changing Devices

Verbs in the Puxi variety of Qiang are generally clearly transitive or intransitive, though there are also some ambitransitive verbs (S=A, as in (90), or S=P, as in (91)).

There are only two devices to change the valency of a verb: one is to increase the valency by use of the causative suffix; the other is to decrease the valency by

reduplication of a transitive verb to mark a reciprocal action. There is no passive construction or reflexive/middle voice to reduce the valency of a verb. There is also no applicative construction which has the function of adding an undergoer argument.

6.8.1. Valency Increasing

In general, the suffix *-zə* is added after intransitive and transitive verbs to form causatives, which changes their valency to transitive and ditransitive verbs respectively.

Intransitive:

(364) *p^hu te-zj-i.*

clothes DIR-dry-CSM

‘The clothes have dried.’

Causativized intransitive:

(365) *t^hala-i p^hu te-zj-zə-i.*

3sg-AGT clothes DIR-dry-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he caused the clothes to dry.’

(366) *zapie ʒe-zduəzduə-zə-i.*

leather DIR-wear.out-CAUS-CSM

‘The leather was worn out.’

(367) *tɕʰitɕʰiu* *ʂe-χpe-zə-i*.

balloon DIR-explode-CAUS-CSM

‘The balloon was popped.’

(368) *ŋa* *ke-zə* *βu*.

1sg:TP go-CAUS will

‘(They) will have me go.’

Transitive:

(369) *ŋa* *tsʰolo* *te-po-si*.

1sg:TP salt DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘I bought salt.’

Causativized transitive:

(370) *tsʰolo* *te-po-zə-i*.

salt DIR-buy-CAUS-CSM

‘Salt was bought.’ / ‘Someone had salt bought.’

(371) *tsʰolo* *ŋa-i* *te-po-(zə)-si*.

salt 1sg:TP-AGT DIR-buy-(CAUS)-CSM:1

‘I caused salt to be bought.’

Ditransitive:

(372) *ŋa tʰala-zo pʰu a-la da-zda-u-a.*

1sg:TP 3sg-DAT clothes one-CL DIR-send-PROS-1

‘I will send him/her a piece of clothing.’

Causativized ditransitive:

(373) *tʰala qo-zo kue-zo pʰu a-la*

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:NTP-DAT clothing one-CL

da-zda-zə-i.

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made me send you a piece of clothing.’

6.8.2. Valency Reducing

An intransitive verb can be formed by reduplicating a verb to make a reciprocal, which reduces the arguments of the verb. Following are some examples:

Transitive			Intransitive	
<i>ŋe</i>	‘lick’	>	<i>ŋeŋe</i>	‘lick each other’
<i>tʰə</i>	‘change’	>	<i>tʰətʰə</i>	‘exchange’
<i>di</i>	‘beat’	>	<i>didi</i>	‘beat each other’
<i>zə</i>	‘connect’	>	<i>zəzə</i>	‘mutually connect’

(374) a. *tubzi satsu zdi.* (transitive)

elder.brother younger.sister scold:3

‘The elder brother is scolding the younger sister.’

b. [*tubzi ni satsu*] *zdizdi-(pa).* (intransitive)

brother CONJ sister fight-REDUP-(do):3

‘The elder brother and the younger sister are quarreling.’

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, *pa* co-occurs with reduplicated verbs in reciprocal constructions to mark ‘to do something mutually’. In most cases, the adverb *dzu*, meaning ‘mutually’, may occur optionally before the reduplicated verb, as in (375)-(377):

(375) *t^hen (dzu) ma-ma-pa.*

3dl mutually love-REDUP-do:3

‘They two love each other.’

(376) *tsy/a senta dzu bua-bua-pa-si.*

1pl:INCL later mutually help-REDUP-do-CSM:1

‘We will help each other in the future.’

(377) *t^hen* *dzu* *ɸua-ɸua-pa*.

3dl mutually help-REDUP-do:3

‘Both of them help each other.’

This is how reciprocals are marked, and it changes transitives into intransitives. There are also some verbs with an inherently reciprocal meaning, as in (378):

(378) *t^hen* *tʂatʂa-(pa)*.

3dl fight-(do):3

‘They two are fighting.’

6.9. Mood

Mood is a grammatical category of the verb which expresses the subjective attitude of the speaker towards the state of affairs described by the utterance (Bussmann 1996: 312). Puxi Qiang has marking of declarative, imperative, prohibitive, interrogative, exclamative, hortative, permissive and optative mood.

6.9.1. Declarative (Indicative)

The declarative (indicative) refers to verb forms or clause/sentence types typically used in the expression of statements (Crystal, David, 1997: 104). In some cases, it is the unmarked form of the verb in Qiang:

(379) *ŋa* *zma* *məi-əʔ*

1sg:TP Qiang COP-1

‘I am a Qiang.’

(380) *t^hala* *ts^hu* *dze*.

3sg meal eat:3

‘S/he is eating (a meal).’

(381) *tubzj* *a-si* *tutsu* *se*.

elder.brother one-CL younger.brother beat:3

‘The elder brother often beats the younger brother.’

6.9.2. Imperative

The imperative form of the verb is obtained by adding the prefix *kue-*, or other directional prefixes (see §6.2) to the verb. This form is used when the listener is commanded to perform an action. Its topic is always in the second person but may not be overtly expressed. When the topic of the imperative is second person singular, the person marking is not used, as in (382a)-(386a), but the person marking is obligatorily used if the topic of the imperative is second person non-singular, as in (382b)-(386b):

- (382) a. *no* (*ts^hu*) *kue-dze!*
 2sg:TP meal IMP-eat
 ‘You eat!’ (Polite)
- b. *kuela* (*ts^hu*) *kue-dze-n!*
 2pl meal IMP-eat-2
 ‘You eat!’ (Polite)
- (383) a. *no* (*ts^hu*) *kue-ʒta!*
 2sg:TP meal IMP-eat
 ‘You eat!’ (Impolite)
- b. *kue-n* (*ts^hu*) *kue-ʒta-n!*
 2dl meal IMP-eat-2
 ‘You two eat!’ (Impolite)
- (384) a. *no* *kue-tʂ^hitʂ^hi!*
 2sg:TP IMP-chase
 ‘You chase it!’

b. *kuela* *kue-tʂʰiʂʰi-n!*

2pl IMP-chase-2

‘You chase it!’

(385) a. *no* *kue-guə!*

2sg:TP IMP-put.on

‘You put (it) on!’

b. *kue-n* *kue-guə-n!*

2dl IMP-put.on-2

‘You two put (it) on!’

(386) a. *tsue* *kue-la!*

water IMP-bring

‘Bring water!’

b. *tsue* *kue-la-n!*

water IMP-bring-2

‘Bring water!’

6.9.3. Interrogatives

When there is a second person actor or topic and the verb takes the imperfective aspect person marking, the particle *-a* is added after the second person marking to get a ‘yes-no’ question. To express a ‘yes-no’ question when there is an actor or topic of any other person or the verb takes the second person change of state marker *-so* or *-son*, the clause-final particle *me* is used. Both *-a* and *me* follow the person and aspectual markings:

- (387) *kuela* *zedə* *pi-tsi-n-a?*
 2pl book CONT-look.at-2-QUES
 ‘Are you still reading?’

- (388) *t^haxa* *zedə* *tsi-qe-i* *me?*
 3pl book look.at-finish-CSM:3 QUES
 ‘Have they read the book?’

- (389) *no* *ts^hu* *qe-so* *me?*
 2sg:TP meal finish-CSM:2sg QUES
 ‘Have you eaten?’

- (390) *no* *t^hala* *da-bua^l-son* *me?*
 2sg:TP 3sg DIR-ask-CSM:2pl QUES
 ‘Did you ask him/her to come?’

In a question with an interrogative pronoun, the interrogative pronoun occurs in situ, wherever the constituent of the answer will occur; unlike in English, there is no change in the word order of the interrogative sentence:

- (391) *zedə* *ou-dzua* *ŋa?*
 book where-CL exist
 ‘Where is the book?’

- (392) *t^haxa* *ana-tɕ^ho* *ke-u?*
 3pl what-time go-PROS:3
 ‘When are they going to go?’

From the examples above, we can see that in clauses with interrogative pronouns we do not need to add the clause-final question particle when the interrogative pronoun is used as an argument of the verb, but when the interrogative pronoun modifies the head of a noun phrase, the question marker is added at the end of the clause, as in (393), where the interrogative pronoun *taŋ* ‘how much’ modifies the head *sent^ha* ‘depth’:

- (393) *t^ha-gu* *tsue* *ts^hə* *taŋ* *ʒent^ha* *me?*
 that-CL water well how.much deep QUES
 ‘How deep is that water well?’

6.9.4. Prohibitive

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is formed by adding the prefix *tse-* before the verb. The prohibitive expresses that the speaker requests the addressee not to do an action:

- (394) *no* *(ts^hu)* *tse-dze!*
 2sg:TP (meal) PROH-eat
 ‘Don’t eat!’

- (395) *no* *tse-za!*
 2sg:TP PROH-cry
 ‘Don’t cry!’

- (396) *no* *tse-tʂ^hitʂ^hi!*
 2sg:TP PROH-chase
 ‘Don’t chase (them)!’

(397) *no tse-guə!*
2sg:TP PROH-wear
'Don't wear (it)!'

(398) *tse-ke!*
PROH-go
'Don't go!'

(399) *tse-za'-za'!*
PROH-quarrel-REDUP
'Don't quarrel!'

(400) *tse-za'!*
PROH-make.noise
'Don't make noise!'

When the prohibitive prefix *tse-* appears with the negative prefix *mi-* before a verb, the prohibitive prefix occurs before the negative prefix, as in (401):

(401) *tse-mi-kue-lu!*
PROH-NEG-DIR-come
'Don't not come!' ((You) must come!)

6.9.5. *Exclamative*

Exclamatory sentences in the Puxi variety of Qiang are formed by using exclamatory words in the initial or final position of the sentence, as in (402) and (403):

- (402) *sa* *χpa* *si* *a!*
 very shape good EXC
 ‘How pretty!’

- (403) *e!* *sa* *tsoŋe!*
 EXC very pity
 ‘Oh, so pitiful!’

6.9.6. *Hortative*

The hortative is used in wishing or suggesting that an action shall take place. This form is obtained by adding the first person change of state suffix *-si* to the verb, as in (404)-(405):

- (404) *tsy/a* *ə'-dzo-si.*
 1pl DIR-sit.down-CSM:1
 ‘Let’s sit down.’

- (405) *zedə* *tsi-si*.
 book look.at-CSM:1
 ‘Let’s read a book.’

There is also the particle *ba*, which occurs at the end of the clause to mark a hortative.

It requests somebody to do a thing or an action with the speaker. Following are some examples:

- (406) *ŋi-sə* *ba*.
 sleep-go PRT
 ‘Let’s go to sleep.’

- (407) *tsyn* *ke-sə* *ba*.
 1dl:INCL go-go PRT
 ‘Let’s go.’

6.9.7. Permissive

This form is obtained by adding the causative suffix *-zə* to the verb when the causee is a 1st person pronoun, as in (408)-(410):

- (408) *kue'* *p^hu* *qo-zo* *al* *ze-guə-zə.*
 you:NTP:GEN clothes 1sg:NTP-DAT one:CL DIR-put.on-CAUS
 ‘Let me put on your clothes.’

- (409) *kue'* *pi* *qala-zo* *al* *ze-zio-zə.*
 2sg:NTP:GEN pen 1pl-DAT one:CL DIR-use-CAUS
 ‘Let us use your pen.’

- (410) *kue'* *zedə* *qo-zo* *al* *ze-tsi-zə.*
 2sg:NTP:GEN book 1sg:NTP-DAT one:CL DIR-look.at-CAUS
 ‘Let me read your book.’

When the actor or topic is a 3rd person pronoun, the prefix *tɕ^ha-* appears before the verb to mark the permissive, meaning ‘let him/her/them do something’, as in (411)-(412):

- (411) *t^hala-i* *p^hu* *tɕ^ha-χuəla-sə.*
 3sg-AGT clothes PERMS-wash-go:3
 ‘Let him/her wash the clothes.’

- (412) *t^hala-i* *ts^hu* *tɕ^ha-pu-sə*.
 3sg-AGT meal PERMS-do-go:3
 ‘Let him/her cook a meal.’

6.9.8. Optative

The matrix verb *kala* is used to express the intention to carry out a particular action. It takes a non-nominalized complement:

- (413) *ŋa* *tɕi* *a-gu* *te-pu* *kala’*.
 1sg:TP house one-CL DIR-do want:1
 ‘I want to build a house.’

- (414) *t^haxa* *zeme* *xexe* *kala*.
 3pl speech talk.over want:3
 ‘They plan to hold a meeting.’

- (415) *qala* *χsu-qi* *χa-ke* *ŋi* *al* *te-tsi-sə*
 1pl mountain-top DIR-go ADV one:CL DIR-look.at-go
kala’.
 want:1
 ‘We plan to go up the mountain to take a look.’

The matrix verb *zbadzu* ‘think, want to’ marks wishing/hoping something will occur, as in (416)-(417):

(416) *ŋa tepai mesə xa-lu zbadzu’.*

1sg:TP tomorrow sun DIR-come think:1

‘I hope that it will be sunny tomorrow.’

(417) *t^hala peijin xa-ke zbadzu.*

3sg Beijing DIR-go think:3

‘S/he wishes that s/he could go to Beijing.’

Chapter 7

Simple Structures

In this chapter I will focus on the minimal sentence structures, such as the basic constituent order, interrogatives, negation, existential and possessive construction, the comparative construction, and topic-comment constructions.

7.1. Constituent order

In this section we will first discuss the structure of the noun phrase, then we will describe the structure of the verb complex. We will also discuss the constituent order of the clause.

7.1.1. *Noun phrase structures*

The minimal structure of the noun phrase in the Puxi variety of Qiang is a noun alone. Nouns can take one or more modifiers. A common noun (ComN) always precedes a proper noun (PropN), a specific noun (SpecN) occurs before a generic noun (GenericN) and pronouns (we call them genitive (GEN) whether they take the genitive marking or not) usually occur before a noun which they modify. Adjectives (Adj) follow the noun when they modify the noun alone, but when adjectives plus other modifiers modify the noun adjectives usually precede the noun. When a demonstrative plus a classifier (DEM-CL) modifies the noun alone it follows or precedes the noun. The demonstrative usually follows the noun when other modifiers also modify the noun. A numeral must be followed by a classifier (NUM-CL) and follow a noun it modifies. A relative clause (Rel) may precede or follow the head of the noun phrase. When a relative clause precedes the noun, the demonstrative with the

numeral classifier must follow the noun.

Apart from a noun functioning as the head of a noun phrase, in specific contexts, a demonstrative-classifier phrase, a numeral-classifier phrase and certain verbs which are nominalized by the (in)definite marking can be used as the head of a noun phrase. The maximal structure of the noun phrase in the Puxi variety of Qiang is given in Figure 6:

$$(GEN)+(Rel)+(Adj)+\mathbf{NOUN}+(DEM)+(NUM-CL)+((IN)DEF)$$

Figure 6. *The structure of the noun phrase*

Following are some examples of the possible combinations of the individual items.

A common noun always precedes a proper name, as in (418):

	ComN	PropN
(418)	<i>tubzj</i>	<i>ʂute</i>
	elder.brother	Shude (a person name)
	‘elder brother Shude’	

A specific noun also occurs before a generic noun, as in (419) and (420):

	SpecN	GenericN
(419)	<i>balu</i>	<i>ts^hue</i>
	Puxi	village
	'Da Puxi' (village name)	

(420)	<i>zma</i>	<i>ɛtɕi</i>
	Qiang	language
	'Qiang language'	

A genitive always appears before the noun, as in (421):

	GEN	N
(421)	<i>qa'</i>	<i>p^hu</i>
	1sg:GEN	clothing
	'my clothing'	

A demonstrative pronoun always takes a classifier or numeral-classifier phrase (which follows the demonstrative), and when it modifies a noun, it mainly occurs after the noun. When there are no other modifiers before the noun, however, the demonstrative-classifier phrase may also occur before the noun which it modifies, as

in (422a):

	DEM-CL	N
(422) a.	<i>tʂa-la</i>	<i>pʰu</i>
	this-CL	clothing
	‘this clothing’	

	N	DEM-CL
b.	<i>pʰu</i>	<i>tʂa-la</i>
	clothing	this-CL
	‘this clothing’	

Adjectives usually appear after the noun when they modify the noun alone, as discussed in (§4.2.2):

	N	Adj
(423)	<i>uʹ</i>	<i>dzjla-la</i>
	road	long-REDUP
	‘long road’	

A numeral-classifier phrase always appears after the head of the noun phrase, as in

(424):

	N	NUM-CL
(424)	<i>p^hu</i>	<i>χsi-la</i>
	clothes	three-CL
	‘three pieces of clothing’	

If a noun is modified by a genitive phrase and a demonstrative plus (numeral)-classifier phrase, the genitive phrase precedes the noun, while the other modifiers follow the noun, as in (425) and (426):

	GEN	N	DEM-CL	
(425)	<i>qa'</i>	<i>p^hu</i>	<i>t^ha-la</i>	
	1sg:GEN	clothing	that-CL	
	‘that clothing of mine’			
	GEN	N	DEM	NUM-CL
(426)	<i>qa'</i>	<i>p^hu</i>	<i>t^he</i>	<i>χsi-la</i>
	1sg:GEN	clothing	that	three-CL
	‘those three pieces of my clothing’			

When a noun is modified by a demonstrative plus numeral-classifier phrase, a relative clause and an adjective, the adjective and the relative clause appear before the noun, whereas the demonstrative plus numeral-classifier phrase appears after the noun:

Rel+Adj+N+DEM+NUM-CL

- (427) [ŋa te-po-si] ts^hunpa p^hu t^he χsi-la
 1sg:TP DIR-buy-CSM:1 blue clothing that three-CL
 ‘those three pieces of blue clothing that I bought’

7.1.2. Verb complex structures

The minimal verb complex would be a verb that is unmarked. The verb can take up to four prefixes, the prohibitive prefix, the directional prefix, the negative prefix, and the continuative prefix. The 3rd person permissive prefix may occur in the same slot as the directional prefix. If there is a prohibitive prefix, then it always appears before the directional prefix and/or the negative prefix. When there is a directional prefix, the continuative prefix, and the negative prefix together precede a verb, the negative prefix follows the directional prefix, and the continuative prefix follows the negative prefix. An auxiliary verb and/or a directional verb, such as ‘come’ / ‘go’ always follows the main verb. If there is prospective marking in the clause, then it occurs on the main verb, regardless of whether there is an auxiliary verb or not. Person marking combined with aspect marking always appears before the evidential marking. If there is an evidential marker, it occurs on the last element of the verb complex. When the

causative suffix, the repetitive suffix, the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix together follow a verb, the causative suffix immediately follows the verb, the repetitive follows the causative suffix and precedes the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix follows the change of state suffix.

The maximal structure of the verb complex would comprise all of the constituents, given in Figure 7:

*(PROH)-(DIR)-(NEG)-(CONT)-**VERB**-(CAUS)-(PROS)-(REP)-(CSM):(PM)-(EVID)*

Figure 7. *The structure of the verb complex*

Following are some examples of the possible combinations of the individual items.

When a verb takes directional marking, negative marking, continuative marking and prohibitive marking, all these markings precede the verb, as in (428):

DIR+NEG+CONT+V

(428) a. *kue-mi-pi-lu.*

DIR-NEG-CONT-come:3

‘S/he still has not come in.’

PROH+NEG+DIR+V

b. *tse-mi-kue-lu.*

PROS+NEG+DIR-come

‘You must come.’ (lit.: Don’t not come.)

When a verb takes the causative suffix, prospective marking plus person marking, and evidential marking, all of these markings follow the verb, as in (429):

V+CAUS+PROS-PM+HEARS

(429) *tʂʰe-zə-u-an-u.*

Hearsay

drink-CAUS-PROS-2sg-HEARS

‘You are going to have (someone) drink.’ (I heard)

The verb may be followed by the causative marking, the repetitive marking, prospective marking, person marking and evidential simultaneously, as in (430):

V+CAUS+REP+PROS-PM+HEARS

(430) *tʂʰe-zə-tsʰə-u-an-u.*

drink-CAUS-REP+PROS-2sg-HEARS

‘You are going to have (someone) drink again.’ (I heard)

A verb can be followed by the causative marking, change of state marking and evidential marking, as in (431):

V+CAUS+CSM+HEARS

(431) *ʂe-tɕ^he-zə-so-u.*

DIR-drink-CAUS-CSM:2sg-HEARS

‘You had (someone) drink.’ (I heard)

A verb may be followed by the causative marking, repetitive marking, change of state marking and evidential marking simultaneously, as in (432):

V+CAUS+REP+CSM+HEARS

(432) *ʂe-tɕ^he-zə-ts^hə-so-u.*

DIR-drink-CAUS-REP-CSM:2sg-HEARS

‘You had (someone) drink again.’ (I heard)

7.1.3. *Constituent orders of the clause*

In §7.1.1 and §7.1.2, we show the structures of nominal phrase and verb complex. We can see the order of elements in a clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang in terms of the noun phrase structure and the verb complex structure. A clause may be a phrase, i.e. *ʂe-tɕi-n?* ‘who are you?’. The canonical constituent order of the clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang is as in Figure 8:

-
- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| (i) Noun phrase + Verb complex | (Intransitive clause) |
| (ii) Noun phrase ₁ + Noun phrase ₂ + Verb complex | (Transitive clause) |

Figure 8. *The canonical constituent order of the clause*

An intransitive clause consists of a noun phrase plus a verb complex (SV), whereas a transitive clause comprises two noun phrases plus a verb complex (APV). This is the basic structure of a clause, other elements are also possible.

7.2. Interrogatives

There are three types of interrogative in the Puxi variety of Qiang, i.e. yes/no question, alternative question and question word question. Yes/no question is discussed in §7.2.1, alternative question is given in §7.2.2, and question word question is discussed in §7.2.3.

7.2.1. *Yes/No questions*

Yes/No question refers to interrogative clauses for soliciting information or requesting a thing or an action, whose expected answer is either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The Puxi variety of Qiang uses the sentential final question particle *a*, or *me*, with rising intonation, or the particle *ba*, with falling intonation, to encode this type of question:

- (433) *no zedə pi-tsi-n-a?*
 2sg:TP book CONT-look.at-2-QUES
 ‘Are you still reading?’

- (434) *t^hala tɕ^he-su qe-i me?*
 3sg wine-drink finish-CSM:3 QUES
 ‘Is s/he married?’ (The Qiang wedding ceremony is characterized by the drinking of ‘marriage wine’, so *tɕ^he-su* ‘drink wine’ metaphorically refers to ‘marriage’.)

- (435) *no q^hou ʒe-ke-so me?*
 2sg:TP valley DIR-go-CSM:2sg QUES
 ‘Have you been to the valley?’

- (436) a. *t^hala kue ɕe sə ba?*
 3sg 2sg:NTP face know:3 PRT
 ‘Does s/he know you?’ (guess)
- b. *məi, t^hala qa ɕe sə.*
 COP 3sg 1sg:NTP face know:3
 ‘Yes, s/he knows me.’

- c. *me-ŋo, t^hala qa ɕe mi-sə.*
 NEG-COP 3sg 1sg:NTP face NEG-know:3
 ‘No, s/he does not.’

- (437) a. *t^hala kue ɕe mi-sə ba?*
 3sg 2sg:NTP face NEG-know:3 PRT
 ‘S/he doesn’t know you?’ (guess)

- b. *məi, t^hala qa ɕe mi-sə.*
 COP 3sg 1sg:NTP face NEG-know:3
 ‘No, s/he does not know me.’ (lit.: Yes, s/he does not know me.)

- c. *me-ŋo, t^hala qa ɕe sə.*
 NEG-COP 3sg 1sg:NTP face know:3
 ‘Yes, s/he knows me.’ (lit.: No, s/he knows me.)

- d. *me-ŋo ba?*
 NEG-COP PRT
 ‘It isn’t true, I guess?’ (disbelief)

- (438) *no* *ɸzə* *zio* *tsi* *ma-n* *me* (*mi-ma-n*)?
 2sg:TP Chinese drama look.at like-2 QUES (NEG-like-2)
 ‘Do you like to watch Chinese drama or not?’

7.2.2. Alternative questions

The question marker *me* may occur between two verbs in a ‘*V* QUES, *NEG-V*’ structure to form an alternative question, as in (439)-(442):

- (439) *t^hala* *təiu* *zə* *me,* *mi-zə?*
 3sg home exist:3 QUES NEG-exist:3
 ‘Is s/he at home or not?’

- (440) *no* *m̩ pe-n* *me,* *mi-m̩ pe-n?*
 2sg:TP cold-2 QUES NEG-cold-2
 ‘Are you cold or not?’

- (441) a. *no* *ma-u-an,* *məi* *me,* *mi-məi?*
 2sg:TP want-PROS-2sg COP QUES NEG-COP
 ‘You will want it, right?’ (lit.: You will want it, yes or no?)

b. *məi, ɲa ma-u-a.*
 COP 1sg:TP want-PROS-1

‘Yes, I will want it.’

c. *mɛ-ɲo/mi-məi, ɲa mi-ma-u-a.*
 NEG-COP/NEG-COP 1sg:TP NEG-want-PROS-1

‘No, I won’t want it.’

(442) a. *no mi-ma-n, məi mɛ, mi-məi?*
 2sg:TP NEG-want-2 COP QUES NEG-COP

‘You don’t want it, right?’ (lit.: You don’t want it, yes or no?)

b. *məi, ɲa mi-ma’.*
 COP 1sg:TP NEG-want:1

‘No, I don’t want it.’ (lit.: Yes, I don’t want it.)

c. *mɛ-ɲo, ɲa ma’.*
 NEG-COP 1sg:TP want:1

‘Yes, I want it.’ (lit.: No, I want it.)

The question marker in the Puxi variety of Qiang may occur at the end of the first clause with rising intonation, and the second clause with falling intonation to mark alternative question, as in (443)-(445):

- (443) *kue'* *təiʉ* *tə^he-sə* *lu* *me,*
 2sg:NTP:GEN home drink-go AUX QUES
 qa' *təiʉ* *tə^he-sə* *lu?*
 1sg:NTP:GEN home drink-go AUX

‘Do we go to drink at my place or your place?’

- (444) *no* *tʂentʂi-tʂi* *me,* *təa-lei?*
 2sg:TP true -INDEF QUES false-DEF

‘Is it true or false (what you said)?’

- (445) *tsyla* *ke-sə* *me,* *baʂən-sə?*
 1pl:INCL go-go QUES rest-go

‘Do we go or take a rest?’

7.2.3. Question-word questions

Question-word questions mark the clause as a question and indicate what information is being requested (Payne 2002: 300). Question-word questions of the Puxi variety of Qiang have the question word in the same syntactic position in questions as the

corresponding noun in statements, as in Mandarin Chinese, rather than moving them to initial position, as in English (see §4.1.6.4).

- (446) *(no) se-tʰei-n?* (human)
 2sg:TP who-INDEF-2
 ‘Who are you?’
- (447) *tsi seʹ paŋi (məŋ)?* (possessive)
 this:CL who:NTP:GEN thing (COP)
 ‘Whose thing is this?’
- (448) *no ŋi-dzua ma-n?* (inanimate)
 2sg:TP what-CL like-2
 ‘What do you like?’
- (449) *tsi ŋi-dzua (məŋ)?* (inanimate)
 this:CL what-CL (COP)
 ‘What is this?’
- (450) *ŋi-dzua pə-sa pə-i?* (inanimate)
 what-CL do-NOM do-CSM
 ‘What should be done?’

(451) *zedə ou-dzua ŋa?* (location)

book where-CL exist

‘Where is the book?’

(452) *ou-dzua ve bzi?* (location)

where-CL fish big

‘Which place has big fish?’

(453) *ana-dzu ve zie?* (location)

which-CL fish be.good.to.eat

‘Where do the fish taste good?’

(454) *t^hala ana-tɕ^ho ke-u?* (time)

3sg which-time go-PROS:3

‘What time will s/he go?’

(455) *tsyla ana-tɕ^ho ke-sə?* (time)

1pl:INCL which-time go-go

‘What time will we (inclusive) go?’

(456) *taŋ-la* *pə-i* *me?* (time)

how.many-CL become-CSM QUES

‘What time is it?’

(457) *t^ha-gu* *tsue* *ts^hə* *taŋ* *ʒent^ha me?* (manner)

that-CL water well how.many deep QUES

‘How deep is that water well?’

(458) *anaŋ* *pu-sa* *pə-i?* (manner)

how do-NOM do-CSM

‘How shall (we) do (about it)?’

(459) *n^hipi* *mi-qe?* (reason)

why NEG-can

‘Why won’t it do?’

7.3. Negation

Negation in the Puxi variety of Qiang is achieved by adding the negative prefix *mí-* or the prohibitive prefix *tse-* before the verb (see §6.4).

7.3.1. General negation

The negative marker *mi-* precedes the verb to form a general negative clause, as in (460)-(464), or the prohibitive prefix *tse-* appears before a verb to form a negative imperative clause, as in (465) and (466):

- (460) *ŋa* *ɛtɕindzi* *mi-ŋa'*
 1sg:TP money NEG-exist:1

‘I have no money.’

- (461) *tɕutsu(jy)-lei* *mi-dze* *pə-i*
 chicken-DEF NEG-eat do-CSM

‘The chicken does not eat any more.’

- (462) *t^hala* *zeme* *taŋ* *mi-dʒo*.
 3sg speech very NEG-many:3

‘S/he is not extraordinarily talkative.’

- (463) *tsi* *kebzə* *me* *ɛtɕi* *la* *mi-χui*.
 this:CL child people speech also NEG-obey

‘This child is very disobedient.’

- (464) *tʃa-pʰo* *pʰo* *tɕʰe* *mi-wa*.
 this-CL tree leaf NEG-exist

‘This tree does not have any leaves.’

- (465) *no* *tse-ke*.
 2sg:TP PROH-go

‘You do not go.’

- (466) *tʰala* *kue-zo* “*tse-qu*” *uʔ*.
 3sg 2sg:NTP-DAT PROH-afraid say

‘S/he says, “you not to be afraid.”’

If the verb takes more than one prefix, such as a directional prefix, the continuative prefix and the negative prefix, the negative prefix follows the direction prefix, but precedes the continuative prefix, as in (467):

- (467) *tʰala* *kue-mi-pi-lu*.
 3sg DIR-NEG-CONT-come:3

‘S/he has not yet come in.’

7.3.2. *Scope of negation*

In the Puxi variety of Qiang the position of the negator may affect the scope. The negative marker has scope over one particular constituent of a verb complex, as in (468a), where the negative marking *mi-* does not negate the main verb *pu* ‘do’ or the matrix verb *ʂako* ‘finish’, but negates the matrix verb *qe* ‘can’. In (468b) the negative marker does not have scope over the whole verb complex, only the matrix verb *ʂako* ‘finish’. The negative markers in (468c) also do not have scope over the entire verb complex; each only negates the following matrix verbs: *ʂako* ‘finish’ and *qe* ‘can, allow’.

- (468) a. *tsi dzə ŋa te-pu ʂe-ʂako mi-qeʹ*
 this:CL thing 1sg:TP DIR-do DIR-finish NEG-can:1
 ‘As for this matter, I cannot finish it.’

- b. *tsi dzə ŋa te-pu ʂe-mi-ʂako qeʹ*
 this:CL thing 1sg:TP DIR-do DIR-NEG-finish can:1
 ‘As for this matter, I am allowed to not finish it.’

c. *tsi dzə ŋa te-pu ʒe-mi-ʒako*
 this:CL thing 1sg:TP DIR-do DIR-NEG-finish
mi-qeʹ.

NEG-can:1

‘As for this matter, my not finishing is not allowed.’

(469) a. *tʰala xa-lu mi-qe.*
 3sg DIR-come NEG-can:3

‘S/he cannot come out.’

b. *tʰala xa-mi-lu qe.*
 3sg DIR-NEG-come can:3

‘Her/his not coming is allowed.’ (S/he is allowed to not come.)

c. *tʰala xa-mi-lu mi-qe.*
 3sg DIR-NEG-come NEG-can:3

‘Her/his not coming is not allowed.’ (S/he must come.)

7.3.3. Double Negation

Double negation in the Puxi variety of Qiang employs negative marking to negate two verbs, or the main verb and the matrix verb (see 468c and 469c), or the main verb and the existential verb, as in (470), where the negative marking *mi-* negates not only the

main verb *p^hzjɔ^hzj* ‘to touch’ but also the matrix verb *qə* ‘can’. Similarly, in (471) the negative marking *mi-* not only negates the main verb *lu* ‘come’, but negates the existential verb *zə* ‘exist’ as well.

(470) ...*mi-p^hzjɔ^hzj* *mi-qə*.

NEG-touch NEG-can

‘...One must touch it.’ (lit.: not touching is not allowed)

(471) *mi-lu-m* *mi-zə*.

NEG-come-NOM NEG-exist

‘Everybody came.’ (lit.: Nobody didn’t come)

Double negation may be formed by adding the prohibitive prefix, the negative prefix plus a directional prefix to a verb, as in (472):

(472) *t^hala* *tse-mi-kue-ke*.

3sg PROH-NEG-DIR-go:3

‘S/he must go.’ (lit.: S/he doesn’t not go.)

7.4. Existential and possessive constructions

The existential construction prototypically has one of the four existential verbs at the end of clause (see §4.2.3), as in (473)-(475):

(473) *a-va tɕiu zə.*

mother home exist:3

‘Mother is at home.’

(474) *tsə qe'χa tsəʂtu χsi-la zə-i.*

this:CL before brother three-CL exist-CSM:3.

‘Once there were three brothers.’

(475) *qa' taba ou-dzua ŋa?*

1sg:NTP:GEN hat where-CL exist

‘Where is my hat?’

An existential construction may also be indicated by a copula, as in (476), or by an adjective, as in (477):

(476) *qen_i-χou tɕatɕa-tɕi (mɔi).*

all-LOC garbage-INDEF COP

‘Garbage is everywhere.’

(477) *ɕzetsə qe-ta me kue-sua-i.*

night street-LOC people DIR-full-CSM:3

‘The street is crowded with people at night.’

A possessive construction involves an existential verb. The possessor in a possessive construction may take genitive marking. The person marking, if there is any, appears after the existential verb, as in (478)-(486):

- (478) *qala* *ʃedzu* *χadzy-la* *mi-ʃtə* *zəʔ*.
 1pl friend ten-CL NEG-only exist:1
 ‘We have more than ten friends.’

- (479) *ŋa* *tutsu* *a-la* *zəʔ*.
 1sg:TP younger.brother one-CL exist:1
 ‘I have a younger brother.’

- (480) *qaʔ* *ʃepəi* *zɔʔe* *la*.
 1sg:NTP:GEN body illness exist
 ‘I am sick.’ (lit.: My body has illness.)

- (481) *kueʔ* *qezbe-ta* *papa-tʃi* *wa*.
 2sg:NTP:GEN head-LOC scar-INDEF exist
 ‘You have a scar on your head.’

- (482) *qa'* *tutsu* *vuɑ-pə* *qe-i*.
 1sg:NTP:GEN younger.brother five-year have-CSM:3
 'My brother is five years old now.'

- (483) *t^hala* *dzə-sɑ-pə* *pəʂ* *mi-pi-qe*.
 3sg four-ten-year only NEG-CONT-have:3
 'S/he looks like to be only forty years old.'

- (484) *t^hala* *tutsu* *a-la* *zə*.
 3sg younger.brother one-CL exist:3
 'S/he has a younger brother.'

- (485) *t^hala* *tauli* *ŋa*.
 3sg reason exist:3
 'S/he will find a way.' (lit.: S/he has reason.)

- (486) *ŋa* *kaŋpi* *a-la* *ŋa'*.
 1sg:TP pen one-CL exist:1
 'I have a pen.'

The interesting thing is that the possessive construction involves different existential verbs to express where someone has something, as in the following examples:

- (487) a. *ŋa* *iatsu* *tsi'*
 b. *ŋa* *iatsu* *ŋa'*
 c. *ŋa* *iatsu* *tʂuɑ'*
 d. *ŋa* *iatsu* *la'*
- 1sg:TP finger.ring have:1
- ‘I have a finger ring.’

Sentences (487a-d), though they all express ‘I have a finger ring’, are somewhat different. Example (487a) encodes ‘I have a ring on my hand’, and example (487b) indicates ‘I am taking a ring in my hand’. Example (487c) represents ‘I own a finger ring’, while example (487d) encodes ‘I have a finger ring in my purse or pocket’.

Another kind of possessive is formed by a non-topic pronoun which takes the genitive marker plus a copula. In this construction, the possessed occurs in initial position, and the possessor appears between the possessed and the copula (see §5.6.2), as in (488) and (489):

- (488) *tʂa-la* *p^hu* *qa'* *məi*
 this-CLT clothing 1sg:NTP:GEN COP
- ‘This piece of clothing is mine.’

(489) *tsi* *qa'* *t^hi* *kue'*
 this:CL 1sg:NTP:GEN that:CL 2sg:NTP:GEN

‘This one is mine, and that one is yours.’

7.5. Comparative construction

In this section I discuss how humans, animals, objects and phenomena are compared.

In §7.5.1 I discuss the general comparative construction, and in §7.5.2 I discuss the equative construction.

7.5.1. General comparative construction

When one referent is being compared with another, the NP representing the item being compared is a topic, and appears first in the clause. The NP representing the item which is the standard of comparison follows that of the item being compared and takes the comparative marker *-so*. The general comparative construction in the Puxi variety of Qiang is formed by adding the comparative marker (postposition/enclitic) *-so* after the standard, as in the formula shown in Figure 9:

NP₁ (item being compared) + NP₂ (standard of comparison)-COMP + Predicate

Figure 9. *General comparative construction*

In the general comparative construction, the predicate may be a stative verb, as in (490)-(493), or an existential/locative verb, as in (494), or a matrix verb, as in (495).

The syntactic patterns for the compared items are similar:

(490) *no* *t^hala-so* *ne-ts^hun* *bzu-n.*

2sg:TP 3sg-COMP two-CL tall-2

‘You are two inches taller than him/her.’

(491) *ŋa* *satsu-so* *ɸua-pə* *bzi^l.*

1sg:TP sister-COMP five-year big:1

‘I am five years older than my sister.’

(492) *ŋa* *t^hala-so* *mi-bzi^l,* *t^hala-so* *la*

1sg:TP 3sg-COMP NEG-big:1 3sg-COMP also

mi-betɕ^hi^l.

NEG-small:1

‘I am not as old as him/her, and also not as young as him/her.’

- (493) *a-si* *χa-ke-ŋi* *a-tui* *te-gegu-sə*
 one-day DIR-go-ADV one-time DIR-walk-go
ʒe-dze-so *la* *χsa.*
 DIR-eat-COMP also good

‘Going out to take a walk everyday is better than taking any kind of food.’

- (494) *tʰala* *qa-so* *ɛtɕindzi* *ŋa.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-COMP money exist:3

‘S/he has more money than me.’

- (495) *ŋa* *tʰala-so* *qeʼ.*
 1sg:TP 3sg-COMP can:1

‘I am greater ability than him/her.’

It is possible that an adverb, such as *kəntɕa* (< Ch. 更加 *gèngjiā*) ‘even more’ or the native word *la* ‘also, even’ is added before the adjective or the matrix verb:

- (496) *tʰala* *qa-so* *kəntɕa* *χsa.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-COMP even.more good:3

‘S/he is even better-behaved than me.’

- (497) *t^hala* *qa-so* *la* *qe.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-COMP even.more can:3
 ‘S/he is even greater ability than me.’

The continuative aspect prefix *pi-* may be used in the comparative construction to encode the sense ‘relatively’, or ‘even more’, as in (498)-(500):

- (498) *t^hala* *qa-so* *pi-χsa.*
 3sg 1sg:NTP-COMP CONT-good:3
 ‘S/he is even better-behaved than me.’

- (499) *t^hala* *puşu* *qa-so* (*a-pzə*) *pi-bzi.*
 3sg age 1sg:NTP-COMP (one-CL) CONT-big:3
 ‘S/he is even older than me.’

- (500) *ŋa* *t^hala-so* *zga* (*a-pzə*) *pi-duda’.*
 1sg:TP 3sg-COMP run (one-CL) CONT-fast:1
 ‘I run even faster than he does.’

7.5.2. Equative Comparative Construction

Equation denotes the similarity between humans, animals, objects, or phenomena. The structure of equative comparison is given in Figure 10:

NP₁[_{topic}] + NP₂+ ADV_[equation] + Predicate

Figure 10. *The structure of equative comparison*

There are two noun phrases indicating two referents in an equative construction. The adverbs *mentɕi*/*tɕantɕi* ‘be similar, be alike, the same as’ may appear before the adjective, existential/locative verb, or matrix verb. If an equative construction makes use of the adverb *mentɕi*, it is not necessary to utilize the conjunction marker *ɲi* to conjoin the two noun phrases. Person marking agrees with the topic only, if there is any, as in (501). When the adverb *tɕantɕi* occurs in the equative construction, the two noun phrases must be conjoined by the conjunction marker *ɲi* to form a single large noun phrase, as in (502):

(501) [*no*] [*t^hala*] *mentɕi* *bzu-n*. (two arguments)

2sg:TP 3sg the.same as tall-2

‘You are as tall as s/he is.’

(502) [*bzu-bzu* *ɲi* *ba-ba*] *tɕantɕi* *mi-χpa-si*.

tall-REDP CONJ short-REDUP the.same.as NEG-shape-good

‘The tall one is not as pretty as the short one.’

It is also possible that equation does not involve the adverb, such as when using the phrase *χπα τα* ‘like, as’, literally ‘shape take’, as in (503). In a negative equative comparative construction involving this expression, the negative marker occurs between *χπα* and *τα*, as in (504):

- (503) [*tʰala*] [*tsʰu dze ɲi dzə pu*] *χπα τα*.
 3sg meal eat CONJ thing do shape like:3
 ‘S/he eats the same way as s/he works.’

- (504) [*tʰala*] [*tʰa tubzɿ*] *χπα mi-τα*,
 3sg 3sg:GEN elder.brother shape NEG-take:3
 [*tʰa vaje*] *χπα τα*.
 3sg:GEN father shape take:3
 ‘S/he does not take after his brother, but after his father.’

The equative comparative structure may be formed by adding the adverb *qetæe* ‘the same’ or ‘as...as’ after the standard, as in (505):

- (505) [*qeʹ tɕaβzu tʰa-la*] *qetæe zeme da-fə-i*.
 before son’s.wife that-CL the.same.as speech DIR-tell-CSM:3
 ‘(The old man) told his daughter-in-law to do the thing the same way as his
 ex-daughter-in-law had done.’

In a negative equative comparative construction involving the expression *χρα σι* ‘shape good’, the negative marker occurs before the whole predicate *χρα σι*, not just the adjective, as in (506):

- (506) [*t^hala*] [*t^ha* *sabzɿ*] *qetɕe* *mi-χρα* *σι*.
 3sg 3sg:GEN elder.sister the.same.as NEG-shape good:3
 ‘She is not as pretty as her elder sister is.’

It is also possible to use the noun phrase *gats^ha-tɕi* ‘equal+INDEF’ after the verb to express an equative comparative meaning:

- (507) *gaqei* *dzo-zə-u* *nɿ* *ɕauto* *gats^ha-tɕi*,
 hot.pan sit-CAUS-HEARS ADV sterilize equal-INDEF
 ɸzə *ɕtɕi*.
 Chinese speech
 ‘Let someone sit on the hot pan corresponds with “sterilize” in Chinese.’

7.6. Topic-Comment Constructions

In this section we describe topic-comment constructions and topicalization in the Puxi variety.

7.6.1. *The unmarked topic-comment construction*

The unmarked topic-comment construction in Puxi Qiang is given in Figure 11:

NP₁ [TOPIC] + [(NP₂) + Verb complex] [COMMENT]

Figure 11. *Basic structure of topic-comment*

A noun phrase which appears in initial position functions as topic, while any other arguments plus the verb complex function as comment. This structure is the basic topic-comment construction in the Puxi variety of Qiang, as in (508) and (509). There may also be a secondary scene-setting locative or temporal topic, as in (510)-(512), with the topics and comments in brackets.

(508) [*tʰala*] [TOPIC] [*atʰitʰi* *dzo* *ʂenta* *dzo*] [COMMENT].

3sg slowly door behind sit:3

‘S/he is sitting quietly behind the door.’

(509) [*tʰala*] [TOPIC] [*tʂuatse* *dzi* *ʂe-χuelie-ŋ*] [COMMENT].

3sg table leg DIR-break-CSM:3

‘S/he broke the legs of the table.’

(510) *tsi* *χsu-qi-ta* [Secondary TOPIC] [*p^ho*] [TOPIC] [*ŋa-bo* *wa*] [COMMENT].

this:CL mountain-top-LOC tree very:one-CL exist

‘On the top of this hill there are a lot of trees.’

(511) *ba-ta* [Secondary TOPIC] [*mama-y* *a-χo*] [TOPIC] [*zə*] [COMMENT].

grassland-LOC sheep one-CL exist

‘There are a crowd of sheep on the grassland.’

(512) *suasi* [Secondary TOPIC] [*mepəi* *mu* *tsə-lei-si*] [TOPIC] [*a-χi*

second.day old.man 3:REFL son-DEF-COMT together

təipu *t^ha-gu-qa* *təiu* *y-ke-l*] [COMMENT].

daughter that-CL-family home DIR-go-CSM:3

‘The next day, the old man with his son went to that girl’s family.’

It is usual that the topic is omitted when it can be recovered from the context, as in (513), where the topic *təipu* ‘daughter’ is omitted/unstated. In examples (514) and (515) the topic *ŋa* is unstated because there is a verb agreement of the first person change of state marker *-si* at the end of the clause:

(513) \emptyset [TOPIC] [*tɕiu* *y-tə-i* *go*] [Secondary TOPIC],

home DIR-arrive-CSM LNK

[*mepəi-ta* *da-qatɕ^hə-pe-i*] [COMMENT].

old.man-LOC DIR-angry-become-CSM:3

‘(The daughter) got angry at the old man after (she) arrived at home.’

(514) [*ama* *aka*] [vocative] \emptyset [TOPIC] [*t^ha* *pani*]

mother father 3sg:GEN thing

la-χsa-χsa-tɕi *se-la-si*] [COMMENT].

SUPER-good-REDUP-INDEF DIR-bring-CSM:1

‘Mom and dad, I brought the best of his goods.’

(515) [*tɕ^hintɕamu*] [vocative], *pesi* [Secondary TOPIC] \emptyset [TOPIC] [*qa* *tsə*

relatives today 1sg:NTP:GEN son

tsa-gu *ɲi* *kue* *tɕipu* *tɕ^hesu*

this-CL CONJ 2sg:NTP:GEN daughter marriage

dzə-lei *χeχe-lu-si*] [COMMENT].

thing-DEF consult-come-CSM:1

‘My relatives, today I came to talk about my son and your daughter getting married.’

It is also possible that the topic may be unstated in brief discourse units, such as the construction used in a two-way conversation, as in (516):

(516) a. *(no)* _[TOPIC] [*ou-dzua ke-u-an me*] _{[COMMENT]?}

2sg:TP where-CL go-PROS-2sg QUES

‘Where are you going?’

b. *(ŋa)* _[TOPIC] [*χqan keʼ*] _[COMMENT].

1sg:TP Mao.County go:1

‘I go to Mao County.’

In the topic-comment constructions, in some cases, the topic is marked by one of two topic markers *-sə*, or *-la* (see §5.8), as in the following examples:

(517) [*qɑqɑ vaku a-χa*]-*sə* *vuatsu te-tʂua*

other mother’s.brother one-PL-TOP walking.stick DIR-take

ŋi qeʼ ʋdzə-u.

ADV before lead.the.way-HEARS

‘Other uncles (mother’s brothers) lean (their) walking sticks to lead the way at the head of (the team of attending the funeral).’ (Hearsay)

- (518) *tsa-qa-la* _[TOPIC] [*zɪpu-sa* *mi-ŋa-pu-u*] _[COMMENT].
 this-CL-TOP rich-NOM NEG-exist-become-HEARS
 ‘This family becomes poor.’

7.6.2. Topic chains

It is very common that in successive clauses (a clause-chain) with the same topic, the whole sequence of clauses is treated as a single complex discourse unit consisting of the topic and several comments. In narratives, a topic-chain is often used to tell of an event if the topic is identifiable and co-referential in all of the clauses.

In a topic chain, the topic of the second clause is coreferential with that of the previous clause. The topics of the clauses may not be mentioned using NPs, but are expressed by the verb agreement, as in (519), which is composed of one scene setting topic and four topic-comment constructions. The topic *ŋa* ‘I’ does not appear in all of the topic-comment constructions, but is expressed by adding the first person marking on the verb. In example (520) the topic *t^hala* ‘she’ is unstated:

- (519) [*vaje* *ŋi* *taba* *ta-m*] *χa-ke-i* *go* _[Secondary TOPIC],
 father CONJ cap wear-NOM DIR-go-CSM:3 LNK
 [*tsalke* *ɛtɕo* *ʒe-lu-i* *uʹ*, “*peti* *tsaŋ*
 this.time heart DIR-come-CSM:3 say now thus
zɪpu-pu *a-qa* *tɕiu* *kue-lu-si*] _[COMMENT1], [*tɕotɕo*
 rich-REDUP one-CL home DIR-come-CSM:1 well

<i>te-mi-pu-si</i> _[COMMENT2]	<i>go,</i>	[<i>vamie</i>	<i>vaje</i>	<i>qa'</i>	<i>la</i>
DIR-NEG-do-CSM:1	LNK	mother	father	face	also
<i>ʒe-p^ha-u-a</i> [COMMENT3],	[<i>ioqe</i>	<i>qa'</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>mi-ŋa</i>	
DIR-lose-PROS-1	myself	face	also	NEG-exist	
<i>pə-u-a</i> [COMMENT4].'''					
do-PROS-1					

‘After her father-in-law and her husband went out, she tells herself, “I come to such a rich family. If I do not do anything well, I will lose my parent’s face and lose my own face as well.”’

- (520) [*t^hama ʒe-zbadzu-i go*]_[Secondary TOPIC], [*a-si mima ŋ*
- | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|--|-------------|------|
| that | DIR-think-CSM:3 | LNK | one-day | every | very |
| <i>tsua-tsua</i> | <i>xa-u</i> | <i>ŋi</i> | <i>qui-kou</i> | <i>tsue</i> | |
| early-REDUP | DIR-get.up | ADV | wooden.dipper-LOC | water | |
| <i>ə^l-jy</i> | <i>ŋi</i> | <i>tɕi</i> | <i>xuəla</i> [COMMENT1]. | | |
| DIR-pour | ADV | house | wash:3 | | |
| [<i>ʒtəitsə ʒe-tɕ^he-l</i>] [COMMENT2] | <i>go,</i> | | | | |
| breakfast | DIR-eat-CSM:3 | LNK | | | |
| [<i>piʒte-lei tɕi</i> | <i>əya</i> | <i>dʒo-dʒo-kou</i> | | | |
| swill-DEF | house | broom | hole-REDUP-LOC | | |
| <i>ə^l-bdzu</i> | <i>ŋi</i> | <i>pie</i> | <i>ə^l-tɕtɕe</i>] [COMMENT3]. | | |
| DIR-pour | ADV | pig | DIR-feed:3 | | |

[<i>tsaŋ</i>	<i>a-n-χl</i>	<i>te-pu-l</i>] [COMMENT4]	<i>go</i> ,
thus	one-two-month	DIR-do-CSM:3	LNK
[<i>zetse</i>	<i>χa-syisyi</i>] [COMMENT5]...		
date	DIR-count:3		

‘Having thought about those things, she gets up very early everyday and cleans the rooms with water. After she eats breakfast, she feeds the pigs by pouring swill into the hole of the floor. Having done those things for a few months, she is counting the day (until her father-in-law and her husband will come back...)’

The topic of the second clause is usually unstated, as in (519) and (520). In (521) the topic of the second clause is coreferential with the topic of the first clause *a-pa* ‘father’, so the topic of the second clause is omitted/unstated. In example (522), where the topic of the second clause is coreferential with the topic of the first clause [*ə^l-tuə ə^l-tə^ha-m t^ha-təi*] ‘the one who died by falling off, and was crushed’, so the topic of the second clause is unstated:

(521)	[<i>apa</i>] [TOPIC1]	[<i>qo-zo</i>	<i>pendzi</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ze-mi-zda</i>] [COMMENT1],
	father	1sg:NTP-DAT	capital	also	DIR-NEG-give:3
	∅ [TOPIC2]	[<i>χtsuə</i>	<i>ŋi</i>	<i>tšutšujy</i>	<i>kue-gu-zə</i>
		sword	CONJ	hen	DIR-bring-CAUS

pi-ŋa-u] [COMMENT2].

CONT-want-PROS:3

‘(My) father did not give me money, and made me bring the sword and the
hen with me.’

- (522) [*əʰ-tuə* *əʰ-tɕʰa-m* *tʰa-tɕi*] [TOPIC1] [*tɕa-qa*
DIR-drop DIR-crush-NOM that-CL this-family
kue-tɕʰan-tʰa-pa-sə] [COMMENT1] *go*,
DIR-harass-AUX-do-go:3 LNK
∅ [TOPIC2] [*qa-so* *a-pzə* *ba* *ɲi* *tɕa-la*
1sg:NTP-COMP one-CL short ADV this-CL
da-ta-ta-u] [COMMENT2].

DIR-take.away-REDUP-PROS:3

‘The one who died by falling off a cliff and was crushed would harass this
family. (He) is a little shorter than me and makes him leave from (that
family).’

7.6.3. Double topic-comment

As in many East Asian languages, the Puxi variety of Qiang has the double
topic-comment construction: NP₁ [NP₂+V]. In this construction, NP₁ is the topic of
NP₂+V, and NP₂+V is the comment of NP₁; at the same time, NP₂ is the topic of V,
and V is the comment of NP₂, as in (523), where *tɕoŋkue* ‘China’ is the topic of *me*

dzo ‘people many’, *me dzo* ‘people many’ is the comment of *tsɔŋkue* ‘China’, and *me* ‘people’ is also the topic of *dzo* ‘many’, *dzo* ‘many’ is the comment of *me* ‘people’. In (524) the possessor *ŋa* ‘I’ is the topic of *bzə zɔɛ* ‘eyes sick’, *bzə zɔɛ* ‘eyes sick’ is the comment of *ŋa* ‘I’. *bzə* ‘eyes’ is also the topic of *zɔɛ* ‘sick’, and *zɔɛ* ‘sick’ is the comment of *bzə* ‘eyes’ as well.

- (523) [*tsɔŋkue*]_[TOPIC1] [[*me*]_[TOPIC2] [*dzo*]_[COMMENT2]]_[COMMENT1].
 China people many
 ‘As for China, its people are many.’

- (524) [*ŋa*]_[TOPIC1] [[*bzə*]_[TOPIC2] [*zɔɛ*]_[COMMENT2]]_[COMMENT1].
 1sg:TP eye sick
 ‘As for me, my eyes hurt.’

7.6.4. Topicalization

An actor that occurs in the topic position is generally unmarked, but there is also fronting of an undergoer/oblique argument to initial-position to form a topic. We call this fronting topicalization. When the NP representing the actor does not appear as topic, it usually takes the agentive marker, *-i*, as in (525) to (527):

- (525) a. *ŋa*_[TOPIC] [*t^hala-zo* *p^hu* *-la* *da-zda-si*]_[COMMENT].
 1sg:TP 3sg-DAT clothing one-CL DIR-give-CSM:1
 ‘I gave him/her a piece of clothing. / I gave a piece of clothing to him/her.’
- b. *t^hala*_[TOPIC] [*ŋa-i* *p^hu* *a-la*
 3sg 1sg:TP-AGT clothes one-CL
da-zda-si]_[COMMENT].
 DIR-give-CSM:1
 ‘S/he was given a piece of clothing by me.’
- c. *p^hu* *a-la*_[TOPIC] [*ŋa-i* *t^hala-zo*
 clothing one-CL 1sg:TP-AGT 3sg-DAT
da-zda-si]_[COMMENT].
 DIR-give-CSM:1
 ‘A piece of clothing was given to him/her by me.’
- (526) a. *t^hala*_[TOPIC] [*qo-zo* *tɔtsu al* *ze-zio-i*]_[COMMENT].
 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT knife one:CL DIR-stab-CSM:3
 ‘S/he stabbed me with the knife.’

b. *ŋa*_[TOPIC] [*t^hala-i* *tɕotsu al* *ze-zio-i*]_[COMMENT].

1sg:TP 3sg-AGT knife one:CL DIR-stab-CSM:3

‘I was stabbed by him/her with the knife.’

c. *tɕotsu*_[TOPIC] [*t^hala-i* *qo-zo* *al* *ze-zio-i*]_[COMMENT].

knife 3sg-AGT 1sg:NTP-DAT one:CL DIR-stab-CSM:3

‘S/he stabbed me with the knife.’

(527) a. *t^hala*_[TOPIC] [*qo-zo* *kue-zo* *paŋi*

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:NTP-DAT things

ze-χtsuə-zə-i]_[COMMENT].

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made me give you the thing. / S/he made me give the thing to you.’

b. *ŋa*_[TOPIC] [*t^hala-i* *paŋi* *kue-zo*

1sg:TP 3sg-AGT thing 2sg:NTP-DAT

ze-χtsuə-zə-i]_[COMMENT].

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘I was made to give you the thing by him/her.’

- c. *no*_[TOPIC] [*t^hala-i* *paŋi* *qo-zo*
 2sg:TP 3sg-AGT thing 1sg:NTP-DAT

*ze-χtsuə-zə-l*_[COMMENT].

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘You were made to give the thing to me by him/her.’

- d. *paŋi*_[TOPIC] [*t^hala-i* *qo-zo* *kue-zo*
 thing 3sg-AGT 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:ACC-DAT

*ze-χtsuə-zə-l*_[COMMENT].

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘The thing was let me to give you by him.’

Example (525a) has the basic word order of an unmarked ditransitive clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The first person singular topic form *ŋa* ‘I’, representing the actor, occurs in initial position, and the third person singular *t^hala* ‘he’, representing the recipient, is marked by the use of dative marker, while the NP *p^hu a-la* ‘one piece of clothing’, representing the goal, appears in preverbal position. Example (525b) and (525c) are both marked in terms of word order and the use of the agentive marker, but there is a little bit of difference between them. In (525b) the recipient *t^hala* ‘he’ is promoted to the initial position to be the topic, and the actor is marked by the agentive marker *-i*. In (525c), however, the goal *p^hu a-la* ‘one piece of clothing’ is moved to the sentence-initial position to function as topic, and the actor is also marked by the

agentive marker. The sentence in (526a) is unmarked; the third person singular *t^hala* ‘he’ functions as actor and topic, the non-topic form of the first person singular *qo* ‘I’ is the experiencer, and is marked by the dative marker, and the instrumental *tɔtsu* ‘knife’ is unmarked. In (526b) the experiencer, which in (526a) was represented by *qo*, which is the non-topic form of the first person singular, appears in sentence-initial position as the topic, and is represented by the topic form *ŋa* ‘I’ instead of the non-topic *qo* ‘I’. In (526c) the instrumental *tɔtsu* ‘knife’ appears in initial position and functions as the topic, and the other elements follow this. The examples in (527) are much more complicated than in (525) and (526). Each of the examples in (527) has four arguments, among which there are two unmarked arguments and two marked arguments. In (527a) the third person singular *t^hala* functions as causer and topic, *qo* ‘I’ and *kue* ‘you’, both non-topic forms, are marked by the dative marker *-zo*, and *pani* ‘thing’ is the undergoer. In (527b) the causee, represented in (527a) by *qo*, appears in initial position as the topic, the topic form *ŋa*, and the causer *t^hala* is marked by the agentive marker *-i*. In (527c) the recipient, representing *kue* ‘you’ in (527c), appears in sentence-initial position to function as the topic, and is represented by the topic pronoun *no* ‘you’, while the causer is also marked by the agentive marker *-i*. In (527d) the undergoer *pani* ‘thing’ appears in initial position to function as the topic, and the causer is marked by the agentive marker.

The sentences in (525a), (526a) and (527a) all are unmarked or basic word order, while the other sentences are all marked constructions (or topicalized sentences) where an NP representing a non-actor appears in sentence-initial position and the

agentive marker marks the actor. Even though sentences as in (525), (526) and (527) have different word orders and take morphological markers to form topic-comment constructions, they do not change the argument structure of the sentence.

Chapter 8

Complex Structures

In this chapter I discuss various combinations of elements possible in a sentence in the Puxi variety of Qiang: relative clauses are described in §8.1, complement clauses are presented in §8.2, pseudo-cleft constructions are discussed in §8.3, coordination and disjunction are presented in §8.4, and subordinate constructions are given in §8.5.

8.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses in the Puxi variety of Qiang can be quite complex. We find that there are head-external relative clauses, including pre-head relative clauses, post-head relative clauses, and headless relative clauses, and head-internal relative clauses. Two different nominalizers and definite marking or indefinite marking are used as relative clause markers; the choice depends on the semantic role of the head in the relative clause.

8.1.1. *Pre-head relative clauses*

In the Puxi variety of Qiang pre-head relative clauses are very common, often composed of several clauses, or a head noun which is a nominalized expression itself. The nominalized clause does not take the aspect marking or person marking. In (528)-(530), the relative clauses are in square brackets.

(528) [*p^hu* *ʂən* *guə-m*] *kebzə*

dress red wear-NOM child

‘the child who wears a red dress’

(529) [*p^hu* *ʂən* *guə-m*] *kebzə a-n-la*

dress red wear-NOM child one-two-CL

‘several children who wear red dresses’

(530) [*p^hu* *ʂən* *guə-m*] *kebzə t^ha-la*

dress red wear-NOM child that-CL

‘that child who wears a red dress’

The examples above show that they are all the same relative clause, which takes the agentive nominalizer *-m* to express the fact that the actor of the relative clause needs to be a human being. It is a head-external relative clause; in (528) the relative clause [*p^hu ʂən guə-m*] precedes the noun and modifies the noun *kebzə* ‘child’, while in (529) the head of the relative clause *kebzə* ‘child’ takes the pre-head nominalized relative clause [*p^hu ʂən guə-m*] and the post-modifier *a-n-la* ‘several’. In (530) the nominalized relative clause modifies the noun *kebzə* and the demonstrative-classifier phrase *t^ha-la* ‘that’ follows the head which it modifies.

If the topic of the relative clause is an inanimate object, the relative clause is nominalized by the instrumental nominalizer *-sa*, as in (531)-(533):

(531) [*si* *ts^huɑ-sɑ*] *paŋi*

firewood cut-NOM thing

‘thing used for cutting firewood’

(532) [*zedə* *si-sɑ*] (*paŋi*)-*lei*

book write-NOM (thing)-DEF

‘the thing used for writing’

(533) a. [*ama* *zmu* *pzə-sɑ*] *si*

mother corpse burn-NOM firewood

‘the firewood used for cremating (our) mother’s corpse’

b. [*ama* *zmu* *pzə-sɑ*] *a-n-tɕi*

mother corpse burn-NOM one-two-CL

‘some (firewood) used for cremating (our) mother’s corpse’

Note that these examples all have instrumental semantics, and the head nouns are not human beings. In example (531) the relative clause [*si ts^huɑ-sɑ*] modifies the noun *paŋi* ‘thing’, whereas in (532) the head of the relative clause *paŋi* can be omitted due to it being recoverable from context, as shown by the use of the definite marker *-lei*. In (533a) the head of the relative clause is *si* ‘firewood’, whereas in (533b) the numeral-classifier phrase *a-n-tɕi* ‘several’ functions as the head of the relative clause,

- b. [*ŋa zə-u-a*] *tɕi* *t^ha-gu* (prospective)
 1sg:TP exist-PROS-1 house that-CL
 ‘the house where I will live’

- c. [*ŋa zə-si*] *tɕi* *t^ha-gu* (change of state)
 1sg:TP live-CSM:1 house that-CL
 ‘the house where I lived’

- (537) a. [*ŋa-i lie-u-a*] *p^ho* *t^ha-p^ho* (prospective)
 1sg:TP-AGT plant-PROS-1 tree that-CL
 ‘the tree I will plant’

- b. [*ŋa-i lie-si*] *p^ho* *t^ha-p^ho* (change of state)
 1sg:TP-AGT plant-CSM:1 tree that-CL
 ‘the tree I planted’

Note that in example (534) the relative clause is marked by the change of state marker. In (535a) the relative clause is marked by the prospective aspect marker *kuetsi* ‘be about to’ with the change of state marker *-i*, while example (535b) is marked by the change of state marker *-i*, and the head of the relative clause in both is the experiencer *me* ‘person’. In (536) the verb of the relative clause agrees with the actor in terms of the combined person/aspect marking. Example (536a) is marked by the first person

imperfective aspect marker, whereas (536b) is marked by the first person prospective aspect marking, and (536c) is marked by the first person change of state aspect marker. In both (537a) and (537b) the verbs of the relative clauses are marked by aspect marking, and the actor takes the agentive marker *-i* to mark the clause as an actor-undergoer construction.

In example (538a) the head of the relative clause, representing the source role, is the noun *me* ‘person’, and the actor of the relative clause is represented by the first person topic pronoun *ŋa* ‘I’ and the verb is marked by the first person change of state marker *-si*. In (538b), however, the actor is represented by the head of the relative clause, and so the verb takes the agentive nominalizer. In (539) the head of the relative clause is the actor *me* ‘person’, so the verb of the relative clause is marked by the agentive nominalizer.

- (538) a. [*ŋa-(i)* *ɛtɛindzi* *te-ŋa-si*] *me* *t^ha-la*
 1sg:TP-AGT money DIR-borrow-CSM:1 person that-CL
 ‘the person I borrowed money from’
- b. [*qa-si* *ɛtɛindzi* *te-ŋa-m*] *me* *t^ha-la*
 1sg:NTP-COMIT money DIR-borrow-NOM person that-CL
 ‘the person who borrowed money from me’

- (539) [*blozgue* *vuɑˈm*] *me* *tʰɑ-la*
 blozgue call-NOM person that-CL
 ‘the person called *blozgue*’

Apart from the head-external relative clauses, Puxi Qiang also has head-internal relative clause constructions, as in (540). Example (540a) is an actor-undergoer construction, with the actor represented by the first person topic pronoun *ŋa*, and the undergoer by the noun phrase [*tʰɑχɑ tsʰu te-pu-i tʰɑ-laqua*] ‘that pan of food they cooked’. The predicate is the verb complex *se-dze-si* ‘I have eaten’. The undergoer involves a head-internal relative clause; the head of the relative clause *tsʰu* ‘food’ appears between the actor of the relative clause *tʰɑχɑ* ‘they’ and the verb complex of the relative clause [*te-pu-i*] ‘cooked’. Example (540b) is a topicalized construction, where the head-internal relative clause [*tʰɑχɑ tsʰu te-pu-i tʰɑ-laqua*] is fronted to sentence-initial position to function as the topic. In example (540c) the head appear externally; The relative clause [*tʰɑχɑ te-pu-i*] ‘they did’ precedes the head of the relative clause *tsʰu* ‘food’, and the relative clause [[*tʰɑχɑ te-pu-i*] *tsʰu tʰɑ-laqua*] functions as the topic; while the clause [*ŋa qeŋi se-dze-si*] ‘I ate all (food)’ functions as the comment.

(540) a. *ŋa* [*tʰaχa* *tsʰu* *te-pu-i*] *tʰa-laqua*

1sg:TP 3pl food DIR-do-CSM:3 that-CL

qerɲi *ʂe-dze-si.*

all DIR-eat-CSM:1

‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

b. [*tʰaχa* *tsʰu* *te-pu-i*] *tʰa-laqua*

3pl food DIR-do-CSM:3 that-CL

ŋa *qerɲi* *ʂe-dze-si.*

1sg:TP all DIR-eat-CSM:1

‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

c. [[*tʰaχa* *te-pu-i*] *tsʰu* *tʰa-laqua*]

3pl DIR-do-CSM:3 food that-CL

ŋa *qerɲi* *ʂe-dze-si.*

1sg:TP all DIR-eat-CSM:1

‘I ate all the food that they cooked.’

8.1.2. Post-head relative clauses

In the Puxi variety of Qiang post-head relative clauses are unlike pre-head relative clauses, as they are in apposition to the head and non-nominalized. If the head of the relative clause is a non-human actor, then the verb of the relative clause takes the

change of state marker, as in (541). The actor of the relative clause takes the agentive marker-*i* when the head of the relative clause is a non-human undergoer, as in (542):

- (541) *k^hue* [*qa* *ə'-χtʂi-i*] *t^ha-zi*
 dog 1sg:NTP DIR-bite-CSM that-CL
 'the dog that bit me'

- (542) *k^hue* [*ŋa-i* *te-tʂu-si*] *t^ha-zi* *ŋ* *bzj*.
 dog 1sg:TP-AGT DIR-see-CSM:1 that-CL very big
 'The dog that I saw is very big.'

- (543) *tse* *me* [*me* *mi-ʂe-tʂi*].
 this:CL man man NEG-good-INDEF
 'This man is one who is bad.'

- (544) *tʂi* [*χan-mi* *bzu*] *a-gu*
 house twelve-meter tall one-CL
 'a house that is twelve meters high'

In example (541), *k^hue* 'dog', which is the head of the relative clause, is the actor of the relative clause, while in (542), *k^hue* 'dog' is the undergoer of the relative clause.

The actor of the relative clause in (542), *ŋa* 'I', takes the agentive marker, and the

verb of the relative clause takes the first person change of state marker. In both (541) and (542) the relative clauses follow the head of the relative clause and precede the demonstrative-classifier phrase *tʰa-zi* ‘that one’. The relative clause of example (543) takes the indefinite marker. In (544) the relative clause *χan-mi bzu* ‘twelve meters high’ follows the head of the relative clause *tɕi* ‘house’ and precedes the numeral-classifier phrase *a-gu* ‘one’.

Unlike the pre-head relative clause, in which the first noun phrase modifies second noun phrase, the post-head relative clauses are appositive clauses, and so are two noun phrases, as can be seen from (545):

- (545) [*kadzʉ a-χa*] *tsal* [*βua-βua-lu-m*] *kue-lu-i*.
 relatives one-PL now help-REDUP-come-NOM DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘Some of his/her relatives came to help (him/her).’ (lit.: Some relatives who came to help her/him have come.)

In (545) it is not the case that the first noun phrase is modifying the second or the second noun phrase is modifying the first one. The adverb *tsal* ‘now’ can be placed between the first noun phrase [*kadzʉ a-χa*] and the second noun phrase [*βua-βua-lu-m*], therefore, these two noun phrases are appositive. The sentence (545) may be separated into two clauses, as in (546a) and (546b):

(546) a. [*kadzʉ a-χa*] *tsal* *kue-lu-i*.
 relatives one-PL now DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘Some relatives have come.’

b. [*vuɑ-vuɑ-lu-m*] *kue-lu-i*.
 help-REDUP-come-NOM DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘Helpers have come.’

8.1.3. Headless relative clauses

The nominalized relative clause may appear without the head of the NP if the head of the relative clause is recoverable from the context. In the examples (547)-(549) relative clauses appear without the head *me* ‘people’.

(547) *tepei* [*petsu* *ke-m*]∅ *taŋ-la* *zə* *me?*
 tomorrow Xuecheng.Town go-NOM how.many-CL exist QUES
 ‘How many people will go to Xuecheng Town tomorrow?’

(548) *peti* [*dzua* *pa-m*]∅ *taŋ-la* *zə* *me?*
 now soldier do-NOM how.many-CL exist QUES
 ‘How many people are taking part in the army now?’

- (549) *ŋa* [(*me*) *zedə tsi-m*] *tə-tɕu-si*.
 1sg:TP person book look.at-NOM DIR-see-CSM:1
 ‘I saw someone who was reading a book.’

Headless relative clauses may be without nominalizer or aspect marker, as in (550a) and (550b):

- (550) a. [*sim* *vuɑˀ-lei*]
 fruit call-DEF
 ‘the one called fruit’
- b. [*balu* *vuɑˀ*] *tʰa-tsʰue*
 Balu call that-village
 ‘the village called Balu’

8.2. Complementation

Complementation in the Puxi variety of Qiang is the ‘sentential complement’ type (Noonan 1985). There are two types of complementation, one has no overt nominalization and one has one of the clitic nominalizers. Complement clauses function as NPs within the matrix sentence, and they generally appear between the NP representing the actor and the final main verb, subordinate to the main clause. The verb of the complement clause does not take any person or aspect marking, as in

(551)-(554):

(551) *tsa pəida-lei [me χtsi] vavu.*

this:CL tiger-DEF people eat want

‘The tiger wants to eat the person.’

(552) [[*tʰo da-tsi*] *məi*] *ŋa.*

there DIR-look.at can need

‘One needs to be able to look at it.’

(553) *mepəi-lei* [[*ʂənta tɕavzu tsa-gu*

old.man-DEF after son’s.wife this-CL

taŋ dza-me] *tsi*] *kala.*

how clever-QUES look.at want:3

‘The old man would like to understand how clever his step-daughter-in-law is.’

(554) *ŋa* [*ɕtɕindzi te-tɕua*] *te-zm-si.*

1sg:TP money DIR-bring DIR-forget-CSM:1

‘I forgot to bring money with me.’

In example (551) the clause [*me χtsi*] ‘eat people’ is the complement of the verb *vavu* ‘want’. Both (552) and (553) have two complement clauses. In example (552) the clause [*tʰo da-tsi*] ‘look there’ is the complement of the verb *məi* ‘can’, and the complement clause [[*tʰo da-tsi*] *məi*] ‘can look there’ is also the complement of the verb *ŋa* ‘need’. In example (553) the clause [*ʂənta tʂəvzu tsa-gu taŋ dza-me*] ‘whether the step-daughter-in-law is clever or not’ is the complement of the verb *tsi* ‘look at’, and the complement clause [[*ʂənta tʂəvzu tsa-gu taŋ dza-me*] *tsi*] ‘see whether the step-daughter-in-law is clever or not’ is also the complement of the verb *kala* ‘want’.

When the verb of the matrix clause is a perception or cognition verb, there is agreement with its actor in person marking and the verb can take aspect marking both in the complement clause and in the matrix clause, as in (555)-(558):

(555) *ŋa* [*no* *tsʰuə-n*] *te-no-si*.
 1sg:TP 2sg:TP cough-2 DIR-hear-CSM:1
 ‘I heard you coughing.’

(556) *ŋa* [*no* *ʂe-ke-so*] *te-tʂu-si*.
 1sg:TP 2sg:TP DIR-go-CSM:2sg DIR-see-CSM:1
 ‘I saw you leave.’/ ‘I saw that you left.’

- (557) *t^hala* [ɲa zɔzɛta sɛ-ke-si] *te-no-i*
 3sg 1sg:TP Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:1 DIR-hear-CSM:3
 ‘S/he heard I went to Chengdu.’

- (558) a. *mu-i* [ke-u] *u’* (indirect speech)
 3sg-AGT go-PROS:3 say
 ‘S/he says that s/he will go.’

- b. *t^hala-i* “[*t^hala* ke-i]” *u’* (quoted speech)
 3sg-AGT 3sg go-CSM:3 say
 ‘S/he_i said, “s/he_j left.”’

If the topic of the complement clause is 1st or 2nd singular, the pronoun referring to the topic is usually the topic pronoun, but in some cases, the topic of the complement clause may be represented by non-topic pronoun, as in (559)-(563):

- (559) *t^hala* [qa zedə si] *tsi*
 3sg 1sg:NTP book write look.at
 ‘S/he is looking at me writing a letter.’

(560) *ŋa* [*kue* *zeme* *ze'*] *ŋoʂən*.

1sg:TP 2sg:NTP speech speak listen.to

‘I am listening to you speaking.’

(561) *ŋa* [*kue* *ʂe-ke-so*] *te-təu-si*.

1sg:TP 2sg:NTP DIR-go-CSM:2sg DIR-see-CSM:1

‘I saw you leave.’

(562) *ŋa* [*kue* *ts^huə*] *te-no-si*.

1sg:TP 2sg:NTP cough DIR-hear-CSM:1

‘I heard you coughing.’

(563) *t^hala* [*qa* *zɬɛta* *ʂe-ke*] *te-no-i*.

3sg 1sg:NTP Chengdu DIR-go DIR-hear-CSM:3

‘S/he heard me go to Chengdu.’

It is also possible that a nominalized verb forms an embedded complement, as in

(564), where the nominalized verb [*ʂa-tʂi zə-sa*] is the argument of the verb *ʂi*

‘good’:

- (564) *t^halke* *zetsə* *te-syisyi* *n̩i* [*ʂa-t̩ei* *zə-sa*]
 that.time day DIR-count ADV who-INDEF exist-NOM
ʂi [*ʂa-t̩ei* *zə-sa*] *mi-ʂi*.
 good who-INDEF exist-NOM NEG-good

‘Then after that, (the shaman) chooses an auspicious day and tells who may stay, and who may not stay (on the day of holding the funeral procession).’

8.3. Pseudo-cleft constructions

There is no *it*-cleft or *wh*-cleft clause, but there is a pseudo-cleft construction in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The basic pseudo-construction is given in Figure 12:

Clause _[Topic] + Noun _[focus] + COP

Figure 12. *The basic structure of the pseudo-cleft*

In the basic pseudo-cleft construction, a complement clause appears in initial position to function as the topic, and a noun occurs before the copula to function as narrow focus, as in (565a-e):

- (565) a. *neɕe* *t^hala* *qo-zo* *ɕt̩indzi* *ze-zda-i*.
 yesterday 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-give-CSM:3

‘S/he gave me money yesterday.’

b. [*nedže qo-zo ɛtɛindzi ze-zda-m*] *t^hala məi.*

yesterday 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-give-NOM 3sg COP:

‘The one who gave me money yesterday was him/her.’

c. [*nedže t^hala ɛtɛindzi ze-zda*] *qo-zo məi.*

yesterday 3sg money DIR-gave 1sg:NTP-DAT COP

‘The one she gave money to was me.’

d. [*t^hala qo-zo ɛtɛindzi ze-zda*] *nedže məi.*

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-give yesterday COP

‘When she gave money to me was yesterday.’

e. [*nedže t^hala qo-zo ze-zda*] *ɛtɛindzi məi.*

yesterday 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-give money COP

‘What she gave me yesterday was money.’

Example (565a) is a basic ditransitive clause. In (565b) the actor of the ditransitive clause appears before the copula to form the pseudo-cleft construction and the actor is in narrow focus. In (565c) the benefactive appears in narrow focus position. In (565d) the temporal noun appears as the narrow focus and in (565e) the undergoer of the ditransitive clause appears as the narrow focus.

The complement clause may also appear in focus position in the cleft construction, as in (566). In these cases the copula is generally omitted:

- (566) *t^hala* *χo-su-m* *a-si* *mima* *χo-zdi-m*.
 3sg game-shoot-NOM one-day every game-get-NOM
 ‘He is one who shot a game every day.’

The clause which occurs in initial position may be marked by the definite marker *-lei*, as in (567). If a clause appears in narrow focus position, it may be marked by the indefinite marker *-tɕi*, as in (568)-(573):

- (567) *χo-su-m* *a-si* *mima* *χo-zdi-m-lei* *t^hala*.
 game-shoot-NOM one-day every game-get-NOM-DEF 3sg
 ‘It is him who shot a game every day.’

- (568) *t^hala* [*a-si* *mima* *tsue-ta* *Ɂla-pa* *ɲi*
 3sg one-day every river-LOC swim-do ADV
 kue-lu-i tɕi].

DIR-come-CSM:3-INDEF

‘S/he is one who comes to the river to swim every day.’

- (569) *ŋa* [*zu tsa ŋi kue-lu-si-tɕi*].
 1sg:TP horse ride ADV DIR-come-CSM:1-INDEF
 ‘It was on horse that I came.’
- (570) *ŋa* [*a-si (mima) gegu ŋi*
 1sg:TP one-day (every) walking ADV
kue-lu-si-tɕi].
 DIR-come-CSM:1-INDEF
 ‘I am one who comes to walk every day.’
- (571) [*kua-(qa) ŋi-tɕi pu-sa-tɕi*].
 your:GEN-(family) what-CL do-NOM-INDEF
 ‘It is what your (family) needs to do.’
- (572) *tsa-ta si* [*ŋa-i se-ts^hua-si-tɕi*].
 this-PL firewood 1sg:TP-AGT DIR-cut-CSM:1-INDEF
 ‘The firewood is what I cut.’
- (573) *t^ha-ta zedə* [*ŋa-(i) tsi-u-ɑ-tɕi*].
 that-PL book 1sg:TP-AGT look.at-PROS-1-INDEF
 ‘Those books are what I will read.’

8.4. Coordination and Disjunction

In this section we discuss how clauses in the Puxi variety of Qiang are conjoined or separated. Coordinate clauses are discussed in §8.4.1 and disjunctive clauses are described in §8.4.2.

8.4.1. Coordinate clauses

Coordinate clauses are joining two or more constituents of equal syntactic rank. There are two types of coordination: one is conjoined clauses and one is correlative clauses.

In coordinate structures the coordinate marker *ɲi* is used to conjoin two words, two phrases, as in (574)-(577). In some cases, conjoined NPs may not take the coordinate marker *ɲi*, but simply be a juxtaposition of the two elements, as in (578)-(580):

(574) [*t^hala* *ɲi* *t^ha* *tubzɿ*] *mu*
 3sg CONJ 3sg:GEN elder.brother 3sg:REFL

χa-ke-i.

DIR-go-CSM:3

‘S/he and his/her elder brother went out separately.’

(575) *ɲa* [*zed* *ɲi* *pəntsə*] *ma-u-a.*
 1sg:TP book CONJ notebook want-PROS-1

‘I want books and notebooks.’

- (576) [*ava* *ɲi* *aje*] *tɕe-n* *kue-lu-i*.
 mother CONJ father all-two DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘Mother and father both came.’
- (577) [*ɕe-ɕe* *ɲi* *ɣyi-ɣyi*] *ŋa* *tɕe-nə-zmæi* *maʔ*.
 red-REDUP CONJ green-REDUP 1sg:TP all-two-CL like:1
 ‘The red and the green I like them all.’
- (578) *tʰala* [*ɣsi-si* (*ɲi*) *ɣsi-zɑ*] *mi-ɲi*.
 3sg three-day CONJ three-night NEG-sleep:3
 ‘S/he did not sleep for three days and nights.’
- (579) [*kua* [*ama* *aka*]]-*la* *te-su-pe-i*.
 2sg:GEN mother father-TOP DIR-hungry-become-CSM:3
 ‘Your mother and father are hungry.’
- (580) [*tʰɑ* [*vamie* *vaje*]] *qenɲi* *te-se* *qe-i*.
 3sg:GEN mother father all DIR-know can-CSM:3
 ‘Her mother and father understood her.’

Conjoined clauses may involve other syntactic devices, e.g. the continuative marker appears before both verbs in two clauses, as in (581), where the two events are seen as simultaneous:

(581) *t^hala pi-gegu pu, pi-dze pu.*

3sg CONT-walk do CONT-eat do:3

‘S/he eats while he walks.’ (lit.: She walks, she eats.)

A correlative clause adds the adverb *tete* ‘the more’, or *kuekue* ‘the more’ before both verbs in two clauses, as in (582)-(584):

(582) *t^hala tete zɔə, tete zde-i.*

3sg the.more scold the.more spirited-CSM:3

‘The more (other people) scold him/her, the more mischievous s/he gets.’

(583) *t^hala (kuekue dze), kuekue lu-i.*

3sg (the.more eat) the.more fat-CSM:3

‘The more s/he eats, the fatter s/he gets.’

(584) *t^hala kuekue zbadzu, kuekue mi-ŋo.*

3sg the.more think the.more NEG-COP:3

‘The more s/he thinks about (that thing), the worse s/he feels.’

The adverb *tete* may also occur before the verbs in a subordinate clause and a main clause, as in (585)-(586):

- (585) *tɛablotsu* *χsə* *α-χα-ςə* *dzeqa* *te-χlie* *ɲi*
 man new one-PL-TOP strength DIR-compare ADV
te-pu-i *go,* *ə'-ςən* *mi-bu* *pu,* *tete* *su*
 DIR-do-CSM LNK DIR-stop NEG-will do the.more turn
ɲi *tɛ^hanfa* *ɲi* *tete* *zga-i* *go,*
 ADV dexterous ADV the.more run-CSM LNK
mepə-lei *ςe* *tete* *ɲa-i* *gats^ha-tɕi.*
 old.man-DEF due.respect the.more exist-CSM be.equal.to-INDEF

‘When some young men have a competition, they do not want to stop; the more they raise and turn around the coffin, the more they run, and the more dexterous they are, the more the dead man has due respect.’

- (586) *no* *t^hala* *tete* *dza-so* *go,* (*t^hala*)
 2sg:TP 3sg the.more laugh-CSM:2sg LNK (3sg)
zeme *ze'* *mi-tɛ^hy-pa-u.*
 speech speak NEG-dare-do-PROS:3

‘The more you laugh at him the more he dares not speak.’

To express coordination, the adverb *la* ‘also’ can be added before the verb, as in (587).

It is also possible that the numeral plus classifier *a-tui* ‘one-time’ is added before both verbs to express a conjunctive construction, as in (588):

- (587) *ts^hu la ʂtupa, χu la betʂ^hi, ts^he la dze.*
 rice also cold vegetable also small meat also tough
 ‘The rice is cold, the vegetables are scanty and the meat is tough.’

- (588) *ʂa-tʂi a-tui te-zaʼ-tʂ^hə, a-tui te-dza-tʂ^hə?*
 who:NTP-INDEF one-time DIR-cry-REP one-time DIR-laugh-REP
 ‘Who cries at one moment and laughs at another?’

To express coordinate clauses, the two independent clauses are joined by using *pəʂ* / *ʂə* + *continuative marker-Verb* ‘not only...but also’ to link two clauses, as in

(589)-(591):

- (589) *p^hu tsa-la ʂtuqe pəʂ, ŋa p^hu t^himi*
 clothing this-CL alone LNK 1sg:TP clothing other
a-la pi-ŋaʼ.
 one-CL CONT-exist:1

‘I not only have this piece of clothing but also another piece of clothing.’

- (590) *pi-qeʂku* *tse-u'* *sə*, *pi-bzi-ts^hə*.
 CONT-expensive PROH-talk LNK CONT-big-REP
 ‘It is not only too expensive, also it is too big.’

- (591) *ɕtəindzi* *mi-ŋa* *tse-u'* *sə*, *me* *ɕtəindzi*
 money NEG-exist PROH-say LNK other.person money
pi-ga.
 CONT-owe
 ‘S/he not only does not have money but owes money as well.’

There is another construction where the indefinite pronoun *t^himi* ‘other’ appears at the beginning of the second clause to form a conjunctive construction, as in (592):

- (592) *tsia* *təiu* *abu apa* *a-χa-i* *χtsu*
 1pl:INCL:GEN home ancestor one-PL-AGT sword
ə'-tʂ^huan-t^ha-i, *t^himi* *təiu* *y-ka* *a-zi*
 DIR-pass.down-AUX-CSM:3 other home hen-FEM one-CL
pi-zə.
 CONT-exist
 ‘A sword was handed down by our ancestors, and there is also a hen.’

The coordinate clause may also involve the borrowed connector *tanşə* ‘but’ (< Ch. *dànshì* ‘但是’) to link the two clauses, as in (593) and (594):

- (593) *ku* *te-z̥bazba* *kue-səla*, *tanşə* (*təntʂa*) *tʂa-gu*
 2sg:REFL DIR-option DIR-choose LNK oil.lamp this-CL
tse-şə-tsu *mo!*
 PROH-DIR-take.away PRT

‘You may choose anything you want, but do not take away (my) oil lamp.’

- (594) *no* *n̥i-t̥ɕi* *la* *şə-tsu* *qe*, *tanşə* *dzualo*
 2sg:TP what-CL also DIR-take.away can but millstone
tʂa-gu *jetin-la* *a-pzə* *tse-şə-tsu-n* *o!*
 this-CL must-EMPH a-CL PROH-DIR-take.away-2 PRT

‘You can take anything you like, but you mustn’t take this millstone.’

8.4.2. Disjunctive clauses

To express a disjunctive sense, the linker *me* (the question marker), with rising intonation, is added to the first of two clauses, as in (595)-(597):

- (595) *t^ha-la su-m te-ŋats^ho-u me,*
 that-CL study-NOM DIR-lazy-EVID QUES
lan te-pu-ts^hə-u.
 naughty DIR-do-REP-HEARS
 ‘That student is either lazy or naughty.’

- (596) *no ts^hu dze-u-an me, tsuazizj*
 2sg:TP meal eat-PROS-2sg QUES congee
dze-u-an?
 eat-PROS-2sg
 ‘Are you eating rice or congee?’

- (597) *n̄a ts^hɑ al te-t̚^he me, t̚^he al*
 1sg:TP tea one:CL DIR-drink QUES wine one:CL
te-t̚^he-pu!
 DIR-drink-do:1
 ‘I either drink tea or wine.’

Another way to express the disjunctive is to use the numeral plus classifier *a-t̚^ho* before each of the verbs of two independent clauses, as in (598):

- (598) *t^hala* *a-tɕ^ho* *dza*, *a-tɕ^ho* *mi-dza*.
 3sg one-time obedient:3 one-time NEG-obedient:3

‘Sometimes s/he is well-behaved, sometimes s/he is not.’

8.5. Subordinate constructions

Unlike coordinate constructions that join constituents of equal syntactic rank, a subordinate construction joins one structure to another to indicate a dependent relationship. As a rule, the subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang.

8.5.1. Temporal adverbial clause

A temporal adverbial clause is marked by the subordinating linker and temporal adjunct-marking postposition *-go*, which occurs at the end of the subordinate clause, as in (599) to (602):

- (599) *t^hala* *kue-lu-i* *go*, *t^ha* *tubzi* *tɕiu*
 3sg DIR-come-CSM:3 LNK 3sg:GEN elder.brother home
 kue-ke *qe-i*.
 DIR-go finish-CSM:3

‘When s/he came, her/his elder brother had already gone home.’

- (600) *no* *χa-mi-pi-de-so* *go,* *t^hala* *taɕo*
 2sg:TP DIR-NEG-CONT-born-CSM:2sg LNK 3sg university
zio *da-vazə* *qe-i.*
 study DIR-begin finish-CSM:3
 ‘Before you were born, s/he had already attended university.’

- (601) *no* *χa-de-so* *go,* *no* *t^hama* *de-dʒe-n.*
 2sg:TP DIR-birth-CSM:2sg LNK 2sg:TP body DIR-thin-2
 ‘Since you were born, you have been thin and weak.’

- (602) *t^hala* *dʒo-ta* *ze-ts^hya-i* *go,* *paŋi* *guatə-i.*
 3sg door-LOC DIR-enter-CSM LNK thing throw-CSM:3
 ‘S/he threw things as soon as s/he entered.’

It is possible to use the linker *matsi* ‘when’ to link a temporal adverbial clause and a main clause, as in (603)-(605):

- (603) *no* *kue-pi-pu,* *ŋa* *kue-lu-si* *matsi,*
 2sg:TP DIR-CONT-do 1sg:TP DIR-come-CSM:1 LNK
ə^l-sə-n.
 DIR-stop-2
 ‘You keep working, stop when I come.’

- (604) *t^hala ke kuetsi matsi, qo-zo ze-duə-i.*
 3sg go be.about.to LNK 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-talk-CSM:3
 ‘S/he told me just before s/he left.’

- (605) *pele-ta se-ta-i matsi, ə^l-jy-i-tɕi.*
 grave-LOC DIR-take-CSM LNK DIR-fill-CSM-INDEF
 ‘After (the corpse) was taken to the grave, corn was put into (his) grave clothes.’

The linker *matsi* can be with temporal noun *ɣənta* ‘after’ to make explicit the idea that one action immediately followed another, as in (606):

- (606) *tsə-lei qe^l xa-ze^l mi-bu ɣənta matsi,*
 son-DEF before DIR-say NEG-be.willing.to:3 after LNK
ɲipi-ɲin qeɲi xa-ze^l-i.
 reason all DIR-say-CSM:3
 ‘The son was not willing to tell (his father about how he made money) at first, after a while (he) told (his father) how (he) made money.’

The location nouns *qe^l* ‘before’, or *ɣənta* ‘after’ can be used instead of *-go* or *-matsi* at the end of the first clause of two clauses to mark it as a temporal subordinate clause, as in (607) and (608):

- (607) *qan kue-lu qe', ts^hu pu da-vazə-so.*
 1dl DIR-come LNK meal do DIR-begin-CSM:2sg
 ‘Before we came back, you started to cook.’

- (608) *a-n-si pa-i sənta, vaje ɲi*
 one-two-day become-CSM LNK father CONJ
taba ta-m kue-lu-i.
 cap wear-NOM DIR-come-CSM:3
 ‘After a few days, her father-in-law and (her) husband came back.’

8.5.2. Conditional clause

The linker *go* may also link two clauses within a complex structure to express a conditional sense, as in (609)-(613):

- (609) *t^hala pesi kue-mi-lu-i go peş, mi-to-pi.*
 3sg today DIR-NEG-come-CSM:3 LNK LNK NEG-able-do:3
 ‘It may be too late unless he comes today.’

- (610) *tse χsi-zməi ɲa-i go, ʋdzə-i.*
 this:CL three-CL exist-CSM LNK enough-CSM
 ‘If there were these three kinds, it would be enough.’

- (611) *no t^hala ɕtɕi χui-so go,*
 2sg:TP 3sg heart believe-CSM:2sg LNK
ku al tsam.
 2sg:REFL one:CL bad

‘If you believe him, you are wrong.’

- (612) *no tsa-dzj ʂe-tsu-so go,*
 2sg:TP this-CL DIR-take.away-CSM:2sg LNK
qa dzi a-tɕe ʂe-χuəlie t^ham.
 1sg:NTP:GEN foot one-CL DIR-break be.equal.to

‘If you take away this (walking stick), it is analogous to breaking one of my feet.’

- (613) *no mi-ma-so go, po pa-i.*
 2sg:TP NEG-like-CSM:2sg LNK buy stop-CSM

‘If you don’t like it, do not buy it.’

The conditional clause may be formed by using an interrogative pronoun in two juxtaposed clauses plus the linker *-go*, as in (614):

- (614) *ʃi-i* *dzeqa* *bzi-i* *go,* *ʃi-i*
 who -AGT strength big-CSM:3 LNK who-AGT

pani *tsua.*
 thing take:3

 ‘If one is strong, then s/he will take the thing.’

There are also some conditional clauses formed by using the particle/linker *lo* at the end of the first clause, as in (615):

- (615) *zmu* *mi-ʃe* *lo,* *ʃequ* *te-buɑ'-sə* *ni*
 dream NEG-good LNK shaman DIR-invite-go ADV

gaqei *dzo* *u'.*
 hot.pan sit say

 ‘It was said that if someone had a bad dream, s/he must invite a shaman to have her/him sit on the hot pan.’

8.5.3. Hypothetical / Counter-factual clauses

There is a clause final linker *qedʒaŋ* to mark the first clause of a complex structure to express a hypothetical or counter-factual situation. Compare clauses in the following two sets of examples:

- (616) a. *tepəi* *t^hala* *kue-lu-i* *go*,
tomorrow 3sg DIR-come-CSM:3 LNK
ŋa *zɔʒeta* *ʒe-ke-u-a*. (Conditional)
1sg:TP Chengdu DIR-go-PROS-1
‘If s/he comes tomorrow, I will go to Chengdu.’
- b. *t^hala* *kue-lu-i* *go/qedʒaŋ*,
3sg DIR-come-CSM:3 LNK
ŋa *zɔʒeta* *ke-u-a*. (Hypothetical)
1sg:TP Chengdu go-PROS-1
‘If s/he comes, we would go to Chengdu.’
- c. *nedʒe* *t^hala* *kue-lu* *qedʒaŋ*,
yesterday 3sg DIR-come:3 LNK
ŋa *zɔʒeta* *ʒe-ke-si*. (Counter-factual)
1sg:TP Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:1
‘If s/he had come yesterday, I would have gone to Chengdu.’ (I didn’t go)

- (617) a. *pesi mə'wu mi-lu-i go,*
 today rain NEG-come-CSM LNK
ŋa χsuqi ke-u-a. (Conditional)
 1sg:TP hill go-PROS-1
 'If it doesn't rain today, I will go to the hill.'
- b. *tepəi mə'wu mi-lu-i go/qedʒaŋ,*
 tomorrow rain NEG-come-CSM LNK
ŋa χsuqi ke-u-a. (Hypothetical)
 1sg:TP hill go-PROS-1
 'If it doesn't rain tomorrow, I would go to the hill.'
- c. *nedʒe mə'wu mi-lu qedʒaŋ,*
 yesterday rain NEG-come LNK
ŋa χsuqi χa-ke-si. (Counter-factual)
 1sg:TP hill DIR-go-CSM-1
 'If it did not rain yesterday, I would have gone to the hill.' (I didn't go)

In (616a-b) all are true-condition or hypothetical constructions. In these clauses, the main clause takes prospective aspect marking, and the subordinate clause takes the change of state marker, whereas the sentence in (616c) is a counter-factual structure; the main clause takes the change of state aspect marker, and the subordinate clause

doesn't. The sentence in (617a) is a true-conditional structure, and the example (617b) is a hypothetical structure, while the sentence (617c) is a counter-factual structure.

8.5.4. Causal clauses

The linker *ne* is a causal clause marker. It occurs at the end of the first clause of a two clause structure to express a cause-effect relation, as in (618) to (619):

- (618) *t^ha* *tubzj* *ts^hu* *χa-tsu* *mi-zə* *pa-u*
 3sg:GEN elder.brother meal DIR-bring NEG-exist do-PROS:3
ne, *te-su-pa-i* *ne,* *tsua-tsua* *χa-ji*
 LNK DIR-hungry-do-CSM:3 LNK early-REDUP DIR-knock.off
tɕiu *kue-ke-i.*
 home DIR-go-CSM:3

‘Because (his) elder brothers did not see anyone bring food to (them), and because (they) were hungry, (they) knocked off early and went home.’

- (619) *me'wu* *ne-χlə* *mi-lu-pi-i* *ne,*
 rain two-month NEG-come-become-CSM LNK
tɕuanɕa *qerɕi* *te-zə-i.*
 crop all DIR-dry-CSM

‘Because it had not rained for two months, the crops all dried up and died.’

A cause-effect relation can also be inferred from some sentences where the subordinate clause is marked by *-go*, as in (620):

- (620) *təipu-lei* *te-no-i* *go,* *t^ho-kou*
 daughter-DEF DIR-hear-CSM:3 LNK there-LOC
y-pi-ke-ts^hə-i.
 DIR-CONT-go-REP-CSM:3

‘When the daughter heard it, she went upstream again.’

There is another type of clause subordinator *kom* ‘so, therefore’ which appears at the initial position of the main clause to express a cause-effect sense, as in (621)-(622):

- (621) *mepəi-la* *se-dze* *mi-qe-pu-u,* *kom* *dzualo*
 old.man-TOP DIR-eat NEG-can-do-PROS:3 LNK millstone
t^hα-se *ə^l-bie* *ŋi* *da-i.*
 that-CL DIR-carry.on.her.back ADV run-CSM:3

‘(She) will make the old man have nothing to eat, hence (she) carried the millstones on (her) back and ran away.’

- (622) *t^ha* *vamie* *vaje* *dzualo-t̤ei* *bie*
 3sg:GEN mother father millstone-INDEF carry.on.her.back
te-t̤eu-i *go,* *ze^l-sa* *mi-ŋa* *pi-i,*
 DIR-see-CSM:3 LNK speak-NOM NEG-exist do-CSM
kom *t̤ipu-lei* *y-mi-dzu* *pi-i.*
 hence daughter-DEF DIR-NEG-send do-CSM:3

‘When her mother and father saw (her) carry the millstones on (her) back; they did not say any more, so (they) didn’t send (their) daughter.’

8.5.5. Concessive clauses

To express concession (‘although’), a construction borrowed from Chinese which involves the Chinese copula appearing between two tokens of the same verb is used.

The linker/particle *pəŋ* is also added to the end of the first clause.

- (623) *t^hala* *lu* *ŋə* *lu* *pəŋ,* *a-si-go* *z̤ɛe.*
 3sg fat LNK fat:3 LNK one-day-LOC sick:3

‘Although s/he is fat, s/he is often sick.’

It is also possible to use the continuative prefix *pi-* and the clause final particle *pəŋ* in the first clause of a two clause structure to express a concessive sense, as in (624):

- (624) *t^hala pi-bets^hi pəʂ, dzə te-sə qe-i.*
 3sg CONT-young LNK thing DIR-know can-CSM:3
 ‘Although s/he is still young, s/he is such an intelligent child.’

8.6.6. Purpose clauses

The benefactive marker-*zɔ* can occur at the end of the subordinate clause to mark a purpose adverbial clause, as in (625). In some cases, the causal clause marker *ne* may appear after the dative marker -*zɔ*, as in (626):

- (625) *kebzə zedə zio-zo, ŋa ɕtəindzi*
 child book study-DAT 1sg:TP money
zmie-sə-u-a.
 look.for-go-PROS-1
 ‘In order that my child can go to school, I will earn money.’

- (626) *t^hala tʂ^hetsə zu-sə-zo (ne), ʂtəitsə la*
 3sg bus wait-go-DAT LNK breakfast also
ʂe-mi-tʂ^he.
 DIR-NEG-eat:3
 ‘In order to catch the bus, s/he did not eat breakfast.’

Chapter 9

Discourse Analysis

In this chapter we describe the structure and characteristics of discourse in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The exposition is based on several texts that have been transcribed from tape recordings of the Puxi variety of Qiang made by the author.

9.1. Genre

The texts include three different genres: religious scriptures, folk songs and narratives (historical narratives, explanation of cultural facts, narratives of daily life events).

Religious scriptures consist of many short clauses, moreover, are very long texts, are meant to be sung, and can only be sung by shamans. Scriptures lay stress on rhyme.

There are many kinds of folk songs, some songs are sung in funeral ceremonies, and some songs are sung in wedding ceremonies. In this chapter we limit our discussion to the characteristics of narratives.

9.2. Discourse characteristics

In the Puxi variety of Qiang narratives have identifiable characteristics and structures.

Puxi Qiang uses demonstrative pronouns to mark change of scene, discourse deixis, and anaphora. I discuss the marking of change of scene in §9.2.1, discourse deixis and anaphora are presented in §9.2.2.

9.2.1. *Marking of change of scene*

In narrative texts deictic elements are frequently used to set the scene, introduce the main characters, and then change the scene. There is a clear pattern that the deictic demonstratives *tsal* / *tsalke* ‘now’ and *t^hal* / *t^halke* ‘then’ (we have not found any semantic distinction between *tsal* and *tsalke*; *t^hal* and *t^halke*), regularly occur at the beginning of a segment of text to mark a change of scene and the starting of a new segment.

- (627) *ɕepəi* *χa-dzo-zə-u,* *χa-dzo-zə-i* *go,*
 body DIR-sit-CAUS-HEARS DIR-sit-CAUS-CSM LNK
- t^hal* *zetse te-syisyi-u,*
 then day DIR-count-HEARS
- zetse te-syisyi-i* *go,*
 day DIR-count-CSM LNK
- tsal t^ha-tɕi ou-tɕi zə?*
 now that-CL where-CL exist
- ou-tɕi ta-sa pi-i?*
 where-CL take.away-NOM do-CSM
- t^halke zetse te-syisyi-ŋbi ʂa-tɕi zə-sa*
 then day DIR-count-ADV who-INDEF exist-NOM
- ʂi, ʂa-tɕi zə-sa mi-ʂi,*
 good who-INDEF exist-NOM NEG-good

<i>qen̩i</i>	<i>te-syisyi-i</i>	<i>go,</i>	
all	DIR-count-CSM	LNK	
<i>tʂən̩əu</i>	<i>ze-sa</i>	<i>ʂi</i>	<i>ŋa.</i>
son.daughter	exist-NOM	good	need
<i>tʰalke</i>	<i>qeʂu</i>	<i>ʂti-sa</i>	<i>pə-i,</i>
then	kerchief	cut-NOM	do-CSM
<i>qeʂu</i>	<i>te-ʂti-i</i>	<i>go,</i>	
kerchief	DIR-cut-CSM	LNK	
<i>tsalke</i>	<i>sudzi</i>	<i>te-βuaʹ-sə</i>	<i>ŋa.</i>
now	fortune.teller	DIR-invite-go	need

‘(They) make the dead man sit down, after making him sit down, **then** choose an auspicious day. After choosing an auspicious day, **now** find out where he is? Where should (they) take him? **Then**, find out who can stay here? Who cannot stay here? The dead man’s son and daughter can stay. After having found out all these things, **then** it is time to cut the cloth into mourning kerchiefs (for (his) relatives and members of (his) own family). After cutting the cloth into mourning kerchiefs, **now** one needs to invite a fortune-teller.’

9.2.2. Discourse deixis and anaphora

In narrative texts, Puxi Qiang uses demonstratives for discourse deixis and anaphora.

9.2.2.1. Discourse deixis

The demonstrative pronouns are used as markers of discourse deixis in narrative. We find that the demonstrative pronoun *t^haŋ* ‘that kind’ may be used to refer to a whole clause (event), as in (628):

- (628) [~~zɔɛ~~*zɔɛ-m t^ha-la te-tsie ŋa*], *t^ho-tə matsi*
 sick-NOM that-CL DIR-smoke need there-ABL after
t^haŋ te-pu-so go, tɛaqa
 that.kind DIR-do-CSM:2sg LNK all.member.of. family
ə^l-χuəla-pa ŋa.
 DIR-wash-do need

‘It is needed to smoke the sick, after doing that, all of family members need to bathe.’

In (628) the demonstrative pronoun *t^haŋ* ‘that kind’ does not refer to the previous referent ~~zɔɛ~~*zɔɛ-m t^ha-la* ‘that patient’, but refers to the previous event ~~zɔɛ~~*zɔɛ-m t^ha-la te-tsie* ‘smoke the sick’.

The demonstrative *t^hi* ‘that’ can be used for discourse deixis as well, as in (629):

(629) [*tsəvuɑ-lei anama ʒe-sa pə-i*],

idiot-DEF how DIR-kill do-CSM

tʰi χeχe da-vazə-tsʰə-i-u.

that:CL talk.over DIR-begin-REP-CSM-HEARS

‘(The elder brothers) began to talk over how to kill the idiot again.’

In example (629) the demonstrative *tʰi* ‘that’ does not refer to the referent *tsəvuɑ-lei* ‘the idiot’, but refers to the event *tsəvuɑ-lei anama ʒe-sa pə-i* ‘how to kill the idiot’.

9.2.2.2. Anaphora

There are very frequent anaphoric references in the texts using demonstratives, such as *tʰi* ‘that’, or *tʰa-zi* ‘that’ to refer to previously mentioned referents. In (630) the demonstrative-classifier phrase *tʰa-zi* ‘that’ refers to the noun phrase *m̩ ʒən bzi-bzi a-zi* ‘one big red ox’.

(630)	[<i>m̩</i>	<i>ʂən</i>	<i>bzi-bzi</i>	<i>a-zi</i>]	<i>əʰ-lu-i</i>	<i>go,</i>
	ox	red	big-REDUP	one-CL	DIR-come-CSM	LNK
	<i>ɕtəe</i>	<i>te-ʂkuə</i>	<i>kue-tɕʰe-pa,</i>	<i>tʰa-zi-ʂə</i>	<i>ama</i>	
	heart	DIR-hard	IMP-catch-do	that-CL-TOP	mother	
	<i>lei</i>		<i>pu-sa-tɕi.</i>			
	funeral.arrangements		do-NOM-INDEF			

‘If there is a big red ox coming down, you should dare to catch it. That (the red ox) is used for mother’s funeral arrangements.’

The demonstrative with plural marker *tʰa-ta* ‘those’ may be referring to anaphoric referents. In (631) the demonstrative with plural marker *tʰa-ta* ‘those’ refers to the person mentioned in the first clause *əʰ-tuə əʰ-tɕʰe* (one who died by falling off a cliff or were crushed’, and *zali əʰ-tsʰu-i* ‘one who died outside’. In example (632) the demonstrative plus the plural marker *tʰa-ta* ‘those’ is coreferential with *pʰu* ‘clothing’, *tatɕe* ‘shoes’ and *ɕauji kʰoutai* ‘grave bag’. In example (633) the deixis *tʰa-ta* ‘those’ is referring to the referents of noun phrases, *sal dzəʂə-m* ‘one who does lasso’ and *kʰue ɕo-m* ‘one who is hunting’, at the same time, *tʰa-ta* also refers to the referent *əʰ-tuə əʰ-tɕʰe, əʰ-ɕpə-i* ‘one who has fallen of a cliff or crushed’.

- (631) *tsal* [*ə^l-tuə* *ə^l-tʰe*], [*zali* *ə^l-ts^hu-i*]
 this.time DIR-fall.off DIR-crush outside DIR-drop-CSM
tʰiu *kue-la-sa* *mi-məi*, *t^ha-ta*
 home DIR-bring-NOM NEG-can that-PL
pele-ta *kue-q^hu-sə* *ŋa*.
 crematorium-LOC DIR-put-go need
 ‘Now, (those who died) by falling off a cliff or were crushed _i can not be brought into the home, they_i are put in the crematorium.’

- (632) *ɸepəi* *ɸe-χuəla-ŋi* [*p^hu*] *lo*, [*tatɸe*] *lo*,
 body DIR-wash-ADV clothing PRT shoes PRT
 [*ɸauji k^houtai*] *lo*, *t^ha-ta* *da-tso-tso*
 grave.bag PRT that-PL DIR-put.on-REDUP
pə-zə *ŋa*.
 do-CAUS need
 ‘Having washed the body, clothing, shoes, grave bag, these need to be put on (the body).’

- (633) [*sal* *dzəɸə-m*] *lo*, [*k^hue* *χo-m*] *lo*,
 rope loop-NOM PRT dog hunt-NOM PRT
 [*ə^l-tuə* *ə^l-tʰe*, *ə^l-χpə-i*],
 DIR-fall.off DIR-crush DIR-drop.off-CSM

t^ha-ta *ɸlia* *te-pi-i*.

that-PL demon DIR-become-CSM

‘Lasso-doer, hunter, one who died by falling (off a cliff), or was crushed, those (who died outdoors) became demons.’

It is possible for the reflexive/emphatic pronoun *ioqe* ‘self’ to be used in an anaphoric construction, as in (634) and (635):

(634) *sequ* *te-ɸua^l-sə* *ŋi* *gaqei* *dzo-u*,
 shaman DIR-invite-go ADV hot.pan sit-HEARS

tsalke *ioqe* *qe^l* *χa-ŋi* *ŋa...*
 this.time self before DIR-lick need

‘(They) need to invite the shaman to have (the sick man) sit on the hot pan.

Before this the shaman needs to lick (the hot pan)...’

(635) [*duə*] *lo*, [*q^hua*] *lo*, [*ɸlia*] *lo* *ɑ-n-məi*
 ghost PRT monster PRT demon PRT one-two-kind

mima *mentəi* *mi-ŋo*, *ioqe* *qetəi*.
 every the.same.as NEG-COP self the.same.as

‘There are several kinds of devil, such as the ghost, the monster, and the demon. Each is unique (lit.: is the same as itself).’

- (637) a. *q^hua qeti-tə “jaʹ jaʹ qe-so me?”*
 monster above-ABL girl girl finish-CSM:2sg QUES
ʋuɑʹ (Quoted speech)
 call/ask
 ‘The monster, from upstairs, asked, “Girl! Girl! have you finished (relieving yourself)?”’
- b. *sabzj-i “mi-pi-qeʹ ” uʹ* (Quoted speech)
 elder.sister-AGT NEG-CONT-finish:1 say
 ‘The elder sister answered, “I have not yet finished.”’
- c. *“zia-pɑ-si” uʹ* (Quoted speech)
 hurry.up-do-CSM:1 say
 ‘(The elder sister) answered, “(I) am back right away.”’

In the examples above shown, the verb *uʹ* ‘say’ in (636) and (637a-c) is used at the end of a clause to express quotation.

In colloquial speech, the speakers of Puxi Qiang usually use both quoted speech and indirect speech, as in (638)-(640):

(638) a. *tʰala* “*ŋa mi-lu-u-ɑ*” *uʔ* (Quoted speech)

3sg 1sg:TP NEG-come-PROS-1 say

‘S/he says, “I will not come.”’

b. *tʰala mu-i mi-lu-u uʔ* (Indirect speech)

3sg 3sg:REFL-AGT NEG-come-PROS:3 say

‘S/he says s/he will not come.’

(639) a. *tʰala* “*ŋa zedə mi-tsi-si*” *uʔ* (Quoted speech)

3sg 1sg:TP book NEG-look.at-CSM:1 say

‘S/he said, “I have not read a book.”’

b. *tʰala mu-i zedə mi-tsi-i uʔ* (Indirect speech)

3sg 3sg:REFL-AGT book NEG-look.at-CSM:3 say

‘S/he said s/he had not read a book.’

(640) a. *tʰala* “*ŋa zedə a-pen kue-zo*

3sg 1sg:TP book one-CL 2sg:NTP-DAT

ze-zda-u-ɑ” *uʔ* (Quoted speech)

DIR-give-PROS-1 say

‘S/he says, “I will give you a book.”’

- b. *t^hala mu-i zedə a-pen kue-zo*
 3sg 3sg:REFL-AGT book one-CL 2sg:NTP-DAT
ze-zda-u u' (Indirect speech)
 DIR-give-PROS:3 say
 ‘S/he says s/he will give you a book.’

In examples (638a)-(640a) quoted speech uses, whereas in (638b)-(640b) the logophoric pronoun *mu* marks the clause as indirect speech.

In texts, we found that the verb *u'* ‘say’ has grammaticalized into hearsay evidential marking, as in (641) and (642):

- (641) a. *tsal q^hua-la se-sa-i-u.* (Hearsay)
 now monster-TOP DIR-kill-CSM:3-HEARS
 ‘Thus (the brothers) killed the monster.’
- b. *šanta-go vamie-la te-ɸe-i-u.* (Hearsay)
 after-LOC mother-TOP DIR-die-CSM:3-HEARS
 ‘After (the brothers killed the monster), (their) mother died.’

c. *vamie-la sika-tɕi ʒe-qʰu ɲi*

mother-TOP tree.stump-INDEF DIR-carve ADV

χa-kong-tʰa-i-u. (Hearsay)

DIR-enshrine-AUX-CSM:3-HEARS

‘(The brothers) carved a tree stump into a statue of their mother and enshrined it.’

(642) a. *tsə qe'χa me a-qa-zə-i-u.* (Hearsay)

this before people one-family-exist-CSM:3-HEARS

‘Long ago, there was a family.’

b. *vaje a-la ɲi tsə a-gu*

father one-CL CONJ son one-CL

mi-zə-pi-i-u. (Hearsay)

NEG-exist-become-CSM:3-HEARS

‘There was only a father and a son.’

In some cases, the verb *u'* ‘say’ and the hearsay evidential marker *-u* can co-occur in the same clause, as in (643):

- (643) *q^hua-tɕi* “*tse-χa-ze^l* *pəɕ* *kua* *kebzə*
 monster-INDEF PROH-DIR-tell LNK 2sg:NTP:GEN children
tɕa-ne-tɕe *ɕe-χtɕi-u-a*” *u^l-i-u*.
 one-two-CL DIR-eat- PROS-1 say-CSM:3-HEARS

‘The monster said, “Do not tell (your children what I did with you), otherwise (I) will eat your children.”’

9.3.2. Tail-head construction

The pattern of the ‘tail-head’ construction is highly frequent in the narrative texts. It is when the final verb of a clause or a verb complex which expresses the end of an event and marks the end of a discourse segment is repeated at the beginning of the next discourse segment, as in the following examples:

- (644) *t^hal* ***zetse*** ***te-syisyi-u***,
 then day DIR-count-HEARS
zetse ***te-syisyi-i*** ***go***,
 day DIR-count-CSM LNK
tsal *t^ha-tɕi* *ou-tɕi* *zə?*
 now that-CL where-CL exist

‘(They) choose an auspicious day. After choosing an auspicious day, now find out where he is?’

(645)	<i>qe'χa</i>	<i>tsia</i>	<i>sequ-šə</i>	<i>zedə</i>	<i>ŋa-i</i>	
	before	1pl:INCL	shaman-TOP	book	exist-CSM:3	
	<i>zedə</i>	<i>ŋa-i</i>	<i>go,</i>	<i>tsal</i>	<i>sequ</i>	<i>a-təi</i>
	book	exist-CSM:3	LNK	now	shaman	one-CL
	<i>a-qa-i</i>	<i>βua'-sə-i</i>				
	one-family-AGT	invite-go-CSM:3				
	<i>βua'-sə-i</i>	<i>go,</i>	<i>(tʰi</i>	<i>zedə-lei</i>	<i>tə^ha-i)</i>	
	invite-go-CSM:3	LNK	that:CL	book-DEF	goat-AGT	
	<i>tə^ha</i>	<i>štue-m</i>	<i>a-la</i>	<i>te-χošə-i</i>		
	goat	herd-NOM	one-CL	DIR-meet-CSM:3		
	<i>u'-ta</i>	<i>tə^ha</i>	<i>štue-m</i>	<i>a-la</i>	<i>te-χošə-i</i>	<i>go,</i>
	road-LOC	goat	herd-NOM	one-CL	DIR-meet-CSM:3	LNK
	<i>tə^ha</i>	<i>štue-m</i>	<i>a-la</i>	<i>te-χošə-i</i>	<i>go,</i>	
	goat	herd-NOM	one-CL	DIR-meet-CSM:3	LNK	
	<i>zou</i>	<i>ke-sa</i>	<i>pe-i...</i>			
	relieve.oneself	go-NOM	do-CSM:3			

‘Long ago, our shaman had written scriptures, and one family invited the shaman to do (magic). The shaman met a shepherd on the road, and then the shepherd went to relieve himself...’

In example (644) *zetse te-syisyi-u* ‘counting the day’ appears at the end of the first segment, then is repeated at the beginning of the next segment; followed by the linker *-go*. Example (645) has three tail-head constructions: *zedə ŋa-i* ‘has scripture’, *buɑ-sə-i* ‘go to invite’, and *tɕ^ha stua-m a-la te-χoʂə-i* ‘meet a shepherd’. All of these verb phrases occur at the end of one segment, then are repeated at the beginning of the next segment, and followed by the linker *-go*.

Chapter 10

Concluding Summary

This dissertation is an attempt to produce a lasting record of a dying language, the Puxi variety of the Qiang language. Beyond cultural preservation, this research provides empirical data for comparative research and the reconstruction of Proto-Qiang and Proto-Qiangic. By extension, this work has implications for the reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman and even Proto-Sino-Tibetan and for other cross-linguistic research.

I present salient features of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse, with all generalizations derived by inductive reasoning based on the data recorded. This dissertation emphasizes structurally important and typologically interesting features, such as the topic/non-topic split in the pronouns.

The Puxi variety of Qiang is a verb-final, agglutinative, atonal language, and has both head marking and dependent marking. The most common word order is SV (intransitive clause) /APV (transitive clause).

The phonological system of the Puxi variety of Qiang is rather complex. There are 33 simple initial consonants, 38 cluster initials, and 13 finals. Most of the final consonants are not preserved Proto Tibeto-Burman finals; all of the original Proto Tibeto-Burman finals were lost (Liu 1984). The finals now found in the Puxi variety resulted from two syllables having merged, with the initial of the original second syllable becoming the final of the original initial syllable. Sun (1981a) and Huang

(1991) stated that varieties of the Southern dialect of Qiang have tone systems, while varieties of the Northern dialect do not have tone systems. I found, however, not all varieties of the Southern dialect have tone systems. The issue of tones needs to be further explored in the future. There are no phonemic tones in the Puxi variety. Stress is unpredictable, as in Mawo (Sun, J. 2003): sometimes stress falls on the first syllable, and sometimes stress occurs in the last syllable.

There are two types of word classes: Nouns, verbs, adjectives (which are a subclass of stative verbs) are open classes. Adverbs, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, classifiers and measure words, interjections, and final particles are closed classes.

Puxi Qiang has a highly developed pronoun system with singular, dual, and plural in first, second, and third person. The third person form developed out of the distal demonstrative pronoun. There is no distinction between animate and inanimate in third person, but there is inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular. There is a split pronoun system: first and second person singular show a topic vs. non-topic distinction.

There are postpositions/enclitics, which mark relations between the verb and its arguments or between the arguments themselves, such as the comparative marker /-so/, the conjunction/the adverbial marker /-ŋi/, and case marking, i.e. the agent/instrumental marker /-i/, the genitive marker /-ʔ/, the recipient and allative marker /-zɔ/, the dative/locative marker /-ta/, the locative/temporal markers /-qʰo/ and /-kou/, and the comitative /-si/. Case marking is not systematic, and not

obligatory. It is used when it is needed for disambiguation. The choice depends on semantics and pragmatics. In the Puxi variety word order and these postpositions mainly express the semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a clause or complex sentence. There are also two topic markers /-la/ and /-ʂə/, the diminutive marking, indefinite marking /tɕi/, and definite marking /lei/.

The possessive shows an alienable and inalienable distinction as in the Northern dialect. Alienable is marked by the genitive marker, due to the loose relationship between the two referents (possessor and possessee). Inalienable means only physically inalienable, not what is generally included in “inalienable”, such as kinship relations.

The person marking reflects only the person of an animate actor on the verb. The person marking takes the form of suffixes, and no number distinction is made in the suffixes. First person prospective is *-u-ɑ*, while the prospective of the second person singular is *-u-ɑn*, and the prospective of the second person plural is *-u-ən*. Third person prospective is *-u*. If the aspect is imperfective, including progressive and habitual, the first person marking is the retroflexion of the root vowel, the second person marking is the suffix *-n*, and the third person is zero marked. The forms for change of state aspect also combine person and number: the suffix *-si* marks first person change of state, the suffix *-so* represents second person singular change of state, and the suffix *-son* marks second person plural change of state, but *-son* is optional, in most cases, second person singular change of state takes the form *-so*. The suffix *-i* expresses third person change of state

There are eight prefixes which mark the direction of the action relative to the speaker. The prefix *te-* means ‘toward vertically up’, *əʔ-* means ‘toward vertically down’, *y-* means ‘toward upstream’, *se-* means ‘toward downstream’, *kue-* means ‘in’, *χa-* means ‘out’, *ze-* means ‘towards the center’, and *da-* means ‘outward from center’.

The minimal structure of the noun phrase is a noun alone. Nouns can take one or more modifiers. The possible nominal phrase structures are as follows:

- (1) GEN + N
- (2) DEM-CL +N/N+DEM+CL
- (3) N+Adj
- (4) (Rel)+Adj+N+DEM+(NUM)-CL
- (5) Adj+N+Rel+DEM+(NUM)-CL

When the genitive modifies a noun, it always precedes the noun. When a demonstrative plus a classifier modifies the noun alone it follows or precedes the noun. The demonstrative plus classifier usually follows the noun when other modifiers also modify the noun. Adjectives follow the noun when they modify the noun alone, but when adjectives plus other modifiers modify the noun adjectives usually precede the noun. A relative clause may precede or follow the head of the noun phrase.

The minimal structure of a verb complex would be a verb that is unmarked. A verb can take one or more prefixes and/or suffixes. The possible verb complex structures are shown as follows:

- (1) DIR+(NEG)+(CONT)+V
- (2) PERMS+(CONT)+V
- (3) PROH+(NEG)+(DIR)+V
- (4) V+(CAUS)+(REP)+PROS:PM/CSM:PM+(HEARS)

When there is a directional prefix, the negative prefix, and the continuative prefix together precede a verb, the negative prefix follows the directional prefix, and the continuative prefix follows the negative prefix. The 3rd person permissive prefix may occur in the same slot as the directional prefix. If there is a prohibitive prefix, then it always appears before the negative prefix and/or the directional prefix. When there is the causative suffix, the repetitive suffix, the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix together follow a verb, the causative suffix follows the verb, the repetitive follows the causative suffix, and precedes the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix occurs at the end of the verb complex.

When one referent is being compared with another, the NP representing the item being compared is a topic, and appears first in the clause. The NP representing the item which is the standard of comparison follows that of the item being compared. The general comparative construction is formed by adding the comparative marker

-*so* after the standard.

In the clause a noun phrase which appears in initial position functions as topic, while the rest of the clause functions as comment. This structure is the basic topic-comment construction. It is usual that the topic is omitted when it can be recovered from the context. In the topic-comment constructions, in some cases, the topic is marked by one of two topic markers *-sə*, or *-la*. It is very common that in successive clauses (a clause-chain) with the same topic, the whole sequence of clauses is treated as a single complex discourse unit consisting of the topic and several comments. In narratives, a topic-chain is often used to tell of an event if the topic is identifiable and co-referential in all of the clauses. As in most East Asian languages, the Puxi variety of Qiang has double topic-comment construction. An actor that occurs in the topic position is generally unmarked, but there is also fronting of an undergoer, a theme, a causee, a recipient, or a benefactive, and so on, which are not actors, to initial-position to form a topicalized construction. Apart from an undergoer, a theme, a causee, a recipient, or a benefactive fronting to the topic position, it is also possible that a peripheral NP appears in the initial position of the clause to function as a scene setting topic.

Relative clauses in the Puxi variety of Qiang can be quite complex. There are two types of relative clauses: head-internal and head-external relative clauses. Head-external relative clauses include pre-head relative clauses, post-head relative clauses, and headless relative clauses. There are two different nominalizers. Definite marking or indefinite marking can also be used as relative clause marker. There are

also some relative clauses that are not marked by nominalization, but marked by aspect marking.

Complementation is the ‘sentential complement’ type. There are two types of complementation, one has no overt nominalization and one has one of the clitic nominalizers. Complement clauses function as NPs within the matrix sentence, and often appear between the NP representing the actor and the main verb. Some verbs of complement clauses do not take any person or aspect marking, but when the verb of the matrix clause is a perception or cognition verb, there is agreement with its actor in person marking and the verb can take aspect marking both in the complement clause and in the matrix clause. If the topic of the complement clause is 1st or 2nd singular, the pronoun referring to the topic is usually the topic pronoun, but in some cases, the topic of the complement clause may be represented by non-topic pronoun

There is no *it*-cleft or *wh*-cleft clause, but there is a pseudo-cleft construction. In the basic pseudo-cleft construction, a clause appears in initial position to function as the topic, and a noun occurs before the copula to function as narrow focus. If a noun phrase occurs in initial position to function as the topic, and a clause appears in narrow focus, the clause generally takes the indefinite marker *-təi*; and the copula is omitted.

In narrative texts deictic elements are frequently used to mark changes in the scene. The demonstrative pronouns are used as markers of discourse deixis and anaphoric references in narrative. There are special features with respect to quoted and indirect speech in narratives. Both direct quotes and indirect speech involve the

word *u'* 'say' or *buo'* 'call, ask' at the end of the clause, and the logophoric pronoun *mu* marks the clause as indirect speech. The pattern of the 'tail-head' construction is highly frequent in the narrative texts. This is when the final verb of a clause or a verb complex which expresses the end of an event and marks the end of a discourse segment is repeated at the beginning of the next discourse segment.

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