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Robert Wayne Fried

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A GRAMMAR OF BAO'AN TU,
A MONGOLIC LANGUAGE OF NORTHWEST CHINA

by

Robert Wayne Fried

June 1, 2010

A dissertation submitted to the

Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Buffalo, State University of New York

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degree of

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soli Deo gloria

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements iii

List of Tables xiii

Abbreviations xiv

Abstract xvi

1 Introduction 1

1.1 Linguistic Context 1

1.1.1 Genetic Classification 1

1.1.2 Typological Overview 3

1.1.3 Previous Scholarship 4

1.2 Bao'an Speakers and Their Context 6

1.2.1 Social and Historical Context 7

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Context 9

1.3 Theory and Methods 11

1.3.1 Language Description and Basic Linguistic Theory 11

1.3.2 Data 12

2 Phonology 15

2.1 Phoneme Inventory 16

2.1.1 Consonants 16

2.1.1.1 Plosives 22

2.1.1.2 Affricates 24

2.1.1.3 Fricatives 26

2.1.1.4 Nasals 31

2.1.1.5 Liquids 31
2.1.1.6 Glides 32
2.1.2 Vowels 32
2.2 Syllable Structure 35
2.3 Word Stress 37
3 Morphology 38
3.1 Nominal Morphology 40
3.1.1 Inflectional Morphology 40
3.1.1.1 Case 43
3.1.1.1.1 Nominative Case 44
3.1.1.1.2 The Accusative Enclitic =*nə* 47
3.1.1.1.3 Locative Enclitics 52
3.1.1.1.3.1 The Locative Enclitic =*da* 52
3.1.1.1.3.2 The Locative Enclitic =*də* 58
3.1.1.1.4 The Instrumental Enclitic =*ʁala* 60
3.1.1.1.5 The Ablative Enclitic =*sa* 64
3.1.1.1.6 The Predicate Possessive Enclitic =*gaŋ* 65
3.1.1.2 Number 65
3.1.1.2.1 Noun Phrases with No Number Enclitic 66
3.1.1.2.2 The Singular Indefinite Enclitic =*gə* 67
3.1.1.2.3 The Dual Enclitic =*ʁala* 68
3.1.1.2.4 The Paucal Enclitic =*ʁula* 71

3.1.1.2.5 The Plural Enclitic =*la* 73
3.1.1.3 The Enclitic =*ts*^{h}*aŋ* 'family' 75
3.1.1.4 Articles/Definiteness 82
3.1.2 Derivational Morphology 84
3.1.2.1 Reduplication 84
3.1.2.2 Deverbal Nouns 85
3.2 Verbal Morphology 88
3.2.1 Tense/Aspect/Modality 88
3.2.1.1 Finite Forms 88
3.2.1.2 Non-finite Forms 90
3.2.2 Subjective/Objective Speaker Perspective 92
3.2.3 Negation of Verbs 94
3.2.3.1 Negative Particles *əle* and *əsə* 94
3.2.3.2 Negative Copulas *ki/kina* and *çi/çəwa* 95
3.2.4 Imperative Mood 96
3.2.5 Polar Questions 98
3.2.6 Derivational Morphology 99
3.2.6.1 The Verbalizer -*kə* 99
3.2.6.2 The Verbalization of Adjectives 100
3.2.6.2.1 The Verbalization of Color Terms 100
3.2.6.2.2 The Verbalization of Other Adjectives 101
3.2.6.3 Verbal Reduplication 102
3.2.6.4 Changes in Valence 103

3.2.6.4.1 Causative Suffix -*əʁa* 103

3.2.6.4.2 The Anticausative Suffix -*ra* 104

3.2.6.4.3 The Reciprocal Suffix -*tɕʰe* 104

3.3 Quotative Enclitics 105

3.4 Adjectival Morphology 107

3.4.1 Adjectives with the Non-final Imperfect Suffix -*tɕə* 107

3.4.2 The Negative Prefix *mə-* 107

3.4.3 Adjectival Reduplication 108

3.5 Morphology of Numerals 109

3.5.1 Reduplication of Numerals 109

3.5.2 The Ordinal Suffix -*mo* 110

4 The Noun Phrase 111

4.1 Nouns 111

4.2 Pronouns 111

4.2.1 Personal pronouns 111

4.2.1.1 Logophoric Pronouns 121

4.2.1.2 A Note on Possessive Pronouns 122

4.2.2 Reflexive Pronominal Reference: Uses of *koʑə* 'self' 123

4.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns 127

4.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns 134

4.2.5 The Use of *χani* 'all' as a Resumptive Pronoun 137

4.3 Noun Phrases 138

4.3.1 Numerals, Quantifiers, and Classifiers 140
4.3.2 Demonstratives 143
4.3.3 Adjectives 146
4.3.4 Possessive NP's 152
4.3.5 Headless NP's 153
4.3.6 Relative Clauses 156
4.3.7 Other Nominal Modifiers Marked by =*ku* 161
4.3.7.1 Postpositional Phrases Used as Nominal Modifiers 161
4.3.7.2 Other Locative Obliques Used as Nominal Modifiers 163
4.3.7.3 Time Words as Nominal Modifiers 163
4.3.7.4 The Use of =*də* Plus =*ku* to Mark Nominal Modifiers 164
4.3.7.5 Concluding Remarks on the Use of =*ku* to Mark Nominal Modifiers 164
4.3.8 Coordination of NP's 167
4.3.8.1 Coordination of Two NP's 167
4.3.8.2 Lists 170
5 The Clause 173
5.1 The Verb 173
5.1.1 Non-finite Verbs 174
5.1.2 Finite Verbs 178
5.1.3 Speaker Perspective 186
5.1.4 Auxiliary Verbs 194
5.2 Valence and Argument Expression 200
5.2.1 Intransitive Clauses 200

5.2.2 Transitive Clauses 201
5.2.3 Ditransitive Clauses 201
5.2.4 Reciprocal and Reflexive Clauses 202
5.2.4.1 Reciprocal Clauses Formed from Transitive Verbs 202
5.2.4.2 Reciprocal Clauses Formed from Ditransitive Verbs 205
5.2.4.3 Reciprocal Clauses Formed from Intransitive Verbs 206
5.2.4.4 A Note on Reflexives 206
5.2.5 Copular Clauses 207
5.2.5.1 Predicate Possession 207
5.2.5.2 Predicate Adjectives 209
5.2.5.3 Nominal Predication 209
5.2.5.4 Locative Predication 210
5.2.5.5 Existential Predicates 210
5.2.6 Valence Changing Strategies 211
5.2.6.1 Causative Constructions 211
5.2.6.2 The Anticausative Construction 215
5.2.7 Argument Expression 216
5.3 Adverbs 218
5.4 Negation 224
5.4.1 Negation of Lexical Verbs 224
5.4.2 Negative Copulas 228
5.4.3 Negation of Imperatives 232
5.5 Postpositions 233

5.6 Particles 244
5.6.1 Discourse Connectors 244
5.6.2 Final Particles 247
5.6.3 Exclamatory Particles 250
5.6.4 The Particle *da* 'also' 251
5.7 Topic Marking and Topic Fronting 254
5.8 Interrogatives 258
5.8.1 Polar Questions 258
5.8.2 Content Questions 260
5.8.3 Rhetorical Questions 263
5.9 Imperatives 264
6 Clause Combining 266
6.1 Nominalized Clauses Marked with =*ku* and -*saŋ* 266
6.1.1 Relative Clauses 267
6.1.2 Nominalized Actions 269
6.1.2.1 Internal Structure of Nominalized Actions 269
6.1.2.2 External Characteristics of Nominalized Actions 270
6.1.2.3 Ambiguity between Headless Relative Clauses and Nominalized Actions 274
6.1.3 Nominal Complement Clauses 276
6.1.3.1 Internal Structure of Nominal Complement Clauses 276
6.1.3.2 External Properties of Nominal Complement Clauses 277
6.1.4 Other Uses of =*ku* and -*saŋ* 289
6.2 Quotative Complements of Verba Dicendi 291

6.2.1 Use of the Quotative Enclitics =*tɕo*/=*tɕi* and =*tɕə* 292

6.2.2 Indirect Quotation as a Demonstration of Dependence 294

6.2.3 Concluding Remarks on Quotative Complements 297

6.3 Non-final Clauses 300

6.3.1 Coordinative -*tɕə* 305

6.3.2 Conditional -*sa* 308

6.3.3 Purposive -*la* 312

6.3.4 Concessive -*sada* 313

6.3.5 Reason -*tɕəte* 313

6.4 Coordination of Independent Clauses 314

6.4.1 Coordinative use of *da* 'also' 314

6.4.2 Juxtaposition of Verba Dicendi and Quotative Content 315

6.5 Concluding Remarks 316

Appendix: Three Bao'an Tu Texts 317

Text 1: How to Make Bread 317

Text 2: Parents' Instructions 319

Text 3: Ləru Dancing 323

References 341

List of Tables

Table 1.1. Bao'an Tu word order pairings
Table 2.1. Consonant phoneme inventory of Bao'an Tu
Table 2.2. Bao'an consonant inventory from Chen & Chingeltei (1986)
Table 2.3. Bao'an consonant inventory from Wu (2003)
Table 2.4. Santa consonant phoneme inventory (Kim 2003)
Table 2.5. Mangghuer consonant phoneme inventory (Slater 2003a)
Table 2.6. Mongghul consonant phoneme inventory (Georg 2003a)
Table 2.7. Tongren Amdo Tibetan consonant phoneme inventory (Hua 2002)
Table 2.8. Allophones of /χ/ and /ʁ/
Table 2.9. Bao'an Tu vowel phoneme inventory
Table 2.10. Santa vowel phoneme inventory (Kim 2003)
Table 2.11. Mangghuer vowel phoneme inventory (Slater 2003a)
Table 2.12. Mongghul vowel phoneme inventory (Georg 2003a)
Table 2.13. Tongren Amdo Tibetan vowel phoneme inventory (Hua 2002)
Table 3.1. Bao'an Tu case enclitics
Table 3.2. Bao'an Tu number enclitics
Table 4.1. Paradigm of personal pronouns
Table 4.2. Interrogative pronouns
Table 4.3. Properties of copular predicates
Table 4.4. Morphological and syntactic characteristics of adjectives
Table 4.5. Semantic relationships expressed by genitival use of *=nə*
Table 5.1. Non-finite verbal suffixes
Table 5.2. Finite verbal suffixes
Table 5.3. Speaker perspective markers
Table 5.4. Auxiliary verbs
Table 5.5. Negation strategies for lexical verbs and copulas
Table 5.6. Characteristics of postpositions
Table 5.7. Final particles
Table 5.8. Interrogative phrases
Table 5.9. Imperative suffixes
Table 6.1. Clause types formed by the nominalizers *=ku* and *-saŋ*
Table 6.2. Summary of Bao'an Tu clause combining strategies

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
Adj	adjective
AG	agentive
AMDO	Amdo Tibetan
ANTIC	anticausative
Aux	auxiliary verb
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CHIN	Mandarin Chinese
COLL	collective
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONT	continuous aspect
COP_1	copula, the copula *wa/wi* (see §5.2.5)
COP_2	copula, the copula *ba/bi* (see §5.2.5)
DAT	dative
DEEMPH	de-emphasis
Deg	degree word modifying an adjective
Dem	demonstrative
DU	dual number
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
EXCLAM	exclamatory
FAM	familiar
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GS	'Gasare' (dialectal variant unique to speakers from Gasare village)
HAB	habitual
HES	hesitation
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INST	instrumental
IRR	irrealis
lit.	'literally'; indicates a literal translation
LOC	locative

LOG	logophoric
MOD	modifying
N, n.	noun
NARR	narrative
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
Num	numeral
O	object
OBJ	objective speaker perspective
ORD	ordinal number marker
P	patient-like argument of transitive verb
PAU	paucal number
PERF	perfective aspect
PL	plural number
Po	postposition
POS	epistemic possibility
PRED.POSS	predicate possessive
PRT	particle
PURP	purposive
Q	question suffix
QUOT	quotative marker
RECP	reciprocal voice
REDUP	reduplication
Rel	relative clause
S	argument of intransitive verb, subject
SG	singular number
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subjective speaker perspective
TERM	terminative
TOP	topic marker
V	verb
VBZ	verbalizer
VOL	voluntative

Abstract

The present study is a grammatical overview of the Bao'an Tu language (one of the varieties included in the designation 'ISO6393-3:PEH', also known as 'Tongren Monguor', 'Southwestern Monguor', or 'Tongren Tu'). Bao'an Tu is spoken by approximately 4,000 people who live on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau in Tongren County, Huangnan Prefecture, Qinghai Province in the northwest region of the People's Republic of China.

Although the speakers of Bao'an Tu have close cultural ties to surrounding Tibetan groups, their language is clearly of Mongolic origin. According to the Ethnologue, Bao'an is a member of the Monguor sub-branch of the Eastern branch of the Mongolic language family along with the variety of Bao'an spoken in Gansu Province, Kangjia, Tu (including Mangghuer and Mongghul), Dongxiang, and East Yugur (Gordon 2005). Bao'an Tu has SOV word order and suffixing, agglutinative morphology; it also has a large number of enclitics.

This study is based on data collected in Qinghai Province from March 2006 to August 2007 and January 2009 to August 2009. It uses Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, Dryer 2006) to describe the grammar of Bao'an Tu, including its phoneme inventory and syllable structure, morphology and cliticization, the noun phrase, the clause, and clause combining. It also includes an appendix with three Bao'an Tu oral texts. At every level of the grammar, the influence of local Tibetic varieties (primarily spoken Amdo Tibetan and Modern Literary Tibetan) is apparent. Examples of this include the size and make-up of the phoneme inventory, the word order of constituents in

the noun phrase, and a fully developed system of speaker perspective (also known as the conjunct/disjunct distinction in Tibetic languages).

It is my hope that this synchronic descriptive grammar of Bao'an Tu will be useful to as broad an audience of linguists as possible, including typologists, area specialists, Mongolic specialists, and explanatory theorists alike; especially since language shift is underway among the language community, and language death appears to be imminent.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is a description of the grammar of the variety of Bao'an spoken in Tongren County, Qinghai Province, in the People's Republic of China. Because it is primarily descriptive, I have not used an explanatory linguistic theory to organize or analyze the data. Rather, I have used the descriptive theory referred to as Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, Dryer 2006) to analyze and present my findings. The terms used here are generally in common use by linguists (particularly linguists engaged in descriptive and typological studies of language), except where I have found it necessary to use terms specific to Mongolic studies, and these are explained as they are introduced.

This chapter gives the genetic classification of the language as well as a typological overview and discussion of previous scholarship in section 1.1. Section 1.2 introduces the people who speak Bao'an Tu, including a brief overview of their historical, physical, social, and sociolinguistic context. Section 1.3, then, outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the study and describes the methods of data collection and analysis. The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows: chapter two contains a phonological sketch; chapter three gives an overview of Bao'an morphology; chapter four contains a description of the syntax of the noun phrase; chapter five gives an account of the clause; and chapter six discusses clause combining.

1.1 Linguistic Context

1.1.1 Genetic Classification

According to the *Ethnologue*, Bao'an is a member of the Monguor sub-branch of the Eastern branch of the Mongolic language family. Other members of this sub-branch

include Kangjia, Tu, Dongxiang, and East Yugur (Gordon 2005). An alternative classification proposed by Rybatzki (2003) places Bao'an in the Southeast Mongolic branch of the Mongolic family and includes Mongghul, Mangghuer, and Santa in this branch.[1] Based on a list of shared taxonomic features, Rybatzki posits that the language most closely related to Bao'an is Santa, followed by Mangghuer, and then Mongghul (2003:387-8). Bao'an is also known in the literature as Bonan, Boan, Paoan, Paongan, Baonan, or treated as a dialect of Monguor or "Tu".[2] It falls under the ISO classification ISO639-3: PEH, which includes two main dialects: one spoken in Jishishan, Gansu Province, and one spoken in Tongren County, Qinghai Province. The dialect in Gansu is spoken by the Bao'an nationality (保安族), who are Muslim; while the dialect in Qinghai is spoken by a community who adhere to Tibetan Buddhism and are classified by the Chinese government as being part of the Tu nationality (土族). The ancestors of the Bao'an nationality lived in Tongren County until c.1860, when unrest between the two religious groups prompted the emigration of the Muslim portion of the population. Due to their geographical separation as well as their differences in culture, the dialects spoken by the two communities are quite divergent. This dissertation is a description of the dialect spoken in Tongren County, Qinghai Province, by people who are considered by the central government to be a small subset of the Tu ethnic minority nationality.

The Mongolic languages spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund have been highly influenced by the languages around them, including Amdo Tibetan, Salar,

[1] Mongghul and Mangghuer together make up the category labeled "Tu" in the *Ethnologue*, and Santa is an alternative label for the variety listed as "Dongxiang" in the *Ethnologue*.
[2] When referred to as a dialect of Monguor or Tu, a geographic appellation is usually used to distinguish Bao'an from other varieties of Monguor or Tu (e.g. 'Tongren Monguor', 'Southwestern Monguor', or 'Tongren Tu').

Standard Mandarin, and various local varieties of Northwest Mandarin (Slater 2003a), and Bao'an is no exception. The Tongren variety of Bao'an (called "Bao'an Tu" in this dissertation) in particular has a high degree of lexical borrowing from Amdo Tibetan[3] as well as a speaker perspective system borrowed from Amdo Tibetan, but structurally it remains an identifiably Mongolic language.

1.1.2 Typological Overview

The dominant word order in Bao'an is SOV.[4] Obliques such as NP's in the locative, dative, or ablative case, postpositional phrases, and most adverbs typically occur immediately preceding the verb; but many types of obliques occur in other positions in the clause as well, often as a result of topic fronting. A list of word order pairings is given in table 1.1; details and examples of the pairings are given in the relevant chapters of the dissertation.

[3] Wu estimates that 43-54% (depending on the village) of the Bao'an Tu lexicon is borrowed from Amdo Tibetan (2003:344).
[4] The primary criterion I have used to determine this is frequency, but speakers also report that this ordering is pragmatically neutral.

Table 1.1 Bao'an Tu word order pairings

Dominant word order:	SOV
Order of S and $V_{intransitive}$:	SV
Order of object, oblique, and verb:	(no order dominant)[5]
Order of lexical verb and auxiliary verb:	V, Aux
Order of NP and adposition:	NP, Po
Order of genitive and noun:	Gen, N
Order of noun and adjective:	N, Adj[6]
Order of demonstrative and noun:	Dem, N
Order of noun and numeral:	N, Num
Order of relative clause and noun:	Rel, N
Order of degree word and adjective:	Deg, Adj
Position of question particle:	n/a[7]
Position of interrogative phrases in content questions:	*in situ*
Position of adverbial subordinators:	at the end of the subordinate clause

1.1.3 Previous Scholarship

The Bao'an language is first mentioned in linguistic literature in Potanin (1893), in which Bao'an is classified as a Shirongolic variety (Wu 2003:326). The largest linguistic study of the Tongren variety of Bao'an (i.e. Bao'an Tu) to date was undertaken in 1980-1 by Chen Naixiong and Wu Hugjiltu. That study resulted in a glossary (Chen 1985), a volume of language materials (Chen 1986), and a diachronic comparative study (Chen & Chingeltei 1986). Wu (2003) is a summary based on those publications. Another publication resulting from that research is a dialectal study (Chen 1994). Previous

[5] Both OXV and XOV occur with a high degree of frequency.

[6] This means Bao'an would be classified as Greenbergian type 24 (SOV, Po, GenN, NAdj)(Greenberg 1963), which is anomalous for a Mongolic language (most of which are type 23 (SOV, Po, GenN, AdjN)). In fact, all of the Mongolic languages for which I could find the relevant data have the relative ordering Adj,N (these include: Santa (Kim 2003), Mangghuer (Slater 2003a), Mongghul (Georg 2003a), Ordos (Georg 2003b), Khalkha (Binnick 1979), Buriat (Poppe 1960), Khamnigan Mongol (Janhunen 2003a), and Dagur (Martin 1961)). Although both orderings occur in Bao'an, N,Adj is dominant. This may be from Modern Literary Tibetan, which a large majority of Tongren Bao'an speakers are literate in.

[7] I have analyzed the question morpheme as a suffix rather than a particle or clitic, because it is phonologically part of the word preceding it, and since it occurs at the end of a sentence (and Bao'an is strictly verb-final), it is always hosted by a verb.

scholarship in related languages is listed in the following paragraphs, beginning with the varieties most closely related to Bao'an Tu.

Todaeva (1966) contains a grammar sketch, language materials, and wordlist of the Gansu variety of Bao'an. Todaeva (1963) and Todaeva (1997a) also give grammar sketches of this variety (Wu 2003:326). In addition to these, Charles Li has written a number of works on language contact and language change that make reference to Gansu Bao'an (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986).

The earliest published work on Santa (also known as Dongxiang, Dunxian, or in earlier literature, Mongolian Huihui, or Dongxiang Huihui) is a lexical study by Potanin (1893). Grammatical sketches appear in Todaeva (1959) and Todaeva (1997b), and a grammar with texts and vocabulary are contained in Todaeva (1961). Chinese scholarship includes a grammar (Liu 1981), a glossary (Buhe et al 1983), a collection of texts (Buhe et al 1986), and a comparative grammar (Buhe & Chingeltei 1985). Finally, Field (1997) and Kim (1998) are dissertations on the grammar and morphology of Santa, and Kim (2003) gives a grammar sketch.

The only major work on Mangghuer I am aware of is Slater (2003a). A summary of this work also appears as Slater (2003b).

Mongghul (called 'Monguor' in much of the English language literature, and 'Tu,' 'Tuyu,' or Tuzu Yu' in Chinese literature) is by far the most well-studied and well-documented of the languages in the Monguor sub-branch or Southeast Mongolic branch. Grammatical descriptions are given in Smedt & Mostaert (1964) and Chingeltei & Li (1988). The *Tu-Chinese Dictionary* by Li Keyu (1988) is also a noteworthy source because of its use of the Mongghul orthography that has been approved for testing and

because of its intended use by learners of that orthography. There are also many published Mongghul textual materials, including Heissig's publication (1980) of Dominik Shröder's transcription of 12,000 lines of the Amdo Geser Epic. There are many other worthwhile works on Mongghul; many of them can be found listed in the references of Georg (2003a).[8]

1.2 Bao'an Speakers and Their Context

The approximately 4,000 speakers[9] of Bao'an Tu live in four villages in the Longwu River valley in Tongren County, Huangnan Prefecture, in the Qinghai Province of the People's Republic of China: Nianduhu (35°32'N,102°01'E), Guomare (35°34'N,102°02'E), Gasare (35°36'N,102°02'E), and Bao'an Xiazhuang (35°39'N,102°04'E).[10] The name used by linguists to refer to the language spoken in these four villages comes from the name of the village of Bao'an. The Bao'an speakers living in this area do not have an ethnonym for themselves or their language. Many I spoke with have a vague idea that they have Mongolian heritage, but almost all self-identify as Tibetans—in spite of their official classification as members of the Tu nationality.[11] When pressed, some will indicate an awareness of being related to the *tu* or

[8] Another bibliographic source for Mongghul is the Wikipedia entry 'Monguor,' though the sources listed there are wider in scope than just linguistic studies.

[9] This number is an approximation. Wu surmises that the number is around 3,500 based on 1980 census statistics. The reason an exact number is elusive is that population figures are typically given by ethnic breakdown, and the members of the Tu nationality in Tongren do not all speak Bao'an Tu. There is one village of people classified as members of the Tu nationality who speak a Sinitic variety referred to as Wutun (Janhunen et al 2008).

[10] These are the Chinese names for these villages. Their Tibetan names are: gNyan.thog, sGo.dmar, sKa.gsar, and Mtho rgya bod skor, respectively.

[11] It is the case that the state-issued identity papers of the Bao'an speakers in Tongren county indicate that they belong to the Tu nationality (or *Hor* in the Tibetan language), but the majority of the Tu nationality live over 200 kilometers away in the Tu Autonomous County of Huzhu and in the Tu and Hui Autonomous County of Minhe. This population has significantly different religious and material culture from that of the Bao'an speakers in Tongren County. The question of ethnic identity is a complicated one, and is the topic of Fried (2009).

monguor—but they also clarify that these names refer primarily to the Tu nationality living in Huzhu and Minhe counties—not themselves. Others offer *maŋgə* '1PL.INCL.COLL' or the Amdo Tibetan terms *dorda* or *hor* as autonyms; but *maŋgə* is not in common usage as a name, and of the latter two, the first is considered to be pejorative by most Bao'an speakers and the second is not in common usage among Bao'an Tu speakers themselves.

1.2.1 Historical, Physical, and Social Context[12]

There are competing theories both among scholars and among the oral traditions of the people themselves regarding the origins of the Tu people in general and the Bao'an speakers in Tongren in particular. Chinese and Tu scholars are divided into two basic camps regarding the origins of the Tu nationality in general. One maintains that the Tu are the descendents of military personnel (of Mongolian and/or Shat'o Turkic extraction) sent to defend the border between China and Tibet during either the Yuan (1277-1367C.E.) or the Ming (1368-1644C.E.) dynasties (Li & Li 2005). The other school of thought is that the Tu are descendents of the Tuyuhun from the Xi Xia Kingdom (1038-1227C.E.), who are thought to have spoken an Altaic language (Slater 2003).

When asked about their origins, the Bao'an speakers living in Tongren county give many different answers. Those with higher education may offer an explanation similar to those given above, but most give various other accounts. Some maintain that they are the descendents of the soldiers of a famous Han Chinese army general, Gomerelang (Erlangshen). Others maintain that they are simply a subset of the many

[12] The information presented in this section has been gleaned from published sources (as cited) and direct personal observation. None of this information was provided by any of my language consultants, translators, or interviewees.

Tibetan clans who have "always" lived in the area. One high school graduate insisted that they must be the descendents of officials (of Han or Mongolian extraction) sent to the area by a Qing (1644-1911C.E.) emperor, because the mountain deities in their local shrines are depicted wearing clothing similar to what was worn in Qing courts. Almost all are quick to add that whatever their origins, they are Tibetans.

What is known with relative certainty is that all four of the Bao'an speaking villages in Tongren County were established by (Chinese) dynastic authority as military stockades in an area that was at the time the border between China and Tibet. Of the four, Nianduhu was established first and Bao'an Xiazhuang was established last, and the latter was established in 1585C.E. (Wu 2003).

The four villages in Tongren county inhabited by Bao'an speakers are located on fertile farmland in the broad Longwu river valley at an average elevation of 7,865 feet above sea level. Before liberation by the Chinese Communist Party, nearly all farmed highland barley as well as some wheat and broad beans. In addition to this, men were either engaged in trade or were religious professionals (Buddhist monks or lamas). After liberation, trade and monastic life were no longer options as vocations, and those who could not procure government jobs worked on collective farms. Since the economic and social reforms of the 1980s, many continue to farm (mainly wheat), but most have sold the majority of their land (especially in Nianduhu, the village nearest the county and prefectural seat—which is sprawling in the direction of Nianduhu on land once farmed by inhabitants of Nianduhu) and have turned to the production of Tibetan Buddhist religious art as their main means of livelihood. The area is famous for its thangka painting,

duixiu,[13] and sculpture, and estimates run as high as 90% of households who have at least one member involved in this profession.

These four Bao'an speaking villages are located in a Tibetan autonomous county (Tongren) in a Tibetan autonomous prefecture (Huangnan). Thus the Tibetan language and culture have particular salience for them. In addition, they are devout Tibetan Buddhists, and so in many ways their culture is very closely related to the larger Tibetan culture around them. In addition to Tibetan Buddhism they retain pre-Buddhist shamanistic practices, some of which are shared by other Tibetan villages in the valley and some of which are unique to these four villages. Their main festivals include the observance of Tibetan New Year, *lapsi* (a spring festival in which allegiance to local mountain deities is renewed), *leru* (a pre-harvest festival in honor of the mountain deities; perhaps the biggest festival besides Tibetan New Year), and *wutun* (a mid-winter festival celebrated in Nianduhu to rid the village of the year's sickness and bad luck). The latter two have become tourist events, and as such are important to the local economy in addition to their religious and cultural significance. Their traditional clothing, much like their festivals, shares many similarities with Tibetan dress, but there are nonetheless distinguishing characteristics that differentiate them from the Amdo Tibetans around them.

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Context

As was mentioned above, Tongren County is a Tibetan autonomous county. This means that government business is conducted in Tibetan, the medium of education in most

[13] Duixiu is a Tibetan Buddhist art form invented in Nianduhu in which religious subjects (similar to those of thangka paintings) are depicted in the medium of cardboard and silk; many small pieces of cardboard are cut to form the image desired, and each one is then covered in silk fabric and reassembled; the effect is much like a quilt or a fabric mosaic.

schools is Tibetan, and all government documents are available in both Standard Mandarin Chinese and Tibetan. Tibetan media is both available and popular on television and radio. Additionally, the Bao'an speakers in Tongren adhere to Tibetan Buddhism, the rites of which are performed in Tibetan. For all these reasons both written Tibetan and spoken Amdo Tibetan have much relevance for the Tongren Tu. Many speak Bao'an in their homes and perhaps on the road with others whom they know are Bao'an speakers, but otherwise most of their business and religious life is conducted in Amdo Tibetan. Therefore, all except some of the youngest children and some very elderly women are bilingual in Amdo Tibetan. In addition, those with education beyond the primary level usually have some control of standard Mandarin Chinese.

Tibetan is viewed by Bao'an Tu speakers as having higher status than Bao'an for many reasons: it has a long literary tradition while Bao'an has no writing system; it is the language of high religion; it has official status with the government (which among other things means jobs as translators); it is the language of educational opportunity; and it is the language of the more powerful majority in the area. Tibetans in the area often derogatorily refer to Bao'an as "bird talk." During my fieldwork, many high school and college graduates who had left the village to pursue secondary and post-secondary education related experiences of trying to hide what their mother tongue was in order to avoid ridicule and abuse by Tibetan speaking classmates. Another indicator of the language attitudes in the area is that bilingualism is most definitely unilateral; a Tibetan claiming to be able to speak Bao'an is unheard of. During my fieldwork I met many Tibetans who had married into Bao'an speaking families and lived in Bao'an speaking

villages who claimed to understand "some" Bao'an, but all of them without exception claimed absolutely no speaking ability.

It is not surprising, then, that language shift appears to be underway among Bao'an speakers in Tongren. I did not conduct a formal sociolinguistic survey, but one anecdotal experience (that was repeated in more than one home) serves as an example. When I visited the home of a Bao'an speaking friend in Bao'an Xiazhuang in the summer of 2007, I found myself alone in the room with my friend's four-year-old niece, and I began asking her a few simple questions in my broken Bao'an. Encountering her looks of bewilderment, I was dismayed at the ineffectiveness of my Bao'an language skills until my friend's mother entered and told me, "Oh, she doesn't understand Tu [Bao'an]; her parents only speak to her in Tibetan so that she'll have a better chance at doing well in school". In addition to the factors above, intermarriage between Bao'an speaking men and Tibetan women appears to be happening more frequently, which means more and more children in these four villages are growing up in otherwise Bao'an speaking homes and villages, but have Tibetan as their mother tongue. These children appear to be acquiring only passive knowledge of Bao'an.

1.3 Theory and Methods

1.3.1 Language Description and Basic Linguistic Theory

This grammar is intended to be a synchronic description of the variety of Bao'an spoken in Tongren County (referred to here as "Bao'an Tu"). To achieve this goal, I have used terms from a theoretical framework often claimed to be theory-neutral by those who use it (usually to write grammars), but which has more recently been referred to as Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 1997, Dryer 2006). To say that this grammar is synchronic

means that the description here differs from many grammars of Mongolic languages written to date in that I have not used the traditional glossing labels based on morphemes' Mongolic etyma, and I have not undertaken the diachronic study necessary to theorize about the place of Bao'an in the Mongolic language family, though I hope the description presented here will be useful to Mongolic comparativists. To say that this grammar is a description means that I have refrained from offering much explanation. This reflects my position that language structure and language function are distinct (albeit very related) phenomena, and that the task of language description is to capture language structure. Only once this has been accomplished can that structure be explained in terms of its function (Dryer 2006). Where possible explanations are offered here, they are offered as asides—not as part of the main work of the dissertation—and are generally presented from a functionalist framework. It is my hope that by approaching the description of Bao'an Tu in this way this grammar will be useful to as broad an audience of linguists as possible, including typologists, area specialists, Mongolic specialists, and explanatory theorists alike.

1.3.2 Data

The data used in this study were collected during the period of March 2006 to August 2007, and January 2009 to August 2009. During this time I lived in both Nianduhu Village, Tongren Tibetan Autonomous County, Tibetan Huangnan Autonomous Prefecture (March 2006-September 2006 and April 2007-August 2007); and Xining City (October 2006-March 2007 and January 2009-August 2009) in China's Qinghai Province. I collected data in Nianduhu, Guomare, Bao'an Xiazhuang, Tongren, and Xining from speakers from all four Bao'an speaking villages in Tongren. Data collection

was carried out in Mandarin Chinese. I have invited much input from the consultants with whom I work regarding the content of the elicited data as well as topics and themes for interviews and personal narratives used in this research, and I have made a concerted effort to use examples of language data that reflect on the Bao'an Tu culture in a respectful and accurate way. The data I have elicited and the examples included in this dissertation obviously reflect my choices and thought processes as a linguist and an outsider, however. Snippets of language data removed from context should not be considered to represent the "voice" of the Bao'an Tu themselves.

The data for this present study consist of a 2,004-item wordlist developed by Chinese linguists for use among China's minority populations, elicited from multiple consultants from all four of the Bao'an speaking villages in Tongren. In addition, approximately 1050 lines (containing about 1150 clauses) of elicited grammatical data were transcribed and glossed by Ms. Caiguoji (a university educated native speaker of Bao'an from Nianduhu) and myself (these data are cited in this dissertation as "Caiguoji").

A number of oral texts were also collected for this study. Two personal narratives were collected and transcribed by Mr. Dorje Jiashi (a high school graduate and native Bao'an speaker from Nianduhu) and myself; one from a man in his late teens (*Disappointment*), and one from a woman in her early seventies (*Skirmish*). A personal narrative and a procedural text were collected, transcribed, and glossed by Ms. Caiguoji and myself; these were from a woman in her early twenties (*How to Make Bread,* and *Parents' Instructions*). Finally, two interviews on the topic of the Leru festival were analyzed; one was conducted by M. Heather Y. Fried and Ms. Caiguoji and transcribed

and glossed by Ms. Caiguoji and myself (*Dzɻəkələru*), and one was collected by Mr. Dorje Jiashi and myself and transcribed and glossed by Ms. Caiguoji and myself (*Ləru Dancing*); the first interviewee was a man in his sixties, the second was a man in his thirties. The narrators and interviewees are all fluent speakers who have Bao'an as their first language. The texts number around 915 clauses, and represent much spontaneous Bao'an speech; no false-starts, disfluencies, slips of the tongue, interruptions, or listener contributions have been omitted. These texts as well as the elicited data were then digitized and analyzed with the aid of Fieldworks Language Explorer software (©SIL International). Some of these texts are not suitable for publishing, but three of the texts (*How to Make Bread*, *Parents' Instructions,* and *Ləru Dancing*) are included in the Appendix.

Chapter 2: Phonology

The phonology of Bao'an has been influenced by neighboring languages in the Qinghai-Gansu sprachbund; most notably by Amdo Tibetan. Bao'an has a rather large consonant inventory, which is atypical for the Mongolic family and reflects the influence of Amdo.

There are a few discrepancies between the phoneme inventory presented here and those given in Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003). These discrepancies are minor and are discussed in this chapter. Perhaps the biggest difference between earlier descriptions of Bao'an phonology and the current one is the re-analysis of distinctive vowel length. The data for the descriptions given in Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003) were collected in 1980-1 whereas the data for the current description were collected in 2006-9 primarily from relatively young speakers. Therefore, I believe that the two descriptions—rather than being competing analyses—represent a record of a shift that has happened in Bao'an phonology in that 25-year span.

2.1 Phoneme Inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory of Bao'an Tu is given in table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Consonant phoneme inventory of Bao'an Tu

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
plosives	p^h	t^h				k^h	
	p	t				k	
	b	d				g	
	^hp	^ht				^hk	
affricates		$\widehat{ts}^h$	$\widehat{ʈʂ}^h$	$\widehat{tɕ}^h$			
		$\widehat{ts}$	$\widehat{ʈʂ}$	$\widehat{tɕ}$			
			$\widehat{dʐ}$				
				$^h\widehat{tɕ}$			
fricatives	f	s	ʂ	ɕ	ç		χ
		z		ʑ			ʁ
nasals	m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
approximants		ɬ					
	w	l	ɻ		j		

Overall, the size and makeup of the consonant inventory as well as the vowel to consonant ratio (6:34)[14] is fairly typical (Maddieson 1984). The one exception is the large inventory of fricatives. Six places of articulation and nine overall fricatives is atypically high (though this is not unusual for languages in the neighboring Tibeto-Burman family). The only glaring gap is the absence of a /v/ phoneme. The sound [ʋ] does exist in free variation with [w], but /w/ was chosen as the representative phoneme because [w] occurs more frequently than [ʋ].

[14] The ratio is 6:38 if the pre-aspirated plosives are included in the count.

The inventories of Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003) are given below for comparison.

Table 2.2. Bao'an consonant inventory from Chen & Chingeltei (1986)

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal
plosives	p^h	t^h				k^h		
	p	t				k	q	
affricates		ts^h	$tʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$				
		ts	tʂ	tɕ				
fricatives	f	s	ʂ	ɕ	ç		χ	ħ
		z		ʑ				ʕ
nasals	m	n		ȵ		ŋ		
liquids, glides		ɬ						
	w	l	r		j			
pre-nasalized	mb	nd, ndz	ndʐ	ndʑ		ŋg	ŋG	
pre-aspirated		^{h}t, ^{h}s	^{h}tʂ	^{h}tɕ, ^{h}ɕ		^{h}k		
pre-rhotacized	^{r}p, ^{r}m	^{r}t				^{r}k, ^{r}ŋ		

Table 2.3. Bao'an consonant inventory from Wu (2003)

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
plosives	p^h	t^h				k^h	
	p	t				k	
affricates		ts^h	$tʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$			
		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
fricatives	f	s	ʂ	ɕ		x	h
		z		ʑ		ɣ	
nasals	m	n			ɲ	ŋ	
liquids, glides		ɬ					
	w	l	r		j		
pre-nasalized:	mb	nd, ndz	ndz̩	ndʑ		ŋg	
pre-aspirated:		$^ht^h$, ^ht, $^hts^h$, $^htʂ^h$, $^htʂ$ ^hts, ^hz, ^hn, ^hl		$^htɕ^h$, $^htɕ$, $^hʑ$	$^hɲ$, ^hj	$^hk^h$, ^hk, $^hŋ$	
pre-rhotacized:	$^rp^h$, ^rp, ^rm	$^rt^h$, ^rt		$^rtɕ^h$		$^rk^h$, ^rk, $^rŋ$	

Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003) worked from the same data, but their analyses of the phoneme inventory differ slightly: in Wu (2003) the /ç/ and /ʕ/ phonemes are omitted, the /q/ phoneme is re-analyzed as /ɣ/, and /χ/ is re-analyzed as the velar phoneme /x/.

There are also a few differences between the phoneme inventory presented in Wu (2003) and the one given here. There are three changes actually involving an increase or decrease in the number of consonant phonemes: the palatal fricative /ç/ has been re-instated (see 2.1.1.3 for a discussion of this), and /h/ has been omitted because there is no evidence in my data of a phonemic distinction between [h] and [χ]. Some speakers never produce [h], and for those who do, it is in the same words where other speakers have [χ].

The other loss of phonemic distinction is the disappearance of the pre-rhotacized series of consonants. This is discussed in §2.1.1.1.

The differences between Wu's description and mine in plosives and affricates may appear to be rather significant, but in fact it does not represent a change in the overall system of phonemic distinctions. In addition to the two-way voice onset timing (VOT) distinction in plosives included in the phoneme inventory, Wu reports that there is also a series of prenasalized plosives. I have chosen to represent them as a series of voiced plosives, because the early VOT rather than the nasalization appears to be the significant indicator of the phonemic distinction (see §2.1.1.1 for examples). Similarly, the three-way VOT contrast in retroflex affricates results from a reanalysis of the prenasalized phoneme /ndz̧/. Finally, the robust series of pre-aspirated consonants reported by Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003) appears to have shrunk dramatically, leaving only /^{h}p/, /^{h}t/, /^{h}k, and /^{h}tɕ/ in my data (see §2.1.1.1 for discussion and examples).

Finally, Wu describes the back set of fricatives as /x/ and /ɣ/, while they are presented here as /χ/ and /ʁ/. While no acoustic analysis has been carried out to determine the precise place of articulation of these fricatives, they have the allophones [q] and [ɢ] respectively. So *ga* [gɑ] 'saddle' and *ʁa* [ɢɑ] 'fox', for example, remain distinct even though both begin with voiced plosives. My decision to represent the back fricatives as /χ/ and /ʁ/ rather than /x/ and /ɣ/is based on this fact.

The consonant phoneme inventories of Santa, Mangghuer, Mongghul, and Amdo Tibetan are provided here for purposes of comparison with Bao'an Tu. The former three are the three Mongolic languages most closely related to Bao'an Tu, while the latter is the variety of spoken Tibetan prevalent in Tongren. A comparison of these inventories reveals the heavy influence of Amdo Tibetan on the phoneme inventory of Bao'an Tu.

Table 2.4. Santa consonant phoneme inventory (Kim 2003)

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
plosives	p	t				k	q	
	b	d				g	ɢ	
affricates		ts	tʂ	tɕ				
		dz	dʐ	dʑ				
fricatives	f	s	ʂ	ɕ		x		h
nasals	m	n				ŋ		
liquids, glides	w	l	r		j			

Table 2.5. Mangghuer consonant phoneme inventory (Slater 2003a)

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
plosives	p^h	t^h				k^h	q^h
	p	t				k	q
affricates		ts^h	$tʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$			
		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
fricatives	f	s	ʂ	ɕ			χ
nasals	m	n				ŋ	
liquids, glides	w	l	ɻ		j		

Table 2.6. Mongghul consonant phoneme inventory (Georg 2003a)

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
plosives	p	t				k	
	b	d				g	ɢ
affricates		ts^h	$tʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$			
		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
fricatives	f	s	ʂ	ɕ		x	
nasals	m	n				ŋ	
liquids, glides	w	l	r		j		
pre-nasalized		nt, nd			nj	ŋg	ŋɢ
pre-aspirated						hg	hɢ
pre-rhotacized	rm	rd, rz				rg	rɢ

Table 2.7. Tongren Amdo Tibetan consonant phoneme inventory (Hua 2002)

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal
plosives	p^h	t^h				k^h		
	p	t				k		
	b	d				g		
affricates		ts^h	$ʈʂ^h$	$tɕ^h$	$cç^h$			
		ts	ʈʂ	tɕ	cç			
			dʐ		ɟʝ			
fricatives		s	ʂ	ɕ			χ	h
		s^h				x^h		
		z		ʑ		ɣ		
nasals	m	n		ɲ		ŋ		
liquids, glides		ɬ						
	w	l	r		j			
pre-nasalized	mb	nt^h, nd	$nʈʂ^h$, ndʐ	mɲ	nɟʝ	$ŋk^h$, ŋg		
pre-aspirated	hp, hb,	ht, hd,	hʈʂ, hdʐ	htɕ, hɕ,	hcç, hɟʝ,	hk, hg,		
	hm,	hts, hs,		hɲ	hj	hŋ		
	hw	hn, hl						
pre-rhotacized		rt, rts		rtɕ	rcç	rk		

2.1.1.1 Plosives

There is a four-way contrast between aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, voiced, and pre-aspirated voiceless plosives in Bao'an. Only the voiceless unaspirated plosives occur in syllable codas; they are unreleased when they occur in this position.

1)	a.	/p^{h}/	*p^{h}i*[15]	‘kang’ (heated platform used as a bed)
	b.	/p/	*pi*	‘to stand’
			səpta [səp˥.˩tɑ]	‘vicinity’
	c.	/b/	*bi* [bi]~[mbi]	‘COP_2.SUBJ’
	d.	/^{h}p/	*mehpo* [mei.˩^{h}po]	‘strong’
2)	a.	/t^{h}/	*t^{h}oŋ*	‘pot’
	b.	/t/	*toŋ*	‘hole’
			disot [di.˩sot˥]	‘clock’
	c.	/d/	*doŋ* [doŋ]~[ndoŋ]	‘long spear’
	d.	/^{h}t/	*htoŋ*	‘tooth’
3)	a.	/k^{h}/	*k^{h}a*	‘cargo’
	b.	/k/	*ka*	‘pillar’
			jaksa [jɑk˥.˩sɑ]	‘pretty’
	c.	/g/	*ga* [gɑ]~[ŋgɑ]	‘saddle’
	d.	/^{h}k/	*hkaŋ*	‘marrow’

The voiced plosives are the same series of phonemes described as pre-nasalized plosives in earlier descriptions of Bao’an (Chen & Chingeltei (1986), Wu (2003)), and voiced plosives occur in free variation with their pre-nasalized counterparts. The pre-nasalized variants are particularly likely to show up in the speech of older speakers and in words with emphatic stress.

[15] As was mentioned in §1.2.2, Bao’an Tu has no orthography. Language examples in this dissertation are given in phonemicized IPA based on the phonological analysis presented in this chapter except where otherwise indicated (e.g. with phonetic brackets [ ]). There are three cases where this *ad hoc* orthography differs from the IPA symbols given in the phoneme inventory in Table 2.1. First, pre-aspirated plosives are written with a digraph containing the use of the non-superscripted symbol ‘h’ (e.g. *hp*) rather than a plosive preceded by a superscripted ‘h’ (e.g. /^{h}p/) in order to disambiguate between aspiration and pre-aspiration. This digraph does not create any potential ambiguity, because the (non-superscripted) symbol ‘h’ is not otherwise used in the orthography (there is no /h/ phoneme in Bao’an). Second, affricates are written without ligatures for the sake of convenience. Again, the potential for ambiguity is not great, because consonant clusters do not occur in syllable onsets or codas, and even single consonant codas do not occur very frequently. Third, the voiced retroflex approximant is written ‘r’.

In addition to pre-nasalization, Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003) report a robust series of pre-aspirated and pre-rhotacized aspirated and unaspirated plosives and affricates, fricatives, nasals, liquids, and glides. The contrast between pre-aspirated and pre-rhotacized consonants appears to have collapsed in the speech of younger speakers, however, and the inventory of pre-aspirated consonants has shrunk to include only the unaspirated plosives /ʰp ʰt ʰk/ and the affricate /ʰtɕ/.

4)

a.	/ʰp/	*mehpo* [mei.ˈʰpo]	'strong'
b.	/ʰt/	*htoŋ*	'tooth'
c.	/ʰk/	*hko*	'big'
d.	/ʰtɕ/	*htɕida*	'middle'

Wu (2003) gives *rko* 'big' (prounounced [ʂko]) as an example of pre-rhotacization. Younger speakers produce both [ʂko] and [ʰko], however, and claim that there is no difference between the two. In addition, the words *hku* 'die' (also phonemically transcribed by Wu as *hku*) and *hko* are considered by the same speakers to be a minimal pair differing only in their vowel. Based on the data collected for this study, I have concluded that pre-rhotacization only has phonemic status in instances of code-switching (i.e. the use of Amdo Tibetan pronunciation with Amdo Tibetan words used when speaking Bao'an).

2.1.1.2 Affricates

Consonant clusters do not otherwise occur in either the onset or coda of the syllable in Bao'an, so the best analysis of the sequences /tsʰ tʂʰ tɕʰ ts tʂ tɕ dzʱ ʰtɕ/ is that they are

single phonemes. Since consonant clusters do not occur in Bao'an and my data do not contain any morphologically simple lexical items in which a plosive is followed by an affricate across a syllable boundary, it is difficult to demonstrate the distinctiveness of /t͡s/ and the sequence /t/+/s/, for example. There are instances where the sequence /t/+/s/ occurs across a morphological boundary, and in this case this sequence of two phonemes is distinct from the single phoneme / t͡s / in a similar environment.

5) a. *disot=sa* [di.sotˀ.ˈsɑ] 'clock=ABL'
   b. *ji-tsʰoŋ* [ji.ˀt͡sʰoŋ] 'COP_2.SUBJ-POS'

There is basically a two-way contrast in VOT in Bao'an affricates, but the three-way VOT contrast in Amdo retroflex affricates is likely to be maintained in loanwords from Amdo, and a three-way contrast between voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated, and pre-aspirated is preserved in the alveopalatal affricates. This is especially true for speakers who are bilingual in Bao'an and Amdo—which is a majority of the Bao'an speaking community. My data contain no Mongolic lexical items that demonstrate the former distinction, so it is unclear whether this phonemic distinction has been fully integrated into Bao'an phonology. On the other hand, there are so many Amdo loanwords in the Bao'an varieties of Qinghai that a loss of this distinction would likely render so many homophones as to hinder understanding. The following near minimal sets demonstrate these voicing contrasts.

6) a. *tsʰam* 'comb'
   b. *dzaŋ* 'crowded'

7) a. *tʂʰoma* 'to be left; remain'
   b. *tʂo* 'dance' (n.) AMDO: [tʂo] 'dance'
   c. *dzo̝ma* 'Droma' (proper name) AMDO: [dzo̝ma]

8) a. *tɕʰə* ‘you (2SG)’
b. *tɕə* [tɕə]~[dʑə] ‘to call, to be called’
c. *ʰtɕida* ‘middle’

There is a three-way distinction in the place of articulation of affricates.

9) a. *tsʰoχma* ‘stubble’
b. *tʂʰokə* ‘to pass (a test); to fit’
c. *tɕʰokə* ‘to offer a sacrifice to a deity’

10) a. *tsaŋ* ‘crowded’
b. *tʂama* ‘window’
c. *tɕama* ‘chef, cook’

2.1.1.3 Fricatives

Fricatives have the broadest range of place of articulation: labiodental, alveolar, retroflex, alveopalatal, palatal and uvular. There is a two-way contrast in VOT with some exceptions; neither /f/ nor /ç/ have voiced counterparts. This asymmetry may be due to the fact that /f/ and /ç/ are relatively recent additions to the phoneme inventory; they mainly occur in loanwords. There is also no voiced counterpart of /ʂ/. The approximant /r/ is optionally spirantized and realized as [z̧] when it occurs word initially, however.

The distinctiveness of /f/ and /s/ is demonstrated by the following pair.

11) a. *fənaŋ,* ‘smoke’
b. *sə-naŋ* ‘in the water’

Wu says that both /f/ and /χ/ are reflexes of proto-Mongolic *x, and that the two phonemes are in complementary distribution, with /f/ occurring before /u/, and /χ/

occurring elsewhere (Wu 2003:329). However, as a result of continued borrowing, /χ/ can now occur before /u/, making possible minimal pairs such as the following:

12) a. *fulaŋ* 'red'
b. *χulaŋ* 'peddler'

The phonemic distinction between the alveolar fricatives /s z/ and affricates /ts^h dz/ is not very robust, in that most if not all of the minimal pairs demonstrating this distinctiveness contain one or more loanwords.[16] So while there are minimal pairs like *dzoŋ* 'green onion' (CHIN: 葱 [ts^{h}ōŋ][17]) and *zoŋ* 'county' as well as *ts^{h}ə* 'vinegar' (CHIN: 醋[ts^{h}ù]) and *sə* 'water', there are also many words (particularly among native Mongolic vocabulary) in which the fricative and affricate occur in free variation. For example, *su* 'sit, stay' has the pronunciations [su] and [ts^{h}u], and both are reported to be acceptable.

The phonemic status of /s/ /ʂ/ and /ɕ/ is demonstrated by the minimal set in (13).

13) a. *sakə* 'cheap'
b. *ʂakə* 'good' AMDO: [ʂa ɣə] 'good'
c. *ɕakə* 'paralysis'

The retroflex /ʂ/ does not occur as frequently in the lexicon as the others, and usually occurs in loans from Amdo Tibetan.

[16] The phoneme inventories of neighboring Sinitic languages contain /s/ /ts^h/ and /dz/, and Amdo Tibetan has /s/ /ts^h/ /z/ /dz/.
[17] Throughout this dissertation, I use the conventional Mandarin pinyin notation for indicating tone in both phonetic transcriptions (those contained by square brackets []) and when using the Mandarin pinyin spelling system. First tone (pitch value: 55) is indicated by a macron (e.g. ā). Second tone (pitch value: 35) is indicated by an acute accent (e.g. á). Third tone (pitch value: 214) is indicated by a háček (e.g. ǎ). Fourth tone (pitch value: 51) is indicated by a grave accent (e.g. à). Fifth or 'neutral' tone has a varying pitch value depending on its context and is indicated by no diacritic.

The phonemic status of /z/ /r/ and /ʑ/ is demonstrated by the minimal pairs and near minimal pairs in (14). The phoneme /r/ is included in this section because although there is no phoneme /z̧/ in Bao'an, /r/ is realized as [z̧] in free variation with the realization [ɹ] in the speech of some speakers, but the majority consistently produce only [ɹ].

14)

a.	*zoŋ*		'county'
	zaŋ		'messy'
b.	*roŋ*	[ɹoŋ]~[z̧oŋ]	'prefecture'
	raŋ	[ɹaŋ]~[z̧aŋ]	'informal'
c.	*ʑoχ*		'for'
	ʑanba		'other'

The voicing distinction between the apical fricatives is demonstrated in the following near minimal pairs.

15) /s/ and /z/
   a. *so* 'partially digested food in the intestines of a butchered animal'
   b. *zoŋ* 'county'

16) /ʂ/ and /r/
   a. *ʂakə* 'good'
   b. *ra* 'courtyard'

17) /ɕ/ and /ʑ/
   a. *ɕoχta* 'there'
   b. *ʑoχkə* 'peel'

The status of the phoneme /ç/ as distinct from /ɕ/ is demonstrated by the following near minimal pair.

18) a. *ɕikə* ‘very’
b. *ɕi ~ χi* ‘forest’

The distinction between /ɕ/ and /χ/ is lost preceding /i/, as is demonstrated by the word *ɕi~χi* ‘tree’. /ç/ is actually another marginal phoneme in the sense that it occurs infrequently, and when it does occur it is often in loanwords. This may be why Wu (2003) omitted it from his presentation of the phoneme inventory. I have included it however, because it does occur distinctively in some places, as in the minimal pair in (19).

19) a. *ɕu* ‘tree’ (CHIN: 树[ʂù])
b. *χu* ‘water jug’ (CHIN: 壺[χú] ‘kettle’)

The voiced fricative /ʁ/ is realized as both /ɢ/ and /ɢʷ/ when it precedes /a/ (e.g. *-ʁala* [ɢɑ.ˈlɑ]~[ɢʷɑ.ˈlɑ] ‘INST’). This variation does not appear to be phonologically conditioned. The question of how to label the back fricative phonemes with regard to their place of articulation was discussed in §2.1.1; but there is also some question with regard to their manner of articulation. Table 2.8 gives the realizations of these two phonemes in various environments.

Table 2.8. Allophones of /χ/ and /ʁ/

Environment:	Realization of /χ/:	Realization of /ʁ/:
word initially:	[χ]: *χani* [χɑ.ˈni] 'all'	[ɢ]: *ʁar* [ɢɑr] 'two'
followed by a plosive:	[q]: *ʰtɕəχta* [ʰtɕəq.ˈtɑ] 'bicycle'	ø [18]
intervocalically:	[χ]: *tɕəχaŋ* [tɕə.ˈχaŋ] 'white'	[ʁ]: *maʁa* [mɑ.ˈʁɑ] 'meat'
word finally:	[χ]: *jiχ* 'to hit'	ø

Based on frequency of occurrence, these two phonemes should be called /χ/ and /ɢ/, which is more or less what Chen & Chingeltei (1986) did (represented above as /χ/ and unaspirated /q/). This is somewhat problematic, however, because it creates a gap in the inventory of fricatives (/ʁ/) as well as gaps in the inventory of plosives (/qʰ/ /q/). Thus for reasons of symmetry in the phoneme inventory, it is better to consider them both to be either plosives or fricatives. The benefit of calling them plosives is that the realization of /ɢ/ as /ʁ/ intervocalically is much easier to motivate phonologically than /ʁ/ → [ɢ] / word initially. On the other hand, this leaves us with /q/ being implausibly realized as [χ] both intervocalically and word initially. Furthermore, the would-be pair /q/ /ɢ/ does not participate in the three-way VOT plus pre-aspiration distinction that the other plosives do. For these reasons, I have chosen to represent them as fricative phonemes. (20) gives a minimal set for the velar plosives and uvular fricatives.

[18] Neither consonant clusters nor lone voiced plosives or fricatives occur in the coda of the syllable. See §2.2.

20) a. *kʰa* ‘cargo’
b. *ka* ‘pillar’
c. *ga* ‘saddle’
d. *χa* [χa] ‘closed’
e. *ʁa* [ʛa] ‘fox’

2.1.1.4 Nasals

There are four nasal phonemes in Bao’an. Minimal pairs and near minimal pairs for them are given in (21).

21) a. *moʁi* ‘snake’
b. *noʁi* ‘dog’
nasa ‘disease’
c. *ɲa* ‘yoke’
d. *ŋasi* ‘early’

A common areal phenomenon is the free variation of [l] and [n]. These two phonemes do not overlap in Bao’an, however.

22) a. *na* ‘to fall’
b. *la* ‘to cry’

2.1.1.5 Liquids

Bao’an has both voiced and voiceless lateral consonant phonemes[19] as well as a retroflex approximant phoneme.

23) a. *ɬoma* ‘student’
b. *loma* ‘leaf’

[19] Wu states that in addition to the phoneme /ɬ/, the /l/ may be pre-aspirated, yielding the onset cluster /hl/. The speakers I worked with maintained that there is no phonemic distinction between [ɬ] and [hl]. The strength of Wu’s analysis is that it identifies the two distinct diachronic sources for what synchronically constitutes the single phoneme /ɬ/ (2003:329-30).

The following pairs demonstrate that /l/ and /r/ are distinctive in both onset and coda position.

24) a. /r/ *rəmo* ‘picture’
χar ‘fire’
b. /l/ *ləmo* ‘water goddess’
χal ‘arm/hand’

2.1.1.6 Glides

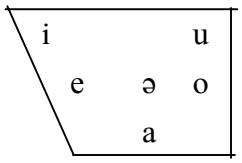
Bao’an has two glides: /w/ and /j/. /w/ is alternately pronounced [w] and [ʊ].

25) a. *wama* [wɑmɑ]~[ʊɑmɑ] ‘pot’
wi [wi]~[ʊi] ‘COP_2.SUBJ’
b. *jama* ‘stuff’
jiχ ‘to hit’

2.1.2 Vowels

Bao’an has six phonemic vowels.

Table 2.9. Bao’an Tu vowel phoneme inventory



The high vowels are pronounced much as the phoneme symbols would suggest ([i] and [u]). The vowel represented by the symbol /e/ is typically diphthongized to some degree ([ei]), and the vowel represented by the symbol /o/ is pronounced [ɤ] by many speakers. Mid central /ə/ is pronounced [ə]. The low vowel /a/ is realized as low central vowel ([a]) when it is followed by /n/ in the syllable coda (e.g. /man/ [mãn] ‘medicine’).

It is realized as a low back vowel ([ɑ]) elsewhere (e.g. /χapa/ [χɑ.pɑ] ‘dog’, /saŋ/ [sɑ̃ŋ] ‘offering’). The list in (26) gives a minimal set for the six vowel phonemes.

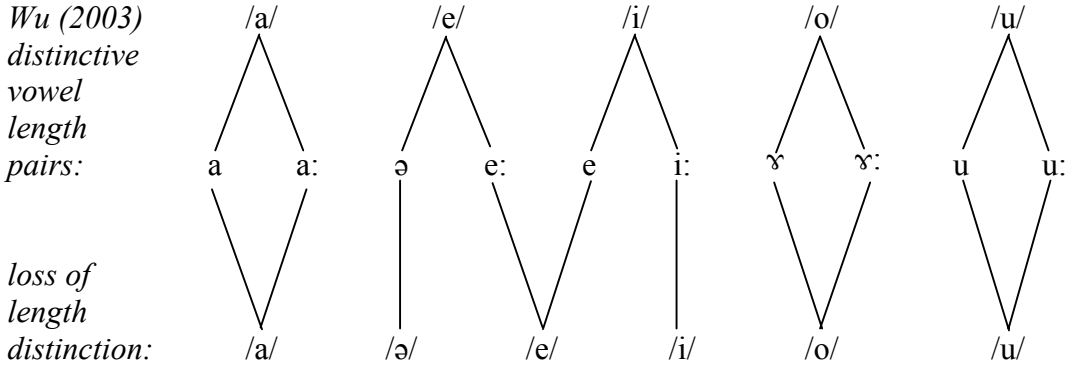
26)

i:	*χi ~ çi*	‘forest’
ə:	*χə*	‘other side’
a:	*χa*	‘closed’
o:	*χo*	‘roof beam’
u:	*χu*	‘water jug’
e:	*χe*	‘shoes’ (GS)

Wu’s analysis posits a five-vowel inventory with length distinctions as follows: a [a, a:], e [ə, eː], i [e, iː], o [ɤ, ɤ:], u [u, u:] (2003:327-8). Contrastive vowel length is well attested in proto-Mongolic and is still robust in the majority of Mongolic languages still spoken today. Among younger speakers of Bao’an, however, vowel length has ceased to be distinctive, which has led to the phonemic merger of the long and short variants of /a/, /o/, and /u/. What were formerly minimal pairs containing the long and short realizations of these vowels are now reported to be homophonous by my primary language consultants (varying in age from eighteen to twenty-eight).

Wu's /e/ [ə, eː] and /i/ [e, iː], on the other hand, appear to have split into the three phonemes /ə/, /e/, and /i/. The diagram in (27) represents this in a schematic way.

27) *Impact of loss of vowel length on the Bao'an vowel phoneme inventory:*



The diphthong [ao] also occurs infrequently in Bao'an speech, and only in loanwords. Furthermore, many Bao'an speakers who do not speak Mandarin Chinese do not produce this diphthong; rather, they pronounce these loanwords with the vowel [o] rather than a diphthong. Based on this evidence, [ao] is not included in the phoneme inventory.

The vowel inventories of Santa, Mangghuer, Mongghul, and Amdo Tibetan are provided here for purposes of comparison.

Table 2.10. Santa vowel phoneme inventory (Kim 2003)

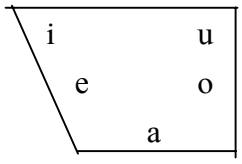


Table 2.11. Mangghuer vowel phoneme inventory (Slater 2003a)

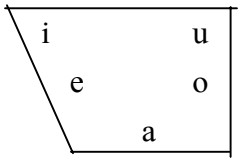


Table 2.12. Mongghul vowel phoneme inventory (Georg 2003a)

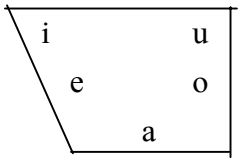
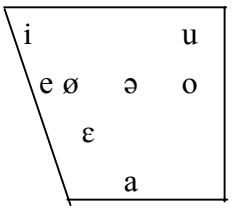


Table 2.13. Tongren Amdo Tibetan vowel phoneme inventory (Hua 2002)



2.2 Syllable Structure

The syllable in Bao'an minimally consists of a lone vowel nucleus and optimally allows for a single consonant in both the onset and coda, for a template of (C)V(C). Speakers of Bao'an Tu readily pause between syllables if they are interrupted or speaking extremely slowly for some other reason. The vowels /a/ /u/ /ə/ and /o/ all occur by themselves in onsetless coda-less syllables. It is unclear whether the absence of any examples containing /i/ and /e/ is due to a phonotactic constraint prohibiting front vowels from occurring in these minimal syllables or whether it is due to an accidental gap in the data.

29) *Examples of syllables with a lone nucleus:*
a.*ku* 'girl'
u 'to drink'
ə.*nə* 'this'
o.*loŋ* 'many'

All of the consonants in the phoneme inventory can occur in onset position, including /ŋ/ (e.g. *ŋasi* 'early'). This sets Bao'an apart from both Mandarin Chinese and

Mangghuer, neither of which allows /ŋ/ in the onset (Slater 2003a). The inventory of consonants allowed in the coda is more limited. A list of these with examples is given in (30).

30)

/p/	***ap***	'take, buy'
/t/	*di.**sot***	'clock'
/k/	***jak**.sa*	'pretty'
/χ/	*tʰəm.**tʰoχ***	'mianpian' (type of noodles)
/m/	***sam**.təχ*	'gift'
/n/	*tʰa.**un***	'five'
/ŋ/	*na.**raŋ***	'sun'
/l/	***kʰəl***	'say'
/r/	***gər***	'house'

There are a handful of syllable shapes occurring in my data that are not covered by this analysis: *χwa, χwe, kwo,* and *ɕjao.* These syllables occur infrequently and only in loanwords, as demonstrated in (31).

31)

a.	*ɕun.**χwa***	'Xunhua county'	CHIN: 循化[ɕún χuà]
b.	*dzo̱χ.**χwa***	'herdsman'	AMDO: [ndzo̱k kwa] 'herdsman'
c.	***χwe***	'custom, example'	AMDO: [htam hwe] 'proverb, saying'
d.	*pʰiŋ.**kwo***	'apple'	CHIN: 苹果[pʰíŋ kwǒ] 'apple'
e.	***ɕjao**.dʑaŋ*	'principal'	CHIN: 校长[ɕiaò dʑǎŋ] 'principal'

For this reason, I have decided not to include CGV (where G represents the glides /w j/) in the list of possible syllable shapes in Bao'an Tu.

2.3 Word Stress

Word stress falls fairly regularly on the final syllable. The following examples demonstrate that this holds true for monomorphemic lexical words as well as for words hosting enclitics and inflectional and derivational suffixes.

32)	a.	*χani*	[χɑ.ˈni]	‘all’
	b.	*χani = la*	[χɑ.ni.ˈlɑ]	‘all = PL’
	c.	*χani = la = da*	[χɑ.ni.lɑ.ˈdɑ]	‘all = PL = LOC’

33)	a.	*nat^{h}ə*	[ˌnɑ.ˈt^{h}ə]	‘dance’
	b.	*nat^{h}ə-tɕə*	[ˌnɑ.t^{h}ə.ˈtɕə]	‘dance-IMPF’
	c.	*nat^{h}ə-tɕə = ku*	[ˌnɑ.t^{h}ə.tɕə.ˈku]	‘dance-IMPF = IMPF.NMLZ’

Chapter 3: Morphology

Bao'an is a dependent marking language in both the locus of the clause and the possessive noun phrase. Bao'an arguments are marked for case regardless of whether they are expressed by nouns or pronouns, and there is no agreement marking on the verb.[20] Subjects of both intransitive and transitive clauses are zero-marked for nominative case, and direct objects are optionally marked with the accusative enclitic *=nə*.

1) *ɲəntoχlak^{h}a* *att^{h}ogə* *ŋamada* *nat^{h}ə-tɕo*
Nianduhu.Laka most behind dance-IMPF.OBJ
S V
'Nianduhu Laka village dances very last.'
(Ləru Dancing 92)

2) *ɕoŋjisa* *atɕaŋ* *ələ* *o-tə-m*
originally 3SG NEG go-IMP-NARR
S V
'He doesn't usually go.'
(Caiguoji)

3) *t^{h}ər=nə* *χitɕ^{h}u=da* *łotʂa* *datɕorn=nə* *tɕarkə-tɕə-tɕo*
that=ACC next.day=LOC school report=ACC post-PERF-IMPF.OBJ
A P V
'On the next day the school posted a report.'
(Disappointment 53)

4) *atɕaŋ* *mənda* *jiχ-tɕo*
3SG 1SG.ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
A P V
'He hit me.'
(Caiguoji)

[20] The category of speaker perspective, which is marked on most finite verbs, superficially looks like a system of agreement, but is not (for a discussion of speaker perspective, see §5.1.3).

In possessive noun phrases, the possessor is marked with the accusative enclitic *=nə*, while the possessed noun phrase is unmarked. Sentences (5) and (6) give examples in context.

5) *su* *łotʂa=nə* *łoʂi=la* *mənda* *ɕuan-kə-tɕə=tɕo*
so school=ACC teacher=PL 1SG.ACC choose-VBZ-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
POSSESSOR POSSESSED
'So (he said that) the school's teachers chose me.'
(Disappointment 5)

6) *satɕʰa* *koʑə=nə* *satɕʰa* *wa*
place self=ACC place COP_2.OBJ
POSSESSOR POSSESSED
'(the) land is (our) own land.'
(Skirmish 16)

Bao'an morphology is primarily comprised of suffixes.[21] The two word classes with the largest membership by far are nouns and verbs. Nouns are marked for number, case, and in a marginal way, definiteness; nominal morphology is treated in section 3.1. Verbs take morphological marking for finiteness, tense/aspect/mood, and speaker perspective; verbal morphology is treated in section 3.2. Quotative complements of verba dicendi typically host the quotative enclitic *=tɕə* or *=tɕo/=tɕi*; these are discussed in section 3.3. Some adjectives can take verbal morphology; section 3.4 gives an introduction to the morphology of these adjectives and discusses adjectival reduplication. The status of adjectives as a word class in Bao'an is addressed in more detail in chapter four (§4.3.3). Section 3.5 describes the morphology associated with numerals. Other classes of words in Bao'an include pronouns, postpositions, adverbs, and particles. As

[21] Most morphology in Bao'an appears on verbs. Nominal grammatical categories are primarily marked by enclisis.

these classes do not evidence morphological marking, they are not discussed in this chapter.

3.1 Nominal Morphology

3.1.1 Inflectional Morphology

Number (§3.1.1.2) and case (§3.1.1.1) are marked by enclisis in Bao'an. When both number and case are marked on one NP, the number enclitic occurs in the first position following its host, and the case enclitic follows, as demonstrated in (7). The phonetic transcriptions show that word stress shifts from the clitic's host and moves to the final clitic hosted by a given word. This is phonological evidence that these morphemes are not phonologically independent words. Syntactic evidence for their status as clitics follows example (7).

7)

a.	*χani*	[χɑ.ˈni]	'all'
b.	*χani=la*	[χɑ.ni.ˈlɑ]	'all=PL'
c.	*χani=la=da*	[χɑ.ni.lɑ.ˈdɑ]	'all=PL=LOC'

Number and case enclitics are hosted by the last element in a noun phrase, including a (headless) relative clause or a nominalized clause. The following set of example sentences demonstrates the use of number enclitics. Sentence (8) contains the plural enclitic *=la* hosted by a noun; (9) contains the same enclitic hosted by an adjective; (10) contains the plural enclitic hosted by a headless relative clause; and (11) contains the singular indefinite enclitic *=gə* hosted by a nominalized action.

8) *kʰətʰə* *tʰa-sa* *[kʰətʰə=ku* ***aku]$_{NP}$=la***
home.LOC sleep-COND home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ girl=PL

wi-sa
COP$_1$.SUBJ-COND
'If (they) sleep at home, if there are girls that (are) at home,'

(Ləru Dancing 101)

9) *au=la* *ɕoŋgə* *[aku* ***jaksa]$_{NP}$=la=da*** *gakə* *ke-saŋ*
boy=PL originally girl pretty=PL=LOC be.happy put-POS
'The boys will always like the pretty girls.'

(Caiguoji)

10) ***[natʰə-saŋ]$_{NP}$=la*** *χani* *mərku* *jaksa* *mər* *su-tɕo*
dance-PERF.NMLZ=PL all clothing pretty wear stay-IMPF.OBJ
'(Those) who dance all wear pretty clothing.'

(Caiguoji)

11) *koʑə* *koʑə=da* ***[natʰə=ku]=gə*** *wi-saŋ*
self self=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS
'Each (deity) has (his) own dancing.'

(Dʐəkələru 36)

The following sentences give examples of case enclitics. Sentence (12) contains the locative enclitic *=da* used to mark a lexical noun as an indirect object. Sentence (13) gives an example of *=da* hosted by an adjective. Sentence (14) contains *=da* hosted by a headless relative clause, and (15) contains the accusative enclitic *=nə* hosted by a nominalized action.

12) *dʐoma* ***[ɕa]$_{NP}$=la=da*** *tʰəmtʰoχ* *tɕəl-tɕo*
Droma child=PL=LOC mianpian prepare-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma made mianpian noodles for the children.'

(Caiguoji)

13) ***[pʰidə χoluŋ]=da*** *ke=ku*
kang hot=LOC put=IMPF.NMLZ
'Putting it on a hot *kang*[22]--'

(How to Make Bread 4)

14) *dzo̱ma* ***[dewa=nə*** ***naŋda*** ***su-tɕə=ku]$_{NP}$=la=da*** *tʰəmtʰoχ*
Droma village=ACC in stay-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ=PL=LOC mianpian

tɕəl-tɕo
prepare-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma made mianpian noodles for (those) who live in the village.'

(Caiguoji)

15) ***[χeɕaŋ*** ***natʰə-sa*** ***jaŋgə=da*** ***ʂatɕi=ku]=nə*** *kʰəl*
Leru dance-COND what=LOC benefit=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC say

kʰər-saŋ-u
be.required-POS-Q
'Should (I) tell what benefits derive from dancing Leru?'

(Ləru Dancing 5)

When two NP's are coordinated, the case enclitic is hosted by the second NP (see §4.3.8 for a discussion of NP coordination and more examples of case enclitics hosted by coordinated NP's).

16) *mənnə* *raŋ=da* *morə* *lutsʰa=nə* *çarwaŋ* *koχda*
1SG.GEN time=LOC horse mule=ACC Xiabulang on.the.other.side.of

o-tɕə *səmba* *naŋda* *χila-sa*
go-IMPF March in graze=COND
'In my day, if we took the horses and mules to the other side of Xiabulang village to graze in March, . . .'

(Skirmish 28)

[22] A *kang* is a heated platform used both as a sleeping space and as a place to entertain guests, particularly in cold weather.

17) *pə* *silaŋ=tɕə* *ɲənt^{h}oχ=**da*** *su-tɕi*
1SG Xining=and Nianduhu=LOC stay-IMPF.SUBJ
'I live in Xining and Nianduhu.'

(Caiguoji)

The enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* 'family' appears between the number and case clitics when it occurs (see §3.1.1.3). Definiteness (§3.1.1.4) is indicated through the use of determiners. The following sections treat the inflection of noun phrases containing lexical nouns. Personal pronouns inflect for number and case very similarly, with just a few exceptions. For a discussion of the inflection of personal pronouns, see §4.2.1.

3.1.1.1 Case

Bao'an has a nominative-accusative case marking system, as demonstrated by the pair of sentences below. The S in (18) is zero-marked for case in the same way that the A in (19) is, while the P in (19) is case marked with the enclitic *=nə*.

18) *au=gə* *wilə-kə-tɕo*
man=SG.INDEF work-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
S V
'A man is working.'

(Caiguoji)

19) *aku=gə* *ɕaʑə=nə* *jiχ-tɕo*
woman=SG.INDEF child=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
A P V
'A woman hit the child.'

(Caiguoji)

Case is marked by enclisis on the noun phrase. The case enclitics are listed in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Bao'an Tu case enclitics

ø		nominative
=nə	(ACC)	accusative/genitive[23]
=da	(LOC)	dative/locative[24]
=də	(LOC)	locative (GS dialect only)
=ʁala	(INST)	instrumental[25]
=sa	(ABL)	ablative
=gaŋ	(PRED.POSS)	predicate possessive

3.1.1.1.1 Nominative Case

Zero case marking is used with subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses, indefinite direct objects, nominal predicates (expressed by means of copular clauses), objects of some postpositions, and vocatives. Time nouns used as adverbs also frequently occur with no case marking. The following sentences contain examples of the single argument of an intransitive clause zero-marked for nominative case.

20) ***lak^{h}a*** *teraŋ* *də* *manda* *nat^{h}ə-la*
Nianduhu.Laka four day 1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC dance-PURP

ər-tɕi-saŋ
come-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'Nianduhu Laka village comes to dance for us for four days.'
(Ləru Dancing 93)

[23] Mongolicists call this case the 'connective' case, and gloss it CONN. As is demonstrated below, this enclitic serves to mark both accusative case in the clause and to mark genitive case when used adnominally (usually indicating possession). I gloss it here as "ACC" regardless of whether it is being used to indicate accusative or genitive case.
[24] I gloss this form "LOC" regardless of whether it is being used to indicate locations, destinations, indirect objects, or other beneficiaries.
[25] Linguists working in related languages call this the sociative case, and gloss both instrumental functions as well as what I consider to be dual number 'SOC' (e.g. Wu 2003, Janhunen et al 2008).

21) *tʰər=nə* *ɕilaŋ* ***au=la*** *jindamənda* *ula=da* *tʰa*
that=ACC night boy=PL definitely mountain=LOC sleep

kʰər-saŋ
be.required-POS
'The boys must definitely sleep on the mountain that night.'

(Læru Dancing 100)

The next two examples contain subjects of transitive clauses zero-marked for case.

22) ***çarwaŋ*** *ago=nə* *satɕʰa=nə* *lahkər-tɕə* *mantəl-ʁa-sa*
Xiabulang household=ACC land=ACC rent-IMPF dig-CAUS-COND

tʰər *da* *ələ* *dzɻ̩k-kə-na* *pe*
that also NEG right-VBZ-DUR EMPH
'Xiabulang rented out the families' land and let (others) dig it; that was also not right!'

(Skirmish 24)

23) *χeɕaŋ* *natʰə=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* ***kʰoŋ*** *χani* *kʰol* *χar=nə*
Læru dance=IMPF.NMLZ time people all foot hand=ACC

dabla-tɕə *jaksa-tɕə* *natʰə* *kʰər-na*
raise-IMPF pretty-IMPF dance be.required-DUR
'When dancing Læru, the people should all raise their feet and hands and dance nicely.'

(Læru Dancing 39)

The following are examples of indefinite direct objects with no overt case marking.

24) *guda* *tɕirdzi* *naŋda* ***sə*** ***tɕəmaŋgə*** ***golər*** ***tɕəmaŋgə***
before large.bowl in water little flour little

kʰi-tɕə *htɕərgə-tɕə*
pour-IMPF stir-PERF
'First, pour a little water and a little flour in a large bowl and stir (it).'

(How to Make Bread 1)

25) *kutɕoŋ=da* ***se*** *χal* *kʰər-na*
neck=LOC sash wear be.required-DUR
'(One) should wear a sash on (one's) neck.'

(Læru Dancing 29)

Zero case marking also encodes nominal predicates.

26) *jərʑa* ***amiɕatɕʰon=nə*** ***sema*** *bi-saŋ*
yerza Amishatchon=ACC hat COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'The 'yerza' is Amishatchon's hat.'

(Dzə̨kələru 123)

27) *tʰər* ***raŋki*** ***tɕʰoŋtɕʰoŋ=gə*** *bi-saŋ* *ço*
that commoner small.small=SG.INDEF COP_2.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'He is not an insignificant common (one).'
(*spoken of the Tibetan Buddhist deity Amimaqin*)

(Dzə̨kələru 111)

The objects of postpositions in the following example are in nominative case.

28) ***kozə=nə*** ***dewa*** *naŋda* *kʰoŋ* *jantʰoχ=gə* *natʰə-sa*
self=ACC village in person what.kind=SG.INDEF dance-COND

tʰə=la *pʰətʰoŋ* *atɕaŋnə* *məχ* *ol-tsʰoŋ* *da* *ole*
that=PL all 3SG.GEN soldier become-POS also right
'In any given village, whoever dances, they all also become his (Gomerelang's) soldiers. Right.'

(Dzə̨kələru 90)

29) *tʰəsanə* ***lokə*** *kʰada* *epsu=tɕə* *χəmdu=nə* *htar-ʁa-tɕə*
next bread.pan on grass=and leaves=ACC burn-CAUS-PERF
'Next, burn grass and leaves on top of the pans.'

(How to Make Bread 12)

The following examples are lexical NP's used in vocative situations.

30) *aku!*
girl
'Daughter!'

31) *Seŋgu!*
Caiguoji
'Caiguoji!'

Finally, the time nouns functioning as adverbs in the following examples are not marked for case.

32) ***danoŋ*** *əndə* *mohton* *kina*
last.year here tree NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
'There were no trees here last year.'

(Caiguoji)

33) ***ərhte*** *morhtɕə* *au=la=nə* *χamda* *su-sa* *k^{h}amər*
morning other boy=PL=ACC with stay-COND ceremonial.needle

jiχ=ku *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *nop^{h}a* *wi*
do=IMPF.NMLZ when harm COP$_1$.SUBJ
'If (they) sit with the other boys in the morning, (they) will be harmed when (they) do the kamer.'

(Læru Dancing 107)

3.1.1.1.2 The Accusative Enclitic *=nə*

The accusative enclitic *=nə* has a wide range of functions. When hosted by a clausal argument, it encodes definite direct objects of transitive clauses, causees that are subjects of intransitive sentences, and direct obects of ditransitive clauses and transitive clauses that have been causativized. When its host modifies another noun, it indicates various forms of possession and dates. Finally, its use is required by some postpositions.

The accusative enclitic *=nə* is typically optional when the subject of the clause is expressed lexically. When it is used in this context, it usually indicates definiteness. This is illustrated by comparing the reading of (19) above (repeated here as (34)) where the use of *=nə* indicates a definite object, with (35) in which the object not marked with *=nə* has an indefinite reading.

34) *aku=gə* *ɕaʑə=nə* *jiχ-tɕo*
woman=SG.INDEF child=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
'A woman hit the child.'

(Caiguoji)

35) *aku=gə* *ɕaʑə* *jiχ-tɕo*
girl= SG.INDEF child hit-IMPF.OBJ
'A woman hit a child/children.'

(Caiguoji)

If a direct object occurs alone in a transitive clause (i.e. the subject is implicit), *=nə* is generally obligatory, as in (36) and (37).

36) *tʰəmtʰoχ=**nə*** *tɕəl-tɕo*
mianpian=ACC prepare-IMPF.OBJ
'(she) made mianpian noodles.'
(*or* '(the) mianpian was made.')

(Caiguoji)

37) *mərku=**nə*** *jaŋgətɕə* *mər* *kʰər-si*
clothing=ACC how wear be.required-Q
'How should (one) wear the clothing?'
(*or* 'How should the clothing be worn?')

(Læru Dancing 6)

The use of *=nə* is also obligatory when the direct object occurs in a clause also containing an instrumental oblique.

38) *satsu* *tɕʰə* *nəkə* *jiχ-tɕə-saŋ=ʁala* *tɕʰənnə* *nerə=**nə***
but 2SG one hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=INST 2SG.GEN name=ACC

ap-saŋ
take-POS
'But because you got into a fight, your name was removed.'
(*lit.* 'But with you having fought one (a fight), (they) removed your name.')

(Disappointment 75)

39) *au=gə* *χapa=**nə*** *karə=ʁala* *jiχ-tɕo*
boy= SG.INDEF dog=ACC stick=INST hit-IMPF.OBJ
'A man hit the dog with a stick.'

(Caiguoji)

Finally, accusative *=nə* is usually used when a direct object is fronted, as in (40) and (41).

40) *dzəjal=**nə*** *dortɕe* *tɕolse=da* *ke-tɕo*
dish=ACC Dorje table=LOC put-IMPF.OBJ
'The dish, Dorje put (it) on the table.'

(Caiguoji)

41) *wadzə=**nə*** *χani=la* *tɕʰaɲum-kə-tɕə* *mər* *kʰər-na*
sock=ACC all=PL collective-VBZ-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
'As for socks, everyone should wear the same (kind).'

(Læru Dancing 31)

Accusative *=nə* is used to mark the subject of an intransitive clause when it becomes the causee of a causative construction.

42) *pə* *ɕaʑə=**nə*** *χatɕʰa-kə-ʁa-to*
1SG child=ACC laugh-VBZ-CAUS-PERF
'I made the child laugh.'

(Caiguoji)

Definite direct objects of ditransitive clauses and of transitive clauses that have been causativized also host *=nə* as in (43) and (44), respectively.

43) *au=gə* *aku=gə=da* *samtəχ=**nə*** *oχ-tɕo*
boy= SG.INDEF girl= SG.INDEF =LOC gift=ACC give-IMPF.OBJ
'A boy gave the gift to a girl.'

(Caiguoji)

44) *atɕaŋ* *ɕaʑə=da* *nokə* *man=**nə*** *u-ʁa-tɕo*
3SG child=LOC that medicine=ACC drink-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
'She made the child take that medicine.'

(Caiguoji)

When =*nə* is hosted by an NP modifying another noun, it marks a possessor. The use of =*nə* is obligatory when indicating possession.

45) *k^{h}amər nəkə jiχ-sa ʁoni nəkə=**nə** k^{h}ama bi-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle one hit-COND sheep one=ACC position COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Performing one 'kamer' equals (offering) one sheep.'
(*lit.* 'if (I/you/he...) does one 'kamer', (it) is one sheep's position.')
(Ləru Dancing 98)

46) *χorənteraŋ=nə udər=da dewa=**nə** nat^{h}oŋ wo*
twenty-four=ACC day=LOC village=ACC Natong COP_1.OBJ
'The village's Natong festival is on the 24th.'
(Dzə̤kələru 153)

There is no distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed objects.[26]

47) *nokə au=**nə** k^{h}oldaku*
that man=ACC shoe
'that man's shoe'
(Caiguoji)

48) *nokə au=**nə** papa*
that man=ACC father
'that man's father'
(Caiguoji)

49) *nokə au=**nə** nər*
that man=ACC face
'that man's face'
(Caiguoji)

[26] The paradigm of personal pronouns does not uniformly use the accusative enclitic =*nə* to indicate genitive case (see §4.2.1 for the full paradigm of personal pronouns). However, the lack of distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed NP's appears to hold for possessive pronouns as well as possessive NP's headed by lexical NP's. See §4.2.1.2 for a discussion.

Accusative *=nə* is also used to indicate dates. The enclitic is hosted by a numeral which in turn modifies the head noun *udər* 'day'.

50) *χorənʁar=**nə*** *udər* *hko* *nat^{h}oŋ=tɕə* *ts^{h}owa=gə=nə* *nat^{h}oŋ*
twenty-two=ACC day big Natong=and clan=SG.INDEF=ACC Natong

wo
COP_1.OBJ
'On the 22nd, there is both a big festival and one clan's festival.'
(Dzə̨kələru 135)

The head noun *udər* 'day' in this construction is often omitted, as in the following example.

51) *χorənteraŋ=**nə*** *dewa* *χani* *ap-tɕə* *oχ* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
twenty-four=ACC village all take-IMPF give be.required-POS
'On the 24th, the whole village must bring (them) and give (them).'
(Læru Dancing 90)

Some postpositions govern the use of *=nə*. This phenomenon is further discussed in §5.5.

52) *nokə au nohkor=la=**nə*** *χamda* *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
that man friend=PL=ACC with Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'That man is going to Xining with (his) friends.'
(Caiguoji)

53) *nokə au gər=**nə*** *səpda* *wa*
that man house=ACC near COP_1.OBJ
'That man is near the house.'
(Caiguoji)

54) *tɕaɕi daŋ dzə̨ma=ʁala=**nə*** *htɕida* *su-tɕo*
Jiashi door window=DU=ACC between stay-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi is sitting between the door and the window.'
(Caiguoji)

55) *mənnə* *gər* *dzo̯ŋtɕʰər=**nə*** *ɕida* *wi*
1SG.GEN house city=ACC outside COP_1.SUBJ
'My house is outside the city.'

(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.1.3 Locative Enclitics

3.1.1.1.3.1 The Locative Enclitic *=da*

In Nianduhu, Guomare, and Bao'an Xiazhuang villages, the enclitic=*da* is used to encode: 1) indirect objects, 2) NP's indicating the location or destination of an action, 3) nouns indicating the time of the predication, 4) subjects of transitive clauses that are causees in causative constructions, 5) possessors in clauses of predicate possession, 6) sources of happiness expressed by the verb *gakə* 'be.happy', and 7) adjectives denoting the resulting state of the verbs *χatɕə* 'go' and *ol* 'become' in the constructions meaning 'become ADJECTIVE'. Sentences (56)-(59) contain recipient and benefactive indirect objects marked by =*da*.

56) *au=gə* *aku=gə=**da*** *samtəχ=gə* *oχ-tɕo*
boy= SG.INDEF girl= SG.INDEF =LOC gift= SG.INDEF give-IMPF.OBJ
'A boy gave a gift to a girl.'

(Caiguoji)

57) *tʰəsanə* *pə* *kʰətʰə* *o-tɕə* *ana=**da*** *kʰəl-tɕə*
then 1SG home.LOC go-IMPF mother=LOC say-PERF
'Then I went home and told my mother (the news).'

(Disappointment 10)

58) *au=gə* *ɕa=la=**da*** *tʰəmtʰoχ* *tɕəl-tɕo*
woman= SG.INDEF child=PL=LOC mianpian noodles prepare-IMPF.OBJ
'A woman made mianpian noodles for the children.'

(Caiguoji)

59) *maŋgə* *da* *ɲəntoχlak^{h}a=**da*** *nat^{h}ə-la* *o* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL also Nianduhu.Laka=LOC dance-PURP go be.required-POS
'So we also have to go to dance for Nianduhu Laka.'
(Læru Dancing 94)

Sentences (60)-(65) contain locations and destinations marked by =*da*.

60) *nokə* *au* *silaŋ=**da*** *su-tɕi-saŋ*
that man Xining=LOC stay-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'That man lives in Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

61) *pətəʁaŋ=la* *nemə=**da*** *ɕargə* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
small=PL back=LOC line.up be.required-POS
'The younger ones should line up in back.'
(Læru Dancing 126)

62) *nokə* *au* *silaŋ=**da*** *o-tɕo*
that man Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'That man is going to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

63) *t^{h}əsanə* *pə* *hlok^{h}aŋ* *naŋda* *o-tɕə* *koɕə=nə* *k^{h}ama=**da***
then 1SG classroom inside go-IMPF self=ACC position=LOC

dondi-to
sit.down-PERF
'Then I went into the classroom and sat down in my spot.'
(Disappointment 18)

64) *tɕala* *nəkə* *k^{h}oŋ* *əsə* *χal-sa* *ɬawa* *amaŋ=**da*** *nəkə* *nəkə*
false.braid one person NEG wear-COND shaman mouth=LOC one one

jiχ-tɕo
hit-IMPF.OBJ
'If anyone doesn't wear a *tɕala*, the shaman hits each of them on the mouth.'
(Læru Dancing 37)

65) *amaŋ=**da*** *war* *kʰər-saŋ* *ço*
mouth=LOC hold.up be.required-POS NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'(you) don't have to hold it up to (your) mouth.'
(Ləru Dancing 14)

One specific type of goal or destination marked by *=da* is the person experiencing a desire in the 'want' construction, as in the examples below.

66) *tsʰəm=**da*** *jaŋgə* *kʰəl=ku* *taraŋ* *ər-sa* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-sa*
heart=LOC what say=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-COND what say-COND

tʰəke-saŋ
permit-POS
'(you) can say whatever you want to say.'
(*lit.*'If the desire to say [what] comes to (your) heart, (you) can say [what].')
(Ləru Dancing 4)

67) *dzo̱ma=**da*** *silaŋ=da* *o=ku* *taraŋ* *ər-tɕo*
Droma=LOC Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma wants to go to Xining.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that (she$_i$) go to Xining comes to Droma$_i$.')
(Caiguoji)

Example (3) is repeated here as an example containing a time noun indicating the time of the predication marked with *=da*.

68) *tʰər=nə* *χitɕʰu=**da*** *łotʂa* *datɕorn=nə* *tɕarkə-tɕə-tɕo*
that=ACC next.day=LOC school report=ACC post-PERF-IMPF.OBJ
'On the next day the school posted a report.'
(Disappointment 53)

69) *pitəʁaŋ* *ti=**da*** *dewa* *naŋda* *łoptɕa=da* *oχ=ku*
small time=LOC village in school=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ

tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ
time
'When (I was) young in the village, when I went to school . . .'
(Parents' Instructions 2-3)

Subjects of transitive and ditransitive clauses are marked by the enclitic *=da* when they are causees in the causative strategy using the causative suffix *–əʁa*.

70) *ana* *ɕa = la = **da*** *t^həmt^hoχ* *u-ʁa-tɕə*
mother child=PL=LOC mianpian noodles drink-CAUS-PERF
'Mother fed the children mianpian noodles.'
(*lit.* 'Mother caused the children to drink mianpian noodles.')
(Caiguoji)

71) *ɕa = la* *dzo̱ma = **da*** *t^həmt^hoχ* *tɕəl-əʁa-tɕo*
child=PL Droma=LOC mianpian noodles prepare-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
'The children made Droma prepare mianpian noodles.'
(Caiguoji)

This can result in two arguments in the same clause marked for locative/dative case if the clause contains an indirect object, as in the following examples.

72) *htema = nə* *man**da*** *seŋgu-ts^{h}aŋ = nə* *ana*
bread=ACC 1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC Caiguoji-HON=ACC mother
DIRECT OBJECT **INDIRECT OBJECT** CAUSER

*seŋgu = **da*** *ap-tɕə* *ər-əʁa-saŋ*
Caiguoji=LOC take-IMPF come-CAUS-POS
CAUSEE
'Caiguoji's mother made Caiguoji bring us bread.'
(Caiguoji)

73) *pantɕurən* *dortɕə = **da*** *χotɕ^{h}a = nə* *ts^{h}eraŋ = **da***
class.teacher Dorje=LOC book=ACC Tserang=LOC
CAUSER **CAUSEE** DIRECT OBJECT **INDIRECT OBJECT**

oχ-ʁa-tɕo
give-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ

'(Our) class teacher made Dorje give the book to Tserang.'
(Caiguoji)

The following sentences give examples of *=da* used to encode the possessor in a predicate of possession.

74) *tɕaɕi=**da*** *werə* *wa*
Jiashi=LOC wife COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi has a wife.'
(Caiguoji)

75) *tɕaɕi=**da*** *kormu* *wa-u*
Jiashi=LOC money COP_1.OBJ-Q
'Does Jiashi have (any) money?'
(Caiguoji)

In the following examples, *=da* encodes the source of happiness expressed by the verb *gakə* 'be.happy'.

76) *au=la* *ɕoŋgə* *aku* *jaksa=la=**da*** *gakə* *ke-saŋ*
boy=PL originally girl pretty=PL=LOC be.happy put-POS
'Boys will always like pretty girls.'
(Caiguoji)

77) *pə* *kara=**da*** *gakə-na*
1SG sugar=LOC be.happy-DUR
'I like candy.'
(Caiguoji)

Finally, *=da* is hosted by an adjective when the adjective expresses the resulting state of the verbs *χatɕə* 'go' and *ol* 'become' in the constructions expressing the meaning 'become ADJECTIVE'. The default strategy for expressing the meaning 'become ADJECTIVE' employs the use of the verb *χatɕə*. By "default" I mean that this is the one strategy for expressing this meaning that can be used with all adjectives.

78) *mohtun* *under=**da*** *χatɕə-tɕə*
tree tall=LOC go-PERF
'The trees became tall.'

(Caiguoji)

79) *tɕ^{h}itʂə* *tamo=**da*** *χatɕə-tɕə*
car slow=LOC go-PERF
'The car got slow.'

(Caiguoji)

In addition to this strategy, the verb *ol* 'become' may be used. In this construction, however, most adjectives do not require the use of the locative enclitic *=da*; as in the following examples

80) *au=la* ***mu*** *ol-tɕo*
boy=PL ugly become-IMPF.OBJ
'The boys became ugly.'

(Caiguoji)

81) *aku=la* ***hkamt^{h}i*** *ol-tɕo*
girl=PL skinny become-IMPF.OBJ
'The girls became skinny.'

(Caiguoji)

There is a small class of adjectives, however, that do require the use of the locative enclitic *=da* when the verb *ol* 'become' is used to express the meaning 'become ADJECTIVE', as in the following examples.[27]

82) *aku=la* *jaksa=**da*** *ol-tɕo*
girl=PL pretty=LOC become-IMPF.OBJ
'The girls became pretty.'

(Caiguoji)

[27] These are the only examples in my data of adjectives requiring the use of *=da* in this construction. These adjectives (*jaksa* and *ɕagə*) are both borrowings from Amdo Tibetan, but this does not explain the use of *=da* here, as there are other adjectives of Amdo origin that do not require the use of *=da* in this construction.

83) *ɕaʑə* *ɕa=**da*** *ol-tɕo*
child good=LOC become-IMPF.OBJ
'The child became good.'

(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.1.3.2 The Locative Enclitic *=də*

The enclitic *=də* is used in the dialect spoken in Gasare village, and it is used to indicate the location or destination of the predication (the second function listed in §3.1.1.1.3.1 above).

84) *htɕirlaŋgə* *war-tɕə* *lambaŋ=**də*** *golər=nə* *tɕira*
ferment finish-IMPF wooden.board=LOC flour=ACC knead

kʰər-saŋ
be.required-POS
'After it has finished fermenting (rising), knead the dough on a wooden board.' (GS)
(How to Make Bread 8)

85) *tʰəsanə* *tʰaroχ=**də*** *o-tɕə* *lokə=nə* *gargə-ʁa-tɕə*
next oven=LOC go-IMPF bread.pan=ACC hot-CAUS-IMPF
'Next, (you) go to the oven and heat up the bread pans.' (GS)
(How to Make Bread 9)

Speakers from Gasare retain the enclitic *=da* in its other functions listed in §3.1.1.1.3.1 (the most frequent usage being to mark indirect objects), so the Gasare dialect has a distinction between dative case (marked with *=da*) and locative case (marked with *=də*). This distinction is demonstrated by the following pair of sentences.

86) *dʐoma* *kʰontʰarhtɕə=tsʰaŋ=**da*** *samtəχ=gə* *oχ-tɕo*
Droma Kuantaiji= family=DAT[28] gift= SG.INDEF give-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma gave Kuantaiji's family a gift.' (GS)

(Caiguoji)

[28] Elsewhere in the dissertation, I gloss the enclitic *=da* as 'LOC'. When it is used in the speech of a speaker fom Gasare who makes the distinction between dative *=da* and locative *=də*, however, I gloss *=da* as 'DAT'.

87) *dʐoma* *kʰontʰarhtɕə=tsʰaŋ=**də*** *wa*
Droma Kuantaiji=family=LOC COP_1.OBJ
'Droma is at Kuantaiji's family's (house).' (GS)

(Caiguoji)

There is one instance in my data where both enclitics are used in the same clause.

88) *pʰi=də* *χoluŋ=da* *ke=ku*
kang=LOC hot=DAT put=IMPF.NMLZ
'Putting it on a *kang* for the heat–' (GS)

(How to Make Bread 4)

One final note regarding locative case is that the word *gər* 'house/home' has a lexically locative form: *kʰətʰə*. It seems likely that through frequent usage, the form has become a single morpheme via the path *gər=də/da* > *kʰətʰə*. These two forms are demonstrated in the following examples.

89) gər *in nominative case:*
tɕʰənnə ***gər*** *anə* *bi*
2SG.GEN house which COP_2.SUBJ
'Which house is yours?'

(Caiguoji)

90) gər *in accusative case:*
nokə ***gər=nə*** *tɕaɕi* *welə-kə-saŋ*
that house=ACC Jiashi work-VBZ-POS
'As for that house, Jiashi built (it).'

(Caiguoji)

91) kʰətʰə *(lexically locative):*
əsə *çorigə-sa* *χena* ***kʰətə*** *ər-sa* *orhtɕə* *dʐiχ*
NEG make.effort-COND afterward home.LOC come-COND again test

pʰakʰə *kʰər-saŋ*
take.a.test be.required-POS
'If you don't (study) hard, when you come home you'll have to take the test again.'

(Parents' Instructions 26)

As proof that the form has become monomorphemic, number enclitics (which precede case enclitics) are hosted by the entire word *kʰətʰə*–not inserted between the two syllables

that might otherwise be analyzed as a head noun and locative enclitic. Although the noun is inherently locative, when it occurs with a number enclitic, the locative enclitic is also used. This is redundant from a purely grammatical perspective, but perhaps it facilitates parsing for interlocutors who are accustomed to processing first number and then case.

92) *aku=ʁala* *atɕaŋʁalanə* ***kʰətʰə=la=də*** *o-tɕʰe-tɕo*
woman=DU 3DU.GEN house.LOC=PL=LOC go-RECP-IMPF.OBJ
'The (two) women go to each other's houses.' (GS)

(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.1.4 The Instrumental Enclitic *=ʁala*

The instrumental case marker derives from the dual marker (Wu 2003: 334), and it is phonologically identical to the dual number marker, but its function is distinct from the dual meaning, as is demonstrated by the following example.

93) *au=gə* *χapa=nə* *karə=**ʁala*** *jiχ-tɕo*
man= SG.INDEF dog=ACC stick=INST hit-IMPF.OBJ
'A man hit a dog with a stick.'
*'A man hit a dog with two sticks.'

(Caiguoji)

The instrumental enclitic encodes instruments through which an action is accomplished (as in (94)and (95)), the medium through which an action is accomplished (as in (96) and (97)), the materials from which something is composed (as in (98) and (99)), and less frequently the manner in which an action is accomplished (as in (100) and (101)).[29] It also encodes impersonal non-animate subjects and reason clauses.

[29] The noun *çitʰə* 'force' is the only word in my data used in instrumental case to indicate manner.

94) *atɕaŋ ʁoni=nə k^heɕaŋ=**ʁala** jiχ-tɕə ala-tɕə*
3SG sheep=ACC gun=INST hit-IMPF kill-PERF
'He shot and killed the antelope.'
(*lit.* 'He hit the antelope with a gun and killed (it).')
(Caiguoji)

95) *atɕaŋ jəɕə=la=**ʁala** daŋ=nə ne-tɕo*
3SG key=PL=INST door=ACC open-IMPF.OBJ
'He used the keys to open the door.'
(Caiguoji)

96) *jiŋjəχ=**ʁala** asaχ-tɕo*
English=INST ask-IMPF.OBJ
'(She) asked (the questions) in English.'
(Disappointment 47)

97) *atɕaŋ doχʁa ʁar=**ʁala** rəmo p^hətɕə-tɕo*
3SG color two=INST picture write-IMPF.OBJ
'He painted the picture in two colors.'
(Caiguoji)

98) *ənə tɕolse=nə ɕaŋ=**ʁala** welə-kə-saŋ*
this table=ACC wood=INST work-VBZ-POS
'This table is made of wood.'
(or '(you/he/she...) made this table of wood.')
(Caiguoji)

99) *ənə mərku=nə re=**ʁala** htɕər-saŋ*
this clothing=ACC cotton.cloth=INST do-POS
'This clothing is made of cotton cloth.'
(or '(you/he/she...) made this clothing of cotton cloth.')
(Caiguoji)

100) *tɕaɕi ɕit^{h}ə=**ʁala** gakə-tɕo*
Jiashi force=INST be.happy-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi laughed.'
(Caiguoji)

101) *atɕaŋ* *dortɕə=nə* *ɕit^{h}ə=ʁala* *jiχ-tɕo*
3SG Dorje=ACC force=INST hit-IMPF.OBJ
'He hit Dorje hard (*lit.* 'with force').'
(Caiguoji)

There is also one instance in my data where *=ʁala* marks an impersonal, non-animate subject; this sentence is given in (102).

102) *hkutə=ku* *k^{h}i* *hko=ʁala* *atɕaŋ=ts^{h}aŋ=nə* *gər=nə*
yesterday=IMPF.NMLZ wind big=INST 3SG=family=ACC house=ACC

dəp-kə-ʁa-tɕə
collapse-VBZ-CAUS-PERF
'Yesterday's big wind caused their house to collapse.'
(Caiguoji)

The following examples contain reason clauses marked with the enclitic *=ʁala*.

103) *[k^{h}əl-saŋ* *gi=ku]=ʁala* *kamuŋ=gə*
say-PERF.NMLZ NEG. COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ=INST difficult= SG.INDEF

wa *jo*
COP$_1$.OBJ NEG.EMPH
'It is difficult since (I) haven't talked about (this before).'
(*lit*. 'with not having talked, there is a difficulty.')
(Ləru Dancing 12)

104) *satsu* *[tɕ^{h}ə* *nəkə* *jiχ-tɕə-saŋ]=ʁala* *tɕ^{h}ənnə* *nerə=nə*
but 2SG one hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=INST 2SG.GEN name=ACC

ap-saŋ
take-POS
'But because you got into a fight, your name was removed.'
(*lit.* 'But with you having fought one (a fight), (they) removed your name.')
(Disappointment 75)

When two entities are referred to in instrumental case by means of lexical nouns, the noun phrase cannot host both the dual enclitic and the instrumental enclitic. Rather, the lexical number *ʁar* 'two' is used.

105) *atɕaŋ* *tʰər* *karə* *ʁar=ʁala* *χapa=nə* *jiχ-tɕo*
3SG that stick two=INST dog=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
'He hits the dog with those two sticks.'
(Caiguoji)

106) **atɕaŋ* *tʰər* *karə=ʁala=ʁala* *χapa=nə* *jiχ-tɕo*
3SG that stick=DU=INST dog=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
*'He hits the dog with those (two) sticks.'
(Caiguoji)

This constraint does not apply to pronouns, which can host both the dual enclitic and the instrumental enclitic.

107) *dortɕə* *atɕaŋ=ʁala=ʁala* *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje 3SG=DU=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje uses them (two) to hit the dog.'
(Caiguoji)

108) *dortɕə* *tʰər=ʁala=ʁala* *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje that=DU=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje uses those (two) to hit the dog.'
(Caiguoji)

The enclitic *=ʁala* has been analyzed as a sociative case marker, including both instrumental functions (as in the examples given above) and comitative functions (as in the examples given in §3.1.1.2.3 below) (Wu 2003, Janhunen et al 2008), but I analyze the use of *=ʁala* in contexts like those discussed in §3.1.1.2.3 as instances of dual number marking (see the discussion §3.1.1.2.3).[30]

[30] Wu (2003) uses the term "sociative case" to refer to this case morpheme, and describes it as meaning "together with".

3.1.1.1.5 The Ablative Enclitic =*sa*

The ablative case marks locational sources, as in (109) and (110). It also delimits a set from which an example is drawn or a choice is made, as in (111) and (112).

109) *nokə au silaŋ=**sa** ər-tɕə*
that man Xining=ABL come-PERF
'That man came from Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

110) *ən=**sa** ap-tɕə o-saŋ alma*
this=ABL take-IMPF go-PERF.NMLZ fruit
'apricots that are taken from here'
(Caiguoji)

111) *ənə "sə sola-tɕə=ku=tɕə natʰoŋ=ʁala=**sa** hko natʰoŋ*
this water irrigate-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ=and festival=DU=ABL big festival

kʰər-u, sə hko tʰoroŋ kʰər-u"=tɕə
be.required-Q water big head be.required-Q=QUOT.IMPF
'He said, "out of irrigation or a festival, do you want a big festival or a big well?"'
(Dzəkələru 142)

112) *tʰər guraŋ naŋ=**sa** mannə ɲəntʰoχ ma*
that three inside=ABL 1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN Nianduhu TOP

wi-sa
COP_1.SUBJ-COND
'Among those three, we (in) Nianduhu (for example), . . .'
(Dzəkələru 10)

3.1.1.1.6 The predicate possessive enclitic =*gaŋ*

The enclitic =*gaŋ* marks a possessor NP occurring in the predicate of a predicate of possession.[31]

113) *ənə* *mərku* *wəldə=la=**gaŋ*** *ba*
this clothing Tibetan=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'This clothing is Tibetan.'
(*lit*. 'This clothing is Tibetans' (clothing).')

(Caiguoji)

114) *maŋgə* *tʂʰəma* *çarwaŋ* *χani=la=**gaŋ*** *ba*
1PL.INCL.COLL Chuma.village Xiabulang.village all=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'Us, Chuma, Xiabulang, (the land) was all of ours.'

(Skirmish 9)

Like the other case enclitics, =*gaŋ* is hosted by the last element in a noun phrase. In the following example, =*gaŋ* is hosted by an adjective.

115) *ənə* *lərgi* *çəra=**gaŋ*** *ba*
this wardrobe yellow=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'This is the yellow wardrobe's.'
(i.e. 'This is from the yellow wardrobe.')

(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.2 Number

Number marking on nouns is not obligatory, but it is optionally marked by the singular indefinite, dual, paucal, and plural enclitics *=gə, =ʁala, =ʁula,* and *=la*, respectively. The status of these morphemes as clitics was discussed in §3.1.1. Within the paradigm of number marking, singular is most often zero-marked, and the use of =*gə* is reserved for singular indefinite NP's. Thus, the indication of number in many cases is intertwined

[31] This is not the only predicate possession construction in Bao'an. See §5.2.5.1 for a discussion of the full range of predicate possession constructions.

with other grammatical meaning. Table 3.2 gives a summary of the uses of the number enclitics.

Table 3.2 Bao'an Tu number enclitics

ø		used to indicate definite singular, generic, or indefinite non-singular, and when number is expressed lexically
=gə	(SG.INDEF)	singular indefinite
=ʁala	(DU)	dual
=ʁula	(PAU)	paucal
=la	(PL)	plural

3.1.1.2.1 Noun Phrases with No Number Enclitic

Noun phrases uninflected for number may refer to singular or non-singular entities. These forms without number marking are used in instances of non-specificity or when number is expressed lexically.

116) *ŋantɕʰə=da* ***ɬawa*** *zaija* *bi-saŋ*
past=LOC shaman strong COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'In the past, shamans were very powerful.'
(Ləru Dancing 67)

117) ***lokə*** *naŋda* *ke* *kʰər-saŋ*
bread.pan in put be.required-PERF.NMLZ
'(You) need to put (it) in bread pans.'
(How to Make Bread 11)

118) ***au*** ***nəkə*** *welə-kə-tɕo*
man one work-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'One man works.'
(Caiguoji)

119) *atɕaŋ* ***ɕaʑa*** ***tʰaun*** *wi-saŋ*
3SG child five COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'She/he has five children.'
(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.2.2 The Singular Indefinite Enclitic *=gə*

Singular number is indicated by the enclitic *=gə*. This enclitic is used only with nouns referring to single specific indefinite entities, so it is an indefinite marker as well as a singular number marker. Chen & Chingeltei (1986) note that at the time of their fieldwork (1956) older speakers used the form *=ŋgə*[32] and surmise that this form arose via the postnominal use of **nəgə* 'one'. In the sentences prior to (120), the speaker has listed the villages that participate in the *Ləru* festival; he then goes on to say in (120) that it would not be acceptable for a village other than the ones listed to participate. Sentence (121) introduces the noun *deda* 'grandfather' (or 'elderly man') marked with the singular indefinite *=gə* in for the first time in this discourse.

120) *tʰər* *sanə* *mortɕə* ***dewa=gə*** *ər-tɕə* *natʰə-sa* *tʰər*
that besides other village=SG.INDEF come-IMPF dance-COND that

napdə *o-saŋ* *ço*
ok go-POS NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'Apart from that, it would not be OK if another village came and danced.'
(or 'Apart from that, if an other village came and danced, that would not be OK.')
(Dzə̯kələru 88)

121) *da* ***deda=gə=da*** *hko* *natʰoŋ* *kʰər-tɕə*
also grandfather=SG.INDEF=LOC big festival be.required-IMPF

saga-tɕə *ər-tɕə* *da*
choose-IMPF come-PERF also
'And a grandfather wanted a big festival and chose (it), and...'
(Dzə̯kələru 144)

[32] My data also contain the variations [ŋgə] and [gə]; this is expected since the voiced plosives all evidence free variation between plain voiced and pre-nasalized realizations (see §2.1.1.1).

3.1.1.2.3 The Dual Enclitic =ʁala

The enclitic =*ʁala* marks dual number. One might object that this form should be analyzed as the numeral 'two' (*ʁar*) plus the plural marker =*la*. However, indicating 'two' lexically by means of the numeral *ʁar* differs from the use of =*ʁala* in that *ʁar* is not phonologically part of the preceding word, and no number enclitic is used. Additionally, the use of lexical number rather than a number enclitic usually indicates indefiniteness. Compare (122) and (123).

122) *au* ***ʁar*** *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
man two Xining=LOC go- IMPF.OBJ
'Two men are going to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

123) *au=**ʁala*** *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
man=DU Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'The (two) men are going to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

Furthermore, the use of the plural enclitic =*la* alone to refer to two entities is ungrammatical, which is evidence that the distinction between dual and plural number is a fully integrated part of the number system. Synchronically speaking, then, the form =*ʁala* is best analyzed as a monomorphemic dual marker, the morphological transparency of its pathway of grammaticalization notwithstanding. The following sentences contain further examples of NP's marked for dual number.

124) *ənə* *p^{h}iŋkwo=**ʁala*** *naŋda* *gorʁi* *wa*
this apple=DU in bug COP_1.OBJ
'There are worms in these two apples.'
(Caiguoji)

125) *ənə* *pʰiŋkwo=ʁala=nə* *tɕʰə* *χal-sa* *ap* *wa*
this apple=INST=ACC 2SG where-ABL buy COP_1.OBJ
'These two apples, where did you buy (them) from?'
(Caiguoji)

Dual number is also used when two noun phrases are coordinated by the conjunction *=tɕə* (as in (126) and (127)) or simply juxtaposed with no coordinating morpheme (as in (128) and (129)). The dual enclitic is hosted by the second NP.

126) *pə* *ɲəntʰoχ* *koŋpa=tɕə* *roŋ* *koŋpa=ʁala* *naŋda* *saŋ*
1SG Nianduhu monastery=and city monastery=DU in offering

χar-ʁa *wa*
burn-CAUS COP_1.OBJ
'I burned offerings in the Nianduhu monastery and the city monastery.'
(Caiguoji)

127) *dʐoma=tɕə* *tɕaɕi=ʁala* *hkərkə-tɕo*
Droma=and Jiashi=DU kiss-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma and Jiashi kissed.'
(Caiguoji)

128) *makatʂʰo* *çarwaŋ* *tʂəma=ʁala=gaŋ* *ba*
mainly Xiabulang Chuma=DU=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'Mainly (it) was Xiabulang and Chuma's.'
(Skirmish 10)

129) *jaŋ* *papa* *ana=ʁala* *guda* *kʰəl-saŋ* *sanə*
again father mother=DU before speak-PERF.NMLZ besides
'Again, (my) father and mother, in addition to what (they) said before, . . .'
(Parents' Instructions 16)

This use of *=ʁala* occurs with both inanimate nouns (as in (126)) and animate nouns (as in (127) and (129)), though its use appears to be optional with inanimate nouns (compare (126) with 130)) while it is required with animate nouns.

130) *atɕaŋ dzəjaŋ=gə=tɕə $k^hidzə=gə$ ap-tɕo*
3SG bowl= SG.INDEF =and chopstick=a buy- IMPF.OBJ
'He bought a bowl and a pair of chopsticks.'
(Caiguoji)

This type of sentence has been previously analyzed as an instance of the comitative use of the "sociative" (in my analysis "instrumental") enclitic *=ʁala* (Wu 2003). When two coordinated NP's occur as case-marked arguments or obliques, however, the dual marker *=ʁala* is retained and a case enclitic attaches to it. This is what would be expected if *=ʁala* is functioning as a number marker in these instances. If, on the other hand, this use of *=ʁala* meaning 'dual number' were analyzed as part of the case system, situations like the those in (131-135) below would have to be analyzed as double case marking. Since double case marking in Bao'an is not independently motivated and since the instrumental and dual functions of *=ʁala* are clearly distinguishable, I have analyzed them as two distinct morphemes. In the examples below, the dual enclitic hosts the various case enclitics.

131) *ənə piŋkwo=**ʁala=nə** $tɕ^hə$ χal=sa ap wa*
this apple=DU=ACC 2.SG where=ABL buy COP_1.OBJ
'These (two) apples, where did you get (them) from?'
(Caiguoji)

132) *atɕaŋ dzoma=tɕə $k^hont^harhtɕə$=**ʁala=da** $t^həmtoχ$ tɕəl-tɕo*
3SG Droma=and Kuantaiji=DU=LOC mianpian make-IMPF.OBJ
'He made mianpian noodles for Droma and Kuantaiji.'
(Caiguoji)

133) *dortɕə* *atɕaŋ=ʁala=ʁala* *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje 3SG=DU=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje uses them (two) to hit the dog.'

(Caiguoji)

134) *ənə* *sə* *sola-tɕə=ku=tɕə* *nat^{h}oŋ=ʁala=sa* *hko* *nat^{h}oŋ*
this water irrigate-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ=and festival=DU=ABL big festival

k^{h}ər-u *sə* *hko* *t^{h}orun* *k^{h}ər-u=tɕə*
be.required-Q water big head be.required-Q=QUOT.IMPF
'He said, "between irrigation and a festival, do you want a big festival or a big well?"'

(Dzəkələru 142)

135) *rənzən* *nokə* *oroŋ=ʁala=gaŋ* *ji=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-tɕo*
Renzen that 3SG.LOG=DU=PRED.POSS COP_2.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Renzen said that that belongs to them (where the set denoted by 'them' contains two people, one of them Renzen).'

(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.2.4 The Paucal Enclitic =*ʁula*

The status of the paucal enclitic =*ʁula* is not as clear-cut as that of the other number markers. It typically refers to three or four entities, but it is not absolutely constrained to this upper limit.

136) *au=ʁula* *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
man=PAU Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'A few men are going to Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

137) *aku=la* *saŋ=nə* *tɕokse=ʁula=də* *jiχ-tɕo*
woman=PL offering=ACC table=PAU=LOC hit-IMPF.OBJ
'The women put the offerings on the few tables.'

(Caiguoji)

138) *gahtoχ=nə* *nokə* *cazə̨=ʁula=da* *oχ-tɕo*
award=ACC that child=PAU=LOC give-IMPF.OBJ
'Awards were given to those few children.'

(Caiguoji)

The paucal enclitic, like the dual enclitic, can be hosted by the last NP in a list, as in (139) below.

139) *aa* *məχse=sa* *tɕʰe* *ɬarse* *lərse=ʁula...*
HES soldier.dance=ABL regardless god.dance water.god.dance=PAU

wakə... *tɕʰokə-tɕə=ku* *naŋtun*
(completely) offer.burnt.offering-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ meaning

nəkədanəkə *ji-saŋ*
one.also.one COP_2.OBJ-POS
'um, regardless of whether (it's) the soldier dance, god dance, water god dance (these few). . .well. . .(or) a burnt offering, the meaning is the same.'

(Dzə̨kələru 19)

Chen & Chingeltei (1986:85) gloss *=ʁula* as a 'small number plural' and hypothesize that it is derived from *ʁuraŋ* 'three' + *=la* 'PLURAL'. In the following example, speaker B uses the paucal form to refer to the four animals listed by speaker A. Although the following example contains a pronominal rather than a lexical form, it shows that whatever the etymology of *=ʁula*, in its modern usage it is not limited to the meaning 'three'.

140) A: *htəχ neke saŋge nəke ənə tɕʰoŋ neke dzo̱ neke tʰər*
tiger one lion one this phoenix one dragon one that

te=la ø-tsʰoŋ ja
four=PL (COP)-POS PRT
'...one tiger, one lion, this one phoenix, one dragon, those four.'

B: *atɕaŋʁulada naŋdun hko=gə wi-saŋ ba-u?*
3PAU.LOC meaning big= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ-PERF.NMLZ COP_2.OBJ-Q
'Do those few have any special meaning?'

(Dzo̱kələru 180-181)

It is acceptable to use the plural form *=la* rather than *=ʁula* to refer to as few as three entities depending on context, so there is some overlap between the domains of these two enclitics. Further study is needed to determine the exact status of *=ʁula* in the Bao'an number system. As with the other number markers, the paucal enclitic is not typically used if an NP has some other overt quantifier, such as the quantifying phrase *nekə kʰətʰoŋ* 'a few' in (141).

141) *hkutə tɕaɕi silaŋ=da o=ku tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ atɕaŋ pantɕʰe*
yesterday Jiashi Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ time 3SG bus

derə ahku nəkə kʰətʰoŋ tɕolaʁa-tɕə
on Buddhist.monk one how.many meet-PERF
'Jiashi met a few monks on the bus when he went to Xining yesterday.'

(Caiguoji)

3.1.1.2.5 The Plural Enclitic *=la*

Plural is marked by the enclitic *=la*. Chen & Chingeltei (1986) gloss this morpheme 'plural', while Slater (2003a) glosses its cognate in closely related Mangghuer as 'collective' based on its appearance only in cases where the individuals act "in concert with one another" or "should be viewed together as a group" (107). In Bao'an, this

restriction does not hold. Although the use of *=la* is not required with all plural NP's, its omission or inclusion appears to have more to do with the indefiniteness of the NP rather than whether the participants are acting together as a group. Plural *=la* is used with a definite subject in (142) and (144), a definite object in (143), and a definite dative oblique in (144), while it does not appear on the generic direct object *noʁi* 'dog' in (145) or the specific indefinite object *tɕəkələm* 'rule' in (146).

142) *au=**la*** *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
man=PL Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'The men are going to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

143) *səme=**la**=nə* *ula=da* *dabla-tɕə* *o* *kʰər-na*
god.box=PL=ACC mountain=LOC raise-IMPF go be.required-DUR
'(we) must carry the god boxes to the mountain.'
(Læru Dancing 35)

144) *au=**la*** *ɕoŋgə* *aku* *jaksa=**la**=da* *gakɛ* *kɛ-saŋ*
boy=PL originally girl pretty=PL=LOC be.happy put-POS
'The boys will always like ('be pleased with') the pretty girls.'
(Caiguoji)

145) *talo* *naŋda* *noʁi* *doχ-kə-sa* *hkamo* *wa*
tall.building in dog raise-VBZ-COND difficult COP_1.OBJ
'Keeping dogs in an (apartment) building is difficult.'
(Caiguoji)

146) *ula=da* *kʰɛχue-kə-tɕə* *tɕəkələm=nə* *kʰəl* *kʰər-na*
mountain=LOC hold.meeting-VBZ-IMPF rule=ACC say be.required-DUR
'On the mountain, a meeting is held and rules must be stated.'
(Læru Dancing 36)

3.1.1.3 The Enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* 'family'

The enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* retains the lexical meaning 'family', but it occurs as an enclitic following number enclitics and preceding case enclitics.

147) *nudə* *pətəla* *t^{h}aŋk^{h}a* *p^{h}itətɕə=ku* *k^{h}oŋ=**ts^{h}aŋ**=da*
today 1PL.EXCL tangka.painting write=IMPF.NMLZ people=family=LOC

o-gi
go-FUT.SUBJ
'We are going to the family of the person who paints (*lit.* 'writes') tangka paintings today.'

(Caiguoji)

The use of *=ts^{h}aŋ* is most commonly dictated by constraints of politeness. It is inherently plural, and it is the most common way to show respect when speaking about an interlocutor's family members or matters relating to an interlocutor's family.

148) *tɕ^{h}ənnə* *ana*
2SG.GEN mother
'your(SG) mother' (*grammatically correct, but disrespectful*)

(Caiguoji)

149) *ta=**ts^{h}aŋ**=nə* *ana*
2PL.COLL=family=ACC mother
'your(PL) family's mother' (*respectful*)

(Caiguoji)

150) *dʐoma=nə* *ana*
Droma=ACC mother
'Droma's mother' (*grammatically correct, but disrespectful*)

(Caiguoji)

151) *dʐoma=**ts^{h}aŋ**=nə* *ana*
Droma=family=ACC mother
'Droma's family's mother' (*respectful*)

(Caiguoji)

Although =*ts*^{h}*aŋ* has lexical meaning, it cannot stand alone; it must be hosted by an NP. When a word meaning 'family' is required to be the head of an NP, the noun *tɕəmsan* 'family/household' rather than =*ts*^{h}*aŋ* is used, as in the following sentence.

152) ***tɕəmsan=la*** *χani* *ər* *k*^{h}*ər-tɕo*
family=PL all come be.required-IMPF.OBJ
'The families must all come.'
(Caiguoji)

In natural speech, =*ts*^{h}*aŋ* does not typically co-occur with a number enclitic. Such co-occurance is not judged to be grammatically unacceptable when it does occur and it is easily elicited, however, so =*ts*^{h}*aŋ* cannot be considered to be part of the paradigm of grammatical number.

153) *atɕaŋ* ***t***^{h}***aun=la=ts***^{h}***aŋ*** *χamda* *o-gəwa*
3SG five=PL=family together go-FUT
'Their five families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

154) *atɕaŋ* ***ta=ʁula=ts***^{h}***aŋ=nə*** *gojoχ-gə-tɕə*
3SG 2=PAU=family=ACC cheat-VBZ-PERF
'He cheated you few families.'
(Caiguoji)

The morpheme =*ts*^{h}*aŋ* is phonologically a part of the word preceding it, meaning it receives primary stress if it is not followed by any other enclitics. When it co-occurs with case and number enclitics, it comes after the number enclitic and before the case enclitic. These facts are demonstrated in (155) below.

155)

a.	*aku*	[ɑ.ˈku]	'girl'
	girl		
b.	*aku = ts^{h}aŋ*	[ɑ.ku.ˈts^{h}ɑŋ]	'girl's family'
	girl = family		
c.	*aku = la = ts^{h}aŋ*	[ɑ.ku.lɑ.ˈts^{h}ɑŋ]	'girls' families'
	girl = PL = family		
d.	*aku = la = ts^{h}aŋ = da*	[ɑ.ku.lɑ.ts^{h}ɑŋ.ˈda]	'for the girls' families'
	girl = PL = family = LOC		

I demonstrated in §3.1.1 that number enclitics are enclitics rather than suffixes, so the fact that *=ts^{h}aŋ* follows number enclitics is strong evidence that it is a clitic rather than an affix. Additional evidence of its status as an enclitic is that it may be hosted by lexical nouns (see (158)), proper nouns (as in (151)), numerals (see (153)), and headless relative clauses (as in (156)).

156) *[t^{h}aŋka p^{h}itətɕə = ku] = **ts^{h}aŋ** = da kormu wa*
thangka write=IMPF.NMZ=family=LOC money COP$_1$.OBJ
'The family of the (one who) paints thangkas is rich.'
(Caiguoji)

The only restriction on which noun phrase constituents can host *=ts^{h}aŋ* is a constraint against adjectives as hosts. Adjectives can host case and number enclitics (as shown in §3.1.1), but when *=ts^{h}aŋ* is the first enclitic hosted by an NP, any adjective in the NP is required to precede the head noun–thus precluding the adjective's hosting *=ts^{h}aŋ*.

157) *aku jaksa*
girl pretty
'pretty girl'
(Caiguoji)

158) *jaksa* *aku=ts^{h}aŋ=da* *kormu* *wa*
pretty girl=family=LOC money COP$_1$.OBJ
'(The) pretty girl's family is rich.'
(Caiguoji)

When the dual number enclitic *=ʁala* and the enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* are both hosted by a personal pronoun (as in (159)), or when *=ts^{h}aŋ* is hosted by an NP containing a personal pronoun and the lexical number *ʁar* (as in (160)), the syntax occurs more or less as expected based on the description above.

159) *pətə=ʁala=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PL.EXCL=DU=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
'Our (two) families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

160) *pətə* *ʁar=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PL.EXCL two=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
'Our two families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

When pronouns have plural number marking with or without lexical number larger than two co-occuring with *=ts^{h}aŋ* as in example (153) above, however, they exhibit unique syntactic characteristics. If no lexical number is indicated, the pronominal stem is reduplicated, and plural *=la* is hosted by the stem, followed by *=ts^{h}aŋ* as in (161). The unacceptability of (162) shows that this reduplication of the pronominal stem is obligatory. When lexical number is used, the pronominal stem is not reduplicated. The numeral follows the pronoun stem and hosts the plural enclitic as in (163). This is one of the few times when a numeral and the plural enclitic both occur modifying the same entity. In fact, the use of the plural enclitic is obligatory in this situation, as the unacceptability of (164) shows; and it must be hosted by the numeral rather than the

pronoun, as the unacceptability of (165) shows. The use of a numeral to modify a personal pronoun is also the only time first and second person non-singular pronominal stems occur as a phonologically independent word (see §4.2.1 for a discussion of these facts).

161) *pətə~pətə=la=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PAU/PL.EXCL~1DU/PAU/PL.EXCL =PL=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
'Our families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

162) **pətə=la=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PL.EXCL=PL=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
*'Our families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

163) *pətə* *t^{h}aun=la=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PL.EXCL five=PL=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
'Our five families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

164) **pətə* *t^{h}aun=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PL.EXCL five=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
*'Our five families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

165) **pətə=la* *t^{h}aun=ts^{h}aŋ* *χamda* *o-gi*
1DU/PL.EXCL=PL five=family together go-FUT.SUBJ
*'Our five families will go together.'
(Caiguoji)

The enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* co-occurs freely with the various case enclitics, with the exception of the instrumental enclitic *=ʁala,* which appears to be barred from co-occurring with *=ts^{h}aŋ* for pragmatic reasons.

166) *with no case enclitic (nominative case):*

ta~ta=la=ts^{h}aŋ	*χamda*	*o-gi-saŋ*	*bu*	
2DU/PAU/PL ~2DU/PAU/PL =PL=family	together	go-FUT.SUBJ-POS	COP$_2$.SUBJ.Q	

'Will you two families go together?'

(Caiguoji)

167) *with accusative enclitic* =nə*:*

a. *tundaχ* *ənə* ***dʐoma=ts^{h}aŋ=nə*** *doχdaχap-gə-tɕə*

matter this Droma=family=ACC hurt-VBZ-PERF

'This matter wounded Droma's family.'

(Caiguoji)

b. *tɕ^{h}ə* ***dʐoma=ts^{h}aŋ=nə*** *k^{h}ət^{h}ə* *o-tɕə* *ts^{h}i* *ɕikə* *de*

2SG Droma=family=ACC house.LOC go-IMPF vegetable very eat

'When you go to Droma's family's house, eat up!'

(Caiguoji)

168) *with locative enclitic* =da*:*

a. ***dʐoma=ts^{h}aŋ=da*** *k^{h}oŋ* *wa-u*

Droma=family=LOC person COP$_1$.OBJ-Q

'Is there anyone in Droma's house?'

(Caiguoji)

b. *jaksa* ***aku=ts^{h}aŋ=da*** *kormu* *wa*

pretty girl=family=LOC money COP$_1$.OBJ

'The beautiful girl's family is rich.'

(Caiguoji)

169) *with ablative enclitic* =sa*:*

dʐoma=ts^{h}aŋ=sa	*k^{h}oŋ=gə*	*o*	*k^{h}ər-na*
Droma=family=ABL	person=SG.INDEF	go	be.required-DUR

'A person from Droma's family should go.'

(Caiguoji)

170) *with predicate possessive enclitic* =gaŋ*:*

nokə	*χotɕ^{h}a=la*	***dʐoma=ts^{h}aŋ=gaŋ***	*ba*
that	book=PL	Droma=family=PRED.POSS	COP$_2$.OBJ

'Those books are Droma's family's.'

(Caiguoji)

There are contexts in which *=ts^{h}aŋ* appears to pattern with postpositions, such as in the pair of sentences below (see §5.5 for the discussion on postpositions).

171) *dzo̱ma* ***k^{h}ont^{h}arhtɕə=ts^{h}aŋ=da*** *wa*
Droma Kuantaiji=family=LOC COP_1.OBJ
'Droma is at Kuantaiji's family (/'house').'
(Caiguoji)

172) *nokə* *au* ***gər*** ***naŋda*** *wa*
that boy house in COP_1.OBJ
'That man is in (the) house.'
(Caiguoji)

There are two principal arguments against considering *=ts^{h}aŋ* a postposition, however. The first is a phonological one; as is demonstrated in (155) above, *=ts^{h}aŋ* is part of the phonological word preceding it. This is evidenced by the fact that it draws primary word stress away from the word hosting it (demonstrated again in (173a)). Postpositions, on the other hand, are phonologically independent words (as is demonstrated in (173b).

173)a. *aku* [ɑ.ˈku] → *aku=ts^{h}aŋ* [ɑ.ku.ˈts^{h}ɑŋ]
'girl' 'girl's family'
b. *goŋsi* [goŋ.ˈsɨ] → *goŋsi naŋda* [goŋ.ˈsɨ naŋ.ˈdɑ]
'store' 'in (the) store'

The second argument against considering *=ts^{h}aŋ* a postposition is a syntactic one. When an NP hosting *=ts^{h}aŋ* is used to modify a noun, the accusative enclitic *=nə* is used to mark it as a nominal modifier (as in (174a)). Postpositions by contrast are marked with the nominalizer *=ku* when they are used adnominally (as in (174b); see §4.3.7.1 for the details of this use of *=ku*).

174)a. *dʐoma = ts^{h}aŋ* → *dʐoma = ts^{h}aŋ =**nə*** *ɕaola*
Droma=family Droma=family=ACC yogurt
'Droma's family' 'Droma's family's yogurt'

b. *goŋsi naŋda* → *goŋsi naŋda =**ku*** *ɕaola*
store in store in=IMPF.NMLZ yogurt
'in (the) store' '(the) yogurt in (the) store'

For these reasons, *=ts^{h}aŋ* is best considered an enclitic in a class of its own.

3.1.1.4 Articles/Definiteness

Both definite and indefinite NP's may appear as bare nouns with no enclitics. To ensure a definite meaning, the demonstratives *nokə, t^{h}ər*, and *ənə* may be used.[33] Singular indefinite NP's with referential, pragmatically non-referential, or semantically non-referential meaning may take the singular indefinite enclitic *=gə.*

175) *hkutə tɕaɕi silaŋ = da o = ku tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ atɕaŋ pantɕ^{h}e*
yesterday Jiashi Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ time 3SG bus

*terə ahku =**gə*** *tɕolaʁa-tɕə*
on Buddhist.monk= SG.INDEF meet-PERF
'Jiashi met a monk on the bus when he went to Xining yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

176) *pə hkutə bəndzə =**gə*** *ap wa*
1SG yesterday notebook= SG.INDEF take COP$_1$.OBJ
'I bought a notebook yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

177) *dʐoma htɕəχta χənə =**gə*** *ap = ku taraŋ ər-tɕo*
Droma bicycle new= SG.INDEF take=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma wants to buy a new bike.'
(Caiguoji)

[33] These demonstratives are further discussed in §4.3.2.

Generic NP's do not take the singular indefinite enclitic. Sentence (116) is repeated here as an example of a generic subject. Sentence (145) is repeated as (179) as an example of a generic direct object. Sentence (180) gives an example of a generic predicate noun.

178) *ŋantɕʰə=da* *ɬawa* *zaija* *bi-saŋ*
past=LOC shaman strong COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'In the past, shamans were very powerful.'
(Ləru Dancing 67)

179) *talo* *naŋda* *noʁi* *doχ-kə-sa* *hkamo* *wa*
tall.building in dog raise-VBZ difficult COP_1.OBJ
'Keeping dogs in an (apartment) building is difficult.'
(Caiguoji)

180) *tɕaɕi* *gərgən* *ji-saŋ*
Jiashi teacher COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Jiashi is a teacher.'
(Caiguoji)

With plural NP's, indefiniteness is expressed periphrastically through the use of phrases such as *nəkə kʰətʰoŋ* 'a few/some' or *nəkə ʁar* 'one or two'. Sentence (141) is repeated here as (181) as an illustration.

181) *hkutə* *tɕaɕi* *silaŋ=da* *o=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *atɕaŋ* *pantɕʰe*
yesterday Jiashi Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ time 3SG bus

terə *ahku* ***nəkə*** ***kʰətʰoŋ*** *tɕolaʁa-tɕə*
on Buddhist.monk one how.many meet-PERF
'Jiashi met a few monks on the bus when he went to Xining yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

182) *hkutə* *tɕaɕi* *silaŋ=da* *oχ=ku* *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *atɕaŋ* *pantɕ^{h}e*
yesterday Jiashi Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ time 3SG bus

terə *ahku* ***nəkə*** ***ʁar*** *tɕolaʁa-tɕə*
on Buddhist.monk one two meet-PERF.OBJ
'Jiashi saw a monk or two on the bus when he went to Xining yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

3.1.2 Derivational Morphology

3.1.2.1 Reduplication

There are two forms of nominal reduplication in Bao'an. The first forms an echo construction by replacing the onset of the first syllable of the second iteration of a noun with the prefix /m~/. This type of reduplication is used to express annoyance or a negative feeling toward the referent. For example, someone annoyed with a neighbor's noisy dog might utter (183).

183) *χapa* *m~apa*
dog REDUP~dog
'That dog!'
(Caiguoji)

A few more examples of this type of reduplication are given in (184) and (185).

184) *mərku* *m~ərku* *oloŋ* *wa*
clothing REDUP~clothing many COP$_1$.OBJ
'There is clothing (and junk) everywhere!'
(Caiguoji)

185) *pə* *ʁaɕoŋ* *m~aɕoŋ=da* *ələ* *gakə-na*
1SG sour REDUP~sour=LOC NEG like-DUR
'I don't like sour stuff.'
(Caiguoji)

Nominal reduplication is also effected by means of simple reiteration of the entire noun without the use of any extra morphemes. This type of reduplication has a range of functions, the most typical of which is to indicate 'each (noun)'.

186) ***satɕʰa~satɕʰa*** *=da* ***kozə~kozə*** *=nə*[34] *χwei* *nəkə~nəkə* *wi-saŋ*
each.place=LOC each.self=ACC custom each.one COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Each place has its own unique custom.'

(Dzəkələru 6)

187) *tʰər* *χantɕʰa* *sanə* *da* ***tsʰowa~tsʰowa*** *natʰə-tɕə=ku*
that besides besides also each.clan dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ

tʰəntʰəngə *wo*
like.that COP_1.OBJ
'Also, in addition to that (i.e. the big day when all the clans dance), each clan dances like so (i.e. each on its own day).'
(*lit.* 'Also, in addition to that, each clan's dancing has/is like that.')

(Dzəkələru 126)

3.1.2.2 Deverbal Nouns

Nouns are formed from verbs by use of the nominalizers[35] *–saŋ, =ku*, and *-tɕʰaŋ*. Of these three, the first two (*–saŋ* and *=ku*) have a broad range of functions, and can derive relative clauses, nominalized actions, and nominal complement clauses (see §6.1 for a discussion). Additionally, *=ku* can be hosted by words other than verbs to form adnominal modifiers. This is the reason for its status as a clitic rather than a suffix; for a discussion of this use of *=ku* see §4.3.7. The nominalizer *-saŋ*, on the other hand, is hosted exclusively by verbs, so it is treated here as a verbal suffix. The nominalizer *–saŋ*

[34] For further discussion of the use of *kozə* as a reflexive pronoun, see §4.2.2.
[35] Wu (2003) refers to these as participles. Slater (2003a) refers to their cognates in Mangghuer as nominalizers. In Mongolic studies, verbs with this class of suffixes are referred to as participles while verbs with the non-finite verbal suffixes discussed in §3.2.1.2 are considered to be converbs.

is used with perfective predications, while =*ku* is used with imperfective ones. They commonly function to derive a nominalized action as in (188) and (189).

188) ***natʰə-saŋ*** *sokə*
dance-PERF.NMLZ fun
'The dancing was fun.'
(Caiguoji)

189) *koʑə~koʑə=da* ***natʰə=ku=gə*** *wi-saŋ*
self~self=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Each (village) has its own type of dancing.'
(Dzo̱kələru 36)

In some cases, they also derive nouns referring to the actors of the verbs from which they are derived, as in (190) and (191).[36]

190) ***natʰə-saŋ=la*** *jaksa* *wa*
dance-PERF.NMLZ=PL pretty COP_1.OBJ
'Those who danced are pretty.'
(Caiguoji)

191) ***χamtɕʰadə=ku=la*** *da* *hkora=gə* *tʰorə* *kʰər-tsʰoŋ*
stay.together=IMPF.NMLZ=PL also circle=SG.INDEF circle be.required-POS
'(The ones dancing) together also must (dance) in a circle.'
(Dzo̱kələru 166)

Finally, there are a few cases where =*ku* derives a noun that is the direct object of the verb from which it is derived.

192) *ənə* ***mər=ku*** *wəldə=la=gaŋ* *ba*
this wear=IMPF.NMLZ Tibetan=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'This clothing is Tibetan (*lit.* This clothing is Tibetans').'
(Caiguoji)

[36] These are arguably headless relative clauses rather than nominalized actions, but both are included in the category I call "nominalized clauses". See §6.1.2.3 for a discussion of the difficulty in distinguishing between headless relative clauses and nominalized actions in Bao'an Tu.

193) *ənə* ***de=ku*** *amt^{h}ə* *wa*
this eat=IMPF.NMLZ delicious COP_1.OBJ
'This food is delicious.'

(Caiguoji)

194) *atɕaŋ* *maʁa* *naka* *ʁar=tɕə* ***dapgə=ku=la=ʁala***
3SG meat type two=and sprinkle=IMPF.NMLZ=PL=INST

ts^{h}i *htɕər-tɕo*
vegetable prepare-IMPF.OBJ
'She used two types of meat and the spices (*lit.* '(things) that are sprinkled') to make (the) vegetables.'

(Caiguoji)

These cases are not numerous and are probably grammaticalized words; as far as I can tell from informal questioning, speakers perceive these as being morphologically simple. The path of grammaticalization is likely: (relative clause + *jama* 'thing') → (headless relative clause) → (lexicalization as a monomorphemic word).

The nominalizer =*ku* can also be affixed to various non-verbal words such as postpositions, time words, as well as other words that are locative in nature in order to form nominal modifiers. The full discussion of this use of =*ku* is contained in §4.3.7, but a few examples are included here.

195) *tɕ^{h}aka* ***derə=ku*** *dzejal=la=nə* *pə* *waʁa* *war-o*
shelf on=IMPF.NMLZ bowl=PL=ACC 1SG wash hold-PERF
'As for the bowls on the shelf, I have finished washing (them).'

(Caiguoji)

196) *pə* *ana=da* ***nudə=ku*** *ɕawa=nə* *k^{h}əl* *wa*
1SG mother=LOC today=IMPF.NMLZ thing=ACC say COP_1.OBJ
'I told mother today's news.'

(Caiguoji)

197) *kʰətʰə* *tʰa-sa* ***kʰətʰə=ku*** *aku=la*
home.LOC sleep-COND home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ girl=PL

wi-sa *sauma* *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
COP_1.SUBJ-COND ceremonially.clean COP_1.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'If (they) sleep at home, if there are girls at home, (they) will not be ceremonially clean.'

(Ləru Dancing 101-102)

The suffix *-tɕʰaŋ* is more limited in its use; it is used only to derive an agent who performs the action indicated by the verb to which it is suffixed.

198) *tsʰi* ***taltə-tɕʰaŋ=la*** *kʰaŋlə* *mor=da* *wa*
vegetable sell-AG.NMLZ=PL "kangle" road=LOC COP_1.OBJ
'The vegetable sellers are all on Kangle Road.'

(Caiguoji)

199) ***jiχ-tɕʰaŋ*** *(kʰoŋ)* *mankʰaŋ* *naŋda* *su* *kʰər-na*
hit-AG.NMLZ person hospital in stay be.required-DUR
'The "hitter/fighter" (person who hit/fought) had to stay in the hospital.'

(Caiguoji)

3.2 Verbal Morphology

3.2.1 Tense/Aspect/Modality

Tense/aspect/modality is marked on finite verbs, and aspect is marked on non-finite verbs by use of suffixes.[37] Section 3.2.1.1 discusses the finite verbal suffixes, while section 3.2.1.2 discusses non-finite verbal suffixes.

3.2.1.1 Finite Forms

Finite verbs occur sentence finally. They are marked with the tense/aspect suffixes *-na* 'DUR', *-m* 'NARR', *-to* 'PERF', *-tɕə* 'PERF', *-tɕo/-tɕi* 'IMPF', and *-gəwa/-gi* 'FUT', as well

[37] Auxiliary verbs also play a role in marking tense/aspect/modality, but they are not included in the discussion here because they are not part of the system of verbal suffixation. See §5.1.4 for a discussion of auxiliary verbs.

as the epistemic possibility suffix *-saŋ*.[38] The grammatical meaning of these suffixes is discussed more fully in §5.1.2. By way of summary, *-na* 'DUR', *-m* 'NARR', and *-tɕi/-tɕo* 'IMPF' are imperfective; *-to* 'PERF' and *-tɕə* 'PERF' are perfective; and *-gəwa/-gi* 'FUT' indicates future tense. The suffixes *-tɕo/-tɕi* 'IMPF' and *-gəwa/-gi* 'FUT' also mark for the distinction between objective and subjective speaker perspective, which is introduced in §3.2.2 and discussed more fully in §5.1.3. Sentences (200)-(206) serve here as examples.

200) *naroŋ* *wi-sada* *pə* *taroŋ* *tarə-**na***
sun COP$_1$.SUBJ-CONC 1SG still cold-DUR
'Although the sun is out, I still feel cold.'
(Caiguoji)

201) *hko* *m-o* *ələ* *medə-**m***
big REDUP-big NEG know-NARR
'I don't know that it's so big.'
(Caiguoji)

202) *pə* *hkutə* *orə-si* *əsə* *orə-si* *əsə* *med-**o***
1SG yesterday rain-Q NEG rain-Q NEG know-PERF
'I don't know whether it rained or not yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

203) *tɕ^{h}ə* *jama* *tɕəl=ku* *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *dʑuwa=la* *k^{h}ur-**tɕə***
2SG thing prepare=IMPF.NMLZ time guest=PL arrive-PERF
'Guests arrived when you were cooking.'
(Caiguoji)

204) *pə* *hko* *tɕ^{h}orhtən* *wi=ku* *dewa* *naŋda* *su-**tɕi***
1SG big stupa COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ village in stay-IMPF.SUBJ
'I live in the village that has the big stupa.'
(Caiguoji)

[38] *-saŋ* has the dialectal variant *-ts^{h}oŋ* in Gasare village.

205) *dzo̱ma* *ts^{h}eraŋ* *roŋ-da* *o-**gəwa**=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-tɕo*
Droma Tserang county.seat-LOC go-FUT.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma said Tserang is going to go to town.'
(Caiguoji)

206) *jaŋgətɕə* *k^{h}əl* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
how speak be.required-POS
'How to say (it)...?'
(or 'How is (it) possible to say (it)?')
(Ləru Dancing 42)

3.2.1.2 Non-finite Forms

Known as converbs in Mongolic studies, non-finite suffixes occur on non-final verbs.[39] They often contain aspectual information as well as information about interclausal relationships. This section gives a brief overview and introduction to the non-finite verbal suffixes; non-finite clauses are discussed in more detail in §5.1.1 and §6.3.

By far the most commonly used converbs are *-**tɕə*** indicating imperfective aspect and serving a coordinative function, and conditional *-sa*.

207) *k^{h}ont^{h}arhtɕə* *t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ* *u-**tɕə*** *tɕaɕi* *maʁa* *de-tɕo*
Kuantaiji noodles drink-IMPF Jiashi meat eat-IMPF.OBJ
'Kuantaiji ate noodles and Jiashi ate meat.'
(Caiguoji)

208) *ɕida* *χargu-**tɕə*** *gər* *na-tɕə=tɕo*
outside go.out-IMPF house fall-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'They say (they) went outside, and the house fell in.'
(Ləru Dancing 74)

209) *əsə* *orə-**sa*** *dzo̱ŋtɕa-la* *χuo-kə* *wa*
NEG rain-COND harvest-PL wither-VBZ COP_1.OBJ
'If it doesn't rain, the crops will wither.'
(Caiguoji)

[39] The term 'converb' typically refers the verb form (plus its morphology), but it is also common to use the term to refer to the suffixes themselves.

210) *ula=da* *tʰa-**sa*** *sauma* *wi-saŋ*
mountain=LOC sleep-COND ceremonially.clean COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'If they sleep on the mountain, they are ceremonially clean.'
(Ləru Dancing 105)

The less frequently used suffixes *-la* (purposive), *-sada* (concessive) and *-tɕəte* (reason) also mark non-final clauses.

211) *pə* *roŋ=da* *tsʰi* *ap-**la*** *o-gi*
1SG prefecture town=LOC vegetable take-PURP go-FUT.SUBJ
'I'm going to go to buy vegetables in town.'
(Caiguoji)

212) *naroŋ* *wi-**sada*** *pə* *taroŋ* *tarə-na*
sun COP_1.SUBJ-CONC 1SG still cold-DUR
'Although the sun is out, I still feel cold.'
(Caiguoji)

213) *atɕaŋ* *rakə* *u-**tɕəte*** *əphtə-saŋ*
3SG alcohol drink-REASON be.sick-POS
'Because he drank alcohol, he got sick.'
(Caiguoji)

Wu (2003) also reports the two converbs */j-aŋ* (modifying) and *-tala/-sala* (terminative). As these do not occur in the data analyzed for this study, it is not clear what their status in current Bao'an Tu speech is. The following examples are taken from Wu (2003).

214) *la/**j-aŋ*** *χara-tɕo*
cry-MOD curse-IMPF.OBJ
'[he] cried and cursed.'
(Wu 2003:338)

215) *pə* *tɕənda* *ər-**sala*** *saʁa-ja*
1SG 2SG.LOC come-TERM wait-1.IMP
'Let me wait until you come!'
(Wu 2003:339)

3.2.2 Subjective/Objective Speaker Perspective

The category of speaker perspective (also known as the conjunct/disjunct distinction in Tibetic languages) distinguishes between first person subjects (marked with 'subjective' verbal suffixes and copulas) on one hand and second and third person subjects (marked with 'objective' forms) on the other in declarative sentences. In interrogative contexts, clauses with second person subjects receive subjective marking, while clauses with first and third person subjects receive objective marking.[40] This is an areal feature, developed under the influence of neighboring Tibetic varieties. Speaker perspective is primarily marked by suppletive sets of copulas, but the most frequently used finite tense/aspect suffixes (i.e. *-tɕo/-tɕi* 'IMPF' and *-gəwa/-gi* 'FUT') are also comprised of suppletive pairs that mark for speaker perspective. Examples are provided here as an introduction to the morphological means by which speaker perspective is indicated; the grammatical details of speaker perspective are covered in §5.1.3. The following give examples of sentences containing subjective copulas and the subjective finite suffixes *-tɕi* (IMPF.SUBJ) and *–gi* (FUT.SUBJ).

216) *mənda* *noʁi* *ʁar* ***wi***
1SG.LOC dog two COP_1.SUBJ
'I have two dogs.'

(Caiguoji)

217) *tɕ^{h}ənnə* *gər* *anə* ***bi***
2SG.GEN house which COP_2.SUBJ
'Which house is yours?'

(Caiguoji)

[40] The factors determining the use of the subjective and objective speaker perspective forms are actually more complex than this. They are spelled out in §5.1.3.

218) *mənda* *noʁi* ***kiwə***
1SG.LOC dog NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ
'I do not have dogs.'
(Caiguoji)

219) *pe* *o-kə* ***çi***
1SG go-FUT NEG.COP$_2$.SUBJ
'I am not going to go.'
(Caiguoji)

220) *pə* *hko* *tç^{h}orhtən* *wi=ku* *dewa* *naŋda* *su-**tçi***
1SG big stupa COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ village in stay-IMPF.SUBJ
'I live in the village that has the big stupa.'
(Caiguoji)

221) *dzo̱ma* *atçaŋ* *roŋ=da* *o-**gi**=tçə* *k^{h}əl-tço*
Droma 3SG county.seat=LOC go-FUT.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma said she is going to go to town.'
(Caiguoji)

Corresponding examples with objective copulas and the objective finite suffixes *-tço* (IMPF.OBJ) and *-gəwa* (FUT.OBJ) are given below.

222) *tçaçi* *silaŋ=da* ***wa***
Jiashi Xining=LOC COP$_1$.OBJ
'Jiashi is in Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

223) *atçaŋ* *o-tçə=ku* *gunpa* *roŋ-gunpa* ***ba***
3SG go-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ monastery city-monastery COP$_2$.OBJ
'The monastery he goes to is the city monastery.'
(Caiguoji)

224) *tçaçi=da* *noʁi* ***kina***
Jiashi=LOC dog NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
'Jiashi does not have dogs.'
(Caiguoji)

225) *mənnə* *nerə* ***çəwa***
1SG.GEN name NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'(It) was not my name.'

(Disappointment 58)

226) *tɕaɕi* *dzo̱ma=da* *ts^{h}amtoχ-gə* *oχ-**tɕo***
Jiashi Droma=LOC gift- SG.INDEF give-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi gave Droma a gift.'

(Caiguoji)

227) *jits^{h}aŋda* *tɕaɕi* *silaŋ=da* *wi-**gəwa***
next.year Jiashi Xining=LOC COP$_1$.SUBJ-FUT-OBJ
'Jiashi will be in Xining next year.'

(Caiguoji)

3.2.3 Negation of Verbs

Verbal negation in Bao'an Tu is realized through the use of preverbal negative particles or negative copulas. The one morphological means of expressing negation is by means of the prefix *mə-*. This prefix is only used with the property term *ʂakə* 'good', and its use is not productive. It is discussed in §3.4.2.

3.2.3.1 Negative Particles *ələ* and *əsə*

The particles *ələ* and *əsə* have primary word stress, and appear immediately before the verb. The particle *ələ* generally occurs in imperfective clauses, while *əsə* appears to occur with perfective ones. A more complete discussion of the negative particles is contained in §5.4.1.

228) *ɕoŋjisa* *pə* ***ələ*** *o-təm* [41]
originally 1SG NEG go-NARR
'I don't usually go.'

(Caiguoji)

229) *ənə* *dewa* *ma* *tʰəntʰen* *tar-kə-tɕə* *χatɕʰər* *da*
this village TOP like.that establish-VBZ-IMPF approximately also

lo *htoŋgə* *tɕə-tɕə* *wi-si* *gi-si* ***ələ***
year thousand do-IMPF COP_1.SUBJ-Q NEG.COP_1.SUBJ-Q NEG

medə-na
know-DUR
'As for this village, I don't know whether it has also been about a thousand years since (it) was founded or not.'

(Dzə̨kələru 56)

230) *noŋʁarhte* *pə* *silaŋ=da* ***əsə*** *o-to*
this.morning 1SG Xining=LOC NEG go-PERF
'I did not go to Xining this morning.'

(Caiguoji)

231) *koʑə* *əsə* *tʰəŋgətɕə* *dappʰa* ***əsə*** *gə-sa*
self NEG in.that.way faith NEG do-COND

pʰamba *ki*
benefit NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'If a person doesn't do that, and doesn't have faith, (he) doesn't get the benefits.'

(Ləru Dancing 76)

3.2.3.2 Negative Copulas *ki*/*kina* and *çi*/*çəwa*

The negative copulas *ki/kina* and *çi/çəwa* are the negative counterparts of the copula *wi/wa* and the copula *bi/ba*, respectively. As noted above in §3.2.2, the copulas

[41] The exact meaning of the narrative and durative suffixes is not completely clear, but their meaning appears to include imperfective aspect. Further discussion of these suffixes is contained in §5.1.2. the imperfective suffix *-tɕo/-tɕi* 'IMPF' does not occur in negative constructions. Because negated imperfective predicates are irrealis, they require the use of either *-m* 'NARR' or *-na* 'DUR'. These facts are presented in more detail in §5.4.

participate in the system of subjective/objective speaker perspective marking.[42] The forms *ki* (or *kiwə*) and *çi* indicate subjective speaker perspective, while *kina* and *çəwa* (or *ço*) indicate objective speaker perspective. Negative copulas are discussed in more detail in §5.4.2.

232) *mənda* *noʁi* ***kiwə***
1SG.LOC dog NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ
'I do not have dogs.'
(Caiguoji)

233) *tçaçi=da* *noʁi* ***kina***
Jiashi=LOC dog NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
'Jiashi does not have dogs.'
(Caiguoji)

234) *pə* *o-gə* ***çi***
1SG go-FUT NEG.COP$_2$.SUBJ
'I am not going.'
(Caiguoji)

235) *mənnə* *nerə=nə* *ap-saŋ* *ənə* *pə* *jiχ-tçə-saŋ=nə*
1SG.GEN name=ACC take-PERF.NMLZ this 1SG hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=ACC

tçənsan *çəwa*
reason NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'The reason they removed my name is not that I was fighting.'
(Disappointment 83)

3.2.4 Imperative Mood

Second person imperative is most often indicated by a bare verb stem.

236) *htema* *de*
bread eat
'Have some bread.'
(Caiguoji)

[42] A more complete discussion of speaker perspective can be found in §5.1.3.

237) *tɕʰa u*
tea drink
'Have some tea.'
(Caiguoji)

Second person imperative may also be indicated by the suffix *-də*.

238) *(tɕʰə) kʰətʰə o-**də***
2SG home.LOC go-IMP
'(you) go home.'
(Caiguoji)

239) *(tɕʰə) kʰəl-**də***
2SG say-IMP
'(you) speak.' (*or* 'Say it.'/ 'tell him/her.')
(Caiguoji)

Wu 2003 reports that this suffix expresses perfective aspect, but in my data it is consistently used in imperative contexts. These forms are generally less polite than the bare-stem imperatives; for further discussion, see §5.9.

First person imperative or voluntative is marked by the verbal suffix *–ja*.

240) *maŋgəʁala nəkə~nəkə=da nohkor-kə-**ja***
1DU.INCL one~one=LOC friend-VBZ-1.IMP
'Let's help each other.'
(Caiguoji)

241) *pə tʰoro-ʁa-ja*
1SG go.around-CAUS-1.IMP
'I'll drive.'
(Caiguoji)

Third person imperative or permissive is indicated by the suffix *-kə*.

242) *atɕaŋʁula tɕa-sa tɕa-kə*
3PAU tattle-COND tattle-3.IMP
'If they're going to tattle, let (them) tattle.'
(Caiguoji)

3.2.5 Polar Questions

The most common strategy for forming polar questions is by the use of the verbal suffix *-u*.

243) *tɕʰənda kormu kʰər-**u***
2SG.LOC money be.required-Q
'Do you need money?'
(Caiguoji)

244) *htema de-**u***
bread eat-Q
'Do (you) eat bread?'
(Caiguoji)

The question suffix *–u* is affixed to copulas as well as lexical verbs.

245) *tɕaɕi silaŋ=da wa-**u***
Jiashi Xining=LOC COP_1.OBJ-Q
'Is Jiashi in Xining?'
(Caiguoji)

246) *atɕaŋ gərgən ba-**u***
3SG teacher COP_2.OBJ-Q
'Is s/he a teacher?'
(Caiguoji)

If a verb is inflected with the narrative suffix *–m* or the durative suffix *–na*, the aspectual suffix is retained when a polar question is formed, and the aspectual suffix and question suffix coalesce into a single syllable.

247) *tɕʰə maχʂə ode-**mu***
3SG tomorrow go-NARR.Q
'Will you go tomorrow?'
(Caiguoji)

248) *kʰamga-**nu***
like-DUR.Q
'Do (you) like (it)?'
(Caiguoji)

Rhetorical questions are formed using the suffix *-si*. Example (249) is a series of two rhetorical questions followed by a polar question.

249) a. *χeɕaŋ jaŋgətɕə nat^{h}ə k^{h}ər-**si***
Leru how dance be.required-Q
'How should (one) dance Leru?'

b. *lo jaŋgətɕə jiχ k^{h}ər-**si***
gong how hit be.required-Q
'How should (one) hit the gong?'

c. *t^{h}ə=la χani=nə k^{h}əl k^{h}ər-saŋ ba-u*
that=PL all=ACC say be.required-PERF.NMLZ COP$_2$.OBJ-Q
'Those (things), should I tell about (them) all?'

(Ləru Dancing 8-10)

3.2.6 Derivational Morphology

3.2.6.1 The Verbalizer *-kə*

The suffix *-kə* is used to derive verbs from nouns. In example (250) (which is repeated from §3.1.1.1.2) the word *nohkor* 'friend' functions as a noun, while in (251) the addition of *-kə* to *nohkor* derives the verb 'help'. In (252) the word *wela* 'work, job' functions as a noun, but with the addition of *-kə* (as in (253)) it becomes a verb (in this context meaning 'build').

250) *nokə au **nohkor**=la=nə χamda silaŋ=da o-tɕo*
that man friend=PL=ACC with Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'That man is going to Xining with (his) friends.'

(Caiguoji)

251) *maŋgəʁala nəkə~nəkə=da **nohkor-kə**-ja*
1DU.INCL one~one=LOC friend-VBZ-1.IMP
'Let's help each other.'

(Caiguoji)

252) *pə* ***wela*** *= da* *ələ* *gakə-na*
1SG work=LOC NEG be.happy-DUR
'I don't like work.'

(Caiguoji)

253) *tɕaɕi* *ger* ***wela-kə****-tɕo*
Jiashi house work-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi is building a house.'

(Caiguoji)

The verbalizer *-kə* is also suffixed to borrowed verbs, regardless of their syntactic class in the source language. In the following examples, *-kə* is added to the Standard Mandarin borrowings *ts^{h}antɕa* 'participate' and *ɕuan* 'choose', even though the words 参加 (cānjiā) and 选 (xuǎn) are already verbs in Standard Mandarin.

254) *ə-naŋda* *k^{h}aŋ = gə* *ts^{h}antɕa****-kə*** *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
this-in who= SG.INDEF participate-VBZ be.required-POS
'Who participates in this?'

(Dzəkələru 77)

255) *su* *łotʂ^{h}a = nə* *loʂi = la* *mənda* *ɕuan****-kə****-tɕə = tɕo*
so school=ACC teacher=PL 1SG.ACC choose-VBZ-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'So the school's teachers chose me (he said).'

(Disappointment 5)

Due to the large number of Amdo and Mandarin borrowings in Bao'an Tu, *-kə* is used about as often to mark a borrowed verb as to derive a verb from a noun.

3.2.6.2 The Verbalization of Adjectives

3.2.6.2.1 The Verbalization of Color Terms

Color terms of Mongolic origin can derive verbs meaning 'become (color)', but the means of deriving these verbs is irregular. The most common strategy is by replacing the

rhyme of the final syllable of a color term with the suffix *-e*. This strategy is used with the terms for 'black', 'white', and 'red'.

256) *χara* 'black' → *χal-e* 'become black'
tɕʰəχaŋ 'white' → *tɕʰəχ-e* 'become white'
fulaŋ 'red' → *ful-e* 'become red'

The remaining color terms of Mongolic origin derive verbs in idiosyncratic ways.

257) *çəra* 'yellow' → *çərla* 'become yellow'
kʰəgo 'blue' → *kʰəgor* 'become blue'

This completes the list of Mongolic color terms. Color terms borrowed from Amdo Tibetan do not derive verbs, and neither do color terms whose primary denotation is a concrete object (e.g. *meŋgu* 'silver' (n.)).

3.2.6.2.2 The Verbalization of Other Adjectives

As was mentioned in §3.1.1.1.3.1, the default syntactic strategy for expressing 'become ADJECTIVE' is to attach the locative enclitic *=da* to the adjective and use the verb *χatɕə* 'go'. This strategy can be used with all of the adjectives for which data are available. In addition to this strategy, however, many adjectives can derive verbs by other morphological means.

First, borrowed adjectives may derive verbs meaning 'become ADJ' by use of the verbalizer *-kə*, discussed in §3.2.6.1.

258) *ɕaʑə* *lolun-kə-tɕə*
child old-VBZ-PERF
'The child became old.' (AMDO: *lolon* 'old/elderly')
(Caiguoji)

There is also a class of words whose primary membership is in the syntactic category of nouns, but that are used as adjectives without any phonological or morphological changes. When these adjectives derive verbs, they use the suffix *-la*.

259) *ɕaʑə* *tʰarʁoŋ-la-tɕə*
child fat-VBZ-PERF
'The child became fat.' (*tʰarʁoŋ* 'fat' (n.))
(Caiguoji)

260) *çuru* *depɕə-la-tɕə*
earth plate-VBZ-PERF
'The dirt became flat (*lit.* 'plate-like').' (*depɕaŋ* 'plate' (n.))
(Caiguoji)

3.2.6.3 Verbal Reduplication

Verbal reduplication is effected by repeating the entire verb stem. Verbal suffixes are then attached to the second iteration of the verb stem. Reduplication of verbs usually indicates an extension of time over which the event occurred (translated in the following examples as 'for a long time' or 'V and V').

261) *atɕaŋ* *kʰəl~kʰəl-tɕə*
3SG speak~speak-PERF
'He talked and talked (for a long time).'
(Caiguoji)

262) *nudə* *pə* *natʰə~natʰə-tɕə* *ər* *wa*
today 1SG dance~dance-IMPF come COP_1.OBJ
'Today I danced and danced and then came.'
(Caiguoji)

Depending on the semantics of the verb, reduplication may indicate multiple iterations of the event.

263) *atɕaŋ* *bəldʑir* *ala~ala-tɕə* *niwa* *wi-gəwa*
3SG antelope kill~kill-IMPF crime COP_1SUBJ-FUT.OBJ
'He killed and killed (many) antelope, (so he) will have a lot of bad karma.'
(Caiguoji)

There are a handful of verbs that have specialized meaning other than 'for a long time' when they are reduplicated, depending on context. In the following pair of sentences, the verb *mər* 'wear' has the expected meaning 'wear for a long time' when it is reduplicated in (264). Example (265), however, shows that the default meaning for the reduplicated version of *mər* is 'wear many layers of clothing'.

264) *mərku* *mər~mər-tɕə* *dasəra* *su-tɕo*
clothing wear~wear-IMPF tear stay-IMPF.OBJ
'(s.b.) wore the clothing for a long time, and it was torn (worn out).'
(Caiguoji)

265) *mərku* *mər~mər* *su-tɕo*
clothing wear~wear stay-IMPF.OBJ
'(He) wears a lot (many layers) of clothing.'
(Caiguoji)

3.2.6.4 Changes in Valence

3.2.6.4.1 Causative Suffix *-əʁa*

The most common strategy for forming a causative predicate is by the use of the verbal suffix *-əʁa*. The causative suffix is affixed to the verb stem, and is followed by any TAM suffixes that may be affixed to the verb. A more complete discussion of the strategies used to form causative predicates in Bao'an can be found in §5.2.6.1.

266) *ɕaʑə* *dzo̱ma=da* *tʰəmtʰoχ* *htɕəl-**əʁa**-tɕo*
children Droma=LOC mianpian prepare-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
'The children make Droma prepare mianpian noodles.'
(Caiguoji)

267) *pətənə* *ana* *mənda* *o-**ʁa***[43]*-saŋ*
1PL.EXCL.COLL.GEN mother 1SG.ACC go-CAUS-POS
'Our mother made me go.'

(Caiguoji)

3.2.6.4.2 The Anticausative Suffix *-ra*

The verbal suffix *-ra* is used to form anticausatives. It appears to be productive, although it is not frequently used. Like the causative suffix, *-ra* attaches directly to the verb stem and then in turn hosts any TAM suffixes that may be affixed to the verb. A more complete discussion of the use of anticausatives in Bao'an Tu is contained in §5.2.6.2.

268) *de* *apa* *ogoŋ* *war-**ra**-tɕə*
now father daughter finish-ANTIC-PERF
'Now the old ones have passed away.'
(*lit.* 'Now fathers (and) daughters have finished.')

(Skirmish 15)

269) *dzi̯ama* *koʁol-**ra**-tɕə*
window shatter-ANTIC-PERF
'(The) window shattered.'

(Caiguoji)

3.2.6.4.3 The Reciprocal Suffix *-tɕʰe*

The suffix *-tɕʰe* marks a transitive verb with a non-singular subject and no expressed direct object as reciprocal. In syntactic terms, then, this in effect creates an intransitive clause from a transitive one. The following examples show the use of the verb *jiχ* 'hit' as a transitive verb (both with and without an overt direct object) as well as its use as a reciprocal (intransitive) verb. Further discussion of reciprocal clauses can be found in §5.2.4.

[43] The initial /ə/ in *–eʁa* is elided when the verb stem to which it is attached ends with an open syllable.

270) *non-reciprocal use of* jiχ *'hit':*

dortɕə=tɕə *tseraŋ=ʁala* *dzo̱ma=nə* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tseraŋ=DU Droma=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang are hitting Droma.'

(Caiguoji)

271) *non-reciprocal use of* jiχ *'hit' (with no overt direct object):*

dortɕə=tɕə *tseraŋ=ʁala* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tseraŋ=DU hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang are hitting (someone/me/you/him...).'
*'Dorje and Tserang are hitting each other.'

(Caiguoji)

272) *reciprocal use of* jiχ *'hit':*

dortɕə=tɕə *tseraŋ=ʁala* *jiχ-tɕʰe-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tseraŋ=DU hit-RECP-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Jiashi are fighting (*lit.* hitting each other).'

(Caiguoji)

3.3 Quotative Enclitics

Quotative complements of verba dicendi typically host a quotative enclitic indicating their status as direct or indirect quotations. The enclitic =*tɕə* is used when the complement is not the final constituent in the sentence; the enclitics =*tɕo* and =*tɕi* are used sentence finally. See §6.2 for further discussion of the use and origin of the quotative enclitics and the syntactic properties of the complements that host them. The content of quotations in the following examples is marked with square brackets.

273) *dzo̱ma* *[pə* *roŋ=da* *o-ki]=tɕə* *kʰəl-tɕo*
Droma 1SG prefecture.town-LOC go-FUT.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma said, "I am going to go to town."'

(Caiguoji)

274) *[łoptɕa hko naŋda jindaməndа ətɕiχ tɕʰoχgə*
school big in definitely test pass

*kʰər-saŋ]=**tɕə*** *kʰəl-tɕə*
be.required-POS=QUOT.IMPF speak-PERF
‘“(You) definitely want to test into university”, they said.’

(Parents’ Instructions 22)

275) *atɕaŋ mənda kʰəl=ku=da [su mannə łotɕʰa=nə*
3SG 1SG.LOC say=IMPF.NMLZ=LOC so 1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN school=ACC

łoma nago tʰaikwo χala=gə=da
student only.one Thailand where=SG.INDEF=LOC

*o-tə-ʁa-tɕo]=**tɕo***
go-IMPF-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘He told me, “so, (we) are letting only one student from our school go to (someplace in) Thailand”.’

(Disappointment 3)

276) *[su jinjəχ=da jindaməndа ʂakə kʰər-na]=**tɕo***
so English=LOC definitely good be.required-DUR=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘So (that student) definitely must be proficient in English, (he said).’

(Disappointment 4)

277) *[pətəla tcʰənda ɕuan-ke-tɕi]=**tɕi***
1PL.EXCL 2SG.ACC choose-VBZ-IMPF.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF.SUBJ
‘(I said), “we are choosing you”.’

(Caiguoji)

278) *[pə o-gə çi]=**tɕi***
1SG go-FUT NEG.COP$_2$.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF.SUBJ
‘I do not plan to go tomorrow.’
(*lit.* ‘(I say) “I will not go tomorrow”.’)

(Caiguoji)

3.4 Adjectival Morphology

3.4.1 Adjectives with the Non-final Imperfect Suffix *-tɕə*

When adjectives function as predicates in non-finite clauses the non-final imperfect verbal suffix *-tɕə* is affixed directly to the adjective. It would appear that this is the result of a copula being omitted.

279) *χeɕaŋ=da* *mərku* *mər* *kʰər-saŋ* *kʰada*
Ləru.festival=LOC clothing wear be.required-IMPF.NMLZ on

jaksa-tɕə *natʰə* *da* *kʰər-saŋ*
pretty-IMPF dance also be.required-POS
'At the Ləru festival, in addition to having to wear clothes, one should also dance prettily.'

(Caiguoji)

280) *tɕʰaŋli* ***hko-tɕə*** *oχ-tɕo*
pear big-IMPF give-IMPF.OBJ
'The pears are big, and (they) give (them).'

(Caiguoji)

3.4.2 The Negative Prefix *mə-*

The negative prefix *mə-* is an Amdo Tibetan borrowing, and its use is not productive in Bao'an. It co-occurs only with the Amdo borrowing *ʂakə* 'good'.[44] It does not co-occur with any other borrowed Amdo property terms or with any native adjectives or verbs.

281) *dʐoma* ***mə-ʂakə***
Droma NEG-good
'Droma is not good.'

(Caiguoji)

[44] §4.3.3 contains a discussion of the syntactic characteristics of the property term *ʂakə*.

282) *htema* *da* ***mə-ʂakə*** *ja*
bread also NEG-good PRT
'The bread also is not good!'

(Dzə̱kələru 101)

3.4.3 Adjectival Reduplication

Adjectives undergo two types of reduplication. The first is a straightforward reduplication of the entire word. This type of reduplication indicates an intensification of the meaning of the adjective.

283) *atɕaŋ* *jaksa~jaksa* *wa*
3SG pretty~pretty COP_1.OBJ
'She is very beautiful.'

(Caiguoji)

284) *noŋ* *mohton* *k^{h}ada* *alma* *oloŋ~oloŋ* *su-tɕo*
this.year tree on apricot many~many stay-IMPF.OBJ
'There are very many apricots on the tree this year.'

(Caiguoji)

285) *atɕaŋ* *tɕ^{h}itʂ^{h}ə* *kordoŋ~kordoŋ=gə* *ap-tɕə*
3SG car fast~fast=SG.INDEF buy-PERF
'He bought a very fast car.'

(Caiguoji)

The second type of reduplication adjectives undergo is similar to the strategy for nominal reduplication discussed in §3.1.2.1 in which the whole word is reduplicated, but the onset of the first syllable in the echo construction is replaced with /*m*~/. This type of reduplication indicates skepticism.

286) *kordoŋ* *m~ordoŋ=gə* *ələ* *medə-m*
fast REDUP~fast=SG.INDEF NEG know-NARR
'(I) don't know (that/if it's very) fast.'

(Caiguoji)

287) *hko* *m~o* *ələ* *medə-m*
big REDUP~big NEG know-NARR
'(I) don't know (that it's so) big.'

(Caiguoji)

3.5 Morphology of Numerals

3.5.1 Reduplication of Numerals

When numerals are reduplicated, the entire word is reduplicated and a distributive numeral is derived. The reduplicated numeral is often followed by *χamdə* 'together', though this is not obligatory. See the following sentences for examples.

288) *sarə=la* *ʁar~ʁar* *χamdə* *nat^{h}ə-tɕo*
young=PL two~two together dance-IMPF.OBJ
'The young ones dance two by two.'

(Caiguoji)

289) *teraŋ~teraŋ* *(χamdə)* *ərə*
four~four together come
'Come four by four.'

(Caiguoji)

Reduplication of the numeral *nəkə* 'one' is a special case. It can either mean 'each one' as in (290) and (291) or it can convey a reciprocal meaning (translated as 'each other' in (292) and (293)).

290) *satɕ^{h}a~satɕ^{h}a=da* *koʑə~koʑə=nə* *χuei* ***nəkə~nəkə*** *wi-saŋ*
place~place=LOC self~self custom one~one COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS
'Each place has (its own unique) customs.'

(Dzə̨kələru 6)

291) *tɕala* *nəkə* *kʰoŋ* *əsə* *χal-sa* *ɬawa* *amaŋ=da* ***nəkə~nəkə***
false.braid one person NEG wear-COND shaman mouth=LOC one~one

jiχ-tɕo
hit-IMPF.OBJ
'If anyone doesn't wear a false braid, the shaman hits each of them on the mouth.'
(Ləru Dancing 37)

292) *aku=ʁala* *çuru=nə* ***nəkə~nəkə*** *kʰada* *jiχ-tɕo*
girl=DU dirt=ACC one~one on hit-IMPF.OBJ
'The (two) girls threw mud on each other.'
(Caiguoji)

293) *dzo̱ma=tɕə* *tɕaɕi=ʁala* ***nəkə~nəkə=da*** *samtəχ* *oχ-tɕo*
Droma=and Jiashi=DU one~one=LOC gift give-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma and Jiashi give each other gifts.'
(Caiguoji)

3.5.2 The Ordinal Suffix *-mo*

The suffix *-mo* is affixed to numerals to indicate an ordinal numeral.

294) *au* *səmba-**mo*** *gərgən* *bi-saŋ*
man third-ORD teacher COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'The third man is a teacher.'
(Caiguoji)

295) *natʰə-tɕə=ku=la* *naŋ=sa* *niwə-**mo*** *mənnə*
dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ=PL inside=ABL second-ORD 1SG.GEN

iχtɕədu *ji*
younger.sister COP_2.SUBJ
'Of the dancers, the second is my younger sister.'
(Caiguoji)

Chapter 4: The Noun Phrase

Noun phrases in Bao'an typically have either a noun or pronoun at their core. After a brief note on lexical nouns (§4.1), this chapter discusses Bao'an pronouns (§4.2). It then turns to the noun phrase and its various constituents in section 4.3.

4.1 Nouns

The class of lexical nouns can host case and number enclitics, may occur as the object of a postposition or as an argument of a clause, and can be directly modified by an adjective (i.e. without the use of a copular predicate). When a lexical noun co-occurs with other elements in a noun phrase such as a relative clause, possessor, demonstrative, adjective, or numeral, the lexical noun serves as the head of the noun phrase in that it is modified by the other elements with which it co-occurs.

4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns frequently occur alone as a noun phrase. Personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns are discussed in this section.

4.2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns inflect for case and number very similarly to nouns, with a few exceptions. Dual and paucal number are marked by the enclitics *=ʁala* and *=ʁula,* respectively.[45] In first and second person, singular vs. plural, dual and paucal number as well as the inclusive/exclusive distinction (in first person) are indicated by sets of suppletive stems. The norm for the plural forms is the inclusion of the plural enclitic *=la*;

[45] Paucal forms are in fact used very infrequently. The only ones attested in my data are *atɕaŋʁula* (1PAU), *atɕaŋʁulada* (1PAU.LOC), and *pətəʁula* (1PAU.EXCL). For this reason, they are not included in table 4.1.

when it is left off its absence indicates collective number. The collective/non-collective distinction is very robust in the first person plural inclusive paradigm, but is somewhat less so in the first person plural exclusive and second person plural paradigms.[46] In third person, plural is simply indicated by the plural enclitic *=la*; there is therefore no collective/non-collective distinction in third person plural pronouns. The enclitics *=nə* and *=da* generally mark accusative/genitive and dative/locative, respectively, but there are exceptions to this.[47] Singular personal pronouns do not occur in ablative case, and dual, paucal, and plural personal pronouns occur infrequently in ablative case (in contrast, the demonstrative pronouns *ənə* 'this' and *t^{h}ər* 'that' regularly occur in ablative case; see §4.2.3 for examples). Personal pronouns also take the enclitic *=gaŋ* showing predicate possession. Because of stem suppletion and exceptions to the patterns (e.g. the accusative forms of the first and second person singular pronouns), the full paradigm of personal pronouns is given in table 4.1. It is also because of stem suppletions and exceptions that I treat all of the personal pronouns as if they were monomorphemic when they appear in interlinearized texts and examples (i.e. they are glossed without '=' symbols), even though for the majority of pronouns the morphemic breakdown is quite transparent.[48]

[46] In fact, some speakers report that the first person plural exclusive stem and second person plural stem are ungrammatical without the plural enclitic *=la* (indicating non-collective) when asked directly, but I have come across these pronouns in natural speech. Furthermore they occur with the full range of inflection for case and with such frequency that it does not seem plausible that they are simply speech errors. For this reason, I include them in table 4.1.

[47] There are some inconsistencies in the use of *=nə* and *=da* in the first person, second person, and logophoric pronoun paradigms. For this reason, I have used a three-way case distinction in glossing personal pronouns (ACC, GEN, LOC) rather than the two-way distinction (ACC, LOC) used to gloss these two enclitics elsewhere.

[48] In fact, the personal pronouns marked for number and case are not monomorphemic, as is evidenced by the fact that a numeral may be inserted between the stem and number enclitic of a non-singular personal

(footnote continued on next page)

Table 4.1. Paradigm of personal pronouns

	NOM	ACC	GEN	LOC	PRED POSS	ABL
1SG	*pə*	*mənda*	*mənnə*	*mənda*	*məngaŋ*	
2SG	*tɕʰə*	*tɕʰənda*	*tɕʰənnə*	*tɕʰənda*	*tɕʰəngaŋ*	
3SG	*atɕaŋ*	*atɕaŋnə*		*atɕaŋda*	*atɕaŋgaŋ*	
3SG.LOG	*oroŋ*	*oroŋda*	*oroŋnə*	*oroŋda*	*oroŋgaŋ*	
1DU.INCL	*maŋgəʁala*	*maŋgəʁalanə*		*maŋgəʁalada*	*maŋgəʁalagaŋ*	*maŋgəʁalasa*
1DU.EXCL	*pətəʁala*	*pətəʁalanə*		*pətəʁalada*	*pətəʁalagaŋ*	*pətəʁalasa*
2DU	*taʁala*	*taʁalanə*		*taʁalada*	*taʁalagaŋ*	*taʁalasa*
3DU	*atɕaŋʁala*	*atɕaŋʁalanə*		*atɕaŋʁalada*	*atɕaŋʁalagaŋ*	*atɕaŋʁalasa*
3DU.LOG	*oroŋʁala*	*oroŋʁalanə*		*oroŋʁalada*	*oroŋʁalagaŋ*	*oroŋʁalasa*
1PAU.INCL	*maŋgəʁula*	*maŋgəʁulanə*		*maŋgəʁulada*	*maŋgəʁulagaŋ*	*maŋgəʁulasa*
1PAU.EXCL	*pətəʁula*	*pətəʁulanə*		*pətəʁulada*	*pətəʁulagaŋ*	*pətəʁulasa*
2PAU	*taʁula*	*taʁulanə*		*taʁulada*	*taʁulagaŋ*	*taʁulasa*
3PAU	*atɕaŋʁula*	*atɕaŋʁulanə*		*atɕaŋʁulada*	*atɕaŋʁulagaŋ*	*atɕaŋʁulasa*
1PL.INCL. COLL	*maŋgə*	*mannə*		*manda/ maŋgəda*	*maŋgaŋ*	*mansa/ maŋgəsa*
1PL.INCL	*maŋgəla*	*maŋgəlanə*		*maŋgəlada*	*maŋgəlagaŋ*	*maŋgəlasa*
1PL.EXCL. COLL	*pətə*	*pətənə*				
1PL.EXCL	*pətəla*	*pətəlanə*		*pətəlada*	*pətəlagaŋ*	*pətəlasa*
2PL.COLL	*ta*	*tanə*		*tada*	*tagaŋ*	*tasa*
2PL	*tala*	*talanə*		*talada*	*talagaŋ*	*talasa*
3PL	*atɕaŋla*	*atɕaŋlanə*		*atɕaŋlada*	*atɕaŋlagaŋ*	*atɕaŋlasa*

The following sentences show the inflected forms of the first person singular pronouns in context as examples of one line of the personal pronoun paradigm.

1) ***pə*** *silaŋ=da* *wi*
1SG Xining=LOC COP_1.SUBJ
'I am in Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

pronoun and from the fact that the enclitic *=tsʰaŋ* can occur between the stem and case enclitics (for singular personal pronouns) or between the number and case enclitics (for non-singular pronouns).

2) *dʐoma* ***mənda*** *jiχ-tɕo*
Droma 1SG.ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma hits me.'

(Caiguoji)

3) *atɕaŋ* ***mənda*** *χotɕ^{h}a* *χənə=gə* *oχ-tɕo*
3SG 1SG.LOC book new= SG.INDEF give- IMPF.OBJ
'She gave me a new book.'

(Caiguoji)

4) ***mənnə*** *be* *undər* *kina*
1SG.GEN body tall NEG. COP$_1$.OBJ
'I am not tall.'
(*lit*. 'My body is not tall.')

(Caiguoji)

5) *nokə* *χotɕ^{h}a* ***məŋgaŋ*** *bi*
that book mine COP$_2$.SUBJ
'That book is mine.'

(Caiguoji)

I have not included a column for instrumental case in table 4.1 for a combination of two reasons. First, first and second person pronouns do not occur in instrumental case; and second, although third person pronouns can occur in instrumental case, there is a preference for using demonstrative pronouns rather than personal pronouns in these contexts. There seems to be a general constraint against nouns or pronouns with animate referents appearing in instrumental case. Third person pronouns with non-animate referents, however, can occur in instrumental case, as in (6)-(8).

6) *dortɕə* ***atɕaŋ=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje 3SG=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used it to hit (a) dog.'

(Caiguoji)

7) *dortɕə* ***atɕaŋʁala=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje 3DU=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used them(two) to hit (a) dog.'

(Caiguoji)

8) *dortɕə* ***atɕaŋla=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje 3PL=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used them to hit (a) dog.'

(Caiguoji)

Due to the strong preference for using the demonstrative pronouns *tʰər* 'that' and *ənə* 'this' rather than the third person personal pronoun *atɕaŋ* when referring to an inanimate object, however, sentence (6) could very easily be misunderstood to mean "Dorje hit them (two) and (a) dog." The meaning expressed by the free translation of (6) would more commonly be expressed using a demonstrative pronoun as in (9).

9) *dortɕə* ***tʰər=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje that=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used that to hit (a) dog.'

(Caiguoji)

Likewise, the meanings expressed in the free translations of (7) and (8) would be expressed as in (10) and (11).

10) *dortɕə* ***tʰər=ʁala=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje that=DU=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used those(two) to hit (a) dog.'

(Caiguoji)

11) *dortɕə* ***tʰər=la=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje that=PL=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used those to hit (a) dog.'

(Caiguoji)

I pointed out in §3.1.1.1.4 that an NP headed by a lexical noun cannot host both the dual enclitic *=ʁala* and the instrumental enclitic *=ʁala*. As is demonstrated by (7) and (10)

above, this constraint does not hold for pronouns. In fact, these two sentences are reported to be more colloquial sounding than their counterparts (12) and (13) (expressing the number 'two' lexically).

12) *dortɕə* ***atɕaŋ*** ***ʁar=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje 3SG two=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used them two to hit (a) dog.' *(more formal sounding)*
(Caiguoji)

13) *dortɕə* ***tʰər*** ***ʁar=ʁala*** *χapa* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje that two=INST dog hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje used those two to hit (a) dog.' *(more formal sounding)*
(Caiguoji)

The first person singular stem *mən-* never occurs alone as a free morpheme. The plural stems (*maŋgə* '1PL.INCL', *pətə* '1PL.EXCL', and *ta* '2PL') typically only occur as freestanding phonological words when they are followed by a lexical numeral.

14) *maŋgə* *tʰaun=la* *χamda* *ju* *ba*
1PL.INCL five=PL with go COP_2.OBJ
'Let's us five (INCL) go together!'
(Caiguoji)

15) *pətə* *tʰaun=la* *χamda* *o-gi*
1PL.INCL five=PL with go-FUT.SUBJ
'We five (EXCL) are going to go together.'
¨ (Caiguoji)

16) *ta* *tʰaun=la* *o-gə* *bu*
2PL five=PL go-FUT COP_2.SUBJ.Q
'Are you five going to go?'
(Caiguoji)

Unlike NP's headed by a lexical noun, when a personal pronoun is modified by a numeral, the plural enclitic *=la* on the numeral is obligatory. Thus, the distinction between collective and non-collective meanings is lost, because the absence or presence of the plural enclitic is what signals the distinction between collective and non-collective

throughout the rest of the pronominal paradigm. In practice, however, a collective meaning can be emphasized through the use of the word *χamda* 'together'.

When a pronoun modified by a numeral hosts a case enclitic, the case enclitic follows the number enclitic.

17) *pronominal stems with lexical number in accusative case:*
tɕʰitʂʰə ***pətə*** ***tʰaun=la=nə*** *jiχ-tɕə*
car 1PL.EXCL five=PL=ACC hit-PERF
'The car hit us five.'
(Caiguoji)

18) ***maŋgə*** ***tʰaun=la=nə*** *χotɕʰa* *χani* *jaχa-tɕə*
1PL.INCL five=PL=ACC book all lose-PERF
'Our five's books were all lost.'
(Caiguoji)

19) *pronominal stem with lexical number in locative case:*
ɕaotɕaŋ ***ta*** ***tʰaun=la=da*** *tsʰamdoχ=gə* *oχ-tɕə*
principal 2PL five=PL=LOC gift=SG.INDEF give-PERF
'The principal gave you five a gift.'
(Caiguoji)

20) *pronominal stem with lexical number in predicate possessive case:*
nokə *χotɕʰa* ***pətə*** ***tʰaun=la=gaŋ*** *bi*
that book 1PL.EXCL five=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.SUBJ
'Those books are us five's.'
(Caiguoji)

In the first person inclusive plural, a distinction is made between collective and non-collective pronouns. Interestingly, it is the non-collective paradigm that uses the plural marker *=la,* which was historically a collective marker. So sentence (21) has a collective reading, while (22) does not.

21) *ɕoŋgə* ***manda*** *da* *tsʰa* *wi-saŋ*
originally 1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC also land COP_1.SUBJ- POS
'Originally, we (the whole village) also owned this land.'
(Skirmish 3)

22) *atɕaŋ* ***maŋgəlada*** *tsʰamhtoχ=gə* *oχ-tɕo*
3SG 1PL.INCL.LOC gift= SG.INDEF give- IMPF.OBJ
'He gave us a gift.' (allows for the reading, 'He gave us each a gift'.)
(Caiguoji)

In the first person, the form *=la* is only left off in the nominative or accusative case. There are only a few instances of these forms in my data, and all involve collective ownership or possession (a clan's festival or a family's house, for example). Native speakers' explanations indicate that the absence of the enclitic *=la* has less to do with the referents acting together as a whole and more to do with indicating that the referents comprise an intimately connected group (such as a clan or family). So in (23) and (25) the group referred to by the pronouns containing *=la* are not intimately connected groups of this type. In (24), on the other hand, the grandfather is speaking for his clan, and in (26) the speaker is referring to her family; therefore the forms without *=la* are used.

23) ***pətəla*** *kʰə=sa* *jama* *u-tɕi* *saʁaŋ* *u-tɕə*
1PL.EXCL house=ABL stuff drink-IMPF.SUBJ restaurant drink-IMPF

ki
NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'We ate stuff from home instead of eating at a restaurant.'
(*lit.* 'We drank stuff from home. (We) did not drink (at) a restaurant.')
(Caiguoji)

24) *deda* *ŋarwaŋ=gə* ***pətə*** *χeɕaŋ* *pitəʁaŋ*
grandfather powerful= SG.INDEF 1PL.EXCL.COLL Leru small

kʰər-saŋ=nə *tʰorun* *hko=nə* *kʰərə=tɕə*
be.required-PERF.NMLZ=ACC head big=ACC be.required=QUOT.IMPF

kʰəl-saŋ
say-POS
'A powerful grandfather said, "as we have to have the small Leru festival, (we) must have a big well".'
(Ləru Dancing 81)

25) *atɕaŋla* ***pətələnə*** *utɕə-tɕə* *χedə* *wa*
3PL 1PL.EXCL.ACC compare-IMPF strong COP_1.OBJ
'They are stronger than us.'

(Caiguoji)

26) *tɕ^{h}ə* *silaŋ=da* *o-sa* ***pətənə*** *k^{h}ətə*
2SG Xining=LOC go-COND 1PL.EXCL.GEN.COLL home.LOC

su-sa *t^{h}əke-saŋ*
stay-COND can-POS
'If you go to Xining, (you) can stay at our house.'

(Caiguoji)

The few instances of the second person plural stem without the enclitic *=la* also seem to indicate this more specific sense of collective. The following example is given with the surrounding context to show that the referents of the pronoun comprise a family who collectively experience a calamity in the form of the collapse of their house.

27) *kudə* *atɕaŋla* *rakə* *u=ku* *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *ɬawa*
before 3PL alcohol drink=IMPF.NMLZ time shaman

a=ts^{h}aŋ=nə *k^{h}ətə* *χol-tɕə* *o-tɕə*
3SG=family=ACC house.LOC run-IMPF go-PERF
'One time when some people were drinking, the shaman went running to their house.'

(Læru Dancing 72)

28) ***tada*** *tundaχ=gə* *χardə-na* ***ta*** *rəmgə-tɕə* *ɕida*
2PL.COLL.LOC matter= SG.INDEF happen-DUR 2PL.COLL hurry-IMPF outside

χar *k^{h}ər-na=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-saŋ*
go.out be.required-DUR=QUOT.IMPF say-POS
'(he) said, "something's going to happen to **you**; **you** should hurry and go outside".'

(Læru Dancing 73)

29) *ɕida* *χargu-tɕə* *gər* *na-tɕə=tɕo*
outside go.out-IMPF house fall-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'They say (they) went outside, and the house fell in.'

(Læru Dancing 74)

As was mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, the singular/non-singular distinction in the third person personal pronouns is signalled by the use of the plural enclitic *=la* rather than by stem suppletion. This means that there is no formal distinction between collective and non-collective third person pronouns (recall that the omission of plural *=la* is the means of marking 'COLLECTIVE' in the second and third person plural paradigms). In actual practice, most situations in which a collective meaning would be intended also require (for reasons of politeness) the use of the enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* 'family', which is inherently collective (the syntactic characteristics of *=ts^{h}aŋ* are discussed in §3.1.1.3).

30) *sə=nə* *kutɕə* *oχ-sa* ***atɕaŋ=ts^{h}aŋ=nə*** *ts^{h}owa* *kutɕə*
water=ACC before give-COND 3SG=family=ACC clan before

sola *hta-na*
irrigate be.able-DUR
'Since the water is given (to them) first, their clan is able to irrigate first.'
(Ləru Dancing 83)

31) *hkutə=ku* *k^{h}i* *hko=ʁala* ***atɕaŋ=ts^{h}aŋ=nə***
yesterday=IMPF.NMLZ wind big=INST 3SG=family=ACC

gər=nə *dəp-kə-ʁa-tɕə*
house=ACC collapse-VBZ-CAUS-PERF
'Yesterday's big wind caused their house to collapse.'
(Caiguoji)

In addition to their normal use, second person dual forms are used as a polite way to refer to a person who is present in the discourse situation but is not the intended addressee of the utterance. The context of the following example is that an American woman is interviewing an elderly man when the man's wife enters and asks him whether

the American interviewer has taken any of the bread she (the wife) has put out for her (the interviewer).

32) *htemə=nə* ***taʁala*** *ap-tɕe* *ər-saŋ* *bu*
bread=ACC 2DU take-IMPF come-POS COP_2.SUBJ.Q
'The bread, has she taken (any)?'
(*lit.* 'The bread, is [it the case] that you two have taken (any)?')

(Dzə̨kələru 100)

4.2.1.1 Logophoric Pronouns

Logophoric pronouns are used in speech complements when the pronoun in the speech complement is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.

33) *[**oroŋ*** *$t^hər=nə$* *ʁali-la* *tɕə-to]* *$k^həl$-saŋ* *ja*
3SG.LOG that=ACC see-PURP do-PERF say-POS PRT
'(He_i) said that he_i went to see that.'

(Dzə̨kələru 71)

The use of logophoric pronouns is not obligatory, however. The ordinary third person singular pronouns can also be used in this grammatical context, as demonstrated in (34).

34) *dzə̨oma* *[**atɕaŋ*** *roŋ=da* *o-gi]=tɕə* *$k^həl$-tɕo*
Droma 3SG town=LOC go-FUT.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'$Droma_i$ said she_i is going to go to town.'

(Caiguoji)

In this sentence, the coreferentiality of *atɕaŋ* '3SG' and *dzə̨oma* 'Droma' is indicated by the subjective form of the verb in the speech complement (see §5.1.3 for a discussion of the use of subjective verb forms in speech complements). Thus the referent of the pronoun in the speech complement is usually unambiguous regardless of whether or not a logophoric pronoun is used.

The use of logophoric pronouns is not restricted to nominative-marked subjects of speech complements. In sentence (35) the logophoric pronoun is a possessive pronoun

modifying the subject of the speech complement. The logophoric pronoun in (36) is a dative marked subject of a possessive predicate.

35) *çarwaŋ* *[oroŋnə* *ts^{h}a* *bi]=tɕə-saŋ*
Xiabulang 3SG.LOG.GEN land COP_2.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF-POS
'Xiabulang$_i$ (village) said that it is its$_i$ land.'

(Skirmish 7)

36) *aku* ***[oroŋda*** *kormu* *ki]=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-tɕo*
woman 3SG.LOC money $NEG.COP_1$.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'The woman$_i$ said that she$_i$ does not have any money.'

(Caiguoji)

Logophoric pronouns only occur in the singular form in the spoken texts analyzed for this study. Forms inflected for dual number occur only in elicited data. In (37) the dual logophoric pronoun denotes a pair of people including Renzen.

37) *rənzən* *nokə* ***[oroŋʁalagaŋ*** *ji]=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-tɕo*
Renzen that 3DU.LOG.PRED.POSS COP_2.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Renzen said that that belongs to them (where the set denoted by 'them' contains two people, one of them Renzen).'

(Caiguoji)

I do not know of a reason that there should be no plural forms of the logophoric pronoun, but I was unable to elicit any. The form **oroŋla* (3PL.LOG) was consistently rejected by my language consultants.

4.2.1.2 A Note on Possessive Pronouns

Relying on natural language data alone, it is difficult to demonstrate that there is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, because the convention is to use collective plural first and second person pronouns or the enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* 'family' (hosted by third person pronouns) when referring to family members, which makes it difficult to find the data to fill out a singular paradigm of possession. Filling out a paradigm for the collective plural pronouns is also difficult, however, because discourse situations in

which items (or people) other than family members or houses are collectively possessed rarely occur. By means of elicitation, however, complete paradigms of possession can be obtained, demonstrating that there is indeed no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession marked by the possessive pronouns. The following example gives the possessive forms of the third person singular and plural pronouns.

38) *atɕaŋnə wama* 'his pot'
atɕaŋnə ana 'his mother'[49]
atɕaŋnə χar 'his hand'

atɕaŋlanə wama 'their pot(s)' [50]
atɕaŋlanə ana 'their mother(s)'
atɕaŋlanə χar 'their hands'

4.2.2 Reflexive Pronominal Reference: Uses of *koʑə* 'self'

The word *koʑə* 'self' is used both non-reflexively and reflexively; in both uses it is marked for case just like other NP's. The following examples contain *koʑə* in a non-reflexive situation meaning something like 'a certain person'.

[49] This form is reported to be grammatically acceptable, but it is rarely used in natural speech, because it is considered impolite. The usual way to express this makes use of the enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* 'family': *atɕaŋ=ts^{h}aŋ=nə ana* 'his family's mother'.

[50] Because of the lack of a collective form in third person plural pronouns and because the plural enclitic is not always used, there is possible ambiguity in both this phrase and the one following it as to whether one pot or mother is collectively possessed or whether multiple pots or mothers are individually possessed. In most discourse situations this ambiguity would be resolved by context, but in fact this form is not frequently used in natural speech. Rather, the forms with the enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* are usually used–perhaps to avoid the ambiguity: *atɕaŋ=ts^{h}aŋ=nə ana* 'his family's mother' or *atɕaŋ=la=ts^{h}aŋ=nə ana* 'their families' mothers'.

39) *ɬawa* ***koʑə=da*** *tundaχ* *jaŋgə* *ɲoŋgə-sa* ***koʑə=da***
shaman self=LOC matter matter happen-COND self=ACC

nohkur-kə *ji-saŋ*
friend-VBZ COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'If something was going to happen to someone ('self'), the shaman would help that person ('self').'

(Ləru Dancing 70)

40) ***koʑə=tsʰaŋ=nə*** *daŋ* *na-sa* *ɬawa* *tanə* *daŋ*
self=family=ACC door fall-COND shaman 2PL.COLL.GEN door

na-tɕo=tɕə *kʰəl-la* *ər-tɕi-saŋ*
fall-IMPF.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF speak-PURP come-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'If someone's door is going to fall, the shaman will come to tell (them), "your door is falling".'

(Ləru Dancing 71)

In the following examples, *koʑə* is used as a reflexive pronoun in nominative, accusative, and locative case.

41) koʑə *as an object of a postposition (no case enclitic):*
pə *çuru=nə* ***koʑə*** *kʰada* *htɕu-gə-tɕə*
1SG dirt=ACC self on spill-VBZ-PERF
'I got dirt on myself.'

(Caiguoji)

42) koʑə *as a direct object (with accusative enclitic* =nə*)*:
atɕaŋ ***koʑə=nə*** *waʁa-tɕo*
3SG self=ACC wash- IMPF.OBJ
'He washed himself.'

(Caiguoji)

43) koʑə *as a possessive NP (with accusative enclitic* =nə*)*:
atɕaŋ ***koʑə=nə*** *bəldzoχ=nə* *dzuʁa-tɕə*
3SG self=ACC finger=ACC burn- PERF
'She burnt her own finger.'

(Caiguoji)

44) koʑə *as an indirect object (with locative enclitic* =da*)*

pə ***koʑə=da*** *tʰəmtʰoχ* *htɕəl* *wa*
1SG self=LOC mianpian prepare COP_1.OBJ
'I made myself mianpian noodles.'

(Caiguoji)

The reflexive pronoun *koʑə* does not host the ablative enclitic =sa. When it occurs in a context that requires the ablative case, a positional noun or postposition such as *kʰa* or *derə* 'on/top' follows it, and the ablative enclitic is hosted by the positional noun or postposition, as in the following example. Reflexive *koʑə* does not occur in instrumental case.

45) *pə* ***koʑə*** *derə=sa* *zaŋtɕʰa* *oloŋ=gə* *mede-to*
1SG self on=ABL good.point many=SG.INDEF know
'I know many good points about myself.'
(*lit.* 'I know a few (many) good points from myself.')

(Caiguoji)

In plural situations, *koʑə* optionally hosts the plural enclitic =*la*.

46) *atɕaŋla* *ŋorhta* *naŋda* ***koʑə(=la)=nə*** *ʁali-tɕo*
3PL mirror in self (=PL)=ACC see-IMPF.OBJ
'They see themselves in the mirror.'

(Caiguoji)

In most contexts, when reflexive *koʑə* is reduplicated the reduplication indicates the meaning 'each', as in (47) and (48).

47) *satɕʰa~satɕʰa=da* ***koʑə~koʑə=nə*** *χwei* *nəkə~nəkə* *wi-saŋ*
place~place=LOC self~self=ACC custom one~one COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Each place has its own unique custom.'

(Dʐəkələru 6)

48) ***koʑə~koʑə=da*** *nat^{h}ə=ku=gə* *wi-saŋ*
self~self=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Each (deity) has a dance (of his own).'

(Dʐəkələru 36)

In a transitive clause however, if the subject is non-singular, and reduplicated *koʑə* comprises the direct object, a reciprocal (rather than reflexive) meaning is conveyed, as is demonstrated in the following pair of sentences.

49) *dortɕə=tɕə* *ts^{h}eraŋ=ʁala* *ŋorhta* *naŋda* ***koʑə=nə*** *ʁali-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tserang=DU mirror in self=ACC see-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang see themselves in the mirror.'

(Caiguoji)

50) *dortɕə=tɕə* *ts^{h}eraŋ=ʁala* *ŋorhta* *naŋda* ***koʑə~koʑə=nə*** *ʁali-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tserang=DU mirror in self~self=ACC see-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang see each other in the mirror.'

(Caiguoji)

The form *koʑə* is also used appositively to emphasize that its referent acted independently. In these cases, *koʑə* is coreferential with an overtly expressed personal pronoun or lexical noun.

51) *pə* ***koʑə*** *t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ* *htɕəl* *wa*
1SG self mianpian prepare COP_1.OBJ
'I made mianpian noodles myself.'

(Caiguoji)

52) *(tɕ^{h}ə)* ***koʑə*** *o-də*
2SG self go-IMP
'(You) go (by) yourself.'

(Caiguoji)

53) *łoma=la* ***koʑə=la*** *tʰaŋkʰa=nə* *pʰitɕə-tɕo*
student=PL self=PL thangka=ACC write-IMPF.OBJ
'The students painted the Thangka themselves.'

(Caiguoji)

4.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

In addition to their adnominal uses (discussed in §4.3.2), the demonstratives *ənə* 'this' and *tʰər* 'that (out of sight)' (and much less frequently, *nokə* 'that'), can be used pronominally, as is demonstrated by the following pairs of sentences. Sentences (55), (57), and (59) are elicited data; the referents of the demonstrative pronouns contained in them were present in the physical context–they are not co-referential with other NP's in the discourse itself.

54) ***ənə*** *deku amtə* *wa*
this food delicious COP_1.OBJ
'This food is delicious.'

(Caiguoji)

55) ***ənə*** *amtə* *wa*
this delicious COP_1.OBJ
'This is delicious.'

(Caiguoji)

56) ***nokə*** *mərku* *kʰada* *tsʰə* *tɕʰəkʰə* *su-tɕo*
that clothing on dirtiness stick stay-IMPF.OBJ
'That clothing is dirty.'

(Caiguoji)

57) ***nokə*** *kʰada* *tsʰə* *tɕʰəkʰə* *su-tɕo*
that on dirtiness stick stay-IMPF.OBJ
'That is dirty.'

(Caiguoji)

58) ***tʰər*** *gər* *ədəpkə-tɕo*
that.out-of-sight house collapse- IMPF.OBJ
'That house collapsed.'

(Caiguoji)

59) ***t^hər*** *ədəpkə-tɕo*
that.out-of-sight collapse- IMPF.OBJ
'That collapsed.'

(Caiguoji)

The pronominal use of *ənə* and *t^hər* is often anaphoric. In their anaphoric use, the demonstrative pronouns may be co-referential with participants or objects in the discourse or with portions of the discourse itself. There are no instances in my data of the pronoun *nokə* being used anaphorically. For a discussion of the anaphoric uses of adnominal *ənə*, *nokə*, and *t^hər*, see section 4.3.2. The following two examples contain instances where *ənə* and *t^hər* are co-referential with participants who have already been introduced in the discourse. In the sentences previous to (60), the narrator has described in detail the specific dances that must be danced and the offerings that must be offered for the village's mountain deities. The *ənə* in boldface refers to these dances and offerings.

60) *nəkə* *χoŋ=da* *wakə* *dzə̨kə* *naŋda* ***ənə*** *jindaməndа*
one year=LOC HES sixth.lunar.month in this definitely

tɕ^{h}opa *ənə* *wi* *k^{h}ər=ku*
food.offering this COP_1.SUBJ be.required=IMPF.NMLZ
'In (the course of) a year...uh, in the sixth month there definitely must be these, (and) these *qoba* food offerings.'

(Dzə̨kələru 20)

In the sentence previous to (61), the narrator has listed four villages in the area that celebrate a particular festival at about the same time. The *t^hər* in boldface refers to these four villages.

61) ***tʰər=la*** *pʰəhtoŋ* *natʰə-tɕə=ku* *udər* *χatcʰər* *nəkə*
that=PL all dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ day approximately one

wo
COP_1.OBJ
'The day that they ('those') all dance is about the same.'

(Dzəkələru 96)

The following two sentences give examples in which *ənə* and *tʰər* are co-referential with preceding portions of the discourse. In (62), the *ənə* in boldface refers to an episode in which the servant in question ran away to attend a festival.

62) *tʰəŋgəsada* *ja* ***ənə*** *ɕintɕʰada* *da* *ənə* *tɕə* *sutə=ku*
so PRT this after also this do stay=IMPF.NMLZ

tɕaŋgo-tɕə
think-IMPF
'So (Zongkaba thought), "and after this he will want to keep doing this..."'

(Dzəkələru 72)

In (63), the *tʰər* in boldface refers to a story that has just been told. The story is reported to be 800 years old and it makes reference to the festival "liuyuehui".

63) *tʰəŋgə* *ke-sa* *ənə* *"liuyuehui"* *ənda* ***tʰər*** *jantɕʰada* *wa*
that put-COND this "liuyuehui" here that before COP_1.OBJ
'Given that, this "liuyuehui" was here before that.'

(Dzəkələru 75)

The demonstrative pronouns *enə* and *tʰər* inflect for case and number in the same way lexical nouns and personal pronouns do. The following sentences contain examples of demonstrative pronouns with the enclitic *=nə* in its various functions (discussed in §3.1.1.1.2).

64) t^hər *as the causee of an intransitive clause*:

*$k^haŋ$ towo=sa **t^hər=nə** o-də-ʁa=ku ∅-to=tɕo*

who first=ABL that=ACC go-IMP-CAUS=IMPF.NMLZ (COP_2)-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ

'(They said) whoever was first would be allowed to go.'

(*or* 'Out of the first [who], that (one) would be allowed to go.')

(Disappointment 25)

65) t^hər *as a possessive pronoun:*

*t^hər rəlaŋ **t^hər=nə** məχ t^hər jaŋgə $nat^hə$*

that army.officer that=ACC soldier that how dance

k^hər-si

be.required-Q

'That army officer, how should his (*lit.* 'that (one)'s') soldiers dance that?'

(Dzə̨kələru 35)

66) ənə *as a direct object:*

*atɕaŋ **ənə=nə** jiχ-tɕo*

3SG this=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ

'He hits this (one).'

(Caiguoji)

67) ənə *as the causee of an intransitive clause:*

*atɕaŋ **ənə=nə** o-də-ʁa-tɕo*

3SG this=ACC go-IMP-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ

'He makes this (one) go.'

(Caiguoji)

68) ənə *as a possessive pronoun:*

*t^həsanə **ənə=nə** **ənə=nə** lordzi̤=da $jant^hoχ$=gə wi-si*

next this=ACC this=ACC history=LOC what.kind=SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ-Q

'Next, what is this one's, this one's history like?'

(*lit.* 'next, what kind of (one) does this one's, this one's history have?')

(Dzə̨kələru 41)

The following sentences give examples of the demonstrative pronouns inflected for locative case by the use of the enclitic *=da* (or *=də*).[51]

69) t^{h}ər *as a location:*

maŋgəda	***t^{h}ər=də***	*k^{h}əl=ku*	*oloŋ-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC	that=LOC	speak=IMPF.NMLZ	many-POS

'We have many stories about him (*lit.* 'that').'

(Dzə̨kələru 113)

70) t^{h}ər *referring to time:*

t^{h}ər=da	*kuda*	*jinjəχ*	*ɬaoʂi*	*oχ-saŋ*	*χotɕ^{h}a=gə*
that=LOC	before	English	teacher	give-PERF.NMLZ	book=SG.INDEF

wa

COP$_1$.OBJ

'At that (time), before, there was a book that (my) English teacher had given me.'

(Disappointment 32)

71) ənə *as an indirect object:*

atɕaŋ	***ən=da*** [52]	*loχtɕi=gə*	*oχ-tɕo*
3SG	this=LOC	gift=SG.INDEF	give-IMPF.OBJ

'She gave this (one) a gift.'

(Caiguoji)

72) ənə *as the causee of a transitive clause:*

atɕaŋ	***ən=da***	*t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ*	*u-ʁa-tɕo*
3SG	this=LOC	mianpian	drink-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ

'She made this (one) eat mianpian noodles.'

(Caiguoji)

73) ənə *as a possessor in a clause of possession:*

ən=da	*kormu*	*oloŋ*	*wa*
this=LOC	money	many	COP$_1$.OBJ

'This (one) has a lot of money.'

(Caiguoji)

[51] Sentence (69) was spoken by a man from Gasare, so locative case is indicated by the enclitic *=de* rather than *=da* in this example. See §3.1.1.1.3.2 for a discussion of the distinction between dative and locative case in the Gasare dialect.

[52] When *ənə* hosts the locative enclitic, the final /ə/ is dropped.

The following sentences give examples of the demonstrative pronouns inflected for instrumental case.

74) t^{h}ər *as an anaphoric pronoun referring to a reason:*

t^{h}ər=ʁala	*tɕərʁoŋ*	*də*	*wi=ku*	*zigə*	*ʂitɕan*	*tʂ^{h}aŋ*
that=INST	six	day	COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ	little	time	long

tɕərʁoŋ	*də*	*wi=ku*	*t^{h}ər*	*wo*
six	day	COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ	that	COP$_1$.OBJ

'Because of that, there are six days—the time is a little long—there are six days; it's like that.'

(Dzʂəkələru 132)

75) t^{h}ər *as an instrument:*

atɕaŋ	***t^{h}ər=ʁala***	*htema*	*χəra-tɕo*
3SG	that=INST	bread	burn-IMPF.OBJ

'She used that to make bread.'

(Caiguoji)

76) nokə *as an instrument:*

atɕaŋ	***nokə=ʁala***	*htema*	*χəra-tɕo*
3SG	that=INST	bread	burn-IMPF.OBJ

'She used that to make bread.'

(Caiguoji)

77) ənə *as an instrument:*

atɕaŋ	***ənə=ʁala***	*jimaŋ=nə*	*ala-tɕə*
3SG	this=INST	goat=ACC	kill-PERF

'He used this to kill the goat.'

(Caiguoji)

78) ənə *as an anaphoric pronoun referring to a reason:*

ənə=ʁala	*pə*	*χeɕaŋ=da*	*ər-da-gə*	*ço*
this=INST	1SG	Ləru=LOC	come-can-FUT	NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ

'Because of this, I can't come to Ləru.'

(Caiguoji)

The following examples contain the demonstrative pronouns *tʰər* and *ənə* with the ablative case marker *=sa*.

79) tʰər *as an anaphoric pronoun:*

tʰə=sa [53]	*χar-tɕə*	*sə=tɕə*	*golər=nə*	*oloŋ*	*da*	*tʰi-tɕə*
that=ABL	arrive-IMPF	water=and	flour=ACC	many	also	add-IMPF

atɕaŋnə *htɕərgə-tɕə*
3SG.ACC stir-PERF
'From there, add more water and flour and stir it.'

(How to Make Bread 3)

80) tʰər *as source:*

tʰə=sa	*ər-saŋ*	*pʰiŋkwo*
that=ABL	come-PERF.NMLZ	apple

'apples that come from there'

(Caiguoji)

81) ənə *as a source:*

ənə	*mərku*	***ən=sa***	*ap*	*wa*
this	clothing	this=ABL	take	COP_1.OBJ

'This clothing was bought from here.'

(Caiguoji)

82) ənə *as a source:*

ən=sa	*ap-tɕə*	*o-saŋ*	*alma*
this=ABL	take-IMPF	go-PERF.NMLZ	apricot

'apricots that were taken from here'

(Caiguoji)

[53] When the ablative enclitic is attached to the demonstrative pronoun *tʰər* 'that', the final /r/ is elided in normal speech. Similarly, when the ablative enclitic is attached to the demonstrative pronoun *ənə* 'this', the final /ə/ is elided.

Sentences (83) and (84) give examples of *tʰər* inflected for number, and sentence (85) gives and example of *tʰər* inflected for both case and number.

83) ***tʰər=la*** *pʰəhtoŋ* *natʰə-tɕə=ku* *udər* *χatɕʰər* *nəkə*
that=PL all dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ day approximately one

wo
COP_1.OBJ
'The date that they (*lit.* 'those') all dance on is about the same.'

(Dzo̱kələru 96)

84) ***tʰər=gə*** *wa-sa* *da* *tsʰowa* *zigə* *hko-saŋ*
that=SG.INDEF COP_1.OBJ-COND also clan little big-POS
'Since there's that, the clan is a little big.'

(Dzo̱kələru 140)

85) ***tʰə=la=nə*** *kʰəl-də*
that=PL=ACC speak-IMP
'Tell about those.'

(Læru Dancing 20)

4.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns occur in the same position in the clause as non-interrogative arguments and obliques. The following examples use the pronoun *kʰaŋ* 'who' to show that Bao'an pronouns are marked with case enclitics in the same way nouns are. Each pair of examples contains a declarative and interrogative form of a similar sentence to demonstrate that the interrogative pronouns occur *in situ*.

86) *atɕaŋ* ***mənnə*** ***lo̱si*** *yi*
3SG 1SG.GEN teacher COP_2.OBJ
'He is my teacher.'

(Caiguoji)

87) *atɕaŋ* ***kʰaŋ*** *wa* [54]
3SG who COP_1.OBJ
'Who is he?'

(Caiguoji)

88) *tɕaɕi* *tsʰamdoχ=nə* ***dʐoma=da*** *oχ-tɕo*
Jiashi gift-ACC Droma=LOC give- IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi gave a gift to Droma.'

(Caiguoji)

89) *tɕaɕi* *tsʰamdoχ=nə* ***kʰaŋ=da*** *oχ-tɕo*
Jiashi gift-ACC who=LOC give- IMPF.OBJ
'Who did Jiashi give a gift to?'

(Caiguoji)

90) *nokə* *au* ***nohkor=la=nə*** *χamda* *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
that man friend=PL=ACC with Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'That man went to Xining with friends.'

(Caiguoji)

91) *tɕaɕi* ***kʰaŋ=nə*** *χamda* *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
Jiashi who=ACC with Xining=LOC go- IMPF.OBJ
'Who did Jiashi go to Xining with?'

(Caiguoji)

92) *ənə* *mərku* ***wəldə=la=gaŋ*** *ba*
this clothing Tibetan=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'This clothing is Tibetan.'
(*lit*. 'This clothing is Tibetans'.')

(Caiguoji)

93) *ənə* *χotɕʰa* ***kʰaŋ=gaŋ*** *ji*
this book who=PRED.POSS COP_2.SUBJ
'Whose book is this?'

(Caiguoji)

[54] It appears to be the case that in the interrogative form predicate nominals make use of the copula *wi/wa* rather than the copula *ba/bi*.

The interrogative pronouns in Bao'an are listed in table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Interrogative pronouns

kʰaŋ	'who'
kʰaŋgaŋ	'whose' (predicate possession)
jaŋ	'what/some'
jaŋgə	'what'[55]

Examples (94) through (97) show the use of *jaŋ* 'what/some' and *jaŋgə* 'what' in context.

94) *tʰər* ***jaŋ*** *wo*
that what COP_1.OBJ
'Why is that?' (*lit.* 'That is what?')

(Dzɻkələru 127)

95) *tʰər=da* ***jaŋ*** *tɕənsan=gə* *wi=ku*
that=LOC what reason=SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ
'What is the reason for that...?' (*lit.* 'What is a reason for that...?')

(Dzɻkələru 141)

96) *ərhte* *tɕʰə* ***jaŋgə*** *u* *wa*
morning 2SG what drink COP_1.OBJ
'What did you have for breakfast (this) morning?'

(Caiguoji)

97) ***jaŋgə*** *ʁali-kə=ku=nə* *da* *ələ* *medə-na*
what look-VBZ=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC also NEG know-DUR
'And I didn't know what to look at.'

(Disappointment 31)

[55] In some contexts, this form might be better translated as 'doing what'. It is included here, however, because in most contexts it is the argument of a clause and as such functions as a pronoun. For further discussion on the morphological complexity of interrogative forms containing *jang*, see §5.8.2.

As a final note, the interrogative pronoun *jaŋ* 'what' is also used in two non-interrogative sentences in my data. In these contexts it means something like 'whatever'.

98) *tsʰəm=da* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl=ku* *taraŋ* *ər-sa* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-sa*
heart=LOC what say=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-COND what say-COND

tʰəke-saŋ
permit-POS
'(You) can say whatever you want to say.'
(*lit.* 'If the desire to say what comes to (your) heart, (you) can say what.')
(Læru Dancing 4)

99) *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-sa* *tʰəke-na* *pe*
what speak-COND permit-DUR EMPH
'(I) can say whatever, right?'
(*lit.* '(I) can say what [EMPH].')
(Læru Dancing 24)

4.2.5 The Use of *χani* 'all' as a Resumptive Pronoun

The form *χani* 'all' is used both as a quantifier modifying a head noun (see §4.3.1) and as a pronoun. When it is used pronominally, it most often functions as a resumptive pronoun referring to a fronted topic (see §5.7 for a discussion of topic marking and topic fronting in Bao'an Tu).

100) *aː* *mehpotɕahpo=da* ***χani=da*** *mantəl-ʁa* *kʰər-na* *pe*
HES poor=LOC all=LOC dig-CAUS be.required-DUR EMPH
'Um, the poor, (they) all should be allowed to dig!'
(Skirmish 26)

101) *wadzə=nə* ***χani=la*** *tɕʰaɲum-kə-tɕə* *mər* *kʰər-na*
sock=ACC all=PL collective-VBZ-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
'As for socks, everyone should wear the same (kind).'
(Læru Dancing 31)

4.3 Noun Phrases

The relative ordering of the constituents of the noun phrase (NP) is given in (102).

102) [(NMLZ) (POSS) (DEM) *(ADJ 2) **N** (ADJ 1) (NUM)]

This template reflects the preferred word order in NP's spoken in isolation and NP's functioning as the arguments of predicates in Bao'an. There are circumstances in which alternative word orders appear to be preferred, however. These are noted in the relevant sections (e.g. in the discussion of the enclitic *=ts^{h}aŋ* 'family' (§3.1.1.3) and the discussion of postpositions (§5.5)).

NMLZ is either a relative clause or a nominal modifier marked by the nominalizer *=ku*. Relative clauses are discussed in §4.3.6 (and §6.1.1), and other nominal modifiers marked by *=ku* are discussed in §4.3.7. POSS is a possessive NP (§4.3.4). Demonstratives (DEM) are discussed in §4.3.2.

Adjectives normally occur immediately following the head noun (in the slot labeled ADJ1), but if there is more than one adjective modifying the same noun, one will immediately follow the noun while the others immediately precede the noun (in the ADJ2 slot). Degree words modifying adjectives occur immediately preceding the adjective they modify. See §4.3.3 for a discussion of the syntactic characteristics of adjectives in Bao'an Tu.

N is a head noun. A lexical noun typically functions as the head of an NP. The template in (102) indicates that the head noun is the only necessary component of a noun phrase, but in fact Bao'an Tu does allow headless NP's. Section 4.3.5 below gives a description of headless NP's. N may also be comprised of either a compound noun or two phonologically separate nouns where the first noun modifies the second. Compound

nouns are comprised of two lexical nouns that form one phonological word–that is, together they share only one primary word stress. In (103) *məχ* [ˈməχ] ‘soldier’ and *χun* [ˈχun] ‘officer’ combine to create *məχχun* [məχ.ˈχun] ‘military officer’ (or in this context, *məχχun=tɕə* [məχ.χun.ˈtɕə] ‘military.officer=QUOT.IMPF’). In (104) *lər* [ˈləɹ] ‘water deity’ and *se* [ˈsei] ‘dance’ comprise the term referring to a particular type of dance performed in honor of water deities (*lərse* [ləɹ.ˈsei], or in accusative case *lərse=nə* [ləɹ.sei.ˈnə]).

103) ***məχχun*** *=tɕə* *ur=ku* *sanə*
military.officer=QUOT.IMPF call=IMPF.NMLZ besides
‘Besides calling them “military officer’, . . .’

(Dzə̱kələru 25)

104) *da* ***lərse*** *=nə* *k^{h}ama* *wo*
also water.deity.dance=ACC position COP.OBJ
‘And the water deity dance is most important.’
(*lit*. ‘Also there is (the) water deity dance’s position.’)

(Dzə̱kələru 11)

When a head noun is modified by a noun, the modifying noun occurs first, and the head noun follows. In (105) and (106) the modifying nouns *ʁari* [ɢa.ˈɻi] ‘pig’ and *alma* [ɑl.ˈmɑ] ‘fruit’ retain their primary word stress.

105) *hkudə* *pə* ***ʁari*** ***maʁa*** *ʁuraŋ* *maŋ* *ap* *wa*
yesterday 1SG pig meat three pound buy COP$_1$.OBJ
‘I bought three pounds of pork yesterday.’

(Caiguoji)

106) *nokə* ***alma*** ***mohtun*** *undər* *wa*
that fruit tree tall COP$_1$.OBJ
‘That fruit tree is tall.’

(Caiguoji)

The NUM slot is the final slot in the NP and can be occupied by numerals optionally preceded or followed by mensural classifiers, ordinal numbers, or quantifiers such as *χani* 'all'. These are all discussed in section 4.3.1. The coordination of NP's is discussed in §4.3.8.

4.3.1 Numerals, Quantifiers, and Classifiers

Numerals and quantifiers generally follow the noun they modify. When two contiguous numbers occur together, the meaning is something like "three or four", for example (see (109)).

107) *tɕerənbotɕʰi=da* ***tɕama*** ***ʁar*** *wi-saŋ*
Zongkaba=LOC cook two COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Zongkaba had two cooks.'

(Dzəkələru 62)

108) *su* ***kama*** ***tʰaun*** *χar-kə-tɕə* *mənda* *ər-ʁa-to*
so minute five arrive-VBZ-IMPF 1SG.LOC come-CAUS-PERF
'So (after) five minutes passed, (they) let me go.'

(Disappointment 52)

109) *mannə* *kʰoɕə* *əndə* *rekoŋ* *kʰoɕə* *əndə*
1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN vicinity here Rebgong vicinity here

natʰe-tɕə=ku ***naka*** ***guraŋ*** ***teraŋ*** ***jaŋgə*** *wo*
dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ type three four what COP_1.OBJ
'In our area—here in the Rebgong area—there are three or four types that are danced here.'

(Dzəkələru 7)

This respective ordering applies for ordinal numbers as well. Terms for ordinal numbers are borrowed from Amdo Tibetan, and the ordinal suffix *–mo* is affixed to the number.

110) ***au*** ***səmba-mo*** *gərgən* *bi-saŋ*
man third-ORD teacher COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'The third man is a teacher.'

(Caiguoji)

111) ***aku*** ***niwə-mo*** *att^{h}ogə* *jaksa* *wa*
girl second-ORD most pretty COP_1.OBJ
'The second girl is the prettiest.'

(Caiguoji)

The quantifier *χani* 'all' also follows the noun it modifies, as in the following examples.

112) *k^{h}ət^{h}ə=ku* *adzi* *iχtɕədu* ***aku*** ***χani=nə***
home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ older.sister younger.sister girl all=ACC

k^{h}əl-tɕi-saŋ
say-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(This) includes (*lit.* 'says (to)') all older sisters, younger sisters, and girls who are at home.'

(Læru Dancing 104)

113) ***maŋgə*** ***tʂ^{h}əma*** ***çarwaŋ*** ***χani=la=gaŋ*** *ba*
1PL.INCL.COLL Chuma Xiabulang all=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
'It belongs to all (of us)--us, Chuma, and Xiabulang.'
(*lit.* '(It) is our, Chuma, (and) Xiabulang all's.')

(Skirmish 9)

Bao'an does not have sortal numeral classifiers. With some mass nouns, it is possible to use mensural numeral classifiers like 'cup' or 'bowl' or units of measurement.[56] If the mensural classifier is a lexical noun whose primary meaning denotes a physical object (such as 'bowl', 'cup', etc.), it occurs between the head noun and the numeral, as in (114) and (115). If the mensural classifier is a word whose lexical

[56] The terms used to refer to classifiers in this discussion are from Gil (2008). Mensural quantifiers are defined as the "additional items" required when nouns of "low countability" occur together with a numeral, such as "glass" in "one glass of water" (Gil 2008). Sortal classifiers are an "additional grammatical element" required in some languages any time nouns occur "in construction with numerals. . .even when such nouns are of high countability" (Gil 2008).

meaning is simply a unit of measurement, it occurs after the numeral, as in (116) and (117).

114) ***tʰəmtʰoχ*** ***dzəjal*** ***tʰaun***
mianpian bowl five
'five bowls of mianpian noodles.'
(Caiguoji)

115) *kərgəlaŋ* *tɕaɕi* ***rakə*** ***dampe*** ***ʁuraŋ*** *u-tɕə*
last.night Jiashi alcohol bottle three drink-PERF
'Jiashi drank three bottles of beer last night.'
(Caiguoji)

116) *kərgəlaŋ* *tɕaɕi* ***rakə*** ***ʁuraŋ*** ***maŋ***[57] *u-tɕə*
last.night Jiashi alcohol three liter drink-PERF
'Jiashi drank three liters of beer last night.'
(Caiguoji)

117) *hkudə* *pə* ***ʁari*** ***maʁa*** ***ʁuraŋ*** ***maŋ*** *ap* *wa*
yesterday 1SG pig meat three pound buy COP_1.OBJ
'I bought three pounds of pork yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

There are a few instances in my data in which a numeral precedes rather than follows the noun it modifies. Slater (2003a) states that the difference in word order indicates a distinction in definiteness in Mangghuer, but there are not enough occurrences of this word order in my data to draw conclusions about whether or not it marks definiteness in Tongren Bao'an.

118) *mannə* *çəŋga=da* *da* *sowo* ***ʁar*** ***udər*** *wo*
1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN Cenga=LOC also important two day COP_1.OBJ
'Here in Cenga, there are also two important days.'
(Dzə̨kələru 134)

[57] The unit of measurement *maŋ* is an Amdo Tibetan loanword whose meaning is similar to the Mandarin word 斤*jin*. When used as a measurement of weight or mass it is equal to about .5 kilograms (or about one pound); when used as a measurement of volume, it is equal to about one liter.

Numerals and quantifiers are unique among the other elements of the NP. While the other modifying elements of the NP (relative clauses, possessive NP's, determiners, and adjectives) do not typically occur as modifiers of pronouns in Bao'an Tu, numerals and the quantifier *χani* do modify pronouns.

119) ***atɕaŋ*** ***tʰaun=la*** *loʂi=da* *samtəχ=gə* *oχ-gəwa*
3SG five=PL teacher=LOC gift=a give-FUT
'They five are going to give teacher a gift.'
(Caiguoji)

120) ***maŋgə*** ***χani*** *amiɕatʂʰon=nə* *məχ* *bi-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL all Amishatchon=ACC soldier COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'We all are Amishatchon's soldiers.'
(Ləru Dancing 124)

4.3.2 Demonstratives

The Bao'an demonstratives are *ənə, nokə,* and *tʰər*. They encode a two-way distinction between proximal (*ənə*) and distal (*nokə*). The third demonstrative (*tʰər*) indicates a referent that is out of sight. Demonstratives usually precede the nouns they modify.

121) ***ənə*** *deku* *amtə* *wa*
this food delicious COP_1.OBJ
'This food is delicious.'
(Caiguoji)

122) ***nokə*** *mərku* *kʰada* *tsʰə* *tɕʰəkʰə* *su-tɕo*
that clothing on dirtiness stick stay-IMPF.OBJ
'That clothing is dirty.'
(Caiguoji)

123) ***tʰər*** *gər* *ədəpkə-tɕo*
that.out-of-sight house collapse- IMPF.OBJ
'That house collapsed.'
(Caiguoji)

There are instances in the data in which *ənə* follows the noun it modifies, but I have yet to identify what this reversal in ordering indicates. The other demonstratives are also reported to exhibit this flexibility in word order, but neither *t^{h}ər* nor *nokə* occur after the noun they modify anywhere in my non-elicited data.

124) *nəkə* *χoŋ=da* *wakə* *dzᵲkə* *naŋda* *ənə*
one year=LOC completely sixth.month in this

jindaməndа ***tɕ^{h}opa*** ***ənə*** *wi* *k^{h}ər=ku*
definitely food.offering this COP$_1$.SUBJ be.required=IMPF.NMLZ
'Once a year, uh, in the sixth month, (we) definitely must have this, these food offerings...'

(Dzᵲkələru 20)

125) ***rəmo*** ***ənə*** *p^{h}ətɕə-saŋ* *k^{h}oŋ* *silaŋ=da* *χatcə-to*
painting this paint-PERF.NMLZ person Xining=LOC leave-PERF
'The person who painted this painting went to Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

The demonstratives in (121)-(123) and (125) are from elicited data, and are used non-anaphorically. The demonstratives (in their adnominal use) are also used anaphorically, however. Both *ənə* and *t^{h}ər* are used anaphorically to refer to discourse participants. Example (124) is taken from an interview about a festival that is called *liuyuehui* in Mandarin Chinese. After speaking for a while about the festival, the interviewee is asked the question in (126) by one of the interviewers.

126) *k^{h}ətɕəχaŋ=sanə* *liujueχue* ***ənə*** *wi-saŋ*
when=besides liuyuehui this COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS
'So when did this "liuyuehui" (festival) start?'

(Dzᵲkələru 53)

In the sentences prior to (127), the speaker has introduced the village's most important mountain deity and explained that he was a famous army officer in the past.

127) ***tʰər*** *rəlaŋ* *tʰər=nə* *məχ* *tʰər* *jaŋgə* *natʰə*
that army.officer that=ACC soldier that how dance

kʰər-si
be.required-Q
'That army officer, how should his soldiers dance that (dance)?'

(Dzəkələru 35)

ənə is also used anaphorically to refer to portions of discourse.[58] Example (128) is a cataphoric reference to a story that follows it.

128) ***ənə*** *da* *amimatɕʰin=nə* *tɕənsan* *ba*
this story Amimaqin reason COP_2.OBJ
'This story is about Amimaqin.'
(*lit.* 'This story is Amimaqin's thing/affair.')

(Caiguoji)

In my data the adnominal demonstrative *nokə* only occurs once in a discourse context, and it is used to refer to a participant who may be assumed to have been present, but is being referred to in a specific way for the first time. In the sentences previous to (129), the narrator describes a scene in which he is being interviewed by a panel of teachers. The particular teacher referred to as *nokə aku loʂi* 'that female teacher' is introduced as an individual for the first time in (129).

129) ***nokə*** *aku* *loʂi* *mənda* *dzəsi* *asox-tɕo*
that girl teacher 1SG.LOC question ask-IMPF.OBJ
'That female teacher asked me questions.'

(Disappointment 46)

[58] My data do not contain any examples of the adnominal use of *tʰər* used anaphorically to refer to portions of discourse. Because the use of adnominal demonstratives to refer anaphorically to portions of discourse occurs so infrequently in Bao'an, it is unclear whether this is a property of Bao'an grammar or whether it is simply an accidental gap in the data.

4.3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives share more syntactic characteristics in common with nouns than with verbs, but they do not pattern identically with nouns. Adjectives from the native vocabulary occur adnominally without any morphology, usually require the use of the copula when used predicatively, and do not take most verbal morphology .

When used adnominally, adjectives usually follow the head noun without any morphological marking.

130) *atɕaŋ* *mənda* ***mehtoχ*** ***tɕəχaŋ=gə*** *oχ-tɕo*
3SG 1SG.LOC flower white= SG.INDEF give-IMPF.OBJ
'He gave me a white flower.'
(Caiguoji)

131) ***naŋdun*** ***hko*** *wi-ts^{h}oŋ* *ənə* ***naŋdun*** ***hko*** *wi-ts^{h}oŋ*
content big COP_1.SUBJ-POS this content big COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'(They) have significant meaning; these have significant meaning.'
(Dzə̨kələru 184)

One exception to this ordering is when there are multiple adjectives modifying one head noun. In these cases, one or more adjectives precede the noun they modify.

132) *atɕaŋ* *mərku=la=nə* *ətɕə=ts^{h}aŋ=nə* *ana* *ap-saŋ* ***χənə***
3SG clothing=PL=ACC 3SG=family=ACC mother buy-PERF.NMLZ new

çəra ***lərki*** ***hko*** *naŋda* *ke-tɕo*
yellow wardrobe big in put-IMPF.OBJ
'She put the clothes in the big new yellow wardrobe that her mother bought.'
(Caiguoji)

Additionally, when multiple adjectives modify one noun, if any of the adjectival phrases contain more than just a lone adjective, all of the adjectives may precede the modified

noun. In the following example, the phrases *χara dəʁa* 'black color' and *jaksa gi*[59] 'pretty NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ' both contain more than just a lone adjective, and all of the adjectives in this noun phrase precede the noun they modify.

133) *χara* *dəʁa* *χeitɕʰaŋ* *jaksa* *gi* *mərku*
black color old pretty NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ clothing
'ugly old black clothing'

(Caiguoji)

As a final note on the word order of adjectives within the NP, there are many syntactic situations in which a single adjective precedes rather than follows the noun it modifies. One example of this is when the NP hosts the enclitic *=tsʰaŋ* 'family'.[60]

134) *jaksa* *aku=tsʰaŋ* *kormu* *wa*
pretty girl=family money COP$_1$.OBJ
'The pretty girl's family is rich.'

(Caiguoji)

Adjectives differ from nouns in that modifying nouns precede the nouns they modify (see §4.3 and examples (105) and (106) above), while adjectives typically follow the nouns they modify. Compare (130) and (131) with (135) and (136) below, for example.

135) *atɕaŋ* *mənda* ***wartʰoŋ*** ***mehtoχ*** *oχ-tɕo*
3SG 1SG.LOC peony flower give-IMPF.OBJ
'He gave me a peony flower.'

(Caiguoji)

136) *alma* *mohtun*
fruit tree
'fruit tree'

(Caiguoji)

[59] This sentence is the only occurance of *jaksa gi* in my data. Because the negative copula *gi* is verbal, I hypothesize that a nominalizer (probably *=ku* 'IMPF.NMLZ') has been omitted (*jaksa gi=ku* → *jaksa gi*).
[60] Another such situation is when an NP is the object of a postposition; see §5.5.

Although both adjectives and nouns make use of a copula when they are used predicatively, adjectival predicates use the copula *wa/wi*, while nominal predicates typically make use of the copula *ba/bi.* The copulas are discussed in §5.2.5.

137) *nokə mohton undər* ***wa***
that tree tall COP_1.OBJ
'That tree is tall.'

(Caiguoji)

138) *tɕaɕi gərgən* ***bi-saŋ***
Jiashi teacher COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Jiashi is a teacher.'

(Caiguoji)

The use of *wa/wi* is similar to possessive constructions, so it might be tempting to translate (137) more literally as something like "that tree has tallness". This would be a mistake, however, because predicates of possession differ from adjectival predicates in that the possessor in a predicate of possession is marked with dative case.

139) ***tɕaɕi=da*** *noʁi ʁar wa*
Jiashi=LOC dog two COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi has two dogs.'

(Caiguoji)

Locative predicates also use the copula *wa/wi*, but in locative predicates the location is marked by the locative enclitic as in (140), whereas the adjective in an adjectival predicate does not co-occur with any case enclitic.

140) *tɕaɕi* ***silaŋ=da*** *wa*
Jiashi Xining=LOC COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi is in Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

Table 4.3 lists the case marking properties and copula used by adjectival predicates, nominal predicates and predicates of possession for purposes of comparison.

Table 4.3. Properties of copular predicates

	case marking of S	copula used
adjectival predicate:	nominative	*wa/wi*
nominal predicate:	nominative	*ba/bi*
predicate of possession:	dative	*wa/wi*

As was mentioned in 3.4.1, imperfect non-finite adjectival predicates do not make use of the copula *wa/wi*. As a result, the coordinative imperfect verbal suffix *-tɕə* is hosted by the adjective itself in non-finite adjectival predicates marked with *-tɕə*.

141) *atɕaŋ* ***tamo-tɕə*** *o-tɕo*
3SG slow-IMPF go-IMPF.OBJ
'He goes slowly.'
(*or* 'He is slow and goes.')

(Caiguoji)

142) *tɕʰaŋli* ***hko-tɕə*** *oχ-tɕo*
pear big-IMPF give-IMPF.OBJ
'The pears are big, and (they) give (them).'

(Caiguoji)

This phenomenon is likely due more to the constraint against copulas hosting *-tɕə* [61] rather than to any verb-like properties inherent in adjectives, but the fact remains that this is a morphological characteristic not shared with nouns.

Table 4.4 lists the nominal characteristics of adjectives (showing that they are distinct from verbs) as well as the characteristics that distinguish them from nouns,

[61] This constraint is mentioned in §5.2.5, and it also appears to result in the hosting of the nominalizer *=ku* 'IMPF.NMLZ' by postpositions and other locative and temporal obliques when they modify nouns (see §4.3.7).

supporting the claim that adjectives form a separate syntactic class distinct from both nouns and verbs.

Table 4.4. Morphological and syntactic characteristics of adjectives

Nominal characteristics	*Non-nominal characteristics*
• occur adnominally with no morphology	• follow (rather than precede) the noun they modify
• usually make use of a copula when used predicatively	• co-occur with the copula *wa/wi* (without the locative case enclitic) rather than *ba/bi* when used predicatively
• do not take most verbal morphology	• do take non-finite imperfect verbal suffix *-tɕə*

There are a few exceptions to this pattern: the borrowed property terms *ʂakə* 'good' (>Amdo Tibetan *ʂa ɣə* 'good') and *gakə* 'happy' (>Amdo Tibetan *hga* 'happy') occur as predicates without a copula and occasionally take finite morphology. Compare (137) and (138) above with the following examples.

143) *nokə* *χotɕʰa* ***ʂakə***
that book good
'That book is good.'

(Caiguoji)

144) *tʰəŋgətɕə* *kʰəl=ku* *ø-tɕə* *mənda* ***gakə-ʁa-tɕə***
like.that say=IMPF.NMLZ (COP)-IMPF 1SG.ACC happy-CAUS-PERF
'When I heard that, it made me happy.'

(Disappointment 9)

Although *ʂakə* fills the syntactic slot of the verb, it often appears without any verbal morphology. For this reason, it is something of an anomaly, forming a syntactic class all on its own. *gakə* on the other hand usually patterns syntactically with the class of verbs.

Regular adjectives as well as the more verb-like property terms *ʂakə* and *gakə* are modified by *ɕikə* 'very'.[62] The intensifier *ɕikə* directly precedes the adjective it modifies.

145) *disot* *nəkə=də=ku* *tɕʰitɕʰə* ***ɕikə*** ***tamo*** *wa*
clock one=LOC=IMPF.NMLZ car very slow COP_1.OBJ
'The one'o'clock bus is very slow.'
(Caiguoji)

146) *nokə* *kʰoŋ* ***ɕikə*** ***hko*** *wa*
that person very big COP_1.OBJ
'That person is very big.'
(Caiguoji)

147) *səmba-mo* ***ɕikə*** ***ʂa-no***
third-ORD very good-DUR
'The third is the best.'
(Caiguoji)

148) *məχɕə* *tɕaɕi* ***ɕikə*** ***gakə-gəwa***
tomorrow Jiashi very happy-FUT.OBJ
'Jiashi will be very happy tomorrow.'
(Caiguoji)

Adjectives are also modified by the word *attʰogə* 'most'.

149) *ɲəntoχlakʰa* ***attʰogə*** ***ŋamada*** *natʰə-tɕo*
Nianduhu.Laka most behind dance-IMPF.OBJ
'Nianduhu Laka village dances very last.'
(Ləru Dancing 92)

150) *aku* *niwə-mo* ***attʰogə*** ***jaksa*** *wa*
girl second-ORD most pretty COP_1.OBJ
'The second girl is the prettiest.'
(Caiguoji)

[62] The intensifier *ɕikə* is most often used to modify adjectives, but it can also modify verbs. See §5.3 for examples.

4.3.4 Possessive NP's

Nominal possessors take the accusative enclitic *=nə* and precede the noun they modify. The possessed noun is not marked for possession.

151) *ənə da* ***amimatɕʰin=nə*** *dʑəmsan ba*
this story Amimaqin=ACC matter COP_2.OBJ
'This story is about Amimaqin.'
(*lit*. 'This story is Amimaqin's affair.')]

(Caiguoji)

Bao'an does not make a grammatical distinction between alienably and inalienably possessed NP's.

152) a. *nokə au=nə kʰoldaku* 'that man's shoe'
b. *nokə au=nə nər* 'that man's face'
c. *nokə au=nə papa* 'that man's father'

The internal word order of a possessive NP is the same as that of a regular NP, with the exception that there is a strong preference for avoiding adjectives following the head noun. The following sentences contain possessive NP's with an adjective (153), numeral (154), and relative clause (155).

153) ***hko*** ***dedə=nə*** *kʰoldaku dasəra-tɕo*
big grandfather=ACC shoe tear-IMPF.OBJ
'The elderly grandfather's shoe was ruined.'

(Caiguoji)

154) ***hko*** ***dedə*** ***tʰaun=la=nə*** *kʰoldaku dasəra-tɕo*
big grandfather five=PL=ACC shoe tear-IMPF.OBJ
'The five elderly grandfather's shoes were ruined.'

(Caiguoji)

155) ***tʰaŋka*** ***pitɕə=ku*** ***kʰoŋ=nə*** *kʰoldaku dasəra-tɕo*
tangka write=IMPF.NMLZ person=ACC shoe tear-IMPF.OBJ
'The shoe of the person who paints tangka was ruined.'

(Caiguoji)

Adnominal NP's marked with *=nə* express a broad range of semantic relationships to the modified NP. Table 4.5 gives some examples.

Table 4.5. Semantic relationships expressed by genitival use of *=nə*

ownership:	*nokə au=nə k^{h}oldaku*	'that man's shoe'
inherent characteristic:	*nokə au=nə nər*	'that man's face'
familial relationship:	*nokə au=nə papa*	'that man's father'
participation:	*nokə au=nə dewa*	'that man's village'
source:	*unaŋ=nə nizi*	'cow's milk'
group membership:	*roŋ=nə k^{h}oŋ*	'city person'
origin:	*gasər=nə k^{h}oŋ*	'person from Gasare'
partitive:	*roŋ=nə gər*	'house in town'
agentive participation:	*aku=nə welə*	'women's work'

4.3.5 Headless NP's

Referring expressions that otherwise function as NP's but do not contain a head noun occur in Bao'an. These headless NP's typically consist of an adjective, a demonstrative, or a quantifier or numeral (or a combination of a demonstrative and a numeral), as in the following examples. For a discussion of headless relative clauses, see section 4.3.6 below.

156) *headless NP comprised of an adjective:*

atɕaŋnə	*pe*	*undər*	*wa-sa*	***jaχsa=gə***	*ço*
3SG.GEN	body	tall	COP$_1$.OBJ-COND	pretty= SG.INDEF	NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ

'Although he is tall, he is not good-looking (*lit.* 'not a good-looking [one]').'

(Caiguoji)

157) *headless NP comprised of a demonstrative and a numeral:*

tʰər guraŋ *naŋ-sa* *mannə* *ɲəntʰoχ* *ma* *wi-sa,*
that three in-ABL 1PL.INCL.PAUC Nianduhu TOP COP_1.SUBJ-COND

da *ləɾsɛ=nə* *kʰama* *wo*
also water god dance=ACC position COP_1.OBJ
'From among those three, if it's our Nianduhu village also, the water god dance is most important (*lit.* 'water god dance's position is').'

(Dzo̱kələru 10-11)

158) *headless NP comprised of an ordinal numeral:*

səmba-mo *o-tɕo*
third-ORD go-IMPF.OBJ
'The third (one) is going.'

(Caiguoji)

159) *headless NP comprised of a quantifier:*

χani=la *ɲəm-kə-tɕə* *natʰə-sa* *jaksa* *wa*
all=PL tidy-VBZ-IMPF dance-COND pretty COP_1.OBJ
'If all dance nicely, (it) is pretty.'

(Ləru Dancing 45)

Possessors marked with the accusative enclitic *=nə* do not occur without their modified head nouns. The motivation for this may be to avoid confusion that would arise due to the use of the same clitic (*=nə*) to indicate both genitive and accusative case. Possessive nouns (and pronouns) marked with the predicate possessive enclitic *=gaŋ*, however, do occur without a possessed head noun, as is demonstrated in (161) and (162).

160) ****dzo̱ma=nə*** *ɬokʰaŋ* *naŋda* *wa*
Droma=ACC school in COP_1.OBJ
*'Droma's is at school.'

(Caiguoji)

161) ***dzo̱ma=gaŋ*** *ɬokʰaŋ* *naŋda* *wa*
Droma=PRED.POSS. school in COP_1.OBJ
'Droma's is at school.'

(Caiguoji)

162) ***məngaŋ*** *kʰətʰə* *ji*
1SG.PRED.POSS house.LOC COP_2.SUBJ
'Mine is at home.'

(Caiguoji)

A specific use of a numeral in an NP without a head noun is the use of *nəkə* 'one' as the predicate in a nominal predicate to mean 'the same'.

163) *tʰər=la* *pʰəhtoŋ* *natʰə-tɕə=ku* *udər* *χatɕʰər* ***nəkə***
that=PL all dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ day approximately one

wo
COP_1.OBJ
'The date that they all dance is about the same.'

(Dzə̨kələru 96)

164) *tʰər* *çi-sa* *morhtɕə=la* *χani* *χatɕʰər*
that NEG.COP_2.OBJ-COND other=PL all approximately

nəkə *wo*
one COP_1.OBJ
'If not for that, (it) would be about the same as all the others.'

(Dzə̨kələru 116)

This construction appears to be a shortened form of the phrase *nəkə da nəkə* 'one and one'.

165) *aː* *məχse=sa* *tɕʰe* *ɬarse* *lərse=ʁula*
HES soldier.dance=ABL no.matter god.dance water.dance=PAU

...wakə... *natʰə-tɕə=ku* *naŋdun* ***nəkə*** ***da*** ***nəkə***
completely dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ content one also one

ji-saŋ
COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'...uh...Out of the soldier dances, no matter whether (it is) the dancing of god dance or the water dance...um...the meaning is the same.'

(Dzə̨kələru 19)

166) *da* *tɕ^{h}okə-tɕə=ku* *χani* *naŋdun* ***nəkə***
also offer.burnt.offering-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ all content one

da ***nəkə*** *wo*
also one COP$_1$.OBJ
'The meaning of all the burnt offerings is the same.'

(Dzəkələru 37)

4.3.6 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses in Bao'an precede the nouns they modify and are marked by the nominalizers *=ku* and *-saŋ*; *=ku* indicates imperfect aspect, and *-saŋ* indicates perfective aspect. This yields the respective ordering "REL-/=NMLZ N", where "REL" is the relative clause, "NMLZ" is the nominalizer *=ku* or *-saŋ*, and "N" is the noun modified by the relative clause. The argument in the relative clause that is co-referential with the head noun is implicit, leaving a gap in the relative clause.

167) ***[t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ*** ***htɕəl-tɕə]=ku*** *t^{h}ər* *aku* *dortɕe=ts^{h}aŋ=nə*
mianpian prepare-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ that woman Dorje=family=ACC

ana *ba*
mother COP$_2$.OBJ
'That woman making mianpian noodles is Dorje's mother.'

(Caiguoji)

168) ***[rəmo*** ***ənə*** ***p^{h}ətɕə]-saŋ*** *k^{h}oŋ* *silaŋ=da* *χatcə-to*
painting this paint-PERF.NMLZ person Xining=LOC leave-PERF
'The person who painted this painting went to Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

The modified nouns in these constructions are frequently omitted, creating headless relative clauses.[63] Compare (167) and (168) with (169) and (170) below.

169) ***[tʰəmtʰoχ htɕəl-tɕə]=ku*** *dortɕe=tsʰaŋ=nə ana ba*
mianpian prepare-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ Dorje=family=ACC mother COP_2.OBJ
'(The one) making mianpian noodles is Dorje's mother.'
(Caiguoji)

170) ***[rəmo ənə pʰətɕə]-saŋ*** *silaŋ=da χatcə-to*
painting this paint-PERF.NMLZ Xining=LOC leave-PERF
'(The one who) painted this painting went to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

Direct objects, indirect objects, locative expressions (regardless of whether they are marked with locative case or are postpositional phrases), and genitives can be relativized. Neither case enclitics nor postpositions persist in the relative clause when the noun with which they are associated is relativized (compare (171) with (172) and (175) with (176) below for examples), which is not surprising given that the enclitic's host noun is gapped.

Indirect objects are marked with the dative *=da* as in (171) below, but when they become the head of a relative clause, they are case marked for their grammatical role in the matrix clause.

171) *dortɕə* ***aku=gə=da*** *samtəχ=gə oχ-tɕo*
Dorje girl= SG.INDEF =LOC gift=SG.INDEF give- IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje gave a girl a present.'
(Caiguoji)

172) *[dortɕə samtəχ=gə oχ]-saŋ* ***aku*** *əndə su-tɕo*
Dorje gift= SG.INDEF give-PERF.NMLZ girl here live- IMPF.OBJ
'The girl Dorje gave a present to lives here.'
(Caiguoji)

[63] It is often difficult to determine whether clauses like these are relative clauses or nominalized actions. See §6.1.2.3 for a discussion of these facts.

Locative expressions are marked either with the locative enclitic *=da* (as in (173)) or by a postposition, such as *k^{h}ada* in (175). As is evident in (174) and (176), neither the locative enclitic nor postpositions are retained in the relative clause when the noun from the locative expression is relativized.

173) *pə* ***silaŋ=da*** *o-gi*
1SG Xining=LOC go-FUT.SUBJ
'I am going to go to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

174) ***[pə əde o-tɕə]=ku*** *satɕ^{h}a silaŋ yi*
1SG just go-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ place Xining COP_2.SUBJ
'The place I have just gone to is Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

175) *atɕaŋ dzəjaŋ=nə* ***tɕ^{h}ak^{h}a k^{h}ada*** *ke-tɕo*
3SG dish=ACC shelf on put-IMPF.OBJ
'She is putting dishes on the shelf.'
(Caiguoji)

176) *dortɕə* ***[atɕaŋ dzəjaŋ=nə ke-tɕə]=ku*** *tɕ^{h}ak^{h}a=da*
Dorje 3SG dish=ACC put-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ shelf=LOC

t^{h}oχ-kə-tɕo
collision-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje bumped into the shelf he put the dishes on.'
(Caiguoji)

Genitive nouns may also be relativized without retaining any indication that the relativized noun is a possessor in the relative clause.

177) *pə* ***atɕaŋnə*** *χotɕ^{h}a=nə ʁui wa*
1SG 3SG.GEN book=ACC borrow COP_1.OBJ
'I borrowed his book.'
(Caiguoji)

178) ***[pə χotɕ^{h}a ʁui]-saŋ*** *k^{h}oŋ mənnə laoʂi yi*
1SG book borrow-PERF.NMLZ person 1SG.GEN teacher COP_2.SUBJ
'The person whose book I borrowed is my teacher.'
(Caiguoji)

Obliques with ablative case and objects of comparison cannot be relativized.

179) *pə ədе χənə silaŋ=sa ər wa*
1SG just new Xining=ABL come COP_1.OBJ
'I have just come from Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

180) * ***[pə ədе ər]-saŋ*** *satɕʰa silaŋ yi*
1SG just come-PERF.NMLZ place Xining COP_2.SUBJ
'The place I have just come from is Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

181) *tɕaʂi nokə kʰoŋ utɕə-tɕə meχpʰo wa*
Jiashi that person compare-IMPF poor COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi is poorer than that person.'
(Caiguoji)

182) *[dortɕə* ***tɕaʂi utɕə-tɕə meχpʰo wi]=ku*** *kʰoŋ=da*
Dorje Jiashi compare-IMPF poor COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ person=DAT

kormu oχ-tɕo
money give-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje gave money to the person who is poorer than Jiashi.'
*'Dorje gave money to the person whom Jiashi is poorer than.'
(Caiguoji)

Assuming that ablatives are obliques, this poses one small exception to Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessability hierarchy:

S > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OBJ of COMPARISON

This hierarchy predicts that if genitive noun phrases are able to be relativized, then all obliques will also be relativized. Bao'an genitive noun phrases are able to be relativized, but obliques do not act uniformly as a natural class. Locatives may be relativized while ablatives may not. This yields a hierarchy of accessibility slightly different from Keenan & Comrie's hierarchy:

$$\underbrace{\text{S} > \text{DO} > \text{IO} > \text{OBL}_{[\text{LOC}]} > \text{GEN}}_{\textit{Available for relativization in Bao'an}} > \underbrace{\text{OBL}_{[\text{ABL}]} > \text{OBJ of COMP}}_{\textit{Not available for relativization in Bao'an}}$$

Finally, while ablatives and objects of comparison may not be relativized, the second noun phrase in a postpositional phrase meaning 'between x and y' may be relativized. See (183) for an example.

183) *tɕaɕi daŋ=tɕə dzi̯ama=ʁala=nə htɕida su-tɕo*
Jiashi door=and window=DU=ACC middle sit-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi is sitting between the door and the window.'
(Caiguoji)

184) *dortɕə **[tɕaɕi daŋ=tɕə dzi̯ama=ʁala=nə htɕida su-tɕə]=ku***
Dorje Jiashi door=and window=DU=ACC middle sit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ

(dzi̯ama)=nə koʁol-tɕə
window=ACC break-PERF
'Dorje broke the window that Jiashi is sitting between the door and (it).'
(Caiguoji)

Unlike other relative clauses, the relativized NP is retained in the relative clause in this case (meaning there is no gap in the relative clause).[64] The parentheses around the second occurrence of *dzi̯ama* 'window' indicate that it is optional. If it is left out, the sentence is grammatically ambiguous as to whether the door or the window was broken. If it is the window that is broken, it is natural to omit *dzi̯ama.* Based on their knowledge that windows are more fragile than doors, Bao'an interlocutors assume that barring any specification to the contrary it was the window rather than the door that was broken.

[64] My data do not contain any other instances of either internally headed or double-headed relative clauses.

4.3.7 Other Nominal Modifiers Marked by =*ku*

In addition to marking relative clauses, the nominalizer =*ku* is hosted by postpositions as well as some other locative obliques and time words to mark them as nominal modifiers.

4.3.7.1 Postpositional Phrases Used as Nominal Modifiers

Postpositional phrases functioning as clausal constituents are discussed in §5.5. Postpositional phrases also occur as constituents of the NP, however; and when this happens, they are marked by the nominalizer =*ku*.

185) *tɕʰaka* ***derə=ku*** *dzejal=la=nə* *pə* *waʁa* *war-o*
shelf on=IMPF.NMLZ bowl=PL=ACC 1SG wash hold-PERF
'As for the bowls on the shelf, I have finished washing them.'
(Caiguoji)

186) *tʰamajimago* *lo* *dzo̱tɕə* ***naŋda=ku*** *dedə=la*
even year sixty in=IMPF.NMLZ grandfather=PL

satɕə-tɕə *tʰorun=da* *laχɕi* *tɕo-tɕə* *ke-tɕə* *da*
go.through-IMPF head=LOC towel wear-IMPF put-IMPF also

jindaməndа *hkuraŋ* *jiχ* *kʰər-saŋ*
definitely circle hit be.required-POS
'Even the grandfathers under sixty must put a towel on (their heads) and go in a circle.'
(Dzə̨kələru 164)

The distinction between a postposition hosting =*ku* and one without =*ku* can be a fine one, as in the following pair of sentences.

187) *nokə* *goŋsi* ***naŋda=ku*** *ɕola* *çu-tɕə*
that store in=IMPF.NMLZ yogurt spoil-PERF
'The yogurt in that store spoiled.'
(Caiguojii)

188) *nokə* *goŋsi* ***naŋda*** *çola* *çu-tçə*
that store in yogurt spoil-PERF
'The yogurt spoiled in that store.'
(Caiguojii)

There are isolated instances of this use of *=ku* that can be replaced with the accusative enclitic *=nə* and still be marginally acceptable, but the use of *=ku* is preferred in these sentences, as in the example below.

189) *mohton* ***derə=ku*** *alma=la* *htçər-kə-tçə*
tree on=IMPF.NMLZ fruit=PL prepare-VBZ-PERF
'The fruit on the tree ripened.'
(Caiguoji)

190) *?mohton* ***derə=nə*** *alma=la* *htçər-kə-tçə*
tree on=ACC fruit=PL prepare-VBZ-PERF
?'The fruit on the tree ripened.'
(Caiguoji)

These cases are rare, however. Normally a postpositional phrase modifying a noun must be marked with *=ku* as the unacceptability of (191) and (192) with *=nə* (rather than *=ku*) demonstrates.

191) **tç^{h}aka* ***derə=nə*** *dzejal=la=nə* *pə* *waʁa* *war-o*
shelf on=ACC bowl=PL=ACC 1SG wash hold-PERF
*'As for the bowls on the shelf, I have finished washing them.'
(Caiguoji)

192) **nokə* *goŋsi* ***naŋda=nə*** *çola* *çu-tçə*
that store in=ACC yogurt spoil-PERF
*'The yogurt in that store spoiled.'
(Caiguojii)

4.3.7.2 Other Locative Obliques Used as Nominal Modifiers

When the deictic place terms *tʰənda* 'there' and *ənda* 'here', and the word *kʰətʰə* 'house.LOC' are used to modify nouns, they are marked with the nominalizer =*ku*.

193) ***tʰəndə=ku*** *mehtoχ*
there=IMPF.NMLZ flower
'flowers (that are) there'

(Caiguoji)

194) ***əndə=ku*** *mehtoχ*
here=IMPF.NMLZ flower
'flowers (that are) here'

(Caiguoji)

195) *kʰətʰə* *tʰa-sa* ***kʰətʰə=ku*** *aku=la*
home.LOC sleep-COND home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ girl=PL

wi-sa *sauma* *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
COP$_1$.SUBJ-COND ceremonially.clean COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'If (they) sleep at home, if there are girls at home, (they) will not be ceremonially clean.'

(Læru Dancing 101-102)

4.3.7.3 Time Words as Nominal Modifiers

There are two time words in my data that appear as nominal modifiers: *hkutə* 'yesterday' and *nudə* 'today'. Both of these words require the use of =*ku* when used adnominally.

196) ***hkutə=ku*** *kʰi* *hko=ʁala* *atçə=tsʰaŋ=nə*
yesterday=IMPF.NMLZ wind big=INST 3SG=family=ACC

gər=nə *dəp-kə-ʁa-tçə*
house=ACC collapse-VBZ-CAUS-PERF
'Yesterday's big wind caused their house to collapse.'

(Caiguoji)

197) *pə* *ana=da* ***nudə=ku*** *çawa=nə* *kʰəl* *wa*
1SG mother=LOC today=IMPF.NMLZ thing=ACC say COP$_1$.OBJ
'I told mother today's news.'

(Caiguoji)

4.3.7.4 The Use of =*də* Plus =*ku* to Mark Nominal Modifiers

Finally, there are two instances in my data in which =*ku* appears to be hosted by a noun phrase hosting the enclitic =*də* 'LOC' to form a nominal modifier.

198) *disot* ***nəkə=də=ku*** *tɕʰitɕʰə* *ɕikə* *tamo* *wa*
o.clock one=LOC=IMPF.NMLZ car very slow COP_1.OBJ
'The one o'clock bus is very slow.'

(Caiguoji)

199) *tɕəχaŋ* ***dəχ=də=ku*** *mehtoχ*
white color=LOC=IMPF.NMLZ flower
'white colored flower'

(Caiguoji)

4.3.7.5 Concluding Remarks on the Use of =*ku* to Mark Nominal Modifiers

It is striking that in most of the cases in which =*ku* is used to mark a nominal modifier, it is hosted by a word that is either hosting a locative enclitic (listed in (200a)) or whose etymology includes a locative enclitic (listed in (200b)).

200)a. *noun phrases hosting* =də *'LOC'*
disot nəkə=də 'o.clock one=LOC'
tɕəχaŋ dəχ=də 'white color=LOC'

b. *words with etymologies including* =da *'LOC'*
ənə 'this' + =*da* 'LOC' > *əndə* 'here'
tʰər 'that' + =*da* 'LOC' > *tʰəndə* 'there'
naŋ 'inside (AMDO)' + =*da* 'LOC' > *naŋda* 'in (pp.)'
kər 'house' + =*da* 'LOC' > *kʰətʰə* 'at/to home'

There are two types of exception to this pattern. The first involves the time words *hkutə* 'yesterday' and *nudə* 'today'. It does not seem likely that their etymologies include the locative enclitic like those in (200b). However, the use of =*ku* with these words may have come about by analogy since their phonological shape is so similar to the words listed in (200b) (i.e. they end in -*tə*/-*də*).

The second exception to the pattern is the postposition *derə* 'on'. Again, its etymology does not appear to include the absorption of the locative enclitic. It may be the case, however, that as the morphological makeup of postpositions whose etymologies do include the locative enclitic has become more fossilized, the use of *=ku* to form nominal modifiers has been extended to the entire class of postpositions. This explanation also may shed some light on the fact that the use of the genitive enclitic *=nə* is marginally acceptable only with *derə* ('on') and not with any of the postpositions ending in [dɑ]. The hesitance to use *=ne* with postpositions ending in [da] may be a vestige from when [dɑ] was still analyzable as a case enclitic; thus the addition of *=nə* would have constituted double case marking, which does not occur in Bao'an Tu.

It may be that this use of *=ku* with words that are not verbs arises from the omission of a copula to which the nominalizer *=ku* was attached. Not only does this hypothesis straightforwardly explain why a morpheme whose primary use is verbal (and would otherwise be analyzed as a verbal suffix) is hosted by non-verbal words, but also omitting copulas is a common phenomenon both cross linguistically and specifically in this branch of Mongolic languages. It is not difficult to imagine that sentence (187), for example, may have one time been expressed as (201).

201)	**nokə*	*goŋsi*	*naŋda*	***wi=ku***	*ɕola*	*çu-tɕə*
	that	store	in	COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ	yogurt	spoil-PERF

*'The yogurt that is in that store spoiled.'

When asked directly whether the addition of the copula *wi* in this manner is acceptable, my language consultant responded in the negative, but such examples do infrequently occur in a text spoken by one elderly speaker.

202) *atɕaŋnə...* *wakə...* *ʑəpdaχ...* *mannə...* ***əndə***
3SG.GEN what mountain.deity 1PL.INCL.COLL.ACC here

wi=ku *χani...* *ʑəpdaχ* *χani*
COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ all mountain.deity all

məχχun *wo*
soldier.officer COP_1.OBJ
'His. . .um. . .mountain deities. . .our. . .all that are here. . .all of the mountain deities are military officers.'

(Dzə̤kələru 23)

203) *da* *tʰər...* *atɕaŋ[nə]* ***najoχ=də*** ***wi=ku***
also that 3SG[ACC] subordinate=LOC COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ

χani... *tɕərzə* *χani* *atɕaŋnə* *məχ*
all everyone all 3SG.ACC soldier

htɕər *kʰər-saŋ*
do be.required-POS
'And so. . .all who are his subordinates--everyone should all be his soldiers.'

(Dzə̤kələru 86)

Thus it is likely that *=ku* was historically a verbal suffix. However, its historical source notwithstanding, in this usage the nominalizer *=ku* is hosted by words of a number of different syntactic categories; and when it is hosted by a word heading up a phrase (e.g. a postposition), it appears to mark the entire phrase (e.g. postpositional phrase) rather than the host word only. For these reasons it must be analyzed as a clitic rather than a suffix.

4.3.8 Coordination of NP's

4.3.8.1 Coordination of Two NP's

The coordinating enclitic *=tɕə* is usually affixed to the first NP in a pair of conjoined NP's. The brackets in the following examples indicate NP boundaries.

204) *atɕaŋ* *[[dzəjaŋ]=gə=**tɕə*** *[k^{h}idzə]=gə]* *ap-tɕo*
3SG bowl= SG.INDEF =and chopstick=SG.INDEF buy- IMPF.OBJ
'He bought a bowl and a (pair of) chopsticks.'
(Caiguoji)

205) *χapa* *[[dzəjaŋ]=ʁala=**tɕə*** *[gaŋzi]=ʁula]=nə* *ʁoʁol-tɕə*
dog bowl=DU=and cup=PAU=ACC break-PERF
'The dog broke two bowls and a few cups.'
(Caiguoji)

In this construction, the second of two human referents is followed by the dual enclitic *=ʁala*.[65] If a case enclitic is present, it follows the dual enclitic, as in the following example.

206) *atɕaŋ* *[[dzo̱ma]=tɕə* *[k^{h}ont^{h}arhtɕə]]=**ʁala**=da* *t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ* *htɕəl-tɕo*
3SG Droma=and Kuantaiji=DU=LOC mianpian prepare- IMPF.OBJ
'She made mianpian noodles for Droma and Kuantaiji.'
(Caiguoji)

If the second of two coordinated NP's has its own number enclitic, however, the dual enclitic *=ʁala* is not added to the second of the coordinated NP's.

207) *atɕaŋ* *[[ahku]=ʁala=tɕə* *[ɬoma]=**la**]=da* *hkutɕə* *htɕəl-tɕo*
3SG monk=DU=and student=PL=LOC dinner prepare-IMPF.OBJ
'She made dinner for the (two) monks and the students.'
(Caiguoji)

[65] As was mentioned in §3.1.1.2.3, the use of the dual enclitic *=ʁala* is usually required with human referents, while it is optional with inanimate referents.

In nominative case, *=tɕə* may be omitted as in (208).

208) *[[dortɕə] [tɕaɕi]]=ʁala roŋ=da o-tɕo*
Dorje Jiashi=DU prefecture.town=LOC go- IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Jiashi are going to town.'
(Caiguoji)

Case of coordinated NP's is indicated by an enclitic hosted by the second coordinated NP.

209) *Coordinated NP's occurring as the object of a postposition (no case enclitic):*
atɕaŋ htema=nə [[depɕəl]=la=tɕə [leŋχua]=la] naŋda ke-tɕo
3SG bread=ACC plate=PL=and large.bowl=PL in put-IMPF.OBJ
'He put the bread on/in the plates and the large bowls.'
(Caiguoji)

210) *Coordinated NP's with accusative case enclitic =nə:*
[[tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə [dzəjaŋ]=la]=nə tɕ^{h}ak^{h}a=də ke-tɕo
teakettle=DU=and bowl=PL=ACC shelf=LOC put-IMPF.OBJ
'The (two) teakettles and the bowls were put on the shelf.'
(Caiguoji)

211) *Coordinated NP's hosting genitival use of =nə:*
[[ənə tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə [dzəjaŋ]=la]=nə dəʁa ələ htɕigə-na
this teakettle=DU=and bowl=PL=ACC color NEG same-DUR
'The color of these two teakettles and the bowls is not the same.'
(Caiguoji)

212) *Coordinted NP's hosting locative case enclitic =da:*
[[tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə [dzəjaŋ]=la]=da kormu tɕa alda-tɕə
teakettle=DU=and bowl=PL=LOC money one.hundred spend-PERF
'The (two) teakettles and the bowls cost one hudred yuan.'
(*lit.* '(someone) paid one hundred yuan for the (two) teakettles and the bowls.')
(Caiguoji)

213) *Coordinated NP's hosting instrumental case enclitic =ʁala:*

atɕaŋ	*[[maʁa*	*naka*	*ʁar]=tɕə*	*[dapəgəku]=la]=**ʁala***	*ts^{h}i*
3SG	meat	type	two=and	spice=PL=INST	vegetable

htɕər-tɕo
do-IMPF.OBJ
'She used two types of meat and the spices to make dishes.'

(Caiguoji)

214) *Coordinated NP's hosting ablative case enclitic =sa:*

ənə	*"[[sə*	*sola-tɕə=ku]=tɕə*	*[nat^{h}oŋ]]=ʁala=**sa***	*hko*	*nat^{h}oŋ*
this	water	irrigate-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ=and	festival=DU=ABL	big	festival

k^{h}ər-u,	*sə*	*hko*	*t^{h}oroŋ*	*k^{h}ər-u"=tɕə*
be.required-Q	water	big	head	be.required-Q=QUOT.IMPF

'He said, "out of irrigation or a festival, do you want a big festival or a big well?"'

(Dzo̱kələru 142)

It appears to be the case that the ablative enclitic *=sa* cannot be hosted directly by the superordinate NP containing the two coordinated NP's, so if the dual enclitic *=ʁala* is not hosted by the superordinate NP, the form *naŋ* 'inside' must be inserted. This is demonstrated in the following examples.[66]

215) **atɕaŋ* *[[ənə* *tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə* *[dzəjaŋ]=la]=**sa*** *tsaŋtem=ʁala=nə*

3SG	this	teakettle=DU=and	bowl=PL=ABL	teakettle=DU=ACC

saga-tɕə
choose-PERF
*'Out of these two teakettles and the bowls, he chose the two teakettles.'

(Caiguoji)

[66] For a discussion of postpositions such as *naŋ* hosting the ablative enclitic *=sa*, see §5.5.

216) *atɕaŋ* *[[ənə* *tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə* *[dzəjaŋ]=la]* ***naŋ=sa***
3SG this teakettle=DU=and bowl=PL=ABL inside=ABL

tsaŋtem=ʁala=nə *saga-tɕə*
teakettle=DU=ACC choose-PERF
'From among these two teakettles and the bowls, he chose the two teakettles.'
(Caiguoji)

4.3.8.2 Lists

Lists of more than two noun phrases are not common. When they do occur in natural speech, they are typically immediately followed by an appositive phrase (usually containing a numeral). In these situations, the appositive hosts the number and case enclitics if there are any, as in the following example.

217) ***kasər*** ***komər*** ***ɲənt^{h}oχ*** ***segəɕoŋ*** ***ənə*** ***dera=la=nə*** *nɐrə* *tʂ^{h}idzə*
Gaser Gomer Nianduhu Wutun this four=PL=ACC name Chize

dɐra=la *kə-ko*
four=PL do-PERF
'Gaser, Gomer, Nianduhu, Wutun, the name of these four—'Chize' these four are called.'
(Dzə̨kələru 95)

In elicited data, lists of NP's occur without appositive phrases. One difference between the one list contained in natural speech in my data and the elicited lists is that the first NP in the elicited lists hosts the enclitic *=tɕə* 'and'. In these situations, each NP in the list may have its own number. In most situations the enclitic marking the case of the NP comprised of the list is hosted by the final member of the list, as in the following examples.

218) *a list of NP's functioning as the object of a postposition (no case enclitic):*

pətəla	*hkudə*	***[[goŋpa]=la=tɕə***	***[saʁaŋ]=la***	***[gonsi]=la]***	***naŋda***
1PL.EXCL	yesterday	monastery=PL=and	restaurant=PL	store=PL	in

o-də *wa*

go-IMP COP_1.OBJ

'We went to the monasteries, restaurants, and stores yesterday.'

(Caiguoji)

219) *a list of NP's functioning as a direct object:*

atɕaŋ	*ənə*	***[[tsaŋdem]=ʁala=tɕə***	***[tɕ^{h}a***	***be]=ʁula***	***[dzəjaŋ***
3SG	this	teakettle=DU=and	tea	cup=PAU	bowl

te]=la]=nə *roŋ=sa* *ap-saŋ*

four=PL=ACC prefecture.town=ABL buy-POS

'He bought these two teakettles, the few teacups, and the four bowls in town.'

(Caiguoji)

220) *a list of NP's functioning as an indirect object:*

atɕaŋ	***[[ɕaotʂaŋ]=tɕə***	***[ɬoma]=la***	***[loʂi]=la]=da***	*jama*
3SG	principal=and	student=PL	teacher=PL=LOC	stuff

htɕəl-tɕo

prepare-IMPF.OBJ

'He made food for the principal, students and teachers.'

(Caiguoji)

As is the case with two coordinated NP's, the exception to this pattern is the ablative case. NP's that are comprised of a list and would be expected to occur in ablative case are followed by the form *naŋ=sa* 'inside=ABL' rather than directly hosting the ablative enclitic *=sa*.

221) **atɕaŋ* *[[ənə* *tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə* *[tɕ^{h}a* *be]=la* *[dzəjaŋ*

3SG this teakettle=DU=and tea cup=PL bowl

te]=la]=sa *tsaŋtem=ʁala=nə* *saga-tɕə*

four=PL=ABL teakettle=DU=ACC choose-PERF

*'From among these two teakettles, the teacups and the four bowls, he chose the two teakettles.'

(Caiguoji)

222) *atɕaŋ* *[[ənə* *tsaŋtem]=ʁala=tɕə* *[tɕʰa* *be]=la* *[dzəjaŋ*
3SG this teakettle=DU=and tea cup=PL bowl

te]=la] ***naŋ=sa*** *tsaŋtem=ʁala=nə* *saga-tɕə*
four=PL inside=ABL teakettle=DU=ACC choose-PERF
'From among these two teakettles, the teacups and the four bowls, he chose the two teakettles.'

(Caiguoji)

Chapter 5: The Clause

The Bao'an clause is composed of a verb and its arguments as well as obliques and other particles. The basic word order of the constituents in the clause is SOXV where 'X' is an indirect object or an oblique NP. Section 5.1 deals with the verb; section 5.2 discusses valence and argument expression. The chapter then treats the remaining word classes found in the clause: adverbs (§5.3), negative particles and copulas (§5.4), postpositions (§5.5), and other particles (§5.6). The chapter then turns to the phenomenon of topic marking (§5.7), and concludes with a treatment of interrogative and imperative clauses (§5.8 and §5.9, respectively).

5.1 The Verb

The verb is the locus of tense/aspect/modality (TAM) marking as well as mood and speaker perspective marking. These categories are indicated by means of verbal suffixes and auxiliary verbs. Multiple non-finite clauses (i.e. clauses containing verbs marked with one of the set of non-finite verbal suffixes listed in §5.1.1) may precede a final clause with a finite-marked verb (i.e. a verb with one of the finite verbal suffixes listed in §5.1.2). Non-finite verbal suffixes indicate aspect and/or the logical or temporal relation of the non-finite clause to the clause following it in the sentence. Finite verbal suffixes primarily indicate either temporal aspect, tense, and speaker perspective or mood or epistemic modality.

5.1.1 Non-finite Verbs

A list of non-finite verbal suffixes is given in table 5.1.[67]

Table 5.1. Non-finite verbal suffixes

-tɕə	(IMPF) imperfect, coordinating
-sa	(COND) conditional, irrealis
-la	(PURP) purposive
-sada	(CONC) concessive
-tɕəte	(REASON) reason

Of these, the imperfect suffix *-tɕə* and the conditional *-sa* are by far the most frequently occurring. In addition to imperfect aspect, *-tɕə* expresses coordination—usually indicating a sequential relationship between the clause in which it occurs and the following clause, as in the following sentences.

1) *pə o-sa k^{h}ətə o-**tɕə** tɕiatʂaŋ=da k^{h}əl-tɕə*
1SG go-COND home.LOC go-IMPF head.of.household=LOC say-PERF
'If I was going to go, I was to go home and talk to my parents.'
(Disappointment 6)

2) *dortɕə wor-**tɕə** htoŋ=nə waχa-**tɕə** tɕ^{h}a u-**tɕə***
Dorje wake.up-IMPF tooth=ACC wash-IMPF tea drink-IMPF

łoptɕa=da o-tɕo
school=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje woke up, and brushed his teeth, and ate breakfast, and went to school.'
(Caiguoji)

[67] As was mentioned in §3.2.1.2, Wu (2003) reports two more non-finite verbal suffixes: */j-aŋ* 'modifying' and *–tala/-sala* 'terminative'. Since these two do not occur anywhere in my data, I have not included them in the discussion here. See §3.2.1.2 for examples from Wu (2003) containing these two suffixes.

The imperfect suffix -*tɕə* can also indicate a relationship of simultaneity between predications, as in the following.

3) *pantʂurən* *mənda* *dzagə-**tɕə*** *hlok^{h}aŋ* *naŋda* *χatə-tɕə*
class.teacher 1SG.ACC look.for-IMPF classroom in arrive-PERF
'The classroom teacher entered the classroom looking for me.'
(Disappointment 2)

4) *k^{h}ont^{h}arhtɕə* *t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ* *u-**tɕə*** *tɕaɕi* *maʁa* *de-tɕo*
Kuantaiji mianpian drink-IMPF Jiashi meat eat-IMPF.OBJ
'Kuantaiji ate mianpian noodles, and Jiashi ate meat.'
(Caiguoji)

The conditional suffix -*sa* typically indicates conditionality (as in (5) and (6)), but it can also serve other functions—usually expressing some type of irrealis situation (as in (7) and (8)).

5) *tɕala* *nəkə* *k^{h}oŋ* *əsə* *χal-**sa*** *ɬawa* *amaŋ=da* *nəkə* *nəkə*
false.braid one person NEG wear-COND shaman mouth=LOC one one

jiχ-tɕo
hit-IMPF.OBJ
'If anyone doesn't wear a false braid, the shaman hits each of them on the mouth.'
(Ləru Dancing 37)

6) *k^{h}ət^{h}ə* *t^{h}a-**sa*** *k^{h}ət^{h}ə=ku* *aku=la*
home.LOC sleep-COND home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ girl=PL

wi-sa *sauma* *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
COP$_1$.SUBJ-COND ceremonially.clean COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'If (they$_i$) sleep at home, if there are girls at home, (they$_i$) will not be ceremonially clean.'
(Ləru Dancing 101-102)

7) *əsə çorigə-sa χena $k^hətə$ ər-**sa** orhtɕə dʐiχ*
NEG make.effort-COND afterward home.LOC come-COND again test

$p^hak^hə$ $k^hər$-saŋ
take.a.test be.required-POS
'If you don't (study) hard, when you come home you'll have to take the test again.'
(Parents' Instructions 26)

8) *pə ɕaʑə hko ol-sa maba=gə ol-ʁa-**sa***
1SG child big become-COND doctor=SG.INDEF become-CAUS-COND

siχde-tɕo
hope-IMPF.OBJ
'I hope (my) child grows up and becomes a doctor.'
(*lit.* 'If my child becomes big, if (he) becomes a doctor, I hope (it).')
(Caiguoji)

The purposive suffix *-la* indicates that the clause expresses the purpose for which the action of the finite clause is undertaken.

9) *pantʂurən mənda jo ur-**la** χatɕər-tɕə*
class.teacher 1SG.LOC also call-PURP return-PERF
'The class teacher came back to look for me again.'
(Disappointment 39)

10) *koʑə=$ts^haŋ$=nə daŋ na-sa ɬawa tanə daŋ*
self=family=ACC door fall-COND shaman 2PL.COLL.GEN door

*na-tɕo=tɕə $k^həl$-**la** ər-tɕi-saŋ*
fall-IMPF.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF speak-PURP come-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'If someone's door is going to fall, the shaman will come to tell (them), "your door is falling".'
(Ləru Dancing 71)

The concessive suffix *-sada* is used with non-finite clauses expressing a concession of some sort.

11) *atɕaŋ* *taɕue* *naŋ=sa* *tʰarɕin-gə-**sada*** *dau* *ɕawa*
3SG university inside=ABL graduate-VBZ-CONC still job

χar=də *ər-tɕə* *kina*
hand=LOC come-IMPF NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
'Although she graduated from university, (she) still hasn't found a job.'
(Caiguoji)

12) *atɕaŋ* *wor* *gə* *ʁuraŋ* *χoŋ=da* *tsʰər-**sada***
3SG Tibetan language three year=LOC study-CONC

dau *kʰəl* *me-tɕə* *kina*
still say know-IMPF NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
'Although he studied Tibetan for three years, (he) still doesn't know how to speak it.'
(Caiguoji)

The reason suffix *-tɕəte* marks a non-finite clause expressing the reason or cause for the action predicated by the finite clause.

13) *nudə* *pə* *ɕikə* *olər-**tɕəte*** *pə* *ŋasi* *u-to*
today 1SG very hungry-REASON 1SG early drink-PERF
'Because I was very hungry today, I ate early.'
(Caiguoji)

14) *atɕaŋ* *rakə* *u-**tɕəte*** *əphtə-saŋ*
3SG alcohol drink-REASON be.sick-POS
'Because he drank alcohol, he got sick.'
(Caiguoji)

Copulas can occur in non-finite clauses formed with the conditional suffix *-sa* and the concessive *-sada*. Copulas do not take the imperfect suffix *-tɕə* or the purposive suffix *-la*, however.

15) *tʰər* *guraŋ* *naŋ=sa* *mannə* *ɲəntʰoχ* *ma*
that three inside=ABL 1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN Nianduhu TOP

wi-sa *da* *lərse=nə* *kʰama* *wo*
COP_1.SUBJ-COND also water.god.dance=ACC position COP_1.OBJ
'Among those three, as for us here in Nianduhu, the water god dance is the most important.'
(*lit.* 'Among those three, if it is our Nianduhu, there also is the water god dance's position.')

(Dzo̱kələru 10)

16) *morhtɕə=da* *meχse* *lərse* *tʰər* ***wi-sada***
other=LOC soldier.dance water.god.dance that COP_1.SUBJ-CONC

əntʰongə *tɕap* *kina*
this.type large.scale NEG.COP_1.OBJ
'...although other (festivals) have those soldier dances and water god dances, they are not on this large a scale.'

(Dzo̱kələru 21)

5.1.2 Finite Verbs

Finite verbs are marked with a separate set of verbal suffixes indicating aspect and tense or mood or epistemic modality. The declarative finite verbal suffixes indicating tense, aspect, and epistemic modality are listed in table 5.2. Some finite verbal suffixes also indicate speaker perspective; these are listed as pairs with the subjective suffix listed first and the objective suffix listed second. A discussion of speaker perspective follows in section 5.1.3.

Table 5.2. Finite verbal suffixes

Suffix	*Label*	*Function*
-tɕi / -tɕo	IMPF	imperfective aspect
-to	PERF	perfective aspect
-tɕə	PERF	perfective aspect
-m	NARR[68]	stative or habitual aspect
-na	DUR	stative aspect, future tense
-gi / -gəwa	FUT	future tense
-saŋ [69]	POS	epistemic possibility

The imperfective suffix *-tɕi/-tɕo* is by far the most commonly used finite suffix. This suffix appears to indicate imperfective aspect without any reference to tense.

17) *tɕʰə anə gər **su-tɕi***
2SG which house stay-IMPF.SUBJ
'Which house do you live in?'

(Caiguoji)

18) *su kʰəl=ku=da ɬotʂa o-tɕə tʂigə-tɕə gaoər=nə*
so say=IMPF.NMLZ=LOC school go-IMPF discuss-IMPF sophomore=ACC

*ɬoma χarənʁar=da nəkə pisai-ʁa-**tɕi***
student twelve=LOC one compete-CAUS-IMPF.SUBJ
'The school discussed it and decided that twelve sophomores would be allowed to compete in a (competition).'

(Disappointment 24)

19) *jaŋgə kʰəl=ku səkʰa χa-**tɕo***
what say=IMPF.NMLZ appearance arrive-IMPF.OBJ
'(He) looked like he had something to say.'

(Disappointment 22)

[68] The glosses NARR and DUR are abbreviations of the terms 'narrative' and 'durative', respectively. I am adopting these labels from the Common Mongolic forms from which these suffixes are derived (Wu 2003:339).
[69] This suffix is pronounced *-tsʰoŋ* in the Gasare dialect.

20) *dortɕə* *tsʰamdoχ* *oχ-saŋ* *aku* *əndə* ***su-tɕo***
Dorje gift give-PERF.NMLZ girl here stay-IMPF.OBJ
'The girl Dorje gave a gift to lives here.'
(Caiguoji)

21) *tʰalkə-sa* *su* *tʰalkə-tɕə=ku* *lan=nə* *ap-tɕə*
agree-COND so agree-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ answer=ACC take-IMPF

ərə-tɕo
come-IMPF.OBJ
'If they agreed, then I was to bring the answer of agreement back.'
(Disappointment 7)

Wu (2003) reports that perfective *-to* functions as a simple past tense marker and *-tɕə* functions as a complex past tense marker (and comments that the difference is difficult to distinguish), and that both are neutral in regard to speaker perspective. In my data, however, *-to* is used much more often in subjective situations than in objective situations, while *-tɕə* is used almost exclusively in objective situations. It appears that the pair is being re-analyzed. It appears that they are shifting from marking a distinction between two different past tenses to indicating a distinction in speaker perspective.[70]

22) *tʰəsanə* *pə* *łokaŋ* *naŋda* *o-tɕə* *koʑə=nə* *kʰama=da*
next 1SG classroom in go-IMPF self=ACC position=LOC

dondi-to
sit.down-PERF
'Then I went into the classroom and sat down in my spot.'
(Disappointment 18)

23) *de* *apa* *ogoŋ* ***warə-tɕə***
now father daughter hold-PERF
'The old ones have already passed away.'
(Skirmish 15)

[70] Because some exceptions to this pattern occur in the data, I have refrained from including 'SUBJective' and 'OBJective' speaker perspective in the glosses of these two suffixes.

The narrative suffix *-m* and durative suffix *-na* are likewise difficult to distinguish; both seem to refer to continuing states. For habitual aspect, however, only *-m* may be used.

24) *ɕoŋjisa* *atɕaŋla* *ələ* *ote-**m***
originally 3PL NEG go-NARR
'They don't (usually) go.'
(Caiguoji)

25) *pə* *malat^{h}aŋ* *ələ* *de-**m***
1SG malatang NEG eat-NARR
'I don't eat hot and spicy soup.'
(Caiguoji)

Wu notes that the use of *-na* is restricted to a rather small set of verbs, and my data bear this out ('feel', 'like', 'know', 'should', the construction expressing 'want' clauses, and negatives).

26) *mənda* *silaŋ=da* *o=ku* *taraŋ* *ər-na*
1SG.LOC Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-DUR
'I want to go to Xining.'
(*lit*. 'The desire to go to Xining comes to me.')
(Caiguoji)

27) *pə* *kara=da* *gakə-na*
1SG sugar=LOC happy-DUR
'I like candy.'
(Caiguoji)

28) *tɕəmaŋgə* *nər* *mɐdə-na*
little face know-DUR
'(I) recognized (their) faces a little.'
(Caiguoji)

29) *manda* *da* *mantəl-ʁa* *k^{h}ər-na* *pɐ*
1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC also dig-CAUS be.required-DUR EMPH
'(They) should also let us dig!'
(Skirmish 23)

30) *tʰər da ələ dzɻ̩k-kə-na pɛ*
that also NEG right-VBZ-DUR EMPH
'That is also not right!'

(Skirmish 24)

It may be the case that the use of *-na* is restricted to irrealis contexts, but the converse is not true; irrealis situations do not require the use of *-na*, as evidenced in the following example.

31) *hko m~o ələ mɛdə-m*
big REDUP~big NEG know-NARR
'I don't know that it's big.'

(Caiguoji)

The suffix *-gi/-gəwa* marks future tense; *-gi* indicates subjective speaker perspective, and *-gəwa* marks for objective speaker perspective (see §5.1.3 for the facts regarding speaker perspective).

32) *ələ odə-ʁa-tɕə jaŋ-kə-**gi***
NEG go-CAUS-IMPF what-VBZ-FUT.SUBJ
'How can (I) not let (you) go?'

(Disapointment 14)

33) *tɕʰə su jo. pə o-**gi**.*
2SG stay DEEMPH 1SG go-FUT.SUBJ
'You stay. I'm leaving.'

(Caiguoji)

34) *dzɻ̩oma tsʰeraŋ roŋ=da o-**gəwa**=tɕə kʰəl-tɕo*
Droma Tserang prefecture.town=LOC go-FUT.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma says Tserang will go to town.'

(Caiguoji)

35) *məχɕə tɕaɕi ɕikə gakə-**gəwa***
tomorrow Jiashi very happy-FUT.OBJ
'Jiashi will be very happy tomorrow.'

(Caiguoji)

With the exception of future tense, copulas do not inflect for tense and aspect when they occur in finite clauses.

36) *dortɕə=da hkutə bəndzə=gə* ***wa***
Dorje=LOC yesterday notebook=SG.INDEF COP_1.OBJ
'Dorje had a notebook yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

37) *nokə χotɕa atɕaŋgaŋ* ***ba***
that book 3SG.PREDPOSS COP_2.OBJ
'That notebook is his/hers.'
(Caiguoji)

In future tense, the subjective forms of the copulas combine with the objective future tense suffix *-gəwa*, regardless of whether the context is subjective or objective (thus the distinction between objective and subjective speaker perspective is lost when copulas are inflected for future tense).

38) *məχɕə tɕaɕi łoptɕa naŋda wi-gəwa*
tomorrow Jiashi school in COP_1.SUBJ-FUT.OBJ
'Jiashi will be in school tomorrow.'
(Caiguoji)

39) *məχɕə pə łoptɕa naŋda wi-gəwa*
tomorrow 1SG school in COP_1.SUBJ-FUT.OBJ
'I will be in school tomorrow.'
(Caiguoji)

The last suffix from table 5.1, *-saŋ,* occurs in finite contexts, but it differs from the other finite suffixes in that it may appear alone or in addition to any of the subjective finite suffixes (with the exception of the subjective future suffix *-gi*) or the suffix *-tɕə*. Although it primarily indicates epistemic possibility, its use is also governed by considerations of politeness. See the discussion below for details.

40) *tʰər=na htuŋ tɕagə-tɕə tɕʰəma=da oχ-saŋ*
that=ACC blood.money exchange-IMPF Chuma=LOC give-POS
'We gave that to Chuma village as blood money.'

(Ləru Dancing 61)

41) *nokə au silaŋ=da su-tɕi-saŋ*
that man Xining=LOC stay-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'That man lives in Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

42) *ənə gə-tɕə rəlaŋ=la=nə nerə=nə χa-tɕə ke-tɕə-saŋ*
this speak-IMPF officer=PL=ACC name=ACC name-IMPF put-IMPF-POS
'In this way, the army officers' names came to be named.'

(Dzo̱kələru 34)

Another syntactic behaviour that makes *-saŋ* unique is that it freely co-occurs with the subjective copulas *bi* and *wi.*

43) *koɕə koɕə=da natʰə=ku=gə **wi-saŋ***
self self=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS
'Each (village) has its own type of dancing.'

(Dzo̱kələru 36)

44) *kʰamər nəkə jiχ-sa ʁoni nəkə=nə kʰama*
ceremonial.skewer one hit-COND sheep one=ACC position

bi-saŋ
COP$_2$.SUBJ-POS
'Performing one *kamer* equals (offering) one sheep.'

(Ləru Dancing 98)

In fact, Wu speculates that the use of this form with lexical verbs derives from a copula plus the perfective nominalizer (e.g. *wi-saŋ* > *Ø-saŋ*) and states that it refers to past tense (2003:342-3). There are many cases where it could be argued that *-saŋ* does refer to a predication that has taken place in the past, but my data also contain examples where past tense is clearly not indicated (such as in (41), (43), and (44), for example). The Bao'an speakers I have asked about this form say that it is used when one is unsure of the

statement being made or when one wants to sound less forceful. The data seem to bear this out. I posit that the primary function of *-saŋ* when used in a finite context (i.e. on the last verb of a sentence) is to indicate epistemic possibility; thus I gloss it 'POS'.

From its primary function as a marker of speculative epistemic modality, the use of *-saŋ* has also been extended to indicate a form of politeness. There are contexts when *-saŋ* is used not so much because the speaker is actually uncertain about the statement he is making, but rather because he desires to show deference to an interlocutor who is deemed to be more of an expert or insider with regard to the statement. This use of *-saŋ* also shows up in situations where the speaker wants to express that she does not consider herself an expert (regardless of the interlocutor's perceived level of expertise on the matter). There appears to be a wide latitude for how often *-saŋ* is used in this function, with some speakers using it relatively little and others using it anytime they make a statement not regarding themselves or their immediate family.

As a final note on finite verbal suffixes, my data contain a handful of examples in which the objective imperfective suffix *-tɕo* is attached to a verb already inflected with the non-finite imperfective suffix *-tɕe,* as in the following examples.

45) *tʰər=nə χitɕʰu=da łotʂa datɕorn=nə tɕarkə-tɕə-tɕo*
that=ACC next.day=LOC school report=ACC post-IMPF-IMPF.OBJ
'On the next day, the school posted a report.'
(Disappointment 53)

46) *dawu da jortɕə tortɕə χara-tɕə-tɕo*
still also here there taunt-IMPF-IMPF.OBJ
'(We) taunt (each other) back and forth now still.'
(Ləru Dancing 54)

It is not immediately apparent what function this doubling up of suffixes serves. The examples are too few in number to reveal any patterns. It seems that the most likely source for this morphology is an auxiliary verb that is no longer overtly expressed, leaving behind only its finite verbal morphology. This, however, would not explain why *-tɕo* is the only finite tense/aspect suffix that appears in this context. Another possibility is that these are occurances of the quotative enclitic *=tɕo* (discussed in §3.3 and §6.2). There is no indication in the narrative context that these sentences are quoted material, however. It is possible that the use of quotative *=tɕo* is being extended to include marking of some sort of indirect evidentiality. The problem with this analysis, however, is that evidentiality is not an otherwise attested grammatical category in Bao'an Tu. Furthermore, it is not immediately obvious why either of these two statements would require such evidential marking; both are part of first-hand accounts. Further study is needed to describe this phenomenon thoroughly and accurately.

5.1.3 Speaker Perspective

The category of speaker perspective is an areal feature of the Qinghai-Gansu sprachbund, and represents the influence of Amdo Tibetan on the other languages of the region (Slater 2003a). It is often called the 'conjunct/disjunct' distinction in the literature on Tibetic languages, and is considered a system of evidentiality (Hale 1980, DeLancey 1992). Following the precedent of other scholars who study the Mongolic languages of the region, I will refer to these categories as 'subjective' and 'objective' (Slater 2003a, Wu 2003). In Bao'an Tu the basic pattern in declarative sentences is that the subjective forms are used with first person referents, and objective forms are used with second and third

person referents. In interrogative sentences, the subjective forms are used with second person referents, while the objective forms are used with first and third person referents. Copulas along with their negative counterparts and some of the finite TAM suffixes distinguish between subjective and objective speaker perspective. Although speaker perspective marking is limited to finite verbal morphology, it is not an obligatory category of finite verbal morphology (the finite suffixes *–m* 'NARR', *-na* 'DUR', and *–saŋ* 'POS' do not inflect for speaker perspective). The forms that do inflect for speaker perspective are listed below.

Table 5.3. Speaker perspective markers

	Subjective	*Objective*
finite verbal suffixes:		
IMPF	*-tɕi*	*-tɕo*
PERF [71]	*-to*	*-tɕə*
FUT	*-gi*	*-gəwa*
copulas:		
COP_1	*wi*	*wa/wo*
NEG. COP_1	*ki/kiwə*	*kina*
COP_2	*bi/ji* [72]	*ba*
$NEG.COP_2$	*çi*	*çəwa/ço*

The following examples contain the basic use of subjective speaker perspective.

47) *first person declarative:*
pə *o-tɕi*
1SG go-IMPF.SUBJ
'I am going.'

(Caiguoji)

[71] As mentioned in the previous section, the status of the perfective suffixes as indicating speaker perspective is perhaps not yet fully established.
[72] Pairs listed in the same cell in this table indicate either dialectal variants or forms that vary with careful/casual speech.

48) *second person interrogative:*
tɕʰənnə gər anə bi
2SG.GEN house which COP_2.SUBJ
'Which house is yours?'

(Caiguoji)

Additionally, subjective perspective is used in the quotative complement clause of a verb of speech or perception when the subject of the complement is co-referential with the subject of its matrix clause.[73]

49) *subject of the complement of a verbum dicendi is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause:*
dʐoma$_i$ *[atɕaŋ*$_i$ *roŋ=da o-**gi**]=tɕə kʰəl-tɕo*
Droma 3SG town=LOC go-FUT.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma$_i$ said she$_i$ is going to go to town.'

(Caiguoji)

Finally, subjective perspective is regularly used when the possessor in a predicate of possession is a first person referent, and when a third person subject is possessed by a first person possessor.

50) *first person predicate possessor:*
nokə χotɕʰa məngaŋ bi
that book mine COP_2.SUBJ
'That book is mine.'

(Caiguoji)

51) *first person possessor of a third person subject:*
mənnə χotɕʰa ɕaotʰaŋ naŋda wi
1SG.GEN book school in COP_1.SUBJ
'My book is at school.'

(Caiguoji)

[73] The facts about the use of the subjective and objective speaker perspective in reported speech are the same, regardless of whether the speaker is (or is perceived to be) lying.

The following sentences illustrate the basic use of objective speaker perspective.

52) *second person declarative:*
ɕoŋgə *tɕʰə* *ba*
originally 2SG COP_2.OBJ
'Originally you were (first place).'
(Disappointment 73)

53) *third person declarative:*
nokə *au* *silaŋ=da* *o-tɕo*
that man Xining=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'That man is going to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

54) *first person interrogative:*
au *pə* *lo* *kʰətʰoŋ* *wa*
boy 1SG year how.many COP_1.OBJ
'Son, how old am I?'
(Skirmish 12)

55) *third person interrogative:*
tɕaɕi *dʐoma=da* *jaŋgə* *oχ-tɕo*
Jiashi Droma=LOC what give-IMPF.OBJ
'What is Jiashi giving Droma?'
(Caiguoji)

56) *subject of complement of a verbum dicendi not co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause:*
dʐoma$_i$ *[atɕaŋ*$_j$ *roŋ=da* *o-gəwa]=tɕə* *kʰəl-tɕo*
Droma 3SG town=LOC go-FUT.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma$_i$ said she$_j$ is going to go to town.'
(Caiguoji)

Unlike person marking, the speaker perspective distinction can be used in ways that fall outside the basic pattern in order to indicate what Slater (2003a:194) refers to as the 'degree of speaker involvement'. Thus a statement with a first person subject may contain objective perspective marking to indicate the speaker's lack of control or unwillingness to vouch for the veracity of the claim.

57) *pə* *tɕʰənda* *utɕə-tɕə* *hko* *wa*
1SG 2SG.LOC look.IMPF big COP_1.OBJ
'I am older than you.'

(Caiguoji)

The use of *wa* rather than *wi* in (57) emphasizes the speaker's lack of control over her age (perhaps to avoid appearing to be rude to the interlocutor). This same sentence with a third person standard of comparison typically uses the subjective copula *wi* (e.g. *pə tɕiaɕi=da utɕə-tɕə hko* ***wi*** 'I am older than Jiashi'). Objective perspective may also be used in contexts that would otherwise require subjective perspective if the predication is new information to the speaker. So if a speaker were at someone's house and discovered a book of hers that she did not know was there, the predication in (50) might be spoken as in (58).

58) *nokə* *χotɕʰa* *məngaŋ* *ba*
that book mine COP_2.OBJ
'That book is mine. (Hey, that's my book!)'

(Caiguoji)

Conversely, a declarative sentence with a third person subject may have subjective perspective morphology if the speaker wants to assert certainty about a claim or if the subject NP contains a first person genitival pronoun or is a mass noun that includes the speaker. So in (59) the subject of the first sentence is *jama* 'thing', which is third person. The speaker is relating a personal narrative, however, and is emphasizing that he can vouch for the fact that not a moment passed. Similarly, the subject of the verb *pisai-ʁa-tɕi* 'compete-CAUS-IMPF.SUBJ' in sentence (60) is an implicit reference to *ɬotʂa* 'school', which is technically third person; but the speaker turns out to be one of the twelve students comprising the causee of the sentence (*gaoər=nə ɬoma χarənʁar=da*).

59) *jama ələ da-**tɕi.** mənnə səpda χa-tɕə wa*
thing NEG pass-IMPF.SUBJ 1SG.GEN near arrive-IMPF COP_1.OBJ
'Not a moment passed. (he) came up to me.'

(Disappointment 23)

60) *su $k^həl=ku=da$ łotʂa o-tɕə tʂigə-tɕə gaoər=nə*
so say=IMPF.NMLZ=LOC school go-IMPF discuss-IMPF sophomore=ACC

*łoma χarənʁar=da nəkə pisai-ʁa-**tɕi***
student twelve=LOC one compete-CAUS-IMPF.SUBJ
'The school discussed it and decided that twelve sophomores would be allowed to compete in a (competition).'

(Disappointment 24)

This marked use of speaker perspective is best described as a way of indicating epistemic modality rather than evidentiality, because it primarily indicates certainty or uncertainty about the predication (or in some cases mirativity) rather than how the information is known (Aikhenvald 2004).

Finally, it should be noted that there are situations in which copulas do not maintain the distinction between subjective and objective speaker perspective. First, when used as an auxiliary verb, the objective form of the copula *wa* is always used, irrespective of the person of the subject (see §5.1.4 below for a discussion of auxiliary verbs).

61) *pə atɕaŋnə $χotɕ^ha$ ʁui wa*
1SG 3SG.GEN book borrow COP_1.OBJ
'I borrowed his book.'

(Caiguoji)

62) **pə atɕaŋnə $χotɕ^ha$ ʁui wi*
1SG 3SG.GEN book borrow COP_1.SUBJ
*'I borrowed his book.'

(Caiguoji)

63) *tɕʰə* *tsʰeraŋ* *roŋ=da* *χatɕə-to=tɕə* *kʰəl* *wa*
2SG Tserang town=LOC arrive-PERF=QUOT.IMPF say COP_1.OBJ
'You said Tserang went to town.'

(Caiguoji)

64) *tʂəmaŋgə* *dawu* *əsu* *dawu* *pantʂurən* *jo* *χatɕə* *wa*
a.little later NEG later class.teacher also arrive COP_1.OBJ
'A little later, the class teacher also arrived.'

(Disappointment 20)

Second, when copulas are relativized or when they take either one of the non-finite suffixes *-sa* 'CONDitional', or *-sada* 'CONCessive' or the finite epistemic uncertainty marker *-saŋ*, only the subjective forms (*wi* and *bi*) are used–again, regardless of the person category of the subject of the sentence. So although the copulas maintain their objective or subjective form, the distinction between objective and subjective speaker perspective is lost in these contexts.

65) *atɕaŋ* *tsʰamdoχ* *ap-tɕə* *ɬoptɕa* *naŋda* *nərme-saŋ* *aku*
3SG gift buy-IMPF school in meet-PERF.NMLZ girl

jaksa=gə ***wi=ku*** *tʰər=da* *oχ-tɕo*
pretty= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ that=LOC give-IMPF.OBJ
'He bought a gift and gave it to that pretty girl he met at school.'

(Caiguoji)

66) *mənnə* *dewa* ***wi-sa*** *da* *gomərəlaŋ* *wa*
1SG.GEN village COP_1.SUBJ-COND also Gomerelang COP_1.OBJ
'As for my village, (we) also have Gomerelang (mountain deity).'

(Dzə̨kələru 80)

67) *morhtɕə=da* *meχse* *lərse* *tʰər* ***wi-sada***
other=LOC soldier.dance water.god.dance that COP_1.SUBJ-CONC

əntʰongə *tɕap* *kina*
this.type large.scale NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'...although other (festivals) have those soldier dances and water god dances, they are not on this large a scale.'

(Dzə̨kələru 21)

68) *maŋgə* *anə* ***bi-saŋ***
1PL.INCL.COLL which COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Which (clan animal) are we?'

(Ləru Dancing 118)

69) *tɕaɕi* *wəldə* ***bi-saŋ***
Jiashi Tibetan COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Jiashi is a Tibetan.'

(Caiguoji)

70) *atɕaŋda* *ɕaʑə* *taun* ***wi-saŋ***
3SG.LOC child five COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'She has five children.'

(Caiguoji)

The one exception to this is when the copula *wa/wi* is functioning as an auxiliary verb. In this case, the objective form is used even if a verbal suffix is attached.

71) *$t^hər$* *çi-sa* *ənə* *ts^howa~ts^howa=gə=tɕə* *ər*
that NEG.COP_2.SUBJ-COND this clan~clan=SG.INDEF=and come

wa-sa *$k^həri$* *ts^howa=da* *$nat^hə$-la-tɕə*
COP_1.OBJ-COND particular clan=LOC dance-PURP-IMPF

$k^hər$-saŋ *ço*
be.required-PERF.NMLZ NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'If it weren't for that, there wouldn't be any of (this) every single clan coming to dance for a particular clan.'

(Dzəkələru 129)

5.1.4 Auxiliary Verbs

My data contain seven auxiliary verbs; they are given in table 5.4.[74]

Table 5.4. Auxiliary verbs

verb	*lexical gloss*	*function as auxiliary verb*
su	'sit, live, stay'	continuative aspect
wa	'COP_1.OBJ'	past tense
war	'hold'	completive aspect
ke	'put'	change of state
ər	'come'	direction toward speaker
k^{h}ər	'be required'	deontic necessity
t^{h}əke	'permit'	deontic possibiility

Auxiliary verbs in Bao'an carry aspectual and modal meaning. They immediately follow the main verb in a clause and host the verbal suffixes expressing tense, aspect, and perspective. Most lexical verbs that co-occur with auxiliary verbs appear as bare stems, though there are two exceptions to this, and they are noted below. With the exception of *t^{h}əke*, all of the auxiliary verbs in my data still occur as lexical verbs (or in the case of *wa*, a copula) as well.

Of the auxiliary verbs with aspectual meaning, three co-occur with uninflected lexical verbs. The verb *su* 'stay, sit, live' indicates continuative aspect when used as an auxiliary verb. The first sentence in each set of examples in this section illustrates the use of the verb in question as a lexical verb; the following sentences give examples of the verb's use as an auxiliary.

72) su *used as a lexical verb:*

tɕ^{h}ə	*anə*	*gər*	*naŋda*	***su-tɕi***
2SG	which	house	in	stay-IMPF.SUBJ

'Which house do you live in?'

(Caiguoji)

[74] Chen & Chingeltei (1986) and Wu (2003) report more auxiliary verbs than these, but I found no evidence of them in my data, so I have not included them here.

73) su *used as an auxiliary verb:*

dʐoma	*o=ku*	*tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ*	*pə*	*kela*	***su-tɕi***
Droma	go=IMPF.NMLZ	time	1SG	sleep	stay-IMPF.SUBJ

'I was sleeping when Droma left.'

(Caiguoji)

74) su *used as an auxiliary verb:*

ana	*roŋ=da*	*o=ku*	*tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ*	*pə*	***welə-gə***
mother	prefecture.town=LOC	go=IMPF.NMLZ	time	1SG	work-VBZ

su-tɕi
stay-IMPF.SUBJ
'When mother went to town, I was working.'

(Caiguoji)

The verb *war* 'hold' indicates completive aspect when used as an auxiliary verb. Sentence (75) gives an example of *war* used as a lexical verb, while sentences (76) and (77) illustrate the use of *war* as an auxiliary verb.

75) war *used as a lexical verb:*

atɕaŋ	*χotɕʰa*	*hko=gə*	***war***	*su-tɕo*
3SG	book	big= SG.INDEF	hold	stay-IMPF.OBJ

'He was holding a big book.'

(Caiguoji)

76) war *used as an auxiliary verb:*

dʐiχ	*tɕʰoχgə*	***war-tɕə***	*jaŋ*	*papa*	*anə=ʁala . . .*
test	pass	hold-IMPF	again	father	mother=DU

'once (I) passed the test, again (my) mother and father (said) . . .'

(Parents' Instructions 23)

77) war *used as an auxiliary verb:*

pə	*welə-gə*	***war-tɕə***	*tɕʰa*	*u*	*wa*
1SG	work-VBZ	hold-IMPF	tea	drink	COP_1.OBJ

'I finished working, then I had dinner.'

(Caiguoji)

When used as an auxiliary verb, the copula *wa* indicates past tense. It typically co-occurs with an uninflected lexical verb as in (79), but there are a few instances in the

data where the preceding lexical verb has the non-finite imperfective suffix *-tɕə*, as in (80). In (78), *wa* is used as a copula, while in (79) and (80) it is used as an auxiliary verb.

78) wa *used as a copula:*

tʰər	*naŋda*	*kʰoju*	*oloŋ*	*ɕaŋ=gə*	***wa***
that	in	spoken.language	many	little=SG.INDEF	COP_1.OBJ

'There was a good bit of spoken language in there.'

(Disappointment 34)

79) wa *used as an auxiliary verb:*

pə	*koɻə=da*	*tʰəmtʰoχ*	*htɕəl*	***wa***
1SG	self=LOC	mianpian	prepare	COP_1.OBJ

'I made myself mianpian noodles.'

(Caiguoji)

80) wa *used as an auxiliary verb:*

tɕəmaŋgə	*dawu*	*əsu*	*dawu*	*pantʂurən*	*jo*	*χa-tɕə*	***wa***
a.bit	late	NEG	late	class.teacher	again	arrive-IMPF	COP_1.OBJ

'A little later, the class teacher also arrived.'

(Disappointment 20)

Two of the auxiliary verbs with aspectual meaning always co-occur with lexical verbs inflected with the non-finite imperfective suffix *-tɕə.* The auxiliary verb *ke* 'put' indicates that the predication is a change of state. In (81) *ke* is used as a lexical verb, and in (82) and (83) it is used as an auxiliary verb.

81) ke *used as a lexical verb:*

lokə	*naŋda*	***ke***	*kʰər-saŋ*
bread.pan	in	put	be.required-POS

'(You) need to put (it) in bread pans.'

(How to Make Bread 11)

82) ke *used as an auxiliary verb:*

atɕaŋ	*χənə*	*tɕʰorhtən*	*welə-kə-tɕə*	***ke**-tɕə=ku*	*naŋda*
3SG	new	stupa	work-VBZ-IMPF	put-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ	in

su-tɕo
stay-IMPF.OBJ
'He lives in (the one) where (they're) building the new stupa.'

(Caiguoji)

83) ke *used as an auxiliary verb:*

atɕaŋ	*saŋ*	*χar-ʁa-tɕə*	***ke**-tɕo*
3SG	offering	burn-CAUS-IMPF	put-IMPF.OBJ

'He burned the offering up.'

(Caiguoji)

The verb *ər* 'come' indicates direction toward the speaker. In (84), *ər* is used as a lexical verb; in the following examples it is used as an auxiliary verb.

84) ər *used as a lexical verb:*

pantʂuren	*mənnə*	*səpda*	***ər**-tɕə*
class.teacher	1SG.GEN	front	come-PERF

'The class teacher came up to me.'

(Disappointment 65)

85) ər *used as an auxiliary verb:*

tʰalkə-sa	*su*	*tʰalkə-tɕə=ku*	*lan=nə*	*ap-tɕə*
agree-COND	so	agree-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ	answer=ACC	take-IMPF

***ərə**-tɕo*
come-IMPF.OBJ
'If they agreed, then I was to bring the answer of agreement back.'

(Disappointment 7)

86) ər *used as an auxiliary verb:*

ke-tɕə	***ərə**-m*
put-IMPF	come-NARR

'(We) got them (all in one spot).'

(Skirmish 32)

Because these two auxiliary verbs co-occur with lexical verbs bearing non-finite morphology, the argument might be made that these are simply instances of a non-finite

verb (converb) followed by a finite lexical verb rather than auxiliary verb constructions. This might be a logical analysis for some cases, but there are many instances where the semantic bleaching of these final verbs has occurred to the extent that they are better understood as auxiliary verbs even though they do not differ formally from a combination of two lexical verbs (see chapter six for a discussion of clause combining in Bao'an). Sentences (85) and (87), for example, appear to have undergone differing amounts of semantic bleaching. So *ər* in sentence (87) very plausibly retains the meaning 'come' and may not be an auxiliary verb in this case.

87) *htema=nə* *seŋgu=ts^{h}aŋ=nə* *ana* *seŋgu=da* *ap-tɕə*
bread=ACC Caiguoji=family=ACC mother Caiguoji=LOC take-IMPF

ər-əʁa-saŋ
come-CAUS-POS
'Caiguoji's mom made her bring the bread.'

(Caiguoji)

Further along the path to grammaticalization is the occurrence of *ər* as a directional indicator where the meaning 'direction toward the speaker' may have a more abstract application, as in sentence (85). In these cases, the verb retains the sense of directionality toward the speaker without entailing literal movement. So in the context of (85), for example, 'bringing the answer back' might simply mean making a phone call.

Of the two modal auxiliary verbs, *k^{h}ər* 'be required' immediately follows uninflected lexical verbs, and indicates deontic necessity when used as an auxiliary verb. Sentence (88) gives an example of *k^{h}ər* used as a lexical verb; sentences (89) and (90) contain examples of *k^{h}ər* used as an auxiliary verb.

88) k^{h}ər *used as a lexical verb:*

hko natoŋ ***k^{h}ər-u*** *sə hko torun* ***k^{h}ər-u=tɕə***

big festival be.required-Q water big head be.required-Q=QUOT.IMPF

'...do (you) want a big festival or a big well?" (he said.)'

(Dzə̨kələru 143)

89) k^{h}ər *used as an auxiliary verb:*

ənə=nə amaŋ=da war ***k^{h}ər-saŋ*** *ba-u*

this=ACC mouth=LOC hold be.required-PERF.NMLZ COP_2.OBJ-Q

'Should (I) hold this up to (my) mouth?'

(Ləru Dancing 13)

90) k^{h}ər *used as an auxiliary verb:*

kutɕoŋ=da se χal ***k^{h}ər-na***

neck=LOC sash wear be.required-DUR

'(One) should wear a sash on (one's) neck.'

(Ləru Dancing 29)

In addition to being preceded by uninflected lexical verbs, *k^{h}ər* can also be immediately preceded by either a lexical verb with the causative suffix *-əʁa* (with no TAM morphology) or by an aspectual auxiliary verb.

91) *manda da mantəl-ʁa* ***k^{h}ər-na*** *pe*

1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC also dig-CAUS be.required-DUR EMPH

'(They) should let us also dig!'

(Skirmish 23)

92) *k^{h}ama nəkə=da ke-tɕə ər* ***k^{h}ər=ku*** *wa*

position one=LOC put-IMPF come be.required=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ

'We had to get them all in one place.'

(*or* 'It was the case that we had to get them all in one place.')

(Skirmish 31)

The second modal auxiliary verb, *t^{h}əke* 'permit', indicates deontic possibility when used as an auxiliary verb. It is preceded by a lexical verb with either the non-finite conditional suffix *-sa* or the familiar imperative suffix *-də*. Again, because these lexical verbs are fully inflected with either a non-finite suffix or an imperative sufffix, it could be

argued that this is a simple case of clause combining. There are two reasons for including *tʰəke* here, however: it does not freely occur with lexical verbs bearing any other non-finite morphology, and its meaning of deontic possibility in these constructions means that it patterns with *kʰər* in terms of its usage. My data contain no sentences in which *tʰəke* is used as a lexical verb; (93) is an example of *tʰəke* co-occuring with a lexical verb marked with the familiar imperative suffix *-də*, and (94) is an example of *tʰəke* co-occuring with a lexical verb marked with the non-finite conditional suffix *-sa*.

93) *jaŋ-kə-tɕə* *kʰəl=ku* *daroŋ* *ər-sa* *jaŋ-kə-tɕə*
what-VBZ-IMPF say=IMPF.NMLZ thought come-COND what-VBZ-IMPF

kʰəl-də ***tʰəke-saŋ***
say-IMP permit-POS
'You can say whatever comes to mind to say.'

(Ləru Dancing 22)

94) *dedə=la* *laχɕi* *tɕo-tɕə* *sarə=la=nə* *χamdə* *hkuraŋ=gə*
grandfather=PL towel wear-IMPF young=PL=ACC together circle= SG.INDEF

jiχ-sa ***tʰəke-saŋ***
do-COND permit-POS
'The grandfathers can wear a towel and (dance) in a circle with the young (men).'

(Ləru Dancing 113)

5.2 Valence and Argument Expression

5.2.1 Intransitive Clauses

In intransitive clauses, the single argument precedes the verb and is zero-marked for nominative case.

95) *tsʰedzi̯gesəm* *tsoχkə* *su-tɕo* *pe*
holy.ones gather stay-IMPF.OBJ EMPH
S V
'The holy ones have gathered (and are waiting)!'

(Dzə̯kələru 69)

5.2.2 Transitive Clauses

In transitive clauses, agents are zero-marked for nominative case and patients are optionally marked with the accusative enclitic *=nə*. The unmarked relative ordering of the arguments is SOV, though OSV ordering occurs when O is topical (see §5.7 for a discussion of topic fronting in Bao'an Tu).

96) *dedə=la* *laχɕi* *tɕo-tɕə*
grandfather=PL towel wear-IMPF
A P V
'The grandfathers wear towels...'

(Ləru Dancing 113)

5.2.3 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive clauses contain an agent zero-marked for nominative case, a theme optionally marked with the accusative enclitic *=nə*, and a recipient marked with the locative enclitic *=da*.

97) *tɕaɕi* *ts^{h}amtoχ=gə* *dz̩oma=da* *oχ-tɕo*
Jiashi gift= SG.INDEF Droma=LOC give-IMPF.OBJ
A DO IO V
'Jiashi gave a gift to Droma.'

(Caiguoji)

Because the theme receives the same case marking as the direct object of a monotransitive clause while the recipient takes the locative case, I call these two arguments the direct object and indirect object, respectively (Dryer 1986). The relative ordering of the direct and indirect object varies, depending on which is in focus. The one immediately preceding the verb is in focus, so (97) above would be a natural answer to the question, "who did Jiashi give a gift to?" If the question, "what did Jiashi give Droma?" were asked, a more natural answer would be (98).

98) *tɕaɕi* *dʐoma=da* *tsʰamtoχ=gə* *oχ-tɕo*
Jiashi Droma=LOC gift= SG.INDEF give- IMPF.OBJ
A IO DO V
'Jiashi gave Droma a gift.'

(Caiguoji)

5.2.4 Reciprocal and Reflexive Clauses

Reciprocal clauses are typically (but not always) formed by means of the suffix *-tɕʰe*, which attaches to the verb stem and in turn hosts TAM suffixes. The facts about the formation of reciprocal clauses differ depending on the valence of the verbs from which they are formed. Accordingly, I have organized this section according to the valence of the verbs from which reciprocal clauses are formed, followed by a note on reflexive clauses.

5.2.4.1 Reciprocal Clauses Formed from Transitive Verbs

There are a few transitive verbs that are understood to be reciprocal without any morphological marking when they appear with dual or plural subjects and no direct objects. Syntactically then, these verbs are intransitive in these contexts.

99) *non-reciprocal use of* tʂaka *'run.into':*
dʐoma *ʂitʂʰaŋ* *naŋda* *kontʰarhtɕə=nə* *tʂaka-tɕo*
Droma market in Kuantaiji=ACC run.into-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma saw Kuantaiji at the market.'

(Caiguoji)

100) *reciprocal use of* tʂaka *'run.into':*
dʐoma=tɕə *kʰontʰarhtɕə=ʁala* *tʂaka-tɕə*
Droma=and Kuantaiji=DU run.into-PERF
'Droma and Kuantaiji saw each other.'

(Caiguoji)

101) *non-reciprocal use of* htərgə *'kiss':*

dortɕə *kʰontʰarhtɕə=nə* *htər-gə-tɕo*
Dorje Kuantaiji=ACC kiss-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje kissed Kuantaiji.'

(Caiguoji)

102) *reciprocal use of* htərgə *'kiss':*

dortɕə=tɕə *kʰontʰarhtɕə=ʁala* *htər-gə-tɕo*
Dorje=and Kuantaiji=DU kiss-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Kuantaiji kissed.'

(Caiguoji)

Most transitive verbs, however, require the use of the reciprocal suffix *-tɕʰe* [75] in order to have reciprocal meaning if no overt direct object is expressed, as the following examples demonstrate. In (104), the verb *jiχ* with coordinated subjects, no direct object, and no reciprocal suffix is understood to mean that the two men hit a third party. In order to get a reciprocal reading, the reciprocal suffix must be used, as in (105).

103) *non-reciprocal use of* jiχ *'hit':*

dortɕə=tɕə *teraŋ=ʁala* *dzo̱ma=nə* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje=and Teraŋ=DU Droma=ACC hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang are hitting Droma.'

(Caiguoji)

104) *non-reciprocal use of* jiχ *'hit' (with no overt direct object):*

dortɕə=tɕə *teraŋ=ʁala* *jiχ-tɕo*
Dorje=and Teraŋ=DU hit-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang are hitting (me/you/him...).'
*'Dorje and Tserang are hitting each other.'

(Caiguoji)

[75] In careful articulation, the form of this suffix is actually *-tɕʰetɕʰe*. In normal speech, however, it is shortened to *-tɕʰe* with no change in meaning.

105) *reciprocal use of* jiχ *'hit':*

dortɕə = tɕə *tseraŋ = ʁala* *jiχ-tɕ^{h}e-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tseraŋ=DU hit-RECP-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Jiashi are fighting (*lit.* hitting each other).'

(Caiguoji)

The following sentences give further examples of the use of the reciprocal suffix *-tɕ^{h}e*.

106) *χapa = tɕə* *muʑi = ʁala* *dʐu-tɕ^{h}e-tɕo*
dog=and cat=DU bite-RECP-IMPF.OBJ
'The dog and cat bit each other.'

(Caiguoji)

107) *aku = la* *mərku = nə* *mər-ʁa-tɕ^{h}e-tɕo*
girl=PL clothing=ACC wear-CAUS-RECP-IMPF.OBJ
'The girls dressed each other (*lit.* caused each other to wear clothing).'

(Caiguoji)

Another strategy for forming reciprocal clauses from transitive sentences with non-singular subjects is to use the reduplicated form of *koʑə* 'self' as the direct object of the clause. These clauses remain syntactically transitive, and the reciprocal suffix *-tɕ^{h}e* is not used.

108) *dortɕə = tɕə* *ts^{h}eraŋ = ʁala* *ŋorhta* *naŋda* ***koʑə~koʑə = nə*** *ʁali-tɕo*
Dorje=and Tserang=DU mirror in self~self=ACC see-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje and Tserang see each other in the mirror.'

(Caiguoji)

In contexts in which the agents of the reciprocal action do not form the subject and direct object of a transitive verb–but rather the subject of a verb and object of a postposition–then the valence of the verb is not changed; it remains transitive. The object of the postposition is comprised of a reduplicated form of either *nəkə* 'one' or *koʑə* 'self'. As is demonstrated in (109), if *nəkə* is used, then the reciprocal suffix *-tɕ^{h}e* is optional

(just as in the formation of reciprocals from ditransitive verbs–see the next section). If *koʑə* is used, then the reciprocal suffix is obligatory for a reciprocal meaning (see (110)); without the reciprocal suffix, the clause has a reflexive meaning (as in (111)).

109) nəkə~nəkə *used as object of postposition, reciprocal suffix optional:*

aku=ʁala	*çuru=nə*	*nəkə~nəkə*	*k^{h}ada*	*jiχ(-tɕ^{h}e)-tɕo*
girl=DU	dirt=ACC	one~one	on	hit(-RECP)-IMPF.OBJ

'The (two) girls threw mud on each other.'

(Caiguoji)

110) koʑə~koʑə *used as object of postposition, reciprocal suffix obligatory:*

aku=ʁala	*çuru=nə*	*koʑə~koʑə*	*k^{h}ada*	*jiχ-tɕ^{h}e-tɕo*
girl=DU	dirt=ACC	self~self	on	hit-RECP-IMPF.OBJ

'The (two) girls threw mud on each other.'

(Caiguoji)

111) koʑə~koʑə *used as object of postposition, reciprocal suffix is not used; reciprocal meaning is not attained:*

aku=ʁala	*çuru=nə*	*koʑə~koʑə*	*k^{h}ada*	*jiχ-tɕo*
girl=DU	dirt=ACC	self~self	on	hit-IMPF.OBJ

'The (two) girls threw mud on themselves.'
*'The (two) girls threw mud on each other.'

(Caiguoji)

5.2.4.2 Reciprocal Clauses Formed from Ditransitive Verbs

The agent argument(s) of a reciprocal ditransitive verb receives nominative case, the theme is expressed as an accusative-marked direct object, and the form *nəkə~nəkə=da* 'one~one=LOC' comprises the indirect object. Use of the reciprocal suffix *-tɕ^{h}e* is optional in these sentences.

112) *dʐoma=tɕə* *tɕaɕi=ʁala* *nəkə~nəkə=da* *ts^{h}amtoχ* *oχ(-tɕ^{h}e)-tɕo*

Droma=and	Jiashi=DU	one~one=LOC	gift	give(-RECP)-IMPF.OBJ

'Droma and Jiashi gave each other gifts.'

(Caiguoji)

I stated in §3.5.1 that when the number *nəkə* 'one' is reduplicated, it typically means 'each one'. Thus, if the reciprocal suffix *-tɕʰe* is not used in a sentence like (112) above, the meaning is ambiguous with the meaning: '[Droma and Jiashi]$_i$ gave [each one]$_k$ gifts.' In most contexts, the syntactic ambiguity does not hinder understanding, and so the reciprocal suffix is often left off. If for some reason a speaker wants to be particularly clear that a reciprocal meaning (rather than the meaning 'each one') is intended, she will use the reciprocal suffix.

5.2.4.3 Reciprocal Clauses Formed from Intransitive Verbs

My data contain just one intransitive reciprocal clause. It makes use of the reciprocal suffix *-tɕʰe*, and the valence of the clause remains intransitive.

113) *aku=ʁala* *atɕaŋʁalanə* *kʰətʰə=la=də* *o-tɕʰe-tɕo*
girl=DU 3DU.GEN house.LOC=PL=LOC go-RECP-IMPF.OBJ
'The (two) women go to each other's houses.' (GS)

(Caiguoji)

5.2.4.4 A Note on Reflexives

The strategies for encoding reciprocal clauses (the use of the reflexive suffix *-tɕʰe* and the use of the reduplicated forms *koʑə~koʑə* or *nəkə~nəkə*) differ from that used for encoding reflexives, which makes use of the reflexive pronoun *koʑə* (without reduplication).

Reflexive examples (42)-(44) from §4.2.2 are repeated here as (114)-(116) for comparison. For the full discussion of reflexives, see §4.2.2.

114) *atɕaŋ* *koʑə=nə* *waʁa-tɕo*
3SG self=ACC wash- IMPF.OBJ
'He washed himself.'

(Caiguoji)

115) *atɕaŋ* *koʑə=nə* *bəldzoχ=nə* *dzuʁa-tɕə*
3SG self=ACC finger=ACC burn- PERF
'She burnt her own finger.'

(Caiguoji)

116) *pə* *koʑə=da* *t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ* *htɕəl* *wa*
1SG self=LOC mianpian prepare COP$_1$.OBJ
'I made myself mianpian noodles.'

(Caiguoji)

5.2.5 Copular Clauses

The copula *wa/wi* is used in predicates of possession, predicate adjectives, locational predicates, and existential predicates; it is glossed 'COP$_1$'.[76] The copula *ba/bi* is used in nominal predicates; it is glossed 'COP$_2$'.[77] There is some question whether the copulas are verbs or not. On the one hand, they do not take most finite verbal morphology; but on the other hand, they do host non-finite verbal suffixes (including the nominalizers) as well as the finite modal suffix *-saŋ*.[78] They also appear in the same position in the clause as lexical verbs, so I consider them here to be verbs—albeit a special sub-class of verbs.

5.2.5.1 Predicate Possession

When possession of an indefinite object is predicated, the possessor is marked by the locative enclitic *=da* (discussed in §3.1.1.1.3.1), and the possessed NP functions grammatically as the subject of an intransitive sentence with the copula *wa/wi*.

[76] This copula is referred to by Wu (2003) as an existential verb and is glossed 'exist'. This is likely due to the influence of studies in Sinitic languages, in which the copula 有 (*yǒu*), which has a very similar range of functions, is glossed 'exist' (e.g. Li & Thompson 1981). The copula *wa/wi* is used in a much broader range of functions than just existential predicates, however, so I refrain from glossing it 'exist'.

[77] A third copula *ji/o* is reported in Wu (2003), but the speakers I have consulted insist that *ji* is a dialectal variant of *bi* (Gasare dialect), and that *o* is a variant of *wa* showing up in casual or fast speech. My data bear this out.

[78] The exception to this is that copulas do not host the non-finite suffixes *-tɕə* 'IMPF' or *-tɕəte* 'REASON'.

117) *mənda* *bəndzə=gə* *wi*
1SG.LOC notebook= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ
POSSESSOR=*da* POSSESSED $COPULA_1$
'I have a notebook.'

(Caiguoji)

118) *dortɕə=da* *bəndzə=gə* *wa*
Dorje=LOC notebook= SG.INDEF COP_1.OBJ
'Dorje has a notebook.'

(Caiguoji)

Note that the usual word order for an intransitive sentence with an oblique noun phrase is SXV (where 'X' denotes an oblique), but in predicates of possession the dative marked possessor is normally the first element in the clause, yielding XSV.

A second type of predicate possession is used when the possessed object rather than the possessor is topical. In these situations, the possessed object is the subject of a nominal predicate while the possessor hosts the enclitic =*gaŋ* (discussed in §3.1.1.1.6) and makes up the nominal predicate.

119) *ənə* *mərku* *wəldə=la=gaŋ* *ba*
this clothing Tibetan=PL=PRED.POSS COP_2.OBJ
POSSESSED POSSESSOR=*gaŋ* $COPULA_2$
'This clothing is Tibetan (*lit.* This clothing is Tibetans').'

(Caiguoji)

120) *nokə* *bəndzə* *məŋgaŋ*[79] *ji*
that notebook 1SG.PRED.POSS COP_2.SUBJ
'That notebook is mine.'

(Caiguoji)

The key indicator that these sentences are nominal predicates is that the copula *ba/bi* rather than the copula *wa/wi* is used. See section 5.2.5.3 for further discussion of nominal predication.

[79] A full list of the predicate possessive pronouns is given in table 4.1.

5.2.5.2 Predicate Adjectives

As was shown in §4.3.3, most Bao'an property terms are not verbal. Predicate adjectives occur immediately preceding the copula *wa/wi*. The noun phrase being modified is the subject of the intransitive sentence.

121) *nokə* *mohton* *undər* *wa*
that tree tall COP_1.OBJ
'That tree is tall.'

(Caiguoji)

122) *χani=la* *ɲəm-kə-tɕə* *nat^{h}ə-sa* ***jaksa*** ***wa***
all=PL tidy-VBZ-IMPF dance-COND pretty COP_1.OBJ
'If everyone dances nicely, (it) is pretty.'

(Ləru Dancing 45)

5.2.5.3 Nominal Predication

Nominal predicates make use of the copula *ba/bi,* and both arguments appear in nominative case (zero-marked). This is true for both equational and non-equational predicates. Sentences (123) and (124) give examples of non-equational predicates, while (125) and (126) are examples of equational predicates (by way of reminder, the use of the accusative clitic *=nə* on *htema* 'bread' in (124) indicates the genitival relationship between *htema* 'bread' and *roχ* 'type'; see §3.1.1.1.2 for a discussion of the functions of *=nə*).

123) *dẓoma* *gərgən* *bi-saŋ*
Droma teacher COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Droma is a teacher.'

(Caiguoji)

124) *t^{h}aʁor* *htema=nə* *roχ=gə* *ba*
tagor bread=ACC type=SG.INDEF COP_2.OBJ
'*Tagor* is a type of bread.'

(Caiguoji)

125) *ɬamo lobzaŋ=nə werə ba*
Lamo Lobzang=ACC wife COP_2.OBJ
'Lamo is Lobzang's wife.'

(Caiguoji)

126) *dʐoma mindzu kaodʐoŋ=nə ɕiaotɕaŋ ji-saŋ*
Droma nationality high.school=ACC principal COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Droma is the principal of the nationalities high school.'

(Caiguoji)

5.2.5.4 Locative Predication

The word ordering of constituents of locative predicates is S LOC V, where 'LOC' is a locative phrase and 'V' is the copula *wa/wi*. Locative phrases consist of either a postpositional phrase or an NP marked with the locative enclitic *=da*.

127) *tɕaɕi hloptɕa naŋda wa*
Jiashi school in COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi is at school.'

(Caiguoji)

128) *tɕaɕi silaŋ=da wa*
Jiashi Xining=LOC COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi is in Xining.'

(Caiguoji)

5.2.5.5 Existential Predicates

Existential predicates use the copula *wa/wi*.

129) *sotɕa=da kʰatsʰaŋ natʰə=ku wa*
Soja=LOC complete dance=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ
'Everyone dances for Soja clan.'
(*lit.* 'There is complete dancing for Soja clan.')

(Ləru Dancing 88)

130) *tʰəsanə jama kʰəl=ku wa-u*
next thing speak=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ-Q
'Is there anything more to say?'

(Ləru Dancing 127)

5.2.6 Valence Changing Strategies

Valence changing strategies in Bao'an include the causative construction, anticausative construction, and some reciprocal constructions (see §5.2.4 for the various strategies for forming reciprocals). Bao'an has no passive construction. The functional equivalent of an actorless passive is a transitive clause in which no actor is expressed, and the actor is interpreted as non-specific. In these sentences, use of the accusative clitic *=nə* to mark the patient is obligatory. (131) is an active transitive sentence with both arguments expressed, and (132) is the equivalent of an actorless passive version of (131).

131) *dẓoma* *dẓama=nə* *koʁol-tɕə*
Droma window=ACC break-PERF
'Droma broke the window.'

(Caiguoji)

132) *dẓama=nə* *koʁol-tɕə*
window=ACC break-PERF
'The window was broken.'
(*or* '(I/you/he...) broke the window.')[80]

(Caiguoji)

The fact that the patient in this type of sentence retains its accusative case marking, together with the lack of special verbal morphology, indicate that this is a transitive clause with no overtly expressed actor rather than a true passive construction.

5.2.6.1 Causative Constructions

Causative constructions introduce an argument into a clause by expressing an argument referring to a causing agent. The causative suffix *-əʁa* appears on the verb in these clauses, and the causing agent appears in nominative case. The subject of an intransitive

[80] The interpretation of this sentence is dependent on context. A transitive clause with no overtly expressed actor can either be interpreted as having a non-specific actor (in which case the clause is the functional equivalent of an actorless passive) or it can be interpreted as having a highly topical actor that has been left unexpressed because of its topicality.

sentence hosts the accusative enclitic *=nə* when it becomes a causee, as in (134) and (136).

133) *Non-causative intransitve:*
dzəjaŋ *na-tɕə*
dish fall-PERF
'The dish fell.'
(Caiguoji)

134) *Causative:*
dortɕə *dzəjaŋ=nə* *na-ʁa*[81] *-tɕə*
Dorje dish=ACC fall-CAUS-PERF
CAUSER CAUSEE
'Dorje made the dish fall.'
(Caiguoji)

135) *Non-causative intransitve:*
ɕaʑə *çəne-tɕo*
child smile-IMPF.OBJ
'The child is smiling.'
(Caiguoji)

136) *Causative:*
dzo̱ma *ɕaʑə=nə* *çəne-ʁa-tɕo*
Droma child=ACC smile-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
CAUSER CAUSEE
'Droma makes the child smile.'
(Caiguoji)

When the subject of a transitive verb becomes a causee, it takes the locative enclitic *=da*. The direct object in these sentences takes the same case marking in the causative sentence as it would in its non-causative equivalent. So the indefinite direct object *man* 'medicine' does not host the accusative enclitic in either the non-causative or causative sentences given in (137) and (138).

[81] The initial /ə/ in *–eʁa* is elided when the verb stem to which it is attached ends with an open syllable.

137) *non-causative predicate with indefinite direct object:*

ɕaʑə *man* *u-tɕo*
child medicine drink-IMPF.OBJ
'The child took medicine.'

(Caiguoji)

138) *causative predicate with indefinite direct object:*

atɕaŋ *ɕaʑə=da* *man* *u-ʁa-tɕo*
3SG child=LOC medicine drink-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
CAUSER CAUSEE DO
'She made the child take medicine.'

(Caiguoji)

A definite direct object, on the other hand, does take the accusative enclitic in both non-causative and causative sentences, as is demonstrated by (139) and (140).

139) *non-causative predicate with definite direct object:*

ɕaʑə *nokə* *man=nə* *u-tɕo*
child that medicine=ACC drink-IMPF.OBJ
'The child took that medicine.'

(Caiguoji)

140) *causative predicate with definite direct object:*

atɕaŋ *ɕaʑə=da* *nokə* *man=nə* *u-ʁa-tɕo*
3SG child=LOC that medicine=ACC drink-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
CAUSER CAUSEE DIRECT OBJECT
'She made the child take that medicine.'

(Caiguoji)

Bao'an verbs do not have person marking (except in imperative mood), but the perspective marking on the examples below show that the causer replaces the causee as the grammatical subject of a causative sentence. In (141), the subject of the declarative sentence is first person, so the subjective verbal suffix *-tɕi* is used. When a third person causer (and causative verbal morphology) is added (as in (142)), the subjective verbal suffix is replaced with the objective suffix *-tɕo.*

141) *pə* *htema* ***de-tɕi***
1SG bread eat-IMPF.SUBJ
'I eat bread.'

(Caiguoji)

142) *atɕaŋ* *mənda* *htema* *de-ʁa-**tɕo***
3SG 1SG.LOC bread eat-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
CAUSER CAUSEE
'She feeds me (*lit.* 'causes me to eat') bread.'

(Caiguoji)

As is apparent from the above examples, causative predicates expressed by means of the suffix *-əʁa* cover a broad semantic range from direct causation (as in (134)) to secondary causation (as in (136)). The semantic range of *-əʁa* also includes permission, as in (143).

143) *çarwaŋ=da* *da* *mantəl-ʁa* *k^{h}ər-na* *pe*
Xiabulang=LOC also dig-CAUS be.required-DUR EMPH
'(They) should also let Xiabulang dig!'

(Skirmish 22)

There are two instances in my data in which a causative sentence has an intransitive causee in accusative case, but does not have the verbal suffix *-əʁa*. One example is given here.

144) *su* *tʂurən* *mənda* *ʂafa* *k^{h}ada* *dondi-tɕo.*
so dean 1SG.ACC sofa on sit-IMPF.OBJ
CAUSER CAUSEE
'So the dean sat me down on a couch.'[82]

(Disappointment 70)

[82]It should be noted that *dondi* is not lexically causative. See (227) for an example of the typical transitivity of *dondi*.

This strategy for expressing causation appears much less frequently than the strategy employing the causative suffix -əʁa; it accounts for just two of sixty-seven causative clauses in my data.

5.2.6.2 The Anticausative Construction

The suffix *-ra* is attached to a lexically transitive verb. The verb is then intransitive; the patient of the verb appears in nominative case, and the actor is omitted completely. The following pair of sentences demonstrates the use of the verb *koʁol* 'shatter' as both a transitive verb and an intranstive verb (intransitive because of the use of *-ra*).

145) *ɕaʑə* *dzɻama=nə* *koʁol-tɕə*
child window=ACC shatter-PERF
'The child(ren) shattered the window.'
(Caiguoji)

146) *dzɻama* *koʁol-**ra**-tɕə*
window shatter-ANTIC-PERF
'(The) window shattered.'
(Caiguoji)

The patient of a verb marked with *-ra* cannot receive any case marking other than zero case marking (indicating nominative case), which is strong proof of its status as the grammatical subject of the clause. Furthermore, it is not acceptable to express the actor of a verb marked with *-ra* as either an argument or an oblique. Bao'an Tu speakers assert that unlike the actorless passive equivalent discussed in §5.2.6, no actor (other than the grammatical subject) is assumed to exist when *-ra* is used. When questioned more closely about these sentences, they explain that the window in (146), for example, is assumed to have simply broken of its own accord (perhaps from old age) without any obvious third-party causer. Because the subjects of these clauses are semantically

patients, but are expressed as active subjects (and there is no implication of an actor the way there is with active transitive verbs), I have glossed the suffix *-ra* as 'ANTIC' indicating 'anticausative'. The following sentences give two more examples of the use of the use of the anticausative suffix.

147) *de* *apa* *ogoŋ* *war-**ra**-tɕə*
now father daughter finish-ANTIC-PERF
'Now the old ones have passed away.'
(*lit.* 'Now fathers (and) daughters have finished.')

(Skirmish 15)

148) *gər* *htar-**ra**-tɕə*
house burn-ANTIC-PERF
'(The) house burned.'

(Caiguoji)

5.2.7 Argument Expression

Arguments and obliques are expressed by full noun phrases containing lexical nouns, complement clauses, pronouns, or by no overt expression at all. Although I have not conducted a formal statistical study, there seems to be a strong preference in natural speech for expressing just one argument in a clause or sentence and leaving the rest implicit. Many clauses contain no overtly expressed arguments. The following sentences give examples of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive sentences with various combinations of overtly expressed and non-overtly expressed subjects, objects, and indirect objects.

149) *ɕida* *χargə-tɕə* *gər* *na-tɕə=tɕo*
outside leave-IMPF house fall-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'They say (they) went outside, and the house fell in.'
(*χargə* : intrans, ø subject)
(*na* : intrans, NP subject)

(Ləru Dancing 74)

150) *tʰorun=da* *tɕala* *χal* *kʰər-na*
head=LOC false.braid wear be.required-DUR
'(Everyone) should wear a false braid on (one's) head.'
(*χal* : trans, ø subject, NP object, NP oblique)

(Læru Dancing 28)

151) *ɬawa* *amaŋ=da* *nəkə~nəkə* *jiχ-tɕo*
shaman mouth=LOC one~one hit-IMPF.OBJ
'...the shaman hits each of them on the mouth.'
(*jiχ* : trans, NP subject, pronoun object, NP oblique)

(Læru Dancing 37)

152) *dawu da jortɕə tortɕə χara-tɕə-tɕo*
still also here there taunt-IMPF-IMPF.OBJ
'(We) taunt (each other) back and forth now still.'
(*χara* : trans, ø subject, ø object)

(Læru Dancing 54)

153) *manda* *kormu* *oχ=ku* *ki*
1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC money give=IMPF.NMLZ NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'We did not have money to give (them).'
(*oχ* : ditrans, pronoun subject, NP object, ø indirect object)

(Læru Dancing 59)

154) *kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-ʁa-sa* *rakə* *oχ-tɕi-saŋ*
home.LOC come-CAUS-COND alcohol give-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'If (one) invited (him) to one's home, (one) would give (him) alcohol.'
(*χəpgə-ʁa* : trans, ø subject, ø object, NP oblique)
(*oχ* : ditrans, ø subject, NP object, ø indirect object)

(Læru Dancing 68)

These examples do not exhaust all of the logically possible combinations of arguments expressed as full NP's, pronouns, or not overtly expressed, but they suffice to show the wide variety of argument expression used by Bao'an speakers. I have not conducted a study of what discourse situations allow for the non-overt expression of clausal arguments, but it appears to be the case that anytime the referent of an argument is identifiable in the discourse context, the argument may be left unexpressed.

5.3 Adverbs

Bao'an has a class of uninflected phonologically independent words I will refer to as adverbs. These words fall into three natural groupings: 1) deictic terms referring to spatial orientation, 2) adverbs referring to time and frequency, 3) and adverbs indicating degree, epistemic likelihood, and the meanings 'also', 'again', and 'together'.

The most common spatial deictic terms are *əndə* 'here' and *tʰəndə* 'there'. They typically occur in clause initial position, but they may also occur in second position.

155) ***tʰəndə*** *nenə* *hko=gə* *wa*
there grandmother big=SG.INDEF COP_1.OBJ
'There is a very old grandmother there.'

(Caiguoji)

156) *danoŋ* ***əndə*** *mohton* *kina*
last.year here tree NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'There were no trees here last year.'

(Caiguoji)

The deictic terms *jortɕə* 'here' and *dortɕə* 'there' occur much less frequently, and in my data they always occur together as a phrase indicating a meaning something like 'here and there'. Like *əndə* and *tʰəndə,* this phrase occurs either in clause initial position or in second position.

157) ***dortcə*** ***jortɕə*** *kʰoŋ* *səmtɕa* *soni* *ala-saŋ=tɕo*
there here people thirty two die-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'They say thirty-two people from here and there died.'

(Ləru Dancing 57)

158) *ʑəpdaχ=nə* *tundaχ=da* ***tortɕə*** ***jortɕə*** *aː* *saŋ*
mountain.god=ACC matter=LOC there here HES offering

ki-sa *tɕʰopa* *ki-sa* *da*
NEG. COP_1.SUBJ-COND food.offering NEG. COP_1.SUB-COND also

natʰə-tɕə=ku *χani* *tʰəntʰon=gə=nə* *tɕənsan* *wo*
dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ all that.way= SG.INDEF =ACC reason COP_1.OBJ
'It is for the sake of the mountain god that there are offerings, food offerings, and dancing here and there.'

(Dʑəkələru 18)

Lexical nouns referring to a specific time often occur as oblique expressions without any case inflection, and so in effect behave syntactically the same as other uninflected time expressions that are not lexical nouns. They are also distinct from other nouns in that when used adnominally they host the nominalizer *=ku* 'IMPF.NMLZ' rather than the accusative enclitic *=nə* (see §4.3.7.3 for a discussion of this use of *=ku*). Therefore, they are included in the discussion here; a list of those found in my data is given in (159).

159) *ɕilaŋ* 'night'
danoŋ 'last year'
ərhte 'morning'
hkutə 'yesterday'
məχɕə 'tomorrow'
nəɕilaŋ 'this evening'
noŋʁarhte 'this morning'
nudə 'today'
jitsʰaŋda 'next year'

The following sentences give examples of the use of this class of adverbs.

160) *tʰər=nə* ***ɕilaŋ*** *au=la* *jindaməndа* *ula=da* *tʰa*
that=ACC night boy=PL definitely mountain=LOC sleep

kʰər-saŋ
be.required-POS
'The boys must definitely sleep on the mountain that night.'
(Ləru Dancing 100)

161) ***danoŋ*** ***tɕaɕi=da*** *noʁi* *kina*
last.year Jiashi=LOC dog NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
'Jiashi did not have dogs last year.'
(Caiguoji)

162) *pə* ***hkutə*** *bəndzə=gə* *ap* *wa*
1SG yesterday notebook= SG.INDEF buy COP$_1$.OBJ
'I bought a notebook yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

163) ***ərhte*** *nər=nə* *sauma-tɕə* *waʁa-tɕə*
morning face=ACC ceremonially.clean-IMPF wash-PERF
'In the morning (they) wash their faces, making them ceremonially clean.'
(Ləru Dancing 106)

164) ***məχɕə*** *tɕaɕi* *ɬoptɕa* *naŋda* *wi-gəwa*
tomorrow Jiashi school in COP$_1$.SUBJ-FUT.OBJ
'Tomorrow Jiashi will be in school.'
(Caiguoji)

165) ***nudə*** *tɕu* *ap-tɕə-saŋ=tɕə*
today exam take-IMPF-POS=QUOT.IMPF
'"Today (you) take the exam," (he said)...'
(Disappointment 40)

In addition to the adverbial time nouns, Bao'an has adverbs that refer to less specific time as well as adverbs that refer to frequency. They are listed in (166).

166) *dawu* 'later/still'
de 'just/now'
nadamada 'long ago'
najaŋ 'at that time'
taʁatɕə 'before/in the past'
to 'still'
ɕoŋjisa 'originally/always'
ɕoŋgə 'originally/always'
samsamda 'sometimes'
orhtɕə 'again'
orhtənəmorhtə 'often'

These adverbs of time and frequency usually occur clause initially, but they may also occur in second position.

167) ***dawu*** *da* *jortɕə* *tortɕə* *χara-tɕə-tɕo*
still also here there taunt-IMPF-IMPF.OBJ
'(We) taunt (each other) back and forth now still.'
(Ləru Dancing 54)

168) *pə* ***de*** *χənə* *silaŋ=sa* *ər* *wa*
1SG just new Xining=ABL come COP_1.OBJ
'I just came from Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

169) ***ɕoŋgə*** *$tɕ^hə$* *ba*
originally 2SG COP_2.OBJ
'Originally it was you.'
(Disappointment 73)

170) *dedə=la* *nat^{h}ə=ku* *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* ***samsamda***
grandfather=PL dance=IMPF.NMLZ time sometimes

sarə=la=da *χeɕaŋ* *nat^{h}ə=ku=nə* *ts^{h}ər-ʁa-tɕi-saŋ*
young.one=PL=LOC Leru dance=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC learn-CAUS-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'When the grandfathers dance, sometimes they teach the younger ones to dance Leru.'

(Læru Dancing 114)

171) ***orhtənəmorhtə*** *k^{h}əl-tɕə* *ɲak^{h}aŋ* *naŋda* *o-tɕə* *hloma=la=da*
often say-IMPF dormitory in go-IMPF student=PL=LOC

dzo̱gə *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
be.harmonious be.required-POS
'(They) often said, "when you go to the dormitory, be harmonious toward the students."'

(Parents' Instructions 18-19)

Finally, the third class of adverbs is more motley in terms of its semantics; these adverbs indicate degree and epistemic likelihood in addition to the meanings 'also', 'again', and 'together'. A list of these is given in (172).

172) *ɕikə* 'very/very much'
tɕəmaŋgə 'a little'
wakə 'completely'
jindaməndа 'definitely'
p^{h}atɕər 'probably'
jo 'also/again'
jaŋ 'again'
noχt^{h}ala 'together'

In terms of syntactic behavior, however, they are distinct from the previous two classes of adverbs in that they typically occur immediately preceding the verbs they modify, as in (173)-(177).

173) *gərgən=da* ***ɕikə*** *sokərgə-tɕə*
teacher=LOC very respect-IMPF
‘“Be very respectful toward the teachers. . .”’
(Parents’ Instructions 12)

174) *naŋda* *o-saŋ=nə* *tɕu* *ap-saŋ* *ɬaoʂi* *χani=la*
inside go-PERF.NMLZ=ACC exam take-PERF.NMLZ teacher all=PL

nər=nə ***tɕəmaŋgə*** *medə-na*
face=ACC a.little know-DUR
‘As (I) entered, I pretty much recognized the faces of all the teachers giving the exam.’
(Disappointment 42)

175) *tʰə-gə=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *pə* ***wakə*** *ətɕə* *kina*
that-VBZ=IMPF.NMLZ time 1SG completely fear NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ
‘At that time I wasn’t at all afraid.’
(Disappointment 49)

176) *su* *jinjəχ=da* ***jindaməndə*** *ʂa* *kʰər-na=tɕo*
so English=LOC definitely good be.required-DUR=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘So (they said) (that student’s) English must definitely be good.’
(Disappointment 4)

177) *pantʂurən* *mənda* ***jo*** *u-la* *χatɕər-tɕə*
class.teacher 1SG.ACC also/again call-PURP come.back-PERF
‘The class teacher came back to look for me again.’
(Disappointment 39)

Like the other adverbs, their position in the clause is not rigidly fixed; they occur in positions other than immediately preceding the verb.

178) ***tɕəmaŋgə*** *nər* *medə-na*
a.little face know-DUR
‘(I) recognized (their) faces a little.’
(Disappointment 44)

179) *tɕu* *ap-sa* ***pʰatɕər*** *tɕʰə* *bi-saŋ=tɕo*
exam take-COND probably 2SG COP$_2$.SUBJ-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘“If (you) take the exam, it will probably be you”, (he said).’
(Disappointment 27)

Finally, it is worth mentioning that negative particles also immediately precede the verb. Unlike these adverbs, however, their position is fixed. They are discussed in the next section.

5.4 Negation

Negation is achieved primarily through two means: the negative particles *ələ* and *əsə*, and the negative copulas *çi, çəwa, ki,* and *kina.* In addition to these, negative commands are constructed using the negative imperative particle *tʰəkə*; and the negative prefix *m-* is used solely with the borrowed property term *ʂakə* 'good'.

5.4.1 Negation of Lexical Verbs

The negative particles *ələ* and *əsə* are used to negate lexical verbs. The particle *ələ* is generally used to negate imperfective predicates. In finite contexts, *ələ* co-occurs with the narrative suffix *-m* and the durative suffix *-na.*

180) *ɕoŋjisa* *atɕaŋla* ***ələ*** *odə-m*
originally 3PL NEG go-NARR
'They don't usually go.'
(Caiguoji)

181) *dzo̱ma* *ənə=nə* ***ələ*** *medə-m=tɕə* *kʰəl-tɕo*
Droma this=ACC NEG know-NARR=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma said, "I don't know this".'
(Caiguoji)

182) *jaŋgə* *ʁaligə=ku=nə* *da* ***ələ*** *medə-na*
what see=IMPF.NMLZ.ACC also NEG know-DUR
'And I didn't know what to look at.'
(Disappointment 31)

183) *χotɕʰa=ʁala* ***ələ*** *htɕigə-na*
book=DU NEG be.same-DUR
'The (two) books are not the same.'
(Caiguoji)

In non-finite contexts, *ələ* co-occurs with the imperfective suffix *-tɕə*. It also co-occurs with the imperfect nominalizer *=ku*.

184) ***ələ*** *odə-ʁa-tɕə* *jaŋ-kə-gi*
NEG go-CAUS-IMPF what-VBZ-FUT.SUBJ
'How can (I) not let (you) go?'
(Disappointment 14)

185) ***ələ*** *pʰitɕə-tɕə* *naptə* *o-gə* *ço*
NEG write-IMPF success go-FUT NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'It's not okay (for) (me) not to write (it).'
(*lit.* '(I) don't write (it) and (it) will not be okay.')
(Caiguoji)

186) *əsə* *tʰal-kə-sa* ***ələ*** *tal-kə=ku* *lan=nə*
NEG agreement-VBZ-COND NEG agreement-VBZ=IMPF.NMLZ answer=ACC

ap-tɕə *ərə-tɕo*
take-IMPF come-IMPF.OBJ
'If (they) didn't agree, I was to bring back the answer of non-agreement.'
(Disappointment 8)

187) ***ələ*** *mɐdə=ku=la=nə* *pʰitɕə-tɕə* *ərə*
NEG know=IMPF.NMLZ=PL=ACC write-IMPF come
'Write down and bring the (things) (you) don't know.'
(Caiguoji)

The particle *əsə* generally occurs in perfective predicates. In finite contexts, it co-occurs with the perfective suffixes *-tɕə* and *-to*, as well as with verbs modified by the auxiliary *wa* 'COP$_1$.OBJ' (indicating past tense).

188) *tɕʰa=nə* ***əsə*** *tɕəl-tɕə*
tea=ACC NEG prepare-PERF
'(you) didn't make (dinner).'
(Dzo̱kələru 68)

189) *nudə* *erhte* *tɕaɕi* *silaŋ=da* ***əsə*** *o-tɕə*
today morning Jiashi Xining=LOC NEG go-PERF
'Jiashi didn't go to Xining this morning.'
(Caiguoji)

190) *noŋʁarhte* *pə* *silaŋ=da* ***əsə*** *o-to*
this.morning 1SG Xining=LOC NEG go-PERF
'I didn't go to Xining this morning.'
(Caiguoji)

191) *pə* *dzo̱ma* *jaŋgə* *ʁali-tɕə=ku=nə* ***əsə*** *med-o*
1SG Droma what see-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC NEG know-PERF
'I didn't know what Droma was looking at.'
(Caiguoji)

192) *tɕəmaŋgə* *su* *wuu* ***əsə*** *su* *wuu* *nokə*
a.little stay COP_1.SUBJ.Q NEG stay COP_1.SUBJ.Q that

aku *laoo̱si* *mənda* *[dzo̱si]* *asaχ-tɕo*
girl teacher 1SG.ACC question ask-IMPF.OBJ
'Without wasting a moment, that female teacher asked me a question.'
(*lit.* 'Did (it) stay or not stay? that female teacher was asking me a question.')
(Disappointment 46)

In non-finite contexts, *əsə* precedes verbs marked with the conditional suffix *-sa*; in nominalized clauses it co-occurs with the perfective nominalizer *-saŋ*.

193) *kari=la* ***əsə*** *nat^{h}ə-sa* *jaksa* *kina*
some=PL NEG dance-COND pretty NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'If some of them don't dance (like this) it's not beautiful.'
(Ləru Dancing 50)

194) ***əsə*** *orə-sa* *dzo̱ŋtɕa=la* *χuo-gəwa*
NEG rain-COND harvest wither-FUT.OBJ
'If it doesn't rain, the crops will wither.'
(Caiguoji)

195) *naraŋ* ***əsə*** *ər-saŋ* *kuda* *tɕəmaŋgə* *tarə-na*
sun NEG come-PERF.NMLZ before a.little cold-DUR
'Before (when) the sun hadn't come out, it was a little cold.'
(Caiguoji)

196) *ɕaot^{h}aŋ=da* **əsə** *ər-saŋ* *k^{h}oŋ=la* *welə-kə-tɕo*
school=LOC NEG go-PERF.NMLZ people=PL work-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'The people who don't go to school do manual labor.'
(Caiguoji)

əsə is also used in alternative questions and rhetorical questions where the verb is marked with the interrogative suffix *-si*.

197) *pə* *hkutə* *orə-si* **əsə** *orə-si* *əsə* *med-o*
1SG yesterday rain-Q NEG rain-Q NEG know-PERF
'I don't know whether it rained or not yesterday.'
(Caiguoji)

198) *atɕaŋ* *tɕak^{h}a* *ap-si* **əsə** *ap-si* *pə* *tɕ^{h}ənda*
3SG success take-Q NEG take-Q 1SG 2SG.LOC

k^{h}əl-ja
say-1.IMP
'Did he succeed or not? Let me tell you.'
(Caiguoji)

Finally, the borrowed property term *ʂakə* 'good' is negated by affixing the borrowed negative prefix *mə-*.

199) *k^{h}əl* *əsə* *me-sa* ***mə-ʂakə*** *ba*
say NEG know-COND NEG-good COP$_2$.OBJ
'I don't know how to speak (/what to say); it's not good!'
(Ləru Dancing 2)

200) *htema* *da* ***mə-ʂakə*** *ja*
bread also NEG-good PRT
'And the bread is no good!'
(Caiguoji)

5.4.2 Negative Copulas

The negative copulas *kiwə/kina* and *çi/çəwa*[83] correspond one-to-one with the subjective and objective pairs of the copulas *wi/wa* and *bi/ba,* respectively. In their primary use, they function similarly to the positive copulas. In the examples below, *kiwə/kina* is used to negate existential, locative, and adjectival predicates as well as the regular possession construction.

201) *subjective* kiwə *used to negate a locative predicate:*
pə *silaŋ=da* *kiwə*
1SG Xining=LOC NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'I am not in Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

202) *subjective* kiwə *used to negate an adjectival predicate:*
mənnə *be* *undər* *kiwə*
1SG.GEN body tall NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'I am not tall.'
(Caiguoji)

203) *subjective* kiwə *used to negate the possession construction:*
mənda *noʁi* *kiwə*
1SG.LOC dog NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'I do not have dogs.'
(Caiguoji)

204) *objective* kina *used to negate an existential predicate:*
əndə *mohton* *kina*
here tree NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'There are no trees here.'
(Caiguoji)

205) *objective* kina *used to negate a locative predicate:*
tɕaɕi *silaŋ=da* *kina*
Jiashi Xining=LOC NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'Jiashi is not in Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

[83] *ki* is a shortened form of *kiwə*, and *ço* is a contracted form of *çəwa*; both occur frequently in casual speech.

206) *objective* kina *used to negate an adjectival predicate:*
kari=la *əsə* *nat^{h}ə-sa* *jaksa* *kina*
some=PL NEG dance-COND pretty NEG. COP$_1$.OBJ
'If some of them don't dance (like this) it's not beautiful.'
(Ləru Dancing 50)

207) *objective* kina *used to negate the possessive construction:*
atɕaŋda *kormu* *kina*
3SG.LOC money NEG. COP$_1$.OBJ
'He doesn't have any money.'
(Caiguoji)

In the following sentences, *çi/cəwa* is used to negate a nominal predicate and a predicate of possession.

208) çewa *used to negate a nominal predicate:*
mənnə *nerə* *çəwa*
1SG.GEN name NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'(It) was not my name.'
(Disappointment 58)

209) çewa *used to negate a predicate of possession:*
tʂ^{h}əma *atɕaŋgaŋ* *ço*
Chuma 2SG.PRED.POSS NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'(it) was not Chuma village's alone.'
(Skirmish 4)

In addition to these uses, *çi/çəwa* is used along with the suffix *-gə* to negate future tense in finite contexts. This is true of both lexical verbs and copulas.

210) *nəçəlaŋ* *pə* *o-gə* *çi*
this.evening 1SG go-FUT NEG.COP$_2$.SUBJ
'I will not go this evening.'
(Caiguoji)

211) *jits^{h}aŋda* *pə* *χɐɕaŋ* *nat^{h}ə-gə* *çi*
next.year 1SG Leru dance-FUT NEG.COP$_2$.SUBJ
'I will not dance Leru next year.'
(Caiguoji)

212) *nəçəlaŋ* *tɕiaɕi* *o-gə* *ço*
this.evening Jiashi go-FUT NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'Jiashi will not go this evening.'

(Caiguoji)

213) *jits^{h}aŋda* *tɕiaɕi* *silaŋ=da* *wi-gə* *ço*
next.year Jiashi Xining=LOC COP_1.SUBJ-FUT NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'Jiashi will not be in Xining next year.'

(Caiguoji)

Additionally, *çəwa* is used to negate finite clauses containing the epistemic possibility marker *-saŋ*. Like its positive counterpart, this construction is the same for lexical verbs and copulas.

214) *tɕ^{h}ənda* *mərku* *jaχsa* *əsə* *mər-tɕə=tɕə* *deku* *amt^{h}ə* *əsə*
2SG.LOC clothing pretty NEG wear-IMPF=QUOT.IMPF food delicious NEG

de-tɕə=tɕə *k^{h}əl-saŋ* *çəwa*
eat-IMPF=QUOT.IMPF say-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'(they) will not say that your clothing isn't pretty to wear or that your food isn't delicious to eat.'

(Parents' Instructions 24)

215) *p^{h}a* *wi-saŋ* *ço*
problem COP_1.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'There will be no problem.'

(Ləru Dancing 3)

It was stated above that when copulas occur in non-finite clauses and nominalized clauses, the subjective forms are used in both subjective and objective contexts, thus eliminating the distinction of speaker perspective. The same is true for negative copulas used in these contexts.

216) *tʰər* ***çi-sa*** *morhtçə=la* *χani* *χatçʰər* *nəkə*
that NEG.COP$_2$.SUBJ-COND other=PL all approximately one

wo
COP$_1$.OBJ
'If (it) were not for that, (the village) would be the same as all the others.'
(Dzꟈkələru 116)

217) *kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-ʁa-tçə=ku* *tçawa* *jama*
home.LOC come.HON-CAUS-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ fortune stuff

ki=ku *tçar-tçi-saŋ*
NEG. COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ do-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(one) invites (the shaman) to come to (one's) home and avoids misfortune.'
(Ləru Dancing 78)

Finally, there is one instance in my data in which *ki* is used to negate an adjective that is in turn modifying a noun.

218) *χara* *dəʁa* *χetçʰaŋ* *jaksa* ***ki*** *mərku*
black color old pretty NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ clothing
'old black ugly clothing'
(Caiguoji)

Table 5.5 summarizes the uses of *ələ, əsə,* and the negative copulas; 'V' stands for a lexical verb stem. The use of the negative prefix *mə-* is not included because it is only used with the borrowed stative verb *ꟈakə* 'good'.

Table 5.5. Negation strategies for lexical verbs and copulas

Lexical Verbs	Finite		Imperfective[84]		Perfective (PERF)	Future (FUT)	Past	Epistemic Possibility (POS)
			NARR	DUR				
		SUBJ	*ələ V-m*	*ələ V-na*	*əsə V-to*	*V-gə çi*	*əsə V wa,*	*V-saŋ çəwa*
		OBJ			*əsə V-tɕə*	*V-gə ço*		
	Non-finite		Non-finite (converbs)[85]			Nominalized (participles)		
			IMPF	COND		IMPF		PERF
			ələ V-tɕə	*əsə V-sa*		*ələ V=ku*		*əsə V-saŋ*
Copulas	Finite		Basic Form		Future		Epistemic Possibility	
			COP_1	COP_2	COP_1	COP_2	COP_1	COP_2
		SUBJ	*ki/kiwə*	*çi*	*wi-gə ço*	*bi-gə ço*	*wi-saŋ ço*	*bi-saŋ ço*
		OBJ	*kina*	*çəwa/ço*				
	Non-finite		Non-finite[86] (converbs)		Nominalized (participles)[87]			
			COND		IMPF		PERF	
			COP_1	COP_2	COP_1	COP_2	COP_1	COP_2
			ki-sa	*çi-sa*	*ki=ku*	-----	*ki-saŋ*	-----

5.4.3 Negation of Imperatives

The negative imperative particle *t^həkə* occurs immediately before the verb in imperative sentences. Its use is the same regardless of whether the imperative is formed with a bare verb stem or with the familiar imperative suffix *-də*.

[84] The finite imperfect suffix *-tɕi/-tɕo* does not occur in negative constructions. Because negated predicates are irrealis, they require the use of either *-m* or *-na* in imperfective contexts.

[85] My data contain no instances of the non-finite suffixes *-la* (PURP), *-sada* (CONC), or *-tɕəte* (REASON) occurring in negative constructions. These suffixes occur so infrequently that it is difficult to tell whether this is due to a grammatical generalization or to an accidental gap in the data.

[86] Neither the copulas nor the negative copulas occur in imperfective non-finite contexts (i.e. with the non-finite verbal suffix *–tɕə*).

[87] My data do not contain any instances of the negative copula *çi/çəwa* taking the nominalizing suffixes *=ku* or *–saŋ*.

219) *da* *ji* *ts^{h}əm* ***t^{h}əkə*** *dugə .*
also COP$_2$.SUBJ heart NEG.IMP be.sad

p^{h}a *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
problem COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'And don't be sad. It's not a big deal.'

(Disappointment 77)

220) *dzi̯χ* *tç^{h}oχgə* *war-tçə* *jaŋ* *papa* *anə=ʁala* *łoptça*
test pass hold-IMPF again father mother=DU school

naŋda *o-tçə* *mərku=tçə* *deku=nə* *łoma=la=da* ***t^{h}əkə***
in go-IMPF clothing=and food=ACC student=PL=LOC forbid

tçarnagə=tçə
compare=QUOT.IMPF
'Once (I) passed the test, again (my) mother and father (said), "when you go to school, don't compare (your) food and clothing to (other) students"...'

(Parents' Instructions 23)

221) *łoptço=la=da* ***t^{h}əkə*** *k^{h}əl-də*
classmate=PL=LOC NEG.IMP say-IMP
'Don't argue with (your) classmates.'

(Parents' Instructions 6)

222) *dzo̯ma* *mənda* *roŋ=da* ***t^{h}əkə*** *o-də=tçə*
Droma 1SG.LOC prefecture.town=LOC NEG.IMP go-IMP=QUOT.IMPF

k^{h}əl-tço
say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma told me, "don't go to town".'

(Caiguoji)

5.5 Postpositions

Postpositions play a role similar to the locative use of the enclitic *=da* in that they indicate the goal, location or time of the predication. In contrast to *=da,* however, they are phonologically separate words from the nouns they follow; and while *=da* indicates a generic location, postpositions further specify the spatial relation between the predication and the noun phrase they follow.

223) *lokə* ***naŋda*** *ke* *kʰər-saŋ*
bread.pan in put be.required-POS
'(You) need to put (it) in bread pans.'

(How to Make Bread 11)

224) *dzəjaŋ=nə* *tɕʰakʰa* ***kʰada*** *ke-tɕo*
dish=ACC shelf on put-IMPF.OBJ
'(he) put the dish on the shelf.'

(Caiguoji)

225) *mənnə* *raŋ=da* *morə* *lutsʰa=nə* *çarwaŋ* ***koχda***
1SG.GEN time=LOC horse mule=ACC Xiabulang on.the.other.side.of

o-tɕə *səmba* *naŋda* *χila-sa*
go-IMPF March in graze=COND
'In my day, if we took the horses and mules to the other side of Xiabulang village to graze in March, . . .'

(Skirmish 28)

226) *ənə* ***ɕintɕʰada*** *da* *ənə* *tɕə* *sutə=ku* *tɕaŋgo-tɕə* *da*
this after also this go stay=IMPF.NMLZ think-IMPF also
'And after this he will want to keep doing this, and...'

(Dzəkələru 72)

227) *tʰəŋgə-ke-sa* *ənə* *"liuyuehui"* *ənda* *tʰər* ***jantɕʰada*** *wa*
that-put-COND this "liuyuehui" here that before COP_1.OBJ
'Given that, this "liuyuehui" was here before that.'

(Dzəkələru 75)

The majority of the postpositions in my data have the form *X.da*, where *X* is an identifiable relational noun (e.g. *naŋ* 'inside' (n.), *naŋda* 'in/inside' (Po)). This begs the question how motivated a separate class of postpositions is. Sentence (224), for example might perhaps be more literally translated as something like "at the shelf's top". For the two most frequently used postpositions (*naŋda* 'in' and *kʰada* 'on') as well as for the less frequently used *koχda* 'at the other side of' and *ɕintɕʰada* 'after', however, it is the case that the lexical nouns that immediately precede them do not take any case enclitics. This

would be unexpected if the postposition were simply a relational noun with locative case marking; under that analysis the preceding noun would be expected to make use of the accusative enlictic *=nə* to mark genitive case as in the possessive phrase *kozə=nə k^{h}ama* in (228).

228) *t^{h}əsanə* *pə* *łok^{h}aŋ* *naŋda* *o-tɕə* ***kozə=nə*** ***k^{h}ama=da***
then 1SG classroom in go-IMPF self=ACC position=LOC

dondi-to
sit.down-PERF
'Then I went into the classroom and sat down in my spot.'
(Disappointment 18)

This is in fact the construction found with four of the other (less frequently occurring) postpositions in my data: *χamda* 'with', *səpda* 'near', *htɕida* 'between', and *ɕida* 'outside'. All follow nouns with genitive case marking, as illustrated in the examples below.

229) *ərhte* *morhtɕə* ***au=la=nə*** ***χamda*** *su-sa* *k^{h}amər*
morning other boy=PL=ACC with stay-COND ceremonial.skewer

jiχ=ku *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *nop^{h}a* *wi*
do=IMPF.NMLZ time harm COP$_1$.SUBJ
'If (they) sit with the other boys in the morning, (they) will be harmed when (they) do the *kamer*.' [88]
(Ləru Dancing 107)

230) *pantʂurən* ***mənnə*** ***səpda*** *ər-tɕə*
classroom.teacher 1SG.GEN near come-PERF.OBJ
'The class teacher came up to me.'
(Disappointment 65)

[88] The *k^{h}amer* is a ceremonial skewer used to pierce the cheeks and backs of young men during the festival of *χeɕaŋ*.

231) *tɕaɕi* *daŋ* ***dʑama=ʁala=nə*** ***htɕida*** *su-tɕo*
Jiashi door window=DU=ACC between stay-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi is sitting between the door and the window.'

(Caiguoji)

232) *t^{h}ər* ***mənnə*** ***ɕida*** *ap-tɕə* *ʁali* *wa*
that 1SG.GEN outside take-IMPF see COP_1.OBJ
'(I) took it out and looked (at it).'

(Disappointment 33)

Because these four relational nouns indicate specific locations and usually do not occur without a preceding possessor NP and the enclitic *=da*, I consider them to be in the same class of words as *naŋda* and *k^{h}ada* and refer to them as postpositions, recognizing that they are not as far down the path to being grammaticalized as true postpositions.

There are three postpositions that are not of the form *X.da*. The first is *sanə* 'besides'.

233) *t^{h}ər* ***sanə*** *mortɕə* *dewa=gə* *ər-tɕə* *nat^{h}ə-sa* *t^{h}ər*
that besides other village= SG.INDEF come-IMPF dance-COND that

napdə *o-saŋ* *ɕo*
ok go-POS $NEG.COP_2$.OBJ
'Apart from that, it would not be ok if any other village came and danced.'

(Dʐəkələru 88)

Another distinguishing characteristic of *sanə* is that is usually takes a nominalized clause as its object rather than a pronoun or an NP headed by a lexical noun.

234) *məχ* *χun=tɕə* *ur=ku* ***sanə*** *kəri* *ʑanba*
soldier officer=QUOT.IMPF call=IMPF.NMLZ besides alone other

hko=gə *ur* *də=ku* *wi-saŋ* *ɕo*
big= SG.INDEF call permit=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.SUBJ-POS $NEG.COP_2$.OBJ
'Besides calling (them) "army officer", there is no way of calling (them) anything higher.'

(Dʐəkələru 25)

Another postposition that only takes a nominalized clause as its object is *rəta* ‘during’. The context of (235) is that the speaker was happy because he did not yet realize that he had not been chosen as the winner of a contest. The irony is that all the while he was feeling happy (because he was confident he had won), in reality his name was *not* on the announcement naming the winner.

235) *pə* *ʁalʁa=ku* ***rəta*** *o-saŋ=nə* *mənnə* *nerə*
1SG happy=IMPF.NMLZ during go-PERF.NMLZ=ACC 1SG.GEN name

çəwa-tɕo
NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ-IMPF.OBJ
‘While I was happy; it was not my name.’

(Disappointment 54-55)

236) *atɕaŋ* *jama* *de=ku* ***rəta*** *kʰapda-gə-tɕo*
3SG stuff eat=IMPF.NMLZ during chat-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
‘He chats while he eats.’

(Caiguoji)

The third postposition that is not of the form *X.da* is *derə* ‘on/on top of’.

237) *bandao* ***derə*** *χotɕʰa* *wa*
stool on book COP$_1$.OBJ
‘There are books on the stool.’

(Caiguoji)

238) *gər* ***derə*** *əpsun* *wor* *su-tɕo*
house on grass grow stay-IMPF.OBJ
‘Grass is growing on top of the house.’

(Caiguoji)

The forms *kʰada* and *derə* have both been glossed ‘on’. In fact, I have not been able to discover a difference in their semantic range. Both appear to be of Mongolic origin. Both can mean ‘over’ (with no contact between the figure and ground) as in (239). Both can mean ‘on top of’ (with contact between figure and ground) as in (240).

Either can be used to mean ‘covering’ as in (241) or ‘on the face of’ as in (242); and both can be used figuratively as in (243).

239)a. *bumbu* *mehtoχ* ***derə*** *mər-tɕo*
bee flower on fly-IMPF.OBJ

b. *bumbu* *mehtoχ* ***kʰada*** *mər-tɕo*
bee flower on fly-IMPF.OBJ
‘The bee is flying over the flower.’
(Caiguoji)

240)a. *jaməla* *tɕʰitʂʰə* ***derə*** *wa*
stuff car on COP_1.OBJ

b. *jaməla* *tɕʰitʂʰə* ***kʰada*** *wa*
stuff car on COP_1.OBJ
‘The luggage is on (top of) the bus.’
(Caiguoji)

241)a. *ɕaʑə* ***derə*** *natʰu=nə* *menbə-to*
child on blanket=ACC spread.PERF

b. *ɕaʑə* ***kʰada*** *natʰu=nə* *menbə-to*
child on blanket=ACC spread.PERF
‘The blanket has been spread over the child.’
(Caiguoji)

242)a. *tʰaŋkʰa* *tam* ***derə*** *wa*
Thangka wall on COP_1.OBJ

b. *tʰaŋkʰa* *tam* ***kʰada*** *wa*
Thangka wall on COP_1.OBJ
‘The Thangka painting is on the wall.’
(Caiguoji)

243)a. *atɕaŋnə*[89] ***derə*** *dawu* *kʰoŋ* *wi-saŋ*
3SG.ACC on still person COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS

b. *atɕaŋnə* ***kʰada*** *dawu* *kʰoŋ* *wi-saŋ*
3SG.ACC on still person COP$_1$.SUBJ-POS
'He has someone over him (in authority).'

(Caiguoji)

Although there appears to be no difference in the semantic range of these two forms, there is a syntactic difference between their related forms when they are used in an ablative context. The ablative enclitic *=sa* is hosted directly by the form *derə*, while the form *kʰada* is shortened to simply *kʰa-* when it hosts ablative *=sa*.[90]

244)a. *pə* *koʑə* ***derə=sa*** *zaŋtɕʰa* *oloŋ=gə* *mede-to*
1SG self on=ABL good.point many=SG.INDEF know.PERF

b. *pə* *koʑə* ***kʰa=sa*** *zaŋtɕʰa* *oloŋ=gə* *mede-to*
1SG self on=ABL good.point many=SG.INDEF know.PERF
'I know many good points about myself.'
(*lit.* 'I know a few (many) good points from myself.')

(Caiguoji)

The words identified as postpositions in this section can also be used without a corresponding head noun. In these cases, these words function as adverbs rather than postpositions. The exceptions to this pattern are the Amdo Tibetan borrowing *koχda* 'on the other side of' and *sanə* 'besides', which always require a preceding head noun functioning as the object of the postposition.

245) *alma=nə* ***naŋda*** *ke-də*
fruit=ACC in put-IMP
'Put the fruit inside.'

(Caiguoji)

[89] The use of the accusative pronoun in this context is anomolous because the postpositions *derə* and *kʰada* typically have objects in nominative case. This is the only instance in my data where they have an object in accusative case.
[90] These facts–as well as their hosting the ablative enclitic at all–also support the hypothesis that these forms are not fully gramaticized as postpositions.

246) *tɕaɕi* *htema=nə* ***derə*** *ke-tɕo*
Jiashi bread=ACC on put-IMPF.OBJ
'Jiashi put the bread up.'
(Caiguoji)

247) ***kʰada*** *dzəjal* *oloŋ* *ke-tɕo*
on dish many put-IMPF.OBJ
'Many dishes are sitting on top.'
(Caiguoji)

248) ***ɕintɕʰada*** *tʰəkə* *kʰəl-də*
after NEG.IMP say-IMP
'From now on, don't fight.'
(Caiguoji)

249) ***jantɕʰada*** *dewa* *wi-saŋ*
before village COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'There is a village in front.'
(Caiguoji)

250) *χani=la* ***χamda*** *ju*
all=PL with leave
'Everyone leave together.'
(Caiguoji)

251) ***səpda*** *kʰoŋ* *kina*
near people NEG.COP_1.OBJ
'There aren't any people around.'
(Caiguoji)

252) ***htɕida*** *mohtun=gə* *wa*
between tree=SG.INDEF COP_1.OBJ
'There is a tree in the middle.'
(Caiguoji)

253) ***ɕida*** *sə* *ər-tɕə* *wa*
outside water come-IMPF COP_1.OBJ
'Outside the water has come (i.e. There is water in the gutter outside the door).'
(Caiguoji)

Table 5.6 gives a summary of the characteristics of Bao'an postpositions.

Recalling from §3.1.1.1.2 that the enclitic *=nə* is used in both accusative and genitive

contexts and that I have glossed it ACC, it may at first seem odd to state that the objects of the postpositions hosting the enclitic *=nə* are in genitive case (rather than accusative case). In the first person singular pronoun paradigm, however, a distinction is made between accusative and genitive case (*mənda* '1SG.ACC' vs. *mənnə* '1SG.GEN'; see §4.2.1), and as can be seen in (230) and (232) it is the genitive pronoun rather than the accusative pronoun that occurs as the object of the postpositions that require the use of the enclitic *=nə*. Extrapolating from the use of the genitive pronominal forms, I consider that the lexical nouns hosting the enclitic *=nə* in these contexts are also in genitive case.

Table 5.6 Characteristics of postpositions

postposition	characteristics of postpositional object	used as adverb?
naŋda 'in'	nominative case	yes
k^{h}ada 'on'	nominative case	yes
derə 'on'	nominative case	yes
koχda 'on the other side of'	nominative case	no
jintç^{h}ada 'before'	nominative case	yes
ɕintç^{h}ada 'after'	nominative case	yes
χamda 'with'	genitive case	yes
səpda 'near'	genitive case	yes
htɕida 'between'	genitive case	yes
ɕida 'out'	genitive case	yes
sanə 'besides'	usually a nominalized clause	no
rəta 'while'	usually a nominalized clause	no

Postpositional phrases contain NP's as their objects. In natural speech, the NP functioning as a postpositional object is most frequently comprised of a single lexical noun. In general, however, the NP's functioning as postpositional objects can be as complex as the template for NP's given in §4.3 allows. Sentences (254) and (255) contain examples of NP's comprised of multiple constituents and a headless NP, respectively, functioning as objects of postpositions.

254) *atɕaŋ* *dzəjal=nə* *[[[gaga* *welə-gə-saŋ]$_{REL}$* *χənə*
3SG bowl=ACC older.brother work-VBZ-PERF.NMLZ new

tɕ^{h}aka *çəra]$_{NP}$* *derə]$_{PP}$* *ke-tɕo*
shelf yellow on put-IMPF.OBJ
'She put the bowls on the new yellow shelf that big brother built.'
(Caiguoji)

255) *atɕaŋ* *dzəjal=nə* *[[[gaga* *welə-gə-saŋ]$_{REL}$]$_{NP}$* *derə]$_{PP}$*
3SG bowl=ACC older.brother work-VBZ-PERF.NMLZ on

ke-tɕo
put-IMPF.OBJ
'She put the bowls on (the one) that big brother built.'
(Caiguoji)

The one exception to this is in regards to the respective word order of the constituents of an NP functioning as the object of a postposition. Recall from §4.3 that if an NP contains only one adjective, the adjective usually follows the head noun. It is only when multiple adjectives occur in the same NP that one or more of them precede the head noun while only one of them follows the head noun. In NP's functioning as objects of postpositions, however, modfying elements–including adjectives–precede the head noun. The only exception to this is when three or more modifying elements occur in the NP; in this case, one adjective sometimes follows rather than precedes the head noun (either ordering is acceptable; see (258)). This word ordering is demonstrated in the following examples.

256)a. *typical word ordering within the NP:*

tɕʰaka	*χəna*
shelf	new

'new shelf'

b. *word ordering in an NP functioning as the object of a postposition:*

atɕaŋ	*dzəjal=nə*	*χənə*	*tɕʰaka*	*derə*	*ke-tɕo*
3SG	bowl=ACC	new	shelf	on	put-IMPF.OBJ

'She puts the bowls on the new shelf.'

(Caiguoji)

257)a. *typical word ordering within the NP:*

χəna	*tɕʰaka*	*çəra*
new	shelf	yellow

'new yellow shelf'

b. *word ordering in an NP functioning as the object of a postposition:*

atɕaŋ	*dzəjal=nə*	*χənə*	*çəra*	*tɕʰaka*	*derə*	*ke-tɕo*
3SG	bowl=ACC	new	yellow	shelf	on	put-IMPF.OBJ

'She put the bowls on the new yellow shelf.'

(Caiguoji)

258)a. *three modifying elements in an NP functioning as the object of a postposition:*

atɕaŋ	*dzəjal=nə*	*nokə*	*χəna*	***çəra***	*tɕʰaka*
3SG	bowl=ACC	yellow	new	yellow	shelf

derə	*ke-tɕo*
on	put-IMPF.OBJ

'She put the bowls on that new yellow shelf.'

b. *three modifying elements in an NP functioning as the object of a postposition, with one adjective following the head noun:*

atɕaŋ	*dzəjal=nə*	*nokə*	*χəna*	*tɕʰaka*	***çərado***
3SG	bowl=ACC	yellow	new	shelf	yellow.color

derə	*ke-tɕo*
on	put-IMPF.OBJ

'She put the bowls on that new yellow shelf.'

(Caiguoji)

As a final note on postpositions, postpositional phrases can also be used as nominal modifiers by use of the nominalizer =*ku* [91]. The details of this use of postpositions are covered in §4.3.7.1 and will not be repeated here. One example is included here by way of reminder.

259) *nokə* *goŋsi* ***naŋda=ku*** *ɕola* *çu-tɕə*
that store in=IMPF.NMLZ yogurt spoil-PERF
'The yogurt in that store spoiled.'

(Caiguojii)

5.6 Particles

There is one final class of phonologically independent words that do not fit neatly into any of the previously discussed categories; I will call these particles. There are three categories of particles plus one particle in a class all its own that are addressed here. First there are sentence initial particles whose function is to maintain the flow of the discourse. I call these "discourse connectors". Second, there are particles that occur sentence finally. Although they pattern together syntactically, they are diverse in their functions; I refer to them here as "final particles". The third set is a class of particles that typically occur utterance finally, but they differ from final particles in their usage in that they occur in their own intonation group and can stand alone as an utterance. I call them "exclamatory particles". Finally, there is the particle *da*, which I gloss 'also'. It modifies the syntactic unit that immediately precedes it.

5.6.1 Discourse Connectors

Discourse connectors occur sentence initially and function to connect one sentence to another. The most straightforward discourse connector is *su* 'so'. In the sentences prior

[91]For verbal uses of =*ku*, see 3.1.2.2 and 6.1.

to (260c) the narrator has returned home to explain to his mother that there is an English competition at school and to ask her permission to compete. In the sentence preceding (261b), the speaker states that two days went by without him realizing it while he was preparing for his exam.

260)a. *tʰəsanə* *pə* *kʰətʰə* *o-tɕə* *ana=da* *kʰəl-tɕə*
then 1SG home.LOC go-IMPF mother=LOC say-PERF
'Then I went home and told my mother.'

b. *tundaχ* *tʰəntʰogə* *wa*
matter like.that COP_1.OBJ
'The matter was like that.'

c. ***su*** *mənda* *o-də-ʁa* *ke-saŋ*
so 1SG.LOC go-IMP-CAUS put-POS
'"So will (you) let me go?"'

(Disappointment 10-12)

261)a. *tʰəntʰoməntʰogətɕə* *ʁar* *rudə* *jaŋgətɕə* *o-si* *da* *ələ*
somehow two day how go-Q also NEG

medə-na
know-DUR
'Somehow, two days passed without (my) knowing how.'

b. ***su*** *tɕu* *ap=ku* *disot* *gə-tɕə*
so exam take=IMPF.NMLZ time do-PERF
'So the time came to take the exam.'

(Disappointment 37-38)

In addition to *su*, there are a series of discourse connectors that appear to be various inflections or derivations of *jaŋ* 'what' and *tʰər* 'that'. Although the mophological makeup of many of these words is relatively transparent, many others do not follow the usual patterns for the suffixes and enclitics used. Furthermore, when asked, Bao'an speakers are unwilling to parse them in the same way that they are willing to parse regularly inflected nouns and verbs. Inquiries into morphological breakdowns

typically elicit responses like, "it just means 那样(nèi yàng)" (a Mandarin Chinese phrase meaning 'like that' or 'that way' and often used as a discourse connector in the local varieties of Chinese); so speakers appear to conceive of these words as morphologically simple, despite the large number of derivational and inflectional variants (my data include three inflectional/derivational variants of *jaŋ* and sixteen variants of *t^hər)*. The following sentences give a few examples.

262) *jaŋməla* *naroŋ=da* *ke-tɕə*
alternatively sun=LOC put-PERF
'Or (you) can also put (it) in the sun.'
(How to Make Bread 5)

263) *t^həsanə* *pə* *k^hət^hə* *o-tɕə* *ana=da* *k^həl-tɕə*
next 1SG home.LOC go-IMPF mother=LOC say-PERF
'Then I went home and told (it) to my mother.'
(Disappointment 10)

264) *t^həŋgətɕə* *mənda* *kapdagə-tɕə*
in.that.way 1SG.ACC exhort-PERF
'In that way (they) instructed (me).'
(Parents' Instructions 14)

265) *t^həŋgəkutɕə* *pə* *da* *jinjəχ* *dadoχ=ʁala* *landap=na*
After.that 1SG also English complete=INST answer=DUR
'After that, I, too, had to use all English to answer.'
(Disappointment 48)

266) *da* *t^hənt^hon* *məχɕə* *t^hər* *guraŋ* *wo*
also like.that important that three COP_1.OBJ
'And so those three are the most important.'
(Dzə̨kələru 9)

Variations of *t^həŋgətɕə* and *t^həsanə* are by far the most frequently used discourse connectors in my data. The specific discourse motivation for the use of these particles is unclear at this point. Speakers appear to have fairly wide latitude in how often and when they use them.

5.6.2 Final Particles

These particles occur sentence finally following a fully inflected verb and serve modal and discourse functions. They differ from the exclamatory particles in that they occur within the same intonation group as the preceding sentence and they are not typically used as single-word utterances. The final particles are listed in table 5.7.

Table 5.7. Final particles

ki	POS	indicates deontic possibility
ri	EXCLAM	used to form an exclamation
pe	EMPH	emphasis, expressing that something is obvious or inevitable
ba	COP_2.OBJ[92]	indicates strong degree of emphasis
jo	DEEMPH	used to soften a contradiction or command
ja	PRT	generally indicates surprise or approbation

The modal particle *ki* indicates deontic possibility and always co-occurs with the word *χina* 'future', as demonstrated in the following examples.[93]

267) *χina* *jant^{h}oχ* *ələ* *odə-na* ***ki***
future which NEG go-DUR POS
'In the future I can go anywhere.'

(Disappointment 92)

268) *χina* *ər=ku=nə* *k^{h}aŋ* *mei* ***ki***
future come=IMPF.NMLZ who know POS
'Who knows what the future will hold?'

(Caiguoji)

The particle *ri* is used to form an exclamation.

269) *deku* *oloŋ* *wa* ***ri***
food much COP_1.OBJ EXCLAM
'There is a lot of food!'

(Caiguoji)

[92] This is the copula discussed in §5.2.5, but its use as a final particle is syntactically distinct from the copular uses discussed in §5.2.5.

[93] It should be noted that my data contain one instance in which *ki* is inflected with the epistemic modal suffix *–saŋ*. I am not sure how to explain this unless it is in the process of being re-analyzed as an auxiliary verb.

270) *nat^{h}ə-saŋ* *jaksa* *wa* ***ri***
dance-PERF.NMLZ pretty COP$_1$.OBJ EXCLAM
'The dancing was so pretty!'

(Caiguoji)

The particle *pe* emphasizes that the predication is obvious (or should be obvious) or that the speaker is resigned to the inevitability of the predication.

271) *tʂ^{h}əma=da* *da* *mantəl-ʁa* *k^{h}ər-na* ***pe***
Chuma=LOC also dig-CAUS be.required-DUR EMPH
'They should also let Chuma village dig!'

(Skirmish 21)

272) *χani=la* *welə-kə* *k^{h}ər-na* ***pe***
all=PL work-VBZ be.required-DUR EMPH
'Everyone should work!'

(Caiguoji)

The particle *ba* indicates strong emphasis.[94]

273) *pə* *ənə* *tʂ^{h}u-kə-tɕə* ***ba***
1SG this mistake-VBZ-PERF COP$_2$.OBJ
'I (thought), "they made a mistake!"'

(Disappointment 61)

274) *t^{h}əŋgətɕə* *k^{h}əl-sa* *mə-ʂakə* ***ba***
that.way talk-COND NEG-good COP$_2$.OBJ
'It's not good to talk like that!'

(Caiguoji)

The particle *jo* is often used as a polite way to soften a contradiction, deny a request, or soften a command. The declaration expressed in (275) is potentially face-threatening, because it is in effect denying a request to tell an interviewer more about a particular festival. The particle *jo* softens the statement and renders it less face-threatening.

[94] This use of *ba* is actually something of a hybrid between a final particle and an exclamatory particle. It occurs in the same tone group as the preceding sentence on one hand, but it can also be used as a single-word utterance as an answer to a polar question.

275) *tʰər* *sanə* *de* *jama* *kʰəl=ku* *kina* ***jo***
that besides now thing say=IMPF.NMLZ NEG. COP_1.OBJ DEEMPH
'Other than that there's nothing more to say.'
(Ləru Dancing 128)

The particle *jo* is also often used when speaking to babies or very small children. The following expressions can often be overheard being spoken to babies in a high-pitched, singsong voice.

276) *kelə-də* ***jo***
sleep-IMP DEEMPH
'Go to sleep.'

277) *mərku=nə* *mər-də* ***jo***
clothing=ACC wear-IMP DEEMPH
'Put on your clothes.'

278) *tʰəkə* *la* ***jo***
NEG.IMP cry DEEMPH
'Don't cry.'

Another common context in which *jo* follows an imperative verb is in leave taking expressions. The following sentence is a common polite leave taking expression used when the interlocutor is not leaving the immediate locality (e.g. said to a host when leaving his home).

279) *tɕʰə* *su* ***jo***
2SG stay DEEMPH
'You stay.'

Most expressions of leave taking contain the particle *jo*, whether they are an imperative or not.

280) *o-gi* ***jo***
go-FUT.SUBJ DEEMPH
'I'm leaving.'

The particle *jo* is usually only used once within an expression of leavetaking, as is evidenced in example (281). If *jo* were used at the end of both sentences forming this leave taking expression (as in example (282)), the impression given would be that the speaker is being excessively (and perhaps ironically) polite.

281) *tɕʰə su **jo.** pə o-gi.*
2SG stay DEEMPH 1SG go-FUT.SUBJ
'You stay. I'm leaving.'
(Caiguoji)

282) *ʔtɕʰə su **jo.** pə o-gi **jo.***
2SG stay DEEMPH 1SG go-FUT.SUBJ DEEMPH
? 'You stay. I'm leaving.' (*might be perceived to be ironic or excessively polite*)
(Caiguoji)

The particle *ja* is described by native speakers as adding emphasis to a predication; it often indicates surprise or approbation. The context of (283) is that Amimachin is a cook who is expected to cook for honored guests, but when the time comes to serve the meal, the host discovers that Amimachin is missing.

283) *tʰəŋgə tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ=da amimatɕʰin=da wi*
that time=LOC Amimachin=LOC COP_1.SUBJ

*ki-saŋ **ja***
NEG. COP_1.SUBJ-POS PRT
'Then (at that time) Amimachin was not there!'
(Dzə̨kələru 66)

284) *makʃə maŋgəla χamda o kʰər-saŋ **ja***
tomorrow 1PL.INCL with go be.required-POS PRT
'We should go together tomorrow!'
(Caiguoji)

5.6.3 Exclamatory Particles

There are two exclamatory particles, both indicating affirmation, that occur alone in their own intonation group and are frequently used as one-word utterances. They are *ja*

'yeah', and *ole* 'right'. Their most frequent use as one-word utterances is in contexts of back channeling or in answer to polar questions whose expected answer is affirmative, but they are not limited to these uses. The exclamatory particle *ja* is homophonous with one of the final particles, but has a different function and displays different syntactic behavior. This homophony may be a result of the two words' differing etymologies. The final particle is a Mandarin borrowing (呀*ya*) while the exclamatory particle is an Amdo Tibetan borrowing (*ja)*. The exclamatory particle *ja* indicates affirmation.

285) *satɕəwatopgə* *su-tɕə,* ***ja***
Sajewatopge stay-PERF yeah
'(He) has long had the name "Sajewatopge", yeah.'

(Dzəkələru 112)

286) *pə* ***ja=tɕə*** *rəmgə-tɕə* *o-to*
1SG yeah=QUOT.IMPF hurry-IMPF go-PERF
'I said, "yeah" and hurried and went.'

(Disappointment 67)

The exclamatory particle *ole* also indicates affirmation.

287) *ts^{h}owa* *χani* *ɲotala* *nat^{h}ə-tɕo* *wa.* ***ole***
clan all together dance-IMPF COP_1.OBJ right
'All of the clans dance together. Right.'

(Dzəkələru 130)

288) *mannə* *rekoŋ=da* *moχa=la* *wi-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN Rebgong=LOC many=PL COP_1.SUBJ-POS

ço. ***ole***
NEG.COP_2.OBJ right
'Here in Rebgong, there are not many. Nope.'

(Dzəkələru 108)

5.6.4 The Particle *da* 'also'

The particle *da* is glossed here as 'also', and it emphasizes the inclusion or introduction of the syntactic unit that immediately precedes it. It is tempting to think of this particle as

an adverb, but it is not nearly as proscribed in its use as are the adverbs listed in section 5.3; it can modify a noun phrase (regardless of whether it is an argument or oblique, fronted or not), postpositional phrase, adverb, nominalized clause, non-finite clause, or finite clause. When used sentence finally after a finite verb, it has a forward-looking coordinating function (see §6.4.1 for discussion and examples of the use of *da* with independent clauses). Examples of the many uses of *da* are given below (some are repeated from elsewhere in the chapter for the sake of comparison):

289) *modifying an argument:*

tʰəŋgəkutɕə	*pə*	***da***	*jinjəχ*	*dadoχ=ʁala*	*landab-na*
because.of.that	1SG	also	English	complete=INST	answer-DUR

'Because of that I also had to use all English to answer.'

(Disappointment 48)

290) *modifying a case-marked oblique:*

mannə	*çənga=da*	***da***	*sowu*	*ʁar*	*udər*	*wa*
1PL.ICL.COLL.GEN	Çenga=LOC	also	important	two	day	COP_1.OBJ

'In our Çenga, too, there are two important days.'

(Dzə̨kələru 134)

291) *modifying a fronted topic:*

ɬoma=la	***da***	*χani*	*ɬokaŋ*	*naŋda*	*χa-tɕə*	*wa*
student=PL	also	all	classroom	in	arrive-IMPF	COP_1.OBJ

'The students also, all (of them) entered the classroom.'[95]

(Disappointment 19)

292) *modifying a postpositional phrase:*

ɬokaŋ	*naŋda*	***da***	*o-tɕə*	*ɬoma=la=da*	*dzə̨ogə=tɕə*
classroom	in	also	go-IMPF	student=PL=LOC	be.harmonious=QUOT.IMPF

'When (you) go into the classroom, too, be harmonious with the students...'

(Parents' Instructions 20)

[95] It is usually difficult to distinguish whether an S or A is a fronted topic, because they normally appear in first position in the clause anyway. The quantifier *χani*, however, is typically a constituent of an NP. The fact that it is to the right of both the plural enclitic and *da* rules out the possibility that it is part of the NP headed by *ɬoma*. Consequently it must be heading its own (resumptive) NP—a function that is not uncommon for *χani*. See §4.3.1, §4.3.5, and §5.7 for more examples containing *χani*.

293) *modifying an adverb:*

dawu ***da*** *jortɕə* *tortɕə* *χara-tɕə-tɕo*
still also here there taunt-IMPF-IMPF.OBJ
'(We) taunt (each other) back and forth now still.'

(Ləru Dancing 54)

294) *modifying a nominalized clause:*

jaŋgə *ʁali-kə=ku=nə* ***da*** *ələ* *medə-na*
what look-VBZ=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC also NEG know-DUR
'And I didn't know what to look at.'

(Disappointment 31)

295) *modifying a non-finite clause:*

atɕanla *χue* *nəkə* *ke-tɕə-sa* ***da*** *dʑerənbotɕ^{h}i=da* *tɕama*
3PL example one put-IMPF-COND also Zongkaba=LOC cook

ʁar *wi-saŋ*
two COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'They give an example, too; Zongkaba had two cooks.'

(Dzə̨kələru 62)

296) *modifying a finite clause:*

gomərəlaŋ *məχ* *wa* ***da.***
Gomerelang soldier COP_1.OBJ also

t^{h}ər *atɕaŋ* *najoχ* *da* *wi=ku* *χani* *atɕaŋnə*
that 3PL subordinate also COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ all 3SG.GEN

məχ *tɕər* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
soldier do be.required-POS
'Gomerelang is a soldier. And so all those who are his subordinates also must be his soldiers.'

(Dzə̨kələru 85-86)

The particle *da* is also used in the constructions meaning "the same" (see §4.3.5) and "not only...but also".

297) *aː* *məχse=sa* *tɕʰe* *ɬarse* *lərse=ʁula*
HES soldier.dance=ABL no.matter god.dance water.dance=PAU

...wakə... *natʰə-tɕə=ku* *naŋdun* ***nəkə*** ***da*** ***nəkə***
completely dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ content one also one

ji-saŋ
COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'...uh...Out of the soldier dances, no matter whether (it is) the dancing of god dance or the water dance...um...the meaning is the same.'

(Dzᵲkələru 19)

298) *dzᵲoma* *tɕəmbo* *tira* *jaksa* ***da*** *wa*
Droma smart not.only pretty also COP_1.OBJ
'Droma is not only smart; (she) is pretty also.'

(Caiguoji)

When used in the "not only...but also" construction, *da* can even occur between a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb, as in the following sentence.

299) *χɐɕaŋ=da* *mərku* *mər* *kʰər-saŋ* *kʰada*
Ləru.festival=LOC clothing wear be.required-IMPF.NMLZ on

jaksa-tɕə *natʰə* ***da*** *kʰər-saŋ*
pretty-IMPF dance also be.required-POS
'At the Ləru festival, in addition to having to wear (traditional) clothes, one should also dance prettily.'

(Caiguoji)

5.7 Topic Marking and Topic Fronting

Topics here are taken to be referring expressions that "set[s] a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (Li & Thompson 1981:85). There are two strategies for marking topics in Bao'an. The first is through the use of the topic particle *ma*. The topic particle occurs immediately after the NP being

topicalized, and the topic is often further marked by being made the subject of a conditional copular clause. Sentences (300)-(302) give an examples of the use of the topic marker *ma* alone to mark both lexical nouns and pronouns, and (303) and (304) give an examples of the use of both *ma* and a conditional copula together.

300) *ts^{h}əm ma tɕipogə wa*
heart TOP comfortable COP$_1$.OBJ
'(my) heart, it was happy.'
(Disappointment 16)

301) *k^{h}oŋ ma oloŋ wa*
people TOP many COP$_1$.OBJ
'(The) people, there were many.'
(Caiguoji)

302) *pə ma ələ medə-m*
1SG TOP NEG know-NARR
'As for me, (I) don't know.'
(Caiguoji)

303) *da gomər ma wi-sa dzạwobenχua rəlaŋ gə-ko* [96]
also Gomer TOP COP$_1$.SUBJ-COND drawobeinhua army.officer call-VBZ.PERF
'And as for Gomer village, (they) called (him) Officer Drawobeinhua.'
(Dzạ̈kələru 31-32)

304) *gasər ma wi-sa want^{h}əndzoçə relaŋ ge-ko*
Gaser TOP COP$_1$.SUBJ-COND Wantenzohe army.officer call-VBZ.PAST
'As for Gaser village, (they) called (him) "Officer Wantenzohe".'
(Dzạ̈kələru 33)

Another means of marking non-subject topics is by fronting them. The basic word order in Bao'an is SOXV, but topical objects or oblique NP's may appear in clause initial position rather than in their usual preverbal position. Topic-fronted direct objects are usually case marked with the accusative enclitic *=nə*. In the sentences previous to

[96] This suffix does not show up elsewhere in my data. I surmise that it is a contraction of the verbalizer *–kə* and the objective copula *wo*, used here as an auxiliary verb indicating past tense.

(305), the speaker lists the various items of clothing worn for a particular ceremony; (306) is another example of a fronted direct object.

305) *wadzə=nə* *χani=la* *tɕʰaɲum-kə-tɕə* *mər* *kʰər-na*
sock=ACC all=PL collective-VBZ-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
'As for socks, everyone should wear the same (kind).' ($O_{TOPIC}SV$)
(Læru Dancing 31)

306) *jiŋju=nə* *χani=la* *naŋdaŋ-kə-tɕə* *łoptɕoŋ-kə-tɕo*
English=ACC all=PL conscientious-VBZ-IMPF study-VBZ-IMPF.OBJ
'English, everyone studies conscientiously.' ($O_{TOPIC}SV$)
(Caiguoji)

Topical pronouns can be fronted as well.

307) *atɕaŋnə* *hkudə* *dortɕə* *jiχ-saŋ*
3SG.ACC yesterday Dorje hit-POS
'Him, Dorje hit yesterday.' ($O_{TOPIC}SV$)
(Caiguoji)

In the following clause chain, the first and third clauses conform to the basic constituent ordering SOXV, but the second clause has a topical locative phrase that is fronted.

308)a. *semə=nə* *ula=da* *dapla-tɕə* *o-tɕə*
god.box=ACC mountain=LOC raise-IMPF go-IMPF
'(They) carry the god boxes up to the mountain,' (OXV)
(Læru Dancing 51)

b. *lapsi=da* *saŋ* *χəra-tɕə*
Lapsi=LOC offering burn-IMPF
'and at Lapsi (they) burn offerings,' ($X_{TOPIC}OV$)
(Leru Dancing 52a)

c. *tɕʰəma=nə* *χara-tɕo*
Chuma=ACC taunt-IMPF.OBJ
'and taunt Chuma.' (OV)
(Leru Dancing 52b)

Example (309) has a fronted indirect object, also marked with the locative enclitic *=da*.

309) *dzo̱ma=da* *dianχua* *jiχ-tɕə* *kina*
Droma=LOC telephone hit-IMPF NEG.COP_1.OBJ
'As for Droma, (no one) has given (her) a call.'

(Caiguoji)

Sometimes a fronted topic is co-referential with the quantifier *χani*, acting as a resumptive pronoun in the clause, as in (309c).

310)a. *χeɕaŋ* *jaŋgətɕə* *nat^{h}ə* *k^{h}ər-si*
Leru how dance be.required-Q
'How should (one) dance Leru?'

(Ləru Dancing 8)

b. *lo* *jaŋgətɕə* *jiχ* *k^{h}ər-si*
gong how hit be.required-Q
'How should (one) hit the gong?'

(Ləru Dancing 9)

c. *t^{h}ə=la* ***χani=nə*** *k^{h}əl* *k^{h}ər-saŋ* *ba-u*
that=PL all=ACC say be.required-POS COP_2.OBJ-Q
'Those (things), should I tell about (them) all?'

(Ləru Dancing 10)

Fronted topics usually consist of just one word, but the quantifier *χani* 'all' sometimes occurs in a fronted NP. For comparison, the progression of sentences (311)-(313) gives an example of *χani* functioning as a non-pronominal quantifier (311), an example of *χani* acting as a resumptive pronoun (312), as well as its occurance within a fronted NP (313). When *χani* occurs in a fronted NP, it cannot also occur as a resumptive pronoun coreferential with that fronted NP, as the unacceptability of (314) shows.

311) *sentence containing* χani *and no fronted topic:*

pə	*mərku*	*χani=la=nə*	*laʁa*	*war-ro* [97]
1SG	clothing	all=PL=ACC	wash	hold-PERF

'I finished washing all the clothes.'

(Caiguoji)

312) *sentence with a fronted topic and resumptive use of* χani*:*

mərku=nə	*pə*	*χani =nə*	*laʁa*	*war-ro*
clothing=ACC	1SG	all =ACC	wash	hold-PERF

'As for the clothes, I finished washing all (of them).'

(Caiguoji)

313) *sentence with a fronted topic containing* χani*:*

mərku	*χani =nə*	*pə*	*laʁa*	*war-ro*
clothing	all =ACC	1SG	wash	hold-PERF

'As for all the clothes, I finished washing (them).'

(Caiguoji)

314) *unacceptable sentence with* xani *used both in fronted topic and resumptively:*

**mərku*	*χani =nə*	*pə*	*χani =nə*	*laʁa*	*war-ro*
clothing	all =ACC	1SG	all =ACC	wash	hold-PERF

*'As for all the clothes, I finished washing all (of them).'

(Caiguoji)

5.8 Interrogatives

5.8.1 Polar Questions

The most common strategy for forming a true polar question (i.e. a polar question to which neither an affirmative nor a negative answer is expected more than the alternative) is by means of the question suffix *-u*. When *-u* is suffixed to imperfective lexical verbs, it replaces the imperfective suffix (*-tɕi*/*-tɕo*). Similarly, when it is suffixed to perfective verbs, it replaces the perfective suffixes *-to* and *-tɕə*.

[97] This verbal suffix (*-ro*) is an allomporphic variation of the perfective suffix *-to* 'PERF'.

315) *tɕʰənda kormu kʰər-u*[98]
2SG.LOC money be.required-Q
'Do you need money?'
(Caiguoji)

316) *tɕʰə nudə natʰə-u*
2SG today dance-Q
'Did you dance today?'
(Caiguoji)

When *-u* is suffixed to lexical verbs with the durative suffix *-na*, the fusional suffix *-nu* is formed (*-na* + *-u* → *-nu*).

317) *kʰamga-nu*
like-DUR.Q
'Do (you) like (it)?'
(Caiguoji)

318) *tɕʰə liɕa=nə pitɕə maidə-nu*
2SG homework=ACC write know-DUR.Q
'Do you know how to do the homework?'
(Caiguoji)

A similar process occurs whereby the form *-mu* is formed when the interrogative *-u* is attached to the narrative suffix *-m*.

319) *tɕʰə liɕa=nə pitɕə maidə-mu*
2SG homework=ACC write know-NARR.Q
'Will you know how to do the homework?'
(Caiguoji)

320) *tɕʰə maχʂə ode-mu*
3SG tomorrow go-NARR.Q
'Will you go tomorrow?'
(Caiguoji)

[98] Although grammatically correct, this form of interrogative is very infrequently used. Rather, the polite use of the epistemic possibility marker is usually preferred. In which case, an objective form of either copula plus the question suffix indicates a polar question (V–*saŋ ba-u* or V–*saŋ wa-u*).

Affixation of the question suffix to the copula *bi/ba* yields the forms *bu/bau* [ba'.u].

321) *htemə=nə* *taʁala* *ap-tɕə* *ər-saŋ* *bu*
bread=ACC 2DU take-IMPF come-PERF.NMLZ COP_2.SUBJ.Q
'The bread, has she taken (any)?'
(*lit*. 'The bread, is [it the case] that you two have taken (any)?')[99]

(Dzəkələru 100)

322) *atɕaŋda* *kormu* *k^{h}ər-saŋ* *ba-u*
3SG.LOC money be.required-PERF.NMLZ COP_2.OBJ-Q
'Does he need money?'

(Caiguoji)

The question suffix is similarly affixed to the copula *wi/wa*, yielding the subjective form *wu* or *wuu* [wu.'u] and the objective form *wau* [wa.'u].

323) *tɕ^{h}ənda* *kormu* *wuu*
2SG.LOC money COP_1.SUBJ.Q
'Do you have any money?'

(Caiguoji)

324) *tɕaɕi* *silaŋ=da* *wa-u*
Jiashi Xining=LOC COP_1.OBJ-Q
'Is Jiashi in Xining?'

(Caiguoji)

5.8.2 Content Questions

Interrogative phrases occur *in situ* in Bao'an content questions. An expanded version of the list of interrogative pronouns from §4.2.4 is given below, this time including non-pronominal interrogative phrases.

[99] The nominalization of the predication as well as the use of the second person dual form to refer to a third party who is present in the discourse context are both forms of politeness.

Table 5.8. Interrogative phrases

kʰaŋ	'who'
kʰaŋgaŋ	'whose' (predicate possession)
kʰətʰoŋ	'how many'
anə	'which'
χala	'where'
kʰətɕə	'when'
jaŋ	'what/some'
jaŋgə	'what/doing what'[100]
jaŋgətɕə	'how' ('doing what'?)
jaŋgəsaŋ	'why'
jantʰoχ	'what kind'

The interrogative word *χala* 'where' was not listed with the interrogative pronouns in §4.2.4 because it does not take the locative enclitic *=da* when it occurs in the situations that would call for *=da* on a lexical noun or pronoun (as is apparent from comparing (325) with (326)).

325) *dʐoma* ***silaŋ=da*** *o-to*
Droma Xining=LOC go-PERF
'Droma went to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

326) *dʐoma* ***χala*** *o-to*
Droma where go-PERF
'Where did Droma go?'
(Caiguoji)

It does, however, require the ablative enclitic *=sa* when it refers to a source. This sets it apart from the other non-pronominal interrogative forms, which do not host case enclitics.

[100] It may be that this form is actually two homophonous forms: 1) *jaŋ* 'what' + *=gə* 'SG.INDEF', and 2) *jaŋ* 'what' + *-kə* 'VBZ'. This would explain why the form is sometimes used pronominally (form 1) and sometimes used as an "interrogative verb" (form 2).

327) *ənə* *piŋkwo=la=nə* ***χal=sa*** *ap* *wa*
this apple=PL=ACC where=ABL take COP_1.OBJ
'These apples, where were they bought?'

(Caiguoji)

The following sentences give examples of the use of the rest of the non-pronominal interrogative forms.

328) *tɕ^{h}ənda* *noʁi* ***k^{h}ət^{h}oŋ*** *wi*
2SG.LOC dog how many COP_1.SUBJ
'How many dogs do you have?'

(Caiguoji)

329) *da* *rəloŋ* ***anə*** *rəloŋ* *ji-sa,*
and army officer which army officer COP_2.SUBJ-COND
'...so (one can clarify) which army officer the army officer is... '

(Dzə̨kələru 28)

330) *tɕaɕi* ***k^{h}ətɕə*** *o-to*
Jiashi when go-PERF
'When did Jiashi go?'

(Caiguoji)

331) *htema* ***jaŋgətɕə*** *χəra* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
bread how burn be.required-POS
'How do (you) bake bread?'

(Caiguoji)

332) *rəngo=da* *ahku* *kina* *ne,* *t^{h}aŋ=da* *ʁali-tɕ^{h}aŋ*
mountain=LOC monk COP_1.NEG.OBJ QUOT ground=LOC watch-AG.NMLZ

ahku *nəkə* *ʁar* *wa* *ne,* *t^{h}ər* ***jaŋgəsaŋ***
monk one two COP_1.OBJ QUOT that why
'(She) says there are no monks on the mountain, but there are one or two watching down on the ground; why is that?'

(Dzə̨kələru 460)

333) *tɕ^{h}ənnə* *htɕəχta=nə* *dəʁa* ***jənt^{h}oχ=gə*** *ji*
2SG.GEN bicycle=ACC color what.kind= SG.INDEF COP_2.SUBJ
'What color is your bike?'
(*lit.* 'Your bike's color is what kind?')

(Caiguoji)

5.8.3 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions are marked with the verbal suffix *-si*. In the following example, the speaker asks this question in order to introduce an explanation of how a "soldier dance" is performed.

334) *tʰər* *rəlaŋ* *tʰər=nə* *məχ* *tʰər* *jaŋgə* *natʰə*
that army.officer that=ACC soldier that how dance

kʰər-si
be.required-Q
'That army officer, how should his soldiers dance that (dance)?'

(Dzə̨kələru 35)

In (335), the speaker is suggesting a topic of discussion (relating to the Ləru festival) to an interviewee.

335) *tɕʰə* *kozə* *jaŋgətɕə* *tsʰər-si?* *jaŋgətɕə* *natʰə-sa*
2SG self how learn-Q how dance-COND

jaksa *wa*
pretty COP_1.OBJ
'How did you yourself learn? How do (you) dance so that (it) looks nice?'

(Ləru Dancing 19)

The suffix *-si* is also used to mark alternative questions forming the complement of the verb *medə* 'know' or other interrogative complements of the verb *medə* 'know' when *medə* is negated.

336) *pə* *hkutə* *orə-si* *əsə* *orə-si* *əsə* *med-o*
1SG yesterday rain-Q NEG rain-Q NEG know-PERF
'I don't know whether it rained or not yesterday.'

(Caiguoji)

337) *pə* *ənə* *χotɕʰa=nə* *kʰaŋ* *pʰətɕə-si* *ələ* *medə-na*
1SG this book=ACC who write-Q NEG know-DUR
'I don't know who wrote this book.'

(Caiguoji)

5.9 Imperatives

Imperative mood is indicated by the use of bare verb stems as well as by use of verbal suffixes. Distinctions are made for person, but not for number. The imperative suffixes are listed in table 5.9.

Table 5.9. Imperative suffixes

Ø (IMP) second person imperative mood
-də (IMP) second person familiar imperative mood[101]
-ja (1.IMP) voluntative mood (first person imperative)
-kə (3.IMP) third person imperative mood

The difference between the bare stem second person imperative and imperatives formed with the suffix *-de* appears to be one of politeness. So (338) and (339) would be spoken to a guest, while (340) was spoken to a family member of the same gender and same age set as the speaker and (341) might be said to a child or close friend. The use of *-də* in imperative contexts seems to be a relatively recent innovation.

338) *htema* *de*
bread eat
'Have some bread.'

(Caiguoji)

339) *tɕʰa* *u*
tea drink
'Have some tea.'

(Caiguoji)

340) *tʰə=la=nə* *kʰəl-də*
that=PL=ACC speak-IMP
'Tell about those.'

(Ləru Dancing 20)

[101] Wu (2003:342) identifies this suffix as "a special formative expressing perfective aspect" which was once an auxiliary verb, but has been grammaticalized as a suffix. In my data, it shows up most often in second person imperative contexts.

341) *(tɕʰə)* *kʰəl-də*
(2SG) say-IMP
'(you) speak!'

(Caiguoji)

First person imperatives occur less frequently than second person imperatives, but two examples are given below.

342) *maŋgəla* *htemə=nə* *χəra-ja*
1PL.INCL bread=ACC burn-1.IMP
'Let's bake some bread.'

(Caiguoji)

343) *de* *pə* *ʂala-kə-ja=tɕə*
now 1SG exert.oneself-VBZ-1.IMP=QUOT.IMPF
'"Now I'll (study) hard," (I) said...'

(Disappointment 29)

The following example from Wu (2003) demonstrates the use of the third person imperative sufix *-kə*.

344) *atɕaŋʁula* *jaŋgə* *jar-sa* *jarə-kə*
3PAU what do-COND do-3.IMP
'Let them do what they want.'

(Wu 2003:337)

My elicited data contain two examples of the use of the third person imperative form, and both of them are preceded by a non-finite clause marked with the conditional suffix *-sa*.

345) *atɕaŋʁula* *χala* *o-sa* *odə-kə*
3PAU where go-COND go-3.IMP
'Let them go where they want.'

(Caiguoji)

346) *atɕaŋʁula* *tɕa-sa* *tɕa-kə*
3PAU tattle-COND tattle-3.IMP
'If they tattle, let (them) tattle.'

(Caiguoji)

Chapter 6: Clause Combining

This chapter is organized around the syntactic means by which clauses are combined in Bao'an Tu. One of the consequences of this organization is that the semantic relations between clauses are not necessarily organized neatly in one spot. So, for example, strategies for encoding adverbial clauses are discussed both in section 6.1.1 as relativized time words and in section 6.3 as non-final clauses marked with non-finite verbal suffixes.[102] This chapter makes use of the notions of embedding and dependence to describe the syntactic characteristics of clause types in Bao'an. Clauses that comprise a constituent of a superordinate clause (or a constituent of a constituent of a superordinate clause, etc.) are considered embedded. Dependent clauses are clauses that either a) take non-finite verbal morphology (discussed in §3.2.1.2 and §5.1.1) and therefore do not inflect for mood, speaker involvement, or person, or b) exhibit some other form of dependence on their matrix clause (such as logophoric pronominal reference or the use of speaker perspective, see §6.2.2). Nominalized clauses (§6.1) are both embedded and dependent, as are quotative complements of verba dicendi (§6.2). Non-final clauses (§6.3) are dependent, and their status vis-à-vis embedding is somewhat ambiguous, though they appear not to be embedded. Section 6.4 addresses the coordination of independent clauses, which are neither embedded nor dependent.

6.1 Nominalized Clauses Marked with *=ku* and *-saŋ*

Bao'an clauses are nominalized by means of the enclitic *=ku* and the verbal suffixes *-saŋ* and *–tɕʰaŋ*. The agentive nominalizer *–tɕʰaŋ* is used relatively infrequently and is

[102] Comparative constructions can be found in §6.3.1; 'want' complement clauses in §6.1.3; purpose clauses in §6.1.3 and §6.3.3; 'when' clauses in §6.1.3; and for reason clauses refer to §6.1.3 and §6.3.5.

adequately described in §3.1.2.2. Sentence (198) from that section is repeated here as an example.

1) *[ts^{h}i taltə-tɕ^{h}aŋ]=la k^{h}aŋlə mor=da wa*
vegetable sell-AG.NMLZ=PL "kangle" road=LOC COP_1.OBJ
'The vegetable sellers are all on Kangle Road.'
(Caiguoji)

The nominalizers *=ku* (IMPERFECTIVE) and *–saŋ* (PERFECTIVE) are used to form relative clauses as well as nominalized actions and nominal complement clauses. They are typically hosted by or suffixed to bare verb stems, but occasionally the verbs to which they are attached already have the non-finite imperfective suffix *–tɕə* affixed. In either case, these verbs lack finite verbal morphology and their clauses are therefore dependent clauses. Relative clauses are a constituent of a noun phrase (with or without a head noun) and nominalized actions and nominal complement clauses are typically arguments or oblique constituents of the matrix clauses in which they occur; therefore all clauses with verbs marked with *=ku* and *-saŋ* are embedded.

6.1.1 Relative Clauses

As was mentioned in §4.3.6, relative clauses precede the nouns they modify. The argument of the relative clause that is co-referential with the relative clause's head noun is omitted in the relative clause, leaving a gap. An example from §4.3.6 is repeated here for consideration.

2) *[rəmo ənə p^{h}ətɕə-saŋ] k^{h}oŋ silaŋ=da χatcə-to*
painting this paint-PERF.NMLZ person Xining=LOC leave-PERF
'The person who painted this painting went to Xining.'
(Caiguoji)

‘When’ clauses are typically constructed using the imperfective nominalizer *=ku*. In this strategy, the ‘when’ clause is a relative clause modifying the time word *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* ‘time’.

3) *[kʰəl=ku]* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *mənnə* *kʰəl-saŋ* *ɕi* *tɕoʁo*
say=IMPF.NMLZ time 1SG.GEN say-PERF.NMLZ very appropriate

wa
COP_1.OBJ
‘When (I) spoke, my speaking (i.e. what I said) was very appropriate.’
(Disappointment 50)

4) *ərhte* *mortɕə* *au=la=nə* *χamda* *su-sa* *[kʰamər*
morning other boy=PL=ACC together stay-COND ceremonial.needle

jiχ=ku] *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *nopʰa* *wi*
hit=IMPF.NMLZ time harm COP_1.SUBJ
‘If (they) sit with the other boys in the morning, (they) will be harmed when (they) do *kamər.’*
(Ləru Dancing 107)

It was mentioned in §4.3.3 that the borrowed property terms *ʂakə* and *ʁalʁa* take verbal morphology; this includes the nominalizer *=ku.*

5) *[tɕʰənda* ***ʂa-tɕə]=ku*** *kʰoŋ* *kʰaŋ* *wa*
1SG.DAT good-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ person who COP_1.OBJ
‘Who are the people who are good to you?’
(Caiguoji)

6) *[kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-tɕə=ku* *tcʰimsam=da*
home=LOC come.HON-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ household=LOC

ʂakə-tɕə]=ku *tʰəntʰəngə* *ba*
good-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ that.way COP_2.OBJ
‘That’s the benefit to (one’s) household of (the shaman’s) coming to (one’s) home.’
(Ləru Dancing 77)

7) *pə* *[dʐoma* ***gakə]=ku*** *alma* *ap* *wa*
1SG Droma happy=IMPF.NMLZ fruit take COP_1.OBJ
'I bought fruit that Droma likes.'

(Caiguoji)

8) *[tɕ^{h}ə* ***gakə]=ku*** *k^{h}oŋ* *k^{h}aŋ* *wa*
2SG happy=IMPF.NMLZ person who COP_1.OBJ
'Who are the people whom you like?'

(Caiguoji)

There are no examples in my data of any other property terms taking the nominalizers *=ku* or *–saŋ*; the following sentences serve as examples of the unacceptability of such constructions.

9) **χəna=ku* *χotɕ^{h}a*
new=IMPF.NMLZ book
'book that is new'

(Caiguoji)

10) **χetɕ^{h}aŋ=ku* *χotɕ^{h}a*
old=IMPF.NMLZ book
'book that is old'

(Caiguoji)

The grammatical way to relativize *χotɕ^{h}a* in (9), for example, would be to use the copula *wi*, as in *χəna wi=ku χotɕ^{h}a* 'the book that is new'.

6.1.2 Nominalized Actions

6.1.2.1 Internal Structure of Nominalized Actions

The nominalizers *=ku* and *–saŋ* are affixed to verb stems to form nominalized actions. Subjects of nominalized actions (if they appear overtly) are marked for genitive case by the accusative enclitic *=nə* (as in (11)), or by the use of the genitive form of a pronoun if they are pronominal (as in (12)). Sentence (3) is repeated here as (12) by way of example.

11) *[goŋma=nə* *dzɻəlkʰəp=nə* *tundaχ* *kʰəl-saŋ]* *da*
government=ACC country=ACC matter say-PERF.NMLZ also

gəŋdəntɕawo=gə *ŋoma* *tɕandagə* *ço*
just.thing=SG.INDEF really very NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'The government's ruling was also really very unfair.'
(*lit.* '[the government's saying (decision) of the rural matter] was also really very much an unjust (one).')

(Skirmish 25)

12) *kʰəl=ku* *tcʰəχaŋnaŋ* *[mənnə* *kʰəl-saŋ]* *ɕi* *tɕoʁo*
say=IMPF.NMLZ time 1SG.GEN say-PERF.NMLZ very appropriate

wa
COP$_1$.OBJ
'When (I) spoke, my speaking (i.e. what I said) was very appropriate.'

(Disappointment 50)

6.1.2.2 External Characteristics of Nominalized Actions

Nominalized actions are not typically propositional in nature, and they do not appear to be limited in the range of matrix verbs with which they occur. They appear to occur in any syntactic position that may be occupied by a noun, and they can be modified by demonstratives and can host case and number enclitics.

In the following examples, the bracketed nominalized actions function as the subject of a transitive verb.

13) *[kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-ʁa-tɕə=ku]* *tɕawa* *jama*
home.LOC come.HON-CAUS-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ fortune stuff

ki=ku *tɕar-tɕi-saŋ*
NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ do-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(One) invites (the shaman) to come to one's home and avoids misfortune.'
(*lit.* '[having (the shaman) come to (one's) home] does [not having (bad) fortune].')

(Ləru Dancing 78)

14) *[sə* *kʰi-tɕə=ku]* *mehtoχ=nə* *nikə-ʁa-gə*
water pour-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ flower=ACC wilt-CAUS-FUT

çi-tɕə-saŋ
NEG.COP_2.SUBJ-IMPF-POS
'Pouring water will cause the flowers not to wilt.'

(Caiguoji)

Examples (15) and (16) contain nominalized actions that are subjects of the existential use of the copula *wa*.

15) *[sotɕa=da* *kʰatsʰaŋ* *natʰə=ku]* *wa*
Soja=LOC complete dance=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ
'Everyone dances for Soja clan.'
(*lit.* 'There is [dancing all together for Soja clan].')

(Læru Dancing 88)

16) *tʰəsanə* *[jama* *kʰəl=ku]* *wa-u*
next thing speak=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ-Q
'Is there anything more to say?'

(Læru Dancing 127)

Nominalized actions can also form the subject of a predicate adjective, as in (17).

17) *[natʰə-saŋ]* *jaksa* *wa*
dance-PERF.NMLZ pretty COP_1.OBJ
'The dancing is pretty.'

(Caiguoji)

In (18) and (19), the bracketed nominalized actions are the subject of a nominal predicate.

18) *[kʰamər* *jiχ-tɕə=ku]* *jaŋgə* *ø-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle hit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ what (COP)-POS
'What is doing *kamer*?'

(Læru Dancing 96)

19) *[htema* *xəra=ku]* *aku=la=nə* *wela* *ba*
bread burn=IMPF.NMLZ woman=PL=ACC work COP_2.OBJ
'Baking bread is women's work.'

(Caiguoji)

Nominalized actions also appear as the direct object of a transitive verb. Example (13) is repeated here as (20). In sentence (21), the subject of the matrix clause is implicit, and the bracketed nominalized action is the direct object of the matrix verb *molan* 'wish' (note that the subject of the nominalized action, *t^{h}ər* 'that', is marked for accusative case).

20) *k^{h}ət^{h}ə* *χəpgə-ʁa-tɕə=ku* *[tɕawa* *jama*
home.LOC come.HON-CAUS-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ fortune stuff

ki=ku] *tɕar-tɕi-saŋ*
NEG.COP$_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ do-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(One) invites (the shaman) to come to one's home and avoids misfortune.'
(*lit.* '[having (the shaman) come to (one's) home] does [not having (bad) fortune].')
(Ləru Dancing 78)

21) *[t^{h}ər=nə* *tundaχ* *tʂəgə-tɕə* *tʂakəɕikə=ku]* *molan-to*
that=ACC matter complete-IMPF be.lucky=IMPF.NMLZ wish-PERF
'(I) wish (him) accomplishment and good luck in all his affairs.'
(*lit.* '(I) wish [that (one)'s completing (his) matters and being lucky].')
(Disappointment 95)

The bracketed nominalized actions in (22) and (23) are the nominal element of the predicate in a nominal predicate structure (see §5.2.5.3 for other examples of nominal predication).

22) *k^{h}amər* *jiχ-tɕə=ku* *[ŋantɕ^{h}ə=da* *jama=la=da*
ceremonial.needle hit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ past=LOC thing=PL=LOC

sort^{h}i-tɕə=ku] *t^{h}ər* *ba*
sacrifice.an.animal-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ that COP$_2$.OBJ
'Doing kamer takes the place of the animal sacrifices (we) did in the past.'
(*lit.* 'Doing kamer is that [sacrificing (animals) in the past for the things (i.e. the festivities)].')
(Ləru Dancing 97)

23) *pətəlanə* *gank^{h}ər* *[naŋ=nə* *alʁa=ku]* *ba*
1PL.EXCL.GEN task inside=ACC clean=IMPF.NMLZ COP$_2$.OBJ
'Our task is cleaning up inside.'
(Caiguoji)

Nominalized actions can also function as objects of postpositions, as in the following examples.

24) *[χeɕaŋ=da mərku mər kʰər-saŋ] kʰada jaksa-tɕə*
Leru=LOC clothing wear be.required-PERF.NMLZ on pretty-IMPF

natʰə da kʰər-saŋ
dance also be.required-POS
'On top of wearing (traditional) clothing at Leru, (one) should also dance prettily.'
(Caiguoji)

25) *jaŋ papa ana=ʁala [guda kʰəl-saŋ] sanə*
again father mother=DU before speak-PERF.NMLZ besides

ɬoχaŋ=gə jaŋgə kʰəl-tɕə-sa
extra=SG.INDEF what speak-IMPF-COND
'Again, (my) father and mother, in addition to what (they) said before, added one thing...'
(Parents' Instructions 16-17a)

The sentences below give examples in which nominalized clauses host number enclitics.

26) *koʑə~koʑə=da [natʰə=ku]=gə wi-saŋ*
self~self=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Each (deity) has a dance (of his own).'
(Dʐəkələru 36)

27) *[χamtɕʰadə=ku]=la da hkora=gə tʰorə kʰər-tsʰoŋ*
stay.together=IMPF.NMLZ=PL also circle=SG.INDEF circle be.required-POS
'(The ones dancing) together also must (dance) in a circle.'
(Dʐəkələru 166)

28) *[natʰə-saŋ]=la χani mərku jaksa mər su-tɕo*
dance-PERF.NMLZ=PL all clothing pretty wear stay-IMPF.OBJ
'The dancers were all wearing pretty clothing.'
(Caiguoji)

The nominalized clauses in (27) and (28) differ from the nominalized clauses presented so far in this section in that they derive an actor rather than an action.

Although the nominalizers *-saŋ* and *=ku* typically derive actions, it appears to be the case that the addition of the plural enclitic *=la* indicates a derived actor rather than an action. Compare the translations of the minimal pair formed by example sentence (17) above and example (29).

29) *[nat^{h}ə-saŋ]=la* *jaksa* *wa*
dance-PERF.NMLZ=PL pretty COP_1.OBJ
'The dancers are pretty.'

(Caiguoji)

Nominalized actions can be modified by a demonstrative; sentence (22) is repeated here by way of example.

30) *k^{h}amər* *jiχ-tɕə=ku* *[ŋantɕ^{h}ə=da* *jama=la=da*
ceremonial.needle hit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ past=LOC thing=PL=LOC

sort^{h}i-tɕə=ku] *t^{h}ər* *ba*
sacrifice.an.animal-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ that COP_2.OBJ
'Doing kamer takes the place of the animal sacrifices (we) did in the past.'
(*lit.* 'Doing kamer is that [sacrificing (animals) in the past for the things (i.e. the festivities)].')

(Ləru Dancing 97)

Finally, in one instance in my data, a nominalized action is even modified by an adjective:

31) *mortɕə=la=da* *[nat^{h}ə=ku]* *hko=nə* *k^{h}ər-tɕo*
other=PL=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ big be.required-IMPF.OBJ
'The festival for the others must be a big one.'
(*lit.* 'a big dancing is required for the others.')

(Ləru Dancing 84)

6.1.2.3 Ambiguity between Headless Relative Clauses and Nominalized Actions

Many clauses nominalized by the use of *=ku* and *–saŋ* have neither a relativized head NP nor internal arguments that are overtly expressed, as in the example below:

32) *[k^{h}amər* *jiχ-tɕə=ku]* *jaŋgə* *ø-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle hit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ what (COP)-POS
'What is *kamer*?'
(*lit.* 'Hitting *kamer* (is) what?')

(Ləru Dancing 96)

The nominalized action in this example is the subject of a nominal predicate. This nominalized action cannot be construed as a headless relative clause. Although it does not have an overtly expressed subject, this potential gap cannot be co-referential with an unexpressed head noun of a relative clause, with a meaning something like 'who is (the one) that is doing *kamer*?' The reason for this is that the verb *jiχ* in the nominalized clause requires a human subject in this context, and the interrogative form *jaŋgə* in the matrix clause must have a non-human referent (a human referent would require the use of the interrogative pronoun *k^{h}aŋ* 'who'). Therefore this is unambiguously a nominalized action.

Most nominalized clauses with no overtly expressed arguments and no overtly expressed relativized head noun, however, are ambiguous as to whether they are headless relative clauses or whether they are nominal complement clauses. The source of this ambiguity is a convergence of two factors. First, nominal arguments that are identifiable in the discourse context are often left unexpressed, creating many potential relativized gaps in nominal clauses; thus it is only a small minority of nominalized actions that have all of their arguments overtly expressed (which would be the most straightforward way to determine that a nominalized clause is not a relative clause). Second, as was mentioned in chapter four, headless noun phrases are quite common in Bao'an, and by extension, so are headless relative clauses. In some contexts it is clear that the implicit head of a headless relative clause is co-referential with a gapped argument in the relative clause (or

conversely, that a potentially implicit head could not be co-referential with any of the "gapped" arguments in the nominalized clause in question, as in (32)), but in most of these cases the ambiguity remains unresolved, as in the following example.

33) *koʑə~koʑə=da* *[nat^{h}ə=ku]=gə* *wi-saŋ*
self~self=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'Each (deity) has his own (festival) that is danced.'
or 'Each (deity) has his own dancing.'
(*nat^{h}ə*: can be either transitive or intransitive)

(Dʐ̩əkələru 36)

There are likely some cases in which the ambiguity entrenched in the recorded data could be resolved by going back to the speakers and asking whether they had an action/state or a (relativized) actor/patient/oblique in mind when they made the utterance. So, for example, one could possibly ask the speaker of (33) whether he was referring specific festivals held for each deity (as in the first free translation) or whether he was referring to an event of dancing possessed by each deity (as in the second free translation). For the majority of these cases, however, the distinction is not salient to the predication being made. In these situations, it would appear to make little difference in the predication whether the nominalized clause in question is a headless relative clause or a nominal complement clause, and one can imagine that questioning the speaker about which he had in mind would not be likely to yield a definitive answer.

6.1.3 Nominal Complement Clauses

6.1.3.1 Internal Structure of Nominal Complement Clauses

The nominalizers =*ku* and –*saŋ* are also used to form nominal complement clauses. Unlike the subjects of nominalized actions, which are marked for genitive case, subjects

of nominal complement clauses (if they appear overtly) are zero-marked for nominative case.

34) *atɕaŋ* *mənda* ***[sarə=la*** *laχɕi=nə* *jaŋgətɕə* *war*
3SG 1SG.DAT young.man=PL towel=ACC how hold

k^{h}ər=ku]=nə *asaχ-tɕo*
be.required=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC ask-IMPF.OBJ
'He asked me how the young men should hold the towels.'
(Caiguoji)

35) ***[pə*** *dzo̱ma=da* *samtəχ=gə* *oχ=ku]* *taraŋ* *ər-na*
1SG Droma=LOC gift=SG.INDEF give=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-DUR
'I want to give a gift to Droma.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that I give a gift to Droma comes'.)
(Caiguoji)

36) *mənnə* *nera=nə* *ap-saŋ* *ənə* ***[pə***
1SG.GEN name=ACC take-PERF.NMLZ this 1SG

jix-tɕə-saŋ]=nə *dzo̱msan* *çəwa*
hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=ACC reason NEG.COP$_2$.OBJ
'The reason (they) removed my name is not that I was fighting.'
(*lit.* 'this removing of my name is not (that)-I-was-fighting reason.')
(Disappointment 83)

37) *satsu* ***[tɕ^{h}ə*** *nəkə* *jiχ-tɕə-saŋ]=ʁala* *tɕ^{h}ənnə* *nerə=nə*
but 2SG one hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=INST 2SG.GEN name=ACC

ap-saŋ
take-POS
'But because you got into a fight, your name was removed.'
(*lit.* 'But with you having fought one (a fight), (they) removed your name.')
(Disappointment 75)

6.1.3.2 External Properties of Nominal Complement Clauses

Nominal complement clauses denote a proposition. They occur as non-quotative direct objects of a limited set of speech and cognition verbs (*k^{h}əl* 'speak', *medə* 'know', *ts^{h}ər* 'learn', and *asaχ* 'ask'), as adnominal modifiers of a limited set of nouns (*taraŋ* 'desire',

ʁaŋ ‘permission’, *dʐəmsan* ‘reason’, and *tundaχ* ‘matter’)[103], and as instrumental obliques marked with the instrumental enclitic =*ʁala* (forming one strategy for encoding a ‘reason’ clause).

The verb *kʰəl* ‘speak’ occurs as both an intransitive and transitive verb. When it is transitive, it can take an NP, a non-quotative nominal complement clause, or a quotative complement clause (quotative complement clauses are discussed in §6.2) as its direct object. The following sentences contain examples of *kʰəl* with a nominal complement clause as its direct object.

38) *[χeɕaŋ* *natʰə-sa* *jaŋgə=da* *ʂatɕi=ku]=nə* *kʰəl*
Leru dance-COND what=LOC benefit=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC say

kʰər-saŋ-u
be.required-POS-Q
‘Should (I) tell what benefits derive from dancing Leru?’
(Ləru Dancing 5)

39) *pə* *papa=da* *[taɕwe=da* *ətɕiχ* *tɕʰokgə-saŋ]=nə* *kʰəl*
1SG father=LOC university=LOC test pass-PERF.NMLZ=ACC say

wa
COP_1.OBJ
‘I told father that (I) tested into university.’
(Caiguoji)

The verb *məda* ‘know’ can be either transitive or intransitive; when it is transitive it takes either an NP or a non-quotative nominal complement clause as its direct object.

[103] Dixon states that “[i]t is unusual to encounter a noun (or NP) which can govern a complement clause,” but that such complement clauses do exist. He gives the English example, “John told me the news [that Fred had broken his leg]” and analyzes the complement clause as an appositive of the NP “the news” (2006:11). The complement clauses governed by the head nouns *taraŋ* ‘desire’, *dʐəmsan* ‘reason’, *tundaχ* ‘matter’, and *ʁaŋ* ‘permission’, are additional examples of complement clauses governed by a noun (or NP).

Sentence (40) gives an example of *meda* with no direct object. Sentence (41) contains *meda* with an NP direct object. Sentences (42) and (43) give examples of *məda* with nominal complement clauses as direct objects.

40) *pə* *ələ* *meda-na*
1SG NEG know-DUR
'I don't know.'

(Caiguoji)

41) *tɕəmaŋgə* *[nər]* *medə-na*
a.little face know-DUR
'(I) knew (their) faces a little.'

(Disappointment 44)

42) *[jaŋgə* *ʁali-kə=ku]=nə* *da* *ələ* *medə-na*
what look-VBZ=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC also NEG know-DUR
'And I didn't know what to look at.'

(Disappointment 31)

43) *[laχɕi=nə* *jaŋgətɕə* *war* *k^hər=ku]=nə* *me-də*
towel=ACC how hold be.required=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC know-IMP

k^hər-na
be.required-DUR
'(Everyone) should know how the towel should be held.'

(Ləru Dancing 40)

The verb *ts^hər* 'learn' can be either intransitive or transitive; when it is transitive it can take either an NP or a non-quotative nominal complement clause as its direct object. Sentence (44) contains an example of intransitive *ts^hər*. Sentence (45) is an example of transitive *ts^hər* with an NP direct object, and sentences (46) and (47) give examples of transitive *ts^hər* with a nominal complement clause as its direct object.

44) *tɕʰə* *koʑə* *jaŋgətɕə* *tsʰər-si* *jaŋgətɕə* *natʰə-sa*
2SG self how learn-Q how dance-COND

jaksa *wa*
pretty COP_1.OBJ
'How did you yourself learn? How do (you) dance so that (it) looks nice?'
(Ləru Dancing 19)

45) *dʐoma* *[wojiχ]* *tsʰər-sa* *ʂakə*
Droma Tibetan.language learn-COND good
'It would be good if Droma learned Tibetan.'
(Caiguoji)

46) *dedə=la* *natʰə=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *samsamda*
grandfather=PL dance=IMPF.NMLZ time sometimes

sarə=la=da *[χeɕaŋ* *natʰə=ku]=nə* *tsʰər-ʁa-tɕi-saŋ*
young.one=PL=LOC Leru dance=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC learn-CAUS-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'When the grandfathers dance, sometimes they teach the younger ones to dance Leru.'
(Ləru Dancing 114)

47) *dʐoma* *[tɕʰitɕʰə* *jaŋgətɕə* *tʰoro-ʁa=ku]=nə*
Droma car how go.around-CAUS=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC

tsʰər-tɕo
learn-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma is learning how to drive a car.'
(Caiguoji)

'Want' complements are constructed by means of nominal complement clauses; the desideratum of a 'want' construction is framed as a nominal complement clause modifying the noun *taraŋ* 'desire', which is in turn the subject of the intransitive verb *ər* 'come'. Although *taraŋ* is clearly a noun in terms of its ability to act as a clausal argument, it is unique in that it can only be modified by a nominal complement clause; it does not occur with other nominal modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives, or possessive NP's.

48) *mənda* *[silaŋ=da* *o=ku]* *taraŋ* *ər-na*
1SG.LOC Xining=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-DUR
'I want to go to Xining.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that (I) go to Xining comes to me.')
(Caiguoji)

49) *atɕaŋda* *[ts^{h}i* *de=ku]* *taraŋ* *ər-tɕo*
3SG.LOC vegetable eat=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-IMPF.OBJ
'He wants to eat vegetable dishes.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that (he$_i$) eat vegetable dishes comes to him$_i$.')
(Caiguoji)

50) *ts^{h}əm=da* *[jaŋgə* *k^{h}əl=ku]* *taraŋ* *ər-sa* *jaŋgə* *k^{h}əl-sa*
heart=LOC what say=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-COND what say-COND

t^{h}əke-saŋ
permit-POS
'(you) can say whatever you want to say.'
(*lit.* 'If the desire to say [what] comes to (your) heart, (you) can say [what].'
(Læru Dancing 4)

The desired outcome expressed by this construction is viewed to be more or less within the power of the experiencer of the desire to execute. Therefore, the experiencer is the subject of both the matrix clause and the nominal complement clause. This is shown by the following examples.

51) * *menda* *[dʐoma* *silaŋ=da* *o-də=ku]* *taraŋ* *ər-tɕo*
1SG.LOC Droma Xining=LOC go-IMP=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-IMPF.OBJ
* 'I want Droma to go to Xining.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that Droma go to Xining comes to me.')
(Caiguoji)

52) *[pə* *dʐoma=nə* *silaŋ=da* *o-də-ʁa=ku]* *taraŋ*
1SG Droma=ACC Xining=LOC go-IMP-CAUS=IMPF.NMLZ desire

ər-tɕo
come-IMPF.OBJ
'I want to have Droma go to Xining.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that I cause Droma go to Xining comes (to me).')
(Caiguoji)

There are various other ways to express 'want' complements that contain subjects which are not coreferential with the experiencer of the desire, or that are otherwise not within the power of the experiencer of the desire to carry out. These other methods do not involve the use of nominal complement clauses, but two examples are given here for the purpose of comparison.[104]

53) *pə* *ana* *rəmgə-tɕə* *ər-sa* *siχde-tɕo*
1SG mother hurry-IMPF come-COND hope-IMPF.OBJ
'I hope mother returns quickly.'
(Caiguoji)

54) *məχɕə* *orə-sa* *ʂakə*[105]
tomorrow rain-COND good
'It would be good if it rained tomorrow.'
(*note: elicted as* '(I) hope it will rain tomorrow.' 我希望明天下雨。)
(Caiguoji)

The argument expressing the experiencer of the desire in *taraŋ* constructions may either appear as a dative-marked oblique in the matrix clause (as in the examples (48-50) above), or it may appear (in nominative case) as the subject of the nominal complement clause expressing the desideratum (as in (52) above and (55) below), but the subject cannot be overtly expressed in both the nominal complement clause and the matrix clause.

55) *[pə* *dzo̱ma=da* *samtəχ=gə* *oχ=ku]* *taraŋ* *ər-na*
1SG Droma=LOC gift=SG.INDEF give=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-DUR
'I want to give a gift to Droma.'
(*lit.* 'The desire that I give a gift to Droma comes.')
(Caiguoji)

[104] Use of conditional *-sa* along with the verb *siχde* 'hope' or the property term *ʂakə* 'good' to express 'want' complements is further discussed in §6.3.2.
[105] The syntactic characteristics of the property term *ʂakə* 'good' are discussed in §4.3.3.

Further investigation is needed to determine what the difference between these two strategies signals.

Nominal complement clauses also occur as adnominal modifiers modifying the noun *ʁaŋ* 'authority'.

56) *ɲəntoχ=nə* *da* *ələ* *ər-ʁa-na.* *[koʑə=nə* *dewa*
Nianduhu=ACC also NEG come-CAUS-DUR self=ACC village

ts^{h}a=da *o=ku]* *ʁaŋ* *kina* *pe*
place=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ authority NEG.COP$_1$.OBJ EMPH
'They don't even let Nianduhu come. (We) don't have permission to go to (our) own village's land!'

(Skirmish 18)

57) *papa* *mənda* *[gela=ku]* *ʁaŋ* *ələ* *oχ-gə-na*
father 1SG.LOC sleep=IMPF.NMLZ authority NEG give-FUT-DUR
'Father didn't give me permission to sleep.' (i.e. there's still work to do)

(Caiguoji)

ʁaŋ appears to have full status as a noun. In addition to acting as a clausal complement, it can also be modified by nominal modifiers, as in the following examples.

58) ʁaŋ *modified by an adjective:*
ʁaŋ *hko* *wa*
authority big COP$_1$.OBJ
'(you/he/she...) has a lot of authority.'
(*lit.* '(your/his/her...) authority is big.')

(Caiguoji)

59) ʁaŋ *modified by a possessive pronoun:*
atɕaŋnə *ʁaŋ* *pitəʁaŋ* *wa*
3SG.GEN authority small COP$_1$.OBJ
'He doesn't have much authority.'
(*lit.* 'His authority is small.')

(Caiguoji)

Nominal complement clauses are used by three different strategies for forming 'reason' constructions. In two of the strategies, a nominal complement clause functions

as a modifier of a head noun (either *dzə̨msan* 'reason' or *tundaχ* 'matter'). In the third strategy, a nominal complement clause is case marked with the instrumental enclitic *=ʁala*.

In the first of these strategies, either of the nominalizers *=ku* or *-saŋ* can be used. It appears to be the case that when the impefective *=ku* is used no case marking is required, as in (60) and (61). When the perfective suffix *-saŋ* is used, however, the nominal complement clause hosts the accusative enclitic *=nə* (marking genitive case), as in (62) and (63). This is the only situation in which the external syntactic properties of a nominalized clause appear to depend on which nominalizer is used.

60) *[dewa* *tʰəngəsa* *da* *tɕərgoŋ* *də* *natʰə*
village in.that.way also six day dance

kʰər=ku] *dzə̨msan* *tʰər* *wo*
be.required=IMPF.NMLZ reason that COP_1.OBJ
'That's the reason the village has to dance like that for six days.'
(Dzə̨kələru 115)

61) *[χara-tɕə=ku]* *dzə̨msan* *tʰər* *bi-saŋ*
taunt-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ reason that COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'That's the reason (we) taunt them.'
(Ləru Dancing 63)

62) *mənnə* *nera=nə* *ap-saŋ* *ənə* *[pə*
1SG.GEN name=ACC take-PERF.NMLZ this 1SG

jix-tɕə-saŋ]=nə *dzə̨msan* *çəwa*
hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=ACC reason $NEG.COP_2$.OBJ
'The reason (they) removed my name is not that I was fighting.'
(*lit.* 'this removing of my name is not (that)-I-was-fighting reason.')
(Disappointment 83)

63) *[çarwaŋ* *tɕəma=ʁala* *sasut-saŋ]=nə* *dzɻ̩əmsan* *sowo*
Xiabulang Chuma=DU struggle-PERF.NMLZ=ACC reason important

jaŋgə *wa-si*
what COP_1.OBJ-Q
'So what was the main reason that Xiabulang and Chuma fought?'
(Skirmish 1)

Although *dzɻ̩əmsan* cannot be modified by adjectives, it does act as a clausal argument, and it can be modified by a possessive NP (as in the following examples), so it is clearly a noun.

64) ***tʰər=nə*** ***dzɻ̩əmsan*** *bi-saŋ* *ço*
that=ACC reason COP_2.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'(That) is not the reason for that.'
(*lit.* '(It) is not (the case that) that's reason is.')
(Caiguoji)

65) *ʑəpdaχ=nə* *tundaχ=da* *tortɕə* *jortɕə* *a:* *saŋ*
mountain.god=ACC matter=LOC there here HES offering

ki-sa *tɕʰopa* *ki-sa* *da*
NEG. COP_1.SUBJ-COND food.offering NEG. COP_1.SUB-COND also

natʰə-tɕə=ku *χani* ***tʰəntʰon=gə=nə*** ***dzɻ̩əmsan*** *wo*
dance-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ all that.way= SG.INDEF =ACC reason COP_1.OBJ
'It is for the sake of the mountain god that there are offerings, food offerings, and dancing here and there.'
(*lit.* 'For the mountain gods here and there, ah, if there are offerings, if there are food offerings also, dancing--all (of it) is that reason.')
(Dzɻ̩əkələru 18)

In the second strategy for expressing a 'reason' clause, a nominal complement clause modifies the noun *tundaχ* 'matter'. In this construction, the imperfective nominalizer =*ku* is used, and the nominal complement clause optionally hosts the

accusative enclitic =*nə* (indicating genitive case).[106] In this strategy, the clause containing the dependent event follows the clause containing the necessary cause.[107]

66) *dʐoma* *silaŋ=da* *ər-tɕə* *[dor* *gə*
Droma Xining=LOC come-IMPF Monguor language

ts^{h}ər=ku](=nə) *tundaχ* *ji-saŋ*
study=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC matter COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Droma came to Xining in order to study Monguor.'
(*lit.* 'Droma came to Xining (and) (it) is the matter of studying Monguor.')
(Caiguoji)

67) *pə* *roŋ=da* *o-tɕə* *[ts^{h}i* *ap=ku](=nə)*
1SG prefecture.town=LOC go-IMPF vegetable take=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC

tundaχ *yi*
matter COP_2.SUBJ
'The reason I am going to town is to buy vegetables.'
(*lit.* 'I am going to town (and) (it) is the matter of buying vegetables.')
(Caiguoji))

A variation on this strategy is that the NP containing the nominal complement clause and headed by the noun *tundaχ* may form a locative oblique of a finite clause expressing the dependent event, as in the example below.

68) *[atɕaŋ* *sə=nə* *χa-ʁa=ku](=nə)* *tundaχ=da* *mərku=nə*
3SG water=ACC close-CAUS=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC matter=LOC clothes=ACC

nit^{h}ər-ʁa-tɕə
wet-CAUS-PERF
'(His) clothes got wet because he turned the water off.'
(*lit.* 'In/for the matter (i.e. process) (that) he caused the water to be closed (his) clothes were caused to be wet.')
(Caiguoji))

[106] I have not yet determined what difference in meaning is signaled by the use or non-use of the accusative enclitic in these constructions.
[107] I have relied on Cristofario (2008a, 2008b) for the terms used in this discussion of purpose and result clauses.

It is difficult to decide whether to label these constructions 'reason' or 'purpose' constructions, because neither the clause encoding the dependent event nor the clause encoding the necessary cause is an independent clause (the first would yield a 'reason' clause; the second would yield a 'purpose' clause). I have called these reason clauses because the clause encoding the goal or dependent event, being nominalized, seems farther removed from being an independent clause than does the clause encoding the necessary cause (which is a non-finite clause).

In addition to acting as a clausal argument, *tundaχ* can be modified by an adjective or a possessive NP, just like other nouns.

69) *ɕoŋgə* *najaŋ* ***hko*** ***tundaχ*** *tsʰəm*
originally that.time big matter heart

ehte-ʁa=ku=gə *ba-sa* *su--*
wound-CAUS=IMPF.NMLZ=SG.INDEF COP_2.OBJ-COND so
'At the time it was a big deal that caused me grief, but–'
(*lit.* 'If originally at the time (the) big matter was a cause of my heart being wounded, so–')

(Disappointment 88)

70) *su* ***mənnə*** ***tundaχ*** *ənt^{h}ə=gə* *wa*
so 1SG.GEN matter this.that=SG.INDEF COP_1.OBJ
'So that's my story.'

(Disappointment 93)

In the third strategy employing nominal complement clauses to form a reason construction, the nominal complement clause forms an instrumental oblique of the matrix clause. As is evident in the following examples, these nominal complement clauses are marked with the instrumental enclitic *=ʁala*. Note that the bracketed clause in (71) looks on the surface like it might be a nominalized action. However, if an overt subject is expressed in these clauses, it appears in nominative case rather than genitive case (as in

(72)). For this reason, I have classed these clauses as nominal complement clauses rather than nominalized actions.

71) *[kʰəl-saŋ* *gi=ku]=ʁala* *kamuŋ=gə*
say-PERF.NMLZ NEG. COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ=INST difficult= SG.INDEF

wa *jo*
COP_1.OBJ NEG.EMPH
'It is difficult since (I) haven't talked about (this before).'
(*lit.* 'with not having talked, there is a difficulty.')

(Ləru Dancing 12)

72) *satsu* *[tɕʰə* *nəkə* *jiχ-tɕə-saŋ]=ʁala* *tɕʰənnə* *nerə=nə*
but 2SG one hit-IMPF-PERF.NMLZ=INST 2SG.GEN name=ACC

ap-saŋ
take-POS
'But because you got into a fight, your name was removed.'
(*lit.* 'But with you having fought one (a fight), (they) removed your name.')

(Disappointment 75)

Table 6.1 gives a summary of the clause types formed by use of the nominalizers *=ku* and *-saŋ*.

Table 6.1. Clause Types Formed by the Nominalizers *=ku* and *-saŋ*

clause type	internal characteristics	external characteristics
relative clause	the argument that is co-referential with the (external) head noun is gapped	precedes the noun it modifies
nominalized action	subjects are marked for genitive case	can occur in any syntactic position normally occupied by a noun; can host case and number enclitics
nominal complement clause	subjects are in nominative case	syntactic position restricted to: -direct object of a limited set of verbs of speech and cognition -adnominal modifiers of a restricted set of nouns -instrumental obliques (in one specific strategy for forming 'reason' clauses)

6.1.4 Other Uses of *=ku* and *-saŋ*

The non-verbal uses of *=ku* are discussed in §4.3.7. That entire discussion will not be repeated here, but by way of reminder, *=ku* can be affixed to postpositions, time words, and other words that are either inherently locative or are marked as locative (by use of the locative enclitic *=da* or *=də*) to form nominal modifiers. A few examples are repeated here.

73) *tʰamajimago* *lo* *dzo̱tɕə* ***naŋda=ku*** *dedə=la*
even year sixty in=IMPF.NMLZ grandfather=PL

satɕə-tɕə *tʰorun=da* *laχɕi* *tɕo-tɕə* *ke-tɕə* *da* *jindaməndа*
go.through head=LOC towel wear-IMPF put-IMPF also definitely

hkuraŋ *jiχ* *kʰər-saŋ*
circle hit be.required-POS
'Even the grandfathers under sixty must put a towel on (their heads) and go in a circle.'

(Dzo̱kələru 164)

74) ***hkutə=ku*** *kʰi* *hko=ʁala* *atɕə=tsʰaŋ=nə*
yesterday=IMPF.NMLZ wind big=INST 3SG=family=ACC

gər=nə *dəp-kə-ʁa-tɕə*
house=ACC collapse-VBZ-CAUS-PERF
'Yesterday's big wind caused their house to collapse.'

(Caiguoji)

75) *kʰətʰə* *tʰa-sa* ***kʰətʰə=ku*** *aku=la*
home.LOC sleep-COND home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ girl=PL

wi-sa *sauma* *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
COP_1.SUBJ-COND ceremonially.clean COP_1.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'If (they) sleep at home, if there are girls at home, (they) will not be ceremonially clean.'

(Ləru Dancing 101-102)

76) *tɕəχaŋ* ***dəχ=də=ku*** *mehtoχ*
white color=LOC=IMPF.NMLZ flower
'white colored flower'

(Caiguoji)

Finally, *–saŋ* infrequently co-occurs with the enclitic *=ne* in situations where the nominalized clause would not be expected to take accusative (or genitive) case. In these cases an adverbial clause that functions much like a nominal time oblique is formed. This construction appears to indicate simultaneity of the nominalized and matrix predicates.

77) *[naŋda* *o-saŋ=nə]* *tɕu* *ap-saŋ* *ɬaoʂi* *χani=la*
inside go-PERF.NMLZ=ACC exam take-PERF.NMLZ teacher all=PL

nər=nə *tɕəmaŋgə* *medə-na*
face=ACC a.little know-DUR
'As (I) entered, I pretty much recognized the faces of all the teachers giving the exam.'

(Disappointment 42)

78) *[koʑə~koʑə* *kʰəl-saŋ=gə* *jiχ-tɕə* *su-saŋ=nə]*
self~self say-PERF.NMLZ= SG.INDEF hit-IMPF stay-PERF.NMLZ=ACC

pantʂurən *mənnə* *sepda* *ər-tɕə*
class.teacher 1SG.GEN front come-IMPF
'As (I) was standing talking to myself, the class teacher came up to me...'

(Disappointment 64-65)

Wu posits that this is the genitive use of *=nə* being used as a substantivizer (2003:341), which is a common phenomenon in other Altaic languages. The resulting clauses do appear to be nominal in nature, but it is unclear why a substantivizing enclitic would be necessary in addition to *–saŋ*, which is itself a nominalizing suffix. The answer to this question likely lies in the path of grammaticalization of this construction. One such path that seems plausible is that these clauses modified a head noun such as *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* which has since come to be omitted. One argument in favor of this explanation is that these clauses are identical in form to the nominal complement clauses used to modify the head noun *dʑəmsan* 'reason' in sentences like (62) and (63).

6.2 Quotative Complements of Verba Dicendi

Quotative complements of the speech verbs *kʰəl* 'say', *asaχ* 'ask', and *kʰapda-kə* 'urge', function as arguments of those verbs, and as such are embedded clauses. They are also dependent clauses, but the dependence between quotative complements and their

superordinate clauses is of a different nature than the dependence between nominalized clauses (§6.1) and their respective superordinate clauses. Nominalized clauses take non-finite verbal morphology, meaning that they are dependent on their matrix clauses for mood, speaker perspective, and person. Quotative complements, in contrast, have finite verbal morphology (and therefore are inflected for mood and speaker perspective, and in imperative mood they are inflect for person as well). The dependence between quotative complements and their superordinate clauses involves pronominal reference and the use of speaker perspective marking rather than finite vs. non-finite verbal inflection. This is discussed in §6.2.2. Sentence (79) gives an example of a quotative complement (with the finite verbal suffix *-to* 'PERF').

79) *[oroŋ* *tʰər=nə* *ʁali-la* *tɕə-to]* *kʰəl-saŋ* *ja*
3SG.LOG that=ACC see-PURP do-PERF say-POS PRT
'(He$_i$) said that he$_i$ went to see that.'

(Dzə̨kələru 71)

6.2.1 Use of the Quotative Enclitics *=tɕo/=tɕi* and *=tɕə*

Another difference between quotative complements of verba dicendi and nominal complement clauses is that in addition to their own non-finite verbal morphology, they usually have an "extra" verbal suffix attached. If this "extra" suffix is attached to the complement of a verbum dicendi, the verbum dicendi itself is often omitted. When the verbum dicendi is not overtly expressed and its complement is the final constituent in the sentence, the finite suffix *-tɕo/-tɕi* is used (as in (83)-(86)). Otherwise, the non-finite suffix *-tɕə* is used (as in (80)-(82)).

80) *[ta* *rəmgə-tɕə* *ɕida* *χar* *k^{h}ər-na]=**tɕə***
2PL.COLL hurry-IMPF outside go be.required-DUR=QUOT.IMPF

k^{h}əl-saŋ
say-POS
‘“...you should hurry and go outside”, (he) said.’
(Ləru Dancing 73)

81) *[ula=nə* *atɕaŋlada* *oχ-to]=**tɕə*** *k^{h}əl-tɕi-saŋ*
mountain=ACC 3PL.LOC give-PERF=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
‘(they) say (we) gave them the mountain.’
(Ləru Dancing 62)

82) *atɕaŋ* *mənda* *[htema* *de* *k^{h}ər-saŋ]=**tɕə*** *k^{h}apda-kə-tɕə*
3SG 1SG.LOC bread eat be.required-POS=QUOT.IMPF chat-VBZ-IMPF

htema *de-ʁa-tɕo*
bread eat-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ
‘She persuaded me to eat bread.’
(*lit*. ‘she caused me to eat bread, urging, “(you) should eat (some) bread”.’)
(Caiguoji)

83) *su* *[łotɕa=nə* *łoʂi=la* *mənda* *ɕuan-kə-tɕə]=**tɕo***
so school=ACC teacher=PL 1SG.ACC choose-VBZ-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘So (he said that) the school’s teachers chose me.’
(Disappointment 5)

84) *pantʂurən* *mənnə* *səpda* *ər-tɕə* *[mənda* *tɕəntɕiaotʂ^{h}u*
class.teacher 1SG.GEN front come-IMPF 1SG.ACC principal

*ur-tɕo]=**tɕo***
call-IMPF.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘The class teacher came up to me and (said that) the principal was calling me.’
(Disappointment 65-66)

85) *[pətəla* *tc^{h}ənda* *ɕuan-ke-tɕi]=**tɕi***
1PL.EXCL 2SG.ACC choose-VBZ-IMPF.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF.SUBJ
‘(I/we said), “we are choosing you”.’
(Caiguoji)

86) *[pə* *o-gə* ***çi]=tɕi***
1SG go-FUT NEG.COP_2.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF.SUBJ
'I do not plan to go tomorrow.'
(*lit.* '(I say) "I will not go tomorrow".')

(Caiguoji)

These verbal suffixes are likely the morphological vestiges of a lost verb of saying, such as *gə* 'speak' (Wu 2003). Synchronically speaking, it might be more accurate to say that these verbal endings can be attached to a complement of a verbum dicendi and function as a quotative marker. It is also more accurate to classify them as clitics rather than suffixes. Although they are not phonological words in their own right, there is no specific class of words (e.g. 'verbs') to which they attach. Thus far, all of the examples of complements of verba dicendi have been clauses (with verbs as the last word in the clause), but they need not be complete clauses. In the following example, the speech complement is simply the exclamatory particle *ja*, demonstrating that the quotative marker should be thought of as being hosted by an utterance rather than by a verb.

87) *pə* *[ja]=tɕə* *rəmgə-tɕə* *o-to*
1SG yeah=QUOT.IMPF hurry-IMPF go-PERF
'I said, "yeah" and hurried and went.'

(Disappointment 67)

6.2.2 Indirect Quotation as a Demonstration of Dependence

The content of a quotative complement may be either a direct quotation or an indirect quotation. In many sentences containing a quotative complement it is not possible to make the distinction between the two based on syntactic criteria, as is demonstrated by the two possible interpretations of the example below.

88) *dzo̱ma* *[tsʰeraŋ* *roŋ=da* *o-gəwa]=tɕə* *kʰəl-tɕo*
Droma Tserang prefecture.town=LOC go-FUT.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma says that Tserang is going to go to town.'
'Droma says, "Tserang is going to go to town".'

(Caiguoji)

There are at least two contexts,[108] however, in which the quotative complement is unambiguously not a direct quotation, and these are the contexts in which the dependent nature of quotative complements is evident. Examples of these are given here, along with a discussion of each context.

First, any time the third person logophoric personal pronoun is used in a quotative complement, the quoted material cannot, by definition, be a direct quote. For example, in (79) above (and repeated here as (89)) the speaker (the Buddhist deity Amimaqin) would have used the ordinary first person singular pronoun *pə* rather than the logophoric pronoun *oroŋ* in his original statement (see §4.2.1.1 for a discussion of the use of *oroŋ*). Therefore, the use of *oroŋ* in quotative complements is dependent on the referent of the subject of the superordinate clause.

89) *[oroŋ* *tʰər=nə* *ʁali-la* *tɕə-to]* *kʰəl-saŋ* *ja*
3SG.LOG that=ACC see-PURP do-PERF say-POS PRT
'(He_i) said that he_i went to see that.'

(Dzə̨kələru 71)

[108] It is likely that there are more than two contexts in which quoted material unambiguously comprises an indirect quote. For example, if the subject of a quotative complement were first person and non-coreferential with the subject of the matrix verb, and the verbal morphology of the quotative complement inidicated speaker perspective, then presumably the possibility of the quoted material being a direct quote would be ruled out by the co-occurrence of a first person subject and objective speaker perspective marking on the verb in the quotative complement. Such a sentence might mean something like 'he/you said that I am going to go_{OBJ} to town', and would demonstrate (in much the same way (90) does) the dependence of the quotative complement on its matrix clause in the determination of which speaker perspective to use. Unfortunately, no such sentence exists in my data; and due to a combination of difficulties arising from both the pragmatic unlikelihood of speaking such a sentence in Bao'an Tu culture as well as my own shortcomings in using Mandarin, I have been heretofore unable to elicit one.

Next, if the subject of the matrix verb is both third person and coreferential with the subject of the quotative complement, then the use of subjective speaker perspective in the quotative complement is required, even though the subject of the quotative complement is in third person. Therefore the coreferentiality of *dʐoma* and *atɕaŋ* in (90), for example, shows not only that the content of the quotative complement is not a direct quote (because Droma would not use the third person pronoun to refer to herself in the original statement), but it also shows that the quotative complement is dependent on the matrix clause for the determination of whether subjective or objective speaker perspective is used.

90) *dʐoma*$_i$ *[atɕaŋ*$_i$ *roŋ=da* *o-gi]=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-tɕo*
Droma 3SG town=LOC go-FUT.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma$_i$ said she$_i$ is going to go to town.'
*'Droma$_i$ said, "she$_i$ is going to town".'

(Caiguoji)

Additionally, there is one context in which the content of a quotative complement most likely *is* a direct quote: in informal situations, a speaker may elect not to use the logophoric pronominal form (*oroŋ*) even though the syntactic criteria are met, as in (91). In this sentence, the use of the subjective verbal suffix in the quotative complement indicates that the first person pronoun subject of the quotative complement is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. Thus the most natural reading is that a direct quotation is intended.

91) *dʐoma*$_i$ *[pə*$_i$ *roŋ=da* *o-gi]=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-tɕo*
Droma 1SG town=LOC go-FUT.SUBJ=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma$_i$ said, "I$_i$ am going to go to town".'
* 'Droma$_i$ said that I$_j$ am going to go to town.'

(Caiguoji)

If a speaker intends to relay an indirect quote in this context, she is most likely to use a third person pronoun as the subject of the quotative complement (and, obligatorily, subjective speaker marking on the verb of the quotative complement), as in (90) above.

6.2.3 Concluding Remarks on Quotative Complements

It is worth noting that the verba dicendi discussed in this section do not require that their complements be quotative (finite) complements. The verbs *kʰəl* 'say' and *asaχ* 'ask' in particular display great versatility in terms of transitivity and what kind of direct object they take. The following examples give evidence of this versatility.

92) *kʰəl* 'say'[109]

a. *with no direct object:*

atɕaŋ	*kʰəl~kʰəl-tɕə*
3SG	speak~speak-PERF

'He talked and talked (for a long time).'

(Caiguoji)

b. *with no overt (implicit) direct object:*

tʰəsanə	*pə*	*kʰətʰə*	*o-tɕə*	*ana=da*	*kʰəl-tɕə*
next	1SG	house.LOC	go-IMPF	mother=LOC	say-PERF

'Then I went home and told my mother.'

(referent of implicit direct object is recoverable from discourse context)

(Disappointment 10)

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[109] In addition to these possibilities, there are two instances in the data in which the verb *kʰəl* is itself nominalized by means of the suffix *-ku* and then marked with the locative enclitic *=da*. In these two sentences, the nominalized clause containing *kʰəl* precedes a finite quotative complement (which in turn hosts a quotative enclitic such as *=tɕo*.

93)

atɕaŋ	*mənda*	*kʰəl-ku=da*	*[su*	*mannə*	*łotɕʰa=nə*
3SG	1SG.LOC	say-IMPF.NMLZ=LOC	so	1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN	school=ACC

łoma	*nago*	*tʰaikwo*	*χala=gə=da*
student	only.one	Thailand	where=SG.INDEF=LOC

o-tə-ʁa-tɕo]=tɕo

go-IMPF-CAUS-IMPF.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ

'He told me, "so, (we) are letting only one student from our school go to (someplace in) Thailand".'

(Disappointment 3)

c. *with an NP direct object:*

mənda *[kajoχ]=gə* *kʰəl-tɕə* *ər-ʁa-tɕə*
1SG.ACC nice.word=SG.INDEF say-IMPF come-CAUS-PERF
'(he) said some nice words and let me go.'

(Disappointment 81)

d. *with a nominal complement clause:*

[χɐɕaŋ *natʰə-sa* *jaŋgə=da* *ʂatɕi=ku]=nə* *kʰəl*
Leru dance-COND what=LOC benefit=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC say

kʰər-saŋ-u
be.required-POS-Q
'Should (I) tell what benefits derive from dancing Leru?'

(Læru Dancing 5)

e. *with a quotative (finite) complement:*

[ɬoptɕa *hko* *naŋda* *jindamənda* *ətɕiχ* *tɕʰoχgə*
school big in definitely test pass

kʰər-saŋ]=tɕə *kʰəl-tɕə*
be.required-POS=QUOT.IMPF speak-PERF
'"You definitely want to test into university", they said.'

(Parents' Instructions 22)

94) *asaχ* 'ask'

a. *with no overt direct object:*

jinjəχ=ʁala *asaχ-tɕo*
English=INST ask-IMPF.OBJ
'(She) asked using English.'

(Disappointment 47)

b. *with an NP direct object:*

tɕəmaŋgə *su* *wuu* *əsə* *su* *wuu* *nokə*
a.little stay COP_1.SUBJ.Q NEG stay COP_1.SUBJ.Q that

aku *laoʂi* *mənda* *[dzʐəsi]* *asaχ-tɕo*
girl teacher 1SG.ACC question ask-IMPF.OBJ
'Without wasting a moment, that female teacher asked me a question.'

(Disappointment 46)

c. *with a nominal complement clause:*

tsʰeraŋ	*mənda*	*[dzo̱ma*	*htema*	*jaŋgətɕə*	*χəra*
Tserang	1SG.LOC	Droma	bread	how	burn

kʰər=ku]=nə	*asaχ-tɕo*
be.required=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC	ask-IMPF.OBJ

'Tserang asked how Droma should bake bread.'

(Caiguoji)

d. *with a quotative (finite) complement:*

dzo̱ma	*[tsʰeraŋ*	*roŋ=da*	*o-gə*	*ba-u]=tɕə*
Droma	Tserang	prefecture.town=LOC	go-FUT.OBJ	COP_2-Q=QUOT.IMPF

asaχ-tɕo
ask-IMPF.OBJ
'Droma asked, "is Tserang going to go to town?"'
(or 'Droma asked if Tserang is going to go to town.')

(Caiguoji)

As a final note, there are cases in which it would appear that complements of verba dicendi are postposed after the verb of the matrix clause, as in the following example. Since verba dicendi do not absolutely require overt direct objects, however, it is difficult to argue convincingly that the contents of the quotation are a syntactic complement of the clause containing the verba dicendi. Rather, I analyze these cases as the juxtaposition of two independent clauses. See §6.4.2 for a discussion of this coordination strategy.

95)

ki-tɕə	*kɛ-tɕə*	*da*	*asaχ-saŋ*	*[amimatɕʰin*	*tɕʰə*
NEG. COP_1.SUBJ-IMPF	put-IMPF	also	ask-POS	Amimaqin	2SG

χala	*tɕə-to]*
where	do-PERF

'When it came about that (he) was not there, (they) asked, "Amimaqin, where did you go?"'
(*lit.* 'and so (it) came about that (he) was not there and they asked. Amimaqin, where did you go?')

(Dzo̱kələru 67)

6.3 Non-final Clauses

Dependent clauses are often referred to as either converbs or medial clauses in a clause chain, depending on whether or not they are subordinate (i.e. both dependent and embedded). If they are subordinate, then they are considered converbs; if they are co-subordinate (i.e. dependent but not embedded (Foley & VanValin 1984, VanValin & LaPolla 1997)) they are better thought of as medial verbs in a clause chain (Haspelmath 1995).[110] According to this definition, then, the distinction between converbs and medial verbs in a clause chain hinges on whether the clauses in question are embedded in the superordinate (finite) clause or not. Non-final clauses in Bao'an are unambiguously dependent, because their verbs do not have finite morphology. Whether or not they are embedded, however, is not immediately obvious. The embedded status of the vast majority of non-final clauses is irresolvably ambiguous. Take for example sentence (96), given here with two alternative embedding analyses.

96) a. *[tʰəsanə ø$_i$ tʰaroχ=da o-tɕə] [ø$_i$ lokə=nə gargə-ʁa-tɕə]*
next oven=LOC go-IMPF bread.pan=ACC hot-CAUS-IMPF
'Next (you) go to the oven and heat up the bread pans.'

b. *[tʰəsanə ø [tʰaroχ=da o-tɕə] lokə=nə gargə-ʁa-tɕə]*
next oven=LOC go-IMPF bread.pan=ACC hot-CAUS-IMPF
'Next, going to the oven, (you) heat up the bread pans.'

(How to Make Bread 9)

Because clausal arguments are so often implicit in Bao'an, it is impossible to determine in sentences like this whether non-final clauses are embedded or not based on the criteria Haspelmath calls "clause-internal word order" (i.e. the embedded clause

[110] Haspelmath also notes that different traditions are more or less likely to use the term 'converb' vs. 'medial verb'. For example, many of the clauses that are called converbs by Altaicists often have very similar characteristics to those that linguists working in Papua New Guinea would call medial clauses in a clause chain (1995:23).

causes discontinuity in the constituents of the superordinate clause (1995:12-3)). Postposing, cataphoric pronominal reference, and possibility of extraction are three more criteria for subordination (which entails embeddedness, Haspelmath 1995:12), but none of these phenomena occur in my data. Another of Haspelmath's criteria is the semantic restrictiveness of the embedded clause (1995:15-6).[111] It is true that these non-finite clauses are often interpretable as being semantically restrictive, but they are not necessarily so; and in the absence of any syntactic indicator of semantic restrictiveness, it is questionable whether such a semantic distinction is relevant to speakers themselves (Genetti 2005). Hypotheses can be made about the embedded status of some of these clauses based on discourse/pragmatic facts; but their status nonetheless remains ambiguous from a syntactic perspective.

There are no examples in my data in which a non-finite clause is clearly embedded; perhaps the closest any sentence comes is the one in (97).

97)

ø$_i$	*k^{h}oldaku*	*[ø$_i$*	*tɕ^{h}aɲum-kə-tɕə]*	*mər*	*k^{h}ər-na*
	shoes		collective-VBZ-IMPF	wear	be.required-DUR
A_{matrix}	P_{matrix}	$[S_{embedded}$	$V_{embedded}]$	V_{matrix}	

'(everyone) should, acting collectively, wear shoes.'
(i.e. Everyone should wear the same type of shoes.)

(Ləru Dancing 30)

The verb *tɕ^{h}aɲum* is intransitive and usually requires a volitional subject, so *k^{h}oldaku* is not likely its argument. On the other hand *k^{h}oldaku* is in all probability a fronted topic, in which case the non-final clause need not be analyzed as embedded; this analysis is represented in (98).

[111] Haspelmath says that converbs are semantically restrictive in that they "modify the main clause in such a way that its reference is narrowed" (1995:15).

98) *k^{h}oldaku* *[ø$_{i}$* *tɕ^{h}aɲum-kə-tɕə]* *ø$_{i}$* *mər* *k^{h}ər-na*
shoes collective-VBZ-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
FRONTED P_{finite} [$S_{non\text{-}finite}$ $V_{non\text{-}finite}$] A_{finite} V_{finite}
'As for shoes, (everyone) should act collectively; (everyone) should wear them.'
(i.e. Everyone should wear the same type of shoes.)
(Ləru Dancing 30)

The two clauses in (99), on the other hand, do not have any implicit arguments, and none of their arguments are co-referential. It is hard to imagine how the non-final clause could be construed as an adverbial modifier of the final clause, so it would appear to be clearly not embedded.

99) *[k^{h}ont^{h}arhtɕə* *t^{h}əmt^{h}oχ* *u-tɕə]* *[tɕaɕi* *maʁa* *de-tɕo]*
Kuantaiji mianpian drink-IMPF Jiashi meat eat-IMPF.OBJ
'Kuantaiji ate mianpian noodles, and Jiashi ate meat.'
(Caiguoji)

One might posit that all non-finite clauses are non-embedded based on the fact that there are no clear cases of embedded non-finite clauses while clear-cut cases of non-embedded non-finite clauses do exist. Since the very large majority of non-final clauses are neither clearly embedded nor clearly non-embedded, however, they are not easy to classify as either converbs (adverbial clauses) or medial clauses in a clause chain according to Haspelmath's definition.[112] Bickel (1998) has suggested that this type of verb form (i.e. non-finite verb forms that conflate adverbial and chaining functions) be recognized as a specifically Asian type of converb (as distinct from European converbs, which typically function as adverbial modifiers only). Genetti (2005) proposes a revised cross-linguistic definition of converbs that does not require a converb to be subordinate to

[112] Haspelmath does note that medial verbs in a clause chain (like the one in (99)) may be non-prototypical cases of converbs—but still converbs nonetheless (1995:8).

the main clause, thus including "Asian converbs". Genetti's five criteria for defining a converb are:

i) converbial clauses are neither arguments nor attributes
ii) they are marked by non-finite verbal affixation
iii) they are morphologically and distributionally dependent
iv) they may be syndetic and semantically narrow or asyndetic with a range of semantic interpretations
v) they vary in length with the possibility of chains (2005:81).

Non-finite verbs in Bao'an Tu are a good example of what Bickel (1998) calls the "Asian converb" (i.e. they are non-finite verb forms that conflate adverbial and chaining functions). They would also be included in the expanded definition of converb proposed by Genetti (2005): i) Bao'an Tu non-finite clauses are neither arguments nor attributes of the main clause, ii) their verbal affixation is non-finite (discussed in §3.2.1.2, §5.1.1, as well as in this chapter), iii) they are dependent (again, discussed in §3.2.1.2, §5.1.1, as well as in this chapter), iv) the non-finite suffixes *-sa* 'COND' (conditional), *-la* 'PURP' (purposive), *-sada* 'CONC' (concessive), and *-tɕəte* 'REASON' are syndetic (i.e. indicate the semantic interpropositional relationship between the non-finite and finite clause–see §5.1.1 as well as §6.3.2, §6.3.3, §6.3.4, and §6.3.5 for discussion of the functions of these suffixes), while the coordinative suffix *-tɕə* 'IMPF' has a wide range of functions and is dependent on context and pragmatic considerations for the interpretation of its interpropositional relationship to the main clause (see §5.1.1 and §6.3.1 for discussion and examples), and v) non-final Bao'an Tu clauses may vary in length with regard to chaining, as is demonstrated in the texts contained in the appendix.

A word on verb serialization is in order at this point. Slater (2003a) provides a useful summary of the various constructions different authors have in mind when they

use the term serial verb and boils the consensus down to a syntactic criterion and a semantic criterion: the syntactic criterion is that a verb occurs without any morphology or other syntactic indicator of the relationship between it and another verb, while the semantic criterion is that the predications of serialized verbs be viewed as two parts of one single event or state.[113] From a semantic point of view, it makes sense to think of (100) as an instance of verb serialization.

100) *ərhte* *nər=nə* *sauma-tɕə* *waχa-tɕə*
morning face=ACC ceremonially.clean-IMPF wash-PERF
'In the morning (they) wash their faces, making them ceremonially clean.'
(*or* 'In the morning (they) wash their faces clean.')
(Læru Dancing 106)

This sentence does not meet the syntactic criteria stated above, however, because *sauma* has the imperfective non-finite suffix *-tɕə*. The only time Bao'an verbs occur without any morphology to indicate their relationship with a following verb is in auxiliary verb constructions, discussed in §5.1.4. Sentence (73) from that section is repeated here as (101).

101) *dzo̱ma* *o=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *pə* *kela* ***su-tɕi***
Droma go=IMPF.NMLZ time 1SG sleep stay-IMPF.SUBJ
'I was sleeping when Droma left.'
(Caiguoji)

In this case, since the final verb is not a lexical verb, it does not predicate a second state or event that is to be viewed together with the preceding bare verb as one whole state or event. Rather, these auxiliary verbs convey temporal, aspectual, or modal information, and therefore do not meet the semantic criterion for serial verb constructions. This lack of verb serialization in Bao'an is expected based on Bisang's findings that serial verbs

[113] Slater's discussion is based on Durie (1997), Foley & Olson (1985), Foley & Van Valin (1984), Li & Thompson (1981), and DeLancey (1991).

and converbs cover "roughly the same functional area" (1995:171-2), and that a low degree of indeterminateness (i.e. non-obligatory marking of agreement, TAM, participation, etc., on verbs) that allows for the development of asymmetry in finite and non-finite verb forms leads to the development of converb constructions rather than robust systems of verb serialization (1995:176).

6.3.1 Coordinative *-tɕə*

The non-finite suffix *-tɕə* serves to coordinate predications and indicates imperfective aspect. It most commonly coordinates two clauses with a sequential temporal relationship, as in (102).

102) *dʐənba gaga ai ɲaŋmo pətəʁula tʂʰəlgondola=nə tʰəndə*
Drenba uncle aunt Njangmo 1PAU.EXCL Chelgondola=ACC there

*o-**tɕə** tɕʰa tɕəl-**tɕə** atsʰoŋ=nə lola-tɕə*
go-IMPF tea prepare-IMPF animal=ACC round.up-PERF
'Uncle Drenba, Auntie Njangmo, (and I) we few went over there to Chelgondola, made tea, and rounded up the animals.'

(Skirmish 30)

103) *dortɕə wor-**tɕə** htoŋ=nə waχa-**tɕə** tɕʰa u-**tɕə***
Dorje wake.up-IMPF tooth=ACC wash-IMPF tea drink-IMPF

łoptɕa=da o-tɕo
school=LOC go-IMPF.OBJ
'Dorje woke up, brushed his teeth, ate breakfast, and went to school.'

(Caiguoji)

Coordinative -*tɕə* is also used to coordinate clauses with a simultaneous temporal relationship.

104) *ula=da* *kʰeχue-kə-**tɕə*** *tɕəkələm=nə* *kʰəl*
mountain=LOC hold.a.meeting-VBZ-IMPF rule=ACC say

kʰər-na
be.required-DUR
'On the mountain, a meeting is held and rules are stated.'
(Ləru Dancing 36)

105) *kʰontʰarhtɕə* *tʰəmtʰoχ* *u-**tɕə*** *tɕaɕi* *maʁa* *de-tɕo*
Kuantaiji mianpian drink-IMPF Jiashi meat eat-IMPF.OBJ
'Kuantaiji ate mianpian noodles, and Jiashi ate meat.'
(Caiguoji)

In some of these instances of simultaneous coordination (e.g. (106) and (107) below), it is plausible that –*tɕə* is serving the function of a converb; that is, that the non-final clause in which it occurs is adverbial, but this is difficult to demonstrate on syntactic grounds.

106) *de* *χani=la* *jaksa-**tɕə*** *natʰə* *kʰər-na*
now all=PL pretty-IMPF dance be.required-DUR
'Now, everyone is pretty and should dance.'
or 'Now, everyone should dance prettily.'
(Ləru Dancing 44)

107) *da* *deda=gə=da* *hko* *natʰoŋ* *kʰər-**tɕə***
also grandfather=SG.INDEF=LOC big festival be.required-IMPF

saga-tɕə *ər-tɕə* *da*
choose-IMPF come-PERF also
'And a grandfather wanted a big festival and chose (it), and...'
or 'And a grandfather, wanting a big festival, chose (it), and...'
(Dzə̨kələru 144)

The comparative construction takes the form of a non-finite clause containing the verb *utɕə* 'to look/compare' with the coordinative suffix *-tɕə* affixed. The object of comparison (or comparee) is the subject of this clause, while the standard is the direct object of the clause and obligatorily takes the accusative enclitic *=nə.* The predicative scale follows the non-finite clause of comparison.[114]

108) *fulaŋ* *mehtoχ* *tɕʰəχaŋ* *mehtoχ=nə* ***utɕə-tɕə*** *jaksa* *wa*
red flower white flower=ACC compare-IMPF pretty COP_1.OBJ
COMPAREE STANDARD PREDICATIVE SCALE
'The red flower is prettier than the white flower.'
(Caiguoji)

109) *pə* *dortɕə=nə* ***utɕə-tɕə*** *hko* *wi*
1SG Dorje=ACC compare-IMPF big COP_1.SUBJ
'I am older than Dorje.'
(Caiguoji)

Alternatively, the standard may appear alone in the non-finite clause with *utɕə* as its verb (still hosting the accusative enclitic *=nə*), while the comparee forms its own non-finite clause marked with the non-finite conditional enclitic *=sa*. The predicative scale is predicated in the finite clause. This appears to be the preferred strategy for constructing comparisons when the comparee and the standard are clausal in their own right.

[114] The terms used here for discussing comparative constructions are from Stassen (2008).

110) *ʁoni=nə* *sort^{h}i-saŋ=nə* *utɕə-tɕə*
sheep=ACC sacrifice.an.animal-IMPF.NMLZ=ACC compare-IMPF
STANDARD

k^{h}amər *jiχ-sa* *ʂa-tɕi-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle hit-COND good-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
COMPAREE PREDICATIVE SCALE
'Compared to sacrificing sheep, doing kamer is better.'

(Ləru Dancing 99)

Coordinative *–tɕə* is also affixed to the lexical verbs in clauses containing the auxiliary verbs *ke* and *ər*.

111) *ən-kə-tɕə* *rəlaŋ=la=nə* *nerə=nə* *χa-**tɕə*** *ke-tɕə-saŋ*
this-VBZ-IMPF army.officer=PL=ACC name=ACC name-IMPF put-IMPF-POS
'In this way, the army officers' names came to be named.'

(Dzə̨kələru 34)

112) *da* *dedə=gə=da* *hko* *nat^{h}oŋ* *k^{h}ərə-tɕə*
also grandfather= SG.INDEF =LOC big festival be.required-IMPF

*sagə-**tɕə*** *ər-tɕə*
choose-IMPF come-PERF
'And a grandfather wanted a big festival and chose (that).'

(Dzə̨kələru 144)

6.3.2 Conditional *-sa*

The main function of the non-finite suffix *-sa* is to indicate a condition upon which the predication of the finite clause can or will take place. It is also used to indicate irrealis predicates (including the desideratum of the verb *siχde* 'hope' and the adjectives *ʂakə* 'good' and *pare* 'great'), to introduce topics, and to mark predicates containing the auxiliary verb *təke* 'permit'. the following sentences demonstrate the first of these functions.

113) *pə* *o-**sa*** *kʰətʰə* *o-tɕə* *tɕiatʂaŋ=da* *kʰəl-tɕə*
1SG go-COND home.LOC go-IMPF head.of.household=LOC say-PERF
'If I was going to go, I was to go home and talk to my parents.'
(Disappointment 6)

114) *ula=da* *tʰa-**sa*** *sauma* *wi-saŋ*
mountain=LOC sleep-COND ceremonially.clean COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'If they sleep on the mountain, they are ceremonially clean.'
(Ləru Dancing 105)

Another related function of *-sa* is to indicate an irrealis predication. In (115), for example, the stress is not so much on the fact that the 'saying' in the finite clause is conditional upon the 'wanting'. Rather, the suffix *-sa* emphasizes the irrealis nature of the 'wanting', which will happen in the future. In (116), the predication 'raising dogs' is part of a general statement—not a specific, actual event.

115) *tsʰəm=da* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl=ku* *taraŋ* *ər-**sa*** *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-sa*
heart=LOC what say=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-COND what say-COND

tʰəke-saŋ
permit-POS
'(you) can say whatever you want to say.'
(*lit.* 'If the desire to say what$_i$ comes to (your) heart, (you) can say what$_i$.')
(Ləru Dancing 4)

116) *talo* *naŋda* *noʁi* *doχ-kə-**sa*** *hkamo* *wa*
tall.building in dog raise-VBZ-COND difficult COP_1.OBJ
'Keeping dogs in an (apartment) building is difficult.'
(*lit.* 'If (one) raises dogs in an apartment, (it) is difficult.')
(Caiguoji)

The irrealis use of *-sa* along with the verb *siχde* 'hope' or the property terms *ʂakə* 'good' or *pare* 'great' is used to indicate a hope or desire for the future.

117) *pə* *ʨaʐə* *hko* *ol-sa* *maba=gə* *ol-ʁa-**sa***
1SG child big become-COND doctor=SG.INDEF become-CAUS-COND

siχde-tʨo
hope-IMPF.OBJ
'I hope (my) child grows up and becomes a doctor.'
(*lit.* 'If my child becomes big, if (he) becomes a doctor, I hope (it).')
(Caiguoji)

118) *məχʨə* *orə-sa* *ʂakə*
tomorrow rain-COND good
'It would be good if it rained tomorrow.'
(Caiguoji)

119) *məχʨə* *orə-sa* *pare*
tomorrow rain-COND great
'It would be great if it rained tomorrow.'
(Caiguoji)

It is interesting to note that in all of the examples in my data with first person subjects of *siχde* 'hope', objective speaker perspective is indicated by the finite verbal morphology (if speaker perspective is indicated). First person subjects of declarative sentences typically require the use of subjective speaker perspective, so this is a further indication that subjects of *siχde* are non-volitional experiencers rather than volitional agents (see the discussion of speaker perspective and speaker involvement in §5.1.3). The non-volitional nature of subjects of *siχde* is alluded to in the discussion of the difference between the irrealis use of *-sa* with the verb *siχde* and the want construction composed of a nominal complement modifying the noun *taraŋ* 'desire' in §6.1.3.2. The construction involving *-sa* indicates that the experiencer has less ability to effect the desired outcome; this difference is highlighted by the pair of sentences below.

120) *pə* *hko* *ol-sa* *maba=gə* *htɕər=ku* *taraŋ*
1SG big become-COND doctor=SG.INDEF do=IMPF.NMLZ desire

ər-tɕo
come-IMPF.OBJ
'I want to become a doctor when I grow up.'
(*or* 'I will become a doctor when I grow up.')

(Caiguoji)

121) *pə* *hko* *ol-sa* *maba=gə* *htɕər-sa* *siχde-tɕo*
1SG big become-COND doctor=SG.INDEF do-COND hope-IMPF.OBJ
'I hope to become a doctor when I grow up.'
(*or* 'I hope I am able to become a doctor when I grow up.')

(Caiguoji)

As was mentioned in §5.7, a copula inflected with conditional *-sa* is used along with the topic marker *ma* as one strategy for topic marking a referring expression.

122) *mannə* *ɲənt^{h}oχ* *ma* ***ji-sa*** *gomə* *relaŋ* *∅*
1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN Nianduhu TOP COP_2.SUBJ-COND Gome army.officer COP_2
'As for our Nianduhu village, (it's) "Officer Gome".'

(Dzə̨kələru 30)

123) *gasər* *ma* ***wi-sa*** *want^{h}əndzoçə* *relaŋ* *ge-ko* [115]
Gaser TOP COP_1.SUBJ-COND Wantenzohe army.officer call-VBZ.PAST
'As for Gaser village, (they) called (him) "Officer Wantenzohe".'

(Dzə̨kələru 33)

Recall from §5.1.4 that conditional *-sa* is also affixed to verbs followed by the auxiliary verb *t^{h}əke*.

124) ***de-sa*** *t^{h}əke-saŋ*
eat-COND permit-POS
'(you) can eat (it).'

(How to Make Bread 15)

[115] This suffix does not show up elsewhere in my data. I surmise that it is a contraction of the verbalizer *–kə* and the objective copula *wo*, used here as an auxiliary verb indicating past tense.

125) *tɕʰə* *silaŋ=da* *o-sa* *pətənə* *kʰətʰə* ***su-sa***
2SG Xining=LOC go-COND 1PL.EXCL.COLL.GEN house.LOC stay-COND

tʰəke-saŋ
permit-POS
'If you go to Xining, you can stay at our house.'

(Caiguoji)

6.3.3 Purposive *-la*

Purposive *-la* is used exclusively to mark purpose clauses (i.e. clauses that predicate a goal or desired outcome), and is not as frequently used as the imperfective or conditional non-finite verbal suffixes.[116]

126) *lakʰa* *teraŋ* *də* *manda* ***natʰə-la***
Nianduhulaka four day 1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC dance-PURP

ər-tɕi-saŋ
come-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'Nianduhu Laka village comes to dance for us for four days.'

(Læru Dancing 93)

127) *maŋgə* *da* *ɲəntoχlakʰa=da* ***natʰə-la*** *o* *kʰər-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL also Nianduhu.Laka=LOC dance-PURP go be.required-POS
'So we also have to go to dance for Nianduhu Laka.'

(Læru Dancing 94)

[116] Some of the strategies for forming reason clauses discussed in §6.1.3 might also be characterized as another way of encoding the 'purpose' relationship between predications.

6.3.4 Concessive *–sada*

Concessive *–sada* is even less frequently used. It is used in clauses predicating a concession to the predication of the finite clause in the sentence.

128) *morhtɕə=da* *meχse* *lərse* *tʰər* *wi-**sada***
other=LOC soldier.dance water.god.dance that COP$_1$.SUBJ-CONC

ənt^{h}ongə *tɕap* *kina*
this.type large.scale NEG. COP$_1$.OBJ
'...although other (festivals) have those soldier dances and water god dances, they are not on this large a scale.'

(Dzə̨kələru 21)

129) *naroŋ* *wi-**sada*** *pə* *taroŋ* *tarə-na*
sun COP$_1$.SUBJ-CONC 1SG still cold-DUR
'Although the sun is out, I still feel cold.'

(Caiguoji)

6.3.5 Reason *–**tɕəte***

Non-finite verbs with the suffix *-**tɕəte*** predicate the reason (i.e. a pre-existing condition or cause)[117] for the predication of the finite clause to happen.[118]

130) *nudə* *pə* *ɕikə* *olər-**tɕəte*** *pə* *ŋasi* *u-to*
today 1SG very hungry-REASON 1SG early drink-PERF
'Because I was very hungry today, I ate early.'

(Caiguoji)

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[117] See §6.1.3 for another strategy for encoding 'reason' clauses.

[118] Although *-**tɕəte*** is clearly a suffix and patterns with the other non-finite verbal suffixes in these contexts, there are two other instances in my data where a homophonous form occurs as a phonologically independent word at the end of what appears to be a finite clause with no finite verb and no verbal morphology (much like the borrowed property term *ʂakə*, discussed in §4.3.3). It is unclear whether this is a separate morpheme and what its status is.

131) *pə* *silaŋ=da* *o-saŋ* *dzə̨msan* *nohkor=nə* *ʁali-ku* ***tɕəte***
1SG Xining=LOC go-PERF.NMLZ reason friend=ACC see-IMPF.NMLZ REASON
'The reason I went to Xining was to see a friend.'

(Caiguoji)

132) *atɕaŋ* *rakə* ***u-tɕətɛ*** *əphtə-saŋ*
3SG alcohol drink-REASON be.sick-POS
'Because he drank alcohol, he got sick.'

(Caiguoji)

6.4 Coordination of Independent Clauses

6.4.1 Coordinative use of *da* 'also'

Coordination of events or states is most often accomplished through the use of a series of non-finite clauses followed by one finite clause. There are, however, a few instances in my data in which a verb with finite morphology is followed by the particle *da* 'also'.[119] It appears that *da* functions in these instances as a coordinating conjunction between two sentences. In the passage below, the uses of *da* in this coordinating function are in bold face.

133) *χorən-teraŋ=nə* *udər=da* *sowo* *wo*[120]
twenty-four=ACC day=LOC importance COP_1.OBJ
'The 24th (of the sixth lunar month) has the most importance.'

(Dzə̨kələru 160)

134) *hko=nə* *udər=da* *t^{h}ər* *wo* ***da***
big=ACC day=LOC that COP_1.OBJ also
'The big day is that one, and'

(Dzə̨kələru 161)

135) *dewa* *t^{h}ər=nə* *udər=da* *k^{h}ats^{h}aŋ* *tsoχkə* *k^{h}ər-ts^{h}oŋ*[121] ***da***
village that=ACC day=LOC complete gather be.required-POS also
'The village must all gather on that day, so'

(Dzə̨kələru 162)

[119] See section 5.6.4 for a discussion of the full range of uses of *da*.
[120] *wo* is a dialectal (GS) variant of *wa*.
[121] *-ts^{h}oŋ* is a dialectal (GS) variant of *–saŋ*.

136) *hko* *nat^{h}oŋ* *wo*
big festival COP$_1$.OBJ
'There is a big festival.'

(Dzə̨kələru 163)

6.4.2 Juxtaposition of Verba Dicendi and Quotative Content

As was briefly mentioned in §6.2, there are many cases in my data in which a finite clause containing the verb *k^{h}əl* 'say' is immediately followed by either a direct or indirect quote (also with finite verbal morphology). There is not necessarily a syntactic link between the two, but this juxtaposition of two independent clauses can be considered a complementation strategy based on the semantic link. The following portions of text give examples of this strategy.

137) a. *t^{h}əŋgə* *dondi=ku-tɕə* *dei* *atɕaŋ* ***k^{h}əl-to***
that sit=IMPF.NMLZ-IMPF now 3SG say-PERF
'So once I was sitting, he spoke.'

b. *ɕoŋgə* *tɕ^{h}ə* *ba*
originally 2SG COP$_2$.OBJ
'"Originally (it) was you.'

c. *taŋwo* *tɕ^{h}ə* *ba*
first 2SG COP$_2$.OBJ
'First place was you.'
(*the quoted content of this speech continues for nine more clauses...)*

(Disappointment 72-74)

138) a. orhtənəmorhtə ***kʰəl-tɕə***
often say-PERF
'(they) often said.'

b. *ɲakʰaŋ naŋda o-tɕə*
dormitory in go-IMPF
'"When you go to the dormitory,'

c. *hloma=la=da dzo̱gə kʰər-saŋ*
student=PL=LOC be.harmonious be.required-POS
'...you should be harmonious toward the students."'

(Parents' Instructions 18-19)

6.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented strategies for clause combining in Bao'an Tu. The nominalizers *=ku* and *-saŋ* are used to form a variety of types of nominalized clauses, all of which are both dependent and embedded. Quotative complements of verba dicendi have likewise been shown to be embedded and dependent. Non-final clauses are dependent, but likely not embedded. Finally, independent clauses are neither dependent nor embedded. Table 6.2 summarizes these facts.

Table 6.2. Summary of Bao'an Tu clause combining strategies

Clause type	Morphological/syntactic characteristics	Status vis-à-vis dependence and embedding
nominalized clauses (§6.1):	marked with *=ku* and *-saŋ*	dependent and embedded
quotative complements (§6.2):	typically marked with *=tɕi/=tɕo* or *=tɕə*	dependent and embedded
non-final clauses (§6.3):	marked with non-finite verbal morphology	dependent, not likely embedded
coordinated independent clauses (§6.4):	take finite verbal morphology	neither embedded nor dependent

Appendix: Three Bao'an Tu Texts

Text 1: How to Make Bread

1) *guda* *tɕirdzi* *naŋda* *sə* *tɕəmaŋgə* *golər* *tɕəmaŋgə*
before large.bowl in water little flour little

kʰi-tɕə *htɕərgə-tɕə*
pour-IMPF stir-PERF
'First, pour a little water and a little flour in a large bowl and stir (it).'

2) *atɕaŋnə* *htɕirlaŋgə-ʁa* *kʰər-saŋ*
3SG.ACC ferment-CAUS be.required-POS
'It has to be allowed to ferment.'

3) *tʰə=sa* *χar-tɕə* *sə=tɕə* *golər=nə* *oloŋ* *da* *tʰi-tɕə*
that=ABL arrive-IMPF water=and flour=ACC many also add-IMPF

atɕaŋnə *htɕərgə-tɕə*
3SG.ACC stir-PERF
'From there, add more water and flour and stir it.'

4) *pʰi=də* *χoluŋ=da* *ke=ku*
kang=LOC hot=DAT put=IMPF.NMLZ
'Putting it on a *kang* [122] for the heat--'

5) *jaŋməla* *naroŋ=da* *ke-tɕə*
alternatively sun=LOC put-PERF
'or (you) can also put (it) in the sun.'

6) *naŋda* *soda=tɕə* *tɕəmen* *dabgə-tɕə*
in baking.soda=and baking.powder sprinkle-PERF
'Sprinkle in baking soda and baking powder.'

7) *htɕirlaŋgə-ʁa* *kʰər-saŋ*
ferment-CAUS be.required-POS
'(It) has to be allowed to ferment.'

[122] A *kang* is a heated platform used both as a sleeping space and as a place to entertain guests, particularly in cold weather.

8) *htɕirlaŋgə* *war-tɕə* *lambaŋ=də* *golər=nə* *tɕira*
ferment finish-IMPF wooden.board=LOC flour=ACC knead

kʰər-saŋ
be.required-POS
'After it has finished fermenting (rising), knead the dough on a wooden board.'

9) *tʰəsanə* *tʰaroχ=də* *o-tɕə* *lokə=nə* *gargə-ʁa-tɕə*
next oven=LOC go-IMPF bread.pan=ACC hot-CAUS-IMPF
'Next, (you) go to the oven and heat up the bread pans.'

10) *golər=nə* *ləpləp* *tɕər-tɕe*
flour=ACC flat do-PERF
'Flatten out the dough.'

11) *lokə* *naŋda* *ke* *kʰər-saŋ*
bread.pan in put be.required-POS
'(You) need to put (it) in bread pans.'

12) *tʰəsanə* *lokə* *kʰada* *epsu=tɕə* *χəmdu=nə* *htar-ʁa-tɕə*
next bread.pan on grass=and leaves=ACC burn-CAUS-PERF
'Next, burn grass and leaves on top of the pans.'

13) *htema=nə* *bol-ʁa* *kʰər-saŋ*
bread=ACC be.done-CAUS be.required-POS
'The bread has to be done.'

14) *bol* *war-tɕə* *tɕəmaŋgə* *kʰitʰər-ʁa-tɕə*
be.done finish-IMPF little cool-CAUS-PERF
'When (it) is done, let (it) cool a little.'

15) *de-sa* *tʰəke-saŋ*
eat-COND permit-POS
'(you) can eat (it).'

Text 2: Parents' Instructions

1) *papa* *ana=nə* *kʰapda* *tʰopsu*
father mother=ACC chat instruction
'Parents' Instructions'

2) *pitəʁaŋ* *ti=da* *dewa* *naŋda*
small time=LOC village in
'When (I was) young in the village...'

3) *ɬoptɕa=da* *oχ=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ*
school=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ time
'When I went to school'

4) *papa* *ana=ʁala* *ɬoptɕa* *naŋda* *o-tɕə*
father mother=DU school in go-IMPF
'(my) father and mother (exhorted me), "when you go to school,'

5) *ɬoptɕoŋ* *çorigə*
studies make.effort
'study hard'

6) *ɬoptɕo=la=da* *tʰəkə* *kʰəl-də*
classmate=PL=LOC NEG.IMP say-IMP
'Don't argue with (your) classmates.'

7) *gərgən=da* *sokərgə*
teacher=LOC respect
'Respect the teachers",'

8) *tʰəŋgətɕə* *orhtanəmorhta* *kʰapda-kə-tɕə*
in.that.way often instruction-VBZ-PERF
'(They) often instructed (me) in that way.'

9) *tʰəsanə* *χar-tɕə* *roŋ=da* *łoptɕa=da* *o=ku*
next arrive-IMPF prefecture.town=LOC school=ACC go=IMPF.NMLZ

tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ
time
'Then, when I went to school in town'

10) *jaŋ* *papa* *ana=ʁala* *ɲakʰaŋ* *naŋda* *łoma=la=da*
again father mother=DU dormitory in student=PL=LOC

dʐogə-tɕe
be.harmonious-PERF
'(My) father and mother again (instructed me), "get along with the students in the dorm.'

11) *łokaŋ* *naŋda* *o-sa* *łoma=la=da* *dʐogə-tɕə*
classroom in go-COND student=PL=LOC be.harmonious-PERF
'when you're in the classroom, get along with the students.'

12) *gərgən=da* *ɕikə* *sokərgə-tɕə*
teacher=LOC very respect-PERF
'Be very respectful toward the teachers.'

13) *łoptɕoŋ=da* *çorigə*
studies=LOC make.effort
'Study hard".'

14) *tʰəŋgətɕə* *mənda* *kapdagə-tɕə*
like.that 1SG.ACC instruct-PERF
'In that way (they) instructed (me).'

15) *tʰəsanə* *χar-tɕə* *kodʐoŋ* *naŋda* *o=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ*
next arrive-IMPF high.school in go=IMPF.NMLZ time
'Then, when I went to high school,'

16) *jaŋ* *papa* *ana=ʁala* *guda* *kʰəl-saŋ* *sanə*
again father mother=DU before speak-PERF.NMLZ besides
'Again, (my) father and mother, in addition to what (they) said before,'

17) *łoχaŋ=gə* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-tɕə-sa* *hko* *łoptɕa* *naŋda*
extra=SG.INDEF what speak-IMPF-COND big school in

ətɕiχ *tɕʰokgə* *kʰər=ku=nə*
test pass be.required=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC
'(they) said another thing. "(you) want to test into a university",'

18) orhtənəmorhtə *kʰəl-tɕə* *ɲakʰaŋ* *naŋda* *o-tɕə*
often say-PERF dormitory in go-IMPF
'(they) often said. "When you go to the dormitory,'

19) *hloma=la=da* *dzo̱gə* *kʰər-saŋ*
student=PL=LOC be.harmonious be.required-POS
'...you should be harmonious toward the students.'

20) *łokaŋ* *naŋda* *da* *o-tɕə* *łoma=la=da* *dzo̱gə=tɕə*
classroom in also go-IMPF student=PL=LOC be.harmonious=QUOT.IMPF
'When (you) go into the classroom, too, be harmonious with the students...'

21) *gərgən=da* *ɕikə* *sokərgə* *kʰər-saŋ=tɕə* *kʰəl-tɕə*
teacher=LOC very respect be.required-POS=QUOT.IMPF speak-PERF
'(you) should be very respectful toward the teachers", (they) said.'

22) *łoptɕa* *hko* *naŋda* *jindamənda* *ətɕiχ* *tɕʰoχgə*
school big in definitely test pass

kʰər-saŋ=tɕə *kʰəl-tɕə*
be.required-POS=QUOT.IMPF speak-PERF
'"(You) definitely want to test into university", they said.'

23) *dzo̱iχ* *tɕʰoχgə* *war-tɕə* *jaŋ* *papa* *anə=ʁala* *łoptɕa* *naŋda*
test pass hold-IMPF again father mother=DU school in

o-tɕə *mərku=tɕə* *deku=nə* *łoma=la=da* *tʰəkə* *tɕarnagə=tɕə*
go-IMPF clothing=and food=ACC student=PL=LOC forbid compare=QUOT.IMPF
'Once (I) passed the test, again (my) mother and father (said), "when you go to school, don't compare (your) food and clothing to (other) students"...'

24) *tɕʰənda mərku jaχsa əsə mər-tɕə=tɕə deku amtʰə əsə*
2SG.LOC clothing pretty NEG wear-IMPF=QUOT food delicious NEG

de-tɕə=tɕə kʰəl-saŋ çəwa
eat-IMPF=QUOT say-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'(they) will not say that your clothing isn't pretty to wear or that your food isn't delicious to eat.'

25) *łoptɕoŋ=da çorigə kʰər-saŋ*
studies=LOC make.effort be.required-POS
'(you) should study hard.'

26) *əsə çorigə-sa χena kʰətə ər-sa orhtɕə dzi̯χ*
NEG make.effort-COND afterward home.LOC come-COND again test

pʰakʰə kʰər-saŋ
take.a.test be.required-POS
'If you don't (study) hard, when you come home you'll have to take the test again.'

27) *ətɕiχ pakʰə-tɕə əsə tɕʰokgə-sa tsʰəmtɕʰən=nə tɕəp=sa*
test take-IMPF NEG pass-COND everyone=ACC togetherness=ABL

htɕor-də-ʁa
be.left.out-IMP-CAUS
'If (you) take the test and don't pass, (you) out of everyone else will be left behind.'

28) *htɕor-sa ŋorisa bi-saŋ*
be.left.out-COND shame COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'If (you) are left behind, (you) will be shamed".'

29) *tʰəŋgətɕə kʰapda-kə-tɕə*
in.that.way instruction-VBZ-PERF
'In that way they instructed (me).'

Text 3: Ləru Dancing

1) A: *jaŋgə* *kʰəl* *kʰər-saŋ*
what speak be.required-POS
'What should (I) say?'

2) *kʰəl* *əsə* *me-sa* *mə-ʂakə* *ba*
say NEG know-COND NEG-good COP_2.OBJ
'I don't know how to speak (/what to say); it's not good!'

3) B: *pʰa* *wi-saŋ* *ço*
problem COP_1.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'There is no problem.'

4) *tsʰəm=da* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl=ku* *taraŋ* *ər-sa* *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-sa*
heart=LOC what say=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-COND what say-COND

tʰəke-saŋ
permit-POS
'(you) can say whatever you want to say.'

5) A: *χeɕaŋ* *natʰə-sa* *jaŋgə=da* *ʂatɕi=ku=nə* *kʰəl*
Leru dance-COND what=LOC benefit=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC say

kʰər-saŋ-u
be.required-POS-Q
'Should (I) tell what benefits derive from dancing Leru?'

6) B: *mərku=nə* *jaŋgətɕə* *mər* *kər-si* *natʰə* *kʰər-si*
clothing=ACC how wear be.required-Q dance be.required-Q

tʰə=la=nə *kʰəl* *kʰər-saŋ*
that=PL=ACC speak be.required-POS
'How to dress? How to dance? (You) should tell about those.'

7) *tɕʰə* *kʰəl-saŋ* *atɕaŋ* *mannə* *kʰatɕə=nə*
2SG speak-PERF.NMLZ 3SG 1PL.INCL.COLL.GEN language=ACC

jinjəχ=da *zoχ-kə* *kʰər-saŋ*
English=LOC translate-VBZ be.required-POS
'He wants to translate what you say from our language into English.'

8) A: *χeɕaŋ* *jaŋgətɕə* *natʰə* *kʰər-si*
Leru how dance be.required-Q
'How should (one) dance Leru?'

9) *lo* *jaŋgətɕə* *jiχ* *kʰər-si*
gong how hit be.required-Q
'How should (one) hit the gong?'

10) *tʰə=la* *χani=nə* *kʰəl* *kʰər-saŋ* *ba-u*
that=PL all=ACC say be.required-PERF.NMLZ COP_2.OBJ-Q
'Those (things), should I tell about (them) all?'

11) *səme* *jama* *jaŋgətɕə* *o-tɕə-si* *tʰe=la=da=nə* *kʰəl*
god.box thing how go-IMPF-Q that=PL=LOC=ACC speak

kʰər-saŋ *ba-u*
be.required-POS COP_2.OBJ-Q
'How do the god boxes, etc., go? Should (I) tell about all that?'

12) *kʰəl-saŋ* *gi=ku=ʁala* *kamuŋ=gə*
say-PERF.NMLZ NEG. COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ=INST difficult= SG.INDEF

wa *jo*
COP_1.OBJ NEG.EMPH
'It is difficult since (I) haven't talked about (this before).'

13) *ənə=nə* *amaŋ=da* *war* *kʰər-saŋ* *ba-u*
this=ACC mouth=LOC hold be.required-PERF.NMLZ COP_2.OBJ-Q
'Should (I) hold this up to (my) mouth?'

14) B: *amaŋ=da* *war* *kʰər-saŋ* *ço*
mouth=LOC hold.up be.required-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'(you) don't have to hold it up to (your) mouth.'

15) *tʰəŋgətɕə ke-sa tɕʰənda tɕəχəg wa*
in.that.way put-COND 2SG.LOC convenient COP_1.OBJ
'Putting it that way is (more) convenient for you.'

16) A: *χeɕaŋ=nə jaŋgətɕə na-si=nə jaŋgətɕə kʰəl kʰər-saŋ*
Ləru=ACC how dance-Q=ACC how speak be.required-POS
'How should I tell how Ləru is danced?'

17) B: *tɕʰə koʑə jaŋgətɕə na-si*
2SG self how dance-Q
'How do you yourself dance?'

18) *lo kʰitʰoŋ sanə natʰə-saŋ tʰə=la=nə kʰəl*
age how.many besides dance-PERF.NMLZ that=PL=ACC speak
'How old you had to be to dance, tell about all that.'

19) *tɕʰə koʑə jaŋgətɕə tsʰər-si jaŋgətɕə natʰə-sa*
2SG self how learn-Q how dance-COND

jaksa wa
pretty COP_1.OBJ
'How did you yourself learn? How do (you) dance so that (it) looks nice?'

20) *tʰə=la=nə kʰəl-də*
that=PL=ACC speak-IMP
'Tell about those.'

21) *tɕʰə əji kʰər-saŋ ço*
2SG fear be.required-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'You don't have to be afraid.'

22) *jaŋ-kə-tɕə kʰəl=ku taraŋ ər-sa*
what-VBZ-IMPF say=IMPF.NMLZ desire come-COND
'Whatever comes to mind to say...'

23) *jaŋ-kə-tɕə* *kʰəl-də* *tʰəke-saŋ*
what-VBZ-IMPF say-IMP permit-POS
'...you can say that.'

24) A: *jaŋgə* *kʰəl-sa* *tʰəke-na* *pe*
what speak-COND permit-DUR EMPH
'(I) can say whatever, right?'

25) *χeɕaŋ* *natʰə=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *ɲəmsaŋ* *ər-ʁa*
Ləru dance=IMPF.NMLZ time posture come-CAUS

kʰər-na
be.required-DUR
'(One) should achieve (a certain) posture when dancing Ləru.'

26) *mərku=nə* *tɕadəχ* *mər* *kʰər-na*
clothing=ACC clean wear be.required-DUR
'Clean clothing should be worn.'

27) *ɕemə=nə* *jaksa-tɕə* *tɕo* *kʰər-na*
hat=ACC pretty-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
'The hats, (everyone) should wear (them) looking nice.'

28) *tʰorun=da* *tɕala* *χal* *kʰər-na*
head=LOC false.braid wear be.required-DUR
'(Everyone) should wear a false braid on (one's) head.'

29) *kutɕoŋ=da* *se* *χal* *kʰər-na*
neck=LOC sash wear be.required-DUR
'(One) should wear a sash on (one's) neck.'

30) *kʰoldaku* *tɕʰaɲum-kə-tɕə* *mər* *kʰər-na*
shoes collective-VBZ-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
'(everyone) should, acting collectively, wear shoes.'
(i.e. 'Everyone should wear the same type of shoes.')

31) *wadzə=nə* *χani=la* *tɕʰaɲum-kə-tɕə* *mər* *kʰər-na*
sock=ACC all=PL collective-VBZ-IMPF wear be.required-DUR
'As for socks, everyone should wear the same (kind).'

32) *əsə tɕʰaŋum-kə-sa naptə ələ o-də-na*
NEG collective-VBZ-COND OK NEG go-IMP-DUR
'(Things) will not go well if (everyone) doesn't act together.'

33) *əmdu χani kʰəgo mər kʰər-na*
pants all blue wear be.required-DUR
'(Everyone) should wear blue pants.'

34) *ula=da o=ku tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ disot tar-tɕə kʰur*
mountain=LOC go=IMPF.NMLZ time clock keep-IMPF arrive

kʰər-na
be.required-DUR
'When (we/you/they...) go to the mountain, (everyone) should arrive on time.'

35) *səme=la=nə ula=da dabla-tɕə o kʰər-na*
god.box=PL=ACC mountain=LOC raise-IMPF go be.required-DUR
'(we) must carry the god boxes to the mountain.'

36) *ula=da kʰeχue-kə-tɕə tɕəkələm=nə kʰəl kʰər-na*
mountain=LOC hold.meeting-VBZ-IMPF rule=ACC say be.required-DUR
'On the mountain, a meeting is held and rules must be stated.'

37) *tɕala nəkə kʰoŋ əsə χal-sa ɬawa amaŋ=da nəkə~nəkə*
false.braid one person NEG wear-COND shaman mouth=LOC one~one

jiχ-tɕo
hit-IMPF.OBJ
'If anyone doesn't wear a false braid, the shaman hits each of them on the mouth.'

38) *ɬawa jiχ-sa de χani=da aji-tɕə tɕəkələm tar-tɕə*
shaman hit-COND just all=LOC fear-IMPF rule keep-IMPF

natʰə-tɕo
dance-IMPF.OBJ
'Once the shaman hits (them), everyone is afraid and dances by the rules.'

39) *χeɕaŋ* *nat^{h}ə=ku* *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *k^{h}oŋ* *χani* *k^{h}ol* *χar=nə*
Ləru dance=IMPF.NMLZ time people all foot hand=ACC

dabla-tɕə *jaksa-tɕə* *nat^{h}ə* *k^{h}ər-na*
raise-IMPF pretty-IMPF dance be.required-DUR
'When dancing Ləru, the people should all raise their feet and hands and dance nicely.'

40) *laχɕi=nə* *jaŋgətɕə* *war* *k^{h}ər=ku=nə* *me-də*
towel=ACC how hold be.required=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC know-IMP

k^{h}ər-na
be.required-DUR
'(Everyone) should know how the towel should be held.'

41) *m* *de*
HES just
'umm... now...'

42) *jaŋgətɕə* *k^{h}əl* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
how speak be.required-POS
'How to say it...?'

43) *de*
just
'so...'

44) *de* *χani=la* *jaksa-tɕə* *nat^{h}ə* *k^{h}ər-na*
now all=PL pretty-IMPF dance be.required-DUR
'Now, everyone should dance prettily.'

45) *χani=la* *ɲəm-kə-tɕə* *nat^{h}ə-sa* *jaksa* *wa*
all=PL tidy-VBZ-IMPF dance-COND pretty COP$_1$.OBJ
'If everyone dances nicely, it is pretty.'

46) *ŋaregaŋ* *ɲəm-kə* *ŋaregaŋ* *əsə* *ɲəm-kə-sa* *jaksa*
some collective-VBZ some NEG collective-VBZ-COND pretty

kina
NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'If some (dance) together and some do not, it doesn't look nice.'

47) *k^hol* *χar* *χani=nə* *kudəla-ʁa-tɕə* *jaksa-tɕə* *$nat^hə$-tɕə*
foot hand all=ACC move.upward-CAUS-IMPF pretty-IMPF dance-PERF
'Everyone should dance nicely, raising (their) hands and feet.'

48) *doŋzo=la=nə* *jaksa-tɕə* *ər-ʁa-tɕə*
movement=PL=ACC pretty-IMPF come-CAUS-PERF
'The movements should be done prettily.'

49) *tamo-tɕə* *$nat^hə$* *$k^hər$-saŋ*
slow-IMPF dance be.required-POS
'(They) should dance slowly.'

50) *kari=la* *əsə* *$nat^hə$-sa* *jaksa* *kina*
some=PL NEG dance-COND pretty NEG. COP_1.OBJ
'If some of them don't dance (like this) it's not beautiful.'

51) *səme=nə* *ula=da* *dabla-tɕə* *o-tɕə*
god.box=ACC mountain=LOC raise-IMPF go-IMPF
'(They) carry the god boxes up to the mountain,'

52) *lapsi=da* *saŋ* *χəra-tɕə* *$tɕ^həma$=nə* *χara-tɕo*
Lapsi=LOC offering burn-IMPF Chuma=ACC taunt-IMPF.OBJ
'and at Lapsi (they) burn offerings,and taunt Chuma.'

53) *guda* *$tʂ^həma$-tɕə* *maŋgə* *nimaŋ* *jərsoŋ* *χoŋ=da*
before Chuma-and 1PL.INCL.COLL eight nine year=LOC

$k^həl$-də-tɕə
speak-IMP-PERF
'In the past, we and Chuma village feuded for eight or nine years.'

54) *dawu da jortɕə tortɕə χara-tɕə-tɕo*
still also here there taunt-IMPF-IMPF.OBJ
‘(We) taunt (each other) back and forth now still.’

55) *nadamada kʰəl-də=ku tɕəχaŋnaŋ jimaŋ=gə=nə*
long.ago speak-IMP=IMPF.NMLZ time goat=SG.INDEF=ACC

sugə-saŋ=tɕə kʰəl-na
argue-POS=QUOT.IMPF speak-DUR
‘It is said that long ago, when (we) were fighting, (we) were arguing over a goat.’

56) *nantɕʰə=nə dedə=la tʰəŋgətɕə kʰəl-na*
past=ACC grandfather=PL that.way speak-DUR
‘That’s what the grandfathers of the past say.’

57) *dortcə jortɕə kʰoŋ səmtɕa soni ala-saŋ=tɕo*
there here people thirty two die-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘They say thirty-two people from here and there died.’

58) *mansa xorən ʁar guraŋ ala-saŋ=tɕo*
1PL.INCL.COLL.ABL twenty two three die-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
‘They say twenty-two or three from among us were killed.’

59) *manda kormu oχ=ku ki*
1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC money give=IMPF.NMLZ NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
‘We did not have money to give.’

60) *uŋtɕa ula tɕagə-tɕə tʰəntʰəngə wi-saŋ*
Ungja mountain exchange-PERF like.that COP_1.SUBJ-POS
‘We exchanged Ungja Mountain; it was like that.’

61) *tʰər=na htuŋ tɕagə-tɕə tɕʰəma=da oχ-saŋ*
that=ACC blood.money exchange-IMPF Chuma=LOC give-POS
‘We gave that to Chuma village as blood money.’

62) *ula=nə atɕaŋlada oχ-to=tɕə kʰəl-tɕi-saŋ*
mountain=ACC 3PL.LOC give-PERF=QUOT.IMPF say-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
‘(they) say (we) gave them the mountain.’

63) *χara-tɕə=ku* *tɕənsan* *tʰər* *bi-saŋ*
taunt-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ reason that COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'That's the reason (we) taunt them.'

64) *mannə* *kʰoŋ* *ala-saŋ* *naŋ=sa* *utɕiga*
1PL.INCL.COLL people die-PERF.NMLZ inside=ABL Wutun

nəkə *wi-saŋ=tɕo*
one COP_1.SUBJ-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'They say that among our dead was one (person from) Wutun village.'

65) *tʰər* *da* *χoŋda* *wi-saŋ=tɕo.*
that also pregnant COP_1.SUBJ-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ

tʰər=nə *ʁar* *kʰoŋ=da* *tʰola-tɕi-saŋ*
that=ACC two people=LOC count-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'They say that (person) was pregnant, too. So (we) count that as two people.'

66) *de* *χara-tɕə=ku* *tɕənsan* *sowu* *ula=nə*
just taunt-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ reason important mountain

oχ-to=tɕi-saŋ
give-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'But we consider the main reason for taunting (them) to be that we gave them the mountain.'

67) *ŋantɕʰə=da* *ɬawa* *zaija* *bi-saŋ*
past=LOC shaman strong COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'In the past, shamans were very powerful.'

68) *kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-ʁa-sa* *rakə* *oχ-tɕi-saŋ*
home.LOC come-CAUS-COND alcohol give-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'If (one) invited (him) to one's home, (one) would give (him) alcohol.'

69) *nəkə* *χoŋ=nə* *tɕawa=nə* *oχ* *kʰər-tɕə-saŋ*
one year=ACC fortune=ACC give be.required-IMPF-POS
'(He) told the fortune for the year.'

70) *ława* *koʑə=da* *tundaχ* *jaŋgə* *ɲoŋgə-sa* *koʑə=da*
shaman self=LOC matter matter happen-COND self=ACC

nohkur-kə *ji-saŋ*
friend-VBZ COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'If something was going to happen to someone, the shaman would help that person.'

71) *koʑə=ts^{h}aŋ=nə* *daŋ* *na-sa* *ława* *tanə* *daŋ*
self=family=ACC door fall-COND shaman 2PL.COLL.GEN door

na-tɕo=tɕə *k^{h}əl-la* *ər-tɕi-saŋ*
fall-IMPF.OBJ=QUOT.IMPF speak-PURP come-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'If someone's door is going to fall, the shaman will come to tell (them), "your door is falling".'

72) *kudə* *atɕaŋla* *rakə* *u=ku* *tɕ^{h}əχaŋnaŋ* *ława*
before 3PL alcohol drink=IMPF.NMLZ time shaman

a=ts^{h}aŋ=nə *k^{h}ətə* *χol-tɕə* *o-tɕə*
3SG=family=ACC house.LOC run-IMPF go-PERF
'One time when some people were drinking, the shaman went running to their house.'

73) *tada* *dondoχ=gə* *χardə-na* *ta* *rəmgə-tɕə* *ɕida*
2PL.COLL.LOC matter= SG.INDEF happen-DUR 2PL.COLL hurry-IMPF outside

χar *k^{h}ər-na=tɕə* *k^{h}əl-saŋ*
go.out be.required-DUR=QUOT.IMPF say-POS
'(he) said, "something's going to happen to you; you should hurry and go outside".'

74) *ɕida* *χargu-tɕə* *gər* *na-tɕə=tɕo*
outside go.out-IMPF house fall-PERF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'They say (they) went outside, and the house fell in.'

75) *ława=da* *htəŋgə-sa* *t^{h}ənt^{h}əngə* *ʂakə*
shaman=LOC trust-COND that.way good
'It is good to trust in the shaman.'

76) *koʑə* *əsə* *tʰəŋgətɕə* *dappʰa* *əsə* *gə-sa*
self NEG in.that.way faith NEG do-COND

pʰamba *ki*
benefit NEG. COP_1.SUBJ
'If a person doesn't do that, and doesn't have faith, (he) doesn't get the benefits.'

77) *kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-tɕə=ku* *tcʰimsam=da*
home=LOC come.HON-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ household=LOC

ʂakə-tɕə=ku *tʰəntʰəngə* *ba*
good-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ that.way COP_2.OBJ
'That's the benefit to (one's) household of (the shaman's) coming to (one's) home.'

78) *kʰətʰə* *χəpgə-ʁa-tɕə=ku* *tɕawa* *jama*
home.LOC come.HON-CAUS-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ fortune stuff

ki=ku *tɕar-tɕi-saŋ*
NEG.COP_1.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ do-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(One) invites (the shaman) to come to one's home and avoids misfortune.'

79) *piteʁaŋ* *χeɕaŋ* *atɕaŋ* *tsʰowa=sʰaŋ=da* *ʁatɕər* *oloŋ*
small Ləru 3SG clan=family=LOC ground many

wi-saŋ=tɕo
COP_1.SUBJ-POS=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'It is said that, the clan with the small Ləru, it has many fields.'

80) *dedə=gə=da* *χeɕaŋ=nə* *sagə=ʁa=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ*
grandfather=SG.INDEF=LOC Ləru=ACC choose=CAUS=IMPF.NMLZ time
'When a certain grandfather was made to choose a Ləru,'

81) *deda* *ŋarwaŋ=gə* *pətə* *χeɕaŋ* *pitəʁaŋ*
grandfather powerful=SG.INDEF 1PL.EXCL.COLL Leru small

k^{h}ər-saŋ=nə *t^{h}orun* *hko=nə* *k^{h}ərə=tɕə*
be.required-PERF.NMLZ=ACC head big=ACC be.required=QUOT.IMPF

k^{h}əl-saŋ
say-POS
'A powerful grandfather said, "as we have to have the small Leru festival, we must have a big well".'

82) *su* *di* *tawaŋ* *niwa=da* *sə=nə* *t^{h}orun=nə*
so work.unit one two=LOC water=ACC head=ACC

oχ-tɕə=ku *tɕənsan* *t^{h}ər* *bi-saŋ=tɕo*
give-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ reason that COP$_2$.SUBJ-POS=QUOT.IMF.OBJ
'So they say that's why the well was given to the first two work units.'

83) *sə=nə* *kutɕə* *oχ-sa* *atɕaŋ=ts^{h}aŋ=nə* *ts^{h}owa* *kutɕə*
water=ACC before give-COND 3SG=family=ACC clan before

sola *hta-na*
irrigate be.able-DUR
'Since the water is given (to them) first, their clan is able to irrigate first.'

84) *mortɕə=la=da* *nat^{h}ə=ku* *hko=nə* *k^{h}ər-tɕo*
other=PL=LOC dance=IMPF.NMLZ big=ACC be.required-IMPF.OBJ
'The festival for the others must be a big one.'
(*lit.* 'a big dancing is required for the others.')

85) *sə* *ŋama* *k^{h}ər-tɕo*
water finally be.required-IMPF.OBJ
'(They) get the water last.'

86) *ŋatɕ^{h}ə=da* *atɕaŋla* *k^{h}əl-saŋ* *tɕ^{h}okə-tɕə=tɕo*
past=LOC 3SG.PL say-PERF.NMLZ be.wrong-IMPF=QUOT.IMPF.OBJ
'(They say) (the thing) that they chose in the past was wrong.'

87) *ɕoŋkisa* *sə* *t^{h}orun* *wi-sa* *kuda* *sola* *hta-na*
originally water head COP$_1$.SUBJ-COND before irrigate be.able-DUR
'After all, if (they) had chosen a well, they would be able to irrigate first.'

88) *sotɕa=da* *k^{h}ats^{h}aŋ* *nat^{h}ə=ku* *wa*
Soja=LOC complete dance=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ
'Everyone dances for Soja clan.'
(*lit.* 'There is complete dancing for Soja clan.')

89) *tərga=la=nə* *koʑə~koʑə=nə* *ts^{h}owa* *ap-tɕo*
food.offereng=PL=ACC self~self=ACC clan take-IMPF.OBJ

oχ *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
give be.required-POS
'Each clan must bring food offerings and give (them) (for Soja clan's day).'

90) *χorən* *teraŋ=nə* *dewa* *χani* *ap-tɕə* *oχ* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
twenty four=ACC village all take-IMPF give be.required-POS
'On the 24th, the whole village must bring and give (them).'

91) *rakə* *tərga* *saŋ* *χani=nə* *ap-tɕə* *oχ* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
alcohol food.offering offering all=ACC take-IMPF give be.required-POS
'Alcohol, food offerings, (other) offerings, these must all be brought and given.'

92) *ɲəntoχlak^{h}a* *att^{h}ogə* *ŋamada* *nat^{h}ə-tɕo*
Nianduhu.Laka most behind dance-IMPF.OBJ
'Nianduhu Laka village dances very last.'

93) *lak^{h}a* *teraŋ* *də* *manda* *nat^{h}ə-la*
Nianduhu.Laka four day 1PL.INCL.COLL.LOC dance-PURP

ər-tɕi-saŋ
come-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'Nianduhu Laka village comes to dance for us for four days.'

94) *maŋgə* *da* *ɲəntoχlak^{h}a=da* *nat^{h}ə-la* *o* *k^{h}ər-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL also Nianduhu.Laka=LOC dance-PURP go be.required-POS
'So we also have to go to dance for Nianduhu Laka.'

95) *t^{h}ər* *χeɕaŋ=nə* *hka* *bi-saŋ*
that Ləru=ACC concession COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'That is (what we do for) Ləru.'

96) B: *kʰamər* *jiχ-tɕə=ku* *jaŋgə* *ø-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle hit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ what (COP)-POS
'What is *kamer*?'
(*lit*. 'Hitting *kamer* (is) what?')

97) A: *kʰamər* *jiχ-tɕə=ku* *ŋantɕʰə=da* *jama=la=da*
ceremonial.needle hit-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ past=LOC thing=PL=LOC

sortʰi-tɕə=ku *tʰər* *ba*
sacrifice.an.animal-IMPF=IMPF.NMLZ that COP_2.OBJ
'Doing kamer takes the place of the animal sacrifices (we) did in the past.'

98) *kʰamər* *nəkə* *jiχ-sa* *ʁoni* *nəkə=nə* *kʰama* *bi-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle one hit-COND sheep one=ACC position COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Performing one 'kamer' equals (offering) one sheep.'

99) *ʁoni=nə* *sortʰi-saŋ=nə* *utɕə-tɕə*
sheep=ACC sacrifice.an.animal-IMPF.NMLZ=ACC compare-IMPF

kʰamər *jiχ-sa* *ʂa-tɕi-saŋ*
ceremonial.needle hit-COND good-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'Compared to sacrificing sheep, doing kamer is better.'

100) *tʰər=nə* *ɕilaŋ* *au=la* *jindaməndа* *ula=da* *tʰa*
that=ACC night boy=PL definitely mountain=LOC sleep

kʰər-saŋ
be.required-POS
'The boys must definitely sleep on the mountain that night.'

101) *kʰətʰə* *tʰa-sa* *kʰətʰə=ku* *aku=la*
home.LOC sleep-COND home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ girl=PL

wi-sa
COP_1.SUBJ-COND
'If (they) sleep at home, if there are girls at home,'

102) *sauma* *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
ceremonially.clean COP_1.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'(they) will not be ceremonially clean.'

103) *aku=la* *wɛrə* *htɕa* *bi-saŋ* *ço*
girl=PL wife exception COP_2.SUBJ-POS NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'Daughters and wives are no exception.'

104) *$k^hət^hə$=ku* *adzi* *iχtɕədu* *aku* *χani=nə*
home.LOC=IMPF.NMLZ older.sister younger.sister girl all=ACC

$k^hə$l-tɕi-saŋ
say-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(This) includes (*lit.* 'says to') all older sisters, younger sisters, and girls who are at home.'

105) *ula=da* *t^ha-sa* *sauma* *wi-saŋ*
mountain=LOC sleep-COND ceremonially.clean COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'If they sleep on the mountain, they are ceremonially clean.'

106) *ərhte* *nər=nə* *sauma-tɕə* *waʁa-tɕə*
morning face=ACC ceremonially.clean-IMPF wash-PERF
'In the morning (they) wash their faces, making them ceremonially clean.'

107) *ərhte* *morhtɕə* *au=la=nə* *χamda* *su-sa* *k^hamər*
morning other boy=PL=ACC with stay-COND ceremonial.needle

jiχ=ku *$tɕ^h$əχaŋnaŋ* *nop^ha* *wi*
do=IMPF.NMLZ time harm COP_1.SUBJ
'If (they) sit with the other boys in the morning, (they) will be harmed when (they) do the kamer.'

108) *χamda* *su-ʁa-tɕə* *wi-saŋ* *çəwa*
together sit-CAUS-IMPF COP_1.SUBJ-PERF.NMLZ NEG.COP_2.OBJ
'(They) are not allowed to sit together.'

109) *sauma-tɕə* *kʰamər* *jiχ-sa* *tʰələ-tɕə*
ceremonially.clean-IMPF cerremonial.needle hit-COND hurt-IMPF

wi-saŋ *ço*
COP_1.SUBJ-PERF.NMLZ $NEG.COP_2$.OBJ
'If (they) do the kamer (when they) are ceremonially clean, it doesn't hurt.'

110) B: *dedə=la* *jiχ* *kʰər-saŋ* *çəwa*
grandfather=PL hit be.required-PERF.NMLZ $NEG.COP_2$.OBJ
'Don't the grandfathers have to do it?'

111) A: *lo* *kuda* *χar-sa* *jiχ* *kʰər-saŋ* *ço*
age before arrive-COND hit be.required-PERF.NMLZ $NEG.COP_2$.OBJ
'If (they) have already reached (a certain) age, (they) don't have to do (it).'

112) *tʰər=nə* *sarə=la* *jiχ* *kʰər-saŋ*
that=ACC young=PL hit be.required-POS
'The young should do that.'

113) *dedə=la* *laχɕi* *tɕo-tɕə* *sarə=la=nə* *χamdə* *hkuraŋ=gə*
grandfather=PL towel wear-IMPF young=PL=ACC together circle= SG.INDEF

jiχ-sa *tʰəke-saŋ*
do-COND permit-POS
'The grandfathers can wear a towel and (dance) in a circle with the young (men).'

114) *dedə=la* *natʰə=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *samsamda*
grandfather=PL dance=IMPF.NMLZ time sometimes

sarə=la=da *χeɕaŋ* *natʰə=ku=nə* *tsʰər-ʁa-tɕi-saŋ*
young.one=PL=LOC Leru dance=IMPF.NMLZ=ACC learn-CAUS-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'When the grandfathers dance, sometimes they teach the younger ones to dance Leru.'

115) *natʰə-tɕə* *ki=ku=la=nə* *natʰə=tɕə*
dance-IMPF $NEG.COP_1$.SUBJ=IMPF.NMLZ=PL=ACC dance=QUOT.IMPF

kʰəl-tɕi-saŋ
speak-IMPF.SUBJ-POS
'(They) tell (those) who are not dancing, "dance".'

116) B: *tɕədar=la* *jaŋgə* *ø-saŋ*
flag=PL what (COP)-POS
'What are the flags for?'

117) A: *htəχ* *saŋ* *tɕ^{h}oŋ* *dʐoχ* *bi-saŋ*
tiger lion phoenix dragon COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'(They) are the tiger, lion, phoenix, and dragon.'

118) B: *maŋgə* *anə* *bi-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL which COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Which are we?'

119) A: *saŋge* *bi-saŋ*
lion COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'(We) are the lion.'

120) *di* *nəkə=da* *dar* *nəkə~nəkə* *bi-saŋ*
work.unit one=LOC flag one~one COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'Each work unit has its own flag.'

121) *nat^{h}ə* *war=ku-tɕə* *tɕ^{h}imsam=la=da* *χəpgə-tɕə*
dance hold=IMPF.NMLZ-IMPF household=PL=LOC come.HON-IMPF

wi-saŋ
COP_1.SUBJ-POS
'(They) finish dancing and come to (all) the households.'

122) B: *jərʑa* *jaŋgə* *bi-saŋ*
ceremonial.hat what COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'What are the *yerza* for?'

123) A: *jərʑa* *amiɕatʂ^{h}on=nə* *sema* *bi-saŋ*
ceremonial.hat Amishatchon=ACC hat COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'The *yerza* is Amishatchon's hat.'

124) *maŋgə* *χani* *amiɕatʂ^{h}on=nə* *məχ* *bi-saŋ*
1PL.INCL.COLL all Amishatchon=ACC soldier COP_2.SUBJ-POS
'We all are Amishatchon's soldiers.'

125) *ɕərgə=ku* *tɕʰəχaŋnaŋ* *hko=la* *kuda* *ɕərgə*
line.up=IMPF.NMLZ time big=PL before line.up

kʰər-saŋ
be.required-POS
'When (we) line up, the older ones should line up in the front.'

126) *pətəʁaŋ=la* *nemə=da* *ɕargə* *kʰər-saŋ*
small=PL back=LOC line.up be.required-POS
'The younger ones should line up in back.'

127) B: *tʰəsanə* *jama* *kʰəl=ku* *wa-u*
next thing speak=IMPF.NMLZ COP_1.OBJ-Q
'Is there anything more to say?'

128) A: *tʰər* *sanə* *de* *jama* *kʰəl=ku* *kina* *jo*
that besides now thing say=IMPF.NMLZ NEG. COP_1.OBJ NEG.EMPH
'Other than that there's nothing more to say!'

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