

**Charles University**  
**Faculty of Arts**  
*Institute of South and Central Asia*

Subject: Languages of Asia and Africa

# **PhD Thesis**

*The Description of Namuzi  
Language  
Popis jazyka Namuzi*

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**2017**

***Štěpán Pavlík***

### ***Statement of Originality***

*I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own work and that I wrote it independently, using only duly listed and properly cited sources and references; and that it has not been submitted in connection with any other university course or in fulfilment of the requirements of the same degree or of any other.*

*In Prague, 30<sup>th</sup> of March, 2017*

.....  
*Štěpán Pavlík*



## Abstract

This is the description of one of the endangered languages spoken by cca 5000 people in *Sichuān* province in China – the *Nàmùzī* language. It is considered to be part of the Naic or the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman. The description is based on the authentic data collected by the author during his two field trips to *Xīcháng* and *Mùlǐ* in winter 2011 and summer 2012. It is the first grammar description of this language in English and also the most comprehensive description of this language carried out to date.

Chapter 1 provides the introduction on the sociolinguistic profile of this language, its genetic affiliation, previous research and methodology.

Chapter 2 describes the phonology of the language, i.e. the syllable structure, description of initial consonants and consonant clusters, vowels and tones.

Chapter 3 is the explanation of used analysis to define particular parts of speech. It introduces the criteria of defining word classes and the reasons for using functional approach.

Chapter 4 contains the description of verbal classes, i.e. verbs, adjectival verbs and adverbs.

Chapter 5 introduces nominal classes, i.e. nouns, adnomina, numerals and classifiers and pronouns.

Chapter 6 is the description of other parts of speech, namely postpositions and conjunctions and particles.

Chapter 7 introduces the structures of declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences as well as direct and quoted speech and syntactic structures of temporal and spatial expressions.

Last chapter is the conclusion with summarization of the work and suggestions on further research.

## Key words:

Namuzi language, endangered language, grammar sketch, language description, Tibeto-Burman, China

## Abstrakt

Tato práce představuje popis jednoho z ohrožených menšinových jazyků Číny, kterým v oblasti provincie *S'-čchuan* mluví cca 5000 mluvčích – jazyka *Nàmùzī*. Tento jazyk je považován za součást naické nebo čchiangské větve tibeto-barmské jazykové skupiny. Popis tohoto jazyka je založen na autentických datech sebraných autorem této práce během jeho dvou výzkumných pobytů v terénu v zimě r. 2011 a v létě r. 2012. Jedná se o vůbec první gramatiku tohoto jazyka sepsanou v anglickém jazyce a vůbec nejobsáhlejší popis tohoto jazyka, který byl do současnosti učiněn.

První kapitola představuje úvod do sociolingvistického profilu tohoto jazyka, jeho genetické zařazení, předešlé výzkumy a metodologii.

Druhá kapitola se věnuje popisu fonologie tohoto jazyka, tedy struktuře slabiky, popisu jednotlivých konsonantů a konsonantních skupin, vokálů a tónů.

Třetí kapitola poskytuje vysvětlení používané analýzy pro definici jednotlivých slovních druhů. Jsou zde představena kritéria určování slovních druhů a důvodů, které vedly k použití přístupu na bázi funkční charakteristiky jednotlivých slov.

Čtvrtá kapitola se věnuje popisu slovesných slovních druhů, tzn. zejména sloves, adjektivních sloves a adverbii.

Pátá kapitola obsahuje popis jmenných slovních druhů, tj. substantiv, přídavných jmen, číslovek a klasifikátorů a zájmen.

Šestá kapitola se věnuje popisu zbylých neohebných slovních druhů, tedy postpozic, spojek a částic.

Sedmá kapitola je věnována struktuře deklarativních, imperativních a interogativních vět, stejně jako vybraným syntaktickým strukturám, což jsou vyjádření místa a času.

Poslední kapitola je závěr, který přináší shrnutí výsledků práce a návrhy na další výzkum.

## Klíčová slova:

jazyk Namuzi, ohrožené jazyky, gramatika, popis jazyka, tibeto-barmský, Čína

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## List of Abbreviations

ST	Sino-Tibetan	exp	experiential
TB	Tibeto-burman	prosp	prospective
NMZ	Namuzi	progr	progressive
		cess	cessative
pron	pronoun	dir	directional
vt	transitive verb	inch	inchoative
vi	intransitive verb	inc	inceptive
vc	copula	com	committative
vloc	locative verb	agt	agentive
vm	modal verb	tgs	transgressive
va	adjectival verb	intj	interjection
cl	classifier	pres	present
n	noun	top	topic
nprop	proper noun	sg	singular
nt	time noun	dl	dual
np	place noun	pl	plural
neg	negation	excl	exclusive
dem	demonstrative	incl	inclusive
sf	suffix	conj	conjunction
pref	prefix	cov	coverb
ct	clitic	P	phrase
num	numeral	S	sentence
sp	sentence particle	perf	perfective
vp	verbal particle	mp	modal particle
adn	adnominum	prox	proximal
mod	verbal modifier	dist	distal
		med	medial
prosp	prospective	ptcp	participium
aff	affirmation	q	question
excl	exclamation	result	resultative
emph	emphasis		
conf	confirmation	s	subject
adv	adverbial	p	predicate
acc	accusative	at	attribute
all	allative		
loc	locative	NP	nominal phrase
ref	reflective	VP	verbal phrase
perf	perfective		
prog	progressive	(A)	agent /causee
prem	premeditative	(R)	recipient
rec	recent	(P)	patient
stat	stative	(V)	verb
tent	tentative	(C)	causer
pfc	perfect	(I)	instrument
dur	durative	(L)	location
pct	punctual	(T)	time
hab	habitual	(G)	goal
fut	future	(B)	benefactive
ingr	ingressive	(S)	source

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Prologue

In this work I attempt to present a preliminary description of one variety of the endangered (or more properly dying) languages spoken in China called *Nàmùzī* 纳木兹. The description itself is based on my own material collected during two stays in the field, because little previous research has been available up-to-day. Although I had recorded several speakers, I have finally decided to concentrate to work with only one language consultant, therefore the work reflects actually an idiolect. Given the variability among idiolects I chose the option of giving a comprehensive and consistent description of an idiolect of a speaker with a profound knowledge of the language. That also solved the problem of the time limits of field research, which was caused by my teaching duties at the Department of East Asian studies (it allowed me to be in field only during the examination period) and rather limited financial resources to conduct the research.

I still remember the beginning of all this work, when I have been talking with my great teacher and a good friend David Sehnal at the Department of East Asian studies and have been browsing the internet for endangered languages of China. We came across one web page with several photographs of shaman doing some kind of ritual, wearing a leaf-like five-pointed crown, similar to that of Vajrapani (*piluómào* 毗羅帽); the crown itself as I had the chance to learn later personally, was made of leather and bound around the top of a broad hat made from yak hairs. That photograph and a short description of this tribe, was everything what could be found on the internet and in libraries in the Czech Republic about these people by that time. Short notice that this language has not been described, stimulated my interest and I knew the *Nàmùzī* would be the best choice for my further and that I should contribute to document their language.

I started to work on my MA thesis and later on this PhD thesis, fortunate to get great support from my supervisor Veronika Zikmundová. Without her help, advice and encouragement, this work would never be possible. Together with prof. Jaroslav Vacek, the former director of the Institute of South and Central Asia, they created the best possible conditions to let me improve my knowledge about linguistics and were always seeking ways to support this kind of research, which is uncommon on Charles University until today.

My thanks belongs also to my language consultant Mr. *Wáng Wénfā* 王文發, who did his best to transmit the knowledge of his mother tongue and who opened for me the doors to the whole community, let me witness the wedding ceremony in *Xīchāng*, the funeral ceremony in *Luǒbō* township and introduced me the culture of his people.

Let me also thank my family members, esp. my wife Lily and my mother Ta'ána and friends Vladimír Glomb and Jakub Maršálek, who supported me during writing.

## 1.2 Sociolinguistic profile

### 1.2.1 Geographic distribution

*Nàmùzī* 纳木兹 language (also called *Nàmùyī* 纳木依, *Nàmùyì* 纳木易 or *Nàmùzǐ* 纳木子) is spoken by an officially unrecognised ethnic group of China living in *Sichuān* province 四川省 in two autonomous prefectures - Tibetan Garze 甘孜藏族自治州 and *Yī Liángshān* 凉山彝族自治州. *Nàmùzī* people mainly live in counties of *Jiǔlóng* 九龍, *Miǎnnìng* 冕寧, *Xīchāng* 西昌 and *Mùlǐ* 木里 (NISHIDA 2005). Because the people in *Xīchāng* and *Mùlǐ* use the endonym /naʌ.muʌ.ziʌ/ to refer to themselves<sup>1</sup>, I have decided to prefer the variant *Nàmùzī* 纳木兹<sup>2</sup>. In the *Ethnologue* language inventory (SIMONS & FENNING 2017), the code for this language is “nmy”.

The language, while very little studied, is severely endangered<sup>3</sup>. At present, NMZ is used mostly by the older generations at homes. The main language of communication of the *Nàmùzī* people is one of the *Sichuān* dialects of Chinese, closely followed by languages of the neighbouring ethnic groups, namely Tibetan, *Yī* 彝 or *Pǔmǐ* 普米. The younger generations are just passive listeners of the language (NISHIDA 2005) and the number of active speakers is decreasing year by year.

Fig. 1 → Map of *Sichuān* province



red - Tibetan Garze AP

green - *Yī Liángshān* AP

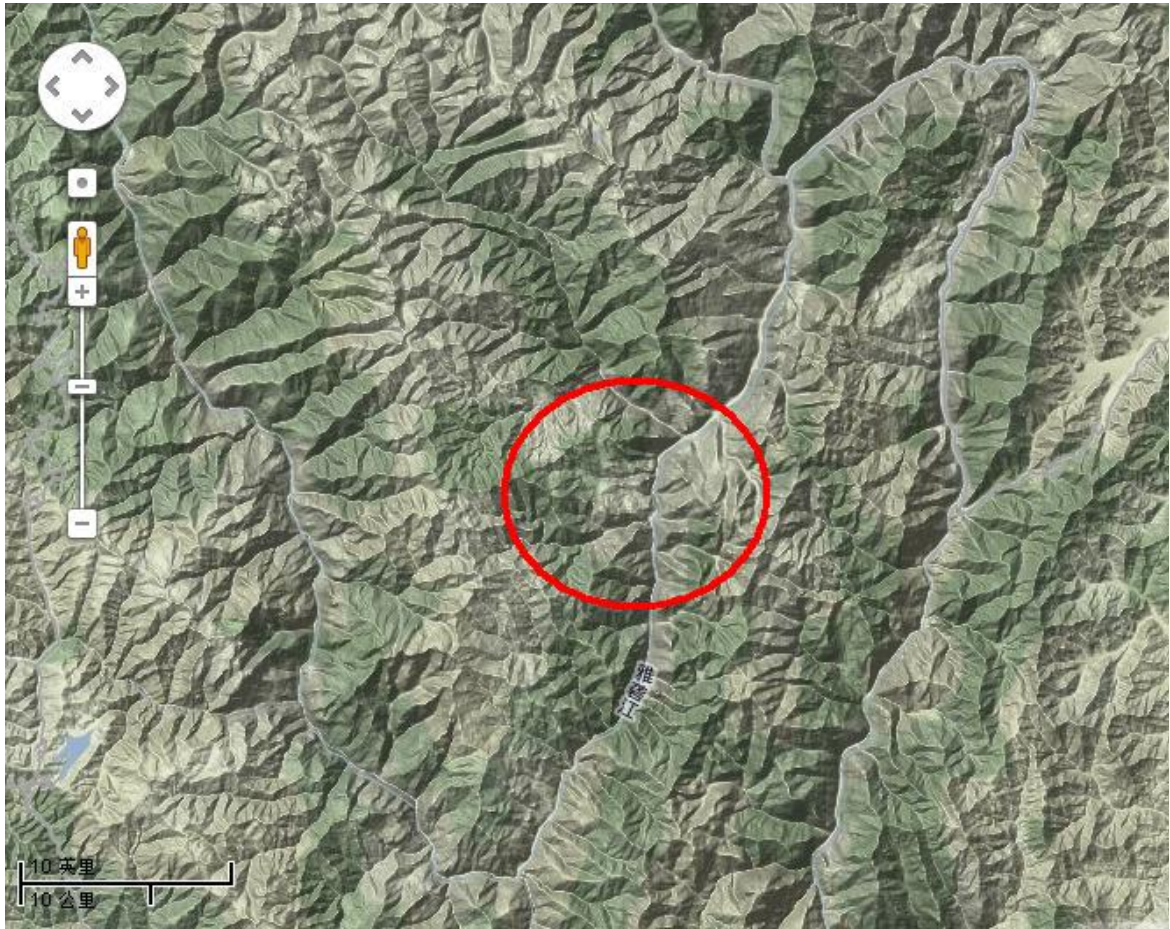
violet – *Chéngdū* (the capital of *Sichuān* province)

<sup>1</sup> Though Libu (2007) states that the ethnonym /naʌ.mziʌ/ denotes all Tibetans, according to my language consultant, there is an ethnonym for Tibetans **Pshih** /pʰʂuʌʌ/.

<sup>2</sup> *Huáng* (1992) also provides the version /naʌ.muʌ.ziʌ/, or according to ISTL (Mǎ 2003) more specifically /naʌ.muʌ.ziʌ/ for the varieties in *Jiǔlóng* and *Mùlǐ* and /naʌ.muʌ.zi/ for varieties in *Miǎnnìng*, *Xīchāng* and *Yányuán*. Libu (2007) provides the version of /naʌ.mziʌ/.

<sup>3</sup> Simons & Fenning (2017) gives NMZ language grade 6b „threatened“ according to EGIDS scale. That should mean the language is spoken within all generations, but it is losing users.

Fig. 2 → Map of *Mùlǐ* county



### 1.2.2 Native speakers

Due to the fact that *Nàmùzī* is not an officially recognized ethnic group and members of this community are classified as Tibetans, no census on the *Nàmùzī* population exists. The available studies give the number of *Nàmùzī* speakers as 4000 or 5000 people (e.g. SŪN 2001, HUÁNG 2003, BRADLEY 2007). Even my language consultant, who estimated the number of *Nàmùzī* population to 50 000 people, stipulated that only a few of them are able to speak NMZ language, however he was not able to specify the number of active speakers. My own experience from fieldwork suggests that the number of speakers may be rather low. In the community of *Xīchāng* and *Luǒbō* township 倮波乡, I encountered only around thirty active speakers, most of them old people. Young people were only passive listeners of the language, but they preferred to use Chinese.

The *Nàmùzī* language has no writing system and the speakers use Chinese, Tibetan or *Yi* script respectively. The language, religion, history and other parts of the indigenous *Nàmùyì* culture rely solely on oral transmission and are threatened by extinction.

### 1.3 Genetic relationship

*Nàmùzī* language belongs to the Tibeto-Burman branch of Sino-Tibetan language family. The idea of the same origin of languages spoken in regions between China and India comes from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however many of these languages are not very well documented and described until today, therefore the genetic affiliation, historical development and reconstruction of historical sources of these languages remain undeveloped in comparison with other language families<sup>4</sup> (VAN DRIEM 2007, HANDEL 2008).

Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, India, Laos, Nepal, Bhutan and in China<sup>5</sup>. It is difficult to define the total number of TB languages (MATISOFF 2003:3), however there are more than 30 languages belonging to TB branch, which are spoken in China (Mǎ 1994:1-2). *Nàmùzī* language was discovered in 1979 along with other languages and were classified to belong to the *Qiāngic* subgroup (羌語支) with languages as *Zhābà* 扎坝, *Quèyù* 卻域, *Ērsū* 爾蘇, *Shìxìng* 史興, *Guìqióng* 貴瓊 and others. First field research in the area was conducted after the year 1984 by researchers from the Minzu University of China<sup>6</sup> 中央民族大學 led by *Huáng Bùfán* 黃布凡 (SŪN 2001:161-162).

The whole concept of classification of TB languages is very problematic and the classification of *Qiāngic* languages itself was made on the basis of typological similarities and shared lexical items, but the percentage of shared common vocabulary is very low (CHIRKOVA 2012:4). *Sūn* (2001:160) has divided *Qiāngic* languages into two subgroups – the Northern (languages: *Lāwùróng* 拉烏戎, rGyarong 嘉戎, *Ērgōng* 爾龔; Tangut 西夏; *Qiāng* 羌, *Pǔmǐ* 普米 and *Mùyǎ* 木雅) and the Southern (*Guìqióng* 貴瓊, *Quèyù* 卻隅; *Zhābā* 扎巴; *Ērsū* 爾蘇, *Shìxìng* 史興 and *Nàmùzī* 納木茲). Chirkova (2014:4-5) gives four reasons, why the whole subgroup has been controversial from the very beginning: the restrictive nature of the supporting evidence, small percentage of shared common vocabulary, absence of common innovations and the historical, ethnic and linguistic complexity of the area.

Other researchers (LĀMǎ 1994, HUÁNG 1997:13-15) state that *Nàmùzī* language is genetically related to *Yí* 彝 and *Nà* 納 languages, which is based on much higher number of related words. Guillaume & Michaud (2011) have proposed Naic subgroup consisting of *Nàmùzī*, *Shìxìng* and other Naish languages (*Nàxī* 納西, *Nà* 納 and Laze 拉热).

### 1.4 Previous research

Most of the languages classified as belonging to Southern *Qiāngic* group are not well described until today. *Nàmùzī* language was discovered in 1979 (*Sūn Hóngkāi* 孫宏開), however the first field research was carried on in 1984 led by Chinese linguists (*Huáng Bùfán* 黃布凡 and *Rénzēng Wàngmǔ* 仁增旺姆). The language received more attention after 1991, when several Chinese, Japanese and American linguists started to collect more data. Original data collected often lack high accuracy. Recently, *Huáng Chénglóng* 黃成龍 from the Academy of Social Sciences in Peking carried out fieldwork among the *Nàmùzī*, but the results have not been published yet.

From the available previous works, the main are two lexicons of Tibeto-Burman languages (HUÁNG 1992 and SŪN 1991) with a chapter introducing the phonetic system of the language and containing basic vocabulary. Both lexicons contain language data from the *Luōbō* township 倮波鄉, therefore are relevant as a source of comparison<sup>7</sup>. The first lexicon

<sup>4</sup> For the overview of the history of the Sino-Tibetan linguistics see MATISOFF 1991, VAN DRIEM 2005, Mǎ 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically in the Tibetan autonomous region, in provinces *Qīnghǎi* 青海, *Gānsù* 甘肅, *Yúnnán* 雲南, *Sìchuān* 四川, *Guìzhōu* 貴州 and *Húnán* 湖南 and in autonomous region of *Guǎngxī* 廣西.

<sup>6</sup> This university is formerly known as Central University for Nationalities.

<sup>7</sup> Even the comparison between these two lexicons shows that the collected data are not always accurate. Some

contains 1822 lexeme entries and was conducted by *Huáng Bùfán* 黃布凡 and *Níng Yù* 寧玉; the latter contains 1004 lexeme entries and was conducted after 1956 by *Sūn Hóngkāi* 孫宏開.

Among other primary sources, there are several articles with examples of original texts (NISHIDA 2005 and GUÓ 2011) from the same township as mentioned above, which are much more accurate.

Last month before submitting this thesis, I found a book published in December 2016 written by *Yīn Wèibīn* 尹蔚彬 from Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (中國社會科學院) on NMZ grammar with annotated texts. This work represents the largest description of NMZ grammar (excluding my thesis) up-to-date, therefore I tried to make a comparison of my and dr. *Yīn's* analysis. The chapter on grammar has only cca 25 pages including example sentences and the focus is on the annotated texts. There are 13 stories collected during three field trips (2010 for cca 1 month, 2012 for 2 months and 2013 for two months).

Beside these works, there was published an article on the variety of *Luóguōdǐ* 鑼鍋底 village in *Miǎnnìng* 冕寧 county (LIÚ 1996) and a MA thesis on *Jiǔlóng* 九龍 county variety describing phonetics and grammar (SHĒN 2013), however, these works describe another variety, so they are considered only as a reference. A very brief grammar sketch on NMZ language can be found in the work *Fifteen Tibeto-Burman Languages* (HUÁNG & RÉNZĒNG 1991) and some notes on grammar of NMZ can be found also in the book *An Introduction to Sino-Tibetan Languages* (Mǎ 2003).

Several works were written by Libu Lakhi (2007, 2009), however my language consultant, having heard recordings, which are available, claimed that it is a variety of *Nàxī* language, which is intelligible to him to some extent. During my fieldwork and visit of *Luōbō* township, several people were talking about “*Nàxī Nàmùzī*” - people who should belong to the same ethnic group, but are speaking different language. When I compared my own data with the work of Libu Lakhi, I have found out it reflects at least another dialect, if not another language. However, this situation supports the existence of the so-called Naic group languages as proposed by Guillaume & Michaud (2011). Chirkova (2014:6) also points out that the conclusion of the existence of closer relation between Naic languages “*has been reached on the basis of historical, cultural, and anthropological evidence*” by *Yáng* (2006).

Other sources contain very little data about *Nàmùzī* language and can be mainly used as a reference to the Tibeto-Burman language group as a whole<sup>8</sup>.

My goal is to provide a description of from the synchronic perspective. Given that there is a very limited previous research on NMZ, I also consulted other works on either neighboring languages or languages, which might be genetically affiliated to NMZ. However descriptions of (for my work relevant) TB languages written in English either work with methods of historical phonetics and grammar, which I did not find very helpful for the basic description of the NMZ grammar when almost no other research on this language is available, or it was problematic to find a work with similar gramatical features. Research written in Chinese conducted mainly on the universities in PRC (excl. Hongkong) usually follow a uniform muster, however these works are often not detailed enough to provide sufficient data

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of the entries are clearly in local dialect of Chinese rather than in *Nàmùzī* language; some meanings do not match, or the borders of the words are not correctly determined. The critical evaluation of the above mentioned works was already made in my M.A. thesis “The Namuyi Language – Its Characteristics and Research”. However, these two lexicons significantly facilitated the preparatory stages of my research, helping to determine the main problems of phonetics and grammar.

<sup>8</sup> The question of origin of the NMZ is actually also very interesting. NMZ believe they originally come from India, residing in Nepal and Tibet before arriving to the place they live today. There is a work on spreading of the TB languages from archaeological perspective published quite recently which tries to clarify the language diversity of the area (MARŠÁLEK 2015).

for comparison<sup>9</sup>.

## 1.5 Methodology

### 1.5.1 Theoretical background

Concerning methodology of field research and further analysis of the obtained material, I have chosen, besides relying on sources of traditional Western linguistic provenience (e.g. COMRIE & SMITH 1977), to take into consideration also several works by Chinese linguists (e.g. CHÉN 1998, WÉN 2006).

In the process of collecting language data and preparing questionnaires, it was very important to maintain not only the western view on language, but also to be aware of a different (Chinese) linguistic tradition.

### 1.5.2 Field work

In order to obtain basic data for my thesis, I have conducted two times field research to *Sìchuān*: winter 2011 (1 month) and summer 2012 (2 months). My teaching duties at Charles University did not allow me to spend more time in the field. Due to the difficult accessibility of the rural *Nàmùzī* areas, I worked predominantly among the *Nàmùzī* residents of *Xīchāng* 西昌, the capital of *Liángshān Yì* Autonomous Prefecture. My main informant was *Wáng Wénfā* (王文發, a 65 years old, former teacher at an elementary school in his native township *Luǒbō* in *Mùlǐ* county (木里县倮波乡). With his help, I was able to visit the village *Gānhǎizi* 干海子 in *Luǒbō* township collecting language data and also used the rare chance to witness and document a funeral and a wedding ceremony<sup>10</sup>.

For gathering the data of the language corpus, I used the method of recording the spoken word and simultaneously making notes by hand, with subsequent verification and immediate correction or recording of longer speech with translation and annotation after the recording, with the help of main language consultant. During the process, every word was carefully written down, while paying attention to the way of pronunciation and most of the words were cross-checked to ensure the most accurate transcription to IPA as well as translation to Chinese language.

### 1.5.3 Collected material

I started with the adapted Swadesh list of basic vocabulary to get the impression of the language, continued with a grammar questionnaire I prepared and then I decided to let the consultant dictate me several stories. The method of dictation has its pros and cons, namely it does not allow to capture natural flow of speech, so I had to leave the phonotactics undescribed and did not answer prosodical questions, however it turned out to be extremely useful for having the comparison of several words pronounced alone and in context as a part of a clause. Dictation also allowed me to collect more material during the limited time and solved the problem of artificial sentences or sometimes the desire of the consultant to satisfy to answer the question on grammar despite the answer would sound rather strange in the language. The working language was Chinese. During the work on the grammar questionnaire, I have found out that despite all efforts to avoid the contamination caused by the working language, Chinese constructions can very easily affect the answer. Therefore I did

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. the following works I have studied: Chirkova (2009) on *Shixing*, Denwood (1999) on Tibetan, Hé & Jiāng (1985) and Michaud et al. (2013) on *Nàxī*, Huáng & Zhōu (1996) and LaPolla (2003) on *Qiāng* and Zhang (2013) on *Ērsū*.

<sup>10</sup> The above mentioned field research was funded by the internal grant of the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University (VG078 – The Phonological System of Namuyi Language).



not incorporate some features concerning grammar to the work if they were not proven in the constructions of the narrated stories.

Due to limited financial resources, I did only sound recordings, using affordable dictaphone Olympus LS-5 Linear PCM Recorder.

## 1.6 Concluding remarks

The main goal of this work is to provide basic characteristics of one of the variety of the NMZ language from the synchronic perspective, which is based on authentic data collected during own field research. The first part provides information on phonology of the language, including the comparison to previous research. Second part is composed of description of the main grammar features, based on analysis of the collected material using standard philological procedures. The appendix provides piece of the collected corpus with basic annotation.

I am aware of limitations of my work due to the lack of the most modern technology and rather short time in the field, on the other hand my work should serve as the basis for further systematic and more detailed research of this interesting language. I also regard the results of this thesis as a preliminary, yet very important first step for future linguistic, historic, ethnographic studies, hoping that I will continue to broaden and deepen my own linguistic competence to provide more accurate and useful analysis.

Finally let me do several technical remarks on this work. I have decided to use my own transcription system together with IPA. All terms in Chinese are written in *pīnyīn* alphabet and in italic, the meaning of the words or morphemes is printed in small capitals. The annotation consists of the first line in my own transcription system, where I also indicate the structure of the sentence using standard interpunction; the second line is the representation in IPA; the third line provides the meaning (abbreviation instead of a meaningful word means that the relevant morpheme or word is functional) and the fourth line provides information on the word class or the type of the morpheme. Translation is provided always in italic. Therefore I do not follow the *Leipzig glossing rules* in the sense of graphic representation in my own examples (all meanings and grammatical morphemes are printed in small capitals), however when citing example sentences of other authors, I provide the example as it has been analysed by the author (only adding one line of English translation if the original was in Chinese) and with a change of graphic representation of tones instead of numeral indexes.

The chosen graphic annotation system based on the work of prof. Harbsmeier (*n.d.*), strictly separates the glosses on the meaning (and grammatical morphemes) from word classes and allows us to provide graphic representation of the syntactic structure when needed. The annotations in the texts in Appendix follow the graphic representation according to Leipzig glossing rules.

Fig.1 → Glossing of our examples

1. **nuò** ← transcription  
nuoʔ ← IPA  
YOU ← semantic gloss  
pron ← word class

Fig.2 → Glossing of cited examples

- (2) nuoʔ ← transcription in IPA  
2SG ← English translation  
你 ← original gloss

## 2 Phonology of the *Nàmùzī* language

### 2.1 Syllable Structure

#### 2.1.1 Introduction of two basic models

There are two basic models of syllable structure used in linguistics for description of the phonological system of different languages used up-today. Syllable<sup>11</sup> is considered to be the main natural basic part of the speech, or „*the smallest possible unit of the speech*“ (LADEFOGED 2001:243), whereas this is also reflected in writing systems in most of the Sino-Tibetan languages. Moreover, in ST languages, the internal structure of syllables follows many restrictions, which leads to their comparatively limited number, which are allowed in given language.

The typical model used in linguistics for the description of syllable structure usually consists of two segments: **onset** and **rime**, the latter splits into **nucleus** and **coda**. However every syllable carries also supra-segmental features, which are often omitted in description with the exception of tonal languages, where the third part of the syllable, the **tone**, is either carried by the syllable as a whole or by the rime. Tones are basically specific features of fundamental frequency (F0)<sup>12</sup>, which are used not only for intonation, but also for distinction of the specific language unit (e.g. syllable, word) analogously to consonants and vowels.

The second model used mainly by Chinese linguists or linguists of ST languages usually consists of three segments: **initial** (*shēngmǔ* 聲母), **final** (*yùnmǔ* 韻母) and **tone** (*shēngdiào* 聲調). The final in Chinese can be further divided into **medial** (*yùntóu* 韻頭) and **subfinal** (*yùn* 韻) or **rhyme**, which itself can be further divided into **central** (*yùnfù* 韻腹) and **terminal** (*yùnwěi* 韻尾). The tone is carried by the final<sup>13</sup>.

Both systems are mutually compatible only in case of the supra-segmental element of the tone. However, they differ in case of the internal structure of the rime or final respectively. Moreover, even though they seem to be compatible in the case of the onset/initial, which consists of a single consonant or a consonant cluster, the semivowels or liquids (referred as medials in the case of the Chinese model) are sometimes perceived as a part of the onset rather than of the rime in the typical model, while they are perceived to be part of the final together with the rhyme in the Chinese model.

Also the nucleus typically consists of a monophthong, diphthong, triphthong or syllabic consonant and may be followed by a coda, which is either a single consonant or a consonant cluster; while in the Chinese model, the rhyme (subfinal) consists of the central, which is the most prominent vowel of the syllable and a terminal, which can be either a less prominent vowel or a consonant<sup>14</sup> (see Fig. 1).

<sup>11</sup> There is no agreement of the phonetic definition of the term syllable itself, however syllables are considered as important units of language, which is easily identified even with persons, who were not educated in language theory (LADEFOGED 2001).

<sup>12</sup> The fundamental frequency is the rate of the vibration of vocal cords. (DUANMU 2007:225)

<sup>13</sup> E.g. SPEŠNEV 1980, HUANG&LIAO 2007, BAXTER 1992 ad.

<sup>14</sup> The bi-section of the syllable is represented in the system of *qièyùn* 切韻, which is a system of description of the pronunciation of a certain Chinese character using other two characters, while the described character has the same initial with the first following character and the same final with the second following character; the tri-section of the syllable (initial-medial-rhyme) is represented in the *Zhùyīn Zìmǔ* 註音字母 (known also as „Bopomofo“) phonetic notation system.

Sino-Tibetan linguistics usually follows the tradition of using the basic idea of the Chinese model for description of syllable structure, which allows us to compare the phonological system of the described language with other languages of the ST language family. Therefore I will follow this tradition in this work.

The *Nàmùzī* language can be described as a syllabic language. The boundary of a single morpheme usually overlaps with the boundary of one or more syllables and the number of unique syllables is rather limited due to phonotactic restrictions.

Fig. 1 → Difference between the typical and Chinese model of syllable structure

Syllable				
Onset		Rime		
Consonant	Glide	Nucleus		Coda
<b>l</b>	<b>i̇</b>	<b>ɑ</b>	<b>ʊ̇</b>	
<b>m</b>	<b>i̇</b>	<b>æ</b>		<b>n'</b>
		Central	Terminal	
	Medial	Rhyme		
Initial		Final		
Syllable				

Matisoff (2003:11) reconstructs the following structural elements of syllables of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman language: **initial**, which may be comprised of a **root** consonant preceded by up to **two** consonantal **prefixes** and followed by a liquid or semivowel **glide**, which has ambiguous position between the initial and the next element called **rhyme**. The rhyme may be minimally comprised of a simple vowel, which may be followed by a restricted set of **final** consonants and a **suffix**. The whole syllable may be carrying a **tone** (this, however, remains uncertain up-to-date). The whole structure thus looks like this: C<sub>P2</sub>-C<sub>P1</sub>-C<sub>R</sub>-C<sub>G</sub>-V-C<sub>F</sub>-C<sub>S</sub>/ T.

When we try to use this system for the syllable structure of the Tibetan language, then the first prefix corresponds to the prefix in Tibetan script, the second prefix corresponds to the superfix of the Tibetan script, the root consonant may be then followed by a glide, which corresponds to the subfix of the Tibetan script, the final corresponds to the suffix of the script and the suffix corresponds to the post-suffix of the Tibetan script.

### 2.1.2 Syllable structure of the *Nàmùzī* language

The structure of syllables of the *Nàmùzī* language might look quite simple on the first sight. They consist of an initial (either simple or compound), which is followed by a rhyme, consisting mostly of monophthongs, however several fricatives can be used as a syllabic nucleus. Except very few occurrences, syllables with vowel clusters are mostly loanwords from Chinese. The only glides in original *Nàmùzī* words are /ɥ/ and /j/. The phonotactics of the *Nàmùzī* language does not allow any codas after the nucleus, that means every syllable is open. Some of the syllables can be pronounced as rhotacized. Each word is pronounced in one of the tonal patterns.

## 2.2 List of possible initials

Along with other languages of the TB group, *Nàmùzī* language has rather extensive set of possible phonemes which can function as initial. Initial itself is optional, that means there exists **null initial**, however beside **simple initials** consisting of a single consonant, simple initial of specific type can combine together with another, forming consonant cluster or **compound initial**. All consonants are exclusively pulmonic egressive, there are triplets of **voiced**, **voiceless** and **aspirated** phonemes having distinctive features and we can find consonants of almost all manners of articulation except taps or flaps.

Let us look closely on the simple initials at first. The following table provides the representation of each initial phoneme and its allophones using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), followed by a transcription system, which we use in this work, a description of each phoneme and an example of a word, where this phoneme appears. The phonemes and their allophones are sorted according to the place (from the front to back) articulation and internally grouped according to the manner of pronunciation (stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, laterals, trills, approximants)<sup>15</sup>.

IPA	Transcr.	Description and remarks	Example	
<b>(1) Bilabials</b> (articulated with both lips)				
/p/	p	Voiceless unaspirated stop. Stops are articulated by blocking the vocal track in order to cease the airflow, which is then released.	/puɿŋiɿ/ pŭnyĩ	steamer 蒸子
/pʰ/	ph	Voiceless aspirated stop.	/pʰuɿluɿ/ phŭlŭ	white 白
/b/	b	Voiced unaspirated stop.	/beɿɦɿɿɿ/ běhnĩ	to listen to 聽
/m/	m	Voiced nasal stop. Occurs either as a simple initial, or as an allophone of /n-/ before bilabial consonant.	/mæɿkuɿ/ mākŭ	tail 尾巴
/b̥b̥/	bb	Voiced unaspirated bilabial stop with trill release. This phoneme is articulated as /b/ in the beginning, with both lips vibrating by the release <sup>16</sup> . This initial occurs just alone or before -u, however it is not an allophone of /b/.	/b̥b̥uda/ Bbuda	<i>surname</i> 王 (姓)
/p̥p̥/	pb	Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop with trill release. This phoneme is articulated as /p/ in the beginning, with both lips vibrating by the release. This initial occurs only alone.	/p̥p̥/ pbĩh	to deliver 送
/w/	w	Voiced labiovelar approximant. This initial is a positional variant of a null initial before the glide -ɿ-.	/ɿaɿɿaɿ/ wăwă	to wipe 擦

<sup>15</sup> Note that the following list depicts all occurrences of possible sounds in *Nàmùzī* language (phonemes with its allophones and free forms). The phonemic system is given later.

<sup>16</sup> Despite Maddieson (1993: 284) states that „prenasalized instances are virtually the only occurrence of bilabial trills in world's languages“ and lists only two groups of languages, where these bilabial trills occurs – African and Austronesian languages, it seems that in *Nàmùzī* language the bilabial trills occur also under circumstances, where there is no prenasalization. However, as these bilabial trills, whether or not prenasalized, occur only alone or before -u, it might be plausible to anticipate that these trills have developed from a sequence of a nasal consonant, bilabial stop and high back rounded vowel.

<b>(2) Labiodentals (articulated with upper lip and upper teeth)</b>				
/f/	f	Voiceless unaspirated fricative. Fricatives are articulated by placing two articulators close together, thus causing turbulent flow of the air.	/fa\ɣa\/ fàxǎ	to fly away 飛走
/v/	v	Voiced unaspirated fricative.	/vu\/ vù	liquor 酒
<b>(3) Alveolars (articulated with the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge)</b>				
/t/	t	Voiceless unaspirated stop.	/to\mu\/ tomu	like this 這樣
/tʰ/	th	Voiceless aspirated stop.	/tʰi\/ thî	month 月份
/d/	d	Voiced unaspirated stop.	/da\ɔ̃z\/ dàdzhěh	big 大
/n/	n	Voiced nasal stop.	/na\kʰa\/ nàkhà	black 黑
/l̥/	lh	Voiceless lateral approximant. It is quite common in ST languages. The air is not blocked, but flows over the sides of the tongue.	/ji\l̥a\/ yìlhâ	tongue 舌頭
/l/	l	Voiced lateral approximant.	/læ\lqæ\/ lǎqǎ	hand 手
/t̪b/	tb	Voiceless unaspirated stop with voiced trill release. This phoneme is articulated as /t/ in the beginning, but with lips vibrating by the release. This initial occurs just alone or before -u, however it is not an allophone of /t/.	/t̪b\/ tbìh	to slaughter 屠殺
/d̪b/	db	Voiced bilabially trilled affricate. Occurs only before -u. May be perceived as co-articulated consonant. Analogically, it also is not an allophone of /d/.	/d̪b\/ dbù	wild 野蠻
<b>(4) Alveolar fricatives and affricates</b>				
/ts/	ts	Voiceless unaspirated affricate. Affricates are articulated as the combination of stops and fricatives, starting as the former and ending as the latter.	/tsi\/ tsih	salt 鹽
/tʰs/	tsh	Voiceless aspirated affricate.	/tʰsuo\/ tshuò	human 人
/dz/	dz	Voiced unaspirated affricate.	/dzi\/ dzìh	to eat 吃
/s/	s	Voiceless unaspirated fricative – sibilant.	/sa\/ sǎ	to count 計算
/z/	z	Voiced unaspirated fricative – sibilant.	/zi\/ zih	four 四
<b>(5) Retroflexes (articulated with the tip of the tongue between the alveolar ridge and the hard palate)</b>				
/tʃ/	c	Voiceless unaspirated affricate.	/tʃu\ku\/ cǐhkû	nail 指甲
/tʃʰ/	ch	Voiceless aspirated affricate.	/tʃʰu\/ chìh	dog 狗
/dzʃ/	dzh	Voiced unaspirated affricate.	/dzʃu\ɔ̃zi\/ dzhìhgyî	paper 紙
/ʃ/	sh	Voiceless unaspirated fricative.	/ʃa\/ shà	language 語言
/zʃ/	zh	Voiced unaspirated fricative.	/zu\/ zhû	grass 草

<b>(6) Palatals</b> (articulated with the body of the tongue against the hard palate)				
/tɕ/	ky	Voiceless unaspirated affricate.	/tɕyɫmuɫ/ kyũmû	together 一起
/tɕʰ/	khy	Voiceless aspirated affricate.	/tɕʰiɫyɫ/ khyiyũ	to sleep 睡覺
/dʒ/	gy	Voiced unaspirated affricate.	/dʒyɫ/ gyú	belly 肚子
/ŋ/	ny	Voiced nasal stop. Occurs only before /i/ and /y/, positional variant (allophone) of /n/.	/ŋiɫmiɫ/ nyîmî	sun 太陽
/j/,/ɥ/	y	Voiced palatal approximant. Positional variants (unlabialized and labialized) of a null initial before the glide -j-.	/jiɫntaɫ/ yîntà	in the past 從前
<b>(7) Velars</b> (articulated with the back of the tongue against the soft palate)				
/k/	k	Voiceless unaspirated stop.	/zɥɫkæɫ/ zhîhkâ	rope 繩子
/kʰ/	kh	Voiceless aspirated stop.	/kʰəɫ/ khèr	under 之下
/g/	g	Voiced unaspirated stop.	/gaɫmuɫ/ gâmû	very 很
/ŋ/	ng	Voiced nasal stop. May function either as a simple initial or as an allophone of /n-/ before velar consonant.	/ŋaɫ/ ngà	I 我
/x/	x	Voiceless fricative.	/xaɫ/ xǎ	away 去
/xⁿ/	xn	Voiceless nasalized fricative. Occurs only before nasalized vowel, however the nasalization is clearly heard during friction. It may be the allophon of /x/ before nasalized vowel.	/zɥɫxⁿũɫ/ zêhxⁿû	child 孩子
<b>(8) Uvulars</b> (articulated with the root of the tongue against the uvula)				
/q/	q	Voiceless unaspirated stop.	/loɫqoɫ/ loqo	place 地方
/qʰ/	qh	Voiceless aspirated stop.	/qʰoɫsoɫ/ qhôtsô	star 星星
/g/	gh	Voiced unaspirated stop.	/loɫgiɫ/ lôghî	to put on 穿上
/χ/	xr	Voiceless fricative.	/χuoɫ/ xruò	ten 十
/ʁ/	hr	Voiced fricative.	/ʔæɫkoɫ/ âhrô	egg 蛋
/Nⁿ/	n-	This voiced nasal stop occurs only as a prenasalized part of a compound initial and therefore it is allways pronounced without release. It is actually an allophone of /n-/ before an uvular consonant.		
<b>(9) Glottals</b> (articulated using the vocal folds)				
/h/	h	Voiced glottal fricative.	/ɦaɫ/ hǎ	that 那
/hⁿ/	hn	Voiced nasalized glottal fricative. Occurs only before nasalized vowel, however the nasalization is clearly heard during friction <sup>17</sup> .	/hⁿiɫ/ hni	eight 八
/ʔ/	-	Glottal stop. A positional variant of a null initial.	/ʔaɫmiɫ/ âmî	mom 妈妈

<sup>17</sup> The nasalization of the glottal fricative is also described in *Nàxī* language (MICAUD 2006:27-32).

Next group of initials may be perceived as compound initials consisting of labial stop and followed by an alveolar or retroflex sibilant. However, these compound initials somehow resemble affricates and may be described as a labial stop with either alveolar or retroflex sibilant release. Despite the fact there are two places of articulation, the voiced bilabially trilled alveolar affricate /ḏḃ/ is usually treated as a simple phoneme, therefore we have decided to treat these labio-alveolar and labio-retroflex affricate initials accordingly as simple initials. These affricates are restricted to appear either with null final or before monophthong **-u** /u/.

<b>(10) Labio-alveolar and labio-retroflex affricates</b>				
/p <sup>h</sup> s/	phs	Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop followed by voiceless alveolar sibilant. In speech I have recorded, it only appears in compound initials together with prenasalized /m/.		
/p <sup>h</sup> ʂ/	psh	Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop followed by voiceless retroflex sibilant.	/p <sup>h</sup> ʂu/ / Pshīh	Tibetan 藏人

Next group of initials are initial clusters. The only existing clusters are combination of implosive prenasalized stop followed by labial, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar or uvular consonant. Initial clusters have only opposition between voiced and aspirated clusters.

<b>(11) Cluster of nasal and labial</b>				
/mb/	mb	Bilabial voiced nasal stop without release followed by bilabial voiced unaspirated plosive.	/mbaʋ/ / mbà	to leave 走
/mp <sup>h</sup> /	mph	Bilabial voiced nasal stop without release followed by bilabial voiceless aspirated plosive.	/mp <sup>h</sup> iʋ/ / mphì	to spit 吐
/mp <sup>h</sup> s/	mphs	Bilabial voiced nasal stop without release followed by labio-alveolar voiceless aspirated affricate. Sometimes, the aspiration can be weakened.	/mp <sup>h</sup> siʋ/ / mphsih	to cut 切割
<b>(12) Cluster of nasal and alveolar</b>				
/nd/	nd	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by alveolar voiced unaspirated plosive.	/ndoʋ/ / ndò	to see 看
/nt/	nt	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by alveolar voiceless unaspirated plosive. This initial compound has occurred just in one case in my recordings.	/jɪlntaʋ/ / yîntâ	in the past 從前
/nt <sup>h</sup> /	nth	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by alveolar voiceless aspirated plosive.	/nt <sup>h</sup> aʋ/ / nthă	to bite 咬
/ndz/	ndz	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by alveolar voiced unaspirated affricate.	/ndzuʋ/ / ndzù	to sit 坐
/nt <sup>h</sup> s/	ntsh	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by alveolar voiceless aspirated affricate.	/nt <sup>h</sup> aʋ/ / ntshá	sign 記號
/ḏḃ/	ḏḃ	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by voiced bilabially trilled affricate..	/aḏḃuʋ/ / âḏḃù	to eat 用餐



<b>(13) Cluster of nasal and retroflexive</b>				
/ndz/	ndzh	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by retroflexive voiced unaspirated affricate.	/ndzuɿ/ ndzhû	to shout 喊叫
/ntʂʰ/	nch	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by retroflexive voiceless aspirated affricate.	/ntʂʰɿ/	to be tired 累
<b>(14) Cluster of nasal and palatal</b>				
/ndʒ/	ngy	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by palatal voiced unaspirated affricate.	/ndzyɿ/ ngyû	to reject 拒掉
/ntʃʰ/	nkhy	Alveolar voiced nasal stop without release followed by palatal voiceless aspirated affricate.	/ntʃʰiɿ/ nkhyĩ	exp suffix 過
<b>(15) Cluster of nasal and velar</b>				
/ŋg/	ngg	Velar voiced nasal stop without release followed by velar voiced unaspirated plosive.	/ŋgiɿ/ nggĩ	to believe 相信
/ŋkʰ/	nkh	Velar voiced nasal stop without release followed by velar voiceless aspirated plosive.	/ŋkʰiɿ/ nkhĩ	thread 線
<b>(16) Cluster of nasal and uvular</b>				
/ŋg/	ngh	Uvular voiced nasal stop without release followed by uvular voiced unaspirated plosive.	/ŋgoɿ/ nghò	to drop 掉下
/ŋqʰ/	nqh	Uvular voiced nasal stop without release followed by uvular voiceless aspirated plosive.	/ŋqʰɿ/	to steal 偷
/ŋx/	nxr	Uvular voiced nasal stop without release followed by uvular voiceless fricative.	/ŋxoɿ/ nxrõ	to kill 殺

The table above presents all possible sounds which may occur as initials in *Nàmùzī* language. Since there is sometimes a problem to find true minimal pairs in the corpus we have obtained, we have to rely on „near minimal pairs“ and sometimes on analogy. Thus the following phonemic system is only a proposition how it possibly could work, based on the available data, which needs to be further examined and adjusted according to new discoveries.

## 2.2.1 Minimal pairs

There are two main problems with minimal pairs in NMZ: the first is the existence of tones (see Chapter 2.4), which causes that most of the pairs are just „near minimal pairs“ and the second are features of assimilation and reduction, which occur mainly in monosyllabic functional words.

The method of determining phonemic status of a sound depends on whether it has some distinctive feature which can distinguish one word from another (RADFORD 1999:84). Therefore we have to ask at first, if two different sounds are in *complementary distribution*. If not, we try to perform a substitution test, that is to find *minimal pairs* in order to decide, whether they are free variants or separate phonemes.

### (1) Set of bilabial initials

This set is represented by a triplet (voiceless, aspirated, voiced) of stops **p** /p/, **ph** /p<sup>h</sup>/ and **b** /b/; a pair (voiceless and voiced) of vibrants **bb** /b̄b/ and **pb** /p̄b/, nasal **m** /m/ as simple initials; and a pair (voiced and aspirated) of prenasalized **mb** /mb/ and **mph** /mp<sup>h</sup>/; and **mphs** /mp<sup>h</sup>s/ as compound initials.

The last one has been found only in one syllable with null final **mphs-ih** /mp<sup>h</sup>siʔ/.

Except vibrants, all other bilabial initials can occur before **-a** /a/, **-i** /i/, **-u** /u/ and **-er** /ə/. They never occur before **-e** /e/, **-eh** /ɛ/ and null final. Prenasalized bilabials do not occur before **-o** and **-uh** /u/. Vibrants occur only before null final **-ih** /ɪ/, **-i** /i/, **-u** /u/ and **-er** /ə/.

	<b>a</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>er</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>eh</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>uh</b>	<b>ih</b>
<b>p ph b m</b>	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
<b>bb pb</b>	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
<b>mb mph</b>	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

As we can see, bilabials are not in complementary distribution. The near minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>bb x b</b>	<b>bbûmû</b>	b̄buːl.muːl	<i>yak butter</i>	<b>bûmũ</b>	buːl.muːl	<i>to help</i>
<b>ph x b</b>	<b>phûdzhâ</b>	p̄huːl.dʒaːl	<i>white</i>	<b>bûdzhâ</b>	buːl.dʒaːl	<i>knife</i>
<b>p x b</b>	<b>pî</b>	piːl	<i>to recite</i>	<b>bî</b>	biːl	<i>to leave</i>
<b>ph x p</b>	<b>phî</b>	p̄hiːl	<i>group</i>	<b>pî</b>	piːl	<i>to recite</i>
<b>mb x b</b>	<b>mbér</b>	mbəːl	<i>wife</i>	<b>bër</b>	bəːl	<i>full of</i>
<b>mb x mph</b>	<b>mbà</b>	mbaːl	<i>to go</i>	<b>mphà</b>	mp̄haːl	<i>to spit</i>
<b>m x b</b>	<b>ămî</b>	ʔaːl.miːl	<i>mother</i>	<b>ăbî</b>	ʔaːl.biːl	<i>be thin</i>

## (2) Set of alveolar initials

Similarly to bilabial set, alveolar set is also represented by a triplet (voiceless, aspirated, voiced) of stops (**t** /t/, **th** /tʰ/ and **d** /d/), a pair of vibrants (**tb** /tβ/ and **db** /dβ/) and there is a pair of laterals (**l** /l/ and voiceless **lh** /l̥/) and one nasal (**n** /n/) as simple initials. Compound initials are represented by a triplet (**nd** /nd/, **nt** /nt/ and **nth** /ntʰ/) and one prenasalized vibrant (**ndb** /ndβ/).

Compound initial **nt** /nt/ has been found only in one syllable with the final **-a** /a/ in the word **yîntâ** /ji.l.ntaʎ/ IN THE PAST. The distribution of other initials is as follows:

	<b>a</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>er</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>eh</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>uh</b>	<b>ih</b>
<b>t th d n nd</b>	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>l</b>	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
<b>lh</b>	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>tb db ndb</b>	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
<b>nth</b>	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

Because compound initials in other sets always appear in pairs of one voiced and one aspirated and thus the existence of unaspirated voiceless compound initial appears to be unsystematic, it is possible, that in case of the word **yîntâ** /ji.l.ntaʎ/, the last syllable's aspiration was just reduced. Therefore I consider the unaspirated voiceless compound initial to be an allophone of the aspirated counterpart.

Alveolars are also not in complementary distribution. Their minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>t x th</b>	<b>tâ</b>	taʎ	<i>this</i>	<b>thâ</b>	tʰaʎ	<i>time suffix</i>
<b>t x d</b>	<b>tâ</b>	taʎ	<i>this</i>	<b>dâ</b>	daʎ	<i>dative suffix</i>
<b>d x nd</b>	<b>dâ</b>	daʎ	<i>on</i>	<b>ndâ</b>	ndaʎ	<i>to chop</i>
<b>n x l</b>	<b>nuò</b>	nʉoʎ	<i>you</i>	<b>luò</b>	lʉoʎ	<i>be enough</i>
<b>l x lh</b>	<b>lăbèr</b>	la.l.bəʎ	<i>be stupid</i>	<b>lhâ bër</b>	ʎa.l.bə-l	<i>full of gold</i>
<b>n x lh</b>	<b>nâ</b>	naʎ	<i>be tight</i>	<b>lhâ</b>	ʎaʎ	<i>gold</i>
<b>tb x db</b>	<b>tbû</b>	tβuʎ	<i>to slaughter</i>	<b>dbû</b>	dβu-l	<i>to tell</i>
<b>db x ndb</b>	<b>dbù</b>	dβuʎ	<i>be right</i>	<b>ndbù</b>	nβuʎ	<i>menhir</i>
<b>nth x nd</b>	<b>nthà</b>	ntʰaʎ	<i>to poke into</i>	<b>ndâ</b>	ndaʎ	<i>to chop</i>

## (3) Set of alveolar fricatives and affricates

This set is represented by a triplet of affricates (**ts** /tʃ/, **tsh** /tʃʰ/ and **dz** /dʒ/), a pair of fricatives (**s** /s/ and **z** /z/) as simple initials and a pair of prenasalized affricates (**ndz** /ndʒ/ and **ntsh** /ntʃʰ/). Fricatives and affricates never occur before **-er** /ə/ or **-uh** /u/, only fricatives can occur before **-i** /i/ and prenasalized affricates do not occur before **-e** /e/. Their distribution is as follows:

	<b>a</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>er</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>eh</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>uh</b>	<b>ih</b>
<b>ts tsh dz</b>	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
<b>s z</b>	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
<b>ndz ntsh</b>	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+

Even alveolar fricatives and affricates are not in complementary distribution. The minimal pairs are:

<b>ts x tsh</b>	<b>tsà</b>	tsaɻ	<i>to ride</i>	<b>tshà</b>	tʂʰaɻ	<i>to light</i>
<b>s x dz</b>	<b>sà</b>	saɻ	<i>to wipe</i>	<b>dzà</b>	dzaɻ	<i>be capable</i>
<b>s x z</b>	<b>să</b>	saɻ	<i>blood</i>	<b>ză</b>	zaɻ	<i>leopard</i>
<b>ts x z</b>	<b>büşîhtsîh</b>	buɻ.tsiɻ.tsiɻ	<i>pearl</i>	<b>büşîhzîh</b>	buɻ.ziɻ.ziɻ	<i>earthworm</i>
<b>ndz x ntsh</b>	<b>ndzà</b>	ndzaɻ	<i>to be</i>	<b>ntshà</b>	ntsʰaɻ	<i>to remember</i>

#### (4) Set of retroflex initials

This set is very similar to the previous set of alveolar fricatives and affricates. There is a triplet of affricates (**c** /tʂ/, **ch** /tʂʰ/ and **dzh** /dzʂ/), a pair of fricatives (**sh** /ʂ/ and **zh** /zʂ/) as simple initials and a pair of prenasalized affricates (**ndzh** /ndzʂ/ and **nch** /ntʂʰ/). The distribution of this set is quite clear. Retroflex initials may occur only before **-a** /a/, **-u** /u/, **-o** /o/ or **-ih** /uɻ/.

	<b>a</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>er</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>eh</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>uh</b>	<b>ih</b>
<b>c ch dzh</b>	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
<b>sh zh</b>	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
<b>ndzh nch</b>	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+

Minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>c x ch</b>	<b>cîh</b>	tʂuɻ	<i>be afraid</i>	<b>chîh</b>	tʂʰuɻ	<i>dog</i>
<b>sh x dzh</b>	<b>shîh</b>	ʂuɻ	<i>to raise</i>	<b>dzhîh</b>	dzʂuɻ	<i>to put</i>
<b>sh x zh</b>	<b>shâ</b>	ʂaɻ	<i>language</i>	<b>zhâ</b>	zʂaɻ	<i>grain</i>
<b>zh x dzh</b>	<b>shîhzhîh</b>	ʂuɻ.zʂuɻ	<i>be gourmand</i>	<b>shîhdzhîh</b>	ʂuɻ.dzʂuɻ	<i>to think</i>
<b>ndzh x nch</b>	<b>ndzhîh</b>	ndzʂuɻ	<i>to drink</i>	<b>nchîh</b>	ntʂʰuɻ	<i>to collect</i>

#### (5) Set of palatal initials

This set is represented by a triplet of affricates (**ky** /tɕ/, **khy** /tɕʰ/ and **gy** /dʒ/), a nasal (**ny** /ŋ/) and a pair of prenasalized palatal affricates (**ngy** /ndʒ/ and **nkhy** /ntɕʰ/). Palatal initials can occur just before **-i** or **-ü**, with the only exception of personal pronoun **khôxrô** /tɕʰoɻɕoɻ/, however it is possibly only result of reduction of the final.

	<b>ky</b>	<b>khy</b>	<b>gy</b>	<b>ny</b>	<b>ngy</b>	<b>nkhy</b>
<b>i</b>	+	+	+	+	-	+
<b>ü</b>	+	+	+	-	+	+

Minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>ky x khy</b>	<b>kyî</b>	tei̯	<i>one</i>	<b>khyî</b>	te <sup>h</sup> i̯	<i>he</i>
<b>gy x ngy</b>	<b>gyǔ</b>	dzy̯	<i>belly</i>	<b>ngyû</b>	ndzy̯	<i>to reject</i>
<b>gy x ky</b>	<b>gyĩ</b>	dzi̯	<i>to be</i>	<b>kyî</b>	tei̯	<i>one</i>
<b>ny x nkhy</b>	<b>nyĩ</b>	ɲi̯	<i>top. suffix</i>	<b>nkhyĩ</b>	nte <sup>h</sup> i̯	<i>exp. suffix</i>
<b>ny x l</b>	<b>nyî</b>	ɲi̯	<i>two</i>	<b>li</b>	li̯	<i>to return</i>
<b>ny x lh</b>	<b>nyĩmî</b>	ɲi̯.mi̯	<i>sun</i>	<b>lhĩmî</b>	li̯.mi̯	<i>moon</i>

### (6) Set of velar and uvular stops and nasals

The situation with velar and uvular initials is not that clear, because careless pronunciation blurs the difference between velar and uvular initials.

There exist a pair of triplets of velar and uvular stops (**k** /k/, **kh** /k<sup>h</sup>/, **g** /g/ vs. **q** /q/, **qh** /q<sup>h</sup>/, **gh** /g/), and a velar nasal (**ng** /ŋ/) without its uvular counterpart. Compound initials are represented by two pairs of prenasalized stops (**ngg** /ŋg/ and **nkx** /ŋk<sup>h</sup>/ vs. **ngx** /ŋg/ and **nqx** /ŋq<sup>h</sup>/).

We first look at the distribution of the sounds in combination with certain finals:

	<b>a</b> /a/	<b>i</b> /i/	<b>u</b> /u/	<b>o</b> /o/	<b>e</b> /e/	<b>uh</b> /ʊ/	<b>er</b> /ɛ̃/	<b>eh</b> /ɛ̃/	<b>vih</b> /y̯/	<b>va</b> /va/~wa/	<b>vu</b> /vu/~wu/
<b>k</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
<b>kh</b>	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
<b>g</b>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
<b>q</b>	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
<b>qh</b>	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>gh</b>	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>ng</b>	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<b>ngg</b>	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>nkx</b>	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
<b>ngx</b>	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>nqx</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

The minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>k x g</b>	<b>ěrkû</b>	ɛ̃-ɹ.ku̯	<i>skin</i>	<b>ěrgû</b>	ɛ̃-ɹ.gu̯	<i>road</i>
<b>k x kh</b>	<b>kvih</b>	ky̯	<i>to fear</i>	<b>khvih</b>	k <sup>h</sup> ɣ̯	<i>to receive</i>
<b>k x q</b>	<b>māqû</b>	ma:ɹ.ku̯	<i>bamboo knitted</i>	<b>mākû</b>	ma:ɹ.ku̯	<i>tail</i>
<b>kh x qh</b>	<b>khâlâ</b>	k <sup>h</sup> a̯.la̯	<i>be secret</i>	<b>qhâla</b>	q <sup>h</sup> a̯.la̯	<i>ditch</i>
<b>g x gh</b>	<b>gî</b>	gi̯	<i>to collect</i>	<b>ghĩ</b>	gi̯	<i>to wear</i>
<b>q x qh</b>	<b>qâlûh</b>	qa̯.l.ɹa̯	<i>small ditch</i>	<b>qhâlûh</b>	q <sup>h</sup> a̯.l.ɹa̯	<i>basket</i>
<b>ng x g</b>	<b>ngāmû</b>	ɲa̯.mu̯	<i>donkey</i>	<b>gāmû</b>	ga̯.mu̯	<i>very</i>
<b>ng x ngg</b>	<b>ngǎ</b>	ɲa̯	<i>be good</i>	<b>nggǎ</b>	ɲga̯	<i>to fall</i>
<b>n x ng</b>	<b>nâ</b>	na̯	<i>be tight</i>	<b>ngâ</b>	ɲa̯	<i>I</i>

### (7) Set of back fricatives

The set of back fricatives is represented by a pair of velar voiceless and nasalized fricatives (**x** /x/ and **xn** /x<sup>n</sup>/), a pair of voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives (**xr** /χ/ and **hr** /ʁ/), a pair of glottal voiced and nasalized fricative (**h** /ɦ/ and **hn** /ɦ<sup>n</sup>/) and the only initial cluster is a prenasalized uvular fricative (**nxr** /Nχ/).

	<b>a</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>u</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>o</b>
<b>x</b>	+	+	-	+	+
<b>xn</b>	-	-	+	-	-
<b>h</b>	+	-	-	-	-
<b>hn</b>	-	+	+	+	+
<b>xr</b>	+	-	-	-	-
<b>hr</b>	+	-	+	-	-
<b>nxr</b>	-	-	-	-	+

I have found only one occurrence of the prenasalized uvular fricative in the word **nxrö** /Nχo/ TO KILL; and only one occurrence of the velar nasalized fricative in the word **zêhxnû** /zɛʎx<sup>n</sup>ũ/ CHILD. However the latter can be also pronounced with glottal nasalized fricative **zêhhnû** /zɛʎɦ<sup>n</sup>ũ/. Therefore I regard the velar nasalized fricative as a free form of the glottal nasalized fricative.

From the above table, we can also see, that the glottal voiced fricative is clearly in complementary distribution with its nasalized counterpart, therefore I regard **h** /ɦ/ as a positional variant of **hn** /ɦ<sup>n</sup>/. Moreover, words, which are pronounced as voiceless fricative **x** /x/ can be sometimes pronounced as voiced /χ/, however it is never nasalized.

The minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>x x h</b>	<b>xă</b>	xaɫ	<i>away</i>	<b>hă</b>	ɦaɫ	<i>that</i>
<b>xr x hr</b>	<b>âxrô</b>	ʔaɫ.χoɫ	<i>we</i>	<b>âhrô</b>	ʔaɫ.ʁoɫ	<i>uncle</i>

I have not found any minimal pair between **x** /x/ and **xr** /χ/, however words, which are pronounced with **x** /x/, can be pronounced with voiced initial /χ/, but words which are pronounced with **xr** /χ/, cannot be pronounced with its voiced counterpart /ʁ/ or with /χ/. Therefore I still regard **x** /x/ and **xr** /χ/ as separate phonemes. Cf. the next example:

<b>luóxă</b>	/luoʎxaɫ/ ~ ~ /luoʎyaɫ/	<i>open up</i>	<b>xrălâyâ</b>	/χaɫlaɫjaɫ/ */ʁaɫlaɫjaɫ/	<i>a cat</i>
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### (8) Labiodentals and labio retroflex initials

Labiodentals are represented by a pair of fricatives (**f** /f/ and **v** /v/), which can occur only before **-a** /a/ and **-u** /u/. The labio retroflex affricate **psh** /pʰʂ/ can occur before **-a** /a/ or null final **-ih** /u/.

Minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>f x v</b>	<b>fû</b>	fuḽ	<i>what</i>	<b>vû</b>	vuḽ	<i>bear</i>
<b>v x w</b>	<b>và</b>	vaḽ	<i>to lift</i>	<b>Wà</b>	waḽ	<i>Chinese</i>
<b>psh x sh</b>	<b>Pshĩh</b>	p <sup>h</sup> ʂuḽ	<i>Tibetan</i>	<b>shĩh</b>	ʂuḽ	<i>to cause</i>

## (9) Null initial

Null initial has four positional variants. Before **-a /a/** or **-e /e/**, it remains unmarked in the transcription system and it is pronounced as a glottal stop /ʔ/. Before **-u /u/** it is pronounced as a voiced labiovelar aproximant and marked as **w /w/**, before **-i /i/** it is pronounced as a voiced palatal aproximant and marked as **y /j/** and before **-ü /y/** it is pronounced as a voiced palatal labialized aproximant and marked as **y /ɥ/**.

### 2.2.2 Proposed system of initials and comparison to previous works

Based on the previous analysis, I propose the following system of initials in NMZ language. Sounds in brackets are positional variants.

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal	
plosives	p      b p <sup>h</sup>		t      d t <sup>h</sup>			k      g k <sup>h</sup>	q      ɢ q <sup>h</sup>	(ʔ)	<i>allophone of null initial</i>
affricates			ʈ      ɖ ʈ <sup>h</sup>	tʂ      dʂ tʂ <sup>h</sup>	(tɕ) (ɖɕ) (tɕ <sup>h</sup> )				<i>allophones of alveolar plosives</i>
nasals		m		n	(ɲ)	ŋ			<i>allophone of „n“</i>
trills	pB      B		tB      dB						
fricatives		f      v	s      z	ʂ      ʐ		x~ɣ	χ      ʁ	ɦ (ɦ <sup>n</sup> ~χ <sup>n</sup> )	
aproximants		(w)	ɹ      l		(j) (ɥ)				<i>allophones of null initial</i>
PRENASALIZED INITIAL CLUSTERS									
plosives	mp <sup>h</sup> mb mp <sup>hs</sup>		nt      nd ~nt <sup>h</sup>			ŋk <sup>h</sup> ŋg	nq <sup>h</sup> nɢ		
affricates			ntʂ <sup>h</sup> ndʂ	ntʂ    ndʐ	ntɕ <sup>h</sup> ndɕ			Nχ	
trills			ndB						

The oldest work on NMZ language is the research conducted after the year 1956, which reports about 5000 speakers of NMZ language living in *Jiūlóng* county of Tibetan Garze autonomous prefecture of *Sichuān* province (甘孜藏族自治州九龍縣) and in *Yí Liángshān* autonomous prefecture (涼山彝族自治州), namely in counties of *Miǎnníng* 冕寧, *Xīchāng* 西昌, *Yányuán* 鹽源 and *Mùlǐ* 木里. The lexicon (SŪN 1991:236-238) takes the *Luǒbō* township in *Mùlǐ* county (倮木里縣波鄉) as the representative of the whole language group<sup>18</sup>. The system of NMZ initials according to *Sūn* does not recognize any bilabial trills, however it presents 9 more initials (2 simple and 7 compound). Voiceless lateral approximant is described as voiceless alveolar lateral fricative, however with “rather light lateral friction, so the phonetic value is close to /ɬ/” (SŪN 1991:236)<sup>19</sup>. He also stipulates that in small part of words, the velar and uvular initials can be freely interchangeable, that voiced uvular stop /g/ can occur in compound initials only and finally that initials /w/ and /ɛ/ occur mainly in Chinese loanwords.

	bilabial		labiodental		alveolar		retroflex		palatal		velar		uvular		glottal	
plosives	p	b			t	d					k	g	q	(g)		
	p <sup>h</sup>				t <sup>h</sup>						k <sup>h</sup>		q <sup>h</sup>			
affricates					ts	dz	tʂ	dʂ	te	dʑ						
					ts <sup>h</sup>		tʂ <sup>h</sup>		te <sup>h</sup>							
nasals		m				n				ɲ	ŋ					
fricatives		f	v	s	z	ʂ	ʐ	ɛ		x	ɣ	χ	ʁ	h	ɦ	
aproximants		w		ɬ	l					j						
PRENASALIZED INITIAL CLUSTERS																
plosives	mp <sup>h</sup> mb				nt <sup>h</sup> nd			mz <sub>ɿ</sub>		ɲk <sup>h</sup> ŋg	nq <sup>h</sup> ng					
affricates					nts <sup>h</sup> ndz	ntʂ	ndʂ <sub>ɿ</sub>	nte <sup>h</sup> ndʑ								
PLOSIVE + FRICATIVE INITIAL COMPOUND																
plain					p <sup>h</sup> s bz	p <sup>h</sup> ʂ	bz <sub>ɿ</sub>									
prenasalized	mp <sup>h</sup> s mbz						mp <sup>h</sup> ʂ	mbz <sub>ɿ</sub>								

Concerning compound initials, on one hand neither of them goes against the system and it is possible that not all of the possible compound initials have appeared in our limited corpus, on other hand there is e.g. onomatopoeic sound of flying bee /mbzi/ among the examples illustrating those initials, or the form of addressing wife /mbz/ which in my corpus was analysed as /mbə/. I omit features which can occur in onomatopoeic sounds only, otherwise it will cause the whole system to be far more complicated (e.g. “the sound of a toad spitting out” /uæŋŋV/).

The second oldest work on NMZ is the research conducted by *Huáng Bùfán* 黃布凡 and *Níng Yù* 寧玉. This lexicon (HUÁNG 1992:673-674) also takes the *Luǒbō* township in *Mùlǐ* county (倮木里縣波鄉) as the representative, specifically the same village *Gānhǎizǐ Cūn* 甘海子村<sup>20</sup>, where our research was also conducted. The system recognizes bilabial trills as allophones of bilabial and labiodental plosives before /u/ and points out an allophone of velar and uvular nasal cluster, which is before /u/ read with an inserted /v/ between the initial

<sup>18</sup> However it does not identify this variety as the prestige dialect.

<sup>19</sup> ɬ 的邊擦成分較輕，音質近似 ɬ。

<sup>20</sup> The name of the village is now written with different first character of the same pronunciation (干海子村).



and the final. According to this lexicon, the initial /ɛ/ occur mainly in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords and voiced uvular stop /g/ can occur in compound initials only and finally that the retroflex voiced fricative in compound initials is read as /ɿ/.

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal	
plosives	p b p <sup>h</sup>		t d t <sup>h</sup>			k g k <sup>h</sup>	q (g) q <sup>h</sup>	ʔ	
affricates			ts dz ts <sup>h</sup>	tʂ dz <sub>ɿ</sub> tʂ <sup>h</sup>	te dz te <sup>h</sup>				
nasals		m		n		ŋ	ŋ		
trills	(pB) (B)		(tB) (dB)						
fricatives		f v	s z	ʂ z <sub>ɿ</sub>	ɕ	x	ɣ	χ	ʁ h ʔh
aproximants		w		l		j			
PRENASALIZED INITIAL CLUSTERS									
plosives	mp <sup>h</sup> mb		nt <sup>h</sup> nd			ŋk <sup>h</sup> ŋg	nq <sup>h</sup> NG		
affricates			nts <sup>h</sup> ndz	ntʂ ndz <sub>ɿ</sub>	nte <sup>h</sup> ndz				
PLOSIVE + FRICATIVE INITIAL COMPOUND									
plain			p <sup>h</sup> s bz	p <sup>h</sup> ʂ bz <sub>ɿ</sub>					
prenasalized	mp <sup>h</sup> s mbz			mp <sup>h</sup> ʂ mbz <sub>ɿ</sub>					

*Huáng Bùfán* revised the system in the book *An Introduction to Sino-Tibetan Languages* (Mǎ 2003:189), adding the missing voiceless alveolar lateral fricative and the prenasalized /mz/.

The newest research on NMZ is the recently published book on grammar of NMZ with annotated texts by *Yǐn Wèibīn* 尹蔚彬 (2016). The system recognizes bilabial trills as allophones of bilabial and labiodental plosives before /u/ and points out an allophone of velar and uvular nasal cluster, which is before /u/ read with an inserted /v/ between the initial and final. The initial /ɛ/ occur mainly in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords and voiced uvular stop /g/ can occur in compound initials only and the phoneme /h/ is freely interchangeable with /ʔh/. The system of initials is identical to the system proposed by *Sūn* (1991).

Concerning the voiceless lateral approximant, see the spectrogram in Figure 2 at the end of this chapter, which shows the difference of the voiceless lateral approximant as it is pronounced by NMZ native speaker (word **lhànyì** /l̥a\̌.ŋi\̌/ (on the left) and how looks the lateral fricative as pronounced on recording available on Wikipedia /a\̌a/<sup>21</sup> (on the right).

<sup>21</sup> The sound file created by tFighterPilot and licenced under CC is available here: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Voiceless\\_alveolar\\_lateral\\_fricative.ogg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Voiceless_alveolar_lateral_fricative.ogg)

There are five more works on NMZ phonetic system. One is made by *Huáng Bùfán* with *Rénzēng Wàngmǔ* 仁增旺姆 in *Fifteen Tibeto-Burman Languages* (HUÁNG & RÉNZÈNG 1991), which also reflects the same variety of NMZ language. Other works includes the work of *Liú Huīqiáng* 劉輝強 (1996) on the variety spoken in *Luóguōdǐ* 鑼鍋底 village in *Miǎnnìng* 冕寧 county; *Shēn Shūjié* 申淑潔 (2013) on the variety spoken in *Jiǔlóng* 九龍 county; work of Fumidobu Nishida 西田文信 (2013) on the variety spoken in *Miǎnnìng* 冕寧 county and a short article of *Liú Mǐn* 劉敏 (2006) where the variety is not specified.

## 2.3 Finals

Compared to the rather extensive system of initials, the system of finals is quite simple. The vowel system is as follows:

	front		central		back	
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
close	<b>i</b> /i/	<b>ü</b> /y/	<b>ih</b> <sup>22</sup> /i/	<b>uh</b> /u/	<b>ih</b> /u/	<b>u</b> /u/
close-mid	<b>e</b> /e/				<b>eh</b> /ɤ/	<b>o</b> /o/
open-mid	<b>ä</b> /æ/					
open		<b>a</b> /a/				

Some of the finals seem to be originally diphthongs, however in usual speech they are being reduced to monophthongs. The list of finals is as follows:

- (1) **-ä** /æ/ open-mid front unrounded monophthong  
in grammatical words can be reduced to > /a/
- (2) **-a** /a/ open front unrounded monophthong  
preceding velar or uvular initial can move back ~ /ɑ/
- (3) **-i** /i/ close front unrounded monophthong
- (4) **-ie** /ie/ diphtong with medial -i-  
can be reduced to > /e/
- (5) **-ia** /ia/ diphtong with medial -i-
- (6) **-io** /io/ diphtong with medial -i-  
can be reduced to > /o/
- (7) **-ü** /y/ open front rounded monophthong  
after non-palatals is reduced to > /u/
- (8) **-e** /e/ close-mid unrounded monophthong  
can be reduced to > /ɤ/
- (9) **-u** /u/ close back rounded monophthong  
can be reduced to > /ʊ/  
after uvular aspirated plosive can be pronounced as ~ /vu/
- (10) **-ua** /ua/ diphtong with medial -u-  
can be reduced to > /wa/ ~ /va/
- (11) **-uo** /uo/ back rounded diphtong with medial -u-  
after plosives is very often reduced to > /o/
- (12) **-ih** null final  
after trills pronounced as /ɸ/  
after alveolars pronounced as /i/  
after retroflexes pronounced as /u/  
**-vih** after velars and uvulars pronounced as /ɤ/

<sup>22</sup> The **-ih** always marks a null final, which is realized as /i/ after alveolars and /u/ after retroflexes. In older books, these two sounds were usually written as /ɿ/ and /ʌ/.

- (13) **-er /ə/** rhotacized final  
 pronounced as Chinese syllable *er* 兒  
 very often reduced just on r-coloring /ɹ/

Note that after (and often also before) the nasalized glottal fricative, the whole syllable (and the final of previous syllable) undergoes a nasalization<sup>23</sup>.

**kōhnî** /kõɫ.hĩɫ/ TO BE AFFRAID

**phò** /pʰoɫ/ TO RUN + **hnũ** /hũɫ/ TO WANT TO → **phò hnũ** /pʰõɫ.hũɫ/ WANT TO

RUN

Except above mentioned finals, there are several suffixes and particles, which can be directly added at the end of the previous syllable. Sometimes these suffixes or particles act as a syllable, however in a quicker speech, they can become an integral part of the previous syllable, thus forming a diphthong.

**dzih** /dziɫ/ TO EAT + **-e** /e/ INGR > **dzihě** /dziɫ.eɫ/ > **dzè** /dzeɫ/ STARTED EATING

**gyî** /dziɫ/ TO BE + **wũ** /wuɫ/ CONF > **gyiũ** /dziɫ.uɫ/ > **gyio** /dziɫoɫ/ REALLY TO BE

**fù** /fuɫ/ TO FLY + **-i** /i/ PTCP > **fũi** /fuɫ.iɫ/ > **fui** /fuiɫ/ FLYING

Some of the minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>a x ä</b>	<b>âhrô</b>	ʔaɫ.koɫ	<i>uncle</i>	<b>âhrô</b>	ʔæɫ.koɫ	<i>egg</i>
<b>a x e</b>	<b>khâyî</b>	kʰaɫjiɫ	<i>basket</i>	<b>khâyî</b>	kʰeɫjiɫ	<i>who</i>
<b>u x uo</b>	<b>shû</b>	ʃuɫ	<i>to find</i>	<b>shuô</b>	ʃuoɫ	<i>to say</i>
<b>er x ä</b>	<b>lhâběr</b>	ɭaɫ.bəɫ	<i>full of gold</i>	<b>lhâbâ</b>	ɭaɫ.bæɫ	<i>gold</i>
<b>ih x i x e</b>	<b>dzih</b>	dziɫ	<i>eat</i>	<b>dzi</b>	dziɫ	<i>will eat</i>
				<b>dzè</b>	dzeɫ	<i>started to eat</i>

Sün (1991:238-239) presents more complicated system of finals with 10 basic vowels, 8 nasalized vowels, 2 rhotacized vowels and three tight vowels as monophthongs and 19 diphthongs with 3 possible medials /i/, /u/ and /y/.

/i/	/e/	/ɛ/	/a/	/ɔ/	/o/	/u/	/ə/	/y/	/ɹ/	
/ĩ/	/ẽ/	/ẽ̃/	/ã/		/õ/	/ũ/	/ẽ̃/	/ỹ/		
		/eɹ/					/əɹ/			
		/ɛɹ/						/ɹ/	/ɛɹ/	
	/ie/	/iɛ/		/io/			/iə/		/iẽ/	/iã/
/ui/	/ue/	/uɛ/	/ua/	/uo/		/ueɹ/	/uəɹ/	/uẽ/	/uẽ̃/	/uã/
	/ye/	/yɛ/	/yẽ/							

<sup>23</sup> Nasalized „h“ occurs before all close or close-mid vowels, but never before open or open-mid vowels. When trying to reproduce the nasalized sound of the „h“, I have found out, that it is much easier to pronounce it when the mass of the tongue is high, while by opened vowels, the mass of the tongue is naturally lower, my hypothesis is that this is the reason why opened vowels are not nasalized.

*Huáng* (1992:673-674) presents a system of 19 simple finals and 24 compound finals, from which 20 are opened syllables and 4 are closed syllables with nasal coda.

/i/	/e/	/æ/	/a/	/ɔ/	/o/	/u/	/ʉ/	/ə/	/ɿ/	
/ĩ/	/ẽ/	/ã/	/ã/			/ũ/				
		/æˀ/		/ɔˀ/		/ũˀ/				
	/ie/	/iæ/		/io/		/iu/		/iã/	/iõ/	
	/ue/	/uæ/	/ua/	/uo/	/uo/		/uẽ/	/uã/	/uæˀ/	/uɔˀ/
	/əu/	/əɔ/								
/ao/	/ai/	/iao/	/uei/							
/iŋ/	/aŋ/	/uŋ/	/uaŋ/							

The final /ʉ/ has two allophones of /ʉ/ after retroflex initials and /y/ after palatal initials; /ɔ/ can be read /ao/ and is very rare; /o/ can occur only after /j/ and in Chinese loanwords, being in complementary distribution with /uo/; nasalized finals can occur only after glottal initials and in Chinese loanwords and all finals with gray background can occur only in Chinese loanwords. *Huáng* also states that there are several suffixes, which can be directly added at the end of the previous syllable. The system of finals was also later revised (Mǎ 2003:189) to 23 simple finals and 19 compound finals.

*Yin* (2016:6-7) presents a system of 19 simple initials and 25 compound initials. From the system of *Huáng* (1992), it differs in two rounded phonemes /y/ and /ỹ/ instead of /ɿ/, which is regarded as an allophone of /i/ and with the compound final /ia/.

## 2.4 Tones

The tonal system of NMZ language is complicated and more research must be done to describe the situation more reliably.

Each word has its distinctive tone, however the tone can be reduced and influenced by surrounding words and overall intonation, therefore the tone curve is very unstable<sup>24</sup>. It also seems that in compounds, the tone of the second word is heavily influenced by the tone of the preceding word or that the whole compound sometimes takes the tonal contour of its first word.

There are six possible *tone contours*, but we have found at most only four exact words pronounced in different tone contour, therefore there may be only four *tonemes*.

The tone contours are as follows:

(1)	<b>55</b>	<b>â</b>	↑	high level tone
(2)	<b>52</b>	<b>à</b>	↘	falling tone (may be pronounced also as <b>53</b> ↘, <b>42</b> ↘, <b>31</b> ↘)
(3)	<b>22</b>	<b>ǎ</b>	↓	low level tone
(4)	<b>224</b>	<b>ā</b>	↗	long low level tone slightly raising at the end
(5)	<b>35</b>	<b>á</b>	↑	rising tone (may be pronounced also as <b>24</b> ↗)
(6)	<b>33</b>	<b>a</b>	↑	mid-level tone, neutral tone

<sup>24</sup> When asked to reproduce a certain word alone, my language consultant pronounced a lot of words in falling tone, possibly influenced by overall falling intonation of declarative sentence. When asked to repeat the word several times, he pronounced the word in its specific tone in the beginning and with the falling or low intonation the last time. The only exception were words, which can be possibly misunderstood (mostly monosyllabic or disyllabic words where exist a counterpart in another tone).

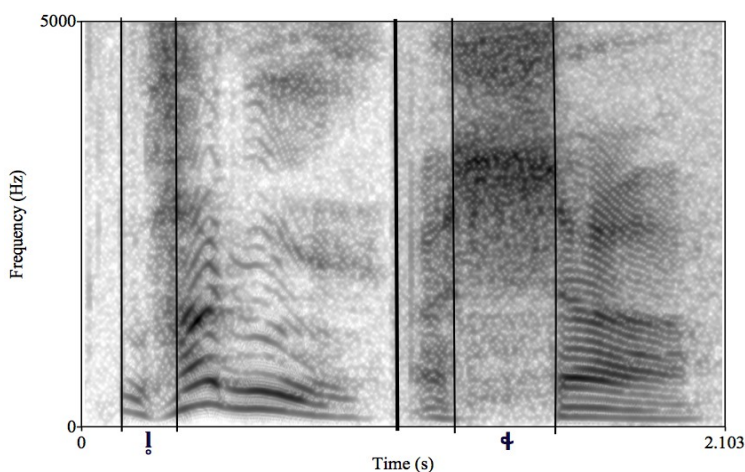
The minimal pairs are as follows:

<b>vû</b>	/vu̯/	<i>bear</i>	<b>vù</b>	/vu̯/	<i>liquor</i>	<b>vũ</b>	/vu̯/	<i>intestine</i>
<b>mâ</b>	/ma̯/	<i>not</i>	<b>mà</b>	/ma̯/	<i>to grasp</i>	<b>mã</b>	/ma̯/	<i>soldier</i>
<b>môngò</b>	/mo̯ŋo̯/	<i>rein</i>	<b>mò</b>	/mo̯/	<i>imper. sp</i>	<b>mó</b>	/mo̯/	<i>horse</i>
<b>mólò</b>	/mo̯l.lo̯/	<i>skill</i>	<b>mólô</b>	/mo̯l.lo̯/	<i>man</i>			
<b>nyĩmĩ</b>	/ŋi̯l.mi̯/	<i>heart</i>	<b>nyĩmĩ</b>	/ŋi̯l.mi̯/	<i>sun</i>			
<b>ãmĩ</b>	/ʔa̯l.mi̯/	<i>now</i>	<b>âmĩ</b>	/ʔa̯l.mi̯/	<i>mother</i>			
<b>nânãmũ</b>	/na̯l.na̯l.mu̯/	<i>tightly</i>	<b>nânãmũ</b>	/na̯l.na̯l.mu̯/	<i>good</i>			

*Sūn* (1991:239) describes four tones: **55** high level, **53** high falling, **33** middle tone (which can be read as **31**) and **35** high rising (which can be read as **24**).

*Huáng* (1992:674) also describes four tones: **55** high level, **53** high falling, **35** high rising (which can be read as **33**) and **31** low falling (which can be also read as **33**) and notes that there usually are words only in two different tones in opposition; the high level tone and high falling tone are very unstable, whereas the high raising and low falling can be differentiated only if they appear at the last syllable, otherwise they are pronounced the same way as mid-level tone. The revised system (Mǎ 2003:189) describes also four tones, but this time identical with *Sūn* (1991). The system of tones by *Yīn* (2016:8-9) is identical with the original tone system of *Huáng* (1992).

Fig. 2 → Difference between voiceless lateral approximant and voiceless lateral fricative



### 3 Parts of speech

#### 3.1 Introduction

Words are formed by compounding or derivation. In spite of the fact that this language is mostly spoken at homes by older generations, new modern words still emerge until today, mostly by compounding (e.g. **phêrmîdâr-lûh** /p<sup>h</sup>ə̌.l.mǐ.dǎ.l.ɬ̌/ TELEVISION, composed of **phêrmî** /p<sup>h</sup>ə̌.l.mǐ/ MIRROR, **dâr** /dǎ/ SHADOW and a classifier **lûh** /ɬ̌/; **tshuòndzòfûsû-lûh** /t<sup>h</sup>uò̌.ndzò̌.fǔ.sǔ.l.ɬ̌/ AIRPLANE, composed of **tshuò** /t<sup>h</sup>uò̌/ HUMAN, **ndzò** /ndzò̌/ TO SIT, **fû** /fǔ/ TO FLY, the nominalizer **sû** /sǔ/ and classifier **lûh** /ɬ̌/). Words can be monosyllabic, however most of the words in NMZ are polysyllabic.

The main word classes include *content words* (verbs, nouns<sup>25</sup>, numerals and adnomina<sup>26</sup>) and *function words* (pronouns, adverbs, classifiers, particles, postpositions, conjunctions, interjections and onomatopoeia)<sup>27</sup>.

It is a characteristic feature of NMZ grammar that, on one hand, verbs, nouns and some other word classes have rather distinct morphology, and on the other hand, most of the formants may be and systematically are omitted. In fact the morphological marking is used only in cases of ambiguity in order to avoid confusion. When the meaning can be understood from the word order and general context, even the inflected word classes occur in their unmarked forms.

Therefore beside the morphological criteria, I have adopted the functional approach to define each of the grammatical category. Also, regarding word classes as a sum of possible syntactic functions which a certain unit can assume, complies with the sinological tradition<sup>28</sup> and thus enable us to easily make further comparisons to Chinese and other ST languages concerned. Most of the main word classes will be further subdivided into subcategories of different types according to their grammatical characteristics, e.g. their ability to assume certain syntactic functions, to interact with surrounding words or to participate in certain constructions.

Unlike most Indo-European languages, in NMZ there is no corresponding relation between word classes and syntactic constituents. With the exception of adverbs, which have quite a limited syntactic function, all other word classes can appear unmarked and without any morphologically distinctive feature in variety of syntactic roles.

To illustrate the problem, let us look at two words – the word **mǎ** /mǎ/ <n> ARMY and **sihsîh** /sǐ.hsǐ/ <vt> TO FIGHT. The first word is composed of one morpheme. This kind of collective noun mostly do not appear in an apposition with a classifier (if it appears with a classifier, it will slightly change its meaning, e.g. with classifier **m û** /mǔ/ → **mǎ-mû** /mǎ.mǔ/ SOLDIER), and it appears in sentences without any formal morphological marking in various functions, e.g. as an object, an agent or an attribute. The verb TO FIGHT is composed

<sup>25</sup> There are special nominal expressions which denote time and place. These can also function as a nominal suffix denoting place and time adverbial, however they do not share the same characteristics with adverbs. There is a special chapter on expressing time and place, where these words together with „postpositions“ are explained.

<sup>26</sup> Most of the adjectives can function as a predicate (adjectival verb), the rest of the adjectives, which can function as attribut only, is referred to as *adnomina* here to emphasize its nominal character.

<sup>27</sup> I have adopted my own system of word classes based on a „Little Primer“, a work of prof. Christoph Harbsmeier (n.d.)

<sup>28</sup> The approach of defining word classes as „functional characteristics“ of the words has been used by Švarný (1997), originally proposed by Dragunov (1952) and *Zhū Déxī* 朱德熙 (1982).

of reduplicated morpheme (in this case, the reduplication functions as the verbs basic form). Verbs mostly function as predicate, where they can be in its basic form (without any formal morphological marking) in various functions, e.g. denoting imperative, present indicative, future, but under certain conditions, the basic form of verbs can also function as e.g. an attribute. So although technically nouns can be inflected by certain set of suffixes and verbs can be conjugated or modified by certain set of modifiers and affixes, in a lot of given clauses, these morphological features are not present, so we have to rely solely on the function of the words.

1. **Khyô -xrô bûmû mă shîhshîh sihsîh.** *They helped [them] to lead the army to fight.*  
 t<sup>h</sup>oŋ ɣoŋ buŋmuŋ maŋ ʂuŋʂuŋ siŋsiŋ  
 HE PL TO HELP ARMY TO LEAD TO FIGHT  
 pron sf cov n vt vi

Note that in Ex. 1, the word **mă** /maŋ/ ARMY is object of the verb **shîhshîh** /ʂuŋʂuŋ/, while the verb **sihsîh** /siŋsiŋ/ TO FIGHT is the main predicate of the clause. Both words are morphologically unmarked.

2. **Wà sihpì -nyĩ mă kyúnyĩ Shímîyâ khyî- dzhù.** *Chinese army pursued [them] to the Shímián county.*  
 waŋ siŋpiŋ ŋiŋ maŋ teyŋŋiŋ ʂuŋmiŋjaŋ t<sup>h</sup>iŋ dzuŋ  
 CHINESE OFFICIAL GEN ARMY TO PURSUE SHÍMIÁN FWD TO REACH  
 nprop n sf n vt nprop mod vt

Ex. 2 shows the word **mă** /maŋ/ ARMY as a subject of a sentence, which is also morphologically unmarked.

3. **Mâqâ Lâkyü mă zîh luó- shîhshîh Lhâsâ khyî- tò.** *Maqa Lakyü led army children (young warriors) to Tibet.*  
 maŋqalalateyŋ maŋ ziŋ luoŋ ʂuŋʂuŋ laŋsaŋ t<sup>h</sup>iŋ toŋ  
 nprop nprop n n mod vt nprop mod vt  
 ARMY CHILD UP TO LEAD TIBET FWD TO ARRIVE

Ex. 3 shows the word **mă** /maŋ/ ARMY as an morphologically unmarked attribute of the word **zîh** /ziŋ/ CHILD.

4. **Nàmüzih sihsîh mînthù Găhnî -bâ gè shă.** *Mongols heard about the fame of Nàmüzî's fighting.*  
 naŋmuŋziŋ siŋsiŋ miŋnt<sup>h</sup>uŋ gâŋh<sup>n</sup>iŋ bæŋ geŋ ʂaŋ  
 TO FIGHT FAME MONGOL PL TO HEAR TO SENSE  
 nprop vi n nprop cl vt vt

Ex. 4 shows the verb **sihsîh** /siŋsiŋ/ TO FIGHT as an attribute of the word **mînthù** /miŋnt<sup>h</sup>uŋ/ FAME, also without any morphological marking.



Another example is the word **pì** /piʎ/ to recite, which can be used either as a predicate (5) or as an attribute (6):

5. **Phshīh -bā shīh -nyî pì.** *Tibetans recite [sutras] for seven days.*  
 p<sup>h</sup>ʂuʎ bəʎ ʂuʎ ŋiʎ piʎ  
 TIBETAN PL SEVEN DAY TO RECITE  
 nprop sf num cl/n vt
6. **Phâtsih pì shīh ló- dzhih.** *Shaman has loaded up the holy meat.*  
 p<sup>h</sup>aʎtsiʎ piʎ ʂuʎ l<sup>u</sup>oʎ dzɕuʎ  
 SHAMAN TO RECITE MEAT UP TO PUT  
 n vt n mod vt

There are also words, which can function as nouns (7) and verbs (8) as well, like the word **ntshà** /nts<sup>h</sup>aʎ/ SIGN/TO MARK and derived meaning TO REMEMBER(9):

7. **Â -xrô yô yò ntshà kyi luh dzhih.** *Everyone of us will mark his own sign.*  
 ʔaʎ ʒoʎ joʎ joʎ nts<sup>h</sup>aʎ tɕiʎ luʎ dzɕuʎ  
 WE PL OWN OWN SIGN ONE PC TO PUT  
 pron cl pron pron n num cl vt
8. **Nâ nà -mũ khyî- ntshà.** *Mark [it] well!*  
 naʎ naʎ muʎ tɕiʎ nts<sup>h</sup>aʎ  
 B.GOOD B.GOOD ADV FWD TO MARK  
 va va sf mod vt
9. **Ză -phâ ngvih: “Ntshá.”** *The leopard said: „I remember [that].“*  
 zaʎ p<sup>h</sup>aʎ ŋɣʎ nts<sup>h</sup>aʎ  
 LEOPARD SG TO SAY TO REMEMBER  
 n cl vt vt

Verbal adjectives can sometimes function as objects (10) or predicates (11):

10. **Fûyî mèt -lă gyĭgì, khyî mî- ntshuò.** *Had [they] anything tasty, he ate it.*  
 fuʎjiʎ məʎ laʎ dʒiʎgiʎ tɕiʎ miʎ nts<sup>h</sup>uòʎ  
 WHAT B.TASTY SG TO HAVE HE PFC TO DEVOUR  
 pron va cl vt pron mod vt
11. **Ngâ sēndzà kyi luh mī- dzih âgyîsâ hrō mèt.** *I have eaten one plum, because [it] was tasty.*  
 ŋaʎ seʎndzaʎ tɕiʎ luʎ miʎ dʒiʎ ʔaʎdʒiʎsaʎ ɣoʎ məʎ  
 I PEAR ONE PC PFC TO EAT BECAUSE VERY B.TASTY  
 pron n num cl mod vt conj adv va

Previous works on NMZ do not specify the method of defining word classes. All works, except the work of *Shēn* (2013) just provide a statement that words belong to different word classes, which is followed by the list of these classes (LIÚ 1996, HUÁNG & RĒNZĒNG 1991, YĪN 2016). *Shēn* specifies that the word classes are defined on the basis of the combination of syntactic function and lexical meaning (SHĒN 2013:32). Because the functional approach of defining word classes is common for Chinese language and most of the Chinese linguistic works on TB languages we have used follows the same pattern, I believe that the other previous works used the same approach.

### 3.1.1 Method of analysis

Because of the lack of morphological features and the corresponding relation between word classes and syntactic constituents, I have adopted the sinological tradition and use the IC-analysis<sup>29</sup> to show relations between immediate constituents in a given clause step by step at every level. The constituents are then labelled using the names for word classes or phrases. There is a certain set of fundamental conditions which must be fulfilled to determine the division between two adjacent constituents.

There is only one relation (coordination, e.g. „mother & father & sister & brother“) which allows to have more than two members. In all other cases, a given string of morphemes must be divided according to a **binary principle** into two adjacent constituents. These two adjacent constituents have to comply with one **grammatical relation** from a given limited set. Moreover, the **internal sequence** of the constituents must be always the same. The semantic meaning of the constituent on a lower lever must be in accordance with the **semantic meaning** of the constituent on a higher level.

For the grammatical relations between IC's, we have adopted a system of markings developed by prof. Harbsmeier (*n.d.*:45). We distinguish between two main relations: *paratactic*, where both constituents are main and usually the grammatical category of both of them is the same; and *hypotactic*, where one of the constituents is main and the other is dependent. The grammatical category of these two constituents as a compound on a higher level is usually the same as the category of the main constituent on a lower level (e.g. dependent noun + main verb will form a verbal phrase).

We have six main traditional sentence *constituents*: subject and predicate, object, attribute, adverbial and complement; and then two elements, which are not constituents: *markers* (i.e elements which mark grammatic relation) and *operators* (i.e elements which change the grammatic value of the constituent).

We have identified the following set of grammatic relations for NMZ:

(1) Paratactic relations:

&	coordinative relation	the only relation, where there can be more than two constituents;
&	conjoined relation	relation where both constituents mutually influence each other;
v	disjunctive relation	relation where both constituents form a disjunctive option;
+	reduplication	reoccurrence of the constituent;
=	apposition	relation, where both constituents denotes the same referent.

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<sup>29</sup> Immediate constituents analysis (BLOOMFIELD :2001-216) is widely used for analysing the sentence structure. We use the constituency approach, which divides the sentence into mostly two major nodes (immediate constituents), which can be then divided into subsequent nodes, until irreducible nodes are reached.

## (2) Hypotactic relations:

Hypotactic relation itself is marked by one symbol which can be mirrored and points to the main constituent, thus:

- > means the left constituent is dependent on the right constituent and
- < means the right constituent is dependent on the left constituent.

The above symbol can be combined with other symbol, which will more precisely define the relation:

- s**> marks the *subject* > *predicate* relation;
- :**> marks the *topic* > *comment* relation (**s**> when the topic is also the subject);
- e**> marks the *nominal predicate* > *copula* relation;
- o**> marks the *object* > *predicate* relation;
- <**c** marks the *predicate* < *complement* relation;
- c**> marks the *complement* > *predicate* relation.

The difference between attributive and adverbial relation is not explicitly marked and can be very easily deduced from the properties of the main constituent. If the main constituent is verbal, the relation is adverbial, if the constituent is nominal, the relation is attributive.

### 3.1.2 Criteria for defining word classes

Words or morphemes are marked by small letters. Phrases are marked by capital letters. There are basic categories and subcategories. Subcategories are marked when needed. The criteria for determination of major word classes (when morphological criteria are insufficient) are as follows:

- 1) When a word can function as a *constituent*, it may be: verb, noun or adnomina; pronoun, numeral or adverb; classifier or onomatopoeia. The rest can be particle, conjunction or interjection.
- 2) Words *imitating sounds* are **ono** onomatopoeia or **intj** interjections.
- 3) Words which function as a predicate and/or *can be negated* are **v** verbs.
- 4) Words which *cannot be modified* are **adv** adverbs (if the word must be followed by verb or verbal phrase) or **adn** adnomina (if the word must be followed by noun or nominal phrase).
- 5) Words which *can alone substitute or represent* even unknown phrases or words, are **pron** pronouns.
- 6) Words which *denote amount* are **num** numerals.
- 7) Words which can be placed after numerals and demonstrative pronouns, however can not alone form an argument of verbs are **cl** classifiers.
- 8) The rest of the constituents, which cannot alone function as a predicate are **n** nouns.
- 9) Words which mark the relations between constituents are **conj** conjunctions.
- 10) The rest are **pt** particles.

The criteria for subcategories are defined in relevant chapters.

## 4 Verbal classes

### 4.1 Basic characteristics

Verbs in NMZ are the most important part of the clause, which can almost never be omitted<sup>30</sup>. Their main function is to be predicate, however they can also function as a topic, object or attribute. Therefore even words, which denote the quality of things (adjectives) are referred to as verbs here and form a distinct subcategory. The main distinction between verbs and adjectival verbs is that adjectival verbs are often used to modify nouns without any marker<sup>31</sup>, that adjectival verbs have another form of reduplication and only one way of negation. Adjectival verbs share quite a lot of functional features with „specific“ kind of verbs (e.g modal verbs, verbs denoting location, existence etc., which together with adjectival verbs cannot function as verbal classifier, do not take verbal aspect suffixes or resultative modifiers), so it was sometimes very problematic to make a clear distinction.

The head verb is placed at the end of the sentence, however it can be further modified by a resultative verbal complement, which is placed after the main predicate. Verbal phrases can be nominalized simply by adding classifier after the phrase.

Verbs are the only content words, which can be negated. However, there are two ways of negation (see Chapter 4.2.12) and only words, which can be negated by both ways can be referred to as „generic“ verbs (i.e. not specific kind of verbs like adjectival verbs). Chapter 4.2 will describe the grammar features of these non specific **v** verbs (p.44), **vc** linking verbs (4.2.16.1), **vloc** verbs of localization and existence (4.2.16.2) and verbs of possession (4.2.16.3) and Chapter 4.3 contains description of **va** adjectival verbs.

### 4.2 Verbs

In this chapter, we will first look at the specific feature of NMZ verbs – the inherent property of verbal stems - *punctuality* (4.2.2), which influences the grammatical behaviour of inflected verbs. Verbs can appear in several *inflectional patterns* (4.2.3), which altogether determine the tense-aspect-mood, namely in the *basic form* (4.2.4), inflected by *aspect markers* (4.2.5) and/or modified by *verbal modifiers*, which are either *directional* (4.2.7) or *resultative* (4.2.6). There is thus a distinct category of **aspect** and part of directionally modified verbs also has a distinct category of **tense**. Verbs in basic form can be *reduplicated* (4.2.9).

Next part will focus on the category of verbal *voice* (4.2.10), where apart dichotomy of *active* and *passive* (4.2.10.1), the *causative voice* (4.2.10.2) is explained.

Following parts focus on verbal *transitivity* (4.2.11.3), *negation* (4.2.12) and specific deverbal forms of *transgressive* (4.2.13.1) and *participle* (4.2.13.2).

Next part introduces *coordinate* (4.2.14.1) and *serial* (4.2.14.2) verbal constructions and finally the ways of expressing *modality* (4.2.15). In serial verb construction, the dependent verb is referred to as **cov** coverb.

Verbs are marked as **vi** if they are intransitive and as **vt** if they are transitive. Arguments of verbs can be unmarked, therefore **transitivity** is one of the most important characteristics to understand a given sentence properly.

Last parts then describe specific kinds of verbs, the *linking verbs* (4.2.16.1), *verbs of*

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<sup>30</sup> Strictly speaking, only exclamations and onomatopoeia can form an independent sentence alone, otherwise a verbal predicate or nominal predicate with its linking verb is needed.

<sup>31</sup> Certain verbs can also without any marker modify nouns, however they cannot be placed after the noun, while adjectival verbs can be placed before the noun or after the noun.

*existence and localization* (4.2.16.2) and *verbs of possession* (4.2.16.3).

## 4.2.1 Question of tense-aspect-mood

Verbs can be inflected for **tense-aspect-mood**, however they show no morphological change for person and number of the agent in the sentence, therefore there is no agreement between the predicate and subject in NMZ<sup>32</sup>.

The system of tense-aspect-mood is quite covert using complex system of several grammatical features, which combined with the overall context form patterns, which the speakers use to express the time of utterance of the predicate. Generally speaking, verbs can be modified by directional prefixes and modifiers as well as by resultative modifiers and inflected by several suffixes. Usually, there are combinations of these different inflectional features used together. Therefore on the first sight, the whole system can appear to be rather complicated. However, cases when a verb just remains in its basic form without any modification is quite common.

Most of the verbs have no tense marking, therefore in most of the cases, the tense is determined by lexical features (e.g. time nouns or usage of different verbs), so every modification or marking is from the time point of view **relative**, because it can be very easily shifted to the past or future. Therefore I have decided to talk about *aspects*<sup>33</sup>. On the other hand verbs, which are modified by after-verb modifier, show clear distinction of *past* and *non-past* (see Chapter 4.2.7).

Most of the aspects are not necessarily to be present, being expressed only when there is a need to emphasize them. However, each action verb tends to express the stage of progress of the action/event, whether it has started, has finished or is ongoing, respectively has happened and is with or without consequences to the designated point of time. From this point of view, **punctuality** and **perfectivity** is very important inherent characteristics of NMZ verbs.

*Yin* (2016:12) lists four categories for verbs in NMZ, namely aspect (*tǐ* 體), directional modification (*qūxiàng* 趨向), mood (*shì* 式) and voice (*tài* 態). When we compare this system with my analysis, there is no notion of different behavior of punctual and durative verbs, there are only six different aspects (prospective *jiāngxíngtǐ* 將行體, experience *jīngyàntǐ* 經驗體, continuative *chíxùtǐ* 持續體, perfective *wánzhěngtǐ* 完整體, cessative *zhōngjiétǐ* 終結體 and non-perfective *wèiwánzhěngtǐ* 未完整體<sup>34</sup>), no resultative modification and no after-verb modifiers. I will discuss the differences in relevant chapters in detail.

*Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:165) list the same categories as *Yin*, however they recognize 7 different aspects (prospective *jiāngxíngtǐ* 將行體, imminent (recent) prospective *jíxíngtǐ* 即行體, continuative *xùxíngtǐ* 續行體, progressive *jìnxíngtǐ* 進行體, ingressive *yǐxíngtǐ* 已行體, perfective *wánchéngtǐ* 完成體 and experiential *jīngyàntǐ* 經驗體<sup>35</sup>). There is also no comment on resultative modification and the after-verb modification is also not explicitly introduced, however there is a notification about affixing the verbal modifier /dæʌ/ TO COME after the

<sup>32</sup> *Yin* (2016:12) and *Shēn* (2013:49) also state that verbs in NMZ do not have category of person and number; *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:165) and *Liú* (1996:192) are not explicit, however they do not list these two categories for verbs either. No agreement of verbs in person, number and gender can be also observed in *Ěrsū* 爾蘇 language (ZHANG 2013:415) or in *Shìxīng* 史興 (CHIRKOVA 2009:37), but it can be found in *Qiāng* language (LAPOLLA 2003:119).

<sup>33</sup> However, some aspects can be used in limited types of tense only and some verbs shows the distinction between past and non-past.

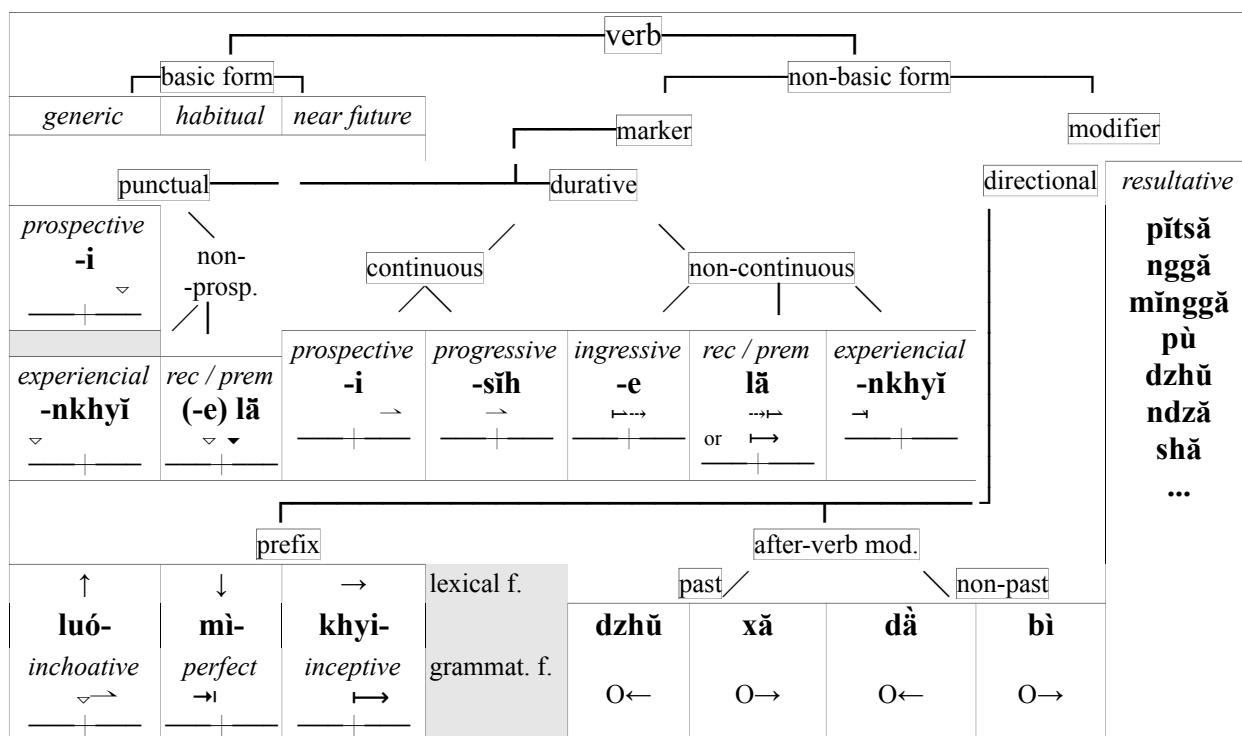
<sup>34</sup> The terms in English are cited from the work except the term „cessative“, which remains untranslated to English in the original work.

<sup>35</sup> The terms in English are my translation, the original work is in Chinese only.

verbal stem.

Other works reflect another variety of NMZ language, therefore I will consult these works only in case the previous works do not provide any information about the discussed matter<sup>36</sup>.

For the visualisation of the system, see the following figure:



Arrows are used to depict the duration of the situation, while triangles are used to depict the certain point of time. Dashed line means that the relation may be there, but it is not explicit, vertical line brings focus on the starting or finishing point of the action.

Verb can appear either in its basic form or in non-basic form. Verbs with marker differentiate according to the inherent property of punctuality: durative verbs can be marked by five different aspectual markers, while punctual verbs can be marked by only three aspectual markers.

Modified verbs are perfective. There are two kinds of modification: resultative and directional. Directional prefix affects the aspect of the verb, while the after-verb modifier determines the tense of the verb.

Similar system of different aspectual affixes can be found in *Shǐxīng* 史興 (CHIRKOVA 2009:42). These aspectual suffixes can also under certain circumstances combine together, e.g. perfect auxiliary /sɿ/ can be freely combined with imperfective, resultative auxiliaries or perfective prefixes.

<sup>36</sup> I did not conduct any research concerning the difference between other variants of NMZ and I do not feel it would be appropriate to make comparisons to works I can not verify. By reading these works, it seems the difference in grammar is rather too extensive. For example, according to Shēn (2013:49-50) there is no directional modification, only two aspects (present *xiànxíngtǐ* 現行體 and perfect *yǐxíngtǐ* 已行體), however the work does not seem to be very reliable. In a lot of cases, the Chinese annotation clearly does not correspond with the words in NMZ and in cases of similar sentences, which can also be found in my corpus, one can anticipate it has been possibly analysed wrongly.

## 4.2.2 Punctuality

From the above figure we can see, that before discussing the tense-aspect question of the verbs in NMZ, we have to divide them into two categories, which have an impact on grammatical behavior of the verbs and namely the ability to be inflected in certain aspect<sup>37</sup>. In NMZ, the verbs can be divided into two groups – one group of verbs denotes an action which is done instantaneously or in a moment, I have decided to call this semantic aspect of verbs as *punctual*; the other group of verbs denotes an action which can take a long time to perform, I have decided to refer to this group as *durative* verbs<sup>38</sup>.

<b>dà</b>	/dæV/	PCT	dào 到	to arrive	This verb actually denotes a change in state. Someone or something either already is or still isn't present at specific place in a specific time. This verb does not express the whole action of arriving (going to be more and more near until one appears).
<b>mbà</b>	/mbæV/	PCT	zou 走	to leave	This verb has the same meaning of the verb above, but in reverse directional order i.e. somebody or something still is or already is not present at specific place in a specific time. This verb does not express the whole action of leaving (going to be more and more far until one disappears).
<b>dzih</b>	/dziV/	DUR	chi 吃	to eat	This verb denotes the action of eating, which can take either short or long time.
<b>lùh</b>	/lùV/	DUR	kàn 看	to look	This verb denotes the action of looking, which can take either short or long time.

## 4.2.3 Inflectional patterns

NMZ language has only one grammatical feature which would mark a specific verbal tense and that is the use of suppletive forms of the motion verbs TO GO and TO COME, which can be used as an after-verb modifier. Verbs can be either (A) in basic form (unmarked and not modified)<sup>39</sup>, (B) unmarked and modified, (C) marked and unmodified or (D) marked and modified. Besides that, a verb can also be reduplicated or determined by verbal numeral complement (see Chapter 4.2.9). These markings and modifications of verbs together with their overall context altogether determine the aspect and the tense of the main predicate.

## 4.2.4 Basic form

When the verb is (A) in its basic form<sup>40</sup>, it usually denotes a state or action which is either *habitual* (1), *generic* (2) or may happen in the near *future* (3). The relation to the time of the utterance is determined either explicitly by time words (4), by using specific verbs (5) or by the overall context (6-7). Basic form of the verb can also indicate *imperative* mood (see Chapter 7.4.2 and Ex. 8).

<sup>37</sup> We can find analogous situation in Slavic languages. The verbs in almost all of the Slavic languages are governed by aspectual opposition (perfective and imperfective), which affects the ability of the verb to express present time (perfective verbs can either express an action finished in past time or an action which will be finished in the future).

<sup>38</sup> Both terms were proposed in this meaning by Comrie (1976:41-42). Very similar distinction of verbs can be found in Chinese, hence we provide the equivalents of the verbs in Chinese in the following table.

<sup>39</sup> By **marking**, we mean the use of suffix, sentence particle or fusion with either one. By **modification**, we mean the use of directional prefix modifier and/or the usage of directional verb modifier or resultative verb modifier, which are all placed after the verb and are more independent on the verb. Adverbial phrases are not regarded as modification.

<sup>40</sup> We use the term „basic form“ rather than „finite“ and „non-finite“. The latter terms are not very appropriate in case of NMZ, because unmarked and unmodified verbs usually express certain time, aspect and mood.

1. **Mî -mû -nyî kyî nyî hündzhû sěh gî, ndzhîh lâ.**  
 mił muł ŋił teił ŋił hułndzuł sɣł gił ndzuł læł  
 WIFE SG TOP ONE DAY EVERY FIREWOOD TO CHOP WATER TO CARRY ON BACK  
 n cl sf num cl/n adv n vt n vt  
*The wife chops firewood and carries water on [her] back everyday.*
2. **Ămî â -xrò Nàmũzîh zěhmî, âmèr mǎxrô dzhîhqǎ ghî.**  
 ʔałmił ʔał ɣoł nałmułził zɣłmił ʔałməł małɣoł dzułqal gił  
 NOW WE PL WIFE OLD WOMAN CALICO POCKET TO WEAR  
 nt pron sf nprop n n n n vt  
*Our Nàmũzî wives and older women wear a calico pocket now.*
3. **Âdà, âdà -mû, lhâ ka yú ngô ka yú?** *Father, father, will you sleep on golden bed [or] silver bed?*  
 ʔałdał ʔałdał muł ʎał kał ɣył ɲoł kał ɣył  
 FATHER FATHER SG GOLD BED TO SLEEP SILVER BED TO SLEEP  
 n n cl n n vt n n vt
4. **Yîntâ là -phâ sēr qhō dzîh -vũ shũ.** *Once upon a time, a tiger was looking for food in the wood.*  
 ʎiłntal læł pʰal sɛəːɰ qʰoł dzil vuł ʃuł  
 IN THE PAST TIGER SG WOOD LOC TO EAT NOM TO LOOK FOR  
 nt n cl n pp vt sf vt
- 5a. **Ămî ngâ bî.** *Now I will go [there].*  
 ʔałmił ŋal bił  
 NOW I TO GO  
 nt pron vt  
 In this sentence, the verb **bî** /bił/ TO GO is used to denote non-past tense.
- 5b. **Vũdzhî -mû yîbî xà.** *The old man went [there] alone.*  
 vułdzuł muł ʎiłbił xal  
 OLD MAN SG SELF TO GO AWAY  
 n cl pron vt  
 In this sentence, the verb **xà** /xal/ TO GO AWAY is used to denote past tense.
6. **Phshîh -bâ shîh nyî pî, nuô -xrô sô nyî pî.** *Tibetans recite [sútras] for seven days, [so] you will recite three days.*  
 pʰʃuł bæł ʃuł ŋił pił nuoł ɣʰoł soł ŋił pił  
 TIBETAN PL SEVEN DAY TO RECITE YOU PL THREE DAY TO RECITE  
 nprop cl num cl/n v n sf num cl/n v
7. **Tshuò -bâ lumbâ shũ.** *People were looking for land.*  
 tʃuɔł bæł lułmbal ʃuł  
 HUMAN PL LAND TO LOOK FOR  
 n cl n vt
8. **Nuô azâ zâ -mû mbà!** *Walk slowly!*  
 nuoł ʔałzaːɰ zal muł mbał  
 YOU B.SLOW B.SLOW ADV TO WALK  
 pron va va sf vt

Note that the suppletion between past and non-past form of the highly frequented verb TO GO (ex. 5a and 5b) is observed not only in English („go“ vs. „went“), but also in other Naic languages (MICHAUD 2013:9) or in *Pǔmǐ* 普米 and *Shǐxìng* 史興 (CHIRKOVA 2012:141).

Ex. 6 is a quoted speech of **Lhâdâ** /ʎałdał/, lit. „Big Sacred“, or **Nyîchû Lhâdâdzhîh** /ŋił.tʃʰuł.ʎał.dał.ɰdzuł/, lit. „Big Sacred of the West“, who was asked to solve a problem of *Nàmũzî* shamans, which had lost all writings crossing the Yarlung River.

Ex. 7 is a quote from a story of *Nàmũzî* origin, telling that the living conditions long time ago became unbearable. Therefore there is sufficient context that the situation happened in the past.

Previous works on NMZ do not specifically explain the usage of the verbal basic form. The same function of basic form can be found e.g. in *Shǐxìng* 史興 where „the unmarked present signals situations ongoing at the time of the utterance (present-habitual) as well as generic or gnomic situations“ (CHIRKOVA 2009:35).



## 4.2.5 Aspectual markers

In our system, there are three ways of marking aspect – the first is the usage of aspectual suffixes or particles, the second is the usage of resultative modifiers (see part 4.2.6) and the third is the usage of directional modifiers (4.2.7). Punctual verbs can be marked only by the prospective, experiential and recent / premeditated marker (-i /i/, -**nkhi** /ntɕʰi˥˥/, -**lǎ** /læ˥˥/) and durative verbs can be marked by all aspectual markers, i.e. including the ingressive and progressive markers (-e /e/ and -**sih** /si˥˥/).

### 4.2.5.1 List of aspectual markers

Verbs can be affixed (C) by the following markers<sup>41</sup>, which express or emphasize<sup>42</sup> different aspects for durative and punctual verbs respectively.

(1) **prospective aspect**                    -i        /i/        <sf>

This suffix denotes that certain situation<sup>43</sup> is anticipated to happen imminently or in the definite future. This is the only aspect, which is conflated with future tense.

<p><b>Ngâ</b>    <b>mũ.</b>    <i>I do that. / I will do that.</i>          ŋa˥˥    mu˥˥          I        TO DO          pron   vt&lt;dur&gt;            &lt;hab&gt; or &lt;fut&gt;</p>	→	<p><b>Ngâ</b>    <b>mw-ĩ.</b>    <i>I am going to do that.</i>          ŋa˥˥    mwi˥˥          I        TO DO          pron   vt+sf                    &lt;prosp&gt;</p>
<p><b>Ngâ</b>    <b>hǎ.</b>    <i>I buy that. / I will buy that.</i>          ŋa˥˥    hǎ˥˥          I        TO BUY          pron   vt&lt;pct&gt;                &lt;hab&gt; or &lt;fut&gt;</p>	→	<p><b>Ngâ</b>    <b>hǎ-i.</b>    <i>I am going to buy that.</i>          ŋa˥˥    hǎ˥˥i          I        TO BUY          pron   vt+sf                    &lt;prosp&gt;</p>

(2) **ingressive aspect**                    -e        /e/        <sf>

This suffix denotes that certain situation has already started and it is anticipated that it will continue to happen, however with no implication whether it is ongoing in the time of the utterance<sup>44</sup>. This suffix can be used alone only with **durative** verbs. When used with **punctual** verbs, it is usually used together with prospective sentence particle -**lǎ** /læ˥˥/ emphasizing that the agent has already decided to perform the situation, which will lead to a change of state (see the premeditated aspect on p.50).

<p><b>Ngâ ndzhĩhgyĩ</b>    <b>lũ.</b>    <i>I read books.</i>          ŋa˥˥ ndzu˥˥ɬzi˥˥    ly˥˥          I    CHARACTER    TO READ          pron            n            vt&lt;dur&gt;            &lt;hab&gt;</p>	→	<p><b>Ngâ ndzhĩhgyĩ</b>    <b>lũe.</b>    <i>I read a book / I am reading a book.</i>          ŋa˥˥ ndzu˥˥ɬzi˥˥    lye˥˥          I    CHARACTER    TO READ          pron            n            vt+sf                    &lt;ingr&gt;</p>
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(3) **experiential perfect**                    -**nkhyĩ** /ntɕʰi˥˥/ <vp>

This verbal particle „indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past time leading up to the present“ (COMRIE 1976:58)<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> If the element can fuse with the verb itself, we decided to mark it as an suffix, in case the element can not become part of the verb's last syllable and allways appears as an independent syllable, we decided to mark it as a verb particle.

<sup>42</sup> All these aspectual modifications and markings are optional to some extend and sometimes they also have the ability to combine together.

<sup>43</sup> The term „situation“ is used as a general cover term for „state“, „event“ and „process“ (COMRIE 1976:13).

<sup>44</sup> This suffix can also join the modified verb phrase, however it is placed after the directional verb modifier in that case.

<sup>45</sup> It is very similar to Chinese aspect marker *guo* 過. The experiential perfect (usually abbreviated as experiential only) can be found also in other TB languages, e.g. in *Shixing* 史興 (CHIRKOVA n.d.:38) or in *Qiang* 羌 (LAPOLLA 2003:167)

**Ngâ dzih.** *I eat that. / I will eat that.*

ŋaɫ dzɪɻ  
I TO EAT  
pron vt<dur> <hab> or <fut>

**Ngâ dǎ.** *I will come here.*

ŋaɫ dæɻ  
I TO COME  
pron vt<pct> <fut>

**Ngâ dzih -nkhyĩ.** *I ate that.*

ŋaɫ dzɪɻ nte<sup>hi</sup>ɻ  
I TO EAT EXP  
pron vt vp <exp>

**Ngâ dǎ -nkhyĩ.** *I came here.*

ŋaɫ dæɻ nte<sup>hi</sup>ɻ  
I TO COME EXP  
pron vt vp <exp>

(4) **recent / premeditated aspect** -lǎ<sup>46</sup> /læɻ/ <sp>

This sentence particle indicates that a given situation has held just before the reference time or its occurrence will happen imminently after the reference time, but it has been already planned at the reference time<sup>47</sup>. This sentence particle also stresses the change of state. It can be perceived as a kind of prospective aspect.

**Ngâ mpsih.** *I will peel that.*

ŋaɫ mpsi:ɻ  
I TO PEEL  
pron vt<dur> <fut>

**Ngâ mbà.** *I will leave.*

ŋaɫ mbaɻ  
I TO LEAVE  
pron vt<pct> <fut>

**Ngâ dǎ.** *I will come here.*

ŋaɫ dæɻ  
I TO COME  
pron vt<pct> <fut>

**Áxrò bì.** *We will go there.*

ʔaɻɣoɻ bìɻ  
WE TO GO  
pron vt<pct> <fut>

**Ngâ mpsih -lǎ.** *I am going to peel that.*

ŋaɫ mpsi:ɻ læɻ  
I TO PEEL PREM  
pron vt sp <prem>

**Ngâ mbà -lǎ.** *I am going to leave now.*

ŋaɫ mbaɻ læɻ  
I TO LEAVE PREM  
pron vt sp <prem>

**Ngâ dǎ -lǎ.** *I've just arrived.*

ŋaɫ dæɻ læɻ  
I TO COME REC  
pron vt vp <rec>

**Áxrò bi-è -lǎ.** *Let's go there now.*

ʔaɻɣoɻ bi:èɻ læɻ  
WE TO GO INGR PREM  
pron vt+sf sp <prem>

Note that this particle can be used together with the ingressive suffix -e /e/ as seen in the case of the verb **bĩ** /biɻ/ TO GO.

(5) **progressive aspect** -sih /siɻ/ <vp>

This verbal particle can be used after durative verbs only. It denotes that a given situation is ongoing at the reference time.

**Ngâ lùh.** *I will look at that.*

ŋaɫ luɻ  
I TO LOOK  
pron vt<dur> <fut>

**Ngâ lùh -sih.** *I am looking at that.*

ŋaɫ luɻ siɻ  
I TO LOOK PROGR  
pron vt vp <progr>

<sup>46</sup> This particle can also join the modified verb phrase and is also placed after the directional verb modifier. Hence it is marked as sentence particle.

<sup>47</sup> Similar aspects can be found in Tibetan (DENWOOD 1999:161-163).

#### 4.2.5.2 Comparison to previous works

*Yin* (2016:18-20) introduces six aspects. Five aspects are marked by suffixation of a grammatical marker (*yǔfǎ biāojì* 語法標記) or auxiliary verb (*zhùdòngcí* 助動詞), one aspect is marked by prefix. These grammatical markers or auxiliary verbs corresponds to our aspectual markers or resultative modifiers. From the aspectual markers, *Yin* introduces /*ji*/~/*ji*/ for *prospective* aspect, /*nte*<sup>h</sup>/ for *experiential* aspect, /*si*/ for *continuative* aspect and /*æ*/~/*æ*/ for *non-perfective* aspect. First two corresponds to our system, last two differ. The continuative aspect is described as „an action, [which] will continue to be in progress“<sup>48</sup> (*YIN* 2016:19), while the non-perfective aspect is described as „an action, [which] is now in progress or happens often“<sup>49</sup> (*YIN* 2016:20). However this kind of explanation of the non-perfective aspect is not very plausible when compared to the texts and annotation provided by the author:

- (1) aɬtʂʰiɬtʂʰiɬ paɬmiɬ.ŋiɬ miɬ.dziɬ.æɬ  
 almost toad-AGT DIR-to eat-NON-PERF  
 差一點 癩蛤蟆-AGT DIR-吃-NON-PERF  
 [I have been] almost eaten by the toad. (差一點兒被癩蛤蟆吃了呢。 ) (*YIN* 2016:42)
- (2) ŋaɬ.χoɬ biɬ.æɬ laɬ  
 1EXCL-PL to go-NON-PERF MP  
 1PL-EXCL 去 (未) -NON-PERF MP  
 We have to go. (我們該走了。 ) (*YIN* 2016:225)

In the first case it is a direct speech of a leopard, who complains to a rabbit, that he was almost eaten by a toad. The situation can hardly be classified as happening often, nor was it in progress and the non-perfect aspect does not make any sense in that clause. According to our analysis, this aspectual marker brings focus on the beginning of the situation, which in the above case would mean „almost started to eat“. The second example clearly shows the *premeditated* aspect, where the situation has already been decided and will imminently happen.

Concerning the continuative aspect, we have not found any example in the provided corpus, however our language consultant has specifically used this aspectual marker in sentences describing ongoing situations, e.g. **Ngâ dzih-sih.** /ŋaɬ.dziɬ.siɬ/ *I am eating* (我正在吃飯呢).

*Huang & Rēnzēng* (1991:165-167) introduce seven aspects, which are all marked by suffix particle (*yǔwěi zhùcí* 語尾助詞) or auxiliary verbs. They introduce /*ji*/~/*ji*/ for *prospective* aspect, /*nte*<sup>h</sup>/ for *experiential* aspect, /*ji*-*si*/ for *continuative* aspect, /*æ*/ for *progressive* aspect and /*æ*lla/~/*qæ*lla/ for *imminent prospective* aspect. Last two are marked by resultative or directional modifiers, therefore we will discuss them later in relevant parts. The system differs in the progressive aspect (we analyze it as ingressive aspect) and then in several details. I do not have a separate continuative aspect (in the work it is defined only by the example sentences, or more specifically by the adverb *háiyào* 還要 STILL MORE), because

<sup>48</sup> 動作還要持續進行。

<sup>49</sup> 動作正在進行或經常發生。

I analyze it as a combination of the suffix /i/ indicating prospectivity and the verbal particle /si/ indicating progressivity. In the case of imminent prospective aspect, I analyze the first suffix /ælla/ as a combination of ingressive aspect -e /e/ and the recent/premeditated aspectual particle **lā** /læ/ (see p.50); and the second suffix /qælla/ as a combination of the verb **qā** /qa/ TO WANT with the aspectual particle **lā** /læ/, see the following example:

3. **Khyî yâqhûmu tò qā lā.** *He will arrive immediately.*  
 tɛ<sup>h</sup>iɫ jaɫq<sup>h</sup>uɫmuɫ toɫ qaɫ læɫ  
 HE IMMEDIATELY TO ARRIVE TO WANT PREM  
 pron adv vt vt sp

#### 4.2.6 Resultative modifiers

There are plenty of resultative modifiers, which are placed after the verb and cause the verb to be *perfective*. These modifiers change the meaning of the verb stressing the result of the event. There are generic resultative modifiers which can be used by most of the verbs and specific modifiers which can be used by specific verbs only, depending on the semantic meaning of the verb. These modifiers are either verbs or verbal adjectives. Resultative modifiers are mostly verbs or verbal adjectives.

- (1) **dzhũ** /dzuɫ/ <vi>

This resultative modifier is used to denote the destination has been reached.

<b>dzih</b> dziɫ TO EAT vt	<i>to eat</i>	→	<b>nuôxrò</b> nuoɫχ <sup>o</sup> oɫ YOU [PL] pron + sf	<b>-da</b> daɫ DAT sf	<b>dzih</b> dziɫ TO EAT vt	<b>-dzhũ.</b> dzuɫ TO REACH vi	[present] <i>for you to eat</i>
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1. **Ngâ zěhmî shîh -kuh shâ dzhù nuô -xrô -da dzih dzhũ.** *I have brought here my seven daughters for you to eat.*  
 ŋaɫ zɛɫmiɫ ŋuɫ kuɫ ŋaɫ dzuɫ nuoɫ χ<sup>o</sup>oɫ daɫ dziɫ dzuɫ  
 I DAUGHTER SEVEN PC TO BRING HITHER YOU PL DAT TO EAT TO REACH  
 pron n num cl vt vi pron sf sf vt vi

- (2) **ndzã** /ndzaɫ/ <vloc>

This modifier indicates that the ongoing action has changed into a state.

<b>zhzhî</b> zɛɫzɛɫɫ TO WRITE vt	<i>to write</i>	→	<b>luô-</b> luoɫ UP mod	<b>zhzhî</b> zɛɫzɛɫɫ TO WRITE vt	<b>ndzá</b> ndzaɫ TO BE vloc	<i>to be written on</i>
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2. **Qũbũ -lũh vũdà ndzhigyî -bã luô- zhzhî ndzá.** *There are characters written on the doors.*  
 quɫbuɫ luɫ vuɫdaɫndzɛɫɛɫɫɫ bɛɫ luoɫ zɛɫzɛɫɫ ndzaɫ  
 DOOR SG ON CHARACTER PL UP TO WRITE TO BE  
 n cl pp n cl mod vt vloc

(3) **mǐnggǎ** /miŋga/ <vi>

This modifier is used to denote a successful accomplishment of the situation.

<b>dzih</b> dziŋ TO EAT vt	<i>to eat</i>	→	<b>dzih</b> dziŋ TO EAT vt	<b>-mǐnggǎ</b> miŋga TO FALL <sup>50</sup> vi	<i>to eat up</i> = nothing is left
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3. **Ngá sěndzà khi -luh dzih -mǐnggǎ.** *I have eaten one pear.*  
 ŋaŋ seŋdzaŋ teiŋ luŋ dziŋ miŋgaŋ  
 I PEAR ONE PC TO EAT TO FALL  
 pron n num cl vt vi

4. **Yòqhǒ fūyî nā -lâ gyīgǐ, mólô -mû -nyi ntshuò -mǐnggǎ.** *Had [they] something good at home, it'd be devoured by the husband.*  
 joŋqhoŋ fuŋjiŋ na:ŋ laŋ dziŋgiŋ m<sup>o</sup>ŋloŋ muŋ ŋiŋ nts<sup>h</sup>uoŋ miŋgaŋ  
 HOME WHAT B.GOOD SG TO HAVE HUSBAND SG AGT TO DEVOUR TO FALL  
 np pron va cl vt n cl sf vt vi

(4) **shǎ** /ʃa/ <vi>

This modifier indicates a successful function of sensory organs<sup>51</sup>.

<b>ndò</b> ndoŋ TO LOOK AT vt	<i>to look at</i>	→	<b>ndò</b> ndoŋ TO LOOK AT vt	<b>-shǎ</b> ʃaŋ TO SENSE vt	<i>to see</i>
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5. **Mólô -mû ndò shǎ, pāmî -yâ gyî.** *The man saw [it] was a toad.*  
 m<sup>o</sup>ŋloŋ muŋ ndoŋ ʃaŋ paŋmiŋ jaŋ dziŋ  
 HUSBAND SG TO LOOK AT TO SENSE TOAD SG TO BE  
 n cl vt vt n cl vc

(5) **nggǎ** /ŋga/ <va>

This modifier denotes a satisfactory result of an action.

<b>yū</b> yüŋ vt TO SLEEP	<i>to sleep</i>	→	<b>khyi-</b> te <sup>h</sup> iŋ mod INC	<b>yū</b> yüŋ vt TO SLEEP	<b>-nggǎ</b> ŋgaŋ va BE GOOD	<i>fall asleep</i>
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6. **Ngá ǎmî -nyî khyî shû -î gyî, khyî -dzhâ sè nggǎ shǐh!** *I am looking for him now to kill him!*  
 ŋaŋ ʔaŋmiŋ ŋiŋ te<sup>h</sup>iŋ ʃuŋ jiŋ dziŋ te<sup>h</sup>iŋ dzaŋ seŋ ŋgaŋ ʃuŋ  
 I NOW TOP HE TO FIND GEN TO BE HE ACC TO KILL B.GOOD TO CAUSE  
 pron nt sf pron vt sf vc pron sf vi va v

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Chinese resultative modifier *diào* 掉.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Chinese resultative modifier *jiàn* 見.

When the verb ends with rounded vowel, an infix **-a-** /a/ is put between the verb and the modifier.

7. **Lîghî** **khyî-** **tò** **vû** **ěrzîh** **nyĩ** **-yâ** **tbû** **-a-** **nggǎ.**  
 liŋciŋ tɛ<sup>hi</sup>l toŋ vuŋ ə-ziŋ ŋiŋ jaŋ tɕuŋ aŋ ŋgaŋ  
 TO RETURN FWD TO ARRIVE BEAR CHILD TWO PC TO SLAUGHTER B.GOOD  
 vt mod vt n n num cl vt inf va

[When he] *arrived back*, [he] *slaughtered both children of the bear*.

- (6) **nyîkvîh** /ŋiŋkyŋ/ <va>

This modifier is used only with verbs meaning feeding and indicates saturation by the action (be full).

<b>dzih</b>	<i>to eat</i>	→	<b>dzih</b>	<b>-nyîkvîh</b>	<i>to be full</i>
dziŋ			dziŋ	ŋiŋkyŋ	
TO EAT			TO EAT	BE FULL	
vt			vt	va	

- (7) **pîtsǎ** /piŋtsaŋ/ <vi>

This modifier denotes *cessative* aspect that the situation is already finished.

<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>lùh.</b>	<i>I will look at that.</i>	→	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>lúh</b>	<b>pîtsǎ.</b>	<i>I've finished looking at that.</i>
ŋaŋ	luŋ			ŋaŋ	luŋ	piŋtsaŋ	
I	TO LOOK			I	TO LOOK	TO FINISH	
pron	vt<dur>	<fut>		pron	vt<dur>	vi	<cess>

8. **Sěh** **chîh** **pîtsǎ.**  
 sɛŋ tɕ<sup>hu</sup>ŋ piŋtsaŋ  
 FIREWOOD TO BURN TO FINISH  
 n vt vi

[All] *the firewood has been burned*.

- (8) **pù** /puŋ/ <vp>

This modifier is used to denote *momentaine* (short)<sup>52</sup> action.

<b>mphi</b>	<i>to spit</i>	→	<b>mphi</b>	<b>-pù</b>	<i>to spit once</i>
mp <sup>hi</sup> ŋ			mp <sup>hi</sup> ŋ	puŋ	
vt			vt	vp[cl]	
TO SPIT			TO SPIT	MMNT	

9. **Â** **-kvîh** **kyĩ** **mphi** **-pũ.** *Let us two to have a spit.*  
 ʔaŋ kyŋ tɕiŋ mp<sup>hi</sup>ŋ puŋ  
 WE DL ONE TO SPIT MMNT  
 pron sf num vt vp[cl]

10. **Thuôlî** **-yâ** **mbà** **là** **-phǎ** **mi-** **hrō** **-pũ.** *Rabbit was walking and met a leopard.*  
 t<sup>hu</sup>oŋliŋ jaŋ mbaŋ læŋ p<sup>ha</sup>ŋ miŋ hoŋ puŋ  
 RABBIT SG TO WALK LEOPARD SG PFC TO MEET MMNT  
 n cl vt n cl mod vt vp[cl]

Yin (2016:18-19) list two aspects, which are marked by auxiliary verbs, namely the *experiential aspect* using the verb /ntɛ<sup>hi</sup>ŋ/ (I analyze this as a verbal particle, because it did not occurred as a predicate in our corpus) and *cessative aspect* using the verb /piŋtsaŋ/. I however regard the verb indicating cessative aspect as a kind of resultative modifier, because there are plenty of other verbs or verbal adjectives, which can function on the same basis as a modifier indicating result of a situation and thus *perfective* aspects. Other after-verb modifiers are usually overlooked as it can be seen in the next examples:

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Chinese complement *yīxià* 一下.

- (11) ɲal.jiɭ          ɲiɫmiɭ muɭ    ndzoɻ æʌ.ndoɻ  
 1SG-GEN        sister CL        VLOC Q-to see  
 1SG-GEN        妹妹 位        有,在 Q-看見  
*Have you seen my sister?* (您看見我的妹妹了嗎? ) (YİN 2016:91)
- (12) ɲal.jiɭ          ɲiɫmiɭ muɭ    æʌ.ndoɻ        ʂaɻ  
 1SG-GEN        sister CL        Q-to see        SP  
 1SG-GEN        妹妹 位        Q-看見        嗎  
*Have you seen my sister?* (我的妹妹你看見了嗎? ) (YİN 2016:91)
- (13) næɻ.jiɭ          ɲiɫ        miɭ        muɭ        ndoɻ        ʂaɻ  
 2-GEN            GEN        sister CL        to see        SP  
 2nd-GEN        GEN        妹妹 位        看見        啊  
*I have seen you sister.* (你的妹妹我看見了。 ) (YİN 2016:91)

Ex.11 shows the clause with an unmodified verb /**ndoɻ**/ to see, which is modified by the resultative modifier /**ʂaɻ**/ in Ex. 12-13. *Yin* has analyzed the modifier as a sentence particle for creating polar questions in Ex.12, though in the work it is stated that polar questions are formed by „adding question particle /jaɻ/ to the end of the sentence or the interrogative prefix /æʌ/ before the verb“<sup>53</sup> (YİN 2016:22) and as a modal particle „a“ (啊)<sup>54</sup> in Ex.13.

*Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:166) list similar aspects marked by auxiliary verbs, the *experiential* using the verb /**ntɛʰiɭ**/ and the second, which is labelled as *perfective* (*wánchéngtǐ* 完成體). The perfective aspect can be formed by two auxiliary verbs - /**tɛʰiɫqaɻ**/ TO UNDERGO (經過) and /**tɛʰiɫpiɭtsæɻ**/ TO COMPLETE (完成). Then two examples are provided:

- (14) ɲal    kuɫdzaɻ        dziɻ    tɛʰiɫqaɻ  
 1SG    breakfast    to eat  
 我    早飯        吃  
*I have eaten breakfast.* (我吃過早飯了。 ) (HUÁNG & RĒNZĒNG 1991:166,(6)-1)
- (15) ɲal    æɫmiɭ siɫɲæɻ dziɻ    tɛʰiɫpiɭtsæɻ  
 1SG        just    to eat  
 我        剛剛    吃  
*I have just eaten.* (我剛剛吃過飯。 ) (HUÁNG & RĒNZĒNG 1991:166,(6)-2)

The authors also note that in case of using only /**piɭtsæɻ**/ TO FINISH (完) instead of the verb /**tɛʰiɫpiɭtsæɻ**/ TO COMPLETE, the meaning of the sentence will change into „finished eating“ (吃完了飯).

<sup>53</sup> 在句尾添加疑問詞 /jaɻ/或在動詞前添加疑問前綴 /æʌ/。

<sup>54</sup> This modal particle has a lot of meanings, e.g. indicating obviousness, impatience, confirmation etc.

## 4.2.7 Directional modification

### 4.2.7.1 Form and function

Modification (B) of the verb can be done either through resultative modifier as we have seen above in chapter 4.2.6 or by directional modifiers. Modification of the verb will cause the verb to be *perfective*. However, not all unmodified verbs are always imperfective.

Directional modification can be done by *directional prefixes*, *directional verbs* or by the *combination* of both of these features.

There are three *directional prefixes*, which determine the direction of the action, which is denoted by the verb: **luó-** /lɔʊ/ for the direction UPWARD, **mì** /mi/ for the direction DOWNWARD and finally **khyi-** /tɕʰi/ for the direction FORWARD. These three directional prefixes can be used in a more grammaticalized function which resembles resultative modifiers.

*Yin* (2016:20) also discusses the directional modification of NMZ verbs. The work introduces both functions of the three directional prefixes (namely /lɔʊ/ UPWARD, /mi/ DOWNWARD and /tɕʰi/ FORWARD. However, there is no remark on the usage of directional verbs, though these constructions can be found in the presented corpus.

*Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:165) introduce the same three directional prefixes as *Yin*, they do not mention the grammaticalized function, but on the other hand, they have noticed that the directional modification is also expressed by a directional verb /dæ/ TO COME.

Directional verbs, which are placed after the head verb, have only one function of indicating the direction of the action.

Directional modification is quite a common feature of Qiangic and Naic languages (cf. LAPOLLA 2003:154-156; MICHAUD 2013:13; CHIRKOVA 2009:40; Mǎ 2003:249).

### 4.2.7.2 Directional prefixes

(1) **luó-** /lɔʊ/ <mod> UPWARD / INCHOATIVE

This directional prefix can be used in its lexical meaning to indicate rising direction (upwards), or it can be used in its grammatical meaning to indicate *inchoative* aspect with a focus on the beginning of the situation causing a new state. Usage of this prefix will also cause the durative verb to change into punctual verb denoting the beginning of the action.

	<b>pǎ</b> pæ˥˩ TO CARRY vt	<i>to take with</i>	→	<b>luó-</b> lɔʊ UP mod	<b>pǎ</b> pæ˥˩ TO CARRY vt	<i>to take upstairs</i>	<dir>	
<b>sèh</b> sɛ˥˩ FIREWOOD n	<b>chìh</b> tɕʰi˥˩ TO BURN vt<dur>	<i>burn firewood</i>	→	<b>sèh</b> sɛ˥˩ FIREWOOD n	<b>luó-</b> lɔʊ INCH mod	<b>chìh</b> tɕʰi˥˩ TO BURN vt<pct>	<i>lite firewood</i>	<inch>



1. **Nuô tâ hnô bbû ərquô -pû luó- yâhã.** *You put on a yak leather on your back this evening.*  
 nɔʊl tãl h̄n̄ɔl b̄bu l ər̄quɔl pu l ɬoʊl ja l h̄ã l  
 YOU THIS EVENING YAK LEATHER SG UP TO PUT ON BACK  
 pron dem nt n n cl mod vt
2. **Ngâ -nyî s̄ihb̄s̄ih -l̄uh ǎmî thuò ndzh̄hb̄ -luh luó- dzhèh!** *There has grown a blister on my calf now!*  
 ŋã l ŋi l s̄i h̄bu s̄i h̄ l ɬ l ʔã m̄i l t̄h̄uɔ l ndz̄u b̄ã l ɬ l ɬoʊl dz̄ɣ l  
 I GEN CALF SG NOW TIME BLISTER SG UP/INCH TO GROW  
 pron sf n cl nt pp n cl mod vi
3. **Nyî kvîh s̄ēr qh̄ô ló- tò.** *The two set off to the woods.*  
 ŋi l ky l s̄ɛ̄: l q̄h̄o l l̄oʊ l to l  
 TWO DL WOOD LOC INCH TO ARRIVE  
 num cl n pp mod vt

Note that sometimes both of the functions can be valid (Ex.2).

(2) **mì-** /miʎ/ <mod> DOWNWARD / PERFECT

This directional prefix can be used in its lexical meaning to indicate falling direction (downwards), or it can be used in its grammatical meaning to indicate *perfect*<sup>55</sup> aspect. It indicates a situation has been completed.

- |            |                                     |                         |   |  |                           |
|------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|
|            | <b>pã</b><br>pæ l<br>TO CARRY<br>vt | <i>to take with</i>     | → | <b>mì- pã</b><br>miʎ pæ l<br>DOWN TO CARRY<br>mod vt | <i>to take downstairs</i> |
| <b>Ngâ</b> | <b>hã.</b><br>hã: l<br>TO BUY<br>vt | <i>I will buy that.</i> | → | <b>mì- hã.</b><br>miʎ hã: l<br>PFC TO BUY<br>mod vt  | <i>I've bought that.</i>  |
|            |                                     |                         |   |  | <dir>                     |
|            |                                     |                         |   |  | <pf>                      |
4. **âhrô -lâ, ânà, ǎ -yâ mî- tbũ wũ!** *Grandpa, grandma, you killed a chicken!*  
 ʔã l kɔ l la l ʔã l na l ʔã l ja l mi l t̄bu l wu l  
 GRANDPA SG GRANDMA CHICKEN SG PFC TO SLAUGHTER EXCL  
 n cl n n cl mod vt sp

5. **Pãmî -yâ mî- duò: “Kô yâ kô mâ- yà?”** *The toad asked: „Will [you] give [the daughter] or not?”*  
 pa l mi l ja l mi l duɔ l ko: l ja l ko: l ma l ja l  
 TOAD SG PFC TO ASK TO GIVE OR TO GIVE NOT AFF  
 n cl mod vt vt conj vt neg sp

6. **S̄eh -lâ -lâ mî- xè.** *[They] let the wooden timbers down.*  
 s̄ɣ l la l la l mi l xɛ l  
 WOOD PC PC DOWN TO GO AWAY  
 n cl cl mod vt

7. **Ngâ -xrô âluò mî- ndà mî- nkhè dâ nuô khèr khyî kũ.**  
 ŋã l ɣ̄oʊ l ʔã l l̄uɔ l mi l ndã l mi l nk̄h̄ɛ l dæ l nɔʊ l k̄h̄ɛ l t̄ɕ̄i l ku l  
 I PL HILL PFC TO CHOP DOWN TO SEND TO COME YOU BELOW FWD TO WAIT  
 pron sf n mod vt mod vt vt pron np mod vi

*We will send [it from the] hill down here [when it is] chopped, so you wait below.*

Note that in Ex.7 the modifier of the first verb **ndà** /ndaʎ/ TO CHOP is used in grammaticalized function to indicate perfect, while by the second verb **nkhè** /nk̄h̄ɛʎ/ TO SEND it functions as a directional modifier.

<sup>55</sup> Not to be confused with *perfective* aspect, which indicates situation viewed as a single whole (COMRIE 1976:18). Comrie (1976:52) considers to be convenient to list perfect as an aspect, though there is difference between perfect and other aspects in the sense that perfect „tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation“ and „expresses situation between two time-points“.

Based on the definition „the action, [which] is already in progress or is finished“<sup>56</sup>, Yin (2016:19) possibly analyzes the grammaticalized function of this modifier in the same way as *perfect* aspect<sup>57</sup>, though in the work the term „perfective“ (*wánzhěngtǐ* 完整體) is used. Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:166) call this aspect as ingressive (*yǐxíngtǐ* 已行體), focusing on that the situation has already started<sup>58</sup>.

(3) **khyi-** /tɕʰi/ <mod> FORWARD / INCEPTIVE

This directional prefix is used to indicate horizontal direction (forward) or it can be used in its grammaticalized meaning to indicate *inceptive* aspect, i.e. the situation of durative verbs has started and is on-going and in case of punctual verbs it refers to the entry into a new state after the situation was performed.

<b>dzà</b> dzaʌ TO RIDE vt	<i>Ride!</i>	→	<b>Ngányî dzhūla</b> ŋaʌŋiʌ dzu-llaʌ MY BACK pron+sf n+cl	<b>-dà</b> daʌ ON np	<b>khyi-</b> tɕʰiʌ mod	<b>dzà.</b> dzaʌ TO RIDE vt	[It] was riding on my back.  <dir>
<b>sêh</b> sɿʌ FIREWOOD n	<b>gì</b> giʌ TO CUT vt	<i>Cut firewood!</i>	→	<b>Sèh</b> sɿʌ FIREWOOD n	<b>khyi-</b> tɕʰiʌ mod	<b>gǎ.</b> gæʌ TO CUT vt	[She] started cutting the firewood.  <inc>

8. **Lînyu -phâ luó- tǔ** **âmî -mû -dâ khyi- dzih.** [She] has killed a wether  
liʌŋuʌ pʰaʌ luoʌ tɕʰuʌ ʔaʌmiʌ muʌ daʌ tɕʰiʌ dziʌ for mother to eat.  
WETHER SG INCH TO SLAUGHTER MOTHER SG DAT FWD TO EAT  
n cl mod vt n cl sf mod vt

9. **Hníqho khyi- tò.** *The evening came.*  
hʌniʌqʰoʌ tɕʰiʌ toʌ  
EVENING INC TO ARRIVE  
n mod vt

10. **Tshuò tâ yú khyi- yú.** *People of this house started to sleep.*  
tɕʰuʌoʌ taʌ yuʌ tɕʰiʌ yuʌ  
HUMAN THIS HOME INC TO SLEEP  
n dem cl mod vi

In case of using these directional prefixes to express the direction of the event causes the verb to be *perfective*. When used to express the aspectual meaning, only **punctual** verbs are *perfective*, while **durative** verbs may be *perfective* or *imperfective* according to the context.

<sup>56</sup> 動作已經進行或者結束。

<sup>57</sup> For the definition of perfect and perfective cf. Crystal (2008:356) or Comrie (1976). Perfective aspect by definition can not express any situation in progress.

<sup>58</sup> They however provide only one example, where the verb is modified by the perfect aspect prefix /mi/ and marked by (what we analyze as) ingressive aspectual suffix /-æ/.

### 4.2.7.3 Directional after-verb modifiers

There are four modifiers, which are placed after the verb to indicate the direction in reference to the speaker. In case they are used, the verb is always *perfective*.

- (1) **dǎ** /dǎ\ / <vt> TO COME

This after-verb modifier indicates the direction towards the speaker. When used without the directional prefix, it is used as a non-past modifier in suppletion with the past modifier **dzhǔ** /dzu\ / HITHER.

1. **Nuô yū zhū shūshū -luh shūa dǎ.** *Find [me] your family's bag for grain.*  
 nuo\ yu\ zu\ su\su\ lu\ su\al\ dǎ\  
 YOU HOME GRAIN BAG SG TO FIND TO COME  
 pron n n n cl vt vt
2. **Gāmu dàdzhǐh -lūh pǎ dǎ!** *Bring here the biggest one!*  
 ga\mu\ da\dzǐh\ lu\ pǎ\ dǎ\  
 VERY B.BIG SG TO CARRY TO COME  
 adv va cl vt vt

- (2) **dzhǔ** /dzu\ / <vt> HITHER

This after-verb modifier indicates the direction towards the speaker, which can be either out or in.

3. **Āvūshū māqū būnchǐh dàdzhǐhshūshū -luh pǎ dzhù.** *Uncle brought bigger bamboo dustpan bag.*  
 ʔa\vu\su\ma\qū\ bu\ntʃʰu\ da\dzǐh\ su\su\ lu\ pǎ\ dzù\  
 UNCLE BAMBOO DUSTPAN B.BIG BAG SG TO CARRY HITHER  
 n adn n va n cl vt vt
4. **Ngā mī -mū shūa dzhuò.** *I have found my wife.*  
 ŋa\ mi\ mu\ su\al\ dzuo\  
 I WIFE SG TO FIND HITHER  
 pron n cl vt vt

- (3) **bì** /bi\ / <vt> TO GO

This after-verb modifier indicates the direction outside from the speaker. When used without the directional prefix, it is used as a non-past modifier in suppletion with the past modifier **xǎ** /xa\ / AWAY.

5. **Nuô sīlūh -bǎ shâphî -pû pǎdǎ pǎ bì.** *Take the plums near the table.*  
 nuo\ si\lu\ bæ\ ʃa\pʰi\ pu\ pǎ\da\ pǎ\ bi\  
 YOU PLUM PL TABLE SG NEAR TO CARRY TO GO  
 pron n cl n cl np vt vt

- (4) **xǎ** /xa\ / <vt> AWAY

This after-verb modifier indicates the direction from the speaker. Pronunciation of this after-verb modifier is not stable. Its initial can be sonorized and its final can be assimilated to the vowel of preceding syllable.

6. **Ní -kūh kiyüümü mbà xǎ.** *They both have left.*  
 ni\ ku\ tɕi\tyy\mu\ mba\ xa\  
 TWO PC TOGETHER TO LEAVE AWAY  
 num cl adv vt vt

7. **Ngâ -nyî yîlhâ -lâ hrâshih -sû -mû -nyî ntshè -nyî khôpà -xǎ!** *My tongue has fallen away being cut by that „krrrrash“-one!*  
 ŋaŋ ŋiŋ jiŋlaŋ laŋ ɣaŋsuŋ suŋ muŋ ŋiŋ ntʃhɛŋ ŋiŋ kʰoŋpaŋ xaŋ  
 I GEN TONGUE SG KRRRRASH NOM SG AGT TO CUT PTCP TO FALL AWAY  
 pron sf n cl ono sf cl sf vt sf vi vt

#### 4.2.7.4 Combination of directional prefix and after-verb modifier

These three directional prefixes can be used together with the after-verb modifiers.

<b>phò</b>	/pʰoŋ/	vi	TO RUN		<b>phò</b>	-dǎ	
	<b>phò</b>	<b>-xǎ</b>	<i>run away</i>		<b>phò</b>	<b>-dǎ</b>	<i>run here</i>
	pʰoŋ	xaŋ	跑去		pʰoŋ	dǎŋ	跑來
	TO RUN	AWAY			TO RUN	TO COME	
	vi	vt			vi	vt	
<b>luó-</b>	<b>phò</b>	<b>-dzhǔ-a</b>	<i>run up here</i>	<b>mǐ-</b>	<b>phò</b>	<b>-bì</b>	<i>run down out</i>
luoŋ	pʰoŋ	dzuǎŋ	跑進來	miŋ	pʰoŋ	biŋ	跑出去
UP	TO RUN	HITHER		DOWN	TO RUN	TO GO	
mod	vi	vt+sp		mod	vi	vt	

<b>pǎ</b>	/pǎŋ/	vt	TO CARRY		<b>pǎ</b>	-dǎ	
	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-xǎ</b>	<i>take away</i>		<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-dǎ</b>	<i>bring here</i>
	pǎŋ	xǎŋ	拿去		pǎŋ	dǎŋ	拿來
	TO CARRY	AWAY			TO CARRY	TO COME	
	vt	vi			vt	vi	
<b>luó-</b>	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-xǎ</b>	<i>take inside</i>	<b>luó-</b>	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-dǎ</b>	<i>bring up here</i>
luoŋ	pǎŋ	xǎŋ	拿進去	luoŋ	pǎŋ	dǎŋ	拿上來
UP	TO CARRY	AWAY		UP	TO CARRY	TO COME	
mod	vt	vi		mod	vt	vi	
<b>mì-</b>	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-bì</b>	<i>take down there</i>	<b>mì-</b>	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-dǎ</b>	<i>take out</i>
miŋ	pǎŋ	biŋ	拿下去	miŋ	pǎŋ	dǎŋ	拿出來
DOWN	TO CARRY	TO GO		DOWN	TO CARRY	TO COME	
mod	vt	vi		mod	vt	vi	
<b>khyi-</b>	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-hǎ</b>	<i>take there</i>	<b>khyi-</b>	<b>pǎ</b>	<b>-dzhǔ-a</b>	<i>bring here</i>
teʰiŋ	pǎŋ	hǎŋ	拿過去	teʰiŋ	pǎŋ	dzuǎŋ	拿過來
FORWARD	TO CARRY	AWAY		FORWARD	TO CARRY	HITHER	
mod	vt	vi		mod	vt	vi+sp	

1. **Zǎ -phǎ yîlhâ -lâ mǐ- chǎ -dzhǔ.** *Leopard sticked out [his] tongue.*  
 zaŋ pʰaŋ jiŋlaŋ laŋ miŋ tʃʰa:ŋ dzuŋ  
 LEOPARD SG TONGUE SG PFC TO STRETCH HITHER  
 n cl n cl mod vt vt
2. **Qolô -qhô pǎmǐ -yâ mǐ- pǎ dzhǔ.** *A toad jumped out from inside.*  
 qoŋloŋ qʰoŋ paŋmiŋ jaŋ miŋ pǎŋ dzuŋ  
 INSIDE LOC TOAD SG PFC/DOWN TO JUMP HITHER  
 np pp n cl mod vt vt

3. **Khyî tòqô luó- gâ gâ xè.** *He climbed up to the floor.*  
 tɕʰiɿ toɿqoɿ lɿoɿ gæɿ gæɿ xeɿ  
 HE FLOOR UP TO CLIMB TO CLIMB AWAY  
 pron n mod vt vt vt
4. **lǎ -bâ luó- fù dzhũ.** *The dust has flown out.*  
 læ:ɿ bæɿ lɿoɿ fuɿ dzuɿ  
 DUST PL UP TO FLY HITHER  
 n cl mod vi vt

#### 4.2.8 Combination of different inflectional patterns

As it was already mentioned, different inflectional patterns together with the overall context are used to indicate tense-aspect-mood of the verbs.

1. **Nuò dzih -pĩtsǎ, âxrò biè -lǎ.** *We will go as soon as you finish eating.*  
 nuoɿ dziɿ piɿtsaɿ ʔaɿxoɿ biɿɿ læɿ  
 YOU TO EAT CESS WE TO GO PREM  
 pron vt vp pron vt+sf sp
2. **Mĩ- dzih -lǎ, khyi- mbà.** *Having eaten I will leave.*  
 miɿ dziɿ læɿ tɕʰiɿ mbaɿ  
 PCT TO EAT PREM INC TO LEAVE  
 mod vt sp mod vi
3. **Khyî yûngunû khyi- dzhũ dzhu.** *When she started to pee behind,*  
 tɕʰiɿ juɿŋuɿnuɿ tɕʰiɿ dzuɿ dzuɿ  
 HE BACK INC TO RELIEVE TO RELIEVE  
 pron np mod vi vi  
**lǎqô -yǎ sêhpûpû vûdǎ mer mër.** *the crow on a tree cawed.*  
 laɿqoɿ jaɿ sɿɿpuɿpuɿ vuɿdæɿ məɿ məɿ  
 CROW SG TREE ON TO CAW TO CAW  
 n cl n np vi vi

Suppletion of the modifiers **dǎ** /dæɿ/ COME vs. **dzhũ** /dzuɿ/ CAME and **bì** /biɿ/ GO vs. **xǎ** /xaɿ/ WENT can be used to indicate past vs. non-past tense of the directionally modified verbs.

- 4a. **Khêyî mólò tò, tshuò hǎ -mû bǎtsǐh -bâ mĩ- qà dǎ shǐh.**  
 kʰeɿjiɿ moɿloɿ toɿ tɕʰuoɿ hǎɿ muɿ baɿtsiɿ bæɿ miɿ qaɿ dæɿ ʃuɿɿ  
 WHO SKILL B.WORTHY HUMAN THAT SG SHIRT PL DOWN TO STRIP TO COME TO CAUSE  
 pron n va n dem cl n cl mod vt vt v  
*Better skills has, who will cause that man to take off his shirts.*
- 4b. **Bǎtsǐh -bâ mĩ- qà dzhũ.** *[He] took off his shirts.*  
 baɿtsiɿ bæɿ miɿ qaɿ dzuɿ  
 SHIRT PL DOWN TO STRIP HITHER  
 n cl mod vt vt

However in the case of the following sentence, the time of the verbal phrase, which functions as subject of an adjectival verb, is still influenced by the predicate.

5. **Khyî- dzè -xe mà- mër.** *It isn't tasty when you start to eat it.*  
 tɕʰiɿ dzeɿ xeɿ maɿ məɿ  
 INC TO EAT AWAY NOT B.TASTY  
 mod vt+sf vi+sf neg va

## 4.2.9 Reduplication and verbal numeral phrase

### 4.2.9.1 Reduplication

When the verbs are used in its basic form (see Chapter 4.2.4), they denote a situation, which is habitual, generic or will happen in the near future. They can also express imperative voice, which can be emphasized using prosodic features or sentence particles (see Chapter 7.4.2). No matter whether it indicates an imperative or declarative voice, especially in short sentences or when used alone, a verb sounds quite intensive or even rude. Therefore most of the verbs can be reduplicated in order to soften its meaning<sup>59</sup>.

<b>Dzìh!</b> ɖziʔ TO EAT vt	<i>Eat that!</i>	→	<b>Dzìh</b> ɖziʔ TO EAT vt	<b>dzìh.</b> ɖziʔ TO EAT vt	<i>Eat something.</i>				
<b>Ndzuò!</b> ndzuoʔ TO SIT vi	<i>Sit down!</i>	→	<b>Ndzuò</b> ndzuoʔ TO EAT vi	<b>ndzuò.</b> ndzuoʔ TO EAT vi	<i>Have a seat.</i>				
<b>Kyiyǔmû</b> teiʔɥiʔmuʔ TOGETHER adv	<b>lúh</b> luʔ TO LOOK vt	<b>bǐ.</b> biʔ TO GO vt	<i>Let's go to look together!</i>	→	<b>Kyiyǔmû</b> teiʔɥiʔmuʔ TOGETHER adv	<b>lúh</b> luʔ TO LOOK vt	<b>lúh</b> luʔ TO LOOK vt	<b>bǐ.</b> biʔ TO GO vt	<i>Let's go to have a look together.</i>

### 4.2.9.2 Verbal numeral phrase

To express (A) frequency of any situation (i.e. how many times it has happened) or (B) quantity (i.e. how many sequential parts of certain action has been performed), NMZ language uses a verbal numeral complement, which is placed before the verb. This complement consists of a number followed by classifier or quazi-classifier (see chapter 5.3.1.2). Quazi-classifiers are usually originally nouns with a meaning of a tool by which certain action is performed. These tools thus become the specific measuring unit of the sequential part of the action denoted by the verb<sup>60</sup>.

num	cl	v	(A)	num	cl[n]	v	(B)
<b>kyi</b>	<b>-ki</b>	<b>dzìh</b>	<i>eat once</i>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-qòtshâ</b>	<b>dzìh</b>	<i>have a bite</i>
teiʔ	kiʔ	ɖziʔ		teiʔ	qoʔtsʰaʔ	ɖziʔ	
ONE	TIME	TO EAT		ONE	MOUTH	TO EAT	
<b>nyî</b>	<b>-ki</b>	<b>dzìhnkhyĩ</b>	<i>eaten it twice</i>	<b>nyî</b>	<b>-qòtshâ</b>	<b>dzìh</b>	<i>have two bites</i>
ɲiʔ	kiʔ	ɖziʔnteʰiʔ		ɲiʔ	qoʔtsʰaʔ	ɖziʔ	
TWO	TIME	TO EAT		TWO	MOUTH	TO EAT	
<b>nyî</b>	<b>-ki</b>	<b>dǎnkhyĩ</b>	<i>be here twice</i>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-qatsũ</b>	<b>luópǎ</b>	<i>jump one step up</i>
ɲiʔ	kiʔ	dæʔnteʰiʔ		teiʔ	qaʔtsuʔ	luoʔpaʔ	
TWO	TIME	TO COME		ONE	STEP	TO LEAP	

<sup>59</sup> Reduplication of verbs can be found also in *Qiāng* language in e.g. iterative meaning (LAPOLLA 2003:123) or in *Ĕrsū* for e.g. reciprocal, continuous or repetitive meaning (ZHANG 2013:432) or in *Nàxī* 纳西 expressing reciprocity, continuous aspect or intensification (HÉ & JIANG 1985:48).

<sup>60</sup> For the expressing of frequency of a situation cf. also *Yīn* (2016:14-15), who provides three verbal classifiers (/kiʔ/, /kuʔ/ and /puʔ/).

1. **Ngâ tôqhô nyî -kĩ dǎ nkhyĩ.** *I have been here twice.*  
 ɲaɭ toɭq<sup>h</sup>oɭ ɲiɭ kiɭ dæɭ nte<sup>h</sup>iɭ  
 I HERE TWO TIME TO COME EXP  
 pron pron num cl vt vi
2. **Nuô vù kyi qhõtshà ndzhĩ dǎ.** *Come and have one drink of liquor!*  
 nuoɭ vuɭ tɛiɭ qoɭts<sup>h</sup>aɭ ndzuɭ dæɭ  
 YOU LIQUOR ONE MOUTH TO DRINK TO COME  
 pron n num cl[n] vt vt

Except that, momentaine modifier allows the modified verb to govern number one without any other classifier to emphasize that the action will occur only once. The number is placed before the verb.

<b>lùh</b> <i>Look there!</i> lɛɭ TO LOOK vt	→	<b>lùh -pũ</b> <i>Give it a look!</i> lɛɭ puɭ TO LOOK MMNT vt vp	→	<b>kyi lùh -pũ</b> <i>Give it one look!</i> tɛiɭ lɛɭ puɭ ONE TO LOOK MMNT num vt vp
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#### 4.2.10 Verbal voice

Verbs in NMZ feature three voices – active, passive and causative. There are distinctive passive and causative markings in form of a verbal particle (e.g. passive **-kwǎ** /kwaɭ/ or causative **-shĩh** /ʃuɭɭ/). Passive voice can be also indicated by agentive case (for declension of substantives see Chapter 5.1.7) or remain unmarked (see Chapter 4.2.10.1). Causative voice can be also indicated by auxiliary verb **hnũnggwǎ** /h<sup>h</sup>ũɲgwaɭ/ TO CAUSE or coverb **shĩhshĩh** /ʃuɭɭ.ʃuɭɭ/ TO LEAD (see chapter 4.2.10.2). Because verbal voice is rather complicated matter, as „*it resides in the verb, but it is intimately linked to the structure of its clause in terms of subject, object, etc.*“ (ALLERTON 1990:95), the chapter on passive voice also explains, what kind of sentence structures are considered to be in passive voice.

Concerning the verbal voice, *Yĩn* (2016:24) defines the unmarked „non-causative“ (*zìdòngtài* 自動態, lit. „voluntary voice“) and causative voice (*shǐdòngtài* 使動態) marked by auxiliary /ʃiɭ/ or /ngæɭ/ (however an example for the latter auxiliary is not provided)<sup>61</sup>. *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:167) describe the causative voice (marked by /ngæɭ.ʃiɭ/ or /ʃiɭ/), however providing only verbal forms in causative, not the whole clauses. We anticipate that the syllable /ngæɭ/ could actually be the resultative modifier **nggǎ** /ŋgaɭ/ indicating the satisfactory result of an action. The auxiliary /ʃiɭ/ as a marker of causative voice is recognized also by *Liu* (1996:192-193) in the *Luóguōdǐ* 鑼鍋底 variety of NMZ, *Shēn* (2013:49-50) does not recognize the category of verbal voice in NMZ based on its comparison to voice system in *Qiāng* language, which is not very convincing. The causative voice can be found in other TB languages (e.g. Mǎ 2003, LAPOLLA 2003).

##### 4.2.10.1 Passive voice

Though the passive voice in TB languages is quite rare (LAPOLLA 2003:426), there exists certain distinction between active and passive voice in NMZ, however NMZ language represents an extreme in the sense that markings of most grammatical features, which can be understood from the overall context, are optional. Thus the verb is marked by passive verbal particle under specific conditions only. It would be possibly useful to recall the definition of active and passive voice first and look over the basic structure of declarative sentences in

<sup>61</sup> 納木茲語動詞自動態是無標記的，以動詞原形形式表達；使動態表達方式是動詞後添加助詞 /ʃiɭ/ 或者 /ngæɭ/。(YİN 2016:24)

NMZ (see Chapter 7.1).

Verbal voice is a feature used to express diathesis, i.e. the relation between semantic participants of the clause and syntactic function (ČERMÁK 2009:139). In nominative-accusative languages like English, when the agent (e.g. the doer of the action) is the subject, the clause is considered to be in the active voice, while when the agent is not expressed or when the agent is moved to another structural position (ALLERTON 1990:95), the clause is considered to be in the passive voice.

In order to determine, whether a certain clause is in active or passive voice in NMZ, we have to consider the following:

As I have already pointed out in the chapter on sentence structure (7.1), the basic structure of declarative sentences in NMZ is (A) agent – (R) recipient – (P) patient – (V) verb. From the pragmatic point of view, the *topic* (theme<sup>62</sup>) is on the left side of the clause and the *comment* (rheme) tends to be on the right side of the clause, near to the verb<sup>63</sup>. We can say that NMZ is topic-prominent language. When the constituents in the clause follow the above structure, no suffixes are usually needed to mark their function. The usage of the markers in a given clause is also determined by semantic value of the constituents (e.g. under normal circumstances, inanimate objects can't be agents of an action, therefore the absence of a syntactic marker should not lead to confusion) and by the presence or absence of other constituents. There does not exist any agreement between subject and predicate (i.e. verbs do not show any morphological change for person and number of the subject), moreover NMZ is a language which allows verbal arguments to be dropped-off when they are obvious from the overall context<sup>64</sup>. Therefore the absence of an agent does not necessarily mean that the agent is not expressed (as it may be only omitted).

When **agent** is identical with the **topic**, we consider the whole clause to be in *active* voice even in the case the agent is dropped and the patient of the clause is unmarked and placed at the beginning of the clause. Ex. 2 shows us the situation, where the agent of the clause is known from the context, therefore it is dropped and the sentence starts directly with the patient.

- |    |                                   |                                     |  |   |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. | <b>Khyî</b><br>tɕʰiɭ<br>HE<br>(A) | <b>amî</b><br>ʔaɫmiɭ<br>MOM<br>(P)  | <b>shŭmaya.</b><br>ʂuɫmaɫjaɫ<br>NOT TO FIND<br>(V) | <i>He is not going to find [his] mom.</i> |
| 2. |                                   | <b>âhrô</b><br>ʔæɭkɔɭ<br>EGG<br>(P) | <b>dzè.</b><br>dzeɭ<br>TO FIND<br>(V)              | <i>[I am] eating eggs.</i>                |

When **patient** which semantically can not be agent of the verb is the **topic** and a specific **agent** follows, we consider the whole clause to be in *active* voice. That is because the topic<sup>65</sup> can precede the agent, however the agent still remains in the function of subject.

<sup>62</sup> The theme is something what is already known to both participants of the speech act, while the comment (focus) is the new information which is intended to be transmitted to the listener.

<sup>63</sup> Sometimes, the agent can be even preceded by another topic.

<sup>64</sup> This feature is very similar to Chinese, where esp. the agent of the clause can be dropped.

<sup>65</sup> Unanimate topics can remain unmarked, while animated topics or rational beings are usually marked by suffix **nyî** /ŋiɭ/.



3. **âhrô**      **ngâ**      **dzihmaya.**      *Eggs, I do not eat them.*  
 æ̃ɫɔɫ      ŋaɫ      dʒiɫmaɫjaɫ  
 EGG      I      NOT TO EAT  
 (P)      (A)      (V)

In other cases, when **patient** is the **topic** and the agent is not expressed, we consider the whole clause to be in *passive* voice. The patient is at the beginning of the sentence as a topic (and thus in the subject-predicate relation to the verb) and the verb does not require any direct object, therefore it is intransitive.

4. **Ngânyî mîyelùh**      **dôqômînggã.**      *My eyes were blinded!*  
 ŋaɫ.ŋiɫ miɫjeɫɫaɫ      doɫqoɫmiɫŋgaɫ  
 MY EYES      TO BE BLINDED  
 (P)      (V)

However, when the argument in the topic can not function as an agent of the predicate and no other argument in specific case is present, then the verb is usually marked by a passive particle.

5. **Ndzhî**      **mîndzhâ**      **-xã.**      *Water has been drunken.*  
 ndʒuɫ      miɫndʒaɫ      xaɫ  
 WATER      TO DRINK      PASS  
 (P)      (V)
6. **âhrôlùh**      **dzih**      **-kwã.**      *The egg has been eaten.*  
 ʔæ̃ɫɔɫɫaɫ      dʒiɫ      kwaɫ  
 EGG      TO EAT      PASS  
 (P)      (V)

When an argument in agentive case (marked by suffix **nyĩ** /ŋiɫ/, see p.107) is present (Ex. 9), the whole clause is considered *passive* and the verb is not marked by any passive suffix.

7. **Qhãlùh**      **qhãnggã.**      *The bowl broke.*  
 qʰaɫɫaɫ      qʰæ:ɫŋgaɫ  
 BOWL      TO BREAK  
 (A)      (V)
8. **Àdãmũ**      **qhãlùh**      **qhãnggã.**      *My father has broken a bowl.*  
 ʔaɫdaɫmuɫ      qʰaɫɫaɫ      qʰæ:ɫŋgaɫ  
 FATHER      BOWL      TO BREAK  
 (A)      (P)      (V)
9. **Qhãlùh**      **àdãmũ**      **-nyĩ**      **qhãnggã.**      *The bowl was broken by my father.*  
 qʰaɫɫaɫ      ʔaɫdaɫmuɫ      ŋiɫ      qʰæ:ɫŋgaɫ  
 BOWL      FATHER      AGT      TO BREAK  
 (P)      (A)      (V)

The passive construction can also be made using the resultative modifier denoting the ongoing action has changed into state.

10. **Qũbũ -lùh vùdà ndzhigyĩ -bã luõ- zhizhî ndzá.**      *There are characters written on the doors.*  
 quɫbuɫ      luɫ      vuɫdaɫndʒuɫdʒiɫbæɫ      luoɫ      zʒiɫzʒiɫ      ndʒaɫ  
 DOORS      SG      ON      CHARACTER      PL      UP      TO WRITE      TO BE  
 n      cl      np      n      cl      mod      vt      vloc  
 (P)      (V)

#### 4.2.10.2 Causative voice

There are three ways how to express causative voice in NMZ. Apart from verbs like **shīhshīh** /ʃuːl.ʃuːl/ TO LEAD, which are used in *pivotal construction*<sup>66</sup>, there is one causative *auxiliary verb* **hnūnggwā** /h<sup>n</sup>ũlŋgwaːl/ TO CAUSE to denote causative voice and one causative *verbal particle* **-shīh** /ʃuːl/.

In causative voice, there is one other argument of the verb, the (S) *causer*<sup>67</sup> who causes the action to happen, while the (A) *causee* is the actual agent of the action.

##### (1) Pivotal construction

In serial verb construction, we have one (C) coverb and (V) main predicate. The causer is the subject of the causative coverb and the main predicate, while the causee is simultaneously the object of the causative coverb and subject of the main predicate.

1. **Khyòxrō nyīkuh pāmīyâ luóshīhshīh saērqhō luótò.** *They both let the toad to arrive to the wood [with them].*  

tɛ <sup>h</sup> oːχoːl n̄iːlkɔːl	paːlmiːljaːl	luoːʃuːl.ʃuːl	səːːːlq <sup>h</sup> oːl	luoːltoːl	
THEY TWO	TOAD	TO LEAD	WOOD	TO ARRIVE	
pron+numP	n+cl	mod+vt	n+sf	mod+vi	
(S)	(A)	(C)		(V)	
2. **Tâtâyă luóshīhshīh lighī bì, yòxrô-nyî âkvîh-dă zhīhdzhîh qă.** *If we let this one go home with us, others will certainly laugh.*  

taːltaːljaːl	luoːʃuːl.ʃuːl	liːŋiːl	biːl	joːːχoːlŋiːl	ʔaːlkɔːldaːl	zɔːːːdzɔːːl	qaːl	
THIS KIND	TO LEAD	TO RETURN	TO GO	OTHERS	WE TWO	TO LAUGH	TO WANT	
dem+cl+cl	mod+vt	vi	vt	pron+sf	pron+sf	vi	vt	
(A)	(C)		(V)					

##### (2) Auxiliary verb (hnūnggwā /h<sup>n</sup>ũlŋgwaːl/ TO CAUSE)

In clauses with causative auxiliary verb, the subject of the verb is the causer and the object of the verb is the agent of the action denoted by the verb.

3. **Khyî ngâdâ bì hnūnggwā.** *He let me to go there.*  

tɛ <sup>h</sup> iːl	ŋaːldaːl	bīl	h <sup>n</sup> ũlŋgwaːl
HE	ME	TO GO	TO CAUSE
pron	pron+sf	vt	v
(S)	(A)	(V)	

##### (3) Verbal particle (-shīh /ʃuːl/)

Main predicate can also be marked with a causative verbal suffix. In that case, the subject of the verb is the instrument/tool by which the action is done.

4. **Tômùnyī sēhlâ-bă mìnkhēhdâ khyî-dzhâ sēhnggă shīh.** *Thus the falling lumbers will cause him to be killed.*  

toːlmuːŋiːl	sɛːːːllaːlbæːl	miːlŋk <sup>h</sup> ɛːːːdæːl	tɛ <sup>h</sup> iːldzaːl	sɛːːːŋgaːl	ʃuːl	
THIS WAY	LUMBERS	TO FALL DOWN	HIM	TO BE KILLED	TO CAUSE	
dem+sf	n+cl	mod+vi+mod	pron+sf	vi	vp	
		(S)	(A)	(V)		

Verb in causative voice may serve as an argument in more complex structure. In the next example, we will use the IC-analysis to describe this situation. Thus we can clearly see the internal structure and syntactic relations between the constituents of the sentence.

<sup>66</sup> We have borrowed this term which is used in Chinese grammar to refer to a specific kind of serial verb construction, where object of the coverb is simultaneously the subject of the head verb.

<sup>67</sup> We use squared „s“ to mark the causer, because it works as a subject of the causative verb.

5. **Zehmî tà -mû bì -shîh mâ- nà.** *It wouldn't be good to let this wife to go there.*

zɛɫmiɫ	taɫ	muɫ	biɫ	ʂuɫ	maɫ	naɫ
WIFE	THIS	SG	TO GO	TO CAUSE	NOT	B.GOOD
	dem = cl					
n = numP						
		NP s:>	vt			
(s → o>)			VP > vp		adv > va	
			nominalized VP s:>		VP	

## 4.2.11 Transitivity

### 4.2.11.1 Intransitive verbs

Most of the verbs in NMZ are transitive, which is also very similar to Chinese<sup>68</sup>. There are very few verbs which do not allow an object. Verbs describing weather conditions are a very prominent group among them. The originator of the weather condition is the agent of the verb.

<b>Hni</b>	<b>ngǎ.</b>	<i>It's raining.</i>	<b>Mùshǐh</b>	<b>fù.</b>	<i>It's blowing.</i>
hɲǐʎ	ŋaɿ		muʎʂuɿ	fuʎ	
RAIN	TO FALL		WIND	TO BLOW	
n	vi		n	vi	
<b>Yǔ</b>	<b>nga.</b>	<i>It's snowing.</i>	<b>Nyǐmǐ</b>	<b>zò.</b>	<i>It's shining.</i>
ɥyɿ	ŋaɿ		ŋɿlmiɿ	zʊoʎ	
SNOW	TO FALL		SUN	TO SHINE	
n	vi		n	vi	

These verbs can be modified, however the tense is usually determined by context.

- |               |             |            |              |            |             |   |
|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|---|
| <b>Mùshǐh</b> | <b>luó-</b> | <b>fù,</b> | <b>tshuò</b> | <b>hǎ</b>  | <b>-mû</b>  | <i>The wind began to blow, that man</i> |
| muʎʂuɿ        | lʊoɿ        | fuʎ        | tʂʊoʎ        | haɿ        | muɿ         |   |
| WIND          | UP          | TO BLOW    | HUMAN        | THAT       | SG          |   |
| n             | mod         | vi         | n            | dem        | cl          |   |
| <b>bǎtsǐh</b> | <b>-bǎ</b>  | <b>nà</b>  | <b>-mǔ</b>   | <b>lǒ-</b> | <b>ghǐ.</b> | <i>wrapped himself in clothes well.</i> |
| baɿtsiɿ       | bæɿ         | naɿ        | muɿ          | lʊoɿ       | giɿ         |   |
| CLOTHES       | PL          | B.GOOD     | ADV          | UP         | TO DRESS    |   |
| n             | cl          | va         | sf           | mod        | vt          |   |
- |           |             |             |             |              |            |  |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--|
| <b>Tà</b> | <b>thuò</b> | <b>nǐmǐ</b> | <b>-lǔh</b> | <b>khyǐ-</b> | <b>zò.</b> | <i>That time the sun started to shine.</i> |
| taɿ       | tʂʊoʎ       | ŋɿlmiɿ      | lʊɿ         | teiɿ         | zʊoʎ       |  |
| THIS      | TIME        | SUN         | SG          | FORWARD      | TO SHINE   |  |
| dem       | nt          | n           | cl          | mod          | vi         |  |

Intransitive verbs can be inflected by modification (Ex. 6-8) or marking (Ex. 4-5).

- |            |            |                       |
|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Ngǎ</b> | <b>dǎ.</b> | <i>I will arrive.</i> |
| ŋaɿ        | dæɿ        |                       |
| I          | TO ARRIVE  |                       |
| pron       | vi         |                       |
- |            |           |             |                                   |
|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>Ngǎ</b> | <b>dǎ</b> | <b>-lǎ.</b> | <i>I am just about to arrive.</i> |
| ŋaɿ        | dæɿ       | læɿ         |                                   |
| I          | TO ARRIVE | REC         |                                   |
| pron       | vi        | vp          |                                   |
- |            |            |             |                             |
|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Ngǎ</b> | <b>mbà</b> | <b>-lǎ.</b> | <i>I am going to leave.</i> |
| ŋaɿ        | mbaɿ       | læɿ         |                             |
| I          | TO LEAVE   | PREM        |                             |
| pron       | vi         | vp          |                             |

<sup>68</sup> E.g. in *Qiāng*, most of the verbs are transitive or intransitive, however there are a number of ambitransitive verbs either (LAPOLLA 2003:121); in *Ērsū*, majority of verbs are ambitransitive (ZHANG 2013:455).

6.	<b>Khyî</b> tɛ <sup>h</sup> iɭ HE pron	<b>mî-</b> miɭ PFC mod	<b>mbà.</b> mbaɭ TO LEAVE vi						<i>He left.</i>
7.	<b>Ngâ</b> ŋaɭ I pron	<b>àdǎ</b> ʔaɭdaɭ FATHER n	<b>-mû</b> muɭ SG cl	<b>mbũlî</b> mbuɭliɭ TO FALL vi	<b>-mînggǎ.</b> miɭŋgaɭ TO DROP vi				<i>My father has fallen down.</i>
8.	<b>Pamî</b> paɭmiɭ TOAD n	<b>-yâ</b> jaɭ SG cl	<b>nuò</b> nuoɭ YOU pron	<b>tôqhô</b> toɭq <sup>h</sup> oɭ HERE np	<b>khyi-</b> tɛ <sup>h</sup> iɭ INCH mod	<b>luò.</b> luoɭ TO WAIT vi			<i>Toad, you wait here!</i>

#### 4.2.11.2 Ambitransitive verbs

Some verbs are ambitransitive. Ex. 9 shows a transitive verb with two arguments, the agent and the patient. The same verb is used in Ex. 10 as an intransitive verb with only one argument. Ex. 11 shows the transitive verb, which is marked by suffix, while changes its voice to passive and thus causing the verb to be intransitive and finally Ex. 12 shows the same verb to be in passive voice without any morphological change.

9.	<b>Ngâ</b> ŋaɭ I pron	<b>-nyî</b> ŋiɭ GEN sf	<b>yúqhô</b> yɯɭq <sup>h</sup> oɭ FRIEND n	<b>-mû</b> muɭ SG cl	<b>qhǎ</b> q <sup>h</sup> aɭ BOWL n	<b>-lûh</b> luɭ SG cl	<b>khǎnggǎ.</b> k <sup>h</sup> æɭŋgaɭ TO BROKE vt		<i>My friend has broken a glass.</i>
10.					<b>Qhǎ</b> q <sup>h</sup> aɭ BOWL n	<b>lûh</b> luɭ SG cl	<b>khǎnggǎ.</b> k <sup>h</sup> æɭŋgaɭ TO BROKE vi		<i>A glass has broken.</i>
11.					<b>Qhǎ</b> q <sup>h</sup> aɭ BOWL n	<b>lûh</b> luɭ SG cl	<b>khǎnggǎ</b> k <sup>h</sup> æɭŋgaɭ TO BROKE vi[vt]	<b>-hrǎ.</b> ɸaɭ PAS sf	<i>A glass was broken.</i>
12.	<b>Qhǎ</b> q <sup>h</sup> aɭ BOWL n	<b>-lûh</b> luɭ SG cl	<b>ngâ</b> ŋaɭ I pron	<b>-nyî</b> ŋiɭ GEN sf	<b>yúqhô</b> yɯɭq <sup>h</sup> oɭ FRIEND n	<b>-mû</b> muɭ SG cl	<b>-nyî</b> ŋiɭ AGT sf	<b>khǎnggǎ.</b> k <sup>h</sup> æɭŋgaɭ TO BROKE vi	<i>A glass was broken by my friend.</i>

#### 4.2.11.3 Transitive verbs

Most of verbs require at least one object. Therefore lot of verbs may carry an *expletive object*, that is an object which does not contribute any meaning to the phrase, which would not be obvious from the verb itself. A lot of verbs in Chinese behave the same way.

<b>Ngâ</b> ŋaɭ I pron	<b>ndzǎ</b> ndzaɭ RICE n	<b>dzih.</b> dziɭ TO EAT vt	<i>I am going to eat.</i> 我吃飯。	<b>Khyî</b> tɛ <sup>h</sup> iɭ HE pron	<b>êrgû</b> ɛɭguɭ ROAD n	<b>mbà.</b> mbæɭ TO WALK vt	<i>He is walking.</i> 他走路。
--------------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-------------------------------

Sometimes the object is needed to differentiate specific meaning of the verb in certain context.

13.	<b>mbà</b> mbaɿ TO LEAVE vi	<i>to leave</i>	→	<b>êrgû</b> ɛ-lguɿ ROAD n	<b>mbà</b> mbaɿ TO WALK vt	<i>to walk</i>
14.	<b>lùh</b> luɿ TO LOOK vt	<i>to look at / to see it</i>	→	<b>ndzhĩhgyî</b> ndzɯ-lɰiɿ CHARACTER n	<b>lùh</b> luɿ TO LOOK vt	<i>to read</i>

Omission of the expletive or plain object in the sentence is one of the way how to express it without demonstrative pronouns.

15.	<b>Ngâ</b> ŋaɿ I pron	<b>nuõ</b> nuoɿ YOU pron	<b>-dǎ</b> daɿ ACC sf	<b>hǎi.</b> hæ:iɿ TO BUY vt	<i>I will buy <b>it</b> for you.</i>
16.	<b>Nuò</b> nuoɿ YOU pron	<b>dzìh</b> ɰiɿ TO EAT vt	<b>à-</b> ʔaɿ Q pref	<b>yâ?</b> jaɿ AFF sp	<i>You will eat <b>that</b>, right?</i>

#### 4.2.12 Negation

There are basically two ways how to express the negative polarity of verbs. Apart from the prohibitive negation **thâ-** /tʰæɿ/ (see Chapter 7.4.2), there is the negative prefix<sup>69</sup> **mâ-** /maɿ/. We will first look on the cases, where the negative prefix **mâ-** /maɿ/ is placed after the verb, then on the cases, where it is placed before the verb and finally on cases, where it is placed between the verb and its modifier.

In Chinese works, the negation is usually part of the verbal mood category (*shì* 式). *Yǐn* however provides the comments on negative polarity under *declarative* and *imperative* mood only, stating that in declarative sentences, the negative polarity is expressed by anteposition of the negative prefix /mæɿ/ before verbs, adjectives, copular or auxiliary verbs (YĪN 2016:22) and in imperative mood, the negative polarity is expressed by the prohibitive prefix /tʰæɿ/ or /tʰaɿ/ (YĪN 2016:23). *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:168) differentiate four verbal moods, from which two moods (negative and prohibitive) are of negative polarity. Prohibitive mood is simply expressed by the prefix /tʰæɿ/, while the negative mood is expressed by the negative prefix /mæɿ/ placed on different position based on the aspect. In case of ingressive or continuative aspects, the prefix is placed before the verb; in case of prospective and progressive aspects, the prefix is placed after the verb before the aspectual suffix and in the case of experiential, imminent or perfective aspects, the prefix is placed after the verb and before the auxiliary verb.

<sup>69</sup> In most of the cases, the negative prefix is not used alone in a sentence, therefore we decided to mark it as a prefix. However, in case to classify it as a word, it would possibly be classified as an adverb, because it can modify verbal phrases only.

#### 4.2.12.1 Composite particle after verb (mâyâ /maɭ.ja/)

When the negative prefix **mâ-** /maɭ/ is placed after the verb, it is followed by a sentence particle **yâ** /ja/.

##### (1) Verbs in basic form

This form is used when the verb indicates non-past situation.

- |    |   |                                     |   |                                |  |  |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. | <b>Khyî</b><br>te <sup>h</sup> iɭ<br>HE<br>pron | <b>dă</b><br>daɭ<br>TO ARRIVE<br>vi | <b>mâ-</b><br>maɭ<br>NOT<br>neg         | <b>yâ.</b><br>jaɭ<br>AFF<br>sp | <i>He will not come.</i>                   |  |
| 2. | <b>Ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron                  | <b>dzih</b><br>dziɭ<br>TO EAT<br>vt | <b>mâ-</b><br>maɭ<br>NOT<br>neg         | <b>yâ.</b><br>jaɭ<br>AFF<br>sp | <i>I will not eat that.</i>                |  |
| 3. | <b>Nuô pămî</b><br>nuoɭ paɭmiɭ<br>YOU<br>pron   | <b>tâ</b><br>taɭ<br>TOAD<br>n       | <b>-tâ -yă</b><br>taɭ jaɭ<br>KIND<br>cl | <b>kô</b><br>koːɭ<br>SG<br>cl  | <b>mâ- yà!</b><br>maɭ jaɭ<br>TO GIVE<br>vt | <i>[We] will not give [her] to you - a toad like this!</i> |

##### (2) Verbs with the directional modifier luó- /luoɭ/ UP

Since the directional modifier **luó-** /luoɭ/ can denote an ongoing action, even verbs, where the modifier is used in its directional function, form negative polarity using the same way as verbs indicating non-past situation (3). The construction **luó-** /luoɭ/ + (V) + **mâyâ** /maɭ.ja/ can be used also as an expression to negate necessity (4).

- |    |                                    |  |                                 |                                |                                     |
|----|------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 4. | <b>Luó-</b><br>luoɭ<br>UP<br>mod   | <b>khyî</b><br>te <sup>h</sup> iɭ<br>TO GET UP<br>vi | <b>mâ-</b><br>maɭ<br>NOT<br>neg | <b>yâ.</b><br>jaɭ<br>AFF<br>sp | <i>[They] did not get up.</i>       |
| 5. | <b>Luó-</b><br>luoɭ<br>INCH<br>mod | <b>kvîh</b><br>kyɭ<br>TO FEAR<br>vt                  | <b>mâ-</b><br>maɭ<br>NOT<br>neg | <b>yâ.</b><br>jaɭ<br>AFF<br>sp | <i>[You] do not [need] to fear.</i> |

#### 4.2.12.2 Particle mâ- /maɭ/ before the verb

##### (1) Verbs in basic form

In case of past situations, the negative prefix is placed before the main predicate.

- |    |   |                                 |                                     |                                 |                                 |  |  |
|----|---|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| 6. | <b>Khyî</b><br>te <sup>h</sup> iɭ<br>HE<br>pron | <b>mâ-</b><br>maɭ<br>NOT<br>neg | <b>dă</b><br>daɭ<br>TO ARRIVE<br>vi | <i>He did not come.</i>         |                                 |  |  |
| 7. | <b>Ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron                  | <b>mâ-</b><br>maɭ<br>NOT<br>neg | <b>dzih</b><br>dziɭ<br>TO EAT<br>vt | <i>I have not eaten.</i>        |                                 |  |  |
| 8. | <b>Vũdzhîh</b><br>vuɭdzɯɭ<br>OLD<br>n[va]       | <b>nyî</b><br>ɲiɭ<br>TWO<br>num | <b>-kũh</b><br>kuɭ<br>PC<br>cl      | <b>â</b><br>ʔæɭ<br>CHICKEN<br>n | <b>shîh</b><br>ʂuɭ<br>MEAT<br>n | <b>mâ- dzih.</b><br>maɭ dziɭ<br>NOT<br>neg | <i>The old two did not eat the chicken meat.</i> |

## (2) Verbs with after-verb modifier

In case of directional verb modifiers, the negation prefix is also placed before the main predicate.

9.	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>pă</b>	<b>-dzhǔ</b>	<i>did not bring</i>
	maɫ	pæɫ	dzuɫ	
	NOT	TO CARRY	HITHER	
	neg	vt	neg	

### 4.2.12.3 Particle mâ- /maɫ/ between the verb and its modifier

In all other cases, the negotiation prefix is placed between the main predicate and its modifier. Moreover, this construction also denotes the inability to perform the action to reach desired result (see Chapter 4.2.15.2 for potential form).

10.	<b>Ămî</b>	<b>Nâmûzîh</b>	<b>-bă</b>	<b>yǒ</b>	<b>shâ</b>	<b>shuo</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>kuh.</b>	<i>The Nàmùzî do not talk</i>
	ʔaɫmiɫ	naɫmuɫziɫ	bæɫ	joɫ	ʂaɫ	ʂuoɫ	maɫ	kʉɫ	<i>in their own language</i>
	NOW	NAMÛZÎ	PL	OWN	LANGUAGE	TO SPEAK	NOT	CAN	<i>now.</i>
	nt	nprop	cl	pron	n	vt	neg	vt	

<b>hră</b>	<b>kyü</b>	<i>to win</i>	→	<b>hră</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>kyü</b>	<i>not be able to win</i>
ʁaɫ	tɛyɫ			ʁaɫ	maɫ	tɛyɫ	
TO SUFFICE	TO ACHIEVE			TO SUFFICE	NOT	TO ACHIEVE	
vt	vt			vt	neg	vt	

### 4.2.12.4 Double negatives

When two verbs are present in one sentence, NMZ language also allows double negative.

11.	<b>Qătsîh</b>	<b>tà</b>	<b>-luh</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>dădzhîh</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>gyî.</b>	<i>This thing isn't not [=is] big.</i>
	qaɫtsiɫ	taɫ	luɫ	maɫ	daɫdzuɫ	maɫ	dziɫ	
	THING	THIS	SG	NOT	B.BIG	NOT	TO BE	
	n	dem	cl	neg	va	neg	vc	



### 4.2.13 Deverbal forms<sup>70</sup>

There is a special verbal form expressing simultaneous action (transgressive) and a special form for participle or participial phrase to describe the circumstances of the main predicate. The previous works on NMZ do not have any chapter discussing these kind of verbal forms.

#### 4.2.13.1 Transgressive

Simultaneous action is marked by *transgressive* suffix<sup>71</sup>.

1. **Ngâ yúqhô -mû ndzã dzìh -zũ ngvìh.** *My friend talks when eating.*  
 ŋaŋ yuqʰoŋ muŋ ndzaŋ dʒiŋ zuŋ ŋvɪŋ  
 I FRIEND SG FOOD TO EAT TGS TO TALK  
 pron n cl n vt sf vi

In case the transgressive form is used to indicate an action, which is being performed simultaneously with another action done by different actor, it has to be marked with adverbial suffix **mũ** /muŋ/.

2. **Khyòxrõ nyĩ -kũh shuô -zũ -mũ** *While the two were talking,*  
 tɕʰoŋxɔŋ ŋiŋ kuŋ ʃuoŋ zuŋ muŋ  
 THEY TWO PC TO TALK TGS ADV  
 pron num cl vi sf sf  
**tshuò kyĩ -kũh khyĩ- dzhũ.** *a man approached.*  
 tɕʰuoŋ tɕiŋ kuŋ tɕʰiŋ dʒuŋ  
 n num cl mod v  
 MAN ONE PC FORWARD TO REACH

#### 4.2.13.2 Verbal participle

Apart from transgressive, verbs can also form another kind of *verbal participle* to express the circumstances of the main verb. In this case, the verb can be placed on the left side of the sentence as a topic. Note that the suffix of the participle has the same form as the genitive suffix **nyĩ** /ŋiŋ/ (see Chapter 5.1.7).

<sup>70</sup> This chapter introduces two forms derived from verbs, which would be defined as *non-finite* forms (YLIKOSKI 2003:187), however the term *non-finite* is not very appropriate for NMZ language, as *non-finite* forms are usually understood in contrast to *finite* forms (i.e. *non-finite* forms are usually unmarked tense-aspect-mood, while *finite* forms are). We have already seen, that in NMZ, technically unmarked forms actually express various aspects (the omission of any marking may be perceived as null marking, as it actually marks certain aspect). This may lead to misunderstanding, therefore we have decided to avoid these terms. The unmarked verbal forms are called as „basic“. We have been considering the term *participles*. Čermák (2009:142) defines the term participle as „nominal form of verb with various functions“ and transgressive as a type of verbal participle used for reducing subordinate clause to form simple sentence. This definition emphasizes the nominal character of these forms, which is questionable. Therefore we have decided to use more general term *deverbal forms*.

<sup>71</sup> I do not use the term *converb*, which is used in Altaicist tradition (YLIKOSKI 2003:189), because this verbal form more resembles the present transgressive as it is used in the Czech language or the construction of a verb followed by aspect marker *zhe* 著 in Chinese, which also can denote simultaneously occurring action (ZHANG 2010) and the term *converb* has broader sense (see YLIKOSKI 2003).

3. **Mbà -nyĩ sǎér -qhô lô- tǒ.** *By foot [they] set up to reach the wood.*  
 mbaʎ ɲiʎ sa-ʎəʎ qʰoʎ lʷoʎ toʎ  
 TO WALK PTCP WOOD LOC INCH TO REACH  
 vi sf n pp mod vt
4. **Zehmî shî -kûh hrǎlî tsîh -nyĩ shîhkǒ -minggǎ.** *Seven girls were tickled to death.*  
 zɛʎmiʎ ʂuʎ kɛʎ ka-ʎliʎ tsiʎ ɲiʎ ʂuʎkoʎ miʎŋgaʎ  
 GIRL SEVEN PC TICKLE TO TEASE PTCP TO DIE TO FALL  
 n num cl n vt cl vi vi

## 4.2.14 Coordinate and serial verb constructions

### 4.2.14.1 Coordinate constructions of verbs

There are no conjunctions or any other formal features to mark simple (copulative) coordinate structure of verbs. Thus the verbs in coordinate structure are simply put one after another.

**Ngâ ndzhǐgyî lǔh kuh, zhihzhîh kuh, yǔ kuh.** *I can read, write and sleep.*  
 ŋaʎ ndzɛʎdʒiʎ lɛʎ kɛʎ zɛʎzɛʎ kɛʎ ɥyʎ kɛʎ  
 I CHARACTER TO LOOK CAN TO WRITE CAN TO SLEEP CAN  
 pron n vt vi vt vi vi vi

In case of coordinate structure expressing intensifying or intensive effect, the verb can be reduplicated, while the second part is preceded by an adverb **nâ** /naʎ/ AGAIN.

**Sih nâ sîh, tǐh nâ tǐh.** *Killing and killing, slaughtering and slaughtering.*  
 siʎ naʎ siʎ tɪʎ naʎ tɪʎ  
 TO KILL AGAIN TO KILL TO SLAUGHTER AGAIN TO SLAUGHTER  
 vt adv vt vt adv vt

Disjunctive coordinate structure is formed by sentence particle **yǎ** /jaʎ/ OR (see Chapter 7.3.2). Disjunctive structure together with reduplication of verbs or verbal complements can be also used to form polar questions. However this structure is used in very simple sentences only.

**Pǎmî -yâ ngvîh: „Nuô kô ya kô mâ- yâ?“** *The toad said: „Will you give [her to me] or not?“*  
 pa-ʎmiʎ jaʎ ŋyʎ nɥoʎ koʎ jaʎ koʎ maʎ jaʎ  
 TOAD SG TO SAY YOU TO GIVE OR TO GIVE NOT AFF  
 n cl vt pron vt sp vt neg sp

**Mbà yǎ mâ- yǎ?** *Are you leaving or not?*  
 mbaʎ jaʎ maʎ jaʎ  
 TO LEAVE OR NOT AFF  
 vi conj neg sp

### 4.2.14.2 Serial verb constructions

There is usually more than one verb in NMZ clauses. Unlike the copulative coordinate construction, only one of them serves as the main predicate. For the purpose of this work, I use the term **main predicate** for verbs, which can be *marked* by inflectional suffix or verbal particle; verbs, which are placed after the main verb are called **auxiliary verbs** (including modal verbs) and verbs without nominalizing, adverbial or other suffix, which are placed before the main predicate are called **coverbs**. Auxiliary verbs as well as coverbs can not be marked by inflectional suffix or verbal particle, however they can be modified.

A coverb and a verb usually share the same subject, while the coverb express either some circumstances or phase of the main verb. Most used coverbs are **bǔmû** /buʎmuʎ/ TO HELP, verbs of motion like **mbǎ** /mbaʎ/ TO WALK, **tò** /toʎ/ to arrive etc., however most of the verbs can be used as coverbs.

The verb **bǔmû** /buɫmuɫ/ TO HELP can only be used as a coverb (Ex.2), otherwise a different verb **hró** /ɤoɫ/ TO HELP must be used as the main verb (Ex.1).

1. **Ngâ nuò -nyî yû -dâ hró -ĩ.** *I will help your family.*  
 ɲaɫ nuoɫ ɲiɫ uyɫ daɫ ɤoɫ iɫ  
 I YOU GEN HOME DAT TO HELP PROSP  
 pron pron sf n sf vi sf
2. **Ngâ nuò -nyî àdǎ -mũ bǔmû** *I have made a bowl for your father.*  
 ɲaɫ nuoɫ ɲiɫ ʔaɫdaɫ muɫ buɫmuɫ  
 I YOU GEN FATHER SG TO HELP  
 pron pron sf n cl cov  
**qhǎ -lúh mí- síh síh.**  
 q<sup>h</sup>aɫ luɫ miɫ siɫ siɫ  
 BOWL SG PFC TO MAKE TO MAKE  
 n cl mod vt vt
3. **Nkhvǐh -sũ -mû kohnî** *The thief in fear*  
 nk<sup>h</sup>vɫ suɫ muɫ kɔɫh<sup>n</sup>iɫ  
 TO STEAL NOM SG B.AFFRAID  
 vt sf cl cov[vi]
- zǎphà vûdà nà nǎ -mũ maku tà.** *firmly gripped on leopard's back.*  
 zaɫp<sup>h</sup>aɫ vuɫdaɫ naɫ naɫ muɫ maɫkuɫ taɫ  
 LEOPARD ON B.GOOD B.GOOD ADV TO GRAB TIGHT  
 n np va va sf vt vt
4. **Ngâ yúhnû tshuò kyi yû -qhô** *Last night, I have left for a house of one man*  
 ɲaɫ jũɫh<sup>n</sup>ũɫ ts<sup>h</sup>uoɫ tɕiɫ uyɫ q<sup>h</sup>oɫ  
 I LAST NIGHT MAN ONE HOME LOC  
 pron nt n num cl pp
- ngāmù nkhvǐh dzì mbǎ.** *to steal a donkey to eat.*  
 ɲa:ɫmuɫ nk<sup>h</sup>vɫ dziɫ mbǎɫ  
 DONKEY TO STEAL TO EAT TO LEAVE  
 n cov[vt] cov[vt] vt

Note that verbs of motion can also be used as coverbs. In that case, they are placed before the main predicate (Ex.5).

4. **ǎxrô nyî -kuh lúh bì.** *Let us two to go there to look.*  
 ʔaɫɣ<sup>u</sup>oɫ ɲiɫ kuɫ luɫ biɫ  
 WE TWO PC TO LOOK TO GO  
 pron num cl cov[vt] vt
6. **Qhâghô khyî- tò vûphâ khyî- hrô -pũ.** *Having arrived to the slope they bump into a bear.*  
 q<sup>h</sup>aɫgoɫ tɕ<sup>h</sup>iɫ toɫ vuɫp<sup>h</sup>aɫ tɕ<sup>h</sup>iɫ ɤoɫ puɫ  
 SLOPE FORWARD TO ARRIVE BEAR FORWARD TO MEET MMNT  
 mod > cov[vt] mod > vt (vp)  

n o > VP	n o > VP
VP > VP	

Auxiliary (or modal) verbs are placed on the right side of the main predicate.

7. **Ngâ êrgû mbǎ dzhũ gyí.** *I have arrived by foot.*  
 ɲaɫ əɫguɫ mbǎɫ dzuɫ dziɫ  
 I ROAD TO WALK TO REACH TO BE
- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
|           | n o > vt  |
|           | VP > vi   |
|           | VP e > vc |
| pron s: > | VP        |

8.	<b>Ngá</b>	<b>êrgû</b>	<b>mbă</b>	<b>hrà.</b>
	ŋaɿ	ə-ŋguɿ	mbæɿ	ɤaɿ
	I	ROAD	TO WALK	TO WANT
		n o>	vt	
		VP o>		vt
	pron s:>	VP		

*I will go by foot.*

#### 4.2.15 Expressing modality

More research has to be done in order to get the complete scope of modality in NMZ language. Generally speaking, modality can be expressed by modal verbs (e.g. **yǐnggǎ** /ji-ŋgaɿ/ BE ABLE, **ngǎ** /ŋgaɿ/ SHOULD, **kũh** /kũɿ/ CAN), potential construction, verbal and sentence particles and adverbs. In this chapter, we will go through likelihood (4.2.15.1), possibility (4.2.15.2) and permission or obligation (4.2.15.3).

Modal verbs can not be modified or marked and cannot take nominal object. They are placed after the main predicate.

*Yin* (2016:17-18) also provides a short notice on modal verbs (*néngyuàn dòngcí* 能願動詞), introducing three modal verbs: /kuɿ/ CAN (會/能), /hũɿ/ WANT/SHOULD (要/應該), /ŋaɿ/ DARE (敢). However only examples of the verb „can“ provided. Also *Shēn* (2013:47) lists several examples of modal verbs, but provides only one example for the *Jiǔlóng* 九龍 variety of NMZ.

##### 4.2.15.1 Likelihood

Likelihood is expressed by either the sentence particle (Ex.1) or by modal verb (Ex.2).

1.	<b>Khyí</b>	<b>dzhuò</b>	<b>sīh</b>	<b>pā.</b>	<i>He is possibly still here.</i>
	tɕhiɿ	dzuoɿ	siɿ	pa:ɿ	
	HE	TO BE	STILL	AFF	
	pron	vloc	adv	sp	
2.	<b>Khyí</b>	<b>dzih</b>		<b>kāpǎ.</b>	<i>He may eat.</i>
	tɕhiɿ	dziɿ		kæɿpaɿ	
	HE	TO EAT		MAY	
	pron	vt		vi	

##### 4.2.15.2 Possibility

Ability or possibility to do something is expressed by modal verbs or in negative polarity by potential construction.

3a.	<b>dzih</b>	<b>yǐnggǎ</b>	<i>be able to eat up</i>	3b.	<b>dzih</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>yǐnggǎ</b>	<i>can't eat it up</i>
	dziɿ	ji-ŋgaɿ			dziɿ	maɿ	ji-ŋgaɿ	
	TO EAT	B.ABLE			TO EAT	NOT	B.ABLE	
	vt	vi			vt	neg	vi	
4a.	<b>bì</b>	<b>yǐnggǎ</b>	<i>be able to go there</i>	4b.	<b>bì</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>yǐnggǎ</b>	<i>not be able to go there</i>
	biɿ	ji-ŋgaɿ			biɿ	maɿ	ji-ŋgaɿ	
	TO GO	B.ABLE			TO GO	NOT	B.ABLE	
	vt	vi			vt	neg	vi	
5a.	<b>bì</b>	<b>nǎqǎ</b>	<i>can go there</i>	5b.	<b>bì</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>nǎ</b>	<i>can't go there</i>
	biɿ	na-ŋqaɿ			biɿ	maɿ	naɿ	
	TO GO	B.POSSIBLE			TO GO	NOT	B.POSSIBLE	
	vt	vi			vt	neg	vi	

6a.	<b>shuô</b> ʃuəŋ TO SPEAK vt	<b>kūh</b> ku CAN vi	<i>can speak</i> [to know how]	6b.	<b>shuô</b> ʃuəŋ TO SPEAK vt	<b>mâ-</b> ma NOT neg	<b>kūh</b> ku CAN vi	<i>can't speak</i> [not to know how]
-----	---------------------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----	---------------------------------------	--------------------------------	-------------------------------	---

#### 4.2.15.3 Permission or obligation

Permission or obligation to do something is expressed by the following modal verbs:

7a.	<b>bì</b> bi TO GO vt	<b>nǎ</b> na B.ALLOWED vi	<i>can go</i> [be allowed]	7b.	<b>bì</b> bi TO GO vt	<b>phu</b> pʰu sf neg	<b>mâ-</b> ma NOT neg	<b>gyîgî.</b> giŋgi TO HAVE vt	<i>can't go</i> [not be allowed]
8a.	<b>dzìh</b> dzi TO EAT vt	<b>nǎ</b> na B.ALLOWED vi	<i>can eat</i> [be allowed]	8b.	<b>dzìh</b> dzi TO EAT vt	<b>phu</b> pʰu sf neg	<b>mâ-</b> ma NOT neg	<b>gyîgî.</b> giŋgi TO HAVE vt	<i>can't eat</i> [not be allowed]
9a.	<b>dǎ</b> da TO ARRIVE vi	<b>ngǎ</b> ŋa SHOULD vi	<i>should come</i>	9b.	<b>dǎ</b> da TO ARRIVE vi	<b>mâ-</b> ma NOT neg	<b>ngǎ</b> ŋa SHOULD vi	<i>should not come</i>	

#### 4.2.16 Verbs of existence, localization and possession

There are three special verbs in Chinese language, which can be translated as the English verb „to be“ or „to have“<sup>72</sup>. Since this kind of verbs in NMZ share some similarities with the Chinese system, we will also point out the differences and identical features of these verbs compared to Chinese in footnotes. Generally speaking, many *Qiāngic* languages have a set of verbs expressing existence, localization and possession, which are used with different arguments according to their inherent properties (e.g. animacy, shape...) <sup>73</sup>.

##### 4.2.16.1 Linking verbs

NMZ uses the verb „gyî“ /dzi/ as the copular verb. It can link all kinds of nominal predicates (persons, animals, things). Thus it resembles the chinese verb *shì* 是 TO BE. Though *Yin* (2016) doesn't explicitly provide any list of linking verbs, the copular verb /dzi/ can be found in the examples. *Liu* (1996:193) refers to the verb /dzi/ as to a determinative verb (*pànduàn dòngcí* 判斷動詞).

1.	<b>Khyî</b> tɕʰi HE pron	<b>sîhpû</b> <sup>74</sup> siŋpu MASTER n	<b>-mû</b> mu SG cl	<b>gyî.</b> gi TO BE vc	<i>He is a teacher.</i>
2.	<b>Libbûwûtsʰù</b> liŋbuŋwuŋtsʰu XICHĀNG 西昌 nprop	<b>nyîbî</b> niŋbi CITY n		<b>gyî.</b> gi TO BE vc	<i>Xīchāng is a city.</i>

<sup>72</sup> Namely the copular verb *shì* 是 TO BE (A is B), the location verb *zài* 在 TO BE SOMEWHERE (something is somewhere) and the existential verb *yǒu* 有 TO BE (somewhere is something), which form is identical with the possessional verb *yǒu* 有 TO HAVE.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Chirkova (2009:50-53), Zhang (2013:444-455), LaPolla (2003:98).

<sup>74</sup> This word originally means MASTER MONK in contrast to „pîzeh“ /piŋzɛ/ STUDENT MONK. These two words may be used to denote the relation between a teacher and a student.

3. **Tà** -**mu** **chih** -**mu** **gyĩ.** *This is a dog.*  
 taɿ muɿ tʂʰuɿ muɿ dʒiɿ  
 THIS SG DOG SG TO BE  
 dem cl n cl vc
4. **Qô** **gǎku** **lâ** **gyĩ.** *That is a mountain.*  
 qoɿ gæɿkuɿ laɿ dʒiɿ  
 THAT MOUNTAIN SG TO BE  
 dem n cl vc
5. **Tǎ** -**nyĩ** **hrǎzhǐh** **kyi** -**nyĩ** **gyĩ.** *Today is Sunday.*  
 taɿ ɳiɿ ʁaɿzɿuɿ tɕeiɿ ɳiɿ dʒiɿ  
 THIS DAY TO AMUSE ONE DAY TO BE  
 dem cl vi num cl vc  
 [one free day]

The subject may be omitted, but the copula itself must remain even in elliptical constructions, where other languages (incl. English or Chinese) allow the drop-off of the linking verb.

6. **Chih** **tà** -**mu** **gyĩ.** *This dog.*  
 tʂʰuɿ taɿ muɿ dʒiɿ  
 DOG THIS SG TO BE  
 n dem cl vc  
 這條狗。  
 lit. „(It) is this dog.“

The negative polarity is made by the addition of a prefix **ma-** /maɿ/<sup>75</sup> before this copula. This verb can not take another negative prefix and also can not be modified by negative prefix followed by sentence particle **mayǎ** /maɿjaɿ/<sup>76</sup>, which is used by verbs expressing non-past tense.

7. **Khyĩ** **pǐzeh** **ma-** **gyĩ.** *He is not a student.*  
 tɕʰiɿ piɿzɿɿ maɿ dʒiɿ  
 HE STUDENT NOT TO BE  
 pron n neg vc
8. **Libbûwûtshù** **fûqâ** **ma-** **gyĩ.** *Xīchāng is not a village.*  
 liɿɸbuɿɸwuɿɸtsʰuɿ fuɿqɑɿ maɿ dʒiɿ  
 XICHĀNG 西昌 VILLAGE NOT TO BE  
 nprop n neg vc
9. **Tǎ** -**nyĩ** **mvǐh'-i** **kyi** -**nyĩ** **ma-** **gyĩ.** *Today is not a working day.*  
 taɿ ɳiɿ mɿvǐh'ɿiɿ tɕeiɿ ɳiɿ maɿ dʒiɿ  
 THIS DAY TO WORK+PTCP ONE DAY NOT TO BE  
 dem cl vi + sf num cl neg vc

The nominal predicate in this construction can even be a location.

10. **Libbûwûtshù** **nyĩbĩ** -**qhõ** **gyĩ.** *[In] Xīchāng, [that] is in a city.*  
 liɿɸbuɿɸwuɿɸtsʰuɿ ɳiɿɸbiɿ qʰoɿ dʒiɿ  
 XICHĀNG 西昌 CITY LOC TO BE  
 nprop n sf vc

Unlike English, NMZ doesn't use the copular verb to link adjectival attributes to the subject. This is due to the fact most of the adjectives may function as a predicate itself in NMZ<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> This negative prefix resembles Chinese negative adverb *méi* 没 NOT, which is used to negate past or continuous actions. However, the NMZ negative prefix is used to negate the adjectival verbs as well as perfect verbs.

<sup>76</sup> This compound resembles Chinese negative adverb *bù* 不 NOT, which is used to negate habitual or prospective actions or adjectives. Several verbs can be negated by this adverb only. In this regard, the NMZ copular verb differs from the Chinese one and resembles the verb *yǒu* 有, which can also be negated with the perfect negative adverb only.

<sup>77</sup> This is similar to Chinese, where the use of the copula *shì* 是 is also restricted to nominal phrases. However, in order to express positive degree in Chinese, the adjective needs to be modified by an adverb or to be under certain context, otherwise it will express comparative, while the adjectival verb can stand alone in positive degree in NMZ.

11. \* **Khyi (hrō) nà gyĩ.**

<b>Khyi</b>	<b>(hrō)</b>	<b>nà.</b>
tɕ <sup>h</sup> i˧	ko˧˥	na˧
HE	VERY	B.GOOD
pron	adv	va

*He is (very) nice.*

12. \* **Chih tà-mu gâmu dàdzhĩh gyĩ.**

<b>Chih</b>	<b>tà</b>	<b>-mu</b>	<b>(gâmu)</b>	<b>dàdzhĩh.</b>
tɕ <sup>h</sup> u˧	ta˧	mu˧	ga˧lmu˧	da˧dzu˧
DOG	THIS	SG	VERY	B.BIG
n	dem	cl	adv	va

*This dog is (very) big.*

The copula together with an exclamatory suffix, can be used for confirmation that something is true or for emphasis of the sentence. There is the copula *shì* 是 in Chinese, which evolved from a classical demonstrative pronoun (NORMAN 1997:125). This character carried also very early the meaning TO BE TRUE<sup>78</sup>. That corresponds to the use of NMZ copular verb alone or with the exclamatory suffix together.

13. **Tô -mû gyĩ wũ.**

to˧	mu˧	dzi˧	wu˧
THIS	ADV	TO BE	CONF
dem	sf	vc	sp

*It is like that. / That's right.*

14. **Tô -mû khyî -lũh mĩkhyò tã -pũh**

to˧	mu˧	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i˧	lu˧	mi˧lɕ <sup>h</sup> o˧	ta˧	pu˧
THIS	ADV	FWD	TO LOOK	FLOWER	THIS	SG
dem	sf	mod	vt	n	dem	cl

*Like this, when you looked at the flower;*

<b>gâmu dàdzhĩh</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-pũh</b>	<b>gyĩ</b>	<b>wũ.</b>
ga˧lmu˧da˧dzu˧	tei˧	pu˧	dzi˧	wu˧
VERY	B.BIG	ONE	TO BE	EMPH
adv	va	num	cl	sp

*it really was a very big one.*

The copular verb can be also used for emphasis alone.

15. **Qhâtô -mû hră dzih hnũ -yĩ gyĩ.**

q <sup>h</sup> a˧to˧	mu˧	ra˧	dzi˧	hnũ˧	ji˧	dzi˧
WHO	SG	ALL	TO EAT	TO WANT	GEN	TO BE
pron	cl	adv	vt	vt	sf	vc

*Eating is a must for everyone.*

16. **Yũ -lũh làqă -nyĩ lundbù gyĩ.**

yu˧	lu˧	la˧qa˧	ni˧	lu˧ndbu˧	dzi˧
HOUSE	SG	STONE	INSTR	TO ASSEMBLE	TO BE
n	cl	n	sf	vi	vc

*The house is made of stones.*

17. **Yũ ta -lũh sêhlâ -nyĩ luó- pãdzhà gyĩ.**

yu˧	ta˧	lu˧	sɛ˧la˧	ni˧	luo˧	pa˧dza˧	dzi˧
HOUSE	THIS	SG	WOOD	INSTR	UP	TO CLIP	TO BE
n	dem	cl	n	sf	mod	vi	vc

*This house is made of wood.*

18. **Sĩhlũh tà -bã**

si˧lu˧	ta˧	bæ˧
PLUM	THIS	PL
n	dem	cl

*These plums*

<b>ngâ</b>	<b>bãdzhâ</b>	<b>nyĩ</b>	<b>-dzhã</b>	<b>mì-</b>	<b>hã</b>	<b>gyĩ.</b>
ŋa˧	ba˧dza˧	ni˧	dza˧	mi˧	hæ˧	dzi˧
I	MONEY	TWO	DOLLAR	PFC	TO BUY	TO BE
pron	n	num	cl	mod	vt	vc

*I bought, have cost me two yuán.*

<sup>78</sup> Cf. prof. Harbsmeier's (2017) on-line database TLS on Chinese language. It is also very interesting, that the reconstructed pronunciation of this copula in Middle Chinese according to Pulleyblank (1991) is \*/dziɛ/.

The copular verb can not be modified by resultative or directional modifier and also can not be inflected for tense-aspect-mood. The tense of the sentence is simply determined by context.

19. **Gâmû gyì wũ, zehmî -yâ gâmû hrō tsě.** *It really was true, and the girl was very very beautiful.*  
 galmuł dził wuł zɣłmił jał galmuł ɣo:l tseł  
 VERY TO BE CONF GIRL DMN VERY ALL B.BEAUTIFUL  
 adv vc sp n cl adv adv va

Except the „pure“ copular verb, there are other *semi-copular* or *pseudo-copular* verbs (BUTLER 2003: 425-426), which can denote an existence of something while adding a little semantic meaning<sup>79</sup>. In case of NMZ, there are either specific verbs or these kind of expressions tend to be formulated using verbs with more explicit meaning or by complex verbal structures. Check the next examples:

20. **Khyî sîhpû mvih.** *He works as a teacher.*  
 te<sup>hi</sup>ł siłpuł my  
 HE TEACHER TO SERVE AS  
 pron n vt
21. **Khyî sîhphî khyi- dbũ.** *He becomes an officer.*  
 te<sup>hi</sup>ł siłphîł te<sup>hi</sup>ł đbuł  
 HE OFFICER INC B.CORRECT  
 pron n mod va

#### 4.2.16.2 Existencial and locative verbs

There are two verbs which are used to express localization **ndzǎ** /ndzał/ and **dzhǎ** /dzał/, one verb **zhîh** /zɣuł/ to express existence and one verb **dzhu** /dzuł/ expressing either localization or existence. These verbs can not be modified by resultative or directional modifier and can not be inflected for tense-aspect-mood.

*Yîn* (2016:18) lists five verbs under the term existencial verbs (*cúnzài dòngcí* 存在動詞), namely /ndzɔł/ denoting the existence of animate nouns, /ndzæł/ for nonmovable objects, /dzał/ or /dzɪłgił/ for movable objects and /zɪł/ for objects existing in certain container<sup>80</sup>.

*Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:169) list another set of five existencial verbs, namely /dzuoł/ for animate nouns, /ndzæł/ for nonmovable objects, /zɪł/ for movable objects, /dzɪłgił/ for abstract things and /boł/ to denote possession.

The system of *Yîn* is close to our analysis, the verb /ndzɔł/ corresponds to the verb **dzhu** /dzuł/ according to our analysis, the verbs /ndzæł/, /dzał/ and /zɪł/ corresponds to **ndzǎ** /ndzał/, **dzhǎ** /dzał/ and **zhîh** /zɣuł/ respectively. The verb /dzɪłgił/ is analysed as the verb of possession (see Chapter 4.2.16.3), therefore we do not list this verb here.

*Liú* (1996:193) lists six existencial verbs for the *Luóguōdǐ* 鑼鍋底 variety of NMZ (/dzoł/ for animate nouns, /dzɪłgəł/ for unanimate objects, /zɪł/ for liquid objects, /pał/ for possession and /dzał/ or /dzeł/ to denote an existence of common objects or abstract nouns.

According to my analysis, the verb **ndzǎ** /ndzał/ is used to denote the existence of a certain nonmovable noun (Ex. 1-3) and the second verb **dzhǎ** /dzał/ is used for non-persons and non-animals (Ex. 4-5). These two verbs resembles the Chinese localization verb *zài* 在 TO BE SOMEWHERE.

1. **Ndzhǔdzhǔ qhâtsǒ -qhǒ ndzǎ?** *Where is the toilet?*

<sup>79</sup> Compare these Chinese verbs: *yǒu* 有 TO EXIST, *chéng* 成 TO BECOME, *dāng* 當 TO SERVE AS, *chū* 出 TO APPEAR etc.

<sup>80</sup> 存在於一定容器中。



- |    |               |                         |                       |                   |              |  |                                  |
|----|---------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|--|----------------------------------|
|    | ndzu-dzuł     |                         | q <sup>h</sup> ałtsoł | q <sup>h</sup> oł | ndzał        |  |                                  |
|    | TOILET        |                         | WHERE                 | LOC               | TO BE        |  |                                  |
|    | n             |                         | pron                  | pp                | vloc         |  |                                  |
| 2. | <b>Sih</b>    | <b>-pû</b>              | <b>qòtû</b>           | <b>-lûh</b>       | <b>ndzã.</b> | <i>There was a hole on the tree.</i>   |                                  |
|    | sił           | puł                     | qoł                   | lûł               | ndzał        |  |                                  |
|    | TREE          | SG                      | HOLE                  | SG                | TO BE        |  |                                  |
|    | n             | cl                      | n                     | cl                | vloc         |  |                                  |
| 3. | <b>Êrgû</b>   | <b>-dã<sup>81</sup></b> | <b>ndzhòqõ</b>        | <b>-lûh</b>       | <b>ndzã.</b> | <i>On [her] way, there was a well.</i> |                                  |
|    | øłguł         | dał                     | ndzołqoł              | lûł               | ndzał        |  |                                  |
|    | ROAD          | ON                      | WELL                  | SG                | TO BE        |  |                                  |
|    | n             | pp                      | n                     | cl                | vloc         |  |                                  |
| 4. | <b>Silûh</b>  | <b>-bã</b>              | <b>tòqhõ</b>          |                   | <b>dzhã.</b> | <i>Plums are here.</i>                 |                                  |
|    | siłlûł        | bæł                     | tołq <sup>h</sup> oł  |                   | dzał         |  |                                  |
|    | PLUM          | PL                      | HERE                  |                   | TO BE        |  |                                  |
|    | n             | cl                      | np                    |                   | vloc         |  |                                  |
| 5. | <b>Sëndzã</b> | <b>-bã</b>              | <b>shâphî</b>         | <b>-pû</b>        | <b>pãdã</b>  | <b>dzhã.</b>                           | <i>Pears are near the table.</i> |
|    | sełndzał      | bæł                     | şal <sup>h</sup> ił   | puł               | pałdæł       | dzał                                   |                                  |
|    | PEAR          | PL                      | TABLE                 | SG                | NEAR         | TO BE                                  |                                  |
|    | n             | cl                      | n                     | cl                | np           | vloc                                   |                                  |

Next example shows the verb **zhih** /zɯł/, which is used to express existence in a closed space.

- |    |           |            |            |            |             |                   |             |   |
|----|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|---|
| 6. | <b>hã</b> | <b>-bã</b> | <b>hrã</b> | <b>gyũ</b> | <b>-lûh</b> | <b>-qhõ</b>       | <b>zhih</b> | <i>everything what was inside [her] belly</i> |
|    | fił       | bæł        | kał        | dzył       | lûł         | q <sup>h</sup> oł | zɯł         |   |
|    | THAT      | PL         | ALL        | BELLY      | SG          | LOC               | TO BE       |   |
|    | dem       | cl         | adv        | n          | cl          | pp                | vloc        |   |

The verb **dzhu** /dzuł/ is used to express primarily existence of an animate (person or animal) noun (Ex. 7-8), however, it is often used also to denote location (Ex. 9-10). The tense of the sentence is mostly determined by context or time expressions (Ex. 8).

- |    |            |              |                      |            |              |              |                               |              |   |
|----|------------|--------------|----------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------|---|
| 7. | <b>ãmî</b> | <b>-mũ</b>   | <b>zêhñũ</b>         | <b>sò</b>  | <b>-lûh</b>  | <b>dzhũ.</b> | <i>Mother has three sons.</i> |              |   |
|    | ʔæłmił     | muł          | zʔfi <sup>h</sup> uł | soł        | lûł          | dzuł         |                               |              |   |
|    | MOTHER     | SG           | SON                  | THREE      | DMN          | TO EXIST     |                               |              |   |
|    | n          | cl           | n                    | num        | cl           | vloc         |                               |              |   |
| 8. | <b>Ngã</b> | <b>yĩntã</b> | <b>chih</b>          | <b>-mũ</b> | <b>dzhũ,</b> | <b>ãmî</b>   | <b>mã-</b>                    | <b>dzhũ.</b> | <i>I had a dog before, but I do not have any now.</i> |
|    | ŋał        | jiłntał      | tʂuł                 | muł        | dzuł         | ʔałmił       | mał                           | dzuł         |   |
|    | I          | IN THE PAST  | DOG                  | SG         | TO HAVE      | NOW          | NOT                           | TO EXIST     |   |
|    | pron       | nt           | n                    | cl         | vc           | nt           | neg                           | vloc         |   |

Note that in Ex. 7-8, the verb can be translated also as „to have“. However, NMZ uses another verb **gyigî** /dziłgił/ to express possession and according to our language consultant, this verb is not interchangeable with the verb **dzhu** /dzuł/.

- |     |                     |                      |                 |                            |           |                   |  |                                |
|-----|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------|-------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 9.  | <b>Ngã</b>          | <b>yũqhõ</b>         | <b>-mũ</b>      | <b>qãdzih</b>              | <b>hã</b> | <b>-qhõ</b>       | <b>dzhu.</b>                                   | <i>My friend is in a shop.</i> |
|     | ŋał                 | yyłq <sup>h</sup> oł | muł             | qałdził                    | fiæ:ł     | q <sup>h</sup> oł | dzuł   |                                |
|     | I                   | FRIEND               | SG              | THING                      | TO BUY    | LOC               | TO BE  |                                |
|     | pron                | n                    | cl              | n                          | vt        | pp                | v  |                                |
| 10. | <b>Ndzhòqõ</b>      | <b>lõqõ</b>          | <b>bũzihzih</b> | <b>-yã</b>                 |           | <b>dzhũ.</b>      | <i>There was an earthworm inside the well.</i> |                                |
|     | ndzołqoł            | lołqoł               | bułziłził       | jał                        |           | dzuł              |  |                                |
|     | WELL                | INSIDE               | EARTHWORM       | SG                         |           | TO BE             |  |                                |
|     | n                   | np                   | n               | cl                         |           | v                 |  |                                |
| 11. | <b>Ntshã,</b>       | <b>hãtõ</b>          | <b>-qõlõ</b>    | <b>dzhuõ<sup>82</sup>.</b> |           |                   | <i>[I] remember [it], it was inside there!</i> |                                |
|     | nts <sup>h</sup> ał | fiłtoł               | qołloł          | dzuoł                      |           |                   |  |                                |
|     | TO REMEMBER         | THERE                | IN              | TO BE                      |           |                   |  |                                |
|     | vt                  | dem                  | np              | v                          |           |                   |  |                                |

<sup>81</sup> The postposition here is possibly contracted form of a place noun: **vũdã** /vułdał/ > **dã** /dał/.

<sup>82</sup> The verb is fused here with an emphatic particle: **dzhu** /dzuł/ + **õ** /ʔoł/ > **dzhuõ** /dzuoł/.

The negative existence can sometimes be expressed using the copular verb itself.

12. **Tshuò mǎ- gyī -ǒ<sup>83</sup>.** *Nobody is here.*  
 tshuol maɫ dziɫ oɫ  
 HUMAN NOT TO BE EMPH  
 n neg v sp

#### 4.2.16.3 Verbs of possession

There are basically two verbs denoting possession **gyigi** /dziɫgiɫ/ and **pǎ** /pæɫ/, however they differ grammatically. The first one is used to express possession of something in general. The verb shares the same grammatical features as the other existential, location and linking verbs, which means it can not be modified by resultative and directional modifier and also can not be inflected in tense-aspect-mood.

1. **Ngá sù bǎtsih luòxǒ -lǎ gyigi.** *I have got red sweater.*  
 ɲaɫ suɫ baɫtsiɫ luolxoɫ laɫ dziɫgiɫ  
 I HAIR CLOTHES RED SG TO HAVE  
 pron n n adn cl vt
2. **Ngá ndzhǐgyī kyī bér gyǐgǐ.** *I have got a book.*  
 ɲaɫ ndzɯɫdziɫ teiɫ bəɫ dziɫgiɫ  
 I CHARACTER ONE FULL TO HAVE  
 pron n num cl[va] vt
3. **Chih tà -mú yǐbǐ -gúh qhà gyǐgǐ.** *This dog has its own bowl.*  
 tshɯɫ taɫ muɫ jiɫbiɫ guɫ qhaɫ dziɫgiɫ  
 DOG THIS SG OWN GEN BOWL TO HAVE  
 n dem cl pron cl n vt
4. **Ngá ndzhǐgyī mǎ- gyǐgǐ.** *I do not have a book.*  
 ɲaɫ ndzɯɫdziɫ maɫ dziɫgiɫ  
 I CHARACTER NOT TO HAVE  
 pron n neg vt

The tense of the sentence is determined either by overall context or by time words.

5. **Ngá zhǐnyǐ bǎdzhǎ -ngǎ gyǐgǐ, zùh -mǐngǎ.** *I had some money yesterday, but I have spent them all.*  
 ɲaɫ zɿɲiɫ baɫdzaɫ ɲaɫ dziɫgiɫ zuɫ miɫɲgaɫ  
 I YESTERDAY MONEY SOME TO HAVE TO SPEND TO FALL  
 pron nt n cl vt vt vi
6. **Bǎdzhǎ gyǐgǐ xè nyǐ, nuǒ -dǎ hǎi<sup>84</sup>.** *When I will have money, I'll buy it for you.*  
 baɫdzaɫ dziɫgiɫ xeɫ ɲiɫ nuol daɫ hǎiɫ  
 MONEY TO HAVE TO WAIT DAY YOU DAT TO BUY  
 n vt vi cl pron sf vt

The second verb which is often used to express possession literally means TO CARRY BY ONESELF and it behaves as any other transitive verb, so it can be inflected and modified. Though it loses its emphasis on possession through verbal modification (Ex. 9).

7. **Ngá tǒqhó nchih -lǎ pǎ.** *I have here some rice.*  
 ɲaɫ toɫqhoɫ ntshɯɫ laɫ pæɫ  
 I HERE RICE SG TO CARRY  
 pron np n cl vt
8. **Ngá nyǐ búzǔ -qhǒ hrúnchù yǐntsèh -lǎ pǎ.** *I have a razor in my bag.*  
 ɲaɫ ɲiɫ buɫzuɫ qhoɫ kuɫntʂuɫ jiɫntsɛɫ laɫ pæɫ  
 I GEN BAG LOC SHAVING KNIFE SG TO CARRY  
 pron sf n pp adn n cl vt

<sup>83</sup> The sentence particle is reduced here: **wǔ** /wuɫ/ > **ǒ** /oɫ/.

<sup>84</sup> The verb is fused here with a prospective verbal suffix: **hǎ** /hæɫ/ + **-i** /i/ > **hǎi** /hæ:iɫ/.

9. Qǎdzīh	dzǎnyī	būnchīh	ǎtsīh	-lūh	pǎ	-dzhu.	<i>Bring here the thing,</i>
qa-dził	dza-ŋił	bułntʃuł	ʔa-tsił	luł	pæł	dzuł	<i>a small dustban for</i>
THING	STEAMED	DUSTBAN	B.SMALL	SG	TO CARRY	HITHER	<i>steamed rice.</i>
	RICE						
n	n	n	va	cl	vt	vt	

### 4.3 Adjectival verbs

In this chapter, we will first look on the general characteristics of adjectival verbs (4.3.1) and their morphology (4.3.2), then look at their functions in sentences as predicates (4.3.3), adverbials (4.3.4) and attributes (4.3.5) or topics (4.3.6). Next part will introduce the ways of expressing degree (4.3.7) and comparative and equal constructions (4.3.8). Last part will focus on modification of adjectival verbs (4.3.9).

#### 4.3.1 General characteristics

DeLancey (*n.d.*:1) states that „*adjective categories cross-linguistically tend to be strongly linked by morphosyntactic behavior to either the noun or verb category, to the point that in many languages it is not clear that a distinct adjective category can be established*“.

The same applies to NMZ language, where as in Chinese or other *Qiāngic* or Naic languages, adjectival functions are carried by words, which share a lot of features with verbs<sup>85</sup>. There are two main distinctive features of verbs in NMZ: only verbs can appear at the end of the clause (NMZ is an SOV language, see Chapter 7.1) and only verbs can be negated. Adjectival verbs share both of these distinctive features, although they can be negated only by negative prefix **mâ-** /mał/ placed before the adjective<sup>86</sup>.

Beside that, adjectival verbs often function as predicates and complements. They can be modified by directional prefixes (**luó-** /lyoł/ and **khyi-** /tɕhił/), however they can not be inflected by verbal suffixes or particles (e.g. **-i** /ił/, **sīh** /sił/), nor can be modified by resultative modifiers (e.g. **pītsǎ** /pił-tsał/, **nggǎ** /ŋgał/) or after-verb directional modifiers (see Chapter 4.2.7). Moreover, adjectival verbs can be modified by adverbs of degree (while most of other types of verbs can not) and may be reduplicated and thus function as adverbial phrase. They cannot take a nominal object.

They can function as attributes of nouns or nominal phrases, in which case they can be placed either before the head noun without any nominal marking or after the head noun followed by a classifier, which carries the function of a nominalizer (see Chapter ).

#### 4.3.2 Morphology of adjectival verbs

##### 4.3.2.1 Formation of adjectival verbs

There is a group of antonymous adjectives which are formed by two mutually contrasting prefixes **dǎ-** /dał/ and **ǎ-** /ʔał/, one for each of the opposite type of quality. The same feature is observed by *Yīn* (2016:9) and *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:159).

<b>dǎdzīh</b>	dał.dzuł	<i>big</i>	<b>ǎtsih</b>	ʔał.tsił	<i>small</i>
<b>dǎshǎ</b>	dał.ʃał	<i>long</i>	<b>ǎntà</b>	ʔał.ntał	<i>short</i>
<b>dǎqǒ</b>	dał.qoł	<i>wide</i>	<b>ǎzhū</b>	ʔał.zuł	<i>narrow</i>

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Chirkova (2009:53) on adjectives in *Shīxīng*; Zhang (2013:134) on adjectives in *Ērsū* or *Hé & Jiāng* (1985:58) on adjectives in *Nàxī*.

<sup>86</sup> Previous works on NMZ do not address the issue of the adjectives as category, which is possibly due to the fact adjectives in Chinese also resemble stative verbs. *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:168-169) note the negation of adjectives under the chapter on verbal mood, which proves that they regard adjectives as linked to the verbal category.

<b>dàlǎ</b>	da˧.lǎ˧˥	<i>thick</i>	<b>ǎbī</b>	ʔa˧.bi˧	<i>thin</i>
-------------	----------	--------------	------------	---------	-------------

Other group of antonymous adjectives is formed by derivation using negative form of the original adjective.

<b>nà</b>	na˧	<i>good</i>	<b>mānà</b>	ma˧.na˧	<i>bad</i>
<b>shāshǎ</b>	ʂa˧.ʂa˧	<i>clean</i>	<b>māshāshǎ</b>	ma˧.ʂa˧.ʂa˧	<i>dirty</i>
<b>mèr</b>	mə˧	<i>tasty</i>	<b>māmèr</b>	ma˧.mə˧	<i>not tasty</i>
<b>nthā</b>	ntʰa˧˥	<i>sharp</i>	<b>mānthā</b>	ma˧.ntʰa˧˥	<i>dull</i>

#### 4.3.2.2 Reduplication

Adjectives are often reduplicated to express increased degree of an quality<sup>87</sup>. Disyllabic adjectival verbs reduplicate only the second syllable (AB → ABB).

<b>qhviḥ</b>	qʰvi˧	<i>quick</i>	<b>qhviḥqhviḥ</b>	qʰvi˧.qʰvi˧	<i>very quick</i>
<b>nâ</b>	na˧	<i>tight</i>	<b>nânâ</b>	na˧.na˧	<i>very tight</i>
<b>dàdzīh</b>	da˧.dzɯ˧	<i>big</i>	<b>(dà)dzīhdzīh</b>	da˧.dzɯ˧.dzɯ˧	<i>very big</i>
<b>ǎtsīh</b>	ʔa˧.tsi˧	<i>small</i>	<b>ǎtsīhtsih</b>	ʔa˧.tsi˧.tsi˧	<i>very small</i>

Note that in order to further intensify the meaning of the adjectival verb, the last syllable of the reduplicated word can be prolonged: **ǎbībī'** /ʔa˧.bi˧.bi˧˥/ VERY VERY THIN.

#### 4.3.3 Adjectival verbs as predicates

- |             |           |            |            |                |                                |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Chìh</b> | <b>tà</b> | <b>-mu</b> | <b>zēh</b> | <b>dàdzīh.</b> | <i>This dog is really big.</i> |
| tʂu˧        | ta˧       | mu˧        | zɛ˧˥       | da˧dzɯ˧        |                                |
| DOG         | THIS      | SG         | REALLY     | B.BIG          |                                |
| n           | dem       | cl         | adv        | va             |                                |
- |             |           |            |           |               |                               |
|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>Chìh</b> | <b>tà</b> | <b>-mu</b> | <b>mà</b> | <b>ǎtsīh.</b> | <i>This dog is not small.</i> |
| tʂu˧        | ta˧       | mu˧        | ma˧       | ʔa˧tsi˧       |                               |
| DOG         | THIS      | SG         | NOT       | B.SMALL       |                               |
| n           | dem       | cl         | adv       | va            |                               |
- |           |            |               |            |            |             |               |              |  |
|-----------|------------|---------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--|
| <b>Tà</b> | <b>chǔ</b> | <b>shaphî</b> | <b>-pû</b> | <b>zeh</b> | <b>gîdâ</b> | <b>agyima</b> | <b>qâqâ.</b> | <i>This table is square.</i>                         |
| ta˧       | tʂʰu˧      | ʂa˧tʰi˧       | pu˧        | zɛ˧˥       | gi˧da˧      | ʔa˧dzi˧ma˧    | qæ˧lqæ˧      | [Four sides of this type of table are equally long.] |
| THIS      | TYPE       | TABLE         | SG         | FOUR       | SIDE        | B.SAME        | B.LONG       |  |
| dem       | cl         | n             | cl         | num        | cl[n]       | va            | va           |  |

To express the manner of the activity denoted by the verb, there may be used a construction, where the activity is nominalized and functions as a subject of the adjectival predicate.

- |             |            |              |               |                                 |
|-------------|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>Khyî</b> | <b>mbà</b> | <b>(hrō)</b> | <b>qhviḥ.</b> | <i>He walks (very) quickly.</i> |
| tɛ˧i˧       | mba˧       | ɛo˧˥         | qʰvi˧         |                                 |
| HE          | TO WALK    | ALL          | B.QUICK       |                                 |
| pron s:>    | vi         | adv          | > va          |                                 |
| VP s:>      |            |              | VP            |                                 |

In contrast with Chinese, the adverbial can be omitted. Despite that monosyllabic adjectival verbs tends to be modified with an adverb **hrō** /ɛo˧˥/ ALL, the adverb itself preserves its intensifying meaning (we translate it mostly as „very“) and is not grammaticalized in NMZ. Disyllabic adjectives stay either alone or are modified by disyllabic adverb **gāmu** /ga˧.mu˧/ VERY.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. also Yin (2016:16); Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:164-165); Liu (1996:193) or Shēn (2013:45).

### 4.3.4 Adjectival verbs as adverbials

#### 4.3.4.1 With adverbial marker -mu /muɬ/

To form an adverbial phrase, adjectival verb needs to be followed by an adverbial suffix **-mu** /muɬ/. Monosyllabic adjectives must be reduplicated. Previous works on NMZ do not recognize the adverbial suffix **-mu** /muɬ/. In case of *Yin* (2016) it is simply overlooked or analyzed as the verb /muɬ/ TO DO; *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991) and *Liú* (1993) do not have a chapter on adverbs and do not mention this adverbial marker under chapter on particles or on adjectives either. In case of *Shēn* (2013:45), who also has no chapter on adverbs, this adverbial marker is overlooked without any notice in the chapter on adjectives as adverbials.

**qhviḥ** /qʰɿʋ/ va BE QUICK → **qhviḥ-qhviḥ-mu** /qʰɿʋ.l.qʰɿʋ.muɬ/ adv QUICKLY

- |    |                                    |  |                                 |                                     |                                  |  |                            |
|----|------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1. | <b>Khyi</b><br>tɕʰiɿ<br>HE<br>pron | <b>qhviḥqhviḥmu</b><br>qʰɿʋ.l.qʰɿʋ.l.muɬ<br>QUICKLY<br>adv | <b>dzâ</b><br>dzaɿ<br>FOOD<br>n | <b>dzè.</b><br>dzeɿ<br>TO EAT<br>vt |                                  | <i>He eats quickly.</i>                |                            |
| 2. | <b>Khyi</b><br>tɕʰiɿ<br>HE<br>pron |  | <b>dzâ</b><br>dzaɿ<br>FOOD<br>n | <b>dzè</b><br>dzeɿ<br>TO EAT<br>vt  | <b>hrō</b><br>ɣoːɿ<br>ALL<br>adv | <b>qhviḥ.</b><br>qʰɿʋ<br>B.QUICK<br>va | <i>He eats very quick.</i> |

#### 4.3.4.2 Without adverbial marker

However, in some cases the reduplicated or polysyllabic adjectival verb can be used as an adverbial without the marker.

- |    |                                       |   |  |                                    |                                     |  |  |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. | <b>Qōlo</b><br>qoːloɿ<br>INSIDE<br>np | <b>lā</b><br>laːɿ<br>ASH<br>n           | <b>bér</b><br>bəɿ<br>B.SLOW<br>va              | <b>bér</b><br>bəɿ<br>B.SLOW<br>va  | <b>mî-</b><br>miɿ<br>PFC<br>mod     | <b>chih.</b><br>tɕʰɿɿɿ<br>TO PUT<br>vt | <i>He carefully filled it with ash.</i>                  |
| 2. | <b>Vú</b><br>vuɿ<br>BEAR<br>n         | <b>êrdziḥ</b><br>əɿ.lɕziɿ<br>CHILD<br>n | <b>ăgyimâ</b><br>ʔaɿ.lɕziɿ.maɿ<br>B.SAME<br>va | <b>khyi</b><br>tɕʰiɿ<br>INC<br>mod | <b>shū.</b><br>ɕuɿ<br>TO WAKE<br>vi |  | <i>As if the children of the bear were awoken alike.</i> |

### 4.3.5 Adjectival verbs as attributes

Adjectival verbs can also function as an attribute of a noun or nominal phrase. In that case, they are usually placed after the modified noun, though in the case of coordinate structure with more adjectives, they can also precede the modified noun.

- |    |  |  |  |                                  |                                |                            |
|----|--|--|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. | <b>nănkḥâ</b><br>naɿ.nkʰæɿ<br>BLACK<br>adn | <b>ădziḥ</b><br>ʔaɿ.lɕziɿ<br>B.SMALL<br>va | <b>chih</b><br>tɕʰiɿ<br>DOG<br>n           | <b>-mu</b><br>muɿ<br>cl          | <i>a small black dog</i>       |                            |
| 2. | <b>chih</b><br>tɕʰiɿ<br>DOG<br>n           | <b>nănkḥâ</b><br>naɿ.nkʰæɿ<br>BLACK<br>adn | <b>ădziḥ</b><br>ʔaɿ.lɕziɿ<br>B.SMALL<br>va | <b>kyi</b><br>tɕiɿ<br>ONE<br>num | <b>-guh</b><br>guɿ<br>PC<br>cl | <i>one small black dog</i> |

### 4.3.6 Adjectival verbs as objects and topics

Adjectival verbs can also be nominalized without any marker and serve as an object of a possessive verb. In that case, they are placed at the beginning of a clause as a topic and they refer to and represent an unsaid noun.

- |    |                |               |            |               |   |
|----|----------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---|
| 1. | <b>Dàdzhīh</b> | <b>ǎdzhīh</b> | <b>hrǎ</b> | <b>gyīgī.</b> | <i>Big ones, small ones, [we] have all.</i> |
|    | daʎdzu˧˥       | ʔa˧˥dzi˧˥     | ka˧˥       | dzi˧˥gi˧˥     |   |
|    | B.BIG          | B.SMALL       | ALL        | TO HAVE       |   |
|    | va             | va            | adv        | vt            |   |

To emphasize the quality denoted by the adjective, the adjective can be nominalized by a nominal classifier with or without demonstrative pronoun and thus put in a construction with copular verb.

- |    |             |            |             |                |                |            |             |                                    |
|----|-------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 2. | <b>Tô</b>   | <b>qhô</b> | <b>chīh</b> | <b>dàdzhīh</b> | <b>tà</b>      | <b>-mu</b> | <b>gyī.</b> | <i>The dog here is a big one.</i>  |
|    | to˧˥        | qʰo˧˥      | tʂʰi˧˥      | daʎdzu˧˥       | ta˧˥           | mu˧˥       | dzi˧˥       |                                    |
|    | THIS        | LOC        | DOG         | B.BIG          | THIS           | SG         | TO BE       |                                    |
|    | dem         | pp         | n           | va             | dem            | cl         | vc          |                                    |
| 3. | <b>Chīh</b> | <b>tà</b>  | <b>-mu</b>  | <b>gāmu</b>    | <b>dàdzhīh</b> | <b>-mu</b> | <b>gyī.</b> | <i>This dog is a very big one.</i> |
|    | tʂu˧˥       | ta˧˥       | mu˧˥        | ga˧˥mu˧˥       | daʎdzu˧˥       | mu˧˥       | dzi˧˥       |                                    |
|    | DOG         | THIS       | SG          | VERY           | B.BIG          | SG         | TO BE       |                                    |
|    | n           | dem        | cl          | adv            | va             | cl         | vc          |                                    |

### 4.3.7 Expressing degree

Despite the fact that there can be found overt markers of degree in NMZ, they are not used that often and in most of the cases, the relevant degree depends on context. Thus adjectival verbs express only relative quality of the denotate<sup>88</sup>. In case another member of comparison is explicitly present, the adjective can simply be understood as denoting higher degree of the quality for the second member of comparison; when no other member of comparison is explicitly present, we can perceive the meaning of the adjective as to solely describe one specific quality of the denotate. In some contexts, simply pointing out the quality denotes the maximum degree in comparison with other members. However, gradation can be expressed using adverbs of degree to distinguish relative difference between certain members when needed.

- |    |      |               |            |             |                |                |              |   |   |
|----|------|---------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|---|---|
| 1. | „Ū,  | <b>ǎtsih</b>  | <b>yō!</b> | <b>Kyi</b>  | <b>-lûh</b>    | <b>dàdzhīh</b> | <b>pǎ</b>    | <b>dzhǔ.</b> “                                | <i>Oh, it's too small! Bring a bigger one.<sup>89</sup></i> |
|    | u˧˥  | ʔa˧˥tsi˧˥     | jo˧˥       | tei˧˥       | lu˧˥           | daʎdzu˧˥       | pæ˧˥         | dzu˧˥   |   |
|    | OH   | B.SMALL       | EXCL       | ONE         | SG             | B.BIG          | TO BRING     | HITHER  |   |
|    | intj | va            | sp         | num         | cl             | va             | vt           | v   |   |
| 2. | „Ū,  | <b>ǎtsih,</b> |            | <b>gāmú</b> | <b>dàdzhīh</b> | <b>pǎ</b>      | <b>dǎ!</b> “ | <i>Oh, too small, bring here the biggest!</i> |   |
|    | u˧˥  | ʔa˧˥tsi˧˥     |            | ga˧˥mu˧˥    | daʎdzu˧˥       | pæ˧˥           | dæ˧˥         |   |   |
|    | OH   | B.SMALL       |            | VERY        | V.BIG          | TO BRING       | TO COME      |   |   |
|    | intj | va            |            | adv         | va             | vt             | vt           |   |   |

Note that in the examples above, the adjective alone can express either positive or comparative degree. To differentiate that we need even bigger thing than in Ex. 1, the last adjective is modified by an adverb denoting intense degree, which can be understood as intensive to the utmost point.

Next example shows the usage in one story, where the adjectives are used to distinguish between three daughters:

- |    |              |                |            |             |                          |               |
|----|--------------|----------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| 3. | <b>Zěhmî</b> | <b>dàdzhīh</b> | <b>-mû</b> | <b>kōi.</b> | [We] will give [you] the | = the big one |
|----|--------------|----------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------|

<sup>88</sup> Prof. Harbsmeier argues that all adjectives actually express relative quality only, thus being comparative in nature.

<sup>89</sup> The translation of the adjectival verb in comparative is made according to my language consultant, who specifically required this sentence to be translated as comparative.

	zɤ-mi˧	da˧ldzɯ˧	mu˧	ko˧:ɿ˧	<i>biggest daughter.</i>	
	DAUGHTER	B.BIG	SG	TO GIVE PROSP		
	n	va	cl	vt+sf		
4.	<b>Zěhmî</b>	<b>ngûnú</b>	<b>-mû</b>	<b>kõi.</b>	[We] will give [you] the	= the next one
	zɤ-mi˧	ŋu˧lnu˧	mu˧	ko˧:ɿ˧	<i>second daughter.</i>	
	DAUGHTER	AFTER	SG	TO GIVE PROSP		
	n	nt	cl	vt+sf		
5.	<b>Zěhmî</b>	<b>ătsîh</b>	<b>-mû</b>	<b>kõi.</b>	[We] will give [you] the	= the small one
	zɤ-mi˧	ʔa˧tsi˧	mu˧	ko˧:ɿ˧	<i>smallest daughter.</i>	
	DAUGHTER	B.SMALL	SG	TO GIVE PROSP		
	n	va	cl	vt+sf		

When there is no other member of comparison, the comparative and superlative degree can be emphasized by an adverb or by an adverb together with sentence particle.

	<b>zîh</b>	<b>dàmũ</b>	<i>higher</i>	<b>gâmu</b>	<b>dàmũ</b>	<i>the highest</i>
	zi˧	da˧lmu˧		ga˧lmu˧	da˧lmu˧	
	adv	va		adv	va	
	<b>zîh</b>	<b>ătsîh</b>	<i>smaller</i>	<b>dzhũ</b>	<b>ătsîh</b>	<i>the smallest</i>
	zi˧	ʔa˧tsi˧		dzu˧	ʔa˧tsi˧	
	adv	va		adv	va	

19. **ăhrô** **dàdzhîh** *big egg*  
 ʔæ˧lɤo˧ da˧ldzɯ˧  
 EGG B.BIG  
 n va
20. **ăhrô** **hrô** **dàdzhîh** **wă** *bigger eggs*  
 ʔæ˧lɤo˧ ɤo˧:˧ da˧ldzɯ˧ wa˧  
 EGG ALL B.BIG  
 n adv va sp
21. **ăhrô** **gâmu** **dàdzhîh** *the biggest egg*  
 ʔæ˧lɤo˧ ga˧lmu˧ da˧ldzɯ˧  
 EGG VERY B.BIG  
 n adv va

Monosyllabic adjectival verbs tends to be preceded by the adverb **hră** /ɤa˧:˧/ VERY before they can be modified by the adverb **gâmu** /ga˧lmu˧/ VERY.

<b>nà</b> <i>good</i>	→	<b>zîh</b> <b>nà</b> <i>better</i>	→	<b>gâmu</b> <b>hră</b> <b>nà</b> <i>the best</i>
na˧		zi˧ na˧		ga˧lmu˧ ɤa˧:˧ na˧
<b>tsě</b> <i>beautiful</i>	→	<b>zîh</b> <b>tsě</b> <i>more beautiful</i>	→	<b>gâmu</b> <b>hră</b> <b>tsě</b> <i>the most beautiful</i>
tse˧		zi˧ tse˧		ga˧lmu˧ ɤa˧:˧ tse˧
va		adv va		adv adv va

Huáng & Rēnzēng (1991:164) state that the comparative degree is expressed by the prefix /zɿ˧/ and the superlative degree is expressed by prefixes /tɕuo˧/ (for adjectives formed by a prefix) or /miə˧/ (for adjectives formed by reduplication).

Yīn (2016:16) differentiates even four degrees, namely positive (*yuánxíng* 原形), comparative (*bǐjiào* 比較), superlative (*zuìgāo* 最高) and ultimative (*jíxiàn* 極限), formed by adverbs placed before the adjective, i.e. /zi˧/ for comparative, /fiə˧/ for superlative and /ga˧l.mo˧l.fiə˧/ for ultimative.

## 4.3.8 Comparative and equal constructions

### 4.3.8.1 Expressing different degree of certain quality

Comparison structures differ according to the meaning of different adjectives and also according to the degree of the difference between the members. Simple comparison can be made using parallel structure (Ex.2) or by a special construction (3-4), where the second member of comparison is marked by a *spatial noun* (see Chapter 5.1.5) or postposition, which may be followed by a suffix. The postposition is determined by semantic meaning of the adjective.

- |    |                                      |   |                                   |                                       |  |   |                               |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. | <b>Ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron       |   |                                   |                                       | <b>dàdzhìh.</b><br>daɭdzɯɯɭ<br>B.BIG<br>va | <i>I am tall.</i>                                 |                               |
| 2. | <b>Nuò</b><br>nuo<br>YOU<br>pron     | <b>ătsih,</b><br>ʔaɭtsiɭ<br>B.SMALL<br>va | <b>ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron    |                                       | <b>dàdzhìh.</b><br>daɭdzɯɯɭ<br>B.BIG<br>va | <i>You are shorter; I am taller<sup>90</sup>.</i> |                               |
| 3. | <b>Ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron       | <b>nuò</b><br>nuoɯɯɯ<br>YOU<br>pron       | <b>-nyĩ</b><br>ɲiɯɯɯ<br>GEN<br>sf | <b>vûdà</b><br>vuɯdaɯɯ<br>ABOVE<br>np | <b>yă</b><br>jaɯɯ<br>MORE<br>adv           | <b>dàdzhìh.</b><br>daɭdzɯɯɭ<br>B.BIG<br>va        | <i>I am bigger than you.</i>  |
| 4. | <b>Khyî</b><br>tehiɯɯɯ<br>HE<br>pron | <b>ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron            | <b>-nyĩ</b><br>ɲiɯɯɯ<br>GEN<br>sf | <b>khèr</b><br>kheɯɯɯ<br>BELOW<br>np  |  | <b>ătsih.</b><br>ʔaɭtsiɯɯɯ<br>B.SMALL<br>va       | <i>He is shorter than me.</i> |

The first member of comparison is on the left side, however the order of other constituents is quite free.

- |    |                                      |                                       |                                       |                                       |                                     |                                       |                                  |  |                                     |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| 5. | <b>Khyî</b><br>tehiɯɯɯ<br>HE<br>pron | <b>ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron        | <b>-nyĩ</b><br>ɲiɯɯɯ<br>GEN<br>sf     | <b>vûdà</b><br>vuɯdaɯɯ<br>ABOVE<br>np | <b>êrgû</b><br>eɯrguɯɯ<br>ROAD<br>n | <b>mbà</b><br>mbaɯɯ<br>TO WALK<br>vt  | <b>yă</b><br>jaɯɯ<br>MORE<br>adv | <b>qhvih.</b><br>qhvɯɯɯ<br>B.QUICK<br>va | <i>He walks quicker than me.</i>    |
| 6. | <b>Khyî</b><br>tehiɯɯɯ<br>HE<br>pron | <b>sihper</b><br>siɯpɯɯɯ<br>PLUM<br>n | <b>dzih</b><br>dziɯɯɯ<br>TO EAT<br>vt | <b>ngâ</b><br>ŋaɭ<br>I<br>pron        | <b>-nyĩ</b><br>ɲiɯɯɯ<br>GEN<br>sf   | <b>vûdà</b><br>vuɯdaɯɯ<br>ABOVE<br>np | <b>yă</b><br>jaɯɯ<br>MORE<br>adv | <b>qhvih.</b><br>qhvɯɯɯ<br>B.QUICK<br>va | <i>He ate plum quicker than me.</i> |

Comparative meaning can be also indicated by interrogative words.

- |    |  |                                     |  |  |   |                                      |                                      |   |
|----|--|-------------------------------------|--|--|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 7. | <b>Mùshih</b><br>muɯʃɯɯɯ<br>WIND<br>n    | <b>nyîmî</b><br>ɲiɯmiɯɯ<br>SUN<br>n | <b>-lûh</b><br>luɯɯ<br>SG<br>cl          | <b>lá</b><br>laɯɯ<br>TO COMPARE<br>vi    | <b>khêyî</b><br>kheɯɯjiɯɯ<br>WHO<br>pron  | <b>mólò</b><br>moɯloɯɯ<br>SKILL<br>n | <b>tò.</b><br>toɯɯ<br>B.WORTHY<br>va | <i>Sun and wind were arguing who has better skills.</i> |
| 8. | <b>Khêyî</b><br>kheɯɯjiɯɯ<br>WHO<br>pron | <b>yă</b><br>jaɯɯ<br>MORE<br>adv    | <b>qhvih,</b><br>qhvɯɯɯ<br>B.QUICK<br>va | <b>khêyî</b><br>kheɯɯjiɯɯ<br>WHO<br>pron | <b>tâhrò.</b><br>taɯkoɯɯ<br>B.FIRST<br>va |                                      |                                      | <i>Who will be quicker, who will be there first.</i>    |

### 4.3.8.2 Expressing the same degree of certain quality

There are several possibilities to express the same level of quality of the compared

<sup>90</sup> We provide this example onomasiologically (MOSEL 2006:59) to show one way how to express comparison. In this sentence, the statement that the parallel structure can express comparison is based on information provided by the language consultant. This kind of comparison is also possible in Chinese, cf. the sentence *Zhōngguó dà, Riběn xiǎo.* 中國大，日本小。‘China is bigger, Japan is smaller.’



members. The first is to use a dual or plural pronoun which may (not necessarily) be followed by apposition of coordinate structure of subjects and by a specific adjectival verb expressing the same degree of quality.

1. **Ākvīh nuò ngâ agyimă.** *We two, you and me, are the same.*  
 ʔaḷkyḷ nuoḷ ŋaḷ ʔaḷdziḷmaḷ  
 WE TWO YOU I B.THE SAME

	pron & pron	
pron =	NP	
	NP s:>	va

In the case when the quality should be explicit, the relevant adjectival verb can be reduplicated to express the same degree.

2. **Ākvīh nuò ngâ dzhīh dzhīh.** *We two, you and me, are [equally] big.*  
 ʔaḷkyḷ nuoḷ ŋaḷ dzɯḷ dzɯḷ  
 WE TWO YOU I B.BIG B.BIG

	pron & pron		
pron =	NP		va + va
	NP s:>	VP	

The verb **agyimă** /ʔaḷdziḷmaḷ/ TO BE THE SAME can be also used as an adverbial to explicitly denote the same degree of quality.

3. **Ākvīh agyimă nà.** *We two are equally good.*  
 ʔaḷkyḷ ʔaḷdziḷmaḷ naḷ  
 WE TWO B.SAME B.GOOD

	va >	va
pron s:>	VP	

When the dual or plural pronoun is not used, the second member of comparison is marked by commitative suffix.

33. **Ngâ khyî -dâ agyimâ dâdzhīh.** *I am as big as him.*  
 ŋaḷ tɛ<sup>hi</sup>ḷ daḷ ʔaḷdziḷmaḷ daḷdzɯḷ  
 I HE COMM B.SAME B.BIG

	pron & pron	(sf)	va >	va
	NP s:> VP			

Another construction with the verb **dbīh** /ḏḏḏ/ TO BECOME is used to express negative polarity.

34. **Ngâ nuò -nyī dzhīh dzhīh mà- dbīh.** *I am not as big as you.*  
 ŋaḷ nuoḷ ŋiḷ dzɯḷ dzɯḷ maḷ ḏḏḏḷ  
 I YOU GEN B.BIG B.BIG NOT TO BECOME  
 pron pron sf va va neg vt

35. **Ngâ nuò -nyī pā pā mà- dbīh.** *I am not as good as you.*  
 ŋaḷ nuoḷ ŋiḷ pæḷ pæḷ maḷ ḏḏḏḷ  
 I YOU GEN B.PROPER B.PROPER NOT TO BECOME  
 pron pron sf va va neg vt

### 4.3.9 Modifications of adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs can govern adverbial of degree which is expressed by numeral phrase in order to measure the quality denoted by the adjective.

1. **Ngâ kyî hnio kǐ zhǐh.** *I am 100 jǐn (50 kg) heavy.*  
 ɲaɭ tɛɪɭ h<sup>ni</sup>ɔɭ kiɭ zuɭ  
 I ONE HUNDRED JǐN B.HEAVY
- |          |           |    |
|----------|-----------|----|
| pron s:> | num > cl  | va |
|          | numP > cl |    |
|          | numP >    |    |
|          | VP        |    |

When put into comparative construction, the adverbial of degree simply denotes the value of the difference.

2. **Ngâ nuô -nyî vûdà suô tsatsa dàmú.** *I am 3 inches higher than you.*  
 ɲaɭ nuoɭ ɲiɭ vuɭdaɭ suoɭ tsatsaɭ daɭmuɭ  
 I YOU GEN ABOVE THREE INCH B.HIGH
- |          |                |          |           |
|----------|----------------|----------|-----------|
| pron s:> | pron (sf) > np | num > cl | numP > va |
|          | NP > VP        |          |           |
|          | VP             |          |           |

In case the quality is not explicitly mentioned, there are two adjectival verbs which can denote either higher or lower difference value.

3. **Ngâ nyî kǐ yǎ dǎbĕr.** *I have 2 jǐn more.*  
 ɲaɭ ɲiɭ kiɭ jaɭ daɭbæɭ  
 I TWO JǐN MORE B.MORE  
 pron num cl adv va
4. **Nuô nyî kǐ yānyī<sup>91</sup>.** *You have 2 jǐn less.*  
 nuoɭ ɲiɭ kiɭ ja:ɳɲiɭ  
 YOU TWO JǐN B.LESS  
 pron num cl va

Adjectival verbs can be even modified by directional verbal modifier in order to denote change of the quality.

5. **Nànkha -mǔ khèr tshuò luó- dǎbĕr.** [The number of] *people under heaven increased.*  
 naɳnkhaɭ muɭ k<sup>h</sup>æɭ t<sup>h</sup>ɕuoɭ luoɭ daɭbæɭ  
 HEAVEN SG UNDER HUMAN INCH B.MORE  
 n cl np n mod va

<sup>91</sup> In this case, there is also a fusion of the particle with the following adjective: yǎ /jaɭ/ + ǎnyī /ʔaɳɲiɭ/ > yānyī /ja:ɳɲiɭ/.

## 4.4 Adverbs and adverbial phrases

In this chapter, we first give the general characteristics of the category of adverbs (4.4.1). Then we introduce the adverbs of degree (4.4.2), adverbs of manner (4.4.3) and adverbial phrases of manner (4.4.4). Next part describes the usage of the adverb **hrâ** /ɤa/ ALL (4.4.5) and adverb **lolo** /lo˧lo˧/ THE MORE (4.4.6) used in expressing gradual degree.

### 4.4.1 General characteristics

Traditionally, adverbs are words „whose most frequent function is to specify the mode of action of the verb“ and relate them „to such questions as HOW, WHERE, WHEN and WHY, and classify them accordingly, as adverbs of ‘manner’, ‘place’, ‘time’, etc.“ (CRYSTAL 2008:14).

However, a lot of words which are related to the above mentioned questions behave as nouns, therefore we classify them as *spatial* and *temporal* nouns (see Chapters 5.1.5 and 5.1.6) and not adverbs.

In this work, I define adverbs as words, which can not be further modified by any other words (HARBSMEIER *n.d.*:156), and which modify verbal phrases. They are usually function words that serve as adverbials. Most of them can be analyzed as *adverbs of degree* (4.4.2), then there are two specific adverbs **hrâ** /ɤa/ ALL (4.4.5) and adverb **lolo** /lo˧lo˧/ THE MORE (4.4.6) Apart from these function words, there are expressions formed by reduplicated adjectives with the adverbial suffix **-mû** /mu/ , which corresponds to English adverbial suffix **-ly** or Chinese adverbial suffix **-di** 地<sup>92</sup>. This suffix can adverbialize almost any phrase (e.g. reduplicated numeral phrase), I thus do not regard these expressions as single words, but as adverbial phrases. Nevertheless, there exist several adverbials, where the morpheme before the adverbial suffix never occurs independently without the adverbial suffix. Here I call them *adverbs of manner* (4.4.3).

Yin (2016:24-25) lists five categories of adverbs. The first category are *adverbs of degree* (程度副詞, with two examples, the adverb /ga˧mo/ VERY and an expression, which I analyze as a numeral phrase consisting of a numeral one and a classifier, which can function as an adverbial /tɕi˧.np̚æ/ in the meaning A FEW); second category are *adverbs of range* (範圍副詞, with only one example of the word /a˧ka˧mu/ ALTOGETHER, WHOLE, EVERY); *adverbs of properties* (性狀副詞, with two examples, an adverb /ja˧k̚u˧mu/ QUICKLY and an expression, which we analyze as an adjectival verb (followed by an adverbial suffix **-mu** /mu/ ) /a˧zæ˧zæ/ SLOWLY, however in the work, the suffix is analyzed as the verb /mu/ TO DO); *adverbs of time* (時間副詞, except the word /ja˧k̚u˧mu/ here in the meaning IN A MOMENT, I analyze these temporal expressions as temporal nouns, see Chapter 5.1.6) and *adverbs of frequency* (頻率副詞, with two expressions, /tɕi˧ŋi˧hũ˧dzu/ OFTEN and /jo˧/ AGAIN).

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<sup>92</sup> I use the *Hànyǔ Pīnyīn* 漢語拼音 orthography, where in order to distinguish three Chinese particles, which are pronounced the same (*de*) but are written by different graphemes (的、得、地), the same syllable *de* is written according to the relevant grapheme it represents as *d* (的), *de* (得) or *di* (地).

## 4.4.2 Adverbs of degree

The adverbs of degree are placed before the modified verb or verbal phrase.

1. **Yôxrô mólô -bâ hrô tsà, hrô tsě.** *Other men are so capable and so nice.*  
 jolχ<sup>o</sup>l moŋloŋ bæŋ ɤo:ɿ tsal ɤoŋ tseŋ  
 OTHER MALE PL VERY B.CAPABLE VERY B.NICE  
 pron n cl adv va adv va
2. **Ngâ âhrô dzih hăshî nà.** *I quite like eating eggs.*  
 ŋal ʔæŋɤoŋ dʒiŋ hãŋʃuŋ nal  
 I EGG TO EAT QUITE B.GOOD  
 pron n vt adv va
3. **Tshuò tâ -yû sôkâ mīnthù gâmu dàdzhîh.** *The fortune of this family to become rich was very big.*  
 tʃu<sup>o</sup> tal ɥiŋ soŋkaŋ mi:ŋntʰuŋ galmuŋ daŋdzɥuŋ  
 HUMAN THIS HOME TO GET RICH DESTINY VERY B.BIG  
 n dem cl vi n adv va
4. **Ù', ätsih, gâmu dàdzhîh -lûh pã dă!** *Ayay, it's small, bring the very big one!*  
 ʔu: ʔaŋtʃiŋ galmuŋ daŋdzɥuŋ lu pæŋ dæŋ  
 AY B.SMALL ADV B.BIG SG TO BRING TO COME  
 intj va very va cl vt vt

The adverb **gâmu** /galmuŋ/ VERY is usually used with adjectival verbs, however it can also be seldomly used with some other verbs to express intensive degree.

5. **Ĕr nyî -lûh gâmu yû ngă.** *Both children sleep very tight.*  
 ɛŋ ŋiŋ luŋ galmuŋ ɥiŋ ŋæŋ  
 CHILD TWO PC VERY TO SLEEP B.GOOD  
 n num cl adv vi vi
6. **Lă -phă ngvîh: “Gâmu gyî a?”** *The tiger said: „Really?”*  
 læŋ pʰaŋ ŋɥŋ galmuŋ dʒiŋ aŋ  
 TIGER SG TO SAY VERY TO BE EXCL  
 n cl vt adv vc sp

7. **Khyî ngâ -nyî vûdà êrgû mbà yă qhvîh.** *He walks quicker than me.*  
 tɕʰiŋ ŋal ŋiŋ vuŋdaŋ ɛŋguŋ mbaŋ jaŋ qʰɥŋ  
 HE I GEN ABOVE ROAD TO WALK MORE B.QUICK  
 pron pron sf np n vt adv va

Adverbs of degree can be used in comparative constructions (see Chapter 4.3.8.1).

## 4.4.3 Adverbs of manner

There are several adverbs which are not composed of adjectival verb followed by the adverbial suffix **-m û** /mul/. Its component does not usually occur as an independent constituent and they behave as a single word.

1. **Ngâ nuô -dă khiyŭmû thuôlî -yâ phûdzhă shù -î.** *I am going to find the white rabbit together with you.*  
 ŋal nu<sup>o</sup>ŋ daŋ teiŋɥyŋmuŋ tʰu<sup>o</sup>lliŋ jaŋ pʰuldʒaŋ ʃuŋ iŋ  
 I YOU COMM TOGETHER RABBIT SG WHITE TO FIND PROSP  
 pron pron sf adv n cl adn vt sf
2. **Â -xrô kyîyŭmû bì.** *Let's go there together.*  
 ʔal χ<sup>o</sup>ŋ teiŋɥyŋmuŋ biŋ  
 WE PL TOGETHER TO GO  
 pron sf adv vt
3. **Â -xrô yăqhămû dzih.** *We all eat.*  
 ʔal χ<sup>o</sup>ŋ jaŋqʰaŋmuŋ dʒiŋ  
 WE PL WHOLE TO EAT  
 pron sf adv vt
4. **Yăqhămû ngâ -nyî gyî.** *All is mine.*

ja-lq<sup>h</sup>a-lmu<sup>l</sup> ɲa<sup>l</sup> ɲi<sup>l</sup> dʒi<sup>l</sup>  
 WHOLE I GEN TO BE  
 adv pron sf vc

5. **Khyî mbér -mû yăqhûmû lîghî phò dzhù.** *His wife had rushed home immediately.*  
 tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> mbə<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> ja-lq<sup>h</sup>u<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> liŋi<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>l</sup> dʒu<sup>l</sup>  
 HE WIFE SG IMMEDIATELY TO RETURN TO RUN HITHER  
 pron n cl adv vt vt vi
6. **Khyî yăqhûmu tò qă lä.** *He will arrive immediately.*  
 tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> ja-lq<sup>h</sup>u<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> to<sup>l</sup> qa<sup>l</sup> læ<sup>l</sup>  
 HE IMMEDIATELY TO ARRIVE TO WANT PREM  
 pron adv vt vt sp
7. **Khyî yaqhûmu luó- ndzhû ndzhù: “Lhâ phù!”** *She immediately started to shout: „Throw the gold away!”*  
 tɕ<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> ja-lq<sup>h</sup>u<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> luo<sup>l</sup> ndʒu<sup>l</sup> ndʒu<sup>l</sup> la<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>l</sup>  
 SHE IMMEDIATELY INCH TO SHOUT TO SHOUT GOLD TO THROW  
 pron adv mod vt vt n vt

#### 4.4.4 Adverbial phrases of manner

##### 4.4.4.1 Adverbial phrases composed of adjectival verbs

The adverbial phrases of manner can be formed simply by adding adverbial suffix after the adjectival verb (1-2). However the adjectival verb is mostly reduplicated (3-5). The reduplication of the adjectival verb can be either partial (ABB) or full (ABAB).

1. **Ĕr nyî -lûh nà -mû yúe.** *Both children are sleeping good.*  
 ə<sup>l</sup> ɲi<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> na<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> yuɕ<sup>l</sup>  
 CHILD TWO PC B.GOOD ADV TO SLEEP+INGR  
 n num cl va sf vi+sf
2. **Thuôlî -yâ khâla -mû vû -phâ bûbûsu -lûh mi- phacîh.** *The rabbit secretly pulled out the bear's bladder.*  
 t<sup>h</sup>uol<sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>la<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> vu<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup> bulbu<sup>l</sup>su<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>tʂu<sup>l</sup>  
 RABBIT SG B.SECRET ADV BEAR SG BLADDER SG PFC TO PULL OUT  
 n cl va sf n cl n cl mod vt
3. **Mùshì nà nă -mũ luó- fù.** *The wind began to blow very hard.*  
 mu<sup>l</sup>ʂu<sup>l</sup> na<sup>l</sup> na<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> luo<sup>l</sup> fu<sup>l</sup>  
 WIND B.GOOD B.GOOD ADV INCH TO BLOW  
 n va va sf mod vi
4. **Tô qhò êrgû mâ- nchuò, nuô azâ zâ -mû mbà!** *The road is not flat here, walk slowly!*  
 to<sup>l</sup> q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>l</sup> ə<sup>l</sup>ŋu<sup>l</sup> ma<sup>l</sup> ntʂ<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>l</sup> nuo<sup>l</sup> ʔa<sup>l</sup>za<sup>l</sup> za<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> mba<sup>l</sup>  
 THIS LOC ROAD NOT B.FLAT YOU B.SLOW B.SLOW ADV TO WALK  
 dem pp n neg va pron va va sf vt
5. **Azà ăzâ -mû qhòbû luó- xà.** *He slowly opened the door.*  
 ʔa<sup>l</sup>za<sup>l</sup> ʔa<sup>l</sup>za<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>l</sup>bu<sup>l</sup> luo<sup>l</sup> xa<sup>l</sup>  
 B.SLOW B.SLOW ADV DOOR UP TO OPEN  
 va va sf n mod vt

#### 4.4.4.2 Adverbial phrases composed of other elements

Adverbial phrases of manner can be also composed of other elements like onomatopoeic phrase (1), numeral phrase (2) or verbal phrase (3).

1. **Văbû ěrdzîh -bâ tzih' zîh' -mû luó- mêmër.** *The piglets of the sow squeaked „whee-whee“.*  

va bu	ə- dzî	bæ	tz:	z:	mu	lʊo	mæ- mæ-	
SOW	CHILD	PL	WHEE	WHEE	ADV	INCH	TO SQUEAK	
n	n	cl	ono	ono	sf	mod	vi	
2. **Pămî -yâ thâhrô kyi -pă kyi -pă -mû yôqhô tò.** *The toad **jumping** arrived home earlier.*  

pa mî	ja	tʰa kɔ	tɛi	pa	tɛi	pa	mu	jo lqʰo	to
TOAD	SG	BEFORE	ONE	JUMP	ONE	JUMP	ADV	HOME	TO ARRIVE
n	cl	nt	num	cl[v]	num	cl[v]	sf	n	vt
3. **Khyô -xrô nyî -kuh shuô -zû -mũ,** *While the two were **talking**,*  

tɛʰi	χʊo	ŋi	ku	ʃu	zu	mu	
HE	PL	TWO	PC	TO TALK	TGS	ADV	
pron	sf	num	cl	vi	sf	sf	
- tshuò kyî -kûh bătšîh dälë -mũ ló- ghi khyî- dzhũ.** *a man dressed in a thick coat approached.*  

tʰʊo	tɛi	ku	ba- tsi	da lɛ	mu	lʊo	gi	tɛʰi	dzu
HUMAN	ONE	PC	COAT	B.THICK	SG	UP	TO WEAR	FWD	TO REACH
n	num	cl	n	va	cl	mod	vt	mod	vt

#### 4.4.4.3 Adverbial phrases expressing degree

Adverbial phrases of manner, which are composed of an adjectival verb followed by an adverbial suffix, can undergo a graduation based on the same principle as the graduation of adjectival verbs (4.3.7). The adjectival verb is modified by an adverb of degree and the whole phrase is then modified by the adverbial suffix **-mu** /mu|/, thus forming an adverbial phrase.

<b>zîh</b>	<b>nà</b>	<i>be better</i>		<b>zîh</b>	<b>nà</b>	<b>-mû</b>	<i>better &lt;adv&gt;</i>
zi	na		→	zi	na	mu	
MORE	B.GOOD			MORE	B.GOOD	ADV	
adv	va			adv	va	sf	

Note that degree of adjectival verbs can also be expressed by a numeral phrase with number one (e.g. **kyi-mpHà** /tɛi|.mpʰa|/ QUITE, lit. ‘ONE + A LITTLE’) instead of using an adverb.

1. **Khyî kyî -mpHà dädzhî.** *He is quite high.*  

tɛʰi	tɛi	mpʰa	da dzɰ
HE	ONE	A LITTLE	B.HIGH
2. **Khyî kyî -mpHà nà.** *He is quite good.*  

tɛʰi	tɛi	mpʰa	na
HE	ONE	A LITTLE	B.GOOD
3. **Khyî kyî -mpHà atsîh.** *He is quite small.*  

tɛʰi	tɛi	mpʰa	ʔa- tsi
HE	ONE	A LITTLE	B.SMALL
pron	num	cl	va

#### 4.4.5 Adverb hrâ /ɤaɫ/ ALL

The adverb **hrâ** /ɤaɫ/ ALL altogether with interrogatives is used to express universal (1-3) or negative (4-6) pronouns (see chapter 5.4.5.5). It is always placed before predicate, therefore we analyze it as adverb and not as a numeral.

1. **Khêyî hrâ bì.** *Everybody will go there.*  
 k<sup>h</sup>eɫjiɫ ɤaɫ biɫ  
 WHO ALL TO GO  
 pron adv vt
2. **Ngâ fû hrâ dzì.** *I will eat everything.*  
 ŋaɫ fuɫ ɤaɫ dziɫ  
 I WHAT ALL TO EAT+PROSP  
 pron pron adv vt+sf
3. **Khyî fû ndzhîgyî hrâ lúh -nyî sîh.** *He understands every character.*  
 t<sup>h</sup>ɛɫiɫ fuɫ ndzɯɫdziɫ ɤaɫ luɫ ɲiɫ siɫ  
 HE WHAT CHARACTER ALL TO SEE PTCP TO KNOW  
 pron pron n adv vt sf vt
4. **Khêyî hrâ bì ma- na.** *Nobody will go there.*  
 k<sup>h</sup>eɫjiɫ ɤaɫ biɫ maɫ naɫ  
 WHO ALL TO GO NOT B.GOOD  
 pron adv vt neg va
5. **Ngâ fû hrâ dzîh ma- yă.** *I will eat nothing.*  
 ŋaɫ fuɫ ɤaɫ dziɫ maɫ jaɫ  
 I WHAT ALL TO EAT NOT AFF  
 pron pron adv vt neg sp
6. **Khyî fû ndzhîgyî hrâ mà'- sîh.** *He do not know any character.*  
 t<sup>h</sup>ɛɫiɫ fuɫ ndzɯɫdziɫ ɤaɫ ma:ɫ siɫ  
 HE WHAT CHARACTER ALL NOT TO KNOW  
 pron pron n adv neg vt

#### 4.4.6 Adverb expressing gradual degree

There is an adverb **lolo** /loɫ.loɫ/ which is used reduplicated in two certain structures to express gradual (increasing or decreasing) degree (1-2) or gradual change of certain quality in relation with another quality (3-5). Very similar adverb can be also found in Chinese.<sup>93</sup>

1. **Lolo dà lolo dàdzhîh.** *more and more bigger*  
 loɫloɫ daɫ loɫloɫ daɫdzɯɫ  
 THE MORE TO COME THE MORE B.BIG  
 adv vi adv va
2. **Lolo dà lolo qhvîh.** *more and more quicker*  
 loɫloɫ daɫ loɫloɫ q<sup>h</sup>ɤɫɫ  
 THE MORE TO COME THE MORE B.QUICK  
 adv vi adv va
3. **Lolo dàdzhîh lolo nà.** *The bigger the better.*  
 loɫloɫ daɫdzɯɫ loɫloɫ naɫ  
 THE MORE B.BIG THE MORE B.GOOD  
 adv va adv va

<sup>93</sup> Cf. two structures: „yue lái yue 越来越 + adj“ to express graduality (MORE AND MORE + adj); and „yue 越 + adj<sub>1</sub> + yue 越 + adj<sub>2</sub>“ to express mutual graduality (e.g. „the bigger the better“).

4. **Lolo**      **ǎdzih**      **lolo**      **nà.**  
 loʔloʔ      ʔaʔdʒiʔ      loʔloʔ      naʔ  
 THE MORE      B.SMALL      THE MORE      B.GOOD  
 adv      va      adv      va
5. **Lolo**      **qhvih**      **lolo**      **nà.**  
 loʔloʔ      qhʔviʔ      loʔloʔ      naʔ  
 THE MORE      B.QUICK      THE MORE      B.GOOD  
 adv      va      adv      va

*The smaller the better.*

*The quicker the better.*



## 5 Nominal classes

### 5.1 Nouns

In this chapter, the general characteristics of nouns (5.1.1) is given first, then I introduce several ways of their formation (5.1.2). Next part focuses on noun classes (5.1.3) and expressing number (5.1.4). Then specific subtypes of spatial and temporal nouns are introduced in parts (5.1.5) and (5.1.6).

The last part introduces the declension of nouns (5.1.7) followed by thematic relations (5.1.8).

#### 5.1.1 General characteristics

Nouns are also very important group of words in NMZ, which can function mainly as a subject, an object and an attribute, but never function as a predicate without copular verb. They usually occur in apposition with numeral phrases or with a classifier<sup>94</sup>. They can be monosyllabic, however most of nouns are polysyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns usually occur with their classifier, while polysyllabic nouns can stand alone<sup>95</sup>. It is sometimes very hard to distinguish between the noun itself and its classifier, because native speakers are used to say certain nouns with its classifier, while others without the classifier (e.g. **mikyō-pû** /miŋ.tɕ'oŋ.puŋ/ FLOWER vs. **sèhpû** /sɛŋ.puŋ/ TREE, which can be easily misinterpreted as **sèh** /sɛŋ/ WOOD + classifier used for things growing from the soil **p û** /puŋ/ or **thuôli-yâ** /tʰuoŋ.liŋ.jaŋ/ RABBIT vs. **xălâ** /xaŋ.laŋ/ CAT, which can be misinterpreted as \***xă** /xaŋ/ CAT + classifier **la** /lâ/ used for small things)<sup>96</sup>.

In NMZ we can distinguish the categories of *class* and *case*, which are expressed on morphological level. Categories of number and definiteness are expressed by lexical means.

Nouns can be divided to several groups according to their classifiers. I have decided to label these groups as *class*, which should be understood as „certain type of nouns based on its external characteristics“.

Nouns can not be directly modified by a numeral, therefore they are all uncountable *per se*, i.e. they are not marked for number, however quantity may be specified with the help of classifiers.

There are several subtypes of nouns which possess distinct grammatical features, namely **np** spatial nouns, **nt** temporal nouns, which can directly without any marker function as spatial or temporal adverbials and **nprop** proper nouns, which cannot be in apposition with classifiers.

Yin (2016:12) has only a short notice on nouns, stating that „*nouns distinguish the category of number. The plural suffix /bæŋ/ can be added after all nouns denoting persons and animals as well as nouns of unanimated objects.*“ This exact statement, including the same examples, can be found in Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:161). We analyze the suffix **-bâ** /bæŋ/ as a classifier, because in combination with demonstrative pronoun, the suffix is placed after the demonstrative pronoun, thus forming a numeral phrase, which can be in apposition

<sup>94</sup> This feature is similar to Chinese, where numeral phrases can also stand for the whole substantive alone, therefore we decided to mark this relation as apposition (HARBSMEIER *n.d.*: 85).

<sup>95</sup> When I was collecting list of nouns, my language consultant always replied monosyllabic nouns with its classifier (when given noun has a certain classifier), while in the case of polysyllabic nouns, the reply was not necessarily with classifier.

<sup>96</sup> This is actually a problem of both lexicons (SUN 1991 and HUANG 1992), where some substantives are listed with its classifier.

with the noun. In that situation, it is the demonstrative pronoun, which is actually in plural form, while the noun remains unmarked for number.

### 5.1.2 Formation of nouns

From the morphological point of view, substantives denoting family members are mostly created by prefix **a-** /a/<sup>97</sup>.

<b>à-dǎ</b>	ʔa\.da\	<i>father</i>	<b>â-hrô</b>	ʔa\.ko\	<i>uncle</i>
<b>â-mî</b>	ʔæ\mi\	<i>mother</i>	<b>â-nâ</b>	ʔa\.na\	<i>aunt</i>

Yin (2016:9) also notes suffix /mi\/ to form female animal substantives and suffix /lu\/ for round-shaped substantives. The latter is in our analysis a classifier, cf. **ěr-lûh** /ʔə\l.lu\/ CHILD-CL vs. **ěr nyî-lûh** /ʔə\l.ni\l.lu\/ CHILD TWO-CL.

There are several suffixes which form a substantive from a verb. Suffix **-vù** /vu\/ is used to form nouns that denote objects<sup>98</sup>.

<b>dzhìh</b>	dzi\	<i>to eat</i>	→	<b>dzhìh-vũ</b>	dzi\vu\	<i>food</i>
<b>ghî</b>	gi\	<i>to wear</i>	→	<b>ghî-vũ</b>	gi\vu\	<i>clothing</i>
<b>ndzhìh</b>	ndzu\	<i>to drink</i>	→	<b>ndzhì-vũ</b>	ndzu\vu\	<i>beverage</i>

Suffix **-r** /r/ is used to form nouns denoting places<sup>99</sup>.

<b>qǎdzîh hǎ</b>	qa\dzi\hæ:\	<i>to buy things</i>	→	<b>qǎdzîh hǎ-r</b>	qa\dzi\hæ:\r\	<i>shop</i>
<b>sèhpû</b>	sy\pu\	<i>tree</i>	→	<b>sē-r</b>	sæ:\r\	<i>forest</i>

Suffix **-nǎ** /na\/ is used to form deverbal substantives.

<b>dzhìh</b>	dzu\	<i>to eat</i>	→	<b>dzhìh-nǎ</b>	dzu\na\	<i>the eaten</i>
<b>hǎ</b>	hæ:\	<i>to buy</i>	→	<b>hǎ-nǎ</b>	hæ:\na\	<i>the bought</i>

Suffix **-sũ** /su\/ is used to form nouns that denote people<sup>100</sup>.

<b>nkhvîh</b>	nk <sup>h</sup> v\	<i>to steal</i>	→	<b>nkhvîh-sũ</b>	nk <sup>h</sup> v\su\	<i>thief</i>
<b>vǎ tbîh</b>	va\ɸ\	<i>to slaughter a pig</i>	→	<b>vǎtbîh-sũ</b>	va\ɸ\su\	<i>butcher</i>

Many new words are formed by composition of two or more morphemes, therefore sometimes it is difficult to determine the word boundary as by the following words. I have decided to view such composite forms, in which both of the constituents can also stand independently, as phrases, while those, in which one component cannot stand independently, I have decided to classify them as words (see the examples below).

<b>sù-</b>	<b>bǎtsih</b>	<i>sweater</i>	<b>sǎ-</b>	<b>luhluh</b>	<i>car</i>
su\	ba\tsi\		sæ\	lu\lu\	
WOOL	CLOTHES		GAS	CARRIAGE	
<b>dbù-</b>	<b>vũdzhîh</b>	<i>old yeti</i>	<b>hrô</b>	<b>-hnû</b>	<i>hair</i>
ɸbu\	vu\dzu\		kõ\	h <sup>n</sup> ũ	
YETTI	OLD		HEAD	HAIR	
<b>tshuò</b>	<b>-dzhîh</b>	<i>adult</i>	<b>yô-</b>	<b>shà</b>	<i>own language</i>
ts <sup>h</sup> uo\	dzu\		jo\	ʂa\	
MAN	B.BIG		OWN	LANGUAGE	

<sup>97</sup> This prefix is also noted by Yin (2016:9) and by Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:159) in chapter on lexicon.

<sup>98</sup> Yin (2016:26) transcribes the suffix as /wu\/, Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:170) as /wu\|.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. also Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:170).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. also Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:170) and Yin (2016:26).

### 5.1.3 Noun classes

Nouns can be divided into eight classes according to their ability to be modified by certain classifiers. The last class are substantives which are not associated with any certain general classifier.

- (1) **-mû** nouns denoting human or human alike beings;  
/muʎ/ **tshùo-mû** /tʂʰuoʎ.muʎ/ *a man*, **ãmî-mû** /ʔaʎ.miʎ.muʎ/ *a mother*,  
**dbùshûmû** /ɗbuʎ.ʂuʎ.muʎ/ *an yeti*
- (2) **-phâ** nouns denoting big animals;  
/pʰaʎ/ **zǎ-phâ** /zaʎ.pʰaʎ/ *a leopard*, **bbû-phâ** /b̥buʎ.pʰaʎ/ *a yak*,  
**vú-phâ** /vuʎ.pʰaʎ/ *a bear*
- (3) **-yâ** nouns denoting small things or small animals;  
/jaʎ/ **thuôlí-yâ** /tʰuoʎ.liʎ.jaʎ/ *a rabbit*, **xǎlá-yâ** /xaʎ.laʎ.jaʎ/ *a cat*,  
**bôkô-yâ** /boʎ.koʎ.jaʎ/ *an ant*
- (4) **-lûh** nouns denoting round-shaped things or round-shaped animals;  
/luʎ/ **âhrô-lûh** /ʔæʎ.koʎ.luʎ/ *an egg*, **nyîmî-lûh** /niʎ.miʎ.luʎ/ *Sun*,  
**làqǎ-lûh** /laʎ.qaʎ.luʎ/ *a stone*
- (5) **-pû** nouns denoting flat things or things growing from the soil;  
/puʎ/ **mîkyô-pû** /miʎ.tɕʰoʎ.puʎ/ *a flower*, **qhûbû-pû** /qʰuʎ.buʎ.puʎ/ *door leaf*,  
**shâphî-pû** /ʂaʎ.pʰi.puʎ/ *a table*
- (6) **-qhâ** nouns denoting long and thin (stem-like) things;  
/qʰaʎ/ **lǎqǎ-qhâ** /læʎ.qʰaʎ/ *a hand*, **ndzhîh-qhâ** /ndʒuʎ.qʰaʎ/ *a river*,  
**sēr-qhâ** /sɛʰ:ʎ.qʰaʎ/ *a forest*
- (7) **-lâ** nouns denoting parts of things;  
/laʎ/ **gǎkû-lâ** /gæʎ.kuʎ.laʎ/ *a mountain*, **ěrgû-lâ** /ʔɛʎ.guʎ.laʎ/ *a road*,  
**mǎkû-lâ** /maʎ.kuʎ.laʎ/ *a tail*
- (8) ∅ mass, abstract, time and proper nouns.  
**shî** /ʂuʎ/ *meat*, **yî** /jiʎ/ *tea*, **mólò** /moʎ.loʎ/ *skill*

Inanimate things, which lack any obvious external characteristics to assign them to any of the seven classes above, tend to be used together with the classifier **-lâ** /laʎ/, while animate or personified things tend to be used together with the classifier **-mû** /muʎ/.

There exist much more classifiers (see Chapter 4.3.7), however most of the other classifiers can be used with nouns irrespective of their class. Certain substantives can also be used with a classifier of another noun class, but in that case the classifier affects the meaning of the substantive.

<b>chih</b>	tʂʰuʎ	<i>dog</i>	→	<b>chih-yâ</b>	tʂʰuʎ.jaʎ	<i>puppy</i>
<b>qhûbû</b>	qʰuʎ.buʎ	<i>doors</i>	→	<b>qhûbû-lûh</b>	qʰuʎ.buʎ.luʎ	<i>doorway</i>

### 5.1.4 Number of nouns

Nouns themselves are not explicitly marked for number and they can not be directly modified by numerals. Nouns can however express their number through apposition with a certain classifier or with a numeral phrase. Classifiers and numeral phrases also function in the expression of definiteness of the noun.

Nouns can be divided into two categories. Most of nouns can form plural number using the classifier **-bâ** /bæɿ/. Abstract, proper and temporal nouns, some of the spatial nouns and other special cases do not form plural at all or form plural using other means. Mass nouns do not explicitly denote its number, however they can also be modified by the classifier **-bâ** /bæɿ/ in the meaning PLENTY OF.

<b>chih</b>	tʂʰuɿ	<i>dog</i>	→	<b>chihbâ</b>	tʂʰuɿ.bæɿ	<i>dogs</i>
<b>ndzhih</b>	ndzɿ	<i>water</i>	→	<b>ndzhihbâ</b>	ndzɿ.bæɿ	<i>a lot of water</i>

In speech, each noun can stand either in an unmarked form indifferent to number (however in this situation the number can be very easily deduced from overall context), or marked by certain classifier, which denotes either singular or plural.

<b>tshuò</b>	tʂʰuò	<i>man</i>	The substantive is unmarked here and it can either mean A MAN or PEOPLE in general.
<b>tshuò-kyikûh</b>	tʂʰuò.tɕiɿ.kuɿ	<i>one man</i>	The substantive is in apposition with a numeral phrase, which consists of the numeral ONE followed by classifier <b>kûh</b> /kuɿ/ used for persons. This classifier is used to count persons.
<b>tshuò-mû</b>	tʂʰuò.muɿ	<i>a man</i>	The substantive is in apposition with a general classifier, which denotes persons. This particular classifier is not used to count persons.
<b>tshuò-bâ</b>	tʂʰuò.bæɿ	<i>men</i>	The substantive is in apposition with a general classifier, which denotes indefinite plural form of nouns.
<b>tshuo kyì-yü</b>	tʂʰuò.tɕiɿ.yüɿ	<i>a family</i>	The meaning of a certain substantive can be modified by certain classifiers. In this case the substantive denoting particular person is changed into collective substantive denoting all persons sharing one house living together. The substantive is in apposition with a numeral phrase, which consists of a numeral ONE followed by classifier HOME.

In case the substantive is modified by numeral phrase with numeral other than one, the classifier **-bâ** /bæɿ/ is not needed to form plural, because it is understood from the given number.

### 5.1.5 Spatial nouns

There is a special group of words which we decided to classify as a subgroup of nouns and which denote location in space. These words answer the questions *where* (stative), *where to* and *where from* (dynamic). Spatial nouns can function as an *unmarked argument* (thematic subject or direct object) of verbs denoting existence, localization or motion from and to somewhere.

1.	<b>Nyîmâ</b>	<b>xì</b>	<b>mǐ-</b>	<b>büdzhih.</b>
	ŋiɿmaɿ	xiɿ	miɿ	buɿdzɿ
	INDIA	SEA	PFC	TO SET OFF
	nprop > np			
	npP o>		(mod)	vt

[They] *set off from the Indian ocean.*

2. **Khyî qōtshâ lôqhō bŭtsihsîh -lŭh mĭ- mphì dzhŭ.** *It spit out a pearl from its mouth.*  
 tɕʰi˧ | qo˧tʰa˧ | lo˧qʰo˧ | bu˧tʰi˧tʰi˧ | lɔ˧ | mi˧ | mpʰi˧ | dzu˧ |  
 IT MOUTH INSIDE PEARL SG PFC TO SPIT HITHER  

			n = cl		vt < vi
	n > np		NP o >	(mod)	vt
	npP o > VP				
pron s >	VP				
3. **Lhădzhîhgû mĭ- tō.** *They arrived to Nepal.*  
 ʎa˧dʒu˧ | ɣu˧ | mi˧ | to˧ |  
 NEPAL PFC TO ARRIVE  

	prop np o >	(mod)	vt
--	-------------	-------	----
4. **Vŭshu -qhō mĭ- tō.** *They arrived to bear's [home].*  
 vu˧ʎsu˧ | qʰo˧ | mi˧ | to˧ |  
 BEAR LOC PFC TO ARRIVE  

	n	(pp)			
		np o >	(mod)	vt	
5. **Zhŭ dāmŭ -qhō zhŭer tōmbŭh -lŭh luó- tō.** *They tied nodules on the grass [in places] where grass grew high.*  
 zu˧ | da˧ɣmu˧ | qʰo˧ | zu˧ ʎə˧ | to˧mbu˧ | lɔ˧ | ʎo˧ | to˧ |  
 GRASS B.HIGH LOC GRASS NODULE SG INCH TO TIE  

	n s > va			n = cl	
			n > NP		
	VP	(pp)		NP o >	(mod) vt
	npP : > VP				
6. **Găhnĭ lŭmbâ suô hniô kŭr luó- ndzŭ.** *They settled in Mongolia for 300 years.*  
 ɣă˧hĭnĭ˧ | lu˧mba˧ | sŭ˧o˧ | hĭnĭ˧o˧ | ku˧r | ʎo˧ | ndzu˧ |  
 MONGOL SOIL THREE HUNDRED YEAR INCH TO SIT  

		num >	cl		
			numP > cl		
	nprop > np			numP >	(mod) vt
	npP : > VP				

As we can see in the examples above, phrases with a spatial noun as a head can, without marking, function as an argument of verbs denoting existence, localization or motion to or from somewhere. Non-place nouns must be marked by one of the postpositions in order to form a location.

The difference between postpositions and place nouns is that place nouns can appear in a clause as an independent constituent, while postpositions are clitics<sup>101</sup>.

I will describe the most usual spatial nouns. In the following table, I anticipate the static location of the denotate, however the relation is valid also for dynamic spatial relations, either denoting the starting or the finishing point.

<sup>101</sup> I have been tempted to regard postpositions as suffixes denoting different spatial cases, however there can appear a case suffix after a postposition, while the postposition can never appear after a case suffix.

<b>pǎdǎ</b>	paɿ.dæɿ	<i>beside</i>	This place noun denotes that certain object location is on either side of other object irrespective of the speaker.
<b>ǎpǎ</b>	ʔæɿ.pæɿ	<i>near [there]</i>	This place noun denotes location close to another object, the another object being relatively far from the speaker.
<b>phâphâ</b>	p <sup>h</sup> aɿ.p <sup>h</sup> aɿ	<i>nearby</i>	This place noun denotes location close to another object irrespective of the speaker.
<b>qǒlǒ</b>	qoɿ.loɿ	<i>inside</i>	This place noun denotes location inside another box-like object.
<b>lǒqhǒ</b>	loɿ.q <sup>h</sup> oɿ	<i>at, in, place</i>	This place noun denotes location inside an enclosed object.
<b>vûdâ</b>	vuɿ.daɿ	<i>on</i>	This place noun denotes location on a surface of another object or according to context above another object.
<b>khèr</b>	k <sup>h</sup> ǝɿ	<i>under</i>	This place noun denotes location below another object.
<b>dzǎkǎ</b>	dzæɿ.kæɿ	<i>outside</i>	This place noun denotes location outside another object.
<b>tâphǎ</b>	taɿ.p <sup>h</sup> aɿ	<i>on the right</i>	This place noun denotes location to the right side of the speaker.
<b>yâtâ</b>	jaɿ.taɿ	<i>on the left</i>	This place noun denotes location to the left side of the speaker.
<b>yâ phâphâ</b>	ja:ɿ.p <sup>h</sup> aɿ.p <sup>h</sup> aɿ	<i>the left side</i>	This place noun denotes location to the left side of another object.
<b>lǎ phâphâ</b>	læɿ.p <sup>h</sup> aɿ.p <sup>h</sup> aɿ	<i>the right side</i>	This place noun denotes location to the right side of another object.

The place noun **phâphâ** /p<sup>h</sup>aɿ.p<sup>h</sup>aɿ/ NEARBY is in fact reduplicated postposition, which denotes a location somewhere and functions as a suffix for other place nouns and construction used for denoting spatial relations.

Another very important place nouns are four cardinal directions. East and west are literally the places of *sun rise* and *sun set*, north and south have its own names irrespective of the Sun.

<b>nyîmâ shǎchù</b>	ɲiɿ.maɿ.ʃaɿ.tʃ <sup>h</sup> uɿ	<i>east</i>	<b>mīchù</b>	miɿ.tʃ <sup>h</sup> uɿ	<i>south</i>
<b>nyîmâ nyǐchù</b>	ɲiɿ.maɿ.ɲiɿ.tʃ <sup>h</sup> uɿ	<i>west</i>	<b>càchǔ</b>	tʃaɿ.tʃ <sup>h</sup> uɿ	<i>north</i>

Place nouns can modify another nouns, however place nouns can not be modified by any classifier if they function as a constituent expressing location in a given clause.

### 5.1.6 Temporal nouns

Similarly to the spatial nouns which denote location, there is a specific group of nouns denoting time. These words answer the question *when* and denote a certain point of time. They also do not share any similarities with adverbials, therefore I have decided to classify them as a subgroup of nouns. Time point denoting words or phrases can function as a constituent, which can be even topicalized and (with or without topicalization marker) placed before the agent at the beginning of the clause. Some of the temporal nouns actually function as postpositions. The only difference between temporal nouns and spatial nouns is semantic, former denoting time and latter denoting place.

Most usual temporal nouns are presented in the following table:

<b>yîntà</b>	jiɿ.nɿaɿ	<i>formerly</i>	This word is used in narratives to denote that something happened in an unspecified past.
<b>ăshîh</b>	ʔaɿ.ʃuɿ	<i>in the past</i>	This word denotes that something happened before the point of denoted time. In case it is used together with the previous word, it has emphasizing character.
<b>ngûnû</b>	ŋuɿ.nuɿ	<i>after</i>	This word denotes that something will happen in the future if it is used alone. If it modifies another point of time, it denotes that something happened after a certain point of time. This word can function as a time noun, time or place postposition or as a time conjugation.
<b>ămî</b>	ʔaɿ.miɿ	<i>now</i>	This word denotes present time from the point of the agent.
<b>thâhrö</b>	tʰaɿ.ɣoɿ	<i>earlier</i>	This word denotes that something happened earlier or before.

The whole system of time words is quite uneven in NMZ and it shows that except these function words above and other special words denoting specific parts of a day or year, the whole concept of measuring time is not very common. There aren't any names for days of the week and also no specific names for four seasons. There are words denoting year, month and day, as well as twelve cyclic names based on the Buddhist tradition of twelve animals. However, calendar was reserved for shamans only.

<b>könyîpî</b>	koɿ.ŋiɿ.piɿ	<i>New Year</i>	<b>mîyâphûphâ</b>	miɿ.jaɿ.pʰuɿ.pʰaɿ	<i>dawn</i>
<b>mîyâ</b>	miɿ.jaɿ	<i>morning</i>	<b>hnîqhô</b>	hʰɿɿ.qʰoɿ	<i>night</i>

The following words behave more like classifiers, though they denote time:

<b>nyì</b>	ŋiɿ	<i>day</i>	<b>lhî</b>	liɿ	<i>month</i>
<b>khùr</b>	kʰuɿ	<i>year</i>	<b>lûh</b>	luɿ	<i>hour</i>

For the twelve cyclic names see page 128 on numbers and for other expressions denoting time see chapter 7.5 on temporal expressions.

Temporal nouns can either form the topic at the beginning of the sentence unmarked or as a part of temporal expression.

1. **Ngâ shûêr vù ndzhìh bì.** *I will go for a drink tomorrow.*

ŋaɿ	ʃuɿləɿ	vuɿ	ndzuɿ	biɿ
I	TOMORROW	LIQUOR	TO DRINK	TO GO
		n o> vt		
			VP o> vt	
	nt :>	VP		
pron s:>	VP			

2.	<b>Ngûnû</b>	<b>-nyî</b>	<b>mbér</b>	<b>-mû</b>	<b>vù</b>	<b>ndzhìh</b>	<b>xǎ.</b>	<i>Next day, [its] wife went for a drink.</i>
	ŋu lnu l	ŋi l	mbə ʔ	mu l	vu l	ndzɯ l	xa l	
	AFTER	DAY	WIFE	SG	LIQUOR	TO DRINK	AWAY	
			n = cl		n o > vt	VP < c	vi	
	nt > nt			NP s :>	VP			
		nt :>	VP					
3.	<b>Pâmî</b>	<b>-yâ</b>	<b>thâhrô</b>	<b>yò</b>	<b>-qhǒ</b>	<b>luó-</b>	<b>xǎ<sup>102</sup>.</b>	<i>The toad set up for home earlier.</i>
	pa lmi l	ja l	tʰa lɕo l	jo l	qʰo l	luo ʔ	xa l	
	TOAD	SG	EARLIER	HOUSE	IN	INCH	TO WENT	
				n	(pp)	(mod)	vt	
					np > vi			
	n = cl		nt :>	VP				
			NP s :>	VP				

### 5.1.7 Declension of nouns

There are five inflectional suffixes in NMZ which marks the following case forms:

I	∅	<i>unmarked</i>		When the relation of certain constituent is clear from the overall context, the constituent remains unmarked irrespective of case. Therefore beside nominative, this form can be used to indicate almost all other relations except the recipient, the agent in passive construction and instrument, which are allways marked. It can also indicate locative or other spatial and temporal cases for <b>nt</b> temporal nouns and <b>np</b> spatial nouns.
	pp + ∅	<i>postpositional</i>		Based on the predicate (static vs. dynamic), this case is used to indicate various locative or temporal cases. When the predicate or overall context allows ambiguity, the postpositional phrase can be further marked by other case suffix.
II	<b>-nyî</b> ~ <b>-i</b>	/ŋi l/~i l/	GEN/INSTR	The suffix <b>-nyî</b> /ŋi l/ can be interchanged with <b>-i</b> /i l/ primarily indicates genitive relation (in ambiguous situations specifically <i>genitivus possessivus</i> ) and instruments. It can also indicate the source (thus it can be used after postposition).
	<b>-gvîh</b>	/gɣ l/	GEN	The suffix <b>-gvîh</b> /gɣ l/ is used to indicate <i>genitivus qualitatis</i> in ambiguous situations. cf. <b>âdāmûgvîh ndzhîgyîbèr</b> /ʔa l da l mu l gɣ l ndzɯ l dzi l bə ʔ l/ fathers book (=written by) vs. <b>âdāmûi ndzhîgyîbèr</b> /ʔa l da l mu l i l ndzɯ l dzi l bə ʔ l/ father's book (=in possession of my father)
III	<b>-dâ</b>	/da l/	DAT/COMM	The suffix <b>-dâ</b> /da l/ is used to indicate dative or commitative.
IV	<b>-dzhà</b>	/dza l/	ACC	The suffix <b>-dzhà</b> /dza l/ is used to indicate patient in ambiguous situations.
V	<b>-nyî</b>	/ŋi l/	AGT/TOP	The suffix <b>-nyî</b> /ŋi l/ (which is not interchangeable with the suffix <b>-i</b> /i l/) primarily indicates agent in passive constructions, however it can also indicate any topicalized nominal phrase.

*Yin* (2016:26-28) provides a list of eight relations, which use case particles as marking. The relations are: agentive (particle /ŋi l~/ji l/), genitive (particle /ŋi l~/ji l/), instrumental (particle /ŋi l/), ablative (particle /ŋi l/), locative (particles /qo l/, /dæ l/, /wuldæ l/), comparative (particle /wuldæ l/), allative (particles /dæ l/, /tɕa l/, /ŋi l/) and dative (particle /dæ l/).

The first problem is that for several relations, the particles are identical and on the other hand, for some relations, there are more particles (without relevant examples and also without any explanation). In our analysis, we count agentive as an independent case, because

<sup>102</sup> The verb to go has two possible stems. One is **bî**/bi l/ which is used for present or future tense and the second is **xǎ**/xa l/ which is used for past tense or as a verbal modifier.



in our corpus it never occurred in the form of the suffix *-i/iʔ/*, otherwise we will regard the agentive as one of the functions of the genitive/instrumental case, because it is quite common that grammatical cases express more relations. Therefore, there is also no need to list instrumental and ablative case particles if they have the same form. It would be more appropriate to say, that the particle */ŋiʔ/* can express instrumental, ablative, genitive and agentive relations. Concerning the locative case, I analyze those particles as postpositions (see Chapter 6.1.1) or even spatial nouns (Chapter 5.1.5). These postpositions or spatial nouns can be combined with other case particles, however case particles cannot be combined together. The comparative case is also problematic. Beside the fact that the word */wuʔdæʔ/* is a spatial noun, when the member of comparison is a personal pronoun, it is marked by genitive case particle (see Chapter 5.4.1.4). There are two examples for the allative case, however the first sentence is actually dative, as the marked constituent represents the recipient and the second example is possibly misunderstood. Moreover, if allative and dative have the same case particle */dæʔ/*, the sentence will be ambiguous.

- (1)    *təʰiʔ    æʔmiʔ    muʔ    dæʔ    ŋoʔ*  
          3SG    motherCL    ALL    to say  
          3SG    母親    一位    ALL    說  
          *He told [his] mother. (他對母親說。)* (YİN 2016:28,2)
- (2)    *pʰæʔtʂiʔ    muʔ    ŋaʔ    dæʔ    dzaʔ*  
          youngster    CL    1SG    ALL    to like  
          小伙子    一位    1SG    ALL    喜歡  
          *The young lad likes me. (小伙子喜歡我。)* (YİN 2016:28,1)

The meaning of the second example is questionable, it might be also analyzed as „I like the young lad“. Note that verbs of perception or emotion can require the logical subject in the dative case<sup>103</sup> (as in Spanish, German, Czech, Russian, Urdu, Tabasaran etc.), we take Tabasaran for example:

- (3)    *madina-r    obiy    Ø-eti-x*  
          Medina-DAT    father    II-like-PRES  
          *Madina likes father. (COMRIE & POLINSKY 1998:111,(8))*

Moreover, among the three particles introduced as allative case is particle */ŋiʔ/*. That would mean the ablative (or agentive) can have the same form as allative. If that was true, the case marking would be pointless.

*Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:170-171) recognize six different relations, namely genitive (with particle */ŋiʔ/~jiʔ/*), agentive (particle */ŋiʔ/*), ablative (particle */ŋiʔ/*), dative (particle */dæʔ/*), comparative (particle */wuʔdæʔ/*) and instrumental (particle */laʔ/*). Concerning the instrumental case, based on the provided example sentence, we suppose that the particle */laʔ/* is actually a classifier:

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Butt, Grim & Ahmed (2006) or Shibatani (1999).

- (4)    tɛ<sup>h</sup>eɭ    juɬmiɭ    laɭ    sɪɰpoɭ    ndæɭ  
       3SG    axe    INSTR    wood    to chop  
       他    斧頭            木頭    砍

*He chops wood with an axe.* (他用斧頭砍木頭。 ) (HUÁNG & RĒNZĒNG 1991:171,3)

## 5.1.8 Thematic relations

### 5.1.8.1 Introduction

As we have seen in the previous part, the function of nouns or better say nominal phrases in a given sentence is marked by inflectional suffixes in case of possible ambiguity. We will go through all of the *thematic relations*<sup>104</sup> and look how they are expressed in certain clauses. We have already seen that the arguments of verbs may be omitted when they are known from the context or that the absence of required argument<sup>105</sup> is actually a way how to express a constituent without using demonstrative pronouns (p.70).

The main roles a certain noun (or nominal phrase) can adopt are: (A) agent, (P) patient, (R) recipient, (I) instrument, (L) location, (S) source, (G) goal and (B) benefactive.

Besides the fact that all substantives can modify another constituent (be dependent part), they can be part of several paratactic constructions, be part of comparative constructions or be topicalized.

Any case marking is placed mostly after the classifier of the head noun (cases denoting relation to the predicate) or after the classifier of the last noun of dependent construction (cases denoting genitive or possessive relation to its head)<sup>106</sup>. Nouns which do not have any certain classifier in a given context, can be directly inflected using case suffix without classifier. Though the suffix thus inflects the whole construction, the relation is marked just once<sup>107</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> I have adopted thematic relations according to Carnie (2001:166), however for the purpose of simplification, I have slightly modified them into just eight relations. While several relations from the declension point of view do not show any grammatical difference, we do not need strictly distinguish between an agent (argument performing the action), natural phenomena and experiencer (argument who is receiving an input), as all of them are the *actor* of the verb. Therefore, when I talk about an agent in a given sentence, it can be also the natural phenomena or experiencer.

<sup>105</sup> Note that some verbs in NMZ differ in the way they require e.g. a goal, which functions as an argument (obligatory) and not as an adjunct (optional): **bɪ** /bɪɻ/ vt TO GO SOMEWHERE vs. **xà** /xàɻ/ vi TO GO AWAY.

<sup>106</sup> This somehow resembles German language, where declension is mostly expressed through certain articles denoting one of the four cases.

<sup>107</sup> Strictly speaking, nouns can not be inflected in NMZ unless they appear on the lowest level of binary analysis (which is possible only in limited number of occurrences) and in most cases, the inflection affects the whole construction (certain constituent in relation to another constituent). Therefore, the use of IC analysis and its binary principle appears to be very useful in describing grammar relations of NMZ language.

5.1.8.2 Agent (the actor of the verb)

The agent of adjectival (1), intransitive (2), transitive (3) or ditransitive (4) verb in active voice remains unmarked.

1. **Mùshīh** **dàdzhīh.** *The wind is strong.*  
 mu\ʃu- da\ldzu-  
 WIND B.BIG  
 (A) n va

2. **Jǔ** **nga.** *It snows.*  
 ɥy- ŋa-  
 SNOW TO FALL  
 (A) n vi

3. **Ngâ** **-nyī** **àdǎ** **-mū** **nqhāmī** **dzīh** **-ě.** *My father is eating tsampa.*  
 ŋa- ŋi- ʔa\da- mu- nqʰa\mi- dʒi- e-  
 I GEN FATHER SG TSAMPA TO EAT INGR  
 pron sf (A) n cl (P) n vt sf

4. **Nuô** **tǎ** **nyī** **ngâ** **-dâ** **lâshīh** **a-** **pǎ** **-dzhǔ?** *Have you brought me a gift today?*  
 nu- ta- ŋi- ŋa- da- la\ʃu- ʔa- pæ- dʒu-  
 YOU THIS DAY I DAT GIFT PQ TO BRING HITHER  
 (A) pron dem nt (R)pro sf (P) n

However in passive voice (5-6) or topicalized in parallel structure (7), it is marked by suffix **-nyī** /ŋi-/.

5. **Qhǎ** **-lūh** **àdǎ** **-mū** **-nyī** **qhānggà.** *The bowl was broken by my father.*  
 qʰa- lu- ʔa\da- mu- ŋi- qʰæ:\ŋga-  
 BOWL SG FATHER SG AGT TO BREAK  
 (P) n cl (A) n cl sf vi

6. **Ngâ** **tǎ** **nyī** **lâkuō** **-yâ** **-nyī** **ngâ** **-dâ** **shīh** **kyi** **-mphà** **pǎ** **dzhūh.**  
 ŋa- ta- ŋi- la\kuo- ja- ŋi- ŋa- da- ʃu- tɕi- mpʰa- pæ- dʒu-  
 I THIS DAY CROW SG AGT I DAT MEAT ONE A LITTLE TO BRING HITHER  
 TOPIC (A) (R) (P)

pron :>	dem >	nt	n =	cl	pron (sf)	n =	num >	cl	NP o>	VP		
	NP						pron o>	numP			vt <c	vi
	NP o>						VP					
	nt :>						VP					
	VP											

*As for me today, there was brought some meat by a crow for me.*<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> This sentence is very interesting and somehow resembles one Chinese sentence, which is also very hard to analyze: 母雞被狼吃了一隻小雞。 *As for the fowl, a small chicken was eaten by a wolf.*

7.	<b>Yoxô</b>	<b>môlô</b>	<b>-bâ</b>	<b>mólò</b>	<b>tò</b>			<i>Other men were great,</i>
	joɬxoɬ	moɬloɬ	bæɬ	m <sup>u</sup> oɬloɬ	toɬ			
	OTHER	MAN	PL	SKILL	B.WORTHY			
	pron	n	cl	n	va			
	<b>tsà</b>	<b>-mũ</b>	<b>ló-</b>	<b>ghâ,</b>	<b>qõndzhò</b>	<b>luó-</b>	<b>pă,</b>	<i>having riding [horse], they were</i>
	tsaɬ	muɬ	l <sup>u</sup> oɬ	gaɬ	qoɬndzoɬ	luoɬ	paɬ	<i>singing and dancing;</i>
	TO RIDE	ADV	INCH	TO SING	DANCE	INCH	TO JUMP	
	vt	sf	mod	vi	n	mod	vt	
	<b>nuô</b>	<b>-nyî</b>	<b>tò</b>	<b>yü</b>	<b>qhõ</b>	<b>khyi</b>	<b>ndzuò.</b>	<i>and you just sit at this house.</i>
	nyoɬ	nyɬ	toɬ	qyɬ	q <sup>h</sup> oɬ	te <sup>h</sup> iɬ	ndzuoɬ	
	YOU	AGT	THIS	HOUSE	LOC	FORWARD	TO SIT	
	(A) pron	sf	dem	(L) n	pp	mod	vi	

### 5.1.8.3 Patient (the thema or stimulus of the verb)

The patient of the verb is almost always unmarked. Its position tends to be close to the verb or at the beginning of the clause when topicalized. Examples 8-9 shows an expletive object, Ex. 10 shows a plain object without a classifier and Ex. 11 shows the relation between an *experiencer* and its *stimulus*.

8.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>dză</b>	<b>dzi.</b>			<i>I am eating.</i>		
	ŋaɬ	dzaɬ	dziɬ					
	I	FOOD	TO EAT					
9.	<b>Khyî</b>	<b>ërgu</b>	<b>mbà.</b>			<i>He is walking.</i>		
	te <sup>h</sup> iɬ	?əɬguɬ	mbaɬ					
	HE	ROAD	TO WALK					
10.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>sihper</b>	<b>mpsih.</b>			<i>I peel plums.</i>		
	ŋaɬ	siɬpəɬ	mpsiɬ					
	I	PLUM	TO PEEL					
	(A) pron	(P) n	vt					
11.	<b>Nkhvîh</b>	<b>-sû</b>	<b>-mû</b>	<b>ză</b>	<b>-phâ</b>	<b>gè</b>	<b>shă.</b>	<i>The thief heard the leopard.</i>
	ŋk <sup>h</sup> vɬ	suɬ	muɬ	zaɬ	p <sup>h</sup> aɬ	geɬ	ʂaɬ	
	TO STEAL	NOM	SG	LEOPARD	SG	TO HEAR	TO SENSE	
	vt	(sf)		n = cl		vt <c vi		
	(A)	n = cl		(P) NP o> VP				

Ex. 12 and 13 shows the difference between active and passive constructions, where agent and patient interchange their position.

12.	<b>Àdă</b>	<b>-mũ</b>	<b>qhă</b>	<b>-lûh</b>	<b>qhă</b>	<b>nggà.</b>	<i>Father broke the bowl.</i>	
	?aɬdaɬ	muɬ	q <sup>h</sup> aɬ	luɬ	q <sup>h</sup> æɬ	ŋgaɬ		
	FATHER	SG	BOWL	SG	TO BREAK	B.GOOD		
	(A) n	cl	(P) n	cl	vt	va		
13.	<b>Chîh</b>	<b>tà</b>	<b>-mû</b>	<b>ngâ</b>	<b>-nyî</b>	<b>să</b>	<b>ngga.</b>	<i>The dog was beaten to death by me.</i>
	tʂ <sup>h</sup> wɬ	taɬ	muɬ	ŋaɬ	nyɬ	sæɬ	ŋgaɬ	
	DOG	THIS	SG	I	AGT	TO BEAT	B.GOOD	
	(P) n	dem	cl	(A)	sf	vt	va	
				pron				

Even when the patient is topicalized (anteposed before the agent), then if this change of constituents order does not lead to the possibility of confusion of their function, both can remain unmarked (in the following sentence, the egg can not logically be the actor of the verb).

14. **âhrô ngâ dzih ma- ya.** *I do not eat eggs.*  
 ?ælkolŋaŋ dʒiŋ maŋ jaŋ  
 EGG I TO EAT NOT AFF  
 (P) n (A) pron vt neg sp

Ex. 15 shows the situation with ditransitive verb and Ex. 16 the situation with serial verb construction. In both cases, the patient remains unmarked.

15. **Khyî ngâ -dâ lâshî pä dzhü.** *She brought me a gift.*  
 tɕʰiŋŋaŋ daŋ laŋʃuŋ pæŋ dʒuŋ  
 HE I DAT GIFT TO BRING HITHER  
 (A) (R) sf (P) n vt hither  
 pron pron
16. **Ngâ nuò -nyî àdă -mü bümû qhă -lûh mí- sîhsîh.** *I have made a bowl for your father.*  
 ŋaŋ nuoŋŋiŋ ʔaŋdaŋ muŋ buŋmuŋ qʰaŋ luŋ miŋ siŋsiŋ  
 I YOU GEN FATHER SG TO HELP BOWL SG PFC TO MAKE  
 (A) pron sf (B) n cl cov (P) n cl mod vt  
 pron

When there is the possibility of confusion of the patient and actor, the patient can be marked (however this situation occurs rather by pronouns than nouns).

17. **Pamî -yâ -dzhà dzō -nyî pâtsà nggă.** *It squashed the toad by the hit.*  
 paŋmiŋ jaŋ dʒaŋ dzoŋŋiŋ paŋtsaŋ ŋgaŋ  
 TOAD SG ACC TO BUMP PTCP TO SQUASH B.GOOD  
 (P) n cl vi sf vt vi

#### 5.1.8.4 Recipient

The recipient is allways marked by suffix **-da** /daŋ/.

18. **Ngâ àdă -mü -dâ lâshî pä -dzhü.** *I have brought father a gift.*  
 ŋaŋ ʔaŋdaŋ muŋ daŋ laŋʃuŋ pæŋ dʒuŋ  
 I FATHER SG DAT GIFT TO BRING HITHER  
 (A) pron (R) n cl sf (P) n vt vi
19. **Vüdzhîh nyî -küh qă mî- nggă pami -yâ -dă luó- dzîh.** *Two elders scooped it up for the toad to eat.*  
 vuŋdʒuŋŋiŋ kuŋ qaŋ miŋ ŋgaŋ paŋmiŋ jaŋ daŋ luoŋ dʒiŋ  
 ELDER TWO PC TO SCOOP UP PFC B.GOOD TOAD SG DAT INCH TO EAT  
 (A) n[va] num cl vt mod va (R) n cl sf mod vt
20. **Yöxö -nyî äkûh -dâ zhîhdzhîh.** *Others will taunt us two.*  
 joŋxoŋŋiŋ ʔaŋkuŋ daŋ zuŋdʒuŋŋiŋ  
 OTHER TOP WE TWO DAT TO TAUNT  
 (A) pron cl (R) pron cl vi
21. **Pâmî -yâ mbér -mû -dă mí- duö.** *The toad asked his wife.*  
 paŋmiŋ jaŋ mbəŋ muŋ daŋ miŋ duoŋ  
 TOAD SG WIFE SG DAT PFC TO ASK  
 (A) n cl (R) n cl sf mod vt

### 5.1.8.5 Instrument

Instrument is usually marked by suffix **-nyĩ** /ŋi-/, which can sometimes be pronounced as **-i** /i-/.

22. **Yüër Kêhsàzhàpū bùdzhǎ -lǎ -nyĩ** Yuer Khehsazhapu sliced the old yetti's neck with **knife**.  
 ʏyʌ-ʌkeʌsaʌzaʌpuʌ buʌdzaʌ laʌ ŋiʌ

(A) nprop	KNIFE	SG	INSTR			
(I) n	(I) n	cl	sf			
<b>dbûvùdzhǐh</b>	<b>-mũ</b>	<b>hrǎdbũ</b>	<b>-lǎ</b>	<b>mĩ-</b>	<b>hǎ</b>	<b>hǎ.</b>
ḍbuʌvuʌdzuʌ	muʌ	kæʌḍbuʌ	laʌ	miʌ	hæʌ	hæʌ
OLD YETTI	SG	NECK	SG	PFC	TO SLICE	TO SLICE
n	cl	(P) n	cl	mod	vt	vt

23. **Tǎ nyĩ pāmí -yâ mǎ -bêr -nyĩ nchù -nyĩ zǎ zà nggǎ.**  
 taʌ ŋiʌ paʌmiʌjaʌ maʌ bæʌ ŋiʌ ntʂʰuʌ ŋiʌ zaʌ zaʌ ŋgaʌ  
 THIS DAY TOAD SG BAMBOO FULL INSTR TO STRING PTCP TO CONNECT TO CONNECT B.GOOD  
 dem nt (P) n cl (I) n cl sf vt vt vt vt va

*Today, the toad was stabbed through by bunch of bamboo.*

24. **Zhíhnyĩ seh lá lá ĭ sěh nggǎ.** Yesterday, [it] was killed by **timber**.  
 zuʌŋiʌ sɛʌ laʌ laʌ iʌ sɛʌ ŋgaʌ  
 YESTERDAY WOOD PC PC INSTR TO KILL B.GOOD  
 nt (I) n cl cl sf vt va

However, an argument of the verb „to use“ can also occur in the meaning of an instrument without any marking. Thus a serial verb construction (26) or a topicalized clause (25) can also be used.

25. **Ngǎ shǐh zhûzhû bùdzhǎ -lǎ xngvǐh.** *I use knife for cutting meat.*  
 ŋaʌ ʂuʌ zuʌzuʌ buʌdzaʌ laʌ xŋvʌ  
 I MEAT TO CUT KNIFE SG TO USE  
 pron n vt n cl vt

26. **Ngǎ bùdzhǎ -lǎ xngvǐh shǐh zhûzhû.** *I cut meat using knife.*  
 ŋaʌ buʌdzaʌ laʌ xŋvʌ ʂuʌ zuʌzuʌ  
 I KNIFE SG TO USE MEAT TO CUT  
 pron n cl vt n vt

### 5.1.8.6 Location

Location can remain completely unmarked when expressed by spatial noun or by a nominal phrase with a spatial noun as the head.

27. **Nyĩmǎ xì lûnbǎ tshuò ndzù mǎ xǐ.** *Land near Indian sea was not good for living.*  
 ŋiʌmaʌ xiʌ luʌnbaʌ tʂʰuoʌ ndzuʌ maʌ xiʌ  
 INDIA SEA SOIL HUMAN TO SIT NOT B.FINE  
 prop np np np n vt neg va

Ex. 26 shows an expression of common noun followed by place noun as a head.

28. **Qǔbǔ -lûh vûdà ndzhǐgyí -bǎ luō- zhizhî ndzá.** *Several characters are written on the doors.*  
 quʌbuʌ luʌ vuʌdaʌ ndzuʌdʒiʌ bæʌ luoʌ zuʌzuʌ ndzaʌ  
 DOOR SG ON CHARACTER PL UP TO WRITE TO BE  
 n cl np n cl mod vt vi

Location can also be marked by postposition. Postpositions can modify common nouns or even whole clauses to form expressions which can function as location.

29. **Nâmũzĩh -bã Lhãdzhĩgũ Lhã yũ luó- tsã qhõ khyi- ndzu.** *Nâmũzĩ people settled in Nepal on a place where they have built a temple.*  
 nã|mu|zi| bæ| ɭã|dzu|ɭu| ɭã| ɥ| ɭu| tsã| qhõ| tɛ|hi| ndzu|  
 NÂMŪZĪ PL NEPAL SAINT HOUSE INCH TO BUILD LOC INC TO SIT  
 nprop np n n mod vt pp mod vt
30. **Āmĩ thũo nãnkhã -mũ dà mũnyĩ khyi- sũ.** *In that moment, the weather started to change in heaven.*  
 ʔã|mi| tʰu| ɥ| nã|nk|hã| mu| dà| mu|ɳi| tɛ|hi| su|  
 NOW TIME HEAVEN SG AT WEATHER INC TO CHANGE  
 nt pp n cl pp n mod vi

### 5.1.8.7 Source and goal

The way of expressing source and goal are connected with the expression of location. When certain location is mentioned in the clause, the predicate by its meaning actually indicates whether it is a static and thus simple location (31) or a dynamic meaning and thus denoting either a source (32) or a goal (33). Therefore in most of the cases, the way of marking of either source or goal do not differ from location. In case both appear in one sentence, they are simply put one after another (34).

31. **Ngã yũqhõ -mũ qãdzĩh hã qhõ dzhu.** *My friend is in the shop.*  
 ɳã| ɥ|q|hõ| mu| qã|dzu| hã| qhõ| dzu|  
 I FRIEND SG THING TO BUY LOC TO BE  
 pron n cl n vt pp vt
32. **Nyĩmã xì mĩ- bũdzhĩh.** *They set off from Indian sea.*  
 ɳi|ma| xi| mi| bu|dzu|  
 INDIA SEA PFC TO SET OFF  
 prop np np mod vi
33. **Khyĩ yibì qãtã qhõ lhã bẽr mì- shũ shũ.** *She put the gold into her pockets.*  
 tɛ|hi| ji|bi| qã|tã| qhõ| ɭã| bẽ| mi| shũ| shũ|  
 SHE SELF POCKET LOC GOLD FULL PFC TO PUT IN TO PUT IN  
 pron pron n pp n cl mod vt vt
34. **Ngã yũ qhõ nuò yũ qhõ mì- tũ.** *I went from my home to your home.*  
 ɳã| ɥ| qhõ| nu| ɥ| qhõ| mi| tu|  
 I HOUSE LOC YOU HOUSE LOC PFC TO GO  
 pron n pp pron n pp mod vt

The source can be marked by the suffix **-nyĩ /ɳi|/**.

35. **Ngã sẽr qhõ -nyĩ khyi dã.** *I have arrived from a forest.*  
 ɳã| sɛ| ɥ|hõ| ɳi| tɛ|hi| dã|  
 I FOREST LOC ABL FWD TO ARRIVE  
 pron n pp sf mod vi

### 5.1.8.8 Benefactive

Benefactive is usually an argument of a coverb, therefore it is unmarked.

36. **Ngâ nuô -nyĩ àdă -mũ bũmũ ndzhĩgyĩ kyi -pũ luó- zhizhĩ.** *I have written a letter for your father.*  
 ɲal nuoɔl ɲiɔl ʔaɔdaɔ muɔ buɔmuɔ ndzɔuɔdzɔiɔ tɛiɔ puɔ luoɔ zuɔɔzuɔ  
 I YOU GEN FATHER SG TO HELP CHARACTER ONE LIST INCH TO WRITE  
 pron pron sf n cl vt n num cl mod vt

### 5.1.8.9 Topic

All substantives or even whole constructions can be topicalized. Topicalization is either unmarked (38-39) or can be marked by the suffix **-nyĩ /ɲiɔ/** (40).

37. **Ngâ âhrô dzih hrô dzhà.** *I like eating eggs very much.*  
 ɲal ʔæɔkoɔl dzɔiɔ ɔoɔɔ dzɔɔɔ  
 I EGG TO EAT ALL TO LOVE  

	n o>	vt	adv > vt	
	VP o> VP			
pron s:>	VP			

38. **Ngâ âhrô dzih hăshî nà.** *It will be quite OK for me to eat eggs.*  
 ɲal ʔæɔkoɔl dzɔiɔ hɔɔɔsuɔɔl nɔɔ  
 I EGG TO EAT QUITE B.GOOD  

	n o>	vt	adv >	va
pron s:>	VP		VP :> VP	

39. **Nchùdză ngâ qhàtă hră dzi.** *Rice I do eat all the time.*  
 ntɕhuɔdzæɔɔ ɲal qhɔɔtaɔɔ ɔaɔɔ dzɔiɔ  
 RICE I WHAT TIME ALL TO EAT  

			pron >	adv > vt
			VP	
pron s:>	VP			
n :>	VP			

40. **Kyi -gâ mâ- ndò,** *I have seen nothing,*  
 tɛiɔ gal mal ndoɔ  
 ONE MATTER NOT TO SEE  
 num cl neg vt

- pamî -yâ -nyĩ kyi -qo** [only] *a toad*  
 paɔmiɔɔl jal ɲiɔɔ tɛiɔ qoɔɔ  
 TOAD SG TOP ONE SAC  
 n cl num cl

- luó- yâ xă dzăkă ndzu è.** *carrying a sac on its back is sitting outside.*  
 luoɔ jal xaɔ dzæɔkæɔɔ ndzuɔ eɔ  
 UP TO CARRY AWAY OUTSIDE TO SIT INGR  
 mod vt vi np vi sf

### 5.1.8.10 Time

Time expressions can also be either unmarked (41) or marked by suffix **-nyĩ /ɲiɔ/** (42).

41. **Ămî ngâ nuô săsă dzihvũ shũ -i.** *Now I am going to take you to find some food.*  
 ʔaɔmiɔɔl ɲal nuoɔ saɔsaɔ dzɔiɔvuɔɔ suɔɔ iɔ  
 NOW I YOU TO TAKE FOOD TO FIND PROSP  

		pron o>	vt	n o>	vt	(sf)
		coVP > VP				
pron s:>	VP					
nt :>	VP					



42.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>ămî</b>	<b>-nyî</b>	<b>khyî</b>	<b>shû</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>gyĩ.</b>	<i>I am going to find him now!</i>
	ŋaɫ	ʔaɫmiɫ	ŋiɫ	kʰiɫ	ʂuɫ	iɫ	dziɫ	
	I	NOW	TOP	HE	TO FIND	PROSP	TO BE	
		nt	(sf)	pron o>	vt	(sf)		
			nt :>	VP				
						VP >	vc	
	pron s:>	VP						

### 5.1.8.11 Dependent structures

Substantives can modify another constituents. When modifying verbal constituents, the substantive follows the rules described above.

#### (1) Attribute of nominal constituent

In case of being an *attribute* of another nominal constituent, it usually remains unmarked and is just anteposed to the head (43). There is a specific distinction between closer and looser relation (i.e in English the distinction between a premodifier and a prepositional phrase or in Czech the congruent and non-congruent attribute<sup>109</sup>).

43.	<b>sèhpũ</b>	<b>èrkũ</b>	<b>-pũ</b>			<i>tree bark</i>	
	sɤɫpuɫ	ʔəɫkuɫ	puɫ				
	TREE	BARK	SG				
	n >	n					
		NP = cl					
44.	<b>thuôli</b>	<b>-yâ</b>	<b>qõtshâ</b>	<b>-lûh</b>	<b>xí</b>	<b>-bâ</b>	<i>teeth of the mouth of the rabbit</i>
	tʰuollil	jaɫ	qoɫsʰaɫ	luɫ	xiɫ	bæɫ	
	RABBIT	SG	MOUTH	SG	TOOTH	PL	
	n = cl		n = cl				
	NP >		NP		n = cl		
	NP >			NP			

Closer relation is expressed by the absence of a classifier of the dependent substantive (45), while looser relation is expressed by presence of classifiers of both substantives (43). Thus when we look at the IC analysis and relations between constituents, we can find out that in case of closer relation (43), the classifier affects the whole nominal phrase, therefore we can talk about class congruence; while in case of looser relation (44), each member has its own classifier, so we can talk about non-congruent class members of the construction. The same can be seen in Ex. 45 and 46.

45.	<b>chih</b>	<b>hrõ</b>	<b>-lûh</b>	<i>a dog head</i>	46.	<b>chih</b>	<b>-mũ</b>	<b>hrõer</b>	<b>-lûh</b>	<i>a head of a dog</i>
	tʂʰuɫ	ɛoɫ	luɫ			tʂʰuɫ	muɫ	ɛoɫəɫ	luɫ	
	DOG	HEAD	SG			DOG	SG	HEAD	SG	
	n > n					n = cl		n = cl		
	NP = cl					NP >		NP		
47.	<b>Pâmî</b>	<b>-yâ</b>	<b>lă</b>	<b>hnũ</b>	<b>nyĩ</b>	<b>qhâ</b>	<b>mì</b>	<b>să</b>	<b>dzhũ.</b>	<i>The toad took out two leopard hairs.</i>
	palmiɫ	jaɫ	lăɫ	hʰũ	ŋiɫ	qʰaɫ	miɫ	saɫ	dzuɫ	
	TOAD	SG	LEOPARD	HAIR	TWO	PC	PFC	TO HOLD	HITHER	
			n > n	num >	cl			vt < c	vi	
			NP = numP			mod >	VP			
	n = cl		NP o >			VP				
	NP s:> VP									

<sup>109</sup> E.g. the expression „dog head“, where the dependent noun is a premodifier, vs. „the head of a dog“, where the dependent noun is a part of prepositional phrase; resp. „psí hlava“ (congruent attribute) vs. „hlava psa“ (non-congruent attribute).

48. <b>Thuôli -yâ hnû -bâ kulhyî -nyî mî- tsih.</b>
t <sup>h</sup> uollil jal f <sup>n</sup> û bæł kułiil ŋil mił tsił
RABBIT SG HAIR PL SWEAT INSTR DOWN TO WASH
n = cl n = cl mod > vt
NP > NP n (sf) o > VP
NP s: > VP

*The fur of the rabbit has been washed by the sweat.*

## (2) Genitive

**Genitive** remains unmarked in most of the cases (49), however it can be emphasized in certain constructions (50) by two case markings<sup>110</sup> **nyî** /ŋi-ł/ and **gvîh** /gy-ł/. The former is used to distinguish genitive construction meaning possessivity (51) and the latter one meaning only reference (52,53).

49. <b>yúqhô âmi -mû</b>
ɥyłq <sup>h</sup> oł æłmił muł
FRIEND MOTHER SG

*friends mother*

n > NP	n = cl
--------	--------

50. <b>yúqhô tà -mu -î âmi -mû</b>
ɥyłq <sup>h</sup> oł tał muł ił æłmił muł
FRIEND THIS SG GEN MOTHER SG

*mother of this friend*

n = NP	dem > cl	(sf)	n = cl
NP	>	NP	

51. <b>Tăcû ndzhîgyî -bèr ngâ -nyî àdă -mû -î gyî.</b>
tałtsuł ndzuałdził bəł ŋał ŋil ɤałdał muł ił dził
HERE CHARACTER FULL I GEN FATHER SG GEN TO BE

*This here is my father's book.*  
[property of my father]

n = cl	(sf)	n = cl	(sf)	vc
NP s: > VP	pron >	NP	poss. >	
pron > VP				

52. <b>Tăcû ndzhîgyî -bèr ngâ -nyî àdă -mû -gvîh gyî.</b>
tałtsuł ndzuałdził bəł ŋał ŋil ɤałdał muł gył dził
HERE CHARACTER FULL I GEN FATHER SG GEN TO BE

*This here is my father's book.*  
[work of my father]

n = cl	(sf)	n = cl	(sf)	vc
NP s: > VP	pron >	NP	rel. >	
pron > VP				

53. <b>Chîh tà -mû yîbî -gvîh qhà gyîgî.</b>
tɕ <sup>h</sup> uł tał muł jiłbił gył qhał dziłgił
DOG THIS SG OWN GEN BOWL TO HAVE

*This dog has its own bowl.*

n = NP	dem > cl	pron (sf) >	n	NP o > vt
NP s: > VP				

<sup>110</sup> The suffix **-nyî** /ŋi-ł/ is often pronounced as only **-î** /i-ł/.

Of course it is also possible to use a more explicit way to express the meaning of the sentence in Ex. 52 (see Ex. 54).

54. **Ngâ -nyî àdă -mû luõ- zhihzhîh ndzhîgyî -bèr gyî.** *It's a book written by my father.*

ŋaɫ	ŋiɫ	ʔaɫdaɫ	muɫ	luoɫ	zɕuɫzɕuɫ	ndzɕuɫdʒiɫ	bəɫ	dʒiɫ
I	GEN	FATHER	SG	INCH	TO WRITE	CHARACTER	FULL	TO BE
(sf)	n = cl							
pron	>	NP		mod >	vt		n = cl	
NP s:>				VP		NP > vc		
nominalized VP :> VP								

### (3) Comitative

Next type of dependent structures is the **comitative** relation. The accompanying member of the action/event is marked by the suffix **-da** /daɫ/<sup>111</sup>.

55. **Ngâ nuo -dă kyî yû -mû bì.** *I will go with you together.*

ŋaɫ	nuoɫ	daɫ	teiɫ	ɥyɫ	muɫ	biɫ
I	you	COMM	ONE	TO JOIN	ADV	TO GO
			num = cl[vt]		(sf)	
			numP		>	vt
	pron	(sf) o>	VP			
pron s:> VP						

56. **Ngâ àdă -mû -dă kyî yû -mû bì.** *I will go with my father together.*

ŋaɫ	ʔaɫdaɫ	muɫ	daɫ	teiɫ	ɥyɫ	muɫ	biɫ
I	FATHER	SG	COMM	ONE	TO JOIN	ADV	TO GO
			(sf)	num =	cl[vt]	(sf)	
	n = cl			numP		>	vt
	NP		o>	VP			
pron s:> VP							

In case of comparative structures, both members remain unmarked<sup>112</sup>.

57a. **Nyîmî -lûh mólò mùshîh vûdà yă tò,** *Sun has better skills than wind,*

ŋiɫmiɫ	lɛɫ	m <sup>u</sup> oɫloɫ	muɫʂuɫ	vuɫdaɫ	jaɫ	toɫ
SUN	SG	SKILL	WIND	ABOVE	MORE	B.WORTHY
n = cl			n >np		adv >va	
NP >n			NPp > VP			
NP s:> VP						

57b. **mùshîh mólò nyîmî lá hră mâ- kyù.** *so the skills of the wind can't be competed with those of the sun.*

muɫʂuɫ	m <sup>u</sup> oɫloɫ	ŋiɫmiɫ	læɫ	ʁaɫ	maɫ	teyɫ
WIND	SKILL	SUN	TO	TO SUFFICE	NOT	TO ACHIEVE
COMPETE						
		n o>	cov		vt <c	neg > vt
	n >n	covP >VP			VP	
NP s:> VP						

<sup>111</sup> The main difference of accompanying member and a member of paratactic structure is the interchangeability of the members. If the members can be interchanged, their relation is paratactic, when not, the latter is dependent member and the relation is hypotactic.

<sup>112</sup> The only difference is when the members are personal pronouns, which are marked by different case suffixes.

### 5.1.8.12 Paratactic structures

Substantives in paratactic structures are usually just placed one after another, however the paratactic relation can be marked by conjunctions when needed.

<b>ngâ,</b>	<b>àdǎ,</b>	<b>âmî</b>		<i>father, mother</i>	<b>sîhpû</b>	<b>-mu,</b>	<b>suôsû</b>	<b>bâ</b>	<i>teacher</i>
ŋaɫ	ʔaɫdaɫ	ʔæɫmiɫ		<i>and I</i>	siɫpuɫ	muɫ	sɯo:ɫsuɫ	bæɫ	<i>and students</i>
I	FATHER	MOTHER			TEACHER	SG	STUDENT	PL	
<b>àdǎ,</b>	<b>âmî</b>	<b>nyî</b>	<b>-guh</b>	<i>they two, mother</i>	<b>shaphî</b>	<b>-pû,</b>	<b>ndzîhsu</b>	<b>-luh</b>	<i>table and chair</i>
ʔaɫdaɫ	ʔæɫmiɫ	ɲiɫ	gɯɫ	<i>and father</i>	ʂaɫpʰiɫ	puɫ	ndzuɫsuɫ	lɯɫ	
FATHER	MOTHER	TWO	PC		TABLE	SG	CHAIR	SG	
<b>chih</b>	<b>-mû,</b>	<b>xâlâ</b>	<b>-yâ</b>	<i>cat and dog</i>	<b>thuôli</b>	<b>-yâ</b>	<b>lǎ</b>	<b>-phâ</b>	<i>rabbit and tiger</i>
tʂʰuɫ	muɫ	xallaɫ	jaɫ		tʰuôlliɫ	jaɫ	læɫ	pʰaɫ	
DOG	SG	CAT	SG		RABBIT	SG	TIGER	SG	

## 5.2 Adnomina

Most of the words which describe the quality of nouns can also function as a predicate in NMZ. Therefore I regard them as adjectival verbs. Adjectival verbs can be used as predicates and attributes and in some circumstances also even as subjects or objects of the predicate. Most of the adjectival verbs can also be modified by adverbs of degree (see Chapter 4.3.7).

There is a small group of words describing the quality of nouns, whose function is strictly limited to attributes or nominal predicates, the latter requesting copular verb to be linked with the modified substantive or nominal phrase. They also can not be modified by adverbs of degree and they are unable to form comparative or superlative degree under normal circumstances.

<b>hnîdzhîh</b> h <sup>n</sup> îdzu <sup>l</sup> <i>green</i>	<b>shîhqă</b> ʃu <sup>l</sup> qa <sup>l</sup> <i>yellow</i>	<b>phûlû</b> p <sup>h</sup> u <sup>l</sup> lu <sup>l</sup> <i>white</i>	<b>nànkhà</b> na <sup>l</sup> nk <sup>h</sup> a <sup>l</sup> <i>black</i>	<b>luòxǒ</b> l <sup>u</sup> o <sup>l</sup> x <sup>u</sup> o <sup>l</sup> <i>red</i>
---	---	---	---	---

As an attribute, they can be placed either before the modifying substantive or after, followed by relevant classifier.

<b>sùbătsih luòxǒ -lă</b> <i>red sweater</i>	<b>dàdzhîh luòxǒ sùbătsih -lă</b> <i>big red sweater</i>
su <sup>l</sup> ba <sup>l</sup> tsi <sup>l</sup> l <sup>u</sup> o <sup>l</sup> xo <sup>l</sup> la <sup>l</sup>	da <sup>l</sup> dzu <sup>l</sup> l <sup>u</sup> o <sup>l</sup> xo <sup>l</sup> su <sup>l</sup> ba <sup>l</sup> tsi <sup>l</sup> la <sup>l</sup>
SWEATER RED SG	B.BIG RED SWEATER SG
n adn cl	va adn n cl

In most of the cases, adnomina are followed by relevant classifier. We have so far encountered only one exception, which are parallel structures, where the classifier is not needed (5).

- Ngâ sùbătsih luòxǒ -lă gyigi.** *I have a red sweater.*  
 ŋa<sup>l</sup> su<sup>l</sup>ba<sup>l</sup>tsi<sup>l</sup> l<sup>u</sup>o<sup>l</sup>xo<sup>l</sup> la<sup>l</sup> dzi<sup>l</sup>gi<sup>l</sup>  
 I SWEATER RED SG TO HAVE  
 pron n adn cl vt
- Sùbătsih tà -la shîhqă -lă gyî.** *This sweater is yellow.*  
 su<sup>l</sup>ba<sup>l</sup>tsi<sup>l</sup> ta<sup>l</sup> la<sup>l</sup> ʃu<sup>l</sup>qa<sup>l</sup> la<sup>l</sup> dzi<sup>l</sup>  
 SWEATER THIS SG YELLOW SG TO BE  
 n dem cl adn cl vc
- Thuôlî -yâ, nuô thuôlî phûdzhâ -yâ à- ndò?** *Hey, rabbit, have you seen white rabbit?*  
 t<sup>h</sup>uol<sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> nuol<sup>l</sup> t<sup>h</sup>uol<sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>l</sup>dza<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> ʔa<sup>l</sup> ndo<sup>l</sup>  
 RABBIT SG YOU RABBIT WHITE SG Q TO SEE  
 n cl pron n adn cl pref vt
- Ngâ -xrô thuôlî nănkhâ -bâ gyî, nyîmî hrà.** *We are black rabbits with nice heart.*  
 ŋa<sup>l</sup> x<sup>u</sup>o<sup>l</sup> t<sup>h</sup>uol<sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup> na<sup>l</sup>nk<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup> bæ<sup>l</sup> dzi<sup>l</sup> ŋi<sup>l</sup>mi<sup>l</sup> ka<sup>l</sup>  
 I PL RABBIT BLACK PL TO BE HEART B.NICE  
 pron sf n adn cl vc n va
- Tâ -lûh -nyî lòxǒ, hă -lûh -nyî hnîdzhîh gyî.** *This is red and that is green.*  
 ta<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> ŋi<sup>l</sup> l<sup>u</sup>o<sup>l</sup>xo<sup>l</sup> ha<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> ŋi<sup>l</sup> h<sup>n</sup>îdzu<sup>l</sup> dzi<sup>l</sup>  
 THIS SG TOP RED THAT SG TOP GREEN TO BE  
 dem cl sf adn dem cl sf adn vc

## 5.3 Numerals and Classifiers

### 5.3.1 Classifiers

After general characteristics (5.3.1.1), I will present a list on types of classifiers (5.3.1.2) and then focus on each type. *Generic classifiers* were presented in the previous chapter (see part 5.1.3), however we will focus on the classifier used for rational beings and animals **mû** /muɿ/ (5.3.1.3) and on the general classifier **bâ** /bæɿ/ (5.3.1.4).

Following parts introduce *specific classifiers* (5.3.1.5), *measure units* (5.3.1.6), *measure words* (5.3.1.7) and *verbal classifiers* (5.3.1.8).

*Yǐn* (2016:14) presents several specific classifiers, classifiers denoting objects in pairs, collective classifiers and verbal classifiers. We put classifiers denoting objects in pair into the category of specific classifiers and the collective classifiers either to the category of (non-exact) measure units or specific classifiers. *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:163) mention only several specific classifiers.

#### 5.3.1.1 General characteristics

In most of the cases, substantives and even verbs can not be directly modified by numerals. Numerals together with classifiers form numeral phrase, which can appear as apposition to a certain noun<sup>113</sup>. I have decided to speak about apposition, because numeral phrase can substitute the nominal phrase and alone function as subject, object or other constituent in a given clause.

The main function of classifiers is to measure or count quantity. When used without numerals, they denote grammatical number (singular and plural) of substantives and they also function as nominalizers for other words (verbal adjectives and verbs) or phrases and mark the end of a phrase with dependent members.

Classifiers itself are usually placed after the substantive they modify. Substantives can be classified into eight different groups according to their classifier. The last group of substantives does not have any certain classifier.

Except these classifiers forming noun classes, there is a set of classifiers which can be used with almost all substantives.

#### 5.3.1.2 Types of classifiers

Classifiers thus can be divided into several types:

*generic classifiers* can be used together with nouns of certain class only, they do not have any specific meaning, except denoting singular number or function as a measure unit for nouns denoting particulars;

<b>mû</b> / <b>kûh</b>	<b>phâ</b>	<b>yâ</b>	<b>lûh</b>	<b>pû</b>	<b>qhâ</b>	<b>lâ</b>
muɿ / kuɿ	p <sup>h</sup> aɿ	jaɿ	luɿ	puɿ	q <sup>h</sup> aɿ	laɿ

<sup>113</sup> *Yǐn* (2016:14) and *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:163) analyze this relation as head – attribute.

*general classifier* can be used with all nouns;

**bâ** /bæɫ/ *plural / plenty of*

*specific classifiers* are used in specific meaning thus modify the meaning of the noun; they can be put after the generic or general classifier<sup>114</sup>;

<b>yâ</b>	jaɫ	<i>little</i>	This classifier, when used with nouns belonging to other class, indicates diminutives. Nouns which are usually used with this classifier form diminutives by juxtaposition of relevant adjectival verb.
<b>lûh</b>	luɫ	<i>round</i>	This classifier is used to emphasize round shape or young age of the denotate.
<b>qhâ</b>	q <sup>h</sup> aɫ	<i>stick</i>	This classifier is used to emphasize that the denoted noun is part of a numerous group.
<b>mbâmbâr</b>	mbæɫ.mbæɫ	<i>string</i>	This classifier is used together with nouns, which denote something stringed together.
<b>dzù</b>	dzuɫ	<i>pair</i>	This classifier is used for things which appear in pairs.
<b>qõ</b>	qoɫ	<i>sac</i>	This classifier can be either used a measure unit or denoting that somebody has a sac together.
<b>tà</b>	taɫ	<i>kind</i>	
<b>gã</b>	gaɫ	<i>kind</i>	This classifier can also be used to denote different tribes.
<b>gîdâ</b>	giɫdaɫ	<i>place</i>	This classifier is used to denote a certain point in space.
<b>khâdũ</b>	k <sup>h</sup> æɫduɫ	<i>while</i>	This classifier is used to denote a small amount of time.
<b>yû</b>	ɥɫ	<i>home</i>	This word can function either as a noun with the meaning „house“ and classifier lûh or as a classifier denoting a group of family members.
<b>dzhôqhõ</b>	dzoɫq <sup>h</sup> oɫ	<i>couple</i>	This classifier is used to denote a husband and his wife.

*measure units* can be used with mass nouns or nouns denoting non-particulars;

<b>dzhã</b>	dzaɫ	yuán	a unit for money; exact measure unit
<b>dzã</b>	dzaɫ	<i>kilometer</i>	lit. a section; exact measure unit
<b>kĩ</b>	kiɫ	0,5 kg	an exact measure unit borrowed from Chinese (斤 jīn)
<b>bèr</b>	bæɫ	<i>full</i>	This classifier can be used either as a specific classifier for things which name is formed using noun denoting its components or as a general measure unit which is understood from the overall context denoting a full amount.
<b>ngâ</b>	ŋaɫ	<i>a little</i>	This classifier is a general measure unit which denotes small amount of something.
<b>bûbû</b>	buɫbuɫ	<i>pile</i>	nonexact unit
<b>shù</b>	ʂuɫ	<i>crowd</i>	nonexact unit
<b>pì</b>	piɫ	<i>group</i>	nonexact unit
<b>qhâ</b>	q <sup>h</sup> aɫ	<i>bowl</i>	nonexact unit

*measure words* specific type of nouns which can be directly modified by numerals;

<b>nyì</b>	ɲiɫ	<i>day</i>	<b>lhî</b>	liɫ	<i>month</i>
<b>khùr</b>	k <sup>h</sup> uɫɲ	<i>year</i>	<b>lûh</b>	luɫ	<i>hour</i>

<sup>114</sup> Some of the specific classifiers can also function as nonexact measure units.

<p><i>verbal classifiers</i></p> <p>duration of the</p>	<p>specific classifiers used to count how many times an action denoted by the predicate occurred, or to quantize action;</p>
<p><b>kī</b>      kiɿ      <i>time</i></p>	<p>This classifier is general and can be used with all verbs to denote how many times an action occurred.</p>
<p><b>qo</b>      qoɿ      <i>sound</i></p>	<p>This classifier can be used only with specific verbs denoting producing all kinds of noises.</p>
<p><b>qǎ</b>      qaɿ      <i>step</i></p>	<p>These two classifiers can be used only with specific verbs denoting movement.</p>
<p><b>pǎ</b>      paɿ      <i>jump</i></p>	
<p><b>qhōtshà</b>      q<sup>h</sup>oɿts<sup>h</sup>aɿ      <i>mouthful</i></p>	<p>This classifier can be used only with specific verbs denoting an action where a certain amount of something is moving in or out of a mouth.</p>

*quazi-classifiers* are nouns or verbs, which are used as a measure unit; when they are used with nouns denoting particulars, they change meaning into that of mass nouns; they can function either as specific classifiers, measure words or verbal classifiers.

1. **Kyi mī zīh ndzù.**      *There were mother and son.*  

teiɿ	miɿ	ziɿ	ndzuɿ
ONE	MOTHER	SON	TO SIT
num	n	n	vt
	cl [NP]		
2. **Tā sō gūzīh Nāmūzīh luó- shīhshīh.** *Those three brother [tribes] were lead by Nāmūzī.*  

taɿ	soɿ	guɿziɿ	naɿmuɿziɿ	luoɿ	ʃuɿɿʃuɿ
THIS	THREE	YOUNGER		INCH	TO LEAD
		BROTHER			
dem	num	cl [n]	nprop	mod	vt
3. **Āmī Lhāndzīh qha -qhā kyi -gīdǎ ndzhīhgū dzhò kyi lūh.** *Now, there was a shoal on one place at Yarlung river for one look.*  

ʔaɿmiɿ	laɿndzɿuɿ	q <sup>h</sup> aɿ	q <sup>h</sup> aɿ	teiɿ	giɿldaɿ	ndzɿuɿguɿ	dzoɿ	teiɿ	luɿ
NOW	YARLUNG	RIVER	SG	ONE	PLACE	SHOAL	TO BE	ONE	LOOK
nt	nprop	n	cl	num	cl	n	v	num	cl [vt]

### 5.3.1.3 Classifier -mū /muɿ/ / -kūh /kuɿ/

Human and human-like beings as well as other animate nouns or personified substantives, use the classifier **-mū** /muɿ/. However this classifier alternates with another classifier **-kūh** /kuɿ/, which is used to specify the exact number of the denotate. The classifier **-mū** is used to express singular number only and can not be used together with numerals. It is very often used with demonstratives or as a nominalizer. The classifier **-kūh** /kuɿ/ on the other hand requires a numeral.

- 4a. **yúqhō -mū**      *a friend*  

ɥyɿq <sup>h</sup> oɿ	muɿ
FRIEND	SG
- 4b. **yúqhō nyī -kūh**      *two friends*  

ɥyɿq <sup>h</sup> oɿ	nyī	-kūh
FRIEND	TWO	PC
- 4c. **yúqhō tà -mu**      *that friend*  

ɥyɿq <sup>h</sup> oɿ	tà	-mu
FRIEND	THIS	SG
- 4d. **tà yúqhō nyī -kūh**      *these two friends*  

taɿ	ɥyɿq <sup>h</sup> oɿ	nyī	-kūh
THIS	FRIEND	TWO	PC



Animals, which are very closely related to humans, usually also take the classifier **-mû** /muɿ/.

5. **Tôqhô chih dâdzhîh tà -mu gyî.** *The dog here is a big one.*  
 toɿqʰoɿ tɕʰuɿ daɿdzɯɿ taɿ muɿ dʒiɿ  
 HERE DOG G.BIG THIS SG TO BE  
 pron n va dem cl vc
6. **Ză -phâ dzhù kyî yú ngă -mû dʒi shîhdzhîh.** *There came a leopard, who was thinking about to eat their donkey.*  
 zaɿ pʰaɿ dʒuɿ tɕiɿ yɿŋaɿ muɿ dʒiɿ ʃuɿldʒuɿ  
 LEOPARD SG TO COME ONE HOME DONKEY SG TO EAT TO THINK  
 n cl vt num cl n cl vt vt

Some nouns belonging to this class can also appear with a specific classifier to emphasize the characteristics, which belongs to other class of the substantives. Ex. 7a shows us the noun **zêhmî** /zɿɿ.miɿ/ DAUGHTER, which is marked by the classifier **-mu** /muɿ/ in the first part of the clause, because there is no numeral and the function of the classifier is to denote singular number and mark the end of the nominal phrase. In the second part of the clause, the noun is substituted by the whole numeral phrase, which consists from a numeral and relevant classifier **-kuh** /kʉɿ/ to enable the preceding numeral to substitute the substantive and form an argument of the verb. Ex. 7b shows us the same noun, which is marked by two classifiers, first by **-kuh** /kʉɿ/, which enables the preceding numeral to form a constituent (apposition of the noun) and then by the specific classifier **-lûh** /lʉɿ/, which is used to emphasize the young age of its denotate. Ex. 7c shows in contrast the noun **zêhnhû** /zɿɿ.lɿnɿ/ SON, which belongs to the class using **-lûh** /lʉɿ/ as its generic classifier, thus the young age of the noun is not emphasized.

- 7a. **Zêhmî ngûnû -mû ngûnû, sô -kuh hrà.** *After the second daughter, the third was born.*  
 zɿɿmiɿ ŋuɿnuɿ muɿ ŋuɿnuɿ soɿ kʉɿ ɰaɿ  
 DAUGHTER AFTER SG AFTER THREE PC TO BORN  
 n nt cl nt num cl vi
- 7b. **Zêhmî qhvîh -kuh -lûh shîhkô mînggă.** *Those six daughters died.*  
 zɿɿmiɿ qʰvɿɿ kʉɿ lʉɿ ʃuɿɿkoɿ miɿŋgaɿ  
 DAUGHTER SIX PC YOUNG TO DIE TO FALL  
 n num cl cl vi vi
- 7c. **âmî -mû zêhnhû sô -lûh dzhũ.** *Mother had three sons.*  
 ʔæɿmiɿ muɿ zɿɿɿnɿnɿ soɿ lʉɿ dʒuɿ  
 MOTHER SG SON THREE PC TO HAVE  
 n cl n num cl vt

### 5.3.1.4 Classifier **-bâ** /bæɿ/

The classifiers **-mû** /muɿ/ and **-bâ** /bæɿ/ cannot be preceded by a numeral. The general classifier is used to express plural number for nouns denoting particulars and to express the meaning of large amount for mass nouns.

8. **Hă -bâ dbûshũ gyî.** *Those are yetis.*  
 ɦaɿ bæɿ dɸuɿɿʃuɿ dʒiɿ  
 THAT PL YETI TO BE  
 dem cl n vc
9. **Qolo lâ -bâ mî- cîh.** *He put a lot of ash inside.*  
 qoɿloɿ læɿɿ bæɿ miɿ cɿɿ  
 INSIDE ASH A LOT PFC TO PUT  
 np n cl mod vt

10.	<b>Áxrô</b>	<b>zih</b>	<b>-kuh</b>	<b>gyührä</b>	<b>-bâ</b>	<b>mi-</b>	<b>yú</b>	<b>yú.</b>	<i>Let's divide the land between four of us.</i>
	ʔalχol	ziʔ	kuʔ	dzyʔkaʔ	bæʔ	miʔ	ɥyʔ	ɥyʔ	
	WE	FOUR	PC	LAND	PL	DOWN	TO DIVIDE	TO DIVIDE	
	pron	num	cl	n	cl	mod	vt	vt	

### 5.3.1.5 Specific classifiers

Specific classifiers have their own lexical meaning. One group of these classifiers either emphasizes certain characteristics of a given noun (11) or slightly changes the meaning of the noun (12,13), while the other group is used only together with the numeral one to form an independent constituent in a clause (14,15). Some of the specific classifiers can be also used as a nonexact measure word (16,17), some are used together with the numeral one instead of a noun (18).

11a.	<b>Ndzhih</b>	<b>tsih</b>	<b>luó</b>	<b>tǒ</b>	<b>văbû</b>	<b>-lûh</b>	<b>mî-</b>	<b>tbũ.</b>	<i>They brought the water to a boil and slaughtered the pig.</i>
	ndzuʔ	tsiʔ	luoʔ	toʔ	vaʔbuʔ	luʔ	miʔ	ʔbuʔ	
	WATER	B.BOILED	UP	TO BOIL	PIG	SG	PFC	TO SLAUGHTER	
	n	va	mod	vt	n	cl	mod	vt	

11b.	<b>Khyî</b>	<b>yú</b>	<b>văbû</b>	<b>-yâ</b>	<b>dzhuò.</b>			<i>His family had a piglet.</i>
	teʔiʔ	ɥyʔ	vaʔbuʔ	jaʔ	dzuoʔ			
	HE	HOME	PIG	-LET	TO HAVE			
	pron	n	n	cl	vt			

12.	<b>Yîntâ</b>	<b>tshuò</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>yú</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>dzhuòqhǒ</b>	<b>zîhnhù</b>	<b>mâ-</b>	<b>dzhuò.</b>	<i>In the past, there was a family of man and wife without children.</i>
	jiʔntaʔ	ʔshuoʔ	teiʔ	ɥyʔ	teiʔ	dzuoʔlqʔoʔ	ziʔhiʔuʔ	maʔ	dzuoʔ	
	IN THE PAST	HUMAN	ONE	HOME	ONE	COUPLE	SON	NOT	TO HAVE	
	nt	n	num	cl	num	cl	n	neg	vt	

13.	<b>Tâ</b>	<b>tshuò</b>	<b>zih</b>	<b>-kuh</b>	<b>tâ</b>	<b>thuò</b>	<b>zîh</b>	<b>-gǎ.</b>	<i>Those four men were of four tribes.</i>
	taʔ	ʔshuoʔ	ziʔ	kuʔ	taʔ	ʔshuoʔ	ziʔ	gaʔ	
	THIS	HUMAN	FOUR	PC	THIS	TIME	FOUR	KIND	
	dem	n	num	pc	dem	nt	num	cl	

14.	<b>Thuôlí-yă</b>	<b>mbâ</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-gîdâ</b>	<b>vûshû</b>	<b>-qhǒ</b>	<b>mi-</b>	<b>tò.</b>	<i>A rabbit was walking and arrived to a home of a bear.</i>
	ʔhuoʔliʔ	jaʔ	mbaʔ	teiʔ	giʔdaʔ	vuʔʂuʔ	qʔoʔ	miʔ	toʔ
	RABBIT	SG	TO WALK	ONE	PLACE	BEAR	LOC	PCT	TO ARRIVE
	n	cl	vt	num	cl	n	sf	mod	vt

15.	<b>Yôqhô</b>	<b>ló-</b>	<b>tò</b>	<b>kyî</b>	<b>-khădũ</b>				<i>Some time after they arrived home, there was a wedding of one family on one place.</i>
	joʔlqʔoʔ	loʔ	toʔ	teiʔ	kʔæʔduʔ				
	HOME	INCH	TO ARRIVE	ONE	WHILE				
	n	mod	vt	num	cl				
	<b>qô</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-gîdâ</b>	<b>tshuò</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-yû</b>	<b>wăshîh.</b>		
	qoʔ	teiʔ	giʔdaʔ	ʔshuoʔ	teiʔ	ɥyʔ	wæʔʂuʔ		
	THAT	ONE	PLACE	HUMAN	ONE	HOME	TO MARRY		
	dem	num	cl	n	num	cl	vi		

16.	<b>Mîyê</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-dzù</b>	<b>dâ</b>	<b>lhâ</b>	<b>â</b>	<b>kyi</b>	<b>-dzù</b>	<i>[He placed] a pair of golden roosters near his pair of eyes in order to watch him.</i>
	miʔjeʔ	teiʔ	dzuʔ	daʔ	ʎaʔ	ʔæʔ	teiʔ	dzuʔ	
	EYE	ONE	PAIR	ON	GOLD	COCK	ONE	PAIR	
	n	num	cl	pp	adn	n	num	cl	
	<b>khyî</b>	<b>-dâ</b>	<b>khyî-</b>	<b>lûh</b>	<b>shîh.</b>				
	teʔiʔ	daʔ	teʔiʔ	luʔ	ʂuʔ				
	HE	DAT	INC	TO WATCH	TO CAUSE				
	pron	sf	mod	vt	v				

17. **Tshih kyi tâtà qôlô mî- sǎ.** [She] *stuffed one sausage with shit.*  
 tshihl teih talta qo-llô mil sa-  
 SHIT ONE SEGMENT INSIDE PFC TO STUFF  
 n num cl np mod vt
18. **Pâmî -yâ -nyî kyi -qô luó- yâ -xǎ dzākā ndzùè.** *There is a toad carrying a sac sitting outside.*  
 pa-lmil jal ñil teih qo- luo- jal xa- dzæ-kæ- ndzu-  
 TOAD SG TOP ONE SAC UP TO CARRY AWAY OUTSIDE TO SIT+INGR  
 n cl sf num cl mod vt vi np vt+sf

### 5.3.1.6 Measure units

Measure units can be either exact (19-20) or nonexact (21-23). Exact units are sometimes borrowed from Chinese. While specific classifiers slightly change the meaning of the noun, the measure units do not change the meaning of the noun itself. The only exception is the measure unit **-bêr** /bə-/, which can be used either as a measure unit with the meaning FULL OF (24,25), or it is used as a specific classifier of nouns, expressing a meaning of a noun by means of reference to its components (26).

19. **Sihlûh tà -bǎ ngâ bǎdzhâ nyî -dzhǎ mì -hǎ gyî.** *I have bought these plums for two yuán.*  
 si-lhul tal bæ- ñal ba-dzæl ñil dza- mi- hæ- dzi-  
 PLUM THIS PL I MONEY TWO YUÁN PFC TO BUY TO BE  
 n dem cl pron n num cl mod vt vc
20. **Ngâ êrgû nyî -dzǎ luó- phá.** *I have been running 2 km.*  
 ñal ?ə-  
 I ROAD TWO KM INCH TO RUN  
 pron n num cl mod vt
21. **Ványû -phâ êrzih -shù mî yǎ.** *A herd of a sow with piglets were going down.*  
 va-  
 SOW SG CUB HERD TO GO DOWN INGR  
 n cl n cl v vp
22. **Yîmêr nkhuêr kyi bûbû qolô khyî yǎqhûmu qôlô luó- ghê ghê.**  
 ji-lmæ- nkhuæ- teih bu-lbu-qo-llô tshil ja-lqhu-lmu- qollo- luo- ge- ge-  
 BUCKWHEAT EAR ONE PILE INSIDE SHE IMMEDIATELY INSIDE UP TO CRAWL TO CRAWL  
 n n num cl np pron adv np mod vt vt  
*She immediately crawled inside a pile of buckwheat stems.*
23. **Ngûnû kyi nyî sîhpî -bǎ tshuò kyi -phî** *One day later, officials with a group of people arrived to him.*  
 ñulnu- teih ñil sîlpi- bæ- tshuo- teih phil  
 AFTER ONE DAY OFFICIAL PL HUMAN ONE GROUP  
 nt num cl/n n cl n num cl  
**khyî qhò khyî tò.**  
 tshil qho- tshil to-  
 HE LOC FWD TO ARRIVE  
 pron pp mod vt

24. **âhrô qòkyô -lûh -qhô vù kyi -bêr hnû.** *I want an eggshell full of liquor.*  
 ?æ-ko- qo-  
 EGG SHELL SG LOC LIQUOR ONE FULL TO WANT  
 n n cl pp n num cl vt
25. **Zhâhrô loqo kyi -bêr ngûnû kyi -bêr lófâ hrà mâ- kyǔ.**  
 za-ko- lo-qo- teih bæ- ñulnu- teih bæ- lo-  
 LADLE INSIDE ONE FULL AFTER ONE FULL B.THIRSTY TO SUFFICE NOT TO ACHIEVE  
 n np num cl nt num cl va vt neg v  
*One ladle after another, but still it was not enough to quench his thirst.*

26. **Ngâ ndzhîgyî kyî -bèr gyîgî.**  
 ɲal ndzuɹdzil̩ teiɹ bəɹ dzil̩gɹ  
 I CHARACTER ONE FULL TO HAVE  
 pron n num cl vt

*I have one book.*

Note that the measure unit **bër** /bəɹ/ FULL can also be used directly with nouns without the numeral one (27b) and that there is an adjectival verb **butà** /buɹtaɹ/ TO BE FULL, which can be used as predicate.

- 27a. **Lhà -nyî luó- butà.**  
 ɻal̩ ɲiɹ luoɹ buɹtaɹ  
 GOLD INSTR UP B.FULL  
 n sf mod va

*It was filled up with gold.*

- 27b. **Khyî yibì qàtä loqo lhâ -bër mì- shüşhü.** *She filled up her own pockets with gold.*  
 te<sup>h</sup>il̩ jil̩biɹ qaɹtaɹ loɹqoɹ ɻal̩ bəɹ miɹ ʃuɹɻuɹ  
 SHE OWN POCKET INSIDE GOLD FULL PFC TO PUT  
 pron pron n np n cl mod vt

It can be easily confused with one other measure unit, which has very similar pronunciation **bér** /bəɹ/ GLASS and was borrowed from Chinese *bēi* 杯.

28. **Vú kyî bér luó- mphù!**  
 vuɹ teiɹ bəɹ luoɹ mp<sup>h</sup>uɹ  
 LIQUOR ONE GLASS UP TO POUR  
 n num cl mod vt

*Let's drink a glass of liquor!*

Small amount is expressed by measure unit **-nga** /ɲaɹ/ a little, either with the numeral ONE or alone.

29. **Ngâ-dâ kyî -ngâ ló- tsìh dâ wõ!**  
 ɲal̩ dal̩ teiɹ ɲal̩ l<sup>o</sup>ɹ tsil̩ dæɹ woɹ  
 I DAT ONE A LITTLE UP TO FEED TO COME IMP  
 pron sf num cl mod vt vt sp

*Feed me a little then!*

30. **Ngâ zhìnyî bãdzhâ -ngâ gyîgî.**  
 ɲal̩ zɹuɹɲiɹ baɹdzal̩ ɲal̩ dziɹgiɹ  
 I YESTERDAY MONEY A LITTLE TO HAVE  
 pron nt n cl vt

*I had some money yesterday.*

### 5.3.1.7 Measure words

The following words can be directly placed after a numeral. They behave as classifiers, however they can also function as substantives<sup>115</sup>.

31. **Tânyî luó- mphà sô lhî zhâbù.** *Sow it today and collect it in three months.*  
 taɹɲil̩ luoɹ mp<sup>h</sup>aɹ soɹ ɻil̩ zhal̩buɹ  
 TODAY INCH TO DISPERSE THREE MONTH TO HARVEST  
 nt mod vt num cl/n vt

32. **Ngâ tôqhô nyî khùr ndzû nkhyî.**  
 ɲal̩ toɹq<sup>h</sup>oɹ ɲil̩ k<sup>h</sup>uɹɹ ndzuɹ nte<sup>h</sup>iɹ  
 I HERE TWO YEAR TO SIT EXP  
 pron pron num cl/n vt vi

*I lived here for two years.*

<sup>115</sup> Cf. similar words in Chinese, which can also function as classifiers and nouns: *tiān* 天 DAY, *nián* 年 YEAR, *yè* 頁 PAGE etc.

33. **Zěhmî tâ -mû yôqhô khyî- tò ngûnú** *Two days after the daughter had arrived home,*  
 zɤ-lmiɿ taɿ muɿ joɿlqʰoɿ tɕʰiɿ toɿ ŋuɿlnuɿ  
 DAUGHTER THIS SG HOME FWD TO ARRIVE AFTER  
 n dem cl n mod vt nt  
**nyî nyĩ dǎ zîh -luh shîkô -ǎ.** *their son died.*  
 ŋiɿ ŋi-ɿ dǎɿ ziɿ lu-ɿ ʃuɿlko-ɿ a-ɿ  
 TWO DAY TO COME SON SG TO DIE EMPH  
 num cl/n vi n cl vi sp

### 5.3.1.8 Verbal classifiers

Numeral phrases can also function as complements to a verbal predicate expressing either how long (34) or how many times (35,36) the action or event denoted by the predicate occurred or quantification of the action.

34. **Phǎdzhîh tâ -mû khyî -nyî lâqǎ -dâ** *That man grabbed her hand*  
 pʰaɿdzɯɿ taɿ muɿ tɕʰiɿ ŋiɿ læɿqaɿ daɿ  
 MAN THIS SG SHE GEN HAND ON  
 n dem cl num sf n pp  
**nà nǎ -mũ mâkô tà kyi -thuò luó- pǎ.** *very firmly and danced for a while.*  
 naɿ na-ɿ muɿmaɿlkoɿ taɿ tɕiɿ tʰu-ɿ lu-ɿ pa-ɿ  
 B.FIRM B.FIRM ADV TO GRAB TO ARRIVE ONE WHILE UP TO JUMP  
 va va sf vt vi num cl mod vt
35. **Âmî -mû sô -qo luó- ndzhuò, sô -kî lô- gô dzhuò.** *Mother has called [him] three times, [so he] three times turned back.*  
 ʔalmiɿ muɿ soɿ qoɿ lu-ɿ ndzɯ-ɿ soɿ kiɿ l-ɿ goɿ dzɯ-ɿ  
 MOTHER SG THREE SOUND UP TO CALL THREE TIME UP TO TURN HITHER  
 n cl num cl mod vi num cl mod v vi
36. **Ngǎ tôqhô nyî -kî dǎ nkhyĩ.** *I came here twice.*  
 ŋaɿ toɿlqʰoɿ ŋiɿ ki-ɿ dǎɿ nteɿɿɿ  
 I HERE TWO TIME TO COME EXP
37. **Âzà zǎ mũ kyi -zǎ shuò sîh.** *Say it slowly once again.*  
 ʔalzaɿ za-ɿ muɿ tɕiɿ zǎ-ɿ ʃu-ɿ si-ɿ  
 B.SLOW B.SLOW ADV ONE AGAIN TO SAY PROGR  
 va va adv num cl vt vp

Next two example sentences show the quantification of verbal predicate. The former is expressed by reduplicated classifier, while the latter is expressed by a quazi-classifier. Moreover, in both cases the numeral phrase is further modified by adjectival verb.

38. **Nuò dàdzhîh kyi -qǎ -qǎ lú- mbà.** *Make a huge step forward.*  
 nu-ɿ daɿdzɯ-ɿ tɕiɿ qa-ɿ qa-ɿ lu-ɿ mbaɿ  
 YOU B.BIG ONE STEP STEP UP TO GO

pron	s:> VP	va >	numP	mod >	vt	NP o>	VP		
								num =	cl + cl
								numP	

39. **Dàdzhîh kyi qâdzũ xě xê.** *He made a big step forward.*  
 daɿdzɯ-ɿ tɕiɿ qaɿdzɯ-ɿ xe-ɿ xeɿ  
 B.BIG ONE STEP TO GO TO GO

va >	numP	NP o>	VP		
				num =	cl [n]
					vi + vi

In the next example, the first part of the clause uses the momentaine verbal

modifier **-pũ** /pu-/, which allows the verb to be placed after a numeral. The other part of the clause uses verbal numeral phrases, which consist of a numeral and a verbal classifier.

40. **Nyì pā -pũ, sô -pǎ, zīh pǎ, pāmî -yâ thâhrô dzhuò.** *He jumped for the second time; third jump, fourth jump; yet the toad was in front.*
- |     |         |      |       |      |      |      |        |     |        |       |       |
|-----|---------|------|-------|------|------|------|--------|-----|--------|-------|-------|
| nyì | pa:     | pu:  | so:   | pa:  | zi:  | pa:  | pa:mi: | ja: | thã:   | ko:   | dzuo: |
| TWO | TO JUMP | MMNT | THREE | JUMP | FOUR | JUMP | TOAD   | SG  | BEFORE | TO BE |       |
| num | vi      | vp   | num   | cl   | num  | cl   | n      | cl  | np     | v     |       |

A classifier can be reduplicated either alone or together with the number as the whole numeral phrase in order to express the meaning ONE NEAR/AFTER ANOTHER (41,42) or the manner of how an action is performed (45). Reduplication of a classifier which substitutes a noun can also express plural number (43).

41. **Wáshîh -sũ yũ shîh -qǎ -qǎ -bã khyîkâlâlâ.** *Pieces of meat of the newlyweds were wobbling one beside the other.*
- |          |     |      |      |       |       |     |     |     |        |     |     |     |
|----------|-----|------|------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|-----|
| wa:      | ʃu: | su:  | yu:  | ʃu:   | qã:   | qã: | bã: | te: | hi:    | ka: | la: | la: |
| TO MARRY | NOM | HOME | MEAT | PIECE | PIECE | PL  |     | TO  | WOBBLE |     |     |     |
| vt       | sf  | n    | n    | cl    | cl    | cl  |     |     | vi     |     |     |     |
42. **Mãmâ lûh lûh mî- mphè dzhũ.** *It spit out grape seeds one after another.*
- |       |     |     |     |         |        |     |      |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|---------|--------|-----|------|
| mã:   | mã: | lu: | lu: | mi:     | mp:    | he: | dzu: |
| GRAPE | PC  | PC  | PFC | TO SPIT | HITHER |     |      |
| n     | cl  | cl  | mod | vt      | vi     |     |      |
43. **Qôxrâ lûh lûh bã shîhqâ âgyimã.** *Those seeds looked like bones.*
- |       |     |     |     |      |        |     |     |      |     |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|------|-----|
| qo:   | ʃa: | lu: | lu: | bã:  | ʃu:    | qa: | ʔa: | dzi: | ma: |
| THOSE | PC  | PC  | PL  | BONE | B.SAME |     |     |      |     |
| dem   | cl  | cl  | cl  | n    | va     |     |     |      |     |

The difference between a single and reduplicated numeral phrase can be seen in the next example. In both cases, the numeral phrase expresses the manner how the action is performed:

44. **Pāmî -yâ kyî -pa -î lûmî dzhîh dà khyî- ndzù.** *The toad in one leap sit on a big stone.*
- |      |     |     |        |      |       |       |     |      |        |     |     |       |
|------|-----|-----|--------|------|-------|-------|-----|------|--------|-----|-----|-------|
| pa:  | mi: | ja: | te:    | pa:  | il:   | lu:   | mi: | dzu: | da:    | te: | hi: | ndzu: |
| TOAD | SG  | ONE | JUMP   | PTCP | STONE | B.BIG | ON  | FWD  | TO SIT |     |     |       |
| n    | cl  | num | cl [v] | sf   | n     | va    | pp  | mod  | vt     |     |     |       |
45. **Pāmî -yâ thâhrô kyî -pǎ kyî -pǎ -mû yôqhô tò.** *The toad jumping arrived home earlier*
- |      |     |        |      |      |     |      |     |      |           |     |    |     |     |
|------|-----|--------|------|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----------|-----|----|-----|-----|
| pa:  | mi: | ja:    | thã: | ko:  | te: | pa:  | te: | pa:  | mu:       | jo: | q: | ho: | to: |
| TOAD | SG  | BEFORE | ONE  | JUMP | ONE | JUMP | ADV | HOME | TO ARRIVE |     |    |     |     |
| n    | cl  | nt     | num  | cl   | num | cl   | sf  | np   | vt        |     |    |     |     |

### 5.3.2 Numerals

NMZ uses a decimal counting system. Numerals have very limited usage, they can be placed before a classifier to form numeral phrase or before verb modified by momentaine resultative modifier.

Numerals can be divided into two groups – *base numerals* (numbers one to ten) and *place numerals* (hundred, thousand), which together with base numerals form compound numerals. The only exception is the place number ten **-o** /o/, which is not an independent word, but only a suffix.

We will first give a list of base numerals, which will be followed by numerals from 20 to 90 and higher numbers (5.3.2.1). Next part will focus on ordinals (5.3.2.2), numerals before momentaine verb (5.3.2.3), multiplicative numerals (5.3.2.4) and cyclic words (5.3.2.5).

### 5.3.2.1 Cardinal numbers

NMZ has the following base numerals:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>khyi</b>	<b>nyĩ</b>	<b>sô</b>	<b>zih</b>	<b>ngà</b>	<b>qhvih</b>	<b>shih</b>	<b>hni</b>	<b>ngvih</b>	<b>xruò</b>
te <sup>hi</sup> l	ŋi˩	so˩	zi˩	ŋa˩	q <sup>h</sup> ɸ˩	ʂwa˩	h <sup>ni</sup> l	ŋɸ˩	ʂuo˩

Numerals from 20 to 90 are composed from base number and suffix **-o** /o/:

20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	1000
<b>nyò</b>	<b>suò</b>	<b>zò</b>	<b>ngò</b>	<b>qhuò</b>	<b>shò</b>	<b>hniò</b>	<b>nguò</b>	<b>hniò</b>	<b>tbih</b>
ŋ <sup>o</sup> l	su <sup>o</sup> :˩	zo˩	ŋo˩	q <sup>h</sup> u <sup>o</sup> l	ʂo˩	h <sup>ni</sup> oː˩	ŋu <sup>o</sup> l	h <sup>ni</sup> o˩	ɸ˩

Base numerals, which are placed on the left side of the place number are its multipliers, while on the right side of the place number function as its addition. A conjunction **-lǎ** /læ˩/ between the place number and the base number can be used for numbers which are higher than 20.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<b>xruò</b>	<b>xruòkhyi</b>	<b>xruònyĩ</b>	<b>xruòsô</b>	<b>xruòzih</b>	<b>xruòngà</b>	<b>xruòqhvih</b>	<b>xruòshih</b>	<b>xruòhni</b>	<b>xruònggvih</b>
ʂuo˩	ʂuo˩te <sup>hi</sup> l	ʂuo˩ŋi˩	ʂuo˩so˩	ʂuo˩zi˩	ʂuo˩ŋa˩	ʂuo˩q <sup>h</sup> ɸ˩	ʂuo˩ʂwa˩	ʂuo˩h <sup>ni</sup> l	ʂuo˩ŋɸ˩
20	21	22	23	24	25	36	47	58	69
<b>nyò</b>	<b>nyòkhyi</b>	<b>nyònyĩ</b>	<b>nyòsô</b>	<b>nyòzih</b>	<b>nyòngà</b>	<b>suòqhvih</b>	<b>zòshih</b>	<b>ngòhni</b>	<b>qhuòngvih</b>
ŋ <sup>o</sup> l	ŋ <sup>o</sup> lte <sup>hi</sup> l	ŋ <sup>o</sup> lŋi˩	ŋ <sup>o</sup> lso˩	ŋ <sup>o</sup> lzi˩	ŋ <sup>o</sup> lŋa˩	su <sup>o</sup> :˩q <sup>h</sup> ɸ˩	zo˩ʂwa˩	ŋo˩h <sup>ni</sup> l	q <sup>h</sup> u <sup>o</sup> ŋɸ˩
22		62		75		87		99	
<b>nyòlǎ nyĩ</b>		<b>qhuòlǎ nyĩ</b>		<b>shòlǎ ngà</b>		<b>hniòlǎ shih</b>		<b>nguòlǎ ngvih</b>	
ŋ <sup>o</sup> lɸ˩lǎ-ŋi˩		q <sup>h</sup> u <sup>o</sup> lɸ˩lǎ-ŋi˩		ʂo˩lǎ-ŋa˩		h <sup>ni</sup> oː˩lǎ-ʂwa˩		ŋu <sup>o</sup> lɸ˩lǎ-ŋɸ˩	
2567		<b>nyĩtbih ngâhniò qhuòshih</b>				/ŋi˩.ɸ˩.ŋã˩.h <sup>ni</sup> o˩.q <sup>h</sup> u <sup>o</sup> l.ʂwa˩/			

### 5.3.2.2 Ordinal numbers

There seems to be no difference between the cardinal and ordinal numbers.

1.	<b>Ĕr</b>	<b>nyĩ</b>	<b>-lûh</b>	<b>gâgâ</b>	<b>mĩnggã.</b>	<i>My two children have lost weight.</i>	
	ʔa˩	ŋi˩	lu˩	gæ˩gæ˩	mi˩ŋga˩		
	CHILD	TWO	PC	B.THIN	TO FALL		
	n	num	cl	va	vi		
2.	<b>Sô</b>	<b>-kuh</b>	<b>mî-</b>	<b>hrà</b>	<b>zêhmî</b>	<b>gyĩ.</b>	<i>When the third was born,</i>
	so˩	kɸ	mi˩	ka˩	zɸmi˩	ɸzi˩	<i>it was a daughter.</i>
	THREE	PC	PFC	TO BORN	DAUGHTER	TO BE	
	num	cl	mod	vi	n	vc	

However, *Yin* (2016:13) and *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:162) state that ordinal numbers can be expressed by the anteposition of the word /t<sup>h</sup>a˩.ko˩/ before the numeral followed by its classifier.

### 5.3.2.3 Numbers before momentaine verbs

Except for a numeral phrase, numerals can also occur before a modified momentaine verb (see Chapter 4.2.9.2).

3. **Nyĩntshù -lüh -dà kyĩ zû zu pũ.** *She wiped her muzzle.*  
 nyĩntshù<sup>h</sup>uɿ lɯɿ dɑɿ tɛiɿ zuɿ zuɿ puɿ  
 MUZZLE SG ON ONE TO WIPE TO WIPE MMNT  
 n cl sf num vt vt vp
4. **„Shuâ' shuâ,“ nyì yě pũ.** *“Lap, lap,“ he licked twice.*  
 ʂuɑ:ɿ ʂuɑ:ɿ nyiɿ jeɿ puɿ  
 LAP LAP TWO TO LICK MMNT  
 ono ono num vt vp

### 5.3.2.4 Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are expressed either by verbal numeral phrases or by relevant classifier:

5. **Ngvĩh lhî sô -lüh mî tà mû zĩhnû mâ- hră.** *This wife did not give birth for three times nine months.*  
 ŋvɿɿ liɿ soɿ lɯɿ miɿ taɿ muɿ zĩhnũɿ maɿ ɕɑɿ  
 NINE MONTH THREE TIME WIFE THIS SG CHILD NOT TO GIVE BIRTH  
 num cl num cl n dem cl n neg vt

### 5.3.2.5 Cyclic words

For the purpose of a calender, there exist a set of twelve cyclic words, which consist of the name of an animal and a numeral.

<b>lâkyi</b> læɿtɛiɿ <i>tiger</i>	<b>thuôlĩnyĩ</b> tʰuoɿliɿŋiɿɿ <i>rabbit</i>	<b>êrdzhasò</b> ʔəɿldzɑɿsoɿ <i>dragon</i>	<b>dzhâzih</b> dzaɿziɿɿ <i>snake</i>	<b>móngà</b> moɿŋɑɿɿ <i>horse</i>	<b>yòqhvĩh</b> joɿqʰvɿɿɿ <i>sheep</i>
<b>mîshĩh</b> miɿʂuɿɿ <i>monkey</i>	<b>dzhûhnì</b> dzũɿhnɿɿɿ <i>roaster</i>	<b>chĩngvìh</b> tʂʰuɿɿŋvɿɿɿ <i>dog</i>	<b>văxrò</b> vaɿɕʰoɿɿ <i>pig</i>	<b>hrăxròkyi</b> ɕɑɿɕʰoɿɿtɛiɿɿ <i>rat</i>	<b>yúxrònyĩ</b> yɿɕʰoɿɿŋiɿɿɿ <i>ox</i>



## 5.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are used for substitution mainly of substantives and attributes or to express both kinds of reference: deixis<sup>116</sup> and anaphor<sup>117</sup> (ČERMÁK 2009:183).

In NMZ we can find *personal, reflexive, possessive, demonstrative* and *interrogative* types of pronouns. There are no relative pronouns, which would mark relative clauses, or indefinite pronouns. Indefinite pronouns are usually expressed by special constructions including usage of numeral phrases (num + cl or pron + cl) together with certain adverbs (e.g. **hrâ** /kaʎ/ all).

In this chapter, I will first introduce the personal pronouns (5.4.1), reflexive pronouns (5.4.2) and their specific declension (5.4.3); then demonstrative (5.4.4) and interrogative pronouns (5.4.5) and finally the pronoun dropping feature (5.4.6).

### 5.4.1 Personal pronouns

This part introduces personal pronouns. We will first focus on the categories of person and number (5.4.1.1) followed by a list of cases (5.4.1.2). Then follows the description of the function of the unmarked form (5.4.1.3), genitive (5.4.1.4), dative (5.4.1.5), accusative (5.4.1.6) and agentive (5.4.1.7) case. Next part introduces neutral personal pronouns (5.4.1.8).

*Yin* (2016:15) as well as *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:163) provide list of personal pronouns only in unmarked case and recognize categories of person, number (singular, dual and plural) and clusivity for first person plural.

#### 5.4.1.1 Person and number

Personal pronouns are marked for *person, number* and *case*. There is no distinction in gender. There are three persons with the distinction of *clusivity* for first person plural and three numbers: singular, dual and plural.

<i>number</i> → ↓ <i>person</i>	singular	dual	dual	plural
1. incl	<b>ngâ</b> ŋaʎ	<b>âkvîh</b> ʔaʎ.kɣʎ	<b>âxrò nyî-kuh</b> ʔaʎ.χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ.ŋiʎ.kɤʎ	<b>âxrò</b> ʔaʎ.χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ
1. excl			<b>ngâxrò nyîkuh</b> ŋaʎ.χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ.ŋiʎ.kɤʎ	<b>ngâxrò</b> .χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ
2.	<b>nuò</b> nɯoʎ	<b>nuòkvîh</b> nɯoʎ.kɣʎ	<b>nuòxrò nyîkuh</b> nɯoʎ.χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ.ŋiʎ.kɤʎ	<b>nuòxrò</b> .χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ
3.	<b>khyî</b> tɕ <sup>h</sup> iʎ	<b>khyòkvîh</b> tɕ <sup>h</sup> oʎ.kɣʎ	<b>khyòxrò nyîkuh</b> tɕ <sup>h</sup> oʎ.χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ.ŋiʎ.kɤʎ	<b>khyòxrò</b> tɕ <sup>h</sup> oʎ.χ <sup>u</sup> oʎ

<sup>116</sup> Deixis are features, which „refer directly to the personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the situation“ (CRYSTAL 2008:133).

<sup>117</sup> Anaphor refers to „a type of noun phrase, which has no independent reference, but refers to some other sentence constituent“ (CRYSTAL 2008:25).

### 5.4.1.2 Inflection of personal pronouns

Personal pronouns use the same suffixes as substantives for inflection, however the system differs from substantives in two ways. The first is that in certain constructions, the substantives and pronouns require different suffix (e.g. the coverb **būmu** /buɫmuɫ/ TO HELP, see part 4.2.14.2, or the usage of dative case **-dâ** /daɫ/, which is restricted to denote recipient in the case of substantives, but it is used to mark indirect object in the case of pronouns). The second is more extensive usage of inflectional suffixes in the case of pronouns, i.e. substantives remain unmarked more often in comparison to pronouns. This is probably due to the fact some substantives are restricted by its meaning to function in specific thematic roles only.

When the relation is clear, the pronoun remains in an unmarked form (I), direct object is marked by accusative suffix **-dzhă** /dzaɫ/ (IV), indirect object by dative suffix **-dâ** /daɫ/ (III), attribute is marked by genitive suffix **-nyĩ** /ɲiɫ/ (II). The same suffix is used for the last case (V) to emphasize unmarked topic or to mark agent either in active or passive constructions.

case → ↓person	I <i>unmarked</i>	II GEN	III DAT	IV ACC	V AGT, TOP
1.sg	<b>ngâ</b> ɲaɫ	<b>ngânyĩ</b> ɲaɫ.ɲiɫ	<b>ngâda</b> ɲaɫ.daɫ	<b>ngâdzhă</b> ɲaɫ.dzaɫ	<b>ngânyĩ</b> ɲaɫ.ɲiɫ
2.sg	<b>nuò</b> nuoɫ	<b>nuònyĩ</b> nuoɫ.ɲiɫ	<b>nuòda</b> nuoɫ.daɫ	<b>nuòdzhă</b> nuoɫ.dzaɫ	<b>nuònyĩ</b> nuoɫ.ɲiɫ
3.sg	<b>khyĩ</b> te <sup>h</sup> il	<b>khyĩnyĩ</b> te <sup>h</sup> il.ɲiɫ	<b>khyĩda</b> te <sup>h</sup> il.daɫ	<b>khyĩdzhă</b> te <sup>h</sup> il.dzaɫ	<b>khyĩnyĩ</b> te <sup>h</sup> il.ɲiɫ
dl	<b>~kvih</b> kɥɫ				<b>~kvihnyĩ</b> kɥɫ.ɲiɫ
dl	<b>~xrò nyĩkuh</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ.kuɫ	<b>~xrò nyĩkuhĩ</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ.kuɫ.iɫ	<b>~xrò nyĩkuhda</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ.kuɫ.daɫ	<b>~xrò nyĩkuhdzhă</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ.kuɫ.dzaɫ	<b>~xrò nyĩkuhnyĩ</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ.kuɫ.ɲiɫ
pl	<b>~xrò</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ	<b>~xrònyĩ</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ	<b>~xròda</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.daɫ	<b>~xròdzhă</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.dzaɫ	<b>~xrònyĩ</b> χ <sup>u</sup> oɫ.ɲiɫ

### 5.4.1.3 Unmarked form

Unmarked form is used to indicate many relations, incl. agent or topic, patient and attribute.

#### (1) Agent or topic

Unmarked form is used, when the denotate is agent or topic. Note the difference between inclusive (5a) and exclusive (5b) pronoun.

1. **Nuô** ěr khyi- lúh nyĩ, ngâ dzihvú shú bĩ. *You watch over the children and I am going to find some food.*

nuoɫ	ʔəɫ	te <sup>h</sup> il	luɫ	ɲiɫ	ɲaɫ	dziɫvuɫ	suɫ	biɫ
YOU	CHILD	FWD	TO WATCH	I	FOOD	TO FIND	TO GO	
pron	n o>	mod	c> vt	pron	n o>	vt	vt	
s:>	VP			(sp)	s:>	VP		
subC				>	C			

2. **Ā -kvîh kyî mphî pũ.** *Let us two to have a spit.*  
 ʔal kyɿ tɛiɿ mpʰiɿ puɿ  
 WE DL ONE TO SPIT MMNT  
 pron cl num vi vp[cl]  
 (A) predicate
3. **Āhrô -lâ, ânà, nuô -kvîh qhâtûmû ngvîh, ngâ qhâtûmû mù ĩ.** *Uncle, aunt, I will do as you both say.*  
 ʔalʔoɿ laɿ ʔalnaɿ nʊoɿ kyɿ qʰaltuɿmuɿ ɳyɿ ɳal qʰaltuɿmuɿ muɿ iɿ  
 UNCLE SG AUNT YOU DL HOW TO SAY I HOW TO DO PROSP  
 n = cl pron (sf) pron > vt pron pron > vt (sf)  
 NP & n pron s:> VP s:> VP  
 vocative C subC > C
4. **Khyô -xrô nyî -kuh pāmî -yâ luó- shîhshîh sâer -qhô lo- tò.** *They both let the toad to arrive to the wood [with them].*  
 tɛʰoɿ χʰoɿ ɳiɿ kuɿ paɿmiɿ jaɿ luoɿ ʃuɿɿsuɿ saɿɿ qʰoɿ loɿ toɿ  
 THEY PL TWO PC TOAD SG INCH TO LEAD WOOD LOC INCH TO ARRIVE  
 n = cl mod c> vt n (sf) mod c> vi  
 (sf) num = cl NP o> VP NPp o> VP  
 pron = numP covP > VP  
 numP s:> VP
- 5a. **Pāmî -yâ, â -xrô tânyî mǎ ndà bǐ,** *Toad, all of us will go today to chop bamboo,*  
 paɿmiɿ jaɿ ʔal χʰoɿ taɿɳiɿ ma:ɿ ndaɿ biɿ  
 TOAD SG WE PL TODAY BAMBOO TO CHOP TO GO  
 n cl pron sf nt n vt vt  
 vocative (A) (T) (P)
- 5b. **ngâ -xrô âluò mî- ndà mî- nkhè dǎ, nuô khèr khyî- kũ.** *we'll put it down from the hill after it's chopped, you'll wait below.*  
 ɳal χʰoɿ ʔæɿluoɿ miɿ ndaɿ miɿ nkʰeɿ daɿ nʊoɿ kʰəɿ tɛʰiɿ kuɿ  
 I PL HILL PFC TO CHOP DOWN TO SEND TO COME YOU BELOW FWD TO WAIT  
 pron sf n mod vt mod vt vi pron np mod vi  
 (A) (L) (A) (L)

## (2) Patient

The unmarked case can be also used to denote patient, when the agent is not omitted. The agent precedes the patient.

6. **Āmî ngâ nuô sasa dzîhvũ shũ -i.** *Now I take you to find some food.*  
 ʔaɿmiɿ ɳal nʊoɿ saɿsaɿ dzîɿvuɿ ʃuɿ iɿ  
 NOW I YOU TO TAKE FOOD TO FIND PROSP  
 (T) (A) (P) (P)  
 pron o> vt n o> vt (sf)  
 pron covP > VP  
 s:> VP  
 nt s:> VP
7. **Ngâ nuô shîhshîh bǐ, â -gvîh dzi.** *I will lead you there and we will eat [it together].*  
 ɳal nʊoɿ ʃuɿɿsuɿ biɿ ʔal gɿɿ dziɿ  
 I YOU TO LEAD TO GO WE DL TO EAT+PROSP  
 pron pron vt vt pron sf vt+sf  
 (A) (P) (A)

## (3) Attribute

Personal pronouns as attribute can also remain unmarked, if the relation between the pronoun and the head is clear (8) or if it is part of more complex attribute (9). Personal pronouns in singular tend to be marked by possessive marker, on the other hand personal

pronouns in plural tend to remain unmarked.

8. **Khyî yú vābû -yâ dzhuò.** *His family had a piglet.*  
 t<sup>h</sup>ił ɥyɿ vaɭbuł jał dzɥoɿ  
 HE HOME PIG SMALL TO HAVE

pron > n	n = cl	NP o > vt
NP :> VP		

9. **Ză -phâ dzhù khyî yú ngāmû dzi shîhdzhîh.** *Leopard arrived thinking he would eat the donkey of this family.*  
 zaɭ p<sup>h</sup>ał dzɥuɿ t<sup>h</sup>ił ɥyɿ ŋaɭmuł dziɿ ʂuɿldzɥuɿ  
 LEOPARD SG TO REACH HE HOME DONKEY TO EAT+PROSP TO THINK

n = cl	pron > n	NP > n	NP o > vt+sf	VP o > vt
NP s:> vi	covP > VP			

10. **Vû -phâ nuô -xrô yimî nkhvîh dă lâ.** *A bear is going to come to steal your corn.*  
 vuł p<sup>h</sup>ał nuoł ɣ<sup>u</sup>oł jiłmił nk<sup>h</sup>vɿɿ dæɿ læɿ  
 BEAR SG YOU PL CORN TO STEAL TO ARRIVE PREM

n = cl	pron (sf) > n	vt < c vi	
NP s:> VP	NP o > VP		(sp)

11. **Nuô -xrô gyûhrâ -bâ, zhô -bâ nà -mû khyî- lûh -o!** *Carefully start to watch your field and grain!*  
 nuoł ɣ<sup>u</sup>oł dzyɿkał bæł zo:ɿ bæł nał muɿ t<sup>h</sup>ił lɥɿ oɿ  
 YOU PL FIELD PL GRAIN PL B.GOOD ADV INC TO WATCH EXCL

pron (sf)	n = cl	n = cl	va (sf)	mod	c > vt	
pron > NP	NP & NP		advP > VP	NP o > VP		(sp)

#### 5.4.1.4 Second Case (Genitive)

**nyî ~ î** /ŋił/~ił/

Possessive personal pronouns, especially those in a singular form, are marked by the suffix **-nyî** /ŋił/, which (in specific cases) can be pronounced as **-i** /ił/<sup>118</sup>. Note that if the antecedent (14) is multiple, the pro-form is not necessarily in plural form (15).

12. **Nuô -nyî hnû -bâ külhî mî- tsih.** *Your hairs were washed by sweat.*  
 nuoł ŋił h<sup>n</sup>ũł bæł kuɿlił mił tsił  
 YOU GEN HAIR PL SWEAT PFC TO WASH

pron	sf	n	cl	n	mod	vt
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13. **Ngâ -nyî mîyê lûh dôqô mînggä!** *My eyes were blinded!*  
 ŋał ŋił miłjeł lɥɿ dołqoł miłŋgaɿ  
 I GEN EYE BALL TO BLIND TO FALL

pron	sf	n	cl	vt	vi
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14. **Nuô -nyî âvû, âyî, âdà, âmî ngâ -nyî mî- dzih.** *Your grandpa, grandma, father and mother were all eaten by me.*  
 nuoł ŋił ʔaɿvuł ʔaɿjił ʔaɿdaɿ ʔaɿmił ŋał ŋił mił dziɿ  
 YOU GEN GRANDPA GRANDMA FATHER MOTHER I INSTR PFC TO EAT

pron	sf	n	n	n	n	pron	sf	mod	vt
------	----	---	---	---	---	------	----	-----	----

15. **Khyî -nyî sã -bâ ngâ mî- mphî dzhû.** *I have spat out their blood.*  
 t<sup>h</sup>ił ŋił saɿ bæł ŋał mił mp<sup>h</sup>iɿ dzɥuɿ  
 HE GEN BLOOD PL I PFC TO SPIT HITHER

pron	sf	n	cl	pron	mod	vt	vi
------	----	---	----	------	-----	----	----

<sup>118</sup> The fifth case uses the same suffix, however the use of alternative pronunciation as **-i** /ił/ is restricted to express *genitive* relation only, therefore we have decided to split this suffix into two different cases.

16. **Khyî -yî hrunchũ yintsè -lă -nyî khyî -nyî, ză -phâ, yîlhâ -lâ ntsî -nyî khòpă.**  
 tɛ<sup>h</sup>il ji-ɬ ɬulntʂ<sup>h</sup>u-ɬji<sup>h</sup>ntseɬ laɬ ɲi-ɬ tɛ<sup>h</sup>il ɲil zaɬ p<sup>h</sup>aɬ ji-ɬlaɬ laɬ ntsi:<sup>h</sup>ɬ ɲil k<sup>h</sup>oɬpaɬ  
 HE GEN SHAVING KNIFE SG INSTR HE GEN LEOPARD SG TONGUE SG TO CUT PTCP TO FALL AWAY  
 pron sf adn n cl sf pron sf n cl n cl vt sf vt  
*His, the leopard's, tongue fell away by the cut of his razor.*

#### 5.4.1.5 Third Case (Dative)

**dâ** /daɬ/

The third case is used to express that the personal pronoun functions as an indirect object. It is marked by suffix **-dâ** /daɬ/. It indicates the recipient, member of comparison, pivots in causative constructions, topicalized object etc.

It can denote the recipient of the situation.

17. **Êrgû mâ- nchuò qhò nuô ngâ -dâ ngvìh.** *Tell me, where the road is not flat.*  
 ʔə-ɬguɬ maɬ ntʂ<sup>h</sup>uoɬ q<sup>h</sup>oɬ nuoɬ ɲaɬ daɬ ɲyɬ  
 ROAD NOT B.FLAT LOC YOU I DAT TO TELL  
 n neg va pp pron pron sf vt
18. **Yôxrô -nyî â -kvîh -dâ zhîhdzhîh pămî -yâ luó- shîwũ.** *Others will laugh both of us that we norture a toad.*  
 joɬχ<sup>u</sup>oɬ ɲil ʔaɬ kyɬ daɬ zɬuɬdzɬuɬ paɬmiɬ jaɬ luoɬ ʂuɬwuɬ  
 OTHER TOP WE DL DAT TO LAUGH TOAD SG INCH TO FEED  
 pron sf pron sf sf vt n cl mod vt
19. **Fûmu ngâ -dâ khyî- nggà dzhuô?** *Why do you throw [that] on me?*  
 fuɬmuɬ ɲaɬ daɬ tɛ<sup>h</sup>il ɲgaɬ dzuoɬ  
 WHY I DAT FWD TO THROW HITHER  
 pron n sf mod vt vi

When the personal pronoun refers to a member of comparison, it can be also marked by the dative case.

20. **Nuô khyî -dâ qàqă!** *You look like him!*  
 nuoɬ tɛ<sup>h</sup>il daɬ qaɬqaɬ  
 YOU HE DAT TO RESEMBLE  
 pron pron sf vt
21. **Ngâ khyî -dâ phò hră mâ- kyũ.** *I am inferior to him in running.*  
 ɲaɬ tɛ<sup>h</sup>il daɬ p<sup>h</sup>oɬ ɬaɬ maɬ tɛyɬ  
 I HE DAT TO RUN TO SUFFICE NOT TO ACHIEVE  
 pron pron sf vt vt neg vt

It can be used to denote other personal pronouns functioning as indirect objects (22) or objects in causative constructions (23-24).

22. **Tănyî làkuô tà -yâ ngâ -dâ ngvìh -î gyî.** *What this crow is telling, is about me today.*  
 taɬɲil laɬkuoɬ taɬ jaɬ ɲaɬ daɬ ɲyɬ il dzil  
 TODAY CROW THIS SG I DAT TO TELL NOM TO BE  
 nt n dem cl pron sf vt sf vc
23. **Nuô ngâ -dâ dă hnûngă!** *You caused me to come here!*  
 nuoɬ ɲaɬ daɬ dæɬ h<sup>u</sup>ɲɲaɬ  
 YOU I DAT TO COME TO CAUSE  
 pron pron sf vi vt
24. **Nuô ngâ -dâ luó- sâsă kyiyũmû lúh lúh bî.** *Lead me there to go to have a look together.*  
 nuoɬ ɲaɬ daɬ luoɬ saɬsaɬ tɛiɬtyɬmuɬ lɬɬ lɬɬ biɬ  
 YOU I DAT INCH TO LEAD TOGETHER TO LOOK TO LOOK TO GO  
 pron pron sf mod vt adv vt vt vt

5.4.1.6 Fourth Case (Accusative)

**dzhâ** /dzaɫ/

Personal pronoun as a direct object is almost allways marked by suffix **-dzhâ** /dzaɫ/.

25. **Ngâ -xrô -dzhâ mî- chà dà!** *Put us down!*  
 ɲaɫ χʰoɫ dzaɫ miɫ tʂʰaɫ dæɫ  
 I PL ACC DOWN TO RELEASE TO COME  
 pron cl sf mod vt vi
26. **Khyô xruô -dzhâ mî- chà dzhũ.** *[It] put them down.*  
 tɕʰoɫ χʰoɫ dzaɫ miɫ tʂʰaɫ dzuɫ  
 HE PL ACC DOWN TO RELEASE HITHER  
 pron sf cl mod vt vi
27. **Ngâ -nyî nuô -dzhâ shû dzhũ gyï.** *I have brought you here.*  
 ɲaɫ ɲiɫ nuoɫ dzaɫ ʂuɫ dzuɫ dʒiɫ  
 I AGT YOU ACC TO FIND HITHER TO BE  
 pron sf pron sf vt vi vc
28. **Ngâ -dâ khyî -dzhâ sè nggã shĩh!** *To let me to kill him!*  
 ɲaɫ daɫ tɕʰiɫ dzaɫ seɫ ɲgaɫ ʂuɫ  
 I DAT HE ACC TO KILL B.GOOD TO CAUSE  
 pron sf pron sf vt va vi

5.4.1.7 Fifth Case (Agentive)

**nyî** /ɲiɫ/

The fifth case is used to emphasize topic (29,30) or to denote agent. Unlike the second case, the suffix is allways **nyî** /ɲiɫ/.

29. **Ngâ -nyî phò -nyî mĩ- nchèh.** *I got tired by running.*  
 ɲaɫ ɲiɫ pʰoɫ ɲiɫ miɫ ntʂʰɛɫ  
 I TOP TO RUN PTCP PFC G.TIRED  
 pron sf vt sf mod vi
30. **Ngâ -nyî bĩ má- ya.** *I won't go there.*  
 ɲaɫ ɲiɫ biɫ maɫ jaɫ  
 I TOP TO GO NOT AFF  
 pron sf vt neg sp
31. **Nuô yû âyî -mû ngâ -nyî mî- dzih.** *Your grandma was eaten by me.*  
 nuoɫ uyɫ ʔaɫjiɫ muɫ ɲaɫ ɲiɫ miɫ dʒiɫ  
 YOU HOME GRANDMA SG I AGT PFC TO EAT  
 pron n n cl pron sf mod vt
32. **Vâbû -yâ khyî -nyî tbù mínggã.** *The pig was slaughtered by him.*  
 vaɫbul jaɫ tɕʰiɫ ɲiɫ tɕʰuɫ miɫɲgaɫ  
 PIG SG HE AGT TO SLAUGHTER TO FALL  
 n cl pron sf vt vi
33. **Yôxrô phãdzhih -bâ yãqhâmû ngâ -nyî ndzhuò dzhũ!** *All of other men were called here by me.*  
 joɫχʰoɫ pʰaɫdzuɫ bæɫjaɫqʰaɫmuɫ ɲaɫ ɲiɫ ndzuoɫ dzuɫ  
 OTHER MAN PL WHOLE I AGT TO CALL HITHER  
 pron n cl adv pron sf vt vi

34. **Pâmî -bâ lâ ngâ -xrô -nyî cĩhcĩh -qhã dà thũthũ gyï.** *These toads, they are trampled by us on our feet.*  
 paɫmiɫbæɫlæɫɫ ɲaɫ χʰoɫ ɲiɫ tʂʰuɫtʂʰuɫ qʰaɫ daɫ tʰuɫtʰuɫ dʒiɫ  
 TOAD PL TOP I PL AGT FOOT SG ON TO TRAMPLE TO BE  
 n cl sp pron sf sf n cl pp vt vc

35. **Tâ -cù gyũhrã -bã khyô -xrô -nyî ntshá dzhìh pĩtsà.** *They already finished to put signs over the land.*  
 taɫ tʂʰuɫ dʒyɫkãɫ bæɫ tɕʰoɫ χʰoɫ ɲiɫ ntʂʰaɫ dʒiɫ piɫtsaɫ  
 THIS PIECE LAND PL HE PL AGT SIGN TO PUT CESS  
 dem cl n cl pron sf sf n vt vi

The object of the verb **bũmû** /buɫmuɫ/ to help, which usually denotes beneficiary, is

unlike substantives also marked with the suffix **nyî /ŋiʔ/**.

36. **Ngâ nuô -nyî bŭmû ěr -lŭh lŭh gyĩ.** *I came to babysit children for you.*  
 ŋaʔ nuoʔ ŋiʔ buʔmuʔ ʔəʔ lŭʔ lŭʔ dʒiʔ  
 I YOU BEN TO HELP CHILD SG TO WATCH TO BE  
 pron pron sf vt n cl vt vc

#### 5.4.1.8 Neutral personal pronouns

There exist one personal pronoun **yôxrô /joʔχʷoʔ/** which does not express explicit number and refers to other person(s) in general. It can function alone as an argument (37-40) or as an attribute (41-42).

37. **Tâ -tâ -yà luó- shîhshîh lighĩ bĩ yôxrô -nyî â -kvîh -dã zhîhdzhîh qã.**  
 taʔ taʔ jaʔ luoʔ ʂuʔʂuʔ liʔgiʔ biʔ joʔχʷoʔ ŋiʔ ʔaʔ kyʔ daʔ zuʔdzuʔ qaʔ  
 THIS KIND SG INCH TO LEAD TO RETURN TO GO OTHER AGT WE DL DAT TO LAUGHT TO WANT  
 dem cl cl mod vt vi vt pron sf pron sf sf vt vt  
*If we take this one back home, others will certainly laugh at both of us.*

38. **Nuôpãmî tâ -tâ -yà yôxruô zĕhmî -mû nuô -dã kô -kã yã?**  
 nuoʔpaʔmiʔ taʔ taʔ jaʔ joʔχʷoʔ zɛʔmiʔ muʔ nuoʔ daʔ koʔ kaʔ jaʔ  
 YOU TOAD THIS KIND SG OTHER DAUGHTER SG YOU DAT TO GIVE TO FINISH IMPAT  
 pron n dem cl cl pron n cl pron sf vt vi sp  
*You toad like this, will someone give one's daughter to you?*

39. **Yôxruô zĕhmî -mû nuô -dã kô mâ- kã.** *Others will not give you their daughter.*  
 joʔχʷoʔ zɛʔmiʔ muʔ nuoʔ daʔ koʔ maʔ kaʔ  
 OTHER DAUGHTER SG YOU DAT TO GIVE NOT TO FINISH  
 pron n cl pron sf vt neg vi

40. **Qhâtsô qhô bĩ hrâ yôxrô khyî -dã Qâmâdzhâ tshuò tsîhqã.** *Wherever he came, the others [call] him Qamadzha, who fools people.*  
 qʰaʔtsʰoʔ qʰoʔ biʔ ɣaʔ joʔχʷoʔ tɕʰiʔ daʔ qaʔmaʔdʒaʔ tɕʰuoʔ tsʰiʔqaʔ  
 WHERE LOC TO GO ALL OTHER HE DAT HUMAN TO FOOL  
 pron pp vt adv pron pron sf nprop n vt

41. **Yôxrô phădzhîh -bâ yăqhâmû ngâ -nyî ndzhuò dzhũ!** *All of other men were called here by me.*  
 joʔχʷoʔ pʰaʔdzuʔ bæʔjaʔqʰaʔlmuʔ ŋaʔ ŋiʔ ndzuoʔ dʒuʔ  
 OTHER MAN PL WHOLE I AGT TO CALL HITHER  
 pron n cl adv pron sf vt vi

42. **Yôxrô mólô -bâ hrô tsà, hrô tsĕ.** *Other men are so capable and so nice.*  
 joʔχʷoʔ moʔloʔ bæʔɣoʔ tsəʔ ɣoʔ tsɛʔ  
 OTHER MALE PL VERY B.CAPABLE VERY B.NICE  
 pron n cl adv va adv va

The other neutral personal pronoun has the opposite meaning - **yô /joʔ/** OWN. It can also be used alone as an argument (43) or as an attribute (44).

43. **Mûsîh -mû shîdzhîh, yô dâbĕr àkô shîh.** *The Yî people were thinking, how to get themselves more.*  
 muʔsiʔ muʔ ʂuʔdzuʔ joʔ daʔbɛʔ ʔaʔkoʔ ʂuʔ  
 Yî SG TO THINK OWN B.MORE TO GET TO CAUSE  
 nprop cl vt pron va vt v

44. **Âmî Nàmùzîh -bâ yô shâ shuô mâ- gĕ.** *Now Nàmùzî people are not able to speak own language.*  
 ʔaʔmiʔ naʔmuʔziʔ bæʔ joʔ ʂaʔ ʂuoʔ maʔ gɛʔ  
 NOW NÀMÙZÌ PL OWN LANGUAGE TO SPEAK NOT TO TALK  
 nt nprop cl pron n vt neg vt

The pronoun can be also reduplicated in the meaning EACH OWN.

45. **Sô Gûzîh<sup>119</sup> yo yo mi- yú yú.** *The Three Brother [Tribes] split for themselves.*  
 soł gulził joł joł mił qył qył  
 THREE BROTHER OWN OWN PFC TO DIVIDE TO DIVIDE  
 num n pron pron mod vt vt
46. **Â xrô zîh gǎ gyŭhrǎ yŭ yŭ,** *Four [ethnic] groups of us will divide the land*  
 ʔał xʷoł ził gał dzyłkał qył qył  
 WE PL FOUR GROUP LAND TO DIVIDE TO DIVIDE  
 pron sf num cl n vt vt  
**yô yô ntshà kyi -luh dzhih, ǎ- dbîh?** *marking it each with own mark, right?*  
 joł joł ntsʰał teił lu dzɯł ʔał dɕł  
 OWN OWN SIGN ONE PC TO PUT PQ B.RIGHT  
 pron pron n num cl vt pref va

### 5.4.2 Reflexive pronoun

There is one reflexive pronoun in NMZ **yîbi** /jił.bił/ SELF listed also by Yin (2016:16) and Huang & Rēnzēng (1991:163). In juxtaposition with personal pronoun it can add emphasis forming *intensive pronoun*.

1. **Nuô yîbî luó- shîhdzhîh.** *Think about it yourself.*  
 nuoł jilbił luoł ʃułdzuł  
 YOU SELF INCH TO THINK  
 pron pron mod vi
2. **Vŭdzhî -mû yîbî xà.** *Old man went there himself.*  
 vułdzuł muł jilbił xał  
 OLD MAN SG SELF TO GO  
 n[va] cl pron vt

Together with the neutral personal pronoun it forms reflexive neutral pronoun **yô yîbiyě** /joł.jilbiłjeł/ ONESELF, which is used in quoted speech.

3. **Khyî shuô yô yîbiyě âhrô dzih ma- yǎ.** *He said he did not eat eggs.*  
 tɕʰił ʃuoł joł jilbiłjeł ʔæłkoł dził mał jał  
 HE TO SAY OWN SELF EGG TO EAT NOT AFF  
 pron vt pron pron n vt neg sp

Reflexive pronoun is used either to intensify the pronoun (4c) or it can modify following noun, which is marked by its classifier (4d) or it can be used in accusative (4e).

- 4a. **Ngâ tsîh.** *I clean it.*  
 ŋał tsîł
- 4b. **Ngâ bǎtsîh tsîh.** *I clean shirts.*  
 ŋał bałtsił tsîł
- 4c. **Ngâ yîbî bǎtsîh tsîh.** *I clean shirts myself.*  
 ŋał jilbił bałtsił tsîł
- 4d. **Ngâ yîbî bǎtsîh -bâ tsîh.** *I clean my shirts.*  
 ŋał jilbił bałtsił bæł tsîł
- 4e. **Ngâ yîbî tsîh.** *I clean it myself.*  
 ŋał jilbił tsîł  
 I SELF SHIRT PL TO CLEAN  
 pron pron n cl vt

The reflexive pronoun can also be used in locative (4f) or possessive case (4g-h). However, in possessive case it is marked by the suffix **-gu** /guł/.

<sup>119</sup> It is possible here to directly modify the substantive with the numeral, because it is a special term, therefore in English, the expression would be written with capitalized first letters.



4f.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>yībì</b>	<b>dà</b>	<b>bātsih</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean shirt on myself.</i>
	ŋaɿ	jiɿbiɿ	daɿ	baɿtsiɿ	tsiɿ	
	I	SELF	ON	SHIRT	TO CLEAN	
	pron	pron	pp	n	vt	
4g.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>yībì</b>	<b>-gu</b>	<b>bātsih</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean my own shirts.</i>
	ŋaɿ	jiɿbiɿ	guɿ	baɿtsiɿ	tsiɿ	
	I	SELF	GEN	SHIRT	TO CLEAN	
	pron	pron	sf	n	vt	
4h.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>yībì</b>	<b>-gu</b>		<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean mine.</i>
	ŋaɿ	jiɿbiɿ	guɿ		tsiɿ	
	I	SELF	GEN		TO CLEAN	
	pron	pron	sf		vt	

The reflexive pronoun can be also used in dative case (5c), when the beneficiary is the same person as the actor.

5a.	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>yībì</b>		<b>tsih.</b>	<i>You clean it yourself.</i>	
	nuoɿ	jiɿbiɿ		tsiɿ		
	YOU	SELF		TO CLEAN		
	pron	pron		vt		
5b.	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>yībì</b>	<b>dà</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>You clean it on yourself.</i>	
	nuoɿ	jiɿbiɿ	daɿ	tsiɿ		
	YOU	SELF	ON	TO CLEAN		
	pron	pron	pp	vt		
5c.	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>yībì</b>	<b>-dǎ</b>	<b>sīhper</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>You clean an apple for yourself.</i>
	nuoɿ	jiɿbiɿ	daɿ	siɿpəɿ	tsiɿ	
	YOU	SELF	DAT	PLUM	TO CLEAN	
	pron	pron	sf	n	vt	
5d.	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>yībì</b>	<b>-gu</b>	<b>sīhper</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>Clean your own apple.</i>
	nuoɿ	jiɿbiɿ	guɿ	siɿpəɿ	tsiɿ	
	YOU	SELF	GEN	PLUM	TO CLEAN	
	pron	pron	sf	n	vt	

### 5.4.3 Specific declension of personal pronouns

#### 5.4.3.1 Personal pronouns as benefactive

When the beneficiary is another person, the construction with coverb **būmu** /buɿmuɿ/ TO HELP is used.

6a.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>nuò</b>	<b>-nyī</b>	<b>būmu</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean it for you.</i>	
	ŋaɿ	nuoɿ	niɿ	buɿmuɿ	tsiɿ		
	I	YOU	BEN	TO HELP	TO CLEAN		
	pron	pron	sf	vt	vt		
6b.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>nuò</b>	<b>-nyī</b>	<b>būmu</b>	<b>bātsih</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean shirts for you.</i>
	ŋaɿ	nuoɿ	niɿ	buɿmuɿ	baɿtsiɿ	tsiɿ	
	I	YOU	BEN	TO HELP	SHIRT	TO CLEAN	
	pron	pron	sf	vt	n	vt	

### 5.4.3.2 Personal pronouns and parts of human body

Note that in case the object of cleaning is part of human body, the personal pronoun is in prepositional (locative) case, while in other case the personal pronoun is in genitive case.

7.	<b>Ngâ nuò</b>	<b>-nyĩ</b>	<b>bũmu</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean it for you.</i>	
	ŋaŋ nuoŋ	ɲiŋ buɬmuɬ	tsiŋ			
	I YOU	GEN	TO HELP	TO CLEAN		
	pron pron	sf	vt	vt		
8a.	<b>Ngâ nuò</b>	<b>dà</b>	<b>gũmì</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean you.</i>	
	ŋaŋ nuoŋ	daŋ guɬmiŋ	tsiŋ			
	I YOU	ON	BODY	TO CLEAN		
	pron pron	pp	n	vt		
8b.	<b>Ngâ nuò</b>	<b>dà</b>	<b>kù</b>	<b>-lùh</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean your face.</i>
	ŋaŋ nuoŋ	daŋ kuŋ luŋ	tsiŋ			
	I YOU	ON	FACE	SG	TO CLEAN	
	pron pron	pp	n	cl	vt	
8c.	<b>Ngâ nuò</b>	<b>dà</b>	<b>hròr</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean your head.</i>	
	ŋaŋ nuoŋ	daŋ ɬoŋ	tsiŋ			
	I YOU	ON	HEAD	TO CLEAN		
	pron pron	pp	n	vt		
9.	<b>Ngâ nuò</b>	<b>-nyĩ</b>	<b>qhâ</b>	<b>-lùh</b>	<b>tsih.</b>	<i>I clean your bowl.</i>
	ŋaŋ nuoŋ	ɲiŋ qʰaŋ	luŋ	tsiŋ		
	I YOU	GEN	BOWL	SG	TO CLEAN	
	pron pron	sf	n	cl	vt	

### 5.4.4 Demonstrative pronouns

#### 5.4.4.1 Introduction

There is a set of three deictic words in NMZ referring to objects close to the speaker (proximal), objects far from the speaker (medial) and objects very far from the speaker or indefinite (distal).

<b>tâ</b>	taŋ	<i>this</i>	<b>hã</b>	ɸa	<i>that</i>	<b>qô</b>	qoŋ	<i>that</i>
PROX			MED			DIST		

Demonstratives can precede the head noun, however they are more often placed after the substantive and before the classifier.

<b>yúqhô</b>	<b>tà</b>	<b>-mu</b>	<i>this friend</i>	<b>tà</b>	<b>yúqho</b>	<b>nyĩ</b>	<b>-guh</b>	<i>these two friends</i>
ɸyɬqʰoŋ	taŋ	muɬ		taŋ	ɸyɬqʰoŋ	ɲiŋ	guɬ	
FRIEND	THIS	SG		THIS	FRIEND	TWO	PC	
n	dem	cl		dem	n	num	cl	

*Yĩn* (2016:15) recognizes only a set of two deictic words (proximal and distal), while *Huáng & Rēnzēng* (1991:163-164) recognize a set of three deictic words. However, only the proximal deictic word corresponds to our analysis.

#### 5.4.4.2 Proximal demonstratives

The proximal demonstrative can not be used as an argument alone. It need to be followed by a relevant suffix to form a complete pronoun.

<b>tâ</b>	+	<b>cũ</b>	→	<b>tâcũ</b>	<i>this</i>	<b>tâ</b>	+	<b>mû</b>	→	<b>tômû</b>	<i>thus</i>
taɭ		tʂuɭ		taɭtʂuɭ		taɭ		muɭ		toɭmuɭ	
<b>tâ</b>	+	<b>thuò</b>	→	<b>tâthuò</b>	<i>this time</i>	<b>tâ</b>	+	<b>qhô</b>	→	<b>tôqhô</b>	<i>here</i>
taɭ		tʰuoɭ		taɭtʰuoɭ		taɭ		qʰoɭ		toɭqʰoɭ	

1. **Tâcũ ndzhîgyî -bèr ngâ nyî àdă -mû î gyî.** *This is my fathers book.*  
 taɭtʂuɭ ndzʰuɭdʒiɭ bəɭ ɲaɭ ɲiɭ ʔaɭdaɭ muɭ iɭ dʒiɭ  
 THIS CHARACTER FULL I GEN FATHER SG GEN TO BE  
 pron n cl pron sf n cl sf vc
2. **Tâ thuò vâbû ěrdzîh bâ maku lâ lú- nchih.** *This time, [she] pulled the tail of [one of] the piglets.*  
 taɭ tʰuoɭ vaɭbuɭ ʔəɭdʒiɭ bæɭma:ɭkuɭ laɭ luɔɭ ntʂʰuɭ  
 THIS TIME PIG CHILD PL TAIL SG UP TO PULL  
 dem pp n n cl n cl mod vt
3. **Tômô phò dzhũ gyî.** *Thus I ran here.*  
 toɭmoɭ pʰoɭ dʒuɭ dʒiɭ  
 THUS TO RUN HITHER TO BE  
 pron vi vi vc
4. **Pâmî -yâ, nuò tôqhô khyî- luò.** *Toad, you wait here!*  
 paɭmiɭ jaɭ nuɔɭ toɭqʰoɭ tɕʰiɭ luɔɭ  
 TOAD SG YOU HERE INCH TO WAIT  
 n cl pron np mod vi

Otherwise it needs to be followed by classifier as a part of a numeral phrase, which can function as a pro-form and substitute an independently used expression.

5. **Pâmî -yâ ngvih: “Tâ -luh nâ pã.”** *The toad said: „This one should be good.”*  
 paɭmiɭ jaɭ ɲɣɭ taɭ luɭ na:ɭ paɭ  
 TOAD SG TO TELL THIS SG B.GOOD AFF  
 n cl vt dem cl va sp
6. **Tshuò tâ -yũ khyî- kôhni pũ.** *The family was started.*  
 tʂʰuoɭ taɭ ɥɭɭ tɕʰiɭ kôɭhniɭ puɭ  
 HUMAN THIS HOME ONE TO FEAR MMNT  
 n dem cl num vi vp[cl]
7. **Pâmî -yâ mbér tâ -mû shîhdzîh:** *The toad's wife was thinking:*  
 paɭmiɭ jaɭ mbəɭ taɭ muɭ ʂuɭldzɥɭ  
 TOAD SG WIFE THIS CL TO THINK  
 n cl n dem cl vi
8. **Dbû-bâ tâ zêhmî shîh -kuh luó- yâhă dbûshîh yôqhô khyî- tò.**  
 dʒuɭbæɭ taɭ zɛɭmiɭ ʂuɭ kuɭ luɔɭ jaɭfiaɭ dʒuɭʂuɭɭjoɭqʰoɭ tɕʰiɭ toɭ  
 YETI PL THIS DAUGHTER SEVEN PC UP TO CARRY ON BACK YETI HOME FWD TO ARRIVE  
 n cl dem n num cl mod vt adn n mod vt  
*Yetis carried these seven daughters on their back and arrived to their home.*
9. **Tâ qhvîh -kuh -lûh mî- dzih.** *[They] ate those six.*  
 taɭ qʰviɭ kuɭ luɭ miɭ dʒiɭ  
 THIS SIX PC SMALL PFC TO EAT  
 dem num cl cl mod vt

#### 5.4.4.3 Medial demonstratives

Medial demonstratives (proximal according to Yin (2016) and Huang & Rēnzēng (1991)) refer to objects far from the speaker or in case of time expressions to a definite point

of time. It is used together with a classifier in most of the cases.

10. **Hă -bâ dbûshũ gyĩ.** *Those are yetis.*  
 ɦa˥ ɓæ˥ ɗɓu˥ʂu˥ ɗzi˥  
 THAT PL YETI TO BE  
 dem cl n vc
11. **Bũdzũ hă -lũh luó- khvih.** *She received that leather [bag].*  
 bu˥ɗzu˥ ɦa˥ lɯ˥ luo˥ kʰvɯ˥  
 LEATHER THAT SG INCH TO RECEIVE  
 n dem cl mod vt
12. **Sè hă -hrô nyĩ nyi -mũ chĩh pĩtsà.** *The firewood [used] day by day was burned out at that moment.*  
 se˥ ɦa˥ ɤo˥ ɲi˥ ɲi˥ mu˥ tʂʰu˥ pi˥tɕa˥  
 WOOD THAT MOMENT DAY DAY ADV TO BURN CESS  
 n dem cl nt nt sf vt vt
13. **Á -xrõ nyĩ -kuh yũ -lâ mũ hă thâ mâ- tò sĩh.** *That time for us two to do housework did not come yet.*  
 ʔa˥ ɕo˥ ɲi˥ ku˥ yɯ˥ la˥ mu˥ ɦa˥ tʰa˥ ma˥ to˥ si˥  
 WE PL TWO PC HOUSE SG TO DO THAT TIME NOT TO ARRIVE PROGR  
 pron sf num cl n cl vt dem cl/n neg vi vp
14. **Hă thũ, pãmĩ -yâ mí- duò: “Kõ yâ kõ mâ- yà?”** *The toad asked then: „Do you give [her to me] or not?”*  
 ɦa˥ tʰu˥ pa˥mi˥ ja˥ mi˥ duo˥ ko˥ ja˥ ko˥ ma˥ ja˥  
 THAT TIME TOAD SG PFC TO ASK TO GIVE OR TO GIVE NOT AFF  
 dem pp n cl mod vt vt conj vt neg sp

#### 5.4.4.4 Distal demonstratives

Distal demonstratives refer to an object far from the speaker on an unspecified place or in case of time expressions to an indefinite point of time.

Grammatically it differs from the medial and proximal demonstratives, because it can be used independently and on the contrary it can not be placed directly before a classifier but it can precede the whole numeral phrase.

15. **Qô kyi -gidâ tshuò kyi -yũ wãshih.** *There was a wedding of one family on one place.*  
 qo˥ tɕi˥ gi˥da˥ tʂʰuo˥ tɕi˥ yɯ˥ wæ˥ʂu˥  
 DIST ONE PLACE HUMAN ONE HOME TO MARRY  
 dem num cl n num cl vi
16. **Qô kyi nyĩ khyĩ yũqho qãtsih mí- zèhzèh.** *On one day, he prepared his mind at home.*  
 qo˥ tɕi˥ ɲi˥ tɕʰi˥ yɯ˥qʰo˥ qa˥tɕi˥ mi˥ zɛ˥zɛ˥  
 DIST ONE DAY HE HOME MIND PFC TO PREPARE  
 dem num cl/n pron n n mod vt
17. **Qô kyi nyĩ bũzĩhzih -yâ ngvih:** *One day, the earthworm said:*  
 qo˥ tɕi˥ ɲi˥ bu˥zi˥zi˥ ja˥ ɲv˥  
 DIST ONE DAY EARTHWORM SG TO TELL  
 dem num cl/n n cl vt
18. **Qô kyi -kĩ dbûshũ hnĩ dàdzhĩh -phâ qhã dzhù.** *Once, yetis caught a big beast.*  
 qo˥ tɕi˥ ki˥ ɗɓu˥ʂu˥ hɲi˥ da˥ɗzu˥ pʰa˥ qʰa˥:˥ ɗzu˥  
 DIST ONE TIME YETI BEAST B.BIG SG TO CATCH HITHER  
 dem num cl n n va cl vt vi
19. **Qô likĩ -sũ -bâ dbũ -bâ gyĩ.** *Those who answered were yetis.*  
 qo˥ li˥ki˥ su˥ ɓæ˥ ɗɓu˥ ɓæ˥ ɗzi˥  
 DIST TO ANSWER NOM PL YETI PL TO BE  
 dem vt sf cl n cl vc

This distal demonstrative can be also used as a place expression denoting place far away from the speaker.

20. **Tshuò -bâ qô tò vũ mâ- gyĩ.** *When the people arrive there, there will be no bear.*  
 tʂʰuo˥ ɓæ˥ qo˥ to˥ vu˥ ma˥ ɗzi˥  
 HUMAN PL DIST TO ARRIVE BEAR NOT TO BE  
 n cl np[dem] vt n neg vc

21. **Qô** **khyî-** **ndzù.** *They settled there.*  
 qoɭ tɕʰiɭ ndzuɭ  
 DIST INC TO SIT  
 np[dem] mod vt

The distal demonstrative can be modified by plural suffix in order to directly precede either noun or nominalized numeral phrase.

22. **Qô** **-xrǎ** **lǎ** **hnǔ** **nyî** **-qhâ,** **phò** **thuǒ,** *Those two tiger hairs, when running,*  
 qoɭ ɣaɭ læɭ hɲuɭ ɲiɭ qʰaɭ pʰoɭ tʰuɔɭ  
 DIST PL TIGER HAIR TWO PC TO RUN TIME  
 dem sf n n num cl vi pp  
**pǎmî** **-yâ** **lǎ** **-phâ** **mākû** **-lâ** **nthā** **nggǎ.** *the toad bit into the tail of the tiger.*  
 paɭmiɭ jaɭ læɭ pʰaɭ ma:ɬkuɭ laɭ ntʰa:ɭ ŋgaɭ  
 TOAD SG TIGER SG TAIL SG TO BITE B.GOOD  
 n cl n cl n cl vt vi
23. **Qô** **-xrǎ** **lûh** **lûh** **-bâ** **shîhqâ** **âgyimǎ.** *Those small pieces looked like bones.*  
 qoɭ ɣaɭ luɭ luɭ bæɭ ʂuɭlqaɭ ʔaɭɬziɬmaɭ  
 DIST PL SMALL SMALL PL BONE B.ALIKE  
 dem sf cl cl cl n va

The medial demonstrative is used as a suffix of the distal demonstrative in order to precede noun in singular number.

24. **Qô** **-hǎ** **hrǎtsihtsih** **qâhnî** **-lâ** **mì-** **phǔ.** *It poured out that rat sac.*  
 qoɭ hǎɭ ɤaɬtsiɬtsiɭ qǎɬhɲiɭ laɭ miɭ pʰuɭ  
 DIST THAT RAT SAC SG DOWN TO POUR  
 dem dem n n cl mod vt
25. **Qô** **-hǎ** **mbér-** **mû** **ngvih:** **“Ngâ** **-nyî** **mólô** **-mû** **ěrzih** **xà.”** *That women said: „My husband left for work.“*  
 qoɭ hǎɭ mbəɬmuɭ ɲyɭ ɲaɭ ɲiɭ mʰoɬloɭ muɭ ʔəɬziɭ xaɭ  
 DIST THAT WIFE SG TO TELL I GEN HUSBAND SG TO WORK TO LEAVE  
 dem dem n cl v pron sf n cl n vt

### 5.4.5 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are words which main function is to form question (see Chapter 7.3 and the next part 5.4.5.1). According to the type of sentence they appear in, they are used in several other functions: *indefinite* (5.4.5.2), *relative* (5.4.5.3), *universal* (5.4.5.4) and *negative* (5.4.5.5).

*Yin* (2016:22) only mentions the interrogative function of the interrogative pronouns. The usage of interrogative pronouns as indefinite is also in *Qiāng* (LAPOLLA 2003:55) or *Ērsū* (ZHANG 2013:256).

### 5.4.5.1 Interrogative function

Interrogative words appear usually on the same place as in declaratory sentences. Mostly, they are used in interrogative sentences to express question.

1. **Khěyî tâ -tà pămî -yâ hnũ?** *Who would want this kind of toad?*  
 k<sup>h</sup>e-ljil tal ta\ pa-lmi\ ja\ h<sup>n</sup>ũ-l  
 WHO THIS KIND TOAD SG TO WANT  
 pron dem cl n cl vt
2. **Nuô -xrô fù -lũh kvĩh -a?** *What do you fear?*  
 nuol x<sup>u</sup>ol fu\ lu\ ky\ a\  
 YOU PL WHAT SG TO FEAREMPH  
 pron sf pron cl vt sp
3. **Tâcu -ò zá' zá' hrâshih hrâshih fû -lũh gyi nyi?** *What is this „zah-zah krrrash-krrrash“?*  
 taltsu\ ol za:\ za:\ ka\su\ ka\su\ fu\ lu\ dzi\ ni\  
 THIS WHAT SG TO BE ASSUR  
 dem sp ono ono ono ono pron cl vc sp
4. **Âhrô là, nuô fû -luh phò gyĩ?** *Mr. leopard, what do you run for?*  
 ?alkol læ\ nuol fu\ lu\ p<sup>h</sup>o\ dzi\  
 GRANDPA LEOPARD YOU WHAT SG TO RUN TO BE  
 n n pron pron cl vi vc
5. **Làkuô tâ -yâ fû -lũh màrmär ya?** *What is the crow cackling about?*  
 la\k<sup>u</sup>o\ tal ja\ fu\ lu\ ma\lma\l ja\  
 CROW THIS SG WHAT SG TO CACKLE  
 n dem cl pron cl vt sp
6. **Fûmu ngâ -dâ khyî- nggà dzhuô?** *Why do you throw it to me?*  
 fulmu\ ñal da\ te<sup>h</sup>i\ ñga\ dzuo\  
 WHY I DAT FWD TO THROW HITHER  
 pron pron sf mod vt vi
7. **Làkuô tâ -yâ fûmu ngâ -da pămî -yâ pã ngvĩh nyi?** *Why is this crow saying that I am pregnant with a toad?*  
 la\k<sup>u</sup>o\ tal ja\ fulmu\ ñal da\ pa-lmi\ ja\ pæ\ ñy\ ni\ I am pregnant with a toad?  
 CROW THIS SG WHY I DAT TOAD SG TO CARRY TO SAY  
 n dem cl pron pron sf n cl cl cl sp
8. **Fû -yì pămî tà ta yã gyi wu?** *Which is this kind of toad?*  
 fu\ ji\ pa-lmi\ ta\ ta\ ja\ dzi\ wu\  
 WHAT GEN TOAD THIS KIND SG TO BE  
 pron sf n dem cl cl vc sp
9. **Phündzhîh phădzhîh tâ -mû qhâtsô -qhô -nyĩ nkhvù -ă- dzhù zhā dzhù sôkă?** *Where was the poor man stealing and robbing to get rich?*  
 p<sup>h</sup>u-lndzu\ p<sup>h</sup>a-ldzu\ tal mu\ q<sup>h</sup>a\ltsol q<sup>h</sup>o\ ni\ nk<sup>h</sup>vu\ a\ dzu\ za:\ dzu\ so\ka\  
 POOR MAN THIS SG WHERE LOC TOP TO STEAL HITHER TO ROB HITHER GET RICH  
 va n dem cl pron pp sf vt inf vi vt vi vi
10. **Nuô “hrâshih, hrâshih” ngvĩh hă -mû qhâtsô -qhô xà?** *That „krrrash-krrrash“ you say, where did it go?*  
 nuol ka\su\ ka\su\ ñy\ ha\ mu\ q<sup>h</sup>a\ltsol q<sup>h</sup>o\ xa\ you say, where did it go?  
 YOU TO SAY THAT SG WHERE LOC TO LEAVE  
 pron ono ono vt dem cl pron pp vi
11. **Qhâtsô -qhô khyî- dzhìh?** *Where to put it?*  
 q<sup>h</sup>a\ltsol q<sup>h</sup>o\ te<sup>h</sup>i\ dzu\  
 WHERE LOC FWD TO PUT  
 pron pp mod vt

12. **Qhâtô -mû mû -i?** *What to do?*  
 q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>to<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> i<sup>l</sup>  
 HOW ADV TO DO PROSP  
 pron sf vt sf
13. **Nuô qhâtô -mû ěr -lûh -lûh bàbã dzîh kyù?** *How come that you wash rice*  
 nu<sup>o</sup>l q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>to<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> ʔə<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> ba<sup>l</sup>ba<sup>l</sup> dzî<sup>l</sup> tey<sup>l</sup> *having small child on your back?*  
 YOU HOW ADV CHILD SG SMALL TO HAVE UNHUSKED TO WASH  
 ON BACK RICE  
 pron pron sf n cl cl vt n vt
14. **Mâ- ndò -ě, nuô qhâtô -mû?** *I haven't seen [him], how [is it] with you?*  
 ma<sup>l</sup> ndo<sup>l</sup> e<sup>l</sup> nu<sup>o</sup>l q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>to<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup>  
 NOT TO SEE INGR YOU HOW ADV  
 neg vt sf pron pron sf
15. **Pāmî qhâtâ tà yã gyī?** *What kind of a toad it is?*  
 pa<sup>l</sup>mi<sup>l</sup> q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup> ta<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> dzi:<sup>l</sup>  
 TOAD HOW KIND SG TO BE  
 n pron cl cl vc
16. **Qhâtô -mû pāmî -ya pã -kvîh -i?** *How could it be that I'd be conceived with a toad?*  
 q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>to<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup> pa<sup>l</sup>mi<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> pæ<sup>l</sup> ky<sup>l</sup> i<sup>l</sup>  
 HOW ADV TOAD SG TO CARRY PASS PROSP  
 pron sf n cl vt sf sf

They can also be used in indirect questions.

17. **Yîntâ qo kyi -kì, mùshìh nyîmî -lûh lá khêyî mólò tò.**  
 ji<sup>l</sup>nta<sup>l</sup> qo<sup>l</sup> tei<sup>l</sup> ki<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup>ʃu<sup>l</sup> nyî<sup>l</sup>mi<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> læ<sup>l</sup> k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>l</sup>ji<sup>l</sup> m<sup>o</sup>lo<sup>l</sup> to<sup>l</sup>  
 IN THE PAST DIST ONE TIME WIND SUN SG TO COMPARE WHO SKILL BE WORTHY  
 nt dem num cl n n cl vi pron n va  
*Once upon a time, wind and sun were arguing, who has better skills.*
18. **Dzākã mî- hnũ kyi lûh pũ fû -yî tshuò -mû** *Go out to look outside, which one*  
 dzæ<sup>l</sup>kæ<sup>l</sup> mi<sup>l</sup> h<sup>n</sup>ũ<sup>l</sup> tei<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> pu<sup>l</sup> fu<sup>l</sup> ji<sup>l</sup> t<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>l</sup> mu<sup>l</sup>  
 OUTSIDE DOWN TO WANT ONE TO LOOK MMNT WHO GEN HUMAN SG  
 np mod vt num vt vp [cl] pron sf n cl  
**âvû lû- ndzhù ndzhù mârmar.** *is shouting to call grandpa.*  
 ʔa<sup>l</sup>vu<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>o</sup>l ndzu<sup>l</sup> ndzu<sup>l</sup> ma<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>  
 GRANDPA INCH TO CALL TO CALL TO SHOUT  
 n mod vt vt vt
19. **Tácû thuôlî -yâ qhâtsô -qhô xà -nyî!** *Where the hell did the rabbit go!*  
 ta<sup>l</sup>ʃu<sup>l</sup> t<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>l</sup>li<sup>l</sup> ja<sup>l</sup> q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>tsô<sup>l</sup> q<sup>h</sup>o<sup>l</sup> xa<sup>l</sup> nyî<sup>l</sup>  
 THIS RABBIT SG WHERE LOC TO LEAVE  
 dem n cl pron pp vt sp

Interrogative pronouns can be also part of comparative constructions denoting the members of comparison.

20. **Khêyî -nyî khêyî -dà dzîh nkhyĩ kyi mphì pũ.** *Let's have a spit, who ate something [better] than the other.*  
 k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>l</sup>ji<sup>l</sup> nyî k<sup>h</sup>e<sup>l</sup>ji<sup>l</sup> da<sup>l</sup> dzî<sup>l</sup> nte<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> tei<sup>l</sup> mp<sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup> pu<sup>l</sup>  
 WHO GEN WHO UP TO EAT EXP ONE TO SPIT MMNT  
 pron sf pron pp vt vp num vt vp [cl]

### 5.4.5.2 Indefinite function

The interrogative pronouns can be also used in declarative sentences in the function of indefinite pronoun.

21. **Ngâ qhâtô -mû mbà tshâtsà gyîgî.** *When I somehow walk, [give me] a good grasp.*  
 ŋaɫ qʰaɫtoɫ muɫ mbaɫ tʰaɫtʰaɫ dʒiɫgiɫ  
 I SOMEHOW ADV TO WALK TO GRASP TO HAVE  
 pron pron sf vt vt vt
22. **Fû -yî mèr -lă gyîgî, khyî mî- ntshuò.** *When there was something tasty, he ate it.*  
 fuɫ jiɫ məɫ laɫ dʒiɫgiɫ tʰiɫ miɫ ntsʰuoɫ  
 SOME GEN B.TASTY SG TO HAVE HE PFC TO DEVOUR  
 pron sf va cl vt pron mod vt
23. **Yòqhǒ fû -yî nā -lâ gyîgî, mólô -mû -nyi ntshuò mǐnggǎ.** *When there was something good at home, it was eaten by husband.*  
 joɫqʰoɫ fuɫ jiɫ naːɫ laɫ dʒiɫgiɫ mʰoɫloɫ muɫ ŋiɫ ntsʰuoɫ miɫŋgaɫ  
 HOME SOME GEN B.GOOD SG TO HAVE HUSBAND SG AGT TO DEVOUR TO FALL  
 np pron sf va cl vt n cl sf vt vt
24. **Gyǔhrǎ qhō fû -yî gyǔhrǎ sǎhpû ndzà, khyî -nyî ntshá mpsih pítsà.** *On some land, where there were trees, he cut his sign.*  
 dʒyɫkaɫ qʰoɫ fuɫ jiɫ dʒyɫkaɫ sɻɫpuɫ ndzaɫ tʰiɫ ŋiɫ ntsʰaɫ mpsiɫ piɫtsaɫ  
 LAND LOC SOME GEN LAND TREE TO BE HE GEN SIGN TO CUT TO FINISH  
 n pp pron sf n n vt pron sf n vt vt
25. **Fû -yî qhâdzhû mî- nthà gyǔhrǎ khyî -nyî gyî.** *Land, where some wooden rods were stuck [into the ground], will be his.*  
 fuɫ jiɫ qʰaɫdzuɫ miɫ ntʰaɫ dʒyɫkaɫ tʰiɫ ŋiɫ dʒiɫ  
 SOME GEN WOODEN ROD PFC TO STICK LAND HE GEN TO BE  
 pron sf n mod vt n pron sf vc

### 5.4.5.3 Relative function

Interrogative pronouns can be used in pair in declarative sentences. In that case the first pronoun has no antecedent (or the antecedent is fused into the pronoun), while the second pronoun refers to the first.

26. **Khêyî yǎkhû khêyî thâhrô.** *Who will be quicker will be first.*  
 kʰeɫjiɫ jaɫkʰuɫ kʰeɫjiɫ tʰaɫkoɫ  
 WHO B.QUICK WHO B.BEFORE  
 pron va pron va[nt]
27. **Khêyî thâhrô tò, khêyî mólô tò.** *Who will arrive first has better skills.*  
 kʰeɫjiɫ tʰaɫkoɫ toɫ kʰeɫjiɫ mʰoɫloɫ toɫ  
 WHO BEFORE TO ARRIVE WHO SKILL B.WORTHY  
 pron nt vt pron n va
28. **Nuô fû dzih -bâ dzhîh dzhîh, fû -luh ndzhù ndzhǔ.** *You just think about any food, and then call for it.*  
 nuoɫ fuɫ dʒiɫ bæɫ dʒuɫ dʒuɫ fuɫ luɫ ndʒuɫ ndʒuɫ  
 YOU WHAT TO EAT PL TO THINK TO THINK WHAT SG TO CALL TO CALL  
 pron pron vt cl vt vt pron cl vt vt
29. **Qhâtsô qhō ló- sǎh qhâtsô qhō ló- xǎ.** *Where they had fought, there they won.*  
 qʰaɫsoɫ qʰoɫ lʰoɫ siɫ qʰaɫsoɫ qʰoɫ lʰoɫ xaɫ  
 WHERE LOC INCH TO FIGHT THERE LOC INCH TO WIN  
 pron pp mod vi pron pp mod vi
30. **Phô qhâtsô qhō mî- tò, qhâtsô qhō zhû tǒmbǔh -lûh ló- tǒ.** *Where he ran to, there he tied a nodule on a grass.*  
 pʰoɫ qʰaɫsoɫ qʰoɫ miɫ toɫ qʰaɫsoɫ qʰoɫ zuɫ toɫmbuɫ luɫ lʰoɫ toɫ  
 TO RUN WHERE LOC PFC TO ARRIVE WHERE LOC GRASS NODULE SG UP TO TIE  
 vt pron pp mod vt pron pp n n cl mod vt



31. Nuô -kvîh qhâtô -mû ngvîh, ngâ qhâtô mû mû -î. *I will do how you both say.*  
 nuol kyɿ qʰaɿtoɿ muɿ ŋvɿɿ ŋaɿ qʰaɿtoɿ muɿ muɿ iɿ  
 YOU DL HOW ADV TO SAY I HOW ADV TO DO PROSP  
 pron sf pron sf vt pron pron sf vt sf

The interrogative pronoun can also be used in pair with a demonstrative pronoun.

32. Xälâ -yâ qhâtsô -qhô luó- mêmër, hä yôqhô khyî- ndzù. *Where the cat starts to meow, that house you settle in.*  
 xaɿlaɿ jaɿ qʰaɿtsɔɿ qʰoɿ luoɿ məɿməɿ-ɿ ɸaɿ joɿqʰoɿ tɕʰiɿ ndzuɿ  
 CAT SG WHERE LOC INCH TO MEOW THAT HOME FWD TO SIT  
 n cl pron pp mod vi dem n mod vt  
 33. Khêyî mólô tò, tshuò hä -mû bātsîh -bâ mî- qàdà shîh.  
 kʰeɿjiɿ mʰoɿloɿ toɿ tɕʰuoɿ ɸaɿ muɿ baɿtsiɿ bæɿ miɿ qaɿdaɿ ɕuɿɿ  
 WHO SKILL B.WORTHY HUMAN THAT SG SHIRT PL DOWN TO PUT TO CAUSE

*Better skills has the one, who will cause that man to take off his shirts.*

#### 5.4.5.4 Universal function

When the interrogative pronoun is used in universal function, it is accompanied by the adverb hrâ /kaɿ/ ALL. These kind of clauses are in positive mood.

34. Qhâtsô qhô bî hrâ yôxrô khyî -dâ Qâmâdzhâ tshuò tsîhqă. *Wherever he came, the others [call] him Qamadzha, who fools people.*  
 qʰaɿtsɔɿ qʰoɿ biɿ kaɿ joɿχʰoɿ tɕʰiɿ daɿ qaɿmaɿdzaɿ tɕʰuoɿ tsɿɿqaɿ  
 WHERE LOC TO GO ALL OTHER HE DAT HUMAN TO FOOL  
 pron pp vt adv pron pron sf nprop n vt  
 35. Fû hrâ mî- hä. [He] bought everything.  
 fuɿ kaɿ miɿ hæɿɿ  
 WHAT ALL PFC TO GET  
 pron adv mod vt

36. Khyî pāmî fû -yâ gyî hrâ shîh, *Whatever caused that it is a toad,*  
 tɕʰiɿ paɿmiɿ fuɿ jaɿ dziɿ kaɿ ɕuɿɿ  
 HE TOAD WHAT SG TO BE ALL TO CAUSE  
 pron n pron cl vc adv v  
 ngâ -nyî gūmî -dâ mî- hròpă gyî. *it came out of my body.*  
 ŋaɿ ŋiɿ guɿmiɿ daɿ miɿ koɿpaɿ dziɿ  
 I GEN BODY ON DOWN TO FALL OUT TO BE  
 pron sf n pp mod vt vc  
 37. Nuô shîh, vù, zhuò, bādzhà, fû hrâ khyî būcîh qă. *Meat, liquor, grain, money, everything you want will come out.*  
 nuol ɕuɿɿ vuɿ zuoɿ baɿdzaɿ fuɿ kaɿ tɕʰiɿ buɿtɕʰuɿɿ qaɿ  
 YOU MEAT LIQUOR GRAIN MONEY WHAT ALL IT TO COME OUT TO WANT  
 pron n n n n pron adv pron vt vt

#### 5.4.5.5 Negative function

When the declarative clause with interrogative pronoun is in negative mood, the interrogative pronoun has negative function. It is also very often accompanied by the adverb hrâ /kaɿ/ ALL.

38. Ngâ -xrô fû hrâ luó- kvîh mâ- yă. *We do not fear anything.*  
 ŋaɿ χʰoɿ fuɿ kaɿ luoɿ kyɿ maɿ jaɿ  
 I PL WHAT ALL INCH TO FEAR NOT AFF  
 pron sf pron adv mod vt neg sp

39. **Mâ- gyi sâ, khêyî-kuh hrâ mâ-** **sìh dzìhdzhîhkâkâ bûdzhîh kǒ.** *Wasn't it like that, **no-one'd** know whether quarreling would be common.*  
 maɭ dʒi˧ saɭ kʰeɭji˧l kʰaɭ ɕaɭ maɭ si˧ dzɯ˧ɬdzɯ˧lkaɭkaɭ bu˧ɬdzɯ˧l koɭ  
 NOT TO BE IF WHO SG ALL NOT TO KNOW TO QUARREL TO APPEAR TO GET  
 neg vc conj pron cl adv neg vt vt vt vt
40. **Khêyî hrâ dǎ mâ- yâ.** *Nobody will come.*  
 kʰeɭji˧l ɕaɭ daɭ maɭ jaɭ  
 WHO ALL TO COME NOT AFF  
 pron adv vt neg sp

### 5.4.6 Pronoun dropping

NMZ along with Chinese is a *pro-drop language*, where pronouns can be very often omitted when they can be inferred from the context. This is valid not only for subject pronouns but also for object pronouns.

1. **Ngâ -nyî yúqhô sëndzà kyi -luh mǐ- dzìh âgyîsâ hrō mèt.** *My friend ate a pear because [it] was delicious.*  
 ŋaɭ ŋi˧ ɥy˧qʰoɭ seɭndzaɭ tɕi˧ɬ lu˧ mi˧ dʒi˧ ʔaɭdʒi˧lsaɭ ɕo˧˧ ma˧ɬ  
 I GEN FRIEND PEAR ONE PC PFC TO EAT BECAUSE VERY B.TASTY  
 pron sf n n num cl mod vt conj adv va
2. **Ngâ -nyî yúqhô sëndzà kyi -luh mǐ- dzìh âgyîsâ nûzîhkvìh.** *My friend ate a pear because [he] was hungry.*  
 ŋaɭ ŋi˧ ɥy˧qʰoɭ seɭndzaɭ tɕi˧ɬ lu˧ mi˧ dʒi˧ ʔaɭdʒi˧lsaɭ nu˧zɪ˧kvi˧ɬ  
 I GEN FRIEND PEAR ONE PC PFC TO EAT BECAUSE B.HUNGRY  
 pron sf n n num cl mod vt conj va

## 6 Other parts of speech

### 6.1 Postpositions and conjunctions

#### 6.1.1 Postpositions

Temporal and spatial relations are expressed by nominal phrases with a temporal or spatial noun. Nominal phrase itself can express a point in time or space, while the predicate can determine whether the expression is static (2) or dynamic (1).

1. **Hrâkô loqo luó- tò.** [She] *arrived to a cave.*  
 ʁa|ko| lo|qo| luo| to|  
 CAVE PLACE INCH TO ARRIVE  
 n np mod vt
2. **Ngâ -nyî yôqhô sêhkà hrâ mâ- gyigĩ.** *There is no wood at my home.*  
 ŋa| ŋi| jo|qʰo| sɛ|ka| ʁa| ma| dʒi|ŋi|  
 I GEN HOME WOOD ALL NOT TO HAVE  
 pron sf np n adv neg vt

All temporal and spatial substantives that can govern a phrase can function as postpositions and form a temporal or spatial phrase. However we define postpositions in a narrower sense, i.e. only clitics which function as an operator changing the relevant phrase into temporal or spatial nominal phrase are analyzed as postpositions. They can not be independently used as a constituent.

NMZ has the following postpositions:

<b>thâ / thuô</b>	/tʰa /, /tʰuo /	temporal pp	This postposition creates a temporal nominal phrase, lit. meaning „at the time of“ or „when“.
<b>qhô</b>	/qʰo /	spatial pp	This postposition creates a spatial nominal phrase. It is used to denote an enclosed space, meaning „in“ or „at“.
<b>dà</b>	/da /	spatial pp	This postposition creates a spatial nominal phrase. It is used to denote an open space, meaning „on“.

3. **Hnî ngà thâ ndzhìh luó- dzhèh.** *During the rain, water was rising.*  
 hɲi| ŋa| tʰa| ndʒɰ| luo| dzɰ|  
 RAIN TO FALL TIME WATER UP TO RISE  
 n vi pp n mod vi
4. **Ha thâ Năkhyì, Năzìh, Nămũzìh, tâ sô gũzìh Nămũzìh luó- shìhshìh.**  
 ha| tʰa| na|tɕʰi| na|zi| na|mu|zi| ta| so| gu|zi| na|mu|zi| luo| ʃu|ʃu|  
 THAT TIME NAXI MÓSUŌ NĀMŪZĪ THIS THREE BROTHER NĀMŪZĪ INCH TO LEAD  
 dem sf[pp] nprop nprop nprop dem num n nprop mod vt  
*That time, three brother [tribes], Năxì, Mósuŏ and Nămũzì, were led by Nămũzì.*
5. **Dzìh qă lâ thuô, dzăkă pămî -yâ mărmar.** *When they were just about to eat, the toad shouted outside.*  
 dʒi| qa| læ| tʰuo| dzæ|kæ|pa|mi| ja| ma|ma|  
 TO EAT TO WANT PREM TIME OUTSIDE TOAD SG TO CALL  
 vt vt sp pp n np n cl vt
6. **Ămî thuò nuò -nyî yìlhâ -lâ hrô nthà.** *Now, your tongue is very sharp.*  
 ʔa|mi|tʰuo| nuo| ŋi| ji|la| la| ʁo:| ntʰa|  
 NOW TIME YOU GEN TONGUE SG VERY B.SHARP  
 nt pp pron sf n cl adv va
7. **Zehmîshû qhò khyî- tò.** [He] *arrived to daughter.*  
 zɛ|mi|ʃu| qʰo| tɕʰi| to|  
 DAUGHTER LOC FWD TO ARRIVE  
 n pp mod vt

8. **Nuô âtô qhã -lâ qhô ndzhìh bĩ.** *Go to drink from the opposite brook.*  
 nyoʌ ʔaʌtoʌ qʰaʌ ʌaʌ qʰoʌ ndzɯʌ biʌ  
 YOU OPPOSITE BROOK SG LOC TO DRINK TO GO  
 pron np n cl pp vt vt
9. **Sěhpâpâ -lûh -nyĩ bbû ẽrquô -pû dà ló- mpò.** *He started to whip the yak skin with a stick.*  
 sɛʌpʌpʌ ʌʌ ɲiʌ b̄buʌ ʔɛʌquoʌ puʌ daʌ lʷoʌ mpoʌ  
 STICK SG INSTR YAK SKIN SG ON INCH TO BEAT  
 n cl sf n n cl pp mod vt
10. **Ĕrgũ dà Nàmũzĩh ndzhĩhgyĩ ló- pã.** *Nàmũzĩ carried their writing on the way.*  
 ʔɛʌɣuʌ daʌ naʌmuʌziʌ ndzɯʌdziʌ lʷoʌ pɛʌ  
 ROAD ON NÀMŪZĪ CHARACTER UP TO CARRY  
 n pp nprop n mod vt

### 6.1.2 Conjunctions

There is quite a limited set of conjunctions in NMZ. The relations between constituents are usually inferred from the context, however in some cases, the usage of conjunctions is needed.

<b>kĩ</b>	/kiʌ/	and	This conjunction denotes coordinative relation between two substantives.
<b>gěshìh</b>	/geʌʃuʌ/	or	This conjunction describes disjunctive relation between two substantives.
<b>lã</b>	/lɛʌ/	and	This conjunction is used to join numbers.
<b>yã</b>	/jaʌ/	or	This conjunction is used to form disjunctive question.
<b>sã</b>	/saʌ/	if	This conjunction is used at the end of a clause to denote conditional subordinative clause.
<b>ãgyĩsã</b>	/ʔaʌdziʌsaʌ/	because	This conjunction is used at the end of a clause to denote reason as a subordinative clause.

1. **àdã -mu kí ngã -nyĩ yúqhô -bã** *father and my friends*  
 ʔaʌdaʌ muʌ kiʌ ɲaʌ ɲiʌ yuʌqʰoʌ bæʌ  
 FATHER SG AND I GEN FRIEND PL  
 n cl conj pron sf n cl
2. **âdã -mũ gěshìh âmĩ -mũ** *father or mother*  
 ʔaʌdaʌ muʌ geʌʃuʌ ʔaʌmiʌ muʌ  
 FATHER SG OR MOTHER SG  
 n cl conj n cl
3. **nyò lã nyĩ** *twenty and two*  
 ɲoʌ lɛʌ ɲiʌ  
 TWENTY AND TWO  
 num conj num
4. **Nuò àhrô dzè yã shìh dzè?** *Are you eating egg or meat?*  
 nyoʌ ʔɛʌʌkoʌ dzeʌ jaʌ ʃuʌ dzeʌ  
 YOU EGG TO EAT OR MEAT TO EAT  
 pron n vt+sf conj n vt+sf
5. **Hnú sîhpì mâ- gyĩ sã, â -xrô Nàmũzĩh tâ -ngã mâ- gyigĩ.** *Without chairman Mao, a few of us Namuzi would not exist.*  
 h̄nũʌ siʌpiʌ maʌ dziʌ saʌ ʔaʌ ɣʷoʌ naʌmuʌziʌ taʌ ɲaʌ maʌ dziʌgiʌ  
 HAIR OFFICIAL NOT TO BE IF WE PL THAT LITTLE NOT TO HAVE  
 nprop n neg vc conj pron sf nprop dem cl neg vt
6. **Kõ mã- yã sã, nyĩ yũ tôqhô kyi lúh pũ!** *If your family don't give [her to me, then] have a look here!*  
 koʌ maʌ jaʌ saʌ ɲiʌ yuʌ toʌqʰoʌ tɛiʌ ʌʌ puʌ  
 GIVE NOT AFF IF YOU HOME HERE ONE TO LOOK MMNT  
 vt neg sp conj pron cl pron num vt vp[cl]

7. Ngâ -nyî yúqhô sëndzà kyi -luh mǐ- dzìh âgyîsâ nûzîhkvìh. *My friend ate a pear because [he] was hungry.*  
 ŋaŋ ŋiŋ uyʰqʰoŋ seŋdzaŋ teiŋ luŋ miŋ dʒiŋ ʔaldziŋsaŋ nuŋziŋkɣŋ  
 I GEN FRIEND PEAR ONE PC PFC TO EAT BECAUSE B.HUNGRY  
 pron sf n n num cl mod vt conj va

There is no contrastive conjunction like „but“.

8. Shî tà -lûh luó- hnêhnê hrô nà, khyî- dzè xe mà- mër. *The meat smells nice, but it tastes badly.*  
 ʃuŋ taŋ luŋ luoŋ hⁿêŋhⁿêŋro:ŋ naŋ tɕhìl dʒeŋ xeŋ maŋ mæŋ  
 MEAT THIS SG INCH TO SMELL VERY B.GOOD FWD TO EAT+INGR AWAY NOT B.TASTY  
 n dem cl mod vt adv va mod vt+sf vi neg va

Yin (2016:25-26) lists four coordinative conjunctions, namely /laŋ/~ /læŋ/~ /læŋ/ (*hé 和*), /jiŋ/ (*hé 和* or *yǔ 與*), /ŋiŋ/ (*yǔ 與*) and /kiŋ/ (*hé 和*), however provides only examples on two of them. The work also states that „the conjunction /laŋ/ can often be used after the first clause to indicate the cause“<sup>120</sup>. We however analyze this word as the sentence particle *lâ* /læŋ/ indicating change of state or premeditated aspect (see Chapter ). The causal relation is expressed by juxtaposition of the clause and understood from the overall context, see the original example:

- (9) muŋ dʒuŋ-æŋ laŋ noŋ bæŋtɕhìdallæŋ loŋ-yiŋ-æŋ  
 sky b.cold-NON-PERF CONJ 2SG clothes b.thick DIR-to wear-NON-PERF  
 PERF  
 天 陰冷-NON-PERF CONJ 2SG 衣服 厚 DIR-穿-NON-PERF  
*It's cold, so you [should] wear more clothes. (天冷，所以你要多穿衣服。)*  
 (YIN 2016:26,1)

<sup>120</sup> 其中，/laŋ/常常用於前一分句後面，表原因。

## 6.2 Particles

The particles in NMZ can be placed mostly after verbs or at the end of a clause, however several emphasizing particles can be placed after any constituent. Most of the sentence particles have emphatic or structural functions.

<b>sĭh</b>	/si˧/	<vp>	denoting <i>progressive</i> aspect (see p.50)
<b>nkhyĭ</b>	/ntɕʰi˧/	<vp>	denoting <i>experiential</i> aspect (see p.49)
<b>lǎ</b>	/lǎ˧/	<sp>	at the end of a sentence denoting <i>change of state</i> after nominal phrases emphasizing <i>topicalization</i>
<b>yâ</b>	/ja˧/	<sp>	after negative prefix representing verb at the end of a sentence emphasizing impatient modality indicating polar question (see Chapter 7.3.1)
<b>wũ</b>	/wu˧/	<sp>	emphasizing <i>exclamation</i>
<b>pǎ</b>	/pa˧/	<sp>	emphasizing <i>uncertainty</i> or softening imperative (see Chapter 7.4.2)
<b>wò</b>	/wo˧/	<sp>	denoting <i>imperative</i> (see Chapter 7.4.2)
<b>mò</b>	/mo˧/	<sp>	emphasizing disrespectful <i>imperative</i>
<b>nyĭ</b>	/ŋi˧/	<sp>	denoting surprise or <i>assurance</i>

- 1a. **Ngâ sù -ě lǎ!** *I am frightened!*  
 ŋa˧ su˧ e˧ lǎ˧  
 I TO BE FRIGHTENED INGR REC  
 pron vi sf sp
- 1b. **Ngâ dà lǎ.** *I have arrived.*  
 ŋa˧ da˧ lǎ˧  
 I TO ARRIVE REC  
 pron vt sp
- 1c. **Ngâ lǎ bĭ mâ- yà!** *Concerning me, I will not go.*  
 ŋa˧ lǎ˧ bi˧ ma˧ ja˧  
 I TOP TO GO NOT AFF  
 pron sp vt neg sp
- 2a. **Khêyĭ hrâ dǎ mâ- yâ.** *No-one will come.*  
 kʰe˧lji˧ ɸa˧ da˧ ma˧ ja˧  
 WHO ALL TO ARRIVE NOT AFF  
 pron adv vt neg sp
- 2b. **Nuô pǎmĭ tâ -tâ -yà yôxruô zĕhmĭ -mû nuô -dâ kô -kâ yâ?**  
 nuo˧lpa˧mi˧ ta˧ ta˧ ja˧ jo˧lɕuo˧ zɕ˧mi˧ mu˧ nuo˧ da˧ ko˧˧ ka˧ ja˧  
 YOU TOAD THIS KIND SG OTHER DAUGHTER SG YOU DAT TO GIVE TO FINISH IMPAT  
 pron n dem cl cl pron n cl pron sf vt vi sp  
*You toad like this, will **someone** give one's daughter to you?*
3. **â -yâ mĭ- tbũ wũ!** *You have killed a chicken!*  
 ʔæ˧ ja˧ mi˧ tɸu˧ wu˧  
 CHICKEN SG PFC TO SLAUGHTER EXCL  
 n cl mod vt sp

4. **Nuô gyì pā!**  
 nuol dzi\ pa:↓  
 YOU TO BE TENT  
 pron vc sp

*It must be you!*

5. **Chih chîhyă o!**  
 tʂʰu\ tʂʰu\ja↓ o↓  
 DOG TO TIE IMP  
 n vt sp

*Tie the dog!*

6. **Ngâ -xrô -dzhă chî nggă, chù mǐnggă mò!** *Let us go, release us down!*  
 ŋa\ χ<sup>u</sup>o\ dza\ tʂʰu\ ŋga\ tʂʰu\ mi-ŋga\ mo\  
 I PL ACC TO LET B.GOOD TO RELEASE TO FALL IMP  
 pron sf sf vt vi vt vi sp

7. **Thuôlî -yâ qhâtsô qhô xà nyǐ!** *Where did the rabbit go?!*  
 tʰuolli\ ja\ qʰa\tsol qʰo\ xa\ ŋi↓  
 RABBIT SG WHERE LOC TO GO EMPH  
 n cl pron pp vt sp

## 7 Sentence

### 7.1 Declarative sentences

We will describe the basic structure of declarative sentences in NMZ using the traditional typological approach<sup>121</sup> at first to give the preliminary impression of how the structure of NMZ sentences works. That is because „one of the primary ways, in which languages differ from one another is in the order of constituents“ (DRYER 2007:61). NMZ is a **SOV language**. Most of the constituents and even their markings are optional in a given sentence, so it is quite hard to distinguish which role a nominal phrase play in the sentence. The traditional concept of subject, direct and indirect object is not very suitable for most of the TB languages (LAPOLLA 1992), therefore we consider it to be more effective to describe the actual roles of the nominal phrases using thematic relations<sup>122</sup>. Primary word order is thus **agent – recipient – patient – verb**. Depending on the context, the agent as well as the patient, benefactor or other relevant constituents may be omitted.

NMZ along with other TB languages<sup>123</sup> represents quite an extreme in marking of agent and non-agent in the sentence. LaPolla (*n.d.*) states that the „form is optional, and when the form is used it functions solely to clarify which of two potential agents (human or animate referents) is the actual agent (actor). That is, its use depends on the speaker’s determination of the need for emphasis or clarity, and is not part of an obligatory paradigm“.

Next examples illustrate the basic structure of declarative sentences in NMZ.

1. **Yúêr Késàzhàpǔ**      **amî**      **shǔ**      **ma-**      **ya.**      *Yuer Kesazhapu is not going to find*  
 yʉʌʌlkeʌsaʌzaʌpuʌ      ʔaʌmiʌ      ʂuʌ      maʌ      jaʌ      [his] mom.  
    MOTHER      TO FIND      NOT      AFF  
    nprop      n      vt      neg      sp  
    AGENT      PATIENT

As we can see in the example above, verbal modifications are placed after the action verb and may be preceded by simple negation. There is not any marking of the agent and patient, even though both nouns can be the agent of the verb. However the patient of the verb can be marked with a case marker when needed.

2.      **Lǎ**      **wǎwǎ**      **-mû**      **mběr**      **tâ**      **-mû**      *Having rolled-up his sleeves,*  
          laʌ      waʌwaʌ      muʌ      mbəʌ      taʌ      muʌ      *he set to bring the frightened*  
          SLEEVE      TO ROLL UP      ADV      WIFE      THIS      SG      *woman back to his home.*  
          n      vt      sf      n      dem      cl  
          **lòqǔ**      **-nyǐ**      **khyǐ**      **yô**      **-qho**      **shà**      **-dzhǔ.**  
          ʌʌoʌquʌ      ɳiʌ      tɕʰiʌ      joʌ      qʰoʌ      ʂaʌ      dzuʌ  
          B.FRIGHTENED      PTCP      HE      HOME      LOC      TO BRING      TO REACH  
          vi      sf      pron      n      pp      vt      vi

Auxiliary verbs are also placed after the action verb at the end of the sentence (see Ex.6). Time precedes the place and manner, but all of them can be topicalized and placed before the agent. Actual roles of the nominal constituents (nouns or whole phrases) in sentence can be marked either by suffixes or postpositions. Genitive nominal phrases are placed before the possessed noun.

<sup>121</sup> By traditional typological approach I mean the word order typology according to Greenberg (1966).

<sup>122</sup> Thematic relations were formulated in 70's (e.g. GRUBER 1965, TESNIÈRE 1959). Cf. also the problematics of categories „subject“, „object“ according to Chinese grammars, where simply every nominal argument placed before a predicate is labeled as „subject“ and as „object“ if it is placed after the predicate with no connection to the actual semantic role in the sentence.

<sup>123</sup> E.g. *Hāní* language 哈尼語, *Nàxī* language 納西語, *Āchāng* language 阿昌語 etc.



3.	<b>Yîntà</b> ji lntaɿ IN THE PAST np	<b>Nyîmâlhàsă</b> ŋi lma lla lsaɿ nprop	<b>tshuò</b> tsʰuoɿ HUMAN n	<b>kyĩ</b> teiɿ ONE num	<b>-yǔ</b> ɥyɿ HOME cl	<b>-qhǒ</b> qʰoɿ LOC pp	<i>In the past, at the home of one man (in a family) in Nyimalhasa,</i>
	<b>mî</b> miɿ WOMAN n	<b>-mũ</b> muɿ SG cl	<b>zêhxnû</b> z̃ɿ l x̃ũɿ CHILD n	<b>lǒ</b> lʷoɿ PREGNANT vt	<b>ndza.</b> ndzaɿ TO BE vloc		<i>there was a pregnant woman.</i>

Demonstratives along with classifiers or numeral phrase are placed after the noun they modify, however sometimes, the demonstrative pronoun can be placed before the noun, while the numeral phrase follows after the noun.

4.	<b>Sô</b> soɿ FOUR num	<b>qhǔr</b> qʰuɿɿ YEAR nt	<b>bûtâ</b> buɿtaɿ B.COMPLETED va	<b>hă</b> ɦaɿ THAT dem	<b>nyĩ</b> ŋiɿ DAY n		<i>On the day when it was four years,</i>
	<b>mběr</b> mbəɿ WIFE n	<b>ta</b> taɿ THIS dem	<b>-mu</b> muɿ SG cl	<b>zêhxnû</b> z̃ɿ l x̃ũɿ CHILD n	<b>hră.</b> ɦaɿ GIVE BIRTH vt		<i>that woman gave birth.</i>

The example above shows us the former possibility, where the demonstrative pronoun is placed after the noun it modifies together with the classifier. Next example shows us the latter possibility, where the demonstrative pronoun is placed to the front, with the numeral phrase following the modified noun.

5.	<b>Tâ</b> taɿ THIS dem	<b>zêhmî</b> z̃ɿ miɿ GIRL n	<b>shih</b> ʃuɿɿ SEVEN num	<b>-kǔh</b> kɥɿɿ PC cl			<i>Each of these seven girls</i>
	<b>dúcîh</b> duɿtʃuɿɿ WING n	<b>-mî</b> miɿ PAIR cl	<b>kyĩ</b> teiɿ ONE num	<b>-pû</b> puɿ SG cl	<b>luǒ-</b> luoɿ UP mod	<b>ghĩ.</b> giɿ TO DRESS vt	<i>put up one pair of wings.</i>

Verbs can be modified by prefixes, suffixes or complements. In the next example, there are two action verbs („to kill“ and „to beat“) in a special construction. The verb is reduplicated with the recent aspect particle **-lâ** /læɿ/ after the original verb and the negative potential construction after the reduplicated verb indicating inability to complete the action.

6.	<b>Tô</b> toɿ THIS dem	<b>-mu</b> muɿ ADV sf	<b>khyi</b> tɕʰiɿ ONE num	<b>nyĩ</b> ŋiɿ DAY n	<b>hündzhǔ</b> ɦuɿndzɥɿ EVERY adv	<b>marmar</b> marɿmarɿ SHOUT ANGRILY vi	<i>[They] shouted angrily like this every day,</i>
	<b>nxrǒ</b> Nɣʷoɿ TO KILL vt	<b>-lâ</b> læɿ REC sp	<b>nxrǒ</b> Nɣʷoɿ TO KILL vt	<b>mă</b> maɿ NOT neg	<b>yǐnggă,</b> jiɿŋgaɿ B.ABLE vi		<i>[yet he] was not able to kill them</i>
	<b>sîh</b> siɿ TO BEAT vt	<b>-lâ</b> læɿ REC sp	<b>sîh</b> siɿ TO BEAT vt	<b>mă</b> maɿ NOT neg	<b>yǐnggă.</b> jiɿŋgaɿ B.ABLE vi		<i>nor beat them.</i>

Directional complements are usually placed before the verb, while resultative complements are placed after the verb.

7. **Yúêr Kêsàzhàpǔ** **punyi loqo mì- pā -dzhǔ.** *Yuer Kesazhapu jumped down out of the steamer.*  
 ɥyʰl̥ʰl̥keʰlsalʰzəlʰpuʰl̥ puʰŋiʰl̥ loʰloqoʰ miʰ paʰ:l̥ dʒuʰl̥  
 STEAMER PLACE DOWN TO JUMP TO REACH  
 nprop n np mod vi v

## 7.2 Direct and quoted speech

Usually, there is no structural difference between the direct and quoted speech, the latter not even being indicated by any conjunction. The only possible change that may occur is the alteration of the personal pronoun (if present). However, the indirect speech can also be indicated by anteposition of the indirect speech before the *inquit* verb. That is, when the indirect speech is part of a relative clause. First of all, there are two different *inquit* verbs of the introductory clause:

- |                  |                                   |             |              |                                   |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>khyî shuò</b> | <i>He says / He says that ...</i> | <b>khyî</b> | <b>ngvìh</b> | <i>He said / He said that ...</i> |
| teʰiʰl̥ sʰuol̥   | 他說: / 他說.....                     | teʰiʰl̥     | ŋvʰl̥        | 他說: / 他說.....                     |
| HE TO SAY        |                                   | HE          | TO SAY       |                                   |
| pron vt          |                                   | pron        | vt           |                                   |

The first verb is used, when the cited speaker is present, so it is used as a simple marker that a quoted speech will follow, while the second is used when the cited speaker is not present at the moment, so it is mostly used in narratives.

1. **Khyî shuò: „Ngà ndzhǐhgyî suòsû -mûgyî.“** *He says: „I am student.“*  
 teʰiʰl̥ sʰuol̥ ŋaʰl̥ ndʒuʰl̥dʒiʰl̥ sʰuol̥suʰl̥ muʰl̥ dʒiʰl̥  
 HE TO SAY I CHARACTER PERSON SG TO BE  
 pron vt pron n n cl vc

In case of indirect speech, the pronoun of the quoted sentence „I“ will be changed to the third person reflexive „himself“.

2. **Khyî shuò khyî <sup>-'biy</sup> biʰjeʰl̥ ndzhǐhgyî suòsû -mû gyî.** *He says he [himself] is student.*  
 teʰiʰl̥ sʰuol̥ teʰiʰl̥ biʰjeʰl̥ ndʒuʰl̥dʒiʰl̥ sʰuol̥suʰl̥ muʰl̥ dʒiʰl̥  
 HE TO SAY HE REF CHARACTER PERSON SG TO BE  
 pron vt pron pron n n cl vc

The simple third person pronoun „he“ in quoted speech will point to someone else.

3. **Khyî shuò khyî ndzhǐhgyî suòsû -mû gyî.** *He says he [someone] is student.*  
 teʰiʰl̥ sʰuol̥ teʰiʰl̥ ndʒuʰl̥dʒiʰl̥ sʰuol̥suʰl̥ muʰl̥ dʒiʰl̥  
 HE TO SAY HE CHARACTER PERSON SG TO BE  
 pron vt pron n n cl vc

The pronoun of the quoted clause can be also modified by *numeral phrase* (phrase composed of demonstrative pronoun and/or certain number followed by a classifier) to express exclusivity.

4. **Khyî shuò khyî kyî -guh ndzhǐhgyî suòsû -mû gyî.** *He says only he is student.*  
 teʰiʰl̥ sʰuol̥ teʰiʰl̥ teiʰl̥ guʰl̥ ndʒuʰl̥dʒiʰl̥ sʰuol̥suʰl̥ muʰl̥ dʒiʰl̥  
 HE TO SAY HE ONE PC CHARACTER PERSON SG TO BE  
 pron vt pron num cl n n cl vc

<sup>124</sup> In this case, full pronounced word would be „yibiyě“, however in this case, the first syllable merges with the rhyme of the previous word and loses its tone: /teʰiʰl̥/ + /jiʰbiʰjeʰl̥/ > /teʰiʰ:ʰbiʰjeʰl̥/.

In narratives, there is used the verb **ngvìh** /ŋvɿ/, which implies the cited speaker is not present in front of the audience.

5. **Khyî ngvìh:** „**Ngà âhrô dzih ma- yă.**“ *He said: „I do not eat eggs.“*

tɛ <sup>h</sup> ił	ŋvɿ	ŋaɿ	ʔæɿkoɿ	dziɿ	maɿ	jaɿ
HE	TO SAY	I	EGG	TO EAT	NOT	AFF
pron	vt	pron	n	vt	neg	sp

When rephrased to quoted speech, the first person pronoun „I“ may also change to the neutral reflexive pronoun „oneself“.

**ngà** /ŋaɿ/ → **yǒ yibiyě** /joɿ.jiɿ.biɿ.jeɿ/

I will demonstrate the anteposition of the indirect speech and the *inquit* verb on a complex sentence, where the quoted speech also contains a relative clause with a quotation of another speaker.

6. **Mǒlǒ -mû ngvìh:**

*The man said:*

m <sup>u</sup> oɿloɿ	muɿ	ŋvɿ
MAN	SG	TO SAY
n	cl	vt

<b>„Fûyì pǎmi tà ta yă gyi wu</b>	<i>„What kind of a toad it is,</i>					
fuɿɿjiɿ	paɿmiɿ	taɿ	taɿ	jaɿ	dziɿ	wuɿ
WHAT	TOAD	THIS	KIND	SG	TO BE	EXCL
pron	n	dem	cl	cl	vc	sp

<b>khyî hǎ âxrô -da lighĩ bĩ hnũ ngvìh.</b>	<i>which even says it would like to return with us!“</i>						
tɛ <sup>h</sup> ił	hǎɿ	ʔax <sup>u</sup> oɿ	daɿ	liɿgiɿ	bĩɿ	hnũɿ	ŋvɿ
IT	EVEN	WE	COM	RETURN	TO GO	TO WANT TO	TO SAY
pron	ct	pron	sf	v	vi	v	vt

## 7.3 Interrogative sentences

### 7.3.1 Polar questions

Unlike English, interrogative sentences do not have a special word order to form a question. Polar questions are formed either with a *sentence particle* „yâ“ /ja/ placed at the end of a clause<sup>125</sup>, or with a verbal prefix „a-“ /ʔa/-. These questions can be formed both in positive and negative form<sup>126</sup>.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | <b>Nuò àhrô dzih à yâ?</b><br>nuoʔ ʔæ.lkoʔ dzi ʔaʔ jaʔ<br>YOU EGG TO EAT Q AFF<br>pron n vt pref sp               | <i>Do you eat eggs? / Do you want to eat eggs?</i> |
| 2. | <b>Nuò àhrô dzih mà-ya yâ?</b><br>nuoʔ ʔæ.lkoʔ dzi maʔ jaʔ jaʔ<br>YOU EGG TO EAT NOT AFF Q<br>pron n vt neg sp sp | <i>Don't you want to eat eggs?</i>                 |

As we can see from the example above, the sentence particle is used either in habitual or forthcoming actions. The particle can also be used in case of echo question.

- |    |  |                    |
|----|--|--------------------|
| A: | <b>Ngà àhrô dzih.</b><br>ŋaʔ ʔæ.lkoʔ dzi | <i>I eat eggs.</i> |
| B: | <b>àhrô dzih yâ?</b><br>ʔæ.lkoʔ dzi jaʔ  | <i>Eat eggs?</i>   |
| A: | <b>àhrô dzih.</b><br>ʔæ.lkoʔ dzi         | <i>Eat eggs.</i>   |

The verbal prefix **a-** /ʔa/ is used to form a polar question for actions which are already in progress, which have already finished or for stative verbs.

- |    |   |                          |
|----|---|--------------------------|
| 3. | <b>Nuò a- dzih?</b><br>nuoʔ ʔaʔ dzi<br>YOU Q TO EAT<br>pron pref vi | <i>Are you eating?</i>   |
| 4. | <b>Nuò a- lúh?</b><br>nuoʔ ʔaʔ luʔ<br>YOU Q TO SEE<br>pron pref vt  | <i>Have you seen it?</i> |

<sup>125</sup> This particle clitic resembles sentence particles used e.g. in Chinese (*ma* 嗎) or Japanese (*ka* か) to form polar questions. However in Chinese, the sentence particle can also be used with verbal suffix *le* 了 for perfective actions. In NMZ, the equivalent sentence particle can't be used together with perfective verbal prefix „a-“.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. *Yin* (2016:28-29).

5.	<b>Âxrò</b> ʔaɫɣ <sup>u</sup> oɫ	<b>zih</b> ziɫ	<b>-ga</b> gaɫ	<b>gyùhra</b> dzyɫkaɫ	<b>yû</b> ɥɪɫ	<b>yû</b> ɥɪɫ	<i>Four [ethnic] groups of us, will divide the land</i>
	WE pron	FOUR num	GROUP cl	LAND n	TO DIVIDE vt	TO DIVIDE vt	
	<b>yôyò'</b> joɫjo:ɫ	<b>ntshá</b> nts <sup>h</sup> aɫ	<b>kyi</b> teiɫ	<b>-luh</b> luɫ	<b>cîh</b> tʂuɫ		<i>marking [it with] own mark,</i>
	OWN adn	SIGN n	ONE num	SG cl	TO PUT vt		
	<b>ǎ-</b> ʔaɫ	<b>dbîh?</b> ɖɸɪɫ					<i>right?</i>
	Q pref	CORRECT va					

There exist one other sentence particle, which also forms a kind of polar question, which is used when the speaker anticipates the answer and can be meant as rhetorical or as a request of affirmation that the speakers anticipation is correct.

6.	<b>Nuò</b> nuoɫ	<b>âhrô</b> ʔæɫkoɫ	<b>dzè</b> <sup>127</sup> dzeɫ	<b>pǎ?</b> paɫ	<i>You are eating eggs?</i>
	YOU pron	EGG n	TO EAT vt+sf	TENT sp	

The intonation of polar questions is the same as in other languages following the rising pattern.

### 7.3.2 Disjunctive (alternative) questions

Alternative questions are also formed using the conjunction **yǎ** /jaɫ/, which is in this case placed after the first choice. The verb has to occur twice.

1.	<b>Nuò</b> nuoɫ	<b>âhrô</b> ʔæɫkoɫ	<b>dzè</b> dzeɫ	<b>yǎ</b> jaɫ	<b>shîh</b> ʂuɫ	<b>dzè?</b> dzeɫ	<i>Are you eating egg or meat?</i>		
	YOU pron	EGG n	TO EAT vt+sf	OR conj	MEAT n	TO EAT vt+sf			
2.	<b>Khyî</b> tɕ <sup>h</sup> iɫ	<b>phǎcîh</b> p <sup>h</sup> aɫtʂuɫ	<b>-mu</b> muɫ	<b>gyî</b> dʒiɫ	<b>yǎ</b> jaɫ	<b>zêhmî</b> zɕɫmiɫ	<b>-mu</b> muɫ	<b>gyî?</b> dʒiɫ	<i>Is it a man or a woman?</i>
	HE pron	MAN n	SG cl	TO BE vc	OR conj	WOMAN n	SG cl	TO BE vc	

### 7.3.3 Non-polar questions

The basic word order also do not changes in non-polar questions<sup>128</sup>, where the speaker requires a specific information. Although the main order of sentence constituents does not change in non-polar questions (that means the question words appear in the place of the answer in the sentence), in case of questions in more complicated sentences, which except the basic information also contain additional information on time, manner, place etc., interrogative words tend to be placed before nouns, which are modified by an inflectional affix.

There are basically three interrogative roots (**khěyî** /k<sup>h</sup>eɫjiɫ/, **fû** /fuɫ/ and **qhâ-** /q<sup>h</sup>aɫ/), which with their derivations can be used to form a non-polar question.

<sup>127</sup> The verb is modified and fused with verbal suffix indicating ingressive aspect **dzîh + è > dzè**.

<sup>128</sup> This type of questions is also called „wh- questions“.

The first interrogative word is used to ask for rational beings (persons and beings acting like humans):

1. **Khějî** **âhrô** **dzih?** *Who will eat eggs?*  
 k<sup>h</sup>eːljiːl ʔæːlkoːl dʒiːl  
 WHO EGG TO EAT  
 pron n vt
2. **Khějî** **dzih** **mà-** **yâ?** *Who won't eat?*  
 k<sup>h</sup>eːljiːl dʒiːl maːl jaːl  
 WHO TO EAT NOT AFF  
 pron vt neg sp

The second one is used to ask for inanimate objects. It can be used independently or together with a noun classifier, which anticipates an answer containing nouns, which belong to the class of that classifier.

3. **Nuò** **fù** **dzih?** *What do you eat?*  
 nuːoːl fuːl dʒiːl  
 YOU WHAT TO EAT  
 pron pron vt
4. **Nuò** **fù** **-luh** **dzih?** *What do you eat?*  
 nuːoːl fuːl luːl dʒiːl  
 YOU WHAT SG TO EAT  
 pron pron cl vt

As mentioned earlier, the interrogative word is placed in the place of the answer.

5. **Ngâ** **ndzhĩgyî** **zhihzhih** **-là** **hnù.** *I want a pen.*  
 ŋaːl ndʒuːl dʒiːl ʒuːl ʒuːl laːl hɪːnũːl  
 I CHARACTER TO WRITE SG TO WANT TO  
 pron n vt cl vt
6. **Nuò** **fù** **-luh** **hnù?** *What do you want?*  
 nuːoːl fuːl luːl hɪːnũːl  
 YOU WHAT SG TO WANT TO  
 pron pron cl vt

The last is a group of interrogative words, which starts with the syllable **qhâ-** /q<sup>h</sup>aːl/. They are used for verbal and adverbial phrases as well as for place, directional and time phrases.

7. **Ndzhũdzhũ** **qhâtsõ** **-qhõ** **ndzã?** *Where is the toilet?*  
 ndʒuːl dʒuːl q<sup>h</sup>aːtsoːl q<sup>h</sup>oːl ndʒaːl  
 TOILET WHERE LOC TO BE  
 n pron pp vloc
8. **A:** **Ngâ** **qãdzih** **hã** **-sũ** **-lũh** **-qhò** **bì.** *I am going to a shop.*  
 ŋaːl qaːdʒiːl hãːː suːl luːl q<sup>h</sup>oːl biː  
 I THING TO BUY NOM SG LOC TO GO  
 pron n vt sf cl pp vloc
- B:** **Qhâtsô** **-qho** **bì?** *Where are you going?*  
 q<sup>h</sup>aːltsoːl q<sup>h</sup>oːl biː  
 WHERE LOC TO GO  
 pron sf vloc

9. **Tâ** **-luh** **Nâmũzĩh** **shà** **qhâto** **-mũ** **shuò** **gyĩ?** *How to say this in Nàmũzĩ language?*  
 taːl luːl naːl muːl ʒiːl ʒaːl q<sup>h</sup>aːltoːl muːl ʒuːoːl dʒiːl  
 THIS SG LANGUAGE HOW ADV TO SAY TO BE  
 dem cl nprop n pron sf vt vc

Next example allows us to go through all the questions on each of the constituents of the sentence.

10.	<b>Ngâ</b>	<b>tanyî</b>	<b>yôqhô</b>	<b>nuò</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>ndzhîhgyî</b>	<b>kyi -pû</b>	<b>luô-</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh.</b>
	ŋaɫ	taɫŋiɫ	joɫqʰoːɬ	nuoɫ	daɫ	ndzɯɫdzɪɫ	teiɫ puɫ	ɭoɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	I	TODAY	HOME	YOU	DAT	CHARACTER	ONE PC	INCH	TO WRITE
	pron	nt	np	pron	sf	n	num cl	mod	vt
	(A)	(T)	(L)	(R)		(P)			(V)

*I will write you a letter at home today.*

(A)	<b>Khêyî</b>	<b>tanyî</b>	<b>yôqhô</b>	<b>ngâ</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>ndzhîhgyî</b>	<b>kyi -pû</b>	<b>luô-</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh?</b>
	kʰeɫjiɫ	taɫŋiɫ	joɫqʰoːɬ	ŋaɫ	daɫ	ndzɯɫdzɪɫ	teiɫ puɫ	ɭoɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	WHO	TODAY	HOME	I	DAT	CHARACTER	ONE PC	INCH	TO WRITE
	pron	nt	np	pron	sf	n	num cl	mod	vt
	(A)	(T)	(L)	(R)		(P)			(V)

	<b>Tanyî</b>	<b>khêyî</b>	<b>yôqhô</b>	<b>ngâ</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>ndzhîhgyî</b>	<b>kyi -pû</b>	<b>luô-</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh?</b>
	taɫŋiɫ	kʰeɫjiɫ	joɫqʰoːɬ	ŋaɫ	daɫ	ndzɯɫdzɪɫ	teiɫ puɫ	ɭoɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	TODAY	WHO	HOME	I	DAT	CHARACTER	ONE PC	INCH	TO WRITE
	nt	pron	np	pron	sf	n	num cl	mod	vt
	(T)	(A)	(L)	(R)		(P)			(V)

*Who will write me a letter at home today?*

Note that *agent* and *time* can change their place at the beginning of the clause.

(T)	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>qhâtà</b>	<b>yôqhô</b>	<b>ngâ</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>ndzhîhgyî</b>	<b>kyi -pû</b>	<b>luô-</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh?</b>
	nuoɫ	qʰaɫtaɫ	joɫqʰoːɬ	ŋaɫ	daɫ	ndzɯɫdzɪɫ	teiɫ puɫ	ɭoɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	YOU	WHEN	HOME	I	DAT	CHARACTER	ONE PC	INCH	TO WRITE
	pron	pron	np	pron	sf	n	num cl	mod	vt
	(A)	(T)	(L)	(R)		(P)			(V)

*When will you write me a letter at home?*

(L)	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>tanyî</b>	<b>qhâtsôqhò</b>	<b>ngâ</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>ndzhîhgyî</b>	<b>kyi -pû</b>	<b>luô-</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh?</b>
	nuoɫ	taɫŋiɫ	qʰaɫsoɫqʰoːɬ	ŋaɫ	daɫ	ndzɯɫdzɪɫ	teiɫ puɫ	ɭoɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	YOU	TODAY	WHERE	I	DAT	CHARACTER	ONE PC	INCH	TO WRITE
	pron	nt	pron	pron	sf	n	num cl	mod	vt
	(A)	(T)	(L)	(R)		(P)			(V)

*Where will you write me a letter today?*

(R)	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>tanyî</b>	<b>yôqhô</b>	<b>khêyî</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>ndzhîhgyî</b>	<b>kyi -pû</b>	<b>luô-</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh?</b>
	nuoɫ	taɫŋiɫ	joɫqʰoːɬ	kʰeɫjiɫ	daɫ	ndzɯɫdzɪɫ	teiɫ puɫ	ɭoɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	YOU	TODAY	HOME	WHO	DAT	CHARACTER	ONE PC	INCH	TO WRITE
	pron	nt	np	pron	sf	n	num cl	mod	vt
	(A)	(T)	(L)	(R)		(P)			(V)

*To whom will you write a letter at home today?*

(P)	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>tanyî</b>	<b>yôqhô</b>	<b>fù</b>	<b>-luh</b>	<b>ngâ</b>	<b>-dà</b>	<b>zhîhzhîh?</b>
	nuoɫ	taɫŋiɫ	joɫqʰoːɬ	fuɫ	ɭaɫ	ŋaɫ	daɫ	zɯɫzɯɫ
	YOU	TODAY	HOME	WHAT	SG	I	DAT	TO WRITE
	pron	nt	np	pron	cl	pron	sf	vt
	(A)	(T)	(L)	(P)		(R)		(V)

*What will you write me today at home?*

Note that in case of a question, the *patient* tends to be put before the *recipient*.

(V)	<b>Nuò</b>	<b>tanyî</b>	<b>yôqhō</b>	<b>fù</b>	<b>-luh</b>	<b>mu</b>	<b>gyĩ?</b>
	n̄oɿ	taɿŋiɿ	joɿq <sup>h</sup> o:ɿ	fuɿ	luɿ	muɿ	dziɿ
	YOU	TODAY	HOME	WHAT	SG	TO DO	TO BE
	pron	nt	np	pron	cl	vt	vc
	(A)	(T)	(L)		(P)		(V)

*What will you do today at home?*



## 7.4 Optative, exclamatory and imperative sentences

In this chapter I first introduce several examples of optative and exclamatory sentences, then the imperative mood will be presented.

### 7.4.1 Optative and exclamatory sentences

Other grammatical moods of the sentence are usually expressed using prosodic features, sometimes in combination with sentence particles, e.g. **lǎ** /lǎt/ indicating surprise, **yà** /ja/ indicating exclamation and **pǎ** /pa/ indicating uncertainty. For other sentence particles, see Chapter 6.2.

1. **Qhâtô -mû mû -lǎ!** *What to do!*  

q <sup>h</sup> a to	mu	mu	lǎ
HOW	ADV	TO DO	PREM
pron	sf	vt	sp
2. **Ngâ âmî mǎkǔ -lǎ ma- gyigi yà!** *I don't have my tail now!*  

ŋa	ʔa mi	mǎ- ku	la	ma	dʒi gi	ja
I	NOW	TAIL	SG	NOT	TO HAVE	EXCL
pron	nt	n	cl	neg	vt	sp
3. **Mî tà -mǔ mǎ- nà -mǔ gyǐ pǎ.** *This one may be bad wife.*  

mi	ta	mu	ma	na	mu	dʒi	pǎ
WIFE	THIS	SG	NOT	B.GOOD	ADV	TO BE	TENT
n	dem	cl	neg	va	sf	vc	sp

### 7.4.2 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are expressed mainly by prosodic features. The subject pronoun is usually omitted. Negative clauses (prohibitions) are expressed by a special prohibitory prefix.

1. **âhrô dzih!** *Eat the egg!*  

ʔæ ko	dʒi
EGG	TO EAT
n	vt
2. **âhrô thâ- dzih!** *Don't eat the egg!*  

ʔæ ko	t <sup>h</sup> æ	dʒi
EGG	PROH	TO EAT
n	neg	vt
3. **Thâ- zhihzhìh!** *Don't write!*  

t <sup>h</sup> æ	zɯ- zɯ
PROH	TO WRITE
neg	vt
4. **Thâ- zhihzhîh!** *Don't take it from [me]!*  

t <sup>h</sup> æ	zɯ- zɯ
PROH	TO TAKE FROM
neg	vt
5. **Â -xrô yǎqhâmû khyî agyîmâ thâ- mû.** *We can't behave the same as he did.*  

ʔa	χ <sup>o</sup>	ja- q <sup>h</sup> a mu	tɕ <sup>h</sup> i	ʔa- dʒi ma	t <sup>h</sup> a	mu
WE	PL	WHOLE	HE	B.SAME	PROH	TO DO
pron	sf	adv	pron	va	neg	vt
6. **Nuò luó- hrâ sîh mǐ- cǐh sîh -mǔ thâ- mù!** *Do not do it like to grab it and then release it back.*  

nuo	luo	ka	si	mi	tʃu-	si	mu-	t <sup>h</sup> a	mu
YOU	UP	TO GRAB	PROGR	DOWN	TO RELEASE	PROGR	ADV	PROH	TO DO
pron	mod	vt	vp	mod	vt	vp	sf	neg	vt

Polite request or suggestion is expressed using either sentence particle or a tag question.

7. **Nuò** **āhrô** **dzih** **wǎ.** *Eat an egg, please.*  
 nuoʎ ʔæʎkoʎ dziʎ waʎ  
 YOU EGG TO EAT IMP  
 pron n vt sp
8. **Mî** **hǎ** **qhà** **hǎ** **mugu** **mu,** **nā<sup>129</sup>?** [You] *better should find a wife*  
 miʎ hǎʎ qhǎʎ hǎʎ muʎguʎ muʎ na:ʎ *and get furniture according to*  
 WIFE TO GET FURNITURE TO GET RULE TO DO B.GOOD *the rules.*  
 n vt n vt n vt va

There are several particles, which are used to emphasize the imperativ mood. More urgent suggestion or encouragement can be expressed using the particle **p ā** /pæʎ/, disrespectful command can be expressed through the particle **o** /oʎ/ or even more emphasized using particle **mò** /moʎ/:

- |             |            |                     |              |            |                     |
|-------------|------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| <b>Dzih</b> | <b>wǎ.</b> | <i>Have some.</i>   | <b>Dzih!</b> |            | <i>Eat that.</i>    |
| dziʎ        | waʎ        |                     | dziʎ         |            |                     |
| <b>Dzih</b> | <b>pā.</b> | <i>Eat, please.</i> | <b>Dzih</b>  | <b>o!</b>  | <i>Eat!!</i>        |
| dziʎ        | pæʎ        |                     | dziʎ         | oʎ         |                     |
|             |            |                     | <b>Dzih</b>  | <b>mò!</b> | <i>Just eat!!!!</i> |
|             |            |                     | dziʎ         | moʎ        |                     |

<sup>129</sup> The verb adjective is actually fused here with an interrogative sentence particle:

**nà** /naʎ/ BE GOOD + **yā** /jaʎ/ > **nā** /na:ʎ/.

## 7.5 Temporal expressions

Temporal expressions can denote the *duration* of a certain event or action or they can refer to a *specific point* on a timeline. The former is usually expressed by a numeral verbal complement, which consists of a numeral and the relevant classifier (either a measure unit, verbal classifier or a measure word – see chapter ).

1. **Ngâ tôqhô nyî khùr lú- ndzuò.** *I have lived here for two years.*

	ɲal	to q <sup>h</sup> o	ɲi	k <sup>h</sup> u ɲ	lu <sup>o</sup>	ndzu <sup>o</sup>
	I	HERE	TWO	YEAR	INCH	TO SIT
			num = cl		mod >	vt
			numP c >		VP	
pron	np :>		VP			
s:>	VP					

Expressions referring to a specific time can be either time nouns (2) or more complex structures (3-5). It is sometimes problematic to distinguish between a phrase and a subordinate clause<sup>130</sup>. Time expression can be placed after the agent and before the object (2) or it can be placed at the beginning of the clause as a thema<sup>131</sup>.

2. **Ngâ tânyî pāmî -yâ mi- hrò pū.** *I met a toad today.*

	ɲal	ta ɲi	pa mi	ja	mi	ɤo	pu
	I	TODAY	TOAD	SG	PFC	TO MEET	MMNT
			n = cl		mod	vt <c vi	
			NP o >		VP		
pron	nt :>		VP				
s:>	VP						

3. **Qô kyi nyî, pāmî -yâ âhrô ânà -da ngvìh.** *One day, the toad told her aunt and uncle.*

	qo	tei	ɲi	pa mi	ja	ʔa ɤo	ʔa na	da	ɲɣ
	DIST	ONE	DAY	TOAD	SG	UNCLE	AUNT	DAT	TO TELL
	dem	num	nt	n	cl	n	n	sf	vi
	topic		agent		object			predicate	

4. **Yîntâ äshîh ngă tbih khùr, Tögä Mûzîh Nyîmâ xî mî- bûdzhih.** *About 5000 years ago, Toga and Muzi set off from the Indian ocean.*

	ji nta	ʔa ɤu	ɲa	ɤɣ	k <sup>h</sup> u ɲ	to ga	mu zi	ɲi ma	xi	mi	bu dzɣu
	BEFORE	IN THE PAST	FIVE THOUSAND	YEAR	INDIA	SEA	PFC	TO SET OFF			
	nt = nt		num >	num		nprop >	n	mod	c >	vt	
			numP = cl		nprop & nprop	NP o >		VP			
	NPt = numP				NP s:> VP						
	NPt :> VP										

<sup>130</sup> The same problem exists in Chinese as well. Harbsmeier (n.d.) states that one possibility (which is than followed in his book) is to regard embedded subject – predicate structures as sentences, while it is also possible to regard sentence as rather pragmatic than syntactic concept.

<sup>131</sup> Note that in Ex. 5, the whole time expression can be regarded as a subordinate clause of a complex sentence. However because NMZ lacks any relative pronouns, uses very few conjunctions and also allows any argument of the predicate to be dropped if known from the overall context, both sentences can actually stand alone as independent clause. In this example, the subject (agent) of both predicates is the same and there clearly is a relation between both of the parts, therefore we decided to regard the whole structure as a „simple“ sentence with embedded clause as one of the constituents.

5. **Ātsih - lûh dbûshû -qhõ kyi -khâ lô- ndzuò, phò hnũ shîhdzhîh.** *After some time living by yetis, she started to think about running away.*

B.SMALL	SG	YETI	AT	ONE WHILE FWD	TO SIT	TO RUN	TO WANT	TO THINK
va = cl	n	(pp)	num = cl	mod	c > vt			
			numPt c >	VP		vi o >	vt	
			np >	VP			VP o >	vt
								VP[S] > VP
								NP s: > VP

Most of the measure words are time words:

- 6a. **hãthã qhãnyî lûh** *what time*  
 fã-tʰa | qʰa-lɲi | lɯ |  
 TIME WHAT HOUR
- 6b. **hãthã qhãnyî lhî** *what month*  
 fã-tʰa | qʰa-lɲi | li |  
 TIME WHAT MONTH
- 6c. **hãthã qhãnyî khùr** *what year*  
 fã-tʰa | qʰa-lɲi | kʰu |  
 TIME WHAT YEAR
- 6d. **hãthã qhãnyî nyî** *what day*  
 fã-tʰa | qʰa-lɲi | ni |  
 TIME WHAT DAY
- |     |             |
|-----|-------------|
|     | pron > cl/n |
| n < | numP        |

There are no specific names for the days of the week, however, there exist several time nouns to denote certain days relatively according to the speaker.

<b>zhìhnyì</b>	<i>yesterday</i>	<b>tãnyî</b>	<i>today</i>	<b>shûèr</b>	<i>tomorrow</i>
ʒu-lɲi		ta-lɲi		ʃu-lə	

Names of the months are simply made of the relevant number followed by the time word for month.

<b>kyîlhî</b>	<i>January</i>	<b>nyîlhî</b>	<i>February</i>	<b>sõlhî</b>	<i>March</i>	<b>zìhlhî</b>	<i>April</i>	<b>ngãlhî</b>	<i>May</i>
tei-li		ni-li		so-li		zi-li		ŋa-li	

Even the time period is usually expressed the same way, however it can be marked by a classifier **-kûh** /ku/ in case of ambiguity.

**kyîlhî** /tei-li/ *January* → **kyîlhî-kûh** /tei-li.ku/ *one month*

There are only two words denoting specific time of a day, other time is expressed by compound phrases.

<b>mîyã</b>	mi.l.ja	<i>morning</i>	<b>hnîqhô</b>	hʰi.l.qʰo	<i>evening</i>	
<b>kûdzhã</b>	<b>dzìh</b>	<b>thũ</b>	<b>hnîqhô</b>	<b>yãpã</b>	<i>midnight</i>	
ku	dzi	tu	hʰi.l.qʰo	ja-pa		
BREAKFAST	TO EAT	TIME	EVENING	HALF		
<b>ndzhô</b>	<b>dzìh</b>	<b>thũ</b>	<b>nyîmî</b>	<b>qà</b>	<b>thũ</b>	<i>afternoon</i>
ndzo	dzi	tu	ni-mi	qa	tu	
LUNCH	TO EAT	TIME	SUN	TO SET	TIME	

Time expressions can be either unmarked (7-10), topicalized by the suffix **-nyî** /ŋi/ (11-13) or marked by one of the three time postpositions, which can transform a substantive or a whole phrase into time expression (14-17):

**thâhrô** tʰa|ko| *before* **thâ / thuò** tʰa| / tʰuo| *now* **ngûnû** ŋu|nu| *after*

7. **Pămî -yâ thâhrô yôqhô luó- xà.** *The toad went home earlier.*

pa mi	ja	tʰa ko	jo lqʰo	luo	xa
TOAD	SG	BEFORE	HOME	FWD	TO GO
n = cl		nt :> VP		mod c> vt	
NP s:> VP		n o> VP			

8. **Yôqhô ló- tò kyî -khädü qô kyî -gidâ tshuò kyî -yû wăshih.**

jo lqʰo	luo	to	tei	kʰæ du	qo	tei	gi da	tʰuo	tei	uy	wæ ʃu
HOME	FWD	TO ARRIVE	ONE	WHILE	DIST	ONE	PLACE	HUMAN	ONE	HOME	TO MARRY
n :> VP		mod c> vt		num = cl		dem = numP		n = numP		num = cl	
VP > numPt		VP > numPt		NPp :> VP		NPp :> VP		NP s:> vi			
		NPt :> VP									

*Some time after they returned home, there was a wedding at one's family.*

When there is just one verb, it is clear that the time expression is only part of the clause (9), but in case of two verbs, the time expression can also be regarded as a subordinate clause, although because of no relative pronoun or any conjunction, the subordinate clause can technically stand alone (10). The dependence on the main clause lies only in the overall context or in the relation between two parts of the given sentence.

9. **Khyî khür kyî kî shûèr qăqă mûgû tô -mû -gûh gyî.** *The custom to renew chains*

teʰi	kʰu	tei	ki	ʃu æ	qa qa	mu gu	to	mu	gu	dzi
ONE	YEAR	ONE TIME	CHAIN	TO RENEW	CUSTOM	THIS	ADV	NOM	TO BE	
num = cl		num = cl		n o> vt		dem (sf)		(sf)		
numP :> VP		numP c> VP		VP > n		adv		NP e> vc		
		VP > n		NP s:> VP						

10. **Nyîmî mî- pûdzhêh gâmû dàdzhîh luó- xră nggă.** *When the sun rose, it opened to*

ŋi mi	mi	pu dzɣ	ga mu	da dzɣu	luo	ɣa	ŋga
SUN	PFC	TO RISE	VERY	B.BIG	UP	TO OPEN	B.GOOD
n s:> VP		mod c> vi		adv > va		mod c> vt	
subCt > C		VP > VP		VP <c va			

(Vpt :> VP)

Time expression marked by topic marker can be placed either after the agent (11) or at the beginning of the clause (12). The topic marker can be also regarded as a marker of dependent clause (13).

11. **Ngâ âmî -nyî khyî shû i gyî.** *I am going to find him now.*

ŋa	ʔa mi	ŋi	teʰi	ʃu	i	dzi
I	NOW	TOP	HE	TO FIND	PROSP	TO BE
pron	nt	sf	pron	vt	sf	vc
(A)	(T)	predicate				

12. **Hnīqhō -nyī hrōpā khyī nthà mâ- yinggā.** *Mosquitos were not able to bite her at night.*  
 hnīlq<sup>h</sup>o<sup>l</sup> nīl kōlpa<sup>l</sup> tē<sup>h</sup>il nth<sup>a</sup>l mā<sup>l</sup> jī<sup>h</sup>nga<sup>l</sup>  
 NIGHT TOP MOSQUITO SHE TO BITE NOT B.ABLE  
 nt sf n pron vt neg vi  
 (T) (A) (P) predicate

13. **Mī thuò qǎ lǎ -nyī, mīkyò -pū āzā zā -mū xrǎ nggǎ.**  
 mīl t<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>l</sup> qa<sup>l</sup> læ<sup>l</sup> nī<sup>l</sup> mīl tē<sup>o</sup>l pū<sup>l</sup> ʔa<sup>l</sup>za<sup>l</sup> zā<sup>l</sup> mū<sup>l</sup> xa<sup>l</sup> nga<sup>l</sup>  
 DAY TIME TO WANT PREM TOP FLOWER SG B.SLOW B.SLOW ADV TO OPEN B.GOOD  
 n > pp n cl va + va  
 NP s:> vt VP (sf) vi <c va  
 VP (sp) advP > VP  
 VP (sf) NP s:> VP  
 subCt > C

*When it was about the daytime, the flower slowly opened.*

14. **Ngā hǎthā nyī lūh ngūnū līgī dǎ.** *I will return back after two hours.*  
 ŋa<sup>l</sup> hǎ<sup>l</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup> nī<sup>l</sup> lū<sup>l</sup> ŋul<sup>l</sup>nu<sup>l</sup> lī<sup>l</sup>gī<sup>l</sup> dǎ<sup>l</sup>  
 I TIME TWO HOUR AFTER TO RETURN TO COME

		num = cl/n			
	nt =	numP			
			NP > pp		vi > vi
				NPt :> VP	
pron s:> VP					

15. **Khyī -nyī ngūnū tshuò tâ -yú khyī- yú.** *After that the whole house went to sleep.*

tē <sup>h</sup> il	nī <sup>l</sup>	ŋul <sup>l</sup> nu <sup>l</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> uo <sup>l</sup>	ta <sup>l</sup>	uy <sup>l</sup>	tē <sup>h</sup> il	uy <sup>l</sup>
HE	GEN	AFTER	HUMAN	THIS	HOME	INC	TO SLEEP
pron	(sf)			dem = cl	mod		
			n = numP		c > vi		
	pron > nt			NP s:> VP			
				NPt :> VP			

The words **ngūnū** /ŋul.nu<sup>l</sup>/ AFTER and **tâhrô** /t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>l</sup>.kō<sup>l</sup>/ BEFORE can also function as an attribute.

16. **Ēimī -mū ngūnū nyī sēh gī xī.** *Mother went for firewood the next day.*

ʔe <sup>l</sup> imī <sup>l</sup>	mū <sup>l</sup>	ŋul <sup>l</sup> nu <sup>l</sup>	nī <sup>l</sup>	sē <sup>l</sup>	gī <sup>l</sup>	xī <sup>l</sup>
MOTHER	SG	AFTER	DAY	WOOD	TO CHOP	TO GO
				n o > vt		
		nt > nt		VP <c vi		
n = cl			NP :> VP			
			NP s:> VP			

Time expressions consisting of time words can be either unmarked (17) or marked by topic marker (18) or time postposition (19).

17. **Shûêr nuô -xrô vù ndzhìh bī.** *You go to have a drink tomorrow.*  
 şulǎ<sup>l</sup> nuo<sup>l</sup> x<sup>u</sup>o<sup>l</sup> vu<sup>l</sup> ndzu<sup>l</sup> bi<sup>l</sup>  
 TOMORROW YOU PL LIQUOR TO DRINK TO GO  
 nt pron sf n vt vt

18. **Ā -kvîh shûêr -nyī sēh gī bī.** *We two go for firewood tomorrow.*  
 ʔa<sup>l</sup> ky<sup>l</sup> şulǎ<sup>l</sup> nī<sup>l</sup> sē<sup>l</sup> gī<sup>l</sup> bi<sup>l</sup>  
 WE DL TOMORROW TOP WOOD TO CHOP TO GO  
 pron sf nt sf n vt vt

19. **Āmī thuô ngā hrôr dzi, nuô mā dzi.** *Now, I eat the head and you eat the tale.*  
 ʔa<sup>l</sup>-mī<sup>l</sup> t<sup>h</sup>uo<sup>l</sup> ŋa<sup>l</sup> kō<sup>l</sup> dzi<sup>l</sup> nuo<sup>l</sup> mā<sup>l</sup> dzi<sup>l</sup>  
 NOW TIME I HEAD TO EAT+FUT YOU TALE TO EAT+FUT  
 nt pp pron n vt+sf pron n vt+sf

The postposition can also mark a dependent time clause.

20. **Dzih qǎ lǎ thuô, dzākā pāmî -yâ mârmar:** *When [they] were about to eat, the toad called outside.*  
 dzil qa- læ- thuo- dzæ-kæ- pa-mi- ja- ma-lma-  
 TO EAT TO WANT PREM TIME OUTSIDE TOAD SG TO CALL
- |           |  |           |            |
|-----------|--|-----------|------------|
| vt > vt   |  |           | n = cl     |
| VP < sp   |  |           | NP s: > vi |
| VP > pp   |  | np : > VP |            |
| subCt > C |  |           |            |

In the next example, both clauses have the same agent.

21. **Kyi yû -qhô pbîh thuô, nyî -luh mîhrǎ pûér lôqô luó- tsîh.**  
 tei- uy- qh-ol pβ- thuo- ni- læ- mi-kæ- pu-æ- lo-lqo- luo- ts-  
 ONE HOME LOC TO DELIVER TIME TWO PC MELON TUNIC INSIDE INCH TO PUT
- |            |         |          |           |            |        |
|------------|---------|----------|-----------|------------|--------|
| num = cl   |         |          |           |            | mod    |
| numP > pp  |         | num = cl |           | n > np     | c > vt |
| Npp : > vt |         | numP = n |           | NP :o > VP |        |
|            | VP > pp |          | NP o > VP |            |        |
| subCt > C  |         |          |           |            |        |
- When [she] was delivering [it] to one family, [she] put two melons under her tunic.*

Time expressions can be also marked by several verbal predicates.

22. **Zêhmî tâ -mû yôqhô khi- tò ngûnû nyî nyî dǎ, zîh -luh shîkô -ǎ.**  
 zæ-mil ta- mul jo-lq-ol tæ-hil to- ni-nu- ni- ni- dæ- zil læ- su-lko- a-  
 DAUGHTER THIS SG HOME FWD TO ARRIVE AFTER TWO DAY HITHER SON SG TO DIE
- |            |          |          |            |          |            |  |  |      |
|------------|----------|----------|------------|----------|------------|--|--|------|
|            | dem = cl |          | mod c > vt |          |            |  |  |      |
| n = numP   |          | n o > VP |            |          |            |  |  |      |
| NP s: > VP |          |          |            |          |            |  |  |      |
|            |          | VP > nt  | num = nt   |          |            |  |  |      |
|            |          |          | NPt > numP |          | n = cl     |  |  |      |
|            |          |          |            | NPt > vi | NP s: > vi |  |  |      |
| subCt > C  |          |          |            |          |            |  |  | (sp) |
- When the second day after this daughter returned back home came, the son died.*
23. **Mbér tâ -mû ər luó- pǎ ngûnû sô khùr bǔtǎ hâ nyî zîhnhû hrǎ.**  
 mbæ- ta- mul æ- luo- pa- ni-nu- so- kbu- bu-ta- ha- ni- zih-nu- ka-  
 WIFE THIS SG CHILD INCH B.PREGNANT AFTER THREE YEAR B.FULL THAT DAY CHILD TO GIVE BIRTH
- |            |          |          |            |            |           |          |  |  |
|------------|----------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|----------|--|--|
|            |          |          | mod c > vt |            |           |          |  |  |
|            |          | n o > VP |            |            |           |          |  |  |
|            |          | VP > pp  | num = cl/n |            |           |          |  |  |
|            |          |          | NPt > numP |            |           |          |  |  |
|            |          |          |            | NPt : > va | dem > n   |          |  |  |
| n =        | dem = cl |          |            | VP = numP  |           | n o > vt |  |  |
|            | numP     |          |            |            | NP : > VP |          |  |  |
| NP s: > VP |          |          |            |            |           |          |  |  |
- This wife gave birth on the day, when it was three years after she became pregnant.*

## 7.6 Spatial expressions

Apart from spatial nouns (see Chapter 5.1.5), which can function as a spatial expression alone, the location can be expressed by a nominal phrase, where the spatial noun or postposition (see Chapter 6.1.1) has the function of the head.

Spatial expression can be either *static* (referring to a location somewhere) or *dynamic* (referring to the starting point or the finishing point of a situation). This feature is usually determined by the nature of the predicate, as we can see in the following examples:

1. **Sěndzâ -bă shâphî -pû pădă dzhă.** *Pears are near the table.* [static]  

se-ɫndzaɫ	bæ-ɫ	ʃaɫpʰiɫ	puɫ	pa-ɫdæ-ɫ	dza-ɫ	
PEAR	PL	TABLE	SG	NEAR	TO BE	
n	cl	n	cl	np	vloc	
  
2. **Sěndzâ -bă shâphî -pû pădă pă dă.** *Bring here the pears near the table.* [dynamic - source]  

se-ɫndzaɫ	bæ-ɫ	ʃaɫpʰiɫ	puɫ	pa-ɫdæ-ɫ	pæ-ɫ	dæɫ
PEAR	PL	TABLE	SG	NEAR	TO TAKE	TO COME
n	cl	n	cl	np	vt	v
  
3. **Sěndzâ -bă shâphî -pû pădă pă bì.** *Bring the pears near the table.* [dynamic - goal]  

se-ɫndzaɫ	bæ-ɫ	ʃaɫpʰiɫ	puɫ	pa-ɫdæ-ɫ	pæ-ɫ	biɫ
PEAR	PL	TABLE	SG	NEAR	TO TAKE	TO GO
n	cl	n	cl	np	vt	v



## 8 Conclusion

The goal of this PhD thesis was to provide a description of one variety of NMZ language from the synchronic perspective based on data obtained by field research. The description and documentation of endangered languages is very important work not only for preserving a piece of knowledge for future generations, but also for the purpose of further research in fields of comparative linguistics, historical linguistics, anthropology, history and archaeology and last but not least, for the preserving of piece of culture. China is a large country with a lot of ethnic minorities, which speak their own languages, however these minorities are challenging with the politics and interests of the *Hàn* majority. Unfortunately for small ethnic groups of people like NMZ, the official approach towards minorities is restrictive, based on principles formulated by J.V.Stalin, which favors certain (usually bigger) minorities by its official recognition. NMZ are officially recognized as part of Tibetan minority, therefore they get no support in maintaining their own language or culture. In order to be officially recognized ethnic minority, the relevant group „*must convince the state that it possesses a common language, locality, economy and (...) culture*“ (GLADNEY 2004:151). Poa & LaPolla (2007:341) note that the dominance of *Hàn* people in education and administration system, together with the historical attitude of Chinese towards their own culture and language, form major obstacles to maintenance of minority languages. The policy towards ethnic minorities can be seen even in the lately published work on NMZ grammar, where the ethnonym **Nàmǔzīh** /naʎ.muʎ.ziʎ./ is strictly glossed as „Tibetans (self-address of NMZ)“ (藏族 (納木茲自稱)) and the ethnonym **Pshìh** /pʰɣuʎ/ for Tibetans is strictly glossed as „Tibetans speaking the *Pǔmǐ* language“ (講普米話的藏族) (YĪN 2016:146). Though the language is labeled as „threatened“ according to the EGIDS scale (SIMONS & FENNING 2017), I believe that it is severely endangered. During my field trips to the area of *Mùlǐ* 木里 county in *Sìchūān* province, I have encountered only older people using this language for common communication, however inside the community only, which means mostly at home. Young people usually choose another language for communication, mainly Chinese or other language of neighboring ethnic group as *Yì* 彝 or *Pǔmǐ* 普米. From this point of view, I hope that my PhD thesis will contribute to promote further studies on this language.

Beside documentation and description, further research should also follow the goal of promoting education and revitalisation of this language.

During my research, I have managed to conduct two field trips into the area and gathered a corpus of 11 stories, two wedding songs and about three hour of recordings of short speech and basic expressions. That was enough authentic material to write basic grammar sketch of NMZ language.

Previous works on NMZ language did not provide very useful information, therefore I had to start from the very beginning. The descriptions made by Chinese researchers are preliminary and very brief and the information is not supported by annotated text, therefore it is not possible to verify the reliability of the description. It proved that previous research was preliminary and mostly based on insufficient data. The other rather crucial problem of Chinese works is that these works are not reliable phonetically. The latest work of *Yīn Wèibīn* (2016) shows problems to distinguish voiced and voiceless initials, prenasalized initials and sounds which are not in the Chinese language (voiceless lateral approximant etc). On the other hand, for me, being the speaker of Czech language, there can be problem in the perception of several vowels and of course tones. Therefore I believe that further research have to focus on vowels and tones of NMZ language as well, either to prove or disprove the system as proposed in this thesis. The system of initials seems to be quite clear, however further research can be made on uvular initials, which seems to be the least stable set.

All inflected parts of speech, namely verbs, adjectival verbs, nouns and pronouns, were more or less described and the basic characteristics has been presented in relevant chapters. Further research can thus focus on each feature more specifically, e.g. the relations between specific kinds of verbs and its arguments, spatial relations, temporal relations etc.

I have found that NMZ is a language with a very interesting phenomena of conflicting basic morphological characteristic. The language has many agglutinative features (e.g. case markers, aspect markers etc.), however it also shows a strong tendency to avoid using them, expressing grammar categories by word order or by context, which is typical for isolating languages. This situation may be a result of bilinguality of the native speakers, who use the isolating Chinese language in common communication.

Some of the grammatical features resemble even Altaic languages (e.g. the case marking /ŋɪl/), therefore it would be interesting to conduct further research to compare the grammar system of NMZ with languages along the way to „Nimalhasa“ (the legendary place of NMZ origin), which includes places, where Altaic languages are spoken.

Although the language has no written form, it has two distinct stylistic registers. The more prestige is called **yêlishâ** /jelliʃaʎ/ and it is used in narratives, songs and ritual chants for idiomatic or poetic expressions.

I have proposed a system of initial phonemes, which includes 38 simple initials and 17 compound (prenasalized) initials including bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, uvular and glottal consonants. According to my analysis, there are 13 finals with 6 monophthongs, 5 diphthongs with medial /i/ or /u/, two reduced finals and rhotacization. All syllables in NMZ are open. the system of tonal patterns needs to be further studied, I have described 6 different tonal contours, however I presume that there are at most four distinctive tonemes.

Remarkable is the existence of nasalized glottal fricative /h<sup>n</sup>/ and bilabial trills. Unlike other researchers, I have analysed the existence of voiceless lateral approximant /ɺ/ instead of lateral fricative /ʎ/.

I have defined the main word classes on the basis of morphology and functional approach in cases where the morphological criteria were not sufficient. The main word classes include the content words (verbs, nouns, adnomina and numerals), where the first three are also open classes; and function words with little lexical meaning (pronouns, adverbs, classifiers, particles, postpositions, conjunctions, interjections and onomatopoeia).

I have provided an IC analysis for several example sentences with marking of syntactic relations between two adjacent constituents (paratactic relations e.g. of coordination, conjoined relation, disjunctive relation, reduplication and apposition; and hypotactic relations e.g. subject-predicate, predicate-complement, topic-comment, attributive and adverbial relation).

There is no corresponding relation between word classes and syntactic constituents – therefore e.g. verbs, which primarily function as predicate, can also (without any morphological marking) function as topic, object or attribute.

NMZ is an SOV language, where the basic word order is topic – agent – recipient – patient -verb.

Verbs in NMZ are the most complex word class, which was not easy to describe. They can appear at the end of the sentence as a predicate. There are distinct categories of aspect and mood. Verbs which are modified by after-verb modifier also distinguish the category of tense (past and non-past). In other cases, the tense is expressed by lexical means or by the overall context. The aspect can be expressed by aspectual markers and/or by directional prefixes or

the verb can be modified by resultative modifier. However all modified verbs are perfective.

Apart the tense-aspect-mood, I have distinguished three verbal voices – active, passive and causative (the causative voice is common in TB languages).

There are two inherent properties of verbs which affect the inflection and the ability to govern certain arguments – the former is influenced by punctuality, the latter by transitivity. Durative verbs can combine with five different aspect markers, while punctual verbs can combine with only three different aspect markers.

There are two deverbal forms of transgressive and participle, which are used to form more complex structures.

Verbs are the only word class that can be negated. The negative marker can be placed either before the verbal stem or after the verbal stem. This feature is also one of the criterion defining the difference between non-specific verbs and specific verbs (linking verbs, verbs of localization and existence, verbs of possession and finally adjectival verbs).

Although there is this rather complex system of verbal inflection (including features of aspect marking, directional and resultative modification, potential construction etc), verbs very often occur in its basic form, i.e. the whole inflectional system is optional, used only to avoid ambiguity or misinterpretation.

Adjectival verbs often function as predicates and complements and can be modified by directional prefixes. They also often form adverbial phrases by reduplication and by adverbial marker **-mu** /muł/. There is a system of expressing degree of the adjectival verbs by adverbs of degree, however this feature can also be omitted when the degree is possible to deduce from the overall context.

Adjectival verbs are often used as attributes of nouns or nominal phrases. They are placed either before the head without any other marker, or after the head followed by classifier, which also functions as nominalizer.

Adverbs are rather limited word class of functional words with little lexical meaning. There are adverbs of degree, adverbs of manner, adverb **hrâ** /kał/, which is used in specific constructions to express e.g. universal pronouns and adverb **lolo** /lołloł/, which is used to express gradual degree. Most of the words, which in other languages are classified as adverbs (answering questions as how, where, when and why) behave as nouns (and are classified accordingly as spatial or temporal nouns) or are formed by reduplication of adjectival verbs followed by an adverbial suffix **-mu** /muł/ and regarded as adverbial phrases.

Nouns usually occurs in apposition with numeral phrases or with a classifier. We can distinguish categories of class and case, which are expressed on morphological level, while the categories of number and definiteness are expressed by lexical means.

The class of nouns is based on external characteristics of the noun and determined by a classifier. There are eight distinct classes (humans/animate things, big animals, small objects/animals, round-shaped objects/animals, flat objects or things growing from the soil, long and thin objects, objects without distinct external characteristics and abstract nouns). Nouns cannot be directly modified by a numeral and their quantity is specified by numeral phrase with the help of classifiers.

Nouns can be inflected by five inflectional suffixes. I have divided them into five cases. The first is unmarked form (the noun can be followed by postposition), which is without case marker and used when the relation is clear from the overall context. The second is genitive, specifically genitivus qualitatis marked by the suffix **-gvîh** /gyl/ or genitive/instrumental marked by the suffix **nyĩ~ĩ** /ŋił/~ił/. The third is dative/committative (**-dâ** /dal/), the fourth is accusative (**-dzhâ** /dzał/) and the fifth is agentive/topic (**-nyĩ** /ŋił/).

Except the dative/committative case and agentive in passive constructions, other case markers are usually omitted, when the relation is clear from the context.

Colours and several words describing the quality of nouns cannot be used as a predicate alone, therefore I have classified them as adnomina. However, this word class should be further studied in detail.

Another important word class are the classifiers, which together with numerals are used to measure or count quantity and alone function as nominalizers for other word classes (esp. verbs and adjectival verbs), mark the end of a phrase with dependent members and denote grammatical number or definiteness of substantives.

I have divided the classifiers into seven types according to their grammatical functions: generic classifiers (denoting the class of nouns), general classifier (denoting plural or huge quantity of mass nouns), specific classifiers (modifying the meaning of the noun), measure units (used with mass nouns), measure words (which can be regarded as specific noun with the ability to be directly modified by a numeral), verbal classifiers (used to quantify duration of an action denoted by verb or count how many times certain action occurred) and quasi-classifiers (nouns or verbs used as a measure unit).

During our research, I did not focus on numeral expressions, thus in the word class of numerals, I have differentiated only cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers.

There are personal, reflexive, possessive, demonstrative and interrogative types of pronouns. Relative clauses are not marked by pronouns and indefinite pronouns are expressed by specific constructions by numeral phrases and the adverb **hrâ** /ʁa/.

Personal pronouns have the categories of person, number and case. The first person plural has the distinction of clusivity, there are three numbers – singular, dual and plural. The case system slightly differs from the noun declension system. There is no specific genitivus qualitatis and pronouns do not drop the inflectional suffixes that easily. Also in certain constructions (e.g. the argument of the coverb **bũmu** /buɫmuɫ/ TO HELP) substantives and pronouns require different suffix.

There is a set of three deictic words in NMZ referring to object close to the speaker (proximal), far from the speaker (medial) and very far from the speaker or indefinite (distal).

Interrogative pronouns can form a question or express the function of indefinite, relative, universal and negative pronouns. In case of relative function, it is used in pair, where the first pronoun has no antecedent, while the second pronoun refers to the first.

Pronouns can be omitted, when they can be inferred from the context.

There are two spatial postpositions denoting either enclosed or open space and one temporal postposition denoting temporal nominal phrase. Other temporal and spatial relations are expressed by the means of spatial and temporal nouns.

I have described six conjunctions in NMZ. Conjunctions are not used very often, because most of the relations between clauses or constituents are inferred from the context.

Particles are placed mostly after verbs or at the end of a clause. Most of the sentence particles have emphatic or structural functions.

Though I did not focus on complex sentences, I have described the basic structure of declarative sentences, the direct and quoted speech, the way of forming interrogative sentences (either using question particles to form polar questions or interrogative pronouns to form nonpolar questions) and the optative, exclamatory and imperative sentences.

Thus I present a coherent system of word classes with description of the main grammar features and I believe I met the goal to provide a basic description of the grammar system

from the synchronic perspective.

The genetic affiliation of this language and more profound comparison to other neighboring languages (e.g. *Qiāng*, Naic languages, Altaic languages, Chinese, *Yi* and Tibetan) was beyond the scope of this thesis. However this field should also be studied in more detail to either support or disprove my analysis.

I hope this thesis can serve as a basic starting point for further more detailed research on this language.

**Vù ndzhih!**

## 9 Appendix

### 9.1 THUÔLÎYÂ VÛPHÂ LÃPHÃ (Rabbit, Bear and Tiger)

1. **Yîntâ, thuôlîyã mbâ kyigîdà vûshũqhõ mitò.**  
yîntâ thuôlî=yã mbâ kyî=gîdà vû-shũ=qhõ mi-tò  
in\_the\_past rabbit=CL.SG to\_walk one=place bear-HONORIF=LOC DIR.PFC-to\_arrive  
*In the past, a rabbit walking, arrived to a bear's [home].*
2. **Vûphâ mìduõ: “Thuôlîyâ, nuô fû mũ gyĩ?”**  
vû=phâ mì-duõ thuôlî=yâ nuô fû mũ gyĩ  
bear=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_ask rabbit=CL.SG 2SG what to\_do VC  
*The bear asked: „Rabbit, what are you doing?” (=a form of greeting)*
3. **Thuôlîyâ ngvîh: “Ngâ nuônyî bũmû ẽrlûh lûh gyĩ.**  
thuôlî=yâ ngvîh ngâ nuô-nyî bũmû ẽr=lûh lûh gyĩ  
rabbit=CL.SG to\_say 1SG 2SG-GEN to\_help child=CL.DIMINUT to\_watch VC  
*The rabbit said: „I came to help you look after [your] little children.*
4. **Ngâ shîhdzhîh, vû, nuò khûkhû gẽhzhîh, nuô mâ-lũ.**  
ngâ shîhdzhîh vû nuò khû~khû gẽhzhîh nuô mâ-lũ  
1SG to\_think bear 2SG busy~busy to\_seam 2SG NEG-to\_have\_free\_time  
*I was thinking you bear seemed to be so busy [and] you had no free time.*
5. **Nuônyî bũmû ẽrlûh lûh gyĩ.”**  
nuô-nyî bũmû ẽr=lûh lûh gyĩ  
2SG-GEN to\_help child=CL.DIMINUT to\_watch VC  
*[So I came] to help you look after the children. “*
6. **Vûphâ ngvîh: “Ò', odbîhě.**







11. **Tòmû ngûnû khyî ər khyilúh, vùphâ dzìhvu shûxa.**  
 tò-mû=ngûnû khyî ər khyi-lúh vù=phâ dzìh-vu shû-xa  
 prox\ADV-ADV=behind 3SG child DIR.INC-to\_watch bear=CL.SG to\_eat-NOM to\_find-  
 away.PAST  
*After that, he started to look after the children [and] the bear went out to find [some] food.*
12. **Khyî ər nyîlûhdà yākhûmũ khyishù.**  
 khyî ər nyî=lûh-dà yākhû-mũ khyi-shù  
 3SG child two=CL-DAT quickly-ADV DIR.INC-to\_wake  
*He quickly woke up both children.*
13. **Yākhûmũ phònyĩ gyûhrâ zhōqhà lúhsúbâdà khyítò.**  
 yākhû-mũ phò-nyĩ gyûhrâ zhō=qhà lúh-sû=bâ-dà khyi-tò  
 quickly-ADV to\_run-PTCP land grain=LOC to\_watch-NOM=CL.PL-DAT DIR.FWD-  
 to\_arrive  
*[And] running quickly arrived to people, [who were] guarding [their] fields with grain.*
14. **Nuôxrô gyûhrâbâ, zhōbâ nàmũ khyîlúho!**  
 nuô-xrô gyûhrâ=bâ zhō=bâ nà-mũ khyî-lúh-o  
 2-PL land=CL.PL grain=CL.PL good-ADV DIR.INC-to\_watch-EXCL  
 „You should start to guard your fields and grains carefully!
15. **Vùphâ nuôxrô yimĩ nkhvĩh dǎ lǎ.”**  
 vù=phâ nuô-xrô yimĩ nkhvĩh dǎ lǎ  
 bear=CL.SG 2-PL corn to\_steal to\_come.NPAST PREM  
*A bear is coming to steal your corn.*
16. **Gyûhrâ lúhsúbâ yākhûmũ zhûqhǒ khyîshù.**  
 gyûhrâ lúh-sû=bâ yākhû-mũ zhû=qhǒ khyi-shù  
 land to\_watch-NOM-CL.PL quickly-ADV grain=LOC DIR.INC-to\_guard  
*The farmers quickly started to guard the grain in the fields.*
17. **Vùphâ khyítuò zhûqhǒ zhû lúhsúlânyĩ khyüápǎ.**  
 vù=phâ khyi-tuò zhû=qhǒ zhû lúh-sû=lâ-nyĩ khyüā-pǎ  
 bear=CL.SG DIR.FWD-to\_arrive grain=LOC grain to\_watch-NOM-CL.SG-AGT to\_chase-  
 to\_catch.RESULT  
*[When] the bear arrives, [he'll be] chased in the fields by the guardians of the grain.*
18. **Thuôlíyâ yākhûmũ phòĩ lǐghĩ khyítò.**  
 thuôlí=yâ yākhû-mũ phò-ĩ lǐghĩ khyi-tò  
 rabbit=CL.SG quickly-ADV to\_run-PTCP to\_return DIR.FWD-to\_arrive  
*The rabbit running quickly to returne back [to the bear's].*
19. **Lǐghĩ khyítò vù ər-zìh nyĩyâ tbûanggǎ.**  
 lǐghĩ khyi-tò vù ər-zìh nyĩ-yâ tbûa-nggǎ  
 to\_return DIR.FWD-to\_arrive bear child-son two-CL to\_slaughter\?-good.RESULT  
*[When he] arrived back, he slaughtered both sons of the bear.*
20. **Ĕrquôpâ qàmǐnggǎ, bǔdzûmũ mìqǎ.**  
 ərquô=pâ qà-mǐnggǎ bǔdzû=mũ mì-qǎ  
 skin=CL.SG to\_scrape\_off-to\_fall.RESULT leather\_container=CL.SG DIR.DOWN-  
 to\_scrape\_off  
*[He] scrape off their skin to form a leather container.*
21. **Qolo lǎbâ micĩh, bêhrbêhrtâtāmũ micĩh, bêhrbêhr micĩh.**  
 qolo lǎ=bâ mì-cĩh bêhr~bêhr tâ=tǎ-mũ mì-cĩh bêhr~bêhr mì-cĩh  
 inside ash=CL.full\_of DIR.PFC-to\_load full~full PROX=kind-ADV DIR.PFC-to\_load  
 full~full DIR.PFC-to\_load  
*[He] loaded a lot of ash inside, loaded it this kind of full, loaded it fully.*

22. **Bũtãmũ mìcĩh.**  
 bũtã-mũ mì-cĩh  
 to\_be\_full-ADV DIR.PFC-to\_load  
*Loaded it to be full.*
23. **Vũ ẽrdzĩ âgyĩmã khyĩshũ.**  
 vũ ẽr-dzĩ âgyĩmã khyi-shũ  
 bear child-son be\_the\_same DIR.INC-to\_wake  
*[It looked] the same [as if] the children of the bear were awake.*
24. **Vũphã kũlhĩ mamphãmphã lĩghĩ tòdzhũ.**  
 vũ=phã kũlhĩ mamphã~mphã lĩghĩ tò-dzhũ  
 bear=CL.SG sweat be\_damp~be\_damp to\_return to\_arrive-hither.PAST  
*The bear arrived home drenched in sweat.*
25. **Thuôlĩyã ngvĩh: “Vũphã, nuô lĩ dzhũẽ yã?”**  
 thuôlĩ=yã ngvĩh vũ=phã nuô lĩ dzhũ-ẽ yã  
 rabbit=cl.sg to\_say bear=cl.sg 2sg to\_return hither.past-ingr q  
*The rabbit asked: „Bear, you have returned home?”*
26. **Vũphã ngvĩh: “Lĩ dzhũã’.**  
 vũ=phã ngvĩh lĩ dzhũ ã’  
 bear=CL.SG to\_say to\_return hither.PAST INTJ  
*The bear said: „I’m back.*
27. **Dzĩhvũ shũ mbã kyĩghã hrã mãhrò,**  
 dzĩh-vũ shũ mbã kyi=ghã hrã mã-hrò  
 to\_eat-NOM to\_find to\_leave one=style all NEG-to\_success  
*The same as I didn’t manage to bring any food,*
28. **qõpãlã âchĩchĩ lixè,**  
 qõpã=lã âchĩ~chĩ li-xè  
 life=CL almost~almost to\_loose-away.PAST  
*[and I] have nearly lost my life,*
29. **zhĩ lúhsũbãnyĩ ngãdzhã khyũãpã kyĩghã hrõ mãhrò.**  
 zhĩ lúh-sũ=bã-nyĩ ngã-dzhã khyũã-pã kyi=ghã hrõ mã-hrò  
 field to\_watch-nom=cl.pl-agt 1sg-acc to\_chase-to\_catch.result one=style all neg-  
 to\_success  
*[but] the same the farmers didn’t manage to catch me.*
30. **Ër nyĩlũh lã tuõyũe.**  
 ẽr nyĩ=lũh lã tuõyũ-e  
 child two=cl top to\_sleep-ingr  
*Children are sleeping.*
31. **Ngã khyõgũhdã nĩhkhũmũ mìtsèhã, nãmũ yũe.”**  
 ngã khyõ-gũh-dã nĩhkhũ-mũ mì-tsèh-ã, nãmũ yũ-e  
 1SG 3-DL-DAT to\_be\_full-ADV DIR.down-to\_feed-EXCL good-ADV to\_sleep-INGR  
*I will feed them both full, [let them] sleep well.*
32. **Vũphã kyĩthũ luóndzũ.**  
 vũ=phã kyi=thũ luó-ndzũ  
 bear=CL.SG one=sit DIR.INCH-to\_sit  
*The bear sat down.*
33. **“Hã’, ãmĩthuõ hro luókhyũmãya, ngã kyilũhpũ.”**  
 hã’ ãmĩ=thuõ hro luó-khyũ-mã-ya, ngã kyi-lũh-pũ  
 INTJ now=TIME all DIR.up-to\_stand-NEG-AFF 1SG one-to\_look-MMNT  
*„Ha, even now [they] did not stand up, I’ll have a look.”*

34. **Vûphâ khyilúh.**  
 vû=phâ khi-lúh  
 bear=cl.sg dir.inc-to\_look  
*The bear started to look.*
35. **Tuôlîyâ ngvîh: “Ěr nyîlúh gâmû yúngă.**  
 tuôlî=yâ ngvîh ěr nyî=lúh gâmû yú-ngă  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say child two=CL very to\_sleep-RESULT  
*The rabbit said: „Both children sleep very tight.*
36. **Nuô gâmû khyî vûdà kyikhyûpũ.”**  
 nuô gâmû khyî vûdà kyi-khyû-pũ  
 2SG very 3 on one-to\_punch  
*You [have to] punch them.*
37. **Vûphâ kyikhyûpũ bŭlŭhlŭhmăyă.**  
 vû=phâ kyi-khyû-pũ bŭlŭhlŭh-mă-yă  
 bear=CL.SG one-to\_punch-MMNT to\_move-NEG-AFF  
*The bear punched [them] once, [but they] did not move.*
38. **Tuôlîyâ ngvîh: “Khyuôxrô nyîkŭh gâmû yúngă.**  
 tuôlî=yâ ngvîh khyô-xrô nyî=kŭh gâmû yú-ngă  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say 3-PL two=CL very to\_sleep-result  
*The rabbit said: „They both sleep very tight.*
39. **Nuô gâmu kyikhyûpũ.”**  
 nuô gâmu kyi-khyû-pũ  
 2SG very one-to\_punch-MMNT  
*Punch them stronger.“*
40. **Vûphâ gâmũ kyikhyûpũ: “Pò'ng, pò'ng.”**  
 vû=phâ gâmũ kyi-khyû-pũ pò'ng~pò'ng  
 bear=CL.SG very one-to\_punch-MMNT ONO~ONO  
*The bear punched them strongly: bang, bang.*
41. **Bbùmínggă, lâbâ luófùedzhŭ.**  
 bbù-mínggă lâ=bâ luó-fù-e-dzhŭ  
 to\_burst-to\_fall.RESULT ash=CL.full\_of DIR.up-to\_fly-INGR-hither.PAST  
*[It] bursted [and] a lot of ash flew out.*
42. **Vûphâ mîyêlŭh dòqômínggă.**  
 vû=phâ mîyê=lŭh dòqô-mínggă  
 bear=CL.SG eye=CL to\_blind-to\_fall.RESULT  
*The eyes of the bear were blinded.*
43. **Vûphâ mǎrmǎr: “Thuôlîyâ e! Ngânyî mêlŭh dòqômínggă, nduômâkhyŭě!”**  
 vû=phâ mǎr~mǎr thuôlî=yâ e ngâ-nyî mê=lŭh dòqô-mínggă nduò-mâ-khyŭ-ě  
 bear=CL.SG to\_shout~to\_shout rabbit=CL.SG EXCL 1SG-GEN eye=CL to\_blind-  
 to\_fall.RESULT to\_see-NEG-to\_achieve.RESULT-INGR  
*The bear shouted: „Rabbit! My eyes were blinded, [I] can't see!“*
44. **“Ô', nuônyî ěr nyîlŭhnyî nuônyî mîyêlŭh doqômínggăshĭ gyĭ.**  
 ô' nuô-nyî ěr nyî=lŭh-nyî nuô-nyî mîyê=lŭh doqô-mínggă-shĭ gyĭ  
 INTJ 2SG-GEN child two=CL-AGT 2SG-GEN eye=CL to\_blind-to\_fall.RESULT-CAUS VC  
*„Oh, it was your children, [who] caused your eyes to be blinded!*
45. **Ămî ngă nuô sasa dzihvŭ shŭi.“**  
 ămî ngă nuô sasa dzih-vŭ shŭ-i  
 now 1SG 2SG to\_lead to\_eat-NOM to\_find-PROSP  
*Now, I will take you to find some food.*

46. **Vûphâ tò mò thuôlîyânyĩ luósâsã.**  
vû=phâ tò-mỏ thuôlî=yâ-nyĩ luó-sâsã  
bear=CL.SG PROX\ADV-ADV rabbit=CL.SG-AGT DIR.INCH-to\_lead  
*Thus the bear was led by the rabbit.*
47. **Thuôlîyâ vûphâ luósâsànyĩ êrgûdà lôqô vûphâdâ ngvìh:**  
thuôlî=yâ vû=phâ luó-sâsà-nyĩ êrgû=dà lôqô vû=phâ-dâ ngvìh  
rabbit=CL.SG bear=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_lead-PTCP road=LOC on bear=CL.SG-DAT to\_say  
*The rabbit, leading the bear on the road, told the bear:*
48. **“Tôqhô êrgû mánchuò, nuô azāzâmû mbà!”**  
tô=qhò êrgû mâ-nchuò nuô azā~zâ-mû mbà  
PROX=LOC road NEG-flat 2SG slow~slow-ADV to\_walk  
*„The road is not flat here, walk slowly!”*
49. **Vûphâ ngvìh: “Vã.**  
vû=phâ ngvìh vã  
bear=CL.SG to\_say yes  
*The bear said: „Yes.*
50. **Thuôlîyâ, nuô ngâdâ nãmũ luósâsâ o!**  
thuôlî=yâ nuô ngâ-dâ nã-mũ luó-sâsâ o  
rabbit=CL.SG 2SG 1SG-DAT good-ADV DIR.INCH-to\_lead EXCL  
*Rabbit, lead me well!*
51. **Êrgû mánchuòqhô nuô ngâdâ ngvìh, êrgû nchuòqhô ngâdâ ngvìh.**  
êrgû mâ-nchuò=qhò nuô ngâ-dâ ngvìh êrgû nchuò=qhò ngâ-dâ ngvìh  
road NEG-flat=LOC 2SG 1SG-DAT to\_say road flat=LOC 1SG-DAT to\_say  
*Tell me, when the road isn't flat and tell me, when the road is flat.*
52. **Ngâ qhâtômû mbà tshâtshà gyĩgĩ.”**  
ngâ qhâtô-mû mbà tshâtshà gyĩgĩ  
1SG how-ADV to\_walk to\_grasp to\_have  
*[In order to] have a grasp on how I walk. “*
53. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh: “Vã, ngâ nuôdã nãnãmũ bûmũ.”**  
thuôlî=yâ ngvìh vã ngâ nuô-dã nã~nã-mũ bûmũ  
rabbit=CL.SG to\_say yes 1SG 2SG-DAT good~good-ADV to\_help  
*The rabbit said: „OK, I will help you well. “*
54. **Thuôlîyâ vûphâ luósâsã.**  
thuôlî=yâ vû=phâ luó-sâsã  
rabbit=CL.SG bear=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_lead  
*The rabbit led the bear.*
55. **Êrgû mánchuòqhô thuôlîyâ ngvìh:**  
êrgû mâ-nchuò=qhò thuôlî=yâ ngvìh  
road NEG-flat=LOC rabbit=CL.SG to\_say  
*When the road was not flat, the rabbit said:*
56. **“Vûphâ, tôqhô êrgû nchuà, yăkhû mbà.”**  
vû=phâ tô=qhò êrgû nchu-à, yăkhû mbà  
bear=CL.SG PROX\LOC=LOC road flat-EXCL quick to\_walk  
*„Bear, the road is flat here, walk quickly!”*
57. **Vûphâ: “Gyĩ,” ngvìh.**  
vû=phâ gyĩ ngvìh  
bear=CL.SG VC to\_say  
*The bear said: „Right. “*

58. **Mbũlĩmbũtsih tshuò gũmĩluhluh mbũlĩnyĩ màlã.**  
 mbũ-lĩ~mbũ-tsih tshuò gũmĩ=luh~luh mbũ-lĩ-nyĩ-mà-lã  
 to\_topple-here~to\_topple-there to\_continue body=CL.SG to\_topple-here-INSTR NEG-  
 feel\_well  
*Toppling to and fro forward, [his] body was battered of the toppling.*
59. **Thuôlĩyâ vũphâ luósâsa ämbĩlũh luótò.**  
 thuôlĩ=yâ vũ=phâ luó-sâsa ämbĩ=lũh luó-tò  
 rabbit=CL.SG bear=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_lead slope=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_arrive  
*The rabbit led the bear to a slope.*
60. **Thuôlĩyâ ngvìh: “N'dàdzhĩh kyiqãqã lumbà.”**  
 thuôlĩ=yâ ngvìh n' dàdzhĩh kyi-qã~qã lú-mbà  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say 2SG big one-step~step DIR.INCH-to\_walk  
*The rabbit said: „Make a big step forward now.”*
61. **Vũphâ: “Gyĩ,” ngvìh.**  
 vũ=phâ gyĩ ngvìh  
 bear=CL.SG VC to\_say  
*The bear said: „Right.”*
62. **Dàdzhĩh kyiqãdzũ xěxě hrãlũhdà mìxěxě, mbũlĩ qhãqhò mìtò.**  
 dàdzhĩh kyi=qãdzũ xě-xě hrã=lũh-dà mì-xě-xě, mbũ-lĩ qhã=qhò mì-tò  
 big one=step away~away cliff=CL-LOC DIR.down-away-away to\_topple-here  
 valley=LOC DIR.PFC-to\_arrive  
*One big step away [and he] fall down of the cliff and rolled down to the valley.*
63. **Vũphâ shĩhkòminggã qhãqhò khiydzĩh.**  
 vũ=phâ shĩhkò-minggã qhã=qhò khiy-dzhĩh  
 bear=CL.SG to\_die-to\_fall.RESULT valley=LOC DIR.INC-to\_put  
*The bear died and remain lying in the valley.*
64. **Thuôlĩyâ mbà làphã mihrõpũ.**  
 thuôlĩ=yâ mbà là=phã mi-hrõ-pũ  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_walk tiger=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_meet-MMNT  
*The rabbit was walking and met a tiger.*
65. **Thuôlĩyâ làphãdã miduò: “Âhrò là, nuò fũmũ gyĩo?”**  
 thuôlĩ=yâ là=phã-dã mi-duò âhrò là nuò fũ mũ gyĩ o  
 rabbit=CL.SG tiger=CL.SG-DAT DIR.PFC-to\_ask uncle tiger 2SG what to\_do VC SP  
*The rabbit asked the tiger: „Uncle tiger, what are you doing?”*
66. **Lãphã ngvìh: “Ngã n'zũquã, dzìhvũ shũ.”**  
 là=phã ngvìh ngã n'zũquã dzìh-vũ shũ-ĩ  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_say 1SG hungry-AFF to\_eat-NOM to\_find-PROSP  
*The tiger said: „Looking for some food, [because] I am hungry.”*
67. **Thuôlĩyâ ngvìh: “Âhrò là, nuò fũlũh shũ gyĩo?”**  
 thuôlĩ=yâ ngvìh âhrò là nuò fũ=lũh shũ-ĩ gyĩ o  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say uncle tiger 2SG what=CL to\_find-PROSP VC SP  
*The rabbit said: „Uncle tiger, what are you looking for?”*
68. **Âtò qhãqhò vũphã shĩhkòkò dzhã, nuò âxrò nyĩkũh khiyishũ bĩ.**  
 â=tò qhã=qhò vũ=phã shĩhkò~kò dzhã nuò â-xrò nyĩ=kũh khiy-shũ bĩ  
 MED=side valley=LOC bear=CL.SG to\_die~to\_die VLOC 2SG 1INCL-PL two=CL DIR.INC-  
 to\_find to\_go.NPAST  
*There is a dead bear in that valley, you, let's go there to find him.*

69. **Lăphă ngvìh: “Gâmu gyì a?”**  
 là=phă ngvìh gâmu gyì a  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_say very VC EXCL  
*The tiger said: „Is that so?”*
70. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh: “Gâmu gyìwũ, ngâ nuô shîhshîh bĩ, âgvîh dzi.”**  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvìh gâmu gyì-wũ ngâ nuô shîh~shîh bĩ â-gvîh dz-ì  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say very VC-AFF 1SG 2SG to\_lead~to\_lead to\_go.NPAST 1INCL-DL  
 to\_eat\PROSP-PROSP  
*The rabbit said: „It's true, I will lead you there, we both will eat [the bear].”*
71. **“Vã.”**  
 vã  
 yes  
 „OK.”
72. **Thuôlîyâ lăphă luóshîhshîh mbà qhâqhô khyîtò vûphâ khyîhròpũ.**  
 thuôlî=yâ là=phă luó-shîh~shîh mbà qhâ=qhô khyî-tò vû=phâ khyî-hrò-pũ  
 rabbit=CL.SG tiger=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_lead~to\_lead to\_walk valley=LOC DIR.INC-  
 to\_arrive bear=CL.SG DIR.INC-to\_meet-MMNT  
*The rabbit led the tiger to walk there. When they arrived to the valley, they saw the bear.*
73. **“Nuô lúhe, vûphâ tôqhô dzhă.**  
 nuô lúh-e vû=phâ tô-qhô dzhă  
 2SG to\_look-INGR bear=CL.SG PROX\LOC-LOC VLOC  
 „Look! Here is the bear.
74. **Akûh dzè ă!”**  
 a-kûh dz-è ă  
 1INCL-DL to\_eat\INGR-INGR EXCL  
*Let's eat!”*
75. **Lăphă ngvìh: “Nà,nà,nà.**  
 là=phă ngvìh nà~nà~nà  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_say good~good~good  
*The tiger said: „OK, OK, OK.*
76. **Nuô hrôr dziă, mã dziâ?”**  
 nuô hrôr dz-ì ă mã dz-ì â  
 2SG head to\_eat\PROSP-PROSP or tail to\_eat\PROSP-PROSP Q  
*Will you eat the head or the tail?”*
77. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh: “Ngânyî nuôdzhâ shûdzhũ gyî.**  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvìh ngâ-nyî nuô-dzhâ shû-dzhũ gyî  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say 1SG-TOP 2SG-ACC to\_bring-hither.PAST VC  
*The rabbit said: „It was me, [who] has brought you here.*
78. **Ămîthuõ ngâ hrôr dzi, nuô mã dzi.”**  
 ămî=thuõ ngâ hrôr dz-ì nuô mã dz-ì  
 now=TIME 1SG head to\_eat\PROSP-PROSP 2SG tail to\_eat\PROSP-PROSP  
*Now I will eat the head and you will eat the tail.”*
79. **Thuôlîyâ mgyîgyî qoqumũ hrôr khyidzih.**  
 thuôlî=yâ mã-gyî~gyî qoqu-mũ hrôr khyi-dzih  
 rabbit=CL.SG NEG-VC~VC to\_be\_alike-ADV head DIR.INC-to\_eat  
*The rabbit as if nothing had happened started to eat the head.*
80. **Lăphă mã khyîdzih.**  
 là=phă mã khyî-dzih  
 tiger=CL.SG tail DIR.INC-to\_eat  
*The tiger started to eat the tail.*

81. **Dzèi kyithuôqhô vùphâ mã gyûlûh xrānggã.**  
dz-è-ĩ kyi-thuô=qhô vù=phâ mã gyû=lûh xrā-nggã  
to\_eat\INGR-INGR-PTCP one-TIME=LOC bear=CL.SG tail belly=CL to\_open-good.RESULT  
*While they were eating, the bear's belly got opened [from the side of the] tail.*
82. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh: “Âhrô là, nuô ãmîthuo hrôr dzìhdã, ngâ mã dzi.”**  
thuôlî=yâ ngvìh âhrô là nuô ãmî=thuo hrôr dzìh dã ngâ mã dz-i  
rabbit=CL.SG to\_say uncle tiger 2SG now=TIME head to\_eat-to\_come 1SG tail  
to\_eat\PROSP-PROSP  
*The rabbit said: „Uncle tiger, come and eat the head now, I will eat the tail.”*
83. **Lăphã ngvìh: “Nã, ngâ hrôr dzìhdã.”**  
lă=phã ngvìh nã ngâ hrôr dzìh dã  
tiger=CL.SG to\_say good 1SG head to\_eat-to\_come  
*The tiger said: „Good, I am going to eat the head.”*
84. **Thuôlîyâ mǎgyîgyî qoqumũ mār khyidzìh.**  
thuôlî=yâ mǎ-gyî~gyî qoqu-mũ mār r khyi-dzìh  
rabbit=CL.SG NEG-VC~VC to\_be\_alike-ADV tail-LOC DIR.INC-to\_eat  
*The rabbit as if nothing had happened started to eat near the tail.*
85. **Thuôlîyâ khâlamû vùphâ bûbûsulûh mîphacìh.**  
thuôlî=yâ khâla-mû vù=phâ bûbûsu-lûh mî-phacìh  
rabbit=CL.SG secret-ADV bear=CL.SG bladder=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_pull\_out  
*The rabbit secretly pulled out the bear's bladder.*
86. **Mândòqhô fũǎnggã qôlô lûshabã mîcìh.**  
mǎ-ndò=qhô fũǎ-nggã qôlô lûsha=bã mî-cìh  
NEG-to\_see=LOC to\_blow\?-good.RESULT inside stone=CL.PL DIR.PFC-to\_put  
*On a place, [where he could]not be seen, [he] blow it up and put stones inside.*
87. **Kyinkānggǎpũ “shuālã shuālã” mêmēr.**  
kyi-nkǎ-nggǎ-pũ shuālã~shuālã mēr~mēr  
one-to\_shake-good.RESULT-MMNT ONO~ONO to\_sound~to\_sound  
*[When it] was shaken, it rattled like „shuala, shuala”.*
88. **Lăphã dzìhkìdzìhlã lúnkvìh, thuôlîyâ mîduô:**  
lă=phã dzìh-kì~dzìh-lã lún-kvìh thuôlî=yâ mî-duô  
tiger=CL.SG to\_eat-here~to\_eat-there DIR.INCH-to\_be\_full rabbit=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_ask  
*The tiger was eating and eating and started to be full, the rabbit asked:*
89. **“Âhrô là, ãnkviìh?”**  
âhrô là ã-nkvìh  
uncle tiger Q-to\_be\_full  
*„Uncle tiger, are you full?”*
90. **Lăphã ngvìh: “N'kvìh.”**  
lă=phã ngvìh n'kvìh  
tiger=cl.sg to\_say to\_be\_full  
*The tiger said: „I am full.”*
91. **Ămîthuo âxrô nyîkûh lîdzhũ shùì.**  
ãmî=thuo â-xrô nyî=kûh lîdzhũ shù-i  
now=TIME 1INCL-PL two=CL speech to\_talk\PROSP-PROSP  
*„Let's have a talk now then.”*
92. **Thuôlîyâ mîduô: “Âhrô là, nuô fûlûh kvìhe?”**  
thuôlî=yâ mî-duô âhrô là nuô fû=lûh kvìh-e  
rabbit=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_ask uncle tiger 2SG what=CL to\_fear-INGR  
*The rabbit asked: „Uncle tiger, what are you afraid of?”*

93. **Lăphă ngvìh:** “Ngâ lâ, chihdzâ hnîyâqhà bà luókvìhe.”  
 là=phă ngvìh ngâ lâ chih dzâ hnî-yâqhà=bâ luó-kvìh-e  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_say 1SG TOP dog to\_let beast-to\_hunt=CL.PL DIR.INCH-to\_fear-INGR  
*The tiger said: „As for me, I am affraid of those hunters and when they release dogs.“*
94. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh:** “Ngâ lâ, hnîqhô fù hră luókvìhmâyă, “shuālă shuālă” tătàluhluh kvìha.”  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvìh ngâ lâ hnî=qhô fù hră luó-kvìh-mâyă shuālă~shuālă tâ=tâ=luh~luh  
 kvìh a  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say 1SG TOP evening=LOC what all DIR.INCH-to\_fear-NEG-AFF  
 ONO~ONO PROX=kind=CL~CL to\_fear AFF  
*The rabbit said: „As for me, I do not fear anything in the evening, [but] I fear the kind of „shuala shuala“.*
95. **Lăphă mîduò:** “Shuālă shuālă fûluh gyîo?”  
 là=phă mî-duò shuālă~shuālă fû=luh gyî o  
 tiger=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_ask ONO~ONO what=CL VC SP  
*The tiger asked: „What is it the shuala-shuala?“*
96. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh:** “Ù', shuālă-shuālălûh ãxrô sèhdălûh gyî.  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvìh ù' shuālă~shuālă=lûh ã-xrô sèh-dă=lûh gyî  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say INTJ ONO~ONO=CL.SG IINCL-PL to\_beat-to\_come=CL.SG VC  
*The rabbit said: „Oh, the shuala-shuala, it is [what] comes to beat us.*
97. **Tâ-lûh lâ, gâmû lúkvìh-lûh gyî.”**  
 tâ-lûh lâ gâmû lú-kvìh-lûh gyî  
 PROX-CL.SG TOP very DIR.INCH-to\_fear VC  
*It is, what we are most afraid of.“*
98. **Thuôlîyâ bûbûsûlûh qhălâmû lâphă mākûlâdà khyímphà.**  
 thuôlî=yâ bûbûsû=lûh qhălă-mû là=phă mākû=lâ=dà khyî-mphà  
 rabbit-CL.SG bladder-CL.SG secret-ADV tiger=CL.SG tail=CL.SG=LOC DIR.INC-to\_tie  
*The rabbit secretly tied the bladder on the tiger's tail.*
99. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh:** “Èi! Shuālă shuālă lûh mermêr dă qâqă.  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvìh èi shuālă~shuālă=lûh mer~mêr dă qâqă  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say INTJ ONO~ONO=CL to\_sound~to\_sound to\_come to\_be\_alike  
*The rabbit said: „Eh, it seems like the sound of coming shuala-shuala!“*
100. **Lăphă kôhnî luócîdzhû.**  
 là=phă kôhnî luó-cî-dzhû  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_be\_frighten DIR.INCH-to\_stand-hither.PAST  
*The tiger stood up in fear.*
101. **Mākûlă shuālă.**  
 mākû=lă shuālă  
 tail=CL.SG ONO  
*The tail - „shuala“.*
102. **Thuôlîyâ:** “Ngâ gèshă! Nuô ãgèshă?”  
 thuôlî=yâ ngâ gè-shă nuô ã-gè-shă  
 rabbit=CL.SG 1SG to\_hear-to\_sense.RESULT 2SG Q-to\_hear-to\_sense.RESULT  
*The rabbit: „I hear that! Have you heard that?“*
103. **Lăphă ngvìh:** “Gèshă!”  
 là=phă ngvìh gè-shă'  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say to\_hear-to\_sense.RESULT  
*The tiger said: „I have heard that!“*



104. **Shuālā luómêrmêr.**  
 shuālā luó-mêr~mêr  
 ONO DIR.INCH-to\_sound~to\_sound  
*It was rattling „shuala“.*
105. **Phò'.**  
 phò'  
 to\_run  
*He ran.*
106. **Lăphâ kǒhnî hrôr cîh lúhmâlûh.**  
 lâ=phâ kǒhnî hrôr cîh lúh-mâ-lûh  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_fear head to\_put to\_look-NEG-to\_look  
*The tiger was afraid not even dare to turn his head back.*
107. **Phò. Luóluó phò, luóluó mêrmêr: “Shuālā shuālā.”**  
 phò luóluó phò luóluó mêr~mêr shuālā~shuālā  
 to\_run the\_more to\_run the\_more to\_sound~to\_sound ONO~ONO  
*He ran. The more he ran the more it rattled „shuala-shuala“.*
108. **Lăphâ phònyĩ gâqhû ngvíhlă mîgâyũ.**  
 lâ=phâ phò-nyĩ gâqhû ngvíh=lă mí-gâyũ  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_run-PTCP mountain nine=CL DIR.PFC-to\_cross  
*The tiger running crossed nine mountains.*
109. **Mîyê luóndũă.**  
 mîyê luó-ndũ ă  
 sky DIR.INCH-to\_be\_bright SP  
*The day dawned.*
110. **Măkũlă kyilúhpũ.**  
 măkũ=lă kyí-lúh-pũ  
 tail=CL.SG one-to\_look-MMNT  
*[He] look on his tail.*
111. **Vûphâi bûbûsûlûh gyĩwũ.**  
 vû=phâ-î bûbûsû=lûh gyĩ wũ  
 bear=CL.SG-GEN bladder=CL.SG VC CONF  
*There was a bladder of the bear.*
112. **Thuôlîyâ dzhùmândò.**  
 thuôlî=yâ dzhù-mâ-ndò  
 rabbit=CL.SG VLOC-NEG-to\_see.RESULT  
*The rabbit was away.*
113. **“Hèi! Tâcû thuôlîyâ qhâtsôqhô xà nyĩ!**  
 hèi tâ=cû thuôlî=yâ qhâtsô=qhô xà nyĩ  
 INTJ PROX=kind rabbit=CL.SG where=LOC to\_go.PAST EXCL  
*„Hey! Where did the rabbit go?!”*
114. **Ngâdâ khyîdzhâ sènggăshîh!”**  
 ngâ-dâ khyî-dzhâ sè-nggă-shîh  
 1SG-DAT 3SG-ACC to\_beat-good.RESULT-CAUS  
*Let me beat him to death!”*
115. **Khyî tômû lîghî khyicàpũ thuôlîyâ shũ.**  
 khyî tô-mû lîghî khyi-cà-pũ thuôlî=yâ shũ  
 3SG PROX\ADV-ADV to\_return DIR.INC-to\_set-MMNT rabbit=CL.SG to\_find  
*[So] he set on the way back to find the rabbit.*

116. **Lîghî shûi, êrgûdà thuôlîyâ lăbânyî hnûmâr gûmîdà luósũ.**  
 lîghî shû-i êrgû=dà thuôlî=yâ lă=bâ-nyî hnû=mâr gûmî=dà luô-sũ  
 to\_return to\_find-PROSP road=LOC rabbit=CL.SG ash=CL.full\_of-GEN hair=CL.full\_of  
 body=LOC DIR.INCH-to\_run\_into  
*Finding [the rabbit] on the way back, he ran into a rabbit, [whose] body hairs were like ash.*
117. **Lăphâ thuôlîyâdâ mîduò: “Thuôlîyâ, nuô thuôlî phûdzhâyă àndò?”**  
 lă=phâ thuôlî=yâ-dâ mî-duò thuôlî=yâ nuô thuôlî phûdzhâ=yă à-ndò  
 tiger=CL.SG rabbit=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_ask rabbit=CL.SG 2SG rabbit white=CL Q-to\_see  
*The tiger asked the rabbit: „Rabbit, have you seen white rabbit?”*
118. **Thuôlîyâ ngvîh: “Mândòě, nuô qhâtô mû?”**  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvîh mâ-ndò-ě nuô qhâtô mû  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say NEG-to\_see-INGR 2SG what to\_do  
*The rabbit said: „I haven't seen [him], what for?”*
119. **Lăphâ ngvîh: “Thuôlî phûdzhâyă ngâdzhâ shâmbă vûphâ dzihmbă.**  
 lă=phâ ngvîh thuôlî phûdzhâ=yă ngâ-dzhâ shâ mbă vû=phâ dzih mbă  
 tiger=CL.SG to\_say rabbit white=CL.SG 1SG-ACC to\_cause to\_walk bear=CL.SG to\_eat  
 to\_walk  
*The tiger said: „The white rabbit led me to go to eat a bear.*
120. **Khyînyî vûphâ bûbûsûlûh fûănggă qôlô lûshabăsûmũ ngânyî mākûlâdà khîmphâ,**  
 khyî-nyî vû=phâ bûbûsû=lûh fûă-nggă qôlô lûsha=bă-sû=mũ ngâ-nyî mākû=lâ-dà  
 khyî-mpâ  
 3SG-TOP bear=CL.SG bladder=CL.SG to\_blow\RESULT-good.RESULT inside stone=CL.PL-  
 NOM-CL 1SG-GEN tail=CL.SG=LOC DIR.INC-to\_tie  
*He blow up the bladder of the bear and [with] stones inside tied it to my tail,*
121. **shuālâ shuālă ngvîh.**  
 shuālâ~shuālă ngvîh  
 ONO~ONO to\_say  
*and talked about shuala-shuala.*
122. **Ngâmô kôhnînyî âchîchî sâqhă mînychînyî shîhkôă.**  
 ngâmô kôhnî-nyî âchî~chî sâqhă mî-nchî-nyî shîhkôă  
 1SG=CL.SG to\_fear-PTCP almost~almost vital\_energy DIR.PFC-to\_give\_up-PTCP to\_die  
 EXCL  
*It scared me that I almost gave up the ghost and died!*
123. **Ngâ âmînyî khyî shûi gyî.**  
 ngâ âmî-nyî khyî shû-i gyî  
 1SG now-TOP 3SG to\_find-PROSP VC  
*I am now looking for him.*
124. **Khyîdzhâ sènggăshîh.”**  
 khyî-dzhâ sè-nggă-shîh  
 3SG-ACC to\_beat-good.RESULT-CAUS  
*To beat him to death.*
125. **Thuôlîyâ ngvîh: “Hîh! Thuôlî phûdzhăbâ nyîmî mâhrà.**  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvîh hîh thuôlî phûdzhă=bâ nyîmî mâ-hrà  
 rabbit=CL.SG to\_say INTJ rabbit white=CL.PL heart NEG-nice  
*The rabbit said: „White rabbits are bad.*
126. **Ngâxrô thuôlî nănkhabă gyî, nyîmî hrà.**  
 ngâ-xrô thuôlî nănkhabă=bâ gyî nyîmî hrà  
 1EXCL-PL rabbit black=CL.PL VC heart nice  
*We black rabbits are nice.*

127. **Ngâ nuôdă khiyŭmŭ thuôlŷâ phŭdză shŭi.**  
ngâ nuô-dă khiyŭ-mŭ thuôlŷ=yâ phŭdză shŭ-ĩ  
1SG 2SG-DAT together-ADV rabbit=CL.SG white to\_find-PROSP  
*I will go with you to find the white rabbit.*
128. **Khyôxrô nyîkŭh mbà găqhŭ nyîlâ micàpŭ kŭlhî mibudzhîh.**  
khyô-xrô nyî=kŭh mbà găqhŭ nyî=lâ mì-cà-pŭ kŭlhî mì-budzhîh  
3\PL-PL two=CL to\_walk mountain two=CL DIR-PFC-to\_cross-MMNT sweat DIR.PFC-  
to\_come\_out  
*[As] they two were walking, they crossed two mountains and started to sweat.*
129. **Thuôlŷâ hnŭbâ kŭlhînyî mîtsih.**  
thuôlŷ=yâ hnŭ=bâ kŭlhî-nyî mì-tshih  
rabbit=CL.SG hair=CL.PL sweat-INSTR DIR.PFC-to\_wash  
*Hairs of the rabbit were washed by the sweat.*
130. **Phŭlŭ âmî bŭdzhîh.**  
phŭlŭ âmî bŭdzhîh  
white now to\_come\_out  
*The white [colour] has emerged now.*
131. **Lăphâ ngvîh: “Ŭ! Nuô khiyîdâ qàqă!**  
lă=phâ ngvîh ù nuô khiyî-dâ qàqă  
tiger=CL.SG to\_say INTJ 2SG 3SG-DAT to\_be\_alike  
*The tiger said: „Oh! You look like him!*
132. **Nuônyî hnŭbâ kŭlhî mîtsih.**  
nuô-nyî hnŭ=bâ kŭlhî mî-tsih  
2SG-GEN hair=CL.PL sweat DIR.PFC-to\_wash  
*Your hairs were washed by the sweat.*
133. **Phŭlŭbâ bŭdzhîh. Nuô gyî pă!”**  
phŭlŭ=bâ bŭdzhîh nuô gyî pă  
white=CL to\_come\_out 2SG VC TENT  
*The white [colour] emerged. It's you!”*
134. **Thuôlŷâ kôhnî phòmĭnggă.**  
thuôlŷ=yâ kôhnî phò-mĭnggă  
rabbit=CL.SG to\_fear to\_run-to\_fall.RESULT  
*Rabbit ran away in fear.*
135. **Lăphâ ngŭnŭ dzhŭăbă.**  
lă=phâ ngŭnŭ dzhŭăbă  
tiger=CL.SG after to\_pursue  
*The tiger has ran after him.*
136. **Thuôlŷâ phò ăluôqhô khiytò.**  
thuôlŷ=yâ phò ăluô=qhô khiy-tò  
rabbit=CL.SG to\_run cliff=LOC DIR-INC-to\_arrive  
*The rabbit ran under a cliff.*
137. **Thuôlŷâ hnĕpâ nyîpŭ tôtô luóchĭh ălŭdâ khiynkhèh.**  
thuôlŷ=yâ hnĕpâ nyî=pŭ tôtô luó-chĭh ălŭ-dâ khiy-nkhèh  
rabbit=CL.SG ear two=CL down DIR.up-to\_put cliff=LOC DIR.INC-to\_support  
*The rabbit has put his two ears under the cliff [as if] to support it from below.*
138. **Luómĕrmĕr: “Lăphâ,” ngvîh, “khyîthàdă, khyîthàdă!”**  
luó-mĕr~mĕr lâ=phâ ngvîh khiyî-thà-dă~khyî-thà-dă  
DIR.INC-to\_shout~to\_shout tiger=CL.SG to\_say DIR.forward-PROH-to\_come~  
DIR.forward-PROH-to\_come  
*He started to shout: „Tiger;“ he said, „don't come here! Don't come here!”*

139. **Lăphâ ngvìh: “Fûmû?”**  
 là=phâ ngvìh fû mû  
 tiger=CL.SG to \_say what to \_do  
*The tiger said: „Why?”*
140. **Thuôlîyâ ngvìh: “Tôqhô ãlû dzhuàqǎlǎ.**  
 thuôlî=yâ ngvìh tô-qhô ãlû dzhuà-qǎ-lǎ  
 rabbit=CL.SG to \_say PROX\LOC-LOC cliff to \_fall-will-PREM  
*The rabbit said: „This cliff is going to fall!*
141. **Ngânyî hněpâ nyîpû tôqhô ãlûdà nkhiě!**  
 ngâ-nyî hněpâ nyî=pû tô-qhô ãlû-dà nkhi-ě  
 1SG-GEN ear two=CL PROX\LOC-LOC cliff-DAT to \_support-INGR  
*My two ears are supporting the whole cliff!*
142. **Nuô mândò yà!?**  
 nuô mândò yà  
 2SG NEG-to \_see Q  
*Don't you see that?*
143. **Nuô khyîthàdǎ, yǎkhû phò!**  
 nuô khyîthàdǎ, yǎkhû phò  
 2SG DIR.forward-PROH-to \_come quick to \_run  
*Do not come closer, quickly run away!*
144. **Mâgyî sâ, ngâ hněpǎpû mîchih!**  
 mâ-gyî sâ ngâ hněpǎ=pû mîchih  
 NEG-VC if 1SG ear=CL DIR.downward-to \_put  
*If not, I will put my ears down!*
145. **ãluô mîdzhuàdǎ nuôdzhâ sènggǎkǔ.**  
 ãluô mî-dzhuà-dǎ nuô-dzhâ sè-nggǎ-kǔ  
 cliff DIR.downwards-to \_fall-hither 2SG-ACC to \_beat-good.RESULT-PASS  
*You will be crushed to death by the cliff!*
146. **Yǎkhû sù!**  
 yǎkhû sù  
 quickly to \_flee  
*Flee away quickly!*
147. **Lăphâ tâkûh gèshǎ tômô suànggǎ.**  
 là=phâ tâ=kûh gè-shǎ tô-mô suà-nggǎ  
 tiger=CL.SG PROX=sentence to \_hear-to \_sense.RESULT PROX\ADV-ADV to \_flee-  
 good.RESULT  
*[When] the tiger heard this, he fled away.*
148. **Ăsîhsîh tàzêh shuô-sû, thuôlîyâ êrphêr dǎdzhîh.**  
 ăsîhsîh tà=zêh shuô-sû o thuôlî=yâ êrphêr dǎdzhîh  
 story PROX=CL.SG to \_say-NOM EXCL rabbit=CL.SG way big  
*That is this story about cleverness of the rabbit.*
149. **Pītsà.**  
 pītsà  
 to \_finish  
*The end.*

## 9.2 GYŨHRĀ YŪYŪ (Dividing of the Land)

1. **Yîntâ, gyûntshà chăphû ngûnû, nànkhamû khèr tshuò luódàbèr.**  
yîntâ gyû-ntshà chăphû ngûnû nànkha=mû khèr tshuò luó-dàbèr  
in\_the\_past land-section to\_turn\_around behind heaven=CL.SG under human DIR.INCH-  
be\_more  
*In the past, as the time went, there was more people under the heaven.*
2. **Zhû änggî gyŭhră yúyú, tshuò ndzù gyŭhră yúyú, tshuò zìhkuh duò lă.**  
zhû änggî gyŭhră yú~yú tshuò ndzù gyŭhră yú~yú tshuò zìh=kuh duò lă  
grain to\_cultivate land to\_divide~to\_divide human to\_sit land to\_divide~to\_divide  
human four=cl to\_ask prem  
*There were four [groups] of people asking to divide the land for growing grain, [and] to divide the land for living.*
3. **“Ăxrô zìhkuh gyŭhrăbâ miyúyú, mâgyisâ khêyîkuh hrâ mâsîh dzîhdzhîhkâkâ bŭdzhîhkô.**  
â-xrô zìh=kuh gyŭhră=bâ mi-yú~yú mâ-gyi sâ khêyî=kuh hrâ mâ-sîh dzîhdzhîh~kâkâ  
bŭdzhîh-kô  
1INCL-PL four=CL land=CL.PL DIR.PFC-to\_divide~to\_divide NEG-VC if who=CL all NEG-  
to\_know quarrel~ quarrel to\_come\_out-to\_get.RESULT  
*„If we do not divide the land, no-one will know if many quarrels will arise.“*
4. **Ăxrô zìhkuh tâcù gyŭhrăbâ nàmŭ mîyúyúshîh.”**  
â-xrô zìh=kuh tâ=cù gyŭhră=bâ nà-mŭ mî-yú~yú-shîh  
1INCL-PL four=CL PROX=kind land=CL.PL good-ADV DIR.PFC-to\_divide~to\_divide-  
CAUS  
*Let us divide the land properly between us four.“*
5. **Tâ tshuò zìhkuh tâthuò zîhgă:**  
tâ tshuò zìh=kuh tâ=thuò zîh=gă  
PROX human four=CL PROX=TIME four=tribe  
*There were those four tribes that time:*
6. **Nàmŭzîh kyigă, Hrôdzŭ kyigă, Mûsîh kyigă, Wà kyigă, tâ zîhgă.**  
nàmŭzîh kyî=gă hrôdzŭ kyî=gă mûsîh kyî=gă wà kyî=gă tâ zîh=gă  
Namuzi one=tribe Pumi one=tribe Yi one=tribe Han one=tribe PROX four=tribe  
*the Namuzi, the Pumi, the Yi and the Han – these four tribes.*
7. **“Ăxrô zîhgă gyŭhră yŭyŭ yôyò ntshà kyiluh dzhîh, ädbîh?”**  
â-xrô zîh=gă gyŭhră yŭ~yŭ yô~yò ntshà kyî=luh dzhîh ä-dbîh  
1INCL-PL four=tribe land to\_divide~to\_divide own~own sign one=CL to\_put Q-correct  
*„Each of us four will put his own sign to divide the land, right?“*
8. **Zìhkŭh ngvîh: “Dbîh.”**  
zìh=kŭh ngvîh dbîh  
four=CL to\_say correct  
*„Right.“*
9. **Khyôxrô zìhkuh gyŭhră yŭyŭ khêyî yâkhvîh ntshá khyîdzhîh,**  
khyô-xrô zìh=kuh gyŭhră yŭ~yŭ khêyî yâkhvîh ntshá khyî-dzhîh  
3SG\PL-PL four=CL land to\_divide~to\_divide who quick sign DIR.INC-to\_put  
*The four of them will divide the land [according to] who will put his signs quicker,*
10. **khêyî ntshá dâbêr khyîdzhîh.**  
khêyî ntshá dâbêr khyî-dzhîh  
who sign to\_be\_more DIR.INC-to\_put  
*and who will put more of them.*

11. **Khyî yâ dâbër, tômu ngûnû khyîyûyû.**  
 khyî yâ dâbër tô-mû ngûnû khyî-yû~yû  
 3SG more to\_be\_more PROX\ADV-ADV behind DIR.INC-to\_divide~to\_divide  
*Who will have more, will then divide [the land].*
12. **Mûsîhmû shîdzhîh, yô dâbër àkôshîh, ngvîh:**  
 mûsîh=mû shîdzhîh yô dâbër à-kô-shîh ngvîh  
 Yi=CL.SG to\_think more to\_be\_more Q-to\_get-CAUS to\_say  
*Yi was thinking, how to have more and said:*
13. **“Zhû dâmûqhô zhûèr tǒmbûhlûh luótǒ.”**  
 zhû dâmû=qhô zhû-èr tǒmbûh=lûh luó-tǒ  
 grass high=LOC grass-head knot=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_tie  
 „[I will] tie the tall grass together making a knot at the tip.“
14. **Phò qhâtsôqhô mîtò, qhâtsôqhô zhû tǒmbûhlûh ló-tǒ.**  
 phò qhâtsô=qhô mî-tò qhâtsô=qhô zhû tǒmbûh=lûh ló-tǒ  
 to\_run where=LOC DIR.PFC-to\_arrive where=LOC grass knot=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_tie  
*Wherever he came, there he tied a knot on the grass.*
15. **Gyûhrâbâ khyînyî zhû tǒmbûhlûh tǒpîtsâ.**  
 gyûhrâ=bâ khyî-nyî zhû tǒmbûh=lûh tǒ-pîtsâ  
 land=CL.PL 3SG-GEN grass knot=CL.SG to\_tie-CESS  
*He was finished with putting his grass knots in the land.*
16. **Hrôdzûmû shîhdzhîh: “Ngâdâ qhâtsôqhô sêhpûpû ndzâ bùdzhâlányî êrkûpû mîmpshîh.”**  
 hrôdzû=mû shîhdzhîh ngâ-dâ qhâtsô=qhô sêhpû=pû ndzâ bùdzhâ=lâ-nyî êrkû=pû mî-  
 mpshîh  
 Pumi=CL.SG to\_think 1SG-DAT where=LOC tree=CL.SG VLOC knife=CL.SG-INSTR  
 bark=CL.SG DIR.downwards-to\_scrape  
*Pumi was thinking: „Wherever are trees, I will use a knife to scrape its bark for me.“*
17. **Gyûhrâqhô fûyî gyûhrâ sêhpû ndzâ, khyînyî ntshâ mpsîhpîtsâ.**  
 gyûhrâ=qhô fûyî gyûhrâ sêhpû ndzâ khyî-nyî ntshâ mpsîh-pîtsâ  
 land=LOC what land tree VLOC 3SG-GEN sign to\_scrape-CESS  
*Where was a land with trees, there he have scraped his sign.*
18. **Ămîthuò Wâmû ntshâ dzhîh.**  
 ămî=thuò wâ=mû ntshâ dzhîh  
 now=TIME Han=CL.SG sign to\_put  
*Han was about to make his signs that time.*
19. **Wâmû shîhdzhîh:**  
 wâ=mû shîhdzhîh  
 Han=CL.SG to\_think  
*Han was thinking:*
20. **“Ngâ gyûhrâ dâbër àkô,” shîhdzhîh.**  
 ngâ gyûhrâ dâbër à-kô shîhdzhîh  
 1SG land to\_be\_more Q-to\_get to\_think  
 „How to get more land,“ he was thinking.
21. **„Ngâdâ sêhqhâdzhûbâ mîmpshîh.**  
 ngâ-dâ sêh-qhâdzhû=bâ mî-mpshîh  
 1SG-DAT wood-plate-CL.PL DIR.downward-to\_carve  
 „I will carve wooden plates for me.

22. **Qhâtsôqhô gyŭhră nà, qhâtsôqhô mînthà.**  
qhâtsô=qhô gyŭhră nà qhâtsô=qhô mî-nthà  
where=LOC land good where=LOC DIR.downward-to\_stick\_in  
*Wherever the land is good, there I will stick it in.*
23. **Fûyî qhâdzhû mînthà gyŭhră khyînyî gyĩ.**  
fûyî qhâdzhû mî-nthà gyŭhră khyî-nyî gyĩ  
what plate DIR.PFC-to\_stick\_in land 3SG-GEN VC  
*The land where the plate is sticked, will belong to him.*
24. **Wàmû yăqhûmû fûyî gyŭhră nà gyŭhră dăbêrqhô khyînyî nthà bŭtâ.**  
wà=mû yăqhû-mû fûyî gyŭhră nà gyŭhră dăbêr=qhô khyî-nyî nthà bŭtâ  
Han=CL.SG quickly-ADV what land good land to\_be\_more=LOC 3SG-GEN sign  
to\_be\_full  
*Han quickly filled all the good land with his signs to have more.*
25. **Ămîthuò Nàmũzihmû shîhdzhîh:**  
ămî=thuò nàmũzîh=mû shîhdzhîh  
now=TIME Namuzi=CL.SG to\_think  
*Namuzi was thinking that time.*
26. **Qhâtsôqhô gyŭhră nà gyîgî ndbùlŭh khyîdzù.**  
qhâtsô=qhô gyŭhră nà gyîgî ndbù=lŭh khyî-dzù  
where=LOC land good to\_have menhir=CL.SG DIR.INC-to\_place  
*Wherever the land is good, there he will place a menhir.*
27. **Gyŭhră yăqhûmû ndbùdzùpîtsà.**  
gyŭhră yăqhû-mû ndbù dzù-pîtsà  
land quickly-ADV menhir to\_place-CESS  
*[He] quickly put menhirs in the land.*
28. **Nàmũzihmû shîhdzhîh:**  
nàmũzîh=mû shîhdzhîh  
Namuzi=CL.SG to\_think  
*Namuzi was thinking:*
29. **“Tâcù gyŭhrăbâ khyôxrônyî ntshá dzhihpîtsà.**  
tâ=cù gyŭhră=bâ khyô-xrô-nyî ntshá dzhih-pîtsà  
PROX=kind land=CL.PL 3\PL-PL-GEN sign to\_put-CESS  
*Concerning these lands, the others have already finished to put their signs.*
30. **Ngânyî ntshá gyŭhră qhô dzhihpîtsà.**  
ngâ-nyî ntshá gyŭhrăqhô dzhih-pîtsà  
1SG-GEN sign land=LOC to\_put-cess  
*And I have also finished to put my signs over the land.*
31. **Qhâtômû sîhnyi dzhîpă hrătâ ngâ yăqhâmû êrkôshîh?**  
qhâtômû sîh-nyi dzhîpă hrătâ ngâ yăqhâmû êrkô-shîh  
how-ADV to\_make-PTCP reason to\_win 1SG whole-ADV to\_get-CAUS  
*What reason can cause to win, that I will get everything?*
32. **Ò', ngâ luóshîhdzhuò hă.**  
ò' ngâ luó-shîh-dzhu-ò hă  
INTJ 1SG DIR.INCH-to\_think\_of-hither.PAST-CONF EXCL  
*Oh, I have got it!*
33. **Ngâdâ mîluhnyî zhâêrluh luómphù.**  
ngâ-dâ mî=luh-nyî zhâ-êr=luh luó-mphù  
1SG-DAT fire=CL-INSTR grass-pile=CL.SG DIR.INCH-to\_burn  
*By fire, I will burn a pile of grass for me.*

34. **Hãthuò khyînyî mûsû zhû tǒmbũh lûhbâ tãmìnggã.**  
 hã=thuò khyî-nyî mû-sû zhû tǒmbũh=lûh=bâ tã-mìnggã  
 MID=TIME 3SG-AGT to\_do-NOM grass knot=CL=CL.PL to\_vanish-to\_fall.RESULT  
*That time, it will vanish the grass knots he made.*
35. **Ntshá shûâkõmâkyũ.**  
 ntshá shûâ kǒ-mâ-kyũ  
 sign to\_find\?-to\_get-NEG-to\_achieve.RESULT  
*It will be impossible to find his signs.*
36. **Khyî dzhîhpã shuômâyìnggã.**  
 khyî dzhîhpã shuô-mâ-yìnggã  
 3SG reason to\_tell-NEG-to\_be\_able.RESULT  
*He will not be able to tell his reason.*
37. **Hrôdzũmũ sêhpû êrkûdâ mîmpshìh ntshábâ mînyî mphũmìnggã.**  
 hrôdzũ=mũ sêhpû êrkû=dâ mî-mpshìh ntshá=bâ mî-nyî mphũ-mìnggã  
 Pumi=CL.SG tree bark=LOC DIR.PFC-to\_carve sign=CL.PL fire-INSTR to\_destroy-  
 to\_fall.RESULT  
*The carved signs on tree bark of Pumi will be destroyed by the fire.*
38. **Wà sêhqhâbâ mînyî mîmphù ndòmâkyũ.**  
 wà sêh-qhâ=bâ mî-nyî mî-mpshù ndò-mâ-kyũ  
 Han wood-stick=CL.PL fire-INSTR DIR.PFC-to\_destroy to\_see-NEG-to\_achieve.RESULT  
*The wooden sticks of Han will be destroyed by the fire and won't be seen.*
39. **Ntshá mâdzhã.**  
 ntshá mâ-dzhã  
 sign NEG-VLOC  
*There will be no signs.*
40. **Tômû dzhîpã ngâ hrãkyũ.**  
 tô-mû dzhîpã ngâ hrã-kyũ  
 PROX\ADV-ADV reason 1SG to\_suffice-to\_achieve  
*This is the reason I win.*
41. **Nàmũzìhmunyî zhîèrlũh mîluhnyî mphùmìnggã,**  
 nàmũzìh=mu-nyî zhî-èr=lũh mî=luh-nyî mphù-mìnggã  
 Namuzi=CL.SG-TOP grass-pile=CL.SG fire=CL-INSTR DIR.PFC-to\_destroy  
*Namuzi burned grass piles by fire,*
42. **gyũhrã yũyũ thuò, zhîhqhò kyiyũmũ yôyò ntshábâ lúh,**  
 gyũhrã yũ~yũ=thuò zhîh=qhò kyiyũ-mũ yô~yò ntshá=bâ lúh  
 land to\_divide~to\_divide=time field=loc together-adv own~own sign=cl.pl to\_look  
*[so] when they were together looking for own signs in the field to divide the land,*
43. **Mûsìhmũgũh mândzà, Hrôdzũmũgũh mândzà, Wàmũgũh mândzà.**  
 mûsìh=mũ-gũh mâ-ndzà hrôdzũ=mũ-gũh mâ-ndzà wà=mũ-gũh mâ-ndzà  
 Yî=CL.SG-GEN NEG-VLOC Pumi=CL.SG-GEN NEG-VLOC Han=CL.SG-GEN NEG-VLOC  
*Yî's were not there, Pumi's were not there, and Han's were not there [either].*
44. **Nàmũzìh ndbùlũh hrôgû lúh, Lhãndzhîh pãdã khyîtuò ndbùbâ dzùe.**  
 nàmũzìh ndbù=lũh hrôgû lúh lhã-ndzhîh pãdã khyî-tuò ndbù=bâ dzù-e  
 Namuzi menhir=CL.SG mountain to\_see gold-river near DIR.INC-to\_arrive  
 menhir=CL.PL to\_place-INGR  
*Namuzi's menhir, looking from high mountain, [or] arriving near the Yarlung river, the  
 menhirs were placed all around.*



45. **Khyôxrô zìhkûh ämîtuò dzhîhpă khyîshuò.**  
khyô-xrô zìh=kûh ämî=tuò dzhîhpă khyî-shuò  
3\PL-PL four=CL now=TIME reason DIR.INC-to\_tell  
*They four started to tell their reasons.*
46. **Nàmũzîhmû mîdò: “Nuôxrô ntshá kyigûh hră mândò.**  
nàmũzîh=mû mî-dò nuô-xrô ntshá kyî=gûh hră mâ-ndò  
Namuzi=CL.SG DIR.PFC-to\_ask 2-PL sign one=CL all NEG-to\_see  
*Namuzi asked: „I cannot see even one your sign.*
47. **Nôxrô lúhlúh.**  
nô-xrô lúh~lúh  
2-PL to\_look~to\_look  
*You look [for yourselves].*
48. **Ngânyî ntshá khyîdzhih ndbùbă hrôgû, Lhândzhîh khyîtuò ndzà.**  
ngâ-nyî ntshá khyî-dzhîh ndbù=bă hrôgû lhă-ndzhîh khyî-tuò ndzà  
1SG-GEN sign DIR.INC-to\_put menhir=CL.PL mountain gold-river DIR.INC-to\_arrive  
VLOC  
*I have put my signs menhirs, they are on mountains and near Yarlung river.*
49. **Âxrô qhâtômû shuò?**  
â-xrô qhâtô-mû shuò  
1INCL-PL how-ADV to\_tell  
*What do we say?*
50. **Ămî nuôxrô kyigûh hră mâgyîgî, yăqhămû ngânî gyî.”**  
ămî nuô-xrô kyî=gûh hră mâ-gyîgî yăqhă-mû ngâ-nî gyî  
now 2-PL one=CL all NEG-to\_have whole-ADV 1SG-GEN VC  
*You do not have anything now, so everything is mine. “*
51. **Mûsîhmû ngvîh: “Ămî ngâ dzhîpă mâgyîgî.**  
mûsîh=mû ngvîh ămî ngâ dzhîpă mâ-gyîgî  
Yî=CL.SG to\_say now 1SG reason NEG-to\_have  
*Yî said: „I do not have any reason now.*
52. **Ngâdà gyÿhrălúh mî ànă?”**  
ngâ-dà gyÿhră=lúh mî à-nă  
1SG-DAT land=CL to\_give Q-good  
*Give me a piece of land, OK?*
53. **Nàmũzîhmû ngvîh: “Nà.**  
nàmũzîh=mû ngvîh nà  
Namuzi=CL.SG to\_say good  
*Namuzi said: „OK. “*
54. **Nuôxrô ämî hrôgû ndzù hnÿ.”**  
nuô-xrô ämî hrôgû ndzù hnÿ  
2-PL now mountain to\_sit to\_want  
*You will live in high mountains now.*
55. **Ămî Mûsîhbă hrôgû ndzùî mûgû tâtâmÿ gyî.**  
ămî mûsîh=bă hrôgû ndzù-î mûgû tâ=tà-mÿ gyî  
now Yî=CL.PL mountain to\_sit-PROSP custom PROX=kind-ADV VC  
*This is why Yî tribe lives in mountains now.*
56. **Hrôdzÿmû ngvîh: “Gyÿhră yÿyÿ dzhîpă ngâ nuôdă hrâmăkyÿ.**  
hrôdzÿ=mû ngvîh gyÿhră yÿ~yÿ dzhîpă ngâ nuô-dă hră-mă-kyÿ  
Pumi=CL.SG to\_say land to\_divide~to\_divide reason 1SG 2SG-DAT to\_suffice-NEG-  
to\_achieve.RESULT  
*Pumi said: „I have no reason to win over you in dividing land. “*

57. **Ngâdâ gyÿhrâmphà khyîyûdâ, ànà?”**  
ngâ-dâ gyÿhrâ=mphà khyî-yû-dâ à-nà  
1SG-DAT land=a\_little DIR.INC-to\_divide-hither Q-good  
*Share with me a little of land, OK?*
58. **Nàmüzhmû ngvìh:**  
nàmüzh=mû ngvìh  
Namuzi=CL.SG to\_say  
*Namuzi said:*
59. **“Nà, nuô äsâ hrôgû khuâlúh hnû.”**  
nà nuô äsâ hrôgû khuà lúh hnû  
good 2SG in\_that\_case mountain domestic\_animals to\_watch to\_want  
„*Good, in that case, you will raise the domestic animals in mountains.*“
60. **Ämî Hrôdzübâ hrôgû bbûh lúh, tsûh lúh mûgû tô-mû gyî.**  
ämî hrôdzü=bâ hrôgû bbûh lúh tsûh lúh mûgû tô-mû gyî  
now Pumi=CL.PL mountain yak to\_watch sheep to\_watch custom PROX\ADV-ADV VC  
*This is why Pumi tribe raise yaks and sheeps in the mountains now.*
61. **Wâmû ngvìh: “Ngâ ämî gyÿhrâ mâgyîgî.**  
wâ=mû ngvìh ngâ ämî gyÿhrâ mâ-gyîgî  
Han=CL.SG 1SG now land NEG-to\_have  
*Han said: „I do not have any land now.*
62. **Ntshâ khyîdzhibâ mâgyîgî.**  
ntshâ khyî-dzhibâ mâ-gyîgî  
sign DIR.INC-to\_put=CL.PL NEG-to\_have  
*The placed signs are not there.*
63. **Gyÿhrâ yûyû dzhîhpâ ngâ nuôdâ hrâmâkyÿ.**  
gyÿhrâ yû~yû dzhîhpâ ngâ nuô-dâ hrâ-mâ-kyÿ  
land to\_divide~to\_divide reason 1SG 2SG-DAT to\_suffice-NEG-to\_achieve.RESULT  
*I have no reason to win over you in dividing land.*
64. **Gyÿhrâ ngâdâ ndzhìh, ânà?”**  
gyÿhrâ ngâ-dâ ndzhìh ânà  
land 1SG-DAT to\_sell Q-good  
*Sell me the land, OK?*
65. **Nàmüzhmû ngvìh:**  
nàmüzh=mû ngvìh  
Namuzi=CL.SG to\_say  
*Namuzi said:*
66. **“Nà, ämî nuô Lhândzhìh pädâ, zhûwâ gyÿhrâ kôlâbâ nuôdâ nci.”**  
nà ämî nuô lhâ-ndzhìh pädâ zhûwâ gyÿhrâ kôlâ=bâ nuô-dâ nci  
good now 2SG gold-river near hillock land flat\_ground=CL.PL 2SG-DAT to\_sell  
„*OK, I will sell you the flatland and small hills nearby the Yarlung river.*“
67. **Wâbâ khyînyî ngûnû Lhândzhìh pädâ, zhûwâ kôlâbâqhô hrûr luómû.**  
wâ=bâ khyî-nyî ngûnû lhâ-ndzhìh pädâ zhûwâ kôlâ=bâ=qhô hrûr luó-mû  
Han=CL.PL 3SG-GEN behind gold-river near hillock flat\_ground=CL.PL field DIR.INCH-  
to\_make  
*After that, Han people made fields on the hillocks and flatlands near the Yarlung river.*
68. **Dzìhlünggî Wâbâ tshuò shìhkô mō tā gyÿhrâ hâ mûgû tô-mûguh gyî.**  
dzìhlünggî wâ=bâ tshuò shìhkô mō tā gyÿhrâ hâ mûgû tô-mû-guh gyî  
like\_this Han=CL.PL human to\_die grave to\_bury land to\_buy custom PROX\ADV-ADV  
VC  
*Like this, this is why Han tribe has the custom to buy the land to bury there someone who died.*

69. **Ămî Nàmũzĩhbâ lumbâ kyítâqhô ndzù mûgû:**  
 ămî nàmũzĩh=bâ lumbâ kyî=tâ=qhô ndzù mûgû  
 now Namuzi=CL.PL ground one=half=LOC to\_sit custom  
*Now the custom, why Namuzi tribe lives in the middle of the hill:*
70. **Thâhrô Nàmũzĩhbâ hrôgû zhû khuèr hnngvĩh, hrôgûnyî mĩpãdã.**  
 thâhrô nàmũzĩh=bâ hrôgû zhû khuèr hnngvĩh hrôgû-nyî mĩ-pã-dã  
 before Namuzi=CL.PL mountain grain below to\_use mountain-ABL DIR.PFC-to\_carry-  
 hither.PAST  
*In the past, Namuzi used grain from the mountains below, they brought it from the mountains.*
71. **Lhãndzhìh pãdã, zhûwã nchù hnngvĩh, zhõ hnũ Wàbãnyĩ lópãdã,**  
 lhã-ndzhìh pãdã zhûwã nchù hnngvĩh zhõ hnũ wà=bã-nyĩ ló-pã-dã  
 gold-river near hillock rice to\_use grain to\_want Han=CL.PL-AGT DIR.upwards-  
 to\_carry-hither.PAST  
*They used the rice from the hillocks near Yarlung river, when they want grain, it was brought by Han.*
72. **Nàmũzĩhbâ sãgyũdã ndzuò mûgû tòmû gyĩ.**  
 nàmũzĩh=bâ sãgyũ=dã ndzuò mûgû tòmû gyĩ  
 Namuzi=CL.PL mountain\_deity=LOC to\_sit custom PROX\ADV-ADV VC  
*That is, why Namuzi live on the place of mountain deity (=in the middle).*
73. **Ăsĩhsĩh tàzĩh pĩtsà.**  
 ăsĩhsĩh tà=zĩh pĩtsà  
 story PROX=CL.SG to\_finish  
*That's the end of this story.*

### 9.3 MÙSHÌ NYÌMÌ (Wind and Sun)

1. **Yĩntã, qo kyiki, mùshìh nyĩmĩlũh lá khêyĩ mólò tò.**  
 yĩntã qo kyi=kì mùshìh nyĩmĩ=lũh lá khêyĩ mólò tò  
 in\_the\_past DIST one=CL wind sun=CL.SG to\_compare who skill to\_be\_worthy  
*Once in the past, the wind and Sun were comparing, whose skills are better.*
2. **Khyôxrô nyĩkuh shuôzũmũ, tshuò kyĩkũh bãtsĩh dälẽmũ lóghi khyĩdzhũ.**  
 khyô-xrô nyĩ=kuh shuô-zũ-mũ tshuò kyĩ=kũh bãtsĩh dälẽ-mũ ló-ghi khyĩ-dzhũ  
 3\PL-PL two=CL to\_speak-TGS-ADV human one=CL shirt thick-ADV DIR.INCH-to\_wear  
 DIR.forward-to\_come.PAST  
*While the two were talking, there appeared a man in thick clothes.*
3. **Khyôxrô nyĩkuh ngvĩh: “Khêyĩ mólò tò, tshuò hãmũ bãtsĩhbã mĩqãdãshĩh.”**  
 khyô-xrô nyĩ=kuh ngvĩh khêyĩ mólò tò tshuò hãmũ bãtsĩh=bã mĩ-qã-dã-shĩh  
 3\PL-PL two=CL to\_say who skill to\_be\_worthy human MED=CL.SG clothes=CL.PL  
 DIR.downward-to\_strip-to\_come.NPAST=CAUS  
*They both said: „Better skill has the one, who causes that man to take off his clothes.”*
4. **Mùshĩmũ ngvĩh: “Ngã tâhrô dã.”**  
 mùshĩh=mũ ngvĩh ngã tâhrô dã  
 wind=CL.SG to\_say 1SG before to\_come  
*Wind said: „I try it first.”*
5. **Mùshì lófũ.**  
 mùshì ló-fũ  
 wind DIR.INCH-to\_blow  
*The wind started to blow.*

6. **Tshuò hǎmù bǎtsīhbā nàmǔ luóghǐ.**  
 tshuò hǎ=mù bǎtsīh=bā nà-mǔ luó-ghǐ  
 human MED=CL.SG shirt=CL.PL good-ADV DIR.INCH-to\_wear  
*That man wrapped his clothes more closely.*
7. **Mùshì nànmǔ luófù.**  
 mùshì nà~nǎ-mǔ luó-fù  
 wind good~good-ADV DIR.INCH-to\_blow  
*The wind started to blow very hard.*
8. **Tshuò hǎmù dzhǐhqâqâ bǎtsīhbā nânàmǔ luóghǐ.**  
 tshuò hǎ=mù dzhǐhqâ=qhâ bǎtsīh=bā nâ~nà-mǔ luó-ghǐ  
 human MED=CL.SG belt=CL.SG shirt=CL.PL tight~tight-ADV DIR.INCH-to\_wear  
*That man has tighten his clothes with a belt very close.*
9. **Tòmǒ kyǐthuô fù, tshuò hǎmù bǎtsīhbā mǐqàdāmǎyǐnggà.**  
 tò-mǒ kyǐ=thuô fù tshuò hǎ=mù bǎtsīh=bā mǐ-qà-dǎ-mǎ-yǐnggà  
 PROX\ADV=ADV one=TIME to\_blow human MED=CL.SG shirt=CL.PL DIR.downward-  
 to\_strip-to\_come.NPAST-NEG-to\_be\_able  
*Thus when he blow, he was not able to strip the man off his clothes.*
10. **Tāthuô nyīmīlūh khyîzò.**  
 tā=thuô nyīmī=lūh khyî-zò  
 PROX=TIME sun=CL.SG DIR.INC-to\_shine  
*This time, the Sun started to shine.*
11. **Lóló zò lóló tsèh.**  
 lóló zò lóló tsèh  
 the\_more to\_shine the\_more warm  
*The more it shone, the more warm it was.*
12. **Tshuò hǎmù bǎtsīhbā qà hrā mǎmǎr.**  
 tshuò hǎ-mù bǎtsīh=bā qà hrā mǎ-mǎr  
 human MED=CL.SG shirt=CL.PL to\_strip all NEG-to\_cope  
*That man was not feeling well in all of his clothes.*
13. **Bǎtsīhbā mǐqàdzhǔ.**  
 bǎtsīh=bā mǐ-qà-dzhǔ  
 shirt=CL.PL DIR.downward-to\_strip-hither.PAST  
*He stripped off his clothes.*
14. **Tòmǒ kyǐlūh, nyīmīlūh mólò mùshìh vùdà yǎ tò,**  
 tò-mǒ kyǐ=lūh nyīmī=lūh mólò mùshìh vùdà yǎ tò  
 PROX\ADV-ADV one=to\_look sun=CL.SG skill wind on more worthy  
*Thus we can see that the Sun has better skills than wind,*
15. **mùshìh mólò nyīmī lá hrāmākyù.**  
 mùshìh mólò nyīmī lá hrāmā-kyù  
 wind skill sun to\_compare to\_suffice-NEG-to\_achieve  
*The wind is not able to compare with the Sun.*
16. **Pītsà.**  
 pītsà  
 to\_finish  
*The End.*

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