A grammar of Wadu Pumi

Henriëtte Daudey

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Submitted by

Gerdine Henriëtte Daudey, M.A. Leiden University

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SGD

Statement of authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Gerdine Henriëtte Daudey
7 April 2014

Summary of the thesis

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of the Wǎdū speech variety of Pǔmǐ, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Qiangic branch spoken on the border of Yúnnán and Sìchuān provinces in Southwest China. It is based on a large corpus of primary data collected during two fieldwork trips in 2010-2011 and 2011-2012 by the author, who is also a member of SIL East Asia Group. The thesis presents a phonological and grammatical description of the language, and includes three fully analysed interlinear texts in the appendix.

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADD.FOC	additional focus
AGR	agreement marker
AGT	agentive
ALERT	alertive
ATTENT	attention marker
AUD	auditory
CASU	casual
CERT	epistemic certainty
Ch	Chinese loanword
CLF	classifier
CMX	climax
CNT	continuous
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
CON	confirmative
CONF	confirmative marker
CONFIRM	confirmation marker
CONSTR	construction
CONTR	negative contrastive marker
CONTR.TOP	contrastive topic
COORD	coordinator
CORR	correct knowledge marker
CUST.EXCL	exclusive customary
CUST.INCL	inclusive customary
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive
DIS	disdain
DISJ.TOP	disjunctive topic
DISS	dissatisfaction marker
DOWN	downwards
DU	dual
EGO	egophoric
EMPH	emphatic
EPIST	epistemic
ESC	escaped information marker
EXALT	exaltation
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST.AB	existential (abstract)
EXIST.AN	existential (animate)
EXIST.AT	existential (attached)
EXIST.H	existential (horizontal)
EXIST.IN	existential (contained)
EXIST.POSS	existential (possessive)
EXP	experiential
EXPT	expectational
FB	father's brother
FZ	father's sister
FR.SP	from speaker
GEN	genitive
GNOMIC	gnomic
HSY	hearsay
IDEO	onomatopoeic ideophone
IMP	imperative
IN	inwards
INCL	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INF	inferential
INFO	informative marker
INS	instrumental
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
ITT	itterative
LA	in-law
LIM.TOP	limiting topic
LINK	linker
LOG	logophoric
MB	mother's brother
N.CONTR	non-controllable

N.EGO	non-egophoric	REP	repetition marker
N.SG	non-singular	RHET	rhetorical question marker
NEG	negation	SG	singular
NMLZ	nominalizer	SIM	simultaneous action
OUT	outwards	SITU	situation marker
PART	partitive	SPEC	speculative
PFV	perfective	SVM	stative verb marker
PL	plural	T	Tibetan loanword
POL	polite	TB	Tibeto-Burman
POS	positive attitude marker	TOP	topic
PROH	prohibitive	TO.SP	to speaker
PROS	prospective	TRAIL	trailing knowledge marker
PTB	proto-Tibeto-Burman	UND	undefined marker
PUZ	puzzlement marker	UP	upwards
Q	question marker	URG	urging marker
QUEST	question attitude marker	VOL	volitive
RECP	reciprocal	WARN	warning marker
REMIND	reminder marker	YN	Yǒngníng Na loanword

Symbols

<	derived from
>	shows direction of development
-	separates syllables within polymorphemic polysyllabic word
.	separated syllables within polymorphemic monosyllabic word
*	proto-form
#	indicates tone group boundary
?	indicates a morpheme whose meaning is unclear or, when attached to a word, signals that the gloss of that word is tentative

Chapter 1.
Introduction

This thesis aims at describing the Wǎdū speech variety of Pǔmǐ 普米, a minority language spoken in the People's Republic of China. In this introductory chapter I will give an overview of the language and ethnic situation (§1.1), the sociolinguistic situation (§1.2), previous research (§1.3), genetic affiliation (§1.4), typological profile (§1.5), some cultural background (§1.6), fieldwork (§1.7) and the presentation of the grammar (§1.8).

1.1 Language and ethnicity

The current grammar is based on the *wétu* [1] speech variety of Pǔmǐ, spoken in Middle Wǎdū Village (中瓦都村), Yǒngníng Township (永宁乡), Nínglàng Yí Autonomous County (宁蒗彝族自治县), Northwestern Yúnnán Province. Middle Wǎdū Village is one of the four Pǔmǐ villages in the Wēnquán area.[2] The Pǔmǐ of this speech variety call themselves *ʈʰóŋmə* 'white people'. The designation *ʈʰóŋ* 'white' sets the Pǔmǐ apart from some surrounding ethnic groups whom they designate as *nʲæ̌* 'black': the *goŋnʲæ̌* 'Nuòsū (Yí) 彝' ('black skin') and the *nʲæmə̌* 'Na (Mósuō) 摩梭' ('black person'). Three other ethnic groups that the Pǔmǐ in Wǎdū have a designation for are *næŋxín* 'Nàxī 纳西', *qêmə* 'Tibetan 藏'[3] and *ɕě* 'Hàn Chinese 汉'.[4] *mə̂* is the common Tibeto-Burman word for 'person'. Exonyms include Ba in Tibetan, Na and Nàxī; Xīfān (西番) in Chinese historic writings[5]; and Ozzu[6] in Nuòsū (Harrell 2001:195).

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[1] For the notation of Pǔmǐ used in this grammar, see §1.8.1.

[2] There are three neighbouring villages that are referred to as Wǎdū, i.e. Upper Wǎdū, Middle Wǎdū and Lower Wǎdū. Only Middle Wǎdū is a Pǔmǐ village; the other two villages are predominantly Hàn Chinese. Thus in this grammar I will refer to the Pǔmǐ village and the variety spoken there simply as Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The other three villages are *patɕæ̌* (Bājiā 八家), *pîtsʰi* (Bǐqí 比奇) and *tʰûtsʰi* (Tuōqī 拖七).

[3] Originally probably referring to the Kham Tibetans in the area (Mùlǐ, Zhōngdiàn), but now referring to all groups officially designated as Tibetan.

[4] All other outsiders that do not fit these groups are referred to as *ɕě* 'Hàn Chinese'.

[5] But note that this term also denoted other Qiangic groups.

[6] [ʔo^{33}dzu^{33}] (Bradley, p.c.).

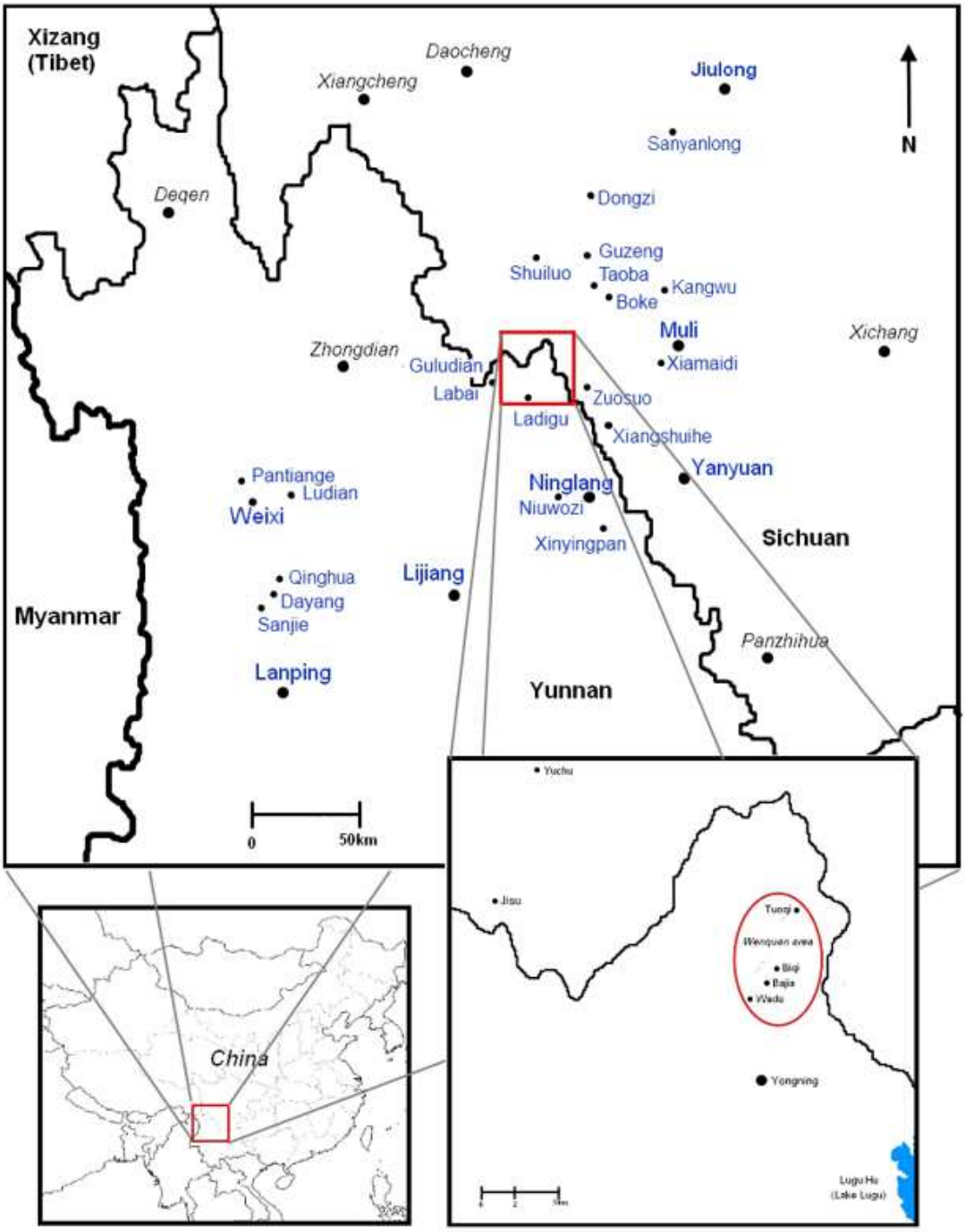
The name 'Pǔmǐ' (普米) is the Chinese form of the autonym. This form has been used since the 1960s when Pǔmǐ were officially recognised as one of China's 56 ethnic groups in the nationalities classification project by the communist government. In this grammar I use the name 'Pǔmǐ' to denote the people and language in general, and the name 'Wǎdū Pǔmǐ' to denote the particular speech variety this grammar is based on. Through the work of linguist Picus Sīzhì Dīng, the linguistic world has also become familiar with the name Prinmi. This spelling is based on the autonym [$p^{h}in^{55}mi^{55}$] in the Niúwōzǐ speech variety (Dīng 1998:1).

Pǔmǐ speakers are scattered throughout Northwestern Yúnnán and Southwestern Sìchuān provinces. According to the 6th national population census conducted in 2010, the Pǔmǐ ethnic group counts 42,861 people. This figure only includes the Pǔmǐ living in Yúnnán Province. Due to historical reasons[7], Pǔmǐ living in Sìchuān Province are all included in the Tibetan ethnic group, and thus in official censuses their number is included in the Tibetan ethnicity. It is therefore difficult to establish a precise figure and several estimates have been made: Stevan Harrell (2001) mentions 31,000; Lù Shàozūn (2001:1) mentions around 50,000 Pǔmǐ-speaking Tibetans, of which around 34,000 live in Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County.

Figure 1.1 shows a map of the language area, with the towns and villages that are Pǔmǐ or have a considerable Pǔmǐ-speaking population in blue non-italics. The map does not show all the Pǔmǐ villages and hamlets, but only the ones that are mentioned in this grammar. Even so, this gives a rough indication of the extent of the area in which Pǔmǐ is spoken. The enlarged red square shows the research area with the villages that I visited during my fieldwork. Maps are drawn based on Google maps.

[7] Most of the Pǔmǐ-speaking Tibetans in Sìchuān are part of what used to be the kingdom of Mùlǐ. It is said that during the time of the ethnic identification in the fifties, the Great Lama, ruler of the Mùlǐ kingdom, requested of the communists that Mùlǐ be made into a Tibetan autonomous county. Thus his subjects, and later all the Pǔmǐ speakers living in Sìchuān, were classified as Tibetans. The Pǔmǐ speakers on the Yúnnán side preferred their self-designation and were accordingly classified as Pǔmǐ (Harrell 2001:209-211).

Figure 1.1. Map of the Pǔmǐ language area



Based on research done by Lù Shàozūn, Pǔmǐ is said to have two dialects: Northern Pǔmǐ and Southern Pǔmǐ. Northern Pǔmǐ is spoken in parts of Nínglàng County and Sìchuān and is internally less diverse than Southern Pǔmǐ. According to this dialectal division Wǎdū Pǔmǐ belongs to the Northern dialect group. More recently, Dīng (2012; 2014) has argued for three dialect groups: Northern, Central and Western, based on shared phonological innovations and retention of salient features. According to Dīng's grouping, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ belongs to the Northern dialect and the Niúwōzǐ speech variety

to the Central dialect. The speech varieties of Lánpíng belong to the Western dialect. In this grammar I will use the word *dialect* in the sense of the established dialects and the terms *speech variety* or *variety* for Pǔmǐ spoken in particular places.

1.2 Sociolinguistic situation

The sociolinguistic situation of Yǒngníng Township is typical of much of Southwest China, with several ethnic groups inhabiting the area: Na (Mósuō), Pǔmǐ, Hàn Chinese, Nuòsū (Yí), Nàxī[8], Tibetan[9], and some occasional Bái or Huí traders that set up business in Yǒngníng.

The Na (Mósuō) and the Pǔmǐ are the dominant groups in Yǒngníng Township. They frequently intermarry and so a fair amount of Pǔmǐ speak or understand Yǒngníng Na to some degree. The reverse is not necessarily true. In Pǔmǐ villages closer to Lake Lúgū, Yǒngníng Na is spoken as the predominant language, but in the four Pǔmǐ villages in the Wēnquán area, Pǔmǐ is still the predominant language.

Relations with the more marginalised Nuòsū are not always friendly. Nuòsū villages tend to be located higher up the mountains, but recently many Nuòsū have bought land and settled in the valleys among the Pǔmǐ. This causes quite a bit of friction between the groups. Linguistically this means that more interaction takes place in local Chinese[10]. Some Pǔmǐ also speak Nuòsū, the main reason being the contact with Nuòsū classmates in primary or secondary school.

Contact with local Hàn Chinese is usually friendly. Wǎdū is sandwiched between two Hàn Chinese villages, and frequent contact with the Hàn has resulted in all people in Wǎdū being bilingual to some extent in the local dialect of Chinese. In general, of the four Pǔmǐ villages in the valley, the people in Wǎdū have greater proficiency in local Chinese, whereas the people in the other three villages have greater proficiency in Na. More and more people are able to understand standard Chinese through the influence of TV and jobs in other parts of China. It can be observed that children who are attending school are starting to use Chinese among themselves when they play.

Chinese loanwords are prevalent, especially in the area of politics, technology and education, and code-switching into local Chinese can be observed frequently. This is

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[8] Leatherworkers who moved from Lìjiāng to Yǒngníng to set up business.

[9] One village about half an hour from Yǒngníng whose inhabitants moved from Zhōngdiàn.

[10] In this grammar I refer to the Chinese language in general as *Chinese*, to the official language (Pǔtōnghuà 普通话, the standard form of Mandarin Chinese) as *standard Chinese* and to the local dialect of Chinese as *local Chinese*.

much more the case in Wǎdū than in Yǔchū and Jísū, where I did some research as well. In my database of around 4000 words, around 450 words are of Chinese origin.[11]

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has also been deeply influenced by Tibetan, especially in the realm of religion. Given the prevalence of Tibetan vocabulary in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, a systematic study of the layers of borrowing from Tibetan into Pǔmǐ would be extremely valuable, not only for historical linguistics, but also for the synchronic study of the language. This however, lies outside of the scope of the present thesis. An initial comparative list is given in Appendix B.

Apart from interaction with other ethnic groups, Pǔmǐ in Wǎdū have frequent interactions with Pǔmǐ speakers in Yījí Township (依吉乡, Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County, Sìchuān). Local oral history tells us that the Pǔmǐ in Wǎdū came down from Mùlǐ and blood relationships with the people that remained there go back a few centuries.

Not all Pǔmǐ speak their language now. Lù (1994) mentions that an average of 36% of the Pǔmǐ people in Yúnnán do not use Pǔmǐ, but have switched to Chinese or other minority languages (such as Lìsù and Bái). Of the ethnically Pǔmǐ Tibetans in Sìchuān almost all still speak Pǔmǐ. In Lù 2002, Lù Shàozūn gives a number of 9,460 people that still speak the Southern dialect and 32,300 people that still speak the Northern dialect (of which 26,700 are ethnically Tibetan). Harrell (2001:195) mentions that the language is widely spoken in Mùlǐ County, and also in a few pockets in Yányuán County. People in the Yǒngníng area often tell me that Pǔmǐ is a difficult language to learn and that whereas Pǔmǐ speakers are able to speak other languages, not many people from other ethnic groups speak Pǔmǐ. This, however, is not the case in Mùlǐ. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in many places in Mùlǐ, Pǔmǐ is the dominant language and is spoken by people of other ethnic groups, including local Hàn, Kham Tibetan and Xùmǐ.

1.3 Previous research

The first linguistic work on the Pǔmǐ language was conducted as part of the ethnic classification project in the 1950s and 1960s by Sūn Hóngkāi and Lù Shàozūn. Additional research was done in the 1980s. The results were published in Lù's 1983 *A brief description of the Pǔmǐ language* and his 2001 *A study of Pǔmǐ dialects*. Additional Pǔmǐ basic vocabulary and segmental phonology from these early investigations can

[11] Note that this figure does not say anything about the frequency of use. It would be interesting to conduct a text count in which the total number of words is plotted against the total number of Chinese loanwords, which would give a much better indication of use. One thing that can be noted is that in conversations and personal experiences relating to politics and education, the frequency of loanwords is much higher than in traditional stories or personal experiences.

be found in several works: Sūn Hóngkāi et al. (1991) *Tibeto-Burman phonology and lexicon*; Huáng Bùfán (1991), and Dài Qìngxià and Huáng Bùfán (1992) *A Tibeto-Burman lexicon*.

The years 1997 and 1998 saw the appearance of several important studies on Pǔmǐ: James A. Matisoff, who had the chance to work on Dàyáng Pǔmǐ in Kunming with Hé Shùkāi,[12] published a detailed study on the phonology of that speech variety (Matisoff 1997).[13] Fù Àilán finished her in-depth Ph.D. description on the verbal system of Dàyáng Pǔmǐ. She published several other articles (Fù 1996, 1999, 2000) and worked (among others) with Hé Xiàngdōng, a Pǔmǐ scholar. And last but not least, Picus Dīng wrote a descriptive grammar of Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ, to date the most comprehensive study on any Pǔmǐ speech variety (Dīng 1998).

The main scholar currently working on Pǔmǐ among Chinese-speaking academics is Jiǎng Yǐng. She recently published articles on classifiers (2008), verb suffixes (2009), semantic role particles (2010), a controllable auxiliary (2012a) and double consonants (2012b).

The main scholar working on Pǔmǐ among the English speaking academic community is Picus Sīzhì Dīng. Starting with his Ph.D. thesis on the Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ speech variety, he has continued working and publishing on Pǔmǐ. The reader is referred to his work on the grammar (1998), topic-comment constructions (2000), pitch-accent (2001), a sketch (2003), language modernization (2005), tonal comparison with Japanese (2006), language modernization (2007a), the use of perception tests (2007b), and rhoticization (2010). His grammar of Prinmi based on the Central dialect has just been published (2014). Using Dīng's data, Marcus Greif (2010) published an article on the tones and intonation of Prinmi.

As part of the research project 'What defines Qiāng-ness: Towards a phylogenetic assessment of the Southern Qiangic languages of Mùlǐ', Guillaume Jacques' (2011a, 2011c) published two articles on Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ aspirated fricatives and tonal alternation. These are two of the few studies published on a Pǔmǐ speech variety spoken in Sìchuān.

The existence of descriptions of different Pǔmǐ speech varieties is extremely valuable, especially in an area where many languages are underdescribed. My hope is that the current study will contribute to further understanding of the language and dialectal comparison and lead to a deepening insight into Pǔmǐ as a whole and its relationship to other languages in the area.

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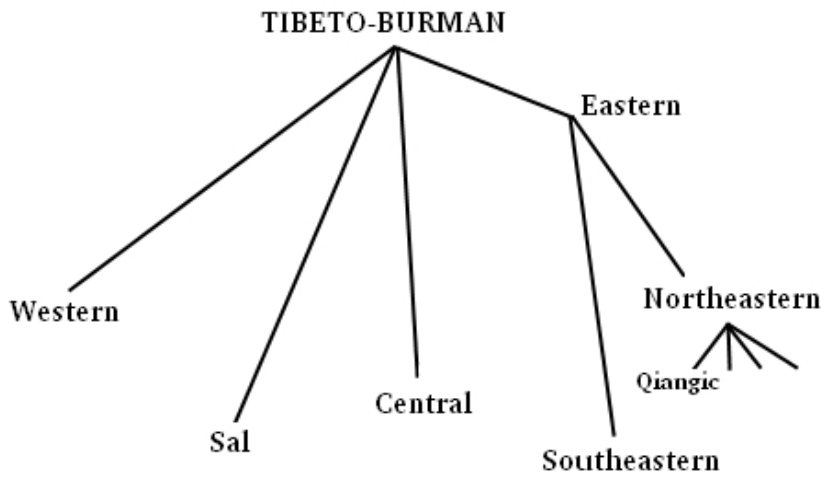
[12] A relative of Hé Xiàngdōng.

[13] Followed by an article on tonal systems in the Tibeto-Burman area (Matisoff 1999) in which the tonal system of Dàyáng Pǔmǐ is compared to other tone systems.

1.4 Genetic affiliation

It has generally been assumed that Pǔmǐ is a language of the Qiangic group of the Tibeto-Burman language family (Sūn 1983; Matisoff 1991; Bradley 1997, 2002; Thurgood 2003; LaPolla 2003a, 2005). Bradley (1997, 2002) includes Qiangic in the Northeastern branch of Tibeto-Burman, see Figure 1.2. His 'core Qiangic' includes Báimǎ, Qiāng, rGyalrong (Jiāróng), Guìqióng, Zhābā, Quèyù, Ěrgōng, Mùyǎ, Ěrsū, Xùmǐ (Shǐxīng), Nàmùyī, and the extinct Tangut. Other languages in the branch are Nàxī, Na, Tǔjiā and Bái. More recently, Bradley (p.c.) distinguishes a Naish group: Nàxī, Na, Nàmùyī, Xùmǐ (see Michaud, Hé and Zhōng forthcoming[14]), a rGyalrong group (including Tangut and Lavrung), and a residual group (Pǔmǐ, Ěrsū, Guìqióng, Quèyù, Mùyǎ, Ěrgōng, Qiāng, Zhābā). Báimǎ is considered a Tibetan dialect.

Figure 1.2. Tibeto-Burman (adapted from Bradley 2002:75)



The exact makeup of the Qiangic group is still unclear, the main reason being the sparsity of description of many of the languages. Note that while Bradley (2002) and Sūn (2001) include the rGyalrongic languages as part of Qiangic, several other linguists such as LaPolla (2003a:30) and Thurgood (Thurgood 2003:14) view the rGyalrongic languages (i.e. rGyalrong proper, Lavrung, Ěrgōng) as part of the Rung branch including Kiranti, Kham, Western Himalayan, Dulong, Anong, Rawang). rGyalrongic was established as a subgroup by Jackson Sūn (2000a, 2000b).

Sūn Hóngkāi (2001) divides the Qiangic languages into Southern Qiangic and Northern Qiangic. According to this classification, Pǔmǐ belongs to Northern Qiangic. It is most

[14] "Preliminary comparative work suggests that the Naish languages are related, in decreasing order of closeness, to: Shǐxīng and Nàmùyī; Ěrsū, Lizu, and Tosu; Pǔmǐ, rGyalrongic, Tangut and other languages currently labeled "Qiangic"; and Lolo-Burmese (Jacques and Michaud 2011)." (Michaud, Hé and Zhōng forthcoming).

closely related to Qiāng (LaPolla, p.c.). The subclassification of Qiangic proposed by Sūn is displayed in Figure 1.3. Another subclassification is that of Jacques and Michaud who propose a Na-Qiangic branch as shown in Figure 1.4.

Figure 1.3. The Qiangic subgroup (adapted from Sūn 2001:160)

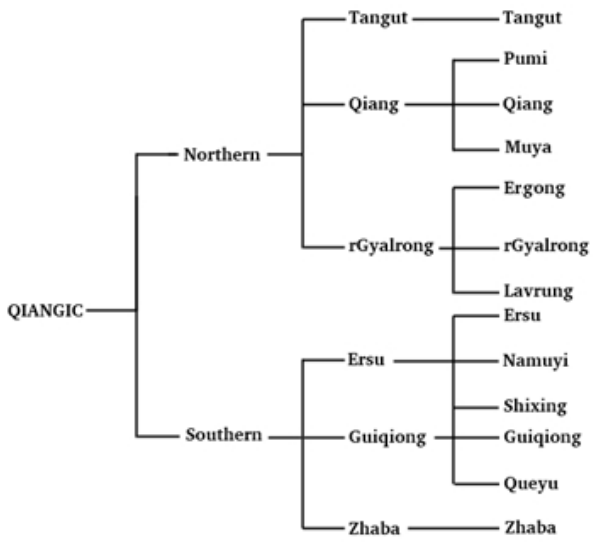
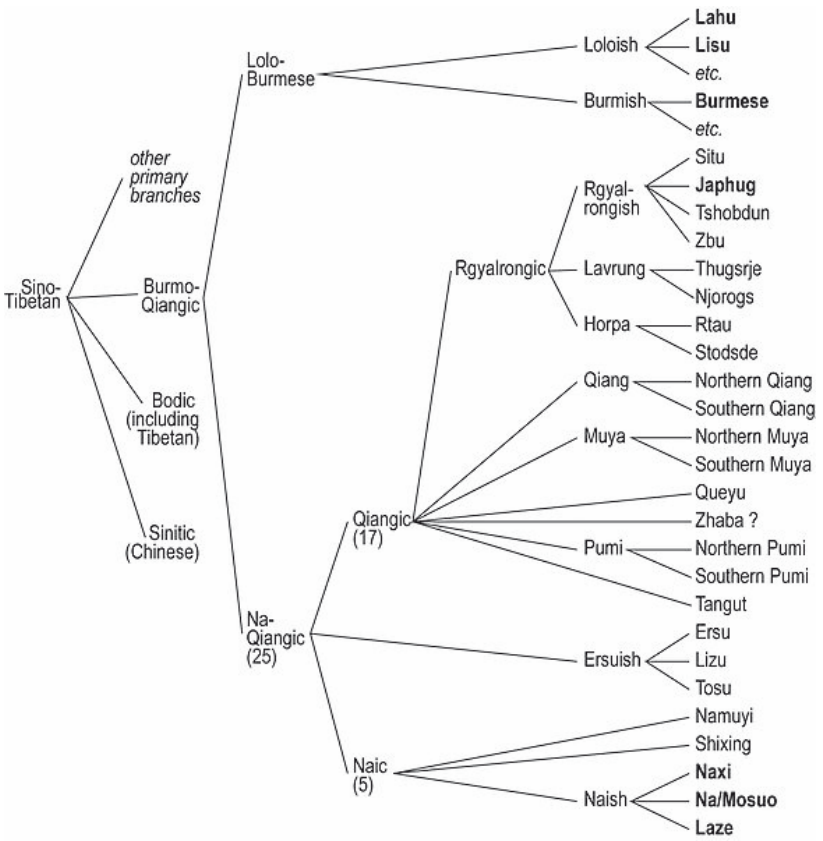


Figure 1.4. The Na-Qiangic group (from Jacques and Michaud 2011:6)



Since its naming by Sūn Hóngkāi in 1983, the genetic relationship between the members of the Qiangic group has been controversial. Grouping has mostly been based

on typological features, such as the presence of word-tone and directional prefixes, rather than shared innovations (although Matisoff (2004) has proposed 'brightening', i.e. $*a > i$, as a shared innovation for the Qiangic group).[15] A recent discussion of the Qiangic theory is Chirkova 2010. Her conclusion is that Qiangic should be seen as a linguistic area, rather than a genetic subgroup, since many of the typological similarities that are considered 'Qiangic' are also shared with non-Qiangic languages in the area. Also, massive language restructuring can be observed in the non-Qiangic languages in the area such as Chinese and Tibetan, which points to active language convergence. Much more research needs to be done to clarify the exact genetic relationships.

1.5 Typological profile

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ straddles somewhere between agglutinating and analytical, with a few affixes and multiple clitics. Consonants can be divided into two classes based on their ability to occur with palatalization. Several phonological processes happen with the palatal-group consonants (see §2.1.7).

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows certain features that are said to be indicative for membership in the Qiangic group (see Sūn 2001). It has a large consonant and vowel inventory which includes a set of phonemic uvular stops. Uvular phonemes have not been attested for any of the other northern Pǔmǐ speech varieties. It has no consonantal codas. It is tonal. A three-way distinction of singular, dual and plural can be observed in nouns. Pronouns show inclusive and exclusive dual and plural forms. Reduplication is an important means for word formation, and is also used to form reciprocal verb forms. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has numeral classifiers, several existential (locative) verbs, and directional verbal prefixes.

Some of the features reported for the Qiangic group are not present. No extensive vowel harmony has been attested, and most of the consonant clusters have disappeared. No contrast between prenasalised and plain initials has been observed. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ does not show person and number agreement in verbs as some of the other Pǔmǐ speech varieties do (see Daudey 2014), but rather an egophoric/non-egophoric system.

Typological features[16] that are also found in other languages in the linguistic area include a separate perfective verb stem for controllable verbs, evidential marking, several nominalizers, a semantic role marking system that is pragmatically conditioned,

[15] But note Katia Chirkova's evaluation of that innovation in her article refuting the Qiangic subgroup hypothesis (2010:5, note 5).

[16] For a treatment of some of the features, see Chirkova 2010.

and a template word-tone system: a system of culminative tone in which one lexical tone is assigned to a prosodic word.

1.6 The people and their culture

Wǎdū is located in a high-altitude basin at an altitude of 2700m. The climate is wet in summer and dry and cold with intense sun in winter. The Pǔmǐ in Wǎdū are mainly subsistence farmers. Staples include Himalayan red rice,[17] oats, maize, potatoes and some wheat, (highland) barley and buckwheat. Other things that are grown include cabbage, radish, turnip, squash, beans, apples, pears, peaches, walnuts, sunflower seeds and prickly ash (Sìchuān pepper).

Animal husbandry includes goats, cows, an ox for plowing, a few horses or mules, pigs (including the pigs that are fattened for slaughter and are usually kept in their pens) and chickens. In recent years, water buffaloes have been introduced for plowing.

A big part of the produce is fed to the pigs who perform an important role in Pǔmǐ society. Fattened pigs are slaughtered around Pǔmǐ New Year every year and turned into the traditional cured pork back. When cured well, pork backs can be kept for years and their size and quantity is a sign of the relative wealth of a household. Pork provides an important source of nutrition, and different parts of the pig (*tɕʰwæ-kʰwɐ-tɕʰwɛ̂-ɻʲɐ* 'pork-heart-and-tongue', *tɕʰwɐ-ʈʰə̆* 'stuffed pork leg', *tsá-ki ʂə̂-ɖʐi* 'pork-back-slice-and-limbs') are eaten as traditional food during festivals or served as delicacies to guests. Pork backs (or slices of pork back) form part of the traditional wedding and funeral gifts.

Grains (barley, highland barley, millet, maize, buckwheat) are used to brew *ʈʰwî*, a type of home-brewed alcohol. Oats are ground into flour that is traditionally eaten with salty black tea in summer and butter tea in winter. Brick tea from Dàlǐ forms the basis for butter tea.

Many young Pǔmǐ have left the village to look for work in towns and big cities. Young women often end up in shops and cafes in Lìjiāng; young men often end up on building sites or factories in many parts of China. Before opportunities to work outside were available, trade played an important part in the area. Local mule caravans would travel between areas in Mùlǐ and towns such as Yǒngníng, Lìjiāng and Zhōngdiàn. Nowadays, mule caravans are used to a lesser extent for trading walnuts, prickly ash (Sìchuān pepper) and pig bristles among other things. Another source of income in the recent past was taking trips to the mountains in search of mushrooms and medicinal plants that would then be sold. With the growing opportunity to make money in the cities, this has become infrequent.

[17] A special type of rice that can grow at high altitudes and is cultivated dry.

Traditional crafts include weaving baskets and weaving fabric. The weaving of garments would be done with a mixture of hemp and the soft fibers taken from the leaves of *pí*, a type of plant that grows at high altitudes.[18] The hemp was used for its strength; *pí* was used for its softness and warmth. Wool was also woven into blankets. Nowadays weaving is mostly done for a Na middleman to supply hand-woven 'Mósuō' shawls for the tourist shops around Lake Lúgū and in Lìjiāng.

The household is the basic economic unit. Households consist of a couple with their children and the husband's parents in case of marriage, and of a brother, his sisters and his sister's children in the case of 'walking marriage' (*zǒuhūn* 走婚 in Chinese). The latter marriage custom in which both the woman and the man stay in their respective households and the husband visits his wife only for a night or several days at a time, is also practised by the Na. Among the Pǔmǐ, this occurs only in the Lake Lúgū area. Children from those marriages are raised in the mother's household. In Yǔchū (and several other villages in Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County) polyandry and polygyny is practised in addition to monogamy, but the multiple wives or husbands need to be siblings. As a result of the various types of marriage, extended households are quite common.

Just like the Pǔmǐ-speaking Tibetans in Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County, the Pǔmǐ in Wǎdū adhere to Tibetan Buddhism. Religious rituals, like funerals, that were conducted by shamans in the past[19] are now conducted by Buddhist monks. Many families choose to send one of their sons to a monastery to become a monk. This is considered to be an honor for the family. Every household in the village has a shrine on the local mountain where incense is burned every morning and protection of the household and animals is prayed for. At Pǔmǐ New Year, the whole village burns incense to the mountain god (*ʐətsêŋ ʐədá* < Tibetan ? *gzhi.bdag* 'protector of the place') and liquor. Based on the twelve-year zodiac calendar, auspicious days are calculated for traveling, planting and harvesting, building houses, weddings and funerals. Several bird omens are observed, such as the arrival of the cuckoo at the beginning of the planting season.

In Wǎdū, houses are traditionally built with logs, but in recent years people have started building houses with packed earthern walls, similar to the Tibetan houses in Zhōngdiàn. Houses are built around a central courtyard and consist of separate buildings. The main building contains the hearth room and a side room, and is located up the valley (upriver) from the courtyard. The other buildings contain a shrine-room,

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[18] I have not been able to identify this plant yet. It grows close to the ground and has leaves of around 10cm with soft white fibers on the back.

[19] The village *dʐâsu* (Jísū 吉苏), together with some other villages in Southwest Mùlǐ, is known as a center of traditional shamanism, and there are still several practising shamans (called *hæŋgû* in Wǎdū and *hæŋdʐî* in *dʐâsu*).

bedrooms, storage space and animal pens. The shrine-room is located uphill from the courtyard.

The hearth room is the central room of the house and its special features include the *kéɻitæŋ* (a central pillar, also referred to as the *ʈsóŋ gæ kʰwê* 'heart of the house'), the *ɕíŋʈwɐ* (a cooking tripod with the main altar beside it), the *ɖæ̂ŋ* (a raised platform with an additional cooking tripod and a smaller altar), and the *tsʰubɯlǐ* (a wooden shielding device attached to the raised platform on the side of the door that was used in the past for shielding the people in the house from enemy's arrows). The hearth room is the site of daily rituals, such as libation that is poured out to the ancestors on the cooking tripod at every meal.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Joseph Rock traveled extensively through the area and published his experiences with the Pǔmǐ and other ethnic groups in several National Geographic articles (see for example Rock 1925). Apart from Chinese sources on Pǔmǐ culture (for example Hú 2002), two anthropologists that have published on Pǔmǐ are Koen Wellens (1998, 2010) and to a lesser extent Stevan Harrell (2001).

1.7 Fieldwork and language documentation

My initial fieldwork was conducted between the end of July 2010 and mid-February 2011, partly in *jîtsɯ* (Yǔchū 雨初, Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County, Sìchuān) and partly in Wǎdū. The miraculous permission to live in a Pǔmǐ-speaking Tibetan village was a great opportunity to collect data from one of the lesser known Pǔmǐ varieties of Mùlǐ. Halfway through the first fieldwork trip, however, I decided to switch to the Wǎdū speech variety. This is the variety spoken by my co-researcher and main consultant Gerong Pincuo (Pǔmǐ *kéjzoŋ pʰiŋtsʰu* < Tibetan *skal.bzang phun.tshogs*)[20], whose knowledge of his language and previous training in IPA helped us to process much more language data in a shorter amount of time. During the first fieldwork trip I spent close to two months in Yǔchū and almost three months in Wǎdū. At the invitation of a shaman from *dʑə̂su* (Jísū 吉苏, Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County, Sìchuān) whom I met on the road to Yǔchū, I also visited that village for a few days on two different occasions (see Figure 1.1 for the exact locations of these villages).

The second fieldwork was conducted between the end of November 2011 and mid-June 2012, and was spent mainly in Wǎdū till the end of February (with a few days in Jísū and Yǔchū in December); and from the end of February till mid-June in Lìjiāng.

In Wǎdū we recorded and analysed a total of 25 conversations amounting to three and a quarter hours; 24 narrative texts (personal experiences, procedural texts, folktales) by six different speakers (three women and three men) amounting to close to two hours;

[20] His preference is to transliterate his name as Gerong Pincuo.

riddles, and several ritual texts (a blessing, a genealogy, two libation chants, and a ritual of expelling ghosts). Additionally my co-researcher wrote five short texts. All texts (except for some of the ritual texts) were transcribed, translated into Chinese and English, analysed and entered into FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx). The thesis is based on these texts and conversations. A list is given in Appendix C. Some example texts are given in Appendix D. The data will be properly archived following the submission of this thesis.

During the time in Yǔchū we recorded a wordlist, several conversations of varying length, riddles, 33 texts (traditional, procedural, historical and exhortational) by four different men and a woman, and a ritual chant by a shaman. The texts add up to over five hours of recording. The wordlist and ten of the stories have been transcribed so far, and my co-researcher Gerong Pincuo is in the process of transcribing the rest of the data for future research. In Jísū we recorded four traditional songs sung by a woman, and a story and a ritual chant told and performed by the shaman we visited.

During the first fieldwork trip we used Olympus LS-10 and Edirol R-09 recorders and a Røde NT3 condenser microphone; during the second fieldwork trip we used Zoom H4n and Edirol R-09 recorders and a Røde M3 condenser microphone.

In addition to the linguistic data we collected, we also filmed several cultural events, such as the corn harvest, the making of pork backs, the celebration of New Year, and the feeding of mules in winter. During the first fieldwork trip a Canon FS11 was used to film; during the second a Panasonic HDC-TM700 was used. The footage of the corn harvest was made into a 20-min long documentary with Pǔmǐ narration and Pǔmǐ traditional songs by Gerong Pincuo. We gave a copy to every household in Wǎdū and on request to some Pǔmǐ households in other areas. The effect of the film was immediate: during the New Year celebrations following the distribution of the film, the two songs featured on the documentary were sung everywhere. Since my return to the university Gerong Pincuo has continued to film cultural events.

My history as a researcher has been recorded in this data. The topics of conversation weave through life, and with as much ease my life is woven in. References to my family, my trip back to the university, and my attempts to speak Pǔmǐ are all documented for history.

One conversation gives an unexpected insight into language documentation and what my host family understands of it. Following is an excerpt of this conversation. It was recorded by a group of old ladies when I was not present. Speaker Y is a member of my host family and N a member of my extended host family. Speaker L is a member of their clan.

L: nə́ = mə́ = ɖɛ̀ = sə̀ qʰŭ mà = qɛ́j bă.
thus = NMLZ = insignificant = CONTR.TOP need NEG = EXPT SPEC

'(...) an insignificant one like this is maybe not needed.' (CV21.455)

Y: qʰù = qɛ́j nĭŋ, ìŋ = ɻǽ nŏŋ ʈʰóŋmə́-l̥ì = gæ̀ míŋ dzə́ = gə̀
need = EXPT INTJ 1:INCL = PL:GEN so Pŭmĭ-language = GEN what be = DEF

qʰù = ɖăw.
need = IPFV:N.EGO

'It will be needed, mind you, whatever of our Pumi language (material) will all be needed.' (CV21.456)

N: ʈʰóŋmə́ = gæ̀ mə́tʲǽɕí qʰù = ɖăw.
Pŭmĭ = GEN every need = IPFV:N.EGO

'Everything of Pumi is needed.' (CV21.457)

1.8 Presentation of the grammar:

1.8.1 *Orthography*

In this grammar I have chosen to use a practical phonemic representation of the language generally following the IPA guidelines. An exception to this is the use of a syllable-final *ŋ*, which represents a nasalised vowel (§2.2.2) rather than a real nasal consonant ending, to prevent confusion with diacritic tone marking.

The use of a phonemic representation instead of an orthography is done for several reasons. In the language area where I conducted my fieldwork, no official orthography has been implemented yet. Often the tendency for linguists has been to analyse the phonology of the language, devise an orthography and present it to the speakers of the language, in the hope that they will start to use it. That speakers do not automatically start to use an orthography is clear from an honest account by Dīng in his paper on promoting Pŭmĭ language development (2005:24). My conviction is that the development of an orthography needs to be a community-based project rather than the job of a single linguist, and I hope that the community efforts that are already happening in the area can be expanded in the future. In addition, the script that is preferred by the Pŭmĭ speakers I have talked to is Tibetan script, which is not conducive for readers not familiar with it. Since this grammar is written mainly for an international linguistic audience,[21] I felt it would be most appropriate to use a phonemic IPA representation.

[21] Presenting a grammar in English by definition rules out the possibility that most speakers of this language community will read it.

Tone is represented by diacritics over the vowel: high tone with an acute accent (á), low tone with a grave accent (à), rising tone with a háček (ǎ) and falling tone with a circumflex (â) (see also Chapter 3, Table 3.1). The Wǎdū Pǔmǐ lexemes listed in the glossary, quoted in the prose of the thesis (in italics), or given as phonemic (in slashes), are all marked for underlying (phonemic) tone; IPA forms quoted in square brackets are marked for surface tone. For the benefit of the reader who would like to read out the example sentences, or would like to see the actual surface realization of tone, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ example sentences are all marked for surface tone. In the texts at the end of the grammar, both surface tone as well as underlying tone will be shown.

In this grammar, Pǔmǐ place names are given in Chinese pinyin. The presentation of other linguists' transcriptions is given in IPA. In most cases, I have converted the tone transcription to my way of marking tone, in order to enable easy comparison. For Fù, Lù, Matisoff and Gerong Pincuo the tone transcription represents the surface tone. In Dīng's data the tone transcription generally represents phonemic tone.

Loanwords are given in their IPA transcription[22] and indicated as loanwords in the glosses by Ch:, YN:, NS: and T: before the gloss (for Chinese, Yǒngníng Na (Mósuō), Nuòsū or Tibetan loanwords respectively). Where possible, the Tibetan source of a loan is also presented using Wylie's (1959) system of transcription.

1.8.2 *Examples and numbering*

Most of the examples used in this grammar are taken from the sizeable corpus of natural data described in §1.7. Some elicited examples are used as well. Much of the elicitation was done while analysing the corpus, and thus relates directly to the background of the text. The abbreviations following the various examples throughout the thesis correspond to the numbering of the interlinear texts. For example, '(CV21.512.3)' indicates that it was taken from the 21st conversation (CV) in the corpus and the 512th line of the conversation. The last digit '3' indicates that it is the third utterance in the turn of the current speaker. Numbering is done according to the FLEx database. For monologues, other initial capitals refer to particular narrators. When the example is taken from a written text or a text that has been edited by my co-researcher,[23] this is indicated by a lower case 'w' or 'ed' after the text reference number, for example '(PC06w.3)' and '(TC01ed.1)'. 'EL' indicates that the example was elicited out of context and 'EL' following an abbreviation indicates that the example was either proffered by my main consultant or elicited in the context of analysis of the text line

[22] Rather than in official pinyin transcription for Chinese loanwords, since loans from Chinese are normally from the local dialect of Chinese, rather than from standard Chinese.

[23] Only four texts have been extensively edited, since they were texts of speakers who had not told stories in a long time and had never narrated in front of a microphone.

indicated by the abbreviation, for example '(CV21.512.3EL)'. Abbreviations that start with 'EL' and are followed by another abbreviation refer to elicited examples taken from my fieldnotes; abbreviations without the addition 'EL' that are not found in the interlinear texts correspond to speech that occurred naturally as recorded in my fieldnotes.

Sometimes examples have been edited by me for brevity or clarity. When only part of the utterance is given, this will be shown in the English translation by '(...)', as in example (515). When something has been edited out in the middle of the Pǔmǐ utterance in order to make the example better processable for the reader, this will be shown in the Pǔmǐ line of the interlinear by '(...)', as in example (512).

Content in single brackets '( )' in the Pǔmǐ line of interlinear examples indicates what my main consultant proposed to delete, for example (45); content in double brackets '(( ))' indicates what my main consultant proposed to insert, for example '((k^{h}ì))' in (709).

Content shown in single brackets in the English translation is not present in the Pǔmǐ, but added for clarity.

Chapter 2.
Segmental phonology

This chapter deals with Wǎdū Pǔmǐ segmental phonology. Consonants include stops (§2.1.1), affricates (§2.1.2), fricatives (§2.1.3), nasals (§2.1.4), liquids (§2.1.5) and approximants (§2.1.6). Consonant grouping based on palatalization is discussed in §2.1.7. Vowels include oral (§2.2.1) and nasal vowels (§2.2.2). Syllable structure is treated in §2.3. Phonological processes include vowel harmony (§2.4.1), consonant lenition (§2.4.2), voicing and aspiration change (§2.4.3), vowel reduction (§2.4.4), retroflex and alveopalatal alternation (§2.4.5), nasalization (§2.4.6) and glide alternation (§2.4.7).

2.1 Consonants

The Wǎdū Pǔmǐ consonants are presented in Table 2.1. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has 42 consonants, and distinguishes seven places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, retroflex, alveopalatal, velar, uvular and cavity. Based on their manner of articulation, the different consonants can be divided into stops, affricates, fricatives, nasals, liquids and approximants. All consonants can occur as the onset of a syllable. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ also has 31 consonant clusters and 9 palatalised consonants that will be treated in §2.1.6.

The stops are discussed in §2.1.1, the affricates in §2.1.2, the fricatives in §2.1.3, the nasals in §2.1.4, the liquids in §2.1.5 and the approximants in §2.1.6. In §2.1.7 the issue of consonant grouping is discussed.

2.1.1 *Stops*

In terms of voicing, stops present a three-way contrast: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced. The only exception is the uvular stop series that present a two-way distinction, i.e. voiceless unaspirated and aspirated. Stops distinguish five different places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, retroflex, velar and uvular. A glottal stop is automatic in syllable-initial position when there is no other consonant (§2.3). Prevoicing of voiced stops and affricates is the main auditory clue to distinguish them from voiceless stops and affricates. The duration of the prevoicing can vary from around 100ms to over 200ms, as is shown in Figure 2.1 for the words, *gʉ̌* 'to exchange', *ɖʐʉ́* 'to grind' and *ɖʉ̌* 'to write'.

Figure 2.1. Prevoicing of stops

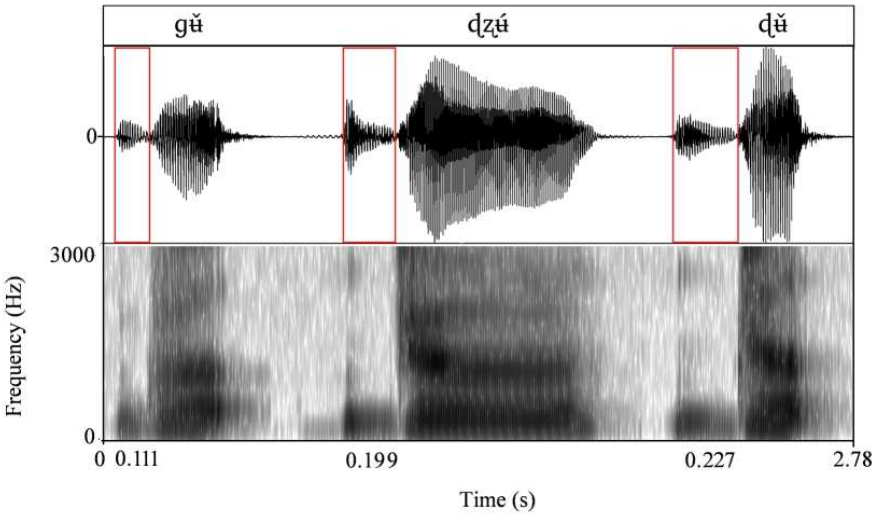

Table 2.1 Wǎdū Pǔmǐ consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular	Cavity
Stops	p	t	ʈ		k	q	
	pʰ	tʰ	ʈʰ		kʰ	qʰ	
	b	d	ɖ		g		
Affricates		ts	ʈʂ	tɕ			
		tsʰ	ʈʂʰ	tɕʰ			
		dz	ɖʐ	dʑ			
Fricatives		s	ʂ	ɕ			h
		z	ʐ	ʑ			ɦ
Nasals	m	n			ŋ		
	m̥	n̥					
Liquids		l	ɻ				
		l̥	ɻ̥				
Approximants	w			j			

Near minimal pairs for all the stops are given below.

(1)	/pě/	'*tsampa* flour'
	/pʰě/	'to vomit'
	/bě/	'(high altitude) leech'
(2)	/tɐ-/	'one' (in numeral classifier compound)
	/tʰě-/	'from speaker' (directional verbal prefix)
	/dɐ́/	'to cling'
(3)	/ʈɐ́/	'falsehood'
	/ʈʰě/	'to push'
	/ɖě/	'to be capable'
(4)	/kě/	'to be tough'
	/kʰɐkʰí/	'to separate'
	/gê̌dʑoŋ/	'grotto'
(5)	/qě/	'strength'
	/qʰě/	'emperor'

The retroflex stops and their development from older consonant clusters are discussed in §2.1.1.1. The uvular stop phonemes are discussed in §2.1.1.2.

2.1.1.1 Retroflex stops and consonant clusters

The southern Pǔmǐ speech varieties spoken in Qìnghuā, Lǔdiàn, Xīnyíngpán and Dàyáng have extensive consonant clusters (see Lù 1983:8; 2001:15-17, 28-29, 36-37 and Matisoff 1997:175-176), that can be divided into two types: a stop or nasal followed by a fricative, or a fricative followed by a stop or affricate. The first type of cluster seems to be more resistant to change, whereas the second type has mostly lost its initial fricative. Qìnghuā seems to be the most conservative variety in terms of its consonant clusters. Both the first and the second type of clusters are still present (Lù 2001:15-17). In Lǔdiàn, the first type of cluster is still used (bilabials or velars followed by a retroflex fricative), while the second type of cluster is almost lost. According to Lù (2001:28-29) there are only a few people left who use a homorganic nasal plus stop or affricate cluster, and there are still some old people who use fricative plus stop clusters, but younger speakers have lost the first segment. In Xīnyíngpán, the first type of cluster is still present (bilabials or velars followed by a retroflex fricative), although Lù notes that the pronunciation is closer to a simple retroflex fricative (Lù 2001:37). The second type of cluster is only used by older people. In the speech of younger people, the first fricative segment is lost.

The northern speech varieties of Niúwōzǐ (Dīng 1998:17) and Shuǐluò (Jacques 2011c:362) have six and three consonant clusters respectively. Dīng (1998) mentions

[pɹ], [pʰɹ], [bɹ] and [kɹ], [kʰɹ], [gɹ] (note however that Ding (2010) makes the case that these are not really consonant clusters, but rather stops with secondary articulation); Jacques (2011) mentions [pr], [pʰr] and [br] for Shuǐluò, but in Shuǐluò these clusters are in free alternation with [ɖʐw] in some words (Jacques 2011:362). These are all clusters belonging to the first type (a stop or nasal followed by a fricative). So far, there have been no attested clusters of the second type (a fricative followed by a stop or affricate) in the northern speech varieties, although Chan, working on the Xiǎngshuǐhé speech variety in Yányuán, reports three morphemes that are still used by some old people: [skæ̃^{51}] 'neck', [zdə^{31}-] (directional verb prefix) and [stʰə^{31}-] (directional verb prefix) (MS:20).

In contrast, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has not retained any consonant clusters.[24] Instead, all stop-plus-liquid consonant clusters have developed into retroflex stops. This is similar to what Matisoff notes for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (1997:175,176), where the original proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) *velar-plus-liquid clusters developed into retroflex stops. Note the correspondences in Table 2.2 (adapted from the table in Matisoff 1997:176).[25]

Table 2.2 Dàyáng and Wǎdū reflexes for PTB velar-plus-liquid clusters

PTB	Dàyáng	Wǎdū	Meaning
*krwəy	/ʈʰɨ̌/	/ʈʰə̌/	'daughter-in-law (wife)'[26]
*krəy	/ʈʰɨ́/	/ʈʰə́/	'foot'[27]
*m-kris	/ʈɨ́/	/ʈə́/	'gall'
*glaŋ	/ʈɒ̌/	/ʈæ̌/	'hawk/eagle'
*krəw	/ʈʰʉ́/	/ʈʰʉ́/	'horn'
*d-krok	/ʈʰʊ̌/	/ʈʰʊ̌/	'six'
*ʔgrəy	/ɖɨ̌/	/ɖə̌/	'star'
*kriŋ	/ɖʉ̌/	/ɖʉ̂/	'thread'

[24] Not including the stop-plus-glide consonant clusters. The glides will be covered in §2.1.6.

[25] But note also that there is no consistent correspondence between voicing and aspiration in the correspondences. I have no explanation for this.

[26] Note the semantic change between the dialects. The meaning in parentheses is the meaning of the word in Wǎdū. This might be due to Chinese cultural influence (LaPolla, p.c.).

[27] Because of the high vowel, the consonants in the words for 'foot', 'star' and 'wife' often carry some frication and at times I mistakenly transcribed them with an affricate instead of a stop. But they differ from real affricates in the amount of friction.

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, even the *labial-plus-liquid clusters have developed into retroflex stops.[28] Table 2.3 shows some correspondences between the bilabial and velar consonant clusters in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ and the retroflex stops in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.[29] Note that in the case of the bilabial consonant clusters in Niúwōzǐ the labiality gets carried over to the retroflex in Wǎdū, either in the form of a [w] glide following the retroflex or in the rounding of the vowel.[30]

Table 2.3 Niúwōzǐ clusters and Wǎdū retroflex correspondences

Niúwōzǐ	Wǎdū	Meaning
/pʲíwu/	/ʈwíwu/	'year of the Monkey'[31]
/pʲʰí/	/ʈʰwî/	'ale'
/bʲõbʲṍ/	/ɖõɖṍ/[32]	'roasted barley flour'
/kʲə̂/	/ʈə́/	'gall'
/kʲʰə́/	/ʈʰə́/	'foot'
/gʲə̌/	/ɖə̌/	'star'
/kʲʰǎ/	/ʈʰǎ/	'to shoot'

Occasionally one can still hear a rhoticization effect before the vowel, as in (6), or even the original labial plus liquid cluster, as in (7). But the cluster disappears upon careful repetition.

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[28] In most known speech varieties of Pǔmǐ they have developed into bilabial-plus-fricative clusters that are often pronounced as bilabials followed by a half-vowel [ɹ], see Lù (2001:15,28,37,47,64,73,81).

[29] The Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ data are taken from Dīng 1998:17. Tones have been adjusted for easy comparison. Dīng uses the superscript small caps ᴴ ᴸ ᴿ ᶠ for high, low, rising and falling tones.

[30] When the vowel is rounded already, no extra roundedness can be noted.

[31] From Tibetan *spre'u*. Almost all zodiac animals are borrowed from Tibetan.

[32] In Jísū, just across the border in Sìchuān, the word is still pronounced as [bɹõbɹõ] (personal fieldnotes). In both Wǎdū and Jísū, this word denotes a delicacy made out of roast flour (either barley, oats or other types of grain) mixed with lard. In Jísū heavy cakes are made of lard and flour, a ball is formed from a little piece and put around a stick to be roasted in the fire like a marshmallow. In Wǎdū this used to be done in the past, but not anymore, and so this word has become almost obsolete (the older generation still know it, but the younger generation, especially people born after 1980, do not).

(6)	/ʈwíwu/ ~ [ʈɻwíwú]	‘year of the Monkey’ (<Tibetan *spre’u* ‘monkey’)
	/ɖʉ́tɛjwu/ ~ [ɖɻʉ́tɛ́jwù]	‘year of dragon’ (<Tibetan *’brug* ‘dragon’)
(7)	/ʈʰwætʰə̂/ ~[pʰɻæ̀tʰʲə́]	‘youth’
	/ɖʉ́dɑwu/ ~ [bɻʉ́dɑ́wù]	‘year of snake’ (<Tibetan *sbrul* ‘snake’)

Dīng (2010) notes in his paper on rhoticization that the Pǔmǐ consonant clusters in Xīnyíngpán are not really clusters but rather stops with secondary articulation.

One case where this development of the *labial-plus-liquid cluster becomes quite apparent is the pronunciation of the group autonym. In Wǎdū the autonym is not the wider known “Prinmi” [pɹʰĩ́mí] but /ʈʰṍmə/.[33]

2.1.1.2 Uvular stops

The occurrence of uvular stop phonemes in this speech variety of Pǔmǐ is interesting, because a uvular phoneme series has not yet been attested for any of the northern speech varieties. Uvular phonemes are attested for the Southern dialect, in the speech varieties spoken in Qìnghuā (Lù 2001:10) and Dàyáng (Matisoff 1997:173). But Guillaume Jacques (p.c.) noted that he did not know of any speech varieties in the Northern dialect of Pǔmǐ that had uvular phonemes, and Dīng (2005:21) did not include symbols for the uvular stops in his pan-dialectal orthography for the northern speech varieties. Uvulars are normally taken to occur as allophones of velars before back vowels in the Northern dialect (Lù 2001:43,63,72,80; Chirkova 2010:9).

Uvulars can precede most vowels, as in (8), and the minimal pairs in example (9) clearly show that /q/ and /qʰ/ are phonemes in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

(8)	/qîpu/	‘cuckoo’ (variant of /qûpu/)
	/qĕj/	‘oily’
	/qʰæ̌/	‘bitter’
	/qʰə̌-/	‘out-’ (directional verb prefix, §4.6.2, §7.1)
	/qʰʉ̌/	‘head’
	/qʰŭ/	‘needle’
	/qʰĕ/	‘emperor’
	/qʰɑ̌/	‘to pick’
	/qʰõ̌/	‘life’
	/qæ̂̌/	‘neck’

(9)	/kŭ/	‘to carry on back’	/qŭ/	‘to be blind’
	/kʉ̌/	‘penis’	/qʉ̌/	‘to bend’
	/kɛ̂j/	‘let’	/qɛ̂j/	‘faeces’

[33] For the change from /ĩ/ to /õ/ see §2.2.2.

/kʰæ̂/	'prison'	/qʰæ̂/	'irrigation channel'
/kʰõ̌/	'give:IMP:SG'	/qʰõ̌/	'life'

Based on my fieldwork in Yǔchū[34] and an unpublished collection of wordlists (Gerong Pincuo, MS),[35] I suspect that there might be more speech varieties in the Northern dialect that have uvular stop phonemes.[36]

2.1.2 *Affricates*

Affricates distinguish three different places of articulation: alveolar, retroflex and alveopalatal.[37] All affricates in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ show a three-way distinction in voicing: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated and voiced. Examples for the three affricate series are presented in (10), (11) and (12):

(10) /tsǽ/ 'gluttonous'
/tsʰǎ/ 'to mug'
/mə̂dzæ/ 'every'

(11) /ʈʂǎ/ 'dirty'
/ʈʂʰǎ/ 'generation'
/ɖʐǎ/ 'inherited traits'

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[34] *Jítsɯ* (雨初) is a village located in Yījí (依吉) Township, Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County, just across the border from Wǎdū in Sìchuān province.

[35] This is a collection of different unpublished wordlists collected in 2009-2010 by my co-researcher Gerong Pincuo in Tuōzhī (拖支) and Pāntiāngé (攀天阁) in Wéixī Lìsù Autonomous County; Sānjiè (三界) in Lánpíng Bái and Pǔmǐ Autonomous County; Gélǔdiàn (格鲁甸) and Wǎdū (瓦都) in Nínglàng Yí Autonomous County; Dōngzi (东子), Xiàmàidì (下麦地), Bókē (博科), Gùzēng (固增) and Kāngwū (康乌牧场) in Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County. Whenever Tuōzhī, Pāntiāngé, Sānjiè, Gélǔdiàn, Dōngzi, Xiàmàidì, Bókē, Gùzēng and Kāngwū are mentioned in this chapter, data are taken from these wordlists, unless noted otherwise. Whenever Yǔchū is mentioned, data are taken from my own fieldnotes, unless otherwise noted.

[36] The following places all have uvular stops appearing before front vowels: Bókē, Gùzēng, Yǔchū and Jísū in Mùlǐ, and Gélǔdiàn in Nínglàng, but further research is needed to establish whether they are phonemes.

[37] Other Pǔmǐ speech varieties distinguish other or more places of articulation. In Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:13) the three places of articulation for affricates are dental, post-alveolar and retroflex. Matisoff describes a four-way distinction for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ, giving examples for dental, retroflex, post-alveolar ('laminopalatal or grooved type') and alveopalatal ('or slit type') series. He notes, however, that most of the time there is a very shaky contrast between post-alveolar [tʃ], [tʃʰ], [dʒ] and alveopalatal [tɕ], [tɕʰ], [dʑ] series (Matisoff 1997:183).

(12) /tɕǎ/ 'to weave'
/tɕʰǎ/ 'bashful'
/dʑǎ/ 'to add'

Both Dīng (1998:17) and Lù (2001:62) note that when the retroflex affricates precede the high front vowel /i/, they are pronounced as retroflex stops instead.[38] I have no instances of retroflex affricates or fricatives followed by /i/ so it might well be the case that the same process is happening in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. One example that would support this analysis, is the verb pair 'to cut/tear (intr./tr.)' that has retroflex stops and a high vowel /i/ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ ([ɖî] and [ʈʰî]) and retroflex affricates and a different vowel in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:126 [ɖʐê] and [ʈʂʰê]).

2.1.3 *Fricatives*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has four fricative series that all contrast voice and voicelessness. The different places of articulation are alveolar, retroflex, alveopalatal and cavity.[39] In example (13) near minimal pairs are presented for the different series.

(13) /sǎ/ 'to give to pass on'
/zǽ/ 'crooked'
/ʂǎ/ 'to bind sheaves'
/ʐǎ/ 'saliva'
/ɕǎ/ 'to taste'
/ʑǎ/ 'hand'
/hægû/ 'shaman'
/ɦâ/ 'mountain pass'

The status of labiodental fricatives will be discussed in §2.1.3.1, alveopalatal fricatives will be discussed in §2.1.3.2 and cavity fricatives in §2.1.3.3. For examples of fricatives that are the result of consonant lenition, see §2.4.2.

2.1.3.1 Note on labiodental fricatives

In his Pǔmǐ dialect comparison, Lù Shàozūn (2001:6) states that all speech varieties of Pǔmǐ have a voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ in their phonological inventory, which only occurs in loanwords from Chinese. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ this only partly the case: the older speakers borrow the Chinese /f/ as [hw], so the word *fēijī* 飞机 'airplane' is

[38] Although Matisoff has a few examples of [i] following a retroflex affricate (1997:186): *qhú tʂì tǎ* 'pillow'; *dʐ̩ǐ* 'waist'; *dʐ̩ə̀dʐ̩ǐ* 'book'.

[39] See footnote 44.

pronounced [hwéjtɕí] or [hwítɕí][40] and *fāmíng* 发明 'invent' as [hwàmǐ̞][41]. For the word 'house' *fángzi* 房子, especially older women will say [hɔ̰̀tsə́] or [hwæ̰̀tsə́]. Note that the labiality carries over, either in the roundness of the vowel or the labial glide. Younger speakers who have received an education are more likely to incorporate the whole word into their Pǔmǐ, and so over time, the [f] might become a part of the phonological system in Wǎdū too.[42] In one of the conversations recorded for this study, the distinction in pronunciation between a child (14) who is going to school and so knows Chinese phonology, and his grandmother (15) who has not received any education is clear:

(14) fítɕí kʰɛ̀j ɻ̩̀ŋɻ̩̀ŋ=ʈà
Ch:airplane Ch:drive like=SVM

'(I) would like to fly an airplane.' (CV11.29)

(15) hwítɕí kʰɛ̀j=là jǎw dʑə̀dʑí swéŋ qétɕʰə̀ qʰù ɦǎw
Ch:airplane Ch:drive=also again letter study put.in.effort need WARN

'In order to fly an airplane (you) need to study hard as well!!' (CV11.31)

Another example of a Chinese loanword taken from a personal narrative is given in (16):

(16) ə́-dʑæ̀ ʂwíhwèŋ=tǐ nè-qʰwá=sì
that-location:GEN Ch:water.amount=INDF DOWN-take:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'(...) (the buyers) took away (...) the weight of the amount of water (...)' (YJ02.34) (< *shuǐfèn* 水分)

2.1.3.2 Alveopalatal fricatives

Alveopalatals are extremely frequent, especially followed by the high front vowel /i/. This seems to be the result of ongoing palatalization in the language. Examples from Gerong Pincuo's wordlist (MS) show that several speech varieties in Wéixī and Lánpíng still have retroflex or post-alveolar consonants where Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has alveopalatal consonants (this is not limited to the fricatives, but is also the case for the affricates).

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[40] In the local dialect of Chinese *fēijī* is pronounced with two high tones; *fāmíng* is pronounced with two low tones and *fángzi* with a low and a falling tone.

[41] I have heard that pronunciation in Yǔchū as well.

[42] Interestingly, the standard Chinese /f/ gets borrowed as [xw] in an area where the local dialect of Chinese replaces the /x/ of standard Chinese with an [f] before the vowel /u/, so instead of saying [laʊxu] 'tiger', people will pronounce it [laʊfu] in Yúnnán. (The tone is different from standard Chinese as well; the word is pronounced with a high falling tone).

A few examples from Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (Matisoff 1997) compared with Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are provided in Table 2.4. Some areas in Mùlǐ show even stronger palatalization (cf. §2.4.5).[43]

Table 2.4. Dàyáng retroflexes and post-alveolars versus Wǎdū alveopalatals

Dàyáng	Wǎdū	Meaning
/ʃð/	/ɕǎ/	'to spend the night'
/ʐɨ́/	/ʑə́/	'many /much'
/tsɛ́ʐɨ̌/	/tsɛ̂ʑi/	'monkey'
/ptʃhð/	/tɕʰwǎ/	'pig'
/tʂð/	/tɕǎ/	'weaves'
/dʐóN/	/dʑõ/	'hole'

2.1.3.3 Cavity fricatives[44]

The cavity fricatives occupy a large space and can have a wide range of realizations. These fricatives have been analysed in several ways for different speech varieties. Lù Shàozūn reports a velar series /x/ and /ɣ/ in all but one of the Pǔmǐ speech varieties he discusses.[45] Dīng analyses Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ as having a velar and a glottal fricative /ɣ/ and /h/ (1998:13), and Chan analyses a glottal series /h/ and /ɦ/ for Xiǎngshuǐhé Pǔmǐ (MS:50). Lǐ Huī, an anthropologist who published a paper on orthography, posed a velar /x/ and a glottal /ɦ/ for Lánpíng Pǔmǐ (2008:39). But both Matisoff (1997b:173) and Jacques (2011c:363) posit a velar as well as a glottal series of fricatives for Dàyáng and Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ respectively.[46] The examples that Matisoff gives (1997:195-196) do not show any minimal pairs between [x] and [h] or [ɣ] and [ɦ] though. Several times he notes that [ɣ] varies with [ɦ]. He only gives one example for [h] and indicates that it is fronted to [ç] (before the high front vowel /i/; this is similar to what happens in

[43] Note that Matisoff uses the term 'laminopalatal' instead of 'post-alveolar'.

[44] 'Cavity' refers to the place of articulation of these fricatives, namely palatal, velar, uvular and glottal places of articulation depending on the vowel that follows.

[45] The only exception is Xīnyíngpán, for which he posits a glottal series /h/ and /ɦ/ (2001:34). For the other speech varieties, cf. Lù's Pǔmǐ Dialectal Research 普米语方言研究: Qìnghuā (2001:11), Lǔdiàn (2001:26), Táobā (2001:42), Tuōqī (2001:61), Zuǒsuǒ (2001:70) and Sānyánlóng (2001:79).

[46] Jacques (p.c) found a few minimal pairs in Shuǐluò: /hiǔ/ 帐篷 'tent' vs. /xiǔ/ 烟 'smoke', /ɦǎ/ 厚 'thick' vs. /ɣâ/ (phonetically [ʁâ]) 掉下来 'to fall down'. These compare to Wǎdū /kǎw/ 'tent' and /kʰǎw/ 'smoke', /ɦǎ/ 'thick' and /ɦà/ 'to fall down'.

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ). There are no minimal pairs between velar, uvular and glottal fricatives in Wǎdū, so I have analysed them as a single set of cavity fricatives represented by /h/ and /ɦ/.

/h/ is sometimes realized with local friction as [x] or [χ], especially when followed by a high back vowel.[47] But even with low back vowels and low front vowels, the same speaker will sometimes pronounce the words with audible friction and sometimes without.

(17)	/hûtɕʰwi/	[χútɕʰɥì]	'south'
	/hȏbʉ/	[xȏbʉ̀]	'owl'
	/hȏmĩ/	[xȏmì̃]	'colour, dye'
	/mêhɑw/	[mɛ́xɑ̀w]	'wind'
	/nǐnæ̃hɑw/	[nǐnæ̃́xɑ̀w]	'cloth bag'
	/quhú/	[qùχú]	'bamboo butter basket'
	/pʰíhɑw/	[pʰíxɑ́w]	'woven bamboo sieve to wash vegetables'
	/jɐhǎ/	[jèhǎ]~ [jèxǎ]	'all, everybody'
	/hæbæ̌/	[hæ̀bæ̌]~ [xæ̀bæ̌]	'plate'
	/hæŋgû/	[hæ̀ŋgû]~ [xæ̀ŋgû]	'shaman'

When /h/ precedes the high front vowels /i/ or /ĩ/ or is palatalised, it is fronted to [ç] as in examples (18) and (19).[48]

(18)	/hí/	[çí]	'god'
	/hî/	[çî]	'who'
(19)	/hʲǔ/	[çəǔ]	'to want to eat'
	/hʲɛ̂j/	[çɛ̂j]	'to release'
	/hʲõhʲə́/	[çȍçə́]	'to randomly beat'

Like its voiceless counterpart, the voiced cavity fricative /ɦ/ is sometimes pronounced with local friction as well, as in (20). There seems to be more friction when the tone is rising or low. When followed by the nasalised vowel /æ̃/ or the low back vowel /ɑ/ there is variation with a velar nasal stop in a few cases (cf. §2.1.4.2). This could be a case of rhinoglottophilia, similar to what was described by Matisoff (1975). He discovered that glottal consonants often occur with nasalization as a result of a lowered uvula which allows airflow through the nose resulting in nasalization of the vowel. Examples are given in (21).

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[47] Jaqcues notes that in Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ the velar fricatives are realized as uvulars before back vowels and as palatal fricatives before /i/ (Jacques 2011a:364).

[48] Historically these probably come from **s-*. Compare Mawo Qiang *qhsə* 'god', Ronghong Qiang *χsə* 'god', *sə* 'who', *ɕi* 'to release' probably palatalized from **si* (LaPolla, p.c.).

(20) /ɦĕj/ ~ [ɣĕj] 'to be unbalanced'
/ɦȍ/ ~ [ɣȍ] 'to sip (liquid)'
/ɦŏ/ ~ [ɣŏ] 'to eat *tsampa* with the hand'

(21) /ɦă/ ~ [ɣă] ~ [ŋă] (or [ɦ̃ă]) 'thick'
/ɦǎqûqû/ ~ [ŋǎqûqû] (or [ɦ̃ǎqûqû]) 'yellow'
/ɦǎjĭ ɕĭ/ ~ [ŋǎjĭ ɕĭ] (or [ɦ̃ǎjĭ ɕĭ]) 'to know'
/nəɦǎ/ ~ [nəɣǎ] 'twenty'

In the present analysis, there are no cavity fricatives followed by the back vowel /u/. No minimal pairs between [wu], [ɦu] and [ʁu] have been found and the same word is often pronounced with and without local (or cavity) friction by the same speaker. There seems to be a link between rising tone and local friction, with local friction occurring when the tone of the syllable is low or rising. I also have the impression that [ʁ] tends to occur between vowels, and [w] occurs word-initially. There are three ways of analysing the sequence [wu], [ɦu] or [ʁu]:

1. All underlyingly /wu/, but sometimes realized with more friction and uvularization as [ʁu]. This is consistent with my main consultant's intuition that these words all have /w/, but he can hear the friction sometimes as well.

2. All underlyingly /ɦu/, but because of the rounding of the vowel often perceived as [wu] and sometimes pronounced with slightly more friction as [ʁu]. This would be consistent with Matisoff's statement for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ that the glide /w/ is not followed by back rounded vowels, apart from a few words that he mentions like *wǒ* 'tiger', *wó* 'mouse' and *wò-mí* 'guest' (1997:174). These have a corresponding vowel /u/ in Wǎdū.[49]

3. Some words underlyingly /wu/ (pronounced [wu]) and some underlyingly /ɦu/ (pronounced [ʁu]). This would fit with the example words that Matisoff provides, but it would go against the intuition of my main consultant. Additionally, this analysis fails to explain the lack of contrastive pairs and the fact that the same word can sometimes be perceived without friction and sometimes with friction.

For the present purpose, the words in question are analysed as having underlyingly /w/ synchronically. The main reason for this is the lack of contrastive pairs between [ɦu], [ʁu] and [wu] and the intuition of my main consultant that all are underlyingly /wu/. Some words clearly have an underlying /w/, like the word *wûʐə* 'plowing ox' which has a female form *wêmi* 'female cow'. Additionally, there are some words that show that /w/ can be followed by a rounded vowel in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, and when that happens, /w/ is sometimes pronounced with more friction. The 'random reduplication'

[49] The only exception is *wò-mí* 'guest' which corresponds to *wɐmə̂* in Wǎdū.

(§7.4.1.3) of verbs with a /w/ in their basic stem, such as *wě* 'to prepare food', *wěj* 'to curse' and *wé* 'to pile up' is /wõwé/, /wõwéj/ and /wõwê/ respectively. The first syllable /wõ/ is sometimes realized with more friction as [ɦõ] or [ɦwõ].

Diachronically, however, the initial /w/ in forms that are synchronically /wu/ have possibly more than one source and some /w/ initials might have developed from velar or uvular consonants. The main argument for this is cross-dialectal. Both *wǔ* 'tiger' and *wú* 'rat' correspond with /ɣo/ in Lánpíng, Qìnghuā and Táobā[50], /ɣu/ in Niúwōzǐ and /wo/ in Dàyáng;[51] *wû* 'mountain' corresponds with /ɣɢo/ in Lánpíng[52] and /gu/ in Tuōzhī; *wû* 'dry' corresponds with /ɣu/ in Jiǔlońg and Táobā, and /ɢu/ in Lánpíng and Qìnghuā.[53] *nəwú* 'twenty' corresponds with /nəɢo/ in Lánpíng and Qìnghuā, /ɴoɣo/ in Jiǔlońg and /nəɣa/ in Táobā.[54] These cross-dialectal comparisons point to a process of consonant lenition that is going on in the language, where uvular or velar stops change to velar, uvular or cavity fricatives, and have lenited to such an extent in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ that in combination with a rounded back vowel they are indistinguishable from a bilabial approximant.

2.1.4 *Nasals*

The nasals can be divided into three series based on their place of articulation: bilabial, alveolar and velar. The bilabial and alveolar series have a voiced and a voiceless counterpart; the velar nasal lacks a voiceless counterpart. A sequence of minimal pairs for the set is shown in (22).

(22) /mǔ/ 'corpse'
/m̥ǔ/ 'oily'

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[50] Most corresponding forms are taken from Sūn Hóngkāi et al. (1991) Tibeto-Burman Phonology and Lexicon, henceforth 'TBPL', and Dài and Huáng et al. (1992) A Tibeto-Burman Lexicon, henceforth 'TBL'. Compare also: Ronghong Qiang *χu* 'tiger', *zexu* 'mouse', *ʁu* 'mountain', *juku* 'dry', *jusu* 'twenty' (LaPolla, p.c.); Japhug rGyalrong *khu* 'tiger', *βʐɯ* < **pju* 'rat', *zgo* 'mountain' (< Tibetan *sgang* 'mountain'), *spɯ* 'dry'; Situ rGyalrong *khuŋ* 'tiger', *pəju* 'rat' (Jacques, p.c.).

[51] For 'tiger' *ɣo*^{13} in Lánpíng (TBL 0304.09) and Qìnghuā (TBPL 124.11), *ɣo*^{35} in Táobā (TBPL 124.10), *ɣǔ* in Niúwōzǐ (Dīng 1998:323), *wǒ* in Dàyáng (Matisoff 1997:197). For 'rat' *ɣo*^{55} in Qìnghuā (TBPL 134.11) and *ɣo*^{53} in Táobā (TBPL 134.10).

[52] *ɣɢo*^{13} (TBL 0023.09).

[53] *(tɯ*^{55}*) ɣu*^{55} 'be dry' and *ɣu*^{11} *ɣu*^{55} 'dry' in Jiǔlońg (TBL 1333.10 and 1028.10), *ɢu*^{55} 'dry, be dry' in Lánpíng (TBL 1028.09 and 1333.09), *ɢu*^{55} 'dry' in Qìnghuā (TBPL 864.11) and *ɣu*^{55}*(mə*^{53}*)* 'dry' in Táobā (TBPL 864.10).

[54] *nə*^{13} *ɢo*^{55} in Lánpíng and Qìnghuā (TBL 0816.09 and TBPL 930.11), *no*^{55} *ɣo*^{55} in Jiǔlońg (TBL 0816.10) and *nə*^{35} *ɣa*^{53} in Táobā (TBPL 930.10).

/nǔ/ 'to know'
/n̥ǔ/ 'to pad'
/ŋǔ/ 'to reach'

Several sources mention a palatal nasal phoneme (Matisoff 1997:197, Lù 2001:7). Even though one could argue that there is a palatal nasal phoneme in Wǎdū, I have chosen to analyse these forms as palatalised alveolars. Palatalization is an important feature of the language and most often co-occurs with coronal consonants. Further discussion of palatalization is given in §2.1.6 and §2.1.7. An interesting development of a voiceless bilabial nasal is discussed in §2.1.4.1, and the velar nasal is discussed in §2.1.4.2.

2.1.4.1 Bilabial nasal

In the word *mə̂* or *m̥ə̂* for 'person' the voiced bilabial nasal is in free variation with its voiceless counterpart. It is strange that the clearly PTB reflex **mi* should have a voiceless nasal in Pǔmǐ. My main consultant considers that the voiceless nasal in that word is a later development in the Wēnquán area, and the other speech varieties do not have it; they have either *mî* or *mə̂* as reflexes (Gerong Pincuo, MS).[55]

It is interesting though that many compound words denoting human beings also show a voiceless nasal. This includes the words for 'male' *m̥ətɕʰóŋ* and 'female' *m̥ədʐæ̌*, 'old man' *m̥əgíŋ*, 'mortal, human being' *m̥ə̂ɖæŋmə*, which might point to a less recent date for the development of *mə̂* to *m̥ə̂*.

Some voiceless bilabial nasals reflect earlier proto-forms.[56] The voiceless nasal in *m̥ə̂* 'daughter' could be the result of a prefix in the proto-form.[57] Most other Pǔmǐ speech

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[55] But Jacques (p.c.) pointed out that the Japhug rGyalrung cognate has a cluster in (*tɯ-*)*rme* 'man' and although the Tibetan script has no cluster in *mi* 'man', in some dialects (like Cone) it has a high tone, which points to an ancient cluster. Thus a variant with a voiceless nasal in this speech variety of Pǔmǐ is not really surprising.

[56] As are some voiceless alveolar nasals. Compare *n̥ʲə̌* 'seven' from PTB **s-ni-s* versus *nə-/nǒŋ* 'two' (*nǐ* in some other Pumi speech varieties) from PTB **g-ni-s*.

[57] Cf. Bradley 1979:213, who gives *C-mi^2 for Proto-Ngwi/Proto-Loloish (*C = *bdgrl prefixes elsewhere), and Matisoff 2003:28, who gives the reconstructed Proto-Lolo-Burmese form **za^2-mi$^{2/3}$* for 'daughter' and the form *səmî* for Written Burmese. In Rawang (LaPolla, p.c.), the word for 'daughter' is *səmare*; another form *àngcèmè* is derived from a noun-forming prefix *ang-*, *ce* 'child' from PTB **za* ~ **tsa* 'child' and a female marker derived from PTB **ma* 'mother'; *sə* and *ce* are possibly reflexes of Matisoff's reconstructed **za* ~ **tsa* 'child', with reduction of the unstressed syllable in the former. In Japhug rGyalrong (Jacques, p.c.), the word for 'daughter' is tɯ-me with the indefinite possessor prefix tɯ-. It is possible that the voiceless nasal in Pǔmǐ

varieties also show a voiceless nasal in the word for 'daughter'.[58] And the word for 'medicine' *m̥íŋ* seems to be a reflex of the PTB form **s-man*.[59] The word *m̥ǽ* 'hair' has a voiceless nasal only in the Wǎdū and Yǔchū speech varieties (Gerong Pincuo, MS). However, this seems to reflect the PTB form **s-mul* (see note 62).

2.1.4.2 Velar nasal

The velar nasal is relatively infrequent,[60] but it does occur before different vowels. Unlike the other nasals, it does not have a voiceless counterpart. Interestingly, Lù's data from the 50's and 80's document the presence of a voiceless velar nasal in all the northern speech varieties, including Tuōqī Pǔmǐ (Lù 2001:61), spoken in the same valley as Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The southern speech varieties do not have a voiceless velar nasal (Lù 2001) and Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ does not have velar nasals at all (Dīng 1998:13). It could be that Wǎdū Pǔmǐ only recently lost the voiceless velar nasal.

(23)	/ŋɛ́j/ ~ /ŋǽ/ ~ /ŋæ̋̃/[61]	'gold'
	/níŋɛ̂jŋɛ̂j/	'glowing (of embers)'
	/ɖʐɐŋɛ́j/	'wasp'
	/ŋá/	'dare'
	/ŋwɛ̂/	'five'
	/ŋõ/ ~ /nʲõ/	'silver, money'[62]

(and Lolo-Burmese) reflects a proto-form where an indefinite possessor prefix was reinterpreted as part of the root when the system collapsed.

[58] *m̥õ*^{35}*ba*^{35} (Táobā) and *m̥i*^{13}*by*^{55}*ba*^{13} (Qìnghuā) (Matisoff 2003:187); *m̥î* (Sānjiè, Gélǔdiàn, Kāngwū); *m̥ə́lì* (Dōngzi, Bókē, Gùzēng) (Gerong Pincuo, MS).

[59] Or more likely a borrowing from Tibetan *sman*, cf. Japhug *smɤn* (Jaqcues, p.c.).

[60] Cf. also Matisoff 1997:197 who only provides two examples for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ: *ŋóuN* 'silver, money' which corresponds to Wǎdū /ŋõ/ (where there is also a variation with /nʲõ/) and *ŋǒN, thə-ŋóN* 'stand idle'. Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ lacks a velar nasal altogether (Dīng 1998:13).

[61] It is sometimes difficult to establish which form is the basic form, but in this instance a case can be made for *ŋɛ́j*, as this form appears in the morphologically more complex forms *níŋɛ̂jŋɛ̂j* and *ɖʐɐŋɛ́j*, also listed in (23). There appears to be a vowel split, with speech varieties located to the south of Wǎdū often showing reflexes with [æ] and speech varieties to the north in Mùlǐ showing reflexes with [ɛj] (Gerong Pincuo, MS). A similar split of southern and northern varieties can be observed with the word for 'silver' that has the reflex [ŋõ] to the south and [nʲõ] to the north of Wǎdū. In Wǎdū, both words for 'silver' are used.

[62] The PTB form for 'silver' is **d-ŋul.* The PTB form **ul* gives a nasalized vowel reflex in several other forms as well: **s-mul* > *m̥ǽŋ* 'hair'; **bul* > *bóŋ* 'tree'. However, this is not the same nasalized vowel in the three forms.

The velar nasal also occurs as a free variation of the cavity fricative /ɦ/ in the following words (see the discussion in §2.1.3.3):

(24)	/ɦǎ/ ~ [ŋǎ]	'thick'
	/ɦǎŋqûqû/ ~ [ŋǎŋqûqû]	'yellow'
	/ɦæŋjǐ ɕǐ/ ~ [ŋǎŋjǐ ɕǐ]	'to know'

2.1.5 *Liquids*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has two liquid series: an alveolar lateral series and a retroflex approximant rhotic series. Both distinguish voicing. Minimal pairs are given in (25) and (26). One could also analyse the voiceless lateral as a lateral fricative, since sometimes more frication can be observed (this is the approach Dīng (1998:15) takes). But from a structural point of view it can be argued that the pair is based on a voicing distinction, like the rhotic series and the nasal series.

(25)	/lǔ/	'to hang (sth on sth)'
	/l̥ǔ/	'forehead'
(26)	/ɻû/	'chicken'
	/ɻ̥û/	'pine torch'

In his transcription my main consultant sometimes showed inconsistencies between [ɻ] and [ʐ], but when asked, he was able to distinguish very clearly between the two. Some speech varieties actually have a corresponding [ʐ].[63]

The voiceless retroflex approximant rhotic in Wǎdū /ɻ̥/ corresponds to the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ in some speech varieties.[64]

2.1.6 *Glides*

In Chinese descriptive tradition the approximants /w/ and /j/ are usually analysed together with the vowels as part of the rhyme. This is the approach that Dīng (1998) takes. Dīng's reasons for analysing the glides as part of the rhyme are economic (1998:19) and in order to simplify the description of the vowel change in verb inflection that involves glides as well (1998:20).

Matisoff (1997b:173-174) discusses the issue of analysing glides as part of the initial or as part of the rhyme for /w/ in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ and talks about three different phonemic scenarios: if a glide only occurs after certain consonants, it might be analysed

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[63] Pāntiāngé and Sānjiè (Gerong Pincuo, MS). Most speech varieties in Mùlǐ have a tap [ɾ] (Dōngzi, Xiàmàidì, Bókē, Gùzēng) or a trill [r] (Kāngwū and Xiǎngshuǐhé) (data all taken from Gerong Pincuo's wordlist, except for Xiǎngshuǐhé which is taken from personal notes).

[64] Yǔchū, Dōngzi, Xiàmàidì, Bókē, Gùzēng, Kāngwū (all in Mùlǐ), and Tuōzhī and Sānjiè. It has a corresponding [h] in Pāntiāngé.

as part of the initial; if it only occurs before certain vowels, it can be analysed as part of the rhyme; if it occurs in relatively unrestricted positions, it can be analysed as a structurally separate part of the syllable. Matisoff applies the arguments only to the /w/ glide and notes that its occurrence in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ is relatively unrestricted: /w/ occurs after all consonants except for labials and before all vowels except the back rounded vowels /u, o, ou/. At the beginning of a word /w/ occurs freely before all vowels as the initial consonant (1997:174). He analyses both /j/ and /w/ glides as part of an initial consonant cluster.

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ both /w/ and /j/ can occur as the onset of a syllable, and also appear as off-glides in the diphthongs /ɑw/ and /ɛj/, as in (27) and (28).

(27)	/wɛ̌j/	'to curse'
	/wɛ̌/	'to prepare food'
	/wâ/	'to sprout'
	/wɛ̂̃/	'to have learned'
(28)	/jæ̂/	'tobacco'
	/jõ̂/	'to pick up'
	/jɛ̌j/	'to get'
	/jǐ/	'conch'
	/jɑ̌w/	'Ch:again'

In addition, the glide /w/ (and its allophone [ɥ], see §2.1.7.3) is relatively unrestricted: it occurs with all consonants except bilabials and the cavity fricative /ɦ/ and all vowels except the rounded vowels /u/, and /õ/.[65] It could therefore be analysed as a medial consonant that forms a consonant cluster with an initial consonant. Consonant clusters are given in Table 2.5.

The glide /j/ is severely restricted in its occurrence with consonants: it can only occur with roughly half of the consonants, the consonants of the 'palatal group' (as described below in §2.1.7.1). It appears with all vowels (/ɛj, æ, ə, ɐ, u, õ, ɑw, ɑ/) except the high vowel /i/ and the nasalised front vowels /ĩ/, /ẽ/ and /æ̃/. I will therefore analyse it as palatalization of the initial. A list of palatalised consonants is given in Table 2.5.

There are multiple examples with a palatalised initial combined with the labial-velar medial /w/. Phonetically this sounds like the presence of a labial-palatal glide [ɥ].[66] Some examples are given in (29). When these words are pronounced, the lips are clearly rounded and the tongue moves towards the hard palate during the production of the initial.

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[65] Bilabials and rounded vowels are inherently labialized.

[66] Both Dīng (1998:19) and Chan (MS:21) analyse a separate /ɥ/ phoneme.

(29)	/dʲwé/ [dɥé]	‘to become thin’
	/lʲwě/ [lɥě]	‘ashes’
	/lʲwě/ [lɥě]	‘to smear’
	/n̥ʲən̥ʲwǽ/ [n̥ʲən̥ɥǽ]	‘to smell’
	/hʲwǽ/ [çɥæ]	‘to flaunt’

This is opposed to the near-minimal pair examples in (30) with only palatalization, where the lips are clearly unrounded during production, and the near-minimal pair examples in (31) that have only labialization: the lips are rounded, but the tongue does not move towards the hard palate.

(30)	/dʲě/	‘boat’
	/lʲěmǎtȁ/	‘no use’
	/nʲǽ/	‘eye’
	/hʲǎ-/	‘IN:Q-’ (directional verb prefix)
(31)	/də̂dwɐ/	‘to ask’
	/l̥wě/	‘gaze:PFV:N.EGO’
	/gwǎ/	‘to sing’

Even though phonetically the combination of palatalization and the labial-velar glide sounds like a labial-palatal glide [ɥ], I do not posit a separate phoneme /ɥ/ for the words in (29). My main argument for this is morpho-phonological. Many controllable verbs have an alternate non-egophoric stem form with an infix <w> (§8.1.1), as in (32). When the basic form of a verb has a palatalised initial, the non-egophoric form displays a combination of palatalization and labialization as a result of the labial-velar infix <w>. This phonetically appears as [ɥ].

(32)	/lwěj/ [lwěj]	‘sow:PFV:N.EGO’ (</lěj/ ‘to sow’)
	/hʲwéj/ [çɥéj]	‘take along:PFV:N.EGO’ (</hʲéj/ ‘to take along’)
	/dʲwê/ [dɥê]	‘have.intercourse:PFV:N.EGO’ (</dʲê/ ‘to have intercourse’)
	/n̥ʲwê/ [n̥ɥê]	‘pour:PFV:N.EGO’ (</n̥ʲê/ ‘to pour’)

Table 2.5 lists the palatalised consonants and the consonant clusters with the labial-velar /w/. In the next section more will be discussed about palatalization, labialization and consonant grouping.

Table 2.5. Palatalised consonants and consonant clusters

Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular
pʲ	tʲ/tw/tʲw	ʈw		kw	
pʰʲ	tʰʲ/tʰw	ʈʰw		kʰw	
bʲ	dʲ/dw/dʲw	ɖw		gw	
	tsw	ʈʂw	tɕw		
	tsʰw	ʈʂʰw	tɕʰw		
	dzw	ɖʐw	dʑw		
	sw	ʂw	ɕw		hʲ/hw/hʲw
	zw	ʐw	ʑw		
mʲ	nʲ/nw/nʲw			ŋw	
	n̥ʲ/n̥w/n̥ʲw				
	lʲ/lw/lʲw	ɻw			
	l̥ʲ/l̥w	ɻ̥w			
			jw		

2.1.7 *Consonant grouping*

I would like to posit a distinction in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ consonants similar to that described by Dīng for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. Dīng (1998:13) groups consonants into two sets, based on whether or not they can co-occur with the palatal glide. In his analysis, this is an important distinction to make, since it helps explain the behaviour of the vowels.

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the division of consonants into two groups, a palatal and a non-palatal group, is based on four phenomena.[67] The first is the ability of certain consonants to be palatalised: this group of consonants I will call the 'palatal group'. The second is that when the consonants of the 'non-palatal group' are followed by the high front vowel /i/, the vowel is slightly lowered and centralized. This does not happen with the consonants in the 'palatal group': the /i/ will be pronounced as a normal high front vowel. The third phenomenon is the allophonic variation shown by the glide /w/: when it follows a consonant of the 'palatal group' and is followed by the high front vowel /i/, /w/ is pronounced as a rounded palatal glide [ɥ]. The fourth phenomenon is the

[67] Note that these groups do not form a natural class and thus there must have been something else that caused the grouping. It would be interesting to conduct more indepth research and compare this to the uvularization phenomenon in Mawo Qiang (Qiang is considered the closest relative of Pumi), where two groups of vowels are distinguished based on the presence or absence of uvularization (Sūn and Evans 2013). The phenomenon of vowel retraction in Wadu Pumi is especially interesting in this light (§2.1.7.2).

fronting of the directional prefix *qʰə̆-* 'outwards' to *kʰə̆-* before verbs that start with a consonant of the 'palatal group' and are followed by a high front vowel. In this section I will treat each phenomenon in more detail and discuss a possible explanation for this consonant grouping. The two groups of consonants are shown in Table 2.6.

The consonants belonging to the *palatal group* are shaded. The other consonants, the *non-palatal group*, have not been shaded. The velars occupy an in-between position as can be seen from the discussion below and indicated by lighter shading, but I have analysed them as belonging to the 'palatal group'.

Table 2.6 The *palatal group* consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular	Cavity
Stops	p	t	ʈ		k	q	
	pʰ	tʰ	ʈʰ		kʰ	qʰ	
	b	d	ɖ		g		
Affricates		ts	ʈʂ	tɕ			
		tsʰ	ʈʂʰ	tɕʰ			
		dz	ɖʐ	dʑ			
Fricatives		s	ʂ	ɕ			h
		z	ʐ	ʑ			ɦ
Nasals	m	n			ŋ		
	m̥	n̥					
Liquids		l	ɻ				
		l̥	ɻ̥				
Approximants	w			j			

2.1.7.1 The first phenomenon: co-occurrence with the palatal glide

The palatal glide only occurs with consonants belonging to the 'palatal group'. In my data, I have no examples of the palatal glide occurring after any other consonants.[68] The alveopalatals are inherently palatal. Some examples of the occurrence of the glide are shown in (33).

(33)	/p^{hj}û/	'push.over:IMP:SG'
	/b^{j}ǒ/	'fly:IMP:SG'
	/t^{j}ú/	'stomach (non-cud chewers)'
	/t^{hj}ǎw/	'steep (downhil)'
	/ê̤d^{j}æ/	'grandmother'
	/n^{j}ǒ/	'money'
	/n̥^{j}ě/	'to pour'
	/l^{j}ǎ/	'lot, fate' (<Tibetan *las*)
	/mɐl̥^{j}ú/	'tail'
	/h^{j}ǔ/ [çǎu]	'to want to eat'

There is no example of a palatalised velar nasal in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, but there are some occurrences of palatalised velar stops, as shown in (34).

(34)	/kælí/ ~ [k^{j}ǽlí]	'small alcohol jar'
	/k^{h}ǎ/ ~ [k^{hj}ǎ]	'basket'
	/gǽ/ ~ [g^{j}ǽ]	'happy, beautiful'

However, I analyse palatalization in combination with velar stops as phonetic rather than phonemic, since palatalization only happens in combination with the vowel /æ/; palatalization of velar stops does not occur with any other vowel. Additionally, palatalization and non-palatalization of the consonant when followed by /æ/ seems to be in free variation: there are no minimal pairs and the same speaker will sometimes pronounce a word with a clearly audible palatalization of the consonant and sometimes without it. My main consultant's intuition is that these words are underlyingly not palatalised. This agrees with Matisoff who notes that there are no 'velar-plus-y clusters' in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (1997:174).

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[68] But compare Dàyáng Pǔmǐ, where dental affricates /ts, ts^{h}, dz/ and fricatives /s/ can be palatalized (Matisoff 1997:185,191; his [y] indicates a palatalized consonant, [^{j}] in my transcription). In the words that I have correspondences for, the Wǎdū consonant is either a plain non-palatalized alveolar or an alveopalatal: [tsyòuN gwí] versus [tɕõ̀gú] 'clothing', [tshyóuN] versus [ts^{h}ô̤] 'short', [tshyòuN dzù mí] versus [ts^{h}ɔ̀pæ̂] 'trader', [má qə̀ tsyě] versus [má q^{h}ɛ́tsɛ̀j] 'mother's younger sister', [syú] versus [ɕú] 'paddy' and [yɛ́ syě] versus [jésə̀] 'arrow'.

Palatalization with velar stops seems to be the result of influence from the following front vowel /æ/: the tongue-body movement between the release of the velar stop and the formation of the front vowel creates a transition effect that is perceived as palatalization of the velar stop. Thus I will not propose a separate series of palatalised velar stops for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

In my data there is only one example of a palatalised bilabial nasal: the interjection *êmi* that is sometimes pronounced as *êmʲæ*. The palatalised bilabial series seems to have collapsed with the palatalised alveolar series in Wǎdū. Both Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ and Dàyáng Pǔmǐ have words with palatalised bilabials, but for some of those examples I have words with a corresponding palatalised alveolar nasal in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. One example is the word for 'eye', as shown in (35). Added to the Niúwōzǐ and Dàyáng data are data from Gerong Pincuo's wordlist.

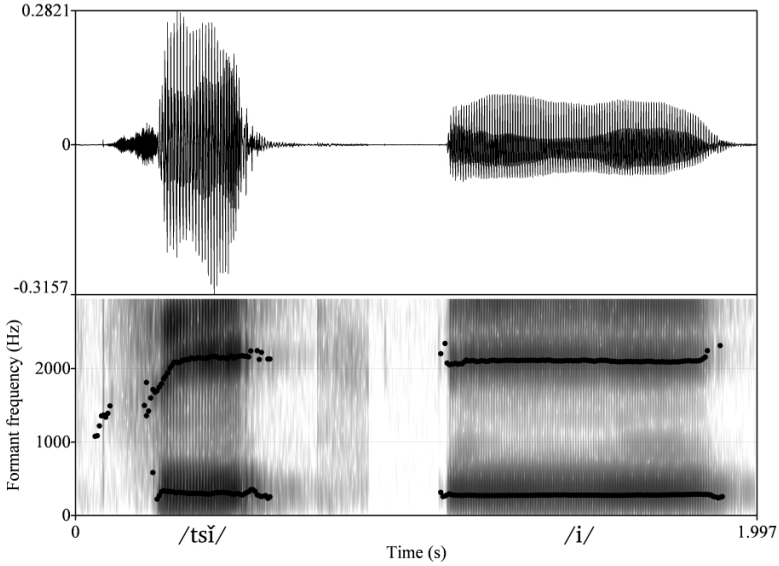
(35)	/mjé/	Niúwōzǐ (Dīng 1998:112)
	/myɒ̀N/	Dàyáng (Matisoff 1997:196)
	[mʲê̞o]	Tuōzhī
	[mʲâ]	Pāntiāngé, Sānjiè
	[ɲjɛ̂]	Gélǔdiàn
	[nʲæ̂]	Wǎdū, Dōngzi, Gùzēng, Kāngwū
	[ɲjuâ]	Xiàmàidì
	[ɲjuæ̂]	Bókē

2.1.7.2 The second phenomenon: vowel retraction

When the high front vowel /i/ is preceded by consonants belonging to the non-palatal group, it is slightly lowered and centralized at the onset of the vowel to [ɵi].[69] This retraction does not happen when the vowel is preceded by consonants belonging to the palatal group. Speakers do not make a phonemic distinction between the retracted and non-retracted forms, but perceive it as one type of sound. The retraction is clearly shown in Figure 2.2. The first sound is the word /tsǐ/ [tsɵi] 'to erect', the second sound is the clear vowel [i] pronounced without initial consonant.

[69] The close-mid central vowel [ɵ] is a little bit higher and more fronted than the shwa [ə].

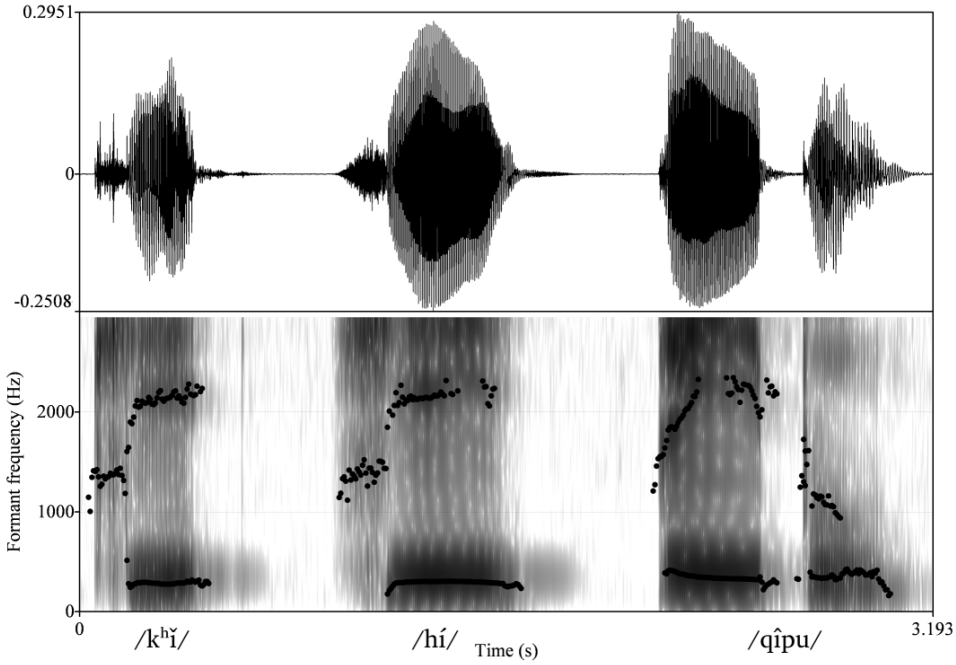
Figure 2.2. Vowel retraction of /i/ in /tsǐ/



An initial look at the vowel formants F1 and F2 of 40 retracted and 15 non-retracted tokens using Praat software (Boersma and Weenink 2009) shows that the range of F1 values for the retracted [əi] is 276-426Hz (with a mean of 306 Hz), as opposed to 271-322Hz (with a mean of 272Hz) for the non-retracted [i]. The range of F2 values for [əi] is 1543-2230Hz (with a mean of 2089Hz) as opposed to 1992-2327Hz (with a mean of 2153Hz) for [i]. This means that the retracted /i/ that occurs with the consonants of the non-palatal group is slightly lower and slightly more central than the non-retracted /i/ that occurs with consonants of the palatal group. The contour of the lowered, centralized /i/ shows a rising pattern in its F2: the start of the vowel is 452Hz lower than the end, which means that the vowel starts more centralized and becomes more front.

In relation to this phenomenon, the velars and the cavity fricatives clearly belong to the 'palatal group', and the uvulars to the 'non-palatal group'. Figure 2.3 is an example of a velar stop, a cavity fricative and a uvular stop followed by /i/ in the words /k^{h}ǐ/ 'to grab', /hí/ [çí] 'god' and /qîpu/ [qəípù] 'cuckoo' respectively. As can be seen, the F2 formant in the initial syllable of /qîpu/ is clearly lowered compared to that of the other example words. I have no examples of a velar nasal followed by /i/.

Figure 2.3. Vowel retraction of /i/ in /qîpu/



The retraction is especially clear with the alveolar affricates and fricatives, and seems to be influenced by tone as well: the retraction is the most apparent with a low or rising tone.

(36)	/tsǐ/ [tsəǐ]	'to cut, chop'
	/tsʰǐ/ [tsʰəǐ]	'salt'
	/dzǐ/ [dzəǐ]	'to splash'
	/sǐ/ [səǐ]	'Sichuan pepper'
	/zǐ/ [zəǐ]	'to brocade'
	/ʈǐ/ [ʈəǐ]	'mule'
	/ʈʰî/ [ʈʰəî]	'to tear'
	/ɖǐ/ [ɖəǐ]	'to sew'
	/ʐǐ/ [ʐəǐ]	'drying rack'
	/ʐ̥î/ [ʐ̥əî]	'to sweat'
	/qípù/ [qəípù]	'cuckoo'

Matisoff also mentions something similar in his Dàyáng phonology: 'the vowel /i/ is pronounced further back after palatal fricative or affricate initials, almost like a fronted barred-i [ɨ˂]' (1997:200). As examples he gives three words:

(37)	/ʑí/	'month'
	/ʃí/	'hundred'
	/kó tʃí/	'speech'

The examples he gives all have post-alveolar or retroflex fricatives and affricate initials (1997:200). Even though many of the examples have alveopalatal counterparts in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ (compare the examples in Table 2.7), it is still interesting that the sounds Matisoff mentions are the sounds considered as part of the 'non-palatal group' in Wǎdū, the group that shows the retraction.

Table 2.7 Dàyáng retroflexes and post-alveolars versus Wǎdū alveopalatals

Dàyáng	Wǎdū	Meaning
/ptʃhí/	/tɕʰwí/	'good'
/bdʒǐN/	/dʑwǐŋ/	'to become light'
/dʐǐ/	/dʑǐ/	'waist'
/ʃtʃĩ/	/ɕî/	'village'
/ʃí/	/ɕí/	'hundred'
/ʂíʂǐ/	/ɕíɕì ~ ɕǐ/	'new'
/ʐí/	/ʑí/	'month'

Another detail that could possibly point to vowel retraction is Matisoff's transcription of a set of words with the dipthong [ei] (1997:200). This diphthong is not part of his vowel chart. Apart from one example, the words that he transcribes all start with a consonant of what I analyse as the 'non-palatal group' in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, and the corresponding words in Wǎdū have the retracted /i/. Compare the words in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8 Possible occurrences of vowel retraction in Dàyáng

Dàyáng	Wǎdū	Meaning
/ʈʰéi/	/ʈʰî/ [ʈʰəî]	'to cut (e.g. meat)'
/ɖěi/	/ɖǐ/ [ɖəǐ]	'to sew'
/rěi/	/ɻǐ/ [ɻəǐ]	'to be burned'
/pʂʰéi/	/ʈʰwî/ [ʈʰwəî]	'ale'
/pʐéi wú/	/ʈwíwu/ [ʈwəíwú]	'Year of the Monkey'

On the other hand, Matisoff transcribes several words with a fricative or affricate followed by /i/ without mentioning anything about a centralization of the vowel, like the word for 'salt', (/tsʰǐ/ [tsʰəǐ] in Wǎdū) which he transcribes as *tsʰǐ* as well, but without mentioning anything about a vowel centralization (1997:200).

2.1.7.3 The third phenomenon: the palatalization of the labial-velar glide /w/

The labial-velar glide /w/ shows allophonic variation with the rounded palatal glide [ɥ]. In his phonology of Dàyáng Pǔmǐ, Matisoff notes in passing that /w/ is realized as [ɥ] 'in some words with a high front vowel' and he gives four example words (1997:174). Jacques, working on Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ, is a little bit more precise in his formulation and states that 'the glide -w- is realized [-ɥ-] after a coronal consonant and before a front vowel' (2011:363). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the [ɥ] realization does occur with front vowels and coronal sounds, but not with all front vowels and not with all coronal sounds. A better way to describe what is happening is to say that the glide /w/ is realized [ɥ] after a 'palatal group' consonant and before a high front vowel.[70] In combination with an alveopalatal or a palatalised consonant, the allophone occurs before all front vowels:

(38)	/ʑwǐ/ [ʑɥǐ]	'rob:PFV:N.EGO'
	/ɕwî/ [ɕɥî]	'lunch'
	/tɕʰwǎ/ [tɕʰɥǎ]	'pig'
	/jwěj/ [jɥěj]	'bring:PFV:N.EGO'
	/n̥ʲən̥ʲwǽ/ [n̥ʲən̥ɥǽ]	'to smell'

The allophone [ɥ] occurs after the alveolar series when followed by the front vowels /i/ and /ĩ/, as in (39), but not with other front vowels, as in (40).

(39)	/twǐ/ [tɥǐ]	'put down:PFV:N.EGO'
	/dwǐ̌/ [dɥǐ̌]	'swallow:PFV:N.EGO'
	/n̥wí/ [n̥ɥí]	'sister (used by males)'
	/lwî/ [lɥî]	'roll:PFV:N.EGO'
(40)	/twéj/ [twěj]	'wind:PFV:N.EGO'
	/lwěj/ [lwěj]	'sow:PFV:N.EGO'

Of the 'palatal group' consonants, the velar stops follow one of two patterns: followed by the glide /w/ and the high vowels /i/ or /ĩ/, the glide can either become palatalised to [ɥ] as the result of the following high vowel, or remain unchanged. In the latter case the vowel /i/ will be lowered to [ɘi] under the influence of /w/. Followed by any other vowel the glide is unchanged.

(41)	/gwǐ̌/ [gɥǐ̌] ~ [gwɘ̌i]	'horse'
	/kwǐ/ [kɥǐ] ~ [kwɘi]	'give to drink:PFV:N.EGO'

[70] Note that this analysis does not deal with the fact that three of the four example words that Matisoff (1997b:174) gives actually start with a consonant from the 'non-palatal' group. Nevertheless, the corresponding words for 'liver' and 'pull' in Wǎdū are pronounced with an alveolar consonant and a lowered /i/: [tswê̂ⁱ] and [tswé̂ⁱ] and not [ɥi] and the word for 'shoe' is /pʉ́qɑ/.

/kwǎ̈/ [kwǎ̈]	‘bit (of horse bridle)’
/kwê̈j/ [kwê̈j]	‘let:PFV:N.EGO’

Sometimes [ɥi] is pronounced as a simple vowel [y], but upon careful repetition the onglide [ɥ] and a clear [i] are audible. This analysis is in contrast with that of Dīng (1998:21) who analyses /y/ as a phoneme and notes that it sometimes is pronounced with an offglide as [y^{i}]. In the majority of cases where [ɥi] appears, it is in the non-egophoric forms of verbs that have a vowel [i] in their basic stem. [ɥ] is an infix marking non-egophoricity and an allophone of [w] that phonologically appears in the environments specified above. In example (42) the first verb shows the allophonic form of the infix; the second verb shows the unchanged form.

(42)	/tǐ/	‘to put’	> /twǐ/ [tɥǐ]	‘put:PFV:N.EGO’
	/tǎ/	‘to hammer’	> /twǎ/	‘hammer:PFV:N.EGO’

2.1.7.4 The fourth phenomenon: the fronting of the directional prefix

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, classifying the consonants into two groups not only accounts for aspects of the phonology, but also the morphophonology.

The directional verb prefix ‘outwards’ has two forms that differ only in their first consonant: a default form /q^{h}ə̆-/ and a fronted form /k^{h}ə̆-/. The fronted form only co-occurs with verb roots that start with the consonants found in the ‘palatal group’. If the verb starts with an alveopalatal, it always takes the fronted prefix, independent of the vowel of the verb.

(43)	/k^{h}ə-tɕ^{h}ǎw/	‘to rub’
	/k^{h}ə-dʑôŋ/	‘to be pierced’
	/k^{h}ə-ɕí/	‘to ooze’
	/k^{h}ə-jɛ̌j/	‘to get’

When the prefix occurs with the bilabial and alveolar consonants of the ‘palatal group’, the fronted prefix only occurs if the initial consonant of the verb is palatalised or the vowel of the verb is /i/. This can be clearly seen from the near-minimal pairs in the two sets of verbs in (44) and from the two occurrences of the same verb found in a single line of text in (45): the basic form of the verb ‘to flee’ /p^{h}ǐ/ with the vowel /i/ takes the prefix /k^{h}ə̆-/; the inflected form /p^{h}ǎ̈/ with the vowel /æ/ takes the prefix /q^{h}ə̆-/.

(44)	/k^{h}ə-bîŋ/	‘to fly’	/q^{h}ə-bɯ́/	‘to heap up’
	/k^{h}ə-dǐ/	‘to throw’	/q^{h}ə-dɛ̌j/	‘to stick’
	/k^{h}ə-nǐ/	‘to sprout’	/q^{h}ə-nǎ̈/	‘to press’
	/k^{h}ə-n̥^{j}ě/	‘to pour’	/q^{h}ə-n̥ǎ̈/	‘to become slow’

/kʰə-l̥ʲõl̥í/ ‘to casually twine rope’ /qʰə-l̥ɔ̃̂/ ‘to uproot’
/(kʰə-)m̥ǐŋ/ ‘to be cooked, be ripe’[71] /qʰə-m̥ə̌/ ‘to blow’

(45) (nǒŋ dəbǔ tɕəmá-kóŋ = wù kʰù-dʑì kʰə́-pʰíŋ
two:CLF:thing then central.room-door = in out-location OUT-flee

qʰə̀-ʂə́j kʰì = là), swǽŋ dəbǔ kʰù-dʑì
OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO time = also father then out-location

qʰə́-pʰǽŋ kʰì = là
OUT-flee:PFV:N.EGO time = also

‘When [two (of them) fled outwards to the door of the central room...] when the father fled outwards, (...)’ (TC04.36)

The velars are again a special case. Verbs that start with a velar consonant always take /kʰə̌-/ form of the prefix, no matter what the vowel of the verb is. This could be ascribed to place assimilation.

(46) /kʰə-gwǎ/ ‘to weed’
/kʰə-ŋǔ/ ‘to reach’

For the cavity fricatives no minimal pairs have been attested in the corpus, but my main consultant indicated his preference for /kʰə̌-/ for verbs starting with /h/ and with a high front vowel or palatalization, and /qʰə̌-/ for the other verbs.

(47) /kʰə-hʲə̌/ [kʰə̀-çə̌] ‘to hit with something’
/qʰə-ɦǒŋ/ ‘to eat *tsampa* with the hand’

It is interesting that when a verb that would normally be prefixed with the form *qʰə̌-* is negated using the negation marker *mí*, the prefix often changes to *kʰə̌-*. But it is not always the case as can be seen from example (48).

(48) gwéŋ = gǽ ɕí = là qʰə̀-mí = pʰû
horse = GEN saddle = also OUT-NEG = take.off

‘(...) the horse’s saddle had not even been taken off (...)’ (YJ01.25)

2.1.7.5 Discussion of consonant grouping

As described above, a distinction can be made with the Pǔmǐ consonantal system depending on four different phenomena. The main motivation that can be given for

[71] Actually, this verb does not take the ‘outwards’ prefix, but if my main consultant could choose between the two forms of the prefix, he would choose /kʰə̌-/. This shows that there is clearly some rule, judging from the ability of the main consultant to predict the prefix for forms that would not actually co-occur with the ‘outwards’ prefix.

this distinction seems to be physiological: the position of the tongue body and assimilation effects.

Flemming, in his 2003 article on the relationship between coronal place and vowel backness, discusses vowel fronting and vowel retraction as a result of assimilation to the position of the tongue body and gives examples of the influence of vowels on consonants and vice versa from a number of different languages. He especially focuses on coronals. Dentals, alveolars and palato-alveolars are produced with a fronted tongue body, whereas retroflex sounds are produced with a retracted tongue body (2003:337). The movement of the tongue body facilitates the production of the coronal (2003:337).

Ladefoged (2007:163) talks about gestural targets that need to be reached. If the tongue shape is such that the transition from one gestural target to another takes extra effort, acoustic side effects are to be expected. A language can develop constraints on the co-occurrence of sounds through the implementation of harmonization rules.

Alveolar fricatives and affricates are formed with a grooved tongue shape; retroflex sounds are formed with an apical, rather than laminal, tongue shape and a retracted tongue body; and uvulars are formed with a retracted tongue body. This could then explain why their co-occurrence with the high front vowel /i/ or palatalization would prove difficult.

As in the case of the palatalised velars, where palatalization can be described as a transition effect (§2.1.7.1), vowel lowering with grooved or apical consonants might also be interpreted as a transition effect.

The basic division then is between laminal coronal consonants with fronted tongue body, and the apical and grooved consonants with retracted tongue body. This division plays out in other areas, for example the fronting of the directional prefix. Tongue-body movement during release of the consonant creates a transition effect that is perceived as palatalization of the non-retroflex coronal consonant.

The velars have been included in the palatal group, even though their behaviour is transitional, since they do not occur palatalised (apart from when they are followed by /æ/), they show variation in the realization of the bilabial glide and its allophone [ɥ], and they occur with the fronted prefix *kʰə̌-* regardless of which vowel the verb has. This behaviour is different from most of the other palatal group consonants (except for the alveopalatals) and could also be explained in terms of place harmony: the uvular consonant of the prefix assimilating to the velar initial of the verb. But Dīng (1998:13) includes them in his J-group (my palatalizing group) and since this seems to be a feature of Pǔmǐ in general I have also included them here.

2.2 Vowels

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has six single oral vowels, four nasal vowels and three diphthongs. Since I am treating the glides /j/and /w/ as palatalization and labialization features of the initial and syllable respectively (§2.1.6), the number of finals is substantially lower than that given for other speech varieties (cf. Dīng 1998:20 who treats the glides as part of the rhyme and lists 31 monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs). Below is the composite chart of the oral and nasal vowels and diphthongs.

Table 2.9 Composite chart of vowels

		Front		Central		Back	
		-round	+round	-round	+round	-round	+round
High	Oral	i			ʉ		u
	Nasal	ĩ					
Mid	Oral	ɛj [e] / (ej)		ə			ɑw [o]
	Nasal	ẽ					õ
Low	Oral	æ		ɐ		ɑ	
	Nasal	æ̃					

(Near)-mininal pairs with the different vowels and diphthongs are given in (49). Oral vowels are discussed §2.2.1 and nasal vowels in §2.2.2.

(49) /pǐ/ 'belly'
/pǐ̌/ 'grove'
/pɛ̌j/ 'older sibling'
/tə́/ 'this'
/pʰêj/ 'Ugh!' (interjection of disgust)
/bə̂̂/ 'pile.up:IMP:PL'
/pǎe/ 'brightly coloured'
/pǎ̌e/ 'to pass through'
/pě/ 'flour'
/pǎ/ 'leaf'
/pú/ 'wild dog'
/pâw/ 'do:IMP:SG'
/pə̂́/ 'official, king' (<Tibetan *dpon* 'minister, official')

2.2.1 *Oral vowels*

The oral vowels and diphthongs are shown in Table 2.10. In connected speech, the diphthongs /ɛj/ and /ɑw/ are often realized as single vowels [e] and [o] respectively, but when they are repeated slowly a clear diphthong is audible.

Table 2.10 Oral vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
	-round	+round	-round	+round	-round	+round
High	i			ʉ		u
Mid	ɛj [e] / (ej)		ə		ɑw [o]	
Low	æ		ɐ		ɑ [72]	

When comparing the Wǎdū speech variety with other Pǔmǐ speech varieties, it seems that a split occurred in the vowel system that involved the vowels *e and *o: the *e and *o of proto-Wǎdū Pǔmǐ split, merged with /i/ and /u/ in some words and changed to diphthongs /ɛj/ and /ɑw/ in other words. Many words with /o/ or /e/ in other speech varieties have a corresponding /u/ or /i/ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Some comparisons with Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (data from Dīng 1998) are shown in Table 2.11.[73]

Table 2.11 Vowels /o, e/ versus /u, i/

Niúwōzǐ	Wǎdū	Meaning
/to/	/tû/	'top, on' (1998:113,156)
/bo/	/bu/	'TOP' (1998:158ea)
/po/	/pu/	'below' (1998:110)
/bô/	/bû/	'trough' (1998:23)
/rô/	/ɻû/	'chicken' (1998:158)
/pále/	/páli/	'clothes' (1998:158)
/be/	/bi/	'side, on' (1998:149ea)

[72] The vowel /ɑ/ is pronounced less back when appearing after other then uvular stops.

[73] In the examples here, as well as in other examples taken from Dīng 1998, I have used phonological transcription rather than the orthography used by Dīng, in order to make comparison easier. Some morphemes are analysed as underlyingly toneless. This is indicated by the absence of diacritics.

Niúwōzǐ	Wǎdū	Meaning
/kʰe/	/kʰi/	‘time’ (1998:155ea)
/tʃʰě/	/tɕʰǐ/[74]	‘food’ (1998:235)
/dʒe/	/dʑi/	‘vicinity’ (1998:99)
/ʒê/	/ʑî/	‘to exist’ (1998:239)

Additionally, diphthongization of *e and *o seems to have taken place. The Tuōqī speech variety, a very similar variety spoken in the same valley as the Wǎdū speech variety, is reported to have an /e/ and an /o/ phoneme (Lù 2001:65).[75] My main consultant confirms that speakers of the other Pǔmǐ villages in the same valley often use the single vowels /o/ and /e/ where Wǎdū uses the diphthongs /ɑw/ and /ej/.[76] Some comparisons with Tuōqī Pǔmǐ (data from Lù 2001) are given in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12 Vowels /o, e/ versus /ɑw, ɛj/

Tuōqī	Wǎdū	Meaning
[kio^{13}]	/kʰǎw/	‘smoke’ (2001:367)
[ko^{13}kəu^{53}]	/kɑwkǎw/	‘father(-in-law), uncle (FB,LA)’ (2001:393)
[be^{13}ɬɑ^{53}]	/bɛjl̥á/	‘chaff’ (2001:399)
[be^{53}]	/bɛ̂j/	‘food, fodder’ (2001:399)

It might be possible that diphthongization occurred under influence of Chinese. In Wǎdǔ Pǔmǐ, as well as in Tuōqī (Lù 2001:67) both /ɑw/ and /ɛj/ are often used in Chinese loanwords. However, because of the presence of the Hàn Chinese villages Upper and Lower Wǎdū, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has been influenced by Chinese to a greater extent than the other three Pǔmǐ villages in the valley.

Both /ɛj/ and /ɑw/ occur in numerous native words as well as in loanwords from Chinese. Some examples of native words:

(50) /ʑǎw/ ‘handle (of axe, knife)’
/kʰǎw/ ‘smoke’

[74] Note the change from post-alveolar to alveopalatal consonants in the last three words. The vowel change to /i/ may be one of the reasons for palatalization of these consonants in Wǎdū.

[75] Note that the Tuōqī material, even though published in 2001, dates from the fifties.

[76] But note also that some Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ words show similar diphthongs. For example, [ʃɐw] ‘to raise’ (1998:158), [pǯj] ‘older sibling’ (1998:158) and [tʑ̂j] ‘to exist on’ (1998:239) have similar diphthongs in Wǎdū: /ɕáw/, /pɛ̌j/ and /tɛ̂j/ respectively.

/mêhɑw/	‘wind’
/pɛ́j/	‘to bubble, simmer’
/ʐɛ́j/	‘loose’
/tɛ́j/	‘to be big’

The diphthong /ej/ only appears in a handful of Chinese loans and three interjections.

(51)	/féjtɕi/	‘Ch:airplane’ (< 飞机)
	/pejlálɑ/	‘Ch:without rhyme or reason’ (< 白拉拉)
	/têj/	‘Wow!’ (interjection of surprise and admiration)
	/pʰêj/	‘Ugh!’ (interjection of disgust)
	/êj/	‘Ai!’ (interjection of shock)

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has three central vowels /ʉ/, /ə/ and /ɐ/ that differ from each other in height. The latter two can be the target vowel of vowel reduction, with the most common reduction to [ɐ], especially in the first syllable of nominal compounds and verb reduplications (§5.1.1, §7.4.1). According to my main consultant, the vowel I analyse as the central vowel /ɐ/ is actually pronounced further back, and he transcribes it as /ʌ/. There are instances of a back pronunciation of the vowel, especially when preceded by a uvular, but often it is clearly a central vowel that is slightly lower and a little further back than /ə/. Analysing /ɐ/ as a central vowel [ɐ] instead of a back vowel [ʌ] makes more sense for the numerous cases of vowel reduction where a vowel becomes centralized. It also provides an explanation for transcription mistakes by my main consultant where he interchanged [ɐ] and [ə]. If the vowels were further apart, one would not expect this to happen so frequently. (Near-)minimal pairs for the three central vowels are given in (52).

(52)	/də̌-/	‘TO.SP.’	/dɛ́/	‘leprosy’	/dʉ́/	‘goblin’[77]
	/kə́/	‘garlic’	/kɛ́/	‘melody’	/kʉ̌/	‘penis’
	/tɕʰə̂/	‘to stand’	/tɕʰɛ́/	‘to be cut off’	/tɕʰʉ̂/	‘to fit in container’
	/tsə́/	‘to syphon, milk’	/tsɛ́/	‘deer’	/tsʉ̌/	‘son’
	/ʈʰə̌/	‘wife’	/ʈʰɛ̌/	‘to push’	/ʈʰʉ̌/	‘to cough’
	/sə̌/	‘to die’	/sɛ̌/	‘to beat, kill’	/sʉ̌/	‘fruit’

The mid central vowel /ə/ has several allophones: it is realized as a syllabic fricative [ɿ] after alveolar fricatives and affricates, as a syllabic fricative [ʅ] after retroflex consonants, and as a high central vowel [ɨ] after alveopalatals, as in (53). /ə/ occurs elsewhere, as in (54).

(53)	/tsʰə̂/ [tsʰɿ̂]	‘goat’
	/zə̂/ [zɿ̂]	‘to suppress (anger)’
	/ɖə̂/ [ɖʅ̂]	‘to divide’

[77] Possibly from Tibetan *bdud*.

	/ʈʂʰə̌/ [ʈʂʰɿ̌]	‘dog’
	/ɻə̂/ [ɻɿ̂]	‘skin’
	/tɕə́/ [tɕɨ́]	‘water’
	/ʑə̌/ [ʑɨ̌]	‘trousers’

(54)	/mə̂/	‘sky’
	/də̌-/	‘towards speaker’ (directional verb prefix)
	/kə́/	‘garlic’
	/gə̂/	‘nine’
	/qʰə̌-/	‘outwards’ (directional verb prefix)
	/ɦəhə̌/	‘I don’t want it’ (interjection)

No minimal pairs between /ə/ and [ɨ] have been found in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, [78] but in combination with alveolar consonants, whether palatalised, as in (55), or not palatalised, as in (56), /ə/ is often in free variation with the unrounded high central vowel [ɨ].

(55)	/ɕɐnʲə̌/	[ɕɛ̀nʲə̌] ~ [ɕɛ̀nɨ̌]	‘oats’
	/n̥ʲə̌/	[n̥ʲə̌] ~ [n̥ɨ̌]	‘seven’
	/tɐnʲə̌/	[tɛ̀nʲə̌] ~ [tɛ̀nɨ̌]	‘other’
	/dʲə̂pà/	[dʲə́pà] ~ [dɨ́pà]	‘sin’
	/dʲə́dʲà w/	[dʲə́dʲà w] ~ [dɨ́dʲà w]	‘be tired:RECP’

(56)	/dəbǔ/	[də̀bǔ] ~ [dɨ̀bǔ]	‘then’
	/tə̂/	[tə̂] ~ [tɨ̂]	‘this’
	/təɕǽ/	[tə̀ɕǽ] ~ [tɨ̀ɕǽ]	‘now’
	/tə́-/	[tə́-] ~ [tɨ́-]	‘upwards’ (directional verb prefix)
	/n̥əgǒ/	[n̥ə̀gǒ] ~ [n̥ɨ̀gǒ]	‘nose’

The rounded high central vowel /ʉ/ is often realized with a lot of friction, as a rounded syllabic fricative [ɥ] after alveolar fricatives and affricates, as a rounded syllabic fricative [ɥ] after retroflex consonants, and as a high rounded central vowel [ʉ] after

[78] Both Dīng and Matisoff analyse two separate phonemes /ə/ and /ɨ/ for Niúwōzǐ and Dàyáng Pǔmǐ respectively. Dīng (1998:22) considers fricative vowels to be allophones of /ɨ/ after alveolar and retroflex fricatives and affricates. Matisoff (1997b:203) notes that the high central vowel /ɨ/ has the allophones [ɿ] and [ʅ] after sibilants. He has minimal pairs between /ə/ and /ɨ/, but notes that /ə/ is produced rather high and close to /ɨ/ (1997:203-204). On the other hand, Lù (2001:8) considers [ɿ] and [ʅ] to be allophones of /ə/occurring with alveolars and retroflex sounds. But on the same page he also states that /i/ has the allophone [ɿ] when it occurs with /ts/, /tsʰ/, /dz/, /s/, /z/ and [ʅ] when it occurs with /ʈʂ/, /ʈʂʰ/, /ɖʐ/, /ʂ/, /ʐ/. So he seems to analyse the syllabic fricatives as stemming from two different underlying phonemes.

other consonants, as in (57).[79] It must also be noted that /ʉ/ does not always have a great deal of roundedness and can be pronounced more spread. Ding (1998:22) also mentions the low degree of roundedness that sometimes occurs with the vowel /ʉ/ in Niuwozi Pumi.

(57)	/tsʰʉ̆/ [tsʰʉ̞̆]	'lung'
	/ɖʉ̆/ [ɖʉ̞̆]	'to write'
	/ʂʉ̆/ [ʂʉ̞̆]	'to be warm'
	/dʑʉ̆/ [dʑʉ̆]	'soul'
	/nʲʉ́/ [nʲʉ́]	'to tan leather'
	/qʰʉ̆/ [qʰʉ̆]	'head'

Sometimes [ʉ] is the result of a rounding of [ɨ], [ɿ] or [ʅ], as in the non-egophoric form of verbs (which is marked by the rounded <w> infix, see §8.1.1) that contain a vowel /ə/:

(58)	/dzwə́/ [dzʉ̞́]	'eat:PFV:N.EGO' (< *dzə́* 'to eat')
	/tɕwə̆/ [tɕʉ̆]	'say:PFV:N.EGO' (< *tɕə̆* 'to say')
	/hʲwə̆/ [ɕʉ̆]	'beat: PFV:N.EGO' (< *hʲə̆* 'to beat')

2.2.2 *Nasal vowels*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has four nasal vowels: /ĩ/, /ẽ/, /æ̃/ and /õ/.[80] These seem to have developed from final nasal consonants and in connected speech one occasionally hears a homorganic nasal. In Table 2.13 a few examples are given of Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms and their corresponding Wǎdū Pǔmǐ reflexes.

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[79] When my co-researcher discussed some of these words with him, Alexis Michaud (p.c.) noted that the vowel in these words sounds similar to what he analyses as a fricative vowel /ʋ̞/ (with a less fricative semi-vowel [ʊ̞] allophone) in Na. Chan (MS:40) also notes a syllabic fricative /v/ that has an allophone [ʉ] in Xiǎngshuǐhé Pǔmǐ. [ʋ̞] occurs after /ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ; k, kʰ, g; f, v; ʂ, ʐ; tʂ, tʂʰ, dʐ; ɻ̥, ɻ/ and [ʉ] occurs after /p, pʰ, b; s, z; ts, tsʰ, dz; l̥, l; m̥, m; n̥, n/. Both Dīng (1998:22) and Matisoff (1997b:204) analyse a phoneme /ʉ/ for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ and Dàyáng Pǔmǐ respectively, and list numerous example words that correspond to forms with /ʉ/ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Jacques (2011:363) analyses /wə/ which is realised [ʉ] for Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ, something I have considered for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, especially when taking into account the forms in example (58) and the reduplication of 'fruit' in example (367) below. Lù (2001:65) notes that the high vowel /u/ is realized as [ʉ] or [ʉ̞] after alveolar and retroflex affricates and fricatives in Tuōqī. But most of his examples correspond to Wǎdū Pǔmǐ /u/. Only one example, the verb 'to write' /ɖʐʊ̆/ [ɖʐʉ̞̆] in Tuōqī, corresponds to /ʉ/ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: /ɖʉ̆/ [ɖʉ̞̆] (but note the different consonant).

[80] In the successive chapters of the grammar, nasal vowels will be represented with a velar nasal after the vowel, instead of a diacritic over the vowel. This is done to prevent confusion with diacritic tone marking.

Table 2.13 PTB final nasals and Wǎdū Pǔmǐ nasalised vowels

PTB form	Wǎdū Pǔmǐ	Meaning
*byam	/bĭ̃/	'to fly'
*syam	/ɕĭ̃/	'iron'
*na-ŋ	/nĭ̃/	'2SG'
*siŋ	/sĕ̃/	'firewood'
*g-sum	/sŏ̃/	'three'

The nasal vowels are shown in Table 2.14; minimal pairs are given in (59).

Table 2.14 Nasal vowels

	Front	Back
High	ĩ	
Mid	ẽ	õ
Low	æ̃	

(59) /bĭ̃/ 'urine'
/bĕ̃/ 'pile.up:IMP:PL'
/bŏ̃/ 'thick'
/bæ̃/ 'fly:PFV:N.EGO'

The distinction between /õ/ and /ɑ̃/ or between /ũ/ and /õ/ that exists in some other Pǔmǐ speech varieties seems to be lost in the Wǎdū speech variety.[81] There is only one back nasal vowel, analysed as /õ/. But sometimes words transcribed with /õ/ are pronounced closer to /ɑ̃/.[82] Additionally, /õ/ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ corresponds to /i/, /ə/, /ĩ/ or /ə̃/ in other speech varieties. A few examples are shown in Table 2.15. That there is a change going on can be seen even in the Wǎdū speech variety itself, where the words /tɐʈʰĭ/ and /tɐʈʰŏŋ/ 'after a while' are in free variation.

[81] Matisoff (1997b:202) reports for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ that "there is no contrast between uN and oN." But he does list a few examples with /ɒN/ (1997b:203). These mostly compare to /æ/ or /æ̃/ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, cf. /ɳɒ̆N/ versus /nʲæ̆/ 'black'; /qɒ̀ l̥ɒ́N/ versus /qæ̃n̥æ̃́/ 'phlegm'; /myɒ́N/ versus /nʲæ̃́/ 'eye'; /l̥ɒ̆N/ versus /n̥æ̃̆/ 'snot'; and /tʃhɒ̀ mɒ̆N/ versus /ʈʂʰɐmɑ̆/ 'mud'.

[82] This is impressionistic. I have not done any systematic investigation to find out which words this concerns and how they compare to cognates in other speech varieties. My main consultant's intuition is that [õ] and [ɑ̃] are one phoneme.

Table 2.15 Wǎdū Pǔmǐ /õ/ versus other varieties

Wǎdū	Other varieties	Reference	Meaning
/n̥ṍ/	[n̥í, n̥ə́, n̥ə̂]	Lù 2001:370-371	'day'
/n̥ṍ/	[n̥ĩ̂]	Sānjiè (Gerong Pincuo, MS)	'hemp'
/ʈʂṍ/	[tʃə̃́] / [tɕĩ̂]	Lù 2001:394-395/ Gélǔdiàn, Kāngwū (Gerong Pincuo, MS)	'house'
/dṍ/	[dî]	Bājiā (personal fieldnotes)	'to link hands, follow leader'
/dṍ/	[dí]	Bājiā (personal fieldnotes)	'common bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*)'
/tṍ/	[stĩ́, tĩ́, tĩ̂]	Lù 2001:452-453	'thousand'
/ʈʰṍ/	[phʐĩ́]	Lù 2001:444-445	'white'

The distinction between nasal /æ̃/ and oral /æ/ is not well maintained in some cases. It is very minimal in the pair in (60), even to such extent that in my initial phonological chart I actually recorded 'fingernail' as both [ʐæ̌] and [ʐæ̌̃].

(60) /ʐæ̌/ 'saliva'
/ʐæ̌̃/ 'fingernail'

Following a nasal initial the contrast between nasal /æ̃/ and oral /æ/ is neutralized (see also §2.4.6), and my main consultant showed considerable variation in his transcription. The contrast between oral /i/ and nasal /ĩ/ is maintained following nasal initials, as can be seen from the (near-)minimal pairs in (61).

(61) /mǐ/ 'edible fungus'
/mĩ̂/ 'what'
/n̥ǐ/ 'to beg'
/n̥ĩ̌/ 'to be cooked'

The contrast can be seen in the vowel quality: the nasal vowel /ĩ/ often sounds like a nasalised diphthong [iə̃], as in (62).

(62) /mĩ̂/ [miə̃̂] 'what'
/nĩpá/ [niə̃̀pá] 'flat bamboo basket'

The vowels /ĩ/ and /ẽ/ almost always appear in complementary distribution. The vowel /ẽ/ occurs with consonants of the 'non-palatal group', and the vowel /ĩ/ occurs with consonants of the 'palatal group'. Examples with 'palatal group' consonants are given in (63) and examples with 'non-palatal group' consonants are given in (64).

(63) /m̥ḭ/ ‘medicine’
/tĩ/ ‘to take care of’
/lḭ/ ‘sturdy’
/nĭ/ ‘2SG’
/ɕḭ/ ‘iron’
/jĭ/ ‘land’

(64) /dzẽ/ ‘eat:IMP:PL’
/sẽ/ ‘firewood’
/ʈẽ/ ‘miss (people)’
/ʈʂʰẽ/ ‘slaughter:IMP:PL’
/ɻ̥ẽ/ ‘to bake’
/wẽ/ ‘be able’

But there is only one minimal pair and one near-minimal pair, as listed in (65).

(65) /bĭ/ ‘to fly, lurch forward’
/bẽ/ ‘steam:IMP:PL’
/bə̃/ ‘pile.up:IMP:PL’

Speakers are able to differentiate between the two vowels. It might be that diachronically, due to nasalization which lowers the second formant of front vowels, /ẽ/ developed as a lowered, centralized allophone of /ĩ/. This development would be parallel to the lowering and centralization of /i/ after ‘non-palatal group’ consonants described in §2.1.7.2, and would have resulted in two synchronically contrastive vowels. The formants of /ẽ/ often display a glide from a lower, more central vowel to a higher, more front vowel (from [ə̃] to [ɘ̃] or from [ɘ̃] to [ĩ]).

Even though there is the appearance of allophony, there is a clear contrast, so I analyse /ĩ/ and /ẽ/ as different phonemes.

2.3 Syllable structure

Wǎdū Pǔmĭ syllable structure can be represented as in Table 2.16.

Table 2.16 Wadu Pumi syllable structure

		+/- tone	
+/- palatalization		+/- nasalization	
(C_1)	**(G)**	**V**	**(G)**
all consonants	/w/	all vowels	/w/ or /j/

This is much simpler than the syllable structure in Southern Pǔmĭ, which still retains many consonant clusters. The initial consonant (C_1) can be any of the 42 consonants,

some of which can be palatalised (Table 2.5, §2.1.7.1). Palatalization is considered a feature associated with the initial. The relatively unrestricted /w/ can function as a medial consonant (G) (§2.1.6). Vowels (V) are the only obligatory part of a syllable and can be oral or nasalised. Nasalization is considered a feature associated with the vowel. The two glides /j/ and /w/ can function as independent consonants (C_1) and off-glides in diphthongs (G) (§2.1.6). Pŭmĭ does not have any final consonants.

Tone is associated with the sonorant peak of the syllable, the vowel, and can be present or absent. This will be discussed in Chapter 3.

There are several vowel-only syllables. Acoustically they are preceded by a glottal stop, but this is not phonemic. Note, however, that Lù (2001:42,61,70,78) gives glottal phonemes for all of the northern speech varieties and remarks that they are very frequent and very clear. The glottal stop only appears in word-initial position, as in example (66), but does not often appear in connected speech, as in in (67), where the glottal stop only appears with the first inclusive pronoun *ĭŋ-*, but not with *ə̆-* 'this' and the question marker *ê=*.

(66) /ɛ́=/ [ʔɛ́] 'Q'
/ĭŋ-/ [ʔĭŋ] '1INCL'
/ə̆-/ [ʔə̆] 'here'
/òŋmə́dʲæ̀/ [ʔòŋmə́dʲæ̀] 'self'
/ùdʲúwâ/ [ʔùdʲúwâ] 'self'

(67) [ʐɛ̀míbù ʔìŋdʐǽŋ̀ndʐí nɛ̀ɕæ̀:gì]

ʐɛmî=bu	ĭŋ=dzæŋ	ə̆-dʐi	nɛ̆-ɕæ̆	ê=gi
tonight=TOP	1:INCL=DU	this-location	DOWN-spend.night	Q=VOL:INCL

'(...) shall we sleep here tonight? (...)' (KZ03.31)

The majority of syllables have the form CV. In Table 2.17 an example of every combination is given.

Table 2.17 Examples Wădū Pŭmĭ syllable structure

Form	Meaning	Structure
/ê/	'1SG'	V
/qɛ̆/	'strength'	CV
/qwɛ́/	'cow'	CGV
/ɑw/	'Oh!' (interjection)[83]	VG
/wɛ̆j/	'to curse'	GVG

[83] An interjection is the only example of this structure.

Form	Meaning	Structure
/ɕáw/	'ritual'	CVG
/kwɛ́j/	'let:PFV:N.EGO'	CGVG

2.4 Phonological processes

Several phonological processes have already been discussed above. These include the palatalization of velar stops followed by the vowel /æ/ in §2.1.7.1, and the lowering and centralization of the high front vowel /i/ in §2.1.7.2. The morphophonological process of the fronting of the uvular stop in the directional verb prefix was discussed in §2.1.7.4.

In this section I will discuss a number of other phonological processes: vowel harmony (§2.4.1), consonant lenition (§2.4.2), voicing and aspiration change (§2.4.3), vowel reduction (§2.4.4), alternation between retroflexes and alveopalatals (§2.4.5), nasalization (§2.4.6) and glide alternation (§2.4.7). Unlike in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:44) and Xiǎngshuǐhé Pǔmǐ (personal notes), no bilabial trill substitution can be observed in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. This is probably due to the fact that the Pǔmǐ in Wǎdū are less influenced by the Nuòsū language.

2.4.1 *Vowel harmony*

Like Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:35), Japhug rGyalrong (Jacques 2004:350) and Xùmǐ (Chirkova 2009:14), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows regressive vowel harmony. The main instances of harmonization I have observed are given in (68). Examples that show variation either with or without vowel harmony are given in (69). These examples all show regressive harmonization. Rounding and place harmony are the most common patterns observed.

(68) /tɐmǎ/ [tàmǎ] 'thumb'
/pɐlǎ/ [pàlǎ] 'goiter'
/ʈʰwî-bʉ/ [ʈʰʉ́bʉ̀] 'ale jar'[84]

(69) /wɐwǎ/ [wɐ̀wǎ] ~ [wàwǎ] 'to discuss'[85]
/n̥əbʉlá/ [n̥əbʉ̀lá] ~ [n̥ùbʉ̀lá] 'lips'
/sə́tu/ [sə́tû] ~ [sʉ́tû] 'wooden paneling'

[84] This might partly be a case of vowel centralization due to compounding, but there is still harmonization going on. If not, one would expect the form [ʈʰwɛ́bʉ̀].

[85] Reciprocal verb forms usually have the central vowel [ɐ] in their first syllable. Another form that appears in texts is [wɐ̂wǎ]. This is not vowel harmony, but rounding through influence of the consonant.

/ʈʂʰəlú/	[ʈʂʰəlú] ~ [ʈʂʰʉ̀lú]	'serving tray'
/qîpu/	[qípù]~ [qúpù]	'cuckoo'

There are a few cases of progressive harmonization:

(70)	/bʉsə̌/	[bʉ̀sə̌] ~ [bʉ̀sʉ̌]	'peach'
	/næ̃pʰúqʰɐ̌/	[næ̃̀pʰúqʰɐ̌] ~ [næ̃̀pʰúqʰɑ̌]	'emperor'[86]

Harmonization happens within morphemes as well as across morpheme borders, as in the case of the compound /ʈʰwî-bʉ/ above. Another example is /qæ-mǽŋ/ 'lower down' which consists of the morphemes /qǎ-/ 'downwards' and /mǽŋ/ 'tail-end'. Sometimes this can lead to confusing situations as in (71) where [nʲæ] seems to be the contraction of the personal pronoun /nǐŋ/ and the genitive marker /=æ/. Since this is followed by another genitive marker, the result might be interpreted as a double genitive, whereas, in fact, it is just regressive harmonization. The same is true for /kədʑæ=gæ/, but in this case the expected /kə̂dʑi=gæ/ is not normally used.

(71)	/nʲæ̌=gæ/ ~ /nǐŋ=gæ/	'2SG=GEN'
	/kə̂dʑæ=gæ/	'which.one=GEN'

2.4.2 *Consonant lenition*

There is often free variation between an affricate and its fricative counterpart. This can be considered a form of consonant lenition. Matisoff (1997b:189,192) also notes variation between prefixed palatal affricates and fricatives ([ʃtʃ]~ [ʃ], [ʃtʃh]~[sʃ], [ʃtʃhw] ~ [sʃw], [ʃtʃ] ~ [ɕ], [ʒdʒ] ~ [z]) in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ. Examples for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are given in (72).

(72)	/tɕê/ ~ /ɕê/	'to be big'
	/tɕé/ ~ /ɕé/	'to pack a load'
	/tɕǽ/ ~ /ɕǽ/	'to cut (with axe)'
	/ʈʂə̂/ ~ /ʂə̂/	'to jump'
	/tɐtsə̌/ ~ /tɐsə̌/	'still'

Sometimes the difference is between different villages, for example 'to pinch' is *tɕâwʐwa* in Tuōqī and *ɕâwʐwa* in Wǎdū. Sometimes the difference is across speech varieties, for example 'to build, make' is *dzǔ* in Wǎdū, Wéixī, Lánpíng, Nínglàng, and Kāngwū and Xiàmàidì in Mùlǐ, but *zǔ* in Dōngzi, Bókē and Gùzēng in Mùlǐ (Gerong Pincuo, MS).

There are a few examples of consonant lenition between a palatalised consonant and a plain palatal glide, as in (73).

[86] This is probably a loanword from Yǒngníng Na.

(73) /dʲǎw/ ~ /jǎw/ 'again'
/dʲǎ/ ~ /jǎ/ 'let me'

Another instance of consonant lenition is that the voiced retroflex stop [ɖ] is often reduced to a tap [ɾ] or retroflex flap [ɽ] in fast speech. Interestingly, this does not seem to happen with every occurrence of the voiced retroflex stop, but only in the frequently used *=ɖaw* current evidential marker.[87] This marker is often used in combination with the quotative *tɕə* (< the verb 'to say') and in many instances it fuses with the quotative to form a hearsay particle *tɕaw*. In that case the initial is totally lost.

One example of strengthening instead of weakening is an example from a story told by a 50+ male from Wǎdū. He used [ʈʂǔ] instead of *ʐ̩ǔ* 'very'. My main consultant noted that this is a variant people are starting to use, especially young females from Tuōqī village.

2.4.3 *Voicing and aspiration change*

Voiceless nasals and rhotics sometimes show a voicing alternation.

(74) [ɕáwɻ̥wâ] ~ [ɕáwɻwâ] 'to pinch'
[dzèm̥ǐ] ~ [dzèmǐ] 'beggar' (< *m̥ǐ* 'beg')[88]
[ɻ̥úm̥ì] ~ [ɻ̥úmì] 'evening of day before yesterday' (< *m̥ǐ* 'night')

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is interesting in that it also sporadically devoices nasals. The examples in (75) all have a voiced nasal in other speech varieties.[89]

(75) [mâ] ~ [m̥â] 'person'
[wèmâ] ~ [wèm̥â] 'guest'
[mətɕʰǒ] ~ [m̥ətɕʰǒ] 'male'
[mənǐ] ~ [mən̥ǐ][90] 'child'

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[87] Note that in other speech varieties of Pǔmǐ this same marker *=ɖaw* has the form [rə] (Shuǐluò [Jacques 2011a] and Yǔchū [personal fieldnotes]) or [ɻju] (Niúwōzǐ [Dīng 1998]), so it does not even have a stop, but rather a liquid.

[88] In Gerong Pincuo's wordlist (MS) some speech varietes have a voiceless nasal and some a voiced. All varieties that Lù (2001:478) mentions have a voiceless nasal.

[89] One exception being the word 'male' where Kāngwū has a voiceless nasal as well (Gerong Pincuo, MS). For the examples 'person' and 'guest' cf. Lù 2001:386,388.

[90] My main consultant says that the last two examples in (75) are usually pronounced voiceless in his village. But some of the text transcriptions indicate that people do pronounce them voiced as well, which might be a result of running speech.

In my data there is one example of an alternation between aspiration and non-aspiration.

(76) [ɕùpʰʉ̆] ~ [ɕùpʉ́] 'mosquito'

2.4.4 *Vowel reduction*

In nominal compounds and reduplicated verbs the vowel of the first syllable is often, but not always, centralized to [ɐ] or [ə].[91] Nasalization of the original vowel is lost.

(77) [nʲɛ́nî] ~ [nʲə́nî] 'drive.animals:CNT' (< *níŋ* 'to drive animals')

The direction of centralization is from full vowel > [ɐ] > [ə]. Most centralizations have [ɐ] as target, but when the original vowel is [ɐ], this vowel might be centralized to [ə].

(78) /gəgwĕ/ 'be drunk:RECP' (< *gwĕ* 'to be drunk')
/ʑəʑĕ/ 'stretch out:RECP' (< *ʑĕ* 'to stretch out')

Some centralizations are to [ə], without [ɐ] as an alternative.

(79) /ʈâʈõ/ 'stay at home:RECP' (< *ʈóŋ* 'to stay at home')
/kə̂tsu/ 'door latch' (< *kŏŋ* 'door' + *tsû* 'thorn')

Some examples of nominal compounds with and without vowel centralization are shown in (80):

(80) /sɐqwĕj/ 'stick' (< *sĕŋ* 'wood' + *qwĕj* 'peg')
/seŋʈwă/ 'tree branch' (< *sĕŋ* 'wood' + *ʈwă* 'branch')
/tɕʰwɐqʰʉ̆/ 'pig head' (< *tɕʰwĕ* 'pig' + *qʰʉ̆* 'head')
/tɕʰwæl̥ʲĕ/ 'pig tongue' (< *tɕʰwĕ* 'pig' + *l̥ʲĕ* 'tongue')

2.4.5 *Retroflex – alveopalatal alternation*

There are a few examples that show alternation between retroflex and alveopalatal consonants. This could be a reflection of the fact that some of these forms are loanwords from Tibetan.

(81) [ʈɛ́ʂə̂] ~ [ʈɛ́ɕə̂] '(person's name)' (Tibetan < *bKra.shis*)
[kúɖʐû] ~ [kúdʑû] 'reincarnation' (Tibetan < *sku.sprul* or *sku.zhabs/gzhogs*)
[ɖʐə̀tîŋ] ~ [dʑə̀tîŋ] 'world' (Tibetan < *'jig.rten*)[92]

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[91] Some vowel reduction is morphological rather than phonological, cf. footnote 192. See also Jacques 2012a:2014-2015 for vowel reduction in Japhug rGyalrong.

[92] The variant with the retroflex initial occurred in one text by an older Wădū male, but my main consultant insists that in Wădū people normally pronounce the word with an alveopalatal consonant.

In general, in Pǔmǐ, there is a tendency to palatalise post-alveolar and retroflex consonants which is most visible in the northern speech varieties. Some of the alternations between these sounds in the Wǎdū speech variety might point to the intermediate position that Wǎdū has between speech varieties spoken further south and speech varieties spoken further north, with the southern varieties showing more retroflex or post-alveolar reflexes and the northern varieties showing more alveopalatal reflexes. Compare for example the following words:[93]

(82) *ʈʃə́* 'water' (southern varieties; Lù 2001:362)
tɕɨ̂ 'water' (northern varieties; Lù 2001:363)
tɕə́ 'water' (Wǎdū)

(83) *ʈʃá/ʈʂá* 'dirt' (southern varieties; Lù 2001:364)
tɕâ 'dirt' (northern varieties; Lù 2001:365)
ʈʂǽ 'dirt' (Wǎdū)

2.4.6 *Nasalization*

Nasal consonants can cause nasalization of vowels, especially front vowels, as in (84). This is in line with what Dīng noted for the Niúwōzǐ speech variety (1998:40) and it has recently been discussed for the neigbouring Naish languages and Japhug rGyalrong in Michaud, Jaqcues and Rankin (2012).

(84) /míni/ ~ [mḭ́nî] 'grass shoes'
/ŋǽ/ ~ [ŋæ̃́] 'gold'
/m̥æ̂/ ~ [m̥æ̃̂] 'hair' (Japhug rGyalrong *tɤ-rme*)
/mǎ/ ~ [mæ̃̌] 'ten thousand'

Some words that are synchronically attested with a nasalised vowel, can be shown diachronically to have resulted from nasal spreading:[94]

(85) /nʲõ̌/ 'breast' (Tibetan *nu.ma*, Japhug rGyalrong *tɯ-mɯ*)
/nʲõ̂-tɕʰwi/ 'west' (Tibetan *nub.phyogs*)
/mæ̃̂/ 'tail-end' (Japhug rGyalrong *tɤ-jme*)
/tɑnæ̃̌/ 'crossbow' (Naish *tana*)[95]
/n̥æ̃̌/ 'snot' (Tibetan *snabs*, Japhug rGyalrong *tɯ-ɕnaβ*)

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[93] Reflexes of original dental consonants: **ti(y)* 'water' (Matisoff 2003:193) and **sa* 'earth/ground/soil/sand' (Matisoff 2003:176). Cf. Qiang *zə* (LaPolla, p.c).

[94] The Japhug rGyalgrong, Tibetan and Naish correspondences were pointed out to me by Guillaume Jaqcues (p.c.).

[95] For a possible origin of this word see Jacques and Michaud (2011:477).

As stated in §2.2.2, alternation of nasalization is common with the front vowel /æ/, even when there is no nasal present.

(86) [ɻ̥ɛ́ɻ̥ɛ̀] ~ [ɻ̥ɛ̃́ɻ̥ɛ̃̀] 'laugh:RECP'
[ʐæ̀] ~ [ʐæ̃̀] 'far'

Nasalization can also result from harmonization to a nasalised vowel. Note that both consonants are sonorants, but it is not clear whether this is crucial.

(87) [qàmæ̃́] ~ [qæ̃̀mæ̃́] 'lower down'
[qàɻæ̃́] ~ [qæ̃̀ɻæ̃́] 'above'

2.4.7 *Glide alternation*

There are a few cases of glide alternation, both of /w/ and /ʲ/. The latter is actually an alternation of palatalisation, since the palatal is a secondary feature of the consonant, rather than an independent segment. The insertion of /w/ sometimes involves a difference in vowel colouring. Note that /w/ alternation seems to occur mainly with 'non-palatal group' consonants and palatalisation alternation only occurs with 'palatal group' consonants.

(88) [tsè̃tṍ] ~ [tswè̃tṍ] 'chest'
[tswè̃dɑ̃] ~ [tswè̃ɖwæ̃] 'tissue' (inside pig)
[qùjĩ] ~ [qwèjĩ] 'crow'
[nélʲâw] ~ [nʲélʲâw] 'eye'
[làwlɑ̃w] ~ [lʲàwlʲɑ̃w] 'move'
[mə tɑ] ~ [mə tʲɑ] 'NMLZ.ALERT' (§8.6.5)

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter described the segmental phonology of the Wǎdū speech variety of Pǔmǐ. The overall consonant and vowel inventory is largely similar to that of other Pǔmǐ speech varieties (Matisoff 1997, Fù 1998, Dīng 1998, Lù 2001, Jacques 2011a,c), but the existence of a uvular stop phoneme series that was not previously attested for the northern speech varieties of the language is worth mentioning.

The current study analyses glides as part of the initial rather than the rhyme, which results in multiple consonant clusters and palatalised consonants instead of multiple complex rhymes. All the older consonant clusters attested for the southern and some of the northern speech varieties have been lost in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The stop-plus-fricative clusters changed to retroflex stops, and the fricative-stop or fricative-affricate clusters lost the fricative part without fricativizing the stop of affricate (as happens in some northern speech varieties).

Palatalisation plays an important role in Pǔmǐ. Based on co-occurrence with palatalisation, consonants can be divided into two groups: a palatal group and a non-

palatal group. Dīng (1998:13) proposed a similar division in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. This division is relevant to several phonological and morphophonological phenomena, such as vowel retraction of the high front vowel /i/, palatalization of the labial-velar glide, and fronting of the directional prefix. To what extent other Pǔmǐ speech varieties show this (non)-palatal division and how that influences their phonology is a topic for further research.

Chapter 3.
Tone and intonation

This chapter is concerned with the tonal system of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. This variety of Pǔmǐ displays a tonal system similar to that described for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998, 2001). Monosyllables show high, falling and rising tones. Tones can spread rightwards as the tonal domain is extended by toneless clitics or when two tonal domains merge, and tonal spreading is relatively straightforward. Tonal behaviour in compounding is often based on the tone of the first element, but is not always predictable. Rising tone verbs form two groups based on their tonal spreading behaviour: one of the groups shows interesting tonal alternations and tonal spreading patterns. The concept of tone groups is introduced as an important means for organising discourse, especially in relation to focus.

The current chapter is organised as follows. Some definitions of concepts used in this chapter will be given in §3.1. An initial illustration of tone groups will be given in §3.2. Their implication for discourse structure and relation to focus will be discussed in §3.5. Sandwiched in between these two sections are two other sections. The first, §3.3, discusses the basic tonal patterns that can be observed in words in isolation as well as in connected speech, and analyses their underlying tones by comparing their surface tone patterns in both environments. It will also deal with tonal spread that can be observed from tone-bearing lexical elements to toneless grammatical elements. The second section, §3.4, deals with several major combinations of tone-bearing elements that can be found in tone groups, and will illustrate their resulting tonal patterns. Alternating verbs are treated in §3.4.5. The chapter ends with a few notes on intonation (§3.6).

3.1 Intro and definitions

Pǔmǐ tone has been described to an extent for several Pǔmǐ speech varieties by various linguists. Most of the descriptions show that the Pǔmǐ tonal system is intricate and difficult to describe. Chinese linguists note that a massive amount of tone sandhi takes place: forms appear with different surface tones depending on the environment (Lù 1983, 2001; Fù 1998).

Most research on Pǔmǐ tone done so far (Lù 1983, 2001; Fù 1998; Matisoff 1997, 1998; Dīng 1998, 2001, 2006, 2007; Jacques 2011c) has focused on tonal behaviour of the smaller units of language, such as tone in monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, compounds, and reduplicated forms, and the interaction between directional prefixes

and verbs, lexical forms and clitics, and in phrases (noun + adjective; noun + verb). An exception is Greif (2010) who conducted a first survey on the interaction between tone and information structure in Pǔmǐ, based on Dīng's Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ data.

The large conversational and narrative corpus obtained during my fieldwork allows for a slightly different approach to tone: instead of focusing on the smaller building blocks, this thesis will also look at the way discourse constituents are ordered through tone. However, due to the scope of the thesis, it will only touch briefly on some issues. For the purpose of the present study, the current chapter will not discuss the work of the above-mentioned linguists in-depth, but while building on their work, rather focus on describing tone and intonation in the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ speech variety. In doing so, it will refer to certain aspects of their work where relevant.

Before moving on to the data, let me first introduce some terminology I will be using in the subsequent analysis.

'Intonation unit' is an observable stretch of speech that is continuous and preceded and followed by a pause. It is generally marked by downdrift.[96] The pitch will be reset at the start of a new intonation unit.

'Surface tone' denotes the observable pitch (phonetic realization of tone) of the various syllables in a stretch of speech.

'Underlying tone' (or 'lexical tone') is a conceptual term that denotes the various analysed phonemic tones in the language. In my analysis I take most lexical items to be carriers of phonemic tone ('tone-bearing elements') and most grammatical items to be underlyingly toneless ('toneless elements') (see §3.3.1).

'Tone group' is a conceptual term which is based on the analysis of tonal behaviour in larger stretches of text. The term denotes a group of morphemes within an intonation unit that shares a single underlying tone.[97] A tone group is observed to have at least one contour tone or high surface tone and not more than one contour tone or two (adjacent) high surface tones. Tone spreads (mostly) rightwards within a tone group.

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[96] The phenomenon of the dropping of pitch towards the end of a unit of speech, due to the lowering of pressure in the vocal tract.

[97] The presence of one lexical tone per tone group is referred to as 'culminative tone' or 'word-tone', and has been described for other languages in the area (Chirkova 2006, Evans 2008, 2009a, 2009b, Michaud 2013). Although similar tone systems (for example Tokyo Japanese) have been described in terms of 'pitch-accent', Hyman (2011:235) strongly argues against an accentual analysis. Dīng (2014) changed to using the term 'melody-tone' instead of 'pitch-accent' in his description of Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ.

‘Tone group boundary’ refers to the boundary between two tone groups, and is marked in some of the examples by ‘#’.

In the Pǔmǐ data, tone is represented by diacritics written over the vowels; in prose, tones are referred to in abbreviated form with capital letters, as shown in Table 3.1. The relative pitch of the different tones is given in the final column.[98] There is also a group of morphemes that is analysed to be toneless. These will be written without any tone marks in their underlying representation, and with tone marks to represent surface tone in their phonetic representation. When forms are presented phonemically (in slashes //), the underlying tone will be marked; when forms are presented phonetically (in square brackets [ ]), the surface tone will be marked (see also §1.8.1 on the orthography used in this grammar).

Table 3.1 Representation of tone

Description of tone	Diacritics	In prose	Relative pitch
High level	á	H(igh)	44
High falling	â	HL/F(alling)	54
Low level	à	L(ow)	22
Low rising	ǎ	LH/R(ising)	24

3.2 Tone groups

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, tone plays an important role in the structuring of discourse. There are various examples in the corpus where a particular combination of morphemes appears with a particular surface tone pattern, but where a different surface tone pattern is possible as well. The various surface tone patterns express various types of focus (narrow/argument-focus versus broad/sentence-focus), and are caused by the different underlyings grouping of constituents into tone groups. Tone groups are the most important conceptual unit used by speakers to structure discourse. Within a tone group, the underlying tone of one lexical element (usually the left-most element) spreads (usually rightwards) to the adjacent morphemes in the same tone group (tone spreading patterns are discussed in §3.3). The remaining toneless or tone-bearing elements in a tone group are assigned default low surface tone. Tone does not spread across tone group boundaries. It can be generally observed that within a tone group at least one surface high tone is present, that is, there are no tone groups with only low

[98] The relative pitch is given in the Chao Yuen Ren notation commonly used in China, with tones marked on a scale of 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). This allows easier comparison with Chinese sources, especially Lù (1983, 2001) and Fù (1998). I have chosen to represent Pǔmǐ tone with diacritics as used by Matisoff (1997b, 1999) and Jacques (2011).

surface tone (as will be discussed in relation to underlying low-toned monosyllables, §3.3.2); additionally, not more than two adjacent high surface tones are present.

Example (89) is shown to indicate what I analyse as tone groups in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. This example illustrates how constituents are combined into tone groups and how these affect the surface tone. In the examples in this chapter, the initial line shows the surface tone and the interlinear line the underlying tone. '|' represents an intonation unit boundary: the speaker pauses briefly; '#' represents a tone group boundary.

(89) ʑɛ̀nə̀# ʑɛ̀nə̀ kʰí=bú,# jǎw | tɛ́-qɛ̀=bù#

ʑɛnə̌	ʑɛnə̌	kʰi=bu	jǎw	tɛ̌-qɛ̂=bu
in.the.past	in.the.past	time=TOP	again	one-CLF:household=TOP

mɑ́=nòŋ# m̥ə́=tì ʑɛ̀=sì tɕɑ̀w.

mɑ̂=noŋ	m̥ə̂=ti	ʑɛ̂=si	tɕɑw.
mother=COORD	daughter=INDF	EXIST.AN=INF	HSY

'Long, long ago there was a household that consisted of a mother and a daughter.' (TC08.1)

The utterance in (89) consists of two intonation units: both the first and the second intonation unit consist of three tone groups. Intonation units can be the same size as or bigger than tone groups, and their boundaries normally coincide with a tone group boundary.

No tonal spreading occurs in the first tone group: the group consists of only one word, *ʑɛnə̌* 'in the past', that keeps its underlying tone.[99] In the second tone group, the underlying rising tone of *ʑɛnə̌* spreads to the toneless *kʰi* and *=bu*, which, as a result, are pronounced with high surface tones; *ʑɛnə̌* appears with low surface tone on both syllables. The third tone group is similar to the first: it consists of only one word, *jǎw* 'again', which, like some other clause linkers (see below) never forms a tone group with any other element. Thus it keeps its underlying rising tone. The fourth tone group is interesting in that it consists of a numeral-classifier compound [tɛ́-qɛ̀] combined with a toneless topic marker *=bu*. As shown in §3.4.2, numeral-classifier compounds involving the number 'one' show leftward tonal spread, where the numeral takes on the tone of the classifier. The resulting high-low tone of the compound then spreads rightwards onto the clitic. The fifth tone group shows the noun *mɑ̂* 'mother' with a falling tone spreading to the toneless clitic *=noŋ*. As a result, *mɑ̂* is pronounced with

[99] However, it is influenced by intonation and shows an extra high contour on its drawn-out second syllable. This emphasizes the great length of time that has passed between the time of the story and the current time. The extra high contour is illustrated in §3.6.

a high level surface tone and *=noŋ* with a low surface tone. The sixth tone group is similar to the fifth in that the noun *m̥ə̂* 'daughter' has a falling underlying tone that spreads to the toneless clitic *=ti*. The rest of the tone group receives default low surface tone, even though *ʑî* 'to exist' has an underlying falling tone.[100]

Looking at the corpus, some elements always combine with others into a single tone group, some elements always form a tone group by themselves, and for some elements, speakers can decided to combine or not combine them into tone groups. The latter elements are the most interesting, in that they allow the speaker to express pragmatic differences through the choice of combining them or not. How this ties in with focus in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ will be discussed in §3.5.

There are only a few elements that do not usually combine into tone groups with other elements. These are the clause linkers *ɦa* 'and then' (§10.2), *jǎw* 'again', *nǒŋ* 'so, in that case' (§4.8) and *dəbǔ* 'then' (§10.9.3)[101] that have an important function in structuring discourse. Interestingly, similar markers were also mentioned for Yǒngníng Na (Michaud 2013).

The nominal demonstrative *tə́* (§4.6.1) never forms a single tone group with the following noun. However, when it is followed by a clitic, its tone spreads to the clitic. Numeral-classifier compounds never form a single tone group with the preceding noun.

Speakers have the choice to combine or not combine nouns and their modifying adjectives; adjacent objects and verbs; verbs and auxiliaries. Illustrations of speaker choice will be given in §3.5.

Toneless elements usually combine with others into tone groups (there seem to be some cases of clitic groups that form a tone group, in which case there is no tone present in the tone group; this needs further research).

3.3 Basic tonal patterns and tonal spreading in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ

This section describes the basic tonal patterns found on tone-bearing lexical elements and their patterns of spread in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. It starts with a subsection on toneless morphemes (§3.3.1) and then moves on to tonal patterns on monosyllables (§3.3.2), disyllables (§3.3.3), and polysyllables (§3.3.4). Through comparing the tonal surface patterns found in isolation with the tonal patterns found in connected speech, the

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[100] This is reminiscent of Shànghǎi tone where the tones of compounds and tightly bound constructions are dependent on the tone of the initial syllable (Zee and Maddieson 1979, Duanmu 1999).

[101] Except for a few instances where *dəbǔ* is followed by the morpheme *–nʲə*, in which case its tone spreads to *–nʲə* (§4.6.4). The marker *nǒŋ* can be followed by a discourse marker, but does not spread its tone.

underlying tones will be established. Some exceptional tone patterns are discussed in (§3.3.5), tone in expressives is treated in (§3.3.6), tone and tonal spread with pronouns is dealt with in (§3.3.7), and the section ends in a note on alternating tone pairs (§3.3.8). The tonal patterns found correspond to what Dīng described for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ: a four-syllable tonal template to which tones are attached and spread mostly rightwards.

3.3.1 *Toneless morphemes*

There is a group of grammatical words and clitics in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ that I have analysed as underlyingly toneless. The reason for that is that they never appear independently, and so their tone in isolation cannot be established. Additionally, a study by Greif based on Dīng's Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ data shows that unlike lexical morphemes that show high or low tonal targets, discourse particles have no clear tonal target and should be considered toneless (2010:233). Their behaviour in connected speech also warrants the analysis that they are toneless: most grammatical words and clitics form one tone group with a lexical tone-bearing element and are subject to straightforward tonal spreading rules (as described in §3.3.2-§3.3.4).

In Table 3.2 a partial list is given of clitics, affixes and grammatical words that have been analysed as toneless. These toneless morphemes will be written without tone marks in their underlying representation (but with surface tone marks in the example sentences in the rest of the grammar).

Table 3.2 Some toneless particles and clitics

Marker	Function	Reference
ɕiɕi	'a little bit'	§4.7
mədzæ	'every'	§4.4.1
kʰi	'time' (temporal subordinator)	§4.6.5
-li	'diminutive'	§5.1.3.4
-toŋ	'instrument/location nominalizer'	§5.2.1
=mə	'agentive/general nominalizer'	§5.2.3
=(g)æ	'genitive'	§5.3.1
=ɻə	'plural '	§5.4
=gə	'definite '	§5.5
=noŋ	'coordinator'	§5.7;10.1
=(g)oŋ(ni)	'instrumental/agentive'	§6.2.1; 6.2.4
=la	'also '	§6.5.1

Marker	Function	Reference
=bu	'general topic '	§6.5.6
=si	'inferential evidential'	§8.3.1

Some examples of this are the customary markers *weŋ* and *q^{h}u* that derive from tone-bearing verbs/modal auxiliaries (§8.5), the hearsay evidential marker *tɕaw* (§8.3.5) that derives from the lexical tone-bearing verb *tɕə̆* 'to say' and the toneless non-egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2).

A partial exception are the postpositions that derive from originally tone-bearing nouns and that are on different parts of the grammaticalisation cline, which is also reflected in their tonal behaviour: they sometimes take on the tone of the preceding noun, but sometimes block tonal spread and surface in a low tone. Their behaviour will be described in §3.4.4.

Some grammatical markers are exceptions in that they display lexical tone. Directional verb prefixes (§7.1) are grammatical morphemes with certain lexical meaning. They are formally and semantically related to bound demonstratives (§4.6.2), and their underlying rising tone only shows up in conditional clauses (§10.4.1) and in combination with low-tone verbs. This will be described in §3.4.5. The general and perfective negation clitics and the interrogative clitic all seem to have lexical tone. Their tonal behavior will be described in §3.4.6.

3.3.2 *Tone on monosyllables*

Tone found on monosyllables is schematized in Table 3.3. Examples are given with both nouns and verbs. Columns #1 and #2 of the table show the surface tonal pattern in isolation, Columns #4 and #5 the surface tonal pattern in connected speech (followed by the disyllabic toneless instrumental/agentive clitic *=goŋni* (§6.2.1, §6.2.4) in the case of nouns; followed by the toneless particle *k^{h}i* 'time' (§10.4.2) and toneless general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6) in the case of verbs, which renders the meaning 'when V-ing'), and Column #6 shows the analysed underlying tone.

Table 3.3 Tone on monosyllabic words

#1 Isolation	#2 Pattern	#3 Meaning	#4 Running speech	#5 Pattern	#6 Tone
[pî] [kî]	F	'(type of plant)'[102] 'to cut'	[pí = gòŋnì] [kí kʰì = bù]	H = L.L H L = L	Falling
[pí]/[pî] [kí]/[kî]	H/F	'truth' 'to chase'	[pí = góŋnì] [kí kʰí = bù]	H = H.L H H = L	High
[pǐ] [kǐ]	R	'belly' 'to put in'	[pì = góŋní] [kì kʰí = bú]	L = H.H L H = H	Rising
[wǔ]		'tiger'	[wù = gòŋní] [wù = góŋní]	L = L.H L = H.H	Low
[dzɛ̌j]		'to ride'	[dzɛ̀j kʰì = bú] [dzɛ̀j kʰí = bú]	L L = H L H = H	

Similar to the Niúwōzǐ, Táobā and Shuǐluò varieties of Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:48; Lù 2001:59; Jacques 2011c:364), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows a three-way distinction in surface tone on monosyllables in isolation (Columns #1 and #2). The high level and high falling tones, however, are not always easily distinguishable in isolation or at the end of an intonation unit: in those environments the high level tone is often realized with a fall at the end.[103] Dīng (1998:52) noted this for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ as well, but he showed that there is a slight difference in their tonal contour (1998:53; 2001:65-67). Their dissimilar tonal behaviour in running speech (Columns #4 and #5) also indicates clearly that they are two different underlying tones.

Words that show rising surface tone in isolation can be divided into two groups based on their tonal behaviour in running speech. The dissimilar tonal behaviour of the two groups (Columns #4 and #5) suggests that at least one extra tonal category should be recognised. I have analysed the group that includes the words 'tiger' and 'to ride' as having an underlying Low tone. (The reasons for this will be discussed shortly).

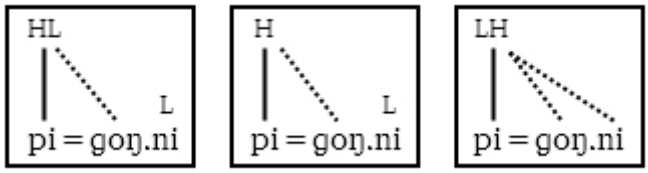
The spreading rules for underlying Falling, High and Rising tone on monosyllables are fairly straightforward. When toneless markers or clitics are attached, this extends the tone group and the underlying tone of the tone-bearing element spreads rightwards, as

[102] So far I have been unable to identify it. The plant grows at high altitudes and has soft white fibres on the back of its leaves, which was traditionally spun into thread and woven together with hemp into garments. Hemp is used for strength and *pî* for warmth.

[103] Greif (2010:236) ascribes this to the presence of a low boundary tone in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ.

is shown in Column #4 of Table 3.3. This can be conceptualised as follows (using the nouns from Table 3.3):

Figure 3.1. Tonal spread in monosyllables



The black line shows to which syllable the tone is attached. The dotted lines show the way the tone spreads. The falling (HL) underlying tone on the word /pî/ '(type of plant)' splits into H and L; the H stays on the original tone-bearing syllable and the L spreads rightwards to the adjacent syllable, resulting in a high surface tone on the original tone-bearing syllable and a low surface tone on the syllable to the right. The other syllable receives a default low surface tone. (Note that it is also possible to analyse it as the L spreading rightwards to all the syllables of the tone group. For consistency I chose the former and not the latter analysis). The high (H) underlying tone on the word /pí/ 'truth' spreads rightwards to the adjacent syllable, resulting in high surface tones on the original tone-bearing syllable and on the syllable next to it. All the other syllables receive default low surface tones. The rising (LH) underlying tone on the word /pǐ/ 'belly' splits into L and H; the L stays on the original tone-bearing syllable and the H spreads rightwards to up to two adjacent syllables,[104] resulting in a low surface tone on the original tone-bearing syllable and high surface tones on the two adjacent syllables to the right.

The tonal patterns for monosyllabic nouns and verbs that have an underlying low tone are not so straightforward. There are only a few forms that show a L = L.H as well as a L = H.H spreading pattern, as shown in Table 3.3 for [wŭ] 'tiger' and examples (90) and (91). Apart from 'tiger', only the numeral *sòŋ* 'three' has been attested with L = L.H and L = H.H spread, as in (92) and (93).

[104] It is reported for Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ, however, that spreading of H can take place to three toneless syllables (Jacques 2011a:366). Spreading is allowed across only one morpheme boundary, and the trisyllabic morpheme *mədərə* in his examples is not used in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

(90) ((wù = gòŋní)) #qà-bʲǽ# sèŋbóŋ = bì# dəbǔ#

wù = goŋni	qǎ-bʲæ	seŋbóŋ = bi	dəbǔ
tiger = AGT	DOWN-side:GEN	tree = DAT	then

tɛ̀-ɕú tʰɛ́-pɯ̀# ɦà tɕəbù

tɛ̌-ɕú	tʰɛ̌-pɯ́	ɦa	tɕəbu
one-CLF:armful	FR.SP-do	LINK	because

'((Tiger)) grabbing an armful of tree down there, (said,) (...)' (KZ03.36)

(91) wù = góŋní# dəbǔ,# wù = góŋní# dəbǔ

wù = goŋni	dəbǔ	wù = goŋni	dəbǔ
tiger = AGT	then	tiger = AGT	then

'The tiger (said,) (...)' (KZ03.9)

(92) ʐépʲæ̀# sòŋ = gə̀ = bú,# nǒŋ# ɛ̀lʲǎtì....

ʐêpʲæ	sòŋ = gə = bu	nǒŋ	ɛlʲǎti
last.year:GEN	three = DEF = TOP	so	a.little

'But last year's three.... a little....' (CV21.152)

(93) sòŋ = góŋ# tʲóŋ tà# tɕǽ = ɖwéŋ mə̀ dzə̀ mà.

sòŋ = goŋ	tʲôŋ	tɑ	tɕǽ = ɖweŋ	mə dzə	mɑ
three = AGT	one:CLF:thing	only	calculate = IPFV:EGO:N.SG	GNOMIC	INFO

'(…) (we) consider the three to be just one thing.' (CV21.594.3)

The L = H.H and L = L.H tonal patterns seem to be able to be used interchangeably with *wù* and *sòŋ*, and there seem to be pragmatic reasons that trigger one versus the other.[105] More research is needed. Since it concerns only two nominal forms, it might be an option to treat them as an exception. However, there is a whole group of verbs that shows a similar tonal spread.

Monosyllabic surface rising tone verbs can be divided into two groups as seen from their tonal pattern in Table 3.3. The first pattern, L H = H is shared by both groups (and as seen above by all surface rising tone nouns as well). In addition to the L H = H pattern, one group of verbs also shows a L L = H tonal spreading pattern. This group of verbs is special in that their tonal pattern is different in their basic form and in their prefixed form as shown in Table 3.4, i.e. when prefixed, these verb act like falling tone verbs (further discussion will follow in §3.4.5). In this grammar I refer to the verbs in Table 3.4 as alternating verbs, and to verbs that show a normal L H = H spreading pattern when prefixes are attached, as non-alternating verbs.

[105] My main consultant also offered the suggestion that the L.L.HH spreading pattern might be influenced from another speech variety on the Wǎdū speech variety.

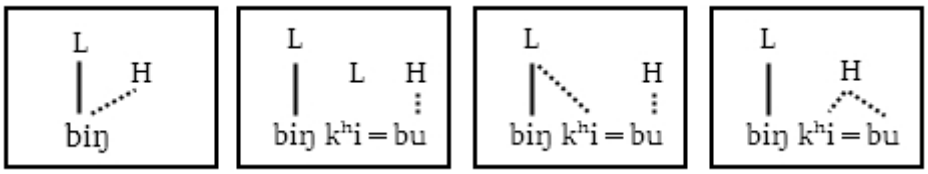
Table 3.4 Tonal spread of alternating verbs

Basic form	L H = H pattern	L L = H pattern	L-H L = L pattern	Meaning
[bǐŋ]	[bìŋ kʰí = bú]	[bìŋ kʰì = bú]	[kʰə̀-bíŋ kʰì = bù]	'to fly'
[ʐǎ]	[ʐà kʰí = bú]	[ʐà kʰì = bú]	[də̀-ʐá kʰì = bù]	'to carry'

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the group of alternating verbs displays two tonal patterns in their basic (non-prefixed) forms,[106] either L L = H or L H = H as shown in Table 3.4. These patterns seem to be used interchangeably and it is not clear yet what triggers each pattern. It possibly ties in with the pragmatics of the utterance or with stress, but further research is needed. In their prefixed forms, however, these verbs show a L-H L = L tonal pattern, and behave in that way exactly like falling tone verbs.

For the present purposes, I analyse the group of alternating verbs as having a low tone underlyingly. Since all tone groups need to have at least one H tone attached to them (see §3.2), one could analyse the presence of a H tone that is added post-lexically, which results in a rising surface tone in isolation (see the first image in Figure 3.2). This also happens when toneless markers follow in the same tone group. However, there are two tonal surface patterns that appear (L L = H and L H = H), which could be analysed as the H post-lexical tone attaching to the final syllable of the tone group (the second or third image in Figure 3.2), or to both the final and the penultimate syllable (the fourth image in Figure 3.2). Image two and three differ in the origin of the low surface tone on *kʰi*. One could either analyse it as a default low tone that is assigned to the syllable, or as the spreading of the low underlying tone of the verb.

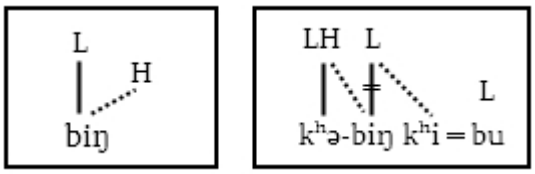
Figure 3.2. Low tone (alternating) verbs



The tonal pattern that can be observed in the prefixed form can be conceptualised as in Figure 3.3. This tonal pattern will be discussed in relation to the underlying tone of directional prefixes in §3.4.5.

[106] This was not mentioned in Jacques (2011) for Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ alternating verbs, so further research is needed to clarify whether the same phenomenon happens there.

Figure 3.3. Tonal alternating verbs



In (94) both tonal patterns can be seen with the alternating verb *ɻì* 'to burn', and in (95) with the alternating verbs *ɖæ̀ŋ* 'to run' and *bìŋ* 'to fly'.

(94) **ɻì=bŭ**,# pɛ́pù# **ɻì=ɖáw mə́ dzə̀**.

ɻì=bu	pɛ̂pu	ɻì=ɖɑw	mə dzə
burn=TOP	bottom	burn=IPFV:N.EGO	GNOMIC

'(Cypress incense) is also burned at the bottom.' (CV21.573)

(95) tɛ̀nə̌# nǐŋ# tsɛ́tsɑ̀w=nòŋ# tə́=ɻə́# nə́ pɯ́# nǒŋ#

tɛnə̌	nǐŋ	tsɛ̂tsɑw=noŋ	tə́=ɻə	nə́	pɯ́	nǒŋ
otherwise	INTJ	fight=COORD	this=PL	thus	do	so

gwèŋ=nóŋ# tə́=ɻə́# nə́ pɯ́# **ɖæ̀ŋ-mə̀=tí#**

gwěŋ=noŋ	tə́=ɻə	nə́	pɯ́	ɖæ̀ŋ-mə=ti
horse=COORD	this=PL	thus	do	run-NMLZ=INDF

mə́=qʰù# **ɖæ̀ŋ=nóŋ# bìŋ-mə̀=tí=bú**# kí ɕì=qɛ̀j?

mə̂=qʰu	ɖæ̀ŋ=noŋ	bìŋ-mə=ti=bu	kî	ɕǐ=qɛj
sky=on	run=COORD	fly=NMLZ=INDF=TOP	where	EXIST.AB=EXPT

'(...) how could there be ones running like this on horses and such, ones running and flying (on horses) in the sky?' (CV13.95.2)

Thus, although the evidence to establish a separate tone group for nominals is rather sparse, and *wù* and *sòŋ* could be treated as exceptions, there is a whole group of verbs that warrant the analysis of a separate tone. In §3.4.5 it will be seen that this group of verbs is also present in other Pǔmǐ speech varieties.

In summary, Table 3.5 illustrates the tonal patterns that have been described in this section for the different monosyllabic verbs (*=seŋ* is the toneless egophoric perfective clitic described in §8.3.1). The high tone verb 'to chase' shows a straightforward spread of the high tone to the adjacent syllable in both prefixed and non-prefixed forms. The falling tone verb 'to cut' shows a straightforward split of the tone into H and L in both prefixed and non-prefixed forms, with the high tone remaining on the verb stem and the low tone spreading to the clitic *=seŋ*. The alternating tone verb 'to sell' displays the tonal alternation pattern described above for alternating verbs, namely, the L=LH and L=HH patterns for its non-prefixed form and the L-H=L pattern that is similar to that of falling tone verbs for its prefixed form. The rising tone verb 'to give drink' shows

a straightforward split of the rising tone into L and H in both prefixed and non-prefixed forms, with the low tone remaining on the verb stem and the high tone spreading to the clitic *=seŋ*.

Table 3.5 Tonal spread in monosyllabic verbs

Meaning	Verb stem	Tonal spread without prefix		Tonal spread with prefix
'chase'	/kí/	[kí=séŋ]		[tʰɛ̀-kí=séŋ]
'cut'	/kî/	[kí=sèŋ]		[tʰɛ̀-kí=sèŋ]
'sell'	/kì/	[kì=séŋ]	[kì=sěŋ]	
'give drink'	/kǐ/			[tʰɛ̀-kì=séŋ]

3.3.3 *Tones on disyllables*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows five possible tonal patterns on disyllables. These are shown in Table 3.6. Examples are given with both nouns and verbs.

Table 3.6 Tone on disyllabic words

	Isolation	Pattern	Meaning	Running speech	Pattern
1	[bʉ́tsə̀] [də̀dwɛ̀]	H.L	'cremation site' 'to ask'	[bʉ́tsə̀=gòŋnì] [də̀dwɛ̀ kʰì=bù]	H.L=L.L H.L L=L
2	[píháw] [ɕáwɻ̊wá]	H.H	'bamboo basket' 'to wring'	[píháw=gòŋnì] [ɕáwɻ̊wá kʰì=bù]	H.H=L.L H.H L=L
3	[qʰòŋdzî] [ʈʂæ̀ɻæ̂]	L.F	'spoon' 'to prepare'	[qʰòŋdzí=gòŋnì] [ʈʂæ̀ɻǽ kʰì=bù]	L.H=L.L L.H L=L
4	[bʉ̀ɻɛ́j] [kàwtá]	L.H	'snake' 'to collect'	[bʉ̀ɻɛ́j=góŋnì] [kàwtá kʰí=bù]	L.H=H.L L.H H=L
5	[dɛ̀ɻɛ̌j] [bʲæ̀lʲǒŋ]	L.R	'speech' 'to roll (tr.)'	[dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j=góŋní] [bʲæ̀lʲòŋ kʰí=bú]	L.L=H.H L.L H=H

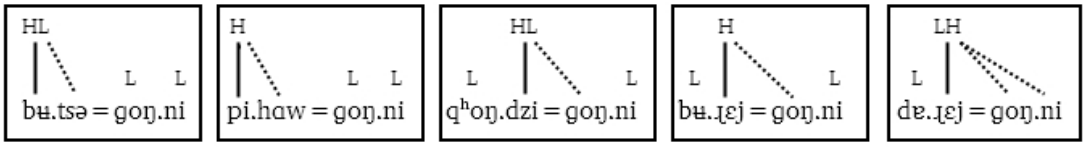
The patterns can be analysed as the placement of three different underlying tones (Falling, High and Rising) on either the first or the second syllable of the word. Pattern 1 has a Falling tone placed on the first syllable, thus in underlying representation /bʉ̂tsə/ and /də̂dwɛ/. Pattern 2 has a High tone placed on the first syllable, thus in underlying representation /píhɑw/ and /ɕáwɻ̊wɑ/. Pattern 3 has a Falling tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying representation /qʰoŋdzî/ and /ʈʂæɻæ̂/. Pattern 4 has a High tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying

representation /bʉɻéj/ and /kɑwtá/. Pattern 5 has a Rising tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying representation /dɐɻěj/ and /bʲælʲǒŋ/.

Note that patterns 3 and 4 are often not distinguishable in isolation: both seem to end in a falling tone in isolation. Only when clitics are added, the distinction becomes clear: this is also noted for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Ding 2006:14) and Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ (Jacques 2011c:364) and is very similar to Japanese (McCawley 1978, Dīng 2006).

The spreading rules for tone on disyllables are fairly straightforward. When toneless markers or clitics are attached, this extends the tone group and the underlying tone of the tone-bearing lexical element spreads rightwards, as is shown in the 'Running speech' column of the table. This can be conceptualised as follows (using the nouns from Table 3.6):

Figure 3.4. Tonal spread in disyllables



The black line shows to which syllable of the word the tone is attached. The dotted lines show the way it spreads. The falling (HL) underlying tone splits into H and L; the H stays on the original tone-bearing syllable and the L spreads rightwards to the adjacent syllable, resulting in a high surface tone on the original tone-bearing syllable and a low surface tone on the syllable to the right. All other syllables receive default low surface tones. The high (H) underlying tone spreads rightwards to the adjacent syllable, resulting in high surface tones on the original tone-bearing syllable and on the syllable next to it. All the other syllables receive default low surface tones. The rising (LH) underlying tone splits into L and H; the L stays on the original tone-bearing syllable and the H spreads rightwards to up to two adjacent syllables, resulting in a low surface tone on the original tone-bearing syllable and high surface tones on the two adjacent syllables to the right. All other syllables receive default low surface tones.

3.3.4 *Tones on polysyllables*

Polysyllabic words are often generated through compounding (tonal patterns in compounding are discussed in §3.4.1). But simplex polysyllabic words do occur. They are often geographical names or names of flora and fauna. Trisyllabic words show seven tonal surface patterns. Examples of tones on trisyllables are shown in Table 3.7. '-' indicates a morpheme break.

Table 3.7 Tones on trisyllabic words

	Isolation	Pattern	Meaning	Running speech	Pattern
1	[níŋʈʂwàdì]	H.L.L	'rainbow'	[níŋʈʂwàdì = gòŋnì]	H.L.L = L.L
2	[l̥átsʰútsʰù]	H.H.L	'(person's name)'	[l̥átsʰútsʰù = gòŋnì]	H.H.L = L.L
3	[tɕʰwǎ-tɕʰɛ́kù]	L.H.L	'pig present'	[tɕʰwǎ-tɕʰɛ́kù = gòŋnì]	L-H.L = L.L
4	[tɕʰwǎsə́pɥ́]	L.H.H	'hawthorn?'	[tɕʰwǎsə́pɥ́ = gòŋnì]	L.H.H = L.L
5	[ʈʂʰɛ̀mɑ̀qwɛ̂j]	L.L.F	'(place name)'	[ʈʂʰɛ̀mɑ̀qwɛ́j = gòŋnì]	L.L.H = L.L
6	[tɕʰùɕìdzə́]	L.L.H	'festival of firstfruits'	[tɕʰùɕìdzə́ = góŋnì]	L.L.H = H.L
7	[tɕʰɛ̀ʈʰəlǐ]	L.L.R	'*Cordyceps*'	[tɕʰɛ̀ʈʰəlì = góŋní]	L.L.L = H.H

The patterns can be analysed as the placement of three different underlying tones (Falling, High and Rising) on the first, the second, or the third syllable of the word. Pattern 1 has a Falling tone placed on the first syllable, thus in underlying representation /nîŋʈʂwɑdi/. Pattern 2 has a High tone placed on the first syllable, thus in underlying representation /l̥átsʰutsʰu/. Pattern 3 has a Falling tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying representation /tɕʰwæ-tɕʰêku/. Pattern 4 has a High tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying representation /tɕʰwæsə́pɥ/. Pattern 5 has a Falling tone placed on the third syllable, thus in underlying representation /ʈʂʰɐmɑqwɛ̂j/. Pattern 6 has a High tone placed on the third syllable, thus in underlying representation /tɕʰuɕidzə́/. Pattern 7 has a Rising tone placed on the third syllable, thus in underlying representation /tɕʰɐʈʰəlǐ/.

Note that patterns 5 and 6 are often not distinguishable in isolation: both seem to end in a falling tone. Only when clitics are added, the distinction becomes clear. All tones spread regularly in the manner described for disyllables (§3.3.3 and Figure 3.4), as can be seen in the column 'Running speech' in the table.

Quadrisyllabic and quinquesyllabic words show six possible tonal surface patterns. Examples are shown in Table 3.8. For reasons of space, 'X' in the 'In speech' (= Running speech) column stands for the citation form as listed in the 'Citation' column.

Table 3.8 Tones on quadrisyllabic and quinquesyllabic words

	Citation	Pattern	Meaning	In speech	Pattern
1	[qúpù-dzɛ̀j-gwèŋ]	H.L-L-L	'common hoopoe'	[X = gòŋnì]	H.L-L-L = L.L
2	[nʲóŋɻəbàlà]	H.H.L.L	'bat'	[X = gòŋnì]	H.H.L.L = L.L
3	[ɻwɛ̀sə́-bʉ̀lʲàɛ]	L.H-L.L	'(type of fungus)'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.H-L.L = L.L
	[qʰʉ̀nʲá-pʉ̀dìmà]	L.H-L.L.L	'deceased old woman'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.H-L.L.L = L.L
4	[ɖəmá-ʂwá-mə̀]	L.H-H-L	'(type of bird)'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.H-H-L = L.L
	[bʉ̀ɻɛ́j-ɻə́-nǽŋhàw]	L.H-H-L.L	'snake skin bag'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.H-H-L.L = L.L
5	[qʰùgæ̀-wúdù]	L.L-H.L	'hazelnut'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.L-H.L = L.L
6	[tòŋtɕəpáwlʲáw]	L.L.H.H	'wild buckwheat'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.L.H.H = L.L
	[pʉ̀dìmá-qʰʉ́nʲàɛ]	L.L.H-H.L	'deceased old woman'	[X = gòŋnì]	L.L.H-H.L = L.L

The patterns can be analysed as the placement of two different underlying tones (Falling and High) on either the first, the second, the third, or the fourth syllable of the word. Pattern 1 has a Falling tone placed on the first syllable, thus in underlying representation /qûpu-dzɛj-gweŋ/. Pattern 2 has a High tone placed on the first syllable, thus in underlying representation /nʲóŋɻəbɑlɑ/. Pattern 3 has a Falling tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying representation /ɻwɛsâ-bʉlʲæ/ and /qʰʉnʲǽ-pʉdimɑ/. Pattern 4 has a High tone placed on the second syllable, thus in underlying representation /ɖəmá-ʂwɑ-mə/ and /bʉɻɛ́j-ɻə-nǽŋhɑw/. Pattern 5 has a Falling tone placed on the third syllable, thus in underlying representation /qʰugæ-wûdu/. Pattern 6 has a High tone placed on the third syllable, thus in underlying representation /toŋtɕəpáwlʲɑw/ and /pʉdimá-qʰʉnʲæ/.

Note that again patterns 5 and 6 are often not distinguishable in isolation: both seem to end in a falling tone. Only when clitics are added, the distinction becomes clear. All tones spread regularly in the manner described for disyllables (§3.3.3) as can be seen in the column 'Running speech' in the table.

3.3.5 *Exceptional tone patterns*

The tonal patterns described in §3.3.2-§3.3.4 can be said to be regular tonal patterns: they only show (rising or falling) contour tones on their final syllable. In general,

contour tones in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are restricted to the final syllable of a tone group (cf. Jacques 2011c:364 for a similar observation in Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ).

Apart from the regular tonal patterns, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows several words with diverging tonal patterns. The most well attested pattern has a rising contour tone in its first syllable: R.L. The R.L pattern is also marginally attested in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 2001:68).[107] Examples of the pattern are given in (96).

(96)	[tsǐjà]	'(name of household)'[108]
	[ʐǎʐæ̀]	'(name of household)'
	[mǎnʲæ̀]	'every'
	[nʲǎɻə̀]	'very early'
	[nǒŋjæ̀]	'later'
	[nǒŋnòŋ]	'and only then'
	[pǎʐɯ̀]	'carpet'[109]
	[kǒŋpù]	'doorway, gate' (< *kǒŋ* 'door' and *pu* 'under')
	[tʲǎsèŋ]	'recent mornings' (< *tʲǎ* 'recent' and *sêŋ* 'morning')
	[ɦǎwkʰì]	'that time' (< *ɦǎw-* 'that' and *-kʰi* 'time')

Note that there are no verbs with a R.L pattern. Diachronically, the examples in (96) might have arisen from the combination of multiple morphemes, but synchronically they all function as a single word. This can be most clearly seen in the word *kǒŋpù* 'doorway, gate', which arose from the noun *kǒŋ* 'door' and the postposition *pu* 'under'. In Niúwōzǐ, most of the R.L patterns occur in words with the morpheme *pǒ* 'lower (part)', like *pǐpò* 'abdomen' (Dīng 2001:68). It might be that the original noun-postposition construction became fused in certain words, but the tone of the construction was kept intact. Compare §3.4.4, where is shown that tone from nominals does not usually spread to postpositions. Thus the noun-postposition construction *kǒŋ pù* 'under the door' seems to have fused to a single noun *kǒŋpù* 'doorway, gate'. A similar noun-postposition fusion seems to have occurred in [pépù] 'bottom', from *pé* 'bottom' and *pu* 'under'. The two other examples in my data with R.L tone are clearly contractions.

(97)	[dǎwmà]	< [dàwʐí ɖə̀mà]	'rDorje Drema (Dauma)'
	[ʐǎl̥à]	< [ʐǎʐæ̀] and [l̥àmə́]	'Lhame of the Zjaezjae household'

[107] Jonathan Evans (2001:68,72; 2008:466) mentions a rare mid-rising tone in Mianchi Qiang that is the result of tonal conflation.

[108] Only used as the name of a particular household. If it is used as a personal name, the tone is H.F instead.

[109] My main consultant suggested that the word for 'carpet' seems to be a combination of two Chinese loanwords, *pá* 扒 'to spread' and *rù* 褥 'mattress'.

The examples in Table 3.9 also do not fit the regular tonal patterns described in §3.3.2-§3.3.4. As stated above, a tone group (and thus by default, a single lexical item) has only one underlying tone attached to it, either Falling, High, or Rising (and Low in monosyllables) which results in up to two high surface tones in adjacent syllables. The examples in Table 3.9 are exceptional in that they either show a rising surface tone on a non-final syllable (1-7) and/or show more than two high surface tones for which multiple lexical tones need to be posited in the underlying tonal template (2-20). The examples might be mergers of earlier independent morphemes that kept their original tonal templates[110] or loanwords from other languages. One could argue that some of these forms (especially the 'elaborate expressions'-four-syllabic, compound-like structures with a repeated syllable and ABAC or ABCB patterns, 15-19; and maybe also 7 and 20) are non-compounded independent words that form a set phrase. The problem is that none of their parts can be used independently. However, one supporting argument for this is that there is a whole set of forms, listed in Table 3.14 that are four-syllabic set phrases that do not form one phonological unit. In those words, the two parts can still be used as independent words. Since the exceptions in Table 3.9 and examples (96) and (97) form a relatively small group of words, I will treat them here as exceptions, rather than try to fit them into the overall tonal system.

Table 3.9 Exceptional tone patterns

	Tonal pattern	Example word	Meaning	Note
1	L.R + L[111]	[ɐlʲǎtì]	'a little'	The form [ɐ̀lʲǎ] 'a little', and [tǐ] 'one' can both appear independently, but not [tì] with low tone.
2	L.R + R	[ŋæjǐçǐ]	'to know'	This verb is split up by negation and might consist of a nominal part plus the existential verb [çǐ].
3	R + R	[lǎlǎ]	'certainly'	Probably reduplication[112]

[110] Dīng (2001:70) talks about 'dual domain' prosodic structure in complex compounds, which explains the occurrence of multiple H tones in compounds. Most of the examples in Table 3.9 are not compounds, but a 'dual domain' prosodic structure seems to be a good explanation for what happens.

[111] *tə̀ = gǒŋnì* (3SG = AGT) is another example of a L.R.L pattern: the demonstrative/third person singular pronoun shows this pattern of spread. This will be discussed in §3.3.7.

[112] Regular reduplication (§5.1.2 and §7.4.1) does not, however, involve contour tones.

	Tonal pattern	Example word	Meaning	Note
4	R + F	[ɕŏŋɖôŋ]	‘(person’s name)’	A contraction from [ɕŏŋ jóŋɖôŋ], with the Chinese surname [ɕŏŋ] (熊 Xiōng) and the Pǔmǐ name [jóŋɖôŋ] < Tibetan *gyung.drung*.
5	R + R + L	[lʲĕmǎtà]	‘useless’	[lʲĕ] does not occur by itself, but probably means ‘use’; [mǎ] is the general negator; the origin of [tà] is not clear.
6	R + H.H (?)	[jŏŋmə́ʐə́] ~ [jŏŋmə́tá]	‘totally the same’	Opaque origin
7	R + L.H.H (?)	[tɕŭpʉ̀ tɕə́dóŋ]	‘(archaic name)’	Only used in genealogies.
8	H + R	[ɻə́ɕĭ]	‘can’	This auxiliary is split up by negation and might consist of a nominal part plus the existential verb *ɕĭ*.
9		[qə́tɕʰə̌]	‘put in effort’	From *qĕ* ‘strength’ and *tɕʰə̌* ‘to put in’?
10	L.H + R (?)	[nǽŋpʰúqʰǎ]	‘emperor’	A Yǒngníng Na loanword?
11	H.H + F (?)	[lóŋmə́zî]	‘(person’s name)’	A Nuòsū name
		[mə́tʲǽɕî]	‘every’	
12	H.L + H (?)	[ɕóŋkòŋɻí]	‘(name of place)’	Only used in libations, is said to be located in Tibet.
13		[mə́dìdzə́]	‘every’	
14		[sə́dȁsə́][113]	‘water spirit’	Ritual term

[113] Compare to [sə̀dásə́] ‘angry person’. The two seem to be related, but the tone is different.

	Tonal pattern	Example word	Meaning	Note
15	H.L + H.L	[ɻwéqʰʉ̀ ɻwémæ̀ŋ]	'from beginning to end of road'	From [ɻwê] 'road', [qʰʉ̌] 'head' and [mæ̂ŋ] 'tail-end'. Interestingly [ɻwéqʰʉ̀] and [ɻwémæ̀ŋ] are never used by themselves.
16	H.L + L.F	[mátɛ̀j sə̀tɛ̂j]	'moon tree'	A mythical tree in the Deluge story
17	H.L + H.H	[pʰéʂə̀ pʰéɻú]	'waste'	From [pʰɛ̌] 'to throw out'?
18	H.H + L.F	[níwá nìsôŋ]	'hell'	Ritual term
19	H.H + L.H	[pʰálá ɖæ̀lá]	'god of war'	Ritual term (< Tibetan ? *dgra.lha*)
20	L.H + L.H	[tʰæ̀jǽ dʑòŋtsʰú]	'great ocean'	Ritual term, (< Tibetan ? *rgya.mtsho*)

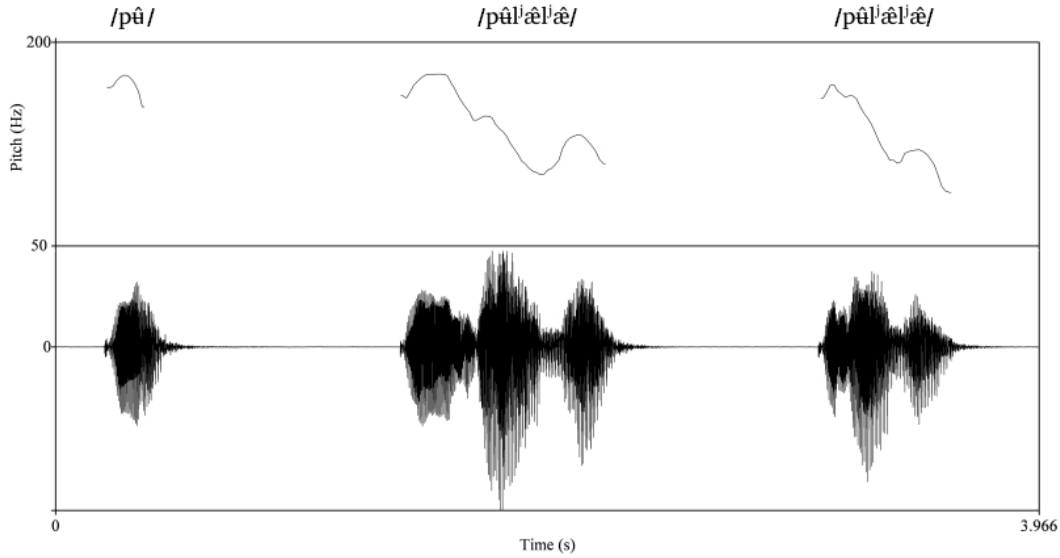
3.3.6 *Tone in expressives*

Expressives (described in §9.2) show a special tonal template that is not found in other lexical words. The characteristic feature of the (trisyllabic) expressives is two falling tones in the (ideophonic) reduplicated second and third syllable. This tonal template may accentuate the special nature of expressives as words that are extremely colourful and intense (such as /tɕʰwǎʂwâʂwâ/ 'dirty as a pig sty'), and help them stand out in discourse.

There is some amount of interplay between the tones of the first syllable (usually the semantically meaningful part) and the reduplicated second and third syllable (usually the ideophone part) of an expressive.

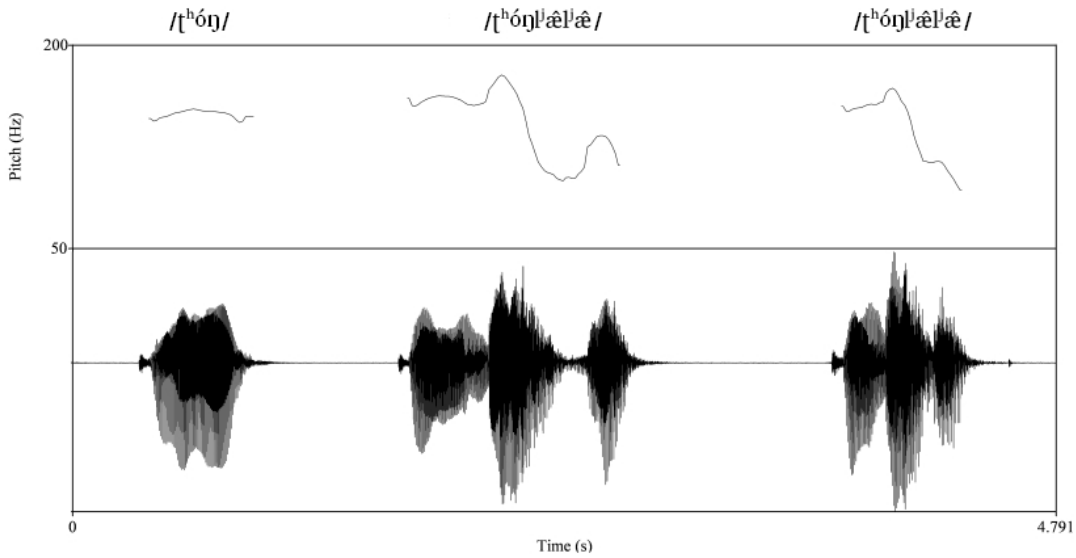
When the first syllable has an underlying falling tone, it tends to downstep the falling tone of the second syllable, resulting in a lower starting pitch of the second syllable, as in the expressive /pûlʲæ̂lʲæ̂/ [pû˧˥lʲæ̂˧˥lʲæ̂] 'very soft' (< /pû/ 'soft'). The falling tone of the ideophonic second syllable causes a downstep for the third syllable, resulting in an even lower starting pitch of the third syllable. In rapid speech the effect is often high-mid-low (or low-high-mid for the other two expressives described below). This is illustrated in Figure 3.5: first the original tone of the first syllable is shown, then the tone of the expressive when pronounced slowly, and finally the tone of the expressive when pronounced quickly.

Figure 3.5. Falling tone in expressives



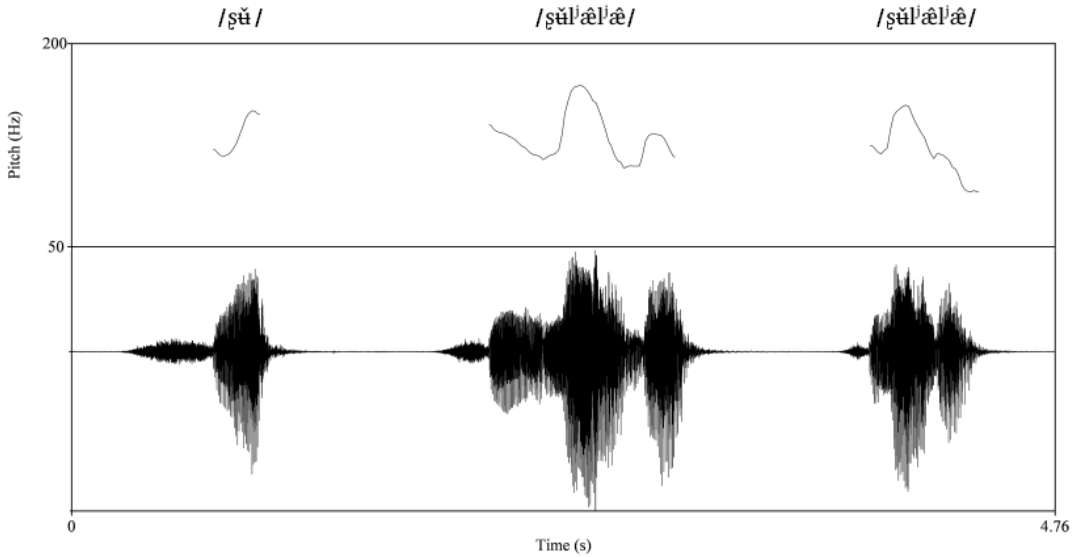
When the first syllable has an underlying high tone, it tends to upstep the falling tone of the second syllable, resulting in an even higher starting level of the falling tone of the second syllable, as in the expressive /ʈʰóŋlʲæ̂lʲæ̂/ [ʈʰóŋ˦lʲæ̂˧˩lʲæ̂] 'very white' (</ʈʰóŋ/ 'white'). When pronounced quickly, the auditory result is high-high-low or mid-high-low. This is illustrated in Figure 3.6 in the same way as Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.6. High tone in expressives



When the first syllable has an underlying rising tone, it also tends to upstep the falling tone of the second syllable, resulting in an even higher starting level of the falling tone of the second syllable, as in the expressive /ʂǔlʲæ̂lʲæ̂/ [ʂǔ˦˩lʲæ̂˧˩lʲæ̂] 'hot' (</ʂǔ/ 'warm'). When pronounced quickly, the auditory result is low-high-low or low-high-mid. This is illustrated in Figure 3.7 in the same way as Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.7. Rising tone in expressives



3.3.7 *Tone in pronouns*

Tonal spread with pronouns is not totally straightforward. Table 3.10 presents the tonal patterns of pronouns in combination with agentive, genitive, dual and plural clitics and with collective plural marker. Although the clitics are taken to be underlyingly toneless, not all tonal patterns shown in Table 3.10 can be explained by simple rightward spreading of the tone of the pronoun. Apart from the logophoric pronoun, whose tonal spread is totally straightforward, the other patterns all show irregularities. The patterns of first inclusive and second person (which are completely similar to each other) show a few irregularities: a surface high tone appears sometimes on one and sometimes on two syllables.

The tonal patterns of first exclusive and third person (which apart from the forms in bold font are completely similar to each other) show the most interesting surface tones, especially a rising contour on a non-final syllable followed by a low surface tone on the final syllable in several forms. At present, these patterns cannot be explained. Further (cross-dialectal) research might shed some light on this puzzle.

Table 3.10 Tonal spread with pronouns

	SG	DU	PL	COLL
1.EXCL	[ɛ́]	[ɛ̀ = dzǎŋ]	**[ɛ́ = ɻə̀]**	[ɛ́-bʉ̀]
1:EXCL (AGT)	**[ɛ̀ = ní(nî)]**	[ɛ̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = góŋ(nî)]	[ɛ̀ = ɻǒŋ(nì)]	[ɛ̀-bǒ(nì)]
1:EXCL (GEN)	**[ɛ́ = gæ̂]**	[ɛ̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = gǽ]	[ɛ̀ = ɻǽ]	[ɛ̀-bǎ]
1:EXCL (PART)				[ɛ̀-bʉ̀-sěŋ]
1.INCL	-	[ìŋ = dzæ̂ŋ]	[ìŋ = ɻə́]	[ìŋ-bʉ̂]
1:INCL (AGT)		[ìŋ = dzǽŋ = gòŋ(nì)]	[ìŋ = ɻóŋ(nî)]	[ìŋ-bó(nî)]
		[ìŋ = dzǽŋ = gæ̀]	[ìŋ = ɻǽ]	

	SG	DU	PL	COLL
1:INCL (GEN)				[ìŋ-bâ]
1:INCL (PART)				[ìŋ-bʉ́-sèŋ]
2	[nǐŋ]	[nìŋ = dzæ̂ŋ]	[nìŋ = ɻə́]	[nìŋ-bʉ̂]
2 (AGT)	[nìŋ = góŋ(nî)]	[nìŋ = dzǽŋ = gòŋ(nì)]	[nìŋ = ɻóŋ(nî)]	[nìŋ-bóŋ(nî)]
2 (GEN)	[nìŋ = gǽ]	[nìŋ = dzǽŋ = gæ̀]	[nìŋ = ɻǽ]	[nìŋ-bâ]
2 (PART)				[nìŋ-bʉ́-sèŋ]
3	[tə́]	[tə̀ = dzæ̌ŋ]	**[tə́ = ɻə̂]**	[tə́-bʉ̀]
3 (AGT)	**[tə̀ = gǒŋ(nì)]**	[tə̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = góŋ(nî)]	[tə̀ = ɻǒŋ(nì)]	[tə̀-bǒŋ(nì)]
3 (GEN)	**[tə̀ = gæ̌]**	[tə̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = gǽ]	[tə̀ = ɻæ̌]	[tə̀-bǎ]
3 (PART)				[tə̀-bʉ̀-sěŋ]
LOG	[nî]	[ní = dzæ̀ŋ]	[ní = ɻə̀]	[ní-bʉ̀]
LOG (AGT)	[ní = gòŋ(nì)]	[ní = dzæ̀ŋ = gòŋ(nì)]	[ní = ɻòŋ(nì)]	[ní-bòŋ(nì)]
LOG (GEN)	[ní = gæ̀]	[ní = dzæ̀ŋ = gæ̀]	[ní = ɻæ̀]	[ní-bà]
LOG (PART)				[ní-bʉ̀-sèŋ]

3.3.8 *Alternating tone pairs*

There are certain semantically related pairs of nouns and verbs that are distinguished by tone, as in examples (98-103). There does not seem to be a consistent pattern. They do not usually appear together in the noun and verb slots of a single clause.

(98)	/tɕuɻwá/	[tɕùɻwá]	'to make a circle (of people)'
	/tɕúɻwɑ/	[tɕúɻwá]	'earthen wall encircling the yard'
(99)	/lǔ/	[lǔ]	'to hang'
	/lû/	[lû]	'pole for hanging meat'
(100)	/kwì/	[kwǐ]	'to cover'
	/kwî/	[kwî]	'cover'
(101)	/ʈʰǒŋ/	[ʈʰǒŋ]	'to block'
	/ʈʰóŋ/	[ʈʰóŋ]	'hedge'
(102)	/pʰâ/	[pʰâ]	'to cut in half; CLF:single'
	/pʰǎ/	[pʰǎ]	'half'
(103)	/sâwdʲɑw/	[sáwdʲàw]	'to think'
	/sɑwdʲǎw/	[sàwdʲǎw]	'worrying thought'

One nominal pair that shows similar meanings is only distinguished by tone:

(104) /tôŋloŋ/ [tóŋlòŋ] ‘roundish’ (name of a small round cow without horns)
/toŋlǒŋ/ [tòŋlǒŋ] ‘knot’

In examples (105) and (106) it almost looks like the L.R tonal pattern is a construction.

(105) /ʐênə/ [ʐénə̀] ‘yesterday’
/ʐɐnə̌/ [ʐɐ̀nə̌] ‘in the past’

(106) /ʐêpʉ/ [ʐépʉ̀] ‘last year’
/ʐɐpʉ̌/ [ʐɐ̀pʉ̌] ‘in the past’

The word [tɕíŋmíŋ] ~ [tɕìŋmíŋ] ‘home’ shows alternating tone patterns. There is no difference in meaning, but further research needs to be done in order to see whether there is any difference in use.

3.4 Tone sandhi

As noted in §3.2, tone only spreads within tone groups. A few important lexical tone-bearing elements that often combine in tone groups were mentioned there. When lexical tone-bearing elements combine, the resulting tone sandhi patterns are not always straightforward, but show a certain amount of idiosyncrasy. This is different from the more straightforward tonal spread described in §3.3. This section will discuss the most important tone-bearing elements that appear in tone groups: nominal compounds, noun-verb constituents and noun-attribute (adjective) constituents (§3.4.1), numeral-classifier compounds (§3.4.2), verb-modifier constituents (§3.4.3), noun-postposition constituents (§3.4.4), and directional verbal prefixes and verbs (§3.4.5). The section will end with tone patterns in verbal reduplication (§3.4.7).

3.4.1 *Nominal compounds, noun-adjective and noun-verb constituents*

This sections lists the tonal patterns found in nominal compounds, noun-adjective constituents, and noun-verb constituents. The examples listed in this section are all drawn from the natural corpus.

It can be roughly stated that when the first lexical element of a nominal compound or a noun-verb constituent is polysyllabic, the resulting tone of the constituent will be a regular spread of the tone of the first item, independent of the tone of the second item (when the first element is monosyllabic, things are less straightforward).[114] I do not have any data on polysyllabic noun-adjective or verb-modifier constituents in my dataset. Examples of nominal compounds and noun-verb constituents are given in Table 3.11.

[114] Based on a small scale study, Dīng (1998:74-77; 2001:80) found that 82% of Niúwōzǐ compounds show a regular tone pattern, that is, the tone of the first item is extended to the whole compound.

Table 3.11 Regular tone patterns

1st	2nd	Resulting pattern	Meaning
[tòŋtɕǎ]	[pě]	[tòŋtɕàpé]	‘buckwheat flour’
/toŋtɕǎ/	/pě/	/toŋ**tɕǎ**-pě/	(‘buckwheat’ + ‘flour’)
[dʑ̩ǎdʑ̩ǐ]	[ɖʉ̌]	[dʑ̩ǎdʑ̩ì ɖʉ́]	‘to write’
/dʑ̩ǎdʑ̩ǐ/	/ɖʉ̌/	/dʑ̩ǎ**dʑ̩ǐ** ɖʉ̌/	(‘letter’ + ‘to write’)
[tɕʰèdʲǎw]	[ɻèdʑ̩ǎ]	[tɕʰèdʲàwɻédʑ̩â]	‘libation liquor’
/tɕʰɐdʲǎw/	/ɻɐdʑ̩ǎ/	/tɕʰɐ**dʲǎw**-ɻɐdʑ̩ǎ/	(‘libation’ + ‘liquor’)
[gʉ̀ɖóŋ]	[ʈʂóŋ]	[gʉ̀ɖóŋʈʂôŋ]	‘stone house’
/gʉɖóŋ/	/ʈʂóŋ/	/gʉ**ɖóŋ**-ʈʂóŋ/	(‘stone’ + ‘house’)
[ɻèqá]	[ɕǽ]	[ɻèqá ɕǽ]	‘to cut bones’
/ɻɐqá/	/ɕǽ/	/ɻɐ**qá** ɕǽ/	(‘bone’ + ‘to cut’)
[tɐ̀sú]	[qɐ̀lá]	[tɐ̀súqɐ́là]	‘load of pine needles’
/tɐsú/	/qɐlá/	/tɐ**sú**-qɐlá/	(‘pine needle’ + ‘load’)
[pʉ̀dìmá]	[qʰʉ̀nʲǽ]	[pʉ̀dìmáqʰʉ́nʲǽ]	‘deceased old woman’
/pʉdimá/	/qʰʉnʲǽ/	/pʉdi**má**-qʰʉnʲǽ/	(‘old woman’ + ‘deceased’)
[ɻə̂tsə̀]	[ɻ̊û]	[ɻə̂tsə̀ɻ̊ʉ̀]	‘blade of knife’
/ɻə̂tsə/	/ɻ̊û/	/**ɻə̂**tsə-ɻ̊û/	(‘knife’ + ‘tooth’)
[l̥íɕwèŋ]	[qû]	[l̥íɕwèŋ qù]	‘to cook shepherd’s lunch’
/l̥îɕweŋ /	/qû/	/**l̥î**ɕweŋ qû/	(‘shepherd’s lunch’ + ‘to cook’)
[ɖʑ̩ɛ́qɛ̂]	[bû]	[ɖʑ̩ɛ́qɛ́bʉ̀]	‘honey’
/ɖʑ̩ɛ́qɐ/	/bû/	/**ɖʑ̩ɛ́**qɐ-bû/	(‘bee’ + ‘sugar’)
[pʉ́qâ]	[tɕwǐ]	[pʉ́qá tɕwì]	‘to wear shoes’
/pʉ́qɑ/	/tɕʰwǐ/	/**pʉ́**qɑ tɕʰwǐ/	(‘shoe’ + ‘to wear’)
[mínî]	[pʉ́qâ]	[mínípʉ̀qà]	‘straw sandal’
/míni/	/pʉ́qɑ/	/**mí**ni-pʉ́qɑ/	(‘straw sandal’ + ‘shoe’)
[qʰʉ̀nʲǽ]	[pʉ̀dìmá]	[qʰʉ̀nʲǽpʉ̀dìmà]	‘deceased old woman’
/qʰʉnʲǽ/	/pʉdimá/	/qʰʉ**nʲǽ**-pʉdimá/	(‘deceased’ + ‘old woman’)
[mɐ̀qû]	[kǐ]	[mɐ̀qú kì]	‘to feed oil’
/mɐqû/	/kǐ/	/mɐ**qû** kǐ/	(‘oil + ‘to feed’)

Some exceptions may be noted. Examples are given in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 Exceptions

1st	2nd	Resulting pattern	Meaning
[ɕɛ̀nə̌] /ɕɛnə̌/	[lɛ̌j] /lɛ̌j/	[ɕɛ̀nə̀lɛ̂j] /ɕɛnə̌-lɛ̌j/	‘oat seeds’ (‘oats’ + ‘seed’)
[ɻɛ̀dʐə̌] /ɻɛ̀dʐə̌/	[qʰwǎ] /qʰwǎ/	[ɻɛ̀dʐə̀ qʰwâ] /ɻɛdʐə̌-qʰwǎ/	‘liquor bowl’ (‘liquor’ + ‘bowl’)
[tʰùlǐ] /tʰulǐ/	[pɛ̀jkwêŋ] /pɛjkwêŋ/	[tʰùlìpɛ́jkwèŋ] /tʰulǐ-pɛjkwêŋ/	‘hare brothers’ (‘hare’ + ‘brothers’)
[qʰùgǎ] /qʰugǎ/	[wùdú] /wudú/	[qʰùgǎ̀wúdù] /qʰugǎ-wudú/	‘hazelnut’ (‘hazel’ + ‘walnut’)
[ɻɛ̀dʐə̌] /ɻɛdʐə̌/	[bʉ̌] /bʉ̌/	[ɻɛ̀dʐə̀ bʉ̂] /ɻɛdʐə̌ bʉ̂/	‘to distill liquor’ (‘liquor’+‘to distill’)
[ʈwɛ̀jîŋ] /ʈwɛjîŋ/	[bóŋ] /bóŋ/	[ʈwɛ̀jíŋbôŋ] /ʈwɛjíŋ-bóŋ/	‘(type of plant)’ (‘[type of plant]’ +‘tree’)
[ʈæ̀pá] /ʈæpá/	[dʑæ̀tsʰéŋ] /dʑætsʰéŋ/	[ʈæ̀pá dʑæ̀tsʰèŋ] /ʈæpâ-dʑætsʰéŋ/	‘(person’s name)’

For some exceptions the resulting tone seems to be based on the underlying tone of the second element instead of the first, assigning default L tones to the first part, as can be seen in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13 Exceptions (tone based on second part)

1st	2nd	Resulting pattern	Meaning
[tòŋtɕə̌] /toŋtɕə̌/	[dʑî] /dʑî/	[tòŋtɕə̀-dʑî] /toŋtɕə-dʑî/	‘buckwheat porridge’ (‘buckwheat’ + ‘boiled substance’)
[ɻɛ̀mâ] /ɻɛmâ/	[nʲǎ] /nʲǎ/	[ɻɛ̀mà-nʲǎ] /ɻɛmɑ-nʲǎ/	‘black hen’[115] (‘chicken’ + ‘black’)
[ʑɛ́gì] /ʑɛ̂gi/	[n̩ôŋ] /n̩ôŋ/	[ʑɛ̀gə̀-n̩ôŋ] /ʑɛgə-n̩ôŋ/	‘the day after’ (‘after’ + ‘day’)
[ʑɛ́nə̀] /ʑɛ̂nə/	[sêŋ] /sêŋ/	[ʑɛ̀nə̀-sêŋ] /ʑɛnə-sêŋ/	‘yesterday morning’ (‘yesterday’ + ‘morning’)

[115] This word is only used in sayings. The normal way of referring to a black hen would be *ɻɛmá nʲǎ* with two phonological constituents.

The constituents in Table 3.14 do not show any tone sandhi, but keep their respective underlying tones. Most of them are set phrases and should be regarded as separate tone groups. They differ from the quadrisyllabic words with exceptional tone patterns listed in Table 3.9 in that the two parts of the set phrases in Table 3.14 can also be used independently. The words in Table 3.9 only occur in their quadrisyllabic form.

Table 3.14 Set phrases

1st	2nd	Resulting pattern	Meaning
[tʰóŋmə́] /tʰóŋmə/	[l̥ʲǽɖú] /l̥ʲǽɖu/	[tʰóŋmə́ l̥ʲǽɖú] /tʰómə# l̥ʲǽɖu/	'Pǔmǐ friend' ('Pumi' + 'friend')
[ɖwìlóŋ] /ɖwilóŋ/	[lʲǎkǽ] /lʲǎkǽ/	[ɖwìlóŋ lʲǎkǽ] /ɖwilóŋ# lʲǎkǽ/	'customs' ('custom' + 'things')
[qʰóŋmə́] /qʰóŋmə/	[tɕʰáwtɕǎ] /tɕʰâwtɕǎ/	[qʰóŋmə́ tɕʰáwtɕǎ] /qʰómə# tɕʰâwtɕǎ/	'relatives' ('relative' + 'relative')
[tsákî] /tsáki/	[ʂə́dʐì] /ʂə̂dʐi/	[tsákí ʂə́dʐì] /tsáki# ʂə̂dʐi/	'pork back slice and limbs' ('meat cut' + 'limbs')
[tsə́ʐì] /tsə̂ʐi/	[dʲúdʲú] /dʲúdʲu/	[tsə́ʐì dʲúdʲú] /tsə̂ʐi# dʲúdʲu/	'monkey' ('monkey' + 'monkey')
[sə́tɕʰǎ] /sə̂tɕʰǎ/	[dìŋbá] /diŋbá/	[sə́tɕʰǎ dìŋbá] /sə̂tɕʰǎ# diŋbá/	'place' ('place' + 'place')

When the first lexical item of a compound is monosyllabic, things are not so straightforward.[116] In Table 3.15 the tonal patterns for nominal compounds (N+N), noun-verb constituents (N+V) and noun-adjective constituents (N+A) with two monosyllabic parts are given (Column #1 shows their structure). Columns #2 and #3 display the original tone of the first and second part respectively; Column #4 lists the resulting tone of the two parts combined in one phonological unit; and Column #5 lists examples for each pattern.

As can be seen, most identical combinations result in multiple tonal patterns. The tonal patterns of nominal compounds, noun-verb constituents and noun-adjective constituents roughly correspond, and it is plausible that additional data will bring more corresponding patterns to light.

[116] Wǎdū Pǔmǐ seems to be different in this respect from Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ. Jacques is quoted in Michaud (2010:18): "Compositions des tons dans les composés nominaux: dépendents uniquement du 1er élément. H>HH, LH ou HL>LH." (Compounding of tones in nominal compounds depends entirely on the first element. H>H-H; LH or HL>LH).

Table 3.15 Tonal sandhi patterns

#1	#2 1st	#3 2nd	#4 Result	#5 Example	#6 Meaning
N + N	H	H	H-H	/ɕú/ + /tɕʰwí/ > [ɕútɕʰwí]	‘rice sausages’ (‘paddy rice’ + ‘instestine’)
			H-L	/ɻwé/ + /ʈʰʉ́/ > [ɻwéʈʰʉ̀]	‘yak horn’ (‘yak’ + ‘horn’)
			L-H	/hí/ + /ʈʂóŋ/ > [hìʈʂóŋ]	‘shrine room’ (‘god’ + ‘house’)
O + V	H	H	H-H	/ɕú/ + /tsáw/ > [ɕú tsáw]	‘to pound rice’ (‘paddy rice’ + ‘to pound’)
N + A	H	H	H-H	/tsʰí/ + /tɛ́j/ > [tsʰítɛ́j]	‘alpine meadow’ (‘meadow’ + ‘big’)
			H-L	/tɕə́/ + /tɛ́j/ > [tɕə́tɛ̀j]	‘big river’ (‘water’ + ‘big’)
			L-H	/tɕə́/ + /kóŋ/ > [tɕə̀kóŋ]	‘cold water’ (‘water’ + ‘cold’)
N + N	H	LH	H-H	/ɕú/ + /jǐŋ/ > [ɕújîŋ]	‘paddy rice field’ (‘paddy rice’ + ‘field’)
			L-H	/qwé/ + /nɛ̌j/ > [qwènɛ́j]	‘cow’s milk’ (‘cow’ + ‘milk’)
			L-LH	/kʰwé/ + /kʰǐ/ > [kʰwèkʰǐ]	‘lake edge’ (‘lake’ + ‘edge’)
O + V	H	LH	H-H	/tsá/ + /ɻě/ > [tsá ɻé]	‘to cut meat’ (‘meat’ + ‘to cut’)
			L-H	/ɻwé/ + /l̥ǐ/ > [ɻwè l̥í]	‘to herd yaks’ (‘yak’ + ‘to herd’)
			L-LH	/tɕə́/ + /ʐwɛ̌j/ > [tɕə̀ʐwɛ̌j]	‘to swim’ (‘water’ + ‘to rinse’)
N + A	H	LH	H-H	/tsá/ + /ɕǐ/ > [tsɛ́ɕí]	‘fresh pork back’ (‘meat’ + ‘new’)
			L-H	/tɕə́/ + /ʂʉ̌/ > [tɕə̀ʂʉ́]	‘warm water’ (‘water’ + ‘warm’)

#1	#2 1st	#3 2nd	#4 Result	#5 Example	#6 Meaning
N + N	H	HL	H-H	/ɕú/ + /dʑî/ > [ɕúdʑí]	‘cooked rice’ (‘paddy rice’ + ‘boiled substance’)
			H-L	/tɕə́/ + /qôŋ/ > [tɕə́qòŋ]	‘river’ (‘water’ + ‘gully’)
			L-LH	/tɕə́/ + /sǔ/ > [tɕə̀sǔ]	‘mist’ (‘water’ + ‘air’)
			L-H	/ɻwɛ́/ + /tɕôŋ/ > [ɻwɛ̀tɕóŋ]	‘yak wool’ (‘yak’ + ‘wool’)
O + V	H	HL	H-H	/tɕʰwí/ + /tsɛ̂j/ > [tɕʰwí tsɛ́j]	‘to wash intestines’ (‘intestine’ + ‘to wash’)
			H-L	/tɕə́/ + /tsə̂/ > [tɕə́ tsə̀]	‘to divert water’ (‘water’ + ‘to divert’)
N + A	H	HL	-	-	-
N + N	HL	LH	L-LH	/tsʰə̂/ + /qʰʉ̌/ > [tsʰə̀qʰʉ̌]	‘goat head’ (‘goat’ + ‘head’)
			H-H	/ɻ̊û/ + /ɖwǎŋ/ > [ɻ̊úɖwǎŋ]	‘pine torch trunk’ (‘pine torch’ + ‘trunk’)
			H-L	/ɕê/ + /pě/ > [ɕépè]	‘wheat flour’ (‘wheat’ + ‘flour’)
			L-H	/qæ̂ŋ/ + /n̥ǎŋ/ > [qæ̀ŋn̥áŋ]	‘phlegm’ (‘neck’ + ‘snot’)
O + V	HL	LH	L-LH	/tɕʰû/ + /lěj/ > [tɕʰù lěj]	‘to sow crops’ (‘crops’ + ‘to sow’)
			H-L	/ʐ̩ə̂/ + /ʈʰǎ/ > [ʐ̩ə́ ʈʰǎ]	‘to shoot a bow’ (‘bow’ + ‘to shoot’)
			L-H	/ɕî/ + /dzǔ/ > [ɕìdzú]	‘to saddle a horse’ (‘saddle’ + ‘to make’)
N + A	HL	LH	L-LH	/pʉ̂/ + /ɖě/ > [pʉ̀ɖě]	‘broken axe’ (‘axe’ + ‘bad’)
			H-H	/nʲæ̂/ + /ɖə̌/ > [nʲɛ́ɖə́]	‘big eyed’ (‘eye’ + ‘wide’)

#1	#2 1st	#3 2nd	#4 Result	#5 Example	#6 Meaning
N + N	HL	H	H-L	/tsʰə̂/ + /ʈʰʉ́/ > [tsʰə́ʈʰʉ̀]	'goat horn' ('goat' + 'horn')
			L-H	/lê/ + /tóŋ/ > [lètóŋ]	'wolf lair' ('wolf' + 'pen')
O + V	HL	H	H-L	/qʰæ̂/ + /ʈʉ̌/ > [qʰǽ ʈʉ̀]	'to dig gullies' ('gully' + 'to dig')
			L-H	/tɕʰû/ + /ʂú/ > [tɕʰù ʂú]	'to harvest crops' ('crops' + 'to harvest')
N + A	HL	H	H-L	/ʈʰwî/ + /ʂóŋ/ > [ʈʰwíʂòŋ]	'clean ale' ('ale' + 'clean')
			L-H	/pʉ̂/ + /tɛ́j/ > [pètɛ́j]	'big axe' ('axe' + 'big')
N + N	HL	HL	H-L	/tsʰə̂/ + /ɻə̂/ > [tsʰə́ɻə̀]	'goat skin' ('goat' + 'skin')
			L-H	/ɻû/ + /dôŋ/ > [ɻùdóŋ]	'chicken wing' (chicken' + 'wing')
			L-HL	/ɻû/ + /mâ/ > [ɻèmâ]	'hen' ('chicken' + 'mother')
O + V	HL	HL	H-L	/ɻ̊û/ + /gî/ > [ɻùgí]	'to collect pine torches' ('pine torch' + 'to collect')
			L-H	/ɻû/ + /ʈʂʰə̂/ > [ɻú ʈʂʰə̀]	'to slaughter chickens' ('chicken' + 'to slaughter')
N + A	HL	HL	H-L	/lʲwê/ + /tsê/ > [lʲwɛ́tsɛ̀]	'hot ashes' ('ash' + 'hot')
N + N	LH	LH	L-LH	/tɕʰwǎ/ + /tɕʰǐ/ > [tɕʰwǎtɕʰǐ]	'pig fodder' (pig' + 'food')
			L-H	/sěŋ/ + /pǎ/ > [sèŋpá]	'tree leaf' ('wood' + 'leaf')
			L-HL	/dʑǐ/ + /qʰwǎ/ > [dʑìqʰwâ]	'tea bowl' ('tea' + 'bowl')
			H-L	/sěŋ/ + /ɻǔ/ > [sɛ́ɻù]	'tree trunk' ('tree' + 'stalk')

#1	#2 1st	#3 2nd	#4 Result	#5 Example	#6 Meaning
O + V	LH	LH	L-LH	/gǐ/ + /l̥ǐ/ > [gì l̥ǐ]	'to herd livestock' ('livestock' + 'to herd')
			L-H	/gwěŋ/ + /dzɛ̌j/ > [gwèŋ dzɛ́j]	'to ride a horse' ('horse' + 'to ride')
			L-HL	/nʲə̌/ + /ɦǒŋ/ > [nʲə̀ ɦôŋ]	'to eat roasted grain' ('roasted grain' + 'to eat')
N + A	LH	LH	L-LH	/sěŋ/ + /dʑwǐŋ/ > [sèdʑwǐŋ]	'rotten firewood' ('wood' + 'rotten')
			H-L	/dʑǐ/ + /qʰǎ/ > [dʑɛ́qʰǎ]	'bitter tea' ('tea' + 'bitter')
N + N	LH	H	L-H	/gwěŋ/ + /lʲú/ > [gwèŋlʲú]	'horse feed' ('horse' + 'grain feed')
			L-HL	/pě/ + /dʲóŋ/ > [pèdʲôŋ]	'*tsampa* container' ('flour' + 'container')
			H-L	/qʰʉ̌/ + /ʈʂóŋ/ > [qʰʉ́ʈʂòŋ]	'pillow' ('head' + 'house')
			L-LH	/tɕʰwǎ/ + /ʈʰə́/ > [tɕʰwèʈʰə̌]	'pork leg' ('pig' + 'leg')
			H-HL	/tsǔ/ + /qwá/ > [tsúqwâ]	'side room stove' ('side room' + 'fire place, stove')
O + V	LH	H	L-H	/sěŋ/ + /ɻ̥ú/ > [sèŋ ɻ̥ú]	'to buy firewood' ('firewood' + 'to buy')
			L-HL	/ʈǐ/ + /káw/ > [ʈì kâw]	'to steal mules' ('mule' + 'to steal')
N + A	LH	H	L-H	/pʰʉ̌/ + /tɛ́j/ > [pʰʉ̀tɛ́j]	'expensive' ('price' + 'big')
			L-HL	/dʑǐ/ + /ʂóŋ/ > [dʑìʂôŋ]	'clean tea' ('tea' + 'clean')

#1	#2 1st	#3 2nd	#4 Result	#5 Example	#6 Meaning
N + N	LH	HL	L-H	/gwěŋ/ + /bû/ > [gwèŋbú]	'horse trough' ('horse' + 'trough')
			L-HL	/sɛ̌j/ + /tî/ > [sɛ̀jtî]	'vein' ('blood' + 'vein')
			L-LH	/mě/ + /l̥ʲê/ > [mèl̥ʲě]	'tongue of fire' ('fire' + 'tongue')
			H-L	/qʰʉ̌/ + /m̥ǎ/ > [qʰʉ́m̥à]	'hair' ('head' + 'hair')
O + V	LH	HL	L-H	/sěŋ/ + /ɕǎŋ/ > [sèŋ ɕǎ]	'to cut firewood' ('firewood' + 'to cut')
			L-HL	/qʰʉ̌/ + /ɻî/ > [qʰʉ̀ ɻî]	'to shave one's head' ('head' + 'to shave')
N + A	LH	HL	L-LH	/sěŋ/ + /wû/ > [sɛ̀wǔ]	'dry firewood' ('firewood' + 'dry')

There is even a minimal pair where the tone of the compound of two identical constituents seems to be lexically determined, as in (107). Both forms are compounded from /sěŋ/ 'wood' and /qʰʉ̌/ 'head'. Note that vowel reduction takes place in the second, but not in the first instance. At this point it is not totally clear when vowel reduction happens in compounds. It might be lexically determined. More research is needed. Another example is (108), deriving from /kǒŋ/ 'door' and /tû/ 'obstruction', but in this case both have the same meaning.

(107) /seŋqʰʉ́/ [sèŋqʰʉ́] 'shoot of tree (in spring)'
/sêqʰʉ/ [sɛ́qʰʉ̀] 'tree top (after tree has been cut and trunk is taken)'

(108) /koŋtû/ [kòŋtû] 'threshold'
/kə̂tɑ/ [kə́tɑ̀] 'threshold'

When a monosyllabic lexical item compounds with a disyllabic lexical item, multiple resulting tone patterns may be noted. When the initial monosyllable has a high lexical tone, the high tone spreads one syllable. This is a regular pattern.

(109) /pú/ + /l̥ɛ̀tɕə̌/ > /pú-l̥ɛtɕə/ [púl̥ɛ́tɕə̀] 'frost falcon'

When the initial monosyllable has a rising tone, most of my examples show a split with a low surface tone on the first syllable and a high surface tone on the second syllable, as in (110). But for some compounds the second item keeps its own lexical tone and

the tone of the first item becomes low, as in (111). One compound displays a sort of tone flip, as shown in (112).

(110)	/tsʰĭ/	+	/l̥il̥í/	> /tsʰĭ-l̥il̥i/	[tsʰìl̥íl̥ì]	'salt bag'
(111)	/qʰwĕ/	+	/pɐtsə́/	> /qʰwɐ-pɐtsə́/	[qʰwèpètsə́]	'rhododendron'
	/pʰĭ/	+	/páli/	> /pʰi-páli/	[pʰìpálî]	'hemp jacket'
	/tɕʰĭ/	+	/bɐɫʲŏŋ/	> /tɕʰi-bɐɫʲŏŋ/	[tɕʰèbɐ̀ɫʲŏŋ]	'food lump'
(112)	/ʐǎ/	+	/qwɛjlí/	> /ʐé-qwɛjli/	[ʐéqwɛ́jlì]	'armpit'

When the initial monosyllable has a falling tone, the tone of the initial element splits: the high tone stays on the initial word and the low tone spreads, as in (113). There are three exceptions: the second constituent keeps its original tone and the tone of the first constituent becomes low, as in (114); the initial constituent spreads as if it had a lexical high tone, as in (115); the tones are flipped, as in (116).

(113)	/nîŋ/	+	/ʈʰwɑdí/	> /nîŋ-ʈʰwɑdi/	[níŋʈʰwɑ̀dì]	'rainbow'
(114)	/wû/	+	/séŋtɕi/	> /wu-séŋtɕi/	[wùséŋtɕî]	'wild animal'
(115)	/ʂô/	+	/pɐ́ɻu/	> /ʂó-pɐɻu/	[ʂópɐ́ɻù]	'roast meat'
(116)	/ɻô/	+	/pɐ́qɑ/	> /ɻə-pɐqɑ́/	[ɻə̀pɐ̀qɑ́]	'leather shoe'

In complex compounds that have multiple constituents, the tones show a left-to-right combination pattern, as in (117).

(117)	(/tsʰô/	+ /ɻô/)	+ /gɐtɑ́/	> [tsʰóɻə-gɐ̀tɑ̀]	'goat skin vest'
	(/tɕʰwǎ/	+ /ʈʂʰô/)	+ /wuɕə̌/	> [tɕʰwǎʈʂʰówúɕə̀]	'New Year Pig Slaughter'

3.4.2 *Numeral-classifier compounds*

Numeral-classifier compounds form their own tone group (unless followed by toneless markers). No tonal perturbation can be observed between noun and numeral-classifier when a numeral-classifier compound modifies a noun. Instead, both noun and numeral-classifier compound keep their own tone. This is illustrated in (118) (the nouns and numeral-classifier compounds are presented in square brackets; the first line of the interlinear shows the surface tone; the second line shows the underlying tone; '#' shows the tone group boundaries):

(118) tɕʰwǎ-tɕʰɛ́kù = bù# ʂə́# tɛ́-ʈòŋ#, tòŋtɕə̀-tɕwí# tɛ̀-qóŋ,#

tɕʰwǎ-tɕʰɛkǔ = bu [ʂə̂] [tǐ-ʈôŋ], [toŋtɕə̌-tɕwí] [tǐ-qóŋ]

pig-gift = TOP lean.meat one-CLF:piece buckwheat.sausage one-CLF:ring

ɕú-tɕwí# tɛ̀-qóŋ,# tsʰɨ̌# tɛ́-ʈòŋ,# tswéŋ# tɛ́-ʈòŋ,#

[ɕú-tɕwí] [tǐ-qóŋ], [tsʰɨ̌] [tǐ-ʈôŋ], [tswéŋ] [tǐ-ʈôŋ],

rice.sausage one-CLF:ring lung one-CLF:piece liver one-CLF:piece

ɻɛ̀dʐə̀# tɛ̀-qùbɨ̌,# ʈʰwí# tɛ̀-qùbɨ̌,# tɕʰáwtɕæ̀#

[ɻɛdʐə̀] [tǐ-qùbɨ̌], [ʈʰwî] [tǐ-qùbɨ̌], [tɕʰâwtɕæ]

liquor one-CLF:bottle ale one-CLF:bottle relatives

tɛ́-qɛ̀ = bì mədzæ̀# nə́ = tí# ʐà qʰú wéŋ.

[tǐ-qê] = bi mədzæ# nə́ = ti# ʐǎ qʰǔ weŋ.

one-CLF:household = DAT every thus = INDF carry need CUST.EXCL

'As for the pig gift, one needs to carry a share like this to every household of relatives: one piece of lean meat, one ring of buckwheat sausages, one ring of rice sausages, one piece of lung, one piece of liver, one bottle of liquor, and one bottle of barley alcohol.' (CL01ed.25)

Based on his research of Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ, Jacques states that most numeral classifier constituents in that speech variety are not regular in the sense that they do not follow the tonal rules observed in nouns (Michaud 2010:18).[117] In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, however, numeral-classifier compounds behave like normal nominal compounds in that the resulting tonal patterns are also attested for nominal compounds (as can be seen when comparing Table 3.15 and Table 3.16).

The difference between numeral-classifier compounds and nominal compounds is that nominal compounds show more variation in their resulting tonal patterns. Numeral-classifier compounds also behave like normal nominal compounds in their tonal spread: when followed by toneless clitics or particles, they act exactly like other disyllabic nouns (§3.3.3).

The numbers /tǐ/ '1' and /nǒŋ/ '2' undergo phonological reduction to [tɐ] and [nə] respectively. The only instance of any other numeral undergoing phonological reduction is in the case of the number /sǒŋ/ '3' when it is followed by /-ɻɛj/ [118] 'hundred': instead of the expected form /sóŋɻɛj/, the form is actually /sə́ɻɛj/. Vowel

[117] Jacques is quoted in a presentation by Michaud (2010:18): "La majorité des formes de NUM + CL sont irrégulières, au sens où elle ne suivent pas les règles observées dans les noms." (The majority of NUM + CL forms are irregular in the sense that they do not follow the rules observed in nouns).

[118] Since it never appears without a preceding numeral, it is not possible to establish the original tone for the classifier 'hundred'.

reduction is an additional argument to analyse numeral-classifier constituents as compounds.

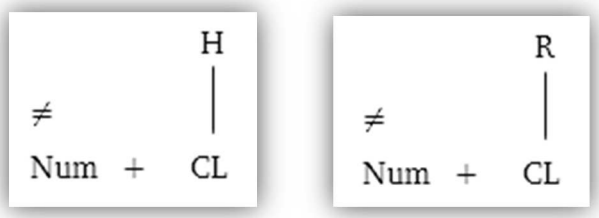
The tonal structure of the numeral-classifier compounds is listed in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16 Numeral-classifier compounds

#1 Numeral	#2 Tone numeral	#3 Tone classifier	#4 Resulting tone
1,2 4,5,9	LH HL	HL	H-L
		H	L-H
		LH	L-LH
		L.H	L-L.H
		L.LH	L-L.LH
6,7,8	LH	N/A	L-HL / L-H.L
3	LH	HL	L-HL
		H	L-H
		LH	L-LH
		L.H	L-L.H
		L.LH	L-L.LH
10	H.L	N/A	H.L-L / H.L-L.L

The numbers 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9 behave in a parallel tonal fashion: they show a set of patterns that changes according to the underlying tone of the classifier. Thus, this seems to be a case of leftward tonal spreading. Even though the numbers 1 and 2 have a lexical rising tone and the numbers 4, 5 and 9 have a lexical falling tone, the patterns are the same for all the numerals in this group. Table 3.16 shows the underlying tone of the classifier in the third column and the resulting tonal pattern in the fourth column. If the classifier has a surface rising or high level tone, the tone of the numeral is suppressed and realized as low, and the classifier keeps its original tone, as symbolised in Figure 3.8. Examples are given in (119).

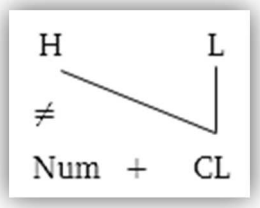
Figure 3.8. Numeral-classifier compounds 1,2,4,5,9



(119) [tè-pǎ] ‘one sheet’ (< /pǎ/ ‘sheet’)
[tè-bóŋ] ‘one tree’ (< /bóŋ/ ‘tree’)

If the classifier has a lexical falling tone, the tone splits: the H attaches to the numeral and the L stays on the classifier, as shown in Figure 3.9. An example is given in (120).

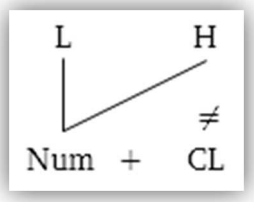
Figure 3.9. Numeral-classifier compounds 1,2,4,5,9



(120) [té-ɻɛ̀j] ‘one potful’ (< /ɻɛ̂j/ ‘cooking pot’)

A combination of the numbers 6, 7 and 8 (all surface rising tone) and a classifier shows an invariable pattern of L-F (or L-H.L with a disyllabic classifier). This can be analysed as the numeral imposing its surface rising tone on the whole constituent: the tone splits, H attaches to the classifier and the tone of the classifier is neutralized, as shown in Figure 3.10 and examplified in (121).

Figure 3.10. Numeral-classifier compounds 6,7,8



(121) [ʈʰù-ɕî] ‘six villages’ (< /ɕî/ ‘village’)
[n̥ʲò-ʈʂô] ‘seven pounds’ (< /ʈʂǒ/ ‘pound’)
[ɕwè-jîŋ] ‘eight fathoms’ (< /jíŋ/ ‘fathom’)[119]
[ʈʰù-qúbʉ̀] ‘six bottles’ (< /qùbʉ̌/ ‘bottle’)

The numeral 3 usually patterns with the numerals 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9 apart from one exception: when a classifier has a lexical falling tone, the number 3 patterns with the numbers 6, 7, and 8, resulting in a L-F pattern and not as expected H-L, as shown in example (122).

[119] A measure of length measured from the tip of one outspread arm to the other.

(122) [sòŋ-tsǔ] ‘three rooms’ (< /tsǔ/ ‘side room’)
[sòŋ-bʉ́] ‘three heaps’ (< /bʉ́/ ‘heap’)
[sòŋ-kû] ‘three years’ (< /kû/ ‘year’)

The number 10 (with a H.L pattern) shows a different invariable pattern when combined with classifiers: H.L-L (or H.L-L.L with a disyllabic classifier).[120] Similar to the numbers 6, 7, and 8, the number 10 imposes its original tone on the whole numeral-classifier constituent.

(123) [qɛ́tìŋ-kù] ‘ten years’ (< /kû/ ‘year’)

Some exceptions to the patterns in Table 3.16 can be noted. The classifier /-ɻɛj/ ‘hundred’ shows an exceptional H-F tonal pattern when following the numbers 1-5 and 9. As can be seen in Table 3.16, a H-F tonal pattern is not attested with these numbers.

(124) [ʐɛ́-ɻɛ̂j] ‘four hundred’

Verbal classifiers combined with the numeral ‘one’ show an invariably H-L tone pattern, independent of the tone of the classifier.

(125) /bǐ/ > [tɛ́-bì] ‘a pummel’
/tʰɛ̌j/ > [tɛ́-tʰɛ̀j] ‘a punch’
/ʈǽ/ > [tɛ́-ʈǽ] ‘a grab’
/dzóŋ/ > [tɛ́-dzòŋ] ‘a sit’
/qwɛ́ɻɛ̂j/ > [tɛ́-qwɛ̀ɻɛ̀j] ‘a shout’

The numbers 11-19 (all with a H-F tone) show an invariable pattern of H.H-L or H.H-L.L when they combine with classifiers.

(126) [qútí-pà] ‘eleven sheets’ (< /pǎ/ ‘sheet’)
[qɛ́sóŋ-ɕì] ‘thirteen villages’ (< /ɕî/ ‘village’)
[qɛ́ɕwɛ́-ɻòŋ] ‘eighteen drying racks’ (< /ɻóŋ/ ‘drying rack’)
[qɛ́gə̀-l̥ìl̥ì] ‘nineteen bags’ (< /l̥îl̥i/ ‘bag’)

In the decimals, two tonal patterns emerge, with 20, 30, 40, 50 and 90 (all L.H tone) patterning together, and 60, 70 and 80 (all L.F tone) forming another group. The tonal pattern of the second group does not depend on the classifier, but is invariably L.H-L or L.H-L.L. This is similar to the tonal patterns of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, and the numbers 6, 7 and 8 that pattern in two different ways (see above).

[120] On an interesting note, the tones of the numeral ‘10’ are flipped in Shuǐluò (Michaud 2010) and in Yǔchū (personal fieldnotes) (L.H instead of H.L) and thus the resulting numeral-classifier pattern is L.H-H.

(127) [ʈʰùqé-tsù] ‘sixty rooms’ (< /tsŭ/ ‘side room’)

The tonal pattern of the first group shows a L.L-F pattern in combination with a surface rising or lexical falling tone classifier and a L.L-H pattern in combination with a lexical high tone classifier. The only exception in my data is the lexical high tone /ʈǽ/ ‘to grab’ which patterns as a falling tone.

(128) [sə̀qè-tsû] ‘forty rooms’ (< /tsŭ/ ‘side room’)
[sə̀qè-ɻóŋ] ‘forty drying racks’ (< /ɻóŋ/ ‘drying rack’)
[sə̀qè-ʈǽ] ‘forty handfuls’ (< /ʈǽ/ ‘grab’)

With disyllabic classifiers the tonal pattern is L.L-H.F, but in combination with the number 20 the pattern is L.L-H.L instead.

(129) [sə̀qè-l̥íl̥î] ‘forty bags’ (< /l̥ìl̥í/ ‘bag’)
[nə̀wù-l̥íl̥ì] ‘twenty bags’ (< /l̥ìl̥í/ ‘bag’)

The number /ɕí/ ‘100’ behaves like a numeral and renders an invariable H-F or H-H.L pattern, as in (130). The other form for ‘hundred’ /-ɻɛj/ is a classifier and is always preceded by a numeral, as in (130).

(130) [ɕí-tsû] ‘a hundred rooms’ (< /tsŭ/ ‘side room’)
[ŋwé-ɻɛ́j] ‘five hundred’

The numbers in between the decimals (20 + 1, 20 + 2 etc.) all behave like the singular numbers (1, 2 etc.):

(131) [sə̀qú nóŋ tè-pǎ] ‘forty-one sheets’ (< /pǎ/ ‘sheet’)

Combined with the interrogative /tɕʰə̌/ ‘how many, how much’, the tonal pattern of the numeral-classifier combination is invariably L-HL, as in [tɕʰə̀-jôŋ] ‘how many items?’ and [tɕʰə̀-tsâ] ‘how many people?’.

3.4.3 *Verb-modifier constituents*

When a verb is modified by an auxiliary, the verb and the auxiliary often form one tone group, and in that case the tone of the verb spreads to the auxiliary. This spreading is straighforward (and similar to the tonal spreading patterns described in §3.3): a lexical high-tone verb will spread its high tone to the auxiliary, as in (132); a lexical rising-tone (LH) verb will spread its H tone to the auxiliary, as in (133), and a lexical falling-tone (HL) verb will spread its L tone to the auxiliary, as in (134). All examples are given with the rising-tone auxiliary /tʰǒŋ/ ‘can, be able’.

(132) m̥ə́# tʲóŋ = nʲæ̀nʲæ̀ = bù# **ɖʐɯ́ tʰóŋ**# mà = ɖáw bâw.

m̥ə̂	tʲôŋ = nʲænʲæ = bu	ɖʐɯ́	tʰǒŋ	mǎ = ɖɑw	bɑw
person	one:CLF:thing = only = TOP	grind	can	NEG = IPFV:N.EGO	CONTR

‘(...) one person alone cannot grind it.’ (CV21.244.2)

(133) **ʑù tʰóŋ#** mǎ = #wèŋ
ʑǔ tʰǒŋ mǎ = weŋ
lift can NEG = CUST.EXCL

'(...) not be able to lift (...)' (CL01ed.18)

(134) **ʈʰə̀-ʈʰwé tʰòŋ#** mà = ɖáw.
ʈʰə̌-ʈʰwê tʰǒŋ# mǎ = ɖɑw
wife-find can NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (he) is not able to find a wife.' (YJ02.6:EL)

When a verb and an auxiliary do not form one tone group, the tone of the verb will not spread to the auxiliary, as in (135). There the tone of the verb /hwǎ/ 'to paint' does not spread. The underlying rising tone of /tʰǒŋ/ can be seen: it spreads to the toneless /=qɛj/.

(135) hwǎ# tʰòŋ = qɛ́j kʰì.
hwǎ tʰǒŋ = qɛj kʰi
Ch:paint can = EXPT TRAIL

'(They) will be able to paint.' (CV14.2.1)

The pragmatics of one versus two tone groups will be discussed in §3.5.1.

3.4.4 *Tone of relator nouns*

Relator nouns (discussed in §4.6.3) are forms that function both as nouns (as heads of genitive constructions) and as postpositions, and that have lost some of their nominal properties (DeLancey 1997, 2003:264). Some postpositions have grammaticalised further to markers of grammatical relations (§6.2). For the sake of clarity, a list of relator nouns is given in (136).

(136) /nû/ 'exterior, outside'
/tû/ 'top, on'
/pú/ 'bottom, under'
/qʰu/ 'top, on top'
/wu/ 'interior, inside'
/bi/ 'side, on'
/dʑi/ 'location, at'
/tɕʰwi/ 'direction, in the direction of'

Relator nouns show different stages of grammaticalisation, which can also be seen in their tonal behaviour: they range from full lexical nouns with their own lexical tone, to postpositions that do not take on the tone of the preceding noun, but also do not display their own tone (and thus surface with low tone), to grammatical markers that take on the tone of the preceding lexical element. In Table 3.17 tone of the relator

nouns in different constructions is given. The different symbols indicate: ‘x’ possible; ‘-’ not possible; ‘T’ lexical tone; ‘L’ low tonal target; ‘0’ takes on the tone of a preceding constituent.

Table 3.17 Tone of relator nouns

	/nû/	/tû/	/pú/	/qʰu/	/wu/	/bi/	/dʑi/	/tɕʰwi/
Occurs as noun with a lexical tone	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Tone when head of genitive construction	T	T	T/0	0	0	0	0	-
Tone in compound with demonstrative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tone when functioning as postposition	-	L	L	L	L/0	L/0 [121]	-	-
Tone when functioning as semantic role marker	-	0	? [122]	-	0	0	-	-

It can be seen that only three of the relator nouns have retained their own lexical tone. /nû/ ‘outside’ and /tû/ ‘top’ only retain their tones when functioning as an independent noun or as the head of a genitive construction, as in (137) and (138). *pú* only sporadically retains its tone in the genitive construction, as in (139),[123] and occurs as an independent noun only in riddles (see (313) in §4.6.3). The other relator nouns all take on the tone of the preceding lexical constituent in the genitive construction.

[121] Shows a low tonal target only half of the time.

[122] The comitative has the form /pu/, but does not seem to be related to the relator noun /pú/ (§6.2.6).

[123] This is the only example in the corpus where it displays its own tone; in all the other instances it takes on the tone of the preceding lexical item.

(137) nú ɕə̀ kʰì = bù

nû ɕə́ kʰi = bu

outside go time = TOP

'(...) when going outside, (...)' (CV15.34)

(138) ɖǽŋ = gæ̀# tú

ɖæ̂ŋ = gæ tú

raised.platform = GEN top

'On top of the raised platform (...)' (PC03.8)

(139) ʈʂǽ = gæ̀# pú

ʈʂæ̂ = gæ pú

dirt = GEN bottom

'(...) under the ground (...)' (PC06w.3)

When relator nouns occur with one of the demonstratives described in §4.6.2, they will form a compound with them, and the tone of the demonstrative will spread to the relator noun. A few examples are given in (140).

(140)	/tʰǐ-nû/	[tʰìŋú]	'at the other side of the mountain'
	/ə̌-pú/	[ə̀pú]	'under here'
	/hǒŋ-qʰu/	[hòŋqʰú]	'up there (up the valley)'
	/tí-wu/	[tíwú]	'over there (mountain-wards and inwards)'
	/qǎ-dʑi/	[qàdʑí]	'there (valley-wards)'

Dīng (1998:83) mentions that in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ the tone of a noun does not normally spread to a following postposition. Instead, postpositions block the tone of the preceding noun from spreading and are realized with a low tone. This is also the case in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, as is shown in (141). There are exceptions to the rule. Some exceptions for the postposition /wu/ 'inside' are given in (142). Usually, after a numeral-classifier compound, /wu/ takes on the tone of the compound.

(141)	/tíŋ tû/	[tíŋ# tù]	'on the mat'
	/tʰǒŋ pu/	[tʰǒŋ# pù]	'below the water reservoir'
	/ʑǎ wu/	[ʑǎ# wù]	'in the hand'
	/ʈʰɯ́ wu/	[ʈʰɯ́# wù]	'in the horn'
(142)	/gəʑú wu/	[gə̀ʑú wú]	'in the middle'
	/tɐ-tsɛ̌j wu/	[tɐ̀-tsɛ̀j wú]	'in one section'

The case of /bi/ is not totally straightforward. /bi/ is a noun meaning 'side', which functions as a postposition 'on', and has grammaticalised to a dative marker (§6.2.3). As a postposition it shows either a low tonal target, as in (142), or takes on the tone of the preceding constituent, as in (144).

(143) /tɕí bi/ [tɕí# bì] ‘in summer’

(144) /gɐtsʰukʰí bi/ [gɐ̀tsʰùkʰí bí] ‘on an overhanging cliff’

As a case marker, /bi/ often takes on the tone of the preceding constituent, as in (145), but there are also instances where the tone of the noun does not spread onto the case marker /bi/, as in (146). Dīng notes that after pronouns postpositions behave like clitics (taking on the tone of the pronoun), whereas following nouns their tone is more usually low in the data (1998:84).

(145) pɯ́qá# nìŋ-bá# ɐ̀pɯ́=bí# tɛ́-ʈʰù#

pɯ́qɑ	nǐŋ-bɑ	ɐpɯ́=bi	tǐ-ʈʰû
shoe	2SG-household:GEN	grandfather=DAT	one-CLF:pair

qʰə̀-tòŋ kɛ́j=gî#

qʰə̌-tǒŋ	kɛ́j=gi
OUT-weave	let=VOL:INCL

‘Let’s have your grandfather weave (you) a pair (of straw shoes), (...)’ (CV01.24)

(146) pɯ́nə̀ ʐɛ̀nə̀=sə̀# tɕʰwǎ#=bì=ɦà# m̥ə́=gæ̀ tù#

pɯ̂nə	ʐɛ̂nə=sə	tɕʰwǎ=bi=ɦɑ	m̥ə́=gæ̀	tû
today	yesterday=CONTR.TOP	pig=DAT=even	person=GEN	top

há# pɯ́# tɕʰì-jí ɖòŋ=ɖàw,# ə́sèŋ?

hâ	pɯ́	tɕʰǐ-ji	ɖǒŋ=ɖɑw,	ə̂seŋ?
be.excessive	do	feed-NMLZ	become=IPFV:N.EGO	AGR

‘(...) in recent days, however, one needs to feed the pigs more than people (were fed in the past), right?’ (CV03.10.3)

3.4.5 *Directional prefixes and alternating verbs*

Directional verb prefixes are shown in Table 3.18.

Table 3.18 Directional verb prefixes

Demonstrative	Verb prefix	Meaning
tí-	*tə́-*	‘up’
qǎ-/nǐ-	*nɛ̌-*	‘down’
kʰǔ-	*qʰə̌-/kʰə̌-*	‘out’
hǒŋ-	*(h)ɛ̌-*	‘in’
kɛ̌-	*də̌-*	‘towards speaker’
tʰǐ-	*tʰɛ̌-*	‘from speaker’

Most directional verb prefixes (§7.1) are formally and semantically related to bound demonstratives (§4.6.2) and have a rising underlying tone; only the prefix /tə́-/ and the bound demonstrative /tí-/ have a high underlying tone. In other descriptions of Pǔmǐ (Lù 1983:45, 2001:157; Fù 1998:27,28; Dīng 1998:68,118; Jacques 2011c:369) the high tone of /tə́-/ has been recognised as a lexical tone; all other directional prefixes are analysed to be toneless (or low tone).[124] This is understandable, since only the high-toned /tə́-/ clearly influences the verb it attaches to; the other prefixes usually appear as low tone on the surface. But, based on their clear relationship with the rising-tone bound demonstratives, based on the tonal behaviour of directional prefixes in negative conditional clauses, and based on the clear tonal interaction with low-toned verbs, as will be shown below, I argue for an analysis of underlying lexical rising tone on directional prefixes in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

First I will illustrate the tonal influence of the lexical high tone of /tə́-/ on the verb stem. This influence has been described for several Pǔmǐ speech varieties (Fù 1998:28,29; Jacques 2011c:369). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the tone of this prefix normally spreads to the first syllable of the verb stem and the original tone of the verb stem is disassociated. If a verb stem is disyllabic, the remaining syllable is assigned default low tone. Examples are given in (147).

(147)	/ʐà/	[ʐǎ]	[tə́-ʐá]	'to carry'
	/qá/	[qá]	[tə́-qá]	'to split open'
	/ɻ̊î/	[ɻ̊î]	[tə́-ɻ̊í]	'to sweat'
	/ɻənǽŋ/	[ɻə̀nǽŋ]	[tə́-ɻə́nǽŋ]	'to become smelly'

Some exceptions have been found with high and falling tone verbs, where the tone of the verb stem actually becomes low, as in (148). It is not clear what triggers this.

(148)	/ɕáw/	[ɕáw]	[tə́-ɕàw]	'to raise (children)'
	/ʈʂô/	[ʈʂô]	[tə́-ʈʂò]	'to jump'
	/tɕʰǽʐæ/	[tɕʰǽʐǽ]	[tə́-tɕʰǽʐǽ]	'to estimate'

As mentioned above, other directional verb prefixes mostly show up in low surface tone. But there are a few constructions, like negative conditional clauses and other constructions involving a negator (§7.2, §10.4.1), in which the directional prefixes clearly show their original lexical tone, as in (149), (150) and (151).

[124] Actually, only Dīng and Jacques analyse them as toneless morphemes. Lù (1983:45) states that the prefixes are low-rising (^{13}) tone, Fù (1998:27,28) states that the prefixes are low-falling (^{31}) tone. In the latter two descriptions there is no concept of toneless syllables.

(149) nǒŋ# pʉ̀dìmá# **nĕ-**#mǎ = #dzòŋ = bù#

nǒŋ pʉdimá nĕ-mǎ = dzóŋ = bu

so old.woman DOWN-NEG = sit = TOP

'But if an old woman (like me) does not sit down, (…)' (CV09.94.2)

(150) də̀-ʐə̀-mə́# **tʰĕ-**#tʲǽ = hʲɛ̀j# ɦà?

də̌-ʐə̀-mə tʰĕ-tʲæ = hʲɛ́j ɦɑ?

TO.SP-catch-NMLZ FR.SP-NEG = release LINK

'Why would you not release the one you caught?' (CV16.17)

(151) ɛ̀lʲóŋlʲæ̀tì# **nĕ-**#mí = n̥ʲɛ́ = sì,# híŋ = gòŋ# tʰìŋ ɻə̀ɕí wéŋ#

ɛlʲôŋlʲæti nĕ-mí = n̥ʲɛ̌ = si, hîŋ = goŋ tʰìŋ ɻə̀ɕǐ weŋ

a.little DOWN-NEG.PFV = pour = INF who = AGT drink can CUST.EXCL

ə́-tsʰɛ̀ = tì?

ə̂-tsʰɛ = ti?

that-much = INDF

'You did not pour me just a little bit; who could drink that much?' (CV21.199)

The negator comes between the directional prefix and the verb and blocks the tonal spread of the prefix: except for *tə́-* which appears in its original high tone, the directional prefixes all appear in a rising surface tone. These constructions are the only constructions in which a directional prefix has a rising surface tone. Since the constructions with the three different negators are completely different in their semantics, and the negators all have a different lexical tone,[125] the only way to explain the rising surface tone on the directional verb prefix is to analyse it as the original tone of the prefix that only appears in these environments.

An additional argument for analysing the directional prefixes as underlyingly rising tone can be seen from the predicate-focus construction (§10.8) in which a topic marker is inserted between the directional prefix and the verb. As can be seen in (152), the toneless topic marker *=bu* receives a high surface pitch, the result of tonal spread from the rising-tone directional prefix *nĕ-*.

[125] As can be seen in (149), (150) and (151), the general negator *mǎ* keeps its rising surface tone and the rest of the predicate is assigned low tone (this happens in negative conditional clauses (§10.4.1). The lexical high tone of the perfective negator *mí* spreads to the verb. The lexical tone of the prohibitive negator *tʲæ* is not completely clear at this point: in some situations it seems to have lexical falling tone, in other situations it seems to be toneless (§7.2.3). When it is inserted between the prefix and the verb, however, it always appears in a high surface tone and the rest of the predicate following the negator is assigned low surface tone.

(152) nè-bú# mí = sə́ sì ɖàw#

nĕ-bu mí = sə̌ si ɖɑw

DOWN-TOP NEG = die EPIST:probably

'(...) (he) probably has not died yet. (...)' (CV09.67)

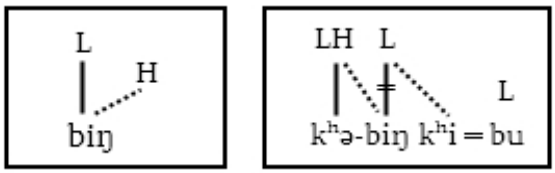
This analysis could possibly address a problem that was raised in Jacques' 2011 paper on tone in Shuǐluò alternating verbs, a group of verbs that show a rising surface tone in their basic form, but a falling tone when prefixed by a directional prefix; their tonal spread is that of a falling lexical tone verb, as shown in Table 3.19. This alternation happens in isolation as well as in running speech, which implies that it is not a pragmatic effect (this group of verbs was described in §3.3.2, Table 3.3, as having two tonal spreading patterns in their basic (non-prefixed form) (L H = H and L L = H).

Table 3.19 Tonal spread of prefixed alternating verbs

Basic form	Meaning	Prefixed form	In running speech
[bǐŋ]	'to fly'	[kʰə̀-bîŋ]	[kʰə̀-bíŋ kʰì = bù]
[ʐǎ]	'to carry'	[nè-ʐâ]	[nè-ʐá kʰì = bù]

Having analysed the directional verb prefixes as underlyingly rising tone morphemes, I propose that the tonal alternation found in alternating verbs is caused by the influence of the lexical tone of the directional prefix on the verb.[126] This is shown conceptually in Figure 3.11 with the verb /bìŋ/ 'to fly'. The first image shows the verb stem with its low lexical tone attached and a post-lexical H which causes the rising surface tone. The second image shows the tone when a rising-tone directional prefix is attached. The H of the prefix spreads to the verb stem.

Figure 3.11. Tonal alternating verbs



Why this is the case with this particular group of verbs and not with other verbs is a question for further research. Sun (2008:265) shows that the placement of accent in rGyalrong is sensitive to the syllable structure of the input morphemes, in particular whether a root is checked or smooth. A similar distinction cannot be made in Wǎdū

[126] My main consultant suggested that the rising surface tone of the verb spreads leftwards, assigning the low tone to the prefix and the H tone to the verb stem. This was discussed as an option in Jacques (2011), but rejected, since most of the tonal system of Pǔmǐ is rightwards spreading.

Pǔmǐ, since there are no checked syllables. One occasionally hears a final glottal stop when rising tone syllables are pronounced abruptly, but this does not seem to relate to the group of alternating verbs: non-alternating verbs and rising tone nouns also display this. And the presence or absence of a syllable-final glottal can be found with the same form.

Interestingly, this tonal alternation applies to roughly the same verbs in Shuǐluò and Mùdǐqīng (Jacques 2011c:375), Dàyáng (Matisoff 1997:204,209; Fù 1998:29) and Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The Wǎdū Pǔmǐ forms that have been attested in other speech varieties are given in Table 3.20. A few verbs that were listed in other speech varieties with a falling tone instead of a rising tone, are presented in the table in bold font.

Table 3.20 Comparison of alternating verbs in different speech varieties

Meaning	Wǎdū	Mùdǐqīng	Shuǐluò	Dàyáng	Dàyáng
'to fly'	*bìŋ*	*biẽ̌*			
'to ride'	*dzèj*	*dzěi*	*dzěi*		
'to do'	*dzù*	*dzǔ*			
'to rot'	*dʑwì*			*bdʒǐ*	*bʑǐ*
'to run'	*ɖʑèŋ*	*dʑẽ̌*			*bʑin*
'to drop'	*ɖʑə̀*			*ɖʑ̍*	
'to wear (clothes)'	*gù*	*gǔ*	*gǐ*	*gwǐ*	
'to change'	*gʉ̀*				*ʒdʒǔ*
'to fall out'	*ɦà*				*gǎ*
'to sell'	*kì*	*kǐ*	***ɕî***		*ʃtʃǐ*
'to carry on back'	*kù*	*kǔ*		*tʉ̌*[127]	
'to plant'	*lèj*	*lěi*	*lěi*		
'to mislay, lose'	*mì*			*mǐ*	

[127] It is not sure whether this is the same verb. Matisoff gives the meaning 'to carry on the shoulder' and his example is with a *tə́-* prefix, which does not show anything for the present purpose.

Meaning	Wǎdū	Mùdǐqīng	Shuǐluò	Dàyáng	Dàyáng
‘to make a mistake’[128]	*nòŋ*	*nǒ̌*		*nǎN*	*nǒŋ*
‘to flee’	*pʰìŋ*	*pʰẽ̌*	*tsʰĩ̌*[129]		
‘to pick’	*qʰà*				*qhǎ*
‘to obtain’	*ɻì*	*rǐ*			
‘to hang’	*ɻ̊ʉ̀*			*ʂʉ̌*	
‘to hide’	*ʂù*	*tʂǔ*	***ʂû***		
‘to wear (hat)’	*tɛ̀j*	*tɛ̌i*	*tɛ̌i*	*twǎ*	
‘to drink’	*tʰìŋ*	*tʰiẽ̌*	*tʰĩ̌*		*thǐn* [130]
‘to be fat’	*tsʰə̀*	***tsʰə̂***	*tsʰwə̌*		
‘to return (food, money)’	*tsʰwì*				*tshuě*
‘to scoop’	*tɕʰòŋ*	*tʂʰã̌*	*ɕʰã̌*		
‘to pour’	*tɕì*		*tɕǐ*		
‘to remember, miss’	*ʈèŋ*		*tʂĩ̌*		
‘to extinguish’	*wù*				*gǒ*
‘to be satiated, satisfied’	*zòŋ*			*kwǐ*	
‘to carry’[131]	*ʐ̩à*	*ʐ̩ǎ*	***ʐ̩əʐ̩á***	*ʐɜ̌*	*ɻuǎ*
‘to leak’	*ʐ̩ə̀*	*dʑə̌*	*ʐ̩ə̌*		

[128] It is by no means certain that these verbs are related, since the semantics are very different: the Mùdǐqīng verb means ‘to understand’; the Dàyáng verbs mean ‘to hide’ (Matisoff) and ‘to hear’ (Fù). However, all are alternating verbs and their phonological shape is mostly the same. There is another non-alternating rising tone verb /nǔ/ ‘to know, understand’ in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, that could be related to the Mùdǐqīng alternating verb /nǒ̌/ ‘to understand’ listed here.

[129] Same meaning, but not clearly related.

[130] Fù gives the meaning ‘to smoke’. I suspect that this verb is probably also used for ‘to drink’ in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ, since in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ ‘to smoke’ is expressed as ‘to drink tobacco’.

[131] The Dàyáng verbs are listed with the meaning ‘to take with one’ (Matisoff) and ‘to take’ (Fù).

Verbs that have been attested in other Pǔmǐ varieties as alternating verbs but have a different tone or are non-alternating verbs in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are compared in Table 3.21. Non-alternating verbs and verbs with a different tone are given in bold font.

Table 3.21 Non-correspondences of alternating verbs

Meaning	Wǎdū	Mùdǐqīng	Shuǐluò	Dàyáng	Dàyáng
'to break'	***ɖéŋ***[132]	***dʐê***	*dʐǐ*		*ɖən*
'to collapse'	***bî***			*phyě*	*biě*
'to cause to collapse'	***pʰî***				*pʰiě*
'to be excessive'	***hâ***				*xǎ*
'to tear' (intr.)	***ɖî***			*ɖə̌*	
'to tear'	***ʈʰî***			*ʈʰə̌*	*ʈhě*
'to throw'	***bâ***				*vbǎ*
'to be light (weight)'	***ʑǐŋ***	***dʑě***	*ʑǐ*		
'to give'	***kʰǐŋ***	*tɕyě*			*ʃtʃǐn*
'to dry'	***wû***			*ʁɣû*[133]	
'to sew'	***ɖǐ***		*ɖěi*	*ɖěi*	
'to be dislocated of a joint'					*ɬǐ* 脱臼

[132] Interestingly, this is a correspondence between a high lexical tone verb in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ and alternating verbs in other Pǔmǐ speech varieties. Jacques (2011:376) mentioned that such a correspondence should not be expected, since it cannot be explained by leveling, i.e. the original alternating verb taking on the properties of a normal non-alternating surface rising tone or falling tone verb. Note that the other correspondences are all between alternating verbs and a surface rising or falling tone verb in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

[133] But as Jacques (2011:373-374) points out, Matisoff's data does not show whether this verb really exhibits tonal alternation: the example Matisoff (1997b:209) gives has the high-toned prefix *tə́-* which always influences the tone of the verb root (§3.4.5). The same is the case for the verb *ɖěi* 'to sew'. Another verb (Matisoff 1999:209) *ʒdʒǐ* 'to grab, meet' is clearly not alternating, since the tone of the verb root only changes when *tə́-* is prefixed.

Meaning	Wǎdū	Mùdǐqīng	Shuǐluò	Dàyáng	Dàyáng
‘to link’					*ʃtʃhuǎ* 连接
‘to be overcast’					*ɖəuŋ*

The remaining Wǎdū Pǔmǐ alternating verbs this research has identified have not been attested in any of the other speech varieties. They are listed in (153):

(153) *ɕwìŋ* ‘to send’, *ɕwìŋ* ‘to take out some’, *dà* ‘to move’, *dzàw* ‘to have authority’, *dzì* ‘to splash’, *ɖòŋ* ‘to become well’, *dʑù* ‘to bear fruit’, *jìŋ* ‘to plow’, *k^{h}ì* ‘to grab, hold’, *k^{h}ìŋ* ‘to get up (from bed)’, *kìŋ* ‘to take’, *kwì* ‘to cover’, *lòŋ* ‘to fall out; *l̥òŋ* ‘to pull out, uproot’,[134] *lù* ‘to disappear behind ridge, set (of sun)’, *l̥ì* ‘to relieve oneself’, *l̥ì* ‘to succeed in escaping’, *mə̀* ‘to hear, forget’, *n^{j}òŋ* ‘to nurse’, *p^{h}ù* ‘to divide the household’, *p^{h}ʉ̀* ‘to search and confiscate’, *p^{h}ʉ̀* ‘to mediate’, *ɻ̥àw* ‘to ferment’, *ɻæ̀ŋ* ‘to get stuck’, *ɻ̥èŋ* ‘to bake’, *ɻèŋ* ‘to drive animals’, *ɻèŋ* ‘to leave behind’, *ɻì* ‘to burn’, *ɻ̥ʉ̀* ‘to sweep’, *ʂə̀* ‘to uncover, make pork back’, *ʂʉ̀* ‘to be warm’, *tɕ^{h}òŋ* ‘to appear’, *tɕ^{h}òŋ* ‘to complete’, *tɕwì* ‘to wear (shoes)’, *t^{hj}òŋ* ‘to set up weaving’, *tòŋ* ‘to burn incense, conduct ritual’, *ts^{h}à* ‘to strain’, *ts^{h}ə̀* ‘to collect (water, rice)’, *tsì* ‘to erect, take’, *ʈ^{h}ə̀* ‘to make sth fall down’, *ʈə̀* ‘to wear (belt, shawl)’, *ʑì* ‘to receive, rob’, *ʑì* ‘to give birth’, *ʑwìŋ* ‘to block’, *ʑù* ‘to lift’.

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ a few disyllabic verbs seem to behave like alternating verbs (Jacques [2011c:370] mentions this also for Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ).[135] To date, three verbs have been attested:

Table 3.22 Disyllabic ‘fourth tone’ verbs

Basic form	Prefixed form	Meaning
[q^{h}ɛ̀tsɛ̂j]	[nɛ̀-q^{h}ɛ́tsɛ̂j]	‘to be small’
[ɖə̀ɖæ̂ŋ]	[t^{h}ɛ̀-ɖə́ɖæ̂ŋ]	‘to walk’
[qòŋɻóŋ pʉ̂]	[ɛ̀-qóŋɻóŋ pʉ̀]	‘to crawl, stoop’

[134] Also mentioned by Matisoff (1997b:209 and 1999:22) as a verb (*ɬwə̌*) that shows tone sandhi, but looking at his data it is clear that it is no alternating verb: the tonal change only happens with the *tə́-* prefix, which, as shown for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ in §3.4.5, always influences the tone of the following verb. Tonal change does not happen with the other prefix *t^{h}ə-*.

[135] Jacques mentions only one alternating disyllabic verb: the verb [kə̀tsěi] ‘to be small’. The verb corresponds to the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ alternating verb *q^{h}ɛtsɛ̂j*, but shows a different tonal alternation in Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ: [nɜ̀-kə̀tséi-ɕì] (Jacques 2011a:370).

Interestingly, the stative verb /qʰɐtsɛ̂j/ ‘to be small’ has an alternative form /qʰɐtsɛ̌j/ shown in examples (154) and (155).

(154) qʰɐ̀tsɛ́j-mə̀# pʉ́ɻú# lúhwá# ʐù=ɖáw
qʰɐtsɛ̂j-mə pʉ́ɻu lúhwɑ ʐǔ=ɖɑw
small-NMLZ roast difficult very=IPFV:N.EGO

‘The small ones are really hard to roast (…)’ (CV18.13)

(155) ɛ́-bʉ̀=bù,# dəbǔ# qʰɐ̀tsɛ̀j-mə́# jɐ̀hǎ# lázʉ̀ tʰɐ̀-dzù# ɦà
ɛ̂-bʉ=bu, dəbǔ qʰɐtsɛ̌j-mə jɐhǎ lâzʉ tʰɐ̌-dzù ɦɑ
1-household=TOP then small-NMLZ all Ch:cured.meat FR.SP-make LINK

‘Our household made cured meat of all the small ones, and (…)’ (CV21.146)

The verbs ‘to come’ and ‘to go’ also show tonal alternation when a directional prefix is attached, but this is not related to the phenomenon of alternating verbs described above. The two verbs are irregular and show suppletive inflected forms (§8.1.1), so rather than trying to explain what happens tonally, I take their tone as another indication of their irregularity. Two examples with the verb /ɕə́/ ‘to go’ are shown in (156) and (157).

Table 3.23 ‘come’ and ‘go’ tonal alternation

Basic form	Prefixed form	Meaning
[ʑə̌]	[DIR-ʑə́]	‘to come’
[ɕə́]	[DIR-ɕə̌]	‘to go’

(156) ɕə́ mà=qɛ̂j.
ɕə́ mǎ=qɛj.
go NEG=EXPT

‘(He) won’t go (there).’ (CV04.11)

(157) nɐ̀-ɕə̌# nɐ̀-ɕə̀ kʰí=bú# ɻóŋdíŋ-mə̀=ɻæ̀# qæ̀ŋɻǽŋ#
nɐ̌-ɕə́ nɐ̌-ɕə́ kʰi=bu ɻóŋdiŋ-mə=ɻæ qæŋɻǽŋ
DOWN-go DOWN-go time=TOP lowland-person=PL:GEN above

nɛ́-tà tɕə̀=ɖàw.
nɐ̌-tà tɕə̌=ɖɑw.
DOWN-arrive say=IPFV:N.EGO

‘When (he) went down for a long time he arrived at (a place) above (a village of) lowland people [he himself told me].’ (PC07w.8)

3.4.6 *Negation and interrogative clitics and tone*

A case for further research are the general and perfective negation clitics *mǎ=* (§7.2.1) and *mí=* (§7.2.2), and the interrogative clitic *ê=* (§7.3), which all seem to have lexical tone. Four situations can be observed with *mǎ=*. 1. *mǎ=* keeps its own rising tone and the following tone-bearing element has a low surface tone, as in (158). This happens especially with the copula *dzɜ̂* 'to be' and the verb/auxiliary/customary marker *wêŋ* 'to have learned/can'. 2. *mǎ=* has a low surface tone and the following tone-bearing element has its original tone (which can spread rightwards), as in (159). 3. The tone of *mǎ=* spreads rightwards onto a toneless element. 4. Both *mǎ=* and the following element keep their own tone. Situations 3 and 4 are shown in (160), with spreading of tone onto *=qɛj* and the original tone on *ʑə̌* 'to come'.

(158) tɛ̀nʲə̀=bú# **mǎ=wèŋ bàw**,# há...!

tɛnʲə̌=bu	mǎ=wêŋ	bɑw	hɑ
other=TOP	NEG=have.learned	CONTR	INTJ

'(...) the other I have not learned, hahaha!' (CV13.102.5)

(159) tɕʰì-wɛ́-jí=gæ̀# tɕə́# **mà=ɕǐ**

tɕʰǐ-wɛ̌-ji=gæ	tɕə́	mǎ=ɕǐ
food-prepare-NMLZ=GEN	water	NEG=EXIST.AB

'(...) there was no water to prepare food (...)' (CV05.02)

(160) mǎ=#ʑə̌# ɖǒŋ# **mà=qɛ́j tɕáw**# ɦà.

mǎ=ʑə̌	ɖǒŋ	mǎ=qɛj	tɕɑw	ɦɑ
NEG=come	be.okay	NEG=EXPT	say:IPFV:N.EGO	LINK

'(She) said, "(...) It won't be good to not come." ' (CV14. 287.1)

The high tone of the perfective negation clitic *mí=* usually spreads rightwards onto the following element, as in (161) where it precedes the rising tone verb *tɕʰǐ* 'to feed'. The other elements in the tone group appear in low surface tone. The only exception is when it appears in a conditional clause: then *mí=* keeps its high tone and the following elements are low, as in (162).

(161) tɕʰwæ̀-tɕʰì=lá# **mí=tɕʰí mə̀ dzə̀**.

tɕʰwæ̌-tɕʰǐ=lɑ	mí=tɕʰǐ	mə dzə
pig-food=also	NEG:PFV=feed	GNOMIC

'(I) haven't even fed the pigs.' (CV03.1.2)

(162) dəbŭ# nŏŋ# tʰè-ɻ̥ú sətɕæ,# qʰŭ=tà# tì-tóŋ# tsʰá=nòŋ# nə́-mə́#
mí=ɻ̥ù=sì=bù

dəbŭ	nŏŋ	tʰĕ-ɻ̥ú	sətɕæ,	qʰŭ=tɑ	tĭ-toŋ	tsʰâ=noŋ
then	so	FR.SP-buy	if	head=on:GEN	put-NMLZ	bead=COORD

nə́-mə	mí=ɻ̥ú=si=bu
thus-NMLZ	NEG:PFV=buy=INF=TOP

'(...) if (you had already) bought (a Tibetan outfit), but had not bought beads and similar things to cover the head with (...)' (CV15.17.2)

Three situations can be observed with the interrogative *ê*=. 1. When the tone of the following element is high, falling or toneless, the tone of *ê*= spreads rightwards, which results in a low surface tone on the following element, as in (163). 2. When the tone of the following element is rising, the tone change to high, as in (164). The only exception is conditional clauses: in that case *ê*= keeps its tone and the following elements have low surface tones, as in (165).

(163) "é# ʐʉtá# **é=tɕʰwì**?" tɕwə̀=sì tɕàw.

é	ʐʉtâ	ê=tɕʰwí	tɕwə̌=si	tɕɑw
1SG	features	Q=good	say:PFV:N.EGO=INF	HSY

(The trader) said, "Are my features good-looking?" it is said. (KZ02.4)

(164) tsʰĭ# **é=qʰú** dʐìnʲæ,# há...

tsʰĭ	ê=qʰŭ	dʐínʲæ	hɑ
salt	Q=need	really	INTJ

'Do you need salt? (You said that correctly) Hahaha!' (CV14.197)

(165) nʲóŋ ɻə́ŋdì# **é=tɕæ̀=sə̀**

nʲóŋ	ɻəŋdí	ê=tɕæ̌=sə
money	seek	Q=be.able:EGO:1=CONTR.TOP

'If there is (meat) at grandfather's over there, (...)' (CV18.30.2)

3.4.7 *Tone in reduplicated verbs*

Verbs show different reduplication patterns. The morphology and semantics will be dealt with in §7.4.1. Here it suffices to mention the tonal patterns that occur. In random reduplication, the tone of the original verb splits and spreads leftwards onto the reduplicated syllable, as is shown in Table 3.24. The reduplicated form of lexical low-tone verbs is influenced by the preceding prefix, resulting in a L.H surface tone on the non-prefixed form and a H.L surface tone on the prefixed form.

Table 3.24 Random reduplication

Tone		Tone of reduplication			Meaning
H	/ʈʰáw/	H.H	/ʈʰoŋʈʰáw/	[ʈʰóŋʈʰáw]	'to boil randomly'
F	/gwâ̰/	H.L	/goŋgwâ̰/	[góŋgwà̰]	'to touch randomly'
R	/l̥ǐ/	L.H	/l̥ʲoŋl̥ǐ/	[l̥ʲòŋl̥í]	'to roll randomly'
L	/l̥ì/	L.H -HL	/l̥ʲoŋl̥ì/ /-l̥ʲoŋl̥ì/	[l̥ʲòŋl̥í] [-l̥ʲóŋl̥ì]	'to relieve oneself randomly'

In reciprocal reduplication, the tonal patterns are not so straightforward. When the verb has a high lexical tone, the most common reduplicated pattern shows a H.L tone. There are however some other patterns that have been attested. When the verb has a falling lexical tone, the tone splits in a similar way to the random reduplication pattern described above: the high surface tone moves to the reduplicated part and the low surface tone stays on the verb stem. When a non-alternating verb shows a surface rising tone, the original tone stays on the verb stem and the reduplicated part receives a low tone. An alternating verb with rising surface tone shows three different patterns. These patterns need more research.

Table 3.25 Reciprocal reduplication

Tone		Tone of reduplication	Example		Meaning
H	/lú/	H.L	/lêlu/	[lélù]	'to put arms around each other'
	/kí/	L.H (some H.H)	/kɐkí/	[kɐ̀kí]	'to chase each other'
F	/gwâ̰/	H.L	/gwêgwæ/	[gwégwà̰]	'to touch each other'
R	/tɕʰǐ/	L.R	/tɕʰɐtɕʰǐ/	[tɕʰɐ̀tɕʰǐ]	'to feed each other'
L	/ɖæ̰ŋ/	L.R	/ɖɐɖæ̰ŋ/	[ɖɐ̀ɖæ̰ŋ]	'to visit each other'
	/ɻ̩ì/	H.L	/ɻ̩êɻ̩i/	[ɻ̩éɻ̩ì]	'to all find sth. together'
	/gʉ̀/	H.H	/gwégʉ/	[gwégʉ́]	'to exchange'

Some verbs show a derived meaning when they are reduplicated with a H.L pattern. It seems that the H.L tone pattern in this case is a derivational tonal pattern linked to this particular reduplication. Not all verbs show this H.L reduplication with derived

meaning, but the verbs that do have a different tonal pattern in their reciprocal reduplication, as is shown in the examples (166-169).[136]

(166)	/kí/	[kí]	'to chase'
	/kɐkí/	[kɐ̀kí]	'to chase each other' (reciprocal)
	/kɐ̂ki/	[kɐ́kì]	'to chase away' (derived)
(167)	/ʈŭ/	[ʈŭ]	'to pull'
	/ʈɐʈŭ/	[ʈɐ̀ʈŭ]	'to pull back and forth' (reciprocal)
	/ʈɐ̂ʈu/	[ʈɐ́ʈù]	'to fight over' (derived)
(168)	/sĕ/	[sĕ]	'to hit, kill'
	/sɐsĕ/	[sɐ̀sĕ]	'to hit each other' (reciprocal)
	/sɐ̂sɐ/	[sɐ́sɐ̀]	'to fight' (derived)
(169)	/tsŏŋ/	[tsŏŋ]	'to kick'
	/tsɐtsŏŋ/	[tsɐ̀tsŏŋ]	'to kick each other' (reciprocal)
	/tsɐ̂tsoŋ/	[tsɐ́tsòŋ]	'to fight (using kicks)' (derived)

3.5 Discourse function of tone

In this section I will show various examples that illustrate the organisation of discourse through alternate tone groupings, and discuss how this ties in with focus. In the examples, constituents in focus are marked in bold in the underlying representation.

For the present discussion I adopt Lambrecht's defintion of focus. Focus is 'the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.' (Lambrecht 1994:213). Pragmatic assertion is defined as 'The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered.' (Lambrecht 1994:52). Pragmatic presupposition is defined as 'The set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.' (Lambrecht 1994:52). Thus, focus is the relationship between already known (old) information and new information. It is what makes an utterance informative.

Lambrecht distinguishes between three different types of focus (1994:222): argument-focus (narrow focus, i.e. when the focus is a single constituent), predicate-focus and sentence-focus (both broad focus, i.e. the focus includes more than one constituent). For sentence-focus the focus is the entire sentence; for predicate-focus the focus is the comment, and does not include the topic.

[136] Dīng (1998:59) also gives two similar examples, although he does not discuss them, but rather lists them as minimal pairs.

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the unmarked focus type is predicate-focus, where a sentence has a topic-comment structure. Topics can be marked or unmarked (§6.5) and the focus is the comment.

Argument-focus and sentence-focus are expressed by the organisation of constituents into tone groups. Argument-focus relates to an identificational pragmatic structure, where there is a focus-presupposition relation between the argument and the proposition. With argument-focus in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the constituent that is in focus forms its own tone group. However, if the focus does not include the predicate, but the predicate is part of the presupposition rather than the focus, it is defocalised and incorporated into the tone group of the preceding constituent. This happens when the information expressed by the predicate is already known, and the focus of the utterance is on the constituent preceding the predicate.

Sentence-focus relates to a presentational or event-reporting pragmatic structure. With sentence-focus in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the constituents that express the event that is presented form one single tone group. Lambrecht (2000) shows that with sentence-focus, arguments that would be interpreted as topics are detopicalized and treated as part of the focus. This happens in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ through the incorporation of the argument into the tone group of the predicate. I will refer to argument-focus and sentence-focus as 'narrow focus' and 'broad focus', especially since the term 'sentence-focus' is a bit misleading in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Even though it is possible for a whole sentence to form a single tone group (for example in [170]), the distinction in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is really made between a single-constituent tone group (with identificational pragmatic structure) and a multiple-constituent tone group (with presentational or event-reporting pragmatic structure). This will be discussed in §3.5.1.

3.5.1 *Tone groups and broad versus narrow focus*

The way constituents group together allows or blocks tonal spread. This is especially visible with predicates and their adjacent (usually O) arguments, henceforth 'noun-verb constituents'. Not all object-verb constituents form a tone group in discourse. When an object-verb constituent is presented as a single situation, i.e. 'broad focus', object and verb form a tone group and tone sandhi happens. When the focus is on one of the constituents, i.e. 'narrow focus', both parts keep their own tone. Something similar is also noted by Chirkova (2006:5) on tone in the neighbouring language Xùmǐ.

Example (170) exhibits broad focus; a general situation is presented and the whole sentence is in focus. There is no topic present in this sentence. The verb and its preceding object form one constituent and the tone of /gwí/ spreads rightwards onto the low-toned verb. This sentence is uttered as an isolated statement, not in answer to a question.

(170) **gwí tɕʰóŋ = sì.**
gwí tɕʰòŋ = si
rain appear = INF

'It rained.' (EL)

Example (171) is an instance of narrow focus, said in answer to the question whether or not it rained. Rain is the topic of the conversation, and the fact that it did is the focus. Therefore, object and verb do not form a single tone group, but both surface in their underlying tones.

(171) gwí# **tɕʰòŋ = sǐ.**
gwí tɕʰòŋ = si
rain appear = INF

'(Yes,) it rained.' (EL)

Tone sandhi between a verb and its object is especially clear when the verb has a (rising-tone) directional prefix, and the preceding object has a rising tone: the tone of the object spreads to the verb and the prefix (as well as the verb) receives a high surface tone. This can be seen in example (173).

Compare the constituents /dɐɻěj/ 'speech' and /qʰə̌-tóŋ/ 'to narrate' in examples (172) and (173). In (172) verb and object form one tone group and what is in focus here is the fact that the toad, who was mentioned before, spoke. The whole fact that it spoke is unexpected, since toads do not normally speak. In (173) where object and verb form separate tone groups, the assumption is that god can speak, but today he actually said something.

(172) dəbǔ# tə́# pɛ́dí = gòŋ# **dɐ̀ɻɛ̀j qʰə́-tóŋ**
dəbǔ tə́ pɛ́di = goŋ dɐɻěj qʰə̌-tóŋ
then this toad = AGT speech OUT-speak

'Then this toad spoke (...)' (TC09.16)

(173) pɯ́nʲə̀ = bù# hí = góŋ# dɐ̀ɻěj# **qʰə̀-tóŋ**
pɯ̂nʲə = bu hí = goŋ dɐɻěj qʰə̌-tóŋ
today = TOP god = AGT speech OUT-speak

'(...) Today god spoke.' (TC08.15)

The pair in (174-175) are further examples in which the different structuring of tone groups clearly influences the meaning. (174) is presented as a general situation indicating that the referents will have the ability to speak Nuòsū without without having made a conscious effort to learn it. It is structured as a single tone group, and thus the tone of the object /goŋnʲæ̥ɭí/ 'Nuòsū language' spreads to the verb /ě-wêŋ/ 'to have learned'. In (175) the focus is on /ě-wêŋ/, which implies that the referents made

a conscious effort to learn the Nuòsū language. /goŋnʲæ̰lí/ ‘Nuòsū language’ and /ě-wêŋ/ ‘to have learned’ do not form a single tone group.

(174) **gòŋnʲæ̰lí é-wèŋ = qɛ̀j**

goŋnʲæ̰lí ě-wêŋ = qɛj

Nuòsū.language IN-have.learned = EXPT

‘(...) (everybody) will have learned the Nuòsū language (...)’ (CV04.2)

(175) gòŋnʲæ̰lí# **è-wéŋ = qɛ̀j**

goŋnʲæ̰lí ě-wêŋ = qɛj

Nuòsū.language IN-have.learned = EXPT

‘(Everybody) will have learned the Nuòsū language.’ (CV04.2EL)

Another example is given in (176) and (177). (176) is presented as a general situation with the connotation that the referent, the implied topic, did not really want to drink liquor. The comment is presented as a single tone group, i.e. predicate focus or broad focus, and thus the tone of the noun-verb constituent /ɻɐdʑə̌ tʰíŋ/ ‘to drink liquor’ in (176) spreads to the verb /ě-wêŋ/ ‘to have learned’. In (177) the focus is on /ě-wêŋ/, i.e. narrow focus, which implies that the referent had a purpose for learning to drink liquor. Since the focus of (177) is on the learning, the verb /ě-wêŋ/ forms a separate tone group, and thus does not receive the tone of the preceding element.

(176) **ɻɐ̀dʑə̀ tʰíŋ é-wèŋ = qɛ̀j**

ɻɐdʑə̌ tʰǐŋ ě-wêŋ = qɛj

liquor drink IN-have.learned = EXPT

‘He will have learned to drink liquor.’ (CV04.2EL)

(177) ɻɐ̀dʑə̀ tʰíŋ# **è-wéŋ = qɛ̀j**

ɻɐdʑə̌ tʰǐŋ ě-wêŋ = qɛj

liquor drink IN-have.learned = EXPT

‘He will have learned to drink liquor.’ (CV04.2EL)

The undesirability of the situations in (174) and (176) is partly the result of the lack of control expressed by not focusing the verb /wə̂ŋ/ ‘to have learned’, and thus downplaying the volition and control of the referents; the referents did not make an effort to learn the language or drink liquor, but it just happened because of the socio-linguistic or socio-cultural situation they found themselves in.

The above examples have shown narrow focus on the predicate, but it is also possible for the object to be in focus and the predicate to be part of the presupposition. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ this kind of narrow focus is often contrastive. It is expressed through defocalising the predicate, by incorporating it into the same tone group as the object. In (178) the two constituents /ʐə̰tɕʰwîbʲæ/ ‘right’ and /wɛjtɕʰwîbʲæ/ ‘left’ are in contrastive focus.

The predicate (which is clearly known information from the context of the story) appears in low surface tone.

(178) âw...# é# **ʐə̀-tɕʰwí-bʲæ̀ = gə̀** ʈʉ̀-jì dzà kʰì = bù,#

âw...	é	ʐə̌-tɕʰwi-bʲæ = gə	ʈʉ̀-ji	dzâ	kʰi = bu
INTJ	1SG	right-direction-side:GEN = DEF	dig-NMLZ	be	time = TOP

wɛ̀j-tɕʰwí-bʲæ̀ = gə̀ qʰə̀-ʈʉ̀ tsèŋ = sì

wɛ̌j-tɕʰwi-bʲæ = gə	qʰə̌-ʈʉ̀	tseŋ = si
left-direction-side:GEN = DEF	OUT-dig	N.CONTR = INF

'(...) Oh...I should have dug out *the right one*, but I unfortunately dug out *the left one* (...)' (TC06.28)

In example (179) the expected tone of /ʐə̌/ 'to come' would be high,[137] but it is low instead. It is not possible in the discourse context to have a high tone. In this example the speaker is aware of the fact that the two addressees have arrived, since she is talking to them, but she is making a guess as to in which manner they arrived: /mutʰŭ qʰu/ 'on a motor cycle'. Since that piece of information, and not the predicate, is in focus, the predicate is incorporated into the same tone group as the constituent in focus, and thus pronounced with low surface tones.

(179) nìŋ = dzǽŋ# ɕwípʰá = bù# dəbŭ# mùtʰŭ = qʰù ɛ̀-ʐə̀ mə̀ dzà qɛ̀j

nǐŋ = dzæŋ	ɕwípʰɑ = bu	dəbŭ	**mutʰŭ = qʰu**	ɛ̌-ʐə̌	mə dzə qɛj
2 = DU	evening = TOP	then	motorcycle = on	IN-come	EPIST

bɑ̀w?
bɑw
CONTR

'So you probably came *by motorcycle* (yesterday) evening, right?' (CV02.33)

If (179) was said out of context, as in (180) and (181), either the underlying tone can be used on /ʐə̌/, as in (180), or the low surface tone, as in (181). Example (180) implies that the people on the motorcycle have not arrived yet and the speaker is making a guess as to whether or not they have arrived. This is a normal predicate-focus utterance. In (181) the speaker knows the people have arrived, but is making a guess as to whether they will have arrived by motorcycle (or some other means of transport). Since the predicate is within the presupposition, it cannot be in focus, and thus has to be defocalised by incorporating it into the tone group of the preceding element /mutʰŭ qʰu/ which is in focus. Since in (179) the context makes it clear that the people have

[137] This rising tone verb changes to high level tone when a directional prefix is attached (see §3.4.5).

arrived (the speaker is addressing them), defocalising the predicate is the only option, and therefore it is not possible for the verb /ʐə̌/ to appear with its lexical tone.

(180) dəbǔ# mùtʰǔ = qʰù# **ɛ̀-ʐə́ mə́ dzə̀ qɛ̀j bàw**?

dəbǔ	mutʰǔ = qʰu	ɛ̌-ʐə̌	mə dzə qɛj	bɑw
then	motorcycle = on	IN-come	EPIST	CONTR

'(They) probably came by motorcycle, right?' (CV02.33EL)

(181) dəbǔ# **mùtʰǔ = qʰù** ɛ̀-ʐə̀ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j bàw?

dəbǔ#	mutʰǔ = qʰu	ɛ̌-ʐə̌	mə dzə qɛj	bɑw
then	motorcycle = on	IN-come	EPIST	CONTR

'(They) probably came *by motorcycle*, right?' (CV02.33EL)

Another example of narrow focus on an argument is given in (182). The speaker, who is inside a house, utters this remark out of the blue in the middle of a conversation. Some time before that utterance, Tshering Lhame had received a phone call and had left the room to talk in the courtyard. The utterance is presented as the answer to the speaker's own non-expressed question 'Who is Tshering Lhame talking to?'. Since the predicate is within the presupposition, the topic, Tshering Lhame, is implied, and everything else (except for the clause-final attitude particle) falls under one tone group and receives the tone of the initial element /mâ/ 'mother' or default low tone.

(182) **mâ = pù** dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tòŋ = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j# bə̌

mâ = pu	dɛɻɛ̌j	tóŋ = ɖɑw	mə dzə qɛj	bə̌
mother = COM	speech	speak = IPFV:N.EGO	EPIST	SPEC

'(Tshering Lhame) will be talking with *(her) mother*, (...)' (CV13.60)

Apart from broad and narrow focus in the sense used by Lambrecht, tone grouping can also be used for emphasis, as in (183) and (184). When /pə̌ʐʉ̀/ 'carpet', /tsí/ 'to get' and /ɕîŋ/ 'go:IMP:PL' form one tone group, the imperative force is weakened, as in (183). But when they form separate tone groups, as in (184), the imperative force is stronger.

(183) "(...) pə̌ʐʉ̀ tsì ɕìŋ," tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.

"(...) pə̌ʐʉ̀	tsí	ɕîŋ,"	tɕwə̌ = si	tɕɑw.
carpet	take	go:IMP:PL	say:PFV:N.EGO = INF	HSY

'(...) (the father) said, "(You all go) get the carpets (today, that your fiancees (that you found) wove), it is said." ' (TC09.20)

(184) "pə̌ʐʉ̀# tsí ɕíŋ," tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.

"pə̌ʐʉ̀	tsí	ɕîŋ,"	tɕwə̌ = si	tɕɑw.
carpet	take	go:IMP:PL	say:PFV:N.EGO = INF	HSY

'(He) said, "Go get the carpets!", it is said.' (TC09.21)

3.6 Intonation

How does intonation influence lexical pitch? Hari (1971:47) notes that in Thakali intonation appears most clearly on the last syllable of a phonological constituent; if this syllable is neutral in respect to tone, the intonational pitch is realized most clearly. This agrees with what Greif (2010:246) states about the Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ discourse clitics that appear as the last syllable of a phonological constituent. Because of their toneless nature discourse clitics seem to have a bigger capacity for expressing intonation. Greif shows that discourse clitics that follow a focused constituent (especially an initial NP) show an upstepped H tone, which makes them more prominent than the preceding noun, and he suspects that this is due to the influence of intonation. This section will only make a few general remarks on intonation in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ and show two emphatic intonation phenomena: the extra high pitch intonation (§3.6.1) and the narrative rising pitch intonation (§3.6.2). I have not looked into normal intonation patterns (e.g. questions versus statements).

As is common in languages across the world, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ intonation displays a general declination phonemenon: the overall pitch tends to be lower towards the end of an intonation unit. Downdrift also happens, where low pitch in between high pitch lowers the general pitch of the utterance.[138] The presence of a boundary tone can be seen in a falling tone on the end of a clause or phrase, usually just before a pause (as mentioned in §3.3.2). This is also mentioned by Greif (2010) for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ.

3.6.1 *Extra high pitch intonation*

Words bearing lexical tone can be influenced by intonation. Hari (1971:47) states that in Thakali, if a syllable has a distinctive pitch (lexical tone?), then the pitch interacts with the intonation, but the underlying contrasts are not neutralized (1971:47). This can be seen in (185) and (186) where an extra high contour combined with lengthening of the syllable renders an intensive meaning.[139]

(185) ní=nòŋ# ɖǽɖǽ=gǽ# lʲwé=gǽ# tʲóŋ# tʰè-dzû,

nî=noŋ	ɖǽɖǽ=gæ	lʲwê=gæ	tʲôŋ	tʰě-dzù
LOG=COORD	same=GEN	ash=GEN	one:CLF:thing	FR.SP-make

'(She) made one thing **exactly** the same as herself from ashes, (...)' (TC02.76)

Example (185) is shown in Figure 3.12. As can be clearly seen, the pitch of the first *ɖǽ* starts extremely high and its syllable length is 1.06s as compared to 0.21s for the second *ɖǽ*.

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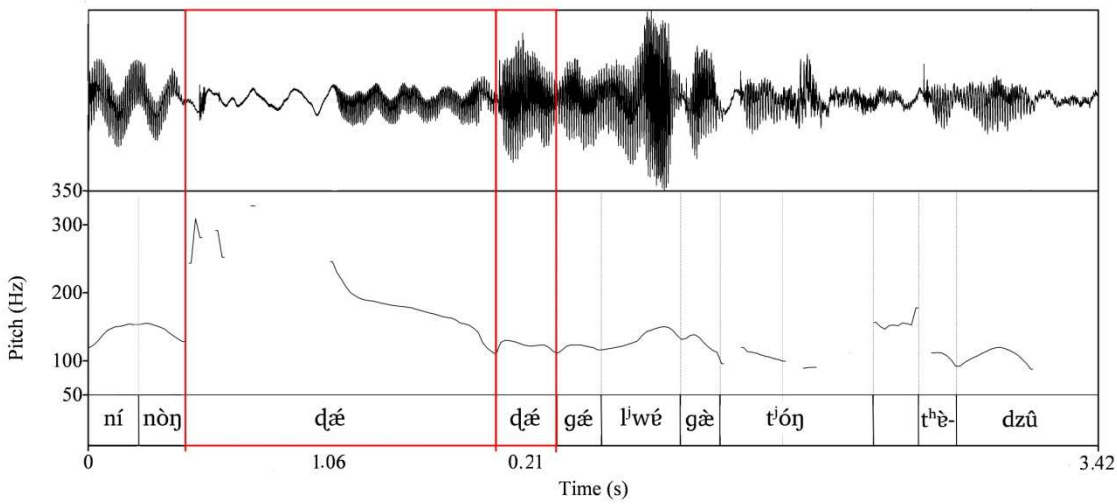
[138] Greif (2010:242) mentions both declination and downdrift for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ.

[139] Also reported for Lahu (Matisoff 1994:117). Rawang speakers often change from a mid to a high tone for emphasis on words for 'all' and 'there (far away)' (LaPolla, p.c.).

Figure 3.12 Extra high pitch



In (186) the speaker indicates that the household was extremely far away. The reduplication of kʰǔ 'outwards (down the valley)' also involves extensive lengthening of the syllable: the first mention has a duration of 0.52s, the second has a duration of only 0.17s.

(186) wɛ́jʑáw# kʰǘ-kʰù-pû,# hòŋlʲǎ pɛ́j-mə́# tɛ́-qè#

wɛ́jʑɑw	kʰǔ-kʰǔ-pú,	hoŋlʲǎ	pɛ́j-mə	tǐ-qê
Qiansuo	out-out-under	Ch:goldtread.root	cook-NMLZ	one-CLF:household

ʑí wèŋ#

ʑî	wêŋ
EXIST.AN	CUST.EXCL

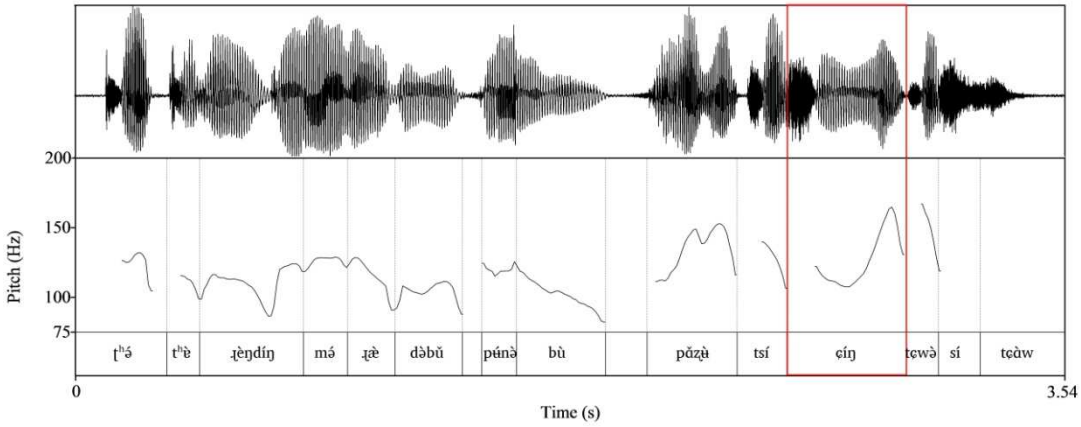
'(...) **way, way outwards** down the valley in Qiansuo there was a family who processed goldthread root(...)' (SN02.9)

3.6.2 *Narrative rising pitch intonation*

A special narrative intonation is used by storytellers to make a story more expressive. It consists of a sharp rise in pitch and lengthening of the syllable just before the end of an intonation break. The pitch drops sharply and a few morphemes might follow in a low pitch. When a quotation is involved, the narrative intonation will appear on the last syllable of the quotation and the pitch will drop again sharply on the quotation marker and stay low on whatever follows the quotation marker. The same phenomenon appears in Yǔchū Pǔmǐ as well (personal fieldnotes).

Figure 3.13 shows the the pitch contour of example (187). The narrative intonation can be seen in the length of the syllable [ɕìŋ] and its sharp rise in pitch.

Figure 3.13 Narrative rising pitch intonation



(187) “ʈʰə̌# tʰɛ̀-ɻɛ̀ŋdíŋ-mə́ = ɻæ̀# dəbǔ# pə́nə̀ = bù,# pǎʐɨ̀ tsì **ɕìŋ**,
“ʈʰə̌ tʰɛ̌-ɻɛŋdíŋ-mə = ɻæ dəbǔ pə́nə = bu, pǎʐɨ̀ tsí **ɕîŋ**,
wife FR.SP-seek-NMLZ = PL:GEN then today = TOP carpet take go:IMP:PL

tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.
tɕwə̌ = si tɕɑw.
say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

‘(... the father said, “You all) get the carpet today, that your fiancees that you found (wove), it is said.” ’ (TC09.20)

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter described the tonal system of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ and found that its tonal inventory and tonal spreading patterns are similar to that described for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. However, four tones should be recognised in monosyllables, based on different tonal spreading patterns in rising tone alternating verbs. Alternating verbs were mentioned in several descriptions of Pǔmǐ (Matisoff 1997, Fù 1998) and Jacques (2011c) devoted an article to the topic. The present study clearly shows that tonal alternation happens with a substantial group of verbs, and corroborates Jacques’ study in showing that the group is roughly similar across various Pǔmǐ speech varieties. Further research needs to show what diachronic reason, such as the presence of checked syllables (which have been reported in other languages in the area [Matisoff 1970, Sūn 2008]), can be given.

In this chapter it was also argued that all directional prefixes have lexical tone. This differs from earlier descriptions of Pǔmǐ, in which most directional prefixes were described as toneless morphemes. The recognition of lexical tone is based on their relationship with bound demonstratives, their behaviour in conditional clauses and their tonal spreading patterns in predicate-focus constructions. The presence of lexical tone might also explain the tonal alternation in alternating verbs.

Finally, this study noted the importance of tone groups as building blocks for discourse in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The organization of constituents into tone groups is used by speakers of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ to express broad versus narrow focus. Tonal incorporation happens by integrating a constituent into an adjacent tone group. This is used for detopicalization of an argument or defocalisation of a predicate. Tone groups and their function in discourse have been described for the neighbouring languages Xùmǐ (Chirkova 2006) and Na (Michaud 2013). Due to the scope of this thesis, only initial observations were made and further corpus-based research will certainly bring more to light.

Chapter 4.
Form classes

This chapter discusses the major form classes in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The chapter starts with a short discussion on the open form classes: noun, verbs and adjectives (§4.1). Adjectives are for the most part a subset of verbs and will be dealt with under the verbs (§8.2). In the rest of the chapter several closed form classes will be described in more detail: pronouns (§4.2); numerals (§4.3); numeral classifiers (§4.4); quantifiers (§4.5); demonstratives and locationals (§4.6). (Section §4.6 on demonstratives and locationals strictly speaking does not deal with a structural form class, but is rather grouped around the semantics of time and location. Treating them together allows for a clearer presentation of the data.) Semantic role markers are briefly mentioned in §4.6, but will be treated more fully in Chapter 6 together with discourse markers. Adverbs are described in §4.7 and clause linkers in §4.8. The function of clause linkers is described more fully in Chapter 10. The chapter ends with a section on grammaticalisation (§**Error! Reference source not found.**). Some other form classes will not be dealt with in this chapter, but are described in other chapters. Auxilaries are described in §7.8.5. Attitude markers are described in §8.8. Onomatopoeic ideophones, ideophones proper, expressives, interjections and expletives are dealt with in Chapter 9.

4.1 Open form classes

As Dīng (1998) clearly showed in his work on Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ, there is a lot of overlap in form classes and many words can be used as noun, verb, adjective or classifier. One example sentence from Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is a clear example how a single form can be used in multiple ways. In this example, the form *ɻóŋ* is used as a noun 'drying rack', a verb 'to dry on a drying rack', and a classifier 'a drying-rackful':

(188) ɻóŋ = bì tɛ̀-ɻóŋ tɛ̀-ɻóŋ pʉ́
drying.rack = on one-CLF:drying.rack one-CLF:drying.rack do

ɛ̀-ɻôŋ
IN-dry.on.drying.rack

'(...) and put to dry on a drying rack one drying-rackful by one drying-rackful (...)' (CL03ed.22)

I therefore do not want to spend much time in defining nouns versus verbs versus adjectives, but will rather give the reader a table with several language-specific

constructions that indicate when a certain morpheme is used as a noun, when as a verb, and when as an adjective.

Table 4.1 Wǎdū Pǔmǐ constructions

	Noun	Verb	Stative verb	Adjective
Head of noun phrase	x			
Modified by demonstrative	x			
Marked for number and definiteness	x			
Complement of copular clause	x			
Can take semantic role marking	x			
Can be modified by other nouns and numeral-classifier compounds	x			
Can be the head of a genitive phrase	x			
Can take directional prefixes		x	x	
Can be modified by preceding adverbial expressions		x		
Can be modified by following auxiliaries		x		
Can form a complete clause		x	x	
Can take egophoric and evidential marking		x	x	
Can be preceded by negation or the interrogative		x	x	
Can be nominalized		x	x	
Can take stative verb markers			x	
Can modify nouns post-nominally			x	x
Can be followed by discourse markers	x	x	x	x

4.2 Pronouns

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ personal pronouns are free forms that are not cliticized to the verb. The forms are shown in Table 4.2. The pronouns distinguish person and number: first, second and third person, and singular, dual and plural number. In the first person pronoun form, a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive. Number is expressed by the dual and plural clitics *=dzæŋ* and *=ɻə*, and the collective plural suffix

-*bʉ* (§5.4). In reality, only speech act participants have a distinct pronoun form. The form that is used to refer to the third person is the proximal demonstrative *tə́* 'this'.[140] However, Pǔmǐ is a zero anaphora language and often nominal arguments are not overtly expressed and can be understood from the discourse context.

Table 4.2 Personal pronouns

	SG	DU	PL	COL
1.EXCL	*ɛ́*	*ɐdzǎŋ*	*ê.ɻə*	*êbʉ*
1.INCL		*iŋdzâŋ*	*iŋ.ɻə́*	*iŋbʉ́*
2	*nǐŋ*	*niŋdzâŋ*	*niŋ.ɻə́*	*niŋbʉ́*
3	*tə́*	*tədzǎŋ*	*tə́.ɻə*	*tə̂bʉ*

The first inclusive pronoun *ǐŋ-* has another form *ŏŋ-,* that only appears once in the data and according to my main consultant seems to be used more by young people:[141]

(189) nɛ́lʲáw = bù nǐŋ òŋ = dzǽŋ ɻə́tsə̀ mà = ɕì = bú
eye = TOP INTJ 1:INCL = DU knife NEG = EXIST.AB = TOP

'Mind you, if we two don't have a knife, (...)' (CV18.133.1)

Pronouns are often not present in discourse when they are retrievable from the context. When referring to self, speakers might also use a term of reference, usually a kin term, instead of a pronoun:

[140] Dīng therefore does not include the third person form in his pronoun chart, but marks a zero anaphor instead (1998:101). He notes that when overt marking is necessary, Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ has a choice between three options *tə́ge, nî* and *tsŏ́,* and speakers will choose the one they prefer, based on their clan. Dīng (2014:90) notes that *nî* is used when a referent is visible, whereas *tsŏ́* is used when a referent is not visible during a conversation. In Dīng's examples, *nî* is mostly used for third person; in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *tə́* is most commonly used for third person reference and *nî* is used as the logophoric pronoun (§4.2.1). *nî* and *tsŏ́* might be reflexes of the PTB **r-mi* 'man/person' (with assimilation of the initial) and **tsaŋ* 'person/human being' (Matisoff 2003:449,265). The form *tsŏ́* or a similar form is not present in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, but is used in Xiǎngshuǐhé Pǔmǐ (personal notes) and in Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ (Katia Chirkova, unpublished 2006 wordlist).

[141] This might be another indication of the phonological change from [ĩ] to [õ] that can be observed in parts of the Pǔmǐ area (see §2.2.2). Another explanation might be that it is a loan from Yǒngníng Na: there the inclusive first person pronoun is formed by attaching a suffix to a reflexive pronoun *oŋ*^{33} (Lidz 2010:191).

(190) ɛ̀má = là ɕə́ = séŋ
aunt = also go = PFV:EGO

'(...) aunt (= I) went too.' (YJ01.36)

Sometimes a full noun phrase and an ordinary pronoun are combined into an inclusory construction. In this construction the noun is always followed by the pronoun:

(191) dəbǔ [pɛ̀jpɛ́j tɛ́ɖí = nòŋ kízú] [ní = dzæ̀ŋ] tɛ̀-dǐŋ,
then older.sibling Tadi = COORD T:sKal.bzang LOG = DU one-CLF:place

[pàtɕí] [ɛ̀ = dzæ̌ŋ] tɛ̀-dǐŋ.
Ch:Bajin 1.EXLC = DU one-CLF:place

'Then (...) older brother Tadi and Kizu, the two of them (went to) one place, and Bajin (and I), the two of us (went to) one place.' (YJ02.12)

A similar construction includes the coordinator *=noŋ* 'and', as in (192). It is interesting that *X=noŋ tədzæ̌ŋ* does not mean 'X and the two of them', but 'X and ..., the two of them' (see also §5.7.1 on associative constructions).

(192) [pɛ̀jpɛ́j píŋmá = nòŋ Ø] [tə̀ = dzæ̌ŋ] tʲóŋ nɛ̀-dzɛ́j
older.sibling Pingma = COORD Ø 3 = DU one:CLF:thing DOWN-ride

ɛ̀-ʂɛ́j = sì ɦà
IN-go:PFV:N.EGO = INF LINK

'(...) older brother Pingma, the two of them, went riding one motorcycle (...)' (CV02.34)

Some other forms that can be used like pronouns are given in (193).

(193) *mə̂ = dzæŋ/ɻə* [person = DU/PL] 'other (two) people'[142]
tǐ(= dzæŋ) [one(= DU)] 'other(s)'
tɐnə̌(= ɻə) [other = PL] 'other(s)'
tɐ-dʑɛ́ [one-CLF:several] 'several'

4.2.1 *Reflexive and logophoric pronoun*

The logophoric pronoun *nî* '(s)he himself/herself' is used for third person reflexive or emphatic reference. When used as a reflexive, as in (194), the pronoun is used twice, unlike in some other languages where the normal pronoun can be used with the reflexive (e.g. He hit himself). Emphatic reference is shown in (195).

[142] There seems to be a strong tendency to talk about self versus other. This form is dealt with in the genitive construction in §5.3.1.

(194) ní = gòŋ ní tsàw = ɖàw.
LOG = AGT LOG beat = IPFV:N.EGO

'He is hitting himself.' (EL)

(195) ní = gòŋ è-ʂéj tì tçə̀ = ɖàw â?
LOG = AGT IN-go:PFV:N.EGO say:IMP:SG say = IPFV:N.EGO CONF

'He himself told (you) to tell (Pali Tshering) that (he) went (to the new house)?' (CV04.23)

Peterson (2011:88) notes a relationship between the reflexive morpheme and agentive/foregrounding marker in Khumi, where the reflexive morpheme grammaticalised from the foregrounding marker. Something similar might have happened in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: the reflexive *nî* is almost homophonous with the agentive *=ni* which also has an emphatic use (§6.2.1). However, the reflexive has a falling tone, whereas the agentive is toneless. If there is a relationship between the two, the empathic sense probably preceded the agentive function. LaPolla (p.c.) also reports a Rawang particle *ni* which emphasizes the agent and has a reflexive use.

nî can refer to the agent of a clause, as in (194) and (195), to the goal, as in (196), or to the possessor in a possessive relation, as in (197). The dual and plural clitics can cliticize to this pronoun, as in (198).

(196) ní = bì è-də́dwɛ̀ tì sə̀ pɯ́ = gî
LOG = DAT IN-ask one first do = VOL:INCL

'(...) let's first ask him a bit.' (TC02.12)

(197) jèmá = bù dəbǔ ní = gæ̀ tçòŋgú... gwǽgɯ̀ = ɻə̀ ə́-wà
monk = TOP then LOG = GEN clothes change.of.clothes = PL that-in:GEN

tçə́ = wù tʰè-tsɛ̂j
water = in FR.SP-wash

'(...) the monk washed his own clothes ... change of clothes in the water there (...)' (TC07.4)

(198) ní = ɻə̀ = bù nè-dzôŋ
LOG = PL = TOP DOWN-sit

'(...) they themselves would sit down (...)' (TC10.15)

nî is used to indicate co-reference in reported indirect speech, as in (199) (this will be discussed further in §8.1.1 and §8.3.5). The existence of a logophoric pronoun and its use to indicate co-reference has also been reported for Nuòsū (Gerner 2013).

(199) ní pùséŋ nòŋ ʑǎʑǎ-bà wù
LOG today.morning only Zjaezjae-household:GEN interior

kʰà-ʑà = sèŋ tɕà = ɖàw
OUT-come = PFV:EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO

'(He$_i$) said that he$_i$ himself had come from the Zjaezjae household only that morning.' (CV07.73.4)

Preliminary research has shown that the logophoric pronoun *nî* is used extensively for referent tracking in discourse and often marks the referent in current discourse focus. (200) is from the last line of a trickster story. No pronominal reference to the main protagonist has been used in the previous five lines, and in this concluding line, the logophoric pronoun is used.

(200) ní té-ʈʂà = ɕì kǒŋ = wù qʰà-ʂéj = sì tɕàw
LOG one-CLF:jump = LIM.TOP door = in OUT-go:N.EGO PFV = INF HSY

'(...) and he himself went in just one jump through the door, it is said. (TC04.37)

There is one reflexive pronoun *pʉ̂* 'self', which only seldomly occurs by itself, as in (201), but is usually followed by the agentive *=(g)oŋ(ni)*, as in (202), the definite *=gə*, as in (203), or the genitive *=(g)æ*, as in (204). Of the 42 times attested in the corpus, *pʉ = gǎ* occurs 31 times, as opposed to *pʉ̂*, *pʉ̂ = goŋ(ni)* and *pʉ̂ = gə* that all occur twice. *pʉ̂-dzaw-pʉ̂-lu* occurs five times. It also occurs in the phrase *pʉ̂-dzaw-pʉ̂-lu* 'total freedom' (< *dzǎw* 'authority' and *lú* 'work'). The form *pʉ = gǎ*, which is by far the most frequent, seems to have lost its genitive meaning in most cases and come to denote 'self'.

(201) təɕǽ = bú dəbǔ, pʉ́ tʰòŋ sə́tɕæ̀
now = TOP then self can if

'Nowadays, if one can (do things) oneself, (...)' (TC10.56)

(202) təɕǽ pʉ̀ = gǒŋ pʉ́ ɻə́ɕǐ sə̀tɕæ̀
now self = AGT do can if

'Nowadays, if one can do (things) oneself, (...)' (TC01ed.10)

(203) jǎw pʉ́ = gə̀ tʰè- n̥ǽŋ tɕə̀ kʰwɛ́dʑú pʉ̀ qʰù,
again self = DEF FR.SP-be.slow say angry do CUST.INCL

'Again when we thought that we ourselves were slow, we would be angry (...)' (CV21.309.2)

(204) pʉ̀=gǎ ɕí=wà tɕʰáwtɕǽ=ɻə̀=bì=là tɕʰìtɕʰwí=tì tɕʰì
self=GEN village=in:GEN relative=PL=DAT=also meal=INDF feed

qʰù wèŋ
need CUST.EXCL

'(...) one also needs to feed the relatives from one's own village a meal.' (CL01ed.23)

Whereas *nî* is only used for third person, *pʉ̂* can be used for all persons and can follow another pronoun, as in (205). Note that the genitive form of the reflexive pronoun is used. This form often appears in situations where there is no obvious genitive sense. In this example it is also possible to use *pʉ=gǎ pʉ̀* or *niŋ=gǽ nǐŋ* instead of *pʉ=gǎ*. The construction *pʉ=gǎ pʉ̀* or *pʉ=gǎ* is possible with all pronouns. Constructions that can be used with other persons in combination with the respective pronouns are *ɛ́=gæ ɛ́* (first person); *niŋ=gǽ nǐŋ* (second person); and *nî=gæ nî* (third person). None of these constructions except for *pʉ=gǎ* have been attested in the corpus, and further research is needed to clarify any semantic or pragmatic differences. It might be that *pʉ=gǎ* derives from *pʉ=gǎ pʉ̀* and has kept the genitive. The use of *niŋ=gǽ* is not possible here without change in meaning: 'Did you hit your own (thing)?'

(205) nǐŋ pʉ̀=gǎ ɛ̀-bá=sì â?
2SG self=GEN IN-hit=INF CONF

'Did you hit it yourself?' (CV11.66)

There are two other words for 'self', *oŋmə̂dʲæ* and *udʲúwa*, that function similarly to *pʉ̂*, but are used less frequently and could be replaced by *pʉ=gǎ* or *pʉ=gǒŋ* in either example. It is possible that these are loanwords from Yǒngníng Na.

(206) òŋmə́dʲæ̀ tɕʰə̀nə́ pʉ́ tà dzâ
self how do only be

'It is only how we do it ourselves (...)' (CV21.568)

(207) ùdʲúwá míŋ tɕà tà mǎ=dzà â?
self:GEN what say only NEG=be CONF

'Is it not only what one oneself says (that is right)? (CV23.18.2)

4.2.2 *Abstract use of pronouns*

A few pronouns are used more abstractly. The second person pronoun *nǐŋ* can be used in the sense of 'mind you!', not referring to a particular person, but addressing the listener. The speaker wants to draw attention to what they are saying. The implication is that the addressee does not know the piece of information the speaker is sharing, and thus this abstract use of *nǐŋ* can sometimes be slightly condescending. When used

in the abstract sense, *nǐŋ* functions similarly to an interjection in that it can occur in any position in the clause and not just clause-initially or clause-finally. In (208) an example of *nǐŋ* inside a genitive construction.

(208) ɛ̀má ɕɛ́=gǎ nǐŋ tsá ɕɛ́ ʐǔ
aunt big=GEN INTJ meat be.big very

'First aunt's -mind you- meat is very big (...)' (CV21.168)

Another pronoun that has acquired a more abstract use is the dual inclusive first person pronoun *iŋ=dzǽŋ*. When it is used in its abstract sense, it can address multiple people, and indicates that neither the speaker nor the addressee(s) have any idea of the situation, let alone a solution to change the situation: 'What do we know about the situation?' Since it includes the speaker in the group of addressees, it is slightly more polite than *nǐŋ*. In example (209) from a conversation between several people, multiple people are addressed by the speaker who is talking about his son who does not have many skills.

(209) jəjíŋ-mə tà ɖòŋ=qɛ̀j mə dzî,
land.plow-NMLZ only become= EXPT NMLZ.CON

míŋ ɖòŋ=qɛ̀j, ìŋ=dzǽŋ
what become=EXPT 1:INCL=DU

'(He) will only be a land-plower! What else will (he) be?! We (have no solution) (...)' (CV11.12)

Example (210) is an illustration of both pronouns used abstractly in the same utterance. The speaker, who is addressing her sister, redresses the condescending tone of *nǐŋ* by following it with *iŋ=dzǽŋ*. In the corpus *iŋ=dzǽŋ* has only been attested utterance-finally, but like *nǐŋ* it can also occur non-utterance-finally.

(210) mə́=ɻə̀ tɕʰə̀-ʐǽŋ=wù ʑì mə̀=dzə̀ ɦàw, nǐŋ, ìŋ=dzǽŋ.
people=PL how.many-far=in EXIST.AN GNOMIC WARN INTJ 1:INCL=DU

'How far those people live, mind you, what do we know about it?!!' (CV14.11)

4.2.3 *Interrogative and indefinite pronouns*

A list of interrogative pronouns is given in (211).

(211) *hîŋ* 'who'
mîŋ 'what'
mîŋɻoŋ (tɕə) 'how, why'
kî/ kə̂dʑi 'where'
tɕʰə̌ 'how much'
tsʰətsʰɐ̌ 'how much' (< *-tsʰɐ* 'much')

tɕʰəní ~ tɕʰənəni 'how'
tɕʰəkʰí 'when' (< *kʰi* 'time')

The interrogative pronoun *mîŋɻoŋ* consists of *mîŋ* 'what', *ɖŏŋ* 'to become' and optionally *tɕə̌* 'to say'. The form *mîŋɻoŋ* is more general 'how, why, what's the matter'; *mîŋɻoŋ tɕə* is more specific 'why' and asks for a more specific answer, as in (212).

(212) dəbŭ míŋɻòŋ tɕà ɖʐ̀nóŋkʰǽ tɕʰwí tɕə́ lʲàʔ
then why society be.good say RHET

'Why am (I) saying that (such a) society is good?' (TC01ed.9)

When followed by a postposition the vowel *kî* 'where' is reduced to [ə]. The form *dʑi* is a spatial noun/postposition denoting location (§4.6.3).

The general interrogative morpheme *tɕʰə̌* 'how much' is used as basis for a few other interrogative forms. Note the initial consonant in the form *tsʰətsʰə̌* 'how much'. This might be a case of regressive assimilation. The syllable *–ni* in *tɕʰəní* 'how' might be derived from the agentive marker *=ni* (§6.2.1) or the additional focus marker *=ni* (§6.5.9). *tɕʰə̌* is not a bound form and can appear by itself, as in (213). It can also be followed by classifiers (*tɕʰə-tsí* 'how many people') and (mainly dimensional) stative verbs (*tɕʰə-tɛ́j* 'how big'). In combination with stative verbs it has an exclamatory rather than an interrogative meaning, as in (210) and (216).

(213) kèdʑí tɕʰə̀ tʰɛ́-dzù=sèŋ?
this.period.of.time how.many FR.SP-make=PFV:EGO

'How many did (you [pl]) make this time?' (CV14.40)

Both *mîŋ* 'what' and *hîŋ* 'who' can be reduplicated to indicate multiple referents, as in (214) and (215). In using the reduplication, the speaker wants to know the identity of each member of the selected set. Normal plurality can be expressed by the addition of the plural clitic *=ɻə*.

(214) híŋ hîŋ?
who who

'Who and who?' (CV11.52)

(215) tɕʰwǎ qʰə̀-ʈʂʰə́=mə̀=gǽ... ʂə́ nɛ̀-tɕwì, jǎw míŋ míŋ
pig OUT-slaugther=NMLZ=GEN meat DOWN-feed again what what

tà dzù=ɖòŋ tɕə́=ɖâw
only make=IPFV:EGO:1SG say=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (she) gave (me) lean pork from the slaughtered pig (to eat), and what all (she) made; (...)' (CV21.105)

All interrogatives except for *mîŋɻoŋ (tɕə)* 'how, why' also may appear in contexts that are not real questions. They rather have a rhetorical and exclamatory function, as in (216) and (217), and in (210) above. In this context a reduplication of the stative verb can be used as a free alternation which seems to be more emphatic, as in (218), (see also §4.6.2). In (216) *tɕʰətətêj* could also have been used. Similarly in (218) *tɕʰəlêj* could have been used.

(216) tɕʰə̀-tə́j nè-ɖòŋ = sì ɦǎw
how.many-be.big DOWN-become = INF WARN

'How big (you) have grown!!' (CV04.5.2)

(217) qʰwǎ = wù té-ʈòŋ-lì = tì tɕʰə̀-kʰí = là kwî.
bowl = in one-CLF:piece-DIM = INDF how.many-time = also EXIST.IN

'(...) for such a long time there was a small piece in the bowl.' (CV18.101)

(218) ə́jòŋmâ, mə́ = ɻæ̀ tɕʰə̀-lə̀lə́j kʰì.
INTJ person = PL:GEN how.many-be.heavy TRAIL

'Ojoma, it's that heavy!' (CV21.386)

Cross-linguistically, indefinite pronouns are often similar to or derived from question words. This is the case in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The interrogative pronouns *kí* 'where', *mîŋ* 'what' and *hîŋ* 'who' can be used in combination with a bound morpheme *-tɕʰoŋtɕʰǒŋ* to form the indefinite pronouns 'wherever', 'whatever' and 'whoever' respectively. The origin of *-tɕʰoŋtɕʰǒŋ* is not clear at this point.

(219) kítɕʰòŋtɕʰǒŋ mə́ = ɻə̀ pʰɛ̀ = ɖáw mə̀ dzə̀.
wherever person = PL pour = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'(...) people wherever/everywhere (in all the Pǔmǐ areas) pour out libation (to the mountain god).' (CV23.10)

(220) míŋtɕʰòŋtɕʰòŋ = lá bóŋ = ɖàw
whatever = also EXIST.POSS = IPFV:N.EGO

'(He) has whatever/everything.' (CV23.9EL)

(221) híŋtɕʰòŋtɕʰòŋ = pú = lá ʑə̀ = ɖâw
whoever = with = also sleep = IPFV:N.EGO

'(He) sleeps with whoever/everyone.' (CV23.9EL)

Interrogative pronouns can be used as a pair in a correlative construction (Keenan 1985) with the structure *interrogative-X = (gə), interrogative-X* and an indefinite sense. Some examples are given in (222) and (225), (see also §5.2.4).

(222) té-qè̀ m̥ə́ tɕʰə̀-tsə́ ʑì = gə̀
one-CLF:household person how.many-CLF:person EXIST.AN = DEF

dəbǔ tɕʰə̀-tsə́ pʉ̀ də̀-kʰǐŋ.
then how.many-CLF:person do TO.SP-give

'(...) however many people a household had, that amount of land (they) would get.' (TC10.50)

(223) tɕʰə̀-kʰí də̀-jí tɕə̀ = gə̀ tɕʰə̀-kʰí jǎw
how.many-time TO.SP-come say = DEF how.many-time again

də̀-jí qʰú mə̀ dzə̀ mà.
TO.SP-come need GNOMIC INFO

'(...) whenever (he) told (you) to come back, (you) needed to come back then.' (TC10.40)

(224) nǐŋ míŋ pʉ̀ = gə̀ é = lá míŋ pʉ́ = ʂû
2SG what do = DEF 1SG = also what do = VOL:SG

'Whatever you do, I will do as well.' (CV09.94EL)

(225) tsʰə̀tsʰě tʰè-pʉ́ tsʰə̀tsʰě pʉ́ də̀-ʈʰwé = ɖáw mə̀ dzə̀
how.much FR.SP-do how.much do TO.SP-gain = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'(...) the amount that (one) puts in, (one) will obtain the same amount.' (TC01ed.10)

A correlative structure with only one interrogative is also possible, as in (226-228).

(226) tə̀ = dzǎŋ hîŋ tɕʰwí = qɛ̀j = gə̀ tə̀ = dzǎŋ tʲóŋ tíŋ
3 = DU who good = EXPT = DEF 3 = DU one:CLF:thing take.care.of

kɛ̀j = gì
let = VOL:INCL

'(...) whoever of the two will take good care, let's let that one baby-sit (...)' (TC04.3)

(227) nìŋ = dzǽŋ tɕʰə̀-kʰí ɕə́ = gə́ tɛ́ɻɛ̀j pʉ̀ ɕə́ = gí
2 = DU how.many-time go = DEF together do go = VOL:INCL

'(...) whenever the two of you go, let's go together.' (CV02.92)

(228) hí̋ŋ-bʉ̀ tʰè-ʈʰóŋ = gə́ tíŋɖwí = bù tɕʰwí ʐù
who-household FR.SP-be.fast = DEF luck = TOP good very

tɕǽ wêŋ.
consider CUST.EXCL

'(…) the household that is the fastest, (their) luck is considered to be very good.' (CL02ed.16)

A separate indefinite pronoun *tǔ* 'anything' only occurs in negative clauses, as in (229). *tǔ* is always followed by *=la* 'also, even'. It might be related to the verb *tǔ* 'to be of any use', as in (230).

(229) tù = lá dzə́ mà = ʂû
anything = also eat NEG = VOL:SG

'(...) (I) don't want to eat anything (...)' (CV14.163)

(230) nìŋ-bʉ́ tɕóŋ ʈʉ́ = bù lú mǎ = tù
2-household uncultivated.land dig = TOP work NEG = be.of.use

'As for your household digging uncultivated land, that is of no use (...)' (TC02.13)

qʰɐtí 'something, a certain thing' is used as indefinite pronoun in both positive and negative clauses.

(231) qʰètí tɕə̀ = tíŋ kʰì.
something say = AUD TRAIL

'I heard (somebody) say something...' (CV19.74.2)

(232) ɛ́ qʰètí = là mǎ = bòŋ
1SG something = also NEG = EXIST.POSS

'I don't have anything.' (EL)

tɕîɻə 'some people' is a plural indefinite pronoun that is only used for people. There is no singular form.

(233) tɕíɻə̀ nú gʉ̀ ɻèŋdí ɕô, tɕíɻə̀ tɕíŋmíŋ tɕʰù lɛ̌j
some.people outside money seek go some.people home crops sow

'(...) some (people) go out to seek work, some (people) grow crops at home (...)' (TC01ed.12)

4.3 Numerals

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ numerals show a strictly decimal system[143] and native terms can be used for all numerals into the ten thousands. But in daily life, Chinese numerals are used often, especially when referring to time (hours, historical years), grades in school, shoe size, and amounts of money used in trade (especially in combination with Chinese monetary units). Native numerals are used more often to refer to people and daily objects, even when the numeral classifier is a Chinese loanword. Some numerals are listed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Numerals

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
tǐ	'one'[144]	*qúti*	'11'				
nǒŋ	'two'	*qún̥ʲə/qúnʲə*	'12'	*nəwú*	'20'	*nəwú tǐ*	'21 '
sǒŋ	'three'	*qésoŋ*	'13'	*səqú*	'30'	*səqú nǒŋ*	'32'
ʐ̩ê	'four'	*qéʐ̩ɐ*	'14'	*ʐ̩ɐqú*	'40'	*ʐ̩ɐqú sǒŋ*	'43'
ŋwê	'five'	*qéŋwɐ*	'15'	*ŋwɐqú*	'50'	*ŋwɐqú ʐ̩ê*	'54'
ʈʰǔ	'six'	*qéʈʰu*	'16'	*ʈʰuqû*	'60'	*ʈʰuqû ŋwê*	'65'
n̥ʲə̌/n̥ə̌	'seven'[145]	*qén̥ʲə/qén̥ə*	'17'	*n̥ʲəqû*	'70'	*n̥ʲəqû ʈʰǔ*	'76'
ɕwě	'eight'	*qéɕwɐ*	'18'	*ɕwɐqû*	'80'	*ɕwɐqû n̥ʲə̌*	'87'
gô	'nine'	*qégə*	'19'	*gəqú*	'90'	*gəqú gô*	'99'
qêtiŋ	'ten'			*ɕí*	'100'		

[143] But note the distinct form *-wú* for 'twenty' (alternatively pronounced as [nə̀ʁú]: the [w] probably derived from an originally uvular or velar stop or fricative, see §2.1.3.3).

[144] Matisoff (1997a:21) proposes that this derives from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman word family **day / *bay*.

[145] The voiceless nasal seems to derive from an **s-* prefix in PTB. Matisoff (1997a:84,98) gives **s-nis* as protoform. Compare this with the form for 'two' that goes back to **g-ni-s/k* (Matisoff 1997:84) and that shows a voiced nasal.

The numerals 1-9 are all monosyllabic. ‘two’ is pronounced *nǒŋ*, which seems to be a contraction of **nǐ*, the original cardinal numeral ‘two’, and *-jôŋ*, the most generally used nominal classifier, that became re-analysed as the normal word for ‘two’. It is not possible to say **nòŋ-jǒŋ* ‘two things’ and when the numeral ‘two’ is used with any other classifier other than *-jôŋ*, the form used is [nə] or [nɐ], as in *nə-ʈʂə̌* ‘two pound’. In some other speech varieties[146] the more regular form *nǐ* or *nə̌* is used.

‘Ten’ is a disyllabic word, but its composition is opaque.[147] The first syllable seems to derive from *qu-* with a vowel reduction to *qɐ-*. This *qu-* functions as the decimal marker ‘-teen’ and ‘-ty’: in 11-19 as the first part of the numeral; in decades (other than ‘20’) as the second part.

Numerals eleven and onward are composite. The numerals ‘eleven’ and ‘twelve’ are interesting in that the syllable ‘ten’ is not [qɐ] as would be expected but rather [qu], the morpheme used for forming decades. This helps distinguishing them from ‘ten’ and ‘seventeen’ respectively.

Numerals ‘twenty’ to ‘twenty-nine’ are built on a morpheme *-wu* whereas the decades from twenty upwards are formed by the morpheme *-qu* for ‘ten’:[148] they are probably derived from separate etymons.

The word *səqû* ‘thirty’ has a reduced vowel in the intial syllable. There are two alternate forms *ŋwêʈwɐ* and *ŋwɐqě* for ‘fifty’ and one alternate form *ʈʰuqê* for ‘sixty’.

The numbers between decades are formed by adding the respective numeral to the decade. These are not compounds. Both parts keep their original tones and the coordinator *=noŋ* can be inserted in between the two parts. This only happens when a numeral classifier follows.

Like Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:64), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ does not have ordinal numbers. Periphrastic constructions, such as *toŋpâ tʲôŋ=gə* ‘first’ (beginning:GEN

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[146] Xiǎngshuǐhé, personal notes; Niúwōzǐ, Dīng 1998:102; Lù 2001:450-451. Note that the form *nǒŋ* could also be the result of a regular sound change in line with what is described in §2.2.2.

[147] Michaud and Jacques (2010:17): “Bonin gives two forms for ‘ten’, *casse-ti* and *ca-ti*. This numeral has a fricative preinitial in Lánpíng Pǔmǐ: /qa^{1}stiɛ̃^{1}/, but it belongs to the set of words that do not undergo obstruent lenition in Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ: /kə́tɪ̃ /.”

[148] In the neighbouring language Shǐxīng a similar phenomenon happens: the –ty in twenty has the form [ʁa] whereas the –ty in other decimals has the form [qa]. Chirkova (2009:33) remarks: “The form [^{L}na-^{H}ʁa] ‘twenty’ ... is tentatively a loan from Shuǐluò Prinmi [^{L}na-^{H}ʁa], cf. Táobā Prinmi [nə^{35}-ɦA^{53}] (Lù 2001: 453).”

one:CLF:thing = DEF) or *təgǎ ʐêgæ = gə* 'the second' (this:GEN after:GEN = DEF) are used instead.

The word for 'hundred' has two forms, a numeral *ɕí*[149] and a classifier *(tɛ́)-ɻɛ̂j*.[150] *ɕí* seems to be the original word for 'hundred'. Multiples of hundred are only formed with *-ɻɛj*. The words *tôŋ*[151] 'thousand' and *mǎŋ* 'ten thousand' are used as numerals as well as classifiers.

Table 4.4 Hundred, thousand, ten thousand

	'hundred'	'thousand'	'ten thousand'
'one'	*tɛ́.ɻɛj*	*tɐtóŋ*	*tɐmǎŋ*
'two'	*nə́ɻɛj*	*nətóŋ*	*nəmǎŋ*
'three'	*sə́ɻɛj*	*soŋtóŋ*	*soŋmǎŋ*
'four'	*ʐɛ̌ɻɛj*	*ʐɐtóŋ*	*ʐɐmǎŋ*
'five'	*ŋwɛ́ɻɛj*	*ŋwɐtóŋ*	*ŋwɐmǎŋ*
'six'	*ʈʰuɻɛ̂j*	*ʈʰutôŋ*	*ʈʰumâŋ*
'seven'	*n̥ʲəɻɛ̂j*	*n̥ʲətôŋ*	*n̥ʲəmâŋ*
'eight'	*ɕwɐɻɛ̂j*	*ɕwɐtôŋ*	*ɕwɐmâŋ*
'nine'	*gə́ɻɛj*	*gətóŋ*	*gəmǎŋ*

Numbers between hundreds, thousands and ten thousands are formed with the coordinator *=noŋ* 'and', starting from the highest round number.

(234) gà-mǎŋ = nóŋ gà-tóŋ = nóŋ gə́-ɻɛ̂j = nòŋ
nine-ten.thousand = COORD nine-thousand = COORD nine-hundred = COORD

gà-qú gâ
nine-ty nine

'99,999' (EL)

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[149] Matisoff (1997:61 and 2004:22) considers it a reflex of PTB **r-gya* with the brightening phenomenon evident in the vowel, but Jacques (p.c.) notes that the Tibetan word on which this form is based is an example of Li Fang-kuei's second Law (as described in Hill 2011:447) and originates from **prja* with fortition of the *j*; rGyalrongic languages preserve the form without stop: Situ *pərja* and Japhug *ɣurʐa* < **wərja* 'hundred'.

[150] *–ɻɛj* might be related to Japhug rGyalrong *–ri* 'hundred', also a classifier (Jacques, p.c.).

[151] This seems a pretty straightforward derivation from PTB **s-toŋ* (Matisoff 1997:61).

When the interrogative pronoun *tɕʰə̌* 'how many' follows a decade, it has the sense 'more than':

(235) ə́-qʰù nəwú-tɕʰə̀-ɕǽ dzòŋ = sêŋ.
that-on twenty-more.than-CLF:night sit = PFV:EGO

'(We) spent more than twenty nights up there.' (YJ01.12)

4.4 Numeral classifiers

Pǔmǐ classifiers only occur in counting expressions. This is different from some other classifier systems in the area in which classifiers also occur in non-counting expressions (like Chinese *zhè běn shū* 'this CLF book') or languages that allow a classifier and a noun alone, usually with an indefinite or specific sense (like Cantonese ka^{33} tɕhɛ^{55} 'the car'). In Pǔmǐ, demonstrative pronouns do not require a classifier and a classifier and a noun do not occur alone. Dīng (1998:103) therefore refers to classifiers as 'counters'. I will refer to them as numeral classifiers (Aikhenvald 2003[2000]:2).

Numeral classifiers form a compound with a numeral. The numerals *tǐ* 'one' and *nǒŋ* 'two' show vowel reduction to *tɐ-* and *nə-* respectively, which is an indication that they are compounds, not phrases. Other numerals do not show any reduction. Additionally, tonal behaviour points to their status as compounds: they show the same tonal compounding patterns that nominal compounds display (§3.4.2).

Numeral classifiers are also used as second part in a nominal compound. This is illustrated in (236) for the numeral classifiers *-lʲâw* 'grain' and *-bʉlʲǒŋ* 'ball' and in (237) for *-ɮʰʉ̂* 'pair' and *-qê* 'household' (see also §5.1.1).

(236) ɛ̀-bá pɛ̀j = ɮə́ dəbǔ, ʂé-lʲàw
1 = household:GEN older.sibling = PL then grains-CLF:grain

tʲôŋ = bì tɕʰɛ̀-bʉ̀lʲǒŋ gə̀-bʉ̀lʲòŋ dzú tʰòŋ = mə̀
one:CLF:thing = on food-CLF:ball nine-CLF:ball make can = NMLZ

nǐŋ tʲæ̀-gwɛ̌, ɛ́ ʂé-lʲàw té-lʲàw = bì tɕʰɛ̀-bʉ̀lʲǒŋ
2SG PROH-tie 1SG grains-CLF:grain one-CLF:grain = on food-CLF:ball

sǒŋ tà dzù tɕǽ = mə́ = bù nǐŋ ɛ̀-ʑwîŋ
three only make can = NMLZ = TOP 2SG IN-block

'Our household's older siblings, who can make nine lumps of food from one kernel of grain, you would not grab, but me, who can only make three lumps of food from one kernel of grain, you blocked!!' (TC02.65)

(237) *pʉ́qa tê-ɮʰʉ* 'one pair of shoes'
pʉ́qa-ɮʰʉ 'shoe pair'

tê-qɐ	'one household'
mɛ́qɐ	'family' (< *mə̂* 'person')

In terms of structure, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has two main types of numeral classifiers: nominal classifiers and verbal action classifiers. Nominal classifiers modify a noun post-nominally (*N [Num-CLF]*) whereas verbal action classifiers precede the verb they modify (*[Num-CLF] V*). Semantically, nominal classifiers count or measure objects, verbal classifiers count actions.

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ nominal classifiers can be divided semantically into two classes: mensural classifier and sortal classifiers. There is no morphosyntactic difference between the two. Sortal classifiers categorize nouns in terms of their inherent properties (animacy, shape, arrangement). These are often bound morphemes that are uniquely used as classifiers. Mensural classifiers categorize nouns in terms of their temporal properties (measure). These classifiers often derive from free forms. A partial list of sortal classifiers is given in (238).

(238)	*tê-joŋ* ~ *tʲôŋ*	'one item' (most generally used measure word, (in)animates)
	tɐ-tʰǎ	'one thing' (for inanimates, often for cooking utensils)
	tê-tsə	'one person' (for people)
	tɐ-bóŋ	'one stem' (for trees, bushes)
	tɐ-wɛ́	'one plant' (for single stalks)
	tɐ-ɖwɛ̃́i	'one pole' (for bamboo poles)
	tɐ-kú	'one stick' (for pipes, cigarettes)
	tɐ-tǐ	'one strip' (for pegs, wooden poles, tree trunks, shawls, ropes)
	tɐ-tǐŋ	'one layer' (for skin) (< *tǐŋ* 'to build by piling up, layering')
	tê-ʈʰi	'one piece' (for fat meat) (< *ʈʰî* 'to cut')
	tê-ʈoŋ	'one piece' (for small pieces of meat, bread, sugar, salt, butter)
	tɐ-pʰæ̌	'one piece' (for big pieces of paper, cloth, land)
	tɐ-pǎ	'one sheet' (for skins, leaves of tree) (< *pǎ* 'leaf')
	tɐ-tsǔ	'one room' (for rooms) (< *tsǔ* 'side room')
	tê-gu	'one sentence' (for speech)
	tɐ-tsɛ̌j	'one section, joint' (for time, roads, stories, wrists, fingers)
	tê-tsa	'one section, chunk' (for bamboo)[152]
	tê-ɭʲaw	'one grain'

Mensural classifiers can be divided into group classifiers, that refer to collectives, as in (239), and measure classifiers, that quantify mass entities, as in (240).

[152] *tsâ* 'section' and *tsɛ̌j* 'section', both bound forms, can combine to form the free lexical noun *tsatsɛ̂j* 'joint'.

(239) *tɐ-bʉ́* ‘one pile’ (for inanimates) (< *bʉ́* ‘pile, to pile up’)
tɐ-xɛ̌j ‘one group’ (for people)
tê-gu ‘one heap’ (for people)
tê-qɐ ‘one household’
tɐ-kú ‘one clan’
tɐ-pɛ̌ ‘one birth, brood’ (for piglets, chicks) (< *pɛ̌* ‘to hatch’)
tɐ-dzə̌ ‘one set’ (for clothes)
tê-ʈʰʉ ‘one pair’ (for shoes, eyes)
tê-pʰa ‘one single one’ (one of a pair) (< *pʰâ* ‘to cut in half’)
tê-qæŋ ‘one handful’
tɐ-ɕú ‘one armful‘
tɐ-ʂæ̌ ‘one sheave’ (for grains) (< *ʂæ̌* ‘sheave, to bind sheaves’)
tê-ʈæ ‘one scratch’ (for mushrooms) (< *ʈǽ* ‘to scratch’)

(240) *tê-ɦoŋ* ‘one mouthful, sip’ (for liquids) (< *ɦôŋ* ‘to take a sip’)
tê-ku ‘one mouthful’ (for solids) (< *kû* ‘mouth cavity’)
tɐ-qʰwǎ ‘one bowlful’ (< *qʰwǎ* ‘bowl’)
tê-ɻɛj ‘one potful’ (< *ɻɛ̂j* ‘cooking pot’)
tɐ-ʈʂæpú ‘one claypotful’ (< *ʈʂæpú* ‘claypot’)
tɐ-ʈwɨ̌ ‘one capful’ (for gunpowder) (< *ʈwî* ‘cap of gunpowder bottle’)
tɐ-ɖwɛ̌ŋ ‘one cup’ (for grain) (< *ɖwɛ̌ŋ* ‘dry measure’)
tɐ-ɕɨ̌ ‘one cup’ (for grain) (< *ɕɨ̌* ‘dry measure’)
tɐ-ʈʂə̌ ‘one pound’ (< *ʈʂə̌* ‘scales’)
tɐ-jú ‘one ounce, tael’
tɐ-sǎ ‘one tenth of a tael’
tɐ-ɖwǎ ‘one stadium/step’ (< *ɖwǎ* ‘step’)
tê-ɻaw ‘one cubit’[153] (< *ɻâw* ‘to measure with the forearm’)
tɐ-jíŋ ‘one fathom’[154] (< *jíŋ* ‘to spread the arms’)
tɐ-tɕʰú ‘one hand-span’[155] (< *tɕʰú* ‘to measure with outstretched hand’)

Autoclassifiers, forms that are both nouns and numeral classifiers at the same time, are often locational or temporal words, as in (241). Some can be used as repeaters (Aikhenvald 2003[2000]:361-362), as in (242) or (188) above.

(241) *tê-n̥oŋ* ‘one day’ (< *n̥ôŋ* ‘daytime, day’)
tê-seŋ ‘one morning’ (< *sêŋ* ‘morning’)

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[153] The distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger.

[154] The distance measured by outstretched arms.

[155] The distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger on an outstretched hand. Possibly a reflex of PTB **m-twa*.

tɐ-m̩ǐ	‘one night’ (< *m̩ǐ* ‘night’)
tɐ-ʑí	‘one month’ (< *ʑí* ‘month’)
tê-ku	‘one year’ (< *kû* ‘year’)
tɐ-ʈʂʰæ̌	‘one generation’ (< *ʈʂʰæ̌* ‘generation’)
tê-ɕi	‘one village’ (< *ɕî* ‘village’)
tɐ-dǐŋ	‘one place’ (< *dǐŋ* ‘place’)

(242) ə́-m̩ì tɛ̀-m̩ì
that-night one-CLF:night

‘(...) that one night (...)’ (YJ01.67)

Autoclassifiers are more often than not used anaphorically, without an overt head. Other numeral-classifier compounds can also be used anaphorically, as in (243).

(243) ʐɐ̂-tsə̀ = gə̀, tɕǐŋ sòŋ-tsə́ = gə̀, mâ,
four-CLF:person = DEF child three-CLF:person = DEF mother

ʐɐ̂-tsə̀ = gə̀ ʂɛ̂j
four-CLF:person = DEF go:PFV:N.EGO

‘The four of them, the three children, mother, the four of them went.’ (CV02.78.1)

In counting, numerals are obligatorily followed by a numeral classifier, but there seem to be a few exceptions: animal terms can be modified by a bare numeral, as in (244).[156] The numeral ‘one’ is not always followed by a numeral classifier, since it is also used as an indefinite marker, as in (245), where both readings are possible. The particular reading depends on the discourse context.

(244) nǐŋ ɻú = tì, mɛ̀tsə́ = tî, tsʰɛ̀lə̀lí = tí sǒŋ də̀-ʐû
2SG chicken = one cat = one little.dog = one three TO.SP-carry:IMP:SG

‘ (...) You should take one chicken, one cat and one little dog, three in all (...)’ (TC02.18)

(245) nʲú-lɛ̀j kʰì = bù jìŋ-jíŋ = mə́ = tì lɛ̀j-dí = mə́ = tì
bean-sow time = TOP land-plow = NMLZ = one seed-throw = NMLZ = one

tù qʰù wěŋ
only need CUST.EXCL

‘(...) when the beans are planted, we need only one/a (person) plowing the land and one/a sowing the seeds’ (CL03ed.11)

[156] This agrees with Dīng’s observation in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (1998:104). My main consultant said that for knives and axes also no numeral classifiers need to be used.

Some numeral classifiers are borrowed from Chinese. Usually the Pǔmǐ numeral is used, but the head noun can be either native Pǔmǐ or Chinese, as in (246). A Chinese noun can also be used with a native numeral-classifier compound, as in (247).

(246) dʑə̀dʑǐ tɛ̀-péŋ tà kʰěŋ,
letter one-CLF:Ch:volume only give

sǔçù tɛ̀-péŋ = gə́ = bù swéŋ kɛ́j wèŋ
Ch:math one-CLF:Ch:volume = DEF = TOP study let CUST.EXCL

'(They) only gave (us) one book, (we) were made to study the one math book, (...)' (TC10.8)

(247) jàjǔ tɛ̀-qwàlʲáw ɛ̀-pɯ́ɻú = sèŋ
Ch:potato one-CLF:fireplace IN-roast = PFV:EGO

'(I) roasted a fireplaceful of potatoes.' (CL02ed.17EL)

When both the numeral and classifier (and sometimes also the noun) are borrowed from Chinese, this is more like code-switching: even the order of Chinese is borrowed, as in (248). This happens especially when talking about money, time, weights and grades in school.

(248) tçí-kʰwɛ̂j, tçí-tçù tçʰàŋ tà dzə́
Ch:some-Ch:CLF:dollar Ch:some-Ch:CLF:cent Ch:money only be

'(...) it was only (a few kuai), a few cents (...)' (CV12.67.2)

Verbal action classifiers (or event classifiers) indicate how many times an action is conducted. Example (249) gives a partial list of verbal action classifiers.[157] They are generally derived from verbs and precede the verb they modify, as in (250).

(249) *tɛ̂-pʰɛj* 'one shot, hit, punch' (< *pʰɛ̌j* 'to punch')
tɛ̂-ʈʂə 'one jump' (< *ʈʂə̂* 'to jump')
tɛ̂-tʰɛj 'one punch' (horizontal movement) (< *tʰɛ̌j* 'to punch')
tɛ̂-bi 'one pummel' (vertical movement) (< *bǐ* 'to pummel')
tɛ̂-ʲla 'one slap' (cf. *ʲlɛ́ʲlà,* 'to hit each other', §4.4.2)
tɛ̂-ɻɐ 'one cut' (< *ɻɐ̌* 'to saw, cut')
tɛ̂-ɕu 'one suck, kiss' (< *ɕû* 'to suck, kiss')

[157] Note that the tone is always H-L, no matter what the tone of the underlying verb is (§3.4.2).

(250) tsáw = sə̀ tsàw ʑìŋ wèŋ kʰì = bù,
pound = CONTR.TOP pound can CUST.EXCL time = TOP

sòŋ-bí = nòŋ = bù sòŋ-l̥á tɕà qʰù mə̀ dzà
three-CLF:pummel = COORD = TOP three-CLF:slap do need GNOMIC

'(...) You can pound, but you will have to thump three times and slap three times (...)' (TC06.10)

The structure of the adverbs *têgu* 'together (in the same place)' and *têɻɛj* 'together (going on the same road)', and the quantifier *tɐdʑɛ́* 'some, several' points to an original numeral-classifier compound.

4.4.1 *Modifiers of classifier constructions*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a few modifying words and particles that follow a numeral-classifier compound. The limiting topic marker *= ɕi* that often follows a verbal action classifier is discussed in §6.5.11.

When the modifier *sə* 'about' follows a numeral-classifier compound, it renders the meaning 'about':

(251) tɛ́-n̥òŋ nə́-ʈʰɯ̀ sə̀ tɕwì = ɖàw mə́ dzə́
one-CLF:day two-CLF:pair about wear = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'(...) on one day (one) wears about two pairs.' (CV01.4)

Another modifier *tʰʲǎ* 'about' that usually modifies stative verbs, can also modify numeral-classifier compounds. It precedes the compound:

(252) ɛ́ tʰʲǎ nəwú tɛ̀-nə̀-kú kʰì tə̀ = ɻæ̀ = bù
1SG about twenty one-two-CLF:year time this = PL:GEN = TOP

'When I was about twenty-one, twenty-two years old, (...)' (TC01ed.6)

The two modifiers can also co-occur, *tʰʲǎ* preceding and *sə* following the numeral-classifier compound:

(253) tʰʲǎ tɛ̀-nìŋgə̀ sə́ kwí = qɛ̀j
about one-CLF:basketful about EXIST.IN = EXPT

'There will be about one basketful (...)' (CV13.39.4)

The bound morpheme *-mǎnʲæ* 'every' can follow a temporal classifier. My main consultant's intuition is that it forms one word with the numeral-classifier compound, but judging from the tone, it forms two phonological units.

(254) *tê-n̥oŋ-mǎnʲæ* 'every day'
tê-ku-mǎnʲæ 'every year'

A similar form *mədzæ* 'every' can follow other classifiers, but not temporal ones:

(255) té-qè mə̀dzæ̀
one-CLF:household every

'(...) every household (...)' (PC02.4)

(256) té-ʈʂə̀ mə̀dzæ̀ qèlá nè-ɖǽ
one-CLF:jump every bundle DOWN-scatter

'(...) with every jump the things (he) carried on his back scattered (...)' (KZ01.7)

mədzæ can also function as a noun, as in (257) where it is the head of a genitive construction.

(257) tè-dìŋ = wá mə̀dzæ̀
one-CLF:land = in:GEN every

'(...) every area (...)' (PC03.1)

The construction *ma tí* 'at least' (possibly deriving from the general negator *mǎ* and the numeral *tǐ* 'one') can also follow a numeral-classifier compound:

(258) é tɕʰǐ tè-qʰwǎ mà tí dzə́ = ɖòŋ
1SG food one-CLF:bowl at.least eat = IPFV:EGO:1SG

'I eat at least one bowl of rice (if not more).' (CV17.4EL)

4.4.2 *Reduplication of numeral classifiers*

There are sporadic examples of numeral classifiers that function as a verb in their reduplicated form. That is, the non-reduplicated form of the verb is only used as a classifier:

(259) *l̥â* 'CLF:hit'
l̥ḛ̂l̥a 'to hit each other'
tsâ 'CLF:section'
tsâtsa 'to cut in sections'

Numeral-classifier compounds can be reduplicated as a whole. When a nominal classifier compound is reduplicated and is used as a referential phrase, the meaning is 'some', as in (260).

(260) qà-pú tə̀ = ɻæ̀ mə́ = ɻə̀ tè-dǐŋ tè-dǐŋ
down-under this = PL:GEN person = PL one-CLF:place one-CLF:place

ʑí = mə̀ ʑí wèŋ = ɖàw kʰì.
EXIST.AN = NMLZ EXIST.AN CUST.EXCL = IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'Down there, there will be people in some places.' (CV07.57)

When a nominal classifier compound is reduplicated and is used in an adverbial construction modifying a verb, the meaning is 'one by one, one in turn', as in (261) or (188).

(261) gì-l̥ǐ mà = ɕə́-mə́ = ɻə̀ = bù ɕí = wù té-qè̀
livestock-herd NEG = go-NMLZ = PL = TOP village = in one-CLF:household

té-qè̀ pù ɻɛ́j qʰə̀-dzə̂
one-CLF:household do invite.guest OUT-eat

'(…) the ones who do not herd animals will eat as guests in the village one house at a time (...)' (CL02ed.22)

When a verbal action classifier compound is reduplicated and used in a referential sense, the resulting meaning 'some' is the same as a reduplicated nominal classifier compound that is used in a referential sense (cf. (260) above). When a verbal action classifier compound is reduplicated and used in a construction with the argument focus marker *=ɕi* (§6.5.11), the meaning expresses 'continuous action that results in something'. Both meanings are illustrated in (262) with the verb *ɻɐ̌* 'to cut', and an example of the latter meaning is also given in (263).

(262) *tê-ɻɐ tê-ɻɐ = bu* 'some cuts' (are not good)
tê-ɻɐ tê-ɻɐ = ɕi 'continuously cutting' (makes one very tired)

(263) té-swèŋ té-swèŋ = ɕi sóŋ-kù tà
one-CLF:study one-CLF:study = LIM.TOP three-CLF:year arrive

'(…) (we) continuously studied until third grade (...)' (TC10.9)

There is one occurrence in the corpus where the construction with the focus marker does not involve reduplication, but is a simple *Num–CLF = ɕi* construction with the same continuous meaning:

(264) dəbǔ, nə́ pɯ́ té-dzòŋ = ɕì = bù qéŋwɛ́ = ɻæ̀ m̥ì
then thus do one- CLF:sit = LIM.TOP = TOP fifteen = PL:GEN night

kʰə̀-tì wèŋ.
OUT-put CUST.EXCL

'In this manner (one) will hang out all the way to the night of the fifteenth (...)' (CL02ed.23).

4.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers can follow a noun and also occur by themselves in an NP. Some quantifiers are listed in (265).

(265)	*ɐlʲǎ(ti)*	'a little'
	ɐlʲôŋlʲæ(ti)	'(not just) a little' (only in negative clauses)
	tɐkʰə̌	'(not even) a little' (only in negative clauses)
	tɐdʑɐ́	'some, several'
	jɐhǎ	'all'
	ʂûʂu ~ ɕûɕu	'all'[158]
	bʉlá	'many, a lot'
	lʲoŋlʲóŋ	'whole, total'
	mədidzə̂	'every'[159]
	mə̂tʲæ	'each person'
	mə́tʲæɕî	'everything, every kind'

ɐlʲǎ can be used in the sense 'a little' (quantity), but is more frequently used as an adverb, modifying stative verbs, as in 'a little heavy'. *ɐlʲǎti* on the other hand, is sometimes used as an adverb, but more often in the sense of 'a little' (quantity). A partial reduplication *ɐlʲǎ ɐlʲǎti* can be used in this last sense. It follows the noun it modifies, but usually appears on its own.

(266) ɛ̀lʲǎtì dzâw!
a.little eat:IMP:SG

'Eat a little bit!' (CV21.87)

Both *ɐlʲóŋlʲæ(ti)* and *tɐkʰə̌* only appear in combination with negation, and *la* 'also' often appears in combination with the latter:

(267) ɛ̀lʲóŋlʲæ̀tì nɛ̌-mí = n̥ʲɛ́ = sì, híŋ = gòŋ tʰìŋ ɻə̀ɕí wéŋ
a.little DOWN-NEG:PFV = pour = INF who = AGT drink can CUST.EXCL

ə́-tsʰɛ̀ = tì?
that-much = INDF

'(You) did not pour (me) just a little bit; who could drink that much?' (CV21.199)

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[158] Another sign of the palatalization tendency in the area (§2.4.5)

[159] Note that this word has two tones attached, which implies that it is a contraction of two items. There is a word *mə̂di*, which also means something like 'every', but there is only one example in the corpus, and it is not totally clear how it is used and how it is different from *mə̂didzə́*.

(268) ʈìtsə́-lì = là lʲú tɛ̀kʰə̌ dzə́ mà = ɖâw.
mule-DIM = also grain.feed a.little eat NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'The small mule is not even eating a little bit of grain feed.' (CV14.249)

tɐdʐɐ́ 'several' looks structurally like a numeral-classifier compound and appears in the same slot:

(269) bʉ́-bʲæ̀lʲòŋ tɛ̀dʐɐ́ də̀-ʐá
sweet-round several TO.SP-carry

'(...) carrying several sweets (...)' (TC06.21)

jɐhá and *ʂûʂu* ~ *ɕûɕu* both mean 'all'. The latter might be a loanword from Yǒngníng Na. They are occasionally used together:

(270) tə́ = ɻə́ = bù jèhǎ hí ɕúɕù dzə̀ mə̀ dzə̀ ɦà.
3 = PL = TOP all god all be NMLZ.CONSTR

'These (stories) are all talking about gods.' (CV13.110.2)

bʉ̀lá 'a lot, many' can also mean 'too much':

(271) bʉ̀lá tɕə̌ mɐ́ = hà
a.lot say NEG.EMPH = ought

'You shouldn't say too much.' (CV21.537.2)

The group of quantifiers *mə̂didzə̂* 'every(thing)', *mə́tʲæɕî* 'everything, every kind', *mə̂tʲæ* 'every person', have a similar meaning. The first two are used for inanimates; the last one for animates:

(272) mə́dìdzə́ bóŋ = mə̀ = tì dzə̀
everything EXIST.POSS = NMLZ = one be

'(…) (he) is one who has everything (...)' (TC08.14)

(273) ʈʰóŋmə́ = gæ̀ mə́tʲǽɕí qʰù = ɖǎw.
pumi = GEN everything need = IPFV:N.EGO

'Everything of Pǔmǐ is needed.' (CV21.457)

(274) nìŋ-bʉ́-sèŋ mə́tʲæ̀ tʲóŋ qʰə̀-dzə́ tà.
2-household-PART every.person one:CLF:thing OUT-eat can

'(...) the several of you, every person can eat one.' (CV17.27)

4.6 Demonstratives and locationals: time and place

Cross-linguistically, time and place are often treated in similar ways. This is true for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ as well, so in this section I will discuss the ways Pǔmǐ expresses temporal and locational concepts. The nominal demonstrative is discussed in §4.6.1, bound

demonstratives and their corresponding verbal prefixes in §4.6.2, spatial nouns and postpositions in §4.6.3, a morpheme *-nə* that is used in locational and temporal combinations in §4.6.4, and temporal nominals in §4.6.5. Discourse functions of demonstratives and locationals will be discussed in §10.9.8.

4.6.1 *Nominal demonstrative and manner demonstrative*

As opposed to some other Pǔmǐ speech varieties, the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ variety has only one nominal demonstrative, the proximal *tə́* 'this'. It can be preceded by the emphatic bound demonstrative *ɦǎw-* (§4.6.2) which seems to function as a sort of distal, as in (275). When a proximal-distal distinction needs to be made, *tə́* 'this' is modified by a genitive construction with the bound demonstratives, such as *ədʑǽ tə́* 'this over here' in (276) or *ə̂dʑæ tə́* 'this over there' in (277).

(275) ɦǎw-tə́ dəbǔ nɛ̀-kú ɛ̀-jɛ̌j
that-this then DOWN-carry.on.back IN-get

'(...) and carried that on (her) back (...)' (CV14.268)

(276) dəbǔ ə̀-dʑǽ tə́=gə́ lʲæ̀?
then this-location:GEN this=DEF RHET

'So what about this one here?' (CV16.44)

(277) ə́-dʑæ̀ tə́=gə́ nɛ̀-kʰæ̀kʰə̀ kʰí=nóŋ
that-location:GEN this=DEF DOWN-pack:CNT time=only

'After having packed that one (...)' (CV16.64)

The demonstrative *tə́* directly precedes the noun in an NP, as in (278). It is also used as a third person pronoun (§4.2). When the head noun is not overtly expressed, definiteness and plurality can be marked on the demonstrative itself, as in (279) and (280). The demonstrative can make up an NP by itself, as in (281).

(278) dəbǔ tə́ m̥əgə̋=bù ʈǐ=qʰù nʌ̀-dzɛ́j ɦà
then this old.man=TOP mule=on DOWN-ride LINK

'This old man came riding on a mule, (...)' (CV06.8)

(279) tə́=gə́=là ní=gæ̀ tsɯ́ dzə̀=ɖàw nòŋ?
this=DEF=also LOG=GEN son be=IPFV:N.EGO QUEST

'This one is his son as well?' (CV07.27)

(280) tə́=ɻə́ jɛ̀hǎ nɛ̀-mə́ ʂɛ̀j=sì kʰì.
this=PL all DOWN-forget go:PFV:N.EGO=INF TRAIL

'(...) but (I) forgot these all.' (CV08.13.2)

(281) tə́ qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰí = bù, tʰè-ɖóŋ wèŋ
this OUT-eat time = TOP FR.SP-be.okay CUST.EXCL

'When (you) eat this, (you'll) get well. (...)' (CV09.106)

In addition to the nominal demonstrative, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a manner demonstrative *nə́* 'like this, thus'. It appears as a nominal constituent as in (282) and (283), but in (284) it is nominalized. Both are possible, but the addition of the nominalizer is more natural according to my main consultant.

(282) dʑínʲǽ mə́ = ɻə̀ nə́ = tí ɕì wéŋ tɕə̀w.
really person = PL thus = INDF EXIST.AB CUST.EXCL HSY

'Really, it is said that there is something like this.' (CV14.123.2)

(283) ə́jù nə́ = gǽ ʐə̀tsə̀ nə̀ kù mə́ dzə̂
INTJ thus = GEN Ch:days thus Ch:live.through GNOMIC

'(...) ojo! that (we) lived through days like this (...)' (CV03.12.4)

(284) nə́ = mə́ = gǽ ʐə̀tsə́ mí = kú mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j
thus = NMLZ = GEN Ch:days NEG = Ch:live.through EPIST

'(They) will probably not have lived through days like that (…)' (CV03.16.1)

nə́ is related to *nə́ni* 'like this' or *X nə́ni* 'like X' and which can be negated *X nə = mǎ = ni* 'not like X'. *nə́* also occurs in an associative construction (§5.7.1). It also has adverbial functions in that it directly modifies the verbs *tɕə̌* 'to say', *pɯ́* 'to do', *dzǔ* 'to make' and *ɖǒŋ* 'to become', as in (285), and stative verbs (§8.2), as in (286). When modifying other verbs (than the ones mentioned here), a pre-verbal adverbial construction (§7.10.1) with the light verb *pɯ́* 'to do' is used, as in (287).

(285) nə́ tɕə́ = ɖə̀w
thus say = IPFV:N.EGO

'(…) he said that (…)' (CV15.37)

(286) pɯ́pɯ̀-ʐɛ̀pɯ̀ = bù tú nə́ tɕʰwí kʰî
this.year-last.year = TOP lard thus good time

'In recent years when the lard was this good, (…)' (CV20.119)

(287) nə́ pɯ́ qʰə̀-dzə́ = séŋ
thus do OUT-eat = PFV:EGO

'(…) (we) ate like this (…)' (CV03.15)

4.6.2 *Bound demonstratives and directional prefixes*

Pǔmǐ has an elaborate system of bound demonstratives. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ there are two general demonstratives that only differ in tone: the proximal *ə̌-* 'this' and a distal *ə̂-* 'that', and an emphatic *ɦǎw-* 'that'. These demonstratives are deictic primitives: bound roots that cannot occur in isolation, but have to be specified by spatial or temporal nouns, as in (288). The proximal *ə̌-* is only used in combination with locational nouns or postpositions, as in (289). The distal *ə̂-* modifies temporal nouns as well as locational nouns and postpositions, as in (290).

(288) *ə-dʑí* 'here (this location)'
ə̂-dʑi 'there (that location)'
ə̂-seŋ 'that morning'
ɦǎw-kʰi 'then (that time)'

(289) nǐŋ ə̀-dʑí míŋ lù ɕì?
2SG this-location what work EXIST.AB

'(…) What are you doing here?' (TC02.38)

(290) ə́-m̥ì wùɕə̀=ɻǽ m̥í=bù
that-night New.Year=PL:GEN night=TOP

'That night, the night of New Year, (…)' (CL02ed.11)

The distal *ə̂-* can also co-occur with stative verbs, and expresses more abstract deixis: the spatial or temporal extent of the concept expressed by the verb, as in (291). It is often accompanied by hand movements to illustrate the extent, as is illustrated in (292). In this example, Tiger, who is holding on to a tree to prevent himself from falling off a cliff, is tricked by Hare into illustrating the size of the piece of meat that he will give Hare for rescuing him. In order to illustrate the size, he releases his grip and dies. In instances like these, a more emphatic form with a reduplication of the stative verb can be used, as in (293), (see also §4.2.3). Forms as in (291-293) are often used in equative constructions (§10.6).

(291) *ə̂-pu* 'that wide' (<*pú* 'to be wide')
ə̂-ɻæ̰ŋ 'that long' (temporal) (<*ɻǽ̰ŋ* 'to be long')

(292) dəbǔ ʐǎ jèhǎ tʰè-hʲɛ́j ɦà, “ə́-tɛ̀j = tì tɕʰì = ʂù,”
then hand all FR.SP-release LINK that-be.big = INDF feed = VOL:SG

tɕə̀ kʰì = bù, tʰútù gǎ = pù nè-jóŋjíŋ
say time = TOP immediately cliff = under DOWN-roll

nè-ʂɛ́j ɦà
DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

‘Then when (Tiger) opened (his) hands and said, “I will feed (you) one that big,” (he) immediately rolled down the cliff and (...)’ (KZ03.39)

(293) tə̀ɕǽ ɕwǽlʲù ə́-tə̀tɛ̀j = mə̀ ɕwě ɕwè dʲóŋ wèŋ
now small.bell that-be.big = NMLZ eight eight EXIST.AT CUST.EXCL

mə̀ dzə̀ mà
GNOMIC INFO

‘Again there are eight and eight bells (attached to each side) (...) that are as big as the ‘small bell’ (that we use); (...)’ (CV13.9)

The emphatic *ɦǎw-* ‘that’ occurs with locational and temporal nouns and postpositions, and has a distal function similar to *ə̂-* ‘that’, as in (294). But unlike *ə̌-* or *ə̂-*, it also occurs with the nominal demonstrative *tə́* ‘this’ and the manner demonstrative *nə́* ‘thus’ (§4.6.1), as in (295). In those cases it seems to add more emphasis to the uttterance. More research is needed.

(294) ɦǎu-dʐì dzə́ = qɛ̀j.
that-location be = EXPT

‘It will be over there.’ (CV12.60)

(295) ɦǎu-nɨ́ mə́ dzə́ qɛ̀j.
that-thus EPIST

‘It would have been like this.’ (CV12.50)

Apart from the general bound demonstratives, there are six other bound demonstratives that can be grouped into three pairs. Two pairs specify location and direction-deixis, and one pair specifies speaker-deixis. Directional verb prefixes are formally and semantically related to these bound demonstratives, as can be seen in Table 4.5. The basic forms in the first column are deictic primitives: bound forms that need to be followed by postpositions. The forms are given to allow easy comparison with the verb prefixes in column four. The bound demonstratives appear in two sets that are mostly distinguished by tone: for demonstratives denoting location, the underlying lexical tone of the demonstrative spreads to a following noun/postposition;

directional demonstratives show a fixed L.R tone pattern.[160] In Table 4.5, forms with the locational noun/postposition *dʐi* are given. Bound demonstratives also occur with the other locational postpositions (§4.6.3).

Table 4.5 Bound demonstratives and directional prefixes

Basic form	Location	Direction	Verb prefix	Meaning
tí-	*tídʐi*	*tidʐǐ*	*tə́-*	'mountain-wards, upwards'
qǎ-/nǐ-	*qadʐǐ*	*nidʐǐ*	*nɐ̌-*	'valley-wards, downwards'
k^{h}ǔ-	*k^{h}udʐî*	*k^{h}udʐǐ*	*q^{h}ə̌-/k^{h}ə̌-*	'out from center, down the valley'
hǒŋ-	*hoŋdʐî*	*hoŋdʐǐ*	*(h)ɐ̌-*	'in to center, up the valley'
kɐ̌-/dǐ-	*kɐdʐî*	*didʐǐ*	*də̌-*	'towards speaker, across boundary'
t^{h}ǐ-	*t^{h}idʐî*	*t^{h}idʐǐ*	*t^{h}ɐ̌-*	'from speaker, across boundary'

Formwise, the directional prefixes correspond to the demonstratives indicating direction. This is especially clear in the cases of *nɐ̌-* and *də̌-*. Tonewise, the prefixes correspond to the demonstratives denoting location. This is clear in the case of the prefix *tə́-* that has the same tone as the corresponding high-toned bound demonstrative *tí-*. The prefix *tə́-* is the only form that has widespread cognate forms in many Qiangic languages (Evans 2004:207). Evans notes the PTB **l-tak* 'ascend, above' as source (from Benedict 1972:52,110,123). The prefix is found with high tone in all attested Pǔmǐ speech varieties (Lù 1983:45; 2000:157; Matisoff 1997:209; Dīng 1998:68; Fù 1998:28; Jacques 2011c:369). It is argued in §3.4.5 that tonal correspondence to the bound demonstratives is also seen in the other prefixes.

Directional prefixes show vowel reduction compared to bound demonstratives, with some prefixes being reduced to [ə] and some to [ɐ]. It is not clear what conditions the respective vowels. Note that the prefixes in Shuǐluò (from Jacques' data shown in Table 4.6) also display similar vowel alternation.[161]

The most common form of the inwards prefix in Wǎdū is *ɐ̌-* [ʔɐ], but it is clear that there used to be an initial [h] that has been lost. Three pieces of evidence can be given. Firstly, the form of the corresponding demonstrative is *hǒŋ-* (occasionally *hǎɐŋ-*) (Table 4.5) with an initial consonant. Secondly, inter-dialectal comparison as shown in Table 4.6 points to an initial consonant. The forms from Mùlǐ (Xiàmàidì, Bókē, Gùzēng,

[160] In the second and third column the toneless noun/postposition *dʐi* is added to show the tonal difference. The adverbials can be followed by several other nouns/postpositions (§4.6.3).

[161] Dīng's data display a similar alternation, but with two dissimilarities: *tɔ́-* and *dɔ-*.

Kāngwū and Dōngzi [Gerong Pincuo, MS]) all have [h]/[x]. Consonant lenition is noted in other Pǔmǐ varieties as well. Fù (1998:32) notes an alternation between *xa-* and *a-* in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ, and explains it as a difference in tone of voice: *xa-* is more emphatic. It could be that the initial consonant is about to be lost, but when pronounced carefully ('emphatic use'), it is still audible. Dīng (1998:119) notes lenition of the consonant in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ from [k] > [x] > Ø. Thirdly, in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the forms used in the interrogative and negation show an initial consonant, as in (296) and (297):

(296) tènə̀ = bú dʑə̀dʑì = nóŋ nə́ = tí **hʲæ̀**-swéŋ = bú
otherwise = TOP letter = COORD thus = INDF **IN**:Q-study = TOP

' (...) otherwise, if (she) had gone to school a bit (...)' (CV12.48)

(297) èmá-lì **hě**-mí = ʑə́ kʰì
aunt-DIM **IN**-NEG.PFV = come time

'(…) when young aunt has not returned (yet) (...)' (CV13.137.2)

Table 4.6 Directional prefixes in other Pǔmǐ speech varieties[162]

Qìnghuā	Dàyáng	Niúwōzǐ	Shuǐluò	Meaning
tə́-	*tə́-*	*tɜ́-*	*tə́-*	'up(ward), upstream'
nə̌-	*nə̀-*	*nɜ-*	*nɜ-*	'down(ward), downstream'
kʰə̌-	*kʰə̀-*	*gə-/ kʰə-*	*kʰə-*	'out(ward); left to right, from center'
xə̌-	*xà-/à-*	*ɜ-/ hɜ-*	*hɜ-*	'in(ward); right to left, to center'
də̌-	*də̀-*	*dɜ-/ də-*	*də-*	'to(ward) speaker, to center, cis-locative'
tʰə̌-	*tʰə̀-*	*tʰɜ-*	*tʰɜ-*	'from speaker, from center, trans-locative'

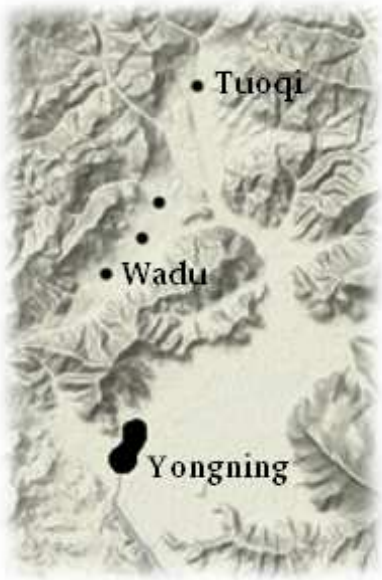
The semantics of the different demonstratives reflect to a certain extent the geography of the area, with the traditional Pǔmǐ house as the focal point: *tí-* is the direction towards the mountain, which implies higher altitude, and *qǎ-* is the direction towards the valley, which implies lower altitude;[163] *tí-* and *qǎ-* thus also denote vertically upwards and downwards. At the same time there is a cultural value attached to the

[162] Data for Qìnghuā Pǔmǐ, Dàyáng Pǔmǐ, Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ, and Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ are respectively taken from Lù 2001:157, Fù 1998:34-41, Dīng 1998:118, and Jacques 2011a:369. For sake of comparison, I present all the data with similar diacritics for tone (Lù uses ˥ for high level and ˨˦ for low-rising tone; Fù uses ^{55} for high level and ^{31} for low-falling tone); I also present Dīng's examples in IPA, instead of in his orthography.

[163] Since main rivers flow from mountains into valleys, this would also explain Fu's analysis in Table 4.6 of *tə́-* as 'upstream' and *nə̀-* as 'downstream'.

two directions. Pǔmǐ houses are generally built in relation to the mountain of the local mountain deity and the main altar of the house is located at the mountain side ('the head') of the house. Thus seats of honour (closer to the altar) are located 'higher up'. *tǐ-* and *nǐ-* are also used in a metaphorical sense of going up and down a hierarchical structure, like a genealogy or levels of leadership.

hǒŋ- and *k^{h}ǔ-* can be analysed as 'inward to center' and 'outward from center' respectively. The focal point is the main room of the house with the central pillar that is referred to as *tɕəmá gæ k^{h}wé* 'the heart of the main room'. This is the center of Pǔmǐ cosmology. Wellens (2010:124) writes that the central pillar of the house connects the house with the earth, heaven and the deities and is a representation of the center of the universe. The scope then extends to the valley in which the house is located: the direction into the house and up the valley can be analysed as 'inwards' and the direction out of the house and down the valley can be analysed as 'outwards'. My main consultant, however, views the *hǒŋ- / k^{h}ǔ-* axis as a solar axis, and it is possible that this is a more current interpretation that is influenced by the use of Chinese. Since in Wǎdū the door of the main house faces east, the extension of the 'outward' meaning to denote 'east' and the 'inward' meaning to denote 'west' is relatively easy to envision. But none of the previous descriptions of Pǔmǐ mention anything about a solar system.[164] And there is a complication to the solar axis analysis. In Tuōqī, a Pǔmǐ village in the far northern end of the valley, *hǒŋ-* and *k^{h}ǔ-* are flipped compared to the other three villages in the valley. As can be seen in in the illustration, Tuōqī is actually located in a different valley which runs in roughly the opposite direction. The inward/outward analysis takes care of the problem, whereas the solar axis analysis does not explain why the two are flipped.



An alternative analysis for *hǒŋ-* and *k^{h}ǔ-* as 'riverwards' and 'away from river' respectively would tie in with the central role of rivers in the directional system of many Qiangic languages (see Shirai 2009:9 for nDrapa and Evans 2004:207 for Qiāng).[165] But this river option is confusing for the Wǎdū situation, since there is

[164] For a language in the area that has been analysed as being based on a solar system, see Lin (2000) on a variety of rGyalrong.

[165] This ties in with what is reported for two Pǔmǐ villages in Yījí, where both villages face the river: the doors in the village on one side of the of the river face east (riverwards) and the doors on the opposite side of the valley face west (also riverwards) (Wellens 2010:124).

another river running through the valley as well. It might work better in steeper valleys, where houses do tend to face the rivers.

The use of *hǒŋ-* and *kʰǔ-* also extends to holes and caves that have a horizontal layout: the inward movement is marked with *hǒŋ-* and the outward movement with *kʰǔ-*, no matter the direction the hole faces.

The directional prefix corresponding to *kʰǔ-* shows two variants: *qʰə̆-* and *kʰə̆-*. Even though on phonological grounds I have taken the form *qʰə̆-* to be the default form and *kʰə̆-* the fronted form (§2.1.7.4), on comparative grounds it seems that in general in Pǔmǐ the form *kʰə̆-* should be taken as the default form synchronically: the corresponding bound demonstrative in Table 4.5 has a velar consonant and the corresponding Dàyáng Pǔmǐ variant also shows a velar consonant (Fù 1998:41), even though Dàyáng Pǔmǐ has uvular stop phonemes. The form of the prefix shows consonant alternation in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ as well (*gə-* versus *kʰə-*), but Dīng does not specify any environments (Dīng 1998:119).

tʰĭ- and *kĕ-* relate to natural boundaries, usually rivers or mountains: *kĕ-* denotes this side of a boundary, and *tʰĭ-* denotes the far side of a boundary. The corresponding directional prefixes show a slight extension of the meaning: *də̆-* denotes 'towards speaker/across a boundary' and *tʰĕ-* denotes 'from speaker/across a boundary'. *tʰĭ-* is often used in combination with *nû* 'outside' to denote the back side of a mountain, as in (298).

(298) ə̀-bʲǽ wú nə̀ = tì tʰè-l̥ɛ̌j jǎw
this-side:GEN interior thus = INDF FR.SP-cross again

tʰì-nú ɕwíŋ də̀-ʐá ɕə́ qʰú = ɖàw
across.boundary-outside lunch TO.SP-carry go need = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (one) needs to cross one mountain on this side like this, and go carrying lunch on the other side.' (YJ02.11)

There are two other bound demonstratives that are often used: *m̥é-* 'down the slope' and *ɦǎŋ-* 'up the slope'.

In addition there is a set of four cardinal points, shown in (299). As in many languages in the area, the terms are borrowed from Tibetan.

(299) *ɕê-tɕʰwi(bi)* 'east' (< Tibetan *shar.phyogs*)
hû-tɕʰwi(bi) 'south' (< Tibetan *lho.phyogs*)
nʲôŋ-tɕʰwi(bi) 'west' (< Tibetan *nub.phyogs*)
tɕʰôŋ-tɕʰwi(bi) 'north' (< Tibetan *byang.phyogs*)

The set is mainly used for religious purposes: in libation[166] and for calculating auspicious dates.[167]

4.6.3 *Locational postpositions*

Like in many Tibeto-Burman languages, most if not all postpositions derive from nouns. They often appear in so-called 'relator noun constructions' (DeLancey 1997; 2003:264) as head of a genitive construction, while at the same time appearing as postpositions. Some postpositions have grammaticalised even further into markers of grammatical relations (§6.2). In (300) the relator noun *pú* 'under' is shown in a compound with a demonstrative and as a nominal head of a genitive construction. In (301) *pú* is shown as a postposition. Postpositions function as clitics in many ways: as postpositions they do not have their own tone and they merge with the genetic clitic *=(g)æ*, as in (302). But they still keep some of their independence by not taking on the tone of the preceding noun, by appearing in a low surface tone, as in (301) and (302).

(300) ə́-pà tɕə̀ɻì=gǽ pû
that-in:GEN spring=GEN bottom

'Below the spring under there (…)' (CV04.60)

(301) *ɦǒŋ pù* 'under the animal pen'

(302) ʑǎ=q^{h}wà tə́=gə̂?
hand=on:GEN this=DEF

'The one in (your) hand?' (CV19.94.2)

A list of relator nouns/postpositions is given in (303).[168]

(303) *nû* 'exterior, outside'
tû 'top, on'
pú 'lower part, under'
q^{h}u 'top, on top'
wu 'interior, inside, in'
bi 'side, on'

---

[166] At important occasions such as New Year, a libation chant (in which these cardinal points are mentioned) will be performed and liquor will be poured out on the hearth.

[167] The twelve zodiac animals related to a person's birth are calculated against the four cardinal points to render auspicious and inauspicious times for conducting certain actions. Whether or not they are cardinal points rather than different spirits (as in Qiāng, LaPolla, p.c.), needs further anthropological research.

[168] Interestingly these all end in [u] or [i].

dʑi	'location, at'
tɕʰwi	'direction, in the direction of'

Relator nouns can all form a compound with the bound demonstratives described in §4.6.2. A few examples are given in (304).

(304)	*qa-pú*	'under there (valley-wards)'
	tí-qʰu	'up there (mountain-wards)'
	xoŋ-wú	'in there (up the valley)'
	kʰu-nú	'out there (down the valley)'
	ə̂-tu	'on there'

Relator nouns are different from other nouns in certain aspects. The first is that they cannot be preceded by the demonstrative *tə̂*. Another aspect is that the genitive marker *=(g)æ* can fuse with them. Normally when the genitive marker follows a noun, it has the form [gæ]; it only fuses when following other clitics (§5.3.1).

Relator nouns show different stages of grammaticalisation. This can in particular be seen in their tonal behaviour, i.e. whether they still retain their individual tone, show a low tonal target, or take on the tone of the preceding constituent. Tonal behaviour of relator nouns is discussed in §3.4.4, and will not be discussed here.

Other indications of grammaticalisation include whether relator nouns can function as an independent noun outside a genitive construction, whether they can be the head of a genitive construction, whether they can form a compound with the bound demonstratives described in §4.6.2, whether they can function as a postposition, and whether they can function as a marker of grammatical relations.

Looking at Table 4.7 the cline of grammaticalisation can be clearly seen from the most noun-like *nû*, which has its own tone and mostly functions as a noun to the least noun-like *tɕʰwi*, which does not have its own tone and only occurs in compounds with demonstratives. It can also be followed by *bi*, as in *qatɕʰwîbi* 'down there'.

Table 4.7 Grammaticalisation of relator nouns

	nû	*tû*	*pú*	*q^{h}u*	*wu*	*bi*	*dʑi*	*tɕ^{h}wi*
Occurs outside of genitive construction	x	x	x [169]	-	-	-	-	- [170]
Occurs as head of genitive construction	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-
Forms compound with demonstrative	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Functions as postposition	- [171]	x	x	x	x	x	- [172]	- [173]

Semantically, both *q^{h}u* and *tû* denote a location on top of something. The semantic difference between these two lies in their scope. The scope of *tû* is limited to the narrow top of an object, and is used with things such as horses, fireplaces, trees, hands, ladders, spikes, cliffs, and even the base of a lightbulb. The scope of *q^{h}u* is bigger, including every horizontal area on top of an object, and also general areas of land (ground, hills, plains), the sky, and the upper area of smaller objects, such as horses, fireplaces, trees, hands, ladders, houses, bridges. Thus, *q^{h}u* is more widely used in the dataset, and it refers mainly to location. *tû*, on the other hand, is used in all kinds of derived senses.

Both can occur in a genitival construction as a head noun or immediately after a noun as a postposition:

(305) *wû=gæ q^{h}u* 'the top and sides of the mountain'
wû=q^{h}u 'on the mountain'
wû=gæ tû 'the top (peak) of the mountain'
wû=tu 'on top of the mountain (the peak)'

It seems that even though *q^{h}u* is still used as the head noun of a genitive construction, it behaves less independently than *tû* in that it has lost its tone and always appears with low tone. In addition, it cannot appear in some environments where *tû* can appear, as shown in (306) and (307).

[169] Only in riddles.

[170] It occurs as a numeral classifier.

[171] Apart from forming a compound with the noun *gǒŋ* 'body': *goŋnǔ* 'outside'.

[172] Only appears as a postposition after the locational noun *k^{h}ǐ* 'edge' with a low tonal target.

[173] Only occurs as a postposition with a subset of nouns: after the locational nouns mentioned in (323) below.

(306) tú tɛ̀j / tú dʲòŋ
on EXIST.H on EXIST.AT

'(It's) on top.' (EL)

(307) *qʰú tɛ̀j / *qʰú dʲòŋ

In (308) a non-literal use of *qʰu* is given.

(308) é = sə́ má = nòŋ swǽŋ = bù, nʲǽ = qʰù ɻwâ, ɻwâ.
1SG = CONTR.TOP mother = COORD father = TOP eye = on IDEO IDEO

'I still remember (her) mother and father, (they)'re continuously present in my mind's eye.' (CV21.38)

This is similar to the following two examples where *tû* is used:

(309) nʲǽ = tà tɕíŋ = mə́
eye = on:GEN see = NMLZ

'What our eyes have seen (lit. on our eyes be seen) (…)' (CV23.29)

(310) swéŋ kʰí = bù l̥ʲé = tù = bù dʲæ̀ʈʂʰwáʈʂʰwà swà ɻə́ɕǐ
study time = TOP tongue = on = TOP fluent read can

kʰì = bù
time = TOP

'When (I) was studying, (I) could read fluently, (…)' (lit. it was fluent on my tongue) (TC10.12)

The relator noun *tû* has several derived functions. One will be discussed here; some others are discussed elsewhere: *tû* marks the standard of comparison in a comparative construction (§10.6). The marker is also used for adversive situations (§6.2.7) where the argument marked by the locative postposition is negatively affected (similar to English 'he died on me'). And *tû* is used where the action expressed by the verb is not directed towards the NP, but is about 'concerning' the NP (§6.2.7). *tû* can also be used in a temporal sense, indicating 'right at that time, something happened':

(311) tə̀ = gǎ tɕə̀ = mə́ = tù = bù tátá tɕə̀dóŋmə́dòŋ
3SG = GEN say = NMLZ = top = TOP just.then flood

kʰə̀-tɕʰôŋ
OUT-appear:PFV:N.EGO

'Right then, at his saying (that), the flood arrived.' (TC02.19)

The relator noun *pu* 'bottom, under' denotes a location under things.

(312) *tɕəɻǐ = gæ pú* 'under the spring'
tʰǒŋ = pu 'under the water reservoir'

It forms an antonym pair with *tû* 'top, on'. This is shown in the following riddle:

(313) sə́pʉ́sə́lʉ̀dzə́dzə́dzə̂, tú dzə́ kʰí = bù,
guess.this.riddle top eat time = TOP

pú qʰə̀-pʰɛ̀ = ɖáw, míŋ dzə̀?
bottom OUT-spit = IPFV:N.EGO what be

'Guess this riddle, what is eating at the top and spitting out at the bottom?'[174]
(PC05w.13.1)

A slightly derived use of *pu* appears in the phrase *kʰwɛ́ pù kwî* 'to remember' (lit. heart under exist).[175]

The relator noun *wu* 'interior, in' denotes a location inside something else. When it follows personal names or pronouns, it has to appear in a genitive construction, and generally denotes somebody's place; *wu* can also mark temporal constituents, as in (315). Additionally, *wu* can sometimes be used in an allative sense (§6.2.8).

(314) *pǐŋ = gæ wu* 'in the grove'
pǐŋ = wù 'in the grove'
pʰɛ́lî = gæ wu 'at Phali's place'

(315) *tə́ ɖʐə̌ = wù* 'during this era'

The relator noun *dʑi* denotes a location on a horizontal plane that is the same altitude of the speaker; *-tɕʰwi* denotes a general direction; *bi* denotes a location on a slope or a vertical plane. *-tɕʰwi* is a bound form that can only occur with bound demonstratives or combine with *bi*, as in *tɛ-tɕʰwibí* 'one side'. The differences between the three can be clearly illustrated with the interrogative pronoun *kî* 'where' that can be followed by all three:

(316) *kə̂dʑi* 'where (on the horizontal plane)'
kə̂bi 'where (on the vertical plane)'
kə̂tɕʰwi 'where (which direction)'

dʑi can function as a noun as well as a postposition, as in (317) and (318).

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[174] The answer to this riddle is *ɻoŋtʰə̌* 'mill stone'.

[175] Like many Tibeto-Burman languages, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a whole set of 'psycho-collocations' (Matisoff 1986): phrases that are formed with organs like heart and express emotions. They function as internal state verbs, like *kʰwɛ́ ʈʰóŋ* 'to be sincere, transparent' (lit. white heart). No psycho-collocations with 'lung' or 'liver' have been found in the corpus. A to-date comprehensive list of 'heart phrases' is given in Appendix A.

(317) nìŋ = dzæ̂ŋ = gæ dʑi
2 = DU = GEN location

'at your location' (CV02.52.1)

(318) tɕʰwètóŋkʰí = dʑi
pig.pen.edge = location

'at the pig pen edge' (CV14.268)

It can also be used in a temporal, rather than locational sense, as in (319).

(319) ʑèkʰáw tɕʰwæ̀ ʈʂʰə́ = dʑí = là = bù
next.year pig slaughter = time = also = TOP

'Next year at the time of slaughtering pigs, (...)' (CV20.101)

The relator noun *bi* has grammaticalised from a noun meaning 'side', to a locative postposition to a dative marker. Example (320) illustrates its nominal use; examples (321) and (322) illustrate its (locative and temporal) postpositional use. Its use as semantic role marker will be discussed in §6.2.3.

(320) wù = gǽ bí
tiger = GEN side

'(...) the side of (those people's) Tiger (...)' (KZ03.34)

(321) pálí = bì tɕʰàw = ʂù â, ʈʰê, mæ̂?
jacket = on rub = VOL:SG CONF all.the.time what

'Do you still want to rub it on (your uncle's) jacket?' (CV20.141)

(322) tsóŋ = bì qʰə̀-tǎ kʰì = bù, tɕʰwæ̀ ʈʂʰə́ ʈʂʰǽɻæ̀ wèŋ.
winter = on OUT-arrive time = TOP pig slaughter prepare CUST.EXCL

'When winter arrives, pig slaughter is prepared.' (CL01ed.8)

There are several other locational nouns that often co-occur with postpositions.

(323) *kʰǐ* 'edge'
zə̂ 'side, corner'
ʐə̌ 'right'
wɛ̌j 'left'
mæ̂ŋ 'tail-end'

4.6.4 *The morpheme -nʲə and shortening effect*

Sometimes when bound demonstratives and spatial postpositions combine, a bound morpheme *-nʲə* ~ *-nə* is inserted between the two parts. This morpheme expresses that a location is at a relatively short distance from the speaker. The form is possibly related

to Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *ɻwên̥ʲə* 'near' that derives from *ɻwê* 'road' and *-n̥ʲə* 'near' (but note the difference in voicing of the nasal), and a reflex of PTB **s-naːy* x **s-ney*.

An example of the morpheme is given in (324). The topic of the conversation is the location of teeth in the speaker's mouth and the morpheme *-nʲə* is used. If it was left out, one would get the impression that the teeth were really far apart.

(324) tʲóŋ kʰù-nʲə́-dʑí tʲóŋ hòŋ-nə́-dʑí dʲòŋ
one:CLF:thing out-near-location one:CLF:thing in-near-location EXIST.AT

'(...) there is one out here (and) one in here (...)' (CV02.57)

The morpheme also occurs at the end of temporal and locational words or clauses, as in (325-327). In (327) it seems to be the head noun of a genitive construction. It is not clear what its exact function is in these examples and whether it is the same morpheme.

(325) mə̀tɕʰóŋ = ɻə́ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = lá = bú-nʲə̀
man = PL OUT-go = also = TOP-near

'When the men go out, (...)' (CV21.51.1)

(326) dəbú-nʲə́ pɛ̀jpɛ́j tɛ́ɖí = ɕì
then-near older.sibling Tadi = LIM.TOP

'Then older brother Tadi (...)' (YJ02.6)

(327) ɛ́ tə́... qù-dʑǽ-nʲə́ ɛ́dʲæ̀ = ɻə̀ ɕúɕə́ qʰù tɕə̀
1SG this down-location:GEN-near grandmother = PL dress.up need say

'They told us grandmothers to dress up, (...)' (CV21.210)

4.6.5 *Temporal nominals*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ temporal nominals (or time ordinals) are given in Table 4.8. It can be seen that the structure of previous years and days is parallel, but the addition of *ʑɐkʰâw* 'next year' creates a disharmony between the otherwise parallel structure of future days and years. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages (Bradley 2013), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has lexicalised forms for days and years, but not weeks and months. There are two terms that are used for 'year': the free form *pʉ* for previous years and the bound form *-kʰɑw* for future years. The normal word for 'year' is *pʉ*. The form *-kʰɑw* might be related to the older word for 'year' *kû*, that is now often used as a classifier for 'years of age', but one would have to find an explanation between the difference in aspiration. The morpheme for 'day' has in most cases been reduced to *n̥ʲə*.[176] Within a day, there is only

[176] That is actually a reflection of the older form for 'day' *n̥î*, which in the Wǎdū area has changed to *n̥ôŋ* (§2.2.2).

a two-way distinction between morning and night. Note that the voiceless nasal in *n̥ôŋ* 'day' and *m̥ǐ* 'night' becomes voiced in the terms that are used most frequently.[177] The word for 'tomorrow' *seŋbǔ* is probably a combination of the morpheme *sêŋ* 'morning' and the topic marker *bu*, but synchronically seen as one word.[178] A more periphrastic way of referring to 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' is *ɻən̥ôŋ* (lit. 'the preceding day') and *ʑɐgən̥ôŋ* (lit. 'the following day').

Table 4.8 Temporal nominals

	pʉ 'year'	*n̥ôŋ* 'day'	*sêŋ* 'morning'	*m̥ǐ* 'night'
-4	*ɻ̊ûlapʉ*	*ɻ̊ûlan̥ʲə*	-	-
-3	*ɻ̊ʉgípʉ*	*ɻ̊ʉgín̥ʲə*	-	-
-2	*ɻ̊ûpʉ*	*ɻ̊ûnʲə*	*ɻ̊ʉsěŋ*	*ɻ̊ûm̥i*
-1	*ʑêpʉ*	*ʑênʲə*	*ʑɐnʲəsêŋ*	*pîɕi*
0	*pûpʉ*	*pûnʲə*	*pʉsêŋ*	*ʑɐmî*
+1	*ʑɐkʰâw*	*seŋbǔ*	*seŋbǔ nusêŋ*	*sêŋmi ~ sêŋm̥i*
+2	*sêŋkʰaw*	*qʰʉseŋn̥ʲə̂/n̥ôŋ*	*qʰʉseŋsêŋ*	*qʰʉseŋm̥î*
+3	*qʰʉseŋkʰâw*	*qʰʉɖín̥ʲə/n̥oŋ*	-	-
+4	*qʰʉɖíkʰaw*	*qʰûlan̥ʲə/n̥oŋ*	-	-

Temporal nominals are also used in a non-deictic sense. This is illustrated in (328) where 'today', 'tomorrow' and 'the day after tomorrow' refer to relative time in the story rather than specific time.

[177] Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ shows voicing alternating in the same forms for 'day' (Dīng 1998:42).

[178] Note that Fù (1998:128) has the word *siaŋ*^{24} for 'morning' in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ. The word for 'tomorrow' in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ is *sjẽn̥í* (Dīng 1998:42).

(328) pɯ́nə̀ tə́-ʈɯ́ tɕʰwèníŋ = gòŋnì jǎw lʲèwǔ nè-púlʲæ̂.
today UP-dig wild.boar = AGT again again DOWN-turn.over

sèŋbǔ jǎw tə́-ʈɯ́, qʰɯ̀sèŋnə́ jǎw tɕʰwèníŋ = gòŋ
tomorrow again UP-dig day.after.tomorrow again wild.boar = AGT

nè-púlʲæ̂
DOWN-turn.over

'What they dug today (= the first day), the wild boar would overturn again. What they dug tomorrow (= the second day), the wild boar would overturn again the day after tomorrow (= the third day), (...)' (TC02.4,5)

Other temporal nominals that refer to specific time are:

(329) *nʲǽɻə* 'very early morning'
ɕêʈʰu 'early morning'
nusêŋ 'morning'
meŋǎŋ 'afternoon'
ɕwípʰa 'night'
kə́tʲəlʲu 'in depths of night'

Other temporal forms that express relative time, related to the time of speaking, are:

(330) *tǎ* 'now'
təɕǽ ~ təɕǽ 'now' (point in time or current time period)[179]
tədʑí 'this period of time'
kɐdʑí 'this period of time, this time' (also locational use)
ɻə̂ 'before' (also locational use)
ʑêgi 'after' (also locational use)
sə 'first'
nǒŋjæ 'later'
tɐnóŋ 'just now'
tâtɕə 'just then'[180]
tʲǎ 'recently' (is often followed by temporal words like *n̥ôŋ* 'day')
tʲunʲǽ 'so early'[181]

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[179] This is different from tǎ 'now', which is used as the result of a process leading up to that point (*təɕǽ bu* can also be used in that way). It is possible that *tǎ* derives from the verb *tǎ* 'to arrive'.

[180] This word can also be used as a predicate 'to be just right', as in 'these shoes are just right for me'.

[181] Indicates that right now is not the right time according to the speaker.

tʰûtu	'immediately, the whole time'
ʈʰé ~ ʈʰémiŋ	'all the time, always, often'
tɐʈʰǐ ~ tɐʈʰŏŋ	'after a while'
tɐqʰêj tɐqʰêj	'sometimes'[182] (< *qʰéj* 'times')

The corpus has a few examples of partial reduplication of temporal forms:

(331)	*ɕwípʰa-ɕwíɻæ*	'the whole night' (< *ɕwípʰa* '(mid)night')
	ɕwíɕə-ɕwíɻæ	'the whole night' (< *ɕwí* 'evening')
	n̥ôŋɕə-n̥ôŋɻæ	'the whole day' (< *n̥ôŋ* 'day')
	ɕêmæ-ɕêʈʰu	'very early morning' (< *ɕêʈʰu* 'early morning')

When the construction *X tɐ-dǐŋ* 'one place, somewhere' is used with a temporal word, the implication is a general time. I have only one example in my database.

(332) nŏŋ séŋmì tè-dìŋ qà-dʑí mətɕʰí = tì
so tomorrow.night one-CLF:place down-location dinner = INDF

tʰè-dzú ɦà tə́ kɛ́j = gì
FR.SP-make LINK this let = VOL:INCL

'So, tomorrow night (or sometime) let's have (them) cook some dinner downstairs and have them eat (...)' (CV02.76)

4.7 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined as words that modify a predicate. They include adverbs of manner, adverbs of intensity or degree, and epistemic adverbs. Adverbs show no morphology apart from some inherent reduplication.

Apart from adverbs that modify a predicate, there are several adverbial predicate modifying constructions. These will be discussed in §7.10.1, §7.10.2 and §7.10.3.

Other manner adverbs are given in (333) and (334). The manner adverbs in (333) immediately precede the verb, the ones in (334) need the verb *pɯ́* 'to do', as in an adverbial construction. An exception is *tití*, which usually appears in an adverbial construction, as in (335), but can immediately modify the verb in often-used collocations like *tití ɕôŋ* 'go slowly' or *tití dzôŋ* 'sit slowly'.

(333)	*tunʲə́*	'purposely'
	nʲæpú	'secretly' (possibly from *nʲæ̌* 'eye' and *pu* 'under')
	ɦáməʑə	'casually, randomly'
	ɖæɖǽ	'horizontally' (usually used with 'to put', 'to throw', 'to cut')
	tɕʰípæ	'very well, nicely'

[182] Reduplicated numeral-classifier compound.

	dǒŋ	‘together (in action)’
	têgu	‘together (in the same place)’
(334)	*têɻɛj*	‘together (on the same road)’
	qaqǎ	‘together, communal’ (also occurs as noun ‘group’)
	tití	‘slowly’
	dâda	‘slowly’ (loanword from Yǒngníng Na?)
	dúɻi	‘leisurely’

(335) tìtí pù tʰè-ɖəɖǽŋ tə́-tɕʰôŋ.
slowly do FR.SP-walk UP-come:PFV:N.EGO

‘(...) (the old man) came up walking slowly.’ (YJ01.63)

There are a few adverbs of degree or intensity, listed in (336). According to my main consultant, two of them, *mətʰǎ* and *mənǽŋ*, might be loanwords from Yǒngníng Na. *mətʰǎ* is only used in combination with negation, as in (337). *mənǽŋ* only appears in the corpus once in combination with *tʰʲǽ*, as in (338).

(336)	*qêtɕʰi*	‘not very’
	mətʰǎ	‘not very’
	tɕʰədʑú	‘too much’ (usually in combination with negation ‘not much’)
	tʰʲǽ	‘about, pretty much’
	mənǽŋ	‘so-so, not very good or bad’
	dʑínʲæ	‘really’ (but also used as interjection)
	tsʰǔ	‘almost’
	ta	‘only’
	jǎw	‘again’

(337) tə́ = bù nǐŋ mə́ = ɻæ̀ hí tóŋ mə̀ = dzə̀ tɕə̀ = ɖàw
3SG = TOP INTJ person = PL:GEN god speak NMLZ = be say = IPFV:N.EGO

mə̀ dzə̀, mə̀tʰǎ tóŋ mɛ́ = hà tɕə̀ = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀.
GNOMIC not.very speak NEG:EMPH = ought say = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

‘He said, mind you, that this (story) was one that talked about god, and so one should not casually narrate it.’ (CV13.114.2)

(338) dəbǔ, pɛ̌j tɕɛ́=gə tànæ̀ŋ=góŋní dəbǔ, tʲóŋ
then older.sibling big=DEF crossbow=INS then one:CLF:thing

qʰə̀-ʈʰǎ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j kʰí=bù, î, tʰʲǎ mənǽŋ
OUT-shoot OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP INTJ about so.so

tɛ́-qè-bà kɔ̌ŋ=pù ɛ̀-tsèŋ=sì tɕàw.
one-CLF:household-household door-under IN-hit=INF HSY

'So when the big brother shot one (arrow) with his crossbow, it hit the door of a relatively good household, it is said.' (TC09.5)

There are two post-verbal adverbs, which is interesting, since most adverbs modify a verb pre-verbally: *ɕiɕi* 'a little bit' usually follows stative verbs and expressives, as in (339), but can also modify other verbs pre-verbally in an adverbial construction (§7.10.1); *ʐǔ* 'very' only modifies stative verbs post-verbally, as in (340), and might be related to the verb *ʐǔ* 'to be excessive, to be capable', as in (341), see also (§8.2).

(339) ((jòŋtɕíŋ)) kǽŋpâpá ɕìɕì=ʈà, dǎwmà
T:dByangs.cin Ch:very.thin a.little.bit=SVM T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma

bádôŋdóŋ ɕìɕì=ʈà, ə́sèŋ?
short.and.stocky a.little.bit=SVM AGR

'((Yongjin)) is very thin, Dauma is short and stocky, right?' (CV01.54)

(340) ɻú ɕàw nìŋ-bá ə́-pù ɖʐwá ʐǔ.
chicken raise 2-household:GEN that-under be.comfortable very

'Your household's (position) down there is very convenient for raising chickens.' (CV04.71)

(341) qɛ́j tʰè-ʐù=sî
grease FR.SP-be.excessive=INF

'It's very greasy.' (EL:B903)

4.8 Clause linkers

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has two groups of clause linkers. Apart from *dəbǔ*, (§10.2, §10.9.3) the clause linkers in (342) appear only clause-initially, and I will not treat them further in this grammar. The clause linkers in (343) appear clause-finally and are subordinators, coordinators and clause linkers that have grammaticalised from nominals or noun phrase markers (the only exception is *sətɕæ* which is only used as a clausal subordinator). They will be treated in §10.1 and §10.4.

(342)	*tɐnə̌*	'otherwise'
	nǒŋ	'so, in that case'[183]
	noŋtɕǽ	'as a matter of fact'
	noŋtɕû	'in that case'
	nǒŋnoŋ	'only then' (at beginning of clause)
	dəbǔ	'then'
	jǎw	'again'
(343)	*sətɕæ*	'if'
	k^{h}i	'while'
	(q^{h}u) goŋni	'since'
	ɦa (ɟoŋni)	'and, because'
	ɦa (tɕəbu)	'and, because'
	noŋ	'and, or'

4.9 Grammaticalisation

Grammaticalisation is a diachronic process by which lexical forms take on grammatical functions. In languages like Pǔmǐ that have not been documented historically, it is sometimes difficult to show how grammaticalisation paths have developed and whether semantic bleaching or extension has taken place. Two factors that allow drawing some conclusions about grammaticalisation in Pǔmǐ are that different stages of the grammaticalisation path are still present synchronically: many forms in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are used lexically as well as performing grammatical functions. The other factor is taking into account cross-linguistic grammaticalisation tendencies. Many of the grammaticalisation paths in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are well-attested cross-linguistically (Heine and Kuteva 2002), such as the path from noun to postposition to semantic role marker. Some grammaticalisations are more interesting from a typological perspective: especially the development of inclusive and exclusive knowledge markers from verbs (§8.5).

Grammaticalisation processes will be mentioned in several parts of the grammar, and are listed with their references in Table 4.9.

[183] Also in combination with discourse markers *di* (§6.5.7) and *sə* (§6.5.8), thus *nǒŋ sə* and *nǒŋ di*.

Table 4.9 Grammaticalisation processes in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ

	Grammaticalisation process	Reference
bi	noun 'side' > postposition 'on' > semantic role marker (dative and source)	§4.6.3; §6.2.3; §6.2.5
tú	noun 'top' > *tu* postposition 'on top' > adversive > comparative marker	§4.6.3; §6.2.7; §10.6
wu	noun 'interior' > postposition 'in' > allative	§4.6.3; §6.2.8
mâ	noun 'mother' > *-ma* derogatory marking, augmentative marking	§5.1.3.3
tsʉ̂	noun 'son' > *-tsə* diminutive marking	§5.1.3.4
dǐ	'to be old' > geriatric suffix	§5.1.3.5
tóŋ	noun 'animal pen' > *=toŋ* locational, instrumental nominalizer	§5.2.1
m̥ə̂ ~ mə̂	'person' > *-mə* agentive nominalizer > general nominalizer, relative clause marker	§5.2.3; §5.3.2
sǒŋ	numeral 'three' > *=seŋ* partitive paucal marker	§5.4
tǐ	'one' > indefinite marker	§5.5
=ɦa (ɻoŋni)	ablative > discourse marker | causal subordination marker | general clause linker	§6.2.9; §10.2; §10.4.3
=goŋ(ni)	agentive marker | instrumental marker > clausal subordination marker	§6.2.1; §6.2.4; §10.4.3
qʰǔ	verb 'to need' > *qʰu* auxiliary 'need to' > politeness marker 'please' | customary marker, inclusive information 'will'	§7.9.9; §8.5
wêŋ	verb 'to have learned' > *weŋ* auxiliary 'be able' > customary marker, exclusive information 'will'	§7.9.2; §8.5
dzóŋ	verb 'to sit' > durative verbal aspect	§7.8.2
kʰǐŋ	verb 'to give' > benefactive verbal aspect	§7.8.3
tǐ	verb 'to put' > terminative verbal aspect	§7.8.4
tsʰá	verb 'to be exhausted, be finished' > completive verbal aspect	§7.8.5

	Grammaticalisation process	Reference
pʉ́	verb ‘to do’ > adverbial clause marker | control adding particle	§7.10.1; §8.1.1
tɕə̆	verb ‘to say’ > *tɕə* quotative marker	§8.3.5
=si	perfective > *=si* inferential evidential	§8.3.1

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter described various form classes in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The open form classes show considerable overlap and are better described in construction-specific terms. Pronouns distinguish dual and plural number; the first person inclusive and second person singular pronouns have taken on more abstract functions and are used as interjectives that express speaker attitude. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a logophoric pronoun which is used for co-reference. Numerals show a strictly decimal system; the numerals ‘six’, ‘seven’ and ‘eight’ show distinctive tonal behaviour. Numerals and numeral-classifiers occur together in compounds. Demonstratives are mostly bound roots that compound with locational and temporal nouns. Directional verb prefixes are semantically and formally related to the bound demonstratives and reflect the layout of the geographical landscape. Locational nouns are the source for the semantic role markers. Adverbs can be divided into two functional classes: those that directly modify a verb and those that need the verb *pʉ́* ‘to do’ in order to modify a verb. Several grammaticalisation processes can be observed synchronically through the co-existence of lexical and grammaticalised forms.

Chapter 5.
The noun phrase

This chapter discusses the internal structure of the noun phrase. It will start with the noun stem and discuss different nominal morphology in §5.1: the processes of compounding, reduplication, and affixation. Nominalization as a process of forming nominals will be discussed in §5.2; nominal modification constructions will be discussed in §5.3, and number and definiteness in §5.4 and §5.5. The structure of the noun phrase is discussed in §5.6 and a section on noun phrase coordination in §5.7 will end the chapter.

5.1 Nominal morphology

The noun stem shows several formation processes that will be dealt with in this section, namely compounding (§5.1.1), reduplication (§5.1.2) and affixation (§5.1.3). Disyllabic nouns form the majority of nouns in the corpus.[184] Some examples of monosyllabic nouns are given in (344), and examples of disyllabic and polysyllabic unanalyzable nouns are given in (345).

(344)	*ʐǎ*	'hand'
	ɻû	'chicken'
	l̥í	'moon'
	tɕʰǐ	'food'
(345)	*bʉɻɛ́j*	'snake'
	qʰoŋdzí	'spoon'
	ɦámə̝ʐə	'messy'
	baqajú	'pine cone'
	nʲóŋɻəbala	'bat'[185]

[184] Roughly one tenth of the nouns are polysyllabic; roughly two thirds of the other nouns are disyllabic and one third is monosyllabic.

[185] Although this word is not analyzable, the part *-bala* seems to have an ideophonic meaning that conveys an image of something hanging down.

5.1.1 *Compounding*

Compounding is a highly productive process in Pǔmǐ. The tonal pattern of compounds is often different from the combination of the tones of the different free lexical forms (§3.4.1). This forms an important criterion in distinguishing phrases from compounds.

There are several coordinate compounds, where both nouns have equal status. Coordinate compounding only occurs with two monosyllabic or disyllabic elements that show parallel semantics.

(346)	*pɛjkwêŋ*	'siblings' (< *pɛ̌j* 'older sibling' + *kwěŋ* 'younger sibling')
	swâŋma	'parents' (< *swâŋ* 'father' + *mâ* 'mother')
	níŋtsɐ	'sickness' (< *níŋ* 'disease' + *tsê* 'hot, fever')
	ɦoŋtóŋ	'animal pen' (< *ɦǒŋ* 'enclosure' + *tóŋ* 'animal pen')
	tsʰidʑí	'salt-and-tea'[186] (< *tsʰǐ* 'salt' + *dʑǐ* 'tea')
	tsʰû̈tsweŋ	'lung-and-liver' (< *tsʰǔ̈* 'lung' + *tswêŋ* 'liver')
	tɕʰwækʰwɐtɕʰwḁ̂ʲɐ	'pig heart-and-tongue' (< *tɕʰwǎ* 'pig' + *kʰwɐ́* 'heart' + *ʲɐ̌* 'tongue')

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has certain other coordinate compounds, of which the second (probably archaic) noun never appears independently, but only as part of the compound or in certain constructions: *N=noŋ N* with the coordinator *=noŋ*, as in (347), or *N* V_1 *N* V_2, as in (348) and (349).

(347)	*dʑû̈ɻǽ*	*dʑǔ̈=noŋ ɻǽ*	'soul' (< *dʑǔ̈* 'soul' + *ɻǽ*?)
	ɖʐ̥ʰǽ	*ɖʐ̥ʰ=noŋ kʰǽ*	'society' (< *ɖʐ̥ʰ* 'society, era' + *kʰǽ*?)
	zû̈hwǎ	*zǔ̈=noŋ hwǎ*	'facial features' (< *zǔ̈* 'facial features' + *hwǎ*?)
	píjoŋ	*pí=noŋ jǒŋ*	'values and principles' (< *pí* 'truth' + *jǒŋ*[187])
	tɕʰâwtɕʰæ	*tɕʰâw=noŋ tɕʰǽ*	'relatives' (< *tɕʰâw* 'blood line' + *-tɕǽ* 'breed')
	--	*gǔ̈=noŋ qǔ́*	'money' (< *gǔ̈* 'money' + *qǔ́* ?)
	--	*ɖǽ=noŋ ɖû̈*	'evil' (< *ɖǽ* 'evil' + *ɖû̈* ?)

[186] The last three compounds are cultural notions: salt and tea are the basic ingredients for Pǔmǐ cooking. 'lung-and-liver' and 'pig heart-and-tongue' are conceptual units connected with the culture around pork preparation: the lung and the liver are prepared similarly by filling them with a mixture of water, flour and spices, and then boiling them. Slices are roasted and served as a delicacy. The heart and the tongue are stuffed with lean meat, tied together and presented as a pair during a special occasion.

[187] Dīng (1998:239) translates *pí ʒí jò̀ djò̂* as 'there are adages' (< *pí* 'maxim' + *jǒŋ* 'knowledge').

(348) zʉ̀ tɕʰwí hwà̰ tɕʰwì
facial.features good ? good

'very handsome' (CV07.16.2)

(349) gʉ̀ tɕʰòŋlʲóŋ qʉ́ tɕʰóŋlʲòŋ
money wait ? wait

'to wait for money' (CV21.361.4)

Pǔmǐ also has some set phrases that consist of two disyllabic nouns that are roughly similar in meaning. These are not really compounds, since they consist of two tone groups. '#' in (350) indicates the tone group boundary.

(350) *ɖwilóŋ# lʲækǎ* 'customs' (< *ɖwilóŋ* 'customs' + *lʲækǎ* 'things')
jílu# lʲækǎ 'behaviour' (< *jílu* 'behaviour' + *lʲækǎ* 'things')
qʰóŋmə# tɕʰûwtɕæ 'relatives' (< *qʰóŋmə* 'relatives' + *tɕʰûwtɕæ* 'relatives')
tsêʐi# dʲúdʲu 'monkey' (< *tsêʐi* 'monkey' + *dʲúdʲu* 'monkey')
sʉ́tɕʰæ# diŋbá 'place' (< *sʉ́tɕʰæ* 'place' + *diŋbá* 'place')
tsáki# ʂə̂dʐi 'pork-back-slice-limbs' (< *tsáki* 'meat cut' + *ʂə̂dʐi* 'limbs')

Endocentric compounds are compounds where the whole denotes a subclass of one of the elements. When the second element is the head, the compound consists of two nouns, as in (351), or (stative) verb + noun, as in (352).

(351) *ɻwêʈʰʉ* 'yak horn' (< *ɻwɛ́* 'yak' + *ʈʰʉ́* 'horn')
qwêʈʰʉ 'cow horn' (< *qwɛ́* 'cow' + *ʈʰʉ́* 'horn')
xiʈʂóŋ 'shrine-room' (< *xí* 'god' + *ʈʂóŋ* 'house')
tɕəsǔ 'mist' (< *tɕə́* 'water' + *sû* 'gas')

(352) *ʈʂúɻæŋ* 'buttermilk' (< *ʈʂú* 'to be sour' + *ɻǽŋ* 'liquid')
tɛ́jmə 'leader' (< *tɛ́j* 'to be big' + *mə̂* 'person')
tíŋbu 'small cockroach'[188] (< *tíŋ* 'to be rich' + *bû* 'bug')
dzæŋpĕ 'uncooked flour' (< *dzæ̂ŋ* 'to be wet' + *pĕ* 'flour')
ɕɐgwéŋ 'pack horse' (< *ɕɐ́* 'to pack a load' + *gwĕŋ* 'horse')
ʈətsú 'hungry ghost' (< *ʈə̌* 'to die away from home' + *tsú* 'ghost')[189]

Endocentric compounds where the first element is the head usually consist of a noun followed by a stative verb. Examples are given in (353).

[188] This is a tiny bug, similar in shape to a small cockroach, that lives around the fireplace and is said to bring wealth, hence its name 'affluent bug'. It is the enemy of the poisonous centipede.

[189] People that die when they are away from home are said to become hungry ghosts.

(353) *tsêgʉ* 'aged pork back' (< *tsá* 'meat' + *gʉ́* 'to be old')
nɛjs̥ôŋ 'clean milk' (< *nɛ̌j* 'milk' + *s̥óŋ* 'to be clean')
tɕʰɐkóŋ 'left-over rice' (< *tɕʰǐ* 'rice' + *kóŋ* 'to be cold')[190]
dʑɐtsʰǒŋ 'waist' (< *dʑǐ* 'waist' + *tsʰǒŋ* 'to be thin')
pɐdʐɐ̌ 'broken axe' (< *pʉ̂* 'axe' + *dʐɐ̌* 'to be bad')
m̥ətéj 'oldest daughter' (< *m̥ə̂* 'daughter' + *téj* 'to be big')

Examples of exocentric compounds, where the compound denotes something different from the elements, are given in (354). Exocentric compounds are less frequent than endocentric compounds.

(354) *qʰʉ̂ʈsoŋ* 'pillow' (< *qʰʉ̌* 'head' + *ʈsóŋ* 'house')
ʈʰóŋmə 'Pǔmǐ' (< *ʈʰóŋ* 'to be white' + *mə̂* 'person')
qʰoŋɻ̊wɐ̌ 'aorta' (< *qʰǒŋ* 'life' + *ɻ̊wɐ̂* 'thread')

Multimorphemic, multipsyllabic compounds are also attested. A few examples are given in (355). Compounds with up to five syllables can form a single tone group; when compounds are bigger than five syllables, they form multiple tone groups, as in (356).

(355) *míŋnipʉqa* 'straw sandal' (< *míŋni* 'sandal' + *pʉ́qa* 'shoe')
bʉɻɛ́jɻənæŋhaw 'snake skin bag' (< *bʉɻɛ́j* 'snake' + *ɻə̂* 'skin' + *næŋháw* 'bag')
qʰʉnʲæ̂pʉdima 'deceased old lady'(< *qʰʉ̌* 'head' + *nʲæ̂* 'black' + *pʉdimá* 'old lady')

(356) *tsʰəɻibáɻi# ɕípu* 'hazel catkin porridge' (< *tsʰəɻibáɻi* hazel catkin' + *ɕípu* porridge')

One culturally interesting compound is the word for 'common hoopoe'. This is a bird that arrives in spring and that is called *qûpudzɛjgweŋ*, which means 'cuckoo's riding horse' (from *qûpu* 'cuckoo', *dzɛ̌j* 'to ride a horse' and *gwɛ̌ŋ* 'horse'). The common hoopoe is said to announce the coming of the cuckoo, a very significant bird in Pǔmǐ culture.

Pǔmǐ shows a certain amount of taxonomic compounding, where either the first or the second constituent of the compound is used as a categorizing device, indicating the kind of noun class of the noun. This categorizing device can be called 'class term' (DeLancey 1998:109). Class terms that are the second constituent of a compound

190 Note the vowel reduction in this and the following two compounds. All vowels except for /ɐ/ and /ə/ can undergo reduction to [ɐ] and sometimes to [ə] or [ʉ]. I have not been able to find a clear-cut rule. It seems that frequent words like sɛ̌ŋ 'firewood', ʐǎ 'hand', tɕʰǐ 'rice, food', tɕʰwǎ 'pig' are often reduced, but they are not always reduced. There is at least one contrastive pair that is formed of the same constituents, but has different tones and one of them shows vowel reduction whereas the other does not: seŋqʰwə́ 'shoots (in spring)' versus sêqʰʉ 'tree top'.

cannot usually occur in isolation, but often occur as a numeral classifier in a numeral-classifier compound (§4.4). When they occur in nominal compounds the class term denotes the general category of which the whole compound is the subordinate category. Some examples are given in (357-359). Semantically these compounds often denote flora, fauna, food or body parts.

The class term *-boŋ* can be used to denote trees as well as plants. Nowadays *-boŋ* does not occur by itself; the general word for 'tree' *seŋbóŋ* is made up of *sěŋ* 'wood' and *-boŋ* 'tree'. *-boŋ* is also used as a classifier (§4.4).

(357)	*seŋbóŋ*	'tree'
	lóŋboŋ	'oak'
	qʰugæbóŋ	'hazelnut bush'
	nʲûboŋ	'bean plant'

-lʲâw is a bound form that expresses a small round object like a kernel of wheat. It can occur as a classifier, see §4.4. example (236), and also as a class term:

(358)	*ʂêlʲaw*	'grain kernel' (*ʂé* 'grains')
	nʲélʲaw	'eye' (< *nʲæ̂* 'eye')
	qwalʲáw	'fireplace' (< *qwá* 'fireplace')

-lʲâw can also occur in a reduplicated form as *lʲáwlʲàw*, which can be used as a noun, but also as a class term. This renders a plural reading.

(359)	*ʂélʲawlʲaw*	'grain kernels' (*ʂé* 'grains')
	toŋtɕəlʲâwlʲaw	'buckwheat kernels' (*toŋtɕə̌* 'buckwheat')
	nʲûlʲawlʲaw	'beans' (*nʲû* 'bean')

-tɕîŋ 'sort' is a bound form that only appears in compounds that denote generic types of animals.[191] It cannot be used as a classifier and is probably a bound noun root.

(360)	*ʐætɕîŋ*	'claw-type animal' (bears, wolves, cats) (< *ʐæ̌* 'claw')
	doŋtɕíŋ	'winged animal' (< *dôŋ* 'wing')
	pátɕiŋ	'non-cloven-footed animal' (horses) (< *pá* 'undivided hoof')
	qwátɕiŋ	'cloven-footed animal' (pigs, sheep, goats) (< *qwá* 'divided hoof')
	tʲútɕiŋ	'non-cud-chewing animal' (pigs, horses) (< *tʲú* 'stomach')
	gwɐtɕîŋ	'cud-chewing animal' (sheep, cows) (< *gwɐ̌* 'third stomach')

There is one instance where the bound root can also derive a non-animal term.This is in the compound *ɕíŋqʰʉtɕiŋ* 'iron head sort, blockhead' (< *ɕíŋ* 'iron' and *qʰʉ̌* 'head'),

[191] The words *séŋtɕiŋ* 'animal', *nisêŋtɕiŋ* 'wild animal', and *wuséŋtɕiŋ* 'wild animal' (< *wû* 'mountain') even though ending in *-tɕiŋ*, are not related to these according to my main consultant. *séŋtɕiŋ* is derived from Tibetan *sems.can* 'sentient being'.

denoting the sort of people who never listen to others, but only do what they think is best.

Class terms that are the first syllable of a compound can usually, but not always, occur as free nouns. But vowel reduction occurs when they appear in taxonomic compounds.[192] Compounds with class terms as the first part often show a whole-part relationship. Some examples are given in (361-363).

(361)	*nʲæ̂*	'eye'
	nʲɐɖwɛ̌j	'tears' (< *ɖwɛ̌j* 'tears')
	nʲɛ́sʉ	'eyeball' (< *sʉ̌* 'fruit')
	nʲêtsəmæŋ	'eyebrow' (< *tsʉ̂* 'son'? + *m̥æ̂ŋ* 'hair')
(362)	*ʑæ̌*	'hand, arm'
	ʑɐqóŋ	'elbow' (< *qôŋ* 'gully')
	ʑɛ́qwɛjli	'armpit' (< *qwɛjlí* 'hollow')
	ʑɐɻʊ̌	'forearm' (< *ɻʊ̌* 'bone')
	ʑɐtsɛ̌j	'wrist' (< -*tsɛ̌j* 'joint')
(363)	*sɛ̌ŋ*	'wood'
	sɛ̂ɻu	'trunk' (< *ɻʊ̌* 'bone')
	sɐɻə̌	'bark' (< *ɻə̂* 'skin')
	sɐɻwǎ	'branch' (< *ɻwǎ* 'branch')
	sɐqwɛ̌j	'stick' (< *qwɛ̌j* 'peg')
	sɐtǎ	'cutting block' (< *tǎ* 'cutting board')

The numeral classifier -*qɐ̂* 'household' is a bound morpheme. It can function as a numeral classifier, but also form the first or second part of a compound. This might point to a nominal origin.

(364)	*mɛ́qɐ*	'family' (< *m̥ə̂* 'person'?)
	qɐtɛ́j	'big household' (< *tɛ́j* 'to be big')

Many nouns that denote people have the word for *m̥ə̂* ~ *mə̂* 'person' as their first syllable, but the second syllable is not analyzable:

(365)	*m̥ə̂ɖæmə* ~*m̥ʉ̂ɖæmə*	'mortal'
	m̥əɖæ̌	'female'
	m̥ətɕʰóŋ	'male'
	m̥əgíŋ	'old man'

[192] This vowel reduction is a morphological rather than a phonological process, similar to the status constructus alternation described for Japhug (Jacques 2012a:1214-1215).

mə̥ɲíŋ	'child'
ɖ̥əʐî	'young woman'

5.1.2 *Reduplication*

Nouns may show several kinds of reduplication. Examples of the most straightforward reduplication pattern are given in (366). This usually occurs with kinship terms used in address.

(366) *kɑwkǎw* 'father(-in-law), uncle (FB,LA)' (< *kâw* 'uncle (MB)')
pɛjpêj 'older sibling' (< *pěj* 'older sibling')

Other reduplication patterns are partial reduplications with several semantic implications. The first partial reduplication occurs with monosyllabic nouns and indicates a generic term. The structure is $C_1æC_2V$.[193]

(367) *tɕætɕə̌* 'alcoholic beverages' (< *tɕə̌* 'water')
tɕ^{h}ætɕ^{h}ú 'all kinds of crops' (< *tɕ^{h}ǔ* 'crops')
bêbu 'all kinds of insects' (< *bû* 'insect')
swæsʉ́ 'all kinds of fruit' (< *sʉ̌* 'fruit')[194]
ʐɖ̥ʐédʐi 'all four limbs of animals' (*ʂə̂dʐi* is one of the four limbs)

A nominal reduplication process with a 'random' meaning has the structure $C_1oŋC_2oŋC_1VC_2V$. This looks exactly like the 'random' verbal reduplication process described in §7.4.1.3. Only one example is attested in the corpus.

(368) *ʂoŋʈóŋʂæŋʈæŋ* 'random vegetables' (< *ʂæŋʈǽŋ* 'vegetable')

Other 'random' reduplication constructions include a construction with a morpheme *-n^{j}æ-*,[195] which replaces part of the root, $C_1V_1C_2V_2$-*n^{j}æ*-C_2V_2, as in (369), reduplication where the whole word is reduplicated and the first syllable is changed to [oŋ], $C_1oŋC_2V_2C_1V_1C_2V_2$, as in (370), and reduplication where the whole word is reduplicated and the second syllable is changed to [oŋ], $C_1V_1C_2oŋC_1V_1C_2V_2$, as in (371).[196] Note that in these three constructions the original noun is a compound.

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[193] A similar reduplication but with a slightly different vowel is *lalɛ́j* 'every kind of seed' (< *lɛ̌j* 'seed').

[194] For the presence of a [w] in the reduplicated form, see the discussion in footnote 79.

[195] The etymology of this morpheme is not clear at present.

[196] More research needs to be done into the semantic differences between the various constructions, and whether the change of the first versus the second syllable to [oŋ] is governed by phonological constraints or other reasons.

(369) *tsáʈʰinʲæʈʰî* ‘random meat cuts’ (< *tsáʈʰi* ‘cut of meat’)
tɕʰɐkóŋnʲækoŋ ‘random left-over rice’ (< *tɕʰɐkóŋ* ‘left-over rice’)

(370) *ɻóŋdɛjɻæŋdɛj* ‘random soup residue’ (< *ɻæŋdɛ́j* ‘soup residue’)

(371) *dʑɐqóŋdʑɐqɐ* ‘random tea dregs’ (< *dʑɐqá* ‘tea dregs’)
sɐdzoŋsɐ́dzæŋ ‘random wet firewood’ (< *sɐdzǎŋ* ‘wet firewood’)

Although in the above examples the different ways of reduplication all render a ‘random’ meaning, for some nouns the meaning changes slightly depending on the reduplication construction used. An example is given in (372) with *tɕʰêdɛj* ‘rice residue’ where both the $C_1V_1C_2oŋC_1V_1C_2V_2$ construction and the $C_1V_1C_2V_2$-*nʲæ*-C_2V_2 construction are used.[197] Further research needs to be done into the semantics of these different reduplication patterns.

(372) *tɕʰêdoŋtɕʰɐdɛj* ‘random rice residue’
tɕʰêdɛjnʲædɛj ‘all the rice residue’

5.1.3 *Affixation*

There is a certain amount of nominal affixation in Pŭmĭ, which is all derivational. This section will discuss two prefixes and four suffixes which mark kinship terms (§5.1.3.1), disability (§5.1.3.2), female gender and derogatory terms (§5.1.3.3), diminutives (§5.1.3.4), and geriatric animal terms (§5.1.3.5).

5.1.3.1 Kinship prefix

Both in vocative and sometimes in referential usage of kinship terms, a prefix *ɐ-* is attached to the noun. This prefix occurs throughout Tibeto-Burman languages in combination with kinship terms (Matisoff 2003:105). Examples in Wǎdū Pŭmĭ are:

(373) *ɐswǎŋ* ‘father’
ɐmâ ‘mother, aunt’ (women of mother’s generation)
ɐkâw ‘uncle (MB)’
ê̞poŋ ‘father(-in-law), uncle (FB)’
ɐnóŋ ‘aunt (FZ)’
ɐpʉ́ ‘grandfather’
êdʲæ ‘grandmother’

The prefix is not totally fossilized and several terms can still be used in their non-prefixed forms.

[197] This strongly resembles the different verbal reduplication constructions described in §7.4.1, especially the ‘random’ reduplication and the ‘continuous’ reduplication construction.

(374) *má=nòŋ swǽŋ* 'father and mother' (CV07.1.2)
èmá=nòŋ èswǽŋ 'father and mother' (CV02.5.2)
èkâw ~ kâw 'uncle (MB)'

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish whether [ɐ] is the kinship prefix or the first singular pronoun *ɐ́*, as in (375). However, Dīng (1998:116) notes that in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ the use of the kinship prefix is not possible with sibling terms. Thus example (375) should be analysed as a genitive apposition relation (§5.3.1) instead.

(375) ɐ̀ pɛ̌j, ɐ̀ pɛ̌j nǐŋ kí tà?
1SG older.sibling 1SG older.sibling 2SG where arrive

'My brother, my brother, where has (the water) come up to?' (TC02.20)

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a few other nouns that show an initial syllable [ɐ], but these do not seem to be related to the kinship prefix. Dīng (1998:116) states that the kinship prefix is not used with other types of nouns and does not occur with polysyllabic nouns.

(376) *ɐjæqá* 'dumb person' (a senile person)
ɐtʂʰwæŋʈʂʰwǎŋ 'magpie'[198]
ɐlʲú 'squirrel'

5.1.3.2 Disability prefix

The words for people with a physical disability all involve the prefix *dɐ-*. The origin of *dɐ-* is not clear, but it has a negative connotation.[199]

(377) *dɐbǒŋ* 'deaf person' (*dɐbǒŋ* 'to be deaf')
dɐpɛ̌j 'lame person' (*dɐpɛ̌j* 'to be lame')
dɐqǔ 'blind person' (< *qǔ* 'to be blind')[200]
dɐgǒŋ 'mute person; dumb, stupid person' (< *gǒŋ* 'to be mute, dumb')[201]

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[198] Cf. Matisoff (1997b:192) who gives the form [ɕɔ̀ɕɔ́] without an initial vowel for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ. The magpie is often anthropomorphly portrayed and is know for its ability to practise divination.

[199] In Yǔchū, the word *dɐqôŋ* was used by an older lady to scold some boys that behaved badly. This word is not used in Wǎdū, but it might be related to Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *qóŋ* 'to be crazy'.

[200] Related to Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ [kʉ] 'blind' (Dīng 1998:145, ex5.60c).

[201] Also used in the following words: *tswə́goŋ* 'mute male' and *m̥əgoŋ* 'mute female', with the nominal roots *tsʉ̂* 'son, man' and *m̥ə̂* 'daughter'.

5.1.3.3 Female gender and derogatory suffix

There is some marking of natural gender in animal terms. The suffix *-mi*[202] is used to mark female gender in big animals. No corresponding male gender suffix has been attested.[203]

(378) *ʐóŋmi* 'ewe' (< *ʐóŋ* 'sheep')
ɻwêmi 'mare' (< *ɻwê* 'horse')[204]
ɻwɐmí 'female yak' (< *ɻwɐ́* 'yak')
wêmi 'female cow' (< *wê-* ~ *wû-* 'bovine')[205]
tsɐmí 'female deer' (< *tsɐ́* 'red deer')

A different suffix *-ma*, derived from *mâ* 'mother', is used to mark female gender in small animals, as in (379).

(379) *ɻɐmâ* 'hen' (< ɻû 'chicken')
mêma 'female cat' (< mɐtsə́ 'cat')
k^{h}êtima 'bitch' (< ?)[206]

It is possible that the suffix is used as an augmentative in the words in (380), but this is difficult to ascertain, since the other syllables are non-analyzable. It could also just be a case of homophony.

(380) *poŋmá* 'Tibetan mastiff'
sóŋboŋma 'goblin'

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[202] Similar to Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:48), Shǐxīng (Chirkova 2009:20) and Yǒngníng Na (Lidz 2010:177), but not used for female kinship terms as in Yǒngníng Na.

[203] Chirkova (2009:20) mentions a male gender suffix [-p^{h}ɜ] in Shǐxīng, and Lidz (2010:179) mentions *wu*^{33}, *p^{h}u*^{33} and *bu*^{31}. Compare this to Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *-pʉ* in *ɻɐpʉ̂* 'rooster' versus *ɻɐmâ* 'female chicken' (< *ɻû* 'chicken' and *mâ* 'mother'). This is the only occurrence of *-pʉ* I have encountered in animal terms.

[204] This seems to be an archaic term for 'horse' that only occurs in compounds like *ɻwɐsə́* 'stallion' and *ɻwɐʈ^{h}óŋ* 'white horse' (see also ex. [387]). It might be a reflex of PTB **s/m-ra-ŋ* and similar to Nàxī *^{2}zhwua* (Matisoff 2003:82).

[205] Archaic form that only occurs in compounds: *wûʐə* 'ox for plowing' and *wɐmidǐ* 'old cow' in example (387) below. Might be a reflex of PTB **ŋwa* 'cattle' (Matisoff 2003:167), but compare Matisoff 2003:170 who relates Dàyáng Pǔmǐ *qwɔ́* 'cow' (Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *qwɐ́*) to this proto-form instead.

[206] The normal word for 'dog' is *ʈs^{h}ə̆*. It is possible that *k^{h}ɐ-* reflects an older reflex of PTB **d-k^{w}ey-n*. See also example (387).

tɕəmá	‘central room of the house’ (not clearly related to *ʈʂóŋ* ‘house’)
tɐmă	‘thumb’ (not related to *ʐǎ* ‘hand’)

The suffix *-ma* is also used to mark derogatory terms, often used for scolding or cursing people or animals: *púma* ‘cursed sow’ (possibly derived from *pú* ‘wild dog’) is used to scold a fierce sow who does not let her piglets drink, but keeps running back and forth; *ɕipáma* ‘witch’ (derived from the word *ɕipă* ‘a female witch that eats people’) is used for scolding kids, when they do something that frightens you.

-ma also derives agentive nouns from stative verbs: *tsǽma* ‘glutton’ (derived from *tsǽ* ‘to be glutonous’) is used in fights to curse people, not only women but also men; *ɖɐtɕǽma* ‘self-important person’ is derived from *ɖɐtɕǽ* ‘to be proud’; *pitêjma* denotes a person with a big belly (from *pĭ* ‘belly’ and *tɛ̌j* ‘to be big’); *qóŋma* ‘crazy person’ is derived from *qóŋ* ‘to be crazy’.

5.1.3.4 Diminutive suffix

There are two diminutive suffixes. The first is *-tsə*, based on the word *tsɨ̂* ‘son’ (also used in the sense of small, as in *tsɨlʲǎ* ‘small’, and the expressive *tsɨ̀lʲâlʲâ* ‘small’).[207]

(381)	*ɻutsə́*	‘chick’ (< *ɻû* ‘chicken’)
	ʐətsə̌	‘lamb’ (< *ʐóŋ* sheep)[208]
	ɖɨ̂tsə ~bɨ̂tsə	‘piglet’[209]
	pitsə̂	‘tummy’ (< *pĭ* ‘belly’)
	ɻɛ̂jtsə̀	‘frying pan’ (< *ɻɛ̂j* ‘cooking pot’)
	ɻə̂tsə	‘knife’ (< *ɻə̌* ‘sickle’; ~*ɻəlî* ‘small sickle’; ~*ɻətǽŋ* ‘cutting knife’)

Sometimes the original meaning of ‘son’ is still present, as in the implement for threshing grain which consists of two parts that are referred to as mother and son: *dʐəkúma* ‘flail-head’ versus *dʐəkútsə* ‘pole of flail’, and as in the word for ‘grandson’: *jîtsə* (versus *jílu* ‘granddaughter’).

Some other nouns consist of a syllable [tsə], but either the diminutive meaning is semantically bleached, or it does not bear a relationship with the diminutive suffix: *mɐtsə́* ‘cat’, *tsətsə̌* ‘fly’, *ɺǽŋtsə* ‘gecko’, *ɺatsə̌* ‘finger’, *ɺʲutsə̌* ‘bladder’, *pɐtsə́* ‘flower’, *tɕitsə̂* ‘niece, nephew’, *ʈɐtsə́* ‘sieve’. The initial syllable of these words is not analysable by itself, possibly except for *pɐ̌* ‘to bloom’ in *pɐtsə́* ‘flower’.

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[207] The part *-lʲǎ* might be related to the diminutive suffix *-li* (cf. example [384]).

[208] But note that the compound *ʐóŋtsɨ* is also often used; as are *póŋtsɨ* ‘prince’ (< *póŋ* ‘king’), *tsʰətsɨ̌* ‘kid’ (< *tsʰə̂* ‘goat’), *swîtsɨ* ‘leopard cub’ (< *swî* ‘leopard’).

[209] The origin of the first syllable [dɨ] ~ [bɨ] is not clear.

The second diminutive suffix is a bound morpheme *-li*. It usually (but not always) takes on the tone of the preceding lexical word. *-li* is usually suffixed to nouns (even Chinese loanwords), as in (382), or proper names, as in (383).

(382) *m̥ə̗dæ̗lí* '(little) girl' (< *m̥ə̗dæ̗̌* 'female')
ɐmâli 'auntie' (< *ɐmâ* 'aunt')
bʉ̂li 'small alcohol jar' (< *bʉ̂* 'alcohol jar')
ɻəlî 'small sickle' (*ɻə̌* 'sickle')
pɐlí 'small axe' (< *pʉ̂* 'axe')
jæŋdzəlí 'little courtyard' (< *jæŋdzə̌* 'Ch:courtyard 院子')

(383) *jóŋɖoŋli* 'little Yongzhong' (< *jóŋɖoŋ* 'T:Gyung.drung')
ɖəmáli 'little Drema' (< *ɖəmá* 'T:Dre.ma')

-li can also be suffixed to other words, like stative verbs/adjectives, numeral classifiers, numeral-classifier compounds, or be part of expressives, as in (384).

(384) *q^{h}ètsèjlí* 'very small' (< *q^{h}ètsêj* 'to be small'; ~*qɐ̂tsə̂lî*;[210] ~*qɐtsɛ́jl^{j}æ*)
ʈòŋlǐ 'small piece' (< *-ʈoŋ* 'CLF:piece')
tètsàlí 'a small section' (< *tǐ* 'one' + *-tsǎ* 'CLF:section')
qɐ̂tôŋlî 'very short' (~ *qɐ̂tôŋtôŋ* 'very short')

The diminutive suffix can also be reduplicated and suffixed to a reduplicated numeral classifier as an ideophone with AABB structure (§10.1).

(385) *ʈoŋʈoŋlíli* 'in crumbs' (< *-ʈoŋ* 'CLF:piece')
tsatsalíli 'a lot of small sections' (< *-tsǎ* 'CLF:section')

There are other words that end in the syllable [li], but it is difficult to establish whether they contain the diminutive suffix. None of them appears without [li] and the other syllables are non-analyzable: *ts^{h}ubʉlǐ* 'shielding device', *wɐqʉlí* 'heifer', *t^{h}ulǐ* 'hare', *gulí* 'wooden floor', *kælí* 'alcohol jar', *kwɐ́li* 'thief', *páli* 'jacket', *tɕulí* 'clay pot'. Occasionally, both diminutive suffixes are suffixed to the same stem only in the order *-tsə-li*:

(386) *ʈitsəlí* 'small mule' (< *ʈǐ* 'mule' < Tibetan *drel*)

5.1.3.5 Geriatric suffix

The suffix *dǐ* (presumably derived from the verb *dǐ* 'to become old') marks old age for animal terms:[211]

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[210] An alternative form: it looks like a combination of both diminutive suffixes and has the tonal pattern of an expressive (§3.3.6). Note the change in aspiration of the first syllable.

[211] It might be that the term *pʉdimá* 'old woman' also has this morpheme, but this is not certain.

(387) *kʰèdìmǔ* 'old dog' (<?)[212]
ɻèmàdǐ 'old hen' (<*ɻèmâ* 'hen' < *ɻû* 'chicken')
ɻèpʉ̀dǐ 'old rooster' (<*ɻèpʉ̂* 'rooster' < *ɻû* 'chicken')
ɻwèdǐ 'old horse' (<*ɻwê* 'horse')
tsʰìmìdǐ 'old female goat' (< *tsʰə́mì* 'female goat')
wèmìdǐ 'old female cow' (< *wê-* ~ *wû-* 'bovine')

5.2 Nominalization

As discussed in §4.1, many morphemes can be used as nouns as well as verbs, without any derivational marking. Sometimes tone is used as a derivational tool (see §3.3.8), but this is not very common. There are, however, a few derivational morphemes that are used for nominalization. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ these are the nominalizers *=mə*, *-toŋ* and *-ji*. All nominalizers are used for lexical nominalization. In addition *=mə* is used in clausal nominalization (§5.2.3) and in several other nominalization constructions (§8.6). *-ji* is used in several constructions that mark deontic modality (§7.9.11).

Apart from the nominalizers dealt with in this section, the derivational suffix *-ma* (§5.1.3.3) and the definite marker can sometimes have a nominalizing function.

5.2.1 *The location/instrumental nominalizer -toŋ*

The nominalizer suffix *-toŋ*[213] derives instrumental or locational nouns from verbs:

(388) *dzóŋtoŋ* 'seat' (< *dzóŋ* 'to sit')
ʐətôŋ 'sleeping place' (< *ʐə̌* 'to sleep')
hæpʉ̀tóŋ 'toy' (< *hæpʉ̌* 'to play')
seŋɕǽtoŋ 'firewood cutter' (< *seŋ-ɕǽ* 'to cut firewood')

The nominalizer *-toŋ* can be analysed as a secondary nominalization (Yap et al. 2011:11) of which the lexical source still co-exists and which has a more restricted use than older nominalizers. The lexical source of *-toŋ* is a bound noun meaning 'house, nest, lair, pen', which forms the second part of the compounds in (389), and which also functions as a numeral classifier in a numeral-classifier compounds, as in (390).

(389) *lɐtóŋ* 'wolf lair' (< *lɐ̌* 'wolf')
qwêtoŋ 'cow pen' (< *qwɐ́* 'cow')
ɦoŋtóŋ 'pen' (< *ɦǒŋ* 'enclosure')

(390) *ɻú tɐ-tóŋ* 'a coop of chickens'
qwɐ́ tɐ-tóŋ 'a pen of cows'

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[212] See Footnote 206.

[213] *-din* in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:123).

The nominalizer *-toŋ* also acts as a clausal nominalizer for instruments and location:

(391) tə́ = gə́ míŋ pʉ̀-tòŋ dzə̀?
this = DEF what do-NMLZ be

'What is this one used for?' (CV16.31.2)

(392) pɛ̀jl̥á = nóŋ nə́ tí-tòŋ = là tʲóŋ dʲóŋ wèŋ
chaff = COORD thus put-NMLZ = also one:CLF:thing EXIST.AT CUST.EXCL

'(…) there is also (...) a place to put chaff and other things (…)' (PC03.17)

5.2.2 *The purposive nominalizer -ji*

The nominalizer suffix *-ji* is is a purposive nominalizer, that can derive nouns such as *dzə́ji* 'food' and *tʰiŋjí* 'drink, beverage' (literally 'things for eating, things for drinking) in (393), but also purposive clauses, as in (394).

(393) ɛ́ = gɛ́ dzə́-jí tʰìŋ-jǐ nǐŋ nɛ̀-dzɛ́j míŋ pʉ̀ = ɖù
1SG = GEN eat-NMLZ drink-NMLZ 2SG DOWN-ride what do = IPFV:EGO:2SG

'(...) what are you doing riding my food and drink?' (TC03.19)

(394) l̥íɕwèŋ qù-jì = gæ̀ tɕə́
shepherd.lunch cook-NMLZ = GEN water

'(...) water for cooking the shepherd's lunch (...)' (CL02ed.18)

Purposive nominalized constituents often occur in a copular clause with the abstract existential verb *ɕǐ* (§7.6):

(395) kɛ́pá tì tóŋ-jí ɕì = qɛ́j bàw nǐŋ
long.time one speak-NMLZ EXIST.AB = EXPT CONTR INTJ

'It will be a very long time to narrate (this story), mind you, (...)' (CV13.109)

(396) də-tswéŋ-mə́ = gə̀ = bù dəbǔ tɕíŋ-jí mà = ɕǐ
TO.SP-pull-NMLZ = DEF = TOP then see-NMLZ NEG = EXIST.AB

'The one who pulled had not seen that (...)' (KZ03.10)
(Lit. There was no seeing (by) the one who pulled (…)

The nominalizer *-ji* is used in two deontic modality constructions that involve a nominalized complement described in §7.9.11 and §10.3.1.3.

5.2.3 *The agentive/general nominalizer -mə*

The nominalizer *-mə*, grammaticalizated from the form for 'person' *mə̂*, is the most frequently used nominalizer. As a derivational suffix, it is used for agentive nominalization (Comrie and Thompson 2007).

(397) jə̀-jíŋ-mə́ pʉ̀ é = ʂù?
land-plow-NMLZ do Q = VOL:SG

'Do (you) want to be a land-plower?' (CV11.7)

(398) ɻwè-l̥í-mâ
yak-herd-NMLZ

'yak herder' (YJ01.13)

The nominalizer *-mə* can also be used as a general nominalizer: *tɕʰwǎ ʈû-mə* in (399) and *mǐ nɛ̌-dʉ̌-mə* in (400) both denote events and not persons.

(399) ʈʰóŋmə́-bù tsʉ́ é = ɖé mà = ɖě = bù
Pǔmǐ-household:GEN son Q = capable NEG = capable = TOP

tɕʰwǎ-ʈú-mə̀ = bì tù wèŋ.
pig-slaughter-NMLZ = DAT look be.able

'Whether or not the sons of the Pǔmǐ are capable one can see from the pig slaughter.' (CL01ed.13)

(400) mì nɛ́-dʉ̀-mə̀ = gə̀ mà = é = dzə̀ = bù
edible.fungus DOWN-poison-NMLZ = DEF NEG = Q = be = TOP

'(...) if not for the mushroom poisoning, (...)' (CV09.147)

The general nominalizer is used for clausal nominalization and is the major means of forming relative clauses in Pǔmǐ, as is illustrated in (401) and (402). Relative clause constructions will be discussed in §5.3.2. As such, it functions as a clitic rather than a suffix, since it follows the predicate complex and not just the main verb, as in (401), and in (402) the coordinated constituents are only marked once on the second verb.

(401) nə́ pʉ́ = qɛ̀j = mə̀ = gǽ m̥ə́ mǎ = dzə̀
thus do = EXPT = NMLZ = GEN person NEG = be

'(...) (he) is not a person who would do (things) like this.' (CV07.16.2)

(402) mə́ = qʰù ɖǽŋ = nóŋ bìŋ = mə̀ = tí = bú kí ɕì = qɛ̀j?
sky = on run = COORD fly = NMLZ = INDF = TOP where EXIST.AB = EXPT

'(...) how could there be (...) ones that ran and flew (on horses) in the sky?' (CV13.95.2)

The nominalizer *=mə* is also used for predicate nominalization and functions in different nominalization constructions. This will be discussed in §8.6. One example is given in (403).

(403) pɛ̀jpɛ́j píŋmá ɹ̥ú̱nə̀ = nʲæ̀ qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j mə̀ dzə̀
older.sibling Pingma day.before.yesterday = just OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'Older brother Pingma went the day before yesterday, (...)' (CV02.35.2)

The three functions of nominalization (modifying a noun within a noun phrase, allowing a constituent to function as a noun phrase within a clause, and [non-embedded] clausal nominalization) have been noted for many other languages in the area and have been referred to as 'Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization' (Bickel 1999b).

5.2.4 *Definite marker as nominalizer*

The use of definite markers in nominalization constructions is attested for Tibeto-Burman languages (Yap et al. 2011:16). As mentioned in Yap et al. (2011:17), Genetti (2009) mentions an individuating morpheme that encodes definiteness and functions as a nominalizer in Dzala. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the definite marker *=gə* (§5.5) appears as a nominalizer in two contexts: after adjectives/stative verbs,[214] as in (404) (but note that in (405) a similar phrase occurs after the general nominalizer *=mə*), and in correlative constructions (discussed in §4.2.3), as in (406).

(404) gú̱ = gə́ kí dʲòŋ mə̀ dzə̀?
be.old = DEF where EXIST.AT GNOMIC

'Where is the old (school)?' (CV12.53)

(405) gú̱-mə́ = gə̀ ɛ̀lʲǎ tsóŋ = bú tsóŋ = ɖáw
old = NMLZ = DEF a.little have.flavour = TOP have.flavour = IPFV:N.EGO

sì ɖàw.
EPIST:probably

'In terms of flavour, old (meat) maybe has a bit more flavour.' (CV21.179)

(406) ìŋ = dzǽŋ híŋ tʰɛ̀-ʈʰòŋ = gə̀ híŋ dzə́ = gí
1.INCL = DU who FR.SP-be.fast = DEF who eat = VOL:INCL

'Whoever of us two is the fastest, he can eat (the porridge).' (KZ01.3)

5.3 Nominal modificatory constructions

Genitive constructions, relativization and nominalization are interrelated in many Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972; DeLancey 1999, 2002; LaPolla 2008a, 2008b; Genetti 2011). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, nominalized clauses can modify nouns pre-nominally in a genitive construction and post-nominally in an appositive relationship. In this section

[214] In Qiāng the indefinite marker /-ke/ (not the definite marker) can nominalize state verbs, and sometimes existential verbs and other verbs (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:59).

I will first discuss genitive constructions (§5.3.1) and then pre-nominal and post-nominal relative clauses (§5.3.2).

5.3.1 *Genitive constructions*

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, there are two constructions that mark possession: the first construction marks the possessor noun phrase with a genitive clitic *=(g)æ*; the second construction simply adjoins two nouns with the possessor preceding the possessed.

The genitive clitic *=(g)æ* has three different realizations: [æ], [ɑ] or [gæ]. The first two realizations happen when merged with the vowel of a preceding word or clitic: [æ] when the preceding form ends in the central vowel /ə/ or the high front vowels /i/ and /ĩ/ (with the latter two the consonant is palatalised as well); [ɑ] when the preceding form ends in the high central and back vowels /ʉ/ and /u/ (the (non-labial) consonant of the preceding form is often labialized). Merger always happens with the locational postpositions (§4.6.3), the plural clitic *=ɻə* and the collective plural marker *–bʉ* (§5.4), as in (407), and with the forms listed in Table 5.1 (note that most of the forms are locational and temporal nouns). In all other environments the genitive clitic is realized as [gæ], as in (408). With the second person pronoun *nǐŋ* and the indefinite clitic *=ti*, both [æ] and [gæ] are possible.

(407) *q^{h}wa* 'on top of' (< *q^{h}u* 'top')
ǐŋɻæ 'our' (< *ǐŋ=ɻə* '1:INCL=PL')
tə-bǎ 'their household's' (< *-bʉ* 'household')

Table 5.1. List of words with genitive clitic merger

Basic form	Genitive form	Meaning and reference
pʉ̂n^{j}ə	*pʉ̂n^{j}æ*	'today' (CV21.162)
ʑ̊ên^{j}ə	*ʑ̊ên^{j}æ*	'yesterday' (CV22.40)
ʑ̊êpʉ	*ʑ̊êp^{j}æ*	'last year' (CV21.140)
nusêŋ	*nusæ̂*	'morning' (CV24.15.2)
ʑ̊êgi	*ʑ̊êgæ*	'behind, later' (CV21.150.2)
ɻʉtɕ^{h}í	*ɻʉtɕ^{h}ǽ*	'front, earlier' (PC07w.5)
k^{h}i	*k^{h}æ*	'time'
tɐ-m̥ǐ	*tɐ-m̥^{j}æ̌*	'one night' (CV18.89)
tê-ku	*tê-kwa*	'one year' (CV14.49)
líŋwu	*líŋwa*	'Yǒngníng' (CV19.10)
wɛ́tu	*wɛ́ta*	'Wadu' (PC02.1)

Basic form	Genitive form	Meaning and reference
tɕíŋmiŋ	*tɕíŋmʲæ*	'home' (CV21.307)
goŋdîŋ	*goŋdʲæ̂*	'highland, Mùdǐqīng' (SN02.19)
mɔ̂lʲə	*mɔ̂lʲæ*	'Muli' (PC07w.1)
udʲúwu	*udʲúwa*	'self' (CV09.146)

(408) *ɛ́=gæ nʲɛ́lʲau* 'my eye' (KZ03.24)
gweŋ=gɛ́ n̥ʲǔ 'the horse's mouth' (PC02.13)

Dīng (1998:171) analyses a similar clitic in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ as a contraction of the internal topic marker *=ge* (corresponding to the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ definite marker *=gə*) and the genitive clitic. This analysis is not adopted for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, since there are many instances where the use of the definite marker *=gə* (§5.5) is not possible, but where *=gæ* can be used. For example, the use of *=gə* with a first person singular pronoun is not possible, but *ɛ́=gæ* 'my' is possible, as in (408). Also, the indefinite clitic *=ti* and the definite *=gə* do not co-occur, but there is an example *pɛ́di=ti=gæ ɻʉtɕʰí* 'the toad's front' (TC09.19), where the indefinite clitic is followed by the genitive clitic.

The apposition construction is much less frequent; it implies a closer relationship between possessor and possessed and marks inalienable nouns. It mostly occurs with first person singular pronouns in combination with kinship terms or body parts. There is, however, no hard distinction in Pǔmǐ between alienable and inalienable possession and in most cases both constructions can be used, as shown in (409) to (412). The tendency is that apposition is used when addressing or referring to[215] relatives or friends.

(409) ɛ́ ɛ̀má tɕà=ɦà...
1SG aunt say=LINK

'He said, "My aunt..." ' (CV21.361.3)

(410) ɛ́ m̥ə́=ɻə̀ jèhǎ ə́-qʰù tə́-ʑə́ kɛ̀j=ʂù
1SG daughter=PL all that-top UP-come let=VOL:SG

'(...) (I) will let all my daughters come up there.' (TC02.54)

[215] However, when referring to relatives usually the genitive form of the collective plural marker will be used after the pronoun (cf. footnote 220 below).

(411) é = gǽ qʰénʲæ̀
1SG = GEN mouth

'(...) my mouth.' (CV18.93)

(412) ní = gæ̀ m̥ə̀
LOG = GEN daughter

'(...) her own daughter.' (CV02.91)

Apart from this rule of thumb, the presence or absence of the genitive clitic seems to be driven by pragmatic factors and it is sometimes left out when the relationship is clear from the context, as in (413) and (414).[216]

(413) é qʰwǎ = wù l̥àtsə̀ = tí kʰə́-tɕʰòŋ
1SG bowl = in finger = INDF OUT-appear

'(...) a finger turned up in my bowl (...)' (TC04.15)

(414) é tsʰə́ɻí tí-pá tɕə̀tòŋ = pù nè-qá
1SG T:Tshe.ring up-under:GEN water.place = under DOWN-fall.down

mə̀ dzə̀ lʲə̌j
GNOMIC DISS

'(...) my (brother) Tshering fell down under the water place up there.' (CV21.304.2)

Appositive genitive constructions also occur in so-called "psycho-collocations" (Matisoff 1986), constructions with a body part as the head of the NP, and the argument that fills the semantic role of experiencer in the clause as its possessor.

(415) é nʲǽ tswà mà = qə́j
1SG eye able.to.see NEG = EXPT

'(...) my eyes will not be able to see (...)' (KZ03.27)

(416) tə́ pǐ tʰɛ̀-bí = qɛ̀j bàw
3SG belly FR.SP-explode = EXPT CONTR

'(If he eats six pieces,) unfortunately his belly will explode.' (CV17.17)

Both possessive and attributive genitives are expressed by the same construction:

[216] When transcribing a text from Jísū, my main consultant noted that the storyteller tends to use much less overt genitive marking. Further research needs to be conducted at a later point to see how structural this is, and whether any tendencies can be seen in the whole Pǔmǐ area.

(417) gwèŋ = gǎ ɻ̊ú
horse = GEN tooth

'(...) the horse's teeth (...)' (PC02.9)

(418) ʈʂwǽŋ = gǽ ʈʂóŋ
Ch:brick = GEN house

'(...) brick house (...)' (PC03.4)[217]

Multiple genitive constructions can appear in a row,[218] as in (419), even modifying a single noun, as in (420). Note the zero anaphor. Multiple constructions seem to happen frequently when a speaker is explaining an unknown entity, like in (420), where the topic is a type of food that was eaten in the past and that the addressee would not necessarily know.

(419) hí = gǽ gòŋnà dʑùbʉ̀ = gǽ nú nè-dzôŋ.
god = GEN back:GEN wall = GEN outside DOWN-sit

'(He) sat down outside of the wall behind the god.' (TC08.9)

(420) ìŋ = ɻǽ ə́-dʑǎ̀ hòŋ-bʲǽ l̥ɛ̀póŋ = gǽ Ø
1:INCL = PL:GEN there-location:GEN in-on:GEN hazel.catkins = GEN Ø

tə́ tsʰə̀ɻìbǽɻí ɕípú = wù ɛ̀-ʈʰǔ
this cluster.of.hazel.catkins steamed.substance = in IN-mix

'The flowers of our hazel bush up the valley would be mixed in with this hazel flower steamed food, (...)' (CV03.12.2)

Headless genitive constructions are extremely common, especially when the head is obvious from the context. In (421) a headless genitive construction occurs as an afterthought; the head *ʑǎ̀* 'hand' appears in the preceding clause. In (422), the head noun 'eye' is clear from the context of the story.

(421) ʑǎ = lǽ nè-ɕǽ kwɛ̀j = sì tɕàw mà,
hand = also DOWN-cut let:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY INFO

mə́ = ɻǎ̀ wù = gǽ
person = PL:GEN tiger = GEN

'(Hare) caused (his) hand be cut off, it is said, those people's tiger's (hand)' (KZ03.17)

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[217] Brick houses are a recent development in the area and interestingly, this concept is expressed by a genitive construction and not a compound as with more traditional buildings such as *lʲuʈʂóŋ* 'log house', *gʉɖóŋʈʂoŋ* 'stone house' or *tɕubʉʈʂóŋ* 'dirt-wall house'.

[218] Dīng (1998:172) notes that this is avoided in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ.

(422) é = gǽ = là qʰə̀-ʈʉ̀ kɛ́j dzə̀ bə̌
1SG = GEN = also OUT-dig let be SPEC

'(I) will let (you) dig out mine as well, okay?' (KZ03.23)

It is possible for a genitive phrase to follow the head noun it refers to, as in (423), but the more basic way is for the head noun to follow the genitive phrase, as described above.

(423) é = ɻə̀ hàtɕʰĭ [ʐé-n̥òŋ ŋwé-n̥òŋ = gæ̀] nè-kú tə́-ɕə̀
1:EXCL = PL provision four-CLF:day five-CLF:day = GEN DOWN-carry UP-go

'(...) we went carrying provisions for four or five days (...)' (YJ01.2)

When a noun is modified by a proper name referring to an ethnic group, the two cannot simply appear in a genitive construction. Instead, the collective plural marker *-bʉ* (§5.4) is used to which the genitive clitic is attached, as in (424). If *=gæ* is used, it implies that the modified noun is in the possession of a certain person of that ethnic group. Thus *ɕə̌=gæ m̥ətɕʰóŋ* in example (425) cannot mean 'Hàn Chinese man', but in the context it has to mean 'the husband of the Hàn (lady, who is known from the context)'. *ɕə̌-ba m̥ətɕʰóŋ* would be a correct way to refer to a 'Hàn man'.[219]

(424) ʈʰóŋmə́-bù wùɕə̌
Pŭmĭ-household:GEN New.Year

'(...) Pŭmĭ New Year (...)' (CL02ed.1)

(425) tə́ ɕè = gǽ m̥ə̀tɕʰóŋ = gə́ = bù
this Hàn = GEN male = DEF = TOP

'(...) this Hàn Chinese (lady's) husband (...)' (CV07.16.1)

The collective plural marker *-bʉ* is also used in a genitive construction with a kinship term.[220]

(426) tə̀-bə̌ swǽŋ = nòŋ mâ
3-household:GEN father = COORD mother

'(...) her parents (...)' (CV14.5)

A special genitive construction is found with the word *mə̂ɻæ* that precedes the noun it modifies, and which literally means 'those people's/other people's' (this is similar to

[219] This is a rather polite way of referring to somebody. A more neutral way is using a compound *ɕɐm̥ə̂tɕʰoŋ*.

[220] This is not individual possession. Compare this to Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:51) where a plural pronoun is used before kinship terms. This also reflects the concept of the household as a basic unit in Pŭmĭ society (Wellens 2010:94).

the Chinese 人家 *rénjiā* 'someone, other person'). It is the genitive form of the word *mə̂ɻə* 'those people, other people' (from *mə̂* 'person' plus the plural clitic *=ɻə*), which is often used to emphasize the difference between self and others, as in (427). The other people are referred to as *mə̂ɻə* or *mə̂dzæ* 'other (two) people' (see §5.4) and *mə̂ɻæ* when used as a modifier.

(427) mə́=ɻə̀=bù ɻɛ́ɕɛ̀ ɛ̀-lʲóŋ=qɛ̂j, mə́=ɻæ̀ tə̀=dzæ̌ŋ
person=PL=TOP packload IN-be.enough=EXPT person=PL:GEN 3=DU

ɕɛ́ kɛ̀j, ìŋ=dzɛ́ŋ qʰù=bú mə́=dzæ̀ŋ nɛ̀- dʲɑ́w ʐù=qɛ̂j
cut let 1:INCL=DU pick=TOP person=DU DOWN-tired very=EXPT

'The other people will have enough luggage; let the two of them cut (trees) and the two of us pick, those two people will be very tired.' (YJ02.25)

mə̂ɻæ seems to function as a polite demonstrative, as in (428-430). The expression *mə̂ɻæ m̥ə̂* 'that person' in (428) is a set expression, and even though at this point in the story it is actually referring to 'daughter' (which is also pronounced *m̥ə̂*), in this clause it can only be interpreted as 'person'. *mə̂ɻæ* often occurs as a headless relative clause, as in (429).

(428) dəbǔ mə́=ɻæ̀ m̥ə́=bù tʰú mà=ɕǐ lʲɛ̌j.
then person=PL:GEN person=TOP solution NEG=EXIST.AB DISS

'Then that person had no solution (...)' (TC02.74)

(429) tʲɛ́=pàw mə́=ɻæ̀ nʲæ̀-ɖɛ́ŋ...
PROH-do:IMP:SG person=PL:GEN DOWN:Q-break

'Don't do it, if that (=other people's) (thing) breaks (...)' (CV04.45)

In (430) the speaker is referring to her own thigh, but modifying it with *mə̂ɻæ* makes it more objective and thus more polite.

(430) ɛ̀jǎ, mə́=ɻæ̀ ʈwɛ́dʑì=wù ʈʰə́ ɛ̀-tsǒŋ
INTJ person=PL:GEN thigh=in foot IN-kick

'Ow! Kicking other people's thigh, (...)' (CV01.57.2)

When a head noun is temporal, the modifier is always linked by the form *=ɻæ*, which looks like a fusion of the plural clitic with the genitive marker, as in (431).[221]

[221] But note that Dīng (1998:171) analyses this as the fusion of the non-involvemental clitic *=ɻju* and the modificatory clitic in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. My data do not support this analysis for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: the form of the current evidential clitic (that corresponds to Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ *=ɻju*) is *=ɖaw*, which would not occur in (431), and the change from [ɖ] to [ɻ] would have to be explained. Also, *=ɻæ* only occurs with temporal head nouns. I have no explanation for what is happening here, though.

Interestingly, when the modifier is a verbal constituent, as in (432) and (433), *=ɻæ* directly follows the modifier without an intervening nominalizer. The use of a nominalizer is not possible in this construction. Normally, the nominalizer *=mə* is used with a verbal modifier, as in (434-435). Note that in (432) to (433) no clear plurality is involved, whereas in (434) and (435) a plural meaning is present.

(431) wùɕə̀=ɻǽ m̥í
New.Year=PL:GEN night

'(...) the night of New Year (...)' (CL02ed.11)

(432) tɕʰwæ̀-ʈʂʰə́=ɻǽ n̥òŋ[222]
pig-slaughter=PL:GEN day

'On the day of the pig slaughter (...)' (CL01ed.23)

(433) é-bʉ̀ nú kʰə̀-tʰíŋ=ɻæ̀ tɛ́-n̥óŋ=bù
1-household salt.water OUT-drink=PL:GEN one-CLF:day=TOP

'(...) on the day that our household has drunk salt water (...)' (TC03.7)

(434) ɻwɛ̀-l̥í-mə=ɻæ̀ ɻwɛ́
yak-herd-NMLZ=PL:GEN yak

'(...) yak herders' yak (...)' (YJ01.13)

(435) mə́=ɻæ̀ tú=mə̀=ɻæ̀ záw=bì
person=PL:GEN look=NMLZ=PL:GEN face=on

'(...) on the faces of those watching (...)' (TC09.57)

There are some examples in which the genitive marker directly follows a verbal modifier without a nominalizer, as in (436-439). (436) is an example of a stative verb as modifier. In constructions like this a nominalizer can be used or left out. In (437) no nominalizer can be used; it seems that with the abstract head noun *ɖwilóŋ* 'custom' a nominalizer is never used. The same is true for the abstract head noun *tíŋɖwi* 'luck, blessing' (<Tibetan *rten.'brel*) in (438). This example comes from a ritual blessing. Example (439) was judged bad phrasing by my main consultant, and he rephrased it by inserting the nominalizer *=mə* after *=ɖaw* and before the genitive marker. (438) and (439) are the only two examples where the genitive marker links a finite clause (i.e. a clause with post-verbal evidential marking) to a head noun. Note that both structures are possible in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998).

[222] The form *n̥ôŋ* is an autoclassifier. In this example it is used as a noun; in (431) it is used as a classifier. I have chosen to gloss the form according to its function.

(436) ɖʐwá = gǽ bì
comfortable = GEN side

'(...) the comfortable side (...)' (KZ03.23)

(437) [tɕʰwǽ-ʈʂʰə́-mə́ = ɻə̀ ʂə́ ɛ̀-pʉ́ɻú dzə́] = gǽ ɖwìlóŋ ɕî.
pig-slaughter-NMLZ = PL meat IN-roast eat = GEN custom EXIST.AB

'(...) there is a custom that the ones who slaughtered the pigs can eat roasted meat.' (CL01ed.21)

(438) tʰǽŋjǽŋdʐòŋtsʰú tə́-pɛ́j = sì = gǽ tíŋɖwí kʰə̀-tɕʰòŋ kɛ̀j
T:ocean UP-bubble = INF = GEN T:luck OUT-appear let

'May you be blessed with a blessing like the foaming ocean waves.' (TC12.9.1)

(439) ʑɛ̀mí m̥ə́ dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tóŋ mà = ɖáw = gǽ nə́ "wû wû"
tonight person speech speak NEG = IPFV:N.EGO = GEN thus INTJ INTJ

tɕə̀ = ɖàw
say = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) this person who does not speak tonight, but called out 'Wu!' (...)' (YJ01.28)

5.3.2 *Relative clause constructions*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ relative clauses are formed with a nominalized verb, and all or part of the relative clause can be placed either before or after the head noun. The part of the relative clause that is placed before the head noun is marked by the genitive *=gæ*. The resulting structures then are: all prenominal and marked by genitive, (440) and (441); all postnominal and apposed, (442), (443) and (444); split into prenominal and postnominal components with the prenominal part marked by genitive, (444), (445) and (446).[223] Prenominal relative clauses seem to be restrictive; postnominal relative clauses can be either restrictive or non-restrictive.[224]

(440) nə́ pʉ́ = qɛ̀j = mə̀ = gǽ m̥ə́
thus do = EXPT = NMLZ = GEN person

'(He is not) a person who would do (things) like this (...)' (CV07.16.2)

[223] The latter two structures have not been reported for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998).

[224] In Tibetan (DeLancey 1999:244), Mongsen Ao (Coupe 2007:221), Chinese and Rawang (LaPolla, p.c.), prenominal relatives express a restrictive meaning whereas post-nominal relatives express an unrestrictive meaning.

(441) tɕʰɛ́ɻə̌ʂæ̀ tɕə̀ = mə̀ = gæ̀ hwǎ = wù
Qiaresha say = NMLZ = GEN shack = in

'(...) in a shack in a place called Qiaresha (...)' (YJ02.24)

(442) tòŋtsə̀pə́wlʲə́w [((qʰə́nʲæ̀)) = wù qʰə̀-ɻə́ŋ] = mə̀ = gə̀ = bù
(type.of.plant) mouth = in OUT-left = NMLZ = DEF = TOP

'The tontsipauljau that was left in our mouths (...)' (CV03.12.4)

(443) èmá [nǽŋ gù] = mə̀ = tì = là kʰə̀-tɕʰóŋ
aunt skirt wear = NMLZ = INDF = also OUT-come:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) an aunt wearing a skirt also came over, (...)' (CV09.54.1)

(444) [ɻə̀-m̥í = kʰæ̀] sóŋdzǽŋ = nòŋ, ʈʰwí-ʂòŋ = nòŋ,
front-night = time:GEN fragrant.flour = COORD ale-clean = COORD

nɛ̀j-ʂóŋ = nòŋ [tʰɛ̀-dzú = mə̀] də̀- ʐâ,
milk-clean = COORD FR.SP-make = NMLZ TO.SP-carry

l̥íɕwèŋ [ɛ̀-qú = mə̀] də̀- ʐâ.
shepherd.lunch IN-cook = NMLZ TO.SP-carry

'(...) one carries the fragrant flour, the clean barley alcohol and the clean milk, that were prepared the night before, and one carries the shepherd's lunch that was cooked (...)' (CL02ed.21)

(445) [ɦǒŋ = pà] wúʑə̀ [ɛ̀-tæ̀ŋ = mə́] = góŋ
pen = under:GEN ox IN-imprison = NMLZ = AGT

'(...) the ox for plowing that was shut up in the animal pen (...)' (PC04.1.2)

(446) [té-kù qúŋ̊ʲə̀-ʐì = gæ̀] tɕʰú [ɛ̀-lɛ́j = mə̀] tɕíŋmíŋ
one-CLF:year twelve-CLF:month = GEN crops IN-sow = NMLZ home

də̀-tà wêŋ
TO.SP-arrive CUST.EXCL

'(…) the crops, which have been sown during the twelve months of the year, will all be at home, (…)' (CL02ed.3)

Example (447) is slightly more complicated with the doubly modified head noun *nɛ̌j* 'milk'[225] functioning as a modifier to the doubly modified head noun *mû* 'butter'.

[225] This form has an alternate form *nǽŋ* which is used more by older people. It is doubtful that *nɛ̌j* (probably a reflex of PTB **s-nəw* 'breast, milk, suck') is a loan from Chinese, since other Pǔmǐ speech varieties have similar forms with different vowel quality that show regular

(447) [[ìŋ = ɻǽ tə́ qóŋ = qʰwá ɻwɛ́ = gǽ] dəbǔ nɛ̌j
1 = PL:GEN this highland = on:GEN yak = GEN then milk

[də-tsə́ = mə́] = gǽ]] tə́ mú [tʰɛ̀-dzú = mà]
TO.SP-syphon = NMLZ = GEN this butter FR.SP-make = NMLZ

dəbǔ ə́-wù nɛ̀-dî
then that-in IN-throw

'Then put in butter that has been made from our highland yak's milk, that has been milked.' (PC01.5)

Headless relative clauses are very common, especially when they refer to animate referents, as in (448), or when the head noun is identifiable from the discourse context, as in (449) and (450).

(448) [ɻ̥ù gí ɕə́ = mə̀] ɕǐ ɛ́ = qɛ̀j?
pine.torch collect go = NMLZ EXIST.AB Q = EXPT

'Will there be people that go pine torch collecting?' (CV14.241)

(449) nɛ̀-bí = mə̂, nɛ̀-ʂə́ʂə̀ = mə̀.
DOWN-fall.down = NMLZ DOWN-scatter = NMLZ

'Ones that have fallen down, ones that have scattered.' (CV13.39.5)

(450) bú = mə́ = gə̀ kí tʰɛ̀-dì ʂɛ̀j?
bright = NMLZ = DEF where FR.SP-throw go:PFV:N.EGO

'Where did you throw the bright one?' (CV11.82)

A functional equivalent of a relative clause is the correlative structure. This structure is shown in §4.2.3.

5.3.3 *NP limiter*

When an NP is modified by the morpheme *=nʲænʲæ*, it limits the scope to 'NP only'. Two examples are given in (451) and (452).

(451) m̥ə́ tʲóŋ = nʲænʲæ̀ = bù ɖʐɨ́ tʰóŋ
person one:CLF:thing = only = TOP grind can:N.EGO

mà = ɖáw bâw.
NEG = IPFV:N.EGO CONTR

'One person only cannot grind it.' (CV21.244.2)

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correspondences (Gerong Pincuo, MS). Additionally, milk and butter play a central role in Pǔmǐ culture and therefore one would not expect that the term is borrowed from Chinese.

(452) má = nòŋ m̥ə́ = gə̀ = bù ʈʰɛ́ ní = dzæ̀ŋ = nʲæ̀nʲæ̀
mother = COORD daughter = DEF = TOP all.the.time LOG = DU = only

tà dzɑ̂.
only be

'All along, it was only the mother and daughter, the two of them.' (TC08.2)

5.4 Number

Number can be expressed by the dual and plural clitics *=dzæŋ* and *=ɻə* that attach to the end of a noun phrase. Pronouns are obligatorily marked for number, both dual and plural (§4.2). Inanimate nouns are not always marked for number, as in (453), and when not marked, the natural reading depends on the semantics of the noun. The quantifier *jèhǎ* 'all', the question word *mîŋ* 'what', and *tènə̌* 'other' can be marked for plural.

(453) gwèŋ = gɛ́ ɻ̥ú
horse = GEN tooth

'(...) the horse's teeth (...)' (PC02.9)

The dual clitic *=dzæŋ* is much more limited in its occurrence than the plural clitic *=ɻə* and only occurs with animate referents, usually human referents, as in (454), but also other animates, as in (455).[226] The dual clitic *=dzæŋ* follows a nominalized phrase in (456).

(454) tə́ tɕìŋ = dzæ̂ŋ
this child = DU

'(...) these two children (...)' (CV21.217)

(455) wáwjɛ́j ʂû, qʰɛ́nɛ́ŋ tɕʰwæ̀ = dzæ̀ŋ, wáwjɛ́j ʂû
INTJ unlucky pig = DU INTJ

'Oh shoo! Unlucky pigs! Oh shoo! (...)' (CV18.83)

(456) tə̀-bǎ ʈì káw ɕə̀-mə̀ = dzæ̀ŋ
3-household:GEN mule steal go-NMLZ = DU

'(...) the two who went to steal that household's mule (...)' (KZ03.7)

[226] This is the only non-human animate referent in my data. It might be that it is the vocative use that influences this.

The plural clitic *=ɻə*[227] has a much wider distribution. Apart from its occurrence with animate referents, as in (457), (458) and (459), it also occurs with inanimates.

(457) káw=ɻə̀ ɻə́ nè-dzôŋ
uncle(MB)=PL first DOWN-sit

'The uncles sit down first (...)' (CV21.43)

(458) tsùʑə̀=ɻə́ ɦŏŋ=pù kʰə̀-hʲê̞j
fattened.pig=PL pen=under OUT-release

'(...) they release the fattened pigs from the pen (...)' (CL01ed.12)

(459) dàpú-bóŋnì [tɕʰwǽ ʈʂʰə́ qú ʑə̀=mə̀]=ɻə̀=bì
host-household:AGT pig slaughter help come=NMLZ=PL=DAT

ʈʰwí=nòŋ ɻèdʑə̀=nóŋ tə́=ɻə́=bù tʰìŋ kɛ̀j wèŋ
ale=COORD liquor=COORD this=PL=TOP drink let CUST.EXCL

'(...) the host family will let the people who come to help pig-slaughtering drink ale, liquor and such, (...)' (CL01ed.11)

When marking inanimates, the plural clitic expresses the meaning that a lot of people are involved in conducting an action, as in (460) and (461), or that it is a whole range of things, as in (462) and (463).

(460) m̥əgéŋ=ɻóŋ ɻèdʑə̀=ɻə́ kʰə-tʰə̀tʰîŋ
old.man=PL:AGT liquor=PL OUT-drink:RECP

'(...) the old men drank all the liquor together (...)' (SN02.14)

(461) dʑə̀pú=ɻə́ dú=wù nè-kû
bucket=PL back=in DOWN-carry

'(...) (a lot of people) carried buckets on their backs (...)' (CV21.307.2)

(462) tɕʰwǽ ʈʂʰə́-mə́=ɻòŋ dzùdzwá-jí=ɻə̀ dzùdzwá tsʰá
pig slaughter-NMLZ=PL:AGT make-NMLZ=PL make be.finished

kʰí=bù
time=TOP

'When the pig-slaughters are finished with all the things that need doing, (...)' (CL01ed.24)

[227] Reminiscent of the Japhug rGyalrong plural suffix *–ra*. It is possible that they are actually cognate, as Japhug rGyalrong *–a* in most cases corresponds to Pǔmǐ *-ə*, for instance *ndza – dzə́* 'eat' (Jacques, p.c.).

(463) dzə́-jí mə́tʲǽɕí ʐóŋ-mə́=ɻə̀ tə́-tɕʰə́ qʰə̀-dzə̂
eat-NMLZ every delicious-NMLZ=PL UP-take OUT-eat

'(...) everything that is delicious to eat will be taken out and eaten, (...)' (CL02ed.10)

The plural clitic also appears in several constructions described in §10.7.

Pǔmǐ also has a collective plural marker: the bound noun or suffix *-bʉ* 'household'.[228] The status of this marker lies between that of a noun and a suffix. Its noun-like characteristics are seen in (464) and (465) where its original meaning 'household' is still present. In (464) it could be analysed as the second part of a nominal compound (of which the first part usually denotes households, villages or countries[229]). In (465) however, one could argue either for noun or suffix status. Pronouns do not normally form compounds with other nouns. As described in §5.3.1, it is possible for a pronoun and a noun to appear in a appositive genitive construction without a genitive marker, especially with kinship and body terms, but usually the genitive marker can still be inserted (as examples (409) to (412) above show). This is not possible in the examples in (465).

(464) *ʈʰóŋmə-bʉ* 'the Pǔmǐ'
ɐkâw-bʉ 'uncle's household'
ʑǎʑæ-bʉ 'the Zjaezjae household'

(465) *ê-bʉ* 'our household'
niŋ-bʉ́ 'your household'
tə̂-bʉ 'their household'
hîŋ-bʉ 'whose household?'

Arguments for analysing *-bʉ* as a suffix rather than a regular noun are that the morpheme is toneless and clitics like the genitive *=(g)æ* and the agentive *=(g)oŋ(ni)* always fuse with it, as in (466) and (467); it occurs in the same slot as the plural marker *=ɻə*, as in (468)[230] and (469); the inclusive pronoun *iŋ-* which never occurs by itself, but is always followed by either the dual or the plural clitic, can be followed by *-bʉ* as well, as in (470).

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[228] Chirkova (2009:31) also mentions a 'collective plural' for personal pronouns in Shǐxīng that is formed with the root [ᴴwu]. She does not mention whether that can co-occur with other nouns.

[229] Interestingly, the Chinese 国家 *guójiā* 'country' is borrowed as *<kwěj>-bʉ*.

[230] Also, if *-bʉ* had been a head noun modified by a pre-nominal relative clause, the genitive marker *=gæ* would have been present (see §5.3.2).

(466) ʈʰóŋmə́-bà ɖwílóŋ
Pumi-household:GEN custom

'(...) Pǔmǐ household's custom (...)' (CL03ed.19)

(467) dʉ̀pú-bóŋnì
host-household:AGT

'(...) the host family (...)' (CL01ed.11)

(468) tʰè-n̥ǽŋ-mə-bʉ̀
FR.SP-slow-NMLZ-household

'(...) the household that was slow (...)' (SN02.22)

(469) tə́ gʉ̀ɖóŋ-ʈʂóŋ dzù-mə̀ = ɻə̀
this stone-house make-NMLZ = PL

'(...) the people who build stone houses (...)' (PC03.18)

(470) ìŋ-bʉ́ ʈʰóŋmə́-bʉ̀
1:INCL-household Pumi-household

'we Pǔmǐ' (TC04.16)

An interesting occurrence is given in example (471) where *-bʉ* follows the numeral-classifier compound *tɐ-qê* 'one household'. If *-bʉ* had been a regular noun, it would have preceded the numeral-classifier compound (as the word *póŋ* in the second phrase). *-bʉ* does not occur after any other numeral-classifier compound.

(471) tɐ́-qɐ̀-bʉ̀ = bù, póŋ tɐ́-qɐ̀ = bù,
one-CLF:household-household = TOP T:official one-CLF:household = TOP

tsʉ́ sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ bòŋ.
son three-CLF:brother EXIST.POSS

'(...) there was a household, there was an official's household who had three sons.' (TC09.1)

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ also has a partitive paucal suffix *-seŋ* that only occurs after the collective plural marker *-bʉ*. It expresses a smaller subgroup of the household. In (472) the absence of *-seŋ* means that the whole household went; the presence of *-seŋ* in (473) means that only several of the people belonging to the household went. The number of people included in the subset can be specified by adding a numeral-classifier compound in apposition, as in (474).

(472) ɐ́-bʉ̀ nú kʰə̀- ɕə̀
1-household outside OUT-go

'(...) our household went outside (...)' (TC02.39)

(473) è-bʉ̀-sěŋ kʰə̀-ɕə̀
1-household-PART OUT-go

'(...) several of our household went (...)' (YJ01.40)

(474) è-bʉ̀-sěŋ ŋwɛ́-tsə̀ kʰə̀- ɕə̀ = séŋ
1-household-PART five-CLF:people OUT-go = PFV:EGO

'Of our household five people went.' (YJ01.38)

It is possible that *-seŋ* derives from *sǒŋ* 'three'. In one occurrence in a conversation, a speaker (a woman in her fifties) actually uses the form *niŋ-bʉ̂-soŋ* instead of *niŋ-bʉ̀-sěŋ*.[231]

A morpheme that denotes a related idea of village group or clan, is the toneless bound noun *–pi* 'clan'. It follows proper names (of clans or villages) and denotes a group of people from that village or clan, as in (475).[232] The bound noun *-pi* can be followed by the plural marker, as in (476), but not by other number clitics.

(475) tə́ ʐɛ́-qè = gə̀ = bù, qwǽŋjíŋ-pì dzə̀
this four-CLF:household = DEF = TOP Qwaenjin-clan be

'These four households belong to the Qwaenjin clan.' (CV21.49.1)

(476) tʰúts̪ʰì-pì = ɻæ̀ m̥ə̀ɖǎ
Tuoqi-clan = PL:GEN girl

'(...) a girl from Tuōqī (...)' (PC04w.1.4)

5.5 Definiteness

Definiteness is marked by the definite clitic *=gə* and indefiniteness by the indefinite clitic *=ti* which derives from the numeral *tǐ* 'one'. The markers cannot co-occur. *=gə* and *=ti* mark animate as well as inanimate referents and can mark multiple referents at the same time with scope over all.

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[231] Note, however, that the tonal pattern is different. According to my main consultant, in other areas such as Ladigu, *-soŋ* is used instead of *-seŋ*.

[232] On an anthropological note, *-pi* can be used with Pǔmǐ and Yǒngníng Na villages in the direct Yǒngníng area, and, since a kinship relationship is present with the people from Mùdǐqìng, one can also say *goŋdîŋ-pi = ɻə* 'people from Mùdǐqìng'. When referring to people from other villages, the village name is followed by *mə̂ɻə* 'people', as in *ɻóŋdiŋ mə = ɻə* 'people from Mùlǐ'. When talking about certain Nuòsū villages, the marker *-bʉ* 'household' is used instead, as in *lʲutɕáts̪ʰweŋ-bʉ* 'the people from Six Household village'.

The marker *=gə* marks the referent as an identifiable entity. In addition, it has a singulative meaning, and can be used with multiple referents, presenting them as a single identifiable unit, as in (477). In (478) the whole village is acting as one body.

(477) ɕí=nòŋ ḷ̥éj=gə
louse=COORD flea=DEF

'(...) the louse and the flea (...)' (KZ01.2)

(478) ʑətséŋ=qʰù tɛ́-ɕì=gə sóŋ-tóŋ ɕə̀ wèŋ
holy.mountain=on one-CLF:village=DEF incense-burn go CUST.EXCL

'(...) the village goes to burn incense on the holy mountain (...)' (CL02ed.21)

The clitic *=ti* marks a referent that is not identifiable. When *=ti* follows a count noun it marks the noun as indefinite. It can mark multiple referents, as in (479). When it follows a mass noun, it has the meaning of 'some, a little bit', as in (480). Indefinite marking cannot co-occur with numeral-classifier constructions.

(479) ɕɛ́ʈʂʰə́ʈʂɛ̀j=nòŋ ɕɛ̀bóŋ=nóŋ pʰìŋkú=tí
Hàn.Chinese.plum=COORD peach=COORD Ch:apple=INDF

'(...) some Han Chinese plums, peaches and apples.' (CV09.106)

(480) ʈʂʰəpɛ́j=tí kʰə̀-tʰʲôŋ
boiling.water=INDF OUT-drink:IMP:SG

'(...) drink some hot water (...)' (PC04w.2.2)

The contrast between *=ti* and *=gə* can be clearly seen from the following two examples:

(481) tɕʰǐ ʐɛ̀-qʰwà=tí dzə́ kú mà=qɛ́j
food four-CLF:bowl=INDF eat can:EGO:2SG NEG=EXPT

'You won't be able to eat four bowls of rice.' (CV11.27EL)

(482) tɕʰǐ ʐɛ̀-qʰwà=gə́ dzə́ kú mà=qɛ́j
food four-CLF:bowl=DEF eat can:EGO:2SG NEG=EXPT

'You won't be able to eat those four bowls of rice (listener knows which bowls are meant).' (CV11.27EL)

Because of its singulative meaning, *=gə* cannot co-occur with the plural marker *=ɻə*. *=ɻə* however, is not specified for definiteness, but can occur with both definite and indefinite plural entities. As stated above, *=gə* and *=ti* cannot co-occur. The marker *=ti* marks something as indefinite, but is not specified for number. Thus *=ɻə* and *=ti* can be used for the same referents, depending on whether the focus is on the number or on the indefiniteness of the referent. This can be schematized as in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. Definite and indefinite

	Singular	Plural
Definite	*=gə*	*=ɻə*
Indefinite	*=ti*	

Semantic role markers and discourse markers follow definite marking, as in (483).

(483) m̥ə̀ɖʐ̀lí = gə́ = bì = bù
girl = DEF = DAT = TOP

'(...) to the little girl (...)' (YJ01.60)

The definite marker *=gə* can act as a nominalizer for stative verbs and in correlative constructions, as discussed in §5.2.4.

In discourse, the indefinite and definite markers have the following function: *=ti* is used to introduce new referents; *=gə* is used when a referent is identifiable. Thus in many stories, the first time a referent is mentioned it will be marked with the indefinite *=ti*; after that it will be marked with the definite *=gə*. Example (484) shows the first and second line of the story of the louse and the flea.

(484) ʐ̍ɛ̀pɯ́ ʐ̍ɛ̀pɯ̀ kʰí = bú, [ɕí = nòŋ l̥ɛ́j] = tì dəbù
in.the.past in.the.past time = TOP louse = COORD flea = INDF then

té-qɛ́ pɯ́ dzòŋ = sì tɕàw kʰì = bù.
one-CLF:household do sit = INF HSY time = TOP

'A long, long time ago, a louse and a flea became a family, it is said. And when (that happened) (...)' (KZ01.1)

dəbǔ, [ɕí = nòŋ l̥ɛ́j] = gə̀ = bù dəbǔ
then louse = COORD flea = DEF = TOP then

'the louse and the flea (...)' (KZ01.2)

In the rest of the story, all occurrences of the louse and the flea are marked as identifiable.

5.6 Structure of the noun phrase

The structure of the noun phrase can be summarized as in Figure 5.2. A relative clause, a genitive phrase and a demonstrative can all precede the head noun; all other elements follow the head noun (SRM stands for semantic role marker; DCM stands for discourse marker).

Figure 5.2. The noun phrase structure

$$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Rel. clause}\\ \text{GEN phrase}\end{matrix}\right\} + \text{DEM} + \textbf{Noun} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Rel. clause}\\ \text{Adjective}\end{matrix}\right\} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NUM}+\text{CLF}\\ =\text{DU/PL}\end{matrix}\right\} = \text{DEF/INDF} = \text{SRM} = \text{DCM}$$

Apart from the clitics, each of the elements can constitute a noun phrase by itself, although an adjectivally-used stative verb needs to be nominalized by the definite marker before it can constitute a noun phrase (see §5.2.4).

All combinations are possible, provided they follow the order set out in Figure 5.2, apart from the following exceptions: the indefinite marker cannot co-occur with a demonstrative or a numeral-classifier construction, and the number and definite clitics do not co-occur.

It is very common for a head noun to be left out when it is clear from the context. In example (485), two nouns are left out.

(485) jǎw ʐɛ́gæ̀ Ø = ɻæ̀ Ø tì-dʐǐ tə́-tɕʰí
again behind:GEN Ø = PL:GEN Ø up-direction UP-feed

nɛ̀-tsʰɑ́ kʰí = nòŋ = bù
DOWN-be.finished time = only = TOP

'But only after (the libation) to the later (people) upwards is finished (...)' (CV24.39.5)

The following examples illustrate the different constituents in a noun phrase.

Relative clause + Noun:

(486) nə́ pɯ́ = qɛ̀j = mə̀ = gæ̀ m̥ə́
thus do = EXPT = NMLZ = GEN person

'(...) a person who would do (things) like this (...)' (CV07.16.2)

Demonstrative + Noun + Adjective + DEF:

(487) tə́ bɯ̀ɻɛ́j nʲæ̀ = gə́
this snake black = DEF

'(...) this black snake (...)' (TC02.47)

Genitive phrase + Noun + NUM-CLF:

(488) tʰútsʰì-pì = ɻæ̀ m̥ə̀ɖǎ tɛ́-tsə̀
Tuōqī-clan = PL:GEN girl one-CLF:person

'(...) a girl from Tuōqī (...)' (PC04w.1.4)

Genitive phrase + Demonstrative + Noun:

(489) é = gǽ tə́ dzǒŋ
1SG = GEN this bridge

'(...) this bridge of mine (...)' (TC06.18)

NUM-CLF + INDF:

(490) tʌ́-n̥òŋ = tì
one-CLF:day = INDF

'One day (...)' (CV02.46)

Genitive phrase + Noun + NUM-CLF + DEF:

(491) wútɕí = gǽ tɕúkwǽ-ʈʰù tɛ́-ʈǽ = gə̀
Ch:Wujin = GEN melon-seed one-CLF:handful = DEF

'Wujin's handful of melon seeds (...)' (CV02.85)

Example (492) has two NPs: the first consisting of a [Demonstrative + Genitive] phrase + Noun + DEF, and the second consisting of an Adjective + NUM-CLF:

(492) [tə́ ɕɛ̀ = gǽ m̥ə̀tɕʰóŋ = gə́ = bù] [kě tʲóŋ] dzà tɕàu.
this Han = GEN male = DEF = TOP tough one:CLF:thing be HSY

'(...) this Han Chinese (lady's) husband is a handsome one, it is said.' (CV07.16.1)

The demonstrative normally precedes the noun. Example (493) seems to show an exception with the demonstrative following the noun, but this should be analysed as an apposition, 'the little girl, this tiny one'. Apposition of different elements to a noun is quite common in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, and is also reported for Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:42) and Kham (Watters 2002:196). In (494) a numeral classifier phrase is in apposition with another noun phrase; in (495) a pronoun is in apposition with a coordinate NP.

(493) m̥ə̀ɖǽ-lí tə́ ɛ̀sǽlʲú = gə = bù
girl-DIM this tiny = DEF = TOP

'(...) this tiny little girl (...)' (YJ01.45)

(494) [tə́ tsǽŋlù] [tə́ tɛ̀-bǽ = gə́] tì = ɖàw
this Ch:Tibetan.stove this one-CLF:kind = DEF put = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (they all) put in (...) this kind of Tibetan stove.' (PC03.20)

(495) [ní = dzæ̀ŋ] [pɛ̀j = nóŋ kwèŋ = nóŋ] tɛ́ɻɛ̀j pʉ̀
LOG = DU older.sibling = COORD younger.sibling = COORD together do

ɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ mə́ tɕʰòŋ ɦà
IN-come:PFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) the two of them, older and younger brother came back together.' (CV02.35.2)

The order of the demonstrative does show some variation. (496) shows the regular order of a demonstrative following a genitive phrase. But (497) in the next line of the story shows the demonstrative preceding the genitive phrase. It does not seem to make any difference in meaning, but my main consultant's intuition is that the order in (496) is more natural. See also examples (489) and (492) above.

(496) mə = ɻæ tə (m̥ətɕʰoŋ...) m̥əɖæ = gə = bu
person = PL:GEN this (man) woman = DEF = TOP

'(...) this (man...) woman of those people, (...)' (TC02.70)

(497) tə mə = ɻæ m̥əɖæ = bu
this person = PL:GEN woman = TOP

'(...) this people's woman, (...)' (TC02.71)

5.7 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrases in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are conjoined through the use of the coordinator *=noŋ*, as in (498). This coordinator can also be used for conjoining verb phrases and clauses (§10.1). Conjunctive or disjunctive readings are obtained from the discourse. An example of disjunction is given in (499).

(498) ʈʰə́ = nóŋ ʑǽ tì-jí mà = ɕǐ
foot = COORD hand put-NMLZ NEG = EXIST.AB

'(One's) foot and hand have no (time) to rest.' (CV21.285.2)

(499) nǐŋ ɕwɛ̀ = nóŋ gə́ = gə̀ jǎw ʐóŋ mà = ʐóŋ tɕə̌
INTJ eight = COORD nine = DEF again delicious NEG = delicious say

'Mind you, (having killed) eight or nine (fattened pigs) you still talk about whether or not it is tasty.' (CV21.273.1)

The coordinator *=noŋ* is an enclitic. This is very clear from the fact that the coordinator can follow an NP and forms a phonological unit with the preceding constituent. Speakers will often pause after *=noŋ*. Thus, *A =noŋ, B* and not *A, noŋ = B*. In addition, the slightly less frequent structure *A =noŋ B =noŋ* 'A and B' which is also attested in the corpus, as in (495) above, has two coordinators following and not preceding both constituents. The structure *A B =noŋ* has not been attested.

Conjoined constituents usually function as one argument in that they only take one set of number, definiteness, semantic role or discourse clitics, as in (500), and (499) above.

(500) [pʉ́ʐàw = nòŋ qʰètí] = gòŋ nʲæ̀-hʲə̀ = bú tɕʰwí
axe.handle = COORD certain.thing = INS DOWN:Q-beat = TOP be.good

ʐù = ɖáw mà.
very = IPFV:N.EGO INFO

'If one beats (it) with an axe handle or something else, it is very good.' (CV13.34.1)

5.7.1 *Associative constructions*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has multiple associative constructions that link some unexpressed concepts or referents to an overtly expressed salient referent. The expressed and unexpressed referents form a conceptual group that is contextually or culturally linked. These associative strategies encode vagueness or non-specificity. By using these strategies, a speaker does not have to specify every individual referent.[233]

The construction *X = noŋ tə́ = ɻə* expresses the idea of 'X and company', 'X et al.' or 'X etcetera', and is formed by the coordinator *= noŋ* 'and', the proximal demonstrative *tə́* 'this' and the plural clitic *= ɻə*. X is a (proper) noun denoting animate (501), inanimate (502) or even abstract (503) referents. The construction denotes a group of referents that is linked conceptually to a salient referent.[234] What is linked depends on the context, and can often be a culturally defined conceptual space.

(501) káw = nòŋ tə́ = ɻə́
uncle(MB) = COORD this = PL

'(...) uncle and the others (...)' (YJ02.24)

(502) sɛ̀jíŋmú = nòŋ jíŋmú = nòŋ tə́ = ɻə́
firewood = COORD tree.trunk = COORD this = PL

'(...) (we collected) firewood, tree trunks etcetera (...)' (YJ01.49)

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[233] Compare these constructions with English '...and stuff' or 'when we were about to leave and everything...'.

[234] Chirkova (2009:22) mentions a similar phenomenon in the nearby Qiangic language Shǐxīng. There the plural marker [ˡmə.ʰʐi] adds the meaning 'and the like' to the noun it modifies. If the noun refers to a non-human entity, the use of [ˡmə.ʰʐi] denotes a group of people associated with the noun. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the group of referents associated with a noun is not necessarily animate.

(503) dʑ̀ədʑ̀ì swéŋ = nóŋ tə́ = ɻə́ = bù, dəbǔ tɛ̀kʰə̀ = lá tə́ pù̱
letter study = COORD this = PL = TOP then a.little.bit = also one do

mí = tséŋ = sì
PFV:NEG = N.CONTR = INF

'(…) (we) didn't even (attach) a little bit (of importance to) studying knowledge.' (CV12.40.1)

The whole construction can also appear with the genitive clitic attached to it modifying a head, as in (504), where the horse has been bought by Bajin and some others to use for trade.

(504) tə́ gwèŋ = gə́ pàtɕí = nóŋ tə̀ = ɻǎ dzə̀
this horse = DEF Ch:Bajin = COORD 3 = PL:GEN be

'This horse is Bajin and co's.' (EL:S11.8.19)

Another construction *X = noŋ nə́*, 'X and such', 'X and something similar' with *= noŋ* 'and' and the manner demonstrative *nə́* 'like this' (§4.6.1), denotes actions conceptually linked to a salient action, as in (505).

(505) jǽjù tsɛ́j = nòŋ nə́ kʰí = bù,
Ch:potato wash = COORD thus time = TOP

'(...) when washing potatoes and such, (...)' (CV02.46)

It can also refer to entities, especially when followed by the indefinite marker *= ti*. The construction *X = noŋ nə́ = ti* 'X or one like this' differs from *X = noŋ tə́ = ɻə* in that the latter needs to include X and maybe some other similar things, but *X = noŋ nə́ = ti* does not need to include X; it can also be just something similar to X. Note in (506) that the agentive marker *= (g)oŋ* cliticizes to the end of the construction.

(506) pʉ́ʑàw = nòŋ nə́ = tí = gòŋ nʲǽ-hʲə̀ = bû
axe.handle = COORD thus = INDF = INS DOWN:Q-beat = TOP

'If you beat it with an axe handle or something similar, (...)' (CV13.36)

The construction can also be shortened to *X = noŋ*, as in (507):

(507) tɕʰì wɛ́ = nóŋ qú qʰú = ɖàw mə dzə̀ ɦà
food prepare = COORD help need = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC LINK

'(...) (she) needs to help preparing food and such (...)' (CV15.54)

With nouns or noun phrases denoting location or time (including locational postpositions), a construction *X tə = ɻǽ* 'those places, those times' is used. Note that in this construction the plural-marked demonstrative *tə́* is in the genitive form:

(508) dʑɛ́dòŋ tə̀ = ɻæ̀ = là káw = là ɕə́ mí = tʰóŋ = sì.
Zhongdian this = PL:GEN = also uncle(MB) = also go NEG:PFV = can:N.EGO = INF

'Uncle has not gone to Zhōngdiàn those places.' (CV13.23)

(509) ə́-kʰì tə̀ = ɻæ̀
that-time this = PL:GEN

'In those times (...)' (PC03.13)

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the internal structure of the noun and the noun phrase. Nominal morphology in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ includes compounding, reduplication, and affixation. As in many languages in the area, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has several nominalizers, which are used for forming several types of nominals and play important functions in relative clauses, complementation and predicate nominalization constructions. Number and definiteness are expressed in the noun phrase, which has a relatively fixed order apart from the demonstrative that shows some positional variation. Associative constructions, by means of noun phrase coordination, are frequently used by speakers to avoid being too specific in talking about referents: these constructions link a group of unexpressed referents to a salient overtly-mentioned referent.

Chapter 6.
Noun phrase marking

This chapter discusses the marking of noun phrases by various semantic role markers, intensifiers and discourse markers. Their relative order is illustrated in §6.1. Semantic role markers are discussed in §6.2. The question of transitivity is dealt with in §6.3 and the marking of semantic role and causation is treated in §6.4. Discourse markers and intensifiers are discussed in §6.5.

6.1 Relative order of markers

Noun phrases are marked by different clitics. Three position classes can be established: the first is semantic role marking clitics (§6.2). These markers can generally be followed by the forms in the second and third position classes. The second position class consists mostly of intensifiers (§6.5.1-§6.5.5). These can generally be followed by the topic marker *=bu*.[235] Additionally, *=la* can be followed by *=tɕəmə*, and *=ɖɐ* has been attested followed by the contrastive topic marker *=sə*. The third position class consists of the topic and focus markers (§6.5.6-§6.5.11): they are generally not followed by anything. Exceptions are the limiting topic marker *=ɕi* (§6.5.11) which can be followed by several topic markers, and the topic marker *=bu* itself, which is occasionally followed by *=tɕəmə* in the idiolect of two speakers (§6.5.10).

Table 6.1 shows a list of the noun phrase markers, their positions and the functions they have. The genitive marker, and the locative uses of several postpositions will not be discussed in this chapter; they have been discussed in §5.3.1 and §4.6.3 respectively.

Sequences of markers are fairly infrequent, and not all possible combinations are attested in the corpus. The most common occurrence is an agentive marker followed by an intensifier or a discourse marker. Sequences of up to three markers have been attested in the corpus. Two examples with markers from each position class are given in (510) and (511) to illustrate their order.

(510) dəbŭ gəʐú=góŋ=là=bù ʈʰé “nɛ̀-sɛ̀=gí.”
then middle=AGT=also=TOP all.the.time DOWN-hit=VOL:INCL

‘Then the middle (brother) also (supported him, saying): “Let’s kill (it).” ’ (TC02.11)

[235] *=ɦa* ‘even’ has not been attested followed by *=bu*.

(511) tɕìŋ = ɻə́ = bì = ɖɛ̀ = bù, tʰɛ̀-ʈŭ də̀-ʈù pʉ́ ɦà
child = PL = DAT = DIS = TOP FR.SP-pull TO.SP-pull do LINK

'(She) would pull a bit (of firewood) here and a bit there (...) for the children.' (CV09.6.2)

Table 6.1 Semantic role and discourse markers

1st position		2nd position		3rd position	
=ni/ =(g)oŋ(ni)	instrumental; agentive	*=la*	'also'	*=bu*	general topic
=bi	locative (spatial, temporal); dative (source, goal, recipient, beneficiary, causee); allative	*=nʲæ*	'already, at once, right'	*=tɕəmə*	additional topic
=(g)æ	genitive; attributive	*=noŋ*	'only'	*=di*	disjunctive topic
=ɦa(ɻoŋni)	ablative	*=ɦa*	'even'	*=sə*	contrastive topic
=wu	locative (spatial, temporal); allative	*=ɖɐ*	disdain	*=ni*	additional focus
	with regard to, concerning; beneficiary/goal??			*=gədi*	additional topic
=tu	locative (spatial); adversive patient; 'concerning'; comparative			*=ɕi*	limiting topic
=pu	comitative				

Apart from what was mentioned above, the co-occurrence of first position clitics with second and third position clitics attested in the corpus is given in Table 6.2. The first position clitics are given in the horizontal row; the second and third position clitics are given in the vertical column.

Table 6.2 Co-occurrence of markers

	=(g)oŋ(ni)	*=bi*	*=wu*	*=tu*	*=pu*
=la	x	x	x	x	x
=nʲæ	x		x		x
=noŋ	x	x			
=ɦa	x	x		x	
=ɖɐ		x			
=bu	x	x	x	x	x
=tɕəmə	x				x
=di	x				
=sə	x	x	x		
=ni					
=gədi					
=ɕi					

Several of the semantic role markers have grammaticalised from locational postpositions (§4.6.3). This is typical for Tibeto-Burman languages (LaPolla 1995a, Chelliah 2009). In the process, they have lost their lexical tones and when marking semantic roles they always assume the tone of the preceding lexical tone-bearing unit. All the other markers are analysed to be toneless.

The agentive and ablative markers and most of the second and third position markers are used as clausal subordinators, which will be discussed in §10.4. The use of nominal marking for clausal subordination was noted in Haiman 1987 and has been attested for various Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 1991, LaPolla 1995a).

6.2 Semantic role markers

Similar to many languages in the area, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ arguments of the verb are marked for their semantic roles, not for their grammatical relations (LaPolla 1995b; Coupe 2011a:494). Semantic role marking is often pragmatically motivated. Agentive marking is not obligatory and occurs for pragmatic reasons, especially to disambiguate possible agents, but also to encode deliberate activity and deviation from a social norm, mark switch in actor, and introduce speech quotations. Dative marking, on the other hand, is obligatory. Patients are unmarked.

Grammatical relations like ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are difficult to define in Pŭmĭ (LaPolla (2006) shows that these notions are language-specific and construction-specific). There are three ways that languages use to encode grammatical relations: constituent order, case marking and agreement (Andrews 1985:71). Pŭmĭ is a dependent-marking language (Nichols 1986), which means that it does not make use of agreement to signal grammatical relations. Constituent order in Wădū Pŭmĭ can also not be taken as an indication of grammatical relations. Pŭmĭ has a default SV/AOV word order, but since constituent order is determined by (the primarily topic-comment) information structure with the most topical argument appearing first, constituents also often show an OAV order. Even though Pŭmĭ is a verb-final language, speakers make frequent use of afterthoughts, either to repair or add information. Afterthoughts (§10.9.7) are usually, but not always, set off from the rest of the clause by an intonation break, and can be S, A, O, E or oblique arguments. In addition, ellipsis of arguments is very common in naturally occurring speech, especially when their referents are established as given information. In the corpus, ellipsis seems to be the norm rather than the exception. Since in Wădū Pŭmĭ all arguments of a verb (except afterthought NPs) occur pre-verbally, structural ambiguity of arguments may easily occur with non-basic word order or ellipsis.

Ellipsis of noun phrase arguments can also not be taken as pointing to subject, since all kinds of arguments can be left out, as the S, E, A and O argument[236] in (512), and coreferentiality does not show a pivot. Elided arguments are not necessarily coreferential; even when none of the elided arguments are coreferential, they can be left out, as in (512). In (513) there is coreferentiality between the A argument (he_i) of the embedded speech clause and the A argument (he_i) of the main clause. In (514) however there is co-reference between the E argument (her_j) of the temporal subordinate clause and the A argument (she_j) of the main clause. All three examples appear in conversations where the referents have already been established, and the arguments are recoverable from context. In (512) three women are talking about the husband of one of them who went to the market in order to buy their daughter clothes for her coming-of-age ritual. In (513) from the same conversation, the wife of the husband relates a phone conversation she had with him, in which he told that he asked people whether two specific people were at the market. In (514) the speaker is talking to her clan members about one of the children of their household who had just come

[236] The elided arguments in the example sentences are marked $ø_S$ for single argument of an intransitive clause, $ø_a$ for the agent of a transitive clause, $ø_O$ for the patient of a transitive clause, $ø_E$ for the dative-marked argument of a ditransitive clause, and are also marked with lower case ‘i, j, k, m’ to facilitate the tracking of coreference.

back from town with her friends. Her mother had given her a phone call earlier that day to ask how they would get home.

(512) dəbǔ $Ø_{S\,i}$ $Ø_{E\,j}$ [nǒŋ $Ø_{A\,k}$ $Ø_{O\,m}$ tʰè-ɻ̥ú sətɕæ̀] (…) tɕə̀ = sèŋ.
then so FR.SP-buy if say = PFV:EGO

'(I_i) told (him_j) that if (you_k had already) bought (a Tibetan $outfit_m$), (…)' (CV15.17.2)

(513) $Ø_{A\,i}$ [$Ø_{A\,i}$ [$Ø_{S\,j}$ kí ʐì] tɕə̀ kʰì = bù],
where EXIST.AN say time = TOP

[$Ø_{A\,k}$ [$Ø_{S\,j}$ hòŋ-dʐí tɛ̀-dìŋ ʐí = qɛ̀j] tɕə̀ = ɖàw] tɕàw.
in-location one-CLF:place EXIST.AN = EXPT say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY

'(He_i) said that when (he_i) asked where ($they_j$) were, ($people_k$) said that ($they_j$) would be somewhere up the valley. (CV15.1)

(514) $Ø_{A\,i}$ $Ø_{E\,j}$ [$Ø_{S\,k}$ ə́-dʐæ̀ tə́ tsúʈʂʰɛ́j = wù ɛ̀-ʐə́ ɛ́ = ɕìŋ]
that-location:GEN this Ch:taxi = in IN-come Q = VOL:PL

tɕə̀ kʰì = là,
say time = also

$Ø_{A\,j}$ [$Ø_{S\,k}$ ɛ̀-ʐə́ = ɕíŋ] = là mí = tɕwə́ sì ɖàw
IN-come = VOL:PL = also NEG = say:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

mə̀ tà.
NMLZ:ALERT

'When (she_i) asked (her_j) whether ($they_k$) would come back in a taxi, (she_j) probably did not say that ($they_k$) would come back.' (CV21.134.2)

Based on lack of agreement marking, on frequent use of alternative constituent order for pragmatic reasons, on optional agentive marking governed by semantic and pragmatic factors, and on lack of a pivot, it can be argued that Wǎdū Pǔmǐ lacks a grammatical 'subject' and 'object'. This is also the conclusion of Haller (2009:47) for Tibetan, and of Coupe (2007:169) for Ao.

Semantic role marking clitics can be divided functionally into optional and obligatory semantic role markers. Agents are optionally marked, patients are always unmarked, and datives and all other semantic role markers are obligatorily marked. The rest of this section will discuss agentive (§6.2.1), patient (§6.2.2), dative (§6.2.3), instrumental (§6.2.4), source (§6.2.5), comitative (§6.2.6), adversive (§6.2.7), allative (§6.2.8), and ablative (§6.2.9) semantic role marking, the question of transitivity (§6.3) and causation (§6.4).

6.2.1 *Agentive*

Similar to many Tibeto-Burman languages, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows a type of agentive marking that is controlled by semantic and pragmatic factors rather than syntactic factors. This type of agentive marking was first noted by LaPolla (1995) and has recently received a lot of attention in Tibeto-Burman studies (Chelliah 2009, several articles in LTBA 34.2 (2011) issue). Following LaPolla (1994) the term 'agentive' rather than 'ergative' will be used, since the latter points to more systematic grammatical systems that are based on syntactic factors. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ agentive marking will be shown to be mostly optional except for in certain constructions like the causative construction. The optionality of the agentive has led to its acquiring several other pragmatically motivated functions, such as a general foregrounding marker (see also Peterson (2011) on Khumi agentive marking). The agentive marker can also be used for clausal subordination (§10.5.2). Agentive and instrumental marking are accomplished by the same marker (see §6.2.4). This is a common pattern (LaPolla 1995a). The agentive marker might partly derive from an ablative (§6.2.1.1).

Agentive marking is not limited to arguments denoting people, as in (515), but also occurs with other animates, as in (516), and with inanimates, as in (517).

(515) mə́=ɻə̀ tɕìŋ=góŋ tʰè-tsʰwí mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j
person=PL child= AGT FR.SP-return EPIST

'The child has probably paid back (the loan) (...)' (CV07.64)

(516) bʉ́tsə̀=nòŋ ɻùtsə̀=góŋ ìŋ=ɻə́ dzóŋ kɛ́j mà=ɖâw.
piglet=COORD chick=AGT 1:INCL=PL sit let NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) the piglets and chicks don't let us sit down (to rest).' (CV21.283)

(517) nǐŋ tə́ tʰɛ̀sú-qɛ́là=gòŋ tʰè-pʉ́ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
2SG this pine.needle-load=AGT FR.SP-do EPIST

'It will be this pine needle load that did that to you.' (CV21.249)

Agentive marking appears with natural forces, as in (518). In this example it directly subordinates a noun phrase to a clause of which it is not an argument. The argument of *ɖǒŋ ma=ɖáw* is meat that is stored and will not keep well in hot weather. The subordinating function of the agentive is discussed in §10.4.3.

(518) tɕʰǐhʲù=gòŋ=nʲæ̀ ɖǒŋ mà=ɖâw
Ch:weather=AGT=just okay NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'Because of the weather, (it)'s not good (…)' (CV14.52.1)

Agentive marking can be followed by different topic and focus markers. Attested in the corpus are co-occurrence with the general topic marker *=bu*, the disjunctive topic

marker *=di*, the alternative topic marker *=tɕəmə* and the contrastive topic marker *=sə*. In (519) is an example with *=bu*:

(519) ʂúgú-bòŋnì=bù
Shugu-household:AGT= TOP

'The Shugu household (…)' (CV20.109)

6.2.1.1 Form and diachronic development of the agentive

The agentive marker appears in three forms, *=(g)oŋ*, *=(g)oŋni*, and *=ni*. The latter, *=ni*, is only used with first person singular pronouns and Huáng Bùfán (Dài et al., 1991:350) suggests that this may be a loan from Tibetan (see also LaPolla 1995 for a discussion on ergative marking in Tibeto-Burman). The former two forms, *=(g)oŋ* and *=(g)oŋni*, are in free variation;[237] *=(g)oŋni* is probably a combination of the first and third forms, which could point to a merger of multiple systems, but further research (especially comparative dialectal research) needs to be done.

The link between agentive and ablative that is common in Tibeto-Burman languages (LaPolla 1995) is not totally straightforward in Pǔmǐ. The Wǎdū Pǔmǐ ablative marker has the form *=ɦa* or *=ɦaɻoŋni* (§6.2.9). Like the agentive *=goŋni*, both forms are also used for clausal subordination (§10.4.3). The part [oŋni] in the agentive and ablative form looks suspiciously similar, but further (cross-dialectal) research needs to be conducted in order to make any definite statement about the link between the two in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.[238]

The three agentive forms are enclitics that appear at the end of an NP and form a phonological constituent with the last tone-bearing morpheme in the NP, as in (520). When following the plural clitic *=ɻə* (§5.4), *=goŋ(ni)* fuses with it, as in (521), and the initial consonant is dropped.

(520) ɛ̀mɑ́=gòŋ
aunt=AGT 'the aunt'

(521) ɛ̀mɑ́=ɻòŋ
aunt=PL:AGT 'the aunts'

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[237] When the topic marker *=bu* follows the agentive marker, usually the form *=(g)oŋni* is used, but when asked, my main consultant said that both forms are possible. Dīng (1998:188) analyses a similar clitic [ne] in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ as a discourse clitic with a largely obscure function.

[238] On another diachronic note, Jiǎng (2010:67) notes that the Lánpíng Pǔmǐ agentive marker has grammaticalised from the verb 'to use'.

When following a second person singular pronoun, the agentive marker occasionally fuses with the pronoun, as in (522). Fusion is not frequent in the corpus.

(522) nìŋ = góŋní nè-ʈʂóŋ kʰî, nʲóŋní.
2SG = AGT DOWN-pour time 2SG:AGT

'It was poured by you, by you.' (CV09.140)

The form *=goŋ* was analysed by Dīng (1998:150) as a fusion of the definite clitic[239] *=gə* and the agentive clitic *=oŋ* in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. There are a few arguments against adopting this analysis for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The first argument is that the second person singular pronoun *nǐŋ* cannot be followed by the definite *=gə*, but it can be followed by the form *=goŋ(ni)*, as in *nǐŋ=goŋ(ni)*. In addition, the dual marker *=dzæŋ* cannot be followed by the definite clitic *=gə* , but can be followed by *=goŋ(ni)*, as in *m̥ə̂ɖæ=dzæŋ=goŋni* 'the two girls'.

The other argument against analysing *=goŋ(ni)* as a merger of the definite marker and the agentive marker is the instances where a head noun is followed by the indefinite marker *=ti* and the agentive marker, as in (523). It is not possible for the definite marker *=gə* and the indefinite marker *=ti* to co-occur, thus analysing *=goŋni* as consisting of a definite marker and an agentive marker is not consistent with the facts.

(523) swí = tì = góŋnì ɻwé = wù è-ʐwéŋ ʂɛ̀j
leopard = INDF = AGT road = in IN-block go:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) (they were) blocked on the road by a leopard (…)' (TC03.6)[240]

The analysis adopted for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ agrees with the intuition of my main consultant in that *=goŋ* is the original form and [g] is dropped when it cliticizes to the plural marker *=ɻə*. Also, when it marks causal subordinate clauses (§10.4.3), the form is always [goŋ] or [goŋni] and never [oŋ] or [oŋni].

The first person pronoun is normally marked with *=ni*, as in (596), but a few alternative agentive forms appear in the corpus as well: *=nəni*, as in (525), which looks like a reduplication of *=ni*. The difference in the use of *=ni* versus *=nəni* needs

[239] Internal topic in his analysis (Dīng 1998:164). This analysis is similar to his analysis of the genitive clitic =(g)æ (see §5.3.1).

[240] The reason for a passive translation is that the patient, which is not overtly expressed here, is the topic of the utterance.

further research. Additionally, the dialectal equivalent *=nʲoŋ(ni)*, as in (526) and (527), that appears four times in the corpus, is rarely used in Wǎdū.[241]

(524) ɛ̀=ní tɕʰwǎ=bì tʰɛ̀-tɕʰì=ʂù
1SG=AGT pig=DAT FR.SP-feed=VOL:SG

'(…) I will feed (you) to the pigs (…)' (CV18.107)

(525) ɛ̀=nə́ní pètsə́ pʰà=gə́ tʰɛ̀-há kɛ̀j=sèŋ
1SG=AGT flower half=DEF FR.SP-be.excessive let=PFV.EGO

'(…) I kept half of the flowers (…)' (TC07.26)

(526) ɛ̀=nʲóŋ lù=ʂû
1SG=AGT Ch:record=VOL:SG

'(…) I want to record (…)' (CV21.512.3)

(527) ɛ̀=nʲóŋní, "wùɕə̌=lá tà mà=qɛ́j=ɖâw, …," tɕə̀
1SG=AGT New.Year=also arrive NEG=EXPT=IPFV:N.EGO say

nɛ̀-mǽŋɻ̊ɛ́j=sèŋ
DOWN-scold=PFV.EGO

'I scolded (him), "Even at New Year (you) won't arrive (at home), (…)" ' (CV21.361.4)

The limiting topic marker *=ɕi* (discussed in §6.5.11) can sometimes be used interchangeably with the agentive marker. An example is given in (528). There is no clear difference in meaning.

(528) ɛ̀má l̥átsʰú=ɕì, "nǐŋ nʲǽ mǎ=kwì â,
aunt T:lHa.mtsho=LIM.TOP 2SG eye NEG=have CONF

ə́-pù tə́-ʈwáw mà," tɕàw.
that-under UP-dig:IMP:SG INFO say:IPFV:N.EGO

'Aunt Lhatshu said (to him), "Don't you have eyes? You should dig under there!" ' (CV22.33)

The agentive forms laid out in this section point to a merger of three different agentive sources: *=(g)oŋ*, *=ni* and *=ɕi*, that are combined in several ways in different speech

[241] My main consultant associates this with the Tuōqī speech variety. This might be another indication of the /i, ə, ĩ, ẽ/ > /õ/ sound change that is taking place in the area (§2.2.2). The fact that only the first syllable changes to [õ] might point to different origins of [nə] ~ [nõ] and [ni], and not to reduplication. Not all morphemes with /i/ change to /õ/. Another analysis is that *=nʲoŋ(ni)* is a contraction of *=ni=(g)oŋ(ni)*.

varieties. According to my main consultant, *=ɕi* is used as the main agentive marker in the Ladigu speech variety. In Jísū and Yǔchū speech varieties (and possibly some other parts of Mùlǐ county), *=nʲæ* is the main agentive marker (personal notes).[242] And in Xiǎngshuǐhé Pǔmǐ, *=ni* is used for singular pronouns, *=ã(ni)* is used for plural pronouns and *=ɕini* is used for dual pronoun forms (personal notes). Future cross-dialectal research will hopefully shed a clearer light on the synchronic use and diachronic development of agentive marking systems in Pǔmǐ, and its connection with other Tibeto-Burman languages in the area.

6.2.1.2 Use of agentive

As mentioned above, agentive marking in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is semantically and pragmatically motivated. In this section, I will show its use for disambiguation, contrast and emphasis, agentivity and purpose of the actor, switch in actor, speech quotations, negative and other undefined use.

Agentive marking is often used for disambiguating possible agents. This occurs especially with cases of ellipsis and non-canonical argument order. Since Pǔmǐ is a verb-final language, all arguments usually appear before the verb. The normal order is for the agent to precede patient, and without any over marking the first constituent will be interpreted as the agent and the second as the patient, as in (529).

(529)	èkáw-lì	tə́	ɕì	ʂɛ́j=sì	mə̀ tà.
	uncle(MB)-DIM	3SG	lead	go:PFV.N.EGO=INF	NMLZ.ALERT

'Young uncle went to pick her up.' (CV21.115)

Pǔmǐ is a zero anaphor language. The norm is for arguments to be left out when they are clear from the discourse. When ellipsis of either the agent or the patient occurs, word order does not provide any clues for interpreting arguments as agents or patients, so agentive marking is used to disambiguate a possible agent from a patient. Especially in highly agentive situations, it is critical to mark an agent: when other clues (for example constituent order) are absent, a lack of agentive marking on the argument automatically implies a patient reading. The argument in (530) is not marked, and can only be interpreted as the patient. In (531) the argument is marked and can only be interpreted as an agent. Agentive marking is thus used as a disambiguating device. In (532) there is an unmarked argument, but in this case the form of the auxiliary *kǔ* indicates that *nǐŋ* is the agent[243] and not the patient, and thus agentive marking is not needed for disambiguation.

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[242] Cognate to *=ni* with a regular sound change from [i] > [ʲæ].

[243] This points to the presence of some head-markedness.

(530) mə́ = ɻæ̀ m̥ə́ = gə̀ dəbǔ nè-swè = sí
person = PL:GEN person = DEF then DOWN-hit:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(...) and killed those people's person (= the trader) (...)' (KZ02.9)

(531) ɕè = ɻóŋ sè = qêj
Hàn = PL:AGT hit = EXPT

'(He) will be beaten by the Chinese (...)' (CV14.223)

(532) nǐŋ sě kǔ sətɕæ̀
2SG hit can:EGO:2SG if

'If you are able to kill (it) (...)' (TC02.51)

Two other examples with disambiguation and elided arguments are given in (533) and (534). In (533), the agent of the first clause functions as the unmentioned undergoer of the second. If *=goŋ* was left out, it could mean that the girl saw somebody else.

(533) tə́ m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí = gə̀ té-sèŋ = bù tɕə́ tsí
this female-DIM = DEF one-CLF:morning = TOP water take

nè-tɕʰòŋ kʰì = bù, ɦàw-tə̀ = gǒŋ tʰè-tɕíŋ
DOWN-come:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP that-3SG = AGT FR.SP-see

pâ.
do:pfv.n.ego

'(...) when this girl came to get water one morning, (she) was seen by him.' (TC07.18)

That the agentive marked argument in the second clause is not the girl mentioned in the first clause is clear from the immediate discourse context, where the active topic of the lines immediately preceding this example is the male referent.

In (534), the topic of the first clause, 'straw sandals', functions as the patient of the second clause, but is not overtly mentioned in the second clause. The agent of the second clause, 'a horse', is marked as agentive. Since the speaker has just commented on the fact that straw sandals are dangerous, one could expect them to be some kind of agent in the second clause. Even though sandals do not normally eat horses, the fact that the speaker just said that they are dangerous might leave the option that they are the actors in the second clause, and thus *=goŋ* is used to mark that the horse is the actor in the second clause.

(534) nìŋ = ɻǽ tə́ tsʰɑ́wɕì wèiɕǽŋ mə́ dzə̀, tɐ̀ʈʰǒŋ
2 = PL:GEN this Ch:straw.sandal Ch:be.dangerous GNOMIC after.a.while

gwèŋ = góŋ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́ = bú pʉ́qɑ́ tɕwì-jì ɕì
horse = AGT OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO = TOP shoe wear-NMLZ EXIST.AB

mɑ̀ = qɛ̂j.
NEG = EXPT

'Your straw sandals are dangerous, if they are eaten by a horse after a while, there won't be any shoes to wear.' (CV01.10)

With non-canonical word order, the agentive marker is also often used for disambiguation. This happens when the patient is the topic of the clause and occurs before the agent. This is illustrated in (535). An old man is planning to go out to the field to keep an eye on people who are trying to steal water. The speaker comments that he will be beaten by others. If there was no agentive marking, the word order would imply the reading 'the old man will beat the other people'. This is quite possible in this situation, since the particular old man is easily provoked. But the agentive marking on 'the other people' rules out this interpretation.

(535) tə́ mə́ = ɻòŋ sɐ̀ = qɛ́j lʲɛ̌j, dʑínʲæ̂, tə́ m̥ə̀gɛ́ŋ
3SG person = PL:AGT hit = EXPT DISS really this old.man

mə́ = ɻòŋ sɐ̀ = qɛ̂j.
person = PL:AGT hit = EXPT

'He will be hit by other people, really, this old man will be beaten by other people!' (CV14.221)

It should be noted that these constructions (with ellipsis of the patient and agentive marking, or with non-canonical word order) are the functional equivalent to a Chinese '被 bei' construction or an English passive construction.[244]

There are many cases where agentive marking is used when it is not needed for disambiguation. In (536) there is no ellipsis of arguments and no non-canonical word order. In addition, there is an obligatorily marked recipient argument (see §6.2.3) and thus agentive marking of the argument *nʲæ̀ èmɑ́* is not needed for disambiguation.

[244] My main consultant consistently translated it with a '被 bei' construction in Chinese.

(536) nʲǽ ɛ̀má = gòŋnì nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bì ʂwíkú = nòŋ nə́ = tí
2SG:GEN mother = AGT 2 = DU = DAT Ch:fruit = COORD thus = INDF

kʰə̀-jwɛ̌j ɦǒŋ
OUT-bring:PFV:N.EGO ATTENT

'Your mother has brought some fruit and such for the two of you (...)' (CV02.50)

There are different pragmatic reasons for agentive marking, including contrast, switch in actor, speech quotations and parallel constructions. These will now be discussed.

Agentive marking does not only occur with controllable, transitive verbs, but also with controllable or non-controllable intransitive verbs. In those contexts the use of the agentive conveys additional pragmatic information.

In (538) and (537) agentive marking is used to highlight the referent and mark some kind of contrast with other known referents. *pʰǐŋ* 'to flee' is an intransitive verb that does not normally occur with agentive marking. Agentive marking might mark more emphatic volitionality in this case, as in Tibetan. In (538), *m̥əɖælí* 'girl' is actually the undergoer of the poisoning and not the agent. Agentive marking is used for contrasting her with other possible referents.

(537) kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = séŋ kʰí = bù, ɛ̀má = gòŋ ɛ̀-pʰíŋ = sèŋ mə̀ sèŋ ɦà.
OUT-go = PFV.EGO time = TOP aunt = AGT IN-flee = PFV.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'When (we) went outside to look, aunt fled inside (again).' (CV09.35)

(538) ɦǎwhǎw, m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí = góŋnì ɻə́ nɛ̀-dʉ̀ pá
INTJ female-DIM = AGT first DOWN-be.poisoned do:PFV.N.EGO

'It was the girl who was poisoned first.' (CV09.160)

This contrastive use is dissimilar to the use of the contrastive topic marker *=sə* (§6.5.8), in that *=sə* marks a specific referent that is contrasted with another specific referent: the two referents clearly show an opposition. The use of the agentive, however, marks a referent that is highlighted and thus set apart from a body of other possible referents that are not necessarily specifically mentioned. Thus in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the agentive marker does not have the particularizing function that has been reported for agentive markers in some other Tibeto-Burman languages (Coupe 2007, 2011a; Chelliah 2009; Lidz 2011, Teo 2012). The agentive marker and the contrastive topic marker can both mark the same argument, as in (539):

(539) è-bǎ ʈɛ́ɕə́mà = gòŋnì = sə ʈʰɛ́ ɕɛ́
1-household:GEN T:bKra.shis.ma = AGT = CONTR.TOP all.the.time be.big

kɛ̀j qʰù tɕə̀ ɦà.
let POL say LINK

'(…) our Zhacima always says, "Let them be bigger please." ' (CV18.13)

In (540) the agentive has an emphatic function, and three different referents are all marked with the agentive. Normally the agentive argument of the verb *kʰɛ́j* 'to drive' would not be marked, as in (541).

(540) dəbǔ nʲóŋní = là ʈʂʰɛ́jtsə́ (pʉ̀) ((kʰɛ̀j)), èkáw = ɻòŋ = là
then 2:AGT = also Ch:car do Ch:drive uncle(MB) = PL:AGT = also

ʈʂʰɛ́jtsə̂ kʰɛ̀j, sòŋ-tsə́ sòŋ-tsə́ = gòŋnì, tɛ́j tɛ̂j!
Ch:car Ch:drive three-CLF:person three-CLF:person = AGT INTJ INTJ

'When *you* also drive a car, and *your uncles* also drive cars, (then there are) *three people*, wow, wow!' (CV11.25)

(541) ɛ́ ʈʂʰɛ́jtsə́ kʰɛ̀j ɻ̊èŋɻ̊èŋ = ʈà tɕə̀ kʰì.
1SG Ch:car Ch:drive feel.like = SVM say time

'(I) already said that I would like to drive a car.' (CV11.18)

The same emphatic or contrastive function is used in parallel constructions to highlight two different referents. There is no counter-supposition involved, as is the case with the contrastive topic marker *=sə* (§6.5.8):

(542) nwá gʉ̀-ɻèŋdí-mə́ = ɻòŋ gʉ̀ də̀-jɛ̂j,
outside:GEN money-seek-NMLZ = PL:AGT money TO.SP-bring

tɕíŋmʲǽ tɕʰù-lɛ̀j-mə́ = ɻóŋ tɕʰú è-lɛ̀j
home:GEN crop-sow-NMLZ = PL:AGT crop IN-sow

'The people who go outside to work bring back money, the people who grow crops at home, grow crops.' (TC01ed.15)

Sometimes the agentive marks contrastive focus, as in (543).

(543) ɛ́ = bú lóŋmə́zí-bà tsʉ́ dzə̀ tɕə̀ = sèŋ mà.
1SG = TOP Longmeri-household:GEN son be say = PFV:EGO INFO

Y: But I said it was the son of the Longmeri household. (CV09.89)

mǎ = dzə̀, níŋzì-bà tsɯ́ = gòŋ ɛ̀-tɕɛ́ ɛ̀-ɕì
NEG = be Ninzi-household:GEN son = AGT IN-pack.load IN-lead

ʂɛ́j = sí mə́ sì ɦà
go:PFV:N.EGO = INF NMLZ.CONSTR

G: 'That's not so, it was the son of the Ninzi household who went to bring them over.' (CV09.90)

The agentive marker is also used when the volition of the actor is highlighted, for example when an actor instigates a deliberate and purposeful action. In (544) Zhacima, who is going to a local fair with her mother, is purposely trying to be faster. This is indicated by the use of the agentive marker.

(544) ʈɛ́ɕə́mà = gòŋ tɛ̀-tsɛ̌j ʈʰóŋ pɯ́ ɕə́ = ɖáw kʰì
T:bKra.shis.ma = AGT one-CLF:section be.fast do go = IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'(...) Zhacima was going one section faster.' (CV02.89)

Compare also the following two examples. (545) is the default sentence, but the implication in (546) is that the speaker went on purpose, possibly against the wishes of others. Thus agentive marking might sometimes indicate that the referent is displaying socially marked behaviour (for similar use of agentive marking in Mongsen Ao, see Coupe 2007:159).

(545) ɛ́ ɕə́ = sêŋ
1SG go = PFV:EGO

'I went.' (EL)

(546) ɛ̀ = ní ɕə́ = sêŋ
1SG = AGT go = PFV:EGO

'I went (on purpose).' (EL)

In contexts implying a high degree of volitionality or purpose on the part of the agent, the use of the agentive marker is highly preferable. This includes several constructions with a high level of agentivity, like the causative construction (§6.4, §7.9.5), as in (547), the emphatic causative construction (§7.8.5), as in (548), and the controllative construction with *kʰə̌-tǐ* (§7.8.4), as in (549).

(547) ɛ̀má l̥áts^hú = gòŋnì káw pàtɕí = bí sǽŋlìŋʈʂʰɛ́j = bí
aunt T:lHa.mtsho = AGT uncle(MB) Ch:Bajin = DAT Ch:tricycle = DAT

tìŋhwá kʰə̀-dì kwɛ́j = sí tɕàw
Ch:phone OUT-throw let:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'(…) Aunt Lhatshu let Uncle Bajin call the tricycle (driver).' (CV02.84.1)

(548) tʰùlì = góŋní = bù, wù = gǽ nʲɛ́lʲáw qʰə̀-ʈʉ̌ qʰɛ́nʲæ̀ = wù
hare = AGT = TOP tiger = GEN eye OUT-dig mouth = in

kʰə̀-dǐ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j kʰí = bù
OUT-throw OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

'(...) when (...) Hare had dug out the Tiger's eye and dumped it into (his) mouth, (...)' (KZ03.24)

(549) ɛ̀ = ní pʉ̀nə́ tɛ́-pʰɛ̀j = ɕì nɛ̀-sɛ̀ kʰə̀-tǐ ɦà
1SG = AGT today one-CLF:shot = LIM.TOP DOWN-hit OUT-put LINK

'(...) so today I finished (him) off in just one shot and (...)' (TC04.16)

The agentive is not completely obligatory in such constructions, however, and (550) is an example where the agent of a causative construction is not marked with agentive:[245]

(550) pɛ̌j tɕɛ́ = gə̀ tànæ̀ŋ = góŋnì dəbǔ, tʲóŋ
older.sibling big = DEF arrow = INS then one:CLF:thing

qʰə̀-ʈʰǎ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j kʰí = bù
OUT-shoot OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

'So when the big brother shot one (arrow) with his crossbow, (...)' (TC09.5)

Agentive marking is also used to mark a switch of actor in stories. This usually takes place when an important actor is introduced and a new development in the story is initiated. Example (551) comes from the beginning of a story where a mother is praying to find a good husband for her daughter. In (551) the antagonist who will be in charge for most of the rest of the story appears on the scene. The verb 'to hear' is a non-controllable verb, and one would normally not expect agentive marking. Note however that this is a case of ellipsis as well, and the presence of the agentive marker is possibly also used for disambiguation.

[245] Note that the instrument is marked with the same marker as the agent. This does not exclude marking of the agent: it is possible to find both agent and instrument marked in the same clause, as in example (573) below.

(551) ʈʰé nə́ pɯ́ tɕʰwǽ pà kʰì = bù, dəbǔ tɛ̀nə̀
all.the.time thus do kowtow do:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then other

tɛ́-ɕì tʲæ̀ wà m̥ə́ = tì = gòŋnì tʰɛ̀-mə́
one-CLF:village one:GEN interior:GEN person = INDF = AGT FR.SP-hear

pà.
do:PFV:N.EGO

'As (the mother) was bowing like this all the time, (she) was heard by a person from another village.' (TC08.6)

Example (552) marks an unexpected switch in actors at the end of the same story. The main antagonist, who has been in charge most of the story, finally gets home with his wife in a chest. When he opens the chest, the roles are reversed, and a leopard cub and a tiger cub that have been put in the chest instead of his wife jump out and take over the scene. They are marked with the agentive to mark the switch in actor. The verb *ʈʂə̂* 'to jump' is a controllable intransitive verb, and agent arguments of this verb are not usually marked with the agentive marker.

(552) dəbǔ tə́ ɕǽŋɕǽŋ = gə̀ nɛ̀-tákʰɛ́j nɛ̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j
then this Ch:chest = DEF DOWN-Ch:open DOWN-go let:PFV:N.EGO

kʰí = bù, swí-tsɯ̀ = nòŋ wù-tsɯ̀ = góŋ qʰə̀-ʈʂə́
time = TOP leopard-son = COORD tiger-son = AGT OUT-jump

kʰə̀-tɕʰôŋ, tə́ m̥ə́ = gə̀ ɛ̀-ʈóŋʈwǽ
OUT-come:PFV:N.EGO this person = DEF IN-scratch:CASU

ɛ̀-ʈóŋʈwǽ ((kʰə̀- twǐ)).
IN-scratch:CASU OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO

'When (he) opened the chest, the leopard cub and the tiger cub jumped out and randomly and continuously scratched this person.' (TC08.45)

In (553) the actor changes from a monk to a deer. The action of the deer (drinking water) is pivotal to the development of the whole story, and therefore she is marked with agentive, even though the verbs *pʰǐŋ* 'to flee' and *tʰǐŋ* 'to drink' do not normally need agentive marking.

(553) tsɛ̀-mí dəbǔ kɛ́kì kʰì = là = bù, tsɛ̀-mí = góŋ
deer-female then chase time = also = TOP deer-female = AGT

mí = pʰǽŋ ɦà tɕə́ kʰə̀-tʰwêŋ.
NEG:PFV = flee:PFV:N.EGO LINK water OUT-drink:PFV:N.EGO

'Even though (he) was chasing away the female deer, she did not flee, but drank the water.' (TC07.6)

The agentive marker is also used to introduce speech quotations in combination with the quotation marker. This has also been noted for Yǒngníng Na (Lidz 2012:62). The marker can introduce both direct and indirect speech.[246] Agentive marking with indirect speech does not happen in Yǒngníng Na (Lidz 2012:62). An example with indirect speech is given in (554). The presence of the logophoric pronoun is the main indication that this is indirect speech (see §8.3.5). In direct speech *ɐ̀=dzæ̌ŋ* (1 = EXCL:DU) whould have been used instead.

(554) dəbǔ ɕè-m̥ə́ɖæ̀=dzæ̀ŋ=gòŋnì ní=dzæ̀ŋ=là qə́m̥ə̀ dìŋ
then Hàn-female=DU=AGT LOG=DU=also Tibetan be:EGO:1

tɕə̀=sèŋ tɕə̀=ɖàw
say=PFV:EGO say=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) so the two Chinese girls said that they were Tibetan as well (...)' (PC08w.9)

Usually the quote is followed by the quotation marker *tɕə* (derived from the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say'), but the quotation marker is sometimes left out when a quotation consists of several parts, as in (555) where it appears only after the third part of the quotation (in its non-egophoric form *tɕwə*), or has parallel speech lines, as in (556) where the speech of three brothers forms a triplet and the speech complementizer *tɕə* only appears after the final speech of the three brothers in the triplet.

(555) dəbǔ tə́ hæ̀ŋgú=gòŋnì, "mə́sə́mæ̀ŋ, mə́sə́mæ̀ŋ,"
then this shaman=AGT wait.a.bit wait.a.bit

dəbǔ hæ̀ŋgú=gòŋ, "ə́ (dʐə̀dʐǐ sə̀...) dʐə̀dʐì=tí sə́
then shaman=AGT 1SG letter first letter=INDF first

nɛ̀-swà kə́j."
DOWN-read: PFV:N.EGO let

dəbǔ, "swí-ɻə̀ qúnʲə́, wù-ɻə̌ qúnʲə́," tɕwə̀=sì tɕàw.
then leopard-skin twelve tiger-skin twelve say:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY

'Then that shaman (said), "Wait a bit, wait a bit." Then the shaman (said), "Let me first read a book." (He) said, "Twelve leopard skins, twelve tiger skins." ' (TC03.17-18)

[246] Note that there is no strong distinction between direct and indirect speech in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: speakers will often switch back and forth in the middle of a quotation (§8.3.5).

(556) pɛ̀j = góŋní = bù, “pʉ́nə̀ = bù dəbǔ nɛ̀-sɛ̀ = gî,
older.sibling = AGT = TOP today = TOP then DOWN-hit = VOL:INCL

ìŋ-bá tɕóŋ tə́-ʈʉ́-mə̀ jɛ̀hǎ
1:INCL-household:GEN uncultivated.land UP-dig-NMLZ all

nɛ̀-pùlʲæ̀.”
DOWN-turn.over

‘...the oldest brother (said), “Today, let’s kill (it), (it) overturned all our household’s dug up uncultivated land.” ’ (TC02.10)

dəbǔ gəʑú = góŋ = là = bù ʈʰɛ́ “nɛ̀-sɛ̀ = gí.”
then middle = AGT = also = TOP all.the.time DOWN-hit = VOL:INCL

‘Then the middle (brother) also supported (him, saying): “Let’s kill (it).” ’ (TC02.11)

dəbǔ, tsʉ́ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j = gòŋnì = bù dəbǔ, kwɛ̌ŋ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j = gòŋnì = bù
then son small = AGT = TOP then younger.sibling small = AGT = TOP

dəbǔ, “mà = qʰǔ mà = qʰǔ ní = bì ɛ̀-dədwɛ̀ tì sə̀ pʉ́ = gî”
then NEG = need NEG = need LOG = DAT IN-ask one first do = VOL:INCL

tɕwə̀.
say:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then...the youngest son..the youngest brother said, “Don’t, don’t, let’s first ask him a bit.” ’ (TC02.12)

Because the quotation marker is sometimes left out in Yǒngníng Na, Lidz (2012:62) analyses the agentive marker as an “utterance predicate” that takes the speech as a complement. I will not propose such an analysis for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ for the following reasons. Apart from the two contexts laid out in (555) and (556), the quotation marker is present in most cases. In addition, speech clauses are not always introduced by the agentive marker, but can occur with other discourse particles, as in (557). Sometimes speech clauses appear without any overt marking, as in (558), and frequently they are introduced by the quotation marker alone, as in (559).

(557) tə́ m̥əgéŋ = tɕə̀mə̀, “…” tɕə̀ = ɖàw
this old.man = TOP say = IPFV:N.EGO

‘This old man said, “…” ’ (CV22.23)

(558) nè-wàwà kʰí = bú dəbǔ, “tə́ tɕʰwèníŋ = gə̀ = bù dəbǔ tɕʰòŋ tsì
DOWN-discuss time = TOP then this boar = DEF = TOP then trap put

ɕə́ = gî, tɕʰǒŋ mà = tsǐ ìŋ-bá tɕóŋ
go = VOL:INCL trap NEG = put 1:INCL-household:GEN uncultivated.land

tə́-ʈʉ́-mə dəbǔ jèhǎ tə́ tɕʰwèníŋ = gòŋ
UP-dig-NMLZ then all this boar = AGT

nè-púlʲǽ = ɖàw.”
DOWN-turn.over = IPFV:N.EGO

‘When (they) discussed, (they said), “This wild boar, let’s go put up a trap, (if we) do not put up a trap, our household’s dug up cultivated land, this wild boar overturns it all.” ’ (TC02.7)

(559) dəbǔ “ní = bì míŋ tɕʰì = ʂù,” tɕə̀ kʰì = bù; “nìŋ = bí tsá
then 2SG = DAT what feed = VOL:SG say time = TOP 2SG = DAT meat

tɕʰí = ʂù,” tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.
feed = VOL:SG say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

‘When (Hare) asked what (he) would feed him, (Tiger) said, “I will give you meat,” it is said.’ (KZ03.37)

Interestingly, agentive marking also occurs with negation. Agents of negative clauses are technically not real agents, and this suggests that another analysis of the agentive marker might be needed in these situations. Whereas (560) implies control and purpose on the part of the agent, (561) implies that they looked, but did not control the outcome. In these examples the agentive might have a more general foregrounding function (for a similar analysis in Khumi, see Peterson 2011:74). My main consultant remarked, however, that in (561) the use of the agentive marker was not very appropriate.

(560) ɕí = wà m̥ə́ = ɻòŋ tú tʲæ̀-ʑə̀ né-pá
village = in:GEN person = PL:AGT look PROH-come DOWN-do:PFV:N.EGO

ɦà
LINK

‘(…), the people in the village would not come to look.’ (TC08.46)

(561) jǎw è-bǎ tʰútsʰì-bà l̥átsʰú = nòŋ tə̀ = ɻǒŋ
again 1-household:GEN Tuōqī-household:GEN T:lHa.mtsho = COORD 3 = PL:AGT

ʑə̀-tóŋ mí = ʈʰwɛ́ ʂə̀ ɦà
sleep-NMLZ NEG:PFV = find because

‘Our household’s Lhatshu from Tuōqī village and companions did not find a sleeping place, so (…)’ (CV21.311.2)

In (562), where no negation is present in the third clause, the agentive seems to have a more general foregrounding function.

(562) ʈʂʰɛ́jtsə́ = gòŋ tì-tóŋ ɕì mà = qɛ̂j, nìŋ-bá kǒŋpù
Ch:car = AGT put-NMLZ EXIST.AB NEG = EXPT 2-household:GEN gate

tə̀ = ɻæ̀, **nìŋ = góŋ** jǎw ʈʂʰɛ́jtsə́ = tì tʰʲæ̀-ɻʉ̀ = bù.
this = PL:GEN 2 = AGT again Ch:car = INDF FR.SP:Q-buy = TOP

'There won't be any place to put the car around your household's gate, if you buy a car.' (CV11.20)

6.2.2 *Patient*

Patient arguments, both animate and inanimate, are formally unmarked in Pǔmǐ. This is shown in (563) with a human argument.

(563) tə́ m̥ə̀gɛ́ŋ mə́ = ɻòŋ sɛ̀ = qɛ̂j.
this old.man person = PL:AGT hit = EXPT

'(...) this old man will be beaten by other people!' (CV14.221)

6.2.3 *Dative (recipient, benefactive, goal)*

Apart from optionally marked agents and unmarked patients, Pǔmǐ has a dative marker *= bi* that obligatorily marks goals, recipients, or benefactives in ditransitive clauses. Even when an overt agent argument is present, the dative is marked, as in (564). The marker *= bi* also marks causees in causative constructions (§6.4), and is generally a locative marker (§4.6.3).

(564) nʲæ̀ ɛ̀mə́ = gòŋnì nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bì ʂwíkú = nòŋ nə́ = tí
2SG:GEN mother = AGT 2 = DU = DAT Ch:fruit = COORD thus = INDF

kʰə̀-jwɛ̌j ɦǒŋ
OUT-bring:PFV:N.EGO ATTENT

'Your mother has brought some fruit and such for the two of you (...)' (CV02.50)

The marker developed from a relator noun meaning 'side' to a locational or temporal postposition 'on' to a semantic role marker (§4.6.3). Examples of recipient, benefactive and goal marking are given in (565), (566) and (567).

(565) jǎw hòŋ-qʰwá sɛ́nóŋ-bɯ̀ = bì = là kɯ́tʰóŋ tʲóŋ
again in-on:GEN Sanong-household = DAT = also thangka one:CLF:thing

tʰɛ̀-kʰwèŋ = sí ɦà,
FR.SP-give:PFV:N.EGO = INF LINK

'(They) also gave the Sanong household up the valley one *thangka* (…)' (CV21.549.2)

(566) dʑínʲâɛ̂, ə́jòŋ, nìŋ = bí tɕʰwí = qɛ̂j.
really INTJ 2SG = DAT good = EXPT

'Really, oh! (It) will be good for you.' (CV21.107.2)

(567) ɛ́ nǐŋ = bì tú = sèŋ
1SG 2SG = DAT look = PFV:EGO

'I looked at you.' (CV22.26.1EL)

With animate arguments *= bi* often has a disambiguating function, marking that the argument is not the agent. Examples (568) and (569) illustrate this. If *= bi* is left out, *ɐʈʂʰwæŋʈʂʰwǎŋ* in (568) would be interpreted as the agent and *nî = dzæŋ* in (569) would be interpreted as the patient.

(568) dəbǔ ɛ̀ʈʂʰwæ̀ŋʈʂʰwǎŋ = bì pá ɻáw ʂɛ̀j = sì
then magpie = DAT divinate go:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'Then (they) went to the magpie for divination.' (TC04.22)

(569) ní = dzæ̀ŋ = bì nɛ̀-pʰɛ̌ ʂɛ́j ɦà
2 = DU = DAT DOWN-throw go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'(...) (they) went and left (the child) at their (= the grandparents) own (place).' (CV07.1.1)

The disambiguating function of *= bi* is also very clear in (570). If *= bi* is left out, the clause has the meaning 'Her mother's father is saying 'waigong' ', indicating 'her mother's father' as the agent who does the talking.

(570) má = gæ̀ swǽŋ = bì = bù wɛ̀jkóŋ tɕàw.
mother = GEN father = DAT = TOP Ch:grandfather say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(She) calls her mother's father 'waigong'.' (CV21.37)

Example (571) is a slightly poetic parallel set of lines from a traditional story. Here *= bi* is used in the parallel construction as a stylistic device. In the second clause of each parallel line one would expect the agentive marker *= ni* (§6.2.1) but instead the dative *= bi* is used to keep it parallel in structure with the first clause. The storyteller clearly memorized these lines. However, his mistake '(ɛ̀ = nì...)' in the second clause of

the first line, where he uses the agentive *=ni* instead of the dative *=bi*, shows that from a grammatical point of view the use of *=bi* is not totally natural.

(571) mú-ʈóŋ pùpù tɕìŋ=bí tɕʰî,
butter-piece chewed.piece child=DAT feed

tsʰì-ʈóŋ pùpù **(è=nì…)** è=bí dzâ.
salt-piece chewed.piece 1SG=AGT 1SG=DAT eat

ʐóŋ-ɻə̀ tsɛ̀pà tɕìŋ=bí n̥û, tsʰə̀-ɻə̀ tsɛ̀pà è=bí n̥û.
sheep-skin soft? child=DAT pad goat-skin soft? 1SG=DAT pad

'(…) A chewed piece of butter to the child (I) will feed, a chewed piece of salt I will eat. With soft sheep skin the child (I) will pad, with soft goat skin I myself will pad.' (TC04.6)

The marking of causees in causative constructions is discussed in §6.4.

6.2.4 *Instrumental*

The same morpheme that is also used for the agentive is used to mark the role of instrument. Cross-linguistically this is a very common phenomenon (LaPolla 1995) and agentive marking has probably developed from instrumental marking. In example (572) the instrumental use of *=goŋ(ni)* is shown. Agentive marking and instrumental marking can occur in the same clause, as in (573).

(572) pʉ́ʑàw=nòŋ qʰètí=gòŋ nʲæ̀-hʲə̀=bú tɕʰwí
axe.handle=COORD something=AGT DOWN:Q-beat=TOP good

ʐù=ɖáw mà.
very=IPFV:N.EGO INFO

'If one uses an axe handle or something else to beat, it is very good.' (CV13.34.1)

(573) l̥éj=bù dəbǔ ɕí=gòŋnì ʈʂæ̀pú=góŋ nɛ̀-tʲʉ́tʲwǽ…
flea=TOP then louse=AGT clay.pot=INS DOWN-rub:CNT

'As for the flea, the louse rubbed him with the clay pot (…)' (KZ01.11)

6.2.5 *Source*

The marker *=bi* (§6.2.3) can also mark the semantic role of source, as in (574). Its use can be compared with the marking of Instrument using *=goŋ* as in (575) and (576). The two mean roughly the same, but (575) implies that the object is taken from a bigger piece of wood (its source), whereas (576) implies that the object is made using wood (its instrument).

(574) é ʂɛ́-lʲàw té-lʲàw = bì, tɕʰɛ̀-bʉ̀lʲǒŋ sǒŋ tà dzù
1SG grain-kernel one-CLF:kernel = DAT food-lump three only make

tɕɛ́ = mə́ = bù nǐŋ ɛ̀-ʐwîŋ
can:EGO:1 = NMLZ-TOP 2SG IN-block:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) me, who can only make three lumps of food from one kernel of grain, you blocked!!' (TC02.65)

(575) sěŋ = bì tʰɛ̀-dzù mə̀ dzə̀
wood = DAT FR.SP-make GNOMIC

'It is made from wood.' (TC02.65:EL)

(576) sèŋ = góŋ tʰɛ̀-dzù mə̀ dzə̀
wood = AGT FR.SP-make GNOMIC

'It is made with wood (using wood).' (TC02.65:EL)

6.2.6 *Comitative*

The marker *=pu* 'with' marks comitative, as in (577). It only marks animate arguments. Although homophonous with the locational postposition *=pu* 'under' (§4.6.3), speaker intuition does not point to a clear relationship with the comitative marker.

(577) mə́ = pù dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tòŋ = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j bǎ
mother = COM speech speak = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST SPEC

'(Tshering Lhame) will be talking with her mother, (...)' (CV13.60)

With the verb *ʈʰwɛ́* 'to encounter', comitative marking is optionally used on a human argument to show a higher level of agency.[247] Example (578) implies a chance meeting, but example (579) can both imply a chance meeting or a meeting that was set up in advance.

(578) ə́-wù té-tsə̀ nɛ̀-ʈʰwɛ́ kʰî
that-in one-CLF:person DOWN-encounter time

'(…) and there encountered a person, (...)' (CV25.47)

(579) qà-pú ɖù = ɻə́ = pù nɛ̀-ʈʰwɛ̀ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
down-under friend = PL = COM DOWN-encounter-NMLZ EPIST

'(She) will have run into friends down there.' (CV20.136)

With the verb *qú* 'to help' the beneficiary is obligatorily marked with *=pu* to disambiguate it from the agent. The agent is not marked. Examples are shown with an overt agent (580), an overt beneficiary (581), and two overt arguments (582). Note

[247] Similar to English: 'to meet somebody' or 'to meet with somebody'.

that the order of arguments in (582) is non-canonical: the agent follows the beneficiary. From a logical perspective, however, there is no true ambiguity.

(580) káw wàlá qù ɕə̀ kʰì
uncle(MB) YN:thresh.grain help go time

'(...) when uncle went to help thresh grain, (...)' (CV21.246)

(581) ɛ̀má=pù qú ɕə́=ʂù â?
aunt=COM help go=VOL:SG CONF

'You want to go help aunt?' (CV21.18)

(582) dəbǔ [gwǎ mí=tsʰá-mə=ɻə̀=pù]=là
then weed NEG:PFV=be.finished-NMLZ=PL=COM=also

[gwǎ tʰɛ̀-ʈʰóŋ-mə́=ɻə̀ ɛ̀-qú ɕə́ wèŋ
weed FR.SP-be.fast-NMLZ=PL IN-help go CUST.EXCL

'Then the ones that weed fast go to help the ones that have not finished weeding yet (…)' (CL03ed.19)

It is also possible to mark the beneficiary with the relator noun *wu* 'interior' instead, which turns the beneficiary into a locational role, as in (583), since in this case the helping is envisioned as something that takes place inside a household. The locational *=bi* cannot be used. Note that *wu* in these constructions always occurs as the head of a genitive construction and not as a postposition.

(583) dəbǔ pɯ̀=gǎ qʰómə́ tɕʰáwtɕǎ=ɻǎ wù qú ɕə́ wèŋ.
then self=GEN relative=PL:GEN interior help go CUST.EXCL

'(...) (the Pǔmǐ of the other villages) will go to help at their own relatives'.' (CL03ed.29)

6.2.7 *Adversive*

The postposition *=tû* 'on' (§4.6.3) is used for adversive situations where the referent is negatively affected (similar to English 'he died on me'), as in (584).[248]

(584) ɛ̀=tú kʰùɖú pɯ́-mə̀ nǐŋ ɛ́=dʲàw?
1SG=on torment do-NMLZ 2SG Q=be:EGO2SG

'(…) Are you the one who plays pranks on me? (…)' (TC06.22)

[248] It occurs with verbs like 'to aim/ shoot at sb.', 'to scold sb.', 'to say (sth. bad) on sb.', 'to crack down on sb.', 'to lie/cheat on sb.', 'to recite against goblin.'s, 'to play pranks on sb.', 'to put evil on sb.', 'to look down on sb.'

The postposition is also used where the action expressed by the verb is not directed towards the NP, but is 'concerning' the NP, as in (585).

(585) ə́-pù tə̀ = ɻæ̀ tɕə́ = tù sɛ̀sə̀ pʉ̂
that-under this = PL:GEN water = on fight do

'(...) (we) fought about the water there (...)' (SN02.24)

In comparative constructions *=tû* is used to mark the standard of comparison (§10.6).

6.2.8 *Allative*

The postposition *=wu* 'in' (§4.6.3) can occasionally be used as an allative marker, as in (586) and (587).

(586) tsù-kóŋ = wù è-pʰìŋ è-ʂɛ́j kʰì = là...
side.room-door = in IN-flee IN-go:PFV:N.EGO time = also

'(...) when (the mother) fled towards the side room door (...)' (TC04.36)

(587) ŋóŋ tɛ̀-mǎŋ, dəbǔ qùqà = wú dəbǔ, tʰɛ̀-kʰìŋ ʐɑ̂.
money one-CLF:yuan then group = in then FR.SP-give come

'(...) you had to give one yuan to the group every day.' (TC10.42)

In (587), *qaqa = bí* 'to the group' could also be said, marking the recipient of the action; example (587) is talking about a commune and the use of *=wu* gives it a slightly different feel: 'in the group, contributing to the group'.

6.2.9 *Ablative*

Ablative is marked by *=ɦa* as is shown in (588). An alternative form of the marker is *=ɦaɻoŋni*. This form has not been attested in the corpus when marking ablative,[249] but my main consultant noted that it was always possible to replace *=ɦa* by *=ɦaɻoŋni*. Interestingly, the longer form ends in *-oŋni*, which points to a possible relationship with the agentive marker *=(g)oŋni*. This is however not very clear and needs more research.

[249] It has been attested as a causal subordination marker, but only in the speech of one person, a seventy-seven year old man. In the neighbouring village Bǐqí, the form *=ɦaɻoŋni* is attested as both ablative marker and clausal subordinator (personal notes). In Xiǎngshuǐhé Pǔmǐ the form of the ablative is [ɦarɑ̃] (personal notes).

(588) ʑɛ̀mí = sə̀ pàlí-bá wù = ɦà tʰútù ə́-qʰù
tonight = CONTR.TOP Pali-household interior = ABL immediately that-on

ɛ̀-ɕə̀ = qɛ̀j bə̌.
IN-go = EXPT SPEC

'(...) tonight, however, (he) will probably directly go up there from the Pali household.' (CV04.16)

The ablative can also be used in a temporal sense, as in (589):

(589) mɛ̀m̥ə́ = tɕə́mə̀ kúdʑú ʈʰɛ́ mə̌ = ʑì = ɻæ̀
T:butter.lamp = TOP T:reincarnated.lama all.the.time NEG = EXIST.AN = PL:GEN

tɛ́-n̥ɔ̀ŋ = ɦà tɛ́-m̥ə̀ tɛ́-m̥ə̀ = ɕì = bù, ə̀-dʑí tâ....
one-CLF:day = ABL one-light one-light = LIM.TOP = TOP this-location arrive

'From the day that the reincarnated lama passed away up till now (I) continuously burn a butter lamp.' (CV21.280)

=ɦa has several other functions, like causal subordination (§10.4.3) and more general clause linking (§10.2).

6.3 Semantic role marking and transitivity

Transitivity plays a minor role in Pǔmǐ.[250] In the verb complex there are no grammatical expressions of transitive marking, and semantic role marking patterns are based on pragmatic, rather than syntactic choices. Thus semantic role marking is often optional and can vary independent of the valency of the clause. Transitivity in the traditional sense is therefore hard to establish and does not bear a heavy functional load. This is in line with a recent study on transitivity (LaPolla, Kratochvíl and Coupe 2011) that shows that in many (Tibeto-Burman) languages transitivity is a language-specific and even construction-specific phenomenon.

There is no syntactic requirement for all arguments of a verb to appear in naturally occurring speech (also noted for Mongsen Ao [Coupe 2011b:496,497]).[251] Thus valency of verbs can only be established by the upper limit of possible arguments. Monovalent verbs (such as *ʑə̌* 'to sleep', *sə̌* 'to die') cannot take multiple arguments (unless appearing in the causative construction, §7.9.8), but bivalent and trivalent verbs may

[250] Note that Dīng (1998) does not deal with transitivity as a notion in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. There are other languages in the area where this notion does not play a role. See Matisoff (1976:419) who states "The transitive/intransitive and active/passive distinctions are basically alien to Lahu grammar."

[251] This lack of obligatoriness makes it difficult to establish what are arguments of a verb and what are not, and thus hard to talk about valency as a property of verbs.

occur with two and three arguments respectively. However, they can lack overt mention of arguments, and thus appear with only one or even no overt arguments. (590) is an example of a bivalent verb with only one overt argument. The overt argument is added as an afterthought. (591) shows a trivalent verb with no overt argument. The unexpressed arguments are retrieveable from the context of the conversation.

(590) sɛ̀ = ʂú bàw, ɛ̀nə́nî
hit = VOL:SG CONTR 1SG = AGT

'(I)'ll beat (you), I (will).' (CV20.11)

(591) kʰìŋ = ɖáw mə̀ dzə̀.
give = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'(They) give (meat) (to him).' (CV16.25)

Arguments of bivalent verbs (like *sɛ̌* 'to hit, kill', *dzə́* 'to eat') are not obligatorily marked for semantic role, although in possibly confusing situations (for example with two overtly expressed animate arguments) agentive marking might be employed to distinguish possible agents (LaPolla 1992). Patients/undergoers are always unmarked.

In (592) agentive marking is especially important, since the patient precedes the agent. Without agentive marking the default interpretation would be 'I often beat them'. Coupe (2011b:500) notes such a construction as a functional equivalent to passive derivation in many Tibeto-Burman languages.

(592) ɛ́ tə̀ = ɻǒŋ sɛ̀ = ɻə́ nɛ̀-dwì
1SG 3 = PL:AGT hit = PL DOWN-throw:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) I was often beaten by them (...)' (CV22.18)

Another functional equivalent of a passive construction in other languages is when a patient is the topic of the clause, and there is overlap between affectedness and topicality, as in (593). The patient is established as topic from the previous context and not mentioned. That this is no real passive can be seen in that the number of arguments is not reduced.

(593) ɕɛ̀ = ɻóŋ sɛ̀ = qɛ̂j
Hàn = PL:AGT hit = EXPT

'(He) will be beaten by the Chinese (...)' (CV14.223)

Trivalent verbs (like *kʰǐŋ* 'to give', *kǐ* 'to give drink', *sǎ* 'to give to pass on', *l̥í* 'to narrate', *mǎŋ* 'to name', *tʰɨ̌* 'to borrow') can be distinguished in Pǔmǐ by the overt obligatory dative marking *=bi* (§6.2.3) on the dative argument. Agentive marking can be expressed, but is not obligatory, and is usually done if no recipient is present and the agent needs to be distinguished from the recipient. In (594), all three arguments are

present, but only the recipient is overtly marked (with *=bì*). In (595), again all three arguments are present, and the agent is overtly marked as well.

(594) [ɕè=ɻə́] nǐŋ [ʂàʈʂʉ́tɕǽŋ=bì] [tsá] kʰíŋ qʰù=ɖàw
Hàn=PL INTJ Ch:butcher=DAT meat give need=IPFV:N.EGO

mə̀ dzə̀.
GNOMIC

'The Hàn, mind you, need to give meat to the butcher.' (CV16.19)

(595) [pʉ̀dìmá=dzǽŋ=góŋ] [mə́=ɻə̀ káw=bì] [ɛ̀lʲǎtì]
old.woman=DU=AGT person=PL uncle(MB)=DAT a.little

tʰɛ̀-sǎ è-ʐə́ kwɛ́j
FR.SP-give.to.pass.on IN-come let:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) the two old women gave uncle a bit (of tuber) to bring back.' (CV21.246)

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a few ambivalent verbs, but apart from the addition of an extra dative-marked argument, no morphosyntactic treatment is used. This is shown for the verb *tɕʰǐ* 'to feed' in (596) and (597). In (596) it functions as a trivalent verb with two overtly expressed arguments, the agent 'I' and the recipient 'the pigs'. In (597) the same verb is used with the specific meaning 'to fatten up (pigs)', and functions like a bivalent verb where 'pig' is the patient, and thus unmarked.

(596) [è=ní] [tɕʰwǎ=bì] tʰè-tɕʰì=ʂù
1=AGT pig=DAT FR.SP-feed=VOL:SG

'(...) I will feed (you) to the pigs, (...)' (CV18.107)

(597) [ìŋ=ɻǽ tə́ tsàʐə̌] (...) tə́-tɕʰí-mə̀=gǽ (tû)
1:INCL=PL:GEN this fattened.pig (...) UP-feed-NMLZ=GEN lard

'(...) (lard) of our (...) fattened pig that has been fattened up (...)' (PC02.6)

6.4 Semantic role marking and causation

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ does not show morphological causative derivation, but does have a set of lexical causative verb pairs with a voicing-aspiration alternation in the initial of the verb stem (§7.4.3). Apart from these verb pairs, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has an analytical causative/permissive construction (§7.9.5) involving the auxiliary verb *kɛ́j* 'let' which adjusts the valency of a clause by adding one argument to the core. This is a fully productive process.[252]

[252] This causative construction is also productive in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (Fù 1998:157) and Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:309).

When a causer argument is present, it is obligatorily marked with the agentive marker. The original S argument that becomes the O argument of the causative clause can be marked with the dative *=bi* if the inherent semantics of the verb permit control by the causee. Because it is a question of control, it is not possible to use dative marking with the causee of a non-controllable verb. The addition of *=bi* implies that the causer has given total control of the action to the causee. It does not imply anything about the volition of the causee (as in Ao (Coupe 2007:191ff), where the use of the dative implies that the causee is a willing participant, whereas the volition of the causee without dative marking is open to interpretation).

When the original verb is a monovalent or bivalent controllable verb, marking of the causee with *=bi* is optional. When *=bi* is used, it implies that the total control of the action is given to the causee. Thus, the absence of *=bi* in (598) implies that the speaker does not have total control over the riding: either the speaker sat behind somebody who rode the horse, or the speaker sat on the horse that was being led by somebody else. The presence of *=bi* in (599) implies that the speaker had total control over the horse.

(598) é gwěŋ nè-dzɛ̂j kwɛ̀j
1SG horse DOWN-ride let:PFV.N.EGO

'(They) let me ride a horse.' (CV22.1.1EL)

(599) é=bí gwěŋ nè-dzɛ̂j kwɛ̀j
1SG=DAT horse DOWN-ride let:PFV.N.EGO

'(They) let me ride a horse.' (CV22.1.1EL)

In (600), the absence of *=bi* following *nǐŋ=dzæŋ* 'the two of you' gives the current speaker the impression that her husband was totally in control of the arrangement to let the addressees go back home. In reality, the two women had made the arrangement and he only helped them. If *=bi* had been used, it would have implied that the two also had some control, but the husband presented the situation as if he did the whole job.

(600) [nìŋ=dzǽŋ sə̀ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kɛ́j=séŋ] tɕə̀w,
2=DU first OUT-go let=PFV.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO

é=dzə̀?
Q=be

'(My husband) said that (he) let the two of you go home first, isn't it?'
(CV15.6)

The use of *=bi* in (601) implies that the responsibility and control of the baby-sitting is totally Hare's. If *=bi* is left out, this would imply that Hare is only given the child to hold for a little bit, without having total control over it.[253]

(601) dəbǔ tʰùlǐ=bì tíŋ kwɛ̀j.
then hare=DAT take.care.of let:PFV.N.EGO

'Then they let Hare baby-sit.' (TC04.9)

There are a few examples in which *=bi* is optional, but its presence or absence does not make a great difference in the degree of control or responsibility of the causee. There seems to be a cultural aspect involved in all the examples: the causee is a younger member of a household and the action they are conducting is controlled by the social norms of the household, as in (602), where the youngest son follows the instructions of the household concerning the bedding.

(602) jǎw tə́ tsɨ́ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j=gə̀ jǎw wǽŋʈʂʰóŋ tɕòŋgú ɻ̥ɨ́ ɕə̀
again this son small=DEF again Ch:Wachang bedding buy go

kɛ̀j mə̀ dzə̀ tɕàw
let GNOMIC HSY

'It is said that they let the youngest son go to Wachang to buy bedding (...)' (CV07.67.2)

When an originally trivalent verb is causativized, both the causee as well as the original dative argument are obligatorily marked by *=bi*, as in (603), with the causee always first. No extra responsibility or control of the causee is implied by the presence of *=bi*.

(603) [ɛ̀má l̥átsʰú=gòŋnì] [káw pàtɕí=bí] [sǽŋlìŋʈʂʰɛ́j=bí]
aunt T:lHa.mtsho=AGT uncle(MB) Ch:Bajin=DAT Ch:tricycle=DAT

tìŋhwá kʰə̀-dì kwɛ́j=sí tɕàw
Ch:phone OUT-throw let:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY

'(…) Aunt Lhatshu let Uncle Bajin call the tricycle (driver).' (CV02.84.1)

When both arguments are overtly mentioned, a fixed constituent order applies: the causee precedes the dative argument, as in (604) versus (605). When only one argument is overtly mentioned, the right interpretation can only be clear from the context, as in (606), where both interpretations are possible, and (607), which is structurally ambiguous and can mean that Tshering Lhame is the caller or the one who

[253] In hindsight the use of *=bi* was fatal for both the baby and the parents: trickster Hare used his control to kill all three.

is called. From the context of the conversation, however, only one interpretation is possible.

(604) [ɛ̀ = ní] [tə́ = ɻə̀ = bì] [nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bì] qà-dʑ́í mətɕʰí
1SG = AGT 3 = PL = DAT 2 = DU = DAT down-location dinner

tʰɛ̀-dzú kɛ̀j = ʂù.
FR.SP-make let = VOL:SG

'I want to have them make you a meal downstairs.' (CV03.16.2EL)

(605) [ɛ̀ = ní] [nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bì] [tə́ = ɻə̀ = bì] qà-dʑ́í mətɕʰí
1SG = AGT 2 = DU = DAT 3 = PL = DAT down-location dinner

tʰɛ̀-dzú kɛ̀j = ʂù.
FR.SP-make let = VOL:SG

'I want to have you make them a meal downstairs.' (CV03.16.2EL)

(606) [ɛ̀ = ní] [nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bì] qà-dʑ́í mətɕʰí tʰɛ̀-dzú kɛ̀j = ʂù.
1SG = AGT 2 = DU = DAT down-location dinner FR.SP-make let = VOL:SG

'I want to have (them) make you a meal downstairs.'
'I want to have you make (them) a meal downstairs.' (CV03.16.2EL)

(607) dəbŭ tsʰə́ɻí-l̥ùmə = bì tìŋhwá = tí kʰə̀-dì kwɛ́j
then T:Tshe.ring-T:lHa.mo = DAT Ch:phone = INDF OUT-throw let:PFV:N.EGO

'Then (he) let Tshering Lhame call (his son) (...)' (CV07.74.3)

A different kind of causative construction, the self-causative, that does not adjust the valency of the clause, but rather the parameter of control, will be discussed in §8.1.1.

6.5 Discourse markers

This section discusses several discourse markers: the markers in position classes two and three that follow the semantic role markers (see introduction to this chapter). The intensifiers[254] *=la* 'also' (§6.5.1), *=ɦa* 'even' (§6.5.2), *=noŋ* 'only' (§6.5.3) and *=nʲæ* 'just' (§6.5.4) together with the discourse markers *=bu* (§6.5.6), *=di* (§6.5.7), *=sə* (§6.5.8), and *=ni* (§6.5.9) function as unrestricted particles (term from Matisoff 1973), in that they are not limited in occurrence to noun phrases (linking the noun phrase with the wider discourse), but can also occur with other constituents, like the predicate-focus construction (§10.8), and subordinate clauses (§10.4) such as conditional clauses (§10.4.1) and temporal subordinate clauses (§10.4.2). The discourse markers *=gədi* and *=tɕəmə* (§6.5.10) and *=ɕi* (§6.5.11) have a more limited distribution and usually only appear after noun phrases. Two additional value

[254] Term used to denote certain focus markers, such as 'also', 'even', 'only' (Mazaudon 2003).

markers *=ɖɐ̀* and *qʰa* will be discussed in §6.5.5. In this chapter I will introduce the different discourse markers and their noun phrase marking functions; in Chapter 10 I will describe their other functions. All discourse markers (except for *qʰa*) are toneless and take on the tone of the preceding tone-bearing element. This is the main reason for analysing them as clitics.

6.5.1 *The intensifier =la 'also'*

The intensifier *=la* 'also' normally follows a noun phrase, as in (608) and (609).

(608) nǐŋ kʰʲæ̀-dzə́=bù é=là dzə́=ʂú tì...
2SG OUT:Q-eat=TOP 1SG=also eat=VOL:SG say:IMP:SG

'Tell (him), 'if you eat (it), I too will eat (it)', (...)' (CV03.8)

(609) nʲǽ èkáw pʰíŋtsʰú=là ʑí mə̀ dzə̀ mə̀ dzà.
2SG:GEN uncle(MB) T:Phun.tshogs=also EXIST.AN GNOMIC NMLZ.INCL

'(...) your Uncle Phintshu was present as well.' (CV11.14)

Followed by negation, *=la* has often the meaning 'even', especially after words like *tǔ* 'anything at all' and *tɐ̀kʰə̌* 'a little bit', as in (610) and (611).

(610) tù=lá mà=tsóŋ=ʈâ.
anything.at.all=also NEG=have.flavour=SVM

'(It) does not have any flavour at all.' (CV11.74)

(611) tɐ̀kʰə̀=lá pɯ́ mà=ʑìŋ tʰɐ́-ɖóŋ=ɖàw
a.little.bit=also do NEG=can FR.SP-become=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (the situation) has become (that I'm) not able to do even a little bit (...) (CV02.38)

=la is often used in parallel clauses, as in (612). When both clauses are positive, it can often be translated as 'as well as', as in (613). When the second clause is negated, the meaning is 'whether...or not', as in (614), and when both clauses are negated, the meaning is 'neither...nor', as in (615).

(612) qà-pú ɻóŋdíŋ-mə pʉ̀dìmá tʲóŋ=gòŋnì, ní=gæ̀
down-under lowland-person old.woman one:CLF:thing=AGT LOG=GEN

tsʉ́=là nìŋ=nóŋ ɖǽ qʰʉ́mæ̀=là ɻ̥ǽŋ, gúmíŋ=là nǐŋ
son=also 2SG=COORD same hair=also long body=also 2SG

nənì ʐǔ tʲóŋ dzə̀ tɕə̀=ɖàw.
like.this very one:CLF:thing be say=IPFV:N.EGO

'An old lady from the lowland down there said (to me) that her son is also "(handsome) like you, (his) hair is also long and (his) height is also very similar to you".' (CV07.40.1)

(613) tɕòŋgú dəbǔ ʑə̀=lá tʰɛ̀-kʰwêŋ, pálí=là
clothes then trousers=also FR.SP-give:PFV:N.EGO jacket=also

tʰɛ̀-kʰwêŋ
FR.SP-give:PFV:N.EGO

'As for clothes, (they) gave (him) trousers as well as a jacket (...)' (TC02.41)

(614) nǒŋ tə́ mǎ=ʑì â, tɕə̀ kʰì=là, ʑí=là tɕə̌
so 3SG NEG=EXIST.AN CONF say time=also EXIST.AN=also say

mà=ɖâw, mǎ=ʑì=là tɕə̌ mà=ɖáw
NEG=IPFV:N.EGO NEG=EXIST.AN=also say NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

mə́ ɖàw ɦà.
NMLZ.CONSTR

'When (I) asked (her) if he was not there, (she) did not even say whether or not (he) was there.' (CV21.132)

(615) ɖǽŋ=nòŋ nə́=lá mǎ=dʲòŋ, sʉ́tʰú=nòŋ
raised.platform=COORD thus=also NEG=EXIST.AT altar=COORD

nə́=lá mǎ=dʲòŋ
thus=also NEG=EXIST.AT

'Neither the raised platform and such nor the altar and such is there. (...)' (PC03.21)

In conversations, the direct connection between two utterances, as implied by *=la*, might not always be clear. Sometimes a certain topic has been brought up some time before a current utterance, and a speaker links their present utterance to that topic. An example is given in (616). The general topic of the conversation is chickens and speaker S remarked earlier in the conversation that the other household would probably have quite a lot of chickens. In (616) she links her current utterance to her previous utterance, and not to the utterance by speaker L that immediately precedes it.

(616) ʑégì hòŋ-qʰú è-ɕə̀ kʰí é=qʰú=bù, è=ní tè-pě
later in-on IN-go time Q=need=TOP 1=AGT one-CLF:brood

è-pè ((kɛ́j)) kʰǐŋ kwǎ̀.
IN-hatch let give can

L: Later when you move up inwards (to the new house), if you want, I can let one brood hatch and give it to you. (CV04.81)

è=dzæ̀ŋ=lá ɻú=bù ɖòŋ=bǔ ɖòŋ=ɖǎw.
1=DU=also chicken=TOP okay=TOP okay=IPFV:N.EGO

S: We are also doing well in terms of chickens. (CV04.82)

Sometimes there is no clear connection to any previous utterance at all. Example (617) is the initial sentence of a monologue on Pǔmǐ architecture. The conversation preceding the monologue was not recorded, but mainly dealt with deciding on a topic for the monologue. The function of *=la* as adding and comparing to something previously mentioned is only present in the mind of the speaker, who might be comparing the Pǔmǐ houses to the houses of other ethnic groups.

(617) ʈʰóŋmə̀=ɻæ̀ tə́ ʈʂóŋ=là=bù, tè-dìŋ=wá mədzæ̀
Pǔmǐ=PL:GEN this house=also=TOP one-CLF:place=in:GEN every

tè-bǽ ɕæ̂, ((tè-dìŋ=wá mədzæ̀)) tè-bǽ pɯ́
one-CLF:kind resemble one-CLF:kind=in:GEN every one-CLF:kind do

dzù=ɖǎw.
make=IPFV:N.EGO

'As for these Pǔmǐ houses, (the houses) of every area have their own style and (the houses of every area) their own way of building.' (PC03.1)

=la can also function as a subordinator in conditional and concessive clauses (§10.4.1, §10.4.2), and is used as a complementizer in a complementation structure (§10.3.1).

6.5.2 *The intensifier =ɦa 'even'*

The intensifier *=ɦa* 'even' is homophonous in its underlying form with the ablative marker (§6.2.9) *=ɦa* and clause linker *ɦa* (§4.7), but can be distinguished from the latter in two respects. The intensifier *=ɦa* takes on the tone of the preceding lexical tone-bearing element, whereas the clause linker *ɦa* does not, but always appears with a low surface tone. The ablative and clause linker *=ɦa* have a longer form *=ɦaɻoŋni*, but the intensifier *=ɦa* does not. The intensifier can follow an NP, as in (618) and (619). It has a slightly similar but more intense meaning than *=la* 'also' (§6.5.11) and can in some instances be replaced by *=la*.

(618) má = ɦà ʑí kʰì = bù nǐŋ tèsǐ ((ɕǽ mà = qɛ̂j)).
mother = even EXIST.AN time = TOP INTJ still old NEG = EXPT

'Even (its) mother is still alive, mind you, so (it) will not be old.' (CV16.76)

(619) ní-bà jǎw tɕíŋmíŋ = ɦà nè-ɕə̌
LOG-household:GEN again home = even DOWN-go

tə̀-tɕʰóŋ = sì mà.
UP-come:PFV:N.EGO = INF INFO

'She has even been to her own home and come back.' (CV02.4.2)

The difference between *=la* and *=ɦa* is exemplified by (620) and (621). When *=la* is used, the speaker and the referent have the same status, as in (620). When *=ɦa* is used, it is implied that the referent certainly should be going. If even he does not go, the speaker will not even think about going.

(620) tə́ = là ɕə́ mà = ɖâw, ɛ́ = lá ɕə́ mà = ʂû
3SG = also go NEG = IPFV:N.EGO 1SG = also go NEG = VOL:SG

'If he does not go, I won't go either.' (TC05.8EL)

(621) tə́ = ɦà ɕə́ mà = ɖâw, ɛ́ = lá ɕə́ mà = ʂû
3SG = even go NEG = IPFV:N.EGO 1SG = also go NEG = VOL:SG

'If even he does not go, I won't go either.' (TC05.8:EL)

=ɦa is also used in complementation (§10.3), can follow a temporal subordinate clause (§10.4.2) and appears in reduplication constructions (§10.1).

6.5.3 *The intensifier =noŋ 'only'*

The intensifier *=noŋ* 'only' is homophonous with the coordination marker *=noŋ* 'and' that is used with NP coordination (§5.7), clause linking (§10.3.2) and the comparative construction (§10.6). It often appears after temporal words or phrases, as in (622), and there is one example in the corpus where it follows a numeral-classifier compound. This example (623) indicates that there were only a small number of people (and even a smaller number of axes, as indicated by *tǎ* 'only').

(622) pʉ́nə̀ = nòŋ èmá sénóŋ = bì è-jɛ́j tɕə́ = sêŋ.
today = only aunt Sanong = DAT IN-bring say = PFV:EGO

'(...) only today I told aunt Sanong to bring (it here).' (CV02.32)

(623) è-bʉ̀-sèŋ = bú ʐɛ̌-tsə̀ = gòŋ = nòŋ pʉ́ tʲóŋ tà
1-household-PART = TOP four-CLF:person = AGT = only axe one:CLF:thing only

də̀-ʐâ.
TO.SP-carry

'(…) but as for several of our household, only four people carried merely one axe.' (YJ02.3)

=noŋ can also be used as a kind of topic marker to indicate that somebody's past experience is to be taken as a warning for the future. Examples are given in (624-626). The implications are the warning to not put any more salt on the meat, as in (624), to not go near the dog, as in (625), and to not do the same thing, as in (626).

(624) tsʰì qʰæ̀ = qɛ̂j, tɛ̀nóŋ ɛ́dʲæ̀ = gæ̀ tə́
salt bitter = EXPT just.now grandmother = GEN this

tɛ́-ʈòŋ = gə̀ = nòŋ tsʰǐ tʰɛ̀-qʰæ̀ ʂə́ ɦà tɕə̀bù
one-CLF:piece = DEF = only salt FR.SP-bitter because

'It will be salty, just now this piece of grandma's was too salty, because (…)' (CV18.30.1)

(625) nǐŋ ʈʂʰə̀ = gǽ dʑí tʲǽ = ɕòŋ, ɛ́ = nóŋ ʈʂʰə̀ = góŋní
2SG dog = GEN location PROH-go:IMP:SG 1SG = only dog = AGT

ɛ̀-qwǎ.
IN-bite:PFV:N.EGO

'You don't want to go near the dog, I have already been bitten by it.' (CV18.30.1EL)

(626) nʲǽ-bà mèŋmə̀ = nóŋ = bú bʉ̀lʲə̌ qʰə̀- dzwə́
Njae-household Ch:sister = only = TOP kidney OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO

qʰə̀- dzwə́ ɦà tɕə̀bù
OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO because

'The younger sister of the Njae household (could not move for three or four days,) because she ate and ate the kidneys (...)' (CV17.18)

=noŋ can also be used as a temporal clausal subordinator (§10.4.2).

6.5.4 *The intensifier =nʲæ 'just, already, at once, right'*

Like *=noŋ* 'only' (§6.5.3), the intensifier *=nʲæ* 'just, already, at once, right'[255] often occurs with temporal constituents, as in (627).

[255] This intensifier is similar to Chinese 就 *jiù* in use.

(627) pɛ̀jpɛ́j píŋmá ɻ̊ɨ́nə̀=nʲæ̀ qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j mə̀ dzə̀
older.sibling Pingma day.before.yesterday=just OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'Older brother Pingma already went the day before yesterday, (...)' (CV02.35.2)

But it also less frequently follows NPs with other markings, like a locational, as in (628), and an agentive nominal, as in (629). Note that *ɻ̊û=bu* in (628) is an afterthought.

(628) lùtɕə́dìŋ=gæ̀ hòŋ-nə́-nú=nʲæ̀ dʲóŋ mə̀ dzə̀ tù, ɻ̊ú=bù.
Latcidin=GEN in-near-outside=just EXIST.AT GNOMIC SITU pine.torch=TOP

'(...) (it) grows right at the back of Latcidin, the pine torches.' (CV14.252.1)

(629) ɛ́ tsɨ́=nʲæ̀ ə́-bì tʰóŋ pɨ́ jí tɕə̀ mə̀ dzə̀ tɕə̀
1SG son=just that-side fast do come:IMP:SG say GNOMIC say

nə́ (pɨ́) ((tɕə́))=ɖù
thus (do) say=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (he) said, "(...) my son already told (me) to be fast." ' (CV07.74.2)

=nʲæ̀ also occurs after temporal subordinate clauses with *kʰi* 'time' and as a temporal clausal subordinator (§10.4.2).

6.5.5 *Value markers =ɖɐ̀ and qʰa*

There are two markers, *=ɖɐ̀* and *qʰa*, that express speaker attitude and value statements towards a referent or a situation. I refer to these markers as 'value markers'. Structurally speaking, the two markers are quite different: *=ɖɐ̀* cliticizes to the end of a noun phrase or a predicate, between the preceding semantic role markers and the following discourse markers; *qʰa* usually appears after a noun phrase, but it follows, and not precedes the discourse markers, and it is also attested by itself; it is more like an interjection in that sense. The marker *=ɖɐ̀* is toneless and takes on the tone of the preceding element; the marker *qʰa* always surfaces in a low tone. Functionally, however, the two markers are antonyms, and I therefore treat them together here.

=ɖɐ̀ [256] follows a noun phrase or a subordinate clause, and expresses disdain or contempt for the person or object referred to by the noun phrase, or marks a situation as being too insignificant to be bothered with. Examples with a noun phrase are given in (630) and (631). Examples with a subordinate clause are given in (632) and (633).

[256] *=ɖɐ̀* could be related to the stative verb *ɖɐ̌* 'to be bad'. The particle reminds me a little bit of *bloody* in colloquial English that is a similar kind of value particle.

(630) líŋwá ʈʂwǽŋmèŋ ɻ̊ú-má = ɻ̀ = ɖɛ̀ = sə̀ má = ɻ̀
Yǒngníng:GEN Ch:especially buy-NMLZ = PL = DIS = CONTR.TOP person = PL

nə́ pʉ́ tɕǐswǽŋ = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀.
thus do Ch:calculate = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'As for the insignificant people of Yǒngníng that normally buy (firewood), they calculate it like this.' (CV19.18)

(631) ɛ́ = gǽ tə́ = gə́ = ɖɛ̀ = bù, tɕə̌ ɖʐwá ʐù má dzə̀ bàw
1sg = GEN this = DEF = DIS = TOP say comfortable very GNOMIC CONTR

'My insignificant (number) is very easy to say, (...)' (CV15.43)

(632) mà = ˡʲóŋ = ɖɛ́ ɻ̊ʉ́ = gí tɕə̀ ʐù né-pà mə̀ pà.
NEG = enough = DIS buy = VOL:INCL say very DOWN-do:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) and if the (provisions) are not enough (which is so insignificant), let's buy more.' (CV08.20.1)

(633) nʲǽ mà = tswá kʰí = ɖɛ̀ = bù, nǐŋ kě mà = qʰǔ
eye NEG = see time = DIS = TOP 2SG afraid NEG = need

'Even when your eyes cannot see, you don't need to be afraid. (...)' (KZ03.28)

The particle *qʰa* expresses that the referent has a very good view of self as opposed to other people, and is thinking or acting in a haughty manner. Examples are given in (634) and (635). In (634) the speaker and a friend are playing a trick on another person and feeling very good about themselves. In (635) a person is on his way to trick a household to give him their daughter in marriage, and he feels very good about himself.

(634) ɛ̀ = dzǽŋ = bú qʰà jǎw ʐǔ nɛ̀-tɕǽ ʑǽ = ɻə́ nɛ̀-lálá
1 = DU = TOP EXALT again very DOWN-calculate hand = PL DOWN-swing

nɛ̀-kʰǽkʰə̀ nɛ̀-ʑə́ = ɖwèŋ tɕə̀ ɦà ə́-pà
DOWN-pack:CNT DOWN-come = IPFV:EGO:N.SG say LINK that-under:GEN

'As for the exalted two of us, we came down packing handfuls continuously and swinging our arms.' (CV22.36.2)

(635) tə́ m̥ə́ = gòŋnì dəbǔ, ɻwɛ̀-ʈʰóŋ = tí də̀-tswéŋ ɦà qʰà,
this person = AGT then horse-white = INDF TO.SP-pull LINK EXALT

tɛ̀-tɕʰwì = bí ɻ̊ʉ́-ɖwǽŋ = tì ɛ̀-tɕɛ̀
one-direction = on pine.torch-trunk = INDF IN-pack.load

'(...) this person, pulling a white horse and carrying a pine torch trunk on one side (...)' (TC08.17

6.5.6 *General topic marker =bu*

Topic-comment structure is the primary information structure in Pǔmǐ (see §10.9). Topics appear towards the beginning of the clause, often in clause-initial position, and can be any kind of constituent (even full clauses). A topic is optionally marked with the topic marker *=bu* ([bo] in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ [Dīng 1998:164]). Semantically, *=bu* is the most general topic marker, and does not add anything to the meaning of the clause, other than marking a constituent as a topic. A clause can have multiple topics and each can be marked by *=bu*. The topic marker has no absolute association with any grammatical relation and can occur with semantic role marking. If a nominal argument is marked for semantic role, the topic marker follows the semantic role marker. Further research needs to be conducted into the precise factors that condition the presence or absence of the topic marker.[257] The presence of *=bu* seems to have a pragmatic effect of setting the constituent apart from the rest of the clause and thus highlighting it.

Example (636) shows an unmarked topic *pʉ̂nʲə* 'today', and (637) is an example from the same story where the same topic is marked. Note that in (636) 'today' follows the agent, whereas in (637) it precedes it. The data in the corpus however show no clear relationship between overt topic marking and clause-intitial position. The pragmatic effect of using the topic marker, is to set the constituent apart from the rest of the clause so that it highlights the constituent.

(636) è=ní pʉ́nʲə̀ nǐŋ qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰə̀-tì=ʂú
1=AGT today 2SG OUT-eat OUT-put=VOL:SG

'(...) Today I want to eat you completely.' (TC03.9)

(637) pʉ́nə̀=bù è=ní qʰə̀-dzə́=ʂû
today=TOP 1=AGT OUT-eat=VOL:SG

'(...) Today I want to eat (you).' (TC03.6)

Example (638)[258] has multiple overtly marked topics (marked by square brackets).

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[257] Dīng (1998:164) notes that in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ pragmatic topics (in the sense of Lambrecht [1994], a topic is what the proposition is about) are not necessarily marked and referents whose cognitive status is quite low can still be designated as topics by the addition of the topic marker. He therefore talks about 'inferrable topic' which is a pragmatic topic that may or may not be marked and 'designated topic' which is always marked by the topic marker, but whose discourse status is otherwise uncertain.

[258] Note the word *dəbǔ* 'then' which has a discourse ordering function and is often used as a hesitation marker 'uh...' (§10.9.3). The second syllable looks suspiciously like the general topic marker *=bu*. Dīng (1998:168) sees a connection between the two in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ, where the

(638) [ìŋ = ɻǽ tə́ tɕə̀má ʐɛ́-dzə̀] = bù dəbǔ, [ɛ̀ = ɻǎ
1:INCL = PL:GEN this central.room four-CLF:side = TOP then 1:EXCL = PL:GEN

wétú] = bù dəbǔ, [tɕə̀má] = bù nə́ = wêŋ
wadu = TOP then central.room = TOP like.this = CUST.EXCL

'(...) This four-sided central room of ours, in our Wǎdū, the central room is like this. (...)' (PC03.5)

Constituents can be marked for semantic role as well as topic. Examples are given with an agent in (639) and a dative in (640).

(639) [ɖə̀má-lí = nòŋ nìŋ-bɯ́-sèŋ = gòŋnì] = bù tʰútù ə́-qʰwà
Drema-DIM = COORD 2-household-PART = AGT = TOP all.the.time that-top:GEN

tə̀ = gǎ qʰù nè- dzə́dzòŋ.
this = GEN top DOWN-sit:COLL

'Little Drema and several of you sat together on top of that all the time.' (CV09.76)

(640) [má = gǎ swǽŋ = bì = bù wɛ̀jkóŋ tɕɑ̀w
mother = GEN father = DAT = TOP Ch:grandfather say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(She) calls her mother's father 'waigong'.' (CV21.37)

Various constituents can function as topic. Locational and temporal nominals are very frequently topics. Examples of a location are shown in (636) and (637), other nominals are shown in (638), (639) and (640), and a full clause as topic is shown in (641) and (642).

(641) [nìŋ-bɯ́ tɕóŋ ʈɯ́] = bù lú mǎ = tù
2-household uncultivated.land dig = TOP work NEG = be.of.use

'(…) your household working the land is of no use (…)' (TC02.13)

(642) [jèhǎ tə́- ɕə̀ kɛ̀j] = bù ɖǒŋ mà = qɛ́j ə́séŋ ɕì
all UP-go let = TOP okay NEG = EXPT AGR think

' "To let them all go by will not be okay, right?" (he) thought.' (TC02.62)

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forms are [tə̀bǒ] and [bǒ] respectively, and tentatively links it to the demonstrative [tə̂]. Their relationship in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is not totally straightforward and needs further research: whereas the form *dəbǔ* starts with a voiced consonant and has a rising tone on [bǔ], the demonstrative *tə́* has a voiceless consonant and the topic marker *=bu* is toneless in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

Conditional subordinate clauses (§10.4.1) can also function as a topic (the same is true in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ [Dīng 2000:351]), as in (643). The topic marker together with the question marker marks the clause as conditional.[259]

(643) é é = dzàw = bù,...
1SG Q = eat:IMP:SG = TOP

'If I eat (...)' (CV04.38)

With temporal subordinate clauses (§10.4.2), the topic marker *=bu* (or one of the other discourse markers) often occurs in combination with the noun *k^{h}i* 'time' that functions as a temporal clausal subordinator:

(644) é = ɻə̀ tɕ^{h}wǎ ʈú k^{h}ì = bù
1 = PL pig slaughter time = TOP

'When we kill the year pig, (...)' (CL01ed.15)

6.5.7 *Disjunctive topic marker =di*

The disjunctive topic marker *=di* is a semantically more rich topic marker than the general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6). Although *=di* can in most instances be replaced by *=bu*, a topic marked by *=bu* has a more neutral and flat meaning. When the disjunctive topic marker *=di* marks topics, there is a sense that the proposition is different from what was expected, or that there is some underlying adversive reason for the situation. For example in 'I *=bu* did not go to the store' versus 'I *=di* did not go to the store', the first sentence is a neutral statement, whereas the second sentence implies that there is an underlying reason for not going, e.g. the speaker has no money. Thus it often denotes that the proposition that follows the topic has a negative connotation, as in (645), is apologetic, as in (646), or counter to expectation, as in (647). It appears after a temporal constituent, as in (645), a nominal constituent, as in (646), a clause linker, as in (651), or a full clause, as in (649). Interestingly, the marker seems to be bound up with the meaning of the whole proposition and does not just refer to the topic.

(645) ʑèmí = dì tsú dzə́ = ɖàw, ʑèmí = dì....
tonight = DISJ.TOP ghost be = IPFV:N.EGO tonight = DISJ.TOP

'(...) tonight it's a ghost, tonight...' (CV09.33.2)

[259] The topic markers *=bu*, *=di*, *=sə* and the intensifier *=la* can all mark conditional clauses in combination with the question marker *ɐ=* (§10.4.1; see also Haiman (1978) 'Conditionals are topics').

(646) ní = ɻə̀ = dì ɻə̀nǽŋ-mə́ tà ʐóŋ wéŋ tɕə̀ ɦà.
2 = PL = DISJ.TOP smelly-NMLZ only delicious CUST.EXCL say LINK

'(...) they said that they only liked smelly (meat).' (CV09.149)

In (647) and (648) the implied meaning is that even though the situation was bad, the outcome is less bad than expected. In (647) the speaker is happy to see that the addressee is still alive, counter to expectation. In (648) the speaker was frightened, but the aftermath was not that serious. It also includes an element of surprise, implying that the speaker was frightened because it was an unexpected situation.

(647) ɛ́ = dí nìŋ = dí nɛ̀-sə̀ = qɛ́j ɕì = sèŋ
1SG = DISJ.TOP 2SG = DISJ.TOP DOWN-die = EXPT think = PFV:EGO

'I was totally expecting you to have died.' (KZ03.14EL)

(648) ɛ́ = dí nɛ̀-ɖú ʐù kwɛ́j
1SG = DISJ.TOP DOWN-be.frightened very let:PFV:N.EGO

'As for me, I was very frightened.' (KZ03.14EL)

In (649) the aftermath is less serious than it could have been. Here *=di* follows a conditional clause (§10.4.1).

(649) nìŋ = ɻə́ mà = ɛ́ = dzə̀ = dì,...
2 = PL NEG = Q = be = DISJ.TOP

'(...) if not for you (I would have died) (...)' (CV09.110)

Example (650), which my main consultant proferred, is a remark that is used sarcastically. The speaker comments on the addressee being happy, but by using *=di*, implies that the addressee should not be so happy. For example, a jealous boyfriend who sees his girlfriend talking happily to another male could say this.

(650) nìŋ = dí gǽ ʐù = ɖáw
2SG = DISJ.TOP happy very = IPFV:N.EGO

'You are very happy.' (CV08.20EL)

The disjunctive topic marker *=di* can also be used together with clause linker *nǒŋ*. Example (651) is an ironic remark. The previous speaker commented on a certain person who was said to look like the addressee (see example (612) above), but as it turned out was not handsome at all. The current speaker jokes that the addressee, who is considered handsome, should make friends with this person.

(651) ə́jòŋmâ, há... nǒŋ = dì è = dzǎŋ l̥ʲǽɖú pɯ̀ = ɕìŋ tɕə̀ qʰù mà.
INTJ INTJ so = DISJ.TOP 1:EXCL = DU friend do = VOL:PL say need INFO

'Whoa, hahaha!...In that case you need to say, the two of us can be friends.' (CV07.41.1-2)

It is possible for *=di* to appear after two consecutive constituents as well, as in (652) and in (647) above.

(652) tǎ = dì é = dî, ɖə̀ɖǽŋ = lá tʰǒŋ mà = qɛ́j = ɖáw
now = DISJ.TOP 1SG = DISJ.TOP walk = also can:N.EGO NEG = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

'As for now, I won't even be able to walk.' (YJ01.66)

6.5.8 *Contrastive topic marker =sə*

Contrastive (counter-supposition) topic is marked with the marker *=sə*. *=sə* occurs after all kinds of constituents. Examples are given of nominals, (653) - (655), a temporal constituent in (656), a clause linker in (657), a verb in (658), and a full clause in (659).

In (653) *tsâ* 'fatty meat' is highlighted to contrast it with 'mutton' that was mentioned in the previous clause; in (654) *ɛ́=sə* 'I however' said by Hare is contrasted to the trader he meets who is riding a horse and clearly going somewhere.

(653) tsá = sə̀ m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí = ɻóŋnì də̀-jɛ̌j,...
fatty.meat = CONTR.TOP female-DIM = PL:AGT TO.SP-bring

'She said that the fatty meat, however, was brought by the girls, (...)' (CV14.277.5)

(654) é = sə́ tɛ̀-dìŋ = lá ɕə́ mà = ɖóŋ, nǐŋ kì
1SG = CONTR.TOP one-place = also go NEG = IPFV:EGO:1SG 2SG where

ɕə̀ dzə̀?
go be

'I however am not going anywhere, where is it that you are going?' (KZ02.3)

The contrastive topic marker can be used in combination with a constituent that is marked for semantic role, and it follows the semantic role marker:

(655) è-bǎ ʈɛ́ɕə́mà = gòŋnì = sə̀ ʈʰɛ́ ɕɛ́
1-household:GEN T:bKra.shis.ma = AGT = CONTR.TOP all.the.time be.big

kɛ̀j qʰù tɕə̀ ɦà.
let need say LINK

'(...) our Zhacima always says, "Let them be bigger please." ' (CV18.13)

In (656) the temporals *tǎ* 'now' and *pʉ̂nəʑʋnə* 'these days' are contrasted with *ɻə̂kʰi* 'in the past'.

(656) jǎw ʑí ʐù tɕə́ wèŋ mà, ɻə́kʰì, ʈʰʉ̀ɕí = tí
again delicious very say CUST.EXCL INFO past weak.ale = INDF

è-tɕʰû, tǎ = sə̀, pʉ́nə̀ʑʋ̀nə̀ = sə̀
IN-drink.and.eat now = CONTR.TOP these.days = CONTR.TOP

jèhǎ m̥ə́ = là nè-kwǎʂə̀ = ɖʉ̀w lʲɛ̌j.
all person = also DOWN-Ch:be.used.to = IPFV:N.EGO DISS

'In the past, we would consider it delicious, to drink some weak ale (with roast *tsampa*); now however, these days however, people are all used to too much.' (CV14.169)

After the clause linker *nǒŋ* 'so, in that case', as in (657), the use of the contrastive topic marker conveys that the situation is in total contrast to what the speaker had assumed.

(657) mæ̂, ɦǒ, nǒŋ = sə̀ ʑǎ = qʰù də̀-ʐá ɕə́ mə́ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
what INTJ so = CONTR.TOP hand = on TO.SP-carry go EPIST

'What? Oh, *in that case* (Wujin) will probably have gone carrying it by hand.' (CV02.87)

Verb phrases and conditional clauses can also be marked as contrastive topics, as in (658) and in (659). Note that *=sə* in (659) is also used in the construction *qʰu=sə qʰu*. Predicate-focus constructions like this appear with different discourse markers, and will be discussed in §10.8.

(658) ɖʉ̀ = sə́ tə́ mà = qɛ́j kʰí = bù
write = CONTR.TOP this NEG = EXPT time = TOP

'The writing however won't be (too difficult), (...)' (CV09.18)

(659) jɛ̌j ɛ́ = tʰòŋ = sə̀ qʰǔ = sə́ qʰǔ.
bring Q = can:N.EGO = CONTR.TOP need = CONTR.TOP need

'If (we) can get it however, (we) certainly want/need it.' (CV14.105)

6.5.9 *Additional focus marker =ni*

The marker *=ni* marks additional focus. The marker is homophonous with the agentive marker *=ni* (§6.2.1.1) but the intuition of my main consultant is that they are not related. Further research needs to be done to confirm this.[260] *=ni* can follow nominals

[260] Lidz (2011:55) notes that the agentive marker *nɯ*^{33} in Yǒngníng Na has an additional function as emphatic marking with non-nominals.

(usually nouns, but also NP's as in [661]), as in (660-662), (664) and (665), and verbs, as in (663) and (666). The marker is used to mark an addition to a list of items that are either overtly stated, or implicitly presupposed.

Sometimes *=ni* is used in situations where there is no solution to a problem; the clause marked by *=ni* gives another reason for why there is no solution. In the story example (660) is taken from, a prince keeps asking a monk to give his adopted daughter to him in marriage, and the previous line ends in the statement that even though the monk does not want to, he has no solution. Example (660) gives an additional reason for marrying her off (marked by *=ni*): she is of a marriageable age, and so the monk finally has to give in.

(660) dəbǔ ʈʰwǽ=ní dəbǔ qɛ́ɕwɛ́- kù tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ=sì
then age=ADD.FOC then eighteen- years.old FR.SP-become=INF

'On top of that she had turned eighteen, (...)' (TC07.31)

In (661) the speaker has just commented that the researcher is to be pitied (since it must be difficult for her to live in a remote village). Then she adds, that on top of the hardships experienced by the researcher, the Pǔmǐ food is not that good (which will make it even harder for her to live there):

(661) ìŋ=ɻǽ tɕʰì=ní dzɔ́ (qǽŋ) ((qɑ́)) mɑ̀=ɖɑ̂w.
1:INCL=GEN food=ADD.FOC eat can NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'Our food is not even edible.' (CV21.34.4)

In (662) on top of not having brought enough axes, the two women were also not able to cut trees, which made the success of their operation even more questionable. *=ni* expresses that they have no solution whatsoever.

(662) ìŋ-bɯ́=bù dəbǔ pɯ́ nòŋ=nʲǽnʲǽ, ìŋ=dzǽŋ=nì
1:INCL-household=TOP then axe two=only 1:INCL=DU=ADD.FOC

ɕǽ mɑ̀=tɕǎ, tɕʰənɔ́ pɯ́=gì?
cut NEG=can:EGO:1 how do=VOL:INCL

'(...) our household (has) only two axes, and on top of that the two of us cannot cut, what shall we do?' (YJ02.6)

But *=ni* is also used in a positive sense. In the utterances preceding (663), the topic of conversation turned to the unity of the clan. Several things were mentioned: they bear the same surname; they do everything together smoothly; when somebody dies, they all spring into action immediately. In (663) another thing is added to the list:

(663) sə́sə̀ = nì mà = ɖwêŋ, ə́ = ɻə̀.
quarrel = ADD.FOC NEG = IPFV:EGO:N.SG 1:EXCL = PL

'On top of that, we (= our clan) do not quarrel.' (i.e. at the time of funerals) (CV21.51.2)

In the following three examples, the background information is not mentioned explicitly, but is implied. In (664) the implication is that normally men find wives. On top of that, this particular man is handsome, so the fact that he is not able to find a wife is counter-expectational.

(664) m̥ə̀tɕʰóŋ = ní tɕʰwí = ʈá kʰì, ʈʰə̀ ʈʰwə́ tʰòŋ
male = ADD.FOC be.good = SVM time wife find can:N.EGO

mà = ɖâw
neg = IPFV:N.EGO

'Even though this man is handsome (this man is even handsome, but), he is not able to find a wife.' (YJ02.6EL)

In (665) the speaker has just invited the addressee over for a New Year's meal. She is trying to convince the addressee not to worry about giving trouble to the inviting family. Added to the normal (implied) argument that coming over for a meal is not going to give trouble to the family, an additional argument is that they do not even have guests staying with them during the New Year.

(665) wə̀mə́ = nì mǎ = ʐì mə̀ dzə̀.
guest = ADD.FOC NEG = EXIST.AN GNOMIC

'(Our household) does not even have any guests.' (CV21.31)

The speaker in (666) is telling about the time he was child and would buy candy on the way to school. The presupposition is that the children bought candy and ate it in addition to their lunch, but in (666) the speaker adds that they did not even bother bringing lunch, but just ate the candy.

(666) ɕwéŋ ʐà = nì mǎ = wèŋ, tə́ bʉ́ = gə̀ qʰə̀-dzâ.
lunch carry = ADD.FOC NEG = CUST.EXCL this candy = DEF OUT-eat

'(…) (we) would not even carry lunch, but just eat this candy.' (CV12.76.2)

As with the disjunctive topic marker *=di* (§6.5.7), the additional focus marker relates to the proposition, as well as to the referent it follows.

6.5.10 *Additional topic markers =gədi and tɕəmə*

There are two additional topic markers that appear to be combinations of other morphemes. The first one, *=gədi* seems to be constructed from the definite marker

=gə (§5.5) and the disjunctive topic marker *=di*. There are only two examples in the whole corpus, given in (667) and (668). Note that *=gədi* follows a first person pronoun, whereas normally the definite marker *=gə* does not follow the first person pronoun. The attestation in the corpus is too sparse to clarify the use of this marker, and the label 'topic marker' has to be understood as a provisional label, until further research is conducted. It can be noted that in (667) other discourse markers can be used (notably *=bu* and *=di*). In (668), where two constituents are marked, *=gədi* seems to indicate that the result is not expected and not wanted. The use of *=gədi* implies an impact on self, and especially when self is highly affected, as in (668), other discourse markers cannot be used without a loss of this expression of affect.

(667) ʈáw tɕə́ è- tɕʰôŋ, é=gə́dì míŋ è-tɕʰòŋ lʲɛ̀j
IDEO say IN-come:PFV:N.EGO 1SG=TOP what IN-come:PFV:N.EGO RHET

ɕì=sèŋ.
think=PFV:EGO

'(…) (he) came crying loudly; I wondered what was coming.' (CV07.75)

(668) é=gə́dì, tènóŋ ʐæ̀=gə́dì è-ʈʂʰwɛ̌j.
1SG=TOP just.now hand=TOP IN-stab

'I just stabbed my hand.' (CV16.63.2)

The second additional topic marker *=tɕəmə* seems to derive from the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say' and the nominalizer *-mə* (§5.2.3). It behaves very similarly to the general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6) and can in all cases be replaced by *=bu*. At this point it is not clear whether there is a difference in meaning or not. One particular speaker prefers to use *=tɕəmə* instead of *=bu*, as in (669). Another speaker regularly uses both *=bu* and *=tɕəmə* in combination to mark a single constituent, always with *=tɕəmə* following *=bu*, as in (670). The idiolect of each of the two speakers stands out in this regard.

(669) l̥ùdʐú=tɕə̀mə nè-púlʲǽ kʰì=tɕə̀mə bèʈwâʈwâ, nǐŋ
head.cover=TOP DOWN-turn.over time=TOP irregular INTJ

l̥ùdʐú=gǽ tí dzə̀ â?
head.cover=GEN one be CONF

'When the head cover was upside down, it was all irregular, mind you, that head cover was a beautiful one?' (CV22.7.2)

(670) nè-gǎw nè- gàw pá mə̀ɻæ̀
DOWN-be.happy DOWN-be.happy do:PFV:N.EGO person = PL:GEN

m̥àgéŋ = bù = tɕə̀mə̀ tʰə̀ʐǽ láwláw tɕə̀ ʐù né-pà.
old.man = TOP = TO thank.you very say very DOWN-do:PFV:N.EGO

'(…) the old man was very very happy and thanked us profusely.' (CV09.119)

Like *=bu, =tɕəmə* occurs after nominals, as in (669), after temporal or locational constituents, as in (671) and after temporal subordinate clauses, as in (669) above. The temporal constituent in (671) is an afterthought.

(671) tə̀-bǎ ə́-dʐæ̀ dʐǽ = tù tə́-ɕə̀ nè-ɕə̀ = lá
3-household:GEN that-location:GEN ladder = on UP-go DOWN-go = also

mǎ = ʐǐŋ ɦà, sòŋ-n̥óŋ ʐɛ́-n̥òŋ = gə̀ = tɕə̀mə̀.
NEG = can LINK three-CLF:day four-CLF:day = DEF = TOP

'(...) I was not able to go up and down the stairs of that place (= my job) for three or four days.' (CV21.261.2)

Like *=bu, =tɕəmə* can occur with semantic role markers, and also mark multiple constituents in the same clause:

(672) nìŋ = dzǽŋ = gòŋnì = tɕə̀mə̀ jǎw ə́-pù = tɕə̀mə̀, (...) gæ̀ = ɻə́
2 = DU = AGT = TOP again that-under = TOP (...) cliff = PL

m̥é-bí kʰə̀-twì.
down-on OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO

'The two of you had (...) put a big stone (in order to make a sleeping place for them).' (CV09.118.2)

Like *=bu, =tɕəmə* can appear after a subordinate clause, in this case a causal subordinate:

(673) ɻ̥ú nè-dzə̀dzə̀ = góŋní = tɕə̀mə̀ nè-qá tʰóŋ
tooth DOWN-be.tightly.closed = AGT = TOP DOWN-split.open can:N.EGO

mà = ɖâw.
NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'(…) because (her) teeth were tightly closed, (her mouth) could not be opened.' (CV09.64.2)

The markers *=gədi* and *=tɕəmə* are restricted in their use. The attestation of *=gədi* is limited to the above examples. Apart from the constructions described above, *=tɕəmə* only appears with a temporal subordinate clause (§10.4.2) and the causal subordinate clause (§10.4.3) and does not appear in any of the other constructions that the other discourse markers appear in (see Chapter 10).

6.5.11 *Limiting topic marker =ɕi*

In addition to several semantic role markers and topic and focus markers, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a marker *=ɕi* which has characteristics of a semantic role marker as well as a discourse marker. Positionally it can be grouped with the semantic role markers, but it has an interesting distribution: it only occurs after Agents, as in (674), and after event numeral-classifier compounds (§4.4), as in (675). It can be followed by position 3 discourse topic markers, such as *=bu*, *=di* and *=sə* and *=tɕəmə*.

(674) tɛ́-qɛ̀=ɕì nʲóŋ mà=kʰěŋ=nʲàɛ̀,
one-CLF:household=LIM.TOP money NEG=give=just

tɛ́-ɕì=gòŋnì kʰěŋ mà=ɖâw.
one-CLF:village=AGT give NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'As soon as *one family* doesn't give money, the whole village doesn't give.' (TC10.9EL)

(675) tʲɛ̌j, nə̀-dʑú=ɕí=bù ə́-tɛ̀j ɦà tʰɛ̀-ɖôŋ.
INTJ two-CLF:times=LIM.TOP=TOP that-big LINK FR.SP-become

'Look! In only two times (the bladder balloon) has become that big!' (CV18.151)

In every occurrence after an Agent, *=ɕi* can be replaced by the normal agentive marker *=(g)oŋ(ni)* (§6.2.1). It should be noted that in the Ladigu Pǔmǐ speech variety, *=ɕi* is the main agentive marker. Note that the normal agentive marker can also be used to mark Instrument (§6.2.4) and that the occurrence of *=ɕi* in (675) could be interpreted as the marking of some kind of Instrument: 'using two times' to conduct the action of blowing the bladder. However, when appearing after a numeral-classifier compound, *=ɕi* cannot be replaced by *=(g)oŋni*. It could be proposed though that *=ɕi* has some kind of agentive/instrumental role marking function.

However, *=ɕi* seems to have not simply a semantic role marking function, but has a pragmatic function as well. Looking through the corpus of conversational discourse, the agentive marking function of *=ɕi* seems to appear when a discourse referent that was the topic of the conversation is reintroduced as main discourse topic after another referent has dominated the scene. Thus in (676), the main discourse topic of the conversation 'Aunt Lhamtsho' is reintroduced after the conversation turned to another topic.

(676) ɛ̀má ḷátsʰú = ɕì, “nǐŋ nʲǽ mǎ = kwì â,
aunt T:lHa.mtsho = LIM.TOP 2SG eye NEG = have CONF

ə́-pù tə́-ʈwáw mà,” tɕàw.
that-under UP-dig:IMP:SG INFO say:IPFV:N.EGO

‘Aunt Lhatshu said (to him), “Don’t you have eyes? You should dig under there!” ’ (CV22.33)

Following numeral-classifier compounds, *=ɕi* has a delimiting function and denotes that the action is conducted in only the amount expressed by the numeral-classifier, as in (677). The classifier is usually an event classifier (§4.4).

(677) ní tɛ́-ʈʂə̀ = ɕì pʰǽŋ ʂɛ́j ɦà,
LOG one-CLF:jump = LIM.TOP flee:PFV:N.EGO go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

tʰùlì = gôŋ.
hare = AGT

‘(...) he himself fled in just one jump, that Hare.’ (TC04.18)

The difference between the two temporal expressions *tɐʈʰǐ* ‘(after) a little while’ and *tɐʈʰǐ ɕi* ‘immediately’ is also based on the delimiting function of *=ɕi*: ‘immediately’ is literally ‘in only a little while’.

When reduplicated numeral-classifier compounds are followed by *=ɕi*, the implication is a continuous action followed by a result, as in (678).[261] In this position, *=ɕi* is almost without exception followed by the general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6).[262]

(678) ébǎw, ɛ̀-ʐə́ kʰí ɦà tɛ́-ɖæ̀ŋ tɛ́-ɖæ̀ŋ = ɕì = bù = tɕə̀mə̀,
INTJ IN-come time LINK one-CLF:run one-CLF:run = LIM.TOP = TOP = TOP

ɛ́ = tɕə́mə̀ ɖə̀ɖǽŋ = lá mà = ʐ̩ìŋ tʰɛ́-ɖóŋ mà, ʈʰə̂.
1SG = TOP walk = also NEG = can FR.SP-become INFO foot

‘My oh my! After (I) came back (from Yǒngníng) (I) was continuously running back and forth, until I could not even walk any more, (my) foot (was so painful).’ (CV21.248)

Looking at the three environments that *=ɕi* occurs in, it can be seen that its use is very similar to that of the normal agentive marker *=(g)oŋ(ni)*: it can mark an Agent of a clause, as in (674) and (676); it can mark a constituent that can be interpreted as some

[261] Interestingly, no matter what the tonal pattern of the numeral-classifier compound is normally (§3.4.2), in this construction the tone pattern is always [H-L H-L L].

[262] And in example (678) by *=tɕəmə* as well. The combination *=bu=tɕəmə* is characteristic for this particular speaker’s idiolect (§6.5.10).

sort of Instrument, as in (675) and (677); and in (678) it almost looks like a clausal subordinator. All these functions can be covered by *=(g)oŋ(ni)* as well (cf. §6.2.1, §6.2.4, §10.4.3). However, only in the first environment *=ɕi* can be substituted by *=(g)oŋ(ni).*

Dīng (1998:163) describes a similar marker [ʃjɛ̃] in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ and analyses it as an argument focus particle. However, based on its delimiting function in combination with a numeral-classifier compound, and its discourse function of re-introducing a previous topic, I refer to it as a limiting topic marker. More research, especially cross-dialectal research, needs to be conducted to clarify the exact function and development of this marker.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the different noun phrase markers. Three position classes can be established: semantic role marking; intensifiers; and discourse markers. Most semantic role markers derive from locational postpositions. Agentive marking is optional and pragmatically motivated; patients are unmarked; datives are obligatorily marked. Transitivity plays a minor role and the grammatical relations of 'subject' and 'object' are difficult to define. Agentive and ablative marking can also be used for clausal subordination. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a whole range of different discourse markers that display various semantics. In addition to marking noun phrases, discourse markers are also used in various other constructions discussed in Chapter 10.

Chapter 7.
The predicate

The following two chapters will cover the main predicate constructions in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The Pǔmǐ predicate expresses direction, aspect, modality, evidentiality and epistemicity and speaker attitude. The structure of the predicate complex was determined by looking at the different combinational possibilities attested in the corpus, and can be summarized as in Figure 7.1 (the second line of the figure follows the first):

Figure 7.1. Structure of the predicate

Pre-verbal modifier	Direction-	Negation =	Interrogative =	V1	V2/ Aspect

Auxiliary	Post-verbal modifier	= Egophoricity/ Evidentiality	= Epistemicity	Attitude

The current chapter and next chapter are organised in the following order: the current chapter looks at the directional prefixes (§7.1), negation markers (§7.2) and interrogative marker (§7.3). This is followed by verb stem morphology (§7.4) which includes several reduplication patterns (§7.4.1), a derivational suffix (§7.4.2) and verb pairs that show alternation of the initial (§7.4.3). Special types of verbs include the copula (§7.5), existential verbs (§7.6), the light verb *pʉ́* and denominal verbs (§7.7). Verbal aspect is denoted by several secondary verbs (§7.8), and verbs can be followed by different auxiliaries (§7.8.5). The chapter closes with several constructions that modify the predicate (§7.8.5). Pre-verbal modification will be treated together with post-verbal modification. Chapter 8 deals with verb inflection and post-verbal egophoric, evidential, epistemic and attitude markers. Verbs that show inflection are the equational copula (§7.5), the animate existential verb (§7.6), the modal auxiliary expressing ability (§7.9.1) and controllable verbs (§8.1.1).

7.1 Directional prefixes

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, direction is expressed by a set of six directional prefixes that attach to the verb. These indicate literal or metaphoric direction of the movement expressed by the verb, and are sometimes conventionalised collocations with bleached meaning. The existence of directional prefixes is a common areal feature found in all Qiangic

languages.[263] One could alternatively analyse these directional morphemes as proclitics. Cross-linguistically, affixes tend to appear closer to the stem than clitics, but in Pǔmǐ other clitics, such as negation, interrogative and discourse clitics can appear between the directional prefix and the verb stem, as in (679), and the interrogative clitic normally fuses with the directional prefix (as described in §7.3). Furthermore, most nominal and verbal marking is expressed by clitics (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

(679) ə́jòŋ, kɛ̀=ʈû, nɛ̌-mí=sə́=sì ɖǒŋ.
INTJ afraid=SVM DOWN-NEG:PFV=die=INF okay

'Oh! That's scary, (she) did not end up dying, that's good.' (CV09.66)

However, directional prefixes only appear preceding verbs, and with the exception of the above-mentioned clitics, nothing can appear in between prefix and verb. Furthermore, it has been common practice in Qiangic literature to refer to similar directional morphemes as prefixes. In this thesis I therefore refer to these morphemes as prefixes.

The semantics of the directional prefixes were discussed in §4.6.2 and their tonal behavior in §3.4.5. In this section I will show their interaction with verbs.[264] The list of prefixes is given in Table 7.1. There is no prefix indicating neutral direction, as has been reported for rGyalrongic languages (Jacques 2004:359). Prefixes are only obligatory in certain contexts.

Table 7.1 Directional prefixes

tə́-	'mountain-wards, upwards'
nɛ̌-	'valley-wards, downwards'
qʰə̌-/kʰə̌-	'outwards, down the valley'
ɛ̌-	'inwards, up the valley'
də̌-	'towards speaker (across boundary)'
tʰɛ̌-	'from speaker (across boundary)'

[263] See LaPolla with Huáng (2003:154ff) and Evans (2004:206) for Qiāng, Shirai (2009) for nDrapa and Arakawa (2012) for Tangut verbal prefixes. Jacques (2011b:437) correlates three of the six Pumi prefixes with Tangut prefixes: *ɲja*[1] 'down', *dji*[2] 'cislocative' and *dja*[2] 'translocative'.

[264] For a more in-depth study of prefixes, see Fù (1998:27-72, 172-207), who looked at the grammatical categories of 426 verbs in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ.

Not all verbs can take all prefixes: the choice of prefix depends partly on the semantics of the verb, but is often also lexicalized. Some verbs, especially motion verbs, can combine with all six directional prefixes, in which case they tend to denote literal direction,[265] but many verbs have lexicalized the use of a particular prefix.[266] In (680) an example is given with the verb *ɕə́* 'to go' that takes all prefixes.

(680) *tə̂-ɕə* 'to go up'
nɐ-ɕə́ 'to go down'
ɐ-ɕə́ 'to go in'
k^{h}ə-ɕə́ 'to go out'
də-ɕə́ 'to go towards speaker'
t^{h}ɐ-ɕə́ 'to go from speaker'

The equational copula, existential verbs and auxiliaries do not take directional prefixes. Stative verbs can take prefixes (§7.1.2).

7.1.1 *Directional prefixes and the interplay with verbal semantics*

The semantics of the verb can constrain the choice of the prefix: when the verbs in (681) and (682) occur with a prefix, they only occur with the prefix *nɐ̌-* and *tə́-* respectively, and in these cases it implies literal or metaphorical movement.

(681) *nɐ-qâ* 'to fall down'
nɐ-tɛ̂j 'to put on/wear (hat)'
nɐ-ɦɛ̌j 'to lose balance'
nɐ-gû 'to put on clothes'

(682) *tə́-k^{h}iŋ* 'to get up'
tə̂-ʈ^{h}aw 'to bubble, boil'
tə̂-du 'to climb onto sth; to copulate (of animals)'
tə̂-ɕaw 'to raise (children)'

Some verbs can occur with both prefixes and denote literal movement:

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[265] Fù (1998:51) notes a correlation between the number of prefixes that a verb takes and the degree of abstraction: only for verbs that take three or more prefixes is the literal direction expressed by the prefixes, and with verbs that take five or six prefixes, only literal direction is expressed.

[266] In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, there is no single lexicalized prefix that marks perfective as opposed to simple direction, as exists in some Qiang varieties (LaPolla, p.c.).

(683) *sǎ nɐ-ʈʰæ̂* 'to close an umbrella'[267]
sǎ tə̂-ʈʰæ 'to open an umbrella'

With some verbs the prefix *nɐ̌-* 'downwards' is used metaphorically for negative meanings,[268] as in (684), whereas the prefix *tə́-* 'upwards' is used metaphorically for positive meanings. This is especially clear with stative verbs,[269] as in (685).

(684) *nɐ-qǔ* 'to become blind'
nɐ-qwɛ́j 'to cry'
nɐ-ɻôŋ 'to have difficulties'
nɐ-ʈə̌ 'to die outside of home'
nɐ-wɛ̌j 'to curse'

(685) *tə̂-ʑə* 'to become a lot'
tə̂-bɐ 'to become expanded'
tə́-ku 'to be full'
tə́-kʰwi 'to have pity on'

The metaphorical use of the prefix *nɐ̌-* denoting something bad can also be clearly seen in example (686), where the prefix *qʰə̌-/kʰə̌-* [270] is normally used with the verb and the prefix *nɐ̌-* has a negative connotation.

(686) *kʰə-tʰîŋ* 'to drink' *nɐ-tʰîŋ* 'to drink continuously, be an alcoholic'
qʰə-dzə̂ 'to eat' *nɐ-dzə̂* 'to eat a lot, overeat'

Some more lexicalized meanings of *nɐ̌-* and *tə́-* are shown in (687) and (688).

(687) *nɐ-ɻ̥âw* 'to ferment'
nɐ-ɻ̥æ̌ŋ 'to laugh'
nɐ-l̥í 'to narrate'

(688) *tə́-ʈʂʉ* 'to sleep holding a child'
tə́-ɦɛj 'to forcibly occupy'
tə́-ɻ̥i 'to sweat'

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[267] The word for 'umbrella' is a loanword from Chinese 伞 *sǎn*.

[268] Cf. Dīng (1998:120) for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ.

[269] Cf. Fù (1998:37) for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ. The downwards and upwards prefixes in Qiāng also have negative and positive connotations (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:159). Note that the addition of a prefix with stative verbs indicates inchoative (§7.1.2).

[270] The phonology of this prefix was discussed in §2.1.7.4. Some cross-dialectal comparison and semantics were discussed in §4.6.2.

Chinese verbs are usually borrowed with the prefix *nɐ̌-*. This is also noted for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:120). Examples are given in (689).

(689) *nɐ-kwǽŋtɕi* 'to shut down (phone)' (<关机 *guānjī*)
nɐ-piŋǐŋ 'to graduate' (<毕业 *bìyè*)
nɐ-tʉ̂paw 'to gamble' (<赌博 *dǔbó*)
nɐ-ɕaʈʂʰéj 'to get out of the car' (<下车 *xiàchē*)
nɐ-ʈʂwêŋpi 'to prepare' (<准备 *zhǔnbèi*) [271]

The 'inwards' prefix *ɐ̌-* is often used as a default prefix[272]: many verbs can only be prefixed with *ɐ̌-* in which case no specific direction is implied, as in (690).

(690) *ɐ-dzǎŋ* 'to be clogged up'
ɐ-swéŋ 'to study, teach'
ɐ-ʈǽ 'to grab'
ɐ-pʰá 'to become moldy'

In example (691) from a conversation, a literal direction is illustrated. The speaker is in Wǎdū and the person referred to called her from Yǒngníng, which is down the valley and outwards from Wǎdū. The phone call is thus directed inwards.

(691) jǎw tìŋhwá hòŋ-dʐ̩ì ɐ́-dwî
again Ch:phone in-direction IN-throw:PFV:N.EGO

'He gave me a call again (...)' (CV15.22.1)

Verbs that only take the 'outwards' prefix *qʰə̌-/kʰə̌-* do not show any specific semantics, and no literal direction is implied. Some examples are given in (692).

(692) *qʰə-ʈʂʰə̂* 'to slaughter'
qʰə-swǐ 'to whet'
kʰə-nʲôŋ 'to nurse'
qʰə-n̥î 'to rest'
kʰə-ɻêŋ 'to be left over'

With some verbs that take multiple prefixes, the prefix *qʰə̌-/kʰə̌-* indicates a more specific meaning related to cultural practices:

[271] This verb has also been attested with the prefix *tʰɐ̌-*.

[272] Interestingly Fù (1998:43) notes that in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ many verbs that take the *ɐ̌-* prefix have to do with kitchen tasks.

(693) *nɐ-tsʰæ̌* 'to open something new'
qʰə-tsʰæ̌ 'to start on a new pork back'[273]

(694) *nɐ-tsə̂* 'to milk (a cow); to siphon'
qʰə-tsə̂ 'to open a jar of ale (by siphoning it into something else)'[274]

(695) *tə̂-ɖeŋ* 'to weigh'
qʰə-ɖéŋ 'to measure (using measuring cups)'[275]

The prefixes *də̌-* 'towards speaker' and *tʰɐ̌-* 'away from speaker' can also denote a direction across a physical border, like a river. Examples of metaphorical direction towards and from the speaker are given in (696) and (697). However, the semantics of the verb stem do not completely predict the use of a prefix, as can be seen in (698) where one would expect the prefix *də̌-*, but instead *tʰɐ̌-* is used. Some examples of lexicalized collocations with *də̌-* and *tʰɐ̌-* are given in (699) and (700).

(696) *də-ɻî* 'to find'
də-ʐə́ 'to catch'
də-ʈʰwɐ́ 'to obtain, find'[276]

(697) *tʰɐ-tɕíŋ* 'to see'
tʰɐ-kɨ̌ 'to give sb. sth. to drink'
tʰɐ-tʲɐ́ 'to offer a sheep'

(698) *tʰɐ-gí* 'to collect firewood'
tʰɐ-ʑî 'to rob'[277]
tʰɐ-kʰî 'to grab'

(699) *də-dʑwɨ̌ŋ* 'to be light (of the sky)'
də-bú 'to flare up (anger)'
də-ʈêŋ 'to miss people'

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[273] Pork back, the salted and dried deboned rump of a pig, fulfils an important cultural role. At every New Year a new pork back needs to be 'opened' which means that the head is cut off the rump and placed on the house altar next to the hearth accompanied by a ritual. After that the meat can be sliced and eaten.

[274] Ale is traditionally brewed at home (from a mixture of barley, highland barley, corn, and buckwheat or millet) and stored in jars. Opening a new jar is accompanied by a ritual: when the jar is opened, some of the dregs are put on the cooking tripod as an offering.

[275] Traditionally, people in Wǎdū use two standard dry measures in the form of a round and a square wooden measuring cup. When lending grain, an equal amount can be returned later.

[276] This verb can also appear with the prefix *nɐ̌-* in the sense 'to run into, encounter'.

[277] This verb does not co-occur with the prefix *də̌-* to show the direction of the action, like the verbs in (701).

(700) *tʰɐ-dzû* 'to build, repair'
tʰɐ-tɕʰíŋ 'to know hidden things'
tʰɐ-hʲɛ́j 'to leave (animals, people) behind'
tʰɐ-ʈʰʉ́ 'to untie a knot'

A few verbs can take both prefixes of the pair to indicate the direction of the action, as is illustrated in (701).

(701)	*tʰɐ-kî*	'to sell' (speaker is selling)	*də-kî*	'to sell' (to speaker)
	tʰɐ-nǐ	'to lend (tools)'	*də-nǐ*	'to borrow (tools)'
	tʰɐ-tʰʉ̌	'to lend (food)'	*də-tʰʉ̌*	'to borrow (food)'
	tʰɐ-kʰǐŋ	'to give' (speaker is giving)	*də-kʰǐŋ*	'to give' (to speaker)

7.1.2 *Stative verbs and directional prefixes*

When stative verbs (§8.2) are prefixed with a directional prefix, it marks inchoative aspect and a change in telicity of the verb, changing the stative verb to a verb denoting accomplishment or achievement.[278] Examples are given in (702) and (685) above.

(702)	*lɛ̂j*	'to be heavy'	*nɐ-lɛ̂j/qʰə-lɛ̂j*	'to become heavy'
	kə́	'to be spicy'	*tə-kə̂*	'to become spicy'
	ʐə́	'to be much'	*tə̂-ʐə/kʰə-ʐə́*	'to become more'

In combination with the prefix *tʰɐ̌-*, a stative verb still indicates a state, but rather a comparative or superlative state (as compared with others) or an excessive state (as compared to one's own expectations). This is a productive process.

(703) *tʰɐ-lɛ̂j* 'be heavier, be too heavy'
tʰɐ-kə́ 'be spicier, be too spicy'
tʰɐ-ʐə́ 'be more, be too much'

The comparative, superlative and excessive meanings are illustrated in (704), (705) and (706), respectively.[279]

(704) tə́ = ɻə́ = tù ìŋ = ɻə́ nʲóŋ tʰɛ̀-há ʂə̀ ɦà
3 = PL = on 1:INCL = PL money FR.SP-be.excessive because

'(...) we got more money than they (...)' (CV08.22.2)

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[278] Based on Vendler (1967), Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) distinguish four semantic types of verbs: *States*: be tall, know, have; *Activities*: walk, roll (intr.), read, eat; *Achievements*: pop, explode, collapse; *Accomplishments*: melt (intr.), freeze (intr.); learn. The latter two types are telic (i.e. having an endpoint).

[279] In Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ the excessive state, but not the superlative state is expressed with the same directional prefix (Dīng 1998:121).

(705) híŋ-bʉ̀ tʰè-ʈʰóŋ = gə́ tíŋɖwí = bù tɕʰwí ʐù
who-household FR.SP-be.fast = DEF luck = TOP good very

tɕǽ wêŋ
consider CUST.EXCL

'(...) the household that is the fastest, their luck is considered to be very good.' (CL02ed.16)

(706) èmá = gæ̀ ʐǎ̀ tʰè-ɕɛ́ ʂə̀ ɦà, tɕáwʂútʰàw = gə̀
aunt = GEN hand FR.SP-be.big because Ch:rubber.glove = DEF

tʰè-qʰɛ́tsɛ́j ʂə̀ ɦà
FR.SP-be.small because

'(...) (I cannot wear them), because aunt's hands are too big, (...) because the rubber gloves are too small, (...)' (CV02.46.1)

7.1.3 *Directional prefixes and telicity*

Cross-linguistically, there is a tendency for directionals to develop into markers of perfectivity, by making a process telic or bounded (Bybee and Dahl 1989:85-86). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the use of directional prefixes is not necessarily linked to perfective aspect,[280] which can be seen in the fact that they can co-occur with imperfective and expectational as well as perfective post-verbal particles, as in (707) and (708), but rather points to the endpoint (telicity) of an action.[281]

(707) nè-dzóŋ = ɖôŋ, ɛ́ = lá nè-dzóŋ = sêŋ, kóŋ ʐǔ
DOWN-sit = IPFV:EGO:1SG 1SG = also DOWN-sit = PFV:EGO cold very

nùséŋ = bù.
morning = TOP

'(I) sit down regularly (next to the fire as well), I also sat down (in the morning) as well, it's very cold in the early morning.' (CV02.14)

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[280] Although with controllable verbs that do not show inflection for phonological reasons, the directional prefix is an indication of perfectivity (§8.1.1).

[281] The notion of telicity has also been proposed for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ by Dīng (1998:196,208-209). He notes that the use of directional prefixes suggests perfectivity with Action verbs in some discourse contexts, but points to the basic notion of telicity. Fù (1998:119) mentions for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ that directional prefixes are often used in prospective aspect and the addition of a directional prefix indicates that the action will certainly be done (1998:124) and is linked to a result (1998:125).

(708) is used when one has already told the addressee that one is planning to eat bread and is carrying bread.

(708) é mə̀ʐǎ qʰə̀-dzə́=ʂû
1SG bread OUT-eat=VOL:SG

'I want to eat the bread.' (EL:W-C33.3)

In (709) the directional prefix cannot be left out, which points to the completion of the first action before the second action is taken. The prefix could be seen as indicating perfectivity, but as Ding (1998:209) points out for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ, directional prefixes may give a perfective reading with some Activity verbs due to the discourse context. In (709), the prefixed verb occurs in a temporal subordinate clause marked by *kʰi noŋ* 'only when', which indicates that the first action is conducted before the second starts. Thus a directional prefix that marks the boundedness of the action needs to be present on the first verb.

(709) nélʲáw=wù tʰè-pʰí ((kʰì))=nòŋ tɕì=gǐ.
eye=in FR.SP-push time=only pour=VOL:INCL

'Only after having pushed in the eye, let's pour in (some salt).' (CV18.127)

A similar example is given in (710). In (710) the difference between the absence of the prefix in the first line and the use of the prefix in the second and third line also points to the boundedness of the action. In the story something happened during the time the mother was eating, and something else happened after she had finished eating.

(710) dəbǔ, dzwə́=sì tɕàw. dzwə́=sì kʰì=bù dəbǔ
then eat:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY eat:PFV:N.EGO=INF time=TOP then

'So (she) ate. When (she) was eating, (…)' (TC04.15)

dəbǔ qʰə̀-dzwə́=sì tɕə̀=ɖàw.
then OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO=INF say=IPFV:N.EGO

'Then (she) finished eating, it is said.' (TC04.17)

qʰə̀-dzwə́ kʰì=nòŋ=bù dəbǔ
OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO time=only=TOP then

'When (she) had eaten, (…)' (TC04.18)

A similar difference in telicity can be seen when comparing example (707) above with (711). In (707) a directional prefix is used which indicates the bounded action of sitting down, whereas in (711) no prefix is used and the same verb indicates the non-bounded action of staying in a place.

(711) pʉ́nə̀ ə̀má ə́-q^{h}wà gòŋn^{j}ǽ-bá wú dzóŋ = sêŋ.
today aunt that-on:GEN Nuòsū-household:GEN interior sit = PFV:EGO

'Today aunt (= I) visited the Nuòsū household over there.' (CV14.285)

The use of directional prefixes also ties in with pragmatics. When someone invites a person for a meal and that person wants to decline the invitation, it is possible to say *dzə́ = seŋ* 'I've eaten'. This does not mean that the invited person has really eaten. If so, *q^{h}ə̌-dzə́ = seŋ* would be used, with the directional prefix to show that the action has been completed.

When perfective aspect is expressed in verbs (through a non-egophoric perfective verb stem or a basic verb stem followed by the egophoric perfective marker, see §8.1.1 and §8.3.1), the directional prefix is generally used. The exception is the verbs 'to do', 'to go', 'to come', 'to let', 'to think', and 'to say', which are often used without prefix even in perfective aspect, as in (712).

(712) ʐɛ́-tsə̀ = gə̀ ʂêj.
four-CLF:person = DEF go:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) the four of them went.' (CV02.78.1)

When preceded by a perfective negative, a directional prefix is usually absent, as in (713).[282] When a directional prefix is present, it either denotes a specific direction (in the case of motion verbs), as in (714), or emphasizes the action, as in (715).

(713) tɛ̀nóŋ tɛ́-kù = là mí = dzwə́ sì ɖàw
just.now one-CLF:mouthful = also NEG:PFV = eat:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

k^{h}ì.
trail

'Just now (you) probably did not eat even one mouthful.' (CV19.55)

[282] The exception is with stative verbs that show inchoative aspect (§7.1.2): the directional prefix is present and the perfective negation intervenes between the prefix and the verb, as in *nɐ-mí = lɛj* 'has not become heavy'. With verbs that have a lexicalized directional, as in (687), (688), (699) and (700) above, the prefix will usually be absent.

(714) tə́ dǎwmà tɕʰwǎ nɛ́-nìŋ ɦà tɛ̀tsɨ̌
this T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma pig DOWN-drive LINK still

tə́-mí = tɕʰóŋ sì ɖàw.
UP-NEG:PFV-come:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

'(…) this Dauma went to herd pigs and has probably still not come back up.' (CV20.19)

(715) ə́jòŋ, kɛ̀ = ʈâ, nɛ̌-mí = sə́ = sì ɖǒŋ.
INTJ afraid = SVM DOWN-NEG:PFV = die = INF okay

'Oh! That's scary, (she) did not end up dying, that's good.' (CV09.66)

Pǔmǐ does not favor a special directional prefix for imperative forms;[283] the same prefix that is used for the normal verb form is also used for the imperative form. Most imperative forms appear with a directional prefix, but the imperative forms of the verbs 'to come, go, give, say, do, eat, drink' can also appear without directional prefixes.

7.1.4 *Multiple prefix construction*

A construction with a repetition of a verb prefixed by an antonym pair of directional prefixes is shown in (716). With verbs of motion, the construction expresses a back and forth motion of the action; with other verbs the construction has an intensifying meaning. This construction does not seem to appear with stative verbs. A similar construction also appears in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (Fù 1998:123), in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:143) and in Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:156). The order of the prefixes cannot be changed,[284] but some verbs can appear with several sets of prefixes, as with the verb *tɕǐŋ* 'to lean' in (717).

(716) *kʰə-níŋ-ɐ-níŋ* 'driving back and forth' (< *níŋ* 'to drive (animals)')
kʰə-bíŋ-ɐ-bîŋ 'flying back and forth' (< *bǐŋ* 'to lurch, fly')
qʰə-dzə́-ɐ-dzə́ 'grazing (of a cow)' (< *dzə́* 'to eat')
tʰɐ-ʈǔ-də-ʈǔ 'pulling out (a piece) here and there' (< *ʈǔ* 'to pull')
tə́-ɻ̥i-nɐ-ɻ̥î 'sweating extensively' (< *ɻ̥î* 'to sweat')
tʰɐ-ʈěŋ-də-ʈěŋ 'considering a lot of things' (< *ʈěŋ* 'to think of')
tʰɐ-kʰǎw-də-kʰǎw 'crooked' (< *kʰǎw* 'to bend)'

[283] In several varieties of Qiāng, particular directional prefixes are used for imperative forms of verbs (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:408; Evans 2004:209).

[284] I.e. 'out'-'in'; 'from speaker'-'to spreaker' ; 'up'-'down'. Interestingly, in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ the order is 'from speaker'-'towards speaker', opposite from that of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ (cf. Dīng 1998:143).

(717) *tʰɐ-tɕǐŋ-də-tɕǐŋ* 'walking with a swaying walk'
kʰə-tɕǐŋ-ɐ-tɕǐŋ 'swaying back and forth (of a tree)'
tə̀-tɕiŋ-nɐ-tɕǐŋ 'swaying up and down (of a tree on a vertical slope)'

Like reciprocal reduplication (§7.4.1.1), this construction deverbalizes the verb, and cam be analysed as a verbal compound. Thus the construction needs to be followed by the verb *pɯ́* 'to do' in order to function like a verb in a clause, as can be seen in (718) and (719). Dīng (1998:143) observes something similar in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ when he states that the compound cannot be preceded by negation or interrogative markers or followed by other verbal markers.

(718) é = bú qʰə̀-ɖǽŋ-ɛ̀-ɖǽŋ pɯ̀ ɦà tə̀ = gǎ sèŋní = ɦá
1SG = TOP OUT-run-IN-run do LINK 3SG = GEN listen = even

mí = séŋnì.
NEG:PFV = listen

'(...) I was running back and forth and did not even listen to his (talking).' (CV07.24)

(719) tɕìŋ = ɻə́ = bì = ɖɐ = bù, tʰè-ʈǔ-də̀-ʈù pɯ́ ɦà qèlá
child = PL = DAT = DIS = TOP FR.SP-pull-TO.SP-pull do LINK bundle

ɛ̀-dzóŋdzù də̀-kʰìŋ wêŋ.
IN-make:CASU TO.SP-give CUST.EXCL

'(The deceased woman) would pull a bit (of firewood) here and a bit there and casually made a bundle for the children.' (CV09.6.2)

7.2 Negation

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has three negative clitics: the general *mǎ* =, the perfective *mí* = and the prohibitive (negative imperative) *tʲæ* = [285]. The general *mǎ* = has an emphatic form *mɐ* = that only appears in some constructions. The various negation markers precede the last verbal element in a predicate, as in (720). This implies that the current evidential = *ɖaw* in (721) is verbal in origin.[286] The position of negation markers depends on the scope of negation. Compare (721), where the scope of negation is the whole clause and the negative marker precedes = *ɖaw*, with (722), where the negative marker precedes *ʑǐŋ* and the scope of negation is the complement clause.

[285] Cf. Qiāng [tɕɑ- ~ tɕə- ~ tɕo- ~tɕe-], PTB **ta-* (LaPolla with Huáng 2003). This negator seems to be toneless, but its exact tonal behaviour needs further research.

[286] As are the egophoric markers = *ɖoŋ*, = *ɖu*, = *ɖweŋ*, = *ʂu*, = *ɕiŋ*, and the evidential marker = *qɛj* (§8.3.2; §8.3.3). The egophoric = *seŋ* and the evidential = *si* are never preceded by negation (§8.3.1).

(720) ʈʂǽ=wù tséŋ tʲǽ=kɛ̀j ɦǎw.
dirt=in fall.down PROH-let WARN

'Don't let it fall down in the dirt!!' (CV18.149.2)

(721) dɛ̀ɻɛ̌j tóŋ ʑíŋ mà=ɖáw
speech speak can NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) he was not able to speak (...)' (YJ01.27)

(722) tɛ̀kʰə̀=lá pɯ́ mà=ʑìŋ tʰɛ́-ɖóŋ=ɖàw
a.little=also do NEG=can FR.SP-become=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (the situation) has become (that I'm) not able to do even a little bit, (...)' (CV02.38)

If a directional prefix is present it precedes the negation marker, as in (723).[287] With certain disyllabic verbs (where an adverb or noun has become incorporated into the verbal complex), the negator comes between the adverb or noun and the second syllable, as in (724).

(723) də-ʐə́-mə́ tʰɛ̌-tʲǽ=hʲɛ̀j ɦà?
TO.SP-catch-NMLZ FR.SP-NEG=release LINK

'Why would you not release the one you caught?' (CV16.17)

(724) dəbǔ gwǎ ɻə̌=mí=ɕî. (<*ɻə́ɕǐ* 'can')
then sing can=NEG=can

'(...) I could not sing.' (YJ01.9)

7.2.1 *General negation*

The general negation marker *mǎ=* is used with general non-perfective statements that do not imply strong speaker-volition.

(725) qɛ̌ mǎ=kwì-mə=ɻə̀=bù ʑù tʰóŋ mǎ=wèŋ.
strength NEG=EXIST.IN-NMLZ=PL=TOP lift can:N.EGO NEG=CUST.EXCL

'(…) the ones who don't have the strength will not be able to lift (one side).' (CL01ed.18)

The general negator *mǎ=* is used in several constructions. A construction with the denominal verb (§7.7) *kʰɛ́miŋ pɯ* 'not to be possible (not to V)' and the general negation marker implies that there is no other choice but to conduct the action expressed by the verb:

[287] For the interesting tonal behaviour in these constructions see the discussion in §3.4.5.

(726) pèʐóŋ = tì mà = dzə́ kʰémíŋ pʉ̀ wèŋ
roast.tsampa = INDF NEG = eat not.possible do CUST.EXCL

'(In the past) there would be no choice but to eat roasted *tsampa* (...)' (CV14.168)

A double negation construction implies a very positive statement:

(727) mà = tɕʰæ̌ dǐŋ mà = ɕì
NEG = search place NEG = EXIST.AB

'There is no place that (we) did not look for (goldthread) (...)' (SN02.17)

Negative conditional clauses (§10.4.1) are formed with the general negator *mǎ* = and the interrogative marker *ê* = (§7.3) in the construction *DIR-mǎ = ê = V TOP*, as in (728) and (729). This is the only instance in which the general negator co-occurs with a directional prefix, and also the only co-occurrence of a negator and the interrogative marker.

(728) nùséŋ nʲæ̌ɻə̀ tə́-mà = é = m̥ə̀ = bù, (...) tèʈʰì = ɕí bʉ́
morning early UP-NEG = Q = get.up = TOP after.a.while = LIM.TOP sun

n̥óŋ-pʰà tʰè-ɖòŋ = ɖàw.
day-half FR.SP-become = IPFV:N.EGO

'If we don't get up early in the morning, (...) after a while it will already have become mid-day.' (CV04.57)

(729) ɻèdʑə̀ = nóŋ nə́ = tí kʰə̌-mà = é = tʰìŋ tóŋ
liquor = COORD thus = INDF OUT-NEG = Q = drink speak

mǎ = wèŋ mə̀ dzə̀ nǐŋ
NEG = be.able GNOMIC INTJ

'(...) if he does not drink liquor or similar things, he can not narrate, mind you (...)' (CV13.110.1)

When the verb in a negative conditional clause is the equational copula, no prefix is present:

(730) nìŋ = ɻə́ mà = é = dzə̀ = bù, é tsʰǔ nè-sə̀
2 = PL NEG = Q = be = TOP 1SG almost DOWN-die

'(…) If it wasn't for you, I would have died (…)' (YJ01.59)

7.2.2 *Perfective negation*

The negation marker *mí=* is used with perfective aspect.[288] Dīng (1998:200) states: "To negate a perfective-marked verb, the perfective clitic must be removed when the perfective negator is attached to the host." In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, this does not necessarily hold true: both the inferential evidential *=si* (Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ's perfective clitic) as well as the perfective egophoric *=seŋ* can be used in combination with the perfective negator, as shown in (731) and (732).[289]

(731) dǎwmà mí=tɕʰóŋ=sì.
T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma NEG:PFV=come:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'Dauma has not come back yet.' (CV20.133.2)

(732) èmá mí=ɕə́=sèŋ
aunt NEG=go=PFV:EGO

'(...) aunt (=I) did not go.' (YJ02.33)

7.2.3 *Prohibitive negation*

The prohibitive or negative imperative is expressed by the prefix *tʲæ-* that directly precedes the imperative form of a verb. The directional prefix never appears with negative imperative forms:[290]

(733) tʲǽ-pàw!
PROH-do:IMP:SG

'(...) don't do that!' (CV04.65)

(734) tʲǽ-ɕìŋ ɦǎw, tʲǽ-ɕìŋ, tʲǽ-ɕìŋ.
PROH-go:IMP:PL WARN PROH-go:IMP:PL PROH-go:IMP:PL

'Don't go, don't go, don't go!' (CV21.385)

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[288] Jacques (p.c.) notes the resemblance between Tangut's past negator *mjij*[2] and the Pumi form.

[289] As will be shown in §8.3.1, inferential evidential marking is always optional, depending on the type of evidence, and perfective egophoric marking is obligatory in positive propositions, but optional in negative propositions, depending on the purposefulness of the speaker.

[290] Not even with verbs that have a lexicalized directional prefix, as in (687), (688), (699) and (700) above.

In combination with the modal auxiliary verb *qʰǔ* 'to need', the prohibitive expresses a (negative) optative sense, as in (735).[291]

(735) "tə́ m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí = gə́ = bù tʲæ̀-sə̀ qʰû, (...)" tɕə̀ = sèŋ
this female-DIM = DEF = TOP PROH-die need say = PFV:EGO

'(We) said, "(We) hope this little girl will not die (...)" ' (YJ01.53)

Apart from prohibitions, the negator is used in situations where the volition of the speaker is involved, indicating that the referent refuses to conduct the action, as in (736), (737) and (738).[292] Note that in those examples the basic form and not the imperative form of the verb is used.

(736) tɕʰǐ nə́ tɕʰwí-mə́ nǐŋ tʲæ̀-dzə̀, nǒŋ míŋ dzə̀ = ʂù?
food thus good-NMLZ 2SG PROH-eat so what eat = VOL:SG

'Such good food you would not eat, so what do you want to eat?'
(TC02.65:EL)

(737) ɕàwɕǎw tɕʰə́pǽ tʲæ̀-kʰǐŋ
paper nicely PROH-give

'(...) they would not nicely give the money (...)' (SN01.10)

(738) ɛ̀-bá pɛ̀j = ɻə́ dəbǔ, ʂélʲàw tʲóŋ = bì
1-household:GEN older.sibling = PL then grain.kernel one:CLF:thing = DAT

tɕʰɛ̀bʉ̀lʲǒŋ gə-bʉ̀lʲòŋ dzú tʰòŋ-mə nǐŋ tʲæ̀-gwɛ̌
food.lump nine-CLF:ball make can:N.EGO-NMLZ 2SG PROH-grab

'Our household's older siblings, who can make nine lumps of food from one kernel of grain, you would not grab (...)' (TC02.65)

The constructions *tʲæ-*V_{contr} *nɐ-pa* involving the basic form of a controllable verb (§8.1.1), as in (739), and $V_{\text{non-contr}}$ *tʲæ-pʉ nɐ-pa* involving the basic form of a non-controllable verb (§8.1.1), as in (740), imply that the referent purposely does not take a certain action.

[291] In Shǐxīng (Chirkova 2009:50), a prohibitive is also used in a negative optative (in combination with an irrealis marker). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the modal auxiliary verb *qʰǔ* that is used for polite requests (§7.9.9) is used for the optative in combination with the prohibitive.

[292] Dīng (1998:198) calls this negator 'desiderative' with a central meaning of conflicting desires between two parties.

(739) dəbǔ tɕʰənə́ pʉ̀ hʲàwhʲàw pʉ́=là=bù dəbǔ, ɕí=wà
then how do wail do=also=TOP then village=in:GEN

m̥ə́=ɻòŋ tú tʲæ̀-ʐə̀ nɛ́-pá ɦà.
person=PL:GEN look PROH-come DOWN-do LINK

'However much he wailed, the people in the village would not come to look.' (TC08.46)

(740) dəbǔ tə̀=gǒŋnì=bù pètsə́ dǐ tsʰá tʲæ̀-pʉ́
then 3SG=AGT=TOP flower throw be.finished PROH-do

nɛ́-pà.
DOWN-do:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) he (purposely) did not finish the flowers.' (TC07.23)

Another construction with the prohibitive *tʲæ-V TOP* functions as a sort of rhetorical question, implying a very strong suggestion. The verb can have a directional prefix, and a topic marker (often the general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6), but also other discourse markers [§6.5]) may follow the clause. This construction is a case of insubordination and will be discussed in §10.5.

(741) nǐŋ nɛ̌-tʲæ̀-tòŋ=bù
2SG DOWN-PROH-speak=TOP

'Why don't you tell something?' (CV06.18)

7.2.4 *Emphatic negation*

An alternate form *mɐ=* of the negation marker *mǎ=* is used in various constructions with a more emphatic meaning. Its most general occurrence is with the auxiliary *hâ* 'should' (§7.9.10) as in *mêha* 'don't!'. In some cases both the general negator *mǎ=* as well as the alternate *mɐ* can be used, but *mɐ=* conveys a stronger sense of there being no solution, as in (742) and (743).

(742) ìŋ=ɻə́=bù, dəbǔ dʐə̀dʐì mɛ́=ɕî.
1:INCL=PL=TOP then letter NEG:EMPH=EXIST.AB

'(...) but we don't have books.' (CV25.38.1)

(743) nǽŋkʰæ̀lʉ̀má=bù dəbǔ ʈʰɛ́ míŋní mɛ̀=dzə̀=bù
lama.naekhae=TOP then all.the.time straw.sandal NEG:EMPH=be=TOP

pʉ́qá tɕwì ʐǐŋ mà=ɖáw mə́ dzə̀ bàw.
shoe wear can NEG=IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC CONTR

'Lama Naekhae cannot wear shoes continuously, except for straw sandals.' (CV01.18)

A construction with both the interrogative *ɛ̂*= (§7.3) as well as negation marker *mɐ*= is used in the sense 'whether or not':

(744) tǎ nə́-mə́ mɛ̀jsə́-mə̀=tì=là ɛ́=ʑì mɛ́=ʑî
now thus-NMLZ know-NMLZ=INDF=also Q=EXIST.AN NEG:EMPH=EXIST.AN

'(...) nowadays there may not be many people (lit. whether or not there are people) who know this (story).' (CV13.109)

(745) nìŋ-bɯ́ ɛ́=dʑìŋ mɛ̀=dʑìŋ dəbǔ, ɛ́=dʑìŋ
2- household Q=be.true NEG:EMPH=be.true then Q=be.true

mɛ̀=dʑìŋ dəbǔ, nìŋ-bɯ́ ɛ̀-tú mà
NEG:EMPH=be.true then 2- household IN-look INFO

'(The wild boar) said, "Your household, whether or not it is like this, whether or not it is like this, your household will see (...)" ' (TC02.15)

(746) pʰíŋ ɛ́=mæ̀ŋ mɛ́=mæ̀ŋ ɦǎw
flee Q=have.time NEG:EMPH=have.time WARN

'(…) I don't know whether there is time to flee!! (…)' (TC03.18)

A construction with a prefixed verb and emphatic negation means 'every/all that V':

(747) lɛ̌j hɛ̀-mɛ̀=dì-mə́ tə́-ní=sì
seed IN-NEG:EMPH=throw-NMLZ UP-sprout=INF

'All the seeds that have been sown have sprouted.' (CV21.537.3EL)

(748) tə́-mɛ́=ʑə̀=là ɛ̀má=bì tɕʰɛ̀kù jɛ̂j.
UP-NEG:EMPH=come=also aunt=DAT gift get

'(…) every time (you) come up (here you) get aunt a gift.' (CV02.31)

(749) ɛ̀-bǎ mɛ̀m̥ə́ hɛ̀-mɛ̀=m̥ə̀-mə́ sòŋ-ʈwɛ́
1-household:GEN T:butter.lamp IN-NEG:EMPH=light-NMLZ three-CLF:flame

ʑɛ́-ʈwɛ̀ tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ=ɖàw
four-CLF:flame FR.SP-become=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) all our household's butter lamps that have been lighted have become three or four flames; (...)' (CV21.537.3)

7.3 Interrogatives

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has several ways of asking polar questions. They all slightly differ in terms of pre-knowledge of the speaker in respect to the situation. The most neutral way of forming questions is with the pre-verbal polar interrogative clitic *ɛ̂*= where the speaker has no clues about the situation to expect an answer one way or the other. The position of the interrogative clitic in a clause depends on the scope of the interrogation.

The clitic normally precedes the last verbal element of a clause, the main verb in (750) and the egophoric marker *=ʂu* in (751). In (752) the clitic precedes the nominalization construction *mə dzə* (§8.6.1) and the scope is over the truthfulness of the whole proposition. The position of the interrogative clitic in front of a nominalizer is interesting. There is only one example of this in the corpus. The construction *mə dzə* marks gnomic statements (§8.6.1) and ties in with the evidential system.

(750) tə́ ʈʂʰə̌=bì tɕʰǐ é=tɕʰwí wɛ̀j?
this dog=DAT food Q=feed:N.EGO PUZ

'(...) has (she) fed this dog food? (...)' (CV14.16.3)

(751) ɛ̀má sénóŋ dzə́ é=ʂù?
aunt Sanong eat Q=VOL:SG

'Aunt Sanong, do you want to eat?' (CV14.159)

(752) m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí=ɻóŋ tʰútù ə́-pù pʉ̀ də-jɛ̌j é=mə dzə̀
female-DIM=PL:AGT all.the.time that-wide do TO.SP-get Q=GNOMIC

'(The Nuòsū lady) said that the girls brought (one piece of meat) that wide all the time, right?' (CV14.279)

The polar interrogative clitic *ê=* is not used in a substance (WH) question, but interrogative pronouns (§4.2.3) are used instead.

When a directional prefix is present and the verb is not modified, the interrogative marker *ê=* fuses with the prefix, as is shown in Table 7.2 and (753). If anything modifies a verb, the marker will precede the last verbal element, as in (754).

(753) dǎwmà nʲæ̀-tɕʰôŋ?
T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma DOWN:Q-come:PFV:N.EGO

'Has Dauma come down?' (CV19.78)

(754) ɛ̀má-lì ɛ̀-ʐə́ é=qɛ̀j?
aunt-DIM IN-come Q=EXPT

'Will young aunt come back?' (CV13.134.2)

Table 7.2 Interrogative directional prefixes

DIR-	DIR:Q-	Meaning
tə́-	*tʲǽ-*	'mountain-wards, upwards'
nɛ̌-	*nʲæ̌-*	'valley-wards, downwards'
qʰə̌-/kʰə̌-	*kʰʲæ̌-*[293]	'outwards, down the valley'
ɛ̌-	*hʲæ̌-* [çæ][294]	'inwards, up the valley'
də̌-	*dʲæ̌-*	'towards speaker (across boundary)'
tʰɛ̌-	*tʰʲæ̌-*	'from speaker (across boundary)'

A tag question is formed by adding the question marker *ɛ̂* = and the copula *dzə́* 'to be' to the end of a statement. The tag is set off from the rest of the clause by a pause. When using tag questions, a speaker expects a confirmative answer.

(755) tə́ = ɻə́ tə́gí n̥ə̀ = ɻǽ m̥í wùɕə̀ = ɖáw mə́ dzə̀,
3 = PL beginning seven = PL:GEN night new.year = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC
ɛ́ = dzə̀?
Q = be

'They celebrate New Year on the evening of the seventh day (of the eleventh lunar month), right?' (CV02.73)

The interrogative marker *ɛ̂* = can be used in a conditional construction *ɛ̂* = *V TOP* to form a conditional subordinate clause, as in (756). If a directional prefix is present, the particle will fuse with the prefix, as is shown in Table 7.2 and in (757). Conditional clauses will be discussed in §10.4.1.

(756) pɯ̀ = gǽ m̥ə́ = ɻòŋ ɛ́ = ʈʂʰə̀ = bù,...
self = GEN person = PL = AGT Q = slaughter = TOP

'If one's own people slaughter (the pigs), (...)' (CV16.27.1)

[293] Since the interrogative forms involve palatalization, the prefix is pronounced with [kʰ] (cf. §2.1.7.4).

[294] The initial cavity fricative that is lost in the inwards prefix *ɛ̌-* now leaves a trace in the interrogative form (cf. §4.6.2 and §8.3).

(757) tə́ tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́ = bù, tɕíɻóŋ mà = qɛ́j
3SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO = TOP hungry NEG = EXPT

'If he has eaten, he won't get hungry.' (EL)

Other ways of forming questions make use of clause-final attitude particles. These will be discussed in §8.8.2. Two of the clause-final attitude particles, *â* and *noŋ* are illustrated in (758), (759) and (760). When a question is stated in the negative, the confirmation will be a positive statement, as in (758).[295]

(758) dʑìdʑì ɖʉ́ tsʰá mà = ɖáw â?
letter write be.finished NEG = IPFV:N.EGO CONF

W: '(You) haven't finished writing yet?' (CV13.15)

ɦə̌ʔə̂!
INTJ

J: 'Right!' (CV13.16)

In my data, there is one example of a negative answer to confirm a negatively-phrased question, as in (759). According to my main consultant this is an exception. It could be that the speaker was influenced by a positively-phrased question that was asked immediately before, and to which he answered 'No', as in (760).

(759) ɻɛ́ɕɛ̀ ɕɛ̀ = nòŋ nə́ pʉ́ ɕə́ mà = tʲʉ́ â?
packload pack.load = COORD thus do go NEG = EXP CONF

P: 'You didn't go when you were driving mule caravans?' (CV13.21)

èŋhə̌!
INTJ

G: 'No.' (confirming the question) (CV13.22)

(760) dʑɛ́dòŋ tə̀ = ɻæ̀ (nǐŋ), káw nǐŋ ɕə́ = tʲʉ́ nôŋ?
Zhōngdiàn this = PL:GEN (2SG) uncle(MB) 2SG go = EXP QUEST

P: 'Uncle, have you been to Zhōngdiàn and surroundings?' (CV13.19)

èŋhə̌!
INTJ

G: 'No.' (CV13.20)

[295] Unlike English, but like Chinese. English: Q. 'You didn't go?' A. 'No' (I didn't go) versus Chinese Q. 'You didn't go?' A. 'Yes' (I didn't go).

7.4 The verb stem: verbal morphology

This section will discuss the morphological structure of the verb stem in Pǔmǐ. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows a certain amount of verbal stem morphology, in particular several patterns of reduplication that mark reciprocal, collective, random and continuous aspect (§7.4.1). Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has one derivational affix *–qa* that marks iterative aspect with certain verb stems (§7.4.2).[296] And Pǔmǐ has a set of stative/transitive verb pairs that show alternation of the initial (§7.4.3).

7.4.1 *Reduplication and aspect*

Reciprocal, collective, random and continuous verbal aspects are all created through reduplication of the verb stem and vowel change in the reduplicated syllable. These reduplication processes show 'derivational iconicity' as defined by Aikhenvald (2007:23): "an intuitively predictable correlation between derivational process and its semantics". The most basic templates for the different reduplications are given in Table 7.3. In addition, there are also tonal differences in the different templates. These have been discussed in §3.4.7 and will not be dealt with here.

Table 7.3 Reduplication templates

Pattern	Aspect	Example	Meaning
C_1V_1	basic	*tsêj*	'to wash'
C_1ɐ C_1V_1	reciprocal	*tsêtsɛj*	'to wash each other'
C_1 {ɐ/ə} C_1V_1	collective	*tsə̂tsɛj*	'to wash together'
C_1oŋ C_1V_1	random, causal	*tsôŋtsɛj*	'to wash randomly'
$C_1V_1C_1${æ/ɑ}	continuous	*tsêjtsɑ*	'to wash continuously'

[296] There might be an additional derivational affix *-ɻæ* that has been found in only three verbs in the corpus: *ʈʂʰɛjɻǽ* 'to be delayed for a long time' (stative verb) (< *ʈʂʰɛ̌j* 'to be delayed' [non-controllable verb]), *ʈʰwɛ́jɻæ* 'to continuously winnow' (< *ʈʰwɛ́j* 'to winnow'), and *ɕǽɻæ* 'to resemble' (stative verb) (< *ɕǽ* 'to resemble' [stative verb]). The origin and function of this affix needs further research. Dīng (1998:125) also notes a negative derivational prefix *ma-* that derives antonyms of stative verbs. Based on the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ data I do not analyse it as a derivational prefix in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, but rather as the normal negative clitic that cliticizes to the verb. An example is *ma=ɖʐwá* 'uncomfortable'. When the current evidential *=ɖaw* follows, it is not possible to say **ma-ɖʐwa=ɖâw*, but unstead the negation marker has to precede *=ɖaw* as in *ɖʐwá ma=ɖâw* (cf. Dīng 1998:126, ex. (5.24)a). Also, it is possible to negate a stative verb that has a lexical alternative, as in *lɛ̂j* 'heavy', *mǎ=lɛj* 'not heavy' and *ʑǐŋ* 'light'.

7.4.1.1 *Reciprocal reduplication*

A reciprocal form of a verb is created through *C_1ɐ C_1V_1* reduplication of the verb stem. The vowel of the initial reduplicated syllable undergoes reduction to [ɐ].[297] Some examples are given in (761). Reciprocal reduplication deverbalizes verbs: reciprocal forms do not take a directional prefix, and the light verb *pʉ́* 'to do' needs to be added, as shown in (762), (764) and (765).

(761) *tɕʰɐtɕʰǎw* 'rubbing each other' (< *tɕʰǎw* 'to rub')
qêqu 'helping each other' (< *qú* 'to help')
ʈêʈæ 'scratching each other' (< *ʈǽ* 'to scratch')
ɖwɐɖʉ̌ 'writing to each other' (< *ɖʉ̌* 'to write')

(762) ʑǎ = qʰù də̀-ʐá ní = dzæ̀ŋ gwɛ́gʉ́ pʉ̀ ʐò̞ŋ ɕə́ = qɛ̂j.
hand = on TO.SP-carry 2 = DU exchange:RECP do SIM go = EXPT

'Carried by hand, the two of them will have gone exchanging (it) continuously.' (CV02.88)

Reciprocals reduce the distinction between the different participants and thus only one argument is required. Compare the following sentences, where the non-reduplicated verb stem takes two arguments, and the reciprocal only one:

(763) [tə́ m̩ə̀ɖæ̀ = gó̞ŋní] [ɛ́] ɛ̀-ʈwǽ
this girl = AGT 1SG IN-scratch:PFV:N.EGO

'This girl scratched me.' (EL)

(764) [tə́ tɕìŋ = dzǽŋ] ʈɛ́ʈæ̀ pʉ̀ = ɖà̰w
this child = DU scratch:RECP do = IPFV:N.EGO

'These two children are scratching each other.' (EL)

Reciprocal reduplication normally occurs with controllable verbs. Interestingly, a reciprocal reduplication is attested for the non-controllable verb *sə̌* 'to die'. Structurally it functions like a reciprocal, but since a reciprocal meaning is semantically impossible, it has an idiomatic meaning 'to work or fight as if one's life depended on it', as in (765); since the resulting reduplication has a controllable meaning, the verb *pʉ́* needs to follow.

[297] One could alternatively analyse this as a replacement of the vowel by [ɐ].

(765) jèhǎ ə́-pù sɛ̀sə̀ pɯ́ kʰí = là ʈʰɛ́ dzǔ
all that-under die:RECP do time = also all.the.time make

mí = tʰôŋ.
PFV:NEG = can:N.EGO

'(...) but even though (they) all looked hard for the problem, (they) could not fix (it).' (PC05.7)

7.4.1.2 Collective reduplication

Collective reduplication is formed with a C_1 *{ɐ/ə}* C_1V_1 reduplication of the verb. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable is reduced to [ɐ], and is often further reduced to [ə]. These vowels are in free variation. Collective reduplication verbs obligatorily take a directional prefix, which is the same as that of the non-reduplicated form. The further reduction of the vowel of the first syllable might be due to the presence of the prefix, but more research needs to be conducted. Vowels of reciprocal forms (§7.4.1.1) are never reduced to [ə], but are always [ɐ].

There are many verbs that show identical forms for both reciprocal and collective reduplications. For example *lɐlǔ* from the verb *lǔ* 'to hang' can be interpreted reciprocally 'to put arms over each others' shoulders' or collectively 'to hang (of a lot of things)'. Structurally, however, reciprocal and collective reduplications function differently. The difference can be clearly seen in the following elicited examples with the transitive verb *gwɛ̌* 'to tie' (the reciprocal and collective forms of this verb are not identical; the reciprocal form has [ɐ] and the collective form has [ə] in the first syllable):

(766) ɛ́ = ɻə̀ sɛ̀ɖwèŋ = góŋ gɛ̀gwɛ̀ pɯ́ = sêŋ
1.EXCL = PL hemp.rope = INS tie:RECP do = PFV:EGO

'We tied each other with a rope.' (EL)

(767) ɛ́ = ɻə̀ sɛ̀ɖwɛ̌ŋ ɛ̀-gə̀gwɛ̀ = sêŋ
1.EXCL = PL hemp.rope IN-tie:COLL = PFV:EGO

'We tied a rope together.' (EL)

The collective reduplication has a directional prefix; the reciprocal reduplication does not have a directional prefix, but needs the addition of *pɯ́* 'to do'. Furthermore, the collective reduplication does not reduce the valency of the verb and can have an O argument, whereas it is not possible for the reciprocal reduplication to have an O argument. If *sɐɖwɛ̌ŋ* 'rope' is added, it needs to be coded as an instrument, as in (766).

The collective reduplication appears with controllable as well as non-controllable verbs and implies that an action is conducted by multiple people (as in *nɐ-tɕʰətɕʰə́* 'to stand

together' from the controllable verb *tɕʰə̌* 'to stand') or is completely the case (as in *dzədzǎŋ* 'to be clogged up completely' from the stative verb *dzǎŋ* 'to be clogged up'), depending on the semantics of the predicate.

Examples of collective reduplication are given in (768) with the non-controllable verb *l̥óŋ* 'to have time', and in (769) with the controllable verb *ɻ̥ǎ* 'to laugh'. In (769) the form *ɻ̥ə̂ɻ̥æ* can also be used, with a further reduction of the vowel.

(768) ɻə́=bù ìŋ=ɻə́ káw=nòŋ é=ɻə̀ jèhǎ
front=TOP 1:INCL=PL uncle(MB)=COORD 1:EXCL=PL all

də̀-l̥ə́l̥òŋ nè-dzóŋ tə́ pɯ̀=nʲæ̀
TO.SP-have.time:COLL DOWN-sit one do=just

'In the past, whenever uncle and we had some time to sit down a bit, (…)' (CV08.10)

(769) dəbǔ è-bɯ̀-sěŋ nè-ɻ̥ɛ́ɻ̥æ̀=sèŋ.
then 1:EXCL-household-PART DOWN-laugh:COLL=PFV:EGO

'Then several of our household laughed together.' (YJ02.27)

Some verbs do not have a collective reduplication form. Instead, when indicating that an action is conducted by multiple people, the random reduplication form (§7.4.1.3) is used. This depends on the semantics of the verb. Some actions will automatically be conducted in an unstructured and random manner when many people or objects are involved.

The verb *sə̌* 'to die' does not have a collective reduplication, but a collective meaning can be expressed with an adverb *dǒŋ* 'together', as in (770).

(770) nè-sə̀=lá ìŋ=dzǽŋ má=nòŋ tsɯ́=nòŋ dòŋ sə̀
DOWN-die=also 1.INCL=DU mother=COORD son=COORD together die

né-pɯ́=gì
DOWN-do=VOL:INCL

'(…) when (we) die, let the two of us - mother and son- die together; (…)' (PC06w.3)

The collective reduplication often has overtones of a continuous action, since either the action is conducted by multiple people or conducted towards multiple objects (which often implies an extended period of time). But Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a separate basic reduplication template for continuous action that is discussed in §7.4.1.4.

7.4.1.3 Random or casual reduplication

A frequently observed reduplication process is the random reduplication process. This type of verb stem reduplication has the template *C_1oŋ C_1V_1*. The vowel change in the reduplicated syllable can be seen as antiphonic reduplication (Diffloth 1976:262) which creates a dissymmetry that reflects the casual or random way in which the action is conducted. Some examples are given in (771). As can be seen, even Chinese loanwords can be reduplicated in this manner. Random reduplication only occurs with controllable verbs.

(771) *ʈôŋʈu* 'to comb (hair) randomly' (< *ʈû* 'to comb (hair)')
ʈoŋʈɨ́ 'to dig randomly' (< *ʈɨ̌* 'to dig')
soŋsɛ́ 'to hit randomly' (< *sɛ̌* 'to hit')
ɕoŋɕǽ 'to perch randomly' (< *ɕǽ* 'to perch')
hoŋhwá 'to paint randomly' (< *hwǎ* 'to paint' from Chinese 画 *huà*)

The random reduplication indicates that an action is conducted in a casual or random manner, as is shown in (772) and (773). Random reduplication does not reduce the valency of the verb and it does not deverbalize. Random reduplicated verbs function as normal verbs that can take a directional prefix.

(772) tɕìŋ = ɻɔ́ = bì = ɖɛ̀ = bù, tʰɛ̀-ʈǔ-də̀-ʈù pɨ́ ɦà qèlá
child = PL = DAT = DIS = TOP FR.SP-pull-TO.SP-pull do LINK bundle

è-dzóŋdzù də̀-kʰìŋ wêŋ.
IN-make:CASU TO.SP-give CUST.EXCL

'(The deceased woman) would pull a bit (of firewood) here and a bit there and casually made a bundle for the children.' (CV09.6.2)

(773) tɔ́ = bù dəbǔ swítsɨ̀ = nòŋ (tə̀ = ɻə̀ = là) ((wùtsɨ̀ = góŋ))
3SG = TOP then leopard.cub = COORD this = PL = also tiger.cub = AGT

è-ʈóŋʈwǽ = gòŋnì tɕòŋgú = là jèhǎ nè-ʈʰóŋʈʰwì = sì
IN-scratch:CASU = AGT clothes = also all DOWN-tear:CASU:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'Because he was randomly scratched by the leopard cub and the tiger cub, (his) clothes were all randomly torn (...)' (TC08.47)

Random reduplication is not limited to the verbal domain, but is also attested in the nominal domain, for example the reduplication *ʂoŋɻóŋʂæŋɻæŋ* 'some random vegetables' from the noun *ʂæŋɻǽŋ* 'vegetables' (§5.1.2).

7.4.1.4 Continuous reduplication

Another reduplication template *$C_1V_1C_1$æ* or *$C_1V_1C_1$a* renders a continuous meaning. Some examples are given in (774).

(774) *ɖʉɖwǽ* 'to write continuously' (< *ɖʉ̌* 'to write')
tɕʰitɕʰǽ 'to bind continuously' (< *tɕʰǐ* 'to bind')
lúlwa 'to rummage continuously' (< *lú* 'to rummage')

Sometimes the verb is simply reduplicated without any vowel change, as *ɖwaɖwá* 'to step repeatedly' (< *ɖwǎ* 'to step'); *tɕʰawtɕʰǎw* 'to rub' (< *tɕʰǎw* 'to rub'); *dʑawdʑǎw* 'to wind' (< *dʑǎw* 'to wind'). The latter two reduplications are often used and the continuous meaning has partly lost its intensity.

Continuous reduplications occur with controllable verbs, and function like normal verbs in that they can take a directional prefix and aspect and evidential marking. Some examples are given in (775-777).

(775) ə́-dʑǽ sù = gə́ = bì tʰɛ̀-tɕʰàwtɕʰàw ɕòŋ.
that-location:GEN hemp = DEF = on FR.SP-wipe:CNT go:IMP:SG

'Go rub it on the hemp over there.' (CV20.117)

(776) jǎw tǐ tǐ ɻòŋɻǽ tsə́ŋ = ɖâw
again one one nibble:CNT N.CONTR = IPFV:N.EGO

'(I) am uncontrollably continuously nibbling again, (...)' (CV21.112)

(777) tǐ də̀-ɻíɻǽ ɦà, ɛ́ = bú tə́ = gə́ də̀-ɻíɻǽ ɦà
one TO.SP-collect:CNT LINK 1SG = TOP one = DEF TO.SP-collect:CNT LINK

qʰə̀-l̥ɛ̀jl̥á tə́ pʉ̀ kɛ̀j ɦà, qʰə́-ʈʰwɛ́jɻǽ tə́ pʉ̀ kɛ̀j ɦà
OUT-winnow:CNT one do let LINK OUT-winnow one do let LINK

'(I wanted) to let (you) continuously collect a bit and continuously winnow (it) (sidewards) a bit and continuously winnow (it) (vertically) for a bit, (...)' (CV13.32)

7.4.1.5 Other reduplication

There are a few verbs which, in addition to a reciprocal form, also show reduplication with a different (H.L) tonal template. This reduplication pattern has a non-predicable meaning. The derived verb forms function as normal verbs and do not have a reciprocal, collective or continuous meaning (except for the form *ʈêʈu* 'to rob back and forth'). Some examples are given in Table 7.4. Interestingly, these verbs all have to do with fighting of some sort.

Table 7.4 Derived reduplication

Basic form		Reciprocal reduplication		Derived reduplication	
kí	'to chase'	*kɐkí*	'to chase each other'	*kêki*	'to chase away'
ʈŭ	'to pull'	*ʈɐʈŭ*	'to pull back and forth'	*ʈêʈu*	'to rob back and forth'
sĕ	'to hit'	*sɐsĕ*	'to hit each other'	*sêsɐ*	'to quarrel'
qă	'to bite'	*qɐqă*	'to bite each other'	*qêqa*	'to fight with biting'
ʈʂʰŭ	'to gore'	*ʈʂʰɐʈʂʰŭ*	'to gore each other'	*ʈʂʰêʈʂʰu*	'to fight with horns'
tsŏŋ	'to kick'	*tsɐtsŏŋ*	'to kick each other'	*tsêtsoŋ*	'to fight with kicks'
tsáw	'to pound'	--	--	*tsêtsɑw*	'to fight'

There are some other reduplicated forms that do not show a H.L pattern, but have a derived meaning, as in (778).

(778) *gwǽgwæ* 'to stroll' (< *gwǽ* 'to go out for trade')
ʐæʐǽ 'to split into small strips' (< *ʐǎ* 'to lop off (branches)')
ɖəɖǽŋ 'to walk' (< *ɖǎŋ* 'to run')
bɐbǐŋ 'to wrestle' (< *bǐŋ* 'to fly, lurch')

Some verbs have a (partly) reduplicated form, but the non-reduplicated verb form has not been attested, as in (779).

(779) *wɐwǎ* 'to discuss'[298]
lála 'to stir casually, to swing arms'
kʰækʰə̌ 'to continuously put in, pack'
də̂dwɐ 'to ask'
n̥ʲən̥ʲwǽ 'to smell'

7.4.2 *Iterative -qa*

A derivational suffix *-qa* is used to mark iterative Aktionsart (repetition of an action) with verbs that describe actions with an inherent terminal point. It operates on a morphological rather than clausal level and alters the verb's lexical aspect. The process is not very productive, and only the following verbs in my dataset have been found with the derived form:

[298] Alternate forms with vowel harmony are [wàwǎ] and [wɨ̀wǎ].

(780)	*ʈʂə̂*	'to jump'	*ʈʂə̂qa*	'to jump repeatedly, continuously'
	tɕæ̂	'to cut with axe'	*tɕæ̂qa*	'to cut with axe repeatedly, continuously'
	tsĭ	'to chop'	*tsiqâ*	'to chop repeatedly, continuously'
	tsǎ	'to harrow'	*tsaqá*	'to harrow repeatedly, continuously'
	tî	'to bite'	*tiqá*	'to chew'[299]

-qa has been analysed as a suffix rather than a clitic, since inflection of the verb stem is expressed on *-qa* rather than on the verb root, as can be seen in (781).

(781) ə̀-q^{h}ù ʈʂə̀-qwà = sì
that-on jump-ITT:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(Hare) was jumping continuously on top (of the bridge) (...)' (TC06.13)

7.4.3 *Verb pairs with voicing alternation*

There is a limited set of verb pairs that still show traces of original PTB prefixes **N-* and **s-* or voicing contrast [300] for inner directed stative verbs and their transitive/causative counterparts (see Matisoff 2003:89-91, LaPolla 2003a:22-24), or controllable and non-controllable verbs. In Pǔmǐ this is reflected by voicing alternation in the initial of the verb stem. The stative form of the verb pair starts with a voiced consonant, the causative form with a voiceless aspirated consonant. This strategy is not productive any more.

Table 7.5 shows the list of verb pairs in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Some of the same verbs have also been recorded for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (Fù 1998:154-156) and Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:126) and are given in the table for comparison.[301]

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[299] Note that the tone of [tìqá] is different from what is expected: [tíqà]. My main consultant proffered a different possible analysis of a verb compound with the second syllable deriving from either *qǎ* 'to bite' or *qá* 'to split open'.

[300] This issue is controversial: Sagart and Baxter assume this derives from a nasal prefix; Matisoff assumes this derives from both nasal and **s-* prefixes, and LaPolla assumes that there is the influence of prefixes in some cases, but there is also an old voicing contrast. In Qiang and Rawang both the voicing contrast and the prefixes are present, showing they are two different things (LaPolla, p.c).

[301] Dīng (1998:126) gives an additional four pairs of verbs that I have not encountered in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: *gǐ / kǐ* 'to return home'/ 'to cause to return home'; *dzě / tsě* 'to fall from tree (of fruit)'/ 'to cut off'; *dî / t^{h}î* 'to wear out'/ 'to become useless (of person)'; *púgâ / púk^{h}â* 'to fall apart'/ 'to cause to fall apart'.

Table 7.5 Verb pairs showing voicing alternation

Stative/intransitive Non-controllable		Causative/transitive Controllable		Dàyáng Pǔmǐ	Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ
ɖwě	'to break (intr.)'	*ʈʰwě*	'to break (tr.) (for long, slender or soft objects by pulling or eating away)'	*bʐě / pʰʐě*	
ɖéŋ	'to break (intr.)'	*ʈéŋ*	'to break (tr.) hard objects, like stone, wood'	*ɖěŋ / ʈéŋ*	*gɹ̩jɛ̃ / kʰɹ̩jɛ̃*
bî	'to fall over, collapse'	*pʰî*	'to push over'	*biě / pʰiě*	*bê / pʰê*
ɦă	'to fall out'	*qʰă*	'to pick'	*gă / qʰă*	*gâ / kʰâ*
ɖə̌	'to drop, fall (intr.)'	*ʈʰə̌*	'to drop, fall (tr.)'	*ɖə̌ / ʈʰə̌*	*gɹə̂ / kʰɹə̂*
ɖî	'to be torn'	*ʈʰî*	'to tear'	*ɖĭ / ʈʰĭ*	*ɖʐ̩ê / ʈʂʰê*
wŭ	'to die out (fire)'	*qʰû* [302]	'to extinguish'	*gŏ / χqʰŏ*	*gô / kʰô*
dŏŋ	'to be dammed up (of water)'	*tʰŏŋ*	'to dam up water'		
ɖæ̂	'to come undone, dissolve'	*ʈʰæ̂*	'to undo, dissolve'		
dzæ̌ŋ	'to be clogged up'	*tsʰæ̌ŋ*	'to clog up'		
dʑôŋ	'to be pierced, have a hole'	*tɕʰôŋ*	'to pierce a round hole'		
lŏŋ	'to fall out'	*l̥ŏŋ*	'to uproot'		
bâ	'to split in half'	*pʰâ*	'to cut in half'		

Jacques (p.c.) notes that the derivation shown in Table 7.5 is 'anticausative' rather than causative. He argues that the direction of the derivation in Japhug rGyalrong,

[302] Note that the tone of *wû* and the tone of *qʰŭ* are not the same. The meaning and the structure, however, are the same (see also the discussion on the status of /w/ in §2.1.3.3). Interestingly, in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ both forms show rising tone and in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ both forms show falling tone.

which involves a nasal prefix on the intransitive or anticausative form, is clearly from transitive to intransitive and not from intransitive to causative (2012b:214), and can be contrasted with the causative derivation involving a prefix *sɯ-*. Several of the Japhug rGyalrong forms correspond with Wǎdū Pǔmǐ forms, as shown in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Corresponding verb pairs in Japhug rGyalrong

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ	Japhug rGyalrong	Meaning in Japhug rGyalrong
ɖwě/ ʈʰwě	*mbrɤt/ prɤt*	'to break (intr.)'/'to break (tr.)'
bî/ pʰî	*mbɯt/ phɯt*	'to collapse (intr.)'/'to pluck out, destroy'
ɖə̌/ ʈʰə̌	*ŋgra/ kra*	'to fall'/'to cause to fall'
bâ/ pʰâ	*mbaʁ/ phaʁ*	'to break in half (intr.)'/ 'to chop'

Two exceptions to the alternation pattern in Table 7.5 are the verb pairs *ɖéŋ/ʈéŋ* 'to break' and *lǒŋ/ɻǒŋ* 'to fall out/uproot', which show a voiced-voiceless rather than voiced-voiceless aspirated alternation. This might reflect traces of a causative derivation. Dīng (1998:127) notes that in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ there seems to be a correlation between verbs with a falling tone and aspiration in the derived form. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ this does not seem to be the case. As can be seen in Table 7.5, different verbs with a rising tone show aspiration in the derived form.

In the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ corpus there is one example of a verb that has a stative or causative interpretation depending on the prefix: the verb *ɖʐǽ* 'to melt'. The form *qʰə̌/nĕ-ɖʐǽ* 'to melt (intr.)' is a stative verb that is non-controllable; the form *ĕ-ɖʐǽ* 'to melt (tr.)' is its causative counterpart that is controllable by an agent.[303] Qiang has many such verbs (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:160). This verb shows no alternation in voicing or aspiration in its initial consonant, unlike the stative/causative pairs listed in Table 7.5.

7.5 Equational copula

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has one equational copula. Like controllable verbs (§8.1.1), the equational copula *dzɑ̂* 'to be'[304] is inflected according to 'self-person' (first person in statements and second person in questions) and 'other-person' (first person in questions, second person in statements and third person). This egophoric/non-egophoric pattern will be

[303] Thus *ɐ-ɖʐǽ* has an inflected form *ɐ-ɖʐwǽ* and an imperative form *ɐ-ɖʐǔ* 'melt!' (sg), whereas *qʰə-ɖʐǽ* does not have an inflected form and the imperative is formed in a construction with *pɯ́* 'to do', *qʰə-ɖʐæ pâw* 'melt!' (sg).

[304] For these and other verbs in this grammar, I will use the most frequently-used form as citation form.

discussed at more length in Chapter 8, in particular in §8.1.2. The paradigm is given in Table 7.7. The copula cannot take directional prefixes.

Table 7.7 The equational copula

EGO (1 and 2PL)	EGO (2SG)	NON-EGO
diŋ[305]	*dʲaw*[306]	*dzə̂*

The equational copula is required in the identificational construction. Egophoric forms appear with first person statements and second person questions, as in (782); the non-egophoric form appears with third person statements and questions, as in (783).

(782) “híŋ-bà dʲàw?” tɕàw. “ʑǎʑǎ-bà
who-household:GEN be:EGO:2SG say:IPFV:N.EGO Zjaezjae-household:GEN

dìŋ,” tɕà kʰì
be:EGO:1/PL say time

‘He asked me, “Whose household’s are you?” When I answered, “I am of the Zjaezjae household, ” (...)’ (CV07.73.2,3)

(783) dùtɕʰàpíŋmá dzà = nòŋ híŋ dzà lʲàʔ
Dutchae.Pingma be:N.EGO = COORD who be:N.EGO RHET

‘It’s Dutchae Pingma or who?’ (CV02.93.1)

The non-egophoric form *dzə̂* is often used in nominalized constructions (§8.6.1), and it can both be used to ask for confirmation of a statement and to confirm a statement. An example of these three functions can be seen in (784).

(784) tə́ = ɻə́ təgí n̥ə̀ = ɻǽ m̥í wùɕə = ɖáw
3 = PL beginning seven = PL:GEN night new.year = IPFV:N.EGO

mə́ dzà, ɛ́ = dzà?
NMLZ be Q = be

P: ‘They celebrate New Year on the evening of the seventh day (of the eleventh lunar month), right?’ (CV02.73)

[305] It is not clear what the tone of the first two forms is, since they never occur independently. They are analysed to be toneless for the present purposes, since they always take on the tone of the preceding constituent.

[306] Often second person singular and sometimes first person singular are treated differently from their plural counterparts. See also the forms *ʐu* and *ʐoŋ* ‘exist’ and *bu* ‘have’ in §7.6, and the note on the use of *=si* in second singular questions in §8.3.1.

dzə́	mà;	pʉ́nə̀	təgí	nǒŋ.
be:N.EGO	INFO	today	beginning	two

N: 'Right. Today is the second.' (CV02.74)

7.6 Existential verbs

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has six existential verbs whose referents differ in their inherent properties, such as animacy, possession, concreteness versus abstractness, and physical location. Classificatory verbs are found in many Tibeto-Burman languages (LaPolla 1994, Aikhenvald 2003:154). The Wǎdū Pǔmǐ existential verbs are listed in (785).

(785) *ʑî* 'to exist (animate)'[307]
bôŋ 'to exist, have (in possession or use)'
ɕǐ 'to exist, have (abstract)'
tɛ̂j 'to exist (inanimate, located on a horizontal surface)'
dʲôŋ 'to exist (inanimate, attached to something)'
kwî 'to exist (inanimate, contained)'

The verbs *bôŋ* and *kwî* can take a directional prefix, denoting a change of state with the meaning 'to have acquired things' and 'to become inside' (for example strength that grows inside a person) respectively. The existentials *tɛ̂j*, *ɕǐ* and *dʲôŋ* do not take directional prefixes.[308] Since *ʑî* and *bǒŋ* involve animate arguments, they have inflected forms. Their respective inflections are given in Table 7.8. Like the equational copula (§7.5) and controllable verbs (§8.1.1), they inflect according to 'self-person' and 'other-person' (see also §8.1.2).

[307] I will use the non-egophoric form ʑî as citation form, since it is the most frequently used form of the verb.

[308] The animate existential *ʑî* is an interesting case. It normally does not take a directional prefix, but there is an alternating tone verb (§3.4.5) *ʑǐ/kʰə̌-ʑî* 'to give birth, be born'. The surface tone of the verb *ʑǐ* without a prefix is rising, but when a prefix is added, it is falling, like the tone of the existential. One wonders whether there is a relationship between the two, in the sense of 'to exist' versus 'to come into existence'.

Table 7.8 Existential verbs

	EGO (1SG)	EGO (2SG)	EGO (PL)	N.EGO
'to exist'	*ʐôŋ*	*ʐû*	*ʐwêŋ*	*ʑî*[309]
'to have'	*bôŋ*[310]	*bû*	*bɛ̂j*	*bôŋ*

Some examples are given below. In (786) and (787) the egophoric form is used with third person, since the referent of the speech clause is co-referential with that of the main clause. In (788) the egophoric form is used with third person plural argument, since that refers to the speaker. Non-egophoric forms are given in (789) and (790).

(786) é à-pú ʐôŋ tɕà=ɖàw
1SG this-under EXIST.AN:EGO:1SG say=IPFV:N.EGO

' "Yes, I'm here," (she) said.' (PC04w.2.7)

(787) ìŋ=ɻə́ mətɕʰí dzà kʰì=nòŋ tí-pú ɖæ̀ɕə̌ qóŋ=wù
1:INCL=PL dinner eat time=only up-under Draeci gully=in

ʐwèŋ tɕà=ɖàw.
EXIST.AN:EGO:PL say=IPFV:N.EGO

'They (Phintshu and Tshering Lhame) said that when we were eating, (they) were only in Draeci gully.' (CV02.4.1)

(788) ɛ́dʲæ̀=ɻə̀ nǐŋ tə́=tù ɦà gɛ́-mə́ bɛ̀j
grandmother=PL INTJ this=on LINK beautiful-NMLZ have:EGO:PL

kʰì=bù, jǎw tɕʰæ̌ ʐǔ ɦà mí=gú=sèŋ mà.
time=TOP again bashful very LINK NEG:PFV=wear=PFV:EGO INFO

'The grandmothers (=we), mind you, have (clothes) more beautiful than these, but we are very bashful and did not wear them.' (CV21.205)

The use of *ʑî* for animates normally takes precedence over specifying their actual location, but in the case of animals or members of a household, not always over expressing a relationship of possession. In that case *bôŋ* is used. The use of *ʑî* versus

[309] Note the interesting consonant alternation: the alveo-palatal fricative when followed by /i/ and the retroflex fricative when followed by the other vowels (cf. also the discussion of palatalization in §2.1.3.2 and §2.4.5). My main consultant noted that some people in *bîtsʰi*, a village next to Wǎdū, will also use an alveopalatal consonant for the second person singular form, so instead of saying *nǐŋ kî ʐu?* 'Where are you?' they will say *nǐŋ kî ʑu?*

[310] Due to the basic form of the verb, the egophoric first person is the same as the non-egophoric form.

bôŋ depends on the actual point of view the speaker takes. In example (789) the speaker focuses on the relationship between the official and his sons, whereas in example (790) the speaker focuses on the sons themselves.

(789) póŋ tɛ́-qɛ̀=bù, tsɯ́ sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ bòŋ
T:official one-CLF:household=TOP son three-CLF:sibling EXIST.POSS

'(...) an official('s) household had three sons.' (TC09.1)

(790) póŋ tɛ́-qɛ̀=bù, tsɯ́ sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ ʑì
T:official one-CLF:household=TOP son three-CLF:sibling EXIST.AN

'An official('s) household had three sons.' (TC09.1:EL)

The existential *ɕǐ* is used for abstract referents such as problems, solutions and knowledge, as in (791). In example (792) *ɕǐ* seems to denote a human referent. However, since the referring expression is encoded in a nominalized construction, the referent that is referred to is not a specific human being, but rather an abstract class of referents: 'baby-sitters'.

(791) nǐŋ ə̀-dʑí míŋ lù ɕì?[311]
2SG this-location what work EXIST.AB

'What are you doing here?' (Lit. what work do you have here?) (TC02.38)

(792) tɕìŋ tíŋ-mə́ mà=ɕǐ
child take.care.of-NMLZ NEG=EXIST.AB

'(...) there was no baby-sitter.' (TC04.1)

It is used as copula in certain nominalized constructions, as in (793).

(793) tɕə́ tʰíŋ-jì mà=ɕǐ
water drink-NMLZ NEG=EXIST.AB

'(...) there was no water to drink.' (SN02.20)

The existential *tɛ̂j* describes an object located on a horizontal plane, as in (794) where the referent is flower tea that is sitting on a shelf above the hearth. *tɛ̂j* also more generally refers to a place where the referent would normally sit on top of something horizontal, as in (795).

(794) ə́-qʰù tɛ́j mə̀ dzə̀.
that-on EXIST.H GNOMIC

'(It)'s up there.' (CV14.62.2)

[311] *nǐŋ* can be marked as topic with the topic marker *bu*, but not as agent or patient.

(795) lʌ̀lɛ́j ìŋ = dzǽŋ ə̀-wú mǎ = tɛ̀j
seed 1:INCL = DU this-in NEG = EXIST.H

'(...) we two don't have seed here (...)' (TC02.72)

The existential *kwî* describes an object that is located inside another object, especially a container of some sorts:

(796) qʰwǎ = wù té-ʈòŋ-lì = tì tɕʰə̀-kʰí = là kwî
bowl = in one-CLF:piece-DIM = INDF how.much-time = also EXIST.IN

'(...) for such a long time there was a small piece in the bowl (...)' (CV18.101)

When the second object denotes a rather large area, such as a house or a compound, *têj*, rather than *kwî* is used, as can be seen in (795). Even though the demonstrative *ə-wú* 'in here' is mentioned, the extent of the area is too big to use *kwî*. But when talking about a spring, as in example (797), or mud in a puddle, *kwî* and not *têj* is used: the hollow holding the spring and the mud holding the puddle are conceptually more like a container.

(797) mǽŋ-tú = bú tɕə̀ɻǐ tɕʰwí ʐǔ tʲóŋ kwì
tail.end-under = TOP spring good very one:CLF:thing EXIST.IN

'(...) there was a very good spring below (him) (...)' (TC07.3)

The existential *dʲôŋ* is used to describe an object that is attached to something or grows from something. It is normally used in connection with plants, fruit on a tree, hair on one's head, limbs, teeth, stars in the sky, grottos, roads and villages.

(798) ɻ̥ú mǎ = dʲòŋ, ə́sèŋ?
tooth NEG = EXIST.AT AGR

'(We) don't have teeth, right?' (CV02.54.2)

A village can be described in two ways, depending on the point of view. If the description focuses on the people living in the village, the animate *ʑî* rather than the inanimate *dʲôŋ* is used, as in (799). If the description focuses on the actual physical location of the houses, *dʲôŋ* rather than *ʑî* is used, as in (800).

(799) m̥ə́-ɕì = tì ʑì
person-village = INDF EXIST.AN

'There is a village.' (EL)

(800) m̥ə́-ɕì = tì dʲòŋ
person-village = INDF EXIST.AT

'There is a village.' (EL)

It can also be used in a more abstract sense, as in *ʐǒŋ dʲôŋ* 'to be lucky' (luck EXIST.AT), *mǽŋ dʲôŋ* 'to be famous' (name EXIST.AT) and *zâw mǎ dʲôŋ* 'to be embarrassed' (face NEG EXIST.AT).

7.7 The light verb and denominal verbs

The verb *pʉ́* and its inflected form *pâ* is a verb with the general meaning 'to do', as in (801) and (802), and sometimes with the meaning 'to use', as in (803) and (804). The verb also has singular and plural imperative forms *pâw* and *pîŋ* (§8.1.2).

(801) nǒŋ míŋ pʉ̀ = ʂù?
so what do = VOL:SG

'In that case what do you want to do?' (CV11.4.1)

(802) gə̀ʐú = gə́ = bì = là dəbǔ nə́ pâ kʰì = bù,...
middle = DEF = DAT = also then thus do:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

'Then, when (he) did the same (...) to the middle one also, (...)' (TC02.26)

(803) dəbǔ tə̀ɕǽ = bú ɕíŋʈwɛ́ = nòŋ nə́ = lá pʉ́ mà = ɖáw
then now = TOP tripod = COORD thus = also do NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'Nowadays (people) don't use a cooking tripod and such either; (...)' (PC03.19)

(804) ěŋ, ɕè-l̥í pà = sì.
INTJ Hàn-language do:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'Right, they used the Chinese language.' (CV13.5)

Apart from functioning as the main verb in a clause, the verb *pʉ́* functions in multiple constructions as a toneless grammatical morpheme: the self-causative construction that adds control to non-controllable verbs (§8.1.1); the pre-verbal adverbial construction (§7.10.1); the post-verbal adverbial construction (§7.10.2); the post-verbal delimitive construction (§7.10.3). It also follows multiple prefix constructions (§7.1.4) and reciprocal reduplications (§7.4.1.1). The inflected form *pâ* is added to non-controllable verbs to form the non-egophoric forms (§8.1.1). The constructions are listed in Table 7.9 and will be discussed in their respective sections.

Table 7.9 Additional functions of *pʉ*

Name of construction	Template	Section
Self-causative construction	$V_{non.contr}$ *pʉ*	§8.1.1
Non-egophoric forms of non-controllable verbs	$V_{non.contr}$ *pa*	§8.1.1
Pre-verbal adverbial construction	X *pʉ* V	§7.10.1
Post-verbal adverbial construction	V *ʐu pʉ*	§7.10.2

Name of construction	Template	Section
Post-verbal delimitive construction	V *tə pʉ̀*	§7.10.3
Multi-prefix construction	DIR-V-DIR-V *pʉ̀*	§7.1.4
Reciprocal reduplication	V:RECP *pʉ̀*	§7.4.1.1

Additionally, *pʉ́* is used in light verb constructions to form denominal verbs in which the noun carries the semantic content and *pʉ́* renders the verbal function. The term 'light verb' is used for verbs with little semantic meaning that take a nominal complement. Since *pʉ́* is a controllable verb, denominal verbs formed with *pʉ́* are always controllable verbs. Examples are given in (805), (806) and (807). The last two verbs in (805) are slightly different in that their first parts are not used by themselves as nominals. Example (807) shows the Chinese loanword 老师 *lǎoshī* 'teacher' as a denominal verb 'to be a teacher'.

(805) *tsʰòŋ pʉ̌* 'to conduct trade' (< *tsʰǒŋ* 'trade')
wùɕə̀ pʉ̂ 'to celebrate New Year' (< *wùɕə̌* 'New Year')
tɕʰwǽ pʉ̀ 'to kowtow' (< *tɕʰwǽ* 'kowtow')
qʰóŋ̩lí pʉ̀ 'to speak insider jargon' (< *qʰóŋ̩lî* 'insider jargon')
m̩íŋ pʉ̂ 'to treat a sickness' (< *m̩íŋ* 'medicine')
kɛ́ɻóŋ pʉ̀ 'to conduct a ritual' (< *kɛ́ɻôŋ* 'ritual')
qòŋɻóŋ pʉ̂ 'to bend, crawl'
bùbæ̀ pʉ́ 'to crawl'

(806) tʰùlǐ = ((bì)) dəbǔ tìŋ kwɛ̀j kʰì = bù dəbǔ ní = dzæ̀ŋ
hare = DAT then take.care.of let:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then LOG = DU

lú pʉ́ ʂɛ̀j = sì tɕàw.
work do go:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'Then, when (they) had let Hare baby-sit, the two of them went off to work in the field.' (TC04.10)

(807) kʰù-qʰú kí tɕàw tɛ̀-dǐŋ láwsə́ pʉ̀ = ɖàw
out-on where say:IPFV:N.EGO one-place Ch:teacher do = IPFV:N.EGO

mə̀ dzə̀ tɕàw.
GNOMIC say:IPFV:N.EGO

'Where out there did (he) say? (He) said that somewhere (his son) is a teacher.' (CV07.22)

Another verb that is often used to derive denominal verbs is *tɕʰǒŋ* 'to appear'. Verbs that are derived with *tɕʰǒŋ* can be divided into three semantic categories: weather

verbs, bodily functions, and more abstract verbs denoting mental states (like sleep, worries and dreams) or states like being responsible, lucky or tormented, and as illustrated in (808), (809) and (810). In contrast to *pʉ́*, which derives controllable verbs, *tɕʰŏŋ* derives non-controllable verbs. This can be clearly seen with two verbs that are derived from the noun *ɐdû* 'joke'. The derivation with *pʉ́* versus *tɕʰŏŋ* renders a slightly different meaning: *ɐdû pʉ* means 'to crack jokes' (a controllable verb), whereas *ɐdû tɕʰoŋ* means 'to be humorous' (a non-controllable verb).

(808)	*gwí tɕʰoŋ*	'to rain' (< *gwí* 'rain')
	pʉ́ tɕʰoŋ	'to snow' (< *pʉ́* 'snow')
	mêhaw tɕʰoŋ	'to be windy' (< *mêhaw* 'wind')
	sêgwi tɕʰoŋ	'to have an earthquake' (< *sêgwi* 'wind')
(809)	*ɕi tɕʰŏŋ ~ ʂoŋ tɕʰŏŋ*	'to sneeze' (< *ɕĭ ~ ʂŏŋ* 'sneeze')
	haɕə tɕʰôŋ	'to yawn' (< *haɕə̌* 'yawn')
	gəlʲə tɕʰoŋ	'to burp' (< *gəlʲə* 'burp')
	bʉɖʉ tɕʰôŋ	'to have the hiccups' (< *bʉɖʉ̌* 'hiccup')
(810)	*ʐə tɕʰóŋ*	'to be sleepy' (< *ʐə̌* 'sleep')
	sawdʲaw tɕʰóŋ	'to be worried' (< *sawdʲăw* 'worrying thought')
	ʐəmiŋ tɕʰoŋ	'to dream' (< *ʐəmiŋ* 'dream')
	qêŋ wu tɕʰoŋ	'to be responsible for'
	tíŋɖwi kʰə-tɕʰoŋ	'to be blessed, lucky'
	kʰuɖû kʰə-tɕʰôŋ	'to be tormented, troubled'

Sūn (1993:962) notes that verbs denoting bodily functions in Amdo Tibetan use egophoric and evidential marking to express control or non-control of the self-person (see also Tournadre 2008:291, note 23). In Pǔmǐ the default for verbs denoting bodily functions is that they are non-controllable and thus only occur with evidential marking. When control of the referent over the action needs to be expressed, the self-causative construction with *pʉ́* 'to do' (§8.1.1) is used, and in that case egophoric marking can be use, as in (811) versus (812).

(811) é hàɕə tɕʰóŋ = ɖàw
1SG yawn appear = IPFV:N.EGO

'I'm yawning.' (EL)

(812) é hàɕə tɕʰóŋ pʉ̀ = ɖòŋ
1SG yawn appear do = IPFV:EGO:1SG

'I'm yawning on purpose.' (EL)

Some other bodily functions are expressed by normal (not denominal) verbs: they take directional prefixes and do not need to occur with *pʉ́*. These include functions like *ɮʰʉ̌*

‘to cough’ (non-controllable), *pʰɛ̌* ‘to vomit’ (controllable), *ɻ̥æ̌* ‘to laugh’ (controllable). The verb *qêjɻ̥æ* ‘to fart’ is also a controllable verb that displays a more idiomatic noun-verb constituent, combining the noun *qêj* ‘faeces’ and the controllable verb *ɻ̥æ̌* ‘to laugh’.

7.8 Versatile verbs

Versatile verbs occur as main verbs as well as auxiliary verbs. Several versatile verbs can be analysed as part of an asymmetrical serial verb construction, and express various kinds of verbal aspect, direction and a benefactive role. In asymmetrical serial verb constructions the second verb is taken from a limited group of verbs. (For a definition of serial verb constructions and a comparison with clause chains, see §10.2). Other verbs are more like auxiliaries in that they take a clausal complement.

A list of aspect and case marking auxiliary verbs used in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is given in Table 7.10 and will be discussed in §7.8.1-7.8.4.[312] These verbs can still occur as independent verbs, but when following other verbs denote aspect and semantic role. They are still verbs, however, and have kept their inflectional properties. Thus inflection is expressed on the final verb of the construction and the non-final verb is in the non-finite form (thus not marked for aspect or evidentiality).

Table 7.10 Versatile verbs

Verb	Basic meaning	Derived meaning	Reference
ɕə́	‘to go’	away, outward (from deictic centre)	§7.8.1
ʑə̌	‘to come’	towards, inward (to deictic centre)	§7.8.1
dzóŋ	‘to sit, stay’	durative	§7.8.2
kʰǐŋ	‘to give’	benefactive	§7.8.3
tǐ	‘to put’	completely	§7.8.4
tsʰá	‘to be exhausted, be finished’	terminative	§7.8.6
tɕʰǒŋ	‘to complete’	completive	§7.8.6
pʉ́	‘to do’	control	§8.1.1
tsə́ŋ	‘to fall down’	non-control	§8.1.1

[312] Note that the verbs *pʉ́* ‘to do’ and *tsə́ŋ* ‘to fall down’ are discussed together with verb inflection and evidentiality in §8.1.1.

The degree of grammaticalisation of these constructions can be seen by the position of the negation marker and the possibility or impossibility of inserting the clause linker *ɦa* (§10.2) between the different verbs.

When a negation marker can be inserted, but the negation only holds scope over the second verb, the construction is grammaticalised to only a small extent; when a negation marker can be inserted, but the negation holds scope over the whole construction, it is grammaticalised to a higher degree; when a negation marker cannot be inserted, the construction is highly grammaticalised.

'+' indicates that negation can be inserted, but only holds scope over the verb it precedes. '-' indicates that addition of negation between the verbs is possible, but holds scope over both verbs; '0' indicates that negation cannot be inserted.

When the clause linker can be inserted without much semantic difference, the construction shows a low degree of grammaticalisation; when the insertion of a clause linker completely changes the meaning, the construction shows a great degree of grammaticalisation.

The various constructions show a greater or lesser degree of grammaticalisation, as shown in Table 7.11. '-' indicates less grammaticalised constructions, whereas '+' indicates more grammaticalised constructions.

Table 7.11 Degree of grammaticalisation

Construction	Derived meaning	Negation	Clause linker
V *ɕə́*	away, outward (from deictic centre)	-/+	-/+
V *ʑə̌*	towards, inward (to deictic centre)	-	-
V *dzóŋ*	durative	+	-
V *kʰǐŋ*	benefactive	+	-
V *tǐ*	completely	0	+
V *ɕə kɛj*	emphatic	0	+
V *tsʰá*	terminative	-	-
V *tɕʰǒŋ*	completive	-	-

In §7.8.5 an emphatic construction is discussed. Two additional aspect markers *tʲɯ* and *ʐoŋ* are discussed in §7.8.7 and §7.8.7. The two are not clearly linked to independent verbs synchronically but are likely to have derived from verbs.

7.8.1 *Motion verbs 'come' and 'go'*

The two motion verbs *ʑə̌* 'to come' and *ɕə́* 'to go' function as directional auxiliary verbs in an asymmetrical serial verb construction, denoting motion towards the deictic centre and motion away from the deictic centre respectively. This is similar to Tibetan and many other languages (DeLancey 1991). I discuss them under aspect, because of the further grammaticalisation of the verb 'to go' as illustrated below.

The motion verbs carry the inflection and the preceding verb appears in the basic uninflected form, as in (813) and (814). The prefix is often but not always the same, as in (815), where the bridge broke in a horizontal direction away from the speaker and then fell down into the water; however, it would be possible to say *nɐ-ɖéŋ nɐ-ʂɛ̂j* in this example.

(813) ní-bɯ̀ = là mə́ = ɻə̀ tǐ nɛ̀-jɛ̌j
LOG-household = also person = PL one DOWN-get

nɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ = sì
DOWN-come:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'Their household themselves also got some (pine torches) (...)' (CV14.228.4)

(814) ɖʐɛ̀ŋɛ̀j tóŋlóŋ tʰɛ̀-bì tʰɛ̀-ʂɛ̂j
wasp roundish FR.SP-explode FR.Sp-go:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) the wasp exploded (...)' (TC06.11)

(815) dzǒŋ tʰɛ̀-ɖéŋ nɛ̀-ʂɛ́j
bridge FR.SP-break DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) the bridge broke downwards (...)' (TC06.9)

The combination of the motion verbs with noun-verb constituents, as in (816), or plain verbs without directional prefixes, as in (817), indicate a purposive clause. Note that in this kind of purposive clause, the motion verb forms one tone group (§3.2) with the preceding verb (tone group boundaries are represented by '#').

(816) dəbǔ# sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ = gə̀# dəbǔ# tɕʰòŋ tsì ʂɛ̂j#
then three-CLF:brother = DEF then trap erect go:PFV:N.EGO

'So the three brothers went to put up a trap.' (TC02.8)

(817) ʑì tɕʰòŋ mə́ dzə́ = ɖàw?#
receive come:PFV:N.EGO GNOMIC = IPFV:N.EGO

'He came to get (the two of them)?' (CV07.8)

Negation can normally be added before the verbs 'to go' and 'to come', for example in (815) *tʰɛ̀-ɖéŋ nɛ̌-mí = ʂɛ̂j* (FR.SP-break DOWN-NEG:PFV = go:PFV:N.EGO), and holds scope

over both verbs negating the whole construction.[313] This is not possible for example (814), where rather the first verb is negated *tʰɛ̌-mí=bî*, (FR.SP-NEG:PFV-explode) and the second verb is dropped. This construction with the verb 'to go' seems to be more grammaticalised than in many other examples. In many examples, the clause linker *ɦa* (§10.2) can be added in between the two verbs with little semantic difference, as in (815), although structurally *ɦa* breaks up the construction into two clauses. In (814) the insertion of *ɦa* between the two verbs would cause a total change in meaning: it clearly separates the actions 'the wasp exploded and went'. The construction used in (814), only attested with the verb 'to go', is a special construction that gives extra force to the action expressed by the non-controllable verb.

In two other examples, the insertion of *ɦa* creates a clear difference in meaning between the verb concatenation construction, as in (818), and the clause chain, as in (819).

(818) pálí nè-gú ɕôŋ!
clothes DOWN-wear go:IMP:SG

'Go put on your clothes!' (CV01.11EL)

(819) pálí nè-gú ɦà ɕôŋ!
clothes DOWN-wear LINK go:IMP:SG

'Put on your clothes and go!' (CV01.11EL)

The inflected form *ʐɛj* has an alternative form *ʐə*, as in (820), which is often used in combination with the clause linker *ɦa*, as in (821). Like *ʐɛj*, it carries inflection, and thus the verb that precedes it occurs in its basic form. Interestingly, it can co-occur with the form *ʐɛj*, as in (822). According to my main consultant, *ʐɛj* ~ *ʐə* sometimes takes over the function of the inferential evidential marker *si* (§8.3.1), but as shown in (823), it sometimes co-occurs with the inferential marker. More research needs to be conducted.

(820) kʰù-nə́-nú jæ̀ŋdzà-lí tʰè-dzù ʂà, ə́sèŋ?
out-near-outside Ch:courtyard-DIM FR.SP-make go:PFV:N.EGO AGR

'(They) made a little courtyard on the outside down the valley, right?' (CV14.231)

[313] If one explicitly wants to state that the first action happened and the second did not, one would say in (815) *tʰè-ɖéŋ kʰí=bù, nɛ̌-mí=ʂɛ̂j* (FR.SP-break time=TOP DOWN-NEG:PFV=go:PFV:N.EGO) 'when it broke, it did not go down' turning the initial verb into a temporal subordinate clause. In that case negation holds scope only over the second clause.

(821) ɻ̥ɨ́ nè-dzàdzà ʂə́ ɦà.
teeth DOWN-be.tightly.closed go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'(...) his teeth were tightly closed.' (YJ01.42)

(822) tʰútù m̥àgéŋ = gə́ = nòŋ m̥àɖæ̀-lí = gə́ = nòŋ ɻ̥ɨ́
immediately old.man = DEF = COORD female-DIM = DEF = COORD teeth

nè-dzàdzà ʂɛ́j ʂə́ ɦà.
DOWN-be.tightly.closed go:PFV:N.EGO go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'The teeth of the old man and the girl were tightly closed.' (CV09.53.2)

(823) tə́-wúlʲæ̀ ʂə̀ = sì.
UP-dry.out go:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(...), (it) dried out.' (CV18.103)

7.8.2 *Durative aspect 'sit'*

When the verb *dzǒŋ* 'to sit, stay' follows another verb in an asymmetrical serial verb construction, it adds the meaning of continuation or prolonged duration to the action expressed by the main verb, as in (824). The addition of *dzǒŋ* carries the implication that *tê-qɐ pʉ* 'to become a family' involves a long-term relationship.

(824) ʐèpʉ̌ ʐèpʉ̀ kʰí = bú, ɕí = nòŋ l̥ɛ́j = tì dəbù
in.the.past in.the.past time = TOP louse = COORD flea = INDF then

té-qè pʉ̀ dzóŋ = sí tɕàw
one-CLF:household do sit = INF HSY

'A long, long time ago, a louse and a flea became a family, it is said.' (KZ01.1)

Example (825) without *dzǒŋ* would mean that the people stood in a conifer grove; the presence of *dzǒŋ* indicates that they actually stayed standing there for a long time.

(825) gwèŋ = nóŋ m̥ə́ = nòŋ ə́-pù dəbǔ nè-tɕʰə̀tɕʰə́
horse = COORD person = COORD that-under then DOWN-stand:COLL

dzóŋ = sî
sit = INF

'(...) the horse and the people (father and daughter) stayed down there (...)' (YJ01.25)

Example (826) is sometimes politely said while taking leave after dropping in at a neighbouring house and having stayed longer than intended.

(826) ûw, nìŋ-bá wû ɻèdʑə́ kʰə̀-tʰíŋ dzóŋ = sêŋ
INTJ 2-household:GEN interior liquor OUT-drink sit = PFV:EGO

'Oh, I have stayed drinking at your place.' (EL)

This construction is only grammaticalised to a slight extent. The clause linker *ɦa* (§10.2) can be inserted between the two verbs in this construction without much difference in meaning, but it does break up the predicate into two clauses.

When negating the construction, it is possible for negation to appear on the first verb in which case the verb *dzóŋ* is dropped. It is also possible for negation to appear on the verb *dzóŋ*. Then the scope of negation is on the whole predicate. Thus with (825), both *nĕ-mí tɕʰətɕʰə̂* and *nĕ-tɕʰətɕʰə̂ mí dzóŋ* '(they) did not stay' can be said, and they mean roughly the same.

7.8.3 *Benefactive 'give'*

The use of the verb *kʰĭŋ* 'to give' as second verb in an asymmetrical serial verb construction expresses that the action of the first verb is done for the benefit of somebody. The verb can appear with or without directional prefix. This is shown in examples (827) and (828). The beneficiary argument is not obligatorily present. When present, it is marked with the dative marker *= bi* (§6.2.3), as in (829).

(827) mĕ è-ʈʰéj tʰè-kʰìŋ = séŋ
fire IN-light FR.SP-give = PFV:EGO

'(...) and lighted a fire for (them).' (CV09.60)

(828) nʲǽ pǎʐɨ̀ = ɖè è = ní kʰə̀-tɕǎ̆ kʰìŋ = ʂû
2SG:GEN carpet = DIS 1 = AGT OUT-weave give = VOL:SG

'(...) as for your little carpet, I will weave it for (you) (...)' (TC09.30)

(829) tɕìŋ = ɻə́ = bì = ɖè = bù, tʰè-ʈŭ-də̀-ʈù pɨ́ ɦà qèlá
child = PL = DAT = DIS = TOP FR.SP-pull-TO.SP-pull do LINK bundle

è-dzóŋdzù də̀-kʰìŋ wêŋ.
IN-make:CASU TO.SP-give CUST.EXCL

'(She) would pull a bit (of firewood) here and a bit there and casually make a bundle for the children.' (CV09.6.2)

This construction is only slightly grammaticalised. The clause linker *ɦa* (§10.2) can be inserted between the two verbs without much difference in meaning, but it does break up the predicate into two clauses.

Negation precedes the verb *kʰǐŋ* but has scope over the whole construction. Thus the negation of (827) *è-ʈʰéj tʰě-mí=kʰîŋ* (IN-light FR.SP-NEG:PFV=give) implies that the fire was not lighted. To express that the fire was lighted, but not for them, one would say:

(830) mě è-tʰéj tə́=ɻə́=bì mí=kʰîŋ, nìn=bí tʰé-kʰìŋ=sèŋ
fire IN-light 3=PL=DAT NEG:PFV=give 2SG=DAT FR.SP-give=PFV:EGO

'(We) lighted a fire not for them, but for you.' (CV09.60:EL)

7.8.4 *Terminative/controllative 'put'*

The verb *tǐ* 'to put' is often used as an auxiliary verb. When functioning as a main verb, *tǐ* can occur with different directional prefixes, but when used as an auxiliary verb it only occurs with the prefix *kʰə̌-*, as in (831). When used as an auxiliary verb, inflection is realized on *tǐ*, as in (832). The construction with *kʰə-tǐ* as auxiliary verb emphasizes the total control of the agent over the action and the fact that the patient is negatively affected by the action. The patient is often not overtly mentioned; the agent, on the other hand, is usually overtly mentioned and is in all cases marked for agentive. The construction also focuses on the termination of the action. Initial verbs in this construction are generally highly controllable verbs such as 'kill' and 'catch'.

(831) è-ní pʉ̀nə́ té-pʰèj=ɕì nè-sè kʰə̀-tǐ ɦà
1SG-AGT today one-CLF:shot=LIM.TOP DOWN-kill OUT-put LINK

'(...) today I killed (him) off in one shot (...)' (TC04.16)

(832) dəbǔ tə-bǒŋ tə́-ʂèj ɦà də-ʐə́ kʰə̀-twì;
then 3-household:AGT UP-go:PFV:N.EGO LINK TO.SP-catch OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO

də-ʐə́ kʰə̀-twǐ kʰì=bù dəbǔ
TO.SP-catch OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP then

'Then that household went and caught (him). When (they) had caught (him), (...)' (TC04.30)

The verb *kʰə-tǐ* as auxiliary verb is highly grammaticalised. It is not possible to insert the clause linker *ɦa* (§10.2) in between the verbs in this construction, without breaking up the construction and radically changing the meaning. In that case, example (831) would mean 'today I killed (him) in one shot and put him away'.

When the construction is negated, a simple *nɐ-mí=sɐ* 'I did not kill him' is used and the verb *kʰə-tǐ* is dropped.

7.8.5 *Emphatic construction 'let go'*

An emphatic construction is formed with a controllable verb (§8.1.1) followed by the verb *ɕə́* 'to go' and the auxiliary verb *kéj* 'to let' (that is also used for a normal causative

construction, §6.4, §7.9.5). The controllable verb and the verb 'to go' have the same obligatory prefix. The choice of the prefix depends on the first verb, as shown in (833) and (834).[314] V_1 verbs used in the *V_1 dir-ɕə kɛj* construction are generally highly controllable verbs like 'to throw, to pour' and the construction expresses a high intensity of action.

(833) sǒŋ kʰə̀-tǐ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kɛ̂j, sǒŋ qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kɛ̂j.
three OUT-put OUT-go let three OUT-eat OUT-go let

'Leave three, eat three.' (CV17.26)

(834) dəbǔ nè-ʈʂôŋ; dəbǔ ə́-wù nè-ɕə̀ kɛ̂j,
then DOWN-pour then that-under DOWN-go let

nè-ʈʂóŋ nè-ɕə̀ kɛ́j = ɖâw.
DOWN-pour DOWN-go let = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) and (the oil) is poured down, (it) is made to go down in there, it is poured down.' (PC02.11)

Inflection is expressed on the final auxiliary verb *kɛ́j*, as in (835).

(835) tsʰɛ̀ləlí = gə́ dəbǔ tɕə́ = wù nè-dǐ nè-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j
little.dog = DEF then water = in DOWN-throw DOWN-go let: PFV:N.EGO

kʰí = bù
time = TOP

'Then when (he) threw the small dog downwards into the water (...)' (TC02.27)

In contrast to the normal causative construction, the emphatic contruction does not change the valency of the verb, but rather expresses a high degree of control of the agent over the action. Interestingly, in the corpus the patient is often overtly mentioned, but the agent almost never is. The distinction between the normal causative construction and the emphatic construction can be clearly seen in (834). In the first clause the action of pouring is described by a single verb. In the second clause the normal causative construction is used. In the third clause an emphatic construction is used, which has the same valency as the verb in the first clause. The difference is the degree of control of the agent over the action. In (836) the first clause shows the emphatic construction and the second the causative.

[314] Note that *kʰə̆-* and *qʰə̆-* are conditioned variants of the same prefix, see §2.1.7.4.

(836) dəbǔ zə̨́ té-pʰɛ̀j kʰə̀-dǐ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j kʰí=bù,
then bow one-CLF:shot OUT-throw OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP

qʰù-nʲǽ=wù dəbǔ jɛ́sɛ̀ŋ kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j=sí tɕù̀w
needle-eye=in then arrow OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY

'Then (he) shot one shot and caused the arrow to go through the eye of the needle, it is said.' (TC02.46)

The construction is highly grammaticalised. When negated, the initial verb will be negated and *DIR-ɕə kɛj* will simply be dropped. Thus in (836), *kʰə-mí=dwi* will be the negation of the first clause.

If the initial verb expresses motion, it is possible to change the construction into a clause chain by the addition of the clause linker *ɦa* (§10.2) after the initial verb. However, in that case the construction is clearly broken up and the intensity of the action is lost. When the initial verb is not a motion verb, as in example (833), the addition of *ɦa* results in odd semantics.

7.8.6 *Completive 'complete' and terminative 'be finished'*

The verbs *tɕʰŏŋ* 'to complete' and *tsʰá* 'to be exhausted, be finished' are dissimilar from the verbs discussed above in that they are rather complement-taking verbs, formally similar to the modal auxiliaries (§7.9). Complementation is discussed in §10.3.

The verb *tɕʰŏŋ* 'to complete' is used with verbs of creation denoting actions that result in a completed product, for example weaving a shawl, building a house, or making tools. Its use as main verb is illustrated in (837) and as auxiliary in (838).

(837) dòŋ pʉ́ɻú pʉ̀-jì tà, ɛ̀pʉ́=gǽ ə́-dʑ̀ì
together roast do-NMLZ can grandfather=GEN that-location

ɛ́=tɛ̀j=bù, tʰʲǽ-tɕʰóŋ=bù.
Q=EXIST.H=TOP FR.SP:Q-complete=TOP

'If there is (meat) at grandfather's over there, if it is done, (you) can roast it together.' (CV18.30.2)

(838) tǎ pʉ́nə̀=bù dzǔ tʰɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ
now today=TOP build FR.SP-complete

'(...) As for today, (the bridge) has been built (...)' (KZ02.9)

The verb *tsʰá* 'to be exhausted, be finished'[315] is used to express the exhaustiveness of an action, and is used mainly with Activity verbs other than creation verbs, like working the land, slaughtering pigs or studying English.[316] The verb *tsʰá* is used as a main verb in (839) and as an auxiliary in (840). Note that in (840) it is used with a State verb.

(839) tǐŋ nè-tsʰá = nʲàè kwǽŋtɕí ʐù = ɖâw.
Ch:electricity DOWN-be.finished = just Ch:shut.down very = IPFV:N.EGO

'As soon as the power is finished, (my cell phone) shuts down.' (CV04.64)

(840) míŋ dzà wèj, nè-mə́ nè-tsʰá = sî.
what be PUZ DOWN-forget DOWN-be.finished = INF

'What on earth is it? (I)'ve totally forgotten (them).' (CV09.24.2)

Negation comes between the main verb and the auxiliary, with the scope of negation being the auxiliary, as in (841) and (842). Thus in (841) the speakers did build the house, but they did not finish it. This is not possible with the asymmetrical serial verb constructions discussed above (cf. for example [827]).

(841) ʈʂóŋ dzǔ mí = tɕʰôŋ
house build NEG:PFV = complete

'(We) did not complete building the house.' (EL)

(842) mǽŋqwǽŋ = gə́ = là dzə́ mí = tsʰâ
pork.back.end = DEF = also eat NEG:PFV = be.finished

'(...) (we) had not finished eating the pork back end (...)' (CV21.154.1)

7.8.7 *Experiential tʲɯ*

The experiential aspect marker *tʲɯ* is used to denote situations that were experienced prior to the moment of the utterance, as in (843). That *tʲɯ* is of verbal origin can be seen from the fact that it can co-occur with the interrogative particle and negative particle, as in (844) and (845), but it has not been attested as an independent main verb in the natural corpus, and it always takes on the tone of the preceding element. Dīng (1998:202) gives a grammaticalisation path from the verb 'to pass through' in

[315] It is possible that this is a borrowing from Tibetan, since a verb *tshar* that expresses completive aspect is found in several Tibetan dialects (Zeisler 2004:647). Chirkova (2009:44) mentions this for the neighbouring language Shǐxīng as well.

[316] Some verbs can be followed by either *tɕʰŏŋ* or *tsʰá*. When *tsʰá* modifies the verb 'to eat', the implication is that all the food is finished. When *tɕʰŏŋ* is used instead, this implies that the action has been completed.

Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ there is a verb *tʲʉ́* 'to thread a needle', but my main consultant does not see a clear connection between this verb and the aspect marker.

(843) nə́-mə́ = là qʰə̀-dzə́ = sêŋ, qʰə̀-dzə́ tʲʉ́ mə̀ dzə̀
thus-NMLZ = also OUT-eat = PFV:EGO OUT-eat EXP GNOMIC

'We (...) also ate (things) like this, experienced eating (like this) (...)' (CV03.12.3)

(844) nǐŋ tɕìŋ ʑí ɛ́ = tʲʉ̀?
2SG child give.birth Q = EXP

'Have you given birth to any children?' (EL)

(845) ěŋ, mə̌ mà = tʲʉ́ mə́ dzə̀ qɛ̀j
INTJ hear NEG = EXP EPIST

'Right, he will not have heard it before.' (CV08.7)

7.8.8 *Simultaneous action ʐoŋ*

The simultaneous action marker *ʐoŋ* is used with two separate actions, the first of which takes place during the second. The construction can be schematized as follows: *V_1 ʐoŋ V_2*. In most instances of my dataset, V_2 is a verb of motion (either 'to come' or 'to go'). The action expressed by V_1 and marked with *ʐoŋ* is semantically embedded in the action of V_2: it describes the manner in which V_2 is conducted. The origin of *ʐoŋ* is opaque.

The construction with the simultaneous action marker looks superficially similar to a pre-verbal adverbial construction *X pʉ́ V* (see §7.10.1), as in (846), but the difference with the pre-verbal adverbial construction is that the element preceding the simultaneous action marker *ʐoŋ* is a controllable verb, whereas in the pre-verbal adverbial construction the pre-verbal element is something that is not controllable (a stative verb, an adverb, or a numeral-classifier compound). Additionally, the verb following the simultaneous action marker is usually a motion verb, but verbs following the pre-verbal adverbial construction *X pʉ́* are usually not motion verbs.

(846) ɖə̀ɖǽŋ ʐóŋ ʂɛ̂j
walk SIM go:PFV:N.EGO

'He went walking; (...)' (CV04.16)

There are several examples where constituents come between V_1 *ʐoŋ* and V_2, as in (847), or where V_2 is not present, as in (848).

(847) ɖə̀ɖǽŋ ʐóŋ lìŋwú ɕə́=sêŋ
walk SIM Yǒngníng go=PFV:EGO

'I went walking to Yǒngníng.' (CL02ed.7EL)

(848) dəbǔ pètsə́ dì ʐóŋ, dì ʐóŋ, tátɕə̀ tə́ tɕə̀ɻì=gǽ
then flower throw SIM throw SIM just.right this spring=GEN

dʑí tʰè-tà pâ.
location FR.SP-arrive do:PFV:N.EGO

'So throwing flowers continuously (they) just then reached the place of the spring.' (TC07.27)

A morpheme that is often used with this construction is the morpheme *ta*, as in (849). This morpheme seems to have some kind of plural meaning, but further research needs to be done.

(849) ěŋ, ní ɻwé=wù kùɻù tʰíŋ ʐòŋ tà ɕə́-jí ɖòŋ=qɛ̀j
INTJ LOG road=in porridge drink SIM all go-NMLZ okay=EXPT

tɕà̀w mə ɖà
say:IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'Right, he said that he needed to go drinking porridge on the road.' (CV07.83)

7.9 Modal auxiliaries

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows a whole range of modal auxiliaries; some are still able to function as main verbs, others only function as auxiliaries, and some have grammaticalised to express even more abstract notions such as politeness or inclusive versus exclusive knowledge. For example, the verb *qʰǔ* 'to need' can appear as a main verb, function as an auxiliary modifying another verb, and have a slightly more abstract meaning of 'politeness' (§7.9.9) and an even more grammaticalised use denoting 'inclusive knowledge' (§8.5).

The modal auxiliaries can be divided semantically into two groups expressing dynamic modality and deontic modality. Whereas dynamic modality relates to the ability or willingness of the referent (internal conditioning factors), deontic modality relates to obligation or permission from an external source (external conditioning factors) (Palmer 2001:9). The auxiliaries described in this section are given in Table 7.12. In addition to auxiliaries, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ also has two deontic modality constructions, discussed in §7.9.11.

Table 7.12 Modal auxiliaries

Dynamic modals		Deontic modals	
tʰǒŋ	'be able, dare'	*qʰǔ*	'need'
wêŋ	'be able'	*hâ*	'ought'
qá	'can, be able'	*tâ*	'should' (also dynamic 'can')
ʑǐŋ	'can, be able'	*kɛ́j*	'make' (also dynamic 'let')
ɻə̌ɕǐ	'can, be able'		
ɻ̊ɛ̂ŋɻ̊ɛŋ	'feel like, want to'		
ʑáw	'feel like, want to'		
ŋá	'dare'		

The modal auxiliaries are clearly verbal, since all of them (except for *tâ* 'can, should', §7.9.7) can be preceded by the negation and interrogative markers. When the two disyllabic auxiliaries *ɻə̌ɕǐ* 'can, be able' and *ɻ̊ɛ̂ŋɻ̊ɛŋ* 'feel like, want to' are negated, negation and interrogation markers are inserted in the middle. Auxiliaries generally do not take a directional prefix, unless they can also function as main verbs in a clause. All auxiliaries are complement-taking verbs. Complementation is discussed in §10.3.

It is possible for several auxiliaries to co-occur, but this is not very frequent. Apart from the examples with *wêŋ* and *qʰǔ* mentioned below in (855) and (856), only the following examples have been attested in the corpus. Example (850) shows three auxiliaries following the verb *ɻ̊æ̌* 'to laugh', the desiderative *ʑǎw*, the causative *kɛ́j* and the moral obligation *hâ*. The scope of each auxiliary is over the preceding auxiliary or verb. Examples (851-853) show *tâ* 'can , should', *wêŋ* 'be able' and *qʰǔ* 'need' following *kɛ́j* 'make, let'. Example (854) shows *qʰǔ* 'need' following *wêŋ* 'be able'.

(850) nè-ɻ̊æ̀ ʑáw kɛ́j hà tɕə̀=ɖàw=là tɕʰɛ́mì
DOWN-laugh want let ought say=IPFV:N.EGO=also not.sure

'(He) said, "(...) one ought to make them want to laugh," and what all.' (CV14.146.4)

(851) ɛ́dʲæ̀=bì tú kɛ̀j tà
grandmother=DAT look let can

'(...) (you) can let grandma look.' (CV18.143.1)

(852) ɻ̊àdʑú ʈə́ kɛ̀j wèŋ mà=ɖâw
head.cover wear let can NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'(She) was not able to help me me wear the head cover, (...)' (CV22.1.7)

(853) ʈɛ́ tí jǽ ((nɛ̀-tɕə̀ kɛ̀j qʰù bàw)).
false one IDEO DOWN-say let need CONTR

'(...) (she) should have put in a quick and smooth lie (...)' (CV15.55)

(854) dəbǔ tə́ dzə̀=là m̥ə́=gòŋ pɯ́ wéŋ qʰù
then this be=also person=AGT do be.able need

'Even though it is like this, it needs people able to do it.' (TC01ed.13)

The auxiliaries *wêŋ* and (less frequently) *qʰǔ* often follow other auxiliaries in their more abstract customary exclusive and inclusive knowledge function (cf. §8.5), as in (855), or politeness marker (§7.9.9), as in (856).

(855) l̥ʲɛ́ kwí kɛ̀j wèŋ â?
tongue EXIST.IN let CUST.EXCL CONF

'Is it the custom to let the tongue stay inside?' (CV18.43)

(856) tɛ̀-qɛ̀-bà wù nɛ̀-ʈʰwɛ́ kɛ́j qʰù
one-CLF:household-household:GEN interior DOWN-encounter let POL

'(...) Please let (me) find a household (...)' (TC08.5)

7.9.1 *Physical ability 'tʰǒŋ'*

The auxiliary *tʰǒŋ* 'be able, dare' expresses the physical ability to do something, and derived from that the courage to do it. It displays an inflection paradigm made up of suppletive forms.[317] Like other verbs, the inflection patterns according to 'egophoric' or 'self-person' versus 'non-egophoric' or 'other-person'. A fuller discussion of egophoricity will be given in Chapter 8, in particular in §8.1.2. The different forms of the auxiliary are given in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13 The paradigm of 'can'

EGO (1)	EGO (2SG)	EGO (2PL)	N.EGO
tɕǽ	*kǔ*	*kǐŋ*	*tʰǒŋ*

Examples of the egophoric forms are given in (857) and (858).[318]

[317] It is not sure whether other speech varieties show suppletive forms. Ding (1998:250) only mentions the form [tʰõ], but since his examples only show third person referents, it is impossible to ascertain whether there are other forms in the paradigm.

[318] Note that in the third line of (857), the form *kǔ* is used in a second person statement. There are several instances where a second person egophoric form is used in a second person

(857) “tə́ bʉ̀ɻɛ́j nʲæ̀ = gə́ = tù è-ʈʰǎ sè kú é = qɛ̀j,”
this snake black = DEF = on IN-shoot kill can:EGO:2SG Q = EXPT

tɕwə̀ = sì.
say:PFV:N.EGO = INF

‘ “(…) will you be able to you shoot and kill this black snake?” (he) said.’ (TC02.49)

“sě tɕæ̀ = qɛ̂j.”
kill can:EGO:1 = EXPT

‘ “I will be able to kill (it).” ’ (TC02.50)

“nǐŋ sě kǔ sə̀tɕæ̀
2SG kill can:EGO:2SG if

‘ “If you are able to kill (it), (…)” ’ (TC02.51)

(858) tɛ̀ʈʰǒŋ é nè-gwè = qɛ́j ɦǎw, nìŋ-bʉ́-sèŋ tswéŋ
after.a.while 1SG DOWN-drunk = EXPT WARN 2-household-PART pull

kéŋ é = qɛ̀j
can:EGO:2PL Q = EXPT

‘After a while I will get drunk (I’m warning you!!), and will the several of you be able to pull me?’ (CV21.78)

Examples of non-egophoric forms are given in (859), (860) and (861). In (861) *tʰǒŋ* has the meaning of ‘dare’.

(859) nìŋ = ɻə́ swǽŋʂwí tʲóŋ = là mə̀ tʰǒŋ mà = ɖáw
2 = PL sour.water one:CLF:thing = also hear can:N.EGO NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

‘(…) none of you was able to hear (him say) “Sour water” (…)’ (CV09.38.1)

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statement. In this instance, the fact that it appears in a conditional clause might be relevant. Conditional clauses are often phrased like questions (not in this example) in which case one would expect the second person egophoric form. Another explanation for the presence of a second person form could be that this is a remnant of an earlier person-number or actor-agreement marking system that is still (partly) present in some more southern speech varieties of Pǔmǐ (Lù 1983; Fù 1998; Dīng 1998). As discussed in Daudey (2014), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has changed to an egophoric marking system, possibly under influence the of Tibetan or other languages in the linguistic area. Alternatively, this use of the second person egophoric form (together with the presence of a suppletive paradigm) might point to a collapse of two distinct modals, that leave occasional residue forms.

(860) gwěŋ = sə̀ ɕə́ tʰóŋ é = qèj...?
horse = CONTR.TOP go can:N.EGO Q = EXPT

'(...) the horse, however, will (it) be able to go?' (CV14.244)

(861) nìŋ = bú dəbǔ ʈʰóŋ gǽ = ʈá = là gwǎ mà = tʰǒŋ
2SG = TOP then voice beautiful = SVM = also sing NEG = dare:N.EGO

lʲěmǎtà
useless

'(...) (your) voice is beautiful, but you don't dare to sing, that's of no use (...)' (YJ01.9)

7.9.2 *Learned ability wêŋ*

The auxiliary *wêŋ* 'be able' expresses ability to do something through having acquired the skills and gone through a process of learning the steps.[319] It can be used as a main verb, as shown in (862) and as an auxiliary, as shown in (863). It does not show inflection.

(862) dʑə̀dʑǐ mǎ = wèŋ, hwítɕí kʰéj kú = qèj â?
letter NEG = have.learned Ch:airplane Ch:drive can:EGO:2SG = EXP CONF

'If you have not learned your letters, will you be able to fly an airplane?' (CV11.33)

(863) "nǐŋ ʐə́ ʈʰæ̀ é = wèŋ," tɕwə̀. "ʈʰæ̀ wéŋ," tɕwə̀ = sì.
2SG bow shoot Q = can say:PFV:N.EGO shoot can say:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(He) said, "Can you shoot a bow?" (He) answered, "I can shoot." ' (TC02.43,44)

The modal *wêŋ* can also refer to a general custom or procedure, a generally known fact, or a habit of somebody. Used in that sense, *wêŋ* is used to express exclusive knowledge, not known by outsiders: it indicates that a speaker does not expect the addressee to know the information she is talking about, as in (864). This will be discussed in §8.5.

(864) é = ɻə̀ wɛ́tà ʈʰóŋmə́ = ɻə̀ = bù séŋtɕîŋ bùlá ɕáw wèŋ.
1 = PL Wǎdū:GEN Pǔmǐ = PL = TOP T:animal many raise CUST.EXCL

'We Wǎdū Pǔmǐ raise many animals.' (PC02.1)

7.9.3 *Unlimited qá and ʑǐŋ*

The auxiliary *qá* 'can, be able (eat, use, wear)' marks not being limited by internal factors or limitations (like food being edible or clothes being wearable). It is often used

[319] This form is cognate to the assertive/skillitive [jɔ̃̂] mentioned in Dīng (1998:249).

for activities having to do with eating, drinking and putting on clothes, as illustrated in (865), but can be used with other verbs as well, as illustrated in (866).

(865) jíŋlʲàw nə́-mə́ tʰìŋ qá-mə́ dzə̀ = nòŋ mǎ = dzə̀ = ɦà
Ch:beverage thus-NMLZ drink can-NMLZ be = COORD NEG = be = even

tɕʰɛ̌mì
not.sure

'(I) don't know whether or not (you) can drink a beverage like this, (...)' (CV11.71)

(866) tə́-ɻə́nǽŋ = sì dəbǔ, ʈʂʰə́ mǎ = qà
UP-be.smelly = INF then slaughter NEG = can

'(...) (the yak corpse) had become smelly, so (they) could not butcher it (...)' (YJ01.15)

The auxiliary *ʑǐŋ* 'can, be able', which is very similar to *qá*, is used for all sorts of activities (including eating and wearing clothes).[320] Its main difference from *qá* is that when using *ʑǐŋ* the limitations or factors are external, rather than internal.[321] Thus, the pair of examples in (867) and (868) differ in that (867) is a general statement that holds because of external factors like size, whereas (868) depends on internal factors like the condition of the jacket (whether or not it is wearable).

The two not only differ in semantics, but also in argument structure. *qá* only takes an S argument, but *ʑǐŋ* takes both an A and an O argument. This can be seen in (867) and (868), where an argument 'I' can be added in (867), but not in (868).

(867) [tə́ pálí = gə̀]$_{O}$ gǔ ʑìŋ = qɛ́j = ɖàw
this jacket = DEF wear can = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

'(I) will be able to wear this jacket.' (EL:W-C49.11)

(868) [tə́ pálí = gə̀]$_{A}$ gǔ qá = qɛ́j = ɖàw
this jacket = DEF wear can = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

'This jacket can be worn.' (EL:W-C49.13)

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[320] Not surprisingly, there are only three examples with *qá* in the corpus versus fifty-five examples with *ʑǐŋ*.

[321] The examples in the corpus show the following limitations: unable to speak because of mushroom-poisoning; unable to pass because the road is blocked; unable to swim because one does not have arms; unable to show oneself to others because one is not wearing clothes. Interestingly, all the examples with *qá* and most of the examples with *ʑǐŋ* appear in negative clauses.

Some other examples with *ʑíŋ* are given in (869), (870) and (871).

(869) tù = lá dzə́ ʑíŋ mà = ɖáw tɕâw.
anything = also eat can NEG = IPFV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) it's not possible to eat anything, (he) says.' (CV02.58.1)

(870) tə́ tóŋ ʑìŋ = nóŋ mà = ʑìŋ = nóŋ dəbǔ ɻèdʑə̀-qʰwá = tì
this speak can = COORD NEG = can = COORD then liquor-bowl = INDF

kʰə̀-tʰíŋ kʰì = bù, dəbǔ tóŋ = ɖáw mə dzə̀ mà, nǐŋ.
OUT-drink time = TOP then speak = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC INFO INTJ

'Whether or not he could narrate this, after having drunk one bowl of liquor, he would narrate, mind you!' (CV13.114.1)

(871) é = ɻə̀ ɕə́ ʑìŋ = wêŋ, nìŋ = ɻə́ gòŋnʲæ̀ = ɻə́ ɕə́ ʑíŋ mǎ = wèŋ,
1 = PL go can = CUST.EXCL 2 = PL Nuòsū = PL go can NEG = CUST.EXCL

tɕə̀ qʰù mà.
say need INFO

'You should say, "We will be able to go, but you Nuòsū people will not be able to go." ' (CV14.122)

7.9.4 *Solution ɻə́ɕǐ*

The auxiliary *ɻə́ɕǐ* 'can, be able' expresses that there is a solution to the problems that arise in conducting an action. My main consultant suggested that the form could be derived from *ɻwè ɕǐ* 'there is a way', as in example (872), which can be said in a quarrel. Two phenomena support the idea that the auxiliary derives from a nominal and a verbal component. *ɻə́ɕǐ* is still a discontinuous morpheme: the negation and interrogative markers always precede *ɕǐ*, as in (873). Additionally, the high-rising surface tonal pattern suggests that *ɻə́ɕǐ* originally consisted of two morphemes (see §3.3.5).

(872) é nìŋ = pú ɻwè ɕǐ mà = qêj
1SG 2SG = COM road EXIST.AB NEG = EXPT

'I won't have any way to get along with you.' (EL:W-C49.14)

(873) dəbǔ jèhǎ ɕə̀ tsʰà lʲêj, pʉ́nʲæ̀ tə́ = gə́ = bù dəbǔ ə́-qʰù
then all go be.finished DISS today:GEN this = DEF = TOP then that-on

ɛ̀-ʑwíŋ ɕòŋ tɕə̀ kʰì = bù ʑwìŋ ɻə́ = mì = ɕî.
IN-block go:IMP:SG say time = TOP block can = NEG:PFV = can

'(They) will all finish going, the one who told me to block them up there (...); (I) have no solution to block (them) (...)' (TC02.63)

The auxiliary *ɻə̌ɕǐ* is often used in alternation with a form of the physical ability auxiliary *tʰǒŋ* (§7.9.1), but expresses a slightly deeper meaning of there (not) being any solution. Two examples are given in (874) and (875).

(874) ɛ̀má dəbǔ gwǎ̀ mà = tʰǒŋ dəbǔ ə̀-wá ɛ̀má = nòŋ
aunt then sing NEG = dare:N.EGO then this-in:GEN aunt = COORD

tə̀ = ɻǒŋnì, “nìŋ = bú dəbǔ ʈʰóŋ gǽ = ʈá = là gwǎ̀
this = PL:AGT 2SG = TOP then voice beautiful = SVM = also sing

mà = tʰǒŋ lʲěmǎtà,” tɕə̀, ɛ̀ = bí nə́ tɕə́ = ɖàw,
NEG = dare:N.EGO useless say 1SG = DAT thus say = IPFV:N.EGO

dəbǔ gwǎ̀ ɻə̌ = mí = ɕî.
then sing can = NEG:PFV = can

‘Aunt (= I) did not dare to sing, so this aunt here and the others said (to me), “Your voice is beautiful, but (you) don’t dare to sing, that’s of no use.” Thus (they) spoke to me, but I could not sing.’ (YJ01.9)

Example (875) is a conversation between a magpie who asks people about their ability to bring pine resin, and the people who respond that they have no solution.

(875) î nìŋ-bʉ́ dəbǔ, ɻʉ̥́dɛ́j dəbǔ, sòŋ-ɕǐ jɛ̀j
INTJ 2-household then pine.resin then three-CLF:liter bring

kíŋ ɛ́ = qɛ̀j,” tɕwə̀ = sì.
can:EGO:2PL Q = EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO = INF

‘(...) (he) said, “Iih!...Will your household be able to bring three liters of pine resin?” ’ (TC04.23)

“sòŋ-ɕǐ jɛ̀j ɻə̌ɕì mà = qɛ́j,” tɕwə́.
three-CLF:liter bring can NEG = EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “(We) won’t be able to bring three liters,” (they) said.’ (TC04.24)

“nǒŋ sòŋ-ɖwěŋ jɛ̀j kíŋ ɛ́ = qɛ̀j,” tɕwə̀.
so three-CLF:measuring.cup bring can:EGO:2PL Q = EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “In that case will (you) be able to bring three measuring cups?” (the magpie) said.’ (TC04.25)

“sòŋ-ɖwèŋ = lá ʈʰwɛ́ ɻə̌ɕì mà = qɛ́j,” tɕwə́.
three-CLF:measuring.cup = also find can NEG = EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “(We) won’t be able to bring three measuring cups either,” (they) said.’ (TC04.26)

“nǒŋ	sòŋ-q^{h}wǎ	jɛ̀j	kíŋ	ɛ́=qɛ̀j,”	tɕə̀	k^{h}ì=bù,
so	three-CLF:bowl	bring	can:EGO:2PL	Q=EXPT	say	time=TOP

“sòŋ-q^{h}wà=bú	jɛ̀j	ɻə̀ɕì=qɛ́j,”	tɕwə̀.
three-CLF:bowl=TOP	bring	can=EXPT	say:PFV:N.EGO

‘When (he) said, “Will (you) be able to bring three bowls then?” (they) said, “(We) will be able to bring three bowls.” ’ (TC04.27)

7.9.5 *Desiderative ɻ̊ên̥ɻ̊eŋ and ʑáw*

The stative verb *ɻ̊ên̥ɻ̊eŋ* ‘to feel well’ is an endoceptive (internal state) verb (§8.2) and appears followed by the stative verb marker *=ʈa* or the intensifier *ʐǔ*, as in (876). It is a discontinuous morpheme in that negation is inserted in the middle. *ɻ̊ên̥ɻ̊eŋ* can also function as an auxiliary ‘feel like, want to’, which expresses a desire to conduct a certain action, as in (877) and (878). The ability to co-occur with *=ʈa* and *ʐǔ* makes it slightly different from the other auxiliaries described thus far. In addition, *ɻ̊ên̥ɻ̊eŋ* can take a directional prefix, and in that case has the meaning ‘to be a little bit better’ (see §7.1.2).

(876)

ɛ́	ɻ̊éŋ=mǎ=ɻ̊èŋ=ʈà	
1SG	feel.well=NEG=feel.well=SVM	

‘I’m not feeling well.’ (EL:B179)

(877)

míŋ	pù	ɻ̊èŋɻ̊èŋ?
what	do	feel.like

P: ‘What would (you) like to do?’ (CV11.28)

fítɕí	k^{h}ɛ̀j	ɻ̊èŋɻ̊èŋ=ʈà.
Ch:airplane	Ch:drive	feel.like=SVM

C: ‘I would like to fly an airplane.’ (CV11.29)

(878)

ɕə́=sə́	tɕ^{h}ə̀ní	ɕə́	ɻ̊éŋɻ̊èŋ.
go=CONTR.TOP	how	go	feel.like

‘As for going, how (I) would like to go (...)’ (CV14.120)

The desiderative *ʑáw* ‘feel like, want to’ follows a limited number of verbs that have to do with physical needs like sleeping, laughing, using the bathroom and having sex, as in (879). Its occurrence in the corpus is thus rather limited. Like *ɻ̊ên̥ɻ̊eŋ*, it functions as an endoceptive (internal state) verb followed by the stative verb marker *=ʈa* or the intensifier *ʐǔ*. It can also take directional prefixes. In answer to such a question it is possible to say *mǎ=ʑáw* ‘I don’t feel like it, I don’t need to’. Thus, in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ this marker should be analysed as an auxiliary, rather than a derivational verbal suffix as in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:125).

(879) ʑə̀ ʑáw ʐù wéŋ tɕàw mə̀ tɕàw ɦà, nɛ̀ qʰə́-dzə̀ kʰì.
sleep feel.like very CUST.EXCL HSY NMLZ.CONSTR brain OUT-eat time

'It is said that (one) will want to sleep very much, when (one) eats (pig's) brain.' (CV18.3)

The desiderative *ʑáw* is also used with the stative verb *dʑíŋ* 'to be true', as in (880):

(880) ɛ́=ɻə̀ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j kʰì nə́ pɯ́ qʰə̀-dzə́=séŋ tɕə̀ kʰì,
1:EXCL=PL be.small time thus do OUT-eat=PFV:EGO say time

tɕìŋ=ɻóŋ ((dʑíŋ ʑáw pɯ̀ mà=qɛ̂j)).
child=PL:AGT be.true feel.like do NEG=EXPT

'When I say that we ate like this when we were small, the children will not think it's true.' (CV03.15)

7.9.6 *'dare' ŋá*

There is too little attestation in the corpus to say anything valid about the morpheme *ŋá*, which seems to be an auxiliary that has the meaning 'dare' (cf. *tʰŏŋ* which can also mean 'dare', §7.9.1). The only occurrence is given in (881).

(881) wù=gə́=bù, tʰútù lʲàwlʲàw=lá mí=ŋá
tiger=DEF=TOP immediately move=also NEG:PFV=dare

tə̀-bă ɦŏŋ=pù dəbŭ nɛ̀-dzóŋ ɦà.
3-household:GEN animal.pen=under then DOWN-sit LINK

'The tiger immediately did not dare to move, so (he) sat down under their household's animal pen.' (KZ03.6)

7.9.7 *Permissive/suggestive tâ*

The auxiliary *tâ* 'can, should' expresses a strong suggestion and permission to conduct an action 'go ahead and do V'. It is most often used as a strong suggestion with less imperative force than a real imperative, as in (882). In that utterance, the speaker weakens the imperative force of her statement by reframing it as a strong suggestion the third time. It can also be used with first person and third person statements, as in (883) and (884). It has not been attested with negation.

(882) kʰə̀-tʰʲôŋ, kʰə̀-tʰʲôŋ, kʰə̀-tʰíŋ tà.
OUT-drink:IMP:SG OUT-drink:IMP:SG OUT-drink can

'Drink, drink, go ahead and drink.' (CV21.201)

(883) ʐǎ tâ, (…) ʐà = séŋ mə́ séŋ ɦà
carry can carry = PFV:EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(We) can carry (some sour water to them), (…) and so (we) carried (the sour water).' (CV09.48.3)

(884) pɛ̀jpɛ́j píŋmá dʑǽtsʰèŋ tɕə̀ tà mà, ə́sèŋ?
older.sibling Pingma Dzaetshen say can INFO AGR

'(He) can say (= could have shouted) "Older brother Pingma Dzaetshen", right?' (CV04.19.2)

tâ often borders on the verge of 'possibility' and 'suggestion', as in (885) and (886). The speaker is raising the possibility of conducting an action and at the same time suggesting that the action be done that way.

(885) ʈʰóŋmə́-l̥ì pàw, ə́sǽ? nǐŋ ɕɛ̀-l̥í tʲǽ = pàw,
Pǔmǐ-language do:IMP:SG CONFIRM 2SG Hàn-language PROH-do:IMP:SG

dʑínʲǽ, tǎ = bù ʈʰóŋmə́-l̥ì pʉ̀ tà.
really now = TOP Pǔmǐ.language do can

'Don't speak Chinese, really, you can speak Pǔmǐ now.' (CV21.492.2)

(886) pɛ́dí = tì tà dzə́ tɕàw, pɛ́dí = ɖɛ̀ ʑɛ̀pú tʰɛ́-kì də̀-jɛ̌j tá mà
toad = INDF only be HSY toad = DIS armpit FR.SP-put TO.SP-get can INFO

'(...) it is said that it is only a toad. A little toad can be brought stuck in one's armpit, (...)' (TC09.39)

tâ is often used in response to an expression of intent to do something, as in *ɕə̀ ʂû* 'I want to go' and the response *ɕə́ tà* 'Go then'.

(887) "tǎ ʑɛ̀mí = bù ìŋ = dzǽŋ ə̀-dʑí nɛ̀-ɕǎ ɛ́ = gì," tɕə̀
now tonight = TOP 1:INCL = DU this-location DOWN-spend Q = VOL:INCL say

kʰì = bù dəbǔ, "ɕǎ tà ɕǎ tà," tɕwə̀.
time = TOP then spend can spend can say:PFV:N.EGO

'(Hare) said, "Now shall we sleep here tonight?" (Tiger) said, "(We) can spend the night, (we) can spend the night." ' (KZ03.31)

Example (888) is interesting in that speaker S answers from the point of view of speaker P. Even though talking about her own intention to eat a bit, speaker S uses *tâ*. A straightforward answer would be *dzə́ ʂù* 'I want to eat'.

(888) ɛ̀má sɛ́nóŋ dzə́ ɛ́ = ʂù?
aunt Sanong eat Q = VOL:SG

P: 'Aunt Sanong, do you want to eat?' (CV14.160)

dzə̀ tà.
eat can

S: ‘Go ahead and eat (=I'll eat some).’ (CV14.161)

In a few conversations a dialectal equivalent *kwæ̌* with the same meaning from the Lābǎi Pǔmǐ speech variety was used:

(889) ʑɛ́gì lɛ̌j ɛ̀-ʈʉ̀ ɛ̀-jɛ̀j kʰí=bù, ə̀-wú tʲáw kwæ̀ mə́ dzə̀.
later seed IN-dig IN-get time=TOP this-in plant can GNOMIC

‘Later when the seedlings have been dug up, (you) can plant them here.’ (CV14.95)

A construction *V=la V ta* occurs with the meaning ‘if you want to V, go ahead and V (but there are also other options)’. This is a predicate-focus construction discussed in §10.8.

(890) nǐŋ=wù nɛ̀-ʈʰwɛ̀j=lá ʈʰwɛ̌j tà.
basket=in DOWN-peel=also peel can

‘(...) go ahead peel it in the basket.’ (CV13.39.2)

The auxiliary *tâ* is sometimes followed by the copula *dzə̂*, as in (891), and sometimes by another form of the copula *dzi* that is also used in one of the nominalization constructions that is used for confirmation (§8.6.3), as in (892). The use of *dzə̂* seems to give a more definite reading than the use of *dzi*. Thus (891) is the concluding statement of a procedural text on making butter tea, whereas (892) is just a suggestion.

(891) nə́ pʉ́ tʰɛ̀-dzú dəbǔ, kʰì=bù dəbǔ, tʰǐŋ tá dzə̂.
thus do FR.SP-make then time=TOP then drink can be

‘After having made (it) like this, (you) can drink (it).’ (PC01.9)

(892) ʂə́ nɛ̀-kóŋ=qɛ́j, qʰə̀-dzə́ tà dzì.
lean.meat DOWN-cold=EXPT OUT-eat can be:CON

‘The meat will get cold, (you) can eat.’ (CV19.84)

7.9.8 *Permissive/causative kɛ́j*

The auxiliary *kɛ́j* ‘let’ displays a similar inflection to controllable verbs (§8.1.1): it has a basic form *kɛ́j* and an inflected form *kwɛ́j* with a non-egophoric infix [w]. Inflection patterns according to ‘self-person’ and ‘other-person’, the inflected form being used for ‘other-person’.

kɛ́j is used both as a jussive, allowing somebody to do something, as well as a causative, making somebody do something. The distinction between a jussive and a causative is a fine line and ties in with volition of the causee. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ does not mark this

distinction on the verb, but can mark the causee argument with the dative marker *=bi* to indicate that the causer gives full control of the action to the causee. This has been discussed in §6.4. An example with a jussive reading is given in (893) and an example with a causative reading is given in (894). The non-egophoric inflected form can be seen in (894).

(893) pɛ̀jpɛ́j kízú tɛ̀-tsá sə́ nɛ̀-tóŋ kɛ̂j,
older.sibling T:sKal.bzang one-CLF:section first DOWN-speak let

jǎw tɛ̀ʈʰǐ dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tétóŋ pʉ̀ kʰì.
again after.a.while speech speak:RECP do TRAIL

'Let older sister Kizu first narrate a section and then we can talk together after a while.' (CV09.163)

(894) ɛ́ tsɛ̀ŋtóŋ = là nɛ̀-ɻə́ʂə̀, tsʰǔ nɛ̀-sə̀ kwɛ̀j,
1SG chest = also DOWN-take.off.skin almost DOWN-die let:PFV:N.EGO

ɻɛ̀dʑə̀ nə́-mə́ = tì = bù,...
liquor thus-NMLZ = INDF = TOP

'Such (good) liquor, it took the skin off my chest and almost made me die, (...)' (CV21.395)

7.9.9 *Obligation and politeness qʰǔ*

The auxiliary *qʰǔ* 'need to' expresses obligation. It has two forms that express number: *qʰǔ* for singular and *qʰwǎŋ* for plural.[322] The form *qʰwǎŋ* seems to have a more limited use: it is not attested as a main verb or an inclusive knowledge marker in the corpus, but is only used as an auxiliary and a politeness marker. The form *qʰǔ* can be used as a main verb, as in (895). The auxiliary function of *qʰǔ* and *qʰwǎŋ* is illustrated in (896) and (897).

(895) kâw, ɻə̀tǽŋ = gə́ qʰù = qɛ̀j = ɖáw nôŋ?
uncle(MB) cutting.knife = DEF need = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO QUEST

'Uncle, will you still need that cutting knife?' (CV19.35)

(896) ʑǎ = bì nɛ̀-dʲúdʲú pʉ̀ qʰù, ə́sǎ?
hand = on DOWN-grasp do need CONFIRM

'(You) need to grasp tightly, okay?' (TC08.13)

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[322] Cf. Fù (1998:153) who gives similar forms for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (*qu*^{55} for singular and *quan*^{55} for plural).

(897) nìŋ = dzǽŋ = là ʑǎ̀ də̀-tə̀tǒŋ ə́- dʑì nɛ̀-tɕʰə́ qʰwæ̀ŋ
2 = DU = also hand TO.SP-fold:RECP that-location DOWN-stand need:PL

mà
INFO

'The two of you need to fold your hands and stand over there (...)' (CV16.14)

When used in requests, *qʰu* has a more abstract meaning of politeness.[323] This is illustrated by examples (898) and (899). (898) represents the request of a woman to god, and (899) the request of a guest to his hosts. In these kinds of relationships it is impossible to command the addressee, and *qʰu/qʰwæ* is rather used to soften the command, thus implying a measure of politeness. As a politeness marker, it has lost its own tone and takes on the tone of the preceding element. Its function can be compared to that of the clause-final attitude markers (§8.8), but it occupies the auxiliary position in the clause. This can be seen from the form of the main verb: if *qʰu* was a real clause-final attitude marker, the verbs in the examples below would have been in the imperative form.

(898) tɛ́-qɛ̀-bà wù nɛ̀-ʈʰwɛ́ kɛ́j qʰù
one-CLF:household-household:GEN interior DOWN-find let POL

'Please let (me) find a household (...)' (TC08.5)

(899) ɛ̀ = bí sèŋtɕʰæ̀ = tí tɕʰì qʰwæ̂ŋ
1SG = DAT breakfast = INDF feed POL:PL

'Please give me some breakfast, (...)' (CV07.87.2)

In combination with the prohibitive negation marker *qʰǔ* is used to mark optatives, as in (900) (see also §7.2.3), and sometimes without the prohibitive, as in (901).

(900) tɕìŋ = gə́ = bù tʲæ̀-sə̀ qʰû, m̥ə̀géŋ = gə́ = ɖɛ̀ dʑwæ̀ tɕə́-jì
child = DEF = TOP PROH-die need old.man = DEF = DIS let.it.be say-NMLZ

tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ
FR.SP-become

'(We) could only say, "We hope that the child will not die, but as for that insignificant old man, let it be" (...)' (CV09.133.1)

(901) ə́-dʑì ʈʂóŋ = tí dʲóŋ qʰù
that-location house = INDF EXIST.AT need

'(I) hope (they) will build a house there.' (EL)

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[323] In Yǔchū village, guests are always politely invited to eat by saying *dzə́ qʰu* 'Eat, please!' In Wǎdū, people normally do not use this polite form, but will simply say *qʰə-dzâw* 'Eat!'

qʰǔ has further developed as a marker expressing inclusive knowledge that has an important function in discourse. Since its development is parallel to the development of *wêŋ* (§7.9.2) and its meaning can be contrasted with that of *wêŋ*, the functions of both markers in discourse will be discussed in §8.5.

7.9.10 *Moral obligation hâ*

The auxiliary *hâ* 'should, ought to' is used in situations where a certain behaviour is either required or forbidden, usually on ethical or moral grounds, as in (902). It is most often used with a negative in trying to restrain people from doing certain actions. Example (903) can be regularly heard in talking to children. Interestingly, the only form of the negative that can be used with this auxiliary is the emphatic negation marker *mê* = (§7.2.4) and not the prohibitive *tʲæ* = (§7.2.3). An example of a positive use is shown in (904).

(902) qʰénʲæ̀ hí = góŋ è-dí mə̀ dzə̀, ɦámə́ʐə̀ tɕə̌ mɛ́ = hà.
mouth god = AGT IN-connect GNOMIC, messy say NEG:EMPH = ought

'(Your) mouth is given by god, (you) shouldn't speak randomly.' (EL)

(903) mɛ́ = hà!
NEG:EMPH = ought

'Don't!' (CV21.599.2)

(904) ʂéŋtʰì kʰə̀-tɕʰwí pɯ́ hà tɕə̀ ɦà...
Ch:health OUT-good do ought say LINK

'(...) (they) said that (she) ought to make her health better, (...)' (CV14.210)

In example (905) the speaker talks about a family member who embarrassed the household by going to a different village wearing old shoes.

(905) nú ɕə̀ kʰì = bù, nə́ pɯ́ mɛ́ = hà mà, nú ɕə̀ kʰì,
outside go time = TOP thus do NEG:EMPH = ought INFO outside go time

nú ɕə̀ kʰì = bù èlʲæ̌ tɕʰwí ɕíɕì pɯ̀ hà mà.
outside go time = TOP a.little good a.little.bit do ought INFO

'(...) when (he) goes out, (he) should not act like this; when (he) goes out, (he) ought to act (= put on something) a bit better.' (CV15.34)

7.9.11 *Deontic modality constructions*

There are two constructions that express deontic modality. The verbs *dzə̂* and *ɖǒŋ* in these two constructions function as complement-taking verbs (§10.3). Both constructions are formed with the purposive nominalizer *–ji* (§5.2.2). The first construction, the 'self-obligation construction' has the form *V-ji dzə* with the copula

dzɜ̂ 'to be' following a nominalized verb, as in (906). It implies that the referent is willing and in control of the action that needs to be performed.

(906) káw pàtɕí sèŋbǔ nè-ɕɜ̀-jí dzɜ̀ tɕɜ̀ kʰì = nòŋ
uncle(MB) Ch:Bajin tomorrow DOWN-go-NMLZ be say time = only

'Only when Uncle Bajin said that (he) needed to go back the next day, (...)' (CV06.13)

The purposive nominalizer *–ji* is often left out, as in (907).

(907) ɛ̀ = ní nè-ʈʂóŋ dzɜ̀ bǎ
1SG = AGT DOWN-pour be SPEC

'I maybe need to pour (it) in?' (CV09.141)

The second construction, the 'other-obligation construction' has the form *V-ji ɖoŋ* with the verb *ɖǒŋ* 'to become, be okay'. The use of that construction implies that the referent is pressed by external circumstances to take a certain action and has no choice in the matter, as in (908).

(908) pɯ́nə̀ ʑɛ̀nə̀ = sə̀ tɕʰwǎ = bì = ɦà m̥ɑ́ = gæ̀ tù
today yesterday = CONTR.TOP pig = DAT = even person = GEN top

há pɯ́ tɕʰì-jí ɖòŋ = ɖàw, ə́sèŋ?
be.excessive do feed-NMLZ okay = IPFV:N.EGO AGR

'(...) in recent days, however, one needs to feed the pigs even more than people (were fed in the past), right?' (CV03.10.3)

7.10 Predicate modification

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has three predicate modification constructions: a pre-verbal adverbial construction, a post-verbal intensive construction and a post-verbal delimitative construction. The three are illustrated in this section.

7.10.1 *Pre-verbal adverbial construction*

The construction *X pɯ* is a pre-verbal predicate modifier construction with adverbial meaning, expressing the manner in which the action denoted by the modified verb is done. The verb *pɯ́* 'to do' has grammaticalised to an adverbializer (similar to Lìjiāng Nàxī and Xùmǐ, Chirkova 2010:20). The various elements (X) that can modify a verb using this construction are stative verbs, as in (909), adverbs, as in (910), numeral-classifier compounds, as in (911), and even complete verbal predicates as in (912) and

(913).[324] Modifiers are given in square brackets. Numeral-classifier compounds occur repeated in the X slot of the construction, as in (911) and (914).

(909) kʰə̀-tɕʰǐŋ, [ʂóŋ pʉ́] tʰè-qʰâ, [ʂóŋ pʉ́] kʰə̀-tɕʰìŋ mə́ dzə̂.
OUT-sun.dry clean do FR.SP-pick clean do OUT-sun.dry GNOMIC

'It is picked in a clean way and sun-dried in a clean way.' (CV14.72)

(910) ìŋ = dzə́ŋ = bù ʐə́gì [də́də̀ pʉ̀] ɕə́ = gî
1:INCL = DU = TOP later slowly do go = VOL:INCL

'(…) Let the two of us go slowly behind (the others). (…)' (YJ01.41)

(911) [tè-pʰǎ̀ tè-pʰǎ̀ pʉ́] nè-gêŋ
one-CLF:piece one-CLF:piece do DOWN-cut.with.scissors

'(…) (we would) cut it piece by piece with scissors.' (SN01.4)

(912) ɛ̀mə́ = bù kóŋ = ʈâ, ə̀-pú [nè-dɛ̀j pʉ́] nè-dzóŋ = sêŋ.
aunt = TOP cold = SVM this-under DOWN-stick do DOWN-sit = PFV:EGO

'Aunt (= I) is very cold, (I)'ve sat here stuck (to the fireplace).' (CV02.13)

(913) [lʲàwlʲǎw mǎ = ʐìŋ pʉ́] tʰè-dzú hà mə̀ dzə̀
move NEG = can do FR.SP-make ought GNOMIC

'(…) It ought to be made so that it cannot move, (…)' (CV14.146.2)

Multiple modifiers can precede the verb, as in (914).

(914) m̥ǽŋ l̥ʲóŋ tsʰá kʰí = bù [qàqà pʉ́]
hair peel be.finished time = TOP group do

tsàʐə̀ [tʲóŋ tʲóŋ pʉ̀] tʰɛ́j wêŋ
fattened.pig one:CLF:thing one:CLF:thing do Ch:lift CUST.EXCL

'When the hair has been scraped off, (the people) will together lift the fattened pigs one by one (…)' (CL01ed.18)

7.10.2 *Post-verbal intensive adverbial construction ʐu pʉ́*

The post-verbal intensive construction *ʐu pʉ́* immediately follows the verb it modifies. When present, post-verbal markers will follow the modifier, as in (915). The construction is derived from the verb *ʐǔ* 'to be excessive, to be capable' and *pʉ́* 'to do' and expresses that the action denoted by the verb is done often.

[324] The reciprocal reduplication (§7.4.1.1), which is also followed by the verb *pʉ́*, is different in that it does not modify another verb, but functions as the main verb in a clause.

(915) tóŋ [ʐù pʉ́] wèŋ, əsèŋ?
speak be.excessive do CUST.EXCL AGR

'(Uncle) often utters about it, right?' (CV01.8.1)

The similar examples (916) and (917) use the same modifier, but used post-verbally and pre-verbally respectively, and the interpretation differs slightly. (916) denotes that the action expressed by the verb is done often, whereas (917) denotes that the action expressed by the verb is done in great quantities. Both clauses can also be used when commenting on a current action of a referent, in which case they mean roughly the same, indicating that the referent is clearly enjoying his meal. The pre-verbal modifier in (917) is similar to the ones described in §7.10.1.

(916) tə̀ tɕʰì dzə́ [ʐù pʉ́] = ɖàw
3SG food eat be.very do = IPFV:N.EGO

'He's eating attentively.' or 'He often eats.' (CV01.8.1EL)

(917) tə̀ tɕʰǐ [ʐù pʉ́] dzə́ = ɖâw
3SG food be.excessive do eat = IPFV:N.EGO

'He's eating attentively/a lot.' or 'He eats a lot.' (CV01.8.1EL)

The post-verbal constructions described here and in §7.10.3 might originally have been preverbal modifiers of the following aspectual markers (Harold Koch, p.c.).

7.10.3 *Post-verbal delimitative construction*

The construction *DIR-V tə pʉ* is a post-verbal predicate modifier construction that expresses delimitative aspect: the action denoted by the preceding verb is done very quickly, only once or not very thoroughly. *tə* is derived from the numeral *tǐ* 'one' and *pʉ́* is the verb 'to do'. The main verb takes an obligatory directional prefix. This can be explained using the concept of telicity (or boundedness): both the delimitative construction and the directional prefix point to the boundedness of the action (cf. §7.1.3).

(918) é ʑǎ̈ tʰè-tsɛ́j tə̀ pʉ̀ = ʂù
1SG hand FR.SP-wash one do = VOL:SG

'I want to wash my hands a bit.' (EL:C5.5)

In this construction, the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' can be inflected. Examples are given with a non-egophoric form (919) and an imperative form in (920).

(919) kwěŋ qʰètsɛ́j = gòŋ è-də́dwè tə̀ pà kʰì = bù
younger.sibling small = AGT IN-ask one do:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

'(…) the youngest brother asked (him) a bit (…)' (TC02.13)

(920) tsʰǐ tʰè-ʐæ̀ʐǽ tə́ pàw.
salt FR.SP-mix one do:IMP:SG

'(You) should mix the salt a bit.' (CV18.27)

7.11 Conclusion

This chapter described different parts of the predicate: directional prefixes, negation, interrogatives, verbal morphology (including various verb stem reduplication templates), the copula and existential verbs, the light verb and denominal verbs, versatile verbs and verbal aspect, modal auxiliaries and predicate modification.

Chapter 8.
Evidentiality and speaker attitude

This first part of this chapter is concerned with the interplay between the lexical semantics of the verb and the egophoricity-evidentiality parameter. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows four groups of verbs based on verbal semantics: controllable verbs (Haller 2000), also referred to as 'volitional verbs' (Sūn 1993, Tournadre 2008); non-controllable verbs; endoceptive (Tournadre 2011) or internal state verbs (Aikhenvald 2003); and exoceptive (Tournadre 2011) or observable state verbs (Sūn 1993). Each group shows different behaviour in regard to inflection and interaction with evidentials and egophoricity. The term egophoricity (Tournadre 2008) denotes the involvement of the speaker in an action, which results in direct knowledge about the action on the part of the speaker. Evidential marking in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ implies lack of involvement on the part of the speaker, and thus knowledge of a situation has to be based on one of several types of evidence.

§8.1 deals with controllable and non-controllable verbs. The notion of control plays a major role in verbal behaviour as will be shown in this chapter. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, inflection of the verb stem is only observed in controllable verbs and only in perfective aspect. Inflection patterns according to egophoric and non-egophoric (Tournadre 2008) or 'self' and 'other' (Sūn 1993) and not according to person-number or actor-agreement as has been noted for other Pǔmǐ speech varieties (Lù 1983, Fù 1998, Dīng 1998). However, this egophoric system should not be seen as a rigid agreement system, but rather as a pragmatically-used means that speakers employ, as is shown in §8.1.2. As illustrated in §8.1.3, only controllable verbs show separate imperative forms.

§8.2 deals with stative verbs and makes a distinction between endoceptic (internal state) verbs and exoceptic (observable state) verbs. The notion of 'observability' plays a role in evidential marking of these verbs.

§8.3 describes the different evidential and (non-)egophoric post-verbal markers and their interplay with the category of person and the controllability or non-controllability of the situation. It discusses the perfective egophoric and inferential evidential markers (§8.3.1), the (non-)egophoric imperfective markers (§8.3.2), and the modal (non-)egophoric markers (§8.3.3). It also deals with some other evidential markers: the auditory evidential marker (§8.3.4), the quotative marker and the related hearsay evidential marker (§8.3.5), and the reported thought marker (§8.3.6). The section on evidentiality ends with a presentation of the co-occurrence of evidentials and non-

egophoric markers (§8.3.7), the link between text genre and evidentiality (§8.3.8) and the use of evidentiality for information obtained through new media (§8.3.9).

The second part of the chapter deals with epistemic modality (§8.4), and various speaker attitude and discourse-related markers and constructions. Two modal auxiliaries and their discourse functions are described in §8.5, and various nominalization constructions that are used for evidential strategy and speaker-attitude functions are discussed in §8.6. The nominalization constructions are syntactically embedded in the other markings discussed in this chapter, and because of their functions are discussed in this chapter rather than in §5.2 on nominalization. The co-occurrence of evidential marking, epistemic marking and nominalization constructions is presented in §8.7. The chapter ends with a section on the different clause-final attitude markers (§8.8).

8.1 Control and inflection

Two groups of verbs can be distinguished semantically according to the parameter of control: controllable and non-controllable verbs. Structurally, there are two factors that distinguish them: in perfective aspect, controllable verbs show stem inflection; non-controllable verbs do not show stem inflection (§8.1.1); controllable verbs have imperative forms, non-controllable verbs have to form an imperative with the verb 'to do' (§8.1.3).

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, verb inflection does not show person-number or actor agreement, but rather verb agreement patterns that are similar to 'conjunct/ disjunct', 'egophoric/ non-egophoric', 'congruent/ non-congruent' or 'person-sensitive TAME marking' systems described for Newari (Hale 1980; Hargreaves 2005), Tibetan (DeLancey 1986, 2001; Sūn 1993; Tournadre 2001, 2008), Tsafiki (Dickinson 2000) and Tani (Post 2013). Verbs inflect according to 'self-person' and 'other-person': they have egophoric forms for 'self-person' and non-egophoric forms for 'other-person'. This is interesting from a cross-dialectal perspective, since to date most descriptions of Pǔmǐ point to person-number agreement (Lù 1983,2001; Fù 1998) or actor-agreement (Dīng 1998). Only Jacques' analysis of Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ (2011) seems to point to an agreement system similar to that of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.[325]

There are three main arguments for analysing Wǎdū Pǔmǐ verbs as an egophoric/evidential system, rather than an actor-agreement or person-number agreement system. These arguments are illustrated in the subsequent sections.

[325] His data also show a verbal infix <w> that he glosses as non-egophoric volitive. Daudey (2014) addresses this cross-dialectal variation and ascribes it to possible areal influence from Tibetan.

The first argument is that the egophoric form(s) of verbs are used in both first person statements as well as second person questions. The non-egophoric form of verbs is used in first person questions, second person statements and third person (statements and questions).

A second argument is that the egophoric form(s) are used in subordinate speech clauses whose actor referent is co-referential with that of the main clause, even when the referent is third person (cf. example (955) below), and the non-egophoric form is used in subordinate speech clauses whose referent is not co-referential with that of the main clause, even when the referent is first person (cf. examples (951) to (954) below). This pattern was observed by Hale (1980) and others, and referred to as "conjunct-disjunct".

A third argument is that the egophoric form is used with an overt third person argument when that refers to the speaker (cf. examples (957) to (959) below). This is similar to what Dickinson (2000:386) mentions for Tsafiki.

8.1.1 *'Control' as basic notion in verbs*

This section discusses the first two groups of verbs: controllable and non-controllable verbs.[326] Semantically, controllable verbs are verbs that express events that can be controlled by an agent; non-controllable verbs denote events that cannot be controlled by an agent. Morphosyntactically, only controllable verbs have imperative forms (as will be discussed in §8.1.2)[327] and show inflection of their verb stem in perfective aspect (§8.3.1). Non-controllable verbs do not. The basic form of controllable verbs is used as egophoric form in 'self-person' contexts; the inflected form is the non-egophoric form used in 'other-person' contexts. Non-controllable verbs have only one basic verb stem and do not inflect (but they have a different way to distinguish 'self-person' contexts from 'other-person' contexts, involving the verb 'to do').

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[326] This is recognized by Fù (1998:25,77-87,140) for Dàyáng Pǔmǐ as well. She notes that verbs split in two groups: autonomous (自主) and non-autonomous (非自主), that autonomous verbs show more phonological inflection (for person, number, and aspect) than non-autonomous verbs, and that only autonomous verbs can occur in imperatives. An autonomous particle (自主助词) *–pʉ*^{31} can be added to non-autonomous verbs in order to let them function like autonomous verbs (equivalent to the 'self-causative' construction with the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ). Non-autonomous verbs can only occur with the aspect markers *–si*^{31} and *–qa*^{31} (the equivalents of *=si* and *=qɛj* in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ). Fù also notes the similarity with Tibetan (1998:164, 170).

[327] See Haller (2000:176) for a similar observation on controllable verbs and imperatives in Tibetan. Some controllable verbs in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ have imperative forms that are similar in shape to the verb stem, due to phonological restrictions.

The notion of control that is lexicalized in the verb is also reported for Tibetan dialects (Tournadre (2008:291) "controllability is a lexical category of the verb", and Haller (2000:175) for Shigatse and Temchen Tibetan; Sūn (1993:960) analyses it as volitionality). The notion of control cuts across transitivity, and the group of controllable verbs includes both transitive (e.g. hit) as well as intransitive verbs (e.g. walk).[328]

Apart from imperative forms (§8.1.2), controllable verbs have only two forms: a basic form and an inflected form. Verb inflection of controllable verbs is done in most cases by inserting an infix /w/[329] in the verb stem. In (921), a list is given of the basic and inflected form of several controllable verbs.

(921) *dǐ/dwǐ* 'to throw away'; *kǐ/kwǐ* 'to put in, wear (earrings)'; *kǐ/kwǐ* 'to give to drink'; *tɕʰǐ/tɕʰwǐ* 'to feed'; *jěj/jwěj* 'to get'; *kʰěŋ/kʰwêŋ* 'to give'; *ʐǎ/ʐwâ* 'to carry'; *dzə́/dzwə̂* 'to eat'; *ʑǎ/ʑwǎ* 'to sleep'; *tɕǎ/tɕwǎ* 'to say'; *qʰǎ/qʰwâ* 'to pick'; *kéj/kwéj* 'to let'; *sě/swě* 'to kill'; *tǐ/twǐ* 'to put'; *ʈǎ/ʈwǎ* 'to scratch'; *ʈʰě/ʈʰwě* 'to push'; *tʰǐŋ/tʰwǐŋ* 'to drink'; *ʈʂʰə̂/ʈʂʰwə̂* 'to slaughter'; *tɕǐ/tɕwǐ* 'to pour'; *ɕǐ/ɕwǐ* 'to lead'; *ʈʂə́qà/ʈʂə́qwà* 'to jump continuously'.

However, there are four verbs whose inflection shows a vowel change, as in (922), and the verbs 'to come' and 'to go' show a suppletive form, as in (923).

(922) *bǐŋ/bǎŋ* 'to lurch, fly'; *pʰǐŋ/pʰǎŋ* 'to flee'; *ʑwǐŋ/ʐwǎŋ* 'to block'; *pʉ́/pâ* 'to do'.

(923) *jí (ʑǎ)/tɕʰôŋ* 'to come';*ɕə́ (ɕǎ)/ʂêj* 'to go'.[330]

Some controllable verbs do not display verb inflection due to phonological restrictions, either because of an initial labial consonant, as in (924), because of a rounded vowel, as in (925), or because of labialization of the consonant, as in (926). The verbs in (924-926) do have imperative forms and their semantics indicate control by an agent.

(924) *péj* 'to add heat, boil'; *pǎŋ* 'to hide oneself'; *pá* 'to print'; *pʰî* 'to push over'; *pʰâ* 'to cut in half'; *pʰǔ* 'to divide the household'; *bǐ* 'to hammer'; *bâ* 'to hurl';

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[328] The question of transitivity is discussed in §6.3. Sūn (1993:960) also mentions that volitional verbs in Amdo Tibetan include transitive as well as intransitive verbs.

[329] This infix is subject to palatalization as described in §2.1.7.3. It is an interesting question where this infix derives from. LaPolla (p.c.) suggests an *–u* suffix that appears in some Qiangic languages as a third person form. Jacques (p.c.) rather suggests that this reflects the inverse prefix (cf. Japhug rGyalrong *wɣɯ-* [Jacques 2010], Zbu rGyalrong *wə-* [Gong 2014:49]) which has only been preserved as inverse in core rGyalrongic languages and has been generalised in other Qiangic languages.

[330] The forms in brackets are alternate forms.

bɯ̌ ‘to steam’; *m̥ə* ‘to blow’; *m̥ǐ* ‘to beg’; *wɛ̌j* ‘to curse’; *wú* ‘to trap’; *wɛ̌* ‘to prepare food’.

(925) *qú* ‘to tame (an ox)’; *dzù* ‘to make’; *kǔ* ‘to carry on back’; *ʂù* ‘to hide something’; *dóŋ* ‘to stuff with force’; *l̥ʲôŋ* ‘to peel’; *ʑǒŋ* ‘to guard’; *qʰǒŋ* ‘to turn upside down’; *l̥ɯ́* ‘to buy’; *ɖɯ̌* ‘to write’; *ɖʐɯ́* ‘to grind’; *gɯ̌* ‘to change’.

(926) *kwǐ* ‘to cover’; *gwǎ* ‘to sing’; *qwɛ́j* ‘to cry’; *ɕwɛ́* ‘to gossip’; *tɕʰwǎ* ‘to deceive’; *hwǎ* ‘to camp’; *ʈʰwɛ̌* ‘to break (tr.)’; *ɖwɛ́j* ‘to mix’; *ɻwá* ‘to hook’; *ɻwéŋ* ‘to bring forth sound’; *ʂwá* ‘to decorate’; *ʐwɛ̌j* ‘to rinse’; *swéŋ* ‘to study, teach’; *swǐ* ‘to whet’.

Note however that these phonological restrictions also hold for three of the verbs in (922) which have an initial bilabial consonant but which do show inflection. Instead of using a /w/ infix, vowel change is used to create a non-egophoric form. It is interesting that speakers of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ do not seem to feel the need to use vowel change to create non-egophoric forms for the verbs in (924-926). This might indicate that Pǔmǐ has enough other indications to distinguish ‘self’ from ‘other’, probably through the system of evidential post-verbal particles. For the verb forms in (924-926) perfectivity of the verb is indicated by the addition of a directional prefix (§7.1.3).

The basic form of controllable verbs functions as the egophoric form which occurs in ‘self-person’ clauses (first person statements and second person questions), as in (927) and (928). The inflected form functions as the non-egophoric form which occurs in ‘other-person’ clauses (first person questions, second person statements and third person statements and questions), as in (929-932).[331]

(927) é qʰə̀-dzə́=sêŋ.
1SG OUT-eat=PFV:EGO

‘I have eaten.’ (CV19.60)

(928) ɦǎw, nǐŋ è-ʑə́=sí â?
INTJ 2SG IN-come(EGO)=INF CONF

‘Oh, (you) came back?’ (CV21.406)

[331] Egophoric and evidential markers will be discussed in §8.3; for the examples used in this section it is worth noting here that *=seŋ* is the perfective egophoric marker that is used in ‘self-person’ clauses where the action can be controlled (egophoricity implies volition, control and involvement) and *=si* is the inferential evidential marker that is optionally used in ‘other-person’ clauses, or in ‘self-person’ clauses where the action cannot be controlled.

(929) nǐŋ tɕə̌, é tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́ = sî?
2SG say 1SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'You say, have I eaten?' (EL)

(930) é ʂélʲàw té-lʲàw = bì, tɕʰɛ̀bʉ̀lʲǒŋ sǒŋ tà dzù
1SG grain.kernel one-CLF:kernel = DAT food.lump three only make

tɕǽ-mə́ = bù nǐŋ ɛ̀-ʑwîŋ
can:EGO1-NMLZ = TOP 2SG IN-block:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) me, who can only make three lumps of food from one kernel of grain, you blocked!!' (TC02.65)

(931) dəbǔ qʰə̀-dzwə́ = sì tɕə̀ = ɖàw.
then OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'Then (she) finished eating, it is said.' (TC04.17)

(932) tə́ tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́ = sî?
3SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'Has he eaten?' (EL)

Non-controllable verbs only display one basic form, as shown in (933) and example (934):

(933) *bî* 'to fall down'; *ɕǽ* 'to grow old'; *ɕí* 'to ooze'; *dʲáw* 'to be tired'; *dɛ́* 'to stick (intr.)'; *dzǎw* 'to have authority'; *dzǐ* 'to splash'; *dzɛ̌* 'to appear (stars)'; *dʑǐŋ* 'to lean against'; *ɖǽ* 'to resemble'; *ɖéŋ* 'to break (intr.)'; *lôŋ* 'to be full of maggots'; *ɮ̥i* 'to succeed in escaping'; *mǽŋ* 'to have time'; *mə̌* 'to hear, forget'; *mǐ* 'to lose (sth)'; *nǒŋ* 'to make a mistake'; *nǔ* 'to know'; *qâ* 'to fall down'; *ɻǽŋ* 'to get stuck'; *ɻ̥î* 'to sweat'; *sə̌* 'to die'; *sə́* 'to live'; *tǎ* 'to arrive'; *tɕǽ* 'to crack (intr.)'; *tɕʰɛ́* 'to be cut off, be tired'; *ʑǐ* 'to be born'; *gǎw* 'to be happy'; *dzǽŋ* 'to be clogged up'; *dʑî* 'to be burned'; *ɖǽ* 'to dissolve, become undone'; *ɖə̌* 'to fall down'; *ɖî* 'to tear (intr.)'; *qʰɛ̌j* 'to be burned'; *ʈʰáw* 'to bubble'; *ʈə̌* 'to die outside'; *ʈʂʰǽ* 'to come into being'.

(934) ɛ́bàw nɛ̀-mə́ = sì
INTJ DOWN-forget = INF

'My oh my! (I) forgot (everything).' (CV22.48.1)

Since non-controllable verbs show only one basic form, inflection for 'other-person' is expressed by adding an inflected form *pa* of the light verb *pɨ́* 'to do' (§7.7) to the non-controllable verb, as in the following examples:

(935) tə́ = ɻə́ = là tǎ ɛ̀pɯ́ nɛ̀-mə́ pɯ̀ = sì.
this = PL = also now grandfather DOWN-forget do:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(...) grandfather already forgot these things (...)' (CV01.11)

(936) jæ̀ŋlɑ́wù m̥ə̀gìŋ = qʰù tʰɛ̀-tsɛ̀ŋ pɯ̀
Ch:Yang.Lawu old.man = on FR.SP-fall.down do:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) he fell down on old Yang Lawu, (...)' (CV09.45.2)

(937) nìŋ = góŋ tʰɛ̀-tɕíŋ pɯ́ ɻæ̀ŋə̀nì mə̀ nì ɦɑ̀.
2SG = AGT FR.SP-see do:PFV:N.EGO seems NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) it seems (to me) that you saw it.' (CV09.39.2)

The parameter of control in the lexical specification of verbs can be adjusted with two different constructions, which in turn influence the choice of evidential or egophoric marking: the first construction turns a non-controllable verb into a situation that can be controlled; the second construction turns a controllable verb into a situation that implies lack of control. Unlike in Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003; Curnow 2003) and nDrapa (Shirai 2007), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ cannot simply use evidential marking with controllable verbs to mark lack of control with 'self-person', but a special construction has to be used to adjust the control first.[332]

The first control-adjusting construction is the 'self-causative construction', a type of causative construction with the light verb *pɯ́* 'to do' (see also §7.7, Fù 1998:80, and Jiǎng 2012a), which allows controllable actions to be expressed with non-controllable verbs. As a result, the action is portrayed as controllable and purposeful, and the egophoric *=seŋ* has to be used in 'self-person' sentences, that is first person statements, as is shown in example (938), and second person questions, as is shown in example (942) (compare with (934) above).

(938) ɛ́ nɛ̀-mə́ pɯ̀ = sɛ̀ŋ
1SG DOWN-forget do = PFV:EGO

'I (purposely) forgot (it).' (EL)

The adverbial *tunʲə́* 'purposely' can be added to the sentence, as in (939).

[332] In Qiāng, the visual evidential is used with a first person controllable action to imply non-intentionality (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:66). In nDrapa, both the egophoric particle and the evidential particle can occur with a verb (Shirai 2007:139). The use of the evidential particle in nDrapa indicates the uncontrollability and unintentionality of the situation; the use of the egophoric particle indicates intention. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, a control-adjusting construction has to be used first.

(939) é tùnʲə̀ nè-mə́ pʉ̀ = sèŋ
1SG purposely DOWN-forget do = PFV:EGO

'I purposely forgot (it).' (EL)

This adverbial cannot occur in a sentence without *pʉ́*, as in (940).

(940) *é tùnʲə̀ nè-mə́ sì/ *é tùnʲə̀ nè-mə́ sèŋ

In second person questions *pʉ́* can also be added. Example (941) is a neutral question and the inferential evidential *=si* is used, but example (942) implies that the speaker expected the addressees to have actively done something about the situation, and thus the egophoric *=seŋ* is used.

(941) nìŋ = ɻə́ nè-mə́ = sì â?
2 = PL DOWN-forget = INF CONF

'You (pl) forgot, didn't you?' (EL)

(942) nìŋ = ɻə́ nè-mə́ pʉ̀ = sèŋ â?
2 = PL DOWN-forget do = PFV:EGO CONF

'You (pl) forgot, didn't you? (You shouldn't have forgotten)' (EL)

Two examples from natural speech are given in (943) and (944).

(943) qʰə̀-n̥æ̀ŋ pʉ̀ = sèŋ kʰì = bù
OUT-slow do = PFV:EGO time = TOP

'When (we) were (purposely) going slowly, (...)' (CV09.27)

(944) dzə̀ mà = ɕîŋ, tə̀ɕǽ = nóŋ pǐ tə́-kú ((pʉ̀ = sèŋ)).
eat NEG = VOL:PL now = only belly UP-full do = PFV:EGO

'(...) (we) won't eat; (we) just stuffed our tummies.' (CV14.157)

The second control-adjusting construction is formed with the form *tseŋ*[333] 'unintentionally, unfortunately, uncontrollably, unawarely' following a controllable verb. This construction allows non-controllable actions to be expressed with a controllable verb. The construction is only used in 'self-person' sentences and denotes that the situation cannot be controlled by the speaker, even though s/he wishes to. When *tseŋ* follows a controllable verb, like *qwɛ́j* 'to cry' in (945), the egophoric marker *=seŋ* cannot be used, but instead the inferred evidential *=si* has to be used, as in (946). An additional example from natural speech is given in (947).

[333] The etymology of this particle is not clear at present. It is possible that it developed through a serial verb construction from the non-controllable verb *tséŋ* 'to fall down, to hit target'.

(945) é nè-qwɛ́j = sêŋ[334] (*é nè-qwɛ́j = sî)
1SG DOWN-cry = PFV:EGO

'I cried.' (EL)

(946) é nè-qwɛ́j tsɛ́ŋ = sì (*é nè-qwɛ́j tsɛ́ŋ sèŋ)
1SG DOWN-cry N.CONTR = INF

'I cried (unintentionally).' (EL)

(947) âw, jǎw ə̀-dʑí kʰə̀-tì tsèŋ = sì.
INTJ again this-location OUT-put N.CONTR = INF

'Oh, (I) unfortunately put it here again.' (CV18.45)

This second construction can also be used with non-controllable verbs whose parameter of control has been adjusted by the first construction, the addition of *pʉ́* 'to do', as discussed above. This denotes a situation in which the agent could have controlled the situation and had the responsibility to do so, but ended up not controlling it, to their own embarrassment, as in (948).

(948) m̥íŋ = lá nè-mə́ pʉ̀ tsèŋ = sì
medicine = also DOWN-forget do N.CONTR = INF

'(I) also forgot medicine unfortunately.' (CV02.43)

The verb *mə̌* 'to forget' is a non-controllable verb. The speaker wants to highlight the fact that it was his intention and responsibility to buy medicine, but he forgot. Since 'forget' is not an action that can normally be controlled, the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' is added first (so that the construction presents a controlled event and the speaker is seen as responsible for the action) only then to add *tseŋ* to express his lack of control over the situation. The example differs from (949), in that in (949) the speaker is portrayed as totally lacking control, whereas in (948) he portrays himself as having been able to do something about the situation, but finding himself in the unfortunate situation where he did not control it. It is interesting that if an overt argument had been expressed, the agentive marker could have been used in (948), whereas in (949) agentive marking is not possible.

(949) m̥íŋ = lá nè-mə́ = sì
medicine = also DOWN-forget = INF

'(I) also forgot medicine.' (CV02.43EL)

[334] In my database I only have examples with first person statements, and none with second person questions. According to my main consultant, second person questions involving *tseŋ* are not possible, except for when repeating people's exact words to verify you heard them say it correctly.

In example (950) the speaker comments on the fact that she should have made an effort to tell a story slowly, since it was being recorded by the researcher, but instead she told it rather quickly:

(950) ɛ̀má = gòŋnì qʉ́tɔ̀ɻə̀ tɕə̀ nɛ̀-tsʰá pʉ́ tsèŋ = sì.
aunt = AGT in.a.flash say DOWN-be.finished do N.CONTR = INF

'Unfortunately, aunt (= I) was finished in a flash.' (CV09.14)

The above-mentioned verb inflection data from Wǎdū Pǔmǐ all point to a system based on the parameter of control that ties in with parameter of evidentiality versus egophoricity (speaker-involvement), rather than a straightforward person-number agreement system.[335] Apart from the data shown above, two other pieces of information support this analysis.

The first argument is that when the referent of a main clause and a subordinate speech clause are non-co-referential, the non-egophoric form of the verb has to be used in the quotation (even when the referent in the speech clause is first person). Thus in (951) and (952), the inflected form of the verb is used with a first person argument in the subordinate clause, because the referent of the main clause is not the same. Depending on the type of evidence, the inferential evidential *=sí* can be used, as in (951) or (953) (implying inferred evidence), or left out, as in (952) or (954) (implying visual evidence).[336] The speech clause in each example is in square brackets.

(951) tə̀ = gǒŋnì [ɛ̀ = ní qʰə̀-dzwə́ = sì] tɕə̀ = ɖʉ̀w
3SG = AGT 1SG = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He says that I have eaten.' (inferred evidence) (EL)

(952) tə̀ = gǒŋnì [ɛ̀ = ní qʰə̀-dzwə́ = ø] tɕə̀ = ɖʉ̀w
3SG = AGT 1SG = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He says that I have eaten.' (visual evidence) (EL)

(953) tə̀ = gǒŋnì [tə̀ = gǒŋ qʰə̀-dzwə́ = sì] tɕə̀ = ɖʉ̀w
$3SG_I$ = AGT $3SG_J$ = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He_i says that he_j has eaten.' (inferred evidence) (EL)

[335] As is analysed for some other varieties: Qìnghuā Pǔmǐ (Lù 1983) and Dàyáng Pǔmǐ (Fù 1998). Dīng (1998) analyses Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ verbal inflection as actor-agreement.

[336] Examples (951) and (952) are interesting, in that the current speaker is controlling the pronoun in the indirect quotation, but the quoted speaker controls the form of the embedded verb and the evidential marking.

(954) tə̀ = gǒŋnì [tə̀ = gǒŋ qʰə̀-dzwə́ = ø] tɕə̀ = ɖàw
3SG$_i$ = AGT 3SG$_j$ = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He$_i$ says that he$_j$ has eaten.' (visual evidence) (EL)

But when the referent of the main clause and the subordinate clause is co-referential, the egophoric verb form of the complement verb and the egophoric marker *=seŋ* are used, as in (955). The logophoric pronoun *nî* is used to indicate co-reference. This is similar to what is reported for Tsafiki (Dickinson 2000:384) and Tibetan (Tournadre 2008), and can be seen as keeping the original ending of the quotation (Tournadre 2008:300), (cf. also §8.3.5). In direct speech the normal pronoun used in the original quotation will be used instead, as *ɛ́* 'I' in (956). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ there seems to be no distinction between direct and indirect speech apart from the reference marking: the use of the logophoric pronoun *nî* indicates that the referent of the main clause is the same as the referent of the embedded clause.

(955) tə̀ = gǒŋnì [ní = gòŋ qʰə̀-dzə́ = sèŋ] tɕə̀ = ɖàw
3SG = AGT LOG = AGT OUT-eat = PFV:EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He$_i$ says that he$_i$ himself has eaten.' (EL)

(956) tə̀ = gǒŋnì ["ɛ̀ = ní qʰə̀-dzə́ = sèŋ"] tɕə̀ = ɖàw
3SG = AGT LOG = AGT OUT-eat = PFV:EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He says, "I have eaten." ' (EL)

Another argument against the analysis of person-number agreement is that egophoric marking is also used with an overt third person argument when that refers to the speaker, as in examples (957), (958) and (959) where *ɐmá* 'aunt', *ɐpɯ́* 'grandfather' and *ɛ̂dʲæ = ɻə* 'grandmothers' refer to the speaker (or the speaker and others).

(957) ɛ̀mɑ́ = là ɕə́ = sêŋ
aunt = also go = PFV:EGO

'(...) aunt (= I) went too.' (YJ01.36)

(958) nʲæ̂ pǽŋtɛ̀ɻə̀ ɛ̀pɯ́ = góŋ ə́-dʑì qʰə̀-ʈʰɛ̀ = sêŋ, tʲɛ̌j
INTJ Ch:stool grandfather = AGT that-location OUT-push = PFV:EGO INTJ

'Here you are, grandfather (= I) has pushed the stool over there, look.' (CV13.56)

(959) ɛ́dʲæ̀ = ɻə̀ (...) tɕʰǎ ʐǔ ɦà mí = gú = sèŋ mà.
grandmother = PL (...) bashful very LINK NEG:PFV = wear = PFV:EGO INFO

'The grandmothers (= we) (...) are very bashful and did not wear (the clothes).' (CV21.205)

8.1.2 *Egophoricity as notion in existentials and auxiliaries*

Egophoricity and evidentiality also plays a role in the equational copula (§7.5), certain existential verbs (§7.6) and auxiliary verbs (§7.9.1). Their forms are given in Table 8.1. As has been shown in the afore-mentioned sections, egophoric forms appear with first person statements and second person questions, and the non-egophoric form appears with third person statements and questions.

Table 8.1 (Non-)egophoric forms of copula, existential, auxiliary

	EGO (1SG)	EGO (2SG)	EGO (PL)	N.EGO
'to be'	*diŋ*	*dʲaw*	*diŋ*	*dzô*
'to exist'	*ʐôŋ*	*ʐû*	*ʐwêŋ*	*ʑî*
'to have'	*bôŋ*	*bû*	*bêj*	*bôŋ*
'can'	*tɕæ̌*[337]	*kǔ*	*kǐŋ*	*tʰǒŋ*

The egophoric forms also appear in indirect speech when the argument of the quotation is the same as the argument of the main clause. Note that the logophoric pronoun *nî* is used to indicate co-reference (cf. §8.1.1).

(960) dəbǔ ɕè-m̥ə́ɖæ̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = gòŋnì [ní = dzæ̀ŋ = là qém̥ə̀ dìŋ]
then Hàn-female = DU = AGT LOG = DU = also Tibetan be:EGO:1/PL

tɕà = sèŋ tɕà = ɖàw tɕàw
say = PFV.EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY

'So the two Chinese girls$_i$ said that they$_i$ were Tibetan as well, [Drema said that they told her].' (PC08w.9)

The non-egophoric form appears when the arguments are not co-referential, as in (961).

(961) tə̀ = gǒŋ [é ʈʰóŋmá mǎ = dzà] tɕà = ɖàw
3SG = AGT 1SG Pǔmǐ NEG = be:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO

'He says that I'm not Pǔmǐ.' (EL)

As with other verbs (§8.1.1), the basic pattern of inflection for the forms in Table 8.1 is based on egophoricity. However, inflection depends on pragmatic factors as well. The examples below show that the egophoric system is not to be taken as a strict and rigid agreement paradigm, but rather as a pragmatically-used system, whereby the speaker can manipulate the effect of the utterance by the particular form that is chosen.

[337] Used for first plural as well; *kǐŋ* is only used for second plural.

The use of the non-egophoric form in a 'self-person' context can be employed for pragmatic effect, as in example (962), where grammatically the egophoric form *diŋ* should be used, but the speaker uses the non-egophoric form *dzə̂* instead.

(962) ɛ̀má tʲɛ̌j ʈʰóŋmə́ dzə̀, nǽŋ nɛ̀-gù-mə̀ = bù ìŋ = ɻə́
aunt INTJ Pŭmĭ be:N.EGO skirt DOWN-wear-NMLZ = TOP 1:INCL = PL

jɛ̀hǎ ʈʰóŋmə́ ʝ̊ʲǽɖú tà dzə̀
all Pŭmĭ friend only be:N.EGO

'(...) Aunt is indeed Pŭmĭ, all the ones among us that are wearing skirts are only Pŭmĭ friends (...)' (YJ01.45)

The speaker is part of a group of Pŭmĭ people who run into some other people during a trip in the mountains. The speaker explains to a young girl belonging to the other party who they are and tries to put her at ease. By using the non-egophoric verb form, she distances herself from the group she belongs to and positions herself cognitively closer to the addressee, in this case to indicate to the girl that she is in the same group with her and does not pose any danger, neither does the group that she introduces.[338] Note that in the second clause she even uses an overt first person inclusive pronoun.[339]

Another example of pragmatic use of an egophoric form in an 'other-person' context is given in (963).

(963) nǐŋ tɕʰwí = tí mǎ = dʲàw nǐŋ
2SG good = INDF NEG = be:EGO:2SG 2SG

'(...) you are not a good one, you!' (CV21.321)

In this example the speaker reacts to what the addressee has just said about herself, namely that her competence is very bad. The speaker in (963) reacts to this statement by using the form *dʲaw*, stating that the previous speaker is correct in her admission: that her competence is not good as she herself well knows. The speaker in (963) thus expressly links her statement to the previous statement made by the addressee. To use the form *dzə̂* in this example would not be appropriate, since it does not convey these

[338] The use of *dzə̂* in this example could also have another explanation: it gives my main consultant the impression that the speaker is adjusting her language for the child she is addressing by simplifying the verb paradigm. In that case, it is still a pragmatic use, but not related to egophoricity.

[339] In the first instance, she refers to herself as *ɛ̀má*, which technically is a third person, but this is not the reason that she uses the non-egophoric form. In many instances in texts a speaker will use a term of address for self-reference and still use the egophoric form of the verb (see §8.1.1).

speaker-addressee dynamics, but renders the sentence as a neutral statement that is not necessarily related to the speaker-hearer interaction.[340]

The statements in examples (964) and (965) are both correct, but are used in different situations.

(964) nǐŋ ʈʰóŋmə́ dzə̀
2SG Pǔmǐ be:N.EGO

'You are Pǔmǐ.' (EL)

(965) nǐŋ ʈʰóŋmə́ dʲə̀w
2SG Pǔmǐ be:EGO:2SG

'You are Pǔmǐ.' (you know that very well yourself!) (EL)

Whereas the statement with *dzə̂* is a neutral statement, the statement with *dʲaw* implies that the speaker knows very well that the addressee knows the fact expressed in the statement. It is used, for example, when the addressee has just claimed to be Tibetan, whereupon the speaker reacts with (965), "But you are Pǔmǐ, you know that very well yourself".

The difference between pragmatic use of 'self-person' and 'other-person' is exemplified in the following pair of questions:

(966) tə́ sèŋbóŋ = gə́ = qʰù híŋ = gòŋ ɕə́ kìŋ = qéj?
this tree = DEF = on who = AGT go can:EGO:2PL = EXPT

'Who will be able to climb this tree?' (CV06.13EL)

(967) tə́ sèŋbóŋ = gə́ = qʰù híŋ = gòŋ ɕə̀ tʰóŋ = qèj?
this tree = DEF = on who = AGT go can:N.EGO = EXPT

'Who will be able to climb this tree?' (CV06.13EL)

Example (966) is a real question, and even though it refers strictly speaking to a third person referent *híŋ* 'who', it is addressed to people who are expected to be able to answer the question. Thus it is similar to a second person plural question and the egophoric form *kǐŋ* is used. Example (967) on the other hand is a rhetorical question and is not directly addressed to anybody. The implied answer is that nobody will be able to climb the tree. Thus the non-egophoric form *tʰǒŋ* is used.

[340] This particular structure is also often used when speaking to children. For example, when two children have been fighting and one child blames the other for everything, an intervening grown-up can say example (963) implying, "But you are not totally in the right either, you know that very well yourself".

Example (968) came up during a conversation, and is interesting in that the form *tɕæ̌* is used in a third person statement. Normally, *tɕæ̌* is only used with first persons. The implication is that the speaker is not representing the real situation, but rather his own thinking: thus the use of the first person form. Example (969) would be used if the referents are currently selling timber and the speaker comments on the fact that they are really good at it.

(968) tə́ = ɻə́ = bù lʲù kǐ tɕæ̀ mə́ dzə̀, ə́sèŋ?
3 = PL = TOP timber sell can:EGO:1 GNOMIC AGR

'They could sell timber, right?' (CV19.65.1)

(969) tə́ = ɻə́ = bù lʲù kǐ tʰòŋ mə́ dzə̀, ə́sèŋ?
3 = PL = TOP timber sell can:N.EGO GNOMIC AGR

'They can sell timber, right?' (CV19.65.1:EL)

8.1.3 *Imperatives and control*

As mentioned in §8.1.1, only controllable verbs have imperative forms (although some imperatives have the same form as the stem). Imperative forms distinguish singular and plural number. Inflection is not totally predictable, but several general rules can be noted. Imperative forms of verbs with the vowels [ɐ], [ɑw], [õ] and [u] are always the same as the basic verb form. Verbs with the vowels [i], [ɛj], [æ] and [ɑ] have either imperative forms that are the same as the basic verb form, or an imperative singular form with [u].[341] Verbs with the vowel [ĩ] have imperative forms that are the same as the basic verb form, or have an imperative singular form with [õ] and palatalization of the consonant. Verbs with the vowel [ẽ] have imperative forms that are the same as the basic verb form, or have an imperative singular form with [õ]. Verbs with the central vowels [ə] and [ɯ] have a singular imperative form with [ɑw][342] and plural imperatives with either [ĩ], [ẽ][343] or a form similar to the basic form of the verb. Verbs with the central vowel [ə] have a singular imperative form with [ɑw] and a plural imperative form with [ẽ]. Table 8.2 gives the imperative forms of some controllable verbs.

[341] With palatalization of the consonant for verbs with bilabial initials and the vowel [i]. Only the verb *ʐǎ* 'to carry' is slightly irregular, with a singular imperative *ʐǔ* and a plural imperative *ʐwěŋ*.

[342] Sometimes with labialization of the consonant.

[343] Sometimes with labialization of the consonant.

Table 8.2 Imperative forms

Basic verb form	Imperative singular	Imperative plural	Meaning
pʉ́	*pâw*	*pîŋ*	'to do'
dzə́	*dzâw*	*dzêŋ*	'to eat'
tʰĭŋ	*tʰʲŏŋ*	*tʰĭŋ*	'to drink'
kʰĭŋ/kʰĕŋ	*kʰŏŋ*	*kʰĭŋ/kʰĕŋ*	'to give'
ɕə́	*ɕôŋ*	*ɕîŋ*	'to go'
ʐə̌/jí	*jî*	*jîŋ*	'to come'
tɕə̌	*tĭ*	*tĭŋ*	'to say'

In (970) and (971) examples of imperative forms of some controllable verbs are given.

(970) ʈʰóŋ páw! nè-pʰʲôŋ!
quick do:IMP:SG DOWN-flee:IMP:SG

'(...) Quick, flee down! (...)' (PC06.5)

(971) jàejŭ qʰə̀-dzéŋ mà.
Ch:potato OUT-eat:IMP:PL INFO

'Eat potatoes!' (CV15.63)

Non-controllable verbs do not have imperatives and can be used in imperative situations only by adjusting the controllability through the 'self-causative' construction with the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' (cf. §8.1.1). To form an imperative, the imperative forms *pâw* or *pîŋ* of the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' are used. An example is shown in (972). *qâ* 'to fall down' is a non-controllable verb and thus has to be modified with the imperative form of *pʉ́* in order for imperative force to be expressed.

(972) nè-qá tʲǽ = pàw
DOWN-fall.down PROH-do:IMP:SG

'Don't fall down.' (CV21.500)

Often, but not always, the directional prefix is added to imperatives. Unlike some other languages (Qiāng [LaPolla with Huáng 2003]; rGyalrong [Sūn 2007:800]) the addition

of a prefix is not obligatory for all verbs. The directional prefix is not used with a prohibitive (negative imperative):[344]

(973) tʲæ̀-hóŋɻâw
PROH-move:IMP:SG

'Don't move!' (CV01.57.1)

(974) tʲǽ-pàw.
PROH-do:IMP:SG

'Don't do (that).' (CV04.65)

In some cases of verb concatenation the directional prefix occurs on the first verb and the imperative is expressed by the second verb:

(975) ʂə́ ɛ́dʲæ̀ = bì tʰɛ̀-kʰìŋ ɕôŋ.
meat grandma = DAT FR.SP-give go:IMP:SG

'Go give the meat to grandma.' (CV18.110)

The verbs in Table 8.2 can all appear without directional prefix. This includes some frequently used verbs (e.g. 'to eat', 'to drink') and verbs that appear as second verb in verb concatenation (e.g. 'to go', 'to come'). An excerpt from a conversation, (976), shows the imperative of the verb 'to eat' with and without directional prefixes.

(976) ə̀-dʑǽ tə́ = gə́ qʰə̀-dzâw.
this-location:GEN this = DEF OUT-eat:IMP:SG

Y: 'Eat this one here.' (CV04.35)

(...)

b dzâw, dzâw!
eat:IMP:SG eat:IMP:SG

Y: 'Eat, eat!' (CV04.37)

c dʑínʲǽ mǎ = dzàw, ɛ́ ɛ̀ = dzàw = bù,... wɛ̀m̥ə́ = nì
really NEG = eat:IMP:SG 1SG Q = eat:IMP:SG = TOP guest = ADD.FOC

mǎ = (dzə̀) ((dìŋ)).
NEG = (be) ((be:EGO1))

L: '(I) really won't eat; if I eat..... (I will help myself); (I) am after all not a guest.' (CV04.38)

[344] Although it is used in combination with the prohibitive negation marker in certain constructions; in those constructions the directional prefix precedes the negation marker (see §7.2.3).

d dzáw mà, tʰè-tɕʰù mâ.
eat:IMP:SG INFO FR.SP-feed:IMP:SG INFO

Y: 'Eat, feed (her)!' (CV04.39)

e dʑínʲǽ mǎ = dzàw.
really NEG = eat:IMP:SG

L: 'I really won't eat.' (CV04.40)

An interesting phenomenon can be observed in this conversation: when an addressee responds to a command negatively, the imperative form will always be used, as in (976)c and (976)e; it is not possible to respond with *mǎ = dzə* in (976)c and (976)e. Another example is given in (977), where the singular imperative form *tʰʲôŋ* 'drink' is used for a first person statement in response to an imperative.

(977) ʈʰwí mà = tʰʲòŋ = sí
ale NEG = drink:IMP:SG = INF

'(I) don't drink ale any more right now.' (CV19.112)

This phenomenon ties in with the general egophoric system observed in the language: the same imperative form is used for second person commands (the traditional 'imperative') as well as first person answers to commands. It should however be noted that this phenomenon is not frequently observed in the language: in most cases when responding to an imperative command, a speaker will use the basic form of the verb and the negatively marked volitive *=ʂu*, as in (978).

(978) ɛ́ dzə́ mà = ʂû, tə́ = bì tʰè-tɕʰù.
1SG eat NEG = VOL:SG 3SG = DAT FR.SP-feed:IMP:SG

'I don't want to eat, give (it) to her.' (CV21.79)

When the addressee responds to a command with a conditional, there is the option[345] to respond with an imperative form as in (976)c. This implies there is a condition in this specific instance. There is also the option to respond with a basic verb form instead of an imperative form, as in (979). This implies that the condition applies not only in this case, but in general ('if (= whenever) I eat this, the situation will be like this').

(979) ɛ́ kʰʲǽ-dzə́ = bû, pì níŋ = qɛ̂j
1SG OUT:Q-eat = TOP belly painful = EXPT

'If I eat, my belly will hurt.' (CV04.38EL)

[345] It is not sure how frequent this or the other option is used, since (976) is the only example in the corpus.

The copula *dzə̂* 'to be' can be added to an imperative, as is shown in example (980). It is not totally clear at this point what the exact pragmatic implications are, but it seems similar to constructions for expressing obligation that are found in other Sino-Tibetan languages. Those normally involve nominalization,[346] but in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ no nominalization can be observed.

(980) nǐŋ ɕè-l̥í tʲǽ=pàw ɦǎw, jóŋɖóŋ nìŋ=lá
2SG Chinese-language PROH-do:IMP:SG WARN T:Gyung.drung 2SG=also

tʰóŋmə́-l̥ì pàw dzə̀.
Pǔmǐ-language do:IMP:SG be

'Don't you speak Chinese!! Yongzhong, you should speak Pǔmǐ too.' (CV21.491)

8.2 'Observability' as basic notions in stative verbs

Stative verbs are a subtype of verbs that can function as the predicate of a clause and take directional prefixes, as in (981) and §7.1.2. They can be preceded by the interrogative and negation markers, and can be nominalized, as in (982).

(981) kʰə̀-tɕɛ̀ kwɛ̀j kʰì=bù dəbǔ
OUT-big let:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP then

'When (he) had let (her) become big, then (...)' (TC07.12)

(982) ɛ́=ʐòŋ mà=ʐóŋ tɕə̂, ʐóŋ-mə́=gə̀ qʰə̀-dzə́
Q=delicious NEG=delicious say delicious-NMLZ=DEF OUT-eat

tsɛ́ŋ=ɖàw.
N.CONTR=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (nowadays we will all talk about) whether or not it is tasty and only eat the tasty bit.' (CV21.272)

Unlike other verbs, stative verbs cannot be modified by preceding adverbial expressions or following auxiliaries, but they can modify nouns post-nominally as adjectives (§5.6), as in (983).

(983) nǒŋ tə́=gə́ ɛ̀mə́ ɕɛ́=gòŋ tʲǎ-m̥ì tóŋ=ɖâw.
so this=DEF aunt big=AGT recently-night speak=IPFV:N.EGO

'So oldest aunt told this one during a recent evening.' (CV09.26)

[346] For example, Chinese 你是要去的 'You should go'.

Unlike other verbs, stative verbs can be followed by the stative verb marker *=ʈa* and the adverbial marker *ʐʉ̌* 'very', as in (984). The markers *=ʈa* and *ʐʉ̌* do not co-occur.[347] In this position, neither *=ʈa* nor *ʐʉ̌* seem to be verbal: they are not preceded by negation or interrogative markers. However, *ʐʉ̌* seems to have developed from a verb (cf. §4.7).

(984) mà=ʐóŋ=ʈà / mà=ʐóŋ ʐʉ̌
NEG=delicious=SVM / NEG=delicious very

'(It)'s not delicious.' / '(It)'s not delicious at all (...)' (KZ03.25)

Semantically and morpho-syntactically the group of stative verbs can be split into two different categories. The first category, endoceptive[348] verbs, relates to internal states (such as being angry or feeling relaxed) or states of external objects that can only be internally experienced (such as the bitterness or sourness of food, or the heaviness of an object). The second category, exoceptive verbs, denotes externally observable situations and sensations (such as the size of an object). Sūn (1993:968) also reports a split between observable and unobservable situations in Amdo Tibetan. A list of endoceptive and exoceptive verbs is given in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 Endoceptive and exoceptive verbs

Endoceptive verbs		**Exoceptive verbs**	
tɛ́j	'to be (feel) big, important'	*ɕê*	'to be (look) big'
lɛ̂j	'to be (feel) heavy'	*ʑɔ́*	'to be (look) much'
ɻwá	'to feel something (in one's eye)'	*ʈʰóŋ*	'to be fast'
ɻʉ́	'to be relaxed'	*ɖɔ́ɖê*	'to be bad(-looking)'
dʉ̌	'to detest, be detestable'	*ɖǒŋ*	'to be okay'
tɕíɻôŋ	'to be hungry'	*dzæ̂ŋ*	'to be wet'
ʈʂú	'to be sour, feel the sourness of sth.'	*nísɛ̂jsɛ̂j*	'to be red'
tsóŋ	'to have the flavour (of things)'	*pʉ́lʲæ̀lʲæ̂*	'to be soft'
níŋ	'to hurt, be sick'	*bádôŋdôŋ*	'to be short and stocky'
ʈɛ́j	'to want (food, drinks)'	*ɕɛ́ɕæ̀*	'to be similar'
kɛ̌	'to be afraid'	*ɖɛ̌*	'to be capable'

[347] Since most of the discussion below uses examples with *=ʈa*, it should be kept in mind that where *=ʈa* is used, *ʐʉ̌* could be used in the same manner (except for in example [999]).

[348] The terminology 'endoceptic' and 'exoceptic' follows Tournadre (2011).

Endoceptive verbs		Exoceptive verbs
ʈěŋ	'to miss'	
ŋǎjǐ ɕǐ	'to know'	
ʐóŋ	'to be delicious'	

Morphosyntactically the two groups pattern differently. With exoceptive (observable state) verbs the state of something is externally observeable and there is thus no privileged access to that knowledge: everybody has equal access to the knowledge and can make an observation based on visual clues. Exoceptive stative verbs are usually used in third person clauses and can be modified by the stative verb marker *=ʈa* or the adverbial *ʐǔ* without any evidential marking. This is shown in (985) and (986).

(985) hòŋ-dʑǽ ɛ́dʲǎ=gǎ ʑǎ tà tə́=gə́ ɛ̀lʲǎ
in-location:GEN grandma=GEN hand only this=DEF a.little

ɕɛ́=ʈà
be.big=SVM

'(…) this one over there in grandma's hand is a bit bigger, (...)' (CV16.107)

(986) ɛ̀má ɕɛ́=gǎ nǐŋ tsá ɕɛ́ ʐǔ
aunt big=GEN INTJ meat be.big very

'First aunt's meat is very big, mind you, (...)' (CV21.168)

With endoceptic (internal state) verbs, however, the knowledge of a state derives from internal clues, and speakers can only remark directly on their own internal state, or on the state of a thing they have experiential knowledge of ('this thing is heavy'). Speakers directly report on their own internal state, using *=ʈa* and *ʐǔ*; speakers report on (the appearance of) other people's states (based on their observation of outside clues) using non-egophoric marking. Thus endoceptive stative verbs are modified with the egophoric *=ʈa* and *ʐǔ* in self-person sentences, as in (987), but with the non-egophoric *=ɖaw* (discussed in §8.3.2 below), as in (988), or a combination of *=ʈa/ʐǔ* and *=ɖaw*, as in (989), in 'other-person' sentences. The use of *=ɖaw*, in (988), versus *=ʈa=ɖaw*, in (989), shows a slight difference in meaning. The use of *=ɖaw* is straightforward and neutral, but the use of *=ʈa=ɖaw* can either imply that the speaker presents the situation from the point of view of the referent, or that the speaker has an implied meaning. Thus in (988), the speaker simply comments on the fact that a certain girl likes the addressee. In (989) however, he expects a response from the addressee, either an acknowledgement of his feelings for the girl, or for the addressee to act on the information (for example by asking the girl out).

(987) gǽ = ʈâ / gǽ ʐǔ
like = SVM / like very

'I like (it)/I like (it) very much.' (EL)

(988) gǽ = ɖâw
like = IPFV:N.EGO

'(She) likes (you). (EL)

(989) gǽ = ʈá = ɖàw
like = SVM = IPFV:N.EGO

'(She) likes (you).' (EL)

The distinction between egophoric 'self-person' and non-egophoric 'other person' sentences plays out in the same way with endoceptive stative verbs as with other verbs (as discussed in §8.1.1). Thus, in statements, *=ʈa* and *ʐǔ* can be used with first person, but non-egophoric marking has to be used with second and third person. In questions, second person does not have to be modified by anything, but first and third person questions need non-egophoric marking. This is shown in (990), (991) and (992).

(990) nǐŋ tɕí = ɛ́ = ɻòŋ?
2SG hungry = Q = hungry

'Are you hungry?' (EL)

(991) ɛ́ tɕíɻóŋ ɛ́ = ɖàw?
1SG hungry Q = IPFV:N.EGO

'Am I hungry?' (EL)

(992) tə́ tɕíɻóŋ ɛ́ = ɖàw?
3SG hungry Q = IPFV:N.EGO

'Is she hungry?' (EL)

The phrase *kʰwɐ́ pú tɕʰoŋ* 'to be satisfied with' is an endoceptive verb construction. In the following two example sentences, the difference between 'self-person' versus 'other-person' can be clearly seen by the use of *=ʈa* versus *=ɖaw*. Since in (993) no evidential is used, the sentence can only refer to the speaker, whereas in (994) the presence of the non-egophoric marker *=ɖaw* indicates that the girl is the one who is satisfied, not the speaker.

(993) tə́ mə̀ɖæ̀lí kʰwɛ̀ = pú tɕʰóŋ = ʈà
this girl heart = under appear = SVM

'(I'm) satisfied with this girl.' (EL)

(994) tə́ mə̀ɖʌ̀lí kʰwɛ̀ = pú tɕʰóŋ = ɖʌ̀w
this girl heart = under appear = IPFV:N.EGO

'This girl is satisfied (with this thing).' (EL)

Since exoceptive (observable state) verbs do not need the addition of evidentials, the occurrence of the non-egophoric marker *=ɖaw* with these verbs has a slightly different meaning. It implies that the speaker just discovered the state of something and it represents new information to him, i.e. a mirative use, as in (995). There the speaker did not know that the feet of the two girls were big, but realized it when buying shoes. More discussion will follow in the section on mirativity (§8.3.2.1).

(995) jóŋtɕíŋ = nòŋ ʈɛ́ɕə́mà = gæ̀ = là tɕɛ́ ʐù = ɖʌ́w,
T:dByangs.cin = COORD T:bKra.shis.ma = GEN = also be.big very = IPFV:N.EGO

míŋ dzə̀ tɕʰɛ́mì?
what be not.sure

'Yongjin's and Zhacima's (feet) are also very big, (I) don't know what it is.' (CV01.47.1)

Some stative verbs can be fluid, that is have both endoceptive and exoceptive readings. A few examples are given in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Stative verbs with endoceptive and exoceptive reading

	Endoceptive reading	Exoceptive reading
tɕʰwí	'to be good (inherently)'	'to be good(-looking)'
gǽ	'to like, be happy'	'to be (look, sound) beautiful'
kóŋ	'to be (feel) cold' (inside)	'to be cold' (weather)

An example is given for the verb *gǽ* 'to like; to be beautiful'. Examples (996) and (997) give the endoceptive (internal state) reading and the egophoric *=ʈa* can only be used with 'self-person', as in (996). The non-egophoric *=ɖaw* has to be used with 'other-person', as in (997). Example (998) gives the exoceptive (observable state) reading and thus *=ʈa* can be used with 'other-person'.

(996) ɛ́ dʑə̀dʑǐ mà = gǽ = ʈâ.
1SG letter NEG = like = SVM

'I don't like books/to study.' (CV11.2)

(997) mə́ = ɻə̀ tə́ jèhà = ɻóŋ tsʰwǽ-mə́ = nòŋ,
person = PL 3SG all = PL:AGT ask.help-NMLZ = COORD

m̥ə́ pɯ̀ = wèŋ = ɖàw = gòŋnì = bù, jèhǎ gǽ = ɖâw,
person do = can = IPFV:N.EGO = AGT = TOP all like = IPFV:N.EGO

ə́-pà m̥ə́ = ɻə̀.
that-under:GEN person = PL

'Because he knows how to behave like a person, people all ask him for help, they all like him, the people over there.' (CV14.140.1)

(998) nìŋ = bú dəbǔ ʈʰóŋ gǽ = ʈá = là gwǎ̀ mà = tʰǒŋ
2SG = TOP then voice beautiful = SVM = also sing NEG = can:N.EGO

lʲěmǎtà
useless

'(...) Even though your voice is beautiful, (you) don't dare to sing, that's useless. (...)' (YJ01.9)

In addition to the egophoric marker *=ʈa*, there is also a construction *=ʈa noŋ* that can be used with 'self-person' sentences, as in (999). At this point it is not clear what the difference between *=ʈa* and *=ʈa noŋ* is nor what the origin of *noŋ* is.

(999) tí-pú tɕíɻóŋ = ʈà nòŋ ɦà
up-under hungry = SVM ? LINK

'(We) were so hungry up there (...)' (CV21.323.1)

8.3 Evidentiality and egophoricity

The above sections have discussed the different verbs and their semantics and shown that a basic distinction is made along the parameters of control (whether or not an action can be controlled) and observability (whether or not a state can be observed). This section will introduce the post-verbal particles that express (non-)egophoricity (speaker-(non-)involvement) and evidentiality (source of knowledge) and that are intertwined with aspect and modality. It will show in more depth how their use interacts with verbal semantics.

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, evidentiality and egophoricity are two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, speakers report on things that they are involved in themselves (this is egophoric or 'self' knowledge);[349] on the other hand they report on others (evidential knowledge). When speakers are involved in actions themselves, or question an addressee, there is privileged access to the knowledge they report. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ this

[349] The term egophoricity is used by Tournadre (2008); the terms 'self' and 'other' are used by Sūn (1993).

is expressed by egophoric markers. When, however, they report on other people's actions, they lack that privileged access to knowledge, and need to indicate their source of knowledge. This is done by a set of non-egophoric or evidential markers. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, egophoric markers occur in a paradigmatic opposition to non-egophoric/evidential markers. The different (non-)egophoric and evidential markers occur post-verbally and can only be followed by the clause-final attitude particles (§8.8).

There are three groups of egophoric and non-egophoric/evidential markers that occur in paradigmatic opposition: they all appear in the same slot in a clause. The markers are listed in Table 8.5, and will be discussed in §8.3.1, §8.3.2 and §8.3.3. None of the egophoric markers co-occur. Apart from two constructions, a construction denoting epistemic uncertainty *si ɖaw* (§8.4.3) and a construction *qɛj ɖaw* 'about to' (§8.7), the evidential markers do not co-occur either.

Table 8.5 Involvement and evidential markers

	EGOPHORIC				EVIDENTIAL
	EGO 1SG	EGO 2SG	EGO INCL	EGO PL	NON-EGO
Perfective	*=seŋ*	*=si*	*=seŋ*		*=si*
Imperfective	*=ɖoŋ*	*=ɖu*	*=ɖweŋ*		*=ɖaw*
Volitive, expectational	*=ʂu*		*=gi*	*=ɕin*	*=qɛj*

The different markers interact with person in the same way as verb inflection (§8.1.1), not based on actor-agreement or person-number agreement, but rather on a 1↔2/3 in statements and 2↔1/3 in questions pattern. This does not imply that evidential forms cannot be used with 'self-person'. Rather, it will be seen that in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the use of evidentials with 'self-person' implies a lack of control and volition on the side of the speaker. This corroborates with what Curnow (2002:187) noted: "Some evidentials in particular languages have sharply distinct interpretations in sentences with first-person subjects and in third-person-only sentences. In almost all cases, these involve an interpretation of the evidential as a marker of non-volitional action when used with a first-person subject." The egophoric markers imply control and volition over the action. Therefore, they can only co-occur with controllable verbs. Evidential markers, on the other hand, occur with both controllable and non-controllable verbs. When they occur with controllable verbs, they only occur with 'other-person'; when they occur with non-controllable verbs, they occur with 'self-person' as well as 'other-person'.

The three sets of markers all show a basic egophoric-evidential distinction, but at the same time they also mark aspect and modality. Similar markers in related speech

varieties have been analysed in various ways. Lù (1983:42; 2001:154) treats them as a single paradigm of past, present and future tense markers. Fù (1998:104) analyses them rather as perfective, progressive and prospective aspect markers. Dīng (1998) does not treat them as one paradigm, but analyses the three different sets of markers as aspectual, evidential and modality markers respectively.

The inferential evidential and perfective egophoric markers will be discussed in §8.3.1, the (non-)egophoric imperfective markers in §8.3.2, and the expectational evidential and volitive egophoric markers in §8.3.3. Apart from these evidential/egophoric marker sets, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ also marks auditory evidence (§8.3.4), quotatives and reported (hearsay) evidence (§8.3.5) and reported thought (§8.3.6). The section on evidentiality and egophoricity will close with the co-occurrence of evidentials (§8.3.7), the link between evidentiality and different text genres (§8.3.8) and the way visual evidence obtained through new media is marked (§8.3.9).

8.3.1 *Perfective and inferential evidential markers*

Perfective aspect is expressed by inflection of the verb (§8.1.1) and the post-verbal markers *=seŋ* or *=si*. In this section I will discuss the use of the two post-verbal markers *=seŋ* and *=si*. Both markers interact with verb inflection and the category of person, as will be shown in this section. *=si* is an inferential evidential marker and is in paradigmatic opposition to the perfective egophoric marker *=seŋ* and zero marking. *=si* marks source of information based on inference. The marker occurs optionally in 'other-person' sentences (third person questions and statements, second person statements, and first person questions) with the non-egophoric (inflected) form of controllable verbs (§8.1.1), as in (1000), (1001) and (1002). The presence of *=si* implies inferential evidence, its absence implies direct visual evidence, as in (1003), (1004) and (1005). This applies to negative statements as well, as in (1006) and (1007).

(1000) tə́ tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́=sî?
3SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'Has he eaten?' (EL)
(speaker assumes addressee did not have visual evidence)

(1001) nǐŋ/tə́ tɕʰǐ qʰə̀-dzwə́=sî
2SG/3SG food OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'You/he has eaten.' (EL)
(inferred evidence)

(1002) nǐŋ tɕə̌, ɛ́ tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́ = sî?
2SG say 1SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'You say, have I eaten?' (EL)
(speaker assumes addressee did not have visual evidence)

(1003) tə́ tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́?
3SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO

'Has he eaten?' (EL)
(speaker assumes addressee had visual evidence)

(1004) nǐŋ/tə́ tɕʰǐ qʰə̀-dzwə́
2SG/3SG food OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO

'You/he has eaten.' (EL)
(visual evidence)

(1005) nǐŋ tɕə̌, ɛ́ tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzwə́?
3SG say 1SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO

'You say, have I eaten?' (EL)
(speaker assumes addressee had visual evidence)

(1006) tə́-mí = tɕʰóŋ tɕàw.
UP-NEG:PFV = come:PFV:N.EGO HSY

'It is said that (Dauma) (…) has not come back up yet.' (CV19.89)
(the current speaker implies that the original speaker had visual evidence)

(1007) dǎwmà mí = tɕʰóŋ = sì.
T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma NEG:PFV = come:PFV:N.EGO = INF

J: 'Dauma has not come back yet.' (CV20.133.2)
(inferred evidence)

tɛ̀sǐ mí = tɕʰóŋ = sì â?
still NEG:PFV = come:PFV:N.EGO = INF CONF

N: '(She) still hasn't come back?' (CV20.134)
(speaker assumes addressee did not have visual evidence)

When a non-controllable verb appears in 'other-person' sentences (third person statements and questions, second person statements, first person questions), the inflected form *pâ* of the verb *pɨ́* 'to do' is normally added (§8.1.1), as in (1008), (1009) and (1010). Again the use of *=si* implies inferential evidence and zero marking implies visual evidence:

(1008) ə́-pà lúlú m̥ə̀gìŋ nɛ̀-dzóŋ-mə́ = tù tʰɛ̀-tsɛ̀ŋ
that-under:GEN Lolo old.man DOWN-sit-NMLZ = on FR.SP-fall.down

pà.
do:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) (he) fell down on top of the old Lolo man who was sitting there.' (YJ01.32)

(1009) nʲǽ jílú = là ə̀-wú nɛ̀-tà pá = sì,
2SG:GEN granddaughter = also this-in DOWN-arrive do:PFV:N.EGO = INF

tʲɛ̌j.
look

'Look, your granddaughter has also come over here.' (CV21.470)

(1010) nìŋ = góŋ tʰɛ̀-tɕíŋ pá ɻæ̀.nə̀nì mə̀.nì.ɦà.
2SG = AGT FR.SP-see do:PFV.N.EGO seems NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) it seems (to me) that you saw it.' (CV09.39.2)

The fact that the inferential evidential marker can be left out without any change in aspect and only a change in evidential meaning is an argument to analyse evidentiality rather than perfective aspect as the central meaning of *=si* in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. It is possible that *=si* went through a stage of marking perfective and has now developed into an inferential marker. Note that it can still mark change of state, as in (1011).[350]

(1011) ʈʰwí mà = tʰʲòŋ = sî
ale NEG = drink:IMP:SG = INF

'(I) don't drink ale any more right now.' (CV19.112)

The perfective egophoric marker *=seŋ* marks that at least one speech-act participant is involved in the action: the speaker in statements and the (singular) addressee in questions. *=seŋ* also marks volition and control over the action and thus only occurs with controllable verbs (§8.1.1). *=seŋ* occurs obligatorily in positive 'self-person' sentences (first person statements and second person plural questions) with the basic (non-inflected) form of the verb, as in (1012) and (1013). Interestingly, questions with second person singular addressees generally use the inferential evidential particle *=si* instead, as in (1014). It is not totally clear yet what triggers this. The verb form,

[350] Note that Dīng (1998:206) analyses a similar morpheme as a perfective marker in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ. For the neighbouring language Shǐxīng, Chirkova (2009:51) reports on a perfective auxiliary that has likely developed into an inferential marker and a mirative marker. This is cross-linguistically very common (Comrie 1976:108-110). A change of state marker *-si/-so/-son/-i* (depending on person) is also found in Púxī Qiāng (Huáng 2007:137).

however, is always the basic form and never the inflected form. In second person non-singular questions, the egophoric *=seŋ* is always used, as in (1013). *=seŋ* does not specify the source of information, since the speaker (or the (singular) addressee in questions) has experiential information of the action (and is thus the source of the information), but it marks perfectivity (which is not marked on the verb in egophoric situations, since with egophoric forms the basic form of the verb is used).

(1012) ʈʂʰə̌=bì tʰɛ̀-tɕʰì kʰə̀-tì=sêŋ.
dog=DAT FR.SP-feed OUT-put=PFV:EGO

'(I) fed (them) to the dog.' (CV17.13)

(1013) kɛ̀dʑí tɕʰə̀ tʰɛ̀-dzù=sèŋ?
this.time how.many FR.SP-make=PFV:EGO

'How many did you (pl) make this time?' (CV14.40)

(1014) tɛ̀nóŋ ((kʰǽ)) ʐɛ́=gə̀ kí tʰɛ̀-dì=sì?
just.now time:GEN four=DEF where FR.SP-throw=INF

'Where did (you) put the four just now?' (CV17.12)

As was shown in §8.1.1, when the argument of a main clause is co-referential with the argument of an embedded speech clause, egophoric marking is used in the embedded clause, even when the subject is third person, as in (1015). When the argument of the embedded speech clause is not the same as the argument of the main clause, evidential marking is used in the embedded clause, even when the subject is first person, as in (1016), repeated from example (951) for convenience. Again, the presence of *=si* implies inferred evidence, its absence implies visual evidence.

(1015) jǎw [ɛ́=ɻə̀=bì nə́ tí nɛ̀-tɛ̀j=séŋ]
again 1=PL=DAT thus one DOWN-Ch:loan=PFV:EGO

tɕə̀=ɖàw mə̀ ɖàw ɦà.
say=IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'But (he) told us that (he) loaned that much.' (CV07.62)

(1016) tə̀=gǒŋnì [ɛ̀=ní qʰə̀-dzwə́=sì] tɕə̀=ɖàw
3SG=AGT 1SG=AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO=INF say=IPFV:N.EGO

'He says that I have eaten.' (inferred evidence) (EL)

Even when an overt referent argument is lacking, the marker *=seŋ* forces the interpretation of speech-act participant involvement (first person involvement in statements, second person involvement in questions). Whether the referent is singular or plural is derived from the context, as can be seen in (1017) where the first referent is plural and the second is singular and both are marked by *=seŋ*.

(1017) bàbɯ́ = nóŋ tə́ = ɻə́ jèhǎ líŋwú nè-pʰè = sêŋ,
stuff = COORD this = PL all Yǒngníng DOWN-leave = PFV:EGO

pɯ́nə̀ = nòŋ èmá sɛ́nóŋ = bì è-jɛ́j tɕə́ = sêŋ.
today = only aunt Sanong = DAT IN-bring say = PFV:EGO

'The stuff etcetera (we) left all in Yǒngníng, only today (I) told aunt Sanong to bring (it here).' (CV02.32)

In a negative statement the use of *=seŋ* is optional and the default is to leave it out. When it is used, it indicates intention and purposefulness on the part of the speaker not to conduct an action. Thus, (1018) indicates a neutral statement, but (1019) indicates that the speaker intentionally did not go.

(1018) ɛ́ = bú ə́-wù ɕə́..., tʰútù tú mí = ɕə̂, tə́ ə́-pù
1SG = TOP that-in go immediately look NEG:PFV = go 3SG that-under

è-tɕʰóŋ = sì tɕə̀w kʰì.
IN-come:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY TRAIL

'I did not go to look, even though it was said that he came over.' (CV09.102.2)

(1019) dəbǔ èmá sɛ́nóŋ kì ɕə̀ kɛ̂j, èmá mí = ɕə́ = sèŋ
then aunt Sanong sell go let aunt NEG:PFV = go = PFV:EGO

'(...) Then (they) let aunt Sanong go to sell (it), aunt (= I) did not go.' (YJ02.33)

The perfective egophoric marker *=seŋ* cannot be used in combination with a non-controllable verb and 'self-person'; instead the inferential *=si* is used:

(1020) ɛ́bə̀w nè-mə́ = sì
INTJ DOWN-forget = INF

'My oh my! (I) forgot (everything).' (CV22.48.1)

The use of *=si* is optional with non-controllable verbs and implies inferential evidence. (1021) implies that the speaker was aware of the situation while it happened; (1022) on the other hand implies inferred evidence: the speaker realizes later that he must have fallen down. The same is true for (1023) and (1024). In (1023) the speaker was aware that she was getting drunk, whereas in (1024) she only realized it later.

(1021) ɛ́ nè-ɖə̂
1SG DOWN-fall

'I fell down.' (EL)

(1022) é nè-ɖə́ = sì
1SG DOWN-fall = INF

'I fell down.' (EL)

(1023) é nè-gwɛ́
1SG DOWN-drunk

'I am drunk.' (CV09.119EL)

(1024) é nè-gwɛ́ = sì
1SG DOWN-drunk = INF

'I am drunk.' (CV09.119EL)

A common pragmatic extension of inferential evidential markers is mirativity, the coding of new and unexpected (surprising) information (DeLancey 2001). Evidence derived from inference is often not integrated in the knowledge system of the speaker and a mirative reading thus easily develops. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ a mirative reading for *=si* often occurs with stative verbs. It is used when one has just discovered that a situation (expressed by the stative verb) is the case. In (1025) the speaker just found out that the referent was capable, but the action that made the referent capable in the eyes of the speaker was an action in the past, not an action at the moment of speaking. If it had been an action at the time of speaking that made the speaker exclaim that the referent was capable, she would have said *ə̂jujù, ɖɛ̌ = ɖaw mâ!*, using the non-egophoric *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2). When the speaker knew all along that the referent was capable, she would have said *ə̂jujù, ɖɛ̌ = ʈa mâ!*, using the egophoric stative verb marker *=ʈa* (since *ɖɛ̌* is an exoceptic [observable state] verb, [§8.2]).

(1025) ə́jùjù, ɖɛ̀ = sì mâ.
INTJ be.capable = INF INFO

'Oh, (you're) really capable!' (CV02.7)

Other examples of mirative use are given below:

(1026) m̌ŋ, nǐŋ ɖòŋ = sí, nǐŋ ʐə́ ʈʰæ̀ tɕʰwí = ɖáw.
INTJ 2SG okay = INF 2SG bow shoot be.good = IPFV:N.EGO

'Hmm, you're okay, you shoot very well.' (TC02.47)

(1027) ə́jù, məʐæ̀ wɛ́ mà-ɖǽ = sî, míŋ dzə̀?
INTJ bread make NEG-resemble = INF what be

'Oh, the bread is very good, how come?' (CV21.97)

(1028) èmá nǐŋ tə́ jǎw kʰwɛ́ = pù nè-kwì = sî,...
aunt 2SG this again heart = under DOWN-EXIST.IN = INF

'Aunt, you still remember this?!' (CV24.24)

The presence of *=si* in *ma=q^{h}u=sí* in example (1029) might be the influence of the Lābǎi Pǔmǐ speech variety. The speaker currently lives in Lābǎi and came back to visit her family in Wǎdū. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *ma=q^{h}ǔ* is normally used. In the example the speaker realizes that she uses this expression and is a little bit embarrassed about it.

(1029) mà=q^{h}ù=sî, mà=q^{h}ù=sí tɕə́ q^{h}ù mà, há....
NEG=need=INF NEG=need=INF say need INFO INTJ

'I don't want any more, I need to say, "I don't want any more," hahaha!' (CV15.64)

In example (1030) the use of *=si* is not totally clear. It might be a change-of-state use, but my main consultant could only note that it gives extra depth of expression to what the speaker wants to convey.

(1030) təɕǽ=bú dəbǔ, ìŋ=ɻǽ dəbǔ, ɖʐəkʰǽ=bù tɕʰwí ʐù
now=TOP then 1:INCL=PL:GEN then society=TOP good very

mə́ dzə̀=sì.
GNOMIC=INF

'(...) nowadays our society is very good.' (TC10.56)

The markers *=seŋ* and *=si* do not seem to be of verbal origin since they cannot be preceded by the negation or interrogative markers. Dīng (1998:197) and Fù (1998:130) note the same for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ and Dàyáng Pǔmǐ: the interrogative and negative marker precede the verb when the verb is followed by *=seŋ/=si*. The other evidential and egophoric markers can all be preceded by negation and interogatives[351] and might have developed from auxiliaries.[352] *=seŋ* and *=si* might have grammaticalised via a different route, possibly deriving from a hierarchical person marking system in which first person was marked separately from the others (LaPolla, p.c) or a widespread TB clause sequence marker, usually on nonfinal clauses, compare Lisu [sɿ^{55}] (Bradley, p.c.). A non-verbal origin for *=seŋ* and *=si* would explain why controllable verbs show inflection when appearing with the inferential evidential *=si*, but do not show any inflection when appearing with the other evidentials.

8.3.2 *Imperfective (non-)egophoric markers*

Progressive and habitual aspect is marked by the egophoric imperfective markers *=ɖoŋ*, *=ɖweŋ* and *=ɖu* and the non-egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖaw*. The

[351] In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *=gi* can be preceded by the interrogative and the negative, contrary to what Dīng notes for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (1998:197, Table 8-2).

[352] In Tibetic languages many evidential markers (now suffixes) developed from auxiliary verbs (Tournadre 2008:292).

egophoric markers express the involvement of 'self-person' in a current or habitual action. The non-egophoric marker expresses the non-involvement of 'self-person' in a current or habitual action. It is used to report on 'other-person' current or habitual actions, or on 'self-person' in combination with non-controllable verbs. The marker expresses default evidence that speakers have for their statements about others, and is usually based on visual evidence. It is in paradigmatic opposition to the auditory *=tiŋ* (§8.3.4), which marks auditory evidence, the nominalization construction *mə dzə* (§8.6.1) which marks generic statements, and the customary markers *weŋ* and *q^{h}u* (§8.5), which mark customary knowledge.

Dīng (1998:218) notes the evidential usage of a similar set of markers in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ and also analyses them on the basis of (non-)involvement in the action. Dīng states:

> "... *'ron* (Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *=ɖoŋ*) is employed essentially for signifying the consciousness and responsibility for a situation by the speaker...and the volitionality of the speaker..." (1998:220), and "...signifies a direct volitional involvement of the speaker in a situation, entailing the consciousness on the part of the speaker..." (1998:218)
>
> "...the default opposite of *'ron* –the non-involvemental *'riu* (Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *=ɖaw*)– is used, indicating that the speaker lacks conscious control over the situation." (1998:220) " *'riu* asserts that the speaker knows about some situation which is not under the control of the speech act participants..." (1998:218).

All markers occur with the basic form of the verb; the egophoric and non-egophoric markers carry the inflection for 'self' versus 'other', as is shown in Table 8.6, and are obligatory in all contexts.

Table 8.6 Imperfective (non-)egophoric markers

EGO 1SG	EGO 2SG	EGO PL	NON-EGO
=ɖoŋ	*=ɖu*	*=ɖweŋ*	*=ɖaw*

The egophoric forms are used for progressive and habitual aspect with controllable verbs. Progressive aspect and the interplay with person is shown in (1031) and (1032): egophoric forms appear with first person statements and second person questions. Habitual aspect is shown in (1033).

(1031) “nǐŋ kí ɕə̀=ɖù,” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù, “é dəbǔ é ɛ̀tʰú ɻéŋdì
2SG where go=IPFV:EGO:2SG say time=TOP 1SG then 1SG hero seek

ɕə̀=ɖòŋ,” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù
go=IPFV:EGO:1SG say time=TOP

‘(...) when (Damasongtsa) said, “Where are you going?” (Likisa) answered, “I am going to seek a hero.” ’ (CV13.100.1)

(1032) nìŋ-bʉ́ kí ɕə̀=ɖwèŋ?
2SG-household where go=IPFV:EGO:N.SG

A: ‘Where are you going?’ (TC03.6)

é-bʉ̀ nú tʰíŋ ɕə̀=ɖwèŋ
1:EXCL-household salt.water drink go=IPFV:EGO:N.SG

B: ‘Our household is going to drink salt water, (...)’ (TC03.7)

(1033) nɛ̀-dzóŋ=ɖôŋ, é=lá nɛ̀-dzóŋ=sêŋ, kóŋ ʐǔ
DOWN-sit=IPFV:EGO:1SG 1SG=also DOWN-sit=PFV:EGO cold very

nùséŋ=bù
morning=TOP

‘I sit down regularly (next to the fire as well), I sat down (in the morning) as well, it’s very cold in the early morning.’ (CV02.14)

Egophoric forms are also used with co-reference: when the argument of an embedded speech clause is co-referent with the argument of the main clause, as in (1034), where *=ɖoŋ* is used with a third person referent (cf. also §8.1.1; §8.3.1; §8.3.2 for the same pattern).

(1034) ɛ̀káw-lì dàwʑí [ní tə́-ʑə́=ɖòŋ] tɕə̀=ɖàw
uncle(MB)-DIM T:rDo.rje LOG UP-come=IPFV:EGO:1SG say=IPFV:N.EGO

sì ɖàw.
EPIST:probably

‘Young Uncle Dauji probably said that he would come up himself.’ (CV21.358)

The non-egophoric form *=ɖaw* is used for other people’s current or habitual actions, as in (1035) and (1036) respectively.

(1035) dəbǔ ségwì tɕʰòŋ kʰì = bù, èmá = bù tsúqwá = wù tɕʰwǎ-tɕʰì
then T:earthquake appear time = TOP aunt = TOP side.room = in pig-food

qú = ɖàw.
boil = IPFV:N.EGO

'When the earthquake hit, mother was boiling pig fodder on the side room stove.' (PC06w.2)

(1036) èmá jóŋtɕíŋ ʈʰé tɕʰwǎ ɕé ʐù-mə́ tà
aunt T:dByangs.cin all.the.time pig big very-NMLZ only

ʈʂʰə́ = ɖàw.
slaughter = IPFV:N.EGO

'Aunt Yongjin always only slaughters very big pigs.' (CV21.167)

=ɖaw is also used when stating a generally-known fact (this is probably an extension from the habitual meaning: when something is habitually done, it is usually generally known), as in (1037). However, it cannot be used for customs that have been around for a long time. This is clear from the contrast between the customary marker *=weŋ* (§7.9.2 and §8.5) and the non-egophoric imperfective *=ɖaw* in example (1037), where the speaker is talking about the way things have customarily be done in Wǎdū (using *=weŋ*) to the way things are currently (using *=ɖaw*).

(1037) dəbǔ, ʑèpù kʰí = bú ɕú tʰè-kí dʑìdʑǽ = góŋ hʲə̀ wêŋ,
then past time = TOP paddy.rice FR.SP-cut flail = INS beat CUST.EXCL

tè-tɕʰwì-bʲǽ ʈʰwǽtʰʲə́ ɕwè-gə̀-tsə́
one-direction-on:GEN young.person eight-nine-CLF:person

sə̀ nè-tɕʰə́ dʑìdʑǽ = góŋ ɕú nè-tsáw wêŋ,
about DOWN-stand flail = INS paddy.rice DOWN-beat CUST.EXCL

təɕǽ = bú tà tɕítɕʰì = gòŋ tsáw = ɖâw.
now = TOP only Ch:machine = INS beat = IPFV:N.EGO

'In the past, after the paddy rice had been cut, (we) used a threshing implement to beat (it); about eight or nine young men would stand on one side to beat the paddy rice with a flail; nowadays it is beaten with a machine.' (CL03ed.31)

It is also used to mark assertions concerning other people's internal states or qualities, like the the utterance with the endoceptic (internal state) verb *kě* 'to be capable' in (1038), cf. also §8.2.

(1038) ní mə́=ɻə̀ tɕíŋmíŋ nǐŋ kɛ̀=ɖâw, nǐŋ, ...
LOG person=PL home INTJ capable=IPFV:N.EGO INTJ

'She is very capable at home, mind you.' (CV21.113)

A speaker can also choose to portray an event as if it happens at the present time. The event presented in (1039) happened the night before:

(1039) píɕì (...) dǎwmà=bì kǒŋ tʰɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ tə̀ pàw tɕə̀
last.night T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma=DAT door FR.SP-open one do:IMP:SG say

kʰì=là tɕʰæ̀ pɯ́ ɛ̀-pǽŋ=ɖáw mà.
time=also bashful do IN-hide=IPFV:N.EGO INFO

'Last night (...) when I told Dauma to open the door, (she) bashfully hid.' (CV02.15)

The non-egophoric *=ɖaw* is also used with 'self-person' and non-controllable verbs, as in (1040) and (1041) (cf. the description of *=si* in §8.3.1), or with controllable verbs that denote non-controllable actions in combination with *tseŋ* (cf. the description of the *tseŋ* construction in §8.1.1), as in (1042). Note that in (1041) *=ɖaw* is not used because the referent is third person, but because the verb *dʲáw* 'to be tired' is non-controllable: in reported speech with co-reference between the arguments of the main clause and the speech clause the egophoric form *=ɖoŋ* would have been used if the verb was controllable.

(1040) ɛ́ ʈʰɛ́ nɛ̀-mə́=ɖàw
1SG always DOWN-forget=IPFV:N.EGO

'I always forget.' (EL:W-C44.3)

(1041) ní=dì (...) nɛ̀-dʲáw=ɖáw tɕə̀=ɖàw
LOG=ADD.FOC DOWN-tired=IPFV:N.EGO say=IPFV:N.EGO

'She said that, "(...) she herself gets tired." ' (CV21.326)

(1042) ɛ̀má=bù jǎw qà-dʑǽ ʂwíkú=nòŋ tə́=ɻə́=bù dzə́
aunt=TOP again DOWN-location:GEN Ch:fruit=COORD this=PL=TOP eat

tséŋ mà=ɖâw, ə̀-dʑǽ tə́ ɻɛ̀dʑə̀=gə́ tá
N.CONTR NEG=IPFV:N.EGO this-location:GEN this liquor=DEF only

tʰìŋ tsèŋ=ɖâw.
drink N.CONTR=IPFV:N.EGO

'Aunt (=I) does not eat fruit, but unfortunately only drinks this liquor here.' (CV02.52.2)

A construction with the egophoric *=ɖoŋ*, *=ɖu* and *=ɖweŋ* or the non-egophoric *=ɖaw* followed by the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say' (§8.3.5) where no speech quote is present implies that when an action was taken, an unexpected result happens. This construction will be discussed in §10.4.3. One example is given here:

(1043) sòŋ-ɕú tɕə̀=ɖòŋ tɕə̀ kʰì=bù, bʉ̀ɻɛ́j=góŋ
three-CLF:time say=IPFV:EGO:1SG say time=TOP snake=AGT

pǐ=pù nè-ʂèj ɦà...
belly=under DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'As (Bear) was sucking three times, the snake went into his belly and (...)' (TC06.6)

8.3.2.1 Mirativity

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *=ɖaw* can also be used as a mirative (DeLancey 2001) to code information that has just been discovered and is new and has not been integrated into the speaker's knowledge system.[353] Often it carries an overtone of surprise. *=ɖaw* seems to have this mirative function only when it appears in places where it is not obligatory, as when following the copula (1044), existentials (1045) and (1046), exoceptive (observable state) verbs (1047), and other evidential marking (examples, (1048), (1049) and (1050).

(1044) pʰíŋtsʰú dzə̀=ɖàw
T:Phun.tshogs be=IPFV:N.EGO

'Oh, it's Phintshu!' (one just found out). (TC09.6EL)

(1045) was said when a speaker expected something to be in a certain place, but when looking for it realized that it was not there. If he had known it all along, he would have said *mǎ tɛ̂j* instead.

(1045) mǎ=tɛ́j=ɖàw
NEG=EXIST.H=IPFV:N.EGO

'It's not there.' (EL:W-C29.9)

In (1046) the speaker just realized this fact. If she had known it all the time, she would have used the nominalization construction *ʑî=mə dzə* instead. If she had phrased it in

[353] The reader is referred to a more recent debate on mirativity which deals with the question whether mirativity should be seen as a separate grammatical category. Arguments against a separate category are raised in Hill 2012; argument for a separate mirative category are given in DeLancey 2012 and Aikhenvald 2012.

a more neutral way, without making explicit whether she had any knowledge about it beforehand or not, she would have used a simple *ʑí* instead.

(1046) ə́jù, pɛ̀jpɛ́j tɛ́ɖí ə̀-pú ʑí = ɖàw
INTJ older.sibling Tadi this-under EXIST.AN = IPFV:N.EGO

'Oh! Older brother Tadi is here, (...)' (YJ02.28)

(1047) could be said when buying shoes with a friend and realizing for the first time how big his feet are. *tɕê* is an exoceptive (observable state) verb (§8.2), and does not need to be marked with *=ɖaw*. If the speaker had known the size of his friend's feet for a long time, he would have used *tɕɛ́ ʐǔ* instead.

(1047) tɕɛ́ ʐù = ɖâw
be.big very = IPFV:N.EGO

'(They) are really big.' (EL:W-C28.7)

(1048) dzə́ ɻə̀ɕì mà = qɛ́j = ɖâw.
eat can NEG = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

'I won't be able to eat it.' (CV04.36)

(1049) is said in a discussion about a group of people who moved to a different place some time ago. As a result they now take a different route home. The speaker just realized that.

(1049) tǎ hùsú nɛ̀-ɕə = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀ = ɖàw
now Housuo DOWN-go = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (as a result) they now go down (on the road) to Housuo.' (CV07.54)

(1050) was said when the speaker just found out that the old man's sons were university graduates. This is contrary to expectation, since they came from the backwaters of the Pǔmǐ area. The words *nǒŋ* 'in that case' and the contrastive topic marker *=sə* also highlight the surprise the speaker feels upon discovering this.

(1050) nǒŋ = sə̀ m̩̀gɛ́ŋ = gɛ́ tsɯ́ ... ((= ɻə̀ ɖɛ̀ mə̀ dzə́ = ɖâw)).
so = CONTR.TOP old.man = GEN son = PL capable GNOMIC = IPFV:N.EGO

'In that case, that old man's sons are capable!' (CV07.19.2)

That a non-egophoric imperfective form is used for mirative is not surprising. Imperfective aspect often denotes that an action is happening at the current time. Non-egophoricity implies that a speaker does not have direct access to the knowledge. These two combined render a strong possibility that the knowledge reported on is rather new, and has not been integrated well in a speaker's knowledge system, thus the mirative reading.

The attitude marker *kʰi* (< 'time', §8.8.1.12, §10.5.1) often follows the mirative use of *=ɖaw*.

(1051) è=nǹní mə́=ɻæ̀ m̩ə́ dzâ, m̩ə́ dzə́ tɕə̀=sèŋ
1SG=AGT person=PL:GEN person be person be say=PFV:EGO

kʰì=bù, dəbǔ é kʰə̀-ɕə̀=séŋ kʰí=bù,
time=TOP then 1SG OUT-go=PFV:EGO time=TOP

tátá m̩ə́ dzə́=ɖàw kʰì.
exactly person be=IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'(...) when I said, "It is a person, it is a person," then when I went outside, it was exactly a person.' (CV09.36)

8.3.3 *Modal (non-)egophoric markers*

So far I have discussed the paradigms of perfective egophoric and inferential evidential marking, and egophoric and non-egophoric imperfective marking. It was shown that these paradigms closely interact with the notion of control as present in the verbal semantics, and the category of person, especially 'self-person' and 'other-person'. The egophoric markers were shown to pattern with 'self' in controllable situations; the non-egophoric/evidential markers occur with 'other' in all situations, and with 'self' in non-controllable situations.

The last paradigm to be considered is that of the modal particles which occur in the same slot as the other (non-)egophoric markers. Form-wise, modal egophoric and non-egophoric markers are not clearly related to each other, but conceptually they act the same, differentiating 'self' from 'other' and interacting with the parameter of control. The markers are presented in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Modal (non-)egophoric markers

EGO SG	EGO PL	EGO INCL	NON-EGO
=ʐ̩su	*=ɕin*	*=gi*	*=qɛj*

In line with Dīng (1998) these markers are analysed as modal rather than aspectual markers (*=ʐ̩su* and *=ɕin* as (singular and plural) volitives 'want to, will', *=gi* as an inclusive volitive (or hortative) 'let's, shall' and *=qɛj* as an expectational marker that implies epistemic certainty 'will'). Palmer (2001:104) notes that modal verbs often show a future time reference. It is not surprising therefore that Lù (1983:42-43) analyses them as future tense markers. Fù (1998:104) also views them as a single paradigm of aspectual rather than tense markers, and analyses them as prospective markers. Dīng (1998:210) notes that even though these markers have been recognised

by other linguists as a suppletive paradigm and their semantics interact with person in a way that looks like person-agreement, in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ they should not be analysed as a person-agreement, but rather as volitive, hortative and optative modal clitics, the distinction between the volitive and the optative being that the former indicates control on the part of the speaker, whereas the latter lacks control. In Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ the volitive often occurs with first/second person actors and the optative often with third person actors. Dīng (1998:211) shows that this is not true person-agreement and gives counter-examples that show that control, rather than person-agreement, is in play.[354]

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ there is a similar distinction based on control, which I analyse as an egophoric/non-egophoric distinction, similar to the distinction that is present in the inflection of controllable verbs (§8.1.1) and the distinction between the other egophoric and non-egophoric/evidential markers (§8.3.1 and §8.3.2). Thus, the modal egophoric markers pattern with 'self' in controllable situations and the non-egophoric marker patterns with 'other' in all situations and with 'self' in non-controllable situations.

The following examples show how the various egophoric modals interact with the category of person: *=ʂu* is used for first person singular statements, as in (1052), and second person singular questions, as in (1053); *=gi* is used for first person inclusive questions and statements,[355] as in (1054); *=ɕin* is used for first person exclusive statements, as in (1055), and second person non-singular questions, as in (1056). The egophoric markers all denote intention on the part of the speaker or addressee to conduct an action, and only appear with controllable verbs.

(1052)	ɛ́	lʲǽŋpɛ̀j	mǎ-mə́	tɕwì=ʂù.
	1SG	Ch:two.hundred	Ch:size-NMLZ	wear=VOL:SG

'I want to wear size two hundred.' (CV01.42)

[354] Dīng does not address the egophoricity question and it is not totally clear how these markers pattern in questions versus statements.

[355] Dīng (1998:210) analyses *=gi* as a hortative in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ, and mentions that negation and interrogativity do not co-occur with it. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ both negation (*iŋ=ɻə̂=bu tə-bǎ wu ɕə́ ma=gí* [1.INCL=PL=TOP 3-household:GEN interior go NEG=VOL:INCL] '[...] we shall not go to his house [...]' [TC08.33]) and interrogativity, (example [1054]), can co-occur with *=gi*.

(1053) pɯ́qá nìŋ-bá ɛ̀pɯ́=bí té-ʈʰɯ̀ qʰə̀-tòŋ
shoe 2SG-household:GEN grandfather=DAT one-CLF:pair OUT-weave

kɛ́j=gî, nǐŋ tɕwǐ ɛ́=ʂù?
let=VOL:INCL 2SG wear Q=VOL:SG

'Let's have your grandfather weave (you) a pair (of straw shoes), will you wear them?' (CV01.24)

(1054) tǎ ɕə́ ɛ́=gì?
now go Q=VOL:INCL

L: 'Shall we go now?' (CV21.288)

əjòŋ, mæ̂?
INTJ what

B: 'Oh, what?' (CV21.289)

tǎ ɕə́=gí bǎ, mǽ tʲæ̀ tɕə̀=ɖâw.
now go=VOL:INCL SPEC what REP say=IPFV:N.EGO

L: 'Let's go now, alright? What are you 'whatting' about?' (CV21.290)

(1055) nǒŋ=dì ɛ̀=dzǎŋ l̥ʲǽɖú pɯ̀=ɕìŋ tɕə̀ qʰù mà.
so=DISJ.TOP 1:EXCL=DU friend do=VOL:PL say need INFO

'In that case (you) need to say, the two of us will be friends (...)' (CV07.41.2)

(1056) jæ̀jù pɯ́ɻú dzə́ ɛ́=ɕìŋ?
Ch:potato roast eat Q=VOL:PL

'Do (you pl) want to eat potatoes?' (CV14.154)

Egophoric forms are also used in reported speech or thought where the actor referent of the main clause is co-referential with the actor referent in the speech or thought clause. An example is given with *=ʂu* in (1057) and *=ɕiŋ* in (1058):

(1057) ní ɻ̥ùgí ɕə́=ʂù ɕì ɦà jǎw tsákíʂə́dʑì=tì=là
LOG pine.torch go=VOL:SG think LINK again pork.back.limb=INDF=also

nɛ̀-dʑæ̀=ɖâw, há...!
DOWN-add=IPFV:N.EGO INTJ

'Because he himself (=Bajin) is thinking of going to collect pine torches, (he) adds in the pork back slice and limbs (custom), hahaha!' (CV18.59)

(1058) ní=ɻə̀ jǎw ɕə́ mà=ɕíŋ tɕâw.
LOG=PL again go NEG=VOL:PL say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (they) said that they themselves would not go.' (CV11.51)

Egophoric forms are also used with third person used to refer to the speaker. In (1059) the speaker refers to herself as grandmother, and in (1060) the speaker poses as a god and thus refers to himself in the third person. In both cases first person egophoric marking is used.

(1059) tɛ́j kɛ̀j, tɛ́j kɛ̀j, ɛ́dʲæ̀ ɻ̥ù=ʂǔ.
EXIST.H let EXIST.H let grandmother dust=VOL:SG

'Let it be, let it be, grandmother (=I) will dust it.' (CV13.139)

(1060) ɛ́ dəbǔ hí dîŋ, pʉ́nə̀=bù hí=góŋ dɛ̀ɻɛ̌j qʰə̀-tóŋ=ʂú
1SG then god be:EGO1 today=TOP god=AGT speech OUT-speak=VOL:SG

'I am god, today god wants to speak' (TC08.11)

The use of egophoric forms with co-referentiality, as in (1057) and (1058), and with third person forms that refer to the speaker, as in (1059) and (1060), also happens in verb inflection of controllable verbs (§8.1.1): the egophoric markers show a similar distribution to the non-inflected (egophoric) form of a verb based on the pragmatics of 'self' versus 'other'. Thus I agree with Dīng's analysis of the distinction based on control rather than person-agreement,[356] but in line with Lù (1983) and Fù (1998) I also recognise the markers as a (suppletive) paradigm. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ this paradigm shows agreement based on 'self' versus 'other'.

The non-egophoric expectational marker *=qɛj* is used in situations that cannot be controlled by the speaker: in 'other-person' sentences (third person statements and questions, second person statements and first person questions) and with 'self-person' when a non-controllable verb is present. *=qɛj* is an inferential marker of sorts, since speakers base their understanding about a future situation on their knowledge or evidence now. The extent of the future reference is not specified; prospective aspect is expressed by the combination *qɛi ɖaw* (§8.7). Since it refers to a situation that has not taken place yet, one could argue that it is not really an evidential, but rather an epistemicity certainty marker (cf. §8.4). When used, the speaker is fairly certain about the truth of the proposition. (1061), (1062) and (1063) are examples of 'other-person' clauses; (1064) and (1065) are examples of 'self-person' clauses with non-controllable verbs.

[356] Actually, Fù (1998:78) recognizes the importance of the control parameter in Dàyáng Pǔmǐ: she notes when the subject of a clause is a person and the verb is non-controllable, only the markers that are analysed as evidential in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ (Fù mentions *–si*^{31} and *-qa*^{31} for Dàyáng) occur.

(1061) tə́ = tù = là ɖʐə̀ = bú tɕʰwí é = qɛ̀j?
this = on = also society = TOP good Q = EXPT

N: '(...) will there be a better society than this?' (CV03.12)

tɕʰwí = qɛ̂j.
good = EXPT

P: '(There) will be (a) better (one).' (CV03.13)

(1062) tə́ mə́ = ɻòŋ sɛ̀ = qɛ́j lʲɛ̌j, dʑínʲæ̂, tə́ m̥ə̀gɛ́ŋ
3SG person = PL:AGT hit = EXPT DISS really this old.man

mə́ = ɻòŋ sɛ̀ = qɛ̂j.
person = PL:AGT hit = EXPT

'He will be hit by other people, really, this old man will be beaten by other people!' (CV14.221)

(1063) ʈɛ́ pɯ́ = qɛ̀j, ɻɛ̌ʂəwæ̀ŋ = tí ɕɛ̀ = ɻóŋ
false do = EXPT Ch:two.hundred.thousand = INDF Chinese = PL:AGT

nìŋ = bí nə́ tí ʑæ̌ = wù ʂwá tɕə̀ kǐ é = qɛ̀j?
2SG = DAT thus one hand = in IDEO say give Q = EXPT

'He will be lying, will a Hàn put two hundred thousand in your hand like this 'shwa!'?' (CV07.88)

(1064) tɛ̀ʈʰǒŋ é nɛ̀-gwɛ̀ = qɛ́j ɦǎw
after.a.while 1SG DOWN-drunk = EXPT WARN

'After a while I will get drunk (I'm warning you!), (...)' (CV21.78)

(1065) é ə́-pù nɛ̀-qá = qɛ̀j
1SG that-under DOWN-fall.down = EXPT

'(...) I will fall down there.' (CV09.93.2)

The notion of control is the basic driving factor in the interaction between verbs and egophoric and non-egophoric particles. Basically, if a verb is non-controllable, it only occurs with non-egophoric marking, unless control is adjusted by the *pɯ́* construction (§8.1.1) and egophoric particles can be used. This can be seen in (1066) and (1067), where the express intention of the speaker is in focus, and the verb *pɯ́* 'to do' is used to add control, so that the intention can be expressed by the egophoric particles *=ʂu* and *=gi*. The verbs *ɖʐə̌* 'to drop' and *sə̌* 'to die' are non-controllable verbs and normally co-occur with *=qɛj*, as in (1068).

(1066) é ə́-pù nè-ɖə́ pʉ̀ nè-sə̀ pʉ́=ʂú
1SG that-under DOWN-drop do DOWN-die do=VOL:SG

'(...) I will drop myself and make myself die under there.' (TC04.30)

(1067) ìŋ=dzǽŋ mɑ́=nòŋ tsʉ́=nòŋ dòŋ sə̀ nɛ́-pʉ́=gì
1:INCL=DU mother=COORD son=COORD together die DOWN-do=VOL:INCL

'(...) let the two of us die together, mother and son (...)' (PC06w.3)

(1068) ʑèmí=bù ìŋ-bʉ́-sèŋ ə̀-pú nè-sə̀=qɛ̂j
tonight=TOP 1:INCL-household-PART this-under DOWN-die=EXPT

'(...) Tonight the three of us will die here (...)' (YJ01.25)

Additionally, when controllable verbs are adjusted by the *tseŋ* construction (§8.1.1) to represent a non-controllable situation, *=qɛj* is used with 'self-person', as in (1069). *dzə̌* 'to eat' is normally a controllable verb.

(1069) təɕǽ ə̀-wú kʰʲǽ-dzɑ̂, tɛ́-tɕʰwì tɕʰípǽ də̀-tɕʰǐ kʰʲǽ-dzɑ̂,
now this-in OUT:Q-eat one-CLF:meal very.well TO.SP-feed OUT:Q-eat

tì=ɻǽ wú tɛ́-kù=là dzə́ tséŋ mɑ̀=qɛ̂j.
other=PL:GEN interior one-CLF:mouthful=also eat N.CONTR NEG=EXPT

'(...) if (I) eat here now, if (I) eat one meal of good food, (I) won't even eat one mouthful of food at other's.' (CV21.273.4)

When verbs are modified by modal auxiliaries (§7.9) which also imply a form of non-control, the evidential marker *=qɛj* is used even with 'self-person' sentences:

(1070) nǐŋ ə́-wù tʰɛ̀-ɕǐ tʰɛ̀-tɑ̀ kú ɛ́=qɛ̀j?
2SG that-under FR.SP-lead FR.SP-arrive can:EGO:2SG Q=EXPT

'(...) Will you be able to lead (me) there?' (TC07.25)

(1071) sɛ̌ tɕǽ=qɛ̂j
hit can:EGO:1=EXPT

'I'm able to kill (it)' (TC02.50)

(1072) ìŋ=dzǽŋ jǎw (ìŋ=dzǽŋ) tɛ̀-dʑú dzù ɻə̀ɕí mɑ̀=qɛ̂j
1:INCL=DU again (1:INCL=DU) one-CLF:time make can NEG=EXPT

'(...) the two of us won't be able to fix it this time (...)' (CV04.45)

=qɛj is also used for irrealis situations, as in (1073) and (1074):

(1073) ìŋ = ɻə́ ɻə̀-kʰí dʑə̀dʑì = tí tɛ́j-mə́ é = dzə̀ = bù,
1:INCL = PL past-time letter = INDF EXIST.H-NMLZ Q = be = TOP

kí ʑí = là ŋæ̀ŋjǐɕì = qɛ̌j
where EXIST.AN = also know = EXPT

'If we had books in the past (to write down the history), (we) would know where (we) were (before).' (CV25.37)

(1074) jìpǽŋ ʈʂʰèŋʂə̌ = wù é = dzə̀ = bù, sǽŋ-nìŋtɕì swéŋ = qɛ́j bàw.
Ch:in.general Ch:city = in Q = be = TOP Ch:third-grade study = EXPT CONTR

'In general, if this was in the city, (he) would be in third grade.' (CV12.19)

Thus, to summarize: the egophoric *=ʂu*, *=ɕin* and *=gi* are never used in non-controllable situations. In controllable situations, they are only used with 'self-person'. The non-egophoric *=qɛj* is used in controllable situations only with 'other-person' and in non-controllable situations with both 'self-person' and 'other-person'. This is similar to the other egophoric and non-egophoric particles: the perfective and imperfective egophoric markers *=seŋ*, *=ɖoŋ*, *=ɖu* and *=ɖweŋ* are never used in non-controllable situations, but occur only with 'self-person' in controllable situations. The inferential evidential and the non-egophoric imperfective markers *=si* and *=ɖaw* are used in non-controllable situations, and only with 'other-person' in controllable situations. The only exception is the second person singular question in a controllable situation where *=si* is also used (cf. example (1014) in §8.3.1).

For the modal markers, there are two exceptions to the general patterning of 'self' and 'other'. The first exception is that conditional clauses with second person also take egophoric marking:

(1075) nǒŋ nǐŋ ʈʰé kʰíŋ é = ʂù = bù nǒŋ é ɕì = ʂú
so 2SG all.the.time give Q = VOL:SG = TOP so 1SG lead = VOL:SG

'(...) If you keep insisting that you'll give (her to me in marriage), I will take her (...)' (TC08.27)

(1076) nìŋ-bɯ́ hòŋ-qʰú è-ɕə̀ kʰí lɛ̌j é = ɕìŋ = bù.
2SG-household in-on IN-go time seed Q = VOL:PL = TOP

'(...) if your household wants to sow them when you go up there (= move to the new house).' (CV14.82)

This can be explained in terms of structure: conditional clauses have the same structure as questions (§7.3; §10.4.1), and second person questions always function as egophoric environments. If the subject of the conditional clause in (1075) had been either first person or third person, *=qɛj* would have been used.

The second exception is that a few times a first person question is also formulated with the egophoric *=ʂu*. This implies the intention of the speaker, who is intending to take an action, but needs permission to do it.

(1077) ə̀-pú dzóŋ ɛ́=ʂù?
this-under sit Q=VOL:SG

'Shall (I) sit here?' (CV02.9)

(1078) ɛ́ ə̀-dʑǽ tə̀=gǽ bì tɕʰà̀wtɕʰà̀w=ʂù?
1SG this-location:GEN this=GEN side rub=VOL:SG

'(...) shall I wipe it one the side of this one?' (CV20.116)

This can be explained in terms of pragmatics. Examples (1077) and (1078) imply that the speakers, even though asking a question, have control over the action, since they are fully intending to conduct the action. If *=qɛj* had been used instead, the speakers would have implied that they had no control over their actions; thus, the pragmatic notion of control (even though usually patterning with speech-act participants) is more important than a rigid grammaticalised 'self' versus 'other' agreement pattern.

8.3.4 *Auditory evidential =tiŋ*

Apart from the evidential *=si* and the non-egophoric markers *=ɖaw* and *=qɛj*, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ also has an auditory evidential *=tiŋ*. This evidential does not occur with any other evidentials except for the quotative particle and the reported (hearsay) evidential (§8.3.5), as in (1079) and (1082). The auditory evidential is used when a speaker bases his knowledge of a situation on what he hears, rather than sees or infers. The auditory stimuli can either be the sounds of someone's actions or overhearing somebody speaking. It is not used for other non-visual perception (such as smell, taste or touch). An auditory evidential has also been mentioned for Pǔmǐ by Huáng Bùfán (1991:28)[357] and for the Xiǎngshuǐhé speech variety (Jo Chan, p.c.). It has not been attested for other speech varieties. Taking into account the setup of the village, it is not surprising that such an evidential has evolved in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: houses are built closely together and conversations that take place outside or quarrels in neighbouring households can be easily overheard inside, and thus a major part of knowledge derives from an auditory source.

[357] Huáng does not specify which variety of Pǔmǐ. She makes a distinction between visual evidence (two types: one unmarked for the process modality 过程情态, and one marked with *–si*^{31} for the result modality 结果情态), inferential evidence (marked with *-ɕi*^{31}) and auditory evidence (marked with *-sɛ̃*^{31}).

A few examples from the corpus are given in (1079), (1080) and (1081). In the Deluge story, the only mortal left on earth is eating food inside a house when he hears the family of immortals coming home, and so he hides under the raised platform:

(1079) qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰí=bù dəbǔ m̥ə́ɻə̀ tɕʰə́ŋ=tìŋ tɕàw
OUT-eat time=TOP then person=PL come:PFV:N.EGO=AUD HSY

'(...) after (he) had eaten, (he) heard people coming, it is said.' (TC02.33)

In (1080) the speaker comments on the researcher who is talking on the phone just outside the house. The speaker and addressees are all inside the house with the door closed, and auditory evidence is the only evidence they have for the statement. The same is true for (1081) and (1082).

(1080) ə̀mə́-lì də̀ɻə̀j tóŋ ʐù pá=tìŋ
aunt-DIM speech speak very do:PFV:N.EGO=AUD

'Young aunt is talking a lot, I hear; (...)' (CV13.137.3)

(1081) wútɕí ɻə́=nʲæ̀ ʂə́j=tìŋ bàw, ɦàw, hòŋ-dʑí
Ch:Wujin first=just go:PFV.N.EGO=AUD CONTR INTJ in-location

tɕʰòŋlʲóŋ=ɕíŋ tɕə̀ ɦà ʂə́j=tìŋ.
wait=VOL:PL say LINK go:PFV.N.EGO=AUD

'(...) (I) heard Wujin leave first, and heard (her) say, "We will wait up the valley," and leave.' (CV02.86)

The difference between *tɕə=tiŋ* (with the auditory evidential), as exemplified in (1082), and *tɕə=ɖaw* (with the non-egophoric imperfective marker), as in (1041) above, is that in the case of *tɕə=tiŋ* no visual access to the information is involved. The speaker obtained her information solely through auditory means, whereas in the case of *tɕə=ɖaw*, the speaker is also visually aware of the referent talking.

(1082) kʰù-nú "wû" tɕə̀=tìŋ
out-outside INTJ say=AUD

'(...) (I) heard (somebody) say 'Wu!' outside, (...)' (CV09.32.2)

The natural corpus does not shed light on the origin of the marker. In the corpus it only appears at the end of a clause as an evidential marker, and one occurrence shows its appearance in a nominalization construction (§8.6.2), as in (1083). It is not related to the normal verb 'to hear' *mə̌*.

(1083) tʰè-ɻ̊wáw tɕə̂, nə́ pɯ́ ʐù pá=tìŋ mə̀ tìŋ ɦà
FR.SP-buy:IMP:SG say thus do very do:PFV:N.EGO=AUD NMLZ.CONSTR

'(I) continuously heard (you) tell (him) to buy (that).' (CV15.23)

Elicited examples, however, point to an existential verbal origin. Even though *=tiŋ* cannot take directional prefixes, it can be preceded by an interrogative marker, or a negation marker, as in (1084) where it is the only verbal element in the clause.

(1084) m̥ə́ mǎ = tîŋ
person NEG = EXIST.AUD

'There is no person.' (auditory evidence) (EL)

It occupies the same slot as the existential, as in (1085) and (1086). In (1085) the normal animate existential verb *ʑî* (§7.6) is used and there is no evidential marking. This means that the speaker has direct visual evidence of the situation. The existential verb *ʑî* is replaced by the aural evidential *tiŋ* in (1086), where the speaker of the utterance heard the chicken in the pen, but did not actually see it. The two can also co-occur, as in (1087). The difference between (1086) and (1087) is not clear. Thus, the auditory evidential marker can still occur as an existential verb, but its verbal use seems to have almost disappeared.

(1085) tɕʰwè-tóŋ = pù ɻú = tì ʑì
pig-pen = under chicken = INDF EXIST.AN

'There is a chicken in the pig pen.' (visual evidence) (EL:S11.9.14)

(1086) tɕʰwètóŋ = pù ɻú = tì = tìŋ
pig-pen = under chicken = INDF = AUD

'There is a chicken in the pig pen.' (auditory evidence) (EL:S11.9.14)

(1087) tɕʰwètóŋ = pù ɻú = tì ʑì = tìŋ
pig-pen = under chicken = INDF EXIST.AN = AUD

'There is a chicken in the pig pen.' (auditory evidence) (EL:S11.9.14)

8.3.5 *Quotative and reported evidential (hearsay)*

The quotative particle and the reported evidential derive from a single verbal origin: they are grammaticalisations from the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say' and have undergone phonological reduction in that they have become toneless. The verb 'to say' can still be used as a main verb in a clause, as in (1088).

(1088) dəbǔ tʰùlǐ = bì tɕə̀ kwɛ́j = sì
then hare = DAT say let:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'Then (they) let Hare speak (...)' (TC04.6)

The quotative particle appears directly after a speech quote and functions as a quotation marker or complementizer rather than a main verb in that position. This is

clear in the following example where the quotation marker is followed by the main verb *ɖú* 'to call out'.

(1089) "(...) tɕìŋ-ɻə́ gú ɦà lʲə́j lʲə́j" tɕə̀ ɖú = sí
child-skin wear INTJ say call = INF

'(...) (he) called out, "(...) wear child skin *nanana*!" (TC04.20)

The quotative also follows onomatopoeic ideophones (§9.2), as in (1090). The phrase has an adverbial sense, but unlike other adverbial modifiers (§7.10.1), it does not require the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' as adverbial marker.

(1090) "jílúwèlú," tɕə̀ ə́-pù ɻèpǔ = pù nè-dwì = sì
IDEO say that-under cliff = under DOWN-throw:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(Hare) (...) threw (him) 'rumble-tumble' down under the cliff, (...)' (TC06.34)

In addition, it can follow proper names, place names, or names of (cultural) concepts or objects that might not be known to the addressee:

(1091) ɻə̀-pʉ̀qá ɕə́-ɻə́-pʉ̀qà̀ tɕə̀ ɦà nə́-mə́ pʉ́qá tɛ́-ʈʰʉ̀
skin-shoe muntjac-skin-shoe say LINK thus-NMLZ shoe one-CLF:pair

də-kʰwěŋ mə́ dzâ.
TO.SP-give:PFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'(My family) gave me a pair of leather shoes like this, so-called 'muntjac skin shoes'.' (TC10.24)

The quotative has lost most of its verbal properties: it cannot be preceded by negation or interrogation, and cannot take a directional prefix. It always forms one tone group with the final tone-bearing element of the preceding quote. However, it has retained some of its verbal properties in that it can still be followed by the (non-) egophoric markers, and inflect for perfective aspect, and in many cases it still functions as the verb of the main clause, as in (1092).

(1092) "(...) ɛ́ mà = dìŋ," tɕwə̀ = sì
1SG NEG = be:EGO:1 say:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(Hare) said, "(...) I am not the one." ' (TC06.23)

The quotative can mark direct as well as indirect speech. The only distinction between direct and indirect (or rather semi-direct) speech is the use of pronouns; the verb endings of the reported quote are always the same as the original quote and reflect the deictic perspective of the original speaker. This includes the evidential marking the original speaker used (Sūn (1993:983) reports the same for Amdo Tibetan). With direct speech, the pronouns of the original speech clause are retained, but with indirect

speech, the pronouns reflect the viewpoint of the current speaker.[358] When the embedded speech clause has the same third person referent as the main clause, the reflexive/logophoric pronoun *nî* (§4.2.1) is used to mark co-referentiality. However, there is not always a clear distinction between direct and indirect speech and speakers often switch in the middle of a quotation, i.e. the pronouns change but not the other marking. Since nominal arguments are often left out, the status of a quotation is often ambiguous.[359] Examples are given for direct speech in (1093), semi-direct speech with co-referentiality in (1094), and a switch between direct and indirect speech in (1095). It was discussed above (§8.1.1, §8.3.1, §8.3.2, §8.3.3) how verb inflection and evidential marking functions in speech quotations.

(1093) dəbǔ, “nǐŋ kí ɕə̀=ɖù,” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù, “é dəbǔ é ɛ̀tʰú
then 2SG where go=IPFV:2SG say time=TOP 1SG then 1SG hero

ɻéŋdì ɕə̀=ɖòŋ,” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù.
seek go=IPFV:EGO:1SG say time=TOP

‘(...) when (Damasongtsa) said, “Where are you going?” (Likisa) answered, “I am going to seek a hero.” ’ (CV13.100.1)

(1094) ní=ɻə̀=dì ɻə̀nǽŋ-mə́ tà ʐóŋ wéŋ tɕə̀ ɦù.
LOG=PL=ADD.FOC smelly-NMLZ only delicious CUST.EXCL say LINK

‘(...) and (they) said that they only liked smelly (meat).’ (CV09.149)

(1095) “ɦǎw, nǒŋ dé=ɖâw,” ní pùséŋ=nòŋ
INTJ so be=IPFV:N.EGO LOG today.morning=only

ʑǎʑǎ-bà wù kʰə̀-ʑə̀=sèŋ tɕə̀=ɖàw.
Zjaezjae-household:GEN interior OUT-come=PFV:EGO say=IPFV:N.EGO

‘(...) (he) said, “Right, in that case you are,” and that he himself had come from the Zjaezjae household only that morning.’ (CV07.73.4)

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[358] Tournadre (2008: 300) notes: “The fact that traces of the original speaker’s deictic systems are found in the reported speech is not surprising from a typological point of view: “Indirect speech lies half way [...], between direct speech, which ignores the actual speaker’s deictic system, and main clauses [...] which wholly use the system of the speaker”. (Palmer, 1986: 164).”

[359] Tournadre (2008:300) talks about ‘hybrid reported speech’ for quotative constructions where the initial pronoun is dropped.

Evidential hearsay marking[360] appears clause-finally and consists of the fixed form *tɕə=ɖaw*: a grammaticalisation of *tɕə̌* 'to say' in combination with the current evidential *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2), as in (1096). The two markers have undergone even more phonological reduction in that they are often merged into the hearsay marker *tɕaw*, that can always still be replaced with *tɕə=ɖaw*, as in (1097).

(1096) ìŋ-bɯ́ tɕɛ́=gə̀ dzə̀ tɕə̀=ɖàw.
1:INCL-household big=DEF be say=IPFV:N.EGO

'It is said that our household is the older one (= the older sons descendants).' (CV25.17)

(1097) ìŋ-bɯ́=bù, ɻə̀-kʰí kɛ̀ mə́ dzə̀ tɕàw.
1:INCL-household=TOP front-time capable GNOMIC HSY

'It is said that in the past our household was very capable.' (CV25.36)

tɕaw is in the process of becoming one marker conceptually. This can be seen in the nominalization structure that only reduplicates the last syllable of a predicate (§8.6.2). This structure sometimes reduplicates only *=ɖaw*, as in (1098), but sometimes reduplicates *tɕaw* as a whole, as in (1099).

(1098) ní mà=dzə́ kʰɛ́míŋ nɛ̀-pɯ̀ kwɛ̀j
LOG NEG=be not.possible DOWN-do let:PFV:N.EGO

tɕàw mə̀ ɖàw ɦà.
say:IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) and (he) said that (they) caused him to have no choice but to eat it.' (CV09.150)

(1099) m̥ə̀ɖæ̀lí=góŋnì ɻə́ nɛ̀-dɯ̀ pá tɕàw mə̀ tɕàw ɦà.
girl=AGT first DOWN-poison do:PFV.N.EGO HSY NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) it is said that the girl was poisoned first.' (CV09.160)

In certain cases of reported indirect speech, there is structural ambiguity between the evidential hearsay marker *tɕə=ɖaw* ~ *tɕaw* 'it is said that' and the quotative *tɕə* in combination with the current evidential *=ɖaw* 'he said that'. This is to be expected, since (in)direct quotation and reported speech form a continuum with first-hand evidence of the speech and a specific source of information on the one hand, to nth-hand gossip and no specific source of information on the other hand (Wǎdū Pǔmǐ does

[360] Reported evidentials are also used in the local dialect of Chinese. An example I observed in the speech of my main consultant: 他说以后他可以教表弟说 tā shuō yǐhòu tā kěyǐ jiào biǎodì shuō 'It is said that he said that he can teach younger cousin in the future'. This is a calque from Pǔmǐ which has been adopted by the local Hàn Chinese as well.

not mark all the individual steps the speaker is removed from the original source, but it does show some layering, illustrated below). A structurally ambiguous example is given in (1100). In cases of structural ambiguity, the context normally clarifies which reading should be taken; in this case the speaker is referring to a specific person.

(1100) pʰɤ̆ mǎ = wèŋ tɕàw, ə̀-qʰú = bú ʑə̀tséŋ
pour NEG = CUST.EXCL say:IPFV:N.EGO this-on = TOP mountain.god

mǽŋtsí mǎ = wèŋ tɕàw.
mention NEG = CUST.EXCL say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(He) said that libation is not normally poured out, the mountain god is not normally mentioned here.' (CV23.5)

Structural ambiguity only occurs when the basic form *tɕə* of the quotative is followed by the imperfective marker *=ɖaw*, and not when it has the non-egophoric form *tɕwə*, or is followed by any other (non-)egophoric markers or the clause linker *ɦa*.

The quotative and evidential hearsay marker can co-occur, with the evidential hearsay marker following quotative, as in (1101). Sūn (1993:986) reports on a similar 'duplex quotative construction' in Amdo Tibetan. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is interesting in that the quotative and the evidential hearsay marker derive from the same source, i.e. both from the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say'. Examples (1101) to (1104) are good examples of layering.

(1101) ɕǎŋ = wù tə̀ = ɻæ̀ ʐòŋ tɕə̀ = ɖàw tɕàw.
Ch:county = in this = PL:GEN be:EGO:1SG say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY

'(...) it is said that (Old He Khuzu) said that he is in the county seat and surroundings.' (CV02.94.2)

When the two co-occur, the evidential hearsay marker will always have the form *tɕaw*, as in (1102), and never *tɕə = ɖaw*. Occasionally even the combination of quotative and imperfective marker will merge to *tɕaw*, due to fast speech, as in (1103).

(1102) sòŋ-tsə́ = gə wɛ̀wà = séŋ tɕə̀ = ɖàw tɕàw.
three-CLF:person = DEF discuss = PFV:EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) the three people discussed it on the road (Drema said that they told her).' (PC08w.7)

(1103) ɛ̀má l̥átsʰú ə́-wù ɕə̀ = ɖòŋ tɕàw tɕàw
aunt T:lHa.mtsho that-in go = IPFV:EGO:1SG say:IPFV:N.EGO HSY

'Aunt Lhatshu is said to have said to go in that (tricycle), (...)' (CV02.80)

Three layers of reported speech (one quotative and two evidential hearsay markers) are the most that have come up in the data. My main consultant commented on (1104) that it marked the story as passed down from a long time ago.

(1104) pédí = bì dəbǔ nə́ tɕwə́ = sì tɕàw tɕàw
toad = DAT then thus say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY HSY

'(...) (he) said this to the toad, it is said, it is said. (...)' (TC09.29)

The construction *tɕwə = si tɕaw* (with the non-egophoric form of the quotative and the inferential evidential marker) seems to be used only in traditional narratives and implies the passing down of a story through many speakers. In conversations normally *tɕə = ɖaw tɕaw* is used, which implies only a limited amount of layers of speakers (at least two, but not limited to two).

In a chain of closely associated clauses in narratives, reported evidentials are not always used after every clause, but tend to be used at the end of the chain. A similar 'tendency for evidentials to linger in pragmatic space' was noted in Yǒngníng Na (Lidz 2010:477). This sporadic use of hearsay evidential marking will be shown to have an important discourse function, in that it tends to mark the end of a chain of clauses that ends in a new development in the narrative. The use of the reported evidential gives prominence to this new development in the story (§10.9.5).

Evidential hearsay markers are also used to indicate that speakers distance themselves from the making any truth-claim about what they are reporting. In (1105) the speaker uses tɕɑw almost like an interjection, inserting it in several parts of the sentence, since the man who told her the information was rather a talker who might not be too truthful.

(1105) dəbǔ tə́ ɕɛ̀ = ɻóŋní ní-bà wù gə́-n̥òŋ
then this Han = PL:AGT LOG-household:GEN interior nine-CLF:day

tɕàw = nòŋ nə́ tí dzóŋ kʰí = bù, ní-bà míŋ tɕàu
HSY = COORD thus one sit time = TOP LOG-household:GEN what HSY

tɕʰwǎ tʲóŋ tɕə̀ = ɖàw = nòŋ nòŋ tɕàw = là qʰə̀-dzə́
pig one:CLF:thing say = IPFV:N.EGO = COORD two HSY = also OUT-eat

nɛ̀-tsʰá pâ, ɕə́ kʰí = bù ní-bʉ̀ = bì
DOWN-be.finished do:PFV:N.EGO go time = TOP LOG-household = DAT

ŋwɛ́-ɻɛ́j = nòŋ nə́ tí tà də-kʰwèŋ tɕə́ ɦà
five-CLF:hundred = COORD thus one only TO.SP-give:PFV:N.EGO say LINK

nə́ tɕə́ = ɖàw mə ɖà.
thus say = IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) then when these Han stayed for nine days, it is said, or something like that in his house, (they) finished eating his family's one or even two pigs, it is said; when (they) left, they gave his family only five hundred (yuan) or so, (he) told (us) that.' (CV07.67.1)

Dreams are expressed as reported evidentials, as in (1106), where someone reports that he was a king in his dreams. Note that the non-egophoric form of the copula *dzə̂* 'to be' is used.

(1106) é póŋ dzə́ tɕə̀ = ɖàw
1SG T:official be say = IPFV:N.EGO

'I am a king.' (EL:W-C29.8)

8.3.6 *Reported thought marker ɕi*

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ makes use of separate quotative marker to express reported thought. This marker *ɕi* is also of verbal origin, and derives from the verb *ɕí* 'to think, wonder, realize'. When functioning as a quotative, this verb has lost some of its verbal properties: it appears in the same tone group as the last tone-bearing element of the quote, and it does not take a directional prefix, but it has still retained the potential to inflect: it can be followed by (non-)egophoric and evidential markers, like the egophoric *=seŋ* in (1107), and it shows a non-egophoric inflected form *ɕwi* that is used in 'other-person' sentences. This inflected form is however not always used (it is only attested three times in the corpus), and it might be that *ɕi* is becoming more grammaticalised and is losing its ability to inflect. In (1108) both the non-inflected form as well as the inflected form are used:

(1107) é = tɕə́mə̀ míŋ dzə̀ lʲɛ̀j ɕì = sèŋ
1SG = TOP what be RHET think = PFV:EGO

'I wondered what that could be?' (CV16.43)

(1108) jèhǎ qʰà jǎw tə́ = tù hɛ́hà, hɛ́hà kʰìŋ = qɛ̀j
all EXALT again this = on excessive excessive give = EXPT

ɕì = ɖàw, qɛ́tìŋ-mæ̀ŋ kʰìŋ kʰì = bù, jǎw ʂə̀ tú
think = IPFV:N.EGO ten-yuan give time = TOP again Ch:ten Ch:more

kʰwɛ́j = nòŋ nə́ kʰíŋ = qɛ̀j ɕwì kʰì = bù.
Ch:kuai = COORD thus give = EXPT think:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

'They all thought that (the price) would go up and (the people buying the pigs) would give more, when they gave ten yuan (per pound). They thought that they would give more than ten kuai (a pound), but (after that it did not go up).' (CV14.58.3)

Like verbs of speech, *ɕí* can take a clausal complement, as in (1109). Its most common occurrence however is with a reported thought complement, both direct reported thought as in (1110) and indirect reported thought as in (1111). In traditional narratives, as in (1110), the use of reported thought makes the narrative more vivid.

(1109) dəbǔ mə́=ɻæ̀ pù̱dìmá=bù dʑíŋ ɕî
then person=PL:GEN old.woman=TOP true think

'Then that old woman thought (it) was true (...)' (TC08.12)

(1110) "jèhǎ tə́-ɕə̀ kɛ̀j=bù ɖǒŋ mà=qɛ́j ə́sèŋ," ɕì.
all UP-go let=TOP be.okay NEG=EXPT AGR think

' "To let them all go by will not be okay, right?" (he) thought.' (TC02.62)

(1111) ní ɻ̊ùgí ɕə́=ʂù ɕì ɦà jǎw
LOG pine.torch go=VOL:SG think LINK again

tsákíʂə́dʑì=tì=là nè-dʑæ̀=ɖâw, há...!
pork.back.limb=INDF=also DOWN-add=IPFV:N.EGO INTJ

'Because he himself (=Bajin) is thinking of going to collect pine torches, (he) adds in the pork back slice and limbs (custom), hahaha!' (CV18.59)

In terms of evidentiality, reported thought is interesting. Unlike reported speech, a speaker does not have direct access to other people's thoughts, and evidence based on reported thought has to be taken as a certain kind of inferential, like deriving a person's intention from what he just said before. This is the case in (1111) where the person referred to just stated that the custom is to carry the pork-back-slice-and-limbs when going to collect pine torches. This is not really the custom (the original speaker just made it up), and so the other people infer from that statement that he himself is planning to go pine torch collecting. This inference is cast in the structure of an indirect thought complement.

One can also derive inferential clues from a person's appearance, as in (1112) where the situation of a girl who almost cried is presented as an embedded thought clause *qwɛ́j=ʐu* '(I) want to cry', so the sentence has the structure literally 'She thinks 'I want to cry' '.

(1112) [qwɛ́j=ʂú] ɕì=ɖàw kʰì
cry=VOL:SG think=IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'(She) almost cried.' (CV09.63.2)

8.3.7 *Co-occurrence of evidentials*

This section will discuss how the different evidentials and evidential strategies are combined to convey different layers of evidence. In Table 8.8 the possible co-occurrence of different evidentials is given. Every layer is followed by a closing square bracket. Column #1 shows the utterance of the original speaker A with the type of evidence A has for this utterance. The adjoining column gives the meaning of the utterance. Column #2 shows the utterance of the original speaker A as reported by the

current speaker B, who heard it personally from A. Column #3 shows the utterance of the original speaker A as reported by the current speaker B who overheard A saying it to someone else. Column #4 shows the utterance of the original speaker A as reported by the current speaker C, who heard it personally from B, who heard it personally from A. Column #5 shows the utterance of the original speaker A as reported by the current speaker C, who heard it personally from B, who overheard A saying it to someone else. Column #6 shows the original utterance as it is handed down through the mouths of many people. This is generally only used in traditional narratives.[361] Column #7 shows the original utterance as reported thought.

Table 8.8 Co-occurrence of evidentials

#1	Meaning	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7
ɕə qɛj	"he will go"	*ɕə qɛj] tɕə ɖaw*	*ɕə qɛj] tɕə tiŋ*	*ɕə qɛj] tɕə ɖaw] tɕaw*	*ɕə qɛj] tɕə tin] tɕaw*	*ɕə qɛj] tɕwə si] tɕaw*	*ɕə qɛj] ɕi*
ɕə ɖaw	"he is going"	*ɕə ɖaw] tɕə ɖaw*	*ɕə ɖaw] tɕə tiŋ*	*ɕə ɖaw] tɕə ɖaw] tɕaw*	*ɕə ɖaw] tɕə tin] tɕaw*	*ɕə ɖaw] tɕwə si] tɕaw*	*ɕə ɖaw] ɕi*
ʂɛj ø	"he went" (visual)	*ʂɛj ø] tɕə ɖaw*	*ʂɛj ø] tɕə tiŋ*	*ʂɛj ø] tɕə ɖaw] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj ø] tɕə tin] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj ø] tɕwə si] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj ø] ɕi*
ʂɛj si	"he went" (inferred)	*ʂɛj si] tɕə ɖaw*	*ʂɛj si] tɕə tiŋ*	*ʂɛj si] tɕə ɖaw] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj si] tɕə tin] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj si] tɕwə si] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj si] ɕi*
ʂɛj tiŋ	"he went" (auditory)	*ʂɛj tin] tɕə ɖaw*	*ʂɛj tiŋ] tɕə tiŋ*	*ʂɛj tiŋ] tɕə ɖaw] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj tiŋ] tɕə tin] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj tiŋ] tɕwə si] tɕaw*	*ʂɛj tiŋ] ɕi*

[361] With only one exception from a personal narrative where the speaker heard about a situation via different other people. The normal way of saying would be *tɕə=ɖaw tɕaw*, even when more than two people passed on the information.

Not all of the co-occurrences are attested in the corpus, but their ability to co-occur has been checked by elicitation. The examples below show some of the co-occurrences that are attested. (1113-1116) are examples of Column #2; (1117-1119) are examples of Column #3; (1120-1122) are examples of Column #4; (1123) is an example of Column #5; (1124) is an example of Column #6; (1125-1127) are examples of Column #7. The different layers are separated by square brackets.

(1113) [nǐŋ tɕíŋ = qɛ́j] tɕə̀ = ɖàw kʰì,
2SG see = EXPT say = IPFV:N.EGO time

'Even though (he) said that you will see (him), (...)' (CV07.26.2)

(1114) [tə́-kʰíŋ mà = ɖáw] tɕə́ = ɖàw
UP-get.up NEG = IPFV:N.EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO

'(…) (she) did not get up, (I) was told (…)' (CV12.43)

(1115) [lúɕə̀ tà] tɕə̀ = ɖàw.
Luoshui arrive say = IPFV:N.EGO

'It is said that (he) arrived in Luoshui.' (CV21.340)

(1116) [lúɕə̀ tà = sì] tɕə̀ = ɖàw.
Luoshui arrive = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'It is said that (he) arrived in Luoshui.' (CV21.339)

(1117) [tɛ̀dʑɛ́ = bú ʑí mə̀ dzə̀] tɕə̀ = tìŋ, mə́lʲə̀ góŋbà = wù = là
several = TOP EXIST.AN GNOMIC say = AUD Mùlǐ monastery = in = also

jɛ̀má ɕɛ́-mə̀.
monk big-NMLZ

'(I) overheard that there are several old monks in the Mùlǐ monastery.' (CV13.81.2)

(1118) [píŋmá ʂɛ́j] tɕə̀ = tìŋ
Pingma go:PFV:N.EGO say = AUD

'Pingma left.' (I overheard others talking about the fact that he left; they saw him leave with their own eyes). (EL)

(1119) [píŋmá ʂɛ́j = sì] tɕə̀ = tìŋ
Pingma go:PFV:N.EGO = INF say = AUD

'Pingma left.' (I overheard others talking about the fact that he left; they did not see him leave, but drew their conclusions from other facts). (EL)

(1120) [[hòŋ-dʑí tè-dìŋ ʑí = qɛ̀j] tɕə̀ = ɖàw] tɕàw.
in-location one-CLF:place EXIST.AN = EXPT say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY

'(...) (people) said that (they) would be somewhere up the valley.' (CV15.1)

(1121) [[ŋóŋ kéŋ = ɖàw] tɕə̀ = ɖàw] tɕàw.
money collect = IPFV:N.EGO say = IPFV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (there was somebody) collecting money [Drema said that they told her].' (PC08w.4)

(1122) [[nìŋ = dzǽŋ tɕʰə̀-kʰí ɕə́ = gə́ téɻɛ̀j pù ɕə́ = gí]
2 = DU how.many-time go = DEF together do go = VOL:INCL

tɕə̀ = ɖàw] tɕàw.
say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY

'(…) it is said that (she) said that 'whenever the two of you go, let's go together'.' (CV02.92)

(1123) [[píŋmá ʂɛ́j = sì] tɕə̀ = tìŋ] tɕàw
Pingma go:PFV:N.EGO = INF say = AUD HSY

'Pingma left.' (Others told me that he left. Then themselves were told by others who had not seen him leave themselves, but had heard the noise of his leaving). (EL)

(1124) [[də̀-tswéŋ-mə́ = gòŋ tə̀ɕǽ = nóŋ ə́-pà dʑóŋ = wù nè-ʈʂə́
TO.SP-pull-NMLZ = AGT now = only that-under:GEN hole = in DOWN-jump

nè- ʂɛ́j] tɕwə̀ = sì] tɕàw.
DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'(Tiger) said, "(…) the one who pulled, jumped down into this hole below only just now," it is said.' (KZ03.16)

(1125) [jèhǎ qʰà jǎw tə́ = tù hɛ́hà, hɛ́hà kʰìŋ = qɛ̀j]
all EXALT again this = on excessive excessive give = EXPT

ɕì = ɖàw
think = IPFV:N.EGO

'They all thought that (the price) would go up and (the people buying the pigs) would give more (...)' (CV14.58.3)

(1126) [ìŋ = ɻóŋní tɕʰì dzə́ mà = ɖáw] ɕí ɦà
1:INCL = PL:AGT food eat NEG = IPFV:N.EGO think LINK

'(He) thought that we had not eaten, (...)' (CV08.20)

(1127) ɻèqʰǔ = bú dəbǔ, séŋgéŋ tə-tɕʰòŋ kʰì = là, [əjù
first = TOP then T:lion UP-come:PFV:N.EGO time = also INTJ

séŋgéŋ = tì tə-tɕʰòŋ] ɕì nè-ɖú pà.
T:lion = INDF UP-come:PFV:N.EGO think DOWN-afraid do:PFV:N.EGO

'First a lion came up, "Oh! A lion has come!" (he) thought and was afraid.' (TC02.56)

8.3.8 *Evidentiality and text genres*

There are certain correlations that can be drawn between evidential use and text genre. This section only slightly touches on the more general correlations in sweeping generalizations. A more in-depth study of evidential use in different text genres is an area for future research.

Generally, in procedural texts or descriptive texts about customs, not much marking is used. The text is only wrapped up in the end by using the customary marker *weŋ* (see also §10.9.1 and §10.2.2, example [1377]). The bare basic stem of verbs is used to describe the differents steps, as is shown in (1128) from a butter tea recipe and in (1129) from a travelogue (explaining what route one takes to a famous national park). The marker *weŋ* cannot co-occur with other evidentials, so should be considered part of that system. It presents the information as the customary way of acting that is known by insiders, but not by the addressee. This will be further discussed in §8.5.

(1128) dəbù, tsʰì = lá nè-dî. dəbǔ nè-dzôŋ.
then salt = also DOWN-put then DOWN-churn

'Then also put in some salt. Then churn (it).' (PC01.6-7)

(1129) dəbǔ tə = ɻǎ ɻɛ́ɕè tɕè ɕə dəbǔ tʰúbì tə = ɻǎ
then 3 = PL:GEN packload pack.load go then Walapian 3 = PL:GEN

ɻɛ́ɕè nè-kʰækʰə̌ è-tɕê dəbǔ tʰútsʰì è-ɕô.
packload DOWN-pack IN-pack.load then Tuōqī IN-go

'Then (one) loads up their luggage; (one) packs their luggage at Walapian; (one) loads (it); then (one) goes inwards to Tuōqī.' (TC05.2)

It is also possible to use *=ɖaw mə dzə*, which presents something as a general situational truth that is stronger than *weŋ* (combining the habitual meaning of the current evidential *=ɖaw* [§8.3.2] and the gnomic statement function of the nominalization *mə dzə* [§8.6.1]), and presents something as a very definite statement that is either somebody's own understanding of the situation, or a habitual situation that has only arisen in recent times.

(1130) pépù = bù jèhà = ɻǽ ʑégì pʰè = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀.
ancestors = TOP all = PL:GEN after pour = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'Libation is poured out for the ancestors after all the others.' (CV23.27.3)

In personal experience narratives about habitual actions in the past, no evidential or egophoric marking is used, as in (1131):

(1131) dəbǔ gì l̥ǐ kʰì = bù dəbǔ, tʰʲǎ kʰə̀-tɕɛ́ kʰì = bù
then livestock herd time = TOP then about OUT-be.big time = TOP

dəbǔ, dʑə̀dʑì swéŋ kɛ̂j.
then letter study let

'After herding livestock, when (I) was a bit bigger, (I) was let to go to school.' (TC10.6)

This is in line with Epps (2005:624) who states that personal experience narratives tend to use the unmarked form, regardless of whether visual evidence is available to a speaker. Thus explanatory and descriptive discourse mostly lack evidential marking.

But when narrating a specific incident that happened in which the speaker was involved egophoric marking is used for 'self' and evidential marking for 'others', as in (1132):

(1132) ə́-qʰù nəwú-tɕʰə̀-ɕǽ dzòŋ = sêŋ.
that-on twenty-more.than-CLF:night sit = PFV:EGO

'(We) spent more than twenty nights up there.' (YJ01.12)

In traditional folk stories the construction *=si tɕaw* (with the inferential evidential and the hearsay marker) is used often to mark that the story has been passed down through many people.

(1133) túútʲú tɕə̀ m̥ə̀ kʰí = bù ə́-dʑì gwéŋ = tí
IDEO say blow time = TOP that-location bear = INDF

nɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ = sì tɕàw.
DOWN-come:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'(...) when (he) was blowing (it) 'Toot toot!' over there a bear came down, it is said.' (TC06.1)

In traditional folk stories, the inferential evidential marker *=si* might be left out as an expressive device (similar to the use of the English 'historical present' in stories), as in (1134). This gives the audience the impression that the narrator was on the scene and saw it with his own eyes, which makes the story more vivid.

(1134) ʈʂə́=ɖòŋ tɕə̀ kʰì=nòŋ ə́-qʰù ɛ̀-dɛ̀j pà.
jump=IPFV:EGO:1SG say time=only that-on IN-stick do:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) As (he) was jumping, (he) got stuck on top.' (TC04.29)

In conversations, evidentiality is employed to a great extent by different speakers and by the same speaker in different situations to convey slight nuances of meaning. Not surprisingly, conversations show the widest range of evidentials. Since there is no single generalization possible for conversations, no examples will be given here.

8.3.9 *Evidentiality and new media*

When visual information is obtained through new media, such as TV, it is marked as inferred information. This is dissimilar to Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:204), where either the unmarked form or the hearsay marker is used (but never the visual evidential), and Yǒngníng Na that marks visual information acquired through TV as visual evidence (Lidz 2010:495). When reported information is obtained through TV (e.g. where no images are shown, but somebody verbally reports something), it is marked as reported evidence.

8.4 Epistemic modality

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has different epistemic modality strategies for marking degrees of certainty or confidence about an assertion. As mentioned in §8.3.3, the expectational marker *=qɛj* also implies a fairly high degree of epistemic certainty. The other constructions and markers do not form a neat paradigm but consist of two attitude markers (*bǎ* and *ɐla*), which will be discussed here instead of in the section on attitudinal markers §8.8, and five constructions (*sə ti*, *si ɖaw*, *mə dzə qɛj*, *ɻæ nəni* and *ɕæ=ʈa* ~ *ɕæɻæ=ʈa*. None of these co-occur, except for *mə dzə qɛj* and *bǎ*. The two attitudinal markers are identified as such in that they occur in the same slot as other attitudinal markers (§8.8), i.e. they are not followed by other attitudinal markers, whereas the epistemic constructions *sə ti*, *si ɖaw*, *mə dzə qɛj* and *ɕæ=ʈa* can be followed by attitudinal markers.

Epistemicity shows overlap with evidentiality in that different types of evidence imply a lesser or greater degree of epistemic certainty, e.g. inferred evidence implies less certainty than visual evidence. It is not surprising that one of the epistemic constructions (*si ɖaw*) consists of two evidential markers and another (*mə dzə qɛj*) of an evidential strategy (*mə dzə*) and an evidential marker (*=qɛj*).

Table 8.9 shows the different constructions and markers with the clause *kʰə-tɕʰôŋ* '(he) came'. They are listed from least certain to most certain, and the type of evidence is given in the last column.

Table 8.9 Epistemic modality constructions

Form	Meaning	Degree of epistemic certainty
kʰə-tɕʰôŋ bǎ	'He maybe came'	least certain; based on speaker-internal assesment
kʰə-tɕʰôŋ ɕæ ʈa (kʰə-tɕʰôŋ ɕæɻæ ʈa)	'It looks like he came'	uncertain; inferred from visual clues
kʰə-tɕʰôŋ si ɖaw	'He probably came'	relatively certain; inferred from reported clues
kʰə-tɕʰôŋ sə ti	'He most probably came'	relatively certain; inferred from visual or experiential clues
kʰə-tɕʰôŋ ɻæ nəni	'It seems that he came'	relatively certain; based on speaker-internal assesment
kʰə-ʑə̂ mə dzə qɛj	'He will have come'	only slightly uncertain; inferred from different clues or based on speaker-internal assesment
kʰə-tɕʰôŋ ɐla	'He naturally came'	certain; based on speaker-internal assesment

8.4.1 *Epistemic certainty ɐla*

The toneless attitudinal marker *ɐla* ([èlà] ~ [élâ] ~ [élà])[362] 'naturally, of course' is bound up with epistemic certainty. The speaker's attitude is that there is no question whether or not an action should be taken or whether a situation is possible. This does not derive from outside knowledge, but rather from the speaker's experience or assessment of the situation.

(1135) ʑìŋ = qɛ́j ɐ́là.
can = EXPT CERT

'Of course (we) will be able (to carry it).' (CV21.452)

[362] Depending on the emphasis with which the marker is pronounced the surface tone can be any of these. This does not totally correlate with normal tonal spread, but rather with situation-dependent intonation.

(1136) l̥ʲé qʰə̀-ɭŭ ɛ́lâ.
tongue OUT-pull CERT

'The tongue should naturally be pulled out!' (CV18.47)

(1137) tə̀=gǎ nǐŋ ə́-kʰì tə̀=ɻæ̀=bù, qʰə̀-ɖǽ=qɛ̀j ɛ̀là
this=GEN INTJ that-time this=PL:GEN=TOP OUT-spread=EXPT CERT

'At that time, mind you, (they) naturally would have spread, (...)' (CV25.56)

8.4.2 *Speculative marker bǎ*

The speculative marker *bǎ* (also present in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ [Dīng 1998:224]) denotes uncertainty about a situation. It is usually not based on immediate clues, but denotes the speaker's speculation. Additionally, a speaker can be soliciting the addressee's opinion or confirmation.

(1138) èmá sénóŋ=nòŋ tɕǐŋ tèdʑɛ́ sǽŋlèŋ=wù qʰə̀-ʂɛ̀j bǎ?
aunt Sanong=COORD child several Ch:tricycle=in OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO SPEC

'Aunt Sanong and several children have maybe gone by tricycle?' (CV02.78.2)

(1139) tɕʰə̀-kʰí ɕə́ dzə̀?
how.many-time go be

N: 'When will you be going?' (CV02.72)

ŋwɛ́=ɻæ̀ n̥òŋ ɕə́ dzə̀ bǎ!
five=PL:GEN day go be SPEC

P: (We'll) maybe go on the day of the fifth.' (CV02.75)

When *bǎ* follows the inclusive volitive *=gi*, the focus is on soliciting the opinion of the addressee.

(1140) tǎ ɕə́=gí bǎ,...
now go=VOL:INCL SPEC

'Let's go now, alright?' (CV21.290)

8.4.3 *Epistemic uncertainty si ɖaw*

Epps (2005:632) notes that in Hup an inferential evidential marker can co-occur with an epistemic modality marker for speculation where no evidence is at hand or evidence is too vague to be conclusive. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the inferential evidential marker is also used for expressing epistemic uncertainty. The particular combination of two evidential markers, the inferential evidential *=si* (§8.3.1) and the non-egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2), renders a epistemic uncertainty construction that is often, but

not always, based on reported evidential clues, as is shown in (1141).[363] The previous speaker has just told the others that her husband took seven hens to the market to sell. The construction *si ɖaw* expresses more certainty than *bǎ*.

(1141) ɻú zù = tí ʑí sì ɖàw, nǒŋ = sə̀.
chicken much = INDF EXIST.AN EPIST:probably so = CONTR.TOP

'In that case, (your family) probably has a lot of chickens.' (CV04.75)

The construction *si ɖaw* can occur with the evidentials *=ɖaw* and *=qɛj*, as in (1142) and (1143), but not with the inferential evidential *=si*. (1143) was said when it had snowed a bit the day before and at the moment of the utterance the sky was quite grey, but no snow was falling. The speaker was looking at the sky when uttering (1143).

(1142) tǽŋtsəbòŋ = bʲæ̀ ʈʰwàlá nè-ʑǎ̀ kʰə̀-tì = ɖáw sì ɖàw.
pine.tree = on:GEN branch DOWN-lop.off OUT-put = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

'(She) probably lopped off the pine branches and put them there.' (CV14.267)

(1143) pɯ́ tɕʰóŋ = qɛ̀j sì ɖàw… kóŋ ʐǔ!
snow appear = EXPT EPIST:probably be.cold very

'(It) will probably snow… (it)'s very cold!' (W-C28.3)

When the construction occurs without *=qɛj* or *=ɖaw*, the perfective non-egophoric form of the verb is always used, as in (1144). From this example it can also be seen that the statement is based on several (reported evidence) clues.

(1144) ɛ̀má l̥átsʰú ə́-wù ɕə̀ = ɖòŋ tɕàw tɕàw ɦà,
aunt T:lHa.mtsho that-in go = IPFV:EGO:1SG say:IPFV:N.EGO HSY LINK

tə̀ = dzǎŋ ʑɛ́gì nè-n̥ǽŋ ɦà, ɛ̀má l̥átsʰú = gòŋnì sǽŋlìŋʈʂʰɛ́j = wù
3 = DU behind DOWN-late LINK aunt T:lHa.mtsho = AGT Ch:tricyle = in

kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = gí tɕə́ = ɖàw tɕàw, dəbǔ sǽŋlìŋʈʂʰɛ́j = wù
OUT-go = VOL:INCL say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY then Ch:tricycle = in

qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j sì ɖàw.
OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

'Aunt Lhatshu is said to have said to go in that (tricycle), the two of them were later (than the others), so Aunt Lhamtsho is said to have said 'Let's go by tricycle' and so (they) probably went in a tricycle.' (CV02.80)

[363] Since it functions as a single construction with a different meaning from the parts, I gloss it together. This is also the case for some of the other epistemic and nominalized constructions. See also §8.7 on layering of marking.

si ɖaw might also be used as a conversational tool to downplay the epistemic authority of a speaker, but this needs further conversational analysis.

si ɖaw is used in a few traditional stories where one would expect reported evidential marking and not epistemic uncertainty, as in (1145) where one would expect *tɕwə = si tɕaw*. The use of *si ɖaw* in these cases seems to be the personal style of some storytellers and does not necessarily imply epistemic uncertainty.

(1145) “èkáw làwlàw tʰəʐǽ, é = gǽ tə́ mé = bù, é
uncle(MB) INTJ spare.life 1SG = GEN this bamboo = TOP 1SG

m̥ə = ɖòŋ kʰì = bù, m̥ə-mə́ tà dzâ,” tɕwə̀
blow = IPFV:EGO:1SG time = TOP blow-NMLZ only be say:PFV:N.EGO

sì ɖàw.
EPIST:probably

‘(Hare) answered, “Uncle, spare my life, I am blowing this bamboo piece of mine, I am only blowing it.” ’ (TC06.2)

The construction *si ɖaw* and the marker *bǎ* can be used in very similar situations, as can be seen in example (1146), a conversation about a cell phone that belongs to speaker S. Another example in which a speaker uses *bǎ* and *si ɖaw* in two consecutive clauses is given in (1147).

(1146) èlʲǽtì tə́ mà = ɖáw bǎ.
a.little this NEG = IPFV:N.EGO SPEC

P: ‘It’s maybe not that good. ’ (CV04.29)

mǽ?
what

S: ‘What?’ (CV04.30)

tǐŋʈʂʰə̀ lʲàwlʲàw = ɖáw sí ɖàw.
Ch:battery move = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

P: ‘The battery probably moves.’ (CV04.31)

tǐŋʈʂʰə̀ lʲàwlʲàw = ɖáw bǎ, ə́sèŋ? ə́-bʲǽ tə́ = gə́
Ch:battery move = IPFV:N.EGO SPEC AGR that-on:GEN this = DEF

èlʲǎ sóŋ = ɖáw sì ɖàw,
a.little Ch:loose = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

S: ‘The battery maybe moves, right? That one is probably a little loose...’ (CV04.32)

(1147) lʲú = ɖáw bǎ? lʲú = ɖáw sì ɖàw.
boil = IPFV:N.EGO SPEC boil = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

'(The water) is maybe boiling, right? It's probably boiling.' (CV14.31)

8.4.4 *Epistemic uncertainty sə ti*

The epistemic uncertainty construction *sə ti* expresses that the speaker is fairly certain of a situation. The construction expresses more certainty than *bǎ* (and seems to express more certainty than *si ɖaw*) and might be based on visual or experiential clues, such as when a speaker has a peek in the soup pot and states that there are most probably no vegetables in the soup, or when a speaker feels a few rain drops and states that it will most probably rain. The origin of *sə ti* is not clear; it might be that *sə* developed from the contrastive topic marker (§6.5.8) and *ti* from the numeral 'one' that is used in several constructions.

sə ti is often based on current visual evidence of which current statements or statements about the future are based. It can also be used with past statements, as in (1148). In (1149) the speaker is talking to himself while working on cutting out the tongue of a slaughtered pig. That gives him some evidence to state this with a great amount of certainty. Two other examples are given in (1150) and (1151).

(1148) ɖəmá-lí jǎw èlʲǎtì tsàtsà ʂéj sə́ tì kʰì.
Drema-DIM again a.little grope.for go:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:most.probably TRAIL

'Little Drema was most probably looking for some (firewood).' (CV09.77)

(1149) ɻè ʐíŋ mɑ = qéj sə́ tì kʰì.
cut can NEG = EXPT EPIST:most.probably TRAIL

'(I) will most probably not be able to cut (the tongue)?' (CV18.41)

(1150) tʰè-ɕə̀ kéj = qéj sə̀ tì tɕə̀ ɦà nə́ tɕáw bàw.
FR.SP-go let = EXPT EPIST:most.probably say LINK thus HSY CONTR

'It is said that (they will) ... then most probably let (her) go back (...) home.' (CV15.62)

(1151) pɛ̀jpɛ́j tɛ́ɖí = gòŋnì, "(...) tɕʰǐ tʲæ̀-dzə́ = ɖwéŋ
older.sibling Tadi = AGT food PROH-eat = IPFV:EGO:N.SG

sə̀ tì, ɛ̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = bí nə́ tɕâw.
EPIST:most.probably 1:EXCL = DU = DAT thus say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) older brother Tadi spoke like this to the two of us, "... you most probably won't dare to eat food now." ' (YJ02.22)

While *sə ti* and *si ɖaw* are very similar, the data seem to show that *sə ti* implies more certainty: *sə ti* is often based on visual clues, whereas *si ɖaw* is often based on reported clues. In (1152) *sə ti* and *si ɖaw* are used together:

(1152) “nìŋ = bú láwsə́ = gǽ (tɕʰwǎ) tsʌ̀ʐə̀ dzə́ sí ɖʌ̀w,” tɕə̀
2SG = TOP Ch:teacher = GEN (pig) fattened.pig be EPIST:probably say

kʰì = bù, ɻ̊ɛ́ɻ̊ǽ qʰù = gòŋnì, “pʰòŋʈʂʉ́ɻə̀ pʉ̀ = qɛ̀j
time = TOP laugh:RECP CUST.INCL = AGT fat.piglet do = EXPT

sə̀ tì,” tɕə̀ kʰì = bù.
EPIST:most.probably say time = TOP

(We) said, “You are probably the teacher’s fattened pig, (you) will most probably be a fat piglet, ” and we laughed so hard that... (CV12.27.4)

8.4.5 *Epistemic uncertainty ɻæ nəni and ɕæ ʈa ~ɕæɻæ ʈa*

The construction *ɻæ nəni* ‘it seems’ is an epistemic construction that takes an embedded finite complement, thus it occurs with all types of evidential and egophoric markers, like the quotative and the auditory evidential, as in (1153).

(1153) nìŋ-bá èmá = gòŋ hwájì tì tɕə̀ = tíŋ ɻǽ nə̀nì.
2SG-household aunt = AGT Huayi one say = AUD EPIST:seems

‘(I) seem to have heard your mother say that (they are from) Huayi.’ (CV07.50)

ɻæ nəni can occur in different alternate forms, such as *ɻæ ni* and *nəni*, as in (1154-1156). It is not clear at this point what triggers that.

(1154) ə́-pù míŋ dzə̀ pə́pù = là ɻì wèŋ ɻǽ nə̀nì.
that-under what be bottom = also burn CUST.EXCL EPIST:seems

‘It seems (to me) that (we) also roast it at the bottom.’ (CV21.572.1)

(1155) tɕǽŋtɕǽŋ wú-pà-nìŋ, wú-pà-nìŋ dzə̀
Ch:just.now Ch:five-Ch:eight-Ch:year Ch:five-Ch:eight-Ch:year be

ɻǽ nì
EPIST:seems

‘It seems to have been in ’58. (...)’ (CV13.26.1)

(1156) ʈʰə́ èlʲǎtì dèpɛ̀j = ɖáw nə̀nì, míŋ ɖòŋ wɛ̀j?
foot a.little lame = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:seems what become PUZ

‘It seems that (his) foot is a bit lame, what on earth is the matter?’ (CV14.247)

The construction *ɻæ nəni* might be an adverbial phrase that takes the whole clause in its scope, as is reported for Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng (2003:206) for the adverbial particle *χsu-ɳi* 'seem'). Its origin is not totally clear, but *nəni* seems to be related to the adverb *nə́ni* 'like this' and *ɻæ* seems to be related to the second part of *ɕǽɻæ* 'to resemble', as in (1157), (related to the verb *ɕæ̂* 'to resemble'):[364]

(1157) ɖʉ́t^{hj}ǽ ts^{h}ə̀ɻèŋ tɕə̀-mə̀ = gə̀ = bù t^{h}əʑǽ dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tóŋ nə́
Druthjae T:Tshe.ring say-NMLZ = DEF = TOP spare.life speech speak thus

tí = là wéŋ ɛ́ = qɛ̀j = là ɕǽ mǎ = ɻæ̀
one = also can Q = EXPT = also resemble NEG = resemble

'(...) the one who is called Druthjae Tshering, spare my life, even if (he) can tell stories like this, (he) does not look like it, (...)' (CV13.78.2)

The construction *ɕæ = ʈa* 'it looks like' that is clearly derived from the verb *ɕæ̂* 'to resemble' and that takes an embedded complement also functions like an epistemic construction, as in (1158) and (1159). My main consultant mentioned that it is also possible to use *ɕæɻæ = ʈa*, but no attestations are found in the corpus. *ɕæ = ʈa* ~ *ɕæɻæ = ʈa* seems to be linked to some kind of visual knowledge, whereas *ɻæ nəni* seems to be linked to speaker-internal knowledge.

(1158) ɛ̀má jóŋtɕíŋ-bà = là ɕɛ́ = ʈà ɕæ̀ = ʈà.
aunt T:dByangs.cin-household = also big = SVM resemble = SVM

'It looks like aunt Yongjin's family's (pork back) is big as well.' (CV21.164)

(1159) m̥ə̀géŋ ɛ̀l^{j}ǎ ʈɛ́ pʉ́ = qɛ̀j ɕæ̀ = ʈà, ə́sèŋ?
old.man a.little false do = EXPT resemble = SVM AGR

'It looks like the old man will have been lying a bit, right?' (CV07.71)

8.4.6 *Epistemic uncertainty mə dzə qɛj*

Even though both the expectational evidential *=qɛj* (§8.3.3) and the nominalization construction *mə dzə* (§8.6.1) have epistemic certainty readings, when they are combined into the construction *mə dzə qɛj* this expresses epistemic uncertainty. The degree of uncertainty is fairly small, as can be seen in (1160) where the speaker has some auditory evidence of the situation. *mə dzə qɛj* can be used to refer to past as well as general events, as in (1161) and (1162), but not to future events.[365] Note that in

[364] Although cf. §7.4.1, footnote 296 for a tentative analysis of *-ɻæ* as a verbal suffix.

[365] Note the distinction between *=qɛj*, which only occurs with general and future events, and *mə dzə qɛj* in the following clauses: *seŋbú k^{h}ə-ʑə́ = qɛj* 'he will come tomorrow' (which is not possible with a past time reference) and *ɻ̥wə̂pʉ k^{h}ə-ʑə́ mə dzə qɛj* 'he will have come the year before last' (which is not possible with a future time reference).

(1162) speaker Y is tentative about their ability to carry the recording device, whereas speaker N responds using the epistemic certainty marker *ɐla* (§8.4.1).

(1160) èmá-lì dèɻèj tóŋ zɻ̀ pá=tìŋ, tèsǐ kʰù-dʑí
aunt-DIM speech speak very do:PFV:N.EGO=AUD still out-location

ʑí mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
EXIST.AN EPIST

'Young aunt is talking a lot, I hear. (She) will probably still be out (=in the courtyard).' (CV13.137.3)

(1161) mə́=ɻæ̀ m̥ə̀géŋ nɛ̀-ɖú zɻ̀ mə́ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
person=PL:GEN old.man DOWN-afraid very EPIST

'That old man will have been frightened.' (CV22.24)

(1162) də-zɻ́ ʑìŋ wéŋ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
TO.SP-carry can CUST.EXCL EPIST

Y: '(We) will probably be able to carry (it).' (CV21.451)

ʑìŋ=qɛ́j ɛ́là.
can=EXPT CERT

N: Of course we will be able (to carry it). (CV21.452)

The construction *mə dzə qɛj* can occur with the speculative marker *bǎ*, as in (1163), but not with any other epistemic marking.

(1163) má=pù dèɻèj tòŋ=ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j bǎ
mother=COM speech speak=IPFV:N.EGO EPIST SPEC

dèɻèj tɛ́tóŋ pù zɻ̀ pú=ɖàw mə́=ɻə̀.
speech speak:RECP do very do=IPFV:N.EGO person=PL

'(Tshering Lhame) will maybe be talking with her mother, they are talking a lot.' (CV13.60)

8.5 Modal verbs and discourse

Palmer (2001:58) notes that modal verbs often play an important role in discourse, especially in the interactions of speech participants. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has two modal auxiliaries, *qʰǔ* 'need' (§7.9.9) and *wêŋ* 'be able' (§7.9.2), that have developed important discourse functions.[366] In their discourse functions, they always take on the tone of the preceding element. They are used as customary evidentials, evidential

[366] In these functions they are toneless markers that take on the tone of the preceding tone-bearing unit (§3.3.1).

strategies that mark customs that have been around for a long time. They thus denote knowledge that is firmly embedded in the speaker's consciousness. Their use can be opposed to the use of the non-egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2) which expresses new information. An example is given in (1164).

(1164) dəbǔ, ʐɛ̀pʉ̀ kʰæ̂ tə́ géŋgòŋ=ɻòŋnì=bù dəbǔ gwěŋ
then past time:GEN this old.person=PL:AGT=TOP then horse

tʲôŋ tʲôŋ pʉ̀ ɖæ̀ɖǽ né-dì ɦà tɕəbù...
one:CLF:thing one:CLF:thing do horizontal DOWN-throw LINK because

((qʰénʲæ̀ sɛ̀qwɛ̀j=góŋ nɛ̀-gǎ tɕəbù, mɛ̀qú nɛ̀-tɕí wɛ̀ŋ))
mouth stick=INS DOWN-pry because oil DOWN-pour CUST.EXCL

gwɛ̀ŋ=nóŋ ʈì=((bì)) mɛ̀qú ((tʰɛ̀-))kì wêŋ.
horse=COORD mule=DAT oil FR.SP-give.drink CUST.EXCL

'The old people of the past gave horses and mules oil to drink by throwing the horses down horizontally one by one, and prying (their) mouths open with a stick to pour down the oil.' (PC02.7)

pʉ́pʉ̀ ʐɛ̀pʉ̀=bù gwɛ̀ŋ mɛ́qù kì kʰì=là ɖæ̀ɖæ̀
this.year last.year=TOP horse oil give.drink time=also horizontal

dí qʰù=là mà=ɖáw, dəbǔ ɛ̀lʲǎ ʐə̀ʐɛ́ tì
throw need=also NEG=IPFV:N.EGO then a.little easy one

pʉ̀=ɖàw.
do=IPFV:N.EGO

'In recent years, when giving horses oil to drink, there is no need to throw (them) horizontally, so it is a little bit easier.' (PC02.8)

The speaker is telling about the custom of feeding mules oil in winter. In the first seven lines of the narration from which (1164) is taken, the storyteller uses the customary *weŋ*, as can be seen in the first line in (1164) which is the seventh line in the narration. In line eight of the narration, the second line in (1164), the storyteller switches to using the imperfective marker *=ɖaw*. He does this since a new practice of using a flail head to keep horses in check (without having to throw them down) has only become popular in recent years; thus, *weŋ* cannot be used, since it is not a practice that has always been done.

The customary markers *weŋ* and *qʰu* have acquired additional meanings that are closely tied to the interaction between speech participants and assumed knowledge. *qʰu* has acquired an additional meaning of inclusive knowledge. It is used at the end of statements or questions to indicate that speakers expect addressees to know the information they are talking about. *weŋ* on the other hand marks exclusive

knowledge.[367] It is used at the end of statements or questions to indicate that speakers expect addressees not to know the information they are talking about.[368] Both mark customary information that is generally known.

In example (1165) the use of *qʰu* is illustrated. The inclusive knowledge function is highlighted by the use of the inclusive pronoun *iŋɻə́*: the speaker includes everybody in the group of addressees, and thus it is expected that he use *qʰu*. But it is possible to use *weŋ* instead, for example when the speaker is an adult talking to a child who, although included in the group of people that calls Nínglàng 'Lugu', does not know this custom yet.

(1165) ìŋ = ɻə́ = bù lìŋlæ̀ŋ = bí = bú lúgʉ̀ tɕə̀ qʰù
1:INCL = PL = TOP Nínglàng = DAT = TOP Lugu say CUST.INCL

'We call Nínglàng 'Lugu' (...)' (CV01.19)

The use of *weŋ* is illustrated in (1166). This is a similar example to (1165), but here the speaker is talking to an outsider and does not expect that person to know the information. This is also highlighted by the use of the exclusive pronoun *ê.ɻə*. However, the use of inclusive versus exclusive pronouns is not tied to the use of *qʰu* versus *weŋ*. *qʰu* could be used in this example when the speaker assumes that the addressee, although being an outsider and not included in the group denoted by *ê.ɻə*, knows this information.

(1166) é = ɻə̀ = bù hòŋ-pú tɕə̀ wèŋ
1:EXCL = PL = TOP in-under say CUST.EXCL

'We call that 'inwards' (...)' (PC04w.1.7)

Two further examples with *qʰu* and *weŋ* are given in (1167) and (1168). The markers could be used interchangeably in both examples, the only difference being the assumption of the speaker in regards to the addressee's knowledge.

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[367] 'Shared (inclusive) knowledge' versus 'personal (exclusive) knowledge' is also expresed in several Romani dialects (Victor Friedman, p.c.). Matras (1995) shows that a split in the third person of simple past tenses in Vlach Romani functions as an interactional device to express personal versus shared knowledge (see also Friedman 2003:1993).

[368] The marker *qʰu* only appeared towards the end of my second fieldwork. This is not surprising, because as an outsider, people would not use the form *qʰu* in speaking to me. There is a marked difference in use in the corpus: *qʰu* only appears 9 times and only in conversations; *weŋ* appears around 350 times not only in conversations, but especially in procedural/descriptive texts, in personal narratives that relate to customs in the wider world, and to a minor degree in traditional narratives.

(1167) dʑàpú = ɻə́ dú = wù nè-(kì)((kû)), jǎw tí-q^{h}ú tɕə́
bucket = PL back = in DOWN-(pack)((carry)) again up-on water

kú ɕà q^{h}ù
carry go CUST.INCL

'(In the past) (a lot of people) carried buckets on (their) backs, and would go upwards to carry water on (their) backs.' (CV21.307.2)

(1168) m̥æ̀ŋ l̥ʲóŋ ts^{h}á k^{h}í = bù qàqà pɨ́
hair peel be.finished time = TOP group do

tsàʑə̀ tʲóŋ tʲóŋ pɨ̀ t^{h}éj wêŋ
fattened.pig one:CLF:thing one:CLF:thing do Ch:lift CUST.EXCL

qè̞ kwì-mə́ = ɻóŋ = bù tè-tɕ^{h}wì = bí = là tə́-ʑú
strength EXIST.IN-NMLZ = PL:AGT = TOP one-CLF:side = on = also UP-lift

wèŋ,
CUST.EXCL

qě mǎ = kwì-mə = ɻə̀ = bù ʑù t^{h}óŋ mǎ wèŋ.
strength NEG = EXIST.IN-NMLZ = PL = TOP lift can:N.EGO NEG CUST.EXCL

'When the hair has been scraped off, (the people) will together lift the fattened pigs one by one, the ones who have the strength will lift one side, the ones who don't have the strength will not be able to lift (one side).' (CL01ed.18)

Both markers can also be used in questions. Example (1169) can be a question addressed to others or to self. When addressed to oneself, the use of *q^{h}u* indicates that the speaker knows the answer, but it currently escaped him. When addressed to others, the speaker expects the addressees to know the answer. The use of *weŋ* in (1170) implies that the speaker does not know the information and is neutral in regards to whether or not the addressee knows the information.

(1169) tə́ = gə́ míŋ tɕà q^{h}ù?
this = DEF what say CUST.INCL

'What is this called again?' (CV01.19:EL)

(1170) tə́ = gə́ míŋ tɕà wèŋ?
this = DEF what say CUST.EXCL

'What is this called?' (CV01.19:EL)

It is also possible to add a particle *ʐoŋ* to these sentences, as in (1171) and (1172). Both indicate that the speaker knows the information he is asking for, but it temporarily escaped him. Example (1172), using *q^{h}u*, is a little bit more polite. The particle *ʐoŋ*

does not appear in the natural corpus, but only appeared during elicitation. More research is needed into its function.

(1171) tə́ = gə́ míŋ tɕə̀ wèŋ ʂòŋ?
this = DEF what say CUST.EXCL ESC

'What is this called again?' (EL:W-C35.6)

(1172) tə́ = gə́ míŋ tɕə̀ qʰù ʂòŋ?
this = DEF what say CUST.INCL ESC

'What is this called again?' (EL:W-C35.5)

8.6 Nominalization and discourse

It has been shown that Pǔmǐ uses nominalization for lexical derivation (§5.2), as well as a means to form attributive relative clauses (§5.3.2). However, independent main clauses can also be nominalized. Apart from a clearly embedded clausal nominalization construction involving the equational copula (§7.5), Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has four nominalization constructions that raise the question of embedding. In these four constructions, the nominalizer is always followed by another form, that is, in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ there are no independent clauses that end in just the nominalizer.

'Non-embedded' (Matisoff 1972) or 'stand-alone' or 'free-standing' (Watters 2008) nominalization has been described for many other Tibeto-Burman languages (Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999b, Hargreaves 2005, Genetti 2011), and it would therefore not be surprising to find similar non-embedded nominalization constructions in Pǔmǐ. In the following sections I will first describe the different nominalizations and their functions and then discuss the question whether Pǔmǐ has non-embedded nominalization or not.

Main clause nominalization is used for various discourse purposes, such as an evidential strategy and epistemic authority, agreement with previous speaker, and negotiating epistemic rights. In her work on Korean, Kim (2011) shows that the choice of evidential markers employed by speakers of Korean depends on epistemic authority and is used to negotiate epistemic rights. Thus evidential markers can be used to claim or downgrade epistemic rights: speakers will assess the epistemic rights of other speakers and chose their evidentials accordingly. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ clausal nominalization is one of the instruments used for negotiating epistemic rights. Speech-participant interaction and conversational analysis has not been explored in Pǔmǐ before, but with the amount of conversational data recorded for the present study, it is an area that shows great promise for future research. Due to the limitations of this present study and the lack of background in conversational analysis, I will only present some first impressions here. Areas of future investigation are the role of evidentials, epistemic constructions, epistemic markers and attitude markers in downgrading or claiming epistemic rights and turn-taking.

8.6.1 *V mə dzə*

The nominalization construction *mə dzə* (a complement-taking predicate with a nominalized clause as the complement and the equational copula *dzə̂* 'to be' as the predicate) is an evidential strategy that marks declarative or gnomic[369] statements, 'matter-of-fact' information that the speaker has known for a long time and is generally known to people. LaPolla with Huáng (2003:207) also mentions a construction with nominalization and a copula as an evidential strategy for Qiāng (for information that has been known for some time and expresses strong certainty). In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, the nominalization construction *mə dzə* is actually neutral in terms of evidence: instead of expressing source of information, it implies that the information is so well established that no source is needed. In addition to its use as an evidential strategy, it marks the epistemic authority of the speaker over the information, who presents it as something that cannot be challenged:

(1173) búbúlì ʂəjì-swǐ dzə́=qɛ̀j mə dzə̀.
Bubuli Ch:eleven-Ch:year.old be=EXPT GNOMIC

'Bubuli will be eleven.' (CV12.9)

(1174) bʉ̀lʲə̌ tɕíɻə̀ dzə́ ʐíŋ mʉ̀=ɖə́w mə́ dzə̀.
kidney some.people eat can NEG=IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'There are some people that can not eat kidneys.' (CV17.20)

Even though a nominalized clause indicates a statement that cannot be challenged, a speaker can invite an addressee to agree with him by using the agreement marker *əsɛŋ* (§8.8.2.6):

(1175) ə́-kʰì tə̀=ɻæ̀, nìŋ=ɻǽ kʰí tə̀=ɻæ̀ ɛ̀- swéŋ tí
that-time this=PL:GEN 2=PL:GEN time this=PL:GEN IN-study one

ɛ́=pʉ̀=bù, ɛ̀lʲæ̌ ʐə̀ʐɛ́=ɖʉ̀w mə̀ dzə̀, ə́sɛ̀ŋ?
Q=do=TOP a.little easy=IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC AGR

'At those times, if (you) had done a bit of study in your times, it is a bit easier (to find work), right?' (CV12.39)

In (1176) the gnomic statement is embedded as hearsay, which indicates that the current speaker is not the one with epistemic authority, but the original speaker who told her was.

[369] Woodbury (1986) for the term 'gnomic' which denotes a statement for which the speaker does not purport to have direct evidence.

(1176) tə́ nʲə́lʲáw = bì pʰǐŋ ʐù mə́ dzə̀ tɕàw.
this eye = DAT beneficial very GNOMIC HSY

'It is said that this (chrysanthemum) is very good for the eyes.' (CV14.74.1)

In narratives, this type of nominalization is often used for background comments of the narrator that are not part of the story line. This ties in with the position of authority that the narrator has.[370] For example, in the story of the louse and the flea, the narrator states in conclusion:

(1177) dəbǔ, (l̥éj = gæ̀...) l̥éj kʰì = bù dəbǔ nʲæ̀l̥ʲôŋl̥ʲóŋ tʰè-ɖòŋ
then (flea = GEN) flea time = TOP then black FR.SP-become

mə̀ dzə̀ tɕàw.
GNOMIC HSY

'That's when flea became black, it is said.' (KZ01.10)

Note that here as well as in example (1178), the concluding statement of the Deluge story, the narrator defers the final authority for these truths to the original people who passed down these stories, as can be seen in the use of the hearsay marker *tɕaw*.

(1178) dəbǔ tə̀ = gǒŋnì tə̀ɕǽ lə̀léj mə́dìdzə́ = là tə̀ = gǒŋ kʰə̀-tì mə́ dzə̀
then this = PL:AGT now seed all = also 3SG = AGT OUT-put GNOMIC

tɕàw.
HSY

'So all the seeds (that we have) now are the ones she left, it is said.' (TC02.82)

Example (1179) is the narrator's comment in the middle of a story where the main characters are instructed to collect the carpets that their wives have woven.

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[370] Bickel (1999) discusses similar nominalized constructions in Belhare and notes that they are focus constructions that lend authority to the statement of the speaker as the definitive version. Note that the focus constructions in Belhare are non-embedded nominalizations that appear without a copula (parallel to equative constructions that do no need a copula in the language), whereas Wǎdū Pǔmǐ requires a copula in both constructions. Watters (2008:34) mentions that in Kham narratives non-embedded nominalization is used for non-event line (background, parenthetic material, stage setting). The question whether non-embedded nominalizations are not in fact embedded is still a point of discussion. In Rawang (LaPolla, p.c.) there are nominalized clauses that look like non-embedded nominalization, but the copula can always be recovered.

(1179) ʑɛ̀pù-kʰǽ pǎʐù̠ kʰə̀-tɕæ̀-mə́ = bù, m̥ə̀ɖæ̀ = ɻóŋ kʰə̀-tɕæ̀
past-time:GEN carpet OUT-weave-NMLZ = TOP girl = PL:AGT OUT-weave

mə́ ((dzə̂)).
GNOMIC

'The carpet that was woven in the past, was normally woven by women.' (TC09.17)

These examples are background statements that are not part of the story line. In the main story line no nominalization is used, but in order to show that this is not part of the story line, the nominalization device is used.[371]

Kham (Watters 2008) makes a sharp distinction between embedded and non-embedded 'stand-alone' nominalization. The former is used for strong assertions that cannot be questioned, while the latter is used for backgrounding information. Watters (2008:34) also mentions that in several Kiranti languages stand-alone nominalizations can have both (assertion and backgrounding) functions and that in Athpare and Belhare, languages with a zero equational copula, no distinction is made. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the equational copula is required for the identificational construction (§7.5) and it could be argued that in line with that the copula is also required for the nominalization construction that carries the same functions as non-embedded nominalization in Athpare and Belhare. Thus the two (assertion and backgrounding) functions that are clearly distinguished in Kham and that are expressed by non-embedded nominalization in the other above-mentioned languages are expressed by embedded nominalization in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

Speakers can also use nominalization when talking about their own situation. This is done to downplay personal involvement. Thus rather than portraying an action as a personal experience, the speaker represents it as a general situation. Nominalization then comes instead of normal egophoric marking. This is shown in (1180), where *mə dzə* is used instead of the perfective egophoric marker *=seŋ*. The use of the egophoric particle *=seŋ* is grammatically possible. This example is taken from a story where three brothers look for a wife by shooting their crossbows. They will take a wife from the household their arrows hit. The youngest son's arrow hits a toad. The toad asks him what the matter is and the youngest son answers with (1180). By using *mə dzə* he downplays his involvement in the action in order to avoid the responsibility of having to marry it.

[371] In Yǔchū Pǔmǐ (personal fieldnotes) and Shuǐluò Pǔmǐ (Jacques 2011a), on the other hand, nominalization is used as a narrative device and almost every sentence ends in a nominalized construction. Watters (2008:36) mentions this for Kaike (West Bodish) as well.

(1180) “ɛ́ = bú dəbǔ ʈʰə ɻéŋdì ʑə mə dzə kʰì = bù, nʲǽ ɻʉ̀tɕʰí
1SG = TOP then wife seek come GNOMIC time = TOP 2SG:GEN front

ɛ̀-tsèŋ,” tɕwə = sì tɕɑ̀w.
IN-hit say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

‘While I have come looking for a wife, (I) hit your front (instead)," (he) said, it is said.’ (TC09.17)

In (1181) the implication of using a nominalization construction is that the speaker should go and feed the pigs instead of talking by the fire.

(1181) tɕʰwæ̀-tɕʰì = lá mí-tɕʰí mə dzə.
pig-food = also NEG:PFV-feed GNOMIC

‘(I) haven’t even fed the pigs (...)’ (CV03.1.2)

Example (1182) talks about times in the past when there was nothing to eat. Downplaying their involvement by using a nominalization indicates that it was not the speakers’ intention or volition to live through those days, but it was simply the situation.

(1182) ɛ̀mɑ́ = ɻə = bù nə́-mə́ nɛ̀-kù mə́ dzə̂.
aunt = PL = TOP thus-NMLZ DOWn-Ch:live.through GNOMIC

‘(…) (we) aunties have lived through that.’ (CV03.14)

There is one example in the corpus that displays the first person egophoric form of the copula, as in (1183).

(1183) sèŋtɕʰǐ = là dzə́ mà = ɖóŋ = mə́ dìŋ tɕə̀
breakfast = also eat NEG = IPFV:EGO:1SG = NMLZ be:EGO:1 say

‘(...) he said he was not eating breakfast, (...)’ (CV07.74.5)

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, interrogatives that use a nominalized predicate express that the speaker enquires about a general situation, as in (1184) and (1185). The answer in (1185) also uses nominalization in the second clause (and visual evidence in the first clause).

(1184) gʉ́ = gə́ kí dʲòŋ mə dzə̀?
be.old = DEF where EXIST.AT GNOMIC

‘Where is the old (school)?’ (CV12.53)

(1185) jæ̀ŋmɑ́wlì tʰúbì = là dzóŋ mə́ dzə̀ â?
Ch:Yang.Maoning Walapian = also sit GNOMIC CONF

P: ‘Did Yang Maoning also stay at Walapian?’ (CV12.65)

tʰúbì dzôŋ, kə́pá tɕʰə̀-ɻ̥ǽŋ dzóŋ mə dzə̀ ɦàw,
Walapian sit very.long how-long sit GNOMIC WARN

jæ̀ŋmáwlì.
Ch:Yang.Maoning

N: 'Yang Maoning stayed in Walapian for such a long time.' (CV12.66)

Hargreaves (2005:19) states that in Kathmandu Newar, '[i]n questions with "background" or "presupposed" information, [nominalized clauses] function as being less "interrogatory" (hence polite or merely phatic) than questions with finite verb forms'. And Watters (2008:36) notes that in Kham non-nominalized interrogatives imply 'personal investment' and the 'right to knowledge' and thus can be inappropriate in certain social relations between speaker and addressee. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, nominalization does not seem to have this polite function. but it does indicate that a speaker has some background information relating to the question. This can be seen in examples (1186-1188). In (1186) the speaker asked his mother whether the place she just talked about was where she went. He had noticed that she was gone for a long time, and she just told him she had visited a friend. Expressing (1186) in a nominalized form ties it to the overall situation and indicates that the speaker is thinking 'No wonder you were gone for so long'.

(1186) nǐŋ, ə́-qʰù kʰə̀-ɕə̀ mə dzə̀ â?
2SG that-on OUT-go GNOMIC CONF

'You went up there?' (CV14.213)

Example (1187) is the normal way to ask somebody where they are from. It implies the overall situation of living, not just the current position of a speaker. (1187) was asked about the researcher who was living in the village at the time.

(1187) kí dzòŋ mə dzə̀, ə̀-dʑǽ...?
where sit GNOMIC this-location:GEN

'Where is (your friend) from?' (CV14.3.1)

Example (1188) can be asked when somebody comes in the door all wet, and the speaker assumes that there is a reason why that is the case.

(1188) tɛ́j, tɛ̀j, kí ɕə̀ mə dzə̀?
INTJ INTJ where go GNOMIC

'Wow, wow! Where did (you) go?' (CV21.114.1)

Nominalization in interrogatives can also be used in the same way as in declaratives: in questions about general situations, as in (1189), and when a speaker wants to present a fact that cannot be challenged, as can be seen in example (1190). A group of ladies is walking from one household to another during the neighbourly visits on New Year's

Day. One of them is holding the recorder with which they are recording their conversation for the present study. Speaker L has taken the lead and is holding the recorder. Speaker N thereupon comments that it is because speaker L wants to record her own stories that she has brought the recorder. In her question, speaker L uses nominalization to present the situation as a general truth that cannot be challenged by the others. Speaker N then repeats the question, adding *dʑíŋʲæ̂* 'really' to indicate that she is amused at the suggestion.

(1189) tèsĭ tə̀-bă má = gə̀ ʑí mə̀ dzə̀ â?
still 3-household:GEN mother = DEF EXIST.AN GNOMIC CONF

'So his mother is still alive?' (CV14.26)

(1190) tə́ = gə́ = dì jăw ʑènə̀ l̥í = ʂú ɕì ɦà
this = DEF = ADD.FOC again story tell = VOL:SG think LINK

nè-tʰéj də̀-ʐwá = sì, hà.....
DOWN-Ch:lift TO.SP-bring:PFV:N.EGO = INF INTJ

N: '(You!) Since (you) are thinking of telling stories, you brought this one (= the recorder), hahaha!' (CV21.422)

nìŋ = góŋ də̀-ʐá kɛ̀j = mə̀ mă = dzə̀ â?
2SG = AGT TO.SP-carry let = NMLZ NEG = be CONF

L: 'Wasn't it you who let (me) carry it?!' (CV21.423)

nìŋ = ɻóŋ də̀- ʐá kɛ̀j = mə̀ mă = dzə̀ â, dʑínʲæ̂.
2SG = PL:AGT TO.SP-carry let = NMLZ NEG = be CONF really

N: 'Wasn't it y'all who let (me) carry it, really!' (CV21.424)

The nominalization construction *mə dzə* is the only nominalization construction that can be followed by various evidential and attitude markers. The nominalization constructions *V mə V ɦa* (§8.6.2) and *mə dza* (§8.6.4) contain the correct knowledge attitude marker *ɦa* (§8.8.1.4) and are not followed by any other markers; the constructions *mə dzi* (§8.6.3), and *mə ta* (§8.6.5) do not clearly contain an attitude marker, but always occur clause-finally and seem to function more like attitude markers (§8.8).

8.6.2 *V mə V ɦa*

The *V mə V ɦa* nominalization construction is a type of nominalization that reduplicates the last syllable of a predicate, whether it be part of the verb, as in (1191) and (1192), a particle that follows the main verb, as in (1193) and (1194), or an epistemic construction, as in (1195). The construction is followed by what seems to be the correct knowledge marker *ɦa* (§8.8.1.4), which sometimes fuses with the preceding

reduplicated form, as in (1196) where the form *ɖa* is a fusion of the imperfective marker *ɖaw* and *ɦa*.

(1191) tʰè-dzú ɦà, dəbǔ qǽŋ=ɻə̀ tə́-l̥ʲə́l̥ɛ̀ kɛ̀j ə́-pù
FR.SP-make LINK then neck=PL UP-gaze:COLL let that-under

ɛ̀-bóŋdzù mə́ dzù ɦà.
IN-cover NMLZ.CONSTR

'(You) made (it) and, letting (their)(necks stick out together, (you) covered (them).' (CV09.120)

(1192) nʲé-pʰà qʰə̀-ʈʉ̌ tʰè-tɕʰwì kʰí=bú, "êi... qʰæ̀ʈʉ́ʈʉ́ mə́ ʈʉ̀ ɦà,"
eye-CLF:single OUT-dig FR.SP-feed time=TOP INTJ bitter NMLZ.CONSTR

tɕwə̀.
say:PFV.N.EGO

'When (Hare) dug out one eye and fed it (to Bear), (he) said, "Ai! it is extremely bitter!" ' (TC06.26)

(1193) qɛ́mə̀ dzə̀=ɖàw mə̀ ɖàw ɦà
Tibetan be=IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(Xukisa and Likisa and those places) are also Tibetan.' (CV13.93.3)

(1194) kʰə̀-ɕə̀=séŋ kʰí=bù, ɛ̀má=gòŋ ɛ̀-pʰíŋ=sɛ̀ŋ mə̀ sɛ̀ŋ ɦà.
OUT-go=PFV:EGO time=TOP aunt=AGT IN-flee=PFV:EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'When (we) went outside (to look), aunt fled inside (again).' (CV09.35)

(1195)nìŋ=góŋ tʰè-tɕíŋ pá ɻæ̀ nə̀nì mə̀ nì ɦà.
2SG=AGT FR.SP-see do:PFV:N.EGO seems NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) it seems (to me) that you saw it.' (CV09.39.2)

Four initial observations on its function can be noted. First of all, the construction seems to be used when both speaker and addressee know the information. In (1196) the speakers are talking about general events that everybody knows. In (1197) two speakers are recalling a story from when they were little and encountered a snake together. Examples (1191), (1193) and (1194) above also convey this meaning of shared information.

(1196) ɻú tʲóŋ... nǒŋ ʈæ̀ŋæ̀ŋtɛ́j ʐə̀=ɖáw mə̀ ɖà.
chicken one:CLF:thing so eagle come=IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

L: 'One chicken... eagles[372] come regularly.' (CV04.68)

[372] *ʈæŋæŋtɛ́j* is Lābǎi Pǔmǐ speech variety; the Wǎdū word for 'eagle' is *ʈæ̌* or *ʈʂæŋæŋtɛ́j*.

ɻú = ɻə̀	pǐŋ = wù = là	qʰə̀-qú	ɕə́ = ɖàw	mə̀ ɖà.
chicken = PL	forest = in = also	OUT-lay.egg	go = IPFV:N.EGO	NMLZ.CONSTR

S: 'The chickens normally go to the forest to lay eggs.' (CV04.69)

(1197) tɕíŋmíŋ = bù tóŋ ɕə́ = sèŋ mə̀ sèŋ ɦà.
house = TOP speak go = PFV.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'When I got home, I told (the people there).' (CV22.46.4)

Example (1198) is interesting in that it shows a second person statement with the egophoric marker *=ɖu* instead of the expected non-egophoric *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2). My main consultant said that when the nominalization construction is not present *=ɖu* cannot be used, but instead the sentence would run *ʑêgi kʰi=bu, é jɐmá pʉ̀=ʂu tɕə=ɖaw*. This ties in with the pragmatics of shared knowledge: the egophoric marker *=ɖu* can be used since the speaker has the same knowledge about the situation as the addressee.

(1198) ʑégì kʰì = bù, é jèmá pʉ́ = ʂù tɕə̀ = ɖù mə̀ ɖù ɦà.
later time = TOP 1SG monk do = VOL:SG say = IPFV:EGO:2SG NMLZ.CONSTR

'Later you said, "I want to be a monk." ' (CV11.16)

Secondly, the construction is used to make an utterance more gentle and less direct. An example can be seen in (1195) above. In this example, a previous speaker has just claimed to have auditory evidence for an action; the current speaker now politely protests that the addressee rather had visual evidence for the action. If the sentence had finished with a plain *ɻæ nəni* instead of the nominalization, the statement would have been very direct. Another example that expresses politeness is shown in (1199). Here the speaker gently disagrees with one of the other speakers who claims that an action was done the year before.

(1199) ʑépʉ̀ mǎ = dzà, pʉ́pʉ̀ dzà mə̀ dzà.
last.year NEG = be this.year be NMLZ.CONSTR

'It wasn't last year, it was this year.' (CV14.130)

Thirdly, it can have a counter-expectational sense. Example (1192) above shows Bear who is being tricked by Hare into eating his eyes on the assumption that they will be deliciously sweet. Example (1200) can be said when one orders a beef dish and when it is served it looks like pork, and example (1201) can be said when something is pricier than expected.

(1200) tɕʰwǽ-ʂə́ dzə́ mə̀ dzà
pig-meat be NMLZ.CONSTR

'Oh, it's pork.' (EL:W-C1.9)

(1201) pʰʉ̀-tɛ́j ʐù = ɖáw mə̀ ɖà
price-big very = IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'It is very expensive!' (TC06.26EL)

Fourthly, it seems to be used when a speaker realizes something and additionally wants to pass on that realization to others. (1202) is the concluding statement of a discussion in which the current speaker is trying to work out how the addressee made his way back home. After everything has been explained very clearly, she remarks:

(1202) píɕì mèŋæ̀ŋ = nóŋ ní = dzæ̀ŋ pɛ̀j = nóŋ
last.night afternoon = only LOG = DU older.sibling = COORD

kwèŋ = nóŋ tɛ́ɻɛ̀j pʉ̀ ɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ mə́ tɕʰòŋ ɦà
younger.sibling = COORD together do IN-come:PFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) only last night the two of them, older and younger brother came back together.' (CV02.35.2)

The situation is now clear in her mind and she wants to express that the situation is now totally clear to everybody.

An additional example that should be mentioned does not clearly tie in with any of the above-mentioned examples. In (1203) the use of the nominalization construction implies that the speaker wards off the responsibility of some action: he is afraid A will hold him responsible for Phintshu's action. The neutral answer would be *pʰíŋtsʰu = goŋ qʰə-dzwə̂* 'Phintshu ate it'.

(1203) tə́ tɕídù híŋ = gòŋ qʰə̀-dzwə̂?
this orange who = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO

A: 'Who ate that orange?'

pʰíŋtsʰú = gòŋ qʰə̀-dzwə́ mə̀ dzwə̀ ɦà
T:Phun.tshogs = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

B: 'Phintshu ate it.' (But it is his responsibility, not mine) (CV06.12EL)

8.6.3 *V mə dzi*

The nominalization *mə dzi* is used to make a claim to epistemic authority and to express agreement with the statement of a previous speaker: 'I know that as well, I agree with what you just said'. The pragmatic core is that 'self' knows the information and agrees with 'other' based on that (this can be nicely compared to the construction *mə dza*, see §8.6.4). It can follow a (partial) repetition of the utterance of the previous speaker, as in (1204), and it often occurs with the stative verb *dʑíŋ* 'to be true', as in (1205) and (1206). In (1205) the speaker joins in with what Grandmother Lhamtsho has just been saying about their extended household.

(1204) ə́dʑæ̀ tə́ é=bú, ní=gæ̀ nʲǽ=wù ɕə́ ʐù mə́ dzə̀
that-location:GEN this 1SG=TOP LOG=GEN eye=in go very GNOMIC

tɕàw.
say:IPFV:N.EGO

G: '(He) said that he is very satisfied[373] with me.' (CV21.278.2)

ɕə́ ʐù=qɛ́j mə́ dzì, ə́jòŋ, lú tʰɛ̀-bɛ́ hòŋ-dʑí
go very=EXPT NMLZ.CON INTJ work FR.SP-develop in-location

Y: '(He will be very satisfied, oh, working over there up the valley (...)' (CV21.279)

(1205) wùɕə̌ dəbú-nə́ tʰʲæ̌ ɻ̥ǽŋ tí=bù dzóŋ
New.Year then-near about long one=TOP sit

ɖòŋ=qɛ̀j=ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀, é=dzə̀, há...
become=EXPT=IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC Q=be INTJ

L: '(...) so at New Year it will be good to sit around a bit longer, isn't it?' Hahaha! (CV21.33)

dʑínʲæ̂, ə́jù dʑíŋ mə́ dzì.
really INTJ true NMLZ.CON

B: 'Really! Ojo, (what you are saying) is really true!' (CV21.34.1)

(1206) ɕǐŋ mǎ mə́ dzə̀, dʑíŋ mə́ dzì, ɦěŋ, dʑíŋ mə́ dzì,
Ch:surname Ch:Ma GNOMIC true NMLZ:CON INTJ true NMLZ.CON

mə́=ɻæ̀ édʲæ̀ ɭ̥átsʰú dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tóŋ kɛ̀=ɖâw.
person=PL:GEN grandma T:lHa.mtsho speech speak capable=IPFV:N.EGO

'(We all) have the surname Ma, it's true, right, it's true; that Grandmother Lhatshu speaks really well.' (CV21.50)

The use of *mə dzi* can simply mark agreement with the previous speaker, but can also be used as a turn-taking device used by a speaker to indicate that she has the same knowledge (epistemic authority) as the previous speaker and wants to take a turn at communicating this knowledge as well. This turn-taking use is illustrated in (1207). One of the speakers has been telling about an old man who visited a few days previous to the conversation, and the speaker in (1207) wants to take a turn at telling the rest of the story. She agrees with the previous speaker and then moves on to tell what happened when the old man left their household.

[373] An idiom, literally phrased as 'to go in one's eyes'.

(1207) ə́bàw, mà = ɖə́ = gə́ tɕʉ̌ʂə̀ qóŋqòŋmə́mə́ = gə̀ nə́ tí
INTJ NEG = resemble = GEN Ch:merely extroverted = GEN thus one

tɕʰòŋ = sì mə̀ dzì.
come:N.EGO = INF NMLZ.CON

'My oh my! (He) was an extraordinarily extroverted one.' (CV07.78.1)

ní = gə̀ gwěŋ = bì tɕʰə̌ tə́-tɕí ə́ = kə̀j = sèŋ
LOG = GEN horse = DAT food UP-feed Q = let = PFV:EGO

'(He asked) whether (we) had fed his horse and (...)' (CV07.78.2)

Additionally, the use of *mə dzi* has a softening effect, expressing agreement with others in a gentle, moderate and not too straightforward way, as in (1208), where the first speaker is considered not so courteous in her behaviour towards others and the second person agrees in a gentle way. If the normal nominalization *mə dzə* had been used instead, it would have been very straightforward.

(1208) ə̀ = bî..., ə̀ = bí m̥ə́ pʉ̀ mə̌ = wèŋ tù = lá tɕə̌
1SG = DAT 1SG = DAT person do NEG = be.able anything = also say

mə́ = hà tɕə̀w.
NEG:EMPH = ought say:IPFV:N.EGO

L: '(My husband) said to me, "(You) can't behave like a person, don't say anything at all." (CV14.138)

dʑínʲə́ dʑíŋ mə́ dzì.
really true NMLZ.CON

Y: 'Really, that's true!' (CV14.139)

8.6.4 *V mə dza*

The nominalization *mə dza* is used when speakers know or imply that the addressee knows the information that is being shared. The pragmatic core is that 'other' knows the information and 'self' agrees with 'other' based on that (this can be nicely compared to the construction *mə dzi*, see §8.6.3). Thus the use of *mə dza* can sometimes carry polite overtones, as in the situation where speakers tell an addressee how something should be done. If speakers use the general nominalization *mə dzə*, the utterance is very straight and rather curt, but if they use *mə dza*, they are implying that the addressee knows about it and is not stupid. This gives face to the addressee, and thus makes it more polite. The form [dzɑ] seems to be a fusion of the equational copula *dzə̂* and the correct knowledge marker *ɦa* (§8.8.1.4).

An example expressing the shared information between the speaker and the addressees is given in (1209). The speaker addressees people from her extended household who

all know this information. Example (1210) shows a polite reading: the speaker is telling the addressee how something needs to be done, without being to directive.

(1209) é-bʉ̀ = bù, dəbǔ qʰɛ̀tsɛ̀j-mə́ jɛ̀hǎ lázʉ̀ tʰɛ̀-dzù
1-household = TOP then small-NMLZ all Ch:cured.meat FR.SP-make

ɦà ʈʰɛ́ tʲóŋ tʲóŋ tà dzù = ɖàw
LINK all.the.time one:CLF:thing one:CLF:thing only make = IPFV:N.EGO

mə́ dzə́ mə̀ dzà, tsə́gôŋ.
GNOMIC NMLZ.INCL pork.back

'Our household made cured meat of all the small ones, and only made pork back of some (big ones).' (CV21.146)

(1210) l̥ʲɛ́ kwí kɛ̀j = bù dəbǔ nɛ̀-pʰá kʰì, l̥ʲɛ́ = là
tongue EXIST.IN let = TOP then DOWN-cut.in.half time tongue = also

nə̀-pʰà tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ = qɛ̀j bàw, ə̀-dʑí = lá pʰá
two-CLF:single FR.SP-become = EXPT CONTR this-location = also cut.in.half

dzə̀ mə̀ dzà.
be NMLZ.INCL

'If (you) let the tongue stay inside, when you cut (the head) in half, the tongue will also turn into two halves regrettably, (we) need to also cut (it) in half here.....' (CV18.46.2)

When a clause ends in the equational copula *dzə̂* and is nominalized, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether it is the *mə dza* nominalization or the *V mə V ɦa* nominalization (§8.6.2), since both result in the surface structure *dzə mə dza*. Structurally, however, the nominalized clauses should be interpreted as [*dzə mə dzə ɦa*] versus [*dzə* [*mə dza*]]. The two nominalizations show certain overlap (cf. the discussion of *V mə V ɦa* in §8.6.2): they can both express shared knowledge and render a polite reading, and they both seem to contain the correct knowledge marker *ɦa* (§8.8.1.4).

Another type of homophony is easier to differentiate. This homophony happens when the clause-final confirmative marker *â* (§8.8.2.2) follows the general nominalization *mə dzə* (§8.6.1) which in faster speech has a surface pronunciation [mə dzɑ]. This is easy to differentiate from the nominalization *mə dza*, since the nominalization *mə dza* does not appear in interrogative clauses. Thus, since example (1211) is a question, it is clear that the nominalization construction used is not *mə dza*, but *mə dzə*, followed by the question particle *â*.

(1211) ə́-pù tə̀ = ɻæ̀ ɕǽ kɛ́j = ɖáw mə̀ dzà, ə́-pà
that-under this = PL:GEN cut let = IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.INCL that-under:GEN

tɕə̀ɻì = gǽ pû?
spring = GEN under

'Is it allowed to cut under there? Below the spring under there?' (CV04.60)

8.6.5 *V mə ta*

The nominalization *mə ta* ~ *mə tʲa*[374] indicates a sudden result of purposeful looking and alerts others to the fact. The origin of *ta* is unclear at this point.[375] *mə ta* can be used when somebody has told you that at a certain place in the road you will find something and you suddenly see it:

(1212) âw, ə̀-dʑí dzə́ mə̀ tà
INTJ this-location be NMLZ.ALERT

'Oh, it's right here!' (CV24.15.2EL)

This is also illustrated in example (1213) where speaker L is unable to locate a certain piece of meat and speaker N points it out to her. Thereupon she is able to locate it and ends her utterance with *mə ta*.

(1213) sǒŋ sòŋ = bú dzə́ mà, tʲóŋ kí tʰɛ̀-ʐwà.
three three = TOP be INFO one:CLF:thing where FR.SP-carry:PFV:N.EGO

L: 'Three (pieces of meat) is (right), where did (that) one piece go?' (CV21.581)

ə̀-tû, ə̀-tû, mæ̀ŋ-tú tʲóŋ tɛ̂j.
that-under that-under lower.end-under one:CLF:thing EXIST.H

N: 'On here, on here, there is one on the lower end (of the tripod).' (CV21.582)

ɦǎw, ə̀-tú mæ̀ŋ-tú kʰə́-twì = sì mə̀ tà.
INTJ this-under lower.end-under OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO = INF NMLZ.ALERT

L: 'Oh, (somebody) put it on the lower end.' (CV21.583)

In addition to realizing something, *mə ta* also implies that one wants to alert others to the fact. In example (1214) the conversation has been a discussion about where the

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[374] This free alternation between the palatalized and non-palatalized consonant is yet another indication of the wave of palatalization that is active in the Pǔmǐ area (cf. §2.1.7, §2.4.5 and §2.4.7).

[375] No other *ta* morpheme in the language shows this palatalization alternation, so it cannot be clearly related to anything else

household originated from. It is said that two brothers separated many generations ago; one went to the lowlands and the other to the highlands. Throughout the discussion it became clear that the people of the current household are the descendants of the older brother, and the speaker in (1214) wants to share his preliminary conclusion with the others. Note that he is not totally sure of the epistemic truth of his statement and frames it as epistemic uncertainty using the construction *si ɖaw* (§8.4.3).

(1214) nǒŋ mə́ = ɻə̀ ɻóŋdíŋ-mə-bʉ̀ pɛ̀j tɕíŋ-bʉ̀
so person = PL lowland-person-household older.sibling child-household

tɕə̀ kʰì = bù, ìŋ-bʉ́ pɛ̀j-bʉ́ dzə̀
say time = TOP 1:INCL-household older.sibling-household be

sì ɖàw mə̀ tà.
EPIST:probably NMLZ.ALERT

'But the people of the lowland say that we are the older child's household, so we probably are the older brother's household.' (CV25.20)

A little bit later on in the same conversation after more discussion the same speaker repeats with more certainty this time:

(1215) pɛ̀j-bʉ́ dzə̀ = ɖàw mə̀ tà,
older.sibling-household be = IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.ALERT

pɛ̀j-bʉ́ dzə̀ mà.
older.sibling-household be INFO

'It's the older brother's household, it is the older brother's household.' (CV25.27)

In the second clause he uses the informative attitude marker *ma* (§8.8.1.3) which usually marks that the speaker informs others strongly about a certain situation.

Depending on the context *mə ta* can carry overtones of haughtiness, for example when alerting someone to something they should know but do not: "You don't know this? It's like this..." or even "Don't you know it is this way?! I'm telling you…". Example (1216) has a speaker repeat somebody else's invitation to me (the researcher whom she assumes might not know enough Pǔmǐ yet to understand) and she wants to make totally clear that I get the gist of what the previous speaker has said:[376]

[376] Note also the chunky information structure. She probably assumes that that will make it easier for me to process.

(1216) tɕíŋmíŋ tə́-jí tɕə̀=ɖù̀w mə̀ tʲà, tə́-ɕòŋ,
home UP-come:IMP:SG say=IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.ALERT UP-go:IMP:SG

tə̀-bə̌ wù, ə́sæ̀?
3-household:GEN interior CONFIRM

'(She) is telling (you) to come up to (her) house, go up there, to their house, okay?' (CV21.28)

Example (1217) is a question about a word that is used in a libation ritual, and speaker N takes it as something that speaker P should know, since the ritual is often performed and people can usually recall the words from memory.

(1217) pʰéjíɖéjí míŋ=gæ̀ jìsə̀ dzâ?
Phajidraji what=GEN Ch:meaning be

P: 'What is the meaning of 'Phajidraji'?' (CV24.32)

pʰéjíɖéjí=bù dəbə̌ (…) tə̀=gæ̌ jìsə́ dzə́ mə̀ tà.
Phajidraji=TOP then this=GEN Ch:meaning be NMLZ.ALERT

N: 'As for 'Phajidraji', the meaning of this is (…) (don't you know?).' (CV24.33)

In conclusion on the different nominalization structures introduced in this section, this excerpt from a conversation nicely shows the use of the different nominalization constructions in context:

(1218) ʑépɯ̀ é ɕǽ mə̀ dzə̀, é=dzə̀? âw, ʑépɯ̀ mə̌=dzə̀.
last.year 1SG cut GNOMIC Q=be INTJ last.year NEG=be

P: 'Last year it was I who cut it, isn't it? Oh, not last year.' (CV14.107)
(gnomic statement; self-correction)

(three lines left out)

ʑépɯ̀ dzə́ mə̀ dzì.
last.year be NMLZ.CON

Z: 'It was last year.' (CV14.111)
(agreement with the first utterance of speaker P)

tɕùbɯ̀ tsə́w=ɮǽ pɯ̀ dzə̀ mə̀ dzà.
earth.wall pound=PL:GEN year be NMLZ.INCL

S: 'It was the year of building the earth wall.' (CV14.112)
(polite disagreement, the year of building was not 'last year')

ɻ̥ú̞pù̞ dzà = qɛ̀j, tɕùbù̞ tsáw = ɻ̥ǽ pù̞, ə́sèŋ?
year.before.last be = EXPT earth.wall pound = PL:GEN year AGR

Y: 'It must have been the year before last, the year of building the earth wall, right?' (CV14.113)
(indefinite statement: = qɛj makes it epistemically less certain than dzə by itself)

nǒŋ ʐ̥ɛ́pù̞ mǎ = dzà â?
so last.year NEG = be CONF

Z: 'So it wasn't last year?' (CV14.114)

mæ̂?
What

Y: 'What?' (CV14.115)

ʐ̥ɛ́pù̞ dzà mə̀ dzà.
last.year be NMLZ.INCL

L: 'It was last year.' (CV14.116)
(polite restatement)

ɻ̥ú̞pù̞ tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ mə̀ dzà.
year.before.last FR.SP-become GNOMIC

P: 'It is already two years ago.' (CV14.117)
(initial speaker's restatement phrased as a gnomic statement)

ɻ̥ú̞pù̞ dzà, ʐ̥ɛ́pù̞ dzà tɕàw tʲɛ̌j.
year.before.last be last.year be say:IPFV:N.EGO INTJ

S: 'It was the year before last. Look, (he) said it was last year.' (CV14.118)
(epistemically certain statement; the speaker makes fun of speaker Z)

ʐ̥ɛ́pù̞ té-kù kʰə̀-n̥í = sèŋ mə̀ sèŋ ɦà, tʰùlì
last.year one-CLF:year OUT-rest = PFV:EGO NMLZ.CONSTR hare

wú = ɻ̥æ̀ pù̞ kʰə̀-n̥í = sèŋ mə̀ sèŋ ɦà.
zodiac.cycle = PL:GEN year OUT-rest = PFV:EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

Y: 'Last year we rested one year. In the year of the Hare we rested.' (CV14.119)
(realization that will influence the discussion, so speaker shares it)

(introduction of new conversation topic)

8.6.6 *The question of embedding*

A question that should be dealt with now is whether Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has non-embedded nominalization or not. As has been noted in §8.6.1, several functions that are expressed

by non-embedded nominalization constructions in other Tibeto-Burman languages are expressed by embedded nominalization in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. There are no examples in the corpus of clausal nominalizations that end in a nominalizer *mə* clause-finally, but all clausal nominalizations are followed by either the equational copula *dzə̂* (§8.6.1) or the forms *dzi* (§8.6.3), *dza* (§8.6.4), or *ta* (§8.6.5). As suggested above, the form *dza* is a fusion of the copula and the correct knowledge marker.

The origin and status of the morpheme *dzi*, however, is not clear. Two analyses are possible. The first analysis is that *dzi* is a fusion of something with the equational copula *dzə̂*. This is a likely analysis, since the initial consonants are the same, and it is in line with the analysis of the form *dza*. However, one would have to account for the final [i] by positing something like a morpheme *–i* that merged with the copula to produce this form. A morpheme *-i* has not been attested elsewhere in the language. If one analyses *dzi* as a form of the equational copula, the nominalization construction *mə dzi* should be interpreted as embedded nominalization.

Another analysis is that the morpheme *dzi* is unrelated to the equational copula *dzə̂*, and is rather an attitude particle. In that case, *mə dzi* should be analysed as a non-embedded nominalization. This would expain why this nominalization construction cannot be followed by other attitude particles (whereas the general nominalization construction *mə dzə* can be followed by attitude particles).

The form *dzi* occurs in one other environment outside of the nominalization construction: it follows the permissive/suggestive auxiliary *ta* (§7.9.7) and softens the force of the suggestion, as illustrated in (1219). Grammatically it could be left out.

(1219) nìŋ = ɻə́ tʰúlátɕí bôŋ, ɛ̀ = ɻæ̌ pù tswéŋ ʑə́ tà
2 = PL Ch:tractor EXIST.POSS 1:EXCL = PL:GEN under pull come can

dzì, ɻ̊û.
be.CON pine.torch

'You have a tractor, (you) can come take pine torches down under our place.' (CV14.250)

One could say that since it follows *dzi* auxiliary, it should rather be interpreted as an attitude particle. However, according to my main consultant the normal equational copula *dzə̂* is used in the Mùdǐqīng speech variety and his intuition is that *dzi* is a copular form. Based on these facts, I am tending towards the analysis of *dzi* as a copular form and its corresponding nominalization construction as an embedded nominalization.

The morpheme *ta* in the nominalization construction *mə ta* cannot be interpreted as a form of the equational copula, but what the origin is, is not clear at this point. The

attitudinal situation marker *ta* (§8.8.1.8) is a dialectal form that is rarely used in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Other forms such as the suggestive auxiliary *tâ* (§7.9.7), the morpheme *ta* that appears in plural constructions (§10.7), or the adverb *ta* 'only' are homophonous, but do not show the palatalization alternation that *ta* in *mə ta* ~ *mə tʲa* shows. Thus it is difficult to establish whether *ta* should be taken as an attitude marker of some sort, in which the nominalization is non-embedded, or whether is is verbal, in which case the nominalization is embedded.

Thus a more definitive answer to the question whether Pǔmǐ has non-embedded nominalization awaits further research.

8.6.7 *Double nominalizations*

Double nominalizations occur in two possible orders, [*mə dzə*] [*mə dzí*] and [*mə dzə*] [*mə dza*], as shown in (1220) and (1221). The first shows a gnomic statement (*mə dzə*) that has just been realized by the speaker (*=ɖaw*) who agrees with the previous speaker (*mə dzí*). Example (1221) is an equative clause with a nominalized constituent (*nə́-mə*) that is presented as a gnomic statement (*mə dzə*) and indicates shared knowledge (*mə dza*). The other nominalizations described in §8.6 do not co-occur.

(1220) nə́ tí mǽŋ [mə́ dzə̀=ɖàw] [mə̀ dzì], əsèŋ?
thus one name GNOMIC=IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CON AGR

'He was really called that, right?' (CV09.69)

(1221) tɕʰèʈʰəlì tá dzə́=qɛ̀j, hòŋ-dʑǽ nǒŋ l̥ʲèkʰáw [nə́-mə́] [dzə̀]
Cordyceps only be=EXPT in-location:GEN so earring thus-NMLZ be

[mə̀ dzə̀] [mə̀ dzà].
GNOMIC NMLZ.INCL

'It was not only Cordyceps, but also over there (we) ate the 'one like an earring' (=hazel flower).' (CV21.301)

8.7 Co-occurrence of post-verbal marking

This chapter has introduced the different non-egophoric/evidential, epistemic and nominalization constructions and shown their functions indicating involvement of the speaker, source of knowledge, degree of certainty about the truth of the proposition, inclusive versus exclusive knowledge, and speaker attitude. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows a complex layering of the different non-egophoric/evidential markers, epistemic constructions and nominalization constructions. The most elaborate example from the corpus is given in (1222). The different chunks are bracketed.

(1222) nìŋ-bɯ́ qʰǒŋ ɖwɛ̀ = [qɛ́j = ɖàw] [sì ɖàw]
2-household life break = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

[tɕə̀ = ɖàw] [tɕàw] [mə̀ tɕàw ɦà].
say = IPFV:N.EGO HSY NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) your household will probably soon die, (he) said, it is said.' (CV20.47)

This section will illustrate the different combinational possibilities that are attested in the corpus. Subsequent research might show additional combinations.

One of the problems in the combination of different markers is how to interpret the layers. As has already been shown for *si ɖaw* (§8.4.3) and *mə dzə qɛj* (§8.4.6) above, the combination of these markers forms a construction that is more than the added meaning of the separate parts: both *si ɖaw* and *mə dzə qɛj* should be interpreted as one layer ([*si ɖaw*] / [*mə dzə qɛj*]) instead of two layers ([*si*] [*ɖaw*] / [*mə dzə*][*qɛj*]).[377] There is one other combination, *qɛj ɖaw* that appears in (1222), that could possibly be seen as a single construction.

The combination *qɛj ɖaw* denotes that a speaker has current evidence (expressed by the non-egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖaw*) of the initial stages of a development that will result in a future state (expressed by the expectational *=qɛj*). Depending on the action that is portrayed by the predicate, there will be more or less time between the time of speaking and the resulting end point of the action which can render the prospective meaning 'about to', as in (1223) and (1224). The use of *qɛj ɖaw* is different from the use of *=qɛj*, as show in (1225), where no indication is given of current evidence, but only of expectation. In that example, *qɛj ɖaw* could be used as well, since the speaker does have current evidence of the size of the addressee's feet. The use of *qɛj ɖaw* would denote that the development of the foot has already started, but the endpoint of it being big is still years away.

(1223) lùnʲǎŋ tə́- tɕʰwǽ qɛ̀j ɖàw kʰì = nòŋ, mɛ̀l̥ʲú = qʰù jɛ́sɛ̀ŋ = tì = gòŋnì,
python UP-pass PROSP time = only tail = on arrow = INDF = INS

ɦǎw-nə́ pɯ́ ɛ̀-tʲàw tə́ pá = sì tɕàw.
this-thus do IN-touch one do:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'When the python was about to pass by, (he) touched the tail a bit with an arrow like this, it is said.' (TC02.63)

[377] This is the main reason that I gloss them together.

(1224) jǎw pɨ́qá ɦǒŋ ɦǒŋ nə́ pɨ́ nɛ̀-dzóŋ ɦà pɨ́qá nə́-tsà
again shoe INTJ INTJ thus do DOWN-sit LINK shoe two-CLF:section

dzù qɛ̀j ɖâw.
make PROSP

'Hey, hey, (your) shoe; when you sit like this, (your) shoe is about to break in two parts.' (CV13.48.2)

(1225) ʈʰə́ ɕɛ́ ʐǔ, nǒŋjàɛ́ káw pʰíŋtsʰú nə̀ kʰì=bù,
foot be.big very so uncle(MB) T:Phun.tshogs thus time=TOP

káw pʰíŋtsʰú=gàɛ ʈʰə́ nə̀=qɛ̀j.
uncle(MB) T:Phun.tshogs=GEN foot thus=EXPT

'(Your) feet are very big, when (you are) the same as Uncle Phintshu later, (your feet) will be like Uncle Phintshu's feet.' (CV01.41)

Based on the current data, the post-verbal constituent order is laid out in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10 Postverbal marking

V	Customary marking	Evidential marking (aspect, modality)	Nominalization	Epistemic marking	Attitude marking
	weŋ (§8.5) *qʰu* (§8.5)	(Vinfl) ø (§8.3.1) *ɖaw* (§8.3.2) *qɛj* (§8.3.3) *qɛj ɖaw* (§8.7) *si* (§8.3.1) *tiŋ* (§8.3.4)	*mə dzə* (§8.6.1) *mə dzə ɖaw* (§8.7) *mə dzə si* (§8.7)	*si ɖaw* (§8.4.3) *sə ti* (§8.4.4) *mə dzə qɛj* (§8.4.6) *ɻæ nəni* (§8.4.5) *ɕæ ʈa* (§8.4.5)	*mə V ɦa* (§8.6.2) *mə dzi* (§8.6.3) *mə dza* (§8.6.4) *mə ta* (§8.6.5) several markers (§8.8)

The customary markers *qʰu* and *weŋ* (§8.5) still occupy the auxiliary slot, in that *weŋ* can be followed by *=ɖaw* and *=si*, as in (1226) and (1227). Both can also be followed by nominalization and attitude markers, as in (1228), and epistemic marking as in (1162) above. The combination in (1227) is not often used: there is only one example in the corpus.

(1226) ɦə̌, dʑínʲǽ ə́-qʰù kʰə̀-tì wèŋ = ɖàw.
INTJ really that-on OUT-put CUST.EXCL = IPFV:N.EGO

'Oh, (you two households) really put it on top.' (CV21.571)

(1227) nǐ = bì = bù tɕʰú lɛ̀j wèŋ = sî.
spring = DAT = TOP crops sow CUST.EXCL = INF

'In spring we (start to) grow crops.' (CL03ed.4)

(1228) dəbǔ ʈɛ́ɕə́ tsʰə̀ʐì ɦà pʰɛ́jíɖɛ́jí tɕə̀ ɦà nə́ pɯ́
then T:bKra.shis T:Tshe.ring LINK Phajidraji say LINK thus do

tì-dʑì tə́-tɕʰí qʰù mə̀ dzə̀ mà, ěŋ!...
up-location UP-feed CUST.INCL GNOMIC INFO INTJ

'Then, one says Zhaci Tshering 'Phajidraji' and one goes up (the geneology) like that.' (CV24.47.3)

The evidential markers *=qɛj* and *=ɖaw* and the construction *qɛj ɖaw* can be followed by several epistemic constructions and attitude markers. See also examples (1143), (1147), (1149), (1159), (1163) and (1206) above.

(1229) jóŋtɕíŋ = tù nʲǽ ʈʰə́ ɕɛ́ = ɖàw sə̀ tì
T:dByangs.cin = on 2SG:GEN foot be.big = IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:most.probably

kʰì?
trail

'Your feet are most probably bigger than Yongjin's?' (CV01.45)

(1230) qʰètí pɯ́ = ɖáw ɻæ̀ nənì.
certain.thing do = IPFV:N.EGO seems

'It seems (to me) that (they) do certain things.' (CV21.578.2)

(1231) nɛ̀ = gə́ ɛ̀káw-lì pʰíŋtsʰú dzə́ = qɛ́j sì ɖàw.
brain = DEF uncle(MB)-DIM T:Phun.tshogs eat = EXPT EPIST:probably

'Young Uncle Phintshu will probably eat the brain.' (CV18.97)

(1232) dʲǎw qʰǽtɕí ɛ̀-ʑwéŋ = qɛ̀j bàw.
again Kaji IN-block = EXPT CONTR

'(...) (they) will block (people) at Kaji (I'm afraid).' (CV14.255)

(1233) pì níŋ tséŋ pɯ̀ ɕə̀ qɛ̀j ɖàw sə̀ tì, əsɛ̀ŋ?
belly painful hit do go PROSP EPIST:most.probably AGR

'(He) will most probably get diarrhea, right?' (CV07.81.2)

The evidential markers *=si* (§8.3.1) and *=tin* (§8.3.4) can only be followed by the epistemic construction *ɻæ nəni* (§8.4.5), as in (1234) and (1153) above, and different attitude markers and constructions, as in (1235) and (1236).

(1234) káw=gæ̀ ɻɨ̀tɕʰí jǎw ʂɛ́j=sì ɻæ̀ nə̀ nɛ̀-pɨ̀
uncle(MB)=GEN front again go:PFV:N.EGO=INF it.seems DOWN-do

kʰə̀-tì=séŋ
OUT-put=PFV.EGO

'(...) but in front of uncle (I) pretended that he had gone (...)' (CV04.24.2)

(1235) wútɕí ɻə́=nʲæ̀ ʂɛ́j=tìŋ bàw
Ch:Wujin first=just go:PFV.N.EGO=AUD CONTR

'(...) (I) heard Wujin leave first, (...)' (CV02.86)

(1236) ɛ̀káw-lì tə́ ɕì ʂɛ́j=sì mə̀ tà.
uncle(MB)-DIM 3SG lead go:PFV.N.EGO=INF NMLZ.ALERT

'Young uncle went to pick (her) up.' (CV21.115)

The general nominalization construction *mə dzə* is interesting in that it can both precede and follow evidential markers. It can follow the evidential markers *=qɛj* and *=ɖaw* and the construction *qɛj ɖaw*, and it can be followed by the evidential markers *=qɛj*, *=ɖaw*, and *=si*. The combination *mə dzə qɛj* has been shown to be an epistemic construction (§8.4.6) and will not be treated here. The other combinations are illustrated below:

(1237) búbúlì ʂə̀jì-swǐ dzə́=qɛ̀j mə̀ dzə̀.
Bubuli Ch:eleven-Ch:years.old be=EXPT GNOMIC

'Bubuli will be eleven.' (CV12.9)

(1238) ɻwɛ̀ l̥í=ɖáw mə̀ dzə̀ â?
yak herd=IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC CONF

'(Their household) is herding yaks?' (CV14.237)

(1239) jǎw tə́=ɻə́=bì ɛ̀=tɕæ̀=bù, tóŋhóŋʈʂʰɛ́j=wù kɛ̀
again this=PL=DAT Q=calculate=TOP Ch:Dongfeng.truck=in afraid

tí ɕə́=qɛ̀j=ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀.
one go=EXPT=IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

'(...) if one calculates these ones (=tractors), a lot more will go in a Dongfeng truck.' (CV19.49)

The combination of the nominalization construction *mə dzə* (§8.6.1) and the current evidential *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2) indicates that the gnomic situation has just recently been

discovered by the speaker: an instance of mirativity. (This is often followed by the attitude marker *kʰi*, described in §8.8.1.12). This is illustrated in examples (1240) and (1241) where the speaker had not expected that situation (see also example (1049) above). In (1240), the speaker mentions that people from a certain village are taking a different route than in the past, since they recently moved. This is relatively new information that has not been incorporated into the knowledge system of the speaker. In example (1241) the speaker had been told that the addressee was in a certain place, but then he ran into her in a different place.

(1240) ěŋ, ʑǔ mà = tʰòŋ kʰí qʰʉ̀ = góŋ è-tʲʉ́ ɦà
INTJ lift NEG = can:N.EGO time head = INS IN-brace LINK

ɻɛ́ɕɛ̀ ɕɛ́ ɕə́ mə̀ dzə̀ = ɖàw kʰì
packload pack.load go GNOMIC = IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'Yes, when (he) was not able to lift (he) used his head to lift and pack luggage, (...)' (CV01.9)

(1241) nǒŋ l̥àmə́ = gòŋ nǐŋ hòŋ-pú ʑì tɕə̀ = ɖàw kʰì,
so Lhamu = AGT 2SG in-under EXIST.AN say = IPFV:N.EGO time

nǐŋ ə̀-pú ʑí mə̀ dzə̀ = ɖàw.
2SG this-under EXIST.AN GNOMIC = IPFV:N.EGO

'But Lhamu said you were over inwards, but you are actually here!' (PC04w.2.6)

The nominalization construction *mə dzə* (§8.6.1) can also be followed by the inferential evidential *=si* (§8.3.1), but it is not clear how the resulting meaning differs from a plain nominalization construction. In the corpus there are only three examples, listed here for further research.

(1242) ɕú è-dʲáw = nʲæ̀ tɕʰù lɛ̌j = bù nɛ̀-tsʰá mə́ dzə̀ = sì.
paddy.rice IN-plant = just crop sow = TOP DOWN-be.finished GNOMIC = INF

'As soon as the paddy rice has been planted, the sowing of crops is finished.' (CL03ed.15)

(1243) wùɕə̀-ɻ̊ú = bù tə́gí = bì = nòŋ tɕʰwæ̀-kʰwɛ̀-tɕʰwǽ-l̥ʲɛ̀ = nòŋ
new.year-pine.torch = TOP beginning = on = only pig-heart-pig-tongue = COORD

tsə́kíʂə́dʑì = nòŋ də̀-ʐə́ tɕə̀bù ɕə́ = qʰú mə̀ dzə̀ = sì.
pork.back.limb = COORD TO.SP-carry because go = CUST.INCL GNOMIC = INF

'One needs to go for the new year pine torches only at beginning of the month and carry the pig heart and tongue and the pork back slice and limbs.' (CV18.54.2)

(1244) ɖʐə̀kʰǽ = bù tɕʰwí ʐù mə́ dzə̀ = sì.
society = TOP good very GNOMIC = INF

'(…) nowadays our society is very good.' (TC10.56)

The epistemic constructions *si ɖaw* (§8.4.3), *sə ti* (§8.4.4) and *mə dzə qɛ̀j* (§8.4.6) are only followed by attitude markers and constructions, as in (1245) and (1246), and *si ɖaw* can also be followed by *mə ta* (§8.6.5), as in (1247). The epistemic construction *ɻæ nəni* (§8.4.5) is only followed by the *mə V ɦa* construction (§8.6.2), as in (1195) above, and *ɕæ = ʈa* (§8.4.5) is not followed by anything else.

(1245) ɛ́ = ɻə̀ pʉ̀dìmá = ɻə́ = bù jǎw sə̀qú = nóŋ-sòŋ tɕə̀
1:EXCL = PL old.woman = PL = TOP again forty = COORD-three say

tséŋ sə́ tì kʰì
N.CONTR EPIST:most.probably TRAIL

'We old women most probably say that there are thirty-three (earth gods), (…)' (CV23.18.3)

(1246) qà-pá tə́ = gə́ = bù nɛ̀-dʑóŋ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j bàw.
down-under:GEN this = DEF = TOP DOWN-be.pierced EPIST CONTR

'The one down there will probably have a leak.' (CV16.12.1)

(1247) ìŋ-bʉ́ pɛ̀j-bʉ́ dzə̀ sì ɖàw mə̀ tà.
1:INCL-household older.sibling-household be EPIST:probably NMLZ.ALERT

'(…) so we probably are the older brother's household.' (CV25.20)

The attitude markers and attitudinal nominalization constructions can only be followed by the tag-question like attitude marker *ə̂seŋ* (§8.8.2.6).

8.8 Clause-final (attitude) markers

Attitude markers are clause-final particles that have scope over the whole sentence, rather than the predicate. They express the speaker's emotion or attitude about the proposition or towards the addressee, and some can express level of certainty as well. Similar markers can be found in other Tibeto-Burman languages as well. Post (2007:612) calls such markers 'highly pragmatically-oriented, often clause-final functional words'. Matisoff (1973:365,380) talks about final unrestricted particles, of which some function like punctuation marks. He equates the declarative with a full stop [.], the dubitative with suspension points [...], the interrogative with a question mark [?], the persuasive with an exclamation point plus question mark [!?], the quotative with quotation marks [" "] and the interjectory with an exclamation point [!] (1973:366) and notes that their 'only function is to convey a lively, vivid or ejaculatory flavor to the utterances in which they occur'.

Attitude markers do usually not co-occur in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Exceptions are the marker *noŋ* (§8.8.2.1) which can be followed by *ʲɛj/ʲæ* (§8.8.2.3) and *wɛj* (§8.8.2.4), and the tag question marker *ə̂seŋ* (§8.8.2.6) which can follow several other attitude markers. The marker *noŋ* developed from a coordination marker into a clause-final attitude marker through a process similar to insubordination (this is discussed in §10.5.3) and can therefore co-occur with the above-mentioned interrogative markers. The marker *ə̂seŋ* is functionally similar to the other attitude markers, but is structurally more like a tag question: it is often separated from the clause by a pause. The same is true for the confirmation marker *ə̂sæ* (§8.8.2.7), which however does not co-occur with other attitude markers.

The attitude markers will be presented in two parts: declarative attitude markers are dealt with in §8.8.1 and interrogative attitude markers in §8.8.1.12. These labels are not to be taken as mood categories: the attitude markers do not really change the mood of the clause from declarative to interrogative, but rather occur with one-way statements (declarative attitude markers), or statements that need some kind of reaction from the addressee or express that some kind of question exists in the mind of the speaker that does not necessarily need an answer (interrogative attitude markers). Two residual markers are explored in §8.8.3.

Roughly half of the attitude particles are toneless. This means that they take on the tone of a preceding tone-bearing element. In reality, since they occur clause-finally and are often preceded by other post-verbal toneless elements, they often appear with a low surface level pitch. Additionally, when they follow a focused tone-bearing element, as in (1263), (1270) and (1272), tone from that element does not spread to the attitude marker, and the attitude marker appears in a low surface level pitch. Attitude markers that are presented without tone marks in this section are analysed to be toneless. Following is a list of attitude markers:

Table 8.11 Attitude markers

	Form	Function	Gloss	Section
DECLARATIVE MARKERS	*ɦǎw*	warning and attention marker	WARN	§8.8.1.1
	ɦǒŋ	attention marker	ATTENT	§8.8.1.2
	ma	informative marker	INFO	§8.8.1.3
	ɦa	correct knowledge marker	CORR	§8.8.1.4
	dzæ	reminder marker	REMIND	§8.8.1.5
	di	urging marker	URG	§8.8.1.6
	ɦaw	situation marker	SITU	§8.8.1.7

	Form	Function	Gloss	Section
	ta	situation marker Labai	SITU	§8.8.1.8
	baw	negative contrastive situation marker	NEGCON	§8.8.1.9
	ɛ̂mu	positive attitude marker	POS	§8.8.1.10
	lʲɛ̌j	dissatisfaction marker	DISS	§8.8.1.11
	kʰi	trailing knowledge marker	TRAIL	§8.8.1.12
	ɐla	epistemic certainty marker	CERT	§8.4.1
	bǎ	speculative marker	SPEC	§8.4.2
INTERROGATIVE MARKERS	*noŋ*	question marker	QUEST	§8.8.2.1
	â	confirmative marker	CONF	§8.8.2.2
	lʲæ / lʲɛj	rhetorical marker	RHET	§8.8.2.3
	wɛj	puzzlement marker	PUZ	§8.8.2.4
	tʲæ	repetition marker	REP	§8.8.2.5
	ə̂seŋ	agreement marker	AGR	§8.8.2.6
	ə̂sæ	confirmation marker	CONFIR	§8.8.2.7

8.8.1 *Declarative attitude markers*

8.8.1.1 Warning and attention marker ɦǎw

The warning and attention marker *ɦǎw* is used for warning or drawing attention to something, a little bit like a double exclamation mark would function in written English. The particle *ɦǎw* expresses not so much the attitude of the speaker, but rather the interaction between speaker and addressee. When used at the end of a declarative clause, *ɦǎw* often changes it into a statement that closely concerns the addressee and will negatively influence the addressee unless some action is taken. The speaker is basically saying: "I know something that will influence you and I want you to pay attention to what I'm saying (or else...)." Some examples are given below:

(1248) l̥ʲɛ̀dʑú = bì gwǽ mɛ́ = hà, qà = qɛ́j ɦǎw.
ear = on touch NEG:EMPH = ought bite = EXPT WARN

'Don't touch (the dog's) ear, it will bite!!' (CV16.100)

Example (1249) is taken from the Deluge story. In this example, the attitude marker *ɦǎw* is clause-final in the speech clause, but embedded as a quote. The other attitude markers can appear embedded at the end of speech clauses as well.

(1249) “sèŋbǔ qʰʉ̀sèŋnə́ = nʲàˇ tɕədóŋmədòŋ ʑə̀ qɛ̀j ɖàw
tomorrow day.after.tomorrow = just flood come PROS

ɦǎw” tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.
WARN say = INF HSY

‘ “(...) tomorrow or the day after there will be a flood at once!!” (he) said, it is said.’ (TC02.13)

In the story of Hare and a trader, the trader is very proud of his features and asks Hare what he thinks:

(1250) “ôi, nǐŋ zʉ̀tá = sə̀ tɕʰwí = sə̀ tɕʰwí ʐǔ kʰì = bù,
INTJ 2SG features = CONTR.TOP good = CONTR.TOP good very time = TOP

nìŋ = gǽ dʑǐ = wù ɕáw tɕʰə́-jì = tì dʲòŋ ɦǎw,” tɕwə̀ = sì
2SG = GEN waist = in ritual take-NMLZ = INDF EXIST:AT WARN say = INF

tɕàw.
HSY

‘(Hare) said, “Ai, while your features are very good, your waist needs a little adjustment!!” it is said.’ (KZ02.5)

ɦǎw is often used with a prohibitive to mark a strong negative imperative command. The addition of *ɦǎw* implies that a negative outcome will result if the command is not obeyed. In (1251) the negative result will be a language recording that has Chinese in it.

(1251) nǐŋ ɕè-l̥í tʲǽ = pàw ɦǎw, jóŋɖóŋ nìŋ = lá
2SG Chinese-language PROH-do:IMP:SG WARN T:Gyung.drung 2SG = also

ʈʰóŋmə́-l̥ì pàw dzà.
Pǔmǐ-language do:IMP:SG be

‘Don’t you speak Chinese!! Yongzhong, you should speak Pǔmǐ too.’ (CV21.491)

(1252) ʈʂǽ = wù tséŋ tʲǽ-kɛ̀j ɦǎw.
dirt = in fall.down PROH-let WARN

‘Don’t let it fall down in the dirt!!’ (CV18.149.2)

In the examples following, *ɦǎw* is used for drawing attention to a situation, rather than warning the addressee. The situation can be either positive or negative.

(1253) è-bǎ pèj = nóŋ tə́ = ɻə́ = bù ɖǽŋ = qʰù
1-household:GEN older.sibling = COORD 3 = PL = TOP raised.platform = on

kʰə̀-ʐə̀ kʰí ɻə̀-ɖwèŋ-qóŋ mæ̀ŋ-tú kʰə̀-tì = ɖàw
OUT-sleep time skin-rope-CLF:circle below-on OUT-put = IPFV:N.EGO

mə̀ dzə̀ ɦǎw.
GNOMIC WARN

'When my older brother slept on the raised platform, (my father) put a leather rope at the tail-end (of the bed)!!' (CV12.45.1)

Example (1254) is said by a mother who is visiting her daughter. Her daughter is raised by relatives and she has not seen her for a long time.

(1254) tʰʲǎ nǒŋ tɕʰǐ tɕʰwí = sí ɦǎw, qʰʉ́-mæ̀ŋ.
about so bind good = INF WARN head-hair

tɕʰə̀-tɛ́j nè-ɖòŋ = sì ɦǎw
how.many-be.big DOWN-become = INF WARN

'In that case, (you) did (it) pretty well!! (Your) hair. How big (you) have grown!!' (CV04.5.2)

In example (1255) Bear tastes the candy that Hare gave him and he is under the impression that he is eating Hare's eye. The flavour is surprisingly good and he utters the example in (1255).

(1255) bʉ́ bʲæ̀lʲòŋ tʲóŋ tʰè-tɕʰwǐ, "î... dʑínʲǽ
sugar round.piece one.CLF:thing FR.SP-feed:PFV:N.EGO INTJ really

ʑòŋ ʑǔ ɦǎw (...)," tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.
delicious very WARN say = INF HSY

'(...) (Hare) gave (him) a round candy, "Iii...! That's really delicious!! (...)" (Bear) said, it is said.' (TC06.25)

8.8.1.2 Attention marker ɦǒŋ

The attention marker *ɦǒŋ* is used for alerting people about a fact, or telling people to pay attention to what they are doing:

(1256) nʲǽ èmá = gòŋnì nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bì ʂwíkú = nòŋ nə́ = tí
2SG:GEN mother = AGT 2 = DU = DAT Ch:fruit = COORD thus = INDF

kʰə̀-jwɛ̌j ɦǒŋ
OUT-bring:PFV:N.EGO ATTENT

'Your mother has brought some fruit and such for the two of you (...)' (CV02.50)

8.8.1.3 Informative marker ma

The informative marker *ma* occurs after a wide range of utterances. When following an imperative clause or an obligational construction, it marks a strong suggestion, as in (1257) and (1258).

(1257) qʰə̀-dzáw mà!
OUT-eat:IMP:SG INFO

'Eat!' (CV20.57)

(1258) nǒŋ = dì è = dzǎŋ l̥ʲǽɖú pɯ̀ = ɕìŋ tɕə̀ qʰù mà.
so = DISJ.TOP 1:EXCL = DU friend do = VOL:PL say need INFO

'In that case (you) need to say, the two of us will be friends (...)' (CV07.41.2)

When following a declarative clause it indicates that the speaker informs the addressee of the situation and it gives extra force to the utterance: "I'm telling you, I'm informing you (...can you believe it?!)".[378] Depending on the content of the utterance it can sometimes imply a speaker's superior attitude:[379] the speaker knows a piece of information that the addressee does not necessarily know. Examples are given in (1259), (1260) and (1261). It also occurs after exclamations, as in (1262) and (1263). The marker has been described as a suggestive marker for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ (Dīng 1998:223), but since in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ it occurs after a wider range of statements than just imperatives, I have chosen to refer to it as informative marker.

(1259) dǎwmà = bì kǒŋ tʰè-tɕʰóŋ tə̀ pàw tɕə̀ kʰì = là
T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma = DAT door FR.SP-open.door one do:IMP:SG say time = also

tɕʰæ̀ pɯ́ è-pǽŋ = ɖáw mà.
bashful do IN-flee = IPFV:N.EGO INFO

'(...) When (I) told Dauma to open the door, (she) bashfully hid.' (CV02.15)

(1260) ní-bà jǎw tɕíŋmíŋ = ɦà nè-ɕə̌
LOG-household:GEN again home = even DOWN-go

tə̀-tɕʰóŋ = sì mà.
UP-come:PFV:N.EGO = INF INFO

'She has even been to her own home and come back.' (CV02.4.2)

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[378] *ma* might be related to the Chinese final particle 嘛 *ma*, that indicates that something is obvious. It is not related to the Wǎdū Pǔmǐ general negation marker *mǎ* (§7.2.1) which has a rising tone.

[379] One speaker who uses it a lot is characterized as arrogant.

(1261) è = ní é ɖù = ɻə́ é nə̀ tì kə́lʲæ̀ mà = qɛ́j
1SG = AGT 1SG friend = PL 1SG thus one difficult NEG = EXPT

tɕə́ = sèŋ mà.
say = PFV:EGO INFO

B: 'I said that my friends will not have it as difficult as I.' (CV21.6)

əjù, dʑíŋ mà...
INTJ true INFO

N: Oh! That's true...' (CV21.7)

(1262) tɕǔʂə̀ láw mà.
Ch:right Ch:PFV INFO

'That's totally right!' (CV14.209)

(1263) əjòŋ, kʰwǐ mà.
INTJ cute INFO

'Oh, so cute.' (CV21.130)

8.8.1.4 Correct knowledge marker ɦa

The correct knowledge marker *ɦa* is used for expressing agreement with the previous speaker, based on assessment of the previous speaker's correct knowledge of the situation. The marker *ɦa* often fuses with the preceding syllable, as in (1264). It is the same marker used in the nominalization constructions *V mə dza* (§8.6.4) and possibly *V mə V ɦa* (§8.6.2). It is different from the ablative/clause linker *ɦa(ɻoŋni)* (§6.2.9,§10.2,§10.4.3) and the intensifier *ɦa (tɕəbu)* 'even' (§6.5.2).

(1264) mǎ = dzə qæ̀ŋ-mǽŋ-bá = bù píŋmá-tsʰə̀ɻì dzə̀.
NEG = be down-below-household:GEN = TOP Pingma-T:Tshe.ring be

S: 'That's not right, the (Pingma) from downstairs is Pingma Tshering.' (CV24.46)

qæ̀ŋ-mǽŋ-bá = bù píŋmá-tsʰə̀ɻì, píŋmá-dʑæ̀...
down-below-household:GEN = TOP Pingma-T:Tshe.ring Pingma-Dzjae

píŋmá-tsʰə̀ɻì dzà.
Pingma-T:Tshe.ring be:CORR

N: 'The (Pingma) from downstairs is Pingma Dzjae... Pingma Tshering.' (CV24.47.1)

Sometimes a combination of the correct knowledge marker *ɦa* and the equational copular *dzə̂* (§7.5) is used as a complete utterance confirming the statement or question

of a previous speaker, as in (1265), where the previous speaker just recounted something about an experience they had together when they were young.

(1265) dzâ.
be:CORR

'That's right!' (CV22.46.1)

In (1266), the use of *dza* marks politeness, by implying that the speaker is not stupid, but knows this information already. The use of a plain *dzə̂* would be more curt.

(1266) jǎw gí ɕə́ dzə̀, wùɕə̀ɻ̥ú mí=gí=mə̀ dzə̀.
again collect go be New-Year-pine.torch NEG:PFV=collect=NMLZ be

B: '(I) am going to collect (pine torches) again, the new year pine torches have not been collected yet.' (CV18.52)

nǒŋ tə́=gə́ míŋ ɻ̥ù dzə̀?
so this=DEF what pine.torch be

W: 'In that case, what kind of pine torch is this?' (CV18.53)

tə́=gə́=bù jìpǽŋ=gǽ ɻ̥ú tà dzâ.
this=DEF=TOP Ch:normal=GEN pine.torch only be:CORR

B: 'This is just a normal pine torch.' (CV18.54)

There are also a few examples where *ɦa* functions as an attitude marker indicating anger and curtness, as in (1267), where the speaker feels that others misunderstand her. Note that the utterance is referring to self, and thus instead of stating that the previous speaker is correct, it implies that the current speaker said something before which she now states is correct, whatever other people might say.

(1267) mǎ=dzə̀, ə́-qʰù l̥ì-tóŋ tɛ́j tɕə̀ ɖòŋ ɦà.
NEG=be that-on recite-NMLZ EXIST.H say IPFV:EGO:1SG CORR

'No, what (I) am saying is that there is a reciting machine on top of that!' (CV21.466)

Another example is the situation in (1268), proferred by my main consultant, where a speaker feels treated improperly by an impolite question that assumes they are eating meat. (Note that the attitude marker *â* (§8.8.2.2) implies that the speaker is sure of a confirmative answer). The addressee's answer does not indicate whether or not they are eating meat, but rather curtly indicates that since the speaker assumes something, the addressee will leave them under that assumption. The use of the marker *ɦa* might be seen as sarcastically affirming the previous speaker's wrong assumption of the situation.

(1268) nǐŋ tsá dzə́ ɖù à?
2SG meat eat IPFV:EGO:2SG CONF

'So you are eating meat?'

ɛ́ tsá dzə́ ɖóŋ ɦà
1SG meat eat IPFV:EGO:1SG CORR

'Indeed, I'm eating meat.' (CV21.466EL)

8.8.1.5 Reminder marker dzæ

The attitude marker *dzæ* 'but you said/did...' is used for reminding somebody of something they have said or done, and have forgotten or are denying now:

(1269) ɛ́ qʰə̀-dzə́=sêŋ.
1SG OUT-eat=PFV:EGO

J: 'I have eaten.' (CV19.60)

nǒŋ nǐŋ mà=dzàw tɕə̀=ɖù dzæ̀.
so 2SG NEG=eat:IMP:SG say=IPFV:EGO:2SG REMIND

S: 'But you said you did not eat.' (CV19.61)

(1270) could be said when somebody is looking for their keys and the speaker had visual evidence of the addressee's carrying of the keys.

(1270) nǐŋ tɛ̀nóŋ də̀-ʐwǎ dzæ̀
2SG just.now TO.SP-carry:PFV:N.EGO REMIND

'But you just carried them!' (CV16.84EL)

In (1271) the child is disgusted with the suggestion that he wants to be a land-plower, but he is reminded that he said so himself a few years before.

(1271) jə̀jíŋ-mə́ pʉ̀ ɛ́=ʂù?
land.plow-NMLZ do Q=VOL:SG

N: 'Do you want to be a land-plower?' (CV11.7)

pʰêi!
INTJ

C: 'Ugh!' (CV11.8)

pʰéi tʲæ̀, hêŋ.
INTJ REP INTJ

N: 'Did you say 'Phei'? Hehehe!' (CV11.9)

nǒŋ	nǐŋ	séŋʐə̀	kʰɛ́jʂə́	kù	kʰí = nʲæ̀ = bù,	míŋ
so	2SG	Ch:birthday	Ch:start	Ch:celebrate	time = just = TOP	what

pʉ̀ = ʂù	tɕə̀	kʰì,	ɛ́	jəjíŋ = ʂû,	tɕə̀ = ɖù	dzæ̀.
do = EXPT	say	time	1SG	land.plow = EXPT	say = IPFV:EGO:2SG	REMIND

W: 'But when you started to celebrate your birthday (a few years ago), when you were asked, "What do you want to do (in the future)?" you said, "I want to plow land." ' (CV11.10)

Note that in both (1269) and (1271) the second person singular egophoric marker *=ɖu* is used to comment on the addressee's action (and not the current evidential *=ɖaw* as would be expected with a second person statement, cf. §8.3.2). This expresses the speaker's viewpoint that the addressee was consciously and volitionally involved in the action and thus should know about it, and makes it even more strange that he has now forgotten it or is now denying the fact.

Note also the interesting (non-egophoric/evidential versus egophoric) difference between example (1272) and example (1273) below. (1272) can be said when somebody is looking for a piece of meat that he has just eaten, or when somebody exclaims that he has not had meat in a long time. (1273) can be said when the addressee is sick and is not supposed to eat meat or the particular meat that the addressee ate should not have been eaten. The focus of example (1272) seems to be on the the speaker and the fact that he had visual evidence of the action the addressee is now denying, whereas the focus of (1273) is on the addressee and conscious involvement in the action which he has now forgotten or is now denying.

(1272)	nǐŋ	tsá	qʰə̀-dzwə́	dzæ̀
	2SG	meat	OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO	REMIND

'But you ate (the) meat!' (CV11.10EL)

(1273)	nǐŋ	tsá	qʰə̀-dzə̀ = ɖú	dzæ̀?
	2SG	meat	OUT-eat:IPFV:EGO:2SG	REMIND

'But you ate (the) meat (you shouldn't have).' (CV11.10EL)

8.8.1.6 Urging marker di

The urging marker *di* is used after imperatives to remind people of an action they should be taking. It is said for example to guests who are not eating, as in (1274), to people who are lingering behind talking when the whole group is heading somewhere else, as in (1275), or to tell a child to do what she has already been told to do, as in (1276).

(1274) qʰə̀-dzéŋ dì, tʰùtɕí = tí = là...
OUT-eat:IMP:PL URG pickles = INDF = also

'(Y'all) eat, also some pickles....' (CV21.240.1)

(1275) édʲæ̀ pʲǽjóŋ jí dì.
grandmother Pjaejong come:IMP:SG URG

'Grandmother Pjaejong, come on!' (CV21.418)

(1276) tí-dʑǽ édʲæ̀ = bì tǐ tə́-ʐú dì, édʲæ̀
up-in:GEN grandmother = DAT one UP-bring:IMP:SG URG grandmother

ní = nʲæ̀nʲæ̀ tà ʑí = qɛ̀j.
LOG = only only EXIST.AN = EXPT

'Let me, grandmother (= I) wants to roast (meat); take a bit up to the grandmother from up there, grandmother will be all by herself.' (CV19.97.2)

8.8.1.7 Situation marker ɦaw

A marker *ɦaw* (different from the rising tone attention/warning marker *ɦǎw* described in §8.8.1.1) is used clause-finally to indicate that a situation is the way it is. It might mark a neutral statement, or indicate that the speaker is slightly disappointed with the situation.

(1277) ɛ̀ʂə́ tɕìŋhú = qɛ̂j, ʈʂóŋ tɕʰwí pʉ́ tʰɛ̀-dzú mə̀ dzə̀ ɦàw.
Ch:still Ch:warm.house = EXPT house good do FR.SP-make GNOMIC SITU

'(They) will give a housewarming party, (they) built a very good house.' (CV14.144.1)

(1278) ɻɛ̀qá = gə́ = bù tʲóŋ tà nɛ̀-qà = séŋ ɦàw
bone = DEF = TOP one:CLF:thing only DOWN-bite = PFV:EGO SITU

'(I) only gnawed one bone; (...)' (CV14.277.3)

(1279) ɛ̀-bóŋbɛ́j = sì ɦàw, tǎ tə́-ɕæ̀ = sì.
IN-old.and.stiff = INF SITU now UP-old = INF

'(She)'s old and stiff, (she's) old now.' (CV14.152.1)

8.8.1.8 Situation marker ta (Lābǎi speech variety)

The corpus has a few examples of the attitude marker *ta* that is used in the Lābǎi Pǔmǐ speech variety (and according to my main consultant it is used in Mùdǐqīng Pǔmǐ as well). It is not normally used in Wǎdū, and all but one of the occurrences in the corpus are by a single speaker who is visiting from Lābǎi. According to my main consultant, *ta* could be an areal feature, since the Chinese in the Yǒngníng area use it as well, as in *ʂə lâw ta* (是了嗒) 'that's right!'

ta appears after a description of a situation. Three examples are given below; (1282) by the speaker from Wǎdū:

(1280) kèdʑí = bú é = ɻə́ = bù bɯ́ (tɕǽŋtɕǽŋ bɯ́) n̥óŋpʰà = nòŋ jèhǎ
this.period = TOP 1 = PL = TOP sun Ch:just.now sun midday = COORD all

m̥ə́ = ɖáw mə̀.dzə̀ tà.
get.up = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC SITU

'This period of time we all only get up when the sun is high in the sky.' (CV04.54)

(1281) tə́-bɯ̀ = bù ɻə́ = nʲæ̀ kǐ kwæ̀ mə́ dzə̀ tà
3-household = TOP front = just sell can GNOMIC SITU

'Their household could have sold it before, (...)' (CV14.58.1)

(1282) pɯ́-dzàw-pɯ́-lù dzə̀ tà.
self-authority-self-work be SITU

'It was total freedom.' (TC10.52)

The attitudinal *ta* is different from the permissive/suggestive auxiliary *tâ* (§7.9.7). This can be clearly seen from example (1281) where the Lābǎi Pǔmǐ variant of the auxiliary is used (*kwæ̀*) in the same clause as the attitudinal particle *ta*.

8.8.1.9 Negative contrastive situation marker baw

The toneless marker *baw* marks the discrepancy between the speaker's or addressee's presupposition of a situation or their desire for a situation to be a certain way, and the real situation. It often appears with slightly negative situations.

baw is used when a speaker presupposes a situation and then discovers that the actual situation is the opposite from what he thought. In (1283) the speaker expected the candy he ate to be sweet.

(1283) "nǒŋ qʰæ̀ = ʈá bàw," tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.
so bitter = SVM CONTR say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

' "But it's bitter," he said it is said.' (TC06.27)

baw is also used when a speaker reacts to an addressee to adjust the preconceived notions of the addressee that are not in line with reality. The use of *baw* indicates that the actual situation is opposite to what the addressee thinks:

(1284) tə́ pì-tɛ́j-mà = ɻə̀ = bì tʰɛ̀-tɕʰù, pìtɛ́jmà, há.....
this belly-big-mother = PL = DAT FR.SP-feed:IMP:SG belly-big-mother INTJ

L: 'Feed those big bellies, the big bellies, hahaha!' (CV21.81)

è = dzæ̀ŋ = bú qʰə̀-dzə́ = ɖwéŋ bàw.
1 = DU = TOP OUT-eat = IPFV:EGO:N.SG CONTR

B: 'But the two of us are eating.' (CV21.82)

(1285) ə̀-pú ʑèn̥ù = tí tɛ̂j.
here:under hand.pad = INDF EXIST.H

S: 'There is a hand pad here.' (CV14.30)

ʑèn̥ǔ mǎ = tɛ̀j bàw.
hand.pad NEG = EXIST.H CONTR

Y: 'There is no hand pad though.' (CV14.31)

In (1286) one of the previous speakers has just stated that the dog does not eat. The speaker in (1286) then responds:

(1286) nǒŋ míŋ dzə̀ wɛ̀j, ɛ̀má tɕʰì kʰí = bù dzə́ = ɖáw bàw?
so what be PUZ aunt feed time = TOP eat = IPFV:N.EGO CONTR

'What's the matter? When aunt (= I) feed him, he eats...' (CV14.19)

The use of *baw* implies that she has a certain view of reality that clashes with the view that was just proposed.

baw is also used when a speaker would prefer reality to be different. This discrepancy between desire and reality often carries overtones of unhappiness (in the case of the speaker's desire or wrong presupposition) or empathy with the addressee (in the case of the addressee's desire or wrong presupposition). This can be seen in example (1287) which portrays an irrealis situation; the real situation is that the speaker lives in the countryside and the child is only in second grade. Adding *baw* to the clause implies that if the speaker could choose, he would choose a different situation.

(1287) jìpǽŋ ʈʂʰèŋʂə̀ = wù ɛ́ = dzə̀ = bù, sǽŋ-nìŋtɕì swéŋ = qɛ́j bàw.
Ch:in.general Ch:city = in Q = be = TOP Ch:third-grade study = EXPT CONTR

'In general, if this was in the city, (he) would be in third grade.' (CV12.19)

Example (1288) indicates that the speaker wishes the situation was different.

(1288) pʰêi, ɛ́ = gǽ qʰénʲæ̀ = wù jèhǎ tə́ tsʰì kwí bàw.
INTJ 1SG = GEN mouth = in all this salt EXIST.IN CONTR

'Ugh! There is all this salt in my mouth.' (CV18.93)

There are several examples where the use of *baw* does not carry such a strong sense of discrepancy, but is rather similar to the use of *ɦaw* (§8.8.1.7) in presenting a situation. Unlike *ɦǎw* and *ɦaw*, there are no two clearly separate morphemes. Two examples are given in (1289) and (1290). It might be that the cultural context, the conversational

context or the speaker's unexpressed presupposition does carry some kind of discrepancy similar to the examples above.

(1289) qà-pú = bù sěŋ ɻwɛ́n̥ə ʐù = qɛ́j bàw?
down-under = TOP firewood close very = EXPT CONTR

'Down there the firewood is probably very close?' (CV04.59)

(1290) dəbǔ ə́-wù kʰə̀-ʑí pɯ̀ kɛ̀j ɦà, dəbǔ tɛ̀-tsɛ̀j ɖóŋ
then there-in OUT-be.born do let LINK then one-CLF:section become

kʰì = bù, dəbǔ ní = ɻæ̀ = wù tʰɛ̀-ɕə̀ = qɛ̂j, tʰɛ̀-ɕə̀ kɛ́j = qɛ́j
time = TOP then LOG = PL:GEN interior FR.SP-go FR.SP-go = EXPT

sə̀ tì tɕə̀ ɦà nə́ tɕáw bàw.
EPIST:most.probably say LINK thus say:IPFV:N.EGO CONTR

'It is said that (they) will let (her) give birth there (in Lijiang), and after a while then probably let (her) go back to their own home.' (CV15.62)

8.8.1.10 Positive attitude marker êmu

The use of the marker *êmu* indicates the positive attitude of the speaker in regard to the addressee. There is only one attestation in the natural corpus:

(1291) dəbǔ m̥əgéŋ = tɕəmə tʰəʑǽ láwláw ɛ́mù
then old.man = TOP thank.you INTJ POS

'Then the old man said, "Thank you so much! (...)" ' (CV09.110)

8.8.1.11 Dissatisfaction marker lʲɛ̌j

The attitude marker *lʲɛ̌j* with a rising tone is usually used in a negative situation and expresses that the speaker is not satisfied with a situation. The marker only appears in declarative clauses and is not interchangeable with the toneless *lʲɛj* ~ *lʲæ* (§8.8.2.3) which only appear after questions.

(1292) tə́ mə́ = ɻòŋ sɛ̀ = qɛ́j lʲɛ̌j
3SG person = PL:AGT hit = EXPT DISS

'He will be beaten by other people, (...)' (CV14.221)

(1293) ɛ́ tsʰə́ɻí tí-pá tɕə́tòŋ = pù nɛ̀-qá
1SG T:Tshe.ring up-under:GEN water.place = under DOWN-fall.down

mə̀ dzə̀ lʲɛ̌j
GNOMIC DISS

'(...) my (brother) Tshering fell down under the water place up there.' (CV21.304.2)

(1294) dəbǔ mə́ = ɻæ̀ m̥ə́ = bù tʰú mà = ɕǐ lʲɛ̌j.
then person = PL:GEN person = TOP solution NEG = EXIST.AB DISS

'Then that person had no solution.' (TC02.74)

In example (1295), which I overheard a speaker saying when another speaker asked him whether he had checked on a certain pig, the marker *lʲɛ̌j* expresses that the speaker had not done as he ought to have done.

(1295) mì = tú lʲɛ̌j
NEG:PFV = look DISS

'(I) haven't looked.' (W-C13.9)

8.8.1.12 Trailing knowledge marker kʰi

The trailing knowledge marker *kʰi* has developed through insubordination (§10.5.1) from the temporal subordinator *kʰi* into a clause-final attitude marker, which denotes that speakers have more knowledge about a situation than what they express in the utterance. The reader is referred to §10.5.1 for a more substantial treatment and illustrative examples.

8.8.2 *Interrogative attitude markers*

In addition to the use of the pre-verbal question marker *ɛ̂* (§7.3) which is the most neutral way of asking questions, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ employs several clause-final attitude markers with interrogatives that denote speaker-attitude and several degrees of epistemic certainty.

8.8.2.1 The question marker noŋ

The clause-final question particle *noŋ* is used when the speaker is over fifty percent sure of a confirmative answer. (1296) is said after the current speaker asked the addressee whether her foot was painful or not (using the neutral pre-verbal interrogative marker *ɛ̂* =) and the addressee responded that her foot was not painful. The speaker is not totally convinced of the truthfulness of the answer, but more than fifty percent sure that the addressee will confirm her (negatively phrased) question.

(1296) mà = ɖáw nòŋ?
NEG = IPFV:N.EGO QUEST

'Not (painful)?' (CV14.200)

noŋ can also be used when a speaker knows certain things from the background context, but does not derive any clues from the immediate context. Thus, in (1297), the speaker does not see anything in the addressee's expression, but knows from the context (maybe the addressee just had an operation) that he could be in a lot of pain. (1298) is asked

in a situation where the addressee is expected to feed the dog and the time for feeding is already past. There are no clues from the immediate context.

(1297) nǐŋ níŋ ʐù nóŋ
2SG painful very QUEST

'Are you in a lot of pain?' (EL:B318)

(1298) tɕʰǐ tɕʰì = sí nòŋ?
food feed = INF QUEST

'Did (you) feed (him) food?' (CV14.99)

As is shown in §10.5.3, this marker developed from the coordination marker *=noŋ* through a process similar to insubordination.

8.8.2.2 Confirmative marker â

The use of the clause-final question particle *â* implies that the speaker is a hundred percent sure of a confirmative answer based on clues from the immediate context. So (1299) will be said when the speaker can clearly see that the addressee is in a lot of pain. (1300) is said in response to the context provided by the addressee.

(1299) nǐŋ níŋ ʐǔ â
2SG painful very CONF

'You're in a lot of pain, aren't you?' (EL:B319)

(1300) níŋzì-bà tsɯ́ = gòŋnì ní = gǽ tɕʰíŋtɕá[380]
Ninzi-household:GEN son = AGT LOG = GEN Ch:Nuòsū.friend

dzə̀ = ɖàw tɕə̀ ɦà ɛ̀-ɕɛ́ ɛ̀-ɕì ʂɛ́j = sí
be = IPFV:N.EGO say LINK IN-pack.load IN-lead go:PFV:N.EGO = INF

mə̀ sì ɦà.
NMLZ.CONSTR

G: '(...) this son of the Ninzi household said they were his Nuòsū friends and went to bring them over.' (CV09.85.3)

níŋzì-bà tsɯ́ = gòŋ ɛ̀-ɕwǐ â?
Ninzi-household:GEN son = AGT IN-lead:PFV:N.EGO CONF

Y: 'The son of the Ninzi household brought (them) over?' (CV09.86)

[380] A loanword from Chinese 亲家 'relatives by marriage', but in Wǎdū and the rest of the Wēnquán Pǔmǐ area it is used to refer to Nuòsū friends.

8.8.2.3 The rhetorical markers lʲæ and lʲɛj

The markers *lʲæ* and *lʲɛj* 'what about?' (different from the rising tone dissatisfaction marker *lʲɛ̌j* described in §8.8.1.11) are alternate forms that can (mostly) be used interchangeably in questions that express that the speaker has no access to the information he wants to know. The markers can follow verbless clauses: noun phrases and adverbial phrases:

(1301) jǎw ʑɛ́gì lʲæ̀?
again later RHET

'What about later?' (CV11.15)

(1302) kʰí lʲæ̀?
key RHET

'What about the key?' (CV21.337)

(1303) ìŋ = ɻɛ́ lɛ̀jjwæ̀ŋ lʲɛ̂j dəbǔ.
1:INCL = PL:GEN Ch:source RHET then

'So what about the source of our (money)?' (CV19.14)

They also appear after verbal clauses (only content questions).

(1304) híŋ = gæ̀ dʑʉ̀ = góŋní qʰə̀-dzwə́ lʲæ̀?
who = GEN soul = AGT OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO RHET

'By whose soul has it been eaten?'[381] (EL:B1252)

(1305) ɛ̀mɑ́ = gæ̀ tǎ tɕʰwæ̀ʈʰwéŋ tɕʰə̀nə́ní lʲɛ̀j?
aunt = GEN now pig.fodder how RHET

'Now how is aunt (Yongjin)'s pig fodder?' (CV03.1.3)

Example (1306) clearly shows that both markers appear in the same position. Whereas in (1301) and (1303) an answer is expected, in (1305) and (1306) the speakers ask themselves a rhetorical question that does not need an answer.

(1306) wû, wû, tɕə́ = tìŋ míŋ dzə̀ lʲɛ̀j ɕì = sèŋ kʰì = bù
INTJ INTJ say = AUD what be RHET think = PFV:EGO time = TOP

'I heard 'Wu,wu!' and wondered what that could be, (...)' (CV04.19.1)

[381] An idiomatic phrase that people can say when they are looking for something that has been lost.

pèilálá wû, wû, tɕà ɦà nə́ pɯ́
Ch:without.rhyme.or.reason INTJ INTJ say LINK thus do

qwɛ́ɻɛ́j = ɖàw míŋ tì dzà lʲæ̀, gòŋnʲæ̀ tɕíŋ = tì jǎw
shout = IPFV:N.EGO what one be RHET Nuòsū child = INDF again

tɕʰóŋ = sì ɕì = sèŋ.
come:PFV:N.EGO = INF think = PFV:EGO

'Without rhyme or reason he shouted, 'Wu, wu!' like this. I wondered what that could be and thought that it was a Nuòsū child again.' (CV04.19.3)

lʲæ (but not *lʲɛj*), is also used in certain types of questions that function as a narrative device to introduce a (procedural) story.[382] The clause functions as a rhetorical question which the narrator answers by telling the story. Two examples are given below. In (1307) the narrator is about to describe the planting of rice seedlings. In (1308) the narrator follows the rhetorical question by laying out his arguments for stating that the society is good. These introductory questions are a powerful device to draw the listeners' attention; they do not need a response.

(1307) tə̀ = gǎ ʐɛ́gì = bù ɕú tʲáw wèŋ, dəbǔ ɕú tʲáw tɕʰənə́
this = GEN later = TOP rice plant CUST.EXCL then rice plant how

pɯ́ = wèŋ lʲæ̀?
do = CUST.EXCL RHET

'After this (we) will plant paddy rice seedlings. So how do (we) plant rice seedlings?' (CL03ed.12)

(1308) dəbǔ míŋɻòŋ.tɕà ɖʐə̀nóŋkʰǽ tɕʰwí tɕə́ lʲæ̀?
then why society be.good say RHET

'Why am (I) saying that (such a) society is good?' (TC01ed.9)

8.8.2.4 Puzzlement marker wɛj

The toneless marker *wɛj* 'what on earth?' marks questions that express the puzzlement of a speaker over a situation for which he has no clues or knowledge whatsoever. Often these are rhetorical questions that the speaker asks himself.

(1309) nǒŋ míŋ dzə̀ wɛ̀j, ɛ̀má tɕʰì kʰí = bù dzə́ = ɖáw bàw?
so what be PUZ aunt feed time = TOP eat = IPFV:N.EGO CONTR

'What's the matter? When aunt (= I) feed him, he eats...' (CV14.19)

[382] If *lʲɛj* is used it indicates that the speaker does not know the answer.

(1310) kí ʑì wɛ̀j
where EXIST.AN PUZ

'(...) where on earth is he?' (TC02.35)

(1311) nòŋ tʰɛ̀-ɻ̊wáw tɕâw, nòŋ tí híŋ=gòŋ
so FR.SP-buy:IMP:SG say:IPFV:N.EGO two:CLF:thing one who=AGT

gù=qɛ̀j wɛ́j tɕə́ ɦà, nə́ tɕə́=sèŋ kʰì.
wear=EXPT PUZ say LINK thus say=PFV:EGO TRAIL

'(You) told him to buy another outfit. "Who on earth will be able to wear two (outfits)?" (I) told (Aunt Sanong and Dauma).' (CV15.18.2)

8.8.2.5 Repetition marker tʲæ

The repetition marker *tʲæ* is used when a speaker has not heard clearly what the other person just said and wants to confirm that what they thought they heard was indeed what the other said:

(1312) tʲǎsèŋ è-ʑə́=ɻǽ sèŋ
recent.morning IN-come=GEN:PL morning

M: 'The morning (he) came a few days ago (...)' (CV07.75)

nùséŋ tʲǎ? ʑènəséŋ tʲǎ?
morning REP yesterday.morning REP

G: 'In the morning, did you say? Yesterday morning, did you say?' (CV07.76.2,3)

ə̌ŋ,...
INTJ

M: 'Right, ...' (CV07.77)

When a speaker does not like a certain suggestion, they can pretend not to have heard it, to indicate that they are not happy with the suggestion. In (1313) the speaker does not want to go.

(1313) ɕə̀=gí tʲǎ?
go=VOL:INCL REP

'Let's go, did you say?' (EL)

tʲæ can also be used jokingly, as in (1314) where the speaker (who could also be referred to as *ɐkâw-li* 'young uncle') asks whether the addressee meant him. From the context it was very clear that the addressee was referring to somebody else.

(1314) ɛ̀kə́w-lì = gòŋ tʲóŋ ʐà = qɛ̌j.
uncle(MB)-DIM = AGT one:CLF:thing carry = EXPT

J: 'Young uncle will take one (= a piece of kidney to eat).' (CV17.28)

ɛ́ ɛ́ = dzə̀?
1SG Q = be

P: 'Is that me?' (CV17.29)

mæ̂?
what

J: 'What?' (CV17.30)

ɛ́ tʲæ̀
1SG REP

P: 'I, did you say?' (CV17.31)

8.8.2.6 Agreement marker ə̂seŋ

The agreement marker *ə̂seŋ* 'right?' is used by speakers to express something that they assume the addressee knows as well and will agree with. The use of *ə̂seŋ* draws the addressee into the conversation, and invites them to agree, but an explicit answer is not necessarily needed. *ə̂seŋ* is a sort of tag-question and is often separated from the clause by a pause. In fast speech it can be shortened to *sêŋ* and the pause can be left out, as in (1315). It can follow clauses that contain any of the other clause-final markers, one example is given in (1316). In these two aspects it is slightly different from the other attitude markers. It is possible that this marker is clausal in origin. *ə̂seŋ* is not a real question marker, in that it does not mark the clause as an interrogative, but rather enhances the interaction between speaker and addressee. Therefore, even though it is structurally different from the other markers, I treat it with the clause-final attitude markers. Example (1317) shows *ə̂seŋ* following a declarative clause and (1318) following an interrogative clause.

(1315) tə́ = tù ɖʐə̀kʰǽ tɕʰwí = bú mà = ɕǐ sêŋ?
this = on society good = TOP NEG = EXIST.AB AGR

'(...) there is no better society than this, right?' (TC01ed.12)

(1316) ɻæ̌ŋ tí mà = tɕíŋ bâw, ə́sèŋ?
long one NEG = see CONTR AGR

'(We) have not seen (each other) for a long time, right?' (CV02.67)

(1317) ɻ̥ú mǎ = dʲòŋ, ə́sèŋ?
tooth NEG = EXIST.AT AGR

'(We) don't have teeth, right?' (CV02.54.2)

(1318) ə́bæ̀ŋ, pʉ́nʲæ̀ ʑ̀ènʲæ̀ nə̀ = wèŋ â, ə́sèŋ?
INTJ last.year:GEN year.before.last:GEN thus = CUST.EXCL CONF AGR

'Bah, like in these recent years, isn't it, right?' (CV22.40)

8.8.2.7 Confirmation marker ə̂sæ

The confirmation marker *ə̂sæ* 'okay?' expresses the speaker's own opinion and asks for the addressee's agreement. It is not sure that the addressee will agree; often there is an expectation that the addressee will not agree with the proposition. The confirmation marker is usually set apart from the clause by a pause, but in fast speech the pause disappears and *ə̂sæ* can be shortened to *sæ̂*, as in (1320). It is however not a real tag-question as no answer is expected from the addressee (and in most cases in the corpus no answer is given, but the conversation just carries on). Even though it is structurally different from the other attitude markers, it is functionally similar and I treat it with the attitude markers. Unlike *ə̂seŋ* (§8.8.2.6) it cannot co-occur with other attitude markers.

(1319) ɛ̀ = ní tə́-ɕwéŋ = ʂù, ə́sæ̀? ə́sæ̀?
1SG = AGT UP-send = EXPT CONFIRM CONFIRM

'I will send (you) up, okay? Okay?' (CV20.41.1,2)

(1320) ěŋ, ɛ̀ = bí ɛ̀mâ, hòŋ-qʰú ɛ̀-ʂɛ̀j tì sæ̂
INTJ 1SG = DAT aunt in-top IN-go:PFV:N.EGO say:IMP:SG CONFIRM

tɕə̀ = ɖàw kʰì = bù
say = IPFV:N.EGO time = TOP

'Yes, when (he) said to me, "Aunt, tell (Pali Tshering) (I) am going inwards (to the new house), okay?" (...)' (CV04.24.1)

8.8.3 *Other undefined markers*

A few other particles appear in the corpus, but more research needs to be conducted on their function and semantics. The two particles mentioned here are dissimilar from the clause-final attitudinal markers described in the rest of this section, but data is too sparse to make definite claims about their position and function.

The particle *tʲæ* is a negative particle that appears right at the end of reported speech and just before the quotation marker *tɕə*. *tʲæ* is not part of the reported speech, and has

a very abstract meaning which expresses that what was heard was not positive. More research needs to be done. Examples are given in (1321) and (1322):

(1321) tʰè-ʐæ̀ʐǽ tə́ pàw tʲæ̀ tɕə̀ = tîŋ.
FR.SP-mix one do:IMP:SG ? say = AUD

'(I) overheard (her) say to mix (it) a bit.' (CV18.29)

(1322) tɕʰĭ tʲǽ-dzàw tʲæ̀ tɕə̀ = tîŋ
food PROH-eat:IMP:SG ? say = AUD

'(I) overheard (her) say that (I) should not eat.' (CV18.29EL)

The particle *tɕʰu* seems to function as a discourse particle in some instances and as a clause-final attitudinal particle in other instances. I have listed its occurrences in the examples below, but more research is needed. In examples (1323-1325) it seems to function as a clause-final attitude marker. In (1326-1329) it seems to function as a discourse marker (similar to the topic marker *bu*).

(1323) tù = lá tʲæ̀-tì tɕʰû
anything = also PROH-say:IMP:SG UND

'Don't say anything.' (Let's see what they will do...) (CV21.415.2)

(1324) hòŋ-qʰú hìʈʂóŋ = gǽ gòŋnù tə́ = ɻǽ nŏŋjæ̀ tĭ
in-top shrine.room = GEN rear this = PL:GEN later one

ɛ̀-lɛ́j = gì tɕʰù.
IN-sow = VOL:INCL UND

'Let's sow some at the rear of the shrine-room up there later.' (Let's see whether it grows) (CV14.83)

(1325) pʰɛ́lí-bà pù lɛ̀j = tí tə́-jɛ́j = gì tɕʰù.
Phali-household:GEN lower.part seed = INDF UP-get = VOL:INCL UND

'Let's go to the Phali household to get some (chrysanthemum) seeds.' (Let's see whether it grows) (CV14.85)

(1326) tɕíɻóŋ-jì tɕʰù mà = ɕĭ
hungry-NMLZ ? NEG = EXIST.AB

'(I)'m not hungry yet.' (EL:B170)

(1327) tə́ pʉ́nə̀ ɕwíŋ mì = dzwə̀ tɕʰù, tɕíɻóŋ = qɛ̀j
3SG today lunch NEG:PFV = eat:PFV:N.EGO ? hungry = EXPT

'If he has not eaten lunch today, (he) will be hungry.' (EL:B141)

(1328) tə́ tɕʰí kʰæ̀-dzwə́ tɕʰù, tɕíɻóŋ mà = qɛ́j
3SG food OUT:Q-eat:PFV:N.EGO ? hungry NEG = EXPT

'If he has eaten, (he) won't get hungry.' (EL:B145)

(1329) ɛ́ tú kʰì tɕʰù, gǽ-jí mà = ɕǐ
1SG look time ? beautiful-NMLZ NEG = EXIST.AB

'As for me, I don't think it that beautiful.' (EL:B152)

The questions that remain to be answered are what the exact function and meaning of *tɕʰu* is, whether the two occurrences are a case of homophony or not, and whether the second syllable of *noŋtɕʰû* 'in that case' (< *nǒŋ* 'in that case'), that occurs as an afterthought in (1330), is related to *tɕʰu*. In this example, *tɕʰu* cannot be used instead of *noŋtɕʰû*.

(1330) ə́jòŋ, dǔ ʐù kɛ́j = ɖàw bàw, nòŋtɕʰû.
INTJ destetable very let = IPFV:N.EGO CONTR in.that.case

'Oh! (You) make people detest (you).' (CV21.91)

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the verbal system of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ and found that only controllable verbs show inflection of the stem. The basic notion underlying verbal inflection is not person-number agreement or actor-agreement, but rather egophoricity: the distinction between 'self-person' and 'other-person'. When reporting on other people, evidential marking (expressed by post-verbal markers) is used to mark the source of information. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has several ways of marking epistemic certainty, and uses various nominalization constructions to express speaker attitude. Speaker attitude is also expressed by a whole range of clause-final attitude markers. Interestingly, a large part of this chapter would not have been written if not for the conversational data included in the research. Most of the speaker attitude marking (including various nominalization constructions) only appear in conversations. The analysis of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ would certainly benefit from more proper conversational analysis in the future, something that lies outside the scope of the present study.

Chapter 9.
Ideophones and interjections

One of the striking features of Pŭmĭ and many other languages in the area (Matisoff 1994, Sūn 2004) is the use of ideophones.[383] Pŭmĭ has a whole range of ideophones that regularly come up during conversations and narratives and that colour and intensify the flavour of the expression and interaction.[384] The power of these words is that, because it limits the interpretation to certain very specific situations, a single ideophone can conjure up a complete mental image in the addressee's mind.

A recent definition of ideophones can be found in Dīngemanse's work: "Ideophones are marked words that depict sensory imagery" (2011:25). They are marked in that they stand out from the rest of the language in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Languages in general use the normal phonemic inventory for ideophones[385] (Diffloth 1994), and they can use sounds or tones with a lower functional load for symbolic purposes (Matisoff 1994:121), cf. §9.2. Ideophones can be iconic and often show sound symbolism.[386] They depict a situation, presenting it as a complete mental picture. The sensory imagery that they depict includes sounds, movements, and feelings. In Wǎdū Pŭmĭ, ideophones can depict all the different types of imagery that are laid out in the implicational hierarchy given by Dīngemanse (2012:663): sounds < movement < visual patterns < other sensory perceptions < inner feelings and cognitive states. This states that ideophones depicting sound are most common across languages and ideophones that depict cognitive states are least common. When a

[383] In Southeast Asian languages, the term 'expressives' has been used (Diffloth 1972, 1976). Ideophones are not limited to Asia and have been extensively reported for Africa (one recent study is Dīngemanse 2011).

[384] Ideophones are some of the most fun words to collect during fieldwork, as speakers are aware of their vividness and power, and often explode in peals of laughter when a new ideophone is mentioned during a round-the-fire-come-up-with-ideophones-session.

[385] If sounds are used that are not present in the inventory, these tend to be sounds that balance out the phonemic inventory by filling gaps (Mithun 1982, Dīngemanse 2012).

[386] Sound symbolism mimics the sounds of real-life happenings; iconicity relates certain sounds to certain concepts in a more structural way (for example the vowel [i] denoting small objects versus the vowel [ɑ] denoting big objects in some languages). Diffloth (1994:113) shows that iconicity is language-specific. More research needs to be conducted on sound symbolism and iconicity in Pŭmĭ.

language has imagery that ranks higher up the hierarchical scale, it will have the lower ranking imagery as well.

In terms of structure there are three different types of ideophones in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ: onomatopoeic ideophones (§9.2), ideophones proper (§9.1) and expressives (§9.2). The chapter will also treat interjections and expletives (§9.4).

9.1 Onomatopoeic ideophones

Onomatopoeic ideophones are to a greater or lesser degree sound-symbolic, and can show reduplication, vowel lengthening or special intonation. Often low tone is used. Low tone does not normally appear on monosyllables, and thus has a low functional load in Pǔmǐ. Some examples are given in (1331).

(1331)	*jílúwèlú*	'Rumble-tumble!' (sound of object rolling down a slope)
	~~ɸùɸù(ɸùɸù)ɸú~~	'Fffff! ' (sound of wind)
	túútʲú	'Toot-toot!' (sound of trumpet-like blowing)
	mə̀jǽŋɦôooŋ	'Miaow!' (miaowing of cat)
	kìqwà kìqwà kíqwà	'Quack! ' (quacking of ducks)
	pâ	'Pa!' (sound of falling object hitting the ground)
	tè	'...!' (sound of choking)
	ʈáw	(sound of loud talking)
	q~~ú~~tə̀ɻə̀	(in a flash)
	tʰá	(sudden jerking movement)

More research needs to be done on iconicity, especially in relation to onomatopoeic ideophones that express things other than sound, like the last two examples in (1331). One interesting pair that might display iconicity is given in (1332). The voiced consonant is used to express a softer, more subtle image; the voiceless aspirated consonant conveys a harsher and more abrupt depiction.[387]

(1332)	*bèxèj*	'flickering' (of candle light)
	pʰèxèj	'flashing' (of lightning)

A single ideophone can sometimes combine a range of images that share a core sensation (Diffloth 1976:257). An example is given in (1333) with the onomatopoeic ideophone *ʂwa* which expresses a core sensation of a smooth and unobstructed movement. Through different tone and the amount of repetition, various images expressing that core sensation are conveyed (the symbol * behind a syllable indicates that the syllable can be repeated multiple times):

[387] Which reminds one of the causative verbs pairs (§7.4.3) that show a similar alternation.

(1333) *ʂwà** 'Shwa! Shwa!' (water falling heavily)

ʂwà ʂwá* 'Shwa! Shwa!' (vomiting)

ʂwá 'Shwa!' (rustling of paper)

ʂwá 'Shwa!' (people smoothly springing into action)

*ʂwá** 'Shwa!' (object cut in half in one smooth movement)

When uttered in a low tone, *ʂwa* conveys the image of heavily falling water, for example rain or a waterfall. Depending on what duration or intensity the speaker wants to convey, it can be repeated multiple times, but always with a low tone. A related image is vomiting, for which *ʂwa* is usually reduplicated (vomiting normally happens in multiple stages). Its tone is slightly different: all non-final *ʂwa* are uttered in low tone; the final *ʂwa* is uttered in a high tone.

ʂwa with a high tone conveys the image of rustling paper, especially money, and the movement of freely giving it out. It implies that a person gives money generously and without hesitation in a smooth and quick movement. *ʂwa* with a high tone also depicts the movement of many people smoothly springing into action without hesitation or disunity. The ideophone is usually not reduplicated in these contexts, because that seems to take away from the force of the image. The other context where *ʂwa* with a high tone is used, is to denote a cutting action. The two parts of the object that is cut are cut clean and totally separate without any hindrance. In this context it can be reduplicated with pauses between the different *ʂwa* to denote multiple objects that have been smoothly cut.

The multiple realizations of this onomatopoeic ideophone share the core sensation of a smooth movement without any obstructions. Tone seems to have a iconic function: the low tone in the first two contexts indicate a heavy downward movement; the high tone in the last three contexts indicate a quick movement and positive outcome. Whether tone in Pǔmǐ is indeed used iconically on a wider scale is a topic for further research.

Additionally, the presence or absence of repetition is iconic, depicting extended duration through repetition. Onomatopoeic ideophones can be reduplicated to express multiplicity or continuous sound or movement. An example is *hìhà*, the sound of laughing, which can be reduplicated as *hìhìhàhà* to express that multiple people are laughing.

Syntactically, onomatopoeic ideophones precede the main verb that they complement and are followed by the verb 'to say' *tɕə̌*, as in (1334). The ideophone constituent in this construction can be left out without any instability in the syntactic structure, that

is, if it is left out, the clause is still syntactically sound.[388] Occasionally *tɕə̌* is missing, as in (1335). The reduplication of *bìbæ̀* in that example indicates that the referent fell down multiple times.

(1334) ɻú = gə̀ nè-dǐ nè-ɕə̀ kéj kʰí = là, “pʰétètù pʰétètù,
chicken = DEF DOWN-throw DOWN-go let time = also IDEO IDEO

pètʲèlʲǔ” tɕə̀ tɕə́ = wù nè-ʂêj.
IDEO say water = in DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO

‘When (he) threw the chicken down, (it) went ‘Flutter, flutter! Plopplop!’ down into the water.’ (TC02.28)

(1335) bìbìbæ̀bæ̀, bìbìbæ̀bæ̀ nè-qâ
IDEO IDEO DOWN-fall.down

‘(He) fell down ‘Bingbing bangbang!’ ’ (CV21.307.1)

An onomatopoetic ideophone can also function in a light verb construction (§7.7) with the verbs *pʉ́* ‘to do’ (*IDEO pʉ́*), as in (1336), or *tɕə̌* ‘to say’ when a directional prefix is added (*IDEO DIR-tɕə̌*), as in (1337), in which case it forms the predicate of a clause. *tɕʰwé* is used for a fire that suddenly splutters and stops burning, or water for irrigation of the fields that suddenly splutters and stops flowing. The light verb can show inflection, as in (1338). *jæ̂* is used for a continuous movement passing by in front of one’s eyes.

(1336) ɛ̀káw-bà gwé-mæ̀ŋ = tù ɕémæ̀ɕéɭʰù ɛ̀xìxì
uncle(MB)-household:GEN fire.place-lower.end = on very.early IDEO

pʉ́-mə́ = tì ʐì = bù, ɻú ŋù mə̀ dzə̀.
do-NMLZ = INDF EXIST:AN = TOP chicken crow GNOMIC

‘A being who very early giggles at the lower end of the fireplace of uncle’s household, is the rooster who crows.’ (PC05w.14.2)

(1337) ə́jù, é tɕʰwæ̀tɕʰì = gə́ mě tɕʰwé né-tɕə̀ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j
INTJ 1SG pig-food = DEF fire IDEO DOWN-say EPIST

‘Oh, my pig fodder, the fire will have spluttered and gone out.’ (CV14.30.2)

(1338) tə́ tɕǐŋ jǽ nè-tɕwə̀ = sì
this child IDEO DOWN-say:PFV:N.EGO = INF

‘This child is nowhere to be seen.’ (EL)

[388] Diffloth comments that ideophones are not integrated in the syntax of Semai (1976:256).

9.2 Ideophones proper

The onomatopoeic ideophones described in §9.2 can form a collocation with *dʲæ-*,[389] in which case monosyllabic onomatopoeic ideophones are reduplicated. It is a highly productive process, but whether it is completely productive is a subject for further research. Most ideophones with *dʲæ-* attested in the corpus are trisyllabic, but there is one quadrisyllabic example: *dʲætɕîtsɨpæ* 'sound of crackling fire with noises of wood popping'. These are the ideophones proper in that they are the most clear examples of depictions (Dīngemanse 2012). For example, the onomatopoeic ideophone *ɻwɛ̂* expresses a movement that can be observed for a small amount of time because of a small frame of vision (such as observing someone pass by through a crack in a wall). The corresponding ideophone *dʲæɻwɛ̂ɻwɛ* denotes the movement of a person that can be observed in instances (for example a person walking in the woods and disappearing and re-appearing among the trees). Most of the ideophones express some kind of movement, sometimes in combination with sound (i.e. *dʲæʂwâʂwa*), sometimes in combination with feeling (i.e. *dʲæʈʂʰwâʈʂʰwa*), and sometimes in combination with a cognitive state, like *dʲæɸɨ́ɸɨ*, which depicts a cognitive state of anger and its resulting movements. This ideophone is derived from an onomatopoeic ideophone *ɸɨ̀ɸɨ̀* for the sound of wind. The ideophone is interesting in that the association between the onomatopoeic ideophone and the ideophone proper is not so straightforward. The sound and continuous movement of wind *ɸɨ̀ɸɨ̀* is applied to persons who, out of anger, conduct their daily chores without heeding other people in the household, but keep moving continuously like the wind.

A partial list of ideophones is given in Table 9.1 (syllables with the symbol * after them can be repeated multiple times). All ideophones are derived from corresponding onomatopoeic ideophones, and some also have a corresponding expressive form (§9.2). The meaning of corresponding onomatopoeic ideophones is only given when they express something slightly different. Except for a few exceptions, all ideophones show a L-H.L surface tone pattern.

Table 9.1 Ideophones

Ideophone	Description	Onomatopoeic ideophone
dʲæʂwâʂwa	Sound of heavily falling rain or waterfall	*ʂwà*, cf. (1333)
dʲæwûwu	Sound of a blazing fire, burning lustily	*wù wù* wû*
dʲæpæ̂pæ	Sound of a tractor	*pæ̀ pæ̀* pæ̂*

[389] Origin unclear.

Ideophone	Description	Onomatopoeic ideophone
dʲæt^{h}îŋliŋ	Movement of fat people while walking with the fat moving up and down	*t^{h}ìŋliŋ* t^{h}íŋliŋ*
dʲæt^{h}êŋlæŋ	Walking with a bent waist, carrying lots of things that are dangling on one's back or hanging from one's neck	*t^{h}æ̀ŋlæ̀ŋ* t^{h}ǽŋlæ̀ŋ*
dʲæts^{h}âw.ɻaw	Movement of a skirt that is pulled up high so that it does not touch the ground; the rim of the skirt is moving faster than normal; it also describes walking faster than normal; person with small stature	*ts^{h}àw.ɻàw* ts^{h}áw.ɻàw*
dʲæp^{h}êŋnæŋ	Movement of a skirt that is too long or piece of clothing that is too big on a small person	*p^{h}æ̀ŋnæ̀ŋ* p^{h}ǽŋnæ̀ŋ, p^{h}ǽnæ̂ŋnæ̂ŋ*
dʲædʑîŋla	The swaying gait of a tall person	*dʑìŋlà* dʑíŋlà, dʑǐŋlâlâ*
dʲæhʲâwla	Swaying of a tree or unsteady walking of people who are drunk or have no strength left	*hʲàwlà* hʲáwlà*
dʲæjæ̂jæ	Movement passing by in front of one's eyes and that can be seen continuously	*jæ̂*
dʲæqêtoŋ	A very short person walking very fast with fast-moving legs	*qètòŋ qétòŋ, qétôŋlî ~ qétôŋtôŋ*'very short'
dʲæts^{h}æ̂.ɻæ	Movement of rags fluttering in the wind	*ts^{h}æ̀.ɻæ̀* ts^{h}ǽ.ɻæ̀, ts^{h}æ̀.ɻæ̂.ɻæ̂*
dʲæŋæ̂li	Small stature, the chest is sticking out and the head is looking up to the sky	*ŋæ̀lì* ŋǽlì*
dʲæts^{h}êl^ju	Nimble or agile movement of a small person working the land	*ts^{h}èl^jù* ts^{h}él^jù*

Ideophone	Description	Onomatopoeic ideophone
dʲækûlʲu ~ dʲækæ̂lʲæ	Wiggling of tooth that is still attached by its root ~ Wiggling of a tooth when it is about to fall out	*kùlʲù* kúlʲù* 'action of grabbing and holding on to something bigger and stronger than oneself, while pulled along with it in a swaying movement'
dʲæʈʂʰwâʈʂʰwɑ	Walking without stopping, fluent movement	*ʈʂʰwà* ʈʂʰwá*
dʲæɸúɸʉ	(Of angry people) doing things very fast without paying attention to others, not wanting to talk to others	*ɸʉ̀ɸʉ̀* 'sound of wind'

Additionally, some partial reduplication denoting a description of many people has been observed, as given in Table 9.2. A syllable with the initial consonant of the onomatopoeic ideophone followed by the high vowel /i/ is inserted between the stem *dʲæ-* and the onomatopoeic ideophone. Under influence of the high vowel /i/, some consonants are palatalised: the retroflex /ɻ/ of *ɻwɛ́* changes to [j] in the form *dʲæjîɻwɛ*, and the retroflex /ʂ/ of *ʂwɑ* changes to [ɕ] in the form *dʲæɕîʂwɑ*.

Table 9.2 Ideophone reduplication

Ideophone	Reduplication	Meaning
dʲæjæ̂jæ	*dʲæjîjæ*	'multiple people walking steadily'
dʲæɻwê.ɻwɛ	*dʲæjîɻwɛ*	'multiple people flitting by'
dʲæʂwâʂwɑ	*dʲæɕîʂwɑ*	'multiple people conduct a fluent movement'
dʲætʰæ̂ŋlæŋ	*dʲætʰîtʰæŋlæŋ*	'multiple people walking carrying lots of things'
dʲætʰîŋliŋ	*dʲætʰîtʰiŋliŋ*	'multiple fat people walking'

Syntactically, ideophones usually function as adverbial modifiers, preceding the verb:

(1339) tènóŋ = bú dʲæ̀wúwù dzóŋ = ɖáw kʰì.
just.now = TOP lustily burn = IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'Just now the fire was burning lustily.' (CV14.34.1)

(1340) dʲæ̀tsʰáwɻ̀aw nè-tɕʰóŋ ɦà
quickly DOWN-come:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'(...) (she) came down with her skirt moving quickly and (...)' (CV14.265)

(1341) qɛ́jíŋ = wù dʲæ̀jíjæ̀ è-ʂɛ̂j.
Karong = in steadily IN-go:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) (they) went up the valley from Karong without stopping.' (CV02.81)

They also function as a predicate of a clause, but without the normal postverbal marking:

(1342) swéŋ = kʰí = bù l̥ʲɛ́ = tù = bù dʲæ̀ʈʂʰwáʈʂʰwà
read = time = TOP tongue = on = TOP fluently

'When (I) was studying, (I) could read fluently (...)' (TC10.12)

9.3 Expressives

In Pǔmǐ the most common structure of expressives is a trisyllabic word with identical second and third syllables (ABB).[390] Expressives are marked[391] because of their reduplication and their tonal melody: the second and third syllables show two falling tones which causes a downstep (§3.3.6). Whereas the first syllable is usually a free lexical word that expresses the basic semantic meaning, the second and third syllables are often reduplicated ideophonic words that express the semantic intensity and colouring. I use the term expressives[392] rather than ideophones for these words, since only the second and third part of the word can be said to be truly ideophonic in many cases, but as seen below, not all expressives consist of an ideophonic part. There does not seem to be a very clear link between onomatopoeic ideophones (§9.2) and expressives.

Even though most expressives have three syllables of which the second and third are identical, the way of constructing them is variable. The most common way is with a stative verb followed by an ideophone. The choice of ideophone is lexically determined, but sometimes a verb can take different ideophones, depending on the particular colouring the speaker wants to give it, or the particular situation it describes. Colour terms in particular have several options. For example, the stative verb *nʲæ̌* 'black' can

[390] Similar to Chinese. For example, 干巴巴 *gānbābā* 'dry, boring', from the root 干 *gān* 'dry'. Interestingly, this word is borrowed in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ with the meaning 'very thin' as applied to people, as in (1352) below.

[391] They were some of the first words that stood out for me in conversation.

[392] Matisoff (1983:297) talks about intensified adjectives in Lahu.

be followed by different ideophones, all describing different shades of black or different situations:

(1343) *nʲǎbôŋbôŋ* 'rather dark, dusky' (darkness that limits clear observation)
nʲḁ̌ɻʲôŋ̊ɻʲôŋ 'black' (animals or clothes)
nʲǎqûqû 'pitch-black'
nʲḁ̌ɻûɻ̊û 'dark-skinned, tanned (face), with eyes clearly visible'
nʲǎhwâŋhwâŋ 'soot-black' (cooking pot or black person)
nʲḁ̌ɻ̊ɨ̂ɻ̊ɨ̂ 'angry-looking'
nʲǎʈɨ̂ʈɨ̂ 'very black' (animals)
nʲǎmûmû 'scarlet'

A single ideophone can also be used to modify different lexical parts. An example is the ideophone *-lʲǎlʲǎ* which occurs as the second part of an expressive in the following examples:[393]

(1344) *bɨ̂lʲǎlʲǎ* 'very thin' (clothing, bread), 'very shallow' (water) (< *bɨ̂* 'thin')
ʑǐŋlʲǎlʲǎ 'very light' (weight) (< *ʑǐŋ* 'light')
tsʰôŋlʲǎlʲǎ 'very short' (length) (< *tsʰôŋ* 'short')
dʑwǎlʲǎlʲǎ 'very short' (stature) (< *dʑwǎ* 'short')
pɨ̂lʲǎlʲǎ 'very soft' (< *pɨ̂* 'soft')
ʂɨ̌lʲǎlʲǎ 'hot (temperature of food)' (< *ʂɨ̌* 'warm')
tsɨ̀lʲǎlʲǎ 'very small' (< *tsɨ̂* 'son, child'?)

A distinction can be made between intensifying and restrictive expressives. In (1344), the ideophonic element only intensifies the basic meaning of the word but does not necessarily limit the circumstances in which it can be used. In (1343), the ideophonic element clearly semantically specifies the use of the word to certain situations. Within the semantic domain of black, the different ideophones occupy certain areas and almost act as subcategories: the ideophones encompass different parts of the whole expressed by the stative verb.

Colour terms often only appear as an expressive.[394] There are two basic colour terms in Pǔmǐ: *nʲǎ* 'black' and *ʈʰóŋ* 'white', which can appear by themselves without ideophones. Other colour terms are only found in expressives: *ní* 'red, unripe, green,

[393] There seems to be some iconicity involved: coronal sounds and front vowels express light and small meanings. But it is too early to draw conclusions and further research needs to be conducted.

[394] Colour terms in the neighbouring language Shǐxīng are ideophonic as well (Chirkova 2009:56).

blue'[395], *bě-* 'colourless, pale, gray, white', and *ɦǎŋ-* 'yellow' (< *ŋǽ* 'gold'?), as in (1345).

(1345) *nísɛ̂jsɛ̂j* 'red'
nínɛ̂ŋnɛ̂ŋ 'very green/blue'
bètɕʰwêtɕʰwê 'pale' (something that lost its colour; smooth clothing or wool)
bètɕɛ̂tɕɛ̂ 'very white'
bèhʲûhʲû 'gray'
ɦɛ̀ŋqûqû 'very yellow' (butter)

Apart from stative verbs followed by an ideophone, it is also possible for a noun to be followed by an ideophone, like *nóŋʈɛ̂jʈɛ̂j* 'emaciated' which describes the bareness of the land after the flood has swept it clean: the hills stick out like the ribs of an emaciated person. This expressive is built on the noun *nóŋ* 'rib'. Some other examples:

(1346) *pèkwɛ̂kwɛ̂* 'plastered with *tsampa*' (< *pě* '*tsampa* flour')
ʈʂêhʲûhʲû 'earth-coloured' (< *ʈʂɛ̂* 'dirt, earth')[396]

Sometimes the first syllable of the expressive is opaque:

(1347) *kʰéwâwâ* 'toothless' (people; a harrow)
kɛ́jôŋjôŋ 'bald-headed'
kwéŋlîŋlîŋ 'empty-handed' (of a visitor)

In some cases the second and third syllables are not true ideophones, but derive from lexical words, like *níŋɛ̂jŋɛ̂j* which describes the glowing of the embers in the fire, where the reduplicated second syllable is derived from the noun *ŋɛ́j* 'gold'.[397] The same is true for *tɕʰwǎʂwâʂwâ* 'dirty as a pig-sty', which derives from *tɕʰwǎ* 'pig' and *ʂwâ* 'nest' (it almost looks like an extended compound). The fact that lexical items form a source for ideophones raises the question whether some of the now unanalyzable 'true ideophones' originally derive from lexical words as well.

Sometimes the structure of the expressive is completely different, as in *mə́dîdî* which describes an expression of either surprise or lost hope in someone's eyes. This expressive consists of the stative verb *mə́di* 'to be surprised' where the second syllable [di] is repeated. A similar example is *ɕáwʈwâʈwâ* 'crooked, gnarled (of tree); swaying

[395] Occurs as a stative verb 'to be unripe (maize)' or 'to be red (of face in shame)'. This colour seems to occur as an independent colour term [nʲæ mə] in Yǔchū.

[396] Note the vowel reduction in the first syllable.

[397] Both *ŋɛ́j* and *ŋǽ* mean 'gold'. This might be dialect mixture: the form in Gélǔdiàn Pǔmǐ is *ŋɛ̂j* (Gerong Pincuo, MS) whereas the normal form in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is *ŋǽ*, but *ŋɛ́j* can also be used.

back and forth (because lack of strength)' which derives from the verb *ɕáwɻ̥wâ* 'to wring, throw (when wrestling)' (cf. [1350]).

Two more examples are given here. Note that in these examples the tonal template is different from the normal L.F.F template of expressives. The form *bɛ́jl̥ʌ̀l̥ʌ̀* ~ *bɛ̀jl̥ʌ̂l̥ʌ̂* describes someone's mouth plastered with food. This expressive derives from the noun *bɛ̂j* 'fodder' ('food' in some Mùlǐ speech varieties). The form *mʌ̀l̥ʌ́l̥ʌ̂* is used to describe the purring sound of a cat as well as the sound somebody makes when saying a rosary.[398] This is not a real expressive, but rather the noun-verb combination *maní l̥ʌ̂* with regressive assimilation of [l̥], *maní* being the shortened way of referring to the mantra *om mani padme hum*, and *l̥ʌ́* 'to narrate'.

The expressives in (1348) do not show the normal structure in terms of reduplication and tone (some have the same tonal template, but not the ABB syllable structure; some are alternative forms of canonical expressives; some show a different tonal template and syllable structure altogether, like the final five expressives with an AABB structure):

(1348)	*tóŋbâlâ*	'empty-handed' (visitors)[399]
	níkôŋlʲôŋ	'stark naked'
	ɕèʈâlâ	'very big' (< *ɕê* 'big')[400]
	qɐ̂tôŋlî ~ qɐ̂tôŋtôŋ	'very short' (stature)
	qɐ̂tsə̂lî ~ qɐ̂tsə̂tsə̂	'relatively small'
	qóŋdóŋlà ~ qóŋlôŋ(lôŋ)	'empty' (containers, bags, pockets)[401]
	kʰælájì	'slighty drunk'
	tɕʰə̀pʰàlâ	'soaking wet' (people)[402]
	qoŋqóŋɻɛ́jɻɛj	'train of people' (< *-qóŋ* 'CLF:ring', *-ɻɛ́j* 'string')
	qôŋqoŋmáma	'flighty' (< *qóŋma* 'crazy person')
	ʂûʂugǽgæ	'extremely happy' (< *ʂú = noŋ gǽ* 'happiness')[403]
	ʈoŋʈoŋlíli	'in small crumbs' (< *-ʈôŋ* 'CLF:piece', *–li* 'DIM')
	tsatsalíli	'many small sections' (< *-tsâ* 'CLF:section', *–li* 'DIM')

[398] In Tibetan culture, cats are said to be good Buddhists, since their purring reminds people of the constant repetition of Buddhist mantras.

[399] Similar to *kwɛ́ŋlîŋlîŋ* 'empty-handed'.

[400] Antonym of *qʰɛ̀tsɛ́jlʲæ̀* 'very small' (< *qʰɛ̀tsɛ̂j* 'small').

[401] This is an example of what Diffloth (1976) calls a lack of lexical discreteness: the existence of variant forms with the same meaning. This is often found with expressives.

[402] Similar to *dzǽŋl̥ʌ̂l̥ʌ̂* 'soaking wet' (firewood, clothes, things), (< *dzæ̂ŋ* 'wet').

[403] Or *gǽ = noŋ ʂú* 'happiness'. Similar coordinate constructions were described in §5.1.1.

Expressives are more integrated in the syntax than onomatopoeic ideophones, and can occupy a wider range of positions than ideophones proper. In general, they function like stative verbs: they can be used in predicate position, as in (1349),[404] followed by the current evidential *=ɖaw* (§8.3.2) as in (1350), or the stative verb marker *=ʈa* (§8.2), as in (1351); they can be nominalized (§5.2), as in (1351); they can be modified by *ɕiɕi* 'a little bit' (§4.7), as in (1352); they can modify nouns as adjectives, as in (1353); and they can appear as an argument of the light verb *pʉ́* 'to do' or, *dzŭ* 'to make', as in (1354).

(1349) l̥àdʑú = tɕəmə nè-púlʲǽ kʰì = tɕəmə bèʈwâʈwâ
head.cover = TOP DOWN-turn.upside.down time = TOP irregular

'When the head cover was upside down, (it) was all irregular (...)' (CV22.7.2)

(1350) gwěŋ = sə̀ ɕə́ tʰóŋ ɛ́ = qɛ̀j, ɕáwɻ̊wâɻ̊wá = ɖàw
horse = CONTR.TOP go can Q = EXPT swaying = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) the horse, however, will (it) be able to go? (It) is swaying back and forth (from lack of strength), (...)' (CV14.244)

(1351) pʉ́lʲǽlʲǽ = ʈà, ìŋ = ɻə́ (...) pʉ́lʲǽlʲǽ-mə̀ = gə̀ ʐóŋ = ʈâ.
very.soft = SVM 1:INCL = PL very.soft-NMLZ = DEF delicious = SVM

'(It)'s very soft, we (...) like to eat soft things.' (CV21.240.3,4)

(1352) ((jòŋtɕíŋ)) kǽŋpâpá ɕìɕì = ʈà, dǎwmà
T:dByangs.cin Ch:very.thin a.little.bit = SVM T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma

bádôŋdóŋ ɕìɕì = ʈà, ə́sèŋ?
short.and.stocky a.little.bit = SVM AGR

'((Yongjin)) is very thin, Dauma is short and stocky, right?' (CV01.54)

(1353) gúmíŋ táʂǽŋʂǽŋ = gə = bù
body tall.lanky = DEF = TOP

'(...) the one with the tall body (...)' (CV07.18)

(1354) ɛ́ = nʲǽ[405] níkǽkǽ tʰè-pʉ̀ = sèŋ
1SG = AGT very.firm FR.SP-make PFV:EGO

'(...) I already made that very firm (...)' (CV14.146.1)

[404] But note that in this particular example no postverbal marking is present. This is similar to (1342) where an ideophone proper functions as a predicate.

[405] The Lābǎi Pǔmǐ variant of the first person agentive marker.

The main way expressives are different from stative verbs is that they do not take directional prefixes, and a change of state is rather expressed in a light verb construction with the verb *ɖǒŋ* 'to become' (§7.1.2).

(1355) pálí bèʈwæ̂ʈwǽ nè-ɖòŋ = sì
jacket colourless DOWN-become = INF

'The jacket has lost its colour.' (EL)

An expressive can also be used as an adverbial modifier, as in (1356), whereas a stative verb has to use *pʉ́* 'to do' in an adverbial modifying construction (§7.10.1).

(1356) ɛ̀má = bì bètâtâ də̀-l̥wɛ̌ mə́ l̥wɛ̂
aunt DAT wide.open.eyed TO.SP-gaze NMLZ.CONSTR

'(The girl) (...) kept looking at aunt with wide-open eyes.' (CV06.2.1)

There is one example of an expressive in a nominal position, where the expressive is followed by the postposition *= wu* 'in':

(1357) ɛ̀má ɕɛ́ = nòŋ tə́ = ɻə́ nʲæ̀qûqú = wù tə́-m̥à = ɖàw
aunt big = COORD 3 = PL pitch.black = in UP-get.up = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) oldest aunt and others get up when it is still pitch black (...)' (CV04.56)

Expressives are reduplicated in the following manner: the first syllable is reduplicated and followed by the syllable *pʉ* (thus *ABB* > *A-pʉ-ABB*). It is not clear whether *pʉ* is related to the verb *pʉ́* 'to do'. Reduplication indicates that the expressive describes more than one person. So, semantically, not all expressives can be reduplicated in this manner. Only those expressives that are used for describing the appearance or manner of people or things can be reduplicated. The corpus has only one example, but elicitation shows that it is a productive process.

(1358) tèʈʰì = bú bèpʉ́bèʈwæ̂ʈwæ̂ gwěŋ = là mí = dzwɛ́j
a.while = TOP empty.expression:PL horse = also NEG:PFV = ride:PFV:N.EGO

ʑɛ́gì kʰə̀-tɕʰóŋ mə̀ dzà mà, nə́-tsə̀ = gə̀
behind OUT-come:PFV:N.EGO GNOMIC INFO two-CLF:people = DEF

'After a while, those two people, who had not ridden horses, came behind with empty expressions.' (CV22.1.5)

9.4 Interjections and expletives

Interjections are usually single words that are not part of the syntax and can be left out without any syntactic reorganization. They often appear by themselves as a full utterance. Watters (2002:188) describes interjections as 'emotive outbursts'. A partial list of interjections is given in Table 9.3. Some interjections show reduplication of the

second syllable for a more intensive meaning. The non-reduplicated form can also be said repeatedly with a similar effect.

Table 9.3 Interjections

Interjection	Meaning and use
əɦěŋ	'No'
ěŋ	'Yes'
ɦə̌	'Oh'
îii...!!	'Gee!' (expresses sharp surprise at something unexpected)
wî	'Gee!' (expresses surprise)
êmi/êmimimi ~ êmʲæ	'Good grief, yikes!' (expresses surprise, fright upon hearing some piece of news) (accompanied by a wide-open-eyed expression on someone's face)
ə̂joŋmâ	'Whoa!' (expresses mild surprise)
ə̂ju/ə̂juju/ə̂jujuju	'Oh!' (expresses a slight shock at hearing a piece of news, or seeing a situation)
ê̞paw ~é̞bǎw ~ êbaw/êbawbaw	'My oh my!' (expresses discomfort, disgust or dismay at a mildly negative situation)
êbæŋ/êbæŋbæŋbæŋ	'Bah!' (expresses disgust at someone's behaviour)
têi	'Wow!' (expresses surprise and admiration)
pʰêi	'Ugh!' (expresses disgust) (accompanied by a movement that is almost like spitting)
âwhaw/âwhawhaw	'Uh-oh' (expresses that something goes wrong)
ɦeŋɦeŋɦéŋʔ	'Oomph!' (used when conducting strenuous effort, like climbing a steep slope)
êtsʰitsʰi ~ êtsʰatsʰa	'Ouch!' (when touching something hot or when the weather is hot)
êtɕʰutɕʰu	'Ouch!' (when touching something icy or when the weather is cold)
nǒŋməda	'That's right, exactly!' (expresses agreement; mostly used by older women; now often replaced by the Chinese 就是 *jiùshì*)
dʑínʲæ	'Really!' (expresses confirmation of a statement, or amusement at somebody else's statement or action)

Interjection	Meaning and use
tʰəʑæ̂	'Spare my life!/Beg your pardon!/Thanks' (expresses a request for consideration, or gratitude)
tʰəʑæ̂ láwlaw	'Thank you so much' (expresses intense gratitude)
ɦa lʲɛj lʲɛj	'Nanananana' (expresses mockery; found in Trickster stories)
nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ	'Njam njam' (expresses enjoyment of food while others look on jealously; found in Trickster stories)

Some other interjections rather function as an interactive device to make the addressee act, and can be seen as one-word commands.

(1359)	*nʲæ̂*	'Here, take it!' (when handing somebody something)
	dʲæ̌ ~ jæ̌	'Let me (look, do it, pass)!' or 'Go away!'
	dʑwæ̌	'Let it be!'
	ɕæ̂	'Let's go!'
	tʲɛ̌j	'Look!'
	wɛ̂j	'Hey!' (to draw people's attention)
	ɦæ̂ŋ [406]	'Huh?' (asking people to repeat what they said)
	wû	'Hey!' (in order to locate people; often first a name is called)
	âw	'Here!' (in answer to *wû*!)

Since keeping animals is a big part of Pǔmǐ daily life, it is not surprising that the language has a wide range of interjections for handling animals. These can be divided into three categories: calling animals towards the speaker; shooing them away from the speaker or from a certain place or driving them when herding; cursing them for doing something they should not do (for example a dog stealing food). The interjections are listed in Table 9.4 and the curses are listed in Table 9.5.

Note that many of the interjections for calling animals end in the syllable *nʲæ*. This is the same as the first interjection listed in (1359), since these interjections are mainly used when feeding animals. The interjection for calling yaks is the word for salt: a speaker will usually simultaneously call and hold out some salt on their palm. Some

[406] Note that the interjection has a falling tone, which is the opposite of the question intonation in English. Matisoff (1994:117 and note) comments on a similar interjection in Lahu and the importance to pronounce it with the correct tone. I had a similar experience during my fieldwork.

interjections have various forms and most interjections can be repeated multiple times depending on the urgency or intensity expressed by the speaker.

Table 9.4 Interjections for handling animals

Animal	Call	Shoo (away) or herd
dog	*ʔâw ~ʔâwnʲæ̀*	*kʰâ kʰâ kʰâ* (commanding dogs to attack somebody)
cat	*ɛ̀nʲóːŋnʲæ̀* ||||[407]	-
chicken	*tǐːtìnʲæ̀* !!!!![408] *~ tǐtítítí*	*ɕâwʔ ɕâwʔ ɕâwʔ ~ ɕɛ́hà*
pig	*wǎwnʲǎ*	*ʂû ʂû ~ ʔáwʂû*
goat (sheep)	*ʔjǎːwnʲæ̀*	*ʔjâw ʔjâw ʔjâw*
bovine	*ʔǎːnʲâ*	*wǎwʔ wǎwʔ wǎwʔ*
horse, mule	*wǎwɕə̥ ~ wǎwɕə̥̀wɕə̥̀w*	*tɕʰû*
yak	*tsʰí tsʰí tsʰí tsʰí*	*wǎwʔ wǎwʔ wǎwʔ*

Animal curses are mostly nouns or nominal compounds expressing various plagues and predators that pose a danger to livestock and pets.

Table 9.5 Animal curses

Animal	Curse	Meaning
dog	*swî(tɕʰi) ~ ʈʂʰəníŋ*	'leopard (food)' ~ 'dog plague'
cat	*mɛníŋ*	'cat plague'
chicken	*kɛtʲóŋ ~ ɻuníŋ*	'wildcat' ~ 'chicken plague'
pig	*tɕʰwæníŋ ~ lêgoŋ qʰæŋtáji*	'pig plague' ~ 'food for wolves'[409]
goat	*tsʰəníŋ*	'goat plague'
bovine	*pútɕʰi*	'wild dog food'
horse	*ɻwɛdǐ ~ qujǐtɕʰi*	'old horse' ~ 'crow food'
mule	*ʈidǐ ~ qujǐtɕʰi*	'old mule' ~ 'crow food'
yak	*qujǐtɕʰi*	'crow food'

[407] Multiple dental clicks.

[408] Multiple alveolar clicks.

[409] Literally means: '(Object) for neck-biting by the wolf' (wolf = AGT neck-bite-NMLZ).

The corpus has one example of an expletive (or swear word), probably from Tibetan:

(1360) ɦǎŋjì, lámásóŋdʑíŋtɕʰîŋ
INTJ my.god

'Wow, my god!' (CV21.203)

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter described onomatopoeic ideophones, ideophones proper, expressives and interjections. Onomatopoeic ideophones are often sound symbolic and some seem to show a certain amount of iconicity. Apart from sound, they might express movement and visual patterns as well. Ideophones proper are built on a template that incorporates onomatopoeic ideophones, and and are most clearly depictions of sounds, movement, visual patterns, other sensory perceptions, inner feelings and cognitive states. They have a partial reduplication template to depict multiple people. Expressives are trisyllabic structures that are often built from a semantically meaningful first syllable and a reduplicated ideophonic second and third syllable. Many colour terms are expressives.

This thesis only started exploring the substantial wealth of ideophones and expressives found in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. The great number of ideophones and expressives present in the language certainly deserve further research. A possible outcome could be an illustrated dictionary of ideophones and expressives.

Chapter 10.
Complex constructions

This chapter deals with complex structures that are the result of coordination (§10.1), clause linking and verb concatenation (§10.2), complementation (§10.3), and subordination (§10.4). It discusses insubordination (§10.5), one of the topics that has recently received attention in the literature. The chapter also discusses several continuous action constructions (§10.7) and comparison and equation structures (§10.6). It ends with sections on the predicate-focus construction (§10.8) and discourse features (§10.9). Relative clauses were discussed in §5.3.2.

One of the characteristic areas of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is the use of discourse markers (§6.5) in a whole range of complex constructions, mainly predicate-focus constructions (§10.8) and subordinate clauses (§10.4). The use of discourse markers as subordinators has been discussed since Haiman's work on conditionals as topics (Haiman 1978). Some work on Tibeto-Burman languages is Matisoff (1973) which deals extensively with unrestricted particles in Lahu, Genetti (1991) and LaPolla (1995) on the development of semantic role markers to clause subordinators, and Mazaudon (2003) which discusses topic markers and intensifiers used as subordinators. Since in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the extent of discourse markers used in complex constructions is quite substantial, I will illustrate their use with multiple examples in §10.4 and §10.8.

10.1 Coordination and disjunction

The coordination marker *=noŋ* can link phrases as well as clauses and mark conjunction as well as disjunction. Noun phrase coordination is described in §5.7; in this section clausal coordination will be illustrated. An example of clausal coordination and noun phrase coordination is given in (1361).

(1361) kɛ́lʲàɛ=ɖàw, tɕʰwàɛ-tɕʰì tɕʰí=nòŋ pùtá ʑʌ́ʑù
hard=IPFV:N.EGO pig-food feed=COORD wooden.bucket lift:COLL

qʰù, tɕʰwàɛ-tɕʰì-pútá=nòŋ nʲə́ ʑú kʰì=bù
need pig-food-wooden.bucket=COORD thus lift time=TOP

'It is hard, (I) need to feed the pigs and lift wooden buckets; when lifting the pig fodder bucket and actions like this (...)' (CV02.48)

When *=noŋ* links two non-identical parallel clauses, it has a disjunctive meaning 'whether X or Y'. Examples are given of two slightly different parallel clauses, as in (1362), a positive and a negative parallel clause, as in (1363), or a declarative clause

followed by a parallel interrogative, as in (1503). Note that *=noŋ* can follow both clauses, as in (1363), which is an argument to analyse it as an enclitic rather than a proclitic.

(1362) ɕwɛ̀-tsə́ tɕà̰w=nòŋ gə́-tsə̀
eight-CLF:person say:IPFV:N.EGO=COORD nine-CLF:person

tɕà̰w wɛ̀j?
say:IPFV:N.EGO PUZ

'(...) was it said (that it was) eight people or nine people?' (CV07.65.2)

(1363) tə́ tóŋ ʑìŋ=nóŋ mà=ʑìŋ=nóŋ
this speak can=COORD NEG=can=COORD

'Whether or not he could narrate this, (...)' (CV13.114.1)

(1364) dùtɕʰæ̀ píŋmá dzə̀=nòŋ híŋ dzə̀ lʲæ̀?
Dutchae Pingma be=COORD who be RHET

'(...) it's Dutchae Pingma or who?' (CV02.93.1)

A non-identical (disjunctive) clause coordination construction with *=noŋ* is often used as a complement clause of *tɕʰɛ̂mi* 'not sure, don't know' (§10.3.1.1), as in (1365) and example (1403).

(1365) nŏŋ=sə̀ ʈɛ́ɕə́mà=bì də́dwɛ̀=nòŋ
in.that.case=CONTR.TOP T:bKra.shis.ma=DAT ask=COORD

mí=də́dwɛ̀=là tɕʰɛ́mì
NEG:PFV=ask=also not.sure

'In that case, (I) don't know whether or not (they) have asked Zhacima (...)' (CV02.93.1)

When verbs linked by *=noŋ* are completely identical, the meaning is one of intensity, as in (1366), or prolonged duration or repetition, as in (1367). It is often used with reported speech.

(1366) ɛ́ ɛ̀-pʰíŋ=kʰì=nòŋ ní=là kɛ̀=ʈá=nòŋ kɛ̀=ʈá
1SG IN-flee=time=only LOG=also afraid=SVM=COORD afraid=SVM

tɕə̀
say

'(...) when I fled inside, (she) said that she was very much afraid as well (...)' (CV06.10)

(1367) sɛ́nóŋ = sə̀ jǎw tə̀ = dzǎ̰ŋ ɛ̀-lú = qɛ̀j = nòŋ
Sanong = CONTR.TOP again 3 = DU IN-pass.out.of.sight = EXPT = COORD

ɛ̀-lú = qɛ̀j tɕàw mà.
IN-pass = EXPT say:IPFV:N.EGO INFO

'But Sanong said repeatedly that the two of them would have passed out of sight.' (CV02.82)

10.2 Verb concatenation and clause chaining

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has various constructions for expressing events that include multiple actions, namely verb concatenation, non-finite clause chains, finite clause chains and separate clauses. 'Finite' is defined as being marked for person, aspect and evidentiality. The various constructions show different levels of integration on a scale ranging from the relatively tightly integrated verb concatenations to the less tight non-finite clause chain, to the even less tight finite clause chain, to non-integrated separate clauses.

The various constructions can be described using the layered clause structure approach laid out in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997). In this approach, a distinction is made between the Nucleus, the smallest layer which contains the predicate; the Core, the intermediate layer which contains the predicate and its core arguments; and the Clause, the largest layer which contains the predicate, its modifiers and its arguments.

The combination of the different elements (Nucleus, Core and Clause) can be described with the terms Nuclear juncture (Nucleus + Nucleus); Core juncture (Core + Core); and Clause juncture (Clause + Clause). The various manners in which these elements are joined together are Coordination, Subordination and Cosubordination. Cosubordination is intermediate between coordination and subordination: it does not involve embedding (like coordination), but one of the elements is dependent on the other (like subordination).

Verb concatenation (term from Matisoff 1969) in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is defined as a multiple-verb chain in which all verbs share the actor and the patient arguments, and which often, but not necessarily, forms a single predicate.[410] No constituents are allowed to come between the different verbs, and no pause can be observed between the different verbs. However, the clause linker *ɦa* can often be inserted, turning it into a non-finite clause chain (exceptions to this are some of the versatile verb concatenations that have

[410] Matisoff (1969:72) talks about 'fortituous concatenation', i.e. a clause chain with lots of coreferential zero anaphora, which looks superficially like a serial verb construction, but in which the different verbs belong to separate clauses. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, fortituous concatenation can be observed frequently. However, such juxtaposed verbs have limited ability to take different arguments: they need to share the same actor and patient arguments.

been discussed in §7.8 in which the second verb has a grammaticalised meaning). Inflection is only marked on the final verb. The different verbs show the same polarity: when negation is present, it has scope over the whole concatenation. The different verbs in the concatenation form separate tone groups (§3.2). Verb concatenation can be analysed as involving Nuclear juncture.

Non-finite clause chains are marked by non-finite verb forms in all but the final clause. The clauses share the same actor argument, but not necessarily the same patient argument; when no overt patient argument is expressed in a clause, the patient is taken to be the same as the patient of the preceding clause. When the patient is different between the clauses, a patient argument needs to be expressed. Different polarity is possible. Non-finite clause chains can be strung together without any clause linkers, in which case the different verbs express simultaneous actions. When no clause linker is present, a pause is possible between the different verbs in the clause chain. Sequentiality can be expressed through the use of the clause-final clause linker *ɦa* (or its variants *ɦaɻoŋni* and *ɦa tçəbu*), the marker *dəbǔ* 'then', or a combination of the two. Depending on the relationship between the clauses that are linked, the clause linker *ɦa* can also mark cause-and-effect. This ties closely and is an extension of the sequential meaning. Non-finite clause chains can be analysed as involving Core juncture.

Finite clause chains are linked by the clause linker *ɦa* and display finite verb forms in their non-final clauses. These chains can share the same actor and patient arguments, but this is not obligatory; when no overt actor or patient argument is expressed in a clause, the actor or patient is taken to be the same as the actor or patient of the preceding clause. When the actor or patient is different between the clauses, an overt actor or patient argument needs to be expressed. Different polarity is possible. Finite clause chains can be analysed as involving Clause juncture.

Separate clauses are not linked and show finite marking. Arguments are not necessarily shared, but can be. Different polarity is possible. Separate clauses do not involve any juncture.

Table 10.1 shows the different constructions. '+' indicates that something needs to be the same; '-' indicates that something is not necessarily the same; 'Ø' indicates that no clause marker is present.

Table 10.1. Concatenation and clause chains

	actor argument	patient argument	polarity	clause marker present
verb concatenation	+	+	+	Ø
non-finite clause chain	+	-	-	Ø/*ɦa*/*dəbŭ*
finite clause chain	-	-	-	*ɦa*
separate clauses	-	-	-	Ø

The clause linker *ɦa* seems to be related to the ablative marker *ɦa* (§6.2.9). Ablative markers in many Tibeto-Burman languages are used as causal subordinators (Genetti 1986, 1991; LaPolla 1995a, 1995b, 2004) and in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ *ɦa* can mark causal subordination as well as general clause linking. Causal subordination is discussed in §10.4.3.

10.2.1 *Verb concatenation*

Verb concatenation in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is defined as a construction of two or more verbs that occur in adjacent positions and often function as a single predicate. Thus no constituents come between the verbs. The whole construction can denote a single event in which the different verbs constitute sub-events. Verb concatenation appears as a single intonation unit. This means that a pause cannot be inserted without breaking up the unit. The unit is, however, not a single tone group (§3.2), but all verbs keep their own lexical tone. Inflection (aspect and evidential marking) is realized on the final verb of a unit.

Verb concatenation shows a gliding scale of integration. The most tight integration happens with some constructions (described in §7.8) in which the second verb is drawn from a limited group of verbs and usually functions as some kind of aspectual modifier to the first verb.[411] In some of those constructions the clause linker *ɦa* cannot be inserted without changing the meaning of the whole construction. Most other verb concatenations appear to be what Matisoff (1969:72) calls 'fortuitous concatenations', that is, even though they superficially look like a single predicate, the verbs belong to

[411] One could alternatively talk about asymmetrical serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2006).

different clauses.[412] In these concatenations (described in this section) all verbs are drawn from an unrestricted group of verbs. The order of the different verbs reflects the order of the actions they denote. The clause linker *ɦa* can always be inserted without substantial change in meaning; it does break up the different actions more clearly. However, when verbs concatenate, both agent and patient roles (if specified by the verb semantics) and polarity are necessarily the same, whereas when *ɦa* is present, the patient argument and polarity do not have to be the same. This can be explained as the difference between nuclear juncture and core juncture (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997).

A few examples are given in (1368), (1369), (1370) and (1371). Whereas one could still interpret (1368), (1369) and (1370) as a single predicate, the two verbs in (1371) clearly represent two separate actions. Note that in all these examples *ɦa* can be inserted without problem. In (1369) the verb *kwɛj* modifies both *tsə́ŋ* 'to fall down' and *sə̌* 'to die'.

(1368) nʲùkǽŋtɕwìŋ dzà tɕà ɦà mǐ ə́-tɛ̀j = mə̀
Ch:king.boletus be say LINK edible.fungus that-be.big = NMLZ

tʲóŋ **ɛ̀-pʉ́ɻʉ́** **qʰə̀-dzwə́** = sì.
one:CLF:thing IN-roast OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF

'(...) (they) roasted and ate a mushroom this big called 'king boletus'.' (YJ01.20)

(1369) swǽŋ dəbǔ kʰù-dʑì qʰə́-pʰǽŋ kʰì = là,
father then out-direction OUT-flee:PFV:N.EGO time = also

hɛ̀ʂə̀ qʰɛ́ = tù **nɛ̀-tsɛ̀ŋ** **nɛ̀-sə̀** **kwɛ́j**
Ch:still spike = on DOWN-fall DOWN-die let:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) when the father fled outwards, (Hare) also caused (him) to fall down on the spike and die.' (TC04.36)

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[412] Because of the possibility to insert the clause linker *ɦa* between many of the verbs without substantial change in meaning, I prefer to use the term 'verb concatenation' rather than 'serial verb constructions'.

Cross-linguistically, symmetrical serial verbs have the tendency to lexicalize (Aikhenvald 2006:22) and it is often culture-specific events that are seen as one concept and are lexicalized (Durie 1997; Enfield 2002). I have not seen clear examples of lexicalization in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

(1370) jǎw tè-pʰǎ̃, tè-pʰǎ̀ pʉ́ dəbǔ jǎw
again one-CLF:piece one-CLF:piece do then again

nè-gə́ŋ jǎw, **è-tʲě** **kʰə̀-tǐ.**
DOWN-cut.with.scissors again IN-fold OUT-put

'(...) after having cut (it) piece by piece, (we) would fold (it) and put (it) away.' (SN01.5)

(1371) dəbǔ ɕwíŋ **qʰə̀-dzə́** **tə́-ɕə̀** kʰì=bù dəbǔ tí-qʰú tsʰí-tɛ́j
then lunch OUT-eat UP-go time=TOP then up-on meadow-big

tə́-tâ.
UP-arrive

'After having eaten lunch and having gone up, (we) arrived at a meadow.' (YJ01.4)

Because the order of the different verbs reflects the order of the actions they denote, verb concatenation often displays a cause-effect relation, as in (1372).

(1372) **nè-n̥ʲě** **tə́-sʉ́** **kɛ̀j** mà!
DOWN-pour UP-be.full let:IMP INFO

'Pour (it) until (it's) full!' (CV19.107)

Some verb concatenations show more specific semantics. In (1373) and (1374) V_2 is a verb of motion ('to get, to bring, to go, to come') and V_1 is a verb of manner conducting the motion. Again, the order of the two verbs reflects the order of the actions they denote.

(1373) tɕáw-tʰóŋ wúʂə̀ tɕíŋ ɕə́=mə̀ **nè-kú**
Ch:rubber-barrel Ch:fifty Ch:pound go=NMLZ DOWN-carry.on.back

tə́-ʐâ
UP-carry

'(...) so (we) brought a barrel that held 50 pounds carrying (it) up on our backs (...)' (SN02.21)

(1374) dəbǔ è-ʂɛ̀j è-ʂɛ̀ kʰì, **nè-dzɛ́j** **è-ʂɛ̀j**
then IN-go:PFV:N.EGO IN-go:PFV:N.EGO time DOWN-ride IN-go:PFV:N.EGO

kʰì=bù dəbǔ
time=TOP then

'Then (they) went and went, (he) was riding as (he) went (...)' (TC03.16)

As stated above, some verb concatenation is rather loose in integration. With tail-head linking (§10.9.2), it is not always the case that the whole construction is repeated, as is illustrated in (1375):

(1375) m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí = tí dzà = ɖù̀w = (nʲæ̀), **tə́-ɕù̀w** **kʰə̀-tɕɛ́** **kwɛ̀j**.
female-DIM = INDF be = IPFV:N.EGO = just UP-raise OUT-be.big let:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) it turned out to be a girl, and (so) (he) raised (her) till (she) was big.' (CV07.11)

kʰə̀-tɕɛ̀ **kwɛ̀j** kʰì = bù dəbǔ
OUT-be.big let:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then

'When (he) had let (her) become big, (...)' (CV07.12)

10.2.2 *Non-finite clause chains*

In non-finite clause chains only the final verb is inflected. The verbs in a non-finite clause chain obligatorily share their S or A arguments, but O arguments do not need to be shared and can be overtly expressed between the different verbs. Clause linkers are optionally used and if no clause linker is present, a pause may be inserted between the different clauses. Non-finite clause chains can be analysed as core junctures.

An example of a non-finite clause chain without overt clause linkers is shown in (1376). Even though no clause linker is used, the chain can be distinguished from verb concatenation by the pauses between the different clauses and the fact that the argument *tɕætɕə̌* 'alcohol' and the adverbial modifier *nɐ-gəgwɛ̌ pʉ* 'drunk' is overtly expressed between the verbs.

The verbs *dzə́* 'to eat' and *tʰɨ̌ŋ* 'to drink' are not marked for person, aspect or evidentiality. Only the final verb *dzóŋ* 'to sit' is marked by the customary marker *weŋ* (§8.5), but the scope of *weŋ* is over the whole clause chain. Note that non-finite verbs are able to take a directional prefix.

(1376) gì l̥ǐ mù = ɕə́-mə́ = ɻə̀ = bù ɕí = wù tɛ́-qɛ̀
livestock herd NEG = go-NMLZ = PL = TOP village = in one-CLF:household

tɛ́-qɛ̀ pʉ̀ ɻɛ́j qʰə̀-dzâ, tɕæ̀tɕə̌ kʰə̀-tʰîŋ,
one-CLF:household do invite.guest OUT-eat alcohol OUT-drink

nɛ̀-gə̀gwɛ̀ pʉ́ dzóŋ wêŋ
DOWN-drunk:COLL do sit CUST.EXCL

'(…) The ones who do not herd animals will eat as guests in the village at one household in turn, drink alcohol, and hang out drunk. (…)' (CL02ed.22)

Non-finite clause chaining using *dəbŭ* 'then'[413] is often found in procedural texts and can include larger sections of text of which multiple non-finite clauses are only wrapped up by one finite clause at the end of the text.[414] An example of this is a prescription of how to make butter tea. Since it is a short text, it is given in its entirety in (1377). The finite predicates are given in bold font. As can be seen, only the first two and last two lines contain finite predicates.

The middle part of the text is one long non-finite clause chain that is wrapped up by *tʰɐ-dzû weŋ* in the second to last line.

(1377) tə̀ɕǽ=bú, ɛ̀=nî ìŋ-bá ʈʰóŋmə́-bà
now=TOP 1SG=AGT 1:INCL-household:GEN Pŭmĭ-household:GEN

mú-dʑí tɕʰə̀nə́ pɯ́ **qú=wèŋ** ə̀ tə́ tɛ̀-tsá=gə́
butter-tea how do cook=CUST.EXCL INTJ this one-CLF:section=DEF

ɛ̀ljǎtì **nɛ̀-tòŋ=ʂû.**
a.little DOWN-speak=VOL:SG

'Now I will tell you a bit about the part of how our Pŭmĭ household makes butter tea.' (PC01.1)

dəbŭ, mú-dʑí tɕʰə̀nə́ pɯ́ **qú=wèŋ** lʲǽ?
then butter-tea how do cook=CUST.EXCL RHET

'So how to make butter tea?' (PC01.2)

ɻə́=bù dəbŭ, dʑì sə́ ɛ̀-tĭ; dʑĭ dəbù ɕɛ̀-díŋ=wà dʑĭ
first=TOP then tea first IN-put tea then Hàn-area=in:GEN tea

tə́-jɛ́j=mə dəbŭ ə́-pù ɛ̀-tĭ; tə́-lʲù kɛ̀j.
UP-get=NMLZ then that-under IN-put UP-boil let

'First of all, put tea on first; the tea... put the tea that has been brought in from the Hàn Chinese area on under there; let (it) come to a boil;' (PC01.3)

tə́-lʲù kʰì=bù dəbŭ, tə̂ ʈʂǽdóŋ=wù nɛ̀-tɕî.
UP-boil time=TOP then this churn=in DOWN-churn

'when (it) is boiling, pour (it) into this tea churn;' (PC01.4)

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[413] Note that *dəbŭ* is also used by speakers as a hesitation marker 'uhm, so...' to gather their thoughts (§10.9.3). This use can be observed several times in (1377).

[414] A similar pattern is also reported for Dulong and Rawang procedural texts (LaPolla 2001) where the main steps end in a non-finite reduplicated verb.

dəbû (ə̀ mû) ìŋ=ɻǽ tə́ qóŋ=q^{h}wá ɻwɛ́=gǽ
then INTJ butter 1:INCL=PL:GEN this highland=on:GEN yak=GEN

dəbǔ nɛ̌j də-tsə́=mə́=gæ̀ tə̂ mú t^{h}ɛ̀-dzú=mə̀
then milk TO.SP-syphon=NMLZ=GEN this butter FR.SP-=make=NMLZ

dəbú ə́-wù nɛ̀-dî;
then that-in DOWN-throw

'then put in butter that has been made from our highland yak milk that has been milked;' (PC01.5)

dəbù, ts^{h}ì=lá nɛ̀-dî;
then salt=also DOWN-throw

'then also put in some salt;' (PC01.6)

dəbǔ nɛ̀-dzôŋ;
then DOWN-churn

'then churn (it);' (PC01.7)

dəbǔ, nə́ pɯ́ **t^{h}ɛ̀-dzú** **wèŋ**.
then thus do FR.SP-make CUST.EXCL

'then…(it) is usually made like this.' (PC01.8)

nə́ pɯ́ t^{h}ɛ̀-dzú dəbǔ, k^{h}ì=bù dəbǔ, **t^{h}ǐŋ** **tá** **dzə̂**.
thus do FR.SP-make then time=TOP then drink can be

'After having made (it) like this, (one) can drink (it).' (PC01.9)

An example of sequential non-finite clause chaining with the clause linker *ɦa*[415] is given in (1378), where multiple non-finite clauses precede the final clause. Person, aspect and evidentiality are only marked on the final clause, but non-final verbs can take directional prefixes.

[415] Note that the final *ɦa* in (1378) is part of the nominalization construction and is a different morpheme from the clause linker *ɦa*.

(1378) dəbǔ tə̀ m̥ə̀gə́ŋ = bù [ʈǐ = qʰù nɛ̀-dzɛ́j] ɦà [nə́ pʉ́
then this old.man = TOP mule = on DOWN-ride LINK thus do

tʰɛ̀-kʰí] ɦà [“wû wû” tɕə̀] ɦà [nə́ pʉ́ ɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ
FR.SP-grab LINK INTJ INTJ say LINK thus do IN-come:PFV:N.EGO

mə́ tɕʰòŋ ɦɑ], nʲæ̀qúqú = wù.
NMLZ.CONSTR pitch.black = in

‘This old man came riding on a mule, holding on like this, and calling out “Wu, wu!,” in the pitch-blackness.’ (CV06.8)

Non-finite clause chains can have different O arguments, as in (1379) where the object of *ɐ-ɻ̊ɛ̂ŋ* is the non-expressed ‘bread’, whereas the object of *qʰə-ʈʉ̌* is ‘glowing embers’. This is not possible in a verb concatenation. If *ɦa* is left out in (1379), the meaning of the resulting verb concatenation is strange; it would denote that the ‘glowing embers’ are the object of the baking. Since only the final verb carries inflection, inflection holds scope over all non-final clauses and thus the S/A arguments are obligatorily the same.

(1379) mɛ̀tsú = góŋ ə́-dʑæ̀ [dʑìɖwà = tí]$_{O}$ qʰə̀-ʈʉ̌ ɦà
tong = INS that-location:GEN glowing.ember = INDF OUT-dig LINK

ɛ̀-ɻ̊ɛ̂ŋ.
IN-bake:IMP:PL

‘Dig some glowing embers over there with the fire tongs and bake (the bread).’ (CV21.100)

One often finds clauses in which the utterance verb *tɕə̌* ‘to say’ is linked by *ɦa* to a following manner of speaking verb or clause, as in (1380) and (1381). This is true as well for clauses in which *tɕə̌* means ‘so-called’, as in (1382). In Tibeto-Burman languages a common extension of the ablative is to mark (manner) adverbials (LaPolla 1995), and this seems to be happening here.

(1380) pèilálá wû, wû, **tɕə̀ ɦà nə́ pʉ́**
Ch:without.rhyme.or.reason INTJ INTJ say LINK thus do

qwɛ́ɻɛ́j = ɖàw
shout = IPFV:N.EGO

‘Without rhyme or reason he shouted, ‘Wu, wu!’ like this. (...)’ (CV04.19.3)

(1381) káw = ɕì nǒŋ “ə́-qʰù ʑí kʰì,” jǎw má = tù, “nǐŋ
uncle(MB) = LIM.TOP so that-on EXIST.AN time again aunt = on 2SG

jǎw hòŋ-qʰú ɛ̀-ʂɛ̀j tì,” **tɕà** **ɦà** **nə́** **tɕə́** = nòŋ
again in-on IN-go:PFV:N.EGO say:IMP:SG say LINK thus say = COORD

“nìŋ-bá ɕə́ = ní ɕə́ = qɛ́j = ɖàw kʰì,” **tɕà** **ɦà**
2-household:GEN go = ADD.FOC go = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL say LINK

ɕwɛ́pà = ɖàw mə̀ ɖà jǎw.
scold = IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR again

‘So uncle was scolding Aunt (Sanong), “When (Pingma) was up there (in his bedroom), he still let you say that he went up there (to the new house), even though (Pingma) wanted to go up there, (he still acted like that, i.e. told Aunt Sanong to say it like that).” ’ (CV04.20)

(1382) ɻə̀-pʉ̀qá ɕə́-ɻə́-pʉ̀qà tɕà ɦà nə́ = mə́ pʉ́qá tɛ́-ʈʰʉ̀
skin-shoe muntjac-skin-shoe say LINK thus = NMLZ shoe one-CLF:pair

də̀-kʰwěŋ mə́ dzə̂.
TO.SP-give:PFV:N.EGO GNOMIC

‘(My family) gave (me) a pair of leather shoes like this, so-called ‘muntjac skin shoes’.’ (TC10.24)

A direct quote linked by *ɦa* to an action can express the reason for the action, as in (1383). This is similar to what Genetti (2006:15) mentions for Dolakha Newar.

(1383) míŋ dzə̀ tɕʰɛ́mì, m̥ə́(= gə̀) ɛ́ = dzə̀ = bù dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tóŋ = qɛ̂j,
what be not.sure person(= DEF) Q = be = TOP speech speak = EXPT

ʑɛ̀mí = bù tsú dzə́ bǎ, ɛ́ kɛ̀ = ʈá” tɕà ɦà ɛ̀-pʰíŋ = sèŋ.
tonight = TOP ghost be SPEC 1SG afraid = SVM say LINK IN-flee = PFV:EGO

‘(...) saying, “What it is I don’t know, if it were a person, he would be able to speak; tonight it is maybe a ghost; I am afraid”, (I) fled in here.’ (YJ01.30)

10.2.3 *Finite clause chain*

In finite clause chains the clause linker *ɦa* is obligatorily used. All verbs have a finite form and do not need to share the same arguments and polarity. Finite clause chains can be analysed as clausal junctures. Example (1384) shows two different actor arguments linked using a finite clause chain:

(1384) “míŋ tɕə̀ = ɖwèŋ mɑ̂?” tɕə̀ kʰì tà ə́-pù
what say = IPFV:EGO:N.SG what say time all that-under

tə́-tɕʰóŋ **ɦà**, ɻ̥ɛ́ɻ̥æ̀ qʰù = gòŋ nɛ̀-sə̌.
UP-come:PFV:N.EGO LINK laugh:COLL CUST.INCL = AGT DOWN-die

‘Continuously saying, “What are you saying, what?” (he) came up from under there; (we) died with laughter.’ (CV08.20.6)

In example (1385) the finite form *tɕaw* is used in the first main clause. This allows the actor of the first main clause to be different from the actor of the second main clause. If the non-finite *tɕə* had been used instead, the actor arguments of both main clauses would be interpreted as referring to the same person.

(1385) jí ɦàw jî, mǎ = ʑə̌ ɖǒŋ mà = qɛ́j
come:IMP:SG WARN come:IMP:SG NEG = come be.okay NEG = EXPT

tɕáw **ɦà** èmá gòŋnʲæ̀-bá wú **tə̀-ɕə̀ = sèŋ**,
say:IPFV:N.EGO LINK aunt Nuòsū-household:GEN interior UP-go = PFV:EGO

há
INTJ

‘(She) said, “Come, come! It won’t be good to not come”; so aunt (= I) went to the Nuòsū household, hahaha!’ (CV14.287.1-2)

Example (1386) shows a speech quote that includes a non-finite clause chain. The quote is marked with square brackets and the non-finite clause chain is highlighted. The form *tɕə* in the non-finite clause chain marks that the actor argument of the speaking and the actor argument of the fleeing are necessarily the same.

The whole utterance is a finite clause chain (with embedded speech quotes). This can be seen by the use of the finite form *tɕaw*, which marks the speaker of the first speech quote as different from the speaker of the second speech quote. If the non-finite form *tɕə* had been used instead, the speaker of the first speech quote would be interpreted as the same person as the speaker of the second speech quote.

(1386) dəbǔ ɛ̀má nǽŋdʑúmà ɛ̀ = bí, “míŋ dzə̀,” tɕàw ɦà,
then aunt Naedzuma 1SG = DAT what be say:IPFV:N.EGO LINK

[“míŋ dzə̀ tɕʰémì, m̥ə́ = (gə̀) é = dzə̀ = bù dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tóŋ = qɛ̂j,
what be not.sure person = (DEF) Q = be = TOP speech speak = EXPT

ʑɛ̀mí = bù tsú dzə́ bǎ, **“é kɛ̀ = ʈá” tɕə̀ ɦà**
tonight = TOP ghost be SPEC 1SG afraid = SVM say LINK

ɛ̀-pʰíŋ = sɛ̀ŋ.”]
IN-flee = PFV:EGO

‘Then aunt Naedzuma asked me, “What is it?”; (I said), “What it is (I) don't know, if it were a person, he would be able to speak; tonight it is maybe a ghost; (I) said “I am afraid” and fled in here.” (YJ01.30)

Verbs in a finite clause chain can share the same actor argument, as illustrated in (1387), which is the climax of a trickster story. Trickster Hare is caught and tied up by the couple whose child he killed, and he now sets his plan in motion to kill them as well. All the actions, which ultimately lead to the death of the couple, are performed by Hare.[416]

(1387) “lʲú = ɖáw” tɕə̀ kʰì = nòŋ ə́wà, nʲùɕù-pɛ́ ə́wà
boil = IPFV:N.EGO say time = COORD CMX leather.bag-bottom CMX

ɻə́tsə̀ = gòŋ té-ɻɛ̀ = ɕì = bù gwìdʲóŋ ə́wà nɛ̀-dî
knife = INS one-CLF:cut = LIM.TOP = TOP pestle CMX DOWN-throw

nɛ̀-ɕə̀ **kwɛ́j** **ɦà** mə́ = ɻæ̀ ʈʂʰə̀pɛ́j-ɻɛ́j
DOWN-go let:PFV:N.EGO LINK person = PL:GEN boiling.water-cooking.pot

nɛ̀-ʈɛ́ nɛ̀-ɕə̀ **kwɛ́j** **ɦà** jɛ̀hǎ lʲwɛ̀tsə̀ɻóŋ tə́-ʈʂə̀
DOWN-break DOWN-go let:PFV:N.EGO LINK all embers UP-jump

kwɛ̀j **ɦà**
let:PFV:N.EGO LINK

‘When they said, “It’s boiling,” LOOK! (Hare) used the knife, LOOK! to cut the bottom of the leather bag in just one cut, LOOK! let the pestle fall down; (he) let their cooking pot with boiling water break; (he) let all the glowing embers jump up.’ (TC04.36)

Clauses in a finite (as well as a non-finite) clause chain can have different polarity, as in (1388) where the first clause is negative and the second positive. Note that the actor

[416] It can be observed in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ that the longest clause chains in narratives happen at the climactic point in the story. This was also noted by DeLancey (1991:18, note 7) for Tibetan.

in both clauses is the same (although functioning as S argument in the first and A argument in the second clause).

(1388) tsèmí = góŋ mí = pʰǽŋ ɦà
female.deer = AGT NEG:PFV = flee:PFV:N.EGO LINK

tɕə́ kʰə̀-tʰwêŋ
water OUT-drink:PFV:N.EGO

'(…) the female deer did not flee, but drank the water.' (TC07.6)

Thompson et al. (2007:237,242) note that coordination and subordination form a continuum and in some languages the same morpheme can function as a coordinator and a subordinator. When the clause linker *ɦa* links two clauses that stand in a cause-and-effect relationship to each other, as in (1389), a causal subordination effect can be observed. However, this is an implicature, rather than real subordination. The latter is discussed in §10.4.3.

(1389) ʈʂʰə̌ nè-sə́ ɦà, ʈʂóŋ ʑóŋ = mə̀ ɕǐ mà = ɖáw.
dog DOWN-die LINK house guard = NMLZ EXIST.AB NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'Because the dog died, there is no one to guard the house.' (TC05.8EL)

10.3 Complementation and complementation strategies

A complement clause is a clause that functions as a nominal argument of another clause (Dixon 2006:4; Noonan 2007:52). Following Dixon (2006), I distinguish between complementation and complementation strategies. Wǎdū Pǔmǐ shows three complementation types and several complementation strategies. Complementation types, described in §10.3.1, include sentence-like (S-like), non-finite and nominalized complement types. Complementation strategies, described in §10.3.2, include relative clause constructions, apposition and purposive linking.

10.3.1 *Complementation*

Semantically, the following complement-taking predicates (CTPs) can be distinguished in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ (terms from Noonan 2007:120ff): the utterance predicate *tɕə̌* 'to say'; the propositional attitude predicates *ɕí* 'to think' and *sâwdʲaw* 'to consider, think'; the pretence predicate *ɻæ nə nɐ-pʉ* 'to pretend'; the commentative predicates *ɕâ* 'to resemble', *ɻæ nə(ni)* 'it seems', *ɖǒŋ* 'to be okay, good', *kʰúji* 'to be okay to' and *hwatɛjʈʂʉ̌ ~ hwatɛjswǎŋ* 'to be worth'[417]; the knowledge predicates *nǔ* 'to know', *ŋæjǐɕì* 'to know', *tɕʰêmi* 'don't know', *mə̌* 'to forget'; the desiderative predicates *ɻ̊êŋɻɐŋ* and *ʑáw* 'like, want' (§7.9.5); the manipulative predicates *kéj* 'let, cause' (§7.9.8), *kʰɛ́miŋ pʉ* 'no

[417] Both *kʰúji* 可以 and *hwatɛjʈʂʉ̌* 划得着 ~*hwatɛjswǎŋ* 划得算 are loanwords from Chinese.

choice but to'; the modal predicates *tʰŏŋ*, *wêŋ*, *qá*, *ʑǐŋ*, *ɻə̌ɕǐ* 'can, be able', *tâ* 'should', *qʰŭ* 'need' and *hâ* 'ought' (§7.9); the achievement predicate *ɖŏŋ* 'to end up, become', *ŋá* 'dare'; the phasal predicates *tsʰá* 'to be exhausted, be finished' and *tɕʰŏŋ* 'to complete'; the immediate perception predicate *tɕíŋ* 'to see, observe, watch'.

In terms of structure, Dixon (2006:9) distinguishes between different complement-taking verbs: verbs he calls 'Primary-B verbs', which can take a clausal argument, but can also take only NP arguments; and 'Secondary verbs', verbs which need to take at least one clausal argument. Most modal auxiliaries are Secondary verbs.

Complements can be divided into sentence-like complements, non-finite complements, and nominalized complements. There is a tendency for Primary-B verbs to take a sentence-like complement and for Secondary verbs to take a reduced (non-finite or nominalized) complement.

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has three complementizers *la*, *ɦa* and *nʲæ* that probably derive from the intensifiers 'also', 'even' and 'just' respectively (§6.5.1, §6.5.2; §6.5.4), and that are only used optionally with some complement-taking predicates.

The different predicates and the types of complements they take are illustrated in the following subsections. In the example sentences, complement clauses are marked by angular brackets. Multiple complements can be present in a sentence; in (1390) *nî ma=dzə́* is the complement of *kʰɛ́miŋ nɐ-pʉ*, which in its turn is the complement of *kwɛj*, which in its turn is the complement of *tɕaw*.

(1390) <ní mà=dzə́>$_1$ kʰɛ́míŋ nɛ̀-pʉ̀>$_2$ kwɛ̀j>$_3$
LOG NEG=eat not.possible DOWN-do let:PFV:N.EGO

tɕàw mə ɖàw ɦà.
say:IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) and (he) said that (they) caused him to have no choice but to eat it.'
(CV09.150)

10.3.1.1 Sentence-like (S-like) complements

Sentence-like complements are complements in which the verb inflection (including person, aspect and evidentiality) and argument structure is the same as in an independent clause. Sentence-like complements are the most independent complement type in the language. All sentence-type complements in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ are Fact-type complements (Dixon 2006:23). Some take optional complementizers and appear in S or O argument slots.

Utterance predicates take only sentence-like complements (similar to rGyalrong, see Sūn 2012:481). The verb *tɕə̌* 'to say', which normally is a three-place verb with an optionally agentive-marked A argument, an obligatorily dative-marked E argument and

a non-marked O argument, as in (1391), takes quotes as complements in place of the normal O argument NP. Thus the quote comes between the A/E arguments and the verb, as in (1392). Both direct and indirect speech can function as a complement, with the only distinction being the difference in pronouns which reflect the point of view of the original speaker in direct speech or the point of view of the current speaker in indirect speech. The verb endings reflect the deictic system of the original speaker in both direct and indirect speech. This has been described in §8.3.5.

(1391) [ɛ̀ = ní]$_{A}$ pʉ́nə̀ [tɕìŋ = ɻə́ = bì]$_{E}$ [tə́ = gə́]$_{O}$ tɕə̀ k^{h}í = bù
1SG = AGT today child = PL = DAT this = DEF say time = TOP

'When I told this one (= the Na riddle on distilling liquor) to the children today, (...)' (CV08.3.2)

(1392) [dǎwmà = bì]$_{E}$ < kǒŋ t^{h}ɛ̀-tɕ^{h}óŋ tə̀ pàw >$_{O}$ tɕə̀
T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma = DAT door FR.SP-open.door one do:IMP:SG say

k^{h}ì = là
time = also

'(...) When (I) told Dauma to open the door, (...)' (CV02.15)

Some utterance verbs like *qwɛ́ɻɛj* 'to shout', *k^{h}ətɕ^{h}uk^{h}ə́tɕ^{h}æ pʉ* 'to whisper', and *ɖú* 'to call out' cannot directly take a complement. Instead the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say' needs to be present, as in (1393). Since these verbs do not take O arguments, the presence of *tɕə̌* allows the relationship between the two clauses to be expressed.

(1393) ní = bù dəbǔ (…) < "tɕìŋ-ʂə́ dzə́ ɦà l^{j}ɛ́j l^{j}ɛ́j, tɕìŋ-ɻə́ gú
LOG = TOP then child-meat eat INTJ child-skin wear

ɦà l^{j}ɛ́j l^{j}ɛ́j" > tɕə̀ ɖú = sí tɕə̀ = ɖàw.
INTJ say call = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He himself (Hare) (…) called out, "Eat child meat nanana, wear child skin nanana!" ' (TC04.20)

I do not analyse *tɕə̌* as a complementizer, however. It is possible to insert the clause linker *ɦa* between the two verbs, just as in other verb concatenations (as illustrated in examples (1380) and (1381) in §10.2.2). The verb *tɕə̌* 'to say' is not used in combination with verbs of cognition or emotion (as in Dolakha Newar [Genetti 2006:149]), but it is often used in a non-finite clause chain with *ɦa* to link a quoted speech proposition to a resulting action (§10.2.2, example [1383]).

Verbs of utterance can be extended to other perception or cognition concepts, such as 'think' or 'realize', as in (1394), but this is rare, since there is a propositional attitude predicate *ɕí* 'to think'. This verb behaves like an utterance verb (§8.3.5), taking

sentence-like complements, often direct and indirect quotes, that fill the O argument slot, as in (1395) and (1396).

(1394) nè-dzɛ́j = mə̀ = gə̀ = bù dəbǔ < wù dzə́ = ɖàw >$_O$ tɕə̀ ɦà
DOWN-ride = NMLZ = DEF = TOP then tiger be = IPFV:N.EGO say LINK

tʰútù pʰǽŋ ʂɛ́j ɦà.
immediately flee:PFV:N.EGO go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'(...) the one who was riding realized it was a tiger and (he) immediately fled.' (KZ03.9)

(1395) m̥ə́ = tì ʑì kʰì = bù dəbǔ, < í... ə́-wù m̥ə́ ʑì
person = INDF EXIST.AN time = TOP then INTJ that-in person EXIST.AN

əsèŋ >$_O$ ɕì ɦà, dəbǔ tə́ jèmá = góŋ tə́-ɕàw.
AGR think LINK then this monk = AGT UP-raise

'When (he found out that) there was a person, (he) thought, "Iii! There is a person inside, right?", so this monk raised (it).' (TC09.10)

(1396) tɕìŋ = ɻóŋní < nùséŋ = nʲæ̀ tʰìŋ = ɖàw >$_O$ ɕí = qɛ̂j.
child = PL:AGT morning = just drink = IPFV:N.EGO think = EXPT

'The children will think that (I)'m drinking so early in the morning.' (CV02.24)

Other complement-taking predicates that take sentence-like complements are the propositional attitude predicate *sâwdʲaw* 'to think, consider' and the knowledge predicate *nǔ* 'to know (facts)'. Both can take an NP argument as well as a sentence-type complement, which can be phrased like direct speech. Complements appear in the O argument slot. Here only examples of complements are given:

(1397) < nǐŋ míŋ pʉ̀ = ʂù >$_O$ nè-sáwdʲàw
2SG what do = VOL:SG DOWN-think:IMP:SG

'(...) "Think what you want to do," (...)' (CV11.14.3)

(1398) < "ěŋ, tə́-bʉ̀ má = nòŋ m̥ə́ = tì tà dzə́ kʰì = bù,
INTJ 3-household mother = COORD daughter = INDF only be time = TOP

tə̀-bǎ má = bù nə́ pʉ́ tɕʰwǽ pʉ̀ = ɖàw
3-household:GEN mother = TOP thus do kowtow do = IPFV:N.EGO

sì ɖàw," >$_O$ tʰè-nù pâ.
EPIST:probably FR.SP-know do:PFV.N.EGO

'And he knew, "Oh, this household has only a mother and a daughter, so the mother probably often kowtows like that." ' (TC08.7ed)

None of the above-mentioned verbs take complementizers.

The knowledge predicate *ɦæŋjǐɕì ~ ŋæŋjǐɕì* 'to know' takes interrogative sentence-like complements as well as NP arguments in the O argument slot. It optionally occurs with the complementizer *la*, as in (1399). This predicate is a denominal verb (§7.7). In example (1400) the nominal part *ɦæŋjǐ-* 'knowledge' and the verbal part *ɕǐ* 'EXIST.AB' are separated by negation.

(1399) ìŋ = ɻə́ ɻə̀-kʰí dʑə̀dʑì = tí tɛ́j-mə ɛ́ = dzə̀ = bù,
1.INCL = PL front-time letter = INDF EXIST.H-NMLZ Q = be = TOP

< kí ʑí >$_{O}$ = là ŋæ̀ŋjǐɕì = qɛ̂j.
where EXIST.AN = also know = EXPT

'If we had books in the past (to write down the history), (we) would know where (we) were (before).' (CV25.37)

(1400) ɛ́bǎw, < tòŋpú tɕʰə̀nə́ tɕʰə̀nə́ tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ mə̀ dzə̀ >$_{O}$ ɦæ̀ŋjǐ = ɦá
INTJ story how how FR.SP-become GNOMIC knowledge = even

mà = ɕì mə́ dzə̂.
NEG = EXIST.AB GNOMIC

'My oh my! (I) don't even know how the beginning (part of the story) goes.' (CV13.106)

The knowledge predicate *tɕʰêmi* 'not sure, don't know' occurs after a sentence-like complement clause and an optional complementizer, either *ɦa* or *la*. The use or non-use of a complementizer renders a slightly different meaning. According to my main consultant, a sentence without a complementizer is more straightforward and direct, using the complementizer *la* implies that the speaker does not care too much about the real situation, and using the complementizer *ɦa* implies that the speaker is worried about the situation.

The form *tɕʰêmi* is impersonal. It is not possible to add a human referent argument, but the complement rather functions as the S argument.

Complements of *tɕʰêmi* are often, but not necessarily, interrogative clauses, as in (1401) and (1402). A complement can only be perfective aspect when it appears as an interrogative clause, as in (1403), since in general one would expect a perfective situation to be known information.

(1401) < míŋ dzə̀ >$_{S}$ tɕʰɛ́mì
what be not.sure

'(...) what it is (I) don't know (...)' (CV09.18)
(lit. what it is is not sure)

(1402) <jájá pʰíŋtsʰú dzə́=qɛ̀j>S=ɦà tɕʰémì.
T:older.brother T:Phun.tshogs be=EXPT=even not.sure

'Whether older brother Phintshu will eat (it), (I) don't know.' (CV04.42)
(lit. whether older brother Phintshu will eat is not sure)

(1403) <tʰè-ʂóŋ=nóŋ mí=ʂóŋ>S=là tɕʰémì, ɦámə́ʑə̀ tʰè-tsɛ́j
FR.SP-clean=COORD NEG:PFV=clean=also not.sure messy FR.SP-wash

tə̀ pʉ̀=sèŋ kʰì=bù.
one do=PFV:EGO time=TOP

'Whether it has become clean or not (I) don't know, (I) casually washed it a bit.' (CV17.1) (lit. whether it has become clean or not is not sure...)

The epistemic stative verb *ɕæ̂* 'to resemble' (§8.4.5) can take NP arguments as well as a sentence-like clausal complement, as in (1404), and the complementizer *la* can optionally be added. Another epistemic construction, the impersonal *ɻæ nə(ni)* 'it seems' (§8.4.5) takes a sentence-like complement, as in (1405). In both the complement appears in the S argument slot. In combination with the verb *pʉ́* 'to do', which functions as a sort of causativizer, *ɻæ nə(ni)* 'it seems' means 'to pretend', and the complement fills the O argument slot, as in (1406).

(1404) <m̥əgéŋ èlʲǎ ʈɛ́ pʉ́=qɛ̀j>S ɕæ̀=ʈà, ə́sèŋ?
old.man a.little false do=EXPT resemble=SVM AGR

'It looks like the old man will have been lying a bit, right?' (CV07.71)

(1405) <qʰɛ̀tí pʉ́=ɖáw>S ɻæ̀ nənì.
certain.thing do=IPFV:N.EGO it.seems

'It seems (to me) that (they) do certain things.' (CV21.578.2)

(1406) káw=gæ̀ ɻʉ̀tɕʰí jǎw <ʂɛ́j=sì>O ɻæ̀ nə̀ nɛ̀-pʉ̀
uncle(MB)=GEN front again go:PFV:N.EGO=INF it.seems DOWN-do

kʰə̀-tì=séŋ
OUT-put=PFV.EGO

'(...) but in front of uncle (I) pretended that he had gone (...)' (CV04.24.2)

The immediate perception verb 'to see' takes sentence-like complements with an optional complementizer *la*, as in (1407). Just like an NP argument, a complement appears in the O argument slot.

(1407) nǒŋmədà, <gòŋnǔ pʰɛ̀ pʉ́ qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j>$_{O}$=là tɕíŋ
INTJ back vomit do OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO=also see

mà=ɖáw əsèŋ?
NEG=IPFV:N.EGO AGR

'That's right, (Ahwa'aji) didn't even notice that (he) went to (his) back to vomit.' (CV09.50)

10.3.1.2 Non-finite complements

Non-finite complements are reduced predicates that lack full person, aspect and evidential marking. All the modal auxiliaries take non-finite complements. The question of whether auxiliaries take complements, or whether they should be analysed as part of a serial verb construction has been discussed for Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ by Dīng (1998:326) and can be applied to Wǎdū Pǔmǐ as well. Ding's main argument is that verb concatenation involves nuclear juncture (cf. §10.2) and the juncture of an auxiliary verb with its complement involves a higher juncture.

Auxiliaries were discussed in §7.9, so I will only give a few examples here that illustrate complementation. Most modal auxiliaries are what Dixon (2006) calls "Secondary Verbs", verbs that take at least one clausal argument. The examples show *ɻ̊ɛ̂ŋɻ̊eŋ* 'to like' (§7.9.5), *hâ* 'ought' (§7.9.10), and *kwǎ*, a dialectal variant of *tâ* 'can' (§7.9.7) in a correlative construction (§4.2.3).

(1408) <tɕʰwǎ-l̥ʲɛ̌ dzù> ʑǐŋ mà=qɛ́j=ɖâw
pig-tongue make can NEG=EXPT=IPFV:N.EGO

'(We) won't be able to make pig tongue, (...)' (CV18.49)

(1409) kʰə̀-tʰʲóŋ, tə́=bù m̥íŋ dzə́, <kʰə̀-tʰíŋ> hà
OUT-drink:IMP:SG this=TOP medicine be OUT-drink ought

'Drink, this is medicine, (you) ought to drink (...)' (CV06.3)

(1410) ɛ̀káw bálì=gòŋnì ŋóŋ ɛ́=ɕì=ɖɛ̀=bù, pʉ́nə̀ ʑɛ̀nə̀,
uncle(MB) Bali=AGT money Q=EXIST.AB=DIS=TOP today yesterday

<míŋ dzə́> ɻ̊ɛ́ŋɻ̊ɛ̀ŋ <míŋ dzə́> kwǎ
what eat like what eat can

'Uncle Bali said that whatever (you) like to eat (you) can eat these days if there is a bit of money. (...)' (CV14.52.2)

The knowledge predicate *mə̌* 'to forget' takes activity or potential type complement clauses (Dixon 2006:25), in which the verb is not inflected for person, aspect or evidentiality. The meaning is 'forget to <X>', where <X> is the complement clause.

The complement clause cannot refer to a fact. Fact-type complements are expressed by nominalized complement, as will be discussed below (§10.3.1.3).

(1411) tə́ ɕè-m̥ə́ɖæ̀-lì = gòŋ, < ní = gæ̀ tìŋnáw ʐǎ >$_{O}$
this Hàn-female-DIM = AGT LOG = GEN Ch:computer carry

nè-mə́ = sì
DOWN-forget = INF

'(...) this Hàn Chinese girl (said that) she had forgotten to carry her computer (...)' (PC06w.7)

The phasal predicates *tsʰá* 'to be exhausted, be finished' and *tɕʰǒŋ* 'to complete' (§7.8.6) take non-finite complements, and cannot usually occur with an NP (Dixon (2006) "Secondary Verbs"), but when the action is clearly known to the addressee, a complement clause verb might be left out (see Dixon 2006:14). Thus one can say *tsá nè-tsʰá* 'the meat is finished' which could be understood as *tsá dzə́ nè-tsʰá* 'the meat is finished (eating)' *ɕèpʰóŋ tʰè-tɕʰôŋ* 'the blanket is completed' which could be understood as *ɕèpʰóŋ tɕæ̌ tʰè-tɕʰôŋ* 'the blanket is completed (weaving)'. This raises the issue of whether the argument of *tsʰá* and *tɕʰǒŋ* is ever a true NP, or if it is always a complement clause where the NP may be omitted.

(1412) < dʑə̀dʑì ɖɨ́ > tsʰá mà = ɖáw â?
letter write be.finished NEG = IPFV:N.EGO CONF

'(You) haven't finished writing yet?' (CV13.15)

(1413) < gǔ > tɕʰǒŋ mà = ɖáw bǎ
wear complete NEG = IPFV:N.EGO SPEC

'(He) maybe isn't dressed yet.' (EL)

The denominal verb (§7.7) *kʰémiŋ pɨ* 'have no choice but to' takes a negative non-finite complement, as in (1414) and (1415).

(1414) ní < mà = dzə́ > kʰɛ́míŋ nè-pɨ̀ kwɛ̀j
LOG NEG = be not.possible DOWN-do let:PFV:N.EGO

tɕàw mə̀ ɖàw ɦà.
say:IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'(...) and (he) said that (they) caused him to have no choice but to eat it.' (CV09.150)

(1415) < pèʐóŋ = tì mà = dzə́ > kʰɛ́míŋ pɨ̀ wèŋ
roast.tsampa = INDF NEG = eat not.possible do CUST.EXCL

'(In the past) there would be no choice but to eat roasted *tsampa* (...)' (CV14.168)

There are several impersonal constructions, borrowed from Chinese, that take a non-finite clausal complement with the optional complementizers *nʲæ* 'just' or *la* 'also': *kʰúji* 可以 'it is possible, it's okay', as in (1416) and (1417), and *hwatɛjʈʂʉ̌* 划得着 'it is worth to' or *hwatɛjswǎŋ* 划得算 'it pays to', as in (1418). The latter can also take a nominal argument, as in (1419).

(1416) nìŋ-bʉ́-sòŋ = gòŋ tə́-jɛ́j kʰì, < ɛ́ sú qʰə̀-dzə́ >$_O$ nʲæ̀
2-household-PART = AGT UP-bring time 1SG air OUT-eat just

kʰújí làw.
Ch:be.okay Ch:PFV

'When several of you bring up (the food), it's okay for me just to eat air.' (CV21.92)

(1417) < ə́-qʰù ìŋ = ɻə́ ɖǽŋ = qʰù mà = tɕʰì >$_O$ lá ɛ̀ʂə̌
that-on 1.INCL = PL raised.platform = on NEG = feed also Ch:still

kʰújí mə̀ dzə̀.
Ch:be.okay GNOMIC

'(...) even when we don't pour out libation on the upper fireplace, it is also okay.' (CV24.52.2)

(1418) < mə́ = ɻæ̀ tʰútsʰì-pì = nòŋ tə́ = ɻə́ sèŋ kí >$_O$ lá
person = PL:GEN Tuōqī-clan = COORD 3 = PL firewood sell also

hwàtɛ̀jʈʂʉ̀ = qɛ́j = ɖâw.
Ch:be.worth = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

'For the people of Tuōqī etcetera it will be worthwhile to sell firewood.' (CV19.58)

(1419) nə́ pʉ́ dəbǔ ɕíʈʂæ̀ ɛ́ = tɕæ̀ = ɖɛ̀ = sə̀
thus do then Ch:itemized.account Q = calculate = DIS = CONTR.TOP

[tə́]$_O$ hwàtɛ̀jʈʂʉ̀ mə́ dzə́ kʰì = bù
this Ch:be.worth GNOMIC time = TOP

'If it is calculated one by one, this is worth it....' (CV19.12)

The verb *ɖǒŋ* 'to be okay, to become' is a verb that has both monovalent and bivalent uses. As a monovalent verb, it functions as a stative verb (§8.2) with the meaning 'to be okay', as in (1420), and when a directional prefix is present, it has an inchoative meaning (§7.1.2) 'to become better', as in (1421). As a bivalent verb, *ɖǒŋ* can take a nominal O argument with the meaning 'to become NP', and when that is the case, it usually appears with a directional prefix, as in (1422).

(1420) mà = qʰǔ, tǎ ɖòŋ = qɛ̌j.
NEG = need now become = EXPT

'No need, (it)'s okay for now.' (CV02.18)

(1421) tə́ qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰí = bù, tʰɛ̀-ɖóŋ wèŋ
this OUT-eat time = TOP FR.SP-become CUST.EXCL

'(I said to her), "When (you) eat this, (you'll) get well." (...)' (CV09.106)

(1422) ɖòŋ = sî, ʈʰòŋlí jèhǎ tɕɛ̀pě nɛ̀-ɖóŋ = qɛ̀j bàw.
be.okay = INF corn.cob.inside all flour DOWN-become = EXPT CONTR

'Okay, the corn cob insides will all have become flour.' (CV13.46)

Both the monovalent and bivalent forms of the verb can take clausal complements: nominalized clausal complements, discussed in §10.3.1.3, and non-finite clausal complements, discussed here.

When the monovalent form of the verb takes a clausal complement, it functions like an impersonal verb *ɖǒŋ* 'to be okay to <X>'. The complement appears in the S-argument slot. This is a topic-comment structure in which the sentence-like complement is the topic and can be followed by a topic marker, as in (1423) (cf. Qiāng [LaPolla with Huáng 2003:229]) or the intensifiers *=la* 'also' and *=nʲæ* 'just', as in (1424). When both an intensifer and a topic marker are present, the topic marker follows the intensifier, as in (1425).

(1423) "< jèhǎ tə́-ɕə̀ kɛ̀j > = bù ɖǒŋ mà = qɛ́j ə́sèŋ," ɕì.
all UP-go let = TOP be.okay NEG = EXPT AGR think

' "To let them all go by will not be okay, right?" (he) thought.' (TC02.62)

(1424) < nə́ tɕə́ tʰɛ̀-tɕə̀ > = nʲæ̀ ɖòŋ = qɛ̌j.
thus do FR.SP-say = just be.okay = EXPT

'Telling (her) like this, that's good.' (CV14.149)

(1425) < m̩íŋ = bú tǎ tə̀dʑí = bú mà = ɻ̩ú > = lá = bù
medicine = TOP now this.period.of.time = TOP NEG = buy = also = TOP

ɖòŋ = qɛ̌j
be.okay = EXPT

'It will be okay to not buy medicine now during this period of time, (...)' (CV02.44)

When the bivalent form of the verb *ɖǒŋ* takes a clausal complement, a directional prefix is always present and the meaning is 'to end up <X>', as in (1426) and (1427). Interestingly, when the clausal complement involves an existential verb (§7.6) or a modal auxiliary (§7.9), as in (1426), the complement is actually sentence-like in that

it can function as an independent clause. When the clausal complement involves a normal verb, like *dzóŋ* 'to sit', as in (1427), the complement cannot function as an independent clause, but is non-finite.

(1426) <tɛ̀kʰə̀=lá pɯ́ mɑ̀=ʑìŋ> tʰɛ́-ɖóŋ=ɖàw
a.little=also do NEG=can FR.SP-become=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) (the situation) has become (that I'm) not able to do even a little bit, (...)' (CV02.38)

(1427) tʲǎ-n̥òŋ é líŋwú ɕə̀=sèŋ kʰì, <sǽŋlèŋʈʂʰɛ́j=wù
recent-daytime 1SG Yǒngníng go=PFV:EGO time Ch:tricycle=in

dòŋ dzóŋ> tʰɛ́-ɖòŋ mə̀ ɖòŋ ɦà.
together sit FR.SP-become NMLZ.CONSTR

'Recently when I went to Yǒngníng, (we) ended up sitting together in the same tricycle.' (CV21.248)

10.3.1.3 Nominalised complements

Nominalised complements are very common in Tibeto-Burman languages (Genetti 2011:172ff; Sūn 2012:481ff), but Wǎdū Pǔmǐ displays only a few complements that involve nominalization. The agentive nominalizer *=mə* (§5.2.3), also used in relative clauses (§5.3.2),[418] is used to express fact-type complements of the knowledge predicate *mə̌* 'to forget', as in (1428); compare this with example (1411) above.

(1428) tə́ ɕè-m̥ə́ɖæ̀-lì=gòŋ, <ní=gæ̀ tìŋnɑ́w ʐɑ̌=mə>$_{O}$
this Hàn-female-DIM=AGT LOG=GEN Ch:computer carry=NMLZ

nɛ̀-mə́=sì
DOWN-forget=INF

'This Hàn Chinese girl (said that) she had forgotten (the fact) that she carried her computer' (PC06w.7EL)

Another nominalizer used for complementation is the purposive nominalizer *-ji* (§5.2.2). The verbs that have been attested with nominalised complements are *ɖǒŋ* 'to be okay, become' and the equational copula *dzə̂* 'to be'. As described in §7.9.11, the constructions *<X>-ji ɖǒŋ* and *<X>-ji dzə̂* function as deontic modality constructions. *<X>-ji ɖǒŋ* literally means 'be good to X' which implies the need to conduct a certain action and having no choice but to do it, as in (1429), or *<X>-ji*

[418] The distinction between relative clauses and noun complements is not made in many Asian languages, but uses similar structures. See the work of Matsumoto (1988, 2010), Comrie (1996, 1998) and LaPolla (2012).

DIR-ɖǒŋ which literally means ‘become to X’ which implies that one could only conduct a certain action, as in (1430).

(1429) dəɖʐə́ kʰù-qʰú tə̀-ʂɛ̀j = sì tɕàw bàw, ìŋ = dzæ̀ŋ
Dezhi out-on UP-go:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY CONTR 1:INCL = DU

ɕə́ = jí ɖòŋ = qɛ̀j = ɖàw bǎ.
go = NMLZ be.okay = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO SPEC

‘It is said that Dezhi went down the valley up (to Tuōqī); the two of us maybe will need to go (pick up Duoji).’ (CV21.331)

(1430) tɕìŋ = gə́ = bù tʲæ̀-sə̀ qʰû, m̥əgéŋ = gə́ = ɖɛ̀ dʑwæ̀ tɕə́-jì
child = DEF = TOP PROH-die POL old.man = DEF = DIS let.it.be say-NMLZ

tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ ə́sèŋ
FR.SP-become AGR

‘(We) could only say, “We hope that the child will not die, but as for that insignificant old man, let it be,” right? (...).’ (CV09.133.1)

The construction *<X>-ji dzə̂* with the equational copula *dzə̂* ‘to be’ indicates that there is a need to do the action indicated by the complement, as in (1431).

(1431) tóŋ kɛ́j = ʂù ɛ́ = ɕì = bù nǒŋ sə̀ ɻɛ̀dʑə̀ = tí sə́
speak let = VOL:SG Q = think = TOP so first liquor = INDF first

kì-jí dzə́ = ɖàw, ə́sèŋ?
give.drink-NMLZ be = IPFV:N.EGO AGR

‘So if (one) would want to let him narrate, (one) would first need to give (him) liquor, right?’ (CV13.113)

10.3.2 *Complementation strategies*

A complementation strategy used in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is apposition. This is shown in example (1432) where both *nǒŋ ɐní nɐ-m̥ə̌ ti pɯ = ʂu* and *ɖǒŋ ɛ̂ = qɛj* are complete clauses. Normally, the commentative predicate *ɖǒŋ* ‘to be okay’ takes a non-finite complement (see (1423-1425) above).

(1432) nǒŋ ɛ̀ = ní nɛ̀-m̥ə̀ tí pɯ́ = ʂù ɖǒŋ ɛ́ = qɛ̀j tɕə̀
so 1SG = AGT DOWN-blow one do = VOL:SG be.okay Q = EXPT say

kʰì = bù
time = TOP

‘When (Bear) said, “In that case, I want to blow for a bit, will (that) be okay?” (...)’ (TC06.3)

10.4 Subordinate clauses

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has several subordinate clause constructions. Apart from their role in the predicate-focus construction described in §10.8, discourse markers (§6.5) play an important role in subordinate clauses. The semantics of the particular discourse marker indicates the relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause. Conditional clauses are treated in §10.4.1, temporal and concessive clauses are discussed in §10.4.2, and causal clauses are dealt with in §10.4.3.

10.4.1 *Conditional clauses*

In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ there are two ways to form conditional clauses: the first uses the interrogative marker *ɛ̂*= (§7.3), either by itself or fused with the directional prefix, both illustrated in (1433), and usually followed by one of the discourse markers described in §6.5; the second uses the conditional subordinator *sətɕæ* 'if', as in (1434).[419]

(1433) dòŋ pʉ́ɻʉ́ pʉ̀-jì tà, ɛ̀pʉ́=gǽ ə́-dʑì
together roast do-NMLZ can grandfather=GEN that-location

ɛ́=tɛ̀j=bù, **tʰʲæ̀-**tɕʰóŋ=bù.
Q=EXIST.H=TOP FR.SP:Q-complete=TOP

'If there is (meat) at grandfather's over there, if it is done, (you) can roast it together.' (CV18.30.2)

(1434) ìŋ=dzǽŋ pètsə́ dì ʐóŋ tʰè-ɕə̀ sə́tɕǽ ə́-wù tʰè-tà=qɛ̂j
1:INCL=DU flower throw SIM FR.SP-go if that-in FR.SP-arrive=EXPT

'(...) If the two of us go throwing flowers, we will reach that place (...)' (TC07.26)

The conditional clauses differ slightly in interpretation. A clause with *sətɕæ*, as in (1435), is a relatively neutral statement of the situation ('if it rains, the logical result is that the clothes will get wet'), but (1436), which has the interrogative marker =ɐ (fused with the directional prefix), implies that the speaker is very much concerned with the possibility that it will rain and the clothes will get wet, and is expressing his hope that that will not happen.

[419] Many languages show a similar distinction. An example from Dutch: *Gaan jullie naar huis, dan ga ik ook* 'If you go home, I'll go too' with a subordinate clause framed like a question (i.e. *Gaan jullie naar huis?* 'Are you going home?') versus *Als jullie naar huis gaan, dan ga ik ook* 'If you go home, I'll go too' with the subordinator *als* 'if'.

(1435) gwí né-tɕʰòŋ sətɕæ̀, tɕòŋgú nè-dzǽŋ=qɛ̀j
rain DOWN-appear if clothes DOWN-wet=EXPT

'If it rains, the clothes will get wet.' (EL)

(1436) gwí nʲǽ-tɕʰòŋ=bù, tɕòŋgú nè-dzǽŋ=qɛ̀j
rain DOWN:Q-appear=TOP clothes DOWN-wet=EXPT

'If it rains, the clothes will get wet.' (EL)

The general topic marker *=bu* is the only one that can follow the conditional subordinator *sətɕæ* 'if', as in (1437).

(1437) é tɕə̀=mə́ nìŋ=góŋnî tʰè-pá sətɕæ̀=bù dəbǔ
1SG say=NMLZ 2SG=AGT FR.SP-do:PFV:N.EGO if=TOP then

'(...) if you do what I say, (...)' (TC02.48)

The other conditional subordinate clause type can also be followed by *=bu*, as in (1436), but can additionally be followed by a whole range of discourse markers (§6.5), as illustrated in examples (1438-1440). This is in line with Haiman (1978) who states that conditionals are basically topics. The various discourse markers link the conditional clause topics to their comments and the semantics of the discourse markers denote the relationship between conditional topic and comment. When a conditional clause is marked with the topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6), it is linked in a fairly neutral way to the comment, as in (1433) above.

When a conditional clause is marked with the disjunctive topic marker *=di* (§6.5.7), the comment has an adversative meaning, as in (1438).

(1438) ə́jù ɕwépà=mə̀ é=dzə̀=dì tɕìkʰǽ
INTJ scold=NMLZ Q=be:N.EGO=DISJ.TOP embarrassing.situation

nè-tɕʰóŋ tɕə̀ ɦà ((ɖèŋ-jì tʰè-ɖôŋ))
DOWN-appear say LINK moan-NMLZ FR.SP-become

'We moaned that, "Ojo, if we had scolded them, it would have been a very embarrassing situation." ' (CV08.20.4)

When the conditional clause is marked with the contrastive topic marker *=sə* (§6.5.8), the comment has an contrastive meaning, as in (1439), where it is contrasted with the situation that it does not snow.

(1439) é-bʉ̀ = là tɛ̀-dʑú ɕɔ́ ɖòŋ = qɛ́j bǎ,
1-household = also one-CLF:time go be.okay = EXPT SPEC

pʉ́ mà = é = tɕʰòŋ = bù; pʉ́ é = tɕʰòŋ = sə̀
snow NEG = Q = appear = TOP snow Q = appear = CONTR.TOP

dəbǔ jǎw tí-qʰú ɕɔ́ ɻə̌ɕì mà = qɛ́j bǎ.
then again up-on go can NEG = EXPT SPEC

'Our household maybe needs to go one time as well, if it does not snow; if it snows however, one can maybe not go up there.' (CV18.71)

When the conditional clause is marked with *=la* 'also' (§6.5.1), the comment has an additive meaning, as in (1440).

(1440) ɦǎw, tə = gǒŋ é = l̥í = là ʑə̀ = qɛ́j mə̀ dzì.
INTJ this = AGT Q = recite = also come = EXPT NMLZ.CON

'Oh, if it recites, (the sound) can also come out.' (CV21.467)

No conditional clauses followed by *=ɦa* (§6.5.2), *=noŋ* (§6.5.3), *=nʲæ* (§6.5.4), *=gədi* (§6.5.10), *=tɕəmə* (§6.5.10) or *=ɕi* (§6.5.11) have been attested in the corpus. It is possible for no discourse marker to be present, as in (1441).

(1441) tə̀ɕǽ ə̀-wú kʰʲæ̀-dzâ, té-tɕʰwì tɕʰípǽ də̀-tɕʰǐ kʰʲæ̀-dzâ,
now this-under OUT:Q-eat one-CLF:meal very.well TO.SP-feed OUT:Q-eat

tì = ɻǽ = wú té-kù = là dzə́ tsə́ŋ mà = qɛ̂j.
other = PL:GEN = in one-CLF:mouthful = also eat N.CONTR NEG = EXPT

'(...) if (I) eat here now, if (I) eat one meal of good food, (I) won't even eat one mouthful of food at other's.' (CV21.273.4)

Negative conditional clauses are marked with both the negation marker *mǎ=* and the interrogative marker *ɛ̂=*, as in (1442).

(1442) tə̀ɕǽ ʈʰwǎ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j = mə̀ = ɻòŋ sáwdʲà̰w mà = é = wèŋ, pʉ́
now age small = NMLZ = PL:AGT think NEG = Q = can do

mà = é = wèŋ = bù, tɕíŋmʲǽ m̥ə́ = ɻə̀ = là kʰwɛ́
NEG = Q = can = TOP home:GEN person = PL = also heart

nɛ̀-kʰóŋ wèŋ.
DOWN-lose.heart CUST.EXCL

'If young people are not able to think, are not able to act, the people at home are disappointed; (…)' (TC01ed.18)

The markers are fused and auditorily [mǎː] with a long vowel and a rising-falling pitch is observed. That this is indeed a merger of the negation marker and the interrogative

marker can be seen from example (1444), when compared to (1443).[420] That example (1443) is a normal negative clause used as general topic, and not a negative conditional clause, can be seen from the tonal pattern and the optional addition of the topic marker *=bu*. Example (1443) expresses a realis situation: the eye of the slaughtered pig has not been pushed in yet, and without a knife this will prove impossible. Example (1444) on the other hand shows a counterfactual situation: the eye of the pig has been pushed in and this would not have been possible without a knife.

(1443) nélʲáw=bù nǐŋ òŋ=dzǽŋ ɻə́tsə̀ **mà=ɕì=bú** ((pʰí
eye=TOP INTJ 1:INCL=DU knife NEG=EXIST.AB=TOP blow.up

tɕæ̀ mà=qɛ́j bâw)).
can:EGO:1 NEG=EXPT CONTR

'Mind you, if we two don't have a knife, (we) won't be able to push in the eye.' (CV18.133)

(1444) nélʲáw=bù nǐŋ òŋ=dzǽŋ ɻə́tsə̀ **mà=ɛ́=ɕì=bù** ((pʰí
eye=TOP INTJ 1:INCL=DU knife NEG=Q=EXIST.AB=TOP blow.up

tɕæ̀ mà=qɛ́j bâw)).
can:EGO:1 NEG=EXPT CONTR

'Mind you, if we two had not had a knife, (we) would not have been able to push in the eye.' (CV18.133EL)

The presence of the negation marker *mǎ=* blocks the tone of the preceding directional prefix or verb from spreading, as in (1445), (see also §3.4.5).

(1445) tə́ mì=gə́ nɛ̌-mǎ=dʉ̀=bù, ʐɛ̀gə̀n̥ə́ŋ jǎw
this edible.fungus=DEF DOWN-NEG:Q=poison=TOP day.after again

ɻɛ̀ŋdí ɕə́=qɛ̀j bàw nǐŋ.
seek go=EXPT CONTR INTJ

'If (they) had not been poisoned by the mushroom, the day after (they) would have gone seeking (the yak corpse), mind you.' (CV09.151)

Conditional constructions can be repeated with the clause coordinator *=noŋ* in between (*ɛ̂=V=noŋ ɛ̂=V=bu*) to render a more intense meaning, as in (1446), (cf. §10.1). This example implies that the speaker thinks she knows better than the addressee and is proudly making a suggestion. If only a single conditional construction had been used, the meaning would be more neutral.

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[420] The clause *ɻə̂tsə ma=ɛ̂=ɕi=bu* phonetically sounds like [ɻə́tsə̀ mǎ: ɕì bù] and at first I took it as just a tonal distinction between [mà ɕì bú] and [mǎ ɕì bù], instead of a negation marker fused with the interrogative marker.

(1446) é = dzú = nòŋ é = dzù = bù tɕʰwí pʉ́
Q = make = COORD Q = make = TOP good do

‘ “If (you) really build it, do it well...” ’ (CV14.144.6)

10.4.2 *Temporal and concessive clauses*

Speakers of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ use the same mechanism to express both temporal and concessive clauses; it depends on the combination of the individual clauses whether the subordinate clause should be interpreted as temporal or concessive.

Temporal clauses are followed by the subordinator *kʰi* (the nominal *kʰi* ‘time’[421]), as in (1447). When the first clause, subordinated by *kʰi*, has the opposite polarity from the second clause, the meaning of the subordinate clause is a concessive ‘even though, …but’, as in (1448).

(1447) nìŋ-bʉ́-sòŋ = gòŋ tə́-jɛ́j kʰì, é sú qʰə̀-dzə́ = nʲæ̀
2-household-PART = AGT UP-bring time 1SG air OUT-eat = just

kʰújí làw.
Ch:be.possible Ch:PFV

‘When several of you bring up (the food), it’s okay for me to just eat air.’
(CV21.92)

(1448) nǐŋ tɕíŋ = qɛ́j tɕə̀ = ɖàw kʰì, dəbǔ
2SG see = EXPT say = IPFV:N.EGO time then

mí = tɕʰóŋ mə̀ tɕʰòŋ ɦà.
NEG:PFV = come:PFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

‘Even though (he) said that you will see (him), (he) did not come.’
(CV07.26.2)

Various discourse markers (§6.5) can follow *kʰi* to connect the subordinate clause to the following main clause in more specific ways. The semantics of the particular discourse marker indicates the relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause. The fact that discourse markers can follow temporal subordinate clauses is not surprising if one analyses these clauses as relative clause constructions headed by the nominal *kʰi* ‘time’.[422]

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[421] It is not possible to establish the original tone of the noun, since it is never used in isolation, but always in combination with some other morpheme, for example *ə̂-kʰi* ‘that time’.

[422] Note, however, that in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ, pre-head relative clauses are normally linked to the head noun by the genitive clitic *=(g)æ* (§5.3.2), which is not the case in these subordinate clauses.

The most frequently used discourse marker in temporal clauses is the general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6).[423] It has a fairly neutral meaning 'when X, Y', as in (1449). Occurrence of the additional topic marker *=tɕəmə* (§6.5.10) is shown in (1450). It is not clear at this point what the exact difference is between clauses with *kʰi=bu* and *kʰi=tɕəmə*. A temporal clause marked by the contrastive topic marker *sə* (§6.5.8) indicates a contrast with a previously mentioned time, as in (1450). The discourse markers *=di* (§6.5.7), *=ni* (§6.5.9), *=gədi* (§6.5.10) and *=ɕi* (§6.5.11) have not been attested in temporal clauses in the corpus and their occurrence in this construction is deemed unacceptable by my main consultant.

(1449) kʰə̀-ɕə̀=séŋ kʰí=bù, èmá=gòŋ è-pʰíŋ=sèŋ mə̀ sèŋ ɦà.
OUT-go=PFV:EGO time=TOP aunt=AGT IN-flee=PFV:EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

'When (we) went outside (to look), aunt fled inside (again).' (CV09.35)

(1450) l̥àdʑú=tɕə̀mə̀ nè-púlʲǽ kʰì=tɕə̀mə̀ bèʈwâʈwâ
hear.cover=TOP DOWN-turn.over time=TOP irregular

'When the head cover was upside down, it was all irregular, (...)' (CV22.7.2)

(1451) tɕʰwǽ-tɕʰǐ tɕʰì=nóŋ mà=tɕʰí=nôŋ, tə̀dʑí kóŋ
pig-food feed=COORD NEG=feed=COORD this.time cold

kʰí=sə̀ tɕʰwǽ=ɻə́=bì qʰwá mɛ́=ɖàw
time=CONTR.TOP pig=PL=DAT be.of.use NEG:EMPH=IPFV:N.EGO

'Whether or not one feeds (the pigs) pig fodder, at this period of time when it is cold however, it is no use at all to the pigs, (...)' (CV14.36)

In most of the examples in the corpus, an subordinate clause with *kʰi* and the intensifier *=la* 'also' (§6.5.1) marks a temporal concessive clause '(even) when X, but Y'. Usually the actor (S/A) argument of the subordinate clause is different from the actor (S/A) argument of the main clause, as in (1452), and often the polarity is different as well. There are a few examples where the actor (S/A) argument of both clauses is the same (but note that there the polarity is different), as in (1453). In a few examples, however, *=la* is used in its original meaning of 'also', and the subordinate clause has a temporal and not a concessive reading, as in (1454). The particular reading depends on the discourse context.

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[423] Temporal adverbial clauses followed by *=bu* form by far the majority of examples in the corpus with over 700 occurrences. This can be compared to the other markers: *=la* 71 attestations, *=noŋ* 35 attestations, *=nʲæ* 27 attestations; *=ɦa* and *=tɕəmə* four attestations, *=sə* two attestations. Temporal adverbial clauses without discourse marker following number around 160 occurrences.

(1452) è = nǝ́ní mǝ́ = ɻæ̀ m̥ǝ́ dzǝ́ tɕǝ̀ kʰì = là,
1SG = AGT:EMPH person = PL:GEN person be say time = also

tǝ̀ = ɻǒŋnì è = bí kʰǝ̀-ɕǝ̀ = ɖâw, nǐŋ kʰwɛ́ tɕɛ́
3 = PL:AGT 1SG = DAT OUT-go = IPFV:N.EGO 2SG heart be.big

ʐù = ɖáw tɕǝ̀ ɦà.
very = IPFV:N.EGO say LINK

'Even when I said that that was a person, they came over to me and said, "(You) are still going out, you are very bold." ' (CV09.34)

(1453) iêj, mùjù pɛ́j = ʂú tɕàw kʰì = là
INTJ Ch:konjac simmer = VOL:SG say:IPFV:N.EGO time = also

ɖʐɯ́ mɛ́ = tʰòŋ.
grind NEG:EMPH = can:N.EGO

'Hey, when (aunt Sanong) said that (she) would boil some konjac, (she) had no time to grind it.' (CV21.242.2)

(1454) dǝ̀bǔ tsʰɛ̀lǝ̀lí = gǝ́ dǝ̀bǔ tɕǝ́ = wù nɛ̀-dǐ nɛ̀-ɕǝ̀
then little.dog = DEF then water = in DOWN-throw DOWN-go

kwɛ́j kʰí = bù dǝ̀bǔ
let:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then

'Then when (he) threw the small dog downwards into the water, (...)' (TC02.27)

àw ɻú = gǝ̀ nɛ̀-dǐ nɛ̀-ɕǝ̀ kɛ́j kʰí = là
INTJ chicken = DEF DOWN-throw DOWN-go let time = also

'When (he) also threw the chicken down, (...)' (TC02.28)

Subordinate clauses followed by *kʰí* and *=ɦa* 'even' (§6.5.2) have either temporal or concessive readings, depending on the discourse context, as in (1455) and (1456) respectively.

(1455) ɛ́bǎw, è-ʑǝ́ kʰí = ɦà tɛ́-ɖæ̀ŋ tɛ́-ɖæ̀ŋ = ɕì = bù = tɕǝ̀mǝ̀,
INTJ IN-come time = even one-CLF:run one-CLF:run = LIM.TOP = TOP = TOP

ɛ́ = tɕǝ́mǝ̀ ɖǝ̀ɖǽŋ = lá mà = ʑìŋ tʰɛ́-ɖóŋ mà, ʈʰô.
1SG = TOP walk = also NEG = can FR.SP-become INFO foot

'My oh my! After (I) came back (from Yǒngníng) (I) was continuously running back and forth, until I could not even walk any more, (my) foot (was so painful).' (CV21.248)

(1456) ʐɛ̍-pʰà tʰɛ̀-dzù kʰì=ɦà
four-CLF:part FR.SP-make time=even

ɛ̀-lóŋ=ɖàw tɕàw nǐŋ
IN-become.full.of.maggots=IPFV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO INTJ

'(Wujin) said that even when it was made into four parts, it became full of maggots, mind you!' (CV18.118)

Subordinate clauses followed by *kʰi* and *=noŋ* 'only' (§6.5.3) have the meaning 'only when X, Y', as in (1457). Subordinate clauses followed by *kʰi* and *=nʲæ* 'just, already, right then' (§6.5.4) have the meaning 'when X, right then/already Y', as in (1458), or a concessive meaning, as in (1459).

(1457) mà jí kʰí=nòŋ ʈʉ̀ wèŋ
sky be.clear time=only dig CUST.EXCL

'(...) only when the weather is clear (we) will harvest.' (CL03ed.23)

(1458) ɻə̍-kʰì káw=gòŋ pʰɛ̀ kʰí=nʲæ̀ nə́ pʉ́ pʰɛ̀ wêŋ
front-time uncle(MB)=AGT pour time=just thus do pour CUST.EXCL

'In the past when uncle poured out libation, (he) would already do (it) like this.' (CV23.23.2)

(1459) dəbǔ nǐŋ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j ʐù kʰí=nʲæ̀ ɕə́=bú ɕə́=mə́
then INTJ small very time=just go=TOP go=NMLZ

dzə̀=ɖàw kʰì
be=IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'(...) then, mind you, even though (he) was very small, (he) went (...)' (CV01.7)

The general topic marker *=bu* can follow the intensifiers *=la* 'also', *=noŋ* 'only' and *=nʲæ* 'just', as in (1460), (1461) and (1462). Other discourse markers cannot co-occur in temporal clauses.

(1460) mə́=ɻæ̀ m̥ə́=ɻə̀ pʰìŋ kʰì=lá=bù kɛ̀ pʉ́
person=PL:GEN person=PL flee time=also=TOP tough do

kí=séŋ kʰì.
chase=PFV:EGO TRAIL

'Even when other people fled, I toughly chased after them.' (CV14.183)

(1461) ʐɛ̀-ʈʂʰæ̀=wú kʰí=nòŋ=bù, tʰɛ̀-ɖɛ́=sì bàw.
four-CLF:generation=in time=only=TOP FR.SP-come.undone=INF CONTR

'(...) we spread (from them) only four generations ago.' (CV25.48.4)

(1462) mə́ = ɻə̀ m̥ə́ = tì tʰè-tɕíŋ kʰí = nʲæ̀ = bù
person = PL person = INDF FR.SP-see time = just = TOP

'As soon as one sees other people, (...)' (CV14.172.1)

The intensifiers *=la* 'also', *=nʲæ* 'just, already, right then', *=noŋ* 'only' can also appear as clausal subordinators by themselves. When *kʰi* is present as a subordinator, as in the examples above, the emphasis of the utterance is more on the temporal aspect of the situation 'at the time when X', whereas when *kʰi* is absent, the emphasis is more on the situation itself, presented as a topic for the rest of the utterance, as in (1463), (1464) and (1465). The general topic marker *=bu* can follow the clause, as in (1466).

(1463) kʰwì tʰè-pʉ́ mə́ = qʰù kʰə̀-tì = là nè-sə̀ = wêŋ
pity FR.SP-do sky = on OUT-put = also DOWN-die = CUST.EXCL

'(There are some children) even when (you) care for (them) till the heavens, (they) will die.' (CV07.1)

(1464) ʑègə̀-séŋ = bù ɻú ŋú = nʲæ̀ ɖǽŋ = qʰù sóŋ
later-morning = TOP chicken crow = just raised.platform = on incense

tòŋ qʰú wèŋ
burn.incense need CUST.EXCL

'Early morning the next day, as soon as the rooster crows one needs to burn incense at the raised platform; (...)' (CL02ed.16)

(1465) tí-qʰú tə́-ɕə̀ = nòŋ ní nè-gæ̀ tí kʰə́-tɕʰòŋ tɕàw.
up-on UP-go = only LOG DOWN-happy one OUT-appear say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(She) said that only when (the old man) had gone up (into the mountains), she was happy.' (CV14.226)

(1466) pʉ́pʉ̀ ʑèpʉ̀ = sə̀ ìŋ = ɻə́ ə́sèŋ, ə́-dʑæ̀
this.year last.year = CONTR.TOP 1:INCL = PL AGR that-location:GEN

nè-dʲáw = lá = bù, míŋ dzə̀ = là dzə́-jí ɕì = ɖâw.
DOWN-be.tired = also = TOP what eat = also eat-NMLZ EXIST.AB = IPFV:N.EGO

'These recent years, however, even though we were tired, but whatever (we wanted) to eat was there, right?' (CV21.263)

10.4.3 *Causal clauses*

Both the agentive/instrumental marker *=goŋ(ni)* (§6.2.1,§6.2.4) and the ablative marker *ɦa*, which also functions as a subordinate clause linker (§6.2.9; §10.2), are used as causal subordinators. Agentive, instrumental and ablative markers function as causal

subordinators in many Tibeto-Burman languages[424] (Genetti 1986, 1991; LaPolla 1995a, 1995b, 2004, Bickel 1999a).

One form of causal subordination[425] is done by means of the instrumental/agentive marker *=goŋ(ni)* (§6.2.1). The subordinate clause marked by the agentive indicates the cause; the following main clause indicates the result (often a feeling the referent experiences as a result of the action), as in (1467) and (1468). Often a negative result is implied, but a positive result is possible as well. In most cases in the corpus, the result of the action is not expressed, but left implicit (see §10.5), as in examples (1471-1474).

(1467) tə́=gə́ dʑə̀dʑì swéŋ=góŋ m̥ə̀géŋ ní=bù némíŋ nɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ
this=DEF letter study=AGT old.man LOG=TOP torment DOWN-appear
tɕù̀w.
say:IPFV:N.EGO
'Because this one (=child) was going to school, the old man said that he himself had a hard time.' (CV07.60.1)

(1468) ɛ́=tɕə́mə̀ kɛ̀=góŋní nɛ̀-sə̌
1SG=TOP afraid=AGT DOWN-die
'I was so afraid, (I thought) I'd die.' (CV22.20.9EL)

There is a clear distinction between 'self-person' and 'other-person' situations (see Chapter 8 for a discussion of these concepts as expressed in the verbal system of the language). The marker *=goŋ(ni)* is used in 'other-person' situations, as in (1467), and 'self-person' situations where the verb is not controllable, as in (1468). The construction *qʰu=goŋni*[426] is used in 'self-person' situations: first person declarative clauses, as in (1384), and co-reference between main clause and embedded speech clause where the verb is controllable, as in (1470). Note that in the last example the verb *dǔ* 'to be detestable' is not controllable, thus *=goŋ* is used, whereas the verb *ʑwěŋ* 'to block' is controllable, thus *qʰu=goŋni* is used. Another example of self-person (marked by *qʰu=goŋni*) and other-person (marked by *=goŋ*) is given in (1471).

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[424] Qiāng (LaPolla with Huáng 2003:239).

[425] The construction is not very frequent and appears mostly in conversational texts: 30 attestations of *=goŋ(ni)* and 14 attestations of *qʰu=goŋni* are present in the corpus. Only one instance appears in a narrative text.

[426] The part *qʰu* seems to be the inclusive knowledge marker *qʰu* (§8.5).

(1469) ɻ̥éɻ̥æ̀ qʰù = gòŋ nè-sə̌.
laugh:RECP CUST.INCL = AGT DOWN-die

'(...) we died with laughter.' (CV08.20.6)

(1470) ní = dì dù = gǒŋ nè-sə̌, ʑwèŋ qʰǔ ʑwèŋ
LOG = DISJ.TOP detestable = AGT DOWN-die block CUST.INCL block

qʰù((= góŋní))
CUST.INCL = AGT

'(...) she herself died with detestation and tried to block (him).' (CV14.218)

(1471) ɻ̥æ̀ qʰú = gòŋnì = bù, ɻ̥æ̀ tɕʰə́ = góŋ mə́ = ɻə̀ jèhǎ ɻ̥æ̀
laugh CUST.INCL = AGT = TOP laugh take = AGT person = PL all laugh

kɛ́j = gòŋnì = bù.
let = AGT = TOP

'We laughed (so hard that....), he was joking so that he made everybody laugh (so hard that...).' (CV14.146.5)

The causal subordinate clause marked by the agentive often expresses a continuous action; the verb, and the inclusive knowledge marker *qʰu* if present, is reduplicated, as in (1472) and (1473).

(1472) ʑépù ɻ̥úpù tə̀ = ɻæ̀ = sə̀ è-tǎŋ
last.year year.before.last this = PL:GEN = CONTR.TOP IN-shut.up

è-tæ̀ŋ = gôŋ.
IN-shut.up = AGT

'(...) last year and the year before last (she) was often shut up, so...' (CV12.27.1)

(1473) ìŋ = ɻə́ = bù, dəbǔ m̥əgéŋ = gə́ = ɖè dʑwǎ, tɕìŋ = gə́
1:INCL = PL = TOP then old.man = DEF = DIS let.it.be child = DEF

tʰè-ɖóŋ qʰù tɕə̀ ɦù ɖèŋ qʰú ɖèŋ qʰú = góŋnì.
FR.SP-become POL say LINK moan CUST.EXCL moan CUST.INCL = AGT

'We were continuously moaning, saying, "As for the insignificant old man, let it be (= let him die), (but we) hope that the child will get better." ' (CV09.96)

The agentive use and the subordinating use of *=goŋ* can appear in the same clause, as in (1474), where *=goŋ(ni)* appears on the verb *tǎŋ* and on the noun *láwsə*.

(1474) è-tǎŋ è-tàŋ = **góŋnî**, tê̞j, jǽŋ ʈʂə̀ láwsə́ = **gòŋ**
IN-shut.up IN-shut.up = AGT INTJ Ch:Yang Ch:Zhi Ch:teacher = AGT

è-tàŋ = **góŋnî**, há
IN-shut.up = AGT INTJ

'Wow, (I was) often shut up, (I was) often shut up by teacher Yang Zhi, so... hahaha!' (CV12.26)

The topic markers *=bu* and *=tɕəmə* can follow the causal subordinate clause, as in (1475) and (1476).[427] Other discourse particles have not been attested in this position.

(1475) tǐŋʈʂʰə̀pǽŋ sóŋ = ɖáw = gòŋnì = bù, tsə̀tòŋ
Ch:battery.pack Ch:be.loose = IPFV:N.EGO = AGT = TOP Ch:automatically

kwǽŋtɕí = ɖàw.
Ch:turn.off = IPFV:N.EGO

'Since the battery pack is loose, (it) will turn off automatically.' (CV15.40)

(1476) ɻ̊ú nè-dzə̀dzə̀ = góŋní = tɕə̀mə̀ nè-qá tʰóŋ
tooth DOWN-be.tightly.closed = AGT = TOP DOWN-open can:N.EGO

mà = ɖâw
NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) because (her) teeth were tightly closed, (her mouth) could not be opened.' (CV09.64.2)

Another way of forming causal subordinate clauses is using the ablative marker/ subordinate clause linker *ɦa* or its longer variant *ɦaɻoŋni*[428], or the form *ɦa tɕəbu*[429], as in (1477). The latter seems to derive from the marker *ɦa*, the verb *tɕə̌* 'to say' and

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[427] Bickel (1999:40) notes that clauses subordinated by the ergative often function as a sentential topic. Thus, it is not strange to find topic markers following the subordinate clause in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

[428] This form is in the process of disappearing. In the corpus it is only used seven times by a single old man (who also uses a variant *ɻoŋni* in one instance). All other people use *ɦa*. However, my main consultant is happy for the form *ɦa* to be replaced by *ɦaɻoŋni* in every single instance it appears. Interestingly, [ɻoŋni] is similar to the plural agentive form, and thus the form *ɦaɻoŋni* might point to a combination of ablative and agentive marking.

[429] *ɦa tɕəbu* appears only 18 times in the corpus. This form seems to be the longer variant of the intensifier *ɦa* 'even' (§6.5.2), since in all cases *ɦa* 'even' can be replaced by *ɦa tɕəbu*, but not by *ɦaɻoŋni*. The form *ɦa tɕəbu* does not function as an ablative. Thus, there are two forms ɦa: the ablative *ɦa(ɻoŋni)* and the intensifier *ɦa (tɕəbu)*.

the topic marker *=bu*. The ablative function of *ɦa* is treated in §6.2.9 and its clause linking function in §10.2. All three forms can be used for causal subordination as well as for more neutral sequential clause linking, but the form *ɦa* is used most frequently.[430]

(1477) nʲǽ-bà mèŋmə̀=nóŋ=bú bʉ̀lʲə̌
Njae-household:GEN Ch:younger.sister=TOP=TOP kidney

qʰə̀-dzwə́ qʰə̀-dzwə́ ɦà tɕə̀bù, jɛ̀hə̌
OUT-eat:PFV.N.EGO OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO LINK all

qʰə̀-dzwə́ nɛ̀-tsʰá pá ɦà, sòŋ-n̩óŋ
OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO DOWN-be.finished do: PFV:N.EGO LINK three-CLF:day

ʐɛ̌-n̩òŋ lʲàwlʲàw=lá (...) ((mí=tʰòŋ tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ
four-CLF:day move=also NEG:PFV=can: N.EGO FR.SP-become

pà))
do:pfv:n.ego

'The younger sister of the Njae household could not move for three or four days, because she ate and ate the kidneys and finished eating them all.' (CV17.18)

Causal subordination using the agentive *=goŋni* is slightly different from causal subordination using the ablative *ɦa(ɻoŋni)* or intensifier *ɦa (tɕəbu)*. My main consultant's intuition is that with *=goŋni* as subordinator, the result is more severe than with *ɦa(ɻoŋni)* or *ɦa (tɕəbu)* where the result is a general situation.[431] In examples (1467) and (1472) *ɦa(ɻoŋni)* or *ɦa (tɕəbu)* could also be used. With stative verbs, such as in (1468), only the agentive *=goŋni* can be used.

A third way of expressing causal subordination is using a reported speech clause with egophoric marking. The 'speech clause' (which in this construction does not mark real speech) is linked by the verb 'to say' to the resulting action.[432] The construction *V=ɖoŋ*

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[430] Only when used as a complementizer (§10.3.1), *ɦa* cannot be replaced by *ɦa tɕəbu* or *ɦaɻoŋni*.

[431] Mithun (2008:102) reports on Khalkha Mongolian which has 'in consequence of' clauses marked by ablative, and reason clauses marked by instrumental.

[432] Compare this to what Genetti (2006:150) notes for Dolakha Newari: "(...) a direct quote followed by [the verb 'to say'] can be used not only to express a reason for feeling afraid, or suspicious, or hopeful, but to express the reason for any action. For example, it would be the appropriate construction for a sentence such as 'Saying "I'm not well", she went home'. (...) Thus what occurs here is (...) a very general construction that allows an inferable causal relationship between a proposition expressed by a direct quote and the proposition of the following clause."

tɕə (or *V=ɖweŋ tɕə* for plural referents) can be translated as 'as X was/were V-ing, (something happened)' and implies that a certain situation arose during or from that action. The construction appears with the temporal subordinator *kʰi* and the topic marker *=bu*, or with the clause linker *ɦa* which has a stronger causal effect 'because X was/were V-ing, (something happened)'. This construction is not only used with self-person, as in (1478), but also with other-person, as in (1479). Singular referents are marked with the singular egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖoŋ* (§8.3.2); plural referents are marked with the non-singular egophoric imperfective marker *=ɖweŋ* (§8.3.2), as in (1479) and (1480).

(1478) gòŋ-bá=wú jàjù ʈɨ́ ɕə́=**ɖòŋ** **tɕə̀** ɦà,
grass-household:GEN=in Ch:potato dig go=IPFV:EGO:SG say LINK

tə̀-bǎ ə́-dʑæ̀ dʑǽ=tù tə́-ɕə̀ nè-ɕə̀=lá
3-household:GEN that-location:GEN ladder=on UP-go DOWN-go=also

mǎ=ʑǐŋ
NEG=can

'(I'm not used to working the land any more nowadays, and) so since (I) went to help the household in Mudiqing to dig potatoes, (I) was not able to go up and down the stairs of that place (=my job) (...).' (CV21.261.2)

(1479) sòŋ-ʈʂə́ tʰè-tɕə̀=**ɖòŋ** **tɕə̀** kʰì=bù, dzǒŋ
three-CLF:jump FR.SP-do=IPFV:EGO:1SG say time=TOP bridge

tʰè-ɖéŋ nè-ʂɛ́j ɦà
FR.SP-break DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'(...) as (he) did three jumps, the bridge broke downwards and (...)' (TC06.19)

(1480) dəbǔ tə́=ɻə́ tɕíŋmíŋ dèɻèj tɛ́tóŋ pɨ̀=**ɖwèŋ** **tɕə̀**
then 3=PL home speech talk:RECP do=IPFV:EGO:N.SG say

kʰì=bù, ɦǒŋ=pà wúʑə̀ è-tæ̀ŋ=mə́=góŋ
time=TOP animal.pen=under:GEN ox.for.plowing IN-shut.up=NMLZ=AGT

tʰè-l̥í pà ʂɛ́j=sì tɕə̀=ɖàw.
FR.SP-escape do:PFV:N.EGO go:PFV:N.EGO=INF say=IPFV:N.EGO

'(He) said that as they were talking at home, the ox for plowing that was shut up in the animal pen escaped and went.' (PC04w.1.2)

The difference between a normal temporal subordinate clause (§10.4.2) and the reported speech construction described in this section can be illustrated by two elicited examples. (1481) is a normal straightforward way of saying, using a temporal subordinate clause. (1482) uses the reported speech construction and indicates that there is a deeper layer of meaning that implies that 'we did not need to go to Tuōqī,

but since we did go, something happened' or 'we did not know the way, and so then we lost the way'.

(1481) é=ɻə̀ tʰútsʰì ɕə̀ kʰì=bù, ɻwè nè-nôŋ.
1=PL Tuōqī go time=TOP road DOWN-lose

'When we went to Tuōqī, (we) lost our way.' (S11.9.6)

(1482) é=ɻə̀ tʰútsʰì ɕə̀=ɖwèŋ tɕə̀ kʰì=bù, ɻwè nè-nôŋ.
1=PL Tuōqī go=IPFV:EGO:N.SG say time=TOP road DOWN-lose

'As we went to Tuōqī, (we) lost our way. (S11.9.6)

10.5 Insubordination

'Insubordination' is a term coined by Nicholas Evans to describe the process whereby formally subordinate clauses are reanalysed as independent main clauses. His definition of insubordination is 'the conventionalised main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses' (2007:367). The process is triggered by the ellipsis of the main clause, after which the formal subordinate (in Tibeto-Burman context, non-final) clause is left hanging and the addressee has to reconstruct the rest of the utterance, based on what is expected after a specific subordinate clause. The reconstruction of the elided main clause is constrained by the original function of the clausal subordinator, but the absence of the main clause leaves more room for interpreting the rest of the utterance depending on conversational inference. With an elided main clause, the subordinate clause is then reanalysed as the main clause and the clausal subordinator as a sentence-final particle.

This section will describe a similar process for Wǎdū Pǔmǐ[433] in which temporal subordinate clauses (§10.4.2) marked by the subordinator *kʰi* and causal subordinate clauses (§10.4.3) marked by the clause linker *ɦa* or the agentive *=goŋ(ni)* are reanalysed as main clauses, and *kʰi* and *ɦa* are reinterpreted as clause-final attitude markers.[434] A similar process happens with the coordinator *=noŋ*, which coordinates NPs as well as clauses (§5.7, §10.1) and which has been reanalysed as a question

[433] I have not found any process similar to what Mithun (2008) describes for Navajo in which structurally dependent clauses (i.e. marked by a dependent clause marker that normally marks adverbial and complement clauses) function as main clauses that express the background storylines in narratives and that are only dependent in the sense that they are conceptually linked to the overall main story line (which is expressed by main clauses not marked by a dependent marker).

[434] In a study on sentence-final particles in Korean, Rhee (2012) notes that several sentence-final particles in Korean grammaticalised from clausal connectives.

marker (§8.8.2.1). Strictly seen, this is not insubordination, since coordinated clauses are not subordinate to each other. But since the process of reanalysis is the same, I will discuss it in this section as well.[435]

The process shows the following steps: firstly, the (non-final) subordinate and (final) main clause are switched, or alternatively the main clause is not expressed; secondly, the subordinate or non-final clause is reinterpreted as the main clause while the presence of a subordinator still formally marks it as a subordinate clause; thirdly, the subordination marker or non-final clause linker is reinterpreted as an attitude marker.

The conventionalizing of insubordination is a continuum (Evans 2007:386). This can be clearly seen in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ where subordinate clauses with the temporal subordinator *kʰi* and coordinate clauses with the coordinator *=noŋ* have been clearly reinterpreted as main clauses, in that the ellipsed main clause cannot always be added and the dependent clauses are complete in themselves, and the markers *kʰi* and *=noŋ* have been reinterpreted as attitude markers. Causal subordinate clauses with *ɦa* and *=goŋni* are becoming more conventionalised as main clauses, but in all cases a main clause can still be supplied. In some examples *ɦa* has clearly been reinterpreted as an attitude marker, but *=goŋni* has not yet been reinterpreted as an attitude marker. Subordinate clauses ending in *la* 'also' or *nʲæ* 'already, just, right' seem to be on their way to reinterpretation through the same insubordination process.

10.5.1 *Temporal clauses*

One clear example of insubordination in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ is found with the temporal subordinator *kʰi* 'time'. As discussed in §10.4.2, this subordinator marks temporal and concessive clauses (optionally followed by the various discourse markers). Normally, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause and the clausal subordinator occurs at the end of the subordinate clause. However, Wǎdū Pǔmǐ conversation also shows many cases where the main clause and the subordinate clause have switched order and the subordinate clause now appears after the main clause. As a result the clausal subordinator now appears sentence-finally, as in (1483).

(1483) ʑə̀ ʑáw ʐù wéŋ tɕàw mə̀ tɕàw ɦà, nɛ̀ qʰə́-dzə̀ kʰì.
sleep want very CUST.EXCL HSY NMLZ.CONSTR brain OUT-eat time

'It is said that (one) will want to sleep very much, when (one) eats (pig's) brain.' (CV18.3)

[435] If one includes formally coordinated clauses that are used independently, a more all-encompassing term might have to be found for the process. Note that Evans (2007:384) explicitly excludes independently-used coordinated clauses from his insubordination discussion, but notes that the process might be functionally similar.

The subordinator also occurs sentence-finally when the main clause is elided, for example when speakers do not finish their sentence. In that case, the actual main clause should be inferred by the addressee. Example (1484) gives a clear example of a subordinate clause (in bold). The main clause is not expressed by speaker N, who does not finish her sentence. The addressee (speaker C) infers that speaker N wants to know why he (speaker C) poured out the beverage when Nima gave it to him (speaker C), and answers accordingly.

(1484) jæ̀ŋnə̀má = góŋ kwì kʰî, jèhǎ tí-pú
Ch:Yang.Nima = AGT give.drink:PFV:N.EGO time all up-under

tə̀ = ɻæ̀ nè-tɕì = sèŋ.
this = PL:GEN DOWN-pour = PFV:EGO

C: 'Yang Nima gave it (to me), and (I) poured it all out up there.' (CV11.70)

(2 lines following a related thread of conversation)

mə́ = ɻæ̀ pèjpɛ́j nə̀má = góŋ kì kʰî....
person = PL:GEN older.sibling Nima = AGT give.drink time

N: 'Older brother Nima gave it... (why did you pour it out?).' (CV11.73)

tù = lá mà = tsóŋ = ʈâ.
anything = also NEG = have.flavour = SVM

C: 'It does not have any flavour at all.' (CV11.74)

The ellipsis of main clauses has been grammaticalised in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ to the extent that there are many clauses that end in *kʰi* that should be interpreted as main clauses rather than subordinate clauses: they form complete utterances that are not subordinate to other main clauses.

One of the pragmatic effects of a subordinate clause that has been reinterpreted as a main clause is that information-wise there is something trailing, some knowledge that has not been expressed by the speaker, but that provides the background to the utterance. The use of *kʰi* in a reinterpreted main clause indicates that speakers have more knowledge about a situation than what they express in the utterance. Thus the difference between *tə́ ɕə́ = qɛj* 'he will go' and *tə́ ɕə́ = qɛj kʰi* 'he will go' is that in the second clause the speaker has some unexpressed background information that leads him to that conclusion.

The two speakers in (1485) use a formally temporal subordinate clause as a main clause. That these are complete utterances can be seen from the use of the sentence-final attitude marker *ə̂seŋ* in the first line, by which speaker Y asks speaker S to agree with her statement. The unexpressed background knowledge is that even though the speakers should tell stories slowly, they did it rather quickly. This fact is then overtly

stated by speaker Y in the third line. The intuition of my main consultant is that when the general topic marker *bu* follows *k^{h}i*, the main clause can often be added, whereas when *k^{h}i* is used on its own, as in several examples below, no addition of main clause is possible any more.

(1485) mǎ = dzà, tìtí tìtí pʉ̀ = jì dzà k^{h}ì = bù, ə́sèŋ?
NEG = be slowly slowly do = NMLZ be time = TOP AGR

Y: 'That's not so, (we) should do it slowly, right?' (CV09.12)

nǒŋmədà, dùɻí dùɻí pʉ́ = jì dzà k^{h}ì = bù.
right leisurely leisurely do = NMLZ be time = TOP

S: 'That's right, (we) should do it leisurely.' (CV09.13)

ɛ̀má = gòŋnì qʉ́tə̀ɻə̀ tɕə̀ nɛ̀-ts^{h}á pʉ́ tsèŋ = sì.
aunt = AGT in.a.flash say DOWN-be.finished do N.CONTR = INF

Y: 'Unfortunately, aunt was finished in a flash.' (CV09.14)

In example (1486) the second clause is a syntactically independent main clause which still formally looks like a temporal subordinate clause. The unexpressed background information is that the speaker knows the second part of Druthjae's name, but forgot.

(1486) ɖʉ́t^{hj}ǽ míŋ tɕàw, q^{h}ɛ̀tí mǽŋ mə́ dzə̀
Druthjae what say:IPFV:N.EGO certain.thing name GNOMIC

tɕə̀ = ɖàw k^{h}ì.
say = IPFV:N.EGO time

'Druthjae what (is his name again)? He is called a certain name (but I forgot).' (CV13.81.3)

Another pragmatic effect is that *k^{h}i* is reinterpreted as an attitude marker with an exclamatory effect. The presence of *k^{h}i* in (1487) implies that the speaker should not be sitting, but do something about the situation. My main consultant likened the function of *k^{h}i* to that of the negative contrastive situation marker *baw* (§8.8.1.9). *baw* is used when the situation is different from the speaker's expectations or wishes, and could replace *k^{h}i* in this example.

(1487) ə́jù, é tɕ^{h}wǽ-tɕ^{h}ǐ = gə́ mɛ̌ tɕ^{h}wɛ́ nɛ́-tɕə̀ mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j.
INTJ 1SG pig-food = DEF fire splutter DOWN-say EPIST

nə́ pʉ́ nɛ̀-dzóŋ = séŋ k^{h}ì.
thus do DOWN-sit = PFV:EGO time

'Ojo, my pig fodder, the fire will have gone out. And I'm here sitting like this!' (CV14.30.2-3)

This exclamatory effect of *kʰi* is especially clear in a mirative situation where a speaker finds out about something (thus it often occurs with *=ɖaw*, §8.3.2.1), as in (1488).

(1488) è=nə́ní mə́=ɻæ̀ m̥ə́ dzâ, m̥ə́ dzə́ tɕə̀=sèŋ
1SG=AGT person=PL:GEN person be person be say=PFV:EGO

kʰì=bù, dəbǔ é kʰə̀-ɕə̀=séŋ kʰí=bù,
time=TOP then 1SG OUT-go=PFV:EGO time=TOP

tátá m̥ə́ dzə́=ɖàw kʰì.
exactly person be=IPFV:N.EGO time

'(...) when I said, "It is a person, it is a person", then when I went outside, it was exactly a person.' (CV09.36)

It also regularly occurs with epistemic uncertainty constructions (§8.4.3, §8.4.4), as in (1489) and (1490), and is sometimes reinterpreted as a question particle, as in (1490).

(1489) ɖəmá-lí jǎw èlʲǎtì tsàtsà ʂɛ́j sə́ tì kʰì.
Drema-DIM again a.little grope.for go:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:most.probably time

'Little Drema probably went looking for (some firewood).' (CV09.77)

(1490) pɯ́nà ʐènə̀=sə̀ tǎ kʰǐŋ mà=ɖáw sí ɖàw
today yesterday=CONTR.TOP now give NEG=IPFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably

kʰì.
time

'In recent years however, (one) now probably doesn't give (anything)?' (CV16.23)

When the temporal subordinate clause involves the verb of speaking *tɕə̌* 'to say' and it is reanalysed as a main clause, the implied reading is often annoyance: 'when I said "...", (you did not listen or act)'. Insubordinated main clauses ending in *tɕə kʰi (bu)*[436] are used when a speaker has to repeat themself at an addressee's lack of reaction. In (1491), the clause *tɕǐŋ=bu nə́ pɯ mê=ha tɕə kʰi=bu* 'when I already told the child he should not behave like this!' is not subordinated to the following clause *tʰɐ-jwǽ si* 'he's too excessive', but is rather a stand-alone main clause with the implied pragmatic inference 'but he did it again'. The speaker is confident that the addressee will be able to infer the negative evaluation of the situation.

[436] According to my main consultant *tɕiŋ* or *tɕə bu* can be used as well, but they are not attested in the corpus.

(1491) pʰêj, tɕǐŋ = bù nə́ pʉ́ mɛ̌ = hà tɕə̀ kʰì = bù,
INTJ child = TOP thus do NEG:EMPH = ought say time = TOP

tʰɛ̀-jwǽ = sî
FR.SP-be.excessive = INF

'(...) Bah! (I) already told the child that (he) shouldn't behave like this, (he's) too excessive, (...)' (CV01.49)

The utterance in (1492) is either directed to a dog or a child. It is too impolite to use when addressing adults, and implies severe annoyance.

(1492) tʲæ̀-jì tɕə́ kʰî
PROH-come:IMP:SG say time

'Don't come (...)' (lit. When (I) said 'Don't come'.) (CV20.78)

Alternatively, an insubordinated clause ending in *tɕə kʰi(=bu)* can also be used positively to express that a speaker agrees with a previous speaker, as is shown in (1493), where the current speaker repeats what the previous speaker has said and adds *tɕə kʰi(=bu)* at the end (repetition in bold). There is no annoyance involved. The use of *tɕə kʰi(=bu)* does not necessarily mean that a speaker has stated the utterance before, but just implies strong agreement with a previous speaker in the sense 'that's what I was thinking as well', as in (1494).

(1493) nǒŋnòŋ; ɛ̀má tɕɛ́ **sóŋqù** **dzù** **kʰì**, ə́-dʐæ̀
no.wonder aunt big filled.pig.stomach make time that-location:GEN

tə̀ = gǎ dʐì **tɕʰǐ** **mà = ɖʐwá** **ʐù** tí tʰɛ́-ɖòŋ
this = GEN location bind NEG = good very one FR.SP-become

tɕə̀ = ɖàw.
say = IPFV:N.EGO

W: 'No wonder, when first aunt made filled pig stomach, (she) said that over there it was very hard to tie.' (CV16.54)

sóŋqù **dzù** **kʰì** **tɕʰǐ** **mà = ɖʐwá** **ʐù** = ɖáw tɕə̀
filled.pig.stomach make time bind NEG = good very = IPFV:N.EGO say

kʰì = bù.
time = TOP

S: '(That's right), when making filled pig stomach, that is very hard to tie.' (CV16.55)

(1494) nǒŋmədà tɕə̀ kʰì.
right say time

'That's right!' (CV09.148)

10.5.2 *Causal clauses*

The marker *ɦa* has been analysed as a clause linker that links non-final clauses to a final clause (§10.2) and as a causal subordinator (§10.4.3). However, in the corpus there are multiple attestations in which *ɦa* occurs utterance-finally.[437] This is either because the final clause, which normally follows the *ɦa*-clause, precedes it, as in (1495), or because the final clause is absent, as in (1496). There the unstated implication is that therefore the referents did not come home.

(1495) mɛ́sə́mæ̀ŋ, ʐù ʐíŋ mà = qɛ́j = ɖâw, nìŋgə̌ nɛ̀-ɖɛ́ŋ
wait.a.bit lift can NEG = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO basket DOWN-break

ʂɛ́j ɦà.
go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'Wait a bit, it cannot be lifted, because the basket broke.' (CV16.71)

(1496) tɕíŋmíŋ ʐə̌ mà = ɕíŋ tɕə́ ɦà.
home go NEG = VOL:PL say LINK

'(…) (he) said (they) would not come home.' (CV09.117)

That a clause ending in *ɦa* can indeed be reinterpreted as an independent main clause can be seen in (1497). In that example, *ɦa* is followed by *ə̂seŋ*, the attitude marker that invites the addressee's agreement with the statement (§8.8.2.6).

(1497) "wŭ, wŭ" tà tɕə̌ ɦà, ə́sèŋ?
INTJ INTJ only say LINK AGR

'(He) only said, "Wu wu!" right?' (CV09.33.1)

Often the final clause to which the subordinate *ɦa*-clause is linked is missing and another unconnected clause follows, as in (1498). The unexpressed result of bringing along friends was that the household needed to buy bedding. This is expressed a few lines later with two causal subordinate clauses marked by *ɦa* linked to a main clause.

[437] In all the examples given in this section, *ɦa* could be replaced by *ɦaɻoŋni* or *ɦa tɕəbu*, see also §10.4.3.

(1498) tə̀ = gǒŋnì ʐépʉ̀ ɖù də́-ɕwì ɦà, ə́dʐæ̀tə́... ɖǔ
3SG = AGT last.year friend TO.SP-lead:PFV:N.EGO LINK INTJ friend

tɕʰə̀-tsə́ tɕàw, ə́dʐæ̀tə́... ɕwè-tsə́ tɕàw = nòŋ
how.many-CLF:person HSY INTJ eight-CLF:person HSY = COORD

gə́-tsə̀ tɕàw wɛ̀j?
nine-CLF:person HSY PUZ

'It is said that this (son) brought many friends along last year, so... uhm...was it said (that it was) eight people or nine people?' (CV07.65.2)

(2 lines of conversation)

dəbǔ jǎw ní = bʉ̀ = tɕə̀mə̀ tɕòŋgú mà = ɕǐ ɦà tə̀ = ɻǒŋ
then again LOG-household = TOP clothes NEG = EXIST.AB LINK 3 = PL:AGT

ə́-ɻ̊æ̀ŋ dzòŋ ɦà, jǎw tə́ tsʉ́ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j = gə̀ jǎw wǽŋʈʂʰóŋ
that-long stay LINK again this son small = DEF again Ch:Wachang

tɕòŋgú ɻ̊ʉ́ ɕə̀ kɛ̀j mə̀ dzə̀ tɕàw, dʐínʲæ̂.
clothes buy go let GNOMIC HSY really

'Because his household did not even have bedding and because they stayed that long, it is said that they let the youngest son go to Wachang to buy bedding, really!' (CV07.76.2)

In most of the attestations, as the result is still expected to follow, the addressee will mentally draw the conclusion. Sometimes cultural factors are in play. In (1499), the rest of the sentence is not expressed as the conversation took place in the main room and the topic of death is taboo around the hearth. Note also the use of the demonstrative *tə̂* 'this' referring to 'death'.

(1499) ə́-kʰì = bù pèilálá ìŋ = ɻǽ wú
that-time = TOP Ch:without.rhyme.or.reason 1:INCL = PL:GEN interior

qʰǒŋ tʰɛ̀-ɖwɛ̀-jí tə́ tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ ɦà, ə́sɛ̀ŋ
life FR.SP-break-NMLZ this FR.SP-become LINK AGR

'(...) at that time without rhyme or reason, (they) got sick at our place and became like this (= died), right? (...)' (CV04.78)

In a more conventionalised construction, *ɦa* appears with the prohibitive negation marker *tʲæ* = (§7.2.3), as in (1500). Even though interpreted as a rhetorical question,

the construction has a deontic modal meaning ‘you should have exchanged it’.[438] This construction can be rephrased as *mîŋɻoŋ tʰĕ-tʲǽ=gʉ̀?* ‘Why wouldn’t (you) exchange (it)?’ with the interrogative *mîŋɻoŋ* ‘why?’, which turns it into a more direct, and therefore more threatening, speech act. The formal non-completeness of the utterance in (1500) avoids this directness and gives face to the addressee. Evans (2007:390) notes that ellipsed result clauses are often a source of polite requests.

(1500) tʰĕ-tʲǽ=gʉ̀ ɦà?
FR.SP-PROH-exchange LINK

‘Why wouldn’t (you) exchange (it)?’ (CV11.76)

In more than half of the occurrences with the causal subordinators *qʰu=goŋ(ni)* and *=goŋ(ni)* (§10.4.3), these subordinators occur utterance-finally. A result can always be added. It is not clear whether a different pragmatic effect is present. An example is given in (1501) with both *=goŋ(ni)* and *ɦa* clauses.

(1501) ɛ́bàw, ìŋ=ɻə́=bú dəbŭ jǎw òŋmə́dʲæ̀ mà=l̥óŋ pʉ́ ɕə̀
INTJ 1:INCL=PL=TOP then again self NEG=free.time do go

qʰù=gòŋnì.
CUST.INCL=AGT

B: ‘My oh my! Since we continuously make ourselves so busy (we have no time to sit together like this normally).’ (CV21.1)

ɛ́bæ̀ŋ, mà=l̥óŋ pʉ́ ɦà, ə́sèŋ?
INTJ NEG=free.time do LINK AGR

Y: ‘Bah! (We) don’t make time, right?’ (CV21.2)

10.5.3 *Coordinated clauses*

The coordinator *=noŋ* (§5.7, §10.1) is additionally used as a question marker (§7.3, §8.8.2.1). These double functions come about through a process similar to insubordination. Even though Evans (2007:384) does not deal with independently-used coordinated clauses, he mentions that they might have similar functions to insubordinated clauses. But if coordination is treated as a cosubordination construction (i.e. dependent coordination, in which at least one part cannot occur by itself (Foley

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[438] A similar construction is found in the example below, which is also a stand-alone construction ending in the general topic marker *=bu*. More in-depth research needs to be conducted.

ɕə́ tʲǽ=kɛ̀j=bù
go PROH-let=TOP

‘Why not let him go?’ (lit. To not let him go…) (CV04.24.3)

and Van Valin 1984), it makes sense to treat independently-used coordination under insubordination as well.

In conversation, the second part of a coordinated question is frequently left out, so that the coordinator appears clause-finally, as in (1502). A full coordinated question is shown in (1503). In the former example, it is perfectly possible to add *bóŋ mǎ=ɖaw* '(or) don't they?'

(1502) n̥wéŋ[439] bóŋ ɖàw=nòŋ?
sister EXIST.POSS IPFV:N.EGO=COORD

'Do (they) have sisters?' (CV07.21)

(1503) dùtɕʰæ píŋmá dzə̀=nòŋ híŋ dzə̀ lʲæ̀?
Dutchae Pingma be=COORD who be RHET

'(...) it's Dutchae Pingma or who?' (CV02.93.1)

The question ending in the coordinator is then conventionalised and reinterpreted as a complete question, and the coordinator is reinterpreted as an interrogative attitude marker. Formally the construction looks like the initial half of a coordinated pair of clauses, but functionally it is used as an independent main clause question. This can be seen in (1504) where the question is directly followed by the interrogative attitude marker *wɛj* (§8.8.2.4). Attitude markers only follow complete utterances. One would not expect an attitude marker to follow a coordinator, unless it marks a complete utterance.

(1504) də̀-ʐá ʑìŋ wéŋ=nòŋ wɛ̀j?
TO.SP-carry can CUST.EXCL=COORD PUZ

'Can we carry it?' (CV21.450)

Attitude markers do not co-occur generally (§8.8). The fact that *=noŋ* is one of the few attitude markers that co-occurs with other attitude markers (*wɛj, lʲæ ~ lʲɛj*) supports the analysis of a different origin of *=noŋ*.

Another factor that supports the reinterpretation analysis of *=noŋ* is example (1505) where negation is present. Generally in coordinated clauses with opposite polarity, the first clause is positive and the second negative. If (1505) had been a case of simply leaving out the second coordinated clause, no negation would be present in the resulting truncated clause. The presence of negation in (1505) points to a reinterpretation of *=noŋ* as a more normal question marker which can appear with positively as well as negatively phrased clauses. The speaker in (1505) might have seen

[439] The term *n̥wéŋ* 'sister' is used by males for both their older and younger female siblings.

that the object she is referring to was in that location before, but it is also possible that she did not have any pre-knowledge.

(1505) ə́-dʑì mǎ = tɛ̀j = nòŋ?
that-location NEG = EXIST.H = COORD

'Is it not over there?' (CV19.37.1)

Some other dependent structures that might be in the process of being reinterpreted as independent main clauses are subordinate clauses ending in *=nʲæ* 'just, already' (§6.5.4, §10.4.2) and *=la* 'also' (§6.5.1, §10.4.2). There are a few instances in the corpus where a main clause precedes a subordinate clause with *=nʲæ*, as in (1506) and some instances where only the subordinate clause is present, as in (1507); the main clause is left out. The presence of *=nʲæ* implies that there is some result that is not overtly expressed 'so now your joints are big' (because of hard work). An example with *=la* is given in (1508). Further research will need to show to what extent reinterpretation is taking place.

(1506) sèŋtɕʰǐ = là dzə́ mà = ɖóŋ = mə́ dìŋ tɕə̀
breakfast = also eat NEG = IPFV:EGO:1SG = NMLZ be:EGO:1 say

ʂɛ́j mə̀ ʂɛ̀j ɦà, dʑǐ kʰə̀-tʰíŋ = nʲæ̀.
go:PFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR tea out-drink = just

'(...) he said he was not eating breakfast, but as soon as he had drunk tea, he went.' (CV07.74.5)

(1507) ɻɛ̀qʰù tə́ = ɻɛ́ kɛ́lʲæ̀ = nʲæ̀,... ə́sèŋ?
in.the.past this = PL:GEN difficult = just AGR

'In the past it was a hard life, so... right?' (CV02.47)

(1508) ɛ̀pʉ̀ʂə̀ nɛ̀-dʉ̀ = ɦá tɕʰɛ́mì, nʲùkɛ́ŋtɕwìŋ dzə́ = là.
Ch:still.not DOWN-be.poisoned = even not.sure Ch:king.boletus be = also

'Even though (it) was a king boletus, (I) don't know whether or not (they) were poisoned.' (CV09.159)

10.6 Comparison and equation

The most common comparative construction *X Y tû V* uses the postposition *tû* 'on top' (§4.6.3) to mark the standard of comparison. The normal order of this construction is the compared item (X) followed by the standard of comparison (Y) marked with *tû*[440]

[440] My main consultant added that there are two ways to mark the standard of comparison, either with *tû* 'on' or with *qʰu* 'on', as in *nǐŋ è = tú tɕê* versus *nǐŋ è = qʰú tɕê* 'You are bigger than me'. But in the dataset, only examples with *tû* can be found.

followed by the quality of comparison (V) (expressed by a stative verb), as in (1509). Interestingly, (1510) shows its origin as a locational noun. However, it does not totally behave like a noun: it has lost its tone and behaves as part of the genitive construction tone group.

(1509) è = dzǎŋ jǎw tə̀ = dzæ̀ŋ = tú ʈʰôŋ
1.EXCL = DU again 3 = DU = on fast

'(...) the two of us were faster than the two of them (...)' (YJ02.17)

(1510) pʉ́nə̀ ʑ̍ènə̀ = sə̀ tɕʰwǎ = bì = ɦà m̥ə́ = gæ̀ tù
today yesterday = CONTR.TOP pig = DAT = even person = GEN on

há pʉ́ tɕʰì = jí ɖòŋ = ɖàw, ə́sèŋ?
be.excessive do feed = NMLZ be.okay = IPFV:N.EGO AGR

'(...) in recent days, however, one needs to feed the pigs more than people (were fed in the past), right?' (CV03.10.3)

Comparison can also be expressed by juxtaposing two clauses, as in (1511). This construction has the form *X V, Y hâ ti V*, where X and Y are the items that are compared, V is a the quality of comparison expressed by a stative verb, *hâ* is a verb that means 'to be excessive' and *tǐ* is the numeral 'one'.

(1511) tə́ pì = gə́ tɕʰwî, tə́ pì = gə́ há tì tɕʰwî
this pen = DEF be.good this pen = DEF be.excessive one be.good

'This pen is good; this pen is even better.' (CV04.32.2EL)

Equative constructions are expressed by the standard of comparison followed by the bound demonstrative *ə̂-* 'that' prefixed to a stative verb (the quality of comparison), as in (1512). The standard of comparison (*nǐŋ*) keeps its own tone and the tones of the demonstrative and the stative verb are suppressed, and surface with low tone [ə̀-tɛ̀j].

(1512) ɛ̀pʉ́ nǐŋ ə̀-tɛ̀j kʰì = nʲæ̀ tsʰóŋpǽŋ pʉ̀ ʂə̀ = sì tɕàw.
grandfather 2SG that-be.big time = just T:trader do go:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'When grandfather was as big as you now, (he) already went trading, it is said.' (CV01.13)

For more emphasis, the stative verb can be reduplicated, as in (1513), (see also §4.2.3; 4.6.2).

(1513) tə́ = gə́ ə̀-lɛ̀j ~ tə́ = gə́ ə̀-lə̀lɛ̀j
this = DEF that-be.heavy this = DEF that-be.heavy

'As heavy as this.' (CV21.386EL)

Another equative comparative construction (similarity construction) is expressed with the verb *ɖǽ* 'to resemble'. When both the compared item (X) and the standard of comparison (Y) are overtly expressed, the construction is: *X Y=noŋ ɖǽ*, where the coordination marker *noŋ* is used to mark the standard of comparison, as in (1514). In (1515) only the standard of comparison is expressed. When X and Y are expressed as one argument, the verb *ɖǽ* is reduplicated and no coordination marker is used, as in (1516). However, the reduplicated form also appears when the X and Y arguments are distinct and the coordination marker is present, as in (1517).

(1514) té-ɕì té-qè=nòŋ ɖǽ pɯ́
one-CLF:village one-CLF:household=COORD resemble do

'(...) one village is like one household (...)' (TC01ed.6)

(1515) qʰé=nòŋ ɖǽ
spike=COORD resemble

'(Sharp) as a spike.' (TC04.31EL)

(1516) tə́ ɻə́tsə́ nòŋ=gə́ ɖǽɖǽ
this knife two=DEF resemble

'These two knives are the same.' (EL:S11.7.2)

(1517) é=nóŋ ɖǽɖǽ pɯ́ ə́-qʰù nè-dzóŋ tɕʰôŋ
1SG=COORD resemble do that-on DOWN-sit come:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) (he) came and sat up there just like me.' (CV09.126.1)

A similar but more colourful construction that is seldomly used, is *X=noŋ jǒŋmə́ʐə* or *X=noŋ jǒŋmə́ta* 'totally the same'. Only one example is attested in the corpus:

(1518) tə̀ɕǽ è=ɻǎ wɛ́tú=bù ɻə̀-kʰǽ=nòŋ
now 1:EXCL=PL:GEN Wǎdū=TOP front-time:GEN=COORD

jǒŋmə́ʐə́ dzə̀, ɖwìlóŋ=bú èlʲǎtì=là mí=pʰɛ́
totally.the.same be custom=TOP a.little=also NEG:PFV=throw.out

mə̀ dzə̀.
GNOMIC

'Our Wǎdū is now totally the same as in the past, the customs have not been lost one bit.' (CL02ed.9)

The construction *DIR$_X$ -kʰi DIR$_X$ -V* with a stative verb, *kʰi* 'time', and a repeated directional prefix has the meaning of 'more and more V'. The construction is similar to the reduplication constructions described in §10.1. Only one example is attested in the corpus:

(1519) míŋ dzə̀ pàlí tsʰə́ɻì kʰə̀-kʰí kʰə̀-ɕé = nòŋ míŋ dzə̀
what be Pali Tsheri OUT-time OUT-be.big = COORD what be

dèɻɛ̀j tóŋ (lú) = nòŋ è-dzədzæ̀ŋ ɕíɕí = gæ̀
speech speak (work) = COORD IN-be.clogged.up:COLL a.little.bit = GEN

ɻ̊æ̀ ʑáw ʐǔ.
laugh want very

'Tshering of the Pali household is more and more strange; (his) manner of speaking is all stuffed up; (I) really want to laugh.' (CV04.18)

10.7 Continuous action constructions

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has several constructions that express continuous action. The most straightforward construction is a simple repetition of the verb, either with or without directional prefix, as in (1520) and (1521).

(1520) qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j jǎw ɕə́ ɕə́ ɕə́ kʰí = bù dəbǔ, ɦǽŋ = tʲæ̀
OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO again go go go time = TOP then pass = INDF:GEN

wù tà kʰì = bù wù = tí = góŋ ɻwè = wù
interior arrive time = TOP tiger = INDF = AGT road = in

è-ʐwæ̀ŋ = sì tɕàw.
IN-block:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'They went on again and as they went for a long time, they arrived at a mountain pass and were blocked by a tiger on the road.' (TC03.8)

(1521) qà-qʰú ʑə̀-tóŋ kʰə̀-ʑə̀ kʰí tá nè-qwɛ́j
down-on sleep-NMLZ OUT-sleep time all DOWN-cry

nè-qwɛ́j mə́ dzə̀ mə̀ dzà
DOWN-cry GNOMIC NMLZ.INCL

'(She) (...) continuously slept on the sleeping place down there and cried continuously (...)' (CV12.44)

Another construction is *[V=ɻə nɐ-di]*, with the plural marker *=ɻə* following a controllable verb, and a prefixed form of the verb *dǐ* 'to throw', which expresses a continuous or often repeated action, as in (1522) and (1523). The verb can be repeated, as in (1524).

(1522) tɛ̀nóŋ ʈʂǽ=wù ɛ̀-qwá sì ɖàw kʰì,
just.now dirt=in IN-bite:PFV:N.EGO EPIST:probably TRAIL

nìŋ=góŋ kí=ɻə́ nɛ̀-dì ɦà.
2SG=AGT chase=PL down-throw LINK

'Just now (the pig) probably bit in some dust, since you continuously chased after it.' (CV19.26.2)

(1523) ɦə̌, tɕŭʂə̀, ɛ́ tə̀=ɻŏŋ sɛ̀=ɻə́ nɛ̀-dwì ɦà
INTJ Ch:INTJ 1SG 3=PL:AGT hit=PL DOWN-throw:PFV:N.EGO LINK

ɛ̀-pʰíŋ=ɖòŋ tɕə̀ mə̀ dzà.
IN-flee=IPFV:EGO:1SG say NMLZ.INCL

'Yes, right, (because) I was often beaten by them, (I) fled home.' (CV22.18)

(1524) ɦə̌, tɕìŋ=góŋ nə́ pʉ́ ɛ̀-sí kʰì tà tú=ɻə̀ tú=ɻə̀
INTJ child=AGT thus do IN-push time all look=PL look=PL

nɛ̀-dwì.
DOWN-throw:PFV.N.EGO

'Right, the child holding (the bottle with yoghurt) like this was continuously looking (at us).' (CV09.138.1)

The construction *V kʰi V=X* where X can be the topic marker *=bu*, the marker *=la* 'also' or the coordination marker *=noŋ* is a reduplication construction that can be compared to the reduplication constructions discussed in §10.1. *V kʰi V=la* has a continuous meaning, as in (1525).

(1525) jɛ̀má=bù dəbŭ, ʑɛ́gì tú kʰì tú-là ní=bì lʲɛ̀wŭ
monk=TOP then behind look time look=also LOG=DAT YN:again

qʰə̀-l̥ɛ̀ tí=lá mí=pâ.
OUT-gaze one=also NEG:PFV=do:PFV:N.EGO

'(...) even though the monk watched (them) continuously from behind, she did not even gaze back at him one time.' (TC07.33)

The temporal adverb *ʈʰɛ́* 'all the time' can be used in the same clause, as in (1526). Note that only the first syllable of the verb *qwɛ́ɻɛj* is reduplicated. It is also possible to say *qwɛ́ɻɛj kʰi qwɛ́ɻɛj=la* instead.

(1526) tə̀=ɻŏŋnì ʈʰɛ́ qwɛ́-kʰí qwɛ́ɻɛ́j=là áw tɕə̀ mà=ɖáw
3=PL:AGT all.the.time shout-time shout=also INTJ say NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) even though they were all continuously shouting, but he did not even reply "Here!" (...)' (CV09.25.2)

The constructions *V kʰi V=bu*, with the topic marker *=bu*, and *V kʰi V=noŋ*, with the coordination marker *=noŋ*, are also used. The latter is illustrated in the riddle in (1527) and has the meaning 'more and more V'.

(1527) sə́pʉ́sə́lʉ̀dzə́dzə́dzə̂, dzə́ kʰí dzə=nóŋ nóŋʈê̂jʈê̂j, míŋ dzə̀?
guess.this.riddle eat time eat=COORD emaciated what be

'Guess this riddle, what is emaciated even though it eats more and more?'[441]
(KZ04ed.12.1)

The construction *V kʰi ta* has a continuous meaning, as illustrated in (1459). The origin of the morpheme *ta* is opaque and needs more research. It also often occurs with the simultaneous action marker *ʐoŋ* (§7.8.8).

(1528) nʲǽ tə́ lʲǔ=bù mà=tɕʰwí tɕə́ kʰì tà,
2SG:GEN this timber=TOP NEG=good say time all

gǒŋ=wù mà=ɕə́ tɕə́ kʰì tà.
body=in NEG=go say time all

'(She) constantly said, "Your timber is not good, it's not satisfying." '
(CV14.144.5)

The various constructions described in this section often occur in the same sentence, for example the constructions *kʰi ta* and *V=ɻə nɐ-di* in (1524), and the construction *kʰi ta* and verb repetition in (1521).

10.8 Predicate-focus construction

The predicate-focus construction deals with focalizing or de-focalizing specific parts of the predicate, as a means used by speakers to assert the factuality of the utterance or to express their attitude toward the proposition. In terms of information structure, the predicate is usually associated with focus. If any constituent in the predicate needs to receive special focus, or is already established as topic of the discourse and needs to be defocalized, the predicate-focus construction is used.

The predicate-focus construction works in the following way. A verb is normally part of the predicate and is associated with direction, person, aspect, polarity and evidentiality. But apart from these grammatical specifications, a verb also has a semantic component: its lexical content. When the lexical content of a verb needs to

[441] The answer is *ɻóŋ* 'drying rack'. This approximately three-metre high wooden structure is used for drying produce. When one batch is dry, it is taken off and stored, and a new batch is put on the rack to dry. The expressive *nóŋtê̂jtê̂j* (§9.2) normally describes a person whose ribs are visible for lack of food. In the riddle the horizontal poles of the drying rack are metaphorically described as ribs. The drying rack keeps eating produce, but never grows fat.

receive special focus, the basic form of the verb is copied out of the predicate complex to the pre-predicate position and followed by one of the discourse markers (§6.5). The choice of a specific discourse marker depends on the role of the focused predicate in the immediate discourse environment, and is similar to the roles of the nominal constituents as described in §6.5. Apart from the verb, the directional prefix and the negation marker can also be focused.

As far as I know, this construction has not been described for Tibeto-Burman languages, but according to Pavel Ozerov (p.c.) a similar construction can be found in Burmese, and Randy LaPolla (p.c.) came across an example in his Rawang corpus recently.[442] It would not be surprising if other languages in the area display predicate-focus constructions too. A similar construction has been described for Classical Biblical Hebrew (Goldenberg 1971, Kim 2009) where the focused verb form is referred to as the 'tautological infinitive'.

The predicate-focus construction shows several basic templates as outlined in Table 10.2. These will be illustrated by the examples in this section. Not all discourse markers appear in the predicate-focus construction. The possibilities in Table 10.2 have been established from attestations in the corpus combined with elicitation. In the table, 'V' stands for the verb root; 'N' stands for the nominal part of some verbs that have developed from a noun-verb combination; 'DIR' stands for directional prefix; 'NEG' stands for negation marker; 'x' stands for the slot in which the discourse marker appears.

Table 10.2. Predicate-focus templates

	Verb focus				NEG focus	Prefix focus	
	#1 VxV	#2 NxNV	#3 VxDIR-V	#4 VxNEG-V	#5 NEGxNEG-V	#6 DIRxDIR-V	#7 DIRxNEG-V
=bu	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
=sə	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
=ni	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
=di	x	?	?	x	x	x	x
=gədi	-	x	-	x	x	x	x
=tɕəmə	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
=ɕi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
=la	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

[442] *shǒn nə̄ mv-shòn-ò* (say/tell TOP NEG-say/tell-transitive.non.past) '...the elders didn't say...'. The predicate-focus construction looks also similar to the Chinese construction '好是好, 但是...'

	Verb focus				NEG focus	Prefix focus	
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7
	VxV	NxNV	VxDIR-V	VxNEG-V	NEGxNEG-V	DIRxDIR-V	DIRxNEG-V
=ɦa	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
=noŋ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
=nʲæ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Seven different patterns have been attested. In the most basic pattern, #1, no directional prefixes or negation markers are involved and verbs are simply repeated with a discourse marker in between. An example is given in (1529).

(1529) mə́=ɻæ̀ m̥àgéŋ=bù ɖú=bù ɖú=sì.
person=PL:GEN old.man=TOP frightened=TOP frightened=INF

'That old man was indeed frightened.' (CV22.25)

Pattern #1 applies to disyllabic verbs that consist of an originally nominal part, as in (1530). The nominal part *tɕi-* of *tɕíɻoŋ* 'to be hungry', and not the verbal part *-ɻoŋ*, is repeated.

(1530) tɕí-ní-tɕíɻôŋ, tʰú mà=ɕì né-ɖôŋ.
hungry-ADD.FOC-hungry solution NEG=EXIST.AB DOWN-become

'(...) on top of that he was hungry; (he) ended up having no solution any more.' (PC07w.6)

The pattern also applies to lexicalized noun-verb combinations. This can be seen in (1531) as well. While *gʉ̌* 'money' and *bôŋ* 'EXIST.POSS' can also appear as independent words, the form *gʉbóŋ* 'to be rich' forms a lexical compound with a slightly derived meaning. Thus the originally nominal part is repeated in the predicate-focus construction.

(1531) ə́jòŋmà, mə́=ɻæ̀ nǒŋ ɕè-m̥ə́ɖæ̀=gə̀ gʉ̀=bú
INTJ person=PL:GEN in.that.case Hàn-girl=DEF money=TOP

gʉ̀-bóŋ tì dzə̀ sì ɖʉ̀w, ɻɛ̌ʂə̀wæ̀ŋ=tî, ə́sèŋ?
money-EXIST.POSS one be EPIST:probably Ch:twenty.thousand=INDF INTJ

'Whoa! That Hàn girl is probably pretty rich, (otherwise how could she repay) two hundred thousand, right?' (CV07.86)

The pattern does not apply to non-lexicalized noun-verb combinations like *ɻɐdʑə̌ tʰǐŋ* 'to drink liquor' in (1532), which does not form a single lexical compound. As can be

seen, the verb is reduplicated and the topic marker appears between the two verbal parts.

(1532) ɻèdʑə̀ tʰìŋ = bú tʰìŋ tà kʰì = bù, nè-gwè pɯ́
liquor drink = TOP drink can time = TOP DOWN-drunk do

mɛ̌ = hà̀
NEG:EMPH = ought

'(You) can drink liquor, but (you) are not allowed to get drunk.' (TC06.10EL)

Pattern (2) also appears with disyllabic Chinese loanwords, as in (1533), where the first syllable of the stative verb *hwǽŋpʲæŋ* 'convenient (方便 *fāngbiàn*)' is reduplicated.

(1533) hwǽŋ = bù-hwǽŋpʲæ̀ŋ = ɖàw, dzə́ = tú tɕʰòŋ mà = ɖáw
convenient = TOP-convenient = IPFV:N.EGO eat = on appear NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

mə́ dzə̀.
GNOMIC

'(Grease) is useful, but doesn't last long.' (CV20.98)

When directional prefixes or negation markers are present, several patterns are possible. Pattern (3) and (4) show verb focus, as in (1534) where a directional prefix[443] is present, and in (1535), where negation is present. Pattern (5) shows focus of the negation marker, as in (1536). Patterns (6)[444] and (7) show directional prefix focus, as in (1537) and (1538). When both a directional prefix and a negation marker are present, no reduplication of any part takes place, but the discourse marker is inserted between the directional prefix and the negation marker, as in Pattern 7 and example (1538).

(1534) nǐŋ ɛ́ = dzú = nʲæ̀ tʰè-dzû, nʲǽ tè-tsì = gə́ tá
2SG Q = make = ADD.FOC FR.SP-make 2SG:GEN one-CLF:lifetime = DEF only

tə́ pɯ̀ = ʂù ɕì
this do = VOL:SG think

'(...) since you have already started building (the house) (why didn't you build it a bit better?); (you) only think of your own lifetime, (...)' (CV14.144.3)

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[443] In example (1534), a dialectal variant *=nʲæ* of the additional focus marker *=ni* (§6.5.9) is used. Note that this construction is slightly different in that it is preceded by an interrogative clitic, which indicates that it is a conditional clause as well.

[444] Dīng (1998:143) mentions a similar structure in Niúwōzǐ Pǔmǐ with a repeated directional prefix *[DIR-la-DIR-V]*, which he analyses as a compound.

(1535) tə́ tsá dzə́ = bù mí = dzwə́ = sì kʰì = bù,
3SG meat eat = TOP NEG:PFV = eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF time = TOP

ɻə́-kwì tʰè-tɕʰóŋ = sì
pot-cover FR.SP-open = INF

'Even though he has not eaten the meat yet, the pot cover is already open.' (CV09.67EL)
(lit. He, as for eating meat, did not eat, the pot cover is open)

(1536) dəbǔ ní = dzæ̀ŋ tə́-ní tə́-pʰê, ə́sèŋ, ə́-dʑæ̀ tə̀ = gǒŋnì
then LOG = DU UP-ADD.FOC UP-vomit INTJ that-location:GEN 3SG = AGT

góŋɖwí = qɛ̀j kʰì, ʑə̌ mà = ɕíŋ tɕàw
have.diarrhea = EXPT time come NEG = VOL:PL say:IPFV:N.EGO

'(The old man) said that they vomited, right?, and on top of that he would have diarrhea, so (they) would not come (...)' (CV09.117)

(1537) é = tɕə́mə mà = ní mà = ɖʐwá ʐǔ ʑæ̀ = góŋnî.
1SG = TOP NEG = ADD.FOC NEG = comfortable very hand = AGT

'As for me, my hand was really very uncomfortable.' (CV22.3.3)

(1538) nè-bú-mí = sə́ sì ɖàw, kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = gí tɕə́ = sèŋ
DOWN-TOP-NEG = die EPIST:probably OUT-go = VOL:INCL say = PFV:EGO

'(I) said, "(...) (he) probably has not died yet. Let's go." ' (CV09.67)

So far, I have only shown examples of the various predicate-focus templates listed in Table 10.2. In the examples below I will discuss the pragmatic effect of the various templates.

Verb focus templates (Patterns 1-4) are used to emphasize the lexical content of the verb. This can usually be contrasted with another unmentioned action, as in (1535), where the referent did not *eat* the meat, but must have done something else which caused the pot to be open. Of all the different templates of predicate-focus, verb focus is most frequently attested in the corpus. A few exampes of verb focus are given here.

Responding to a previous speaker's doubtful question whether the horse will be able to go, the speaker in (1539) replies affirmingly using a predicate-focus construction, in which the lexical meaning of the verb is in focus. The implication is that *going* is no problem for the horse, but he will not be able to *carry* much.

(1539) ɕə́ = bú ɕə́ tʰòŋ = qɛ̂j, èlʲǽtì è-tɕɛ́ nè-jɛ̀j kɛ́j tà.
go = TOP go can:N.EGO = EXPT a.little IN-pack.load DOWN-get let can

'As for going, (the horse) will indeed be able to go; just make (the horse) carry a little bit.' (CV14.246)

A similar example is given in (1540). Affirming the previous speaker's epistemically uncertain statement 'the old man will have been frightened', the speaker in (1540) responds with a predicate-focus construction focusing on the lexical meaning of the verb to emphasize that this being frightened was indeed the case.

(1540)	mə́ = ɻæ̀	m̥ə̀gə́ŋ = bù	ɖú = bù	ɖú = sì.
	person = PL:GEN	old.man = TOP	frightened = TOP	frightened = INF

'That old man was indeed frightened.' (CV22.25)

Negation focus and prefix focus have far fewer attestations in the corpus. When negation is in focus, (Pattern 5) and (1537) above, the emphasis is more on the truth value of the utterance than on the action itself. Example (1537) is the only example in the corpus, but elicitation shows the possibility of a focused perfective negation marker *mí=* as well, as in (1541).

(1541)	ɛ́	mí = ní	mí = dzə́,	míŋ	tɕə̀ = ɻə̀	tɕə̀	kɛ́j
	1SG	NEG:PFV = ADD.FOC	NEG:PFV = eat	what	say = PL	say	let:IMP

'I really didn't eat, just let (them) talk.' (EL)

Prefix focus templates (Patterns 6 and 7) focus on the lexical direction implied in the directional prefix, as in (1542) below, or on the completion of the action, as in (1536) and (1538) above, where the directional prefix has a metaphorical sense. In (1538), the downward prefix that appears in collocation with the verb 'to die' is often used for expressing negative situations (§7.1.1). The speaker was under the impression that the referent had already died, but some noise nearby made her believe that this was possibly not the case. She then uttered example (1538) with a focused prefix. The referent (the victim of mushroom-poisoning) was dying, but had not completely died yet, and by using a predicate-focus construction, the speaker focuses on the non-completion of the situation. In addition, the predicate-focus construction indicates her attitude towards the proposition: the negative situation has not been completely realized and the speaker does not want it to.

In (1542), a situation proferred by my main consultant, the focus is on the lexical content of the prefix. A girl has disappeared and nobody knows where she is. Her household calls some of her friends down the valley to ask if she has gone over to their place, but the answer is negative. At that point they can say (1542), 'She has not gone *down there* either' with the focus of the utterance on the lexical meaning of the directional prefix.

(1542) nè-lá mí = ʂɛ́j = sì kʰì, nǒŋ kí
DOWN-also NEG:PFV = go:PFV:N.EGO = INF TRAIL so where

tʰè-ʂɛ̀j lʲàʔ
FR.SP-go:PFV:N.EGO RHET

'(She) has not gone down (there) either, so where did (she) go?!' (CV09.67EL)

The various discourse markers that are used after the focused constituent infuse the construction with their particular semantics (as also described in §6.5). The general topic marker *=bu* (§6.5.6) is used to render a rather neutral expression. It is by far the most frequently used marker in this construction in the corpus.

The disjunctive topic marker *=di* (§6.5.7) has not been attested in the natural corpus; it is possible with the predicate-focus construction, as in the elicited example (1543), but is not used very frequently. This example would be used when a speaker did not know that the referent drank at all and now sees him drinking a lot. The implication is that the reality is different from what the speaker assumed.

(1543) tə́ ɻèdʐǐ tʰìŋ = dí tʰìŋ = ɖùw kʰî.
3SG liquor drink = DISJ.TOP drink = IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

'He really drinks a lot.' (TC06.10EL)

The contrastive topic marker *=sə* (§6.5.8) marks a contrast to presupposition. In (1544) Hare tricks Tiger by giving him a piece of candy to eat instead of giving him his eye. The emphasis is on the fact that the supposed eye is unexpectedly delicious.

(1544) ə́jù ʐóŋ = sə́ ʐóŋ ʐù kʰí = bú, ɛ́ = gǽ = là
INTJ delicious = CONTR.TOP delicious very time = TOP 1SG = GEN = also

qʰə̀-ʈʉ̀ kɛ́j dzà bǎ
OUT-dig let be SPEC

'(...) Oh! It is really delicious! (I) will let (you) dig out mine as well, okay?' (KZ03.23)

A predicate-focus construction with the additional focus marker *=ni* (§6.5.9) followed by the expectational marker *=qɛj* (§8.3.3) implies certainty, as in (1545). Followed by the customary markers *=weŋ* or *=qʰu* (§8.5), a predicate-focus construction with *=ni* implies that a situation happens often, as in (1546) and (1547). The basic meaning of additional focus is also implied, as in (1546) where on top of being poor and living in bad circumstances, they were often provoked by others.

(1545) ɻù̥-gí ní = gæ̀ qǽŋ = wù tɕʰòŋ = ní tɕʰòŋ = qɛ̀j
pine.torch-collect LOG = GEN neck = in appear = ADD.FOC appear = EXPT

ɕí ɦà.
think LINK

'(Bajin) thinks that collecting pine torches will certainly be his responsibility (lit. appeared in his own neck).' (CV18.63)

(1546) wà-ní wàɕí ʐù pɯ́ wèŋ
provoke-ADD.FOC provoke very do CUST.EXCL

'(We) were often provoked, (...)' (CV12.33.1)

(1547) ə́-kʰì dʑə̀dʑì swéŋ kʰí tə̀ = ɻæ̀ = sə̀,
that-time letter study time this = PL:GEN = CONTR.TOP

tú-nì túɕù qʰù
Ch:cut.class-ADD.FOC Ch:cut.class CUST.INCL

'(...) At that time, when (we) were studying, (we) often cut class, (...)' (CV12.36)

A predicate-focus construction with the topic marker *=gədi* (§6.5.10) does not occur in the corpus, but the elicited example in (1548) shows that it can be used. This utterance can be said in a situation where the speaker really has no way to perform a certain action, since it makes them throw up. For example, somebody asks them to throw a dead pig in the ditch, and they cannot do it because of the stench.

(1548) ɛ́ = gə́dì tə́-gə́dì tə́-pʰɛ́
1SG = TOP UP-TOP UP-vomit

'(I haven't been able to complete this), it really made me throw up.' (CV09.117EL)

In (1549) a predicate-focus construction with the intensifier *=la* 'also' is shown. The lexical meaning of *ʈʂʰə̂* 'to slaughter' is contrasted with 'selling' in the previous clause. The speaker's family not only *sells* chickens, they also *slaughter* them.

(1549) ɻú kì ɕə̀ kɛ̀j mə̀ dzə̀.
chicken sell go let GNOMIC

ʈʂʰə́ = là ʈʂʰə́ = ɖwèŋ mə̀ dzə̀
slaughter = also slaughter = IPFV:EGO:N.SG GNOMIC

'(...) (we) let (younger uncle) go sell chickens. As for slaughtering, (we) also often slaughter (chickens), (...)' (CV04.72.1-2)

A predicate-focus construction with the intensifier *=ɦa* 'even' indicates that the situation expressed by the lexical meaning of the verb already is the case and cannot be changed any more, as in (1550).

(1550) dǎwmà = nòŋ = bù jóŋtɕíŋ = gǽ ʈʰə́
T:rDo.rje.Dre.ma = COORD = TOP T:dByangs.cin = GEN foot

jóŋtɕíŋ = gǽ èlʲǽtì tɕé = ɦà tɕè = ɖàw.
T:dByangs.cin = GEN a.little.bit be.big = even be.big = IPFV:N.EGO

'(Comparing) Dauma's and Yongjin's feet, Yongjin's are already a bit bigger.' (CV01.52)

When negation is involved, however, the construction indicates that the situation expressed by the lexical meaning of the verb is not a bit the case, as in (1551).

(1551) é = bú qʰə̀-ɖǽŋ-è-ɖǽŋ pʉ̀ ɦà tə̀ = gǽ sèŋní = ɦá
1SG = TOP OUT-run-IN-run do LINK 3SG = GEN listen = even

mí = séŋnì.
NEG:PFV = listen

'(...) but I was running back and forth and did not even listen to his (talking).' (CV07.24)

When the predicate-focus construction appears in a temporal subordinate clause followed by *kʰi* (§10.4.2), a condition or a counter-result is often expressed in the main clause, as in (1552) and (1553).

(1552) ébàw, é ɕáw = sə́ tɕʰə̀ = sə́ tɕʰə̌ wéŋ kʰì = bù
INTJ 1SG ritual = CONTR.TOP take = CONTR.TOP take can time = TOP

dəbǔ, ɕáw tɕʰə́ = bù lúhwá ʐù = ɖáw mə̀ dzə̀ lʲěj
then ritual take = TOP difficult very = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC DISS

'(...) My oh my, as for the ritual, I am indeed able to do that, but doing the ritual is very difficult as a matter of fact, (...)' (KZ02.6)

(1553) ə́-qʰù ʑí = bù ʑí mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j kʰì, káw = gǽ ɻʉ̀tɕʰí
that-on EXIST.A N = TOP EXIST.AN EPIST time uncle(MB) = GEN face

jǎw ʂéj = sì ɻǽ nə̀ nè-pʉ̀ kʰə̀-tì = séŋ dzə̀
again go:PFV:N.EGO = INF it.seems DOWN-do OUT-put = PFV:EGO be

'(Pingma) would probably have been up there, but in front of uncle (I) pretended that (he) had gone (...)' (CV04.24.2)

This counter-result can also be seen in (1554) where speaker Y finishes the utterance of speaker S, which is why her (speaker Y's) utterance starts with *kʰi = bu*. This is not a normal way to start a clause.

(1554) è = dzæ̀ŋ = lá ɻú = bù ɖòŋ = bǔ ɖòŋ = ɖǎw.
1:EXCL = DU = also chicken = TOP be.okay = TOP be.okay = IPFV:N.EGO

S: 'We are also doing well in terms of chickens.' (CV04.82)

k^hì = bù qɛ̀tsə̂lí = ɖàw
time = TOP small = IPFV:N.EGO

Y: 'But they're just a little bit small.' (CV04.83)

10.9 Discourse features

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ narrative discourse[445] is a web of interrelated features that structure the narrative in various ways. Tail-head linking, the coding or non-coding of participants, the use of the hearsay marker and the clause linker *dəbǔ* all work together in a complex way to link or subdivide events in a narrative.

In this section a few features will be outlined briefly (the scope of the present study being too small for a complete discussion of these features and their interrelation): clause-chaining (§10.9.1), tail-head linking (§10.9.2), the function of the marker *dəbǔ* (§10.9.3), reported speech (§10.9.4) and the role of the hearsay marker (§10.9.5), participant reference (§10.9.6), afterthoughts (§10.9.7), and some discourse functions of demonstratives (§10.9.8).

10.9.1 *Clause chaining*

Expository, procedural, or general historical texts tend to have a clause chaining structure, with sentences often consisting of multiple non-finite clauses linked to a final finite clause. Especially in procedural texts, the whole text can consist of a long chain of non-finite clauses which is only wrapped up in the end by one finite clause. An example of this has been shown in §10.2.2, example (1377). In legends, myths and trickster narratives, the longest sentences (consisting of (non-)finite or subordinate clauses linked to a finite clause) usually appear at the climactic moment of the story (also noted for Tibetan, DeLancey 1991:18), as illustrated in (1555), which is the

[445] This section focuses on narrative texts (mainly procedural texts, legends and trickster stories). Conversation is a totally different genre and will benefit from proper conversational analysis, which I have not been able to conduct due to the scope of the present study. Several other genres, such as formal speeches, ritual texts and riddles have been left out as well. For some features of the formal speech genre see Gerong Pincuo and Daudey (2013).

climax of a Trickster story.[446] The sentence consist of five non-final clauses, of which two are subordinate clauses (clause linkers and subordinators are in bold).

(1555) “lʲú = ɖáw” tɕə̀ **kʰì** = nòŋ ə́wà, nʲùɕù-pɛ́ ə́wà ɻə́tsə̀ = gòŋ
boil = IPFV:N.EGO say time = only CMX leather.bag-bottom CMX knife = INS

té-ɻɛ̀ = ɕì = bù gwìdʲóŋ ə́wà nɛ̀-dî nɛ̀-ɕə̀
one-CLF:cut = LIM.TOP = TOP pestle CMX DOWN-throw DOWN-go

kwɛ́j **ɦà** mə́ = ɻæ̀ ʈʂʰəpɛ́j-ɻɛ́j
let:PFV:N.EGO LINK person = PL:GEN boiling.water-cooking.pot

nɛ̀-ʈɛ́ŋ nɛ̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j **ɦà**
DOWN-break DOWN -go let:PFV: N.EGO LINK

jèhǎ lʲwɛ̀tsə̀ɻóŋ tə́-ʈʂə̀ kwɛ̀j **ɦà**
all glowing.ember UP-jump let:PFV:N.EGO LINK

mɛ́qɛ́-bà (swǽŋ = nòŋ) má(= nòŋ, tí-jóŋ) = ((bù))
family-household:GEN father = COORD mother = COORD one-CLF:thing = TOP

tsù-kóŋ = wù è-pʰìŋ è-ʂɛ́j **kʰì** = là qɛ́-bʉ̀ = tù
side.room-door = in IN-flee IN-go:PFV:N.EGO time = also dung-pile = on

tʰè-ɖwɛ́j qʰɛ́ = tù nɛ̀-tsèŋ kwɛ́j;
FR.SP-slip spike = on DOWN-fall.down let:PFV:N.EGO

‘When (they) said, “It’s boiling,” LOOK! (Hare) used the knife, LOOK! to cut the bottom of the leather bag in just one cut, LOOK! let the pestle fall down; (he) let their cooking pot with boiling water break; (he) let all the glowing embers jump up; when the (father and) mother (one of them) fled inwards to the side room door, (he) let (her) slip on the dung pile and fall on the spike. (...)’ (TC04.36)

10.9.2 *Tail-head linking*

Tail-head linking is used to perform two different discourse functions in narrative. The first one is to anchor the action following the tail-head linking construction to the time line and indicate a new development in the story. This is exemplified by the first two lines of (1556).

[446] As in many languages in the area, the trickster figure is personified by Hare, who is crafty and cruel. His main opponents are Bear, Tiger and various humans, who are usually characterized by stupidity, pride or envy. Trickster stories generally end in the death of the opponent and the escape of the trickster.

(1556) ʐèpŭ̀ ʐèpù̀ kʰí = bú ʐóŋmí = tì = nòŋ = bù ʐóŋtsú = tì
in.the.past in.the.past time = TOP ewe = INDF = COORD = TOP lamb = INDF

nú tʰíŋ ʂɛ̀j = sì tɕàw.
mineral.water drink go:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'Long, long ago, an ewe and a lamb went to drink sodium bicarbonate water.' (TC03.1)

nú tʰíŋ ʂɛ̀j kʰì = bù
mineral.water drink go:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

ɦǽŋ = tʲæ̀ wù lɛ́ = gòŋ ɻwɛ̀ = wù ɛ̀-ʐwæ̀ŋ.
mountain.pass = INDF:GEN interior wolf = AGT road = in IN-block:PFV.N.EGO

'When (they) went to drink salt water, (they) were blocked by a wolf on the road through a mountain pass.' (TC03.2)

The second function is as a highlighting device. Tail-head linking is used to build up suspense by slowing down the narrative before a climax. An example is given in (1557). This is the moment that the youngest of three brothers brings home his wife for their wedding. The guests have been waiting in expectation, since it is rumoured that his wife is a toad. But during their journey, the toad changes into a very beautiful girl. Note that in the first line the climax marker (§10.9.8) also appears.

(1557) dəbŭ ə́wà, tʰʲǎ bú tʰɛ̀-pʰì ɕíɕí kʰì = bù,
then CMX about sun FR.SP-slant a.little.bit time = TOP

kʰə̀-tɕʰôŋ.
OUT-come:PFV:N.EGO

'And so, LOOK! when the sun was a little bit past noon, they arrived.' (TC09.42)

kʰə̀-tɕʰóŋ kʰi = bù, tɛ̂j, m̥ə̀ɖæ̀-lí = bù gǽ ʐǔ.
OUT-come: PFV:N.EGO time = TOP INTJ female-DIM = TOP beautiful very

'When they arrived, Wow! the girl was very beautiful.' (TC09.43)

10.9.3 *The marker dəbŭ and its functions in discourse*

The clause linker *dəbŭ* 'then' (§10.2) has important functions in ordering discourse. One of the functions is a time-ordering function: *dəbŭ* denotes that the action that follows is sequential in time to the action that precedes it. In procedural texts with clear sequentiality, *dəbŭ* has a high rate of occurrence, marking the different steps in a certain process, as shown in the fragment of a butter tea recipe in (1558).

(1558) dəbù, tsʰì = lá nè-dî.
then salt = also DOWN-throw

dəbǔ nè-dzôŋ.
then DOWN-churn

dəbǔ, nə́ pɯ́ tʰè-dzú wèŋ.
then thus do FR.SP-make CUST.EXCL

'then also put in some salt; then churn (it); then...(it) is usually made like this.'
(PC01.6-8)

In narratives, a major function is marking new developments at (foreground) event lines in a story. As such, the new foregrounded element appears at the beginning of a clause, followed by a pause, to mark that an action will take place or that a new phase in the action is about to start. It often marks a new locational or temporal frame in a narrative, as shown in (1559). Trickster Hare has already played two pranks on Bear and the scene of the story moves to another time and location for the third prank.

(1559) dəbǔ, tʰùlì = góŋ dəbǔ jǎw, tsʰítóŋ = tʲæ̀ qʰù jǎw,
then hare = AGT then again swamp = INDF:GEN top again

çwèçwǽ-dzóŋ = tì tʰè-dzù, ə́-qʰù ʈʂə́-qwà = sì
hemp.stem-bridge = INDF FR.SP-make that-on jump-ITT:PFV:N.EGO = INF

tçàw.
HSY

'Then Hare again made a hemp stem bridge over a swamp and was jumping continuously on top (of it), it is said.' (TC06.13)

The marker *dəbǔ* is also used as a spacer following a nominal constituent, and is used to give special prominence to the referent, usually one of the main participants. This is especially clear in the story of Hare and Bear, where at the start of four of the five major developments, trickster Hare is (re-)introduced with a noun phrase followed by *dəbǔ*. This can be seen in example (1559) above.

The linker *dəbǔ* is also often used as a hesitation marker, a time-winning device that helps the speaker collect their thoughts before moving on to the next bit of the story, or a gap filler, a device to fill the silence when a narrator is at loss for a word. The first time my main consultant was recorded telling a story, he had to order his thoughts a lot during the narration, and as a result inserted many hesitation markers. The second attempt to tell the same story, the number of hesitation markers had decreased dramatically. An example of *dəbǔ* used as hesitation marker is given in (1560). In the recording there is a long pause after *nǐŋ tə́-jî*, a long drawn out *dəbǔ*, and another long

pause, after which the narrator picks up the storyline again with a repetition of *nǐŋ tə́-jî*.

(1560) dəbǔ "ɛ́ ə-pú zo̰ŋ" tɕə̀ kʰì=bù dəbǔ, "nǐŋ
then 1SG this-under EXIST.EGO:1SG say time=TOP then 2SG

tə́-jî," **...dəbǔ...** "nǐŋ tə́-jî, nǐŋ ɛ̀-bǎ
UP-come:IMP:SG then 2SG UP-com:IMP:SG 2SG 1-household:GEN

tɕʰì-qʰwá jèhǎ qʰə̀-dzə̂," tɕwə̀=sì tɕàw.
food-bowl all OUT-eat say:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY

'When he said, "I am under here," (they said), "Come up!" then... "Come up! You ate all our household's bowl of rice," (they) said, it is said.' (TC02.37)

10.9.4 *Reported speech*

The default form to mark reported speech quotes is with an agentive-marked referent preceding the quote and the verb 'to say' following the quote (§8.3.5). At important points in narratives, however, an overt clause 'X said thus' precedes the quote, as in (1561). In this story, a certain man tricks a pious woman into giving her daughter to him in marriage, and in order to succeed, he poses as a god. The quote is sandwiched between the preceding 'X said thus' and the following verb *tɕə* 'to say' to highlight the importance of the quotation for the development of the narrative.

(1561) dəbǔ tə́ m̥ə́=gòŋ nə́ tɕwə́=sì tɕàw. "ɛ́ dəbǔ
then this person=AGT thus say:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY 1SG then

hí dîŋ, pɯ́nə̀=bù hí=góŋ dɛ̀ɻɛ̌j qʰə̀-tóŋ=ʂú," tɕə̀
god be:EGO:1 today=TOP god=AGT speech OUT-speak=VOL:SG say

kʰì=bù.
time=TOP

'then this person said the following. "I am god, today god wants to speak," (he) said,' (TC08.11)

10.9.5 *The discourse use of the hearsay marker*

The evidential hearsay marker *tɕaw* (§8.3.5) is not used after every line in a story, but only at the end of a chain of closely associated clauses. This end line tends to be a clause that marks a new development in the story that moves the story along. The function of *tɕaw* is to pause in order to give prominence to this new development. This can be clearly seen in an excerpt from a story given in example (1562). The story is about a monk whose daughter is discovered by a prince on a hunting expedition and taken to be his bride. This causes the monk to die of grief. (For reasons of space, the excerpt is only given in English translation. In the translation the major developments

in the story are marked in italics and the translation of the hearsay marker *tɕaw* 'it is said' is marked in bold.)

(1562) Long, long ago, in a beautiful place a monk practiced Buddhism. As the monk was practicing Buddhism, there was a very good spring below (him). There was a very good spring, and every day (he) practiced Buddhism there. (When he) practiced Buddhism..., then in this good place, the monk washed his own change of clothes [[in the water]] there, (he) washed (them) in the spring. After (he) washed (his change of clothes) in the spring, after (he) washed (them) in the water, (he) practiced Buddhism the whole time. When (he) was washing (his clothes) in the spring there, *a female deer drank the water*, **it is said.** (TC07.1-5)

Even though (he) was chasing away the female deer, she did not flee, but drank the water. When (she) was drinking water, and then the monk... the monk had gone to get some clean water, *the female deer then excreted/gave birth to something that looked like a wheel of lard*, **it is said**. (TC07.6-8)

When the monk saw (that), he wondered what on earth this thing that looked like a wheel of lard could be, and only when he cut it in half (he found out that) *there was a person inside*, **it is said.** (TC07.9)

When (he found out that) there was a person, (he) thought, "Iii! There is a person inside, right?", so this monk raised (it). When (he) raised (it), it was a girl (turned out to be a girl), and (so) he raised her till she was big. When he raised her till she was big, then the whole time...then later... (She) grew big and turned seventeen, eighteen years old. When (she) became seventeen, eighteen years old, (the monk) made (her) the one who got his own clean water. (He made her) get his own clean water (from) inside this spring, and (she) became the monk's servant. (He made her) the one who got and carried clean water (for him). It went like this, and then *an official and his household went hunting*, **it is said.** (TC07.10-15)

10.9.6 *Participant reference*

Participant reference is a massive topic, but due to the scope of this study, I will only limit myself to some main observations. Major participants are normally introduced by an indefinite noun phrase, as in (1563), or a numeral classifier, as in (1564), in a presentational clause with an existential verb or a verb of movement (appearing on the scene, as in [1565]). A definite noun phrase is used at their first involvement in the story and often zero anaphor marking is used after that.

(1563) ʐènə̌ ʐènə̀ kʰí = bû, jǎw té-qè = bù
in.the.past in.the.past time = TOP again one-CLF:household = TOP

má = nòŋ **m̥ə́ = tì** ʐì = sì tɕàw. má = nòŋ
mother = COORD daughter = INDF EXIST.AN = INF HSY mother = COORD

m̥ə́ = tì ʐì, **má = nòŋ** **m̥ə́ = gə̀** = bù
daughter = INDF EXIST.AN mother = COORD daughter = DEF = TOP

ʈʰé ní = dzæ̀ŋ = nʲæ̀nʲæ̀ tà dzâ.
all.the.time LOG = DU = only only be

'Long, long ago there was a household that consisted of a mother and a daughter. There were a mother and daughter. All along, it was only the mother and daughter, the two of them.' (TC08.1-2)

(1564) ʐènə̌ ʐènə̀ kʰí = bú jǎw, té-qè-bʉ̀ = bù,
in.the.past in.the.past time = TOP again one-CLF:household-household = TOP

póŋ té-qè = bù, **tsʉ́** **sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ** bòŋ.
T:official one-CLF:household = TOP son three-CLF:brother EXIST.POSS

tsʉ́ sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ bòŋ kʰì = bù dəbǔ, **sòŋ-pɛ̀jkwéŋ = gə̀**
son three-CLF:brother EXIST.POSS time = TOP then three-CLF:brother = DEF

dəbǔ, kʰə̀-tɕɛ́ = sì tɕàw.
then OUT-be.big = INF HSY

'Long, long ago a household, an official('s) household had three sons. He had three sons, and the three siblings had grown up, it is said.' (TC09.1-2)

When, however, the participants are well-known characters, like Trickster Hare and his opponent Bear, they might be introduced slightly differently. In (1565), Hare is introduced with an agentive noun phrase and receives zero marking from then on. Bear is introduced with an indefinite noun phrase and receives zero marking from then on. (In (1571) below, Hare is not even introduced until line 6 of the story, but appears with zero marking in lines 3 to 5.)

(1565) ʐènə̌ ʐènə̀ kʰí = bú dəbǔ **tʰùlì = góŋnî,** **tʰùlì = góŋní** dəbù,
in.the.past in.the.past time = TOP then Hare = AGT Hare = AGT then

mè-tsà-lí = tí də̀-ʐ̩â; **Ø** túútʲú tɕə̀ m̥ə̀
bamboo-CLF:section-DIM = INDF TO.SP-carry (Hare) IDEO say blow

kʰí = bù ə́-dʐ̩ì **gwéŋ = tí** nè-tɕʰóŋ = sì tɕàw.
time = TOP that-location bear = INDF DOWN-come:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'Long, long ago, Hare carried a piece of bamboo and when (he) was blowing it 'Toot toot!' over there a bear came down, it is said.' (TC06.1)

Minor participants are often referred to by a full noun phrase throughout the narrative, but can have zero anaphor reference when involved in a conversation with a main character, as in (1566), where Leopard, a minor character, is introduced and then appears as a zero anaphor in conversation with the main characters, the Sheep.

(1566) Ø qʰə̀-ʂɛ̂j kʰì = bù Ø ɦǽŋ = tʲæ̀
(sheep) OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP (sheep) mountain.pass = INDF:GEN

wù tà kʰì = bù jǎw **swí = tì = gòŋnì** ɻwɛ́ = wù ɛ̀-ʐwɛ́ŋ
interior arrive time = TOP again leopard = INDF = AGT road = in IN-block

ʂɛ̀j ɦà, **Ø** nìŋ-bʉ́ kí ɕə̀ = ɖwèŋ,
go:PFV:N.EGO LINK (leopard) 2-household where go = IPFV:EGO:N.SG

pʉ́nə̀ = bù ɛ̀ = ní qʰə̀-dzə́ = ʂû tɕwə̀ = sì = ɖàw.
today = TOP 1SG = AGT OUT-eat = VOL:SG say:PFV:N.EGO = INF = IPFV:N.EGO

'When (they) went on and arrived at a mountain pass, (they) were again blocked on the road by a leopard who said, "Where are you going? Today I want to eat (you)." ' (TC03.6)

Minor props are not introduced, but enter the narrative as full noun phrases already caught up in the action. They are usually referred to by a full noun phrase at every appearance in the narrative, like the ducks in (1567).

(1567) âw... wɛ̀j-tɕʰwí = bʲæ̀ ((pàjǐ = wà)) ɻɛ̀qá kʰə̀-kì-mə́
INTJ left-direction = on:GEN sleeve = in:GEN bone OUT-put.in-NMLZ

kʰə̀-tɕí kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j kʰí = bù,
OUT-move OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

kʰwɛ́ = wù jèhǎ **bǽ** tʰɛ́-ɖòŋ ɦà, **bǽ = ɻóŋ**
lake = in all duck FR.SP-become LINK duck = AGT

kìqwà kìqwà kìqwà tɕə̀ ə́wà, kʰwɛ́ = wù nɛ̀-tsʰú = sí tɕàw
IDEO IDEO IDEO say CMX lake = in DOWN-dance = INF HSY

'When she threw out the bones that were put in her left sleeve, they all became ducks in the lake, and the ducks quacking 'Quack, quack, quack!' LOOK! danced in the lake, it is said.' (TC09.54)

Major participants on the main action line generally receive zero expression, as in (1568), as they are active, identifiable topics.

(1568) **Ø** “nǐŋ míŋ tsàw = ɖù,” tɕà kʰì = bù, **Ø**
(Bear) 2SG what pound = IPFV:EGO:2SG say time = TOP (Hare)

“ɛ̀ = bú ɛ̀ = gǽ dzɛ̀j tsáw = ɖòŋ,” tɕà kʰì = bù,
1SG = TOP 1SG = GEN drum pound = IPFV:EGO:1SG say time = TOP

Ø “nǒŋ ɛ́ tsàw ʑìŋ ɛ̀ = qɛ̀j,” tɕà kʰì = bù,
(Bear) so 1SG pound can Q = EXP say time = TOP

‘When (Bear) said, “What are you beating?” (Hare) said, “Me, I’m beating my drum,” (Bear) said, “In that case can I beat?” ’ (TC06.9)

But when there is a paragraph break or a major new development in the storyline, the main characters appear again as full NPs, with the main protagonist receiving agentive marking as well, as in (1569).

(1569) dəbǔ, **tʰùlì = góŋ** dəbǔ jǎw, tsʰítóŋ = tʲǽ qʰù jǎw,
then hare = AGT then again swamp = INDF:GEN top again

ɕwèɕwǽ-dzóŋ = tì tʰè-dzù, ə́-qʰù ʈʂə́-qwà = sì
hemp.stem-bridge = INDF FR.SP-make that-on jump-ITT:PFV:N.EGO = INF

tɕàw.
HSY

‘Then Hare again made a hemp stem bridge over a swamp and was jumping continuously on top (of it), it is said.’ (TC06.13)

dəbǔ jǎw **tə́** **gwéŋ** ə́-dʑì ɛ̀-tɕʰôŋ
then again this bear that-location IN-come:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then again that Bear came over there (...)’ (TC06.14)

With a minor development in a story, a main character can also be coded by a pronoun, as in (1570).

(1570) dəbǔ **tə̀ = gǒŋnì** dəbǔ, “mésə́mæ̀ŋ, mésə́mæ̀ŋ, é dʑə̀dʑì = tí sə́
then 3SG = AGT then wait.a.bit wait.a.bit 1SG letter = INDF first

nɛ̀-swà kɛ́j, lɛ́-ɻə̀ qúnʲə́, wù-ɻə̌ qúnʲə́, swí-ɻə̀
DOWN-read let:IMP wolf-skin twelve tiger-skin twelve leopard-skin

tɛ̀-pǎ mí = lʲóŋ = sì,
one-CLF:sheet NEG:PFV = be.enough = INF

pʰǐŋ é = mæ̀ŋ = mɛ́ = mǽŋ ɦǎw,” tɕə̀ kʰì = bù, ɦǎw
flee Q = have.time = NEG:EMPH = have.time WARN say time = TOP INTJ

swí = gə̀ = là pʰǽŋ ʂɛ́j = sì tɕàw.
leopard = DEF = also flee:PFV:N.EGO go:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

‘Then when he (= the shaman) said, “Wait a bit, wait a bit, let me first read a book. Twelve wolf skins, twelve tiger skins, one leopard skin is lacking, there might not be time to flee!!” Oh! the leopard also went fleeing.’ (TC03.20)

10.9.7 *Afterthoughts*

Afterthoughts are frequently used with identifiable, active or accessible topics. This is illustrated in (1571) with line 6 of a trickster story. One of the characters, a Trader, has been properly introduced in the story, but the main protagonist, Hare, who appears in line 3 of the story, has not been mentioned a single time, but has from the start been referred to by zero anaphora. Not until line 6 does the speaker add an explicit reference to this established and active participant in the form of an afterthought. The reason why this is possible is that trickster stories always include Hare as main character, and when telling a trickster story, Hare is thus identifiable and accessible from the start.

(1571) dəbû, Ø “nǐŋ ɕáw tɕʰə́ é = wèŋ,” tɕə̀ kʰì = bù, **Ø** “ébàw,
then (trader) 2SG ritual take Q = can say time = TOP (hare) INTJ

é ɕáw = sə́ tɕʰə̀ = sə́ tɕʰə̌ wéŋ kʰì = bù dəbǔ,
1SG ritual = CONTR.TOP take = CONTR.TOP take can time = TOP then

ɕáw tɕʰə́ = bù lúhwá ʐù = ɖáw mə dzə̀ lʲɛ̌j,”
ritual take = TOP difficult very = IPFV:N.EGO GNOMIC DISS

tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw, **tʰùlì = gòŋnì**.
say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY hare = AGT

‘Then when (the trader) said, “Are you able to perform rituals?” (Hare) said, “My oh my, as for the ritual, I am indeed able to do that, but doing the ritual is very difficult as a matter of fact,” it is said, Hare.’ (KZ02.6)

Afterthoughts are also frequently employed in narration to add temporal or locational information that the narrator realizes has been left out and needs overt mentioning, as

in (1572) and (1573). Sometimes a clearly observable pause can be heard between clause and afterthought, and if no pause is present, the afterthought is usually pronounced on a very low pitch due to downdrift.

(1572) nìŋ-bá káw pʰíŋtsʰú nənì nìŋ = lá
2-household:GEN uncle(MB) T:Phun.tshogs like.this 2SG = also

sə̌ʂə̀wú má tɕwǐ ɖóŋ = qɛ̀j, **nə̌ŋjæ̀ = bù**, ə́jù, ʈʰə́ ɕé
Ch:forty.five Ch:size wear be.okay = EXPT later = TOP INTJ foot be.big

ʐù = qɛ́j = ɖàw.
very = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

'Like your Uncle Phintshu you will also end up wearing size forty-five, later. Oh! (your) feet will be very big.' (CV01.34)

(1573) dəbǔ tə́ ɕè-m̥ə́ɖæ̀-lì = gə̀ = là nɛ̀-ɖú ʐù
then this Hàn-female-DIM = DEF = also DOWN-be.frightened very

pá = sì, ʑǽ nə́-pʰà = gə̀ tə́-ʑú ʂə̀ ɦà,
do:PFV:N.EGO = INF hand two-CLF:single = DEF UP-lift go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

"sɛ́gwì, sɛ́gwì," tɕə̀ í pʉ = ɖàw,
T:earthquake T:earthquake say INTJ do = IPFV:N.EGO

nə̀-tsɛ̀j-ʈʂóŋ = qʰù.
two-CLF:section-house = on

'The Hàn Chinese girl was also very frightened. Lifting (her) two hands, (she) cried, "Earthquake, earthquake," on top of the side building.' (PC06w.4)

10.9.8 *Discourse functions of demonstratives*

In her article on the discourse power of demonstratives, Mithun (1987) points out that demonstratives in many languages have special functions in ordering discourse. In this section I will discuss three discourse functions of demonstratives in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ.

The demonstrative construction *ə̂wa*, involving the distal demonstrative *ə̂-* (§4.6.2), the locational postposition *=wu* (§4.6.3), and the genitive clitic *=æ* (§5.3.1) is used as a climax marker in narratives. Demonstratives that are used as climax markers have also been reported for Jarawara (Dixon and Vogel 2004:367). The climax marker *ə̂wa* appears at a point in the story where the actions of a main protagonist increase in intensity or number, and just precedes the climax. It can be seen as a slowing down device that increases the tension and invites the addressees to pay close attention. In the free translation it is translated as 'LOOK!'. The climax marker either appears clause-initially, clause-finally, or following an NP. Multiple climax markers can be used to announce a climax.

Example (1574) is from a trickster story where Hare ends up killing all the other participants in the story. The example describes the moment he sets his trap in motion.

(1574) “lʲú = ɖáw” tɕà kʰì = nòŋ **ə́wà**, nʲùɕù-pɛ́ **ə́wà**
boil = IPFV:N.EGO say time = only CMX leather.bag-bottom CMX

ɻə́tsə = gòŋ té-ɻɛ̀ = ɕì = bù gwìdʲóŋ **ə́wà** nɛ̀-dî
knife = INS one-CLF:cut = LIM.TOP = TOP pestle CMX DOWN-throw

nɛ̀-ɕà kwɛ́j ɦà
DOWN-go let:PFV:N.EGO LINK

‘When (they) said, “It’s boiling,” LOOK! (Hare) used the knife LOOK! to cut the bottom of the leather bag in just one cut, LOOK! let the pestle fall down; (...)’ (TC04.36)

Example (1575) is taken from the climax of a wedding where the bride of the youngest brother dances for the guests.

(1575) tsʰú kʰí = bù, nɛ̀-tsʰú nɛ̀-tsʰú nɛ̀-tsʰú **ə́wà** tə̀ = gòŋnì,
dance time = TOP DOWN-dance DOWN-dance DOWN-dance CMX 3SG = AGT

kwɛ̌ŋ qʰɛ̀tsɛ́j = gæ̀ ʈʰə̀ = góŋnî **ə́wà**, ʐə̀-tɕʰwí = wà
younger.sibling small = GEN wife = AGT CMX right-direction = in:GEN

pàjǐ = wà ʈʰwí kʰə̀-tɕí = mə̀, **ə́wà** kʰə̀-tɕí kʰə̀-ɕà kwɛ́j
sleeve = in:GEN ale OUT-pour = NMLZ CMX OUT-pour OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO

kʰí = bù, kʰwɛ́ = tí tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ kwɛ̀j = sì tɕàw.
time = TOP lake = INDF FR.SP-become let:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

‘When (the wife of the youngest son) danced, and danced, and danced, and danced, LOOK! she -the youngest son’s wife- LOOK! the ale that was put in her right sleeve, LOOK! she threw it and let it become a lake, it is said.’ (TC09.53)

Some demonstratives are used as hesitation markers to help narrators gather their thoughts, especially *tə̂* ‘this’ and *ə̂dʐæ (tə́)* ‘this one of here’, consisting of the distal demonstrative *ə̂-* ‘that’ (§4.6.2), the locational postposition *=dʐi* (§4.6.3) and the genitive clitic *=æ* (§5.3.1). The marker *dəbǔ* ‘then’ is also often used as a hesitation marker or a gap filler (§10.9.3). In (1576) an example with *tə̂* and in (1577) an example with *ə̂dʐæ tə́* are given.

(1576) dəbǔ tə́ ʈʰóŋmə́ = ɻæ̀ **tə́...** tɕə̀mú = bú dəbǔ tɕʰə̀nə́ wɛ́ŋ lʲæ̀?
then this Pǔmǐ = PL:GEN this main.room = TOP then how CUST.EXCL RHET

‘So what is this central room of the Pǔmǐ like?’ (PC03.5)

(1577) éŋ, gǎ̈=tù míŋ dzà, **ə́-dʑæ̀** **tə́** míŋ dʲòŋ
INTJ cliff=on what be that-location:GEN this what EXIST.AT

tɕà wèŋ=là
say CUST.EXCL=also

'Uhm, "What is (the thing) on a cliff, that...uhm...what grows there?" (he) would say, (...)' (CV08.13.1)

The demonstrative *tə́* 'this' (§4.6.1) often replaces referential constituents, but it can also replace predicative constituents. Sometimes this is done to avoid the mention of specific things like sickness or bad relationships, (as in (1499) above). In (1578) it replaces the verb *dzə́* 'to eat'. In (1579), where the demonstrative refers to the action of cutting, the speaker feels the need to add the verb *pʉ́* 'to do' to make it more verbal. But in (1580) the demonstrative is simply used instead of a verb and is followed by a nominalization construction.

(1578) nǒŋ séŋmì tɛ̀-dìŋ qà-dʑí mətɕʰí=tì
so tomorrow.night one-CLF:place down-location dinner=INDF

tʰɛ̀-dzú ɦà **tə́** kɛ́j=gì
FR.SP-make LINK this let=VOL:INCL

'So, tomorrow night (or sometime) let's have (them) cook some dinner downstairs and let (you eat) (...)' (CV02.76)

(1579) ə̀-dʑí **tə́** pʉ̀=ɖwèŋ tɕà kʰì
this-location this do=IPFV:EGO:N.SG say time

'When the two of us where cutting over here, (...)' (CV16.53)

(1580) tə́=bù ʈʂə̌=wù tə́-ʈú tə̀ pʉ̀ ɦà **tə́**=mə̀ tà dzə̀ mà.
3SG=TOP scale=in UP-pull one do LINK this=NMLZ only be INFO

'It (=getting the name Eight Pound) was only because he was pulled up in scales for a bit.' (CV24.50.3)

The manner demonstrative *nə́* 'like this' (§4.6.1) can also be used to replace a verb. In (1581) it replaces *níŋ* 'to be painful'.

(1581) nùséŋ kóŋ kʰí=bù jǎw tɕʰə̀dʑú **nə́** mà=ɖâw
morning cold time=TOP again that.much thus NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'(...) when it is cold in the morning (my hand) does not (hurt) that much (...)' (CV02.44)

Example (1582) has several examples of referential vagueness. The interpretation can be derived from the context.

(1582) **nə́** **pʉ́** tɛ̀-bɑ̀ tɛ̀-bɑ́ **tə́** **pʉ̀** kʰì, tɛ̀kʰə̀ = lá pʉ́
thus do one-CLF:kind one-CLF:kind this do time a.little = also do

mɑ̀ = ʐìŋ tʰɛ́-ɖóŋ = ɖɑ̀w, ə̀-wú tí = tí nɛ̀-qɛ̀jlì tí
NEG = can FR.SP-become = IPFV:N.EGO this-in vein = INDF DOWN-sprain one

ɖóŋ sì ɖɑ̀w, tʲɛ̌j, tɛ̀nə̀ ʐǎ **tə́ = ʈɑ̀ = ɖɑ̀w**
become EPIST:probably look otherwise hand this = SVM = IPFV:N.EGO

mə̀ dzə̀,
GNOMIC

'(...) when (I) **do certain things**, (the situation) becomes (that I'm) not able to do even a little bit, it's possible a vein in here became sprained. Look, otherwise (my) hand **is this (= okay)** (...)' (CV02.38)

10.10 Conclusion

This chapter investigated complex constructions. Some interesting characteristics of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ will be noted here.

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ has a predicate-focus construction which deals with focalizing or de-focalizing specific parts of the predicate. This is done to assert the factuality of an utterance or to express speaker attitude toward a proposition. Discourse markers and intensifiers (described in 6.5) play an important role in these constructions. Predicate-focus constructions are found in other Tibeto-Burman languages in the area (Burmese, Rawang), but have not been described before. A similar construction, the 'tautological infinitive' has been extensively described for Classical Biblical Hebrew (Goldenberg 1971, Kim 2009).

The use of nominal markers for subordination has been attested in many Tibeo-Burman languages. In Wǎdū Pǔmǐ the agentive and ablative markers are used for causal subordination and many of the discourse markers are used in conditional and temporal or concessive subordinate clauses.

Insubordination, the independent use of subordinate or non-final clauses (Evans 2007), is attested with temporal, causal and coordinated clauses in Wǎdū Pǔmǐ. Clause-final subordinate markers are then reinterpreted as attitude markers.

Discourse functions of demonstratives include the use of demonstratives as a means for referential vagueness, and the use of a demonstrative to signal the climax of a story.

This study only made initial remarks on the structure of discourse. Further research is needed to gain a more in-depth understanding of Wǎdū Pǔmǐ discourse.

Appendix A. Heart phrases

Heart phrase	Literal meaning	Meaning
k^{h}wé tɕ^{h}wí	heart good	'to be good, have a good conscience'
k^{h}wɛ̃ ɖə̀ɖɛ̂	heart bad	'to be bad, have a bad conscience'
k^{h}wé pʉ̀	heart soft	'to be softhearted'
k^{h}wɛ̃ ʈʂôŋ	heart hard	'to be hardhearted'
k^{h}wé ɕê / tɛ̀j	heart big	'to be coureageous, bold'
k^{h}wɛ̃ q^{h}ɛ̀tsɛ̌j	heart small	'to have small courage, easily frightened'
k^{h}wé ʈ^{h}óŋ	heart white	'to be sincere, transparent (let people know what you think)'
k^{h}wé n^{j}æ̌	heart black	'to be insincere, non-transparent (not let people know what you think)'
k^{h}wé gǽ	heart happy	'to be happy'
k^{h}wɛ̃ ɻwə́	heart relaxed	'to be carefree'
k^{h}wé dà	heart slow	'to be patient' (< *dádà* 'slow' in Yǒngníng Na and Mùdǐqīng)
k^{h}wé dʑû	heart explode	'to be angry'
k^{h}wɛ̃ nìŋ	heart aching	'to be jealous, to be envious'
k^{h}wé ɖʐwá / k^{h}wɛ̃ mà ɖʐwá	heart (not) comfortable	'to be at peace / to be worried'

Appendix B. List of Tibetan loanwords

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ	Written Tibetan	Meaning
pɛ́wu	*dpa.'bo*	'hero'
dapú	*bdag.po*	'host'
póŋ	*dpon.bo*	'official, king'
tsʰóŋpæŋ	*tshong.pa*	'trader'
ɻoŋbû̃tɕʰi	*rin.po.che*	'*Rinpoche*' (honorific term 'precious one')
gəgíŋ	*dge.rgan*	'teacher (religious)'
dawʐí	*rdo.rje*	'*vajra*' (sceptre used in rituals)
ɖʉbʉ́	*dril.bu*	'bell' (used in rituals with sceptre)
bʉʈʂʰóŋ	*sbug.cal*	'cymbals' (used in rituals)
ɻædóŋ	*rag.dung*	'long brass horn used in monastic rituals'
mɐm̥ə́	*mar.me*	'butter lamp'
tɕʰɛ̃tiŋ	*mchod.rten*	'*stupa*'
gôŋba	*dgon.pa*	'temple'
lʲæ̆	*las*	'fate'
tíŋɖwi	*rten.'brel*	'luck'
l̥á	*lha*	'god' (the main word used in Wǎdū is *hǐ*)
dɔ̂pa	*sdig.pa*	'sin, guilt'
dʐətîŋ	*'jig.rten*	'world'
sɛ̃gwi	*sa.'gul*	'earthquake'
miŋtu	*me.tog*	'flower' (only used in a few compounds)
ɕɛ̃-tɕʰwi(bi)	*shar.phyogs*	'east'
hû-tɕʰwi(bi)	*lho.phyogs*	'south'

Wǎdū Pǔmǐ	Written Tibetan	Meaning
nʲôŋ-tɕʰwi(bi)	*nub.phyogs*	‘west’
tɕʰôŋ-tɕʰwi(bi)	*byang.phyogs*	‘north’
séŋtɕiŋ	*sems.can*	‘animal’
séŋgeŋ	*seng.ge*	‘lion’
lôŋbʉtɕʰi	*glang.bo.che*	‘elephant’
ɖú	*ʼbrug*	‘dragon’
ɖʉ́da	*sbrul*	‘snake’ (zodiac; the normal word is *bʉɻéʲ*)
tá	*stag*	‘tiger’ (zodiac; the normal word is *wǔ*)
lóŋ	*glang*	‘ox’ (zodiac; the normal word is *qwê*)
tʲʱé	*rta*	‘horse’ (zodiac; the normal word is *gwěŋ*)
ʈwí	*spriʼu*	‘monkey’ (zodiac; the normal word is *tsêʐɪ*)
pʰá	*phag*	‘pig’ (zodiac; the normal word is *tɕʰwǎ*)
dʑwǐŋ	*bya?*	‘rooster’ (zodiac; the normal word is *ɻɐpʉ̂*)
tɕʰəbí	*byi.ba?*	‘rat’ (zodiac; the normal word is *wú*)

Appendix C. Text corpus index

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
CV01	Conversation	B, D, N, P, Z	62	00:03:23	Conversation about grass shoes worn in the past and experiences of uncle Z who used to go trading using mule caravans.
CV02	Conversation	H, N, P, Y	116	00:07:31	A neighbour comes by to welcome the researcher who returned to the village after a few months at the university.
CV03	Conversation	H, N, P	26	00:03:00	The same neighbour relates some experiences from the past when food was scarce.
CV04	Conversation	PL, M, P, S, Y	104	00:08:53	Relative PL comes over for a visit to see her daughter and current news is exchanged.
CV05	Conversation	S	2	00:00:18	Some additional remarks on personal narrative SN02.
CV06	Conversation	H, Y	18	00:01:19	Some additional remarks on personal narrative YJ01.
CV07	Conversation	D, G, M, P, S, Y	121	00:07:27	Conversation about people from Mùlǐ who spent the night in Wǎdū village on their way home.
CV08	Conversation	G, P, S, Y	35	00:02:02	Conversation recalling some traditional riddles.
CV09	Conversation	G, P, S, Y	204	00:09:27	Conversation about the mushroom poisoning story (YJ01) that speaker Y told a few days before.
CV10	Conversation	G, P, S, Y	9	00:00:27	Some additional remarks on folktale KZ01.
CV11	Conversation	C, D, N, P, W	92	00:03:29	Interaction with a child about what he would like to do in the future.

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
CV12	Conversation	C, D, G, N, P, W	100	00:08:02	Conversation about the importance of study and the circumstances in schools, now and in the past.
CV13	Conversation	D, G, J, N, P, W, X	181	00:17:39	Conversation about various daily things and about the narration of stories. Speaker G tells part of the story of Damasongtsa, a hero of the past.
CV14	Conversation	H, L, P, S, Y, Z	359	00:46:16	Conversation about daily things: dogs, pigs, making pork back, chrysanthemum tea, building a earthen walls, and potatoes.
CV15	Conversation	D, H, L, P, S, Y	89	00:04:45	Conversation about buying clothes at the local fair.
CV16	Conversation	B, C, D, J, N, P, R, S, W, Z	116	00:04:26	Conversation during the yearly pig slaughter in winter: discussing various pig-related topics.
CV17	Conversation	B, J, M, N, P, R, S, W, Z	33	00:01:08	Conversation during the yearly pig slaughter in winter: talking about the pig kidneys.
CV18	Conversation	B, C, D, J, N, P, R, S, W, Z	167	00:06:16	Conversation during the yearly pig slaughter in winter: talking about the pig bladder that is used by kids as a balloon.
CV19	Conversation	B, C, D, J, N, P, R, S, W, Z	127	00:05:03	Conversation during the yearly pig slaughter in winter: discussing the benefits of cooking on electricity as compared to cooking with firewood.
CV20	Conversation	B, C, D, J, L, M, N, P, R, S, W, Z	160	00:05:57	Conversation during the yearly pig slaughter in winter: joking around with a child.

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
CV21	Conversation	A, B, C, DW, E, G, J, L, M, N, Q, R, W, X, Y, YZ	707	00:23:58	Conversation on New Year's Day: four women from the same clan visit each others' households and take the recorder along to record their conversations.
CV22	Conversation	B, L, N, P, R, Y, Z	94	00:04:48	Two women recall some of their childhood memories.
CV23	Conversation	P, Y, Z	55	00:04:42	Discussion of libation rituals. First libation is poured out to the mountain god, then to other gods and spirits and then to the ancestors.
CV24	Conversation	N, P, S, Y, Z	86	00:04:51	Discussion of the libation ritual performed for the ancestors and the order of names.
CV25	Conversation	M, N, P, S, Z	78	00:04:14	Conversation on the origin of the Zjaezjae clan.
TC01	Personal experience	Z	18	00:04:07	A 58-old man's views on Půmĭ society and his memories of recent history. Edited by my main consultant.
TC02	Folktale	Z	82	00:11:28	*The Deluge*: the youngest of three brothers escapes the flood and marries a sky-girl who leaves him with all kinds of grain for cultivation.
TC03	Folktale	Z	23	00:04:11	*The sheep and the shaman*: two sheep are blocked on the road by a tiger, a leopard and a wolf in turn. A shaman manages to scare them off.

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
TC04	Folktale	Z	37	00:05:57	*Hare as baby-sitter*: a family asks Trickster Hare to baby-sit their child while they go out to work in the field. Hare kills the child and tricks the parents into killing themselves.
TC05	Travelogue	Z	13	00:03:19	Instructions on which road to take to Yàdīng, a famous nature reserve.
TC06	Folktale	Z	34	00:05:02	*Hare and Bear*: Trickster Hare tricks Bear into sucking a snake out of a bamboo pipe, pounding on a wasp hive, jumping on a hemp bridge, eating his own eye, and rolling off a cliff.
TC07	Folktale	Z	37	00:05:49	*A hermit monk*: when the servant of a prince loses his way on a hunting expedition, he discovers the daughter of a Buddhist hermit monk and tells the prince about her. The prince comes to take her to be his wife. The monk is overcome with sadness and disappears into a cliff.
TC08	Folktale	Z	47	00:05:50	*Mother and daughter*: a scoundrel poses as a god and deceives a devout woman into giving her daughter into marriage to him. He puts the girl into a chest and leaves her in the forest until night time. A prince finds her and puts a tiger cub and a leopard cub in the chest. When the scoundrel comes to retrieve the girl at night, he is severely scratched by the animals and his cries are not headed by the other villagers.

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
TC09	Folktale	Z	59	00:08:57	*Three brothers take a wife*: three brothers go hunting for a wife. The youngest of the three hits a toad who turns out to be the most clever and beautiful of the three girls.
TC10	Personal experience	Z	56	00:10:01	The speaker shares his memories of childhood and early adulthood.
TC12	Ritual text	Z	11	00:00:55	Blessing composed for the coming-of-age ritual of a girl. When children are around 13 years of age, a ritual is performed that marks their transition into adulthood.
YJ01	Personal experience	Y	69	00:07:02	The speaker recalls an incident of how a group of Půmĭ rescued three people who were poisoned by a mushroom.
YJ02	Personal experience	Y	37	00:04:07	The speaker recalls going up into the mountains to pick red snow tea when she was young.
SN01	Procedural text	S	12	00:01:08	The process of weaving and selling shawls.
SN02	Personal experience	S	24	00:02:41	The speaker recalls going up into the mountains to dig medicinal roots.
KZ01	Folktale	G	11	00:01:17	*The louse and the flea*: a louse and a flea hold a race to see who is fastest. It ends in a fight which results in the flea being rubbed with a clay pot. That explains why fleas are black nowadays.

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
KZ02	Folktale	G	9	00:01:13	*Hare and a trader*: Trickster Hare tricks a proud trader into performing a ritual which kills him.
KZ03	Folktale	G	39	00:04:22	*Stealing a mule*: two thieves go mule-thieving and end up stealing a tiger who was also out to get the mule. When it is light the thieves realize they stole a tiger and flee. The tiger then runs into Trickster Hare who tricks him into losing his hand, eating both his eyes and rolling off a cliff. He dies as a result.
PC01	Procedural text	P	9	00:00:52	A description of how yak butter tea is made.
PC02	Procedural text	P	14	00:02:02	A description of how mules are fed oil and egg in winter to make them strong for summer.
PC03	Procedural text	P	21	00:03:12	A description of the various Pǔmǐ architectural styles that are found in the area.
PC04	Personal experience	P	17	-	Two short written stories about the difference in reference for the directions 'up the valley' and 'down the valley' between Wǎdū and Tuōqi villages and the confusion that causes.
PC05	Personal experience	P	9	00:01:21	A story about how a classmate successfully sabotaged a light bulb in the classroom in order to get a break from doing homework at night.
PC06	Personal experience	P	9	-	A written story about an earthquake that hit the village and people's reaction.

Code	Type	Speaker(s)	Lines	Duration	Description
PC07	Fictional story	P	10	-	A written story about a man who got lost in the forest.
PC08	Fictional story	P	10	-	A written story about a Pǔmǐ girl and two Hàn Chinese friends on a holiday to Zhōngdiàn.
CL01	Procedural text	CL	26	00:04:40	A description of the way people slaughter and butcher fattened pigs in winter. Edited by my main consultant.
CL02	Procedural text	CL	23	00:09:20	A description of the way Pǔmǐ New Year is celebrated.
CL03	Procedural text	CL	33	00:07:32	A description of the yearly cycle of sowing and harvesting of crops.
			3940	*05:11:41*	*= The total amount / duration of recorded data used in the thesis*

Appendix D. Texts

TC04: 'Hare as baby-sitter' (folktale)

A traditional Trickster story in which the crafty Trickster Hare manages to kill all the others.

(1) ʑèpʉ̌# ʑèpʉ̀ kʰí=bú# dəbǔ,# té-qè-bʉ̀=bù# dəbǔ,#

ʑèpʉ̌	ʑèpʉ̌	kʰi=bu	dəbǔ,	tǐ-qê-bʉ=bu	dəbǔ,
in.the.past	in.the.past	time=TOP	then	one-CLF:household	then

mə̀n̥íŋ=tí# lʲétì kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,# lú pʉ́ ɕə̀ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,#

mə̀n̥íŋ=ti	lʲêti	kʰi=bu	dəbǔ,	lú	pʉ́	ɕə́	kʰi=bu	dəbǔ,
child=INDF	be.born	time=TOP	then	work	do	go	time=TOP	then

tɕìŋ-tíŋ-mə́# mà=ɕǐ.#

tɕǐŋ	tîŋ-mə	mǎ=ɕǐ
child	take.care.of-NMLZ	NEG=EXIST.AB

'A long time ago, a child was born to a family, but when they went out to work in the field, there was no baby-sitter.'

(2) tɕìŋ-tíŋ-mə́# mà=ɕǐ# kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,# méqé-bʉ̀=bù#

tɕǐŋ-tîŋ-mə	mǎ=ɕǐ	kʰi=bu	dəbǔ,	méqɐ-bʉ=bu
child-take.care.of	NEG=EXIST.AB	time=TOP	then	family-household=TOP

dəbǔ,# "tɕìŋ-tíŋ-mə́=tì# tsʰwǽ ɖòŋ qɛ̀j ɖàw"

dəbǔ,	"tɕǐŋ-tîŋ-mə=ti	tsʰwǽ	ɖòŋ=qɛj=ɖɑw"
then	child-take.care.of-NMLZ=INDF	ask.for.help	be.okay=EXPT=IPFV:N.EGO

tɕə̀.#

tɕə̌.

say

'When there was no baby-sitter, the family said: "We should ask a baby-sitter."'

(3) tɕìŋ-tíŋ-mə́# tsʰwæ̂ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,# nə́-tsə̀=gə̀#

tɕǐŋ-tîŋ-mə	tsʰwǽ	kʰi=bu	dəbǔ,	nə̌-tsə̂=gə
child-take.care.of-NMLZ	ask.for.help	time=TOP	then	two-CLF:person=DEF

nɛ̀-wʉ̀wǎ# dəbǔ,# "qùjì=nóŋ=bú# ə́-dʑæ̀# tʰùlǐ=bì#

nɛ̌-wʉwǎ	dəbǔ,	"qujǐ=noŋ=bu	ə̂-dʑæ	tʰulǐ=bi
DOWN-discuss	then	crow=COORD=TOP	that-location:GEN	hare=DAT

tɕìŋ tíŋ kɛ́j=gì,# tə̀=dzǎŋ# hîŋ# tɕʰwí=qɛ́j=gə̀#

tɕǐŋ	tîŋ	kɛ́j=gi	tə́=dzæŋ	hîŋ	tɕʰwí=qɛj=gə
child	take.care.of	let=VOL:INCL	3=DU	who	good=EXPT=DEF

tə̀=dzǎŋ# tʲóŋ# tíŋ kɛ̀j=gì" tɕwə̀=sì.#

tə́=dzæŋ	tʲôŋ	tîŋ	kɛ́j=gi	tɕwə̌=si.
3=DU	one:CLF:thing	take.care.of	let=VOL:INCL	say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'When asking the help of a baby-sitter, the two people deliberated. "Let's let the crow and that hare take care of the child; whoever of the two of them will take good care, let's let that one baby-sit," they said.'

(4) dəbǔ# tə̀=ɻə́# qùjǐ=bì sə̀# də́dwɛ̀=sì tɕàw.

dəbǔ	tə́=ɻə	qujǐ=bi	sə	də̂dwɛ=si	tɕɑw.
then	3=PL	crow=DAT	first	ask=INF	HSY

'They asked the crow first.'

(5) qùjì=góŋní=bù# dəbǔ,# "mú-ʈóŋ pùpù# ɛ̀=bí dzə̂,#

qujǐ=goŋni=bu	dəbǔ,	"mú-ʈôŋ	pupú	ɛ́=bi	dzə́,
crow=AGT=TOP	then	butter-piece	chewed.piece	1SG=DAT	eat

tsʰì-ʈóŋ pùpù# tɕìŋ=bí tɕʰî" tɕwə̀=sì tɕàw;#

tsʰǐ-ʈôŋ	pupú	tɕǐŋ=bi	tɕʰwǐ,"	tɕwə̌=si	tɕɑw.
salt-piece	chewed.piece	child=AGT	feed	say:PFV:N.EGO=INF	HSY

"(ʐóŋ-ɻə́...)# ʐóŋ-ɻə́ tsɛ̀pà# ɛ̀=bí n̥û,# tsʰə́=ɻə̀ tsɛ̀pà#

"(ʐóŋ-ɻə̂...)	ʐóŋ-ɻə̂	tsɛ́pɑ	ɛ́=bi	n̥ǔ,	tsʰə̂-ɻə̂	tsɛ́pɑ
sheep-skin	sheep-skin	soft?	1SG=DAT	pad	goat-skin	soft?

tɕìŋ=bí n̥û" tɕwə̀=sì tɕàw;#

tɕǐŋ=bi	n̥ǔ,"	tɕwə̌=si	tɕɑw.
child =DAT	pad	say:PFV:N.EGO=INF	HSY

'The crow said, "A chewed piece of butter I will eat, a chewed piece of salt to the child I will feed. With soft sheep skin I myself will pad, with soft goat skin I the child will pad." '

(6) dəbǔ# tʰùlǐ=bì# tɕə̀ kwɛ́j=sì tɕàw;# tʰùlì=góŋní# dəbǔ,#

dəbǔ tʰulǐ=bì tɕə̌ kwɛ́j=si tɕɑw. tʰulǐ=goŋni dəbǔ,
then hare=DAT say let:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY hare=AGT then

"mú-ʈóŋ pùpù# tɕìŋ=bí tɕʰî,#

"mú-ʈôŋ pupú tɕǐŋ=bi tɕʰǐ,
butter-piece chewed.piece child=DAT feed

tsʰì-ʈóŋ pùpù# (ɛ̀=ní...) ɛ̀=bí dzə̂;#

tsʰǐ-ʈôŋ pupú (ɛ́=ni...) ɛ́=bi dzə́.
salt-piece chewed.piece 1SG=AGT 1SG=DAT eat

ʐóŋ-ɻə̀ tsɛ̀pà# tɕìŋ=bí n̥û,# tsʰə́-ɻə̀ tsɛ̀pà# ɛ̀=bí n̥û"

ʐóŋ-ɻə̂ tsɛ́pɑ tɕǐŋ=bi n̥ǔ, tsʰə́-ɻə̂ tsɛ́pɑ ɛ́=bi n̥ǔ,"
sheep-skin soft? child=DAT pad goat-skin soft? 1SG=DAT pad

tɕwə̀=sì.#

tɕwə̌=si.
say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'Then (they) let Hare speak. Hare said, "A chewed piece of butter to the child (I) will feed, a chewed piece of salt I will eat. With soft sheep skin the child (I) will pad, with soft goat skin I myself will pad." '

(7) "ó# ɖòŋ=sí# ɖòŋ=sí,# tʰùlǐ=bì# tíŋ kɛ̀j=gì"

"ó ɖòŋ=si ɖòŋ=si, tʰulǐ=bi tîŋ kɛ́j=gi"
INTJ be.okay=INF be.okay=INF hare=DAT take.care.of let=VOL:INCL

tɕwə̀=sì.#

tɕwə̌=si.
say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'(They) said, "Okay, okay, let's let Hare baby-sit." '

(8) "tʰùlǐ=bì# tíŋ kɛ̀j=gì,# tʰùlǐ# tɕìŋ tíŋ#

"tʰulǐ=bi tîŋ kɛ́j=gi, tʰulǐ tɕǐŋ tîŋ
hare=DAT take.care.of let=VOL:INCL hare child take.care.of

tɕʰwí=qɛ́j=ɖàw" tɕwə̀=sì.#

tɕʰwí=qɛj=ɖɑw" tɕwə̌=si.
good=EXPT=IPFV:N.EGO say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

' "Let's let Hare baby-sit, Hare taking care of the child will be good," they said.'

(9) dəbǔ# tʰùlǐ=bì# tíŋ kwɛ̀j.#

dəbǔ tʰulǐ=bì tîŋ kwɛ́j.
then hare=DAT take.care.of let:PFV.N.EGO

'Then they let Hare baby-sit.'

(10) tʰùlǐ((=bì))# dəbǔ# tíŋ kwɛ̀j kʰì=bù# dəbǔ# ní=dzæ̀ŋ#

tʰulǐ=((bi)) dəbǔ tîŋ kwɛ́j kʰi=bu dəbǔ nî=dzæŋ
hare=DAT then take.care.of let:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP then LOG=DU

lú pʉ́ ʂɛ̀j=sì tɕàw.#

lú pʉ́ ʂɛ̂j=si tɕɑw.
work do go:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY

'Then, when (they) had let Hare baby-sit, the two of them went off to work in the field.'

(11) lú pʉ́ ʂɛ̀j kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,# dəbǔ# swǽŋ=nòŋ#

lú pʉ́ ʂɛ̂j kʰi=bu dəbǔ, dəbǔ swæ̂ŋ=noŋ
work do go:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP then then father=COORD

mɑ́=nòŋ# dəbǔ# (lú pʉ́...)# lú pʉ́ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,#

mɑ̂=noŋ dəbǔ (lú pʉ́...) lú pʉ́ kʰi=bu dəbǔ,
mother=COORD then work do work do time=TOP then

mə́=ɻæ̀# tɕǐŋ# qʰə̀-ʈʂʰə̂,# tɕǐŋ# qʰə̀-ʈʂʰə́# tɛ́-ɻɛ̀j

mə̂=ɻæ tɕǐŋ qʰə̌-ʈʂʰə̂, tɕǐŋ qʰə̌-ʈʂʰə̂ tǐ-ɻɛ̂j
person=PL:GEN child out-slaughter child OUT-slaughter one-cooking.pot

tʰɛ̀-pʉ̀# ɛ̀-qú# kʰə̀-twǐ.#

tʰɛ̌-pʉ́ ɛ̌-qû kʰə̌-twǐ.
FR.SP-do IN-cook OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO

'When (they) had gone (to the field) to work, when the father and mother were working the field, (Hare) slaughtered those people's child, he slaughtered the child and cooked a pot full.'

(12) dəbǔ,# mə́=ɻæ̀# mə́=bù# dəbǔ,# (“î...# tɕǐŋ=bì# nʲòŋ sə́...”)#

dəbǔ, mə̂=ɻæ mə̂=bu dəbǔ, (“î... tɕǐŋ=bi nʲǒŋ sə...”)

then person=PL:GEN mother=TOP then INTJ child=DAT breast first

lú pɯ́# tə́-tɕʰóŋ=sì tɕàw,# lú pɯ́# tə́-tɕʰôŋ,#

lú pɯ́ tə́-tɕʰôŋ=si tɕɑw, lú pɯ́ tə́-tɕʰôŋ,

work do UP-come:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY work do up-come:PFV:N.EGO

“tɕǐŋ=bì# nʲòŋ sə́# kì ɕə́=ʂù,# nʲòŋ sə́ kì

“tɕǐŋ=bi nʲǒŋ sə kǐ ɕə́=ʂu, nʲǒŋ sə kǐ

child=DAT breast first give.drink go=VOL:SG breast first give.drink

ɕə̀=ʂù” tɕwə̀.#

ɕə́=ʂu” tɕwə̌.

go=VOL:SG say:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then that mother said, “Iii... first feed the child...,” she came back from working the field, she came back from working the field and said, “I will first go and feed the child, I will first go and feed it.” ’

(13) “ɑ́w# nʲòŋ kí# mà=qʰǔ# mà=qʰǔ# mà=qʰǔ,# é# ɕwíŋ#

“ɑw nʲǒŋ kǐ mǎ=qʰǔ mǎ=qʰǔ mǎ=qʰǔ, é ɕwîŋ

INTJ breast give.drink NEG=need NEG=need NEG=need 1SG lunch

ɛ̀-wɛ̀=séŋ,# ɕwíŋ sə̀# qʰə̀-dzə́# nǒŋnòŋ# nʲǒŋ#

ɛ̌-wɛ̌=seŋ, ɕwîŋ sə qʰə̌-dzə́ nǒŋnòŋ nʲǒŋ

IN-prepare.food=PFV:EGO lunch first OUT-eat and.only.then breast

kì ɕə́ tà” tɕwə̀=sì.#

kǐ ɕə́ tɑ” tɕwə̌=si.

give.drink go can say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

‘(Hare) said, “Oh, no need, no need, no need, I have already cooked lunch, finish eating lunch first and then you can go feed the child.” ’

(14) dəbǔ# tɕìŋ=gǽ# ɻə̂=wù=bù# dəbǔ# bɛ̀jĺ̩ qʰə̀-dòŋ,# ə́-pù#

dəbǔ tɕǐŋ=gæ ɻə̂=wu=bu dəbǔ bɛjĺ̩ qʰə̌-dóŋ, ə̂-pu

then child=GEN skin=in=TOP then chaff OUT-stuff that-under

kʰə̀-ʐə̀ kwɛ̂j.#

kʰə̌-ʐə̌ kwɛ́j.

OUT-sleep let:PFV:N.EGO

‘As for the child’s skin, he had filled that with chaff and let it sleep under there.’

(15) dəbǔ,# dzwə́ = sì tɕàw;# dzwə́ = sì kʰì = bù# dəbǔ,#

dəbǔ, dzwə̂ = si tɕɑw. dzwə̂ = si kʰi = bu dəbǔ
then eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF time = TOP then

má = gæ̀# qʰwǎ = wù = bù# dəbǔ,# tɕìŋ = gǽ# l̥àtsə̌# tʲóŋ#
mâ = gæ qʰwǎ = wu = bu dəbǔ, tɕǐŋ = gæ l̥ɑtsə̌ tʲôŋ
mother = GEN bowl = in = TOP then child = GEN finger one:CLF:thing

kʰə̀-tɕʰôŋ,# "î...# é# qʰwǎ = wù# l̥àtsə̀ = tí kʰə́-tɕʰòŋ,# míŋ dzə̀"
kʰə̌-tɕʰòŋ, "î... é qʰwǎ = wu l̥ɑtsə̌ = ti kʰə̌-tɕʰòŋ míŋ dzə̂"
OUT-appear INTJ 1SG bowl = in finger = INDF OUT-appear what be

tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.#
tɕwə̌ = si tɕɑw.
say:PFV:N.EGO = INF HSY

'So (she) ate. When (she) was eating, one of the child's fingers turned up in mother's bowl. "Iih!.. a finger turned up in my bowl, what is that?!" she said.'

(16) "âw# ɛ̀kɑ́w-bà# ɻɛ̀pɯ́# ìŋ-bɑ́#

"ɑw ɛkâw-bɑ ɻɛpɯ́ ǐŋ-bɑ
INTJ uncle(MB)-household:GEN rooster 1.INCL-household:GEN

l̥ì dzə́ tɕʰóŋ#
l̥ǐ dzə́ tɕʰôŋ
sundried.grain eat come:PFV:N.EGO

ɛ̀ = ní# pɯ̀nə́# té-pʰɛ̀j = ɕì nɛ̀-sɛ̀# kʰə̀-tǐ# ɦà,#
é = ni pɯnə́ tǐ-pʰɛj = ɕi nɛ̌-sɛ̌ kʰə̌-tǐ ɦɑ
1SG = AGT today one-CLF:shot = LIM.TOP DOWN-hit OUT-put LINK

dəbú# ɛ̀-qú = sèŋ# ɻú = gæ̀# ʈʰə́# dzɑ́" tɕwə̀ = sì tɕàw.#
dəbǔ ɛ̌-qû = seŋ, ɻû = gæ ʈʰə́ dzɑ̂ ɦɑ" tɕwə̌ = si tɕɑw.
then IN-cook = PFV:EGO chicken = GEN foot be CORR say:PFV:EGO = INF HSY

' "Oh, the rooster of uncle's household came over to eat out sundried grain, so today I killed (him) off in just one shot and then cooked him; it is the chicken's foot!" he said.'

(17) dəbǔ# qʰə̀-dzwə́ = sì tɕə̀ = ɖàw.#

dəbǔ qʰə̌-dzwə̂ = si tɕə̌ = ɖɑw.
then OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'Then (she) finished eating, it is said.'

(18) qʰə̀-dzwə́ kʰì = nòŋ = bù# dəbǔ,# tɕìŋ nʲóŋ kí
qʰə̌-dzwə̂ kʰi = noŋ = bu dəbǔ tɕìŋ nʲóŋ kí
OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO time = only = TOP then child breast give.drink

nɛ̀-ʂɛ̀j kʰì = nòŋ,# ní# tɛ́-ʈʂə̀ = ɕì# pʰǽŋ
nɛ̌-ʂɛ̂j kʰi = noŋ, nî tɛ̌-ʈʂə̂ = ɕi pʰǽŋ
DOWN-go:PFV:N.EGO time = only LOG one-CLF:jump = LIM.TOP flee:PFV:N.EGO

ʂɛ́j# ɦà,# tʰùlì = gôŋ.#
ʂɛ̂j ɦa, tʰulǐ = goŋ.
go:PFV:N.EGO LINK hare = AGT

'When (she) had eaten, when (she) went to feed the child, he himself fled in just one jump, that Hare.'

(19) dəbǔ# má# tʰɛ̀-tɕíŋ,# tʰú# mà = ɕǐ,# "áwhǎw,# tɕǐŋ#
dəbǔ mâ tʰɛ̌-tɕíŋ, tʰû mǎ = ɕǐ, "áwhǎw, tɕǐŋ
then mother FR.SP-see solution NEG = EXIST.AB INTJ child

qʰə̀-ʈʂʰwə́ = sì" tɕə̀.#
qʰə̌-ʈʂʰwə̂ = si" tɕə̌.
OUT-slaughter:PFV:N.EGO = INF say

'Then mother saw (her child) but there was no solution, "Oh! My child has already been slaughtered," she said.'

(20) ní = bù# dəbǔ# tə́-ʂɛ̀j# dəbǔ# tí-qʰwá# gʉ̀tàpǽŋ = tʲǽ qʰù#
nî = bu dəbǔ tə́-ʂɛ̂j dəbǔ tí-qʰwa gʉtapǽŋ = tʲæ qʰu
LOG = TOP then UP-go:PFV:N.EGO then up-on:GEN flat.stone = INDF:GEN top

dəbǔ# "tɕìŋ-ʂə́ dzə́# ɦà lʲɛ́j lʲɛ́j,# tɕìŋ-ɻə́ gú# ɦà lʲɛ́j lʲɛ́j" tɕə̀#
dəbǔ "tɕǐŋ-ʂə̂ dzə́ ɦà lʲɛ́j lʲɛ́j, tɕǐŋ-ɻə̂ gù ɦà lʲɛ́j lʲɛ́j" tɕə̌
then child-meat eat INTJ child-skin wear INTJ say

ɖú = sí tɕə̀ = ɖàw.#
ɖú = si tɕə̌ = ɖaw.
call = INF say = IPFV:N.EGO

'He himself (= Hare) went upwards to the top of a flat rock and called out, "Eat child meat nanana, wear child skin nanana!" '

(21) dəbǔ# mɛ́qɛ́-bʉ̀# lʲɛ́tɕʰə̀ pà,# dəbǔ# tʰú# mà = ɕî.#
dəbǔ mɛ́qɛ-bʉ lʲɛ̂tɕʰə pâ, dəbǔ tʰû mǎ = ɕǐ.
then family-household sad do:PFV:N.EGO then solution NEG = EXIST.AB

'Then that household was very sad, but there was no solution.'

(22) dəbǔ# ɐ̀tʂʰwæ̀ŋtʂʰwǎŋ=bì# pá.ɻáw ʂɛ̀j=sì.#

ɐtʂʰwæŋtʂʰwǎŋ=bi pá.ɻɑw ʂɛ̂j=si

magpie=DAT divinate go:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'Then (they) went to the magpie for divination.'

(23) ɐ̀tʂʰwæ̀ŋtʂʰwæ̀ŋ=góŋ# dəbǔ,# pá# nɛ̀-ɻáw kʰì=bù,#

ɐtʂʰwæŋtʂʰwǎŋ=goŋ dəbǔ, pá nɛ̌-ɻáw kʰi=bu,

magpie=AGT then prayer.flag DOWN-divinate time=TOP

"î...# nìŋ-bʉ́# dəbǔ,# ɻ̊ʉ́-dɛ́j# dəbǔ,# sòŋ-ɕǐ# jɛ̀j

î nǐŋ-bʉ dəbǔ, ɻ̊ʉ́dɛj dəbǔ, sǒŋ-ɕǐ jɛ̌j

INTJ 2-household then pine.resin then three-CLF:liter bring

kíŋ# ɛ́=qɛ̀j" tɕwə̀=sì.#

kǐŋ ɛ̂=qɛj," tɕwə̌=si.

can:EGO:2PL Q=EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'When the magpie practiced divination (he) said, "Iih!...Will your household be able to bring three liters of pine resin?" '

(24) "sòŋ-ɕǐ# jɛ̀j ɻə̀ɕì# mà=qɛ́j" tɕwə́.#

"sǒŋ-ɕǐ jɛ̌j ɻə̌ɕǐ mǎ=qɛj," tɕwə̌.

three-CLF:liter bring can NEG=EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

' "(We) won't be able to bring three liters," (they) said.'

(25) "nǒŋ# sòŋ-ɖwěŋ# jɛ̀j kíŋ# ɛ́=qɛ̀j"

"nǒŋ sǒŋ-ɖwěŋ jɛ̌j kǐŋ ɛ̂=qɛj,"

so three-CLF:measuring.cup bring can:EGO:2PL Q=EXPT

tɕwə̀.#

tɕwə̌.

say:PFV:N.EGO

' "In that case will (you) be able to bring three measuring cups?" (the magpie) said.'

(26) "sòŋ-ɖwèŋ=lá# ʈʰwɛ́ ɻə̀ɕì# mà=qɛ́j" tɕwə́.#

"sǒŋ-ɖwěŋ=lɑ ʈʰwɛ́ ɻə̌ɕǐ mǎ=qɛj," tɕwə̌.

three-CLF:measuring.cup=also find can NEG=EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

' "(We) won't be able to bring three measuring cups either," (they) said.'

(27) “nǒŋ# sòŋ-qʰwǎ# jɛ̀j kíŋ# ɛ́=qɛ̀j” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù,#

“nǒŋ sǒŋ-qʰwǎ jɛ̌j kǐŋ ê=qɛj,” tɕə̌ kʰi=bu,
so three-CLF:bowl bring can:EGO:2PL Q=EXPT say time=TOP

“sòŋ-qʰwà=bú# jɛ̀j ɻə̀ɕì=qɛ́j” tɕwə̀.#

“sǒŋ-qʰwǎ=bu jɛ̌j ɻə̌ɕǐ=qɛj,” tɕwə̌.
three-CLF:bowl=TOP bring can=EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

‘When (he) said, “Will (you) be able to bring three bowls then?” (they) said, “(We) will be able to bring three bowls.” ’

(28) dəbǔ# sòŋ-qʰwǎ# dəbǔ,# də̀-jwɛ̌j kʰì=bù,# sòŋ-qʰwǎ#

dəbǔ sǒŋ-qʰwǎ dəbǔ, də̌-jwɛ̌j kʰi=bu, sǒŋ-qʰwǎ
then three-CLF:bowl then TO.SP-get time=TOP three-CLF:bowl

tʰè-ɻèŋdí# dəbǔ,# “ɦǎw-tə́# sòŋ-qʰwà=bú# dəbǔ# sèŋbǔ#

tʰě-ɻeŋdí dəbǔ, “ɦǎw-tə́ sǒŋ-qʰwǎ=bu dəbǔ seŋbǔ
FR.SP-seek then that-this three-CLF:bowl=TOP then tomorrow

nùséŋ=bù# dəbǔ,# tʰùlǐ# ně-#mí=ʐə́ kʰì=nʲæ̀# ə́-qʰwà,#

nuséŋ=bu dəbǔ, tʰulǐ ně-mí=ʐə̌ kʰi=nʲæ ə̂-qʰwɑ,
morning=TOP then hare DOWN-NEG:PFV=come time=just that-top:GEN

gʉ̀tɑ̀pǽŋ=gǽ qʰù# kʰə̀-tɕí ɕìŋ# sǽ” tɕwə̀=sì.#

gʉtɑpǽŋ=gæ qʰu kʰə̌-tɕì ɕîŋ sǽ” tɕwə̌=si.
flat.stone=GEN top OUT-pour go:IMP:PL CONFIRM say:PFV:N.EGO=INF

‘Then when they had sought and brought three bowls (of pine resin), (the magpie) said, “As for these three bowls, go and pour them on top of that flat stone over there early tomorrow morning when Hare has not come down yet, okay?” ’

(29) dəbǔ# ə́-qʰù# kʰə̀-tɕí# kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kwêj;# dəbǔ# ə́-qʰù#

dəbǔ ə̂-qʰu kʰə̌-tɕì kʰə̌-ɕə́ kwêj; dəbǔ ə̂-qʰu

then that-top OUT-pour OUT-go let:PFV:N.EGO then that-top

kʰə̀-tɕwí kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,# “tɕìŋ-ʂə́ dzə́# ɦà lʲéj lʲéj,# tɕìŋ-ɻə́

kʰə̌-tɕwǐ kʰi=bu dəbǔ “tɕǐŋ-ʂə̂ dzə́ ɦà lʲéj lʲéj, tɕǐŋ-ɻə̂

OUT-pour:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP then child-meat eat INTJ child-skin

gú# ɦà lʲéj lʲéj” tɕə̀# ə́-qʰù# ʈʂə́=ɖòŋ tɕwə̀=sì ɖàw

gù ɦà lʲéj lʲéj” tɕə̌ ə̂-qʰu ʈʂə̂=ɖoŋ tɕwə̌ si ɖɑw

wear INTJ say that-top jump=IPFV:EGO:1SG say EPIST:probably

kʰì=bù,# ʈʂə́=ɖòŋ tɕə̀ kʰì=nòŋ# ə́-qʰù ɛ̀-dɛ̀j

kʰi=bu, ʈʂə̂=ɖoŋ tɕə̌ kʰi=noŋ ə̂-qʰu ɛ̌-dɛ̌j

time=TOP jump=IPFV:EGO:1SG say time=only that-on IN-stick

pà.#

pâ.

do:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then they poured (the pine resin) on top (of that flat stone). After (they) had poured it on top, when (Hare called out), “Eat child’s meat nanana, wear child’s skin nanana!,” (he was) jumping on top. As (he) was jumping, (he) got stuck on top.’

(30) dəbǔ# tə̀-bǒŋ# tə́-ʂɛ̀j# ɦà# də̀-ʐə̂ kʰə̀-twǐ;#

dəbǔ tə́-boŋ tə́-ʂɛ̂j ɦa də̌-ʐə́ kʰə̌-twǐ;
then 3-household:AGT UP-go:PFV:N.EGO LINK TO.SP-catch OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO

də̀-ʐə́# kʰə̀-twǐ kʰì = bù# dəbǔ,# “ə́jù,# tǎ = bù#

də̌-ʐə́ kʰə̌-twǐ kʰi = bu dəbǔ “ə̂ju, tǎ = bu
TO.SP-catch OUT-put:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then INTJ now = TOP

nìŋ-bóŋní# dəbǔ# é kʰùɖú# pɯ́ = ní# pɯ́ = qɛ̂j,# dəbǔ# jǎw#

nǐŋ-boŋni dəbǔ é kʰuɖú pɯ́ = ni pɯ́ = qɛj, dəbǔ jǎw
2-household:AGT then 1SG torment do = ADD.FOC do = EXPT then again

pɯ́ = lá = bù# dəbǔ# tʰú# mà = ɕǐ kʰì = bù# dəbǔ,# é = bú#

pɯ́ = la = bu dəbǔ tʰû mà = ɕǐ kʰi = bu dəbǔ, é = bu
do = also = TOP then solution NEG = EXIST.AB time = TOP then 1sg = TOP

dəbǔ# nìŋ-bá# ɻǐ = qʰù# tə́-ɻ̥ɯ́ qʰù,# nʲùɕù = tʲǽ

dəbǔ nǐŋ-ba ɻǐ = qʰu tə́-ɻ̥ɯ̀ qʰǔ, nʲuɕǔ = tʲæ
then 2-household:GEN drying.rack = on UP-suspend POL leather.bag = INDF:GEN

wú nɛ̀-kì,# ə́-wù# ɻə̂tsə̀ = tì = nòŋ = bù,# (ə̀...ə̀)# gwìdʲóŋ = tí#

wu nɛ̌-kǐ, ə̂-wu ɻə̂tsə = ti = noŋ = bu, (ə̀...ə̀) gwidʲóŋ = ti
interior DOWN-put.in that-in knife = INDF = COORD = TOP INTJ pestle = INDF

nɛ̀-kǐ,# dəbǔ# pɛ́pù = bù# dəbǔ# ɻə́gì = tì ɛ̀-tì# dəbǔ,#

nɛ̌-kǐ, dəbǔ pɛ̂pu = bu dəbǔ ɻə̂gi = ti ɛ̌-tǐ dəbǔ,
DOWN-put.in then bottom = TOP then big.wok = INDF IN-put then

ʈʂʰəpɛ́j# ɛ̀-tǐ,# tə́-lʲù = nʲæ̀# dəbǔ# é# ə́-pù# nɛ̀-ɖə́

ʈʂʰəpɛ́j ɛ̌-tǐ, tə́-lʲú = nʲæ dəbǔ é ə̂-pu nɛ̌-ɖə̀
boiling.water IN-put UP-boil = just then 1SG that-under DOWN-drop

pɯ̀# nɛ̀-sə̀ pɯ́ = ʂú” tɕwə̀.#

pɯ́ nɛ̌-sə̌ pɯ́ = ʂu tɕwə̌
do DOWN-die do = VOL:SG say:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then that household went and caught him. When they had caught him, (Hare) said, “Oh, now your household will certainly give me a lot of trouble, and then I have no solution. So please hang me from the top of your drying rack (above the fireplace), put (me) inside a leather bag, put a knife and a pestle in there, and then put a big wok on the fire under it, put water on the boil, and as soons as it boils, I will drop myself and make myself die under there.” ’

(31) “dəbǔ# tsù-kóŋ=gǽ# pépù=bù# dəbǔ,# qʰé=tì nè-tsì,#
“dəbǔ tsǔ-kǒŋ=gæ pêpu=bu dəbǔ, qʰê=ti nĕ-tsì,
then side.room-door=GEN bottom=TOP then spike=INDF DOWN-erect

qé-bʉ̀=tì kʰə̀-tì;# (tɕə̀má-kóŋ=gæ̀ mæ̀...)#
qêj-bʉ́=ti kʰə̌-tĭ; (tɕəmá-kǒŋ=gæ mæ...)
dung-pile=INDF OUT-put central.room-door=GEN ...

tɕə̀má-kóŋ=wù=là# hɐʂə̀# nə́# tʰé-pʉ́# kʰə̀-tì;# dəbǔ# ní=bù#
tɕəmá-kǒŋ=wu=lɑ hɐʂə̌ nə́ tʰĕ-pʉ́ kʰə̌-tĭ; dəbǔ nî=bu
central.room-door=in=also still thus FR.SP-do OUT-put then LOG=TOP

dəbǔ# ʈʂʰəpɛ́j# ɻɛ́j=wù# nè-ɖə́,# nú# kʰə̀-ɕə̀=lá# hɐʂə́#
dəbǔ ʈʂʰəpɛ́j ɻɛ̂j=wu nĕ-ɖə̀, nû kʰə̌-ɕə́=lɑ hɐʂə̌
then boiling.water cooking.pot=in DOWN-drop outside OUT-go=also Ch:still

ʈʂǎwjæ̀ŋ# qʰé=tù nè-tsèŋ# nè-sə̀=qɛ́j” tɕwə̀.#
ʈʂǎwjæ̀ŋ qʰê=tu nĕ-tsɛ́ŋ nĕ-sə̌=qɛj” tɕwə̌.
Ch:as.before spike=on DOWN-fall.down DOWN-die=EXPT say:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “Then put a spike at the bottom of the side room door and also a pile of dung, and do the same for the door of the main room. Even though I myself drop in the pot with boiling water and (manage to) get out, I will still fall on the spike and die.” ’

(32) dəbǔ,# dəbǔ# sùnʲə́ súnʲə̀# tè-qʰwǎ# (tɕʰì...)
dəbǔ, dəbǔ sǔ-nʲə̌ sǔ-nʲə̌ tĭ-qʰwǎ (tɕʰĭ...)
then then hemp-roasted.grain hemp-roasted.grain one-CLF:bowl feed

də-tɕʰĭ;# dəbǔ,# sùnʲə́ súnʲə̀# tè-qʰwǎ# dəbǔ#
də̌-tɕʰĭ; dəbǔ, sǔ-nʲə̌ sǔ-nʲə̌ tĭ-qʰwǎ dəbǔ
TO.SP-feed then hemp-roasted.grain hemp-roasted.grain one-CLF:bowl then

è=bí# də-tɕʰĭ# nʲùɕù=góŋ# dəbǔ# ɻĭ=qʰù# tə́-ɻ̊ʉ́
é=bi də̌-tɕʰĭ nʲuɕǔ=goŋ dəbǔ ɻĭ=qʰu tə́-ɻ̊ʉ̀
1SG=DAT TO.SP-feed leather.bag=INS then drying.rack=on UP-suspend

qʰù” tɕwə̀.#
qʰǔ” tɕwə̌.
POL say:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “Then give a bowl of roasted hemp seeds, give me a bowl of roasted hemp seeds, and tie me onto the rack with a leather bag/in a leather bag, please,” he said.’

(33) dəbǔ,# “nʲǽjóŋ# nʲǽjóŋ# nʲǽjóŋ# ʈʂʰəpɛ́j# lʲú# ɛ́=ɖàw” tɕə̀ kʰì=là,#
dəbǔ, “nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ ʈʂʰəpɛ́j lʲú ê=ɖaw” tɕə̌ kʰi=la,
then INTJ INTJ INTJ boiling.water boil Q=IPFV:N.EGO say time=also

“lʲú# mà=ɖáw” tɕə̀.#
“lʲú mǎ=ɖaw” tɕə̌.
boil NEG=IPFV:N.EGO say

‘Then when (Hare) said, “Njam, njam, njam, is the water boiling?” (they) answered: “It’s not boiling.” ’

(34) dəbǔ,# “nʲǽjóŋ# nʲǽjóŋ# nʲǽjóŋ# ʈʂʰəpɛ́j# lʲú# ɛ́=ɖàw” tɕə̀ kʰì=là,#
dəbǔ, “nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ ʈʂʰəpɛ́j lʲú ê=ɖaw” tɕə̌ kʰi=la,
then INTJ INTJ INTJ boiling.water boil Q=IPFV:N.EGO say time=also

“lʲú# mà=ɖáw” tɕə̀.#
“lʲú mǎ=ɖaw” tɕə̌.
boil NEG=IPFV:N.EGO say

‘Then when (Hare) said, “Njam, njam, njam, is the water boiling?” (they) answered: “It’s not boiling.” ’

(35) dəbǔ,# sòŋ-gú=gæ̀ wù kʰì=bù,# “nʲǽjóŋ# nʲǽjóŋ#
dəbǔ, sǒŋ-gû=gæ wu kʰi=bu, “nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ nʲǽjoŋ
then three-CLF:phrase interior time=TOP INTJ INTJ INTJ

ʈʂʰəpɛ́j# lʲú# ɛ́=ɖàw” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù,# “tǎ# lʲú=ɖâw”
ʈʂʰəpɛ́j lʲú ê=ɖaw” tɕə̌ kʰi=bu, tǎ “lʲú=ɖaw”
boiling.water boil Q=IPFV:N.EGO say time=TOP now boil=IPFV:N.EGO

tɕwə̀=sì.#
tɕwə̌=si.
say:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then when he said for the third time, “Njam, njam, njam, is the water boiling?” they answered: “It’s boiling now.” ’

(36) “lʲú = ɖáw” tɕə̀ kʰì = nòŋ# ə́wà,# nʲùɕù-pɛ́# ə́wà# ɻə́tsə̀ = gòŋ#
“lʲú = ɖɑw” tɕə̌ kʰi = noŋ ə̂wɑ, nʲuɕǔ-pɛ́ ə̂wɑ ɻə̂tsə = goŋ
boil = IPFV:N.EGO say time = only CMX leather.bag-bottom CMX knife = INS

té-ɻɛ̀ = ɕì = bù# gwìdʲóŋ# ə́wà# nɛ̀-dǐ# nɛ̀-ɕə̀
tǐ-ɻɛ̌ = ɕi = bu gwidʲóŋ ə̂wɑ nɛ̌-dǐ nɛ̌-ɕə́
one-CLF:cut = LIM.TOP = TOP pestle CMX DOWN-throw DOWN-go

kwɛ́j# ɦà# mə́ = ɻæ̀# ʈʂʰə̀pɛ́j-ɻɛ́j# nɛ̀-ʈɛ́ŋ#
kwɛ́j ɦɑ mə̂ = ɻæ ʈʂʰəpɛ́j-ɻɛ̂j nɛ̌-ʈɛ́ŋ
let:PFV:N.EGO LINK person = PL:GEN boiling.water-cooking.pot DOWN-break

nɛ̀-ɕə̀ kwɛ́j# ɦà# jɛ̀hǎ# lʲwɛ̀tsə̀ɻóŋ# tə́-ʈʂə̀ kwɛ̀j#
nɛ̌-ɕə́ kwɛ́j ɦɑ jɛhǎ lʲwɛtsəɻóŋ tə́-ʈʂə̂ kwɛ́j
DOWN-go let:PFV: N.EGO LINK all glowing.ember UP-jump let:PFV:N.EGO

ɦà# mɛ́qɛ́-bà# (swǽŋ = nòŋ)# má(= nòŋ,#
ɦɑ mɛ́qɛ-bɑ (swǽŋ = noŋ) mâ(= noŋ,
LINK family-household:GEN father = COORD mother = COORD

tʲóŋ) ((= bù))# tsù-kóŋ = wù ɛ̀-pʰìŋ# ɛ̀-ʂɛ́j kʰì = là#
tʲôŋ) = ((bu)) tsǔ-kǒŋ = wu ɛ̌-pʰìŋ ɛ̌-ʂɛ̂j kʰi = lɑ
one:CLF:thing = TOP side.room-door = in IN-flee IN-go:PFV:N.EGO time = also

qɛ́-bɯ̀ = tù# tʰɛ̀-ɖwɛ́j# qʰɛ́ = tù nɛ̀-tsɛ̀ŋ# nɛ̀-sə̀ kwɛ́j,#
qɛ̂j-bɯ́ = tû tʰɛ̌-ɖwɛ̂j qʰɛ́ = tû nɛ̌-tsɛ́ŋ kwɛ́j;
dung-pile = on FR.SP-slip spike = on DOWN-fall.down let:PFV:N.EGO

(nǒŋ# dəbǔ# tɕəmá-kóŋ = wù# kʰù-dʑì kʰə́-pʰíŋ# qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j,#
(nǒŋ dəbǔ tɕəmá-kǒŋ = wu kʰǔ-dʑi kʰə̌-pʰìŋ qʰə̌-ʂɛ̂j
two then central.room-door = in out-location OUT-flee OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO

kʰì = là),# swǽŋ# dəbǔ# kʰù-dʑì qʰə́-pʰǽŋ kʰì = là#
kʰi = lɑ) swǽŋ dəbǔ kʰǔ-dʑi qʰə̌-pʰǽŋ kʰi = lɑ,
time = also father then out-direction OUT-flee:PFV:N.EGO time = also

hɛ̀ʂə̌# qʰɛ́ = tù nɛ̀-tsɛ̀ŋ# nɛ̀-sə̀ kwɛ́j.#
hɛʂə̌ qʰɛ́ = tû nɛ̌-tsɛ́ŋ nɛ̌-sə̌ kwɛ́j
Ch:still spike = on DOWN-fall DOWN-die let:PFV:N.EGO

‘When (they) said, “It’s boiling,” LOOK! (Hare) used the knife, LOOK! to cut the bottom of the leather bag in just one cut, LOOK! let the pestle fall down; (he) let their cooking pot with boiling water break; (he) let all the glowing embers jump up; when the (father and) mother (one of them) fled inwards to the side room door, (he) let (her) slip on the dung pile and fall on the spike. When [two (of them) fled outwards to the door of the central room...] when

the father fled outwards, (Hare) also caused (him) to fall down on the spike and die.'

(37) dəbǔ,# méqɛ́-bʉ̀# nə̀-tsə́=gə̀# nɛ̀-sə̀ kwɛ́j,# dəbǔ#

dəbǔ, méqɛ-bʉ nə̌-tsə̂=gə nɛ̌-sə̌ kwɛ́j, dəbǔ
then family-household two-CLF:person=DEF DOWN-die let:PFV:N.EGO then

ní# tɛ́-ʈʂə̀=ɕì# kǒŋ=wù# qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j=sì tɕàw.#

nî tɛ̌-ʈʂə̂=ɕi kǒŋ=wu qʰə̌-ʂɛ̂j=si tɕɑw
LOG one-CLF:jump=LIM.TOP door=in OUT-go:N.EGO PFV=INF HSY

'Then (he) let the two people of that household die, and he himself went in just one jump through the door, it is said.'

YJ01: 'Mushroom-poisoning' (personal experience monologue)

A personal experience in which the speaker recounts the time she and a group of friends saved the lives of three people who were poisoned by a mushroom.

(1) ɻə̂-kʰì# dəbǔ# ɛ̀má# mì qʰá ɕə́ kʰì=bù,#

ɻə̂-kʰi dəbǔ ɛmâ mǐ qʰà ɕə́ kʰi=bu,
front-time then aunt edible.fungus pick go time=TOP

sə̀qú# ŋwɛ́ kù tù# ɕə́=sêŋ.#

səqú ŋwê-kû=tû ɕə́=seŋ.
thirty five-CLF:year=on go=PFV:EGO

'In the past, when aunt (= I) went mushroom picking, (she) went at 35 years (of age).'

(2) mì qʰá# tə́-ɕə̀ kʰì=bù,# dəbǔ# ɛ́=ɻə̀# hàtɕʰǐ# ʐɛ̂-n̥óŋ#

mǐ qʰà tə́-ɕə́ kʰi=bu, dəbǔ ɛ́=ɻə hɑtɕʰǐ ʐɛ̂-n̥ôŋ
edible.fungus pick up-go time=TOP then 1=PL provision four-CLF:day

ŋwɛ́-n̥òŋ=gæ̀# nɛ̀-kú# tə́-ɕə̀.

ŋwê-n̥ôŋ=gæ nɛ̌-kù tə́-ɕə́.
five-CLF:day=GEN DOWN-carry.on.back UP-go

'When (we) went mushroom picking, we went carrying provisions for four or five days.'

(3) dəbǔ# tə́-ɕə̀# gòŋnʲæ̀-bá dʑí tà kʰì=bù#
dəbǔ tə́-ɕə́ goŋnʲǎ-bɑ dʑi tǎ kʰi=bu
then UP-go Nuòsū-household:GEN location arrive time=TOP

dəbú-nʲə́# ə́-dʑì# ɕwíŋ# qʰə̀-dzâ.#
dəbǔ-nʲə â-dʑi ɕwîŋ qʰə̌-dzə́.
then-near that-location lunch OUT-eat

'Then (we) went up and arrived at the Nuòsū household's (we) ate lunch there.'

(4) dəbǔ# ɕwíŋ# qʰə̀-dzə́# tə́-ɕə̀ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ# tí-qʰú# tsʰí-tɛ́j#
dəbǔ ɕwîŋ qʰə̌-dzə́ tə́-ɕə̀ kʰi=bu dəbǔ tí-qʰu tsʰí-tɛ́j
then lunch OUT-eat UP-go time=TOP then up-on meadow-big

tə́-tâ.#
tə́-tǎ.
UP-arrive

'After having eaten lunch and having gone up, (we) arrived at a meadow.'

(5) tsʰí-tɛ́j# dəbǔ# jɛ̀hǎ# bɯ́# mí=lú# jǎw# mǐ tǐ#
tsʰí-tɛ́j dəbǔ, jɛhǎ bɯ́ mí=lù jǎw mǐ tǐ
meadow-big then all sun NEG:PFV=set.of.sun again edible.fungus one

tʰɛ̀-qʰá ɕə̀.#
tʰɛ̌-qʰà ɕə́.
FR.SP-pick go

'At the meadow, when the sun had not set yet, everybody went picking mushrooms.'

(6) dəbǔ# də-ʑə́# nǒŋnòŋ# mətɕʰí# tʰɛ̀-dzú# qʰə̀-dzə́.#
dəbǔ də-ʑə̌ nǒŋnòŋ mətɕʰî tʰɛ̌-dzù qʰə̌-dzə́.
then TO.SP-come and.only.then dinner FR.SP-make OUT-eat

'Then, only after coming back from that (we) cooked dinner and ate.'

(7) dəbǔ# mətɕʰí# qʰə̀-dzâ,# dəbǔ# jǎw,# ɕwípʰá=bù# jǎw,#
dəbǔ mətɕʰî qʰə̌-dzə́, dəbǔ jǎw, ɕwípʰɑ=bu jǎw,
then dinner OUT-eat then again night=TOP again

gwǎ=ɖwèŋ tɕâ.#
gwǎ=ɖweŋ tɕə̌.
sing=IPFV:EGO:N.SG say

'After having eaten dinner, in the evening, (we) sang.'

(8) tʲóŋ# tʲóŋ# ɻòŋbá pɯ́# gwǎ,# ɛ̀má=bù# dəbǔ# gwà

tʲôŋ tʲôŋ ɻoŋbá pɯ́ gwǎ, ɛmâ=bu dəbǔ gwǎ

one:CLF:thing one:CLF:thing in.turn do sing aunt=TOP then sing

(tʰóŋ) ((tɕǽ))# mà=ɖáw.#

(tʰǒŋ) ((tɕǎ)) mǎ=ɖɑw.

be.able:N.EGO be.able:EGO:1 NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'One by one (we) sang in turn; aunt (= I) did not dare to sing.'

(9) ɛ̀má# dəbǔ# gwǎ# (mà=tʰǒŋ) ((mí=tɕǽ));# dəbǔ# əwá# ɛ̀má=nòŋ#

ɛmâ dəbǔ gwǎ mǎ=tʰǒŋ dəbǔ ə̌-wɑ ɛmâ=noŋ

aunt then sing NEG=dare:N.EGO then this-in:GEN aunt=COORD

tə̀=ɻǒŋnì,# "nìŋ=bú# dəbǔ# ʈʰóŋ# gǽ=ʈá=là# gwǎ#

tə́=ɻoŋnì, "nǐŋ=bu dəbǔ ʈʰôŋ gǽ=ʈɑ=lɑ gwǎ

this=PL:AGT 2SG=TOP then voice beautiful=SVM=also sing

mà=tʰǒŋ,# lʲěmǎtà," tɕə̀,# ɛ̀=bí# nə́ tɕə́=ɖàw,#

mǎ=tʰǒŋ lʲěmǎtà," tɕə̌, ɛ́=bi nə́ tɕə̌=ɖɑw,

NEG=dare:N.EGO useless say 1SG=DAT thus say=IPFV:N.EGO

dəbǔ# gwà ɻə̌=mí=ɕî.#

dəbǔ gwǎ ɻə̌=mí=ɕǐ.

then sing can=NEG:PFV=can

'Aunt (=I) did not dare to sing, so this aunt here and the others said (to me), "Your voice is beautiful, but (you) don't dare to sing, that's of no use." Thus they spoke to me, but I could not sing.'

(10) dəbǔ# ə́-kʰì# tɛ̀-dʑú=gə́=bù# dəbǔ# tʰútù# tɕíŋmíŋ#

dəbǔ ə̂-kʰi tǐ-dʑú=gə=bu dəbǔ tʰûtu tɕíŋmiŋ

then that-time one-CLF:times=DEF=TOP then all.the.time home

nɛ̌-#mí=ʑə̂.#

nɛ̌-mí=ʑə̌.

DOWN-NEG:PFV=come

'That particular time (we) did not come (down) home at all.'

(11) ɛ̀má# sɛ́nóŋ=nòŋ# dəbǔ# qàmǽŋ# wútɕí=bì# hàtɕʰí# tə́-jɛ́j kɛ̀j.#

ɛmâ sɛ́noŋ=noŋ dəbǔ qǎ-mǽŋ wútɕi=bi hɑtɕʰí tə́-jɛ̌j

aunt Sanong=COORD then down-below Ch:Wujin=DAT provisions UP-get

kɛ́j.

let

'(We) let Aunt Sanong and Wujin from downstairs bring up provisions.'

(12) ə́-qʰù# nəwú# tɕʰə̀-ɕǽ# dzóŋ=sêŋ.#

ə̂-qʰu nəwú-tɕʰə̌-ɕǽ dzóŋ=seŋ.

that-on twenty-more.than-CLF:night sit=PFV:EGO

'(We) spent more than twenty nights up there.'

(13) dəbŭ# ə́-qʰù dzòŋ kʰì=bù# dəbŭ,# (...) ə́-qʰù# gòŋnʲǎ# ɻwè

dəbŭ ə̂-qʰu dzóŋ kʰi=bu dəbŭ, (...) ə̂-qʰu goŋnʲǎ ɻwě

then that-top sit time=top then that-top Nuòsū yak

l̥í-mə́=ɻæ̀# ɻwé,# ɻwèmí# nŏŋ# nè-mí=sì kʰì=bù#

l̥ǐ-mə=ɻæ ɻwé, ɻwɐmí nŏŋ nĕ-mì=si kʰi=bu

herd-NMLZ=PL:GEN yak female.yak two DOWN-mislay=INF time=TOP

gwéŋ=góŋ nè-swè=sì.#

gwéŋ=goŋ nĕ-swĕ=si.

bear=AGT DOWN-kill:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'Then when we were hanging out up there, two female yaks of the Nuòsū yak herders up there got loose and were killed by a bear.'

(14) gwéŋ=góŋ# nè-sĕ# dəbŭ# ɻèŋdí kʰì=bù,# dəbŭ# ɻèŋdí,# tʲóŋ=bù#

gwéŋ=goŋ nĕ-sĕ dəbŭ ɻeŋdí kʰi=bu, dəbŭ ɻeŋdí, tʲôŋ=bu

bear=AGT DOWN-kill then seek time=TOP then seek one:CLF:thing=TOP

də-ʈʰwé kʰì=bù# qʰə̀-dzə́# nè-tsʰá pá=sì.#

dĕ-ʈʰwé kʰi=bu qʰə̌-dzə́ nĕ-tsʰá pâ=si.

TO.SP-find time=TOP OUT-eat DOWN-be.finished do:PFV:N.EGO=INF

'They were killed by a bear and then when (people) were looking (for them) (they) found one, but (it) was already completely eaten.'

(15) tʲóŋ = bù# dəbǔ# ʐégì# mǔ# tɛ́j# də-ʈʰwɛ́ kʰì = bù,#
tʲôŋ = bu dəbǔ ʐêgi mǔ tɛ̂j də-ʈʰwɛ́ kʰi = bu,
one:CLF:thing = TOP then later corpse EXIST.H TO.SP-find time = TOP

gòŋnʲæ̀-bɯ́# è-ʐə́# ɦà# dəbǔ# ʈʂʰə́ tɕʰòŋ kʰì = bù,#
goŋnʲǎ-bɯ ě-ʐə̌ ɦɑ dəbǔ ʈʂʰə̂ tɕʰôŋ kʰi = bu,
Nuòsū-household IN-come LINK then slaughter come:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP

tə́-ɻə́nǽŋ = sì# dəbǔ,# ʈʂʰə́# mǎ = qà,# ní = ɻə̀# ɻə̀nǽŋ-mə́# dzə́#
tə́-ɻənǽŋ = si dəbǔ, ʈʂʰə̂ mǎ = qá, nî = ɻə ɻənǽŋ-mə dzə́
UP-smelly = INF then slaughter NEG = can LOG = PL smelly-NMLZ eat

mǎ = wèŋ tɕàw.#
mǎ = wêŋ tɕɑw.
NEG = CUST.EXCL HSY

'When the other corpse was found later, and the Nuòsū household came up the valley to butcher it, it had become smelly, so they could not butcher it, they said that they are not able to eat smelly (meat).'

(16) dzə́# mǎ = wèŋ tɕə̀# dəbǔ# è = ɻǎ# wù# ɕwíŋ = tì# qʰə̀-dzə́#
dzə́ mǎ = wêŋ tɕə̌ dəbǔ ɛ́ = ɻæ wu ɕwîŋ = ti qʰə̌-dzə́
eat NEG = CUST.EXCL say then 1 = PL:GEN interior lunch = INDF OUT-eat

qʰə̀-ʂɛ̂j.
qʰə̌-ʂɛ̂j.
OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO

'They could not eat it, so (they) had some lunch in our midst and then went down the valley.'

(17) ɕwíŋ = tì# qʰə̀-dzə́# qʰə̀-ʂɛ́j kʰì = bù# dəbǔ-nʲə́# tə̂#
ɕwîŋ = ti qʰə̌-dzə́ qʰə̌-ʂɛ̂j kʰi = bu dəbǔ-nʲə tə̂
lunch = INDF OUT-eat OUT-go:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then-near this

ɻóŋdíŋ-mə̀# nə́-tsə̀# dʐə̀tɕʰǽ qʰá-mə̀# nə́-tsə̀#
ɻóŋdiŋ-mə̂ nə̌-tsə̂ dʐə̀tɕʰǽ qʰà-mə nə̌-tsə̂
lowland-person two-CLF:person chinese.gentian pick-NMLZ two-CLF:person

ʐî,# sòŋ-tsə́# ʐî.#
ʐî, sǒŋ-tsə̂ ʐî.
EXIST.AN three-CLF:person EXIST.AN

'After (they) had eaten some lunch and left, there were two people from the lowland, two or three people who were picking gentian.'

(18) dəbǔ# tə̀-bʉ̀-sèŋ = bú# dəbǔ# tʲóŋ = bù# dəbǔ# ní = ɻə̀ = bù#

dəbǔ tə́-bʉ-seŋ = bu dəbǔ tʲôŋ = bu dəbǔ nî = ɻə = bu

then 3-household-PART = TOP then one:CLF:thing = TOP then LOG = PL = TOP

ɻə̀nǽŋ-mə́# dzə́ wéŋ tɕə̀,# tə́ = bù# ɻwémú = gə̀# ɻèŋdí

ɻənǽŋ-mə dzə́ wêŋ tɕə̌, tə́ = bu ɻwé-mǔ = gə ɻeŋdí

smelly-NMLZ eat CUST.EXCL say 3SG = TOP yak-corpse = DEF seek

ʂɛ̂j.#

ʂɛ̂j.

go:PFV:N.EGO

'Then, one of their group said that they were able to eat smelly meat, and he went off to look for the yak corpse.'

(19) ɻèŋdí ʂɛ́j kʰì = bù# dəbǔ-nə́# tə́# ɻwémú# ʈʰwé#

ɻeŋdí ʂɛ̂j kʰi = bu dəbǔ-nə tə́ ɻwé-mǔ ʈʰwé

seek go:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP then-near this yak-corpse find

mí = tʰôŋ,# dəbǔ# nè-ɕwí# nʲæ̀qûqú tʰè-ɖòŋ.#

mí = tʰǒŋ, dəbǔ nĕ-ɕwí nʲæ̀qûqû tʰĕ-ɖòŋ.

NEG:PFV = can then DOWN-dark pitch.black FR.SP-become

'When (he) went to seek (the corpse), (he) could not find the yak corpse and then it became dark.'

(20) dəbǔ# də-tɕʰóŋ kʰì = bù,# nʲùkǽŋtɕwìŋ dzə̀ tɕə̀# ɦɑ̀#

dəbǔ də̌-tɕʰôŋ kʰi = bu, nʲukæ̂ŋtɕwiŋ dzə̂ tɕə̌ ɦɑ

then TO.SP-come:PFV:N.EGO time = TOP Ch:king.boletus be say LINK

mǐ# ə́-tɛ̀j-mə̀# tʲóŋ# ɛ̀-pʉ́ɻú# qʰə̀-dzwə́ = sì.#

mǐ ə̂-tɛ́j = mə tʲôŋ ɛ̌-pʉ́ɻu qʰə̌-dzwə̂ = si.

edible.fungus that-big = NMZL one:CLF:thing IN-roast OUT-eat = INF

'After (he) returned, (they) roasted and ate a mushroom this big called 'king boletus'.'

(21) dəbǔ,# m̥ə́ = nòŋ# swǽŋ = gòŋnì# dəbǔ# qʰʉ̀ = gə́# qʰə̀-dzə́.#

dəbǔ, m̥ə̂ = noŋ swæ̂ŋ = goŋni dəbǔ qʰʉ̌ = gə qʰə̌-dzə́.

then daughter = COORD father = AGT then head = DEF OUT-eat

'Then the daughter and the father ate the head [of the mushroom].'

(22) dəbǔ# mə́=ɻæ# ʐégʲæ# də-ʐə́-mə́=gə=bì=bù# ɖwæ̀ŋ=gə́#
dəbǔ mə̂=ɻæ ʐêgʲæ də̌-ʐə̌-mə=gə=bi=bu ɖwæ̌ŋ=gə
then person=PL:GEN later TO.SP-come-NMLZ=DEF=DAT=TOP trunk=DEF

qʰə̀-dzə́ qʰú tɕwə̀=sì,# "é# mǎ=(dzìŋ) ((dzàw))" tɕə̀ kʰì=là,#
qʰə̌-dzə́ qʰǔ tɕwə̌=si, "é mǎ=(dzîŋ) ((dzáw))" tɕə̌ kʰi=lɑ,
OUT-eat POL say:PFV:N.EGO=INF 1SG NEG=IMP:PL IMP:SG say time=also

"qʰə̀-dzáw,# ʐóŋ# ʐǔ,"# tɕwə̀=sì tɕàw.#
"qʰə̌-dzáw, ʐóŋ ʐǔ," tɕwə̌=si tɕɑw.
OUT-eat:IMP:SG delicious very say:PFV:N.EGO=INF HSY

'And they offered the stem to the other person who came later. When he said, "I won't eat it," it is said that they said, "Eat, it's delicious!" '

(23) dəbǔ# qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ# mə́=ɻæ# tə́# sòŋ-tsə́=gə̀#
dəbǔ qʰə̌-dzə́ kʰi=bu dəbǔ mə̂=ɻæ tə́ sǒŋ-tsə̂=gə
then OUT-eat time=TOP then person=PL:GEN this three-CLF:person=DEF

tɛ̀ʈʰì=bú# mì=góŋ# nɛ̀-dɯ̌.#
tɛʈʰǐ=bu mǐ=goŋ nɛ̌-dɯ̌.
after.a.while=TOP edible.fungus=AGT DOWN-be.poisoned

'When they had eaten, these three people were poisoned by the mushroom.'

(24) m̥ə̀ɖæ̀lí=gə́# sə̀ ɻə́# níŋ nɛ́-pà; # dəbǔ# ʐégì# tə̀-bɑ̌#
m̥əɖælí=gə sə ɻə̂ níŋ nɛ̌-pâ; dəbǔ ʐêgi tə́-bɑ
girl=DEF first front sick DOWN-do:PFV:N.EGO then later 3-household:GEN

swǽŋ=gə́# níŋ tʰɛ́-tsèŋ, # dəbǔ# mə́=ɻæ# tə́# ʐégʲæ#
swæ̂ŋ=gə níŋ tʰɛ̌-tséŋ, dəbǔ mə̂=ɻæ tə́ ʐêgʲæ
father=DEF sick FR.SP-hit.target then person=PL:GEN this later:GEN

qʰə̀-dzə́-mə́=gə̀# ʐégì=nòŋ# níŋ# tʰɛ́-tsèŋ=sì.#
qʰə̌-dzə́-mə=gə ʐêgi=noŋ níŋ tʰɛ̌-tséŋ=si.
OUT-eat-NMLZ=DEF later=only sick FR.SP-hit.target=INF

'First the little girl got sick; then her father got sick; only later the person who had eaten later got sick.'

(25) dəbǔ,# “ʐɛ̀mí = bù# ìŋ-bɯ́-sèŋ# ə-pú# nɛ̀-sə̀ qɛ̂j”

dəbǔ, “ʐɛmî = bu ǐŋ-bɯ-seŋ ə̌-pu nɛ̌-sə̌ = qɛj”
then tonight = TOP 1:INCL-household-PART this-under DOWN-die = EXPT

tɕə̀,# dəbǔ# ɛ̀-ʐə́# ɛ̀ = ɻæ̌# tsʰí-tɛ́j# ə́-qʰù# ɻwɛ́-hwɑ́ = wù#

tɕə̌, dəbǔ ɛ̌-ʐə̌ ɛ́ = ɻæ tsʰí-tɛ́j ə̂-qʰu ɻwɛ́-hwɑ̌ = wu
say then IN-come 1 = PL:GEN meadow-big that-top yak-shack = in

ɛ̀-ʐə́ kʰí = bù,# ɛ̀-ʐə́# mí = tʰóŋ; # dəbǔ#

ɛ̌-ʐə̌ kʰi = bu, ɛ̌-ʐə̌ mí = tʰǒŋ; dəbǔ
IN-come time = TOP IN-come NEG:PFV = be.able then

tɕʰwɑ́-pìŋ = tʲæ̀ wù# ə́-pù# dəbǔ#

tɕʰwɑ̂-pǐŋ = tʲæ wu ə̂-pu dəbǔ
oriental.arborvitae-grove = INDF:GEN interior that-bottom then

gwèŋ = nóŋ# m̥ə́ = nòŋ# ə́-pù# dəbǔ# nɛ̀-tɕʰə̀tɕʰə́#

gwɛ̌ŋ = noŋ m̥ə̂ = noŋ ə̂-pu dəbǔ nɛ̌-tɕʰətɕʰə̂
horse = COORD person = COORD that-under then DOWN-stand:COLL

dzóŋ = sî,# gwèŋ = gɑ́# ɕí = là# qʰə̌-#mí = pʰɯ̂.#

dzóŋ = si gwɛ́ŋ = gæ ɕî = lɑ qʰə̌-mí = pʰɯ̌
sit = INF horse = GEN sadle = also OUT-NEG = take.off

‘Then they said, “Tonight the three of us will die here,” and then when they made their way to the yak herders’ shack on our meadow, they could not make it, so the horse and the people (father and daughter) stayed down there in a conifer grove; the horse’s saddle had not even been taken off.’

(26) dəbǔ# tə́ = gə́ = bù# nɛ̀-sə̀ qɛ́j = ɖàw tɕə̀# ɦà# dəbǔ# ʈǐ = qʰù# nɛ̀-dzɛ́j#

dəbǔ tə́ = gə = bu nɛ̌-sə̌ qɛj ɖɑw tɕə̌ ɦɑ dəbǔ ʈǐ = qʰu nɛ̌-dzɛ̀j
then this = DEF = TOP DOWN-die PROS say LINK then mule = on DOWN-ride

ɦà# ɛ̀ = ɻæ̌# tsʰí-tɛ́j# ə́-qʰù# ɛ̀-tà pɯ́ tɕʰôŋ.#

ɦɑ ɛ́ = ɻæ tsʰí-tɛ́j ə̂-qʰu ɛ̌-tǎ pɯ́ tɕʰôŋ.
LINK 1 = PL:GEN meadow-big that-top IN-arrive do come:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then this one (the one who came later) said that (they) were about to die, so he rode a mule and came to arrive at our meadow up there.’

(27) dàbǔ,# “wû# wû,” tɕà# è-tɕʰóŋ# dəbǔ# é=ɻə̀=là, # “wú,” tɕà
dəbǔ, “wû wû,” tɕǎ ě-tɕʰôŋ dəbǔ é=ɻə=lɑ, “wú,” tɕǎ
then INTJ INTJ say IN-come:PFV:N.EGO then 1=PL=also INTJ say

kʰì=là# dèɻɛ̌j# tóŋ ʑíŋ# mà=ɖáw.#
kʰi=lɑ dɐɻɛ̌j tóŋ ʑǐŋ mǎ=ɖɑw
time=also speech utter can NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

‘Then he came calling out “Wu, wu!” and we also called out “Wu!”, but he could not speak.’

(28) dəbǔ# “wû# wû” tɕà=sèŋ kʰì=bù, # ʑèmí=bù# èmá=bù# dəbǔ#
dəbǔ “wû wû” tɕǎ=seŋ kʰi=bu, ʑɐmî=bu ɐmâ=bu dəbǔ
then INTJ INTJ say=PFV:EGO time=TOP tonight=TOP aunt=TOP then

nè-ɖû,# tsú dzə̂# bǎ ((ɕì=sèŋ)),#
nĕ-ɖû, tsú dzə̂ bǎ ((ɕí=seŋ)),
DOWN-frightened ghost be SPEC think=PFV:EGO

ʑèmí# m̥ə̂# dèɻɛ̌j tóŋ# mà=ɖáw((=mə́))=gǽ# nə́# “wû# wû”
ʑɐmî m̥ə̂ dɐɻɛ̌j tóŋ mǎ=ɖɑw=gæ nə́ “wû wû”
tonight person speech speak NEG=IPFV:N.EGO=GEN thus INTJ INTJ

tɕà=ɖàw# ɦà# èmá# dəbǔ# hwǎ=wù# è-pʰíŋ=sèŋ.
tɕǎ=ɖɑw ɦɑ ɐmâ dəbǔ hwǎ=wu ě-pʰìŋ=seŋ.
say=IPFV:N.EGO LINK aunt then shack=in IN-flee=PFV:EGO

‘Then when we also said “Wu, wu!” ..... That night aunt was frightened; “It’s maybe a ghost” (I thought), “this person who does not speak tonight, but called out ‘Wu!’” so aunt fled into the shack.’

(29) èmá# nǽŋdʑúmà# ə̀-pú# nè-dzôŋ, # gòŋnʲæ̀-m̥əgíŋ=tì# ə́-pù#
ɐmá nǽŋdʑumɑ ə̌-pu nĕ-dzóŋ, goŋnʲæ̌-m̥əgíŋ=ti ə̂-pu
aunt Naedzuma this-under DOWN-sit Nuòsū-old.man=INDF that-under

nè-dzóŋ=sí.
nĕ-dzóŋ=si.
DOWN-sit=INF

‘Aunt Naedzuma sat over here, the old Nuòsū man sat over there.’

(30) dəbǔ# ɛ̀má# nǽŋdʑúmà# ɛ̀=bí,# “míŋ dzà,” tɕàw# ɦà,#

dəbǔ ɐmâ nǽŋdʑumɑ ɛ́=bi, “mîŋ dzâ,” tɕɑw ɦɑ,
then aunt Naedzuma 1SG=DAT what be say:IPFV:N.EGO LINK

“míŋ dzà# tɕʰémì,# m̥á(=gà)# ɛ́=dzà=bù# dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j tóŋ=qɛ̂j,#

“mîŋ dzâ tɕʰêmi, m̥â=(gə) ɛ̂=dzâ=bu dɐɻɛ̌j tóŋ=qɛj,
what be not.sure person=(DEF) Q=be=TOP speech utter=EXPT

ʑɛ̀mí=bù# tsú dzǽ# bǎ,# ɛ́# kɛ̀=ʈá” tɕà# ɦà#

ʑɐmî=bu tsú dzâ bǎ, “ɛ́ kɛ̌=ʈɑ” tɕǎ ɦɑ
tonight=TOP ghost be SPEC 1SG afraid=SVM say LINK

ɛ̀-pʰíŋ=sèŋ.#

ɛ̌-pʰìŋ=seŋ.”

IN-flee=PFV:EGO

‘Then aunt Naedzuma asked me, “What is it?”; (I said), “What it is (I) don’t know, if it were a person, he would be able to speak; tonight it is maybe a ghost; (I) said ‘I am afraid’ and fled in here.” ’

(31) tɛ̀ʈʰì=bú# tə́# m̥ə́=gà# tə́-tɕʰóŋ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,#

tɐʈʰǐ=bu tə́ m̥â=gə tə́-tɕʰôŋ kʰi=bu dəbǔ,
after.a.while=TOP this person=DEF UP-come:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP then

qǽŋ-mǽŋ# kízú=nòŋ# dəbǔ# gòŋnʲǽ-m̥ə́tɕʰóŋlì=tì=bù,# dəbǔ,#

qǎ-mǽŋ kízu=noŋ dəbǔ goŋnʲǎ-m̥ətɕʰóŋli=ti=bu, dəbǔ,
down-below T:sKal.bzang=COORD then Nuòsū-boy=INDF=TOP then

“nǐŋ# míŋ tʰɛ̀-ɖòŋ,” tɕà kʰì=là# mə́=ɻǽ# dəbǔ# dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j

“nǐŋ mîŋ tʰɛ̌-ɖòŋ,” tɕǎ kʰi=lɑ mâ=ɻæ dəbǔ dɐɻɛ̌j
2SG what FR.SP-become say time=also person=PL:GEN then speech

tóŋ# mà=ʑǐŋ,# tə́# mì né-dʉ̀# ɦà.#

tóŋ mǎ=ʑǐŋ, tə́ mǐ nɛ̌-dʉ̌ ɦɑ.
speak NEG=can 3SG edible.fungus DOWN-be.poisoned LINK

‘After a while, when this person came up, and Kizu from downstairs and the one Nuòsū boy asked him, “What’s up with you?” he was not able to speak: he got mushroom poisoning.’

(32) dəbǔ-nə́# ɛ̀-tɕʰóŋ# ɦà# mə́=ɻæ̀# ə́-pà#

dəbǔ-nə ɛ̌-tɕʰôŋ ɦɑ mə̂=ɻæ ə̂-pɑ

then-near IN-come:PFV:N.EGO LINK person=PL:GEN that-under:GEN

lúlú-m̥əgìŋ# nɛ̀-dzóŋ=mə́=tù tʰɛ̀-tsèŋ pà.#

lúlu m̥əgíŋ nɛ̌-dzóŋ-mə=tû tʰɛ̌-tséŋ pâ.

Lolo old.man DOWN-sit-NMLZ=on FR.SP-fall.down do:PFV:N.EGO

'Then (he) came in; (he) fell down on top of the old Lolo man who was sitting there.'

(33) dəbǔ# dɛ̀ɻɛ̌j# tóŋ# mà=ʐǐŋ# ə́-dʐæ̀# nɛ̀jtʰóŋ=bì# dəbǔ#

dəbǔ dɛɻɛ̌j tóŋ mǎ=ʐǐŋ ə̂-dʐæ nɛjtʰôŋ=bi dəbǔ

then speech speak NEG=can that-location:GEN Ch:milk.pail=DAT then

nə́ pɯ́# ʐǎ# ɛ̀-tʲǎw,# dəbǔ# ə́-dʐæ̀# ʈʂú-ɻǽŋ kì qʰù

nə́ pɯ́ ʐǎ ɛ̌-tʲǎw, dəbǔ ə̂-dʐæ ʈʂúɻæŋ kǐ qʰǔ

thus do hand IN-point then that-location:GEN buttermilk give.drink POL

tɕə̀.#

tɕə̌.

say

'He could not speak, but he pointed his hand like this at the milk pail over there and requested to give him some of that buttermilk over there to drink.'

(34) dəbǔ# ʈʂúɻǽŋ# tə̀=ɻǒŋnì# jìpǔ=wù# tʰɛ̀-kwì kʰí=nóŋ,#

dəbǔ ʈʂúɻæŋ tə́=ɻoŋni jipǔ=wu tʰɛ̌-kwǐ kʰi=noŋ,

then buttermilk 3=PL:AGT ladle=in FR.SP-give.drink:PFV:N.EGO time=only

nǒŋnòŋ# tə́-pʰɛ́ pà kʰì=nòŋ# nǒŋnòŋ#

nǒŋnòŋ tə́-pʰɛ̌ pâ kʰi=noŋ nǒŋnòŋ

and.only.then UP-vomit do:PFV:N.EGO time=only and.only.then

dɛ̀ɻɛ̀j=tí# qʰə̀-tóŋ.#

dɛɻɛ̌j=ti qʰə̌-tóŋ.

speech=INDF OUT-speak

'Then, only after they gave him buttermilk in a ladle to drink he vomited, and only then (he) spoke a little bit.'

(35) “hèjǔ,# é# ʐèmí = bù# mì né-dʉ̀,# kʰù-pú#

“hɐjǔ, é ʐɐmî = bu mǐ nĕ-dʉ̆, kʰŭ-pu
INTJ 1SG tonight = TOP edible.fungus DOWN-be.poisoned out-under

swǽŋ = nòŋ# m̥ə́ = tì# jǎw# è-ʐə́# mí = tʰôŋ,#
swæ̂ŋ = noŋ m̥ə̂ = ti jǎw ĕ-ʐə̆ mí = tʰŏŋ,
father = COORD daughter = INDF again IN-come NEG:PFV = can:N.EGO

nìŋ = ɻóŋní# ʈʂúɻǽŋ = tì# qʰə̀-ʐá tə̀ pìŋ,” tɕàw.#
nĭŋ = ɻoŋni ʈʂúɻæŋ = ti qʰə̆-ʐă tĭ pîŋ,” tɕɑw.
2 = PL:AGT buttermilk = INDF OUT-carry one do:IMP:PL say:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “Oh, tonight (I) was poisoned by a mushroom, lower down the valley there are also a father and daughter who are not able to come westwards, could you bring them a little buttermilk?” he said.’

(36) dəbǔ# ɛ̀má = là ʐə̀ qʰù tɕàw,# ɛ̀má = là# ɕə́ = sêŋ.#

dəbŭ ɛmâ = lɑ ʐə̆ qʰŭ tɕɑw, ɛmâ = lɑ ɕə́ = seŋ
then aunt = also go POL say:IPFV:N.EGO aunt = also go = PFV:EGO

‘Then (they) invited aunt (= I) to come too, so aunt (= I) went too.’

(37) dəbǔ# é# jǎw# tə́ = ɻə́# jèhǎ# mĕ# té-qǽŋ# té-qǽŋ#

dəbŭ é jǎw tə́ = ɻə jɐhă mĕ tĭ-qæ̂ŋ tĭ-qæ̂ŋ
then 1SG again this = PL all fire one-CLF:handful one-CLF:handful

((də̀-ʐá kɛ̀j)), # nə́-qǽŋ# də̀-ʐá kɛ̀j.#

((də̆-ʐà kɛ́j)), nə̆-qæ̂ŋ də̆-ʐà kɛ́j.
TO.SP-carry let two-CLF:handful TO.SP-carry let

‘I had them all carry one or two handfuls of fire (torches?).’

(38) è-bʉ̀-sĕŋ# ŋwé-tsə̀# kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = séŋ.#

é-bʉ-seŋ ŋwê-tsə̂ kʰə̆-ɕə́ = seŋ
1-household-PART five-CLF:people OUT-go = PFV:EGO

‘Of our household five people went.’

(39) ɛ̀má = bù# dəbǔ,# ə́-qʰù# gʉ́# tʰè-tɕʰə̀ = mə́ = gǽ#

ɛmâ = bu dəbŭ, ə̂-qʰu gʉ́ tʰĕ-tɕʰə̆ = mə = gæ
aunt = TOP then that-on shingle FR.SP-take = NMLZ = GEN

gʉ́ʐǽlì# nə́# tè-ɕú# də̀-ʐâ.#

gʉ́ʐæli nə́ tĭ-ɕú də̆-ʐà.
shingle-small.wood.chips thus one-CLF:armful TO.SP-carry

‘Aunt carried an armful of small chips from the left-over shingles like this.’

(40) dəbǔ# ɛ̀-bʉ̀-sěŋ# kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kʰí=bú# té-n̥òŋ=gə̀# tə́#
dəbǔ é-bʉ-seŋ kʰə̌-ɕə́ kʰi=bu tǐ-n̥ôŋ=gə tə́
then 1- household-PART OUT-go time=TOP one-CLF:night=DEF this

m̥ə́=gə̀# nɛ̀-qwɛ́ɻɛ́j# nɛ̀-qwɛ́ɻɛ́j=là# "áw," tɕə̀# mà=ɖáw.#
m̥ə̂=gə nɛ̌-qwɛ́ɻɛj nɛ̌-qwɛ́ɻɛj=la "áw," tɕə̌ mǎ=ɖaw.
person=DEF DOWN-shout DOWN-shout=also INTJ say NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'Then when several of our household went, and spent a long time calling and calling this person, he did not even answer "Here!" '

(41) dəbǔ# ə́-dʑì# kʰə̀-ɕə̀ kʰí=bú# dəbǔ# ɛ̀=ní# qæ̀ŋ-mǽŋ#
dəbǔ ə̂-dʑi kʰə̌-ɕə́ kʰi=bu dəbǔ ɛ́=ni qǎ-mæ̀ŋ
then that-location OUT-go time=TOP then 1=AGT down-below

kízú# dəbǔ,# "ɛ̀má=nòŋ# ìŋ=dzǽŋ=bù# kɛ̀=ʈá,# tə́# m̥ə́#
kízu dəbǔ,"ɐmâ=noŋ ǐŋ=dzæŋ=bu kɛ̌=ʈa, tə́ m̥ə̂
T:sKal.bzang then aunt=COORD 1.INCL=DU=TOP afraid=SVM this person

nɛ̀-sə̌# bǎ,# ìŋ=dzǽŋ=bù# ʑɛ́gì# dádà pʉ̀# ɕə́=gî,#
nɐ-sə̌ bǎ, ǐŋ=dzæŋ=bu ʑɛ̂gi dâda pʉ́ ɕə́=gi
DOWN-die SPEC 1:INCL=DU=TOP later slowly do go=VOL:INCL

nɛ̀-sə̀=sí tɕə̀=ɖàw sə̀tɕæ̀# ə́-dʑì# ɕə́# mà=gí,#
nɛ̌-sə̌=si tɕə̌=ɖaw sətɕæ ə̂-dʑi ɕə́ mǎ=gi,
DOWN- die=INF say=IPFV:N.EGO if that-location go NEG=VOL:INCL

kɛ̀=ʈá,# ɛ̀-gì=gí," tɕə̀=sèŋ.#
kɛ̌=ʈa, ɛ̌-gǐ=gi," tɕə̌=seŋ.
afraid=SVM IN-turn.around=VOL.INCL say=PFV:EGO

'When we were walking eastwards, I said to Kizu from downstairs, "Aunt (=I) the two of us are afraid and this man has maybe died. Let the two of us go slowly behind (the others). If it is said that he has died, let's not go there, it's frightening, let's turn around." '

(42) kʰì=bù# dəbǔ# tə́# kʰù-pú=nòŋ,# "m̂ŋ,# m̂ŋ," tɕàw,#
kʰi=bu dəbǔ tə́ kʰǔ-pu=noŋ, "m̂ŋ, m̂ŋ," tɕaw,
time=TOP then 3SG out-under=COORD INTJ INTJ say:IPFV:N.EGO

ɻ̥ʉ́# nɛ̀-dzə̀dzə̀ ʂə́ ɦà.#
ɻ̥ʉ̂ nɛ̌-dzədzə̌ ʂə̂ ɦa.
teeth DOWN-be.tightly.closed go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'Then he called "Hng, hng!" from below, his teeth were tightly closed.'

(43) dəbǔ,# “m̌ŋ,# m̌ŋ,” tɕàw,# “âw,# m̂ŋ,# m̂ŋ, tɕà tìŋ,# kʰə̀-ɕà=gì,”
dəbǔ, “m̌ŋ, m̌ŋ,” tɕɑw, “âw, m̂ŋ, m̂ŋ, tɕǎ tiŋ, kʰǎ-ɕá=gi,”
then INTJ INTJ say:IPFV:N.EGO INTJ INTJ INTJ say AUD OUT-go=VOL:INCL

tɕá# ɦà# kʰə̀-ɕǎ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ,# “è-ɕà=gí,” tɕà kʰì=bù,#
tɕǎ ɦɑ kʰǎ-ɕá kʰi=bu dəbǔ, “ě-ɕá=gi,” tɕǎ kʰi=bu,
say LINK OUT-go time=TOP then IN-go=VOL:INCL say time=TOP

má=ɻà=bù# tə́-pʰɛ́# tə́-pʰɛ́ pʉ̀ ʂà.#
mâ=ɻə=bu tə́-pʰɛ̌ tə́-pʰɛ̌ pʉ́ ʂâ.
person=PL=TOP UP-vomit UP-vomit do go:PFV:N.EGO

‘(He could only) say, “Hng, hng!” (I) said, “Oh, (I) hear (someone) saying ‘Hng, hng!’, let’s go down the valley,” and when we went down the valley, (when I said to him), “Let’s go up the valley,” the people were vomiting heavily.’

(44) “hɛ̀jù,”# è-ʐá tɕǽ mà=qɛ̀j ɖàw,” tɕàw;# dəbǔ#
“hɛjǔ,” ě-ʐǎ tɕǎ̋ mǎ=qɛj=ɖɑw,” tɕɑw; dəbǔ
INTJ IN-come be.able:EGO:1 NEG=EXPT=IFPV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO then

ə́-dʐæ̀# gòŋnʲæ̀-bá# m̥ètɕʰóŋlí=gòŋnì,# “gwěŋ=tù# è-tɕʰìtɕʰǽ#
ə̂-dʐæ goŋnʲǎ-bɑ m̥ətɕʰóŋli=goŋni, “gwěŋ=tû ě-tɕʰitɕʰǽ
that-location:GEN Nuòsū-household boy=AGT horse=on IN-bind:CNT

è-ʐá=ɕìŋ,# nǐŋ# è-ʐá tà,# kě# mà=qʰû,# bàbʉ́# (kǔ#
ě-ʐà=ɕiŋ, nǐŋ ě-ʐǎ tâ, kě mǎ=qʰǔ, bɑbʉ́ (kù
IN-carry=VOL:PL 2SG IN-come can afraid NEG=need things carry.on.back

mà=tsʰá# é=ɻà...)# ʐǎ# mà=tsʰá=má# é=ɻà#
mǎ=tsʰá é=ɻə...) ʐà mǎ=tsʰá=mə é=ɻə
NEG=be.finished 1=PL carry NEG=be.finished=NMLZ 1=PL

nè-kú=ɕìŋ,” tɕà kʰì=là,# “éjàw,# tʰàʐæ̂# ə̀-pú#
ně-kù=ɕiŋ,” tɕǎ kʰi=lɑ, “êjɑw, tʰəʐæ̂ ə̌-pu
DOWN-carry.on.back=VOL:PL say time=also INTJ thank.you this-under

dzóŋ ɕîŋ,# nìŋ=ɻǽ# hwǎ=wù# ní=ɻà# pʰɛ̀=qɛ̂j,#
dzóŋ=ɕiŋ, nǐŋ=ɻæ hwǎ=wu nî=ɻə pʰɛ̌=qɛj,
sit=VOL:PL 2=PL:GEN shack=in LOG=PL vomit=EXPT

ʐà ɻə́ɕì# mà=qɛ́j,” tɕâw.#
ʐǎ ɻə́ɕǐ mǎ=qɛj,” tɕɑw.
come can NEG=EXPT say:IPFV:N.EGO

‘ “Oh, we won’t be able to come up the valley.” Then when that young Nuòsū boy said, “We will tie you on the horse and carry you, just come up the valley,

don’t be afraid, the things that (the horse) [can’t carry on the back...] can’t bring, we will carry on our backs,” he said, “Oh, thank you! We will stay here. We are afraid that we will throw up in your shack, we cannot come.” ’

(45) dəbǔ# m̥ə̀ɖæ̀lí# tə́# ɛ̀sǽlʲú=gə̀=bù# dəbǔ,# “ə́jú,# (tə́# mə́...)#
dəbǔ m̥əɖælí tə́ ɛsǽlʲu=gə=bu dəbǔ, “ə́ju, (tə́ mə̂...)
then girl this tiny=DEF=TOP then INTJ this person

ʈʰóŋmə́=là# tɛ̀-hɛ̌j# ʑí,# míŋ dzə̀,” tɕə̀# ɦà# ɛ́=ɻə̀=bì#
ʈʰóŋmə=la tɨ̌-hɛ̌j ʑǐ, mîŋ dzə̂,” tɕə̌ ɦa ɛ́=ɻə=bi
Pumi=also one-CLF:group EXIST.AN what be say LINK 1=PL=DAT

də-l̥ɛ̌# ɦà,# ɛ̀mə́# nǽŋ=tì# nɛ̀-gú kʰì=bù;#
də̌-l̥ɛ̌ ɦa, ɛmə̂ nǽŋ=ti nɛ̌-gù kʰi=bu;
TO.SP-gaze LINK aunt skirt=INDF DOWN-wear time=TOP

“ɛ̀mə́# tʲɛ̌j# ʈʰóŋmə́ dzə̀,# nǽŋ nɛ̀-gù=mə̀=bù# ìŋ=ɻə́#
ɛmə́ tʲɛ̌j ʈʰóŋmə dzə̂, nǽŋ nɛ̌-gù-mə=bu ǐŋ=ɻə
aunt INTJ Pǔmǐ be:N.EGO skirt DOWN-wear-NMLZ=TOP 1:INCL=PL

jɛ̀hǎ# ʈʰóŋmə́# l̥ʲǽɖú# tà dzə́,# nǐŋ# tə́# ʈʂúɻǽŋ# kʰə̀-tʰʲóŋ,”
jɛhǎ ʈʰóŋmə l̥ʲǽɖu ta dzə̂ nǐŋ tə́ ʈʂúɻæŋ kʰə̌-tʰʲòŋ,”
all Pǔmǐ friend only be:N.EGO 2SG this buttermilk OUT-drink:IMP:SG

tɕə̀ kʰì=là# ʈʰɛ́# nə́ pɯ́# tɛ̀-ɕú pɯ́# də̀-ʐâ,#
tɕə̌ kʰi=la ʈʰɛ́ nə́ pɯ́ tɨ̌-ɕú pɯ́ də̌-ʐà,
say time=also all.the.time thus do one-CLF:armful do TO.SP-carry

qùbɯ̌# də̀-ʐá# tʰǐŋ# mà=ɖáw.#
qubɯ̌ də̌-ʐà tʰìŋ mǎ=ɖaw.
bottle TO.SP-carry drink NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

‘Then this tiny little girl said, “Oh, there is another group Pumi, what’s up?” and she looked at us; aunt was wearing a skirt, so when (I) said, “Aunt is indeed Pumi, all the ones among us that are wearing skirts are only Pumi friends. Drink this buttermilk,” she held the bottle like this in her arm all the time and did not drink.’

(46) dəbǔ,# “kʰə̀-tʰʲóŋ,” tɕə̀ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ# kʰə̀-tʰíŋ kʰì=bù# dəbǔ#
dəbǔ, “kʰə̌-tʰʲòŋ,” tɕə̌ kʰi=bu dəbǔ kʰə̌-tʰìŋ kʰi=bu dəbǔ
then OUT-drink:IMP:SG say time=TOP then OUT-drink time=TOP then

m̥ə̀ɖæ̀lí# ɛ̀lʲæ̌tì# tʰɛ̀-ɖóŋ pà.#
m̥əɖælí ɐlʲæ̌tì tʰɛ̌-ɖòŋ pâ.
girl a.little FR.SP-be.okay do:PFV:N.EGO

‘When (I) said, “Drink,” and after she drank, the little girl was a little bit better.’

(47) dəbǔ# ə́-pù# gʉ̀tálʉ́=nòŋ# tə́=ɻə́# jɛ̀hǎ# nɛ̀-l̥íŋ# qà-pú
dəbǔ ə̂-pu gʉtálʉ=noŋ tə́=ɻə jɐhǎ nɛ̌-l̥îŋ qǎ-pu
then that-under rock=COORD this=PL all DOWN-roll down-under

kʰə̀-tì,# qæ̀ŋ-mǽŋ# kízú=nòŋ=bù# tə́# gòŋnʲæ̀-tɕíŋ=ɻòŋnì.#
kʰə̌-tǐ, qǎ-mæ̀ŋ kízu=noŋ=bu tə́ goŋnʲæ̌-tɕǐŋ=ɻoŋni.
OUT-put down-below T:sKal.bzang=COORD=TOP this Nuòsū-child=PL:AGT

‘Kizu from downstairs and the Nuòsū children put that rock and all these things under there.’

(48) dəbǔ# ə́-pù# dəbǔ# ʐə̀-tóŋ# tʰɛ̀-dzû# kʰə̀-ʐə̀ kwɛ̂j
dəbǔ ə̂-pu dəbǔ ʐə̌-toŋ tʰɛ̌-dzù kʰə̌-ʐə̌ kwɛ́j
then that-under then sleep-NMLZ FR.SP-make OUT-sleep let:PFV:N.EGO

kʰì=bù,# dəbǔ# ɛ́=ɻə̀=bì# “tʰəʐæ̂,# nìŋ=ɻə́# ʐɛ̀mí=bù# ní=ɻə̀#
kʰi=bu, dəbǔ ɛ́=ɻə=bi “tʰəʐæ̂, nǐŋ=ɻə ʐɐmî=bu nî=ɻə
time=TOP then 1=PL=DAT thank.you 2=PL tonight=TOP LOG=PL

tɛ̀nə̀=bú# ə́-pù# nɛ̀-sə̀ qɛ́j ɖáw,” tɕàw,# dəbǔ....#
tɐnə̌=bu ə̂-pu nɛ̌-sə̌ qɛj ɖɑw,” tɕɑw, dəbǔ....
otherwise=TOP that-under DOWN-die PROS say:IPFV:N.EGO then

‘(They) made a sleeping place and let (them) sleep there. Then (they) said to us, “Thank you! If not for you, we would have died here tonight.” ’

(49) mě = bù# ɕé# ʐǔ# tè-qwá# nè-ʈʰêj,#
mě = bu ɕê ʐǔ tǐ-qwá ně-ʈʰêj,
fire = TOP big very one-CLF:pile DOWN-light.a.fire

sèjíŋmú = nòŋ# jíŋmú = nòŋ# tə́ = ɻə́# jèhǎ#
sěŋ-jíŋmu = noŋ jíŋmu = noŋ tə́ = ɻə jɐhǎ
firewood-tree.trunk = COORD tree.trunk = COORD this = PL all

də̀-kàwtá# è-ɻî.#
də̌-kɑwtá ě-ɻì.
TO.SP-collect IN-burn

'(We) lighted a huge pile and collected firewood, tree trunks etcetera and burned them all.'

(50) dəbǔ# è-ʈʰêj,# dəbǔ# è-bʉ̀-séŋ# è-ɕə̀ = séŋ kʰì = bù;#
dəbǔ ɛ̌-ʈʰêj, dəbǔ é-bʉ-seŋ ě-ɕə́ = seŋ kʰi = bu;
then IN-light.a.fire then 1-household-PART IN-go = PFV:EGO time = TOP

tɕíŋmíŋ# dəbǔ# è-tà = mə́ = góŋnì = bù# pʰè pʉ̂,# ə́-dʑì#
tɕíŋmiŋ dəbǔ ě-tǎ = mə = goŋni = bu pʰě pʉ́, ə̂-dʑi
home then IN-arrive = NMLZ = AGT = TOP vomit do that-location

nè-dzóŋ# mà = tʰǒŋ# qòŋɻə̀# pʰě# pʰě.#
ně-dzóŋ mǎ = tʰǒŋ qoŋɻə̌ pʰě pʰě.
DOWN-sit NEG = can:N.EGO outside vomit vomit

'Then (we) lighted a fire, and then several went back. The one who had arrived at home was vomiting, he could not sit down there, but was vomiting outside.'

(51) pʰè pɯ́=ɖàw,# dəbǔ# tə́# gòŋnʲàˑ-tɕíŋ=gòŋnì=bù,# “ɛ̀mə́=ɻə̀#
pʰě pɯ́=ɖɑw, dəbǔ tə́ goŋnʲǎˑ-tɕǐŋ=goŋni=bu, “ɐmâ=ɻə
vomit do=IPFV:N.EGO then this Nuòsū-child=AGT=TOP aunt=PL

nìŋ=ɻə́# ʐə̀ tɕʰóŋ# mà=qɛ́j,# ní=gòŋ# qà-dʐǽ#
nǐŋ=ɻə ʐə̌ tɕʰôŋ mǎ=qɛj, nî=goŋ qǎ-dʐæ
2=PL sleep come:PFV:N.EGO NEG=EXPT LOG=AGT down-location:GEN

hwǎ=wù tʰè-hʲɛ̀j ɕə̀=ʂù,# qà-dʐǽ# hwǎ=wù
hwǎ=wu tʰě-hʲɛ́j ɕə́=ʂu, qǎ-dʐæ hwǎ=wu
shack=in TO.SP-take.along go=VOL:SG down-location:GEN shack=in

tʰè-hʲɛ̀j ʂɛ̀j.#
tʰě-hʲɛ́j ʂɛ̂j.
FR.SP-take.along go:PFV:N.EGO

‘Then the Nuòsū boy said, “Aunties, you will not be able to sleep, I will take him to the lower shack.” So he went taking (him) along to the lower shack.’

(52) qà-dʐǽ# hwǎ=wù# tʰè-hʲɛ́j ʂɛ́j kʰì=bù,#
qǎ-dʐæ hwǎ=wu tʰě-hʲɛ́j ʂɛ̂j kʰi=bu,
down-location:GEN shack=in FR.SP-take.along go:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP

dəbǔ# tə́-tɕʰóŋ kʰì=bù# ə́-kʰì=bù# (ɛ́=ɻə̀...)# ɻə́=bù#
dəbǔ tə́-tɕʰôŋ kʰi=bu ə̂-kʰi=bu (ɛ́=ɻə...) ɻə̂=bu
then UP-come:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP that-time=TOP 1=PL front=TOP

ɛ́=ɻə̀# ɻ̊ǽ=là# mí=ɻ̊ɛ́ɻ̊æŋ,# nè-ɖû,#
ɛ́=ɻə ɻ̊ǎ̈=lɑ mí=ɻ̊ɛ̂ɻ̊æŋ, nɛ̌-ɖû,
1=PL laugh=also NEG:PFV=laugh:COLL DOWN-be.frightened

mə́=ɻæ̀# m̥ə́# nè-sə̀ qɛ́j ɖáw tɕə̀,# ɦǎw-kʰì=bù#
mâ=ɻæ m̥â nɛ̌-sə̌ qɛj ɖɑw tɕə̌, ɦǎw-kʰi=bu
person=PL:GEN person DOWN-die PROS say that-time=TOP

dəbǔ# ɻ̊ɛ́ɻ̊æŋ=sèŋ,# əjôŋ,# nə́ tʰè-ɖòŋ mì
dəbǔ ɻ̊ɛ̂ɻ̊æŋ=seŋ, əjoŋ, nə́ tʰě-ɖòŋ mǐ
then laugh:COLL=PFV:EGO INTJ thus FR.SP-become edible.fungus

nè-dɯ̀=sì tɕə̀.#
nɛ̌-dɯ̌=si tɕə̌.
DOWN-be.poisoned=INF say

‘After (he) (=the Nuòsū boy) went to put (him) in the lower shack and had come up again, we... before we had not laughed, we were frightened, “That man is about to die,” but this time we laughed, “Oh, he was poisoned by a mushroom and became like this!” ’

(53) dəbǔ,# “tə́# m̥ə̀ɖə̀lí=gə́=bù# tʲæ̀=sə̀ qʰû,#
dəbǔ, “tə́ m̥əɖælí=gə=bu tʲæ-sə̌ qʰǔ, (...)”
then this girl=DEF=TOP PROH-die need

m̥ə̀gíŋ=dzǽŋ=ɖɛ̀# dəbǔ# dʑwǎ,” tɕə̀=sèŋ# ɛ̀-bʉ̀-sèŋ=bú.#
m̥əgíŋ=dzæŋ=ɖɐ dəbǔ dʑwǎ,” tɕə̌=seŋ ɛ́-bʉ-seŋ=bu.
old.man=DU=DIS then let.it.be say=PFV:EGO 1-household-PART=TOP

‘Several of our household said, “(We) hope this little girl will not die, but these wacky old men, let it be.” ’

(54) m̥ə̀ɖə̀lí=bù# dəbú-nə́# nùséŋ=bù# ɛ́=ɻə̀# sèŋtɕʰǐ# qʰə̀-dzə́# ɦà#
m̥əɖælí=bu dəbǔ-nə nusêŋ=bu ɛ́=ɻə seŋtɕʰǐ qʰə̌-dzə́ ɦa
girl=TOP then-near morning=TOP 1=PL breakfast OUT-eat LINK

mì qʰá ɕə́=ɕìŋ tɕə̀ kʰì=bù,# ɛ̀-tɕʰôŋ,# “ɛ́jàw,#
mǐ qʰà ɕə́=ɕiŋ tɕə̌ kʰi=bu, ɛ̌-tɕʰôŋ, “ê̞jaw,
edible.fungus pick go=VOL:PL say time=TOP IN-come:PFV:N.EGO INTJ

ɛ̀má=ɻə̀# ɛ́=ɻə̀=bì# jǎw# ʈʂúɻǽŋ=tì# kʰìŋ qʰû,#
ɐmâ=ɻə ɛ́=ɻə=bi jǎw ʈʂúɻæŋ=ti kʰǐŋ qʰǔ,
aunt=PL 1=PL=DAT again buttermilk=INDF give.drink POL

ɛ̀-bá# ɛ́pòŋ=nʲæ̀# tʰɛ̀-ɖóŋ# mà=ɖáw,” tɕâw.
ɛ́-ba ê̞poŋ=nʲæ tʰɛ̌-ɖòŋ mǎ=ɖaw,” tɕaw.
1- household:GEN father=AGT FR.SP-be.okay NEG=IPFV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO

‘In the morning as we had eaten breakfast and were preparing to go and pick mushrooms, the little girl came. She said, “Oh, aunties, please give us some buttermilk again. My dad is still not well.” ’

(55) dəbǔ# ʈʂúɻǽŋ# kʰìŋ=gí,# nǐŋ# ɛ̀=ɻæ̌ wù#
dəbǔ ʈʂúɻæŋ kʰǐŋ=gi, nǐŋ ɛ́=ɻæ wu
then buttermilk give.drink=VOL:INCL 2SG 1=PL:GEN interior

sèŋtɕʰì=tí# qʰə̀-dzáw,# bɛ́j=tì# qʰə̀-dzáw tɕə̀# qʰə̀-dzə́
seŋtɕʰǐ=ti qʰə̌-dzáw, bɛ̂j=ti qʰə̌-dzáw tɕə̌ qʰə̌-dzə́
breakfast=INDF OUT-eat:IMP:SG food=INDF OUT-eat:IMP:SG say OUT-eat

kɛ́j=sèŋ.#
kɛ́j=seŋ.
let:PFV:EGO

‘Saying, “Let’s give (you) buttermilk, but you eat some breakfast with us, eat some food!” we had (her) eat.’

(56) qʰə̀-dzə́ kɛ́j = sèŋ kʰì = bù,# dəbǔ-nə̂,# tə́# ʈʂúɻǽŋ = gə̀# tɕǐŋ#
qʰə̌-dzə́ kɛ́j = seŋ kʰi = bu, dəbǔ-nə, tə́ ʈʂúɻæŋ = gə tɕǐŋ
OUT-eat let = PFV:EGO time = TOP then-near this buttermilk = DEF child

dəbǔ# nè-dzóŋ,# nè-dzóŋ tə́ pʉ̀# qʰə̀-ʐwâ,# ɖə̀ɖǽŋ# tʰǒŋ#
dəbǔ nĕ-dzóŋ, nĕ-dzóŋ tĭ pʉ́ qʰə̌-ʐwà, ɖəɖǽŋ tʰǒŋ
then DOWN-sit DOWN-sit one do OUT-carry:PFV:N.EGO walk be.able:N.EGO

mà = ɖâw.#
mă = ɖɑw.
NEG = IPFV:N.EGO

'After we had made her eat, the child took this buttermilk back and sat down again and again, she couldn't walk.'

(57) dəbǔ# tə̀ = ɻǎ# tɕʰíŋtɕá dzə̀ tɕàw# ɦà#
dəbǔ tə́ = ɻæ tɕʰíŋtɕɑ dzâ tɕɑw ɦɑ
then 3 = PL:GEN Ch:Nuòsū.friend be:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO LINK

tʲóŋ = tì = gòŋ# dəbǔ# ɕì ʂɛ́j = sì,# kʰù-pá#
tʲôŋ = ti = goŋ dəbǔ ɕĭ ʂɛ̂j = si, kʰǔ-pɑ
one:CLF:thing = INDF = AGT then lead go:PFV:N.EGO = INF out-under:GEN

ní-bʉ̀# swǽŋ = nòŋ# m̥ə́ = nòŋ.#
nî-bʉ swǽŋ = noŋ m̥ə̂ = noŋ.
LOG-household father = COORD daugther = COORD

'It is said that it was their Nuòsū friends; one of them went to lead (them) [to the shack], that father and daughter from down the valley.'

(58) è-ɕə̌# dəbǔ# è-bʉ̀-sèŋ = lá# jǎw# nè-ɕə̌# ɦà# hwǎ = wù#
ĕ-ɕə́ dəbǔ ɛ́-bʉ-seŋ = lɑ jǎw nĕ-ɕə́ ɦɑ hwǎ = wu
IN-go then 1-household-PART = also again DOWN-go LINK shack = in

è-tú tə̀ pʉ̀ ɕə̀.#
ĕ-tû tĭ pʉ́ ɕə́.
IN-look one do go

'After having gone westwards, several of us also went downwards again to have a look in the shack.'

(59) “ɐlʲǎtì# tʰʲæ̀-ɖóŋ,” tɕə̀ kʰì = bù,# “éjû,# tʰə̀ʐæ̂,# pù = gǎ# ʈʰóŋmə́#

“ɐlʲǎtì tʰʲæ-ɖòŋ,” tɕə̌ kʰi = bu, “éju, tʰəʐæ̂, pû = gæ ʈʰóŋmə
a.little FR.SP:Q-be.okay say time = TOP INTJ thank.you self = GEN Pumi

jǎw# kə́-dʐì = nòŋ# nɛ̀-húhú = nòŋ# tégù tà

jǎw kî-dʐi = noŋ nɛ̌-húhu = noŋ têgu tǎ
again were-location = COORD DOWN-arrange = COORD together arrive

mə̀ dzə̀ qɛ̀j;# nìŋ = ɻə́# mà = é = dzə̀ = bù,# é# tsʰǔ# nɛ̀-sə̀,# tʰə̀ʐǽ

mə dzə qɛj; nǐŋ = ɻə mǎ = ê = dzâ = bu, é tsʰǔ nɛ̌-sə̌ tʰəʐǽ
EPIST 2 = PL NEG = Q = be = TOP 1SG almost DOWN-die thank.you

láwláw,” tɕə̀# ɦà# tɛ̀mǎ = là# nɛ̀-tsí = ɖàw.#

lɑwlɑw, tɕə̌ ɦɑ tɐmǎ = lɑ nɛ̌-tsì = ɖɑw.
very.much say LINK thumb = also DOWN-erect = IPFV:N.EGO

‘When we asked (the old man), “Are you a little bit better?”, he said, “Oh! Thank you! It will be our own Pumi arriving again, from where it was arranged I don’t know. If it wasn’t for you, I would have died. Thank you so much!” and even stuck up his thumb.’

(60) dəbǔ# m̥ə̀ɖæ̀lí = gə́ = bì = bù# dəbǔ# ɛ̀ = ní# pʰìŋkú = nóŋ# ɕɛ̀bóŋ = nóŋ#

dəbǔ m̥əɖælí = gə = bi = bu dəbǔ é = ni pʰiŋkú = noŋ ɕɐbóŋ = noŋ
then girl = DEF = DAT = TOP then 1 = AGT Ch:apple = COORD peach = COORD

ɕɛ̀ʈʂʰə́ʈʂɛ̀j tɕə̀# ɦà# dʲóŋ wèŋ mà,# nísɛ̂jsɛ́j = mə̀,# dəbǔ#

ɕɐʈʂʰə̂ʈʂɛj tɕə̌ ɦɑ dʲôŋ wêŋ mɑ, nísɛ̂jsɛ̂j = mə, dəbǔ
Chinese.plum say LINK EXIST.AT CUST.EXCL INFO very.red = NMLZ then

tɛ́j# ɦà# tə́ = gə́# də̀-ʐá# ɦà# m̥ə̀ɖæ̀lí = gə́ = bì,# “qʰə̀-dzâw,#

tɛ̂j ɦɑ tə́ = gə dɛ̌-ʐà ɦɑ m̥əɖælí = gə = bi, “qʰə̌-dzáw,
EXIST.H LINK this = DEF TO.SP-carry LINK girl = DEF = DAT OUT-eat:IMP:SG

tə́# qʰə̀-dzə́ kʰí = bù# tʰɛ̀-ɖóŋ wèŋ,” tɕə̀ = sèŋ.#

tə́ qʰə̌-dzə́ kʰi = bu tʰɛ̌-ɖòŋ wêŋ,” tɕə̌ = seŋ.
this out-eat time = TOP FR.SP-be.okay CUST.EXCL say = PFV:EGO

‘I gave the little girl some apples and peaches, and something called 'Chinese plum' that is grown (you know), a very red one that I had and had carried, and said to the girl, “Eat! When you eat this you will feel better.” ’

(61) “ɦâw,# ɛ̀má# tʰə̀ʐæ̂,” tɕə̀# qʰə̀-dzwâ.#

“ɦâw, ɐmá tʰəʐæ̂,” tɕə̌ qʰə̌-dzwâ.
INTJ aunt thank.you say OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO

‘ “O, aunt, thank you!” she said and ate it.’

(62) qʰə̀-dzwə́# dəbǔ# tə̀=gǎ# ʑégì kʰì=bù# dəbǔ#

qʰə̀-dzwə̂ dəbǔ tə́=gæ ʑêgi kʰi=bu dəbǔ

OUT-eat:PFV:N.EGO then this=GEN later time=TOP then

é-bʉ̀-séŋ# tə́-ɕə̀# dəbǔ# tí-dʑí# nɛ̀-dzə́dzòŋ tə̀ pʉ̀=sèŋ

é-bʉ-seŋ tə́-ɕə́ dəbǔ tí-dʑi nɛ̌-dzə̂dzoŋ tǐ pʉ́=seŋ

1-household-PART UP-go then up-location DOWN-sit:COLL one do=PFV:EGO

kʰì=bù,# ɦǎw-#tə́# m̥ə̀gíŋ# jǎw# ɻǽ#

kʰi=bu, ɦǎw-tə́ m̥əgíŋ jǎw ɻǽ

time=TOP that-this old.man again front:GEN

ɛ̀-ʑə́=mə́=gə̀=bì=bù# tú=mə̀ ɕì=là#

ɛ̌-ʑə̌=mə=gə=bi=bu tû=mə ɕǐ=lɑ

IN-come=NMLZ=DEF=DAT=TOP look=NMLZ EXIST.AB=also

mà=ɖáw,# mə́=ɻə̀# tɕʰíŋtɕá=là# mǎ=ʑì

mǎ=ɖɑw mə̂=ɻə tɕʰíŋtɕɑ=lɑ mǎ=ʑî

NEG=IPFV:N.EGO person=PL Ch:Nuòsū.friend=also NEG=EXIST.AN

mə̀ dzə̀=ɖàw.#

mə dzə=ɖɑw.

GNOMIC=IPFV:N.EGO

'After having eaten, when several of our household went up to sit together for a while up there, that old man came again, that one who came first and had no person to look after him, and even had no Nuòsū friend.'

(63) dəbǔ# tə́=gə́=bù# dəbǔ# ʑégì=bù# tìtí pʉ̀# tʰɛ̀-ɖə̀ɖǽŋ#

dəbǔ tə́=gə=bu dəbǔ ʑêgi=bu titi pʉ́ tʰɛ̌-ɖəɖǽŋ

then this=DEF=TOP then later=TOP slowly do FR.SP-walk

tə́-tɕʰôŋ.#

tə́-tɕʰôŋ.

UP-come:PFV:N.EGO

'After that this [old man] came up walking slowly.'

(64) ɛ́=ɻə̀=bì=bù# tù=lá# tɕə̌# mà=ɖáw.#

ɛ́=ɻə=bi=bu tǔ=lɑ tɕə̌ mǎ=ɖɑw.

1=PL=DAT=TOP anything=also say NEG=IPFV:N.EGO

'He did not say anything to us.'

(65) èmá# nǽŋdʑúmà = bì = bù# dəbǔ,# “ə́jù,# èmâ# é = bú# tɕíŋmíŋ#
ɐmâ nǽŋdʑumɑ = bi = bu dəbǔ, “ə̂ju, ɐmâ é = bu tɕíŋmiŋ
aunt Naedzuma = DAT = TOP then INTJ aunt 1 = TOP home

k^hwǐnæ̀ŋ# ʐǔ,# tə́# ɻwé = bù# ɻə̀nǽŋ = lá... # tə́-ɻə́næ̀ŋ = là# é = ɻə̀#
k^hwǐnæŋ ʐǔ, tə́ ɻwé = bu ɻənǽŋ = lɑ... tə́-ɻənǽŋ = lɑ é = ɻə
Ch:difficult very this yak = TOP smelly = also UP-smelly = also 1 = PL

dzə́ wêŋ,# é# tə́# ɻwé-mú = gə̀# t^hè-ɻèŋdí# q^hə̀-ʈʂ^{h}ə́# ɦà#
dzə́ wêŋ, é tə́ ɻwé-mǔ = gə t^hě-ɻeŋdí q^hə̌-ʈʂ^{h}ə̂ ɦɑ
eat CUST.EXCL 1SG this yak-corpse = DEF FR.SP-seek OUT-slaughter LINK

é# tə́# dʑə̀tɕ^{h}ǽ# q^hǎ# mà = ʂú# nè-ɕə̀ = ʂú tɕə́
é tə́ dʑətɕ^{h}ǽ q^hà mǎ = ʂu ně-ɕə́ = ʂu tɕə̌
1SG this Chinese.gentian pick NEG = VOL:SG DOWN-go = VOL:SG say

k^hì = bù,# é# mà = ɻǐ# tǎ# mì né-dʉ̀,”
k^hi = bu, é mǎ = ɻì tǎ mǐ né-dʉ̌,”
time = TOP 1SG NEG = find now edible.fungus DOWN-be.poisoned

tɕàw.#
tɕɑw.
say:IFPV:N.EGO

‘But he said to aunt Naedzuma, “Oh! Aunt, as for me, our family has a lot of difficulties. As for this yak, even though smelly... even though it has become smelly, we eat it. I sought the yak corpse to butcher it, saying that I did not want to go pick gentian, but I did not find it and now I got poisoned by a mushroom.” ’

(66) “tǎ = dì# é = dî,# ɖə̀ɖǽŋ = lá# t^hǒŋ# mà = qɛ́j ɖáw,”
“tǎ = di é = di, ɖəɖǽŋ = lɑ t^hǒŋ mǎ = qɛj = ɖɑw”
now = DISJ.TOP 1SG = DISJ.TOP walk = also can:N.EGO NEG = EXPT = IPFV:N.EGO

tɕàw.#
tɕɑw.
HSY

‘ “As for now, I won’t even be able to walk.” ’

(67) dəbǔ# ə́-wà# hwǎ=wù# dzóŋ kwêj,# ə́-m̩ì#

dəbǔ ə̂-wɑ hwǎ=wu dzóŋ kwéj, ə̂-m̩ǐ

then that-in:GEN shack=in sit let:PFV:N.EGO that-night

tɛ̀-m̩ì=gə́....#

tǐ-m̩ǐ=gə....

one-CLF:night=DEF

'Then (we) let him stay inside that shack, that one night...'

(68) dzóŋ kwéj# dəbǔ# tə́# gòŋnʲàɛ=ɻóŋní# dəbǔ# nə̀-m̩ǐ#

dzóŋ kwéj dəbǔ tə́ goŋnʲǎɛ=ɻoŋni dəbǔ nə̌-m̩ǐ

sit let:PFV:N.EGO then this Nuòsū=PL:AGT then two-CLF:night

sòŋ-m̩ǐ# ə́-dʑì# ɛ̀-wúmǽŋ kʰì=bù,# dəbǔ# nɛ̀-ɕə̀

sòŋ-m̩ǐ ə̂-dʑi ɛ̌-wúmæŋ kʰi=bu, dəbǔ nɛ̌-ɕə́

three-CLF:night that-location IN-care.for time=TOP then DOWN-go

kʰí=bú# jǎw# qà-pú# tɛ́-ɕì=tʲæ̀ wù#

kʰi=bu jǎw qǎ-pu tǐ-ɕî=tʲæ wu

time=TOP again down-under one-CLF:village=INDF:GEN interior

nɛ̀-tà kʰí=bú,# ʈʰwí kʰə̀-tʰìŋ# jǎw# də̀-nǽŋ=sì tɕàw.#

nɛ̌-tǎ kʰi=bu, ʈʰwî kʰə̌-tʰìŋ jǎw də̌-nǽŋ=si tɕɑw.

DOWN-arrive time=TOP ale OUT-drink again TO.SP-severe=INF HSY

'After having let him stay, those Nuòsū people took care of him there for two, three nights, but then when he went down and arrived in a village and drank ale, he relapsed, it is said.'

(69) tə̀=gǎɛ# ʑégì=bù# dəbǔ# é=ɻə̀# mà=tɕétɕìŋ.#

tə́=gæ ʑêgi=bu dəbǔ é=ɻə mǎ=tɕêtɕiŋ.

this=GEN later=TOP then 1=PL NEG=see:RECP

'After that, we didn't see each other again.'

CV09: 'Mushroom-poisoning' (conversation)

An excerpt of a conversation about the mushroom-poisoning story that speaker Y told a few nights before and the events that happened during that trip in the mountains.

(8.1) S: tìtí# tìtí pù# ɦà# nʲǽ# gǒŋ=wù# kwí=mə̀# ((tǐ#

tití	tití	pɯ́	ɦɑ	nʲǽ	gǒŋ=wu	kwî=mə	((tǐ
slowly	slowly	do	LINK	2SG:GEN	body=in	EXIST.IN=NMLZ	one

nè-tóŋ tə́ pàw)),# tɛ̀ʈʰǐ# jǎw# sáwdʲàw tà,#

nĕ-tóŋ	tǐ	pâw)),	tɛʈʰǐ	jǎw	sâwdʲɑw	tâ,
DOWN-speak	one	do:IMP:SG	after.a.while	again	think	can

S: 'Slowly narrate what you remember, and after a while (you) can think again.'

(8.2) ɛ̀=dzæ̀ŋ=bí# tʲǎ̆-m̥ì# tóŋ qʰú tɕàw# ɦà,# ɛ̀=dzæ̀ŋ

ɛ́=dzæŋ=bi	tʲǎ̆-m̥ǐ	tóŋ	qʰǔ	tɕɑw	ɦɑ,	ɛ́=dzæŋ
1=DU=DAT	recently-night	speak	need	say:IPFV:N.EGO	LINK	1=DU

tɕə̌=mə́# mì qʰá ɕə́=mə̀=nòŋ# tí-qʰwá#

tɕə̌=mə	mǐ	qʰà	ɕə́=mə=noŋ	tí-qʰwɑ
say=NMLZ	edible.fungus	pick	go=NMLZ=COORD	up-top:GEN

hòŋlʲǎ̆ ʈɯ́ ɕə́=mə̀=tì# ɛ̀=ní# nè-tóŋ=sêŋ,# há...#

hoŋlʲǎ̆	ʈɯ̆	ɕə́=mə=ti	ɛ́=ni	nĕ-tóŋ=seŋ,	hɑ...
Ch:goldthread.root	dig	go=NMLZ=INDF	1=AGT	DOWN-speak=PFV:EGO	INTJ

'(They) told the two of us in recent nights to tell stories, so the two of us told a (story) about going mushroom picking and I a (story) about going goldthread root digging, hahaha!'

(9) G: há....#

hɑ....

INTJ

G: 'Hahaha!'

(10) P: nǐŋ# tɛ̀ʈʰòŋ=ɕí# nè-tsʰá pɯ́=ɖàw kʰì,# há....#

nǐŋ	tɛʈʰǒŋ=ɕi	nĕ-tsʰá	pɯ́=ɖɑw	kʰi,	há....
2SG	after.a.while=LIM.TOP	DOWN-be.finished	do=IPFV:N.EGO	TRAIL	INTJ

P: 'You purposely finish in just a while, hahaha!'

(11) S: ɛ̀má=dzæ̀ŋ=bù,# mǎ=dzə̀....#

ɐmâ=dzæŋ=bu, mǎ=dzə̂....

aunt=DU=TOP NEG=be

S: That's not so, (we) two aunts...'

(12) Y: mǎ = dzà,# tìtí# tìtí pʉ̀ = jì dzà kʰì = bù,# ə́sèŋ?#

mǎ = dzâ, tití tití pʉ́ = ji dzâ kʰi = bu, ə̂seŋ?

NEG = be slowly slowly do = NMLZ be time = TOP AGR

Y: 'That's not so, (we) should do it slowly, right?'

(13) S: nǒŋmədà,# duɻí# duɻí pʉ́ = jì dzà kʰì = bù.#

nǒŋmədɑ, duɻí duɻí pʉ́ = ji dzâ kʰi = bu.

right leisurely leisurely do = NMLZ be time = TOP

S: 'That's right, (we) should do it leisurely.'

(14) Y: ɐ̀má = gòŋnì# qʉ̂tə̀ɻə̀ tɕə̀# nɐ̀-tsʰá pʉ́ tsèŋ = sì.#

ɐmâ = goŋni qʉ̂təɻə tɕə̌ nɐ̌-tsʰá pʉ́ tseŋ = si.

aunt = AGT in.a.flash say DOWN-be.finished do N.CONTR = INF

Y: 'Unfortunately, aunt was finished in a flash.' (CV09.14)

(15) S: há....#

hɑ

INTJ

S: 'Hahaha!'

(16.1) Y: dəbǔ# nìŋ = dzǽŋ# ɖʉ̀ ɖʐwá = là# mà = qɛ́j bâw,# ə́sèŋ,#

dəbǔ nǐŋ = dzæŋ ɖʉ̀ ɖʐwá = lɑ mǎ = qɛj bɑw, ə̂seŋ,

then 2 = DU write comfortable = also NEG = EXPT CONTR AGR

nə́ = mə́# ʈʰóŋ = mə́ = tì = bù.#

nə́ = mə ʈʰóŋ = mə = ti = bu.

thus = NMLZ fast = NMLZ = INDF = TOP

Y: 'When it is one that short, it won't be convenient for the two of you to write, right?'

(16.2) mæ̂?#

mæ̂?

what

'What?'

(17) P: ʑə̌# ɛ́ = ɖàw?#

ʑə̌ ɛ̂ = ɖɑw?

come Q = IPFV:N.EGO

P: 'Is (he, it) coming?'

(18) S: ɖʉ̀ = sə́# tə́# mà = qɛ́j kʰí = bù,# ìŋ = ɻə́# dəbʉ̌#

ɖʉ̌ = sə	tə́	mǎ = qɛj	kʰi = bu	ǐŋ = ɻə	dəbʉ̌
write = CONTR.TOP	this	NEG = EXPT	time = TOP	1.INCL = PL	then

tóŋ = jí = tì# tɛ̀ʈʰì = ɕí# nɛ̀-tsʰá = ɖáw

tóŋ = ji = ti	tɛʈʰǐ = ɕi	nɛ̌-tsʰá = ɖɑw
speak = NMLZ = INDF	after.a.while = LIM.TOP	DOWN-be.finished = IPFV:N.EGO

kʰì,# míŋ dzə̀# tɕʰɛ́mì,# nɛ̀-mə́ ʂə̀ ɦà.#

kʰi,	mîŋ	dzə̂	tɕʰɛ̂mi,	nɛ̌-mə̀	ʂə	ɦɑ.
TRAIL	what	be	not.sure	DOWN-forget	go:PFV:N.EGO	LINK

S: ‘The writing however won’t be (too difficult), what we were narrating was finished in just a while; what it is I don’t know, I forgot (those stories).’

(19) G: mì qʰá = mə́ = nòŋ = bù# ìŋ = ɻǽ# tə́# ʂúzʉ̀

mǐ	qʰà = mə = noŋ = bu	ǐŋ = ɻæ	tə́	ʂûzʉ
edible.fungus	pick = NMLZ = COORD = TOP	1.INCL = PL:GEN	this	Ch:wages

ʈʉ̀ = mə̀ = nòŋ# tə́ɻə́ = là# jɛ̀hǎ# tóŋ kɛ́j = ɖàw mə̀ dzə̀ â?#

ʈʉ̌ = mə = noŋ	tə́ = ɻə = lɑ	jɛhǎ	tóŋ	kɛ́j = ɖɑw	mə dzə	â?
dig = NMLZ = COORD	this = PL = also	all	speak	let = IPFV:N.EGO	GNOMIC	CONF

G: ‘(He) let (you) narrate the picking mushroom (story) and the (story) of us digging for wages/medicinal herbs?’

(20) P: ɦǎ,# jɛ̀hǎ# tóŋ kɛ́j = sèŋ.#

ɦǎ,	jɛhǎ	tóŋ	kɛ́j = seŋ.
INTJ	all	speak	let:PFV:EGO

P: ‘Right, (I) let (them) tell that all.’

(21) S: ɦǎ.#

ɦǎ.

INTJ

S: ‘Right.’

(22) Y: ə́-qʰwà# mì nɛ́-dʉ̀ = mə̀ = nòŋ# nə́ = tí#

ə̂-qʰwɑ	mǐ	nɛ̌-dʉ̌ = mə = noŋ	nʲə́ = ti
that-top:GEN	edible.fungus	DOWN-be.poisoned = NMLZ = COORD	thus = INDF

nɛ̀-tóŋ# tʰɛ̀-kʰìŋ kʰí = bù, ...#

nɛ̌-tóŋ	tʰɛ̌-kʰǐŋ	kʰi = bu, ...
DOWN-speak	FR.SP-give	time = TOP

Y: ‘I told to them the things about the mushroom poisoning up there and those kinds (of stories).’

(23) P: ʐɛ̀nə̀ l̥í qʰú tɕə̀ kʰì=là# l̥í wéŋ# mà=ɖáw# ɦà̰

ʐɛnə̌ l̥í qʰǔ tɕə̌ kʰi=lɑ l̥í wêŋ mǎ=ɖɑw ɦɑ

story narrate POL say time=also narrate be.able NEG=IPFV:N.EGO LINK

tɕə̀bù# nìŋ=ɻǽ# mì né-dṵ̀,...# gòŋnʲæ̀=nóŋ...,#

tɕəbu nǐŋ=ɻæ mǐ nĕ-dṵ̆,... goŋnʲæ̌=noŋ...,

because 2=PL:GEN edible.fungus DOWN-be.poisoned Nuòsū=COORD

âw,# ə́-dʐæ̀# ɻóŋdíŋ-mə̀=ɻə̀....#

âw, ə̂-dʐæ ɻóŋdiŋ-mə=ɻə....

INTJ that-location:GEN lowland-person=PL

P: 'Because when (I) asked them to please tell a story they couldn't tell it, your mushroom poisoning...the Nuòsū and... oh, that lowland person...'

(24.1) S: ʐɛ̀nə̌# nǒŋ# míŋ dzə̀# ɻə́-kʰì# nǒŋ# sə́pʉ́sə́lə̀dzə́ tɕə̀,#

ʐɛnə̌ nǒŋ mîŋ dzə̂ ɻə̂-kʰi nǒŋ sə́pʉsə̂lɑdzə̂ tɕə̌,

in.the.past so what be front-time so guess.this.riddle say

míŋ=bù# míŋ tɕə̀# nǒŋ# kɛ̀ pʉ́# l̥í wéŋ mə́ wɛ̀ŋ ɦà̰.#

mîŋ=bu mîŋ tɕə̌ nǒŋ kĕ pʉ́ l̥í wêŋ mə weŋ ɦɑ.

what=TOP what say so afraid do narrate CUST.EXCL NMLZ.CONSTR

S: 'In that case in the past (they) often told riddles, "Something is something, what is it?" '

(24.2) míŋ dzə̀ wɛ̀j,# nɛ̀-mə́# nɛ̀-tsʰá=sî.#

mîŋ dzə̂ wɛj, nĕ-mə nĕ-tsʰá=si.

what be PUZ DOWN-forget DOWN-be.finished=INF

'What on earth is it? (I)'ve totally forgotten (them).' (CV09.24.2)

(25.1) Y: ɦǎw-kʰì=bù# ìŋ=ɻə́ dzə̀ mə̀ dzə̀ ɦà̰,# ə́sɛ̀ŋ?#

ɦǎw-kʰi=bu ǐŋ=ɻə dzə̂ mə dzə ɦɑ, ə̂seŋ?

that-time=TOP 1:INCL=PL be NMLZ.CONSTR AGR

Y: 'At that time it was us, right?'

(25.2) ɛ̀má = gòŋnì# ʈʰé# nìŋ = bî,# tə̀ = ɻǒŋnì# ʈʰé# qwé-kʰí#
ɐmâ = goŋni ʈʰé nǐŋ = bi, tə́ = ɻoŋni ʈʰé qwé-kʰi
aunt = AGT all.the.time 2SG = DAT 3 = PL:AGT all.the.time shout-time

qwéɻɛ́j = là# áw tɕə̀# mà = ɖáw# ɦà,# ìŋ = dzǽŋ = gòŋnì# qʰə̀-n̥ǽŋ
qwéɻɛj = la áw tɕə̌ mǎ = ɖaw ɦa ǐŋ = dzæŋ = goŋni qʰə̌-n̥ǽŋ
shout = also INTJ say NEG = IPFV:N.EGO LINK 1.INCL = DU = AGT OUT-slow

pʉ̀ = gì,# ə́-pù# nɛ̀-sə̌# bǎ tɕə̀ = sèŋ.#
pʉ́ = gi, ə́-pù nɛ̌-sə̌ bǎ tɕə̌ = seŋ.
do:IPFV:INCL that-under DOWN-die SPEC say = PFV:EGO

'Aunt (= I) said to you -even though they were all continuously shouting, but he did not even reply "Here!'- "The two of us, let's go a bit slower, he has maybe died under there." '

(26) S: nǒŋ# tə́ = gə́# ɛ̀má# ɕɛ́ = gòŋ# tʲǎ-m̩ì# tóŋ = ɖâw.#
nǒŋ tə́ = gə ɐmâ ɕɛ̂ = goŋ tʲǎ-m̩i tóŋ = ɖaw.
so this = DEF aunt big = AGT recently-night speak = IPFV:N.EGO

S: 'So oldest aunt told this one during a recent evening.' (CV09.26)

(27) Y: qʰə̀-n̥ǽŋ pʉ̀ = sèŋ kʰì = bù,# kʰù-pú# m̀# m̀ tɕàw
qʰə̌-n̥ǽŋ pʉ́ = seŋ kʰi = bu kʰǔ-pu m̀ m̀ tɕaw
OUT-slow do = PFV:EGO time = TOP out-under INTJ INTJ say:IPFV:N.EGO

mə́ ɖà,# ə́sèŋ,# ɻ̊ʉ́# nɛ̀-dzə̀dzə̀ pʉ́ ʂə́ ɦà.#
mə ɖa, ə̂seŋ, ɻ̊ʉ̂ nɛ̌-dzə̌dzə̌ pʉ́ ʂə ɦa.
NMLZ.CONSTR AGR tooth DOWN-be.tightly.closed do go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

'When (we) were (purposely) going slowly, (they) were saying, "Mmm, Mmm!" down there, right? (Their) teeth were tightly closed.'

(28) G: ɦə̌.#
ɦə̌.
INTJ

G: 'Right!'

(29) PS: há....#
ha....
INTJ

P,S: 'Hahaha!'

(30) Y: tə́ = ɻə# tóŋ = séŋ kʰì = bù,# tɐ̀ʈʰì = ɕí# tóŋ#

tə́ = ɻə tóŋ = seŋ kʰi = bu, tɐʈʰĭ = ɕi tóŋ

this = PL speak = PFV:N.EGO time = TOP after.a.while = LIM.TOP speak

nɐ̀-tsʰá pɯ́ tsèŋ = sì mà,# ʈʰóŋ pɯ́# kʰə̀-tɕə̀ tséŋ

nɐ̌-tsʰá pɯ́ tseŋ = si mɑ, ʈʰóŋ pɯ́ kʰə̌-tɕə̌ tseŋ

DOWN-be.finished do N.CONTR = INF INFO fast do OUT-say N.CONTR

ʂə̀ ɦà.#

ʂə ɦɑ.

go:PFV:N.EGO LINK

Y: 'When (I) told these (stories), (I) unfortunately finished almost immediately, (I) was talking very fast unfortunately.'

(31) P: .....

(32.1) G: tə́# m̥əgéŋ = góŋnì# nǒŋ# pèjpèjlálá# gwěŋ# nɐ̀-dzɛ́j# ɦà,# ə́sèŋ?#

tə́ m̥əgéŋ = goŋni nǒŋ pejpejlálɑ gwěŋ nɐ̌-dzɛ̀j ɦɑ, ə̂seŋ?

this old.man = AGT so unnecessary horse DOWN-ride LINK AGR

G: 'This old man rode horse, right?'

(32.2) gwěŋ = tù# ìŋ = ɻɐ́ wú# ɐ̀-tà pɯ́ tɕʰóŋ kʰì,#

gwěŋ = tu ĭŋ = ɻæ wu ɐ̌-tǎ pɯ́ tɕʰôŋ kʰi,

horse = on 1.INCL = PL:GEN interior IN-arrive do come:PFV:N.EGO time

kʰùnú# "wû" tɕə̀ tìŋ,# ɐ̀ = nə́ní# m̥ə́ dzə̀ tɕə̀ kʰì = là,#

kʰŭ-nû "wû" tɕə̌ = tiŋ ɐ́ = nəni m̥ə̂ dzə̂ tɕə̌ kʰi = lɑ,

out-outside INTJ say = AUD 1 = AGT person be say time = also

nìŋ = ɻóŋ# mǎ = dzə̀ tɕɑ̀w;# nìŋ = ɻóŋ# tʲɐ́ = ɕìŋ = nòŋ#

nĭŋ = ɻoŋ mǎ = dzə̂ tɕɑw; nĭŋ = ɻoŋ tʲæ = ɕîŋ = noŋ

2 = PL:AGT NEG = be say:IPFV:N.EGO 2 = PL:AGT PROH = go:IMP:PL = COORD

tʲɐ́ = ɕìŋ tɕɑ̀w.#

tʲæ = ɕîŋ tɕɑw.

PROH = go:IMP:PL say:IPFV:N.EGO

'When he came on horse (with the purpose of) arriving in our midst, (I) heard (somebody) say "Wu!" outside, but when I said that it was a person, you said that it wasn't, and you said, "Don't go over, don't go over!" '

(33.1) Y: "wŭ,# wŭ"# tà tɕə̌# ɦà,# ə́sèŋ?#

"wŭ, wŭ" tɑ tɕə̌ ɦɑ, ə̂seŋ?

INTJ INTJ only say LINK AGR

Y: '(He) only said, "Wu wu!" right?' (CV09.33.1)

(33.2) nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bù,# ɛ́hwà'ɛ́jí# nìŋ = dzǽŋ = bù,# nú# ʑí kɛ̀j# ɦà,#

nǐŋ = dzæŋ = bu,	êhwɑ'éji	nǐŋ = dzæŋ = bu,	nû	ʑî	kɛ́j	ɦɑ,
2 = DU = TOP	NS:Ahwa'aji	2 = DU = TOP	outside	EXIST.AN	let	LINK

ɛ̀ = ɻǒŋ# ɛ̀-pʰíŋ# ɦà,# ʑɛ̀mí = dì# tsú# dzɔ́ = ɖàw,#

ɛ́ = ɻoŋ	ɛ̌-pʰìŋ	ɦɑ,	ʑɐmî = di	tsú	dzɔ̂ = ɖɑw,
1 = PL:AGT	IN-flee	LINK	tonight = DISJ.TOP	ghost	be = IPFV:N.EGO

ʑɛ̀mí = dì....#
ʑɐmî = di....
tonight = DISJ.TOP

'(We) let the two of you -Ahwa'aji, the two of you- remain outside, and we fled (into the yak shed), (saying), "Tonight it's a ghost, tonight..." '

(34) G: ɛ̀ = nə́ní# mɔ́ = ɻæ̀# m̥ə́# dzɔ́ tɕə̀ kʰì = là,#

ɛ́ = nəni	mɔ̂ = ɻæ	m̥ə̂	dzɔ̂	tɕə̌	kʰi = lɑ,
1SG = AGT:EMPH	person = PL:GEN	person	be	say	time = also

tə̀ = ɻǒŋnì# ɛ̀ = bí# kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = ɖâw,# nǐŋ# kʰwɛ́ tɕɛ́#

tə́ = ɻoŋni	ɛ́ = bi	kʰə̌-ɕə́ = ɖɑw,	nǐŋ	kʰwɛ́	tɕɛ̂
3 = PL:AGT	1SG = DAT	OUT-go = IPFV:N.EGO	2SG	heart	be.big

ʐù = ɖáw tɕə̀ ɦà.#

ʐǔ = ɖɑw	tɕə̌	ɦɑ.
very = IPFV:N.EGO	say	LINK

G: 'Even when I said that that was a person, they came over to me and said, "(You) are still going out, you are very bold." '

(35) Y: kʰə̀-ɕə̀ = séŋ kʰí = bù,# ɛ̀mɑ́ = gòŋ# ɛ̀-pʰíŋ = sèŋ mə̀ sèŋ ɦà.#

kʰə̌-ɕə́ = seŋ	kʰi = bu,	ɐmɑ̂ = goŋ	ɛ̌-pʰìŋ = seŋ	mə seŋ ɦɑ.
OUT-go = PFV.EGO	time = TOP	aunt = AGT	IN-flee = PFV.EGO	NMLZ.CONSTR

Y: 'When (we) went outside to look, aunt fled inside (again).'

(36) G: kʰwé tɕé# ʐù=ɖáw tɕàw kʰì=là,#
kʰwé tɕê ʐǔ=ɖɑw tɕɑw kʰi=lɑ,
heart big very=IPFV:N.EGO say:IPFV:N.EGO time=also

è=nəní# má=ɻæ̀# m̥ə́# dzâ,# m̥ə́# dzə́ tɕə̀=sèŋ
é=nəni mə̂=ɻæ m̥ə̂ dzə̂, m̥ə̂ dzə̂ tɕə̌=seŋ
1SG=AGT person=PL:GEN person be person be say=PFV:EGO

kʰì=bù,# dəbǔ# é# kʰə̀-ɕə̀=séŋ kʰí=bù,#
kʰi=bu, dəbǔ é kʰə̌-ɕə́=seŋ kʰi=bu,
time=TOP then 1SG OUT-go=PFV:EGO time=TOP

tátá# m̥ə́# dzə́=ɖàw kʰì.#
tátɑ m̥ə̂ dzə̂=ɖɑw kʰi.
exactly person be=IPFV:N.EGO TRAIL

G: 'When they said to me, "You are very bold," and when I said, "It is a person, it is a person," then when I went outside, it was exactly a person.' (CV09.36)

(37) Y: ɻʉ̀tɕʰí# tə́-tá kʰì# má=ɻæ̀# m̥ə́# bètâtâ# ɦà#
ɻʉtɕʰí tə́-tǎ kʰi mə̂=ɻæ m̥ə̂ bètâtâ ɦɑ
front UP-arrive time person=PL:GEN person wide.open.eyed LINK

ə́-dʑæ̀# jæ̀ŋláwù m̥ə̀gìŋ=bì tʰè-tsèŋ
ə̂-dʑæ jæŋlâwu m̥əgéŋ=bi tʰě-tséŋ
that-location:GEN Ch:Yang.Lawu old.man=DAT FR.SP-fall.down

pà,# ə́sèŋ?#
pâ, ə̂seŋ?
do:PFV:N.EGO AGR

Y: 'When he arrived, he fell down on old Yang Lawu with unblinking eyes, right?'

(38.1) G: swǽŋʂwí# swǽŋʂwí tɕə̀=ɖàw kʰì,# nìŋ=ɻə́# swǽŋʂwí#
swǽŋʂwi swǽŋʂwi tɕə̌=ɖɑw kʰi, nǐŋ=ɻə swǽŋʂwi
Ch:sour.water Ch:sour.water say=IPFV:N.EGO time 2=PL Ch:sour.water

tʲóŋ=là mə̀# tʰǒŋ# mà=ɖáw mə̀ ɖàw ɦà.#
tʲôŋ=lɑ mə̀ tʰǒŋ mǎ=ɖɑw mə ɖɑw ɦɑ.
one:CLF:thing=also hear can:N.EGO NEG=IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

G: 'When he said, "Sour water, sour water," none of you was able to hear (him say) "Sour water" (...)' (CV09.38.1)

(38.2) swǽŋʂwí tɕə̀ = ɖàw tɕə̀ = sèŋ kʰì = nòŋ = bù,# dəbǔ.#
swǽŋʂwi tɕə̌ = ɖɑw tɕə̌ = seŋ kʰi = noŋ = bu, dəbǔ.
Ch:sour.water say = IPFV:N.EGO say = PFV:EGO time = only = TOP then

'Only when I said, "He is saying, 'Sour water'," then...'

(39.1) Y: swǽŋʂwí# tɕə̀ tʰóŋ# mà = ɖáw mə̀ ɖàw ɦà.#
swǽŋʂwi tɕə̌ tʰǒŋ mǎ = ɖɑw mə ɖɑw ɦɑ.
Ch:sour.water say can:N.EGO NEG = IPFV:N.EGO NMLZ.CONSTR

Y: 'He wasn't able to say "sour water." '

(39.2) mǎ = dzə̀,# dǒŋ = bì# nə́ pɯ́ kʰì,#
mǎ = dzə̀, dǒŋ = bì nə́ pɯ́ kʰì,
NEG = be milk.pail = DAT thus do time

nìŋ = góŋ# tʰɛ̀-tɕíŋ pá ɻæ̀ nə̀nì mə̀ nì ɦà.#
nìŋ = góŋ tʰɛ̀-tɕíŋ pá ɻæ̀ŋə̀nì mə̀ nì ɦà.
2SG = AGT FR.SP-see do:PFV:N.EGO seems NMLZ.CONSTR

'That's not so, when he was acting like this (= pointing) to the milk pail, it seems (to me) that you saw it.'

(40) G: mǎ = dzə̀,# swǽŋʂwí tɕə̀ = mə̀# ɛ̀lʲǎtì# mə̀ = ʈǎ,# ɛ́ = bû.#
mǎ = dzə̂, swǽŋʂwi tɕə̌ = mə ɛlʲǎti mə̀ = ʈɑ, ɛ́ = bu.
NEG = be Ch:sour.water say = NMLZ a.little hear = SVM 1SG = TOP

'That's not so, I heard him say "Sour water" a little bit.'

(41) Y: ə̂jòŋmâ.#
ə̂joŋmâ.
INTJ

Y: 'Whoa!'

(42) G: swǽŋʂwî,# swǽŋʂwí tɕə̀ = ɖàw.#
swǽŋʂwi, swǽŋʂwi tɕə̌ = ɖɑw.
Ch:sour.water Ch:sour.water say = IPFV:N.EGO

G: 'He was saying, "Sour water, sour water." '

(43) P: ɦə́hə̂,# ɦə́hə̂, tɕàw# â,# há....#
ɦə́hə̂, ɦə́hə̂, tɕɑw â, hɑ....
INTJ INTJ say:IPFV:N.EGO CONF INTJ

P: 'Did he say "Heheng, heheng?" Hahaha!'

(44) S: há....#

hɑ

INTJ

S: ‘Hahaha!’

(45.1) Y: ɦǎ,# swǽŋʂwí tɕə̀# nə́ pɯ́# tɕə̀ ʐíŋ = qɛ̀j# bǎ.#

ɦǎ,	swǽŋʂwi	tɕə̌	nə́	pɯ́	tɕə̌	ʐǐŋ = qɛj	bǎ.
INTJ	Ch:sour.water	say	thus	do	say	can = EXPT	SPEC

Y: ‘Oh, how will he be able to say “Sour water” like that?’

(45.2) jǽŋláwù m̥ə̀gìŋ = q^{h}ù t^{h}ɛ̀-tsèŋ pà,# ə́jù,# ə́jù,# nǐŋ#

jǽŋlâwu	m̥əgéŋ = q^{h}u	t^{h}ɛ̌-tséŋ	pâ	ə̂ju,	ə̂ju,	nǐŋ
Ch:Yang.Lawu	old.man = on	FR.SP-fall.down	do:PFV:N.EGO	INTJ	INTJ	2SG

m̥ə̀géŋ# míŋ ɖòŋ,# míŋ ɖòŋ tɕə̀# nə́ pɯ́ = ɖàw

m̥əgéŋ	mîŋ	ɖòŋ,	mîŋ	ɖòŋ	tɕə̌	nə́	pɯ́ = ɖɑw
old.man	what	become	what	become	say	thus	do:IPFV:N.EGO

mə̀ ɖàw ɦà,# há....#

mə ɖɑw ɦɑ,	hɑ....
NMLZ.CONSTR	INTJ

‘(When he entered the shack) he fell down on old Yang Lawu, who said to him, “Oh, oh, what’s up with you, old man? What’s up with you?” Hahaha!’

(46.1) G: tɕǔʂə̀,# swǽŋʂwí = gə̀# ɛ̀l^{j}ǎtì = bù,# tɕə̌# ɖʐwá = ɖáw

tɕǔʂə,	swǽŋʂwi = gə	ɛl^{j}ǎti = bu,	tɕə̌	ɖʐwá = ɖɑw
Ch:merely	Ch:sour.water = DEF	a.little = TOP	say	comfortable = IPFV:N.EGO

k^{h}ì = bù,# tǐ# tɕə̌# ʐìŋ = ɖáw k^{h}ì = bù.#

k^{h}i = bu,	tǐ	tɕə̌	ʐǐŋ = ɖɑw	k^{h}i = bu.
time = TOP	one	say	can = IPFV:N.EGO	time = TOP

G: ‘That’s right, he was able to say “Sour water” a little bit.’

(46.2) dəbǔ# ɛ̀ = nəní# mə́ = ɻæ̀# ə́-dʐæ̀# tə́# kə̀tɕə̀ kí

dəbǔ	ɛ́ = nəni	mə̂ = ɻæ	ə̂-dʐæ	tə́	kətɕə̌	kǐ
then	1 = AGT	person = PL:GEN	that-location:GEN	this	yoghurt	give.drink

q^{h}ù tɕə̀ = ɖàw sì ɖàw tɕə̀ = sèŋ k^{h}ì = bù.#

q^{h}ǔ	tɕə̌ = ɖɑw	si ɖɑw	tɕə̌ = seŋ	k^{h}i = bu.
POL	say = IPFV:N.EGO	EPIST:probably	say = PFV:EGO	time = TOP

‘So I said, he is probably requesting us to give him this yoghurt to drink.’

(46.3) dəbǔ# kətɕə̌# tʰɛ̀-kì kʰí=bù,# dəbǔ# ní=ɻæ̀#

dəbǔ kətɕə̌ tʰɛ̌-kǐ kʰi=bu, dəbǔ nî=ɻæ

then yoghurt FR.SP-give.drink time=TOP then LOG=PL:GEN

kʰù-pâ...# tə́=gə́# tʰʲæ̌# qʰə̀-ɖɛ̀ pâ,# ə́sèŋ?#

kʰǔ-pɑ... tə́=gə tʰʲæ̌ qʰə̌-ɖɛ̌ pâ, ə̂seŋ?

out-under:GEN this=DEF about OUT-capable do:PFV:N.EGO AGR

'So when we gave him yoghurt to drink, then... this one recovered pretty much, right?'

(46.4) dəbǔ# tə̀=dzæ̀ŋ tɕú ɕə̀ qʰù tɕàw,# ə́sèŋ?#

dəbǔ tə́=dzæŋ tɕû ɕə́ qʰǔ tɕɑw, ə̂seŋ?

then 3=DU Ch:rescue go POL say:IPFV:N.EGO AGR

'Then he requested us to rescue the two of his companions, right?'

(47) Y: tə́-pʰɛ́ pà kʰì=bù,# tɕʰípǽ# dɛ̀ɻɛ̌j# qʰə̀-tóŋ má tòŋ ɦà,#

tə́-pʰɛ̌ pâ kʰi=bu, tɕʰípæ dɛɻɛ̌j qʰə̌-tóŋ mə toŋ ɦɑ,

UP-vomit do:PFV:N.EGO time=TOP very.well speech OUT-speak NMLZ.CONSTR

ə́sèŋ,# "ʂwà ʂwá" tɕə̀# tə́-pʰɛ́ pà.#

ə̂seŋ, "ʂwà ʂwá" tɕə̌ tə́-pʰɛ̌ pâ.

AGR IDEO IDEO say UP-vomit do:PFV:N.EGO

Y: 'When he had vomited, he was able to talk very well, right? He vomited, "Shwa, shwa!" '

(48.1) G: ɦə̌,# dəbǔ# tə̀=dzæ̀ŋ tɕú ɕə̀ qʰù tɕə̀# ɦà,# ɛ̀=dzæ̌ŋ,...# ɛ́=ɻə̀=bì#

ɦə̌, dəbǔ tə́=dzæŋ tɕû ɕə́ qʰǔ tɕə̌ ɦɑ, ɛ́=dzæŋ,... ɛ́=ɻə=bi

INTJ then 3=DU Ch:rescue go POL say LINK 1=DU 1=PL=DAT

qʰə̀-ʐá qʰwæ̀ŋ# tʰə̀ʑɛ́=nòŋ# tʰə̀ʑɛ́ tɕə̀=ɖàw,#

qʰə̌-ʐà qʰwæ̌ŋ tʰəʑɛ́=noŋ tʰəʑɛ́ tɕə̌=ɖɑw,

OUT-carry POL:PL thank.you=COORD thank.you say=IPFV:N.EGO

tʰə̀ʑɛ́ láwláw tɕàw.#

tʰəʑɛ́ lɑwlɑw tɕɑw.

thank.you very.much say=IPFV:N.EGO

G: 'Right, then he requested us to rescue his two companions, and said to the two of us, to all of us, "Please carry it eastwards, thank you, thank you very much again!" '

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