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QIANG*

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Qiang is spoken in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in northwest Sichuan Province, China; it belongs to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman. There are two major Qiang dialects, Northern Qiang (spoken in Heishui County, and the Chibusu district of Mao County; roughly 70,000 speakers) and Southern Qiang (spoken in Li County, Wenchuan County, Mao County, and Songpan County; about 60,000) (Sun 1981a: 177–78). The dialect presented here is the Northern Qiang variety spoken in Ronghong Village, Yadu Township, Chibusu District, Mao County.

1 THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Qiang has thirty-nine consonants at seven points of articulation (Table 35.1), plus complex consonant clusters, both in initial and final position.

Items in parentheses are not phonemic: [v] is an allophone of /w/ when it appears before front vowels; [z] and [ɣ] are allophones of /ɕ/ and /x/, respectively, when followed by a voiced consonant. There is no phonemic contrast between a glottal stop onset and a pure vocalic onset or between /u/ and /wu/. Almost all of these consonants, except the aspirated stops, can be finals. All of the original Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals were lost (cf. Liu 1984), but new ones were created from the merging of two syllables where the de-stressing of the second syllable led to the loss of the final vowel (and often reduction of the original initial, e.g. [səf] 'tree' < /sə/ 'wood' +/phə/ 'forest').

TABLE 35.1 THE QIANG CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t			k	q	
Aspirated stop	ph	th			kh	qh	
Voiced stop	b	d			g		
Voiceless affricate		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
Asp. affricate		tsh	tʂh	tɕh			
Voiced affricate		dz	dʐ	dʑ			
Voiceless fricative	ɸ(f)	s	ʂ	ɕ	x	χ	h
Voiced fricative	(v)	z	ʐ	(ʑ)	(ɣ)	ʁ	ɦ
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Voiceless lateral		ɬ					
Voiced lateral		l					
Approximant	w			j			

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Phonemically, consonant clusters are formed by /ʂ/ and one of the following initials: /p, t, k, q, tɕ, b, d, g, m, dʐ/, /x/ followed by /k, s, tɕ, ʂ, tʂ, ɬ, l, z, dʐ, z̪, dʑ/, or /χ/ followed by /q, s, ʂ, tʂ, ɬ, l, d, z, n, dʐ, n̪, z̪, dʑ/. Phonetically /ʂ/ becomes [s] before /t/ and /d/, and becomes [ɕ] before /pi/, /pe/, /bi/, /tɕ/ and /dʑ/, and the pre-initials all become voiced before voiced initials (e.g. /mi:-xkɑm/ 'eyebrow'; /ʁsu/ 'living', 'to be alive'; /stɑ/ 'entrust to'; /z̪bu/ 'drum'; /zdu/ 'deer'; /z̪dʑi/ 'disease'; /ʁdz̪əs/ 'toenail'). Some examples of clusters in final position: /tʂhexɬ/ 'sip (vt.)'; /dz̪ɑɕtɕ/ 'laugh (v)'; /wəχʂ/ 'horse dung'; /laxʂ/ 'palm'; /əxtʂ/ 'shade (vt)'.

The Qiang vowels are given in (1):

(1)   i, i: y, y: u,u:

      e, e: e, e: o,o:
                     ə
      a, a: a, a: ɑ, ɑ:

There are fourteen native diphthongs (/ia, iɑ, ie, ye, eu, əu, ei, əi, oi, uɑ, ua, uə, ue, ui/) and one native triphthong (/uəi/). The diphthongs [ya] and [ya:] occur when the first person suffix /-ɑ/ or the future tense marker /-ɑ:/ is added to a root such as /tɕye/ 'carry': [tɕya] 'I carry', [tɕya:] 'will carry'. Two diphthongs (/ai/, /au/) and two triphthongs (/uai/, /iau/) appear only in Chinese loan words.

Four of the basic vowels (i, e, ə, a) show a lexical contrast in r-colouring, a retroflexion of the tongue at the end of the vowel, and all vowels can take r-colouring when they are the final vowel of a verb with 1pl marking (which is /-ʲ/). The r-colouring participates in the vowel harmony scheme (see below) and so is treated as a vowel feature rather than a consonant.

The syllable canon is given in (2):

(2) (C)   (Cᵢ)   (V)   V   (V)   (C)   (Cꜰ)
     [fric] [glide]   [glide]   [fric]

The minimum syllable is a single vowel, e.g. /ɑ/ 'one', the maximum is CCVVCC, e.g. /ɕpiexɬ/ 'scar'. Any of the consonants listed in Table 35.1 can be the initial consonant of a syllable, but only fricatives can be the first consonant of a cluster. The same restriction applies to final consonant clusters.

When certain consonants appear in non-word-initial position due to affixation or compounding, they undergo lenition, e.g. /p/ > [ɸ/f]: DIR + /phə/ 'blow' > [əɸ] 'blow (imperative)'; /kh/ > [x]: DIR + /khə¹te/ 'hit (people)' > [nəxte] 'hit (past)'; /dʐ/ > [l]: /mɑ/ NEG + /dz̪ə/ 'able' > [mɑ-lə̃] 'not able'; /dz/ > [z]: DIR + /dzuə/ 'sit' > [əzũə̃] 'sit (imperative)'; /k/ > [ʁ]: DIR + /kə/ 'go' > [dɑʁ] 'go out'; /b/ > [w]: DIR + /bə/ 'pile' > [təw] 'piled'. Comparing Ronghong and Mawo dialect (Sun 1981a) forms, we can see that a similar type of weakening has occurred historically to pre-initial consonants in Ronghong (e.g. Ronghong /xsə/, Mawo /khsi/ 'god').

In general, stress is trochaic, which leads to the loss of second syllables in bisyllabic words, particularly if the final is /ə/, e.g. /sə/ prefix + /tɕhə/ 'drink' > [sətɕ] 'drink!' (imperative).

There is a pattern of vowel harmony where the vowel of the first syllable of a compound or prefix + root combination harmonizes wholly or partially (e.g. becomes fronted) with the vowel of the second syllable or root (e.g. /wə/ 'bird' +/ʂpu/ 'flock' > [wuʂpu] '(wild) pigeon'; /hɑ/ 'ten' +/tʂi/ 'one' > [hatʂi] 'eleven'). If the second syllable of a compound or prefix + root form has r-colouring, in many cases the first syllable also takes on r-colouring (e.g. /me/ 'not' + /weʲ/ 'reduce' > [meʲ-weʲ] 'unceasingly').

When a collocation of consonants due to derivation or compounding results in an unacceptable cluster of consonants, an epenthetic schwa is inserted to break up the cluster (e.g. [z̪dʑi-tʂhop-əm] [illness-heal- NOM (<-m)] 'doctor').

These phonological processes (the stress pattern, harmony, epenthesis) occur within a unit that can be defined as the phonological word.

Many lexical items in Qiang allow free variation of the pre-initial, initial, or final consonant (e.g. phiʂ ~ phiχ 'white'; n̪iq ~ n̪ix 'black'; muxũ ~ muɸũ 'smoke'; ʂqu ~ χqu 'mouth'; xupɑ ~ fupɑ 'fur'; mutu ~ mutup 'sky'; qhɑ ~ qhɑq 'bitter').

2 THE NOUN PHRASE

The order of the constituents in an NP is given in (3):

(3)   GEN + REL + Head + ADJ + DEM/DEF + (NUM + CL)/PL

Any combination of the elements in (3) is possible, though a numeral must be followed by a classifier. Classifiers also occur with demonstratives. Adjective modifiers can appear either as non-nominalized post-head adjectives (generally simple adjectives) or nominalized adjectives in pre-head relative clause structures (generally complex modifiers). When more than one adjective appears in an NP, the order of the adjectives in terms of type of adjective is the mirror image of that in English. Ex. (4) contains two NPs (bracketed).

(4)   [the:-tɕə̃-tɕiʁuɑ ba-the-zi]   pienɑ-la   [z̪awa   ba-xsə-zi]   ʂə.
      3sg-GEN-house   old-that-CL   beside-LOC   rock   big-three-CL   have/exist
      'There are three big rocks beside that old house of his.'

NPs and pronouns can be omitted if they are recoverable from the context.

A noun in Qiang is an element that can take definite marking and case marking. A deverbal noun may be formed from a plain verb or a noun + verb combination using one of two nominalizers: /-s/ for inanimate nouns, e.g. /nə/ 'sleep' +/-s/ > /nəs/ 'bed'; /-m/ (< /mi/ 'person') for animate nouns, e.g. /ʁua/ 'help' +/-m/ > /ʁuam/ 'servant'. Nouns can also be formed from adjectives by simply adding one of the definite markers, e.g. /n̪iq-le/ [black-DEF] 'the black one'. As in all Sino-Tibetan languages, in compound nouns where one noun modifies another, the modifying noun always precedes the modified noun, e.g. /sə-ʁuɑtʂɑ/ [wood-bowl] 'wooden bowl'.

Many Qiang speakers also speak Chinese (and/or Tibetan), and education is generally in Chinese. Qiang has absorbed a large number of Chinese and Tibetan loanwords (see Liu 1981 on Tibetan loans). Verbs borrowed into Qiang are treated as nouns, and take the verbalizing suffix /-thɑ/, if monosyllabic, or the verb /-pə/ 'to do', if polysyllabic, e.g. /tuen-thɑ/ 'squat' <dūn (蹲); /ɕunn̪ian-pə/ 'train' < xùnliàn (訓練). A few intransitive stative verbs, older Chinese loans, have /-ti/ (< Chinese nominalizer de (的)) instead of /-thɑ/, e.g. /lan-ti/ 'blue' (< Chinese lán (藍)).

In Qiang only the natural gender of animals is marked: /-mi/ or /miaha/ for females; /zdu/, /z̪ə/, /xə̃/, /ɕi/, and /pi/ for males. The diminutive has the concrete sense of 'child'; it is not used for hypocoristic or other abstract uses: /-tʂuə ~ tʂũ/ (< /tʂua/ 'child' (general)); /-ʁɬ/ (dogs), /-zdue/ (sheep).

Most Qiang kinship terms are comprised of a vocalic prefix plus a root, where the prefix harmonizes with the vowel of the root, e.g. a-pa 'grandfather', u-tuma 'grandmother'.

It is obligatory to have either definite or indefinite marking on all referential count nouns. Of the two definite markers, /le/ and /te/, /le/ is used more frequently for animate referents,

while /te/ is used more frequently for inanimate referents. The definite markers are occasionally used with proper names. Newly introduced referents and predicate NPs generally take the non-referential/indefinite marker /ke/. Newly introduced referents can also be marked with just a number and a classifier.

Number marking on nouns is singular (zero) or plural. There are two plural markers: /ha/, used for the vast majority of referent types, and /le/ (> /ɣle/ 'few'), used only on words referring to people, e.g. /ipi-le/ 'uncles'. Following a proper name, it means that person 'and others', e.g. /upu-bəs-la-ha/ [uncle-snake-DEF-PL] 'Uncle Snake and others'. The number 'one' can be added to /ha/ to form /aha/ 'a few'. Plural marking is not used when a numeral + classifier phrase is used.

The personal pronouns are given in Table 35.2.

The third person pronoun /qupu/ is used to refer to a third person who has a close relationship to the speaker, such as a spouse, and as a logophoric pronoun, that is, in indirect quotes when the person quoted and the one being talked about are the same. The form [the:] is a reduced form of /the ze/ ('that' + classifier) 'that one'. Reflexive pronouns for first and second person are formed by reduplication of the regular pronouns. The reflexive pronouns are also used as emphatic pronouns. There are no possessive/genitive pronouns or prefixes.

The demonstrative pronouns mark only proximate /tse/ (plural [tsaha]) and distal /the/ (plural [thaha]). They must take a classifier, or the vowel can be lengthened to represent a classifier (e.g. /tse-ze/ or [tse:]). The same form of the demonstrative pronoun is used for both free pronoun and adjectival uses.

The main interrogative pronouns are given in (5):

(5) sə-(le)   who? / whoever   ɲawu / ɲawe   how much/many?
     tɕa-la ~ tɕa: where?   ɲi:ke   how?
     ɲiɣi   what? / whatever   tɕho: when?
     ɲiɣi-χuaɲi   why?

The numeral system is a simple decimal system, with 'one' to 'ten' being unique forms, 'eleven' to 'nineteen' being 'ten' + 'one' etc., 'twenty' to 'ninety' being 'two' + 'ten', etc., and the numerals in between being 'two' + 'ten' + 'one', etc. There are no ordinal numbers in Qiang; /tɕi-qə¹-le/ (most-front-DEF) 'the first one', /tsə-steke-le/ (this-back-DEF) 'the next one', /thə-steke-le/ (that-back-DEF) 'the one after that' are used for the 'first' to 'third', but after that the cardinal numbers plus classifiers are used as ordinal numbers.

Classifiers or measure words are necessary whenever a number or demonstrative pronoun is used. A number of both types are clearly related to nouns, e.g. /qu/ 'mouthful' < /ʂqui/ 'mouth', /sa/ 'classifier for sections' < /saq/ 'joint'. Many others are loans from Chinese. Some common classifiers: /ze/ general classifier, used for people and many other objects; /la/ for stick-like objects; /xʂe/ for one item of a pair.

TABLE 35.2 THE QIANG PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Reflexive (sg/pl)
1	qa	tɕizzi [tɕi-zi]	tɕi-le	qa-qəi/tɕil-tɕile
2	ʔũ	ʔizzi [ʔi-zi]	ʔi-le	ʔi-ʔi:/il-ile
3	the:/qupu	thizzi [the-zi]	them-le	(the:) ɲiɲi/ɲil-ɲil

3 NOMINAL RELATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

The semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a sentence are mainly expressed by word order and the following enclitics:

Topic marker	ŋuəɲi
Agent, instrumental, ablative, perlative ('through', 'along') marker	wu
Genitive, recipient marker	tɕə̀
Locative, allative marker	la
Locative, allative, temporal, goal marker	ta
Locative, temporal marker	ʁa
Comitative, conjunction marker	ɲa
Comparative marker	sə̀/ɲiki

These markers are generally used alone, but there are some instances where a locative and ablative marker, or a semantic marker and the topic marker, are used together.

In both transitive and ditransitive sentences, if the actor is the topic (initial NP), then the NP representing the actor need not take any agentive marking. Generally only when there is marked word order, or when there is a need to emphasize the agentivity of the actor, is the agentive marker /-wu/ used after the NP representing the actor, as in (6).

(6) the:-tɕə̀   pi:-xsə-la   sum-wu   de-l-ji   ŋuə.
     3sg-GEN   pen-three-CL   teacher-AGT   DIR-give-CSM COP
     'The teacher gave him three pens.'

In some cases, even when the word order is actor-undergoer, if the flow of action is marked (e.g. a third person referent is acting on a first person referent), or if the actor is inanimate, then agent marking is necessary for clarity, as in (7):

(7) a. mi-wu   qa   zə-dʑi.
         person-AGT   1sg   DIR-hit
         'Somebody hit me.'
     b. moʁu-wu   qa   da-tuə-ʐə̀-ʂa.
         wind-AGT   1sg   DIR-fall.over-CAUS-1sgU[1]
         'The wind knocked me over.'

An instrumental NP is marked by the postposition /wu/, the same form as the agentive and ablative markers.

(8) a. qa   ʁduaʂ-te-wu   the: dʑeta.
         1sg   hammer-DEF-INST   3sg   hit:1sg
         'I use the hammer to hit it.'

A genitive NP appears before the noun it modifies, and can be followed by the genitive marker /-tɕə̀/, e.g. /çiautʂaŋ-tɕə̀ puɲu/ [Little.Zhang-GEN cat] 'Little Zhang's cat'. When the relationship between two nouns in a genitive relationship is clear, as in most cases of inalienable possession, the genitive particle is not needed.

In general, the NP representing the undergoer of a transitive verb does not take any marking of its undergoer status, though if the undergoer is animate and the NP representing the actor

1 U is the gloss for a bound non-actor marker, e.g. '1sgU' means '1sg non-actor'.

does not have agentive marking the locative marker /-ta/ can be used after the NP representing the undergoer.

(9) a. *the: qa-ta dʐe!*
　　　 3sg 1sg-LOC hit
　　　 'He is hitting me!'

Qiang formally distinguishes between goal, the referent at which an action is directed, and recipient, and the referent who receives some object as a result of the action. The postposition used after an NP which represents a goal argument is the locative /-ta/.

(10) *tʂhetsə-ʐə-ɲuəɲi qa the:-ta kəja.*
　　　 car-affair-TOP 1sg 3sg-LOC tell:1sg
　　　 'I told him about the car.'

The postposition used to mark an NP representing a recipient argument is /-tɕə̀/, the genitive postposition:

(11) *sum the:-tɕə̀/ pi:-xsə-la de-l.*
　　　 teacher 3sg-GEN pen-three-CL DIR-give
　　　 'The teacher gave him three pens.'

The NP representing a benefactive, the referent for whose benefit an action is performed, is also generally marked with the postposition /-tɕə̀/. As the form of the clause involving a benefactive argument with this marking is the same as the genitive construction, the addressee must depend on the context for proper interpretation.

(12) *ma: qa-tɕə̀ fa ʂpetɕ.*
　　　 Mom 1sg-GEN(BEN) clothing sew
　　　 'Mama sews my clothes.' / 'Mama sews clothing for me.'

It is also possible to mark a benefactive with the postposition /χuəɲi/ 'because', 'in order to', 'in place of', 'for':

(13) *the: qa-χuəɲi sə ge-kə̀.*
　　　 3sg 1sg-because firewood chop-go
　　　 'He went to chop wood for me.'

A comitative relation can be represented by two NPS conjoined together in a single large NP with the comitative/conjunction particle /-ɳa/ between them, in which case the meaning is that the two referents are doing something together, or one NP can be made the topic and the second NP is then followed by /-ɳa/. In the latter case the meaning is that the referent represented by the topic NP does something 'with', or 'follows' the second referent in doing something.

(14) a. *mutsitʂu-ɳa-tugantʂu zəpəq-ta ɦo-luə-ji.*
　　　 Mutsitʂu-COM-Tugantʂu earth-LOC DIR-come-CSM
　　　 'Mutsitʂu and Tugantʂu came to earth.'

　　 b. *qa khumtsi-ɳa tiantsə-ʁa ka:.*
　　　 1sg Khumtsi-COM store-LOC go:1sg:FUT
　　　 'I will go to the store with Khumtsi.'

The particle /ɳa/ is also used for the arguments of certain verbs, such as in (15):

(15) a. *ʔiʔi-ɳa tɕe-khue.*
　　　 2sgREFL-COM NEG.IMP-upset
　　　 'Don't be angry at yourself.'

In comparative clauses, the positive comparative marker is /-sə̀/, while the negative comparative is /-ɲiki/.

(16) a. *qa the:-sə̀ tɕe-fia.*
　　　 1sg 3sg-COMPAR still-white:1sg
　　　 'I am lighter (in colour) than him.'

　　 b. *qa ʔi-ɲiki ma-wa.*
　　　 1sg 2sg-COMPAR NEG-big:1sg
　　　 'I am not as big as you are.'

The unmarked locative/allative postpositions are /-ta/ and /-la/, e.g. /petɕin-la kə/ [Beijing-LOC go] 'go to Beijing'. It is also possible in some cases for the locative postposition to appear as a lengthened vowel on the noun representing the location, e.g. /ʐdʐyta-la ~ ʐdʐyta:/ 'in/to Chengdu'.

The locative /-ʁa/ generally marks containment in some sort of vessel or movement in or out of one, e.g. /pankoŋsə-ʁa/ [office-LOC] 'in the office'.

The ablative postposition is the same form as the agentive and instrumental postposition, /-wu/. It can be used alone (/petɕin-wu/ 'from Beijing'), or with one of the other locative postpositions introduced above (/məq-ta-wu la/ [above-LOC-ABL fly] 'fly from above'). It can also be used with a perlative meaning, 'along'.

In a possessive construction, if the object is owned by the person, or is physically part of the person, then there is no marking on the possessor, but if the situation is simply one of temporary possession and not ownership, then the possessor takes the locative/dative marker /-ta/. If the situation involves ownership of an object or relationship (brother, sister, etc.), then the causative suffix must be used with the appropriate verb of possession, which differs with the type of noun possessed or the nature of the possession.

(17) a. *khumtsi tutʂə̀-yʐə-zi ʐi-ʐə̀.*
　　　 Khumtsi younger.brother-four-CL have/exist-CAUS
　　　 'Khumtsi has four younger brothers.'

　　 b. *qa dʐoqu-ji-tua wa.*
　　　 1sg leg-two-CL have/exist:1sg
　　　 'I have two legs.'

　　 c. *ʔi-dʐoʁu-le qa-ta ʂə.*
　　　 2sg-key-DEF 1sg-LOC have/exist
　　　 'I have your key.'

4 THE VERB COMPLEX

The verb complex is defined as the predicating part of the clause, not including the sentence-final mood particles. In its most expanded form, the verb complex has a manner adverbial, an orientation prefix, a negative prefix, an aspectual prefix, the verb, causative marking, future tense marking, aspect marking, and person marking, in that order. A particle which means 'again' can also follow the verb, though does not occur with the negative or the aspectual

prefix. There is an adverb of degree that follows some intransitive stative verbs. If there is an auxiliary verb, then it follows the main verb.

The verb in Qiang can be defined as an element that can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix, and/or the causative suffix. Many verbs in Qiang can be used either intransitively or transitively. There is no applicative construction for adding an undergoer or benefactive argument. It is possible to derive verbs from nouns by putting the verb /pə/ 'to do' after the noun.

Intransitives can be formed by reduplicating the verb to make a reciprocal, e.g. /ʁu/ 'curse' > [ʁuʁu] 'curse each other'. The verb in this construction can either take one plural argument or two arguments, one of which is marked as an indirect argument by the comitative postposition /-ŋa/. While there is marking of the reciprocal on the verb, there is no marking of reflexives on the verb, and also no middle voice or passive constructions.

Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitives using the causative suffix /-zə/, which increases the valency of intransitive (18a), transitive (18b), and ditransitive (18c) verbs. Causatives derived using this suffix can be permissive or causative, and either direct or indirect causatives. The NP representing the causee can take agentive/instrumental marking if the basic clause from which it is formed is transitive.

(18) a. *qa   tsə   tu-χsu-zə-ja.*
          1sg   water   DIR-boil-CAUS-CSM:1sg
          'I brought the water to a boil.'

      b. *qa   the:-wu   pəitsə-e-ze   zə-pə-za.*
          1sg   3sg-AGT   cup-one-CL   DIR-buy-CAUS:1sg
          'I made him buy a cup.'

      c. *qa   χumtşi-wu   ləɣz-te-pen   khumtsi-ta   tə-χua-za:.*
          1sg   Xumtşi-AGT book-DEF-CL   Khumtsi-LOC DIR-buy-CAUS:1sg:FUT
          'I'm going to make Xumtşi buy the book for Khumtsi.'

Three sets of verbs reflect an old voiced–voiceless (aspirated) contrast in simplex–causative pairs. This type has a sense of direct causation, and not permission; they cannot take a further productive causative suffix.

(19) *simplex*   *causative*
      de-pe   ɦe-phe   tear (of clothes)
      da-ʁe   ɦa-qhe   break (of bowls, etc.)
      da-ʁli   ɦa-χɬi   break (in two) (of tree limbs, etc.)

Intransitive stative verbs form a separate class from transitive and activity intransitive verbs, so can be called 'adjectives'. They can be predicates without the use of the copula, and take the same person marking forms as other intransitive verbs, but unlike verbs, they can be nominalized using the definite and indefinite markers, and many can take the postpositive adverb /-wa/ 'very'. The meaning of reduplication for most verbs is reciprocity, while the meaning of reduplication for adjectives is intensification or plurality. Intransitive stative verbs are comparative even without overt marking of comparison.

There are only three types of reduplication of adjectives: AA (marks plurality; *patşpatş* 'some round things'), Au:A (intensification; *patşú:patş* 'very round'), AAu: (plurality plus intensification; *patşpatşú:* 'some very round things'; /u:/ is a stressed syllable added to the reduplicated form).

There are four main existential/locative verbs: /şə/, for inanimate referents that are not in containers or immovable or inalienably connected to some larger entity; /le/, for a referent located in a containment of some type; /zi/, for animate referents; and /we/, for possession of qualities and for immovable referents or referents inalienably connected to a larger entity.

TABLE 35.3 THE QIANG PERSON MARKING SUFFIXES FOR INTRANSITIVE VERBS

	1	2	3
Singular	-a	-n	-ø
Plural	-ĵ	-i	-tçi

Following are some auxiliary verbs and their meanings/uses: /ɣzə/ learnt ability; /dzə/ or /qe/ natural (physical) ability; /gu/ ability to fit into something else; /ʁu/ willingness to perform an action or to allow others to perform an action, or in some cases the possibility of some situation; /xşu/ 'to dare'; /ʁze/ 'ought to'; /se/ permission or lack of it; /çtçɑq-lu/ 'want'; /zulu/ 'wait' (used in optative constructions); /dʐe/ experiential aspect. These verbs take a complement clause that is not nominalized, but does not take person marking.

Person marking suffixes on the verb generally reflect the person and number of the actor of a transitive clause and the single direct argument of an intransitive clause.

All verbs can take person marking, but only animate arguments are marked. In some contexts, such as nominalizations and some complement clauses, no person marking is used, while in other contexts, such as with some third-person plural actors, the person marking is optional. Table 35.3 gives the forms of the suffixes.

Another set of suffixes can be used for marking a non-actor human referent.[2] These forms are given in Table 35.4:

TABLE 35.4 THE QIANG NON-ACTOR PERSON MARKING SUFFIXES

	1	2	3
Singular	-şa	-san	-wə~-u
Plural	-şaĵ	-sai	-wə~-u

A set of eight verbal prefixes marks the orientation of the action vis-à-vis the speaker. Not all verbs can take all eight prefixes; e.g. /tse/ 'look at' only takes one prefix. The form of the prefix follows the rules of vowel harmony. Following are the prefixed forms of the verb /lə/, which also means 'look at':

(20) *təl*   look upwards   *ɦal*   look downwards
      zəl   look towards centre   *dal*   look outwards from centre
      nəl   look upstream   *səl*   look downstream
      əl   look in   *hal*   look out

Aside from marking the actual direction of the action, the orientation prefixes are also used to mark a change in the *Aktionsart* of the verb, from state or activity to achievement or accomplishment, e.g. /ba/ 'big', [təwa] 'become big'; /tçhə/ 'eat' (activity), [sətçə] 'eat'

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2 This distinction of actor vs non-actor parallels the use of agentive and non-agentive marking on NPs (see LaPolla 1992a, 1995), and makes the Qiang system quite different from many of the other Tibeto-Burman person marking systems, which are hierarchical, that is, mark person primarily, and not semantic role (see LaPolla 1992b, 1994 for discussion of person marking).

(accomplishment); /ɣlu/ 'roll' (activity), [doɣlu] 'roll' (achievement). This change is often used to affect something like a perfective sense. For this usage usually only one of the eight prefixes is regularly used, but which prefix is used differs between verbs.

Use of a different orientation prefix can also affect the interpretation of the agentivity of the argument of some intransitive verbs, or can be part of the causativization or transitivization of some verbs, e.g. [da-ɬa] 'slip', [ɦa-ɬa] 'slide'; [do-tshu] 'fall (e.g. of fruit from tree)', [ɦo-tshu] 'pick (fruit from tree)' (see also (19); cf. Huang 1997: 73).

Only future tense is overtly marked in Qiang. It is marked by the suffix /-ɑ:/, which replaces the root vowel of the verb if it is /ə/ or /ɑ/, as in (21), where /məpɑ/ becomes [məpɑ:] in the second clause.

(21) *pəs   məpɑ wa,   təp-ɲi   tsə-s   tɕa-məpɑ: lu.*
today   cold   very tomorrow this-COMPAR still-cold:FUT will
'Today is very cold, and tomorrow is going to be even colder than this.'

There are several suffixes for marking the different types of aspect. The most common aspect marking is /-ji/, which marks a recent change of state or situation.

(22) a. *me⁴: ɕi-ji.*   b. *me⁴: de-ɕi-ji.*
       rain   fall-CSM   rain   DIR-fall-CSM
       'It's started raining.'   'It has already rained (and stopped).'

As /-ji/ expresses a recent change of state, it can have the sense of an inchoative aspect marker. This suffix can also be used together with future tense marking to express the idea 'about to V'.

(23) *me⁴: ɕa:-ji.*
rain   fall:FUT-CSM
'It's about to rain.'

The form /-jy/ marks an action that has 'already' begun or been carried out:

(24) *qa   a-tian   u-zɨlu-jya.*
      1sg one-hour   DIR-wait-ASP:1sg
'I have already waited for one hour.'

The prefix [tɕe- ~ tɕi- ~ tɕa- ~ tɕo-] 'still', 'yet' is used to express present progressive actions. In some cases this prefix has the same form as the prohibitive prefix, but as the two prefixes appear in different types of contexts (and the prohibitive is not used with future marking) there usually is no problem of ambiguity.

(25) *me⁴: tɕe-ɕi.*
      rain   still-fall
'It's still raining (has been raining all along).'

The marking of an imperative sentence involves the same prefixes used for direction marking and the optional polite imperative particle /-na/. The prefix, which may be any one of the directionals, is stressed, unlike non-imperative directional prefixes.[3] In an imperative clause the person-marking is optional, though the imperative sense is stronger if person marking is used (*ə-zə́-na*! [DIR-eat-IMP] 'Eat!' vs *ə-zə-n-na* [DIR-eat-2sg-IMP] 'You eat!').

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3 In some cases the prefix usually used for the imperative is different from the prefix usually used for the other uses of the directional prefixes: *sə-z* '(S/he) ate'. vs *ə-z* 'Eat!'; *sə-tɕ* '(S/he) drank'. vs *ə-tɕ* 'Drink!'

The prohibitive is expressed by the prefix /tɕa-/ ([tɕɑ ~ tɕe ~ tɕə ~ tɕo]) (<PTB *tɑ-), which appears in the same position as the negative prefix. For example: *ha-tɕə-ʁə́*! [DIR-NEG.IMP-go] 'Don't go out!'.

Polarity questions are marked by rising intonation and by the addition of the clause-final particle /-na/ (2sg/-n/ plus question particle) for 2sg actors/topics, or /-ŋua/ (often pronounced [wa]) for all other persons or numbers.

(26) a. *ʔu ʐme   ŋuə-n-a?*   b. *the: ʐme   ŋuə-ŋua?*
      2sg Qiang COP-2sg-Q   3sg Qiang COP-Q
      'Are you a Qiang (person)?'   'Is s/he a Qiang?'

Polarity questions can also be formed by repeating the entire verb complex, with the first token in the positive and the second token in the negative, and the question particle on both tokens:

(27) *ʔu ʐdʐyta: ɦa-qə-n-a   ɦa-mə-qa-n-a?*
      2sg Chengdu DIR-go-2sg-Q   DIR-NEG-go-2sg-Q
      'Did you go to Chengdu?'

Question particles are used even if interrogative pronouns are used in the sentence.

Epistemic and root modals are expressed using the same structure, a nominalized clause followed by the copula, or the auxiliary verb /ʁze/ 'ought to'. Person marking on the verb is optional in this construction, but if it appears, it is the non-actor marking that is used.

(28) *the: tɕəu-la   lu-s   ŋuə-ŋɨə̀. (< wə̀)*
      3sg home-LOC come-NOM COP-3sgU
      'S/he must come home!'

The potential to perform an action is also expressed by the use of auxiliary verbs, with the choice of auxiliary verb depending on the type of potentiality (see the discussion of verb types above).

In Qiang the unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, like a direct evidential. To express the fact that what the speaker is reporting is hearsay, /-i/ (< /jə / 'to say') is added to the end of the verb complex.

(29) *the: ʐdʐyta   ɦa-qə-i.*
      3sg Chengdu   DIR-go-HS
      'He went to Chengdu.' (indirect evidential, hearsay)

If rather than hearing about an action, one sees the result of the action (but not the action itself) and infers that the action took place based on that evidence, this lack of direct evidence is expressed by adding the particle /-k/ to the verb, after the change of state marker and any other aspect markers, but before the person marking.

(30) *dʐy de-ʐge-ji-k.*
      door DIR-open-CSM-INFR
      'The door is open!' (guess)

If the situation is such that one has just discovered the evidence of the action (mirative), then this can be expressed by adding the particle /wa/ after /-k/.

5 ADVERBIALS

The relative degree marking adverb /tɕa / ([tɕa ~ tɕi ~ tɕa ~ tɕo]) (also used to mean 'still', 'yet') is generally used in the comparative construction (*tɕa-wa* [still-big] 'relatively big'). The superlative of adjectives and some stative verbs is marked by the prefix /tɕi/: *tɕi-wa-la-lə*

[most-big-that-CL] 'the biggest (stick-like object)'. The form of the superlative is similar to one of the harmony forms of the preverbal adverb for marking a relative degree, but the superlative does not undergo vowel harmony.

The negative adverbial prefix /mə/ ([ma ~ me ~ mi ~ mə ~ mo]) appears after the orientation prefix, e.g. /ha-ma-qa/ (orientational prefix + negative + 'go') 'didn't go out'. The same negative adverbial prefix is used for all types of negation except the prohibitive.

Generally manner adverbs take /-ɳi/, though if reduplicated, then /-ɳi/ is not used:

(31) a. akha-kha   ə-tɕhə́   b. akha-ɳi   ə-tɕhə́
         slow   DIR-eat   slow-ADV   DIR-eat
         'eat slowly'   'eat slowly'

Some adjectives, when acting as manner adverbs, take /-ji/ or /tɕi/ rather than /-ɳi/, e.g. /na/ 'good' > /na-ji/ 'well'.

6 THE CLAUSE

The order of the NPS in the clause is affected by pragmatic factors such as topicality, but the verb always appears in final position. The only exception to this is the occasional afterthought clarification of an NP that was omitted or expressed as a pronoun in the clause. The most unmarked word order in the clause is given in (35).

(32) (TEMP)-(LOC)-(actor)-(goal/recipient)-(undergoer)-VC-(PRT).

The main type of relative clause is a pre-head nominalized clause. Which nominalizer a relative clause takes depends on the semantics of the head noun. If the head noun is an undergoer or other non-instrument, including an inanimate actor, then the genitive marker /-tɕ/ is used:

(33) pətsa-ɳi-tə-bəl-jy-tɕ   tsuatsə́
      just.now-ADV-DIR-make-ASP-GEN   table
      'the table just made'

If the head noun is an instrument (even if it is animate), then the nominalizer /-s/ is used:

(34) doqu-ʐə-s   khuə-le
      afraid-CAUS-NOM dog-DEF
      'The dog used to frighten people.'

If the head noun is an animate actor, then the nominalizer /-m/ is used. This form derives from the word /mi/ 'person', but it has fully grammaticalized, to the point that it can be used together with /mi/ as the head noun. (Contrast (34 and (35).)

(35) qa-fia-ʁdʐe-m   khuə-le
      1sg-DIR-bite-NOM   dog-DEF
      'the dog which just bit me'

Complement clauses of most secondary verbs are not nominalized (e.g. (36)), but complements of the copula are generally nominalized, generally by /-s/ (e.g. 37) and sometimes by /-m/.

(36) the: e-ze   stu   nə   mo-xʂu.
      3sg   one-CL   alone   sleep NEG-dare
      'S/he doesn't dare sleep alone.'

(37) tɕile-(ɳuəɳi)   pə-s   pies   ɳuə.
      1pl-TOP   buy-NOM   meat   COP
      'What we need is meat.'

Generally hypotactic clause juncture involves nominalization of the subordinate clause, with various particles used to express the relationships between the actions expressed by the two clauses. If the action expressed by the second clause preceded the action expressed by the first clause, then the predicate can take the form /ma-tɕi-Verb/ 'had not yet Verb' in the first clause and be nominalized by /-tɕ /, as in (38).

(38) nəs,   qa   ma-tɕ-kə-tɕ,   the: qa   səimi   de-l.
      yesterday   1sg   NEG-yet-go-GEN   3sg   1sg   fruit   DIR-give
      'Yesterday before I left, s/he gave me a package of fruit.'

Another option is to have the initial clause nominalized by /-s/ and followed by /qe¹:/ 'before'. If instead the action expressed by the second clause is said to follow the action of the first clause (whether or not the first action was completed), then the particle /ɳike/ or /ɳiantɕi/ 'following' is used at the end of the first clause:

(39) qa   stuaha   sə-tɕhə́-ɳike,   ʂuə   χuəla.
      1sg   food/rice   DIR-eat-following   teeth wash
      'After I eat a meal, I brush my teeth.'

To make explicit the idea that an action immediately followed another, the particle /ɳiaufu/ is used instead of /ɳike/ or /ɳiantɕi/. To mark the purpose of an action, the post-position /χuaɳi/, can be used, either after a noun, a clause, or a nominalized clause. The cause of an action or situation can also be marked by /χuaɳi/.

A cause–effect relation can also be marked by adding the instrumental postposition or the manner adverbial marker /ɳi/ to the end of the first clause:

(40) the:-dʐoqu-le   dagə́-wu,   pitɕ   sei   ma-lə́-jy.
      3sg-foot-DEF   break-INST   now   walk   NEG-able-ASP
      'His/her foot is broken so he/she cannot walk now.'

(41) the: dʐiq   fia-qə-ɳi   die-ʂe.
      3sg   cliff   DIR-go-ADV   DIR-die
      'S/he died from falling off the cliff.'

To express the concessive, the phrase /ha-ɳǔə́-lu/ (DIR-COP-'come') is added to the end of the first clause:

(42) qa   quaha   fia-χuəla-haɳǔə́lu,   χo:ts   fie-me-qhua.
      1sg   face   DIR-wash-although   beard   DIR-NEG-shave:1sg
      'Although I washed my face, I didn't shave.'

In quoting another's speech, the quoted speech generally follows the NPs representing the speaker and addressee, and is followed by the verb /jə/ ([jə ~ ji]) 'to say'. Both direct and indirect quotation are possible. If there is a more specific verb of asking or replying, then this verb may precede the quoted speech, though the verb /jə / 'to say' still follows the quote, as in the two tokens of this structure in (43):

(43) χsutsqha-le-wu   tə-ke¹l-kui,   'ha!   ʔǔ   ɳi-χuaɳi   kə-zei-n-a?'
      stomach-DEF-AGT   DIR-ask-HS   EXCL   2SG what-because DIR-cry-2sg-Q

jə-kui,	*'ɲixuaɲi*	*kə-ʐei-n-a?'*	*jə-kui-tu,*	*kapəts-tou*
say-HS	why	DIR-cry-2sg-Q	say-HS-LINK	orphan-DEF:one:CL
he-ʐgue-kəi,	*'qa-ɲuəɲi*	*ep*	*lə*	*me-ʐə-i*
DIR-answer-HS	1sg-TOP	father	also	NEG-have/exist-CSM
əw	*lə*	*me-ʐə-i,*	*gæs-ɲi*	*fia-xtʂəp ɲiaufu*
mother	also	NEG-have/exist-CSM	night-ADV	DIR-dark as.soon.as
şkup-le	*qa*	*dzə-la:,'*	*jə-kəpə-şə, ...*	
orangutan-DEF	1sg	eat-come:FUT	say-HAB-LINK	

'The stomach asked him, "Why are you crying?", he said, "Why are you crying?"
The orphan answered, "I have neither father nor mother. As soon as it gets dark,
the orangutan is going to come eat me." '

In terms of cross-clause coreference, there are neither accusative nor ergative syntactic
restrictions on control of the zero anaphor of the second clause.

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