A Study on the Order of the Demonstrative and Noun in Southern Qiang

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1. Introduction

The demonstratives in this article can be divided into demonstrative pronoun and demonstrative adjective. The demonstrative pronouns can function as an argument alone, however, the demonstrative adjective can’t act as an argument alone, and it must be combined with classifiers to act as an argument.

There are three kinds of the order between demonstrative and noun in Southern Qiang, these are N+Dem, Dem+N+Dem and Dem+N. It is generally recognized that N+Dem is the original order of Qiang, Dem+N comes later, and it is not clear that Dem+N is its own development or influenced by Chinese (Huang, 2003). No investigation into the nature of definiteness can proceed far without consideration of the place of article and other determiners within noun phrase structure (Lyons, 1999:41). By the investigation on specific usage of demonstratives in four dialects of Southern Qiang, we want to describe the order between the demonstrative and noun, the order between the determiner and noun, and discuss the causes of formation.

2. The describe of the word order of the demonstrative pronoun and noun in Southern Qiang

2.1 The types of the demonstrative pronoun in Southern Qiang

The demonstrative pronouns do exist in four dialects of Southern Qiang, which can be divided into distal and proximate demonstrative pronouns by the space distance. See Table 1:

1 Huang (2007: 63) called free pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. He also indicated that the two kinds demonstrative have no difference in forms.
2 Huang (2003) discussed nine compound NP orders in Qiang, which involved the word order between demonstrative and noun in various levels. We only discuss the top level of demonstrative pronoun and noun in this article.
Table 1  The demonstrative pronouns of four dialects in Southern Qiang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative Pronouns</th>
<th>Miansi</th>
<th>Luobo Zhai</th>
<th>Longxi</th>
<th>Puxi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximate</td>
<td>tɕa³¹</td>
<td>tse⁵⁵</td>
<td>tɕi/ɭa³¹</td>
<td>tso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>a⁵⁵</td>
<td>thi³¹/ thə³¹</td>
<td>thə³¹/tha³¹</td>
<td>tho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See the following sentences in four dialects:

1) tɕi³¹  ni³¹  ne⁵⁵ ？  [Miansi]  
   this  what  QUES  
   (What is this?)

2) tse⁵⁵  ni³¹  a³¹nia³¹ka⁵⁵  na⁵⁵  ma³¹-ua³¹  [Luobo Zhai]  
   this and that totally all NEG-same  
   (This is totally different from that.)

3) A. tɕi³¹=ti³¹  na³¹ti³¹ ŋo³¹  [Longxi]  
   this=TOP what is  
   (What is this?)

B. thi³¹=ti³¹  na³¹ti³¹ ŋo³¹  
   that-TOP what is  
   (What is that?)

4) tɕi  tɕotsu-i  da-tshua-i-tɕi  [Puxi] ³
   this sword-INSTR DIR-chop-CSM-INDEF  
   (This is chopped by a sword.)

1) comes from Miansi, tɕi serves as subject. 2) comes from LuoboZhai, tse⁵⁵ and thi³¹ forms coordinate structure, serve as subject. 3) from Longxi Lianghekou and 4) from Puxi.

2.2 The Types of the Demonstrative Adjective in Southern Qiang

2.2.1 The demonstrative adjective also exist in four dialects of Southern Qiang, which can also be divided into distal and proximate, and they can combined with classifiers which may have some semantic to form NP. See Table 2:

Table 2  The demonstrative adjectives of four dialects in Southern Qiang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>demonstrative adjective</th>
<th>Luobo Zhai</th>
<th>Puxi</th>
<th>Miansi</th>
<th>Longxi Lianghekou</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximate</td>
<td>tse³¹</td>
<td>tsa-</td>
<td>tɕa/ tɕi</td>
<td>tɕa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>thi³¹</td>
<td>tha-</td>
<td>fia/a</td>
<td>thə³¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ Quoted from Chenglong Huang (2007:123).
2.2.2 The Combination Between demonstrative and Classifier in Puxi Dialect

1. The basic demonstrative pronouns in Puxi Dialect are ʦa- and tha-, these two demonstrative pronouns can precede or follow the noun to form DemN and NDem.

2. In Puxi Dialect the preferred order is DemN. Chenglong Huang (2007:162-3) analyzed that the construction of N+[DEM-CL] can be used in Puxi Dialect in the following circumstance:
   a) When the phrase of [DEM-CL] associates with other modifiers modify the head noun, the noun usually precedes the phrase of [DEM-CL].
   b) When the relative clause precedes the head of noun phrase, the demonstrative pronoun and quantifier phrase all follow the noun.

Here are the examples:

1) phu tsə-la [Huang, 2007: 164]
   cloth the-CL
   (The cloth.)

2) tsə-la phu qaʔ məi. [Huang, 2007: 88]
   the-CL cloth 1sg:NTP:GEN[CC] COP
   (The cloth is mine.)

3) tshu tsə-ɾu ʃe-dxe te-ʃako.[ Huang, 2007: 142]
   rice the-CL DIR-eat DIR-finish
   (Eat this bowl of rice.)

4) qaʔ phu tha-la. [Huang, 2007: 165]
   1sg:NTP:GEN cloth that-CL
   (That cloth of mine.)

5) [ɾate-po-si] tshunpa phu tha ɣsi-la. [Huang, 2007: 165]
   1sg:TPDIR-buy-CSM:1 blue cloth that three-CL
   (These three blue clothes that I bought.)

3. In Puxi dialect, the construction of [Dem-CL]+N=DEF is related with our topic, in which the post attachment –lei serve as definite marker. See:

6) thi zedə-lei tho ʃiʔ-quoi [Huang, 2007: 63]
   the-CL book-DEF there DIR-fall-CSM
   (Confucian classics fall on the floor.)

2.2.3 The Combination Between Determiner and Classifier in LuoboZhai Dialect

1. The basic demonstrative pronoun in Luobo Zhai Dialect are tsə³¹- and tʰə³¹-, these two demonstrative pronouns can only follow the noun to form NDem. The order of DemN only appears in pronoun that indicates objects ʦi³¹, ʦi³¹ is the merger of tsə³¹ and zɨ³¹. See:

7) phu³¹ tsə³¹-le³⁵
cloth  CL
(This cloth)

8)  ts'i31  ko31  qe51  we55  mi55  iou55,  pei31  ci31  a31-tsei213  (= tse + ie)
this:CL family formally rich people AUX, tody DIR-poor
(This family became poor form rich.)

2. In LuoboZhai Dialect, the construction of N=DEF is very popular, in which the post
attachment -thi31 can be served as distal pronoun, and it can also be a definite marker. Maybe, We
can suppose the -thi31 in LuoboZhai dialect is both a demonstrative and the clitic-form definite
article. See:

9)  su31  thi31  bo31  ka31-so31,  te31-ke31  thi31-ke55
mountain that high ADV UP-go NEG-go
(The mountain is high and it is hard to climb.)

10)  pan31lan31-thi31-to55  t'31-o31-te55  cia55  si31  si55  ma31
thing-DEF-PAT he-[DAT] just show CAUS PRO
(That thing just show to him.)

su31 thi31 in 10) means “that mountain”. pan31lan31-thi31 in 11) are clear to both speakers and
listeners in context, therefore, it may be either a demonstrative or a determiner.

However, -thi31 in 12) and 13) are clearly used as definite markers rather than distal pronouns,
for they signal the identity of the referent need the hearer’s inference. (Lyons, 1999:21). See:

11)  tho31  dz3i51ku55  a31(dzi31  a31-tio55  sa55,  dz3i51ku55-thi31  ni31ie55  ie55  ue213
he mouse one CL DIR-met 1sg mouse-DEF black 3sg. have
(He met a mouse and it is black.)

12)  t'iu213  u31-pia55  ba31  a31-ie31  a31-tcyo55  si31dz31,
LINK stone big one-CL DIR-see LINk
[u31-pia31 ba]= thi31  ke  ba31  tle31-jii213.
stone big this under rest DIR-in
‘When (He) saw a big stone, he take a rest on the stone.’ (the source of Shibi)

But the usage of 14B) indicates to us that -thi31 can be used as a distal pronoun. See:

13)  A:  pie31  tse31  o55  qa31  iou55
pen this CL 1sg COP
(This pen is mine.)
B:  pie31  thi31  qa31  iou55
pen that: CL 1sg COP
(That pen is mine.)

Another reason that makes us assume that -thi31 have been grammaticalized into a grammatical
particle is that -thi31 were not limited in distal deictic, which is its root meaning, meanwhile, it can
be used as a proximate pronoun or generic pronoun in some circumstance. See:

14)  A:  ñe31-thi31  t31-i31  ji55  qa213
disease-DEF DIR-cure have well
(That disease can be cured.)

B: su⁵⁵ pau⁵⁵-thi³¹ in⁵⁵-ie⁵⁵=ie³¹ uei⁵⁵
bag-DEF red=NOM have
(Bags are red.)

The meaning of 14A) is not “that disease can be cured” but “this disease can be cured”, and 14B) does not only means “that bag is red” but also means “bags are red”.

2.2.4 The Combination Between Determiner and Classifier in Miansi Dialect

1. The basic demonstrative pronoun in Miansi Dialect are ʦe- and a-, these two demonstrative pronouns can only precede the noun to form the construction of Dem+N. See:

15) A: ʨa³¹ ne³¹ phu³¹
   this CL cloth

16) ʨi³¹ tsi³¹ = lie³¹ twu⁰¹³ χuei³¹ ei³¹ a²¹-pu²¹³
   this: CL son=DEF LINK regret DIR-do
   (This son is regret) (Dingnan carve mother)

17) ʨi²¹³ tsi³¹ = li³¹ nia⁵⁵ [o⁵⁵] ue³¹-mia⁵⁵ te³¹-si³¹
   the: CL son=DEF LINK FILL a-mother DIR-die
tsi³¹ te³¹-ko³¹ wu³¹ nia⁵⁵ za³¹ za³¹ za³¹ nia⁵⁵ tsi³¹ twu²¹³
   after DIR-angry LINK cry cry cry LINK
   a²¹-i²¹ pho³¹ = lie⁵⁵ ʃo³¹-tshua³¹
   that-TOP tree=DEF DIR-chop
   (The son was sad after his mother’s death, cried many times, he chopped the tree.)
   (Dingnan carve mother)

2.2.5 The Combination Between Determiner and Classifier in Longxi Dialect

1. The basic demonstrative pronoun in Longxi Dialect are tua³¹- and tha³¹-, these two demonstrative pronouns can form two kinds of word orders, one is the form of N+Dem, another is the form of Dem+N+Dem. However, in Longxi Dialect, the construction of Dem+N has occurred. See:

18) su⁵⁵ pe³¹ tua³¹ pe⁵⁵ ke⁵⁵ wi³¹ zi³¹-pu³¹ wi³¹ nɔ³¹[Longxi]
   book this CL self DAT DIR-buy self is
(This book is bought by myself.)

19) ʨa₅⁵ phu₅⁵ phu₃¹ ʨa₃¹ phu₃¹
    this CL tree this CL
    (this tree)

20) A. ʨa₅⁵ ko₅⁵ ʨe₅⁵ ʨa₃¹ ko₃¹ ʨe₅⁵ phu₃¹ na₃¹ ʨa₅⁵
    this CL house this CL price how much ten thousand
    la₃¹-lyo₃¹[Longxi]
    DIR-have
    (How much of this house?)

B. ʨa₃¹ χe₅⁵ mu₃¹ ʨa₃¹ χe₃¹ ʨi₃¹-ɕu₅⁵ zei₃¹ pai₃¹
    this PL people this PL be going-to-DO leave ATT
    (Those people are going to leave.)

Zheng wu-xi (2016:88) indicated that the demonstrative pronoun can appear around the core noun, and there is no requirement for the appearance of the demonstrative pronoun that linked with classifier. The following example shows a sentence without classifier (Zheng, 2016:88):

21) ʨí-mù-ʨí
    this-person-this
    (this person)

2. Zheng (2016:88) has found that locative demonstrative can put before the core noun. See:

22) thà-phò
    that-clothes
    (the clothes which are over there)

23) tsà-phò
    this-clothes
    (the clothes which are here)

this kind of word order can only exist in demonstrative pronoun for position.

3. Zheng (2016:223) also noted the definite marker  lớ-tò in Longxi Dialect. See:

24) ʨa=tì dà-zá-tà joũ
    cow=DEF FROM-shout-V again(CH)
    ‘The cow mooed again’(T9)

25) ʨí à-wò, ʨá à-sò
tci=tò=zú ԁtɔ-phù
    son one-CL daughter one-CL.HB son=DEF=TOP ten-year
    dà-kɔ liá pá=pù wè.
    FROM-go EXIST become=HET ATT
    ‘one son and one daughter. The son is ten years old.’(T10)

In example 25), the first mentioned ʨá are marked by the numeral à plus classifier wò, When ʨá appear for the second time, it is marked by definite marking tò.
2.3 Summary

1. The demonstrative pronouns in four dialects of Southern Qiang have something in common:
   A. there are demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives;
   B. the demonstrative pronouns can directly act as an argument;
   C. the demonstrative adjective can’t serve as an argument until it combines with a classifier;
   D. All have the construction of [Dem+CL]+N=DEF.

2. Under the synchronous description, the order of the demonstrative adjective and noun in four dialects of Southern Qiang presents three word orders: N+Dem, Dem+N+Dem, Dem+N. In summary, the word order patterns of the demonstrative adjective and noun in four dialects of Southern Qiang considered above are given below:
   A. Luobo Zhai holds N+Dem;
   B. Longxi holds N+Dem, Dem+N+Dem, Dem (LOC.) +N;
   C. Puxi holds N+Dem, Dem+N;
   D. Miansi holds Dem+N.

3. In the order of Dem+N+Dem, the first Dem can only use as proximate pronoun, while distal pronoun does not exist this word order. The second Dem in distal pronoun has been grammaticalized into a definite marker(-DEF).

3. The analysis of the word order of demonstrative pronoun and noun in the Southern Qiang language

According to the 2.3, we know that the orders composed by these demonstratives and nouns are: ‘Dem+N’, ‘N+Dem’ and ‘Dem+N+Dem’, see the table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word order</th>
<th>Luobozhai</th>
<th>Puxi</th>
<th>Longxilianghekou</th>
<th>Miansi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N + Dem</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem + N</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem + N + Dem</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1 The word order of ‘N+Dem’ is the preferred word order in the Sourthern Qiang language

This paper supposes that the ‘N+Dem’ is probably the preferred word order. It bases on the three reasons as follows:

A. From the present situation, this word order can be used in dialects of Luobozhai, Puxi and Longxi.
B. Compared with the Northern Qiang, the word order of ‘N+Dem’ is the preferred word order in the Northern Qiang.
C. According to the analyses of Dryer (1992, 2007) and that of Hawkins (1995), the SOV language have the harmonious word order of N+Dem.

3.2 The word order of ‘Dem +N+Dem’

1. The word order of ‘[Dem-CL]_1+N+[Dem-CL]_2’ in Longxi is a pragmatic pattern. And the demonstrative in [Dem-CL]_2 is only be limited to the proximate demonstrative, the distal demonstrative has not this usage.

2. The usage of the word order of Dem+N+Dem in Longxi has several characters as follows:

   (1) If the head noun is followed by definite words, it wouldn’t use the reduplicate forms. If the head noun has no any modifier, it would use the reduplicate Dem. For example:

   26) pan³¹təŋ⁵⁵ ən⁵⁵ŋo³¹ʨə³¹zi³¹-la³¹-pa³¹ma⁵⁵pa³¹ue³¹
       chair root this CL DIR-break PRO AUX CSM: 3
       (The root of this chair will be broken.)

   27) A: ʨə³¹phu⁵⁵phu³¹ʨə³¹phu³¹ke³¹ma³¹mi³¹-ua³¹-ue³¹
       the CL tree this CL leaf NEG-have-CSM: 3
       (This tree have no leaves.)

   B: ʨə³¹ze³¹ze⁵⁵ʨə³¹ze³¹qa³¹a³¹tə⁵⁵mi³¹-te³¹-pa³¹
       this CL thing the CL 1sg all NEG-DIR-do
       (This thing I couldn’t finish.)

   (2) Only when the head noun act as agent or patient occurs at the beginning of a clause, can the form of ‘Dem+N+Dem’ be used. If the head noun, which act as a topic, occurs at the beginning of a clause, we can only find the construction of ‘N+Dem’, Such as in (28) o³⁵ke³¹, (29)pʰu³¹, and (30) su⁵⁵pei³¹.

   28) o³⁵ke³¹ʨə³¹ti³¹bo⁵⁵χua³¹ue³¹,
       mountain this:TOP CL high ADV CSM: 3
       (This mountain is too high to climb.)
(This cloth is prefect.)

(These books I have read.)

Although mù ‘person’ and ko³¹tsu³¹‘vegetable’ have the topic character as follows, but they also act as agent in 31), and patient in 32).

(There are many dishes at home besides these vegetables)

(3) When the demonstrative phrase occurs at the middle of a clause and expresses a new information, only ‘N+Dem’ is been used, but not the reduplication form ‘Dem+N+Dem’ is been used. For example, the phu⁵⁵ in 33) and 34) as follows:

(You can buy this cloth if you like it.)

(4) Because of the quantifier has determinative function, it doesn’t use the overlapping form ‘Dem+N+Dem’ when the noun is attributed by a quantifier, it is only use the construction of ‘N+Dem+Num+CL’.For example:

(The two Demonstratives of the ‘Dem+N+Dem’ in Longxi Qiang language are different, they complement each other in terms of grammatical function. The former demonstrative is originally added to the form of ‘N+Dem’ for emphasis, which is called exploratory expressions (Harris & Campbell 1995). The former demonstrative is used for deictic function, and the latter one used for definiteness. However, in the construction of ‘[Dem-CL]1+N+[Dem-CL]2’, the latter demonstrative is still a pronoun. This pattern is a kind of use discourse pattern that is limited in some circumstance (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 43).

1. The order of ‘Dem+N’ is not a preferred word order. The order of ‘N+Dem’ is probably the preferred word order. It may be influenced by Chinese.

2. This paper supposes that the order of the demonstrative pronoun and noun is being undergone the evolution as following:

   \[ \text{N+[Dem-CL]} > [\text{Dem-CL}]₁+\text{N+[Dem-CL]}₂ > [\text{Dem-CL}]+\text{N} \]

   The detailed process of grammaticalization are:

   a) \[ \text{N+[Dem-CL]} > [\text{Dem-CL}]₁+\text{N+[Dem-CL]}₂ \] [pragmatic emphasis]
   b) \[ [\text{Dem-CL}]₁+\text{N+[Dem-CL]}₂ > [\text{Dem}] +\text{N+DEF} \] [grammaticalization]
   c) \[ \text{Dem} +\text{N+DEF} \] [grammaticalization]
   d) \[ \text{Dem+N=DEF} > \text{Dem+N} \] [grammaticalization, extension]

3. [Dem+CL]₁+N+[Dem+CL]₂ is emphatic form of the demonstrative pronoun. Sunhongkai (1981: 87) indicated that ‘in order to emphasize the function of the demonstrative pronoun, the demonstrative numeral classifier phrase can be placed before the noun, but the classifier is needed to add to the back of the noun’. Zhengwuxi (2016: 88) indicated that ‘demonstratives can appear on both sides of a noun head so that the indicative role of the demonstratives will be more important’. Huangchenglong (20203) indicated that ‘the Dem+N+Dem is focus information’, as in (36) (Liuguangkun, 1998: 135-6):

\[ 36) \text{ʦə k’uə tsə: k’uə ならla ari ηuə ji.} \]

   this dog this: CL dog crazy one-CL is (AUX)
   (This is a crazy dog.)

4. [Dem+CL]₁ has become a definite particle. There are three reasons as follows:

1. The second Dem in the construction of [Dem+CL]₁+N+[Dem+CL]₂ had omitted, thus the [Dem+CL]₁+N+[Dem+CL]₂ had become [Dem+CL]₁+N+[CL]. For example:

\[ 37) \text{ʦa-χgy ʦei  χgy s’hua-la daye-qe (Sun, 1981: 94)} \]

   this-CL house CL DIR-collapse will be-AUX
   (This house will be collapsed.)

As the form of ‘Dem+CL’ had been reduced to CL, the grammatical function of CL had been desemanticized gradually.

2. As the reflex of a genitive particle. Sunhongkai (1981: 154) indicated that the second Dem of Dem+N+Dem in Taoping had been grammaticalized to a genitive particle, as follows:

\[ 38) \text{ʦa-la ma lə s’ɨtsɨn ʦei na lə ηuə} \]

   the-CL man CL heart ADV good CL is
This context that the reduced form [CL] is been used is a new circumstance, in which the phrase of Dem+N is followed by a noun phrase. The role of the new context is to cancel the demonstrative function of the second Dem in Dem+N+Dem. Thus this extension actually had caused the desemanticization and decategorialization.

(3) As the generation of the [Dem+CL]+N=DEF, [Dem+CL] had developed, or is developing, into a ‘definite marking’, as the-ti in Longxi, the ‘-lei’ in Puxi, the ‘-thi’ in Luobuzhai, the ‘-lio’ in Minsi. The examples in (39) illustrate the usage observed.

   This:PL-CL: HB=DEF=TOP EXT happy
   (Those people were very happy)

B:  tsa poda-lei me ɕtɕi vavu [Puxi, Huang (2007: 110)]
   the-CL tiger-DEF people eat want: 3

C:  bi³¹tɕo̚55-tɕi³¹ mu³¹ tie³¹ iɛ³⁵ ɕua³¹ sa⁵⁵ [Luobozhai]
   tiger-DEF people eat AUX want 3sg
   (The tiger wants to eat people.)

D:  tɕha³¹-jtɕa³¹ sa⁵⁵ = tɕi³¹ wiu²¹ tɕia³¹ tsì³¹ jɑ³¹-qɑ²¹³,
   pan-AUX-LOC=GEN (CH) exactly(CH) meat DIR-cook,
   pia³¹tɕe³¹ jtɕ-a³¹ sa⁵⁵ tɕiu²¹ wɨ³¹ li³¹-li⁵⁵
   meat DIR-cook LINk exactly(CH) this:CL
   tha³¹tɕa³¹ = lio⁵⁵ mi⁵⁵-mo³¹ [Miansi]
   blacksmith=DEF NEG-give
   (Boiled in the pot is the meat, which this blacksmith cannot eat.)

As the discussion so far has implied, the construction of [Dem+CL] in the form of [Dem+CL]+N+[Dem+CL] in the Southern Qiang language had undergone the grammaticalization, which includes the drop of distal pronoun, sound erosion of the pronoun (Longxi, Minsi), classifier erosion (Taoping Mawo) and the shift of grammatical function. The form of the Dem+N is the end of the cline of the grammaticalization. It has two paths as follows:

1) [Dem+CL]+N+[Dem+CL] > [Dem+CL]+N+[CL] > [Dem+CL]+N
2) [Dem+CL]+N+[Dem+CL] > [Dem+CL]+N+[DEF/TOP] > [Dem+CL]+N

5. Summary

1. In the Southern Qiang, there are three order structures: N+Dem, Dem+N+Dem and Dem+N. These three structures reflect four stages that the order of the Demonstrative and None in Southern Qiang had taken place:

   Stage I : Dem have function both ‘demonstrative’ and ‘definite’ → N+Dem
   Stage II : The function that both ‘demonstrative’ and ‘definite’ spilt → Dem₁+N+Dem₂:
Stage III: Dem$_1$ express ‘demonstrative’, Dem$_2$ express ‘definite’ → [Dem-CL]+N=DEF

Stage IV: Dem have function both ‘demonstrative’ and ‘definite’ → Dem+N

Luobozhai belongs to the stage I, Longxi belongs to the stage II, Puxi belongs to the stage II, and Miansi belongs to the stage IV:

40) A: pi³¹ta³¹ tha³¹za³¹ mu⁵⁵ te⁵⁵ sən³¹səei⁵⁵ ue³¹ [Longxi]
   tiger that CL people eat want 3sg

B: tsa po²da-lei me ɣtši vavu [Puxi, Huang (2007: 110)]
   the-CL tiger-DEF people eat want: 3

C: bi³¹to⁵⁵-ti³¹ mu³¹ tie³¹ ie⁵⁵ ɣua³¹ sa⁵⁵ [Luobozhai]
   tiger-DEF people eat AUX want 3sg

D: a³¹ i³¹ pi⁵⁵ta⁵⁵ me³¹ tse³¹ ɣa⁵⁵ be³¹ʤəu⁵⁵ [Miansi]
   the CL tiger people eat PRO want

(The tiger wants to eat people.)

2. The trigger of the change is attributed to the contact-induced grammaticalization. Heine and Kuteva (2005:22) indicated that a demonstrative developed into a definite article is a likely change. Although Qiang’s development from [Dem-CL]1+N+[Dem-CL]2 to [Dem-CL]1+N+[CL]2, then to [Dem-CL]1+N=DEF is its inner grammatical change, its contact with Chinese accelerated this change. The process of change has three key steps:

A. pragmatic information bring about the produce of the construction of [Dem+CL]$_1$+N+[Dem+CL]$_2$;

B. the phrase of [Dem+CL]$_2$, which functioned as deistic in the original structure of [Dem+CL]$_1$+N+[Dem+CL]$_2$, had undergone the grammaticalization that included the erosion of sound of the pronoun, the phrase of [Dem+CL]$_2$ had developed into a grammatical article and caused the construction of [Dem+CL]$_1$+N=DEF.

C. Under the influence of the Chinese word order, the DEF in the structure of [Dem+CL]$_1$+N=DEF had changed in function, and it had both definite and topic function, generated the structure of [Dem+CL]$_1$+N=DEF/TOP. However, in some context, the DEF/TOP in [Dem+CL]$_1$+N=DEF/TOP finally disappeared. At the same time, the character of [Dem+CL]$_1$ had changed, and had both definite and demonstrative function.

Heine and Kuteva (2005:79-120) believes that in the contact-induced interference, the principle of grammatical replication and grammaticalization are similar to a high degree, they seem it as contact-induced grammaticalization. Thus we can propose that this grammaticalization path is to replicate the Chinese grammar.

So, Dem+N+Dem pattern is a discourse use pattern based on the order of N+Dem, and it highlight the discourse information (Hongkai Sun, 1981; Chenglong Huang, 2003). This pattern
exactly plays the role of Ry in grammatical replication of Qiang, it generates a constantly supply for the arise of Dem+N (Rx) in Miansi Qiang Dialect (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 79-120).

3. why only Miansi Qiang Dialect reached the final stages of word order change [Dem+CL]+N? We consider it as the power of society-related factor in grammatical contact-induced change (Heine and Kuteva, 2005:28). The position of Miansi is closest to the south, and it is located beside the road to Chengdu and Dujiangyan, it is more exposure to the circumstance of Chinese, and we know it contact with Sichuan Dialect in Guanxian Section, including personnel communications, commerce and intermarriages, quite early on, so there is no doubt that it have more contact with Chinese than other dialects.

6. References

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