Copyright Warning

Use of this thesis/dissertation/project is for the purpose of private study or scholarly research only. Users must comply with the Copyright Ordinance, a copy of which is available for consultation at the Library Information Counter. Anyone who consults this thesis/dissertation/project is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no part of it may be reproduced without the author’s prior written consent.
A Reference Grammar of the Puxi Variety of Qiang
羌語蒲溪話參考語法

Submitted to
the Department of Chinese, Translation & Linguistics
中文、翻譯及語言學系
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
哲學博士學位

By
Chenglong Huang
黃成龍

September 2004
二零零四年九月
A Reference Grammar of the Puxi Variety of Qiang

by

Chenglong Huang

Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In chapter 9, we discuss the characteristics and the structure of discourse found in narrative texts.
To my uncle Lankem and my aunt Kvubizi,

who adopted me!

and to my elder sister Chengxian Huang,

who has been gone one year ago!
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is a dream come true for me, a fulfillment of the desire to write on the Qiang language. The pride is not for me alone, but for all those who supported me in the course of this work--morally, materially and intellectually. This work was subsidized by the Department of Chinese, Translation and Linguistics, and the UGC Project of HKSAR ‘the Qiang Language Atlas Project’, run by my supervisor, Prof. Randy J. LaPolla. I am grateful to the School of Graduate Studies of City University of Hong Kong, and the Department of Chinese, Translation and Linguistics, for all the financial support through to the successful completion of my study.

I owe the greatest debt to my supervisor and friend, Prof. Randy J. LaPolla. His intellectual support and advice, continuous guidance, and patience have kept me carrying out my research and writing up my dissertation. During the last three and half years, Randy has been very generous with his time, comments, suggestions and corrections on every draft of my thesis. He opened my intellectual horizon to what it takes to be a linguist. His amazing knowledge about linguistics is beyond the powers of my words. His wife, Dr. Dory Poa with her motherly concern, helped and supported me all the time. I am also most grateful to her. Obviously the relationship between me and Randy and Dory goes beyond the teacher-student relationship to that of a parent-son relationship.

I am grateful to my dissertation panel, Prof. Liejong Xu, Prof. Eric Y.-Y. Zee, Dr. Marry Erbough, and Dr. Haihua Pan for their support and help.
I would also like to thank the chair of my dissertation defense committee, Prof. Hoi Kwok Wong, and the members of the committee, Prof. Matthew Y. Chen, Prof. Jackson T.S., Sun, and Prof. Stephen Matthews, for their suggestions, support, and comments on my thesis.

My special thanks go to Prof. R. M. W. Dixon and Prof. Alexandra Y. Aikenvald for their invitation to me to visit the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology (RCLT), La Trobe University, Australia, for half year, where I learnt a lot about basic linguistic theory from Prof. Dixon, Prof. Aikenvald, Prof. Carol Genetti, and other scholars at the RCLT. I am grateful to Dr. Hilary Chappell and Dr. Alec Coupe for their permission to attend their classes in the linguistics program of La Trobe University. I am also indebted to my friends, Dr. Josephine Daguman’s family, Dr. Defen Yu’s family and other friends for their kindly help during my stay in Australia.

I am grateful to Prof. Shiyuan Hao, Prof. Xing Huang and Prof. Qingsheng Zhou, who allowed me to take advantage of the opportunity to come to study at CityU of Hong Kong. I am also grateful to Prof. Hongkai Sun, Prof. Qingxia Dai, and colleagues at the Institute for Ethnology & Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, for their support, help and encouragement.

I would like to thank Prof. William S. Y. Wang, Prof. Tsu-lin Mei and Dr. Zev Handel, I learnt a lot about language evolution, the development of Middle Chinese grammar and Sino-Tibetan languages from their classes in the CityU and the HKUST. I am also grateful to my colleagues in the Department and outside the Department, for their concern the various ways they helped me. In particular, I am indebted to Dr.
Jonathan P. Evans, Dr. Jianhua Hu, Dr. Fang Hu, Prof. Tomas H.-T. Lee, Dr. LianHee Wee, Dr. Feng Wang, Prof. Yang Gu, Prof. Virginia Yip, Dr. Hede Wu, Miss Nuomin and Dr. Da Wu.

I am very grateful to my informants, Mr. Shude Wang and his family, and Mr. Zhengjun Wang, who have always given me lots of data, which made this work come to reality.

I am very thankful to my uncles Lamkem, and Baosen Yu; my aunts Kvbizi and Perperzi, and my elder sister Chengxian, who adopted and supported me since my parents passed away when I was a child. I am also thankful to my mother-in-law, Prof. Cuixiao Liu, my wife, Lifeng Tian, my cousins, Zimei Wang, Lin Wang, Tao Wang, Xiaofeng Tian, Sufeng Tian, Chunfeng Tian for their support and encouragement over the years, and I will forever remain indebted to them.

My thanks also go to other relatives, Baozhi Yu, Haiqing Yu, Xian Yu, and best friends Miss Ada Ah Li, Facheng Zhou, Wenquan Yang, Xi Zhang, Bo Zhang, Xiaoping Yu, Zhichuan Yu, Daosheng Hu and numerous other relatives and friends whose names do not appear here. I appreciate your support.
# Table of Contents

Abstract i
Acknowledgments v
Table of contents viii
List of tables xiii
List of figures xiv
Abbreviations xv
Plates xvii

## Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Geographical position 2
1.2. Ethnological background 3
1.3. Previous investigations 5
1.4. Genetic classification 7
1.5. Dialects 9
1.6. Status of the language 11
1.7. Data collection 12
1.8. Research methodology 13

## Chapter 2: Typological Overview

2.1. Phonology 15
2.2. Morphology 16
2.3. Syntax 16

## Chapter 3: The Phonological System

3.1. Initial consonants 19
  3.1.1. Simple initials 19
  3.1.2. Cluster initials 24
    3.1.2.1. Clusters with pre-initials 25
    3.1.2.2. Clusters with post-initials 27
  3.2. Final consonants 28
  3.3. Vowels 29
    3.3.1. Basic vowels 29
    3.3.2. Diphthongs and triphthongs 31
    3.3.3. Morphophonemic vowels 33
  3.4. The issue of tones 33
  3.5. Syllable structure 34
  3.6. Syllable weakening 34
    3.6.1. Loss of schwa and vowel ə 35
    3.6.2 Vowel ə devoicing 36
  3.7. Stress 37
Chapter 4: Word Classes

4.1. Nouns
4.1.1. Common nouns
4.1.2. Proper nouns
4.1.3. Location nouns
4.1.4. Temporal nouns
4.1.5. Derived nouns (nominalization)
4.1.6. Pronouns
4.1.6.1. Personal pronouns
4.1.6.2. Reflexive pronouns
4.1.6.3. Demonstrative pronouns
4.1.6.4. Interrogative pronouns
4.1.6.5. Indefinite pronouns
4.1.7. Numerals and quantifiers
4.1.7.1. Numerals
4.1.7.2. Quantifiers
4.1.8. Classifiers and measure words

4.2. Verbs
4.2.1. Transitivity
4.2.1.1. Intransitives
4.2.1.2. Transitives
4.2.1.3. Ditransitives
4.2.1.4. Ambitransitives
4.2.2. Adjectives (intransitive state predicate verbs)
4.2.3. Existential/locative verbs
4.2.4. Aktionsart
4.2.5. Copulas
4.2.6. Matrix verbs
4.2.6.1. The matrix verb \( \nu \)
4.2.6.2. The matrix verb \( qe \)
4.2.6.3. The matrix verb \( mei \)
4.2.6.4. The matrix verb \( tshy \)
4.2.6.5. The matrix verb \( kala \)
4.2.6.6. Perception and cognition verbs
4.2.7. Auxiliary verbs
4.2.7.1. Auxiliaries ‘come’ and ‘go’
4.2.7.2. The auxiliary ‘do’

4.3. Adverbs
4.4. Other closed classes

Chapter 5: Nominal Morphology

5.1. Gender marking
5.2. Diminutive marking
5.3. The kinship prefixes
5.4. Definite/indefinite marking  135
5.5. Number marking  138
5.6. Case marking  140
   5.6.1. Agentive  141
   5.6.2. Genitive  143
   5.6.3. Dative  145
   5.6.4. Benefactive  147
   5.6.5. Ablative  149
   5.6.6. Locative  150
   5.6.7. Instrumental  154
   5.6.8. Comitative  155
5.7. Comparative marker  156
5.8. Topic marker  157

Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology  162
6.1. Person marking  162
6.2. Direction marking  168
6.3. Aspect marking  174
   6.3.1. Prospective aspect  175
   6.3.2. Inchoative aspect  176
   6.3.3. Change of state aspect  177
   6.3.4. Continuative aspect  179
   6.3.5. Perfective aspect  181
   6.3.6. Repetition  184
   6.3.7. Imperfective  185
   6.3.8. Iterative  186
6.4. Negative marking  187
6.5. Adverbial marking  189
6.6. Modality  190
   6.6.1. Deontic modality  190
      6.6.1.1. Obligation  191
      6.6.1.2. Permission  193
      6.6.1.3. Capability  194
   6.6.2. Epistemic modality  195
6.7. Evidentials  195
6.8. Valency changing devices  197
   6.8.1. Valency increasing  198
   6.8.2. Valency reducing  200
6.9. Mood  202
   6.9.1. Declarative (indicative)  202
   6.9.2. Imperative  203
   6.9.3. Interrogative  206
   6.9.4. Prohibitive  208
   6.9.5. Exclamative  210
6.9.6. Hortative 210  
6.9.7. Permissive 211  
6.9.8. Optative 213

Chapter 7: Simple Structures 215

7.1. Constituent order 215  
7.1.1. Noun phrase structures 215  
7.1.2. Verb complex structures 220  
7.1.3. Constituent orders of the clause 223  
7.2. Interrogatives 224  
7.2.1. Yes/no questions 224  
7.2.2. Alternative questions 227  
7.2.3. Question-word questions 229  
7.3. Negation 232  
7.3.1. General negation 233  
7.3.2. Scope of negation 235  
7.3.3. Double negation 236  
7.4. Existential/possessive constructions 237  
7.5. Comparative constructions 242  
7.5.1. General comparative construction 242  
7.5.2. Equative comparative construction 245  
7.6. Topic-comment constructions 248  
7.6.1. Unmarked topic-comment construction 249  
7.6.2. Topic chains 253  
7.6.3. Double topic-comment 256  
7.6.4. Topicalization 257

Chapter 8: Complex Structures 263

8.1. Relative clauses 263  
8.1.1. Pre-head relative clauses 263  
8.1.2. Post-head relative clauses 270  
8.1.3. Headless relative clauses 273  
8.2. Complementation 274  
8.3. Pseudo-cleft construction 279  
8.4. Coordination and disjunction 283  
8.4.1. Coordinate clauses 283  
8.4.2. Disjunctive clauses 289  
8.5. Subordinate constructions 291  
8.5.1. Temporal adverbial clauses 291  
8.5.2. Conditional clause 294  
8.5.3. Hypothetical and counter-factual clauses 296  
8.5.4. Causal clauses 299  
8.5.5. Concessive clauses 301  
8.5.6. Purpose clauses 302
## Chapter 9: Discourse Analysis

9.1. Genre 303
9.2. Discourse characteristics 303
   9.2.1. Marking of change of scene 304
9.2.2. Discourse deixis and anaphora 305
   9.2.2.1. Discourse deixis 306
   9.2.2.2. Anaphora 307
9.3. Discourse structure 311
   9.3.1. Quoted speech 311
   9.3.2. Tail-head construction 316

## Chapter 10: Concluding Summary

319

## References

327
**List of Tables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Consonants of the Puxi variety of Qiang</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Clusters with pre-initials</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Clusters with post-initials</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Inventory of vowel phonemes</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>Diphthongs &amp; triphthongs</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>Location words</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7</td>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8</td>
<td>Reflexive pronouns</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 9</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronouns</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 10</td>
<td>The forms of ‘who’</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 11</td>
<td>Person marking suffixes for unmarked (imperfective) verbs</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 12</td>
<td>The aspect-person marking of the verb <em>dzo</em> ‘to sit down’</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 13</td>
<td>The aspect-person marking of the verb <em>dze</em> ‘to eat’</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 14</td>
<td>Person marking with aspect in the Puxi variety of Qiang</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 1: Sino-Tibetan stock 8
Figure 2: The subgroups of the Qiangic branch 9
Figure 3: The dialects and subdialects of Qiang 11
Figure 4: Changing Aktionsart of the verb 97
Figure 5: Semantics of the auxiliary pu ‘do’ 121
Figure 6: The structure of the noun phrase 216
Figure 7: The structure of the verb complex 221
Figure 8: The canonical constituent order of the clause 224
Figure 9: General comparative construction 242
Figure 10: The structure of equative comparison 246
Figure 11: Basic structure of topic-comment 249
Figure 12: The basic structure of the pseudo-cleft 279
ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dl</td>
<td>1st person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2dl</td>
<td>2nd person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3dl</td>
<td>3rd person dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>1st person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>actor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbial marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGT</td>
<td>agentive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>copula complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMIT</td>
<td>comitative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>comparative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunctive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuative aspect marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSM</td>
<td>change of state marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>prospective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUES</td>
<td>question marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>repetition marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPER</td>
<td>superlative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>topic pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plate 1: Sichuan Province, China
(taken from the Qiang Language & Culture Web Site)
Plate 2: Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture
(taken from the Qiang Language & Culture Web Site)
Plate 3: Shaman Wang in Puxi Township
Plate 4: Watchtowers of Taoping Village
Chapter 1
Introduction

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

Puxi is a township located in the eastern part of Li County (理縣) in the north-western part of Sichuan Province. More than 2,000 people of the Qiang nationality(羌族), who mainly speak the Qiang language, live there. Almost all adults can also speak Mandarin Chinese. The Puxi variety belongs to the Southern Dialect of Qiang (Wen 1941, Sun 1981a, Liu 1998).
Chapter 1: Introduction

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

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

1.1. Geographical position

The speakers of the Puxi variety of Qiang inhabit Puxi Township, Li County, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province, China. Puxi Township is located in the eastern part of Li County, between Xuecheng Township (薛城鄉) in the north-east, and Nongjiale Township (農家樂鄉) and Ganpu Township (甘堡鄉) in the west, and is north of Mianchi Town (綿池鎮), Wenchuan County. Puxi Township includes the villages of Xiuxi (休溪), Dapuxi (大蒲溪), Se’er (色爾), Kuizhai (奎寨), and Heba (河壩). The total population is 2017 (2000 census).
The Puxi variety of Qiang is surrounded by south-western Mandarin and the rGyalrong languages. rGyalrong rarely influences the Puxi variety. Mandarin influences the Puxi variety in terms of phonology, lexicon and syntax, e.g. phonologically, the Puxi variety has triphthongs which are borrowed from Mandarin. Many words, especially cultural words, professional words, technological words, and so on, also are borrowed from Mandarin. Syntactically, some subordinators and sentential adverbials are borrowed from Mandarin (see §3.6.1, §4.4 and §8.3).

1.2. Ethnological background

1.2.1. History

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. Previous investigations

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

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the Academia Sinica (now the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) organized teams of linguists to carry out fieldwork on ethnic minority peoples’ languages and history. The seventh team investigated the Tibetan and the Qiang languages. Sun Hongkai, Liu Guangkun, and Huang Bufan were members of this team, and they recorded data of 31 Qiang sites, including the Puxi variety. Data of Mawo and Taoping Qiang have been published,
but the others have never come out.

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

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

Aside from my own articles (Huang 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000a, 2003) about Northern Qiang, LaPolla has published several papers (2003b, 2003c) on the Ronghong variety of Northern Qiang. LaPolla also with me published *A Grammar of Qiang with annotated texts and glossary* (2003), and we collaborated on ‘Adjectives in Qiang’ (2004), and ‘Existential Clauses and Copula Clauses in Qiang’ (LaPolla & Huang, 2002) as well. Liu has published *A Study of Mawo Qiang* (1998) and written about the case forms of the personal pronouns of Southern Qiang (1987) and the person marking (1999) in Mawo Qiang. There are also two other descriptions of Qiang that have been published: Sun (1981a), *Qiangyu Jianzhi (A Brief Description of the Qiang Language)*, on the Taoping variety of Southern Qiang, and
Huang Bufan (1991), ‘An overview of the Qiangic languages’. Sun (1981b) published one article on the verbal orientation prefixes in Qiang, and Huang Bufan (1994) has published a comparative article on these prefixes in all of Qiangic. Jonathan Evans has published a monograph on the Southern Qiang lexicon and phonology (2001a) and one article on contact-induced tonogenesis in Qiang (2001b). LaPolla (collaborating with Dr. Dory Poa, Dr. Wang Ming-ke, Dr. Jonathan Evans, Mr. Zhou Facheng and myself) is currently working on the Qiang Dialect Atlas Project.

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

1.4. Genetic classification

The speakers of the Puxi variety call themselves zma, and Qiang speakers in the other areas call themselves rma, zme, or ma. The Qiang language belongs to the Qiangic (羌語支) sub-branch of Tibeto-Burman family (藏緬語族), Sino-Tibetan stock (漢藏語系), as in Figure 1:
The Qiangic languages include Qiang (羌語), Primi (普米語), rGyalrong (嘉戎語), Ergong (爾龔語), Tangut (西夏語), Muya (木雅語), Shixing (史興語), Ersu (爾蘇語), Guiqiong (貴瓊語), Queyu (卻域), Zhaba (紮巴語), Lawurong (拉塢戎語) and Namuyi (納木依語) (Sun 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 2001, Liu 1998). The subgroups of the Qiangic branch are given in Figure 2:
1.5. Dialects

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

---

1 Sun did not mark the boundary between the Ersu group and the Guiqiong group.
Southern dialect speakers live in Li County, Wenchuan County, Mao County, and the Zhenjiangguan district of Songpan County (松潘縣鎮江關區). The Southern dialect is also subdivided by Sun into five subdialects: Daqishan (大歧山土語), Taoping (桃坪土語), Longxi (龍溪土語), Mianchi (綿池土語), and Heihu (黑虎土語). According to Sun (1981a), the Puxi variety belongs to the Daqishan subdialect (大歧山土語).

There is more divergence within the Southern Dialect than within the Northern Dialect. Liu (1998) proposes that the Southern Qiang can be subdivided into seven subdialects, adding Sanlong (三龍土語) and Jiaochang (較場土語). The dialects and subdialects of Qiang are as in Figure 3:
1.6. Status of the language

The Qiang live in the region between China and Tibet, and have for many centuries been in close contact with the Chinese on their east and the southeast. Most Qiang can speak Chinese, and in some areas the younger generation cannot speak the Qiang language any more. They speak only Chinese and are also literate in Chinese (Sun 1988). The development of telecommunications and the media (radio and television), as well as increased contact with people outside the area, such as through migration,
temporary labor from outside, marriage, etc. are all direct threats to the future of the Qiang language. The number of Qiang speakers is gradually decreasing. At present, along the course of the highways and near towns and cities, the majority of young people and children cannot speak Qiang. With the continuing increase in interaction with other communities, this trend is becoming more and more evident (Huang 2000b: 195-196). The threat to the Qiang language and culture was noted as early as the 1940’s by Graham (1958). Qiang is therefore very much an endangered language (LaPolla 2003).

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

1.7. Data collection

I have been participating in a research project, run by my supervisor, Prof. Randy J. LaPolla, which involves going to Sichuan Province, including Mao, Wenchuan, Songpan, Heishui, and Li counties to investigate the Qiang language and culture. I spent the month of August, 2001 and from 13 June to 10 July, 2002 in Puxi Township,
Li County, collecting phonetic, lexical, grammatical, and textual data of the Puxi variety of Qiang for my thesis. These data were provided by a 28 year-old male, a 25 year-old male, a 50 year-old male, and a 56 year-old male, native speakers of the Puxi variety who were born and grew up in Puxi Township. In 2001 I was able to access the data from the earlier fieldwork done by the Academia Sinica team on the phonological inventory and about 2,000 glossary items of the Puxi variety from the Institute of Nationalities Studies (now the Institute for Ethnology & Anthropology), CASS. These data are useful for me to compare with my own collected data.

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

1.8. Research methodology

I have been studying linguistic typology and functionalism since I came to CityU. The analysis will be based on the standard typological framework (now often called basic linguistic theory), borrowing also concepts introduced in Syntax: Structure, meaning
and function (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). The framework of linguistic typology is very important and very useful in the study of unknown languages or dialects, such as the Puxi variety of Qiang. I describe and discuss the phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse of Puxi Qiang from typological and functional perspectives. My goal in writing this dissertation is to give the reader a comprehensive and in-depth description and typological analysis of Puxi Qiang. The investigation presented in this thesis is a significant first step toward understanding the Qiang language from typological and functional perspectives. It is useful for promoting comparative research and reconstruction of Proto-Qiang, Proto-Qiangic, Proto-Tibeto-Burman, and even Proto-Sino-Tibetan in the future, and for cross-linguistic research. I would like to suggest that a comparison of morphology and syntax of Qiang dialects should be performed, such as person marking, orientation marking, aspect marking, causative marking, case marking, and word order. Of these types of marking, which were parts of Proto-Qiang? Which are parallel grammaticalizations, and which are due to language contact?
Chapter 2
Typological Overview

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

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

2.1. Phonology

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

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

Syllables can have the structure of V, or CV/CCV/CCCV, or VC/VCC, or CVC/CCVC/CCVCC (see §3.5). A particular feature of the Puxi variety is that the nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ can form syllables alone.
Stress is unpredictable (see §3.7): sometimes stress falls on the first syllable, and sometimes stress occurs on the last syllable. If the last syllable within a polysyllabic word is unstressed, its vowel is dropped or devoices.

2.2. Morphology

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

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

2.3. Syntax

The basic constituent order of the Puxi variety is SV (with one argument) / APV (the most common order with two arguments).
Nouns function as the head of NPs and NPs function as the core arguments of the clause. An NP can occur as the complement of a copula clause. Nouns may take nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numeral-classifier phrases and relative clauses as their modifiers. They may modify other nouns directly. Genitives always precede the noun when they modify a noun. The demonstratives may precede or follow the noun which they modify. Adjectives and numeral-classifier phrases follow the head of the NP. Relative clauses include both a head-internal type and a head-external type. The head-external type can precede or follow the noun which it modifies.

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

Adjectives (a subclass of intransitive state predicate verbs) may be distinguished from the other intransitive and transitive verbs by their semantics (DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, COLOR, AGE, SHAPE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, VALUE, DIFFICULTY, QUALIFICATION, AND QUANTIFICATION) and their morphosyntactic behavior (see §4.2.2, also see LaPolla & Huang 2004, Huang 1994).
Adjectives can be predicates and take the same person marking (agreement) form, orientation / direction marking, causative marking, evidential marking, some aspect marking and negative marking as non-stative verbs, but unlike non-stative verbs, they may be nominalized using the definite or indefinite marking to function as an argument. Adjectives can be reduplicated to express intensification.

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

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

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

There is no *it*-cleft or *wh*-cleft clause, but there is a pseudo-cleft construction. In the basic pseudo-cleft construction, a clause appears in initial position to function as the topic, and a noun occurs before the copula to function as narrow focus.
Chapter 3
The Phonological System

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

3.1. Initial Consonants

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

3.1.1. Simple Initials

The thirty-three initials belong to six places of articulation and six manners of articulation, as shown in Table 1:
## Table 1. Consonants of the Puxi variety of Qiang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated stop</td>
<td>p&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>t&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>k&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>q&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>tɕ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless aspirated affricate</td>
<td>ts&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>tʃ&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>tɕ&lt;sup&gt;h&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced affricate</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dʐ</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>χ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricative</td>
<td>(v)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ẑ</td>
<td>(ẑ)</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n̥</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The items in parentheses in Table 1 are not phonemes. I am using the symbols /w/ or /v/ and /j/ rather than /u/ and /i/ respectively in initial position for easy recognition of syllable-initial position in words, such as [æje] ‘father’ and [avɑ] ‘mother’, although there is no contrast between /u/ and /wu/ or /i/ and /ji/. The fricative /v/ usually appears in a polysyllabic word, while the approximant /w/ occurs in a monosyllabic word. The fricative /z/ occurs only in clusters (see §3.1.2), and the approximant /j/ is an allophone of /i/. 
There are four sets of stops, three of which have a three-way distinction among unaspirated, aspirated, and voiced. The uvular set has only voiceless unaspirated vs. voiceless aspirated. Minimal or near minimal pairs establishing the status of bilabial, dental, velar and uvular stops are given below:

| /p/      | pie   | ‘pig’ |
| /pʰ/     | pʰie  | ‘to dig’ |
| /b/      | bie   | ‘to carry on one’s back’ |
| /t/      | tu    | ‘to answer’ |
| /tʰ/     | tʰo   | ‘there’ |
| /d/      | du    | ‘chopsticks’ |
| /k/      | kou   | ‘locative marker’ |
| /kʰ/     | kʰo   | ‘room’ |
| /g/      | go    | ‘when/if’ |
| /q/      | qi    | ‘to peel’ |
| /qʰ/     | qʰi   | ‘to separate’ |

There are also three sets of affricates: dental, retroflex, and palatal, all of which distinguish unaspirated, aspirated and voiced in a three-way contrast. Minimal sets to establish the phonemic status of dental, retroflex and palatal affricates are as follows:
/ts/       tsue     ‘river’
/tsʰ/      tsʰue    ‘village’
/dz/       dzui     ‘to melt’
/tʂ/       tʂe      ‘tendon’
/tʂʰ/      tʂʰe     ‘to weigh’
/dʐ/       dʐe       ‘thing’
/tɕ/       tɕe       ‘to steam’
/tɕʰ/      tɕʰe      ‘wine’
/ɕz/       ɕzɛ       ‘festival’

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

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

/m/       ma       ‘like, love’
/n/       na       ‘good’
Chapter 3: The Phonological System

\(/\eta/ \quad \eta o \quad \text{‘negative copula’}\)

\(/\eta/ \quad \eta a \quad \text{‘exist’}\)

\(/l/ \quad \l a \quad \text{‘wolf’}\)

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

\(m\) \quad \text{‘fire’} \quad \(m-p\)\(a\) \quad \text{‘snow’}

\(\eta\) \quad \text{‘two’} \quad \(\eta\) \quad \text{‘very’}

\(\eta\) \quad \text{‘black’} \quad \(\eta-k\)\(\hue\) \quad \text{‘smoke’}

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

\(/f/ \quad fe \quad \text{‘share’ (Ch.)} \quad futs \quad \text{‘wheat bran’ (Ch.)}\)

\(/s/ \quad su\(\e\) \quad \text{‘to sharpen’} \quad s\(\e\) \quad \text{‘to know’}\)

\(/z/ \quad zue \quad \text{‘field’} \quad z\(\e\) \quad \text{‘to exist’}\)

\(/\si/ \quad si \quad \text{‘to sieve’} \quad s\(\a\) \quad \text{‘who’}\)

\(/\zi/ \quad z\(i\) \quad \text{‘soup’} \quad z\(\a\) \quad \text{‘to live’}\)

\(/\xi/ \quad \xi y \quad \text{‘fragrant’} \quad \xi i \quad \text{‘iron’}\)

\(/\chi/ \quad \chi e \quad \text{‘needle’} \quad \chi u \quad \text{‘vegetable’}\)

\(/\u/ \quad \u e \quad \text{‘fish’} \quad \u u \quad \text{‘bowl’}\)
The approximate /w/ is usually pronounced as a labiodental /v/, particularly in loan words from Southwestern Mandarin or polysyllabic words. The approximate /j/ varies between alveo-palatal fricative and high front vowel /i/, this is a common feature of Southwestern Mandarin. Examples:

/w/   wa  ‘exist’
/v/   ova  ‘mother’
/j/   ja  ‘dumb’  jo  ‘to use’

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

3.1.2. Cluster initials

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-initials</th>
<th>Cluster initials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>z-</td>
<td>zd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʂ-</td>
<td>ʂt  ʂk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒ-</td>
<td>ʒp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>Cpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>!-</td>
<td>!l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>Xp Xk Xʁ Xts Xʁt Xʁ Xl Xm Xs Xs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>Rdz Rńz Rń Rń Xz Xsz Xsz Xsz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Clusters with pre-initials
The following examples are of this type of consonant cluster:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Cluster</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/zd/</td>
<td>zde</td>
<td>zduzda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/št/</td>
<td>štua</td>
<td>šte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/šk/</td>
<td>ške</td>
<td>škuště</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/šm/</td>
<td>šmien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/šn/</td>
<td>šna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/šn̂/</td>
<td>šn̂o</td>
<td>šné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zb/</td>
<td>zbu</td>
<td>zba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zd/</td>
<td>zde</td>
<td>zda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zg/</td>
<td>zga</td>
<td>zgue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zm/</td>
<td>zmü</td>
<td>zme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cp/</td>
<td>cpí</td>
<td>cpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ctö/</td>
<td>ctöya</td>
<td>ctöe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zm̃/</td>
<td>zmie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zñ/</td>
<td>tœi-zño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zd̄/</td>
<td>zd̄e</td>
<td>zd̄an-tšə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ξp/</td>
<td>ξpu</td>
<td>ξpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ξq/</td>
<td>ξqui</td>
<td>ξqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ξts/</td>
<td>ξtsu</td>
<td>ξtsə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ξt̄s/</td>
<td>ξt̄sə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ξl/</td>
<td>ξlu</td>
<td>ξla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.2.2. Clusters with post-initials

There are only six clusters composed of bilabials followed by the fricatives /z/, /z/, or /z/. In this type, the bilabial is the initial consonant, while the fricative is a post-initial.

There is also a cluster that comprises three consonants /χpz/. It seems /p/ is the initial, with /χ/ as pre-initial and /z/ as post-initial, as in Table 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post-initial</th>
<th>Cluster initials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-z</td>
<td>pz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-z</td>
<td>bż</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ż</td>
<td>pʰz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ż</td>
<td>bż</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Clusters with post-initials
Examples of this type of cluster:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{/pz/} & \text{pzæ} & \text{‘intestines’} \\
\text{/bz/} & \text{bzæ} & \text{‘tears’} \\
\text{/pʰz/} & \text{pʰzæ} & \text{‘to tear’} \\
\text{/bz/} & \text{bzæ} & \text{‘cloth’} \\
\text{/pʰzæ} & \text{‘to remove’} \\
\text{/bzæ} & \text{‘big, whip’} \\
\text{/bz/} & \text{bzi} & \text{‘urine’} \\
\text{/χpz/} & \text{χpzæ} & \text{‘vulva’ (euphemism)}
\end{array}
\]

3.2. Final consonants

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

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{-p/} & \text{lup} & \text{‘pine needles’} \\
\text{-ts/} & \text{ʦʰɛts} & \text{‘ruler (a measure)’} (< \text{Ch.}) \\
\text{-l/} & \text{sal} & \text{‘rope’} \\
\text{-m/} & \text{χqum} & \text{‘neck’} \\
\text{-n/} & \text{χqon} & \text{‘throat’} \\
\text{lɔp} & \text{‘turnip’} \\
\text{futs} & \text{‘wheat bran’} (< \text{Ch.}) \\
\text{zdal} & \text{‘the nether world’} \\
\text{zdim} & \text{‘cloud’} \\
\text{ʃǝn} & \text{‘red’}
\end{array}
\]
Chapter 3: The Phonological System

3.3. Vowels

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

3.3.1. Basic vowels

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

The 12 vowel phonemes are given in Table 4:

1 The clusters /-zmn/, /-udz/ and /-ul/ only appear in verbs due to unstressed syllables.
Table 4. Inventory of vowel phonemes

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>æi</td>
<td>‘timber’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>sy</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>‘to learn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>æe</td>
<td>‘medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>æa</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>æo</td>
<td>‘wintertime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>æu</td>
<td>‘to dip’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Triphthongs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ei ai ai ei eu ou ou</td>
<td>ie iu io iau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui ue ua ue uo uo</td>
<td>yi ye ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Diphthongs & Triphthongs
Following are examples of the diphthongs:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
pie & ‘pig’ \\
\textit{lie} & ‘to plough’ \\
\textit{uoio} & ‘to roll’ \\
tui & ‘to unite’ \\
tsue & ‘water’ \\
sua & ‘teeth’ \\
\textit{ua} & ‘to help’ \\
zio & ‘to sing’ \\
\textit{lei} & ‘to forge’ \\
\textit{sy}a & ‘bright, light’ \\
\textit{syisyi} & ‘to count’ \\
p\textit{ei} & ‘tombstone’ (< Ch.) \\
l\textit{ei} & ‘steam’ \\
\textit{lie} & ‘to grind’ \\
tua & ‘to fall’ \\
tsua & ‘saliva’ \\
sua & ‘tail’ \\
\textit{ua} & ‘to call’ \\
\textit{tsi}u & ‘home’ \\
\textit{lei} & ‘sperm, semen’ \\
kou & ‘locative marker’ \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
k^{h}\textit{uai}-t^{h}a & ‘fast’ \\
\textit{seau} p\textit{iou} & ‘wrist watch’ \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
k\textit{uai}-t^{h}a & ‘to blame’ \\
p^{h}\textit{iou} & ‘ticket’ \\
\end{array}
\]
3.3.3. *Morphophonemic vowels*

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

\[
\begin{align*}
  i' & \quad tsi' \quad (< \text{tsi}) & \quad '\text{look (1sg/pl)}' \\
  y' & \quad ts'h'y' \quad (< \text{ts'h'y}) & \quad '\text{dare to (1sg/pl)}' \\
  a' & \quad qa' \quad (< \text{qa}) & \quad '1\text{sg:GEN}' \\
  o' & \quad dzo' \quad (< \text{dzo}) & \quad '\text{sit down (1sg/pl)}' \\
  io' & \quad zio' \quad (< \text{zio}) & \quad '\text{study (1sg/pl)}' \\
  ue' & \quad kue' \quad (< \text{kue}) & \quad '2\text{sg:GEN}'
\end{align*}
\]

3.4. The Issue of Tones

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
<th>Example 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C (syllabic) m</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>dzəχl ‘April’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>CCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>CCVV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCC</td>
<td>aχl</td>
<td>‘January’</td>
<td>CCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>sə</td>
<td>‘flax’</td>
<td>CCVVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>pie</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td>CCVCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>‘piglet’</td>
<td>CCVVCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td>wuats</td>
<td>‘socks’</td>
<td>CCCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVV</td>
<td>pʰiau</td>
<td>‘ticket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Syllable weakening

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

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

- $\text{ts}^h\text{as}$ ‘sheets’ $< \text{ts}^h\text{a} ‘\text{to lay out’} + \text{sa ‘NOM’}

- $\text{p}^h\text{ap}^h\text{as}$ ‘shop’ $< \text{p}^h\text{ap}^h\text{a ‘trade’} + \text{sa ‘NOM’}

- $\text{pani tan-t}^h\text{as}$ ‘pawnshop’ $< \text{pani‘goods’} + \text{tan-t}^h\text{a ‘pawn’} + \text{sa ‘NOM’}

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

- $\text{sum}$ ‘student’ $< \text{su ‘learn’} + \text{me ‘NOM’}

- $\text{dzo tsim}$ ‘door keeper’ $< \text{dzo ‘door’} + \text{tsi ‘look at’} + \text{me ‘NOM’}

- $\text{zezem}$ ‘sewer’ $< \text{zeze ‘sew’} + \text{me ‘NOM’}

- $\text{pani pum}$ ‘worker’ $< \text{pani‘goods’} + \text{pu ‘do’} + \text{me ‘NOM’}

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

- *futs* ‘wheat bran’ $< \text{fuzi ‘麩子’ (Mandarin)}$

- *uuats* ‘socks’ $< \text{wazi ‘襪子’ (Mandarin)}$
3.6.2. Vowel devoicing

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

\[ qe\text{su} \quad \text{‘head scarf’ (normal)} \quad qe\text{su} \quad \text{(emphasis)} \]
\[ ma\text{’wu} \quad \text{‘rain’ (normal)} \quad ma\text{’wu} \quad \text{(emphasis)} \]
3.7. Stress

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

- **ta-ṣpie** ‘story’
- **me-ṣpai** ‘father’
- **m-ṣpa** ‘snow’
- **zgua-ṣma** ‘moss’
- **χa-ṣže** ‘to stand up’
- **e-ṣbihe** ‘to suppress’
- **ne-ṣbiə** ‘two hundreds’
- **tsa-ṣχa** ‘these’
- **qe-ṇi** ‘all, entirely’
- **tbi-μi** ‘other’
- **kaŋ-ṣka** ‘exactly’
- **ṣen-ṭa** ‘next’

In the Northern dialect of Qiang, such as in the Ronghong and Mawo varieties, the stress usually falls on the first syllable in compound words, therefore, historically disyllabic words merged into one syllable (Huang 1998), but in the Southern dialect (Puxi and Taoping), the stress sometimes falls on the second syllable except for unstressed words, where the stress seems to fall on the first syllable (see § 3.6), and so disyllabic words still remain disyllabic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Puxi</th>
<th>Taoping</th>
<th>Ronghong</th>
<th>Mawo</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{zue}^{\text{-}pe})</td>
<td>(\text{zue}^{31}\text{-}pe^{33})</td>
<td>(\text{ze}^{\text{p}})</td>
<td>(\text{ze}^{\text{p}})</td>
<td>‘earth’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{tse}^{\text{-}pa})</td>
<td>(\text{ts}^{\text{e}^{\text{31}}}\text{-}\text{pa}^{33})</td>
<td>(\text{ts}^{\text{e}^{\text{p}}})</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘this year’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ne}^{\text{-}pa})</td>
<td>(\text{n}^{31}\text{-}\text{pa}^{33})</td>
<td>(\text{n}^{\text{e}^{\text{p}}})</td>
<td>(\text{n}^{\text{e}^{\text{p}}})</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4
Word classes

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

The word in the Puxi variety of Qiang may be defined as a minimum free form in which new elements, including pauses, cannot be inserted within words in normal speech. A word at least consists of one (or more than one) syllable. For instance, a ‘one’, m ‘ox’, and tw’a ‘goat’, are each one word corresponding with one syllable.

There are also some words corresponding to more than one syllable, e.g. mesa ‘sun’, qetu ‘pigtail’, zatsa ‘to vomit’, tseka ‘rough’, atsip ‘slowly’, and so on, which are all composed of two or three syllables. In disyllabic words, the first syllable is usually less stressed than the second syllable. In trisyllabic words, the first syllable is usually less stressed than the second syllable, and the second syllable is usually less stressed than the third syllable. If the last syllable within a polysyllabic word is de-stressed, its stress shifts to the first syllable, e.g. qesu ‘scarf’, so in polysyllabic words, the stress falls on the last syllable or on the first syllable.

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

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

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

4.1. Nouns

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

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

4.1.2. Proper nouns

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

(1) \( xqan \quad ts^h en \quad n \quad \chi sa. \)
Mao.County  wild.pepper  very  good
‘The wild pepper of Mao County is very good quality.’

(2) \( zd\eta a \quad m \quad mi-\chi sa. \)
Chengdu  weather  NEG-good
‘The weather of Chengdu changes a lot.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

4.1.3. Location nouns

Location nouns, generally speaking, are words denoting spatial orientation. Location nouns in the Puxi variety show a four-way distinction. Each location word has proximal, distal, remote and far remote forms. The location words are given in Table 6:
Chapter 4: Word Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>Remote</th>
<th>Far remote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Straight up</td>
<td>qeti</td>
<td>tʰe qeti</td>
<td>tʰetʰe qeti</td>
<td>la qeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Straight down</td>
<td>qʰeko</td>
<td>tʰe qʰeko</td>
<td>tʰetʰe qʰeko</td>
<td>la qʰeko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstream</td>
<td>ja’</td>
<td>tʰe ja’</td>
<td>tʰetʰe ja’</td>
<td>la ja’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downstream</td>
<td>sʰa’</td>
<td>tʰe sʰa’</td>
<td>tʰetʰe sʰa’</td>
<td>la sʰa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>tʰe kou</td>
<td>tʰetʰe kou</td>
<td>la kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>zali</td>
<td>tʰe zali</td>
<td>tʰetʰe zali</td>
<td>la zali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
<td>qe’</td>
<td>tʰe qe’</td>
<td>tʰetʰe qe’</td>
<td>la qe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>šenta</td>
<td>tʰe šenta</td>
<td>tʰetʰe šenta</td>
<td>la šenta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Location words

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

(5)  no  qeti-te  aʰ-τsi-n.
    2sg:TP  above-ABL  DIR-look.at-2

‘You look at (it) from above.’
(6) a. qeti tubzi a-n-tsi a'-xla
   above elder.brother one-two-CL DIR-lay.down
tę-so-ko-i.
DIR-finish-CSM:3
‘The elder brothers finished laying logs down on top of the hill.’

b. qeti-la tubzi a-n-tsi a'-xla
   above-TOP elder.brother one-two-CL DIR-lay.down
tę-so-ko-i.
DIR-finish-CSM:3
‘As for top of the hill, the elder brothers finished laying logs down.’

(7) a. zali m pəi, kou se-se.
   outside weather cold inside warm-REDUP
‘It is cold outside, while it is warm inside.’

b. zali-la m pəi, kou-la se-se.
   outside-TOP weather cold inside-TOP warm-REDUP
‘As for the outside, it is cold; as for the inside, it is warm.’
Location words can modify a noun. When location words modify a noun they do not take the genitive marker, but occur before the noun directly, as in the first clause of (8).

In the contrastive construction, the head of the noun phrase may be omitted, but the location words must take definite marking, as in the second clause of (8):

\[(8) \quad z\text{ali} \quad p\text{an}\text{i} \quad \chi\text{a}-\text{dy}a, \quad k\text{ou}-\text{lei} \quad t\text{e}-\text{ts}u\text{a}. \]

outside \hspace{1cm} thing \hspace{1cm} DIR-leave \hspace{1cm} inside-DEF \hspace{1cm} DIR-take

‘(You) leave outside’s goods, and take inside’s goods.’ (lit.: Leave the stuff outside, take the stuff inside.)

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

\[(9) \quad [q\varphi'] \quad z\varphi\text{ats}h\text{epi}] \quad [q\varphi'] \quad t\text{uts}u] \quad (m\text{ei}). \]

1sg:NTP:GEN \hspace{1cm} left \hspace{1cm} 1sg:NTP:GEN \hspace{1cm} younger.brother \hspace{1cm} (COP)

‘On my left is my younger brother.’

\[(10) \quad q\text{et}i \quad g\text{ui} \quad (m\text{ei}), \quad q\text{h}e\text{ko} \quad p\text{ieta}. \]

above \hspace{1cm} Kui.village \hspace{1cm} (COP) \hspace{1cm} below \hspace{1cm} Heba.village

‘The one above is Kui village, and the one below is Heba village.’
4.1.4. Temporal nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labeled</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭseapei</td>
<td>‘spring/summer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesi</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepi</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nedse</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsepe</td>
<td>‘this year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nepe</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sənta</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>‘fall/winter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɛɛɬa</td>
<td>‘daytime’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cɛɛtsɛ</td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugo</td>
<td>‘midnight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suapɛ</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qəɛχə</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(11)  qəɛχə-ʂə tʰi  eɬ-tsiɛ-pa-zA.

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

‘At first, that (the white stone) is smoked out.’ (This occurs in a narrative text. In Qiang culture, when one got sick, his family would go to invite a shaman to fumigate the sick to exorcise evil out of the patient’s body.)
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(12) \textit{pesi-(la)} \textit{χsisa pe-i.}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
 today-TOP & thirty & become-CSM \\
\end{tabular}

‘Today is the thirtieth.’

(13) \textit{pesi-(la)} \textit{mesi χs\textalpha{.}}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
 today-TOP & sun & good \\
\end{tabular}

‘Today is a good day.’

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

(14) \textit{ŋa pesi dżə qen\texti{i te-pu-qe-s\texti{i.}}}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
 1sg:TP & today & thing & all & DIR-do-finish-CSM:1 \\
\end{tabular}

‘I have done today’s work.’

(15) \textit{t\textalpha{la} nedże dżə te-mi-pu.}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
 3sg & yesterday & thing & DIR-NEG-do:3 \\
\end{tabular}

‘S/he did not do yesterday’s work.’

In copula clauses, a temporal noun may function as the topic of the copula clause, as in the following examples:
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(16) pesi  dEE  mEi/pe-i.
today  festival  COP/become-CSM

‘Today is the Spring Festival.’

(17) tepEi  Cin%6it6ian  mEi.
tomorrow  Sunday  COP

‘Tomorrow is Sunday.’

4.1.5. Derived nouns (Nominalization)

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

- su ‘to learn’ + -m sum ‘apprentice’
- zga ‘to run’ + -m zgam ‘waiter’
- qetu ‘hair’ + tE ‘to cut’ + -m qetu tEam ‘barber’
- dEo ‘door’ + tsi ‘to watch’ + -m dEo tsi m ‘doorkeeper’

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ts}^b\alpha &\quad \text{‘to spread out’} + \text{sa} & \quad \text{ts}^b\alpha\text{-sa} &\quad \text{‘blanket’} \\
\text{n}_i &\quad \text{‘to sleep’} + \text{sa} & \quad \text{n}_i\text{-sa/n}_i\text{s} &\quad \text{‘bed’} \\
\text{t}c^b\epsilon &\quad \text{‘to drink’} + \text{sa} & \quad \text{t}c^b\epsilon\text{-sa} &\quad \text{‘drinks’} \\
\text{dze} &\quad \text{‘to eat’} + \text{sa} & \quad \text{dze}\text{-sa} &\quad \text{‘food’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(18) \(\eta \quad \text{t}c^b\epsilon\text{-sa} \quad \eta\).  \\
1sg:TP drink-NOM exist:1  \\
‘I have drinks.’

(19) \(\eta \quad \text{qa}^i \quad \text{xu}\epsilon\text{la-po-sa} \quad \text{pa}\text{n}_i \quad \text{te-po-si}.\)  \\
1sg:TP face wash-do-NOM thing DIR-buy-CSM:1  \\
‘I bought goods for washing my face.’

Adjectives which are reduplicated or take the definite marker \(-lei\) are a third type of nominalization. As nouns, they may occur as the head of noun phrases (see §4.2.2).
Chapter 4: Word Classes

50

(20) ʃən-ʃən-lei  χsə,  ʃə-ʃə-lei  mi-χsə.

red-REDUP-DEF    good    yellow-REDUP-DEF    NEG-good

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

(21) ʔalaʔ  u  tsyi-tsyi-lei  a-gu.

3sg:GEN    bowl    small-REDUP-DEF    one-CL

‘His/her bowl is the small one.’

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

(22) a. ʔu  ʃe-dze-i  go,  nɨ-lei  mi-pə.

meal    DIR-eat-CSM    LNK    sleep-DEF    NEG-do

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

b. ʔu  ʃe-dze-i  go,  nɨ  mi-pə.

meal    DIR-eat-CSM    LNK    sleep    NEG-do

‘After a meal, (one) doesn’t sleep.’

(23) a. ɗə  pu-lei  ʃe-pəi-zə  zəso  ʃə.

thing    do-DEF    body-DAT    very    good

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

dzə  pu  sepei-żo  żazø  se.

thing  do  body-DAT  very  good

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

Note that the examples in (22a), (23a) and (22b), (23b) show a little bit of difference. The examples (22a) and (23a) take the definite marker -lei to function as an argument of the clause, whereas the examples (22b) and (23b) are used as verbs.

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

(24)  

t'-ala  şen-şen-tpi  te-po-i.

3sg  red-REDUP-INDEF  DIR-buy-CSM:3

ηa  p'-ţi-p'-ţi-tpi  te-po-si.

1sg:TP  white-REDUP-INDEF  DIR-buy-CSM:1

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

(25)  

ηa  (zmu)  te-še-tpi  te-tçu-si.

1sg:TP  dead.body  DIR-die-INDEF  DIR-see-CSM:1

t'-ala  čszszo-tpi  te-tçu-i.

3sg  live-INDEF  DIR-see-CSM:3

‘I saw a dead body, and s/he saw a live one.’
In general, nominalized verbs/adjectives are treated as NPs, so they may function as core arguments of the clause.

4.1.6. Pronouns

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

4.1.6.1. Personal pronouns

There are three persons and three numbers marked in the personal pronouns in the Puxi variety of Qiang. There is an exclusive/inclusive distinction in the first person non-singular and a topic/non-topic distinction in first and second person singular. There are also dual forms of the pronouns, as given in Table 7:
Among personal pronouns, the first person singular and the second person singular in the Puxi variety of Qiang show a topic vs. non-topic distinction, although the first person plural, the second person plural and the third person pronoun do not show such a distinction:

(26) \( \eta a \quad t^h-a-la \quad se' \)

1sg:TP 3sg beat:1

‘I am beating him/her.’
(27) \( t^hala \quad qa \quad se. \)

3sg
1sg:NTP
beat:3

’S/he is beating me.’

(28) \( no \quad qa \quad se-n. \)

2sg:TP
1sg:NTP
beat:2

‘You are beating me.’

(29) \( \eta a \quad kue \quad se'. \)

1sg:TP
2sg:NTP
beat:1

‘I am beating you.’

(30) \( tsyla \quad t^halpha \quad se'. \)

1pl:INCL
3pl
beat:1

‘We are beating them.’

(31) \( t^halpha \quad tsyla \quad se. \)

3pl
1pl:INCL
beat:3

‘They are beating us.’ (Inclusive)
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(32)  \textit{qala} \quad \textit{kuela} \quad \textit{se}^1.

1pl:EXCL \quad 2pl \quad beat:1

‘We are beating you.’

(33)  \textit{kuela} \quad \textit{qala} \quad \textit{se}-n.

2pl \quad 1pl:EXCL \quad beat-2

‘You are beating us.’ (Exclusive)

(34)  \textit{qa}^1 \quad \textit{sepe}i \quad \textit{zdxe} \quad \textit{la}.

1sg:NTP:GEN \quad body \quad illness \quad exist

‘I am sick.’ (lit.: My body has illness.)

(35)  \textit{kue}^1 \quad \textit{qezbe-ta} \quad \textit{papa-tci} \quad \textit{wa}.

2sg:NTP:GEN \quad head-LOC \quad scar-INDEF \quad exist

‘There is a scar on your head.’ (lit.: Your head has a scar.)

From the examples above, we can see that \textit{qa} and \textit{no} occur only in topic position, as in examples (26), (28) and (29), so we call them topic pronouns, while \textit{qa} and \textit{kue} never occur in topic position, but appear in other positions, as in (27) to (35), therefore we call them non-topic pronouns.
Table 7 shows that the first person and the second person plural are composed of the singular non-topic forms plus the number marker -la, first person exclusive qa-la (exclusive) and second person plural kue-la. First person inclusive is also formed by adding the plural marker -la, i.e. tsy-la (inclusive). The third person singular t6a is same form as the distal demonstrative pronoun, and /a is a classifier (see §4.1.6.3), and the plural form of the third person includes a unique plural marker, -ča. The 1st person dual forms show an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction involving the same forms as appear in the inclusive plural and singular non-topic pronouns plus n ‘two’: qa-n ‘we two’ (exclusive), kue-n ‘you two’, or first person inclusive and the third person singular plus n ‘two’: tsy-n ‘we two’ (inclusive), and t6-e-n ‘they two’.

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

(36)  
\[ t^hala \quad qa \quad te-di-i. \]

3sg 1sg:NTP  DIR-beat-CSM:3

‘S/he beat me.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(37)  
\[t^bala \; qo-\zeta \; dz\epsilon \; a-z\eta\zeta i \; ze-ze^i-i.\]

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT thing one-kind DIR-tell-CSM:3

‘S/he told me one thing.’

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

(38)  

a.  
\[t^bala \; qo-\zeta \; kue-\zeta \; pa\eta i \; ze-\chi ts\eta\zeta za-i.\]

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:NTP-DAT things DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made me give you the thing.’ / ‘S/he made me give the thing to you.’

b.  
\[\eta a \; t^bala-i \; pa\eta i \; kue-\zeta \; ze-\chi ts\eta\zeta za-i.\]

1sg:TP 3sg:AGT thing 2sg:NTP-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘I was made to give you the thing by him/her.’

c.  
\[no \; t^bala-i \; pa\eta i \; qo-\zeta \; ze-\chi ts\eta\zeta za-i.\]

2sg:TP 3sg:AGT thing 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘You were made to give the thing to me by him/her.’
In (38a) the third person singular *t6ala* functions as causer and topic, *qo* ‘I’ and *kue* ‘you’, both non-topic forms, are marked by the dative marker -zo, and *pani* ‘thing’ is the undergoer. In (38b) the causee, represented in (38a) by *qo*, appears in initial position as the topic, in the topic form *ŋa*, and the causer *t6ala* is marked by the agentive marker -i. In (38c) the recipient, represented by *kue* ‘you’ in (38a), appears in sentence-initial position to function as the topic, and is represented by the topic pronoun *no* ‘you’, while the causer is again marked by the agentive marker -i.

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

### 4.1.6.2. Reflexive pronouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>ŋa ku joqe</em></td>
<td><em>tsyn joqe</em></td>
<td><em>tsyla joqe</em> (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>qan joqe</em></td>
<td><em>qala joqe</em> (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>ku</em></td>
<td><em>kuen joqe</em></td>
<td><em>kuela joqe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>mu</em></td>
<td><em>t6en/mun joqe</em></td>
<td><em>t6aχa/mula joqe</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(39) ɲaku-i ɲaku tsi'i.
1sg:REFL-AGT 1sg:REFL look.at:1
‘I myself am looking at myself.’

(40) mu-i mu ʃe.
3sg:REFL-AGT 3sg:REFL beat:3
‘S/he is beating herself/himself.’

(41) tʰaχa-joqe-i mu-la dzadze.
3pl-REFL-AGT 3sg:REFL-PL ask:3
‘They ask themselves.’

(42) ku-i ku dzadze-n.
2sg:REFL-AGT 2sg:REFL ask-2
‘You ask yourself.’
The reflexive pronouns may also be used as emphatic pronouns, as in (43)-(50):

**emphatic-actor:**

(43) \( \etaaku \quad zeda \quad a\text{-}pen \quad te\text{-}po\text{-}si. \)

1sg:REFL book one-CL DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘I myself bought a book.’

**emphatic-genitive:**

(44) \( \eta \quad \etaaku^i \quad zeda \quad a\text{-}pen \quad te\text{-}po\text{-}si. \)

1sg:TP 1sg:REFL:GEN book one-CL DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘I bought one book for myself.’

**emphatic-actor:**

(45) \( tsa\text{-}pen \quad zeda \quad \etaaku^i \quad te\text{-}po\text{-}si. \)

this-CL book 1sg:REFL-AGT DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘This book I bought myself.’

**emphatic-genitive:**

(46) \( joqe \quad qa' \quad la \quad mi\text{-}\eta \quad pa\text{-}u\text{-}a. \)

1sg:REFL face also NEG-exist do-PROS-1

‘I would also lose my own face.’
emphatic-topic:

(47)  \textit{ku kue-lu}.

2sg:REFL IMP-come

‘You come by yourself.’

emphatic-possessor:

(48)  \textit{t^\text{th}a vaje \text{pani} t^\text{th}e-ne-\text{zm}a\text{i}}

3sg:GEN father thing that-two-kind
d\text{-}z\text{da}-i  go,  mu  tau\text{l}i  \text{\eta}.  

DIR-give-CSM:3  LNK 3sg:REFL truth exist:3

‘His father gave (him) two these things; he will find a way himself.’

emphatic-genitive:

(49)  \textit{apu mep\text{i} mu kebze qezebe la-sa}

old.man 3sg:REFL child head exist-NOM

\textit{mi-\text{\eta}-t\text{\eta}i}  se  \text{n\text{i}}  \text{\chi\text{za}\text{e}}  \text{\chi\text{sa-\text{\chi\text{sa}}}  a-la}

NEG-exist-INDEF know ADV wife good-REDUP one-CL
t\text{-}z\text{mie}  \text{n\text{i}}  ts\text{e-si}  zetse ko-t^\text{th}a-ze  kala.

DIR-look.for ADV son-COMIT life live-AUX-CAUS want:3

‘The old man knows his own son is stupid, so he wants to cause his son to find a good wife to live with.’
emphatic-actor:

(50)  \textit{mu-i }  \textit{te^h-a-pu}.

3sg:REFL-AGT  PERMS-do

‘Let s/he do it by herself/himself.’

4.1.6.3. Demonstratives

The demonstratives show a two-term system in terms of proximate and distal, which are \textit{tsa} and \textit{th a} respectively. The proximate is used when the referent is near the speaker. The distal is used when the object referred to is far away or out of vision. The classification of demonstratives is shown in Table 9:
Proximate | Distal | Semantics
---|---|---
*tsa-la* | *tʰa-la* | human reference (‘this person’, ‘that person’)
*tsa-χa* | *tʰa-χa* | quantity (‘this much’, ‘that much’)
*tsi* | *tʰi* | object (‘this’, ‘that’)
*tsa-δu* | *tʰa-δu* | location (‘here’, ‘there’)
*tsa-tsʰue* | *tʰa-tsʰue* | location (‘this side’, ‘that side’)
*tso* | *tʰo* | location (‘here’, ‘there’)
*tsa-tsʰo* | *tʰa-tsʰo* | time (‘at this time’, ‘at that time’)
*tsa-tui* | *tʰa-tui* | time (‘now’, ‘then’)
*tsa-l* | *tʰa-l* | time (‘now’, ‘then’)
*tsa-kʰa* | *tʰa-kʰa* | time (‘in these days’, ‘in those days’)
*tsa-zmaei* | *tʰa-zmaei* | kinds/means (‘this way’, ‘that way’)

Table 9. Demonstrative pronouns

It seems that the proximate *tsa* and distal *tʰa* are the basic forms of demonstratives. The demonstratives referring to human reference, *tsa-la / tʰa-la*, are formed from the demonstrative *tsa / tʰa* plus the classifier *-la*. The demonstratives referring to quantities, *tsa-χa* ‘these’ / *tʰa-χa* ‘those’, comprise *tsa / tʰa* with the plural marker *-χa*. The demonstratives referring to objects, *tsi / tʰi*, may be combinations of the demonstrative *tsa / tʰa* with the classifier *-zi* (*tsi < tsa + zi, tʰi < tʰa + zi*). There is no difference semantically or syntactically between *tso* ‘here’ / *tʰo* ‘there’ and *tsaδu* ‘here’ / *tʰaδu* ‘there’ representing locations. The demonstratives referring to
manner, *tsa-zmei* ‘this way’ / *th*a-zmei ‘that way’, consist of the demonstrative *tsa* / *th*a plus the classifier *zmei* ‘kind’, whereas *tsa-tsue* ‘this side’ / *th*a-tsue ‘that side’ are composed of *tsa* / *th*a plus the classifier *tsue* ‘side’. It is interesting that demonstratives referring to time have four forms: *tsa-tso* / *th*a-tso, *tsa-kha* / *th*a-kha, *tsa-l* / *th*a-l and *tsa-tui* / *th*a-tui. The demonstratives *tsa-tso* / *th*a-tso refer to the longest time span, and *tsa-kha* / *th*a-kha represent a longer time span than *tsa-tui* / *th*a-tui and shorter than *tsa-tso* / *th*a-tso, while *tsa-l* / *th*a-l are similar to *tsa-tui* / *th*a-tui, referring to the shortest time span.

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

(51)  
*th*a-zi  qa’  mei.
that-CL  1sg:NTP:GEN  COP

‘That (thing) is mine.’
4.1.6.4. Interrogative pronouns

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

- "$a/'se$e/\tilde{s}i\tilde{se}^i$ ‘who’
- "$n{o}-dzua ‘what’
- "$t\tilde{a}n\tilde{g} ‘how many/how much’
- "$ou-dzua ‘where’
- "$a\tilde{n}a ‘which’
- "$n{o}-ti$ ‘what’
- "$a\tilde{n}a-t\tilde{e}^h ‘when’
- "$n{o}-pi ‘why’
- "$t\tilde{a}n-t\tilde{e}^h ‘how long’
- "$a\tilde{n}a ‘how’

The forms for "$n{o}-dzua/ $n{o}-ti$ ‘what’, and "$n{o}-pi ‘why’ involve the same morpheme, $n{o}$. The form for ‘when’ "$a\tilde{n}a-t\tilde{e}^h ‘when’ is formed by "$a\tilde{n}a ‘which’ plus $t\tilde{e}^h ‘classifier for time’. The form "$t\tilde{a}n-t\tilde{e}^h ‘how long’ is formed by "$t\tilde{a}n ‘how many’ plus $t\tilde{e}^h ‘classifier for time’. The form "$ou-dzua is formed by "$ou ‘where’ plus $dzua ‘classifier for object’.
Chapter 4: Word Classes

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Topic</th>
<th>Intransitive Topic</th>
<th>Undergoer</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʂi</td>
<td>şa</td>
<td>şe</td>
<td>şe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. The forms of ‘who’

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

transitive topic:

(54) ʂi-ı pie tʰa-zi şe-tse-i? 
who-AGT pig that-CL DIR-kill-CSM

‘Who killed that pig?’

transitive topic:

(55) ʂi-ı şe qu?
who-AGT who:P scare

‘Who scares whom?’
transitive topic:

(56) \(\text{\textit{s}i-i} \quad \text{\textit{s}e} \quad \text{\textit{ma}?}\)

who-AGT who:P love:3

‘Who loves whom?’

intransitive topic:

(57) \(\text{\textit{s}a-t\textit{si} \quad kue-lu-i?}\)

who-INDEF DIR-come-CSM

‘Who is coming?’

copula complement:

(58) \(\text{\textit{n}o} \quad \text{\textit{s}e-n?}\)

2sg:TP who:CC-2

‘Who are you?’

genitive:

(59) \(\text{\textit{t}h\text{a}la-i} \quad \text{\textit{s}e\text{\textquoteright}i} \quad \text{\textit{pa\text{\textquoteright}i} \quad te-\text{\textquoteright}z\text{\textquoteright}ya-i?}\)

3sg-AGT who:GEN thing DIR-lose-CSM:3

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

(60)  
$t^6ala\  \breve{s}e-\tilde{t}ci\  \ la\  \ mi-qu.$

3sg  who-INDEF  also  NEG-afraid:3

‘S/he is not afraid of anyone.’

(61)  
$t^6ala\  \breve{n}i-\tilde{t}ci\  \ la\  \ mi-ma.$

3sg  what-CL  also  NEG-like:3

‘S/he does not like anything.’

(62)  
$\eta\  \breve{o}u-dzu\a\  \ la\  \ ke\  \ kala\’.$

1sg:TP  where-CL  also  go  want:1

‘I would like to go anywhere.’

(63)  
$no\  \breve{a}na-\breve{t}e^h\o\  \ la\  \ ze-lu\  \ qe-n.$

2sg:TP  which-time  also  DIR-come  can-2

‘You may come whenever you want.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

4.1.6.5. Indefinite pronouns

Aside from the use of the interrogative pronouns as indefinite pronouns, there are three indefinite pronouns, \textit{tʰimī} ‘other thing’, \textit{me} ‘(other) person’ and \textit{qaga} ‘other’ in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The indefinite pronoun \textit{me} ‘other person’ may be used as the head of an NP, as in (65), and may also be used as the modifier of the head of an NP, as in (66). The indefinite pronoun \textit{qaga} may be used as the modifier of the head of an NP, as in (67), and \textit{tʰimī} is used as the modifier of an NP, as in (68), or the head of an NP, as in (69):

(64) \textit{ana-tui la qe}.

which-time also can

‘(You) may do it anytime.’

(65) \textit{apu mepəi, no me mi-qʰo-n baɿ?}

old.man 2sg:TP other.person NEG-cheat-2 PRT

‘Old man, didn’t you cheat someone?’

(66) \textit{təʨi ɾi ətɕi, me tɕə-lei}

eldest.sister CONJ second.eldest.sister other.person son-DEF

dzə-dzə oɿ!

laugh.at-REDUP PRT

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

(67) $qaq$ $a$-$zme$ $ze$-$zda$.
other one-kind DIR-give
‘(You) give (me) another thing.’

(68) $thimi$ $pu$ $pi$-$\eta$.
other clothing CONT-need
‘(We) still need another piece of clothing.’

(69) $no$ $thimi$ $a$-$gue$ $e$-$\iota$-$pi$-$lopa$.
2sg:TP other one-CL DIR-CONT-add
‘You add another one.’

4.1.7. Numerals and Quantifiers

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

4.1.7.1. Numerals

The numeral system is a simple decimal system in the Puxi variety. Native terms for numbers may be up to ‘ten thousand’: 
As the examples above show, the numerals from one to nine in the Puxi variety of Qiang are all monosyllables, but the numerals from ten to nineteen have the morpheme \( \chi a \) before one of the numerals from one to nine, and the numerals from twenty to ninety have the morpheme \( s a \) after the numerals from one to nine. The words \( ts^\text{ha} \) ‘hundred’, \( sto \) ‘thousand’, and \( yue \) ‘ten thousand’ are classifiers, like in Chinese; when the classifier \( ts^\text{ha} \) is added after the numeral \( a \) ‘one’ it is to form
\textit{a-tsf} ‘one hundred’, if the classifier \textit{sto} is added after the numeral \textit{a} ‘one’, it is to form \textit{a-sto} ‘one thousand’, and when the classifier \textit{yue} is added after the numeral \textit{a} ‘one’, it forms \textit{a-yue} ‘ten thousand’. If the classifier \textit{yue} is reduplicated and is added after the numeral \textit{a} ‘one’, it forms \textit{a-yueyue} ‘one hundred thousand’.

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{la-qe}‘ (most-front) ‘the first one’
\item \textit{senta} (back) ‘the next one’
\item \textit{te-senta} (that-back) ‘the third one’
\item \textit{te-te-senta} (that-that-back) ‘the fourth one’
\item \textit{la-senta} (most-back) ‘the last one’
\end{itemize}

4.1.7.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers mainly function as modifiers of the noun. The quantifier \textit{an} ‘several’ is a combination of the numeral \textit{a} ‘one’ and \textit{n} ‘two’. Following is a list of all quantifiers:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{a-n-la} ‘several’
\item \textit{a-\textgamma} ‘some’
\item \textit{a-n-ts} ‘hundreds’
\item \textit{a-n-sto} ‘thousands’
\end{itemize}
4.1.8. Classifiers and measure words

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

- a-tsi: used for people
- a-la: used for human beings, or things
- a-zi: used for non-human beings, like animals
- a-dzi: used for stick-like, long, thin objects or flowers (native word)
- a-wui: used for small trees or flowers
- a-tceha: used for flat, thin things
- a-gu: used for (small) round objects
- a-χqa: used for one mouthful of things (cf. the noun χqa ‘mouth’)

**Chapter 4: Word Classes**

*a-n-yue* ‘tens of thousands’  *qen-ι-χα* ‘all’

one-two-ten.thousand all-PL

*tsa-ta/-χα* ‘these’  *tʰa-ta/-χα* ‘those’

this-PL that-PL
Chapter 4: Word Classes

\[ a-p^h o \] one tree (cf. the noun \( p^h o \) ‘tree’) or forest

\[ a-gue \] one dollar

\[ a-tse^h e \] one cent

\[ a-tue \] one handspan (thumb to tip of extended middle finger)

\[ a-zie \] one fathom (finger to finger with arms outstretched)

The following are used for groups of individuals:

\[ a-qa \] used for a family of people

\[ a-dzuE \] used for a pair of things (such as ‘shoes’)

\[ a-bu \] used for a crowd of people or haystack

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

\[ a-p^h in \] one bottle (< Ch. \( p^h in \) ‘瓶’)

\[ a-ka \] one cigarette (< Ch. \( k a \) ‘根’)

\[ a-pEi \] one backload of things (< Ch. \( Ei \) ‘背’)

\[ a-ts^h uan \] used for a string of small things (< Ch. \( uan \) ‘串’)

\[ a-cho \] used for one box of things (< Ch. \( ho \) ‘盒’)

\[ a-pa \] used for long stick-like object or knife (< Ch. \( pa \) ‘把’).

\[ a-ts^h e \] one foot (< Ch. \( ts^h e \) ‘尺’).
Apart from nominal classifiers, there are some verbal action classifiers which precede the verb they modify. Following are some verbal action classifiers:

- **a-tui** (hit/) one time
- **a-tšu`a** (chop) one time
- **a-l** (come) one time
- **a-tue** (sleep) one time
- **a-χtsua** (punch) one time
- **a-to** (feed) one time
- **a-ji** (beat) one time
- **a- 행사** (kick) one time

Following are some examples of verbal action classifiers:

(70) \[ t^{h}al a-l da-tšu`a-i. \]

3sg one-CL DIR-cut-CSM:3

’S/he cut one time.’

(71) \[ ṇa t^{h}al a-ji de-dy-si. \]

1sg:TP 3sg one-CL DIR-beat-CSM:1

‘I beat him/her one time.’
4.2. Verbs

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

4.2.1. Transitivity

The verbs in the Puxi variety can be classified into intransitive, transitive, ditransitive and ambitransitive verbs by reference to the number of arguments the verb takes. Some verbs have the same form for both intransitive and transitive usage, and only differ with respect to an actor occurs in the sentence, as in (90)-(91) (see § 4.2.1.4 below). Intransitives can be formed from transitives by reduplicating the verb to form
a reciprocal, e.g. \( \text{ts}^{h} \text{e} \) ‘change’ is transitive, while its reduplicated form \( \text{ts}^{h} \text{e} \text{ts}^{h} \text{e} \) ‘exchange’ is intransitive. Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitive verbs by using the causative construction, e.g. \( p^{h} \text{u} \) ‘run’ is an intransitive, and \( \text{s} \text{e} \text{p}^{h} \text{u} \text{z} \text{e} \) ‘cause to run’ is its causative. Transitives can become ditransitive by adding the causative marking, e.g. \( \text{ts} \text{i} \) ‘read’ is a transitive, and \( \text{s} \text{e} \text{ts} \text{i} \text{z} \text{e} \) ‘cause to read’ is its causative form.

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

4.2.1.1. Intransitive

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

(74) It is raining.

(75) It is sunny.

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, however, at least one overt argument must appear in each clause, as in (76)-(77):
In (76) the single argument *me'wu* ‘rain’[S] functions as topic of the intransitive directional verb *lu* ‘come’. In (77) the single argument *m* ‘weather’ [S] functions as the topic of the stative verb *na* ‘good’.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>‘lick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsʰe</em></td>
<td>‘change’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em></td>
<td>‘beat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zde</em></td>
<td>‘connect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne</em> <em>ne</em></td>
<td>‘lick each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsʰe</em> <em>tsʰe</em></td>
<td>‘exchange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>di</em> <em>di</em></td>
<td>‘beat each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zde</em> <em>zde</em></td>
<td>‘mutually connect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1.2. Transitives

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

(78) $\eta a$ $t^hala$ $se'$

1sg:TP [A] 3sg [P] beat:1

‘I am beating him.’

(79) $t^hala$ $zede$ $tsi$


‘S/he is reading a book.’

In example (78) the first person singular $\eta a$ functions as [A] of the transitive verb $se'$ ‘beat’, and the third person singular $t^hala$ functions as [P] of the same verb. In (79) the third person singular $t^hala$ functions as [A] of the transitive verb $tsi$ ‘look at’, and $zede$ ‘book’ functions as [P] of the same verb.

In some specific contexts, one of the arguments of a transitive verb may be unstated, as in (80), (81) and (82):
(80)  \( \eta a \quad (ts^h u) \quad dze' \).

1sg:TP [A]  meal [P/\( \emptyset \)]  eat:1

‘I am eating.’

(81)  \( ts^h e \quad te-po-si \).

salt [P]  DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘I have bought salt.’

(82)  \( ts^h a \quad a^h-p^h-o-t^h a-si \).

tea [P]  DIR-soak-AUX-CSM:1

‘I have made tea.’

In (80) the first person singular \( \eta a \) is the [A] of the transitive verb \( dze' \) ‘eat’, and \( ts^h u \) ‘meal’ functions as [P] of the same verb. The [P], \( ts^h u \) ‘meal’, of the transitive verb may be omitted. In (81) and (82) the actor, the first person singular \( \eta a \) is omitted. The examples in (81) and (82) can be interpreted as two different syntactic structures, as in (83) and (84):

(83) a.  \( \eta a \quad ts^h e \quad te-po-si \).

1sg:TP [A]  salt [P]  DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘I bought salt.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

4.2.1.3. Ditransitives

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

Both (83a) and (84a) are actor-undergoer structures in which the actor/topic is first person singular \( \eta a \). In both (83b) and (84b) the actor may be omitted, and the undergoer appear in initial position, however, in this case the undergoer \( ts^h a \) ‘salt’ in (83b) and \( ts^h a \) ‘tea’ in (84b) became more topical because of the omission of the actor. There is no change in the number of arguments.
In example (85) the ditransitive verb $\chi_{tsu}$ ‘send’ takes the actor $t^hala$ ‘s/he’, the undergoer $\text{cin} a-f\text{en}$ ‘one letter’ and the recipient $kue$ ‘you’ marked by the dative marker $-zo$. In example (86) the ditransitive verb $ze$ ‘sew’ takes the actor $\text{ava}$ ‘mother’, the undergoer $p^bu a-la$ ‘one piece of clothing’ and the benefactive $qo$ ‘I’ marked by the dative marker $-zo$. In (87) the ditransitive verb $qa$ ‘borrow’ takes the actor $t^hala$ ‘s/he’, the undergoer $\text{ctcindzi} \chi_{adzy-gu}$ ‘ten dollars’ and the source $qa$.
‘I’ marked by the ablative marker -te. In example (88) tsoti ‘hand over’ takes the actor tʰala ‘s/he’, the undergoer ččεndzi ‘money’ and the recipient kue ‘you’ also marked by the dative marker -zo.

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

(89) tʰala ɲa-i pu a-la da-čda-si.

3sg 1sg:TP-AGT clothing one-CL DIR-give-CSM:1

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

4.2.1.4. Ambitransitives

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

(90) a. sabzi te-qu.

elder.sister [S] DIR-scare:3

‘Elder sister scared.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

4.2.2. Adjectives (Intransitive state predicate verbs)

Adjectives are a subtype of the verb because they can be predicates without the use of copulas, and when adjectives are used as predicates, they take the same verbal morphology as non-stative verbs:
(92)  \[ p^h_o \quad bzi. \]

tree [S] big

‘(The) tree is big.’

(93)  \[ p^h_o \quad \chi a-bzi-\mathit{qe}-i. \]

tree [S] DIR-big-finish-CSM

‘The trees became big.’

(94)  \[ p^h_u \quad te-bets^h_i-\mathit{qe}-i. \]

clothes [S] DIR-small-(finish)-CSM

‘These clothes became tight.’

(95)  \[ tsue \quad te-bets^h_i-i. \]

water [S] DIR-small-CSM

‘A/The river became small.’

In both (92) and (93) \( bzi \) ‘big’ is the predicate and takes the argument \( p^h_o \) ‘tree’. In (94) \( p^h_u \) ‘clothes’ and in (95) \( tsue \) ‘water’ are the arguments [S] of the intransitive stative verb \( \text{bets}^h_i \) ‘small’.

Adjectives can take the same person marking forms as intransitive verbs when they function as predicates, as in (96) to (99):
(96) a. \( \eta \) \text{bzj\textsuperscript{i}}. 
\begin{align*}
1\text{sg:TP} & \quad \text{big:1} \\
\text{‘I am old.’} & \quad \text{‘I grew up.’}
\end{align*}

b. \( \eta \) \text{\( \chi \)a-bzj-si.} 
\begin{align*}
1\text{sg:TP} & \quad \text{DIR-big-CSM:1}
\end{align*}

(97) a. \( \no \) \text{bzj-n.} 
\begin{align*}
2\text{sg:TP} & \quad \text{big-2} \\
\text{‘You are old.’} & \quad \text{‘You grew up.’}
\end{align*}

b. \( \no \) \text{\( \chi \)a-bzj-so.} 
\begin{align*}
2\text{sg:TP} & \quad \text{DIR-big-CSM:2sg}
\end{align*}

(98) a. \( \text{kuel} \) \text{bzj-n.} 
\begin{align*}
2\text{pl} & \quad \text{big-2} \\
\text{‘You are old.’} & \quad \text{‘You grew up.’}
\end{align*}

b. \( \text{kuel} \) \text{\( \chi \)a-bzj-son.} 
\begin{align*}
2\text{pl} & \quad \text{DIR-big-CSM:2pl}
\end{align*}

(99) a. \( \text{t\textsuperscript{h}ala} \) \text{bzj.} 
\begin{align*}
3\text{sg} & \quad \text{big:3} \\
\text{‘S/he is old.’} & \quad \text{‘S/he grew up.’}
\end{align*}

b. \( \text{t\textsuperscript{h}ala} \) \text{\( \chi \)a-bzj-i.} 
\begin{align*}
3\text{sg} & \quad \text{DIR-big-CSM:3}
\end{align*}

From these examples, we can see that there is a distinction between (96a), (97a), (98a), (99a) and (96b), (97b), (98b), (99b). The examples in (96a), (97a), (98a), and (99a) are all marked by the imperfective person markers, while all examples in (96b), (97b), (98b), and (99b) are all marked by change of state person markers and directional prefixes.
Reduplication of adjectives may nominalize adjectives. Reduplicated adjectives which usually take the definite marker /lei/ can occur in the topic or undergoer position (can be used as an argument), as in (100)-(102), or as a modifier of a noun, as in (103)-(105). Reduplicated adjectives can also take adverbial modification, as in (102):

(100)  
\[ \begin{align*}
\eta & \quad \text{dzila-la-lei} \quad \text{ma-u-a}, \\
\text{1sg:TP} & \quad \text{long-REDUP-DEF} \quad \text{demand-PROS-1} \\
no & \quad \text{mia-mia-lei} \quad \text{kue-ma}. \\
\text{2sg:TP} & \quad \text{short-REDUP-DEF} \quad \text{DIR-demand}
\end{align*} \]

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

(101)  
\[ \begin{align*}
t'ala & \quad \text{ydz-ydz-lei} \quad \text{ts'ap-bie}, \\
\text{3sg} & \quad \text{light-REDUP-DEF} \quad \text{PERMS-carry} \\
no & \quad \text{dza-dza-lei} \quad \text{kue-bie}. \\
\text{2sg:TP} & \quad \text{heavy-REDUP-DEF} \quad \text{DIR-carry}
\end{align*} \]

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

---

\[ ^1 \text{If the adjective is a disyllabic word, the second syllable is reduplicated, such as with dzila ‘long’, which has the reduplicated form dzila-la ‘long one; naspie ‘black’ reduplicates as naspie-spe ‘black one’} \]
Chapter 4: Word Classes

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

b. \( \eta \) la-yan-lele-lei \( ma-u-a. \)  
1sg:TP SUPER-round-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-1  
‘I will need the roundest one.’

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

(103) \( \eta \) \( p^h\)u \( dz\text{j}a-la-lei \) \( ma-u-a. \)  
1sg:TP clothing long-REDUP-DEF demand-PROS-1  
\( no \) \( (p^h\)u) \( mia-mia-lei \) \( kue-ma. \)  
2sg:TP clothing short-REDUP-DEF DIR-demand  
‘I’ll take the long clothing, and you take the short one.’
In addition to being used as predicates, adjectives may also occur after the head of a noun to modify the noun. When adjectives are predicates or modifiers of nouns, they can take a degree adverb. Following are some examples of adjectives being used as predicates or modifiers with degree adverbs modifying the adjective:
(106) a. $p^h_o$  $bzj$  $(a-p^h_o)$  
   tree  big  one-CL  
   ‘(a) big tree’

b. $p^h_o$  $(tsa-p^h_o)$  $bzj$.  
   tree  this-CL  big  
   ‘(This) tree is big.’

(107) a. $p^h_o$  $peipei/ŋ/ə$  $bzj$  $(a-p^h_o)$  
   tree  very  tree  one-CL  
   ‘(a) very big tree’

b. $p^h_o$  $(tsa-p^h_o)$  $peipei/ŋ/ə$  $bzj$.  
   tree  one-CL  very  tree  
   ‘(This) tree is very big.’

(108) a. $p^h_o$  $la$  $bzj$  
   tree  SUPER  big  
   ‘the biggest tree’
b. $p^h_o$ (tsa-$p^h_o$) la bzi. (predicate)

    tree this-CL SUPER big

    ‘(This) tree is the biggest.’

(109) a. pastu $\text{ʃən}$ (a-υυε) (modifier)

    flower red one-CL

    ‘(a) red flower’

b. pastu (tsa-υυε) $\text{ʃən}$. (predicate)

    flower this-CL red

    ‘(This) flower is red.’

(110) a. pastu peipei/ŋ/sa $\text{ʃən}$ (a-υυε) (modifier)

    flower very red one-CL

    ‘(a) very red flower’

b. pastu (tsa-υυε) peipei/ŋ/sa $\text{ʃən}$. (predicate)

    tree this-CL very red

    ‘(This) flower is very red.’
4.2.3. Existential / Locative verbs

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zə} & \quad \text{for animate referents, as in (112) and (113)} \\
\text{la} & \quad \text{for a referent located in a container, as in (114)}
\end{align*}
\]
wa for immovable referents or referents inalienably connected to a larger entity, as in (115)

ηa for inanimate referents, as in (116)

Animate:

(112) ηa tso ze’

1sg:TP here exist:1

‘I am here.’

Animate:

(113) qe’χα me a-qa ze-i-u.

before people one-CL exist-CSM:3-HEARS

‘Long long ago, there was one family.’

Inanimate/animate-inside vessel:

(114) tsue-kou ue la.

river-LOC fish exist

‘There are fish in the river.’
Inanimate-immovable:

(115) \( \chi su-qi-ta \ p^6o \ wa. \)

mountain-top-LOC  tree  exist

‘There are trees on the mountain.’

Inanimate:

(116) \( zuepe-ta \ \chi i \ a-dzj \ \eta a. \)

earth-LOC  needle  one-CL  exist

‘There is a needle on the ground.’

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

Possessive-two core arguments (animate existence):

(117) \( \eta a \ tutsu \ a-la \ ze'. \)

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

‘I have a younger brother.’
Possessive-two core arguments (animate existence):

(118) *no kebzi zə-n me?*

2sg:TP [A] kids [P] have-2 QUES

‘Do you have kids?’

Possessive-two core arguments (inanimate existence):

(119) *ŋa jatsu ḋa.*

1sg:TP [A] ring [P] have:1

‘I have a ring.’

Possessive-two core arguments (inanimate existence):

(120) *t’ala ɕtəndzi ḋa.*

3sg [A] money [P] have:3

‘S/he has money.’

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

(121) $qa'$  $sepe-i-(ta)$  $zd\text{e}$  $la'$.  

1sg:NTP:GEN  body-(DAT) [A]  disease [P]  have:1

‘I am sick.’ (lit.: My body has disease.)

Possessive-two core arguments (immovable existence):

(122) $qa'$  $sepe-i-(ta)$  $udz\text{e}$  $a-gu$  $wa'$.  

1sg:NTP:GEN  body-(DAT) [A]  scar  one-CL [P]  have:1

‘I have a scar on my body.’

The inanimate existential verb $\eta$ in the possessive construction may take three arguments, as in (123), where the verb $\eta$ takes the possessor $\eta$ ‘I’, the possessee $jit\text{can}$ ‘opinion’ and the goal $sud\text{zi}$ ‘teacher’, which is marked by the dative marker -$zo$.

Possessive-three arguments (inanimate existence):

(123) $\eta$  $sud\text{zi}-zo$  $jit\text{can}$  $\eta'$.

1sg:TP [A]  teacher-DAT  opinion [P]  have:1

‘I have complaints about my teacher.’
4.2.4. Aktionsart

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

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

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

Causative Accomplishments / Causative Achievements

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

\[ \text{beT6i} \quad \text{‘small’} \quad \text{State} \]
\[ \text{a'-beT6i-i} \quad \text{‘become small’} \quad \text{Accomplishment} \]
\[ \text{a'-beT6i-ze-i} \quad \text{‘cause to become small’} \quad \text{Causative Accomplishment} \]

\[ \text{p'zji} \quad \text{‘white’} \quad \text{State} \]
\[ \text{te-p'zji-i} \quad \text{‘become white’} \quad \text{Accomplishment} \]
\[ \text{te-p'zji-ze-i} \quad \text{‘cause to become white’} \quad \text{Causative Accomplishment} \]

From the examples above, we can see that state verbs change into accomplishment verbs when a directional prefix and the change of state marker are added. Accomplishments become causative accomplishments if they take the causative suffix -ze. There is a semantic basis for the choice of prefix, as \text{a'-} is for ‘downward’ direction, and \text{te-} is for ‘upward’ direction, respectively. The direction prefixes \text{a'-} and \text{te-} are the most commonly used prefixes with stative verbs (adjectives).
Activities, in general, are dynamic and temporally unbounded, such as motion, light emission, sound emission, performance, consumption, creation, repetitive action, directed perception, and use (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:115). In the Puxi variety of Qiang, activities, like states, use the orientation prefixes and the change of state marking to form achievements or accomplishments, and take the causative suffix to express causative achievements and accomplishments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ιυα</td>
<td>‘to collapse’</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ιυα-ι</td>
<td>‘to have collapsed’</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ιυα-ιυα-ζθ-ι</td>
<td>‘to cause to become collapsed’</td>
<td>Causative Achievement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ια</td>
<td>‘to fly’</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-ια-ι</td>
<td>‘to have flied’</td>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-ια-ζθ-ι</td>
<td>‘to cause to become flied’</td>
<td>Causative Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te-ζθα-ι</td>
<td>‘to get tired’</td>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIR-tired-CSM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te-ζθα-ζθ-ι</td>
<td>‘to cause to become tired’</td>
<td>Causative Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIR-tired-CAUS-CSM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Achievements may add the causative suffix \( \text{z} \text{e} \) to form a causative achievement as well:

\[ \text{se-q}"i\text{-i} \quad \text{‘to shatter to pieces’} \quad \text{Achievement} \]

\[ \text{DIR-shatter-CSM} \]

\[ \text{se-q}"i\text{-ze-i} \quad \text{‘to cause to shatter’} \quad \text{Causative Achievement} \]

\[ \text{DIR-shatter-CAUS-CSM} \]

4.2.5. Copulas

There are two copulas in the Puxi variety: \( m\text{ei} \) and \( n\text{a} \). The copula \( m\text{ei} \) is used in identificational, equational, attributive, and pseudo-cleft constructions. It also appears after nominalized verbs. In most cases, the copula may be omitted when the copula
complement (CC) or a clause in the pseudo-cleft construction takes the indefinite marker -ʦi, as in (126):

\[(124)\quad tsala\quad phu\quad qa'i\quad mai.\]

\[
\text{this-CL}\quad \text{clothing}\quad 1sg:\text{NTP:GEN [CC]}\quad \text{COP}
\]

‘This item of clothing is mine.’

\[(125)\quad t'h:\chi\alpha\quad tshatsa\quad na\chi:\pi\e\-\pi\e-ʦi\quad (mai).\]

\[
\text{that-PL}\quad \text{table}\quad \text{black-REDUP-INDEF}\quad \text{COP}
\]

‘Those tables are very black ones.’

\[(126)\quad na\quad [zu\quad tsa-ni\quad kue-lu-ʦi]\quad (mai).
\]

\[
1sg:\text{TP}\quad \text{horse}\quad \text{ride-ADV}\quad \text{DIR-come-CSM:1-INDEF}\quad \text{COP}
\]

‘It is on horse that I came here.’

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

\[(127)\quad no\quad \chi:\pa-ʦi\quad (mai-n).\]

\[
2sg:\text{TP[TOP]}\quad \text{Tibetan-INDEF [CC]}\quad \text{COP-2}
\]

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

Question:

(128)  no  sute  mhei-n  me?

2sg:TP  Shude (a person name)  COP-2  QUES

‘Are you Shude?’

Answers:

(129)  a. mhei, (ŋa  sute  mhei-a’).

COP  1sg:TP  Shude  COP-1

‘Yes, (I am Shude.)’

b. me-nŋo, (ŋa  sute  mi-mhei-a’).

NEG-COP  1sg:TP  Shude  NEG-COP-1

‘No, (I am not Shude.)’

Question:

(130)  no  sute  mhei-mei-n  me?

2sg:TP  Shude  NEG-COP-2  QUES

‘Aren’t you Shude?’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

Answer:

(131) a. mēi, ($) sute  ($ mēi-ə').
    COP  1sg:TP  Shude  NEG-COP-1
    ‘No, (I am not Shude.)’

b. me-nọ, ($) sute  ($ mēi-ə')
    NEG-COP  1sg:TP  Shude  COP-1
    ‘Yes, (I am Shude.)’

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

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

b. (pesi)  zgue  (pe-i) / (mēi).
    today  nine  become-CSM  COP
    ‘It is the ninth.’
4.2.6. Matrix verbs

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

4.2.6.1. The matrix verb utive

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

\[(133) \quad t^bala \quad lu \quad mi-uitive.\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3sg & \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\quad \text{NEG-will:3}
\]

‘S/he is not willing to come.’

4.2.6.2. The matrix verb qe

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

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

(137) $t^{h}a\chi a$ zede si mei.

3pl book write can:3

‘They can write.’
4.2.6.4. The matrix verb $ts'\text{y}$

The matrix verb $ts'\text{y}$ is used to express the notion ‘to dare’ to do an action:

(139) $no (zeme) ze' mi-ts'\text{y}-n-na, \eta a ze' ts'\text{y}'$.

2sg:TP (speech) say NEG-dare-2-PRT 1sg:TP say dare:1

‘You do not dare to say it, but I dare to say it.’

4.2.6.5. The matrix verb $kala$

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

(140) $\eta a z\text{dz'e-ta} ke kala'$.

1sg:TP Chengdu go want:1

‘I want to go to Chengdu.’

4.2.6.6. Perception and cognition verbs

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

(138) $t'ala u\varepsilon e' e\text{t\varepsilon} u' mi-mei$.

3sg Han.people speech say NEG-can:3

‘S/he cannot speak Chinese.’
(141) \( \eta \) \[ no \_ ts^{h}ue-n \] \_ te-no-si. 
1sg:TP 2sg:TP cough-2 DIR-hear-CSM:1

‘I heard you are coughing.’

(142) \( \eta \) \[ no \_ se-ke-so \] \_ te-\( \_ \_ u \)-si. 
1sg:TP 2sg:TP DIR-go-CSM:2sg DIR-see-CSM:1

‘I saw you leave.’/ ‘I saw that you left.’

(143) \( t^{h}ala-i \) \[ t^{h}ala \_ ke-i \] \_ u'.
3sg-AGT 3sg go-CSM:3 say

‘S/he said, “s/he left.”’

4.2.7. Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs \( lu \) ‘come’, \( se \) ‘go’ and \( pu \) ‘do’ are grammaticalized from main verbs.

On one hand, they are used as main verbs, on the other hand, they are used as auxiliary verbs. When verbs \( lu \) ‘come’, \( se \) ‘go’ and \( pu \) ‘do’ are used as auxiliary verbs, they occur after main verbs and are subordinate to the main verb.

4.2.7.1. The auxiliaries ‘come’ and ‘go’

The direction verb \( lu \) ‘come’ in some circumstances is a grammaticalized auxiliary verb, which occurs after the main verb, and cannot take negative marking, as in (144b). The direction verb \( ke \) ‘go’ is an intransitive verb, but there is an auxiliary verb
that encliticizes to the main verb. No element can intervene between the main verb and the auxiliary verb -se, as in (145b):

(144) a. $t^hala\, xqan\, y-lu-i.$ (as main verb)
3sg Mao.County DIR-come-CSM:3

‘S/he came to Mao County.’

b. $\eta a\, xqan\, dz\mathring{e}\, pu-lu-si.$ (as auxiliary verb)
1sg:TP Mao.County thing do-come-CSM:1

‘I came to work in Mao County.’

(145) a. $t^hala\, zd\mathring{e}ta\, e'\, ke\mathring{u}.$ (as main verb)
3sg Chengdu DIR-go-PROS:3

‘S/he will go to Chengdu.’

b. $t^hala\, zd\mathring{e}ta\, zedo\, zio-se-\mathring{u}.$ (as auxiliary verb)
3sg Chengdu book study-go-PROS:3

‘S/he will go to study in Chengdu.’

Note that the verb lu in (144a) is an intransitive verb functioning as predicate, while -lu in (144b) is an auxiliary verb. In (145a) ke is an intransitive verb, whereas in (145b) -se is an auxiliary verb which cannot be used as a main verb.
4.2.7.2. The auxiliary ‘do’

There is an auxiliary verb *pu* which has several variants: *pe, pa, pa, pe,* and *pi.* This verb has many different meanings in different contexts.

1. The auxiliary *pu / pa*

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

- **zama pu** ‘to be courteous’
  - guest do

- **dzə pu** ‘to work’
  - thing do

- **mazie pu** ‘to snore’
  - snore do

- **dzə pu** ‘to laugh at someone’
  - joke do

- **pa⁹⁹ pu** ‘to make clothes’
  - clothes do

- **duə qa’ pa** ‘to make fun of’
  - ghost.face do

- **aṭc’ye pa** ‘to sneeze’
  - sneeze do
(146) ʨi  pu-i.

house  do-CSM:3

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

(147) ʨi  te-pu-ze-i.

house  DIR-do-CAUS-CSM:3

‘A house is being built.’

(148)  no  ȵi-dzua  pe-n?

2sg  what-CL  do-2

‘What are you doing?’

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

sousu  pu  ‘to perform an operation’  senpʰan  pu  ‘to bring to trial’
operation do judge do

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

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

(149)  
\[ t^bala \quad ts^b\text{u} \quad pi-dze-pə \quad tian\text{ṣa} \quad pi-tsi-pə. \]

3sg  meal  CONT-eat-do  TV  CONT-look.at-do

‘S/he eats while watching the TV.’

(150)  
\[ t^bala \quad pi-tsi \quad pi-tsi-pə \quad ni \quad te-\text{dʒ}a-i. \]

3sg  CONT-look.at  CONT-look.at-do  ADV  DIR-smile-CSM:3

‘S/he smiled while reading (it).’

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

In the Puxi variety of Qiang *pa* can be used as the main verb to express ‘do something’. It can combine with the change of state or co-occur with iterative verbs, matrix verbs, and adverbs to express the following meanings:
The verb *pa* appears with auxiliary *kuetsi* ‘is about to’ with a nominalized complement to express something which is about to do, as the examples in (155)-(156):

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

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

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

*bzj pa* ‘to be a matchmaker’  
*dzua pa* ‘to be a soldier’

(157) *1sg:TP qe' dzua pa-si.*  
    1sg:TP before soldier do-CSM:1  
    ‘I was a soldier before.’
Chapter 4: *Word Classes*

(158) *peti*  *dzua*  *pa-m*  *taŋ-la*  *ze*  *me?*

now  soldier  be.regarded.as-NOM  how.many-CL  exist  QUES

‘How many people join in the army now?’

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

(159)  *no*  *tʰala*  *tse-se*  *pa-so.*

2sg:TP  3sg  PROH-beat  do-CSM:2sg

‘You don’t beat him/her.’

(160)  *tʰala*  *ʔpiu*  *kue-lu*  *taŋ-tʰo*  *mi-pa.*

3sg  home  DIR-come  how.many-time  NEG-do

‘It is not a long time since s/he came home.’

(161)  *pesi*  *šute*  *kue-mi-lu*  *pa-i.*

today  Shude  DIR-NEG-come  do-CSM:3

‘Shude will not come today.’
The verb *pa* co-occurs with the change of state maker and/or directional prefix to express a sense of change of situation (‘to recover, to succeed, to win, or can do something’):

(162) *tba*la *zdze* te-pa-i, *tsbu* dze da-vaze-i.

3sg disease DIR-do-CSM:3 meal eat DIR-begin-CSM:3

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

(163) *dzə* te-pa-i.

thing DIR-do-CSM:3

‘S/he won/succeeded in something.’

(164) *nɔ* kue-lu *taŋ-pu* pa-so me?

2sg:TP DIR-come how.many-year do-CSM:2sg QUES

‘How many years have you been staying here?’

(165) *tsa-gu* kebzə zeme ze’ *mai* pa-i/pe-i.

this-CL child speech speak can become-CSM:3

‘This child can speak now.’

The verb *pa* can also be used to mark an action that used to be done or a situation that used to exist, but is not now done or will not be done, as in (166)-(170):
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(166) ηα tsal ʂɛnta je mi-teʰe pa-si.
1sg:TP this.time after cigarette NEG-smoke do-CSM:1
‘I will quit smoking in the future.’

(167) ηα qe`
je tɕʰe-si, peti-go
1sg:TP before cigarette smoke-CSM:1 now-LOC
mi-teʰe pa-si.
NEG-smoke do-CSM:1
‘I smoked cigarettes before, but I don’t smoke any more.’

(168) tsi ԛeʰa ʨian me-ŋa-i, peti-go
this:CL before electronic NEG-exist-CSM now-LOC
tɕ-ŋa-i / tɕ-ŋa pa-i.
DIR-exist-CSM / DIR-exist do-CSM
‘There was no electricity before, but now there is electricity.’

(169) tsi ԛeʰa uʰ bʑi me-ŋa-i, peti-go
this:CL before road big NEG-exist-CSM now-(LOC)
tɕ-ŋa pa-i.
DIR-exist do-CSM
‘There was no highway in the past, but now there is a highway.’
The verb $pa$ also occurs with a verb which is marked by the definite marking to express ‘to be good for doing something’ or to encode ‘to be not good for doing something, when it takes the negative prefix, as in (171)-(172):

(171) $ts^h_u$ $se$-dze-i $go$, $zga$-lei $mi$-pa,

meal DIR-eat-CSM LNK run-DEF NEG-do

$atsitci$ $gegu$-lei $pa$.

slow walk-NOM do

‘After someone has eaten, running is not good for him/her, but walking is good for him/her.’

(172) $ts^h_u$ $se$-dze-i $go$, $n_i$-lei $mi$-pa.

meal DIR-eat-CSM LNK sleep-NOM NEG-do

‘After a meal, sleeping is not good for someone (someone’s health).’

The verb $pa$ occurs with change of state marking to express ‘forget about it, don’t worry about it’ (lit.: stop it, cut it out):
(173)  no  $t^{6}a_{q}  mi-qe-so,  pa-i.$  
2sg:TP  thus  NEG-can-CSM:2sg  stop-CSM  
‘If you can not do thus, forget about it.’

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

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

(175)  $t^{6}a_{c}a  dzu  di-di-pa.$  
3pl  mutually  beat-REDUP-do  
‘They are beating each other.’

(176)  $k^{h}ue  ne-zi  x\xi-si-x\xi-si-pa.$  
dog  two-CL  bite-REDUP-do  
‘Two dogs are biting each other.’

The auxiliary $pa$ or $pa$ is lexicalized in some cases, bound with other morphemes to encode some lexical meanings:
3. The auxiliary pe / pi

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

(177) zapie se-zduazdue pe-i.

leather DIR-wear.out become-CSM

‘The leather has worn out.’

(178) tutsu dzo xenta da-stu-pa ni pudzo-i

brother door behind DIR-hide-do ADV basket-INSTR

a\(^4\)-tsua-pa-i, q\(^4\)ua-lei k\(^4\)enk\(^4\)e-ta

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

a\(^4\)-guate pi-i.

DIR-drop become-CSM:3

‘The younger brother hid behind the door and covered himself with a basket, …the demon dropped into the hole.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(179) ֶסְטְסַּע (jy)  mi-dze  pi-i.

chicken   NEG-eat   become-CSM:3

‘The chickens are not eating.’

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

(180) ֶסֶי  ֶסְא-ֶקֶו   (pe-i)?  ֶסֶי  ֶגְוָה

today how.much-CL (become-CSM) today nine

(pe-iʾməi).

(become-CSM/COP)

‘What day is it today? It is the ninth.’

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

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

\[(181)\quad \text{ned}s\text{e} \quad \eta \quad \text{pani} \quad \text{po-sa-si}.\]

yesterday  1sg:TP  thing  buy-go-CSM:1

‘Yesterday, I went to buy something.’
(182) ηα  nedē  paŋi  po-sa-si.
1sg:TP  yesterday  thing  buy-go-CSM:1
‘I went to buy something yesterday.’

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

(183) ηα  paŋi  nedē  po-sa-si.
1sg:TP  thing  yesterday  buy-go-CSM:1
‘I went to buy something yesterday.’

(184) ηα  kento  lu-ua.
1sg:TP  right.away  come-PROS-1
‘I will be there right away.’

(185) qa’  tutsu  tʰimatsi  kue-te-i.
1sg:NTP:GEN  younger.brother  just  DIR-arrive-CSM:3
‘My younger brother just arrived.’
Chapter 4: Word Classes

(186) [no ze'-so tʰa-ta] ŋa qeni se'.
2sg:TP say-CSM:2sg those-PL 1sg:TP all know:1

‘What you said I completely understand.’

(187) no atsitci kue-ke.
2sg:TP slowly IMP-go

‘You walk slowly.’

(188) no zede tsotpo kue-zio.
2sg:TP book well IMP-study

‘You should study hard.’

(189) ŋa la uzə ɕtɕi ze' mei-ə'.
1sg:TP also Han speech speak can-1

‘I can also speak Chinese.’

There are a few degree adverbs: tan ‘relatively’, ŋ / paipəi ‘very’ and -tsyi ‘too’.

When degree adverbs modify an adjective, tan ‘relatively’, and ŋ or paipəi ‘very’ precede the adjective, while -tsyi ‘too’ follows the adjective. -tsyi ‘too’ is more like a suffix, and the adjective has to take the directional prefix. The following are some examples of degree adverbs:
|  
|---|---|---|---|
| \( \text{\textit{tan}} \)  | \( \text{\textit{bzi}} \)  | \( \text{\textit{tag}} \)  | \( \text{\textit{gega}} \) |
| relatively big | relatively thick |
| ‘relatively big’ | ‘relatively thick’ |
| \( \text{\textit{tan}} \)  | \( \text{\textit{na\text{-}pie}} \)  | \( \text{\textit{tan}} \)  | \( \text{\textit{wue}} \) |
| relatively black | relatively slow |
| ‘relatively black’ | ‘relatively slow’ |
| \( \text{n/p\text{-}p\text{\textit{eip}}\text{\text{\textit{e}}}i} \)  | \( \text{\textit{bzi}} \)  | \( \text{n/p\text{-}p\text{\textit{eip}}\text{\text{\textit{e}}}i} \)  | \( \text{\textit{gega}} \) |
| very big | very thick |
| ‘very big’ | ‘very thick’ |
| \( \text{n/p\text{-}p\text{\textit{eip}}\text{\text{\textit{e}}}i} \)  | \( \text{\textit{na\text{-}pie}} \)  | \( \text{n/p\text{-}p\text{\textit{eip}}\text{\text{\textit{e}}}i} \)  | \( \text{\textit{wue}} \) |
| very black | very slow |
| ‘very black’ | ‘very slow’ |
| \( \text{kue\text{-}bzi\text{-}tsyi} \)  | \( \text{kue\text{-}gega\text{-}tsyi} \)  |
| DIR-big-too | DIR-thick-too |
| ‘too big’ | ‘too thick’ |
Chapter 4: Word Classes

**kue-naqpie-tsyi**

DIR-black-too

‘too black’

**kue-ewe-tsyi**

DIR-slow-too

‘too slow’

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

(190) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
patsu & \text{SEn} & n \\
\end{array} \]

flower red very shape good

‘Red flowers are very nice.’

(191) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\eta & t^hala & n & zbadzu'. \\
\end{array} \]

1sg:TP 3sg very miss:1

‘I miss him/her very much.’

(192) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\eta & t^hala & n & ma'. \\
\end{array} \]

1sg:TP 3sg very like:1

‘I love him/her very much.’

(193) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
t^hala & \text{gqindzi} & n & \eta. \\
\end{array} \]

3sg money very exist:3

‘S/he is very rich.’ (lit.: S/he has a lot of money.)
(194) \( t^hala \ qazbe \ \eta \ la. \)

3sg head very exist:3

‘S/he is very smart.’ (lit.: S/he has head very much.)

(195) \( \chi suqi \ p^h o \ \eta \ wa. \)

hill tree very exist

‘There are many trees on the hill.’

(196) \( qe-ta \ me \ \eta \ ze. \)

street-LOC people very exist:3

‘The street is full of people.’

(197) \( t^hala \ zeme \ ze' \ \eta \ mai. \)

3sg speech speak very can:3

‘S/he is skilled in speech.’

(198) \( t^hala \ dz\epsilon \ pu \ \eta \ \nu u. \)

3sg thing do very will:3

‘S/he is willing to work.’
(199)  
\[
t^6ala \, dze \, pu \, n \, qe. \\
3sg \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{very} \quad \text{can:3}
\]
‘S/he can do a lot of work.’

(200)  
\[
t^6ala \, la \, ts^b'y. \\
3sg \quad \text{SUPER} \quad \text{dare:3}
\]
‘S/he is the bravest person.’

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

(201)  
\[
t^6ala \, la \, \chi sa. \\
3sg \quad \text{SUPER} \quad \text{good:3}
\]
‘S/he is the best.’

(202)  
\[
t^6ala \, dze \, pu \, la \, qe. \\
3sg \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{SUPER} \quad \text{can:3}
\]
‘S/he can do work most.’
(203) \( t^\text{hala} \quad la \quad mi-\chi\varsigmaa. \)

3sg SUPER NEG-good:3

‘S/he is the worst.’

4.4. Other closed classes

There are also a few closed classes, i.e. interjections, subordinators and final particles. Interjections usually occur in the initial or final position of the clause (see §6.9.5). Subordinators occur at the end of the subordinate clause to link the subordinate and the main clause (see §8.5). Final particles occur at the end of the clause (see §6.9 and §7.2) for detailed discussion.
In this chapter I will discuss nominal morphology, i.e. the gender marking in §5.1, the diminutive marking in §5.2, the kinship prefixes in §5.3, the definite/indefinite marking in §5.4, the number marking in §5.5, the case marking in §5.6, the comparative marking in §5.7, and the topic marking in §5.8.

5.1. Gender marking

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jy-qu</th>
<th>jy-ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘cock’</td>
<td>‘hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cock-MAS</td>
<td>hen-FEM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m-qu</th>
<th>m-ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘ox’</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox-MAS</td>
<td>ox-FEM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The gender markers -qu and -ka may also occur after metals and utensils to express abstract meanings. The masculine marker -qu encodes a good quality of metals or utensils, and the feminine marker -ka indicates a poor quality of metals and utensils, as in the following examples:

\[\text{tsotsu-qu} \quad \text{‘good quality knife’} \quad \text{tsotsu-ka} \quad \text{‘poor quality knife’}\]

\[\text{le-qu} \quad \text{‘good quality arrow’} \quad \text{le-ka} \quad \text{‘poor quality arrow’}\]
\(\chi\&si\-qu\) ‘good quality sword’ \(\chi\&si\-ka\) ‘poor quality sword’
sword-MAS \hspace{1cm} \text{sword-FEM}

\(kan\&chi\-qu\) ‘good quality steel’ \(kan\&chi\-ka\) ‘poor quality steel’
steel-MAS \hspace{1cm} \text{steel-FEM}

5.2. Diminutive marking

The diminutive marker \textit{tsui}, which may be related to \textit{ts\&e} ‘son’, occurs after a noun to mark diminutive in the Puxi variety of Qiang, as in the following examples:

\textit{laqua} ‘pot’ \hspace{1cm} \textit{laqua tsui} ‘small pot’
pot \hspace{1cm} \text{pot DIM}

\textit{kua} ‘hoe’ \hspace{1cm} \textit{kua tsui} ‘small hoe’
hoe \hspace{1cm} \text{hoe DIM}

\(\chi\&su\) ‘mountain’ \hspace{1cm} \textit{\(\chi\&su\ tsui\) ‘small mountain’}
mountain \hspace{1cm} \text{mountain DIM}

There are some words which may be marked either by the diminutive marker \textit{tsui} or by the word \textit{beT\&i}, meaning ‘small’. Following are some examples:
In addition to *tsui*, there are other ways to lexically express a diminutive meaning, such as *tsi* ‘chick’ or ‘poodle’, *pawi* ‘kid’, *bu* ‘calf’, *tsatsa* referring to any ‘small thing’, and *zguzgu* referring to ‘small stone’, as in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tse</em></th>
<th>‘scale’</th>
<th><em>po</em></th>
<th>‘tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tse</em> <em>tsui</em></td>
<td>‘small scale’</td>
<td><em>po</em> <em>tsui</em></td>
<td>‘small tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

scale DIM tree DIM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tse</em></th>
<th><em>betshi</em></th>
<th>‘small scale’</th>
<th><em>po</em></th>
<th><em>betshi</em></th>
<th>‘small tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

scale small tree small

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>jy</em></th>
<th>‘chicken’</th>
<th><em>jy</em></th>
<th><em>tsi</em></th>
<th>‘chick’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

chicken chicken small

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ku</em></th>
<th>‘dog’</th>
<th><em>ku</em></th>
<th><em>tsi</em></th>
<th>‘poodle’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

dog dog small

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tse</em></th>
<th>‘goat’</th>
<th><em>tse</em></th>
<th><em>pawi</em></th>
<th>‘kid’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

goat goat small

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>m</em></th>
<th>‘cow’</th>
<th><em>m</em></th>
<th><em>bu</em></th>
<th>‘calf’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

cow cow small
In at least one case a different lexical root is used to encode the diminutive meaning: we have the word *pie* ‘pig’, but its diminutive is another root *pal* ‘piglet’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>pie</em></th>
<th>‘pig’</th>
<th><em>pal</em></th>
<th>‘piglet’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td></td>
<td>pig:DIM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>laqua</em></th>
<th><em>bzi</em></th>
<th>‘big pot’</th>
<th><em>pʰo</em></th>
<th><em>bzi</em></th>
<th>‘big tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tcʰe</em></th>
<th><em>bzi</em></th>
<th>‘big scale’</th>
<th><em>ulo</em></th>
<th><em>bzi</em></th>
<th>‘big stone’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scale</td>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3. The kinship prefixes

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/æ-`p/</td>
<td>'great-grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ-da</td>
<td>'great-grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ-bu</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ-le</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ-je</td>
<td>'father' (direct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ-ka</td>
<td>'father' (direct) / 'uncle (brother of father)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/va-je</td>
<td>'father' (indirect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-va / /a-ma</td>
<td>'mother' (direct)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/va-mie</td>
<td>'mother' (indirect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-mata</td>
<td>'aunt (wife of younger brother of father)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-ku</td>
<td>'uncle (mother’s brother)' (direct)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
va-ku  ‘uncle (mother’s brother)’ (indirect)

5.4. Definite/Indefinite marking

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

(204) zuepe-t`  Rlotu-dzu`/tɕi  ŋa.
    earth-LOC  stone-INDEF  exist

‘There is a stone on the ground.’

(205) tɕi u  me-dzu`/tɕi  zə.
    home  people-INDEF  exist

‘There is a person at home.’

(206) wuatsu  tsi  pʰe-tɕi  mi-ŋa.
    walking.stick  this:CL  value-INDEF  NEG-exist

‘This walking stick is not valuable.’
Chapter 5: Nominal Morphology

The following is an extended text example. In line (207b), the indefinite marker \(-t\&i\) is used in referring to the new referent (\(ts\&nuo-t\&i\) ‘an idiot’), it may also refer to more than one referent, as in (207d). In line (207g), again, the indefinite marker \(-t\&i\) indicates another new referent (\(peida-t\&i\) ‘a tiger’). In line (207h), however, the definite marker \(-lei\) is used in referring to the given referent (\(peida-lei\) ‘the tiger’). In line (207j), the definite marker \(-lei\) is used to refer to the first established referent (\(ts\&nuo-lei\) ‘the idiot’).

(207) a. \(ts\&\, qe\&\chi\&\, me\, a-q\&\, ze-i\),
    this:CL  before  people  one-CL  exist-CSM:3

\(ts\&\&st\&
\&\&  \chi\&si-la\  ze-i\).
    brother  three-CL  exist-CSM:3

b. \(la-bet\&\&^\&\&\&-la\  ts\&nuo-t\&i\  mai\).
    SUPER-small-TOP  idiot-INDEF  COP:3

c. \(vaje\  mi-ze-p\&-i\).
    father  NEG-exist-do-CSM:3

\(vamie\  a-la\  p\&\&\&\).
    mother  one-CL  only

\(mi-ze-p\&-i\).
    NEG-exist-do-CSM:3

d. \(a-si-go\),
    one-day-LOC

\(tubz\&\)

\(a-n-t\&i\  si\)
    brother  one-two-CL  firewood

\(zgue-se-i\).
    cut-go-CSM:3
‘A long time ago, there was a family which had three brothers. The youngest brother was an idiot. Their father had died, and they had only their mother. One day the idiot’s elder brothers went to cut firewood. The youngest brother (the idiot) went to bring them lunch. When he arrived at a road on a hill, he met a tiger. The tiger wanted to eat the man, and then roared. The idiot got angry.’
5.5. Number marking

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

(208) χsu-qi  pʰo-(a)-χα  qen.i  se-tshua-(e)-zE-i.
    hill-top  tree-(one)-PL  all  DIR-fell-(CAUS)-CSM

    ‘All of the trees on the hill have been cut down.’

(209) [kʰue  nα-χα]  se-sa-zE-i.
    dog  very:one-PL  DIR-die-CAUS-CSM

    ‘Many dogs were killed.’ (Many dogs were caused to die.)

(210) zeda  tʰa-χα  tsi-qe-i.
    book  that-PL  look.at-finish-CSM:3

    ‘(They) have read those books.’
There is another suffix -la which appears after the first person non-topic singular pronoun and the second person non-topic singular pronoun to form the first person plural and the second person plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa ‘I’ (TP)</td>
<td>qa’qo ‘I’ (NTP)</td>
<td>qa-la ‘we’ (EXCL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no ‘you’ (TP)</td>
<td>kue ‘you’ (NTP)</td>
<td>kue-la ‘you’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(211) pʰe-lu-lu tsa-ta qen,i a⁻štu te-ra.  
value-come-REDUP this-PL all DIR-hide DIR-need  
‘(You) should hide all of the valuable goods.’

(212) tʃʰaqa a-ta la mi-se.  
sound one-PL also NEG-make.sound  
‘(Her father-in-law) was not saying a word.’
(213) *pani* χσα-χσα-ta *qen*i ə-ʃtu-i.

thing good-REDUP-PL all DIR-hide-CSM:3

‘All good quality goods were hidden.’

5.6. Case marking

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

- the agent/instrumental marker -*i*
- the genitive marker -*j*
- the dative, the recipient, translative and benefactive marker -*zo*
- the locative markers -*ta* and -*kou*
- the locative/temporal markers -*go* and -*q'o*
- the ablative marker -*te*
- the comitative maker -*si*

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

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

(214) \(mæi-i\quad \text{pʰo}\quad \text{še-χulie.}\)
wind-AGT tree DIR-blow.down

‘The wind blew down the tree.’

(215) \(χ/æ-i\quad \text{tsutʃuʃjy}\quad \text{še-ʃtuә-i.}\)
hawk-AGT chicken DIR-capture-CSM:3

‘THE HAWK captured the chicken.’
(216) [qa ma qa ka]-i
1sg:NTP mother 1sg:NTP father-AGT walking.stick

\[ p^he \] mi-lu’ u'.
value NEG-come say

‘MY MOTHER and MY FATHER said (to me), “the walking stick is not valuable.”’

(217) ηa tʰala-i te-di-i.
1sg:TP 3sg-AGT DIR-beat-CSM:3

‘S/he beat me.’

(218) no mi-mei-n, ηa-(i) te-pu-u-u.
2sg:TP NEG-can-2 1sg:TP-(AGT) DIR-do-PROS-1

‘You cannot do (it), I’ll do (it).’

(219) tʰala-(i) uu še-qʰe-i.
3sg-(AGT) bowl DIR-break-CSM:3

‘S/he has broken the bowl.’

(220) tʰala-(i) kebə̄-zo se še-tʰe-ze-i.
3sg-(AGT) child-DAT medicine DIR-drink-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made the child take medicine.’
(221) $t6ala-(i)$  $qo-\zeta$  “$kue-ke-u$”  /  “$kue-ke-\zeta$”  $u$:

3sg-(AGT)  1sg:NTP-DAT  DIR-go:PROS:3  /  DIR-go:CAUS  say

‘S/he said, “s/he will let me go.”’

(222) $t6ala-(i)$  $qo-\zeta$  “$p\nu$”  $tsa-la$  $kue-\zeta$

3sg-(AGT)  1sg:NTP-DAT  dress  this-CL  2sg:NTP-DAT  $ze-\zda-\zeta-i$  /  $ze-\zda-i$”  $u$:

DIR-give:CAUS-CSM  /  DIR-give-CSM  say

‘S/he said, “s/he made me give you this piece of clothing.”’

5.6.2. Genitive

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

(223) $[vaje\acute{\i}]$  $z\ddot{\ae}$]  $te-pa-i$.

father:GEN  disease  DIR-do-CSM

‘(My) father is well again.’

(224) $[kue\acute{\i}]$  $t\ddot{\oi}$]  $[me$  $t\ddot{a}\eta-la]$  $\zeta$  $me$?

2sg:NTP:GEN  family  people  how.many-CL  exist:3  QUES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alienable</th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa’</td>
<td>k'ue sua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taba</td>
<td>‘my cap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg:NTP:GEN cap</td>
<td>dog tail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t'ala'</th>
<th>t'uali'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soupi'</td>
<td>‘his wrist watch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg:GEN wrist.watch</td>
<td>‘legs of table’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-tsi'</th>
<th>qesu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa’</td>
<td>ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sister’s scarf’</td>
<td>‘my hands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister:GEN scarf</td>
<td>1sg:NTP hand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the texts, in most cases, the genitive marker is merged with the personal pronouns, as in the following examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tʰa} & \quad qa & \text{‘his/their family’} \\
3\text{sg:GEN} & \quad \text{family} \\
\text{tsia/ tsa} & \quad zmə & \text{čtəi} & \text{‘our (1pl:INCL) Qiang language’} \\
1\text{pl:INCL:GEN} & \quad \text{Qiang} & \text{speech} \\
\text{kua} & \quad təpʰo & \text{‘your grandmother’} \\
2\text{sg:NTP:GEN} & \quad \text{grandmother} \\
qa & \quad vaje & \text{‘my / our father’} \\
1\text{sg:NTP:GEN} & \quad \text{father}
\end{align*}
\]

5.6.3. *Dative*

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, the enclitic -zo marks the recipient or goal of a ditransitive verb, as in the following examples:
(226) \[t'ala \quad qo-zo \quad litse \quad a-gu \quad ze-zda-i.\]

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT  pear one-CL DIR-give-CSM:3

‘S/he gave me a pear.’

(227) \[\eta a \quad tutsu-zo \quad zedə \quad da-zda-u-a.\]

1sg:TP younger.brother-DAT book DIR-give-PROS-1

‘I will give my younger brother books.’

(228) \[tse \quad pan\text{-}i \quad qo-zo \quad ze-zda.\]

this:CL thing 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-send

‘Send me this thing, please.’

(229) \[t'ala \quad kue-zo \quad (zeme) \quad ze'.\]

3sg 2sg:NTP-DAT (speech) speak:3

‘S/he is talking to him.’

(230) \[
[la-la-satsu \quad a-la] \quad [sabzi
\]

SUPER-REDUP-younger.sister one-CL elder.sister

\[ne-la-zo] \quad "tse-dzo-dzo" \quad u'.\]

two-CL-DAT PROH-laugh.at-REDUP say

‘The youngest sister told (her) two elder sisters, “(they) should not laugh at
( the other person’s son).”’
The dative marker -zo is also used for the causee of causativized verbs, as in (220)-(221), repeated here:

(220)  
\[
\text{t'ala-(i) kebza-zo se se-tpeze-ze-i.}
\]
3sg-(AGT) child-DAT medicine DIR-drink-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made the child take medicine.’

(221)  
\[
\text{t'ala-(i) qo-zo phu tsa-la kue-zo ze-zda-ze-i.}
\]
3sg-(AGT) 1sg:NTP-DAT dress this-CL 2sg:NTP-DAT

DIR-give-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he had me give you this piece of clothing.’

5.6.4. Benefactive

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

(231)  
\[
p'hu-za-m qo-zo phu a-la
clothing-sew-NOM 1sg:NTP-DAT clothing one-CL
\]

\[te-za-i.\]

DIR-sew-CSM:3

‘The tailor sewed a piece of clothing for me.’
(232) **kanpu de-pu-m-zo zua ku-se-i.**
cadre thing-do-NOM-DAT crops harvest-go-CSM:3

‘The cadres gathered in the crops for farmers.’

(233) **ts^hue-pa lo, wua-wua-m lo, tsO-cha-zo tse^he**
village-man PRT help-REDUP-NOM PRT this-PL-DAT wine

\(\chi^a-tse^h e \eta a.\)

DIR-drink need

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

(234) **t^hake qeSu sti-sa pi-i.**
that.time mourning.apparel cut.out-NOM do-CSM

\(kadzi lo, tua-ni-na lo, tsO-cha-zo\)
relatives PRT member.of.one’s.own family PRT this-PL-DAT

\(qeSu te-sti-i.\)
mourning.apparel DIR-cut.out-CSM

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

(235) **a-va me-zo p^hui chuela (wua).**
mother other.people-DAT clothing wash:3 (help)

‘Mother is washing clothing for other people.’
5.6.5. Ablative

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

(236) \textit{no ou-dzu-te kue-lu-so?}
\hspace{1cm} 2sg:TP where-CL-ABL DIR-com-CSM:2sg

‘Where did you come from?’

(237) \textit{\=n\=a pei\={s}in-te lu-si.}
\hspace{1cm} 1sg:TP Beijing-ABL come-CSM:1

‘I came from Beijing.’

(238) \textit{t\=ala qeti-te q\={e}ko tsi.}
\hspace{1cm} 3sg upper-ABL lower look.at:3

‘S/he is looking at the lower from the upper.’

(239) \textit{zd\={e}ta-te \=ch\={o}an anag ke \=n\=a?}
\hspace{1cm} Chengdu -ABL Mao.County how go need

‘How do (I) go to Mao County from Chengdu?’
The ablative marker -tE can be also used to express ‘through’, as in (240):

(240)  
\[ t^hala \quad xqan-tE \quad za\&eta \quad se-ke-i. \]
3sg Mao.County-ABL Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3

‘S/he went to Chengdu via Mao County.’

The ablative marker -tE can co-occur with the locative marker -t\(\alpha\). The locative marker -t\(\alpha\) is used alone to express location, whereas the ablative marker -tE just expresses the source, like ‘from’ in English, but the ablative and the locative are used together to express both the location and the source like ‘from on/in/around…’ in English, as in (241):

(241)  
\[ qe\#be-ta-tE \quad \&i-ta \quad s\&ua-ts^h\epsilon \quad \eta. \]
head-LOC-ABL feet-LOC five-CL exist

‘There is five feet high from on the top to the bottom.’

5.6.6. Locative

The locative case expresses the meaning of location either in space or time. In the Puxi variety of Qiang, the enclitic -t\(\alpha\) marks spatial location or translativve, -kou denotes the interior of an object, -q^h\(\theta\) refers to within a specific time or the idea of parts of a whole, and -go expresses time duration. Following are some examples:
Chapter 5: Nominal Morphology

(242) \textit{tʰa}la \textit{nǐ-s-ta} \textit{nǐ}.
3sg sleep-NOM-LOC sleep:3

‘S/he is sleeping on the bed.’

(243) \textit{tɕi} \textit{skueskue-ta} \textit{dzu}a \textit{zə}.
house around-LOC army exist:3

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

(244) \textit{zue-ta} \textit{me} \textit{nə-a-bo} \textit{zə}.
ground-LOC people very:one-CL exist:3

‘There are many people on the field.’

(245) \textit{tsue-kou} \textit{xe} \textit{zə}.
water-LOC fish exist

‘There are fish in the water.’

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

(246) \textit{tʰala} \textit{tsʰe-ta} \textit{da-ke-i}.
3sg bridge-LOC DIR-go-CSM:3

‘S/he went over the bridge.’
The locative -\textit{ta} appears after temporal nouns to encode temporal adverbials. Following are some examples of this phenomenon:

\textit{šen-la-ta} \quad ‘at 7 o’clock’

seven-CL-LOC

\textit{mažbei-ta} \quad ‘in the afternoon’

afternoon-LOC

\textit{cintćʰiiji-ta} \quad ‘on Monday’

Monday-LOC

\textit{a-čl-ta} \quad ‘in January’

one-month-LOC

\textit{jitciutćʰelu-nian-ta} \quad ‘in 1976’

1976-year-LOC

\textit{ďe-e-ta} \quad ‘in spring festival’

holiday-LOC
The enclitic -q6o ‘within’ appears after temporal nouns to encode temporal adverbials, as in the following examples:

\[
\text{ne-la-q6o} \quad 'within two hours'
\]

two-CL-LOC

\[
\text{a-la-q6o} \quad 'within one hour'
\]

one-CL-LOC

The enclitic -q6o may also express the idea of parts of a whole, similar to English ‘among’, as in the following examples:

\[
\text{ts6-xa-q6o} \quad (me) \quad \text{ne-la} \quad 'two among the boys'
\]

boy-PL-LOC \quad people \quad two-CL

\[
\text{ts6-xa-q6o} \quad (me) \quad \text{a-xa} \quad 'some among the boys'
\]

boy-PL-LOC \quad people \quad one-PL
It is also possible to use the enclitic -go after temporal nouns, -go is also used for subordinate clause (see §8.5.1 and §8.5.2):

\[\text{a-si-go} \quad \text{‘one day’} \quad \text{tepai-go} \quad \text{‘tomorrow’}\]
\[\text{one-day-LOC} \quad \text{tomorrow-LOC}\]

\[\text{tsal-go} \quad \text{‘at this time’}\]
\[\text{this.time-LOC}\]

\[\text{pesi-go} \quad \text{‘today’}\]
\[\text{today-LOC}\]

5.6.7. Instrumental

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

\[(247) \quad \eta a \quad \nu u-i \quad tsue \quad ts\text{e}^h-e-u-a.\]
\[1\text{sg:TP} \quad \text{bowl-INSTR} \quad \text{water} \quad \text{drink-PROS-1}\]

‘I will drink water with the bowl.’
The agentive marker -i and the instrumental marker -i can appear together in the same clause, as in (250):

(250) \texttt{zed\textring{e} t\textring{h}ala-i tsitu\textring{e}-i tsu.}  
\begin{itemize}
\item paper 3sg-AGT scissors-INSTR cut:3
\end{itemize}
‘Paper is cut by him/her with a pair of scissors.’

5.6.8. Comitative marker

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

(251) \texttt{t\textring{h}ala qa-si petsu ke-u.}  
\begin{itemize}
\item 3sg 1sg:NTP-COMIT Xuecheng go-PROS:3
\end{itemize}
‘S/he wants to go to Xuecheng with me.’
Chapter 5: Nominal Morphology

5.7. Comparative marker

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

(253) tsu-gu tzi tala-gu-so bu.

this-CL house that-CL-COMP high

‘This house is higher than that one.’

(254) [qa'] phatsa] [tala'] phatsa]-so psy.

1sg:NTP:GEN handkerchief 3sg:GEN handkerchief-COMP clean

‘My handkerchief is cleaner than his.’

(255) nsa satsu-so yuor pe bu.'

1sg:TP younger.sister-COMP five-CL big:1

‘I am five years older than my younger sister.’
5.8. Topic markers

There are two topic markers that can be used after the topic in the topic-comment construction. The topic marker $sθ$ occurs mainly in narrative texts.

(256)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vaku-qo,} & \quad \text{mipu-qo,} & \quad \text{pibu-qo} & \quad \text{[TOPIC1],} \\
\text{uncle-family} & \quad \text{(paternal) grandma-family} & \quad \text{(maternal) grandma-family} \\
\text{[vaku]}-sθ & \quad \text{[vamie-qo} & \quad \text{raut呼] & \quad \text{[COMMENT2],} \\
\text{uncle-TOP} & \quad \text{mother-family} & \quad \text{mother's.parents'.home} \\
\text{[mipu-qo]}-sθ & \quad \text{[leilei-qo} & \quad \text{raut呼] & \quad \text{[COMMENT3],} \\
\text{grandma-family-TOP} & \quad \text{grandma-family} & \quad \text{father's.parents'.home} \\
\text{[pibu-qo]}-sθ & \quad \text{[tσap呼-o-qo} & \quad \text{raut呼] & \quad \text{[COMMENT4],} \\
\text{grandma-family-TOP} & \quad \text{grandma-family} & \quad \text{mother's.parents'.home} \\
\text{[dzo-sa-tpi]} & \quad \text{[COMMENT1].} \\
\text{act.as-NOM-INDEF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(His) uncles act as (his) mother’s family, (his) grandma-families act as (his) father’s parents’ family, and (his) grandma-families act as (his) mother’s parents’ family.’

(257)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \quad \text{[xα-u-za-i} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{[COMMENT1],} \\
\text{DIR-carry-CAUS-CSM:3} & \quad \text{LNK} \\
\text{[qe]} & \quad \text{[tσe} & \quad \text{la-bzi-bzi]-sθ} & \quad \text{[COMMENT2]} & \quad \text{[eαŋlu} \\
\text{before} & \quad \text{son} & \quad \text{SUPER-big-REDUP-TOP} & \quad \text{incense.burner} \\
\end{align*}
\]
When the corpse is being carried to the ceremony, (his) eldest son is holding the incense burner, and (his) youngest son is holding the pot for burning cypress and paper made to resemble money. His son’s wife is taking the ladle, and the village’s children are holding the house made from paper and flags."

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

Note that in example (256) there are three topic-comment clauses which are embedded between the topic [vaku-qa, mipu-qa, pibu-qa] [TOPIC1] and comment [dzo-sa tsi] [COMMENT1] in the matrix topic-comment construction. Example (257) consists of five topic-comment constructions, among the topic-comment constructions, the topic1 [zmu] ‘corpse’ is omitted due to the referent being recoverable from the
text. There is a secondary scene-setting topic [qε’] in the second topic-comment construction, and the topic2 [tse la-bzi-bzi-ʂa] takes two comments: [ʂaŋlu zya-u] [COMMENT2] and [zedə ʐi zu pzə-sa] [COMMENT2] which are appositive. The five topic-comment constructions of example (257) appear in sequence in the text.

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

(258) ŋə-la[TOPIC]  [te-gegu  mi-qe-pa-sa] [COMMENT].

1sg:TP-TOP  DIR-walk  NEG-can-do-CSM:1

‘I cannot walk.’

(259) bza-la[TOPIC]  [mi-tṣu-pa-sa] [COMMENT].

eye-TOP  NEG-see-do-CSM:1

‘My eyes cannot see anything.’

(260) no-la[TOPIC1]  [me  qa’  tse-p’h-a-pa-so

2sg:TP-TOP  other.person  face  PROH-lose-do-CSM:2sg

ŋi  ke-ṣa  e]’[COMMENT1]

ADV  go-go  PRT

no-ʂə[TOPIC2]  [zi pu-pu  tɕiu  me  zə-sa-tɕi

2sg:TP-TOP  rich-REDUP  family  people  exist-NOM-INDEF
Chapter 5: Nominal Morphology

\[ mi-no-n \] \[ ke-se e \]

NEG-COP-2  go-go  PRT

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

\[ 1sg:TP-(TOP)  the.day.before.yesterday Beijing \]

\[ kue-ta-si-tsi \]

DIR-arrive-CSM:1-INDEF

‘I arrived in Beijing the day before yesterday.’

\[ 3sg-(TOP)  last.year  DIR-come-CSM:3-INDEF \]

‘S/he came last year.’

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

\[ t\textsuperscript{a}la-(la) \]

\[ 3sg-(TOP)  meal  also  NEG-eat:3 \]

‘S/he does not even eat a meal.’
(264) \(tsa\ \topc t\hat{\iota}u\ \topc t\hat{s}\a-lei\) [TOPIC] \(dz\hat{a}-sa\ \topc la\ \topc mi-\hat{r}\a\) [COMMENT].

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

‘This son at home is not clever.’

(265) \(no\) [TOPIC] \(keb\hat{z}\iota\ \topc z\iota pu\-pu\ \topc a-q\hat{a}-t\hat{\iota}i\)

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

\(se-ke-so\ \topc go\) [COMMENT1] \(dz\hat{a}\ \topc te-pu\ \topc la\)

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

\(mi-m\hat{a}-n\) [COMMENT2].

NEG-able-2

\(qa\iota\ \topc la\ \topc se-p\hat{h}\a-so\) [COMMENT3].

face also DIR-lose-CSM:2sg

‘You, my child, went to a rich family, but you cannot do anything. You have lost face.’
Chapter 6
Verbal Morphology

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

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

6.1. Person marking

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-$</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(266) \( ηa \) \( ts^h u \) \( dze' \).

1sg:TP meal eat:1

‘I am eating.’

(267) \( qan \) \( ts^h u \) \( dze' \).

1dl meal eat:1

‘We two are eating.’

(268) \( qala \) \( ts^h u \) \( dze' \).

1pl meal eat:1

‘We are eating.’
(269) \( nō \ tšũ \ dze-n. \)
2sg:TP meal eat-2
‘You are eating.’

(270) \( kuen \ tšũ \ dze-n. \)
2dl meal eat-2
‘You two are eating.’

(271) \( kuel\`a \ tšũ \ dze-n. \)
2pl meal eat-2
‘You are eating.’

(272) \( tʰala \ tšũ \ dze. \)
3sg meal eat:3
‘S/he is eating.’

(273) \( tʰen \ tšũ \ dze. \)
3dl meal eat:3
‘They two are eating.’
(274) \( t^h \alpha \chi \alpha \quad ts^h u \quad dze. \)

3pl meal eat:3

‘They are eating.’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prospective</th>
<th>(Unmarked) imperfective</th>
<th>Change of state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>dzo-u-a</td>
<td>dzo(^i)</td>
<td>dzo-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>dzo-u-an</td>
<td>dzo-n</td>
<td>dzo-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>dzo-u</td>
<td>dzo</td>
<td>dzo-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>dzo-u-a</td>
<td>dzo(^i)</td>
<td>dzo-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>dzo-u-an</td>
<td>dzo-n</td>
<td>dzo-so(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>dzo-u</td>
<td>dzo</td>
<td>dzo-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. The aspect-person marking of the verb \( dzo \) ‘to sit down’
Table 13. The aspect-person marking of the verb *dze* ‘to eat’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prospective</th>
<th>(Unmarked) imperfective</th>
<th>Change of state</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>dze-u-ә</td>
<td>dzeі</td>
<td>dze-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>dze-u-an</td>
<td>dze-n</td>
<td>dze-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>dze-u</td>
<td>dze</td>
<td>dze-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>dze-u-ә</td>
<td>dzeі</td>
<td>dze-si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>dze-u-an</td>
<td>dze-n</td>
<td>dze-so(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>dze-u</td>
<td>dze</td>
<td>dze-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(275) \( \eta a\ dz\ pu-u-a. \)

1sg:TP thing do-PROS-1

‘I will work.’

(276) \( no\ dz\ pu-u-an\ me? \)

2sg:TP thing do-PROS-2sg QUES

‘Will you work?’

(277) \( t'ala\ dz\ pu-u. \)

3sg thing do-PROS:3

‘S/he will work.’
6.2. Orientation/Direction Marking

In the Puxi variety there are eight prefixes which mark the orientation of the action relative to the speaker. The prefix \textit{te}- means ‘toward vertically up’, \textit{\v{e}a}- means ‘toward vertically down’, \textit{\iota}- means ‘toward upstream’, \textit{se}- means ‘toward downstream’, \textit{kue}- means ‘in’, \textit{\varphi\iota}- means ‘out’, \textit{ze}- means ‘towards the center’, and \textit{da}- means ‘outward from center’. Following are some examples of the direction markings on the verb:

(278) \textit{\eta\iota \ d\varepsilon \ te-pu-si}.

1sg:TP thing DIR-do-CSM:1

‘I worked.’

(279) \textit{kuel\a \ d\varepsilon \ te-pu-so(n)}.

2pl thing DIR-do-CSM:2pl

‘You worked.’

(280) \textit{t\h^\iota\alpha\chi \ t\h^\iota\mu \ se-dze-i}.

3sg meal DIR-eat-CSM:3

‘S/he has eaten.’

(281) \textit{t\h^\iota\alpha\chi\varepsilon \ d\varepsilon \ te-pu-i}.

3pl thing DIR-do-CSM:3

‘They worked.’
**ke ‘go’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$te$-</td>
<td>$te$-ke</td>
<td>‘go vertically up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$-</td>
<td>$\alpha$-ke</td>
<td>‘go vertically down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y$-</td>
<td>$y$-ke</td>
<td>‘go upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$se$-</td>
<td>$se$-ke</td>
<td>‘go downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kue$-</td>
<td>$kue$-ke</td>
<td>‘go in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi a$-</td>
<td>$\chi a$-ke</td>
<td>‘go out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ze$-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>no form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$da$-</td>
<td>$da$-ke</td>
<td>‘go outward from center’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**lu ‘come’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$te$-</td>
<td>$te$-lu</td>
<td>‘come vertically up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$-</td>
<td>$\alpha$-lu</td>
<td>‘come vertically down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y$-</td>
<td>$y$-lu</td>
<td>‘come upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$se$-</td>
<td>$se$-lu</td>
<td>‘come downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kue$-</td>
<td>$kue$-lu</td>
<td>‘come in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi a$-</td>
<td>$\chi a$-lu</td>
<td>‘come out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ze$-</td>
<td>$ze$-lu</td>
<td>‘come towards the center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$da$-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>no form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

$p^h_u$ ‘run away’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$te-$</td>
<td>$te-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away vertically up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$e^-$</td>
<td>$e^*-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away vertically down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y-$</td>
<td>$y-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$se-$</td>
<td>$se-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kue-$</td>
<td>$kue-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi a-$</td>
<td>$\chi a-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ze-$</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>no form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$da-$</td>
<td>$da-p^h_u$</td>
<td>‘run away outward from center’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\varepsilon t\varepsilon$ ‘push/pull’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$te-$</td>
<td>$te-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push vertically up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$e^-$</td>
<td>$e^*-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push vertically down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y-$</td>
<td>$y-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$se-$</td>
<td>$se-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kue-$</td>
<td>$kue-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi a-$</td>
<td>$\chi a-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ze-$</td>
<td>$ze-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘pull towards the center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$da-$</td>
<td>$da-\varepsilon t\varepsilon$</td>
<td>‘push outward from center’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

\( \chi su \) ‘jump’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te-</td>
<td>te-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump vertically up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’-</td>
<td>a’-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump vertically down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se-</td>
<td>se-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kue-</td>
<td>kue-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xa-</td>
<td>xa-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ze-</td>
<td>ze-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump towards the center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da-</td>
<td>da-( \chi su )</td>
<td>‘jump outward from center’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the five verbs above shown, \( ke \) ‘go’, \( lu \) ‘come’ and \( p6u \) ‘run away’ are directional verbs; all of them may take seven of the eight orientation prefixes. The directional verb \( ke \) ‘go’ and \( p6u \) ‘run away’ cannot take the prefix \( ze- \) which expresses ‘towards the centre’, and the directional verb \( lu \) ‘come’ may not take the prefix \( da- \) which encodes ‘outward from centre’. The activity verbs \( eite \) ‘push/pull’ and \( \chi su \) ‘jump’ may take all eight direction prefixes.

Verbs which have no inherent directional properties usually take one of orientation prefixes. Some verbs may take one or two of orientation prefixes, whereas some verbs, such as adjectives, emotion verbs, affect verbs, thinking verbs, speaking verbs, and sensory verbs take only one prefix. Following are some examples of these verbs:
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

- **kue-ŋi**
  - ‘to get into bed’
  - DIR-sleep

- **da-tsʰə**
  - ‘to return (money)’
  - DIR-return

- **zed da-zio**
  - ‘to enter school’
  - book DIR-study

- **se-tʰi**
  - ‘to choke with food’
  - DIR-choke

- **te-qa**
  - ‘to understand’
  - DIR-know

- **χa-zbadzu**
  - ‘to remember’
  - DIR-remember

- **te-zm**
  - ‘to forget’
  - DIR-forget
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

-Se-\textit{xe}

‘to be drunk’

DIR-drunk

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

\textit{\textbf{x}a-\textit{zdi}}

‘to overtake’

\textit{\textbf{e}-\textit{xia}}

‘to let flow’

\textit{\textbf{y}-\textit{zdi}}

‘to go beyond’

\textit{\textbf{x}a-\textit{lia}}

‘to set free’

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

(282) \textit{p\textsuperscript{h}u} \textit{kue-gua}\textbf{!}

clothing  DIR-wear

‘(You) wear clothing!’

(283) \textit{(no)} \textit{t\textsuperscript{h}e} \textit{kue-t\textsuperscript{h}e}\textbf{!}

(2sg:TP) wine  DIR-drink

‘(You) drink (wine)!’
(284)  `te-tsua!`

    DIR-hold

    ‘Hold this!’

(285)  `a-šan!`

    DIR-stop

    ‘Stop it!’

(286)  `ze-ya!`

    DIR-call

    ‘Call someone!’

6.3. Aspect Marking

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

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

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

(287) \(\eta \ a \ t^h_u \ p^u \ (d-a-vaza)-u-a.\)

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

‘I am about to cook.’

(288) \(t^hala \ t^h_u \ p^u \ (d-a-vaza)-u.\)

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

‘S/he is about to cook.’

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

(289) \(u^l.e \ ku-sa \ p^a \ kuetsi-i.\)

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

‘The wheat should be about to be harvested.’
6.3.2. Inchoative Aspect

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

(291) *me’wu  a’-lu  da-vaze-i.*

rain   DIR-come   DIR-begin-CSM

‘It has begun to rain.’

(292) *ŋa  zede  tsi  da-vaze-si.*

1sg:TP  book  look.at   DIR-begin-CSM:1

‘I have begun to read.’

(293) *ŋa  ts’h u  pu  da-vaze-si.*

1sg:TP  meal  do   DIR-begin-CSM:1

‘I have started to cook.’
6.3.3. Change of state

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

(294) tʰəχə qo-zo  
3pl 1sg:NTP-DAT meal
mi-dze-po-ze  
NEG-eat-do-CAUS
a-n-si  
one-two-day do-CSM:3
pa-i.

‘They made me not eat for a few days.’

(295) pesi  
 today
tɕi-χau  
 how.much-CL
(pe-i)?
pesi  
 (become-CSM)
zguə  
 today  nine
pe-i.

‘What day is it today? It is the ninth.’

(296) zɐpɪɛ  
 leather
ʂɛ-zduɛzduɛ-i.  
DIR-wear.out-CSM

‘The leather became worn out.’
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

(297) \textit{me'wu\ a'-lu\ (da-vaza)-i.}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  rain & DIR-com & (begin)-CSM \\
\end{tabular}

‘It has started to rain.’

(298) \textit{\textit{m} \ a'-\textit{t}e\textit{ya}-i.}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  sky & DIR-dark-CSM & \\
\end{tabular}

‘It has already become dark.’

(299) \textit{keb\textit{z}i\ se-za-i.}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  child & DIR-cry-CSM:3 & \\
\end{tabular}

‘The child cried.’

The auxiliary verb \textit{pi} ‘become’ appears after the verbs of negative existential constructions to express the change of situation or state, as in (300) and (301):

(300) \textit{dze-sa\ me-\textit{eta}-pi-i.}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
  eat-NOM & NEG-exist-become-CSM & \\
\end{tabular}

‘(We) have run out of food.’

(301) \textit{\textit{m}\ t\textit{a}-\textit{xo}-ta\ zmam-\textit{cha}\ mi-za-pi-i.}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
  ox & that-PL-LOC & cow-PL & NEG-exist-become-CSM & \\
\end{tabular}

‘The cows have disappeared among those oxen.’
6.3.4. **Continuative Aspect**

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

(302) \( q\textit{ala} \quad z\textit{ede} \quad \textit{pi-tsi'}. \)

1pl book CONT-look.at:1

‘We are still reading a book.’

(303) \( t\textit{ala} \quad ts\textit{u} \quad \textit{pi-dze}. \)

3sg meal CONT-eat:3

‘S/he is still eating.’

If the continuative prefix \( \textit{pi} \) is used in a future temporal frame, it refers to an action that is continuously progressing, or may have stopped but will continue again later. Following are some examples of this sense:

(304) \( t\textit{a\chi\alpha} \quad ts\textit{u} \quad \textit{pi-dze-u}. \)

3pl meal CONT-eat-PROS:3

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

(308) \( t^h_{\text{ala}} \) \( ts^h_{\text{u}} \) \( \text{pi-dze-}p^e \) \( \text{zed} \) \( \text{pi-}t^e_{\text{i}}-p^e \).

3sg meal CONT-eat-do book CONT-look.at-do

‘S/he eats while reading a book.’

(309) \( t^h_{\text{ala}} \) \( ts^h_{\text{u}} \) \( \text{pi-dze-}p^e \) \( \text{tian}^s_{\text{e}} \) \( \text{pi-}t^e_{\text{i}}-p^e \).

3sg meal CONT-eat-do TV CONT-look.at-do

‘S/he eats while watching the TV.’
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

(310) \( t^hala \) \( pi-tsi \) \( pi-tsi-p\theta \) \( n_{i} \) \( te-d\varphi-i \).  

3sg CONT-look.at CONT-look.at-do ADV DIR-smile-CSM:3  

‘S/he smiled while reading (it).’

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

(311) \( a-p\vartheta \) \( se-pi-dze \).  

a-little DIR-CONT-eat  

‘Eat some more!’

6.3.5. Perfective Aspect

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

(312) \( t^h-a-ta \) \( te-pu-i \) \( go \) \( tsal\omega \) \( t^h-a-si \) \( qe-u \).  

that-PL DIR-do-CSM LNK this.time that-day finish-HEARS  

‘After doing those things, now (they) finished that day’s (work).’
The auxiliary verb -qe following a verb with the directional prefix can encode a perfective sense, as in (316a) and (317a). In negative perfective constructions, the negative prefix mi- occurs before the auxiliary verb pi, as in (316b) and (317b):

(316) a.  
\[ t^bala \ ts^b\mu \ se-dze \ qe-i. \]

\[ 3sg \ \text{meal} \ \text{DIR-eat} \ \text{finish-CSM:3} \]

‘S/he has had a meal.’ (lit.: S/he finished eating a meal.)
b. \( t^hala \, ts^h_u \, se\-dze \, mi\-pi \, qe. \)

3sg meal DIR-eat NEG-do finish:3

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

(317) a. \( ^a \, zedE \, se\-tsi \, qe-si. \)

1sg:TP book DIR-look.at finish-CSM:1

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

b. \( ^a \, zedE \, se\-tsi \, mi\-pi \, qe' \).

1sg:TP book DIR-look.at NEG-do finish:1

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

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

(318) \( kuel` \, !#et` \, ke \, qe\-son. \)

2pl Chengdu go finish-CSM:2pl

‘You have been to Chengdu.’

(319) \( t^hala \, zu \, ts^h_e \, dze \, qe\-i. \)

3sg horse meat eat finish-CSM:3

‘S/he has eaten horse meat.’
Perfective in the Puxi variety of Qiang may also be marked by the main verb \( sako \) ‘to finish’ (borrowed from Southwestern Mandarin ‘煞過’), as in (321). The verb \( sako \) can also be used as a matrix verb, as in (322):

(321) \( t^h e \quad te-sako-i \quad go, \quad t^h a-si \quad dze \quad qe-i. \)

that:CL  DIR-finish-CSM  LNK  that-day  thing  finish-CSM

‘After (they) finished that (thing), (they) have done that day’s work.’

(322) \( ts^h u \quad tsa-\_\_u \quad se-dze \quad te-sako. \)

meal  this-CL  DIR-eat  DIR-finish

‘(You) finish eating the rice.’

6.3.6. Repetition

Repetition means doing an action ‘again’. This form is expressed by the suffix \( -ts^h e \), which precedes the other suffixes, such as aspect marking and person marking. It can be used with the change of state marker:
(323) *me'wu a'-lu (da-vaza)-tsʰ-a-i.*

rain DIR-come (DIR-begin)-REP-CSM

‘It is raining again.’

(324) *ŋa zedə tsi da-vaza-tsʰ-a-si.*

1sg:TP book look.at DIR-begin-REP-CSM:1

‘I have begun to read again.’

(325) *kuel` !#et` se-ke-tsʰ-a-son-a?*

2pl Chengdu DIR-go-REP-CSM:2pl-QUES

‘Did you go to Chengdu again?’

(326) *tvipu-lei y-pi-ke-tsʰ-a-i.*

daughter-DEF DIR-CONT-go-REP-CSM:3

‘The daughter went upstream again.’

6.3.7. Imperfective

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

(327)  $t^hala\ a-si\ zeda\ tsi$.

3sg one-day book look.at:3

‘S/he usually reads books.’

(328)  $t^hala\ laqe$\ a-si\ $t\hat{a}^h e\ t\hat{a}^h e$.

3sg before one-day wine drink:3

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

(329)  $tubzi\ a-si\ tutsu\ se$.

elder.brother one-day younger.brother hit:3

‘The elder brother often hits the younger brother.’

6.3.8. iterative

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

$stu-stu\ pa$ ‘to play hide and seek’

hide-REDUP do
6.4. Negative marking

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

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

(330)  *mepei-še*  *mi-že-pi-i.*

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

‘(His/her) father died.’

(331)  *a-ma*  *mazi*  *χa-u*  *mi-su-i.*

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

‘(My) mother is asleep and won’t get up.’
The negative prefix *mi-* is used in both imperfective and perfective clauses, as in (332)-(333). In both (332a) and (333a), the negative prefix is used in an imperfective clause, whereas in (332b) and (333b) the negative prefix appears in a perfective clause.

(332) a. \( \eta a \)   \( mi-dze' \)

1sg:TP  NEG-eat:1

‘I do not eat.’

b. \( \eta a \)   \( mi-dze-si \)

1sg:TP  NEG-eat-CSM:1

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

(333) a. \( no \) \( qo-zo \) \( c\text{tsindzi} \) \( mi-zda-n \).

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

‘You do not give me money.’

b. \( no \) \( qo-zo \) \( c\text{tsindzi} \) \( ze-mi-zda-so \).

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

‘You have not given me money.’
Apart from the negative prefix *mi-* , the prohibitive (the negative imperative prefix) *tse-* also expresses a negative sense (see §6.9.4).

### 6.5. Adverbial Marking

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

(334) $pesi$  $\eta$  $te\text{-}tsua\text{-}nj$  $petsu$  $ke\text{-}si$.

\begin{itemize}
  \item today 1sg:TP DIR-early-ADV Xuecheng go-CSM:1
\end{itemize}

‘Today I went early to Xuecheng.’

(335) $\eta$  $zd\text{\^}eta$  $se\text{-}ke\text{-}nj$  $qa'$  $sudze$

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1sg:TP Chengdu DIR-go-ADV 1sg:NTP:GEN teacher
\end{itemize}

\textit{tsi-se-u-a}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item look.at-go-PROS-1
\end{itemize}

‘I will go to Chengdu to see my teacher.’
(336) $\{\text{kua} \quad \text{toba} \quad \text{ta-m} \quad \text{n}i \quad \text{n}a-\text{s}e\}$

2sg:NTP:GEN cap wear-NOM CONJ 1sg:TP-TOP

$\chi\text{a-ke-ke-n}i$  $\text{cto\text{ndzi}}$  $a\text{-gu}$  $te-z\text{mie-si}$.

DIR-go-REDUP-ADV money one-CL DIR-look.for-CSM:1

‘Your husband and I went out to make some money.’

(337) $\text{t}\text{hala} \quad \text{t}z\text{he}ts\text{e} \quad \text{dzo-n}i \quad \text{zed}e \quad \text{zio-s}e-i$.

3sg bus sit-ADV book study-go-CSM:3

‘S/he went to school by bus.’

6.6. Modality

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

6.6.1. Deontic Modality
6.6.1.1. Obligation

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

(338) ηa  pesi  jitín-la  ve  a-zi  te-téʰi  pa-u-a.

1sg:TP  today  must-EMPH  fish  one-CL  DIR-grasp  do-PROS-1

‘I must catch a fish today.’

(339) tʰala  pesi  jitín-la  ke-u.

3sg  today  must-EMPH  go-PROS:3

‘Today s/he must go.’

(340) no  tsi  dzə  jitín-la  te-pu  te-šako.

2sg:TP  this:CL  thing  must-emphatic  DIR-do  DIR-finish

‘You must finish this thing.’

To express strong obligation like in English ‘have to’, the main verb is nominalized, and takes the auxiliary pe with change of state marking:
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

(341) *tepe*i  *tsyla*  *pʰiˈtʃʰi*i*i*u*  *χli*-sa  *pə*-i.*

tomorrow 1pl:INCL ball play-NOM do-CSM

‘We have to play ball tomorrow.’

(342) *pesi*  *ŋa*-i  *tɕi*  *ɕya*-sa  *pə*-i.*

today 1sg:TP-AGT house clean-NOM do-CSM

‘Today I have to clean up the house.’

(343) *pesi*  *zeme*  *χeχe*-sa  *pə*-i.*

today speech talk-NOM do-CSM

‘(We) have to attend a meeting.’

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

(344) *tʰala*  *zəxe*  *al*  *da-ʦi*-sa  *ŋa.*

3sg disease one:CL DIR-look.at-go should

‘S/he should go to see a doctor.’

(345) *no*  *cepe*i  *ʦotɕo*  *ʨʃʃy*  *ŋa.*

2sg:TP body well take.care.of should

‘You should take care of yourself.’
(346)  
\[ \text{no dze tsotco pu } \eta a. \]

2sg:TP thing well do should

‘You should do the thing carefully.’

The matrix verb \( \eta a \) can also express deontic modality like English ‘need’, as in (347)-(348):

(347)  
\[ \text{pie tsa-\( \chi a-q^h o \) ne-zi sa } \eta a. \]

swine this-CL-LOC two-CL kill need

‘It is necessary to kill two swine among them.’

(348)  
\[ t^h a\chi a-q^h o \chi si-la ke-u \eta a. \]

3pl-LOC three-CL go-PROS:3 need

‘Among them three persons need to go.’

6.6.1.2. Permission

The matrix verb \( qe \) ‘may, can’ in some contexts is used to express permission to do something:

(349)  
\[ \eta a tsa-la dze qe me? \]

1sg:TP this-CL eat may QUES

‘May I eat this?’
6.6.1.3. Capability

Capability is expressed by the matrix verb *qe* ‘may, can’, which expresses natural (physical) ability or learned ability, or *mei* ‘can’, which indicates learned ability only:

(350) $t^{h}a\chi a$ $ke$ $qe$.

3pl  go    may

‘They are allowed to go.’/ ‘They may go.’

(351) $tsa$-$zi$ $zu$ $zg\alpha$ $qe$.

this-CL  horse  run    can

‘This horse can run fast.’

(352) $kuel$ $zed\delta$ $si$ $qe$-$n$ $me$?

2pl  letter  write  can-2    QUES

‘Can you write?’

(353) $t^{h}a\chi a$ $zed\delta$ $si$ $mei$.

3pl  letter  write  can-3

‘They can write.’
6.6.2. *Epistemic Modality*

Epistemic modality comprises probability and possibility. Puxi Qiang has possibility.

This form is expressed by the particle *ba*, which follows any aspectual suffix and the person marking:

(354) \( \text{no } \overline{\nu\varrho} \quad \text{zed} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{skε-n} \quad \text{ba}. \)

\( 2\text{sg:TP} \quad \text{Han} \quad \text{letter} \quad \text{write} \quad \text{good-2} \quad \text{PRT} \)

‘You probably write Chinese characters well.’

(355) \( t'\overline{ala} \quad \overline{\nu\varrho} \quad \text{zed} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{mei} \quad \text{ba}. \)

\( 3\text{sg} \quad \text{Han} \quad \text{letter} \quad \text{write} \quad \text{can:3} \quad \text{PRT} \)

‘S/he probably can write Chinese characters.’

(356) \( t'\alpha\chi\alpha \quad \text{ze\text{d}eta} \quad \text{skε-ke-i} \quad \text{ba}. \)

\( 3\text{pl} \quad \text{Chengdu} \quad \text{DIR-go-CSM:3} \quad \text{PRT} \)

‘They probably went to Chengdu.’

6.7. *Evidentials*

Evidential marking marks the sources of information which form the basis of what we are saying (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 43). Qiang has markings of certain evidential distinctions, such as direct vs. hearsay vs. inferential knowledge of an event.

The unmarked clause expresses knowledge which the speaker has from having seen
the situation; it is a direct evidential. If -u (which is grammaticalized from the verb u ‘say’) is added to the end of the verb complex, it marks what the speaker is reporting as second-hand information. The hearsay evidential suffix -u is the same as the prospective aspect marker -u formally, but we can distinguish the hearsay evidential from the prospective aspect. The prospective aspect marker never follows the change of state marker, whereas the hearsay evidential marker follows the change of state marker. If -ba (which is the same as the possibility particle ba) occurs in the final position of the clause, it denotes evidence that the speaker obtained based on seeing the result of the action:

(357) \[ t‘ala \quad zdæta \quad še-ke-i. \]
3sg Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3
‘(s)he went to Chengdu.’ (direct evidential)

(358) \[ t‘ala \quad zdæta \quad še-ke-i-u. \]
3sg Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3-HEARS
‘(I heard) (s)he went to Chengdu.’ (hearsay: reported second-hand information)

(359) \[ t‘ala \quad zdæta \quad še-ke-i-ba. \]
3sg Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:3-INFER
‘(I guess) (s)he went to Chengdu.’ (inferential evidential)
6.8. Valence Changing Devices

Verbs in the Puxi variety of Qiang are generally clearly transitive or intransitive, though there are also some ambitransitive verbs (S=A, as in (90), or S=P, as in (91)). There are only two devices to change the valency of a verb: one is to increase the valency by use of the causative suffix; the other is to decrease the valency by
reduplication of a transitive verb to mark a reciprocal action. There is no passive construction or reflexive/middle voice to reduce the valency of a verb. There is also no applicative construction which has the function of adding an undergoer argument.

6.8.1. **Valency Increasing**

In general, the suffix \(-z\theta\) is added after intransitive and transitive verbs to form causatives, which changes their valency to transitive and ditransitive verbs respectively.

**Intransitive:**

(364) \(p^h\u te-z\j\cdot i\)

\begin{align*}
\text{clothes} & \quad \text{DIR-dry-CSM} \\
\text{‘The clothes have dried.’} 
\end{align*}

**Causativized intransitive:**

(365) \(t^h\a\l\cdot i \quad p^h\u \ te-z\j\cdot z\e\cdot i\)

\begin{align*}
3\text{sg-AGT} & \quad \text{clothes} \quad \text{DIR-dry-CAUS-CSM:3} \\
\text{‘S/he caused the clothes to dry.’} 
\end{align*}

(366) \(z\a\p\i \quad \se\-z\d\u\z\d\e\-z\e\cdot i\)

\begin{align*}
\text{leather} & \quad \text{DIR-wear.out-CAUS-CSM} \\
\text{‘The leather was worn out.’} 
\end{align*}
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

(367) $t\hat{c}h\hat{g}^{h}i\hat{u}$ se-$\chi$pe-$z\hat{a}$-$i$.

balloon  DIR-explode-CAUS-CSM

‘The balloon was popped.’

(368) $\eta$ ke-$z\hat{a}$ vu.

1sg:TP  go-CAUS will

‘(They) will have me go.’

Transitive:

(369) $\eta$ $t^{h}olo$ te-$po$-$si$.

1sg:TP  salt  DIR-buy-CSM:1

‘I bought salt.’

Causativized transitive:

(370) $t^{h}olo$ te-$po$-$z\hat{a}$-$i$.

salt  DIR-buy-CAUS-CSM

‘Salt was bought.’/ ‘Someone had salt bought.’

(371) $t^{h}olo$ $\eta$-$i$ te-$po$-($z\hat{a}$-$si$).

salt  1sg:TP-AGT  DIR-buy-(CAUS)-CSM:1

‘I caused salt to be bought.’
Ditransitive:

(372) ηa t₆ala-ʑo pʰu a-la da-zda-u-α.

1sg:TP 3sg-DAT clothes one-CL DIR-send-PROS-1

‘I will send him/her a piece of clothing.’

Causativized ditransitive:

(373) t₆ala qo-ʑo kue-ʑo pʰu a-la

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:NTP-DAT clothing one-CL
d₆a-zda-ʑa-i.

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made me send you a piece of clothing.’

6.8.2. Valency Reducing

An intransitive verb can be formed by reduplicating a verb to make a reciprocal, which reduces the arguments of the verb. Following are some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r̥e ‘lick’</td>
<td>&gt; n̥en̥e ‘lick each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̥sʰə ‘change’</td>
<td>&gt; t̥sʰatsʰə ‘exchange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di ‘beat’</td>
<td>&gt; didi ‘beat each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zda ‘connect’</td>
<td>&gt; zdḁzda ‘mutually connect’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(374) a. *tubzi satsu zdi.* (transitive)

elder.brother younger.sister scold:3

‘The elder brother is scolding the younger sister.’

b. [*tubzi ni satsu zdizdi-(pa).*] (intransitive)

brother CONJ sister fight-REDUP-(do):3

‘The elder brother and the younger sister are quarreling.’

In the Puxi variety of Qiang, *pa* co-occurs with reduplicated verbs in reciprocal constructions to mark ‘to do something mutually’. In most cases, the adverb *dzu*, meaning ‘mutually’, may occur optionally before the reduplicated verb, as in (375)-(377):

(375) *t6en (dzu) ma-ma-pa.*

3dl mutually love-REDUP-do:3

‘They two love each other.’

(376) *tsyla senta dzu wua-wua-pa-si.*

1pl:INCL later mutually help-REDUP-do-CSM:1

‘We will help each other in the future.’
(377) $tʰən$ $dzu$ $kəa-kəa-pa$.  
3dl mutually help-REDUP-do:3

‘Both of them help each other.’

This is how reciprocals are marked, and it changes transitives into intransitives. There are also some verbs with an inherently reciprocal meaning, as in (378):

(378) $tʰən$ $tʃa-tʃa-(pə).$  
3dl fight-(do):3

‘They two are fighting.’

6.9. Mood

Mood is a grammatical category of the verb which expresses the subjective attitude of the speaker towards the state of affairs described by the utterance (Bussmann1996: 312). Puxi Qiang has marking of declarative, imperative, prohibitive, interrogative, exclamative, hortative, permissive and optative mood.

6.9.1. Declarative (Indicative)

The declarative (indicative) refers to verb forms or clause/sentence types typically used in the expression of statements (Crystal, David, 1997: 104). In some cases, it is the unmarked form of the verb in Qiang:
6.9.2. Imperative

The imperative form of the verb is obtained by adding the prefix *kue-*, or other directional prefixes (see §6.2) to the verb. This form is used when the listener is commanded to perform an action. Its topic is always in the second person but may not be overtly expressed. When the topic of the imperative is second person singular, the person marking is not used, as in (382a)-(386a), but the person marking is obligatorily used if the topic of the imperative is second person non-singular, as in (382b)-(386b):
(382) a. no \((ts^h_u)\) kue-dze!  
2sg:TP meal IMP-eat  
‘You eat!’ (Polite)

b. kuela \((ts^h_u)\) kue-dze-n!  
2pl meal IMP-eat-2  
‘You eat!’ (Polite)

(383) a. no \((ts^h_u)\) kue-st`!  
2sg:TP meal IMP-eat  
‘You eat!’ (Impolite)

b. kue-n \((ts^h_u)\) kue-st`-n!  
2dl meal IMP-eat-2  
‘You two eat!’ (Impolite)

(384) a. no kue-ts\(^h\)it\(^h\)!  
2sg:TP IMP-chase  
‘You chase it!’
b. *kuela*  *kue-*tsʰitšʰi-n!  
2pl IMP-chase-2

‘You chase it!’

(385) a. *no*  *kue-gua*!  
2sg:TP IMP-put.on

‘You put (it) on!’

b. *kue-n*  *kue-gua-n*!  
2dl IMP-put.on-2

‘You two put (it) on!’

(386) a. *tsue*  *kue-la*!  
water IMP-bring

‘Bring water!’

b. *tsue*  *kue-la-n*!  
water IMP-bring-2

‘Bring water!’
6.9.3. *Interrogatives*

When there is a second person actor or topic and the verb takes the imperfective aspect person marking, the particle \(-a\) is added after the second person marking to get a ‘yes-no’ question. To express a ‘yes-no’ question when there is an actor or topic of any other person or the verb takes the second person change of state marker \(-so\) or \(-son\), the clause-final particle *me* is used. Both \(-a\) and *me* follow the person and aspectual markings:

(387) *kuelə*  *zedə*  *pi-tsi-n-a?*

2pl book CONT-look.at-2-QUES

‘Are you still reading?’

(388) *tʰaxa*  *zedə*  *tsi-𝑞e-i*  *me?*

3pl book look.at-finish-CSM:3 QUES

‘Have they read the book?’

(389) *no*  *tsʰu*  *qe-so*  *me?*

2sg:TP meal finish-CSM:2sg QUES

‘Have you eaten?’
Chapter 6: Verbal Morphology

(390) \( no \ t^{b}ala \ da-\nu\mu\acute{a}^{'-son} \ me? \)

2sg:TP 3sg DIR-ask-CSM:2pl QUES

‘Did you ask him/her to come?’

In a question with an interrogative pronoun, the interrogative pronoun occurs in situ, wherever the constituent of the answer will occur; unlike in English, there is no change in the word order of the interrogative sentence:

(391) \( zeda \ ou-dzu\acute{a} \ \eta\alpha? \)

book where-CL exist

‘Where is the book?’

(392) \( t^{b}\chi\alpha \ ana-\omega^{b}o \ ke-u? \)

3pl what-time go-PROS:3

‘When are they going to go?’

From the examples above, we can see that in clauses with interrogative pronouns we do not need to add the clause-final question particle when the interrogative pronoun is used as an argument of the verb, but when the interrogative pronoun modifies the head of a noun phrase, the question marker is added at the end of the clause, as in (393), where the interrogative pronoun \( tanj \) ‘how much’ modifies the head \( sent^{b}a \) ‘depth’:
6.9.4. Prohibitive

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is formed by adding the prefix *tse-* before the verb. The prohibitive expresses that the speaker requests the addressee not to do an action:

(394)  
\[ \text{no} \quad (ts^h_u) \quad tse-dze! \]

2sg:TP (meal) PROH-eat

‘Don’t eat!’

(395)  
\[ \text{no} \quad tse-za! \]

2sg:TP PROH-cry

‘Don’t cry!’

(396)  
\[ \text{no} \quad tse-ts^h_i ts^h_i? \]

2sg:TP PROH-chase

‘Don’t chase (them)!’
(397) \( \text{no} \quad \text{tse-gue!} \)

2sg:TP PROH-wear

‘Don’t wear (it)!’

(398) \( \text{tse-ke!} \)

PROH-go

‘Don’t go!’

(399) \( \text{tse-z\text{\'a}-z\text{\'a}\text{\'a}} \)

PROH-quarrel-REDUP

‘Don’t quarrel!’

(400) \( \text{tse-z\text{\'a}} \)

PROH-make.noise

‘Don’t make noise!’

When the prohibitive prefix \textit{tse-} appears with the negative prefix \textit{mi-} before a verb, the prohibitive prefix occurs before the negative prefix, as in (401):

(401) \( \text{tse-mi-kue-lu!} \)

PROH-NEG-DIR-come

‘Don’t not come!’ ((You) must come!)
6.9.5. Exclamative

Exclamatory sentences in the Puxi variety of Qiang are formed by using exclamatory words in the initial or final position of the sentence, as in (402) and (403):

(402) \[sa \quad \text{xpa} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{a}!\]

very shape good EXC

‘How pretty!’

(403) \[e\text{i} \quad sa \quad tso\text{r,e}!\]

EXC very pity

‘Oh, so pitiful!’

6.9.6. Hortative

The hortative is used in wishing or suggesting that an action shall take place. This form is obtained by adding the first person change of state suffix -si to the verb, as in (404)-(405):

(404) \[tsyla \quad e^{\text{z}}\text{-dz}\text{o-si.}\]

1pl DIR-sit.down-CSM:1

‘Let’s sit down.’
There is also the particle *ba*, which occurs at the end of the clause to mark a hortative. It requests somebody to do a thing or an action with the speaker. Following are some examples:

(406) \[ ni\-se \quad ba. \]

sleep-go \hspace{1cm} PRT

‘Let’s go to sleep.’

(407) \[ tsyn \quad ke\-se \quad ba. \]

1dl:INCL \hspace{0.5cm} go-go \hspace{0.5cm} PRT

‘Let’s go.’

6.9.7. Permissive

This form is obtained by adding the causative suffix *-zə* to the verb when the causee is a 1st person pronoun, as in (408)-(410):

(405) \[ zedə \quad tsi\-si. \]

book \hspace{1cm} look.at-CSM:1

‘Let’s read a book.’
When the actor or topic is a 3rd person pronoun, the prefix \( tc^{ha} \) appears before the verb to mark the permissive, meaning ‘let him/her/them do something’, as in (411)-(412):

\[
(411) \quad t^{h\text{ala}-i} \quad p^{h\text{u}} \quad tc^{h\text{a}-\chi\text{ual-a-se}}. \\
3\text{sg-AGT clothes PERMS-wash-go:3}
\]

‘Let him/her wash the clothes.’
(412)  $t^hala-i$  $ts^h\,u$  $t\varepsilon^h\,a-pu-s\varepsilon$.

3sg-AGT meal PERMS-do-go:3

‘Let him/her cook a meal.’

6.9.8. Optative

The matrix verb $kala$ is used to express the intention to carry out a particular action. It takes a non-nominalized complement:

(413)  $\eta \, a$  $t\varepsilon \, i$  $a-gu$  $te-pu$  $kala$.

1sg:TP house one-CL DIR-do want:1

‘I want to build a house.’

(414)  $t^h\,\chi\,\alpha$  $zeme$  $\chi\varepsilon\varepsilon \, e$  $kala$.

3pl speech talk.over want:3

‘They plan to hold a meeting.’

(415)  $qala$  $\chi\,su-q\,i$  $\chi\,a-ke$  $\eta \, i$  $a l$  $te-tsi-s\varepsilon$

1pl mountain-top DIR-go ADV one:CL DIR-look.at-go

$kala$.

want:1

‘We plan to go up the mountain to take a look.’
The matrix verb *zbadzu* ‘think, want to’ marks wishing/hoping something will occur, as in (416)-(417):

(416)  
\[ \etaa\ \ tep\ëi\ \ mes\ë\ \ x\a-\lu\ \ zbadzu' \. \]

1sg:TP tomorrow sun DIR-come think:1

‘I hope that it will be sunny tomorrow.’

(417)  
\[ \text{t'ala}\ \ peijin\ \ x\a-ke\ \ zbadzu. \]

3sg Beijing DIR-go think:3

‘S/he wishes that s/he could go to Beijing.’
Chapter 7
Simple Structures

In this chapter I will focus on the minimal sentence structures, such as the basic constituent order, interrogatives, negation, existential and possessive construction, the comparative construction, and topic-comment constructions.

7.1. Constituent order

In this section we will first discuss the structure of the noun phrase, then we will describe the structure of the verb complex. We will also discuss the constituent order of the clause.

7.1.1. Noun phrase structures

The minimal structure of the noun phrase in the Puxi variety of Qiang is a noun alone. Nouns can take one or more modifiers. A common noun (ComN) always precedes a proper noun (PropN), a specific noun (SpecN) occurs before a generic noun (GenericN) and pronouns (we call them genitive (GEN) whether they take the genitive marking or not) usually occur before a noun which they modify. Adjectives (Adj) follow the noun when they modify the noun alone, but when adjectives plus other modifiers modify the noun adjectives usually precede the noun. When a demonstrative plus a classifier (DEM-CL) modifies the noun alone it follows or precedes the noun. The demonstrative usually follows the noun when other modifiers also modify the noun. A numeral must be followed by a classifier (NUM-CL) and follow a noun it modifies. A relative clause (Rel) may precede or follow the head of the noun phrase. When a relative clause precedes the noun, the demonstrative with the
numeral classifier must follow the noun.

Apart from a noun functioning as the head of a noun phrase, in specific contexts, a demonstrative-classifier phrase, a numeral-classifier phrase and certain verbs which are nominalized by the (in)definite marking can be used as the head of a noun phrase. The maximal structure of the noun phrase in the Puxi variety of Qiang is given in Figure 6:

\[(GEN)+(Rel)+(Adj)+NOUN+(DEM)+(NUM-CL)+((IN)DEF)\]

Figure 6. The structure of the noun phrase

Following are some examples of the possible combinations of the individual items.

A common noun always precedes a proper name, as in (418):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ComN</th>
<th>PropN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tubzi</td>
<td>Shude (a person name)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(418) ‘elder brother Shude’
A specific noun also occurs before a generic noun, as in (419) and (420):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{SpecN} & \text{GenericN} \\
(419) & \text{balu} \quad ts^h\text{ue} \\
& \text{Puxi village} \\
& \text{‘Da Puxi’ (village name)} \\
(420) & \text{zma} \quad \text{q\textsi} \\
& \text{Qiang language} \\
& \text{‘Qiang language’}
\end{array}
\]

A genitive always appears before the noun, as in (421):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{GEN} & \text{N} \\
(421) & qa’ \quad p^h\text{u} \\
& \text{1sg:GEN clothing} \\
& \text{‘my clothing’}
\end{array}
\]

A demonstrative pronoun always takes a classifier or numeral-classifier phrase (which follows the demonstrative), and when it modifies a noun, it mainly occurs after the noun. When there are no other modifiers before the noun, however, the demonstrative-classifier phrase may also occur before the noun which it modifies, as
Adjectives usually appear after the noun when they modify the noun alone, as discussed in (§4.2.2):

(423)  

\[
\text{N} \quad \text{Adj} \\
\text{u' \quad dzila-la} \\
\text{road \quad long-REDUP} \\
\text{‘long road’}
\]
A numeral-classifier phrase always appears after the head of the noun phrase, as in (424):

(424)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
N & \text{NUM-CL} \\
\text{p}^h\text{u} & \chi\text{si}-\text{la} \\
\text{clothes} & \text{three-CL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘three pieces of clothing’

If a noun is modified by a genitive phrase and a demonstrative plus (numeral)-classifier phrase, the genitive phrase precedes the noun, while the other modifiers follow the noun, as in (425) and (426):

(425)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{GEN} & N & \text{DEM-CL} \\
q\text{a}^i & \text{p}^h\text{u} & t^h\text{a}-\text{la} \\
1\text{sg:GEN} & \text{clothing} & \text{that-CL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘that clothing of mine’

(426)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{GEN} & N & \text{DEM} & \text{NUM-CL} \\
q\text{a}^i & \text{p}^h\text{u} & t^h\text{e} & \chi\text{si}-\text{la} \\
1\text{sg:GEN} & \text{clothing} & \text{that} & \text{three-CL} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘those three pieces of my clothing’
When a noun is modified by a demonstrative plus numeral-classifier phrase, a relative clause and an adjective, the adjective and the relative clause appear before the noun, whereas the demonstrative plus numeral-classifier phrase appears after the noun:

\[ \text{Rel+Adj+N+DEM+NUM-CL} \]

(427) \[ [\eta a \ te-po-si] \ ts^hunpa \ p^h\ u \ t^h e \ \chi si-la \]

1sg:TP DIR-buy-CSM:1 blue clothing that three-CL

‘those three pieces of blue clothing that I bought’

7.1.2. Verb complex structures

The minimal verb complex would be a verb that is unmarked. The verb can take up to four prefixes, the prohibitive prefix, the directional prefix, the negative prefix, and the continuative prefix. The 3rd person permissive prefix may occur in the same slot as the directional prefix. If there is a prohibitive prefix, then it always appears before the directional prefix and/or the negative prefix. When there is a directional prefix, the continuative prefix, and the negative prefix together precede a verb, the negative prefix follows the directional prefix, and the continuative prefix follows the negative prefix. An auxiliary verb and/or a directional verb, such as ‘come’ / ‘go’ always follows the main verb. If there is prospective marking in the clause, then it occurs on the main verb, regardless of whether there is an auxiliary verb or not. Person marking combined with aspect marking always appears before the evidential marking. If there is an evidential marker, it occurs on the last element of the verb complex. When the
causative suffix, the repetitive suffix, the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix together follow a verb, the causative suffix immediately follows the verb, the repetitive follows the causative suffix and precedes the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix follows the change of state suffix.

The maximal structure of the verb complex would comprise all of the constituents, given in Figure 7:

$$(PROH)-(DIR)-(NEG)-(CONT-V)-VERB-(CAUS)-(PROS)-(REP)-(CSM)-(PM)-(EVID)$$

Figure 7. The structure of the verb complex

Following are some examples of the possible combinations of the individual items. When a verb takes directional marking, negative marking, continuative marking and prohibitive marking, all these markings precede the verb, as in (428):

$(DIR+NEG+CONT+V)$

(428) a. $kue-mi-pi-lu$.

DIR-NEG-CONT-come:3

‘S/he still has not come in.’
Chapter 7: Simple Structures

PROH+NEG+DIR+V

b.  *tse-mi-kue-lu.*

PROS+NEG+DIR-come

‘You must come.’ (lit.: Don’t not come.)

When a verb takes the causative suffix, prospective marking plus person marking, and evidential marking, all of these markings follow the verb, as in (429):

\[ V+\text{CAUS}+\text{PROS-PM}+\text{HEARS} \]

(429)  *tσʰ-e-zə-u-an-u.*  

Hearsay

drink-CAUS-PROS-2sg-HEARS

‘You are going to have (someone) drink.’ (I heard)

The verb may be followed by the causative marking, the repetitive marking, prospective marking, person marking and evidential simultaneously, as in (430):

\[ V+\text{CAUS}+\text{REP}+\text{PROS-PM}+\text{HEARS} \]

(430)  *tσʰ-e-zə-tsʰ-e-u-an-u.*

drink-CAUS-REP+PROS-2sg-HEARS

‘You are going to have (someone) drink again.’ (I heard)
A verb can be followed by the causative marking, change of state marking and evidential marking, as in (431):

V+CAUS+CSM+HEARS

(431) \textit{se-tf\textsuperscript{h}e-za-so-u}.

DIR-drink-CAUS-CSM:2sg-HEARS

‘You had (someone) drink.’ (I heard)

A verb may be followed by the causative marking, repetitive marking, change of state marking and evidential marking simultaneously, as in (432):

V+CAUS+REP+CSM+HEARS

(432) \textit{se-tf\textsuperscript{h}e-za-ts\textsuperscript{h}a-so-u}.

DIR-drink-CAUS-REP-CSM:2sg-HEARS

‘You had (someone) drink again.’ (I heard)

7.1.3. Constituent orders of the clause

In §7.1.1 and §7.1.2, we show the structures of nominal phrase and verb complex. We can see the order of elements in a clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang in terms of the noun phrase structure and the verb complex structure. A clause may be a phrase, i.e. \textit{se-t\textsuperscript{si}-n}? ‘who are you?’ The canonical constituent order of the clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang is as in Figure 8:
(i) Noun phrase + Verb complex (Intransitive clause)

(ii) Noun phrase₁ + Noun phrase₂ + Verb complex (Transitive clause)

Figure 8. The canonical constituent order of the clause

An intransitive clause consists of a noun phrase plus a verb complex (SV), whereas a transitive clause comprises two noun phrases plus a verb complex (APV). This is the basic structure of a clause, other elements are also possible.

7.2. Interrogatives

There are three types of interrogative in the Puxi variety of Qiang, i.e. yes/no question, alternative question and question word question. Yes/no question is discussed in §7.2.1, alternative question is given in §7.2.2, and question word question is discussed in §7.2.3.

7.2.1. Yes/No questions

Yes/No question refers to interrogative clauses for soliciting information or requesting a thing or an action, whose expected answer is either ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The Puxi variety of Qiang uses the sentential final question particle *a*, or *me*, with rising intonation, or the particle *ba*, with falling intonation, to encode this type of question:
(433)  
\[
\text{no } zeda \text{ pi-tsi-n-a?}
\]

2sg:TP book CONT-look.at-2-QUES

‘Are you still reading?’

(434)  
\[
thala \text{ qe-su qe-i me?}
\]

3sg wine-drink finish-CSM:3 QUES

‘Is s/he married?’ (The Qiang wedding ceremony is characterized by the drinking of ‘marriage wine’, so \text{qe-su} ‘drink wine’ metaphorically refers to ‘marriage’.)

(435)  
\[
no \text{ qh'ou } se-ke-so me?
\]

2sg:TP valley DIR-go-CSM:2sg QUES

‘Have you been to the valley?’

(436)  
\[a.~ thala \text{ kue } ce se bo? \]

3sg 2sg:NTP face know:3 PRT

‘Does s/he know you?’ (guess)

\[b.~ mai, \text{ thala qa ce se.} \]

COP 3sg 1sg:NTP face know:3

‘Yes, s/he knows me.’
c. \textit{me-\$o, } \textit{\$ala } \textit{qa } \textit{ce } \textit{mi-\$e.}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG-COP} & \text{3sg} & \text{1sg:NTP} & \text{face} & \text{NEG-know:3} \\
\end{tabular}

‘No, s/he does not.’

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{(437)} a. \textit{\$ala } \textit{kue } \textit{ce } \textit{mi-\$e } \textit{ba?} \\
\text{3sg} & \text{2sg:NTP} & \text{face} & \text{NEG-know:3} & \text{PRT} \\
\end{tabular}

‘S/he doesn’t know you?’ (guess)

b. \textit{\$ei, } \textit{\$ala } \textit{qa } \textit{ce } \textit{mi-\$e.}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{COP} & \text{3sg} & \text{1sg:NTP} & \text{face} & \text{NEG-know:3} \\
\end{tabular}

‘No, s/he does not know me.’ (lit.: Yes, s/he does not know me.)

c. \textit{me-\$o, } \textit{\$ala } \textit{qa } \textit{ce } \textit{se.}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG-COP} & \text{3sg} & \text{1sg:NTP} & \text{face} & \text{know:3} \\
\end{tabular}

‘Yes, s/he knows me.’ (lit.: No, s/he knows me.)

d. \textit{me-\$o } \textit{ba?}

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG-COP} & \text{PRT} \\
\end{tabular}

‘It isn’t true, I guess?’ (disbelief)
(438) *no uzə ziə tsi ma-n me (mi-ma-n)?*

2sg:TP Chinese drama look.at like-2 QUES (NEG-like-2)

‘Do you like to watch Chinese drama or not?’

7.2.2. Alternative questions

The question marker *me* may occur between two verbs in a ‘*V QUES, NEG-V*’ structure to form an alternative question, as in (439)-(442):

(439) *təala tɕiu ə me, mi-ze?*

3sg home exist:3 QUES NEG-exist:3

‘Is s/he at home or not?’

(440) *no mɲ pe-n me, mi-ɲ pe-n?*

2sg:TP cold-2 QUES NEG-cold-2

‘Are you cold or not?’

(441a) *no ma-u-an, mei me, mi-mei?*

2sg:TP want-PROS-2sg COP QUES NEG-COP

‘You will want it, right?’ (lit.: You will want it, yes or no?)
b. \(m\text{ei}, \ \eta \ \text{ma-u-a.}\)

   COP 1sg:TP want-PROS-1

   ‘Yes, I will want it.’

c. \(\text{me-}\eta\text{-mi-m\text{ei}}, \ \eta \ \text{mi-ma-u-a.}\)

   NEG-COP/NEG-COP 1sg:TP NEG-want-PROS-1

   ‘No, I won’t want it.’

(442) a. \(\text{no} \ \text{mi-ma-n, m\text{ei} me, mi-m\text{ei}?}\)

   2sg:TP NEG-want-2 COP QUES NEG-COP

   ‘You don’t want it, right?’ (lit.: You don’t want it, yes or no?)

b. \(m\text{ei}, \ \eta \ \text{mi-ma\text{‘}.}\)

   COP 1sg:TP NEG-want:1

   ‘No, I don’t want it.’ (lit.: Yes, I don’t want it.)

c. \(\text{me-}\eta\text{-o, } \eta \ \text{ma\text{‘}.}\)

   NEG-COP 1sg:TP want:1

   ‘Yes, I want it.’ (lit.: No, I want it.)
The question marker in the Puxi variety of Qiang may occur at the end of the first clause with rising intonation, and the second clause with falling intonation to mark alternative question, as in (443)-(445):

(443) \[ \text{kue} \quad \text{tɕiu} \quad \text{tɕʰ-e-se} \quad \text{lu} \quad \text{me,} \]
\[ 2\text{sg:NTP:GEN} \quad \text{home} \quad \text{drink-go} \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{QUES} \]
\[ \text{qa} \quad \text{tɕiu} \quad \text{tɕʰ-e-se} \quad \text{lu?} \]
\[ 1\text{sg:NTP:GEN} \quad \text{home} \quad \text{drink-go} \quad \text{AUX} \]

‘Do we go to drink at my place or your place?’

(444) \[ \text{no} \quad \text{tʂɛŋ-tɕi-tɕi} \quad \text{me}, \quad \text{tɕa-lei?} \]
\[ 2\text{sg:TP} \quad \text{true-INDEF} \quad \text{QUES} \quad \text{false-DEF} \]

‘Is it true or false (what you said)?’

(445) \[ \text{tsyła} \quad \text{ke-se} \quad \text{me}, \quad \text{baʃen-se?} \]
\[ 1\text{pl:INCL} \quad \text{go-go} \quad \text{QUES} \quad \text{rest-go} \]

‘Do we go or take a rest?’

7.2.3. Question-word questions

Question-word questions mark the clause as a question and indicate what information is being requested (Payne 2002: 300). Question-word questions of the Puxi variety of Qiang have the question word in the same syntactic position in questions as the
corresponding noun in statements, as in Mandarin Chinese, rather than moving them to initial position, as in English (see §4.1.6.4).

(446) *(no)*  se-tsi-n?  
2sg:TP  who-INDEF-2

‘Who are you?’

(447)  *tsi*  se’  *pani*  *(mai)*?  
this:CL  who:NTP:GEN  thing  (COP)

‘Whose thing is this?’

(448)  *no*  *n̂i-dzua*  *ma-n*?  
2sg:TP  what-CL  like-2

‘What do you like?’

(449)  *tsi*  *n̂i-dzua*  *(mai)*?  
this:CL  what-CL  (COP)

‘What is this?’

(450)  *n̂i-dzua*  *pa-sa*  *pa-i*?  
what-CL  do-NOM  do-CSM

‘What should be done?’
(451) *zedə ou-duzá* jeta? (location)

book where-CL exist

‘Where is the book?’

(452) *ou-duzá ve bžj?* (location)

where-CL fish big

‘Which place has big fish?’

(453) *ana-ďu ve zie?* (location)

which-CL fish be.good.to.eat

‘Where do the fish taste good?’

(454) *t₃ala ana-tpeʰo ke-u?* (time)

3sg which-time go-PROS:3

‘What time will s/he go?’

(455) *tsyla ana-tpeʰo ke-se?* (time)

1pl:INCL which-time go-go

‘What time will we (inclusive) go?’
7.3. Negation

Negation in the Puxi variety of Qiang is achieved by adding the negative prefix *mi-* or the prohibitive prefix *tse-* before the verb (see §6.4).
7.3.1. General negation

The negative marker *mi-* precedes the verb to form a general negative clause, as in (460)-(464), or the prohibitive prefix *tse-* appears before a verb to form a negative imperative clause, as in (465) and (466):

(460) $\eta a \quad st\text{\textcircled{c}indzi} \quad mi-\eta a!$

1sg:TP money NEG-exist:1

‘I have no money.’

(461) t$\text{\textasciitilde}$ut$\text{\textasciitilde}$u(jy)-lei $\quad mi-dze \quad pe-i.$

chicken-DEF NEG-eat do-CSM

‘The chicken does not eat any more.’

(462) t$\text{\textasciitilde}$ala $\quad zeme \quad tan \quad mi-d\text{\textasciitilde}o.$

3sg speech very NEG-many:3

‘S/he is not extraordinarily talkative.’

(463) tsi $\quad k\text{eb}z\text{e} \quad me \quad c\text{tsi} \quad la \quad mi-\chiui.$

this:CL child people speech also NEG-obey

‘This child is very disobedient.’
(464)  
\[ tsa-p'o \quad p'o \quad \text{\textit{t}s}e \quad mi-wa. \]

this-CL  tree  leaf  NEG-exist

‘This tree does not have any leaves.’

(465)  
\[ no \quad tse-ke. \]

2sg:TP  PROH-go

‘You do not go.’

(466)  
\[ t'ala \quad kue-\text{\textit{z}}o \quad \text{“}tse-qu\text{”} \quad \text{\textit{u}r}. \]

3sg  2sg:NTP-DAT  PROH-afraid  say

‘S/he says, “you not to be afraid.”’

If the verb takes more than one prefix, such as a directional prefix, the continuative prefix and the negative prefix, the negative prefix follows the direction prefix, but precedes the continuative prefix, as in (467):

(467)  
\[ t'ala \quad kue-mi-pi-lu. \]

3sg  DIR-NEG-CONT-come:3

‘S/he has not yet come in.’
7.3.2. **Scope of negation**

In the Puxi variety of Qiang the position of the negator may affect the scope. The negative marker has scope over one particular constituent of a verb complex, as in (468a), where the negative marking *mi-* does not negate the main verb *pu* ‘do’ or the matrix verb *sako* ‘finish’, but negates the matrix verb *qe* ‘can’. In (468b) the negative marker does not have scope over the whole verb complex, only the matrix verb *sako* ‘finish’. The negative markers in (468c) also do not have scope over the entire verb complex; each only negates the following matrix verbs: *sako* ‘finish’ and *qe* ‘can, allow’.

(468) a.  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{tsi} & \text{dzê} & \text{ŋa} & \text{te-pu} & \text{še-šako} & \text{mi-qe}'.
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
this:CL & thing & 1sg:TP & DIR-do & DIR-finish & NEG-can:1 \\
\end{tabular}

`As for this matter, I cannot finish it.'

b.  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{tsi} & \text{dzê} & \text{ŋa} & \text{te-pu} & \text{še-mi-šako} & \text{qe}'.
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
this:CL & thing & 1sg:TP & DIR-do & DIR-NEG-finish & can:1 \\
\end{tabular}

`As for this matter, I am allowed to not finish it.'
c.  

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{tsi} & dz\varepsilon & \eta & \text{te-pu} & \text{se-mi-sako} \\
\text{this:CL} & \text{thing} & \text{1sg:TP} & \text{DIR-do} & \text{DIR-NEG-finish} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(\text{mi-qe}^1.\)

NEG-can:1

‘As for this matter, my not finishing is not allowed.’

(469)  

a.  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
th^\text{bala} & \chi\alpha-lu & \text{mi-qe}. \\
3\text{sg} & \text{DIR-come} & \text{NEG-can:3} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘S/he cannot come out.’

b.  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
th^\text{bala} & \chi\alpha-mi-lu & \text{qe}. \\
3\text{sg} & \text{DIR-NEG-come} & \text{can:3} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Her/his not coming is allowed.’ (S/he is allowed to not come.)

c.  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
th^\text{bala} & \chi\alpha-mi-lu & \text{mi-qe}. \\
3\text{sg} & \text{DIR-NEG-come} & \text{NEG-can:3} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Her/his not coming is not allowed.’ (S/he must come.)

7.3.3. **Double Negation**

Double negation in the Puxi variety of Qiang employs negative marking to negate two verbs, or the main verb and the matrix verb (see 468c and 469c), or the main verb and the existential verb, as in (470), where the negative marking \textit{mi}- negates not only the
main verb $p^h\text{zip}^h\text{zj}$ ‘to touch’ but also the matrix verb $qe$ ‘can’. Similarly, in (471) the negative marking $mi$- not only negates the main verb $lu$ ‘come’, but negates the existential verb $ze$ ‘exist’ as well.

(470) \[ \text{\ldots}mi-p^h\text{zip}^h\text{zj} \quad mi-qe. \]

NEG-touch \hspace{1cm} NEG-can

‘…One must touch it.’ (lit.: not touching is not allowed)

(471) \[ mi-lu-m \quad mi-ze. \]

NEG-come-NOM \hspace{1cm} NEG-exist

‘Everybody came.’ (lit.: Nobody didn’t come)

Double negation may be formed by adding the prohibitive prefix, the negative prefix plus a directional prefix to a verb, as in (472):

(472) \[ t^h\text{ala} \quad tse-mi-kue-ke. \]

3sg \hspace{1cm} PROH-NEG-DIR-go:3

‘S/he must go.’ (lit.: S/he doesn’t not go.)

### 7.4. Existential and possessive constructions

The existential construction prototypically has one of the four existential verbs at the end of clause (see §4.2.3), as in (473)-(475):
### Chapter 7: Simple Structures

(473) $a\-va$ $t\êiu$ $z\varepsilon$.

mother home exist:3

‘Mother is at home.’

(474) $t\varepsilon$ $q\varepsilon\-'\varepsilon$ $t\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $\chi\varepsilon\-la$ $z\varepsilon\-i$.

this:CL before brother three-CL exist-CSM:3.

‘Once there were three brothers.’

(475) $q\varepsilon'$ $t\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $ou\-dz\varepsilon$ $\eta\varepsilon$?

1SG:NTP:GEN hat where-CL exist

‘Where is my hat?’

An existential construction may also be indicated by a copula, as in (476), or by an adjective, as in (477):

(476) $qe\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $t\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $(m\varepsilon)$.

all-LOC garbage-INDEF COP

‘Garbage is everywhere.’

(477) $d\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon$ $q\varepsilon\-ta$ $m\varepsilon$ $kue\-sua\varepsilon$.

night street-LOC people DIR-full-CSM:3

‘The street is crowded with people at night.’
A possessive construction involves an existential verb. The possessor in a possessive construction may take genitive marking. The person marking, if there is any, appears after the existential verb, as in (478)-(486):

(478)  qala  jedzu  xadzy-la  mi-sta  zê¹.
       1pl  friend   ten-CL  NEG-only  exist:1

‘We have more than ten friends.’

(479)  ña  tutsu  a-la  zê¹.
       1sg:TP younger.brother one-CL  exist:1

‘I have a younger brother.’

(480)  qa¹  sepeï  zdze  la.
       1sg:NTP:GEN  body   illness  exist

‘I am sick.’ (lit.: My body has illness.)

(481)  kue¹  qezbe-ta  papa-tei  wa.
       2sg:NTP:GEN   head-LOC  scar-INDEF  exist

‘You have a scar on your head.’
The interesting thing is that the possessive construction involves different existential verbs to express where someone has something, as in the following examples:
(487)  a. ηa   iatsu   tsiɿ.
     b. ηa   iatsu   ηaɿ.
     c. ηa   iatsu   ṭsuoɿ.
     d. ηa   iatsu   laɿ.

1sg:TP   finger.ring   have:1

‘I have a finger ring.’

Sentences (487a-d), though they all express ‘I have a finger ring’, are somewhat different. Example (487a) encodes ‘I have a ring on my hand’, and example (487b) indicates ‘I am taking a ring in my hand’. Example (487c) represents ‘I own a finger ring’, while example (487d) encodes ‘I have a finger ring in my purse or pocket’.

Another kind of possessive is formed by a non-topic pronoun which takes the genitive marker plus a copula. In thus construction, the possessed occurs in initial position, and the possessor appears between the possessed and the copula (see §5.6.2), as in (488) and (489):

(488)    tsa-la   pʰu   qaɿ   mai.
    this-CLT   clothing   1sg:NTP:GEN   COP

‘This piece of clothing is mine.’
7.5. Comparative construction

In this section I discuss how humans, animals, objects and phenomena are compared.

In §7.5.1 I discuss the general comparative construction, and in §7.5.2 I discuss the equative construction.

7.5.1. General comparative construction

When one referent is being compared with another, the NP representing the item being compared is a topic, and appears first in the clause. The NP representing the item which is the standard of comparison follows that of the item being compared and takes the comparative marker \(-s\). The general comparative construction in the Puxi variety of Qiang is formed by adding the comparative marker (postposition/enclitic) \(-s\) after the standard, as in the formula shown in Figure 9:

\[
\text{NP}_1 \text{ (item being compared)} + \text{NP}_2 \text{ (standard of comparison)}^-\text{COMP} + \text{Predicate}
\]

Figure 9. General comparative construction
In the general comparative construction, the predicate may be a stative verb, as in (490)-(493), or an existential/locative verb, as in (494), or a matrix verb, as in (495).

The syntactic patterns for the compared items are similar:

(490) no tʰala-so ne-tsʰun bzu-n.
    2sg:TP 3sg-COMP two-CL tall-2

‘You are two inches taller than him/her.’

(491) ŋa satsu-so nuq-pe bzj'i.
    1sg:TP sister-COMP five-year big:1

‘I am five years older than my sister.’

(492) ŋa tʰala-so mi-bzj', tʰala-so la
    1sg:TP 3sg-COMP NEG-big:1 3sg-COMP also

mi-betsʰj'.

NEG-small:1

‘I am not as old as him/her, and also not as young as him/her.’
‘Going out to take a walk everyday is better than taking any kind of food.’

‘S/he has more money than me.’

‘I am greater ability than him/her.’

It is possible that an adverb, such as *kentse* (< Ch. 更加 *gèngjiā*) ‘even more’ or the native word *la* ‘also, even’ is added before the adjective or the matrix verb:

‘S/he is even better-behaved than me.’
Chapter 7: Simple Structures

(497) \textit{tala} \ qa-so \ la \ qe.

3sg \ 1sg:NTP-COMP \ even.more \ can:3

‘S/he is even greater ability than me.’

The continuative aspect prefix \textit{pi-} may be used in the comparative construction to encode the sense ‘relatively’, or ‘even more’; as in (498)-(500):

(498) \textit{tala} \ qa-so \ pi-\textit{qsa}.

3sg \ 1sg:NTP-COMP \ CONT-good:3

‘S/he is even better-behaved than me.’

(499) \textit{tala} \ pu\textit{su} \ qa-so \ (a-pza) \ pi-\textit{bzj}.

3sg \ age \ 1sg:NTP-COMP \ (one-CL) \ CONT-big:3

‘S/he is even older than me.’

(500) \textit{na} \ \textit{tala-so} \ z\textit{ga} \ (a-pza) \ pi-\textit{du}da\textcircled{.}

1sg:TP \ 3sg-COMP \ run \ (one-CL) \ CONT-fast:1

‘I run even faster than he does.’

7.5.2. Equative Comparative Construction

Equation denotes the similarity between humans, animals, objects, or phenomena. The structure of equative comparison is given in Figure 10:
There are two noun phrases indicating two referents in an equative construction. The adverbs *mentçi*/*çantçi* ‘be similar, be alike, the same as’ may appear before the adjective, existential/locative verb, or matrix verb. If an equative construction makes use of the adverb *mentçi*, it is not necessary to utilize the conjunction marker *ni* to conjoin the two noun phrases. Person marking agrees with the topic only, if there is any, as in (501). When the adverb *çantçi* occurs in the equative construction, the two noun phrases must be conjoined by the conjunction marker *ni* to form a single large noun phrase, as in (502):

(501)  

\[ \text{no} \text{ t6ala mentçi buz-n.} \]  
\[ 2\text{sg:TP 3sg the.same as tall-2} \]  
‘You are as tall as s/he is.’

(502)  

\[ \text{bzu-bzu ni ba-ba çantçi mi-xpa-ši.} \]  
\[ \text{tall-REDP CONJ short-REDUP the.same.as NEG-shape-good} \]  
‘The tall one is not as pretty as the short one.’
It is also possible that equation does not involve the adverb, such as when using the phrase χρα ta ‘like, as’, literally ‘shape take’, as in (503). In a negative equative comparative construction involving this expression, the negative marker occurs between χρα and ta, as in (504):

(503) [tʰala] [tsʰu dze ni dzə pu] χρα ta.

3sg meal eat CONJ thing do shape like:3

‘S/he eats the same way as s/he works.’

(504) [tʰala] [tʰa tubzj] χρα mi-ta.

3sg 3sg:GEN elder.brother shape NEG-take:3

[tʰa vaje] χρα ta.

3sg:GEN father shape take:3

‘S/he does not take after his brother, but after his father.’

The equative comparative structure may be formed by adding the adverb qetse ‘the same’ or ‘as…as’ after the standard, as in (505):

(505) [qe’ təawzu tʰa-la] qetse zeme da-fe-i.

before son’s.wife that-CL the.same.as speech DIR-tell-CSM:3

‘(The old man) told his daughter-in-law to do the thing the same way as his ex-daughter-in-law had done.’
In a negative equative comparative construction involving the expression $\chi p\alpha \, \text{si}$ ‘shape good’, the negative marker occurs before the whole predicate $\chi p\alpha \, \text{si}$, not just the adjective, as in (506):

(506)  $[t^3\text{ala}] \quad [t^3\text{ha} \quad s\text{abzj}] \quad q\text{etse} \quad m\text{i-}\chi p\alpha \, \text{si}$.

3sg 3sg:GEN elder.sister the.same.as NEG-shape good:3

‘She is not as pretty as her elder sister is.’

It is also possible to use the noun phrase $g\text{ats}^h\text{a-t}\text{si}$ ‘equal+INDEF’ after the verb to express an equative comparative meaning:

(507)  $g\text{aqei} \quad d\text{zo-za-u} \quad n\text{i} \quad g\text{auto} \quad g\text{ats}^h\text{a-t}\text{si}$.

hot.pan sit-CAUS-HEARS ADV sterilize equal-INDEF

$\nu\text{ze} \quad \text{ctei}$.

Chinese speech

‘Let someone sit on the hot pan corresponds with “sterilize” in Chinese.’

7.6. Topic-Comment Constructions

In this section we describe topic-comment constructions and topicalization in the Puxi variety.
7.6.1. The unmarked topic-comment construction

The unmarked topic-comment construction in Puxi Qiang is given in Figure 11:

\[ \text{NP}_1 [\text{TOPIC}] + [(\text{NP}_2) + \text{Verb complex}] [\text{COMMENT}] \]

Figure 11. Basic structure of topic-comment

A noun phrase which appears in initial position functions as topic, while any other arguments plus the verb complex function as comment. This structure is the basic topic-comment construction in the Puxi variety of Qiang, as in (508) and (509). There may also be a secondary scene-setting locative or temporal topic, as in (510)-(512), with the topics and comments in brackets.

(508) \[ t\text{ha}la \] [TOPIC] \[ at\text{cici} \quad d\text{zo} \quad s\text{ent}\text{a} \quad d\text{zo} \] [COMMENT].

3sg slowly door behind sit:3

‘S/he is sitting quietly behind the door.’

(509) \[ t\text{ha}la \] [TOPIC] \[ ts\text{uatse} \quad d\text{s}\text{i} \quad se\text{-}\chi\text{uelie}\text{-i} \] [COMMENT].

3sg table leg DIR-break-CSM:3

‘S/he broke the legs of the table.’
(510)  
\[ tsi \quad \chi su\text{-}qi\text{-}ta \quad [\text{Secondary TOPIC}] \quad [p'ho] [\text{TOPIC}] \quad [n\text{-}a\text{-}bo \quad wa] [\text{COMMENT}] \]

this:CL  mountain-top-LOC  tree  very:one-CL  exist  

‘On the top of this hill there are a lot of trees.’

(511)  
\[ ba\text{-}ta \quad [\text{Secondary TOPIC}] \quad [mama\text{-}y \quad a\text{-}x] [\text{TOPIC}] \quad [za] [\text{COMMENT}] \]

grassland-LOC  sheep  one-CL  exist  

‘There are a crowd of sheep on the grassland.’

(512)  
\[ suasi \quad [\text{Secondary TOPIC}] \quad [mepai \quad mu \quad tsa\text{-}lei\text{-}si] [\text{TOPIC}] \quad [a\text{-}xi] \]

second.day  old.man  3:REFL  son-DEF-COMT  together  

\[ tci pu \quad t'h\text{-}a\text{-}gu\text{-}qa \quad tpiu \quad y\text{-}ke\text{-}i] [\text{COMMENT}] \]

daughter  that-CL-family  home  DIR-go-CSM:3  

‘The next day, the old man with his son went to that girl’s family.’

It is usual that the topic is omitted when it can be recovered from the context, as in (513), where the topic \( tci pu \) ‘daughter’ is omitted/unstated. In examples (514) and (515) the topic \( ja \) is unstated because there is a verb agreement of the first person change of state marker \( -si \) at the end of the clause:
(513) ∅ [TOPIC] [tɕiu y-ta-i go] [Secondary TOPIC],
home DIR-arrive-CSM LNK
[mepai-ta da-qatsʰə-pe-i] [COMMENT].
old.man-LOC DIR-angry-become-CSM:3

‘(The daughter) got angry at the old man after (she) arrived at home.’

(514) [ama aka] [vocative] ∅ [TOPIC] [tʰa ɲa i]
mother father 3sg:GEN thing
[la-xoa-xoa-tɕi se-la-si] [COMMENT].
SUPER-good-REDUP-INDEF DIR-bring-CSM:1

‘Mom and dad, I brought the best of his goods.’

(515) [tʰiʃntcamu] [vocative], pesi [Secondary TOPIC] ∅ [TOPIC] [qa tse]
relatives today 1sg:NTP:GEN son
tsa-gu ni kue tɕipu tʰəesu
this-CL CONJ 2sg:NTP:GEN daughter marriage
dzə-lei ɕeɕə-si [COMMENT].
thing-DEF consult-come-CSM:1

‘My relatives, today I came to talk about my son and your daughter getting married.’
It is also possible that the topic may be unstated in brief discourse units, such as the construction used in a two-way conversation, as in (516):

\[(516)\]  
a.  
\[(no)\] [TOPIC]  
\[ou-duza\ ke-u-an\ me\] [COMMENT]?

2sg:TP where-CL go-PRES-2sg QUES

‘Where are you going?’

b.  
\[(\eta)\] [TOPIC]  
\[\chi qan\ ke\] [COMMENT].

1sg:TP Mao.County go:1

‘I go to Mao County.’

In the topic-comment constructions, in some cases, the topic is marked by one of two topic markers -se, or-la (see §5.8), as in the following examples:

\[(517)\]  
\[qaqa\ vaku\ \alpha-\chi\alpha\]-se\ watsu\ te-t\text{\textmu}a\]

other mother’s.brother one-PL-TOP walking.stick DIR-take

\[r\text{\textmu}i\ qe\] \textit{u}dz\text{\textmu}-u.

ADV before lead.the.way-HEARS

‘Other uncles (mother’s brothers) lean (their) walking sticks to lead the way at the head of (the team of attending the funeral).’ (Hearsay)
7.6.2. Topic chains

It is very common that in successive clauses (a clause-chain) with the same topic, the whole sequence of clauses is treated as a single complex discourse unit consisting of the topic and several comments. In narratives, a topic-chain is often used to tell of an event if the topic is identifiable and co-referential in all of the clauses.

In a topic chain, the topic of the second clause is coreferential with that of the previous clause. The topics of the clauses may not be mentioned using NPs, but are expressed by the verb agreement, as in (519), which is composed of one scene setting topic and four topic-comment constructions. The topic ng ‘I’ does not appear in all of the topic-comment constructions, but is expressed by adding the first person marking on the verb. In example (520) the topic bala ‘she’ is unstated:

(519) [vaje n'i tba ta-m] xa-ke-i go [Secondary TOPIC],
father CONJ cap wear-NOM DIR-go-CSM:3 LNK
[tsalke a-tso se-lu-i u' 'peti tso]
this.time heart DIR-come-CSM:3 say now thus
[zipu-pu a-qa tciu kue-lu-si] [COMMENT1],
rich-REDUP one-CL home DIR-come-CSM:1 well
After her father-in-law and her husband went out, she tells herself, “I come to such a rich family. If I do not do anything well, I will lose my parent’s face and lose my own face as well.”
Having thought about those things, she gets up very early everyday and cleans the rooms with water. After she eats breakfast, she feeds the pigs by pouring swill into the hole of the floor. Having done those things for a few months, she is counting the day (until her father-in-law and her husband will come back…)

The topic of the second clause is usually unstated, as in (519) and (520). In (521) the topic of the second clause is coreferential with the topic of the first clause a-pa ‘father’, so the topic of the second clause is omitted/unstated. In example (522), where the topic of the second clause is coreferential with the topic of the first clause [ət-tua ət-tsʰa-m tʰa-tɕi] ‘the one who died by falling off, and was crushed’, so the topic of the second clause is unstated:

(521)  [apa][TOPIC1][go-zo  pendzi  la  ze-mi-zda][COMMENT1],
father  1sg:NTP-DAT capital  also  DIR-NEG-give:3

Ø[TOPIC2]  [χtsuə  nǐ  tsutsujy  kue-gu-za]
sword  CONJ hen  DIR-bring-CAUS
pi-na-u] [COMMENT2].

CONT-want-PROS:3

‘(My) father did not give me money, and made me bring the sword and the
hen with me.’

(522) [a'-tue a'-t$^h$a-m $t^h$a-$\check{t}$a] [TOPIC1] [tsa-q$a$

DIR-drop DIR-crush-NOM that-CL this-family

kue-t$^\check{s}$an-t$^h$a-pa-s$a$] [COMMENT1] go,

DIR-harass-AUX-do-go:3 LNK

∅ [TOPIC2] [qa-so a-pz$^a$ ba ni tsa-la

1sg:NTP-COMP one-CL short ADV this-CL

da-ta-ta-u] [COMMENT2].

DIR-take.away-REDUP-PROS:3

‘The one who died by falling off a cliff and was crushed would harass this
family. (He) is a little shorter than me and makes him leave from (that
family).’

7.6.3. Double topic-comment

As in many East Asian languages, the Puxi variety of Qiang has the double
topic-comment construction: NP$_1$ [NP$_2$+V]. In this construction, NP$_1$ is the topic of
NP$_2$+V, and NP$_2$+V is the comment of NP$_1$; at the same time, NP$_2$ is the topic of V,
and V is the comment of NP$_2$, as in (523), where tsonkue ‘China’ is the topic of me
“people many”, *me dzo* ‘people many’ is the comment of *tsonkue* ‘China’, and
*me* ‘people’ is also the topic of *dzo* ‘many’, *dzo* ‘many’ is the comment of *me* ‘people’. In (524) the possessor *nja* ‘I’ is the topic of *bze zdse* ‘eyes sick’, *bze zdse* ‘eyes sick’ is the comment of *nja* ‘I’. *bze* ‘eyes’ is also the topic of *zdse* ‘sick’, and *zdse* ‘sick’ is the comment of *bze* ‘eyes’ as well.

\[
(523) \quad [tsonkue]_{[\text{TOPIC1}]} \quad [[me]_{[\text{TOPIC2}]} \quad [dzo]_{[\text{COMMENT2}]}]_{[\text{COMMENT1}]}.
\]

China people many

‘As for China, its people are many.’

\[
(524) \quad [nja]_{[\text{TOPIC1}]} \quad [[bze]_{[\text{TOPIC2}]} \quad [zdse]_{[\text{COMMENT2}]}]_{[\text{COMMENT1}]}.
\]

1sg:TP eye sick

‘As for me, my eyes hurt.’

7.6.4. Topicalization

An actor that occurs in the topic position is generally unmarked, but there is also
fronting of an undergoer/oblique argument to initial-position to form a topic. We call
this fronting topicalization. When the NP representing the actor does not appear as
topic, it usually takes the agentive marker, -i, as in (525) to (527):
Chapter 7: Simple Structures

(525) a. $\eta a^{[\text{TOPIC}] [t^hala-zo \ p^h u \ -la \ da-zd\tilde{a}-si]}^{[\text{COMMENT}]}$

1sg:TP 3sg-DAT clothing one-CL DIR-give-CSM:1

‘I gave him/her a piece of clothing. / I gave a piece of clothing to him/her.’

db. $t^hala^{[\text{TOPIC}] [\eta a-i \ p^h u \ a-la]}^{[\text{COMMENT}]}$

3sg 1sg:TP-AGT clothes one-CL

$\text{da-zd\tilde{a}-si]}^{[\text{COMMENT}]}$

DIR-give-CSM:1

‘S/he was given a piece of clothing by me.’

c. $p^h u \ a-la^{[\text{TOPIC}] [\eta a-i \ t^hala-zo]}^{[\text{COMMENT}]}$

clothing one-CL 1sg:TP-AGT 3sg-DAT

$\text{da-zd\tilde{a}-si]}^{[\text{COMMENT}]}$

DIR-give-CSM:1

‘A piece of clothing was given to him/her by me.’

(526) a. $t^hala^{[\text{TOPIC}] [qo-zo \ t\tilde{a}otsu \ al \ ze-zio-l]}^{[\text{COMMENT}]}$

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT knife one:CL DIR-stab-CSM:3

‘S/he stabbed me with the knife.’
b. \( \eta a [\text{TOPIC}] \) \( [t^hala-i \ tsotsu \ al \ ze-zio-\hat{I}] [\text{COMMENT}] \)

1sg:TP 3sg-AGT knife one:CL DIR-stab-CSM:3

‘I was stabbed by him/her with the knife.’

c. \( tsotsu [\text{TOPIC}] \) \( [t^hala-i \ qo-zo \ al \ ze-zio-\hat{I}] [\text{COMMENT}] \)

knife 3sg-AGT 1sg:NTP-DAT one:CL DIR-stab-CSM:3

‘S/he stabbed me with the knife.’

(527) a. \( t^hala [\text{TOPIC}] \) \( [qo-zo \ kue-zo \ pani] \)

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT 2sg:NTP-DAT things

\( ze-\chi tsua-\hat{a}-\hat{a}-\hat{I} \) [COMMENT].

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘S/he made me give you the thing. / S/he made me give the thing to you.’

b. \( \eta a [\text{TOPIC}] \) \( [t^hala-i \ pani \ kue-zo] \)

1sg:TP 3sg-AGT thing 2sg:NTP-DAT

\( ze-\chi tsua-\hat{a}-\hat{a}-\hat{I} \) [COMMENT].

DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3

‘I was made to give you the thing by him/her.’
c. \textbf{no_{[TOPIC]}} [tʰala-i \quad pən-i \quad qo-zo]  \\
2sg:TP \quad 3sg-AGT \quad \text{thing} \quad 1sg:NTP-DAT  \\
\textit{ze-χtsuа-ze-i}_{[COMMENT]}  \\
DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3  \\
‘You were made to give the thing to me by him/her.’

d. \textbf{pən-i_{[TOPIC]}} [tʰala-i \quad qo-zo \quad kue-zo]  \\
\text{thing} \quad 3sg-AGT \quad 1sg:NTP-DAT \quad 2sg:ACC-DAT  \\
\textit{ze-χtsuа-ze-i}_{[COMMENT]}  \\
DIR-send-CAUS-CSM:3  \\
‘The thing was let me to give you by him.’

Example (525a) has the basic word order of an unmarked ditransitive clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The first person singular topic form \textit{ŋa} ‘I’, representing the actor, occurs in initial position, and the third person singular \textit{tʰala} ‘he’, representing the recipient, is marked by the use of dative marker, while the NP \textit{pʰu a-la} ‘one piece of clothing’, representing the goal, appears in preverbal position. Example (525b) and (525c) are both marked in terms of word order and the use of the agentive marker, but there is a little bit of difference between them. In (525b) the recipient \textit{tʰala} ‘he’ is promoted to the initial position to be the topic, and the actor is marked by the agentive marker \textit{-i}. In (525c), however, the goal \textit{pʰu a-la} ‘one piece of clothing’ is moved to the sentence-initial position to function as topic, and the actor is also marked by the
agentive marker. The sentence in (526a) is unmarked; the third person singular \textit{t\textsuperscript{b}ala} ‘he’ functions as actor and topic, the non-topic form of the first person singular \textit{qo} ‘I’ is the experiencer, and is marked by the dative marker, and the instrumental \textit{tsotsu} ‘knife’ is unmarked. In (526b) the experiencer, which in (526a) was represented by \textit{qo}, which is the non-topic form of the first person singular, appears in sentence-initial position as the topic, and is represented by the topic form \textit{ga} ‘I’ instead of the non-topic \textit{qo} ‘I’. In (526c) the instrumental \textit{tsotsu} ‘knife’ appears in initial position and functions as the topic, and the other elements follow this. The examples in (527) are much more complicated than in (525) and (526). Each of the examples in (527) has four arguments, among which there are two unmarked arguments and two marked arguments. In (527a) the third person singular \textit{t\textsuperscript{b}ala} functions as causer and topic, \textit{qo} ‘I’ and \textit{kue} ‘you’, both non-topic forms, are marked by the dative marker -\textit{go}, and \textit{pani} ‘thing’ is the undergoer. In (527b) the causee, represented in (527a) by \textit{qo}, appears in initial position as the topic, the topic form \textit{ga}, and the causer \textit{t\textsuperscript{b}ala} is marked by the agentive marker -\textit{i}. In (527c) the recipient, representing \textit{kue} ‘you’ in (527c), appears in sentence-initial position to function as the topic, and is represented by the topic pronoun \textit{no} ‘you’, while the causer is also marked by the agentive marker-\textit{i}. In (527d) the undergoer \textit{pani} ‘thing’ appears in initial position to function as the topic, and the causer is marked by the agentive marker.

The sentences in (525a), (526a) and (527a) all are unmarked or basic word order, while the other sentences are all marked constructions (or topicalized sentences) where an NP representing a non-actor appears in sentence-initial position and the
agentive marker marks the actor. Even though sentences as in (525), (526) and (527) have different word orders and take morphological markers to form topic-comment constructions, they do not change the argument structure of the sentence.
In this chapter I discuss various combinations of elements possible in a sentence in the Puxi variety of Qiang: relative clauses are described in §8.1, complement clauses are presented in §8.2, pseudo-cleft constructions are discussed in §8.3, coordination and disjunction are presented in §8.4, and subordinate constructions are given in §8.5.

8.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses in the Puxi variety of Qiang can be quite complex. We find that there are head-external relative clauses, including pre-head relative clauses, post-head relative clauses, and headless relative clauses, and head-internal relative clauses. Two different nominalizers and definite marking or indefinite marking are used as relative clause markers; the choice depends on the semantic role of the head in the relative clause.

8.1.1. Pre-head relative clauses

In the Puxi variety of Qiang pre-head relative clauses are very common, often composed of several clauses, or a head noun which is a nominalized expression itself. The nominalized clause does not take the aspect marking or person marking. In (528)-(530), the relative clauses are in square brackets.
The examples above show that they are all the same relative clause, which takes the
agentive nominalizer \(-m\) to express the fact that the actor of the relative clause needs
to be a human being. It is a head-external relative clause; in (528) the relative clause
\([p^{h}\text{u} \ s\text{an} \ g\text{ue}\text{-m}] \ \text{kebza}\)
dress red wear-NOM child
‘the child who wears a red dress’

\[(529) \ [p^{h}\text{u} \ s\text{an} \ g\text{ue}\text{-m}] \ \text{kebza} \ a\text{-n-la} \]
dress red wear-NOM child one-two-CL
‘several children who wear red dresses’

\[(530) \ [p^{h}\text{u} \ s\text{an} \ g\text{ue}\text{-m}] \ \text{kebza} \ t^{h}\text{a-la} \]
dress red wear-NOM child that-CL
‘that child who wears a red dress’

If the topic of the relative clause is an inanimate object, the relative clause is
nominalized by the instrumental nominalizer \(-sa\), as in (531)-(533):
(531) \[ si \quad ts^{h}ua-sa \quad pan\_i \]
firewood cut-NOM thing
‘thing used for cutting firewood’

(532) \[ zed\_a \quad si-sa \quad (pan\_i)-lei \]
book write-NOM (thing)-DEF
‘the thing used for writing’

(533) a. \[ ama \quad zmu \quad pz\_a-sa \quad si \]
mother corpse burn-NOM firewood
‘the firewood used for cremating (our) mother’s corpse’

b. \[ ama \quad zmu \quad pz\_a-sa \quad a-n-t\_ci \]
mother corpse burn-NOM one-two-CL
‘some (firewood) used for cremating (our) mother’s corpse’

Note that these examples all have instrumental semantics, and the head nouns are not human beings. In example (531) the relative clause \[ si \quad ts^{h}ua-sa \] modifies the noun \textit{pan\_i} ‘thing’, whereas in (532) the head of the relative clause \textit{pan\_i} can be omitted due to it being recoverable from context, as shown by the use of the definite marker \textit{-lei}. In (533a) the head of the relative clause is \textit{si} ‘firewood’, whereas in (533b) the numeral-classifier phrase \textit{a-n-t\_ci} ‘several’ functions as the head of the relative clause,
and the real head *si* ‘firewood’ is omitted due to it being recoverable from the preceding context.

Apart from nominalized relative clauses, there are also some relative clauses that are not marked by nominalization, but which have aspect marking and person marking, as in (534) to (537):

(534) \[ p^h_0 \ se-tua-zə-ɿ \] *mei-lei*

\*tree* \*DIR-fall.down-CAUS-CSM* \*wind-DEF*

‘the wind that felled the tree’

(535) a. \[ te-ɡa-kuetsi-ɿ \] *me \*tʰa-la* (change of state)

\*DIR-die-be.about.to-CSM:3* \*person* \*that-CL*

‘the person who will die’

b. \[ te-ɡa-ɿ \] *me \*tʰa-la* (change of state)

\*DIR-die-CSM:3* \*person* \*that-CL*

‘the person who died’

(536) a. \[ ṭa \ zəɿ \ tɕi \ tʰa-gu \] (imperfective)  

\*1sg:TP* \*exist:1* \*house* \*that-CL*

‘the house where I live’
b. \([\eta a \ ze-u-a] \ tci \ t^{h}a-gu\) (prospective)

1sg:TP exist-PROS-1 house that-CL

‘the house where I will live’

c. \([\eta a \ ze-si] \ tci \ t^{h}a-gu\) (change of state)

1sg:TP live-CSM:1 house that-CL

‘the house where I lived’

(537) a. \([\eta a-i \ lie-u-a] \ p^{h}o \ t^{h}a-p^{h}o\) (prospective)

1sg:TP-AGT plant-PROS-1 tree that-CL

‘the tree I will plant’

b. \([\eta a-i \ lie-si] \ p^{h}o \ t^{h}a-p^{h}o\) (change of state)

1sg:TP-AGT plant-CSM:1 tree that-CL

‘the tree I planted’

Note that in example (534) the relative clause is marked by the change of state marker. In (535a) the relative clause is marked by the prospective aspect marker *kuetsi* ‘be about to’ with the change of state marker-*i*, while example (535b) is marked by the change of state marker -*i*, and the head of the relative clause in both is the experiencer *me* ‘person’. In (536) the verb of the relative clause agrees with the actor in terms of the combined person/aspect marking. Example (536a) is marked by the first person
imperfective aspect marker, whereas (536b) is marked by the first person prospective aspect marking, and (536c) is marked by the first person change of state aspect marker. In both (537a) and (537b) the verbs of the relative clauses are marked by aspect marking, and the actor takes the agentive marker -i to mark the clause as an actor-undergoer construction.

In example (538a) the head of the relative clause, representing the source role, is the noun me ‘person’, and the actor of the relative clause is represented by the first person topic pronoun ŋa ‘I’ and the verb is marked by the first person change of state marker -si. In (538b), however, the actor is represented by the head of the relative clause, and so the verb takes the agentive nominalizer. In (539) the head of the relative clause is the actor me ‘person’, so the verb of the relative clause is marked by the agentive nominalizer.

(538) a. [ŋa-(i) ctsindzi te-ŋa-si] me tʰa-la
   1sg:TP-AGT money DIR-borrow-CSM:1 person that-CL
   ‘the person I borrowed money from’

b. [qa-si ctsindzi te-ŋa-m] me tʰa-la
   1sg:NTP-COMIT money DIR-borrow-NOM person that-CL
   ‘the person who borrowed money from me’
Apart from the head-external relative clauses, Puxi Qiang also has head-internal relative clause constructions, as in (540). Example (540a) is an actor-undergoer construction, with the actor represented by the first person topic pronoun \( \eta a \), and the undergoer by the noun phrase \([t^h\alpha\chi\alpha t^h\alpha u t^h\alpha-pu-i t^h\alpha-a-laqua]\) ‘that pan of food they cooked’. The predicate is the verb complex \( s\alpha\alpha\alpha-dze-si\) ‘I have eaten’. The undergoer involves a head-internal relative clause; the head of the relative clause \( t^h\alpha\chi\alpha \) ‘food’ appears between the actor of the relative clause \( t^h\alpha\chi\alpha \) ‘they’ and the verb complex of the relative clause \([t^h\alpha-pu-i]\) ‘cooked’. Example (540b) is a topicalized construction, where the head-internal relative clause \([t^h\alpha\chi\alpha t^h\alpha u t^h\alpha-pu-i t^h\alpha-a-laqua]\) is fronted to sentence-initial position to function as the topic. In example (540c) the head appear externally; The relative clause \([t^h\alpha\chi\alpha t^h\alpha-pu-i]\) ‘they did’ precedes the head of the relative clause \( t^h\alpha\chi\alpha \) ‘food’, and the relative clause \([t^h\alpha\chi\alpha t^h\alpha-pu-i] t^h\alpha u t^h\alpha-a-laqua\) functions as the topic; while the clause \([\eta a qeNi s\alpha\alpha\alpha-dze-si]\) ‘I ate all (food)’ functions as the comment.
8.1.2. Post-head relative clauses

In the Puxi variety of Qiang post-head relative clauses are unlike pre-head relative clauses, as they are in apposition to the head and non-nominalized. If the head of the relative clause is a non-human actor, then the verb of the relative clause takes the
change of state marker, as in (541). The actor of the relative clause takes the agentive marker -i when the head of the relative clause is a non-human undergoer, as in (542):

(541) \( k'^{h}ue \ [qa \ e'^{-}Xt'i-l] \ t'^{h}a-zi \)  
\( \text{dog} \ 1\text{sg:NTP} \ \text{DIR-bite-CSM} \ \text{that-CL} \)

‘the dog that bit me’

(542) \( k'^{h}ue \ [\eta-a-i \ te-t\theta u-si] \ t'^{h}a-zi \ n \ bz'i. \)  
\( \text{dog} \ 1\text{sg:TP-AGT} \ \text{DIR-see-CSM:1} \ \text{that-CL} \ \text{very} \ \text{big} \)

‘The dog that I saw is very big.’

(543) \( tse \ me \ [me \ mi-se-t\varsigma]. \)  
\( \text{this:CL} \ \text{man} \ \text{man} \ \text{NEG-good-INDEF} \)

‘This man is one who is bad.’

(544) \( t\varsigma i \ [\chi an-mi \ bz'u] \ a-gu \)  
\( \text{house} \ \text{twelve-meter} \ \text{tall} \ \text{one-CL} \)

‘a house that is twelve meters high’

In example (541), \( k'^{h}ue \text{ ‘dog’} \), which is the head of the relative clause, is the actor of the relative clause, while in (542), \( k'^{h}ue \text{ ‘dog’} \), which is the undergoer of the relative clause.

The actor of the relative clause in (542), \( \eta a \text{ ‘I’} \), takes the agentive marker, and the
verb of the relative clause takes the first person change of state marker. In both (541) and (542) the relative clauses follow the head of the relative clause and precede the demonstrative-classifier phrase *t6a-zi* ‘that one’. The relative clause of example (543) takes the indefinite marker. In (544) the relative clause *χan-mi bzu* ‘twelve meters high’ follows the head of the relative clause *tçi* ‘house’ and precedes the numeral-classifier phrase *a-gu* ‘one’.

Unlike the pre-head relative clause, in which the first noun phrase modifies second noun phrase, the post-head relative clauses are appositive clauses, and so are two noun phrases, as can be seen from (545):

(545) \[ [kadžu \ a-χa] \ tsa]l \ [nu-a-nua-lu-m] \ kue-lu-i. \]
relatives one-PL now help-REDUP-come-NOM DIR-come-CSM:3

‘Some of his/her relatives came to help (him/her).’ (lit.: Some relatives who came to help her/him have come.)

In (545) it is not the case that the first noun phrase is modifying the second or the second noun phrase is modifying the first one. The adverb *tsal* ‘now’ can be placed between the first noun phrase *[kadžu a-χa]* and the second noun phrase *[nu-a-nua-lu-m]*, therefore, these two noun phrases are appositive. The sentence (545) may be separated into two clauses, as in (546a) and (546b):
8.1.3. Headless relative clauses

The nominalized relative clause may appear without the head of the NP if the head of the relative clause is recoverable from the context. In the examples (547)-(549) relative clauses appear without the head me ‘people’.

(547) tepēi [petsu ke-m]⁰ tan-lā ze me?
tomorrow Xuecheng.Town go-NOM how.many-CL exist QUES
‘How many people will go to Xuecheng Town tomorrow?’

(548) peti [dzu⁴ pa-m]⁰ tan-lā ze me?
now soldier do-NOM how.many-CL exist QUES
‘How many people are taking part in the army now?’
8.2. Complementation

Complementation in the Puxi variety of Qiang is the ‘sentential complement’ type (Noonan 1985). There are two types of complementation, one has no overt nominalization and one has one of the clitic nominalizers. Complement clauses function as NPs within the matrix sentence, and they generally appear between the NP representing the actor and the final main verb, subordinate to the main clause. The verb of the complement clause does not take any person or aspect marking, as in
(551) tsa peida-lei [me χ'øi] vavu.

this:CL tiger-DEF people eat want

‘The tiger wants to eat the person.’


there DIR-look.at can need

‘One needs to be able to look at it.’

(553) mepəi-lei [[səntə tsa'uzu tsa-gu

old.man-DEF after son’s.wife this-CL təŋ dza-me] tsi] kala.

how clever-QUES look.at want:3

‘The old man would like to understand how clever his step-daughter-in-law is.’

(554) ɲa [ɛtəindzi te-tsuə] te-ʐm-si.

1sg:TP money DIR-bring DIR-forget-CSM:1

‘I forgot to bring money with me.’
In example (551) the clause \([me \chi'\text{tsi}]\) ‘eat people’ is the complement of the verb \(\nu\nu\nu\) ‘want’. Both (552) and (553) have two complement clauses. In example (552) the clause \([t'\text{o} \text{da-\text{tsi}}]\) ‘look there’ is the complement of the verb \(\text{mae}\) ‘can’, and the complement clause \(\[[t'\text{o} \text{da-\text{tsi}}] \text{mae}\]\) ‘can look there’ is also the complement of the verb \(\eta\) ‘need’. In example (553) the clause \([\text{tsa}\text{gu} \text{ta'} \text{dza-me}]\) ‘whether the step-daughter-in-law is clever or not’ is the complement of the verb \(\text{tsi}\) ‘look at’, and the complement clause \(\[[\text{tsa}\text{gu} \text{ta'} \text{dza-me}] \text{tsi}\]\) ‘see whether the step-daughter-in-law is clever or not’ is also the complement of the verb \(\text{kala}\) ‘want’.

When the verb of the matrix clause is a perception or cognition verb, there is agreement with its actor in person marking and the verb can take aspect marking both in the complement clause and in the matrix clause, as in (555)-(558):

(555) \(\eta\) [\(\text{no}\) \(ts'\text{ue-n}\)] \(\text{te-no-si}\).

1sg:TP  2sg:TP  cough-2  DIR-hear-CSM:1

‘I heard you coughing.’

(556) \(\eta\) [\(\text{no}\) \(\text{se-ke-so}\)] \(\text{te-tsu-si}\).

1sg:TP  2sg:TP  DIR-go-CSM:2  DIR-see-CSM:1

‘I saw you leave.’ / ‘I saw that you left.’
(557) \textit{t\textbar\textit{ala}} [\textit{\textbar na \textbar z\textbar e\textbar to \textbar se\textbar ke\textbar si}] \textit{te\textbar no\textbar i}.

3sg 1sg:TP Chengdu DIR-go-CSM:1 DIR-hear-CSM:3

‘S/he heard I went to Chengdu.’

(558) a. \textit{mu\textbar i} [\textit{ke\textbar u}] \textit{u\textbar i}.

3sg-AGT go-PROS:3 say

‘S/he says that s/he will go.’

b. \textit{t\textbar ala\textbar i} \textit{“[t\textbar ala\textbar j \textbar ke\textbar i]”} \textit{u\textbar i}.

3sg-AGT 3sg go-CSM:3 say

‘S/he said, “s/he left.”’

If the topic of the complement clause is 1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} singular, the pronoun referring to the topic is usually the topic pronoun, but in some cases, the topic of the complement clause may be represented by non-topic pronoun, as in (559)-(563):

(559) \textit{t\textbar ala} [\textit{\textbar na \textbar z\textbar e\textbar to \textbar si}] \textit{tsi}.

3sg 1sg:NTP book write look.at

‘S/he is looking at me writing a letter.’
It is also possible that a nominalized verb forms an embedded complement, as in

(564) ʂa-tʂi ʐa-ʂa]

‘good’:
‘Then after that, (the shaman) chooses an auspicious day and tells who may stay, and who may not stay (on the day of holding the funeral procession).’

8.3. Pseudo-cleft constructions

There is no *it*-cleft or *wh*-cleft clause, but there is a pseudo-cleft construction in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The basic pseudo-construction is given in Figure 12:

\[
\text{Clause [Topic] + Noun [focus] + COP}
\]

Figure 12. *The basic structure of the pseudo-cleft*

In the basic pseudo-cleft construction, a complement clause appears in initial position to function as the topic, and a noun occurs before the copula to function as narrow focus, as in (565a-e):

(565) a. *nedse tʰala qo-zo ʰtsindzi ze-zda-i.*

yesterday 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-give-CSM:3

‘S/he gave me money yesterday.’
b. \[ ne\#e\ qo-\text{zo} \ c\text{t\c{c}indzi} \ ze-zd\text{a-m} \ t^h\text{ala}\ \text{ma}\text{i}. \]

yesterday 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-give-NOM 3sg COP:

‘The one who gave me money yesterday was him/her.’

c. \[ ne\#e\ t^h\text{ala}\ c\text{t\c{c}indzi} \ ze-zd\text{a}\ qo-\text{zo}\ \text{ma}\text{i}. \]

yesterday 3sg money DIR-gave 1sg:NTP-DAT COP

‘The one she gave money to was me.’

d. \[ t^h\text{ala}\ qo-\text{zo} \ c\text{t\c{c}indzi} \ ze-zd\text{a}\ \text{ma}\text{d}e\ \text{ma}\text{i}. \]

3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT money DIR-give yesterday COP

‘When she gave money to me was yesterday.’

e. \[ ne\#e\ t^h\text{ala} \ qo-\text{zo} \ c\text{t\c{c}indzi} \ ze-zd\text{a}\ \text{ma}\text{i}. \]

yesterday 3sg 1sg:NTP-DAT DIR-give money COP

‘What she gave me yesterday was money.’

Example (565a) is a basic ditransitive clause. In (565b) the actor of the ditransitive
clause appears before the copula to form the pseudo-cleft construction and the actor is
in narrow focus. In (565c) the benefactive appears in narrow focus position. In (565d)
the temporal noun appears as the narrow focus and in (565e) the undergoer of the
ditransitive clause appears as the narrow focus.
The complement clause may also appear in focus position in the cleft construction, as in (566). In these cases the copula is generally omitted:

(566)  \textit{tala} \ \textit{xo-su-m} \ a-si \ mima \ \textit{xo-zi-dim}.

\begin{verbatim}
3sg game-shoot-NOM one-day every game-get-NOM
\end{verbatim}

‘He is one who shot a game every day.’

The clause which occurs in initial position may be marked by the definite marker -\textit{lei}, as in (567). If a clause appears in narrow focus position, it may be marked by the indefinite marker -\textit{w}\textit{i}, as in (568)-(573):

(567)  \textit{xo-su-m} \ a-si \ mima \ \textit{xo-zi-dim-lei} \ \textit{tala}.

\begin{verbatim}
game-shoot-NOM one-day every game-get-NOM-DEF 3sg
\end{verbatim}

‘It is him who shot a game every day.’

(568)  \textit{tala} \ [a-si \ mima \ tsue-ta \ ula-pa \ w\textit{i}]

\begin{verbatim}
3sg one-day every river-LOC swim-do ADV
\end{verbatim}

\textit{kue-lu-i-\textit{w}\textit{i}}.

DIR-come-CSM:3-INDEF

‘S/he is one who comes to the river to swim every day.’
(569) \( \eta a \ [zu \ tsa \ ni \ kue-lu-si-t\phi] \).

1sg:TP horse ride ADV DIR-come-CSM:1-INDEF

‘It was on horse that I came.’

(570) \( \eta a \ [a-si \ (mima) \ gegu \ ni] \).

1sg:TP one-day (every) walking ADV \( kue-lu-si-t\phi \).

DIR-come-CSM:1-INDEF

‘I am one who comes to walk every day.’

(571) \([\text{ku\textasciitilde-(q\textasciitilde)} \ ni-t\phi \ pu-sa-t\phi] \).

your:GEN-(family) what-CL do-NOM-INDEF

‘It is what your (family) needs to do.’

(572) \( \text{tsa-ta} \ si \ [\eta-a \ se-ts\textasciitilde\textasciitilde-hua-si-t\phi] \).

this-PL firewood 1sg:TP-AGT DIR-cut-CSM:1-INDEF

‘The firewood is what I cut.’

(573) \( \text{t\textasciitilde-a-ta} \ zeda \ [\eta-(i) \ tsi-u-a-t\phi] \).

that-PL book 1sg:TP-AGT look.at-PROS-1-INDEF

‘Those books are what I will read.’
8.4. Coordination and Disjunction

In this section we discuss how clauses in the Puxi variety of Qiang are conjoined or separated. Coordinate clauses are discussed in §8.4.1 and disjunctive clauses are described in §8.4.2.

8.4.1. Coordinate clauses

Coordinate clauses are joining two or more constituents of equal syntactic rank. There are two types of coordination: one is conjoined clauses and one is correlative clauses.

In coordinate structures the coordinate marker $n_1$ is used to conjoin two words, two phrases, as in (574)-(577). In some cases, conjoined NPs may not take the coordinate marker $n_1$, but simply be a juxtaposition of the two elements, as in (578)-(580):

(574) $[t^{\text{h}a}l_6a$ $n_1$ $t^{\text{h}a}$ $\text{tu}_{\text{b}z}]$ $m_6$

$3_{\text{sg}}$ CONJ $3_{\text{sg}}:\text{GEN}$ elder.brother $3_{\text{sg}}:\text{REFL}$

$\chi_6-a-ke-i$.

DIR-go-CSM:3

‘S/he and his/her elder brother went out separately.’

(575) $\eta_6$ $[\text{z}_6\text{d}$ $n_1$ $\text{p}_{\text{ents}_6}]$ $m_{\text{a}}-u-\alpha$

$1_{\text{sg}}:\text{TP}$ book CONJ notebook want-PROS-1

‘I want books and notebooks.’
Chapter 8: Complex Structure

(576) [avə n>i aje] tse-n kue-lu-i.

mother CONJ father all-two DIR-come-CSM:3

‘Mother and father both came.’

(577) [ee-se n>i χyi-χyi] nə tse-na-zməi ma'.

red-REDUP CONJ green-REDUP 1sg:TP all-two-CL like:1

‘The red and the green I like them all.’

(578) t6ala [χsi-si (n>i) χsi-zə] mi-n>i.

3sg three-day CONJ three-night NEG-sleep:3

‘S/he did not sleep for three days and nights.’

(579) [kua [ama aka]-la te-su-pe-i.

2sg:GEN mother father-TOP DIR-hungry-become-CSM:3

‘Your mother and father are hungry.’

(580) t̓a [vamie vaje] qe-n>i te-se qe-i.

3sg:GEN mother father all DIR-know can-CSM:3

‘Her mother and father understood her.’
Conjoined clauses may involve other syntactic devices, e.g. the continuative marker appears before both verbs in two clauses, as in (581), where the two events are seen as simultaneous:

(581)  t6ala  pi-gegu  pu, pi-dze  pu.
  3sg  CONT-walk do  CONT-eat  do:3

‘S/he eats while he walks.’ (lit.: She walks, she eats.)

A correlative clause adds the adverb tete ‘the more’, or kuekue ‘the more’ before both verbs in two clauses, as in (582)-(584):

(582)  t6ala  tete  zde, tete  zde-i.
  3sg  the.more  scold  the.more  spirited-CSM:3

‘The more (other people) scold him/her, the more mischievous s/he gets.’

(583)  t6ala  (kuekue  dze), kuekue  lu-i.
  3sg  (the.more  eat)  the.more  fat-CSM:3

‘The more s/he eats, the fatter s/he gets.’

(584)  t6ala  kuekue  zbadzu, kuekue  mi-nɔo.
  3sg  the.more  think  the.more  NEG-COP:3

‘The more s/he thinks about (that thing), the worse s/he feels.’
The adverb *tete* may also occur before the verbs in a subordinate clause and a main clause, as in (585)-(586):

(585) \[\text{tæwlotsu} \; \chi \, \alpha-\chi \, \alpha-\text{te-\text{-}χli} \, \nu_i \]
\[\text{man} \; \text{new} \; \text{one-PL-TOP} \; \text{strength} \; \text{DIR-compare} \; \text{ADV} \]
\[\text{te-pu-i} \; \text{go}, \; \text{æ\text{-}σen} \; \text{mi-su} \; \text{pu}, \; \text{tete} \; \text{su} \]
\[\text{DIR-do-CSM} \; \text{LNK} \; \text{DIR-stop} \; \text{NEG-will} \; \text{do} \; \text{the.more} \; \text{turn} \]
\[\nu_i \; \text{tæ\text{-}h\text{-}anfa} \; \nu_i \; \text{tete} \; \text{z}a-\text{i} \; \text{go,} \]
\[\text{ADV} \; \text{dexterous} \; \text{ADV} \; \text{the.more} \; \text{run-CSM} \; \text{LNK} \]
\[\text{mepæ-lei} \; \text{ce} \; \text{tete} \; \eta \text{-i} \; \text{gats\text{-}h\text{-}a\text{-}t\text{-}si}. \]
\[\text{old.man-DEF} \; \text{due.respect} \; \text{the.more} \; \text{exist-CSM} \; \text{be.equal.to-INDEF} \]

‘When some young men have a competition, they do not want to stop; the more they raise and turn around the coffin, the more they run, and the more dexterous they are, the more the dead man has due respect.’

(586) \[\text{no} \; \text{tæ\text{-}h\text{-}ala} \; \text{tete} \; \text{dæ\text{-}so} \; \text{go}, \; (\text{tæ\text{-}h\text{-}ala}) \]
\[\text{2sg:TP} \; \text{3sg} \; \text{the.more} \; \text{laugh-CSM:2sg} \; \text{LNK} \; (\text{3sg}) \]
\[\text{z}e\text{-i} \; \text{mi-tæ\text{-}h\text{-}y-pa\text{-}u}. \]
\[\text{speech} \; \text{speak} \; \text{NEG-dare-do-PROS:3} \]

‘The more you laugh at him the more he dares not speak.’
To express coordination, the adverb la ‘also’ can be added before the verb, as in (587).

It is also possible that the numeral plus classifier a-tui ‘one-time’ is added before both verbs to express a conjunctive construction, as in (588):

\[
\begin{align*}
(587) & \quad \text{ts}^{h}u \quad \text{la} \quad \text{șutpa}, \quad \text{χu} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{beș}^{h}i, \quad \text{ts}^{h}e \quad \text{la} \quad \text{dzē}.
\end{align*}
\]

\text{rice also cold vegetable also small meat also tough}

‘The rice is cold, the vegetables are scanty and the meat is tough.’

\[
\begin{align*}
(588) & \quad \text{șa-tpi} \quad \text{a-tui} \quad \text{te-za}^{-}\text{ts}^{h}a, \quad \text{a-tui} \quad \text{te-dzq}-\text{ts}^{h}a?
\end{align*}
\]

\text{who:NTP-INDEF one-time DIR-cry-REP one-time DIR-laugh-REP}

‘Who cries at one moment and laughs at another?’

To express coordinate clauses, the two independent clauses are joined by using pəs / șə + continuative marker-Verb ‘not only…but also’ to link two clauses, as in (589)-(591):

\[
\begin{align*}
(589) & \quad \text{p}^{h}u \quad \text{tsa-la} \quad \text{șutqe} \quad \text{pəs,} \quad \eta \quad \text{p}^{h}u \quad \text{t}^{h}im.i
\end{align*}
\]

\text{clothing this-CL alone LNK 1sg:TP clothing other}

\text{a-la pi-ηa}.\]

\text{one-CL CONT-exist:1}

‘I not only have this piece of clothing but also another piece of clothing.’
(590)  *pi-qešku*  
*nts-e*  
*sye*,  
*pi-bzi-tsʰə.*

CONT-expensive  PROH-talk  LNK  CONT-big-REP

‘It is not only too expensive, also it is too big.’

(591)  *ètɕindzi*  
*misja*  
*tse-u’*  
*sye*,  
*me*  
*ètɕindzi*

money  NEG-exist  PROH-say  LNK  other.person  money

*pi-ga.*

CONT-owe

‘S/he not only does not have money but owes money as well.’

There is another construction where the indefinite pronoun *tʰimi* ‘other’ appears at the beginning of the second clause to form a conjunctive construction, as in (592):

(592)  *tsia*  
*tɕiu*  
*abu apa*  
*a-ɕa-i*  
*ɕiʃu*

1pl:INCL:GEN  home  ancestor  one-PL-AGT  sword

*a⁻tɕʰuan-tʰa-i*,  
*tʰimi*  
*tɕiu*  
*y-ka*  
*a-zi*

DIR-pass.down-AUX-CSM:3  other  home  hen-FEM  one-CL

*pi-ze.*

CONT-exist

‘A sword was handed down by our ancestors, and there is also a hen.’
The coordinate clause may also involve the borrowed connector *tanṣa* ‘but’ (< Ch. dānshī ‘但是’) to link the two clauses, as in (593) and (594):

(593) *ku* *te-zbaZba* *kue-səla*, *tanṣa* (*təntṣa*) *tsa-gu*

2sg:REFL DIR-option DIR-choose LNK oil.lamp this-CL

*tse-še-tsu* *mo!*

PROH-DIR-take.away PRT

‘You may choose anything you want, but do not take away (my) oil lamp.’

(594) *no* *n컨-tɕi* *la* *še-tsu* *qe*, *tanṣa* *dzualo*

2sg:TP what-CL also DIR-take.away can but millstone

*tsa-gu* *jetin-la* *a-pzə* *tse-še-tsu-n* *o!*

this-CL must-EMPH a-CL PROH-DIR-take.away-2 PRT

‘You can take anything you like, but you mustn’t take this millstone.’

8.4.2. **Disjunctive clauses**

To express a disjunctive sense, the linker *me* (the question marker), with rising intonation, is added to the first of two clauses, as in (595)-(597):

(595) *ku* *te-zbaZba* *kue-səla*, *me* *təntṣa* *tsa-gu*

2sg:REFL DIR-option DIR-choose LNK oil.lamp this-CL

*tse-še-tsu* *mo!*

PROH-DIR-take.away PRT

‘You may choose anything you want, but do not take away (my) oil lamp.’

(596) *no* *n컨-tɕi* *la* *še-tsu* *qe*, *me* *tanṣa* *dzualo*

2sg:TP what-CL also DIR-take.away can but millstone

*tsa-gu* *jetin-la* *a-pzə* *tse-še-tsu-n* *o!*

this-CL must-EMPH a-CL PROH-DIR-take.away-2 PRT

‘You can take anything you like, but you mustn’t take this millstone.’

(597) *ku* *te-zbaZba* *kue-səla*, *me* *tanṣa* *tsa-gu*

2sg:REFL DIR-option DIR-choose LNK oil.lamp this-CL

*tse-še-tsu* *mo!*

PROH-DIR-take.away PRT

‘You may choose anything you want, but do not take away (my) oil lamp.’

(598) *no* *n컨-tɕi* *la* *še-tsu* *qe*, *me* *tanṣa* *dzualo*

2sg:TP what-CL also DIR-take.away can but millstone

*tsa-gu* *jetin-la* *a-pzə* *tse-še-tsu-n* *o!*

this-CL must-EMPH a-CL PROH-DIR-take.away-2 PRT

‘You can take anything you like, but you mustn’t take this millstone.’
(595)  
\[ t^h_a-la \  su-m \  te-ŋats^h_o-u \  me, \]

that-CL study-NOM DIR-lazy-EVID QUES

\[ lan \  te-\sigma-u-ts^h_o-u. \]

naughty DIR-do-REP-HEARS

‘That student is either lazy or naughty.’

(596)  
\[ no \  ts^h_u \  dze-u-an \  me, \  tsuazi. \]

2sg:TP meal eat-PROS-2sg QUES congee

dze-u-an?  
eat-PROS-2sg

‘Are you eating rice or congee?’

(597)  
\[ n\_a \  ts^h_\sigma \  al \  te-t\_e \  me, \  t\_e \  al \]

1sg:TP tea one:CL DIR-drink QUES wine one:CL

te-t\_e-pu'.  
DIR-drink-do:1

‘I either drink tea or wine.’

Another way to express the disjunctive is to use the numeral plus classifier \[ a-t\_e^h_o \]
before each of the verbs of two independent clauses, as in (598):
8.5. Subordinate constructions

Unlike coordinate constructions that join constituents of equal syntactic rank, a subordinate construction joins one structure to another to indicate a dependent relationship. As a rule, the subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause in the Puxi variety of Qiang.

8.5.1. Temporal adverbial clause

A temporal adverbial clause is marked by the subordinating linker and temporal adjunct-marking postposition -go, which occurs at the end of the subordinate clause, as in (599) to (602):

(599) \[ t^{b}ala \quad a-t\varphi^{b}o \quad dza, \quad a-t\varphi^{b}o \quad mi-dza. \]

3sg one-time obedient:3 one-time NEG-obedient:3

‘Sometimes s/he is well-behaved, sometimes s/he is not.’

(599) \[ t^{b}ala \quad kue-lu-i \quad go, \quad t^{b}a \quad tub\varphi \quad t\varphi iu \]

3sg DIR-come-CSM:3 LNK 3sg:GEN elder.brother home

kue-ke \quad qe-i.

DIR-go finish-CSM:3

‘When s/he came, her/his elder brother had already gone home.’
Chapter 8: Complex Structure

(600) no χa-mi-pi-de-so go, tʰala taço

2sg:TP DIR-NEG-CONT-born-CSM:2sg LNK 3sg university

zio da-vaze qe-i.

study DIR-begin finish-CSM:3

‘Before you were born, s/he had already attended university.’

(601) no χa-de-so go, no tʰama de-ʣe-n.

2sg:TP DIR-birth-CSM:2sg LNK 2sg:TP body DIR-thin-2

‘Since you were born, you have been thin and weak.’

(602) tʰala dzo-ta ze-tsʰya-i go, pani guata-i.

3sg door-LOC DIR-enter-CSM LNK thing throw-CSM:3

‘S/he threw things as soon as s/he entered.’

It is possible to use the linker matsi ‘when’ to link a temporal adverbial clause and a main clause, as in (603)-(605):

(603) no kue-pi-pu, ḳa kue-lu-si matsi,

2sg:TP DIR-CONT-do 1sg:TP DIR-come-CSM:1 LNK

aʰ-șa-n.

DIR-stop-2

‘You keep working, stop when I come.’
Chapter 8: Complex Structure

(604)  
\[ t^bala \text{  ke  } kuetsi \text{  matsi,  } qo-zo \text{  ze-duə-i. } \]

3sg  go  be.about.to  LNK  1sg:NTP-DAT  DIR-talk-CSM:3

‘S/he told me just before s/he left.’

(605)  
\[ pele-tə \text{  še-tə-i  matsi,  } a^i-ji-ty-i-ći. \]

grave-LOC  DIR-take-CSM  LNK  DIR-fill-CSM-INDEF

‘After (the corpse) was taken to the grave, corn was put into (his) grave clothes.’

The linker matsi can be with temporal noun šenta ‘after’ to make explicit the idea that one action immediately followed another, as in (606):

(606)  
\[ tsə-lei \text{  qe}_i \text{  } χa-ze}_i \text{  mi-ũu  šenta  matsi, } \]

son-DEF  before  DIR-say  NEG-be.willing.to:3  after  LNK

\[ nipi-ŋin \text{  qen}_i \text{  } χa-ze}_i. \]

reason  all  DIR-say-CSM:3

‘The son was not willing to tell (his father about how he made money) at first, after a while (he) told (his father) how (he) made money.’

The location nouns qe‘i ‘before’, or šenta ‘after’ can be used instead of -go or -matsi at the end of the first clause of two clauses to mark it as a temporal subordinate clause, as in (607) and (608):
Chapter 8: Complex Structure

(607) qan kue-.lu qe$,
      ts$u pu da-va$-a-so.

1dl DIR-come LNK meal do DIR-begin-CSM:2sg

‘Before we came back, you started to cook.’

(608) a-n-si pa-i şent$a, vaje n$i

one-two-day become-CSM LNK father CONJ
toba ta-m kue-lu-i.
cap wear-NOM DIR-come-CSM:3

‘After a few days, her father-in-law and (her) husband came back.’

8.5.2. Conditional clause

The linker go may also link two clauses within a complex structure to express a conditional sense, as in (609)-(613):

(609) t$ala pesi kue-mi-lu-i go peş, mi-to-pi.

3sg today DIR-NEG-come-CSM:3 LNK LNK NEG-able-do:3

‘It may be too late unless he comes today.’

(610) tse χsi-zmëi ηa-i go, udzë-i.

this:CL three-CL exist-CSM LNK enough-CSM

‘If there were these three kinds, it would be enough.’
The conditional clause may be formed by using an interrogative pronoun in two juxtaposed clauses plus the linker -go, as in (614):
Chapter 8: Complex Structure

(614) ści-i  dzeqa  bzi-i  go,  ści-i

who-AGT  strength  big-CSM:3  LNK  who-AGT

pari  tṣua.

thing  take:3

‘If one is strong, then s/he will take the thing.’

There are also some conditional clauses formed by using the particle/linker lo at the end of the first clause, as in (615):

(615) ẓmu  mi-še  lo,  ṣeṣu  te-ንɰɚ-sto  nį

dream  NEG-good  LNK  shaman  DIR-invite-go  ADV

gaqei  dzo  uɭ.

hot.pan  sit  say

‘It was said that if someone had a bad dream, s/he must invite a shaman to have her/him sit on the hot pan.’

8.5.3. Hypothetical / Counter-factual clauses

There is a clause final linker qedəŋ to mark the first clause of a complex structure to express a hypothetical or counter-factual situation. Compare clauses in the following two sets of examples:
(616) a.  

₁sg:TP Chengdu  DIR-go-CSM:₁  

‘If s/he had come yesterday, I would have gone to Chengdu.’ (I didn’t go)
Chapter 8: Complex Structure

(617) a. *pesi me'wu mi-lu-i go,*
    today rain NEG-come-CSM LNK

ηa χsuqi ke-u-a. (Conditional)

1sg:TP hill go-PROS-1

‘If it doesn’t rain today, I will go to the hill.’

b. *tepai me'wu mi-lu-i go/qedṣaq,*
    tomorrow rain NEG-come-CSM LNK

ηa χsuqi ke-u-a. (Hypothetical)

1sg:TP hill go-PROS-1

‘If it doesn’t rain tomorrow, I would go to the hill.’

c. *nedxe me'wu mi-lu qedṣaq,*
    yesterday rain NEG-come LNK

ηa χsuqi Xa-ke-si. (Counter-factual)

1sg:TP hill DIR-go-CSM-1

‘If it did not rain yesterday, I would have gone to the hill.’ (I didn’t go)

In (616a-b) all are true-condition or hypothetical constructions. In these clauses, the main clause takes prospective aspect marking, and the subordinate clause takes the change of state marker, whereas the sentence in (616c) is a counter-factual structure; the main clause takes the change of state aspect marker, and the subordinate clause
doesn’t. The sentence in (617a) is a true-conditional structure, and the example (617b) is a hypothetical structure, while the sentence (617c) is a counter-factual structure.

8.5.4. Causal clauses

The linker *ne* is a causal clause marker. It occurs at the end of the first clause of a two clause structure to express a cause-effect relation, as in (618) to (619):

(618)  
\[ t^\text{3sg:GEN} \quad \text{tubzi} \quad ts^\text{3sg:DIR-bring} \quad \text{mi-ze} \quad pa-u \]

\[ ne, \quad te-su-pa-i \quad ne, \quad tsua-tsua \quad \text{chi-ji} \]

\[ \text{LNK} \quad \text{DIR-hungry-do-CSM:3} \quad \text{LNK} \quad \text{early-REDUP} \quad \text{DIR-knock-off} \]

\[ tsiu \quad kue-ke-i. \]

home \quad \text{DIR-go-CSM:3}

‘Because (his) elder brothers did not see anyone bring food to (them), and because (they) were hungry, (they) knocked off early and went home.’

(619)  
\[ me^\text{rain} \quad ne-\text{chi} \quad mi-lu-pi-i \quad ne, \]

\[ \text{two-month} \quad \text{NEG-come-become-CSM} \quad \text{LNK} \]

\[ tsua-\text{tsua} \quad qen-i \quad te-ze-i. \]

crop \quad all \quad \text{DIR-dry-CSM}

‘Because it had not rained for two months, the crops all dried up and died.’
A cause-effect relation can also be inferred from some sentences where the subordinate clause is marked by -go, as in (620):

(620) ʨipu-lei  te-no-i  go,  tʰo-kou
daughter-DEF  DIR-hear-CSM:3  LNK  there-LOC
y-pi-ke-tsʰe-i.

DIR-CONT-go-REP-CSM:3

‘When the daughter heard it, she went upstream again.’

There is another type of clause subordinator kom ‘so, therefore’ which appears at the initial position of the main clause to express a cause-effect sense, as in (621)-(622):

(621)  mepai-la  se-dze  miqe-pu-u,  kom  dzualo
old.man-TOP  DIR-eat  NEG-can-do-PROS:3  LNK  millstone
tʰa-se  e⁴-bie  n̥i  da-i.
that-CL  DIR-carry.on.her.back  ADV  run-CSM:3

‘(She) will make the old man have nothing to eat, hence (she) carried the millstones on (her) back and ran away.’
When her mother and father saw (her) carry the millstones on (her) back; they did not say any more, so (they) didn’t send (their) daughter.

8.5.5. Concessive clauses

To express concession (‘although’), a construction borrowed from Chinese which involves the Chinese copula appearing between two tokens of the same verb is used.

The linker/particle $p_\text{es}$ is also added to the end of the first clause.

Although s/he is fat, s/he is often sick.’

It is also possible to use the continuative prefix $pi$- and the clause final particle $p_\text{es}$ in the first clause of a two clause structure to express a concessive sense, as in (624):
‘Although s/he is still young, s/he is such an intelligent child.’

8.6.6. Purpose clauses

The benefactive marker -zo can occur at the end of the subordinate clause to mark a purpose adverbial clause, as in (625). In some cases, the causal clause marker ne may appear after the dative marker -zo, as in (626):

\[
(625) \quad t^hala \quad pi-\text{bet}^h\text{i} \quad pe\text{s}, \quad dz\text{e} \quad te-se \quad qe-i.
\]

3sg CONT-young LNK thing DIR-know can-CSM:3

‘Although s/he is still young, s/he is such an intelligent child.’

\[
(626) \quad t^hala \quad t^h\text{ets}\text{e} \quad zu-se-\text{zo} \quad (n_e), \quad \text{staitse} \quad la
\]

3sg bus wait-go-DAT LNK breakfast also

\[
\text{se-mi-}\text{tse}^h\text{e}.
\]

DIR-NEG-eat:3

‘In order to catch the bus, s/he did not eat breakfast.’
Chapter 9
Discourse Analysis

In this chapter we describe the structure and characteristics of discourse in the Puxi variety of Qiang. The exposition is based on several texts that have been transcribed from tape recordings of the Puxi variety of Qiang made by the author.

9.1. Genre

The texts include three different genres: religious scriptures, folk songs and narratives (historical narratives, explanation of cultural facts, narratives of daily life events). Religious scriptures consist of many short clauses, moreover, are very long texts, are meant to be sung, and can only be sung by shamans. Scriptures lay stress on rhyme. There are many kinds of folk songs, some songs are sung in funeral ceremonies, and some songs are sung in wedding ceremonies. In this chapter we limit our discussion to the characteristics of narratives.

9.2. Discourse characteristics

In the Puxi variety of Qiang narratives have identifiable characteristics and structures. Puxi Qiang uses demonstrative pronouns to mark change of scene, discourse deixis, and anaphora. I discuss the marking of change of scene in §9.2.1, discourse deixis and anaphora are presented in §9.2.2.
9.2.1. *Marking of change of scene*

In narrative texts deictic elements are frequently used to set the scene, introduce the main characters, and then change the scene. There is a clear pattern that the deictic demonstratives *tsal* / *tsalke* ‘now’ and *tʰal* / *tʰalke* ‘then’ (we have not found any semantic distinction between *tsal* and *tsalke*; *tʰal* and *tʰalke*), regularly occur at the beginning of a segment of text to mark a change of scene and the starting of a new segment.

(627)  
**cepa**  |  *χa-dzo-za-u,*  |  *χa-dzo-za-*  |  *go,*
---|---|---|---

body | DIR-sit-CAUS-HEARS | DIR-sit-CAUS-CSM | LNK

*tʰal*  |  *zetse*  |  *te-syisyi-u,*

then | day | DIR-count-HEARS

*zetse*  |  *te-syisyi-i*  |  *go,*

day | DIR-count-CSM | LNK

*tsal*  |  *tʰa-tsi*  |  *ou-tsi*  |  *za?*

now | that-CL | where-CL | exist

*ou-tsi*  |  *ta-sa*  |  *pi-i?*

where-CL | take.away-NOM | do-CSM

*tʰalke*  |  *zetse*  |  *te-syisyi-ɾi*  |  *ṣa-tsi*  |  *za-sa*

then | day | DIR-count-ADV | who-INDEF | exist-NOM

*ṣi,*  |  *ṣa-tsi*  |  *za-sa*  |  *mi-ṣi,*

good | who-INDEF | exist-NOM | NEG-good
‘(They) make the dead man sit down, after making him sit down, then choose an auspicious day. After choosing an auspicious day, now find out where he is? Where should (they) take him? Then, find out who can stay here? Who cannot stay here? The dead man’s son and daughter can stay. After having found out all these things, then it is time to cut the cloth into mourning kerchiefs (for (his) relatives and members of (his) own family). After cutting the cloth into mourning kerchiefs, now one needs to invite a fortune-teller.’

9.2.2. Discourse deixis and anaphora

In narrative texts, Puxi Qiang uses demonstratives for discourse deixis and anaphora.
9.2.2.1. Discourse deixis

The demonstrative pronouns are used as markers of discourse deixis in narrative. We find that the demonstrative pronoun $t^h\alpha\eta$ ‘that kind’ may be used to refer to a whole clause (event), as in (628):

\[(628) \quad [zd\breve{e}-m \quad t^h\alpha-la \quad te-tsie \quad \eta a], \quad t^h-o-te \quad matsi \]

sick-NOM that-CL DIR-smoke need there-ABL after

$t^h\alpha\eta$ te-pu-so go, t\breve{a}qa

that.kind DIR-do-CSM:2sg LNK all.member.of. family

$\alpha^{e}\chiu\breve{e}la-pa \quad \eta a.$

DIR-wash-do need

‘It is needed to smoke the sick, after doing that, all of family members need to bathe.’

In (628) the demonstrative pronoun $t^h\alpha\eta$ ‘that kind’ does not refer to the previous referent $zd\breve{e}-m \ t^h\alpha-la$ ‘that patient’, but refers to the previous event $zd\breve{e}m \ t^h\alpha-la$ $te-tsie$ ‘smoke the sick’.

The demonstrative $t^h\iota$‘that’ can be used for discourse deixis as well, as in (629):
In example (629) the demonstrative \textit{t}^{h}i ‘that’ does not refer to the referent \textit{tsəuwa-lei} ‘the idiot’, but refers to the event \textit{tsəuwa-lei anama še-sa pe-i} ‘how to kill the idiot’.

9.2.2.2. Anaphora

There are very frequent anaphoric references in the texts using demonstratives, such as \textit{t}^{h}i ‘that’, or \textit{t}^{h}a-zi ‘that’ to refer to previously mentioned referents. In (630) the demonstrative-classifier phrase \textit{t}^{h}a-zi ‘that’ refers to the noun phrase \textit{m šen bzi-bzi a-zi} ‘one big red ox’.
'If there is a big red ox coming down, you should dare to catch it. That (the red ox) is used for mother’s funeral arrangements.'

The demonstrative with plural marker tʰa-ta ‘those’ may be referring to anaphoric referents. In (631) the demonstrative with plural marker tʰa-ta ‘those’ refers to the person mentioned in the first clause aˡ-tuᵉ aˡ-t⁶h⁸e (one who died by falling off a cliff or were crushed’, and zoli aˡ-t⁶h⁸-u-i ‘one who died outside’. In example (632) the demonstrative plus the plural marker tʰa-ta ‘those’ is coreferential with pʰu ‘clothing’, tatse ‘shoes’ and cauji kʰoutai ‘grave bag’. In example (633) the deixis tʰa-ta ‘those’ is referring to the referents of noun phrases, sal dzọsa-m ‘one who does lasso’ and kʰue xo-m ‘one who is hunting’, at the same time, tʰa-ta also refers to the referent aˡ-tuᵉ aˡ-t⁶h⁸e, aˡ-kʰpᵃ-i ‘one who has fallen of a cliff or crushed’.
(631) tsal [ə'-tue ə'-tɕʰe], [zali ə'-tsʰu-ɻ]
this.time DIR-fall.off DIR-crush outside DIR-drop-CSM
tɕiu kue-la-sa mi-mei, tʰa-ta
home DIR-bring-NOM NEG-can that-PL
pele-ta kue-qʰu-sə ɻə.
crematorium-LOC DIR-put-go need

‘Now, (those who died) by falling off a cliff or were crushed, can not be brought into the home, they are put in the crematorium.’

(632) sepeɻi se-ɕuelə-ɻi [pʰu] lo, [tətpe] lo,
body DIR-wash-ADV clothing PRT shoes PRT
[ɕauji kʰoutai] lo, tʰa-ta da-tso-tso
g rave.bag PRT that-PL DIR-put.on-REDUP
pə-zə ɻə.
do-CAUS need

‘Having washed the body, clothing, shoes, grave bag, these need to be put on (the body).’

(633) [səl dzəsə-m] lo, [kʰue ɻo-m] lo,
rope loop-NOM PRT dog hunt-NOM PRT
[ə'-tue ə'-tɕʰe, ə'-ɕpe-ɻ],
DIR-fall.off DIR-crush DIR-drop.off-CSM
that-PL  demon  DIR-become-CSM

‘Lasso-doer, hunter, one who died by falling (off a cliff), or was crushed, those (who died outdoors) became demons.’

It is possible for the reflexive/emphatic pronoun ioqe ‘self’ to be used in an anaphoric construction, as in (634) and (635):

(634) sequ te-nua’-se  n,i  gafei  dz0-u,
shaman  DIR-invite-go  ADV  hot.pan  sit-HEARS
tsalke  ioqe  qe’  xa-n,i  nja…
this.time  self  before  DIR-lick  need

‘(They) need to invite the shaman to have (the sick man) sit on the hot pan. Before this the shaman needs to lick (the hot pan)…’

(635) [due]  lo,  [q’ua]  lo,  [ulia]  lo  a-n-mai
ghost  PRT  monster  PRT  demon  PRT  one-two-kind
mima  mentsi  mi-n,lo,  ioqe  qetsi.
every  the.same.as  NEG-COP  self  the.same.as

‘There are several kinds of devil, such as the ghost, the monster, and the demon. Each is unique (lit.: is the same as itself).’
In (634) the emphatic pronoun ḗoqe ‘self’ refers to aequ ‘the shaman’, rather than the sick man, whereas the emphatic pronoun ḗoqe ‘self’ in (635) is coreferential with duq ‘the ghost’, q’uaq ‘monster’ and eia ‘demon’.

9.3. Discourse structure

Quoted speech and tail-head discourse structures occur frequently in narrative texts. Quoted speech is discussed in §9.3.1, and tail-head structures are presented in §9.3.2.

9.3.1. Quoted speech

There are special features with respect to speech act in narratives of the Puxi variety of Qiang. Both direct quotes and indirect speech involve the word u‘ ‘say’ or uesta‘ ‘call, ask’ at the end of the clause. The logophoric pronoun mu marks the clause as indirect speech, as in (636) and (637):

(636) tʂ\øan-ʈʰa-m lei [tsia zmə ɛtɕi]
harass-AUX-NOM-DEF 1pl:INCL:GEN Qiang speech
“duq” u‘.
(Qquoted speech)

ghost call/say

‘In our Qiang language, the one who harasses someone is called “ghost.”’
In the examples above shown, the verb *u'* ‘say’ in (636) and (637a-c) is used at the end of a clause to express quotation.

In colloquial speech, the speakers of Puxi Qiang usually use both quoted speech and indirect speech, as in (638)-(640):
(638) a. \( t'ala \ "\text{\textit{\textbf{g}a mi-lu-u-a}} \" \) \( u' \). \hspace{1cm} \text{(Quoted speech)}

\[\text{3sg 1sg:TP NEG-come-PROS-1 say}\]

‘S/he says, “I will not come.”’

b. \( t'ala \ mu-i \ mi-lu-u \ u' \). \hspace{1cm} \text{(Indirect speech)}

\[\text{3sg 3sg:REFL-AGT NEG-come-PROS:3 say}\]

‘S/he says s/he will not come.’

(639) a. \( t'ala \ "\text{\textit{\textbf{g}a zedE mi-tsi-si}} \" \) \( u' \). \hspace{1cm} \text{(Quoted speech)}

\[\text{3sg 1sg:TP book NEG-look.at-CSM:1 say}\]

‘S/he said, “I have not read a book.”’

b. \( t'ala \ mu-i \ zedE mi-tsi-i \ u' \). \hspace{1cm} \text{(Indirect speech)}

\[\text{3sg 3sg:REFL-AGT book NEG-look.at-CSM:3 say}\]

‘S/he said s/he had not read a book.’

(640) a. \( t'ala \ "\text{\textit{\textbf{g}a zedE a-pen kue-zo}} \" \) \( u' \). \hspace{1cm} \text{(Quoted speech)}

\[\text{3sg 1sg:TP book one-CL 2sg:NTP-DAT zedE a-pen kue-zo} \ u' \]

\[\text{DIR-give-PROS-1 say}\]

‘S/he says, “I will give you a book.”’
b. \( t^h\text{ala} \quad m\text{u-i} \quad z\text{eda} \quad a\text{-pen} \quad k\text{ue-\text{zo}} \)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
3\text{sg} & 3\text{sg:REFL-AGT} & \text{book} & 1\text{one-CL} \quad 2\text{sg:NTP-DAT} \\
\hline
z\text{e-z\text{da-u}} & u' & & \\
\end{array}
\]

(Indirect speech)

DIR-give-PROS:3 say

‘S/he says s/he will give you a book.’

In examples (638a)-(640a) quoted speech uses, whereas in (638b)-(640b) the logophoric pronoun \( m\text{u} \) marks the clause as indirect speech.

In texts, we found that the verb \( u' \) ‘say’ has grammaticalized into hearsay evidential marking, as in (641) and (642):

(641) a. \( t\text{sal} \quad q^h\text{ua-la} \quad s\text{e-sa-i-u} \). (Hearsay)

now \quad monster-TOP \quad DIR-kill-CSM:3-HEARS

‘Thus (the brothers) killed the monster.’

b. \( s\text{anta-go} \quad v\text{amie-la} \quad t\text{e-pe-i-u} \). (Hearsay)

after-LOC \quad mother-TOP \quad DIR-die-CSM:3-HEARS

‘After (the brothers killed the monster), (their) mother died.’
c. *vamie-la  sika-tgi  ẹse-q'u  ụi*

mother-TOP tree.stump-INDIR  DIR-carve ADV

χa-kong-t'g-ai-u.  

(Hearsay)

DIR-enshrine-AUX-CSM:3-HEARS

‘(The brothers) carved a tree stump into a statue of their mother and enshrined it.’

(642) a. *tsa  qe'χa  me  a-qâ-zâ-ai-u.*  

(Hearsay)

this before people one-family-exist-CSM:3-HEARS

‘Long ago, there was a family.’

b. *vaje  a-la  ụi  tsâ  a-gu*

father one-CL CONJ son one-CL

mi-zâ-pi-ai-u.  

(Hearsay)

NEG-exist-become-CSM:3-HEARS

‘There was only a father and a son.’

In some cases, the verb *u‘say* and the hearsay evidential marker *-u* can co-occur in the same clause, as in (643):
The monster said, “Do not tell (your children what I did with you), otherwise (I) will eat your children.”

9.3.2. Tail-head construction

The pattern of the ‘tail-head’ construction is highly frequent in the narrative texts. It is when the final verb of a clause or a verb complex which expresses the end of an event and marks the end of a discourse segment is repeated at the beginning of the next discourse segment, as in the following examples:

(644) \( t^\#a-t\dot{c}i \quad zetse \quad te-syisyi-u \).

then day DIR-count-HEARS

\( zetse \quad te-syisyi-i \quad go \).
day DIR-count-CSM LNK

\( tsal \quad t^\#a-t\dot{c}i \quad ou-t\dot{c}i \quad ze? \).

now that-CL where-CL exist

‘(They) choose an auspicious day. After choosing an auspicious day, now find out where he is?’
Long ago, our shaman had written scriptures, and one family invited the shaman to do (magic). The shaman met a shepherd on the road, and then the shepherd went to relieve himself...
In example (644) *zetse te-syisyi-u* ‘counting the day’ appears at the end of the first segment, then is repeated at the beginning of the next segment; followed by the linker *-go*. Example (645) has three tail-head constructions: *zedə ny-a-i* ‘has scripture’, *nuə-se-i* ‘go to invite’, and *tpʰa stua-m a-la te-χoșa-i* ‘meet a shepherd’. All of these verb phrases occur at the end of one segment, then are repeated at the beginning of the next segment, and followed by the linker *-go*. 
Chapter 10
Concluding Summary

This dissertation is an attempt to produce a lasting record of a dying language, the Puxi variety of the Qiang language. Beyond cultural preservation, this research provides empirical data for comparative research and the reconstruction of Proto-Qiang and Proto-Qiangic. By extension, this work has implications for the reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman and even Proto-Sino-Tibetan and for other cross-linguistic research.

I present salient features of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse, with all generalizations derived by inductive reasoning based on the data recorded. This dissertation emphasizes structurally important and typologically interesting features, such as the topic/non-topic split in the pronouns.

The Puxi variety of Qiang is a verb-final, agglutinative, atonal language, and has both head marking and dependent marking. The most common word order is SV (intransitive clause) / APV (transitive clause).

The phonological system of the Puxi variety of Qiang is rather complex. There are 33 simple initial consonants, 38 cluster initials, and 13 finals. Most of the final consonants are not preserved Proto Tibeto-Burman finals; all of the original Proto Tibeto-Burman finals were lost (Liu 1984). The finals now found in the Puxi variety resulted from two syllables having merged, with the initial of the original second syllable becoming the final of the original initial syllable. Sun (1981a) and Huang
(1991) stated that varieties of the Southern dialect of Qiang have tone systems, while varieties of the Northern dialect do not have tone systems. I found, however, not all varieties of the Southern dialect have tone systems. The issue of tones needs to be further explored in the future. There are no phonemic tones in the Puxi variety. Stress is unpredictable, as in Mawo (Sun, J. 2003): sometimes stress falls on the first syllable, and sometimes stress occurs in the last syllable.

There are two types of word classes: Nouns, verbs, adjectives (which are a subclass of stative verbs) are open classes. Adverbs, pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, classifiers and measure words, interjections, and final particles are closed classes.

Puxi Qiang has a highly developed pronoun system with singular, dual, and plural in first, second, and third person. The third person form developed out of the distal demonstrative pronoun. There is no distinction between animate and inanimate in third person, but there is inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular. There is a split pronoun system: first and second person singular show a topic vs. non-topic distinction.

There are postpositions/enclitics, which mark relations between the verb and its arguments or between the arguments themselves, such as the comparative marker /-so/, the conjunction/the adverbial marker /-ŋi/, and case marking, i.e. the agent/instrumental marker /-i/, the genitive marker /-l/, the recipient and allative marker /-zɔ/, the dative/locative marker /-tɔ/, the locative/temporal markers /-qho/ and /-kou/, and the comitative /-si/. Case marking is not systematic, and not
obligatory. It is used when it is needed for disambiguation. The choice depends on semantics and pragmatics. In the Puxi variety word order and these postpositions mainly express the semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a clause or complex sentence. There are also two topic markers /-la/ and /-ə/, the diminutive marking, indefinite marking /tɕi/, and definite marking /lei/.

The possessive shows an alienable and inalienable distinction as in the Northern dialect. Alienable is marked by the genitive marker, due to the loose relationship between the two referents (possessor and possessee). Inalienable means only physically inalienable, not what is generally included in “inalienable”, such as kinship relations.

The person marking reflects only the person of an animate actor on the verb. The person marking takes the form of suffixes, and no number distinction is made in the suffixes. First person prospective is -u-a, while the prospective of the second person singular is -u-an, and the prospective of the second person plural is -u-en. Third person prospective is -u. If the aspect is imperfective, including progressive and habitual, the first person marking is the retroflexion of the root vowel, the second person marking is the suffix -n, and the third person is zero marked. The forms for change of state aspect also combine person and number: the suffix -si marks first person change of state, the suffix -so represents second person singular change of state, and the suffix -son marks second person plural change of state, but -son is optional, in most cases, second person singular change of state takes the form -so. The suffix -i expresses third person change of state
There are eight prefixes which mark the direction of the action relative to the speaker. The prefix *te-* means ‘toward vertically up’, *de-* means ‘toward vertically down’, *y-* means ‘toward upstream’, *se-* means ‘toward downstream’, *kue-* means ‘in’, *xa-* means ‘out’, *ze-* means ‘towards the center’, and *da-* means ‘outward from center’.

The minimal structure of the noun phrase is a noun alone. Nouns can take one or more modifiers. The possible nominal phrase structures are as follows:

(1) GEN + N

(2) DEM-CL + N/N + DEM+CL

(3) N + Adj

(4) (Rel)+ Adj+N + DEM+(NUM)-CL

(5) Adj+N + Rel+ DEM+(NUM)-CL

When the genitive modifies a noun, it always precedes the noun. When a demonstrative plus a classifier modifies the noun alone it follows or precedes the noun. The demonstrative plus classifier usually follows the noun when other modifiers also modify the noun. Adjectives follow the noun when they modify the noun alone, but when adjectives plus other modifiers modify the noun adjectives usually precede the noun. A relative clause may precede or follow the head of the noun phrase.
The minimal structure of a verb complex would be a verb that is unmarked. A verb can take one or more prefixes and/or suffixes. The possible verb complex structures are shown as follows:

1. DIR+(NEG)+(CONT)+V
2. PERMS+(CONT)+V
3. PROH+(NEG)+(DIR)+V
4. V+(CAUS)+(REP)+PROS:PM/CSM:PM+(HEARS)

When there is a directional prefix, the negative prefix, and the continuative prefix together precede a verb, the negative prefix follows the directional prefix, and the continuative prefix follows the negative prefix. The 3rd person permissive prefix may occur in the same slot as the directional prefix. If there is a prohibitive prefix, then it always appears before the negative prefix and/or the directional prefix. When there is the causative suffix, the repetitive suffix, the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix together follow a verb, the causative suffix follows the verb, the repetitive follows the causative suffix, and precedes the change of state suffix, and the evidential suffix occurs at the end of the verb complex.

When one referent is being compared with another, the NP representing the item being compared is a topic, and appears first in the clause. The NP representing the item which is the standard of comparison follows that of the item being compared. The general comparative construction is formed by adding the comparative marker
- *so* after the standard.

In the clause a noun phrase which appears in initial position functions as topic, while the rest of the clause functions as comment. This structure is the basic topic-comment construction. It is usual that the topic is omitted when it can be recovered from the context. In the topic-comment constructions, in some cases, the topic is marked by one of two topic markers - *sa*, or *la*. It is very common that in successive clauses (a clause-chain) with the same topic, the whole sequence of clauses is treated as a single complex discourse unit consisting of the topic and several comments. In narratives, a topic-chain is often used to tell of an event if the topic is identifiable and co-referential in all of the clauses. As in most East Asian languages, the Puxi variety of Qiang has double topic-comment construction. An actor that occurs in the topic position is generally unmarked, but there is also fronting of an undergoer, a theme, a causee, a recipient, or a benefactive, and so on, which are not actors, to initial-position to form a topicalized construction. Apart from an undergoer, a theme, a causee, a recipient, or a benefactive fronting to the topic position, it is also possible that a peripheral NP appears in the initial position of the clause to function as a scene setting topic.

Relative clauses in the Puxi variety of Qiang can be quite complex. There are two types of relative clauses: head-internal and head-external relative clauses. Head-external relative clauses include pre-head relative clauses, post-head relative clauses, and headless relative clauses. There are two different nominalizers. Definite marking or indefinite marking can also be used as relative clause marker. There are
also some relative clauses that are not marked by nominalization, but marked by aspect marking.

Complementation is the ‘sentential complement’ type. There are two types of complementation, one has no overt nominalization and one has one of the clitic nominalizers. Complement clauses function as NPs within the matrix sentence, and often appear between the NP representing the actor and the main verb. Some verbs of complement clauses do not take any person or aspect marking, but when the verb of the matrix clause is a perception or cognition verb, there is agreement with its actor in person marking and the verb can take aspect marking both in the complement clause and in the matrix clause. If the topic of the complement clause is 1st or 2nd singular, the pronoun referring to the topic is usually the topic pronoun, but in some cases, the topic of the complement clause may be represented by non-topic pronoun.

There is no it-cleft or wh-cleft clause, but there is a pseudo-cleft construction. In the basic pseudo-cleft construction, a clause appears in initial position to function as the topic, and a noun occurs before the copula to function as narrow focus. If a noun phrase occurs in initial position to function as the topic, and a clause appears in narrow focus, the clause generally takes the indefinite marker -te/i, and the copula is omitted.

In narrative texts deictic elements are frequently used to mark changes in the scene. The demonstrative pronouns are used as markers of discourse deixis and anaphoric references in narrative. There are special features with respect to quoted and indirect speech in narratives. Both direct quotes and indirect speech involve the
word *u* ‘say’ or *vug* ‘call, ask’ at the end of the clause, and the logophoric pronoun
*mu* marks the clause as indirect speech. The pattern of the ‘tail-head’ construction is
highly frequent in the narrative texts. This is when the final verb of a clause or a verb
complex which expresses the end of an event and marks the end of a discourse
segment is repeated at the beginning of the next discourse segment.
References


Evans, Jonathan. in press. Introduction to Southern Qiang verb morphology. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area (LTBA)* 23.2.


Gundel, Jeanette K., Houlihan, Kathleen and Sanders, Gerald. On the function of marked and unmarked terms. In Studies in Syntactic Typology, eds. by Hammond, Michael, Moravcsik, Edith A. and Wirth, Jessica, A.


LaPolla, Randy, J. 2000c. Problems of methodology and explanation in word order universals research. *Languages and Cultures of the East* 1.1.


LaPolla, Randy, J. & Huang Chenglong. 2003. *Grammatical sketch of the Qiang language, with texts and annotated glossary*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.


Wang Ming-ke. 1997b. The social memory and ethnicity of the Qiang on the Han’s boundary: A view of Chinese society and culture from the periphery, essays in *Memory of Sung-hsing Wang*. Taipei: The Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.


Wen Yu. 1943c. Wenchuan Luopuzhai Qiangyu Yinxi (Phonology of the Ch’iang language, Group II: Lopu Chai dialect). *Studia Serica* 3.2: 12-25.


Wen Yu. 1951. Wenzhou Qiangyu Cihui Jianbian (Luopuzhai Fangyan) [Concise Wenzhou Qiang lexicon (Luopu Chai dialect)]. Zhongguo Wenhua Yanjiu Huikan 10.