A Grammar of Munya

by

Junwei BAI, MA

A thesis submitted to
College of Arts, Society and Education
James Cook University, Australia
in fulfillment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December 2019
Disclaimer

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

As the copyright owner of this thesis, I grant James Cook University a permanent nonexclusive licence to store, display or copy any or all of the thesis, in all forms of media, for use within the University, and to make the thesis freely available online to other persons or organisations. I do not wish to place any restriction on access to this work.

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The research study proposal received human research ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval Number H5033.

Junwei Bai
Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been finished without the kindness and generosity from numerous people in Australia and in my fieldwork location.

First and foremost I wish to express my heart-felt gratitude to my primary supervisor, Professor Sasha Aikhenvald, and my secondary supervisor, Professor R. M. W. Dixon, whose four-year supervision and guidance helped me to grow from an ignorant linguistic student to an independent researcher. Sasha’s challenging questions and insightful comments are my continuous sources of inspiration for thesis writing, her diligence and productivity kept me motivated when I felt distressed or did not feel like working, and her enormous dedication and caring to everybody who came to LCRC showed me how offering oneself to others can win love and respect in return. She was always the first reader of each chapter of this thesis and provided so many comments and suggestions that can almost be listed as the second author. Both Sasha and Bob carefully read the whole thesis after it was finished and provided insightful feedbacks.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Brigitta Flick for her meticulous proof-reading of the whole thesis and light-hearted comments. Without her attentive work this thesis would have been riddled with many more grammatical errors and much harder to read and understand.

I am thankful to my interesting and inspiring colleagues of LCRC for discussing issues of linguistics and sharing their ideas with me. They are Dr. Alex Walker, Nathan White, Pema Wangdi, Dr. Elena Mihas, Firew Girma Worku, Kasia Wojtylak, Dr. Luca Ciucci, Robert Bradshaw, and Christoph Holz. Also, many thanks to the excellent administrative work done by our research assistant, Dave Ellis, who saved me lots of time and made my life and study at LCRC easier.
I am also grateful to my landlord, Mr Ludwig Tengler, for taking care of me. It is he who took me to hospital when I was ill, who showed me around when I first came to Australia, who took me to shopping every week, and who talked about politics and beer with me.

The people in my fieldwork location offered no less help to me, though in a different manner. I should first of all thank བདེ་སྤྱིད་ཡོམས་མཟོན (bde skyid yoms mzon, 德且拥忠) for contacting me and introducing me to a Munya community, where I was able to conduct my fieldwork. I am enormously grateful to my Munya families for accommodating me for a year, who treated me with touching hospitality and truly made me feel at home. They are my uncle ཆམས་སེར (chamsser, 桥生), my aunt རྩོ་རིང་ངོ་མོ (tsheringlhamo, 泽仁拉姆), their daughter and my old sister བཀྲ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཡོལ (skalbzangchosgrol, 格桑曲珠), and her daughter, also my best Munya friend, གིི་ནིན་རྒྱལ་དཀར (tingjinskroldkar, 丁真珠呷). I am particularly thankful to my uncle, who not only took every measure to ensure that I live comfortably in his house, but also patiently taught me Munya and painstakingly helped me with transcription.

Almost everybody that I met in the field taught me Munya or broadened my knowledge on Munya culture one way or the other. The full list would be too long to give so I only mention the most important ones. Grandma མོ་སེད (mosed, 穆瑟) taught me Munya, helped me with transcription, and treated me like her son; her husband, Grandpa འོ་བཟང (blobzang, 吕扎), told me about his life stories; Grandpa དཔལ་གྱི (dpal gyi, 贝吉) told me two wonderful Munya stories; Uncle ལྟོ་དྭང་འདོག (sod nam dbang ndug, 四郎汪堆) helped me a lot with transcription; སྦེས་རབ་དབང་ཕྱུག (shes rab dbang phyug, 喜饶旺秋) took me to the southern dialect area; and the respectable Geshe རྩོ་རིང་དབང་ཕྱུག (tshering dbang phyug, 泽仁旺秋) taught me Munya, Tibetan and Buddhism. I am sincerely grateful to these people and those whom I did not mention here.

My four-year study and life in Australia would, of course, be impossible without substantial financial support. This is why I want to show my deep thankfulness to James Cook University for offering me the JCU Postgraduate Research Scholarship and providing me with the Minimal Resources Plan. Thanks to these funding I was able to focus on my study without any concern.

Finally, I devote my gratefulness to my families for their ever-lasting support, understanding, encouragement, and love, without which I would never have made this far on my academic path.
# Statement of the Contribution of Others

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Assistance</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
<th>Names, Titles and Affiliations of Co-Contributors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual support</td>
<td>Proposal writing</td>
<td>Dist Prof Aikhenvald, Prof Dixon (JCU), comments from Dist Prof Aikhenvald, Prof Dixon, Dr Overall (JCU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>Dist Prof Aikhenvald, Prof Dixon, Dr Brigitta Flick (Editorial Assistant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial assistance</td>
<td>Dist Prof Aikhenvald, Prof Dixon, Dr Brigitta Flick (Editorial Assistant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participation in International events and ensuing publications</td>
<td>Jolene Overall (Editorial Assistant) (JCU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial support</td>
<td>Fee offset/waiver</td>
<td>Fee waiver granted by JCU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research costs</td>
<td>Research funded through MRP policy JCU and competitive grants under the name of Dist Prof Aikhenvald as CI (ARC, DAAD); equipment funded through RIBG and RSP funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stipend</td>
<td>JCU PRS scholarship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logistical support</td>
<td>Organization of travel, preparation for field-work, and acquittals</td>
<td>Administrative Assistants of the LCRC, Ms Amanda Parsonage and Mr David Ellis (LCRC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data collection</td>
<td>Research assistance</td>
<td>Assistance of native speakers of Munya while in the field (as stated in the Acknowledgements) (Munya communities)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract

This is a reference grammar of Munya, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the western part of Sichuan province in China. The data that this thesis draws from were collected during a one-year immersion fieldwork and are analyzed within the framework of Basic Linguistic Theory. This study covers the core aspects of the language, including phonetics and phonology, morphology, word classes, grammatical categories, clause structures, and discourse and pragmatics.

Munya has a fairly large phoneme inventory, with forty consonants and thirteen vowels. The language has a binary tonal contrast, a high tone and a low tone, and the two tones constitute a range of patterns. Morphological processes in Munya include cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. The language has a wide variety of vowel harmonies. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are open word classes and there are in addition eight closed classes. The major syntactic function of nouns is to function as arguments. They can take numeral classifiers and plural markers. The major syntactic function of verbs is to act as predicates. Most verbs can be morphologically analyzed as consisting of a root and a directional prefix. There are altogether seven directional prefixes in Munya. Verbs show person-number inflection and derivations of causative and pluractionality. The predominant person-number inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person non-singular. Adjectives can modify nouns and function as predicates, and tend to be inherently reduplicated. There are ten cases in Munya. Core syntactic functions can be marked by the ergative case i, the absolutive case (in zero form), the genitive case γɛ, the dative case le and the experiential case γɛ. The patterns of alignment are different for different types of verbs. For control verbs, the pattern is basically ergative-absolutive, and for non-control verbs,
the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative. There are three aspects, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect. There are also three evidential markers, which are the direct evidential, the indirect evidential and the reported evidential. There are two egophorics in Munya. ŋo can only be used in context of first or second person subject and control predicate. nyi can occur with all persons and all types of predicates. Copula verbs in Munya can denote IDENTITY, LOCATION, EXISTENCE, and POSSESSION. The senses of LOCATION, EXISTENCE and POSSESSION can be expressed with one copula. Munya has multiple copula verbs of existence, the choice of which is determined by the semantics of the Copula Determining Referent (CDR), which can be realized as copula subject or copula complement. Some copulas have extended functions. When attached to copulas, the directional prefix tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’ can mark perfectiveness. Polar interrogatives and negations are expressed with prefixes on verbs or auxiliaries. Imperatives can be categorized into second-person imperative clauses and first person imperative clauses, and the former can be further classified into immediate imperative, future imperative and polite imperative. Munya has relative clauses and complement clauses, and the two types of structures are closely related to nominalization. Munya has indirect, direct, and semi-direct speech reports. In semi-direct speech report, the subject in the matrix clause and the embedded clause are coreferential, and the subject in the embedded clause needs to shift to the reflexive form. Meanwhile, the verb or auxiliary in the embedded clause inflects for the person-number of the subject before it is shifted. The narrative genre of Munya discourse features prevalent bridging constructions, including recapitulative linkage and summary linkage. In the first type of linkage, a dependent clause is used to recapitulate in verbatim or in close paraphrase the preceding clause, and in the second type, a clause containing a demonstrative anaphorically summarizes the content of a discourse unit, typically a paragraph. At the end of the thesis there is an appendix of a long story and a vocabulary of around 2,800 words.
## List of Figures

1.1 The Distribution Munya Dialects ................................................. 2
1.2 The Phylogeny of Qiangic Languages ........................................... 7
1.3 The Geography of Western Munya area ......................................... 11
1.4 The Landscape of A Northern Munya Village .................................. 12
1.5 The Landscape of A Munya Village near Mount Gongga ..................... 13
1.6 The Landscape of Pǔshāróng Township ......................................... 14
1.7 A Munya House ............................................................................. 17
1.8 A Munya Living Room .................................................................... 18
1.9 A Twin High Fortress in Péngbùxī Township .................................... 19

2.1 A Comparison of the VOTs of four Dorso-Velar Stops (in second) ....... 33
2.2 The Voicing Contrast Between Two Lamino-Palatal Fricatives ............ 35
2.3 The Allophones of /x/ and /ɣ/ ............................................................ 37
2.4 The Waveform of a Voiced Affricate ................................................. 38
2.5 Vowels in Northern Munya .............................................................. 42
2.6 The Formant Plot of Munya Vowels ................................................ 43
2.7 The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [i] and [y] .......................... 44
2.8 The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [e] and [o] ......................... 45
2.9 The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ɛ] ....................................... 46
2.10 The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [a] in two Dialects .............. 46
2.11 The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [u] and [ɯ] ....................... 47
2.12 The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ɤ] ..................................... 48
2.13 The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [ʌ] and [ɔ] .......................... 48
2.14 The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [a] ................................... 49
2.15 The Spectrogram and Formant Chart of [a] ..................................... 50
List of Tables

1.1 Statistics of Munya Speakers ........................................ 4
2.1 Consonants in Northern Munya .................................. 31
2.2 The F1 and F2 Values of Munya Vowels Measured from six Speakers .... 44
2.3 Tense Vowels Identified in Previous Studies ...................... 53
2.4 A Comparison Between the Words with Diphthongs and my Data .... 55
2.5 Tone Patterns .......................................................... 57
2.6 Practical Orthography ................................................. 64
3.1 Directional Prefixes ..................................................... 67
3.2 Examples of Causative Formation .................................. 70
3.3 Patterns of Vowel Harmony ...................................... 71
3.4 Examples of Fronting Harmony .................................... 72
3.5 Examples of Lowering and Fronting Harmony .................... 73
3.6 Examples of Lowering and Backing Harmony ...................... 74
3.7 Examples of Tense Harmony ....................................... 75
3.8 Examples of Perseverative Raising Harmony ...................... 76
3.9 Examples of Perseverative Full Harmony ........................ 77
3.10 Derivation of Two Surface Forms of ‘enough’ .................... 78
3.11 Uniform Vowels in Directional Prefixes ........................ 78
3.12 Deriving Surface Forms Through Vowel Elision .................... 79
4.1 Person-number Inflections on Verbs ............................... 87
4.2 The Grammatical Differences Between Three Types of Verbs ........ 90
4.3 The Types and Functions of Munya Adverbs ....................... 97
4.4 A Comparison of the Grammatical Properties of Four Open Word Classes . 104
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Munya Demonstratives</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Contracted Demonstratives and Their Full Forms</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Personal Pronouns</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Reflexive Pronouns</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Munya Number Words and Tibetan Number Words</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>Postpositions</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Interrogative words</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>The List of Auxiliaries in Munya</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>The List of Particles in Munya</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Two Types of Numeral Classifiers in Munya</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Nominalizations in Munya</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Directional Prefixes</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Verbs With the ‘in a circle’ Prefix</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>The Correspondence Between Directional Adverbs and Directional Prefixes</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Verbs Derived from Nouns and Adjectives With Directional Prefixes</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Formation of Excessiveness</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>A Selection of Class I Verbs</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Some Irregular Class I Verbs</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>Class II Verbs</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>Four-form Verbs</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.10</td>
<td>Five-form Verb</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>Six-form Verb</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.12</td>
<td>The 1/2Nonsg Forms of a Selection of Verbs</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>The 1sg Forms of a Selection of Verbs</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>The 2sg Forms of a Selection of Verbs</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>The Third Person Forms of a Selection of Verbs</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16</td>
<td>The Inflectional Forms of Munya Verbs</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>The Inflectional Forms of Polysyllabic Verbs</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>Examples of morphological causative derivation</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.19 Examples of Inherently Pluractionalized Verbs .......................... 217
8.1 Cases in Munya ............................................................. 221
8.2 Case Marking Patterns of Control Verbs and Non-control Verbs .......... 227
8.3 The Inflections of the Perfective and Imperfective Aspect ................. 228
8.4 Self and Other Person Distinctions in Munya .............................. 237
8.5 The Function and Distribution of the Two Egophoric Markers ........... 253
9.1 Five Motion Verbs in Munya and Their Properties ......................... 259
10.1 Copula Verbs ............................................................. 274
10.2 A Comparison of Copulas with and Without tʰo- ......................... 291
11.1 Disyllabic Reduplicated Adjectives ...................................... 295
11.2 Trisyllabic Reduplicated Adjectives .................................... 295
11.3 The Superlative Forms of Some Adjectives ................................ 299
11.4 A Comparison of Long-form and Short-form Adjectives .................. 306
11.5 The Semantic Types and Properties of Adjectives ....................... 309
12.1 Constituent Interrogative Words ....................................... 312
12.2 Irregular Interrogative Prefixes ....................................... 318
12.3 A Comparison of the Roots that can Take nyu- and nyu- ................. 323
12.4 The Functional Differences Between Negative Markers .................. 324
14.1 Complement Taking Verbs ............................................. 355
14.2 Properties of Clause Linking Devices and Complex Clauses .............. 383
15.1 Some Standard-register Words and Honorific Words ..................... 400
List of Abbreviations

1/2NONSG first person and second person non-singular

1 first person

2 second person

3 third person

ABS absolutive

ADV adverbial

ALL allative

AP all participants

AS directional prefix for away from the speaker

ASSC.PL associative plural

CFP clause final particle

CLF:BIRD classifier for bird

CLF:BOWL classifier for bowl

CLF:DAY classifier for day

CLF:DROP classifier for drop of liquid

CLF:FAMILY classifier for family

CLF:FULL classifier for a full container of
CLF:GENR  general classifier

CLF:KIND  classifier for kind

CLF:LONG  classifier for long objects

CLF:MAN  classifier for human

CLF:MEAL  classifier for meal

CLF:MMONTH  classifier for month

CLF:PERFORMANCE  classifier for performance

CLF:PLACE  classifier for place

CLF:PLANT  classifier for plant

CLF:THIN  classifier for thin objects and birds

CLF:WORDS  classifier for words

CLF:YEAR  classifier for year

COLL.PL  collective associative plural

COM  comitative

COMP  complementizer

COP  copula

COP:ABSTRACT  copula requiring an abstract CDR

COP:ANIMATE  copula requiring an animate CDR

COP:CONTAIN  copula requiring the CDR to be contained

COP:HONO  copula of honorific style

COP:INANIMATE  copula requiring an inanimate CDR

COP:MOVE  copula requiring the CDR to be movable
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COP:UPRIGHT</td>
<td>copula requiring an upright CDR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPULA:NEG</td>
<td>negative copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.M</td>
<td>discourse marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOWN</td>
<td>directional prefix for downward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>directional prefix for downstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGO</td>
<td>egophoricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID:DIRECT</td>
<td>direct evidential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVID:REP</td>
<td>reported evidential marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXP</td>
<td>experincer case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>directional prefix for inward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRG</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTSF</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOG</td>
<td>logophoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONS</td>
<td>directional prefix with non-specific direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONSG</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLA.PL</td>
<td>place associative plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLUR</td>
<td>pluractional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of Abbreviations**

**REFL** reflexive

**REL** relative

**REQ** request

**SAP** speech act participants

**SC** standard of comparison

**SG** singular

**SIM.PL** similative plural

**SRI** speech report introducer

**STA** stative aspect

**TOP** topic

**TS** directional prefix for towards the speaker

**UP** directional prefix for upward

**US** directional prefix for upstream

**VCLF** verbal action classifier

**VCLF:HIT** verbal action classifier for hit

**VCLF:THROW** verbal action classifier for throwing
Table of Contents

Disclaimer i
Acknowledgements ii
Statement of the Contribution of Others iv
Abstract v
List of Figures vii
List of Tables viii
List of Abbreviations xi

1 Introduction 1
  1.1 Dialects, Names and Vitality of the Language .................................. 1
  1.2 Genetic Affiliation: Tibeto-Burman and Qiangic ................................. 5
    1.2.1 Tibeto-Burman ........................................................................ 5
    1.2.2 Qiangic ................................................................................. 7
  1.3 History and Mystery ........................................................................... 8
  1.4 Physical Environment ........................................................................ 10
  1.5 Religion and Related Customs ............................................................ 12
  1.6 Lifestyle ......................................................................................... 14
  1.7 Architecture .................................................................................... 16
  1.8 The Culture of the Eastern Munya Area ............................................. 19
  1.9 Previous Work and This Study .......................................................... 21
  1.10 Typological Overview and Outline of the Grammar ........................... 23
# Phonetics and Phonology

## 2.1 Overview

2.2 Consonants

### 2.2.1 Stops

### 2.2.2 Nasals

### 2.2.3 Fricatives

#### 2.2.3.1 Apico-Alveolar Fricatives

#### 2.2.3.2 Apico-Postalveolar Fricatives

#### 2.2.3.3 Lamino-Palatal Fricatives

#### 2.2.3.4 Dorso-Velar Fricatives

#### 2.2.3.5 About Uvular Consonants

### 2.2.4 Affricates

### 2.2.5 Approximants

### 2.2.6 Lateral

### 2.2.7 Consonant Clusters

2.3 Vowels

### 2.3.1 Vowel Inventory

### 2.3.2 The Phonetic Properties and Allophones of Vowels

#### 2.3.2.1 Front Vowels

#### 2.3.2.2 Back Vowels and the Schwa

### 2.3.3 Nasalized Vowels

### 2.3.4 Tense and Lax Vowels

### 2.3.5 Diphthongs

2.4 Word Prosody: Tones

### 2.4.1 Previous Analyses

### 2.4.2 The Tone Patterns

2.5 Phonological Processes

### 2.5.1 Vowel Nasalization

### 2.5.2 Uvularization

### 2.5.3 Aspiration Assimilation

### 2.5.4 Lenition
### Table of Contents

2.6 Syllable Structure and Word Structure ............................................. 60
2.7 Loan Word Phonology ................................................................. 61
2.8 Phonological Words and Grammatical Words ................................. 62
2.9 Practical Orthography .................................................................. 63
2.10 Summary ..................................................................................... 64

3 Morphology ....................................................................................... 65
3.1 Morphological Processes ............................................................... 65
   3.1.1 Cliticization ............................................................................. 65
   3.1.2 Affixation ............................................................................... 66
   3.1.3 Reduplication ........................................................................ 69
   3.1.4 Vowel Alternation ................................................................. 69
3.2 Morphophonology ......................................................................... 70
   3.2.1 Anticipatory Vowel Harmony ............................................... 71
      3.2.1.1 Fronting Harmony ......................................................... 71
      3.2.1.2 Lowering Harmony ..................................................... 72
      3.2.1.3 Tense Harmony ......................................................... 74
   3.2.2 Perseverative Vowel Harmony .............................................. 75
      3.2.2.1 Raising Harmony ......................................................... 75
      3.2.2.2 Full Harmony ............................................................ 77
   3.2.3 Vowel Elision in Directional Prefixes ...................................... 78
3.3 Summary ....................................................................................... 80

4 Word Class I: Open Classes ............................................................ 81
4.1 Overview ....................................................................................... 81
4.2 Nouns ......................................................................................... 81
   4.2.1 Taking Plural Markers .......................................................... 81
   4.2.2 Functioning as the Head of an NP ........................................ 82
   4.2.3 Functioning as Arguments and Taking Case Markers .......... 85
   4.2.4 Functioning as Copula Complements .................................. 86
4.3 Verbs ......................................................................................... 86
   4.3.1 Taking Directional Prefixes .................................................. 86
4.3.2 Showing Person-number Inflections ............................. 87
4.3.3 Showing Pluractional Derivation ................................. 87
4.3.4 Taking Interrogative and Negative Prefixes ................. 88
4.3.5 Functioning as Predicates ........................................ 88
4.3.6 Subclasses of Verbs ................................................ 90

4.4 Adjectives ............................................................... 93
4.4.1 Inherent Reduplication ............................................. 93
4.4.2 Comparative, Superlative and Intensification Forms ....... 94
4.4.3 Taking Interrogative and Negative Prefixes ................. 94
4.4.4 Modifying Nouns ................................................... 94
4.4.5 Functioning as Predicates ........................................ 95
4.4.6 Functioning as Complements ..................................... 96
4.4.7 Subclasses of Adjectives ......................................... 96

4.5 Adverbs ................................................................. 97
4.5.1 Overview ........................................................... 97
4.5.2 Sub-types of Adverbs and Their Grammatical Properties .. 97
  4.5.2.1 Manner Adverbs ............................................... 97
  4.5.2.2 Degree Adverbs ............................................... 98
  4.5.2.3 Intensification Adverbs ..................................... 101

4.6 Summary ............................................................... 103

5 Word Class II: Closed Classes ....................................... 105
5.1 Overview .............................................................. 105
5.2 Demonstratives ........................................................ 106
  5.2.1 The Forms of Demonstratives .................................. 106
  5.2.2 Nominal Demonstratives ....................................... 108
    5.2.2.1 Syntactic Properties ..................................... 108
    5.2.2.2 Functions .................................................. 110
  5.2.3 Manner Adverbial Demonstratives ............................ 111
  5.2.4 Verbal Demonstrative .......................................... 113
5.3 Pronouns .............................................................. 115
| 5.3.1 Common Pronouns | ................................. 115 |
| 5.3.2 Reflexive Pronouns | ................................. 119 |
| 5.3.3 Pronoun Reduplication | ................................. 122 |
| 5.4 Number Words | ................................. 123 |
| 5.4.1 Cardinal Numbers | ................................. 123 |
| 5.4.2 Ordinal Numbers | ................................. 126 |
| 5.4.3 The Functions of Number Words | ................................. 126 |
| 5.4.3.1 Forming Numeral Classifiers | ................................. 126 |
| 5.4.3.2 Expressing Approximate Meaning | ................................. 127 |
| 5.5 Quantifiers | ................................. 128 |
| 5.6 Postpositions | ................................. 131 |
| 5.6.1 Spatio-temporal Postpositions | ................................. 132 |
| 5.6.1.1 Syntactic Properties | ................................. 132 |
| 5.6.1.2 Semantics | ................................. 133 |
| 5.6.2 Cases | ................................. 136 |
| 5.6.3 The Focus Marker | ................................. 139 |
| 5.7 Interrogative Words | ................................. 140 |
| 5.8 Auxiliaries | ................................. 140 |
| 5.9 Particles | ................................. 148 |
| 5.10 Summary | ................................. 153 |
| 6 Nouns | ................................. 155 |
| 6.1 Overview | ................................. 155 |
| 6.2 The Structure of Noun Phrases | ................................. 155 |
| 6.2.1 Pre-head Modifiers and the Head Noun | ................................. 156 |
| 6.2.2 Post-head Modifiers and the Head Noun | ................................. 158 |
| 6.2.3 Noun Phrases with Pre- and Post-head Modifiers | ................................. 160 |
| 6.2.4 More on Nominal Demonstrative Phrases | ................................. 161 |
| 6.3 Plurality | ................................. 164 |
| 6.3.1 The Morphemic Status and Functions of the Plural Marker $=nə$ | ................................. 164 |
| 6.3.2 Other Plural Formatives | ................................. 166 |
6.3.2.1 Associative Plural ........................................... 166
6.3.2.2 Collective Associative Plural ................................. 167
6.3.2.3 Place Associative Plural .................................... 168
6.3.2.4 Similative Plural ............................................ 169
6.4 Numeral Classifiers .................................................. 170
  6.4.1 Classification ................................................... 170
    6.4.1.1 Sortal Classifiers ......................................... 172
    6.4.1.2 Mensural Classifiers ....................................... 174
    6.4.1.3 Pseudo-classifiers ......................................... 175
6.4.2 The Functions of Numeral Classifiers ......................... 176
  6.4.2.1 Discourse Functions ......................................... 177
  6.4.2.2 Stacking Number Words to Express an Approximate Meaning ................................................................. 177
  6.4.2.3 Quantifiers .................................................... 178
  6.4.2.4 Adverbs ....................................................... 180
  6.4.2.5 Nominal and Manner Adverbial Demonstratives .......... 181
  6.4.2.6 Complementation Strategy ................................... 182
6.5 Nominalization ...................................................... 183
  6.5.1 Agentive Nominalization ....................................... 184
  6.5.2 Local/Temporal Nominalization ................................. 185
  6.5.3 State/Object Nominalization .................................... 187
  6.5.4 Activity/Object Nominalization ................................ 190
  6.5.5 Free-standing Nominalization .................................. 192
6.6 Summary ........................................................... 194

7 Verbal Morphology ..................................................... 195
  7.1 Overview ........................................................... 195
  7.2 Directional Prefixes ............................................... 195
    7.2.1 The Forms of Directional Prefixes ............................ 198
    7.2.2 The Meanings of Directional Prefixes ......................... 198
      7.2.2.1 ɛ- ‘downstream’ and γɤ- ‘upstream’ .................... 198
7.2.2.2 tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’ and ngɯ- ‘towards the speaker’ 198
7.2.2.3 te- ‘up’ and no- ‘down’ .................................................. 199
7.2.2.4 Making Finer-Grained Semantic Distinctions With Directional Prefixes .................................................. 199
7.2.3 The Origin of Directional Prefixes ........................................ 200
7.2.4 The Derivational Function of Directional Prefixes .................. 201
7.3 Person-number Inflections ....................................................... 202
7.3.1 Inflectional Classes ............................................................. 202
7.3.1.1 Class I Verbs ............................................................... 203
7.3.1.2 Class II Verbs ............................................................... 204
7.3.1.3 Class III Verbs ............................................................... 205
7.3.2 Inflectional Forms ............................................................... 206
7.3.2.1 The 1/2NONSG Form .................................................. 207
7.3.2.2 The 1SG Forms ............................................................... 207
7.3.2.3 The 2SG Forms ............................................................... 208
7.3.2.4 The Third Person Forms ................................................ 209
7.3.2.5 Inflections of Polysyllabic Verbs ...................................... 210
7.3.3 Omission of Inflection .......................................................... 211
7.4 Causatives .............................................................................. 212
7.4.1 Causative Derivation Applying to Intransitive Clauses .............. 212
7.4.2 Causative Derivation Applying to Transitive Clauses .............. 214
7.5 Pluractionality .......................................................... 215
7.6 Summary .......................................................... 218

8 Grammatical Categories of Nouns and Verbs 220
8.1 Overview .......................................................... 220
8.2 Case Marking .......................................................... 221
8.2.1 The Ergative Case and the Absolutive Case ......................... 221
8.2.2 The Experiential Case and the Genitive Case ...................... 223
8.2.3 The Dative Case .......................................................... 224
8.2.4 Cases That Mark Peripheral Arguments ............................. 225
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.2.5</td>
<td>Case Marking Patterns</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.1</td>
<td>The Perfective Aspect</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.2</td>
<td>The Imperfective Aspect</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.3</td>
<td>The Stative Aspect</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>Evidentiality</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.1</td>
<td>The Direct Evidential</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.2</td>
<td>The Reported Evidential</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4.3</td>
<td>The Indirect Evidential</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>Egophoricity</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5.1</td>
<td>The history of the term</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5.2</td>
<td>Egophoricity in Munya</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5.3</td>
<td>Egophoricity and Interrogativity</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5.4</td>
<td>Egophoricity and Negation</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>Mirativity</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Motion Verbs and Serial Verb Constructions</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Motion Verbs</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.1</td>
<td>ndũ</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.2</td>
<td>DIR-thũ</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.3</td>
<td>ḥã</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.4</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.5</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2.6</td>
<td>Iconicity</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Serial Verb Constructions Containing Verbs Other Than Motion Verbs</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.1</td>
<td>Asymmetrical Serial Verb Constructions</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3.2</td>
<td>Symmetrical Serial Verb Constructions</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Copula Verbs</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

11.6 Semantic Types of Adjectives ........................................... 306
11.7 Summary ................................................................. 310

### 12 Interrogatives and Negation 311

12.1 Interrogatives .......................................................... 311

- 12.1.1 Constituent Interrogative ........................................... 312
  - 12.1.1.1 Interrogative Words ........................................... 312
  - 12.1.1.2 Syntactic Properties of Interrogative Words .......... 313
  - 12.1.1.3 Interrogative Words Used as Indefinites and General Indefinites ........................................... 315

- 12.1.2 Polar Interrogative ................................................... 316
  - 12.1.2.1 Position of the Interrogative Prefix .................... 316
  - 12.1.2.2 Forms of the Interrogative Prefix ...................... 318
  - 12.1.2.3 Two Forms of Polar Interrogatives .............. 318
  - 12.1.2.4 Answers to Polar Interrogatives ..................... 320

- 12.1.3 Rhetorical Interrogative .......................................... 321

- 12.1.4 Alternative Interrogative ....................................... 321

- 12.2 Negation .............................................................. 322
  - 12.2.1 Forms of Negative Prefixes ..................................... 322
    - 12.2.1.1 tɕɯ- ....................................................... 322
    - 12.2.1.2 tɕɛ- ..................................................... 322
    - 12.2.1.3 nyɯ- ..................................................... 322
    - 12.2.1.4 mo- ..................................................... 323
  - 12.2.2 Functional Differences .......................................... 324
  - 12.2.3 Dialectal Variations ............................................. 327
  - 12.2.4 Predicative Negation ............................................. 327

- 12.3 Summary .............................................................. 328

### 13 Basic Clause Types 330

13.1 Identifying the Subject ............................................... 330

- 13.1.1 Person-number Inflection ........................................ 331

- 13.1.2 Case Marking ...................................................... 331
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.1.3</td>
<td>Semantic Role</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1.4</td>
<td>Constituent Order</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>Clause Types Based on the Nature of Predicates</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.1</td>
<td>Verbal Predicate Clauses</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.1.1</td>
<td>Intransitive Clauses</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.1.2</td>
<td>Transitive Clauses</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.1.3</td>
<td>Extended Transitive Clauses</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2</td>
<td>Copula Predicate Clauses</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2.1</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2.2</td>
<td>Existence</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2.3</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2.4</td>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.2.5</td>
<td>Change of State</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.3</td>
<td>Adjectival Predicate Clauses</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.2.4</td>
<td>Nominal Predicate Clauses</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>Clause Types Based on Speech Acts: Imperatives</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.1</td>
<td>Second Person Imperative</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.1.1</td>
<td>Immediate Imperative</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.1.2</td>
<td>Future Imperative</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.1.3</td>
<td>Polite Imperative</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.2</td>
<td>First Person Imperative</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.3.3</td>
<td>Imperative Strategies</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Complex Clauses</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>Relative Clause Construction</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1.1</td>
<td>The Structure of a Relative Clause</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.1.2</td>
<td>Common Argument</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>Complement Clauses</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2.1</td>
<td>Syntactic Functions</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2.2</td>
<td>The Marking of Complement Clauses</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.2.3</td>
<td>Complement Taking Verbs</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>Nominalization, Relativization and Complementation</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>Speech Report</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.1</td>
<td>The Structure of Speech Report Constructions</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.1.1</td>
<td>The Speech Report Marked by téte</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.1.2</td>
<td>The Speech Report Marked by tépi</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.1.3</td>
<td>Speech Report Without Any Marking</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.2</td>
<td>Indirect, Direct and Semi-direct Speech Report</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.2.1</td>
<td>Indirect Speech Report</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.2.2</td>
<td>Direct Speech Report</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.4.2.3</td>
<td>Semi-direct Speech Report</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>Other Complex Clauses and Clause Linking Devices</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.1</td>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.1.1</td>
<td>Temporal Succession</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.1.2</td>
<td>Immediate Succession</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.1.3</td>
<td>Relative Time</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.2</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.3</td>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.4</td>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.5</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.6</td>
<td>Disjunction</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.7</td>
<td>Same-event Addition</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5.8</td>
<td>Concession</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Discourse Organization and Pragmatic Features</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>The Discourse Marker tsakù</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>Argument Omission, Dislocation and Deletion</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3.1</td>
<td>Argument Omission</td>
<td>390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.3.2</td>
<td>Argument Dislocation</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

15.3.3 Coreferential NP Ellipsis ........................................ 394
15.4 Bridging Constructions ........................................... 395
   15.4.1 Recapitulative Linkage ..................................... 396
   15.4.2 Summary Linkage ........................................... 398
15.5 Honorific Style .................................................. 399
15.6 Summary .......................................................... 401

References ............................................................... 402

Appendix A  The Adventure of Three Kings ......................... 403

Appendix B  Vocabulary ............................................... 451
Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter provides some background information on Munya, with the aim of positioning the language within its linguistic, physical and socio-cultural context. It begins by introducing the dialects, the various names and the vitality of this language (Section 1.1). The genetic groups to which this language belongs are then discussed (Section 1.2). The history of the language and its speakers will also be touched upon, though currently there is no consensus on this issue (Section 1.3). Then the physical environment, religion, lifestyle and architecture of the western Munya area will be introduced (Sections 1.4 – 1.7). The eastern Munya area is covered only briefly, due to a lack of first hand information (Section 1.8). The next section reviews previous studies and introduces the present study (Section 1.9), and the final section provides a typological overview of the language and outlines the structure of the whole grammar (Section 1.10).

1.1 Dialects, Names and Vitality of the Language

Munya is spoken in the western part of Sichuan Province in China. The language is traditionally believed to consist of an eastern dialect and a western dialect, which are separated by Mount Gongga (B. F. Huang 1985; H. K. Sun 1983). Based on my own fieldwork, I found that the western dialect can be further divided into a northern dialect and a southern dialect. Although the two western dialects are mutually intelligible, there are prominent differences between them in phonology, lexicon and grammar. The distribution of the language and its dialects are shown in Figure 1.1.
The names of this language are very similar. The autonym is [mәɲɛ] in my fieldwork location (I was told that it can be pronounced as [mәɲə] or [mɨɲə] in some other places); the Chinese name is 木雅, which is spelled as mù yǎ in Pinyin. There are several variants of its English name. The name Muya, based on Pinyin, appears to be the most commonly used. One also occasionally encounters Minyak or Minyag, which is based on the transliteration of the Tibetan name མི་ཉག. In her PhD thesis, Y. Gao (2015) refers to the language as Menya. The pioneering researcher on this language, Ikeda Takumi, prefers to call this language Mu-nya in several of his publications (Ikeda 2002, 2006b, 2008). I follow his practice in this study, except that I choose to omit the hyphen. This is because ‘Munya’ is neither biased towards Chinese Pinyin nor Tibetan transliteration, and the nasal sound takes into account the native pronunciation. In the Munya language, mәɲɛ can refer to the area where Munya people traditionally live, the group of people who identify themselves as Munya, and the language that these people speak. When referring to Munya people, mәɲɛ can be optionally qualified by -u ‘people’, which is typically suffixed to a place name. When referring to the language that Munya people speak, one needs to say mәɲɛ su, in
which su means ‘language’.

Munya people identify themselves as Tibetans. This is also officially recognized, so that Munya people are also called Munya Tibetans in China. Aside from Munya, Munya speakers in and around the area of my fieldwork can also speak Tibetan and Chinese (both Mandarin and the Sichuan Dialect), but their command of the two languages varies considerably. Almost all of them can speak Tibetan fluently. The Tibetan spoken at that area is a sub-dialect of Khams Tibetan and is called ‘Minyag Rabgang Tibetan’ (Suzuki 2009). Since this dialect is also spoken in nearby regions, Munya people generally switch to Tibetan when they visit those areas. The Tibetan taught in local school, however, is standard Khams Tibetan. Nowadays under the ever-increasing influence of Chinese culture, more and more people can speak Chinese. The elder generation can only speak the Sichuan dialect of Chinese while the younger generation can speak Mandarin. Mandarin is also taught in school as a major subject, and I found that school kids speak both Mandarin and Munya to each other even when they are not in school.

The language is spoken by a diminishing number of people. According to the information provided by some native speakers, Munya used to be spoken in a much wider area than it is nowadays. People in the town to the north of the area of my fieldwork, Jiāgēnbà (甲根坝), for example, used to speak Munya thirty years ago, but nowadays they only speak Tibetan. Munya did not have any orthography and was never written down before. The language is not taught in school, nor do native speakers think there is any need to do so, as young children can learn Munya from their parents. In Munya-speaking families, the language is still actively spoken.

The exact number of Munya speakers cannot be given at the moment, due to a lack of data for parts of the eastern dialect area. The statistics given in Table 1.1 is my best estimate of the current number of Munya speakers. The figures for the speakers of northern and southern dialects come from the National Bureau of Statistics of China, gathered during the Sixth National Population Census carried out in 2010.

The location of my fieldwork is in the Jiāngdé (江德) village Péngbùxī (朋布西) Township, which is at the north end of the western dialect area (see Map 1.1). The people there all speak Munya as their first language. I also visited most of the towns in the south—I was in Shādé (沙德) several times, and went to Gònggāshān (贡嘎山) and Pǔshāróng (普沙绒)
1.1. DIALECTS, NAMES AND VITALITY OF THE LANGUAGE

Table 1.1: Statistics of Munya Speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialectal area</th>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Number of speakers</th>
<th>Sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern dialect</td>
<td>Péngbúxī</td>
<td>2,942</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shādé</td>
<td>3,538</td>
<td>6,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern dialect</td>
<td>Gònggāshān</td>
<td>2,981</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pǔshāróng</td>
<td>2,370</td>
<td>7,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tānggū</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern dialect</td>
<td>see Figure 1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16,240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

once. In these three towns Munya is actively spoken. I did not have the opportunity to visit Tānggū (汤古), the southernmost town of the western dialect area. However, based on the report of Ikeda (2006b), who used to go there, we can be sure that Munya is also spoken at that place. While previous studies claim that Munya is spoken in Zhùsāng (祝桑), a town to the northwest of Péngbúxī, nobody ever did fieldwork there. On the contrary, during my fieldwork I was told that people in Zhùsāng no longer speak Munya anymore. Therefore the population number of Zhùsāng is not included in the statistics. My general impression is that all residents in the townships listed in the table speak Munya, thus the number of Munya speakers would be roughly equal to the number of inhabitants of these towns.

The situation in the eastern dialect area is more obscure, as there is virtually no report on the linguistic situation. Liu (1985) claims that the total number of eastern Munya speakers is about 2,500, but he did not mention how this number was calculated. Two decades later, J. Li (2006) conducted an ethnological study in a Munya community in the Xièluó (蟹螺) Township of Shímián (石棉) County. The number of Munya households that J. Li (2006: 23–24) gives is calculated to be between 450 and 510. Earlier in the thesis, J. Li (2006: 8) mentions that each family has about five members. Thus the total number of Munya speakers in Shímián County is roughly between 2,250 and 2,550. However, we have no information on the situations of Hóngbà (洪坝) and Wānbà (湾坝), two townships in Jiǔlóng (九龙) County which are also reported to have Munya speakers. Although the population of the two townships is available (1,025 for Wānbà and 5,888 for Hóngbà), we do not know how many of them are Munya speakers. In Table 1.1 I use the number provided by Liu (1985), noting that the actual number of speakers could be larger than
this. With all these caveats given, the total number of Munya speakers is estimated to be around 16,240.

1.2 Genetic Affiliation: Tibeto-Burman and Qiangic

Munya belongs to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language group. There are controversies concerning the phylogeny of both Qiangic languages and Tibeto-Burman languages, though the debates centering around the latter are considerably greater than those around the former. In what follows the two language groups and related controversies will be briefly introduced.

1.2.1 Tibeto-Burman

Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken in a large area of Asia, ranging from southwest China to north-east India, and from countries near the Himalayas such as Nepal and Bhutan to those in Southeast Asia. Due to various reasons, such as the notorious difficulty in distinguishing language from dialect, a paucity of data, and a lack of consensus on names of many languages, it is hard to pinpoint the exact number of languages within this family. In two recent works, Matisoff (2015) estimates the number to be between 250 and 300 while Genetti (2016) discusses 257 ‘varieties’, a term which is neutral to the distinction between language and dialect.

Within this family, a broad consensus exists on each subgroup as a genetic unit, thus we have well-established branches such as Bodish, Kiranti and Lolo-Burmese.¹ However, there are considerable debates on the phylogeny of this language family. Carrying on the tradition initiated by F.-K. Li (1973) (the work was first published in 1937), many Chinese linguists view Tibeto-Burman as a sub-group of the larger Indo-Tibetan language family (according to F.-K. Li (1973), also known as Tibeto-Chinese, Sino-Tibetan, or Sinitic in a wider sense), which, aside from Tibeto-Burman, encompasses Chinese languages, Miao-Yao and Kam-Tai.

¹Some branches are controversial. See the review of Matisoff (2000) on George van Driem’s Sino-Bodic branch and DeLancey (2010)’s critique on the Rung branch proposed by Graham Thurgood and Randy LaPolla (e.g. LaPolla 2003).
The more popular view is to postulate a Sino-Tibetan super-group, and argue that it bifurcates into a Tibeto-Burman group and a Sinitic group (Benedict 1972; Matisoff 2003, 2015; Thurgood 2017, i.a.). While it is agreed that the Sinitic group consists of all Chinese dialects/languages, there are divergent ideas on the specific branches under the Tibeto-Burman group and how they are related to each other. For example, Benedict (1972: 4–5) recognizes seven primary divisions, and puts Kachin at the ‘cross-roads' with many northern languages and southern languages both lexically and morphologically. Bradley (1997: 2–3) proposes four branches, which are North-eastern India, Western, South-eastern and North-eastern. The most recent classification given in Matisoff (2015: xxxii) consists of Northeastern Indian Areal Group, Baic, Nungish, Tujia, Himalayish, Lolo-Burmese-Naxi, Karenic, and Tangut-Qiang.

This classificatory paradigm has been challenged by van Driem (2005, 2007, 2014). He argues that the Sino-Tibetan model stems from the racist view prevalent in the 19th century, which, though now vanished, has left its typological prejudices. He thus suggests to replace the name of this group with the neutral geographical term ‘Trans-Himalayan’, as most languages of this family distribute along the great Himalayan range. More importantly, he points out that although the Sino-Tibetan phylogenetic model has gained wide acceptance, no empirical evidence, be it bundle of isoglosses or set of shared innovations, has been adduced to support it. In view of this, he puts forward a fallen leaves model, with each fallen leaf representing a subgroup of the Trans-Himalayan tree. While admitting that a family tree can be ascertained by historical linguistic methods, he remains agnostic about higher-order sub-grouping at the present stage.

Very recently, there is a growing interest in identifying the origin and time-depth of the Sino-Tibetan language family, with the help of Bayesian phylogenetic methods developed in evolutionary biology (M. Zhang et al. 2019; Sagart et al. 2019). The results of the two studies are largely consistent. The findings of M. Zhang et al. (2019) support the Sino-Tibetan model, and show that the divergence between Proto-Chinese and Proto-Tibeto-Burman occurred between 4,200–7,800 years BP, with an average value of approximately 5,900 years BP. Their analyses also identified the Urheimat of Proto-Sino-Tibetan, which is at the upper and middle Yellow River plains, the place where two Neolithic cultures—the Yangshao culture and the Majiayao culture—were discovered.
1.2. GENETIC AFFILIATION: TIBETO-BURMAN AND QIANGIC

The Qiangic branch

- Southern
  - Guiqiong group
  - Ersu group
  - Qiang group
  - Tangut group
  - Pumi group

- Middle
  - Munya
  - Pumi

- Northern
  - rGyalrong group
  - Lavrung
  - Ergong

1.2.2 Qiangic

There has been comparatively less controversy with regard to Qiangic branch as a genetic unit. The proposal to set up a Qiangic branch under the Tibeto-Burman family was first made by Sun Hongkai in 1962 (H. K. Sun 2016: 5), and expounded in many of his subsequent writings, notably H. K. Sun (1983) and H. K. Sun (2016). The validity of this branch is generally accepted (but see Chirkova 2012 for a different view). In a recent study, H. K. Sun (2016: 1–4) includes 13 languages, most of which have dialects in this branch. These languages, together with their genetic groupings, are given in Figure 1.2 (based on H. K. Sun 2016: 4).

There are three levels in this phylogeny. In the first level, the languages are divided into three sub-branches based on their geographical distribution, which are the Southern sub-branch, the Middle sub-branch and the Northern sub-branch. Each sub-branch further contains one to three groups, and each group consists of one to three languages (For a different classification of the rGyalrongic group, see J. T.-S. Sun 2000). Munya and Pumi form the Pumi group, which is one of the three groups of the middle branch.

The linguistic profile of Qiangic languages is addressed in H. K. Sun (2016: 9–15),
1.3. HISTORY AND MYSTERY

and is briefly summarized. Generally they have similar phonological structure, consonant clusters, a large set of consonants and vowels, vowel harmony, lost consonant codas, and tones developed at different stages. In terms of lexicon and morphology, Qiangic languages are strongly synthetic, with a large set of identifiable cognates. There are numerous inherently reduplicated words, and word-borrowing is very common. In terms of grammar, typical grammatical means in Qiangic languages include suffixation, internal modification and reduplication. Nouns generally have plural and diminutive forms. Pronouns have different case forms. First person dual and plural have inclusive and exclusive forms. Most languages have person-number inflection. Verbs take directional prefixes. Many languages have the reciprocal category, multiple existential verbs and a wide range of case markers. Adjectives tend to be verb-like.

Speakers of Qiangic languages share certain commonalities in culture, such as white-stone worship and expertise in construction and embroidery (H. K. Sun 2016: 17–18). The shared features among these languages and the resemblance in the culture of their speakers are the major bases for setting up the Qiangic branch.

1.3 History and Mystery

The origin and history of Munya people is to a large extent still a mystery, with much debates continuing. The controversies mainly center around the connections between Xīxià(西夏) (also known as Western Xia or Tangut) and Munya, the former being a country that existed in northwest China in AD 1038 to 1227.

The reason why scholars link Tangut with Munya is that Tangut is historically also referred to as ‘Munya’. In Chinese historical records, Tangut is also commonly called mǐ yào (弭药). Other names include miăn yào (缅药), mǔ nà (母纳), mì nà kè (密纳克), etc. In Tibetan historical records, the country is referred to as mi-nyag, mi-nag or me-nyag (Mu 2013). Even Tangut people use this name to refer to themselves. Based on the reconstruction by Kepping (2001), the corresponding Tangut pronunciation is *mi-niau or *mi-nia. Although the orthography for this name varies in different historical records, scholars generally believe that they refer to the same historical entity. What scholars do not agree on, however, is the relationship between the extinct Tangut empire and modern
1.3. HISTORY AND MYSTERY

day Munya people.

Deng (1945, as cited in Wu [1963] 2012: 121–122) believes that Munya people are the survivors of the Tangut people, who fled to the Munya area after Tangut was destroyed by Mongols. His major piece of evidence is a legend among the Munya people about a Munya king called xī wú jiā ěr bù (西吴甲尔布), who used to be a king in the north before his reign in the Munya area. He argues that jiā ěr bù (甲尔布) is the Tibetan word for ‘king’ (which is རྒྱལ་པོ rgyal po in Tibetan and dzopu in Munya), and that xī wú (西吴) is the ancient pronunciation of xī xià. Thus xī wú jiā ěr bù actually means ‘the king of Tangut’. Nowadays there is still a village in the Munya area by the name of sè wù róng (色务绒) (called siwurõ in Munya), which is said to be the place where the king’s palace was located. Other evidence provided by him includes the high fortresses in that area and the clothing style of Munya people. Deng’s view is backed by Wu ([1963] 2012: 122–123), who presents even more evidence from aspects of ethnicity, language, and place names.

A different view holds that the Munya people of today consist of the native Munya people, who have been living in the Munya area since ancient times, and the descendants of Tangut, who migrated here after their country was conquered (F. W. Li 1981; Shangguan 1994). But F. W. Li (1981) believes that the modern day Munya people are the descendants of Tangut, while native Munya people live in Dàofú (道孚), a county to the north of Munya area and where a rGyalrongic language is spoken.

There is also a third view, which argues that while Munya people and Tangut people could be distantly related, Tangut people never went to the Munya area. The Munya people are indigenous and have been living there since ancient times (Gelek 1988). H. K. Sun (1983) arrives at a similar conclusion based on linguistic evidence, by comparing Munya with Tangut. He identified some cognates between the two languages, and found some similarities in phonological and grammatical structure between them as well.

---

2 During my short sejour at this village in August 2018, I tried to get someone to tell me this story, but was told that only a few old people still knew it, and I was unable to make any recording. As time goes by, the legend becomes more and more distorted. Nowadays some Munya people pronounce the name of this king as [sišeux], in which si means ‘day’ and xu means night, thereby wrongly interpreting it as meaning ‘the king of day and night’. Lu and Nie (1996) point out that Deng’s analysis is misguided, as he needs to resort to a phonological rule in Old Chinese to get a correspondence between wú (吴) and xià (夏), which is highly unlikely due to the time gap of a millennium. According to Lu and Nie (1996), there is indeed a name that corresponds to xī wù (西吴) in Tangut, which is se ho, and is rendered variously as se hvu, si vu, se vu or si hu in Tibetan literature. They believe that se is a cognate of xì (细) in Chinese, which means ‘thin’, and hu means ‘king’. Thus si hu means ‘young king’ in Tangut. They even demonstrate that this ‘young king’ is Lì Yuánhào (李元昊), the first king of the Tangut empire.
less, he pointed out that the distance between Munya and Tangut is roughly equivalent to that between Munya and other Qiangic languages, thus the Munya people are unlikely to be the descendants of Tangut people. Similar comparative work was also done by Lin (1996, as cited in Ikeda 2006b) and Ikeda (2006b). According to Ikeda, Lin could not identify a firm relationship between the two languages, and Ikeda concludes that the two languages ‘do not share too many apparent cognates, so that I do not think Mu­nya is a direct descendant language of Tangut’. Thus from the linguistic point of view Munya people are unlikely to be the survivors of Tangut people, for if that were the case, one would expect that the two languages are more closely related.

To conclude, while researchers generally agree that there is a connection between the people of Tangut and Munya people, the exact nature of this connection remains an unresolved issue.

1.4 Physical Environment

In this and the next three sections, the physical and socio-cultural situations of western Munya are introduced. Unless otherwise specified, ‘Munya’ refers specifically to the western Munya in these sections. The culture of the eastern Munya area will be discussed separately, in Section 1.8.

Munya people live in several townships of Kângdìng (康定, སྦར་ཞེ་མདོ, dar rtse mdo) County, which is the capital of Garzê Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (甘孜藏族自治州) of Sichuan Province. The southernmost Munya-speaking town, Tânggǔ, belongs to Jiǔlóng (九龙) county. These townships are shown in Figure 1.3 below.

This area is located at the eastern periphery of Tibet, and belongs to what is historically called the Kham (康区, ཚོས་ཁམས) region, which is one of the three Tibetan regions (the other two being Ü-Tsang and Amdo). The Munya region is generally 3,000 meters above sea level (my fieldwork location is about 3,400 MASL), and features high mountains and deep valleys. Figure 1.3 shows that three of the five towns—Péngbûxī, Shâdé, and Pûshârông, are located alongside the north-to-south flowing Liqû River (立丘河, aka Liqû River, 立曲河), which is a tributary to the Yâlóng River (雅砻江) in the west. The villages of the Gônggâshân township are dispersed along a river called Yûlóngxî (玉龙溪), a tributary to
The geographic difference in this area is so significant that people of different places have different means of sustenance. Villages of Péngbùxī, Shādé and western Gònggāshān Township are generally built along wide valleys, where people can both farm crops and graze animals. The crops planted at this area include barley, wheat, potatoes, peas and globe turnips. The livestock kept are predominantly *dzo*, a hybrid of yak and yellow cattle. Some families also keep horses. Figure 1.4 shows a typical landscape of this region.

Figure 1.3: The Geography of Western Munya area
The villages at the eastern part of the Gònggāshān Township lie upstream of the Yùlóngxī and near Mount Gongga. Because the altitude here is so extreme (about 3,600 MASL) that farming is not feasible and people are forced to live a nomadic life. The photo in figure 1.5 is taken in this area.

The mountains in Pǔshāróng Township are generally very deep, which is not suitable for grazing. Farming is also quite restricted, with pieces of croplands found only in flat areas of the valley. The altitude here is low enough for maize to grow, but not high enough to plant barley. The photo in Figure 1.6 is taken in this area.

1.5 Religion and Related Customs

The dominant religion of this area is Tibetan Buddhism, though there are also vestiges of Bon, the native folk religion. The sects of Buddhism that Munya people belong to are different, and are seemingly dependent on the monasteries in the vicinity of their villages. Within this region are monasteries of Gelug (དགེ་རགས་པ), Sakya (སྐྱ་) and Kagyu (དགེ་འཇུག་).
RELIGION AND RELATED CUSTOMS

1.5. RELIGION AND RELATED CUSTOMS

Figure 1.5: The Landscape of A Munya Village near Mount Gongga

(བཀའ་བཇད་པ), among which Gelug seems to be the most influential. The biggest and most important Gelug monastery at this area is Gǔwǎsi (古瓦寺, 'ge kha dgon, guwɛ́kʰɛ in Munya), which is located in the mountains northwest of Shādé township and houses over three hundred monks.

Religion is very important to the Munya people. It manifests itself in many aspects of their lives and fundamentally shapes their world view. Killing living beings is deemed a sin, and many people do not even use pesticides; but intoxication seems to be allowed, though it is rare to see people getting drunk. The ubiquitous mantra Oṃ maṇi paḍme ḫuṃ (ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པ་ͪཨེྃ, roughly means keeping the body as lotus) is carved into mani stones and painted on the side of hills, and is chanted by laypersons and monastics. Each village has two or three moni töḵło ‘prayer wheel house’, where one can turn the big prayer wheel while walking around it, chanting Oṃ maṇi paḍme ḫuṃ at the same time. On important occasions, such as marriage, funerals or prior to sowing, it is customary to invite lamas to recite sutras, and the recitation can last for several days. Sky burial is widely practiced, but several villages around a Sakya monastery perform cremation. People have the obligation
to provide butter and barley powder to the monasteries within their parish, and may be asked to work in the monastery when necessary.

1.6  Lifestyle

A small Munya family generally has four members—the parents and two children, while a large family can have up to seven or eight members of three generations. The firstborn child, be it male or female, will inherit the estate of the family, and has the responsibility to take care of his or her parents. Other children will live together with the family of their in-laws after getting married. Principles of residence thus vary depending on the seniority
of the child. While both polygyny and polyandry are allowed, monogamy is the most common practice. In polygyny and polyandry, the wives and husbands are always sisters or brothers. A family with polygyny or polyandry is never frowned upon, but looked up to, as it means that family has no shortage of labor.

Munya people are hard-working. Each day people start working at about six o’clock. The first job is to drive livestock up to the hills (except in winter), where they roam and graze until afternoon. Then the cattle droppings in the yard need to be removed. Next butter is churned from the milk of the previous day (nowadays a specialized machine is used for this). Then people start to have breakfast. The typical food for breakfast include tsampa, solid sour milk and butter tea (with salt added to it). After breakfast people will continue to work until lunch. After lunch, people work until it gets dark, but sometimes have some refreshments at about four o’clock in the afternoon. The livestock in the hills must be driven back before dark, so that they can be milked. After milking, the milk residue from which butter has been extracted in the morning will be heated up and made into solid sour milk. When these chores are done people will start to have dinner. For dinner, Munya people like baozi, noodles and \textit{putɛ́}, a kind of soup made with dough, vegetables and meat.

Munya people are busy most of the time of the year. Plowing and sowing starts in early March, based on the Tibetan calendar, which can be about one month earlier than the Gregorian calendar. Before plowing, lamas are invited to chant sutras in order to dispel unclean spirits and give blessings for a good harvest. March is the season for digging caterpillar fungus, when people will go up to the high mountains in search of this kind of precious medicinal material and sell them to local dealers. It is the major source of income for the Munya people. May is the season for mushrooms, and just like caterpillar fungus they can also be sold. Field crops ripen in August. Barley will be harvested first, followed by peas, wheat, potatoes and globe turnips. In the location of my fieldwork, farming used to take a substantial amount of time, but thanks to the introduction of modern agricultural machinery, both sowing and harvesting can be completed within one or two days by a family. It is common practice for people of the same village to help each other with the harvest, and the family that is helped will always help back. After all crops are harvested, people will cut firewood for the next year.
The biggest event at the end of the year is the New Year festival. Preparation starts on December 29, when a thin gruel of nine ingredients will be made (called gutʰū in Munya, in which gu means ‘nine’). On the next day, people wash their clothes and make wheat porridge (wheat symbolizes auspiciousness). pʰɔhɔ́—a kind of dumpling with a filling of butter, barley powder and sugar—is made for sacrifices and for eating. On this day people eat pʰɔhɔ́ and drink wheat porridge, and pray that good fortune may come to them. People stay up until very late that night, telling stories, chatting with each other, or chanting sutras. It is believed that the later one stays up, the longer one will live. In the early morning of January first (the Tibetan calendar has thirty days in December), people will go to fetch water from river. At riverside people burn pine branches for smoke offerings and make wishes. The water from the river will be sprinkled around in the house and some will be offered to the gods. Then people have tea and make another smoke offering at home. People will also consult the Tibetan almanac to decide if this is an auspicious day for an outing. Those that go out will bring pancakes and wine, and ride on horses. When they arrive at their destination (there are some conventional destinations for New Year outing) they sacrifice to the gods what they brought and take part in horse racing. The New Year festival will last for several days with celebrations of singing and dancing.

1.7 Architecture

A Munya house generally has three floors. The ground floor is for keeping livestock, the families live on the second floor, and the third floor is used to store grains and can sometimes have a layɔ́ ‘sanctuary’. The external wall of the sanctuary needs to be painted white. Figure 1.7 is a typical Munya house.

Munya houses are mostly constructed from stone and wood. The walls are stone and mud while the floors are made with logs and stamped earth. On the second floor, the inner walls are fitted with wooden panels, and the floors are planks of wood. This floor has living rooms, bedrooms, and a toilet. There is generally no separate kitchen, as food is customarily cooked on the fireplace in the living room. Nowadays almost every family has an iron stove for cooking rather than an open fireplace. Figure 1.8 shows part of a Munya living room.
Building a house can take one to three years, as it is not easy to get the necessary materials all at once. Some houses can be one hundred or two hundred years old. In the former times it was not uncommon for a family to abandon their house and move to a different place if they were in debt to a local landowner. Some outsiders would occupy the house, but would be demanded to pay off the remaining debt.

Perhaps the most eye-catching architecture in the Munya area are the high fortresses. These are free-standing stone towers as tall as thirty to fifty meters, found in a wide area from southeastern Tibet to western Sichuan. Carbon-dating suggests that they were built from 200 AD to 1600 AD (Darragon 2009). The fortresses shown in Figure 1.9 are in the area of my fieldwork.

The Tibetan name for the towers is rdzong (རྩོང). The Munya term is similar, which is dzú. Records of them appear in Chinese annals as early as the third century, in the Book
of the Later Han, where they are called Qiúng lóng (邛笼) (H. K. Sun 1981). H. K. Sun (1981, 1986) believes that the Chinese word may be borrowed from Qiang, and that this type of fortress building was created by speakers of Qiangic languages.

The fortresses are all constructed with uncut stones, which are bonded together with mortar. They are hollow inside with inward-sloping walls. The bottom is about four meters in diameter, and the top between two and two and a half meters. The wall at the bottom is about one meter thick, and the wall at the top is half a meter thick. There are wooden stairs inside of the building all the way to the top (H. K. Sun 1986, more detailed descriptions are given in Darragon 2009).

High fortresses have different styles, and can be classified into four types. Viewed from the top, the fortresses in the Munya area are generally square or star-shaped. They either have six corners and six sides or eight corners and sixteen sides (Darragon 2009).

Local people cannot tell for sure what these towers were built for. Most people believe that they were built for defense, but in some places they could have been built for sacrifices
Figure 1.9: A Twin High Fortress in Péngbùxī Township

to the heaven or as a symbol of status and wealth (Shi 2008).

1.8 The Culture of the Eastern Munya Area

Eastern Munya is spoken in six townships (see Figure 1.1). Four of them—Caŏkē (草科), Xiānfēng (先锋), Xiéluó (蟹螺), and Xīnmín (新民)—belong to Shímían (石棉) County while the other two—Wānbà (湾坝) and Hóngbà (洪坝)—belong to Jiǔlǒng (九龙) County. I cannot provide any first-hand information on the eastern Munya area because I did not do any fieldwork there. The following brief account of the culture in this region is abstracted
from J. Li (2006), a master’s thesis which, as far as I know, is currently the most thorough ethnological research on this area. The study was carried out in the Měngzhǒng (猛种) village of Xiěluó Township, but since the author also gives information on four other towns nearby, it can be seen as representative of the eastern Munya culture. The situations of Wānbà and Hóngbà, however, remain a matter for future research. In what follows, ‘eastern Munya’ only refers to the Munya-speaking area within Shímián County.

Munya people at this region live on hillside (about 1,700 MASL), and are surrounded by Han Chinese, Yi people, and Ersu Tibetans. People here live by both farming and grazing, growing potatoes and maize and keeping yaks, sheep and goats (J. Li 2006: 4). The house structure is similar to that in the western Munya area.

The religion in this area is a mixture of the Nyingma (ཞིང་མ་པ) sect of Tibetan Buddhism and the ancient religion of Tibet, Bon. Animal sacrifice is very common, and people worship Shenrab Miwo (གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ), the founder of Bon (J. Li 2006: 6). Lamas do not study in monasteries or hold precepts. Being a Lama is seen as a kind of profession, and can be handed down from one generation to the next (J. Li 2006: 6–7).

White-stone worship is very conspicuous (J. Li 2006: 7), as is the case of many other speakers of Qiangic languages (such worship is not very apparent in the western Munya area).

A family generally has five members. The youngest child will inherit the house of the family (in contrary to the western Munya practice). Eastern Munya people seldom marry outsiders, but people from the same village do not marry each other. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred, but only the daughter on the uncle’s side and the son on the aunt’s side can marry each other (J. Li 2006: 8–9).

The most important festival of eastern Munya people is the New Year, which is celebrated from the first to the fifth of December of the lunar calendar. The festival is marked by numerous sacrifices, both to mountain deities and to ancestors (J. Li 2006: 13–14). Other major ceremonies include worshipping mountain deities and sheep sacrifice. The former consists of sacrificing a white rooster to mountain deities, and is carried out between August fifteen and March of the next year. The rooster needs to be white as that is the color of holiness. The purpose is to ask for protection or blessing for harvest from the mountain deities (J. Li 2006: 14–17). Sheep sacrifice is devoted to ancestors, and is
performed during New Year festival (J. Li 2006: 17–18).

According to a local folklore, eastern Munya people migrated to the current area about four hundred years ago in several waves, from a place in the north which nobody now remembers for sure (J. Li 2006: 19–24). Some traces in their customs and ceremonies indicate that their ancestors might be nomads from northwest China (J. Li 2006: 50–53). This means Munya used to be spoken in a wider area than it is today, and may lend support to the hypothesis that Munya people are related to Tangut.

1.9 Previous Work and This Study

Munya is not a well-studied language. It was not until in the 1980s that the language began to be described by linguists, during which period three grammar sketches were produced, which are B. F. Huang (1985), Liu (1985), and H. K. Sun (1983).

Later studies generally focus on certain aspects of the language. Ikeda Takumi undertook fieldwork in the western dialect areas and published several papers. Ikeda (1998) compares how the phonetics of vowels and consonants documented by him differ from those in previous studies. Ikeda (2002) discusses the word prosody in Munya. Ikeda (2006a) can be considered a mini-dictionary, which contains two hundred basic words organized according to semantic fields. The word forms given include those from the author’s own study and those gleaned from previous publications. Ikeda (2006b) is a lengthy paper which provides the historical background of the language and its speakers and tries to trace the connections between Munya and Tangut. It also contains detailed accounts of the author’s fieldwork experience. Ikeda (2008) has two hundred basic Munya clauses, including glossing and the authors’ comments. Ikeda (2010) compares the existential verbs in Tangut and Munya, and is another attempt to establish the genetic relations between the two languages.

The PhD thesis by Y. Gao (2015) on Munya grammar is by far the most comprehensive study on this language. The thesis, which is written in French, covers the basic phonology, morphology and syntax of Munya, and is based on original fieldwork in the villages of Rítóu (日头) and Mádá (马达), which are in the same area for my fieldwork. The results of her analyses differ from mine, especially in the treatment of lax versus tense
1.9. PREVIOUS WORK AND THIS STUDY

distinctions in vowels. Gao’s approach to phonology has a diachronic angle. In spite of its comprehensiveness, some topics, however, are not addressed to a satisfactory degree. For example, there is no chapter dealing specifically with word classes, the distinction between sortal and mensural classifiers were not made and their various functions were not discussed, and there is little discussion of the difference between egophoric-like markers.


All studies mentioned above are based on the western dialect. J. Li (2006) is an ethnological study on the speakers of the eastern dialect, focusing on their custom, belief and legend. Yin (2013, 2017) deal with the spatial settings in eastern Munya, and are still the only two studies pertaining to the eastern dialect.

The present study is a continuation of this limited but thriving scholarly tradition. It started in April 2015, when my postgraduate program at Nanjing University was coming to an end and I was looking for a PhD position in linguistics. From the LINGUIST List, I found some information on such a vacancy offered by James Cook University. I contacted the persons who posted that advertisement, Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald and Professor R. M. W. Dixon, who later became my supervisors. At that time I only had a vague idea of studying a Tibeto-Burman language, so they suggested that I contact Professor Jackson T.-S. Sun in order to decide on a suitable language to work on. Professor Sun advised me to work on Munya, as it is an important but little known language. Although I never heard of this language before that, I accepted his advice. I studied for six months at James Cook University before I started my first fieldwork, which lasted for nine months, from August 2016 to April 2017. I returned to the university and finished half of the present thesis. Following that I did a second term of fieldwork, lasting from July to September 2018. The rest of the thesis was finished eight months later.

During the two field trips, I collected about 3,000 words and transcribed three and a half hours of audio recordings from about a dozen native speakers. These are the primary data the thesis is based on. Diversity in speaker and genre was taken into account when the recordings were made. In terms of gender, there are both male and female speakers. In terms of age, there are teens, the middle-aged, and the elderly. In terms of dialects, while most recordings are based on the northern dialect, a small portion (about 10 minutes)
is from the southern dialect. In terms of genre, there are story-telling, autobiography, description of procedural activities, a sermon from monks, and daily conversations. All these materials were produced spontaneously by native speakers in a natural context, with no elicitation involved.

The recordings were first made with a *Zoom H4n Handy Recorder*, then migrated into a laptop for analysis and transcription. The transcription was done in *Elan* and *Saymore*. *Elan* is a professional software designed by The Language Archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for creating annotations on video and audio resources. *Saymore* is a software developed by SIL for managing and transcribing audio recordings. After deciding on the materials to be transcribed, I would first divide the recordings into sentences then pre-transcribe them all by myself. After that I would work with my consultants, first playing a sentence on the computer, then repeating what I think I heard. I had two major consultants, both male and in their fifties. The consultants would correct me and repeat the correct sentence to me, after which I would rectify my transcriptions. The consultants would then translate the sentence for me into Chinese. (As my understanding of the language improved, the transcriptions and translations were constantly modified and updated.) The transcribed materials were then exported to FLEX (Fieldwork Language Explorer), a software developed by SIL for managing linguistic and cultural data, ready for glossing and analysis.

The analyses in the thesis are cast within the framework of Basic Linguistic Theory of Dixon (2012a,b,c) and Aikhenvald (2015). The thesis is a comprehensive reference grammar of Munya. It covers the core aspects of the language, including phonetics and phonology, morphology, word classes, grammatical categories, clause structures, and discourse and pragmatics. This, of course, by no means implies that all intricacies in this language have been worked out. Perhaps I, more than anyone else, am aware of how many important issues are glossed over, how shaky many analyses are, and how many conclusions could be turned over as more data become available. Nevertheless, it is my hope that this work can act as a stepping stone to the edifice of Munya studies.
1.10 Typological Overview and Outline of the Grammar

This section provides a typological overview of Munya and outlines the structure of the thesis.

Topics on phonetics and phonology are treated in Chapter 2. Here the consonant and vowel phonemes will be given first, and some related issues, such as consonant clusters, vowel nasalization, tense and lax vowels, and diphthongs will be discussed. Munya has a large inventory of phonemes—there are forty consonants and thirteen vowels. Different from some other Qiangic languages, there are no consonant clusters (although prenasalized sounds can be alternatively analyzed in such a way). Uvular consonants in the northern dialect are allophones of dorso-velars instead of independent phonemes. Munya is a tonal language, which contrasts a high tone and a low tone, and the two tones constitute a range of patterns. Phonological processes will be discussed next, followed by syllable structure and word structure. Lastly, the criteria for identifying phonological words and grammatical words and their relationships will be discussed.

Morphology is discussed in Chapter 3. Morphological processes in Munya include cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. The morphophonological phenomena of vowel harmony are also discussed and a plethora of vowel harmony patterns are identified. In terms of direction both anticipatory harmony and perseverative harmony are found. In terms of dimension there are fronting harmony, lowering harmony, tense harmony, raising harmony, and full harmony. It is also shown that in order to account for the identical vowels in the directional prefixes of certain verbs, the mechanism of vowel elision is needed.

Word classes are treated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Chapter 4 deals with open word classes, including nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. These four word classes are defined based on a set of phonological, morphological and syntactic properties that are specific to Munya. Most of these properties are not shared by different classes. Even if a few of these properties are found across different classes, they are fully expressed in only one word class and are restricted for other classes. This means that nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs can be clearly distinguished in Munya. Closed classes in Chapter five are recognized mainly on functional grounds, with formal criteria also taken into ac-
count whenever they are available. There are eight closed classes in Munya, which are
demonstratives, pronouns, number words, quantifiers, postpositions, interrogative words,
auxiliaries, and particles.

Nouns are discussed in Chapter 6. In this chapter the structure of noun phrases, plu­
rality, numeral classifiers and nominalization will be covered. A noun phrase can consist
of a bare noun or one to several modifiers, which can be positioned either before or after
the head noun. Munya has five plural markers. The most basic marker is =na. The four
other markers are all morphologically related to it, which are the associative plural =ronė,
the collective associative plural =nc, the place associative plural =nate\o, and the simila­
tive plural =mēna. As with many other languages, numeral classifiers can be classified
as sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. These numeral classifiers have a plethora
of functions, such as denoting indefiniteness, stacking number words to express approxi­
mate meaning, acting as quantifiers and adverbs, acting as nominal and manner adverbial
demonstratives, and being used for complementation strategy. There are six nominalizing
particles in Munya, which cover functions of agentive nominalization, local/temporal nom­
inalization, state/object nominalization, activity-object nominalization, and free-standing
nominalization.

Issues related to verbs are treated in Chapter 7 to Chapter 10. In Chapter 7 we look at
verbal morphology, including directional prefixes, person-number inflections, causatives
and pluractionality. There are seven directional prefixes in Munya. Some of these pre­
fixes can involve more than one sense of direction, and they can be used as verbalizers
to make finer-grained semantic distinctions. The predominant person-number inflectional
paradigm is first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person non­
singular. The final vowels tend to be /o/ and /ö/ for first person singulars, /ɛ/ and /ü/ for
second person singulars, and /e/ for first or second person nonsingulars. There are two
ways to form causatives, which are internal modification, including vowel raising (pro­
ductive) and consonantal processes (non-productive), and with the causative marker tɕʰí.
The first way tends to be used in intransitive clauses while the second way is mainly ap­
p lied to transitive clauses. Pluractionality is realized through reduplication of verbal roots.
The meanings of this category cover repetition of action, action carried out by multiple
persons, and reciprocal actions.
In Chapter 8 we explore some other important grammatical categories related to nouns and verbs, which are case-marking, aspect, evidentiality, egophoricity and mirativity. There are ten cases in Munya. Core syntactic functions can be marked by the ergative case $i$, the absolutive case (in zero form), the genitive case $\gamma e$, the dative case $le$ and the experiential case $\gamma e$. The patterns of alignment are different for different types of verbs. For control verbs, the pattern is basically ergative-absolutive, but there are also some variations due to differential case marking. Specifically, A is marked by the ergative case, S is marked by the absolutive case, but O can be marked by absolutive case, dative case and experiential case. For non-control verbs, the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative, in that both A and S are marked by the experiential case and O is marked by the absolutive case. There are three aspects, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect. There are also three evidential markers, which are the direct evidential, the indirect evidential and the reported evidential. The perfective marker and the indirect evidential marker are the same auxiliary $sa$, which has both an aspectual sense and an evidential sense. There are two egophorics in Munya. $nj$ can only be used in context of first or second person subject and control predicate. $ny$ can occur with all persons and all types of predicates. The meanings of egophorics cover volitional action and privileged access to information. The mirative marker $tʰoŋɔsa$ is a clause final particle. It is grammaticalized from the equative copula verb $tʰoŋɔ$ plus the perfective aspect marker $sa$. It can be used in contexts of sudden or deferred realization, counter-expectation, surprise or new information.

Chapter 9 is devoted to motion verbs and serial verb constructions. In this chapter we first look at the properties of five motion verbs, including whether or not they show person-number inflections, the directional prefixes that they can take, the verbal categories and time adverbials that they can co-occur with, and whether or not they can be used as minor verbs in serial verb constructions. Next we look at serial verb constructions in Munya. There are both symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions, though the latter type is much rarer than the former type. Serial verb constructions in Munya are not always temporally iconic, because the grammatical rule of Munya is such that conceptually secondary verbs should follow primary verbs.

Chapter 10 discusses the properties and functions of copula verbs. Copula verbs
in Munya can denote IDENTITY, LOCATION, EXISTENCE, and POSSESSION. The senses of LOCATION, EXISTENCE and POSSESSION can be expressed with one copula. Munya has multiple copula verbs of existence, the choice of which is determined by the semantics of the Copula Determining Referent (CDR), which can be realized as copula subject or copula complement. Some copulas have extended functions. The copula of identity can act as an egophoric marker and the mirative marker. The copula for animate CDR, ndzū, and the one for movable CDR, mú, can be used as a progressive aspect marker. The copula which requires an abstract CDR, ndē, can also be used as a modal particle. Finally, when attached to copulas, the directional prefix tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’ can mark perfectiveness.

In Chapter 11 we look at adjectives, an independent and open word class in Munya. Adjectives can be defined on the basis of their phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties. Phonologically, many (though by no means all) adjectives are inherently reduplicated. Morphologically, adjectives can take a comparative prefix, a superlative prefix, and an intensification suffix. Syntactically, adjectives can modify nouns and verbs, function as predicates and complements of certain verbs. Inherently reduplicated adjectives can also occur in monosyllabic form, called the ‘short-form’ of adjectives. When functioning as predicates, both short-form and full form are allowed. But when adjectives are prefixed, only short-forms can be used. The semantic types of adjectives in Munya include DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, COLOR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, DIFFICULTY, SIMILARITY, QUANTIFICATION and POSITION.

Chapter 12 looks at interrogatives and negation. Interrogatives in Munya can be grouped into four types, which are constituent interrogative, polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative. Each type of interrogative is formed in its unique way and has its unique functions. Constituent interrogative needs an interrogative word, which generally contains the interrogative prefix ɛ-. It occupies the same position as the constituent questioned, and can be used as indefinites or general indefinites. Polar interrogative is formed by attaching the interrogative prefix to predicates or auxiliaries. Rhetorical interrogative is used to introduce a new topic, and alternative interrogative generally contains the particle sū ‘or’, which links two clauses parallel in structure. Negation can be expressed either with prefixes or with a negative predicate. There are four negative
prefixes with contrasting but also overlapping functions. *tsɯ* - is only used in prohibitive clauses, *nɯy*- is used in non-past situations and *mo*- is used in past situations. The negative prefix *tɕɛ* - is interchangeable with *nɯy* - and *mo* - but cannot be followed by egophoric markers.

Chapter 13 is about basic clause types. In this chapter clauses are first categorized based on predicates, i.e., whether they are verbs, adjectives, copulas or nouns. For each of these types, clauses are further classified based on argument structure as reflected in case marking. After that there is a section on imperative clauses. Such clauses can be categorized into second-person imperative clauses and first person imperative clauses, and the former can be further classified into immediate imperative, future imperative and polite imperative.

Chapter 14 analyzes complex clauses. Here relative clauses, complement clauses, speech report constructions and clause linking devices are explored. In Munya, a relative clause precedes the common argument, and is marked by *ɣɛ*. The common argument is stated in the main clause, and there is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. In complement clauses, the most common argument slot that a complement clause takes is O. There is no dedicated marker for complement clauses. Munya has a wide range of complement-taking verbs, including copulas. In Munya, nominalization, relativization and complementation are related: the same morpheme, *ri*, is found in all three types of constructions, and some constructions are amenable to different analyses. A speech report construction consists of the speech report content, the reporting marker, and optionally a linker between the two. Munya has two markers of speech report, a verb, *tә-tә* ‘up-say’, and a reported evidential, *tә-pi*. There is no obligatory linker between the two markers and the speech report content. There are indirect, direct, and semi-direct speech reports in Munya. In semi-direct speech report, the subject in the matrix clause and the embedded clause are coreferential, and the subject in the embedded clause needs to shift to the reflexive form. Meanwhile, the verb or auxiliary in the embedded clause inflects for the person-number of the subject before it is shifted. For complex clauses containing clause linking, a distinction can be made between focal clauses and supporting clauses. Eight types of clause linking are recognized, which are those involving the relationships of temporal, conditional, consequence, contrast, con-
junction, disjunction, same-event addition, and concession.

In Chapter 15 we look at discourse and pragmatics. Here the distribution of the commonly found discourse marker tsēkù will be described. We then turn to some techniques of argument manipulation, including argument omission, right dislocation, and coreferential NP ellipsis. In the section on NP ellipsis, it will be shown that both A, S and O can be ellipsed when they are recoverable from the context, which means there is no pivot restrictions in Munya. The narrative genre of Munya discourse features prevalent bridging constructions, including recapitulative linkage and summary linkage. In the first type of linkage, a dependent clause is used to recapitulate in verbatim or in close paraphrase the preceding clause, and in the second type, a clause containing a demonstrative anaphorically summarizes the content of a discourse unit, typically a paragraph. Munya also has an archaic honorific style, now largely lost within young speakers. This style is used when the subject is a venerable Buddhist. In this style, a standard-register verb (and less commonly, a noun) needs to be replaced by an honorific verb to show the deference of the speaker.

Appendix A is a long story about the adventures of three children, and Appendix B is a vocabulary of about 2,800 words.
Chapter 2

Phonetics and Phonology

2.1 Overview

In this chapter we look at the phonetics of phonology of Munya. We will first discuss segmental phonology, identifying consonants and vowels in the first two sections (Section 2.2 and 2.3). In the latter part of the two sections, we clarify some related issues, including consonant clusters, vowel nasalization, tense and lax vowels and diphthongs. We will then look at the suprasegmental phonology in Section 2.4. It will be shown that Munya is a tonal language which contrasts a high tone and a low tone, and the two tones combine in a restricted range of patterns. The phonological processes in Munya are treated in Section 2.5, where four types of processes are identified, which are vowel nasalization, uvularization, aspiration assimilation and lenition. After that, syllable structure and word structure will be briefly discussed (Section 2.6), followed by loan word phonology (Section 2.7) and the criteria for phonological words and grammatical words (Section 2.8). The orthographic practice used in the thesis is discussed in the last section (Section 2.9).

2.2 Consonants

Altogether forty consonantal phonemes are attested in Munya, which are presented in Table 2.1. The table contains only the consonants identified in the northern dialect, though in the following discussion reference will be made to the southern dialect whenever information is available.
### Table 2.1: Consonants in Northern Munya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>LABIODENTAL</th>
<th>APICO-ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>APICO-POSTALVEOLAR</th>
<th>LAMINO-PALATAL</th>
<th>DORSO-VELAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>STOP</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICELESS</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICELESS ASP.</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICED</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRENASALIZED</td>
<td>nb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NASAL</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FRICATIVE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICELESS</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[z]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICED</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AFFRICATE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICELESS</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tʂ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICELESS ASP.</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tʂʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOICED</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRENASALIZED</td>
<td>ndz</td>
<td>ndz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ndz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>APPROXIMANT</strong></td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LATERAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **CONSONANTS**
- **pú** ‘incense stick’  
- **pʰú** ‘puff’
- **tʰí** ‘seal’
- **bí** ‘urine’
- **nbú** ‘mountain’  
- **tú** ‘poison’
- **dú** ‘canopy’
- **ndó** ‘meat’
- **ku** ‘tent’
- **kʰú** ‘inside’
- **gú** ‘yak’
- **ngú** ‘grass name’
- **mú** ‘exist’
- **ŋú** ‘silver’
- **ní** ‘two’
- **ŋí** ‘egophoric particle’
- **vúú** ‘snow’
- **súú** ‘lake’
- **sú** ‘language’
- **xú** ‘night’
- **zú** ‘button’
- **şúá** ‘protective amulet’
- **şí** ‘hand’
- **zi** ‘pig’
- **yú** ‘grass’
- **tsʰú** ‘to be enough’
- **tsʰtsʰ** ‘hot’
- **dzˈdza** ‘spicy’
- **ndzé** ‘meal’
- **ndzé** ‘rope’
- **tʃʰtʃʰ** ‘beautiful’
- **jɛjɛ́** ‘strange’
- **dzé** ‘voice’
- **tʃú** ‘six’
- **tsúu** ‘water’
- **tsʰúu** ‘now’
- **dzúú** ‘trousers’
- **ndzúú** ‘to exist’
- **wú** ‘person’
- **lì** ‘moon’
In the table /s/ and /w/ are in brackets because they are losing phonemic status. Consonants contrast six places of articulation, which are bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, postalveolar, palatal, and velar. Based on manners of articulation, consonants are categorized into stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, approximants, and a lateral. The minimal and quasi-minimal pairs below the table serve to demonstrate that these consonants contrast with each other.

In the following subsections, consonants are discussed based on the manner of articulation, and the different places of articulation will be discussed whenever necessary.

2.2.1 Stops

Stops are made by first forming a complete closure, which results in a momentary blockage of the air stream, with the consequence that a pressure builds up behind the closure as the air tries to flow. As the closure is released, the compressed air bursts out in a small explosion.

Munya has three sets of stops: bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar. Each set of stops has a four-way contrast, which are voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and prenasalized voiced. These contrasts can be seen from the phonetic waveforms in Figure 2.1. The four words used to demonstrate these distinctions are ku ‘tent’, kʰu ‘inside’, gu ‘yak’ and ngu ‘plant name’, which are pronounced by the same speaker.

The differences among this set of dorso-velar stops are manifested in Voice Onset Time (VOT), which is the time difference between the release of burst and the start of voicing. Generally speaking, voiceless unaspirated stops have a very small VOT value, voiceless aspirated stops have a relatively large VOT, and voiced stops and prenasalized stops have a negative VOT. This is exactly what we see from the figure. All four waveforms are aligned at the moment of burst release, which is set to be at 0.25 second. In the uppermost panel, where the stop is voiceless unaspirated, the VOT is very short—only 0.05s. The second panel contains a voiceless aspirated stop, and the VOT is 0.1s. The longer VOT is caused by an aspiration following the burst. On the third panel we can see that the vocal folds start vibrating 0.13s prior to burst release, indicating that this is a voiced stop. In the last waveform, the voicing section before burst is 0.08s. While this portion is shorter
compared to that in the voiced stop, it is also louder, as can be seen from the greater amplitude in the waveform. This is because in a voiced stop, the voicing volume prior to burst release is considerably muffled by the closed articulators, and in a prenasalized sound
the voicing before burst can escape through nasal cavity and is therefore louder.

Munya does not distinguish between voiced prenasalized sounds and voiceless prenasalized sounds. From the fourth waveform in Figure 2.1, we can conclude that prenasalized stops are similar to voiced stops: the burst release is immediately followed by the vowel section, without any gap in between, and the section before burst release is voiced. Nor are the nasal sounds at the prenasalizing section contrastive. This means we do not have such minimal pairs as *nbu* and *mbu*, or *ngu* and *ŋugu*. The nasal sound in this section is homorganic to the following stop.

### 2.2.2 Nasals

Nasals are produced by forming a complete closure in the mouth and lowering the velum at the same time, so that airflow comes out through nasal cavity. Four nasals are attested in Munya: the bilabial /m/, the apico-alveolar /n/, the lamino-palatal /ɲ/, and the dorso-velar /ŋ/.

The only nasal that needs to be discussed is /ɲ/. In Munya this sound is phonetically a laminal pre-palatal, made by pressing the blade of the tongue against the post-alveolar or the prepalatal zone. But in Table 2.1 it is grouped together with lamino-palatal fricatives and affricates. This grouping is based on phonological considerations. In Munya [u] and [o] are in complementary distribution, with [o] only occurring after lamino-palatals and [u] occurring in other environments. Because /ɲ/ patterns with other palatals, they are all put under the same category in terms of place of articulation.

Some young speakers do not have this phoneme. For example, I noticed that the little girl in my host family (12 years old) does not have this sound. In her phonological system, /ɲ/ has merged with /n/. But just how widespread this phenomenon is remains an issue for further study.

### 2.2.3 Fricatives

Fricatives are made by generating a turbulent airflow through a narrow channel, resulting in a maintainable hissing sound. There are altogether nine fricatives in Munya, of which eight are in pairs. The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is only found in Chinese loan
2.2. CONSONANTS

2.2.3.1 Apico-Alveolar Fricatives

The pair of apico-alveolar fricatives, /s/ and /z/, is made with the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge or the upper teeth.

2.2.3.2 Apico-Postalveolar Fricatives

Apico-postalveolar fricatives (or retroflexes) are made with the tip of the tongue turned back against the hard palate. The voiceless apico-postalveolar fricative /ʂ/ is in brackets in Table 2.1, because /ʂ/ is losing its phonemic status in the northern dialect, and is merging with /ɕ/. This can be seen from the rarity of the phoneme, and from the variant pronunciations of the same word in different dialects. For example, what is pronounced
\( \textsf{ʂα 'barley' and ʂɤ 'feces' in the southern dialect is respectively pronounced as ɕα and ɕɤ in the northern dialect. Nevertheless, } /\textsf{s}/ \text{ has not yet completely disappeared from the northern dialect, though it only exists in a few native words, such as ʂənˈbu 'pimple' and tɨˈsu 'to confiscate', and some loans, as in ʂua 'protective amulet' (borrowed from Tibetan), ʂə 'village', ʂotɕi 'cellphone' and ʂutɕi 'secretary' (all borrowed from Chinese).}

This merger is also observed in affricates containing /\textsf{s}/. The word for ‘tsampa paste\(^1\)’ is [tsama] in the southern dialect but [tsama] in the northern dialect. The alternation between /\textsf{tʂ}/ and /\textsf{tɕ}/ here can be accounted for as the result of the merger of /\textsf{s}/ with /\textsf{s}/ in the northern dialect.

The voiced apico-postalveolar fricative /\textsf{ʐ}/ is articulatorily very similar to its variant, the alveolar approximant [ɹ], and the two do not contrast. It has two other free variants, which are the alveolar trill [r] and the alveolar tap [ɾ].

2.2.3.3 Lamino-Palatal Fricatives

Lamino-palatal fricatives are made by drawing the blade of the tongue close to the concave of the prepalatal area, leaving a very narrow constriction for the air stream to pass through. /\textsf{ʑ}/ has an allophone [ʝ], which only occurs before high vowels. Thus /\textsf{ʑi}/ ‘pig’ is phonetically [ʝi]. This can be seen as a case of assimilation, as the body of the tongue is raised in anticipation of the production of high vowels.

2.2.3.4 Dorso-Velar Fricatives

The last pair of fricatives is the voiceless dorso-velar fricative /\textsf{x}/ and the voiced dorso-velar fricative /\textsf{ɣ}/, which are produced with the tongue root and the velum. The voiceless /\textsf{x}/ is in free variation with [h]. Before non-high back vowels, both /\textsf{x}/ and /\textsf{ɣ}/ become uvular sounds, with /\textsf{x}/ becoming the voiceless uvular fricative [χ] and /\textsf{ɣ}/ becoming the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]. In addition, before non-high back vowels both /\textsf{x}/ and /\textsf{ɣ}/ can also be pronounced as the uvular trill [ɾ]. Their relationship is shown in Figure 2.3 below:

\(^1\)The raw material of tsampa paste is fried barley flour. The flour is made by first frying barley in a big wok then grinding them in watermills. The paste is made by adding water, which is then eaten like porridge.
2.2. CONSONANTS

2.2.3.5 About Uvular Consonants

While uvular sounds are widely attested among Qiangic languages (H. K. Sun 2016: 10), their phonemic status varies across different languages. Indeed, in addition to the stops and fricatives presented above, some researchers also identified a series of uvular consonants in Munya. H. K. Sun (1983) identified three uvular stops (/q/, /qʰ/ and /ɢ/) and two uvular fricatives (/χ/ and /ʁ/). These uvulars are also recognized by B. F. Huang (1985), who, in addition, sets up an uvular nasal /ɴ/, and notes that the voiced uvular stop /ɢ/ only occurs before /ɴ/. Similar to B. F. Huang (1985), Ikeda (1998) also identified two uvular fricatives, a uvular nasal (/ɴ/), and two uvular stops (/q/ and /qʰ/). In a recent study by Y. Gao (2015: 57) however, no phonemic uvular consonant is mentioned.

The reason why uvular sounds are treated as phonemic in some studies but non-phonemic in others may reflect dialectal variations within Munya. Except for Y. Gao (2015) and the present work, all previous studies were carried out in the southern dialect area. In the northern dialect, uvular sounds are only found before back vowels or the low front [a] and never before non-low front vowels. They can thus be treated as the allophones of dorso-velar consonants. (See Section 2.5.2 for more discussion.) However, in the southern dialect, uvular consonants can occur before non-low front vowels. For example, the word for ‘wheat’ is [qøɹ] (northern dialect has a totally different form, which is [ʐa]). Therefore, while uvular sounds exist in both the southern dialect and the northern dialect, their phonemic status differs: they are phonemes in the southern dialect but are allophones of dorso-velar consonants in the northern dialect.

2.2.4 Affricates

Affricates are stops released into their homorganic fricatives. The structure of this kind of sound is demonstrated in Figure 2.4 with the voiced lamino-palatal affricate from the word...
2.2. CONSONANTS

*dzu* ‘trousers’.

![Waveform of a Voiced Affricate](image)

Figure 2.4: The Waveform of a Voiced Affricate

The affricate shown in this figure can be delimited into a stop section and a fricative section. The former ranges from 0.041s to 0.2s and the latter from 0.2s to 0.24s. The stop part can be further divided into a pre-voicing section, from 0.041s to 0.19s (as this is a voiced stop), and a section of burst release, from 0.19s to 0.2s. Here the burst part is 0.01s, which is considerably shorter than that in a pure stop (cf. the first panel in Figure 2.1). This may be because the latter part of the burst is merged with the following fricative section.

Affricates in Munya contrast three places of articulation: apico-alveolar, apico-postalveolar, and lamino-palatal. They are made in the same places as their fricative counterparts. Apico-alveolar affricates are produced with the tip of the tongue and the alveolar ridge, apico-postalveolar fricatives are formed with the sublamina and the pre-palatal area, and lamino-palatal affricates are made with the tongue blade and the pre-palatal area.

Similar to stops, affricates in Munya also contrast four modes of articulation: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and prenasalized. The stop component and the voicing component have the same voicing value. They are not analyzed as consonant clusters because no schwa can be inserted between them in slow register.
2.2.5 Approximants

Approximants are made by drawing two articulators close to each other, but not to the extent of forming a turbulent airflow. There are two approximants in Munya—the labiovelar /w/ and the lamino-palatal /j/, which are also called semi-vowels. [w] is made by raising the root of the tongue toward the velum and simultaneously rounding the lips, and [j] is produced with the tongue blade and the hard palate.

Not much needs to be said about /j/, but /w/ should be discussed in some detail. Notice that this phoneme is put in brackets in Table 2.1, because it is disappearing in the northern dialect. This loss is manifested in three aspects. The most direct evidence comes from comparing the different pronunciations of the same words in the northern and the southern dialects. wi ‘wine’ and wotse ‘this’ in the southern dialect are respectively pronounced as i and otsә in the northern dialect. In addition, in the northern dialect, certain words have alternating pronunciations, either with or without /w/. For example, ruwe ‘bear’ can be pronounced as ruc, as do yuwe ~ yuc ‘farm cattle’ and tsiwe ~ tsie ‘praying beads’. It is possible that these words originally contained /w/, and as the phoneme is disappearing, the variants without /w/ emerge. The low functional load of this phoneme is another symptom of its loss. It is only found in a handful of words, and rarely occurs in initial syllables. Some notable exceptions include wo ‘rope’ and certain loan words from Chinese, such as wa ‘roofing tile’ and watsә ‘sock’.

The gradual loss of /w/ is correlated with the monophthongization of vowels in the northern dialect. Although there are no diphthongs in the northern dialect, B. F. Huang (1985) recorded diphthongs in the southern dialect, in which the first vowel of all diphthongs was always /u/, such as kui ‘year’, qua ‘underneath’, tsʰuә ‘mouse’ and tfua ‘ant’. But she also noted that this /u/ is sometimes not pronounced, so that dzue ‘fox’ can be alternatively pronounced as dze. In the northern dialect, the vowels in all these words are monophthongs, hence kui(SD)=kii(ND) ‘year’, tsʰuә(SD)=tsʰu(ND) ‘mouse’ and tsua(SD)=tә(ND) ‘ant’.

It is very probable that both the /u/ in the diphthong and the semi-vowel /w/ in the southern dialect documented in B. F. Huang (1985) correspond to /w/ in the northern dialect. Thus it might be more accurate to transcribe [kui] ‘year’ and [tʃuә] ‘ant’ as [kwi]
and [ʦwa]. One might wonder why cannot it be the case that they correspond to /u/. The reason is that /u/ is a commonly found vowel in the northern dialect, showing no trace of loss. Therefore, /w/ and /u/ should be kept apart, and it is the semivowel /w/ that is losing its phonemic status in the northern dialect.

### 2.2.6 Lateral

Munya has one lateral sound, /l/. It is a lateral approximant, made by touching the alveolar area with the tip of the tongue, and letting airflow out through the two sides of the tongue blade.

### 2.2.7 Consonant Clusters

The status of consonant clusters in Munya is controversial. On one hand, there are those who treat prenasalized consonants as consonant clusters (H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985). On the other hand, Y. Gao (2015: Chapter 4) treats this type of consonant on a par with other consonants. The debate on this issue is largely terminological, as these consonants can be analyzed either way without significantly influencing other parts of the phonological system (other than the syllable template). I analyzed prenasalized consonants as one consonant phoneme each, on the ground that there are only a small number of such consonants (altogether six) and that they contrast with other consonants.

Meanwhile Y. Gao (2015) includes six more prenasalized consonants in her consonant system, which were overlooked by previous researchers and need to be discussed here. These consonants all consist of an aspirated stop or affricate and a homorganic nasal component, which are /mpʰ/, /ntʰ/, /ŋkʰ/, /ntsʰ/, /ntɕʰ/ and /ntʂʰ/.

Evidence from verbal directional prefixes indicates that such consonants do exist in Munya. A Munya verb can take one to seven directional prefixes (which are all monosyllabic). The vowels in these directional prefixes are normally not nasalized. For example, [xe] means ‘go’ and can be used without taking any directional prefix. The directional prefix is not nasalized when forming a word with [xe]: te-xe ‘to go up (up-go)’, na-xe ‘to go down (down-go)’ and tʰna-xe ‘to go away (as-go)’. However, when prefixed to certain verb roots, directional prefixes need to be nasalized: tə-tʰətəxe ‘to drag upward (up-drag)’, nə-tʰətəxe ‘to drag downward
2.2. CONSONANTS

('down-drag') and \( tʰʌ̃\text{-}tʰɛtɕɛ \) ‘to drag (as-drag)’. To account for the nasalization, one only needs to argue that the consonant in the first syllable of the verb root of ‘drag’ is prenasalized, and the underlying form of the root is \( ntʰɛtɕɛ \). Then, with the vowel nasalization rule (to be discussed in Section 2.5), the vowels in the directional prefixes are nasalized and the nasal component in the prenasalized consonant is dropped.

Why not, then, add these prenasalized aspirated consonants to the consonant inventory? The reason is that, in contrast to prenasalized voiced consonants, this type of prenasalized consonants cannot occur in word-initial syllables. Thus, while there are such words as \([mbi]\) ‘to sit’ and \([ndʐɯ]\) ‘to exist’, there are no such words like \([*mpʰi]\) or \([*ntɕʰɯ]\), as this violates the phonotactic constraints in Munya. \( ntʰɛtɕɛ \) ‘to drag’ cannot be used without taking a directional prefix.) Because of this constraint and the scarcity of such consonants, they seldom contrast with other consonants, which means that their phonemic function is negligible.

Some reduplicated adjectives in Munya give us a hint as to the fate of such prenasalized consonants. Munya has words such as \([tʂʰõ̃tʂʰø]\) ‘hard-working’ and \([tʰũtʰu]\) ‘high’. (see Section 11.2 for more information.) These words are otherwise fully reduplicated, except for the nasalization on the first vowel. One natural question is where does the nasalization come from. Now, if we assume that the consonants in the two words are prenasalized, we can reconstruct them as \(*ntʂʰøntʂʰø\) and \(*ntʰuntʰu\). The nasalization on the first vowel would then come from the vowel nasalization rule, and the missing nasal component on the first syllable is the result of the simplification of consonant clusters. This also explains why prenasalized aspirated consonants are not found in word-initial syllables.

Thus, while prenasalized aspirated consonants in Munya may have existed and contrasted with other consonants in history, synchronically they are only preserved in non-initial syllables and do not have any phonemic functions. They are better analyzed as marginal, instead of fully fledged, phonemes.
2.3 Vowels

This section discusses the vowels in Munya. After first giving the vowel inventory in Section 2.3.1, the phonetics and allophones of vowels will be discussed, focusing on their acoustic properties such as formant configurations (Section 2.3.2). Nasalized vowels will be discussed in Section 2.3.3, and it will be shown that vowel nasalization in Munya is non-phonological. The nature of tense and lax vowels will be explored in Section 2.3.4, and the issues on diphthongs are briefly mentioned in Section 2.3.5.

2.3.1 Vowel Inventory

Munya has thirteen vowels. These vowels contrast in roundness, three degrees of backness, and four degrees of height. There are no diphthongs in northern Munya. The vowel inventory of the northern dialect is shown in Figure 2.5. Where the vowels occur in pairs, the one on the right is a rounded vowel. Single vowels are all unrounded.

![Figure 2.5: Vowels in Northern Munya](image)

The phonemic status of these vowels can be established based on the minimal pairs below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsɪ</th>
<th>tse</th>
<th>tsɛ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>‘tea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘offerings’</td>
<td>‘smoke offerings’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nбу</td>
<td>nbo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mountain’</td>
<td>‘candy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va</td>
<td>va</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘butter’</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>яу</td>
<td>я</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndə</td>
<td>ndə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td>‘exist’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. VOWELS

A preliminary phonetic study on Munya vowels is done based on a set of recordings of the above word list. The recordings are from six speakers of the northern dialect, of which two are females (S2 and S4) and four are males. The ages of the speakers range from late twenties to early seventies. Each word was first pronounced in isolation then put in the frame sentence ŋi __ te po nyi ‘I am saying __’. The F1 and F2 values of these vowels are then measured in Praat, which are given in Table 2.2. The measurement points are chosen where both F1 and F2 are relatively steady. With these data, a formant plot is drawn with the phonR package in R, which is given in Figure 2.6. These vowels will be discussed in detail below.

2.3.2 The Phonetic Properties and Allophones of Vowels

2.3.2.1 Front Vowels

There are six front vowels in Munya. Contrast in lip position is found in the high pair and the mid-high pair, i.e., between /i/ and /y/ and /e/ and /ø/.

In this figure, the two vowels immediately below /ɯ/ are /ø/ and /ә/. It so happens that they overlap with each other.
### 2.3. VOWELS

#### Table 2.2: The F1 and F2 Values of Munya Vowels Measured from six Speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ø</th>
<th>ɛ</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ü</th>
<th>ʌ</th>
<th>ɔ</th>
<th>ә</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1 F1</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1 F2</td>
<td>2359</td>
<td>2139</td>
<td>2302</td>
<td>1676</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td>1445</td>
<td>1556</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>1124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2 F1</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>704</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2 F2</td>
<td>2073</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>1404</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>1372</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3 F1</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3 F2</td>
<td>2255</td>
<td>2238</td>
<td>2336</td>
<td>1370</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>1723</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td>937</td>
<td>1686</td>
<td>1141</td>
<td>947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4 F1</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4 F2</td>
<td>2035</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>2384</td>
<td>1416</td>
<td>1664</td>
<td>1604</td>
<td>1024</td>
<td>1289</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>1291</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5 F1</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5 F2</td>
<td>1779</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>1153</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td>1227</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>1128</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6 F1</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>688</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6 F2</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>2082</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>1495</td>
<td>1124</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The spectrograms of the two high front vowels are given in Figure 2.7.

![Spectrograms of vowels](image)

**Figure 2.7:** The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [i] and [y]. All spectrograms and formant contours used in this chapter are generated with Praat. For spectrograms, the view range is set between 0–4000 Hz, the window length is set at 0.005, and the dynamic range is set at 40.0 dB. In order to better capture the formants, the maximum formant is capped at 5500, the number of formants to be found is 5, the window length is set to 0.025, the dynamic range is 30.0, and the dot size is 1.0. The time points for measuring formant values are mostly in the middle of the vowel, where the formant contours are steady. The values are then checked against the standard vowel formants given in Catford (2001: 154) for reliability.

High front vowels are characterized by a low F1 and a high F2. At the time point marked above the figures, the two formants are respectively 324 and 2161 for [i] and 314 and 1819 for [y]. The lower F2 value for the rounded vowel is expected, because rounded lips can increase the length of the vocal tract and thus reduce the frequency of F2. Perhaps the two sounds can be more prominently distinguished by their F3s, which are 2993 for [i] and 2464 for [y].
2.3. VOWELS

In many words /i/ and /y/ are in free variation, such as ɣɔji~ɣɔjy ‘face’, ʧyji~ʧyjy ‘one night’, ji~jy ‘wine’, si~sy ‘day’, li~ly ‘month’ and ri~ry ‘will’. However, there are also many instances where they are non-interchangeable. For example, /i/ can occur in many directional prefixes, but this is impossible for /y/ (see Section 7.2). On the other hand, many verbs inflect for the second person singular form by changing the vowel in the final syllable to /y/, but never to /i/ (see Section 7.3). In view of these, the two sounds are treated as two distinct phonemes rather than two allophones of one phoneme.

Figure 2.8 shows the spectrograms of the two mid-high front vowels.

![Figure 2.8: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [e] and [ø]](image)

The formants of [e] are very similar to that of [i], with F1 being 344 and F2 being 2091 at the marked time point. In the right panel, which is the formant chart of [ø], F1 is 436 and F2 is 1335. Here lip rounding has a more prominent influence on the first two formants than in the case of high front vowels, raising F1 and significantly lowering F2. /e/ and /ø/ both have a pharyngealized allophone, this will be discussed in Section 2.3.4.

There are disagreements on how to represent the mid-low front vowel. B. F. Huang (1985) and Ikeda (1998) phonemicize it as /æ/, but H. K. Sun (1983) phonemicizes it as /ɛ/. Impressionistically, while this sound in the northern dialect is lower than [e], it is not so low as to approach [æ]. Therefore it is treated as /ɛ/ here. The spectrogram of this sound is given in Figure 2.9 below. At the marked time point, F1 is 628 and F2 is 1665.

The last front vowel to be discussed here is /a/. While this sound is treated as a low front vowel, the tongue position can sometimes be higher, to the point of approximating [æ]. There is a perceptual difference of this phoneme in the northern and the southern
2.3. VOWELS

2.3.2.2 Back Vowels and the Schwa

Similar to front vowels, there are six back vowels that contrast four degrees of height. The first pair, /u/ and /ɯ/, contrast in lip rounding. /u/ is a high back rounded vowel. The tongue
position for /u/ is also very high, to the extent that the upper and lower teeth almost touch each, but the lips are not protruded. The tongue root also needs to be drawn back when producing this vowel. This is why it is treated as a high back vowel here. Both H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998) have this vowel in their vowel inventories, but B. F. Huang (1985) does not phonemicize it. In natural speech this sound can be weakened to a schwa. The spectrograms of the two vowels are given in Figure 2.11.

![Spectrograms of [u] and [ɯ]](image)

Both vowels have very low F1 (315 for [u] and 396 for [ɯ]), indicating that they are back vowels. Due to lip rounding, the F2 for [u] is much lower than that of [ɯ] (992 for [u] and 1323 for [ɯ]).

/u/ has an allophone [o], which only appears after palatals. Thus, what are phonemically transcribed as /ju/ and /tɕu/ are phonetically [jo] and [tso].

The vowel /ɤ/ is also produced by drawing the tongue backward, but there is no lip rounding involved. The tongue position is lower than when producing /u/ and /ɯ/, but not so low as to bordering on /ɔ/. The spectrogram for this vowel is given in Figure 2.12.

For this vowel, the F1 is 614 and the F2 is 1339 at the marked position. Compared to the F1 of [ɯ], which is 396, the F1 of [ɤ] is higher, indicating that the tongue position for this vowel is lower. In natural speech this sound is often pronounced as a schwa. It also has a pharyngealized allophone, [ɤˤ], this will be discussed in Section 2.3.4.

The next pair of back vowels to be discussed are the mid-low /ʌ/ and /ɔ/. The rounded /ɔ/ is treated as /o/ by Ikeda (1998) and B. F. Huang (1985). But in my fieldwork location this sound is pronounced lower than [o], with a high degree of lip rounding. Also, consid-
erating that [o] has been treated as an allophone of /u/ above, the sound is phonemicized
as /ɔ/ here.

There are disagreements on how to represent /ʌ/. This phoneme corresponds to the
/el/ of H. K. Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985). Impressionistically, the sound is more
central than /ʌ/, and can be either transcribed as [e] or [e]. It is treated as [ʌ] here in order
to make the vowel system symmetrical and neat. The spectrograms of the two vowels
are given in Figure 2.13.

The F1 and F2 of [ʌ] are respectively 514 and 1065 and those of [ɔ] are 457 and 635.
The lowness and backness of [ɔ] are born out by the prominent high F1 and low F2.
2.3. VOWELS

The last back vowel to be discussed is the low unrounded /a/. The tongue position for this sound is actually more fronted compared to that of the canonical low back unrounded vowel, to the point of approximating the low central unrounded [ə] (similar to the /a/ in the southern dialect). Because the low front unrounded /a/ was identified above, treating this vowel as /a/ can make the vowel system more symmetrical. The spectrogram for this vowel is given in Figure 2.14, where F1 is 565 and F2 is 963 at the marked position.

![Figure 2.14: The Spectrograms and Formant Charts of [a]](image)

The schwa in Munya contrasts with other vowels and is an independent phoneme. It has two allophones: the apico-alveolar [ɿ], as in [ndzɿ] ‘food’, and the apico-retroflex [ʅ], as in [ndʐʅ]. The former only occurs after alveolars and the latter is only found after retroflexes. The spectrogram for this vowel as pronounced in dә ‘wolf’ is given in Figure 2.15, in which F1 is 441 and F2 is 1312.

2.3.3 Nasalized Vowels

While phonetic nasalized vowels abound in Munya, nasalization does not seem to have any contrastive function. I can only find a near-minimal pair which seems to have a contrast in nasalization, which is [tʂʰ̡ø 55tʂʰ̡ø 33] ‘white’ and [tʂʰ̡ø 33tʂʰ̡ø 55] ‘hard-working’. They

---

3An anonymous examiner points out that they are generally allophones of the high-front vowel [i] rather than a schwa. However, in Munya, [i] can occur after apico-alveolars ([ndzi] ‘leopard’) and apico-retroflexes ([ndz̪u] ‘fruit’).
are not strict minimal pairs because the two words differ not only in the nasalization on the first syllable, but also in the tones, with the first one having a HL pitch and the second one having a LH pitch. (More on this in Section 2.4.)

Nasalized vowels in Munya come from three sources. The first and most common source is the vowel nasalization rule: a vowel is nasalized if it is followed by a prenasalized consonant. This is a kind of regressive nasalization. For example, [ʑi] means 'pig' and [ndo] means 'meat', and the compound formed by the two words, 'pork', is [ʑĩdɔ]. Here the vowel in the first syllable, [i], is nasalized as the following consonant is a prenasalized consonant. This phonological rule is very robust and is found from speakers of all ages.

Vowels can also be nasalized under the influence of the nasal consonant in the same syllable. This is a kind of progressive nasalization. This can be seen from words such as [mũmũ] 'wind', [mũ] 'sky', [mũŋo] 'woman', [mũ] 'medicine' and [nũ] 'dare'. The reason to postulate that the nasalization on these vowels is caused by the nasal onset is that vowels are never nasalized in monosyllabic words with non-nasal onsets. There are no such words, for example, as *[lĩ] or *[dũ] or *[kʰũ], etc. This kind of nasalization is optional, and can be omitted without affecting the meaning of words. Some young speakers tend not to nasalize the vowels in these words.

Another type of nasalization is only found in loan words. Both nasalized vowels and
vowels plus nasal codas in donor languages are pronounced as nasalized vowels in Munya. One important feature of such loan words is that nasalized vowels are only found in non-final syllables. Examples include [kɔ̃lu] ‘iron stove’ (from Chinese 鐵爐 [kɔŋlu]), [tsʰɔ̃tsә] ‘leeks’ (from Chinese 葱子 [tsʰɔŋtsә]), [tɔ̃pi] ‘bottle’ (from Tibetan འམ་བི dam.bi) and [nĩpɛ] ‘old’ (from Tibetan ལིང་པ rnying.pa). If a word in the donor language has a nasalized vowel or a vowel plus a nasal coda in the final syllable, then nasalization on that vowel will be dropped when the word is borrowed into Munya. This can be seen in examples like [ɕɑ] ‘county’ (from Chinese 乡 [ɕɑŋ]), [tiɛ] ‘electricity’ (from Chinese 电 [tiæn]), [so] ‘smoke offerings’ (from Tibetan བསམ་བི bsangs) and [mẽkʰɑ] ‘hospital’ (from Tibetan རྒྱུན་ཁང sman.khang). Even in non-final syllables, nasalized vowels and vowels plus nasal codas are sometimes not preserved when borrowed into Munya. Examples of this type include [kaɕi] ‘backdoor connections’ (from Chinese 关系 [kuan.ɕi]) and [tiɛsɿ] ‘television’ (from Chinese 电视 [tiæn.ʂɿ]). (See Section 2.7 for more discussion.)

The last type may give us a clue to the fate of nasalized vowels in Munya. What it shows is that nasalization is prohibited in word-final position. It can thus be deduced that while it is possible that nasalization used to play a phonemic role in Munya, nowadays it has been diminished to a phonetic vestige in the language. In addition, the fact that nasalization in some words show inter-speaker variation (the second situation) and that even some borrowed words with nasalization in non-final syllables can lose this feature after being borrowed into Munya indicates that nasalization does not have psychological reality among native speakers, in other words, it is synchronically non-phonological.

Having discussed the status of nasalized vowels, we now briefly look at the inventory of such vowels in Munya. H. K. Sun (1983) identifies six nasalized vowels, which are [ĩ], [ẽ], [ɛ̃], [ɑ̃], [on] and [ũ]. B. F. Huang (1985) recognizes ten, which are [ĩ], [ẽ], [ø ̃], [æ̃], [ә̃], [ɐ̃], [ɑ̃], [on], [ũ] and [ә ̠̃]. The [y] and most tense vowels identified by her do not have nasalized counterparts. The inventory of nasalized vowels given in Ikeda (1998) corresponds to that of lax vowels—all twelve oral lax vowels have a nasalized counterpart.

From the vowel nasalization rule mentioned above, we can infer that any vowel can in principle be nasalized as long as it occurs in a suitable phonological environment, i.e. before a prenasalized consonant. However, certain distinct oral vowels can merge into one vowel after being nasalized. This is the case of [a], [ʌ] and [ɑ], which all become [õ]
2.3. VOWELS

The inventory of nasalized vowel allophones is thus smaller than oral vowels, with members being [ĩ], [ỹ], [ẽ], [ø̃], [ɛ̃], [ũ], [ɯ̃], [ɤ̃], [ɔ̃], [ɑ̃] and [ә̃].

2.3.4 Tense and Lax Vowels

In describing the vocalic system of Munya, previous researchers all make a distinction between tense vowels and lax vowels (H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985; Ikeda 1998; Y. Gao 2015: Chapter 3; Y. Gao and Rao 2016). When presenting the phonological status and phonetic properties of vowels in the above sections, I did not follow this tradition. But considering the significance that previous scholars have attached to this dichotomy, it is necessary to explore the nature of it in some details.

On a wider scope, tense and lax is a pair of phonological terms used by some scholars who work on Tibeto-Burman languages in order to capture certain vocalic contrasts, of which the phonetic manifestation can vary from language to language. In some southern Tibeto-Burman languages, the contrast is largely phonatory. For example, Maddieson and Ladefoged (1985) found that in Jingpho and Wa, tense vowels are [-slack] and lax vowels are [+slack], while in Hani and Yi tense vowels are [+stiff] while lax vowels are [-stiff]. In other languages this contrast is articulatory. In some dialects of Qiang, uvularization is the most important factor involved in the pronunciation of tense vowels (Evans et al. 2016). Furthermore, sometimes both laryngeal and articulatory features are involved in this opposition. In an overview on the phonation types of the Tibeto-Burman languages in China, Kong (2015) notes that ‘the difference between the lax and tense vowels in the Liangshan Yi language lies not only in the different tension of vocal folds but also in the different pharyngeal cavity sizes and tongue positions’.

Because up till now there are no detailed and rigorous phonetic studies on Munya vowels, the articulatory properties of tense vowels remain elusive. When describing the articulation of these vowels, previous researchers could only take an impressionistic approach. H. K. Sun (1983) mentions in passing that there is ‘tension of the larynx muscle’ for these vowels. B. F. Huang (1985) says tense vowels are more tense and back than their plain vowel counterparts, without explaining which part of the articulator is tensioned. Ikeda (1998) does not mention the articulatory or acoustic features of tense vowels at all,
although he makes this distinction in his vowel system. In a recent study, Y. Gao and Rao (2016) claim that tense vowels are pharyngealized or uvularized vowels caused by tongue root retraction, hence they regard tense vowels as retracted tongue root vowels.

In addition to the divergent ideas on the phonetic properties of tense vowels, researchers also have different criteria of how to identify tense vowels, with some taking a strict phonetic approach, and others, such as B. F. Huang (1985), taking morphological changes into account as well. This lack of consensus led researchers to set up different inventories of tense vowels in Munya, as can be seen from Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Tense Vowels Identified in Previous Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Tense Vowels Identified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H. K. Sun (1983)</td>
<td>ɐ ̠ a̠ ɯ̠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. F. Huang (1985)</td>
<td>i̠ e̠ ø̠ a ә̠ ɐ̠ ɑ o ә̠̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikeda (1998)</td>
<td>i̠ e̠ ø̠ ɯ̠ ә̠ a̠ ɑ̠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y. Gao and Rao (2016)</td>
<td>e̠ ɛ̠ ø̠ ә̠ ʌ̠ u̠</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on my fieldwork experience, the description of Y. Gao and Rao (2016) seems to be to the point (but this may be because our fieldwork locations were near to each other). Impressionistically, tense vowels seem to involve pharyngealization, which are produced by narrowing of the pharynx (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011: 235). But based on this criterion I can only identify three tense vowels, which are [eˤ], [øˤ] and [ɤˤ].

However, it is well-known that auditorily similar vowels can be generated by means of many different articulatory gestures, and inferences made based on the auditory impression can only be regarded as an initial hypothesis (Lieberman and Blumstein 1988: 169). Therefore, experimental studies are needed in order to find conclusive evidence on how such vowels are articulated. In spite of this, assuming that pharyngealization is to some degree involved in the production of tense vowels at the present stage seems to be promising, as similar phenomena can be found in other Qiangic languages. Evans (2006), for example, argues that pharyngealization should be posited as a feature for the Hongyan dialect of Qiang. He also notes that this feature is not phonemicized in all Qiang dialects. It is not improbable that pharyngealized vowels will be found in more Qiangic languages in the future, and it can be expected that this feature is phonemically exploited.

to different degrees in different languages.

This raises the issue of the role that tenseness or pharyngealization plays in Munya. Is vocalic pharyngealization phonologically contrastive, or is it just a kind of peculiar second-articulation that some Munya vowels have? Different from previous studies, I tend to believe that tenseness or pharyngealization is synchronically non-phonological, and that the tense vs. lax dichotomy is redundant in the description of the Munya vocalic system.

The main reason is that pharyngealized vowels can be optionally pronounced as plain vowels in my fieldwork location. H. K. Sun (1983) also made similar observations, noting that ‘tense vowels are unstable’. These suggest that pharyngealized vowels and their non-pharyngealized counterparts are in free variation, and can be treated as the allophones of one phoneme. In spite of this, I do believe that this distinction is useful in capturing certain grammatical phenomena, especially some patterns of vowel harmony. This harmony pattern is irregular, however, and is only attested in a handful of words. (See Section 3.2.1 for more discussion.)

### 2.3.5 Diphthongs

There are also disagreements on the status of diphthongs in Munya. H. K. Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985) report that there are diphthongs in Munya, but Ikeda (1998) and Y. Gao (2015) only have monophthongs in their vowel inventory. I did not find any diphthongs in my dialect either.

The diphthongs identified by H. K. Sun (1983) have [i], [u] and [y] as their first elements. The diphthongs proposed in B. F. Huang (1985) all share the first element /u/. But she notes that the prenuclear vowel is sometimes omitted by native speakers. She hypothesizes that it may indicate an ongoing change in diphthongs. Table 2.4 compares the words containing diphthongs given in H. K. Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985) with my own data.

It is evident that all diphthongs in these words correspond to a monophthong in my data. Taking B. F. Huang (1985)’s observation into account, we can conclude that diphthongs in Munya are undergoing monophthongization. But this process developed to different degrees in different dialects. In the northern dialect, this process has finished; in
2.4. WORD PROSODY: TONES

2.4.1 Previous Analyses

Previous studies have established that there are tonal contrasts in Munya and have thus identified Munya as a tonal language. Early studies tacitly analyzed Munya as having an omnisyllabic tone system, in which each syllable has its own tone assignment which is relatively unaffected by neighboring syllables and word-level prosody. Both H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998) identify four tones: a high-level (55/˥), a mid-level (33/˧), a rising (35/˧˥), and a high-falling (53/˥˧). Huang (1985) identifies five tones, of which three are identical to the previous ones, which are the high-level (55/˥), the mid-level (33/˧) and the high-falling (53/˥˧). One of her rising tone is (24/˨˦), which differs only slightly from the rising tone (35/˧˥) of H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998). She also found a fifth tone, which is a rising 15 (˩˥) with lengthened vowels, and noted that it only appears in morphophonological change.\(^5\)

This analysis leaves some tonal phenomena in Munya unexplained. Firstly, the distribution of certain tones seems to be correlated with the number of syllables in a word. H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998) identify four tones: a high-level (55/˥), a mid-level (33/˧), a rising (35/˧˥), and a high-falling (53/˥˧). Huang (1985) identifies five tones, of which three are identical to the previous ones, which are the high-level (55/˥), the mid-level (33/˧) and the high-falling (53/˥˧). One of her rising tone is (24/˨˦), which differs only slightly from the rising tone (35/˧˥) of H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998). She also found a fifth tone, which is a rising 15 (˩˥) with lengthened vowels, and noted that it only appears in morphophonological change.\(^5\)

This analysis leaves some tonal phenomena in Munya unexplained. Firstly, the distribution of certain tones seems to be correlated with the number of syllables in a word. H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998) identify four tones: a high-level (55/˥), a mid-level (33/˧), a rising (35/˧˥), and a high-falling (53/˥˧). Huang (1985) identifies five tones, of which three are identical to the previous ones, which are the high-level (55/˥), the mid-level (33/˧) and the high-falling (53/˥˧). One of her rising tone is (24/˨˦), which differs only slightly from the rising tone (35/˧˥) of H. K. Sun (1983) and Ikeda (1998). She also found a fifth tone, which is a rising 15 (˩˥) with lengthened vowels, and noted that it only appears in morphophonological change.\(^5\)

---

\(^5\)The example she gives for this tone is hæ 15ʦə23 ‘(you) measure’. From the translation, we know that this is a verb containing an interrogative prefix. The correct morphological analysis should be hæ 23ʦə23ʦə23 ‘os-intrg-measure/2sg’. The vowel in the directional prefix becomes identical to the interrogative prefix due to vowel harmony, and the two vowels are pronounced without hiatus in between, thus it would give the impression that this is a long vowel with a rising pitch. See Section 3.2.2 for detailed discussion.
Sun (1983) and B. F. Huang (1985) note that the high-level tone and the mid-level tone are generally found in disyllabic or polysyllabic words. This seems unusual if we assume that tones are assigned at the syllabic level in Munya. Secondly, unlike typical omnisyllabic languages such as Mandarin, tones in Munya carry a very low functional load, and show variations among speakers. For example, my major consultant insists that tɕe˥˧ ‘son’ and tɕe˥˧ ‘house’ are to be pronounced with different tones, but there are speakers who pronounce both words as [tɕe˥˧] and say that there is no auditory difference between the two. In six of my recordings, nini ‘little, tiny’ is pronounced as [ni˥ni˥˧] by three and as [ni˦ni˥˧] by the other three. Many more examples like this can be found. This makes it virtually impossible to establish the tonal inventory based purely on minimal pairs, and also suggests that another way of analyzing Munya tones is needed. Thirdly, closer analysis shows that two tones identified by previous researchers, which are the high-level (55/˥) and the high-falling (53/˥˧), are partially in free variation, in that the high level tone can be optionally pronounced as the high-falling tone in word final or sentence-final positions.

In view of these tonal behaviors, a different approach to Munya tones is pursued by Ikeda (2002) and Y. Gao (2015: 77–81), where Munya is analyzed as a pitch-accent language. Both scholars recognize two tones for monosyllabic words, an /H/ and a /L/. Y. Gao (2015: 80) sets up two tones for disyllabic words and two for trisyllabic words, which are /HL/, /LH/, /HLL/ and /LHL/. She did not mention the situation of words with four syllables, probably because such words are hard to find. Ikeda (2002) identifies three tones for disyllabic words: /HH/, /HL/ and /LH/. The examples he uses to illustrate the pitch patterns in polysyllabic words are compounds or phrases. Because we are here concerned with the prosody on one word, his approach of identifying tones in polysyllabic words is not followed.

2.4.2 The Tone Patterns

My analysis is built on the insights of previous research but also differs from them in many details. The key is to reduce the four surface tone patterns (55, 53, 35 and 33) into two tones, a high tone (/H/) and a low tone (/L/). The high tone will be marked with an acute accent on the vowel and the low tone will be unmarked.
We look at the high tone first. As noted above, the high-level tone is in partial free variation with the high-falling tone. In particular, the high-falling variant is only found in word-final syllables, particularly in citation forms. For example, the monosyllabic word with a high-level tone, [kʰɯ^55], 'dog', can be optionally pronounced with a high falling tone, [kʰɯ^53], in citation form. The disyllabic word [jɛ^33]jɛ^55] 'good-looking' has a high-level tone on the second syllable, and that syllable can be optionally pronounced with a high-falling tone, giving [jɛ^33]jɛ^53]. The high-level tone in non-final syllables can never be pronounced with the high-falling tone. In fact, the high-falling tone cannot occur in non-final syllables at all. Therefore, [gɑ^55]le^33] 'mountain top' cannot be pronounced as *[gɑ^53]le^33], and [ko^55]ro^33]ro^55] 'crooked' cannot be optionally pronounced as *[ko^33]ro^33]ro^33]. The high-falling tone can thus be treated as a variant of the high-level tone, and their relationships can be captured by the rule below:

55 → 53 / _# (The high-level tone becomes high-falling in word-final position.)

This rule is optional because some people pronounce the high-level tone as such even if it is in word-final position. The above analysis shows that the high-level tone and the high-falling tone can be treated as a high tone. This tone is represented with /H/.

The rising tone (35) and the mid tone (33) can also be treated as one tone. This is because the rising tone only occurs in monosyllabic words while the mid tone is only found in bisyllabic or multi-syllabic words. They can thus be treated as two variants of one low tone, represented as /L/.

Having reduced the four surface tones into two tonemes, the tones in Munya can be considered as a series of pitches composed of /H/s and /L/s. These pitch patterns are given in Table 2.5.

As can be seen in the table, words with a different number of syllables have different tone patterns. The tone patterns of monosyllabic words (/H/ and /L/) conform to that identified by Y. Gao (2015: 80) and Ikeda (2002) and the tone patterns for disyllabic words (/LH/, /HL/ and /HH/) agrees with that of Ikeda (2002). Ikeda (2002) points out that /HH/ is mostly found in Tibetan loans, which seems to be the case. Besides, words with this tone pattern are mostly nouns or adjectives, and it seems that verbs do not have this pattern. Among the three tone patterns of trisyllabic words (/HLL/, /LHL/ and /LLH/), /LLH/ is not identified by Gao. This tone is not as common as the other two, and the word used to
2.5. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Table 2.5: Tone Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Tone Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>σ</td>
<td>/L/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tse³⁵]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σσ</td>
<td>/LH/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ti³³vi⁵⁵]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to get thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σσσ</td>
<td>/HLL/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tʰo⁵⁵tɕo³³ri³³]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σσσσ</td>
<td>/LLHL/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tʰo³³kʰɯ³³ɕi³³tɕe³³]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to work hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/HLLL/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tʰon⁵⁵tʰe³³tɕi³³tɕe³³]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to drag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/LLHH/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ni³³kʰo³³s'o⁵⁵r'o⁵⁵]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/HHHH/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ts'w⁵⁵nb'e⁵⁵r'e⁵⁵mu³³]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘bird name’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

illustrate this tone, [tʰo³³su³³mu⁵⁵] ‘to work hard’, is pronounced as [tʰo³³su⁵⁵mu³³] by some speakers. Since it is possible that as more trisyllabic words are discovered, more words with this tone pattern will be found, it is recognized as an independent tone. Four tone patterns are identified for quadrisyllabic words, which are /LLHL/, /HLLL/, /LLHH/ and /HHHH/. Because quadrisyllabic words are very rare, it is possible that certain tone patterns are missing here. No word with five or more syllables has been found in Munya, therefore their tone patterns cannot be given.

2.5 Phonological Processes

Phonological processes in Munya can be broadly categorized into two types, which are assimilation and lenition. Assimilation includes vowel nasalization (Section 2.5.1), uvularization (Section 2.5.2), and aspiration assimilation (Section 2.5.3). Lenition mainly includes spirantization, where a stop or an affricate becomes its homorganic fricative (Section 2.5.4). The complex phenomenon of vowel harmony is treated under the topic of morphophonology in Section 3.2.

2.5.1 Vowel Nasalization

Vowels are nasalized before prenasalized consonants. In the meantime, the prenasalized consonant loses the nasal component and becomes a homorganic voiced conso-
nant. This rule can be represented as below:

\[
\begin{align*}
V & \rightarrow +\text{Nasal} / _- +\text{Nasal} \\
C & \end{align*}
\]

For example, [hu] ‘night’ and [ndzɿ] ‘food’ can form a compound meaning ‘dinner’, which is pronounced as [hũdzɿ]. This rule can apply across word boundaries, as is shown in the first line of the example below.

(1) \[nɛnә̃] [be]

\[nɛnә \quad nbe\]

2PL sit/1/2NONSG

‘You sit down.’

2.5.2 Uvularization

A dorso-velar consonant is uvularized before back vowels and the low front [a]. This is an instance of assimilation because it can be argued that the dorso-velars acquire the feature of [+back] under the influence of back vowels. This is captured with the rule below.

\[
\begin{align*}
+\text{dorsal} +\text{consonantal} & \rightarrow +\text{back} / _- +\text{low} +\text{back} \\
+\text{dorsal} +\text{consonantal} & \end{align*}
\]

Words that can be used to illustrate this rule include kʰɤtɤ [qʰɤtɤ] ‘buy’, ngɑ [nqɑ] ‘leg’, xɔxɔ [χɔxɔ] ‘slowly’, ɣɑ [ʁɑ] ‘Han Chinese’ and kʰakʰa [qʰaqʰa] ‘dense’.

A closely related rule is spirantization. After [k] or [kʰ] become [q] or [qʰ] through assimilation, the latter can be further weakened to its homorganic fricative [χ]. Thus, it can be said that the rule of uvularization feeds the rule of spirantization in this case. Examples include kʰɛɾseŋa [χɛɾseŋa] ‘to listen’, kʰɔpɑ [χɔpɑ] ‘figure, stature’ and sɔkɑ [sɔχɑ] ‘three kinds’.
2.5.3 **Aspiration Assimilation**

A stop or affricate can optionally assimilate to the preceding stop or affricate in the feature of aspiration. This phenomenon is found both within a word and across words. This rule can be represented below:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{-continuant} \\
\rightarrow \\
\alpha \text{ spread glottis} \\
/ \\
\alpha \text{ spread glottis}
\end{array}
\]

For example, the prefix which means 'the more...the more...' is \(təw-\). When used in the word \(kʰuje\) 'to look', the whole word is pronounced as \(kʰu-təw-u-je\) 'the more (one) looks (nons-more-look)', where the unaspirated affricate becomes aspirated under the influence of the preceding consonant. An aspirated consonant can lose the feature of \([+\text{spread glottis}]\) if the stop or affricate before it is unaspirated. For example, the post-position \(kʰu\) 'inside' can become \([ku]\) in the phrase \(tɕi-ki ku\) 'within one year (one-year inside)'.

2.5.4 **Lenition**

Cases of consonant lenition (or weakening) are found in fast-register speech. Such processes are not very regular and not found for all speakers. Below I give all lenition phenomena that I observed.

The voiceless bilabial stop can be weakened and become its homorganic nasal \([m]\): \([ɛpu]\) 'uncle' \(\rightarrow [ɛmu]\).

Aside from the spirantization of \([q]/[qʰ]\) mentioned above, three more cases of spirantization are found. In the first case, the voiceless palatal affricate \([tʰ]a\) or \([tʰ]\) can be weakened and become its homorganic voiceless fricative \([s]\): \([tɕipu]\) 'happy' \(\rightarrow [ɕipu]\) and \([ŋgetəχy]\) 'below' \(\rightarrow [ŋɡaɛy]\). In the second case, the voiceless unaspirated dorso-velar stop \([k]\) becomes its homorganic fricative \([ɣ]\): \([katɕʰa]\) 'bad' \(\rightarrow [ɣatɕʰa]\). In the third case, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate \([ts]\) becomes its homorganic fricative \([s]\): \([tsəkɯ]\) (discourse marker) \(\rightarrow [səkɯ]\).
The syllable structure of Munya is (N)(C)Vᵀ. Because of the relatively simple syllable structure, there are not many noticeable phonotactic constraints.

The majority of syllables are of the CV pattern, as [dá] 'wolf'. In the NCV pattern, NC refers to a consonant cluster consisting of a nasal component and an aspirated stop or affricate, like /ntʰ/ and /ntʂʰ/, as the second syllable of the word [tʰo-ntɕʰó] 'to have fun (AS-have.fun)'. As was mentioned in Section 2.2.7, this kind of prenasalized consonant is not recognized as a phoneme because they do not contrast with other consonants and their distribution is restricted. A prenasalized consonant consisting of a nasal component and a voiced stop or affricate is seen as one consonant phoneme, thus the syllable structure of ngʌ 'leg' is CV. A syllable can also simply consist of a vowel. This type of syllable is rare, and only five vowels have this function, which are [i] (as the ergative marker), [y] (as the word that means ‘wine’), [ɛ] (as the directional prefix for downward direction), [u] (as the suffix meaning ‘person’) and [ʌ] (as the demonstrative prefix). If a vowel-only syllable occurs in the word-initial position of a multi-syllabic word, it can optionally be preceded by a glottal stop. For example, [ʌ³³tse⁵⁵] ‘this’ can be optionally pronounced as [ʔʌ³³tse⁵⁵]. The glottal stop is not contrastive with other consonants.

The number of syllables in a word ranges from one to four. Disyllabic words are most common in Munya, followed by monosyllabic and trisyllabic words. Words with four syllables are very rare, and words with five or more syllables are not found. Lexical examples can be found in Table 2.5.

### 2.7 Loan Word Phonology

The phonological profile of the words borrowed from Tibetan and Chinese can be different from that of native words. In this section we look at this issue from the aspects of differences in segments, nasal coda dropping, diphthongs, and rhotacization.

The voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] is only found in Chinese loans, and is sometimes pronounced like [ϕ]. Needless to say, this sound appears in Chinese loans that contain [f], such as [fəfəl] ‘soda’ (borrowed from the Sichuan Dialect of Chinese). A Chinese loan with
the voiceless dorso-velar fricative [x] can sometimes be replaced by [f] or [ϕ] after being borrowed into Munya. Examples include [lofu] ‘tiger’ (cf. 老虎 [louhu]) and [ϕasɛ] ‘peanut’ (cf. 花生 [xiaosheng]).

The [e] in many Tibetan loans is raised to [ɛ] in northern Munya. This phenomenon is very pervasive, and can be illustrated with words like [sɛtɕʰɛ] ‘earth’ (cf. 西藏 [sa cha]), [lɛ] ‘god’ (cf. 西 lha) and [tɛ] ‘horse’ (cf. 西 tsa). However, there are also some words in which this lowering does not occur, as in [lomɑ] ‘root’ (cf. 西西 lo ma) and [tɕɑlɑ] ‘thing’ (cf. 西西 Ca lag).

In both Chinese loans and Tibetan loans, the nasal coda in the word-final syllable is dropped when borrowed into Munya. The nasal coda in the non-final syllables can be retained, but is realized as nasalization on the vowels in the same syllable. This was discussed in Section 2.3.3.

It was mentioned in Section 2.3.5 that diphthongs are not attested in the northern dialect. The diphthongs in many Chinese loans are monophthongized after being borrowed into Munya, as in [ɕɛpu] ‘to declare’ (cf. 宣布 [xuan.pu]) and [kʰɛtɕi] ‘accountant’ (cf. 会计 [kʰuaɪ.tɕi]). However, occasionally one finds some Chinese loans that still retain diphthongs when borrowed into Munya. One such word is [kuɑ] ‘melon’, which is pronounced in the same way as in Chinese.

Rhotacization is not found in the northern dialect but seems to exist in the southern dialect. The word for ‘wheat’, for example, is pronounced as [qəu] in the southern dialect. (In the northern dialect the word has a completely different form, which is [za].) It is a matter for further study as to how common rhotacization is in the southern dialect. Rhotacization is found in a few Chinese loans in the northern dialect, such as [liə] ‘pear’ (cf. 梨儿 [liɛ]) and [moj] ‘cat’ (cf. 猫儿 [maʊə]).

2.8 Phonological Words and Grammatical Words

The words of a language can be defined on either phonological or grammatical grounds, which are accordingly called phonological words and grammatical words. A phonological word can be recognized on the basis of segmental, prosodic, and phonological features. A grammatical word can be defined from aspects such as cohesiveness, fixed order,
conventionalized coherence and meaning, non-recursiveness, uninterruptability and isolatability (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002; Dixon 2012b: Chapter 1).

Words in Munya can also be defined from both phonological and grammatical perspectives. Phonologically, because Munya syllables do not have any coda, a word cannot end with a consonant. Also, the prenasalized aspirated consonant clusters cannot occur word-initially. Moreover, the prevalent vowel harmony phenomenon, to be discussed in Section 3.2, is only applicable within a phonological word. Finally, a Munya word will carry one of the tone patterns given in Table 2.5, and only the word-final syllable can carry the high-falling variant of the high tone.

The criteria for grammatical words mentioned above are mostly applicable to Munya. Such words always occur together instead of being scattered throughout the clause. In morphologically complex words or compounds, the components occur in a rigid order. A grammatical word has a coherent and conventionalized meaning. One type of morphological process can only be applied once in a grammatical word. A grammatical word can not be paused within, and can stand alone as a complete utterance. Language particular criteria are available for identifying the boundaries of nouns and verbs. The plural clitic is always marked at the end of a noun, such as *dzó=ne* ‘rocks (rock=PLUR)’, and if a verb takes a directional prefix, the prefix will always occur at the beginning of that verb, such as *tʰo-há* ‘to go (AS-go)’.

Phonological words and grammatical words in Munya generally coincide, but there are also cases of mismatch. For example, a compound is a grammatical word, but its components are independent phonological words and each component has its own tone pattern. The compound *tsuútso tānpi* ‘thermos bottle’ is composed of *tsuútso* ‘hot water’ and *tānpi* ‘bottle’. A noun forms a phonological word with its plural clitic, but they are two grammatical words. Another case is disyllabic inherently reduplicated adjective. These adjectives show reduplicated forms in citation or when functioning as modifiers, but they can occur in monosyllabic form when functioning as predicates. Both *reré* and *ré* mean ‘delicious’ and can be used independently. Thus, both a monosyllabic adjective and its reduplicated counterpart are independent phonological and grammatical words. One can either say that a reduplicated adjective is a grammatical word, which consists of two phonological words, or say that a reduplicated adjective is a phonological word, which is composed of
two grammatical words.

2.9 Practical Orthography

Unless otherwise specified, the transcriptions in the following chapters are all phonemic. IPA symbols are used in most cases, with minor modifications, as are shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Practical Orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA Symbol</th>
<th>Practical Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ð</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high tone is marked with the acute accent (as on á), and the low tone is not marked. Vowel nasalization that is the product of assimilation is not marked, as in žeNdO 'pork', where [i] is phonetically [ĩ]. Nasalization in borrowed words are marked, but with the letter /n/ after the nasalized vowel, as in [sĩků] sinku 'wooden plate'. This is because the nasalization marker tends to clash with the high-tone marker when both are marked on a vowel.

2.10 Summary

In this chapter we investigated the phonetic properties of Munya consonants and vowels and aspects of the phonological system of the language. Firstly we described the properties of consonants in Munya and discussed the issue of consonant clusters, the phonetics of vowels and reviewed the issues of nasalized vowels, the dichotomy of tense and lax vowels, and briefly touched on diphthongs. We then turned to suprasegmental phonology–tones, where it was shown that Munya word prosody can be described as a pitch-accent system with a binary contrast of /L/ and /H/. A discussion of some phonological processes followed which established that those process fall into two categories, assimilation and lenition. Then we explored and discussed syllable structure and word
structure, the phonological properties of loan words and the issue of phonological words and grammatical words. The last section presented the orthographic practice followed throughout the thesis.
Chapter 3

Morphology

This chapter deals with morphology and morphophonology. Section 3.1 examines major morphological processes, including cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. Section 3.2 discusses morphophonology, focusing on vowel harmony and vowel elision.

3.1 Morphological Processes

Morphological processes in Munya include cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation.

3.1.1 Cliticization

Compared with other morphological processes, cliticization is not very common in Munya. Only plural markers can be analyzed as clitics. (See Section 6.3 for detailed arguments.) Two examples are given below:

(2) a. \textit{ndzú=na}
   
   other.people=PL

   'others'
3.1.2 Affixation

Most affixes in Munya are prefixes. These include number prefixes on classifiers, directional prefixes on verb roots, and interrogative and negative prefixes on verbs, adjectives, and auxiliaries.

Two examples of number prefixes are shown in (3) (detailed discussion on numeral classifiers is in Section 6.4):

(3) a. kʰɯ́ tó-łö
   dog one-CLF:GENR
   ‘a dog’

   b. domá té-zɛ
   log one-CLF:LONG
   ‘a log’

In Munya, a number word plus a classifier form one word, both in the grammatical sense and in the phonological sense. Both number words and classifiers are bound morphemes and neither of them can be used alone. The reason for analyzing number words as prefixes and consequently classifiers as bound roots instead of analyzing number words as bound roots and classifiers as suffixes is that number words show vowel harmony (compare the two forms of to- ‘one’ in example 3, which have different vowels). As will be shown below, in most cases the direction of vowel harmony is from root to prefixes (regressive). If it were the classifiers suffixed to number words, we would not expect the form of number words to change.

Another type of prefixes are directional prefixes, which are attached to verb roots. (See Section 7.2 for more details.) These are shown in Table 3.1, illustrated with the verb
Table 3.1: Directional Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional prefix</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te- ‘upward’</td>
<td>te-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive (by going upward)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no- ‘downward’</td>
<td>nɛ-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive (by going downward)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γɛ- ‘upstream’</td>
<td>ε-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive (by going downstream)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛɛ- ‘downstream’</td>
<td>ɣɤ-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive (by going upstream)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngɯ- ‘towards the speaker’</td>
<td>ngɯ-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive (by going towards the speaker)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’</td>
<td>tʰɛ-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɯ- ‘nonspecific direction’</td>
<td>kʰɯ-tɕɛ</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

root -tɕɛ ‘to arrive’. Among the seven directional prefixes, three show vowel harmony: no- ‘downward’, ε- ‘downstream’ and tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’. This will be discussed in Section 3.2.1.

Aside from number prefixes and directional prefixes, Munya also has an interrogative prefix ε- and four negative prefixes, which are nyɯ-, mo-, tɕɛ- and tɕɯ-. Compare the examples in (4):

(4) a. ɛ-ṭʂʰú  ti?
       INTRG-be.enough STA
       ‘Is it enough?’

b. nyɯ-ku
   NEG-can
   ‘can’t’

c. mó-ta
   NEG-see
   ‘didn’t see’

d. tse-ku
   NEG-can
   ‘can’t’
The interrogative prefix ε- is subject to vowel harmony and will be discussed shortly. The situation for the negative prefixes, however, is more complex. The four negative prefixes have two to seven different forms, but only some of those forms are the result of vowel harmony. More on this will be discussed later in this chapter. The differences between the four negative prefixes will be explored in Chapter 12.

When a verb root takes both a directional prefix and a negative/interrogative prefix, the directional prefix precedes the negative/interrogative prefix:

\[(5)\]

a. \(tʰɛɛɛ̞-ɛ̞-dɛ\)
   
   `AS-INTRG-finish/2SG`
   
   `(You) finished or not?'

b. \(kʰɯ-mó-tʂö\)
   
   `NONS-NEG-arrive/1SG`
   
   `(I) didn't arrive'

c. \(no-tʂu-vū\)
   
   `DOWN-PROH-do/2SG`
   
   `don't do (it)'

Compared to prefixation, suffixation is rare in Munya. This seems to be typologically unusual, as languages tend to have more suffixes than prefixes (cf. Mithun 2003). There are only two suffixes in Munya, which happen to be homophones and both are in the form of -u. The first -u functions as the adjectival intensification suffix (see Section 11.3.3 for more details):
(6)  rarә-u
    long-very
    ‘very long’

The second -u suffix means ‘person’, and is only attached to nouns that denote places, such as manyә-u ‘Munya people’, tsʰìsɛ-u ‘outsider’, tsʰōt će-u ‘tsʰōt će villagers’.

### 3.1.3 Reduplication

Pluractionality in Munya is realized through partial or full reduplication (see Section 7.5 for more details.) The two most productive ways are either repeating the consonant in the verb root together with a supportive /ә/ (partial reduplication) (7a) or repeating the whole verb root (full reduplication) (7b):

(7) a.  tә-sә-so
       UP-PLUR-fight
       ‘to fight with each other’

b.  tʰɑ-tɕɔ-tɕɔ
    AS-PLUR-chase
    ‘(many people) chase after’

As can be seen, the pluractional formative is positioned before the root. In this sense, it can also be said that pluractionality is achieved through prefixal reduplication.

### 3.1.4 Vowel Alternation

It is necessary to distinguish two types of vowel alternation in Munya. One type of vowel alternation, found only in prefixes, is a morphophonological phenomenon: the vowel forms in the prefixes are determined by the vowel in the roots through vowel harmony, and there is no semantic difference between the alternating forms of the same prefix. This will be discussed in Section 3.2. The other type of vowel alternation is not conditioned by morphophonology. Rather, vowel alternation of this type is a morphosyntactic technique,
and the alternating forms of the same lexeme have different grammatical meanings. It is the second type of alternation, i.e., morphosyntactic vowel alternation, that is discussed in this section.

Morphosyntactic vowel alternation is applied to verbs, and has two functions. When operating on verb roots, vowel alternation is used to show person-number inflection. When operating on directional prefixes, the function is to form causatives.

Vowel alternation operates on verb roots to cross-reference the person-number information of the subject. This is an inflectional process. For example, tú-tswu ‘be.full (up-be.full)’ is the base form of this verb. It has three inflected forms, which are the first person singular tú-tço (up-be.full/1SG), the second person singular tú-tɕɛ (up-be.full/2SG), and the first or second person non-singular tú-tɕe (up-be.full/1/2NONSG). The person-number information is shown by alternating the vowels in the verb root.

Vowel alternation can also be derivational, which is the case when formulating a causative form of a verb. This is done by changing the vowel in the directional prefix to /ɛ/ or /i/ (see Section 7.4 for more details). Some examples are given in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Examples of Causative Formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form</th>
<th>Causative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nà-nga ‘to cry (down-cry)’</td>
<td>nê-ngà ‘to make someone cry (down-make.cry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà-ra ‘to dry up (up-dry)’</td>
<td>tê-ra ‘to dry something up (up-make.dry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nò-pàta ‘to collapse (down-collapse)’</td>
<td>nî-pàta ‘to tear down (down-tear.down)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà-tsaw ‘to wake up (up-wake.up)’</td>
<td>tí-tsaw ‘to wake someone up (up-wake.up)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Morphophonology

There are two major morphophonological processes in Munya—vowel harmony and vowel elision. Vowel harmony is found across different types of prefixes while vowel elision is more restricted, in that it is only found in directional prefixes.

There are five types of vowel harmony in Munya. In terms of direction, both anticipatory harmony and perseverative harmony are found. In terms of dimension, there are fronting harmony, lowering harmony (which has two subtypes), tense harmony, raising harmony and full harmony.
In all types of vowel harmony the vowels that undergo harmony are /ɛ/ or /ʌ/ (orthographically o) or both, but the vowels that trigger harmony differ. For fronting harmony, the triggering vowel is /ɛ/ (3.2.1.1); for lowering harmony, the triggering vowels are /a/, /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ (3.2.1.2); for tense harmony, the triggering vowels are /ø/ (orthographically ö) and /ɤ/ (3.2.1.3); for raising harmony, the triggering vowels are /i/ and /u/ (3.2.2.1). There is no restriction on the vowels that can trigger full harmony (3.2.2.2). It seems that all vowels that can occur in directional prefixes can function as the conditioning environment of this type of harmony.

Vowel harmonies also differ in how regular they are. Fronting harmony and full harmony are the most regular types. The two types of harmony are obligatory, and no alternating, unharmonized forms are found. Lowering harmony and raising harmony are less regular, with harmonized forms and unharmonized forms co-existing. Tense harmony is the least regular, and is only found in a few words. A comparison of these vowel harmony patterns is given in Table 3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harmony pattern</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Undergoer</th>
<th>Trigger</th>
<th>Regularity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fronting harmony</td>
<td>anticipatory</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowering harmony</td>
<td>anticipatory</td>
<td>/ɛ/, /o/</td>
<td>/a/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/</td>
<td>optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense harmony</td>
<td>anticipatory</td>
<td>/ɛ/, /o/</td>
<td>/ø/, /ɤ/</td>
<td>irregular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raising harmony</td>
<td>perseverative</td>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/i/, /u/</td>
<td>optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full harmony</td>
<td>perseverative</td>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>no restriction</td>
<td>regular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We next look at vowel harmonies based on direction, i.e., whether they are anticipatory or perseverative.

### 3.2.1 Anticipatory Vowel Harmony

Anticipatory vowel harmony has three dimensions: fronting harmony, lowering harmony, and tense harmony.

#### 3.2.1.1 Fronting Harmony

This involves /ɛ/ as the trigger and /o/ as the undergoer: /o/ in the prefix becomes /ɛ/ if the root contains /ɛ/. This rule can be formally stated as below:
3.2. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

**Fronting harmony (obligatory)**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{low} & \text{low} & \text{low} \\
\text{front} & +\text{front} & +\text{front} \\
\text{rounded} & -\text{rounded} & / _+C \\
\end{array}
\]

Here and below, the ‘+’ sign outside brackets in the formal representations denotes a morpheme boundary, and C represents a consonant. This is fronting harmony because a non-front vowel (/ʌ/) becomes fronted (/ɛ/), but its height does not change. Examples of this kind of harmony are given in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4: Examples of Fronting Harmony**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>Pö-ald'</th>
<th>Pö-d'</th>
<th>tö-žz</th>
<th>töl-tile</th>
<th>kʰu-md-ʔqz</th>
<th>kʰu-md-ʔqz</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surface forms</td>
<td>Pö-ald'</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>töl-žz</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>kʰu-md-ʔqz</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>As-finish/2sg</td>
<td>As-finish</td>
<td>one-CLF:LONG</td>
<td>one-CLF:FAMILY</td>
<td>NONS-NEG-arrive/2sg</td>
<td>NONS-NEG-arrive/1sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three pairs of underlying and surface forms of fronting harmony in this table. The first pair contains a directional prefix (tʰo- ‘AS’), the second pair a number word (to- ‘one’), and the third pair a negator (mo-). In each pair, the first member undergoes fronting harmony but the second does not. It can be seen that only when the vowel in the root is /ɛ/ can fronting harmony occur.

3.2.1.2 Lowering Harmony

Lowering harmony involves /a/, /ɔ/ or /ɑ/ as triggers and /ɛ/ or /o/ as undergoers. There are two types of lowering harmony, depending on whether the vowels harmonize into /a/ or /ɑ/. The undergoers become /a/ if the vowel in roots is /a/. This can be termed ‘lowering and fronting harmony’. The undergoers harmonize into /a/ if the vowel in roots is /ɑ/ or /ɔ/. This can be termed ‘lowering and backing harmony’. The two patterns are formally stated as follows:

**Lowering and fronting harmony (optional)**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{low} & +\text{low} & +\text{low} \\
\text{rounded} & +\text{front} & +\text{front} \\
\end{array}
\]
3.2. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

*Lowering and backing harmony* (optional)

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{-low} \\
\text{-rounded}
\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}
\text{+low} \\
\text{-front}
\end{bmatrix} / \_+C \begin{bmatrix}
\text{-front} \\
\text{-high}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

Examples of lowering and fronting harmony are given in Table 3.5.

**Table 3.5: Examples of Lowering and Fronting Harmony**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>tⁿ-ŋa</th>
<th>ɛ-ra</th>
<th>tô-tsa</th>
<th>mó-ŋa</th>
<th>ɛ-ŋa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowering and fronting harmony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface forms</td>
<td>tⁿ-ŋa</td>
<td>ʾra</td>
<td>tⁿ-tsa</td>
<td>má-ŋa</td>
<td>ʾŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>AS-good</td>
<td>DS-go</td>
<td>one-storey</td>
<td>NEG-good</td>
<td>INTRG-good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first two words in the table contain a directional prefix, which are respectively tⁿ-'AS' and ʾ- 'DS', the third one contains a number prefix ( tô- 'one'), the fourth one a negative prefix (mó-), and the last one an interrogative prefix (ɛ-). As can be seen, /o/ and /ɛ/ in these prefixes all become /a/ when the vowel in the root is /a/. This kind of harmony is optional as we do find such alternating forms such as nó-k̟ra 'to shout (down-shout)' (unharmonized form) and ná-k̟ra (harmonized form). According to native speakers, the two forms are equally acceptable, and the exact factors that condition such alternation need further study. However, for some frequently used words, such as tⁿ-ŋa 'be good (AS-be.good)', vowel harmony is obligatory.

Examples of lowering and backing harmony are given in Table 3.6. There are four blocks in this table, each containing one kind of prefix. The first block contains three directional prefixes (nⁿ- 'DOWN', tⁿ- 'AS' and ʾ- 'DS'), the second block a number prefix ( tô- 'one'), the third an interrogative prefix (ɛ- 'DOWN') and the fourth two negative prefixes (mó- and tˢɛ-). As can be seen, they all conform to the pattern of lowering and backing harmony. As with the previous rule, this rule is not obligatory, so that we have alternating forms like tˢɛ-nda ~ tⁿ-nda 'didn’t have the experiencing of doing something' and tˢɛ-tⁿ ~ tⁿ-tⁿ 'I can’t'.

Table 3.6: Examples of Lowering and Backing Harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>Lowering harmony</th>
<th>Surface forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nó-ɣɔ</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>nɑ́-ɣɔ ‘to wash (down-wash)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰó-ka</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ɑ́-ko ‘to dig (ds-dig)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-kɑ</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ā-sɑsɑ ‘to wipe (ds-wipe)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó-pʰɔ</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>tɑ́-pʰɔ ‘a plant (one-clf:plant)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-ɕɑ́</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ta-ɕɑ ‘a mouthful of (one-mouth)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-ŋɑ</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ɑ́-ŋɑ ‘right or not (intrg-right)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-tʰɔ</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ɑ́-tʰɔ ‘useful or not (intrg-useful)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>có-ra</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>mɑ́-ra ‘didn’t (neg-evid:direct)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕɛ́-sa           →</td>
<td>tɕɑ́-sa ‘(he) doesn’t want (neg-want)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕɛ́-sɔ           →</td>
<td>tɕɑ́-sɔ ‘(I) don’t want (neg-want/1sg)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.3 Tense Harmony

The third, and also the most irregular type of vowel harmony is the tense harmony. The triggering vowels of this process are /ö/ and /ɤ/ and the undergoers are still /o/ and /ɛ/. What the triggering vowels have in common is that they can optionally be pharyngealized (cf. Section 2.3.4). After harmony, the undergoers will become /a/. This rule can be represented as follows:

**Tense harmony (irregular):**

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{low} \\
\text{rounded} \\
\text{tense}
\end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
+\text{low} \\
+\text{front} \\
+\text{tense}
\end{bmatrix}
/ \_ + \text{C} \begin{bmatrix}
+\text{tense}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

This pattern of harmony is illustrated with examples in Table 3.7. The first three instances contain a verb root (-tō ‘to go and get’) and three different directional prefixes. The fourth one is a different verb root (-rɤ ‘to face toward’). The last example contains an auxiliary (tʂɤ ‘to be useful’) and a negative prefix (tɕɛ-). As can be seen, all the vowels in the surface forms of these prefixes are /a/.

Compared with other harmony patterns, this pattern is non-productive. This may have to do with the nature of so called tense vowels in Munya. Tenseness is, by and large, a phonetic phenomenon in Munya. As has been pointed out in Section 2.3.4, it is neither
phonologically contrastive nor compulsory — it is perfectly acceptable to pronounce the
two tense vowels (/ö/ and /ɤ/) in the normal way, without narrowing the larynx. Therefore,
although many verbs inflect for the first person singular by changing the vowel in the
root into /ö/, this never triggers vowel harmony in the prefix, cf. no-ndů ‘to go downward
(down-go)’ → no-ndö́ ‘I go downward’.

Tense harmony may be an archaic feature of Munya. It may be that tense and lax vow-
els were contrastive in history, and that this distinction is also reflected in vowel harmony.
As the language changes, this distinction becomes less and less phonemically significant,
so that in my fieldwork location tense vowels have become free variants of plain vowels.
However, the imprints that this distinction left in vowel harmony is not totally gone, so that
we can still observe some irregular tense harmony phenomena in Munya.

3.2.2 Perseverative Vowel Harmony

It was mentioned in Section 3.1.2 that a verb root can take a directional prefix and an inter-
rogative or negative prefix at the same time, and that in this case the interrogative/negative
prefix should come after the directional prefix. Perseverative vowel harmony happens
when both a directional prefix and an interrogative prefix ε- or a negative prefix mo- are
present. Since the vowel in the interrogative/negative prefix harmonizes with that in the
preceding directional prefix, this type of vowel harmony is perseverative. In persevera-
tive vowel harmony, the behavior of the vowels in the negative prefix mo- and that in the
interrogative prefix ε- are quite different, hence it is necessary to discuss them separately.

3.2.2.1 Raising Harmony

When the negative prefix mo- occurs after the directional prefix, it only harmonizes to /i/ or /u/. This can be seen as an instance of raising harmony. This pattern is represented
as follows:

*Raising harmony of mo- (optional):*

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{-low} \\
\text{-front}
\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}
\text{+high} \\
\alpha \text{front}
\end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix}
\text{+high} \\
\alpha \text{front}
\end{bmatrix}^+ \quad / \quad C
\]

In this representation, \( \alpha \text{front} \) means the undergoer vowel will harmonize with the frontness of the triggering vowel. This harmony pattern is illustrated with examples in Table 3.8.

**Table 3.8: Examples of Perseverative Raising Harmony**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>Raising harmony</th>
<th>Surface forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( kʰi-mó-tsi )</td>
<td>( ti-mó-ʂu )</td>
<td>( kʰu-mó-nyo )</td>
<td>NONS-NEG-study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kʰi-mó-tsi )</td>
<td>( ti-mó-ʂu )</td>
<td>( kʰu-mó-nyo )</td>
<td>UP-NEG-confiscate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kʰi-mó-tsi )</td>
<td>( ti-mó-ʂu )</td>
<td>( tu-mó-ʂo )</td>
<td>NONS-NEG-can/1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kʰi-mó-tsi )</td>
<td>( ti-mó-ʂu )</td>
<td>( tu-mó-ʂo )</td>
<td>UP-NEG-say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( kʰi-mó-tsi )</td>
<td>( ti-mó-ʂu )</td>
<td>( nu-mó-ʂo )</td>
<td>UP-NEG-read</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first two examples, the vowel in the directional prefixes (which are \( kʰi- \) ‘NONS’ and \( ti- \) ‘UP’) is /i/; in the other three examples, the vowel in the directional prefixes (which are \( kʰu- \) ‘NONS’, \( tu- \) ‘UP’ and \( nu- \) ‘DOWN’) is /u/. In all these examples, the vowel in the negative prefix harmonizes with those in the directional prefix. This harmony rule is also optional because there are examples such as \( kʰi-mó-tse \) ‘didn’t cook (NONS-NEG-cook)’ and \( tu-mó-tɕɯ \) ‘didn’t build (UP-NEG-build)’, in which the vowel in the negative prefix is not harmonized.

One might wonder if it is possible to analyze the direction of harmony the other way around, i.e., to argue that the vowel in the negative prefix can take different forms (either \( mo-, \) \( mi- \) or \( mu- \)), and that the choice is not conditioned by vowel harmony. Then the vowel in the directional prefixes would harmonize with those in the negative prefix, making this a case of anticipatory harmony. It is easy to show that this analysis is untenable, because when the negative prefix is absent, the vowel in the directional prefix stays the same, thus \( kʰi-tsi \) ‘study(NONS-study)’ but not \( *kʰu-tsi, \) \( *kʰu-nyɔ \) ‘I can(NONS-can/1SG)’ but not \( *kʰu-nyo. \) However, a different question is, why the vowels in these directional prefixes are /i/ or /u/ instead of those in the base form, which are /ɯ/, /ә/ and /o/, as in \( kʰu- \) ‘NONS’, \( tə- \) ‘UP’ and \( no- \) ‘DOWN’. This will be the topic of Section 3.2.3.
3.2.2.2 Full Harmony

In this type of harmony, the interrogative prefix ɛ- fully harmonizes with the vowel in the directional prefix, regardless of its height, frontness or backness. This harmony rule is represented as below:

*Full harmony of the interrogative prefix ɛ-* (obligatory)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-low} & \quad \rightarrow V_0 / CV_0^+ \\
\text{+front} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of this type of harmony are given in Table 3.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>Surface forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-ɛ-tsʰu</td>
<td>tʰo-ɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>AS-INTRG-be.enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰo-ɛ-re</td>
<td>kʰo-ɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>NONS-INTRG-start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ɛ-ra</td>
<td>a-ɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>DS-INTRG-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-ɛ-suw</td>
<td>tu-ɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>UP-INTRG-build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-ɛ-ndzü</td>
<td>ɛ-ɛ-ɛ</td>
<td>DS-INTRG-eat/2sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The commonality in these examples is that the interrogative prefix, which is underlyingly ɛ-, fully harmonizes to the vowel in the directional prefix. This is very different from the harmony pattern of this prefix when no directional prefix is present, i.e. when it is undergoing anticipatory harmony.

After harmony, the two identical vowels can be pronounced without hiatus in between, so that sometimes it sounds as if the vowel in the directional prefix is longer than non-interrogative forms. Why not, then, simply analyze the formation of question, in the case when a directional prefix is present, as being achieved by lengthening the vowel in the directional prefix? The most crucial evidence against this interpretation is that some verbs have two surface forms, one of which has a harmonized directional prefix, the other a harmonized interrogative prefix.

Take the first verb in Table 3.9, ‘to be enough’, for an example. The underlying form of this verb, after taking the interrogative prefix, is tʰo-ɛ-tsʰu 'AS-INTRG-be.enough'. As is shown in the table, its surface form is tʰo-ɛ-ɛ, the vowel of the interrogative prefix being derived through perseverative full harmony. Importantly, there is another equally acceptable surface form, which is tʰɛ-ɛ-tsʰu. How does this form come about? The answer is, the fronting harmony as discussed in the preceding section. To derive the second form,
we have to postulate the underlying form as \( tʰo-ɛ́-tsʰu \), then after the anticipatory fronting harmony applies, the /o/ in the directional prefix becomes /ɛ/, thus yielding the surface form \( tʰɛ-ɛ́-tsʰu \). Derivation of the two surface forms is shown in Table 3.10. The order of application of the two rules is not significant, since the two rules ‘bleed’ each other, that is, whichever rule applies first, the derived surface form will block the application of the other rule. Therefore, if we had analyzed question formation as being achieved through lengthening the vowel in directional prefixes, there would be no way to explain how the form with harmonized directional prefix could arise.

### 3.2.3 Vowel Elision in Directional Prefixes

In the previous sections it was shown that Munya has seven directional prefixes and that the vowels in some of these prefixes are subject to vowel harmony. However, there are some vowel alternations in directional prefixes that cannot be explained by the vowel harmony rules mentioned above. Consider the examples in Table 3.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base DP</th>
<th>i prefix</th>
<th>o prefix</th>
<th>u prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te-</td>
<td>ti-ndzé</td>
<td>tő-le</td>
<td>tő-tsø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-</td>
<td>ni-ndzé</td>
<td>nö-le</td>
<td>nö-tsø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ě-</td>
<td>i-ndzé</td>
<td>ū-le</td>
<td>ū-tsø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ-</td>
<td>yi-ndzé</td>
<td>yö-le</td>
<td>yö-tsø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguw-</td>
<td>ngi-ndzé</td>
<td>ngö-le</td>
<td>ngö-tsø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-</td>
<td>tʰi-ndzé</td>
<td>tʰö-le</td>
<td>tʰö-tsø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰu-</td>
<td>kʰi-ndzé</td>
<td>kʰö-le</td>
<td>kʰö-tsø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>DIR-fly</th>
<th>DIR-point.at</th>
<th>DIR-drive</th>
<th>DIR-drive</th>
<th>DIR-send</th>
<th>DIR-carry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

There are two characteristics of the vowels in the directional prefixes given in the table. Firstly, these vowels are not the outcome of vowel harmony. The vowels in the root of the i prefix column are /e/ and /u/, those in the o prefix column are /a/ and /o/, and
those in the \( u \) prefix column are /ö/ and /ul/. It is hard to see the shared features between the vowels in the root and those in the prefixes. Specifically, the fact that both the \( i \) prefix column and the \( u \) prefix column have a root containing /ul/ (which are -ndzu ‘point’ and -ku ‘carry’) indicates that the vowels in these prefixes cannot be determined by the vowels in the roots, as otherwise we would expect the vowels in the prefixes of those two verb roots to be the same.

Secondly, as has been mentioned previously, vowel harmony only affects /ɛ/ and /o/, meaning that only the directional prefixes containing these vowels, which are no- ‘DOWN’, ė- ‘Ds’ and tʰo- ‘As’, show vowel harmony. However, for all verb roots in the table, the vowels in their directional prefixes are identical. The vowels are uniformly /i/, or /o/, or /u/. Clearly, this is a phenomenon different from vowel harmony and must have a different mechanism.

The solution is to assume that the base form of these verb roots all have a vowel as initial syllable, which can be either /i/, /o/, or /u/. After that, we only need a phonological rule which elides a vowel that occurs before another vowel to derive these forms:

\[
V \rightarrow \emptyset / \_+V
\]

By positting a vowel-initial verb root and a vowel elision rule, we can now derive the surface forms of these verbs. This is illustrated with the verb root -\( indze \) ‘fly’, shown in Table 3.12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying forms</th>
<th>Vowel elision</th>
<th>Surface forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te-( indzé )</td>
<td>ti-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ-o-( indzé )</td>
<td>tʰi-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-( indzé )</td>
<td>ni-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ė-( indzé )</td>
<td>i-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngu-( indzé )</td>
<td>ngi-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yʰr-( indzé )</td>
<td>yi-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰw-( indzé )</td>
<td>kʰi-( indzé )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DIR-fly        | DIR-fly       |

After the vowels in the directional prefixes are elided, the consonant in the directional prefix and the initial vowel in the root form a syllable, and is reanalyzed as the directional
prefix. This is why in these verbs the vowel in the directional prefixes are identical. Note that it is less desirable to analyze the directional prefixes in these verbs as consisting solely of a consonant. This is because a morpheme in Munya is minimally a syllable while a consonant alone cannot form a syllable.

3.3 Summary

This chapter discussed the morphological processes and morphophonological phenomena in Munya. Munya has a plethora of morphological processes, including cliticization, affixation, reduplication and vowel alternation. There are two major morphophonological processes: vowel harmony and vowel elision. Vowel harmonies operate across different types of affixes. They come in various types and have different degrees of regularity. In terms of direction, they can be anticipatory or perseverative; in terms of dimension, they can be raising, lowering, fronting, tense, or full harmony. Vowel elision is postulated to account for the uniform vowels found in the directional prefixes of some verbs. It is not found in any other part of the morphology of the Munya language.
Chapter 4

Word Class I: Open Classes

4.1 Overview

Word classes can be broadly categorized into open classes and closed classes. This chapter deals with the open word classes in Munya, which are nouns (Section 4.2), verbs (Section 4.3), adjectives (Section 4.4) and adverbs (Section 4.5). There are a large number of words in each class, which cannot be exhaustively listed. These word classes can accept new members, either through derivation or through borrowing. The criteria for defining each word class is mainly based on their morphological and syntactic properties. For adjectives an additional phonological criterion is also available. These properties are summarized in Section 4.6.

4.2 Nouns

Nouns can take plural markers (Section 4.2.1), can function as the head of an NP (Section 4.2.2), can function as arguments and take case markers (Section 4.2.3), and can act as complements in copula clauses (Section 4.2.4).

4.2.1 Taking Plural Markers

Munya has five plural enclitics (see Section 6.3). These markers can only occur on nouns:
This plural marker is attached to nouns of animate referent in (8a) and inanimate referent (8b). The noun in (8c), *hotʰútsʰá* ‘sausage’, is a recent loan from Chinese, yet it can also take the plural marker. This indicates that pluralization is a productive morphological process.

### 4.2.2 Functioning as the Head of an NP

Only nouns can freely function as the head of an NP. They can be modified by nominal demonstratives, adjectives, nouns, possessor NPs, relative clauses, and be categorized by numeral classifiers and quantified by quantifiers.

Nouns can be modified by nominal demonstratives. In this case, the demonstrative should precede the head noun:

(9)  

a. **otsé mɛ́nda**  
   DEM old.lady

   ‘this old lady’

b. **oné tɕɯ́**  
   DEM+PL water

   ‘these water’
Nouns are very commonly modified by adjectives, in which case the modifying adjective should follow the head noun:

(10) a.  tsé  kiko
        house  big
    '(a) big house'

b.  meni  katseʰá
    person  bad
    '(a) bad person'

A head noun can also be modified by another noun. In this case the modifying noun is placed before the head, and the two nouns are linked by ɣɛ:

(11) a.  nyúlékʰá  ro  ɣɛ  dǒndá
        agricultural.cooperative  time  LK  thing
    'the things at the time of agricultural cooperative'

b.  lönô  tô-ki  ɣɛ  tsʰeró
    year  one-CLF:YEAR  LK  firewood
    'the firewood for one year'

In a possessive NP construction, the head noun is modified by the possessing NP. In this case the two nominals should also be linked by ɣɛ, which functions as a possessive marker here:

(12) a.  ŋû  ye  vomô
        1SG  POSS  parents
    'my parents'

b.  tsʰû  ye  kʰë
    lake  POSS  side
    'lakeside'
A noun can also be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause should precede the head noun, and be marked by ɣɛ, this time functioning as a relativizer. (Relative clauses are discussed in Section 14.1.) In the following example, the relative clause, which is put in brackets, modifies the head noun *nîmɛ* ‘day’.

(13) [tîne teôte ço e-tew-ro rî] ɣɛ tsekw. nọt'ónyi nîmɛ
t              anything    financial.loss DS-PROH-come NMLZ REL D.M    day
          thé-va   pi
      AS-become IMPF

‘In future nothing will be lost.’

Nouns in Munya can be categorized by numeral classifiers, which come after the head noun.

(14) a. *domã té-zɛ*
    log one-CLF:GENR
    ‘a log’

b. *kʰu tó-lo*
    dog one-CLF:GENR
    ‘a dog’

Further discussion on numeral classifiers can be found in Section 6.4.

Nouns can also be quantified by quantifiers. In this case the quantifiers should also follow the head noun:

(15) a. *lóŋô kéyi*
    year many
    ‘many years’
b. γγ ταհά
   seed some

   ‘some seeds’

4.2.3 Functioning as Arguments and Taking Case Markers

The argument slots of a clause can only be filled by nominals. Depending on the grammatical roles that they perform, nominals need to take different case markers:

(16)  [lάν普法ɛ]_A i [dζόpu=نظ tɛ]=E le [kʰάτɛ tɛ-ζɛ]_O kʰό-ɬ

   elephant ERG king=COLL.PL son DAT kʰata one-CLF:LONG NONS-present
   se nyi
   PFV EGO:AP

   ‘The elephant presented a piece of hada to the son of the king’s family.’

Example (16) is a ditransitive clause. Here the A (lάν普法ɛ ‘elephant’), E (dζόpu=نظ tɛ ‘the son of the king’s family’) and O (kʰάτɛ tɛζɛ ‘a piece of hada’) are all nominals, which are respectively marked by the ergative case (i), the dative case (le), and the absolutive case (in zero form). Case markers are postpositions, which occur at the right periphery of a bare noun or an NP. (More discussion on argument structure and case marking can be found in Chapter 8.)

Verbs and adjectives cannot directly fill the argument slot, and when performing this function, they need to be nominalized:

(17)  a. tʰɛ-ndɛ rî mé ti
       AS-old NMLZ COPULA:NEG STA

       ‘(He) has not become old.’

b. tόme tɔsā tόme, nyontsʰɔ̈ tɔsā nyontsʰɔ̈
   rich NMLZ be.rich poor NMLZ be.poor

   ‘The rich people are rich and the poor people are poor.’
In (17a), the predicate, which is a negator, requires an S argument. The element performing this function is a nominalized verb $tʰɛndɛ́ ri$ ‘getting old’. In (17b), the predicates are adjectives (‘to be rich’ and ‘to be poor’), and their S arguments are two nominalized adjectives.

### 4.2.4 Functioning as Copula Complements

The arguments in copula constructions are also nouns in most cases. This is illustrated with an existential copula construction in (18), in which the CC ($ndʐé$ ‘rice’) is a noun:

\[(18)\]  
\[pʰúlɑ \, kʰu\] \(_{CS}\) \[ndʐé\] \(_{CC}\) \[kʰù\] \(_{COP:CONTAIN}\) \(ti\)  

‘There is rice in the bowl.’

### 4.3 Verbs

The morphological and syntactic criteria for identifying verbs include taking directional prefixes (Section 4.3.1), showing person-number inflection (Section 4.3.2), showing pluractional derivation (Section 4.3.3), taking interrogative and negative prefixes (Section 4.3.4), and functioning as predicates (Section 4.3.5). Verbs in Munya can be classified into control verbs, non-control verbs and fluid verbs. The three types of verbs differ in the case-marking pattern, person-number agreement, and whether the allowed grammatical categories are egophoric or direct evidential when the subject is in first person (Section 4.3.6).

#### 4.3.1 Taking Directional Prefixes

Morphologically, many Munya verbs can be analyzed as consisting of a directional prefix and a verb root. There are altogether seven such directional prefixes in Munya, which are only found in verbs. These prefixes are treated in Section 7.2.

Whether a verb can take a directional prefix or not depends on its meaning. Motion verbs such as $tʰό-tso$ ‘to run (AS-run)’ and $ti-tshɨ$ ‘to jump (UP-jump)’ can take directional...
prefixes. Non-motion verbs whose meaning can optionally involve orientation can also take directional prefixes, such as $kʰu$-tɕori ‘to look (NONS-look)’ and $ɛ$-tʰɯ ‘to carry (DS-carry)’. Some verbs that do not involve direction cannot take such prefixes, such as $kʰi$ ‘to sleep’ and $nbi$ ‘to sit’.

4.3.2 Showing Person-number Inflections

A Munya verb can inflect for the person-number of the subject through ablaut. Taking the third person form as the base form (no number distinction is made in this person), most verbs have three inflections, which are first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person dual or plural forms. Examples are given in Table 4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form (3SG/PL)</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndú ‘to go’</td>
<td>ndò</td>
<td>ndè</td>
<td>ndé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰópʰu ‘to give up’</td>
<td>tʰópʰo</td>
<td>tʰópʰü</td>
<td>tʰópʰe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>núvɯ ‘to do’</td>
<td>nóvo</td>
<td>nóvü</td>
<td>nóve</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular inflectional patterns and different inflectional forms are discussed in Section 7.3.

Not all verbs show inflections. Non-control verbs such as tәŋé ‘to be sick’ and tɔtsɔ́ ‘to get hungry’ do not inflect (see the discussion in Section 4.3.6). Some verbs that should be categorized as control verbs based on semantics do not show inflection either, such as tivi ‘to send off’ and kʰɔlә́ ‘to drive’. There do not seem to be any semantic commonalities for non-inflecting control verbs.

Aside from verbs, certain auxiliaries, such as the perfective aspect marker $sә$ and the imperfective aspect marker $pi$, also show person number inflection.

4.3.3 Showing Pluralactional Derivation

When the subject of a clause involves multiple participants or reciprocal actions, sometimes the pluralactional form of a verb needs to be used. The pluralactional form is derived from the base form through reduplicating the verb root, either partially or fully. An example of fully reduplicated pluralactional verb is tʰɑ́-tɕɔ́-tɕɔ́ ‘(many people) chase (AS-PLUR-
chase'), which is derived from tʰɑ́-tɕɔ́ ‘to chase (AS-chase)’. In partially reduplicated forms, the reduplicant generally retains the consonant of the verb root and replaces the original vowel with a schwa. An example is na-ngǎ-ngǎ ‘(many people) cry (DOWN-PLUR-cry)’, which is derived from ná-ngǎ ‘to cry (DOWN-cry)’. Plural derivation can only be applied to verbs and not any other word classes. More details on this technique can be found in Section 7.5.

4.3.4 Taking Interrogative and Negative Prefixes

Verbs can take interrogative and negative markers. A verb can take at most one interrogative marker or one negative marker, but not both at the same time. If a verb has a directional prefix, these markers follow that prefix, otherwise they are directly prefixed to the verb root. In the two examples below, the interrogative prefix is directly marked on the verb root in (19a) and after the directional prefix in (19b):

(19) a. ɛ-dɛ́ rɑ
    INTRG-see/2SG EVID:DIRECT
    ‘Did (you) see (it)?’

b. lónpɑ=ne kʰu kɣlɑ=ne ɑ-tɕɯ́-ke
    valley=PL in medicinal.herb=PL DS-NEG-dig/1/2NONSG
    ‘Do not dig up the medicinal herbs in the valleys.’

Interrogative and negative prefixes can also be marked on adjectival predicates and auxiliaries. It seems that these prefixes tend to be marked on words that are either predicates or a part of predicates. But nominal predicates cannot take these markers.

4.3.5 Functioning as Predicates

The core syntactic function of verbs is as predicates. Clauses with verbal predicates can take all grammatical categories in Munya, including aspect, evidentiality and egophoricity. These categories are illustrated in (20):
(20) a. otsì táyɛ ú-pʰә se
   3SG+ERG money DS-lose PFV
   'He lost his money.'

b. ɲi tó ra
   1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT
   'I saw (it).'</n

c. né-lű kʰu hé po ɲo
   two-CLF:MONTH in go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP
   'I will leave in two months.'

While nouns and adjectives can also function as predicates, the meanings that such predicates express and the kind of grammatical categories that are allowed in those clauses are restricted.

Nominal-predicate clauses either have a simulative or an equative meaning. The grammatical categories allowed in such clauses can only be the stative aspect ti or the egophoric marker nyi. In the two examples below, (21a) denotes a simulative meaning and (21b) denotes an equative meaning:

   dog wolf STA
   'The dog looks like a wolf.'

   2PL three-CLF:MAN FOC POSS leader 2SG EGO:AP
   'The leader for the three of you is you.'

An adjectival predicate generally denotes a kind of state. The grammatical categories that can occur in such clauses can only be the stative aspect ti, the egophoric marker nyi, or the clause final particle tólö/tɛ́gɛ, which are grammaticalized from numeral classifiers. See Section 11.4 for more discussion.
4.3.6 Subclasses of Verbs

Verbs in many languages can often be categorized based on transitivity. This approach is pursued in the discussion on clause types in Section 13.2.1. Munya has two special types of verbs, which are motion verbs and copula verbs. They are respectively treated in Chapter 9 and Chapter 10.

In this section we classify Munya verbs from a different perspective, i.e., based on whether the subject can consciously control the action denoted by the verb. This classification yields three subtypes of verbs, which are control verbs, non-control verbs and fluid verbs. The three types of verbs differ in both semantics and grammatical behavior. Semantically,

- control verbs refer to actions that are normally exercised under the control or awareness of an agent, such as hó ‘to go’, tèda ‘to hit’ and èndze ‘to eat’;
- non-control verbs denote actions that are uncontrollable, and generally refer to the internal feelings of an experiencer, such as nguítsé ‘to miss’, tóré ‘to be sick’ and teku ‘to feel cold’;
- fluid verbs denote actions that can either be performed with conscious control or not, such as hókʰukö ‘to know, to understand’, ép’e ‘to lose’ and t’omú ‘to forget’.

The grammatical differences between these verbs can be seen from three aspects, namely, patterns of case-marking, person-number agreement, and whether the grammatical categories that can be marked in the clause are egophoric or direct evidential (other categories are not sensitive to this distinction). These differences are summarized in Table 4.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>control verb</th>
<th>non-control verb</th>
<th>fluid verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>case-marking</td>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>nominative</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person-number agreement</td>
<td>marked</td>
<td>not marked</td>
<td>marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syntactic categories allowed</td>
<td>egophoric</td>
<td>direct evidential</td>
<td>direct evidential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The case-marking pattern for control verbs is ergative-absolutive: A is marked by the ergative case i and S and O are not marked. Control verbs can inflect for the person-
number of subjects, and the clause can take the egophoric marker but not the direct evidential marker when the subject is in first person. Consider the pair of examples below:

(22)  a. [ŋɯ́]$_S$ hẽ po ṇo
    1SG go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP
    'I’m leaving.’

  b. [nɛ́]$_A$ i [mənyɛ́ sũ]$_O$ u-nyɛ́ nyi
    2SG ERG Munya language INTRG-can/2SG EGO:AP
    ‘Can you speak Munya?’

The control verb in (22a) is intransitive and the one in (22b) is transitive. The S in the first example is in first person, which is indexed on the imperfective marker. The narrow-scope egophoric marker is used at the end of the clause. In (22b), the A is marked by the ergative case. The verb shows second person singular inflection, agreeing with the subject, and a wide-scope egophoric marker is used here. Both the S in (22a) and the O in (22b) are not overtly marked by case.

Non-control verbs tend to be intransitive, but there are also some transitive non-control verbs, such as ngûtʃé ‘to miss’ and tuyṹ ‘to desire’. Both A and S of non-control verbs are marked by the experiential case ḡɛ. Non-control verbs or auxiliaries that are marked after non-control predicates do not inflect for the person-number of subjects. Non-control predicates can take the direct evidential marker but not any egophoric marker. Consider the two examples below:

(23)  a. [ngɛ́]$_S$ ṭe-ŋe pi
    1SG+EXP UP-be.sick IMPF
    ‘I’m sick.’

    1SG+EXP hard NONS-come.out EVID:DIRECT
    ‘I am tired/met with difficulty.’
4.3. VERBS

The verb in the first example is intransitive and the one in the second is transitive. In (23a), the S is first person singular and is marked by the experiential case, and the imperfective marker pi does not show agreement with the subject. In (23b), the A is also in first person form and marked by the experiential case, but just as the previous example the verb kʰɯɕó ‘come out’ shows no inflection. The grammatical category in this clause is the direct evidential marker. In both examples the egophoric markers cannot be used.

Fluid verbs show hybrid properties of control and non-control verbs. They are similar to control verbs in that they show the ergative-absolutive case marking pattern and can mark person-number agreement, but are similar to non-control verbs because they allow the direct evidential marker when the subject is in first person. Consider the two examples below:

(24) a. [ŋɯ́] S te-te'í ra
1SG UP-wake.up EVID:DIRECT
'I woke up.'

1SG+ERG food UP-be.full/1SG EVID:DIRECT
'I am full.'

Here the case marking pattern is ergative-absolutive (A is marked by the ergative case and S and O are not marked) and both clauses are marked by the direct evidential marker. The verb in the second example agrees with the subject. The one in the first shows no inflection because this is a non-inflecting verb. Similar to non-control verbs, here the egophoric markers cannot be used.

There are also some verbs that can be treated as both a fluid verb and a control verb. The verb would have different, albeit related, meanings in these two cases. Consider the pair of examples below:

(25) a. ňí to ra
1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT
'I see it.'
4.4 Adjectives

Adjective is also an open word class in Munya. Words meeting the criteria for adjectives cannot be exhaustively listed. New adjectives can be recruited from other languages. For example, adjectives such as tsípu ‘comfortable’, tɑ́mɛ́ ‘real’ and tsömɛ́ ‘fake’ are borrowed from Tibetan. Munya adjectives can be identified based on inherent reduplication (Section 4.4.1), deriving comparative forms, superlative forms, and intensification forms (Section 4.4.2), and the ability to modify nouns (Section 4.4.4), to function as predicates (Section 4.4.5), and to function as complements (Section 4.4.6). Adjectives can be put into subclasses based on their semantic types (Section 4.4.7). Because all these will be treated in detail in Chapter 11, in the next section we will briefly discuss the features mentioned above.

4.4.1 Inherent Reduplication

Adjectives are the only word class in Munya that share common phonological properties, which involves inherent reduplication. Munya adjectives tend to be in reduplicated disyllabic form, as can be seen from examples like reré ‘long’, nbonbó ‘low’, tsótso ‘hot’, tsátsa ‘cold’ and ndénde ‘old’. Disyllabic adjectives may also be partially reduplicated, and there are some cases of trisyllabic adjectives where two syllables are in reduplicated form. These are discussed in Section 11.2. Borrowed adjectives, such as tsípu ‘comfortable’ and tsóma ‘clean’ (both borrowed from Tibetan), are generally not in reduplicated form.
4.4.2 Comparative, Superlative and Intensification Forms

Munya adjectives have derived comparative forms, superlative forms, and intensification forms. Comparative forms are derived by prefixing ke- ‘more’ to an adjective: yɛyɛ ‘good-looking’ $\rightarrow$ kɛ̲ -yɛyɛ ‘more good-looking’. Superlative forms can be derived by prefixing ze- ‘most’ to an adjective: kiko ‘big’ $\rightarrow$ ze-kiko ‘biggest’. Intensification forms are derived by suffixing -u to an adjective: tsә́tsɛ ‘small’ $\rightarrow$ tsә̲tsә̲-u ‘extremely small’. More details on the morphology of adjectives can be found in Section 11.3.

4.4.3 Taking Interrogative and Negative Prefixes

When functioning as predicates, adjectives can also take the interrogative and negative prefixes. These are illustrated below, with the word yɛyɛ ‘good-looking’:

(26) a. tsʰalá e-ya dance INTRG-good STA ti?

‘Does the dance look good?’

b. nyɯ́ -yɛ ti NEG-good

‘(The dance) does not look good.’

4.4.4 Modifying Nouns

Modifying nouns is the main syntactic functions of Munya adjectives. An adjective modifier always follows the noun that it modifies:

(27) a. yu rәrә grass long

‘long grass’
It was mentioned in Section 4.2.2 that nouns can be categorized by numeral classifiers and quantified by quantifiers, and these need to follow the head noun. When a noun phrase contains both an adjective and a numeral classifier or quantifier, the word order is Noun Adj NC/Q, that is, the numeral classifier or quantifier always follows the adjective:

(28) a. ɣu rәrә́ tősә
    grass long many
    'much long grass'

b. tʂɑ́ tʂʰōtʂʰõ tó­lö
    cliff white one-CLF:GENR
    'a white cliff'

This indicates that although adjectives, numeral classifiers and quantifiers can all modify nouns, one can still distinguish between adjectives and other word classes through word order: when a noun phrase is modified by both an adjective and a numeral classifier/quantifier at the same time, the element that is closest to the head noun is the adjective.

### 4.4.5 Functioning as Predicates

When adjectives are followed by the stative aspect *ti*, the egophoric marker *nyi* or the clause final particle *tólö*, they are seen as functioning as predicates. Although adjectives can function as predicates, they lack many morphological and syntactic properties that verbal predicates have. For example, adjectival predicates cannot inflect for the person-number of subject; they are mostly intransitive; they cannot take the imperfective marker, perfective marker, or the direct evidential marker. The grammatical markers that are allowed in an adjectival predicate clause are the stative aspect *ti*, the clause-final particle
tólö/tége, and the egophoric marker nyi. (The differences between these grammatical markers are discussed in Section 11.4). These are illustrated with the examples in (29):

(29) a. tsótso *til*
    be.hot STA
    ‘It is hot!’

b. tsótso *nyil*
    be.hot EGO:AP
    ‘It is hot!’

c. ótsә meni  tʂʰɛtʂʰɛ́  tólö
    DEM person  be.handsome/be.beautiful PAR
    ‘That person is handsome/beautiful.’

4.4.6 Functioning as Complements

Munya adjectives can function as the complement of the copula verb of change of state, *tʰәvá* ‘to become’ (30a), and as the complement in a command construction (30b):

(30) a. sɛ́pɛ  tʰә-vá  ra
    new  AS-become  EVID:DIRECT
    ‘(It) has become new (uttered after fixing a tractor).’

b. tsʰöntsʰö́  nó-vű
    good  DOWN-do/2SG
    ‘Be good.’

4.4.7 Subclasses of Adjectives

Based on the semantic parameters proposed in Dixon (1982: 1–62, 2012b: 65–66), eleven subclasses of adjectives are recognized, which are adjectives of DIMENSION, AGE,
VALUE, COLOR, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY, SPEED, DIFFICULTY, SIMILARITY, QUANTIFICATION, and POSITION. These are further discussed in Section 11.6.

4.5 Adverbs

4.5.1 Overview

While defining nouns, verbs, and adjectives is mostly unproblematic, identifying adverbs is less straightforward in many languages. According to Aikhenvald (2015: 166), this is because adverbs are typically defined as the word class which modifies verbs, and verb modifiers can have varying syntactic behaviors and morphological properties.

In Munya, there are some words that don’t show any morphological change: unlike nouns and adjectives they cannot take any prefix or suffix, and unlike verbs they don’t show vocalic change. Their syntactic function is mainly modificatory: they can modify adjectives, verbs or a whole clause. A few of them can function as copula complements. These words are recognized as adverbs. Depending on their semantics and grammatical behaviors, three types of adverbs can be recognized, which are adverbs of MANNER, DEGREE, and INTENSIFICATION. The grammatical properties of these adverbs are given in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: The Types and Functions of Munya Adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MANNER</td>
<td>Modifying verbs, functioning as copula complements (Section 4.5.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEGREE</td>
<td>Modifying adjectives and verbs (Section 4.5.2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENSIFICATION</td>
<td>Modifying verbs, adjectives and clauses (Section 4.5.2.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.2 Sub-types of Adverbs and Their Grammatical Properties

4.5.2.1 Manner Adverbs

Adverbs of MANNER include ɣɔ́ɣɔ́ ‘slowly’, ɣo ‘quickly’, zė̄eva ‘on the sly’, zózo ‘carefully’, tɕetɕe ‘heavily, intensively’, rosɛ́ ‘immediately’ and ŋaŋá ‘well’. Their phonological profile reminds one of adjectives, but they are fundamentally different from adjectives in
that they can modify verbs (31a) but not nouns, and cannot function as predicates. Some adverbs, however, can function as copula complements (31b and 31c):

(31) a. ŋɯ́ ɣɔ́ɣɔ  ndó  ɳo
     1SG slowly  go/1SG  EGO:SAP
     ‘I will go slowly.’

b.  yaró  vú
     quickly  do/2sg
     ‘Be quick!’

c.  otsé  teťešé  tʰ-vá  se  ndé
     3SG heavily  AS-become  PFV  must
     ‘He must have got it pretty badly/It must have been very heavy/serious for him.’

4.5.2.2 Degree Adverbs

The function of degree adverbs is to specify the degree or extent of an action or state. They generally modify verbs and adjectives and typically precede the word being modified. Words that are identified as degree adverbs include keré ‘a little’, teníme ‘very’, ɳéme ‘very’, teśítsh ‘very’, teśiníndzu ‘extremely’, teśiténi ‘really (which means ‘one hundred percent’, literally)’, tsanά ‘almost’, kenéke ‘more and more’, tsëtsh ‘mostly’, káro ‘terribly’ and ɕeʃo ‘all the time, always’. Between degree adverb and the modified element, three particles, ɛ/ɣɛ (homophonomous with the possessive marker/the experiential case marker), ti and tólö, can be marked. These particles can then be optionally followed by the discourse marker tsákũ ɲotʰónyi (this marker is discussed in Section 15.2). The exact nature of ɛ is not clear at the moment. For now, it is analyzed as a particle whose function is to mark the adverb. These are illustrated with teśiníndzu ‘very’ in (32):

(32) a.  dzópu=ne  teśiníndzu  tʰ-ñe  se  nyí
     king=COLL.PL  very  AS-be.happy  PFV  EGO:AP
     ‘The king’s families were very happy.’
b. putsʰi só-ló tse teʰinìndzu ɛ tsekú ndʑɑ́ndʑɑŋotʰónyí ndʑάndʑɑ
kid three-CLF:GENR FOC extremely PAR D.M intimate

'The three kids are extremely close to each other.'

In (32a), the adverb directly modifies the verb tʰônga 'to be happy'. In (32b), the adverb modifies the adjective ndʑάndʑɑ 'intimate', and is followed by the discourse marker tsekúŋotʰónyí after it is marked by the particle ɛ.

ɛ is not the only particle that can mark adverbs. Other markers include ti and tólö. Ti is also a stative aspect marker and tólö can be used as a clause final particle in an adjectival predicate clause. Consider the examples in (33):

(33) a. karé te-kù pi
   a.little UP-feel.cold IMPF
   '(I feel) a little bit cold.'

b. tsʰáye teʰítsʰa kolo kʰu-só se nyi
   harvest very tired NONS-come.out PFV EGO:AP
   'The harvest was very tiresome.'

c. ŋɯ́ re-kí pu ku kw mó tʰó-se se nyi; há-tɕɛ-ko,
   1SG four-CLF:YEAR on OBL mother AS-die PFV EGO:AP formative-NEG-know/1SG
   karé ti metsʰé há-tɕɛ-ko
   a.little PAR only formative-NEG-know/1SG
   'My mom died when I was four years old; I don’t remember (much about) that, only a very little bit.'

d. ŋuné lötɛʰ nyi ka, teʰítsʰa tólö ɛ-só ri mé ti
   1PL+EXCL young EGO:AP D.M very PAR AS-tired NMLZ COPULA:NEG STA
   'We were very young, and it was not the case that we got very tired.'

In the first two examples the adverbs karé 'a little' and teʰítsʰa 'extremely' directly modify the verbal element. In (33c) and (33d) they are respectively marked by ti and tólö.
One way of expressing high degree in Munya is to use a low degree adverb in a negative clause:

(34)  \[ \text{kerɛ́ ti ε káro vuú no-tʰú tɛɛ-ŋo} \]

\[ a.\text{little PAR PAR heavily snow DOWN-fall NEG-be} \]

‘It is snowing extremely heavily (lit. It is not snowing a little bit).’

The degree adverb that occurs in this example is \text{kerɛ́} ‘a little’. It modifies the manner adverb \text{káro} ‘heavily’, which in turn modifies the verb \text{no-tʰú} ‘to fall’. Then the predicate is negated, and the clause means, literally, that the snow is not a little heavy, which is an indirect way of saying that ‘the snow is exceedingly heavy’. Notice that \text{kerɛ́} ‘a little’ is followed by two particles, which are \text{ti} and \text{ɛ}. This indicates that particles marking adverbs can be stacked.

Some words that have the meaning of degree can be used as both adjectives and adverbs, one such word being \text{káro} ‘terribly’. When used as an adjective it means ‘impressive’ or ‘terrifying’ and can function as predicate, as in (35a). As an adverb it can modify verbs (35b) and even copulas (35c):

(35) a. \[ tʃʰòtsi-u=νε káro nyi \]

\[ \text{PN-person=PL impressive EGO:AP} \]

‘The villagers of tʃʰòtsi are impressive.’

b. \[ ɳú káro tʰɛ-ndɛ́ sō \]

\[ 1\text{SG terribly AS-get.old PFV/1SG} \]

‘I’m terribly old.’

c. \[ ɛ-ndzə ri káro i nyi \]

\[ \text{DS-eat NMLZ terribly COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP} \]

‘There were lots of things to eat (lit. Things to eat exist terribly).’
4.5.2.3 Intensification Adverbs

Intensification adverbs are used to add emphasis to the clause or to convey the speaker’s attitude or emotion towards a situation, such as amazement, condemnation or surprise. The intensification adverbs currently identified include sé ‘so’, té ‘so’ and mәtsʰé ‘only’. The functions of mәtsʰé ‘only’ are discussed in Section 14.5. Here we only focus on sé and té.

sé and té can be seen as attitudinals, and neither can be easily translated into English (‘so’ is just a rough approximation), because their function is to express the speakers’ emotion or attitude and they do not have any semantic content. First, let us consider the semantic and grammatical properties of sé, as are illustrated in (36) below:

\[(36) \ a. \ tʃʰόtɕi·u=nɛ \ sé \ məŋə̃ \ dōtsə \ kʰətʃə \ i \ rətəse \ pi \ nyi \]
\[PN\text{-}person=COLL.PL \ so \ people \ seventy \ more \ than \ ERG \ dance \ IMPF \ EGO:AP \]

‘More than seventy of the tʃʰόtɕivillagers will dance.’

\[b. \ tɕətsʊ=nә \ na \ tɨ·su \ sa \ nyi; \ sé \ tʰikʰu \ tʃʰɔ̃ \ ɣɔ̃-tsə \]
\[livestock=PL \ also \ UP\text{-}confiscate \ PFV \ EGO:AP \ so \ PN \ place \ US\text{-}drive \ ra \]
\[EVID\text{:DIRECT} \]

‘The livestock were also confiscated; they were ALL driven to the tʰikʰu village.’

In (36a), sé ‘so’ is used to express surprise or amazement. Usually only twenty people in one village are good dancers. The fact that more than seventy people of tʃʰόtɕivillage will dance impresses the speaker quite a lot, hence she used sé ‘so’. In (36b), sé ‘so’ functions to add some intensification to the statement, as indicated by the translation.

The position of sé ‘so’ is very flexible, and this is probably because its scope of modification is the whole clause. In (36a), sé ‘so’ occurs within the subject, while in (36b) it occurs at the beginning of the clause. This word can also occur prior to an adjective and function as the modifier of it. In (37) it modifies *tsətse* ‘small’:
4.5. ADVERBS

(37)  sé  tsatsé  ró  ýe  tsakú  k’é  tu-dó  t’ó...

so  small  time  LK  D.M  words  up-speak  if

‘If (I am to) say a few words about when (I was) very young...’

té ‘so’ is pronounced as bé in the southern dialect. While té can occur at the beginning of an affirmative clause, as in (38a), it is more commonly found before negative predicates, as are shown from (38b) to (38d). In the latter case it can be roughly translated as ‘at all’.

(38)  a.  té  ŋiú  ýe  mó  le  tsótso  tóló  t’o-vá  sá

so  1SG  POSS  mother  DAT  same  PAR  AS-become  PFV

‘(She) literally became the same as my mum.’

b.  otsé  ýe  tsp’eró  ýr-ts’ó  ri  té  tsé-nda

3SG  POSS  wood  US-burn  NMLZ  at.all  NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘He does not have any wood for burning at all.’

c.  mú  té  ýr-tsū-t’ū

fire  at.all  US-NEG-light.up/2SG

‘Be sure not to light up any fire.’

d.  ērī  tópi  tsó  té  ts’etś’ó  tóló  tsé-ŋo

PN  called  NMLZ  at.all  beautiful  PAR  NEG-be

‘(The woman) called ērī is not beautiful at all.’

In (38a), té ‘so’ occurs at the beginning of the clause, and its meaning and function are similar to those of sé ‘so’. In (38b) and (38c), it occurs before negated predicates. The situation seems to be different in (38d), where it does not occur before the negated predicate tséŋo ‘not’, but before ts’etś’ó ‘beautiful’. But one can still analyze ts’etś’ó tóló tséŋo ‘not beautiful’ as a complex predicate and say that té ‘so’ is used before the whole predicate but not inserted in between.

té can also be used as a swear word. In a monologue, a little girl told how she used to have a headache after eating some t’hányue ‘rice dumpling’ (both the food and the word
4.6 Summary

The grammatical properties and subclasses of the four types of words discussed in this chapter are summarized in Table 4.4.

This table displays how each open word class has a range of properties not shared by others. For example, only nouns can be pluralized or modified by adjectives, and only verbs can take directional prefixes or inflect for the person-number of subjects. This means nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs are clearly distinguishable word classes in Munya. While some features are shared by different word classes, these features are fully expressed in only one word class. For example, although verbs, adjectives and nouns can all function as predicates, only verbal predicate can take the full range of grammatical categories.

It is not hard to see the connection between the swear word usage and the intensifier usage of té, as both contain the speaker’s attitude and, to some degree, emotions, towards the situation being described. Thus, it is not improbable that the intensifier usage is the result of semantic extension from the swear word usage, or vice versa.

(39) tʰányɛ̌ ɛndzó ke ɣɑ́lò teŋé, tsɛkɯ́ té!
    rice.dumpling eat/1SG and head up-hurt, D.M INTSF

‘(I) had some rice dumplings and then (I) had a headache, dammit!’
Table 4.4: A Comparison of the Grammatical Properties of Four Open Word Classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical properties</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pluralization</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified by adjectives</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified by nouns</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categorized by numeral classifiers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessor NP modification</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantified by quantifiers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause modification</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantified by quantifiers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functioning as arguments</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functioning as copula complements</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking directional prefixes</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person-number inflections</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluractional derivation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking interrogative/negative prefixes</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functioning as predicates</td>
<td>Restricted</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Restricted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherent reduplication</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative derivation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superlative derivation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensification derivation</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifying nouns</td>
<td>Restricted</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifying adjectives</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifying verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifying clauses</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

Word Class II: Closed Classes

5.1 Overview

This chapter looks at the closed word classes in Munya. Different from the open classes discussed in the last chapter, which have well-defined common morphological and syntactic properties, closed classes cannot be recognized on purely formal bases. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, some closed class words behave like those in open classes, and if one takes a strictly formal approach some closed classes would have to be treated as a subclass of certain open classes. For example, demonstratives in Munya behave like either nouns, or adverbs, or verbs; postpositions show nominal properties, and many auxiliaries are verb-like. In spite of this, none of these closed word classes behave like full-fledged open classes. They might have some properties of those open classes, but not all of them. Secondly, some closed classes do not have any prominent morphological or syntactic properties. One such class contains the particles, which neither show any morphological changes nor do they play any syntactic roles. In view of this, closed classes are recognized on both formal and functional grounds. A closed class will be defined, first and foremost, based on functional criteria. And if a closed class thus recognized also shares certain formal properties, those properties will be seen as additional criteria for that class. Following this approach, altogether eight closed classes are recognized, which are demonstratives (Section 5.2), pronouns (Section 5.3), number words (Section 5.4), quantifiers (Section 5.5), postpositions (Section 5.6), interrogative words (Section 5.7), auxiliaries (Section 5.8) and particles (Section 5.9).
5.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are defined here as a class of words that can deictically refer to person (other than speaker or addressee) and thing, location, manner and action. Demonstratives in Munya are formed by attaching the demonstrative prefix o- or on- to a root, as in o-tsә́ ‘this’ and on-tolә́ ‘like this’. This can be seen as their common morphological property. Demonstratives can be categorized into three types based on their syntactic functions, which are nominal, adverbial and verbal. The meanings of demonstratives mainly cover deictic reference, anaphora/cataphora, and pronoun.

All demonstratives in Munya make the distinction of proximal vs. distal. Proximal and distal demonstratives differ in tone. The high tone falls on the last or on the penultimate syllable for proximal demonstratives, and on the first syllable for distal demonstratives, cf. otsә́ ‘this’ and otse ‘that’, omenә́ ‘like this’ and ômenә ‘like that’ and onовать ‘do like this’ and ónovу ‘do like that’. Only the nominal demonstratives distinguish number, contrasting a singular and a non-singular form.

5.2.1 The Forms of Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Munya are listed in Table 5.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Basic or contracted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>otsә́ ‘this’, ôtse ‘that’</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>okʰó ‘here’, ôkʰo ‘there’</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>okʰu ‘in this’, ôkʰu ‘in that’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>opú ‘on this’, ôpu ‘on that’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner adverbial</td>
<td>omenә́ ‘like this’, ômenә ‘like that’</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ontolә́ ‘like this’, ôntolә ‘like that’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ôntеɡә́ ‘like this’, ôntеɡә ‘like that’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ontопи ‘like this’, ôntопи ‘like that’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ontosә́ ‘like this’, ôntosә ‘like those’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>onовать ‘do like this’, ônovу ‘do like that’</td>
<td>Contracted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives are either basic or contracted, depending on whether they have equivalent forms. Basic demonstratives do not have alternative equivalent forms. This kind of demonstrative include otsә́ ‘this’, okʰó ‘here’ and omenә́ ‘like this’. Contracted demonstra-
tives have other equivalent forms besides those given in Table 5.1, and these equivalent forms all consist of a basic demonstrative plus either a postposition, a verb, a numeral classifier or a quantifier. For example, opú 'on this' can be alternatively realized as otsé pu, where otsé is the basic nominal demonstrative and pu is the postposition meaning 'on'. Similarly, the verbal demonstrative onóvu 'do like this' has the equivalent form omená nóvu, in which omená 'like this' is the basic adverbial demonstrative and nóvu 'do' is a verb. Contracted demonstratives formed by combining a basic demonstrative with other element(s) are also reported in some other languages, cf. Guérin (2015).

Contracted demonstratives, together with their full forms, are listed in Table 5.2. Both the contracted forms and the full forms are currently used, and they are interchangeable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contracted demonstrative</th>
<th>Full form</th>
<th>Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>okʰú 'in this'</td>
<td>otsé kʰu</td>
<td>nominal dem. + postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opú 'on this'</td>
<td>otsé pu</td>
<td>nominal dem. + postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ontólo 'like this'</td>
<td>omená tólō</td>
<td>adverbial dem. + numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ontège 'like this'</td>
<td>omená tège</td>
<td>adverbial dem. + numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ontopi 'like this'</td>
<td>omená tópi</td>
<td>adverbial dem. + quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ontosé 'like these'</td>
<td>omená tóse</td>
<td>adverbial dem. + quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onóvu 'do like this'</td>
<td>omená nóvu</td>
<td>adverbial dem. + verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table it can be seen that contracted demonstratives all originate from a demonstrative phrase, where the demonstrative prefix o- migrates to the word following the basic demonstrative, and the erstwhile demonstrative root is omitted. Take onóvu 'do like this' for an example. It originates from the verb phrase omená nóvu, which consists of the basic manner demonstrative omená 'like this' and the verb nó-vu 'to do (DOWN-do)'. We know this because the full form, omená nóvu 'do like this' is still in use. Then the full form is shortened, by omitting the root of the basic manner demonstrative, -mena, and attaching the demonstrative prefix o- to the verb nóvu 'do', giving onóvu. One peculiar thing is that in the contracted forms the demonstrative prefix needs to be nasalized when prefixed to numeral classifiers or quantifiers. This is still a mystery to me.

In what follows, we look at the syntactic properties and functions of the three types of demonstratives, the nominal demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives, and verbal demonstratives. For ease of presentation, only the proximal form of the demon-
stratifies is given when cited as examples, since what is claimed for this form is also applicable to the distal form.

5.2.2 Nominal Demonstratives

There are four pairs of nominal demonstratives in Munya. The three pairs indicating locations, which are okʰó ‘here’, opú ‘on this’ and okʰú ‘in this’, are recognized as nominal instead of adverbial demonstratives. This is because words denoting locations behave like nouns in Munya: they can take the place of an associative plural marker (cf. Section 6.3), a numeral classifier (−kʰɛ ‘CLF:PLACE’), and can be marked by the oblique case. Because local demonstratives can anaphorically refer to local nouns and can function as copula complements (to be discussed below), they are essentially noun-like.

5.2.2.1 Syntactic Properties

The two pairs of basic nominal demonstratives (otsé ‘this’ and okʰó ‘here’) can make up a complete NP (40a and 40b) or appear in an NP with a noun (40c and 40d), in which case they function as arguments. The two pairs of contracted nominals (opú ‘on this’ and okʰú ‘in this’) can only form a complete NP but cannot occur in an NP. Consider the four examples below:

(40) a. [otsé]₁ [ŋí]₁ hà-nyu-ko ti
   DEM 1SG+ERG formative-NEG-know/1SG STA
   ‘I don’t know that.’

b. [tá]₁ okʰó ḥô-se nyi
   tiger DEM AS-die EGO:AP
   ‘The tiger died here.’

c. [otsé dunbú]₁ teʰinindzu pitso té-zɛ nyi
   DEM stick very good one-CLF:LONG EGO:AP
   ‘This stick is really good.’
d. [ŋɯ́] i lỳmi tsakú tsakú okʰó nbú le tó-tso hé
1SG ERG watch.over.cattle D.M D.M DEM hill on up-drive go

'I watched over cattle and drove (them) up the hill over there.'

otsé ‘this’ generally functions as core arguments (it acts as O in 40a and as S in 40c) and the local demonstrative okʰó ‘here’ normally functions as peripheral arguments. Different from other local nominals, when functioning as peripheral arguments okʰó ‘here’ is not marked by the oblique case ka. This can be seen in (40b). Similarly, contracted nominal demonstratives cannot take the oblique case but their full forms (otsé kʰu ‘in this’ and osté pu ‘on this’) can be marked by it.

Nominal demonstratives can also function as copula arguments:

(41) a. [otsé]CS [vá]CC ŋó ti
DEM butter be STA

'This is butter.'

b. [dzópu tó-lö]CS [okʰú]CC ndžú ra
king one-CLF:GENR DEM COP:ANIMATE EVID:DIRECT

'One of (those kids) is the king.'

otsé ‘this’ is the only nominal demonstrative that has a plural form, which is oné. This form can be used when it functions as a complete NP and appears in an NP with a noun or as a pronoun. In the second case, if the NP head is specified for number via other means, otsé ‘this’ does not occur in plural form. Compare:

(42) a. oné yu
DEM+PL grass

'these grasses'

b. otsé putsʰi sɔ́-lö
DEM kid three-CLF:GENR

'these three kids'
The plurality in (42a) is indicated with the demonstrative. In (42b), because the head noun, *putsʰí* ‘kid’, is quantified by the numeral classifier, the demonstrative does not show plural form.

### 5.2.2 Functions

The functions of nominal demonstratives are deictic reference and anaphora. Their deictic function is illustrated with the examples below:

\[(43)\]
\[a. \quad \text{otsә́ rerә́ ti} \]
\[\text{DEM be.delicious STA} \]

‘This is delicious. (Uttered as the speaker is pointing at the dish she just tasted.)’

\[b. \quad \text{tsɤ́lɤ okʰó mú} \]
\[\text{cat here COP} \]

‘The cat is here. (Uttered as the speaker is pointing at the cat.)’

The major parameter of reference of Munya demonstratives is spatial, which relates to ‘near speaker’ (proximal) and ‘not near speaker’ (distal). They are also used to highlight contrast. For example, if someone had two dishes and thinks one dish is delicious but the other one is not, she can say (44):

\[(44)\]
\[\text{otsә́ rerә́ ti, ótsә́ rerә́ nyu-ti} \]
\[\text{DEM be.delicious STA DEM be.delicious NEG-STA} \]

‘This one is delicious and this one is not delicious.’

Here the two instances of the nominal demonstrative are used deictically, and both referents are near the speaker in this context. However, the first demonstrative is proximal but the second one is distal. This is because the two referents—in this case, two dishes—are contrasted against each other and the second one needs to be referred to with the distal demonstrative regardless of distance.

While nominal demonstratives can all be used as anaphoras, thus far I have not found any example of such demonstratives being used cataphorically. (But verbal demonstra-
5.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

tives can be used in this way—see the discussion in Section 5.2.4.) In the example below, ótsә ‘that’ is used as an anaphora, referring back to the CS in the previous copula clause:

\[ (45) \] [mɯ́ kʰu-sә́ rό γɛ́ dzό́ tó-lō]_{CS} tʰό-ndé sә, ótsә

`fire  NONS-preserve  go  REL  stone  one-CLF:GENR  AS-COP:ABSTRACT  PFV  DEM

tә  mәɛɛlɛɛ  

FOC  fire.preserving.stone`

‘There used to be a stone for preserving fire (keeping ambers alive), and that is the fire preserving stone.’

5.2.3 Manner Adverbial Demonstratives

Manner adverbial demonstratives all mean ‘like this/like that’ or ‘like these/like those’. The root of the basic demonstrative, manә́, can also be used as a simulative plural marker. This is discussed in Section 6.3. The syntactic functions of manner adverbial demonstratives are to modify verbs (46a) and adjectives (46b):

\[ (46) \] a. kʰɯ́-ndzó rи́ tҶ мә́,  manә́ ɛ́ tsaқәу ndzuwɛ́ hә́ rи́

`NONS-stop  NMLZ  at.all  COPULA:NEG  DEM  PAR  D.M  change  go  NMLZ

tόłọ́

PAR`

‘(Everything) doesn’t stop at all, and (everything) changes like that.’

b. tsә́  γɛ́  dʐɛ́ nyunistdzo,  tsʰәlә́ rόtsә  nyunistdzo,  sә́ manә́

`REFL/3  GEN  voice  NEG-have/1SG  dance  to.dance  NEG-can/1SG  so  DEM

dudù́  tόłọ́  ti

be.bad  PAR  STA`

‘I don’t have (a good) voice, nor can I dance, I’m as bad as that.’

Note that in (46a), the adverbial demonstrative is marked by the particle ɛ and followed by the discourse marker tsaқәu. This is in accordance with the behavior of degree adverbs as discussed in Section 4.5.
Similar to nominal demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives can also be used deictically and as anaphoras. In (46) above, the demonstratives are used as anaphoras, referring back to the situations described by the previous clauses. It refers to the fact that nothing in the world is static in (46a) and that the speaker does not have a good voice and cannot dance in (46b).

In (47), the manner adverbial demonstrative seems to be used deictically:

\[(47) \text{löŋö́ zú pu tsəktú mó́ tʰó-se se nyí, ómänə̣ kʰé́ tu-tó hi}\]

age four on D.M mother AS-die PFV EGO:AP DEM words UP-speak will

'When you were four your mum died, speak like that.'

When asked to say something about himself, the speaker did not know where to start. His wife, who was sitting nearby, prompted him by saying (47). Here it can be argued that the speaker of (47) first set up an example, then asked her husband to continue in that manner. The adverbial demonstrative then deictically refers to the way of speaking.

The semantic or pragmatic differences between the four contracted manner adverbial demonstratives can be subtle, and mainly lie in quantity. Roughly speaking, ontɛgɛ́ would be used if the speaker wants to emphasize the small quantity or low degree involved in the situation, hence it can be more accurately translated as 'this little'. ontosé and ontöpi would be used if the speaker wants to emphasize the large quantity or high degree involved in a certain situation. omané and ontólo are the unmarked, and also most frequently used, manner adverbial demonstratives, which carry no connotation as to whether the degree involved is high or low. This can be seen by comparing (48a) with (48b):
In (48a), the speaker talked about the small amount of rest that they had within a year, which was only five days, hence he used ontegeh ‘that little’. Aside from this demonstrative, emphasis for the small amount is also borne out by the adverb used in the previous clause, yoloh ‘only’. In (48b), the speaker commented on how prevalent it is for people to think that they would live to eighty or ninety years old. To emphasize that this happens so often, he used ontose ‘like that’, together with the adverb eço ‘always’.

5.2.4 Verbal Demonstrative

The verbal demonstrative onŏvuw ‘do like this’ is contracted from the basic manner adverbial demonstrative omené ‘like this’ and the verb nó-vuw ‘to do (DOWN-do)’. Its verbal status can be seen from the fact that it can be followed by aspect markers or egophoric markers, which are the key properties of verbs (Section 4.3). Its major syntactic role is functioning as predicate, as is shown in (49):
5.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

(49) a. ná-ndzo tsa, nó-tsü t'o-dí tsʰé nó-vu, ónovu
    DOWN-process FOC DOWN-milk AS-finish solid.sour.milk DOWN-make DEM
    ŋo
    EGO:SAP

    ‘As to milk-processing, I made solid sour milk, I did things like that.’

b. yənbé ɛ-tʰə, ɡé nó-tū, re kʰū-re, ɣóya
    cattle.dung DS-remove clod DOWN-break land NONS-plow cattle.fence
    nó-tew, omená nó-vu só nyi
    DOWN-set.up like.that DOWN-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP

    ‘I removed cattle dung, broke up clods, plowed the land, set up cattle fences,
    (I) worked like that.’

Although cataphoric use of demonstratives in Munya is rare, one example can be given here, which involves a verbal demonstrative. In a story, three kids arrived in a strange country where the king was being chosen, and the story-teller began his account of how they chose the king with (50):

(50) tí-si pi ke omená nó-vu pi tʰόŋose nyi
    UP-choose IMPF OBL DEM DOWN-do IMPF MIR EGO:AP

    ‘As they choose the king, they choose (him) like this.’

The processes of choosing the king were then given, which constituted lining up clever kids in that country and bringing an elephant, and so on. (Details can be found in the text attached to the thesis.) In this example, the cataphoric demonstrative is a verbal manner demonstrative in its full form.

It can be seen from the discussion above that the basic manner demonstrative omená ‘like this’ gives rise to a fair amount of contracted demonstratives (altogether five), which are either verbal or adverbial. These demonstratives are all semantically related to manner (‘like this/like that’ for manner adverbial demonstratives and ‘do like this/do like that’ for verbal demonstratives), and can be termed manner demonstratives. This plethora of
5.3. PRONOUNS

Munya has two kinds of pronouns, common and reflexive. Common pronouns have three number distinctions (singular, dual and plural) and an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction. Some pronouns also have ergative and genitive case forms. Reflexive pronouns make fewer distinctions in number and clusivity than common pronouns, and are formally derived from common pronouns. Both common and reflexive pronouns can be reduplicated for emphasis. In what follows, the term ‘pronoun’ will be used to denote common pronouns unless otherwise specified.

5.3.1 Common Pronouns

In this section we characterize Munya pronouns from the perspectives of number, clusivity and case forms. There is a tripartite number distinction in Munya pronouns, singular, plural and dual. There is also an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singualrs. The
absolutive case form is the base form, from which the ergative form and genitive form are derived. These forms are given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Absolutive form</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>ŋɯ́</td>
<td>yo-né</td>
<td>yo-ní-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>ƞwú</td>
<td>ƞw-né</td>
<td>ƞw-ní-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>né</td>
<td>nɛ-né</td>
<td>nɛ-ní-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>otsé</td>
<td>o-né</td>
<td>o-ní-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative form</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>ƞí</td>
<td>yo-ní</td>
<td>yo-ní-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>nɛ-ní</td>
<td>nɛ-ní-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>nɛ-ní</td>
<td>nɛ-ní-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>otsí</td>
<td>o-ní</td>
<td>o-ní-ní-o-tsi-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive form</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>ngɛ́</td>
<td>yo-né</td>
<td>yo-né-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>nɛ-né</td>
<td>nɛ-né-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>nɛ-né</td>
<td>nɛ-ní-né</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>otsé</td>
<td>o-né</td>
<td>o-ní-ní-o-tsi-né</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different number forms are related to each other through derivation. The singular form is the basic form, from which the plural form is derived by attaching the plural marker -nә. For example, the second person singular is nɛ́, and the second person plural is nɛ-nә. Different from the plural marker attached to common nouns, which is a clitic, the plural marker here should be analyzed as a suffix. This is because it forms both a grammatical and a phonological word—a pronoun—with preceding components. Note that the third person plural is formed somewhat differently, in that it is not derived by directly suffixing the plural marker, but by replacing the second syllable of the singular form with the plural marker, which results in o-nә rather than *otsә-nә. The duals are derived from the plurals by adding the suffix -ni to the singular root, which means ‘two’.

Munya has an inclusive/exclusive distinction for first person plurals and duals. The exclusive forms are based on the first person singular ƞwú, and the plural and dual forms are respectively ƞw-nә ‘we/us’ and ƞw-ní-nә ‘we two/us two’. The inclusive forms contain the bound morpheme yo-, the origin of which is currently unknown.

Ergative and genitive are formed by combining the absolutive form with the ergative
case $i$ and the genitive case $ɛ$. Since the two cases can fuse with personal pronouns and lead to some irregularities, the two case paradigms of pronouns are listed in Table 5.3. The second person singular form is not given because it cannot fuse with the two cases. The second person singular form and the ergative case/genitive case are two separate words, respectively $nɛ\ i$ and $nɛ\ ɣɛ$. There is also a dative case, $le$, which never fuses with personal pronouns and always occurs as a CV syllable. For example, ‘to me’ is $ŋu\i\ le$ and cannot be $^*ŋe\ le$. This indicates that the fusion of pronouns with cases is phonologically conditioned: if the case only consists of a vowel, it can fuse with the pronoun, otherwise it cannot. This is also supported by an observation related to the genitive case. The genitive case $ɛ$ has a free variant $ɣɛ$, which is phonologically a CV syllable. Just like the dative case, the full-syllable variant can never fuse with pronouns.

The fusion of the ergative case with singular forms is optional, so that we can have both $ŋu\ i$ (unfused) and $ŋi$ (fused), and $ots\ i$ and $otsi$. Case fusion with plural and dual forms are obligatory, therefore, for the second person plural, we only have $neni$ and not $^*nen\ i$. Finally, note that there are two equivalent forms for the third person dual ergative form, which are $onini$ and $otsini$. $onini$ is formally transparent, but it is not very clear how $otsini$ came into being. One way of arriving at this form is by suffixing the morpheme $-ni$ ‘two’ to the ergative form of the third person singular, $otsi$.

Considerable similarities with the ergative forms are observed in the creation of genitive forms. One is that case fusion with singular forms is optional but fusion with plural and dual forms are obligatory. Another one is that there are two third person dual forms, which are $oninɛ$ and $otsinɛ$. $oninɛ$ is formed regularly by fusing the genitive case $ɛ$ with the absolutive form $onin\i$, but $otsinɛ$ poses an issue. If we assume that it is formed by suffixing $-ni$ ‘two’ to the third person singular, $ots\i$, following the analysis of the third person dual ergative form, we cannot explain how $ots\i$ becomes $otsi$. There is currently no satisfactory explanation as to how this form came about.

There are two peculiarities in genitive case forms. One is that the fused form of first person singular, $ngɛ$, is irregular. The other peculiarity lies in the first person dual forms. Here the suffix which means ‘two’ is $-nɛ$ instead of the expected $-ni$. While this might strike us as an instance of vowel harmony, a similar vowel harmony phenomenon is not observed in other parts of the Munya morphophonology (cf. Section 3.2), this explanation
cannot be correct. Note also that this suffix does not become -nɛ for the second person
dual genitive form but remains ne-ni-nɛ́. This may be the result of an effort to avoid three
identical syllables occurring together.

A word that has pronominal function but is not listed in Table 5.3 is ndzú. It roughly
means ‘someone’ or ‘people’. It is not listed because it does not pattern with other pro-
nouns and does not have dual forms. However, this word has three distinct but related
functions: as a third person pronoun, as a generic pronoun, and as an indefinite pronoun.

When used as a third person pronoun, it can be juxtaposed with a noun that it refers
to, as in (52a), or occur alone, as in (52b):

(52) a. ɛɣó i ndzú i tsáːte kʰó-le a-rá
   uncle ERG he ERG bike AS-ride DS-go
   ‘Uncle, he went downstream on a bike.’

b. [tsɛkú dzópu=ne tɛ i lá mo-tá se], ndzú i ómene tê-te
   D.M king=COLL.PL son ERG bride NEG-get PFV she ERG DEM UP-say
   viú tsɛkú
   do D.M
   ‘“The son of the king’s family did not get his bride”, so said she (the daughter
   of another king’s family).’

In (52a), ndzú is juxtaposed to its antecedent, the subject ɛɣó ‘uncle’, and they are both
marked with the ergative case i. (52b) comes from a story. The son of a king’s family
made a proposal for the daughter of another king’s family but was refused because of
his unsatisfactory behavior. The original speaker of the speech report (in brackets) is the
daughter of yet another king’s family. In this example she is anaphorically referred to with
ndzú.

When used as a generic pronoun, it does not have any antecedent and roughly means
‘people’. In this case, it can be pluralized:
5.3. PRONOUNS

(53) \textit{ndzú=na} tsekú.ŋotˈɔnyí, tsipú tʰε-vá pi, tôme tʰε-vá pi, tάyέ
people=PL D.M happy AS-become PFV rich AS-become PFV money

\textit{ndé ti}

have PAR

‘People have become happy, they have become rich, they have money.’

\textit{ndzú} can also function as an indefinite pronoun and then means ‘someone’. Suppose one wants to have some dumplings but finds that all dumplings are gone and deduces that someone have eaten them, one can say:

(54) \textit{ndzú=ni} mɔmɔ́ ɛ́ndzә rɑ
someone=PL+ERG dumpling DS-eat EVID:DIRECT

‘Someone ate the dumplings.’

5.3.2 Reflexive Pronouns

Aside from common pronouns, Munya also has a set of reflexive pronouns. They are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Reflexive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>ηí</td>
<td>yo-né</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>ηʒi-né</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nέ</td>
<td>ne-nέ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tsé</td>
<td>tsé-na</td>
<td>tse-nǐ-né</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing reflexive pronouns with common pronouns, we can see that clusivity is the same for both types. That is, there is the inclusive/exclusive distinction for first person plurals and duals. However, the tripartite number distinction is only preserved in third person. Also, the singular reflexive forms can be roughly analyzed as deriving from the non-reflexive forms through vowel raising, so that the first person singular ηʒu becomes ηí, and the second person singular nέ becomes nέ. The relation between the third person singular reflexive and non-reflexive forms, however, cannot be satisfactorily accounted
for in this way. In particular, we don’t know what happened to the demonstrative prefix o- in otsé when it turns into the reflexive pronoun, tsé, but vowel raising can capture the relation between -tsé and tsé.

Case marking is regular in singular reflexive pronouns, with no case fusion observed. (The first person singular ergative form is the same as the absolutive form, both are ƞi.) Case fusion for plural and dual forms works in the same way as that of common pronouns.

There is no formal distinction between reflexive and reciprocal pronouns. It is potentially ambiguous as to whether a reflexive pronoun is used reflexively or reciprocally when the subject is plural. This is illustrated in (55):

(55) ntení  nené  té  ra

2PL+ERG  REFL/2NNSG  see/1/2NNSG  EVID:DIRECT

‘You saw yourselves/You saw each other.’

In this example, the second person dual or plural reflexive pronoun, nené, can be interpreted as either having a reflexive sense or a reciprocal sense. In the former case it is coreferential with the subject and means ‘yourselves’ and in the latter case it means ‘each other’.

The third person singular reflexive pronoun can be used as an auto-reflexive, i.e., without any antecedent. In this case, it is used for emphasis, and roughly means ‘she herself/he himself’ or ‘by himself/by herself’:

(56) a. ngö̞tʃʰi  nò  té-te  tséku,  ngö̞tʃʰi=ne  tséna  nbi

chieftain be up-say and  chieftain=PL  REFL/3PL  sit

‘(They) said I was the chieftain (but) the chieftains simply sat.’

b. tsé  ŋɛ  ri  te-ró  pi

REFL/3  EXP  smile  UP-COME  IMPF

‘He himself smiled/She herself smiled.’

In speech reports, when the subject of the main clause is coreferential with the subject/object of the subordinate clause, the subject/object of the subordinate clause should
be in the reflexive form. Compare:

(57) a. otsi \[tsé yɛ to-tsó sö nyi\] tê-te sə nyi
3SG+ERG REF/3 EXP UP-be.hungry PFV/1SG EGO:AP UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘He/she said he/she was hungry.’

b. otsi \[ŋɯ́ ɲu 1SG yɛ to-tsó sə nyi\] tê-te sə nyi
3SG+ERG 1SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV EGO:AP UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘He/she said I was hungry.’

In (57a), the subject of the main clause is the third person singular pronoun, and is coreferential with the subject of the quoted clause, as indicated by the indexes. Therefore, the subject of the subordinate clause should take the reflexive form. In (57b), the two subjects are not co-referential, and the subject of the subordinate clause, which is in first person, can only refer to the current speaker himself or herself. This is an example of indirect speech report. Note also that in (57a), where the two subjects are co-referential, the person marking in the subordinate clause should be in the first person form (marked on the perfective auxiliary sö). Issues of speech report are further explored in Section 14.4.

The word sesú/róró sesú (some people pronounce it as sesû) borrowed from Tibetan is semantically similar to a reflexive pronoun. It can mean ‘oneself’, ‘individual’ or ‘by oneself’. Consider the two examples below:

(58) a. róró.sesú yɛ tsakú.ACIÓN.yirə, tó-ts\'e yɛ tsakú.ACIÓN.yirə,
REFL EXP D.M one-CLF:FAMILY EXP D.M

da métsh\'e tê-tçu-dzo tsakú
think only UP-NEG-do D.M

‘(Everyone) only thinks for themselves, only thinks for one family.’

b. róró.sesú nó-tʂ\'ö, róró.sesú lêk\'e tʰó-vu
REFL DOWN-plow REFL work AS-do

‘People plow by themselves, work by themselves.’
In (58a), *róró sasú* ‘oneself’ is marked by the experiential case and functions as an oblique argument (‘for oneself’). The subject, *méme* ‘everyone’, can be retrieved from the context and is omitted. In (58b), it is an adverb whose function is to modify the verb phrases and means ‘by oneself’. Note that it cannot be analyzed as an argument, because in that case, we would expect it to be marked by the ergative case, since the verbs in the two clauses are both transitive.

### 5.3.3 Pronoun Reduplication

Both common pronouns and reflexive pronouns can be reduplicated. Reduplicated pronouns are mainly used for emphasis. For example, if one wants to assert that something belongs to him or her, they can either use non-reduplicated forms, as in (59a) and (59b), or reduplicated forms, as in (59c) and (59d):

(59) a. *otsó nùù γɛ nyi*

DEM 1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is mine.’

b. *otsó ní γɛ nyi*

DEM REFL/1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is mine.’

c. *otsó nù-w-ùù γɛ nyi*

DEM 1SG-1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is MINE.’

d. *otsó ní-ní γɛ nyi*

DEM REFL/1SG-REFL/1SG POSS EGO:AP

‘This is MINE.’

The non-reduplicated pronouns in the first two examples are used for normal statements, but it can be argued that the assertion of ownership as expressed with the reflexive
pronoun in (59b) is stronger than the non-reflexive form in (59a). Now suppose that someone wrongly assumes that the thing in question belongs to someone else than the real owner, and the owner wants to emphasize that it actually belongs to him or her instead of anyone else, they can use the reduplicated forms, as shown in the second pair of examples. Here as above, the sense of emphasis in (59d) is again stronger than in (59c).

As another example, consider (60), where the first person inclusive pronoun is reduplicated:

(60) hɑ́mutʂʰe=nә
logging.certificate=PL
sé ǝ̀ k'hù kʰw-zwù hé hi nyi,
so county in NONS-apply go will EGO:AP
yoni-yoni
kʰw-zwù hé hi nyi
1PL.INCL+ERG-1PL.INCL+ERG NONS-apply go will EGO:AP

‘Logging certificates would have to be applied for in town, we would have to apply all by ourselves.’

In this example, pronoun reduplication functions to emphasize that people would have to apply for the logging certificate all by themselves, without the help of anyone else.

### 5.4 Number Words

Number words in Munya are also a closed class. In this section we look at two types of number words, which are cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers, with the focus on the former. There are two ways of counting for each type, the native way and the Tibetan way. The native cardinal number system is largely lost. After discussing the formation of cardinal numbers, their morphosyntactic properties will be covered, including formation of numeral classifiers and quantifying nouns. Also discussed are the two ways of expressing approximate meaning with cardinal numbers.

#### 5.4.1 Cardinal Numbers

There are two sets of number words in Munya, a native set and a Tibetan set. The native number words are morphologically prefixes, which are only found in numeral classifiers.
5.4. NUMBER WORDS

They form a grammatical and phonological word together with a numeral classifier. They exist only for numbers one to twenty in the western dialect but are still fully preserved in the eastern dialect. (Unfortunately, I do not have sufficient data for eastern dialect.) Tibetan number words can be used more freely, either with or without any classifier, and can be counted to any number. The use of Chinese number words is very restricted and mostly used when referring to telephone numbers. They do not play any active role in Munya grammar.

From the data available, it can be deduced that the native number system used to be decimal. Properties of this system include: single word for 1–10; use of addition to 10 for 11–19; use of multiplication by 10 for 20–99; single word for higher bases, typically ‘100’, ‘1000’, etc. The Munya number word for 100 is tá-ra. This form is obsolete and is not used in daily conversation anymore, but somehow my consultant remembers it. The Tibetan number system is also decimal based. Munya number words and some Tibetan number words are given in Table 5.5.

It is not hard to see from this table that Munya and Tibetan share some cognate number words, the obvious ones being those for 2, 3, and 5. The word for 6 (Munya tɕʰü- and Tibetan tʂú) and 9 (Munya ngɯ- and Tibetan gú) are very similar and it is possible that they can be explained by some sound change rules. A systematic comparison of the number words in Tibeto-Burman languages can be found in H. K. Sun (2018).

In the limited data we have for Munya we find two morphemes for ‘ten’, with one being ɛ- (found from 10–12) and the other ɣɔ- (found from 13–20). There are some irregularities in the Tibetan number system that need to be noted. The base of multiplication, which is 10, is generally tɕɯ́, but it is ɕә for numbers from 20 to 29. The latter can be explained as the result of lenition of the former (see Section 2.5). Sometimes the numbers multiplied by ten also show some vocalic change. For example, the number for 3 is sɔ́, and when it functions as the base for 30–39, it becomes sə, as in sə-tɕɯ ‘30’. Similarly, ɲǎ ‘5’ becomes ɲɛ when functioning as the base of multiplication.

Numbers involving both multiplication and addition are more complicated, in that they require a ‘linker’ between the multiplied part and the added part, and this linker can vary for every set of ten numbers. For example, 21 and 65 can be analyzed in the following way:
### Table 5.5: Munya Number Words and Tibetan Number Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic digit</th>
<th>Munya Number Words</th>
<th>Tibetan Number Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>tsí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>so-</td>
<td>sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>re-</td>
<td>zì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tsʰũ-</td>
<td>ũšú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>nyũ-</td>
<td>dō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>so-</td>
<td>dzé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ngw-</td>
<td>gù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>e-kō-</td>
<td>tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>€-ti-</td>
<td>tso-tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>€-nö-</td>
<td>tso-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>yo-sö-</td>
<td>tso-sò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>yo-rá-</td>
<td>tsw-zì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>yo-ŋã-</td>
<td>tsw-ŋá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>yo-teʰũ-</td>
<td>tsw-ũšú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>yo-ní-</td>
<td>tsw-dō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>yo-öö-</td>
<td>tsw-dzé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>yo-ngã-</td>
<td>tsw-gù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ne-yã-</td>
<td>ní-æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni-œø-tei-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni-œø-tei-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63-99</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sò-tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sò-tsu-sò-tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sò-tsu-sò-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>zì-tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ŋé-tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ŋé-tsu-ŋé-tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ũšu-tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ũšu-tsu-re-tei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ũšu-tsu-re-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dō-tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dzé-tsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dzé-ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ni-dzé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tōntsʰã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ũšʰítsʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>tonyé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4. NUMBER WORDS

(61)  a.  *ni-sā-tse-tsi*
      two-ten-and-one
      ‘twenty-one’

      b.  *tshū-tsūi-re-nā*
      six-ten-and-five
      ‘sixty-five’

In this example, the linkers as respectively -tse- (for ‘twenty-one’) and -re- (for ‘sixty-five’).

5.4.2 Ordinal Numbers

There is a native way and a Tibetan way of forming ordinal numbers. The native way is with numeral classifiers, but the words for ‘first’ and ‘second’ are suppletive forms. The word for ‘first’ is *kemū*, which means ‘before’ or ‘long time ago’. The word for ‘second’ is *otsā γε tšō* (it POSS behind), which means ‘behind it’. The word for ‘third’ is *tōntši γε tšō*, in which *tōntši* is the general numeral classifier for ‘two’ and this word means ‘behind of two’. Similarly, the word for ‘fourth’ is *sō-lō γε tšō* (three-CLF:GENR POSS behind). All other ordinal numbers are formed regularly in this way, which consists of a numeral classifier, a possessive marker, and the word for ‘behind’.

Tibetan ordinal numbers are formed by adding the ordinal suffix -pɛ and the prefix α- to cardinal numbers, with the latter being optional. The first cardinal number, *tōnpu/α-tōnpu* ‘first’, is suppletive. The word for ‘second’ is either *ā-ni-pɛ* or *ni-pɛ*, in which *ni* is the word for ‘two’ and α- is the cardinal prefix and -pɛ is the cardinal suffix. All other ordinal numbers are formed according to this rule.

5.4.3 The Functions of Number Words

5.4.3.1 Forming Numeral Classifiers

The most prominent morphological function of number words is to form numeral classifiers, such as *to-tsʰē* ‘one family of (one-CLF:FAMILY)’ and *nā-zɛ* ‘two (long objects) (two-CLF:LONG)’. Both native and Tibetan number words can perform this function.
5.4. NUMBER WORDS

Syntactically, number words can modify nouns, but this function is restricted to Tibetan numbers. Nouns that can be modified by number words include, among others, measuring units, as in (62a), age, as in (62b), and the amount of money, as in (62c):

(62) a. nɛnɛ́ póndzu kʰu ke ŋá i retzé ti dě́nбе
   2PL+GEN treasure.house in OBL gold LK knife PAR two.arm.length
   tɛ́zɛ tɕɯdʑé tɕɯdʑé tɕɯdʑé tɕɯdʑé
   eighteen one-CLF:LONG COP

   ‘There is a gold knife in your treasure house that is as long as eighteen two arms’ span.’

b. onә́ sɔ́lә́ tә́ndzo tә́ndzo tә́ndzo teonи́ tʰә­vá se nyи
   3PL three-CLF:GENR UP-grow and year eleven AS-become PFV EGO:AP

   ‘Those three kids grew up to twelve years old.’

c. tʃʰә́ nи matsʰә́ nә­mó­hi ra
   Chinese.yuan two only DOWN-NEG-allocate EVID:DIRECT

   ‘We were only allocated two Yuan. (lit: Only two Yuan came down to us.)’

In all these examples, the number words follow the head noun they modify, which is similar to the behavior of adjectives.

5.4.3.2 Expressing Approximate Meaning

Number words can be stacked to express an approximate meaning, giving senses such as ‘about’ or ‘around’ a certain number. (A similar phenomenon is also found in Chinese.) This is shown in (63):

(63) a. nbи mi=nә ti sиle tɕi­zә tɕi­zә dzёteu gутеu ti
   live NMLZ=PL PAR rarely one-CLF:MAN one-CLF:MAN eighty ninety PAR
   nbи pi nyи
   live IMPF EGO:AP

   ‘As to the people alive, it is rare to find them to live into their eighties or nineties.’
b. tu-mú-ŋo tsekwú tó-na-ki tʰə-vá ra, tó-ki
   UP-NEG-talk.about D.M one-two-year AS-become EVID:DIRECT one-year
   ná-ki tʰə-vá ra
two-year AS-become EVID:DIRECT

'They haven’t talked about that for one or two years.'

The stacked number words do not have to be strictly consecutive. In (63a), the two number words are dzétswu gútsu ‘eighty ninety’, which are consecutive integer multiples of ten. Stacked number words can also be used in numeral classifier constructions, as in (63b), where to-na- ‘one-two’ are prefixed to the classifier -ki ‘CLF:YEAR’. Numeral classifier constructions containing stacked number words can be expanded into two numeral classifiers with consecutive number words, which have the same meaning to the non-expanded forms. This form can be found in the second clause of (63b), where tó-na-ki ‘several years (one-two-CLF:YEAR)’ is alternatively expressed as tó-ki ná-ki ‘several years (one-CLF:YEAR two-CLF:YEAR)’. Finally, the stacked number words do not have to be interpreted exactly in their literal sense. In the two examples above, the literal interpretation is appropriate for (63a), in that the speaker is indeed talking about living to eighty or ninety years old. In the second example, the stacked numeral classifiers should be understood as meaning ‘several years’ or ‘a few years’.

5.5 Quantifiers

Quantifier is also a closed word class in Munya. Different from number words and numeral classifiers, which give a precise indication of quantity, quantifiers give a relative or imprecise indication of quantity. The inventory of quantifiers is listed in Table 5.6.

Quantifiers can either function as arguments or modify nouns, adjectives and verbs. These are illustrated in (64):
Table 5.6: Quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>talé</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcändo</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰúŋo</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méme</td>
<td>all, everyone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahá--tsihá</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tége--tege</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niní</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keré</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tósø</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéji</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tópi</td>
<td>many, someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(64) a. nóno ke pʰɛʰ tsihá té-t⁵⁰⁰, niní tsihá té-t⁵⁰⁰ tsakú, morning OBL white.sugar a.little UP-weigh a.little a.little UP-weigh D.M yú sësə ke yú tahá té-t⁵⁰⁰ again the.next.day OBL again a.little UP-weigh

‘In the morning (he would) weigh out a little bit of white sugar, weigh out a tiny little bit, again on the next day he would weigh out a little bit.’

b. sasá tsih⁶ nò-vü clever a.little DOWN-do/2sg

‘Be a little clever.’

c. kámi teʰpá teʰnə ktyi ndzw nyí thief bandit still a.lot COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

‘There are still lots of thieves and bandits.’

In (64a) the speaker was talking about how an old man he used to live with had tsampa with sugar in the morning, at the time when he was young and white sugar was scarce. The first occurrence of tsihá ‘a little’ functions as the modifier of the head noun pʰɛʰ ‘white sugar’. In the other two occurrences, it is used nominally, as the object of the verb té-t⁵⁰⁰ ‘to weigh’. Note that in the second occurrence, the two quantifiers meaning ‘a little’, niní and tsihá, are used together in order to highlight the sense of a small quantity.
(64b) is a command construction. Here the quantifier *tsig* ‘a little’ modifies the adjective *sasá* ‘clever’. The function of the quantifier here is to tone down the command. In (64c), the quantifier *kéyi* ‘a lot’ modifies the verb *ndzú* ‘to exist’. Here it cannot be analyzed as modifying the NP *kómi tsápá* ‘thieves and bandits’ as the NP and the quantifier are separated by the adverb *tsóené* ‘still’.

When a head noun is modified by both an adjective and a quantifier, the quantifier should follow the adjective. This behavior is similar to that of numeral classifiers. Compare:

(65) a. *mәní kíko tô-ló*
   person big one-CLF:GENR
   ‘a tall person’

b. *léké *k’ék’ék tôsa*
   work other many
   ‘many other works’

This similarity is not coincidental. In fact, among the eleven quantifiers given in the table, at least three, *tég*~*-tsig* ‘a little’, *tahá*~*-tsihá* ‘a little’ and *tósə* ‘many’, can be demonstrated that they originate from numeral classifiers. Both *tég*~*-tsig* ‘a little’ and *tósə* ‘many’ are still used as numeral classifiers. For *tég*~*-tsig* ‘a little’, the difference in form resides in the difference in the number prefixes, with *to* ‘one’ being the native number word, in which /ɔ/ becomes /ɑ/ through vowel harmony rule, and *tsi* ‘one’ being the Tibetan number word. 

-ge is a root of general numeral classifier. As a numeral classifier, the root -se in *tó-se* ‘many’ means ‘full of’, as in *tsú’p’ulá tô-se* ‘a bowl-full of water (water bowl one-CLF:FULL)’.

Although *tahá*~*-tsihá* ‘a little’ is not found in use as a numeral classifier, the way we analyzed *tég*~*-tsig* ‘a little’ is still applicable. *ta*- can be analyzed as a native number word which means one (*to*), in which /ɔ/ becomes /ɑ/ through vowel harmony, and *tsi*- ‘one’ is still the Tibetan number word. Whether *tópi* ‘many, someone’ can be analyzed in this way is uncertain. While the first syllable *to* may possibly be the native numeral for ‘one’, *tópi* ‘many, someone’ does not have the alternative form *tsipi*. Nor can *tópi* ‘many, someone’ be used as a numeral classifier, thus there is not enough evidence in
support of analyzing tópi ‘many, someone’ as originating from a numeral classifier. This notwithstanding, we can conclude that in Munya, some quantifiers are grammaticalized from numeral classifiers.

5.6 Postpositions

A postposition is a word that typically comes after a noun or a noun phrase (called its complement) and that often denotes spatial, temporal or other semantic relations between its complement and the rest of the context. The postpositions in Munya are listed in Table 5.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional type</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning/Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spatio-temporal postpositions</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>on, above, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>le</td>
<td>on (surface), outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰu/ko</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngɤ́tsʰü∼teʰü</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngálo</td>
<td>in the middle of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teʰoro∼teʰö</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsɛkʊ́</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pɛ</td>
<td>to, until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsə</td>
<td>for (a period of time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cases</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ergative, instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>experiential, genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>le</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teʰi</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kə</td>
<td>oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus marker</td>
<td>tsə</td>
<td>marking the focus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on their functional differences, three kinds of postpositions can be delimited, which are spatio-temporal postpositions, case postpositions and the focus marker. A spatio-temporal postposition specifies the spatio-temporal relation in which its complement is involved with respect to the context while a case postposition marks the syntactic/semantic role of its complement. It can be seen from the table that two postpositions, pu and le, belong to both types. As a spatio-temporal postpositions, pu means ‘on’ or ‘to’
but can also be used as an allative case, and the postposition le ‘on’ is also a dative case. These postpositions will be discussed separately below.

### 5.6.1 Spatio-temporal Postpositions

#### 5.6.1.1 Syntactic Properties

Some postpositions can denote both spatial and temporal relations. These include pu ‘on’, kʰu ‘in’, tsəkɯ́ ‘from’, and pɛ ‘to, until’. The examples in (66) serve to show that kʰu ‘in’ can be used both as a spatial postposition, as in (66a), and a temporal postposition, as in (66b):

\[(66)\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
    a. \quad tsʰú \ kʰu \ ke \ tsəkɯ́ \ tʃíɣu \quad \text{putsʰí} \ tó-lö \\
       \quad \text{lake in OBL D.M born.on.the.year.of.monkey kid one-CLF:GENR} \\
       \quad \text{né-de } tʰú-hi \ sə \ nyí} \\
       \quad \text{DOWN-throw AS-will PFV EGO:AP} \\
       \quad \text{‘A child born on the year of monkey needs to be thrown into the lake.’} \\
    b. \quad nyü-sí \quad kʰu \ ke \ tʰo-dé \quad ra \\
       \text{seven-CLF:DAY in OBL AS-finish/1/2NONSG EVID:DIRECT} \\
       \text{‘(We) finished (the work) in seven days.’}
\end{array}
\]

Notice also that in (66a), the postpositional phrase tsʰú kʰu ‘in the lake’ is marked by the oblique case, which means that they function as arguments, just like nouns.

Another nominal property of postpositional phrase is seen when it modifies a noun. When a noun functions as the modifier of another noun, they should be linked by γɛ (as in 67a), likewise a noun-modifying postpositional phrase and its head noun, which is illustrated in (67b):

\[(67)\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
    a. \quad ɛkö-sí \quad γɛ \ tʃó-hézi \\
       \quad \text{ten-CLF:DAY LK limit} \\
       \quad \text{‘ten days’ limit’}
\end{array}
\]
As a spatial postposition, *pu* means ‘on’:

(69) *rivu luwé pà pu té-tso*  

‘A blind hare jumps on the lawn. (A metaphor in Munya, which roughly means a person of ignorance thinks he knows everything.)’

When used after a temporal noun phrase, it means ‘in’:

b. *yoné, sé=nə kʰu yt məni*  

‘the people in our villages’

Not only postpositional phrases but also postpositions show nominal properties. For example, some spatial postpositions can function as oblique arguments and be used without any complement, such as *le* ‘out of’ and *kʰu* ‘in’ in (68):

(68) *tɕé tó-lô tú-tæe tsəkɯ́ le tsəkɯ́ ngũ-dze pu té-hè ro*  

‘A house was built, and outside (the house) nine stairs go up, and inside (the house) nine stairs go down.’

In this example the two postpositions (*le* ‘out of’ and *kʰu* ‘within’) are not taking any complement, but it can be deduced from the context, which is *tɕé* ‘house’. So even though semantically postpositions require a complement (it has to be ‘in’ or ‘out of’ something), syntactically they can stand alone. The two postpositions provide a spatial setting for the situation described by the clause and function as an oblique argument.

5.6.1.2 Semantics

As a spatial postposition, *pu* means ‘on’:

(69) *rivu luwé pà pu té-tso*  

‘A blind hare jumps on the lawn. (A metaphor in Munya, which roughly means a person of ignorance thinks he knows everything.)’
(70) löŋö́ sötew zūtsw pu tetsó́ tsedxó só nyi
year thirty forty in not.until house up-build pfv/1sg ego:ap

‘The house wasn’t built until I was in my thirties or forties.’

As a spatial postposition, le is normally used after nbú ‘mountain’, in which case it means ‘on’. It can also mean ‘outside’, cf. example (68).

Two postpositions can be translated as ‘in’ in English, which are kʰu and ko. They are differentiated by the different complements they can take. kʰu can take container-like complements, such as tsé ‘house’, tsʰů ‘lake’, pʰůla ‘bowl’ and vɯló ‘stomach’. The complements that ko can take include mɯ́ ‘sky’, sā ‘mouth’ and tsɯ́ ‘river’.

ng̊tseʰũ ‘under’ is interchangeable with its short form tsʰǔ. Two examples are given below:

(71) a. yu raré tse ye ng̊tseʰũ ke kʰů-va tsəkṹ nbí se nyi
grass long foc lk underobl nons-hide d.m sit pfv ego:ap

‘He hide under the long grass and sat there.’

b. tí-tšů metsʰé, tsʰé ng̊tseʰũ nyí
up-stir make.sure salt be.under ego:ap

‘Make sure you stir up (your noodles) — the salt is underneath.’

Note that in the second example, ng̊tseʰũ functions as the predicate, meaning ‘be under’.

ngeló means ‘in the middle of’, and the relation denoted can be both spatial (72a) and sequential (72b):

(72) a. dzótsʰũ ngeló ke tsəkṹ tsá i dzṹ té-zɛ tómú
ocean middle obl d.m cliff lk fortress one-clf:long top

Notice that in the second example, ngeló functions as the predicate, meaning ‘be under’.

ngeló means ‘in the middle of’, and the relation denoted can be both spatial (72a) and sequential (72b):

(72) a. dzótsʰũ ngeló ke tsəkṹ tsá i dzṹ té-zɛ tómú
ocean middle obl d.m cliff lk fortress one-clf:long top

‘(He) lived in a fortress built in a cliff in the middle of the ocean.’
The second example comes from a story. Here people are telling how their kings, now possessed by a demon, are eating up the people in the country. A group of people will be eaten before them, another group will be eaten after them, and they will be eaten in between. Here the postposition modifies the adverb ɛ́ndzә ‘to eat’.

A somewhat peculiar postposition is tsʰó/tsʰóro. Different from other postpositions, it does not denote any specific spatial relation, and can be roughly translated as ‘at’. When marked after a locational, it can be followed by the oblique case kә but not by other postpositions. This is illustrated with the two examples below:

(73) a. nɑ́u  tsʰó  γɨ-he  tsɛkǔ́  kʰù-tɕorö  nto
    forest  at  US-go and  NONS-look/1SG  EGO:SAP
    ‘(I) went upstream to the forest and had a look.’

b. nbotó  tsʰóro,  okʰó  tine  nyuú-mu
    top.floor  at  there  anybody  NEG-COP
    ‘On the top floor (of the house), nobody was there.’

In some cases it seems to have a generic meaning like ‘place’, as can be seen from some locational nominal compounds such as koritɕʰó ‘upstream’ and kovūʦʰó ‘downstream’. It is also a component of the place interrogative word, as in (74):

(74) hó-tsʰo  hɛ  sү  nyi?
    INTRG-place go  PFV/2SG  EGO:AP
    ‘Where did you go?’

tsɛkǔ́ ‘from’ and pɛ ‘to, until’ are illustrated in (75) below. pɛ ‘to, until’ can be used after another postposition (75b):
(75) a. \textit{ndū tsakū Chengdu pɛ}
Kangding from Chengdu to
‘from Kangding to Chengdu’

b. \textit{lōŋō tʃuí-tʃuí-re-zi pu pɛ hē sō nyi}
year six-ten-and-four on to go PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘(I) went (to work) until the age of sixty-four.’

(75a) shows that pɛ ‘to, until’ can occur after a noun in the same way as other postpositions, and (75b) shows that it can also occur after a postpositional phrase headed by \textit{pu} ‘on’.

Finally, the postposition \textit{tsә} ‘for (a period of time)’ is exclusive in that it can only take temporal complements, such as \textit{sɔ-sí tse} ‘for three days (three-CLF:DAY for)’.

5.6.2 Cases

Case markers in Munya are also postpositions. Because the case marking system is discussed in details in Chapter 8, these cases are only briefly mentioned here.

\textit{i} can function as both the ergative case and the instrumental case:

(76) \textit{[pʰö́pɛ=nɛ tʃe]A i ndzәɣɔ́ i [tɔ-dʒɔ]O tɔ-tʃe vũ tɔs waterfront rich.man=COLL.PL ERG pot.brush INS one-VCLF:THROW UP-do do and
ndʒi okʰo tʃɔ-se se nyi
leopard DEM AS-die PFV EGO:AP

‘The son of the rich man’s family tossed the pot brush at the leopard, and the leopard died there.’

In this example, the first \textit{i}, which is marked after the transitive subject \textit{pʰö́pɛ=nɛ tʃe} ‘the son of the rich man’s family’, is an ergative case. The second \textit{i} marks \textit{ndzәɣɔ́} ‘pot brush’, which is an oblique argument and acts as the instrument.

\textit{ɣɛ} acts as both the genitive case and the experiential case. As a genitive case it marks a possessor, and when functioning as an experiential case, it can mark both a beneficiary
and an experiencer:

(77) a. \([\text{ots}\dot{\text{a}}]_{\text{CS}} \; \text{yɛ} \; [\text{tsʰɛrō} \; γɪ-thɛ \; ri]_{\text{CC}} \; \text{tɛ} \; \text{tsɛ-ndɛ}\\ 
\text{3SG} \quad \text{GEN wood} \quad \text{US-burn} \quad \text{NMLZ at.all NEG-have}\\

‘He did not have any wood for burning at all.’

b. \([\text{tʰi}=\text{nɛ]} \; \text{ngōtsʰi}=\text{ni}]_{\text{A}} \; \text{[ngɛ]}_{\text{O}} \; \text{kɔ-γɔ} \quad \text{viu nyu-ŋa}\\ 
\text{PN=COLL.PL chieftain=PL+ERG 1SG+EXP NONS-help do NEG-will}\\

‘The chieftain of tʰi village would not help me.’

c. \([\text{ngɛ}]_{\text{S}} \; \text{tə-ŋɛ} \; \text{pi}\\ 
\text{1SG+EXP UP-be.ill IMPF}\\

‘I’m ill.’

In (77a), the predicate is a possessive copula, and the relation between the copula subject otsō ‘he’ and the copula complement tsʰɛrō γɪ-thɛ ri ‘wood for burning’ is one of possession, hence the genitive case marks the possessor. In (77b) and (77c), yɛ is fused with the first person singular pronoun, which respectively functions as the O and S of the two clauses. In (77b), the O is the beneficiary of the action of helping. In (77c), the S is the experiencer of the event of being ill.

The dative case le can be used to mark the recipient of a ditransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb:

(78) a. \([\text{mɒmɒ}]_{\text{A}} \; \text{i} \; \text{mɛtsʰɛ} \; [\etau]_{\text{E}} \; \text{le} \; [\text{mɛ} \; \text{tɔsɛ}]_{\text{O}} \; \text{tʰi-tsʰu} \; \text{ɡə nyi}\\ 
\text{mum ERG certainly 1SG DAT medicine many AS-give will EGO}\\

‘Mum will certainly make me drink lots of medicine.’

b. \([\text{nɛ}]_{\text{A}} \; \text{i} \; [\etau]_{\text{O}} \; \text{le} \; \text{tɛ} \; \text{kʰu-má-seŋa ra}\\ 
\text{2SG ERG 1SG DAT at.all NONS-NEG-listen.to EVID:DIRECT}\\

‘You did not listen to me at all.’
In (78a), *le* marks the recipient of the verb *tʰi-tɕɯ́* 'to give (AS-give)', which is *ŋɯ́* 'I'. In (78b), it functions as the object of the verb *kʰɯ-séŋa* 'to listen to (NONS-listen.to).

The allative case *pu* introduces the goal of movement or of an action, in which case it means ‘to’ or ‘for’:

(79) a. *tsʰúdze pu nó-ndű nyi*

     PN to DOWN-go EGO:AP

    ‘(They) are going down to tsʰúdze.’

b. *lɛ́kɛ́ lɛ̀nɛ pu tsɛkū.ŋotʰónyi hóti né hé hi nyi*

     work affair ALL D.M where also go will EGO:AP

    ‘(I) would go anywhere for work.’

The comitative case *tsʰi* means ‘together with’:

(80) *[ŋɯ́]s otsé vɛ́ndɛ*  *tsʰi nbi*

     1SG DEM old.man COM stay

    ‘I stayed with that old man.’

The comparative case *ti* is marked on the standard of comparison:

(81) *ŋɯ́ ti [nɛ́]s kɛ́-a-γɤ sʊ*

     1SG SC 2SG more-ds-be.late PFV/2SG

    ‘You are later than me. (lit. Compared with me, you are more late.)’

---

1. Munya does not have a word that is satisfactorily equivalent to the verb ‘give’ in English. There are three verbs which contain the meaning of ‘giving’, and which verb to use is determined by the nature of the gift: If the gift is something edible, one should use *tʰó-mu* ‘aS-give (edible)’, if it is drinkable, the verb should be *tʰí-tɕʰә* ‘aS-give(drinkable)’, and if it is neither edible nor drinkable, one should use *tʰo-kʰɛ́* ‘aS-give (neither edible nor drinkable)’. The first two verbs can be used either as a ditransitive verb or a transitive verb. When *tʰó-mu* ‘aS-give (edible)’ is used as a transitive verb, it can be translated as ‘feed’, as in *kʰɯ́ le tʰó-mu* ‘feed the dog (dog DAT aS-give(edible))’. When *tʰí-tɕʰɯ* ‘aS-give (drinkable)’ is used transitively, it means ‘make drink’. Incidentally, *tʰí-tɕʰɯ* ‘aS-give (drinkable)’ is morphologically related to the verb *ɛ́-tɕʰɯ* ‘drink’, both of which share the same root-*tɕʰɯ* and differ only in the directional prefix. But this relation is not found between *ɛ́-ndzә* ‘eat (DS-eat)’ and *tʰó-mu* ‘aS-give (edible)’. Interestingly, this tripartite distinction for verbs of giving is also found in Ersu, another Qiangic language. S. H. Zhang (2013: 422) documented the following three verbs of giving, which are *tʰә-tɕʰi* ‘away-give: give (often something to others)’, *tʰә-tšɨ* ‘away-feed: feed others (often with solid things)’, and *tʰә-ku* ‘away-feed: feed others (often with liquid things)’. Whether this kind of distinction is a feature of Qiangic languages in general is a question for further study.
Note that in this example, the perfective marker takes the second person singular form, indicating that the subject is nɛ ‘you’, and not the standard of comparison, ŋɯ́ ‘I’. In this comparative construction, the standard of comparison obligatorily precedes the subject, and the order between them cannot be switched.

The oblique case marks peripheral arguments that denote location or time, as is shown in (82a) and (82b):

(82) a. ŋɯ́ rә­ki pu kә mó tʰo-sә sә nyi

1SG four-CLF:YEAR at OBL mum AS-die PFV EGO:AP

‘Mum died when I was four.’

b. tsʰŬ γɛ kʰɛ ka γu tõsə tʰo-i sә nyi

lake POSS side OBL grass many AS-COP:UPRIGHT PFV EGO:AP

‘There was lots of grass on the bank of the lake.’

c. tséɣo tõ-lô teótsi pu kʰu-tsé tʰo-di sә nyi

spider one-CLF:GENR desk on NONS-arrive AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

‘A spider went up on the desk.’

Different from other case postpositions, the oblique case kә is not obligatory. In (82c), for example, the local argument tsótsi pu ‘on the desk’ is not marked by this case. Note also the in (82a), kә is marked after pu ‘on’, which itself is a postposition.

5.6.3 The Focus Marker

Like other postpositions, the focus marker tsә is also only found after nominals. Its function is to put an argument at the focus of discourse:

(83) tsʰōtsai-u sã-zә tsә okʰú nã-ra sә

PN-person three-CLF:MAN FOC DEM DOWN-go PFV

‘Three tsʰōtsai villagers went down there.’

More discussion on this marker can be found in Section 6.2.4.
5.7 Interrogative Words

Interrogative words are words that are used to ask content questions. Such words in Munya belong to different categories, so that words in this class can be noun-like, verb-like, adjective-like and adverb-like. They are nevertheless recognized as an independent word class because they share the same function and form a small inventory. These words are listed in Table 5.8.

### Table 5.8: Interrogative words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Syntactic function</th>
<th>Word class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-zə́</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-nə́</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛnt-ł̃-ł̃-ɛntɛ́ge</td>
<td>‘how, like what’</td>
<td>Verbal modifier</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-ɾi</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Verb-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-ɭ̃-ɭ̃-tsəmə́</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
<td>Argument/noun modifier</td>
<td>Noun-like/adjective-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-ɭ̃á</td>
<td>‘do what’</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Verb-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ-ɭ̃əvə́</td>
<td>‘what become of’</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Verb-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóti–hótsə’o</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hótsə’o</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zəmòho</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphologically, interrogative words tend to have the interrogative prefix ɛ-. Depending on their meaning, these words can have diverse syntactic functions. Interrogative words are identical in form to indefinite words. These are further discussed in Section 12.1.

5.8 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are a set of words that are used after main verbs to express secondary concepts (in the sense of Dixon 2012b: 394–5) such as ‘can’, ‘will’, ‘dare’ and the grammatical concepts of aspect, evidentiality and egophoricity. These words are generally monosyllabic. They are in many respects similar to verbs, and some of them are either grammaticalized from verbs or can function as verbs. Like verbs they can take interrogative and negative prefixes. Some of them show person-number inflections or can take directional prefixes. The directional prefix that they take tends to be ɭ̃’o- ‘away from the speaker’, the meaning of which is bleached. Just as there are non-control verbs, there are also non-control auxiliaries. These auxiliaries are listed in Table 5.9.
Table 5.9: The List of Auxiliaries in Munya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Directional prefix</th>
<th>Function as verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>imperfective auxiliary</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>perfective auxiliary</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti</td>
<td>stative aspect auxiliary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>direct evidential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɳo</td>
<td>egophoric</td>
<td></td>
<td>t'o- ‘AS’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndá</td>
<td>used to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰi</td>
<td>causative auxiliary</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuú</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>t'o- ‘AS’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>be time to do something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>will</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>will, need to, should</td>
<td>t'u- ‘AS’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>will, desire</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yū</td>
<td>want</td>
<td>tu- ‘UP’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuu</td>
<td>dare</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>t'o- ‘AS’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɳa</td>
<td>be fine</td>
<td>t'o- ‘AS’</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndə</td>
<td>must</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰu</td>
<td>can, be enough</td>
<td></td>
<td>t'o- ‘AS’</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰa</td>
<td>can (physically)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>can (physically)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰi</td>
<td>can</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro</td>
<td>can (morally)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first five auxiliaries listed in the table are grammatical words. The first two aspect auxiliaries can inflect for the person-number of the subject. The stative aspect can be used after stative verbs and adjectival predicates. The direct evidential marker and the egophoric marker can only occur after verbal predicates. These markers are illustrated in (84):

(84) a. hóti nbí pɛ

where sit IMPF/2SG

‘Where are you going to sit?’

b. ɳũ i-ni sō nyi

1SG DS-rest PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘I’m taking a rest.’
5.8. AUXILIARIES

AUXILIARIES

5.8. AUXILIARIES

AUXILIARIES

5.8. AUXILIARIES

AUXILIARIES

5.8. AUXILIARIES

AUXILIARIES

5.8. AUXILIARIES

AUXILIARIES

5.8. AUXILIARIES

AUXILIARIES

c. \( tɛ̃'u \ tɛ̃'o.tɔ \ tɔ \ ηw \ ε-ɛ̃'o \ ti \)
next up-talk if 1SG ds-be.tired STA

‘If I keep talking I will get tired.’

d. \( dzɔpu \ tɔ-ʊ \ se \ ra \)
king AS-die EVID:DIRECT

‘The king died.’
e. \( nɛ \ i \ ti \ ɛzɛ \ hɛ \ \eta \)
2SG ERG anything what want/2SG EGO:SAP

‘Is there anything that you want?’

Detailed discussion on these auxiliaries can be found in Chapter 8.

\( ndə \) means ‘used to’ or ‘have the experience of doing something’. In the following example it is prefixed with the interrogative marker:

(85) \( nɛ \ tʃənfu \ kʰu \ tɔ-ʊ \ hɛ \ \eta \-nda \)
2SG government in place go INTRG-used.to

‘Have you ever went to the place where the government is located?’

The functions of the causative marker \( tɔhi \) is discussed in Section 7.4.

\( vu\) ‘do’ is very often found after main verbs but do not make much semantic contribution to the clause:

(86) a. \( yoni \ mɛnɛ \ sʊ \ tɛ \ vu \ hi \ nyi \ tɔkʊ \)
1PL.INCL+ERG Munya language speak do will EGO:AP D.M

‘We will speak Munya.’

b. \( ōyo-u=nɛ \ yazá.ɾɔza \ kòlo \ kʰw-ɛ̃'o \ vu \ se \ nyi \)
PN-people=PL+EXP several.years.ago hard NONS-come.out do PFV EGO:AP

‘The Oyo villagers had a hard time several years ago.’
\textit{vuú} ‘do’ is used after a control verb (tä ‘to speak’) in (86a) but a non-control verb (kʰɯɕό ‘to come out, to happen to’) in (86b). In both examples it can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the two clauses.

After prefixed with tʰo- ‘AS’, it can function as a transitive verb meaning ‘do’:

\begin{verbatim}
(87) lɛ́kɛ́ ndʐɛ́.mɛndʐɛ́ tʰo-vuú sö nyi
    work all.kinds.of AS-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP
    ‘(I) did all kinds of work.’
\end{verbatim}

\textit{rə} means ‘to be the time to do something’:

\begin{verbatim}
(88) tɕɛ́ ē-tɕʰɯ nyú-ŋə
    tea DS-drink NEG-be.time.for
    ‘It is not yet the time for having tea.’
\end{verbatim}

The three auxiliaries, \textit{ri}, \textit{hi} and \textit{ɣɑ}, can all be translated as ‘will’ in English. \textit{ri} is used to predicate that something will happen:

\begin{verbatim}
(89) a. otsɛ́ pəsə kʰɯ-ɛ́ ɡə ri
    3SG today NONS-arrive will
    ‘He will arrive today.’

b. nɑ́-ndʐa ē-ri
    DOWN-rain INTRG-will
    ‘Will it rain?’
\end{verbatim}

\textit{hi} has a weak sense of obligation, and can also be translated as ‘should’ or ‘need to’. It can also function as a motion verb that means ‘come’ or ‘go’ (90b), or be used in a command construction (90c) (More on this in Section 13.3).
5.8. AUXILIARIES

(90) a. yoní  sivw nó-vw  hi  nyi  metsʰé
    1PL.INCL+ERG good  DOWN-do  should  EGO:AP  only

    ‘We should only do good things.’

b. mé  mûmu  kərɛ́  hi  ra
    afternoon  wind  a.little  come  EVID:DIRECT

    ‘There was a little wind this afternoon.’

c. yoní  momó  ni-rɛ́  hi
    1PL.INCL+ERG momo  DOWN-share  will

    ‘Let us share this momo (dumpling).’

ɣɑ usually denotes a prospect for an undesirable event, like getting arrested if one does something illegal, getting ill, etc. (91a). It can also mean ‘desire’ or ‘can’t help wanting to do something’, in which case it is a non-control auxiliary. Note the experiential case on the subject in (91b):

(91) a. otsí  tsé  ye  te-ŋɛ́  yɑ  sɔ́  pi
    3SG+ERG  REFL/3  EXP  up-get.ill  will  think  IMPF

    ‘He thinks he will get ill.’

b. ngɛ́  mekʰú  ɕíɕɔ  rotú  ɣɑ  tólö
    1SG+EXP  home  always  go.back  want  PAR

    ‘I wanted to go back home all the time.’

Both ro ‘go’ and ha ‘go’ are motion verbs that are grammaticalized into auxiliaries. They are treated in detail in Chapter 9.

ɣʊ ‘want’ is also a non-control auxiliary verb. It is also the only auxiliary that takes the directional prefix tu- ‘UP’ instead of tʰo- ‘AS’:
5.8. AUXILIARIES

(92) \textit{ngɛ́} γɣ \textit{é}-ndzә \textit{tú-yū} \textit{tį}
\begin{align*}
&1\text{SG+EXP} \text{fish AS-eat UP-want STA} \\
&'I want to eat fish.'
\end{align*}

\(nů\) means 'dare' and can inflect for the person-number of the subject. In the following example, it shows the first or second person non-singular form:

(93) \textit{yoní} sǐ ke \textit{tsakú.ŋotʰonyi} zarâ ne kʰú¬ndza
\begin{align*}
&1\text{PL.INCL+ERG day OBL D.M shadow even NONS-cross.over} \\
&\textit{nyú-ne} nô-vuw \\
&\text{NEG-dare/1/2NONS\ GDOWN-do}
\end{align*}

'We do not even dare to cross over (his) shadow at day time.'

\(ŋa\) 'be fine' can also act as both an auxiliary verb (94a) and an independent verb (94b). In the latter case it needs to take the directional prefix \(tʰo\) 'AS':

(94) a. \textit{yonine tsakú.ŋotʰonyi móza nů-vuw ŋa}
\begin{align*}
&1\text{DU.INCL D.M mother.and.son GDOWN-make be.fine} \\
&'We can be mum and son.'
\end{align*}

b. \textit{tʃʰontʃʰo nô-vuw tsakú lút'o \textit{thá-ŋa}}
\begin{align*}
&\text{diligent GDOWN-make and crops AS-be.fine} \\
&'(I) worked diligently and the crops grew well.'
\end{align*}

\(nđe\) is grammaticalized from an existential copula. As an auxiliary it conveys the speaker's certainty about a state of affairs:

(95) \textit{otsi ti tó-lô só pi nđe}
\begin{align*}
&3\text{SG+ERG something one-CLF:GENR think IMPF must} \\
&'He must be thinking something.'
\end{align*}
The last five auxiliaries, tsʰu, tʰɑ, ku, tsʰi and ro can all be translated as ‘can’ in one way or other, but each also has its own specific meaning. Tsʰu has two related senses, ‘be enough’ and ‘have the ability to’. When used in the first sense it can act as a non-control verb and as an auxiliary. Consider the examples below:

(96) a. ngɛ́ tʰó-tsʰu ra
1SG+EXP AS-be.enough EVID:DIRECT
‘I have had enough (food).’

b. löŋō nięw tölö teʰənə teʰó kʰu-tʃú tʃu ti
age twenty PAR still Dharma NONS-practice be.enough STA
‘Twenty years is after all enough for practicing Dharma.’

c. nɛ́ tʰo-hé nyũ-hi, tsénə tʰo-hé tʃu té se
2SG AS-go NEG-need REFL/3PL AS-go/1/2NONSG can say PFV
‘“You don’t have to go, we can go there; it would be enough for us to go,” they said.’

(96a) can be used when someone is full after eating. In this clause tʰó-tsʰu ‘be enough’ acts as the non-control predicate. In (96b) tsʰu functions as an auxiliary and also means ‘be enough’. (96c) comes from a story, where a demoness wants to send troops to a country, but her generals ask her to stay, as they can do the job. As the translation shows, in this context tsʰu can both be interpreted as meaning ‘can’ (volunteering to do something) or ‘be enough’.

When tsʰu means ‘can’ and is negated, it means ‘be not allowed to’ or ‘be forbidden’:

(97) dzutsɛ kũtsa nó-vuu ri nyũ-tsʰu, meni nó-so nyũ-tsʰu, meni
property steal DOWN-do NMLZ NEG-can person DOWN-kill NEG-can person
 tuo da nyũ-tsʰu
UP-hit NEG-can
‘One cannot steal other people’s properties, cannot kill other people or hit other people.’
tʰα and ku are similar, and mean 'have the physical capacity to do something', such as can work, can lift up a heavy object, or can eat a large amount of food:

(98) a. *pɛtɕí ŋɯ́ 1SG ERG a.little DOWN-plow can AS-become EVID:DIRECT

'Soon after I was able to plow.'

b.  dʑɔ́ stone tә́­tɕʰɯ UP­carry ku can ti STA

'(I) can lift up the stone.'

The meaning of tsʰi is similar to the above two auxiliaries, except that it tends to be negated. In that case it means 'cannot do something because a certain part of the body hurts or because one is ill'. An example is given below:

(99) tsәkɯ́ D.M ɛ́­bo DS­abrade tsәkɯ́ and tɤ́rɤ tsampa nó­vɯ DOWN­make nyɯ́ tʰi

'(My) hands were abraded and (I) couldn’t even make tsampa.'

rɔ is also commonly used with a negative prefix, giving nyú­rɔ, which means 'cannot do something because one feels bad about it, because it is morally wrong or blasphemous.' In a conversation, the speakers talked about how people from a village used to learn dancing from a woman. But at the day when the villagers were dancing in a monastery during a religious festival, she intentionally led them to dance in the wrong way. Commenting on this unfortunate event, a speaker said:

(100) ótsә mɛndɛ́ DEM old.woman i ɛ́­bo DEM DEM black.heart nó­vɯ se PFV EGO:AP DEM nyɯ́ tʰi

'at.all NEG-can ti STA

'That old woman did such a horrible thing like that, one definitely cannot do that.'
5.9 Particles

Particles in Munya are a set of short grammatical words which cover a broad set of functions and meanings, including nominalization, modality, egophoricity, evidentiality, and speaker’s attitude, in addition to regulating the flow of discourse. They do not have any morphological categories, cannot function as arguments, predicates or modifiers. Some particles in Munya have overlapping functions with auxiliaries. For example, the narrow scope egophoric marker $ŋo$ is an auxiliary but the wide scope egophoric $nyi$ is a particle. Similarly, the direct evidential $rɑ$ is an auxiliary but the reported evidential $tápi$ is a particle. The most fundamental grammatical difference between auxiliaries and particles is that the former can take an interrogative or a negative prefix but the latter cannot. The particles currently identified are listed in Table 5.10.

There are five types of particles in Munya, which are the discourse marker, the adverbial markers, the nominalizers, the clause linkers and the clause final particles. As a discourse marker, $tsәkiǔ$ can occur at the beginning of a clause, at the end of a clause, or after a nominal element. Its properties are discussed in Section 15.2. The three adverbial markers, $tólö$, $ɛ$ and $ti$, can be optionally used after adverbs, and are already treated in Section 4.5. Nominalizers are discussed in Section 6.5. Clause linkers, as the name suggests, are used to join together two clauses. Their meanings and functions will be discussed in Section 14.5. Clause final particles vary a great deal in meanings and functions, and generally cannot be followed by other word classes (but can be followed by another clause final particle). In what follows we look at the functions of these particles separately.

The egophoric marker $nyi$ indicates that the information provided by the speaker is not shared by the addressee. It can be used after an adjectival predicate or the perfective or imperfective marker, but not directly after a verb. This is illustrated in (101).

(101) $ŋɯnɛ́$  ne  $yazá.ʳózɑ$  $tɛ́$  nó-p$ʰ$o  se  $nyi$

1PL.EXCL+EXP also several.years.ago house DOWN-break.into PFV EGO:AP

‘Several years ago our house was also broken into.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Meaning/Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse particle</td>
<td><em>tsekù</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial particles</td>
<td><em>tölö</em></td>
<td>marked after an adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ɛ</em></td>
<td>marked after an adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
<td>marked after an adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizers</td>
<td><em>mî</em></td>
<td>agentive nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>rò</em></td>
<td>local, temporal, and person nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tsâ</em></td>
<td>state and object nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tölö</em></td>
<td>object nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>rî</em></td>
<td>activity, object nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause linkers</td>
<td><em>tsekù</em></td>
<td>and, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ræ</em></td>
<td>as soon as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ke</em></td>
<td>when (when the marked clause is affirmative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>le</em></td>
<td>when (when the marked clause is negative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tʰo</em></td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>matsʰé</em></td>
<td>because, otherwise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sa~sâra</em></td>
<td>although, but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ræ</em></td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sū~si</em></td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ne</em></td>
<td>even if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause final particles</td>
<td><em>nyi</em></td>
<td>egophoric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tâpi</em></td>
<td>reported evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tʰoŋoɔsa</em></td>
<td>mirativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tölö</em></td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pu~pʰu</em></td>
<td>certainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>matsʰé</em></td>
<td>certainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lógo</em></td>
<td>certainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>räsa~râvâsa</em></td>
<td>probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nyúso</em></td>
<td>probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>dedzùme</em></td>
<td>probably</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>emuri</em></td>
<td>possibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>meɕɛ</em></td>
<td>uncertainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pa</em></td>
<td>possibility, invitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ko</em></td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>o</em></td>
<td>politeness effect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reported evidential *tâpi* is used to mark that the information source is hearsay. In the following example, the reported evidential follows the egophoric marker *nyi*:

---

The reported evidential *tâpi* is used to mark that the information source is hearsay. In the following example, the reported evidential follows the egophoric marker *nyi*:
The mirative marker *tʰonjóse* expresses sudden realization or counter-expectation on the part of the speaker. A speaker thought that noodles sprinkled with vinegar are not delicious, but after tasting them, she said:

(103) reré tʰonjóse

delicious MIR

‘It turns out that (it) is delicious.’

The three particles mentioned above will be discussed in more details in Chapter 8.

*tólö* is grammaticalized from a numeral classifier, and as a particle it can only be used after adjectival or nominal predicates, denoting a kind of state or relation. It can optionally be followed by the stative aspect *ti* (104b and 104c), making it the only particle that can be followed by a non-particle word:

(104) a. *tɕuí i-yé pi le tɕوتɕø tólö*

eriver DS-flow IMPF DAT be.the.same.as PAR

‘(It keeps changing) like the flowing of the river.’


DEM quickly AS-use.up NMLZ PAR STA

‘It runs out very quickly (referring to a battery).’

c. *ɣә́ndә kә́kә tólö ti*

book be.good.at PAR STA

‘(He) is very knowledgeable.’

This particle is further considered in Section 11.4.
5.9. PARTICLES

pu/pʰu (in free variation) can be seen as a modal particle. It can only be used in a declarative clause that denotes a realis event. Its function seems to add certainty to the statement:

(105) -tsәkɯ́  lәŋó  sәtsw̄̂  sәdә̀  pu  ge  tʰә-vә  sә  nyi  pʰu  
D.M  year  thirty  thirty-four  at  private  AS-become  PFV  EGO:AP  PAR

"It must be when I was thirty four years old that the land was contracted to the individuals."

Similarly, mәtsʰé and lәŋó also denote the speaker’s certainty towards a situation, and can optionally occur in non-final positions of a clause (106c):

(106)  a.  yonә́  tʰó-sә  hi  nyi  mәtsʰé  
1PL.INCL  AS-die  will  EGO:AP  certainly

"We will inevitably die."

b.  otsә́  pә́sә  kʰu-tʃә́  pi  lәŋo  
3SG  today  NONS-arrive  IMPF  certainly

"He will certainly arrive today."

c.  mәmо  i  mәtsʰé  nә́  le  me  tәsә  tʰi-tʃә́w  ya  nyi  
mum  ERG  surely  1SG  DAT  medicine  many  AS-give  will  EGO:AP

"Mum will surely make me take lots of medicine."

For other functions of mәtsʰé, see Section 14.5.

The next three particles, which are rәsә, nyúdo and dedzúme, indicate that the situation being evaluated has a high probability of being true. Their semantic differences are unclear to me at the moment. Examples illustrating these words are given in (107):

(107)  a.  tʰu  nә-mә-nדә̂  tʰo  kә-ŋa  rәsә  
then  DOWN-NEG-rain  if  more-be.good  possibly

"If it did not rain it would probably be better."
b.  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{otsé } \text{pá} \text{á } \text{kiw-ntsé } & \text{ pi } \text{ nyūso/dzdziúme} \\
3SG & \text{ today } \text{ NONS-arrive } \text{ IMPF } \text{ possibly/possibly} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He will probably arrive today.’

\textit{mesé} is also a modal particle. The degree of certainty conveyed by this particle is lower than the previous three, and it can be translated as ‘be unsure of’. When this particle is used, the verb can take the interrogative prefix:

(108)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tʰe-á-ŋa } & \text{ ra } \text{ mesé} \\
\text{ AS-INTRG-be.right } & \text{ EVID:DIRECT } \text{ unsure} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am not sure (if the story I just told) was right or not.’

\textit{pa} also has a modal sense and roughly means ‘maybe’. But its major function is not to express the speaker’s uncertainty towards a proposition, but to elicit confirmation from the addressee, a function which is similar to that of a tag question. Because of this, the clause marked by \textit{pa} often has a weak sense of questioning and is often answered affirmatively. Seeing that her cat is trying to scratch me, the speaker said:

(109)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nɛ́ } \text{pu } & \text{tʃʰɔtʃʰe } \text{ marɔ } \text{ tə-tşó } \text{ pi } \text{ pa} \\
2SG & \text{ ALL } \text{ mostly } \text{ anger } \text{ UP-COME } \text{ IMPF } \text{ PAR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Maybe it has got angry at you, right?’

It can also be used in an imperative construction, as an invitation to the addressee to join the speaker to do something. After having breakfast, a speaker thought it was time for the families to start working, and said:

(110)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰɔ-re } & \text{ hi } \text{ pa} \\
\text{NONs-start } & \text{ will } \text{ PAR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Shall we start?’

Both the use and the pronunciation of this particle are very similar to the Chinese clause final \textit{ba (巴)}.\end{quote}
is a clause final particle whose function is to make the utterance sound less direct or domineering. This word is often drawn out and pronounced with a rising pitch. Nowadays with the popularity of smartphones, Munya people learned to send voice messages to each other through an App called Wechat. In this kind of context, a predominant number of sentences tend to be marked with this particle, regardless of its type. In face-to-face conversations, this particle is often used to tone down a command. The following example is said by a grandmother to her granddaughter before she is going to school:

(111) \texttt{tʃʰöntʃʰõ\ nô-vü\ o}
\begin{tabular}{l}
well.behaved\ DOWN-do/2SG\ PAR\
\end{tabular}

‘Be good.’

Two particles that are listed in the table but are not discussed are \texttt{ɛmúri} and \texttt{kɔ}. The former may also be a modal particle and the latter could be used to express exclamation. Due to a lack of data and any suitable example, they cannot be characterized precisely for now.

\subsection*{5.10 Summary}

In this chapter we discussed eight closed word classes, which are demonstratives, pronouns, number words, quantifiers, postpositions, interrogative words, auxiliaries and particles. These word classes are defined mainly based on their common functions. Demonstratives can deictically refer to person or thing, location, manner and action. Based on their syntactic properties, demonstratives can be further classified as nominal demonstratives, manner adverbial demonstratives and verbal demonstratives. There are two types of pronouns, which are common pronouns and reflexive pronouns. Pronouns distinguish number, clusivity and case forms, and can be reduplicated for emphasis. Munya has two sets of number words, a native set, which is largely lost, and a set borrowed from Tibetan. Number words can be distinguished as cardinal number words and ordinal number words. Quantifiers in Munya behave like adjectives, and some quantifiers can be shown to be grammaticalized from numeral classifiers. Postpositions are marked after nominals. Three types of postpositions can be recognized based on their semantics,
which are spatio-temporal postpositions, cases and the focus marker. Interrogative words are used to form content questions. They tend to share the interrogative prefix $\varepsilon$-. Auxiliaries express secondary concepts and certain grammatical concepts. Many words in this class show a certain degree of verbal properties. Particles do not have any morphological changes or play any syntactic roles. Based on their functions they can be divided into five types, which are discourse marker, adverbial markers, nominalizers, clause linkers and clause final particles.
Chapter 6

Nouns

6.1 Overview

In this chapter we look at four topics related to nouns: the structure of noun phrases (Section 6.2), plurality (Section 6.3), numeral classifiers (Section 6.4), and nominalization (Section 6.5). A noun phrase maximally consists of a head noun, one or more pre-head modifier and one or more post-head modifier. Nouns can be marked for plurality. Aside from the most commonly used plural marker =nә, Munya also has four other plural morphemes. Numeral classifiers in Munya can be categorized into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers, and some of them developed a range of other functions. Munya has six nominalizing particles, which have distinguishable but also overlapping functions.

6.2 The Structure of Noun Phrases

The elements of a Munya noun phrase can be broken down into three parts, which are the pre-head modifiers (M), the head and the post-head modifiers. Their positional relationships can be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-head M</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Post-head M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td>Head noun</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td>Number word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A noun phrase can consist solely of a bare noun:
The three nominals in this example, which are gɛ́ ‘clod’, rә́ ‘land’ and ɣɔ́ɣɑ ‘cattle fence’, all occur in bare form.

In what follows we discuss the combinatorial patterns of head noun and modifiers.

### 6.2.1 Pre-head Modifiers and the Head Noun

Pre-head modifiers include demonstratives, nominals, possessive phrases and relative clauses. The four kinds of pre-head modifiers are illustrated in (113):

(113) a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>demonstrative</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>otsә́</td>
<td>tá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM hat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘this hat’

b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loŋö́</td>
<td>tó-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one-CLF:YEAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɛ</td>
<td>tsʰәrö́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK wood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘one year’s wood’

c.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzópu=ne</td>
<td>tee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king=COLL.PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɛ</td>
<td>tsɪŋe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS clothes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the clothes of the son of the king’s family’
d. [siwuro pá=ni ndzündzw vú se] ye tsʰalá kʰu-ye

PN person=PL+ERG have.fun do PFV REL dance NONS-watch

pó nyi

IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

‘I’m watching the dancing performance which Siwuro villagers did while having fun.

(113a) contains a demonstrative modifier, (113b) a complex nominal modifier, and (113c) has a possessive modifier. In (113d), the head noun tsʰalá ‘dance’ is modified by a relative clause, which is marked by the relativizer ye.

Pre-head modifiers can be divided into two levels. Demonstratives, possessive phrases and relative clauses are the first-level modifier. They occur at the left periphery of a noun phrase, and are mutually exclusive. This means a noun phrase can have no more than one first-level modifier. The nominal modifier is the second-level pre-head modifier. It can either modify a head noun alone, as in (113b), or be preceded by a first-level pre-head modifier.

In (114), at the first sight it seems that the head noun pándzó ‘treasure house’ is modified by two first-level modifiers—a relative clause and a possessive phrase. However, notice that NP1 is actually nested within NP2 instead of being coordinated with it. Hence, the relative clause modifier only modifies dzópu ‘king’, and the head noun of NP2, pándzō ‘treasure-house’, has only one modifier, i.e., the possessive phrase.

(114) [[sænbu tʰo-ndzw se ye dzópu]NP1=né pándzó]NP2 kʰu ke

demon AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV REL king=COLL.PL treasure.house in OBL

népu mú

treasure COP

‘There are treasures in the treasure house of the king’s family who once had demons.’

Second-level pre-head modifiers are not mutually exclusive, and a head noun can be modified by multiple second-level modifiers. In (115), the head noun kʰɛ ‘words’ is modified by three nominals, all marked by the linker ye:

(115) [[sænbu tʰó-ndzw se ye dzópu]NP1=né pándzó]NP2 kʰu ke

demon AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV REL king=COLL.PL treasure.house in OBL

népu mú

treasure COP
6.2. THE STRUCTURE OF NOUN PHRASES

(115) ŋí okʰó kɛmú ɣɛ tɔsɛkʊ̞ ŋoṭʰónyi, yoná manyɛ ɣɛ tɔsɛkʊ̞ ŋoṭʰónyi,
1SG+ERG DEM past LK D.M 1PL+INCL Munya LK D.M
lősú ɣɛ kʰɛ́ tɔ-nte-tsʰi tů-dō
tradition LK words one-two-CLF:WORDS UP-say/1SG

'I will say a few words about our Munya people’s past traditions here.'

The linker ɣɛ has three related functions. In (113b) and (115) it links nominal modifiers with the head noun, in (113c) it is a possessive marker that links the possessor with the possessee, and in (113d) it links the relative clause with the head noun. The commonality of the functions of ɣɛ seems to be to link a pre-head modifier with its head noun. Therefore, it can be analyzed as one polysemous grammatical morpheme. It is worth mentioning that the Chinese de (的) also has similar functions.

6.2.2 Post-head Modifiers and the Head Noun

Post-head modifiers include adjectives, numeral classifiers, number words and quantifiers. These are illustrated in (116):

(116) a. ɣu  rәrә́
grass long
‘long grass’

b. puty  sɔ́-za
child three-CLF:MAN
‘three children’

c. ʦʰé  ní
Chinese.yuan two
‘two yuan’
d. $tɕ̂iǔ$ $t̄̂sə$
   
   water much
   
   ‘much water’

Like pre-head modifiers, post-head modifiers can also be divided into two levels. The first-level post-head modifiers are adjectives. They are first-level in the sense that it immediately follows the head noun it modifies and can be followed by any of the other three kinds of modifiers. For example, one can add a quantifier to (116a) and get (117):

(117) $y̲u̲$ $r̄̂r̄̂$ $t̄̂sə$

   grass long much
   
   ‘much long grass’

The other three types of post-head modifiers are on the second level and mutually exclusive. This may be because they are functionally the same, i.e., they all denote the number information of the head noun referent, and this information only needs to be given once in a noun phrase.

Although a head noun can be modified by more than one first-level post-head modifier, this type of expression is rarely found in my corpus. When a head noun is modified by more than one adjective, the two modifiers need to be connected by $y̲u̲$ ‘and’. This is shown in the elicited example in (118):

(118) $t̄̂$ $k̄ī$ $y̲u̲$ $s̄ī$ $t̄̄$-l̄̄

   house big and good one-CLF:GENR
   
   ‘a big and good house’

$y̲u̲$ ‘and’ can be dislocated to the beginning of a noun phrase. (119) is also elicited, and is semantically equivalent to (118):

(119) $y̲u̲$ $t̄̂$ $k̄ī$ $s̄ī$ $t̄̄$-l̄̄

   and house big good one-CLF:GENR
   
   ‘a big and good house’
Since multiple adjectival modification is a rare phenomenon in Munya, the issue of how different types of adjectives should be ordered in a noun phrase cannot be dealt with here.

6.2.3 Noun Phrases with Pre- and Post-head Modifiers

A noun phrase can have a pre-head and a post-head modifier at the same time. There do not seem to be any collocational constraints on the co-occurrence of pre-head modifiers and post-head modifiers. However, one phenomenon that stands out is that, when a head noun is modified by both a relative clause (which is a pre-head modifier) and a post-head modifier, the relative clause needs to follow the post-head modifier. Compare the two examples in (120):

(120) a. otsé putsʰí só-lö
   DEM child three-CLF:GENR

   ‘these three children’

   b. okʰó tsʰәrό tɛ́-zɛ  thá-la se mú
   there wood one-CLF:LONG AS-fall PFV COP

   ‘There is a fallen tree over here.’

In (120a), the head noun putsʰí ‘child’ is modified by both a demonstrative, which is a pre-head modifier, and a numeral classifier, which is a post-head modifier. The two modifiers occur in expected positions. This is different for (120b), where the head noun tsʰәrό ‘wood’ is modified by a relative clause, thá-la se ‘fallen PFV’, which is also a pre-head modifier, and a numeral classifier. In this example, the relative clause occurs at the right periphery of the noun phrase instead of the left. This may reflect a tendency to put heavy modifiers towards the end of an NP.
6.2.4 More on Nominal Demonstrative Phrases

In some Qiang dialects, a nominal demonstrative can occur on both sides of the head noun (cf. T. Gao and Zhou 2018; C. L. Huang 2003; Zheng 2016). (121) comes from Longxi Qiang (Zheng 2016: 88):

(121) tɕí­ mʊ­ -tɕí
    DEM- person -DEM
    ‘This person’

Similarly, in Mawo Qiang and Ronghong Qiang, a nominal demonstrative needs to follow the head noun, but one can add another demonstrative to the left periphery. The following example comes from Ronghong Qiang (C. L. Huang 2003):

(122) tse kʷue tse: kʷue ɪɪɪuɪ-m eze ηue
    DEM dog DEM dog crazy-NMLZ one be
    ‘This dog is a crazy dog.’

C. L. Huang (2003) argues that using the extra demonstrative puts information focus on the first demonstrative. Hence in this example, the focus is on ‘this’ or ‘this dog’, rather than on ‘a dog’.

Note that although both Longxi Qiang and Mawo Qiang/Ronghong Qiang allow double demonstratives, there are some differences between them. In Longxi Qiang, only the extra demonstrative occurs on the left side of the head noun, while in Ronghong Qiang, both the demonstrative and the head noun occur there. Secondly, the forms of the two demonstratives are identical in Longxi Qiang but slightly different in Ronghong Qiang. The default demonstrative is tse; but the one marking information focus is tse.

Superficially, such a phenomenon seems to exist in Munya as well. Recall that in Munya the nominal demonstrative is otsé ‘this’ and is a pre-head modifier. There is a postposition, tse, which can only occur after the head noun. Consider the example in (123):

\footnote{An anonymous examiner pointed out that such phenomenon is also found in Galo and many languages spoken in India and Nepal.}
In this example, the head noun putsʰí ‘child’ is modified by a pre-head demonstrative and marked by tse at the same time. Inspired by the analyses proposed for Qiang, and considering the formal similarity between the demonstrative otsé ‘this’ and tse, one might attempt to analyze tse as a post-head demonstrative. However, such an analysis is untenable, as there are fundamental differences between otsé ‘this’ and tse. In the rest of this section I will try to show that tse can be more plausibly analyzed as a focus marker rather than a demonstrative.

Firstly, in a text, nominal demonstratives in Munya are mostly used as markers of definiteness. In other words, a noun cannot be modified by a demonstrative when occurring for the first time. However, there is no such constraint on the use of tse. Consider the example below:

(124) ndәhɯ́ tʰo-kó tʰo-dí tse pu ke tsәkɯ́ yɔyɔ́ rá tse tʰo-kó; tsәkɯ́ rá tʰo-kó tʰo-dí ke tsәkɯ́ yɔyɔ́ tse á-kö

‘After peas have been harvested then slowly (people) will harvest wheat, and after wheat has been harvested (people) will dig potatoes.’

In this example, the speaker is talking about the sequence of harvesting crops. The two nominals marked by tse are rá ‘wheat’ and yɔyɔ́ ‘potato’, both of which are new information occurring for the first time in the context. Note also that when rá ‘wheat’ occurs again in the second sentence, it is not marked by tse. The behavior of tse is thus contrary to that of the nominal demonstrative otsé ‘this’. It is possible that here tse marks the topic in the discourse, as the two arguments marked by tse both occur in a matrix clause, and it is the focus of the narration.
The second piece of evidence against analyzing *tsә* as a demonstrative is that it can be used after a real demonstrative:

(125) *mɯ́ kʰu-ɕә ro γɛ dzó tó-lō tʰό-nde se, ótsә*
fire AS-preserve go REL stone one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV DEM

\[tsә mɯ́ ɕәtʰɛ fire.preserving.stone\]

‘There used to be a stone for preserving fire, and that is fire-preserving stone.’

Here *otsә* ‘this’ functions as a complete NP substituting for *dʑɔ́* ‘stone’ in the previous sentence, while *tsә* seems to mark it as the focus of the clause.

Thirdly, while in some Qiang dialects an additional demonstrative can co-occur with the default demonstrative, it is not entirely clear if the additional demonstrative can occur without the default demonstrative. At least according to C. L. Huang (2003), the structure of a demonstrative phrase in northern Qiang dialects can be N Dem or Dem N Dem, but not Dem N. In other words, the additional demonstrative cannot be the sole demonstrative in a noun phrase. This is not what we see in Munya, where *tsә* can be used without the default demonstrative. This is illustrated with the two examples below (also see example 124):

(126) a. *tʃʰōtsi-u sɔ́-zә tsә ӧkʰu ná-ra se*
PN-person three-CLF:MAN FOC DEM DOWN-GO PFV

‘Three *tʃʰōtsi* villagers went down there.’

b. *tsakʊ́ tā tsә mɯ́mu i γɤ-dɛve*
D.M hat FOC wind ERG US-blow.off

‘A wind blows off the hat.’

This indicates that *tsә* in Munya behaves differently from the double demonstrative construction found in some Qiang dialects.

To conclude, demonstratives can only occur in pre-head position when modifying a head noun in Munya. The post-posed focus marker *tsә* found after noun phrases is not a
demonstrative but can be more plausibly analyzed as a focus marker.

6.3 Plurality

Nouns in Munya do not have many inflectional categories. Nouns do not inflect for case, gender or some other grammatical categories that are commonly found in other languages. A prominent nominal category is number, which can be expressed by either plural marker or numeral classifiers. This section will focus on the expression of plurality. After discussing the form and functions of the plural marker =na, we will then look at other plural formatives, which are formed on the basis of the plural marker and have different plurality related senses.

6.3.1 The Morphemic Status and Functions of the Plural Marker =na

Morphologically speaking, the plural formative =na is a clitic. This can be illustrated by the fact that they display low selectivity with regard to the choice of their host. Consider the examples in (127):

(127) a. tɕәtsö́=nә
       livestock=PL
       ‘livestock’

   b. hɑ́­nyu­kɛ=na
       formative-NEG-know/2SG=PL
       ‘those whom you don’t know’

   c. otsә́ kiko=na
       DEM big=PL
       ‘those who are older’

   d. manyɛ́ sù tә vɯ́ mi=na
       Munya language speak do NMLZ=PL
       ‘Munya speakers’
The formative =nә is attached to a noun in (127a), a verb in (127b), an adjective in (127c), and a nominalizing particle in (127d). Moreover, both (127c) and (127d) are phrases rather than words. Being able to attach to both words and phrases and to hosts of diverse categories indicates that =nә is a clitic.

The core function of =nә is marking plurality, its meaning being roughly ‘more than one’. The grammatical distinction between count and mass nouns as shown through plural marking is not very obvious. A survey of the corpus shows that =nә can be used after words that are commonly recognized as mass nouns, such as ‘grass’, ‘white sugar’, ‘food’. It can also mark abstract nouns, such as lékɛ ‘work’, tsuәye ‘homework’ and sɛtɛũ ‘policy’. In (128), =nә marks tәũ ‘water’:

(128) ndʑúndʑu play go go PFV/1/2 NONSG EGO:AP DEM PN called place DEM
tәũ =nә ye tɔ̃ó
water=PL LK place

‘(We) went to play, at a place called söndʑōko, a place of substantial water.’

Another function of =nә is marking two coordinated nominals. Consider the examples in (129):

(129) a. [[dʑópu=ne tәe]NP1 rә [pʰ̩ópe=ne tәe]NP2=ni]NP3 tә-pʰ̩ɛdʑa viũ king=COLL.PL son and rich.man=COLL.PL son=PL+ERG UP-follow do
sә nyi
PFV EGO:AP

‘The son of the king’s family and the son of the rich man’s family followed behind and went up (to the lake).’
In both examples, the plural formative is fused with the ergative case \( i \), giving \(=ni\). In (129a), the two noun phrases, NP1 and NP2, are connected by the coordinate marker \( re \) ‘and’. The macro NP, NP3, is then marked by \(=na\). In (129b), although the two nouns are simply juxtaposed, they are still marked by \(=na\), as they are in a semantically coordinating relationship.

### 6.3.2 Other Plural Formatives

Aside from \(=na\), there are four plural formatives which are formed on the basis of \(=na\) and denote various senses related to plurality. These plural formatives include \(=ron\), an associative plural, \(=n\), a collective associative plural, \(=m\), an illustrative plural, and \(=n\), a place associative plural.

#### 6.3.2.1 Associative Plural

The associative plural \(=ron\) denotes the persons or things that are related to the noun it marks. The meaning of \( r \) in this formative is not transparent. Following the predication of Moravcsik (2003), the formative is most commonly used after nouns with human referent:

\[
\begin{align*}
(130) & a. \ & \eta\nu \ \epsilon\nu=r\eta \ t\h\&i \ nb\ s\ o \ ny\ i \\
& & 1SG \ uncle=ASSC.PL \ COM \ sit \ PFV/1SG \ EGO:AP \\
& & \text{‘I’m sitting with uncle and other people.’} \\
& b. \ & m\om=roni \ yan\bw \ \h\-to \ p\ \ ny\ i \\
& & mum=ASSC.PL+ERG \ cattle.droppings \ DS\-remove \ IMPF \ EGO:AP \\
& & \text{‘Mum and others are removing cattle dung.’}
\end{align*}
\]
In (130a), =ronә́ refers to the uncle’s family members. Depending on the context the referents can also be his friends, neighbors or anyone who happens to be sitting with him at the time the sentence is uttered. In (130b), the referents of the associative plural are those who were also removing cattle dung together with mum.

Although the nouns marked by =ronә́ tend to be human nouns, nouns with non-human referents are also occasionally found. For example, in nbό́=ronә́ ‘candy=ASSC.PL’, the associative plural would refer to food or snacks that are similar to candies.

6.3.2.2 Collective Associative Plural

The collective associative plural marker =nɛ is analyzable as the fused form of the plural marker =nә and the possessive marker ɛ́, and it has both a possessive sense and a collective sense (which is not unrelated to plural sense). The possessive sense lies in the fact that it means ‘of or relating to’, and structurally =nɛ requires both a possessor and a possessee. The collective sense can be seen from the fact that the possessor, after being marked by =nɛ, is a group instead of a single entity. =nɛ is often used after a proper name and means ‘of or relating to the group of’. Two examples are given in (131):

(131) a. nboti=ne tɕé
   family.name=COLL.PL house
   ‘the house of Nboti’s’

b. tʰiwu=ne ngötʃʰi
   village.name=COLL.PL chieftain
   ‘the chieftain of Thiwu village’

In both examples =nɛ is used after a proper name—the name of a family in (131a) and the name of a village in (131b). The groups denoted by the two names function as the possessor.

Perhaps the collective associative sense of this plural marker is most obviously seen when it is used after common nouns. Although it has been mentioned above that as a collective associative plural marker, =nɛ can be analyzed as the fusion of the plural marker
and the possessive marker, it has the non-compositional associative meaning that is not found in the temporarily fused $=nɛ$. Compare the pair of examples below:

(132) a. dzópu$=nɛ$ tće
   king=COLL.PL son
   ‘the son of the king’s family’

b. mәn$=nɛ$ tсé
   person=PL+GEN house
   ‘people’s house’

Note how $=nɛ$ is analyzed differently in the two examples. It is a collective associative plural marker in the first example but a fusion of the plural marker and the possessive marker in the second example. This is because the phrase means ‘the son of the king’s family’ in (132a) and not ‘the son of kings’. In (132b), $=nɛ$ is a fusion of the plural and possessive marker and does not have the collective associative meaning. The possessor is multiple people, not a collective group.

6.3.2.3 Place Associative Plural

There is a place associative plural marker, $=nә́tɕʰo\$, which is most commonly used after place nouns, and means the area around the place denoted by the marked noun. This marker can also occur after temporal nouns, and refers to a period of time around that denoted by the marked noun. As with other plural markers, this formative also contains the plural marker $nә$. The other component, $tɕʰo\$, is a morpheme which means ‘place’. This is why it is called a place associative plural.

In (133a), $=nә́tɕʰo\$ is used after a place noun and in (133b) it is used after a temporal noun:
When you go to the shops and nearby places, what language do you speak?'

b. ɪłu melɛ̃kʰɛ=nətʃʰo γɤ-tɕʰi
1SG dusk=PLA.PL US-flee

‘I fled upstream at some time around dusk.’

6.3.2.4 Similative Plural

Another marker that also has the plural sense is =mə̃nə, which is a similative plural. It is used for non-exhaustive listing or giving examples. Consider (134):

(134) onə pů tsekũ̃ tɕəntɕũc=mə̃nə, tsekũ̃ yadú=mə̃nə, γoyú
DEM+PL on D.M certificate.of.merit=SIM.PL D.M mug=SIM.PL, face
   pəre=mə̃nə, ɔmə̃nə tɔpi ndé nyi
   towel=SIM.PL DEM many COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘Because of that (hard work), I got many certificates of merit, mugs, towels and many other things like that.’

In this example, the speaker listed three kinds of things that he was awarded for working hard, each of which is marked by the similative plural marker =mə̃nə. This marker is used because there are other awards than those listed here and he was just giving examples.

In the above example the nouns that are marked by the similative plural marker are coordinated. This plural marker can also be used when listing a series of activities, in which case the coordinands are verb phrases:
(135) a. \[ \text{dzó}=\text{má} \text{na} \quad \text{te-\text{-}tų}, \quad \text{kʰɛ́}=\text{má} \text{na} \quad \text{tu-\text{-}dó}, \quad \text{tsę̱̱ų} \quad \text{t̥amé}=\text{má} \text{na} \]
\[ \text{story}=\text{SIM.PL} \quad \text{UP-\text{-}do} \quad \text{words}=\text{SIM.PL} \quad \text{UP-talk} \quad \text{D.M} \quad \text{Buddhist.scripture}=\text{SIM.PL} \]
\[ \text{nú-\text{-}dɛ} \quad \text{tsę̱̱ų} \quad \text{t̥u̱̱tu̱̱su̱̱} \quad \text{t̥ę̱̱} \quad \text{nbi} \]
\[ \text{DOWN-\text{-}chant} \quad \text{D.M} \quad \text{long} \quad \text{a.little} \quad \text{stay} \]
\[ '(On New Year’s Eve,) people tell stories, talk to each other, chant Buddhist scriptures and stay up until very late.' \]

b. \[ \text{lë̱kë}=\text{má} \text{na} \quad \text{tʰó\-\text{-}vʊu}, \quad \text{mù} \quad \text{ná\-\text{-}ndzà} \quad \text{pi} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ndź}=\text{má} \text{na} \quad \text{kʰi\-\text{-}ts̥é} \quad \text{ro} \]
\[ \text{work}=\text{SIM.PL} \quad \text{AS-\text{-}do} \quad \text{sky} \quad \text{DOWN-rain} \quad \text{IMPF} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{food}=\text{SIM.PL} \quad \text{NONS-cook} \quad \text{go} \]
\[ \text{kʰɔ̱-\text{-}vö̱} \quad \text{vö} \]
\[ \text{NONS-help} \quad \text{REQ} \]
\[ 'Please come and help with some work, and when it rains, help with cooking.' \]

In (135a), the speaker is giving examples of the things that people normally do on New Year’s Eve. In (135b), the speaker is talking about things that other people asked him to help with. As can be seen from the two examples, when listing activities with verb phrases, =\text{má} \text{na} needs to be marked after nouns instead of the whole verb phrase. This type of simulative plural seems to be typologically unusual (cf. Moravcsik 2017).

### 6.4 Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifier is the only noun categorization device in Munya. Different classifiers categorize nouns on different dimensions. Based on semantics, numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. This will be discussed in Section 6.4.1. Munya numeral classifiers have developed a plethora of other functions. This will be the topic of Section 6.4.2.

#### 6.4.1 Classification

Classifiers in Munya are bound roots. A classifier forms a phonological and a grammatical word together with a number prefix. Most numeral classifiers follow the head nouns they
modify. The only exception found thus far is the numeral classifier modifying ro ‘place’, which is -kʰɛ ‘CLF:PLACE’. This numeral classifier should precede the head noun instead of following it, e.g. tɛ́-kʰɛ́ ro ‘a place (one-CLF:PLACE place)’.

Based on their semantics, numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal numeral classifiers and mensural numeral classifiers. Sortal classifiers classify nouns based on the inherent properties of their referents, such as animacy and shape, while mensural classifiers classify nouns based on their situations (Aikhenvald 2003: 115), such as what kind of container the objects are held in, or how the objects are measured.

Classifiers in Munya can also be categorized in this way as well. The two types of numeral classifiers are listed in 6.1.

Table 6.1: Two Types of Numeral Classifiers in Munya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Semantics of head noun</th>
<th>Example(s) of head noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SORTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lõ/-gɛ</td>
<td>general</td>
<td>animal, stone, car, idea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-za</td>
<td>human</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vɛ</td>
<td>thin object, flying object</td>
<td>paper, coat, bird, mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-zɛ</td>
<td>long object</td>
<td>stick, road, snake, fish, trousers, letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pʰɔ</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>flower, grass, crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>dinner</td>
<td>dinner, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsa</td>
<td>performance</td>
<td>song, dance, story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tsʰi</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>words, chat, a stretch of discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kʰɛ</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-si</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>year</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>drop of liquid</td>
<td>water, oil, tear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MENSURAL</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kʰɔ́ɕo</td>
<td>box</td>
<td>barley powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pʰúla</td>
<td>bowl</td>
<td>water, rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4. NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

- *tsʰɑ̂pɑ* handful grass, grain
- *sɑ* mouth water, tea, food
- *sə* container water, tea

**Group**
- *tsʰe* family king, relative
- *té* group animal, people
- *tɕʰɛ* pair shoes, couple

**Length**
- *de* two arms span horse, knife
- *ɣɔ* one palm span cloth

**Weight**
- *dʐɛmɛ* half a kilo meat, vegetable, grain, person

**Kind**
- *ka* kind, sort work, affair, food

---

6.4.1.1 Sortal Classifiers

The most frequently used classifiers are the two general classifiers *-lō* and *-gɛ*. The two classifiers can be used interchangeably. They are general in two senses. Firstly, they are used to cover the objects outside the domain of other sortal classifiers, such as livestock, stones, abstract concepts, and newly introduced artifacts, such as mobile phone or car. In this sense, they can be considered ‘residual classifiers’. Secondly, they can replace certain (but not all) sortal classifiers, such as the classifier for human, *-za*. In this sense, they can be considered as ‘neutral classifiers’ (cf. Zubin and Shimojo 1993).

One notable fact about the general classifiers *-lō* is that when the number word is ‘two’, a suppletive form should be used, which is *tôndzɛ*, instead of *ne-lō ‘two-CLF:GENR’*. The first syllable in *tôndzɛ*, ‘to’, is probably the number word for ‘one’, but the meaning of *ndzɛ* is not synchronically clear. No other numeral classifiers have suppletive forms.

Sortal classifiers usually classify nouns based on the animacy and physical properties of their referents (Aikhenvald 2003: 286). These distinctions are also made in Munya. Munya has a classifier for human, *-za*, but lacks a corresponding general classifier for
animals or non-human objects. Although -vɛ can classify birds and flying insects, it cannot classify other animals, such as cattle or worms.

Some classifiers classify nouns based on the shape of their referents. -zɛ is used for long objects. Besides classifying flying objects, -vɛ can also classify thin objects, such as paper or a coating.

Munya has several sortal classifiers which classify nouns that are nature based. -pʰɔ classifies plant, -u classifies a meal or food that is eaten as a meal, -tsa can classify performance, such as dance, song, or story. -tsʰi is used to classify words or a stretch of discourse. Its use is very limited, in the sense that its head noun can only be kʰɛ ‘words, talk, or a stretch of discourse’. Similarly, -kʰɛ ‘CLF:PLACE’ is only found to classify ro ‘place’.

There are at least three classifiers for time. Aside from -sɪ ‘CLF:DAY’, there are also classifiers of -ki ‘CLF:YEAR’ and -lɪ ‘CLF:MONTH’. tɛʰɛtsʰʊ ‘hour’ is classified by the two general classifiers. A common way to count day, month, and year in Munya is to use Tibetan loans as head nouns and native words as classifiers, e.g., nɪmɛ so-sɪ ‘three days (day three–CLF:DAY)’, d̥é nê-li ‘two months (month two–CLF:MONTH)’ and lőŋ̕ö tóki ‘one year (year one–CLF:YEAR)’, where nɪmɛ ‘day’, d̥é ‘month’ and lőŋ̕ö ‘year’ are all borrowed from Tibetan.

It is hard to determine whether the classifier for ‘drop’, -ndu, should be grouped with sortal classifiers or mensural classifiers. Since all the head nouns it classifies are in principle liquids, hence share a common semantic feature, it can be regarded as a sortal classifier. However, it can also be argued that -ndu ‘CLF:DROP’ classifies its head noun based on how the referent is measured, i.e., by drop. In this sense it can be seen as a mensural classifier.

The same head noun can be classified in different ways, depending on which aspect of the referent one wants to highlight. For example, the numeral classifier for yu ‘grass’ can be tά-pʰɔ ‘one–CLF:PLANT’ if one wants to emphasize grass as a kind of plant but it can be classified alternatively by tɛ-zɛ ‘one–CLF:LONG’ if the focus is on its long shape.

Some sortal classifiers can be used to achieve certain pragmatic effects. Farm plants in the field can be referred to as lʊtʰɔ tά-pʰɔ ‘farm.plants one–CLF:PLANT’ if one thinks that the crops are growing very well. They can also be described as lʊtʰɔ tɛ-zɛ ‘farm.plants one–CLF:LONG’ if one finds the crops to be sparse and yellowish and suspects that they
may not yield a good harvest.

The origins of sortal classifiers are hard to pinpoint. The one for plant, -pʰɔ, may come from the word for ‘tree’, which is tsʰepʰɔ. One general classifier, -lõ, may come from the word for ‘head’, which is yáλõ. It is probable that as these nouns grammaticalize into classifiers, their phonetic forms are shortened and, in the end, only the second syllable remains.

6.4.1.2 Mensural Classifiers

Mensural classifiers can be further divided into five sub-types, which are classifiers of container, group, length, weight and kind.

There are two ways to use container classifiers. One is to directly use the term for a specific container as a classifier, as in (136a); the other way is to form a ‘numeral classifier complex’ with tô-sə ‘one-CLF:FULL’ and a word for container, as in (136b) and (136c):

(136)   a. tɕɯ́ tô-pʰula
         water  one-CLF:BOWL
          ‘one bowl of water’

         b. tɕɯ́ pʰúla tô-se
             water  bowl  one-CLF:FULL
          ‘one bowl of water’

         c. mәní tsʰintʂʰé tô-se
             person  car  one-CLF:FULL
          ‘one car full of people’

The second pattern is more productive than the first one. Almost all container words can be used in the second pattern, but only a few container words can be used in the first pattern, which are listed in Table 6.1. Container words that can be directly used as classifiers tend to be culturally salient. The objects that those container words denote are used all the time in daily life. Except for -sə ‘CLF:FULL’, all the four container classifiers listed Table 6.1 can be used as free morphemes.
Other mensural classifiers have no special properties and will not be discussed in detail.

### 6.4.1.3 Pseudo-classifiers

Not all morphemes that can take number prefixes are classifiers. The only example of such a morpheme that I have found thus far is `-tsa` (homophonous with the classifier for performance), which means ‘the storey or floor of a house’. Combined with a number word, they can be used after a noun, as in `tá-tsa` ‘one-floor house (house one-floor)’. Though superficially similar to numeral classifiers, this pseudo-classifier differs fundamentally from real classifiers.

Firstly, the order of the numeral classifier and the head noun is rigid—the numeral classifier generally follows the head, but the pseudo-classifier can either precede or follow the head (the factor(s) determining the word order remain a matter for further research). Example (137) below illustrates `tá-tsa` ‘one-storey’ being used before the head noun `táé` ‘house’:

\[(137)\] okʰó pókoša tó-ló tsů́ nyi, tá-tsa táé

DEM store.room one-CLF:GENR COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP one-storey house

ména

like

‘There was a store room over there, it was a one-storey house.’

Secondly, the major functions of numeral classifiers are counting and categorization, while the major function of the pseudo-classifier is modification. The counting function can be seen from the fact that as the number word changes, the number of referents of the head noun changes accordingly. For example, `putsʰi tó-ló` ‘one kid (kid one-CLF:GENR)’ and `putsʰi só-ló` ‘three children (child three-CLF:GENR)’ differ in the number of children. However, in the case of `táé tá-tsa` ‘one-storey house (house one-storey)’, changing the number words does not lead to any change in the number of referents of the head noun, hence `táé tá-tsa` ‘house one-storey’ and `táé só-tsa` ‘house three-storey’ differ in the number of floors but not in the number of houses.
Thirdly, a head noun can take only one numeral classifier, but more than one modifier, including the pseudo-classifier. Example (138) shows how the pseudo-classifier can co-occur with a modifier and a real numeral classifier:

(138) \( yoni \ tɕé \ tɛ́-gɛ \ tɛ́-dzo, \ tɕé \ kɛɛ́ \ tә́-dʑo, \ sɔ́-tɕʰǔzɛ \)

1PL.INCL+ERG house one-CLF:GENR UP-build house pillar.space six-CLF:LONG
\( sә́-tsa \ tɛ́-gɛ \ tә́-dzo \)
three-storey one-CLF:GENR UP-build

'We built a house, a house of six pillar spaces and three storeys.'

The head noun, \( tɕé \) ‘house’, is first modified by a noun phrase consisting of a head noun and a numeral classifier, which is \( kɛɛ́tɕʰǔzɛ \) ‘six pillar.space (pillar.space six-CLF:LONG)’, then by a pseudo-numeral classifier, \( sә́-tsa \) ‘three-floor’. The numeral classifier quantifying the head of this NP, \( tɕé \) ‘house’, is \( tɛ́-gɛ \) ‘one-CLF:GENR’, which appears at the right periphery of the phrase.

6.4.2 The Functions of Numeral Classifiers

The basic functions of numeral classifiers are quantification and classification. They are also frequently found to have such discourse-pragmatic functions as denoting specificity, definiteness, and functioning as anaphoric markers (Aikhenvald 2003: 318-333).

For ease of discussion, a distinction can be made between the inherent and the extended functions of numeral classifiers in Munya. Discourse-pragmatic functions and stacking two consecutive number words on one classifier for expressing approximate meaning, are the inherent functions of numeral classifiers in Munya. By ‘inherent function’, I mean that numeral classifiers are still numeral classifiers when they are performing these functions, and these inherent functions can vary from language to language.

When numeral classifiers are used for extended functions, they are no longer numeral classifiers anymore. This can be seen from three aspects. Firstly, when performing the extended functions, they do not require any head noun. In other words, their functional scope is not limited to a noun phrase. Secondly, the only number word that they can co-occur with is ‘one’ and no others. Thirdly, even if their functioning scope is a noun
phrase, the ‘classifiers’ do not change when the modified head noun changes. These uses indicate that the numeral classifiers have become lexicalized or grammaticalized when performing extended functions.

Four extended functions have been identified for Munya numeral classifiers, which are working as quantifiers, adverbs, nominal and manner adverbial demonstratives, and complementizing strategy. These will be discussed in turn after inherent functions have been examined.

### 6.4.2.1 Discourse Functions

In Munya, quantifying a head noun with a numeral classifier alone indicates that the nominal referent of the head noun is indefinite. Example (139) below is taken from a story:

\[(139) \quad \text{otsé} \ tə\h^{\h} \ tsek̓u \ tå \ tó-lö \ té-ro \ sə \ nyi \]

\[\text{DEM} \ \text{place} \ D.M \ \text{tiger} \ \text{one-CLF:GENR} \ \text{UP-come} \ \text{PFV} \ \text{EGO:AP} \]

‘A tiger came out from there (a lake).’

In this example, since tå ‘tiger’ is mentioned for the first time in the story, it is modified by a numeral classifier tó-lö ‘one-CLF:GENR’.

After the noun referent is established in the discourse, it can either be tracked with a demonstrative, or simply occur in bare form if the noun is singular. (140) comes from the same story, but after (139):

\[(140) \quad kʰr-vr \ tsek̓u \ tå \ tə-tʃə \ sə \ nyi \]

\[\text{NONS-hide} \ \text{and} \ \text{tiger} \ \text{UP-arrive} \ \text{PFV} \ \text{EGO:AP} \]

‘While (they were) hiding, the tiger came.’

### 6.4.2.2 Stacking Number Words to Express an Approximate Meaning

Sometimes a numeral classifier construction can contain two consecutive number words and a single classifier to denote the sense of estimation or approximation (cf. 5.4.2). The
stacked number words are normally ‘one’ and ‘two’, but other numbers are also accept-
able, as long as they are less than ten and are consecutive. An example is given below in (141):

(141)  tɕʰú  nj  kʰɛ́  tó-ne-tʃi  tú-dö
  then 1SG+ERG  words  one-two-CLF:WORDS  UP-speak/1SG
  ‘I will say a few words.’

This is the first sentence of a five minutes long monologue, so apparently the number
words here mean more than ‘one or two’. Depending on the context, the number words
can also be taken at face value, i.e., they can refer to the exact number.

A numeral classifier construction containing two consecutive number words can be
expanded into two numeral classifier constructions:

(142)  tu-mú-so  tsəkú  tó-ne-ki  tʰɛ́-vá  ra,  tó-ki
  UP-NEG-say  D.M  one-two-CLF:YEAR  AS-become  EVID:DIRECT  one-CLF:YEAR
  ná-ki  tʰɛ́-vá  ra
  two-CLF:YEAR  AS-become  EVID:DIRECT
  ‘They haven’t said (those things) for one or two years.’

In this example, the speaker first used a stacked form, which is tó-ne-ki ‘one or two years,
a few years’, then he repeated the last part of the previous clause and used an expanded
form, tó-ki ná-ki ‘one or two years, a few years’.

6.4.2.3 Quantifiers

There are close relationships between numeral classifiers and quantifiers, and sometimes
it can be hard to disentangle them (Aikhenvald 2003: 116). In Munya, some numeral clas-
sifiers can be used as quantifiers. These include tɛ́-gɛ/tɕí-gɛ ‘a little (one-CLF:GENR)’, tó-se
‘many (one-CLF:FULL)’ and tahá/tsiḥá ‘a little’. Note that tahá/tsiḥá ‘a little’ was not listed
in Table 6.1, because synchronically they can no longer be used as numeral classifiers.
There are two reasons to believe that they may originate from a numeral classifier. Firstly,
it is still possible to analyze it as ta-há, with ta- being derived from the underlying form of to- ‘one’ through vowel harmony. Secondly, tahá has an equivalent form, tsihá, in which tsi can be analyzed as the Tibetan number word for ‘one’. This parallels the alternation of to-ló and tsi-ló ‘one-CLF:GENR’. Hence tahá ‘a little’ arguably originates from a numeral classifier, although it has lost that function. (143) illustrates tsi-gé ‘one-CLF:GENR’ being used as a quantifier:

(143) i-ni ri tsiɡé ndé nyi metsʰé
dS-rest NMLZ a.little COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP only

‘We could only take very little rest.’

Here the head noun ini ri ‘rest’ is a nominalized verb which is quantified by tsiɡé ‘a little’. Note that tsiɡé cannot be analyzed as a numeral classifier, because, as stated at the beginning of this section, tsi- ‘one’ cannot be replaced with other number words (except for to-, the native number word for ‘one’). Neither can -ɡé be changed to other classifiers as the head noun changes. Also, the whole quantifying expression acting as an erstwhile numeral classifier has its own, non-compositional meaning, ‘a little’. (144) is an example of tahá ‘a little’ being used as a quantifier, modifying yásu ‘Chinese’:

(144) yásu tahá tó-vū
cS Chinese a.little up-speak/2sg

‘Speak some Chinese.’

The numeral classifier construction to-se ‘many (one-CLF:FULL)’, where -se is a classifier for container, can also function as a quantifier:

(145) pusʰí tóse i dunbů tê-ze no-tatú pi
cS child many ERG stick one-CLF:LONG DOWN-fight.for IMPF

‘Many children are fighting for a stick.’

It should be pointed that not all quantifiers in Munya evolved from numeral classifiers. Besides the quantifiers discussed above, other quantifiers, such as kéyi ‘many’ and nini ‘a little bit’ are plainly not of numeral classifier origin (cf. Section 5.5).
Adverbs

Numerical classifiers can modify adjectives, verbs, and quantifiers. In this case they are categorized as adverbs. Numerical classifiers that can be used in this way include *tsiˈɡɛ*/ˈtɛɡɛ* 'a little', *tahɑ́* 'a little', and *tólɔ*. *tólɔ* can also be used after adverbs, as an adverbial marker. In (146) below, *tólɔ* links together an adverb, *tsʰiˈtɛɡa* 'very' and *ɛɕó* 'be tired' and can be omitted:

(146) ɳúne łoˈtɔhɔ nyi ke, [tsʰiˈtɛɡa  tólɔ  ɛɕó  ri]CS mé ti

1PL.EXCL young EGO:AP D.M very PAR DS-be.tired NMLZ NEG STA

'We were very young, and we were not very tired.'

In this example, the predicate of the second clause is *mé*, which is a monovalent copula negator, and it takes a complement clause as its S subject. The head of this CS, *ɛɕó* 'be tired', is a verb. It is modified by an adverbial phrase *tsʰiˈtɛɡa  tólɔ* 'very'. This whole verb phrase is then nominalized by *ri*, producing an NP subject.

Adverbs originating from numerical classifiers can also modify adjectives. (147) comes from a telephone conversation, when a father was telling his daughter, who works in the capital of Tibet, Lhasa, to be mindful (of bad people, for example):

(147) sasá  *tsiɡɛ* nò-vʊ

clever a.little down-do/2sg

'Be a little bit clever'

In this example, *tsiɡɛ* 'a little', together with the adjective *sasá* 'clever', modifies the verb *nɔvʊ* 'do/2sg'. It is possible that it is being used here to 'tone down' the command so as to make it sound less direct. But it is also possible that *tsiɡɛ* functions as a link between the verb and the adjective, just like *tólɔ* in (146), and does not have much semantic content.

The semantic contribution of this kind of adverb is more prominent when modifying quantifiers:
6.4. NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

(148)  

\[ \text{kéyi tahá rәkʰɯ́ vo} \]
\[ \text{many a.little fill.up REQ} \]

‘Please fill it up with some more (food) for me.’

In this example, the quantifier kéyi ‘many, a lot’ is modified by tahá ‘a little’. It is used here to weaken the strength of the command, with the aim of ‘softening it and making it less palatable and less threatening.’ (Aikhenvald 2010: 400).

6.4.2.5 Nominal and Manner Adverbial Demonstratives

In Munya, numeral classifiers can be used as both nominal demonstratives and manner adverbial demonstratives. The nominal demonstrative use is the inherent function of numeral classifiers, while the manner adverbial demonstrative is the extended function of numeral classifiers. (149) is an example of a numeral classifier being used as a nominal demonstrative:

(149)  

\[ \text{otsә́ i tsʰanà i tә-тәо tә-тәu vů tseků́ sә-lö́ tә} \]
\[ \text{3SG ERG pot.pad INS one-VCLF.HIT UP-do do D.M three-CLF:GENR FOC} \]
\[ \text{tʰó-se nyi} \]
\[ \text{AS-die EGO:AP} \]

‘He gave one hit with the pot pad and all those three (beasts) died.’

It is necessary to distinguish this demonstrative use of numeral classifiers from numeral classifiers used in a headless noun phrase. In both cases there is no head noun in the NP, and the crucial difference lies in whether or not the head noun is retrievable from the context. If the head noun can be recovered, then the numeral classifier has an antecedent, as in (149), and should be analyzed as a nominal demonstrative. If the head noun cannot be recovered, then the numeral classifier functions as an NP. The second case is illustrated in (150):
The speaker was talking about a situation in the old days, when logging without permission could be a serious crime. Each year the officers and the forest keepers from the township would go to inspect the villages. They would be accompanied by one villager from the village they were inspecting. Notice that in the last clause, the subject tsәi-za ‘one person (one-CLF:MAN)’ consists of only a numeral classifier. It is not used anaphorically, because the NP consisting of tsәi-za ‘one person (one-CLF:MAN)’ has no antecedent. But the referent of that NP can be deduced based on context and the semantics of the classifier.

The difference between the nominal demonstrative use of numeral classifiers and the nominal use of numeral classifiers is not a formal one, and one can only rely on context to determine whether the numeral classifier in question has an antecedent or not.

Numeral classifiers can also be used as manner adverbial demonstratives. Since this was already covered in Section 5.2, it is not repeated here.

6.4.2.6 Complementation Strategy

The general numeral classifier tółö can be used as markers of a complement clause. When performing this function, the complement taking verb is typically ndә, a copula which means ‘exist’ or ‘be’. An example is given below:

(151) [rosɛ́ vá tółö tʰә-vá ri tółö]_{CoCl:CS} tɕɛ́-ndә

soon butter one-CLF:GENR AS-COME.OUT NMLZ COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘It is not the case that a chunk of butter comes out very soon.’
In this example, the complement taking verb, ndé ‘exist’, is negated. The complement clause is everything that precedes the copula. The predicate in the complement clause, tʰəvá ‘to become, to come out’, is nominalized. The whole clause is marked by tólō.

As a complementizer, tólō can be used directly after a noun phrase:

(152) [dzópu sɔ́zә tólō][CoCl:CS tɕɛ́­ndә, dzópu tó­ze
  king three-CLF:MAN COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT king one-CLF:MAN
  mәtsʰé tɕɛ́­ndә
  only NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘There is no such thing as three kings (lit: three-king-ship does not exist), there is only one king.’

The two clauses of this example both have a copula as their predicate. The copula subject of the first clause consists of a noun phrase dzópu sɔ́ze ‘three kings’. It is changed into a complement clause by tólō, which roughly means ‘three kings-ship’ or ‘the fact there being three kings’. By contrast, the copula subject in the second clause is a noun phrase composed of a head noun (dzópu ‘king’) and a numeral classifier (tó­ze ‘one-CLF:MAN’). Note also that the predicate is in negated form. This is because the adverb mәtsʰé ‘only’ requires that the verb be negated.

To summarize, Munya numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers based on their semantics, and these classifiers can have a wide array of functions, both inherent ones and extended ones. Inherent functions include introduction of new referents and anaphoricity. Extended functions include functioning as quantifier, adverb/adverbial marker, demonstratives and complementizing strategy.

### 6.5 Nominalization

Nominalization is understood here as the process of deriving a nominal from any non-nominal element. This is necessarily a broad characterization, but it is well-suited to capture the nominalization phenomena in Munya. This is because, in terms of grammatical category, a nominalizable element in Munya can be verbal or adjectival (though predom-
inantly the nominalized elements are verbal). And more importantly, in terms of level of unit, the nominalized element can be a word, a phrase and quite frequently, a clause.

Nominalization is, therefore, by no means a pure morphological process in Munya—it spans across morphology and syntax. In forming nominalizations, verbs, verb phrases and clauses are in many cases treated on a par. Nominalizers in Munya have to follow the element they apply to, and in terms of word class they are all particles. This is because, while they are monosyllabic and normally not used alone, they are not phonologically dependent on the previous word. Nominalizations based on verbs preserve the verb’s argument structure.

In the following sections, nominalization will be discussed based on functional types. These include agentive nominalization, local/temporal nominalization, state/object nominalization, activity/object nominalization and free-standing nominalization.

6.5.1 Agentive Nominalization

The agentive nominalizer mí derives the S/A argument from the erstwhile verb, and the derived nominal roughly means ‘one which “verbs”’. mí is a widely found cognate that means ‘person’ in Tibeto-Burman languages. Three examples of agentive nominalization are given below:\(^3\):

(153) a. \([rәkә] \textit{mі}\)
   \hspace{1cm} walk \hspace{0.5cm} NMLZ
   ‘walker’

b. \([katsʰә kʰu-tʃә] \textit{mі}\)
   \hspace{1cm} bad \hspace{0.5cm} NONS-do \hspace{0.5cm} NMLZ
   ‘(a person who) does bad things/bad people’

c. \([tsэ \chiε tsэ tu-кү rәkә] \textit{mі}\)
   \hspace{1cm} REFL/3SG \hspace{0.5cm} POSS \hspace{0.5cm} house \hspace{0.5cm} UP-carry.on.back \hspace{0.5cm} walk \hspace{0.5cm} NMLZ
   ‘(the one who) walks carrying its own house on the back (i.e., a snail)’

\(^3\)In this section, the nominalized element will be marked off with square brackets and the nominalizer will be boldfaced.
The nominalized element can be a verb, as in (153a), but oftentimes it is the entire verb phrase that is nominalized. In (153b), the verb phrase contains an object. In (153c), the verb phrase is a serial verb construction consisting of a transitive verb (*tu-kú* ‘to carry on back’) and an intransitive verb (*rәká* ‘to walk’), and the object of the transitive verb (*tsé *ye tәé* ‘its own house’).

Nominals derived through agentive nominalization have the properties of canonical nouns—they can take a numeral classifier, as in (154a), or a plural marker, as in (154b):

(154) a. [ɣɤ kʰɯ­tsö́] NONS­catch NMLZ three-CLF:MAN AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

‘There were three fishermen.’

b. [ɛ́­ndzә] DS­eat NMLZ=PL 1PL.EXCL+ERG DOWN­kill/1/2NONSG EGO:SAP

‘We have killed those (beasts) who eat (people).’

6.5.2 Local/Temporal Nominalization

The particle *ró* can convert a verb or a clause into a nominal of location or time. In the two examples below, *ró* functions as a local nominalizer in (155a) and a temporal nominalizer in (155b). In both examples, the nominalized element is a clause:

(155) a. [putsʰi tősә i tә tό-lә no-tә́tu pi] *ró*

child many ERG hat one-CLF:GENR DOWN­fight.for IMPF NMLZ

*kʰʊ­tʃɛ se nyi*

NONS­arrive.at PFV EGO:AP

‘(They) arrived at a place where many children were fighting for a hat.’

b. [ŋɯnɛ́ mó tό­sә pi] *ró* kerɛ́ hәko ti

1PL.EXCL+GEN mum AS-die IMPF NMLZ a.little know/1SG STA

‘I know a little bit of the time when our mum died.’
ró can also be used as a free noun, meaning ‘place’ or ‘time’:

(156) a. tɛ́­kʰɛ́ ró
   one-CLF:PLACE place
   ‘a place’

   b. tsatsɛ́ ró
   small time
   ‘young time/youth’

In Munya, numeral classifiers and adjectives follow the head noun they modify (see section 6.2.2). But notice here the numeral classifier in (156a) and the adjective in (156b) precede ró. ró seems to be a peculiar noun in Munya, and no other noun is found to have such a property.

Another nominalizing function of ró is to derive a nominal which refers to a person. The derived nominal functions as an oblique argument of the nominalized verb. Compared to its function as a local/temporal nominalizer, this function is not very common. Two examples are given below:

(157) a. okʰó huófo tó­lö ná ndziú nyi, zoyi.Šúme
   DEM living.Buddha one-CLF:GENR also COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP lama
   [kʰɤ́-seŋa] ró tó­lö ndziú nyi
   NONS-listen.to NMLZ one-CLF:GENR COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP
   ‘There is also a living Buddha there, a lama whom we can listen to.’

   b. nɛ́ i [ndzũndzw] ró kéyi i-ndɛ́ nyí
   2SG ERG have.fun NMLZ many INTRG-have/2SG EGO:AP
   ‘Do you have many people to have fun with?’

In (157a), the derived nominal kʰɤ́-seŋa ró ‘(the one) to listen to (listen NMLZ)’ modifies zoyi.Šúme ‘lama’; in (157b), the derived nominal ndzũndzw ró ‘(the one) to have fun with (have.fun NMLZ)’ functions as the head noun of a noun phrase and is modified by kéyi
6.5. NOMINALIZATION

‘many’. Note that although grammatically it is possible to analyze ró in (157b) as a local or temporal nominalizer, so that ndzûndzuw ró means ‘places to have fun’ or ‘time to have fun’, my consultant told me that here it means ‘friend’ or ‘the person to have fun with’.

6.5.3 State/Object Nominalization

State nominalization derives a nominal from an adjective and object nominalization derives a nominal from a clause. For object nominalization, the derived nominal is the O argument of the erstwhile verb or verb phrase. Two nominalizers will be discussed here, which are tsé and tôlô. Both of them can be used for object nominalization, but only tsé can be used for state nominalization.

We first look at the functions of tsé. (158) gives an example of a state nominalization marked by tsé:

158. tsekù kemù kemitá yɛ nentsʰũ tʰo-ŋó tʰó, [ tôme] tsé tôme, D.M before Nationalist.Party GEN situation AS-be if be.rich NMLZ rich
[nyontɕʰɤ́] tsé nyontɕʰɤ́ poor NMLZ be.poor

‘As to the situation of the Nationalist Party years before, the rich (people) were rich and the poor (people) were poor.’

In this example, two adjectives, tôme ‘rich’ and nyontɕʰɤ́ ‘poor’, are nominalized by the following tsé, and the derived nominal respectively means ‘the rich (people)’ and ‘the poor (people)’. Note that the same adjective also functions as predicate in each clause.

When tsé functions as an object nominalizer, the nominalized element tends to be a clause, and the derived nominal denotes the object of the verb in the nominalized clause. In most cases, the nominalized clause needs to take an aspect marker:

159. a. [ngōtʃʰi=ni tu-ŋó sa] tsé ɲí kʰu-tsé po ɲyi
chieftain=PL+ERG UP-say PFV NMLZ 1SG+ERG NONS-do IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

‘I do what the chieftains said.’
In (159a), what the derived nominal denotes is ‘(the words which) the chieftains said’, which functions as the object of *tuɕó* ‘say’. In (159b), the derived nominal denotes ‘(the words which) people say’, which functions as the object of *tә́tә* ‘say’. Both nominalized clauses end with an aspect marker.

An exception is found when the nominalized clause has a copula predicate:

(160)  

\[
\text{méme ró ndzɔkʰɔ́ ndә́] tsә́ pʰutʰonɡhuɑ́ nyi}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{every place use COP:ABSTRACT NMLZ Mandarin EGO:AP}
\end{align*}

‘(The language) that is useful everywhere is Mandarin.’

In this example, the predicate of the nominalized clause is *ndә́* ‘to exist’. Here, the derived nominal functions as the copula subject of the copula clause ‘(the language) that is useful everywhere’ rather than the copula complement. Also, there is no aspect marker after the copula. But this has to do with the behavior of copula verbs rather than the constraints on nominalized copula clauses, as in Munya, copula clauses do not take any aspect marker. (See Chapter 10 for more information.)

As an object nominalizer, *tsә́* is often used after the verb phrase *tә́ pi* ‘call IMPF’. The latter two words occur together so frequently that they can even be analyzed as a single word, meaning ‘be called’. More often than not *tә́ pi tsә́* is used after a noun and the construction means ‘the person/thing that is called “noun”.’ This construction tends to be used when the noun in question is mentioned for the first time in the discourse, especially when it is a proper noun, or when the noun is a relatively new term to the interlocutor, or when a speaker wants to make the noun the focus of the discourse. (This seems to be related to the other function of *tsә́*, i.e., as a topic marker. See the discussions in section 6.2.4):
This sentence comes from a monologue, where the person called ěri was newly mentioned, and the speaker assumes that the hearer does not know her.

When performing this function, tsé can be replaced by the erstwhile general numeral classifier tó-lö 'one-CLF:GENR':

(162) tsækɯ́ ŋunә́ni hú[tɕíwitsu té pi] tólö ɛ́-tsʰw, tsʰә́nә'
D.M 1DU.EXCL+ERG night cocktail say IMPF NMLZ DS-drink also
pútɕʰә ɛ́-tsʰw
Tibetan.wine DS-drink

‘At night the two of us drank a thing called cocktail, and we also drank Tibetan wine.’

Note that here tólö should be analyzed as nominalizer instead of a numeral classifier, because it has lost its prototypical numeral classifier function: no other number word can be used except for to- ‘one’, no other classifier can be used, and the whole numeral classifier can be replaced by tsé.

té pi tólö ‘say IMPF NMLZ’ construction can nominalize a clause:

(163) lɛ́kɛ́ ɛzә́ ɕíɕi, [ma-ŋá sa] té pi tólö té nó-vuŋ ma-ndá
work what every NEG-good PFV say IMPF NMLZ at.all DOWN-do NEG-used.to

‘No matter what work it was, I never did any work which was said not to be good.’

When the nominalized element is a clause, as in this example, it seems more reasonable to analyze té pi tólö as a whole as a complex nominalizer, because té pi does not belong to the nominalized clause.

The object nominalizing function of the general numeral classifier, tólö, is thus very restricted. This is because it can only be used together with té pi ‘say IMPF’. When
tә́ pi ‘say IMPF’ takes a noun argument, the argument functions as the object of tә́ and tólö nominalizes the clause (the template would be [N tә́ pi] tólö ‘the person/thing that is called “N”’). When tә́ pi tólö ‘say IMPF’ nominalizes a clause, it functions as a complex nominalizer (the template would be [clause] tә́ pi tólö).

### 6.5.4 Activity/Object Nominalization

Munya also has a multi-functional nominalizer rі. The element nominalized by this marker can either denote an activity or an object. Aside from this, the marker also plays a role in forming relative clauses and complement clauses.

In the two examples below, rі functions as a nominalizer of activity. The nominalized element is a single verb in (164a) and a verb phrase in (164b):

\[(164)\]  
\[\begin{align*}  
\text{a. } & [\text{tʰoː-se}] \text{ rі } \text{tsә́ } \text{daʃteˈudze} \text{ e-tʰu } \text{nyi} \\
& \text{AS-die NMLZ FOC one.hundred.percent DS-come EGO:AP} \\
& \text{‘Death will certainly come.’} \\
\text{b. } & \text{tʰu } [\text{nbɛtʃә́ } \text{a-kɔ}] \text{ rі } \text{tʰe-vә } \text{pi } \text{ke } \text{nbɛtʃә́} \\
& \text{then caterpillar.fungus DS-dig NMLZ AS-come.out IMPF OBL caterpillar.fungus} \\
& \text{a-kɔ } \text{ró } \text{tɛ-hә} \\
& \text{DS-dig go UP-go} \\
& \text{‘Then when (the time for) digging caterpillar fungus comes (lit. when caterpillar fungus-digging comes out), (I would) go up and dig caterpillar fungus.’}
\]

rі can also function as an object nominalizer, in which case the nominalized element denotes the O argument of the nominalized verb. Some nouns are derived from this kind of nominalization, such as ndzә́-rі ‘food, things for eating (eat-NMLZ)’ and tɛ́u-wә́-rі ‘drinks, things for drinking (drink-NMLZ)’. When used as an object nominalizer, the object of the nominalized verb can either be absent, as in (165a) and (165b), or present, as in (165c) and (165d):
(165) a. \( t\text{ta}\text{ts}\text{\textbar}o\text{=}n\text{e} \ t\text{ca}\text{hi} \ [\text{no-}t\text{su}] \ r\text{i=}n\text{e} \ no-t\text{su} \)

\text{livestock=PL COM DOWN-milk NMLZ=PL DOWN-milk}

‘I milk the cows (lit. I milk the things that are for milking with the cows).’

b. \( o\text{kho} \ [\text{\textbar-a-ko}] \ r\text{i} \ nd\text{e} \ ny\text{i} \)

\text{DEM DS-dig NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP}

‘There are things to dig up (i.e., tree roots) over there.’

c. \( o\text{ts}\text{o} \ y\text{e} \ [t\text{s}\text{\textbar}e\text{r}\text{\textbar}o \ y\text{e}-t\text{s}\text{\textbar}h\text{\textbar}] \ r\text{i} \ t\text{e} \ t\text{se-nde} \)

\text{3SG GEN wood US-burn NMLZ at.all NEG-have}

‘He didn’t have any wood to burn.’

d. \( [t\text{s}\text{\textbar}en\text{b}\text{\textbar}o \ t\text{u-}y\text{\textbar}] \ r\text{i} \ m\text{e}, \ \text{\textbar-e-}n\text{dze-ri} \ m\text{e} \)

\text{shoes UP-wear NMLZ NEG DS-eat-NMLZ NEG}

‘There were neither shoes to wear nor food.’

When the object of the nominalized verb is not overtly mentioned, the referent of the derived nominal sometimes needs to be deduced from the context. In (165a) it is possible to infer that \( n\text{otsu} \ r\text{i} \ ‘\text{things for milking (milk NMLZ)}’ \ means ‘milk (a noun)’ based on \( t\text{ta}\text{ts}\text{\textbar}o \ ‘\text{livestock}’ \ and \( n\text{otsu} \ ‘\text{milk (a verb)}’ \ mentioned in the same sentence. However, for (165b), one can only know that \( a\text{kho} \ r\text{i} \ ‘\text{things for digging (dig NMLZ)}’ \ means ‘tree root’ based on previous context.

\( r\text{i} \) also plays a part in the formation of relative clauses and complement clauses. Consider the structure of the relative clause in (166):

(166) \( n\text{e} \ i \ t\text{sek\textbar}u \ [n\text{o-sa} \ r\text{i}]_{RC} \ y\text{e} \ [t\text{s}\text{\textbar}e\text{r}\text{\textbar}o \ t\text{i-}n\text{ge} \ r\text{i}]_{RC} \ y\text{e} \)

\text{2SG ERG D.M DOWN-cremate NMLZ REL wood AS-pick NMLZ REL}

t\text{ca}\text{h\textbar}e\text{ts}\text{\textbar}e \ k\text{u}-v\text{\textbar}u \)

\text{preparation NONS-do/2SG}

‘You make preparations for the wood to be used for cremation.’
There are two relative clauses in (166), and both contain the nominalizer ri. The first relative clause consists of the verb nósa ‘cremate’ and ri, which modifies tsʰәrö́ ‘wood’. In the second relative clause, the common noun is tsʰәtɕʰɛ́ ‘preparation’. It is modified by tsʰәrö́ tʰíngә ri ‘picking wood (wood pick NMLZ)’. Both relative clauses are marked by the relative marker ɣɛ.

Example (167) shows how ri also plays a part in the formation of a complement clause:

(167) [lɛ́kɛ́ ɳaŋá vuŋ ri]CoCl:O mo-tô ra
     work well do NMLZ NEG-can/1SG EVID:DIRECT

     ‘(I) was not able to work well.’

The complement clause here functions as the object of the complement taking verb tô ‘I can’ and is nominalized by ri. The relation between nominalization, relativization, and complementation is further explored in Section 14.3.

### 6.5.5 Free-standing Nominalization

Some Tibeto-Burman languages allow free-standing nominalization (also called ‘non-embedded nominalization’, see Matisoff 1972), which is a nominalized sentence not embedded in any larger structure. This type of construction seems to have different functions in different languages. Matisoff (1972) argues that in Lahu, the function of such a construction lies in that ‘the verbal event is being objectified, reified, viewed as an independent fact, endowed with a reality like that inhering in physical objects’. The situation seems to be similar in a dialect of Qiang (Longxi Qiang), in the sense that ‘free-standing nominalization in the Longxi variety is used for certainty identification based on the speaker’s assessment’ (Zheng 2016: 399). In Belhare (Bickel 1999), the function of independently used nominalizations is focus-marking. In Kham (Watters 2009), such structure marks ‘backgrounding’ or ‘stage setting’ in a discourse.

The situation in Munya seems to be special in that free-standing nominalization is not marked by a single nominalizer, but by ri tólö, with ri being a nominalizer and tólö being an erstwhile general numeral classifier. As with non-embedded nominalization in other languages, ri tólö occurs at the end of a clause:
Example (168) comes from a sermon, when a lama was explaining the Buddhist term *impermanence* ‘mi rtag pa’ to the public. Using the non-embedded nominalization gives a sense of affirmation to the statement. The function of non-embedded nominalization in Munya is thus similar to its use in Lahu and Longxi Qiang. It shows the speaker’s certainty of the propositional content of that clause, or indicates that what is stated is a fact.

There is evidence showing that free-standing nominalization in Munya comes from complement clauses, as we find that such a construction can sometimes be embedded in a complement clause headed by the copula predicate *ndә*:

\[(169) \quad [tɛ́ tsәkɯ́ kʰ-yû \quad ri]_\text{CoCl:CS} \quad tólö \quad ndә \quad nyi\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
tea & D.M & \text{NOM-} & \text{ladle.} & \text{up.} & \text{and.} & \text{pour.} & \text{back} & \text{NMLZ} & \text{COMP} & \text{COP:ABSTRACT} & \text{EGO:AP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(When making butter tea), one needs to ladle it up and pour it back (lit. Ladling up and pouring back tea exists (when one makes butter tea)).’

(Detailed analyses of this construction are given in Section 14.2.2.)

Another piece of evidence for this observation comes from forming negation in this construction. A free-standing nominalization clause cannot be negated directly. If it is to be negated, the clause needs to be transformed into a complement clause, with the copula *ndә* as the complement-taking verb, and the negator being prefixed to the copula:

\[(170) \quad vá \quad tsәkɯ́ \quad [té \quad rosé \quad vá \quad tölö \quad tʰ-vá \quad ri]_\text{CoCl:CS} \quad tólö \quad ndә \quad nyi\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllll}
\text{butter} & D.M & \text{at.} & \text{all} & \text{soon} & \text{butter} & \text{one-CLF:GENR} & \text{AS-come.out} & \text{NMLZ} & \text{COMP} \\
\text{NEG-COP:ABSTRACT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘As for butter, it is by no means the case that a chunk of butter comes out very fast (lit. a-chunk-of-butter-coming-out-very-soon does not exist).’
Thus, non-embedded nominalization in Munya is marked by sentence-final *rí tólö*, which is the truncated form of a complement clause. This is because they can be optionally embedded in a clause headed by the complement-taking copula verb *ndé*, but when negated, they are obligatorily embedded in such a clause.

The different nominalizing techniques discussed above are summarized in Table 6.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominalizer</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Unit of operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mí</em></td>
<td>agentive</td>
<td>phrase and clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ró</em></td>
<td>local/temporal personal</td>
<td>phrase and clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsá</em></td>
<td>state object</td>
<td>phrase clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tólö</em></td>
<td>object</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rí</em></td>
<td>activity object</td>
<td>phrase, clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rí tólö</em></td>
<td>free-standing</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.6 Summary

In this chapter we covered the structure of noun phrases, plurality, numeral classifiers and nominalization devices. An NP in Munya can simply consist of a bare noun or a range of pre-head and post-head modifiers. Pre-head modifiers include demonstratives, nominals, possessive phrases and relative clauses, and post-head modifiers are adjectives, numeral classifiers, number words and quantifiers. Numeral classifiers can be divided into sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. Some numeral classifiers developed extended functions, including quantification, acting as adverbs or adverbial markers, functioning as nominal and manner adverbial demonstratives, and complementation strategy. There are six types of nominalization in Munya, which are agentive nominalization, local/temporal nominalization, state/object nominalization, activity-object nominalization, and free-standing nominalization.
Chapter 7

Verbal Morphology

7.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the morphological aspects of verbs, including directional prefixes (Section 7.2), patterns and forms of person-number inflection (Section 7.3), causatives (Section 7.4) and pluractionality (Section 7.5). There are seven directional prefixes in Munya, which are marked on verbal roots. Aside from denoting directions, these prefixes can also make finer-grained semantic distinctions and derive verbs from nouns and adjectives. Verbs can also inflect for the person-number of subjects through vocalic change. The most common inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular and first or second person nonsingular. While nonsingular forms are regular, the final vowels can be very different for other inflectional forms. Causatives can be formed in both transitive clauses and intransitive clauses, either through internal modification or periphrastic means. As with many other languages, pluractionality is realized through reduplication, and meanings expressed through this category include repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions.

7.2 Directional Prefixes

Having directional prefixes is a major typological feature of Qiangic languages (H. K. Sun 2016: 202–215), and Munya is no exception. There are seven directional prefixes in Munya, the meanings and forms of which are listed in Table 7.1.
Some researchers, such as B. F. Huang (1993: 136) and Ikeda (2008) recognize another directional prefix in Munya, which means ‘in a circle’. This directional prefix is transcribed as re- by Huang and as ruw- by Ikeda. The examples given in B. F. Huang (1993: 137-138), together with my data, are listed in Table 7.2. (The tonal markers of Huang’s data are irrelevant for the present discussion and have been omitted for ease of reference.)

Table 7.2: Verbs With the ‘in a circle’ Prefix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. F. Huang 1993</th>
<th>My transcription</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rәto</td>
<td>rәtә</td>
<td>to discuss, to have a meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rәkhuә</td>
<td>rәkʰә</td>
<td>to put (food, water) into a container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roza</td>
<td>rәtәә</td>
<td>to join hands, to dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rora</td>
<td>rәtә</td>
<td>to sow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rәkә</td>
<td>rәkә</td>
<td>to walk, (cars) to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rәmɯ</td>
<td>rәmɯ</td>
<td>to get dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rәdzә</td>
<td>rәdzә</td>
<td>to put onto, to stay, to set up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Huang comes up with some explanations for the motivation of using this prefix. It is used before ‘discuss’ because people have to gather together to discuss something, and it is used on the second verb in Table 7.2 since the container holding water or food is generally a round bowl. The third verb in Table 7.2 refers to the fact that people generally dance in a circle. However, the other verbs, such as rәtә ‘sow’ and rәkә ‘walk’, do not seem to involve any action of circling around, and for none of these verbs can this prefix be replaced by other well-recognized directional prefixes. My corpus contains very few verbs that take this prefix.

This means this ‘prefix’ is non-productive. What’s more, unlike other directional pre-
7.2. DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES

fixes, which tend to be polysemous and can have other grammatical functions, this ‘prefix’
does not have any other functions. It is therefore not recognized as a productive direc-
tional prefix in the grammatical system of Munya, but as an unproductive formative.

Verbs vary as to how free or obligatory it is for them to take directional prefixes. Some
verbs cannot take any directional prefix, such as nbi ‘to sit, to live’, kʰi ‘to go to sleep’ and
só ‘to think’. Some verbs can either take directional prefix(es) or not. tɛ́-tɛ́ ‘say (up-say)
which can only take this directional prefix, can be optionally realized as tá. há ‘go’ can
take all seven directional prefixes. There are still some verbs for which it is obligatory to
take certain directional prefix(es), such as nó-sa ‘to kill (down-kill)’ (not *sa ‘kill’), which
only takes this directional prefix, and kʰù-tɕɛ́ ‘to arrive (nons-arrive)’ (not *tɕɛ́ ‘arrive’),
which has to take one of the seven directional prefixes.

Which directional prefix and the number of directional prefixes that a verb can take is in
many cases motivated by the semantics of the verb root, but there is also a considerable
degree of idiosyncrasy. For example, verbs of motion, such as há ‘to go’ and tʰó-tso ‘to
run (as-run)’, can take six directional prefixes. The only prefix they cannot take is the one
for non-specific direction, kʰɯ́-. If one does not want to specify the direction, one does
not use any directional prefix for há ‘to go’, but have to use the directional prefix for ‘away
from the speaker’, tʰo-, for tʰó-tso ‘to run (as-run)

Non-motional verbs that inherently have direction as a component of their semantics
can also take multiple directional prefixes, such as kʰù-tɕorí ‘to look (nons-look)’. This
verb can take all seven directional prefixes, and either tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’ or
kʰù- ‘non-specific direction’ can be used if one does not want to specify the direction.
The situation for kʰɤ-séŋa ‘to listen (nons-listen)’ is slightly different. This verb can also
take all seven prefixes, but the meaning of kʰɤ-séŋa ‘nons-listen’ is different from the
meaning of tʰa-séŋa ‘as-listen’. kʰɤ-séŋa ‘to listen (nons-listen)’ is used when one does
not want to specify the direction, and tʰa-séŋa ‘as-listen’ means ‘to ask around’

Verbs of small-scale motion can only take a restricted number of directional prefixes.
For example, ná-sasa ‘to brush’ generally takes the directional prefix na- ‘down’ because
the action of brushing tends to be conducted downward. This verb cannot stand without
a directional prefix, and would be á-sasa ‘to brush (ds-brush)’ or tʰá-sasa ‘to brush (as-
brush)’ if no direction is specified. Although some verbs do not encode direction as a
component of their semantics, they also need to take a directional prefix. The meaning of
directional prefixes in those verbs is bleached, and it seems that the function of directional
prefixes in those verbs is to indicate the verbhood of those verbs instead of denoting
directions. Examples include no-mi ‘to dream (down-dream)’, ɛ-ndze ‘to eat (ds-eat),
ɣɤ-tso ‘to stick to (us-stick to), tʰɑ-lɑ ‘to fall (as-fall)’, and kʰɤ-tr ‘to buy (nons-buy)’.

7.2.1 The Forms of Directional Prefixes

It can be seen from Table 7.1 that the vowels in directional prefixes are not fixed. For
example, while ‘to look downstream’ is ɛ-tso, ‘to go downstream’ is a-rā instead of *ɛ-rā.
Likewise, while ‘to look down’ is nó-tso, ‘to go down’ is no-rā instead of *no-rā and ‘to
arrive (after going down)’ is nɛ-tɛɛ instead of *nó-tɛɛ. This is because the vowels in the
directional prefixes are subject to vowel harmony. The patterns of vowel harmony affecting
directional prefixes were treated in Section 3.2.

7.2.2 The Meanings of Directional Prefixes

Munya directional prefixes are polysemous and polyfunctional. They can denote other
directions than the ones given in Table 7.1, and can have other functions besides denoting
direction.

7.2.2.1 ɛ- ‘downstream’ and ɣɤ- ‘upstream’

ɛ- ‘downstream’ can also mean ‘outward’ or ‘in the direction of sunset’ and ɣɤ- ‘upstream’
can also mean ‘inward’ or ‘in the direction of sunrise’. Therefore, when a river is not
available as reference for specifying direction, one can still resort to the position of the
sun. That these three senses are coalesced in one form may not be due to chance. In
my fieldwork location, the river flows through the village and out of the valley from east to
west, so that the direction of sunset, downriver, and outward (of valley) all coincide. That
may well be the reason for the three senses of the prefix.
7.2. DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES

7.2.2.2 *tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’ and *ngu*- ‘towards the speaker’

*tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’ can also mean ‘towards the river’ and *ngu-* ‘towards the speaker’ can also mean ‘towards home’. For example, *ngɔ́-tɕɔ* ‘to drive (cattle) (TS-drive)’ generally means ‘to drive (cattle) back towards home’, instead of ‘to drive (cattle) towards the speaker’.

7.2.2.3 *ta-* ‘up’ and *no-* ‘down’

*ta-* ‘up’ also means ‘clockwise’ and *no-* ‘down’ also means ‘counterclockwise’. Examples include: *tí-ku* ‘to circle or fence in a clockwise direction’, *ni-ku* ‘to circle or fence in a counterclockwise direction’, *ti-ɣɛ* ‘to surround in a clockwise direction’, *ni-ɣɛ* ‘to surround in a counterclockwise direction’, *tә-kuɛ* ‘to walk around clockwise’, *nә-kuɛ* ‘to walk around counterclockwise’, and *tʰó-kuɛ* ‘to walk around (AS-walk around)’.

7.2.2.4 Making Finer-Grained Semantic Distinctions With Directional Prefixes

Some verbs that do not lexicalize direction as a component of their meaning can also take different directional prefixes. In this situation, directional prefixes normally do not denote the sense of direction but are used to make finer-grained semantic distinctions.

For example, the verb for ‘wash’ can be *nɑ́-ɣɔ* ‘DOWN-wash’, *tʰɑ́-ɣɔ* ‘AS-wash’ and *tә́-ɣɔ* ‘UP-wash’. *nɑ́-ɣɔ* ‘DOWN-wash’ is used when the things being washed are clothes, face or feet; *tʰɑ́-ɣɔ* ‘AS-wash’ is used when washing bowls or pots, because only the inside part of these objects are washed. *tә́-ɣɔ* ‘UP-wash’ is used when washing one’s face, because one needs to move the hands upward. Similarly, the verb for ‘sweep’ can be *ɛ-rә́ri* ‘DS-sweep’ or *no-rә́ri* ‘DOWN-sweep’. The first one is used when the object is the floor in the room, and the second one is used when the object of sweeping is the yard.

Another example is the verb for ‘burn’. If the object of burning is wood, the verb would be *ɣɤ́-tsʰә* ‘US-burn’, but if the object is *tsampa* (which is the major staple of Tibetan people and is burnt as offerings to gods), the verb would be *nό-tsʰә* ‘DOWN-burn’. These indicate that directional prefixes can be used to categorize the object of action.

Using directional prefixes to make finer-grained semantic distinctions is also reported in Ersu (S. H. Zhang 2013: 428) and Ronghong Qiang (C. L. Huang 1997). In Ersu, the
verb root -ka can have different meanings when combined with different directional prefixes. *da-ka* means 'to hit', where *da-* means 'upward' but *na-ka* means 'to kill', where *na-* indicates 'downward'. Similarly, *da-nntsʰa* means 'to drag' and *na-nntsʰa* means 'to repair'. In Ronghong Qiang, *ә-qua* 'inward-turn' means 'to turn off light' while *hә-qua* 'outward-turn' means 'to close the door'; *zә-ngә* 'TS-put on' means 'to put on clothes' while *hә-ngә* 'DOWN-put on' means 'to cover up with a quilt'.

### 7.2.3 The Origin of Directional Prefixes

Directional prefixes in Munya originate from adverbs denoting direction. This can be seen by comparing the set of directional adverbs with directional prefixes, given in Table 7.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Directional adverb</th>
<th>Directional prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>upstream</td>
<td>γɨnyú</td>
<td>γɨ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downstream</td>
<td>ɛnyú</td>
<td>ɛ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upward</td>
<td>tәnyú</td>
<td>tә-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downward</td>
<td>nonyú</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards the speaker</td>
<td>ngwñyú</td>
<td>ngw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away from the speaker</td>
<td>tʰonyú</td>
<td>tʰo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonspecific direction</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>kʰɯ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table, the first six prefixes can be analyzed as the result of truncating the last syllable *nyu* from the corresponding directional adverb. The origin of the last directional prefix, *kʰɯ- 'NONS', however, is currently unknown, as it does not have a corresponding directional adverb.

A verb taking a directional prefix can sometimes be further modified by a directional adverb. The prefix and the adverb need to have the same value of direction. Consider the two examples below:
7.2. DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES

(171) a. tsakṹ ĕnyu ĕ-ro tsakṹ tsakṹ méme i tsṹukō
    D.M downstream DS-come D.M D.M everybody ERG New.Year.Water

    tsakṹ metó tɑhɑ́ ɣ-tæ pi nyi
    D.M cook.stove some US-sprinkle IMPF EGO:AP

‘After coming back (after fetching water from the river), people will sprinkle
some New Year Water (note: water fetched from the river on the first day of
the year) on to the cooking stove.’

b. lɛtʰo.tɔntʰo ngunyũ ngi-ʃu le kʰo-re pi nyi
crops towards.the.speaker TS-harvest DAT NONS-start IMPF EGO:AP

‘People will start harvesting crops.’

(171a) describes the ritual of fetching ‘New Year Water’ from the river on the morning of
New Year’s Day. Using ĕnyu ‘downstream’ and ĕ- ‘DS’ indicates that people go upstream
to fetch water, then go back home by going downstream. In (171b), the directional adverb
and directional prefix mean ‘towards the speaker’, as crops need to be carried home after
harvesting. The purpose of using a directional adverb here may be to add emphasis to
the sense of directionality.

7.2.4 The Derivational Function of Directional Prefixes

Aside from coding direction, directional prefixes can be used to derive verbs from nouns
and adjectives. Some examples are given in Table 7.4.

From the examples given in the table, it can be seen that except for ɣt- ‘upstream’,
all directional prefixes can be used as verbalizers. The choice of directional prefixes
is semantically motivated for verbs such as tě-tso ‘to become hot (up-hot)’ and nö-ni ‘to
lessen (down-little)’. However, this motivation is not that obvious for such verbs as ā-ndza
‘cool down (DS-cold)’ and ngũ-pa ‘to become damp (TS-damp)’.

In some cases directional prefixes can also have an excessive meaning. This is done
by prefixing a directional prefix, typically tʰo- ‘DS’, and less commonly kʰu- ‘NONS’, to an
adjective. Some examples are listed in Table 7.5.
### Table 7.4: Verbs Derived from Nouns and Adjectives With Directional Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base word</th>
<th>Derived verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nouns</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá 'hat'</td>
<td>tә́-tә́ 'to put on (hat) (up-put on)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsingә ‘clothes’</td>
<td>tә́-nә́ 'to put on (clothes) (up-put on)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndzә ‘food’</td>
<td>ɛ́-ndzә ‘to eat (ds-eat)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi ‘name’</td>
<td>tö́-mi ‘to be called (as-name)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjectives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rәrә́ ‘long’</td>
<td>ɛ́-rә́ ‘to become long (ds-long)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndzә́ndza ‘cold’</td>
<td>ә́-ndzә ‘to cool down (ds-cold)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɤ́hɤ ‘loose’</td>
<td>ә́-hɤ ‘to loosen (ds-loose)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsә́tso ‘hot’</td>
<td>tә́-tso ‘to become hot (up-hot)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra‘ra ‘dry’</td>
<td>tә́-ra ‘to dry up (ds-dry)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nini ‘a little’</td>
<td>nö́-ni ‘to lessen (down-little)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndɛ́ndɛ́ ‘old’</td>
<td>tɛ́-ndɛ́ ‘to become old (as-old)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pαpά ‘damp’</td>
<td>ngu-pά ‘to become damp (ts-damp)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7.5: Formation of Excessiveness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Derived form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>kiko</td>
<td>tʰi-kó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>tʰo-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little</td>
<td>tsәtsә́</td>
<td>tʰɛ́-tsә́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hot</td>
<td>tsә́tso</td>
<td>tʰo-tso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrow</td>
<td>tsә́tso</td>
<td>kʰú-tsә́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wide</td>
<td>dedе́</td>
<td>kʰú-de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from the table that only one syllable of the adjective is retained when the excessiveness counterpart is formed.

### 7.3 Person-number Inflections

The person-number information of subject in Munya is indexed on verbs through ablaut (which is also termed apophony, stem modification, vowel alternation). For a few verbs the person-number information on object is also indexed. Two issues will be discussed here, which are inflectional classes and inflected verb forms.
7.3.1 Inflectional Classes

Taking the third person verb form as the base (there is no number distinction on verbs for the third person), the most common paradigm is the one in which verbs inflect for first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person non-singular. There are also some less common paradigms. For example, some verbs have two inflected forms, and some have four. For ease of discussion, verbs are grouped into classes based on the number of inflectional forms they have: Class I verbs have three forms and take the largest number of inflections, Class II verbs have two forms and are relatively rare, and Class III verbs have four, five or six inflectional forms (they are grouped together because there are only a handful of such verbs).

Before we go on to discuss different inflectional patterns, a terminological note is in order. Compared with the tripartite number distinction in pronouns, the dual number is not marked on verbs. It is treated on a par with plural. Hence when it comes to verbal number system, I use the term non-singular instead of plural to avoid confusion with the plural used in the pronoun system.

7.3.1.1 Class I Verbs

Class I verbs have three sets of forms. A selection of examples is given in Table 7.6. Since the two aspectual auxiliaries also have three inflections, they are given in the table as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>1/2NONSg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tá</td>
<td>tô</td>
<td>tê</td>
<td>tê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndù</td>
<td>ndô</td>
<td>ndê</td>
<td>ndê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ê-[tɕʰ]wù</td>
<td>ê-[tɕʰ]o</td>
<td>ê-[tɕʰ]û</td>
<td>ê-[tɕʰ]e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'o-dí</td>
<td>t'o-dô</td>
<td>t'o-dê</td>
<td>t'o-dê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nû-vùu</td>
<td>nô-vo</td>
<td>nô-vû</td>
<td>nô-ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-tɕùu</td>
<td>tu-tɕô</td>
<td>tu-tɕê</td>
<td>tu-tɕê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-[ndʑ]û</td>
<td>i-[ndʑô]</td>
<td>i-[ndʑê]</td>
<td>i-[ndʑê]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>sô</td>
<td>sû</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three sets of forms listed in the table are divided into 1sg, 2sg and 1/2NONSg
forms. Other inflectional paradigms are also found, albeit very rarely. These verbs are listed in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7: Some Irregular Class I Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>Paradigms and Inflected Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū-dzo</td>
<td>nō-dzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udú</td>
<td>ɛdɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɔ́-le</td>
<td>kʰɔ́-lɔ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first verb in Table 7.7 is hi ‘to want, to need’. It inflects for 1sg, 1NONSG, and 2SG/NONSG, with the basic form identifiable as 3SG/NONSG. In the second paradigm, illustrated with nu-dzo ‘to close (down-close)’, there is no number distinction in the first person, but there is such a distinction in the second person. Verbs in the third and fourth paradigms do not have any basic form, and no inflectional relationships can be established between different forms. In the third irregular paradigm, illustrated with udu ‘to throw/1sg’, no number distinction is made in the first person, the second person singular has a dedicated form, and the second person non-singular shares the same form with the third person form. In the fourth paradigm, the first person singular has one form, the second person singular and third person singular share one form, and all non-singular forms share one form.

7.3.1.2 Class II Verbs

Class II verbs have two sets of forms. Their inflectional paradigm can be described with reference to the common paradigm of Class I verbs, except that for this class of verbs one of the three sets of forms is coalesced with the other one. Some examples are given in Table 7.8.

The explanation for why a certain set of verb forms is ‘missing’, when comparing it with the standard paradigm of Class I verbs, can in many cases be sought from the phonolog-
7.3. PERSON-NUMBER INFLECTIONS

Table 7.8: Class II Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰó-pʰo</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>tʰó-pʰɛ</td>
<td>tʰó-pʰɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-ɛ́</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>tu-ɛ́</td>
<td>tu-ɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ-ndā</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>tɛ-ndā</td>
<td>tɛ-ndé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɑ-kʰɑ́ tʰɑ</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>tʰɑ-kʰɛ</td>
<td>tʰɑ-kʰɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ-pʰo</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>tɛ-pʰɛ</td>
<td>tɛ-pʰɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰu-yɛ́ kʰu</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>kʰu-yö́</td>
<td>kʰu-yö́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ-tʰɑ́ tɛ́</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>tɛ́-tʰɛ́</td>
<td>tɛ́-tʰɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɛ-lɑ</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰu-nkʰe kʰu</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>kʰu-nkʰɛ</td>
<td>kʰu-nkʰɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē-dzə</td>
<td>basic form</td>
<td>ē-dzɛ</td>
<td>ē-dzɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu-ɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɑ</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs missing this form are generally those for which the vowel in the root is /ɒ/, such as tʰɑ-kʰɑ́ ‘to be afraid (AS-be.afraid)’ and nɛ́-lɑ ‘to pour (DOWN-pour)’. Currently there is no explanation for this.

7.3.1.3 Class III Verbs

Class III verbs include four-form verbs, five-form verbs, and six-form verbs. The only two four-form verbs found in my corpus are given in Table 7.9. Their inflectional paradigm is 1SG, 1NONSG, 2SG and 2NONSG.

Table 7.9: Four-form Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1NONSG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu-ɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɑ</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
<td>nɛ́-lɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
<td>tɛ-ndo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Currently only one five-form verb (‘to give’) and one six-form verb (‘hit’) are found. In
order to specify how each form is derived, we can posit the basic form for $tʰo-mә́$ ‘give/3 (AS-give)’ as $tʰo-mә$ (which does not occur in the table and is set up for descriptive purpose), and the basic form for $tә́-da$ ‘hit/3 (UP-hit)’ as $tә́-da$ (the second person form) or $tɔ́-da$ (the third person form). The inflectional forms of the two verbs are respectively given in Table 7.10 and Table 7.11.

The five-form verb and the six-form verb inflect for both person-number and grammatical functions. The crucial point is that no matter how many forms a verb has, only one combination of syntactic role and person-number can determine the form of the verb. These combinations are ranked on different levels of priority. In the case of $tɔ́-da$ ‘to hit (UP-hit)’, the rank of priority is (in descending order):

1SG subject > 1SG object > 1PL subject > 1PL object > 2 > 3.

The following illustrates how to choose certain forms with the five-form verb, $tʰu-mә́$ ‘give (AS-give)’. One begins by considering if any argument of the verb (be it subject or object) is present in the 1sg form. If there is one such argument, then one asks if the argument is the subject or the object. If the argument is the subject, the form of the verb would be $tʰo-mә́$; if that argument is the object, the form of the verb would be $tʰumә́$. If none of the arguments are present in the 1sg, one asks if any of them is in the 2sg form. If there is an argument in that form and that argument is the subject, then the form of the verb would be $tʰo-mә́$. If the 2sg argument is the object, it does not determine the form of inflection, therefore one keeps asking what is the person-number of the subject, is it the 1/2NONSG form, or the third person form? If, for example, the subject is in the third person and the object in the 2sg, the verb would take the third person form $tʰumә́$, because a 2sg
object has no effect on inflection.

7.3.2 Inflectional Forms

The inflectional forms discussed here will be those in the regular paradigms of Class I and Class II verbs. The inflections of irregular Class I verbs and Class III verbs are not discussed because, for irregular Class I verbs, their inflectional patterns are so haphazard that one can hardly make any generalizations; and for Class III verbs, there is simply not enough data (only two four-inflection verb, one five-inflection verb, and one six-inflection verb) from which we can make valid generalizations.

The forms we will focus on are thus 1SG, 2SG, 1/2NONSG, and the third person form. Although it has been pointed out in the last section that in many cases the third person form is the basic form, some verbs do inflect for the third person by changing the vowel in the directional prefix to /u/ and thus deserves some mention.

7.3.2.1 The 1/2NONSG Form

Inflection for the 1/2NONSG is the most regular one. The 1/2NONSG form of a selection of frequently used verbs are listed in Table 7.12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>1/2NONSG form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nbí</td>
<td>nbé</td>
<td>to sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éndze</td>
<td>éndze</td>
<td>to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰwutšé</td>
<td>kʰwutšé</td>
<td>to arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayó</td>
<td>nayé</td>
<td>to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indžú</td>
<td>indžé</td>
<td>to have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tå</td>
<td>té</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰópʰu</td>
<td>tʰópʰe</td>
<td>to give up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰópo</td>
<td>tʰopé</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túyú</td>
<td>túye</td>
<td>to put on (shoes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰwutú</td>
<td>kʰitú</td>
<td>to be affected (with disease)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is plain that the 1/2NONSG form is derived by changing the vowel in the base root into /e/. The inflection is not affected by the quality of the vowel in the basic form (the vowels in the base are all different), and there are very few irregularities. The only two irregular forms thus found are boldfaced in Table 7.12.
7.3.2.2 The 1sg Forms

The 1sg forms of a selection of verbs are listed in Table 7.13. There are four sets of this paradigm, which are respectively the o-set, the ö-set, the ɔ-set and the ɑ-set. The o-set and the ö-set are more productive than the other two.

The vowels of a specific inflected set do not seem to be strongly conditioned by those in the basic form. We can tell this by comparing the o-set verbs with the ö-set verbs. While the vowel in the root base are both /i/ for pi ‘imperfective auxiliary’ and tʰodi ‘finish’, the 1sg form is po (in o-set) for the former but tʰodö́ (in ö-set) for the latter. Nor can meaningful generalizations be made for verbs in the ɑ-set. The only generalization we can make is for the ɔ-set verbs. We can say that if the vowel in the root base is /ɑ/, then the vowel in 1sg form will be /ɔ/. But cʰǘ ‘come downstream’ is an exception.

7.3.2.3 The 2sg Forms

A selection of the 2sg forms of some verbs are shown in Table 7.14.

The productive sets of forms are the ü-set and the ɛ-set, but again, there are some irregularities. As can be seen from the table, aside from /ɛ/ and /ü/, the vowel can also be /a/ or some other unpredictable vowels. The ɛ-set is the most productive one. Many verbs inflect for this set regardless of what the vowel is in the root base. While the ü-set is also common, for these verbs the vowels in the root base tend to be non-low vowels (iɪ, /ul/ or iü/ and /a/)) (but the last ü-form verb, nayó ‘to wash’, is an exception). For verbs of the α-set, the inflected and the basic forms are identical. Finally, there are some irregular forms which do not seem to form any pattern.

7.3.2.4 The Third Person Forms

Some verbs inflect for the third person by changing the vowel in the initial syllable (the directional prefix) into /u/. While not all verbs have this property, for those verbs that do inflect for third person, the forms are very consistent.

A selection of examples is given in Table 7.15. For those verbs that show third person inflection, one needs to compare the third person form with other forms to be able to identify the inflectional pattern of the third person form. Through comparison, one can
Table 7.13: The 1sg Forms of a Selection of Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>1sg form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>the o-set</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>po</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indzū</td>
<td>indzó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuú</td>
<td>kʰuó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hǎkō</td>
<td>hǎko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutsū</td>
<td>tutsó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>the ō-set</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰodí</td>
<td>tʰodó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndū</td>
<td>ndó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰutśé</td>
<td>kʰutśó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰutśé</td>
<td>kʰutśó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá</td>
<td>tó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>édzó</td>
<td>édzó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>só</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>the ʰ-set</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰakʰá</td>
<td>tʰakʰó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɛ́lɑ</td>
<td>nɛ́lɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰá</td>
<td>tʰó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stʰű</td>
<td>stʰó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>the a-set</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nú</td>
<td>ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só</td>
<td>sá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰôle</td>
<td>tʰóla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰósű</td>
<td>kʰósa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7.14: The 2SG Forms of a Selection of Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>2sg form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the ɛ-set</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbí</td>
<td>nbέ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hάkө</td>
<td>hάkε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuʦɬɛ</td>
<td>kʰuʦɬɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nukό</td>
<td>nukɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɛtό</td>
<td>kʰɛtɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʊtsʊ</td>
<td>tʊtsɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tά</td>
<td>tɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the ü-set</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɪndɪ</td>
<td>tʰɪndʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɪtsʊ</td>
<td>tʰɪtsʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɔpʰʊ</td>
<td>tʰɔpʰʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɔsʊ</td>
<td>kʰɔsʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ́ndzɬe</td>
<td>ɛ́ndzɬɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɛ</td>
<td>sʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γʔɪtsɬo</td>
<td>γʔɪtsɬʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayό</td>
<td>nayɭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the a-set</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɛtʰɜ</td>
<td>tʰɛtʰɜ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɛpʰɜ</td>
<td>tʰɛpʰɜ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɛlɑ</td>
<td>nɛlɑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɑ</td>
<td>tʰɑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular forms</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰɒlɑ</td>
<td>tʰɒlɑ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɔ</td>
<td>rɭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ</td>
<td>tɛtsɬi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɛ</td>
<td>hɭ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

furthermore postulate a basic form from which all inflected forms can be derived.

### Table 7.15: The Third Person Forms of a Selection of Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nόvɯ</td>
<td>nόvɯ</td>
<td>nόvο</td>
<td>nόvʊ</td>
<td>nόvɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛvɯ</td>
<td>tɛvɯ</td>
<td>tɛvʊ</td>
<td>tɛvʊ</td>
<td>tɛvɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngʉtsɬw</td>
<td>ngʉtsɬo</td>
<td>ngʉtsɬʊ</td>
<td>ngʉtsɬɛ</td>
<td>ngʉtsɬɛe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛtsɯ</td>
<td>tɛtsʊ</td>
<td>tɛtsɬ</td>
<td>tɛtsɬ</td>
<td>tɛtsɛe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nόdzo</td>
<td>nόdзо</td>
<td>nόdзо</td>
<td>nόdɬɛ</td>
<td>nόdɬɛe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰʊtsɬo</td>
<td>tʰʊtsɬʊ</td>
<td>tʰʊtsɛ</td>
<td>tʰʊtsɛe</td>
<td>tʰʊtsɛe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɛdɬɛ</td>
<td>rɛdɬɛ</td>
<td>rɛdɬɛ</td>
<td>rɛdɬɛ</td>
<td>rɛdɬɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, the vowels in the four inflected forms discussed above are summarized in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16: The Inflectional Forms of Munya Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root vowel</th>
<th>Prefix vowel</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
<th>3 (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/o/, /ö/, /ɔ/ or /ɑ/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/ö/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.2.5 Inflections of Polysyllabic Verbs

So far we have restricted our discussion of verbal inflections to disyllabic verbs. This is because most verbs in Munya are disyllabic, and there are only a handful of polysyllabic verbs. The currently known polysyllabic verbs are listed in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17: The Inflectional Forms of Polysyllabic Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic form</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hɑ́kʰukö</td>
<td>hɑ́kʰuko</td>
<td>hɑ́kʰɛkɛ</td>
<td>hɑ́kʰuksɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰu-tsáto</td>
<td>kʰu-tsáto</td>
<td>kʰu-tsáto</td>
<td>kʰu-tsáto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɤ-séŋa</td>
<td>kʰɤ-séŋa</td>
<td>kʰɤ-séŋa</td>
<td>kʰɤ-séŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰu-ʨorî</td>
<td>kʰu-ʨorî</td>
<td>kʰu-ʨorî</td>
<td>kʰu-ʨorî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te-ʃɛnɨj</td>
<td>te-ʃɛnɨj</td>
<td>te-ʃɛnɨj</td>
<td>te-ʃɛnɨj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-ʃɛpɛ</td>
<td>nu-ʃɛpɛ</td>
<td>nu-ʃɛpɛ</td>
<td>nu-ʃɛpɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mopósö</td>
<td>mopósö</td>
<td>mopósö</td>
<td>mopósö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-kʰæsɪrî</td>
<td>tʰo-kʰæsɪrî</td>
<td>tʰo-kʰæsɪrî</td>
<td>tʰo-kʰæsɪrî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indexing person-number information on polysyllabic verbs is in most cases achieved by changing the vowel in the last syllable of the root, as shown for the first five verbs. (The vowels in the second syllable of hɑ́kʰɛkɛ ‘to know/2sg’ and kʰu-tsáto ‘to look at/2sg’ change because of vowel harmony.) However, the last three examples seem to be exceptional. For nu-ʃɛpɛ ‘retrospect’, both vowels in the root are changed. mopósö ‘won’t’ is interesting in that it can be segmented as mo-pó-só ‘negator-imperfective auxiliary-perfective auxiliary’, and the last two syllables change in the exact same way as the two aspectual auxiliaries (given in Table 7.6). Finally, in the last verb in the table, tʰo-kʰæsɪrî ‘to pull’, which has a trisyllabic root, the last two vowels in the stem undergo the same change.
7.3.3 Omission of Inflection

Munya seems to be in the process of losing person-number inflections on verbs. Some young speakers tend not to use the expected forms of verbs and auxiliaries. For example, one day I was staying in a small hut working with my consultant, when a young man who was about 25 years old produced (172) as a greeting to me:

(172) \textit{nbí pi} nyí?
\textit{sit} \textit{IMPF EGO:AP}

‘(You are) sitting here?’

In this example, the imperfective auxiliary did not inflect for the expected 2sg form, \textit{pɛ}, but took the basic form, which according to the rule, is only used for third person.

Omission of inflection is also observable from linguistic data produced by aged speakers. Two examples are given in (173):

(173) a. \textit{ŋí yisi.rási tó-tso} tə́ó
1SG+ERG several.days.ago \textit{up-tell} already

‘I already told you several days ago.’

b. \textit{ŋú okʰó nbú le tó-tso hó tsəkú} okʰó \textit{nbí; tosi ke}
1SG DEM mountain on \textit{up-drive} \textit{go D.M DEM sit} one.day OBL
\textit{ŋí pʰɔhó tahá núde-vu} tsəkú
1SG+ERG butter.dumpling some \textit{DOWN-make} D.M

‘I drove (the cattle) up to the top of the mountain, then I sat there. One day I made some butter dumplings.’

The examples are taken from an autobiography, told by a speaker over seventy years old. In both examples the subjects are in the first person. In the first example, the verb \textit{tú-tso} ‘tell (up-tell)’ is not inflected. If it inflects for the first person singular, it should be \textit{tuvó}. There are three verbs in the second example. We do not know if the first one, \textit{tó-tso} ‘to drive (up-drive)’ inflects or not, as the basic form is identical to the 1sg form.
But neither *nbí* ‘to sit’ nor *nú-vuù* ‘to make (down-make)’ inflected, as the 1sg form for *nbí* ‘to sit’ is *nbö* and that for *nú-vuù* is *nívó*. However, notice that in these two examples the subjects are overtly stated. Omission of inflection is permitted in this case probably because the person-number information is already clear, but further investigation into this issue is required.

### 7.4 Causatives

Causatives in Munya can be formed on both intransitive and transitive clauses. The causative in intransitive clauses is realized by changing the vowel (and in some cases consonants as well) in the first syllable of the intransitive verb, while the one for transitive clauses is formed by using the auxiliary *tɕʰi* ‘to make’ after the transitive verb.

#### 7.4.1 Causative Derivation Applying to Intransitive Clauses

Causative formation applying to an intransitive clause is the canonical causative derivation. Syntactically, this will change the argument in underlying S function into O function in the causative and introduce a causer in A function (Dixon 2012a: 240).

This type of causative derivation is also found in Munya. (174a) is an intransitive clause, of which the S is *tónpi* ‘bottle’. In (174b), which is the derived transitive clause of (174a), a new argument *ŋɯ́* ‘I’ is introduced. The new argument functions as the transitive subject, as can be seen from the ergative case form that it takes, and the erstwhile S now functions as O:

(174)  

a. \[[tónpi]_S tʰ-å-la \ sə\]  
   \(\text{bottle AS-fall PFV}\)  
   ‘The bottle fell.’

b. \[[ŋí]_A \ [tónpi]_O tʰ-å-la sö\]  
   \(1\text{SG}+\text{ERG bottle AS-fall PFV/1SG}\)  
   ‘I knocked over the bottle.’
In this pair of examples, the intransitive verb tʰɑ́lɑ ‘to fall (AS-fall)’ is changed into its transitive counterpart tʰɛ́lɑ ‘to make fall, to topple (AS-make.fall)’ by raising the vowel in the first syllable of the intransitive verb: /ɑ/ → /ɛ/. While vowel raising and fronting is the most common type of causative formation on intransitive verbs, other means are also attested, including combination of vowel raising and fronting and consonantal processes, and syntactic causative with tɕʰi (used for forming causative on a transitive clause). Examples of these causative formations are given in Table 7.18.

Table 7.18: Examples of morphological causative derivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verb</th>
<th>Causative counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰɑ́lɑ ‘to fall (AS-fall)’</td>
<td>tʰɛ́lɑ ‘to make fall (AS-make fall)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ́ra ‘to become dry (up-become dry)’</td>
<td>tɛ́ra ‘make dry (up-make dry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɑ́nɡɑ ‘to cry (down-cry)’</td>
<td>nɛ́nɡɑ ‘to make cry (down-make cry)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɑ̃-pɛtso ‘to collapse (down-collapse)’</td>
<td>nɪ-pɛtso ‘to tear down (down-tear down)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɑ̃-ndzɛ ‘to stick to (down-stick to)’</td>
<td>nɪ-ndzɛ ‘to stick to (down-stick to)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɑ̃-nɪ ‘to diminish (down-diminish)’</td>
<td>nɪ-nɪ ‘to diminish (down-diminish)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ́ ‘to wake up (up-wake up)’</td>
<td>tɪ́ ‘to wake up (up-wake up)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɑ̃-nба ‘to shatter (down-shatter)’</td>
<td>nɛ́-pʰɑ ‘to smash (down-smash)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɑ̃-nbi ‘(fire) to go out (down-go out)’</td>
<td>nɪ-pʰi ‘to sniff (down-sneeze)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɪ-ɻ ‘to laugh (down-laugh)’</td>
<td>nɪ-ɻ tɕʰi ‘to make laugh (down-laugh make)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three means of causative formation applied to intransitive verbs are organized in three blocks in the table. From the examples in the first block, which involve only vowel raising and fronting, we can see that the vowel in the derived causative verb can be /ɛ/ or /i/. However, from the available data we cannot predict which vowel would occur in the derived form.

The morphological changes in the derived verbs of the second block involve both vowel modification and consonantal processes (loss of nasalization, devoicing, and aspiration). This is reminiscent of the alternation of the root initial for the formation of causatives in Proto Tibetan-Burman, e.g., *bar~*par ‘burn’ and *be~*pe ‘broken, break’ (Benedict 1972: 124). However, since we only have data in which the consonant in the stem is a bilabial stop, we cannot say for sure whether there is any constraint on the consonant to which this morphological rule can apply.

The third way to form a causative on an intransitive verb is through the auxiliary tɕʰi,
which means ‘make’. As we shall see shortly, tsʰi can also be used to form causative on transitive verbs, but tsʰi itself cannot be used as a transitive verb. The reason why the causative on this last verb is formed periphrastically rather than synthetically may have to do with the vowel in its initial syllable, which is the high front /i/. Since it is already high, the common way of forming causative through vowel raising will not derive a different form. To express causativity a new way must be adopted. In this case it is the causative formation normally applied to a transitive clause that is adopted here.

7.4.2 Causative Derivation Applying to Transitive Clauses

Causative can also be applied to transitive clauses in Munya. This is done by using the auxiliary tsʰi ‘to make, to order’ after a transitive verb. The major reasons to analyze it as an auxiliary are that it inflects for person-number, cannot take any directional prefix and cannot function as an independent predicate. Both the inflectional pattern and the forms of each conjugation are regular, with the basic form (in third person) being tsʰi, 1sg tsʰó, 2sg tsʰú, and 1/2nons sg tsʰé.

When causative is formed on a transitive clause, the erstwhile A in the transitive clause becomes O in the causativized clause, and the erstwhile O takes the dative case, while a new argument, taking the ergative case, is introduced. This is illustrated with the pair of examples in (175):

(175) a. [otsɪ]₃SG₃SG+ERG tʰökɛ́ kʰu [tsʰәrɔ́ tósa]O kʰi-kʰɛ́ se
    3SG+ERG fireplace in wood many nons-put pfv
    ‘He/She carried lots of firewood to the fireplace.’

    PN ERG D.M DEM D.M 3SG DAT fireplace in firewood many
    kʰi-kʰɛ́ tsʰi
    Nons-put order
    ‘Kɛtʃi ordered him/her to put lots of firewood to the fireplace.’
In (175a), the A argument is the third person singular pronoun and the O argument is the nominal *tsʰәɾό tόsә* ‘much firewoods’. In (175b), *kɛtsi*, a proper noun, is introduced as the new subject, and takes the ergative case. Formerly A, *otsә́* ‘he/she’ now becomes O, as indicated by the dative case marker *le* after it. The erstwhile O now becomes an oblique argument. From this example, we can infer that a causativized transitive clause is essentially the same with a ditransitive clause, as far as argument structure is concerned.

### 7.5 Pluractionality

As a cross-linguistic verbal category, pluractionals cover a wide range of related semantics. According to Newman (2012: 195),

...pluractionals indicate repetition, frequentativeness, habitualness, and succession of action over time; expansiveness and scattered distribution in space; actions affecting multiple persons, animals, or objects, either in large number or individually; and actions (often embodied in intransitive verbs) carried out by multiple persons, either as a group or individually.

Needless to say, for a language that has pluractionality, these semantics are not necessarily all manifested. In Munya, the semantics of pluractional verbs cover repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions. Cross-linguistically, pluractional tends to be indicated by reduplication (Newman 2012), and this is the case of Munya as well. The remainder of this section will first address the formal techniques for expressing pluractional and then discuss its semantics.

A canonical Munya verb consists of a monosyllabic directional prefix and a monosyllabic root, and can be represented as *dir-root*. The pluractional formative is realized through internal reduplication of the verb root, while the copying direction can be left-to-right or right-to-left.

In the case of right-to-left reduplication it can either be partial or complete. For partial reduplication, only the consonant of the base is reduplicated, and the vowel in the reduplicant is always /a/. The morphological structure of a pluractionalized verb can be schematically represented as *dir-plur-root*, and, for a verb containing a partially reduplicated...
pluractional formative, the phonological structure is $C_1V_1-C_2\theta-C_2V_2$ (e.g. *ná-ngə-ngə *(many people) cry (DOWN-PLUR-cry)'), while for a verb that has a completely reduplicated formative, the structure is $C_1V_1-C_2V_2-C_2V_2$ (e.g. *kʰí-li-li *(many people) wait (NONS-PLUR-wait')). Based on the data currently available, partial reduplication seems to be the most productive way of forming pluractionals.

In the case of left-to-right reduplication, the vowel in the formative is unpredictable. For example, the pluractionalized form of *ná-γə* ‘to wash (DOWN-wash)’ is *ná-γə-γə* *(many people) wash (DOWN-wash-PLUR)’; similarly, *nó-ki* means ‘to chop’, and its pluractionalized form is *nó-ki-κɛ* ‘to chop repeatedly(DOWN-chop-PLUR)’. In both cases it is not clear what conditions the choice of vowels in the pluractional formative.

Pluractional formation on a verb with disyllabic root can be interesting. Such verbs are very rare but we do have one example. The verb is *nó-ntʰetɕɛ* ‘pull (DOWN-pull)’ (the directional prefix can also be *ɛ- ‘downstream’ or *tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’). Its pluractionalized form, which means ‘to have tug-of-war’, can be either *nó-ntʰe-tɕɛ-tɕɛ* or *nó-ntʰe-ntʰe*. For the first pluractionalized form, the pluractional marker is formed by partially reduplicating the final syllable of the root, then infixing it to the root. For the second form, the formative -ntʰe- is a partial reduplication of the first syllable of the root and affixed between the directional prefix and the root, but at the same time the final syllable of the base is deleted. Because we do not have more data, we cannot tell which formation is more productive.

As has been mentioned above, a pluractional verb can denote repetitive actions. For some verbs denoting actions that are inherently repetitive, such as ‘to brush’ or ‘to wipe’, the pluractionalized form is the citation form of these verbs and in many cases the verbs do not have non-reduplicated counterparts, e.g., *no-rəri*’sweep (DOWN-sweep)’ (not *no-ri ‘DOWN-sweep’) and *tʰa-səsa* ‘wipe (AS-wipe)’ (not *tʰə-sə ‘AS-wipe’). More examples of inherently pluractionalized verbs are given in Table 7.19. Although these verbs are inherently pluractionalized, for many of them the forms can be specified according to the generalizations mentioned above, i.e., through either partial or full reduplication. Such verbs are recognized as regular inherently pluractionalized verbs. There are also some verbs for which it is not clear whether the formative is affixed or what conditions the vowel in the formative. These verbs are seen as irregular inherently pluractionalized verbs.
Table 7.19: Examples of Inherently Pluractionalized Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regular</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tà-sasəo</td>
<td>to fight (UP-fight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰà-sesa</td>
<td>to wipe (AS-wipe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no-rəni</td>
<td>to sweep (the floor) (DOWN-sweep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nò-tsətso</td>
<td>to squeeze out (water from clothes) (DOWN-squeeze.out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə-rəra</td>
<td>to shake (UP-shake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é-zəzo</td>
<td>to pile up (DS-pile up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε-təto</td>
<td>to tremble (DS-tremble)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Irregular**                            |
| tʰo-nino | to fix up (AS-fix)           |
| kʰɯ-ndʐéndʐə | to spy on (NONS-spy.on) |
| tà-hiha  | to mix up (UP-mix.up)        |

Semantically, the pluractional category in Munya can denote repetition of an action (176a) or an action carried out by multiple participants (176b) and (176c):

(176) a. géɕi=na  okʰó ləlo=na  kʰu  tʰo-tsū-tsū
geshe=PL DEM valley=PL in  AS-PLUR-walk

‘The geshes walked here and there in the valley (to preach).’

b. ndʐu=na  ótsə  kiko=na  ná-ngə-nga
other.people=PL DEM big=PL  DOWN-PLUR-cry

‘Others, those who were older, all cried.’

c. putsʰi t₀sə  i  tá  t₀-łə  no-tə-tu  pi
kid  many  ERG  hat  one-CLF:GENR  DOWN-PLUR-fight.for  IMPF

‘Many children are competing for a hat.’

However, these semantic distinctions are not always clear-cut, and the range of semantics of a pluractionalized verb has to do with the semantics of the verb before it is pluractionalized. In (176a), the derived verb can indicate repetition of action, meaning ‘walk here and there’ or ‘walk a lot’, but it is also possible to interpret it as indicating multiple participants, as the agent, géɕi, is marked by the plural suffix. Clear cases of pluractionalized verbs de-
noting only repetition of action are perhaps to be sought from the examples given in Table 7.19, such as tʰá-səsə 'to wipe (AS-wipe)' and tɛ-rərə 'to shake (UP-shake)'. The pluractional meanings are also ambiguous in (176c). The event of fighting necessarily involves multiple (at least more than one) participants. Also, since in fighting there is exchange of violent physical activities between fighters, the meaning of reciprocity is also involved to some extent. What is more, since the exchange of physical activities can go back and forth for several rounds, the sense of repetition of action is also available. In contrast, the pluractional meaning of ná-ngɛ-ngɛ 'to cry (DOWN-PLUR-cry)' in (176b) is plainly one of multiple participants. This is because ‘cry’ is an intransitive verb, and normally the action of crying does not involve interaction among participants.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter we looked at verbal directional prefixes, person-number inflections, causatives and pluractionality. There are seven directional prefixes in Munya. Some of these prefixes can involve more than one sense of direction. They can be used to make finer-grained semantic distinctions and serve as verbalizers. The predominant person-number inflectional paradigm is first person singular, second person singular, and first or second person nonsingular. The final vowels tend to be /o/ and /ö/ for first person singular, /ɛ/ and /ü/ for second person singular, and /ɛ/ for first or second person nonsingular. There are two ways to form causatives, one is by internal modification, including vowel raising (productive) and consonantal processes (non-productive), or by employing the causative marker tɕʰí. The first way tends to be used for intransitive clauses while the second way is mainly applied to transitive clauses. Pluractionality is realized through reduplication of verbal roots, a verbal category which then conveys repetition of action, action carried out by multiple persons, and reciprocal actions.
Chapter 8

Grammatical Categories of Nouns and Verbs

8.1 Overview

This chapter discusses topics related to Munya grammatical categories, including the case marking system (Section 8.2), aspect (Section 8.3), evidentiality (Section 8.4), egophoricity (Section 8.5) and mirativity (Section 8.6). Munya has ten case markers, four of which can mark core syntactic roles (S, A and O), which are the ergative case, the absolutive case, the experiential case, and the dative case. Alignment of case marking is different, depending on whether the predicate is a control verb or not. There are some ergative-absolutive features for control predicates, but there are also some variations because O can be marked in different ways. For a non-control predicate, the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative. Munya has three aspects, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect, and the imperfective aspect. There are also three evidential markers, which are the direct evidential, the reported evidential and the indirect evidential. Egophorics in Munya express volitional action and privileged access to information. There are two egophoric markers. Ńo can be used with first and second person subject and volitional predicate, and nyi can be used with all types of person and predicate. The mirative marker covers a sense of sudden or deferred realization, counter-expectation, surprise or new information.
8.2 Case Marking

This section investigates the argument structure of verbs as reflected through case marking. It was argued in Section 5.6 that case markers are postpositions, but not all postpositions can be regarded as cases. Only those cases that can mark core or peripheral arguments are recognized as case markers. The form of cases, together with the semantic roles and syntactic roles that they mark, are listed in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Cases in Munya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Semantic role marked</th>
<th>Syntactic role marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Agent, Perceiver or Cogitator</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>∅</td>
<td>Undergoer or Gift</td>
<td>S, O or E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiential</td>
<td>ε~ɣɛ</td>
<td>Experiencer, Patient or Beneficiary</td>
<td>S or O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>Recipient or Undergoer</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ε~ɣɛ</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>Copula Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>Peripheral argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>Peripheral argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>Location or Time</td>
<td>Peripheral argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>tɕʰi</td>
<td>Accompaniment</td>
<td>Peripheral argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>Standard of comparison</td>
<td>Peripheral argument</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.1 The Ergative Case and the Absolutive Case

The ergative case *i* always marks the A argument of a transitive verb (177a). This is so even when the object is omitted (177b):

(177) a. *[pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ]*_[A]*_[i]*_[tsakʊ][tse tó-lö][O]*_[i-ndzʊ][sә]*_[nyi]*

beggar old.woman ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV

    nyi

EGO:AP

‘The old beggar woman gave birth to a son.’

b. *[lotsi]*_[3SG+ERG]*_[hakʰukö][sә][nyi]

‘He knew (it).’
The absolutive case is realized in zero form (∅). Semantically it marks the Undergoer or Gift, and syntactically it marks the S, O or E. ‘Undergoer’ is used here to cover inanimate or animate referents that undergo an action but do not change their states. They can be realized as S or O. This definition is necessary because, as we shall see shortly, when the S or O arguments are animate and strongly affected, the experiential case, ŋɛ/ɛ should be used. Gift always corresponds to the E argument of a ditransitive verb.

In the examples below, (178a) contains an S argument, (178b) an inanimate O argument, (178c) an animate O argument, and (178d) contains an E argument. All of them are marked by the zero absolutive case:

(178) a. ɳú ∅ kʰí po
    1SG ABS sleep IMPF/1SG
    ‘I’m going to sleep.’

b. |ŋí|₁SG+ERG |hündže|₁SG+O ∅ é-ndzә po nyi
    1SG+ERG dinner ABS DS-eat IMPF/1SG EGO:AP
    ‘I’m having dinner.’

c. |ŋí|₁SG+ERG |otsә|₁SG+O ∅ tô rɑ
    1SG+ERG 3SG ABS see/1SG EVID:DIRECT
    ‘I saw him.’

d. [mόmό]₁SG+ERG matsʰé [ŋú]₁SG le [mɛ́]₁SG DAT tósa|₁SG+O ∅ tʰ-i-teʰ ɣɑ
    mum ERG certainly 1SG DAT medicine many ABS AS-give will
    nyi
    EGO:AP
    ‘Mum will certainly make me take lots of medicine.’

In this study, the absolutive case is not overtly glossed unless it plays a role in grammatical analysis.
8.2.2 The Experiential Case and the Genitive Case

The genitive case and the experiential case are homophones, which is γɛ∼ɛ (The two forms are in free variation. Although in the following examples only one form is given, it should be understood that the other form is equally acceptable). In order to demonstrate that they are two different cases, it is convenient to discuss them together. The two cases are not analyzed as one polysemous case because they can be distinguished both semantically and grammatically. The genitive case always marks the copula subject (CS), which is semantically a possessor. The CS can trigger person-number agreement. In the following example, kʰu (which inflects for 1sg) is a copula verb that denotes possession (more on this in Section 10.4.5):

(179) [tsé ɛpsr [dʐɛ́]pse nyú-kʰo, tsʰalá rótsa nyú-nyo
    REFL/3SG GEN voice NEG-have/1SG dance dance NEG-can/1SG

    ‘I don’t have a good voice, nor can I dance.’

The experiential case is polysemous. Only arguments denoting animate referents can be marked by this case. The referent can be an Experiencer of a state, in which case it would be realized as S or A, but does not trigger person-number agreement, as in (180a) and (180b). (These are all non-control verbs, cf. Section 4.3.6.) It can also be a Beneficiary or a strongly affected Patient, in which case it would be realized as O, as in (180c) and (180d):

(180) a. [nénɛ]ɛ tʰová pi
    2PL+EXP INTRG-become IMPF

    ‘What happened to you?’

    b. [ŋɯ́]A ɛ [nilo]O kʰu-ɛ́́ sə
    1SG EXP marriage NONS-come.out PFV

    ‘I was married.’
8.2. CASE MARKING

8.2.1 The Genitive Case and the Experiential Case

The genitive case and the experiential case are thus two different cases and can be distinguished grammatically. The argument marked by the genitive case is the Possessor and realized as A, and can trigger person-number agreement. The argument marked by the experiential case is semantically Experiencer or Patient. They can be S, A or O but cannot trigger person-number agreement on the verb. While the experiential case can be further distinguished semantically as marking a Beneficiary or a Patient, there is no grammatical criterion to set them apart, hence the experiential case is analyzed as one polysemous case.

8.2.3 The Dative Case

The main reason to analyze \textit{le} as the dative case is that it can mark the recipient of a ditransitive verb. This is illustrated in (181):

\begin{verbatim}
| nji | phinko to-lo | otsa | le toa-mo no |
| 1SG+ERG | apple | one-CLF:GENR | 3SG | DAT AS-give/1SG EGO:SAP |
\end{verbatim}

\textquote{I gave him/her an apple.}

The recipient in this example is analyzed as the O. This is because \textit{le} can also mark the O of some transitive clauses:
The referent of the O argument is animate in (182a) and inanimate in (182b). The factors determining the presence of the dative case after the O argument is not clear to me at this time. Other nouns in my corpus marked by this case include ‘cigarette’ (as in ‘light up the cigarette’), ‘door’ (as in ‘bar the door’), the animate object of ‘to tell’ and the object of ‘to like’.

le can also mark some copula subject or the S of certain adjectival predicates:

(183) a. [tɕeːtsø]CS le [ŋo rɛɔ−zɛ]CC i ti
    livestock DAT leg four-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA
    ‘Livestock have four legs.’

b. [tsʰalá]S le yɛyɛ ti
    dance DAT be.good.looking STA
    ‘The dance looks good.’

8.2.4 Cases That Mark Peripheral Arguments

There are five cases that can mark peripheral arguments, which are the instrumental case, the allative case, the oblique case, the comitative case, and the comparative case.

The instrumental case i is homophonous with the ergative case. The semantic role that it marks is Instrument. An example is given in (184):
(184) [otsé meyê]O tse óle tʰo [sɛndze tɛ-ze]PER i tů-wo DEM bull FOC cattle.pen in chain one-CLF:LONG INS UP-tie

“That bull was tied in the cattle pen with a chain.”

The allative case *pu* marks the goal of movement or an action:

(185) a. [tsʰúdze]PRE pu nó-ndü nyi

PN ALL DOWN-go EGO:AP

“(They) will go down to Tsʰúdze.”

b. [mәnyɛ́ sú]PRE pu tsɛnpu tége nó-vũ

Munya language ALL progress a.little DOWN-do/2SG

“You work a little bit harder on Munya.”

The arguments marked by the oblique case *kә* denote time or location:

(186) a. [tosí]PRE kә [ŋí]A [pʰɔhɔ́ butter.dumplings tɑhɑ́]O nů-vũ tsәkɯ́ one.day OBL 1SG+ERG some D.M

“One day I made some butter dumplings.”

b. [tɛ́-kʰɛ]PRE kә [mũkʰɔ́ tahά]S tɛ-tʰũ rό one-CLF:PLACE place OBL smoke some UP-come come

“In one place some smoke was rising up.”

The semantic role of the argument marked by the comitative case *tәhi* is accompaniment:

(187) [ŋɯ́]S [ɛpú=roná]PRE tәhi nbí sɔ̃ nyi

1SG uncle=ASSC.PL COM sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP

“I’m sitting with the uncle and other people.”

The comparative case *ti* marks standard of comparison:
8.3. ASPECT

8.2.5 Case Marking Patterns

If we restrict our consideration of case marking to control verbs and non-control verbs (excluding adjectival predicates and copula verbs), we can arrive at the following pattern set out in Table 8.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ergative <em>i</em></td>
<td>Absolutive case ∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Experiential case <em>ɣɛ</em></td>
<td>Absolutive case ∅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dative case <em>le</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-control verbs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Experiential Case <em>ɣɛ</em></td>
<td>Absolutive case ∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that control verbs in Munya show some ergative-absolutive property as O can be marked in the same way as S. However, we also observe that there is differential case marking in Munya, as O of control verbs can be marked by the experiential case *ɣɛ* or the dative case *le*. On the other hand, the case marking pattern of non-control verbs is consistently nominative-accusative, as both A and S are always marked by the experiential case and O is not overtly marked.

8.3 Aspect

Munya has three aspect markers, which are the perfective *sә*, the imperfective *pi*, and the stative *ti*. The perfective and imperfective aspect markers inflect for the person-number of subject (shown in Table 8.3) while the stative aspect does not.

This tripartite distinction can be seen in the following examples in (189):

(188) *[otsә]PRE ti [otsә]S ke-ré ti*

this sc that more-be.delicious sta

‘That one is more delicious than this one.’
Table 8.3: The Inflections of the Perfective and Imperfective Aspect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 (base form)</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>1/2NONSG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>se</td>
<td>sә</td>
<td>sü</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>po</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(189)  

(a)  

\[\text{otsi } \text{tsɛ́ } \text{ɛ́-tɛ́w } \text{pi}\]  
3SG+ERG tea DS-drink IMPF

‘She is having tea.’

(b)  

\[\text{otsi } \text{tsɛ́ } \text{ɛ́-tɛ́w } \text{se}\]  
3SG+ERG tea DS-drink PFV

‘She has had tea.’

(c)  

\[\text{otsi } \text{tsɛ́ } \text{nyú- }\text{tsɛ́w } \text{ti}\]  
3SG+ERG tea NEG-drink STA

‘She doesn’t have tea.’

Although the predicates in these three examples are the same, in actual use the perfective and the imperfective aspects tend to occur more often with dynamic predicates while the stative aspect tend to occur with stative predicates. This will be further discussed below.

A clause can contain no aspect marker, in which case its aspectual information needs to be deduced from the context. Consider the example below:

(190)  

\[\text{tsʰerō } \text{nó-ki, } \text{yɛ́ndɤ, } \text{yú } \text{ŋí } \text{u-kú}\]  
wood DOWN-cut split then 1SG+ERG DS-carry.on.back

‘I cut wood, split it, then I carried it away.’

There are three verbs in this clause and none of them is marked for aspect. But one can deduce that these are perfective events, because this sentence comes from an autobiography, where the narrator is talking about his past experience.
8.3.1 The Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect imposes boundaries on situations and events so that they are viewed as a whole. In Munya, the perfective aspect is generally used with telic predicates (191a) or predicates denoting processes (191b):

(191) a. \texttt{tɕé só-tsa tə-dzó sō nyi}
    house three-storey UP-build PFV/1SG EGO:AP
    ‘(I) built a house of three storeys.’

b. \texttt{nyúlékʰɑ́ kʰu će̞ə̇o léké tʰo-vɯ́ sō nyi}
    production.team in always work AS-do PFV/1SG EGO:AP
    ‘I worked in the production team all the time.’

Verbs of achievement, such as \texttt{tʰósə́ ‘to die’, nbí ‘to sit’, or kʰɯ́ mə ‘to fall asleep’} most naturally occur with the perfective aspect. The whole clause denotes the state that is achieved when the action denoted by the verb is completed:

(192) \texttt{tɕʰә́ nbí sō nyi}
    now sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP
    ‘(I’m) currently seated.’

(192) is commonly used in response to the question (in a telephone conversation) of ‘what are you doing?’ The speaker does not have to be really sitting (though she typically does). As long as she is staying at a place and not engaged in any sort of work this answer is felicitous. If the perfective auxiliary is replaced with the imperfective auxiliary, the sentence would mean ‘I’m sitting down’.

This aspect is also frequently used in an adverbial temporal clause. That clause functions as a subordinate clause and provides a reference timeline for the main clause. For example, when two clauses are used to describe two successive activities, the clause which is used to describe the end of the previous activity will function as the subordinate clause and take the perfective aspect:
There are two more kinds (of milk products) in the sourwater, one of which being \textit{tsudo}. After \textit{tsudo} is finished (i.e., extracted), there remains a kind of \textit{kɤ}.

The speaker was talking about the procedure of extracting milk products. Two kinds of milk product can be extracted from the sourwater in sequential order, which are \textit{tsudo} and \textit{kɤ}. Note that the speaker used the perfective auxiliary \textit{sә} after the predicate \textit{tʰodí} ‘finish’ in a subordinate clause describing the end of the previous step of extracting milk products.

In certain contexts, the perfective marker can have the sense of ‘finish’ or ‘complete’:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
\textbf{(194)} & \texttt{tʃʰù} & lʊŋò & kəyì & γe & rɪlɛ & tʃakù.ŋo\textasciitilde{u} \textasciitilde{b}oni & sɛ & tʃʰó \\
& \textit{from.now.on} & \textit{year} & \textit{many} & \textit{LK} & \textit{generation} & \textit{D.M} & \textit{meat} & \textit{service} \\
& \texttt{ne-tʃó} & se & nyi \\
& \textit{DOWN-provide} & PFV/1/2NONSG & \textit{EGO:AP} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘From now on, many years of meat service have been provided (by us).’

This example comes from a story, and is uttered by the people who realized that the beasts in the lake had been killed by three children, and from that time on they did not have to provide meat (by throwing a child into the lake each year) anymore. The predicate has the sense of ‘the meat service has been provided at last, it is all finished’.

\section*{8.3.2 The Imperfective Aspect}

The imperfective aspect is most often used to describe a present or ongoing situation:
In (195a), the speaker was commenting on the current situation of the society. In (195b), the speaker was describing what he was doing. In both examples the imperfective aspect is used.

The imperfective auxiliary can be used for continuous or habitual events, even if they occurred in the past:

(196) a. kɛhó tsándo kʰu tsækú tɛɛ ná-ndzo pi nyi
   long.time.ago tea.bucket in D.M tea DOWN-make IMPF EGO:AP
   ‘Tea used to be made in tea buckets a long time ago.’

   b. ngötʂʰí=ni tæɕʰi té pi tse kʰɤ-séŋa po
   chieftain=PL+ERG all say IMPF NMLZ NONS-listen.to IMPF/1SG
   ‘(I) used to obey everything that was said by the chieftains.’

(196a) is about the old method of tea-making. The situation does not hold at present, as can be seen from the temporal adverb, kɛhó ‘long time ago’. (196b) comes from an autobiography. The event described is not the current situation, but happened when the speaker was young. In spite of this, the imperfective aspect is used because they lasted for a period of time and the speakers were focusing on the extensional property of the event.
The imperfective aspect can also be used when the event will happen in the near future:

(197) a. sḗsa ɣòsa ɣòlu nilo kʰɯ-ɕó pi
   tomorrow the.day.after.tomorrow again marriage NOT-COME-OUT IMPF
   nyi
   EGO:AP

   ‘There will be another marriage in several days.’

b. mēŋō dōtsē kʰa-ɕo ɬ kʰォtsē ɬ nyi
   person seventy more.than ERG dance IMPF EGO:AP

   ‘More than seventy people will dance.’

In (197a), the imperfective aspect is used because the wedding ceremony will take place very soon, as can be seen from the temporal adverbial. In (197b), the speaker was talking about a ceremony that would take place the next day. Both events occur in the immediate future.

This imperfective aspect is also used in an adverbial subordinate clause:

(198) [otsé tshú ɣɛ kʰɛ tə-ʃɛ pi ke] [oné mo-ndʑu se nyi]
   DEM lake POSS side UP-ARRIVE IMPF OBL 3PL NEG-COP:ANIMATE PFV EGO:AP

   ‘When (the three children) went up to the lakeside, (the three beasts) were no longer there.’

The first clause here takes the imperfective aspect and is marked by the oblique case. It provides a temporal setting for the event denoted by the main clause. More discussion on this can be found in Section 14.5 on clause linking.

8.3.3 The Stative Aspect

The stative aspect ti tends to be used if the predicate of the clause is a stative verb or an adjective. Such predicates generally refer to a kind of homogeneous state instead of events with boundaries. Examples of such verbs are verbs of cognition (e.g. ‘to know’)
and verbs of psychology or physiology (e.g. ‘dare’, ‘be tired’) and copula verbs. These
are illustrated with the three examples in (199). The predicate in (199d) is an adjective:

(199) a. ŋí hɑ́­nyu­ko ti
     1SG+ERG formative-NEG-know/1SG STA
     ‘I don’t know.’

b. tɕʰú tu-ɕó t'o ŋɯ́ ɛ­ɕó ti
     next UP-say if 1SG ds-be.tired STA
     ‘If (I) keep on speaking then I will be tired.’

c. ndʐé ɛ-kʰɯ́ ti
     rice INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA
     ‘Is there any rice?’

d. mɯ́ tɕípu ti
     weather be.comfortable STA
     ‘The weather is fine.’

The stative aspect is not the only aspect that stative verbs can take. They can also co­
occur with the imperfective aspect (200a) or the perfective aspect (200b):

(200) a. tsakú tšútɛáɛzí pu nyɛ-t'ɔ ti, kólo ti, tsakú ɛ-ɕó pi
     D.M sixty-four on NEG-can/1SG STA hard STA D.M ds-be.tired IMPF
     ‘I couldn’t (work) at sixty-four (years of age). It was hard and I got tired.’

b. tɕʰú k'ukó sō nyi
     next know PFV/1SG EGO:AP
     ‘Now (I) know (it).’

It has been mentioned that the imperfective aspect can be used to denote an on­going
situation, hence the fact that it can replace the stative aspect in some context is easily
explained, as a state can be understood to be a situation lasting for a certain period
of time. However, how the meaning for a stative verb followed by the stative aspect is different from the same verb followed by the imperfective aspect remains to be worked out.

8.4 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is the grammatical category for information source (Aikhenvald 2004, 2018). It is typical of many Tibeto-Burman languages that the grammatical means of expressing information source and access to information, which is egophoricity, are interwined and hard to tease apart (DeLancey 2018; Hyslop 2018a). Sometimes they are subsumed under one category, which is the evidential, but sometimes they are treated as two different categories. In Munya, evidentiality, egophoricity, and mirativity, a grammatical category that is coding the expectation of knowledge, all exist. This section will focus on evidentiality.

There are three evidential markers in Munya, two of which are the direct evidential marker ra and the evidential marker for hearsay, tápi. The third evidential morpheme is the perfective aspect auxiliary sa, which can express an indirect information source when the subject is non-first person.

8.4.1 The Direct Evidential

The direct evidential marker ra can only be used in a sentence describing a past or present situation. It directly follows the predicate and cannot co-occur with aspect marker, egophoric marker or mirative marker. It is most commonly used to indicate that the source of information is visual (201a), but examples are also found where the information source is auditory (201b), olfactory (201c), or simply personal experience (201d) (this is why it is analyzed as a direct evidential marker):

(201) a. tó-ze tʰó-tso ra

one−CLF:MAN AS−run EVID:DIRECT

‘A (person) ran away.’
Evidentials can interact with person in different ways across languages (Aikhenvald 2004: Chapter 7). In many languages the direct evidential cannot be used with a first-person volitional subject. Called first person effect, this phenomenon is also found in Tibetic languages (e.g., DeLancey 2018; J. T.-S. Sun 1993, 2018). In Munya, the direct evidential ra is incompatible with a first-person volitional subject (202a), but is compatible with first person non-volitional subjects, as in (202b), (202c), (202d) and (202e). Furthermore, ra can co-occur with a second-person volitional subject in a declarative clause (202f), but not in an interrogative clause (202g):

(202) a. *ŋí teⁿšé tó-lō kʰɾ-tá ra
   1SG+ERG car one-CLF:GENR NONS-buy/1SG EVID:DIRECT
   ‘I bought a car.’

b. ŋũŵ tu-tsó ra
   1SG UP-be.full/1SG EVID:DIRECT
   ‘I’m full.’

c. ŋí tó ra
   1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT
   ‘I see (it).’
d. ngé te-ŋé ra
   1SG+EXP up-be.ill EVID:DIRECT
   ‘I’m ill.’

e. hákʰu-mo-ko ra
   formative-NEG-know/1SG EVID:DIRECT
   ‘(I) didn’t know it.’

f. nɛ́ i ŋũ̞ le té kʰr-má-seŋa ra
   2SG ERG 1SG DAT at.all NONS-NEG-listen.to EVID:DIRECT
   ‘You didn’t listen to me at all.’

g. *nɛ́ i katsé ɛtɪ-lö é-ndzü ra?
   2SG ERG pancake how.many-CLF:GENR DS-eat/2SG EVID:DIRECT
   ‘Intended meaning: How many pancakes did you eat?’

Only in very rare instances is ra compatible with the first-person volitional subject. For example, as a control verb, tʰótso ‘to run’ is normally not compatible with a first-person subject. However, if a person is watching a video showing herself running, then (203) becomes acceptable:

(203) ŋũ̞ tʰó-tso ra
   1SG AS-run EVID:DIRECT
   ‘I ran away.’

To account for this, we need to refine our characterization of ra as denoting the source of information acquired from the outside world. In the case of non-volitional events occurring to oneself (i.e., a clause with a first-person non-volitional subject), the subject is more a passive experiencer than an active initiator. Since the speaker can only be aware of those events after they have taken place, it is as if the knowledge of non-volitional acts is acquired from the outside world. Therefore, non-volitional actions about oneself are treated
on a par with volitional/non-volitional actions of others, as reflected in the application of *ra*.

The interaction between person and evidentiality in Tibetic languages led J. T.-S. Sun (1993) to posit the now widely accepted distinction between *self-person* and *other-person*, with self-person defined as follows:

In rather vague terms, self-person sentences are marked as utterances produced by oneself. Unlike the traditional first-person, however, the self-person is not deictically bound to the speaker; rather, it is appropriate not only in first-person statements, but also second person (non-rhetorical) questions. (J. T.-S. Sun 1993: 956)

For the purpose of our discussion, we can add a further constraint on the dichotomy between self-person and other-person, that is, the volitionality of predicate. Thus ‘self-person’ refers to the first person subject in a declarative clause with volitional predicate and the second-person subject in a (non-rhetorical) interrogative clause with volitional predicate, while ‘other-person’ refers to all other persons, including all participants of non-volitional actions, the second-person volitional subject in a declarative clause, and the third-person volitional subject. This is summarized in Table 8.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Declarative</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Volitional</td>
<td>Non-volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Self</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The direct evidential *ra* is probably grammaticalized from the motion verb which means ‘go’. Aside from the fact that the two morphemes are homophonous, another piece of evidence supporting this analysis is that *ra* ‘go’ cannot be followed by the direct evidential. One can use (204) if one has witnessed that a cow went downstream:

(204)  *njamo*  tó-*lō*  *a-ra*  

*cow*  one-CLF:GENR  DS-*go*  

‘A cow went downstream.’
In this example, the direct evidential marker cannot be used. We can explain this constraint by hypothesizing that the evidential sense of ra developed from the motion sense, and that as a motion verb, synchronically ra contains both the sense of motion and the sense of evidentiality; hence, using an evidential ra after the content verb ra is redundant.

### 8.4.2 The Reported Evidential

tépi is a reported evidential marker which indicates that the information source is hearsay. Morphologically, it can be analyzed as consisting of the verb té ‘to say’ and the third-person imperfective auxiliary pi. This morpheme is essentially a speech report verb which takes a non-overt generic subject, and has not yet fully grammaticalized into an evidential marker. Structurally, it is used after a full clause, and does not enter into the same paradigm with the direct evidential ra or the indirect evidential se. Both ra and se are part of the predicate complex, while tépi is a dispensable particle, used only when the speaker wants to emphasize that the content in the marked clause is overheard.

In practice, there are two ways of telling whether tépi should be analyzed as a verb complex consisting of the speech-report verb té ‘to say’ plus the imperfective auxiliary pi or as a reported evidential. The first way is to check if the subject of tépi is overtly stated or not: If it is stated, tépi is a verb complex; if it is not, tépi is an evidential marker. The other criterion is to check whether the subject of the embedded clause has a third-person reflexive pronoun tsé. The presence of tsé implies that there is a coreferential subject in the main clause, be it overt or not. In that case tépi would function as a predicate. In the absence of both an overt subject and the third-person reflexive pronoun, tépi should be analyzed as the reported evidential. For example:

(205) otsí tsé γɛ to-tsó ra té pi

3SG+ERG REFL/3SG EXP UP-be.hungry EVID:DIRECT say IMPF

‘He says he is hungry.’

This example contains both an overt subject otsé, which is the subject of the main clause, and a coreferential reflexive pronoun tsé, suggesting that tépi should be analyzed as a verb with an imperfective marker.
The examples in (206) serve to show the properties of *tápi* as an evidential marker:

\[(206)\]  

\[a.\]  
\[tsé \quad i \quad lá \quad kʰu-tʰé \quad ro \quad rô \quad ṣo, \quad tsé\]  
\text{REFL/3SG ERG bride NONS-ask.for come come/1SG EGO:SAP REFL/3SG}  
\[γɛ \quad lá \quad rί[SR] \quad tā \quad se \quad nyi \quad tápi \quad nyi\]  
\text{POSS bride come/2SG say PFV EGO:AP EVID:REP EGO:AP}  

‘He said: “I have come to ask for a bride, come and be my bride”, so it was said.’

\[b.\]  
\[pɛtɕí \quad nyú-tsʰu \quad nú-vɯ \quad ra \quad tápi \quad nyi\]  
\text{then NEG-allow DOWN-do EVID:DIRECT EVID:REP EGO:AP}  

‘(It) wasn’t allowed (anymore), so it was said.’

The clauses marked by the reported evidential marker are fully independent clauses. In the two examples the reported evidential is further followed by the egophoric *nyi*, indicating that this evidential marker still retains some verbal property. (206a) comes from a story. Here the clause before the reported evidential is a speech report, and ends with the egophoric *nyi*. By using the reported evidential after this speech report clause, the storyteller seems to be suggesting that she heard this from others. The reported evidential, however, is not obligatory in story-telling and is subject to considerable variation across speakers. One speaker used it seven times in a story of three and a half minutes, while the other used it only once in a twenty-minute story, in the last sentence.

The overall structure of (206b) is similar to that of (206a), except that the clause marked by *tápi* is not a speech report, and ends with the direct evidential marker.

### 8.4.3 The Indirect Evidential

We have seen that the direct evidential *rɑ* interacts with person. Evidentiality can also interact with other grammatical categories, such as aspect. Aspect and evidentiality can be fused for some languages, with the same morpheme expressing information such as visual+perfective or internal evidence+imperfective (Forker 2018). Therefore sometimes it can be hard to decide whether the function of a morpheme is primarily evidential and...
secondarily aspectual or vice versa. For example, we have mentioned above that ra can only be used in a sentence that describes a past or present situation. If we restrict ourselves solely to this morpheme, there seems to be no reason why we can not analyze it as denoting realis. This is especially so considering that ra is in complementary distribution with all aspect morphemes. However, an aspectual analysis of ra leads to confusion as to the differences in function between ra and other aspectual morphemes. Its function would overlap with the perfective sa, the stative ti, the neutral aspect, and part of the function of pi. Moreover, the fact that its use implies how the speaker has a direct information source for the proposition, which is most important, would be unexplained. It is for these reasons that ra is analyzed as primarily evidential.

A similar argument can be made for sa, which can be used both for perfectiveness and indirect evidential. It is analyzed as primarily aspectual and secondarily evidential because, as has been discussed in 8.3, it is in a paradigmatic relation with other aspectual morphemes, both in distribution and in function. This means it fits most properly within the aspect category.

The evidential sense of sa can be illustrated with the minimal pair in (207):

(207) a. \(\text{r}ʰ\text{ó tɛ-żɛ tʰó-sə ra}\)
    snake one-CLF:LONG AS-die EVID:DIRECT
    ‘A snake died.’

    b. \(\text{r}ʰ\text{ó tɛ-żɛ tʰó-sə sa}\)
    snake one-CLF:LONG AS-die PFV
    ‘A snake died.’

By using the direct evidential in (207a), the speaker implies that she saw the whole process of the death of the snake. In contrast, if the speaker only sees a dead snake, sa would be used, as in (207b).

In a similar vein, if a person sees a pile of excrement on the roadside and infers that someone relived themselves over there, (208a) can be used. If that person had seen someone defecating over there, in other words, had direct evidence, then (208b) would be more felicitous:
These two pairs of examples indicate that sə is used if the proposition is made based on inference.

The indirect evidential sense seems to be only available when the subject of the clause is non-first person. Consider the following example:

(209) ɳí tʂʰintsʰɛ́ tó­lö kʰɤ́­tɤ sò nyì 1SG+ERG car one­CLF:GENR NONS­buy PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘I bought a car.’

We have mentioned, in (202a), that this sentence would be ungrammatical if sò nyì is replaced with the direct evidential rɑ. Different from rɑ, sə does not show such first-person effect. (209) is a normal description for a natural volitional event with a first-person subject, with no sense of evidentiality conveyed. It does not indicate, for instance, that the speaker bought a car unintentionally and only realized after it has been done. This sense would be expressed by not using the egophoric nyì — see section 8.5.2 for further discussion.

8.5 Egophoricity

8.5.1 The history of the term

The term egophoricity goes back to the conjunct/disjunct distinction made by A. Hale (1980), whose aim was to capture the distribution of two verb forms observed in Newari. He notices that for certain verbs, one form, the ‘conjunct’ form, normally occurs with first
person actors and the other form, the ‘disjunct’ form, tends to occur with non-first person actors.

Hargreaves (2005) summarized Hale’s findings and pointed out that the conditions for the occurrence of conjunct forms include, 1) the clause is finite; 2) the event being described is interpreted as involving an intentional action by the actor; 3) the speech act is either first person declarative, or second person interrogative, or reported speech when the subject in the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause are coreferential. In all other finite environments, the verb occurs in a disjunct form.

As illustrations, consider the examples in (210), where the verb wane ‘to go’ is in conjunct form:

(210) a. Ji ana wanā

‘I went there.’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 1)

b. Cha ana wanā lá?

‘Did you go there?’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 4)

c. Waq wa ana wanā dhakāā dhāla

‘He said that he went there (himself).’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 5)

While in (211), the verb occurs in disjunct form:

(211) a. Cha ana wana

‘You went there.’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 2)

b. Wa ana wana

‘He went there.’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 3)

c. Waq wa ana wana dhakāā dhāla

‘He said that he (someone else) went there.’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 6)

d. Jij lā pala

‘I cut the meat (quite by accident).’  (from Hale 1980, Exp. 10)
Hale’s term was adopted by researchers to analyze other languages (e.g., Curnow 2002). In particular, DeLancey (1990, 1992b) argues Lhasa Tibetan also shows the conjunct/disjunct pattern. However, other linguists who work on Tibetic languages either avoid (e.g., J. T.-S. Sun 1993) or overtly reject this term (Tournadre 2008, 2017; J. T.-S. Sun 2018). Tournadre believes that conjunct/disjunct is not a valid concept for the description of Tibetan. In Tournadre (2017: 117), he gives six reasons for this:

a) It is structural/syntactic in nature and not motivated by semantico-cognitive parameters.

b) It is binary in nature, while E/E (i.e., evidential/epistemic) systems attested in the Tibetic languages comprise a fairly large paradigm of forms and functions.

c) The use of conjunct/disjunct categories is largely automatic and compulsory unlike the use of egophoric, sensory and inferential categories, which may depend on the speaker’s perspective.

d) It is based on the notion of person coreference patterns, while in his approach the ‘person agreement’ is a secondary effect of semantico-cognitive concepts related to the evidential source and access to information.

e) The ‘conjunct’ category is not primarily defined by its specific semantic meaning unlike the category of ‘egophoric’.

f) The conjunct/disjunct pattern or system is a complex category that usually manifests itself in three heterogeneous patterns: ‘the declarative pattern’, ‘the interrogative pattern’ and the ‘quotative pattern’.

Scholars who work on Tibetan tend to treat what is labeled as conjunct by DeLancey as a kind of evidential, i.e., egophoric evidential (cf. Tournadre and Jiatso 2001; Hill and Gawne 2017; Gawne 2017; Tournadre 2017; Kelly 2018). For example, Gawne (2017) writes that ‘(e)gophoric is one of a number of evidential distinctions marked in Standard Tibetan, with sensory and factual evidential categories and a reported speech evidential particle also found in the language.’ This category is also labeled as ‘person’, ‘ego’, ‘testimonial’, ‘direct’ or ‘perceptual’ by various authors (Gawne 2017).
Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) describe the meaning of this category as follows: ‘The speaker is directly involved in the process that he describes and is himself the source of information. He either himself experienced something, or suffered or willingly performed an action.’

However, not all researchers agree to treat egophoric in this way, i.e., as an evidential category. In a recent study, Scott DeLancey, while forsaking ‘conjunct/disjunct’ and taking up ‘egophoric’, maintains that egophoric is fundamentally different from evidential. He contends that ‘(t)he Tibetic Egophoric category is not part of the evidential system; it is an independent, and more fundamental, category which affects evidential meanings that come under its shadow. Rather than an evidential category, Egophoric is a category to which evidentiality is not applicable’ (DeLancey 2018). A similar view is expressed in Hyslop (2018a).

The term ‘egophoricity’ is first used by Post (2013) in an effort to capture the conjunct-disjunct marking phenomenon. He also used the term ‘alterphoric’ in that paper, which forms a binary contrast with ‘egophoric’. With these two terms, he is able to describe most of the conjunct-disjunct distribution patterns observed in four types of constructions in Galo.

However, this use of the term is criticized by Hill and Gawne (2017), who, as was mentioned above, insist on analyzing egophoric as a subcategory of evidentiality. They show their discomfort with Post and those who follow his suit (such as Daudey 2014; San Roque et al. 2017) for identifying egophoricity with conjunct-disjunct. Hill and Gawen even lament that ‘(t)he overall pattern of defining “egophoric(ity)” in relation to Hale’s (1980) definition of “conjunct-disjunct” and then providing qualifications (Post 2013; Daudey 2014) repeatedly breathes fresh air into a defunct outlook and fulfills Tournadre’s prophecy that “the phantom concept of conjunct/disjunct will haunt linguistic articles for a long time” (Tournadre 2008: 304).’

On the other hand, Hyslop (2014, 2018a,b), who works on Kurtöp, also a Tibetic language, prefers to define egophoricity as ‘access to knowledge’. She points out that in Kurtöp, egophoric is used if the speaker does not expect the hearer to already have the knowledge, and notably, egophoric in that language is not saliently relevant to either notion of volition or control (Hyslop 2018b).
Meanwhile, outside of the circle of Tibetan linguistics, a new trend is arising that is trying to establish egophoricity as a valid cross-linguistic category and add it to the toolkit of cross-linguistic concepts (San Roque et al. 2017, 2018). San Roque et al. (2018) define egophoricity as ‘the grammaticalised encoding of the personal or privileged knowledge or involvement of a potential speaker (the primary knower) in a represented event or situation (p. 2).’ Obviously, this definition is built on Hyslop (2014, 2018a,b) and other researchers who work on Tibetan languages. San Roque et al. (2018) further point out that the most important formal feature of egophoricity is person-sensitivity, or what they call ‘egophoric distribution’, which comprises the use of the same egophoric marker in first person declaratives and second person interrogatives, and the use of a non-egophoric marker (or markers) in other environments. This is why they use ‘potential speaker’ instead of simply ‘speaker’ in their definition.

As we shall see in the following discussion, that, while egophorics in Munya fit nicely in the notional definition given in San Roque et al. (2018), their structural distribution shows some unexpected features.

### 8.5.2 Egophoricity in Munya

There are two grammatical morphemes in Munya that are analyzable as egophorics. The first one is the auxiliary ŋo, which is grammaticalized from the equational copula. It can only be used after volitional predicate and cannot co-occur with aspects and direct and inferential evidentials. The two examples below show that it cannot be used after non-control predicate:

(212) a. *ngɛ́ te-ŋé ŋo
   1SG+EXP UP-be.sick EGO:SAP
   ‘Intended meaning: I’m sick.’ (cf. 23a)

b. *otsé tsé sivɯ ŋo
   DEM house be.good EGO:SAP
   ‘Intended meaning: This house is good.’
8.5. EGOPHORICITY

Since it does not co-occur with aspect markers, the temporal information of the sentence in which it is used needs to be deduced from the context. (213a) is said by a visitor who is going to take his leave, thus refers to an imperfective event. In (213b), the speaker was talking at night about what she did during the day, indicating that it is a perfective event.

(213)  a. ŋũ ndō ŋo
       1SG go/1SG EGO:SAP
       ‘I’m leaving.’

       b. nóno tse tē-re tsekũ lēké tʰo-vó ŋo
           morning TOP up-get.up and work AS-do/1SG EGO:SAP
           ‘(I) got up in the morning and worked.’

In the two examples above, ŋo occurs in first person environment. It can also occur in second person interrogative clause or an embedded clause where the subject is coreferential with that of the matrix clause:

(214)  a. pintšilin ĕ-ē-ndz̩ ĕ-ŋo?
       ice.cream DS-INTRG-eat/2SG EGO:SAP
       ‘Do you (want to) eat ice cream?’

       b. ŋũni [hûndz̩ ĕ-ndz̩ řē ĕ-ŋo]Matrix Clause só
           1PL.EXCL+ERG dinner DS-eat go/1/2NONSG INTRG-EGO:SAP think
           pe nyi
           IMPF/1/2NONSG EGO:AP
           ‘We are thinking whether we should go have dinner or not.’

When occurring in the above environments, the meaning of this marker is to denote the actor’s control and awareness of her action or involvement in the situation.

   Importantly, ŋo can also be used in second person declarative clauses. Consider the two examples below:
(215) a. nɛ́ i pėsə tār ɛ̃-ndzə hɛ́ ŋo
    2SG ERG today tsampa DS-eat will/2SG EGO:SAP
    ‘You will/have to eat tsampa today.’

b. nɛ́ i ɛ̃-ndzü ŋo
    2SG ERG DS-eat/2SG EGO:SAP
    ‘You have already eaten/had your meal.’

(215a) is uttered as a notice to the addressee, while (215b) is used if the addressee forgot if she already had dinner or not and asks the speaker about it. The function of the egophoric marker here is to indicate the speaker’s privileged access to knowledge—in both examples, the speaker knows something that the addressee does not.

ŋo is not found to be compatible with third person.

Another egophoric marker is the clause final particle nyi. When the predicate is stative, the marker directly follows it (216a). If the predicate is non-stative, the marker needs to be preceded by the perfective marker sә or the imperfective marker pi (216b):

(216) a. nɛ́ i mənyɛ́ sũ ù-nyɛ́ nyi?
    2SG ERG Munya language INTRG-can/2SG EGO:AP
    ‘Can you speak Munya?’

b. ōtsə dzəpu tʰə-və sa nyi
    3SG king AS-become PFV EGO:AP
    ‘He became the king.’

nyi does not show the egophoric distribution that is typical of egophoric markers. Instead, it can co-occur with all three persons. The reason to analyze it as an egophoric marker is that when used in first person declarative environment, it indicates the speaker’s volition or control of her action. Compare the two examples below:
In first person environment, the meanings of *ŋo* and *nyi* are essentially similar, in that they are all related to volition on the part of the controller. Thus, (217b) can be paraphrased as (218):

(218)  
\[ \text{ŋí nbatsá tó-ló ni-tʰɛ no-só só ŋo} \]  
1SG+ERG worm one-CLF:GENR DOWN-trample DOWN-kill EGO:SAP  
‘I stomped on a worm and killed it/I am going to stomp a worm and kill it.’

The major difference between the two sentences is that the aspectual information is specified in (217b) but not in (218).

When used in non-first person environments, *nyi* denotes privileged access to information. Compare the two examples below:

(219)  
a.  
\[ \text{otsé meni tôme nyi} \]  
DEM person be.rich EGO:AP  
‘That person is rich.’

b.  
\[ \text{otsé meni tôme ti} \]  
DEM person be.rich STA  
‘That person is rich.’

(219a) would be used if the speaker assumes that the addressee does not share her information, i.e., does not know that the person being talked about is rich. By contrast,
(219b), which ends with the stative aspect marker, is a plain statement and does not carry this assumption.

### 8.5.3 Egophoricity and Interrogativity

Defining egophoricity as pertaining to the personal knowledge or involvement of a potential speaker begs the question of how to explain the use of egophoricity in second person interrogatives. Using egophorics in interrogative environment appears paradoxical, for the things that we ask about are likely to be those things that we know little about.

Researchers generally agree that this is because the forms used in interrogatives are determined by the forms anticipated in the answer (cf. A. Hale 1980; Tournadre and Jiatso 2001; Tournadre and LaPolla 2014; San Roque et al. 2017). What they don’t agree on, however, is whether this is an intrinsic feature of egophoricity or a phenomenon that has different motivations. San Roque et al. (2017) believe that this use is entirely expected: ‘In relation to perspective in interrogatives, egophoric markers appear to obligatorily shift from speaker to addressee perspective.’ While Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) and Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) prefer to explain this through the language-specific ‘anticipation rule’. Tournadre and Jiatso (2001) write that ‘This is a peculiar linguistic phenomenon found in the Tibetan dialects and other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Newari or Akha. When asking a question directly concerning the interlocutor, the egophoric or first person marker is used because the speaker “anticipates” that the answer will normally contain “I”’.

In the case of Munya, the two egophoric markers we have seen indeed show egophoric distribution. These are shown with the two pairs of examples in (220) and (221):

(220) a. nɛ́ i ndzůndzú ró kéyĩ i-ndzẽ ejo?
    2SG ERG have.fun NMLZ many INTRG-have/2SG EGO:SAP

    ‘Do you have many friends to hang out with?’

b. ndzó ejo
    have/1SG EGO:SAP

    ‘Yes, I do.’
8.5. EGOPHORICITY

(221) a. ɛ-tʰɑ́ pe nyi
       INTRG-do IMPF/2SG EGO:AP
       ‘What are you doing?’

b. nbí sò nyi
       sit IMPF/1SG EGO:AP
       ‘Just sitting.’

On the other hand, non-egophoric markers also show this egophoric distribution. The two sentences below show that this is the case of the direct evidential:

(222) a. tә-kú á-ra?
       UP-feel.cold INTRG-EVID:DIRECT
       ‘Are you cold?’

b. mә-ra
       NEG-EVID:DIRECT
       ‘No.’

The non-evidential imperfective marker also shows this feature:

(223) a. nyù-ke kʰw-šó ě-pi?
       NEG-be.free NONS-come.out INTRG-IMPF
       ‘Are you free?/Do you have time?’

b. nyù-ke kʰw-šó nyù-pi
       NEG-be.free NONS-come.out NEG-IMPF
       ‘I’m free.’

In this example, the imperfective marker does not inflect for the second person form because the predicate, kʰwšó ‘come out’ is a non-control verb.

Even in Mandarin, a language which is not (yet) assumed to have egophoricity, certain clause-final mood particles show egophoric distribution:
8.5. EGOPHORICITY

(224) a. \textit{ni zai gan shenme ne?}  
\hspace{0.5cm} 2SG PROG do what CFP  
‘What are you doing?’

b. \textit{wo zai xuexi ne}  
\hspace{0.5cm} 1SG PROG study CFP  
‘I’m studying.’

It is hard to pinpoint the exact meaning of \textit{ne} here. In the interrogative clause it seems to have an information seeking function while in the declarative clause it seems to indicate that the information provided is new to the addressee, and can have some overtone of impatience.

These data show that we should exercise great care when deciding whether a language has egophoricity or not. On the one hand, grammatical morphemes that show egophoric distribution are not necessarily egophoric; on the other hand, egophoric markers, such as the two in Munya, may occur in a wider range of environments than canonical egophorics do.

8.5.4 Egophoricity and Negation

There are four negative prefixes in Munya, which are the prohibitive \textit{tɕɯ-}, the past negator \textit{mo-}, the non-past negator \textit{nyɯ-}, and the overarching \textit{tɛ-} which is in many cases interchangeable with \textit{mo-} and \textit{nyɯ-}.

Both \textit{mo-} and \textit{nyɯ-} can occur with egophorics, as can be seen from the two examples below:

(225) a. \textit{kɛ́tsi i té-ta tsəkù [ti k`eck`ɛ té-dzö nyù-po ɳo]}  
\hspace{0.5cm} PN ERG UP-say and INDF different UP-take NEG-IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP  
‘kɛtsi said: “I don’t want to take anything else.” ’
b. *púmi mɛ́ndɛ i tsəkут tʰ-NGA mó-se nyi*

begger old.woman ERG D.M AS-be.happy NEG-PFV EGO:AP

‘The old beggar woman was not happy.’

However, egophorics cannot co-occur with the other two negative prefixes. The two examples in (226) show that it cannot be used in a negative imperative clause:

(226) a. *[mɯ́ te yɪ-tɕɪ-tʊ] te se*

fire at.all US-PROH-light.up/2SG say PFV

‘“Be sure not to light up any fire,” (she) said.’

b. *tɑrɑ́ tɕɪ-hu*

for.now PROH-go/2SG

‘Don’t go for now.’

This is understandable, as imperative clauses generally allow fewer categories than declarative clauses.

However, the two egophorics are also not allowed when the predicate is negated by *tɕɛ-:*

(227) a. *ndʑú=ni nʊ-tɕʰ=o yɛ legó ε-dzó tɕɛ-sə*

people=PL+ERG DOWN-plow LK task DS-assign NEG-PFV

‘People wouldn’t assign the task of plowing (to me).’

b. *dʑiló tʊ-kʊ nɛ tɕɛ-pi*

duty UP-carry.on.back also NEG-IMPF

‘They even don’t perform their duties.’

The functions and formal distributions of the Munya egophorics in declarative clauses are summarized in Table 8.5.

Compared to canonical egophorics, Munya egophorics are special on two grounds. In terms of function, both egophoric markers can perform two roles, which are denoting
8.5 The Function and Distribution of the Two Egophoric Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate type</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>ŋo</th>
<th>nyi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control predicate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>volitional action, no aspect</td>
<td>volitional action, with aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>pr. access to information</td>
<td>pr. access to information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>pr. access to information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-control predicate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>pr. access to information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>pr. access to information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>pr. access to information</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The potential speaker’s volition or involvement in an event and privileged access to information. The semantic interpretation correlates with the person of subject. In terms of structural distribution, egophorics show a wider range of possibility than was previously assumed, with one allowed to occur with second person subject and control predicate, and the other can occur with all persons and all types of predicates.

8.6 Mirativity

In his attempt to establish mirativity as a viable grammatical category, DeLancey (1997: 33) characterizes mirativity as denoting ‘the status of the proposition with respect to the speaker’s overall knowledge structure’, and more specifically, that ‘the proposition is one which is new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world’ (p.36). A more detailed characterization of the meanings of mirativity is offered in Aikhenvald (2012), where sudden discovery, revelation or realization, surprise, unprepared mind, counterexpectation and new information are all subsumed under the label of mirativity. Also, the mirative effects are not restricted to the speaker. In various languages, effects of such kind relating to the main character in narration or the audience/addressee can also trigger mirativity expression.

In Munya, mirativity can be used in the contexts of sudden or deferred realization, counterexpectation, surprise or new information; and it seems that in all such contexts, the mirative effect is on the part of the speaker or the main characters in narration. This is probably because the meaning of mirativity (more specifically, new information) to the addressee is already covered by the wide scope egophoric nyi.

Formally, mirativity is expressed with the particle tʰɔŋɔse. While this word can be fur-
ther parsed into the equative copula tʰó-ŋo ‘as-be’ and the perfective aspect auxiliary sә, in actual usage tʰonəsә is lexicalized. The directional prefix tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’ cannot be changed to any other directional prefix, sә cannot inflect for the person-number of the subject, nor does it retain the meaning of perfectiveness in this case, and nothing can be inserted between tʰoŋo and sә. These suggest that tʰonəsә forms one grammatical word. In terms of distribution, tʰonəsә cannot co-occur with the direct evidential marker rɑ or the stative aspect ti. It can directly follow stative predicates, cf. (228) and (229), or imperfective and perfective markers (230) and (231).

As a first illustration on the use of this term, consider (228), which I heard from many native speakers:

(228) pɪsu tʰonəsә
Tibetan.language MIR

‘It turns out that it IS Tibetan.’

I often hear this sentence when Munya speakers were discussing the etymology of some Munya words with me. If I thought that a word was borrowed from Tibetan, I would ask them for confirmation. Their first reaction was generally negative, asserting that the word in question is a native Munya word. But when I asked them how to say that word in Tibetan, they would ponder for a while, and admit that the word was a Tibetan loan indeed, saying (228). The meaning of the mirative marker here seems to be sudden realization or counter-expectation, and the mirative effect is on the part of the speaker.

As another illustration, consider (229):

(229) reré tʰonəsә
be.delicious MIR

‘Turns out it is delicious.’

The speaker thought that adding vinegar to noodle would not taste good, but when she tasted it, she found that, contrary to her expectation/to her surprise, it was delicious, thus saying (229).
tʰoŋósa can also be used after a speaker has gained certainty about previously uncertain events or situations. The information content triggering the use of the mirative marker may still be new, but not totally unexpected. According to Aikhenvald (2012), similar function is also found in Quechua (called 'expected surprise'). For example, one day my consultant found that he could not make recordings with his smartphone anymore. He thought it might be because there was no storage left but could not be sure. I checked his phone and told him he was right—the SD card was full. After hearing this, he made a phone call to someone explaining the cause of that issue, and uttered (230):

(230) tósә pi tʰoŋósa
    be.full IMPF MIR

‘Turns out (the smartphone) is full.’

The mirative marker is used in a similar way in (231):

(231) tɕokí na-rá se tʰoŋósa
    PN DOWN-go PFV MIR

‘It turns out that (he) went to tɕokí.’

The context is that a speaker asked where her grandfather went in the afternoon. Her grandfather told her a joke and said he went to Kangding. Knowing that this was impossible, as Kangding is too far away from the village for anyone to make a round-trip within half a day, the speaker then turned to me. After I told her that he went to tɕokí, a small town nearby, she said (231). The crucial point in these two examples is that the speakers are not totally unprepared for the information to come, they were just uncertain about it. Although the information is not completely new, there was nevertheless some ‘newness’ about it, which warrants the use of the mirative marker.

tʰoŋósa can also be used if the unexpectedness is on the part of a character. (232) below comes from a story:
The story is about the adventure of three children. After they come to a country, one of the three children marries the daughter of a king. It turns out that this daughter is a demoness who is responsible for the death of several previous kings, a fact which surely comes as a surprise. But surprise to whom? Obviously it cannot be to the narrator/speaker, as he knows the story already. If it is to the audience of the story, the egophoric nyi would be the more natural choice, which is what we have found. It seems that the unexpectedness is on the part of a very general ‘character’, in other words, anyone who is involved in the fictive world of the story, including the characters in the story and the audience. In this kind of genre, using the mirative marker can make the story more vivid.

This example demonstrates, first and foremost, that mirativity and egophoricity are two grammatical categories in Munya. They can not only be differentiated functionally, with mirativity denoting surprise, new information, etc., on the part of speaker, and egophoricity denoting new information for addressee, but also can occur in the same sentence. It also demonstrates that two layers of markers of information expectation can be coded at the same time. This is reminiscent of double marking of information source (c.f. Aikhenvald 2004: 87–95).

8.7 Summary

In this chapter we explored five topics on the grammatical categories of nouns and verbs, which are case-marking, aspect, evidentiality, egophoricity and mirativity. Core syntactic functions can be marked by the ergative case, the absolutive case, the genitive case, the dative case and the experiential case. The patterns of alignment are different for different types of verbs. For control verbs, the pattern is basically ergative-absolutive, but there are also some variations due to differential case marking. For non-control verbs, the pattern is consistently nominative-accusative. There are three aspect markers, which are the stative aspect, the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspect; and also three evidential
markers, which are the direct evidential, the indirect evidential and the reported evidential. The perfective marker and the indirect evidential marker are the same morpheme, and both have an aspectual sense and an evidential sense. Munya has two egophorics: njo can only be used in context of first or second person subject and control predicate; nyi can occur with all persons and all types of predicates. The meanings of egophorics cover volitional action and privileged access to information. The mirative marker is a clause final particle. It can be used in contexts of sudden or deferred realization, counter-expectation, surprise, and new information.
Chapter 9

Motion Verbs and Serial Verb Constructions

9.1 Overview

Compared to other verbs, the grammatical properties of certain motion verbs in Munya can be very different. They can not only function as independent predicates, but also as V2 or V3 in serial verb constructions; and they can also interact with directional prefixes and other grammatical categories in different ways. These motion verbs, together with their grammatical properties, are listed in Table 9.1. It should be noted that the motion verbs discussed here are ‘pure’ motion verbs, in the sense that their lexical semantic components include only motion and deictic center. Those motion verbs that have richer lexical semantic components, such as rәkә ‘to walk’ and tʰótso ‘to run’, which also lexicalize the manner of motion, are not discussed here as they do not have special grammatical properties and are not commonly used in serial verb constructions.

The first parameter considered here is inflection. This has to do with the degree of grammaticalization of a motion verb (the last parameter in the table). It is assumed here that the higher the degree of grammaticalization a verb is, the less likely is it to show inflection. This is borne out by ra ‘to go’, which, although still functioning as a motion verb, is also commonly used as a direct evidential marker. All motion verbs that show person-number inflection inflect for the standard three-conjugation paradigm.
Table 9.1: Five Motion Verbs in Munya and Their Properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Directional prefixes</th>
<th>Verbal categories</th>
<th>Compatible time adverbials</th>
<th>Grammaticalization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndú</td>
<td>be going to leave, going</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Optional, except for ngw-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh-tú</td>
<td>be going to come, coming</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Obligatory, except for t'ö-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hë</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Optional, except for ngw-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro</td>
<td>has come, coming</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Optional, except for t'ö-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>In process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>has gone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Optional, except for ngw-</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The second parameter is the ability to take directional prefixes. None of these motion verbs can take the prefix for non-specific direction, \( kʰw- \), so, in the following discussion this prefix is excluded. Aside from this, the motion verbs show variation on whether or not they can take the prefix \( ngu- \) ‘towards the speaker’ and \( tʰo- \) ‘away from the speaker’. This has to do with whether the verb means ‘to come’ or ‘to go’. Motion verbs meaning ‘to go’ cannot take \( ngu- \) ‘TS’ and those meaning ‘to come’ cannot take \( tʰo- \) ‘AS’. This can be explained from the perspective of semantic congruity. The prefix that means ‘away from the speaker’, for example, is semantically incompatible with the root that means ‘to come’.

The third parameter is verbal categories, including aspect (mainly the perfective and the imperfective aspect), the direct evidential and egophorics. We will see that some motion verbs are compatible with one or more of these categories, but others are not.

It is also useful to consider whether a motion verb is compatible with certain time adverbials, such as \( sēsə \) ‘tomorrow’ and \( yisi \) ‘yesterday’. We will see that not all verbs can co-occur with both adverbs. This may indicate that these motion verbs have different Aktionsart.

None of these motion verbs can be causativised.

A serial verb construction in Munya consists of at least two verbs, each of which can be used independently. The serialized verbs or verb phrases are contiguous. Verbs in a serial verb construction function as a single predicate—they share one value of aspect/evidentiality/egophoricity. Clausal grammatical categories are marked only once at the end of the clause.

The properties of each motion verb and their functions within serial verb constructions will be discussed next. This will lead to the discussion on iconicity—the relationship between word order in a serial verb construction and the order of events that they encode. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on symmetrical serial verb constructions.
9.2 Motion Verbs

9.2.1 *ndú*

*ndú* ‘be going to leave, going’ shows person-number inflections: 1SG *ndô*, 2SG *ndɛ* and 1/2NONSG *ndé*. Directional prefixes are optional, but it cannot be *ngɯ* ‘towards the speaker’. This may be because the meaning of this directional prefix is incompatible with the meaning of the verb root. It can only take the two egophoric markers, and is incompatible with the adverb for ‘yesterday’. Two examples are given below:

(233) a. *tɕɑ́tɛ kʰɔ́-le a-rá tseků̃ηů́ zópu é-ndó* ηο
   bike NONS-drive DS-go and 1SG back DS-go/1SG EGO:SAP
   ‘(He) rode on a bike and went downstream and I went behind (him).’

   b. *ŋů́ sésɛ̃ ndő nyi*
   1SG tomorrow go/1SG EGO:AP
   ‘I’m leaving tomorrow.’

This verb always functions as an independent predicate and is not found in a serial verb construction.

9.2.2 *DIR-tʰű*

*DIR-tʰű* ‘be going to come, coming’ also shows person-number inflection: 1SG *DIR-tʰο*, 2SG *DIR-tʰɛ*, 1/2NONSG *DIR-tʰɛ*. The verb root cannot be used without a directional prefix, but the prefix cannot be *tʰo* ‘away from the speaker’. Other properties of this verb are the same as those of *ndú*. In the following example it is directly followed by the egophoric marker *nyi*.

(234) *tʰó-sə ri tə dzɛtɛ̃ɛdzɛ ɛ-tʰű nyi*
   AS-die NMLZ FOC one.hundred.percent DS-come EGO:AP
   ‘Death is certain to come.’

This verb can function as a minor verb in a serial verb construction:
9.2. MOTION VERBS

snake FOC UP-be.thirsty do and water drink go DOWN-come EGO:AP

‘The snake got thirsty and came down to drink.’

9.2.3 hâ

hâ ‘to go’ also shows person-number inflections: 1sg hâ, 2sg hɛ and 1/2NSNG hê. It can optionally take directional prefixes, but is not compatible with ngu- ‘towards the speaker’. This motion verb is compatible with all grammatical categories and time adverbials listed in the table. The two examples below show that it can function as an independent predicate. It is followed by the direct evidential marker in (236a) and both the aspect marker and the egophoric marker in (236b):

(236) a. otsõ yr-hâ ra
   3SG US-go EVID:DIRECT
   ‘He went upstream.’

b. nâ-lũ kʼu hâ po ŋo
   two-CLF:MONTH in go IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP
   ‘I’m leaving in two months.’

It can also act as a transitive verb and mean ‘go and do something’. The exact meaning of it would depend on the semantics of the object. This is illustrated with the two examples below:

(237) a. [ŋi]₁ [tódzø]₀ hâ tsé-sõ
   1SG+ERG construction.worker go NEG-PFV/1SG
   ‘I didn’t go and work as a construction worker.’

b. [mɛnpu]₀ hâ ro
   doctor go go
   ‘Go to see a doctor.’
When occurring in a serial verb construction, *hә́* ‘to go’ can only function as a minor verb. In the two examples below, this motion verb occurs in the V2 slot of the serial verb construction:

(238) a. \(yisə\) \(ro\) \(ɛtɛɛ=ne\) \(yayû\) \([kɔrɔ]\)_\(v1\) \([tɛ-ho]\)_\(v2\) \(ŋo\) 
yesterday \(as.to\) \(PN=COLL.PL\) potato \(dig\) \(UP-go/1SG\) \(EGO:AP\)

‘As to yesterday, I went to dig potatoes for the ɛtɕɛ’s.’

b. \(yonɨ\) \(tɛɛkʰɛ\) \(só-kə\) \(ndzɛ\) \(nyi\) \(pu,\)  
\(1\text{PL.INCL+ERG}\) \(thing\) \(three-CLF:KIND\) \(COP:ANIMATE/1/2\text{NONSG}\) \(EGO:AP\) \(CFP\)

\(óne\) \(né\) \(i\) \([tɛ-dzu]\)_\(v1\) \([hù]\)_\(v2\)

\(3\text{PL}\) \(2\text{SG}\) \(ERG\) \(UP-get\) \(go/2SG\)

‘We have three kinds of things (precious), you go and get (have) them.’

Notice that while in the macro event denoted by the serial verb construction the action of going precedes the action denoted by the main verb, in terms of word order the main verb always comes before the motion verb. In other words, in this type of serial verb construction, the order of the events is not iconic with the order of verbs (more on this in Section 9.2.6).

### 9.2.4 *ro*

*ro* ‘has come, coming’ has three inflectional forms: 1SG *rọ*, 2SG *rì* and 1/2NONSG *rẹ*. Except for *rọ* ‘away from the speaker’, it can take all other directional prefixes. It can also take all grammatical categories and is compatible with both time adverbials. (239) shows that this motion verb can be used as an independent predicate:
‘(My father) asked a person called ɛ̊ri, now deceased, to come. (She) came here, came to our place.’

As an independent predicate, ro invariably means ‘to come’. It is also very common for ro to be used as a minor verb in a serial verb construction, but in many cases it means ‘to go’ when performing this function:

‘After I reached the age of sixty four, I still went to work, went to work as a construction worker, went to build houses, for others.’

This may be seen as an instance of semantic bleaching, to the extent that we assume that a motion verb with deictic center towards the speaker (‘come’) is more marked than a motion verb with deictic center away from the speaker (‘go’). Thus, the change of meaning from ‘come’ to ‘go’ can be seen as becoming less semantically enriched, or more grammaticalized. Note also that in the third clause, tódzó ro ‘go to work as a construction worker’, ro ‘to go’ is used as a transitive verb, just as what we have seen for hə ‘to go’.

The semantic bleaching of ro does not end here. In some other serial verb constructions, the motional sense of ro totally disappears:
In this example, the verb tә́ngә ‘to put on’ is followed by ro ‘to go’, but no sense of motion is conveyed here. That is, the dancers do not need to ‘go’ and then put on dancing costumes. The meaning of ro here is hard to capture. It may have some telicity or completive meaning and is on its path to grammaticalizing into an aspect marker.

Since, in some serial verb constructions, the minor verb ro has lost its motional sense, to denote the sense of motion another ro can be used after it. This is what we see in (242):

(242) metɔ́.i.púmu.totsé.ʦi le tsé i lá [kʰu-tʰá]v₁ [ro]v₂ [rō]v₃
PN DAT REFLE/3SG ERG bride NONS-ask.for go come/1SG
ŋo, tsé ye lá ri tɛ se nyi
EGO:SAP REFLE/3SG POSS bride come/2SG say PFV EGO:AP

‘(The son of the king’s family) said to meto i pumu totsetsi: “I have come and ask for a bride, come and be my bride.”’

In this example, V2, ro, has lost the motional meaning. To denote motion another ro ‘come’ is used, which occurs in the V3 slot and bears person-number inflection.

The verb with concrete motional meaning does not have to be ro. After the semantically bleached ro we also find DIR-tʰũ ‘to come’ (see 235 above), hã ‘to go’ (243a) and ra ‘to go’ (243b):

D.M production.team in work do go go

‘(I) went to work in the production team.’
b. \textit{otsi okʰó} [\textit{kʰ-r-séŋa}]_{v1} [\textit{ro}]_{v2} [\textit{ná-ra}]_{v3} \textit{se nyi} \\
3SG+ERG DEM NONS-listen go DOWN-go PFV EGO:AP \\
‘He went down over there to listen.’

This semantic bleaching may be the reason why some verb roots have \textit{ro} as their final syllable. Because \textit{ro} is frequently used as V2 in a serial verb construction, it has been reanalyzed as an inherent part of the verb before it. Examples include \textit{lamiro} ‘to look after livestock’, \textit{tʰo-ntsʰóro} ‘to have fun, to visit a family and have a chat’ and \textit{bíro} ‘to urinate’.

\textbf{9.2.5 \textit{ra}}

The grammatical function of \textit{ra} was discussed in the section on evidentiality (8.4.1). Here we will focus on its properties as a motion verb. When functioning as a motion verb, it does not show person-number inflection, can optionally take all directional prefixes except for \textit{ngɯ-} ‘towards the speaker’, can only be followed by the perfective aspect marker, and is compatible with ‘yesterday’ but not ‘tomorrow’. The two examples below show \textit{ra} function as a predicate:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{tsɤ́lɤ yú ra se} \\
cat again go PFV \\
‘The cat left again (roaming outside and not going back home at night).’
\item \textit{otsә́ te-rә́ se nyi} \\
3SG UP-go PFV EGO:AP \\
‘He went up.’
\end{enumerate}

It can only be a minor verb in a serial verb construction, occurring at the V2 slot, as is shown in (245) below (repeated from 233a), or V3 slot, as was shown in (243b):

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ɛɣö́ i tsάtɛ [kʰ-o-la]_{v1} [a-rә́]}_{v2} \\
uncle ERG bike NONS-ride DS-go \\
‘Uncle rode on a bike and went downstream.’
\end{enumerate}
The path of grammaticalization of *ra* from a motion verb to an evidential marker is hard to trace\(^1\). Synchronically, it is always clear whether *ra* should be interpreted as a motion verb or an evidential marker. If it takes a directional prefix, then it is a motion verb, regardless of whether it is the only predicate in a clause (244b) or a minor verb in a serial verb construction (243b and 245). If it does not take any directional prefix but is the only verb in a clause, then it is also a motion verb, as is shown in (244a). If it follows a verb but is not taking any directional prefix, then it is an evidential marker, and in this case no sense of motion is involved. An ideal example for the mid-ground status of *ra* would be in a serial verb construction where *ra* is functioning as a minor verb and retains its motional sense, but currently no such example has been found.

There is another motion verb, *kʰɯ́-tʂɛ* ‘to arrive (NONS-arrive)’, which, when used in a serial verb construction, behaves the same as other motion verbs discussed above:

\[(246)\]
\[
\text{ndʑito-u=ne} \quad \text{dʑú} \quad \text{[kʰw-tĥ̊̚e]\text{\textit{v1}}} \quad \text{[ro]\text{\textit{v2}}} \quad \text{[kʰu-ʦe]}_{\text{\textit{v3}}}
\]
\[
\text{PN-person=PL} \quad \text{donation} \quad \text{NONS-ask.for} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{NONS-arrive}
\]

‘Villagers of ndʑitó arrived asking for a donation.’

We can see that *kʰu-tṣɛ* ‘arrive’ follows the main verb in the serial verb construction and the word order in the construction is not iconic. However, since this verb does not have any of the special features that other motion verbs have, and serial verb constructions containing this motion verb are not as common as those containing other motion verbs, this verb is not discussed separately.

### 9.2.6 Iconicity

If we examined (245) more closely, we would find that the word order in the serial verb construction of this example is iconic, i.e., the event of bike riding precedes the event of going downstream, as do the two verbs coding the two events. This is different from other examples of serial verb constructions given from 9.2.2 to 9.2.4, where the motion event precedes the event denoted by the main verb, but the motion verb follows the main verb.

---

\(^1\)An anonymous examiner pointed out that the two “*ra*’s could be just accidentally homonymous. This begs the question why the motion verb *ra* cannot be followed by the evidential *ra*.\)
What, then, determines whether the word order in a serial verb construction containing a minor motion verb is iconic or not? The answer lies in the semantics of the main verb. We can see that in (245), the main verb, which is kʰɔ́-lә ‘to drive, to ride’, is motional. In all other examples where the word order is non-iconic, the main verbs are non-motional, e.g., lɛ́kɛ́ vɯ́ ‘to work’ (243a), tɕʰɯ́ ‘to drink’ (235) and kʰɤséŋa ‘to listen’ (243b). Because the semantics of the main verbs are different, the semantic relations between the main verbs and the minor motion verbs are different accordingly. When the main verb is non-motional, the relation between the serialized verbs is Motion and Purpose (go/come in order to do something), with Motion coded by the motion verb and Purpose coded by the main verb. When the main verb is motional, the relation is Motion and Result (move and go/come to a certain place), with Motion coded by the main motion verb and result coded by the minor motion verb. Because of the syntactic constraint in Munya which rules that a minor motion verb has to follow the main verb in a serial verb construction, the word order is not always iconic with the order of events.

Another constraint is semantic, and determines whether a serial verb construction is permitted or not. In Munya, even if there are two verbs in a clause and one of them is motional, if the semantic relation between the two verbs is not one of Motion and Purpose or Motion and Result, the two verbs cannot occur in a serial verb construction, but need to be connected by tsәkɯ́ ‘and, then’:

(247) ηɪw i tsәkɯ́ mɛkʰɒ kʰu tsәkɯ́ tʂáŋ tɔ-lɔ le tʃɔpɛ

1SG ERG D.M chimney in D.M spider one-CLF:GENR DAT transformation

nó-vw tʃɔkɯ́ ná-tʃɔ ɲʊ

DOWN-make and DOWN-come/1SG EGO:SAP

‘I will transform into a spider in the chimney and come down.’

In this example, the verb phrase tʃɔpɛ nóvw ‘transform (transformation do)’ and the verb nátʃɔ ‘to come down’ are connected by tsәkɯ́. This is because the relation between the two events denoted by the two verbs is one of sequence—first the speaker (a demon) transforms into a spider, then it comes down. It is not a relation of Motion and Purpose (coming down in order to transform into a spider).
Using *tsəkù ‘and, then’* between two verbs to indicate that the two events denoted are sequential can be seen as a disambiguation technique. Because of the syntactic constraint mentioned above, that is, the minor motion verb invariably follows the main verb in a serial verb construction, if two verbs in a sequential relation is not separated by *tsəkù ‘and, then’*, it can be hard to determine whether the relations between the two verbs is one of Motion and Purpose (e.g., come down in order to transform) or one of Sequence (e.g., transform then come down). The solution in Munya is to use the serial verb construction to denote Motion and Purpose and the linker *tsəkù ‘and, then’* to denote Sequence.

This grammatical distinction can also be seen as an instance of iconicity: If two events are closely connected, they tend to be formally realized as a single predicate, whereas if they are only loosely connected, some formal linkage is needed. Notionally, two events in the relation of Motion and Purpose are more strongly united and more likely to form a coherent marco-event, hence they can occur in a serial verb construction. In contrast, two events occurring in a temporal sequence are not necessarily close together, therefore some formal marking is used to connect them.

### 9.3 Serial Verb Constructions Containing Verbs Other Than Motion Verbs

Serial verb constructions can be divided into asymmetrical serial verb constructions and symmetrical serial verb constructions based on their composition. In an asymmetrical serial verb construction, one verb comes from a semantically or grammatically closed subclass, while in a symmetrical serial verb construction all verbs come from open classes (Aikhenvald 2006). Strictly speaking, the serial verb constructions discussed above are all asymmetrical serial verb constructions, as they all contain motion verbs, which come from a closed semantic class.
### 9.3.1 Asymmetrical Serial Verb Constructions

Aside from motion verbs, at least two verbs can be used as a minor verb in an asymmetrical serial verb construction. The first one is *vu*, of which the closest translation I can give is ‘do’. It can be used as an auxiliary and form an analytic imperative construction (cf. Section 13.3). Additionally, it can be an independent verb in a clause and a minor verb in a serial verb construction. The two examples below show that it can be used as an independent verb:

(248) a. nɛ́ i mo-\textit{vu} sü nyi pu

\hspace{1cm} 2SG ERG NEG-do PFV/2SG EGO:AP CFP

‘You didn’t do (it right).’

b. séšǝ ɛzǝ \textit{vu} pi hâ-nyu-ko ti

\hspace{1cm} tomorrow what do IMPF formative-NEG-know/1SG STA

‘(I) don’t know what (he will) do tomorrow.’

As a minor verb in a serial verb construction, its semantic contribution is trivial, and does not show person-number inflection:

(249) a. yonî mənyê sü [tâ]_{v1} \textit{vu}_v2 hi nyi

\hspace{1cm} 1PL.INCL+ERG Munya language say do will EGO:AP

‘We will speak Munya.’

b. nî otsɛ́ tâ tô-lô [kʰ̥-t̪r]_{v1} \textit{vu}_v2 nə

\hspace{1cm} 1SG+ERG 3SG+EXP hat one-CLF:GENR NONS-buy do EGO:SAP

‘I bought a hat for him/her.’

c. nũ two [kʰɔ-ŋɔ]_{v1} \textit{vu}_v2 nə nyũ-ŋa

\hspace{1cm} 1SG EXP NONS-help do even NEG-will

‘(They) wouldn’t even help me.’
vyú can even be used after a non-control verb. This is shown in (250) (reproduced from 235), where vyú is used after tivi ‘to be thirsty’:

(250) tudʐí tse ti-vi vyú tsəkʉ́ tsə́ tɕʰʉ́ ro no-tʰú nyi

snake FOC UP-be.thirsty do and water drink go DOWN-come EGO:AP

‘The snake got thirsty and went down to drink.’

The function of this minor verb in the serial verb construction is not clear. It might be the vestige of an erstwhile verb with more semantic content. Prefixed with no- ‘downward’ it can be used as a verb of more concrete meaning, such as ‘to do’ or ‘to make’. However, nóvvu ‘do, make’ is not found to be used in serial verb constructions, nor can the minor verb vyú in the above examples be replaced by nóvvu.

The second non-motional verb that can act as V2 in a serial verb construction is tʰo-dí ‘to finish (AS-finish)’. It is a canonical verb—it takes a directional prefix, inflects for person-number, and can take aspectual and evidential markers. The directional prefixes do not appear to be shared by the components of serial verb constructions; so, each prefix has an individual component in its scope.

(251) shows tʰo-dí ‘finish’ functions as V2 in a serial verb construction:

(251) yayʉ́ [ɑ́-ko]₁ [tʰo-dí]₂ sa

potato DS-dig AS-finish PFV

‘(They have) finished digging potatoes.’

While tʰoḍi ‘to finish’ can function as a minor verb in a serial verb construction, kʰɔ́-ri ‘to begin (NONS-begin)’ cannot. As a secondary verb, kʰɔ́-ri can take a complement clause as its argument, but the verb in the complement clause needs to be nominalized by ri or take the dative case le. In other words, the secondary verb and the verb in the complement clause cannot be serialized. These are illustrated with the two examples below:

(252) a. otsi lɛ́kɛ́ tʰo-viú ri kʰɔ́-ri

3SG+ERG work AS-do NMLZ NONS-begin

‘He began to work.’
9.3. SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS CONTAINING VERBS OTHER THAN MOTION VERBS

b. nónó ʨɛ́ tɕʰɯ le kʰɔ-ɔ-re?

morning tea DS-drink DAT NONS-INTRG-begin/1/2NONS

‘Have you begun to have breakfast?’

Words expressing other secondary concepts (Dixon 2012b: 399), such as nɯ ‘dare’, tsʰu ‘to allow’, tʰɑ ‘can’, are auxiliaries. While these words show some verbal properties, they are not canonical verbs and can seldom act as predicates (Section 5.8). Because of this, a ‘primary verb + auxiliary’ complex is not viewed as a serial verb construction.

9.3.2 Symmetrical Serial Verb Constructions

Compared with asymmetrical serial verb constructions, symmetrical serial verb constructions are not as common in Munya. This type of serial verb constructions is semantically compositional, and the order of components is iconic. The example in (253) is elicited:

(253) diɛ́sә [kʰu-yɛ́] ʦə [nbí] sō nyi

TV NONS-watch sit PFV/1SG EGO:AP

‘(I’m) sitting and am now watching TV.’

The two events denoted by the two verb phrases, sitting and watching TV, occur simultaneously. Although both verbs are from open classes, the two actions are not of equal status. The main action is watching TV, while ‘sitting’ is just an accompanying action. Note that in this example, the aspectual marker is perfective. This is because nbí 'to sit' is a verb of achievement, and requires the perfective aspect to denote an on-going state achieved after the action is performed (Section 8.3.1).

If the order of the two verbs is switched, they would need to be linked by tsəkũ ‘and, then’:

(254) nbí tsəkũ tiɛ́sә kʰu-yɛ́ po nyi

sit and TV NONS-watch IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

‘I have sat down and now am watching TV.’
In this case, the actions denoted by the two verbs are sequential rather than simultaneous. This word-order constraint is very similar to the one in the serial verb constructions with minor motion verbs. Thus, there seems to be a general syntactic constraint in the Munya serial verb construction where a conceptually secondary verb should follow the primary verb.

9.4 Summary

In this chapter we first looked at the grammatical properties of five motion verbs. We discussed whether or not they show person-number inflections, the directional prefixes that they can take, the verbal categories and time adverbials that they can co-occur with, and whether or not they can be used as minor verbs in serial verb constructions. We then moved on to serial verb constructions. It was shown that there are both symmetrical and asymmetrical serial verb constructions, though the former type is much rarer than the latter type. Serial verb constructions in Munya do not obey the rule of temporal iconicity, because the grammatical rule of Munya is such that conceptually secondary verbs should follow primary verbs.
Chapter 10

Copula Verbs

10.1 Semantic Relations and the Copula Determining Referent

In this chapter we look at the copula verbs in Munya. The semantic relations covered by Munya copula verbs include IDENTITY, EXISTENCE, LOCATION and POSSESSION (based on the parameters given in Dixon 2012b: Chapter 14). Since all the copulas that can denote EXISTENCE in Munya also cover relations of LOCATION and POSSESSION, they will be termed ‘copulas of existence’ (Section 10.4). Aside from this type, there are two others, one for IDENTITY, which is ŋo (Section 10.3), and one negative copula, which is mé (Section 10.5).

The grammatical properties and functions of Munya copulas to be discussed in this chapter are given in Table 10.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic parameter</th>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Nature of CDR</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>DP</th>
<th>Extended function(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IDENTITY</td>
<td>ŋo</td>
<td>no restriction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>egophoric, mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tsú</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndzú</td>
<td>animate</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>progressive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>upright</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>honorific</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰw</td>
<td>contained</td>
<td>optional</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mú</td>
<td>movable</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>progressive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndé</td>
<td>abstract</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>modal particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATION</td>
<td>mé</td>
<td>no restriction</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A prominent property of the copula verbs in Munya, and many other Tibeto-Burman
languages as well, is that the choice of copulas of existence is determined by the nature of the referent of a copula argument (e.g., DeLancey 1992a; W. F. Sun 2015; S. H. Zhang and Yu 2017). As an illustration, consider the pair of examples in (255):

(255) a. $[dʐópu \ tó-tsʰe]_{CS} \ tʰo-ndzú\li \ sə$
   \hspace{1cm} \text{king one-CLF:FAMILY AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV}$
   \hspace{1cm} ‘There was a king’s family.’

b. $[raw̥ɛ̃ \ kiko \ té-ve]_{CS} \ tʰó-tsɯ\li \ sə$
   \hspace{1cm} \text{stone.plate big one-CLF:THIN AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV}$
   \hspace{1cm} ‘There was a big stone plate.’

Both copulas here denote EXISTENCE and each clause has only one argument, realized as CS. The choice of copulas in this pair of examples is determined by the animacy of the referent of that argument. The referents in (255a), the king and his family members, are animate, hence the use of $t⁷o-ndzú \ ‘AS-COP:ANIMATE’$. In contrast, the referent of (255b), which is a stone plate, is inanimate, therefore the copula should be $tʰó-tsɯ \ ‘AS-COP:INANIMATE’$.

The copulas in the examples below have two arguments, a CS and a CC:

(256) a. $[tsʰɪr̥]_{CS} [tsé \ kʰu]_{CC} \ ndzú \ nyi$
   \hspace{1cm} \text{cat house in COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP}$
   \hspace{1cm} ‘The cat is in the house.’

b. $[pikʰũ]_{CS} [tsé \ kʰu]_{CC} \ tsɯ\li \ nyi$
   \hspace{1cm} \text{bag house in COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP}$
   \hspace{1cm} ‘The bag is in the house.’

c. $[nbú \ le]_{CS} [tsʰərõ]_{CC} \ i \ nyi$
   \hspace{1cm} \text{mountain on tree COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP}$
   \hspace{1cm} ‘There are trees on the mountain. (lit. The mountain is standing (with) trees.)’
10.2. THE GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF COPULA VERBS

10.2. THE GRAMMATICAL PROPERTIES OF COPULA VERBS

Copulas can all be used without any directional prefix. If a copula clause refers to a perfective situation, the copula needs to be prefixed with *tʰo-* ‘away from the speaker’.

The only copula that obligatorily shows person-number inflection is the one which

1 Many thanks to Alexandra Aikhenvald for suggesting this term.
requires animate CDRs, namely ndʑɯ́ ‘COP:ANIMATE’. The one for contained CDR, kʰɯ́, can optionally index person-number information. The reason why some copulas do not show person-number marking may have to do with their functions. For example, since the CDR for tɕɯ́ can only be inanimate, this copula cannot inflect for person.

Only CS can receive case marking in restricted situations. When it denotes a location, CS can be optionally marked by the oblique case ku. When the copula denotes possession, the CS can be marked by the genitive case, the ergative case, or the dative case. CC can never be case-marked.

Copula verbs can take the egophoric nyi, the stative aspect ti and the perfective aspect sa. They normally do not take the imperfective aspect marker ((281b) and (290) are exceptions) or the direct evidential marker ((264) is an exception).

10.3 The Copula of Identity

There is one copula of IDENTITY, which is ŋo:

(257) [otsá]₉₉ [vá]₈₈ ŋo ti

DEM butter be STA

‘This is butter.’

It is possible to leave out the copula ŋo and get a verbless clause that denotes the similar equative sense:

(258) [mème]₉₉ tsakú₈₈ [phieátso]₉₉ nyi

everyone D.M peasant EGO:AP

‘Everyone used to be a peasant.’

This copula can take the directional prefix tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’:

(259) [otsé₇₇ mónyɔ]₉₇ [demü₉₉ tó-lō]₉₈ tʰo-ŋo sa nyi

3SG+POSS wife demoness one-CLF:GENR AS-be PFV EGO:AP

‘His wife was a demoness.’
ŋo has grammaticalized into an egophoric marker, and its prefixed form, together with the perfective aspect sa, has grammaticalized into a mirative marker. These were discussed in Sections 8.5 and 8.6.

10.4 The Copulas of Existence

10.4.1 tɕɯ́ (Inanimate CDR)

As a copula of existence, tɕɯ́ requires that its CDR should be inanimate (hence COP:INANIMATE):

(260) a. [pókoʃǝ tó-ð]CS tɕɯ́ nyi
    storeroom one-CLF:GENR COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP
    ‘There was a storeroom.’

b. [ɾawɛ́ kiko tɛ́-vɛ]CS tʰo-tɕɯ́ sa
    stone.plate big one-CLF:THIN AS-COP:INANIMATE PFV
    ‘There was a piece of a big stone plate.’

It denotes location in the following example (repeated from 256b):

(261) [pikʰú]CS [tsé kʰu]CC tɕɯ́ nyi
    bag house in COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP
    ‘The bag is in the house.’

If the CDR is an animate entity, there would be the implication that the referent is dead:

(262) [tsɜ́tʃ]CS [hóti]CC tɕɯ́ nyi
    cat where COP:INANIMATE EGO:AP
    ‘Where is the (dead) cat?’
10.4.2 ndʑù (Animate CDR)

In the majority of cases, the copula verb *ndʑù* is used when the CDR is animate (hence COP:ANIMATE). It can also take the directional prefix *tʰo-* (263a) and show person-number inflection (263b):

(263) a. \[okʰó\ CS DEM \[tsʰɛ́nbɛ\ CC upstream hermit \[tʰo-ndʑù\ AS-COP:ANIMATE \ sə PFV \]

‘A hermit is living upstream over there.’

b. \[ŋɯ́\ CS 1SG \[fɑ́kɔ\ CC France \[ndʑó\ COP:ANIMATE/1SG nyi EGO:AP \]

‘I’m in France.’

In the following example *ndʑù* is followed by the direct evidential marker:

(264) \[dzópu\ tó-lō\ CS king \[okʰú\ CC one-CLF:GENR DEM ndʑù\ COP:ANIMATE ra EVID:DIRECT \]

‘A king is among (them).’

This sentence comes from a story, and is uttered by a group of people during a king selection ceremony, after they find that three children have been hiding in a corner and deduce that one of them must be their future king. This is the only example I have found where *ra* is used after a copula predicate.

While *ndʑù* tends to be employed when the CDR is animate, there are also some examples where the CDR is inanimate:

(265) \[tsʰɛ́rõ\ CS firewood \[i-ndʑu\ INTRG-COP:ANIMATE ti STA \]

‘Is there any firewood?’

*ndʑù* can also denote POSSESSION. In this case the CS can be marked by either the genitive case or the ergative case:
10.4. THE COPULAS OF EXISTENCE

(266) a. \[ngé\]CS \[mémɛ́ tó-zɑ\]CC ndʒó nyi
   \[1SG+GEN grandmother one-CLF:MAN COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP\]

   ‘I have a grandmother.’

b. \[yoni\]CS \[tʃɛ́kʰɛ́ sɔ́-kɑ\]CC ndʒé nyi
   \[1PL:INCL+ERG thing three-CLF:KIND COP:ANIMATE/1/2NONSG EGO:AP\]

   ‘We have three things.’

Note that in these two examples, the copula verb inflects for the person-number of the CS, regardless of the case markers that they take. This is important evidence for analyzing \(γɛ\), which is fused with the first person subject \(ŋɯ́\), as a genitive case instead of a possessive marker. If we analyze \(γɛ\) as a possessive marker, (266a) would become (267):

(267) \[ngɛ́ mɛ́mɛ́ tó-zɑ\]CS ndʒó nyi
   \[1SG+POSS grandmother one-CLF:MAN COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP\]

   ‘I have a grandmother.’

This clause would literally mean that ‘a grandmother of mine exists’. This analysis is untenable because in this case the CS would be in third person, which cannot trigger the person-number inflection on the verb.

\(ndʒu\) is developing into a progressive aspect marker:

(268) a. \[nyɛtʃʰikʰɛ́ teˈɔro\]CS \[tódʒo\]CC ndʒó nyi
   \[PN place construction.worker COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP\]

   ‘I’m working as a construction worker at nyɛtʃʰikʰɛ́.’

b. tiɛ́sə kʰu-yɛ́ ndʒó nyi
   \[TV NONS-watch COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP\]

   ‘(I’m) watching TV.’

In (268a), the copula acts as the predicate but also has a progressive sense. Its meaning has shifted from being purely locational to being involved in some kind of activity
in a location. In (268b), ndżó occurs after the predicate kʰuyɛ́ ‘to watch’ and inflects for the person-number of the (implicit) subject. Here there is no sense of location and its function is purely aspectual.

This path of grammaticalization has occurred in some other Tibeto-Burman languages and in Chinese. In Mandarin, zai denotes LOCATION in (269a) and functions as a progressive aspect marker in (269b):

(269) a. wo zai jia li
   1SG COP home in
   ‘I’m at home.’

   b. wo zai kan dianshi
   1SG PROG watch TV
   ‘I’m watching TV.’

According to Matisoff (1991), similar phenomena are also found in Lahu, Burmese, Thai, Vietnamese, Yao Samsao and Hmong.

The choice of a distinct copula depending on the animacy of the CDR is also found in some other Qiangic languages, such as Guiqiong (Rao 2017) and Ersu (S. H. Zhang and Yu 2017). In Ersu, dʐo can only be the copula of an animate CDR while dʐɑ can only be the copula of an inanimate CDR:

(270) a. [ni mts]CS [a-kua otɔ+pu tʂɑŋa]CC dʐɑ
   2SG.GEN cat DIST-north pear+CLF:PLANT under COP:INANIMATE
   ‘Your cat is under the pear tree in the north.’

   b. [ni mts]CS [a-kua otɔ+pu tʂɑŋa]CC dʐo
   2SG.GEN cat DIST-north pear+CLF:PLANT under COP:ANIMATE
   ‘Your cat is under the pear tree in the north.’ (S. H. Zhang and Yu 2017)

(270a) implies that the cat is dead as the CDR of dʐɑ should be inanimate.
10.4.3 i (Upright CDR)

The CDR of \( i \) are upright objects, such as grass, as in (271a), or trees, as in (271b), or body, as in (271c) (hence COP:UPRIGHT):

(271) a. hóti té-tæo hæ næ tsékʰɛ ešæo nyi, [ɛ́ndzæ ri]ₜₗ[káro
wherever up-drive go also grass always EGO:AP eat NMLZ terribly
\( i \) nyi
COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP

‘Wherever I drove (the cattle) to, there was always grass, there was always a lot of grass to eat.’

b. [náu]ₜₐ[tətsæ káro tʰo-i se nyi
forest very terribly AS-COP:UPRIGHT PFV EGO:AP

‘The forest was terribly dense.’

c. [zépu]ₜₐ[ɛntólö tʰo-i na otsæ tʰɛ-næ rũ nyi
body however AS-COP:UPRIGHT no.matter DEM AS-old will EGO:AP matsʰé

‘No matter what kind of body it is, it will eventually grow old.’

In the following example \( i \) denotes the sense of POSSESSION:

(272) [ngé]ₜₐ[nyrsãoš ṣiw]ₜₗ[ti
1SG+GEN ear good COP:UPRIGHT STA

‘I have good ears.’

Here the copula is used because ears grow upward. Note that in this example the subject is marked by the genitive case. This is different from the two examples in (273):
(273) a. \[tʂótsi\]_{CS} le [ngó rí-zɛ]_{CC} i ti
deck DAT leg four-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA

'A desk has four legs.'

b. \[tɕә́tsö\]_{CS} le [tʂʰәnbɯ́ nɛ-zɛ]_{CC} i ti
livestock DAT horn two-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA

'Livestock has two horns.'

Although in these two examples it can be argued that the relation between CS and CC is one of part-whole possession, the CS's are both marked by the dative case. This may be because when denoting the sense of possession with copulas in Munya, the genitive case and the ergative case can only be used when the possessee are human referents (cf. 266 and 267).

There are reasons to believe that this copula verb is restricted to the northern dialect. Firstly, this word is not documented by B. F. Huang (1985) and Ikeda (2010), who worked on the southern dialect. Secondly, my consultant told me that when he makes telephone calls to his relatives living in the south, asking them whether caterpillar funguses have come out (the major economic source for Munya people), he would say (274a), but his relatives in the south would say (274b):

(274) a. \[nbətsá\]_{CS} ɛ-i nyi
caterpillar.fungus INTRG-COP:UPRIGHT EGO:AP

'Has caterpillar funguses come out?'

b. \[nbətsá\]_{CS} ɛ-ndzu nyi
caterpillar.fungus INTRG-COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

'Has caterpillar fungues come out?'

It was mentioned above that ndzu is the copula which requires an animate CDR in the northern dialect. The fact that it selects an animate copula indicates that caterpillar fungus is seen as an animate being in Munya culture (\[nbətsá\] also means 'worm' or 'insect').
Considering that the northern dialect is changing faster than the southern dialect in many aspects, the copula verb *i* may be an innovation of the former.

### 10.4.4 ü (Honorific CDR)

*ü* is an honorific copula verb. It is used when the CDR is related to Buddhism, typically for a lama or a temple (hence COP:HONO):

(275) *[nbú]*<sub>CS</sub> *le* *[gönbé]*<sub>CC</sub> *ü*<sub>COP:HONO</sub> *ti*

mountain on monastery COP:HONO STA

‘There is a monastery on the mountain. (lit. On the mountain a monastery exists.)’

The honorific style is further discussed in Section 15.5.

### 10.4.5 kʰɯ́ (Contained CDR)

The copula *kʰɯ́* can also denote the relations of EXISTENCE, LOCATION or POSSESSION. Researchers generally agree that the meaning of this copula involves ‘containment’ (cf. H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985; Ikeda 2010) (hence COP:CONTAIN). For instance, (276) is what my consultant would say to me every morning when I went to the living room for breakfast:

(276) *[ndʐé]*<sub>CS</sub> *ɛ-kʰɯ́*<sub>INTRG-COP:CONTAIN</sub> *ti*

rice INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA

‘Is there any rice?’

What he meant was that I go and check the rice cooker to see if there is any rice leftover from yesterday, which I could heat up for breakfast. Because the rice is contained in the rice cooker, the copula verb chosen here is *kʰɯ́*.

*kʰɯ́* is also used when the CDR is a lake or a river:
10.4. THE COPULAS OF EXISTENCE

This copula is used here probably because water bodies are construed as being contained within an area in Munya.

The relation of ‘containment’ can be very abstract and sometimes there is no concrete container. For instance, when one kind of material is part of or mixed with another kind, kʰɯ́ can also be used:

(278) [tsɛkʰɯ́ tʰo]CS tsʰɛnɑ̀ [nɑ̀-kɑ]CC kʰɯ́ nyi, [tɕudó
sour.water in still two-CLF:KIND COP:CONTAIN EGO:AP name.of.milk.product

‘In the sour water there are still two kinds (of milk product), and one of them is tɕudo.’

kʰɯ́ can also denote POSSESSION. In this case the CS can be marked by the genitive case and the copula can optionally show inflection:

(279) a. [ŋɛ́]CS [m]i [sɪvɯ]CC nyû-kʰɯ́ ti
1SG+GEN eye good NEG-COP:CONTAIN STA

‘My eyes are not good.’

b. [tsɛ́]CS ɣɛ́ [dʐɛ́]CC nyû-kʰo,
REFL/3SG GEN voice NEG-COP:CONTAIN/1SG dance to.dance NEG-can/1SG

‘I don’t have a good voice, nor can I dance.’
The two clauses are produced by different speakers and the same copula inflects in (279b) but not in (279a). This indicates that there are some inter-speaker variations as to whether agreement is marked for this copula or not.

10.4.6 mú (Movable CDR)

Another copula verb in Munya is mú. It cannot take any directional prefix, nor does it inflect for the person-number of CS. Furthermore, it cannot be followed by the egophoric nyi nor the stative aspect ti, and can only be marked for imperfectiveness. H. K. Sun (1983) claims that it is used to denote the existence of movable objects and gave the example in (280) (my glossing) (hence COP:MOVE):

(280) \[tʂotsɯ\]\textsubscript{CS} pu \[phɯlɑ te-zuże\]\textsubscript{CC} mú
desk on bowl one-pile COP:MOVE

‘There is a pile of bowls on the desk.’

B. F. Huang (1985) suggests that it denotes the objects that the speaker has seen and Ikeda (2010) believes it has some sense of evidentiality, but neither of them provided enough evidence to support their arguments.

Some examples from my corpus are given below:

(281) a. [ti]\textsubscript{CS} ɛ́-mú?
someone INTRG-COP:MOVE

‘Anyone here?’

b. [hóti]\textsubscript{CC} mú pɛ nyi?
where COP:MOVE IMPF/2SG EGO:AP

‘Where are you?’

c. [okʰó]\textsubscript{CS} [tsʰәrö́ tɛ́-żɛ tʰɑ́-la se]\textsubscript{CC} mú
DEM tree one-CLF:LONG AS-fall PFV COP:MOVE

‘There is a fallen tree over there.’
(281a) was addressed to me by a neighbor in the fieldwork location, who asked me if there was anyone at home. The CS in (281b) is second person singular, which can be seen from the marking on the imperfective aspect. The clause in (281c) denotes a locational relation, where the referent of CC is inanimate.

This copula can also express POSSESSION:

(282) dzópu támę t̥e re kʰɛktʰɛ tó-te i kʰo tíne
king real FOC and different one-CLF:MAN ERG at.all anything
há-nyu-kō ti ša, [onɛ]CS [ndzú katsʰá tó-ló]CC
formative-NEG-know STA but 3PL+GEN friend bad one-CLF:GENR
mú
COP:MOVE

‘The real king and the other one don’t know anything, but they have a bad friend.’

In this example, the copula subject is the third person plural, and is marked by the genitive case.

Similar to ndzú, mú can also function secondarily as a progressive marker. In the following example it follows the verb nó-vu ‘to make’:

(283) yúpemɛtʰɛ ŋe dzópu kʰu-ndzó tșekw tőlɛtʰa tšipu nó-vu
PN POSS king NONS-become and very happy DOWN-make
mú
COP:MOVE

‘(He) has become the king of yúpemɛtʰɛ and is having a great time.’

10.4.7 ndé (Abstract CDR)

The CDRs for ndé are typically abstract or intangible objects (hence COP:ABSTRACT). In the following example the CC refers to ‘spring festival’:
10.4. THE COPULAS OF EXISTENCE

(284) \( [\text{okʰó}_\text{CS} \ \text{[lūsō]}_\text{CC} \ \text{ɛ-ndé} \ \text{nyi}] \)

DEM spring.festival INTRG-COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘Is there a spring festival over there?’

Very commonly, this copula takes a nominalized clause as its subject:

(285) a. \( [\text{tōndá këyi} \ \text{tu-śó} \ \text{rl}_\text{CS} \ \text{ndé} \ \text{nyi}] \)

thing many UP-talk NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘There are lots of things to talk about.’

b. \( [\text{nîsɯ gú le kú} \ \text{tsækù gútʰu tépi} \ \text{tó-wu} \ \text{kʰi-tså} \ \text{rl}_\text{CS} \ \text{ndé} \ \text{nyi}] \)

twenty ninth at OBL D.M PN be.called one-CLF:MEAL NONS-COOK NMLZ COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘On the twenty ninth (of December), (we) cook a kind of meal called gutʰu.’

More discussion on this construction can be found in Section 6.5.5.

The CDR for this copula can also be a concrete object. In the following example, the CC refers to cliffs:

(286) \( [\text{ngö}_\text{CS} \ \text{[tšá tsʰōtsʰō} \ \text{tó-lō} \ \text{nyínyi} \ \text{tó-lō]}_\text{CC} \ \text{tʰó-ndé} \ \text{se}] \)

up.behind.the.house cliff white one-CLF:GENR red one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ABSTRACT PFV

‘There is a white cliff and a red cliff up behind the house.’

This copula can be used as a modal particle denoting certainty. In the following example, it is used after a full clause:

(287) \( \text{tsʰálá yé pi ndé} \)

dance look.good IMPF COP:ABSTRACT

‘The dance must have been very good.’
10.4.8 The Missing ndʐe

Previous researchers (H. K. Sun 1983; B. F. Huang 1985; Ikeda 2010; Yin 2013) have all documented another copula word, which is ndʐe, arguing that it denotes the sense of ‘one thing mixed with another’. A selection of examples from previous research are given below (all re-glossed for consistency):

(288) a. [etsɯ mintsʰa le]CS [tu]CC ndʐe ni

DEM mushroom DAT poison COP EGO:AP

‘This mushroom is poisonous.’ H. K. Sun (1983)

b. [ɣui tɕʰɐ]CS [tɕɯ]CC ndʐe ni

wine in water COP EGO:AP

‘There is water in the wine.’ B. F. Huang (1985)

c. [lo tʃʰo]CS [mbø]CC ndʐe ti

milk in sugar COP STA

‘There is sugar in the milk.’ Yin (2013)

However, I have not found such a copula in the northern dialect. This may be because similar meaning is expressible with kʰɯ́ in this dialect (see Section 10.4.5).

10.5 The Negative Copula mé

Copulas can be negated with negative prefixes (cf. the two examples in 279). A negated copula is sometimes interchangeable with the negative copula mé. The negative copula can denote NON-EXISTENCE or NON-POSSESSION (hence COPULA:NEG). It cannot take any directional prefix nor show person-number inflection. Consider the two examples below:

(289) a. [pɛtʰɑ́=nә kʰɤ tɤ́ mi]CS mé, [tɑ́yɛ́]CS mé nyi

white.sugar=PL NONS-buy NMLZ COPULA:NEG money COPULA:NEG EGO:AP

‘Nobody could buy white sugar, as there was no money.’
b. ŋɯnә́ lötɕʰó nyi ke [tɕʰítɕa tölö tɕʰitɕa ri] CS mé
1PL.EXCL young EGO:AP and very PAR DS-be.tired NMLZ COPULA:NEG ti
STA

‘We were young and it was not the case that we got very tired.’

mé does not have any constraint on the nature of its CDR. The CS refers to human and inanimate object in (289a) and an abstract situation in (289b).

In the following example, mé denotes NON-POSSESSION, and the CS is marked by the genitive case:

(290) tsәkɯ́ [tséɣɛ] CS na [tsʰәrә] CC mé pi
D.M REFL/3SG GEN also firewood COPULA:NEG IMPF

‘He doesn’t have any firewood either.’

10.6 The Functions of the Directional Prefix tʰo-

It can be seen from the discussion above that many copulas can optionally take the directional prefix tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’. What conditions the use of this prefix? To answer this question, we can compare the distribution of copula verbs with tʰo- with those without it, focusing on the grammatical categories occurring after copulas. These are summarized in Table 10.2.

The comparison reveals that there is a strong correlation between the directional prefix tʰo- and the perfective auxiliary sa. The upper block of the table shows that when the copula takes the directional prefix, it tends to be followed by the perfective particle sa. However, the last example in this block, (271c), seems to be a counterexample, as here the copula is followed by a clause linker na ‘even if’. Another situation where the copula is prefixed with tʰo- but there is no perfective marker is when they occur in a conditional subordinate clause marked by tʰo ‘if’: 
### Table 10.2: A Comparison of Copulas with and Without tʰo-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula with tʰo</th>
<th>Following marker</th>
<th>Example Num.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-ndʑɯ́ sә</td>
<td>sә</td>
<td>(255a), (263a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰó-ŋo sә</td>
<td>sә</td>
<td>(259)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰó-tɕɯ sә</td>
<td>sә</td>
<td>(255b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-í sә nyi</td>
<td>sә nyi</td>
<td>(271b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰó-ŋo sә</td>
<td>sә nyi</td>
<td>(277)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-ndә́ sә</td>
<td>sә</td>
<td>(286)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰo-í</td>
<td>na ‘even if’</td>
<td>(271c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula without tʰo</th>
<th>Following marker</th>
<th>Example Num.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndʑɯ́ nyi</td>
<td>(256a), (274b), (263b), (266a), (266b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋó ti</td>
<td>(257)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕɯ́ nyi</td>
<td>(256b), (260a), (262)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i nyi</td>
<td>(256c), (271a), (274a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰɯ́ ti</td>
<td>(256d), (276), (278)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü ti</td>
<td>(275)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndә́ nyi</td>
<td>(284)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mú pi</td>
<td>(281b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé nyi/ti/pi/</td>
<td>(289), (290)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(291) óntolö kesi tʰo-ndә́ tʰó, lendʑí.muluwé té rí tsә tatá tólö

DEM really AS-COP:ABSTRACT if karma say NMLZ TOP clear PAR

tʰó-va tɕɛ́-pi

AS-COME.OUT NEG-IMPF

‘If that were really the case, the so called karma will not be clear.’

The two counterexamples can be explained by noting that both na ‘even if’ and tʰo ‘if’ are clause linkers which introduce a kind of hypothetical situations, and they require that the copulas before them to take the directional prefix. The copulas in the lower block of Table 10.2 have no directional prefixes, nor are they followed by sә. These include the copulas that cannot take this directional prefix in any situation, such as mú ‘COP:MOVE’ and me ‘COPULA:NEG’.

We can thus claim that the copular directional prefix tʰo- tends to co-occur with the perfective particle sә. The question to be answered now is, why is there such a correlation? The tentative hypothesis offered here, is that the directional prefix tʰo- functions as the perfective marker on copula verbs.

This function of directional prefixes is more fully developed in Qiang (the language
from which the Qiangic branch gets its name) than in Munya. LaPolla and C. L. Huang (2003: 164) note that in Qiang, besides denoting direction, directional prefixes can mark perfective action as well. These are illustrated in (292) (the two examples come from LaPolla and C. L. Huang (2003: 164)):

(292)  

a.  

\[\text{nas} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{e-ka-lai} \quad \text{the:} \quad \text{stuaha} \quad \text{tehe}\] 

yesterday 1SG IN-go/1SG-DEF:one:time 3SG food/rice eat

‘Yesterday when I entered the room, s/he was eating.’

b.  

\[\text{the:} \quad \text{ka-lai} \quad \text{zbotsu}\] 

3SG go-DEF:one:time think

‘S/he thinks while walking.’

In Qiang, only when the action denoted by the verb is completed can it be marked with a directional prefix. In (292a), the first clause expresses a completed action (went into the room), while the second one expresses an event (eating) that was on-going within the time frame provided by the first clause. Hence the first verb, \text{ka} ‘go’, is marked with the directional prefix but the second verb, \text{tehe} ‘eat’, is not. When the clause expresses a kind of habitual action, the verb is not marked with the directional prefix either. This can be seen from (292b), where neither \text{ka} ‘go’ nor \text{zbotsu} ‘think’ is marked.

This prompts us to hypothesize that directional prefix can also denote perfectiveness in Munya, albeit only on copula verbs, and that the only directional prefix used for this function is \text{tʰo} ‘away from the speaker’. The co-occurrence of \text{tʰo} with the perfective particle \text{sә} can be postulated as the joint means of expressing perfectiveness when the predicate is a copula.

**10.7 Summary**

Copula verbs in Munya denote IDENTITY, LOCATION, EXISTENCE, and POSSESSION. The senses of LOCATION, EXISTENCE and POSSESSION may be expressed with one copula. Munya has multiple copula verbs of existence, the choice of which is determined by the semantics of the Copula Determining Referent, which can be realized either as copula
subject or copula complement. Some copulas have extended functions, such as the copula of identity, which can act as an egophoric marker and a mirative marker. The copula for animate CDR, $ndz\dot{\iota}$, and for movable CDR, $m\acute{u}$, can designate progressiveness, while the copula which requires an abstract CDR, $nd\ddot{\epsilon}$, is also used as a modal particle. Finally, when attached to copulas, the directional prefix $t^o\cdot$ ‘away from the speaker’ can also assign perfectiveness.
Chapter 11

Adjectives

11.1 Overview

Adjective in Munya is an independent and open word class. Adjectives can be borrowed, and changed into nouns or verbs through derivation, but nouns or verbs cannot be changed into adjectives.

Adjectives are defined on the basis of their phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties. Phonologically, many (though by no means all) adjectives are inherently reduplicated. Morpho-syntactically, adjectives take comparative and superlative prefixes and the intensification suffix. Syntactically, adjectives modify nouns and verbs, function as predicates, and function as complements of certain verbs. For a comparison of the different properties between nouns, adjectives and verbs, see Table 4.4 in Chapter 4.

In the following sections, the properties of adjectives will be discussed from the aspects of phonology (Section 11.2), morphology (Section 11.3) and syntax (Section 11.4). After an interim summary (Section 11.5), Section 11.6 will focus on the semantic types of adjectives.
11.2 Phonological Property: Inherent Reduplication

11.2.1 Patterns of Reduplication

Many Munya adjectives are inherently reduplicated. Reduplication can be full or partial, and reduplicated adjectives can be disyllabic or trisyllabic.

Some fully reduplicated disyllabic adjectives are given in Table 11.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rә.rә́</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbó.nbo</td>
<td>'low'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsó.tso</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsá.tsa</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndɛ́.ndɛ</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa.sá</td>
<td>'clever'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nű.nű</td>
<td>'deep(water)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de.dé</td>
<td>'wide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri.ri</td>
<td>'thick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For partially reduplicated disyllabic adjectives, the reduplicant can either be the consonant, as in kíko 'big' and tsә́tsɛ́ 'small', or the vowel, as in kólo 'difficult' and katsʰá 'bad'.

A reduplicated adjective can also be trisyllabic, consisting of a monosyllabic syllable plus two syllables in reduplicated form. Examples are given in Table 11.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nin-tɛ́ntɛ́</td>
<td>'blackish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyí-sásá</td>
<td>'reddish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mú-ŋũŋũ</td>
<td>'bluish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só-sósó</td>
<td>'quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔ́-ŋɔ́ŋ̂</td>
<td>'roundish (two dimensional)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɔ́-gɔ́gɔ́</td>
<td>'roundish (three dimensional)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trisyllabic reduplicated adjectives have a special prosodic feature: the high tone falls on the first two syllables of the adjective, and the mid syllable is pronounced considerably

---

1 An anonymous examiner pointed out that these are not fully reduplicated adjectives since the two syllables have different tone value. This is because a reduplicated adjective is a phonological word and thus can have only one tone value. See the discussion in Section 2.4.
longer than the other two.

Trisyllabic reduplicated forms can be analyzed as being derived from phonologically and morphological simpler adjectives. Semantically, the derived, trisyllabic adjectives have a sense of ‘vividness’ to them. For example, *nyinyi* means ‘red’; its derived trisyllabic form, *nyísása* means ‘reddish’, in which *-sása* can be analyzed as a ‘vividness formative’.

This derivational process, however, is highly irregular and very unproductive. This is largely because the vividness formative can be the reduplicated syllables, the first syllable, or the last syllable. In *nyi-sása* ‘reddish’, the vividness formative is the reduplicated part, and the first syllable *nyi* carries the core meaning of the adjective (‘red’). The formative can also be the first syllable. This is the case of *dó-yóyó* ‘roundish (two-dimensional)’, in which *yóyó* means ‘round’ but *dó*- does not have any independent meaning. When this derivation involves a non-fully reduplicated adjective, the formative is the last syllable of the trisyllabic adjective. For example, the vividness form of *kóró* ‘crooked’ is *kóró-ro*, where the vividness formative -ro is copied from the last syllable of the adjective. Vividness formatives generally cannot be used alone.

The meanings of vividness formatives are rarely transparent. While the formative *mɯ*- in *mɯ́ ŋɯ́ ŋɯ* ‘bluish’ probably comes from the word for ‘sky’, and the formative *-sasa* in *nyísása* ‘reddish’ may come from the adjective meaning ‘bright’, the meanings of all other formatives in the adjectives given in Table 11.2 are not clear.

### 11.2.2 Long Form and Short Form

In Munya, the citation forms of adjectives are generally disyllabic or trisyllabic. However, some adjectives occur in monosyllabic form in certain morphosyntactic environments. In the following discussion, disyllabic or trisyllabic adjectives will be termed ‘long-form’ adjectives, and their corresponding monosyllabic forms will be called ‘short-form’ adjectives. This distinction is illustrated in (293):

(293) a. yayú tsé hern tósé kʰi-tsé sű
    potato dish delicious many NONS-cook PFV/2SG

    ‘You cooked many delicious potato dishes.’
11.3. MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

b. reré/ré ti
   be.delicious STA

   ‘(It) is delicious.’

In (293a), the adjective reré ‘delicious’ functions as a nominal modifier and occurs in long form. When functioning as a predicate in (293b), it can occur in either short form or long form. (The phenomenon of adjectives taking different forms when performing different functions is also found in Chinese, cf. Zhu 1956.)

Typically, only fully reduplicated adjectives have short forms. For those adjectives that have both short form and long form, the choice of form depends on whether those adjectives take a prefix or not. As will be shown in the next two sections, if an adjective takes a prefix, it would occur in short form. The only exception is when adjectives are functioning as predicates, as in (293b). In that case both long form and short form are equally acceptable. (The possible semantic or pragmatic differences call for further investigation.)

11.3 Morphological Properties

Morphological properties of adjectives include comparative, superlative and intensification forms. These are achieved by adding a prefix or a suffix to an adjective root.

11.3.1 Comparative Formation

The comparative is formed by adding the prefix kɛ- ‘more’ to a root:

(294) a. hótsә kɛ-ré ti?
    which more-be.delicious STA

    ‘Which one is more delicious?’

b. nɛ́ kʰɯ-rɛ́ kaŋá nyi
   2SG ERG NONS-write/2SG more.be.good EGO:AP

    ‘It would be better if you wrote.’
In (294b), \(k\varepsilon\) becomes \(ka\-) through vowel harmony. The adjectives in these two examples can occur in both long form and short form because they function as predicates.

In a comparative construction, \(k\varepsilon\- 'more' is prefixed to the parameter of comparison, which functions as the predicate of that comparative clause. The parameter can be an adjective or a stative verb. Compare (295a) with (295b):

(295)

a. \(otsә́  ti  ótsә  tɛ-kɪko  ti\)
   this  sc  that  more-be.big  STA
   ‘That one is bigger than this one. (Compared to this one, that one is bigger.)’

b. \(ŋɯ́  ti  nɛ́ kɛ-ɛ-yɛ́ sү\)
   1SG  sc  2SG  more-ds-be.late  PFV/2SG
   ‘You are later than I. (Compared with me, you are late.)’

The predicate is an adjective in (295a)(\(kɪko  'big') but a verb in (295b)(\(aɣɤ́  'be late'). We know it is a verb because it takes the directional prefix \(a- 'downstream' and the clause is ended by the perfective aspect, neither of which is allowed for adjectives.

### 11.3.2 Superlative Formation

The superlative form of an adjective is formed by attaching the prefix \(zә- to an adjective root. An example is given in (296):

(296)

\(ŋа́ tsә́ zә-kɪko  nyи,  tәnpu  tsә́ zә-tɛɛ  nyи,  ɛtí\)
 five  NMLZ  most-be.big  EGO:AP  first  NMLZ  most-be.small  EGO:AP,  how.many

\(ta-tәо  pɛ  nyи?\)
 UP-grade  IMPF/2SG  EGO:AP

‘(If) five is the biggest, one is the lowest, how would you grade (it)?’

More examples of adjectives in superlative forms are given in Table 11.3.

For fully reduplicated disyllabic adjectives, the superlative prefix is attached to short-form adjectives. This can be seen from the first two examples in the table. In some cases
11.3. MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES

Table 11.3: The Superlative Forms of Some Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Superlative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsʰetsʰé 'thin'</td>
<td>zé-tsʰe 'thinnest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rә́rә 'long'</td>
<td>zә́-rә 'longest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsә́ttsɛ 'small'</td>
<td>zә́-tsɛ/zә́-tstsɛ 'smallest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kіko 'big'</td>
<td>zі-ko/zә́-kіko 'biggest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsʰәntʂʰö́ 'diligent'</td>
<td>zә́ntʂʰo/zә́-tʂʰo 'most diligent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the vowel in the superlative prefix seems to be affected by the vowel in the adjective root. For example, the superlative form of kіko 'big' is zіko 'biggest'. The /i/ in the superlative prefix can be seen as the result of fusion of the prefix with the first syllable of the adjective root: zә́-kіko → zі-ko. The superlative of tsʰәntʂʰö́ 'diligent' constitutes another example, in that zә́ntʂʰö́ 'most diligent' preserves the nasalization in the first syllable of the root.

From the last three examples in the table it can be deduced that non-fully reduplicated adjectives have two alternative superlative forms. One form is derived by prefixing zә- to the last syllable of the adjective root, and the other form is derived by prefixing zә- to the whole adjective (the semantic differences between them requires further study). Note that in the last three examples although the adjective root in the first form has only one syllable, it cannot be seen as a short-form adjective. This is because short-form adjectives can be used as independent words (both ré and reré mean 'delicious' and can function as predicate), but the monosyllabic adjective roots seen here cannot be used independently (tsɛ in tsә́ttsɛ 'small' in itself is neither a word nor has it any meaning). Such 'short-forms' are also not allowed when prefixed by kɛ- 'more', thus while zіko 'biggest' is possible but *kɛ́-ko 'bigger' is not a word (cf. 295a).

11.3.3 Intensification Formation

Adjectives can be intensified by adding the suffix -u to them, which means 'very' or 'really'. This suffix is specific to adjectives. An example is given in (297):

(297) otsó tsʰәntʂʰö́-u tö-lö ti

3SG be.diligent-very one-CLF:GENR STA

‘He is very diligent.’
Only long-form adjectives can be intensified.

## 11.4 Syntactic Properties

Syntactic properties of adjectives include modifying nouns, functioning as predicates and functioning as complements.

### 11.4.1 Modifying Nouns

Adjectives can modify nouns:

(298) a. γu  *rará*
    grass  long
    ‘long grass’

b.  *tće  kiko*
    house  big
    ‘big house’

This function is performed by long-form adjectives. When short-form adjectives modify nouns, they form a noun-adjective compound with that noun, as in *tsiù–tso* ‘hot water (water-hot)’ and *tša–nin* ‘black ant (ant-black)’. Such compounds are semantically cogent and refer to a type of entity.

There are two major differences between a phrase consisting of a noun and an adjective modifier and a noun-adjective compound. Firstly, a compound forms one phonological word: it has one tonal pitch and does not allow any pause between them. In contrast, each word in an NP phrase has its own tone, and a pause can be inserted between the noun and the modifying adjective. Secondly, in an NP phrase with an adjectival modifier, the discourse marker *tsakū* can be used after the head noun, either for pausing or for marking topicality. This is forbidden for the noun in a noun-adjective compound.
11.4.2 Functioning as Predicates

Adjectives can also function as predicates. As was mentioned, both long-form and short-form adjectives can perform this function. Example (299) below is a repeat of (293b):

(299) reré/ré ti
    be.delicious STA

    ‘(It) is delicious.’

Typically, an adjective is more restricted than a verb when it functions as predicate head (Dixon 2004). This is also the case in Munya, where verbal predicates can take the imperfective marker, the perfective marker and the direct evidential marker; but adjectives cannot be marked for these categories. The categories they can take include the stative aspect ti, the egophoric marker nyi and a numeral classifier:

(300) ótsә mәñi katsʰá ti/nyi/tó-lö
    DEM person be.bad STA/EGO:AP/one-CLF:GENR

    ‘That person is bad.’

If an adjective predicate is followed by a numeral classifier, the numeral classifier can be optionally followed by ti or nyi:

(301) ótsә mәñi katsʰá tó-lö ti/nyi
    DEM person be.bad one-CLF:GENR STA/EGO:AP

    ‘That person is bad.’

The difference between using the stative aspect ti and the egophoric marker nyi lies in whether the speaker thinks the information conveyed is new to the addressee or not. By using the egophoric marker, the speaker presupposes that the information provided by him or her is new to the addressee, while the stative aspect marker or a numeral classifier do not have this function.
The part that the numeral classifier plays in adjective predicate clauses, as in (301), deserves a closer look. On one hand, there is evidence suggesting that even if the numeral classifier is not part of the S NP, it has not lost its function as a numeral classifier, as it is still governed by the noun in the S slot:

(302)  a. [onina]_S  [tsʰ.offsetWidth tsʰ -ge]_Predicate  ti  
     3DU  be.diligent  two-CLF:GENR  STA  
     ‘The two of them are diligent.’

     b. [tsʰalá]_S  [ye yɛ́  tá-tsa]_Predicate  ti  
     dance  look.good  one-CLF:PERFORMANCE  STA  
     ‘The dance performance looks good.’

In (302a), the number word in the numeral classifier construction is ne- ‘two’ because the third person dual S has two referents. In (302b), the classifier in the numeral classifier construction is -tsa ‘performance’ because the S referent is a dance. Since the numeral classifier and the noun governing it do not form a constituent, the numeral classifier here is analyzed as forming a complex adjective predicate together with the adjective.

On the other hand, however, the general numeral classifiers tó-tō/të -ge ‘one-CLF:GENR’ also shows some degree of grammaticalization when used after adjectival predicates. They are almost always interchangeable with the stative aspect ti and in many cases their choice is not determined by any noun, including the subject. An example is given below:

(303)  yoné  kemù le  tsôtsô  tólō  
     1PL.INCL  before  DAT  resemble  PAR  
     ‘We are (now) the same as before.’

In this example tólō can be replaced by ti. Note that the subject yoné ‘we’ has more than one referent but the number word is ‘one’ in the clause-final numeral classifier. The grammaticalization process may have arisen from the omission of the clause-final ti, followed by the reinterpretation of the numeral classifier as a new clause-final particle.
Most adjective predicates are intransitive, but there are also a few transitive adjectival predicates, such as *teːtɔə* ‘resemble, be similar to’ and *sisí* ‘like, be fond of’:

   3SG   dog   DAT resemble STA or wolf   DAT resemble STA
   ‘Is it like a dog or a wolf?’

   3SG+ERG 1SG   like EGO:AP
   ‘He likes me.’

In (304a), the O of *teːtɔə* ‘resemble’ is marked by the dative case and the subject is unmarked. In (304b), the O of the predicate, *sisí* ‘like’, is unmarked, but the A is marked by the ergative case. The two adjectives discussed above are similar to canonical adjectives in that they are inherently reduplicated and marked by the stative aspect or egophoric marker when functioning as predicate, but unlike canonical adjectives, they cannot modify nouns.

In summary, while adjectives in Munya are more restricted than verbs when acting as predicates, they also have their own special property of forming a complex predicate with numeral classifiers, which is not found for verbal predicates.

11.4.3 Negation and Questioning of Adjectives

An adjective predicate can be negated with the negative prefix *nyɯ-* and questioned with the interrogative prefix *ɛ*-. The two prefixes can be attached to short-form adjectives, but not long-form ones:

(305) a. ɛ-ᵞë ti
    INTRG-be.delicious STA
    ‘Is (it) delicious?’
b. *nyú-re* *ti*

NEG-be.delicious STA

‘(It) is not delicious.’

If a predicative adjective does not have a short-form, the negative or the interrogative marker would be attached to the stative aspect *ti*:

(306) *sédzú sivu nyú-ti*

policy be.good NEG-STA

‘The policy is not good.’

After a predicative adjective is prefixed with a comparative suffix or a superlative suffix, it cannot further hold a negative or interrogative prefix. In that case, the negative or interrogative prefix should be attached to the stative aspect *ti*:

(307) *otsé ze-kíko nyu-ti*

DEM most-be.big NEG-STA

‘This is not the biggest one.’

Other clause-final words that can occur in an adjectival predicate clause, such as *tóló* and *nyi*, cannot take the negative or the interrogative prefix.

### 11.4.4 Functioning as Complements

Adjectives in Munya can function as the complement of certain verbs. This function is only allowed for long-form adjectives.

Munya lacks the copula verb of attribution. It has a copula verb of change of state, *tʰevá* ‘to become’, which can take a nominal or an adjectival complement. In (308) below, the copula takes an adjectival complement, *kíko* ‘big’:

(308) *kíko tʰe-vá ra*

big AS-become EVID:DIRECT

‘(She) has grown up.’
When functioning as the complement of this copula verb, the adjective can be optionally followed by the erstwhile numeral classifier, tölö:

(309) nbagô=na=róne tê-ŋe  ró  tsêkû  kênêkê  sívu tölö
dancing.costume=PL=COLL.PL  up.put.on  go  D.M  more.and.more  good  PAR

 tʰә­vá  pi

AS-become  IMPF

‘After (the dancers) putting on dancing costumes, the dance performance looked better and better.’

Here tölö is analyzed as a particle instead of a numeral classifier because, unlike canonical numeral classifiers, it is not occurring in an NP, therefore not categorizing any head noun. Besides, neither the numeral tó- ‘one’ nor the classifier -lô ‘CLF:GENR’ can be replaced by other number words or classifiers.

Adjectives can also function as complements in a command construction. The complement-taking verb is nóvu ‘to make, to do’, which, when functioning as the verb of command, shows up either in second person singular form (nóvu) or second person non-singular form (nóve). Semantically, adjectives that can be used in commands belong to the HUMAN PROPENSITY type. Three examples are given below:

(310) a. tšôntsô  nó-vü
good  DOWN-do/2SG

‘Be good.’

b. sasá  taeģé  nó-ve
clever  a.little  DOWN-do/1/2NONSG

‘Be a little clever.’

c. ndzendé  no-tsêû-vü
shy  DOWN-PROH-do/2SG

‘Don’t be shy.’
(310a) was addressed to a single addressee, and the verb inflects for the second person singular form. The subject of (310b) involves two addresses, so the verb takes the non-singular form. In (310c), the verb is prefixed with the prohibitive formative, *tɕɯ*.

### 11.5 Interim Summary

We can summarize the different functions of long-form and short-form adjectives in Table 11.4. From the table, it can be seen that only when functioning as predicates can an adjective occur in both short form and long form. In other cases, whether an adjective should occur in long form or short form depends on whether the adjective is prefixed or not. If the adjective takes a prefix (the negative prefix or the interrogative prefix), it should occur in short form. In all other cases, the adjective must occur in long form.

![Table 11.4: A Comparison of Long-form and Short-form Adjectives](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functioning as predicates</th>
<th>Long-form</th>
<th>Short-form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taking the comparative prefix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking the superlative prefix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forming a compound with nouns</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking the negative or interrogative prefix</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking the intensification suffix</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifying nouns</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifying verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functioning as complements</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11.6 Semantic Types of Adjectives

For Munya adjectives, the correlations between their semantic types and morphosyntactic properties are not very strong. In the following sections I will discuss Munya adjectives according to their semantic type as proposed by Dixon (1982: Chapter 1, 2012b: 65-66), with a focus on their phonological property. The properties of adjectives discussed in this chapter will be summarized in the end.

**DIMENSION**

All adjectives belonging to the DIMENSION type are either partially or fully reduplicated.

**AGE**

Two adjectives of this type are reduplicated, which are zözö ‘young’ and ndendé ‘old (person or animal)’. nbó also means ‘old’, and can only modify inanimate nouns, such as houses or clothes. A pair of non-reduplicated adjectives of this type, ninpe ‘new’ and sénpe ‘old’, are borrowed from Tibetan.

**VALUE**

There are only four adjectives of this type. Two of them, sivu ‘good’ and kats’á ‘bad’ are native. The other two, tâme ‘real, normal’ and tso’mé ‘fake’, are borrowed from Tibetan.

**COLOR**

For the purpose of discussion, we can view phonologically reduplicated and morphologically simple color adjectives as ‘basic color terms’. These include tsʰötsʰö ‘white’, ninì ‘black’ (but in daily life the more commonly used words for ‘black’ are nintʰɛ́ntʰɛ ‘black (for objects)’ and ninkoko ‘dark’), nyinyi ‘red’, nùnu ‘yellow’, and sása ‘bright’.

Other color terms are non-basic. These include two derived adjectives, which are nyísása ‘reddish (red in a way that is pleasing to the eye)’, mʊŋwʊ ‘bluish’. Some color terms seem to originate from nouns. For example, meza raŋá ‘bright yellow’ is the name of a kind of plant of that color, and the word for ‘purple’ ngáwuza is the name of a bird.

Some other color terms are tsomú ‘blood red’, métse ‘pink’, móse ‘golden yellow’ and dzunkʰú ‘green’.

**PHYSICAL PROPERTY**


**HUMAN PROPENSITY**

There are both reduplicated and non-reduplicated adjectives in this type. Examples include sosá ‘clever’, gôla/gó ‘dumb’, bobó ‘proud’, tsʰové ‘ugly’, ndzendzé ‘shy’ and sisí ‘affectionate’.

**SPEED**
There are two adjectives of this type: dzidz ‘fast’ and kiki ‘slow’.

**DIFFICULTY**

There is only one adjective of this type—kölo ‘hard, difficult’. The word for ‘easy’, yi-yo (us-be.easy) is a verb.

**SIMILARITY**

There are two adjectives which mean ‘(a)like’: tsotso and ndzendze. Both adjectives take two arguments, but they mark O in different ways. The O of tsotso is marked by the dative case, and ndzendze by the comitative case. Each adjective has a derived adjective. nyútso ‘unlike’ is derived from the short form of tsotso by adding the negative prefix nyú- to the root. The adjective derived from ndzendze is ndže mændže ‘all sorts of’. This is a phrasal adjective, where the second element mën-ndże is also analyzable as a negative prefix mö- plus the short-form root.

**QUANTIFICATION**

There are four adjectives that mean ‘many’. Two are reduplicated, which are dzódzo and nbenbé, and two are not, which are kýyi and pámę.

**POSITION**

There are two adjectives of this type, which are káro ‘near’ and tɛró ‘far’.

We can now summarize the phonological forms of adjectives in each semantic type, together with their other properties in Table 11.5. Four types of adjectives are in reduplicated forms, which are adjectives of DIMENSION, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, SPEED and DIFFICULTY. Adjectives of DIMENSION and PHYSICAL PROPERTY are both very large in number, and represent the core semantic types of Munya adjectives. The fact that the only two adjectives of SPEED and the one of DIFFICULTY are reduplicated may be due to chance.

Two types of adjectives whose members are mostly in reduplicated form are adjectives of HUMAN PROPENSITY and SIMILARITY. They can be seen as less central members of the word class of adjectives.

Relatively fewer inherently reduplicated adjectives are found among the remaining semantic types. There are different reasons for this. For example, a large proportion of non-reduplicated adjectives of AGE and VALUE are borrowed from Tibetan. Basic color terms are all inherently reduplicated; those non-basic members are either derived from nouns or perhaps also borrowed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Types</th>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Superlative</th>
<th>Intensification</th>
<th>Noun modifier</th>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Negation/Question</th>
<th>Complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIMENSION</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHYSICAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEED</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFICULTY</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUMAN PROPENSITY</td>
<td>most</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMILARITY</td>
<td>most</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLOR</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUANTIFICATION</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VALUE</td>
<td>few</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITION</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.7 Summary

Adjectives in Munya have unique phonological, morphological and syntactic properties not shared by nouns or verbs. This indicates that adjectives in Munya represent an independent word class. Adjectives also cover a rich array of semantic types. Many are borrowed, and cannot be exhaustively listed, suggesting that they form an open word class.
Chapter 12

Interrogatives and Negation

Interrogatives in Munya can be grouped into four types, which are constituent interrogative (or content interrogative), polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative (Section 12.1). Each type of interrogative is formed in its unique way and has its unique functions. Negation can be expressed either with prefixes or with a negative predicate. There are four negative prefixes, with contrasting but also overlapping functions (Section 12.2). When interrogative and negation are marked with prefixes, the loci for them are the same, which are predicates and auxiliaries. However, these loci cannot take an interrogative prefix and a negative prefix at the same time.

12.1 Interrogatives

The four types of interrogatives in Munya are: constituent interrogative, polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative. Constituent interrogative is used to seek new information (Section 12.1.1), polar interrogative to seek confirmation (Section 12.1.2), rhetorical interrogative to signal that more information for a topic is being provided (Section 12.1.3), and the alternative interrogative presents two or more candidate answers for a question (Section 12.1.4).

Except for the alternative interrogative, all interrogatives have no special intonational feature—they have the same falling intonational contour as declarative sentences. The alternative interrogative, which consists of two independent clauses, has a rising intonation to the end of the first clause and a falling intonation at the end of the second clause.
These interrogatives will be discussed in turn.

12.1.1 Constituent Interrogative

12.1.1.1 Interrogative Words

The core of constituent questions are interrogative words. The inventory of interrogative words in Munya is listed in Table 12.1.

Table 12.1: Constituent Interrogative Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative words</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Syntactic function</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɛzә́</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛnә́</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛntólә́ ~ ɛntɛ́ɡɛ</td>
<td>‘how, like what’</td>
<td>Verbal modifier</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛr̥i</td>
<td>‘why be’</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Verb-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛt̥í ~ ɛtsә́mә́</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
<td>Argument/noun modifier</td>
<td>Noun-like/adj adjective-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛtʰә́</td>
<td>‘do what’</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Verb-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛtʰәvә́</td>
<td>‘what becomes of’</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>Verb-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōt̥í ~ hōt̥sә́o</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōtsә́</td>
<td>‘which’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zәmóho</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>Noun-like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that the majority of interrogative words in the table share the formative ɛ-. This is also the basic form of the interrogative prefix for forming polar questions (to be discussed in Section 12.1.2). Two interrogative words, hōt̥í ~ hōt̥sә́o ‘where’ and hōtsә́ ‘which’, share the formative hō-. This formative is not productive in Munya and its meaning is not clear. It is probably borrowed from Sichuan Chinese, where a morpheme of similar pronunciation, [ho], is a component of interrogative words, as in [hot̥sә́o] (好久) ‘when’ and [hot̥uә́] (好多) ‘how many’.

The interrogative word for ‘where’ shows dialectal variation. In the southern dialect, it is documented by H. K. Sun (1983) as ɛ-xe. The prefix ɛ- can be analyzed as the surface form of ɛ-, which becomes /ɛl/ through vowel harmony. For some interrogative words, the roots to which the interrogative formative is attached are still semantically transparent. The root for ɛnә́ ‘who’ seems to be the plural marker (=nә). The roots of ɛntólә́ ~ ɛntɛ́ɡɛ ‘how’ are general numeral classifiers (tólә́ and tɛ́ɡɛ) (cf. Section 6.4). The root of ɛt̥í ‘how many, how much’ is the indefinite particle (ti ‘some’). And the root of hōtsә́ ‘which’ is the same as the root of nominal demonstratives (cf. ɔ-tә́ ‘this’ and ɔ-tә́ ‘that’).
12.1.1.2 Syntactic Properties of Interrogative Words

Most interrogative words occupy the same position as the constituent questioned. There are six interrogative words of this sort, which are ɛzә́ ‘what’, ɛ́nә ‘who’, hóti/hótɕʰo ‘where’, ɛtí/tsә́mә ‘how many, how much’, zamóho ‘when’ and hótsә ‘which’. Compare the constituent interrogative in (311a) and its answer in (311b). Aside from a full clause, the answer can also be a word, as is shown in (311c).

(311) a. zamóho kʰɯ-tʃɛ́ sʊ
   when NONS-arrive PFV/2SG
   ‘When did you arrive?’

b. yísә kʰɯ-tʃɛ́ sō
   yesterday NONS-arrive PFV/1SG
   ‘I arrived yesterday.’

c. yísә
   yesterday
   ‘Yesterday.’

Since these interrogative words occur in the same position as the constituents questioned, and since the latter function either as core or peripheral arguments, these interrogative words are arguments as well. However, while argument slots are typically taken by nominals, interrogative arguments show few or no nominal properties—they cannot be pluralized, cannot take numeral classifiers and cannot be modified by adjectives.

Some interrogative words can have different functions. ɛtí/tsә́mә ‘how many, how much’ can, in addition, function as a noun modifier. In (312), it modifies tódzә ‘construction worker’:

(312) nɛnә tódzә tsamә i-ndʑɯ́ nyi?
   2PL construction.worker how.many DS-have EGO:AP
   ‘How many construction workers are there with you?’
ɛntólö ‘how, like what’ is adverbial in that it normally modifies a verb. In the following example, it modifies tʰәvá ‘to become’.

\[(313)\] mәnyɛ́ mүnu tʰә­vá rǔ rævæsæ

Munya language how as-become will probably

‘What would Munya like (in the future)’

The three interrogative words, ɛtʰә́ ‘do what’, ɛtʰәvá ‘what become of, what is the matter with’ and ɛrί ‘why be’, function as intransitive verbs. These interrogative verbs are morphosyntactically defective compared to verbs, in the sense that they can only be marked for a limited range of verbal categories. For example, they do not inflect for person-number or take any directional prefix. Examples illustrating the first two words are given below:

\[(314)\] a. ɛtʰә́ pɛ nyi
do.what IMPF/2SG EGO:AP

‘What are you doing?’

b. nɛnɛ́ ɛtʰәvá pi nyi
2PL+EXP what.become.of IMPF EGO:AP

‘What has happened to you?’

\[(314a)\] is frequently used in daily life as a greeting. Since the subject is always clear from the context, i.e., the addressee, it is normally omitted. In both clauses the interrogative words are followed by an aspectual marker, indicating that they are verbal.

The interrogative word ɛrί ‘why’ behaves like an intransitive verb. Its subject is normally a clause, either free-standing or nominalized. Different from canonical verbs, ɛrί ‘why’ cannot take any aspectual or evidential marker, but it obligatorily takes an egophoric marker. (The reason for this requires further study.) Consider the examples in \[(315)\]:

\[(315)\] a. [nɛ́ tʰo-tsó pɛ] ɛrί ṭo?
2SG AS-run IMPF/2SG why EGO:SAP

‘Why are you running?/You are running, why?’
12.1. INTERROGATIVES

b. [kɛ́tʂi  kʰí-mi  rí  tsә́] ɛ́­ri  ŋo?
   person.name NONS-name NMLZ FOC why EGO:SAP

‘Why naming (him) kɛ́tʂi?/Naming (him) kɛ́tʂi, why?’

c. [nɛnɛ́  sé  omenә́  novità  tɘ-tsi,  tsʰalá  rотse,  ndzә=nә  мɛмɛ]
   2PL+EXP so like.this spirit UP-come dance dance food=PL everybody
   i  ē-ndzә  pe,  tsíngә=nә  мɛмɛ  i  tē-ngә
   ERG DS-eat IMPF/1/2NONSG clothes=PL everybody ERG UP-wear
   pe]  ɛ́­ri  nyi?
   IMPF/1/2NONSG why EGO:AP

‘Why is it that you are so highly spirited and everyone is dancing and eating
what they have and wearing what they have?’

The subject of ɛ́­ri ‘why’ is an independent clause in (315a) and a nominalized clause
in (315b) (marked by the nominalizer ricao). In (315c), the subject is a complex sentence
composed of four clauses. In the first two examples, the egophoric marker is the narrow-
scope ŋo, and in the third example it is the wide-scope nyi.

12.1.1.3 Interrogative Words Used as Indefinites and General Indefinites

Cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon to find interrogative words being used as indefi-
nites (Dixon 2012a: 401). This is also the case in Munya, but with some extra require-
ments. For example, ɛzә́ ‘what’ needs to combine with the indefinite particle ti to yield an
indefinite interpretation:

(316)  nɛ́  i  ti  ɛzә́  hɛ́  ŋo
   2SG ERG INDF what want/2SG EGO:SAP

‘Is there anything that you want?’

ɛzә́ ‘what’ can also combine with nә ‘even if’ or ɕǔɕü ‘everything’ to function as a general
indefinite:
12.1. INTERROGATIVES

(317)  
a. **ɛzә́ na hάke le tɕόtɕo**
   what even.if know/1/2NONSG DAT be.similar
   ‘It is as if (we) have understood everything.’

b. **ɛzә́ sǚsũ ndό nyi**
   what anything COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP
   ‘(We) have everything.’

While some other interrogative words can also combine with **na** ‘also’ to form a general indefinite, it seems only **ɛzә́ ‘what’** can combine with **sǚsũ**:

(318) **hόti tʰɛ-tʃé na nǚ lέkέ ɛzә́ sǚsũ ma-ną sa tápi**
   where AS-arrive even.if 1SG work what anything NEG-good PFV be.called
   tό-lō tέ nó-vw ma-nľa
   one-CLF:GENR at.all DOWN-do NEG-used.to
   ‘No matter where I went to, I didn’t do any work that (people) said was not good.’

In this example, **hόti** ‘where’ combines with **na** ‘even if’ to yield a discontinuous general indefinite meaning ‘wherever’. Here **na** ‘even if’ cannot be replaced by **sǚsũ** ‘anything’. The second general indefinite, **ɛzә́ sǚsũ** ‘any, whatever’, cannot be discontinuous.

12.1.2 Polar Interrogative

Polar interrogative in Munya is formed by prefixing the interrogative marker **ɛ-** to predicates or auxiliaries. Below the position and form of this interrogative marker are examined.

12.1.2.1 Position of the Interrogative Prefix

The interrogative prefix is either attached to a predicate or an auxiliary. However, these loci have different degrees of priority. The imperfective auxiliary **pi** and the perfective auxiliary **sә** have the highest order of priority for hosting the interrogative prefix. That is, whenever a clause contains an imperfective auxiliary or a perfective auxiliary, the interrogative prefix, if it is present, should be attached to it. In the two examples below, the
interrogative prefix is attached to the imperfective auxiliary and the perfective auxiliary respectively, and cannot be attached to verbs:

(319) a. nyuí-ke kʰʊ-ʊ́-ó é-pí
   NEG-free NONS-come.out INTRG-IMPF
   ‘Are you busy?’

   b. otsí húndzǝ è-ndzǝ è-se
   3SG+ERG dinner DS-eat INTRG-PFV
   ‘Has he had his dinner?’

Other auxiliaries have equal priority to predicates. That is, in the case where a clause contains a predicate and an auxiliary that is neither the perfective or imperfective marker, either the predicate or the auxiliary can take the prefix. In the two examples below, the interrogative marker occurs on a verb in (320a) and on an evidential marker in (320b). The two clauses are equally acceptable: (The possible semantic/pragmatic difference between them requires further study.)

(320) a. é-dé ra
   INTRG-see/2SG EVID:DIRECT
   ‘Did you see it?’

   b. dé á-ra
   see/2SG INTRG-EVID:DIRECT
   ‘Did you see it?’

Polar interrogative clauses cannot take egophoric markers. While in a declarative clause, the perfective and imperfective markers can generally be followed by the egophoric nyi, their polar interrogative counterpart, such as the two clauses in (319), simply cannot.

If the predicate is a reduplicated adjective, the adjective should occur in short form after the interrogative prefix is attached to it. This was already discussed in depth in Chapter 11.
12.1.2.2 Forms of the Interrogative Prefix

The base form of the interrogative prefix is $\varepsilon$-. It was mentioned in Section 3.2 that this prefix is subject to vowel harmony. However, the interrogative prefix has three other forms, $i$-, $u$- and $o$-, which cannot be derived through vowel harmony. Consider the examples in Table 12.2.

Table 12.2: Irregular Interrogative Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixed forms</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i$-ndʑɛ́</td>
<td>‘you have or not (INTRG-have/2SG)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i$-ndʑū</td>
<td>‘to have or not (INTRG-have)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i$-ndʑɯ́</td>
<td>‘to exist or not (animate CDR) (INTRG-COP:ANIMATE)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i$-tɕɯ́</td>
<td>‘to exist or not (inanimate CDR) (INTRG-COP:INANIMATE)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$-híɛ́-hí</td>
<td>‘will or not (INTRG-will)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$-nyɛ́ɛ́-nyɛ́</td>
<td>‘fine or not (INTRG-fine)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$-yɛ́ɛ́-yɛ́</td>
<td>‘to look good or not (INTRG-look.good)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$-tɕʰɯ́</td>
<td>‘to drink or not (INTRG-drink)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$-iɛ́-i</td>
<td>‘to exist or not (upright objects) (INTRG-COP:UPRIGHT)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$o$-só</td>
<td>‘visible or not (INTRG-visible)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table it can be seen that these three forms of the interrogative prefix are not the result of vowel harmony. Compare $i$-ndʑɯ́ ‘to exist or not’ and $u$-tɕɯ́ ‘to drink or not’, where the vowel in the roots is /ɯ/, and $i$-ndʑɛ́ ‘to have or not’ and $u$-yɛ́ ‘to look good or not’, where the vowel in the roots is /ɛ/.

The roots that can take these three forms of interrogative prefixes are highly idiosyncratic. The loci for $i$-form prefixes tend to be copulas that phonologically have palatal affricate consonants. Most $u$-form prefixes have an alternative basic $\varepsilon$-form. The source of this alternation is a question that requires further study. Finally, the $o$-form is only found in $o$-só ‘visible or not’ and not any other words. Even if this were to be analyzed as a case of vowel harmony, it is at best a very irregular one, as /ε/ does not harmonize with root /o/ in other roots, c.f. $\varepsilon$-tʰó ‘passable or not’ but not *$o$-tʰó.

12.1.2.3 Two Forms of Polar Interrogatives

Other than prefixing the interrogative prefix to predicates or auxiliaries, polar interrogatives can also be formed lexically, with $\varepsilon$-ti ‘INTRG-STA’ or $\varepsilon$-ŋó ‘INTRG-be’. These two polar
interrogatives differ from the canonical type in the degree of certainty that speakers have towards the proposition being questioned. In a canonical polar interrogative clause, which is formed with the prefix ɛ-, the speaker has no prior knowledge about the truth or falsity of the proposition expressed by the interrogative clause. In the form involving ɛ-τi ‘INTRG-STA’, the speaker is certain about the truth of the proposition, while in the form involving ɛ-ŋó ‘INTRG-be’, the speaker has a high, albeit not full, degree of certainty about the truth of the proposition. The two forms are viewed as polar interrogatives because they can generally be answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Below I discuss the forms and functions of these two words.

The first form is constructed by tagging ɛ-τi ‘INTRG-STA’ to the end of a full clause. The tag can be optionally set off from the full clause by a pause. The function of this tag is not so much to seek truth value of the given statement as to elicit confirmation from the addressee and seek rapport between interlocutors. In using this tag, the speaker is generally confident about the truth of her statement and expects an affirmative response from the addressee. Consider the example in (321):

(321) yovuŋ tsʰála tsé kʰu-tɕori kʰu-tɕu-ye kuŋ tsékų sívů traditional dance FOC NONS-watch NONS-more-good.looking when D.M. good
   tóló tʰóŋo sa, ɛti?
   PAR AS-be PFV INTRG.tag

‘The more (you) watched traditional dances, the more wonderful they became, wasn’t it?’

In this example, the speaker is talking about her experience of watching traditional dance, and expects that this experience is shared by the addressee as well. Answers to such questions are generally positive, such as ŋo ti ‘yes (be STA)’, manó ‘for sure’, or an interjection, like am.

Another form of polar interrogative is headed by ɛ-ŋó ‘INTRG-be’, with the proposition to be questioned functioning as the subject complement of it. When using this form, the speaker tends to have a high, albeit not full, degree of confidence about the truth of the proposition in such interrogative clauses. Two examples are given below:
12.1. INTERROGATIVES

(322) a. vɛ́vә  kʰɔ  pûpɛ  ɛ-ŋó  ti?
grandfather deceased Tibetan INTRG-be STA

‘The deceased grandfather was a Tibetan, right?’

b. tɕʰuwú  mɛnyɛ́  sù  kʰi-ml-tsi  sù  ɛ-ŋó  ti?
this.time Munya language NONS-NEG-study PFV/2SG INTRG-be STA

‘You didn’t study Munya this time, right?’

In (322a), the speaker asks her grandfather if her great grandfather was a Tibetan or not. Since her grandfather is a Tibetan, it is very probable that her great grandfather was a Tibetan as well. In (322b), the speaker, judging from my mistakes in Munya, deduces that I didn’t learn any Munya since I left my fieldwork last time, but is not completely sure of it.

12.1.2.4 Answers to Polar Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives can be answered with interjections like ә́n (positive) or әŋhә́n/ә́n (negative) or by repeating all or part of the question. It is very common for the argument(s) in the reply to be omitted, but not for verbal categories. In Munya, the syntactic verbal categories in polar questions are identical to those in replies. Consider the question and answer pair in (323), where the S argument, tiɛ́ ‘electricity’ is omitted in the answer, but not the stative aspect ti after the predicate:

(323) a. tiɛ́  ɛ-kʰɯ́  ti
electricity INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA

‘Is there electricity?’

b. nyɯ́-kʰɯ́  ti
NEG-COP:CONTAIN STA

‘No.’
12.1.3 Rhetorical Interrogative

In Munya, rhetorical interrogatives are most commonly used with a thematicising function, to signal that more information about a topic is to be provided. This type of interrogative is used much more often in speech or monologue than in conversations. A rhetorical interrogative is formed by adding tә́tә́ tʰo ‘say if’ to the end of a constituent interrogative clause. Consider the example in (324):

(324) nә­sі so-sі ti pүku vá tsәkɯ́ ě-to tsәkɯ́ otsә́
two-day three-day indefinite on butter D.M AS-knead D.M. D.M DEM
vá ɛntɔ́lɔ́ nyi  tә-та tʰo?
butter how EGO:AP UP-say if

‘The butter will be kneaded in about two or three days. How does the butter look like?’

In the first clause of this example, the speaker introduced a new topic, i.e., vá ‘butter’. Then the speaker feels the need to provide more information about it, so he used a rhetorical interrogative as a bridge before providing more information.

12.1.4 Alternative Interrogative

In Munya, an alternative interrogative sentence is typically composed of two or more independent clauses conjoined by sʊ́ ‘or’. The constituent clauses are parallel in structure. Consider the example below:

(325) [tә́npi ke-ré ti] sʊ́ [kәtsɛ́ ke-ré ti]
jianbing more-delicious STA or pancake more-delicious STA

‘Is the jianbing more delicious or is the pancake more delicious?’

It is also possible to form an alternative interrogative sentence by joining two clauses together. In that case, the first clause should end with ɛ-ŋɔ́ ti ‘INTRG-be STA’:
12.2 Negation

Negation can be formed synthetically, with negative prefixes, or analytically, by using *me* ‘not exist’ as the predicate of a negative clause. Similar to polar interrogative prefixes, negative prefixes are also attached to predicates or auxiliaries. This section will first address the forms and functions of these negative prefixes, then discuss the predicative negator.

12.2.1 Forms of Negative Prefixes

Munya has four negative prefixes, whose forms range from one to six. Most of the alternating forms are the result of vowel harmony, but there are also some forms which are not phonologically determined and are best analyzed as being lexically conditioned.

12.2.1.1 *tɕɯ-*

*tɕɯ-* does not have any variants. It always shows up in this form.

12.2.1.2 *tɕɛ-*

*tɕɛ-* has two variants, which are *tɕa-* and *tɕɑ-. Both forms are the result of lowering vowel harmony (Section 3.2.1).

12.2.1.3 *nyɯ-*

*nyɯ-* has an alternate form, *nyu-. Because the *nyɯ-* form prefix can be attached to a much wider range of roots than the *nyu-* form, *nyɯ-* is seen as the base form of this negative
12.2. NEGATION

Recall from our discussion of vowel harmony in Chapter 3 that /ɯ/ is not subject to any vowel harmony rule. Thus the two forms of this negative prefix cannot be phonologically determined. To further demonstrate this, we compare a sample of roots to which the two forms of this prefix can be attached, shown in Table 12.3. (These are all the words that I was able to find that takes the nyu- form prefix.)

From this table, we can deduce that the two forms may be prefixed to roots with the same vowels. For example, both ndʐɛ́ 'same' and ye 'good looking' contain the vowel /ɛ/, yet the first root is prefixed with nyu- but the second one is prefixed with nyu-. The forms of the negative prefixes are not determined by the consonant in the root either, as we have nyu-‐yi ‘not exist’ and nyu-ye ‘not good-looking’, where both roots contain /y/. Furthermore, there are also some roots to which either form can be prefixed, such as nyu-‐hi/nyu-‐hi ‘will not’ and nyu-‐ta/nyu-‐ta ‘don’t see’. These suggest that the two forms of this negative prefix are not phonologically determined. The two forms are best seen as lexically conditioned variants.

12.2.1.4 mo-

mo- has six variant forms. Five of them, which are me-, ma-, ma-, mi- and mu-, can be derived through vowel harmony (cf. Section 3.2.1). The me- form seems to be lexically

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negated form</th>
<th>Meaning of root</th>
<th>Negated form</th>
<th>Meaning of root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐i</td>
<td>‘to exist’</td>
<td>nyu-‐nu</td>
<td>‘can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐ke</td>
<td>‘free’</td>
<td>nyu-‐yɛ</td>
<td>‘good-‐looking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐ndʐɛ</td>
<td>‘same’</td>
<td>nyu-‐yɛ</td>
<td>‘good-‐looking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐tɔ</td>
<td>‘I see’</td>
<td>nyu-‐nda</td>
<td>‘used to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐tʂʰɑ</td>
<td>‘right’</td>
<td>nyu-‐nda</td>
<td>‘used to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐tsʰu</td>
<td>‘can’</td>
<td>nyu-‐nda</td>
<td>‘used to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐ndʐɯ</td>
<td>‘to exist’</td>
<td>nyu-‐tɔ’o</td>
<td>‘I drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐ŋo</td>
<td>‘be’</td>
<td>nyu-‐sɔ</td>
<td>‘I want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐ro</td>
<td>‘can, may’</td>
<td>nyu-‐sɔ</td>
<td>‘I want’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyu-‐tʂɭ</td>
<td>‘useful’</td>
<td>nyu-‐yʊ</td>
<td>‘want’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
conditioned, and is only found before a very small set of roots, such as *me-tʰó 'couldn’t’ and *me-tʰó ‘didn't succeed’.

12.2.2 Functional Differences

There are both contrast and overlapping in the distribution of these negative prefixes. Firstly, *tsu- contrasts with the other three negative prefixes: it is used exclusively for expressing prohibition, and no other prefix can be used in this way. Secondly, *te- is in many cases interchangeable with both *nyu- and *mo-, the difference being the ability to take egophoric markers (more on this later). Thirdly, *nyu- and *mo- contrast to the extent that *nyu- is used in non-past situations while *mo- is used in past situations. These differences are shown in Table 12.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prohibitive</th>
<th>Perfectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*tsu-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*te-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nyu-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mo-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because *tsu- is used to express prohibitive, the verb to which it is prefixed should inflect for second person singular or first/second person non-singular form. This is shown in (327):

(327) a. *mʊ́ te *yr-tsũ-tũ te se
     fire at.all us-PROH-light.up/2SG say PFV
     ‘Be sure not to light up any fire,” (she) said.’

    b. tará *tsũ-hu
     for.now PROH-go/2SG
     ‘Don’t go for now.’

The contrast between *mo- and *nyu- can most clearly be seen by the aspectual auxiliaries to which they are attachable: *mo- can be prefixed to the perfective aspect marker se
(328a) and the direct evidential marker ra (which denotes completive situations) (328b), while nyu- can be prefixed to the imperfective aspect marker pi (328c) and the stative aspect ti (328d):

(328) a. ɣɤ kʰɯ-tsó mì=ni  otsínə  no-sá  mó-se
     fish  NONS-catch  NMLZ=PL+ERG  3Du  DOWN-kill  NEG-PFV
     ‘The fishermen did not kill those two (children).’

b. ɳú ɣɛ  kʰɔ-γɔ́  té  má-ra
     1SG  EXP  NONS-help  at.all  NEG-EVID:DIRECT
     ‘(They) didn’t help me at all.’

c. ɣétsu  kʰɯ  le  tʰɑ-kʰɑ  nyú-pi
     wild.pig  dog  DAT  NONS-fear  NEG-IMPF
     ‘Wild pigs are not afraid of dogs.’

d. tsʰalá  yɛyɛ́  nyú-ti
     dance  good.looking  NEG-STA
     ‘The dance is not nice to look at.’

This contrast can also be seen in cases where the two negators are prefixed to verbs. Consider the pair of examples in (329), where the predicates are the same\(^1\):

(329) a. hákʰu-mu-kɔ  ra
     formative-NEG-know/1SG  EVID:DIRECT
     ‘I didn’t understand (it).’

b. há-nyu-kɔ  ti
     formative-NEG-know/1SG  STA
     ‘I don’t know.’

\(^1\) The verb háko/hákʰuko ‘know, understand’ is borrowed from Tibetan ha’go ‘know’. Although the first syllable, /hɑ/, is not a directional prefix in Munya, it is treated as such, so that negative prefixes should follow this syllable instead of being prefixed to the whole word (therefore ha cannot be glossed). The mid syllable is peculiar in that it should be present when mu- is infixed but not when nyu- is.
The negator in (329a) is \textit{mu}- because the clause denotes a past situation, as can be seen from the direct evidential \textit{ra}. By contrast, (329b) denotes a state and is therefore negated with \textit{nyu}-.

The negator \textit{tɕɛ}- is in many cases interchangeable with both \textit{mo}- and \textit{nyu}-. This can be seen from (330), where \textit{tɕɛ}- is prefixed to the perfective marker in (330a) and the imperfective marker in (330b):

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{ndzú=ni nó-tʃʰö yɛ legó ε-dzó tɕɛ́-sə}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item people=PL+ERG DOWN-plow LK task DS-assign NEG-PFV
\end{enumerate}

‘People wouldn’t assign the task of plowing (to me).’

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{dʒiló tu-kù ne tɕɛ́-pi}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item duty UP-carry.on.back also NEG-IMPF
\end{enumerate}

‘Also, (they) don’t perform (their) duties.’

However, one situation where \textit{tɕɛ}- cannot occur is when a clause contains an egophoric marker. In such a case, only \textit{nyu}- or \textit{mo}- can be used. Consider the examples in (331):

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{kɛ́tʂi i tɛ-tə tsəkù ti kʰêkʰê tɛ-dzó nyú-po}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item person.name ERG UP-say SRI INDF different UP-take NEG-IMPF/1SG
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item EGO:SAP
\end{enumerate}

‘kɛ́tʂi said, I don’t want to take anything else.’

\begin{enumerate}
\item \texttt{púmi méndɛ i tsəkù tʰó-ngə mó-sə nyi}
\end{enumerate}

\begin{enumerate}
\item beggar old.woman ERG D.M AS-be.happy NEG-PFV EGO:AP
\end{enumerate}

‘The old beggar woman was not happy.’

In these two examples, the two negators cannot be replaced with \textit{tɕɛ}-.
12.2.3 Dialectal Variations

Negative markers in Munya show dialectal variations. The negator *tɕɛ*- discussed above is only found in the northern dialect. And correspondingly, there is a clause final negator, *yɛ*, that is only found in the southern dialect. This is illustrated in (332):

(332) a. otsi *tɕɛ́* tea *ɛ́tɕʰɯ* DS drink *tɕɛ́* pi IMPFNEG-IMPF  
   'He doesn’t drink tea.'

b. otsi *tɕɛ́* tea *ɛ́tɕʰɯ* pi *yɛ́*  
   3SG+ERG tea DS-drink IMPF NEG
   'He doesn’t drink tea.'

Due to a lack of data, currently not much can be said about the negator *yɛ* found in the southern dialect.

12.2.4 Predicative Negation

Aside from using negative prefixes, negation can also be expressed through an independent predicate, *mé* ‘not exist’. This word was analyzed as a negative copula in Section 10.5. It may be followed by grammatical categories like *ti, nyi* (333a), *tölö* (333b) and the imperfective *pi* (333c):

(333) a. tɑ́yɛ́ *mɛ́* ti/nyi  
   money COPULA:NEG STA/EGO:AP
   ‘There is/was no money.’

b. tɪnә kʰɤ́-tɤ ri *mɛ́* *tölö*  
   at.all NONS-buy NMLZ COPULA:NEG PAR
   ‘Nothing can buy (it)/Things that can buy (it) do not exist’.
12.3 Summary

Interrogatives in Munya can be grouped into four types, which are constituent interrogative, polar interrogative, rhetorical interrogative and alternative interrogative. Each type of interrogatives is formed in its unique way and has its unique functions. Constituent interrogative needs an interrogative word, which generally contains the interrogative prefix ε-. They occupy the same position as the constituent questioned, and can be used as indefinites or general indefinites. Polar interrogative is formed by attaching the interrogative prefix to predicates or auxiliaries. Rhetorical interrogative is used to introduce a new topic, and alternative interrogative generally contains the particle sū ‘or’, which links two clauses parallel in structure. Negation can be expressed either with prefixes or with a negative predicate. There are four negative prefixes with contrasting but also overlapping
functions. ́tsu- is only used in prohibitive clauses, ́nuw- is used in non-past situations and 
m- is used in past situations. The negative prefix tse- is interchangeable with ́nuw- and 
m- but cannot be followed by egophoric markers.
Chapter 13

Basic Clause Types

Clauses can be categorized using different perspectives. Based on the nature of their predicates, clauses can be divided into verbal predicate clauses, copula clauses, verbless clauses, etc.; based on speech acts, clauses can be grouped into declarative clauses, imperative clauses and interrogative clauses; based on their syntactic functions, there are main and subordinate clauses. (Aikhenvald 2015: 225; Dryer 2007)

This chapter will classify clauses mainly based on the nature of their predicates and their internal structures, i.e., whether the predicate of the clause is verbal, adjectival, nominal, etc., and for each clause type, how the internal structure is organized (Section 13.2). While the second parameter of distinction, the one based on speech acts, will also be taken account of, I will only focus on the properties of imperative clauses (Section 13.3), since interrogative clauses were already discussed extensively in Chapter 12. The main clauses and subordinate clauses will be the topic of next chapter. Since the discussion of clause types cannot avoid mentioning grammatical roles, particularly subject and object, it is necessary to elucidate how they are defined in Munya first.

13.1 Identifying the Subject

A strictly intransitive clause has only one argument, which would be identified as the subject (noted with S). The problem of identifying subject and object arises when one is dealing with transitive clauses. Because once the subject of a transitive clause (noted with A) is identified, the other argument would naturally be the object (noted with O). Here
we only focus on how to identify the subject of a transitive clause.

In Munya, the subject can be defined with four criteria, which are (in order of priority) person-number inflection, case marking, semantic role, and constituent order. None of these criteria, however, is definitive, that is, one cannot expect to identify the subject of all clauses based solely on one criterion. In an ideal situation, all four criteria are available in a clause and they converge to define an argument as the subject. However, as we shall see below, due to various factors, some of these criteria are not always applicable.

### 13.1.1 Person-number Inflection

In Munya, many verbs and auxiliaries inflect for the person-number of subjects. Thus, in the transitive clause below, we know that \( \text{ŋɯ́} \) 'I' is the subject because the verb inflects for the first person singular:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ŋí} & \text{otsә́} & \text{tö́} & \text{ra} \\
1\text{SG+ERG} & 3\text{SG} & \text{see/1SG EVID:DIRECT} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I saw him.'

While this criterion is very useful, there can be situations where it does not work. For example, some verbs do not inflect, and some transitive clauses can have a non-verbal predicate.

### 13.1.2 Case Marking

The ergative case \( i \) only marks the subject of transitive clauses, therefore it is a strong indicator of A. In the above example (335), the argument marked by the ergative case is \( \text{ŋɯ́} \) 'I', indicating that it is the transitive subject.

The A is not marked in this way for all transitive verbs. As we will see in Section 13.2.1, some verbs do not mark A, others mark A with the experiential case. Since O can also be marked in these two ways, either zero-marking or the experiential case cannot be taken as sole indicators of A.
13.1.3 Semantic Role

The canonical subject of a transitive clause is an agent, or the initiator of an action. Therefore, we can say that in a transitive clause, the argument coding the agent will be the subject. Thus in (335), the participant initiating the act of seeing, \( \eta \mu \ 'I' \), is realized as the subject.

However, in Munya, a transitive clause does not necessarily contain an agent. The semantic role of subjects can also be patient-like, such as the undergoer of a state or the experiencer of a feeling. Consider the example below:

(336) \( n \dot{g} \dot{e} \ n \dot{e} \ ngw-t\dot{s} \dot{e} \ ra \)

\( 1SG+EXP \ 2SG \ TS-miss \ EVID:DIRECT \)

‘I miss you.’

In this example, the predicate \( ngw-t\dot{s} \dot{e} \ ‘to miss’ \) denotes a kind of psychological state and is a non-control verb. This is why the subject (‘I’) is grammatically treated as an undergoer and marked by the experential case.

Since participants acting as the undergoer can also function as the object of a transitive clause, this semantic role cannot be used to identify subject.

13.1.4 Constituent Order

The most natural constituent order of a transitive clause is AOV. Hence in normal case, the first argument of a transitive clause is the subject. By this criterion, the first argument in (335), \( \eta \mu \ 'I' \), will be recognized as the subject.

This criterion is also not without exceptions. For example, when the object of a transitive clause is the topic in a discourse, it tends to be positioned before the subject.

To summarize, the most canonical transitive subject in Munya would meet all four criterion mentioned above: it would trigger the person-number inflection on the predicative verb, take the ergative case marker, code the agent of an action, and be the first argument of the clause. While not all transitive subjects meet these criteria, an argument needs to satisfy at least one of these in order for it to be identified as the subject of a clause.
13.2 Clause Types Based on the Nature of Predicates

Predicates in Munya can be verbal, adjectival or nominal. Clauses can subsequently be categorized as verbal predicate clauses, adjectival predicate clauses, and nominal predicate clauses. Although copulas in Munya belong to the verb class, because their argument structures are very different from those of verbs, copula clauses will be discussed separately here.

Verbal predicate clauses can be further distinguished based on their transitivity, yielding intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, and extended transitive clauses.

13.2.1 Verbal Predicate Clauses

13.2.1.1 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses have one core argument, traditionally noted as S. In Munya, intransitive clauses exhibit a split-S pattern, such that Sₐ is not marked and Sₒ is marked by the experiential case. Sₐ verbs are those that denote volitional or controlled actions, such as ‘to run’ and ‘to jump’; Sₒ verbs are those that denote non-volitional actions, such as ‘to be sick’ and ‘to be hungry’. In the two examples below, (337a) contains an Sₐ verb and (337b) contains an Sₒ verb:

(337) a. \[nɯ́ₗ\] e-bó ra
   sun DS-appear EVID:DIRECT
   ‘The sun has risen.’

b. \[tʃe\] ye ri té-ro
   REFL/3SG EXP smile UP-come
   ‘He smiled by himself.’

13.2.1.2 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses have two core arguments, a subject, typically noted as A, and an object, typically noted as O. Depending on how the two arguments are marked, six types of
transitive clauses can be recognized.

In the first type, the A is marked by the ergative case and the O is unmarked. This is used in the situation where A is the agent of an action and O is either inanimate or animate but not affected. An example is given in (338):

\[(338)\] \[\text{[sé]}_A \ i \ [\text{thualiatsi té-ge}_O] \ kʰô-tr \ ra\]

\[\text{commune \ ERG \ tractor \ one-CLF:GENR \ NONS-buy \ EVID:DIRECT}\]

‘The commune bought a tractor.’

When A is the agent of an action and O is a strongly affected animate patient, the former would be marked by the ergative case and the latter by the experiential case. This is the second type of transitive clause. The action can be either benefactive (339a) or malefactive to the patient (339b):

\[(339)\] a. \[\text{[thiwu=ne ngösʰi=ni]}_A \ [\text{ngé}_O] \ kʰô-γô \ νū \ nyū-ŋa\]

\[\text{PN=COLL.PL \ chieftain=PL+ERG \ 1SG+EXP \ NONS-help \ do \ NEG-can}\]

‘The chieftains of thiwu village won’t help me.’

b. \[\text{[otsi]}_A \ [\text{mayé}_O] \ yɛ \ runoff \ no-sà \ se\]

\[\text{3SG+ERG \ cow \ EXP \ bump.into \ DOWN-kill \ PFV}\]

‘He bumped into a cow and killed it.’

In the third type of transitive clause, A is marked by the ergative case and O by the dative case. This is used when A is the agent of an action and O is a not so strongly affected animate patient:

\[(340)\] \[\text{[mème]}_A \ i \ [\text{otsà}_O] \ le \ no-re-ri \ pi\]

\[\text{everybody \ ERG \ 3SG \ DAT \ DOWN-PLUR-laugh \ PFV}\]

‘Everybody is laughing at him.’

In the fourth type of transitive clause, neither A nor O is marked. This is used in the situation where A is not the agent of an action and O is not affected by A:
13.2. Clause Types Based on the Nature of Predicates

In the fifth type of transitive clause, A is not marked but O is marked by the dative case. This is used in the situation where A undergoes an emotion or feeling of which O is the target or cause.

(342) [yɛtʂú]A [kʰUNIX]O le tʰa-kʰá nyǔ-pi

wild.pig dog DAT AS-be.afraid NEG-IMPF

‘Wild pigs are not afraid of dogs.’

In the sixth type of transitive clause, A is marked by the experiential case and O is unmarked. The situation described is quite similar to the one in the last type, the difference being that the subject participant is more strongly affected in this kind of situation than in the last one. Verbs with this kind of argument structure are called non-control verbs in Section 4.3.6. An example is given below:

(343) a. [nɛ́]A yr [mekʰÚ]O ngu-tʃi ra

2SG EXP home TS-desire EVID:DIRECT

‘You are homesick.’

The meaning of this sentence seems to be that the feeling of homesickness is so strong that the subject, nɛ́ ‘you’, is almost controlled by it.

13.2.1.3 Extended Transitive Clauses

The most canonical type of extended transitive clause contains a ditransitive predicate and three core participants, an agent, a gift, and a recipient. In Munya, ditransitive verbs include ‘give (tʰokʰɛ́)’, ‘lend (tʰitsí)’, ‘feed (tʰomú)’, ‘tell (tә́tә)’, and so on. The agent of such verbs is marked by the ergative case, the recipient by the dative case, and the gift is not marked:
13.2. CLAUSE TYPES BASED ON THE NATURE OF PREDICATES

In a ditransitive clause of Munya, the recipient is realized as O and the theme is realized as E. The evidence for this analysis comes from verb inflection. Some transitive verbs involving two animate participants, such as tә́da 'hit', inflect for the person-number of both A and O. Similarly, the inflection of some ditransitive verbs is also governed by A and the argument taking the semantic role of recipient, which is marked by the dative case. Thus analyzing the recipient as O would be more consistent with other parts of the grammar.

13.2.2 Copula Predicate Clauses

Copulas in Munya are verbs: they can take directional prefixes and inflect for the person-number of subjects (see Chapter 10 for detailed discussion). Copula clauses are not discussed under the heading of verbal predicate clauses because the argument structures of copula predicates are very different from those of verbal predicates, and are better discussed separately. In what follows, copula clauses will be discussed based on the semantics of copula verbs, which are copulas of IDENTITY, EXISTENCE, LOCATION, POSSESSION, and CHANGE OF STATE.

13.2.2.1 Identity

There is only one copula verb of IDENTITY in Munya, which is ѓó 'be'. When denoting a past event, it should take the directional prefix tʰо-. This verb always takes two arguments, a copula subject and a copula complement, neither of which is case marked:

(345) kemù [mème]CS [pʰisátʃɔlo]CC tʰó-ŋo se nyi
    before everyone peasant AS-be PFV EGO:AP

    ‘In the past, everybody was peasant.’
13.2.2.2 Existence

Copulas of existence take one argument, which function as the CS of the clause and are not marked by any case. This is illustrated with the copula verb kʰɯ́ ‘to exist (within a container)’:

(346) [ndʐé]_{CS} ɛ́­kʰɯ́ ti?
rice INTRG-COP:CONTAIN STA

‘Is there any rice?’

13.2.2.3 Location

Copulas of location take two arguments, an argument denoting location and an argument denoting person or thing. Either argument can function as CS or CC. The argument denoting location can be optionally marked by the oblique case kɯ́, but the other argument is never case marked. In (347a), the CS refers to location but in (347b) the location is coded by CC:

(347) a. [onɛ́ 3PL+POSS tәtɑ́]_{CS} kw [tsʰʊ́ tó-lö]_{CC} tʰó-kʰɯ́
    up.behind.the.house OBL lake one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:CONTAIN
    se nyi
    PFV EGO:AP

    ‘There was a lake up behind their house.’

b. [tsʰɪ̄r]_{CS} [tsé  kʰɯ́]_{CC} ndʑu nyi
    cat house in COP:ANIMATE EGO:AP

    ‘The cat is in the house.’

13.2.2.4 Possession

A copula clause referring to a possessive relation requires two arguments. Three types of case marking patterns are found in this case, which differ in the marking on CS (CC is
never marked).

The CS can first of all be marked by the ergative case:

(348) \[yoni\]_{CS} \[tsekʰe sɔ́­kɑ\]_{CC} ndzé nyi

\[1PL.INCL+ERG \text{ thing three-CLF:KIND COP:ANIMATE/1/2NONSG EGO:AP}\]

'We have (those) three kinds of things.'

The CS can also be marked by the genitive case:

(349) \[ngɛ́\]_{CS} \[mɛ́mɛ tó­zә\]_{CC} ndzó nyi

\[1SG+GEN \text{ grandmother one-CLF:MAN COP:ANIMATE/1SG EGO:AP}\]

'I have a grandmother.'

Note that in both (348) and (349), the verb agrees with the person-number of the possessor, indicating that they are the subject of the two clauses.

In the third type of possessive clause, the CS is marked by the dative case:

(350) \[tʃótsi\]_{CS} le \[ngó rŷ-ze\]_{CC} i ti

\[desk DAT \text{ leg four-CLF:LONG COP:UPRIGHT STA}\]

'A desk has four legs.'

This type of possessive clause seems to be restricted to part-whole relation.

13.2.2.5 Change of State

There are two copulas of CHANGE OF STATE, which are \(tʰəvá\) and \(kʰɯ́ ɕo\). The two copulas can take either one or two arguments. When taking one argument, the meaning is ‘to come out’, and when taking two arguments, the meaning is ‘to become’. (Their difference is not yet clear to me.) (351) shows the two copulas taking one argument, which is not case-marked:
When taking two arguments, the complement of the two copulas can be either nominal or adjectival. This is illustrated with *tʰɑvá* ‘to become’ in (352), where the CC in the first example is nominal while that in the second example is adjectival and neither of them is case-marked:

(352) a. [tɕɯ́][CS] [ndʑikú][CC] tʰɑ-vá sə
   water  ice   AS-become PFV
   ‘The water was frozen.’

b. [tɕe][CS] [kíko][CC] tʰɑ-vá sə
   son   big    AS-become PFV
   ‘The son has grown up.’

Different from *tʰɑvá* ‘to become’, when taking two arguments, the CS of *kʰɯɕó* ‘to become’ can be animate, in which case it should be marked by the experiential case:

(353) [ngɛ́][CS] [nɪtsʰü][CC] kʰɯ-śo
   1SG+EXP homesickness NONS-become
   ‘I was homesick.’

### 13.2.3 Adjectival Predicate Clauses

Compared to verbal predicate clauses, adjectival predicate clauses generally cannot contain perfective or imperfective aspect markers or the direct evidential marker, and their
13.2. CLAUSE TYPES BASED ON THE NATURE OF PREDICATES

structures are significantly less diversified. Depending on their semantics, adjectival predicates can take one or two arguments. The single argument of an adjectival predicate is not case marked:

\[ (354) \quad [mɯ́]_S \quad \text{teipu} \quad \text{ti} \]
\[
\text{weather be.comfortable STA}
\]

‘The weather is comfortable.’

When an adjectival predicate takes two arguments, the arguments can be marked in quite different ways. The first way is to leave both arguments unmarked:

\[ (355) \quad [\text{manyɛ́ sù}]_A \quad [\text{tɕɛ́}]_O \quad \text{tsàtst} \quad \text{ti} \]
\[
\text{Munya language usefulness be.small STA}
\]

‘Munya is not very useful/The usefulness of Munya is small.’

This type of clause reminds one of the topic-comment structure found in many east Asian languages (C. N. Li and Thompson 1976).

The second way is to leave the subject not marked and mark the object with the dative case:

\[ (356) \quad [\text{nù}]_A \quad [\text{søkøyɛ}]_O \quad \text{le} \quad \text{tsòtso} \quad \text{té-ɛ́} \quad \text{nyì} \]
\[
\text{1SG construction.worker DAT be.similar.to one-CLF:GENR EGO:AP}
\]

‘I was just like a construction worker.’

The third way is to mark the subject with the dative case while leaving the object not marked:

\[ (357) \quad [\text{otsø}]_A \quad \text{le} \quad [\text{kò}]_O \quad \text{kiko} \quad \text{ti} \]
\[
\text{3SG DAT price be.big STA}
\]

‘It is expensive. (lit. The price to it is big.)’

Yet another way is to mark the subject with the ergative case and not mark the object:
13.2. CLAUSE TYPES BASED ON THE NATURE OF PREDICATES

(358)  
\[\text{otsi}_A \quad \text{[nṹ]}_O \quad \text{sisi} \quad \text{nyi}\]
3SG+ERG 1SG be.fond.of EGO:AP

‘He likes me.’

The majority of predicates of comparative constructions are adjectives. In such constructions, the standard of comparison is always marked by the particle \( ti \), which can either be on subject or object. Compare the two examples below:

(359) a.  
\[\text{[nṹ]}_A \quad \text{[nɛ́]}_O \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{kiko}\]
1sg 2sg sc be.big

‘I’m taller than you.’

b.  
\[\text{[nṹ]}_A \quad \text{ti} \quad \text{[nɛ́]}_O \quad \text{kiko}\]
1sg sc 2sg be.big

‘You are taller than me.’

13.2.4 Nominal Predicate Clauses

A nominal predicate clause typically denotes an equative meaning. In such a clause, the first nominal functions as the subject and the second nominal as the predicate. The subject is not marked by any case. In the two examples below, the predicate in the first example is a pronoun, and the one in the second example is a nominalized phrase:

(360) a.  
\[\text{yonɛ́} \quad \text{dzópu}_S \quad \text{ótsa} \quad \text{nyi}\]
1PL.INCL+POSS king 3SG EGO:AP

‘He is our king.’

b.  
\[\text{nɛ́}_S \quad \text{tέu} \quad \text{ɛ́-tɛ́h}u \quad \text{mi}\]
2sg water ds-drink NMLZ

‘You drink a lot of water (lit. You are a water drinker).’
13.3 Clause Types Based on Speech Acts: Imperatives

An imperative clause is used to express command, request, or entreaty, which is typically addressed to a second person (Aikhenvald 2015: 234). As we shall see below, imperatives in Munya can also be addressed to first person inclusive subjects. Not all verbs can function as the predicate of an imperative clause. Only verbs which express controlled actions can form imperatives. Verbs of other semantic types, such as non-control verbs and copula verbs, are not allowed in an imperative.

As with many other languages, fewer grammatical categories are allowed in imperatives than declaratives and interrogatives. No categories of aspect, evidentiality or mirativity can be expressed in imperatives. Verbs still show person-number inflection, and this is an important way of forming second person imperatives. Imperatives in Munya do not have any specific intonation.

An imperative clause is negated with a dedicated prohibitive formative *tɕɯ*, which is prefixed to the verb (See Section 12.2 for detailed discussion).

The scope of an imperative is one clause. This can be seen from the fact that when an imperative clause functions as the complement clause of a verb, like *tә́ ‘say’*, only the complement clause has the illocutionary force of command. The whole complex clause is declarative, as it can be marked by the various grammatical categories not allowed in an imperative clause.

Depending on the person to which an imperative is directed, imperatives in Munya can be classified as second person imperatives and first person imperatives. Second person imperative has three sub-types, which are immediate imperative, future imperative, and polite imperative.

13.3.1 Second Person Imperative

Second person imperative is directed to the addressee, which is coded as the subject. The subject can be either overtly expressed or not and there does not seem to be any noticeable pragmatic difference. There are three ways to form a second person imperative clause: by inflecting the verb (direct imperative), with the auxiliary *hi ‘will’* (future imperative), and with the auxiliary *vo* (polite imperative).
13.3.1.1 Immediate Imperative

The most common way to form a direct imperative is through verb inflection. Imperatives formed in this way implies that the command is to be carried out immediately or in the immediate future. Depending on the number of subject, a verb with inflectional forms can show up as second person singular form (361a) or first/second person non-singular form (361b):

(361) a. tә́­hu
       UP-go/2SG
       ‘Go up (upstairs)!’

b. nɛnɪnɛ okʰó nbé
       2DU DEM stay/1/2NONSG
       ‘You two stay here.’

In this type of command, the verb cannot be followed by any grammatical categories. This is different from declarative clauses with second person subjects, in which case the verb can often be marked by aspects, evidentials or egophorics. Even if the speaker chooses to leave out all these categories in a declarative clause (which is rare), the addressee can rely on the context to deduce whether it is a command or a statement.

Uninflected verbs can either directly function as an imperative predicate (362a), or form a complex predicate with the auxiliary vũ ‘do’, on which the inflection is marked (362b):

(362) a. ṅaŋá kʰɤ-séŋa
       well NONS-listen
       ‘Listen carefully.’

b. nɛ́ i otsé ɣɛ tʰʊ-ngɛ ʋǔ
       2SG ERG 3SG EXP AS-pick.up do/2SG
       ‘You pick up (tree branches) for him/her.’
If a serial verb construction is used as the predicate of an imperative clause, only the last verb inflects for the number of subject:

(363)  
\[ \text{nɛ́ } i \ \text{ɛ́tɕori } \text{hú} \]

\[
\text{2SG } \text{ERG } \text{DS-look go/2SG}
\]

‘You go and have a look.’

In this example, only the second verb \( hә́ \) ‘to go’ inflects for the second person singular form. The first verb, \( ɛ́tɕori \) ‘look’, which does have a second person singular form (\( ɛ́tɕɛrɛ \)), is not inflected. This conforms to the tendency in Munya of marking person-number inflection once per clause.

While adjectives and nouns can function as predicates, they cannot directly function as the predicate of an imperative clause. To be used in an imperative clause, they need to function as the complement of \( nόvɯ \) ‘to do’. In the pair of examples below, the complement of (364a) is an adjective and those of (364b) are noun phrases.

(364)  
\[ a. \text{ tʃʰόntʃʰó } nό-vũ \]

\[ \text{good DOWN-be/2SG} \]

‘Be good.’

\[ b. \text{ mә́ni } \text{sivɯ } nό-ve, \ \text{sɛ́npe } \text{tʃʰόtʃʰó } nό-ve \]

\[ \text{person good DOWN-do/1/2NONSG heart white DOWN-do/1/2NONSG} \]

‘Be a good person and have a kind heart.’

13.3.1.2 Future Imperative

Another way of forming direct imperative is to use the auxiliary \( hi \) at the end of an imperative clause. This auxiliary is grammaticalized from a motion verb which means ‘go’, and can also be used as a modal auxiliary meaning ‘will’. Imperatives formed in this way generally imply that the command is not to be carried out immediately but in the future. In this type of imperative, the verb is not inflected. (365) can be addressed to a person who has done something wrong, as a gentle reminder:
13.3. CLAUSE TYPES BASED ON SPEECH ACTS: IMPERATIVES

13.3.1.3 Polite Imperative

Another type of second person imperative is formed with the auxiliary vo, which is analyzable as the first person singular form of the auxiliary vu ‘to do’. This type of imperative is used when the one issuing a command wants to be polite and sounds less domineering, especially when asking someone to do something for the speaker. The addressee is normally someone not very close to the one issuing the command (e.g., non-family members). The verb is not inflected in this type of imperative:

(366)  nyu ye tsu tó-se rækʰé vo
1SG EXP water one-CLF:FULL fill REQ

‘Please fill a full (bowl) of water for me.’

13.3.2 First Person Imperative

First person imperative is used to invite the addressee(s) to join the speaker to do something. This type of imperative is formed in the same way as the future imperative, i.e., with the auxiliary hi. The subject, if overtly expressed, can only be first person inclusive. Two examples are given below:

(367) a. yonu tse hi
1PL.INCL run.away go IMP

‘We should run away.’

b. yoni momo ni-ra hi
1PL.INCL+ERG steamed.dumpling DOWN-share IMP

‘Let us share this steamed dumpling.’
13.4. SUMMARY

First person imperative clause can be optionally ended by the sentence final particle \textit{pa}. This particle can also be used in a declarative clause, when the speaker is unsure of something. When used in a first person imperative clause, it can make the command sound less direct, as if the speaker is making a suggestion. A speaker thinks that it is time for us to start working, and said:

\begin{verbatim}
(368) kʰó-re hi pa
  NONS-start IMP CFP

'Shall we start?'
\end{verbatim}

13.3.3 Imperative Strategies

In the appropriate context, an interrogative clause can have the illocutionary force of a command. A grandmother, realizing that it is bedtime, said (369) to her grand-daughter, who was watching TV:

\begin{verbatim}
(369) mú, kʰi nyɯ́-pi?
  girl sleep NEG-IMPF

'Girl, you are not sleeping?'
\end{verbatim}

This can be seen as an indirect way of issuing a command.

13.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the basic main clause types in Munya from the perspectives of predicates and speech acts. Because in discussing clause types one has to make frequent reference to grammatical roles, the identification of subject was discussed first. Based on the nature of predicates, clause types were classified into verbal predicate clause, copula predicate clause, adjectival predicate clause, and nominal predicate clause. Each type was then further discussed based on their internal structures. After this, imperative clauses were discussed. It was shown that such clauses can be categorized into
second-person imperative clauses and first person imperative clauses, and the former can be further classified into immediate imperative, future imperative and polite imperative.
Chapter 14

Complex Clauses

A complex clause is defined here to be a self-contained unit of speech consisting of more than one component clauses. A complex clause forms one intonational group, and may or may not contain intonational breaks within it. Following this characterization, three broad types of complex clauses are recognized, which are relative clauses (Section 14.1), complement clauses (Section 14.2), and complex clauses joined by clause-linking devices (Section 14.5). Speech reports are formally complement clauses but are treated separately due to their complexity (Section 14.4).

14.1 Relative Clause Construction

A relative clause construction involves a main clause (MC) and a relative clause (RC). The two clauses share a common argument (CA), which is syntactically modified by the RC (Dixon 2012b: 314).

In Munya, the common argument is stated in the main clause. There is no formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Whether a relative clause should be interpreted as restrictive or not depends on the context. A relative clause precedes the common argument, and is marked by ţɛ (homophenous to the possessive marker and the experiential case). The marker is part of the relative clause. The evidence is that the discourse marker, tsəkṹ, can be inserted after ţɛ, but not before it.

An example of relative clause is given below:
14.1. RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

(370) \[tu-ré \ ma-ndò \ sə \ yɛ\]_{RC} \ túnko \ sēsə

\text{UP-blow} \ \text{NEG-used.to} \ \text{PFV} \ \text{REL} \ \text{white.conch.shell.trumpet} \ \text{tomorrow}

tu-ré

\text{UP-blow/1/2NONSg}

‘Tomorrow (you) blow a white conch shell trumpet that has never been blown before.’

In this example, the main clause is an imperative construction, and its subject is omitted. The common argument, \textit{túnko} ‘white conch shell trumpet’, which is underlined, functions as the object of the relative clause and the main clause. The relative clause is marked by the relative marker.

Below we take a more detailed look at the relative clause constructions in Munya. We will first look at the possible structures of relative clauses, and then at the properties of CA.

14.1.1 The Structure of a Relative Clause

In (370), the relative clause contains an aspect marker (\textit{sə} ‘PFV’). A relative clause can also contain an auxiliary such as \textit{hi} ‘will’ or \textit{ro} ‘go’ (both are grammaticalized motion verbs, cf. Chapter 9). An example is given in (371), where the relative clause ends with \textit{ro} ‘go’:

(371) \[mɯ́ \ kʰu-ɛ́ \ sə \ yɛ\]_{RC} \ dzó \ tó-lö \ tʰó-tɕɯ \ sə

\text{fire} \ \text{NONS-Preserve} \ \text{go} \ \text{REL} \ \text{stone} \ \text{one-CLF:GENR} \ \text{AS-COP:INANIMATE} \ \text{PFV}

‘There was a stone for keeping embers alive.’

The grammatical categories allowed in a relative clause are quite restricted. The categories found so far are perfective and imperfective aspect markers, \textit{hi} ‘will’ and \textit{ro} ‘go’. The stative aspect, evidentials and egophorics are not allowed in the relative clauses. Among these categories, aspect markers and the auxiliary \textit{hi} ‘will’ can also function in an independent clause, but not \textit{ro} ‘go’.

When none of these categories are present, the verb in the relative clause needs to be nominalized (cf. Section 6.5.4). Consider the example in (372):
14.1. RELATIVE CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

(372)  nɛnɛ́  yuṭsu [mənɪ  é-ndzə  ri  ɣɛ]_{RC}  yu  te-ŋo

  2PL+POSS  lawn   person  ds-eat   NMLZ  REL  grass  NEG-be

‘The grass on your lawn is not for people to eat.’

The verb in the relative clause, ęndzə ‘to eat’, is nominalized by ri. The common argument ɣu ‘grass’ functions as the O of the relative clause and the copula complement of the main clause.

14.1.2 Common Argument

The common argument can only be a common noun—it cannot be a proper noun, a demonstrative or a pronoun. The grammatical roles that the common argument takes in both main and relative clauses is an important issue. However, this issue cannot be addressed here in a systematic way at the present stage of the research. In the above examples, the CA functions as the O in both clauses in (370); in (371), the CA functions as an oblique argument (the instrument) of RC and the copula subject of MC; in (372), the CA functions as the O of RC and the copula complement of MC.

In (373), it acts as the copula subject of RC and the possessor in the possessive construction of MC:

(373)  [sənbu  tʰó-ndzɯw  sə  ɣɛ]_{RC}  dzópu  ɣɛ  pándzọ  kʰu  kw

demon   AS-COP:ANIMATE   PFV   REL   king   POSS   treasure.house   in   OBL

  nápu  mú

treasure   COP:MOVE

‘There are treasures in the treasure house of the king who had a demon.’

In some cases the ‘common argument’ is not stated—it is an argument of the main clause, but not the relative clause. Consider the two examples below:

(374)  a.  yipʰosí  ɲùw  le  [lɤ́  mɪ-ndzɔ  ri  ɣɛ]_{RC}  kʰɛ́  tu-dó  vó

  last.time  1SG  DAT  milk  DOWN-process   NMLZ  REL  word   UP-say   REQ

‘Last time (he) asked me to say a few words on how to process milk.’
b. \[\text{yonә́ tʰó-sә pe yɛ}_\text{RC} \text{ tɛtsʰú pu ku, tɛh̩ i mɛtsʰé}\]

1PL.INCL AS-die IMPF/1/2NONSG REL time on OBL Dharma ERG only

tine tɛá-tʃɛ

anything NEG-be.useful

‘At the time when we are dying, only Dharma alone can help.’

In the first example, the common argument, \(kʰɛ́\) ‘words’, functions as the O of the main clause but not as an argument in the relative clause. The relative clause has an overt object, \(lɤ́\) ‘milk’. Its subject, if stated, would normally be a human (or anything that can process milk). In the second example, the common argument \(tɛtsʰú\) ‘time’ is the oblique argument in the main clause but not an argument in the relative clause. The relative clause is intransitive, and its S is already overtly expressed. This is reminiscent of the T-relative clauses discussed in K. Hale (1976).

A relative clause construction can in some instances contain no argument in common with the MC. This is termed as ‘headless relative clause’. Once I mispronounced \(vό\) ‘barley powder’ as \(vɯ́\) ‘snow’. A native speaker corrected me by saying:

\((375)\) [[ɛ́-ndzә ri yɛ]_{RC} ө]_{A} [vό]_{O} tɛpì; [[ná-ndzә ri yɛ]_{RC} ө]_{A} [vɯ́]_{O} tɛpì

DS-eat NMLZ REL CA barley.powder be.called DOWN-fall NMLZ REL CA snow be.called

‘The thing for eating is called \(vό\), the thing that falls is called \(vɯ́\).’

This example contains two relative clause constructions parallel in structure. In both constructions, the subject of the main clause consists of the relative clause and the relative marker, without any head noun. Notice that the two nouns following the relative marker, which are \(vό\) ‘barley powder’ in the first construction and \(vɯ́\) ‘snow’ in the second, are not common arguments. If they were analyzed as the common argument, then the two constructions would have only one argument, which is both ungrammatical and semantically incomplete, because \(tɛpì\) ‘be called’ requires two arguments. The common argument is
not overtly stated here probably because its meaning is too generic; it simply denotes ‘thing’.

14.2 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument of another clause. In this section we look at the possible syntactic functions of complement clauses, how they are marked, and the types of complement taking verbs.

14.2.1 Syntactic Functions

In Munya, the most common argument slot that a complement clause takes is O. (This is consistent to the observation of Dixon (2012b: 377).) Consider the example in (376), where the complement clause functions as the object of kʰuítɕorö ‘I see’:

(376) [yoló té-pʰa té-te ė-pi]_{CoCl:O} kʰuí-tɕorö ŋo

again UP-split UP-say INTRG-IMPF NONS-see/1SG EGO:SAP

‘(I) went to see if they say more (wood) needs to be split.’

In Munya, complement-taking verbs can be copulas. The complement clauses that these copula verbs take generally function as CS (377):

(377) [nísəw gú le ku təkʰu gútʰu tépi tó-u kʰi-tsə rɪ]_{CoCl:CS}

twenty ninth at OBL D.M PN be.called one-CLF:MEAL NONS-COOK NMLZ

də̥ nyi

COP:ABSTRACT EGO:AP

‘It is the case that on the twenty ninth (of December), a kind of food called gutʰu will be cooked.’

Complement clauses are not found to take other argument slots. In the following discussion, we focus on the form of complement clauses and the types of complement-taking verbs.
14.2. THE MARKING OF COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Munya does not have any dedicated markers for complement clauses. Certain markers that occur at the end of complement clauses are also nominalizers. Consider the two examples below, where the complement clauses are respectively marked by *tsә* (378a) and *ri* (378b):

(378) a. ŋí [ngötsʰi=ni tětsʰə tò pi tsəsCoClO kʰr-séŋa]
1SG+ERG chieftain=PL+ERG order say IMPF NMLZ NONS-listen.to
    po nyi
    IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'I listen to all the orders issued by chieftains.'

b. [putsʰi tó-lö tʃʰú kʰu né-dće ri]sCoCl:CS tʰo-ŋó se
child one-CLF:GENR lake in DOWN-throw NMLZ AS-be PFV

'It was the case that a child needed to be thrown into the lake.'

In (378a), the complement clause functions as the object of *kʰr-séŋa* 'to listen to', and in (378b) the complement clause functions as the copula subject of *tʰo-ŋó* 'be'. The two markers in the two complement clauses were analyzed as nominalizers in Section 6.5. The reason why they show up in complement clauses seems to be this: since arguments tend to be nominal in nature, and since complement clauses function as arguments, they need to be nominalized before they can perform that function. This seems to be typical of Tibeto-Burman languages, cf. Noonan (1997).

The nominalization of a complement clause is optional. This can be seen from the two examples below:
The first example contains three complex clauses parallel in structure, but only the first complement clause is nominalized. In the second example, the complement clause can be marked by ri, but that is optional. The factors determining the marking of complement clauses is a question to be further investigated.

While the above analysis illustrates that there is no dedicated maker of complement clause in Munya, I do find that in some cases, the erstwhile general classifier, tólö, seems to have this function (see also the discussion in Bai 2019). Consider the two examples below:

(380) a. [dzópu sò-ze tólöCoCl:CS tsé-nde, dzópu tó-ze]CoCl:CS

king three-CLF:MAN COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT king one-CLF:MAN

metsʰé

only

‘It cannot be the case that there are three kings, there can only be one king.’

b. [nɛ́ i ta-tʃe ri tólöCoCl:CS tsé-nde]CoCl:CS

2SG ERG UP-arrive NMLZ COMP NEG-COP:ABSTRACT

‘It is not the case that you can reach (there).’

In (380a), tólö occurs after a noun phrase, dzópu sòze ‘three kings’, indicating that it cannot be a nominalizer. Also, it cannot be a numeral classifier, as there is already a numeral
classifier (sò-ze ‘three-clf:man’) before it. The function of tólö here seems to be to transform the nominal phrase into a complement clause. In (380b), since the complement clause is already nominalized by ri, the most plausible function of tólö is as a complementizer. Using tólö as a marker of complement clause seems to be quite restricted—in both examples, the complement taking verb is the copula ndé. Because of this, tólö was analyzed as a complementation strategy instead of a full-fledged complementizer (Section 6.4.2; Bai 2019).

14.2.3 Complement Taking Verbs

Both complement clauses and complement taking verbs can be classified based on their semantics. Following the categorization of Dixon (2012b: Chapter 18), the complement taking verbs in Munya and the semantic types of complement clauses that they take are given in Table 14.1. Note that in Munya, it is very common for copula verbs to take complement clauses, which denote fact or activity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic types</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Semantic types of CoCl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>nó ‘be’, ndé ‘to exist’</td>
<td>Fact, Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attention</td>
<td>kʷuteórí ‘look’, kʷuseŋá ‘listen’</td>
<td>Fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinking</td>
<td>sò ‘think, plan’, hák’uko ‘know’</td>
<td>Fact, Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liking</td>
<td>gē ‘like’</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>tée ‘say’</td>
<td>Fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negator</td>
<td>mé ‘not’</td>
<td>Fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modal-type</td>
<td>tšihú ‘allow’, tô ‘can’</td>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>kʰøre ‘begin’, tôdi ‘finish’</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make</td>
<td>tši ‘make’</td>
<td>Activity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The grammatical categories that a complement clause can be marked for has to do with its semantics. Generally speaking, complement clauses of fact can take the widest range of grammatical categories. All clausal categories are allowed for the complement clauses of the verb of saying, tée ‘say’, and the verb of thinking, só ‘think’. The complement clauses that these two verbs take are never nominalized. The complement clauses in the two examples below function as the object of só ‘think’, which respectively take the egophoric marker and the evidential marker: (the complement clauses that tée ‘say’ take will be discussed in Section 14.4.)
14.3. NOMINALIZATION, RELATIVIZATION AND COMPLEMENTATION

(381) a. \[tɕɯtɕʰә́tɕɯ \text{one.hundred.percent} \ yonә́ \text{1PL.INCL} \ tʰó­sә \text{AS-die} \ hé \text{will/1/2NONS} \ nyi \text{EGO:AP} \ sό\]

‘(We should) think that we will certainly die.’

b. \[pʰúke \text{finally} \ yonә́ \text{1PL.INCL} \ gé \text{private} \ tʰә­vá \text{AS-come.out} \ rɑ \text{EVID:DIRECT} \ sό\]

‘(People) think that finally the land was contracted to the individuals.’

Other fact-type complement clauses can either be nominalized or take a restricted number of grammatical categories, which are mostly aspect; they are not found to take categories such as evidentiality or egophoricity. Consider the example in (382):

(382) \[ókʰo \text{DEM} \ nbәtʂɑ́ \text{caterpillar.fungus} \ ɛ­hí \text{INTRG-need} \ ti \text{STA} \ kʰɯ́ tɕɛrɛ \text{NONS-look/2SG} \]

‘Have a look if the people over there need caterpillar fungus.’

In this example, the complement taking verb \(kʰɯ́ tɕɛrɛ\) ‘you look’ denotes fact. It takes a full complement clause, which contains a stative aspect marker, \(tि\).

Complement clauses denoting activity or potential cannot be marked for any grammatical categories, but can be nominalized. This can be seen from (379a) above, where the complement clauses denote potential, and (379b), which denotes activity.

14.3 Nominalization, Relativization and Complementation

It is well-known that in many Tibeto-Burman languages nominalization and relativization are intimately connected (cf. Bickel 1999; DeLancey 2005; Matisoff 1972; Noonan 1997, among others; see also Dixon 2012b: 342). In some languages, such as Lahu (Matisoff 1972) and Chantyal (Noonan 1997), the nominalizer is in the same form as the relativizer, while in Tibetan, ‘prenominal relative clause is marked as dependent by genitive case’ (DeLancey 2005).

In Section 14.1.1, it was shown that some relative clauses need to be nominalized by \(ri\) before they can be marked by the relativizer. Also, recall that in the discussion on free-
standing nominalization, which is marked by the nominalizer *ri* and the general numeral classifier *tölö* (Section 6.5.5), it was shown that this type of construction is related to the complement clause headed by the copula *ndǝ́* ‘to exist’. Thus, it seems that in Munya, the three phenomena—nominalization, relativization, and complementation—are closely connected. This connection can be seen from two aspects. Firstly, as has been pointed out above, the same morpheme, *ri*, shows up in all three types of constructions. Secondly, some structures can be analyzed from all three perspectives. Consider (383):

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(383) a.] \begin{align*}
\text{people}=\text{PL+ERG} & \quad \text{up-say} & \quad \text{IMPF} & \quad \text{NMLZ} & \quad \text{formative-INTRG-know/2SG} & \quad \text{EGO:SAP} \\
\text{hǝ́-u-κɛ} & \quad \eta\omega?
\end{align*}
\end{enumerate}

‘Can you understand other people’s saying?’

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(383) b.] \begin{align*}
\text{people}=\text{PL+ERG} & \quad \text{up-say} & \quad \text{IMPF} & \quad \text{COMP} & \quad \text{NMLZ} & \quad \text{formative-INTRG-know/2SG} & \quad \text{EGO:SAP} \\
\text{hǝ́-u-κɛ} & \quad \eta\omega?
\end{align*}
\end{enumerate}

‘Can you understand what other people say?’

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(383) c.] \begin{align*}
\text{people}=\text{PL+ERG} & \quad \text{up-say} & \quad \text{IMPF} & \quad \text{CA} & \quad \text{NMLZ} & \quad \text{formative-INTRG-know/2SG} & \quad \text{EGO:SAP} \\
\text{hǝ́-u-κɛ} & \quad \eta\omega?
\end{align*}
\end{enumerate}

‘Can you understand the thing that other people say?’

This clause was analyzed as a case of nominalization in Section 6.5.3 (example 159b), with *tsǝ́* functioning as a nominalizer, which nominalizes the clause before it. The nominalized element then functions as the O of the predicate. This is the analysis given in (383a). Now, since the clause functions as an argument, why not analyzing *tsǝ́* as a complementizer and treating this as a case of complement clause construction? This is the analysis proposed in (383b). Furthermore, an analysis from the perspective of relativization is also possible (383c). All we need to do is to analyze *tsǝ́* as the common argument, and the clause before it as a modifier. The common argument has a very general meaning (‘thing’), which functions as the O in the main clause and the relative clause.

It is hard to tell which analysis is better. Treating this phenomenon as nominalization would increase the types of nominalization devices, but simplify the other two phenomena. The same trade-off exists if it is categorized as relativization or complementization.
Perhaps the more important thing is to notice that there are certain constructions which are amenable to three analyses.

The connection between these three phenomena may not be language-specific, as it was found that languages without complement clause constructions may employ strategies like relative clause or nominalization (Dixon 2012b: 407 – 9), indicating that there might be common cognitive or other functional motivations behind these phenomena.

14.4 Speech Report

This section discusses speech report in Munya, which is the way of reporting what someone else has said. According to Aikhenvald (2011b: 291), a speech report construction consists of the speech report content, the reporting marker, and optionally a linker between the two. Munya has two markers of speech report, a verb, tә́-tә ‘up-say’, and a reported evidential, tә́pi. There is no obligatory linker between the two markers and the speech report content. A speech report can also be directly embedded in a discourse, without being overtly marked. In what follows, we will first look at the structure of speech report constructions which contain the two reporting markers, focusing on those containing tә́to ‘to say’. Next we look at speech report constructions from the perspective of directness, including indirect speech report, direct speech report and semi-direct speech report. We will discuss in some detail the properties of semi-direct speech report construction and briefly explore the functional motivations behind it.

14.4.1 The Structure of Speech Report Constructions

As was mentioned, there are two reporting markers in Munya, a speech report verb and a reported evidential marker. The verb sә́ ‘to think’ behaves in many ways similar to the speech report verb, but since the content reported by sә́ is not real speech, it was treated as a complement-taking verb in Section 14.2 instead of a speech report marker. Another verb that can introduce speech report is tә́-kәra ‘up-yell’. It can only introduce indirect speech and does not occur as frequently as tә́to ‘to say’, therefore it will not be discussed in details. We now look at the structure of speech report constructions headed by the two markers.
14.4.1.1 The Speech Report Marked by tә́tә

The speech report construction marked by tә́-tә ‘up-say’ is always multiclausal, as the speech report content occupies the complement clause slot and functions as the O of the report verb:

\[(384) \quad [tɕiro.wɑ́ntɕʰu]_A \quad i \quad [t͡ʃe\ \gamma e\ nyu-ke\ ti,\ tʊ-yʊ\ vʊ]_{CoC:O} \]

The constituent order in this example is AOV. The original speaker (the person by the name of tɕiro wantɕʰu) is realized as A, and is marked by the ergative case. This also indicates that the speech report verb is transitive. The report content, marked in brackets, follows the subject and thus is identifiable as the O.

The addressee of the original speech can also be overtly mentioned, in which case it is realized as an oblique argument and marked by the dative case. In the following example, the addressee is dzópu=ne matsá ‘the daughter of the king’s family’:

\[(385) \quad [mɛỹ]_A \quad i \quad tseku\ dzópu=ne\ matsá\ le\ [tɕʰú\ ɛntölɔ\ vá\ ti]_{CoC:O} \quad tʊ\ so\ nyi\]

‘The bull said to the daughter of the king’s family, “how are things going this time?”’

In the two examples above, the constituent order is the normal one, which is AOV. The reported content can also be positioned at the end, and in this case the report verb should be followed by tsakú, which can be analyzed as a speech report introducer here:
When a speech report spans across more than one clause, the report content can be summarized with the clause *omané téte se ‘It was said like that’*

(387) [*tsé te-dzó nyú-tsʰu*] té-te tsakú; [*domá tʰo-kó né nyú-tsʰu;*]

house UP-build NEG-allow UP-say D.M wood AS-cut also NEG-allow

ómené té-te se nyí

like.that UP-say PFV EGO:AP

‘ “Building a house is forbidden”, (they said); “It is also forbidden to cut down any trees”. It was announced like that.’

The speech report verb *téte* ‘to say’ can also be used as the main verb in an imperative construction, in which case it means ‘ask’. Most commonly, the situation is one where the reporter relays the command from the original speaker, who is the issuer of the command, to the addressee, who is the one expected to carry out the action. The verb in the reported imperative clause inflects for the second person:

(388) *otsí né le [yásu tahá té vú] té pi*  

3SG+ERG 2SG DAT Chinese some say do/2SG say IMPF

‘He asks you to speak some Chinese. (lit. He says to you: “Speak some Chinese”.)’

In the following example, the reporter is the command-taker, the original speaker is the one issuing the command, and the addressee is also overtly mentioned:
(389) [otsi]₃ A nɛ́ yɛ ɲʊ le [teũ tse hũ]_{CoCl:O} tɔ́pi
3SG 2SG EXP 1SG DAT water fetch go/2SG say IMPF

‘He asks me to fetch some water for you.’

Here the addressee, nɛ́ ‘you’, is marked by the experiential case as it is the beneficiary of the action. The speaker, shown in first person form, is marked by the dative case.

14.4.1.2 The Speech Report Marked by tɔ́pi

Another way to report a speech is with the reported evidential tɔ́pi. The properties of this marker and how to tell whether tɔ́pi is an evidential marker or a verb plus the imperfective marker (tɔ́pi ‘say IMPF’) were discussed in Section 8.4.2. Therefore it will be discussed only briefly here. The speech report introduced by this marker is indirect, as there is shift in personal deixis. Consider the example below:

(390) [nɛ́ yɛ tɔ́-tsɔ ra] tɔ́pi
2SG EXP up-be.hungry EVID:DIRECT EVID:REP

‘It is said that you are hungry.’

Imagine that someone tells me that a person (other the speaker or the addressee) is hungry, and uses a third person form to refer to that person. Now if I report that message to the one who is said to be hungry by saying (390), I need to change the subject from third person to second person. The shift in personal deixis indicates that this type of speech report construction is indirect.

14.4.1.3 Speech Report Without Any Marking

A direct speech report can also be directly embedded in a discourse, without any overt marking. In a dialogue, a speaker was talking about his working experience in a monastery, and as he turned to the issue of payment, he said:
'The work lasted for about ten days. "Although I pay other people one hundred and fifty yuan (per day), I pay you only one hundred," (he said).'

The two clauses in brackets are a direct speech report, which are not put in any quoting frame. The original speaker is the one who hired the reporter to work. We know this is a direct speech report because the imperfective markers in the two clauses inflect for the first person singular, and the personal deixis in the second speech report clause is nɛnә́ ‘you’, in this case referring to the participants including the addressee and is not shifted. In this example, the reported speech does not bear any special intonational feature.

### 14.4.2 Indirect, Direct and Semi-direct Speech Report

Speech report constructions are commonly classified into direct speech report and indirect speech report. In a direct speech construction, the report content corresponds more or less exactly to what the original speaker had said, whereas in an indirect speech construction, there is a shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis to fit in with the reporter’s perspective (Aikhenvald 2011a). Besides direct and indirect speech report, languages can also have ‘semi-direct’ speech report. For example, in some African languages and Papuan languages, such as Manambu, there is incomplete person shift in speech report, in the sense that pronominal person deixis shifts to the perspective of the reporter but the verb form remains the same as it is in direct speech report (Aikhenvald 2011a).

In Munya, the speech report constructions marked by the reported evidential (tә́pi) is indirect, while those marked by the speech report verb (tә́tә) can be direct, indirect or semi-direct. In the follow sections, after a brief discussion of indirect and direct speech report, we will take a detailed look at semi-direct speech reports.
14.4.2.1 Indirect Speech Report

In indirect speech report, there is a shift in personal, temporal, or spatial deixis and the person-number information cross-referenced on verbs or auxiliaries changes accordingly. Suppose someone says she is going to a place the day after tomorrow. Some else reports her words and says (392):

(392) \[\text{otsé yóse} \quad \text{kʰu-tšé} \quad \text{pi nyi}] \quad \text{tó pi}\]

3SG the.day.after.tomorrow NONS-arrive IMPF EGO:AP say IMPF

‘She, says she, will arrive the day after tomorrow.’

In this example, the original speaker is not mentioned in the main clause, and the reporter recasts the original speech from her own perspective. This is done by changing the pronoun from the first person to the third person, and the person-number information marked on the imperfective auxiliary from the first person singular form (po) to the third person form (pi).

14.4.2.2 Direct Speech Report

Only tә́tә ‘say’ can mark direct speech report. This is illustrated with the example below, which comes from a story. A king and his bodyguard lost their hunting dog called teʰimu tәtʃә moɕi during a hunt. They traced its trail up to a temple on a mountain, where an old couple lived. They wanted the old couple to open the door and said:

(393) \[\text{ɣɤ tí-he,} \quad \text{ŋené} \quad \text{teʰimu.tәtʃә.mɔsi} \quad \text{tsé nŋené} \]

door UP-open/1/2NONSG 1PL.EXCL+POSS PN FOC 2PL+POSS

okʰu tә-rә sә, \text{ɣɤ tí-he} \quad \text{vό} \quad \text{tó sé nyi}\]

DEM UP-go PFV door UP-open REQ say PFV EGO:AP

‘“Open the door! Our hunting dog, teʰimu tәtʃә mɔsi, went into your place, please open the door!” they said.’

Since this example comes from a story, the reporter is the storyteller and the original speakers are the characters (in this case, the king and his bodyguard) in the story. There
is no personal shift here: the first person exclusive plural, referring to the original speakers, and the second person plural, referring to the addressees, are kept in the speech report. The first and the last clauses are imperatives. The verb in the first clause inflects for the first/second person non-singular, agreeing with the imperative subject (‘you two’). The last clause has a marker of request, *vó*, which is used in second person imperative to show politeness (Cf. Section 13.3). All these indicate that this is an instance of direct speech report.

Direct speech report is also used to confirm what someone has just said. This is done by repeating the predicate of the previous clause, followed by *tá pe* ‘say IMPF/2SG’ or simply *pe* ‘IMPF/2SG’. The main clause is an interrogative, and the verb in the speech report inflects for the first person form. Two examples are given below:

(394) a. *nyú-te'o tá pe?*

    *NEG-drink/1SG say IMPF/2SG*

    ‘Are you saying “I don’t drink”?’

b. *t'o-dō ra pe?*

    *AS-finish/1SG EVID:DIRECT IMPF/2SG*

    ‘Are you saying “I finished”?’

### 14.4.2.3 Semi-direct Speech Report

In semi-direct speech report, there is partial shift in person: the personal pronoun is shifted to the perspective of the reporter, but the person information cross-referenced on verbs or auxiliaries is kept as it is in the original speech. Compare the two examples below:

(395) a. *otsi [tsé, ye to-tsó sō nyi] tá-tə se*

    *3SG+ERG REFL/3SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV/1SG EGO:AP UP-say PFV nyi*

    *EGO:AP*

    ‘He said “I (lit. himself) am hungry.” ’
b. $otsi \quad [otsә́ \, yɛ \, to-tsә́ \, se \, nyi] \, tә́-te \, se \, nyi$

3SG+ERG 3SG EXP up-be.hungry PFV EGO:AP up-say PFV EGO:AP

‘Heᵢ said heⱼ was hungry.’

The speech report in (395a) is semi-direct, while the one in (395b) is direct. In (395a), the subject of the main clause, which refers to the original speaker, is coreferential with the referent of the subject of the embedded clause, and the pronoun used in the embedded clause is the third person reflexive form (‘himself/herself’) (cf. Section 5.3 for discussion on the use of reflexive pronouns). The shift in personal deixis indicates that this is an indirect speech report. However, notice that the person-number form of the perfective marker remains first person singular, agreeing with pronominal form prior to shifting ($ŋɯ́ 'I'). This is the feature of direct speech report. (395a) thus can be treated as an instance of semi-direct speech report.

In (395b), the subject of the main clause still refers to the original speaker, but the participant mentioned in the embedded clause, the one who was hungry, is a different person. There is neither shift of personal deixis nor change of person-number marking in the aspect auxiliary. This is thus an example of direct speech report.¹

When the participants in the matrix and embedded clauses are in third person and are coreferential, as is the case of (395a), shift in personal deixis in non-direct speech report is obligatory.

In (395a), the coreferential participant in the embedded clause is the subject. It can also be in the object slot, as is shown in the example below:

(396) $kɛ́tʂi \, i \, tә́-te \, tsәkɯ́ [tsʰù nәni \, tsókɛ \, tә́, nу́-nyу́-hi, \, tsʰù$

PN ERG UP-say D.M then 2PL+ERG discussion say do NEG-need lake

tә́-tә́ tsә́i \, nә-de]\, tә́-te \, se \, nyi

in REFL/3SG DOWN-throw/1/2NONSG UP-say IMPF EGO:AP

‘kɛ́tʂi said “You don’t need to discuss that, throw me into the lake.” ’

¹If the original speaker were describing the situation of an addressee, this example would be a case of indirect speech report. Since the aim of these two examples is to illustrate how semi-direct speech report differs from direct speech report, this scenario doesn’t affect our analysis.
In this example, *tsé* is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, and functions as the object of *nodé* ‘throw’ in the embedded clause.

As another example of semi-direct speech report, first imagine a situation where A told B that I was hungry. If I heard what A said and report his speech, I would say (397):

(397)  

\[
\text{otsíᵢ}  [\text{ŋɯ́}ᵢ \text{gers} \text{tós} \text{tse} \text{nyi}]  \text{tē-tē sē nyi}
\]

\[
3\text{SG}+\text{ERG}  \text{1SG EXP UP-be.hungry PFV EGO:AP UP-say IMPF EGO:AP}
\]

‘He said I was hungry.’

In this example, the third person pronoun in the matrix clause refers to the original speaker, in this case, A, and the first person pronoun in the embedded clause refers to the reporter, in this case, I. We can see that in the embedded clause, the person shifted from the third person to the first person, to fit with the perspective of the reporter, but the aspect auxiliary still inflects for the third person form.

A speech report content consisting of more than one clause can have mixed direct and semi-direct speech reports. In a story, a king won the fight with a demoness and was going to kill her. She begged for her life, saying:

(398)  

\[
[\text{no-tsů-su}]_{C1};  [\text{tsé} \text{gers} \text{tólō} \text{nē-ndō} \text{ra}]_{C2};  [\text{yonînė}]
\]

\[
\text{DOWN-PROH-kilI/2SG REFL/3SG EXP thought DOWN-error EVID:DIRECT 1DU.INCL}
\]

\[
\text{tsakūi.n̓ot}^{tā}n̓iyi  \text{mózə} \text{nū-vuu} \text{ŋā}]_{C3};  [\text{ŋū} \text{nē} \text{gers} \text{εl}ɛ]
\]

\[
\text{D.M mother.and.son DOWN-do be.good 1SG 2SG POSS aunt}
\]

\[
\text{nū-vuu}  \text{nē}  \text{ŋā}  \text{nyi}]_{C4}
\]

\[
\text{DOWN-do also be.good EGO:AP}
\]

‘“Don’t kill me! I was wrong. The two of us can be mother and son. I can also be your aunt.” ’

There are four clauses in this speech report. The first clause is an imperative construction, which contains a prohibitive prefix and a verb inflecting for the second person singular (‘you don’t kill’). This is an instance of direct speech report. In the second clause we see a third person reflexive pronoun, which is coreferential with the original speaker (the
demoness), indicating that this is a semi-direct speech report. The subject of the third clause is a first person inclusive pronoun, which refers to the original speaker and the original addressee, showing that this is a direct speech report. Finally, the last clause contains a first person pronoun, referring to the original speaker, and a second person pronoun, referring to the original addressee. Non-shift in personal deixis indicates that this is a direct speech report. The coexistence of direct and semi-direct speech report in one chunk of speech report lends support to the argument made in Aikhenvald (2011b), that the difference between speech reports, from verbatim quote to indirect speech, should be considered as a continuum.

In speech reports, using reflexive pronouns in the embedded clause when the participants in the embedded clause and matrix clause are coreferential is also seen in other persons, but this is optional. In (399a), the coreferential participants are both in second person, and in (399b), they are both in first person:

(399) a. nɛ́i \[nɛ́/né\] ɣɛ tɔ-tɔ́ rɑ́
   2SG ERG 2SG/2SG.REFL EXP UP-be.hungry EVID:DIRECT UP-say PFV/2SG
   nyi
   EGO:AP
   ‘You said you/yourself were hungry.’

b. tsәkɯ́ vɛ́vɯ́ ó-lū té pi kw [ŋuw nyó-na
   D.M grandfather ERG DS-slid/2SG say IMPF OBL 1SG NEG-dare/1SG
   ŋo] té-tə sö nyi
   EGO:SAP UP-say PFV/1SG EGO:AP
   ‘When grandfather said “you slide”, I said “I don’t dare.” ’

In (399a), where the participant is in second person form, both reflexive and non-reflexive forms are acceptable. In (399b), the reporter is reporting her own speech, and in such a situation it is more common to use the non-reflexive first person form, although the reflexive form, ŋi ‘myself’, is also acceptable.

To summarize what we have seen so far, in semi-direct speech report, when the par-
participant in the matrix clause and that in the embedded clause are coreferential, the degree of obligation of using reflexive pronouns in embedded clauses varies according to person. When the participant is in third person, using the reflexive form is obligatory. When the pronoun is in first or second person, using that form is optional.

This tendency may have to do with the need for disambiguation, and can be explained as follows. When both the reporter and the original speaker are in first person, it is plain that they are coreferential and all refer to the reporter (or the original speaker), hence there is no need for disambiguation. In this case it suffices to use the first person pronoun in the embedded clause. When both the reporter and the original speaker are in second person, the possibility of ambiguity is very low. In direct speech report, the ‘you’ in the embedded clause can only refer to the former addressee (You₁ said “youⱼ are hungry.”), while in indirect speech report, the ‘you’ in the embedded clause can only refer to the original speaker (You₁ said you₁ are hungry.) The two situations can generally be easily distinguished as the speaker and the addressee share the same context.

The situation is different when both the reporter and the original speaker are in third person. The third person in the embedded clause can either refer to the original speaker (coreferential) or someone else (non-coreferential). There is thus a need to distinguish between the two scenarios (although not all languages feel the need to do so). What Munya does is to use semi-direct report when the reporter and the original speaker are coreferential (e.g. 395a), and keep the report the way it was, i.e., using direct speech report, when the two participants are not coreferential (e.g. 395b). The semi-direct speech report is reminiscent of the phenomenon called logophoricity found in the African languages of the Macro-Sudanic belt (Ameka 2017).

14.5 Other Complex Clauses and Clause Linking Devices

This section discusses the complex clauses other than relative clauses and complement clauses. These complex clauses are composed of at least two component clauses, which are joined together by at least one clause linkers. These clauses are classified based on the semantic relationships between the component clauses as shown through these linkers. The classification is primarily based on the parameters given in Dixon (2009) and
Aikhenvald (2009).

Following Dixon (2009), for most types of these complex clauses, a distinction can be made between focal clauses and supporting clauses. The focal clause refers to the central activity or state of the complex clause, while the supporting clause sets out the conditions or presupposition for it. The distinction is therefore primarily made based on the semantic relations between the component clauses. However, sometimes certain formal features are also available. For example, a complex clause may contain more than one supporting clauses, but normally there is only one focal clause. Also, a supporting clause may only take a restricted range of grammatical categories but a focal clause has access to all suitable categories.

There are two types of complex clauses for which the distinction between focal clauses and supporting clauses cannot be made, which are those involving the relations of conjunction and disjunction. This is because the component clauses in these two types of clauses have an equal semantic status.

In almost all these complex clauses the supporting clause comes before the focal clause. There are only two exceptions: in complex clauses involving the relationship of consequence and same-event addition, the focal clause is positioned before the supporting clause.

The meaning and position of clause linkers will also be discussed. It will be shown that in most cases, linkers occur at the end of supporting clauses. Some linkers can occur at either the end of supporting clauses or the beginning of focal clauses. In some rare cases, they are also marked after the subject of focal clauses.

Eight types of complex clauses are recognized, which are those involving the relationships of temporal (Section 14.5.1), conditional (Section 14.5.2), consequence (Section 14.5.3), contrast (Section 14.5.4), conjunction (Section 14.5.5), disjunction (Section 14.5.6), same-event addition (Section 14.5.7) and concession (Section 14.5.8). These will be next discussed in detail.
14.5.1 Temporal

There are three sub-types of temporal clause linking devices, which are temporal succession, immediate succession and relative time. In all these complex clauses, the supporting clause comes before the relative clause, and can only be marked for a restricted set of grammatical categories, primarily aspect. Clause linkers are all marked at the end of the supporting clause.

14.5.1.1 Temporal Succession

In this type of complex clause, the events referred to occur in a sequence, following the order of the clauses. The clause linker is *tsәkɯ́* ‘and, then’, which occurs at the end of the supporting clause. This is illustrated with the example below:

(400) [otsini phuɛ tui-ku tsәkɯ́]_{SC} [γγ tι-he tsәkɯ́]_{SC} [tә-ɾa]

3DU+ERG force up-carry.on.back and door up-open and up-go

sә nyl\textsubscript{FC}

PFV EGO:AP

‘The two of them used force and opened the door and went up.’

This complex clause contains three clauses, which code three actions in sequence: using force, opening the door, and going up. The three clauses are connected by *tsәkɯ́*. Note that both aspect and egophoricity are marked only once, in the last clause. This indicates that the first two clauses are supporting clauses and the last one is the focal clause.

Other functions of *tsәkɯ́* include speech report introducer, which was discussed in Section 14.4.1. It can also be used as a discourse marker and a topic marker. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

14.5.1.2 Immediate Succession

If an event occurs immediately before another one, the clause denoting the first event can be marked by *rә* ‘soon after, as soon as’. The supporting clause comes before the focal
clause and can only take the category of aspect. In a story, a boy is thrown off a cliff, and (401) describes what happens after that:

(401) \[nɛ-dɛ \ pi \ ra]_{SC} \ [ngɤtɕʰü \ tsa \ pu \ tsóki \ tɛ-ve \ i \ upʰɛ \ kʰu-tʃʰú \ sa \ nyi]_{FC}

DOWN-throw IMPF as.soon.as below FOC on vulture one-CLF:BIRD ERG wing NONS-catch PFV EGO:AP

‘As soon as he was thrown (off the cliff), a vulture below (the cliff) caught him with its wing.’

14.5.1.3 Relative Time

The temporal information for an event can be specified with reference to another event. In this case, the clause which provides the relative time frame for another event is the supporting clause, and is marked by \(kɯ\) or \(le\) in the end. \(kɯ\) is also the oblique case marker, and is used when the supporting clause is affirmative. \(le\) also functions as the dative case marker, and is used when the supporting clause is negative. Using case markers as a means of clause linking is also found in some Tibetic languages, such as Kham (Watters 2009). For a comprehensive treatment on this topic, see Aikhenvald (2011c).

Between the verb and the relative time marker, the supporting clause can optionally take three other markers, which are the aspect marker (either perfective or imperfective), the postposition \(pu\) ‘on’, and the nominalizer \(tσa\). A supporting clause has four possible structures:

- \(V+ kw/le\) (Cf. 402a)
- \(V + \text{Aspect} + kw/le\) (Cf. 402b)
- \(V + \text{Aspect} + pu + kw\) (Cf. 402c)
- \(V + \text{Aspect} + tσa + pu + kw\) (Cf. 402d)
A supporting clause can sometimes take more than one marker of temporal relation. For example, in (402b) above, the relative time marker ku is followed by the temporal succession marker tsəkul. A supporting clause can also take both the immediate succession marker and the relative time marker:

\[(403)\quad \text{[puts}^h_1 \text{=m̩ y}^-\text{t}^s^x \text{ pi re ku]}_{SC} \quad \text{[tîn}^e \text{ móndzu}^w \text{ nu}^\emptyset \text{ child=PL US-arrive IMPF as.soon.as OBL anyone NEG-COP:ANIMATE do sё ny}^i_1]_{FC}\]

\[PFV \ EGO:AP\]

‘As the children arrived, (they found) that nobody was there.’
14.5.2 Conditional

Munya does not make the distinction between possible and counterfactual conditionals. There is only one marker of conditional, tʰo/tʰónyi 'if', which is positioned at the end of the supporting clause. If the predicate of the supporting clause is adjectival, the clause can be marked by ti (404a). If the predicate is verbal, the clause is generally not marked for any grammatical category (404b):

(404) a. [ké ti]_{SC} tʰó [ɣɤ-tʰɔ́]_{FC}
   be.free STA if us-come/1SG
   'If I have time I will come.'

   b. [tsʰú tu-ɕó]_{SC} tʰó [ŋɯ́ ɛ-ɕó ti]_{FC}
   next UP-talk if 1SG ds-be.tired STA
   'If I talk more I will get tired.'

The two examples above are possible conditionals. In the following example, the conditional clause refers to a counter-factual situation:

(405) [kɛŋú kamítə γɛ rile tó-ló tʰə-vá tʰó]_{SC}
   before Nationalist.Party POSS era one-CLF:GENR AS-become if
   [ké-tɕípu kʰú-ɕo mí ߋmәnә mú]_{FC}
   more-happy NONS-come.out NMLZ DEM COP
   'There are such people (who think that) if the era of the Nationalist Party in the old days came back, things would be better.'

The supporting clause marked by tʰo can also express a topic. In this case, the clause has the copula ŋo 'be' as its predicate, and the copula and the conditional marker combine to yield the meaning of 'as to', 'speaking of'. The copula only takes one nominal as its CS argument:
'As to the young people nowadays, they don’t know about the policies of the Nationalist Party in the old days.'

Even if the supporting clause is not marked for aspect, there is reason to believe that it is treated as perfective. This can be seen from two aspects. Firstly, as was mentioned in Section 10.6, copula verbs only take the directional prefix tʰo- ‘away from the speaker’ when they occur in perfective clauses. When a conditional supporting clause has a copula verb as its predicate, the copula needs to take that prefix. In the following example, the copula ndʑɯ́ ‘to exist’ is prefixed by tʰo- ‘AS’ (also see the above example):

\[(407)\]  
\[
[tɕɯ́ mɛ \text{sand} tsɛ́ \text{get} hә́ \text{go} \text{will} \text{IMPF} \text{rә́} \text{will} \text{be INTRG} \text{Sky} \text{DOWN} \text{Fall} \text{NEG} \text{will} \text{IMPF} \text{if}]
\]

‘If the king is there, (it) won’t make any mistake and will present (the hada) to him.’

Secondly, it was mentioned in Section 12.2 that the negative prefix mo- is used in a perfective situation. If a conditional supporting clause is to be negated, it is this negator that should be used. In the following example, the speaker is talking about her plan for tomorrow, but notice that the auxiliary ya ‘will’ is negated by mo- (the supporting clause is dislocated to the right part of the complex clause):

\[(408)\]  
\[
[tʃː̀mɛ tsɛ́ hɑ́ \text{hi} pi \text{go will IMPF will INTRG be Sky DOWN Fall NEG will if}]
\]

‘Will we go carry sand, if it does not rain (tomorrow)?’

From the behavior of copula verbs and the negative prefix it can be seen that the conditional supporting clause is treated as inherently perfective.
14.5. OTHER COMPLEX CLAUSES AND CLAUSE LINKING DEVICES

14.5.3 Consequence

Munya has a clause linker for consequence, which is matsʰé. As a clause linker, this word has two related senses, one relating to consequence and can be translated as ‘because’, the other relating to possible consequence and can be translated as ‘lest, otherwise.’ In both cases, matsʰé can either occur at the end of the focal clause, which is the one denoting result, purpose, or what is to be done or not to be done, or the beginning of the supporting clause, when denoting reason.

In (409), matsʰé ‘because’ occurs at the end of the focal clause, which is a negative imperative. It is followed by two supporting clauses:

(409) dzópu kɛ́lɛ.ənpu i [okʰó tsɯ̞-re]FC matsʰé [tsté pése demú]
king PN ERG DEM PROH-come/2SG because just.now today demoness
hatsɑ̃ i má tʰɑ́-ra se nyi]SC. [nɛnɛ́ tsté nó-se
PN ERG soldier AS-send PFV EGO:AP 2PL SOON DOWN-kill/1/2NONG
ri]SC tó se nyi
will say PFV EGO:AP

‘King kɛ́lɛ anpu said “Don’t come here, because the demoness hatsɑ had sent troops early today, and will kill you very soon.”’

In the following example, matsʰé ‘because’ occurs in the supporting clause and after the subject:

(410) [momó=róne le te-mó-to]FC, [momó i matsʰé nyĩ le mé
mum=ASSC.PL DAT UP-NEG-tell/1SG mum ERG because 1SG DAT medicine
tósə tʰi-tʰi uyá nyi]SC
much AS-make.drink will EGO:AP

‘I didn’t tell mum and other people (that I was sick), because/otherwise she would make me take lots of medicine.’

Note that in this example, matsʰé is glossed as ‘because’. The complex clause still makes sense if it is analyzed as meaning ‘otherwise’ or ‘else’, in other words, denoting possible
consequence, as the situation denoted by the supporting clause is hypothetical and did not actualize. This is different from (411), where it is more appropriate to analyze mastsʰé as meaning ‘least, otherwise’, because the supporting clause refers to a possible situation in the future:

(411) \[tu-tsw \, vú \, mastsʰé,\]_FC \[ntsè \, to-tsó \, pì \, nyì\]_SC

\begin{tabular}{l}
up-be.full \ do/2SG \ lest \ in.a.moment \ up-get.hungry \ IMPF \ EGO:AP
\end{tabular}

‘Do eat until you are full, otherwise you will get hungry very soon.’

When the possible consequence is clear from context, as in this example, the supporting clause can be omitted.

It can be seen from the above analysis that the interpretation of mastsʰé is related to the situation expressed in the supporting clause. If the supporting clause denotes a real situation in the past, mastsʰé denotes consequence, as in (409). If the supporting clause denotes a hypothetical situation in the past, mastsʰé can either denote consequence or possible consequence, as in (410). If the supporting clause denotes a future hypothetical situation, mastsʰé denotes possible consequence, as in (411).

mastsʰé can also be used as an adverb. In that case it has two meanings, which are ‘only’ and ‘certainly’. When it means ‘only’, it is positioned before the predicate, and the predicate needs to be negated. This is illustrated in (412):

(412) \(tsàtsò \, tò-lò \, mastsʰé \, nyù-\mu\)

\begin{tabular}{l}
livestock \ one-CLF:GENR \ only \ NEG-COP:MOVE
\end{tabular}

‘There is only one head of cattle.’

This sentence, however, can be analyzed in a different way, i.e., to still analyze mastsʰé as a marker of consequence, as \([tsàtsò \, tò-lò]_FC \,[mastsʰé \, nyù-\mu]_SC\) (the position of the marker is of no significance for this clause). It is possible that because the predicates in the focal clause and the supporting clause are the same, only the one in the supporting clause is kept, making it look like one simple clause. With this analysis, the clause can be roughly translated as ‘there is one head of cattle, otherwise there is none.’

When it means ‘certainly’, it occurs at the end of the whole clause:
As with the above example, it is also possible to analyze matsʰé as a clause linker here. It was mentioned above that when the consequence is clear from the context, it can be omitted. (411) can be shortened as (414):

(414)  [tu-tɕɯ FC vǘ] matsʰé

‘Do eat so as to make sure you are full.’

After the clause referring to consequence is omitted, matsʰé can be interpreted as meaning ‘certainly’, as in (413). However, because in (413) the consequence was not overtly stated, we cannot tell whether it is the result of omission or whether this is another use of this linker.

14.5.4 Contrast

If in a complex clause, the information provided in one clause contrasts with that provided in another, the two clauses can be linked by sá/sára ‘although, but’. In this case, it is always the second clause which provides the unexpected information, and thus should be recognized as the focal clause. The supporting clause can take all possible grammatical categories. The marker of contrast can either be put at the end of the supporting clause (415a) or at the beginning of the focal clause (415b).
14.5. OTHER COMPLEX CLAUSES AND CLAUSE LINKING DEVICES

(415) a. \[tʰó-sә ri \ tse \ dzɛtɛʰúdɛ ɛ-tʰú \ nyi \ sára]_{SC}. \[tʰó-sә as-die NMLZ FOC one.hundred.percent DS-come EGO:AP although AS-die nyuỳ-hi \ γɛ \ tsəkú tʰóɛɛ kʰó-le \ ri \ ɛ-ndə \ NEG-will REL D.M method NONS-provide NMLZ INTRG-COP:ABSTRACT tiʃFC? \ STA

‘Although death is certain to come, is there any way for us not to die?’

b. \[tsəkú mɛntɛ̃ kólo ɛ-ndzə, ső\ve ɛ-ndzə, Òmɛnɛ hì kʰu-ɛ̃ \ D.M grass root DS-eat sawdust DS-eat DEM will NONS-come.out se nyi]_{SC}. \[sá mɛni=ni há-nyu-kö nyi]_{FC} \ PFV EGO:AP but people=PL+ERG formative-NEG-know EGO:AP

‘We ate grass roots, we ate sawdust, we had to do those things. But people don’t know about that.’

14.5.5 Conjunction

Clauses denoting two or more events that are semantically or pragmatically of equal status can be organized into one complex clause. In such a case, all conjoined clauses can take all possible grammatical categories, and they cannot be classified into focal or supporting clause. Each clause should be marked by \( \text{ra} \), which has two variants, \( \text{neré} \) and \( \text{leré} \). \( \text{ra} \) can first and foremost function as a coordinator, which links two elements of equal syntactic functions within a clause. It links two nominal arguments in (416a) and two predicates in (416b):

(416) a. \[mɛndɛ] \ re \ [vɛndɛ]=ni \ tó \ tsəkú né le tʰo-kʰé \ old.woman and old.man=PL+ERG say SRI 2SG DAT AS-give/1/2NONSG nyuỳ-pe \ NEG-IMPF/1/2NONSG

‘The old woman and the old man said “we are not giving (her) to you.”’
b. [dʐɛ́ ŋaŋá] re [tsʰalá kě́ka]  
voice be.good and dance be.good.at

‘sings well and dances well’

Alternatively, both coordinands can be marked. This is what we see in (417), where the second coordinand is marked by nɛrә́:

(417) [tʂә́pu] re [tsʰůntʃa] nɛrә́ nyu-ke nyi  
party.branch.secretary and chieftain and NEG-be.free EGO:AP

‘The party branch secretary and the chieftain were not free.’

As a clause linker, the behavior of re ‘and’ is very similar to its functions as an inter-clausal coordinator. When performing this function, it tends to follow the subject of the coordinated clauses:

(418) tsәku [dzonkʰó re tɛ-tɔ], [mes=ne re tɛ-tɔ], tsʰu  
D.M country and UP-get.rich people=PL and UP-get.rich happy
kʰʊ-ɛo
NONS-come.out

‘The country has got rich, the people have got rich, we are living a happy life.’

re ‘and’ can also link two complex clauses, as in (419) below. Here, the two complex clauses are of the conditional linking type, marked by tʰo ‘if’, and re ‘and’ occurs at the end of the supporting clause:

(419) [tse tʰ-o-mɔ-so tʰo re, tʃá tʃʰɔtʃʰɔ tʃe nɔ-petɕo rú  
REFL/3SG AS-NEG-die/1SG if and cliff white FOC DOWN-collapse will
ŋo]; [tse tʰ-o-so tʰo re, tʃá nyiŋyi tʃe nɔ-petɕo rú  
EGO:SAP REFL/3SG AS-die/1SG if and cliff red FOC DOWN-collapse will
ŋo]
EGO:SAP

‘If I don’t die, the white cliff will collapse. If I die, the red cliff will collapse.’
A complex clause that denotes two actions occurring simultaneously or in alternatively can also be marked by re ‘and’. But in this case, the clause should be further marked by tewra ‘as’:

\[(420) \ [otsi \ tewra \ re \ ē-ndza \ pi], \ [tewra \ re \ k’ɛ \ tū-to \ pi] \]

3SG+ERG as and DS-eat IMPF as and word UP-talk IMPF

‘He eats as he talks.’

### 14.5.6 Disjunction

Two or more clauses in a disjunctive relationship can be linked by sü/si ‘or’. The component clauses are in an equal relationship, can occur in any order, and can take all possible grammatical categories, hence they cannot be classified into focal clauses and supporting clauses. Although the component clauses are in declarative form, the whole complex clause is always an interrogative (cf. Section 12.1). This marker can either occur at the end of a component clause or the beginning of a non-initial component clause. In the following example it is marked at the beginning of the second clause:

\[(421) \ [Pengbuxi \ yonɛ \ sü \ tē \ vū \ t’onyi \ ka-ŋä \ só \]

PN 1PL.INCL+POSS language speak do if more-be.good think

pɛ  \ [sū] pʦu \ tē \ vū \ t’onyi \ ka-ŋä \ só \ pɛ]?

IMPF/2SG or Tibetan say do if more-be.good think IMPF/2SG

‘In Pengbuxi, do you think it is better to speak our language or to speak Tibetan?’

### 14.5.7 Same-event Addition

The clause linker na indicates that the content provided in that clause is of the same nature as the previous clause, but adds more information to it. In this situation, the first clause is the focal clause and the second one is the supporting clause. The supporting clause can take all possible grammatical categories. The linker tends to be marked after the
subject of the supporting clause, and can be translated as ‘also’, ‘besides’, or ‘moreover’. Consider the example below:

(422) \[ngó tě-ŋe, věló ̀kʰu tě-ŋe\]FC, [tʃəkû tʃʰâsu tsé ne kərɛ́
leg up-hurt stomach in up-hurt d.m blood.pressure FOC also a.little
kíko ti te pi]SC
big sta say IMPF

‘My legs hurt, I have a stomachache, and they say that my blood pressure is also
a little bit high.’

The complex clause describes the health conditions of the speaker. The speaker first
describes her leg and her stomach, then adds some information about her blood pressure.
\(\text{ne ‘moreover’}\) is marked after the subject of the final clause, \(\text{tʃʰâsu ‘blood pressure’}\).

Another clause-linking function of \(\text{ne}\) is to denote concession, and this will be dis-
cussed below.

### 14.5.8 Concession

In a concessive clause linking type, the supporting clause indicates something conceded
but not distracting from the proposition made in the focal clause. In a complex clause of
this type, the first clause is the supporting clause and the concessive marker, \(\text{ne ‘although,}
even if’\), is marked at the end of it. The only grammatical category allowed in the supporting
clause is the stative aspect \(t_\text{i}\). An example is given below:

(423) \[pəsə nɛ ɣɛ siva tɛgɛ ngw-tʃɛ]SC ne [yitsɛ tʰo-mu pe
today 2SG exp good a.little TS-determine although soon AS-forget IMPF/2SG
nyi]FC
EGO:AP

‘Even if you determine to do something good today, you forget about it very soon.’

In the discussion on interrogatives, it was mentioned (in Section 12.1) that some interro-
gative words can be used as general indefinites, and in that case the clause tends to end
with *nә*. Here *nә* also has a concessive meaning, which can be roughly translated as ‘no matter’. An example is given below:

(424) \[ \text{[hōtī ˈtō-tɛo hē]}_\text{SC} \text{*nә* \[\text{[tsɛkʰɛ ɛiɛo nyi]}\}_\text{FC} \]

where \text{up-drive go no.matter graze always EGO:AP} \]

‘No matter where I drove (the cattle) to, there was always grass there.’

A concessive complex clause can contain two supporting clauses, in which case the supporting clauses need to be respectively marked by the adjective *ndʐɛ́* ‘similar, be the same as’:

(425) \[ \text{[sɛtɕū tʰo-ŋō \text{*nә* ndʐɛ́]}_\text{SC}, [sɛ \ \gammaɛ \ dzilō \ tʰo-ŋō \text{*nә*} \]

policy \text{AS-be no.matter same village POSS responsibility AS-be no.matter ndʐɛ́} \]

\[ \text{[sivw tu-kū pi nyi]}_\text{FC} \]

same \text{good UP-carry.on.back IMPF EGO:AP} \]

‘Whether policies or the responsibilities for the village, I performed them all very well.’

In the above examples, the conditional clauses do not contain any grammatical categories. The conditional clauses can actually take the marker of stative aspect, *ti*, especially when the complex clause is very long. This is what we see in the following example. Notice that here the focal clause is itself a complex clause, as can be seen from the conditional marker *tʰo* ‘if’:

(426) \[ \text{[dzonkʰō γɛ \ tsekù dzilō a-hɛr \text{*nә* ndʐɛ́ ti]}_\text{SC}, \]

nation \text{POSS D.M law DS-loosen no.matter same STA} \]

\[ [kāsi \ tʰo-nde \text{*nә* ndʐɛ́ ti]}_\text{SC}, [(rōro.sāsū \text{backdoor.connection AS-COP:ABSTRACT no.matter same STA oneself} \]

\[ \text{sivw kʰu-tʃe me-ţʰo]}_\text{SC} \text{tʰo, [rōro.sāsū ne-ŋpʰo pi nyi]}_\text{FC} \]

good \text{NONS-do NEG-can if oneself DOWN-ruin IMPF EGO:AP} \]

‘It doesn’t matter if the laws of the nation have loosened or people have backdoor connections. If one cannot do good things voluntarily, he will ruin himself.’
Table 14.2: Properties of Clause Linking Devices and Complex Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linking types</th>
<th>Linkers</th>
<th>Position of linkers</th>
<th>Clause order</th>
<th>Grammatical categories in SC</th>
<th>Additional functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal succession</td>
<td>tsəktú ‘and, then’</td>
<td>end of SC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>discourse marker, topic marker, speech report introducer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate succession</td>
<td>ra ‘as soon as’</td>
<td>end of SC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>imperfective aspect</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative time</td>
<td>kɯ ‘when’ in affirmative SC</td>
<td>end of SC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>aspect and nominalizer</td>
<td>oblique case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>le ‘when’ in negative SC</td>
<td>end of SC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>aspect and nominalizer</td>
<td>dative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>tʰo ‘if’</td>
<td>end of SC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>stative aspect</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>metsʰé ‘because, otherwise’</td>
<td>end of SC/beginning of FC/after the subject of SC</td>
<td>FC–SC</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>adverb meaning ‘only’ or ‘certainly’ Possible consequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>sá/sára ‘although, but’</td>
<td>end of SC/beginning of FC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>ra ‘and’</td>
<td>end of clauses/after subjects</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>coordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disjunction</td>
<td>sù/sì ‘or’</td>
<td>end of clauses</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-event addition</td>
<td>na ‘also, moreover’</td>
<td>after the subject of SC</td>
<td>FC–SC</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>concession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concession</td>
<td>na ‘even if’</td>
<td>end of SC</td>
<td>SC–FC</td>
<td>stative aspect</td>
<td>same-event addition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14.2 summarizes the properties of the clause linking devices and the complex clauses discussed above.

14.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the complex clauses in Munya, which include relative clauses, complement clauses, speech reports, and clause linking devices. I first discussed relative clause constructions, including their structures and the properties of common arguments. I then turned to complement clauses, first exploring the possible syntactic functions that complement clauses can take, then discussing how complement clauses are marked and the types of complement taking verbs. After that, I showed the connections between nominalization, relativization, and complementation in Munya.

In the section on speech report, I first described the structures of speech-report constructions, and then discussed three types of speech report, which are indirect speech report, direct speech report, and semi-direct speech report.

Other types of complex clauses, and clause linking devices, were discussed in the last section. Based on the semantics of clause linkers, eight types of complex clauses were recognized. It was shown that some clause linkers are also case markers. For each type of complex clause, I looked at its general structure, meaning and the properties of clause linkers.
Chapter 15

Discourse Organization and Pragmatic Features

15.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses several phenomena related to discourse organization and prag­matics in Munya. It consists of four sections. Section 15.2 explores the versatile particle tsəkû and focuses on its function as a discourse marker. Section 15.3 looks at argument omission, dislocation and coreferential ellipsis. Section 15.4 introduces bridging constructions, a device for maintaining discourse continuity and making the discourse more cohesive. And Section 15.5 briefly explores the archaic honorific style in Munya, which is in danger of disappearing.

15.2 The Discourse Marker tsəkû

tsəkû is a multi-functional word in Munya. It was mentioned several times in previous chapters and here I summarize all its uses, focusing on its functions as a discourse marker.

The first function of tsəkû is as a postposition that means ‘from’:

(427)  ndû tsəkû tʂʰentû pɛ
PN from PN to

‘from Kangding to Chengdu’
The second function of this word is as a clause linker which indicates that two events happen in succession (428a) or simultaneously (428b) (cf. Section 14.5.1).

(428) a. [tʂą'yò tó-lò nò-ro tsàkù] [tsàkù ótsa téòtsë pu
spider one-CLF:GENR DOWN-come then then 3SG table on
kʰu-tʃɛ̂ té-o-di ša nyì]
NONS-arrive NONS-finish PFV EGO:AP

A spider came down and went on top of the table.'

b. nbì tsàkù tìesà kʰu-yé po nyì
sit and TV NONS-watch IMPF/1SG EGO:AP

'(I'm) sitting and watching TV.'

The third function of tsàkù is as a speech report introducer (cf. Section 14.4.1):

(429) kɛ́tʂì i tà-te tsàkù [nɛnɛ tà-seso té-ʃì]
PN ERG UP-say SRI 2PL UP-fight NEG-will

'kɛ́tʂì said: “You don’t need to fight with each other.”'

The fourth function of this word is as a discourse marker. When performing this function, tsàkù does not have any concrete meaning and is omissible. In such a case, it can occur at the beginning of a clause, at the end of a clause, or after a nominal element. When present at the beginning or the end of a clause, tsàkù does not have any variants. When occurring after a nominal, it has several variants. We first look at the examples where tsàkù occurs at the beginning and the end of a clause.

The sentences in (430) come from a narration where the speaker was telling what she did during the day. The four sentences were uttered in the order they are presented. In all these examples tsàkù occurs at the beginning:
In (430), the speaker was commenting on current social situations. The three examples below were also produced in the order they were given. In this case, the discourse marker occurs at the end of the sentence:
(431) a. kemú kəmitá γε sétsũ le tsó tólõ thé-vá pi
before Nationalist.party POSS policy DAT same.as PAR AS-become IMPF
té-ta tsakú
UP-say D.M

‘“The policy has become the same as that of the Nationalist Party many years ago,” (he) said.’

b. tsakú matšúsi γε sétsũ kotschemistá γε sétsũ nó-tso
D.M PN POSS policy Communist.Party POSS policy DOWN-inherit
po njo té tsakú
IMPF/1SG EGO:SAP say D.M

‘“I will carry on the policy of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party,” (he) said.’

c. tchú lõŋõ nó-so-ki thé-vá pi nʃi, otsí ngotsí tů-vů
then year two-three-CLF:YEAR AS-become IMPF EGO:AP 3SG leader UP-do

‘It has been two or three years, since he became the leader.’

(431b) also shows that as a discourse marker, tsakú can occur at the beginning and the end of a sentence at the same time.

The functions of tsakú in (430) and (431) are not clear. When occurring in the beginning of a clause, the discourse marker seems to be used to mark a new topic. When used at the end of a clause, it seems to mark the end of that clause.

Tsakú can also be used after nominals, in which case it has several variants: nétõnyí, tsakú nétõnyí, tsakú nétõnyiře, tôngiře, tsakú tůńeře and tsakú tůńeře. There is no semantic difference between these forms and which variant to use depends on the speaker’s preference. Among these different forms, nétõnyí can be analyzed as consisting of nyo ‘be’, tło ‘if’ and the egophoric marker nʃi, which can be roughly translated as ‘if that is the case’. Other variants are not analyzable.
Most commonly, *tsәku* is marked after subjects:

(432) a. *méme*  *tsәku*  *tendá*  *tʰe-vá*  *nyů-tʰa*  *nyi*
    everyone  D.M  peace  AS-come.out  NEG-can  EGO:AP
    ‘Not everyone can live peacefully with others.’

    b. *pʰúmi*  *méndɛ*  *i*  *tsәku*  *ŋotʰónyi*  *tʰó-ngɛ*  *mó-se*  *nyi*
    beggar  old.woman  ERG  D.M  AS-be.happy  NEG-PFV  EGO:AP
    ‘The old beggar woman was not happy.’

The discourse marker is marked after S in the first example and A in the second. The second example also shows that if a nominal is case-marked (here it is marked by the ergative case), the discourse marker needs to follow the case marker.

The nominal that is marked by the discourse marker does not have to be a core argument. It can also be a temporal or a locational nominal which functions as peripheral argument. In the example below, the discourse marker occurs after a nominal of location, *dzótsʰũ*  *ngɛlo* ‘the middle of the ocean’:

(433) *dzótsʰũ*  *ngɛlo*  *kũ*  *tsәku*  *tʃá*  *i*  *dzũ*  *tɛ-zɛ*  *tɔmu*
    ocean  middle  OBL  D.M  cliff  LK  fortress  one-CLF:LONG  top
    *tʰo-tsʰũ*  *sə*
    AS-COP:INANIMATE  PFV
    ‘(He) is on the top of a fortress made of a cliff in the middle of the ocean.’

It can also occur in the middle of a possessive construction, after the possessive marker ɣɛ:

(434) *gé*  ɣɛ  *tsakũ*  ŋotʰónyi  *dɔndá*  *tɔ*  *matʃʰé*  *há-nyu-kö*
    self  POSS  D.M  thing  FOC  only  formative-NEG-know
    ‘(People) only care about their own business.’
Finally, it is important to note that the discourse marker can occur multiple times in a clause. Consider the example below:

(435) sɑntɕә́tɕu.dendé i tsәkɯ́ ɲotʰόnyí yonɛ́ tsәkɯ́ ɲotʰόnyí dipɛ́

Buddha ERG D.M 1PL.INCL+POSS D.M sin

atsu nɑ́­ɣɔ tsәkɯ́ ŋotʰόnyí ómәnә tsә́ i tsәkɯ́ ná-ɣo ri tółö

D.M like.that water INS D.M DOWN-wash NMLZ COM

tʰo-ndә́ tʰόnyí

AS-COP:ABSTRACT if

‘If it is the case that Buddha can just wash off our sins with water like that...’

In this example, the discourse marker occurs four times, which is respectively after the subject (sɑntɕә́tɕu dendé ‘Buddha’), the possessor (yonɛ́ ‘our’), the object and also the possessee (dipɛ́ ‘sin’), and the oblique argument (tsә́ ‘water’).

More work needs to be done to identify the functions of tsәkɯ́ especially when it is occurring with nominals.

15.3 Argument Omission, Dislocation and Deletion

15.3.1 Argument Omission

When the referent of an argument is clear from the context, that argument can often be omitted. This is especially so if the subject is a first person pronoun. Consider the four examples below:

(436) a. tsәkɯ́ tsәtsé rό má tә́-dʑә

D.M little time white.pheasant up-hit.with.stone

‘When (I) was young (I) hit white pheasant with stone.’

b. tsәkɯ́ ómәnә kiko tʰә-vá

D.M DEM big AS-become

‘Then (I) grew up.’
c.  tsakú nyúlékʰá̱ kʰú lékè̱ vú ró há̱
    D.M agricultural.cooperation in work do go go

‘Then (I) went to work in the agricultural cooperative.’

d.  tsakú kólo kʰú-eo
    D.M hard NONS-come.out

‘And (I) had lots of hardships’

These sentences come from the beginning of an autobiography. Since the first person reference is recoverable from the context, it is not overtly mentioned in these examples.

The object can also be omitted, although this is less common. Consider the three examples below:

(437) a.  ní tõ̱ ra
    1SG+ERG see/1SG EVID:DIRECT

‘I see it.’

b.  ní há-nyu-ko̱ ti
    1SG formative-NEG-know/1SG STA

‘I don’t know (it).’

c.  tu-tsó̱ ra
    UP-be.full/1SG EVID:DIRECT

‘I am full (up).’

Each clause in the first two examples contains one argument. From the ergative marker on the subject we know that they are transitive verbs. Here the objects are omitted because the context provides sufficient information on what is seen (in the case of 437a) or known (in the case of 437b). In (437c) both the subject and the object are omitted. If the subject is overtly mentioned it would take the ergative case, indicating that this is also a transitive verb. Since the object would normally be food or a meal, it is more natural to omit it than overtly mentioning it.
15.3.2 Argument Dislocation

Arguments can not only be omitted, they can also be dislocated to the right periphery of a clause. When this happens, the dislocated argument is set off from the body part of the clause by an intonation break. The dislocated element is often used as an afterthought, when the speaker feels the need to give more information to the previous sentence. So far no instance of left dislocation has been found.

Elements that can be dislocated have various syntactic functions. It can be an A argument (the dislocated element is in boldface and its original position is indicated with $\emptyset$):

\[
\emptyset \text{many} \varepsilon \text{Munya} \text{language only} \quad \emptyset \text{nts} \text{ų-vuu} \begin{array}{l} \text{INTGR-do} \\ \text{right} \end{array} \text{grandfather} \text{deceased} \text{ERG ne} \text{also}
\]

'(He) could only speak Munya too, right? — the deceased grandfather?'

In this example, the A argument, together with the ergative case marker $i$ and the particle $\text{ne} \text{‘also’}$, is dislocated.

The dislocated element can also be an O argument. In the following example, the dislocated element refers to a spider, which functions as the O of $\text{ud} \varepsilon \text{‘throw’}$:

\[
k \begin{array}{l} \text{NTS} \text{ų-ts} \text{ų} \text{ts} \text{ųkų} \quad \text{one} \text{le} \text{mu} \text{yr} \begin{array}{l} \text{PFV} \\ \text{DS-throw} \\ \text{PFV} \end{array} \text{say and} \text{DEM} \text{spider} \text{FOC}
\]

'(He) caught it and asked them to light up a fire and then threw it into the fire—that spider.'

The dislocated argument can also be a peripheral argument. In the following example, the dislocated argument is marked by the experiential case and functions as the beneficiary:
The dislocated element can also be a possessor and the possessive marker. In the following example, the possessor, domá ‘log’, modifies nengá ‘crime’, and is dislocated to the end of the clause:

\[\text{(441)}\quad \text{tsʰɪtʃʰa} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{nengá} \quad \text{kiko} \quad \text{nyi}, \quad \text{domá} \quad \text{ye}\]

Very \(\emptyset\) crime be.big EGO:AP log POSS

‘The crime was very serious, (the crime) of logging.’

The dislocated element does not have to be an argument. It can also be an adverbial. The dislocated adverbial element is a clause in (442a) and a phrase (442b):

\[\text{(442)}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \emptyset \quad \text{tsañá} \quad \text{ngá} \quad \text{tá-ro} \quad \text{ndá} \quad \etao, \quad \text{nu-sénbe} \quad \text{ku} \\
& \emptyset \quad \text{almost} \quad \text{cry} \quad \text{UP-up} \quad \text{used.to} \quad \text{EGO:SAP} \quad \text{DOWN-think} \quad \text{OBL}
\end{align*}\]

‘I almost cried, when thinking about (that).’

\[\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{ernyɛtɕi} \quad kʰ-tʃi \quad \text{mí=na} \quad \text{tsʰi} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{rudžó} \quad \etaa, \quad \text{rosé} \\
& \text{grade.two} \quad \text{NONS-study} \quad \text{NMLZ=PL} \quad \text{with} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{arrange/1SG} \quad \text{EVID:DIRECT} \quad \text{directly}
\end{align*}\]

‘It was arranged for me to study directly with second-graders.’

It is also possible to dislocate two elements in one clause:
This example comes from a story, where the subject of this sentence, *damú hatsá* ‘demoness hatsá’, after hearing that her stepson, whom she tried to kill several times, managed to survive and became the king of *yúpeme ye sétsɛč* ‘the place of yúpeme’, decides to send troops to that country. In this example, both the subject (*damú hatsá* ‘demoness hatsá’) and an oblique argument (*yúpeme ye sétsɛč* ‘the place of yúpeme’) are dislocated. The subject refers to the original speaker of a speech report, and the oblique argument denotes the goal of the action of sending troops.

It is possible that argument omission and argument dislocation are two sides of the same coin. A speaker may first omit an argument so as to communicate more efficiently because she thinks that the referent of the argument is clear from the context, then feels the need to be more informative and wants to provide more information. Because speech production is linear, the new information can either be coded in a separate clause or attached to the end of the previous sentence. The second case would lead to the phenomenon of dislocation.

### 15.3.3 Coreferential NP Ellipsis

If two clauses within a complex clause have an argument in common, that argument can often be ellipsed on its second occurrence. In many languages a syntactic pivot determines which coreferential participant can be omitted (Aikhenvald 2015: 257–9), but Munya does not seem to have such restrictions. Consider first the example in (444):
In this example, the first clause is transitive and the second one is intransitive. The A of the first clause (the one who bumped into a cow) is coreferential with the S (the one who died) of the second clause and the latter is deleted. Now consider the second example:

(445) \[\text{otsí mәɣә́ yɛ rutsů} \quad [∅ \text{ A} O \text{ no-sà sa}]\]
\[
3\text{SG+ERG cow EXP bump.into } ∅ \quad ∅ \quad \text{DOWN-kill PFV}
\]

‘He bumped into a cow and caused it to die.’

Here both clauses are transitive and the A and O of the second clause are coreferential with those of the first clause, and both arguments in the second clause are omitted. While (444) may indicate that Munya has an A=S pivot, (445) shows that this is not the case, as A, S and O can all be omitted as long as their referents are clear from the context.

15.4 Bridging Constructions

The term ‘bridging construction’ here refers to the phenomenon where a discourse unit is repeated or recapitulated wholly or partially or summarized in the beginning of the succeeding clause. It was first proposed by Guérin and Aiton (2019) in a typological survey of this phenomenon. The device is variously labeled *tail-head linkage*, *recapitulation clauses* or *echo-clauses*, and is widely found in a number of genetically unrelated languages, including some Papuan languages (Thurman 1975; de Vries 2005, 2006) and some Qiangic languages, such as Ersu (S. H. Zhang 2013: 688–93) and Qiang (LaPolla and C. L. Huang 2003: 247–8). (For a comprehensive review of the terminology and a more inclusive list of language families for which this phenomenon is identified, see Guérin and Aiton 2019.)

According to Guérin and Aiton (2019), there are three types of bridging constructions, recapitulative linkage, summary linkage, and mixed linkage. In recapitulative linkage, the bridging clause repeats at least the predicate of the reference clause either verbatim or
with a close paraphrase. A summary linkage contains an anaphoric predicate recapping the event/state of the reference clause. The mixed linkage combines both recapitulative and summary linkage.

In Munya both recapitulative linkage and summary linkage are found. They primarily occur in narrative discourse and are rarely found in conversations. We now look at the two linkage devices separately.

### 15.4.1 Recapitulative Linkage

Examples of recapitulative linkage are given in (446), which are taken from a story. Following Guérin and Aiton (2019), the clause being repeated or recapitulated is called the ‘reference clause’ and the part of the second clause that refers back to the reference clause is labeled the ‘bridging clause’. In the following examples, the reference clause is put in brackets and the bridging clause is in bold:

(446)  

a. \([kɛ́tʂı \text{PN} \atall\text{NONS-NEG-sleep PFV EGO:AP} \text{se nyi}]\)

kɛ́tʂicouldn’t sleep at all.’

b. \(kʰɯ́\text{NONS-NEG-sleep} \text{mo-mә} \text{tsәkɯ́} \text{sә} \text{but} [\text{pɛtɕí mәɣә́ tә́-tʂɛ \text{UP-arrive PFV EGO:SAP} \text{nyi}]\)

Being unable to sleep, he went to eavesdrop, and soon the bull arrived.’

c. \(\text{mәɣә́ \text{bull} tә́-tʂɛ \text{tsәkɯ́ tsәkɯ́} [džópu=ntɛ \text{mәtsά tɕʰí kʰɛ́ tǔ-do \text{UP-arrive and and king=COLL.PL daughter with words UP-say PFV EGO:SAP} \text{nyi}]\)

The bull arrived and talked with the daughter of the king’s family.’
d.  kʰɛ́  tu-dó  pi  kw  tsəkũw  otsí  okʰó  tsékʰɛ́  kɛ́tʰiken̥á  ndžů
  words  up-say  IMPF  OBL  and  3SG+ERG  there  thing  fine  have
  nyi,  [ókʰo  kʰɤ́-seŋa  ró  na-rá  se  nyi]
  EGO:AP  there  NONS-listen  go  DOWN-go  PFV  EGO:AP

  ‘As they were talking, kstṣi, bringing his good things, went down to listen.’

e.  kʰɤ́-seŋa  ró  na-rá  tsəkũw  tsəkũw  otsí  meγé  i  dzópu=nte
  NONS-listen  go  DOWN-go  and  and  3SG+ERG  bull  ERG  king=COLL.PL
  matsά  le  tsʰũ  éntoλo  vá  ti  tė  se  nyi
  daughter  DAT  then  how  come.out  STA  say  PFV  EGO:AP

  ‘He went down to listen and the bull asked the daughter of the king’s family:
  “How is it going this time?” ’

Reference clauses in Munya are generally main clauses, and show no restrictions in predicate type, aspect, evidentiality or egophoricity. They tend to be in the declarative mood. This may be because they are mostly found in monologues, where interrogatives and commands are rare. The reference clauses in (446) are all full clauses in the declarative mood.

Bridging clauses show some features of dependency in both prosody and syntax. In terms of prosody, a bridging clause is uttered faster than the clause being referred to, with a noticeable amount of segment reduction and lenition. A bridging clause can be uttered in a rising intonation, indicating that they are non-final, but this is not obligatory. Syntactically, a reference clause minimally consists of the predicate of the previous clause. They can optionally contain the argument(s) of the preceding clause, but normally do not include any grammatical categories. This is the case of (446b), (446c) and (446e). In (446d), the bridging clause takes the imperfective marker pi, but is turned into a subordinate clause by the oblique case marker kw. Theses prosodic and syntactic features show that bridging clauses are not as independent as canonical clauses.

A special property of bridging clauses in Munya is that they need to be connected to the following clause with the clause linker tsəkũw. In most cases tsəkũw indicates that two events happen in succession, but in (446d) it indicates that they occur simultaneously.
The functions of recapitulative linkage seem to be to highlight important turning points and the sequential relationship between events, through which they can add cohesion to the discourse.

15.4.2 Summary Linkage

Summary linkages are used to summarize or anaphorically refer to the preceding discourse unit. In the summary linkage in Munya, the bridging clause always contains a demonstrative, which can be ómәnә ‘like that’ or óntәλә ‘like that’. This clause can simply consist of a demonstrative and the stative aspect ti (ómәnә ti ‘It is like that’), but more commonly a more full-fledged clause with a verbal predicate is used. The predicate is normally a light verb such as nóvɯ ‘to do’ (when the reference clauses denote events), tәәvә ‘to become’ (when the reference clauses denote states) or ndzū/ndә ‘to exist’ (when the reference clause describes some kind of entity), and, if the summarized unit is a speech report, the verb tәәta ‘say’. Such clauses generally don’t contain any argument. The bridging clause in a recapitulative linkage forms a complex clause with another clause, but the bridging clause in a summary linkage forms an independent clause in itself.

In the following example, the summary linkage is the last one (447e), in which the predicate is nóvɯ ‘do’:

(447) a. tsәkɯ́ yәnә́ sә=ә  kʰú  γε  mәnі=ә  kɯ́  katsә́hа;
   D.M  1PL.INCL+POSS village=PL in  POSS people=PL D.M be.bad

   ‘The people in our villages are bad.’

b. tsәkɯ́ ndz̥̄=ә  teәlәsә́w у tsәkɯ́.нәtәәn̥ȳi  nḡ̥-hә;
   D.M  other.people outsider D.M  TS-go

   ‘They invite outsiders (to our villages).’

c. tsәkɯ́ teәtsә́  kʰú-ku,  γи  kʰú-ku;
   D.M  livestock NONS-steal horse NONS-steal

   ‘(Those outsiders) steal our livestock, steal our horses.’
A striking difference between the summary linkage and the recapitulatory linkage lies in the number of reference clauses. For a recapitulatory linkage, the reference clause is always the one clause immediately before the bridging clause, while for a summary linkage, there can be several reference clauses, and the bridging clause anaphorically refers to and summarizes the content of all those clauses. These reference clauses form a discourse unit, or a paragraph. In example (447), there are four reference clauses (447a) to (447d), which describe the bad behaviors of outsiders and the young people in and nearby the speaker’s villages.

The function of a summary linkage is to mark the boundary of a discourse unit. It signals the end of an old topic and the beginning of a new one. It helps to move the narration forward by providing transitions between different events. All these help to add cohesion to the discourse.

### 15.5 Honorific Style

When the subject of a clause is a respected Buddhist, such as a lama, a living Buddha or the Buddha himself, one needs sometimes to use a set of different words in place of standard ones in order to show deference. These specialized words are mostly verbs, but a few of them are nouns. Things related to Buddhism, such as a monastery, can also be described with specialized verbs. This is what is meant by ‘honorific style’ here. This style is, sadly, largely lost, as young people nowadays either only know a handful of honorific words or are completely unaware of this style. Example (448) comes from an old speaker, where the verb ‘to come’ and ‘to tell’ are in honorific form (the non-honorific forms
are ngwro ‘to come’ and tuc ‘to tell’), because the subject is Geshe, a knowledgeable and venerable Tibetan Buddhist:

\[(448) \text{tsʰɯ́.tstɕ tʰo-ŋo tʰo, tsakú yoné gísi=ni tsakú.ŋotʰónyí,} \]
\[\text{now AS-be if D.M 1PL.INCL+POSS Geshe=PL+ERG D.M} \]
\[\text{dzóko tsakú ngw-tsú, tsakú yoné ró tsakú tɕʰó yó-na} \]
\[\text{India from TS-come and 1PL.INCL+POSS place D.M Dharma us-tell} \]

‘Nowadays, our Geshes came here from India (after studying) and talk to us about Dharma.’

Table 15.1 compares a list of standard-register words with their honorific counterparts. (All in third person forms.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Normal word</th>
<th>Honorific counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘tears’</td>
<td>mitsú</td>
<td>zentsʰó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘urine’</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>tʰasó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to laugh’</td>
<td>ri tʰ-ro</td>
<td>tʰu-tsú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>ngw-tsi</td>
<td>tʰo-tsi/tʰo-tsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to sit’</td>
<td>nbí</td>
<td>e-zú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to come’</td>
<td>ngw-ró</td>
<td>ngw-tsú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat/drink’</td>
<td>ndzó ‘eat’; e-tʃʰú ‘drink’</td>
<td>o-sú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to sleep’</td>
<td>kʰi</td>
<td>kʰo-tsú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to get up’</td>
<td>tʰ-re</td>
<td>tʰu-žé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to ride’</td>
<td>kʰu-tsa</td>
<td>kʰu-ʈʃé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to speak’</td>
<td>tʰ-tʃe</td>
<td>no-só/ho-só</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to tell’</td>
<td>nu-ɛó/tu-ɛó</td>
<td>yó-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from this table, the majority of honorific words tend to be verbs, and only the first two are nouns. Honorific verbs, as with standard-register verbs, take directional prefixes, though it is possible that these prefixes are highly lexicalized, in the sense that they do not denote direction and cannot be replaced by other directional prefixes. The verb roots are noteworthy in that many of them end with ũ. Recall that this is the form of many second person singular inflections (Section 7.3). This curious fact may indicate that honorific forms and the second person singular ending are somehow related to each other.
15.6 Summary

In this last chapter we looked at four phenomena related to discourse and pragmatics in Munya. We first reviewed the functions of tsakú as discussed in previous chapters, before turning to its role as a discourse marker. We saw that as a discourse marker, it can occur in the beginning of a sentence, the end of a sentence, and after nominals. We then discussed argument omission, dislocation and deletion, showing that omission is possible for both subject and object while dislocation can be applied to a wider range of elements, and that omission and dislocation could be functionally related. Next we looked at two types of bridging constructions, which are recapitulative linkage and summary linkage. We focused on describing the structures of bridging clauses and also explored the discourse functions of this construction. In the final section we briefly discussed the obsolete honorific style and the morphology of honorific verbs.
References


REFERENCES


REFERENCES


与功能 [Hidden divinity of stone-houses in the Tibetan and Yi corridor: Exploration 
of its original meaning and function basing on the ethnographies]. Ethno-National 
Studies, 1, 56–65.


江流域的民族语言 [The nationality languages in the six valleys and their language 

SUN, H. K. (1986). 试论 “邛笼”文化与羌语支语言 [On the Qionglong culture and Qiangic 

SUN, H. K. (2016). 藏缅语族羌语支研究 [A Study of the Qiangic Branch of Tibeto-Burman 
Languages]. Beijing: China Social Science Press.

SUN, H. K. (2018). 从几个数词的同源关系看汉藏语系语言的历史遗存 [Historical remains 
in Sino-Tibetan languages : From the perspective of some cognate numerals]. Language 
Sciences, 17, 561–579.

and Philology, Academia Sinica, 64, 945–1001.

in rGyalrongic. Language and Linguistics, 1, 161–190.


Based on ‘you’, ‘shi’ and ‘zai’]. Studies of the Chinese Language, 1, 50–63.

study in the ethnic corridor of West Sichuan. In Y. Nagano (Ed.), Linguistic Sub-
stratum in Tibet—New Perspective Towards Historical Methodology (No. 16102001) 


REFERENCES


Appendix A

The Adventure of Three Kings

This story was recorded on September 26, 2016 from a male Munya speaker in his sixties. It is 25 minutes in length.

(449) dzópu tó-ts'e tʰó-ndzw se; pʰópɛ tó-ts'e tʰó-ndzw se; king one-CLF:FAMILY AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV rich.family one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV pʰúmi mɛ́ndɛ tʰó-lō tʰó-ndzw se beggar old.woman one-CLF:GENR AS-COP:ANIMATE PFV

'(Once) there was a king’s family, a rich man’s family, and an old beggar woman.'

(450) tsәkɯ́ tó-ki ku tʃéɣu kɯ D.M one-year OBL year.of.monkey NONS-come.out PFV

'One year, the year of monkey came.'

(451) tʃéɣu tsәkɯ́ ku tsakɯ́, otsá ki ku, tsakɯ́ dzópu=nɛ́ tsakɯ́.ŋotʰónyí year.of.monkey that.year OBL D.M DEM year OBL D.M king=COLL.PL D.M tsәmɯ i tsakɯ́ tae tʰó-lō i-ndžu se nyi queen ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV EGO:AP

'Then in the year of monkey, in that year, the queen of the king’s family gave birth to a son.'

(452) pʰópɛ=nɛ́ tsakɯ́ mɔ́nyɔ i tsakɯ́ tae tʰó-lō i-ndžu se nyi rich.man=COLL.PL D.M wife ERG D.M son one-CLF:GENR DS-give.birth.to PFV EGO:AP

'The wife of the rich man’s family gave birth to a son.'
‘The old beggar woman also gave birth to a son.’

‘Their birthday was the best day of the year; it was the day of god.’

‘And those three sons were born at sunrise, during the hour of the dragon.’

‘Those three (sons) were very unusual; they were superb.’

‘The king’s family were very happy.’

‘Now that we have had a son, he will rule the king’s territory,” they said.’
'The rich man’s family also said: “We begot a son who would be able to serve the king and treat his parents well.”

'The old beggar woman was not happy, as there wasn’t any clothes for her son to wear.'

'There being no clothes for her son to wear, she wrapped up her son in a piece of woolen cloth.'

'At that time, there was a hermit upstream over there.'

'(The old beggar woman) asked him to pick a name for her son, and he named her son “kɛtʂi”.'

'Why naming (him) kɛtʂi?'
(465) tsakú kóme ye ngγtεθú tsakú.ŋotʰónyí tsakú ndæré k'ú tsakú tu-tsé se ɾo té
D.M star POSS below D.M D.M cloud in D.M UP-appear PFV be say
ri tsá ye tsakú kúwe tó-ló k'ó-la se nyí
NMLZ FOC REL D.M meaning one-CLF:GENR NONS-mean PFV EGO:AP

'The name means “appearing from under stars and out from clouds.”'  

(466) tsakú otsé puts'hí só-ló tsá ta'linđzuɣε tsakú.ŋotʰónyí ndzándza
D.M DEM child three-CLF:GENR FOC very D.M close

'The three children were very close to each other.'  

(467) oné só-ló tsakú.ŋotʰónyí tó-ndzo tsakú lóŋó tənóni tʰa-vá se nyí
3PL three-CLF:GENR D.M UP-grow D.M year twelve AS-become PFV EGO:AP

'They grew up to the age of twelve.'  

(468) lóŋó tənóni tʰa-vá pi ku tsakú oné tatá ku ts'hú
year twelve AS-become PFV OBL DEM 3PL+POSS up.behind.the.house OBL lake
tó-ló tʰó-k'wá se nyí
ONE-CLF:GENR AS-COP:CONTAIN PFV EGO:AP

'They came to the age of twelve, and there was a lake up behind their house.'  

(469) ts'hú k'ú ku tsakú tpi'yu puts'hí tó-ló ne-dé tʰú-hí se nyí;
lake in OBL D.M monkey.year child one-CLF:GENR DOWN-will AS-throw PFV EGO:AP
sáts'á ne-tṣa tʰú-hí se nyí
meat.service DS-provide DS-will PFV EGO:AP

'Into the lake a child born in the monkey year shall be thrown as a meat offering.'  

(470) tsakú otsá tsáki ku tsakú ménem k'úNdzo tsakú otsa puts'hí
D.M DEM that.year OBL D.M everyone NONS-gather.together D.M DEM child
só-ló ts'ó tó-ló ne-dé ri tʰó-ɟo se
three-CLF:GENR among one-CLF:GENR DOWN-throw NMLZ AS-be PFV

'On that year, everybody gathered together, and from the three children (they had to pick one) to throw into the lake.'
'Now that a child has to be thrown into the lake, everybody says that they can’t throw the son of the king’s family.'

'He is supposed to rule the king’s territory.'

'Neither can the son of the rich man’s family be thrown into the lake.'

'He is supposed to serve the king and take care of his parents.'

'Nor can the old beggar woman’s son be thrown into the lake. What should they do?'

'As they were discussing, the one called ketši spoke.'

'You don’t have to discuss anymore, throw me into the lake.'
"The son of the king’s family cannot be thrown into the lake, the son of the rich man’s family cannot be thrown into the lake, throw me into the lake then."

After he said that, everybody cried.

They looked at the three children and cried.

Seeing that they couldn’t harden their heart to do it, kɛtʃi spoke.

"When throwing me into the lake, don’t do it in the same way as before."

"I will go up by myself," said kɛtʃi.

The other two children said: “If you are to be thrown into the lake, we will follow you up.”
The son of the king's family and the son of the rich man's family followed him.

As they were following, kɛtʂi said: "Don't follow me for now, I may not go into the lake."

"Don't come for now." After saying that, he went along.

'kɛtʂi went up to the lake, and there was lots of grass growing at the side of the lake, long grass.'

'He hid himself under that long grass, at the lakeshore.'

'As he was sitting at the lake side, the waves in the lake, my goodness, they boiled up.'

'At that moment, a tiger came out of the lake.'
The tiger rolled on the sand on the lakeside, licked its whiskers, and ran around for a while.

All the time, ktsi kept hiding under the grass.

Then, a leopard came out, who was a friend of the tiger.

The leopard ran around for a while, then licked his whiskers, and ran around.

After a while, a black bear came out.

The bear ran around for a while.

Then the tiger spoke.
“This year, we have three children to eat; each of us will eat one child,” said the tiger.

The tiger said: “If that’s the case, then it will be my turn to eat the son of the king’s family.”

“In the past, there used to be a kind of stone used to keep embers alive, which is called ‘fire-preserving-stone.’”

“If he hits me with the fire preserving stone one time, even very slightly, then I will die there,” said the tiger.

“The leopard said: “it is my turn to eat the son of the rich man’s family.””
'But if he hits me with the pot broom one time, even very slightly, then I will die,' said the leopard.

'The black bear said: "Although it is my turn to eat kɛ́tʂi,"'

'If kɛ́tʂi hits me with a pot holder one time, I can’t get anything to eat and will die," said the black bear.

'After hearing that, kɛ́tʂi went out of the grass and went away. He fled.'

'He fled back and got a fire-preserving stone, a pot broom and a pot holder. With those three things, the three children went off.'

'When they got to the lakeshore, the three beasts were not there.'
'It turned out that they had gone back into the lake, having found nothing to eat.'

'They found nothing to eat, and the three children again hid themselves over there.'

'As they were hiding there, the tiger came.'

'The tiger licked his whiskers and said he would eat the son of the king's family and ran onto the sand.'

'The son of the king's family hit the tiger with the fire preserving stone once very slightly, and the tiger died there.'

'The tiger died there, and after a while the leopard came.'

'The leopard came and said he would eat the son of the rich man's family and ran here and there.'
At that moment, the son of the rich man’s family hit the leopard with the pot broom and the leopard died there.

After a while the black bear came.

The black bear came and ran here and there and ketši hit it with the pot holder, and all three were dead.

After they died, the lake boiled up, went dry, and disappeared.

As they had died, the meat sacrifice, which had been provided to the lake for many generations, did not need to be provided anymore.

The three children went down and everybody gathered around.
“From now on we don’t have to provide meat sacrifice to the lake anymore.”’

“Those who eat meat have been killed and the lake is all dried up.”’

‘We provided meat sacrifice for so many generations, and finally we don’t have to do it anymore,” people said.’

‘They were extremely happy and everyone welcomed the three children to their homes and they celebrated.’

‘After a while kɛtʂi said that he wouldn’t stay here, that he will go.’
"He said to the son of the king’s family and the son of the rich man’s family: “You two stay here”.

"The son of the king’s family is to rule the territory of the king, you two stay here,” he said.

"And the son of the rich man’s family is to serve the king and take care of his parents, you two stay here.

"Do not come with me, I am leaving now."

"In spite of what he said, the two children would not listen."

"As ketșai was leaving, the two followed him, so that the three went together.”
The three left and as they arrived at a place, they found that there were many children fighting for a stick.

"Why are you fighting for a stick?" they asked—the children were fighting with each other.

"This stick is superb."

'It is called the stick of “wish-and-walk”.'

"No matter where we want to go, just point the stick in that direction and we will arrive there, without any need to walk," they said.'

'ktsi said “You don’t need to fight.”'
(539) *otsá pô tômù *-he tsakùŋotônî

DEM lawn top DS-go/1/2NONSG D.M

"Go downstream to the end of that piece of lawn."

(540) *-he, tsakù midzu γó•-le kw tônpu te-tşe' mi tsá le tô-k'ê ts'ú tá

DS-go/1/2NONSG D.M run US-go D.M first UP-arrive NMLZ FOc DAT AS-give can say

sa nyî
PFV EGO:AP

"Go downstream, then run upstream against each other. The first one to come back can claim the stick," he said.

(541) putsʰî=nâ k'rî i tš'âpi nómû a-râ sa nyî ok'rô

'The children fell for that and went downstream.'

(542) a-râ kû, putsʰî=nî γî-ro nyû-t'o rô γô-tšê hi tâ-tê tsakù dünbû
DS-go OBL child=PL+ERG US-catch.up NEG-can place US-arrive will UP-say D.M stick

γî-ndzu tsakù ök'rô γô-tšê se nyî

'As they went downstream, the three children said: "To an upstream place where we cannot be reached," and pointed the stick upstream, and they arrived in a place.'

(543) tsakû γô-rô se nyî
D.M US-go PFV EGO:AP

'So they went upstream.'

(544) tê-k'tê rô γô-tšê pi ti kw tsakù putsʰî tôse i tâ tô-lô
one-CLF:PLACE place US-arrive IMPF D.M OBL D.M child many ERG hat one-CLF:GENR

no-tâ-tu pi rô k'hù-tšê se nyî
DOWN-PLUR-fight IMPF place NONs-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'They went to a place where many children were fighting for a hat.'
"Why are you fighting for a hat like that?"

"When putting on this hat, others cannot see you, nobody in the world can see you."

"It is called 'the invisibility hat'," they said.

"You don’t need to fight with each other."

"Go downstream to the end of that lawn then run back against each other."

"We will give the hat to the first one who comes back," the three children said.

"After they went downstream, the three children, needless to say, (took the hat) and pointed the stick and arrived upstream (far away)."
As the children ran back, nobody was to be found.

'The three children went further to a place upstream.'

'As they arrived at that place, they found that many children were fighting for a tsampa container.'

"Why are you fighting like that?" they asked.

"This tsampa container is called 'the container of requirement.'"

"Whatever we want to eat, we make a wish and the food will come out with hot steam, ready to be eaten."

"There’s no need to fight, go downstream to the end of that lawn, then run upstream against each other."
(559) \( \text{tônpu} \ \gamma'-t̥̂ \text{se mî tšō le tʰο-k'é tš'ū tē sə nyi} \)  
first US-arrive NMLZ FOC DAT AS-give can say PFV EGO:AP  
'And the first one to come back will be given the container.'

(560) \( \text{putsʰi=nə a-rā kw̥ məndzū rā ndzə̃ndzɛ, o̥ k'ō γγ'-t̥̂ \text{pi rā kw̥ tī, child=PL DS-go OBL just.now with same DEM DS-arrive IMPF AS.soon.as OBL D.M tʰ-k't̥ c' nyū̆-ndz̥w tʰ-a-vā sə nyi one-CLF:PLACE NEG-COP:ANIMATE AS-become PFV EGO:AP} \)  
The children went downstream, and just as before, when they came back nothing (and nobody) was to be found anywhere.

(561) \( \text{tsək̥ū ōk'ō γγ'-rā sə nyi, sō-zə tī, ōmənə tə̃k'it̥ tī sō-ka tʰ'o-ta D.M DEM US-go PFV EGO:AP three-CLF:MAN D.M like.that thing D.M three-CLF:KIND AS-find sə nyi PFV EGO:AP} \)  
'So they went upstream over there, the three of children, after having found those three things.'

(562) \( \text{sō-ka tʰ'o-ta tsək̥ū tsək̥ū γγ'-ra, tsək̥ū tʰ-k't̥ c' rō γγ'-t̥̂ sə nyi three-CLF:KIND AS-find D.M D.M US-go D.M one-CLF:PLACE place US-arrive PFV EGO:AP} \)  
'They found those three things and went upstream, and arrived at a (certain) place.'

(563) \( \text{dzənkʰo kʰẽk'it̥ tō-li pu γγ'-t̥̂ pi tʰon̥̂sə country different one-CLF:GENR to US-arrive IMPF MIR} \)  
'They arrived at a different country.'

(564) \( \text{dzənkʰo kʰẽk'it̥ tō-li pu γγ'-t̥̂ pi kw̥ tsək̥ū on̥̂ kw̥ dzōpu tšō country different one-CLF:GENR on US-arrive IMPF OBL D.M 3PL+POSS D.M king FOC tsək̥ū umukʰo tē nyū̆-ṇə D.M oh at.all NEG-right} \)  
'They arrived at a different country, and the king of that country was not well at all.'

(565) \( \text{dzōpu kuṭ̥̂s'ë tʰ-o-ndə rē, kuṭ̥̂s'ë tā-tʰō nyū̆-t̥̂ a tī king reincarnation AS-COP:ABSTRACT even.if reincarnation UP-grow NEG-can STA} \)  
'Even if the king was reincarnated, he could not grow up.'
(566)  tına  tó-ndzo  nyú-t’ә  tsәkɯ́
anyone  up-grow.up  NEG-can  D.M

'No king could grow up.'

(567)  ótsә  pù  kw  t’o-se  sәәo  mi  tč-k’ә  t’o-ŋo  sә  nyi
DEM  on  OBL  AS-die  always  NMLZ  one-CLF:PLACE  AS-be  PFV  EGO:AP

'It was a country where its kings kept dying.'

(568)  ók’o  γΥ-tʃә  pi  t’oŋόsә
there  US-arrive  PFV  MIR

'It was in such a place that they arrived.'

(569)  ótsә  dzópu  tI-sı  pi  tsә  si  kw  ónә  ok’o  γΥ-tʃә  sә  nyi
DEM  king  up-select  IMPF  NMLZ  day  OBL  3PL  DEM  US-arrive  PFV  EGO:AP

'On the day they arrived, the king of that country was in the process of being selected.'

(570)  tI-sı  pi  tsә  pu  kw  omenә  nö-vuw  pi  t’oŋόsә  nyi
up-select  IMPF  NMLZ  on  OBL  like.this  DOWN-do  IMPF  MIR  EGO:AP

'The selection is carried out in this way.'

(571)  tsәkɯ́  tsәnә  dépuí  tsәkɯ́  puts’i  rïnindżә  tIli  omenә  puts’i  sività=mәne
D.M  3PL.REFL+POSS  country  D.M  child  extraordinary  ?  like.that  child  good=SIM.PL
оменә  sosә=mәne  оне  mème  ok’o  tsәkɯ́  tsәkɯ́  tsә  nǜ-dži  tә’I  tsәkɯ́
like.that  clear=SIM.PL  3SG  all  DEM  D.M  D.M  line  DOWN-line.up  make  D.M

'All the children of that country who are extraordinary, good, and clever, they form a line over there.'

(572)  rәdžaw  tsәkɯ́  lәnputә’e  sIle  rәte  tәpI  tsi  tsәkɯ́  nédә  pù  tsәkɯ́  k’әtč  asi
arrange  D.M  elephant  ?  ?  be.called  NMLZ+ERG  D.M  trunk  on  D.M  hada  best
té-zE  è-te’u  tsәkɯ́
one-CLF:GENR  DS-carry  D.M

‘Having formed a line, an elephant called sIle rәte will carry a piece of fine hada on its trunk.’

(573)  dzópu  tó-ndaw  t’o  t’o-ndö  mòpIsә  ótsә  le  k’I’-Ia  pi  t’oŋόsә  nyI
king  AS-COP:ANIMATE  if  AS-get.wrong  won’t  DEM  DAT  NONS-present  IMPF  MIR  EGO:AP

‘If the king is among them, the elephant will present the hada to him without any mistake.’
As those children were lined up and crowding each other, the three children put on the invisibility hat and sat down to the side close to each other.

As they were sitting there, the elephant came and walked around, but didn't present the hada to anyone.

Then the crowd went into a chaos, and someone said: "Why is this? Why is it that our king can never grow up?"

"That elephant is making fool of us!" someone said.

Then someone else said "The elephant never fooled us before."
"It has found many reincarnated kings correctly and never played any tricks on us."

"Then why is that?" As the crowd was in a chaos,

'as the three children appeared, someone said: "A king is among them."

"There is no such thing as there being three kings, there can only be one king."

'The three children were seated there and the elephant came up again.'
'After the hada was presented, their king was the son of the king’s family.'

'Then the ceremony of ascension is performed, it will be done.'

'The three children stayed there that night.'

'They stayed there and the son of the king’s family finished his ascension in the house.'

'After finishing his ascent to the top of a nine-storey building the next day, he will formally be the king.'

'They stayed together over there on that night, the three children.'

'They stayed together and at that time the former king’s family had a daughter.'
"The daughter of the king’s family turned out to be a demoness."

"Her husband was a demon but was not able to reincarnate as a human being."

"He reincarnated through a cow."

"And he knows about it, kɛtʂi knows it all."

"The other two children went to sleep."

"He couldn’t sleep, kɛtʂi couldn’t sleep at all."

"Unable to fall to sleep, he went to eavesdrop, and soon the bull came."
(602) mәɣә́ bull UP-arrive D.M D.M king=COLL.PL daughter with word UP-talk PFV EGO:AP
datsá daughter kʰɛ́ word talk 3SG+ERG thing D.M superb have EGO:AP there
The bull arrived and talked with the daughter of the king’s family.

(603) kʰɛ́ word tu­tó UP-talk pi kuw tsakú otsí okʰó talk ti kʰɛ́-keŋá ndʐú nyi, okʰó
word UP-talk IMPF OBL D.M 3SG+ERG DEM thing D.M superb have EGO:AP there
kʰɤ́-seŋa ro na-rá se nyi
NONS-listen go DOWN-go PFV EGO:AP
As they were talking, kɛtɬ̈, who had those three good things, went down to listen.

(604) kʰɤ́-seŋa NONS-listen go D Watkins DOWN-go D.M 3SG+ERG bull ERG D.M king=COLL.PL daughter DAT then
tenóló vá ti tó se nyi
like what come.out STA say PFV EGO:AP
He went down to listen and the bull said to the daughter of the king’s family “how is it this time?”

(605) tehú ti dzópu ye sóle ná-nţ̃o po e-kú rase, omané tó se nyi
then D.M king POSS life DOWN-take INTRG-can possible like that say IMPF EGO:AP
“Can we take the life of the king this time? The bull asked.”

(606) tsakú dzópu=nc matsá i tа-te tsakú tsu̍nú yoninɛ sólo tó ti
D.M king=COLL.PL daughter ERG UP-say D.M this.time 1DU.INCL+EXP hard come.out STA
tó se nyi
say PFV EGO:AP
‘The daughter of the king’s family said: “We have trouble this time.”’

(607) sóle ná-nţ̃o kú ro sólo wó ti
life DOWN-take can go hard come.out STA
“It is not easy to take his life.”

(608) dzópu tɑ̀mɛ̃ tsá ro kʰɛ́ kʰɛ́ tó-zə i kʰ̕ tine hányukö ti sa,
king real FOC and different one-CLF:MAN ERG at all anything formative-NEG-know STA but
onɛ ndʐú katsu tó-lō m̕u
3PL+POSS friend bad one-CLF:GENR COP:MOVE
While the real king and the other one know nothing, they have a very bad friend.”
It is difficult to deal with him," said the daughter of the king’s family.’

The bull said: “Don’t worry about that.”’

“Tomorrow you tell them that the ascension ceremony shall be first held in the house.”’

“During ascension everybody will be seated at the table according to the order of seniority.”’

“Then in the house wine and tea shall be provided, and common food such as meat, dairy products and butter should also be there; there should also be some servants walking around to serve guests.”’

“You should make everything impressive,” said the bull.’
"Meanwhile I will transform into a spider in the chimney and come down through it."

"And don't light up any fire no matter what," he said.

"After I have transformed into a spider and come down, you fill wine into the bowl of the son of the king's family."

"After walking around him once, his life will be taken by me," said the bull.

'Then, the next day came.'

'On the next day, the daughter of the king's family spoke.'
"Traditionally, the ascension was carried out by going down from the top floor of a nine-storey building."

"I won't do it downward, this time I want to do it by going upward," said the daughter of the king's family.

"Then kêtsi said: "It is fine to do it upward, this time you are the one to issue the order."

"We will do whatever suits you," said kêtsi.

Then the daughter of the king's family reminded him: "It is not fine to light up any fire."

'kêtsi asked several people to put lots of wood into the fireplace.'
"As soon as I say light up the fire, you light the fire," said kɛtʂi.

'He designated several people to light up the fire.'

'As people were seated according to the order of seniority and the ascension was going on quite well, a spider came down.'

'A spider came down and went onto the table.'

'As it arrived on the table, the daughter of the king's family saw it. She sprayed some milk towards it while saying "tɕʰuɕe".'

'At that time, kɛtʂi said: "There is no such thing as making sacrifice to a stinky worm like that."'
‘He caught the spider, asked them to light a fire, and threw the spider into it.’

(The storyteller left out a character, which is the real father of the daughter of the king’s family, also a demon. It is he who transformed into a spider and was thrown into the fire, not the bull. With this knowledge the following content would be less confusing.)

‘Then of course, night came.’

‘After night came, kɛtʂi went to eavesdrop.’

‘He went to eavesdrop and the bull came again.’

‘“How was it?” he asked.’

‘“Things were messed up today, and he was thrown into the fire.”’

‘He must have taken it very badly,” she said.’
The demon bull was the father of the demoness daughter.

He lives on the top of a high fortress, in the middle of the sea.

"You go have a look, he must have suffered quite a bit," the bull said.

The daughter was a wind, and she could fly.

As soon as she flew away, ketṣi put on the hat and pointed the stick, and just like her, he arrived at that place.

After she arrived, her father didn’t die.

There was a blister on him.

And he was gasping.
"You didn’t listen to me at all, now I’m probably going to die," he said."

"You go right now, you go and listen tonight.""

"Up behind the house of the king’s family, there is a white cliff and a red cliff.""

"If I don’t die, the white cliff will collapse.""

"If I die, the red cliff, which is our deity mountain, will collapse.""

"If our deity mountain collapses, it would be useless for you two to stay any longer, as you will lose your lives. Prepare to run away," he said."

"Then the daughter of the king’s family returned."
(653) ngū-dzu tsakù ngu-tšé pi ku sānbu matsà múmù nyi pu, tsênt
TS-return D.M TS-arrive IMPF OBL demon daughter wind EGO:AP CFP 3PL.REFL+POSS
ke ngu-tšé sa nyi
home TS-arrive PFV EGO:AP

'Like a wind the demoness daughter went back, she went back to her home.'

(654) otsí dünbu ngi-ndzu, tā tā-ta, meripi tšoyë tā-ta, ndzëndže okâ ngu-tšë
3SG+ERG stick TS-point hat up-put.on ? ? up-put.on same DEM TS-arrive
ţo-di sa nyi
AS-finish PFV EGO:AP

'ktsi pointed that stick towards the home direction, put on the hat, the invisibility hat, and just like her, he also went back.'

(655) tsakù pâhu tsêhù tsé pu tō-seña se pʰu
D.M tonight that.night FOC on AS-eavesdrop PFV CFP

'And for sure he went to eavesdrop that night.'

(656) tō-seña ku sānbu vënde tō-se pi t'ögûsâ pʰu
AS-listen OBL demon old.man AS-die IMPF MIR CFP

'He went to eavesdrop and the old man demon died.'

(657) onτɛ ngó ye tšä nyinyi tsé nó-patšo se pʰu
3PL+POSS high.place POSS cliff red FOC DOWN-collapse PFV CFP

'And the red cliff at the high place behind their house collapsed.'

(658) nó-patšo pi râ, tí-ye tšëli sò pi tsé râ, sānbu
dOWN-collapse IMPF as.soon.as UP-surround order want IMPF NMLZ as.soon.as demon
tsatsà tšëliha po, tšëlihu tâ se nyi
daughter run.away IMPF/1SG run.away say PFV EGO:AP

'As soon as the cliff collapsed, the demon daughter was going to run away, but was surrounded on the order of ktsi.'

(Although every word in this sentence is analyzable, I have not been able to figure out the exact meaning of it.)
'She wasn’t able to run away, having been surrounded there.'

'Then a goat was slaughtered and its carcass was brought here.'

'The goat carcass was dressed up in the clothes of the son of the king’s family.'

'The son of the king’s family was seated beside with the hat on.'

'The demoness daughter was told that the king was dead, and things have gone extremely bad.'

'And the bull was tied in the cattle shed with a chain.'

'The daughter was told that “now that the king was dead,”’

"you prepare some wood to be used for cremation.”

(667) nyú-yú nyú-sí pú kw dzópu no-sá hí nyi, ónövw hí tê se seven-night seven-day on OBL king DOWN-cremate will EGO:AP do.like.that will say PFV nyi EGO:AP

"The king will be cremated after seven days. That's what will be done."

(668) tsékú dzonkʰó tó-ló tsé pú tsékú tsʰeró ngũ-teʰ tê-te tsékú tsʰeró D.M country one-CLF:GENR FOC on D.M wood UP-bring.1/2NONSG UP-say D.M wood ngũ-teʰw tsékú TS-bring D.M

'Then it was ordered that wood from the whole country shall be brought here, and so it was done.'

(669) tsékú tsʰeró i tsékú tsé tó-ló tû-taw se nyi D.M wood INS D.M house one-CLF:GENR UP-build PFV EGO:AP

'With that wood a building was made.'

(670) tsé tó-ló tû-taw tsékú ngũ-tsa tû-taw se nyi house one-CLF:GENR UP-build D.M nine-storey UP-build PFV EGO:AP

'A nine-storey building was made.'

(671) lê tsékú ngũ-tse pú tê-he ró nô-vwu se nyi; tsékú kʰú ngũ-tse outside D.M nine-stair on UP-go come DOWN-make PFV EGO:AP D.M inside nine-stair pú nô-he tsékú on DOWN-go D.M

'There are nine stairs outside of the building which lead upward, and nine stairs within the building which lead downward.'

(672) tsékú otsé taodzé tsé pú kw dzópu redzú ró D.M 3SG+POSS floor FOC on OBL king put go

'And the king was put on the ground floor of that building.'

(673) ókʰu tsékú tʂʰitsakʰ tô-o-di se nyi, nyú-yú nyú-sí in.there D.M right.and.ready DOWN-make DOWN-finish PFV EGO:AP seven-night seven-day pû kw on OBL

'By the seventh day everything was made ready.'
'The seventh day was the time to send the king to the fire.'

'The persons in charge of lighting the fire and those in charge of spraying oil were all made ready.'

'The daughter was told: "You shall carry the king on your back, it is not right for others to carry him, you carry him." '

'Having been told to carry the king, she carried him upstairs.'

'The daughter carried the goat body up to the ninth floor then went back down.'

'As she was going downward, a fire was lit and oils were poured around.'
As the nine-storey building was burnt, the demon daughter and the goat body were burnt to ashes over there.

The old man demon was dead, and the bull was killed.

Not even the smell of a demon was left there.

Then the king performed the ceremony of ascension and the son of the king’s family became the king over there.

The son of the rich man’s family became the king of their own hometown, he became the king.

I’m not staying here, I’m leaving,” ketsi said.

There is no such thing as there being three kings, there can only be one king.
"You asked me to stay with you, that is not good at all."

'The other two had became the king, and the three went their separate ways.'

'Before they separated, the two children asked kɛtʂi: "Is there anything that you want?"'

'"We have those three things, you take them with you."

'"There are treasures in the treasure house of the king who had a demon."

'"There are treasures such as gold, silver and coral; whatever there are, please go take them."

'kɛtʂi said: "I don't want anything else."'
"In your treasure house there is a knife which is as long as eighteen two-arms' span."

"I'm taking that," he said.

"I'm also taking that stick," he said.

"It is a stick which one can point and which can save one walking."

"The three separated and ketsi left."

"He left and went to a place, and it was a totally different country."

"At the time when he arrived, all were sitting together and were eating all the food they had and wearing the best clothes they had."
'They were dancing and all were sitting together. Such was the place where he arrived.'

'ketsi asked: “Why is it that all of you are so happy and dancing, and eating what you have and wearing what you have?”'

'Our king is possessed by a demon,” they said.’

(701) tsʰalá rótsa pʰúke méme tólo nbi ómane tɛ́­kʰɛ tʰɛ́­tʂɛ sə nyi
dance dance oh everyone together sit DEM one-CLF:PLACE AS-arrive PFV EGO:AP

(702) tsenkú nent sɛ́ omanɛ́ nówa tɛ́­tsai tsʰalá rótsa ndzə=ne méme i ɛ́­ndzə
d.M 2PL+EXP very DEM spirit UP-come dance dance food=PL everyone ERG DS-eat
pe, tsingu=ne méme i tɛ­ngə pe, tɛ́­tɕi nyi té sə
IMPF/1/2NONSG clothes=PL everyone ERG UP-wear IMPF/1/2NONSG why EGO:AP say PFV

(703) tsɛ́nt dzópu ye tsenkú ɲotʰónyí sânbu kʰú­-su vű sə nyi té sə
3PL:REFL+POSS king EXP D.M demon NONS-possess do PFV EGO:AP say PFV
nyi
EGO:AP

‘He is possessed by a demon and almost all people at the frontier have been eaten,” they said.’

(704) sânbu kʰú­-su vű tsenkú tsenkú tsenɛ̄ dzėːɛ̄ ye pʰɛ́ ye tsenkú meni
demon NONS-possess do D.M D.M 3PL:REFL+POSS realm POSS rim POSS D.M person
tósa tsaŋátsɛ́ tʰuʑɛ́ ɛ́­ndzə ɬ'o­di sə nyi
many almost ? DS-finish PFV EGO:AP

(705) tsenkú ɬ'o­di pi ku ngwło=ne ɛ́­ndzə pi nyi
D.M AS-finish IMPF OBL middle=PL DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP

‘After that the people in the middle (of the kingdom) will be eaten.”

(706) tsɛ́nə tsɒpu mɛtsʰé ɛ́­ndzə tɛ́­pi
3PL:REFL end certainly DS-eat NEG-IMPF

‘We will be eaten last.”
"And there is no place where we can flee to."

"Therefore we are eating what we have and wearing what we have while we are all still healthy."

"Don't worry, I can demolish that demon, you all go back."

"Eat what you used to eat, do what you used to do, and wear what you used to wear."

'People were asked to go back and were very happy.'

'Then he left.'
'And some people simply couldn’t make a sound.'

'Still some people could barely talk.'

'What happened to you? ' he asked.

'There were also many people who were crying.'

'We are in the same situation as you have seen just now: our king is possessed by a snake demon.'

'We will be eaten second.'

'Those at the frontier have almost all been eaten up.'

'After they are eaten up it will be our turn.'
"We are all so terrified that some even lost their souls."

"That's how things have become," they said.

"He consoled those who couldn't make any sound and said: "Don’t be afraid'."

‘Then everybody became happy and he stayed there for a while and left again.’

‘He left and arrived at the frontier, where the people there had almost all been eaten up.’

‘Some were drawing their last breath, some couldn’t make any sound. There were lots of people like that.’

‘And some could barely talk.’
(729)  

\[ \text{tsαků nene } \text{emanó e-tá } \pi \text{ niyi?} \]

D.M 2PL+EXP DEM INTRG-OCCUR IMPF EGO:AP

"What happened to you?"

(730)  

\[ \text{tsαků tséne } \text{dʒópu } \gamma \text{ tsαků sánbu i tsαků tudží le tsőpɛ} \]

D.M 3PL.PASS+POSS king EXP D.M demon ERG D.M snake DAT transformation

\[ \text{nó-vw } \text{tsαků tsαků ötsé kʰw-su } \nu \text{u tsαků} \]

DOWN-make D.M D.M 3SG NONS-possess D.O D.M

"Our king, a demon transformed into a snake and possessed him."

(731)  

\[ \text{tsαků méme tsá } \text{ɛ̃ndʒa } \pi \text{ niyi} \]

D.M everyone FOC DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP

"And he is eating everyone."

(732)  

\[ \text{tsαků } \text{tu̇zè } \text{tölö tsá } \text{ɛ̃ndʒa } \text{t'o-di } \se \text{ niyi } \text{te'ú } \text{tséna pù tsαků.ŋót'ónyi} \]

D.M almost ADV D.M DS-eat AS-finish PFV EGO:AP then 3PL.PASS on D.M

\[ \text{kʰw-pù } \pi \text{ niyi } \text{tà } \se \text{ niyi} \]

NONS-turn IMPF EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

"The people over here are almost all eaten and soon it will be our turn."

(733)  

\[ \text{tsαků } \text{ɛ̃ndʒa } \text{ri } \gamma \text{ letó } \text{ɛ̃manó nó-vw } \pi \text{ niyi } \text{tà } \se \text{ niyi} \]

D.M DS-eat NMLZ REL method like.what DOWN-make IMPF EGO:AP say PFV EGO:AP

"What is his way of eating?" he asked.

(734)  

\[ \text{ɛ̃ndʒa } \text{ri } \gamma \text{ letó } \text{kw metá na-γγ } \pi \text{ tsαků } \text{ɛ̃ndʒa } \text{se tölö pù kw} \]

DS-eat NMLZ REL method OBL noon DOWN-be.late IMPF D.M DS-eat PFV from on OBL

\[ \text{sɛsè } \text{nóno } \text{matsɛ } \text{ɛ̃ndʒa } \pi \text{ niyi } \text{tà } \se \]

next.day morning to DS-eat IMPF EGO:AP say PFV

"Speaking of his way of eating, he starts eating in the afternoon and finishes the next morning."

(735)  

\[ \text{sɛsè } \text{nóno } \text{tsαků } \text{dʒópu } \gamma \text{ pʰúra } \text{tómù tsαků.ŋót'ónyi } \kʰi } \pi \text{ niyi } \text{tà} \]

next.day morning D.M king POSS palace top D.M sleep IMPF EGO:AP say

\[ \se \]

PFV

"In the morning of the next day he sleeps on the top of the king's palace."
"After sleeping, the snake possessor, having eaten so many people, gets thirsty and will come down to drink water," they said.

"As he goes down to drink water, even as his head has reached the bank of a river, his tail still remains in the nostril of the daughter," they said.

'After knowing that, he took his gold knife and went up the next morning.'

'Hewaited and right in the afternoon, at the time of eating, the snake came down.'

'After coming down and drinking water, it is going back to the nostril of the daughter.'
And he waited, he took that gold knife and waited there.

As it came down he started chopping at it.

He went up as he chopped at the snake until he reached the ninth storey of the palace, and he chopped it into chunks.

After reaching the top floor of the palace and getting to the bedroom of the daughter, the tail of the snake ended there.

As the tail fell out, the daughter regained consciousness and slowly recovered.

She cried and asked what happened to her.
"Then he said to the daughter: "You want to know what happened to you?" "

"Take a look." "

"You have almost eaten up the people in the frontier." "

"If I had not come, you would eat all the people in the entire country," he said.'

"So the daughter recovered and he became the king of that country.'

'The daughter, who used to be possessed by the snake, became his queen.'

'They lived a happy life over there.'

'The son of the king's family became the king of the country where there used to be an old man demon bull.'
(This sentence is unintelligible. In literal, it means ‘The son of the king’s family, together with the child of the old man demon bull, they became the king’, which is in apparent contradiction to the plot of the story. The translation did not follow the literal meaning.)

(756) pʰópɛ=nɛ tso ré tsénc pʰoyú ye dzópu tʰə-vá
rich.man=COLL.PL son and 3PL.REFL+POSS hometown POSS king AS-become

‘And the son of the rich man’s family became the king of their own hometown.’

(757) őmønə dzópu só-ló kʰú-tɕø tsakú tsakú őmønə tʰə-vá se nyi
like.that king three-CLF:GENR NONS-dawn D.M D.M DEM AS-COME.OUT PFV EGO:AP
tápi
EVID:REP

‘It was said that that was how the three kings came about, and how things turned out like that.’
Appendix B

Vocabulary

Conventions

This preliminary vocabulary contains around 2,800 entries. Most entries belong to open classes like nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, but I have also included closed classes and many grammatical elements, such as pronouns, demonstratives and classifiers.

An entry minimally consists of a head word (in phonemic transcription), its part of speech and its meaning. The head words for verbs are all in third person form. If a word has more than one unrelated senses, those senses will be numbered separately. For many entries, additional information is provided after head words. These include the source forms of loan words, the components of compounds, and, if the word is a verb with a directional prefix, the root of that verb.

A few words need to be said about how I arrange verbs and identify loan words. In this vocabulary, if a verb root can take more than one directional prefix that root is set up as an entry, irrespective of whether it is free or bound, with all its prefixed forms listed after the meaning(s) of that root. However, for some verbs, such as ɑ́-dzo 'to end', it is hard to determine whether the first syllable is a directional prefix or not. While it looks like a directional prefix for 'downstream' when compared with other verbs, it is not interchangeable with other directional prefixes, nor does it denote any sense of direction. I have treated words like these as unanalyzable wholes and not listed the root separately. Identifying whether a word is borrowed is straightforward in most cases. Chinese loans were borrowed very recently and are easy to identify. If a Munya word is pronounced sufficiently similar to a Tibetan word, or there is a systematic sound correspondence between the two, and the meanings of the two words are close, then that Munya word is recognized as a Tibetan loan. If the similarity in sound is restricted to certain phonemes but the two words have similar meanings, I indicate that the word could be a Tibetan loan with cf. Sometimes native speakers would tell me that a word is borrowed from Tibetan but for which I can not find the source word. In that case I note that the word is a loan from Tibetan but the source form is unknown.

Abbreviations:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>the morpheme is bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aux</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clf</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cn</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrog</td>
<td>interrogative word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num</td>
<td>number word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Va</td>
<td>ambitransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vc</td>
<td>copula verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>ditransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vt</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vn</td>
<td>non-volitional verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tib</td>
<td>Tibetan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfx</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post</td>
<td>postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pro</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prt</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qtf</td>
<td>quantifier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a

ayá Vt to straighten up one's back
ahó Free Variant of sht
ákera Free Variant of ḋkera
ákó Dialectal Variant of nboyú
álá Vt to take off (clothes)
ángugu n a kind of edible plant
ará₁ (*kera) Vi to bark
ará₂ n younger sister
árta (*řt₂) Vt to face downstream direction
ató (*tō) Vt to go and get something
ávela (*vela) Vi to roll downstream
ázo n 1) adult 2) senior person

b

batsó (Compound of tso) n a scoop made of metal
be Dialectal Variant of té
bé n red panda
bó (from Tib bu s) n man, boy, lad
bámba n frog Compound sanibámba, tsúmbámpa
be (from Tib bal së) n wool
bi n urine
*bo Vt to appear, to become visible Prefixed form ēbo, yībo, ngūbo, nóbo, tēbo
bobó adj proud, arrogant, conceited
bóteć (from Tib bar chad བར་ཆད) n danger, hindrance, interference
burí n incense
bú n lamb's quarters (a kind of plant)
*bu clf classifier for pile

C
ɕɑ́ (from Cn xiang 乡) n township
ɕɑ́ Free Variant of ɕɑ́pu
ɕɑ́ (Dialectal Variant ɕɑ́, Free Variant ɕɑ́nǐ) n barley
ɕɑ́ n eagle
*ɕɑ cl/ classifier for mouthful
ɕɑkố Tibetan loan of ɲɛtsô
ɕɑndố (Tibetan loan variant dzosé) n a knife used to chop firewood
ɕɑndố n telescope
ɕɑnǐ Free Variant of ɕɑ́ Compound ɕɑnìkốmi
ɕɑnǐ n barley Compound ɕɑnìbə́nba
ɕɑnìbə́nba (Compound of ɕɑnǐ, bə́nba) n toad
ɕɑnìkốmi (Compound of ɕɑnǐ, ) n a kind of mushroom, called qingkejun (青稞菌) in Chinese
ɕɑ́pu (Free Variant ɕɑ́) n friend
ɕetʂö́ (from Tib bshad tshul བཤད་ɰལ) n doctrine, belief
ɕéwö́ (from Tib shog bu ཤོག་ɍ) n paper
ɕewú́ (Compound of ɕɛ) n red hot iron
ɕɛ́ n iron Compound ɕewú́, ɕɛ́ndʐә
ɕɛ́ Tiber loan of  ndɔ́ɕɛɣɑ́ n breath
ɕɛ́ndɔ́ n beef
ɕɛ́ndzә́ n coat
ɕɛ́ndʐә (Compound of ɕɛ, ndʐә́) n iron chain
ɕɛ́nප (from Tib shan pa བཤན་པ) n butcher, hunter
ɕɛ́pɛtә́dzó́ (Phrasal Verb of  tә́dzó) Vt to praise
ɕɛ́ra n plastic rope
ɕɛ́sɛ́ (from Tib skyes pa Dzེས་པ) n husband
ɕɛ́pɛ (Dialectal Variant  tʰә́tsʰɛ) (from Tib skyes pa Dzེས་པ) n husband
ɕɛ́ 1) only 2) all the time
ɕé (from Tib shing bzo རིང་བཟོ) n carpenter
ɕidak (from Tib sgrig bzo རིག་བཟོ) n interior decoration
ɕihú́ (from Cn shihui 石灰) n limestone
ɕile adv rarely, occasionally
ɕíŋu n wooden plate
ɕíŋp (Dialectal Variant thɛ́tsʰɛ́) (from Tib skyes pa བཤེས་བོ) n husband
ɕíwu n a wooden ladle for ladling soup
ɕó (from Tib shel རིལ) n glass, crystal
*ɕo Vi to appear Prefixed form kʰɯɕó, ngɯɕó, noɕó
ɕó­ num plx eight
ɕosì (from Cn xuexi 学习) Vi to have a village conference
ɕogö́ (from Tib shes sgo སེལ་Ȉོ) n mirror
ɕomú (from Tib sha mo ས་མོ) n a cover term for mushroom
ɕópɑ́ Tibetan loan of wupʰɛ́
ɕọ́rome adv insistently
ɕọ́wEnough (from Tib sha khyi ས་ kyi) n hound, hunting dog
ɕó Free Variant of ɕiɛ́
ɕokʰɛ́ Free Variant of tehɔ́kʰɛ́
ɕu₁ (from Tib shugs སྒུ) n strength, power
ɕu₂ n plowshare
*ɕu Vi to sneak into somewhere, to make one's way into Prefixed form ę̌u, y̆ûu, kʰûu, ngûu, n̄ûu, t̄u, th̄u
ɕíû (from Tib sha mo ས་ mo) n situation
ɕʊ̀ːú, adj hypocritical, artificial, pretentious
ɕú (Dialectal Variant hɁ, Tibetan loan variant tsʰú, mtsho ༣) n lake Compound Ɂsú
d

*dā Vt to hit, to beat, to slap Prefixes form *yāda, nōda, täda
daḍu (from Tib bdag po བདག་པའ) *n host, owner, master
datshī Free Variant of śānбу
daḍā (from Tib ‘dag pa བདག་པ) n mud
del Free Variant of dzonkḥō
*dē; clf *a classifier for length which means two-arm's span
*dē, Vt to float (in the air), to drift Prefixes form tēde, tʰēde
dedē adj wide Prefixes form kʰudē
demā n the common people
dēmarosi Free Variant of ndēndesi
demū (from Tib bde po བདེ་པ) Vt to be safe and healthy
dendzā (from Tib bde ‘byams བདེ་འབྱམས) n infinite bliss
dénpu n a small cup made of bronze used for containing sacrificial water or wine
dā n wolf Compound demāni, demāndc, depūtsḥi
damān (Free Variant damčndc, depūtsḥi; davāndc, kʰanānc; zāpʰānc) (Compound of mēni, dā) n swear word (lit. wolf person)
damāndc (Compound of dā, mēndc) Free Variant of damānī
damū (from Tib bdud mo བདེ་མོ) n demoness
dontsā (from Tib dam bca’ བཅའས་) n thesis, promise, oath, vow, dedication
dānā n a kind of Buddhist scripture to be chanted prior to plowing
depūtsḥi (Compound of dā) Free Variant of damānī
dāro Vt to pick someone up
davāndc Free Variant of damānī
dē n order, notice, message
*dcē Vt 1) to throw 2) to drive (livestock, etc.) Prefixes form cē, ṣađē, kʰudē, ncedē, nqaudē, tēdē, tʰcē
dcē (from Tib zla ba ཐལ་བ) n month
*dcvu Vt to blow off, to make something fall off Prefixes form cēvu, ṣađēvu, nqcēvu, tēdvu

di Free Variant of kʰalō
dipē (from Tib sdiŋ pa སྐིིང་པ) n sin, moral wrong-doing, evil deeds
dirūge n name of a plant
dīsce (Compound of tse 1) n small-sized container for tsampa
dō (from Tib bdun བདོན) num seven
dokū Free Variant of gondži
domā (Cf. Tib sdis po སྐིིས་པ) n lumber, tree trunk
dómē (from Tib sder ma སྐེར་མ) n plate, saucer, dish
dōnda (from Tib dam dag བདག་དག) n things, affair, matter
dōpe (from Tib bdun ba བདོན་བ) 1) num seventh 2) n July
dōtsē n a kind of wall built with both long and narrow stones
dō n the mountain around a valley
dōdo adj square
domū n milk processor
dōri (from Tib rdo ring རོ་སྒྲིག) n stone pillar, obelisk
dū (from Tib gduŋ གྲུང) n umbrella, canopy
dū n poison Prefixes form nodū
dudū adj bad, lousy, horrible
dudži (Tib dug sbrul སྒྲུལ་) n poisonous snake
dugō n sadness, sorrowfullness
dūrō (from Tib dus rabs སྦུས་རབས) n century, times, age, epoch
duwē (from Tib du wa དུ་བ) n tobacco
dunbū (Tibetan loan variant pēkṣa) n stick
dže n purpose
dzēkčē n naturally grown meadow
dzemú (Free Variant tsató, Tibetan loan variant tsató, Archaic form ngi₂) n a valley of many boulders
dzi n pillar
*dzi Vt 1) to build up (a wall) 2) to hit the target
*dzidzi adj (roads, etc.) winding and narrow
dzódo adj spicy, hot
dzú (Cf. Tib rdzong Ȅ) n high fortress
dzurá n a dead tree that is totally dried up
*dza Vt to hand (responsibilities, etc.) over to
*dzɑ Vt to hand (responsibilities, etc.) over to
dzɑ́go n 1) pride, arrogance 2) to dress up, to put on make up
dzɑ́gonúvɯ (Phrasal Verb of dzɑ́go)
*dzá 1) voice, sound
*dzmɛ n 1) num classifier for measuring weight, equivalent to half a kilo 2) n steelyard
dzɛ́ n voice, sound
dzɛ́dʐi (Chinese loan variant tʂúpe) n preparations
*dzɛmɛ n 1) num classifier for measuring weight, equivalent to half a kilo 2) n steelyard
dzɛ́pɛ 1) num eighth 2) n August
dzɛ́pɛ adv to a great extent, very
dzә́nbә n toilet
dzә́pә n saliva
dzә́tɑ́ n quality
dzɛ́ Free Variant of dzɛ́sɛ́
dzɛ́dʐi n traditional food, eating habits
dzɛ́ Free Variant of dzɛ́pɛ
dzɛ́pɛ adv gradually
dzɛ́sɛ́ (Free Variant dzɛ́) (Cf. Tib chab srid Ȅ) n territory, kingdom
dzɛ́ n otter
dzɪ́dzɪ́ adv fast
dzɨ́ (Cf. Tib rjes Ț) n footprint, trace
dzɨ́kő n correction, amendment
dzɨ́tɛ́ (from Tib rgyu rkyen Ȅ) n causes and conditions, causal conditions
*dzo Vt 1) to build 2) to spend money 3) to make a wish 4) to make a telephone call
*dzó Vt 1) to build 2) to spend money 3) to make a wish 4) to make a telephone call
dzosɛ́ Tibetan loan of sando
dzõdo adj many
dzógo (from Tib rgya gar Ȅ) n India
dzólo (Dialectal Variant tshélo, Free Variant ró) (from Tib 'gro lam Ȅ) n road
dzonkʰó (Free Variant de) (from Tib rgyal khab Ȅ) n country, nation
dzópu (from Tib rgyal po Ȅ) n king
dzótsʰú (from Tib rkya mtsó Ȅ) n sea
dzoyi n wooden rack
dzɔ́ n speed
dzɔ̀ 1) n stone 2) Vt to hit something with a stone, to toss a stone
dzɔ́ 1) n stone 2) Vt to hit something with a stone, to toss a stone
dzɔ̀ 1) num 2) Vt to hit something with a stone, to toss a stone
dzɔ́ n corner
dzukʰú (from Tib ljang khus Ȅ) adj grass green
dzūn n trousers
dzū, Free Variant of dzhwɛ́ndzu
*dzɯ Vt to put something on someone's back
Prefix form kʰudzɯ, nodzɯ
dzɯ̀pandzu (Free Variant dzɯ́, dzɯzazɔ) n property, possession
dzɯ̀p n member of a family
dzɯ̀tsɛ n properties, valuables, things in the house
dzɯzazɔ Free Variant of dzɯ̀pandzu

*etsɯ Free Variant of *utɛɯ

ɛbo (*bo) Vi to appear from upstream
ɛsu (*su) Vi to sneak to somewhere downstream
ɛdɛ́ (*dɛ́) Vt 1) to throw something downstream 2) to drive livestock downstream
ɛdɛ́vu (*devu) Vt to blow off, to make something fall off
ɛdʑo (*dzo) Vt to hand over to
ɛdʑo (*dao) Vt 1) to make a telephone call downstream 2) to close the door 3) to saddle up a horse
ɛgɔ́ Vi 1) to lie down 2) to lean against something
ɛyỉ 1) Vt to delay, to waste time 2) Vt to leave something behind
ɛyɔ́ n uncle, or male relatives on mother's side
ɛhɛ́ (hɛ́) Vi to go downstream
ɛhɛ́ (Free Variant ahɛ́) (hɛhɛ́) 1) Vt to screw out 2) Vt to release (one' hand); (policies, etc.) to become loose
ɛhɛ́ (hɛ́) Vi come from upstream
ɛkara (Free Variant ákara) (*kara) Vi to yell
ɛkɛ́lɛlɛ adj dangling, hanging down
ɛkʰɛ́ tɛkʰɛ́ adv during, at the moment of
ɛkʰi, Vt to cushion, to pad
ɛkʰi, n younger cousin
ɛkʰ Vt to dry something up
ɛkʰusirɪ (*kusirɪ) Vt to pull downstream
ɛkʰ- num pfx ten
ɛle (*le) Vt to pay (money)
ɛla Vt to save
ɛla n a particular kind of song, sung in Tibetan
ɛlɛ́ n aunt
ɛlɪnə n a kind of plant
ɛlɔ́lɔ́ (*lɔ́lɔ́) Vt to carry downstream
ɛmɪ n cousin
ɛmuri prt possibly, probably
ɛnbɛgɛ n horse saddle
ɛндɛ́ (*inde) Vt to turn something on
ɛндǔ (ndū́) Vt to go downstream
ɛндʑɑ́ (ndzandʑɑ́) Vt to get cold
ɛндʑe (Free Variant óндʑa) (ndʑɑ́) Vt to eat
ɛндʑu Vt to squat
ɛндʑo (*ndʑo) Vt to go downstream directly
ɛnα interrog who
ɛngungu (* ngu) Vt to incline one's body to one side
ɛnɪ, n aunt, or female relative on father's side
ɛnɪ, Vt to knead (dough, etc.)
ɛnɪkɑ́mu n nun
ɛniki tɑ́npu (from Tib ang ki dang po ཨང་ཀི་དང་པོ) adj first, very, topmost
ɛntɛ́bɔ́ n a person who chants Buddhist sutra for others
ɛntɛ́tesɛ (*ntɛ́tesɛ) Vt to pull something downstream
εnlú· num pfx twelve
εnyc interj wow, oh
ɛpè n newly made solid sour milk
ɛpɛtsəo (*pɛtsəo) Vi to collapse, to break down
ɛpɛtútú n hoopoe, black baza
ɛpʰa (*pʰa) Vt to hack (woods), to split
ɛpʰa (Free Variant úpʰa) (*pʰa) Vt to lose something
ɛpʰo (*pʰo₁) Vt to draw something out of something, to fish out
ɛpo (*po) Vi to abrade, to wear out
ɛpú n uncle, or male relative on father's side
ɛrári (*rәri) Vt to sweep (inside the house)
ɛpʰɑ (*pʰɑ) Vt to hack (woods), to split
ɛpʰә (Free Variant úpʰә) (*pʰә) Vt to lose something
ɛpʰo (*pʰo) Vt to draw something out of something, to fish out
ɛpʰi j (Free Variant sʰi j) Vi to escape downstream
ɛtsʰi (Free Variant usʰi) Vt to drink
ɛtsʰu (Free Variant usʰu) (*usʰu) Vt to take something downstream
ɛtsi (Free Variant ra) n elder sister
ɛtsʰó Vt to gash, to pant
ɛtsә́ri (*tsә́ri) Vt to look downstream
ɛtʰa (*tʰa) Vt 1) to extract, to refine 2) to remove (e.g., cattle dung with shovel)
ɛtʰavá crí Free Variant of crí
ɛtʰu (*tʰu) Vt to come downstream, (time, etc.) come
ɛtí, Vt to weave
ɛtí₁ (Free Variant zә́ mә́) interrog how many
ɛtí- num pfx eleven
ɛtó Vt to make something roundish with hands
ɛtsɔ́tso (tsətsəo) Vt to wring (water out of clothes, etc.)
ɛtsóżhɔ n housework, daily work
ɛtsi (*tsi) Vt to lie (in bed)
ɛtsó Vt to cut (hair)
ɛtsə́ (tsə́) Vt to run downstream
ɛtsə́ (*tsə́) Vt 1) to assign a task to someone 2) to hand something to someone
ɛtsɛ́ (*tsɛ́) Vt to arrive from downstream
ɛtsʰa Vt to line something up
ɛtsʰü (*tʰü) Vt to make a fire for heating
ɛtúdo (túdo) Vt to hit with elbow
ɛvli Vt to carry on one’s shoulder
ɛvɯ́ (vɯ́) Vt to do
ɛwunatsi n parrot
ɛyó Vt to lose effectiveness, to volatilize, to change, to thin out
ɛzá pro what Compound ɛzɛ́ sǐsi
ɛzɛ́ sǐsi (Compound of ɛzɛ́) n all kinds of, whatever
ɛzəzo (*zazo) Vt to pile up
ɛzú n mustache, beard

fafi Chinese loan of thikʰú₁
gé₁ (from Tib dge གེ) n a term used to address a lama who has acquired the degree of Geshe, can be followed by his name

gé₂ (from Tib sger སྒེར) n personal, private, selfishness, ego

gépe Tibetan loan of  དཔེ་  n wooden plates used for making tiles

gétö n individual work, work done for oneself

gö́gö adj roundish, spherical

gö́lɑ (gö) (Cf. Tib lkug pa ཉག་པ) n idiot, dumb person

gö́n (from Tib gal srid གལ་ིར) prt if, if possible, if by chance

gö́n (Compound of gö́) n lover, girlfriend or boyfriend

gumunándʑu n agaric

gutʰú (from Tib dgu དུ་) 1) num ninth 2) n September

gutʰú (Compound of gö́) n a kind of porridge eaten during new year, made from nine kinds of cereals

gunbɛ́ (from Tib dgon pa དགོན་པ) n monastery

Ya₁ n sheep Compound royá

eyá₂ n shoulder

eyayá, Dialectal Variant of kólo

eyayá₂ adj annoying, noisy

eyaka n chili

yalée Free Variant of nyatakоро

yanbá n Chinese grouse

eya₁ n left side Compound yánɡo, yáropʰo

eya₂ n Han Chinese Compound yásu

eya₂ n needle

eya₁ Free Variant of yápu

eya₂ Vt to scold

eya₂ aux will

*ya₁ clf classifier for handful (with both hands)

*ya₂ Vt to lose mental control of oneself Premixed form teyá, tʰayó, tʰeɣá

yadó (Free Variant addó) n beetroot

yalö n head Compound yámɔ, nbotó yálo, tɕɯ́ɣalö

yámo (Compound of yálo, mɔ₂) n hair

yangko (Compound of ngó, ya₂) n left leg
 yapó (*po) Vi to relocate upstream
 yapu (Free Variant yá) n left side
 yapópó (Compound of yá) n left hand
 yásu (Compound of su, yá) n Chinese language
 yeýé Dialectal Variant of yeré
 yeyó (Compound of yó) n male river deer
 yamó (Compound of mó) n female river deer
 yambá Free Variant of tehè
 yônda n book
 yôtsa n neck
 yôtsíhi n musk deer
 yéla n a festival which is held on September 15 of rural calendar and is celebrated
 with dancing and horse-racing
 yénbá n wild duck
 yérr (*rr) Vt to turn something counterclockwise
 y'é, n fish
 y'é, n door
 yérbo (*bo) Vi to appear from downstream
 yérsu (*su) Vi to sneak to somewhere upstream
 yérdá (*da) Vt to hit, to beat
 yérdé (*dë) Vt 1 to throw upstream, to throw into fire 2 to drive livestock upstream
 yérdéwú (*dèwú) Vt to blow off, to make something fall off
 yérdéo (*dèo) Vt to make a telephone call upstream
 yérdzió (*dzìo) Vt to make a telephone call upstream
 yérdžò (*dzò) Vt to hit something by throwing a stone towards upstream
 yéyeýé adj to be in a curving shape
 yéyé adj heavy
 yéthé (hè) Vi to go upstream
 yéthi (hi) Vi to come from downstream
 yétkera (*kera) Vi to yell upstream
 yétkusirí (*kusirí) Vi to pull upstream
 yétoló (*toló) Vt to carry upstream
 yéndù (ndù) Vi to go upstream
 yéndzo (*ndzo) Vt to go upstream directly
 yéntetec (*ntetec) Vt to pull upstream
 yévpé n wild ass
 yévpedóa (*pdéda) Vt to follow someone towards upstream
 yévó (rò) Vt to go upstream
 yévá (*vá) Vt to face upstream
 yévó (ró) Vt to come from upstream
 yévtá Vt to shut something in the door
 yévthí (thí) Vt to escape upstream
 yévtsáwú (Free Variant yutsáwú) (*tsáwú) Vt to take something upstream
 yévtsó Vt to stick to
 yévtsóri (*tsóri) Vt to look upstream
 yévtsótsó (*tsótsó) Vt to chase by going upstream
 yévta (*ta) Vt to pour onto, to add something into
 yévthú (*tú) Vt to come upstream Phrasal Verb mú yévthú
 yévtó n window
 yévtsá (*tsá) Vt to burn (woods)
 yévtsi Dialectal Variant of yitsè
 yévtsó (*tsó) Vt to run upstream
 yévtsó Vt to kick
 yévtsé (*tsé) Vt to arrive from upstream
 yévtsí (*tsí) Vt to cut, to chop (meat, etc.)
 yévtú (tú) Vt to hit with fist
 yévva n courtyard
 yévvala (*vala) Vt to roll upstream
 yl Dialectal Variant of rì, yí, Archaic form of tsó
 yí Vt to not grudge, to be willing to part with
 yì (Dialectal Variant yui; wi) n horse
 yiyé (*iyé) Vt to flow against the direction of the movement of the sun
 yiyí adj light Compound ts'éyi. Prefixed form tayí
 yiyó adj easy
γíku (*γiku) Vt to circle something up from upstream
γíndú (*γíndú) Vt to push (a cart, etc.) upstream
γíndžu (*γíndžu) Vt to point in upstream direction
γíndže (*γíndže) Vi to fly upstream
γíró (*γíró) Vt to overtake by going upstream
γítsi (*γítsi) Vt to cut trees, to log
γítsʰi (*γítsʰi) Vt to jump upstream
γítsu (*γítsu) Vt to stir, to mix, to turn something around
γivi (*γivi) Vt to send someone off upstream
γó n stick
γóγó (two-dimensional)
γó n male Compound γεγο, γεγο
γν Vt to wash Prefixed form γάγο, τάγο, τάγο
γάγο- num pfx eighteen
γάγο n railings, fence
γάγο adv slow
γάγο με the night after tomorrow night
γάγο (γάγο) Vt to sprinkle
γάγο (γάγο) Vt 1) to drive upstream 2) to release (cattle, etc.) upstream
γάγο- num pfx nineteen
γάγο- num pfx seventeen
γάγο- num pfx fifteen
γάγο- num pfx fourteen
γάγο (Free Variant γογο) (Compound of si) n the day after tomorrow
γογο Free Variant of γάγο
γάγο (Free Variant γογο) Vt to rub or caress something with hands
γάγο- num pfx thirteen
γαγο- num pfx sixteen
γάγο (γάγο) Vt to drive upstream
γόμ� n the year after next year
γόμ� (γόμ�) n face Compound γογο páre
γογο páre (Free Variant γογο páre) n towel
γογο n grass Compound γογο
γογο (Tibetan loan variant lo rtags, ལོ་Ȧགས) n animal cycle year, the twelve symbolic
animals associated with a twelve year cycle
γογο (Free Variant γογο) Vt to send someone upstream
γογο με the night after next year
γογο με n upstream, somewhere to the upstream direction
γογο (Compound of γογο) Free Variant of pá
γογο με Free Variant of γογο με
γογο με γογο n downstream, some place downstream
γογο με Free Variant of γογο με
γογο με Vt to heat something up
γογο με Vt to look for upstream
γογο με n downstream, some place downstream
γογο με n left side
γογο με n farm cattle
γογο με n a ladder made of a single log
γογο με n seed
γογο με solidified butter Compound γογο με pʰúλα
γογο με pʰúλα (Compound of γογο με, pʰúλα) n a kind of fungus
γογο με n donkey Compound γογο με
γογο με ( Compound of γογο με, γογο με) n a kind of fungus
γογο με n a kind of fungus, called qingjun (青菌) in Chinese Compound γογο με
γογο με n a kind of fungus, called hongqingjun (红青菌) in Chinese

γογο με
ɣɯ́ vɯtʂʰö (Compound of ʈʃʰətʂʰö, ɣuvuv) n a kind of fungus, called baiqingjun (白青菌) in Chinese

h

haké eté Vi to laugh
hʌkʰuɡo (Free Variant hʌkʰo; kʰuko; kʰ) Vt to know, to understand
hʌkʰo Free Variant of hʌkʰuɡo
hʌlɛn n lifespan, lifetime
hʌnyəkʰu n mountain pass
hʌpɛtədʑo (Phrasal Verb of tədʑo) Vt to scold, to criticize
hə, n tooth Compound hagó, hamó, handzù
hə, 1) Vt to go 2) Vt to receive (someone), to meet, to pick up Prefixed form chə, γɤhə, nohə, tahə, tʰohə
hagó (Compound of hə) n molar
hamó (Compound of hə) n front teeth
handzù (Compound of hə) n fang
h Dialectal Variant of ɡu
hʌkhə adj loose Prefixed form ɛchə
hə Vi to come Prefixed form ɛhə, ɣɤhə, nhə, təhə, tʰohəhəɡo
hʌmó (Compound of hə) n molar
hʌndzə (Dialectal Variant of hʌgi, Archaic form of hʌndzə) n dinner
hʌni Dialectal Variant of hʌndzə, Chinese loan of ʑítsa
hʌndzə (Dialectal Variant hʌgi, Archaic form of hʌndzə) (Compound of hə) n dinner

i

i post 1) ergative case 2) instrumental case
idzó Vt to wear (gloves)
iyé (*iyə) Vi to flow in the direction of the movement of the sun
*iyə Vi to flow Prefixed form ɣiyə, iyə, ngiyə, niyə, tiyə, tiyə
iyu Vt to guard, to look after
*iʌh Vt to open, to turn on Prefixed form kʰiʌh, tʰiʌh
iku (*iku) Vt to round something up from downstream
*iiku Vt to enclose, to circle around Prefixed form ɣiku, iku, niku, tiku
imi Vi (grain, etc.) to become stale
*iInde Vt to turn on (water lights, etc.) Prefixed form ɛndɛ, kʰInde
indu (*indu) Vt to push (a cart) towards downstream
*iIndu Vt to push (a cart) Prefixed form ɣindu, Indu, ngindu, nindu, tiIndu, tiIndu
indu (*indzu) Vt to point in the downstream direction
*indzu Vt to point in a certain direction, to point with something Prefixed form ɣindzu, indzu, kʰIndzu, ngindzu, nindzu, tʰIndzu, tIndzu
indzə (*indza) Vt to heap up (grains, etc.), to pile something up
*indza Vt to pour (water) Prefixed form ɣindza, Indzə
indzə (*indze) Vt to fly downstream
*indze Vt to fly Prefixed form ɣindze, Indzə, ngindzə, nindzə, tʰIndzə, tIndzə
indzəle Vt to lick
indzɨ Vt to give birth to, to be born
*inga (Free Variant *onga) Vt to pick (firewood, etc.) Prefixed form ɛngə, tʰingə
ini Vt to take a rest
*intsʰo  Vd to return Prefixed form ngintsʰó, tʰintsʰó
inyo  Vt to chant, to recite (a Buddhist scripture)
iró (*ira)  1 Vt to separate into shares and distribute, to share with 2 Vd to assign a task to someone
*iра  Vt to separate, to share Prefixed form ira, nira
iró (*iro)  Vt to overtake by going downstream
*iro  Vt to overtake Prefixed form yiró, iró, kʰiró, ngoró, niró, tʰiró, tiró
irú (*iru)  Vt to warm up from (the sun)
*iru  Vt to warm up from (the sun, fire, etc.) Prefixed form irú, kʰirú
isi (*si,)  Vt to pick from
*isu  Vt 1 to harvest 2 to confiscate Prefixed form ngisu, tiṣu
itsū  Vt to sweat
itsūro  adv sometimes
itsʰi (*itsʰi)  Vt to jump
*itsʰi  Vt to jump Prefixed form yitsʰi, itsʰi, ngitsʰi, nitsʰi, tʰitsʰi, titʰi
*itsi  Vd to borrow, to lend Prefixed form kʰitsi, tʰitsi
itsʰá  Vt to teach
itsū (*tsū)  Vt to warm up by fire
*itṣu  Vt to mix together, to stir, to shake Prefixed form yitṣu, titṣu
ivi (*ivi)  Vt to send someone downstream
*ivi  Vt to send off Prefixed form ivi, ivi, ngivi, nivi, thivi, tivi

k

ká (Free Variant vá,) n the lower side of someone
käsí (from Cn guanxi 国信) n backdoor connection, illicit personal relation
káká Free Variant of kuákua
kalé (Free Variant kalépu) n chest
kalépu Free Variant of kalé
kamé n middle-aged person
kará n crow
karatā́ adj bad, awful
katiśe (Dialectal Variant kʰutʰótsê; kʰutitše) (Compound of tše ,) n puppy
*ka clf classifier for kind
káká Free Variant of káro
kóc (Dialectal Variant kǎntʰo) n the top side of a mountain
kǎnlů (from Cn ganglu 烏鹊) n a major piece of furniture, used for cooking, boiling water and warming
káro (Free Variant kaká) adj near Prefixed form kʰuká
káro 1) adj great, excellent, awesome, severe 2 Vn to be afraid of
kótó Dialectal Variant of kcmú
ké (Cf. Tib khyigs མ་ས) n family
ké tótsa (Phrasal Verb of keké) Vt to delay, to hold up, to waste time
keké n pack harness
keké adj to be free, to have time Phrasal Verb ké tótsa, nika nike
*kerz Vt to climb (mountains, trees, etc.) Prefixed form nákerz, tákerr
köl n floor
koló (Chinese loan variant petó) n a basket carried on the back
kóló Free Variant of gondži
kómí (from Tib rku ma བཞི) n thief
komitá (from Cn guomindang 国民党) n Kuomintang, Chinese Nationalist Party
*kara Vt to yell, to shout, to call out aloud Prefixed form ára₁, ēkara, ykara, ngákara,
nókara, tákara, thókara
koré adv a little
kotač (from Tib bga’ བག་) n toasted wheaten food, including pancakes and dumplings
kotú Dialectal Variant of tçgé
ké (from Tib bka’ བཀ) n command, order
kčpc adj for a long time
**kče** (from Tib ka ba བ་) n column, pillar, pillar space (the space between the pillars in a room, used as a unit to measure room size)

**kčét** n a stone wall for protecting cattle from going into farmland, with stairs on both sides, now out of use

**kčoh** Free Variant of *kcmú*

**kčmé** (Dialectal Variant *ndživa*, Archaic form *tswú*) (from Tib skar ma གར་མ་) n 1) star 2) workpoint, as a measure of work done

**kcmú** (Dialectal Variant *katá*, Free Variant *kché*) 1) n the front part of something, long before 2) *adv* first

**kčnó lánteº* Tibetan loan of *yoyí páre*

**kčtei kńja* adj very good

**kčyi** *qt* many, much

**kčtio** n a kind of medicinal herb

**kčtsó* adj broken, non-intact

*kčhá* adj (wine, dish, color, etc.) concentrated, dense, salty  

*kčha* *Vi* to rain, to become cloudy

**kčhyá** n rim, brink (of death, etc.)

**kčhmé adv** have to, must (predicate needs to be negated)

**kčnánº Free Variant of *daméni***

**kčhépº (from Tib unknown) n** to compare unrealistically, to keep up with the Joneses

**kčté** (Tib kha btags བཏགས) n a piece of silk used as a greeting gift among the Tibetan and Mongol people

**kčtšó adv** more than, over

**kčhé (Cf. Tib khebs ཁེབས) n** quilt, bedding

**kčkéh** adj cheap

**kčlesº** n winning

**kčléñaº** n owl

**kčléº (Free Variant *di*, Tibetan loan variant *porá*) n a round container, typically made of aluminum, for storing barley powder

**kčrénº Free Variant of *tskgréº***

**kčész (Free Variant *vē*) n** side, rim (of a lake, road, etc.)

**kčész** Dialectal Variant of *kčepé*

**kčész** n words, conversation, talk, chat

**kčepé** *clf* classifier for group

**kčepcº (Compound of *kčé*) *Vi* to boast

**kčeyáº** *Vi* to boil

**kčkéheº *Vi* to surpass, to come to the age of

**kčkéh (Archaic form *lóke*) 1) *adv* different, other, two 2) *Vi* to divorce

**kčéláº *Vi* to do something ceremonially (such as plowing) on a specific day because that day is suitable for doing that

**kčéléº (Archaic form *ngukó*) (Cf. Tib kha leb གེ་ལེབ) n cover, lid

**kčénº (from Tib ‘khar rnga རྣ་) n gong**

**kčepáº (pápáº) *Vi* to make wet

**kčepéº (Dialectal Variant of *kčész*) Free Variant of *tátaº***

**kčctáº n** to deduct (the amount of money, etc.)

**kčétáº *Vi* to clip

**kčtúº *Vi* to meet, to encounter

**kčtúº *Vi* to share with

**kčttóº (Archaic form *túme*) (from Cn kuaizi 筷子) n chopsticks

**kčtšóº (from Tib kha dro དོ་) n** good fortune, auspicious, of good omen or appearance

**kčtšenáº (*seŋa) *Vi* to listen

**kčtúº *Vi* to carry on a bike

**kčtúº *Vi* to buy

**kčtšxº (tsíº) *Vi* to be useful, to be helpful

**kčvº (Free Variant *khuva*) *Vi* to hide away

**kčzº (‘xzº) *Vi* to hide away something

**kń, *Vi* to go to sleep

**kńº, n** brother
kʰíhɛ́ Vt to open (door)
kʰikɛ́ Vt to carry
kʰikɛ́ Vt 1) to steam 2) to put something away
kʰikú (*ku₄) Vt to cool down something
kʰili Vt to wait
kʰima Vt to ask
kʰimí (mi₂) Vt to name
kʰindo (*inds) Vt to turn on lights
kʰindu (ndundu) Vt to become granular
kʰindzú (*indzu) Vt to point at
kʰindzũ Vt to be smeared with, to get smeared
kʰinju Vt to itch
kʰipó (*popo) Vt to make damp
kʰiró (*iro) Vt to overtake
kʰiru (*iru) Vt to warm up by a fire
kʰitso Vt to frighten, to browbeat
kʰitsé Vt to cook
kʰitsé (*tsʰetsʰe) Vt to make thin, to begrudge
kʰitsi, Vt 1) to learn 2) to teach
kʰitsi (*itsi) Vt to borrow something from someone
kʰiyɛ́ (Dialectal Variant ngiyɛ́) Vt to embrace, to hug, to encircle something with two arms
kʰomóli Tibetan loan of li kʰonpa Tibetan loan of tsé
kʰonpé (from Tib kham bu ṭsṅ) n peach
kʰó adj deceased, dead
kʰóso n wooden case
kʰoyó Free Variant of kʰuyó
kʰolé (from Tib unknown) n house-building
kʰolé (*ola) 1) Vt to drive (cars) 2) Vt to release livestock into the field after harvest 3) Vt to present something to someone
kʰontsa Vt to marry
kʰópa n stature, figure
kʰóra Vt to start doing something
kʰosá (Phrasal Verb of kʰusá) Free Variant of kʰusá Vt to do bad things, do sinful things
kʰososó Vt to stroke, to feel with the hand
kʰosú Vt 1) to light up (a fire, cigarette, etc.) 2) to provide something
kʰoyú Vt toladle up and pour back
kʰōsa Vt to stop work for the day, to knock off
kʰū 1) post in Compound sakʰu₂ 2) n inside 3) n valley, used in place name
kʰusó (Free Variant kʰúphu) Vt to offer something to a god
kʰusú (*usw) Vt to preserve, to look after
kʰusú Vt to make
kʰudžu Vt to commit, to do sinful things
kʰudži (*udži) Vt to get, to come by, to line up
kʰukámi (Compound of *mi) n thief
kʰukó Free Variant of hákʰukó
kʰula Vt to sing out (as in a story or opera)
kʰundžó Vt to become, to do (honoric form)
kʰuntešů Vt to worship, to pay homage to
kʰunyú (nyú) Vt can (speak a certain language, drive a car, etc.)
kʰunju Vt to stir fry
kʰuphu Free Variant of kʰusó
kʰutse Vt to laugh at
kʰútsu (Free Variant kʰútsu) (*utsu) Vt to wear (a flower, fake teeth, etc.)
kʰútsu (Free Variant kʰútsu) Vt to catch
kʰutsá Vt to set up a home, to settle down Phrasal Verb tʃó kʰutsú
kʰutsá Vt to obey (an order), to do
kʰútsō Vt to trace
kʰúwo (Dialectal Variant kʰúyo) (wó) Vt to tie
kʰuwú  Vt to burn (food for eating)
kʰuyɛ́ Vt to watch (TV, etc.)

kʰúyo Dialectal Variant of kʰúwo  Vt to tie
kʰuɛ̀ (from Tib khab) n injection
kʰuː, Vt 1) to exist 2) to have Prefixed form nokʰú

kʰuː n dog

*kwɛ́sɛ̀ Vt to pull (cart, etc.) Prefixed form ekʰwɛ́sɛ̀, yrkʰwɛ́sɛ̀, ngwukʰwɛ́sɛ̀, nokʰwɛ́sɛ̀, takʰwɛ́sɛ̀, tɔkʰwɛ́sɛ̀

kʰusɔ̀ (‘so’ Vt to come out Phrasal Verb nintsʰū kʰusɔ̀

kʰusó, Dialectal Variant of yáro

kʰúʃu (*su) Vt 1) to possess, to control 2) to sleep together with

kʰudɛ̀ (dedé) Vt to become wide

kʰudɛ̀ (*dɛ̀) Vt to feed (dogs, pigs, etc.) by throwing something to them

kʰudzil, Vt to dampen, to make wet

kʰudzil (*dzi) Vt to hit the target

kʰudzào, (dzódzɔ̀) Vt to excess

{kʰudzə̀, (*dzɔ̀) Vt 1) to type in a computer 2) to inject 3) to play (cards, mahjong, etc.) 4) to brush 5) to build

kʰudzɔ̀ (*dɔ̀) Vt to put something on someone’s back

kʰuyɔ́ (Free Variant kʰɔ́yɔ́) Vt to help

kʰu̥ká (káro) Vt to get near, to come close

kʰukɔ̀ (*ko) Vt to dig for (potatoes, etc.)

kʰukú (*ku) Vt to freeze, to become cold

kʰulá n puppy

kʰúma Vt to fall into asleep

kʰumɛ̀ Vt to smear something on something, to spread, to apply

kʰündù (ndù) Vt to converge (e.g., two trees grow towards each other)

kʰündzà Vt to ride (a bike)

kʰündzo (Archaic form retɔ̀) (*ndzo) Vt 1) (cars, etc.) to stop abruptly 2) to gather up, to have a meeting

kʰündzɛ̀ndzə̀ Vt to peek

kʰündzə̀ Vt to stick (or glue, or paste) something onto something

kʰúngɔ̀ Vt to consider, to think about

kʰunkɛ̀ Vt to win

kʰunɔ̀ (nŏ́nố) Vt to be early

kʰŭntsentsɛ̀ (ntentsɛ̀) Vt to be reverent and respectful, to be extremely deferential

kʰundred (the appointed time) arrive 2) Vt to purchase, to buy, to amass wealth in a greedy way 3) Vt to be enough

kʰunù Vt to try, to taste

kʰupà (papà) Vt to get wet (from rain, etc.)

kʰupù Vt to beg

kʰúpo (*po) Vt to immerse something in water

kʰurá n dust

kʰùra (rɛ̀) Vt to cultivate (land)

kʰurí Vt to write, to paint

kʰusà (Free Variant kʰosà) Vt to do (good things or bad things) Phrasal Verb tsʰóte kʰosà

kʰusù Vt (sun) rise

kʰusùne Vt to sniff at

kʰutà Vt 1) to determine based on something 2) to bury

kʰutápu Vt to acquire, to merger

kʰутsà Vt (dirt, etc.) to stick onto something, to adhere onto

kʰútʊ Vt to move to a new place

kʰútʊ (*tsʰʊ) Vt to tie something to something

kʰútɔ̀ (*tsɔ̀) Vt to verify

kʰútɔ̀sɔ̀ (*tsɔ̀r) Vt to look

kʰútɔ̀sɔ̀ (*tsɔ̀) Vt (kings, etc.) to emerge, to arise

kʰútɔ̀tsɔ̀ (*tsɔ̀tsɔ̀) Vt to urge someone to do something

kʰútɔ̀sù Free Variant of kʰútɛ̀sù

kʰútà (*ts) Vt to spray

kʰútà (*ts) Vt 1) to be sick, to get infected with a disease, to infect someone with a disease 2) to beg for (food, etc.)
kʰɯtʰótsʰe Dialectal Variant of katítɕe
kʰɯtʰu Vi to be one’s turn
kʰɯtʰítɕe Dialectal Variant of katítɕe
kʰɯtʰó Vi to meet, to encounter
kʰɯtsátsʰo Vi to be careful, to be cautious
kʰɯtsʰe (tsʰétsʰe) Vi to be thin
kʰɯtsʰótsʰo (*tsʰotsʰo) Vi almost
kʰɯtsʰu Free Variant of kʰɯtsʰu
kʰutsí Dialectal Variant of notsí
kʰɯtíti Vt to meet
kʰɯtsó (*tsótso) Vi to meet, to encounter
kʰɯtsɑ́to Vi to be careful, to be cautious
kʰɯtsʰé (tsʰétsʰe) Vi to be thin
kʰɯtsʰótsʰo (*tsʰotsʰo) Vi almost
kʰɯ́ tsʰu Free Variant of kʰútsʰu
kʰɯtsí Dialectal Variant of notsí
kʰɯtsó (*tsótso) Vi to meet, to encounter
kʰɯtsɑ́to Vi to be careful, to be cautious
kʰɯtʂé (tʂe) Vt to spray, to pour
kʰɯ́ tʂәtɕʰɛ Vt to prepare
kʰɯtʂɛ́ (tʂɛ) Vi to arrive
kʰɯtʂʰә́nɑ Vi to scratch
kʰɯtʂó Vt to sew (cloth)
kʰɯ́ tu Vt to infect
kʰɯ́ tʃɛ́ Vi to arrive
kʰɯyǘ n a kind of butter tea made in the old days
kʰɯ́ zәzo (*zәzo) Vt to pile up, to stack up
kʰɯzö́ Vt to catch, to capture
kʰɯʑɯ́ Vt to apply for, to request Phrasal Verb gónba kʰɯʑɯ́
kí (Dialectal Variant kúi, Tibetan loan variant lönö, lo ngo, ལོ་ངོ) n year, age Compound
kítsʰo Preϐixed form tʰokí
kí n key
kikí adj slow
kiko adj big, tall Preϐixed form tʰikó, Superlative form ziko
kindźu Vi to kneel
kitsʰo (Compound of kí) n age limit
kó Dialectal Variant of wó
kó Free Variant of hákʰukó
koyá n steamed wheaten food
kókó adj insufficient, lacking
kokú n large hawk-cuckoo
kólo adj 1 difficult, hard, laborious 2 exhausting, burdensome
konitsʰó n the opposite side of a mountain
kóri n place
kórtʰó Free Variant of yuri
kotsé Free Variant of tʰotsé
kóteʰü n fighter
kóteʰu n a cover term for all kinds of milk products
koté n horse harness
kóvo súsui adj arrogant, proud
kovó phůla (Compound of phůla) n cattle egret
kovůteʰó Free Variant of ýyvá
kɔ post in (sky, water, fire)
kɔ́ (Cf. Tib gong གོ) n price
kɔ́ n horse bridle
kɔ́ n raw flour Compound kovó
kɔ́ n vegetable garden
*ko Vt to dig Preϐixed form akó, Pluractional form kʰɯkóka
kɔkó adj unripe, raw, uncooked
kokɔtsee (Free Variant verakótsi) (Compound of tsee ) n piglet
kɔlí (from Cn tongli 公里) n kilometer
kómä n pickax
kɔntʰɔ Free Variant of yuri
kɔpɑ n garlic Compound yarəkɔ́pɑ
kɔreła n a kind of food
kɔrɔ adj crooked Compound tʰɔkɔ́rɔ
kösé (from Cn gongsi 公司) n shop, store
kótsɛ adv really (used with negated predicate)
kōtsʰɛ (Compound of tsʰɛ) n small rat
kōvó (Compound of kɔ́) n raw barley flour
kù, aux to be able to do, to have the ability to do
kù₂ n quiver
*kù₁ Vt to freeze, to become cold Prefixed form kʰikú, kʰuwukú
*kù₂, Vb verbal action classifier for the number of time(s) an action is performed
kuá́kua (Free Variant káka) (from Cn guagua 瓜瓜) n vegetable or fruit name that contains the morpheme gua 'melon' in Chinese
kúc (Cf. Tib khungs བོད་གཉེན་) n reason why, principle
kuí Dialectal Variant of kí₁
kuɑ́kuɑ (Free Variant káka) (from Cn guagua 瓜瓜) n vegetable or fruit name that contains the morpheme gua 'melon' in Chinese
kúɛ (Cf. Tib khungs བོད་གཉེན་) n reason why, principle
kúi Dialectal Variant of kí₁
kúkɛ n zigzag path
kukupɑ́pɑ n turtle dove
kúntʂʰɛ (Cf. Tib sku 'dra DZ་འȮ religious image) n reincarnated soul
kutɕö́ Vt to castrate (pigs or cattle)
kúwɛ n collar
*kuwɛ (Tibetan loan variant *görɛ 1) Vt to circle around something 2) n circle Prefixed form nokúwɛ, təkúwɛ, tʰokúwɛ
kúʑo (Tibetan loan variant tʂә́ku, sprul sku ɇལ་DZ) n living Buddha, tulku
kɯ́ kʰɯ Vt to steal
kɯtsʰɯ́ n hoof

lá n 1) newly married woman 2) bride 3) fiancée
ladzö́ (from Tib lag 'ju ལག་འཇིུ) n door handle
lá (from Tib glang གླང་) n ox (the second of twelve Zodiacs)
*la Vt (bottles, etc.) to fall Prefixed form álala, nélala, tʰélala
láśu (from Tib lag shubs ལག་ཐུབས) n glove
layó (Tibetan loan variant tšeokhā, mchod khang, སྦེ་བུ་ཆེན་) n 1) shrine room, chapel 2) used to vouch for that what was said is true
lákhc n grasp, control, hand
lálo (Tibetan loan variant lopá, lung pa, ལུང་པ་) n valley
lalɒmé Dialectal Variant of tcnimé
lámu n surplus, extra, excess
lnaputsʰé (from Tib glang chen ལླང་ཆེན་) n elephant
lé₁ Free Variant of so₁
lé₂ (from Tib las sə) n 1) karma, deed 2) predestined relationships
lé post on
lé₁ Free Variant of rile
lé₂ n outside
*le Vt to pay (money) Prefixed form sîlé, ngulé, nólé
lesé (from Tib unknown) n partial labor; a term used during the agricultural cooperation movement
lédzǔ (Tibetan loan variant tsʰuntshó, byung tshul, སྒྲབས་གྲུབ་) (from Tib lo rgyus སྒྲུབ་) n history, records, back
lénc (from Tib unknown) n career, affair, business
lengǒ (from Tib las 'gan ལེའ་གནས་) n assignment, duty, task, responsibility
lengú (from Tib unknown) n grown-up, adult
lenpú (from Tib klan pu གླུན་པུ་) n answer, reply
lénpu (from Tib unknown) n bodyguard
lenu n moon
lesṑpɛ (from Tib la sogs pa ལ་སོགས་པ་) prt and so on
lesú (from Tib unknown) n full labor; a term used during the agricultural cooperation movement
lewé n sweater
lewé wúza (Compound of wúza) n white wagtail (a bird)
le (from Tib lha z) n god Compound lezó
lę (from Tib bla w) n wool
lezó n thigh
lezó u (Tibetan loan variant lezó u, lha mtscho, g tsho) (Compound of le, su) n holy lake
lékê (from Tib las ka su) n work, thing
lékê c (from Tib la kha su) n mountain pass
lém (Dialectal Variant núng r) (from Tib bla ma su) n lama Compound wúzalmc
lém ù (from Tib unknown) n a particular genre of song, sung in Tibetan Phrasal Verb
lém ù c (Phrasal Verb of lém ù) Vi used to praise good singers
lępc (from Tib gla pa su) n working for others, employee, wage-worker
lcrí (Free Variant of locyteu) n traditional song
lcrí ù (Tibetan loan of lcrí) n soul, spirit
létó n method, way, manner
léttse (Cf. Tib gla cha su) n salary, payment
léttse n the top end of a valley
lcyu Free Variant of lcrí
lezó (from Tib lha bzo su) (Compound of le) n painter
lř n milk Compound lrmí, lřtsehi, lřtse
lř n badger
lrmí (Compound of lř) n cowboy
lřó (Free Variant of peki
lřtsehi (Compound of lř, teitehi) n a machine used for processing milk
lřtahí Vi to brag, to boast, to joke
lřtsé (Compound of lř) n a kind of yogurt
lì (Tibetan loan variant kmomóli) (from Tib li z) n bronze
*tli clf classifier for month Compound lipó
lipó (Compound of *tlì) n half a month
lò Free Variant of lóthó
*lò clf general classifier
lòdè (Cf. Tib lo z) n a certain year of one of the twelve zodiac signs
lòdè (from Tib slob grwa z) n school
logó (from Tib rlung sgo z) n skylight, window
lòkó n the four season
*lóló Vt to carry, to move Prefixed form élóló, ýrlóló, ngúlóló, nóóló, télóló,
*thóló
lomá (from Tib ló ma z) n leaf
lòndè n end of the year
lonýe n handle of a cup
lönžó Tibetan loan of kí
losó (from Tib slob gso z) n education Phrasal Verb losó kútso
losó kútso (Phrasal Verb of losó) Vi to receive education
losû (Free Variant lusû) (from Tib lugs srol z) n tradition, custom, rule
lòté Tibetan loan of ñuy
lòtê (Free Variant lò) (from Tib blo thabs z) n idea, thought
*ló Vt to change position Prefixed form nálo, néló
lakc Archaic form of kěkčé
lınthù n earring of females
lóte (Cf. Tib dar z) n flag
lu (from Tib lug z) n goat (the eighth of twelve Zodics)
lù (Tibetan loan variant tunko, dung dkar, z) n conch shell
lúkè (from Cn lüguan z) n hotel
lüsó (from Tib lo gsar ལོ་སྒར) n new year, spring festival Compound lüsótɕe
lüsótɕe (Compound of lüsó, tɕe) n a spring festival celebrated according to the Tibetan calendar
lusú Free Variant of lösú
luwɛ́ (from Tib long ba ལོང་བ) n blind person, blind, to be blind Compound nɯgɯ́ luwɛ
lɯ́ lo (from Tib lo thog ལོ་ཐོག) n 1) barley plant 2) farm crop
mámɛ́ (from Tib dmag དམག) n soldier, army
manɯ́ n toe
maŋɛ́ (from Tib sman ɥན) n medicine Compound me me
mepɛ́ (from Tib sman pa ɥན་པ) n doctor
meɛ́ n afternoon (between five and six)
memɛ́ (from Tib sman kang ɥན་ཁང) n hospital
memí n a person who has nothing
mepú (from Tib sman pa ɥན་པ) n doctor
mepɛ́métɕe adj pink
mә́ro (Dialectal Variant sɛvә́) n 1) next year 2) generation
mә́te n siblings, brothers and sisters
mәtí (from Tib mu tig ɞ་ཏིག) n pearl
matsá 1) young girl 2) a woman who is the head of the family
matsá 1) adj only 2) adv certainly 3) prt otherwise
matsé 1) n a kind of fungus, called shiitake (毛耳) in Chinese
membé n grandmother
mendé n old woman Compound deméndce, yüméndc
metsé (from Tib rma bya ถ้าย) n peacock
mi (Free Variant mipu) n right side Compound míngo, míropo
mí, má n name Compound miki, mi, P'omi
mí 1) (Cf. Tib mig ถ้าย) n eye Compound mimo, mirobo, nomipé
mí, má 1) wool
*mí n person, agentive nominalizer Compound k'ukómi, memí, p'úmi, t'áyími, t'ún-
míbarmi
mibé (from Tib mig dpe ถ้ายย) n example, model
mikc (Compound of mí) n fame, reputation
mimó (Compound of mí, mò) n eyebrow and eyelash
mindé (from Tib me mda' ถ้ายยย) n gun, rifle
mingo (Compound of ngó, mi) n right leg
mítséha n mushroom Compound csimítséá Compound ndž mítséha
mipu Free Variant of mi
mirónbo (Compound of mí, renbó) n eyelid
miro Free Variant of miropo
miro (Free Variant miro) (Compound of mí) n right hand
mití n family, household
mítsáwé Free Variant of mitséña
mítséña n the earring or adornment that is attached to the ear of cattle
mítséwá (Free Variant mitsáwé) (from Tib mi gtsang ba ถ้ายยยย) n dirt, filth, the
mítsé (Free Variant tsé) (from Tib mi tshé ถ้ายยย) n lifetime, lifespan, longevity
mo Tibetan loan of vás
mó n 1) mother 2) daughter Compound yamó, nemo, uyimo, vomó, zamó
mo-pfx negative prefix
módzé n instep
mokc Dialectal Variant of únré
mondávoló n Shank
moni (from Tib ma ni s'á) n jewel, prayer-wheel, things relating to Buddhism Com-
ponent moni dönpó, moni k'ólo, moni tšic, moni tšukhó, moni tókó
moni dönpó (from Tib ma ni rdo phun ถ้ายย) (Compound of moni) n the mani
prayer-engraved on a rock
moni k'ólo (from Tib ma ni 'khor lo ถ้ายย) (Compound of moni) n hand-held
prayer-wheel
moni tšic (Free Variant moni tšic) (from Tib ma ni phreng ba ถ้ายย) (Compound of
moni) n rosary, Buddhist prayer beads
moni tšukhó (Compound of moni) n a prayer-wheel built on a small creek and is
turned by a water wheel
moni tókó (Compound of moni) n a big prayer-wheel, spun around by people as
they walk around it; also refers to a small building that contains a prayer wheel
moni tšic Free Variant of moni tšic
monkhi (Free Variant monkki) n chin
monkki Free Variant of monkhi
mópsa aux won't
mopu Tibetan loan of nyínyi
móse (from Tib dmár ser ถ้ายย) adj golden yellow
motó (Cf. Tib rma rjes ถ้ายย) n scar
motu n a kind of fungus
mɔ̃, n seed
mɔ̃, n hair, body hair Compound yámo, mimó, rantímó, samó
mɔ̃ (from Tib mo mo ถ้ายย) n steamed dumpling
mɔ́ndé (from Tib rmongs dad ถ้ายยย) n old tradition, superstition, blind faith
mõngõ Dialectal Variant of mú̃, Free Variant of mú̃,
mónyɔ n 1) woman 2) wife
mɔ̀ɔ̀ n heel
mú Vc to exist, to have Prefixed form tʰomú
mudɛ̃ (Cf. Tib gdan ནད་) n seat, cushion
mudó (Cf. Tib rdo ་) n stone
múlo (from Tib smon lam བོམ་ལམ་) n benediction, wish, prayer Phrasal Verb múlo tadzó
múlo tadjó (Phrasal Verb of múlo) Vi to make a wish
mányɛ́ n Munya Compound manyésu, manyéwu
mányésu (Compound of mányɛ́, sú) n Munya language
mányéwu (Compound of mányɛ́, -u) n Munya people
musó (Cf. Tib mo gzhon མོ་གཞོན་) n adolescent female (between 17 and 18)
mú Free Variant of mutakúru
múa (Dialectal Variant mǒŋo, Free Variant mǒngɔ) n 1) sky 2) weather Compound
munda, múŋŋʉ̀w
mú, (Cf. Tib me རེ) n fire Compound músatɛ̀, múdó, múkʰů́, múkʰʊra, múŋkʰu
mú yxtʰù (Phrasal Verb of yxtʰù) Vi to make a fire and cook
músatɛ̀ (Compound of mú,) n a stone to keep embers alive
múdó (from Tib me dong རེ་དོང་) (Compound of mú,) n fire pit
muyɔ̀ n striped loach (a fresh water fish)
mukʰů́ (Compound of mú,) n chimney, a hole in the roof
múkʰʊra (Compound of mú,) n ash
mûmu n wind
mûnda (Compound of mú,) n rain
mûŋŋû n person
mûŋkʰu (Compound of mú,) n smoke Compound múŋkʰu budó
mûŋkʰu budó (Compound of múŋkʰu) n chimney
mûnukákà adj naked
mûnuŋnu n white-browed bush robin, black redstart
mûŋŋunu (Compound of mú,) adj blue
mutakûru (Free Variant mú,) n tail
mutsʰû n a kind of plant

n
náda, Free Variant of nóda
nádà Vi to sing
nayf Vi to be late
nákara Free Variant of nókara
nãna adj smooth, glossy
nãntsʰe Vi to arch one’s back
napudɔ̀ntʰi n white-bellied black woodpecker
nató Vi to get stuck, to have a stuffy nose
nató̀ (*tô) Vi to go and get something down
nátèl (*vola) Vi to roll down
náyo n care
názx (*zx) Vi to conceal something from someone
nádzó (dzó) Vi to hit something by throwing a stone downward (downhill or down¬stair¬s)
náyo (*yɔ) Vi to wash (clothes)
nókér (*kér) Vi to climb down
nàkʰa (*kʰa) Vi to rain, to snow
nàkʰã (*kʰã) Vi to become thin
nàlo (*lɔ) Vi (lamas, nuns, etc.) to return to or resume secular life
nàmo dzódzó n name of a kind of grass seed
nàndó (*ndó) Vi to make a mistake unintentionally
nàndzo Vi to process (milk)
nàndza Vi to rain, to snow
nàndžotsite (from Tib unknown) n round shaped pagoda
nângâ (ngá) Vi to cry Pluractional form nângângâ
nângângâ (nângâ) Vi (many people) to cry
nântë’ Vi to arrange seats for a party
nântṣ’u Vi to lose one’s way, to be wrong
nâpame (pamé) Vi to be abundant, to be not scarce
nâp’ά Free Variant of nép’ά
nâp’cdza (p’cdzaa) Vi to follow someone downward
nâp’ (pa) Vi to relocate downstream
nâra (ra) Vi to go down
nasá’ Vi a religious action performed by a lama done by puffing at something while reciting Buddhist scripture
nâsâṣa (*sása) Vi to wipe (desk, stove, etc.)
nasó’ Vi to say (honoforic form)
nâtsâtsa (*tsotsa) Vi to chase by going downward (downhill or downstairs)
nâwu (Cf. Tib nags ནགས) n forest
nâza’ Vi to harvest
nâzo’ Va to use up, to exhaust
nâbá (Free Variant tsûtsu) n male organ
nâbahi’ n deaf person
*nâbá Va (glasses, road, etc.) to break, to be ruined Prefix form ânba, nép’ά, nónba
nâbagó’ n female dancing costume
nbenbâ’ adj many
nâtsâ (Cf. Tib ’bu བུ) n 1) worm, insect, bug Compound tsûnbercmi, tsûro nbâtsa
2) caterpillar fungus, ophiocordyceps sinensis
nâbînsha n butterfly
nbí Vi 1) to sit, to stay 2) to live 3) (horse, car, etc.) to stop
nâbiyûza Free Variant of nboyû
nâbi’ adj (house, clothes, etc.) old, worn out
nâbö n candy, cookies, sweets
*nâbô Vi to dismiss, to dissolve Prefix form nonbó, thônbó
nboló’ n bee
nbonbó’ adj low
nðnbó’ adj wide (in diameter), thick Prefix form thônbó, Superlative form zánbó
nâbopó’ n a resting place for cattle on grazing land where there is no grass
nbori Dialectal Variant of nbû
nbotó’ n the top floor of a house, used to store grains Compound nbotó’ yálö
nbotó’ yálö (Compound of nbotó, yálö) n roof
nbovâ’ Free Variant of tsozé
nboyi’ Free Variant of nboyû
nboyû’ (Dialectal Variant akó, Free Variant nbiyûza; nboyi) n young calf
nbû’ (Dialectal Variant nbori, Tibetan loan variant ri, ri, نى) n mountain
nbutši’ n earring of males
ndârē’ n terraced fields
ndâva (Tibetan loan variant ndzûpu, mgron po. གྲོན་པོ) n guest, visitor
ndô’ aux once, used to, to have the experience of doing something
ndô’ (or) Vi 1) to play (a string instrument) 2) to knock
ndêhu (Compound of hû)’ n two nights after tomorrow night
ndêndehu (Compound of hû₂) n three nights after tomorrow night
ndênsi (Free Variant dêmarosi) (Compound of sî) n three days after tomorrow
ndênda’ n three years after next year
ndenpê’ n destruction, vandalism, damage
ndês’i (Compound of sî) n two days after tomorrow
ndêva’ n two years after next year
ndá’ Vc exist Prefix form thônda
nday’ (pa) Vi keeper
ndahâ’ n pea, as plant Compound ndahamô
ndahamó (Compound of ndəhá) n pea
ndákʰá (Tibetan loan variant ndzəpá, 'brog pa, 青稞 n) 1) herdsman 2) highland pasture
ndaré n cloud
nde (from Tib mda' མད་ n) n arrow
ndendé adj old Prefixed form tʰendé
ndź Free Variant of ndźpʰo Compound ndź mintʃʰa
ndź mintʃʰa (Compound of ndź, mintʃʰá) n a kind of fungus, called qinggangjun (青囊菌) in Chinese
ndźpʰo (Free Variant ndź) n beech tree
*ndō Vi to make a mistake unintentionally Prefixed form nandō, nendō, tʰandō, tʰendō
ndó (Tibetan loan variant sé, sha, s) n meat Compound ndómomo, zíndó
ndómomo (Compound of ndó, mómó) n steamed dumpling with meat filling
ndū, Vi to go Prefixed form ēndū, yńndū, kʰündū, ngündū, nándū, tándū, tʰándū
ndū n Kangding (name of a city)
*ndu clf classifier for drop
ndū n mold growing on milk
ndukʰá n the upper area of something
ndundú adj granular, powdery, sandy Prefixed form kʰíndū
ndžá n tree resin
ndžandzá adj cold Prefixed form ēndzá, tʰandzá
ndžanbúli (from Tib 'dzam bu gling ཐོམ་བུགྲིང) n the world, Land of Jambu (from Buddhism)
ndžandzá adj (knife, etc.) sharp
ndzendé (Č. Tib mzes mtson མཛཞེས་མཚོན) adj shy, over-polite
ndže 1) Vt to eat 2) n food, meal Compound ndzeyó, Prefixed form ēndze
ndzeyó (Compound of ndžó) n pot brush
ndži (Č. Tib gzig ལྷི་) n leopard
ndži, Tibetan loan of sásó
*ndzo Vi 1) to grow up 2) to stop 3) to gather up Prefixed form kʰündzo, tándzo
ndžó n bridge
ndžú n chisel
ndžu, n room
ndžuwe, Free Variant of nú ndzúwe Compound ndzuwe teč
ndžuwe, n ration for a journey
ndžuwe teč (Compound of ndzúwe, teč) n afternoon tea
ndžú n fox
ndžândza Dialectal Variant of ndzándza
ndžetʃʰá n figure, shape of body
ndže (from Tib 'bras sas) n rice Compound ndžesi, ndzetʃé, ndžetʃú
ndžesi (Compound of ndže) n cooked rice, with little water
ndžetʃé (Compound of ndžé, teč) n thin porridge
ndžetʃú (Compound of ndžé) n sticky porridge
ndže n elastic rope Compound sändža
ndžetʃhá n small-sized male yak
ndže mândžé (Compound of ndžéndžé) adj various, all kinds of
dndženbé n gum
ndžéndžé adj same, identical Compound ndžé mândžé, nyúndžé
ndźí n goose, crane, swan
ndźípú (from Tib 'bras bu བརས་འབབ་) n fruit, result, effect
ndźíva Dialectal Variant of kɛ́mɛ
ndźó aux to be used to, to have the experience of doing something
ndźó Tibetan loan of reka Compound ndźókó
ndźókó (Compound of ndźó) n a day that is suitable for going out
ndźó n large-sized male yak
ndźókó (from Tib 'gro khungs རིུའི་ཞུངས) n usefulness
ndźólé (Compound of ndzəpá, lɛ́kɛ́) n pastoral work
ndźóndža (Č. Tib 'bru rigs བྲུའི་རིག་) n grain, such as barley and wheat
ndʒɔsɔ́ Tibetan loan of ndakʰá Compound ndʒóle
ndʒɔsɔ́ (from Tib 'gro song ་ོོ་) n expense, cost, expenditure
ndʒu (from Tib 'brug ༡༢) n dragon (the fifth of twelve Zodiacs) Compound ndʒutánda
ndʒú (Tibetan loan variant thʊ́pɛ́, thug pa, བ་ག ད་) n porridge
ndʒulú (Cf. Tib lugs ῶག) n tradition, old custom
ndʒumó n wooden bucket
ndʒúpʰu Tibetan loan of ndáva
ndʒutánda (Compound of ndʒu) n thunder
ndʒuyi n dove
ndʒá n hoe
ndʒándža (Dialectal Variant ndʒándža) adj wet
ndʒándža adj to be good friends with each other, to snuggle
ndʒanjá n breathlessness, euphemism for death
ndʒaró n hole Compound zodә́ndʒaró
ndʒé, (from Tib 'ja' བ་) n 1) rainbow 2) solar halo; lunar halo
ndʒikú n other people
ndʒité (from Tib 'jig rten བ་ཅིག རྟེན) n world, universe
ndʒó n wall
ndʒú pro 1) other people 2) someone
ndʒú, Vt to have
ndʒú, n friend
ndʒúndžu Vt to have fun (by singing and dancing, etc.)
ndʒuweč (from Tib 'gyur ba ཆུས་བ) n change
ndʒú Vc exist Prefixed form tʰondʒú
ndʒúndžu adj thin
ndʒutša (from Tib 'jigs skrag བ་ཇིགས་ཅཀ་) n terror, fear, dread
né pro second person singular reflexive form
nengá n crime
nentsʰú (from Tib gnas tshul གནས་ལུས་) n situation, condition, circumstance
na prt 1) concessive clause linker 2) also
noká n the last day of a month
nôle n harrier
nápu (from Tib nor bu ན་ུ) n precious thing, gem, jewel
nátá n gum
nátó n vicinity, around
nátɛ́ Free Variant of nútɛ́
nató n 1) the right and appropriate time for doing something, red-letter day 2) time
natsé (Free Variant rɛ́tsʰé) n cloth
natsʰóts (tɛ́sʰó) Vt to slice, to cut
né 1) pro second person singular pronoun 2) prt associative plural marker 3) prt gen-
itive form of the plural marker
ncde (Free Variant nudɛ́) (*dɛ́ Vt 1) to make something fall, to smash 2) to throw
something down 3) to drive livestock downhill
ncdɛ́vuu (*devuu) Vt to blow off
nɛ́dʒa (*dʒa) Vd to hand over to
nɛ́dʒa Vt to soak
nɛ́dʒa n elephant trunk
nɛ́y régime n to return something to someone
nɛ́sk (*ngsk) Vt to break, to snap
nɛ́lo (*lɔ) Vt to knock over
nɛ́lo (*lɔ) Vt to remove, (an official, etc.) to be removed from a position
nɛ́ndó (*ndó) Vt to mistake something for something else, to make a mistake inten-
tionally
nɛ́ndžu Vt to become sore (because of toil)
nɛ́ngá (ngá) Vt to make someone cry
nɛ́ngɤ (*ngɤ) Vi (branches, sticks, etc.) to break
ncni pro second person plural ergative form
ncnі pro second person dual
ncnіɛ́ (from Tib) adj all kinds of, different kinds of
nɛ̄ŋpɛ́ (from Tib snon pa རྣོན་པ་) n increase, augment
nɛ̄ŋpɛ́ nantsʰö adj messy
ncpɑ́ (pɒpɒ) Vt to soak something
ncpɛ́ (from Tib gnod pa ཡནད་པ་) n something that causes harm, damage, harm
ncp'a (Free Variant náρpa) (*nba) Vt to break (glasses, bowls, stones, etc.), to ruin
ncp'é Vt to be close to one another
nɛ̄ŋra (ᵣا) Vt to share with each other
nɛ̄ŋsɒ́ (səsə) Vt to screw in
nɛ̄ŋtʰɛ́ Vt to press, to push down
nɛ̄ŋtsɛ́ (from Tib na tsha ལ་ཐོ་) n illness, disease
nɛ̄ŋts'á (*ts'a) Vd 1) to assign a task to someone 2) to hand something to someone
nɛ̄ŋtse (*tse) Vt to arrive from somewhere downward
nɛ̄ŋtsɛ́ (Compound of nǚ) n shadow
nɡangá adj 1) (stones, etc.) hard 2) prankish, playful
nɡatečɛ̄ n black-capped kingfisher
nɡá Vt to cry Prefixed form nánɡa, nénɡa
nɡáwuzɑ́ (Compound of wúza) adj purple
nɡé (from Tib ˈɡan ˈɡaṅ responsibility) n responsibility
nɡúkɛ́ra (*kɛ́ra) Vt to yell at the speaker
nɡaló ye raná, ngelo ranáme ye tsə tsa, rotó ngaló
nɡaló ye raná (Compound of ranamó, ngeló) n middle finger
nɡaló ranáme ye tsə tsa (Compound of ranamó, ngeló) n ring finger, lit. the one after the middle finger
nɡéz pro 1) first person singular genitive form 2) first person singular plus experiential form
nɡé, n clood of earth
nɡɛ̄dó (*to) Vt to gather something up
nɡɛ́rɛ (Cf. Tib mga rb ་བ) n blacksmith
nɡɛ́tša (*tša) Vd to return something back
*nɡt Vi (branches, sticks, etc.) to break Prefixed form nɛkt, nɛŋt
nɡitsʰú (Free Variant tsʰú, vá) post below, bottom
nɡi, n front side, positive side
nɡi, n Archaic form of dzɛmú
nɡidzú Vt to translate
nɡiyé (*iye) Vt to flow towards the speaker
nɡinduí (*induí) Vt to push (a cart, etc.) towards the speaker
nɡindzú (*indzú) Vt to point to the speaker
nɡindzé (*indže) Vt to fly towards the speaker
nɡintsʰö (*intsʰo) Vd to get something back from someone
nɡio Vt to show, to point out, to tell, to manifest
nɡiró (*iro) Vt to overtake
nɡisu (*isu) Vt to harvest
nɡitsʰi (*itsʰi) Vi to jump here
nɡivi (*ivi) Vi to send someone off
nɡiyɛ́ Dialectal Variant of kʰiyɛ́
ngo n leg, including foot Compound yánɡo, mingo, ngová
ngo₂ (Free Variant pu) n the higher side of somewhere
ngo² Free Variant of táta₂
nɡondzú n official position
nɡoṃs (Tibetan loan variant ngōtsʰi, 'go byed, གོའི' (from Tib 'go pa གོ་པ་) n chieftain, headman of a village
ngotó adj strong, mighty
ngōtsʰi Tibetan loan of nɡoṃs
ngová (Compound of ngó, vá) n sole of the foot
ngolé (*ọla) Vt 1) to drive (cars) towards the speaker 2) to release (cattle, etc.) towards the speaker
ngopó n name of a plant
ngoró n rain cap made of cattle hair
ngọsọ (*ọsọ) Vt to drive (cattle, etc.) towards the speaker
ngú n name of a kind of plant
ngú latch
*ngu Vt to incline, to stoop
Prefix form éngungu, nógungu
Pluralactional form éngungu
ngudzó (*udzó) Vt to send someone back
ngukó Archaic form of kʰčlo
ngukú (*uku) Vt to carry towards the speaker
ngutsé(*u) Vt to roll towards the speaker
ngú n iron wok; big round pot for boiling water
Compound ngú séle, ngumi
Composition zangú tɕe, ngú 2
num pfx eight
ngú séle (Compound of ngú) n a wok for cooking stir fry
ngúbọ (*bo) Vt to appear
ngúsọ (*so) Vt to retrospect
ngúsọ (*su) Vt to sneak into somewhere towards the speaker
ngude (*dé) Vt 1) to throw towards the speaker 2) to drive livestock towards the speaker
ngúdza (dzó) Vt to toss towards the speaker
nguíhi (*ihi) Vt to become cloudy
nguíkú (*kho) Vt to pull towards the speaker
nguíkó (Free Variant pʰcsú) n a coat made from cow hide
nguílé (*le) Vt to get payment, to be paid
nguílo n the bottom edge of something
nguíloló (*lolo) Vt to carry towards the speaker
ngumí (Compound of ngú) n soot on the wok
ngündú (ndú) Vt to go towards the speaker
ngúntès (*ntès) Vt to pull towards the speaker
ngúpɛdza (*pɛdzá) Vt to follow someone
ngupó (popó) Vt to become damp
ngupsó (*psó) Vt to relocate to a place towards the speaker
ngurá (ra,) Vt to come
nguoro (ró,) Vt to come
ngúta (*ta) Vt to come to oneself, to regain consciousness, (water) to become clear
ngúta (*ta) Vt to escape towards the speaker
ngúteš (*tši,) Vt to escape toward the speaker
ngúteš (*tši,) Vt to bring something towards the speaker
ngútorí (*tori) Vt to look towards the speaker
nguto (*tso) Vt to emerge, to arise
ngútsoto (*tštso) Vt to chase, to pursue
nguțaú n red-billed chough, yellow-billed chough
ngútʰú (*thú) Vt to come
ngútso (*tso) Vt to run towards the speaker
ngútsé Vn to retrospect, to think, to miss
Phrasal Verb mekʰú ngútsé
ngúvula (*vala) Vt to roll towards the speaker
ní (from Tib gnyis findAll) num two
nî Free Variant of nyakʰasórō
ngá (Tibetan loan variant nyctshá, nyal khri, ɔpá) n bed
niye (*iye) Vt to flow downward
nika n the side of the face (from the middle of the nose to the ear)
nika (*iku) (Phrasal Verb of keké) Vt to busy about
niku (*iku) Vt to enclose counterclockwise
niku (*ku) Vt to bend
nilo n marriage
nime (from Tib nyi ma findAll) n day, time
nindü (*indü) Vt 1) push (a cart, etc.) downward 2) to destroy, to annihilate
nindzú (*ndzu) Vt to point downward
nindzê (*ndža) Vt to pour (water), to rain heavily
nindzê (*ndža) Vi to fly down
nindzø Vt to pay back
ninga (*inga) Vt to pick (firewood, etc.)
ninko* n chest, position of the heart
ninkoko adj (space) dark
nino n the second plowing of the land after harvest is finished
ninpe (from Tib nying pa པི་ཉིི་) adj old Compound riné ninpe
ninten*tic adj (objects) black
nintsʰü kʰusó (Phrasal Verb of kʰusó) Vt to feel homesick, to feel gloomy
nipæso (*pæso) Vt to tear down (a house), to demolish
nipe (Free Variant anipe) (from Tib nying pa པི་ཉིི་) 1) num second 2) n February
nipʰi (*pi) Vt 1) to extinguish 2) to turn off (lights, TV, machine, etc.)
rir (*ira) Vt to separate into two parts
ri Vi to smile
riró (*iro) Vt to overtake by going downhill
nitsæo (Cf. Tib nyi shar བཀྲ་ཤིར) n the time of sunrise
nitsu adj lazy
nîtrœ (têrœ) Vt to spill, to funnel down
nîth Vi to tread, to trample
nîtsʰi (*itsʰi) Vt to jump down
nîtsʰü (Dialectal Variant si têrœ) n homesickness
nîtsi n blanket
nivi (*ivi) Vt to send someone off downward
niyi Free Variant of niyo
niyo (Free Variant niyi) Vt to hang something up
nóbo (*bo) Vt to appear from above
nósó (*so) Vi to appear
nósu (*su) Vt to sneak to somewhere below
nôda (Free Variant nâda, *) (da) Vt to hit
nodû (dû) Vt to get poisoned
nodzi (*dzi) Vt to build up (a wall), to pile up
nodzo1, (dzôzo) Vt to increase
nodzo2 (*dzô) 1) Vt to make a telephone call 2) Vi (water) to overflow 3) Vt to bar the door 4) Vt to turn off (a TV, computer, etc.) Phrasal Verb pô nodzo
nodzoom (*dzô) Vt to notify, to inform
noyi Vt to cut hair
noyu (*yuyu) Vt to be narrow
nohá (hâ) Vt to go downward
nohí (hí) Vt to come down
nohá Vt to prevent, to stop
nôkara (Free Variant nákara) (*kara) Vt to yell
nôkú (*kû) Vt to load in, to add to
nôkueiri (*kʰueiri) Vt to pull downward
nóki Vt to cut (woods), to hack Phrasional form nôkiké
nôkiké (nóki) Vt to chop
nôku (*kû) Vt to bend
nôkwe (*kuwe) Vt to circle around something
nôlë (*le) Vt to get
nôlôlô (*lôlô) Vt to carry downward
nômi Vi to dream, to dream of
nomipe (Compound of mi) n ophrrypton
nônbô (Cf. Tib gnod pa རྒྱུད་) (*nbo) Vt (glasses, road, etc.) to break, to be ruined
nônbô Vi (meat, fruit, etc.) to rot, to go bad
nonbô (*nbo) Vt to dismiss, to dissolve
nôndû (ndû) Vt to go down
nondzi Vt to turn prayer beads
nôndso (*ndso) Vt 1) (wind, etc.) to dwindle, to diminish 2) (situation, etc.) to mitigate, to become less severe 3) to go downward directly
nônge (*ngu) Vt to stoop Phrasional form nónge
nóngungu (nóngu) Vi (many people) to stoop (as in dancing)
nónktʰu p(by) within (a group)
nónno n morning Compound nonotsɛ́ 2) adj early Free Variant of kʰunó
nónno n breast
nonentsɛ́ (Compounds of nóno, tsɛ́) n breakfast
nónpʰo Vi to fall
nonentsɛ́ Vi to dance (by lamas)
nonentsɛ́ Vi to sing
nonentsɛ́ (Free Variant nónentsɛ́) (*nentsɛ́) Vt to pull something downward Plurac-
tional form nónentsutsɛ́
nónentsutsɛ́ (nónentsɛ́) Vi to have a tug-of-war
nonentsɛ́ Free Variant of nónentsɛ́
nónpʰo Vi (livestock, etc.) to spread out, to separate from each other
nonentsɛ́ Vi to add
nonentsɛ́ Vi to become chaotic
nonyi (nyinyi) Vi to decrease, to dwindle
nopɛtsɑ́ (*petsɑ́) Vt to collapse, to break down
nopʰo (Free Variant nûpʰo) (*pʰo,) Vt to break into a house, to rob bird nests
nopʰo (*pi) Vi (light, fire) go off
nópʰo Vi to go out (by walking) Compound pómi
norði (*rari) Vt to sweep (outside the house)
norí Vi (lake, etc.) to dry up
nóro (ró) 1) Vi to come from upward 2) Vt to broadcast on TV
ñosɑ (Free Variant nóse) Vt to kill, to cremate
nosé Free Variant of nósa
nosaré Vi 1) (vegetables, etc.) to dehydrate 2) to become husky, to lose one's voice
nosú (*sú) Vi to pay back one's debts
notʰi (teʰi) Vi to escape downward
notʰu (Free Variant nûtsʰu) (*teʰu) Vt to take something downward
noto (*teo) Vt to answer
notori (*tsori) Vt to look downward
noto (*ta) Vt to add in, to pour (liquid, etc.) from one container into another
notótu (nótu) Vt to fight with each other
notʰu (*tu) Vi to come down
notó (*te) Vi to (the appropriate time) come
notótsa (*tsato) Vt to wring (water out of clothes, etc.)
notó (*tsʰo) Vt to be thin
noto (*te) Vt 1) to burn tsampa for sacrifice 2) to decide on a date through fortune
telling
notó (*te) Vt to hang oneself
notsí (Dialectal Variant kʰutsi) (*tsi) Vt to pile up
notó (*tso) Vt to run downward
notsú Vt to milk
notşé (Free Variant nûtsɛ́) (*te) Vt to spray, to pour
notşʰi (*tsʰi) Vt to cut, to chop
notşʰo Vt to plow
notşú (*tsú) Vt (fire) to burn up
notó (*tu) Vt to compete for, to fight for Pluractional form notótu
notó (tú) Vt to hit with fist
novu (vû) 1) Vt to do 2) Vi to make love (only in southern dialect)
nóva (Cl. Tib nus pa sêni) n energy, vitality
nózi Vi to fall, to go down
nólo (*lo) Vt to spray, to cast
nóló (*lo) Vt 1) to drive downward 2) to release (cattle, water, etc.) Pluractional form
nolló 3) to release (cattle, etc.) outside the home
nóno adj (porridge, etc.) watery, thin
nôntsɛ́ n flying squirrel
nôto (*tsato) Vt 1) to drive downwards 2) to inherit, to carry on (a tradition), to suc-
cceed
notsà (*tsas) Vt to sieve (e.g., sand out of barley)
*ntɔno (*ntɔno) Vt to have some fun (e.g., sitting together and chatting) Free Variant form nôntsho,
*ntɔs*o
ntʰetɕɛ Vt to pull (a rope) Prefixed form ɛ́ntʰetɕɛ, ɣɤ́ntʰetɕɛ, nɛdɛ́ntʰetɕɛ, tә́ntʰetɕɛ, tʰóntʰetɕɛ

nusó (*uso) Vt to talk
nuďɛ́ Vt to read aloud, to chant, to study for a degree
nuďɛ́, Free Variant of nċď
nuďō (*udző) Vt to send someone downward
nuďzi (*udzi) Vt to line up Phrasal Verb pá nūďzi, tʃo nūďzi
nukó Vt to pull up (a wooden house), to tile a roof
nukú (*uku) Vt to carry down
núnū adj (water) deep
nuŋó Vt to grind (with grindstone)
nupʰo Free Variant of nópʰo
nupʰú Vi to be famous
nusɛ́npɛ (from Tib mno bsam བསམ།) Vt to think, to retrospect, to ponder
nuteʰu Free Variant of nōteʰu
nútsu (Free Variant nátsu) (*utṣu) Vt to put down something at some place 2) to close
nutsch Vt to look for something
nutsch Free Variant of notšé
nű, aux to dare Prefixed form tʰonű
nű, n sun Compound nťtsɛ
nű ndʒuwe (Free Variant ndzuwe₁) n afternoon (before four o'clock)
nugū lůwe (Compound of lůwe) n highland zokor (rodent)
núngɛ́ Dialectal Variant of lêmɛ
nůnu adj yellow
nutɛ́ n the appropriate time for doing something
nůye n spring
nyatakórɔ (Free Variant yalâtɛ́) n back of the head
nyɛkɛ́mu adj happy
nyɛkɛ́kɛ́tsɛ́ n catfish
nyɛtsʰa̚ Tibetan loan of nigó
nyɛkɛ́sɔ́rɔ (Free Variant nį́) n ear Compound yupɔnyi
nyic (from Tib nye ba Ȟང) n relative, kin
nyînyi adj little Prefixed form nonyi
nyînyi (Tibetan loan variant mòpu, dmar po, དམར་པོ) adj red Compound yûvûnyi,
yiscæsa, tʃanɔ́yi Prefixed form tʰonyi, Superlative form zányi
nyiscæsa (Free Variant nyîzezæ) (Compound of nyînyi) adj red in a way that is pleasing to the eye
nyîzezæ Free Variant of nyiscæsa
nyontɕʰǔ Free Variant of nyuntsʰu
nyosɔ́ prt probably
nyosů́ (Cf. Tib nyung Ȟང) adj little, few
nyû Vt can (speak certain language, drive a car, etc.) Prefixed form kʰunyû, unyû
nyû- num pfx seven
nyûlekʰɔ (from Tib mnyam las khang མཉམ་ལས་ཁང།) n agricultural cooperative
nyuntsʰu (Free Variant nyontɕʰǔ) adj 1) poor 2) honest, frank, simple minded
nyûndzę (Compound of ndʒëndzę) adj distinguished, outstanding, special
nyûŋo adv except for, other than

ŋá 1) n gold 2) adj good, well
ŋó (from Tib Inga ᗕ) num five
ŋapɛ (from Tib Inga pa ᗕ) 1) num fifth 2) n May
ŋató n roundish turnip
ŋadʒő n cattle dung Compound ŋadʒőtɛrc
ŋadʒőtɛrc (Compound of ŋadʒő, tɛrc) n a kind of fungus
ŋә́mɛ (Cf. Tib ngo ma ་ཚ།) adv really, very
ŋә́mο (Compound of mó n 1) female cattle 2) cattle
ŋә́rә̀ n a dead tree before it is totally dried up
ŋә́srә̀nbo (Compound of renbә̀, ŋә́sә́) n lips
ŋә́sә̀ (Free Variant yitsә̀) prt in a moment, after a while
ŋә́sә̀ (Tibetan loan variant sә̀kә̀, zhał, ә̀cә̀) n mouth Compound ŋә́srә̀nbo.

Phrasal Verb ŋә́sә̀ tәdʑo
ŋә́sә̀ tәdʑo (Phrasal Verb of ŋә́sә̀, tәdʑo) Vi to spread rumor, to badmouth
ŋә̀ (from Tib rngә̀ ངེན) n drum
ŋи́n n elbow
ŋѝ n Vc to be Prefixed form thә̀nʒә̀
ŋѝyә̀ Free Variant of yә̀u, yә̀, yә̀o n intranquility, discontent
ŋи́ә̀ n a bone inside the knee
ŋи́ (from Tib dңu ངོས་) Tibetan loan of tә́yә̀, Archaic form of tә́yә̀ Compound ŋи́нɡә̀
ŋи́nɡә̀ (from Tib dңu mgar ངོས་མགར) (Compound of ŋи́) n silversmith
ŋи́rә̀ (Dialectal Variant mokʰә̀) n the side or front of someone
ŋи́ ә́ pro I, me
ŋи́nә̀ pro we, us, first person plural exclusive form
ŋи́nпә́lә̀ n knee

O

okʰә̀ (Dialectal Variant wokʰә̀) dem here
όkʰә̀ (Dialectal Variant wόkʰә̀) dem there
олә n cattle shed
оmәnә̀ (Dialectal Variant womanә̀) dem in this way, like this
оmә́nә̀ (Free Variant wόmәnә̀) dem in that way, like that
оndә̀ Free Variant of ә́nә̀
oнә̀ (Dialectal Variant wonә̀) 1) pro they, them 2) dem these
оnә̀ (Dialectal Variant wόnә̀) 1) pro they, them 2) dem those
оnи́nә̀ pro they two, the two of them
опә n the speaker’s side of the river
оtsә̀ (Dialectal Variant wотsә̀) 1) pro he, she, it, third person singular pronoun 2) dem this
оtә̀sә̀ (Dialectal Variant wόtә̀sә̀) 1) pro he, she, it, third person singular pronoun 2) dem that

ɔ

оsә̀ Tibetan loan of ŋә́sә̀
оdә̀ Vi (hair etc.) to flutter
*оlә Vi 1) to braid (hair) 2) to breeze, to cast away Prefixed form ɣә̀lә, нә̀lә, tɦә̀lә, тә̀lә
оlә (*оlә) Vi 1) to drive downstream 2) to release (cattle, etc.) downstream 3) (person, animals) to be able to make sound 4) to lay eggs
*оlә Vi 1) to drive (cars) 2) Vi to race 3) Vi to release 4) Vi to present to Prefixed form ɣә̀lә, kʰә̀lә, нɡә̀lә, нә̀лә, ә̀lә, тә̀lә
омә n a kind of herb, can be used to make tea
*оŋә̀ Free Variant of *и́нɡә̀
*оsә̀ Vi to rub, to grind Prefixed form ɣә̀sә̀, тә̀sә̀
оtә̀ (оtә̀) Vi to drive downstream
*оtә̀о Vi to drive (livestock), to order about Prefixed form ɣә̀tә̀о, нɡә̀tә̀о, нә̀tә̀о, ә̀tә̀о, tʰә̀tә̀о, tә̀tә̀о
оtә̀ Vi to save (someone out)
оtә̀sә̀ (*оtә̀sә̀) Vi to filter (e.g. water out of milk products)
*оtә̀sә̀ Vi to sieve Prefixed form нә̀tә̀sә̀, отә̀sә̀
óza Va to give birth to, to be born

P

pá (Dialectal Variant malú, Free Variant yutsé) (from Tib spang གཞི་) n grassland, meadow
pá (Chinese loan variant mọ́tṓa) (from Tib sbag རྒྱུད) n mahjong
pá núdzj (Phrasal Verb of núdzj) Vt to line up
páló (from Tib po lo གོ་ལེ) n ball
páló n clay pot
pamé adj many, abundant, not scarce Preϐixed form nápamé
pánalo n air, sky
pándzō (from Tib bang mdzod བང་མཛོད) n storehouse, treasure-house
pánteŋi (from Tib pang khri གཞི་ཁུར) n cabinet
páno n seat
papá adj moist Preϐixed form kʰepá, kʰupá, nepá
páse Dialectal Variant of sánbu
pésüzúi adj pretentious, do something in a pretending way
péke Tibetan loan of dunbu
péné (from Tib dper na དཔེར་ན) n example, instance
petó Chinese loan of kalo
pα n pus
páhu (Compound of hu₂) n tonight
páká Dialectal Variant of zópu
pála n kidney
pánd Free Variant of teazó
pánteŋe (from Tib pan chen གནའ་ཆེན) n great pandita, Panchen
pantʰá (Tibetan loan variant mapó, mag pa, སྒྲོལ) n a man who marries into and lives with his bride's family
páse (Compound of si) n today
*páteŋo Vt (buildings) to collapse, to break down Preϐixed form épáteŋo, nípáteŋo, nópáteŋo
pávo n this year
pepost till, by the time
pčikí (Free Variant frro) n halfway up to a mountain
pčmé (Cf. Tib dbu ma འབྲུ་མ་) n center, middle
pčpu (from Tib phal pa གཏལ་པ) adj common, not unusual
pctéi adv in a short while, after a short time
ptṣu (Compound of sú, pö₂) n Tibetan language
pʰá (from Tib phag sær) n pig (the twelfth of twelve Zodiacs)
*pʰɑ Vt to cut (wood), to split Preϐixed form épʰɑ, tᵉpʰɑ
pʰagó (from Tib phag rgod སྒྲོལ) n wild pig
pʰé n felt blanket made of yak fur
*pʰa 1) Vt to lose something 2) Vt to give up 3) Vt to leave something behind Preϐixed form épʰa, tʰópʰa
pʰeré (from Tib pho rog གོ་རོག) n crow, raven
pʰé, n the side or rim of something
pʰé₂ (from Tib phan sær) n benefit, usefulness
pʰesáu Free Variant of ngukó
*pʰedʒá Vt to follow Preϐixed form ápʰedʒa, ýpʰedʒa, nápʰedʒa, ngúpʰedʒa, tᵉpʰedʒa
pʰémg Tibetean loan of vomó
pʰihé (from Cn pixie 今) n leather shoes
*pʰo Vt to look for something, to search for something Preϐixed form épʰo, nópʰo, Plurational form tʰipʰo
pʰɔndzu Vt to sit with one shin under the hip
pʰó̂nžә (from Cn pengzi 棚子) n shack
pʰö́pɛ (from Tib unknown) n rich family
pʰoyǘ (from Tib pha yul ལྷ་ཡུལ) n hometown
pʰú (from Tib unknown) n butterfly dumpling
pʰú(js) n force
pʰúmɪ (Compound of *mi) n beggar
pʰúpɛ (from Tib unknown) n rich family
pʰúɕɛ n force
pʰúlɑ n bowl Compound ɣɯ́ mɛpʰúlɑ, kovópʰúlɑ, pʰúlɑkö
pʰúlɑkö (Compound of pʰúlɑ) n foot ring of a bowl
pʰúmі (Compound of *mi) n beggar
pʰunbú Free Variant of pʰun
pʰúra (Tibetan loan variant pʰútsa, pho brang, རོ་ས་) n palace
pʰusó (Cf. Tib bu gzhon བུ་གཞུན) n adolescent male (between 17 and 18)
pi* aux third person imperfective aspect marker
*pʰix Vi to die out, to go out Prefixed form nipʰí, nopí
pikʰú (from Tib dpe khug སྐེ་ཤུ) n bag
pipilala Vi to fail, to make trouble out of nothing
pítsø n production
pítsø adv first (before others)
pó* n Himalayan marmot
pó (from Tib par ཅེས་) n picture, photography
pó* n of or relating to Tibetan Compound pʰusů, pʰus pótsʰa
pótsʰa (Cf. Tib chang བཞིང) (Compound of pó) n Tibetan wine
pó* Vi to relocate, to move house Prefixed form apó, yápó, napó, ngwópó, təpó, ɬʰupó
porá Tibetan loan of kʰálo
pu Free Variant of ngó
pukú n burden, things to carry on one’s back
púpʰɛ n goshawk
puʂú tʃʰɪpa n dancing costume of male
putɛ n a kind of soup made of potatoes, dough, and some milk products
putsʰi n child

q
qör Dialectal Variant of rá

r
ra Free Variant of tʃái
rá (Dialectal Variant qör, Free Variant ramó. Tibetan loan variant tʃó, རོ) n wheat
Compound rakómi
ráketa n hand
rakómi (Compound of rá) n a kind of fungus, called xiaomaijun (小麦菌) in Chinese
ramó Free Variant of rá
randzá n finger nail
ranә́ n finger
ranә́mә tɕe (Compound of ranәmó) n little finger
ranәmó n index finger Compound of ngәlә yә ranә, ngәlo ranәmә yє tєo tєa, ranәmә tєe
rára adj dry Prefixed form tә́ra, terә
rәtsәо (Cf. Tib rang’ tә́d ཡང་འདོད) n selfishness, desire
rә, Vt to go Prefixed form arә, yɛtә, nәra, nәra, ngurә, terә, tʰәrә
rә₁ n place, land, soil, territory
romәo (from Tib rang mos ཡང་མོས) n freedom
rәnɪpә n a period of time after harvest
rәsa Free Variant of rәvәsә
re (from Tib re རེ) prt each
renbәtешә (from Tib rin pho che རིན་ཕོ་ཆེ) n 1) precious, jewel 2) title for someone identified as the rebirth of an earlier distinguished Dharma practitioner; lama; living Buddha
rerә (Dialectal Variant ɣeɣә) adj delicious Prefixed form tʰәrә
erә̞ Free Variant of rәtsәэ
ra, aux time for doing something
rә, prt and
rә₁ n soup Compound rәmәnі
rә₂ n farmland Prefixed form kʰәrә
rәdәo n wild cat
rәdzәui Vt to put something somewhere, to seat someone somewhere
rәgezi n Tung river skink
rәyә n name of a plant
rәhәu (Compound of hւ) n the night before last
rәkәo (Tibetan loan variant ndʒә, ’gro, æɡ) Vt to walk, (cars, etc.) to run
rәkә́he Vt to fill up
rali (from Cn ɡәli ཝེ་ཐོ) n calendar book
ramә n female yak
rәmәnі (Compound of rә₁) n land that has been cultivated for a long time
ramәu Vt to get dark
renbө n skin Compound mirәnbo, nәtsәrәnbo, tsʰәrәnbo
*rәnɡә clf mensural classifier for hug
ranpәpәn n a kind of plant
renәtәo (Cf. Cn rendemao དེ་མོ) (Compound of mә₂) n body hair
renәrәhu (Compound of hւ) n two nights before last
renәrәsә n two days before yesterday
renәraza n two years before last year
rәrә adj long Superlative form зәrә
*rәrәl Vt to sweep Prefixed form ɛrә́rә, norә́rә
rәsә n the day before yesterday
rәtә n wild animal
rәtәu Free Variant of rәtәu
rәto Vt to plant seeds
rәtө (Archaic form of kә́undzo
rәtә₂ n lynx
rәtsә (Free Variant of rikә) n thread
rәtsәhi n flea
rәvәsә (Free Variant rәsa) prt probably
rәɡәu n goral (a kind of goat-like animal)
rcә Free Variant of ruә
*rә, Vt to turn around Prefixed form ɣәrә, ўәrә, ɣәrә
*rә, Vt to face towards Prefixed form ɣәrә, ўәrә
rә’- num pfx four
ri₁ (Dialectal Variant ɣi₁) n arm including the hand, upper limb
ri₂ Tibetan loan of nbų
ri₃ prt nominalizer
ri₄ (Free Variant rų) aux will
risәntsешә n wadded jacket
rikә Free Variant of rәtsә
rile (Free Variant lé) n era, period, decade
riné ninpé (Compound of ninpé) n antique, outdated objects
riri adj thick
rivó (from Tib ri bong རི་བོང) n hare
ró (Free Variant ró; rúo) n tongue
ró Free Variant of dzoló
ró, Vi to come Prefixed form éro, yéro, ngüro, nóro, téro
ró (n 1) place Compound mème ró
royá (Compound of yá) n argali (mountain sheep)
rólapʰc n a pony that is between three to four years old
ronpá Tibetan loan of yupé
rotó ngaló (Compound of ngaló) n palm
rotsʰa n red birch
rótu Vi to go back (home)
rovú n horse manure Compound rovukómí
rovukómí (Compound of rovú) n a kind of fungus, called mafenjun (马粪菌) in Chinese
ró, n snake
rá aux to do something because it is justified or beneficial to others
ró Free Variant of ró
rópʰc n laughing thrush
rópu n hot spring
róse adv immediately, right away, just
rotšu n blowfly
rózo n the year before last year
ró Free Variant of ró
rudzú Vi to set up a house, to settle someone down
ruč (Free Variant rcč, Tibetan loan variant ruč) n 1) bear 2) panda
rumé n 1) weasel 2) beech marten
róo Free Variant of ró
ruřu n upper arm
růtsu (Free Variant růtsu) (*utšu) Vi to put something down 2) to use as
ruwé n front yard
ruwé Tibetan loan of ruč
ruuru n tray

S
sá n blood
sasá adj bright Prefixed form tósa
ság (from Tib bsangs བསངས) n a kind of ritual involving burning juniper branches for
deities Compound sasí, sóko, sántɕʰu
sá Free Variant of sóra
sóai (Compound of sá) n shrubby pine tree, whose branches will produce smoke
when burned and are offered as a kind of sacrifice
sákó (Compound of sá) n the day for performing the smoke-offering ceremony
sali n a flute made of a piece of bone from the wings of eagle
sántɕʰu (Compound of sá) n a special water which contains milk and barley, used
for some rituals
sára (Free Variant sóá) prt although
sasá adj 1) clever 2) (sound, etc.) clear
sásakʰč Free Variant of ščsakkʰč
sé (from Tib sras སྲེས) n prince
sédzú (from Tib srid jus སིད་ཐུན) n policy
*séna Vi to listen Prefixed form kʰíšena, tʰásena
sesó (Cf. Tib sras) n horse bit
sétse n silver
setsei rápe (Cf. Tib rus sbal རིས་བཱིན) n turtle
sá, Free Variant of sí
sә́, n nose Compound sәmuşә́, sәmә́
*sә clf 1) classifier for objects in a container 2) classifier for group
sәhі n blood pheasant
sәkʰu (Compound of sә́, kʰú) n nostril
sәsә́ (Compound of sә́, mә́) n hair in the nostril
sәnbu n cannibalistic demon
sәntә́ (from Tib sms can བོས་ལོག་) n livestock, domesticated animals
sәpә́tә́ (from sә́) n pus and blood
*sәsә́ Vt wipe, mop Prefixed form ásәsә, náxsәsә, tәásәsә
sәsә́ adj tight, compact, crowded Prefixed form nәsә
sәso (Tibetan loan variant ndzі́, དཐི།) n fight, quarrel Prefixed form tássәso
sәsә́ (Free Variant sәsә́) (from Tib so so བསམ་འོི་) n individual, each, respective
sәsү́ Free Variant of sәsә́
*sә́ n interj, so, such
sә́chу n tomorrow night
sә́ncә́c (from Tib sms pa བོས་ལོག་) n thought, heart
sә́cә́c (from Tib gsar pa ཕསར་པ་) adj new
sә́sә́ (Compound of sі́) n tomorrow, the next day Compound sә́sә ɡә́sә
sә́sә́ ɡә́sә (Compound of sә́sә) n several days later
sә́tә́ (from Tib sа cha རྱ་) Tibetan loan of rә́ Compound sә́tә́
*sә́tә́u (from sә́) adj far away down, far away downstream
*sә́tә́ (from Tib sa dpyad སོ་དཔའ་) n geomatic sign, geomancy, Fengshui
sә́vә́ Dialectal Variant of mà́rә
sә́yі́ (from Tib sа sа) n land
sә́cyuuyuyu adj far away above, far away upstream
sі́ (Free Variant sә́, Archaic form zәpә́) n day Compound ɡә́sә, ndә́ndә́sә, ndә́sі́,
*ɡә́sә, sә́sә, sі́yә́, тә́sі́, teә́sі́, yи́sі́, yи́sі́ rә́sі́
*sі́, Vt to choose, to elect Prefixed form іsі́, tіsі́
*sі́yә́ (Tibetan loan variant tә́dә́wә́, gdugs re, རོ་སྒྲ་) (Compound of sі́) adv everyday
sі́ndã́ n light
sі́sі́ adj to be fond of
sі́tʃә́tʃә́ n a tiny bird that feeds on meat
sі́vú adj good
sі́yi (Free Variant yи́) adv even if
sә́lә́ (from Tib sug la нәsә́) n work, action, deed, karma
sә́nә́ sә́dә́ (from Tib bsд nams bsд bde བསམ་སྒྲ་བདེ) n blessing, happiness
sә́npu (from Tib so phag བསོད་ནམས་བསོད་པ་) n brick
sә́nuysә́ adj loud, annoying
sә́sú adj to be clearly visible or audible
sә́sә́sә́ adj quiet
*sә́zә (from Tib sa sа sа) n the hat of a traditional costume
sә́sә́ (Free Variant leә; sәngә́) (from Tib sroɡ བོས་ན་) n life
sә́sә́ (from Tib bsәм нәsә́) Vт 1) to think, to contemplate 2) to plan Compound sә́lә́
sә́ (from Tib gsәm pu нәsә́) num three
sә́lә́ (from Tib bsәм blә нәsә́) (Compound of sә́sә́) n mindset, thought, heart
sә́ngә́ Free Variant of sә́sә́
*sә́npu (from Tib gsum pa нәsә́) 1) num third 2) n March
sә́pu (from Tib sо phог нәsә́) n Mongol
sә́ro n sharpening stone
sә́tʃә́ n braid
sә́vә́ n saw dust
sү n language Compound ɡә́sә, mә́nә́sә, пә́sә
*sү n sacrifice to deity Compound sү kʰәulә, сүво
*sү Vт to finish, to do something well Prefixed form nosү́, tʰosү́
*sү kʰәulә (Compound of sү n) n a sacrificial utensil for burning tsampa
*sүво (Compound of sү n, vә́t) n fried barley flour to be burnt for sacrifice
súvuu n a kind of sausage made of blood

ʂ

ʂá Dialectal Variant of ʂá.
ʂé (from Cn she ʂ) n commune, village
ʂāmbu (Dialectal Variant pósa, Free Variant datši) n pimple
ʂopemè n slit
ʂ’t Dialectal Variant of ʂ’t
ʂiši n smooth, roundish log (only in Southern Dialect)
ʂotei (from Cn shouji ʂ) n cellphone
ʂāa (from Tib srung ba ʂ) n protective amulet
ʂutšec (from Cn shui ʂ) n secretary (a position of the Communist Party)

t

tá (Tibetan loan variant ʂé, zhwa, a) n hat Compound táyimi, Prefixed form tāta
tá (from Tib lta) Vt to see
talé qtf half
тансыq n name of a plant
tatsʰi Vt to ripen
táyimi (Compound of tá, *mi) n sileifenzi (lit. people of the hat) (a label for four classes of low people during the cultural revolution)
tó (from Tib stag ʂ) n tiger (the third of twelve of Zodiads)
*ta Vt to come to oneself, to regain consciousness Prefixed form ngūta, tāta,
toyóya Free Variant of toyóya
tahá (Dialectal Variant tāná, Free Variant tsehá) qtf a little
toká (Cf. Tib stod gos ʂ) n a kind of big coat, upper garment
tómá n thumb
tóme adj 1) real, authentic 2) normal, not unusual
tóna (from Tib unkown) n black horse
tóndó n disinfection
tandzá n a quarter
tónpí (from Tib dam bi ʂ) n bottle Compound metó tánpi, tánpi kʰeló, teutso tánpi
	ónpí kʰeló (Compound of tánpi, kʰeló) n bottle top
tónpu (from Tib dang po ʂ) n 1) first 2) January
tantsó (from Tib dam bca’ ʂ) n pledge, oath, promise
taná Dialectal Variant of tahá
tora adv for now, for the moment, first
tóta (from Tib tag tag ʂ) adj exact, just, opportune
tóyé (Tibetan loan variant ʂu, Archaic form ʂu) n money
tóyé pokʰé (Phrasal Verb of pokʰé) Vt to pay money
tokó Tibetan loan of zetsül

tseanteša téšite (from Tib byang chub mchod rten ʂ) (Compound of tsešite)

n pagoda in square shape, Stupa of Enlightenment
tsešea adv (atmosphere, etc.) lively
tsešatsʰé (from Cn jiajiche) n trolley
tseša (Free Variant teškʰu) n dry tea
*teša Vt to carry with both hands Prefixed form teteša, tešatsʰa
tsešah n quail
tsešku (from Tib lcags skud ʂ) n barbed wire, iron wire
tsešla, (from Tib ca lag ʂ) n thing, appliance
tsešla, adj naughty, mischievous
tɕándo n a kind of wooden container used for making tea, now out of use

teápa (from Tib jag pa བཀྲ་ཤིས་) n bandit, robber

teátsa adj flat

teátsɔ n financial loss

teáte (from Tib lcags rta ལྷགས་རྟ་) n bike

teázdó (Free Variant paná, zòpu) n the end part of something

tee n 1) son Compound ditse, katitse, kəkőtse, tsə́rtse, uyitse, zangútse 2) boy

Compound Itų́tse

tés (Tibetan loan variant kʰónpa, khang pa, བཀྲ་ཤིས་) n house, home

teskʰu (Free Variant pənɑ́, zɔ́pu) n home

tesővé adv heavily, seriously

tesə́wuza (Compound of wuza) n sparrow

tesah Free Variant of tahá

tesánda qtf all

tesə́pù (Compound of tsu) n pickled cabbage

tesə́tső n livestock

tes ē, n tea Compound ndzuwé teé, ndzeṣé, nonoteé, teskʰótsu, toyitse
tesə́ (Cf. Tib bya pho Ȗ་ཕོ) n rooster (the tenth of twelve Zodiacs)
tes nándzośe Dialectal Variant of tesdzümę
tesdzümę (Dialectal Variant tes nándzośe, Tibetan loan variant teséme) ja brsups ma, བསུ་བུ་མ་ n butter tea

teségé (from Tib skya ga ṇན་) n magpie

teskʰé n thing

teskʰótsu (Cf. Tib ja bga chung Ȗ་བག་Ռང) (Compound of teé) n tea brick (In the old times tea used to be compressed into oblong shape for transportation, sale, and storage)
teskʰu Free Variant of tesáha

tesləkəwa n swallow

tesŋtə (Free Variant yentsʰu) n mosquito

teséme Tibet loan of tesdzümę

teslípa (from Tib bṛgya phrag བླ་ཞི་ཝག) one hundred Compound tesliha tontsʰa

teslíha tontsʰa (Compound of tesliha) adj many, hundreds and thousands of
tesə́ n kowtow Phrasal Verb tesə́ kʰɯ́ vɯ Vi to kowtow
tesə́ma adj dirty
tesə́mbə Dialectal Variant of tesóšu
tesápa n a handful of
tesə́ (from Tib khyi ṇན་) n dog

tesə́gé n ginger

teskʰá Tibetan loan of layó

tesə́mi (from Tib chu miig Ȗ་ིིང་) n fountain, spring (specifically refers to a holy spring in the field, believed to be the dwelling place of some spirits, that can bring fortune or misfortune to a family)
tesə́nə prə still, moreover
tesə́ntsʰu Dialectal Variant of tesíntsʰu
tesə́ni n time limit

tesə́ (Free Variant yenbá, tesə́nbá) n cattle manure

tesə́clf classifier for pair

tesə́lu n traditional costume

tesə́nbá Free Variant of tesə́
tesə́ntsʰu (Cf. Tib gra sgrig Ȗ་ིིང་) n preparation

tesə́va n shack

tesi, Vi to escape Prefixed form étse, yɨteʃi, nguṭeshi, nóteshi, təteʃi, tətətʃi, thötʃi
tesi, post with, together

tesi Dialectal Variant of tesí

tesízo (from Tib phyi rkyal Ȗ་Ȅལ་) n foreign country, abroad

tesiha Vi to take something away

tesiʃə n the end of (a month, etc.)
tesə́nbá Tibetan loan of zodəndzərő
tesə́ni n birthmark, mole
taʰinindzu adj extremely, very
taʰintsʰu (Dialectal Variant taʰtsʰi) (from Tib khyim mtshes ངོན་བེད) n neighbour
naของเขา (from Cn qiche 汽车) n car
na ipa (from Tib phyu pa གཏོང) n Tibetan long gown
na ira Vt to steal
na iré n bone
na is (Cf. Tib gzhon sans ཀྲོན་མོང) n other place, non-local Compound taʰisćwu
na isćwu (Compound of na is, -u) n outsider, non-local person
na ita n watermill
na itɕʰi adv very
na ite (Free Variant té) (from Tib mchod rden མཆོད་འེན) n stupa Compound taʰntsʰa
na itsʰi prt still, nevertheless
na itsʰorilu (from Tib spyi tshogs ring lugs ་ཚǑགས་རིང་ɾགས) n socialism
na óšu aux to have the heart to do something
na ón post in, among
na ó (from Tib chos བོས) n Dharma, the teachings of Buddha Compound taʰópc
na ócée n a word uttered when making sacrifice with wine
na ółú (from Tib chos lugs བོས་ɾགས) n religion
na ópc (Compound of na ó) n a kind sacrifice made of tsampa that can be eaten
na ósu (Dialectal Variant taʰánbc) n cold (as in 'catch a cold')
na ócée (Cf. Tib chog pa ཕོག་པ) n satisfaction
na óškʰé (Free Variant sōkʰé, taʰótsů) (from Tib phyogs pa ɉོགས་པ) n direction
na ótsø Free Variant of taʰókʰé
na óu, (from Tib rgyu རྒྱུ) n cause, a non-static phenomenon able to bring about the production or arising of something
na óu₂ adv already, now
na ó, Free Variant of ngšteʰu
na ó₁ num pfx six
na źntsʰo Tibetan loan of lédzű
na źúpc Free Variant of zinteʰó
na źuwu adv this time
na źu, Vt to drink Prefixed form šteʰu, źiteʰu
na źu₂, (Free Variant taʰu ttc; taʰu yoró) adv now, soon
*na źu (Free Variant *ušteʰu) Vt to take Prefixed form źteʰu, yzteʰu, kʰuteʰu, ngyteʰu, nőteʰu, tèteʰu, źóteʰu
na źu ttc Free Variant of taʰu₂
na źu yoró Free Variant of taʰu₂
na źuŋo qtf all
na źuri (Cf. Tib chu yur ས་ར) n canal, ditch, drain
na źutsʰi Dialectal Variant of taʰútsʰu
na źutsʰu (Dialectal Variant taʰútsʰi, Free Variant tásʰu) (from Tib chu tshod ས་ཐོད) n time, hour, clock
na źi (from Tib gcig ཁི) num one
taime (Dialectal Variant þéma) n a kind of food made by adding tea or water to fried barley flour and eaten without mixing them fully together
na indzó (from Tib bcings 'grol བཅོམ་ོར) n liberation, especially referring to the overthrow of the Kuomintang rule in China in 1949
na intsʰé (from Tib rgyu mtshan རྒྱུ་མཚན) n reason, cause, causal factor
na ina Elliot's laughing thrush
na ipu (from Tib skyid pa སྦྱིད་པ) adj comfortable, cozy, happy
na iteʰi (Tibetan loan variant ṭsɛnkhó, 'phrul 'khor, ལཱ་ཁོར) (from Cn jiqi 機) n machine Compound iteʰtsʰi
na ítsí adj rough, crude
na ítsó Free Variant of tósó
na ítsʰo (from Tib spyi tshogs མིག མིག society) n society
na íwɛ (from Tib byi ba བྲོལ) n rat (the first of twelve Zodiacs)
teó Vi to be broken, to be dilapidated, to be mutilated, to be disabled
*teó Vt (water) rise, come up Prefixed form kʰutsé, noteó, tutsó

teó nyútsé (Free Variant teóse nyútsé) (Compound of teóse) adj various, all kinds of

teodso (Free Variant nbová) n bottom floor
tósh (from Cn jiaoxie 朽) n rubber shoes
tóki (from Tib bya rgod 朽) n vulture
tóskó (from Tib rgya skas 朽) n stork
tómov adj blood red

tonipe (from Tib byu gnyis pa 朽) 1) num twelfth 2) n December
tórea (from Tib byu ru 朽) n coral
tóri n god of a mountain

*tóri Vt to look Prefixed form étsori, yétsori, kʰútsori, ngútsori, nótsori, táttsori, thótsori

totsipc (from Tib bcu gcig pa 朽) 1) num eleventh 2) n November
tótsó (Free Variant tótsó) 1) adj same, identical 2) adv heavily, seriously

Compound
tó nyútsó
tótsó nyútsó Free Variant of teó nyútsó
tótsís (from Tib cog tse 朽) n table, desk
tó n spoon Compound botó

*tó Vi (kings, etc.) to emerge, to arise Prefixed form kʰutsé, ngútsé
tó-
tótsó Vt to chase, to pursue Prefixed form átsó, yátso, kʰútsó, nátso, ngútsó, tátso, Plurational form átsó
tó, n yogurt (made after butter is extracted) Compound teukhá, Prefixed form tatsu

Compound

tóu, (from Tib skyur 朽) adj acid Compound teapó

tóudó n a kind of milk product

tóuc Free Variant of tóuc

tóukhá (Compound of teó, ) n sour water, the milk residue left after butter and whey are extracted
tóulo n blessings

tóute Free Variant of nbá

tówé (Free Variant tóec) (from Tib byi ba 朽) n mouse (the first of the twelve zodiacs)
tówó n a cover term for horse saddle and pack Compound teúyaló, teúyi, teuwó

tówó, 1) Vc (inanimate thing) to exist 2) Vt to bring something along Prefixed form fétóu, foteu

tówó, (from Tib bcu 朽) num ten
tówó n water Compound teúbanpa, teúnbarmi, te subdued, teútsétsé, teútso, teuwwuza

tóubanpa (Compound of bénba, teó,) n frog
tóubó n beet

tóuyaló (Compound of teó, yálo) n a part of horse saddle
tóuyi (Compound of teó,) n a part of horse saddle
tóuck (from Tib spiy sa 朽) n Mandarin, common language
tóukutshómu n little ringed plover
tóumc (from Tib bye ma 朽) n sand

tóunbarmi (Compound of nbétsá, *mi, teó,) n little egret
tóundzi (Free Variant tóuphóusi) (Compound of teó,) n blister
tóupc (from Tib bcu pa 朽) 1) num tenth 2) n October

tóupó (Compound of teó,) n an item on horse saddle

tóupóusi Free Variant of tóundzi

tóurad adv simultaneously

tóuro mémé (Free Variant teuro nbótsa) n mountain salamander
tóuro nbótsa (Compound of nbótsa,) Free Variant of tóuro mémé
tóuriu adv (time) long

tóútsétsé (Compound of tsétsé, teó,) n a bronze mold in which stupas (typically 50-100) are inscribed, which are dipped in the river to dispel bad luck
tóútsó (Compound of teó,) n hot water Compound teútsó ténpi
tóútso ténpi (Compound of teútsó, ténpi) n thermos bottle
tseutṣá adj shallow
teuwuza (Compound of wúza, teu,) n water bird
té (Dialectal Variant be) adv extremely, very, (not) at all
tész n the cushion under horse saddles
tész Free Variant of tʃíte
*tészclf classifier for group
tém n ear of cereal plants
tendži n auspiciousness, luckiness Phrasal Verb tendži nóvu

tendži nóvu (Phrasal Verb of tendži) n to think auspiciously, to think on the positive side
tepé (from Tib stegs ཡེགས) n platform, support, stand, raised seat Phrasal Verb tepé

nusú, tepé tíndzu
tepé nusú (Phrasal Verb of tepé) Vi to fail, to mess up, to squander, to vandalize
tepé tíndzu (Phrasal Verb of tepé) Vi to succeed, to do something well
tési (Tibetan loan variant dzö, sgrung, sgrun) n story, tale, legend

tác (Free Variant ává) n vagina
tá, Vt to say, to speak Prefixed form tate
*tá Vt to add into Prefixed form ɣate, kʰuté, nóte

tábó (*bo) Vi to appear
tésu (*su) Vi to sneak to somewhere above
táda (*da) Vt to hit, to beat up
táde (*dé) Vi to float
tádè (*dé) Vt 1) to throw up in the air 2) to drive livestock uphill
tádèvu (*devu) Vt to blow off
tádzó (dzó) Vi to be spicy, to feel spicy, to sore
tádzó (*dzó) Vt 1) to build a house 2) to make a telephone call Phrasal Verb sépe

tádzó, hápc tádzó, natsó tádzó, tsitšu tádzó

tádzó (dzó) Vt to hit with a stone
tayó (*yo) Vn to go crazy
táyó Vt to turn over (a stone plate, etc.)
táyi (yi) Vt to be light
táyó (*yo) Vt to wash (face) Pluralactional form táyóya
táyóya (Free Variant táyóya) (táyo) Vt (many people) to wash
tahé (há) Vt to go up
táhi (hí) Vt to come up, to float up
táhiña (hihá) Vt to mix up
táker (*kerr) Vt to climb up
táka Vt to spin (wool)
tákara (*kara) Vt to yell upward
takká (kʰakʰá) Vt (wine, soup, etc.) to be dense, to be salty
takkuširí (*kʰuširí) Vt to pull upwards
ták Vn to feel cold
takúwc (*kuwc) Vt to circle around something
táloló (*loló) Vt to carry up
tamání Vt to move
támni Vt to become fully-cooked
tánbu Vt to get angry
tándú (ndú, 1) to go up 2) fire lights up by itself
tándza Vt to make love
tándzu (*ndzo) Vt to grow up
tándzota Vt to shake
tándzu (*ndzo) Vt to go up directly
tené Vn to have the smell or taste of
tent'éts (*nt'éts) Vt to pull upward
tént'su 1) Vt to come out, to appear (honoriϐic) 2) Vn to give birth to (honoriϐic style)
tént Vn to get sick Phrasal Verb ts'ú ténté
tápcdza (*p'cdza) Vt to follow somebody upward
tapír part 1) reported evidential marker 2) to be called, by the name of
tapá (*pa) Vt to relocate upward
tára (rára) Vt (clothes, etc.) to dry up
tará (rá, 1) Vt to go up
tә́rә Vt to dig up something
tә́rә Vi to get up (from bed, seat, etc.)
tәrәrә Vi to shake
tә́rі Vi to stand up, to come up
tә́rә (rә́) Vi to come from downward Compound si tә́rә
tәsә́ Vi to be highly spirited
tәsә́so (sә́so) Vt to light
tәsә́ Vi to celebrate (new year, etc.)
tәsу, Vt to sober up
tәsу₂ Vi (person, animal, object) to make sound
tәsу́ Vi (cattle, cat, horse, etc.) to make a sound
tә́ta (tә́) Vt to put on (a hat)
tә́ta₃ (Free Variant kʰә́epʰә́: ngә́,) n an area up behind the house
tә́ta₄ (*tә) Vi to wake up, to regain consciousness
tә́tsә́ (tә́tsә) Vt to carry with both hands
tә́tsә́tsә́ (*tә́tsә) Vi to snuggle up to, to lean close to
tә́tә́i (*tә́i) Vt to escape uphill, etc.
tә́tә́w (Free Variant тутʰу́) (*тутʰу́) Vt 1) to raise, to bring up, to hold with one hand
2) to measure by weighing
tәsә́ Vi to be happy
tә́sә́ (*tә́so) Vi (water) to rise, to come up
tә́sә́tә́ (*tә́sә́tә́) Vt to look up
tә́sә́tә́tsә́ (*tә́sә́tә́sә) Vt to chase by going upward
tә́sә́tң́ (tә́sә́tң́) Vi to be sour
tә́sә́ Free Variant of тутʰу́
tә́sә́w (*тутʰу́) 1) Vi to wake up 2) Vt to build a house
tә́tә́ (Archaic form тʰatә́tә́) (tә́) Vt to say
tә́tә́bә́ (*тә́bә́) Vt 1) to castrate 2) to praise, to speak highly of
tә́tә́bә́ Vt to grow up
tә́tʰу́ (*тʰу́) Vi to come up
tә́tә́ (*тә́) Vt 1) to go and get something 2) to pick up (light objects), to lift up legs
tә́tә́o Vi to become rich, to develop, to flourish
tә́tә́ Vt to calculate
tә́tә́w (Free Variant of тутʰу́)
tә́tә́so (*tә́so) Vi to run upward
tә́tә́sә́tsә́ Vi (hot steam, etc.) to ooze up
tә̀tә́ (tә̀sә) Vt to spray upward, to pour upward
tә̀tә́ (*tә́) Vi to arrive from upward
tә̀tә́sә́ (*tә́sә́) Vi (fire) to burn up
tә́tң́ (tә́tң́) Vt to hit with fist
tә́vә́la (*vә́la) Vi (animals, etc.) to roll about
tә́vú (vу́) Vt to do
tә́zә́ Vt to go and get something, to bring
tә́zә́ Vi (from Tib rта́) n horse (the seventh of twelve Zoidecs)
tә́zә́gә́ (Dialectal Variant katу́) (from Tib star ka ς₉₇) n walnut
tә́zә́gә́ 1) prt clause final particle denoting state 2) adj a little
tә́nә́mә́ (Dialectal Variant lա́lә́mә́) adv really
tә́pʰә́ (*pʰә) Vt to hack (woods), to split (woods)
tә́rә́ (rә́rә́) Vt to make something dry
tә́rә́ Vt to spill a trail of Compound յә́дә́ә́tә́rә́wnә́ Prefix form nитә́рә́
tә́tә́sә́me prt probably
tә́tә́ adv soon, just now
tә́zә́o adv not until, used when a situation occurs later than it should have
tә́rә́ n tsampa
tʰә́ndә́ (ndә́ndә́) Vi to be cold
tʰә́sнә́ (*snә́) Vt to ask about, to inquire about
tʰә́tә́ Vi to ride (a horse)
tʰә́tә́ (*tә́) Vt to get something away
tʰә́sә́ (тʰә́sә́) Vt (crops) to become ripe
tʰә́vә́lә́ (*vә́lә́) Vt to roll about
tʰә́o aux can, to be able to Prefixed form тʰә́tʰә́
tháda n wave

thádu (dzu) Vt to hit something with a stone

thermal (*ya2) Vt to get drunk

thwyo (*yo) Vt to wash up (cups, bowls or woks)

thkho Vt to change

thkha Vt to be afraid of

thla (la) Vt to fall

thlala Vt to leave behind

thanbdzu Vt to crawl

thandó (*ndó) Vt to make a mistake unintentionally

thapa Vt to uproot

thapcdza (phedza) Vt to follow someone

thapó (po) Vt to relocate

thar (rä) Vt to go

thásasa (sása) Vt to wipe (bowls, desks, etc.)

thasó (Cf. Tib thugs sun) adj troublesome

tháte a adj weak, lack of strength

thátehipc Tibetan loan of thátehipü

tháteso n (tseso) Vt to chase, to pursue

thátehipü (Tibetan loan variant thátehipc, thag gcod pa, ཝགས་རྟན) Vt to decide from, to choose among

thatóto Archaic form of tátó

thédé (*de1) Vt to float

*the Vt to extract, to refine Prefixed form éthe, khunéthó, tathó

thkhusu Vt to meet one’s karma

thela (from Tib thar lam) n path of liberation, path of release, way to freedom

thepé (Tibetan loan variant gepe) n top of head Compound thapéle

thepéle (Compound of thepes) n forehead

thatsé Dialectal Variant of sipé

thévá Vn to become, to come out

thdec (*dè) Vt 1) to throw away 2) to drive livestock away

théza (*dza) Vt to hand over to

thcyó (*ya3) Vt to get somebody drunk

thlala (*la) Vt to knock over

thléc (from Tib thab lha) n the Kitchen God

thendé (ndendé) Vt to become old

thendó (*ndó) Vt to make a mistake intentionally

thényérs Vt to preserve, to save, to keep

thcró adj far

thcthó (thó) Vt to manage to, to succeed after putting in great effort

thctse (tsatsé) Vt to be small

thtsga (*tsa) Vd to return something (borrowed, found, etc.) to someone

thtse (*tse) Vt to arrive

thńhipc Vt (people) to agree with each other, to be compatible with each other, to be able to get along with each other

thi1 (Cf. Tib ti la) n sesame

thi2 (Cf. Tib thel) n stamp

thiyé (*iyé) Vt to flow away

thikhú (Chinese loan variant fafi) n soda (sodium bicarbonate)

thikhú n an ivory-made ring-shape object for tying hair

thikó (kiko) Vt to be too big

thindú (*indú) Vt to push (a cart, etc.) away

thindzú (*indzu) Vn to point with something, to point at

thindzé (*indze) Vt to fly

thinge (Free Variant tônga) (*inga) Vt to pick, to collect (firewood, etc.)

thintsbó (*intsbo) Vd to return something to someone

thipno n 1) the front part of something 2) the opposite side of a river

thiró (*iro) Vt to overtake

thitesú (ts hô) Vt to make someone drink, to give something drinkable to someone

thitsu 1) Vt to have a horse race 2) Vt to take something somewhere

thitsú (tsû) Vt to bring something along with someone
tʰitsʰí (*’itsʰi) Vt to jump away
tʰitsí (*’itsi) Vt to lend something to someone
tʰivi (*’ivi) Vt to send someone off
thi yi n rear side, back side
tʰɔ̀ adj (road, etc.) passable
thɔ̀, prt if
thɔ̀ n mule
tʰosɛ̀ (from Tib thabs shes གཟིབ་ཤེས) n strategy, method, means, way of doing
thosɛ̀ (*’su) Vt to sneak away
thosɛ̀mu Vt to put forth one’s strength
thodí Vt to finish
thodò̀dɛ̀ Vt to carry
thodzè̀dzu (tʰodzu) Vt (many people) to run, to run here and there
thodzò̀, (dzò̀do) Vt to exceed
1) to make a telephone call
2) to use something
3) to spend money
4) to bar the door
thodzù Vt to run Pluractional form tʰodzè̀dzu
thoyù (yùyu) Vt to be too narrow
thohè (hè) Vt to go away
thohi (hi) Vt to come
thókera (*’kara) Vt to yell
thókè (from Tib thab ka གཟིབ་ཀ) n fireplace
thokʰè Vd 1) to give someone something (neither edible nor drinkable)
2) to pay Phrasal Verb
tɑ́yɛ́ tʰokʰɛ́tʰokʰɯɕíri (*kʰɯɕíri) Vt to pull
thokí Vt (time) to pass
thokà Vt to cut (grass), to pick (mushrooms, fruits)
2) to deduct
thokɔ̀ Vt to lean against
thokúwɛ (*kuwɛ) Vt to circle around something
thólolö (*lolö) Vt to carry away
thomà̀ (Free Variant thumà̀) Vt to feed, to give someone something edible
thomà̀, Vt to forget
thòmì (mì) Vt to be called, by the name of
thomù (mù) Vc to exist
thònbe (nbà̀) Vt to be comfortable, to be happy or cozy
thônbo (*’nbo) Vt 1) to explode
2) to overeat
thônbò (nbônbô) Vt thick
thondà (ndé) Vc to exist
thòndù̀ (ndù̀) Vt to leave
thòndzò̀ (*ndzò̀) Vt to go directly
thondzù̀ Vt to change
thondsù̀ (ndzù̀) Vt to exist
thòngè̀ Vt to be happy
thònìno Vt to fix up, to repair
thònteò̀e adj all
thònteò̀ (*nteò̀) Vt to have fun
thônìteò̀ (*nteò̀teò̀) Vt to pull
thônù̀ (nù̀) aux to dare to do something
thonyi (nyinyi) Vt to be red
thònjo (nà̀) Vc to be
thònjoa prt marker of mirativity
thòppè̀lc Vt to cobbled together, to patch up
thòppho (*’pho) 1) Vt to leave something behind
2) Vt to give up
thòppó̀pho (*’pó̀pho) Vt to look for something here and there
thòré (rèrè) Vt to be delicious
thòsa Vt to die
thòsù̀ (’sù̀) Vt to finish
thòteè (Free Variant kotsè̀) adv over, too
thòtèhì (tehì) Vt to escape
thòtèhì (tehì) Vt to break away from, to throw off one’s shackles
thòte’wu (Free Variant kutèwu (*’tewu) Vt to take away Pluractional form thòtes’wutès’wu
thòtes’wutès’wu (thòtes’wù) Vt (many people) to carry
**tʰotsóri**

*n* daily essentials, articles for daily use

**tʰotsóri** (*tʰori*)  
*vt* to look

**tʰotsú** (*tˢú*)  
*vc* (inanimate thing) to exist

**tʰotʰɛ́**  
(from Cn taotai 淘汰) *n* elimination

**tʰotʰó**  
*vi* to run away

**tʰósə**  
(Cf. Tib thog sa 狗)  
*n* storey of house

**tʰotʰótsʰo**  
(*tsʰo*)  
*vi* to be undecided, to shilly shally

**tʰótsʰu**  
(*tsʰu*)  
*vi* to be enough

**tʰotʰɛ́**  
(from Cn taotai 淘汰)  
*n* elimination

**tʰótsʰé**  
(*tsʰétsʰe*)  
*vi* to be too thin

**tʰótsʰu**  
(*tsʰu*)  
*vi* to be enough

**tʰótsʰó**  
(*tsʰo*)  
*vi* to be undecided, to shilly shally

**tʰótsʰo**  
(*tsʰo*)  
*vi* to be undecided, to shilly shally

**tʰótsi**  
(*tsi*)  
*vi* to be used to

**tʰotʰó**  
(*tsó*)  
*vi* to be hot

**tʰótsó**  
(*tsó*)  
*vi* to be hot

**tʰóvɯ**  
(*vɯ*)  
*vt* to work

**tʰoyé**  
*vt* to use up

**tʰoyí**  
(*yí*)  
*vc* (upright things) to exist

**tʰɔ́la**  
(*ɔlɑ*)  
*vt* to drive cattle onto the field after harvest

**tʰɔ́lә́**  
1) *vi* to release, to have a holiday, to dismiss school
2) *vt* to hand out

**tʰɔ́ngә**  
Free Variant of *tʰíngә*  

**tʰɔ́tɕo**  
(*ɔtɕo*)  
*vt* to drive away

**tʰɔ́tʂʰә**  
*vi* to get bored

**tʰú**  
*a kind of milk product*

**tʰuɕǘ**  
*vi* to break away from chains, to run away from confinement

**tʰuɕǘ**  
*vt* to send someone off

**tʰúko**  
Free Variant of *tʰóko*

**tʰukú**  
(*uku*)  
*vt* to carry away

**tʰúmә́**  
1) *adv* nothing, anything
2) *vt* to choose from

**tʰupɛ́**  
(Tibetan loan of ndʐú)  
*vi* to look good, to be fun

**tʰúyu**  
*vt* to sell, to exchange

**tʰuzɛ́**  
*vt* to look for

**tʰuzɛ́sә**  
*vt* to look for

**ti**  
*pro* indefinite pronoun

**tiɛ́**  
(from Cn dian 电)  
*n* electricity, power

**tiɛ́sә**  
(from Cn dianshi 电视)  
*n* television

**tiɣé**  
(*iɣe*)  
*vi* to flow upward

**tíɣɛ**  
*vt* to surround

**tíhɛ**  
(*ihɛ*)  
1) *vi* to open (door), to uncover
2) *vt* to turn on (a TV, computer, etc.)

**tíku**  
(*iku*)  
*vt* to enclose clockwise

**tílә**  
*n* lightning

**tíndü**  
(*indü*)  
*vt* to push (a cart, etc.) uphill

**tindʑé**  
(*indʑe*)  
*vi* to fly up

**tíŋo**  
*vi* (weather) to clear up

**típɛ́**  
*vt* to uproot

**títo**  
*vt* to rub with hands

**tírɔ́**  
*vt* to twist, to be in a twisted shape

**tíra**  
*vt* to choose from

**tíru**  
(Dialectal Variant *tusu*)  
(*tʰu*)  
1) *vt* to harvest
2) *vt* to confiscate

**títsɛ́**  
Free Variant of *tsikɔ́*

**títsɛ́**  
*adv* all the time
títö FreeVariant of titu

tīsʰī (*tīsʰī) Vt to jump up

tītsʰu (*tītsʰu) Vt to mix up, to stir

tītsʰū (*tītsʰū) Vt to make a fire burn up

Titu (FreeVariant titō) 1) Vt to face towards 2) Vt to verify, to check
tivī Vn to get thirsty
tivi (*tivī) Vt to send someone off upward

*tō Vt to remove Prefixed form atō, ngdō
tōdžō n construction worker
todzā n cabinet
tōkʰū n laptop
tölɑ; Tibetan loan of tūsī
tōla, Vt to spray something around
tōle Vt to set a fire
tōlo adv together
tōlō prt clause final particle denoting state
tōmē pro others
tōmē adj rich
tōmọ n the top edge of something
tōmu FreeVariant of tsumu

tōmутे́ (Cf. Tib dar cha དར་ཆ) n flag, banner
tōnū (from Tib dom nag འོག་ཉ) n black bear
tōndō n nourishment
tōnpa (from Tib stong pa འོང་པ) adj empty
tōntsʰa (from Tib stong phrag འོང་ཕྲག) nnum one thousand
tōpi (DialectalVariant tōte) pro someone
torē n stone pestle
tori (from Tib rdo ring རོ་ིང) n stone pillar
tōsa (sasā) Vt to become light, to light up
tōsa 1) Vt to be full 2) qtf many
tosi (Compound of sī) n one day
tōte DialectalVariant of tōpi
tōto adj (rules, etc.) strict
tōtsʰe n boat
tōvɛ́ n fence
tōvuu Vt to take something off, to make something fall onto the ground
tōwɛ́ n wooden plank
toyī (FreeVariant toyū) n one night
toyītsɛ́ (DialectalVariant tsắtșe) (Compound of tsɛ́) n lunch
tōyo n fireplace
toyū FreeVariant of toyī
tō, n the top end of something
tō, n plow Compound tō ngtșĕ
tō ngtșĕ́ (Compound of tō,) n the shaft of a plough
tōyo n dish (meat, vegetables, etc.)
tōla (*tola) Vt to toss upward, to cast upward
tolē (*tola) Vt 1) to drive upward 2) to let (cattle, etc.) into their barn or shed 3) to liberate 4) to pump water upward PhrasalVerb tsemé tölā
törō n milk products eaten together with tsampa
tōso (*toso) Vt to grind (a knife, etc.)
tōtsō (*totsō) Vt to drive upward
tōtsō Vn to be hungry, to get hungry
tōtsʰɛ̇ n sparrowhawk
tōtsō (*totsō) FreeVariant of tudzhû

*tșaa 1) clf classifier for performance 2) n storey
t스 TYPOGRAPHICALLY: tsató FreeVariant of dzemû, Tibetan loan of dzemû tס TYPOGRAPHICALLY: tśo FreeVariant of tsō
tśamö n a kind of yellow-colored earth that is used as dye, which turns red after it is heated up
tsé pro third person singular reflexive form

**tšénc** n light refreshments, articles of tribute

**tšétse** adv by oneself

**tšetsé nőjo** adv at once, immediately

**tša** prt noun marker

**tšáhu** (Compound of *hú*) adv on that night

**tšakú** prt 1 discourse marker 2 and, then, marker of temporal succession

**tšamá** interrog how many

**tšámu** (from Tib btsun mo བཙུན་མོ) n queen

**tšanbó** n shoes, boots

**tšándö** n monkey

**tšānṣa tšēne** adj messy, untidy

**tšāsí** (Compound of *sí*) adv on that day

**tšatsé rére** adj messy

**tšātšu** Free Variant of **tšātsɛ́tšu** (from Tib gtso bo གཙོ་བོ) adv firstly, most importantly

**tšɛ́** Vt to fetch

**tšɛ́kʰɛ** interj oh

**tšɛ́métɔlә́** (Phrasal Verb of *tɔlә́*) Vi to destroy, to annihilate

**tšɛndǘ** n soles of the feet

**tšɛndzә́** n grain

**tšɛrɛ** Tibetan loan of *wutɕé*

**tšɛtsә́ rére** adj messy

**tšɛtsɛ́** (Free Variant **tšɛtsú**tsɛ́) adj small Preixed form

**tʰɛtsɛ́**

**tʰetsʰɛ** Vt to wring (water out of clothes, etc.) Preixed form

**ɛtsә́tso, notsә́tso**

**tšɛtsú** Free Variant of **tšɛtsɛ́tšu** (from Tib btsun mo བཙུན་མོ) adv firstly, most importantly

**tšɛ́rɛ** Tibetan loan of *wutɕé*

**tʃɛ́rɛ** (from Tib rtsab to བྱ་ཏོ) n fried dough twist

**tʃɤ́lɤ** n cat

**tʃɤ́lɤtɕe**

**tʃɤ́lɤtɕe** (Compound of *tɕe*) n kitten

**tʰá** Free Variant of **tʰánbi**

**tʰakɔ́** n jackdaw

**tʰalá** n dance

**tʰamá lόma** n name of a plant

**tʰaná** n 1) wok holder 2) tablecloth

**tʰānbi** (Free Variant **tʰa**n) n a kind of plant seed

**tʰapә́** n red silk yarn, the traditional headdress for male Munya people

**tʰasure** adj busy

**tʰa** clf classifier for family

**tšɛ́tsɛ́e** adj (sticks, etc.) slim, thin Preixed form

**kʰitsʰé, kʰutsʰé, notsʰé, tʰotsʰé** Superative form **zátsʰe**

**tˢʰā** (Dialectal Variant **tʰatsʰá**) (Cf. Tib tshwa) n salt

**tʰesʰa** n goat Compound

**tʰesʰala, tʰesʰanů, tʰesʰanbo, tʰesʰi**

**tʰesʰa** Vt to burn something Preixed form

**ytsʰa, nótʰa**

**tʰayi** (Compound of **tʰeró, yi**yi) n kindling, fire-lighter

**tʰemǎndzo** Free Variant of **tʰemapэ**

**tʰesʰanga** (Compound of **tʰēhá**) n young goat

**tʰanů** (Compound of **tʰēhá**) n goat hair

**tʰapʰá** (Free Variant **tʰatotó**) n lung

**tʰapʰipʰado** n a kind of plant

**tʰapʰó** n tree

**tʰeɾeɾanbo** (Free Variant **kʰerənbo**) (Compound of **tʰēhá, renbo**) n drum skin made of goat skin

**tʰeró** n wood Compound

**tʰeɾi** (Compound of **tʰēhá**) n baby goat

**tʰetó** Free Variant of **tʰapʰá**

**tʰetsʰá** Dialectal Variant of **tʰā**, **tʰetsʰa**

**tʰetsʰa** n woodpecker

**tʰetsʰo** n the first plowing after autumn harvest

**tʰɛ́** n solid sour milk

**tʰɛ́nc** (from Tib mtshans las མཚན་ལས) n night work, overtime work

**tʰɛ́nc** (from Tib mtshams pa མཚམས་པ) n hermit, recluse

**tʃɛ́tsʰe** n a bronze mold in which stupas (typically 50-100) are inscribed, which are dipped in the river to dispel bad luck Compound **tʃútʰɛ́tsʰe**
**tsʰɛ́tsʰɛ** Vi to busy about, to do this and that

**tsʰɛ́tsʰɛ** 1, Free Variant of **tsʰɛ́tsʰɛ**

**tsʰɛ́tsʰɛ** 2 n mouse Compound **kotsʰɛ́tsʰɛ, tsʰɛ́tsʰɛ**

**tsʰɛ́tsʰɛ** (Free Variant **tsʰɛ́**.) (Compound of **tsʰɛ́**, **kɔ́rɔ**). n mouse

**tsʰɪ** 1, Free Variant of **mitsʰɪ**

**tsʰɪ** 2 aux to be able to (because of bodily conditions)

**tsʰɪ** 3 (Dialectical Variant **tsʰɪ**.) (Cf. Tib tshon རྟོན) n colored sand, paints, hue

* **tsʰɪ** clf classifier for words or a stretch of discourse

**tsʰɪng** (Cf. Tib tshes mgo རྟོིས་མགོ) n beginning (of a month, etc.)

**tsʰɪn** (Dialectical Variant tɕʰí) (Cf. Tib tshon རྟོན) n colored sand, paints, hue

* **tsʰɪ** clf classifier for measuring a set of Buddhist scripture wrapped in a silk

**tsʰí** 1 Free Variant of **nɪtsʰi**

**tsʰí** 2 aux to be able to (because of bodily conditions)

**tsʰí** 3 (Dialectical Variant tɕʰí) (Cf. Tib tshon རྟོན) n colored sand, paints, hue

* **tsʰɪ** clf classifier for words or a stretch of discourse

* **tsʰɪ** clf classifier for measuring a set of Buddhist scripture wrapped in a silk

**tsʰɪ** 1 Free Variant of **mítsʰi**

**tsʰɪ** 2 aux to be able to (because of bodily conditions)

**tsʰɪ** 3 (Dialectical Variant tɕʰí) (Cf. Tib tshon རྟོན) n colored sand, paints, hue
tsalú (Cf. Tib phred gli ཞེ་ཿ།) n a kind of flute played vertically

tšanyi (Compound of tšó, nyinyi) n red ant

tšó, (Cf. Tib glog ma འོག་མ) n ant Compound tšanyi

tšó, prt over, more than (used after number words)
tšó, (Archaic form yɪ) (from Tib brag Ǿོག) n steep, rocky and dangerous cliff

*tsa Vt to hand to Prefix ed form atšá, étša, nértša, ngétsa, thétša

tšakʰ (Cf. Tib 'grags ǔོག) n shout, yell

tšaméto (Compound of metó) n name of a plant

tšándzɪnc (Cf. Tib zhas 'dgs pa ཡེས་འདེགས་པ) n servant, attendant

tšé (from Tib sprel Ɇེལ) n monkey (the ninth of twelve Zodiacs)

*tše (Cf. Cn zhen 阵) clf classifier for events that occurred in a short period

*tse₂ Vt to spray, to pour Prefix ed form kʰutšé, notšé, tɛ́tšé

tšә́ (n stroke

tšә́ (n gall bladder

tšә́ɡö (Cf. Tib dra ba can Ȯ་བ་ཅན) n spider

tšә́kʰ (Cf. Tib 'grags ǔོག) n shout, yell

*tšә́mi (Cf. Tib sgrim Ȍིམ) n screw

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́nbɯ́ n horn

*tšә́kʰö (Tibetan loan of 橛子) n screw

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tšә́li n chunk

*tʃ̥ôte (Phrasal Verb of 朽utsū) Vt to settle somewhere by building a house

*tšόmi adj fake, unreal

*tšó  Vt to slice, to cut (meat, etc.) Prefix ed form natšótc, Pluractional form natšótc

*tšò clf classifier for pile

*tšó kʰutšú (Phrasal Verb of kʰutšú) Vt to settle somewhere by building a house

*tšómec adj fake, unreal

*tšómc adj fake, unreal

*tšó  Vt to slice, to cut (meat, etc.) Prefix ed form natšótc, Pluractional form natšótc

*tšò clf classifier for pile

*tšó kʰutšú (Phrasal Verb of kʰutšú) Vt to settle somewhere by building a house

*tšómec adj fake, unreal

*tšó
\textbf{tšónpa} (from Tib grong pa ལྕོང་པ།) \textit{n} village

tšöpe (from Tib 'gyur ba ཞྱུར་བ།) \textit{n} transformation, mutation

tšoré \textit{n} the circle formed during dancing

tšó núdzi (Phrasal Verb of núdzi) \textit{Vi} to line up for a feast according to seniority

tšókʰo (from Tib ngrul khang ཉྲུབ་ཁང་།) \textit{n} room, cabin

tšú (from Tib drug འག་) \textit{adj} six

*tsū \textit{Vi} fire burn up \text{Prefixed form} étṣū, ítṣū, nótsū, tátsū, títsū

tšúsi (from Cn zhuxi 主席) \textit{n} president

tšúpe Chinese loan of dżédżi

tšúpɛ \textit{n} 1) sixth 2) June

tšūwɛ (from Tib bro ba ངོ་བ།) \textit{n} flavor, taste

*tu* \textit{vt} to fight against each other, to compete for \text{Prefixed form} nótu

túsi (Tibetan loan variant tóla, gtor brlags, གཏོར་བྱེམས།) \textit{n} destruction, demolition, devastation

\textbf{u}

*use* \textit{vt} to talk, to tell (a story, etc.) \text{Prefixed form} nusó, tusó

usú (*useu*) \textit{vt} (sun, etc.) to descend, to go down

*uuseu* \textit{vt} to preserve \text{Prefixed form} kʰusú, usú

udzó (*udzó*) \textit{vt} to send someone upward

*udzó* \textit{vt} to dispatch someone somewhere, to send someone off \text{Prefixed form} yudzó, ngyudzó, nudzó, t'udzó, tudzó, udzó

udzú (*udzú*) \textit{vt} to chip

*udzú* \textit{vt} to chip \text{Prefixed form} tudzú, udzú

udzí (*udzí*) \textit{vt} to flutter, to fly

*udzí* \textit{vt} to get, to make \text{Prefixed form} kʰudzí, núdzí, údzí

uyīya (Compound of ɣy) \textit{n} rooster
uyímo (Compound of mó) n hen
uyítsée (Compound of uróyo. tse) n chick
úkó Vt to measure
úku (*uku) Vt to carry downstream
*uku Vt to carry on one's back Prefix form yųkú, ngųkú, nųkú, tųkú, tukú, ukú
ulę Vt to request, to beg
unyų (nyų) aux can (speak a certain language, drive a car, etc.)
úpʰә Free Variant of épʰa
uróyo n chicken Compound uyítee
utséwá n the right side of the fireplace, close to a cupboard, the place for the hostess
*utséw Free Variant of étséhu *utséw Free Variant of *tséhu
*utsé (Free Variant *atsé) Vt to put Prefixed form kʰútsé, nútsew, rútsew, tátsew, tůtséw
utséwá n the left side of a fireplace, reserved for guests
uzé n radiance

vá₁ Free Variant of ká, ngštěų
vá₂ (Tibetan loan variant mo, mar, (Controller)) n butter
vavá n egg
vakʰńyéde n a kind of edible plant
vakʰi n siblings
vakʰ Dialectal Variant of tsʰíwu
*vála Vt to roll about Prefixed form ávéla, yźvéla, návéla, ngúvéla, těvéla, tʰávéla
varekótsí Free Variant of kokótsé
varakʰálí n piglet
vató n stone grinder
vɛ Free Variant of kʰɛ₂
*vɛ clf 1) classifier for thin object 2) classifier volitant birds and insects
vɛ́nde n old man
vɛ́tšé n name of a plant
vɛ́vo n grandfather
vitéikɛ̆ n squirrel
vo₁ prt a particle denoting request
vo₂ (Dialectal Variant vóvo) n father Compound vomó
vó₁ n 1) the barley flour made from fried barley 2) flour, powder Compound súvo
vomó (Tibetan loan variant pʰɛ́mc, pha ma, (Controller)) (Compound of vó₂, mó) n parents
vóvo Dialectal Variant of vó₂
vó₁ n frost
vómá n hawthorn fruit, rose hip
vú (Cf. Cn wú) n snow
vuvú adj (livestock, etc.) staying together, not spreading out
vúu, Vt to do something Prefixed form évúu, kʰúvúu, nóvúu, tóvúu, tʰóvúu
vúu₁ n snow
vuló n belly
vusí n bat
vuvú adj soft

watsá (from Cn wazi 窦子) n sock
wá (from Cn wa 瓦) n tile
wí Dialectal Variant of yí₂, yí₁
wó (Dialectal Variant Kó) n rope Prefixed form kʰúwo, túwo
wókʰo Dialectal Variant of okʰó
womaná Dialectal Variant of omaná
wókʰo Dialectal Variant of okʰó
wómәnә Free Variant of ómәnә
wonә Dialectal Variant of onә
wόnә Dialectal Variant of ónә
wōtsә Dialectal Variant of otsә
wōtsә Dialectal Variant of otsә
wu cliff classifier for meal
-wu adj sfx very
-wu (from Tib pa ω) n sfx person from a certain place Compound manyәwu, tәʰiscwu
wudzә n fly
wupʰә (Tibetan loan variant sәپә, gshog pa, གཤོག་པ) n wing
wutsә (Tibetan loan variant tsәɾә, rtswa ra, རྲ་བ) n grazing land
wuә n bird Compound іәtә wuә, ngәwuә, tsәә vәwә, тәwuә, wuә bәgә, wuә rәsә, wuәlәcә
wuә bәgә (Compound of wuә) n pipit
wuә mәtsә n alpine accentor (a bird)
wuә rәsә (Compound of wuә) n a fungus, called shuabajun (刷把菌) in Chinese
wuәlәcә (Compound of wuә, lәме) n a bird
wuәrә n centipede

y
yarәkәpә (Compound of kәpә) n onion
yazәyәru (Free Variant tәɾү, Chinese loan variant tәʰahү) n kettle
yadә n punishment
yamenә prt either
yarakү n pup tent
yaɾo (Dialectal Variant kәuseә) adv quickly, immediately
yaɾu (Dialectal Variant тәɾtsү) n mug
yәyү (from Cn yangyu 洋芋) n potato
yәyүme adv besides
yazә n last year Compound yәzә rәzә
yazә rәzә (Compound of yәzә) n several years ago
yeyә n Lady Amherst’s pheasant
ye Tibetan loan of tә
yәɡә (from Tib yal ga ཡལ་ག) n branch, bough
ycәlә Vt to leave something (for someone)
ycәntәhү Free Variant of тәәŋtә
yeyә adj good looking, nice Preфикс form tʰuyә
yі1 post a particle used after a nominal modifier
yі n Free Variant of siyi
yі2 (Dialectal Variant wi) n wine
yі Vc (upright things) to exist Preфикс form tʰoyі
yimә (from Cn yumі ButtonType) n maize
yіndәzә prt so, therefore
yиbәsәi (Dialectal Variant yүphә, Free Variant yopһә) n last time, before
yіɾә n bed
yиsә Free Variant of yisі
yisі (Free Variant yisә) (Compound of sі) n yesterday
yisі rәsі (Compound of sі) n several days ago
yıtә Dialectal Variant of y oyі, Free Variant of әyі
yіtsә Free Variant of nәtsә
yіtsәаtsәi n name of a plant
yә2 n a yogurt containing butter
yә Vt to shout, to yell
yә (from Tib yos ཡོ) n rabbit (the fourth of twelve Zodiacs)
yoшә adj only
yonbәkәlo Free Variant of yөnbo
yөnbo (Free Variant yonbәkәlo) n nerve
yonә prf first person plural inclusive
yoní pro first person plural inclusive ergative form
yonínà pro first person dual inclusive
yopʰó Free Variant of yipʰosi
yopugölö (Archaic form yopusáyö) n heart
yopusáyö Archaic form of yopugölö
yorö adv right at (a certain moment)
yová n long long ago
yu prt again, then
yū Vn to desire to do something Prefixed form tuyū
yûmënde (Compound of mënde) n ghost
yuña n scarecrow
yûpē (Tibetan loan variant ronpá, rong pa, རོང་པ) 1) farmer 2) canyon, deep valley
3) rude person
yûpʰo Dialectal Variant of yipʰosi
yûtsá n a place for sitting during feast
yûwé n kettle handle

**Z**
za n the edible root from a plant, ginseng
zá (Cf. Tib zangs ཉང་) n copper, brass Compound zamá, zanbí
zá, n 1) suckling baby animals 2) young child Compound zandzá, zangútse
zamá (Compound of zá) n a large milk container made of copper
zanbí (Compound of zá) n a container for holding milk during milking
zandzá n a small bucket for butter tea
zangútse (Compound of tsee, zá, ngú) n small bronze wok
zana adv almost
zará n shadow
zató n summer
zenbarérę n Yunnan japalure
*za clf classifier for human
zamé Free Variant of cti
zamó (Free Variant zimó) (Compound of mó) n female dzo
zamóho interrog when
zonbá (Cf. Tib mchin pa མཆིན་པ) n liver
zánbó (nbönbó) adj widest
zándi (nyínyí) adj most red
zap’hán Free Variant of damáni
zapó n Asian longhorned tick
zapú (Cf. Tib zag phung ཟག་པུ) n body
zará n boundary
zara (rará) adj longest
zató n then, at that time
záthú (tʰúthú) adj highest
zásthe (tshétshe) adj slimmest
zást’hö (Free Variant zást’höthö) (tsh’höts’hö) adj whitest
zást’hö (Free Variant of zást’höthö) zást’höts’hö Free Variant of zást’hö
zást’höthö (Free Variant zást’hö, zúth’hö) (tsh’höts’hö) adj most diligent, most well-behaved
zawá n bamboo rat
záza adj alive
zázava adv stealthily, on the sly
*zazo Vt to pile up, to stack up Prefixed form ézazo, khúzazo
*zec clf classifier for long objects
*zá Vt to conceal something from someone Prefixed form khízt, názzt
ziyú n dzo (a hybrid of yak and domestic cattle)
ziko (kiko) adj biggest, tallest
zimó Free Variant of zamó
zizítsötsö n red-winged shrike babbler, also a cover term for small-sized birds
zó n Sichuan pepper
zodándzará (Free Variant zontʰándʑәrö, Tibetan loan variant teʰinba) (Compound of ndzará) n anus
zokʰá Free Variant of zontʰá
zontʰándʑәrö Free Variant of zodándzará
zontʰá (Free Variant zokʰá) n genitalia, private parts
zó n butt
zöpu (Dialectal Variant of pakó) Free Variant of tsazó
zũ n button
zũtʃʰö Free Variant of zě́tʃʰōtʃʰö

z̲apú Archaic form of sí
zi (Dialectal Variant zũ) n pig Compound zindó, ziteʰé
zīlc (Cf. Tib shing las ċčʰon) n farm work
zimé n others
zimé (Cf. Tib ri ma Ṿg) n land
zindó (Compound of zi, ndó) Free Variant of ziteʰé
zinteʰó (Free Variant teʰupe) n liquid sacrificial offerings such as water and wine
ziteʰé (Free Variant zindó) (Compound of zi) n pork
zitsa (Chinese loan variant huɑyú) n lard
zõ₂ n yogurt (made without extracting butter)
zõ₁ n low area, the foot of a mountain
zoteʰé n servant
zowú n crippled person
zōzi n a dance move
zōzó adj (age) young
zũí Dialectal Variant of zi
zũ (from Tib bzhi sã) num four
zudé (Cf. Tib gzhi bdag sãsã) n local deity, local guardian
zũpe (from Tib bzhi pa sãsã) 1) num fourth 2) n April