FOURTH WORKSHOP ON SINO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

第四届中国西南地区汉藏语国际研讨会
University of Washington, Seattle
September 8-10, 2016

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General Information & Special Thanks to Our Sponsors

How do I connect to the University of Washington wireless network?

The University of Washington’s WiFi network is named “University of Washington” and is the one you should use when on the UW campus. When you open a web browser, you will be prompted to enter a NetID and password. For your convenience, we have provided one for your use during this workshop:

NetID: STLSwif
Password: STLS2016

Once you have successfully logged in (authenticated) you will be able to use the web services for up to 12 hours without having to re-authenticate.

Thank you!

We are grateful to our sponsors, whose generous support has made this workshop possible.

The Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation
Confucius Institute of the State of Washington, University of Washington and City of Seattle
Department of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Washington
East Asia Center, University of Washington
China Program, University of Washington
Department of Linguistics, University of Washington
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<thead>
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<th>Mins</th>
<th>September 8 Thursday</th>
<th>September 9 Friday</th>
<th>September 10 Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Breakfast and check-in</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>Welcoming remarks</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1 Scott DeLancey</td>
<td>11 LIN You-Jing</td>
<td>21 SHI Xiangdong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2 James A. Matisoff</td>
<td>12 David Bradley</td>
<td>22 Henriette Daudey</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Pincuo Gerong</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><strong>Coffee break</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coffee break</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coffee break</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10:35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3 Guillaume Jacques</td>
<td>13 Min RAO</td>
<td>23 Chris Donlay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4 Jackson T.-S. SUN</td>
<td>14 Hiroyuki Suzuki</td>
<td>24 Xun GONG</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Qianzi TIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5 Yang GAO</td>
<td>15 GAO Tao and</td>
<td>25 Gwendolyn Hyslop</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ZHOU Junxun</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td><strong>Lunch break</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lunch break</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lunch break</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6 Graham Thurgood</td>
<td>16 Tingsheng ZHOU</td>
<td>26 Jesse Gates</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7 Yunfan LAI and NA Yi</td>
<td>17 Acuo Yixiweisa</td>
<td>27 Hiroyuki Suzuki</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Tashi Nyima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td><strong>Coffee break</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coffee break</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coffee break</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8 Jonathan Evans</td>
<td>18 Alexis Michaud</td>
<td>28 Sami Honkasalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>9 Shuya ZHANG</td>
<td>19 Zev Handel and</td>
<td>29 Qianzi TIAN and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Katia Chirkova</td>
<td>Jackson T.-S. SUN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10 Yunfan LAI</td>
<td>20 Zihe LI</td>
<td>Closing remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and future planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:05</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Adjournment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adjournment</strong></td>
<td><strong>Adjournment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Welcome reception</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6:30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Banquet</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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# Daily Schedule: Thursday, September 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Mins</th>
<th>Thursday, September 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>45</td>
<td><em>Breakfast and check-in</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>Welcoming remarks</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Session I: Graham Thurgood, chair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 9:00  | 40   | **Keynote Presentation #1:**  
|       |      | Scott DeLancey, *Reconstructing hierarchical argument indexation in Trans-Himalayan*  
| 9:40  | 35   | James A. Matisoff, *Lahu in the 21st century: vocabulary enrichment and orthographical issues*  
| 10:15 | 20   | **Coffee break**  |
|       |      | Session II: James A. Matisoff, chair  
| 10:35 | 35   | Guillaume Jacques, *The life cycle of multiple indexation and bipartite verbs in Sino-Tibetan*  
| 11:10 | 35   | Jackson T.-S. SUN and Qianzi TIAN, *Argument Indexation patterns in Horpa languages: a major Rgyalrongic subgroup*  
| 11:45 | 35   | Yang GAO, *Person marking in Menya*  
| 12:20 | 90   | **Lunch break** (Lake Washington Room, UW Club)  
|       |      | Session III: David Bradley, chair  
| 1:50  | 35   | Graham Thurgood, *Towards sorting out the phylogenetic and the areal in Qiangic*  
| 2:25  | 35   | Yunfan LAI and Na YI, *Inverse marking in Khroskyabs*  
| 3:00  | 20   | **Coffee break**  
|       |      | Session IV: Gwendolyn Hyslop, chair |
| 3:20  | 35   | Jonathan Evans, *Dáràng (达让) verb inflection*  
| 3:55  | 35   | Shuya ZHANG, *The stem 3 in Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong*  
| 4:30  | 35   | Yunfan LAI, *The intransitive prefix υ- in Wobzi Khroskyabs*  
| 5:05  |      | **Adjournment**  
| 5:30  |      | **Welcome reception** (Lake Washington Room, UW Club)  

All events are in the Yukon Pacific Room in the lower level of the UW Club, unless otherwise noted.
# Daily Schedule: Friday, September 9

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Mins</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Session V: Guillaume Jacques, chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Keynote Presentation #2: LIN You-Jing, <em>Phonology and lexicon of the Tatsi dialect of Japhug Rgyalrong, with an attempt to identify loanwords from Situ Rgyalrong</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Min RAO, <em>Relativization in Guiqiong</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Hiroyuki Suzuki, <em>Typological description of existential verbs and expressions in the Tibetic languages spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>GAO Tao and ZHOU Junxun, 南部羌语指示代词与名词的词序问题</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Lunch break (pick up box lunch in Gowen Hall room M218)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Tingsheng ZHOU, <em>Encoding of spatial relations: motion, direction and location in Lalo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Acuo Yixiweisa, <em>Stress phenomena in Tibetan Language</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Alexis Michaud, <em>The tone system of Yongning Na in evolutionary perspective: first steps towards a dialectal-comparative study of tone and morphotophonology</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Zev Handel and Katia Chirkova, <em>Duoxu tonal developments in Tibeto-Burman context</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Zihe LI, <em>Tonal correspondences among Naish languages and a tentative analysis in evolutionary perspective</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:05</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adjournment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bus pickup at Deca Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bus pickup at Travelodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Banquet (Talaris Conference Center)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bus return to hotels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All events are in the Yukon Pacific Room in the lower level of the UW Club, unless otherwise noted.
### Daily Schedule: Saturday, September 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Mins</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Session IX: Jackson T.-S. Sun, chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td><strong>Keynote Presentation #3:</strong> SHI Xiangdong, 新出故宫本《西番译语》的若干特点初探</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Session X: Alexis Michaud, chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chris Donlay, <em>Hidden complexity as a feature of Sino-Tibetan languages: The view from Khatso</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:10</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Xun GONG, <em>Influences of tone on the diachrony of Zbu Rgyalrong vocalism</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:45</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Gwendolyn Hyslop, <em>East Bodish reconstructions in a comparative light</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td><em>Lunch break</em> (Colleen Rohrbaugh Room)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Session IX: Henriette Dauday, chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Session XII: Zev Handel, chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sami Honkasalo, <em>Verb morphology in Geshizha Horpa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Qianzi TIAN and Jackson T.-S. SUN, <em>On tense and aspect in Gexi Horpa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Closing remarks and future planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:05</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adjournment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All events are in the Yukon Pacific Room in the lower level of the UW Club, unless otherwise noted.

Reconstructing Hierarchical Argument Indexation in Trans-Himalayan

Scott DeLancey
University of Oregon

The paradigms of the Qiangic, Nung, Kiranti, and West Himalayan branches of the family are uncontroversially cognate (DeLancey 2012, LaPolla 2013). There is ample evidence that the postverbal AGREEMENT WORD paradigms found in Jinghpaw, Meyor, Northern Naga, and Northeastern and Northwestern Kuki-Chin are also (DeLancey 2012, 2015). Among these languages we find both subject and hierarchical indexation patterns, though the latter are far more prevalent. DeLancey (1989) has assumed hierarchical indexation in the proto-language, inferred from the prevalence of hierarchical paradigms in the modern languages. This paper assembles the evidence for a suffix #-u indexing 3rd person O arguments, and shows that the original system allowed the option of indexing either argument, but not both, in a SAP ! 3 verb form.

By comparing the distribution of reflexes of 3OBJ # -u in modern languages we can construct a more complex original situation with stronger empirical basis. Consider the distribution of #-u in a few representative languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Qiang</th>
<th>Newari</th>
<th>Nung</th>
<th>rGyalrongi</th>
<th>Kiranti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thangmi</td>
<td>Rawang</td>
<td>Situ</td>
<td>Stau</td>
<td>Wambula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1→ 3</td>
<td>(-w)-α</td>
<td>-u-ŋ</td>
<td>-ŋ-ό</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2→ 3</td>
<td>(wə)-n</td>
<td>-u-na</td>
<td>ὲ-ο</td>
<td>ta-⁻w</td>
<td>-j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3→ 3</td>
<td>-wə</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ο</td>
<td>v-⁻w</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most critical witnesses are Qiang, where the SAP argument is always indexed, with #-u added when the O argument is highly topical, and Kulung, where the two paradigms are completely distinct: negative verbs index the SAP A and affirmative forms the 3 O. Rawang and Thangmi both have complete, integrated paradigms, but with the affixes in the opposite order: SAP + #-u in Thangmi, #-u + SAP in Rawang. We see the same variation within Kiranti, where Wambule and other Western Kiranti languages have SAP + #-u, while Bantawa and other South Central Kiranti languages have #-u + SAP. In Situ and Stau (rGyalrongic) we see incomplete mixed paradigms, with #-u in some forms and an SAP index in others, but the languages do not agree on which forms index which arguments. (Similar variation occurs across Kiranti).

The easiest way to account for these and similar data is to reconstruct a pragmatic alternation, in which SAP indexation and #-u did not cooccur. That is, the proto-language must have been similar to Qiang, with the unmarked paradigm indexing the SAP A, and a distinct #-u paradigm indexing a highly topical 3rd person O. But it is difficult to see how the range of patterns which we see in the other languages could have developed from a single unified paradigm with double indexation.
Without the evidence for #-u as competing indexation, we could still infer hierarchical alignment from the modern languages. But it is not obvious that this couldn’t be parallel development from an original paradigm showing some other alignment. But the #-u evidence makes it clear that we have to reconstruct two different possibilities for indexation for SAP – 3 forms, and one of those is clearly hierarchical.


James A. Matisoff, *Lahu in the 21st century: vocabulary enrichment and orthographical issues*

*Lahu in the 21st century*

James A. Matisoff
University of California, Berkeley

Lahu is by no means a highly endangered language, since it has some three quarters of a million speakers, geographically dispersed in several countries, and children are still acquiring it as their first language. However, a recent visit to Lahu villages in Thailand, Yunnan, and Shan State has brought into focus several issues relating to the survival and development of the language in the future. The two most important of these are the following:

(1) Development of the Lahu lexicon to deal with modern technological and social developments. This is being done by a combination of strategies: borrowing from prestige languages in the area (Thai, Chinese, Burmese); creating new compounds using native Lahu morphemes; extending the referents of native Lahu morphemes. Thus a word for “flint” now usually means “cigarette lighter”. The word for “cell-phone” is a compound meaning “hand-telephone”, with the native Lahu word for “hand” juxtaposed with a Thai loanword meaning “telephone”. An attempt to create terminology to discuss linguistics in Lahu has recently been made.

(2) There are three major writing systems for Lahu in use. The most widespread is the system developed by Baptist missionaries in China and Burma, beginning in the 1880’s. A new system was devised in China in the middle of the 20th century. Still another has been widely used in linguistic publications on the language. All three systems have their virtues and their drawbacks.

It would obviously be optimal if a single writing system could be agreed to by all Lahu in all countries. This would require compromises, not always easy to achieve.
Guillaume Jacques, *The life cycle of multiple indexation and bipartite verbs in Sino-Tibetan*

The life cycle of multiple indexation and bipartite verbs in Sino-Tibetan

Guillaume Jacques, CNRS-CRLAO-INALCO

August 31, 2016

Fourth Workshop on Sino-Tibetan Languages of Southwest China
University of Washington, Seattle

Abstract

Bipartite verbs, though common in some areas of the world (DeLancey 1996), are relatively rare in Eurasia. In the Trans-Himalayan/Sino-Tibetan family, bipartite verbs are found in Kiranti and Gyalrongic, and present another uncommon typological characteristic, multiple argument indexation (Denk 2015).

Bipartite verbs in Japhug and other Gyalrong languages are a small class (only ten such verbs have been discovered up to now). The most common bipartite verb, *-stu-mbat* ‘try hard, do one’s best’ can be conjugated in four distinct ways, as shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Four degrees of integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In this paper, I will discuss the morphological peculiarities of Japhug bipartite verbs, their historical relationship to serial verb constructions (on which see Sun 2012, Jacques 2013), how they shed light on the origin of
bipartite verbs in Kiranti and help understanding phenomena such as variability in affix ordering (Bickel et al. 2007, Doornenbal 2009, 170-172), and how they can improve our understanding of the diachronic origin of bipartite verbs in general (see Grossmann to appear).

References


Denk, Lukas. 2015. Towards a typology of Multiple Agreement synchronic and diachronic case studies from eight languages. Universität Regensburg MA thesis.


Jackson T.-S. SUN and Qianzi TIAN, *Argument Indexation patterns in Horpa languages: a major Rgyalrongic subgroup*

**Argument Indexation Patterns in Horpa Languages: A Major Rgyalrongic Subgroup**

Jackson T.-S. Sun  Qianzi Tian  
Academia Sinica  Yunnan Normal University

**ABSTRACT**

Horpa is a little-studied major Rgyalrongic subgroup (Qiængic branch, Sino-Tibetan family) spoken in several counties across Ngaba (阿壩) and Dkarmdzes (甘孜) prefectures in northwestern Sichuan.

The predominant pattern of argument indexation among Rgyalrongic languages is a *split* system where the arguments registered on the verb vary according to different discourse-pragmatic scenarios. However, argument marking morphology has been greatly revamped in the Horpa subgroup, resulting in impoverished paradigms, indexation of dative-marked arguments and S/A subjects, and a typologically unusual remedial strategy for marking participant number (as opposed to event number) via stem reduplication.

Based on results from our recent ongoing fieldwork, this paper will attempt to provide, for the first time, a full survey of argument indexing forms and patterns across the major members of the Horpa subgroup, and discusses the typological significance of the phenomena under study.

**REFERENCES**


Yang GAO, Person marking in Menya

Person marking in Menya (Tibeto-Burman)

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Chongqing Technology and Business University


As an endangered language, Menya is threatened by two dominant languages: Chinese (Southwest Mandarin) and Tibetan. It is therefore not surprising to find the language more and more simplified among young people, especially when it comes to the person marking system. As a result, it is urgent to document and analyze the personal agreement system in Menya.

This talk is divided into three sections. First, we will present some background information on various typological features of Menya that relevant to the topic of this talk. Second, we plan to describe regular person marking paradigms in Menya. Third, list of irregular verbs and also two irregular cases that may reveal insights of the language’s history will be presented. We will share a hypothesis as a conclusion about the alignment typology in Menya from a diachronic point of view.

Person agreement manifests U/A1 of a verb. Regular person marking paradigms in Menya illustrated as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Final vowels of verb stem</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL, 2PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3SG, 3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem1</td>
<td>[e], [i], [e]</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ø/zero2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stem2</td>
<td>[e], [i], [e]</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ø/zero2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem 1</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL, 2PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3SG, 3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>« write » v.t. ²kʰəʐi</td>
<td>²kʰəʐø</td>
<td>²kʰəʐø</td>
<td>²kʰəʐø</td>
<td>²kʰəʐø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>« write » v.t. ²kʰəʐy</td>
<td>²kʰəʐy</td>
<td>²kʰəʐy</td>
<td>²kʰəʐy</td>
<td>²kʰəʐy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>« win » v.i. ³kʰkʰe</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>« win » v.i. ³kʰkʰe</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
<td>³kʰkʰø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem 2</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL, 2PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>3SG, 3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>« harrow » v.t. ³ɾɨɾɨ</td>
<td>³ɾɨɾɨ</td>
<td>³ɾɨɾɨ</td>
<td>³ɾɨɾɨ</td>
<td>³ɾɨɾɨ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>« take; hold; get » v.t. ¹bʐə</td>
<td>¹bʐə</td>
<td>¹bʐə</td>
<td>¹bʐə</td>
<td>¹bʐə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 U=unique argument, A=agent (Creissels, 2006)
2 ø is a third person agent (3A) marker who appears when agent of a transitive verb is the third person.
Two irregular verbs’ person marking paradigms “hit” ¹tə̠d and “kill” ¹nʌs are presented below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>R-ø</td>
<td>R-ø</td>
<td>R-ø</td>
<td>R-ø</td>
<td>R-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>u-R-u</td>
<td>u-R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
<td>R-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>u-R-u</td>
<td>u-R-e</td>
<td>u-R-e</td>
<td>u-R-e</td>
<td>u-R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that the prefix u- appears not only when the agent is the third person, but also when it is the second person and the patient is the first person. For this reason, we presume that Menya had once a direct/inverse prefix and it works just like a third person agent marker today in most of cases, except for these two often used verbs “hit” and “kill” in which it still preserves the function as a real direct/inverse marker.

From the description above, we can see that, in Menya, the alignment of verbal inflection is essentially an accusative alignment, while a hierarchical feature is shown by two irregular high frequency verbs, “hit” ¹tə̠d and “kill” ¹nʌs with direct/inverse marking. Based on this evidence, we can assume that current accusative alignment is evolved from an older hierarchical alignment and that this pathway could be typologically significant.

**Keywords:** Menya, person marking, direct/inverse mark

**References**


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³ The suffix -u is an irregular 1st person singular mark of these two verbs.
Graham Thurgood, *Towards sorting out the phylogenetic and the areal in Qiangic*

Towards sorting out the phylogenetic and the areal in Qiangic

Graham Thurgood

CSU Chico

Sun Hongkai (1990 [1983]), on the basis of similarities found among them, groups together a number of languages of the West Sichuan Ethnic Corridor: Qiangic, Pumi, Ersuic (including Lizu), Muya, rGyalrongic, Queya, nDrapa [Zhaba], and Tangut as well as Namuizi, and Shixing, labelling them Qiangic. As Chirkova (2012, 2014) points out Sun’s supporting evidence includes not just similarities due to genealogical inheritance but also similarities due to areal language contact. This note attempts to sort a little further, suggesting that while Sun’s larger category seems to have validity as a linguistic area, the languages in the Qiang linguistic area represent languages from at least two probably three or more phylogenetic subgroups: Qiangic, Pumi-Ersuic (but not Duoxu [Tosu]), Naic (Shixing and Namuizi, which appear to be sisters with Naic (Naxi)), with the genetic membership of others quite murky.

As Sharai (2009) notes for directional verb prefixes and LaPolla (2003:30) notes for case markers constructions with formally similar structures but with unrelated forms are candidates for language contact. This paper will focus on directional verb prefixes for the languages below (Table 1) and the distribution of cognates for Shixing, Namuyi, Naic, and Lolo-Burmese (Table 2 and 3 plus a broader distributional chart).

Table 1: Directional verb prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘up’</th>
<th>‘down’</th>
<th>‘away’</th>
<th>‘inward; upstream’</th>
<th>‘outwards, downstream’</th>
<th>‘toward center’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qiang:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadu</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>fia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronghong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longshi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taoping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mianchi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumi:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taoba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prinmi Niuwozi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muya</td>
<td>tu³ⁿ</td>
<td>nu³ⁿ</td>
<td>th³ⁿ</td>
<td>kha³ⁿ</td>
<td>x³ⁿ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Ersuic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kala Lizu</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mianning Lizu</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kala Lizu</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naiqu Lizu</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghui</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeluo Ersu</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>kha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangut [Xixia] ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queya, nDrapa ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rGyalrong:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stau [Ergong]</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshobdun [Caodeng]</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Japhug rGyalrong | vx | n;
| rGyalrong |      |        |        |                   |                       |                |

Table 2 and 3 plus a broader distributional chart.
### Table 2: Directional verb prefixes in core Naish, Shixing, and Namuyi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'up'</th>
<th>'down'</th>
<th>'in'</th>
<th>'out'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shixing</td>
<td>dʑi²³</td>
<td>miae²³</td>
<td>ji³⁵</td>
<td>wu³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namuyi</td>
<td>lao³⁵</td>
<td>mii³⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongning Na (Mosuo)</td>
<td>gx¹¹</td>
<td>muᵢ¹³</td>
<td>'downward'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guqiông [Yûtônghua]</td>
<td>thu-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>'downward'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3: Reflexes of *ry-* in core Naish, Shixing, and Namuyi, and in PLB *ry-*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lijiang Naxi</th>
<th>Yongning Na (LD)</th>
<th>Yongning Na (Na)</th>
<th>Namuyi</th>
<th>Shixing</th>
<th>PLB</th>
<th>Lisu Fraser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ci³³</td>
<td>ci³³</td>
<td>dʑi³³ ci³⁵</td>
<td>hĩ³³</td>
<td>dzĩ³³ɕɛ³³</td>
<td>*ry¹ h'ya⁴ hundred</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu¹², he³³</td>
<td>xa³³ khɔ₂³³</td>
<td>xɨ³³ qho³³</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*ryak h'yac² full day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xy³³</td>
<td>hĩ³³</td>
<td>hĩ³³</td>
<td>dzĩ³³ɕɛ³³</td>
<td>*ryap h'i⁵⁵ stand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo³³</td>
<td>hɛ²³</td>
<td>hĩ³³</td>
<td>cyi³³</td>
<td>*ryat h'y⁶⁵ eight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu³³</td>
<td>hũ³³</td>
<td>xo³³ mi³³</td>
<td>h₁³³mbi⁴⁴</td>
<td>*s-wyik h⁸⁶ stomach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xu³³</td>
<td>ci³³-gi³³</td>
<td>xɨ³³</td>
<td>hĩ³³ neº³⁵</td>
<td>φu³³ zu³³</td>
<td>*rwa¹ -h'a⁴ rain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x&gt;</td>
<td>c-/i</td>
<td>x&gt;</td>
<td>h-/_i</td>
<td>h-/_i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### REFERENCES


Inverse marking in Khroskyabs

Inverse marking in Khroskyabs

Khroskyabs is a Rgyalrongic language spoken in the Tibetan half of Sichuan. Like other Rgyalrongic languages, Khroskyabs exhibits an inverse marking system. Previous accounts on the inverse in Khroskyabs include Lai (2015) (Wobzi dialect) and Sun (2000) (‘Brongzdrong dialect). We will focus on two of the Khroskyabs dialects, Wobzi and the previously undescribed Siyuewu dialect, exhibiting different patterns of inverse.

Two major theoretical frameworks will be used. The empathy hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976) and DeLancey (1981), and the distinction of local, mixed and non-local domains in the transitive paradigm (Zúñiga, 2006).

The empathy hierarchy of Khroskyabs dialects is $1 \succ 2 \succ 3$, and the distinction between 3 and $3'$ in non-local scenarios is neutralised. It can be illustrated by the Wobzi paradigm below (with the inverse prefix $u$):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Wobzi transitive paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma-a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Sigma-j$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In local scenarios ($1 \rightarrow 2$, $2 \rightarrow 1$) and the mixed domain ($1 \rightarrow 3$, $3 \rightarrow 1$, $2 \rightarrow 3$, $3 \rightarrow 2$), the inverse marker $u$ must be overt if the agent ranks lower than the patient in the empathy hierarchy, as is shown in the yellow cells in Table 1.

In non-local scenarios ($3 \rightarrow 3'$), the inverse marker $u$ must be overt in the presence of a syllabic prefix (typically a directional prefix), and merges with it (i.e. $na-u \rightarrow n-u$-{PFV-INV}); if the verb does not need or require a syllabic prefix $^1$, the verb is left unmarked:

1. **Wobzi non-local scenarios**
   a. **Generic** (without inverse)
      
      | $stä=ɣə$ srä $dä$i $əna si=ɣə$ srä $ma-dä$i |
      
      Tigers eat meat, but cattle do not eat meat.
   b. **Imperfective** (with inverse)
      
      | $tšäd=ɣə$ $dgön Necklace$ $n-u-dä$ |
      
      Bkrashis=ERG Sgrrolma $n-u$-{PFV-INV-love}.
   c. **vdê** to see (without inverse)
      
      | $tšäd=ɣə$ $dgön Necklace$ $vdê=sì$ |
      
      Bkrashis saw Sgrrolma.

---

$^1$In generic situations, or verbs like $vdê$ to see and $smê$ to hear in their perfective forms.
Inverse in Siyewu Khroskyabs can only fuse with a syllabic prefix, such as a directional prefix or a negative prefix (while the inverse in Wobzi can stand alone). The inverse in Siyewu therefore forms a special set of directional prefixes, as in Table 2 (set 2). Examples in Siyewu are shown further below in 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>unspecified 1</th>
<th>unspecified 2</th>
<th>up</th>
<th>down</th>
<th>ubac</th>
<th>adret</th>
<th>downstream</th>
<th>upstream</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set 1 (default)</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>və-</td>
<td>lə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Set 2 (Inverse)</td>
<td>ru-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>və-</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Siyewu Khroskyabs

a. 3→1 scenario (with inverse)

\[cõ = ŋo \quad ðæ \quad nə-si-dæg\]

3SG=ERG 1SG PFV.INV-kill2-1SG

She/he killed me.

b. 3→1 with *vdé* to *see* (without inverse)

\[cõ = ŋo \quad ðæ \quad vdé = si\]

3SG=ERG 1SG see2=EVD

She/he saw me.

c. Generic (negative requires inverse)

\[stæ̂=rə̂ \quad bjæné \quad μu-\text{dzîd} \quad nə = ŋo \quad bjæné mu-dzîd\]

tiger=ERG meat eat1, but cattle=ERG meat NEG.INV-eat1

Tigers eat meat, but cattle do not eat meat.

After the description of the inverse morphology of both dialects, we will hypothesise the evolutionary path of the Khroskyabs inverse from a diachronic point of view, and a comparative study involving Rgyalrong and Horpa-Stau will also be made. We will see how the inverse in Khroskyabs can contribute to linguistic typology.

References


Jonathan Evans, Dáràng (达让) verb inflection

Dáràng (达让, Tawrã, Digaru, Taraon, ISO 639-3 mhu) is a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in Zayû County, Nyingtri Prefecture, Tibet, and also across the border with India in Anjaw and Lohit Circles of Arunachal Pradesh. Very little in the way of inflectional morphology has been documented heretofore. However, recent fieldwork by the author indicates that there may be as many as ten inflectional slots on verbs, although there are no instances in the corpus of more than five suffixes occurring simultaneously. Categories include person and number marking, aspect, mood, evidentiality, and perhaps tense. This study compares recent findings with what has previously been reported in India and China. In particular, the study reports a larger number of evidential categories, as well as combinations of evidential markings:

(1) \( tju \; mana \; tshangi-ho^H \; nang-khra^H-q \)

\( \text{chicken} \; \text{egg} \; \text{spoil-END.VIS} \; \text{stink-NON.VIS-CONT} \)

"The egg is spoiled and stinks (detect by smell or taste)."

Fig 1. Map of Tawrã speaking areas. Border between China and India is disputed.

References:
江莉, 李大勤, 孙宏开. 2013. 《达让语研究》. 北京: 民族出版社.
Shuya ZHANG, The stem 3 in Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong

Zhang Shuya
INALCO, CRLAO

The stem 3 in Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong

Stem alternation is a widely attested phenomenon in Rgyalrong languages. The study of stem alternations in Rgyalrong languages was initiated by Sun (1994), and further research has discussed in detail stem alternation in different Rgyalrong languages (Sun 2000a, 2000b, 2004 in Zbu, Tshobdun, Puxi et Mbrongdzong; Lin & Luo 2003 on the Tatshi dialect of Japhug; Lin 2003 in Cogtse dialect of Situ; Jacques 2008 in Japhug; Prins 2011 in the Kyom-kyo dialect of Situ). According to these studies, the stem alternation is a morphological process of marking tense-aspect-modality and transitivity by vowel alternations, tonal polarity, or consonantal alternations. Northern Rgyalrong languages, Japhug, Tshobdun and Zbu, have three stems. Stem 1 a appears in citation forms and most TAM categories; stem 2 occurs in past forms; stem 3 is used in non-past and irrealis forms of transitive verbs (in singular→3 scenarios).

The Brag-dbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong also marks the contrast between past and non-past by stem alternation. Stem 1 in Brag-dbar is generally the one appearing in citation form, and is used in all non-past categories except the egophoric (factual, sensory, present imperfective, imperative and irrealis); stem 2 is generally formed by tonal or vocal alternation, and occurs in past contexts (past perfective, past imperfective as well as present egophoric). In addition, some third person forms in past contexts exhibit a distinct stem, unrelated to the stem 3 of Northern Rgyalrong languages. A group of verb ending with open syllable, both transitive and intransitive, apply additionally vowel alternation in verb root for third person forms in past perfective and imperfective in respect to the stem 2. This kind of stem alternation is not attested in Cogtse Situ, and is only briefly alluded to in Prins (2011: 329). The aim of this article is to provide a description of this phenomenon in Brag-dbar and evaluate to what extent this is an archaism or an innovation in comparison with other Rgyalrongic languages.

References:


Yunfan LAI, *The intransitive prefix ρ- in Wobzi Khroskyabs*

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**The intransitive prefix ρ- in Khroskyabs**

This paper focuses on Khroskyabs, a Rgyalrongic language spoken in Rngaba, Sichuan. Two dialects will be studied, Wobzi and Siyuewu. In this abstract, all the examples are from the Wobzi dialect.

Khroskyabs has a uvular prefix ρ-, which derives intransitive verbs from transitive ones in most, but not all of the cases.

When used alone with the verb stem, it forms agentless passive, and the resulting passive verb behaves like an ordinary intransitive verb.

(1) pʰycu = to ρ-ɲ-dzí = sì
     pear = DEF PFV-INTR-eat2=EVD
     The pear is eaten.

The prefix ρ-, combined with the autobenefactive N-prefix, is attested in various constructions. The combination, ρ-N-, can be prefixed to intransitive verbs as well as transitive ones. ρ-N- is used in generic situations, in which the 1st person reading is usually involved if not specified, and 3rd person reflexive situations.

(4) a. dʑʰy nɛ-ŋ-ŋ-tʰé
    smën = to cón yɔ
    before NPFV₁=INTR-AUTOBEN-drink₂ potion =DEF ROW CONJ
    The potion that people used to drink cannot be drunk anymore.

b. ɛ-ŋ-ŋ-vyi
    PFV-INTR-AUTOBEN-be.full₂
    I'm full!

c. cɔ bɔjɔ = to ρ-ɲ-dzí
    DEM WORM =DEF INTR-AUTOBEN-eat₁
    This kind of worm eats itself.

The inverse marker ν, usually prefixed to transitive verbs in 3→1, 3→2 and 2→1 scenarios, can be added to transitive verbs with ρ-N-. In this case, the semantic agent must be 2nd or 3rd person,
marked by the ergative =ɣə and the semantic patient is understood as 1st person, referring to the speaker, while not being overt. This construction is similar to an antipassive one, with the patient deleted. However, unlike the prototypical antipassive, which should be morphologically intransitive, the Wobzi form preserves its transitive morphology, meanwhile having only one argument.

(5)  
   a.  cə̂ɟi =ɣə tḛsetsʰi r-u-w-n-sməskʰɛ  
      3PL=ERG almost NPFV₁-INV-INTR-AUTOBEN-bully₁  
      They almost bullied me.
   b.  nû =ɣə r-u-ma-w-n-smɛ  
      2SG=ERG NPFV₁-INV-INTR-AUTOBEN-hear₁  
      You don't understand me.

The Wobzi -ʁ-forms intransitive constructions, and is responsible for constructions involving a generic argument, as well as an antipassive-like structure. In other Rgyalrongic languages, such as Japhug (Jacques, 2014) and Tshobdun (Sun, 2014), generic person marking comes from nominalisation, with prefixes not preserved in Wobzi; only Situ Rgyalrong uses the passive ga- for similar but not exactly identical purposes. The -ʁ-prefix in Wobzi may have undergone distinct diachronic processes and is probably still developing.

References


LIN You-Jing, *Phonology and lexicon of the Tatsi dialect of Japhug Rgyalrong, with an attempt to identify loanwords from Situ Rgyalrong*

This paper provides a description of segmental and syllabic phonology in the Tatsi dialect of Japhug Rgyalrong. Like the Kamnyu dialect of Japhug Rgyalrong (Jacques 2008), Tatsi Rgyalrong is atonal. Pitch is not used in this language to distinguish lexical meanings or to denote grammatical functions. This paper will provide a phonemic analysis that describes allophonic alternations, and it will discuss phonotactic principles of syllabification in Tatsi. In particular, it will show that Tatsi has an additional vowel in comparison to the vowel inventory of Kamnyu, another dialect of Japhug Rgyalrong; and cognates will be examined to figure out the sound change. Grounded on the established phonology and lexicon of Tatsi, the paper will then attempt to compare related vocabulary in Japhug (as in the Tatsi dialect) and Situ (as in the Cogtse dialect) Rgyalrong languages, in order to identify Situ loanwords in Japhug. This attempt is meant to make another step toward the reconstruction of Proto-Rgyalrong.

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David Bradley, *Topic in Lisu*

Lisu, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in southwestern China, northern Burma, northern Thailand and northeastern India, has two topic markers: a nominal topic marker /nɔ²¹/ with cognates elsewhere in closely related Tibeto-Burman languages; and an innovative nominal topic marker /ɲɑ⁴⁴/; their use differs somewhat between dialects. The same markers are also used as nonfinal clause conditional markers, as is widespread in languages of the world (Haiman 1978). In a Lisu NP, the topic marker is the last element and may follow nominal case markers which are otherwise NP-final. In a nonfinal clause, it is also absolute clause-final and may follow various other postverbal elements.

The topic marker is particularly frequent in equational copula sentences after the first NP, thus disambiguating such clauses which are most often verbless. It is also extremely frequent in comparisons, marking the standard NP, and in lists of conjoined NPs. An NP with this marker can be clause-final, after the verb, as an afterthought; this pattern is especially frequent in Southern Lisu.

Examples are given from a range of dialects of Lisu, some of which use only /nɔ²¹/, most of which use both, while the ‘standard’ literary variety devised after 1914 uses only /ɲɑ⁴⁴/. These examples also show how the use of the two forms differs.
Min RAO, *Relativization in Guiqiong*

«Relativization in Guiqiong, a Tibeto-Burman language of Western Sichuan »

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**Abstract**

This talk reports on the relativization of Guiqiong language (/ɡɯ³³tɕʰɑ̃⁵³/, mandarin: *guiqiong*), a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by approximately 6,000 people (Sun, 2000) who reside in Kangding County (WT Darrtsemdo), which is part of Ganzi (WT Dkar-Mdzes) Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan Province in the People’s Republic of China. More exactly the geographical distribution of Guiqiong, according to my language consultants, located in a zone which is 20 kilometres long et 1 kilometre wide, and who contains Shiji Village (/sə³³ɡi⁵³/), Shelian Village (/lɛ³³mũ³³/), Qianxi Village (/tɕʰɛ̃³³dzə⁵³/), Maibeng Village (/mɛ⁵⁵pũ⁵³/), and Guza Township (/ɡwi³³dʑɑ⁵³/).

Guiqiong, presents a rich array of relativization constructions. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Guiqiong exhibit an interesting composite of behavior in nominalized structures. In Guiqiong, nominalization is used to produce the relativization. Guiqiong presents also non-nominalized structures in relativization. Based on both natural oral texts and elicited material, the present talk describes all attested types of relatives in Guiqiong, including head-internal, prenominal, double-headed relative clauses, as well as nominalized and non-nominalized ones. It provides a case by case account of the possible constructions for all syntactic roles including various types of adjuncts.

The remainder of the talk is structured as follows. First, we provide some general background information on the Guiqiong. Second, we present general information on relative clauses in Guiqiong, and in particular show the existence of the head-internal, prenominal, and double-headed relative clauses. Third, we describe non-finite relative clauses, whose main verb is in a participial form (nominalized form). Three participles in /-wu/, /-lu/ and /-ji/ in Guiqiong language are used depending on the syntactic function of the relativized element. Fourth, we study finite relative clauses, whose main verb is not nominalized. Fifth, we summarize the different strategies used in Guiqiong for relativization. Sixth, I discuss how this study is relevant for the typology of alignment in Sino-Tibetan languages and beyond.

**Key words:** Guiqiong, Relativization, Nominalization, Strategy of relativization, Syntactic pivot

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Jacques, Guillaume. 2008. 嘉絨語研究 Jiarongyu yanjiu. 北京: 民族出版社 Beijing Minzu
Hiroyuki Suzuki, Typological description of existential verbs and expressions in the Tibetic languages spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere

Typological description of existential verbs and expressions in the Tibetic languages spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere

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This paper aims to present an overall description of existential verbs and expressions of various Tibetic languages (see Tournadre 2014 for the term ‘Tibetic’) spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere, a.k.a. Tibeto-Lolo(-Qiang) Corridor (Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan) under a dialectological perspective based on the data from more than 200 varieties within this region. It mainly provides three topics: 1) a brief introduction to nine principal frames of existential verbs; 2) ranges of language groups with each type by drawing linguistic maps; and, 3) a detailed description of existential verbs and expressions of several languages such as Thewo-smad, mBrugchu, Sharkhog, Minyag Rabgang, Southern Route, and Sems-kyi-nyila.

In previous works, so-called ‘Tibetan dialects’ have not received great attention when grammatical issues are discussed from either a dialectological or typological view. Huang (2013) discusses a typology of existential expressions of Tibeto-Burmese languages, in which, unfortunately, just one dialect of ‘Tibetan’, Lhasa, is included. It is clear that Lhasa Tibetan does not represent a majority of Tibetic languages; additionally, Tibetic varieties spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere have not properly been treated with comparison to Qiangic languages, as cited in Huang (2013). Several descriptive works of a single dialect of Tibetic languages have been published (‘Brug-mo-mtsho 2002, Huber 2005, Bartee 2007, Rig-'dzin dBang-mo 2013), however, most of them lack a dialectological overall view and the terminology is not well considered.

In this paper, the treatment of Tibetic varieties is based on the claim of Tournadre (2014), and the description follows the typological framework of Huang (2013), also referring to Rig-'dzin dBang-mo (2012). From a bird’s-eye perspective, the discussion concludes that:

1) there are three existential verb stems (yod, snang, ‘dug) found in the varieties from all over the region of the eastern Tibetosphere;

2) a variety uses either one, two, or three stems of the three mentioned in (1) under certain conditions mentioned in (3)-(5);

3) some varieties distinguish ‘Possession’ from ‘Existential-Location’ in morphology, while some do only in syntactic (case-marking) pattern;

4) some varieties are sensitive in access to information, i.e. distinction between ‘egophoric’ and ‘non-egophoric’, among ‘sensory experience just confirmed’, ‘sensory experience obtained before’, and ‘non-direct experience’, and/or among ‘visual experience’, ‘non-visual experience’, and ‘non-direct experience’;

5) some varieties have a system distinguishing ‘animate’ from ‘inanimate’.

Based on these results, the paper provides linguistic maps designed by ArcGIS to visualise different linguistic areas of Tibetic languages, which show that the southeastern Khams region and the easternmost Amdo region exhibit the most complicated situation in the eastern Tibetosphere.
References


GAO Tao and ZHOU Junxun, 南部羌语指示代词与名词的词序问题

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

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There are three kinds of the order of demonstrative and noun in the Southern Qiang: 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.

1. The describe of the order of the demonstrative and noun in the Southern Qiang

The demonstrative pronoun in the Southern Qiang can be divided into distal and proximate demonstrative pronouns by the space distance. The demonstrative adjective can also be divided into distal and proximate, and they can combine with classifiers to form NP.

1) The basic demonstrative pronouns in Puxi Dialect are ʦə and ʦə', they can precede or follow the noun to form DemN and NDem, the DemN is the preferred order. The DEF(–lei) in the construction of [Dem-CL]+N=DEF is a definite marker.

2) The basic demonstrative pronoun in LuoboZhai Dialect are ʦə' and ʦə, they can only follow the noun to form NDem. The order of Dem N only appears in pronoun that indicates objects ʦə' and ʦə is the merger of ʦə' and ʦə. In LuoboZhai Dialect, the construction of N=DEF is very popular, in which the DEF(–y3) attach to the noun can be served as distal pronoun and a definite marker.

3) The basic demonstrative pronoun in Miansi Dialect are ʦə and ʦə', they can only precede the noun to form the construction of Dem+N. There is a definite marker –lih-,-li jin Miansi Dialect.

4) The basic demonstrative pronoun in Longxi Dialect are ʦə' and ʦə, they can form two kinds of word orders, one is N+Dem, another is Dem+N+Dem. However, the construction of Dem+N has occurred. Zheng wu-xi (2016:88) indicated that the demonstrative pronoun can appear around the core noun; she has found that locative demonstrative can put before the core noun, and Zheng (2016:223) also noted the definite marker ʦə' and ʦə in Longxi Dialect. In the order of [Dem-CL]₁+N+[Dem-CL]₂, the first Dem can only use as proximate pronoun, while distal pronoun does not exist this word order. However, 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).

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

The construction of N+Dem is the preferred word order. The order of [Dem-CL]₁+N+[Dem-CL]₂ in Longxi is a pragmatic pattern. And the demonstrative in [Dem-CL]₁ is only be limited to the proximate demonstrative, the distal demonstrative has been grammaticalized into a definite marker(−DEF): The two demonstratives of the [Dem-CL]₁+N+[Dem-CL]₂ 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, and is used for deictic function; the latter one used for definiteness.


The order of the demonstrative and noun had undergone, or is being undergone, the evolution:


The detailed process of grammaticalization are:

a) N+[Dem-CL] > [Dem-CL]₁+N+[Dem-CL]₂ [pragmatic emphasis]
b) [Dem-CL]₁+N+[Dem-CL]₂ > Dem+ ⟨default⟩ +N+DEF [grammaticalization]
c) Dem+ ⟨default⟩ +N+DEF > Dem+N=DEF [grammaticalization]
d) Dem+N=DEF > Dem+N [grammaticalization, extension]

However, the [Dem+CL]₂ had developed into a definite particle, there are three reasons:

had become [Dem+CL]+N+[CL]. As the form of [Dem+CL] reduced to CL, the grammatical function of CL had been desemanticized gradually.

(2) [CL] functions as a genitive particle. 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. Thus this extension actually had caused the desemanticization and de categorialization.

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

The construction of [Dem+CL] in the form of [Dem+CL]+N+[Dem+CL] 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:


B. [Dem+CL]+N+[Dem+CL]  >  [Dem+CL]+N+[DEF/TOP]  >  [Dem+CL]+N

5. Summary

(1) In the Southern Qiang, the 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: Dem1 express ‘demonstrative’, Dem2 express ‘definite’ → [Dem-CL]+N=DEF
Stage IV: Dem have function both 'demonstrative' and 'definite' → Dem+N

(2) Although the develop from [Dem-CL]+N+[Dem-CL] to [Dem-CL]+N+[CL], from [Dem-CL]+N+[CL] to [Dem-CL]+N=DEF is Qiang’s inner grammatical change, the contact with Chinese had accelerated this change. The process of change has three key steps:

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

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

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

We can propose that this grammaticalization path is to replicate the Chinese grammar.

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).

6. References

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Tingsheng ZHOU, *Encoding of spatial relations: motion, direction and location in Lalo*  

*Encoding of spatial relations: motion, direction, and location in Lalo*  

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Lalo is a central Loloish (or Ngwi) language of the Lolo-Burmese branch in Tibeto-Burman family and spoken by approximately 150,000 ethnic Yi people in high mountain villages south to Erhai lake in Dali prefecture in the southwestern Chinese province of Yunnan.

Analysis of linguistic data collected from fieldwork shows that in Lalo the spatial relations are encoded by locational nouns, spatial demonstratives, locative particles, directional particles, motion verbs, and serial verb constructions that contain motion verbs. The locational nouns indicate spaces defined either by the absolute or relative frame of reference. The demonstratives imply five relative spaces in the physical surroundings of the speaker. Besides, Lalo has several post-nominal locative particles that encode the intrinsic location of a focused object and the reference object, among which some are derivative from the existential verb /kha³³/ “nest” or verbs of placing, such as /di⁵⁵/ “sit down” and /tha³³/ “make sth. attached to sth.”, and some are compounds of body part nouns and derivational locative particles. Also, Lalo has a set of post-verbal particles that encode the direction of a motion event, among which some are derivative from motion verbs, and some are from locative particles. Motion verbs that indicate limited motion path can follow other action verbs and then form serial verb constructions. In particular, the encoding of spatial relations is related to the marking of other grammatical categories; e.g. locative particle di³³ “in (tree, etc.)” is also used as patient argument marker, and most aspect markers are derivative from motion verbs.

This presentation is organized into six sections. The first are about Lalo language, the theoretical framework, and the main findings. The second introduces the locational nouns and the spatial demonstratives. The third and the forth describe the locative particles and the directional particles respectively. The next deals with the motion verbs and the related serial verb constructions. And the last section analyzes the derivation of the locative particles and the directional particles, as well as the relation between the encoding of spatial relations and marking of other grammatical categories.
References


1. 引言


另外，安多藏语中还可以观察到如下特点，似乎更利于把双音节体词分析为前重。
3）双音节体词末音节更容易发生音变、弱化，这方面有大量的例证。
4）安多藏语牧区话在表强调焦点时加重首音节，甚至可以使音高模式也倒转为“前高后低”。
5）双音节的韵律结构拥有“辅音和谐”现象，也就是首音节辅音尾同化末音节音首。
6）双音节词末音节是词缀位置。藏语是一种后置型语言，构词上更是无论名词、动词、形容词大量靠后加词缀构成。当然，词缀、语法功能标志在很多语言中也可以带重音，但是藏语的词缀和语法功能标志等在语言上往往表现为“弱”化，词根+词缀的结构，韵律上表现为“重轻”比“轻重”更为自然。

4. 古代藏语体词可能“前重”的一些特征

如前所述，我们同意古代/原始藏语体词有着前低后高韵律模式；与此同时，古代藏语仍然也有着双音节体词可以支持“前重”分析的若干证据。
1）末音节更容易发生音变，这方面前人有诸多研究。
2）辅音和谐，尤其是在含有韵尾性双音节的韵律词中，前音节制约后音节。
3）藏语的后置性类型特点。多拉等（2015：83）统计的120万音节规模的词典类书面语数据库中，排序前5种高频表意音节-pa、ba、ma、pai、po，均为构词词缀，仅这5个词缀占数据库总词频的11.77%。考虑到藏文还拥有大量的格标志等“虚词”音节，可以想见词缀在实词中的占比更高。尽管数据库中的文本都是现代词典，但是我们认为规范的书面语更加接近古代藏语。
4）其他一些证据，比如藏文表音汉字所反映的一些痕迹；“缩写字问题”等。
5）双音节词的音高模式的分布，如音高为“低高”交错，重音也未必非“高”不可。从逻辑上说，同样作为音高特征，低与高，都可得以凸显。阿错（2005）、完玛冷智（2007）都曾将藏语安多话的重音理解为前重；李兵等（2010、2011、2012）分析豪语、鄂伦春语和锡伯语词重音，也提出了“稳定的低调”为重音特征的观点。

5. 结论与讨论

为了解释上述现象，我们提出两种重音分属不同韵律层级的假说，要点如下。
1）藏语中的“乐调重音”和“力度重音”两种“重音”处在韵律系统中不同的韵律层级（Prosodic Hierachy）。双音节成分的“乐调重音”现象为音步（foot）的语音表征；而“力度重音”系统，则属于韵律词（prosodic word）的语音表征。双音节音步的“乐调重音”现象为音步（foot）的语音表征；而“力度重音”系统，则属于韵律词（prosodic word）的语音表征。
2）两种重音系统不但不相互影响，而且两种重音位置不同：音步重音在右（或后重），而韵律词左重（或前重）。
3）两种重音系统各自采用的语音表征的性质也各不相同：音步采用音高特征凸显重音；而韵律词的重音表达则主要依赖时长特征，辅以音强。或者说，是音高特征（音步）与非音高特征（韵律词）的不同。
4）由于藏语中的标准音步和典型的韵律词都是双音节，即双音节成分和典型韵律词都是双音节，亦即双音节体词成分既可以音步也可以是韵律词，因而藏语中出现了双音节成分同时拥有两种不同的重音系统的现象。如果在同一个双音节成分的不同位置上，同时施加两种不同音征的重音，必然引发重音冲突，无法表达到底何者为重；这样的描写和分析在逻辑上也必然是有问题的。但是，由于藏语的两种重音所依赖的语音表征不同（音高特征/非音高特征），承担的功能不同（音步/韵律词），因而使得两种重音在同一双音节成分的不同位置得以保存而不发生冲突。
5）一方面，由于两种有调系统相对独立，在历史演变中，可能有着不同的演变路径；另一方面，两种重音系统可以同时施加在相同的双音节成分上，因而两种重音在历史发展中可能互相影响。

无论是否分析为重音，藏语体词的后高和谓词前高，这种音高凸显在藏语中是一种重要的音步界限、节律表征。根据 McCawley(1970)关于“典型的节律性”为“音步两音节，一个音节突显”的，藏语尤其是无声调语言双音节“低高”交错，可以说是典型的节律性语言。

在藏语中，音步的音高凸显是非常显著的；而韵律词的力度重音特征在通常情况下则并不那么显著，而在体词加上格标志构成的体词或体词承载焦点的时候则得以显著凸显。承载焦点可以理解为是施加韵律层级（Prosodic Hierachy）中的语调短语（intonational phrase）。通常来说，语调短语的焦点重音施加在韵律词上的时候，往往是使得强的更强，重的更重。因此也可以说，韵律词的潜在“重音核”在焦点重音的作用下更加凸显了出来。
Alexis Michaud, *The tone system of Yongning Na in evolutionary perspective: first steps towards a dialectal-comparative study of tone and morphotonology*

The Na language as spoken in the plain of Yongning displays conspicuous tonal discrepancies between realizations of the same word in different morphological contexts (as already mentioned by Lidz 2010). This language’s tonal morphology and tonal phonology are currently the object of a synchronic description and analysis (see Michaud 2013, 2015a, 2015b; Michaud et al. 2012; and a book draft: Michaud submitted). Comparison with the closely related language Naxi, which only has scarce processes of tone change, raises the issue of how tonal morphology develops, and of the interaction of phonology with morphology in evolutionary processes. This talk will propose a few steps towards a dialectal-comparative study, building on data from (i) the variety of Na spoken in the village of Alawa (zɪ˥˧ɤ˧ʁwɤ˧), close to the Yongning monastery, (ii) the variety of Na spoken in Lataddi (lɑ˧tʰɑ˧-dɪ˧˥), at the West-South-West edge of lake Lugu, some 20 km from Alawa as the crow flies, and (iii) Naish dialects of the banks of the Yangtze river.

References:


Duoxu tonal developments in Tibeto-Burman context

Zev Handel (University of Washington)
Katia Chirkova (CRLAO, CNRS)

Duoxu, Lizu, and Ersu are three closely related Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages spoken in close proximity in Sichuan. They are recognized to be a close-knit taxonomic cluster sharing a high proportion of their lexicons and exhibiting a high degree of regularity of correspondence across cognate sets (Sün 1983, 2001; Yu 2012; Chirkova 2014a).

Until recently, reliable data on Duoxu, which is moribund, was not available, hampering the systematic comparison of Duoxu with the better-described and analyzed Lizu and Ersu languages. But in recent years, the ongoing collection, analysis, and publication of Duoxu data (e.g. Huang & Yin 2012; Chirkova 2014a; 2015; Chirkova & Han 2016) has opened up new avenues of historical-comparative analysis, which in turn provide an opportunity to re-evaluate the genetic position of the cluster within Tibeto-Burman.

The first part of this paper makes use of the most accurate and up-to-date data on Duoxu (including Chirkova 2015, a sketch of Duoxu accompanied by sound files) to provide a systematic comparison of the tone systems of Duoxu and Proto-Lolo-Burmese, which show remarkably regular correspondences (as already suggested by Chirkova 2014b). Moreover, the historical development of the Duoxu tone system can be closely correlated with the conditioning factors for historical tone splits within Lolo-Burmese, such as *ʔ-, *s-, and *C- prefixation (Matisoff 1972; Bradley 1979).

In short, it appears that the Duoxu tone system is derivable from the tone system of Proto-Lolo-Burmese. This implies an especially close historical connection between Duoxu and the Lolo-Burmese family.

The further implications of this close connection are discussed in the second part of the paper. The genetic position of the recognized Duoxu-Lizu-Ersu cluster within the TB language family has been disputed. For instance, Nishida (1973, 1976) sees a close link between Duoxu and Lolo-Burmese languages, whereas other scholars link these languages to Qiangic and Naish (e.g. Sün 2001; Jacques & Michaud 2011; Yu 2012). Although it has been argued based on segmental correspondences that the Duoxu-Lizu-Ersu cluster is closest to Lolo-Burmese (Chirkova & Handel 2013), the tone systems of Lizu and Ersu have not been amenable to systematic comparison with other TB languages. This is likely the result of relatively late large-scale shifts from purely lexical tonal systems to polysyllabic prosodic-prominence systems in those two languages, shifts that have significantly distorted the historical tone systems (cf. Chirkova and Chen 2013; Chirkova et al. 2015).

Now that the close connection between Duoxu and Lolo-Burmese tone systems can be firmly established, the argument that the Duoxu-Lizu-Ersu cluster is genetically closest to Lolo-Burmese can be advanced in considerably strengthened form. Whether or not the cluster should be considered a branch of Lolo-Burmese proper, or a member of a larger “para-Lolo-Burmese” unit, is left as a matter for further investigation.

References


Zihe Li, Tonal correspondences among Naish languages and a tentative analysis in evolutionary perspective

Tonal Correspondences among Naish Languages and a Tentative Analysis in Evolutionary Perspective

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Tonal development of Naxi has long been a contentious issue (Bradley 1975, etc.), especially in discussion on the genetic position of Naxi. Recent comparative studies have revealed that tonal correspondences among Naish languages are extremely complex (Jacques & Michaud 2011, Li 2013). This talk will propose a few initial steps towards a comparative study of Naish tonal categories and their origins.

Data of three Naxi dialects, Lijiang (LJ, Huang 1992), Baoshan (BS, my own collection), and Ci’ending (CD, Michaud & Xu 2012), has been collected for the first step of comparison, for the three dialects are closely related and mutually understandable. The result is shown as follows:

Table 1. Tonal correspondence among three Naxi dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1 (L)</th>
<th>2 (M)</th>
<th>3 (H)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LJ</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tone systems of the dialects of LJ, BS and CD all boil down to one and the same three-tone system: H, M and L, with marginal innovations in some dialects (such as Lijiang's rising tone) and some details in phonetic realization (such as a tendency to realize the H tone as phonetically falling in isolation, in the Baoshan dialect; and as phonetically rising in isolation, in the Ci’ending dialect).

Bowen (BW, He and 2012), however, although being a Naxi dialect, has a different tone system of 4 tones including a rising lexical tone. 8 categories can be reconstructed when comparing BW with other Naxi dialects:

Table 2. Tonal correspondence between Bowen and other Naxi dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>7’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BW</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>55/*pre-initial C1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two correspondences 33: H and 55: H are in complementary distribution: words satisfy the latter have pre-initials in Proto-Naish(Li 李 2013, hereafter PN). Therefore, categories 7 and 7’ are actually one category.

Further comparison with Nusu (data from Huang 黃 1992, although Nusu in general is not a conservative language, losing almost all initial consonant clusters and endings, it preserves the tonal categories of Written Burmese) shows:

1) tone category 1, 3, 4, 5 correspond to open syllable tones of Written Burmese.
2) tone category 2, 6, 7 correspond to stopped syllable tones of Written Burmese. Words of tone category 2 have voiced initials; words of tone category 6 and 7 have voiceless initials.

Adding data of Malimasa (MM, considerably different from Naxi dialects, my own collection), more tonal categories can be reconstructed. In this talk I focus on those categories of stopped syllables.
Table 3. Tonal correspondence between Naxi dialects and Malimasa (stopped syllables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2a</th>
<th>2b</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7a</th>
<th>7b</th>
<th>7c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naxi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words of 2a have pre-initials + voiced initials in Proto-Naish. Cognates of these words in Written Tibetan have aspirated voiceless initials possibly due to effects from pre-initials. E.g. PN *C[hu]C[2]: WT phug “pig” (cf. Rgyalrong pas, Jacques 2015); PN C[go]C: WT khab “needle” (cf. Rgyalrong -qas). Words of 2b, although have voiced initials, do not have pre-initials, and cognates in Tibetan remain voiced. E.g. PN *gC: WT flog “lower reaches”; PN *ndC: WT nag “black” (cf. Rgyalrong narg).

Words of 7a have cognates with aspirated voiceless fricative initials or voiceless pre-initials in WB, or cognates with stop pre-initials in WT. E. g. PN *shyC: WB shhet “millet”; PN *lyC: WB hlup “to move”; PN *qhuC: WT dkar “bowl” (cf. Rgyalrong khuutsa). Words of 7c have cognates with voiceless stop initials in WB, or cognates with voiceless stop initials in WT. E.g. PN *thaC: WB thakC “sharp”; PN *hcC: WB kapC “to paste” (cf. Rgyalrong jhos); PN *phC: WT phrung “Tibetan woolen cloth” (cf. Rgyalrong mphru).

The correspondence conditions of category 6 and 7b await further study. Those correspondence conditions above look similar to what Matisoff (1972) has generalized. Therefore, compared with Matisoff’s (1972) system for stopped syllables consisting of HS tone and LS tone, category 2a is approximately *HS with voiced initials, 2b is *LS with voiced initials, 7a is *LS with voiceless initials, 7c is *HS with voiceless initials. In conclusion, Proto-Naish tones for stopped syllables can be interpreted by the two categories *HS and *LS, but split into 6 categories due to later innovation.

References:
SHI Xiangdong, 新出故宫本《西番译语》的若干特点初探

新出故宫本《西番译语》的若干特点初探（提要）
施向东 （南开大学）

一、版本情况
明清时代官方编纂的《华夷译语》中与藏语有关的材料有许多种，目前散存于国内外许多地方，有些已经见诸文献，有些尚不为人知。最近发现故宫保存的《西番译语》，与目前所知的各种本子均不同，不仅收词数量巨大，而且装帧、页面、体例、译音都有非常显著的差别。对于《华夷译语》、《西番译语》的研究者来说，无疑是非常重要新材料。

故宫所藏的此种《西番译语》共5册，1函。此书每一门首页右端均题有「西番馆」三字，每页分左右两列，上下两栏，收四个词条，但是并无框线分隔。每个词条分上中下三行，上行为藏文（依藏文习惯自左向右书写，均为标准的有头字，而各种已经发现的《西番译语》藏文均为无头字，九种《川番译语》中除《多续译语》外亦均为无头字），中行为对应的汉字词条（如非单音词则依汉文习惯自左向右书写，而它本则自右向左书写），下行为该藏语词的汉字音译（依汉文习惯逐个音节自右向左书写，而它本则自左向右书写）。下图左边是此书中的一页，右边则是作为对照的乙种本《西番译语》的一页：

共20门，与乙种本《西番译语》及九种《川番译语》相同，但是名称略有小异，第四“采色门”，乙种本作“声色门”（按，此门所收14词条皆与颜色有关，无一条与声音有关。门类名称“声色门”不如“采色门”合乎实际），第八“宫殿门”，乙种本作“宫室门”，其余同名，次序亦有参差，见表1：

| 一 | 二 | 三 | 四 | 五 | 六 | 七 | 八 | 九 | 十 | 十一 | 十二 | 十三 | 十四 | 十五 | 十六 | 十七 | 十八 | 十九 | 二十 |
| 新 | 天 | 文 | 理 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 食 | 饮 | 食 | 食 | 食 | 食 | 食 | 食 | 食 | 食 |
| 出 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 | 宫 |
| 本 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 | 门 |
| 乙 | 天 | 文 | 理 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 | 令 |
| 种 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 | 本 |

二、收词
乙种本《西番译语》与九种《川番译语》20门收词皆为740条，而故宫本《西番译语》收词2103条，几乎乙种本3倍。各门收词的具体数目如下：

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>门类</th>
<th>天文门</th>
<th>地理门</th>
<th>时令门</th>
<th>彩色门</th>
<th>身体门</th>
<th>人物门</th>
<th>宫殿门</th>
<th>饮食门</th>
<th>衣服门</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>此本</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乙种本</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>门类</th>
<th>方隅门</th>
<th>珍宝门</th>
<th>文房门</th>
<th>鸟兽门</th>
<th>数目门</th>
<th>宫殿门</th>
<th>香药门</th>
<th>花木门</th>
<th>人事门</th>
<th>共计</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>此本</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>2103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>乙种本</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

在《华夷译语》所有语种的各种版本中，此种版本的《西番译语》收录词条最多。

二、注音研究

新出故宫本《西番译语》的注音，与之前发现的各种《西番译语》、《川番译语》除了版本格式上的差别外，还有多处非常显著的不同，值得我们下大力气去研究。

1. 此本注音有一个规范的格式。首先我们注意到的是，译音用字书写上有大字和小字的区别。一个藏文音节，有时用一个汉字对译（这时候用的是大字），占一列的位置；有时则用一个大字上加或下加小字的方式来对译，共占一列的位置。藏文的后加字，译音一律用下加小字来表示，如上图所示，‘檀香’一词，藏文tsan-dan，音译为‘匝安达安’，小字‘安’对应藏文后加字，表示尾音-n；‘沉香’一词，藏文a-ka-ru-nag-po，音译为‘阿嘎噜纳克播’，小字‘克’对应藏文后加字，表示尾音-g。

2. 此本《西番译语》的译音透露出藏语本身历史音变的许多信息。乙种本《西番译语》所表现的明代初年藏语还保留很多复辅音，藏文的前加字、上加字有的还继续发音，有的对字基辅音的发音产生影响，藏文的后加字、再后加字仍然发音。
况还不少（请参见施向东 2016）。而此本中藏文前加字、上加字、再后加字已经不发音了。下加字对字基辅音仍有巨大的影响，后加字的发音受到重视。

后加字-s 的发音非常特殊，一律译成小字“爱”。对比乙种本将-s 译为“思”，川番译语将-s 译为-i 或零韵尾，此本的译法显然是一个中间过渡阶段发音的反映。

3. 对音表

此本译音用字非常规范，可整理出对音表，据以总结出音系的概貌，以窥探当时参与对比较汉藏方言的情况。

表 3

三、 校勘

此本显然是经过校勘整理的本子，誊写极精。但是仍然可以看到一些有待校勘之处。比如全书第一词条“天”，藏文磨灭不可见，而译音“纳木客”。按“客”或许为“喀”字之泐余。藏文 སྦྱ་ནམ་天空，按全书译音通例正可译为“纳木喀”。但诸本《西番译语》“天”字藏文均作 སྦྱ་ནམ་，无后音节。若此本藏文亦为 སྦྱ་ནམ་，则“客”或“喀”字无着落，若视作前加字 g- 的译音，则既违反全书译音字自右向左的通例，也违反此本前加字不发音的通例。究竟如何，亟待于更多本子的发现。

四、 故宫本《西番译语》性质的推断。

这一项是全文的总结，本来应该在全部材料研究完成后再落笔。在“提要”中无法书写。但是可以肯定的是，此本绝非有些学者所断言的是早期《西番译语》的修订版，而作为《川番译语》范本的本子。无论从收词数量、门类名称和排序、版本格式、译音条例，显然都是与早期《西番译语》和九种《川番译语》不是同一性质的作品。
Henriette Daudey and Pincuo Gerong, *An exploration of Pumi ritual language*

*An exploration of Pumi ritual language*

Henriëtte Daudey (SIL International) & Gerong Pincuo (Pumi research association, Lijiang)

This paper is a preliminary exploration of Pumi ritual language, based on 14 ritual texts. The paper does not address the specialized ritual language used by religious experts, such as the hæŋgû (shaman), jîmû (Buddhist monk), or sôjmû (spirit medium), but instead focuses on its everyday use by lay people.

Based on various ritual speeches, such as tɕʰʰdʲw pʰ (a libation ritual) and dzû rēj (the calling back of an escaped soul), recorded in the Wenquan area (Ninglang County, Yunnan Province), the paper concentrates on what characterizes Pumi ritual language linguistically: poetic structure, parallelism and metaphor. It shows that ritual speech is not rigid, but displays speaker-dependent and context-dependent variations. The paper also addresses how ritual language compares to colloquial speech, and how this relates to what has been reported in the literature about ritual speech in other languages (for example, Bauman 1975 and Chafe 1981).

References:


Chris Donlay, *Hidden complexity as a feature of Sino-Tibetan languages: The view from Khatso*

Hidden complexity as a feature of Sino-Tibetan languages:
The view from Khatso

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Syntax has long been seen as the center of linguistic endeavor, perhaps because it is one of the most concrete elements in language. Certain modern theories focus almost exclusively on syntax, and too often descriptive grammars contain little else. However, East Asian languages show us that syntax alone may not provide enough information at the clausal level to convey the intended meaning. Instead, pragmatics is often required to fully understand a given phrase or construction. Bisang (2009, 2014) frames this cross-linguistic phenomenon as a trade-off in syntactic complexity. More explicit languages show overt complexity, while economic languages appear superficially to be simpler. The latter is deceptive, however, because simpler syntax requires pragmatics to play a more crucial role in resolving clausal meaning. This hidden complexity, as Bisang calls it, is a common feature of Sino-Tibetan languages, as has been well documented for Mandarin (e.g. Lapolla 1988, 1993; Li and Thompson 1981) as well as Lahu (Matisoff 1973), Lisu (Bradley 2003) and Nuosu (Gerner 2013). However, it is not clear that the primacy of pragmatics in these languages is widely recognized, especially in language documentation circles. Drawing on recent research (Donlay 2015), this paper explores pragmatics-based complexity in Khatso, an endangered Ngwi language spoken in a single village in central Yunnan.

Khatso is a tonal, topic-comment language with no nominal or verbal inflection. Most syntactic operations are marked by particles, but the resulting constructions are often ambiguous without context. For example, \(n_{31}^{i}\) is the primary marker for topics of all kinds. If the topic is realis, it may also be interpreted as the reason for the following clause. If irrealis, however, the construction is seen as conditional—and only context and real world knowledge can define the reality of the topic. Similarly, in the applicative construction, which allows for the addition of a core argument to a clause, the new argument may be interpreted as a recipient, a beneficiary or even a causee. It is the specific verb involved, as well as the surrounding context, that resolves the ambiguity. A third example relates to the clausal focus marker \(l_{35}\), which is used to compare and contrast a new utterance with an existing presupposition. Often it serves to highlight a contrast, but it may also add new detail to a situation, such as the reason for a previous event or an effect it brought about. In these examples we find multifunctional constructions that cannot be understood through clausal syntax alone. Instead, both verbal semantics and context, including the flow of information and real world knowledge, are required to fully comprehend their use in discourse.

Thus, like its sister languages, Khatso combines syntactic simplicity with pragmatic complexity. Common throughout the Sino-Tibetan family, this hidden complexity can be considered a typological feature, making the explanatory power of pragmatics central to fully analyzing, understanding and documenting these languages.
References

Xun GONG, *Influences of tone on the diachrony of Zbu Rgyalrong vocalism*

**Influences of tone on the diachrony of Zbu Rgyalrong vocalism**

Xun Gong  
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Recent attempts in comparative Sino-Tibetan linguistics (Jacques & Michaud 2011, Gong 2014) suggest the potential value of Rgyalrongic languages for the understanding of the history of various Sino-Tibetan languages. However, while the initial consonant clusters and consonant codas of Rgyalrongic are moderately well understood, the vowel correspondence present numerous difficulties, both among Rgyalrongic languages themselves and between Rgyalrongic languages and other Sino-Tibetan languages.

Most Rgyalrongic languages have a binary surface suprasegmental contrast, often tonal in nature, but sometimes a phonation contrast (Sun to appear). In an attempt to disentangle the intricate web of factors, this presentation will study the vowel correspondence between Zbu Rgyalrong and related languages, focusing on the effect of tone on the evolution of the vowel quality. Tone is of considerable importance in the historical evolution of vocalism in Zbu Rgyalrong, with many vowel splits conditioned by the tone, compare for example -ɕwʔ “tooth” with -ɕw “age”. It is notable that some part of verb ablaut can also be safely traced to this effect.

References


Gwendolyn Hyslop, *East Bodish reconstructions in a comparative light*

**East Bodish reconstructions in a comparative light**

Gwendolyn Hyslop

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The East Bodish languages of Bhutan have long been known to be closely related to the Tibetic languages without being direct descendants of Old Tibetan (e.g. Michailovsky & Mazaudon 1994). However, Hyslop (2014) argues that at least some of the apparent similarities with Tibetan are due to borrowings, rather than shared innovations. Hyslop (2015) further argues that careful comparative work within the East Bodish languages reveals a complex situation in which several domains of the language (such as case markers, verbal morphology, and some core vocabulary) are impossible to reconstruct. The forms which can be reconstructed have important ramifications for our understanding of the classification of Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan) languages. This talk presents new East Bodish data and reconstructions in a comparative light, focusing on possible relationships with the Tibeto-Burman languages of China.

Of Bhutan’s approximately 19 Tibeto-Burman languages, seven belong to the East Bodish sub-family. Although the center of gravity for this sub-family is Bhutan, the languages spill out in neighboring regions of China and India. Based on data primarily collected through fieldwork in Bhutan, we can reconstruct numerals, some animals, pronouns, and other core vocabulary to Proto East Bodish (PEB).

An examination of the reconstructed terms in a comparative light shows a great deal of similarity with Tibeto-Burman widely, including the languages of China. For example, PEB *khwi* ‘dog’ is clearly cognate with Proto-Nisoic (PN) *khu₁* (Lama 2012) and Southern Qiang *khu* (Evans 1999) and PEB *niś* ‘seven’ and *ná* ‘nose’ with PN *sní* and the first syllable in *sná₁bi²* (Lama 2012). To give another example, PEB *khwe* ‘water’ is also likely cognate with rGyalrongic form *kwo* ‘water’ (Nagano and Prins 2013) and PN *ɣwo₁* ‘snow’ (Lama 2012). These forms are all likely to be shared retentions from Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

In some cases, it appears as though the Qiang forms are innovative. For example, a glance through the Qiang forms on the STEDT database does not find an obvious reflex for PEB *khwe* ‘water’ or PN *ɣwo₁* ‘snow’. Pronouns are slightly more complex, but we also point out the similarity between PEB *khi* ‘3’ with PN *khi* (Lama 2012).

A few PEB forms that do not appear to have reflexes in SW China are also presented. For example, PEB *dot* ‘sleep’ and *kak* ‘blood’ do not appear to have cognates in Southwest China, suggesting these words are useful in classification of Tibeto-Burman languages in the area.

In summary, this talk presents the newest East Bodish reconstructions with an eye toward how they help classify the Tibeto-Burman languages of Southwest China. We find many cognates, strengthening evidence for what is known to be retained in Burmish (Nisoic), rGyalrongic, and Qiangic languages. We also find forms that are found in East Bodish but not, apparently, in Burmish, rGyalrongic, or Qiangic. These forms are good candidates for diagnostic innovations.

**References:**


Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2015. Kurtöp: a case study in historical linguistics and language


Jesse Gates, /æ/ and /ɑ/ in Stau: phonology, diachronic sound change in Tibetan loan words, and dialect variation

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The purpose of this paper is to provide a thorough description of two vowels phonemes in Stau, namely /æ/ and /ɑ/ (in some dialects /aˠ/; see Jacques et al. 2014: 83). The first section presents an overview of Stau phonology. The second section gives some examples of contrast between /æ/ and /ɑ/, and discusses distribution and phonotactics. The third section presents an acoustic analysis of these two vowels comparing three different dialects (Mazi, Dge bshes, and Resnyi Rdzong). /ɑ/ is slightly more retracted and lower (lower F2 and higher F1, respectively) than /æ/—phenomena typical of velarization, pharyngealization, and uvularization (Evans 2006, Davis 2008). The fourth section discusses the Tibetan coda reflexes that have a Stau /ɑ/ correspondence. Most words (> 75%) with /ɑ/ are Tibetan loan words. All Tibetan loan words with ས ཨ < g> or ཱ ཨ < gs> cedex and no other vowel markings have become /ɑ/ in Stau (e.g., ཤ ས ཨ ཨ < zhang>, ཡ ས ཨ ཨ ཨ ཨ 'exactly' ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ ལ < tag tag>, ར ཨ ཨ ཨ ཨ ཨ ཨ ཨ ཨ 'forest' ལ ཨ ཨ < nags> ), which explains the historical origins of what has been described as a velarized vowel (/ɑ̞/ in some Stau dialects (proposed by Jacques, et al. Forthcoming; 3). /ɑ/ is rare in native words, only occurring in 35 words in a database of about 3,000 words (2%), and when combining Tibetan loans with native words occurring in about 200 words (<7% of the lexicon). However, /æ/ occurs in about 20% of Stau words (native words and loanwords).

References
Hiroyuki Suzuki and Tashi Nyima, 'Bo skad, a newly recognised non-Tibetic variety spoken in mDzo sgang, TAR: a brief introduction to its sociolinguistic situation, sounds, and vocabulary

This paper aims to present a brief introduction to 'Bo skad (a.k.a. Lamo or sTong 'bar skad; language name to be fixed as mBo), a newly recognised non-Tibetic variety spoken by 'bo mi people in mDzo sgang (Zuogong) County, Chab mdo (Changdu) District, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), which corresponds to the western part of Khams in the Tibetan traditional geographic division. It includes a description of this language’s sociolinguistic situation and sound structure, as well as a comparative analysis of basic vocabulary within Tibeto-Burman languages.

As far as we know, 'Bo skad has been unknown in any academic fields. It is spoken just in one township named Dongba (sTong 'bar), located in the valley along Nuijiang (rGyal mo rNgul chu) River, in mDzo sgang County. An estimated number of speakers is 3,000, however, the language faces endangerment because of various social changes. This language is not secret language and used by inhabitants every day, in other words, it is to some extent known as a logs skad (non-Tibetic vernacular) by the local people, especially from the Tsha ba rong region. However, since the Tibetan word skad means ‘speech’ and ‘dialect’ as well as ‘language’, a linguistic approach is necessary to recognise which type of language it is. There are at least five pockets of different logs skad within Chab mdo District, three of which are to some extent mutually intelligible including 'Bo skad, however, it awaits confirmation.

Based on a lexical overview, we can easily say that 'Bongs skad is a non-Tibetic language (see Tournadre 2014 for the term ‘Tibetic’), as many basic words are not cognate with Literary Tibetan, for example, /na/ ‘you’ khyod, /da/ ‘one’ gcig, /li/ ‘four’ bzhi, /swi/ ‘five’ lnga, /ni/ ‘seven’ bdun, /sa/ ‘blood’ khrag, /mo/ ‘rain’ char pa, /li/ ‘field’ zhiing, etc. [N.B. suprasegmentals omitted] This evidence suggests that the language is not a member of the Tibetan branch. This paper, by presenting an analysis of around 300 word forms and typologically striking morphosyntactic features, concludes that 'Bo skad is nearly close to languages within the Qiangic branch, however, it has been influenced by Tibetic languages.

References

Sami Honkasalo, *Verb morphology in Geshizha Horpa*

**Verb Morphology in Geshizha Horpa**

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University of Helsinki

Geshizha (endonyms bæ-skæ, pæyi-skæ and raŋ-skæ) is an understudied Western rGyalrongic Horpa lect spoken in the Geshizha Valley of the Danba County in Sichuan. Similar to the other known Horpa varieties, the language exhibits complex verb morphology. Building on the preliminary research by Duo’erji (1998) by means of fieldwork at the Balang Village of the Danba County, this presentation analyses of the verb system in Geshizha and aims to contribute to the rapidly progressing Western rGyalrongic studies. The presentation primarily focuses on two core phenomena in the Geshizha verb system, namely person indexation and the directional-cum-TAM-marking verbal prefixes.

The presentation shows that all Geshizha verbs can be placed in one of the four conjugation classes that are introduced in the talk. Similar to Stau Horpa described by Jacques et al. (2014), the Geshizha verb morphology makes a fundamental distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. The transitive conjugation manifests empathy hierarchy by the use of the inverse prefix –v that is obligatory when the agent is lower than patient in the hierarchy. In addition to the inverse prefix, person is indexed to the verb by suffixes whose addition may result in alternations of the verb’s root vowel through vowel sandhi. The alternations are systematic and governed by the quality of the verb root’s final vowel. In sum, despite the apparent complexity, the Geshizha person indexation system is to a large extent built on simple principles that govern the output forms of the underlying rules. A sketch of the indexation paradigm is offered in the table at the end of the abstract.

Frequently occurring verbal prefixes constitute another central phenomenon in the Geshizha verb morphology. Verbs in the language can be prefixed with the prefixes rV, nV, wV, gV, dV, zV that primarily originate from grammaticalized directional adverbs and to indicate both directionality and TAM in the language. The presentation analyzes the verbal prefix system, focusing on the contrast between the aspect markers gV and dV. The question whether they carry an evidential strategy in addition to their primary meaning is addressed.

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**References**


Qianzi TIAN and Jackson T.-S. SUN, *On tense and aspect in Gexi Horpa*

**On Tense and Aspect in Gexi Horpa**

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Jackson T.-S. Sun  
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Horpa is a little-explored Rgyalrongic subgroup (Qiangic branch, Sino-Tibetan family) spoken in several counties across Ngaba (阿坝) and Dakarmdzes (丹巴) prefectures in northwestern Sichuan. Gexi (Dbegshes Township, Rta’u County, Dakarmdzes Prefecture) is a variety of *Central Horpa*, a major language in the subgroup. Gexi exhibits striking differences in verbal morphology not only from other Rgyalrongic members, but also from other documented Horpa varieties, e.g. Puxi of Dzamthang County (Sun 2000) and Geshiza of Rongbrag County (Duo’erji 1998).

Rgyalrongic languages are generally characterized by a tripartite tense-aspect system (Dahl 1985). The perfective aspect typically imparts past-time reference, whereas the imperfective forms carry a past vs. non-past distinction, evidence of absolute tense (Sun 1998, Lin 2003, Jacques 2008: 259-300). This is the case for example with Puxi, where all verbs morphologically distinguish non-past imperfective forms based on the non-past stem, and a past imperfective form based on the past stem (Sun 2000). Previous work on Gexi (Huang 1991), however, does not recognize tense as a verbal inflectional category. Based on extensive fieldwork conducted in Rta’u County, we aim to demonstrate in this paper that Gexi deviates significantly from the above Rgyalrongic norm in several ways:

First, the original perfective-perfect structure (orientation-perfectivity-imperativity prefix attached to the verb stem) has evolved uses as a past-tense form, occurring in both perfective and certain imperfective contexts:

(1) a. avɔŋ̃i əŋ̃ı əño-ŋ̃ı
   yesterday 1 SG PST:PFV-be.ill-1SG
   ‘I got ill yesterday.’

b. tʰə at steste əño-ŋ̃ı
   that.time= LOC 1SG  always PST:IPFV-be.ill-1SG
   ‘At that time, I was always ill.’

Second, the time reference of this verb form is not restricted to the moment of speaking, but can also be located relative to a past (2a) as well as a future (2b) event:

(2) a. tʰɔ ɡə-ŋə ɲuvəŋə əŋ̃ı ɬe-ŋə
   3SG PST-go.to.bed afterwards 1 SG PST:arrive-1SG
   ‘I arrived after he had gone to bed.’

b. əŋ̃ı da ɬə-ŋə ɹeɡə jə-ŋə
   1SG tea PST-drink-1SG:TR then go-1SG
   ‘After I have eaten, I will go.’

Third, the original imperfective prefixes have been lost, and a periphrastic imperfective has arisen in their place, composed of a nominalizer -ɡə added to the verb stem in construction with existential auxiliary ḟt, with the past vs. non-past distinction indicated on the auxiliary. Exemplified below are the progressive (3) and habitual (4) uses of this innovative imperfective form:
Progressive:

(3) a. ŋa dūva tʰi-gə ji-ŋ
    1SG tobacco smoke-NMLZ exist-1SG
    ‘I am smoking.’

b. ŋa tʰætʰa dūva tʰi-gə də-ji-ŋ
    1SG then tobacco smoke-NMLZ PST:IPFV-exist-1SG
    ‘I was smoking at that time.’

Habitual:

(4) a. ŋe=ji vdz'i=ɣu adə a-tʰə=ŋə
    1SG=GEN husband=AGT this one-period=LOC
    γətʰi tʰi dūva v-tʰi-gə ji
continuously tobacco TR:3-smoke-NMLZ exist
    ‘My husband smokes these days.’

b. ŋə́ kʰa ŋe=ji vdz'i=ɣu
    formerly 1SG=GEN husband=AGT
    γətʰi tʰi dūva v-tʰi-gə də-ji
continuously tobacco TR:3-smoke-NMLZ PST-exist
    ‘My husband used to smoke.’

Other salient features of Gexi tense-aspect marking to be discussed will include the loss of tense-marking verb stem alternations (except for residue suppletive forms), and the orientation prefix da- (denoting ‘away’) evolving into a default past-tense marker, often conveying an evidential-like resultative meaning (with mirative overtones in some contexts).

It will be shown that some of the observed morphological features in Gexi stem from contact influences from Tibetan, the dominant language of the area.

Keywords: Sino-Tibetan, Qiangic, Horpa, morphosyntax, tense-aspect categories

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