CHAPTER 4

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I describe nouns and noun adjuncts as used in Jiāomùzú. Nouns can be the head of a noun phrase. In order to facilitate the discussion of nouns and noun adjuncts I give an overview of how the noun phrase is constructed in section 4.1.

Section 4.2 discusses features of nouns in three subsections. Subsection 4.2.a describes the nature of the noun and nominal prefixes. Jiāomùzú has four nominal prefixes. My hypothesis is that prefixes ta- and tə- show the relation of the speaker with his environment. Objects in closer proximity to the speaker are marked with tə- and objects more distal or unrelated have prefix ta-. The animal prefixes kʰ- and k- mark non-mammal and mammal, respectively. Subsection 4.2.b looks at distinctions in nouns. Beyond common and proper nouns Jiāomùzú also distinguishes for animacy and countability of nouns. Both are expressed through number marking. Collectivity and definiteness are not marked distinctions for Jiāomùzú nouns. The third subsection, 4.2.c, discusses derivational morphology. Derivation of nouns is common and employs both compounding and nominalisation. Compounding puts two words, most often nouns, together to form a new noun. Nominalisation makes use of nominalising prefixes kə-, tə-, sa- and suffix -pa to change words from other categories, such as verbs, into nouns, or to form new nouns out of already existing ones. Derivational morphology also marks gender and diminutives. There are no inherent gender categories but nouns are marked for gender when needed with the use of indigenous markers -za and -mu for male and female respectively, or with borrowed markers from Tibetan. Diminutives are formed with suffix -puʔ, from 'child' or -tsa, 'small'. Inflectional morphology, described in subsection 4.2.d, marks for number (including honorifics) as well as employing pronominal marking to form genitives. Number marking derives from the personal pronouns. Singular remains unmarked, dual employs -ndʒ and plural has -ŋo. Plural marking is also used to form honorifics. For vocatives nouns that express kinship terms are used, with the nominal prefix of the noun replaced by a-. Genitives, marked by a pronominal prefix on the noun, can express a host of different relations between two arguments. The first term in a genitive is the possessor while the second term, the noun on which the head marking appears, is the head and the possessed.

The last section of the chapter, 4.3, deals with noun adjuncts. The Jiāomùzú dialects have a contrast marker, discussed in subsection 4.3.a, and a marker for indefiniteness which is described in subsection 4.3.b. Subsection 4.3.c deals with numerals and quantifiers, while subsection 4.3.d describes classifiers. Subsection 4.3.e contains a discussion of a discourse marker, the prominence marker kə. Contrast marker tə distinguishes a constituent from all other objects in the environment. Indefiniteness marker ki derives from a numeral meaning 'one' and is used in the sense of 'a' or 'one'.
The marker also functions to introduce new topics in a discourse. Jiǎomùzú has a range of indigenous numerals and quantifiers. Depending on the context, speakers also often use Tibetan or Chinese numerals. Though Jiǎomùzú has classifiers, there are not many. Often nouns or other words are pressed into service when a classifier is needed. Discourse marker *kə*, finally, is a prominence marker which gives emphasis or prominence to one or more constituents in a sentence. Prominence marking also ensures that the subject keeps prominence, even if it is not in subject position, and it tracks prominence in complex sentences with switched subjects. The marker *kə* is usually considered an ergativity marker in other studies on rGyalrong. In Jiǎomùzú *kə* can and does mark ergativity, but it is also used to signal other functions, such as prominence and tracking of referential continuity. I have chosen to call it a ‘prominence marker’ rather than ‘ergativity marker’.

4.1 *Building a noun phrase*

Before the head of a noun phrase there can be different constituents, usually locatives or the first term of a genitive construction, the possessor. The head of the noun phrase can be followed by adjectivals, which in turn can be modified by adverbs and expressives, and by numerals, quantifiers and classifiers. After these follow demonstratives. The noun phrase concludes with a contrast marker or an indefiniteness marker. All of these building blocks are optional. Only the head of the noun phrase is obligatory. The entire noun phrase can be marked for number by suffixing a number marker to the final building block of the phrase. Finally, a noun phrase can be marked by prominence marker *kə* which indicates the prominence of the noun phrase in the sentence.

Nouns, demonstratives and certain quantifiers can function as the head of a noun phrase. In this chapter I use nouns as the head of noun phrases, as in (1), where *tapuʔ*, 'boy' is the head of *tapuʔ katsə*, 'the little boy', which is the subject, and *popotʰaŋ*, from Chinese 泡泡糖 pàopàotáng, 'bubblegum' is the object:

(1) tapuʔ katsə nə popotʰaŋ to-ndza-w.
child small CON bubblegum PFT-eat-3s
The small child chewed gum.

Nouns can also be the predicate of a sentence with a copula:

(2) ndəɲo sloppən ɲos-jn
that-p teacher be-3p
They are teachers.

In example (2) *sloppən*, 'teacher', is the predicate connected to the subject *ndəɲo*, 'they', by the linking verb *ɲos*, 'be'.
Noun phrases have to occur before the verb phrase in a sentence:

\[
\text{(3) təzapu? bebe 'na-ndza-w} \quad * \quad \text{təzapu? 'na-ndza-w bebe}
\]

\[
\text{boy noodles OBS-eat-3s} \quad * \quad \text{bebe 'na-ndza-w təzapu?}
\]

\[
\text{The boy is eating noodles.} \quad * \quad \text{'ndaza-w təzapu? bebe}
\]

The subject and object in a simple declarative sentence occur in first and second position respectively. But topicalisation occurs frequently if there is no danger of ambiguity, see the section on topicalisation in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences.

The smallest noun phrase consists of one noun, which is the head. The head can then be modified in a variety of ways by noun adjuncts. Terms that modify the head noun are placed after the noun. Usual modifiers are numerals and adjectives. Adjectives are nominalised forms of stative verbs, which I discuss in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs:

\[
\text{(4) paktsa paktsa kəsam} \quad \text{paktsa kə-neʔk}
\]

\[
\text{piglet piglet three} \quad \text{piglet NOM-black}
\]

\[
\text{three piglets black piglets}
\]

Numerals occur after adjectivals. Several adjectivals can occur in one noun phrase. They are placed in a sequence that cannot be interrupted by a word from another lexical category such as a numeral. The positions of the terms that qualify the head noun are interchangeable if the terms are of the same lexical category. For example, in (5) kəneʔk and kəsanərgaʔ, both nominalised stative verbs that function as adjectives here, can change position, with 'black' in second and 'cute' in first, without changing the meaning of the sentence. Changing the internal order of the sequence of adjectives makes no difference in meaning:

\[
\text{(5) paktsa kə-neʔk kə-sa-nərgaʔ kəsam ndoʔ}
\]

\[
\text{piglet NOM-black NOM-CAUS-cute three have}
\]

\[
\text{There are three black, cute piglets.}
\]

\[
\text{paktsa kə-sa-nərgaʔ kə-neʔk kəsam ndoʔ}
\]

\[
\text{piglet NOM-CAUS-cute NOM-black three have}
\]

\[
\text{There are three cute, black piglets.}
\]

\[
* \quad \text{paktsa kəsanərgaʔ kəsam kəneʔk ndoʔ}
\]

There is no syntactic limit on how many terms can be added, though the naturalness of an utterance becomes strained usually somewhere around the point of three or four terms.

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs, such as adverb of degree makəndəŋa, 'very' in (6) or expressives, as ŋkʰukŋkʰuk, 'an ugly kind of black resembling the colour of pitch', in example (7).
Modifiers of adjectives are placed after the adjective and cannot be separated from it by other constituents:

(6) paktsa kə-neʔk makəndʔa kəsam ndoʔ
piglet NOM-black very three have
There are three very black piglets.

* paktsa kəneʔk kəsam makəndʔa 'ndo

(7) paktsa kə-neʔk ŋkʰukŋkʰuk kəsam ndoʔ
piglet NOM-black like.ugly three have
There are three piglets so pitch-black that they're ugly.

* paktsa kənaŋ kəsam ŋkʰukŋkʰuk ndoʔ

Adverbials only cover the scope of the adjective after which they are positioned. In (8) makəndfra, 'very' only covers kəneʔk, 'black'. And tsa, 'very' in (9) only covers kəsanərəgaʔ, 'cute', not the other adjectives kəneʔk and kətsʰo, 'fat'. If the adverb should modify all stative verbs it has to be repeated after each one. In (10) h- in hana, 'down there' is a distal marker:

(8) paktsa kə-neʔk makəndfra kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərəgaʔ tə
piglet NOM-black very NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute C
I'll sell the fat, cute, very black piglet.

ŋa kə-mpʰel-ŋəŋos
I NOM-sell-1s be

(9) tʰuŋgu w-oŋgi-j paktsa kə-neʔk kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərəgaʔ
stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute
The very cute, black and fat piglets that are in the stable are bKra-shis'.

tsa tə pkraʃis wu-paktsa 'nə-ŋos
very C bKra.shis 3s:GEN-piglet EV-be

(10) h-ana tʃe paktsa kəsam tə kə-sa-nərəgaʔ tsa 'nə-ŋos
down.there LOC piglet three C NOM-CAUS cute very EV-be
The three piglets over there are very cute.
Nouns can be modified by quantifiers such as *wuvjot*, 'many', which come after adjectives and are in most cases mutually exclusive with numerals because of semantic clashes:

(11) paktsa kʰa-neʔk wuvjot ndoʔ
    piglet NOM-black many have
    There are many black piglets.

* paktsa kʰa-neʔk kʰasam wuvjot ndoʔ

Classifiers modify nouns, often occurring after numerals:

(12) ʃokʃoʔk kʰasam pʰjar ndoʔ
    paper three CL have
    There are three sheets of paper.

Though demonstratives can either be placed in front or after the noun, the preference is to place them in front if there are many other noun adjuncts in the noun phrase. If the demonstrative comes first, it links to the head noun with a genitive construction, as shown in the examples under (13):

(13) ndə ma-'nə-haʔw
    DEM NEG-OBS-good
    That is not good.

    tətʰa ma-'nə-haʔw
    book NEG-OBS-good
    The book is not good.

    ndə w-ətʰa ma-'nə-haʔw
    DEM 3s:GEN-book NEG-OBS-good
    That book is not good.

    tətʰa ndə ma-'nə-haʔw
    book DEM NEG-OBS-good
    That book is not good.

Demonstratives come after numerals, adjectives, quantifiers and classifiers. But if the head noun is modified by numerous other terms, the demonstrative usually appears before the noun rather than at the end. It often forms a genitive construction with the noun:

(14) ʃokʃoʔk kʰa-neʔk kʰasam pʰjar tʃəʔ to ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
    paper NOM-black three CL DEM C I 1s-POSS be
    These three sheets of black paper are mine.

    tʃəʔ wu-ʃokʃoʔk kʰa-neʔk kʰasam pʰjar to ŋa ŋə-je ŋos
    this 3s:GEN-paper NOM-black three CL C I 1s-POSS be
    These three sheets of black paper are mine.
A noun phrase with its head noun and several noun adjuncts can be modified by contrast marker *tə* or indefiniteness marker *ki*. The markers are mutually exclusive. Also, *ki* does not occur with numerals or demonstratives, though *tə* can occur with both:

(15) raʔs kə-neʔk ƞkʰukʔkʰuk tə wuvjot ndoʔ?
cloth NOM-black like.ugly C many have
There is a lot of ugly black cloth.

(16) paktsa kə-neʔk makəndəʔa ki ndoʔ?
piglet NOM-black very IDEF have
There is a very black piglet.

* paktsa kənʔeʔk makəndəʔa kəsam ki ndoʔ?
* paktsa kənʔeʔk ki tə ndoʔ?
* paktsa kənʔeʔk tə ki ndoʔ?
* paktsa kənʔək ndə ki ndoʔ?

Other arguments such as locatives can be incorporated into a noun phrase. Such arguments are added before the head noun if they modify the entire noun phrase. An argument that modifies only the head noun will be placed after the noun. Complex noun phrases can be topicalised by putting them in the first slot in the sentence, as shown in (17):

(17a) [t̪ʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j paktsa kə-neʔk kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərgaʔ?
stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet NOM-black NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute
The very cute, black, fat piglet that is in the stable, I will sell it.

tsa tə] ɲa mpʰel-ɲ°°
very C I sell-1s

(17b) soʔnu ɲa [t̪ʰuŋgu w-əŋgi-j paktsa kəsam kə-neʔk
tomorrow I stable 3s:GEN-inside-LOC piglet three NOM-black
Tomorrow I will sell the three black fat very cute piglets that are in the stable.

kə-tsʰo kə-sa-nərgaʔ? makəndəʔa] kə-mpʰel ɲos-ɲ
NOM-fat NOM-CAUS-cute very NOM-sell be-1

°° The verb kampʰel, ‘sell’ has a dialect variant kampʰer which is used on the Jiāomùzú grasslands. In this study I use only kampʰel.
Tomorrow I will sell bSod-nams' three black fat very cute piglets that are in the stable.

Placement of terms is flexible and depends on the meaning a speaker wants to express. A term only modifies the term right before or after it, not other terms that are on the same level:

In example (18a) sonam wuje modifies tʃʰuŋgu, 'stable', while in (18b) it modifies paktsa, 'piglet'.

4.2 Features of nouns

a. The concept of noun in Jiāomùzú

Consider the following example:

There are books on the table.
There is a book on the table.
The noun tətʰa, 'book' in (19) signals the class of all objects that qualify as 'book'. The information conveyed by the sentence is simply that the category 'book' is present on the table. The notion of 'book' here does not refer to a specific member of the category 'book' but rather to the concept of 'book', as opposed to all other possible objects. It is impossible to render sentences such as (19), which are exceedingly common in Jiāomùzú, adequately in English, where some degree of definiteness, expressed by articles and number marking, is obligatory. Only if a speaker wants to give details about the one or several objects on the table that represent the category 'book' do number marking and other specifics occur in a sentence. In the following examples (20a) and (20b) show the use of a noun in its generic sense, representing an entire class of objects. Example (20c) shows the same noun but referring to individual entities of the class:

(20a) təjmoʔk ka-3gu w-əšak ji-i-a-vi
mushroom INF-mature 3s:GEN-time PFT-NEV-come,
The mushrooms are ripe.

(20b) pejvaʔ təjmoʔk 'na-məca
this.year mushroom OBS-many
This year there are many mushrooms.

(20c) ndʒ-əjmoʔk-ɲo nə-nə-kro-ndʒ
3d:GEN-mushroom-p FPT-EREFL-divide-3d
The two of them divided up their mushrooms.

In examples (20a) and (20b) the speaker makes general observations about mushrooms. It is mushroom season, and there are many of them this year. In both cases it is clear that his statement includes the entire population of mushrooms within the speaker's frame of reference. Undoubtedly there are individual mushrooms that are not ripe yet. There may also be some places where mushrooms are less abundant than in others. But since the speaker disregards the differences between individual mushrooms and gives a statement about the overall situation, the noun is understood to cover the concept of 'mushroom'. Rather like a collective noun, təjmoʔk, 'mushroom', remains unmarked for number. Example (20c) gives a different situation. Here two people have gone out to pick mushrooms. At the end of the day they divide their harvest between them. Now it concerns individually known and countable mushrooms. Accordingly, təjmoʔk is marked for plural. Note that the possessive is marked by third person dual ndʒ- prefixed to the noun. In light of the character of the Jiāomùzú nouns as described above, it is not surprising that the Jiāomùzú dialects do not have articles.
The nominal prefixes: ta-, tə-, kʰ- and k-

Jiǎomùzú nouns come in two formally distinguished categories, those that have nominal prefixes and those that do not. Earlier studies on rGyalrong all mention the occurrence of noun markers. The use of noun prefixes ta- and tə- is attested for a wide range of dialects throughout the rGyalrong language area. Lín Xiàngróng, for Zhuōkèjī in the Central rGyalrong dialect area, reports the use of both tə- and ta-, which he considers variant forms of one prefix. Mansier, who wrote a phonology of the Southern rGyalrong dialect of Xiǎojīn, gives tə- as well as ta-, as does Jacques for the Northern rGyalrong dialect of Japhug (Chábǎo), though there the phonetics are slightly different. Sun noticed for Cǎodēng, a Northern rGyalrong dialect, that most body part terms occur with tə- while qa- often occurs in animal and plant names, but thinks that the prefixes are semantically empty and their distribution random. However, every other affix in rGyalrong studied so far does carry meaning. It would be unexpected for the prefixes of a major category such as nouns to be semantically empty. To test this idea I checked the occurrence of nominal prefixes in the Jiǎomūzú dialects in a wordlist that I originally used for phonological data. The list was not designed for semantic analysis, and a full study of the noun prefixes from data properly classed according to semantic domains is beyond the scope of this study. But, considering my very preliminary findings, such a study might well be worthwhile.

The Jiǎomūzú dialects have many nouns that are prefixed by either ta- or tə-. Considered here are only those nouns that have a prefix ta- or tə- that can be replaced by a pronominal marker to form a genitive construction, which is the test for noun markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Prefix</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Thunder</th>
<th>Brain</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Arrow</th>
<th>Bladder</th>
<th>Axe</th>
<th>Thread</th>
<th>Berry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta-wo</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>ta-ntok</td>
<td>beak</td>
<td>ta-mrōk</td>
<td>brains</td>
<td>ta-pa</td>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>ta-sti</td>
<td>axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-rmoʔk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ta-pa</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-sti</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ta-ru</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beside the use of ta- and tə- I found that many animal names have prefix kʰ- or k-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Prefix</th>
<th>Ant</th>
<th>Calf</th>
<th>Deer</th>
<th>Fly</th>
<th>Fox</th>
<th>Jackal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰ-orok</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ-ajpololo</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kʰ-əna</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ-anjararaʔ</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ-alju</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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But there are also numerous nouns that have no prefix at all:

(23) peʔs  badger  paʃu  bird
tsʰar  bharal  vaŋar  buzzard
zdi  stone wall  mbotan  ball
ʒbruʔ  coracle  spoʔs  incense
zgrok  bracelet  ardi  coloured material braided into a man's hair

Some words can occur with or without prefix. For these words the use of the prefix apparently depends on the speaker's preference:

(24) təkʰoŋbe  viscera  kʰoŋbe  viscera
ekʰŋamoŋ,  camel  ŋamoŋ  camel
ekʰŋamoŋ

Working with a wordlist of 998 nouns I found no phonological constraints for the occurrence of ta- and tə-, but the noun prefixes have an intriguing distribution. Occurrences of the prefixes ta- and tə- represent only 34% of the total wordlist. The percentages for the individual prefixes are nearly the same, with 16% for ta- and 18% for tə-. This is significantly different from the Jiǎomüzú verbs, which are consistently marked by the verbal prefixes ka- and kə-. The hypothesis of earlier studies that most nouns are prefixed with either tə- or ta- turns out to be false for the Jiǎomüzú dialects and must be discarded. The obvious next question is where these prefixes do occur and if they pattern in any significant way. I have found that, in my list of nouns, prefixes tə- and ta- do not occur with names of animals, apart from the word for ‘bear’, təwaʔm. The prefixes do appear in body parts, which are also used for humans, such as tajiʔk, ‘paw, hand, arm’. Hardly any nouns that refer to temporal or spatial concepts have ta- or tə-. The category of abstract nouns consists of only sixteen words, which probably renders percentages of prefixes not meaningful. For other categories of nouns, the distribution of the prefixes is uneven. The table below shows the distribution of ta- and tə- in different categories of nouns, given as percentage of the total number of nouns in that category:
The category of nouns that refer to the human body has by far and away the highest occurrence of ta- and tə-, at 77%, with the categories of human affairs and daily life in second and third place respectively. The human affairs category predominantly contains nouns that cover human relations such as kinship terms. The daily life category covers most of domestic life in and around the house and in the village, with nouns for many objects used in daily life. The first tentative conclusion is that the meaning of ta- and tə- should be sought in the closest circle of life of a rGyalrong speaker, with the speaker at the centre. This interpretation is consistent with the analysis of təo, 'self, oneself, one', see section 3.1.e of the chapter on pronouns. If the pronominal prefix tə- is connected to the meaning of the prefix ta- that co-occurs with nouns, then maybe it is not a coincidence that this prefix occurs so often with nouns referring to the human body and body parts, implying the body as the locus of 'self'. In the category human body half of the nouns have the prefix tə-, emphasising the link between oneself and one's own body. In all other categories tə- occurs in far smaller percentages only. Maybe also important in this context is contrast marker tə, see below, which functions to define and set apart one person or object from all possible other persons and objects, creating a sphere of 'self' as opposed to 'other'. If this interpretation of nominal prefix tə- is correct, it is also understandable that the categories that score the next highest percentages for occurrence of tə- are the category of nouns referring to daily life and the category of human affairs. For the farming population of Jiāomùzú apparently the prefix tə- is used predominantly with those nouns that describe the closest circle of life, body, house, village and fields, as the most intimate, one's very own, the in-category, so to speak.

So what about prefix ta-? Though the overall percentages of occurrence for ta- and tə- are similar, their individual distribution is not. In fact, in the three main categories for these prefixes their distribution is almost complementary. For the category human body ta- scores only 27%, whereas tə- stands at 50%. The prefixes are evenly distributed in the category for daily life. And for the category of human relationships ta- scores 50% while tə- only has 15%. My hypothesis is that prefix ta- mostly occurs with words that refer to entities that are outside of the category 'self', but with which the person at the centre of the category 'self' has a certain kind of relationship, such as family
members or relatives as expressed in the human relations category. Words prefixed with *ta*- belong in the category 'other', but it is still a category closely connected with the inner circle of 'self' as expressed by *ta*-.*. Support for this hypothesis comes from the categories of nouns referring to daily life and plant and agriculture respectively. For the daily life category the percentages for *ta*- and *ta*- are the same at 17% each, with *ta*- slightly more prevalent than *ta*- in the category of plants and agriculture. Outside of the direct sphere of the human body, where *ta*- scores very high because it concerns the physical reality of the category 'self', the spheres of domestic life and domesticated nature in the form of agriculture and plants are part of the self's immediate environment, where the category 'self' can be projected outward, but also includes many instances of relationships and objects that are in the category 'other, but connected' marked by *ta*-.*. In the category that groups nouns referring to nature at large, this division is emphasised even more. Prefix *ta*- scores only 9%, indicating most of the words in this category are not seen as part of the 'self' category and are perceived by speakers as outside of the circle of their domestic world. They are 'other'. Prefix *ta*- however scores 21% in this category, showing that many things of nature are in the category 'other, but connected'. My theory is that the Jiǎomùzú dialects preserve, in the nominal prefixes *ta*- and *ta*-, a system of marking all entities, objects and relations in a speaker's world according to concentric circles. Words marked with *ta*- form the smallest circle. Words with *ta*- are the middle circle, overlapping to some extent with the inner circle. And in the outer circle are all the words that are 'other, not connected'. Prefix *ta*- puts boundaries between oneself and all else, emphasising an inward focus. Prefix *ta*- signals the relation between two disparate entities, emphasising an outward focus.
This is not to say that in the innermost circle there are no unprefixed nouns or nouns with ta-, or that 
tə- does not occur outside the smallest circle. It is rather a matter of clustering, with the heaviest 
concentration of tə- in the smallest circle, ta- in circle two, and unprefixed nouns predominant in the 
boundless outer rim.

How do the prefixes kʰ- and k- relate to the view of the world as set out above? Both kʰ- and k- 
occur here and there in the wordlist, throughout the different categories. In some cases it concerns 
the nominaliser kə-, as in kəʃmo, 'thief', literally 'the one who steals' and kəʃpot, 'livestock', literally 
'the ones that are bred'. Prefix kʰ- occurs occasionally, for example in kʰəʔzaʔ, 'bowl'. However, there 
is one category where the prefixes are remarkably prevalent: roughly half of all animal names are 
prefixed by either kʰ or k-. A quick check shows that k- occurs mostly with mammals, while kʰ- 
indicates all other categories of animal such as insects, amphibians, snakes, birds:

(25)  kʰoroʔk  ant  kəmbuʔ  calf
     kʰajpololo  butterfly  kətʰwe  fox
     kʰapriʔ  snake  kartseʔs  deer
     kʰovulolo  tadpole  kəruʔk  lynx
     kʰalju  sparrow hawk  kalaʔ  rabbit
There are some notable exceptions to this rule. In the category mammals the word for 'dog', \( kʰəna \), has the aspirated marker. A possible explanation for this is that \( kʰəna \) may be cognate to literary Tibetan \( kʰyi \), 'dog' or a loan from Tibetan. Other words are less easily explained. For example, there are in my list two aberrant forms with \( k- \) in \( kʰaɲuk \), for 'pika' and \( kʰəʃʰeʔt \), 'marmot'. I have not found an explanation for these aberrant forms.\(^{105}\) Also I have no explanation for the fact that about half of the vocabulary of animal names has neither \( kʰ \) nor \( k- \). In any case, there are more than enough words with the 'animal prefixes' \( kʰ \) and \( k- \) to sustain the hypothesis that these prefixes are part of a system of noun prefixes which includes the concentric circles of 'self', 'other but related or near' and 'other and far' as well as the category 'animals', subdivided in mammal and non-mammal. The category for animals does not necessarily fit the idea of proximate and distal that is expressed in \( tə- \) and \( tə- \) but rather shows that nouns in this category belong to sentient beings, excluding humans. The suffix -\( jo \) which occurs only in pronouns that refer to humans, as discussed in section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns, supports the idea that the Jiāomǔzú dialects distinguish between the categories of 'human' and 'other'. In essence, \( ta- \) and \( tə- \), \( kʰ \) and \( k- \) are not really noun markers. They do not just mark the category noun, but signal specific meaning. However, for ease of reference I will refer to these four as noun markers.

The Jiāomǔzú dialects have borrowed vocabulary from Chinese as well as Tibetan. Loanwords from Chinese and Tibetan often occur without the common Jiāomǔzú noun prefixes. In fact, I have in my data only two Chinese loans that have a nominal prefix, \( təpeki \), 'bedding', from Chinese 铺盖 \( pūgài \), 'bedding, bedclothes' and \( tacən \), 'injection', from Chinese 针 \( zhēn \), 'needle, injection'. In the case of 'needle' \( ta \) may actually not be a nominal prefix but rather a phonologically adapted form of the Chinese verb 打 \( dǎ \), 'hit', which combines with 'needle' to form the verbal compound \( dǎ zhēn \), 'give an injection'. In Jiāomǔzú such verbal compounds when borrowed are frequently interpreted as nouns, so that they then occur with a verb like \( kaleʔt \), 'hit'. Loans from Tibetan occur with a noun marker more frequently, see the examples below. Example (26) shows Jiāomǔzú common nouns that are loans from Tibetan and Chinese:

---

\(^{105}\) Guillaume Jacques has pointed out that there may be historical reasons for the aberrant forms. The Central rGyalrong dialects do not have uvulars, but the Northern dialects have uvulars as well as velars. The word for 'fly', \( kʰəwas \), has a velar in Ja-phug (βɣəa, 'fly') but most animal names there have a uvular, apparently without distinguishing between mammal and non-mammal: qachɣa, 'fox'; qala 'rabbit'; qapri, 'snake' (Jacques, personal communication). It may be that Jiāomǔzú had velars as well as uvulars historically and that some of the aberrant synchronic forms have their roots in forms that have disappeared.
Here are some examples of loans from Tibetan that do take the normal noun prefixes:

(27) təsem  thought  literary Tibetan: བསམ་བོད  bsam-blo
   təlaʔs  fortune, fate  literary Tibetan: སྣད་འབང་ las-dbang
   təskəʔt  language, sound  literary Tibetan: བད་ skad
   təngo  beginning, head  literary Tibetan: བོད་ mgo
   ʒak , təʒak  time  literary Tibetan: དགོ  zhag
   təlo  (animal symbol of) year  literary Tibetan: དོ  lo

All loanwords, including the ones from Chinese, do fit into the regular Jiāomùzú patterns of morphology in that they inflect for number and take head marking to form genitives, see below.

b. Distinctions in nouns

Jiāomùzú nouns can be grouped according to three distinctions. There is first of all the large division between common nouns and proper nouns. Beyond that nouns can be grouped together in a category of animate and inanimate nouns and a category of count and non-count nouns. The distinctions between these categories are signalled by differences in number marking and, to some extent, by the scope of marking for definiteness. The distinctions are not indicated by differences in the form of the noun itself. A noun can belong to more than one category. For example, the noun tarni, 'gold', is a common noun as well as a non-count noun. In this section I give an overview of the different distinctions. There are no nouns that are inherently definite or indefinite. Indefiniteness is marked predominantly by the marker ki, while the contrast marker tə distinguishes, and thus defines, an entity from all other possible entities. The section finishes with a brief discussion of collective and
Proper nouns and common nouns

Jiāomùzú distinguishes between proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns indicate one specific member of the noun class such as ṭjakar, 'India', lhamo, 'Ha-mo', or renbamila, '[the House] Renbamila'. Common nouns indicate any member of a subgroup of nouns, such as ṭotʰa, 'book' or kʰəna, 'dog'. Common nouns inflect for number:

\[
\begin{align*}
28 & \quad kʰəna & \text{dog} \\
& \quad kʰəna-ndʒ & \text{two dogs (d)} \\
& \quad kʰəna-ɲo & \text{dogs (p)}
\end{align*}
\]

Proper nouns are frequently marked for associative plural, in which number marking occurs with a person's name, indicating not that there are several persons of the same name, but that there are several persons in the company of the person mentioned by name:

\[
\begin{align*}
29 & \quad \text{pkraʃis} & \text{bKra-shis} \\
& \quad \text{pkraʃis-ndʒ} & \text{bKra-shis and one other person} \\
& \quad \text{pkraʃis-ɲo} & \text{bKra-shis and several other people}
\end{align*}
\]

Number marking does not normally occur on proper nouns that indicate geographic locations, such as names of countries. Constructions such as 'two Indias, one rich, one poor' cannot be formed with the use of dual marking:

\[
\begin{align*}
30 & \quad * \text{ṭjakarndʒ ndo?ndʒ}
\end{align*}
\]

If the situation requires a dual or plural form of such names, a numeral is used. The following example shows the use of two place names that often cause confusion:

\[
\begin{align*}
31 & \quad \text{daŋba kəɲes kə-ndo? mi? kerek tə gandzə daŋba} \\
& \quad \text{Dānbā two NOM-have not.have one C Gānzī Dānbā} \\
& \quad \text{There are no two Dānbā's; there is one Dānbā in Gānzī and}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \quad \text{kerek tə maerkʰaŋ daŋba ņos} \\
& \quad \text{one C Māerkāng Dāngbā be} \\
& \quad \text{one Dāngbā in Māerkāng.}
\end{align*}
\]
It is possible to use number marking on House names. The noun then indicates the people of the house rather than several houses of the same name:

(32) zwaŋli-zwaŋli-po 'mə-to-ndoʔ-jn
    The House Zwangli Zwangli-p Q-2-have-2p
    People of the house of Zwangli, are you here?

Sentences such as example (32) are commonly used at village gatherings or in any other setting where the leader takes a head count and checks if all participants are present.

The number marking on the noun also occurs on the verb. The Jiāomùzú dialects can leave implicit who exactly is with bKra-shis, giving only the number of people in the number suffix. The English gloss requires an explicit mention of who is with bKra-shis or resorts to constructions such as 'bKra-shis' party', 'the people with bKra-shis':

(33) pkraʃis-ndʒ ma-vi-ndʒ
    bKra.shis-3d NEG-come1-3d
    bKra-shis and [his friend] are not coming.

(34) harja-po tascok kə-leʔt tʃʰi-jn 'na-ŋos
    lHa.rgyal-p letter NOM-write go1-3p EV-be
    lHa-rgyal [and his friends] are going to write letters.

In case the speaker wants to make clear who exactly will come with lHa-rgyal he can add the names of the company. Note that number markers are attached to the last syllable of the noun or noun phrase that they dualise or pluralise:

(35) pkraʃis skalbzang harja-po tascok kə-leʔt tʃʰi-jn 'na-ŋos
    bKra.shis sKal.bzang lHa.rgyal-p letter NOM-write go1-3p EV-be
    bKra-shis, sKal-bzang and lHa-rgyal are going to write letters.

For more on number marking, see section 4.2.d on inflectional morphology below.

Both proper nouns and common nouns form genitive constructions:

---

106 Traditional rGyalrong society is centred on the House. A House is a social unit which encompasses the House’s buildings, land, and, in the past, taxes and labour service owed to the tūsī. Terms such as 'family' or 'household' are not adequate, so I use the traditional term 'House' to refer to such extended family and economic structures.
(36) ɲi-sloppon     your teacher (2p)
w-əskɜʔt       his voice (3s)
ŋ-amíʔ       my leg (1s)

ɲi-pkraʃis     your bKra-shis (2p)
wuʔoŋo ɲi-lhamo their lHa-mo (3p)
ji-comco       our Jiāomùzú (1p)
jiní ji-əndʃtnj our [House] Adingting

For more on genitives, see section 4.2.d on inflectional morphology below.

Animate and inanimate nouns
The Jiāomùzú dialects distinguish the category of animacy for nouns. The difference shows in the number marking on the verb. Animate nouns require number marking, whereas inanimate nouns do not:

(37)  tàʔbə  ndoʔ?  tàʔbə  kəsam  ndoʔ?  *  tàʔbə  kəsam  ndoʔ?jn
    book       have                  book three have
    There is a book. There are three books.
    There are books.

(38) ŋ-ajze       ndoʔ?
    1s-old.brother have.
    I have an older brother.
    I have older brothers.

(39) w-əŋkʰuʔ  nə    wu-kʰakpe-ŋi  kə-ndoʔ?
    3s:GEN-after CON 3s:GEN-story-p NOM-have
    Later, there were stories about him.
The animate category includes animals, but not plants:

(40) pak kəsam ndo?-jn * pak kəsam ndo?
pig three have-3p
There are three pigs.

məntoʔk kəsam ndo? * məntoʔk kəsam ndoʔjn
flower three have
There are three flowers.

Inanimate nouns normally do not mark for number on the noun itself either, but express plurality by adding a numeral or quantifier, as shown in (41a and b), though plural marking can occur, see (39) above and the discussion on count and non-count nouns below. The distinguishing fact for animacy is number marking on the verb, not on the noun:

(41a) ? məntoʔk-ŋo na-маца (41b) məntoʔk kəʒu tə na-sna
flower-p PFT-many flower all C PFT-good
All the flowers were good.

Sometimes an inanimate noun is understood to represent animate beings and is treated as an animate noun as to number marking:

(42) nəŋəo tʰistok jeʔm tə-ndoʔ-jən kəŋes-zji-kəmŋi jeʔm caʔm ndoʔ-jn
you how.many house 2-have-2p two-twenty-five house about have-3p
How many houses are there [in your village]? About twenty-five.

Though jeʔm, 'house', is an inanimate noun, the speaker obviously has the concept of households or family groups consisting of people in mind, and marks the verb in the second sentence for plural accordingly. Note that the plural marking on the verb in the question does not signal the plurality of jeʔm but rather of nəŋəo, 'you', the subject. Even though nəŋəo is singular, plural marking occurs because 'you' is a short form of address in which the speaker implies the wider meaning 'your home place'.

Though Jiǎomùzú employs an animacy hierarchy which influences the morphology of the verb in several ways, there is no marked difference in ranking between animate nouns and inanimate nouns, nor any difference between human and non-human. I discuss the animacy hierarchy extensively in section 7.2 of the chapter on verbs.

The distinction between animate and inanimate nouns, signalled through number marking is, to my knowledge, common throughout Jiǎomùzú. Only the nomadic pastoralists on the high altitude grasslands of the Jiǎomùzú Mùchǎng do not make the distinction. They would not use number marking on either sentence in example (38). When number marking does occur they interpret it as honorific marking, signalling respect being paid to the brothers because they are older. It may be
that the Mùchâng pastoralists, who are bilingual in rGyalrong and a variety of nomad Amdo Tibetan, are influenced by the Tibetan verb system, which does not mark number on the verb.

*Count and non-count nouns*

Countable nouns are those that can be divided into individual entities, such as 'book, dog, flower'. Non-count nouns are considered continuous entities that have no natural boundaries, such as 'butter, information'. The usual rules for classifying nouns as count or non-count, namely whether a noun takes plural marking or can occur with an article or quantifier, can be applied with success to most words in Jiàomùzú. However, in a number of cases the rules do not work very well. Most common animate nouns can be marked for plural. However, the plural marking changes the meaning of the root noun if it is a non-count noun. Instead of marking a number of three or more of the original entity, plural marking on a non-count noun breaks up the original entity into smaller parts. The following examples illustrate this with the use of the noun makmə, which can mean 'soldier' or 'army'. When plural marking occurs on makmə it is always understood to signify 'soldiers', the parts of a larger whole. It cannot mean 'armies':

(43) makmə makmə-no
    soldier, army soldier-p
    soldiers
    *armies

The plural of 'army' can only be expressed with the use of a classifier such as topʰok, 'group', as in the following example:

(44) makmə kəɲes topʰok na-ndoʔ juʔ-kʰa pʰari 'na-ŋos
    army two group PFT-have river-bank across EV-be
    Two armies faced each other across the river.

Note that the numeral kəɲes here modifies the classifier, not the noun. Classifiers are normally used with non-count nouns that do not obviously consist of smaller parts, though not always. If it is clear from the context that the speaker is referring to bottles of water or ingots of gold, for example, the classifier may be dispensed with. However, not all native speakers consider this kind of construction correct:

(45) təjuʔ? təjuʔ kəsam təjuʔ kəsam pʰiŋəl
    water water three water three bottle
    three [bottles of] water three bottles of water
    
    tarni tarni kəsam tarni kəsam rdok
    gold gold three gold three ingot
    three [ingots of] gold three ingots of gold
This type of sentence is like the English usage for example in a restaurant, where a waiter may tell the kitchen that table 5 needs 'three waters, a small beer and a lemonade', though there too normally a classifier or quantifier such as 'glass' or 'bottle' is required.

The plural marker -ɲo can occur with non-count nouns to express certain specific meanings. For example, when talking about the infrastructure of a village, a speaker may ask about the quality of the gas, electricity or water supply by using plural marking. In the speaker's mind, the non-count nouns have become countable since there is a separate feed into each house in the village:

(46) təɟu-ɲo enity-ɲo tʃiɲi-ɲo ma-ŋa-kʰut
    water-p  electricity-p  gas-p   Q-OBS-ok
    How is the supply of water, electricity and gas?

Note that the plural marker here occurs with the Chinese loanwords 𒃺diàn, 'electricity' and 𒁷qi, 'gas'. Plural marking is also used to specify and set apart a certain amount of a non-countable substance or entity as distinguished from the rest or other quantities of this substance. Take the case of tamar, 'butter'. Normally, tamar is a non-count noun that requires a classifier to specify quantity:

(47) tamar ʔ tamar kəsam  tamar kəsam lor
    butter  butter three  butter three  ball
    three [balls of] butter  three balls of butter

However, the plural marker can occur with tamar, if the speaker refers to a certain quantity of butter that has been talked about earlier but that may not include all butter that is possibly around. For example, when a family invites monks to perform a ritual, much butter is needed. A neighbour, coming to help with the preparations and rummaging through the kitchen cabinets, may ask where the butter that has been set apart for use in the ritual is kept:

(48) tamar-ɲo ma-ɲdoʔ
    butter-p   Q-have
    Do you have [the] butter?
    Where is [the] butter?

In this case it is clear, from the use of -ɲo, that the women have discussed a certain quantity of butter and that the neighbour refers to this specific amount of butter now. She is not asking about all the other butter that may be in the store room. Along the same lines are the following examples:

(49) tarni-ɲo ŋ-ambe  na-kʰam-n
    gold-p   1s:GEN-toward  IMP-give-2s
    Give me the gold!
The speaker in (49) refers to a certain amount of gold, a number of ingots, that both the speaker and the hearer know about. There may be other gold around which is not included in the tarni demanded by the speaker. In example (50) the speaker demands that he be given gold, either all the gold that is available, or gold as opposed to other valuables such as silver or jewels. But there is in this case no previous understanding with the hearer about the amount or even the availability of gold.

In sentence (51) the speaker asks if the amount of money that the person referred to carries with him is sufficient, indicating by the use of -ŋo that this is not all the money possibly available. In (52) the speaker simply asks if the money carried by the person referred to is sufficient, without linking that amount to other quantities of money.

**Definite and indefinite nouns**

Jiāomùzú nouns are not lexically definite or indefinite. However, different degrees of definiteness are signalled by the presence or absence of the contrast marker to and the indefiniteness marker ki, as required by the situation. The marker to references entities as opposed to and excluding all other entities. Often it can be glossed as 'the'. The meaning of ki encompasses 'one' or 'a', rather like an indefinite article. But it can also be used to broaden a definition of an entity or object. I discuss these markers in sections 4.3.a and 4.3.b below.

**Collective and distributive nouns**

Collective nouns are words that can be seen as a single collective entity or as a collection of individual entities, such as English 'committee' or 'government'. I have not found such a distinction in Jiāomùzú, despite the odd example that seems to indicate otherwise. In example (53) wutwan, 'dance troupe' is a loan from Chinese 舞团 wǔtuán. The indigenous term for 'dancer' is tarngaʔəkva. Suffixing with -ŋo for plural forms 'dancers' as well as, by extension, 'dance troupe'. At first sight the marking on the verb for plural and singular indicates that wutwan is indeed a collective noun:
(53a)  wutwand ji-mändó
dance.troupe    PFT-arrive
The dance troupe has arrived.

(53b)  wutwand ji-mändó-jn
dance.troupe PFT-arrive-3p
The dance troupe have arrived.

(53c)  wutwand-ndo ji-mändó-jn
dance.troupe-p PFT-arrive-3p
The dance troupe have arrived.

(53d)  wutwand kəsam təpʰok ji-mändó-jn
dance.troupe three group PFT-arrive-3p
Three dance troupes have arrived.

Native speakers agree that sentences (53a), (53b) and (53c) are all grammatical. But since a troupe consists of several dancers, examples (53b) and (53c), which have plural marking, are much preferred. Native speakers apparently do not think in abstract terms of a group or troupe but rather mark for the number of people that make up the group. The concept of 'group' is inherently plural. To express that several troupes have arrived, a quantifier or classifier is used, as in (53d), and according to the treatment of non-count nouns discussed above. In light of the lack of indigenous vocabulary that exhibits the characteristics of collective and distributive nouns it seems best to regard Jiǎomùzú as lacking this category.

c.  Derivation of nouns.

A morphological process is derivational if it creates new words with meanings that differ from the meaning of their root words, though those meanings can be related. In Jiǎomùzú there are several important processes for the creation of new words from old roots. In compounding two words, usually nouns, combine in various ways to make one new noun. For the process of nominalisation the Jiǎomùzú dialects employ several prefixes that are attached to verbs. Gender is not normally marked on Jiǎomùzú nouns. Though there are words that use entirely different forms to express certain categories such as male and female in gender, I have not found forms that use morphophonemic alternations alone (as in ‘man’ and ‘men’). Diminutives are formed with the suffixes -puʔ or -tsa. Below follows an overview of the most commonly used ways of forming compound nouns and of nominalisation. The sections after that describe gender marking and diminutives.
Compounds

Compound nouns are very common in Jiǎomùzú. The four most common ways of forming compounds are as follows:

* Two complete words combine to make a new word:

(54) tɔʒba cheek
     ʃarə bone
     tɔʒba ʃarə cheek bone

     tarmoʔk dragon
     kʰəluʔ insect, worm
     tarmoʔk kʰəluʔ centipede

     təvok intestines, belly
     kətsə small
     təvok kətsə lower abdomen, belly

* One noun of the compound retains its full form while the second noun of the compound loses its prefix:

(55) təpʃiʔ excrement
     təɾboʔ drum
     təpʃirboʔ fart

     pkwaʔ chicken
     tapuʔ child, offspring, young
     pkwaʔpuʔ chick

     tawo head
     tarŋi hair
     taworŋi hair (of the head)

     kam door
     təmpʰi the outside
     mpʰi:kam gate
* The prefixes of both words that make up the compound disappear:

(56) təmŋak  eye
tərpi  hair
mŋakrpi  eyelash
tamar  butter
tərser  fresh
marser  fresh, newly churned butter
təstəʔk  bean
təktu  big
stoʔkktu  broadbean

* A noun is modified as part of a genitive construction:

(57) mbroʔ  horse
tarmbok  mane
mbroʔ w-armbok  mane ('the mane of the horse')
horse  3s:GEN-mane
tɔmŋuʔu  mouth
tərpi  hair
tɔmŋuʔu w-ərpi  beard ('the hair of the mouth')
mouth  3s:GEN-beard
təʃmi  tongue
tawo  head
təʃmi w-awo  tongue tip ('the head of the tongue')
tongue  3s:GEN-head

It can be quite unclear which part of a compound is the head. A good test is to turn the compound into a genitive construction. The pronominal affix is prefixed to the head of the compound, in (58) təmtə, ‘forehead’, not tərpi, ‘hair’:

(58) təmto  forehead
tərpi  hair
təmtərpi  fringe, bangs
w-əmtərpi  * təmtə wərpi
3s:GEN-fringe
his fringe
The last form, *ćəmto wəŋi*, is only grammatical in the sense of 'hair on the forehead', but not in the normal meaning of 'fringe'. This in contrast to the forms in (57), where the head is the second part of the compound rather than the first.

In compounding, changes of vowel can occur:

\begin{align*}
(59) &\quad {c^b}\text{e} & \text{liquor} & l\text{he} & \text{deity} \\
    &\quad t\text{ał} & \text{yeast} & b\text{zova} & \text{maker, artisan} \\
    &\quad {c^a}\text{ał} & \text{distiller’s yeast} & l\text{habzo} & \text{thangka painter}
\end{align*}

Finally, there are also compounds that combine a non-noun such as an interrogative with a verb or a nominalised verb to express adverbial meanings such as 'everywhere' and 'all kinds of':

\begin{align*}
(60) &\quad kətʃe & \text{where} & {t^b}\text{i} & \text{what} \\
    &\quad kəndo? & \text{have (nom)} & ndo? & \text{have} \\
    &\quad kətʃe kəndo? & \text{everywhere,} & {t^b}\text{i ndo? ndo?} & \text{all kinds; all possible,} \\
    & & \text{wherever} & & \text{whatever}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(61) &\quad wujo & {t^b}\text{indo?ndo?} & nə-ka-\text{pcər} & \text{to w-əmdo?k ‘na-ka-mpʃer} \\
    &\quad \text{he} & \text{all} & \text{PFT-NOM-make} & C \text{3s:GEN-colour} \\
    & & \text{OBS-NOM-beautiful} & & \\
\text{All that he made was beautiful in colour.}
\end{align*}

1'na-ŋos \\
EV-be

\begin{align*}
(62) &\quad ɲa & kətʃe & kə-ndo? & \text{pok} & \text{to-ka-natso-ŋ stʃi} \\
    &\quad I & \text{where} & \text{NOM-have} & \text{all} & \text{PFT-NOM-look-1s be:CD} \\
    & & & & & I've looked everywhere!
\end{align*}

Nominalisers

Jiāomûzú employs different kinds of nominalisers. The nominalisers *kə-* and *ka-* are employed in participant nominalisation and action nominalisation. Participant nominalisation forms objects, including those with a patient or recipient role, by prefixing a root with *ka-*, while subjects of intransitive verbs and agents of transitive verbs are formed by prefixing a verb root with *kə-*. I describe this kind of nominalisation extensively in section 7.1 of the chapter on verbs. Here I just give a few examples. The subscript number 1 with ‘write’ in example (64) indicates verb root 1 for infinitive:

\begin{align*}
(63) &\quad \text{agent noun} & \text{patient noun} \\
    &\quad ka-ʃmo & \text{steal} & kə-ʃmo & \text{thief} \\
    &\quad ka-lok & \text{herd} & kə-lok & \text{herder} \\
    &\quad ka-natʃʰe & \text{drink; get drunk} & kə-natʃʰe & \text{drunk}
\end{align*}
This kind of nominalisation is especially productive with verbs that can form noun-verb compounds, such as kata, ‘put’, kale, ‘hit’ and kava, ‘do’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(65)} & \quad \text{tatpe ka-ta?} & \text{have faith} & \quad \text{tatpe ka-ta?} & \text{believer} \\
& \quad k^b\text{orlo ka-le}^t & \text{drive a car} & \quad k^b\text{orlo ka-le}^t & \text{driver} \\
& \quad \text{tarrga}^h \text{ka-va} & \text{dance} & \quad \text{tarrga}^h \text{ka-va} & \text{dancer}
\end{align*}
\]

Also frequently used is the oblique nominaliser sa-, which forms nouns that signal places or instruments:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(66)} & \quad \text{tascok ka-le}^t & \text{write (letter + hit)} \\
& \quad \text{tascok sa-le}^t & \text{writing material, an object that facilitates writing} \\
& \quad \text{ka-m}^b\text{pel} & \text{sell} \\
& \quad \text{sa-m}^b\text{pel} & \text{place for selling goods, a place that facilitates selling}
\end{align*}
\]

Note that the meaning of the nominalised construction with sa- is very broad and does not necessarily refer to a specific object. The nominalised form of kanyup, 'sleep' does not actually mean 'bed', though beds are included in the meaning. Any place or object where a person may sleep is called a sayup, from hammocks to beds to patches of sidewalk. In the same way, tascok sale?, 'writing materials', includes pens, paper, brushes, ink, and any other object that may be used for writing. And samp'el, 'place for selling', may refer to a shop, a stand on a market, or a piece of cloth on which a hawker displays his wares. Earlier studies of rGyalrong have not always made this distinction, leading to glosses such as 'paper' for sale?, which is generally correct of course, but rather too narrow.\footnote{Nagano (2003: 471) correctly describes the meaning of nominalised constructions with sa- as 'a place/utensil to do something' but then gives examples in which the glosses are too narrow. For example, sa-top (from ka-top, 'hit') does not mean 'hammer' as Nagano glosses it, but 'object for hitting'. The word for 'hammer' is k'atfak.}

Unlike other rGyalrong varieties, Jiāomùzú does not have a nominaliser ta-. I discuss the case of ta- in section 7.1 on nominalisation of the verbs chapter.

According to Jin and Lín\footnote{Jin (1958: 74), Lín (1993: 163).} the aspectual prefix to- can be used as a nominaliser in constructions such as tokanapu, 'adopted child, foster child', from kanapu, 'adopt' (I use Jin's transcriptions here for his examples). Jin and Lín interpret the prefix as a perfective marker. The Jiāomùzú dialects differ in this respect from Zhuōkèjī and Suōmò. In Jiāomùzú it is not the appearance of past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(64)</th>
<th>citation form</th>
<th>patient noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-vọja</td>
<td>fetch</td>
<td>ka-vọja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-cop</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>ka-cop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tascok ka-leʔ</td>
<td>write</td>
<td>ka-laʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
imperfective aspect marker to- but the presence of ka- that nominalises this type of construction. The appearance of to- in past tense sentences simply signals past imperfective, while na- marks perfective, as shown in the following pair:

\begin{verbatim}
(67) kʰalat  ka-ndza  na-sajoʔk-w
     rtsam.pa NOM-eat  PFT-finish-3s
     He finished eating rtsam-pa.

kʰalat  ka-ndza  to-sajoʔk-w
     rtsam.pa NOM-eat  PSTIMP-finish-3s
     He finished off the rtsam-pa.
\end{verbatim}

This distinction remains in nominalised constructions such as the pair in (68). The first sentence signals an action, the taking along of the donkey, about which more remains to be said, while the second sentence conveys the meaning that the taking along of the donkey happened and is now finished.

\begin{verbatim}
(68) tarke  tə  w-apsi  na-kə-ndrʉ-w  ʔna-ŋos
     donkey  C  3s:GEN-with  PFT-NOM-take-3s  EV-be
     He took the donkey with him.

    tarke  tə  w-apsi  to-kə-ndrʉ-w  ʔna-ŋos
    donkey  C  3s:GEN-with  PSTIMP-NOM-take-3s  EV-be
    He took the donkey with him.
\end{verbatim}

The examples above show that to- cannot be the nominaliser of the construction, since the same construction with na- is still nominalised. Nominalisation here is caused by ka-, not by the aspect markers.

Both Lín and Nagano\textsuperscript{109} mention the prefix a- as a converter of nouns into terms of endearment or vocatives as in apa, 'dad' from tapa, 'father' and as a nominaliser for direction markers. In Jiăomûzú vocatives indeed mostly have a- as initial, while their root nouns have noun prefix ta-, see section 4.2.d on vocatives below. But for the orientational nouns, though they do have a- as initial, see section 7.3 on orientation in the verb chapter, a- does not function as a nominaliser. Nagano gives ta for 'upward' and ʔata for '(the) above'. But in Jiăomûzú the directional words for the set meaning 'vertically up' are as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
\footnote{Lín (1993: 162), Nagano (2003: 471).}
\end{verbatim}
The direction marker to differs from and cannot be the root of ata, which is a noun. There is no separate root *ta which functions as a direction marker. Prefix a- does not work as a nominaliser in Jiǎomùzú.

Finally, Jiǎomùzú employs the nominaliser -vu to derive nouns from nouns forming the meaning ‘person that is from…’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(70)} & \quad wuο jərpe-vu ŋos \\
& \quad \text{he} 1p\text{GEN-village-NOM be} \\
& \quad \text{He is from our village.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wuο mкʰono-vu 'nə-ŋos} \\
& \quad \text{he Kōnglόng-NOM EV-be} \\
& \quad \text{He is from Kōnglόng}.
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes Jiǎomùzú speakers use the Tibetan nominaliser -pa. This nominaliser only occurs with Tibetan loan words. Sometimes a reduplication of this nominaliser occurs, as shown in the following example. There are two terms for ‘trader’ that regularly occur in Jiǎomùzú. In (71a) the noun of the noun-verb compound tsʰoŋ kava, ‘do business’ is borrowed from Tibetan tshong, ‘trade’. Nominalisation of this compound results in tsʰoŋ kəva, literally ‘doer of trade’. The second term, as shown in (71b) is tsʰoine, ‘trader’, a direct loan from Tibetan tshonpa, in which the suffix -pa is a nominaliser. In Jiǎomùzú yet one more nominaliser -pa is suffixed to the entire form. In Amdo Tibetan, the nominaliser -pa is realised as [pa] or [wa], depending on the phonetic environment. In Jiǎomùzú I have only found the form -war.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(71a)} & \quad \text{Jiǎomùzú} & \quad \text{literary Tibetan} & \quad \text{tsʰoŋ ka-va do business} & \quad \text{tshon rgyag} \\
& \quad \text{tsʰoŋ ka-va trader} \\
\text{(71b)} & \quad \text{tsʰoŋ-pe trader (loan from Tibetan)} & \quad \text{tshong-pa} \\
& \quad \text{tsʰoŋ-pe-wa trader (loan from Tibetan re-nominalised with -pa)}
\end{align*}
\]

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A final example is (71c). The loan *mbrokpe*, which already has the Tibetan nominaliser *-pa*, is re-nominalised with *-wa*:

(71c) *mbrokpe*  nomadic herder, from literary Tibetan འབོགཔ ‘brog-pa

*mbrokpewa*  nomadic herder

**Gender**

The default for Jiăomùzú nouns is to remain unmarked for gender. There are also no articles or verb endings that indicate gender. When the need to distinguish gender arises Jiăomùzú can employ one of three different kinds of marking. Some nouns express gender by using entirely different forms for the three categories of male, female and young or offspring:

(72) tərmu  person  təza  man, male
təmu  woman, female
tapuʔ  child, young
kəjoʔ  sheep  sarna  ram
jomo, moluk  ewe
ɲapa  lamb

Other nouns take suffix *-mu* or *-za*, from təmu, 'female', and təza, 'male', to mark gender for female and male respectively:

(73) tapuʔ  child
tapuʔ?-mu  a female child
tapuʔ?-za  a male child

However, in most cases təza and təmu are used in their full form adjectivally to express gender:

(74) sloppən  teacher
  * sloppənza  sloppən təza  a male teacher
  * sloppənmu  sloppən təmu  a female teacher

In some cases loanwords can mark gender with suffixes based on the native terms for male and female but normally the entire gender word is used. Speakers from different dialects may disagree on which words can or cannot be suffixed with the gender markers:
lawsə təmu teacher, from Chinese 老师 laǒshi, ‘teacher’
lawsə təmu female teacher

Jiāomùzú: * lawsəmu
Běnzhēn: lawsəmu female teacher

lawsə təmu ʒǐk ndoʔ lawsə təza ʒǐk ndoʔ
teacher woman also have teacher man also have

There are male as well as female teachers.

A third way of marking gender is through suffixing with the Tibetan markers for male and female, -pʰo and -mo respectively:

pkwaʔ chicken kʰonj tiger
pkwaʔ-mo hen kʰonj-mo tigress
pkwaʔ-pʰo rooster kʰonj-pʰo male tiger

One of my language consultants said that these days younger native speakers tend to use təza and təmu also with nouns that traditionally take Tibetan gender markers, so that one can also hear things like kʰonj təmu for ‘tigress’. For some words, borrowed gender markers do not occur as a pair. In example (78) the female gender marker is –mo but the male gender marker is -jo rather than -pʰo.

pak pig
pak-mo sow
pak-jo boar

The borrowed gender markers cannot be attached indiscriminately to any noun. Most native nouns by far only take the native gender markers -mu and -za, either in full or shortened form, while the Tibetan gender markers apparently occur mostly with loanwords from Tibetan:

110 Namkha, personal communication.
(79) rta  
horse, from literary Tibetan འི། rta

rta-mo, rgonme  
mare, literary Tibetan: རྣ་མོ། rta rgod-ma

rta-pʰo  
stallion, literary Tibetan: རག་སེབ། rta-gseb, or རྣ་ rta-
pʰo, 'male horse'

mbroʔ  
horse

* mbroʔ-pʰo

* mbroʔ-mo

mbroʔ təmu  
mare

mbroʔ təza  
stallion

Interestingly, the word normally used for 'horse' is the indigenous mbroʔ rather than Tibetan rta. But when it comes to gender distinctions, rtamo and rtapo often occur.

In some cases, the borrowed gender markers occur as prefixes rather than suffixes. In example (80) holṣk, 'ram' follows the Amdo nomad pronunciation of gender prefix pʰo-, while pʰolṣk follows the more formal literary Tibetan form:

(80) kʰəna  
dog  
kəɲʔ  
sheep

pʰo-tʃʰə  
male dog  
pʰo-lək, holək  
ram

mo-tʃʰə  
bitch  
mo-lək  
ewe

Note that not only does the gender marker become prefixed, but also the root used is a Tibetan loan rather than the root of the native word, as in literary Tibetan བཀྲ་ཤྱི། khyi, 'dog' and literary Tibetan ལོ་ lug, 'sheep'. In some cases the root changes to something not recognizably Tibetan or native:

(81) lolo  
cat  
literary Tibetan: བཀྲ་ཤྱི། zhi-mi

pʰo-rə, horə  
tom cat

mo-rə  
female cat

It may be that there was an indigenous term for ‘cat’ with the root –rə, which is now replaced with lolo. The word lolo may be more of an areal term, since it occurs in one form or another throughout south-west China.111

111 Katia Chirkova, personal communication.
**Diminutives**

Many diminutives are formed by adding a third person possessive form of *tapuʔ*, 'child, young', to the noun. The resulting diminutives are syntactic constructions rather than morphologically derived:

(82) \( k^h \text{on} \) tiger \( k^h \text{on} \) w-apuʔ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiger</td>
<td>3s:GEN-child</td>
<td>tiger cub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəzu</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>kəzu w-apuʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəzu</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>3s:GEN-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəzu</td>
<td>young of a monkey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰapri</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>kʰapri w-apuʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰapri</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>3s:GEN-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰapri</td>
<td>young of a snake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some nouns can be simply suffixed with -puʔ, from *tapuʔ*:

(83) təmu woman təmu-puʔ  girl, daughter
təza man təza-puʔ  boy, son
pwaʔ chicken pwaʔ-puʔ  chick
sarna ram sarna-puʔ  young ram, male lamb
kʰəna dog kʰəna-puʔ  pup

Some nouns can be modified by either form:

(84) lolo cat
    lolo-puʔ  kitten
    lolo w-apuʔ  kitten

Note that -puʔ always indicates a relationship between a mature member of people or animals and their offspring. It conveys the meaning of 'born of...'. It cannot be used to form diminutives for inanimate nouns:

(85) tətʰa book * tətʰa-puʔ
tajiʔk hand * tajiʔk-puʔ
məntoʔk flower * məntoʔk-puʔ

The meaning 'small' is marked by the suffix -tsa, which forms diminutives mostly for inanimate nouns, though some animate nouns also require this suffix. Sometimes this leads to derived meanings, as in kamtsa, 'window', which literally means 'small door':

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Some nouns can take either suffix. Usually the distinction between the meanings 'small' and 'offspring of' remains, as in (86), but not always. Some nouns take only one or the other suffix, as in the examples for 'pig' and 'chicken':

\[(86)\] pak pig pak-tsa piglet, small pig
rgambe box rgambe-tsa small box
kam door kam-tsa window

It is not possible to have both -tsa and -puʔ to generate meanings like 'a small boy':

\[(88)\] təza man, male
təza-puʔ boy
* təzaputsa

Meanings like 'a small girl' are formed with the use of a diminutive prefix plus kətsə, 'small':

\[(89)\] təmu woman, female
təmu-puʔ girl
təmu-puʔ kətsə a small girl

\[(90)\] pak pig
pak-tsa piglet
pak-tsa kətsə a small piglet

The diminutive suffix-tsa cannot occur with any and all nouns. In fact by far the most nouns do not take -tsa but have to be modified by kətsə, 'small', to express diminutives:
d. Inflectional morphology

Apart from the class and subclass markers tə-, ta-, kə-, kʰ- and k-, which have been discussed in section 4.2.1 above, the Jiăomùzú dialects use bound affixes to mark person and number, genitive constructions and locatives. Person and number are expressed by suffixes on the noun. Jiăomùzú uses both special vocabulary and person and number marking to form honorifics. Terms of endearment are formed by adding lelej after a kinship term or noun. I treat this term as a separate word rather than as a suffix. Genitive constructions employ prefixes based on pronouns to mark person. Locatives are discussed extensively in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs.

Number

The Jiăomùzú dialects mark nouns for dual and plural. The default is the unmarked form, which denotes either the entire category of entities referred to by the noun or one entity of that class, as discussed in section 4.2.a on the nature of the Jiăomùzú noun above. Dual is marked by -ndʒ and plural with -ɲo, as familiar from the non-first person pronominal marking described in section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns:

(92) tətʰa book tərmu person
tətʰa-ndʒ two books tərmu-ndʒ two people
tətʰa-ɲo books tərmu-ɲo people

The dual marker means 'exactly two'. The plural marker specifies 'three or more'. The plural cannot be used to simply indicate 'more than one', nor can the dual mean 'two or more' or 'two out of many'. The numeral kəɲes, 'two', cannot occur with a noun marked for dual, since dual marking already specifies that there are two and only two of a certain thing. Consider the following examples, which are all imperatives:

(93a) tətʰa-ndʒ to-'ku-w book-d IMP-buy-2s
Buy the two books!
In example (93a) there are two and only two books. The speaker demands that the hearer buys those two books. In (93b) there are many books, and the speaker asks that the hearer buys two out of the many that are available. Example (93c) exhorts someone to buy three or more books. Note that the plural marker does not occur if the noun is modified by a numeral:

(93a) tətʰa kaɲes toˈku-w
book two IMP-buy-2s
Buy two books!

*(tətʰandʒ kaɲes tokuw

(93c) tətʰa-ɲo toˈku-w
book-p IMP-buy-2s
Buy books!

Plural marking with -ɲo can be used to mark the wider meaning of 'et cetera, and such, the like', as in example (95):

(95) kantʃʰak-j ka-ndza kə-mpʰer wuvjot 'na-ndoʔ swej-ɲo pakju-ɲo
market-LOC NOM-food NOM-sell many OBS-have barley-p apple-p
In the market there are many foodstuffs for sale, [grains] like barley and such, [fruit] like apples and so on.

Whether a noun can take number marking or not depends on distinctions such as animacy and countability, and modification of the noun by quantifiers, classifiers etc., as discussed above. The presence or absence of number marking also influences the degree of definiteness conveyed by a form, see section 4.3.b on indefiniteness marking below.

The number markers are clitic postpositions. When a noun phrase consists of more than one word the number marker is attached to the last constituent in the noun phrase, even if that constituent is not a noun. For example, in (96) the third person dualis marker -ndʒ is suffixed to the contrast marker tə, the final constituent of the noun phrase:
Those two girls are the same age.

Number marking occurs after the last constituent also when several noun phrases are coordinated:

(97) jino swej jima? taji-ɲo 'kə-ji-j manju? ʒugolor pakfu ndo? we:e barley corn wheat-p PRIMP-grow-1p besides walnut apple have
We grow barley, corn and wheat as well as walnuts and apples.

The placement of the number marker in a noun phrase can signal subtle shades of meaning or emphasis:

(98a) pak-ɲo tə tjejim w-əŋgi ka-sə-tʃi ma-kʰut kəne
pig-p C house 3s:GEN-in NOM-CAUS-go NEG-can MD:C
Pigs are not allowed inside the house.

(98b) pak tə-ɲo tjejim w-əŋgi ka-sə-tʃi ma-kʰut kəne
pig C-p house 3s:GEN-in NOM-CAUS-go NEG-can MD:C
Pigs are not allowed inside the house.

In (98a) the speaker simply states that pigs are not allowed inside the house. In the second example the speaker is more emphatic about the pigs: they can't come into the house, but other animals, such as the cat, can. In the examples above kəne is a mood marker which conveys that the speaker thinks that the fact stated, here that pigs are not allowed in the house, should be obvious to the listener.

Number is marked on the last constituent of the second noun phrase if two noun phrases are linked:

(99) [tʃəʔ w-aʃa] manju? [ndə w-əŋgi]-ndʒ [ndʒə-vu 'na-kəktu this 3s:GEN-shirt also that 3s:GEN-inside-3d 3d:GEN-price OBS-big
Both this shirt and the one inside are expensive.

Because number marking does not occur for singular nor in general statements like the ones in example (100), it is not always clear if a speaker refers to one or many of a particular entity, as discussed above in section 4.2.a on the nature of the Jiāomùzú nouns:

(100) coktse w-ərka-j təh'a ndo?
table 3s:GEN-top-LOC book have
There is a book on the table.
There are books on the table.
Example (100) gives a general statement about what is on the table. The speaker makes clear that he is talking about the entity 'book' but he does not specify whether he talks about one or more books. The relevant information in the statement concerns the nature of the item or items on the table, not their number. The ambiguity of such statements can be resolved by adding numerals, quantifiers or classifiers, or one of the markers to and ki which define the degree of definiteness of a noun. Plural marking can be used in accordance with the rules for animacy and countability of nouns that govern such marking, see above. If the speaker wants to specify the number of books on the table, if there is only one, he has to use a numeral like kərek, 'one', or ki which can mean 'one' or function rather like an indefinite article, similar to English 'a':

(101a) coktse w-ərka-j  tətʰa  kerek  ndoʔ
table  3s:GEN-top-LOC   book  one     have
There is one book on the table.

(101b) coktse w-ərka-j  tətʰa  ki  ndoʔ
table  3s:GEN-top-LOC   book  IDEF   have
There is a book on the table.

If a speaker wants to convey information about the number of books on the table, if there are more than one, he can use a numeral:

(102) coktse w-ərka-j  tətʰa  kəsam  ndoʔ
table  3s:GEN-top-LOC   book  three    have
There are three books on the table.

Note that no plural marking occurs on tətʰa, 'book', when a numeral occurs. Plural marking also does not occur when there is another word specifying quantity in the sentence:

(103) coktse w-ərka-j  tətʰa  kə-maça  ndoʔ
table  3s:GEN-top-LOC   book  NOM-many      have
There are many books on the table.

(104) wujo  kʰəzaʔ  təgnes  me  miʔ?
she   bowl     few     only     not.have
She has only a few bowls.

Number marking on the noun phrase can also be omitted if marking on the verb makes clear how many people or objects are involved and the noun phrase lists them. There is no difference in marking for proper nouns and common nouns in this respect:
(105a) pkra-ʃis-ndʒ fiʃṭo-ŋu-ndʒ
bKra-shis-3d Chéngdū live-3d
bKra-shis and [his friend] live in Chéngdū.

(105b) pkra-ʃis narə w-əndʒi? fiʃṭo-ŋu-ndʒ
bKra-shis and 3s:GEN-friend Chéngdū live-3d
bKra-shis and his friend live in Chéngdū.

(105c) pkra-ʃis narə lhamo-ndʒ fiʃṭo-ŋu-ndʒ
bKra-shis and lHa-mo-3d Chéngdū live-3d
bKra-shis and lHa-mo live in Chéngdū.

(105d) ranbamila-ndʒ fiʃṭo-ŋu-ndʒ
Renbamila-3d Chéngdū live-3d
The two people of the house Renbamila both live in Chéngdū.

(105e) ə-andʒi?-ndʒ fiʃṭo-ŋu-ndʒ
1s:GEN-friend-3d Chéngdū live-3d
My two friends live in Chéngdū.

(105f) * əandʒi? fiʃṭo-ŋu-ndʒ

(105g) * əandʒi?ndʒ fiʃṭo-ŋu

The examples above all involve two persons living in Chéngdū. In (105a) there is, along with bKra-shis, one unspecified person. Examples (105b) and (105c) show that number marking can be dispensed with if the number is clearly marked on the verb and the parties referred to are listed in the noun phrase. Example (105b) does not have marking on the noun phrase, which leaves the number of people unspecified since the hearer does not know how many friends are with bKra-shis. But the noun phrase lists bKra-shis as well as at least one friend, and the number marking on the verb for third person dual signals that there is only one. Example (105c) does mark number on the noun phrase. Both (105b) and (105c) are grammatical. Example (105d) shows that number marking for what in essence is an entity that cannot be counted, the house of Renbamila, is divided up in countable quantities by the use of a number marker. As discussed above, sentence (105d) also indicates that there are two and only two people of the house of Renbamila, and that they both live in Chéngdū. If there were more people in the house, two of which lived in Chéngdū, the numeral kəɲes, 'two', would occur instead of the dual marker. Example (105e) and (105f) show that marking on the noun phrase cannot be omitted if the parties referred to in the noun phrase are not listed, even though number is marked on the verb. Number marking on the verb has to agree with the number marking on the noun phrase if that noun phrase is the referent of the verb.

Loanwords retain native number marking:
Honorifics

Honorifics are high register forms of common nouns which are used when speaking of or addressing a person of higher social rank than oneself. Both the dismantling of traditional rGyalrong society with its royal houses and the more egalitarian approach to relationships favored over the last few decades has caused a lapse in use of honorifics and polite forms of address. Still, honorifics do occur regularly in the Jiǎomùzú dialects. Predominantly they are used in connection with all persons to whom respect is due. This includes people from the religious establishment such as lamas, monks and incarnations, people that hold positions of authority in secular society, such as teachers and government officials, and any other people in roles that merit honour, such as elderly people and guests. Honorifics are formed by simply suffixing a noun with the plural marker -ɲo:

A noun marked for honorific also requires plural marking on the verb:

```
(108) smonbe-ɲo ʃintshu ʈa-ɲu-ɲn  me
Doctor-3s:HON  Chéngdū  2-live-2s:HON INTR
Honoured doctor, do you live in Chéngdū?
```
Proper nouns as well as common nouns can be marked for honorific:

(109) amŋi zgordan-ŋi kɔ w-awo-j ʃamtok ʔərek
    A.myis Sgo.ldaung-3s:HON PR 3s:GEN-head-LOC iron.hammer one
to-leʔt-jn
    PFT-hit2-3s:HON

A-myis Sgo-ldung dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

Honorific marking is not obligatory on nouns, but it is on verbs:

(110) bdɔt tɔ kɔ tarmu ji kɔ-ndza na-kɔ-ŋos-jn ʰna-ŋos
demon C PR person often NOM-eat PFT-NOM-be- HON EV-be

    The demon often ate people.

In this example the demon is an entity that in and of itself requires the speaker's utmost respect. The noun bdɔt, 'demon' is singular and does not need to be marked for honorific, but the verb shows honorific marking in the plural suffix -jn. Example (111) is along the same lines, with narpo, 'king', not inflected for number while the plural -jn on the verb marks honorific:

(111) narpo kɔ na kɔ-mak kɔ-ndoʔ miʔ na-ɕa-s-jn
    king PR CON NOM-other NOM-have not.have PFT-say-3s:HON

    The king said: "There is no other!"

Genitive constructions also mark honorifics through prefixing the plural marker to a noun or other constituent. The honorific marker used in genitives is ɲi-, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns. When an honorific marker replaces a nominal prefix the consonant of the nominal prefix is replaced but not the vowel:

(112) narpo kɔ ʃamto ɲ-apkʰe ɲa-kɔ-narko-jn ʰna-ŋos.
    king PR iron.hammer 3s:HON:GEN-fold PFT-NOM-put-3s:HON EV-be

    The king put the iron hammer in the fold of his robe.

Nouns marked for honorific in a genitive construction, such as ɲapkʰe, ‘his fold’ in (112), show respect for the possessor, in this case the king, rather than to the marked noun, here the fold of the robe, itself.

Some nouns have a special honorific equivalent of their common form. This kind of honorific does not take the plural marker -ŋo. Mostly these honorific forms are loanwords from Tibetan. This is understandable since traditionally Tibetan was both the language of religion, in its literary form, and the language of high prestige used for occasions where high register was required, such as events at the royal courts. The higher the register, the more Tibetan loanwords are inserted in speeches, rituals
etc. Though rGyalrong society no longer has royalty or nobility, Tibetan loanwords are still frequently used when a situation requires high register or very polite forms of speech. At present, Tibetan loans employed as honorifics most often occur in connection with persons from the religious establishment such as monks, lamas and incarnations, and in speeches held on important occasions such as new year's celebrations, weddings etc. Here are some examples of common nouns with their honorific equivalents:

(113) low register high register, HON Tibetan gloss
tajik \( t^{h}j \)k \( \hat{t}jak \) \( \text{phyag} \) hand
tandze gsolve \( \text{gsol } ba \) food
tawo \( \text{skra} \) gt\( a \) \( \text{skra} \) hair
tamiʔ taʒap \( \text{zhab} \) leg
tawo wa \( \text{dbu} \) head
tampan spjen \( \text{spyen} \) eye

Honorifics based on loans do form genitives and inflect for number like other nouns:

(114a) \( t^{h}j \)k hand \( \text{ni-}t^{h}j \)k your hand (HON)
tampan eye \( \text{ni-spjen} \) your eye (HON)
t\( s^{h}a \)ʔ tea \( \text{ni-gsol} \)a your tea (HON)

(114b) \( \text{ni-}t^{h}j \)k-\( \text{no} \) your hands (HON, p)

In (114b) there is no distinction between second person plural and second person singular, so that the listener cannot know if it concerns the hands of only one respected person or of more than one.

See also part on status, forms of address and honorifics in the chapter pronouns.

**Vocatives**

Vocatives are used in direct address and convey social position or speaker attitude. Jiāomùzú vocatives are derived from kinship terms, most of which have noun prefix -\( ta \). The nominal prefix is replaced with vocative prefix \( a- \):

(115) noun vocative
ta-pa father a-pa dad
ta-mo mother a-ma, a-mo mum
ta-jze older brother a-jze older brother
ta-ja older sister a-ja older sister
Most often vocatives occur marked for genitive, even when used as a term of address when speaking directly to the person indicated by the term of address. In example (116) a son addresses his father as ‘my father’:

(116) aha ŋ-apa n-aka-j ʒik kɔmdok ki wu-gzak oho 1s:GEN-father 2s:GEN-bottom-LOC also strong IDEF 3s:GEN-build

“Oh boy, dad, there is someone out there who is stronger than you,

kɔmdok ki 'na-ŋos to-kɔ-cɔs na-ˈa-ŋos strong IDEF EV-be PFT-NOM-say PFT-NEV-be handsome and well-built, his strength is greater!”

For more on status and terms of address, see section 3.1 of the chapter on pronouns.

Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions in the Jiāomùzú dialects link a head noun, the possessed, to a modifying noun, the possessor. The genitive marker is prefixed to the head noun or possessed. Genitives can signal a broad variety of grammatical relationships. Close relationships such as possessives and many varieties of time and place references are all expressed through genitive structures. To form genitives, pronominal markers are prefixed to the noun that is the head of the construction. All genitive markers derive from the free personal pronouns, including, for some special cases, the generic personal pronoun təɟo, 'self, one'. I discuss bound and free possessive forms more extensively in section 3.2 of the chapter on pronouns. Here I just give a short overview of the pronominal markers and the manner of their prefixation to the noun.

For nouns that are prefixed with ta- or tə- the pronominal prefix replaces the consonant of these prefixes, while the vowel remains. Genitive marking does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms, though the distinction does occur in the pronouns.

The plural marker -ɲo for nominals, which derives from the verbal non-first plural marker –jɲ, is used to form honorifics, see section 4.2.d on honorifics above. The genitive marker is the common variant of ɲo-, ɲi-. As for the other genitive markers, the consonant of the noun prefix is replaced while the vowel remains. Here is the overview of markers:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Noun Marker</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Key</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>η-</td>
<td>η-oₐʰa</td>
<td>my book</td>
<td>η-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>tf-</td>
<td>tf-oₐʰa</td>
<td>our book</td>
<td>tf-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>j-</td>
<td>j-oₐʰa</td>
<td>our book</td>
<td>j-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-oₐʰa</td>
<td>your book</td>
<td>n-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>(ŋo)nd₃-</td>
<td>(ŋo)nd₃-oₐʰa</td>
<td>your book</td>
<td>(ŋo)nd₃-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋ-oₐʰa</td>
<td>your book</td>
<td>ŋ-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-oₐʰa</td>
<td>his book</td>
<td>w-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>wu₃ond₃-</td>
<td>wu₃ond₃-oₐʰa</td>
<td>their book</td>
<td>wu₃ond₃-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>wu₃ijn-, wu₃on-</td>
<td>wu₃ijn-oₐʰa, wu₃on-oₐʰa</td>
<td>their book</td>
<td>wu₃ijn-aju, wu₃on-aju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HON</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>ŋ-oₐʰa</td>
<td>his book</td>
<td>ŋ-aju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second person dual form is usually shortened to nd₃-, while the third person dual wu₃ond₃ mostly occurs in full. Third person plural forms wuᵢⁿo and wuᵢjnᵢ both occur, apparently without difference in meaning. A special case is the indefinite personal pronoun təɟo, 'self, one, one self'. It can be used in genitive constructions and some native speakers do accept such forms as tə-oₐʰa, 'one's own book'. Note that in such cases the noun marker tə- is not replaced, so that it is actually not a standard form of genitive construction. Mostly genitives derived from təɟo occur with limited semantic scope or carry different meanings. I discuss some cases below, but, because of the special features of this kind of form, I do not list them in the tables with the genitive forms of free pronouns. Nouns that do not have noun marker tə- or tə- are prefixed with the entire first syllable of the appropriate pronoun, as shown in the following example for mōntoʔk, 'flower':
The animal prefixes \( k^b \) and \( k^- \) also are not replaced when a pronominal marker is prefixed to the noun, maybe because replacing the markers would cause the loss of the distinction between 'mammal' and 'non-mammal', expressed in \( k^- \) and \( k^b \), respectively. Or maybe the prefixes have become fully lexicalised and are no longer productive:

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1s & \text{ŋa}^- & \text{ŋa-mantoʔk} & \text{my flower} \\
1d & \text{tʃə}- & \text{tʃə-mantoʔk} & \text{our flower} \\
1p & \text{ji}- & \text{ji-mantoʔk} & \text{our flower} \\
2s & \text{ŋa}^- & \text{ŋa-mantoʔk} & \text{your flower} \\
2d & (\text{ŋŋjo})\text{ndʒ}- & (\text{ŋŋjo})\text{ndʒ(ŋ)}-\text{mantoʔk} & \text{your flower} \\
2p & \text{ni}- & \text{ni-mantoʔk} & \text{your flower} \\
3s & \text{wu}^- & \text{wu-mantoʔk} & \text{his flower} \\
3d & \text{wu}\text{ndʒ}- & \text{wu}\text{ndʒ(ŋ)}-\text{mantoʔk} & \text{their flower} \\
3p & \text{wu}\text{ni}- & \text{wu}\text{ni-mantoʔk} & \text{their flower} \\
\text{HON} & \text{ni}- & \text{ni-mantoʔk} & \text{his flower} \\
\end{array}
\]

The one at the back of the house. (The one behind the house.)

I discuss genitives used to mark location in time and space in section 5.6 of the chapter on adverbs.
Genitives can be formed with a noun phrase the head of which is modified by other words:

(121) ŋa [tʃəʔ tə sok w-əmdoʔk] nərgaʔ-ŋ
I [this C like 3s:GEN-colour] like-1s
I like a colour like this one [has].

(122) pkraʃis [tʰi ki w-ətʰa] to-ku-w
bKra.shis [what IDEF 3s:GEN-book] PFT-buy-3s
bKra-shis bought a book about something or other.

Genitives can be part of another genitive construction:

(123) tʃəʔ w-aka-j wu-ʃwetʃiŋ
this 3s:GEN-bottom-LOC 3s:GEN-semester
last semester

Below are some examples of the kinds of relationships that are commonly expressed with genitives:

benefactive: (124) ŋa pkraʃis w-ətoʔn to-kə-va-ŋ ŋos
I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-matter PFT-NOM-do-1s be
I did it for bKra-shis.

(125) ŋa nəŋo nə-tʃbe ta-kə-va-ŋ ŋos
I you 2s:GEN-reason 1/2-NOM-do-1s be
I did it for you.

dative: (126) tʃəʔ pkraʃis w-əmba-j nə-əmbuʔ-w
this bKra.shis 3s:GEN-vicinity-LOC IMP-give-3s
Give this to bKra-shis.

source:
If there is a source in the sense of a giver as well as a specified recipient the source and recipient are marked on the verb, often with occurrence of prominence marker marker kə. Otherwise a genitive construction is used:

(127) tʃəʔ tə kəʒoʔ w-əsmok ʰna-ŋos
this C sheep 3s:GEN-wool OBS-be
This is wool from a sheep.
comitative:
Comitatives are formed with *tapso*, 'together'. A comitative can be negated only through negative marking on the verb, not on *tapso*:

(128) ŋa pkraʃsi w-apso ji-ɾi-ŋ
   I bKra.shis 3s:GEN-together PFT-go2-1s
   I went with bKra-shis.

(129) pkraʃis ŋa ŋ-apso ji-vu
   bKra.shis I 1s:GEN-together NEG/PFT-come2
   I went without bKra-shis. (Literally: bKra-shis did not come with me)

circumstance: (130) ana tʃe tapuʔ w-ajiʔk kɔ-ŋkɔr ki ‘na-ndoʔ?
   there LOC child 3s:GEN-hand NOM-dirty IDEF OBS-have
   There is a child with dirty hands.

(131) ana tʃe tapuʔ w-əktsa kɔ-miʔ ki ‘na-ndoʔ?
   there LOC child 3s:GEN-shoe NOM-not.have IDEF OBS-have
   There is a child without shoes.

possessives:
There is no difference in marking for alienable and inalienable possession:

(132) tapuʔ w-amiʔ   tapuʔ w-ɔtʰa
   child 3s:GEN-leg child 3s:GEN-book
   The child's leg.   The child's book.

There is also no difference in possessive marking for things that are temporarily possessed or those that are permanently possessed. Such differences, if marked at all, are shown in the use of verb:
(133) ndo wu-je paktsa ki ndo?
that 3s-POSS piglet IDEF have
He has a piglet.

ndo wu-paktsa ki ndo?
that 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF have
He has a piglet.

ndo paktsa ki na-varo-w
he piglet IDEF PFT-own-3s
He had a piglet.

ndo wu-je paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
that 3s-POSS piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
He owns a piglet.

ndo wu-paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
that 3s:GEN-piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
He has a piglet.

There is no difference between present and past tense marking:

(134) wu-paktsa ki 'na-varo-w
3s:GEN-piglet IDEF OBS-own-3s
He has a piglet.

wu-paktsa ki na-varo-w
3s:GEN-piglet IDEF PFT-own-3s
He had a piglet.

quality: (135) ana tje w-əvok kə-ktu ki 'na-ndo?
there LOC 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
There is a [man] with a big stomach.

(136) ana tje tʃaʃla ma-kə-fpa? ki 'na-ndo
there LOC joke NEG-NOM-can, IDEF OBS-have
There's a [man] without humour.

Note that the nominalised verb in (136) remains unmarked for person and number since the verb is used in a generalised sense.
(137) ana tʃe tarmu wu-jontan makandʒə
there LOC person 3s:GEN-knowledge not.the.same
The knowledge of that person is great.

purpose: (138) ṅa tama? ka-va-j ṅo-ka-ptʃo ṅos
I work NOM-do-LOC 1s:GEN-NOM-use  be
I use it for my work.

(139) wujo tarmga? ka-va w-ŋe nə-va-ŋe?-w
he dance NOM-do 3s:GEN-clothes PFT-VPT-borrow,3s
He borrowed the clothes for the performance.

In example (139) ŋa- is a viewpoint marker, which indicates that the action is perceived from the perspective of the speaker: the subject came, maybe to the speaker's house, to borrow the clothes needed for the performance. I discuss viewpoint marking in section 7.7 of the chapter on verbs.

function: (140) kʰaʃʃaf k w-ascok jilɔk to-va-ŋ
hammer 3s:GEN-change stone PFT-do-1s
I used a stone as a hammer.

(141) wu-ʃarjup w-ŋe kə-mi?
3s:GEN-bed 3s:GEN-clothes NOM-not.have
Since he had no blankets on his bed he used his clothes as a blanket.

w-ŋe saʃup w-ŋe to-va-w
3s:GEN-clothes sleeping.place 3s:GEN-clothes PFT-do-3s

reference: (142) wujo kə kɔʃmo wu-tanxwa na-va-w
she PR thief 3s:GEN-talk PFT-do-3s
She talked about the thief.

(143) wujo kə poŋeʔj w-ʃat kə sonam w-ascok
he PR money 3s:GEN-reason PR bSod.nams 3s:GEN-letter
He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

na-laʔt-w
PFT-write,2-3s

part and whole: (144) ʃu w-awo kʰɔ w-ajmiʔ
tree 3s:GEN-head dog 3s:GEN-tail
the top of the tree the tail of the dog
price: (145) poŋeʔ j kəŋes mpʰjar w-əvə to-ku-ŋ
money two CL 3s:GEN-price PFT-buy-1s
I bought it for two yuan.112

value: (146) ɲa poŋeʔ j pəɾja wu-piru ki ndo?
I money hundred 3s:GEN-coral IDEF have
I have a piece of coral worth one hundred yuan.

(147) piru poŋeʔ j kəɾɡoʔk-pəɾja w-əvə ki ndo?
coral money six-hundred 3s:GEN-price IDEF have
A piece of coral worth six hundred yuan.

extent: (148) lijaŋsaŋə w-əvəm w-ambro kəɾscat tascək ʰnə-ŋos
grain.bureau 3s:GEN-house 3s:-high eight layer EV-be
The building of the grain bureau is eight floors high.

(149) ana ʈʃe sogle kə-kʰi w-askriʔn ʰna-ndoʔ
there LOC saw one-metre 3s:GEN-long OBS-have
There is a one metre long saw.

4.3 Noun adjuncts

Noun adjuncts modify nouns or other words that can be the head of a noun phrase, such as demonstratives and certain quantifiers. In this section I discuss contrast marker tɔ, indefiniteness marker ki, quantifiers and numerals, classifiers and prominence marker kə. Numerals occur after a noun and its adjectivals and cover the scope of the noun phrase. Quantifiers also cover the noun phrase, occurring after the head noun, adjectivals and numerals. The markers tɔ and ki occur after and cover the scope of the noun phrase. Prominence marker kə is actually a discourse marker. The marker is placed after and covers the scope of the entire constituent to which it is attached.

a. Marking contrast: tɔ

Contrast marker tɔ does not determine a referent as such but specifies a referent in its environment, as I will show below. The marker only occurs when a speaker wants to convey information about the specific relation of certain objects to their environment. It is not obligatory. The form of the contrast marker does not vary according to distal or proximal relationship between an object and the speech participant, since the marker defines only the relationship between an object and its

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112 The yuan (圆) is the basic unit of the Chinese currency. One yuan is divided into ten jiǎo (角).
environment, not between speaker and object. Contrast marker to can modify any word that can be the head of a noun phrase. The marker occurs immediately after the constituent it modifies, whether it is a single word or a phrase. Contrast marking can modify all sorts of nouns, including proper nouns and abstract nouns:

(150) pkraʃis w-əmpʰi w-ərmu ɲos
bKra.shis 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be
bKra-shis is an outsider.

pkraʃis to w-əmpʰi w-ərmu ɲos
bKra.shis C 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be
bKra-shis is an outsider (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

sonam to-ɲo w-əmpʰi w-ərmu ɲos-jn
bSod.nams C-p 3s:GEN-outside 3s:GEN-person be-3p
bSod-nams and his people are outsiders (as opposed to other people there who are insiders).

(151) wu-ŋəgʒu to ma-'nə-haʔw
3s:GEN-hatred C NEG-OBS-good
Hatred is not a good thing (as opposed to other qualities that may be talked about).

Contrast marker to cannot occur independently:

(152) tatʰa kəsam to ɾŋəkə w-əmdoʔk 'nə-ɲos
book three C green 3s:GEN-colour EV-be
The three books are green.

* to ɾŋəkə wəmdoʔk ɲənos

But to can modify a noun phrase in which the head is implicit, as in the first clause of (153), where the head of the noun phrase, 'burden', only occurs in full form in the second clause:

(153) pəʃnu to na-`a-jo ɾŋəkər to na-`a-jo
today C PFT-NEV-light 1s:GEN-burden C PFT-NEV-light
Today['s burden] has become light, my burden has become light.
Nagano analyses tə as a component of the definite demonstrative pronouns and calls it a 'referential indefinite demonstrative pronoun'. However, unlike a pronoun tə cannot occur by itself in pronoun position:

(154)  tʃəʔ ʃokʃɔʔk ɲos  * tə ʃokʃɔʔk ɲos  
        this paper be
        This is paper.

nəŋo  ma-tə-tʃʰi-n  * tə ʃmatʃʰi-n  
you  Q-2-go,2s
Are you going?

It also cannot replace a pronoun in adjectival position:

(155)  ndə  kʰəzaʔ  nəŋo  nə-je  ma-ɲos  * tə kʰəzaʔ  nəŋo  nəje  ma-ɲos  
        that bowl you 2s-POSS Q-be  
        Is that bowl yours?

Though it is possible to have tə after the noun or pronoun, it does not replace the head there but rather carries specific contrasting meaning as discussed extensively in the section below:

(156)  kʰəzaʔ  ndə  nəŋo  nə-je  ma-ɲos  
        bowl that you 2s-POSS Q-be  
        That bowl is yours, right?

kʰəzaʔ  ndə  tə  nəŋo  nə-je  ma-ɲos  
        bowl that C you 2s-POSS Q-be  
        That bowl (as opposed to other bowls present) is yours, right?

kʰəzaʔ  tə  nəŋo  nə-je  ma-ɲos  
        bowl C you 2s-POSS Q-be  
        That bowl (as opposed to other objects present) is yours, right?

Since tə does not signify any referent as such, it is empty of referential meaning and cannot occur by itself. In the Jiǎomùzú dialects it is not a pronoun.

Contrast marker tə can modify demonstratives:

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There can be several contrast markers within one larger noun phrase, modifying smaller noun phrases that are nested within the larger phrase:

(158) Ṽa [[tʃəʔ tə] sok w-əmdoʔk ta] to-ku-ŋ
I this C manner 3s:GEN-colour C PFT-buy-1s
I bought the one that is similar to this one in colour.

The following examples further illustrate the use of tə. In the first set example (159) shows that contrast marker tə can define its referent, unlike the marker for indefiniteness ki. Markers tə and ki are incompatible, see example (188) below. Examples (160) show how tə can be used to determine different sentence constituents, allowing for subtle differences in meaning.

(159) tərmu tə tərmu ki
person C person IDEF
the, that person a person

(160) Ṽaŋjə təjeʔm h-ato-j ma-ŋos
you house D-up-LOC Q-be
Is your house up on the mountain?

Areŋjə təjeʔm hato tə ma-ŋos
you house D-up C Q-be
Is your house the one up on the mountain?

h-ato təjeʔm tə Ṽaŋjə na-je ma-ŋos
D-up house C you 2s-POSS Q-be
The house up on the mountain, is that yours?

Actually the main function of tə is not to define a constituent, but rather to signal that the constituent it refers to is unique in its semantic environment.

(161) tʃəʔ tʃəʔkŋos
DEM paper be
This is paper.

(161) tʃəʔ tʃəʔkŋos
DEM paper be
This is paper.

The first sentence in (159) indicates that there is paper, without saying anything about what else might be there. There might be more or different paper, or there might be other things. It is unclear
to the listener and apparently not relevant to the speaker. The second sentence however specifies that there are other things around, and that they are not paper. The sentence might be paraphrased as 'This here is paper, as opposed to the other things around'. Another example of the determining and excluding function of *ta* is:

(162) tʃəʔ səkəʔk tə ños
DEM paper C be
This is the paper [that, which….]

There might be other paper around, but there is only one kind of paper that the speaker obviously had referred to earlier, to the exclusion of other kinds of paper.

(163a) təza tʃəʔ ɲə ɲ-ajze ños
man DEM I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
This man is my older brother.

(163b) təza tə ɲə ɲ-ajze ños
man C I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
The man is my older brother.

(163c) təza tʃəʔ tə ɲə ɲ-ajze ños
man DEM C I 1s:GEN-older.brother be
This man is my older brother.

Example (163b) indicates that in a group of people there is only one man, and that this man is my older brother. Sentence (163a) is the most general statement, pointing out a person in a group of people about the composition of which the speaker gives no clarification. In (163c) the speaker points out the older brother in a group about which nothing further is known, but it is clear that the brother has been referred to earlier in a conversation between the speaker and the listener.

(164a) tʃəʔ məntoʔk kəsəm 'nə-mɒʃər
DEM flower three OBS-beautiful
These three flowers are beautiful.

(164b) tʃəʔ məntoʔk kəsəm tə 'nə-mɒʃər
DEM flower three C OBS-beautiful
These three flowers are beautiful.

In (164a) three flowers out of many are singled out as beautiful. In (164b) there are only three flowers among perhaps a variety of other things. The flowers are described as beautiful in contrast to the other things, which are implied to be not beautiful. In some instances this use of *ta* is best
interpreted as a way to give emphasis, especially when it is used to modify personal pronouns. In English intonation the stress is on ‘you’ in (165) and (166):

(165) \( \text{ŋəŋə tə kətʃə ji-kə-tə-vu-n ŋəs} \)
\( \text{you C where PFT-NOM-2-come-2s be} \)
Where do you come from?

(166) \( \text{kʰafpa tə kə na ŋəŋə tə təŋli na-tə-va-w tə-kə-cəs-w ŋəs} \)
\( \text{frog C PR CON you C lie PFT-2-do-2s PFT-NOM-say-3s be} \)
"You are [the one who] lied!" said the frog.

The presence or absence of \( tə \) can be used to signal genericness, as shown in the following examples. In (167a), the most generic form, there is no additional information about other possible animals or other possible cats:

(167a) \( \text{lolo kə-neʔk ŋəs} \)
cat NOM-black be
The cat is black. / The cats are black.

Example (167b) sets the black cat in opposition to other cats that are all of different colours, while (167c) sets a black cat in opposition to other animals, which are not black.

(167b) \( \text{tʃəʔ tə lolo kə-neʔk ŋəs} \)
\( \text{this C cat NOM-black be} \)
This is a black cat.

(167c) \( \text{lolo tə kə-neʔk ŋəs} \)
cat C NOM-black be
The cat is black.

Sentence (167d) contrasts the black cat to other cats that did not eat sausage: ‘The one who ate the sausage is the black one’:

(167d) \( \text{paʒgar kə-ngdza tə lolo kə-neʔk tə 'nə-ŋəs} \)
sausage NOM-eat C cat NOM-black C EV-be
This is the black cat that ate the sausage. (The sausage eater is the black cat.)

And (167e) shows that cats like to eat sausage, as opposed to other possible animals such as birds:

(167e) \( \text{lolo tə-ŋə paʒgar ka-ngdza kə-rgaʔ-jiŋ ŋəs} \)
cat C-p sausage NOM-eat NOM-like-3p be
Cats like to eat sausage.
The last example in this series, below, does not give information about other possible animals around that may or may not like to eat sausage. But the speaker makes clear that some specified cats like to eat his sausage, though not his other food.

(167f) lolo-ŋa ŋə-paŋgar tə ka-ndza ʔna-rgaʔ-jn

The cats like to eat my sausage.

b. Marking indefiniteness: ki

Marker ki derives from numerals kərek and kərgi, meaning 'one'. In sentences ki can mean 'one' or can be used to mark indefiniteness, forming meanings similar to the English indefinite article a or signalling 'a certain', 'some…':

(168a) tatʰa ndo?
      book have

There are/is a book(s).

(168b) tatʰa ki ndo?
      book IDEF have

There is a book.

There is one book.

There is a certain book.

The difference between the statements in (168) is that in (168a) the speaker doesn't know the quantity - or doesn't say anything about it, while in (168b) he specifies that there is one. Like contrast marker ta, indefiniteness marker ki can modify any head of a noun phrase. The marker occurs in the final slot of a noun phrase and cannot occur independently:

(169) cokrtse w-orka-j tatʰa ki ndo?
      desk 3s:GEN-top-LOC book IDEF have

There is a book on the desk.

* cokrtse ʔorkaj ki ndo?

The indefiniteness marker only occurs directly after the constituent it modifies and cannot be placed in the middle of a syntactical unit:
There's a man with a big belly.

* [təza ki wəvok kəktu ki] 'nando?

* [təza ki wəvok kəktu] 'nando?

There is a pot of three litres.

Marking with ki is not obligatory. In (171), for example, it is possible to leave out ki. If the marker is there the speaker is not entirely certain that the pot will be adequate for the job at hand. A sentence without ki conveys that the speaker does not doubt that the pot will do. He simply directs the listener to the pot that the speaker knows is there and wants to use.

Indefiniteness cannot be marked on non-singular nouns, as demonstrated in the following examples. Sentence (172a) shows the generic or non-specific sense of kəɟoʔ, 'sheep', while (172b) refers to sheep known to the speaker:

(172a) pəzar kajve kəjoʔ 'na-ndo?
summer meadow sheep OBS-have
Sheep graze in the meadow in summer.

(172b) pəʃ nu kajve kəjoʔ 'na-ndoʔ-jn
today meadow sheep OBS-have
The sheep are grazing in the meadow today.

The second example indicates that all the sheep are in the meadow. If a speaker wants to specify some sheep over other possible animals he has to use contrast marker tə: the sheep are in the meadow, but not the cows. In (172b), adding tə after kəjoʔ can also indicate that at some other point in time these particular sheep were not in the meadow, but now they are. It is also possible to have kəjoʔo, which agrees with the plural marking on the verb. These strategies all make more specific and immediate the sheep that the speaker is referring to. However, modifying kəjoʔ with ki signals that there is only one sheep in the meadow. Number marking cannot occur:

(173) pəʃ nu kajve kəjoʔ ki 'na-ndo?
today meadow sheep IDEF OBS-have
A/one sheep is grazing in the meadow today.

* pəʃ nu kajve kəjoʔ ki 'nandoʔ-jn
With non-count nouns, as in the examples above, it is number marking, not the indefiniteness marker, that indicates generalness and non-specificness. When number marking is used to indicate generalness the meaning is often best translated with an anaphoric pronoun:

(174) sàtswan-j tʂʰaʔs nò-ji ndōʔ-jn
    Sìchuān-LOC tea NOM-grow have-3p
    Tea grows in Sìchuān. (They grow tea in Sìchuān.)

In (175) tə can be omitted but ki cannot occur to mark generalness:

(175) tʂʰaʔ sna tə w-əjmbak kə-tsətsə ŋos
tea good C 3s:GEN-leave NOM-small be
A good tea has very small leaves.

* tʂʰaʔ sna ki wəjmbak kətsətsə ŋos

(176) təmər kə-haʔw tə serpo ŋos
butter NOM-good C yellow be
Good butter is yellow.

* təmər kəhaʔw ki serpo ŋos

təmər serpo leŋleŋ tə kə-haʔw ŋos
butter yellow EXPR C NOM-good be
Pure yellow butter, that is good butter.

* təmər serpo leŋleŋ ki kəhaʔw ŋos

There is only one marker for indefiniteness, ki. To distinguish between referential and non-referential indefinites other strategies have to be employed:

(177a) pkraʃis təlʰa to-ku-w
bKra.shis book PFT-buy-3s
bKra-shis bought a book/books.

(177b) pkraʃis təlʰa ki to-ku-w
bKra.shis book IDEF PFT-buy-3s
bKra-shis bought a book.
Of the examples above, the first sentence (177a) is the most general. The speaker does not indicate how many books bKra-shis bought. The emphasis is on the entity 'book', as opposed to other things. Sentence (177b) specifies that it was one book, or a book, as opposed to more than one. Example (177c) specifies that the speaker does not know which kind of book or books bKra-shis bought. Sentence (177d) shows that bKra-shis bought a book for sure, but the speaker does not know what the book is about. Prominence marker kə here gives prominence to ti, 'what', which indicates the speaker's lack of knowledge about the contents of the book. Example (177e) has an undefined referent. Adding ki doubles the indefiniteness marking, which is ungrammatical in Jiǎomùzú. Adding to though is possible, as evidenced by (177f). The contrast marker to here does not make it any clearer what book bKra-shis bought but rather defines bKra-shis' purchase as 'some book' rather than 'some other object'.

The marker for indefiniteness, ki, can occur after numerals to express the meaning 'about, around, some':

\[(178)\] ndo\(\) wu-je kəjo\(\) kəbd\(\) kənde ki\(\) ndo\(\) 
that\(\) 3s-POSS sheep\(\) four\(\) five\(\) IDEF have
He\(\) has\(\) a handful\(\) of sheep.

The marker ki can also modify a numeral already modified by a quantifier such as caʔm, 'no more than, at most', as in the following example. The speaker is not sure of the exact amount of money, but he knows it does not exceed fifty, and that it is somewhere close to that amount:

\[(179)\] ponɛʔj \(\) kənde-zi \(\) caʔm ki\(\) ndo\(\) 
money\(\) five-ten\(\) at.most\(\) IDEF have
There\(\) is\(\) something\(\) like fifty\(\) [yuan], no more.
Note that if the numeral is exact, without modifying quantifier or other indication of indefiniteness, \( ki \) cannot occur:

\[(180) \quad \eta \text{ pakjù zji ca’im ki ndo?} \]
\[\text{I apple ten at.most IDEF have} \]
\[\text{I have about ten apples, no more.} \]

* \( \eta \text{ pakjù zji ki ndo?} \)

The same sense of \( ki \) occurs when it is used with nouns to express the speaker’s lack of clarity about a fact. In these cases \( ki \) can occur with common nouns as in (181a) as well as with proper nouns, as in example (181b). Note that marking the proper noun with \( ki \) does not generate a meaning such as ‘in Chéngdū or some other place’ but rather ‘somewhere in Chéngdū’:

\[(181a) \quad ndə makmə ŋos \quad (181b) \quad ndə makmə ki ŋos \]
\[\text{that soldier be} \quad \text{that soldier IDEF be} \]
\[\text{He is a soldier.} \quad \text{He is a soldier or something.} \]

\[(182a) \quad lhamo fintəhu na-ju \quad (182b) \quad lhamo fintəhu ki na-ju \]
\[\text{lHa.mo Chéngdū PFT-live} \quad \text{lHa.mo Chéngdū IDEF PFT-live} \]
\[\text{lHa-mo lived in Chéngdū.} \quad \text{lHa-mo lived somewhere in Chéngdū.} \]

The indefiniteness marker is used also on the discourse level, when a new person or topic is introduced in a conversation or a story:

\[(183a) \quad ndə njilak to-vaja-w \quad (183b) \quad ndə njilak ki to-vaja-w \]
\[\text{that stone PFT-pick-3s} \quad \text{that stone IDEF PFT-pick-3s} \]
\[\text{He picked up the stone.} \quad \text{He picked up a stone.} \]

The constructions in (183) are both correct, but used in different situations. Sentence (183a) without \( ki \) is a simple statement, used in a known context. The stone that he picked up has already been mentioned before. The listener does not necessarily expect to get more information. Sentence (183b) with \( ki \) introduces the stone as a new twist in the plot or as a new topic, and sets the listener up to anticipate more information about the stone. By the same logic, at the beginning of a story, \( ki \) must occur:

\[(184) \quad kəse kəse tərmu ki fintəhu ji-kə-vu ŋa-ŋos \]
\[\text{before before person IDEF Chéngdū PFT-NOM-come₂ EV-be} \]
\[\text{Long long ago a man came from Chéngdū.} \]

* \( kəse kəse tərmu fintəhu jikavi nəŋos \)
Indefiniteness can be marked with nouns marked for plural or other words expressing plural such as 'many, much, all':

(185) jino pakʃu wuvjot ki na-kʰit-j
    weːe apple many IDEF PFT-pluck-1p
We picked lots of apples.

In this sort of sentence ki conveys a feeling of amazement or surprise. In (183) the speaker is amazed that they picked such a large quantity of apples.

The marker ki can also express 'small quantity, a little', either together with a quantifier or by itself:

(186) jino kʰalet ki to-ndza-j
    weːe rtsam-pa IDEF PFT-eat-1p
We ate a little rtsam-pa.

jino kʰalet kə-tsətsə ki to-ndza-j
weːe rtsam-pa NOM-little IDEF PFT-eat-1p
We ate a little rtsam-pa.

jino kʰalet kə-tsətsə to-ndza-j
weːe rtsam-pa NOM-little PFT-eat-1p
We ate a little rtsam-pa.

(187) hajtso ki kə-sə-raʔm-j
    chili.pepper IDEF PFT-CAUS-dry-1p
We dried a few chili peppers.

The contrast marker tə cannot occur together with ki:

(188a) təza w-əvok kə-ktu ki 'na-ndoʔ
    man 3s:GEN-stomach NOM-big IDEF OBS-have
There is a man with a big stomach.

(188b) təza w-əvok kə-ktu tə kətʃe w-ərmu əŋos
    man 3s:stomach NOM-big C where 3s:GEN-person be
The man with a big stomach, where is he from?

* təza wəvok kəktu ki tə 'nandoʔ?
* təza wəvok kəktu tə ki 'nandoʔ?
c. Numerals and other quantifying words

Numerals

Jiàomùzú numerals are based on the decimal system. There are few classifiers in the Jiàomùzú dialects (see below). Numerals follow the noun which they modify, though they can appear by themselves, if the speech participants know the entity referred to:

(189) tərmu kəsam ndo? kəsam ndo?
      person three have three have
      There are three people. Three. (There are three.)

There is no term to express zero or nought. If needed literary Tibetan གཞི། thug is used. Numerals from one through to nine are all prefixed by kə-:

(190) kərek 1 kərtəʔk 6
      kə̲̃nɔs 2 kəfəʔs 7
      kəsqam 3 kəɾscat 8
      kəbdədu 4 kəŋgu 9
      kə̲̃məŋi 5 zji 10

The prefix kə- is used with nouns and classifiers to express the meaning ‘one of…’. Note that in the last two examples in this series nouns such as kʰəʔzaʔ, ‘bowl’ and təʃnu, ‘day’, function as classifiers:

(191) m̲pʰjar sheet
      kə-m̲pʰjar one sheet of…
      šokʃəʔk kə-m̲pʰjar one sheet of paper
      šokʃəʔk kəbdədu m̲pʰjar four sheets of paper

kʰəʔzaʔ? bowl
kə-kʰəʔzaʔ? one bowl of…
kʰrəʔw kə-kʰəʔzaʔ? one bowl of rice
kʰrəʔw kəsqam kʰəʔzaʔ? three bowls of rice

təʃnu day
kə-ʃnu one day
kəsqam ʃnu three days

There are three words in Jiàomùzú that express the number one. The word kərek is used throughout the township. The two other words are kərgi and its dialect variant kəɾtok or kəɾdok.
Neither kərgi nor kərtok can be used in counting:

(193)  kərek, kənes, kəsam….
       *kərgi, kənes, kəsam….
       *kərtok, kənes, kəsam….

But the roots of these numerals can be used as classifiers:

(194)  kərgi       təmpok kəbdu rgi
       one         bread four CL

        kərtok       tarni kesam rtok
       one         gold three CL

These numerals have a grammaticalised function as marker of indefiniteness, in the shortened form of kɪ, which often translates as 'one' or indefinite article 'a', but has some other uses besides. I discuss kɪ more fully in section 4.3.b on definiteness marking above.

Numerals from 11 through 19 are formed by adding a numeral without kə- to zjɪ, ‘ten’. Note that for the numerals 11, 12, 13 and 18 the /i/ of zjɪ becomes /a/:

(195)  zjatek      11        zjiṭrοʔk      16
       zjaŋes      12        zjiʃṇoʔs      17
       zjasam      13        zjarscat      18
       zjibdu      14        zjingu        19
       zjimŋi      15        kəŋes-zjɪ      20

Numerals for multiples of 10 up to 90 are formed by adding zjɪ to numbers 2 through 9:

(196)  zjɪ      10        kɑtɾoʔk-zjɪ      60
       kəŋes-zjɪ  20        kəʃnaʔs-zjɪ      70
       kəsam-zjɪ  30        kərscaʔt-zjɪ      80
       kəbdu-zjɪ  40        kəŋugu-zjɪ      90
       kəmŋi-zjɪ  50        pəɾga         100
Adding a number from 1 through 9 forms numerals up to one hundred:

(197)  
kesam-zji-kəsam  
koʃnuʾs-zji-koʃtuʾk  
kənes-zji-kəmni  
kərsct-zji-kəngu  
kəngu-zji-kəreš

33  
76  
25  
89  
91

Larger numbers are formed along the same principles:

(198)  
300  kəsam-pəɾja  stəŋtso  1000  
500  kəmni-pəɾja  krətsə  10,000  
425  kəbdut-pəɾja-kənes-zji-kəmni  krətsə-zji; məəmtər  100,000  
687  kətʃoʾk-pəɾja-kərsct-zji-kəʃnaʾs  krətsə pəɾja  1,000,000

Other often used terms for 'one million', pʃawa and saja are derived from literary Tibetan གཡ sa-ya. Numerals come after nouns but before classifiers. This is an important distinction especially for those nouns that also function as classifier:

(199)  
məntoʾk kəsam ndoʾ?  
flower three have  
There are three flowers.

(200)  
ŋa kəsam tətsʰot na-ta-najo-n  
I three hour PFT-1/2-wait-2s  
I waited for you for three hours.

(201)  
tətsʰot kəsam tʃe ji-məndə  
hour three LOC PFT-arrive  
[The bus] arrived at three o'clock.

(202)  
təza kəsam  tavlu kəmni pa vi lo kəsam pa  
man three age five CL come; year three CL  
three men be five years old three years old

* kəsam lo vi kəsam pa vi be three years old  
* kəsam lo wɔŋkʰuʾ? tʃe kəsam pa wɔŋkʰuʾ? after three years.

I have not found ordinal numbers. When counting, for example, in ritual offerings of liquor a speaker will use normal numerals as in kəreš tə… , kənes tə…, kəsam tə… for 'the first one…, the second one…, the third one…'. When the speaker uses a high register of language, he may use loans
from Tibetan for ordinal numbers, such as *tagbo* from literary Tibetan རང་ལ། dang-po, 'first' and *nipa* from རྣས་པ། gnyes-pa, 'second'.

I have not found native terms for fractions other than 'half' and percentages. If need be words like 'part, share, half' or otherwise quantities like 'a bowl' or 'a bucket' are used. Apparently in the past mathematical functions like addition, subtraction and multiplication were expressed using Jiăomǔzú.\(^{114}\) But these days the use of Chinese has replaced rGyalrong in this semantic domain.

Indefinite numerals with meanings such as 'about, approximately' can be formed in several ways. The prefix *wa-* combined with a numeral gives the meaning 'at least':

\[
\text{(203)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{zji} \\
\text{ten}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{wa-zji} \\
\text{at.least-ten}
\end{array}
\]

Prefix *wa-* cannot occur with nouns or quantifiers, unless the quantifier is based on a numeral:

\[
\text{(204)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{təvek} \\
\text{half}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
* \text{wavek} \\
\text{many}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{wuvjot} \\
* \text{wawuvjot}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{(205)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{kəkərgi}^{115} \\
\text{some (Q)}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{wa-kəkərgi} \\
\text{at least some}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{laktʃʰe} \quad \text{ɲi-rti} \quad \text{wa-kəkərgi} \quad \text{ma-ʰna-ʃpaʔ-ŋ}
\]

\[
\text{thing} \quad \text{p:GEN-name} \quad \text{at.least-some} \quad \text{NEG-REFL-can1-1s}
\]

I don't know some of the names for things.

The meaning 'at most' is generated by qualifying a numeral with quantifier *caʔm*, 'at most':

\[
\text{(206)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{təhʰa} \quad \text{kəbdū} \quad \text{kəmji} \quad \text{caʔm}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{book} \quad \text{four} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{at.most}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{at most four or five books.}
\end{array}
\]

A noun can occur between the numeral and the quantifier if that noun functions as a classifier:

\[
\text{(207)} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{kəpes-zji-kəmji} \quad \text{jeʔm} \quad \text{caʔm} \quad \text{ndoʔ-ʃn}
\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{two-ten-five} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{at.most} \quad \text{have-3p}
\end{array}
\]

There are at most twenty-five households.

---

\(^{114}\) Tshe-dbang sGron-ma, personal communication.

\(^{115}\) The quantifier *kəkərgi* also occurs as *kərgiri*, see example (231).
Combining a numeral with the noun təro, 'surplus, extra' forms the meaning of 'more than':

\[(208)\] zji təro zji-ro
\[
\begin{array}{l}
ten
eextra
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
more than ten
\end{array}
\]

Prefix wa- and quantifier caʔm are semantically incompatible and cannot be used to modify the same numeral:

\[(209)\] * wazji caʔm

But wa- and caʔm can occur individually to modify a numeral already modified by təro:

\[(210)\] wa-zji-ro
\[
\begin{array}{l}
at.least-ten-extra
definitely more than ten
\end{array}
\]

\[(211)\] jiga-ʃiŋjii-ro caʔm
\[
\begin{array}{l}
one-week-extra
at.most
\end{array}
\begin{array}{l}
More than one week but less than two weeks
\end{array}
\]

### Numerals in daily life

Though Jiǎomùzú numerals occur regularly in conversations, there are many situations in which native speakers find it more convenient to use Chinese numerals, which are shorter. Code-switching between Chinese and Jiǎomùzú is common. For some time references in contemporary contexts there is no proper Jiǎomùzú equivalent, in which case a Chinese numeral is used. For example, day, month and year tend to be all in Chinese numerals:

\[(212)\] nda ʃiŋliŋɟ o nijan ʃiŋliŋɟ o w-apa na-kə-sci ʔna-ŋos
\[
\begin{array}{l}
that
year
that
3s:GEN-CL
PFT- NOM-be.born
EV-be
\end{array}
\]

He was born in 2009.

In (212) ʃiŋliŋɟ o nijan is loaned from Chinese 二零零九年, èr líng líng jiǔ nián. It is possible to use Jiǎomùzú numerals to express the year. In more formal situations or among older people one might still hear something like (213):

\[(213)\] lo stonʃto-kaŋes-kangu w-apa
\[
\begin{array}{l}
year
thousand-two-nine
3s:GEN-CL
\end{array}
\]


However, in traditional time reckoning the Tibetan twelve year cycle is used. The symbols of the years are the equivalents of the Tibetan symbols, but rGyalrong names are used, except for the Year of the Tiger, which uses the Tibetan word for 'tiger', stag, instead of the indigenous kʰoŋ.
Jiăomûzû has no names for months, but rather uses seasons to indicate time within the year. There are two seasons, winter and summer. If there is a need for more detail or precision to pinpoint an event in time, usually the speaker will use a recurring event that takes place around that time as his reference point:

(215) ndə pazar ndzamła sci-psaŋ tʃə na-kə-sci ʰna-ŋos

that summer world birth-offering LOC PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be

He was born in summer, at the time of the Festival of Creation.

The agricultural year revolves around a lunar cycle of twelve months, each of which has thirty days. The first half of the month, in which the moon is waxing, is called kʰətʰo or tʰowa. The second half, with the waning moon, is called kʰəmbot or ɟəowa. Days are counted in native numerals:

(216) kʰətʰo kəsam the third day of the waxing moon

ɟəowa kəɲes the second day of the waning moon

For dates as required for horoscopes and certain types of divination, the Tibetan system of counting months is used, simply saying 'the first month, the second month…'. The word for 'month, moon' as well as the numerals are loans from:

(217) literary Tibetan

zła wa daŋbo the first month ཟེ་བ་དང་པོ zla-ba dang-po

zła wa ɲespa the second month ཟེ་བ་གོགས་པ་ zla-ba gnyes-pa

zła wa səmba the third month རྟེ་བ་གསུམ་པ་ zla-ba gsum-pa

There are also no names for the day of the month. Dates can be expressed either in Jiăomûzû numerals or in Chinese:

(218) paʃnu kasam-zji ɲos

today three-ten be

Today is the thirtieth.
He was born on the thirty-first.

When using the traditional lunar calendar rather than the modern calendar days are counted by *tsepsa*, the classifier for dates, with the Jiăomûzû numeral from one through to thirty:

(220)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tsepsa</em></td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsepsa kapes</em></td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tsepsa kâsamzjî</em></td>
<td>30th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To express things like 'weekend' or 'Monday' native speakers use Chinese terms, sometimes with an adapted meaning:

(221)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>星期 xiāngqī</td>
<td>weekend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>星期一 xīngqīyī</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (221) *星期* is a loan from Chinese 星期 *xīngqī*, 'day', which in rGyalrong areas is now widely used in the sense of 'weekend', and by extension 'holiday, day off, break'. For workdays the Chinese names are used:

(222)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>星期一 xīngqīyī</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (222) *星期一* from Chinese 星期一 *xīngqīyī*, literally 'day-one' is used for Monday, the first working day of the week.

In formal circumstances, such as the drawing up of a horoscope in the monastery or the yearly divination that take place at New Year, the monk will ask for year and time of birth, using Jiăomûzû vocabulary:

(223)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>什么 <em>tʰi</em></td>
<td>What year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>什么 <em>tʰi</em></td>
<td>What time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For birth year speakers make use of the traditional twelve year cycle of the Tibetan calendar with its animal symbols, or simply use Chinese, as they do for the date:
The third day of the fifth month of the year of the tiger.

In (224) wu jwe san haw are from Chinese 五月三号 wǔ yuè sān hào. Days are divided into several periods that each have their own name, beyond the normal morning, afternoon and evening, such as farkʰa, ‘the time when the cock crows; the crack of dawn’ and tanam, ‘when the sun comes up; very early morning’. Traditionally Gyalrong also divided the day into set periods of hours, with a name for each period, still mentioned by some of the texts in the Collection Āwàng.¹¹⁶ These time references are, to my knowledge, no longer current among native speakers.

In telling time the use of Jiāomùzú numerals is common, both for hours and minutes:

(225) wujo tatsʰot kasam tʃe ji-rji
he hour three LOC PFT-go₂
He went at three o'clock.

(226) xwotse tətsʰot kasam tavek tʃe ji-manda
train hour three half LOC PFT-arrive
The train arrived at half past three.

(227) kəmŋi hənзи w-ŋkʰuʔ tʃe kə-ratʰa ra
five minute 3s:GEN-back LOC NOM-study need
Class will start in five minutes.

The word for minute, hen, is a loan from Chinese 分 fēn. Note that hen functions as a classifier, with the numeral preceding, while tatsʰot, 'hour', behaves like a noun.

Prices of goods etc. can be given in Chinese but are often in Jiāomùzú numerals. Often the price precedes the quantity. The classifier is not obligatory:

(228) kərcat [mpʰjar] tʃe kə-ʈərpa 'nə-ŋos
eight [CL] LOC one-pound EV-be
It's eight (yuan) per pound.

Phone numbers are exclusively in Chinese, including emergency numbers:

(229) ka-ŋalalat mə-na-ndoʔ rə jawjawliŋзи ka-nakʰo
NOM-fight COND-PFT-have CON one-one-zero INF-call
If there is a fight, call 110.

¹¹⁶ Zānlā Āwàng Cuòchéng and Prins 2006.
The emergency number here, 110, is from Chinese —— yāoyǎolíng. Numbers of public transportation such as busses or trains, hotel rooms, dorms, and house numbers most often use Chinese numerals but, especially if they are small numbers that are convenient to pronounce, Jiǎomùzú numerals can occur. Age tends to be expressed with Jiǎomùzú numerals more often than with Chinese numbers, though either one is acceptable.

There is no way to distinguish partitive and non-partitive numerals in Jiǎomùzú. Adding contrast marker tə defines the entity as opposed to other entities around. However, the presence of tə does not single out some part of a whole, as the English 'some of the...' construction does. In (230a) the listener cannot know if there are more boys beside the two who went running, if only 'some of the boys' went running:

(230a) təzapu? tə kə-rjəʔk ji-ɾjì-nd5
      boy   C  NOM-run  PFT-go2-3d
      The two boys went running.

(230b) təzapu? kə-rjəʔk ji-ɾjì-nd5
      boy   NOM-run  PFT-go2-3d
      Two boys went running.

Other quantifying words

Non-numeral quantifiers are modifiers of nouns and pronouns that indicate quantity or scope, such as English 'many, much, few, all, some'. Here is an overview of the most frequently used quantifiers in Jiǎomùzú:

(231) wuvjot  much, a lot, many
      tagnes  (a) few
      kəʒu  all
      komcok  some, several
      kakərtokrtok  some
      caʔm  at most
      stamce  all, entire
      tsat  a little
      rere...kaka  each...one
      ndoʔmiʔ  about; approximately
      kətəpʔok  several
      thomatʔo  about; more or less
      ndoʔndoʔ  all; every
      kərgirgi  some
      kəmanju  all, whole

Some of the quantifiers derive from numerals, classifiers or verbs. Most often compounding or reduplication form quantifiers derived from other words:
Quantifiers occur after the noun they modify or stand alone as the head of a noun phrase. Marking for plural does not influence the place of the quantifier. But markers for indefiniteness or contrast cannot occur between the noun and the quantifier if the quantifier precedes the noun:

(233) kəru? kəzu tə
    Tibetan all C
    all Tibetans

    kəzu kəru?-ŋo tə
    kəru?-ŋo kəzu tə * kəzu tə kəru?-ŋo
    all Tibetan-p C
    Tibetan-p all C
    all the Tibetans
    all the Tibetans

Some quantifiers have a prefix kə, as do non-process verbs. However, the quantifiers do not inflect for verbal categories like evidentiality and person and number. By this distinction kəzu, 'all' is a quantifier but kəməca, 'many' is a stative verb:

(234) kəzu all * 'naʒu * 'naʒuŋn
    kəməca many 'na-məca 'na-məca-ŋn
    OBS-many OBS-many-3p

Here are some sample sentences:

(235) tsʰe wuvjot 'na-ndo?
    salt much OBS-have
    There is a lot of salt.

    tətʰə təŋnəs ki 'na-ndo
    book few IDEF OBS-have
    There are a few books.

    tətʰə kəməcok ndo?
    book several have
    There is a pile of books.

    ʃu kətəpʰok na-pʰo-ŋn
    tree several PFT-cut-3p
    Several trees were cut.

    tandzam w-ətʰə tsat tʃe ŋos
    bridge 3S:GEN-front little LOC be
    It's just before the bridge.
Quantifiers can stand alone, like numerals, and be the head of a noun phrase:

(236)  kəʒu na-cu  nə kəmcok kaku nə-osī  'na-vi
       all  PFT-rot  I  some  buy  1s:GEN-heart  OBS-come
       All were rotten.  I want to buy some.

Quantifiers can occur with markers of indefiniteness and contrast:

(237)  ndoʔndoʔ tə ji-jo kəmjī kaka  'nə-ŋos
       all  C  one-jiāo  five  each  EV-be
       Each one is five jiāo.

(238)  wuvjot ki na-kʰit-j
       many  IDEF  PFT-pick-1p
       We picked an amazingly large amount.

They also occur with prominence marker  kəx:

(239)  pijo w-apkap kəkərtokrtok kə nə mbərzaʔ kə  'nə-əja-jn
       beer  3s:GEN-cap  some  PR  CON  knife  PR  OBS-fetch-3p
       Some open beer bottles with a knife,

       kəkərtokrtok kə nə p-oʃwa kə  'nə-ci-jn
       some  PR  CON  3p:GEN-tooth  PR  OBS-open-3p
       some use their teeth.

There is no difference between partitive and non-partitive quantifiers in Jiāomùzú.

(240a)  təza-pə w-əvek tə comco-vu  'nə-ŋos
       boy-p  3s:GEN-half  C  Jiāomùzú-person  EV-be
       Some of the boys are from Jiāomùzú.

(240b)  təza-pə  laŋʃin  ka-leʔt kərgaʔ  kə-təpʰok
       boy-p  ball  NOM-hit  NOM-like  one-group
       Some boys like football.

In (240a) təvek literally means 'half', but it can be used to express 'a part of', as can kətəpʰok. There are also no special partitive negative quantifiers. If such a difference in meaning has to be expressed normally it is done through number marking, the use of contrast or indefiniteness markers or other strategies:
None (not even one) of the boys of this village went to school.

No boys came.

It is possible to indicate a difference in meaning through word order:

Some of the boys like to play football.

Some guys love to play basketbal.

If the quantifier is emphasised by putting it before the noun, as in (242a), the sentence implies that there are other boys in the context of the conversation who do not like to play. Sentence (242b), in which the quantifier occurs after the noun, is a general statement without any reference to a specific group of guys, some of whom love to play.

d. Classifiers

Classifiers mark lexical items as belonging to the same semantic class, based on features like shape, size, colour, animacy, movability etc. They occur when a noun is also modified by a numeral, demonstrative or certain non-numerical quantifiers. The Jiǎomùzú dialects have both bound classifiers, which cannot occur independently, and free classifiers based on nouns, though Jiǎomùzú does not very frequently employ them. Most nouns by far do not require a classifier and are modified by a numeral or quantifier only:

For those nouns that do take a classifier, the use of the classifier is often optional, as for *mänto⁰k*, 'flower'. The classifier comes after the numeral:
The classifier here is *pfu*, which is used with objects of long thin shape. Nouns that take *pfu* include *mantoʔk*, 'flower', *jopjop*, 'fish', *kʰapri*, 'snake', *takʰu*, 'cigarette', *pangon*, 'river' and *scape*, 'sword' - but not *mbozza?, 'knife'. Other commonly used classifiers in Jiǎomùzú are:

(245) *mpʰjar* sheet, layer; for flat rectangular things  
  *bom* pair  
  *pfu* for long thin things  
  *kor* pack load (animals as well as humans, carried on the back)  
  *tʰen* for food; meal  
  *kpʰu* for trees  
  *tʰe* set; for clothes  
  *cʰa* time; turn  
  *mpʰrəm* line, row, queue  
  *rdok* piece

The classifiers are unmarked when used with a numeral but are prefixed by *kə-,* which derives from the numeral *korek* or *kərgi*, 'one', when they express the meaning 'one of...'. Classifiers follow the noun they modify, with numerals inserted before the classifier:

(246) *mpʰjar* classifier for flat rectangular things, 'sheet', 'unit of money'  
  *poonjʔ* kə-*mpʰjar*  
  *poonjʔ* zji *mpʰjar*  
  money one-CL  
  one yuan  
  *ʃokʃoʔk* kə-*pʰjar*  
  *ʃokʃoʔk* kə-*mpʰjar*  
  paper three CL  
  three sheets of paper.

Frequently only a numeral and a classifier are used, with the head noun implicit:

(247) *tʰistok* kə *ra*  
  how many PR need  
  *kəmj* *mpʰjar*  
  five CL  
  How many do you want? Five (sheets).
In some cases it is also possible to have just the numeral without the classifier, but it seems to depend on the classifier. A classifier such as mp^2jar, which is extensively used in daily conversation, will rarely be omitted. Some non-numeral quantifiers can be modified by classifiers, as in (248) where quantifier wuvjot, 'many', is modified by classifier c^a, 'time'. Quantifiers, like numerals, are placed before the classifier. Note that the classifier in its turn is modified by locative marker -j:

(248) ndə tange wuvjot c^a-j to-^1-a-ku-w 
that clothes many CL-LOC PFT-NEV-buy-3s
He often bought clothes. (He bought clothes many times.)

Nouns can be used as classifiers, especially those nouns that measure volume, time or distance. This subset of classifiers is often called measure words. Because the nouns in this subset behave like other classifiers I call them all classifiers in this study. As with other classifiers, kə- is prefixed to the noun to express 'one'. The prefix does not replace the normal noun prefixes tə- and ta-:

(249) kʰəzaʔ kʰroʔw kə-kʰəzaʔ kʰroʔw kəbdə kʰəzaʔ 
bowl rice one-CL rice four CL
one bowl of rice four bowls of rice

tərpa pakʃu kə-tərpa 
pound apple one-CL apple two CL
one pound of apples two pounds of apples

Unlike quantifiers classifiers cannot indicate greater measure by reduplication of the root. For example, doubling the root jam of 'pot' does not form the meaning 'many pots':

(250) tajam pot * tajamjam * tajam tajam 
kʰəzaʔ bowl * kʰəzaʔzaʔ * kʰəzaʔ kʰəzaʔ

It is, however, possible to use reduplication or repetition of classifiers when they are marked with kə- for 'one':

(251) wujo kʰroʔw kə-kʰəzaʔ kə-kʰəzaʔ to-ndza-w 
he rice one-CL one-CL PFT-eat-3s
He ate bowl after bowl of rice.

Sometimes a noun is modified by another classifier which can, in its turn, be modified by a numeral to express volume or measure, as in (252):
There is a pot of ten litres. (There is a pot that holds ten litres.)

Traditionally distance is not expressed by standardised units of ten, as in the metric system, but by nouns derived from geographical features, as is the system of geographical direction marking:

(253) k'oŋ pot kandɾek k'anes tan'anes stɔki na-ndrek-ŋ
livestock chase two stretch like.that PFT-pursue-1s
I chased the cow for some two kilometres.

(254) k'oŋ kɔrtok na-p'o kʰonə na-jigajiga wuvjot na-ndrek-ŋ
sheep one PFT-flee CON I bend many PFT-pursue-1s
One sheep ran away and I chased it all over the place.

(255) jiga k'asam na-ndrek-ŋ kʰonə k'ava ʒi-č'a-ŋ
bend three PFT-chase-1s CON NOM-catch PFT/NEG-able-1s
I chased it for a distance of three bends but I could not catch it.

In (253) tan'anes, 'stretch', literally means 'resting point'. Since in the ṛGyalrong area traditionally all distances were travelled by foot, there were resting points at regular intervals along the road, such as a convenient rock or a shady tree. By extension, the distance between two resting points became called tan'anes, the stretch of road one can walk before one needs a break. The word jiga, 'bend' in (254) and (255) literally means bend in a river or road. It is also used as a measure of distance in a known environment to indicate how far things are in relation to one another. The measure has direct relation to the road or the river it refers to. It cannot be used for just any river or road, since it is then unclear how long the distance between bends is or even if there are bends at all. Another traditional measure of distance in Jiāomùzú is təmbriʃam, which is a length of twenty meters. The measure is used to express distance between two villages as well as shorter measures, such as the width of a house. Other frequently used classifiers of this type are təʃam, 'one lap', for a distance back and forth, cʰa, 'time, turn', tajam, 'pot'.

Classifiers can modify the head of a genitive construction:

(256) təla kə-təla w-əpök
moon, month 1-CL 3s:GEN-salary
a month's salary

təpa kə-pa w-ərkok
year 1-CL 3s:GEN-grain.harvest
a year's worth of grain
But classifiers themselves cannot be marked for genitive. Expression of possession must employ free possessives, as in (257) where the speaker gave the pound of apples he possessed to his mother:

(257) tərpə pound *ŋə-tərpə
      *ŋə-ərpə
      *ŋə-ko-tərpə

ŋa ŋə-je kə-tərpə țə ŋ-amə nə-mbuʔ-ŋ
I 1s-POSS one-CL C 1s:GEN-mother PFT-give-1s
I gave my pound to my mother.

Time words can function as classifiers, with the numeral before the classifier:

(258) təʃənu day
     kə-ʃənu one day
     kəsam ʃənu three days
     kəsam ʃənu w-əŋkʰuʔ after three days
     *təʃənu kəsam

For some time words there is a noun as well as a separate classifier, which cannot be used interchangeably. For example, Jiāomùzú borrowed the noun for 'year', ʈlo, from Tibetan བོད་། lo. But the classifier used with ʈlo is ʈə.

(259) tʃəʔ tə w-əlo pkraʃis tətʰa kə-ə-sə-joʔk ŋos
     this C 3s:GEN-year bKra.shis book NOM-CAUS-finish be
     bKra-shis graduates this year.

(260) ndə lo kəmʃi pa ŋos
     that year five CL be
He is five years old.

The same principle holds for the noun and classifier 'moon' or month'. Jiāomùzú uses tʂala for 'moon' as well as 'month':

(261) pəʃənu tʂala 'na-kaktu
today moon OBS-big
Today the moon is big

(262) w-əŋʰok kə-tsala kərscat-pəɾja 'na-ndoʔ
3:GEN-salary one-CL eight-hundred OBS-have
His salary is 800 [yuan] a month.
In some instances classifiers borrowed from Chinese become nouns in Jiäomùzú, as in (263). The Chinese classifier ㄇ jiao, 'one tenth of one unit of money', is in Sichuán dialect pronounced as [ jo]. Prefixed with the Chinese numeral ㄧ yi for 'one' the construction occurs as a noun followed by a numeral:

(263) ndo?ndoʔ to jijoŋ kampgi kaka 'naŋos
each C one jiǎo five each EV-be
Each one is five jiǎo.

Some of these reinterpreted classifiers then require a classifier of their own, although such constructions have a syntactic twist:

(264) ndo arlimgjuŋliŋ nijanʊ ndo w-apa na-kə-sci 'naŋos
that 2009 year that 3s:GEN-CL PFT-NOM-be.born EV-be
He was born in 2009.

In example (264) arlimgjuŋliŋ nijan is borrowed from Chinese 二零零九年 ěrlínglíngjiǔ nián, 'the year 2009', were nián is a classifier. In the Jiäomùzú sentence the Chinese numeral with the Chinese classifier occur followed by the Jiäomùzú classifier for 'year', pa. The Chinese construction of numeral plus classifier is clearly treated as a unit and considered a noun by native speakers. But unlike the normal classifiers -pa in (264) occurs as the head of a genitive construction, with the demonstrative ndo as the possessor. The whole construct is perhaps best translated as 'He was born in 2009, [in] that year'.

e. Prominence marker kə

The Jiäomùzú marker kə usually occurs in previous studies on rGyalrong labelled as ‘case marker’ or ‘ergativity marker’. In Jiäomùzú kə can be used to mark ergativity and to disambiguate subject and object, as well as for the marking of prominence of one or more constituents in a clause or sentence and tracking of subjects to ensure referential continuity across clause and sentence boundaries. But actually all those uses are rather a by-product of the marker’s overarching function. The primary function of prominence marking with kə is to apportion prominence to a constituent relative to the prominence of other constituents in the sentence. Prominence marking functions as a watchdog: it keeps track of the prominence of each constituent in the clause or sentence relative to the prominence of all other constituents. Jiäomùzú constituents each have their own level of prominence, based on their position in the sentence and on the Jiäomùzú animacy hierarchy. When the prominence due a certain constituent is lost to another constituent, due to operations that influence speaker empathy or change prominence of constituents such as topicalisation and attention low marking, prominence marker kə occurs to even out the imbalance. In some cases adjustment of the prominence balance must occur. In these cases marking with kə is obligatory. In other cases,
when the basic balance of constituents is not in danger, a speaker can use $kə$ to give prominence to one or more constituents of his choice. The Jiǎomùzú marker $kə$ is a discourse marker rather than a case marker. But because most authors discuss the equivalent of Jiǎomùzú $kə$ in terms of case, and because this grammar does not have a separate chapter on information structure, I discuss $kə$ here in the section on noun adjuncts. The following subsection gives an overview of the functions of $kə$, first as a marker of prominence used at the speaker’s discretion, and then as the obligatory marker of prominence in situations where constituents’ relative prominence needs adjusting. The second subsection contains a discussion of ergativity and case, and the role of $kə$ as described in previous studies of rGyalrong varieties.

For the purposes of the following discussion I define ‘discourse’ as a structural series of sentences, the development of which constitutes a coherent whole and is recognised as such by speakers of a language. A conversation and a story are different forms of discourse. A ‘context’ is a situation defined by the interlocutors: a set of circumstances given a cultural interpretation.\footnote{These definitions follow Foley and Van Valin (1996: 282-283).} I base my definitions of empathy, topic-comment and focus-presupposition on Avery Andrews’ overview of pragmatic functions of the noun phrase and on the work of Lambrecht.\footnote{Andrews (1996: 77-80); Lambrecht (1994: 117-131, 206-218, 334-340).} I define ‘empathy’ as the point of view taken by the speaker on the situation under discussion. The ‘topic’ in a sentence is the matter of current interest which indicates what the sentence is about while ‘comment’ is the remainder of the sentence which is relevant to and provides information about the topic. The body of a sentence is the ‘presupposition’, which represents a situation with which the hearer is presumed to be familiar, or old information. The ‘focus’ noun phrase gives the identity of an unpredictable participant that is chosen to supply the missing argument in an open proposition.

The use of prominence marker $kə$

Jiǎomùzú has a prominence marker $kə$, which occurs when a speaker wants to give prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. In Jiǎomùzú sentences, which have a basic subject-object-verb order, the first slot has inherently more prominence than the second slot. In neutral sentences the first slot is occupied by the subject, the second slot by the object. In a neutral sentence, that is a sentence in which each constituent has prominence according to its normal place in the sentence, no marking with $kə$ occurs. By marking a constituent with $kə$ a speaker gives prominence to that particular constituent. Marking with $kə$ can be used to signal subtle differences in meaning by shifting the focus from one constituent to another. Consider the following examples:

$$(265a) \ \text{ɲəŋə ɲə ko-top-ŋ}$$

you I 2/1-hit-1s

You will hit me.

$$(265b) \ \text{ɲəŋə kə ɲə ko-top-ŋ}$$

you PR I 2/1-hit-1s

You will hit me.

Say, for instance, that the object ɲə, ‘I’ in (265a) anticipates being hit if a certain task is not done to the satisfaction of the subject ɲəŋə, ‘you’. Sentence (265a) without $kə$ is a simple statement. The
sentence provides information about what 'you' will do. It answers the question ‘What will you do next?’ The subject is also the topic, *ŋaŋo*, 'you'. The comment is *ŋa kotopŋ*, 'will hit me'. In terms of focus, the question that is answered by (265a) is ‘Who will you hit (if the task is not performed properly)? The presupposition is that ‘you will hit x’, the missing argument or focus is ‘me’. The only difference between the two sentences of (265) is the occurrence of *kə* with the subject *ŋaŋo*, 'you'. Sentence (265b) is not the answer to ‘What will you do next?’ The question answered by (265b) is ‘Who will hit me?’ The presupposed information here is ‘x will hit me’. The focus of (265b) is *ŋaŋo*. In sentence (265b), where the subject is marked by *kə*, the speaker gives prominence to the subject which is in focus. This sentence might be uttered by someone who either is incredulous that ‘you’ can have the nerve to think ‘you’ can hit him, or by someone who is scared and does not want to go near ‘you’ because he knows or anticipates that ‘you’ will hit him. Another example along these lines is (266):

(266a) *ŋa ŋaŋo ta-top-n*  
I you 1/2-hit-2s  
I will hit you.

(266b) *ŋa kə ŋaŋo ta-top-n*  
I PR you 1/2-hit-2s  
I will hit you.

The first sentence, (266a), is the neutral form. The subject *ŋa*, ‘I’ is also the topic. Sentence (266a) provides information about what the topic *ŋa* will do. Focus is on *ŋaŋo*, 'you', as (266a) answers the question ‘Who will I hit?’ The second sentence (266b) with *kə* can be used in situations where ‘I’ am near losing my temper, maybe because ‘you’ have been pestering me for a long time. The presupposition in (266b) is ‘x will hit you’. The question answered by (266b) is ‘Who will hit you?’ The focus in (266b) has shifted from *ŋaŋo*, 'you' to *ŋa*, ‘I’. In all these cases the presence of *kə* signals focus on the subject. It would be tempting to consider *kə* as a focus marker. But note that topicalisation by switching the object *ŋaŋo*, 'you' to the first slot in the sentence puts prominence on the object, implying that there may be other people around who ‘I’ will not hit. Still *ŋa*, ‘I’ is marked with *kə*:

(266c) *ŋaŋo ŋa kə ta-top-n*  
you I PR 1/2-hit-2s  
You I will hit.

In the case of (266c) *kə* is obligatory and occurs to give due prominence to the syntactic subject, to balance the prominence obtained for the object by moving it into the first slot. I discuss constructions in which *kə* is obligatory later in this section. Here I will just note that *kə* does not exclusively mark focus, so that focus marker is not an appropriate term. I have chosen to call *kə* a prominence marker. For more on topicalisation, see section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences. It is possible to have two or even several prominence markers that give prominence to different constituents in one sentence. In example (267) both the subject *wuŋo*, 'he' and the reason for the writing, *pogenji*, 'money', occur with *kə*. In (268) the speaker gives prominence to the subject and agent *amŋi*, 'ancestor' as well as the instrument *famtok*, 'hammer':
He wrote to bSod-nams about the money.

The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

Exhausted by the hard work [he] fell asleep.

The logical order of the sentence is 'because he had worked hard he was exhausted, and because he was exhausted, he fell asleep'. It is possible to leave out the first marker, so that karama ji, 'much work' and tsəpap, 'exhaustion' form one unit giving the reason for the subject falling asleep. But omitting only the second marker gives an ungrammatical construction:

(269c) * karama ji kə tsəpap wəṃnap nəju

Example (269c) is ungrammatical because without kə the logical link between the immediate reason, which is his exhaustion, and the action expressed by the verb, his falling asleep, is no longer there.

Prominence marking can give prominence not only to subjects and objects, but also other constituents such as adverbials:

I handed you a book.

In example (270) nənjo looks like an indirect object but actually the constituent here is nənjo nəpəəj, 'to the place in your proximity, towards you', which is a locative. The semantics of the verb kakəm, 'hand, pass' imply that the book will be passed on to a third person, it cannot remain with the person
it was handed to. The locative in (270) expresses a location which the book passes on its way to its final destination, a person or place beyond the scope of the sentence.

Prominence marking is used to give prominence to constituents that express a variety of semantic roles, such as agent, instrument, cause, reason, source, manner and translative, as well as subject and object. Marking depends on the importance or relevance the speaker accords the specific information of the marked constituent in relation to the information given in the other constituents of the sentence. Below are some examples of kə marking different constituents and different roles. The first sentence shows kə giving prominence to the subject and agent amɲi, 'ancestor':

(271) amɲi          kə            wuŋo         w-awo-j           jəmtok         kərek         to-kə-laʔj-tn  
ancestor PR  CON he  3s:GEN-head-LOC hammer one  PFT-NOM-hit-3s:HON
The ancestor dealt him a blow with the iron hammer.

Example (272) has a topicalised object which is also marked for focus:

(272) pakʃu         kə            lhamo         pkraʃis           nə-mbuʔ-w   
apple PR  lHa.mo bKra.shis PFT-give-3s
An apple is what lHa-mo gave bKra-shis.

Example (273) highlights the means or manner or implement with which something is done, marking the instrument kʰajcak, 'hammer':

(273) kʰajcak         kə            tərmu           na-sə-top-ŋ  
hammer PR  person  PFT-CAUS-hit-1s
I hit him with a hammer.

Translatives, constructions in which a subject causes an object to take action or acquire a position, can be marked with kə:

(274) jino         kə            wuŋo         j-ascok           kə-leʔt          to-sə-ve-j  
weːe PR  he  1p:GEN-letter NOM-write1  PFT-CAUS-do-1p
We appointed him as secretary.

Note that often in sentences with kə marking agent or instrument the verb will be marked for indirect causativity by -sə or -sə, indicating that there is an outside agent or instrument that causes the action on the recipient or goal, rather than the subject acting directly on the object. The literal meaning of sentence (274), for example, is 'I caused him to be hit by using a hammer'. For more on the use of different causativity markers, see section 7.8.h and 7.8.i in the chapter on verbs.
Prominence marker $kə$ can occur with constituents that signal cause of an action, a reason or a result. In these situations the marked constituent is often an adverbial phrase or other constituent rather than the subject or object:

(275) tamkʰu kə-neʔk tə kʰalu kə to-kə-va-w kʰonə
    cloth NOM-black C wind PR PFT-NOM-do-3s CON

Because the wind blew, the black cloth made a flapping sound in the wind.

tʃəʔ sok vej-vej to-kə-cəs ˈna-ŋəs
    this like flap-flap-flap PFT-NOM-say EV-be

(276) w-apa nə w-əʒder kə w-aʃcu nə-ʃlak tʃəʔ tʃe nə…
    3s:GEN-father CON 3s:GEN-afraid PR 3s:GEN-urine PFT-pass this LOC CON

When his father wet his pants out of fear….

(277) karama ji təspap kə w-əmpak kə-ju
    work much exhaustion PR 3s:GEN-eye PFT-close

Exhausted by the hard work he fell asleep.

To give prominence to source, marker $kə$ also can appear:

(278) tamar təlo kə nə-ka-va ˈna-ŋəs
    butter milk PR PFT-NOM-do EV-be

Butter comes from milk.

Marker $kə$ also occurs with constituents signalling manner:

(279) w-əza w-əjiʔk w-əŋkʰuʔ j təjʔuʔ cʰot cʰot kə-cəs kə
    3s:GEN-son 3s:GEN-hand 3s:GEN-back-LOC water plink plink NOM-say PR

The water dripped onto his son's hand, making a plinking sound.

na-ka-vu na-ˈa-ŋəs
    PFT-NOM-conme₂ PFT-NEV-be
Another example for manner is (280). The speaker gives prominence to the way things are done:

(280) kartsʰe kɔŋu w-ɔŋgem tɔ w-apʰispo-j kɐrko
    deer nine 3s:GEN-corpse  C 3s:GEN-armpit-LOC NOM-put
He put the nine dead deer under his armpit, that’s how he managed.

ndɔ sok w-arca tɔ kɔ to-kɔ-cʰa na-kɔŋos ’nɔŋos
that like 3s:GEN-likeness C PR PFT-NOM-able PFT-NOM-be EV-be

The second clause in the previous example shows that prominence marker kɔ can occur with noun phrases modified by contrast marker tɔ. Unlike contrast marker tɔ, prominence marker kɔ does not cover just the scope of a noun phrase but rather indicates how the speaker wants the hearer to interpret the importance of different sentence constituents in relation to each other. Prominence marking functions on the level of the sentence or clause. Prominence markers occur after tɔ. The function of kɔ and tɔ can seem rather similar. But there are subtle differences of meaning depending on which marker is used:

(281a) pkraʃis pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
    bKra.shis apple PFT-give-3s
    bKra-shis gave apples.

(281b) pkraʃis tɔ pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
    bKra.shis C apple PFT-give-3s
    [Only] bKra-shis gave apples.

(281c) pkraʃis kɔ pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w
    bKra.shis PR apple PFT-give-3s
    bKra-shis gave apples.

(281d) pkraʃis tɔ kɔ pakʃu nə-mbuʔ-w (manʃi tɔrmuʔo tʰi ʒik
    bKra.shis C PR apple PFT-give-3s (other person-p what also
    bKra-shis gave apples (the other people did not give anything at all).

    nə-mbuʔ-ʃn miʔ)
    PFT-give-3p not.have)

(281e) * pkraʃis kɔ tɔ pakʃu nəmbuʔw

The five sentences above all express the same idea: bKra-shis gave apples. They may be used in the context of people discussing the gifts that different guests brought for the birth of a baby. The neutral sentence is (281a). In (281a) the topic is bKra-shis. The sentence gives information about
what bKra-shis did in the comment pakʃu nəmbuiʔw, ‘give apples’. The sentence does not give any indication about possible other guests and what they did or did not give. In sentence (281b) the subject bKra-shis is marked with contrast marker tə. The contrast here is between bKra-shis and his gift and all the other guests and their gifts. The sentence indicates that there were other people who also gave things, but only bKra-shis gave apples, see the discussion on contrast marking in section 4.3.a. The question answered by (281b) is ‘What did bKra-shis give?’, with the answer pakʃu, ‘apples’, being the focus of the sentence. In sentence (281c) prominence marker kə gives prominence to the giver, bKra-shis, as the source of the apples. The question answered by (281c) is ‘Who gave apples?’, with focus on bKra-shis. The question answered by example (281d) is ‘Who gave the apples?’, indicating the focus of the sentence is on bKra-shis. Note that this sentence is normally followed by another clause or sentence, in which information about the other guests is forthcoming. The marking with kə gives prominence to bKra-shis as a giver of a gift, indicating that the other guests did not give gifts. This is one case in which the scope of kə goes beyond the noun phrase. For a discussion on marking with kə as a referential tracking devise, see the discussion of example (294) below. Contrast marker tə in this context, since bKra-shis is the only person in the company who gives a gift, indicates that bKra-shis gave apples, rather than some other kind of fruit, or tea, or butter. Sentence (281e), in which the place of tə and kə is inverted, is not grammatical. Marking with kə is normally a matter of the speaker's discretion. But marking becomes obligatory when the hearer's attention is with an unmarked constituent in the sentence rather than with the constituent which, in the normal course of events, would be the more prominent and thus be the locus of the hearer's attention. In such sentences the prominence marker kə must occur with the constituent that by rights should be the most prominent, to balance the unmarked constituent which has drawn the hearer's attention and restore the internal relative prominence of constituents in the sentence. I have found four scenarios which trigger the obligatory use of kə. They all involve the syntactic subject of a sentence or clause, which is normally the most prominent constituent in a sentence and the locus of the hearer's attention.

In the first scenario, a change of constituent order through topicalisation causes the constituent that normally occupies the first slot, the subject, to be in the second slot. As mentioned before, in sentences with a neutral word order, in which the subject occupies the first slot, followed by the object, the arguments remain unmarked, no matter the person of the argument, unless the speaker wants to give prominence to one or the other constituent. However, the arguments in a neutral sentence do not have equal prominence. The subject is in the first slot, and has most prominence, meaning that the hearer's empathy is with the subject. The object is in the second slot and is less prominent, that is to say, the empathy of the hearer is less with the object than with the subject. Topicalisation reverses constituent order, putting the object in the first slot with subject in the second, for the express reason of giving more prominence to the object. The hearer's empathy accordingly is with the constituent in the first slot, which is now the unmarked object, while the subject in second slot is less prominent. This still does not matter much if the hearer is clear which constituent is the subject, and thus the appropriate locus of his empathy. As discussed in section 8.1 of the chapter on sentences, in most cases, person and number marking on the verb as well as the semantic context of the sentence is enough for the hearer to pick the right constituent as the subject.
But in some situations neither the marking on the verb nor the constituent order give enough indication for the hearer to know which constituent is the subject. In the Jiāomùzú dialects in such situations the subject must be marked with prominence marker $k\omega$, to show that it is inherently the most prominent constituent in the sentence, even though it is in the second slot. This kind of ambiguity only occurs in sentences with two third person arguments. The examples in (282) clarify this issue. Sentence (282a) has neutral constituent order, with the subject $bSod$-nams in the first slot, so no marking occurs. But in a topicalised sentence such as (282b), with object $bSod$-nams in the first slot and subject $bKra$-shis in the second slot, the subject is marked with $k\omega$.

(282a) sonam $pkra$\textit{jis} na-sat-w
    bSod.nams bKra.shis \text{PFT-kill-3s}
    bSod-nams killed bKra-shis.

(282b) sonam $pkra$\textit{jis} $k\omega$ na-sat-w
    bSod.nams bKra.shis \text{PR PFT-kill-3w}
    It was bSod-nams that bKra-shis killed.

If $k\omega$ does not occur in such situations, the hearer will automatically think of the argument occupying the first slot as the most prominent and thus as the subject. Prominence marking with $k\omega$ functions to disambiguate sentences in which syntactic roles have become ambiguous because of topicalisation. The object remains in the first slot and so receives emphasis. The prominence due to the subject is ensured by marking with $k\omega$.

A second situation in which marking with $k\omega$ is obligatory is when the object in a sentence attracts more attention than the subject because it ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy which the Jiāomùzú dialects employ. In the verb chapter I show that Jiāomùzú has the following animacy hierarchy: $1 > 2 > 3$ human $> 3$ animate, non-human $> 3$ inanimate. Transitive relations which have an object that outranks the subject are marked on the verb as inverse. To some extent the animacy hierarchy also influences the occurrence of prominence marker $k\omega$. In sentences with a third person human subject and a first person human object, subject marking with $k\omega$ is optional. Since the hearer's attention will rest with the object rather than with the subject, even though the subject is in the first slot, the verb is often marked for passive with $go$-, as in (283):

(283) $pkra$\textit{jis} $[k\omega]$ $\eta$ $\eta$-mbu?-\textit{\eta}
    bKra.shis $[\text{PR}]$ I \text{PAS-give-1s}
    [It] will be given to me by bKra-shis.

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However, third person non-human subjects must be marked with \( k \cdot \) if they occur with first person objects:

(284) \( təwəʔm \ kə \ ɲa \ \mathrm{no-najo-ŋ} \quad * \ təwəʔm \ ɲa \ \mathrm{nonajoŋ} \)

 bear PR I \( \mathrm{AF/PFT\text{-}wait\text{-}1s} \)

The bear waited for me.

Example (284) shows a sentence with a third person subject and a first person object. The subject is in the first slot, the most prominent slot. Still marking with \( k \cdot \) occurs. However, it is a third person animate subject, while the object is first person human. The prominence marker appears to offset the loss of prominence at the subject slot because the hearer's attention is drawn to the first person human, which outranks third person animate, in the object slot. Sentence (285) shows again a third person subject with a first person object. Marking with \( k \cdot \) appears even though the subject is in the first slot. Clearly the demon, though animate, is considered less than human:

(285) \( tʃəʔ \ tə \ bdat \ tə \ kə \ \mathrm{jiː-jo} \ pəʒək \ \mathrm{wu\text{-}veravla-j} \ kənə \)

 this C demon C PR we\text{-}1\text{p} again 3/1\text{:INV\text{-}destroy\text{-}1p} MD

This demon will once again destroy us all!

In my data the only instances of obligatory marking of a third person subject with \( k \cdot \) due to a higher ranking object as defined by the animacy hierarchy is for third person non-human subjects with first person objects and third person inanimate subjects with third person human and animate objects. All other third person subjects can occur with first and second person objects without triggering obligatory marking with \( k \cdot \), as in (286), which has an example of a third person subject with a second person object:

(286) \( \mathrm{bkra\text{-}his} \ \mathrm{nanjo} \ \mathrm{to\text{-}najon-n} \ \mathrm{me} \)

 bKra\text{-}shis you 3/2\text{-}wait\text{-}2s INTR

Will bKra\text{-}shis wait for you?

A third situation in which marking with \( k \cdot \) is obligatory is when an unmarked constituent attracts unwarranted prominence because that constituent undergoes or experiences an action which draws the empathy of the hearer, taking prominence away from the rightful locus, the first constituent in the sentence. In such cases also the constituent that naturally would be most prominent, the constituent in the first slot of a neutral sentence, must be marked by \( k \cdot \). Example (287) shows such a sentence. The sentence is not topicalised, the subject is in the first slot. There is no ambiguity as to which constituent is subject or object. Also there is no problem with the person hierarchy, since the subject is first person. Still marker \( k \cdot \) occurs with subject \( jino \), 'we', drawing the hearer's empathy there. Though there is no unclarity here about syntactic roles, \( k \cdot \) cannot be omitted:
We appointed him as secretary.

* jino wujo jascok kə-leʔt to-so-va-j

The issue in this sentence is one of double action. In this simple sentence with just one clause the hearer's empathy is with wujo, 'he', because he is involved in an action, he is changing and becoming something else, a secretary. However, the actual agent of the action, the cause of the change in status that wujo is experiencing or undertaking, is jino, 'we'. The speaker must mark jino with kə so that the hearer will give appropriate prominence to the actual agent of the main action in the clause, with is tosəvaj, literally 'caused to do'. It is not ambiguity about syntactic or semantic roles that makes use of kə here obligatory, but unclarity about which is the main event in the clause: the becoming of secretary or the causing to become secretary. The same sentence without prominence marking becomes grammatical only when there is a second clause giving the hearer more information about wujo, firmly establishing wujo and his actions as the topical constituent for the hearer. It is for example possible to have (287b):

(287b) jino wujo j-ascok kə-laʔt to-so-va-j koronə

We appointed him as our secretary,

kə-haʔw ma-ˈnəʃpeʔ-w
NOM-good NEG-OBS-able3s
but he doesn't do a very good job.

In a sentence with two clauses the hearer finds out more about wujo and how the action of becoming secretary panned out. The hearer, who put his empathy with wujo in the first clause, is vindicated, in knowing that indeed the main locus of the action is wujo and what happens to him. The grammatical subject jino is what caused the events but it is not the topic. Prominence marker kə does not need to appear. If there is only one clause, as in (287a), no more information on wujo, 'him' is forthcoming and the speaker needs to give prominence to jino, 'we' to balance the constituents. The use of prominence marking in (287a) and (287b) shows that kə does not mark syntactic prominence for subject or semantic prominence for agent, but rather it marks what the speaker thinks is important about an action or event if the hearer's empathy may be with another constituent because the locus of the action is there. Marker kə functions as a tracking device for prominence with a scope larger than just the constituent it marks. Marking wujo for prominence also leads to ungrammaticality:

(287c) * jino wujo kə jascok kəva tosəvaj
The sentence is ungrammatical because marking with $kə$ links $wujo$ with the main action of $tosəvaj$. But the person and number marking on the verb as well as the genitive marking on $jasəcok$, 'letter' agree with first person $jino$, not with third person $wujo$. Verb agreement in this case might be considered inconclusive, since Jiàomùzú verbs agree with object if there is a third person subject, as shown in (287d). Note that $wujo$ is now in the first slot, the subject position, and $tasəcok$, ‘letter’ is not marked for genitive. The sentence is ungrammatical if $tasəcok$ is marked for first person plural genitive with $j$-

$$\text{(287d) } wujo \ kə \ jino \ tascok \ kə-va \ to-sə-va-j$$

he PR we:e letter NOM-do PFT-CAUS-do-1p

He made us secretaries.

$$\text{(287e) * wujo kə jino jascok kəva tosəvaj}$$

And finally, the sentence is ungrammatical if $jino$ is in the proper subject slot, $wujo$ is marked for prominence with $kə$ and the genitive marking on $tasəcok$ is $w$- for third person singular rather than $j$- for first person plural:

$$\text{(287f) * jino wujo kə wascok kəva tosəvaj}$$

Third person $wujo$ cannot be marked for prominence unless there is agreement on the other constituents.

This sort of referent tracking is also common in quotes, in which the subject is almost always marked with $kə$. Jiàomùzú quotes are always direct, which means that the action takes place in the complement clause. The empathy of the hearer is drawn back to the subject of the main clause by prominence marker $kə$. Note that $kə$ occurs not only with transitive verbs but also with intransitives like $kaco$, ‘say’:

$$\text{(288) } nəŋo \ kə \ 籴 \ ma-tʃi-ŋa \ ma-tə-cəs-n}$$

you PR I NEG-go1-1s PFT-2-say-2s:vi

You said that you won’t go.

You said: “I won’t go.”

The following sets of examples in (289) and (290) illustrate the same principle of assigning prominence by marking with $kə$ to a constituent that, though naturally prominent in a sentence, has lost the empathy of the hearer in favour of another constituent. In both examples the subjects or agents are rather intangible forces while the results of the action on the objects are very prominent. In the three sentences of (289) the empathy of the hearer naturally is drawn to the objects because of the terrible things that have happened to them, the burning of respectively $teqəlm$, "house", $patʃu$, 'chicken' and, maybe most horrific of all, $bKra-shis$. The hearer gives little or no empathy to the actual cause of the burning, the syntactic subject and semantic agent $tomʃu\text{̀}$, "fire". The speaker
must restore this imbalance by giving prominence to tömtʃuk with prominence marker ka, so that the subject and agent of the sentences is given, as it were, its proper due. It could be argued that the animacy hierarchy comes into play here, since the objects in (289b) and (289c) are animate while the subject is not. But that still leaves (289a), which has an inanimate object, unaccounted for:

(289a) tömtʃuk ka təɛʔm kəməŋu tə kə-’a-cop
fire PR house entire C PFT-NEV-burn
The fire burned up the entire house.

(289b) tömtʃuk ka patʃu kəʒu tə kə-’a-cop
fire PR chicken all C PFT-NEV-burn
The fire burned all the chickens.

(289c) pkraʃis tömtʃuk kə-ktu kə kə-’a-cop
bKra.shis fire NOM-big PR PFT-NEV-burn
The fire burned up bKra-shis.

Note that in sentences with a human object and a non-human subject the preference is for the object to occur in the first slot of the sentence. However, topicalisation in such cases is only preferred, not obligatory, as shown by (290b). Somewhat less dramatic but still following the same principle of marking for inherent prominence are the sentences in example (290). The tendency is for a hearer to give empathy to the result of the action signalled in the verb phrase on the objects, respectively the overturned car, the fallen bKra-shis and the sand that is now gone. The speaker must restore proper prominence on the logical cause of all this by marking the subject kʰalu, ‘wind’ with kə. Once again, neither the animacy hierarchy nor object prominence explains the occurrence of kə in the first sentence:

(290a) kʰalu kə kʰorlo kə-’a-tʃʰwek
wind PR vehicle PFT-NEV-overturn
The wind blew the car over.

(290b) kʰalu kə pkraʃis na-’a-trap
wind PR bKra.shis PFT-NEV-push
The wind blew bKra-shis down.

(290c) kʰalu kə pʰjema ji-’a-tsep
wind PR sand PFT-NEV-take
The wind blew the sand away.

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Marker \(k\sigma\) occurs in sentences with implicit arguments:

\[
(291) \text{pkra}{{\text{fi}}s} \; k\sigma \; \text{no-}k\sigma\text{-mbu}?\eta \; \eta\text{os} \\
b\text{Kra.shis PR AF-NOM-give-1s be} \\
b\text{Kra-shis gave it [to me].}
\]

In sentence (291) the object, I, is implicit, though it is marked with \(\eta\) for first person singular in the verb phrase. Still the hearer's empathy is with the implicit object rather than with the subject \(b\text{Kra-shis}\), because the first person object ranks higher than the third person subject in the person hierarchy. Furthermore, the attention flow marker \(no\) in the verb phrase lets the hearer perceive the action of giving from the perspective of the receiver, ‘I’. Though the neutral sentence would simply state that ‘bKra-shis gave [it] to me’, attention flow marking and person hierarchy make the object the locus of the hearer's empathy. An English translation that reflects this more appropriately would be ‘I got [it] from bKra-shis’. In order to ensure that the subject does retain the prominence it should have it is marked with \(k\sigma\), even though it is already in the first slot of the sentence.

In some sentences the occurrence of \(k\sigma\) is the only indication of the syntactic role of the constituent. In (292) for example, the subject is implicit. No marking appears with \(wu\eta\), 'he'. But when the implicit subject becomes explicit marking appears, even though the object is implicit as in (292b):

\[
(292a) \; wu\eta \; lhabzo \; k\sigma\text{-va} \; k\sigma\text{-sko}\text{?r-w} \\
\text{he:O thangka.painter NOM-do PFT-hire-3s} \\
\text{[She] hired him as a thangka painter.}
\]

\[
(292b) \; wu\eta \; k\sigma \; lhabzo \; k\sigma\text{-va} \; k\sigma\text{-sko}\text{?r-w} \\
\text{he:AG PR thangka.painter NOM-do PFT-hire-3s} \\
\text{He hired [someone as] a thangka painter.}
\]

The presence of \(k\sigma\) in (292b) makes clear that \(wu\eta\), 'he' is the subject, whereas in example (291a), which has an implicit subject, \(wu\eta\) is the object. Marker \(k\sigma\) does not occur independently to represent an implicit argument:

\[
(292c) \; * \; k\sigma \; wu\eta \; lhabzo \; k\sigma\text{va} \; k\sigma\text{sko}\text{?r-w}
\]

Also in sentences that have an implicit object or subject but have clear agreement marking on the verb \(k\sigma\) still appears:

\[
(293) \; \text{pkra}{{\text{fi}}s} \; k\sigma \; k\text{baza}\eta? \; so\text{?nu} \; wu\text{-mbu}?\eta \\
b\text{Kra.shis PR bowl tomorrow 3/1-give-1s} \\
b\text{Kra-shis will give me the bowl tomorrow.}
\]
Note that the agreement marking on the verb is for a third person subject and a first person second object, 'I', not the first object 'bowl'.

The fourth situation in which marking with \( kə \) is obligatory occurs when the subject of an event or action switches in a complex sentence. For example, in the first clause of (294) the empathy of the hearer is with \( patʃu \), 'chicken', the constituent in the first slot and the subject. But in the second clause the subject is no longer the chicken, but \( lolo \), 'cat'. Besides, the chicken, now the object, is implicit in the second clause. The speaker disambiguates the sentence by marking the subject of the second clause with prominence marker \( kə \), assigning it due prominence. It is not the chicken who chases the cat but rather the cat chases the chicken. Without \( kə \) to mark \( lolo \) the sentence means that the chicken came in through the window and is now chasing the cat. Note that the attention flow marker \( no- \) in the verb phrase of the second clause ensures that the hearer's attention remains with the chicken. The hearer's perspective is, as it were, with the chicken while it comes down through the window as the subject in the first clause, and stays with the chicken while it is being chased by the cat, even though the cat is now the grammatical subject and the speaker has made that clear through the use of prominence marker \( kə \). For more on attention flow, see section 7.6 in the chapter on verbs.

(294) \( n\text{toməndə rə pətʃu kamtsa sku ka-vi rə} \)
\( \text{originally CON chicken window down NOM-come, CON} \)
\( \text{Originally a chicken had come in through the window and} \)
\( lolo \text{ kə no-na-ndʒek-ndʒek-w} \)
\( \text{cat PR AF-PFT-RED-chase-3s} \)
\( \text{[now] the cat was chasing it back and forth.} \)

In this section I have shown that prominence marker \( kə \) serves several functions. It gives prominence to one or several constituents in a sentence. Marker \( kə \) also ensures due prominence for the syntactic subject of a clause, sometimes by disambiguating the syntactic roles of constituents. And lastly \( kə \) functions as a tracking device to ensure referential continuity for the syntactic subject in discourse over the scope of several clauses. Since the functions of discourse marker \( kə \) all involve the marking of prominence, I call it a prominence marker.

**Prominence marker \( kə \) and case**

In previous studies of rGyalrong scholars have interpreted \( kə \) and its variant forms as a case marker, marking ergativity in a split-ergative system. Given the use of \( kə \) in the Jiāomǔzú dialects as described in the previous section, case is not the most appropriate category for \( kə \) in these dialects. In this section I first test if Jiāomǔzú marks for case in the traditional sense of the word at all. Then I give an overview of earlier analyses of markers like \( kə \) to see if they can apply to the Jiāomǔzú data.

In a nominative-accusative case system marking of the subject or agent of transitive and intransitive verbs differs from marking for the object. The marking can be inflection on the argument or
morphologically independent. Since the goal of the exercise is to clarify the function and meaning of marker ə I do not look at marking on the verb phrase, only at markers that occur with constituents that are subjects and objects. In Jiùmùzú there is no difference in marking for subjects and objects on the noun phrase or on the pronoun, as the following examples make clear. The sentences in (295) show no difference in inflection, form or marking for subject and object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(295)} & \quad \text{ŋa nəŋə ta-top-n} & \quad \text{nəŋə ə ko-top-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{I you 1/2-hit-2s} & \quad \text{you I 2/1-hit-1s} \\
& \quad \text{I will hit you.} & \quad \text{You will hit me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Topicalisation, as in (296) where the object is in the first slot of the sentence, does also not trigger marking:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(296)} & \quad \text{tapuʔ-nə ⁶ʃi-sə-rwe-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{child-p I vpt-CAUS-rise-1s} \\
& \quad \text{The kids I'll wake.}
\end{align*}
\]

Clearly Jiùmùzú does not employ a nominative-accusative marking system for the subject or object. In an ergative-absolutive system the expectation is for the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb to show the same marking, as opposed to the subject of a transitive verb. The Jiùmùzú dialects do not evidence such a system of marking on noun phrases or pronouns. In the examples of (297) below, the intransitive subject ŋa, 'I' in (297a) and the object ŋa, 'me' in (297c) both remain unmarked and unchanged in their pronominal form, as does the transitive subject ŋa, 'I' in (297b):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(297a)} & \quad \text{ŋa ʃintəhu ²ʃʰi-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{I Chéngdū go₁-1s} \\
& \quad \text{I'll go to Chéngdū.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(297b)} & \quad \text{ŋa nəŋə ta-top-n} & \quad \text{(297c) nəŋə ə ko-top-ŋ} \\
& \quad \text{I you 1/2-hit-2s} & \quad \text{you I 2/1-hit-1s} \\
& \quad \text{I will hit you.} & \quad \text{You will hit me.}
\end{align*}
\]

Scott DeLancey, working with a limited set of data from Jin's monograph on Suōmò,\(^\text{119}\) proposed that rGyalrong, like several other languages in the Tibeto-Burman family, is a split ergative language which marks third person transitive agents for case, while first and second person agents remain unmarked.\(^\text{120}\) DeLancey links marking for split ergativity on noun phrases with ə to a person hierarchy in which first and second person rank higher than third person. His evidence for

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\(^{119}\) Jin 1958.

\(^{120}\) DeLancey (1980: 7).
such ranking comes from the agreement system on the verb, which marks for first and second person objects if the subject is a third person but for subject if the object is a third person. DeLancey's analysis covers the second scenario of obligatory marking with \( k\sigma \) in Jiāomùzú, which is linked to the animacy hierarchy, as I have described above. But it cannot account for obligatory marking with \( k\sigma \) occurring with a first or second person subject and a third person object. However, the Jiāomùzú data do have such examples, shown in the third scenario above. DeLancey then introduces the psychological notion of viewpoint, which is the perspective from which an event is viewed.\(^{121}\) In a situation with natural viewpoint a first or second person is preferred over a third person, and no marking appears. If viewpoint rests with a third person, rather than with a first or second person, an ergative marker \( k\sigma \) appears after the third person argument.\(^{122}\) When a prototypical viewpoint locus is the starting point of an action or event the first or second person argument is not marked. That is to say, when the speaker presents an interaction between subject and object in the most neutral way, with subject and object in the first and second slot respectively, which in the viewpoint hypothesis is the unmarked situation. But when a less natural viewpoint locus is the starting point, it must be marked for its role. Marker \( k\sigma \) occurs when and only when the more natural viewpoint is not the starting point.\(^{123}\) So \( k\sigma \) marks viewpoint, and the split-ergative system in rGyalrong marks semantic roles rather than syntactic case. DeLancey's viewpoint resembles the interpretation of \( k\sigma \) as a prominence marker, that is as a marker that draws the empathy of the hearer to the marked constituent. The notion of viewpoint can account for the first scenario above, in which a subject ends up in the second slot of a sentence because of topicalisation, and the second scenario in which first and second person constituents outrank a third person subject. However, viewpoint cannot account for the other situations in which obligatory marking with \( k\sigma \) occurs in Jiāomùzú, and it clearly is no solution for the numerous cases of non-obligatory occurrence of \( k\sigma \) with a variety of constituents, especially not if two or more markers occur in the same sentence.

Jackson Sun, in his study of Cǎodēng nominal morphology, describes an ergative-instrumental case marker \(-k\sigma\).\(^{124}\) The marker is, he notes, frequently subject to ellipsis. Nominals bearing patient or recipient roles are usually not case-marked. But generally speaking, Cǎodēng has a split-ergative system where the applicability of the ergative-instrumental marker \(-k\sigma\) is determined by the relative ranking of the agent and patient-recipient arguments on an animacy-empathy hierarchy. The major function of the ergative case is to indicate marked agency such that ergative marking is required if and only if the patient argument outranks the agent argument on the hierarchy, which runs as follows: speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate, with the speaker having the highest rank. In Sun's hierarchy first and second person outrank third person, which accounts for the occurrence of an ergativity marker with third person subjects in constructions with a first or second person object, as covered by DeLancey's split-ergativity hypothesis and my

\[\begin{align*}
\text{121} & \quad \text{DeLancey (1981: 626).} \\
\text{122} & \quad \text{DeLancey (1980: 33).} \\
\text{123} & \quad \text{DeLancey (1981: 642).} \\
\text{124} & \quad \text{Sun (1998: 129-133).}
\end{align*}\]
scenario two. The system cannot account for Jiǎomùzú data in which a first person subject, in Sun's hierarchy the speaker, still occurs with \( k \o \), as in Jiǎomùzú quotes with a first person subject or in cases of tracking for referential continuity for subject over the scope of several clauses or even sentences. As I have shown above, the animacy hierarchy has only limited influence on prominence marking with \( k \o \) in Jiǎomùzú. Compare the sentences in examples (289) and (290) above. In the first series, (289), \( \text{tōmtʃ̥ik} \), 'fire' is the inanimate subject. Prominence marker \( k \o \) occurs in each sentence, even though the object in one case is inanimate, in the second animate but not human, and in the third case human. If the animacy hierarchy were responsible for prominence marking in Jiǎomùzú, \( k \o \) would not occur in sentences with an inanimate agent and an inanimate patient, such as the first sentence of (289). Another example makes this even clearer:

\[
(298a) \text{pak} \ k \o \ \text{kam} \ na-sɔŋʃt-w \\
\text{pig} \ PR \ \text{door} \ PFT\text{-open-3s} \\
The \text{pig} \ \text{opened the door.}
\]

In sentence (298a) animate subject \( \text{pak} \), 'pig' is marked with \( k \o \), even though there is an inanimate object. However, the marker disappears if there is a second clause in which the speaker gives more information about \( \text{kam} \), 'door', along the principles set out in scenario three and four:

\[
(298b) \text{pak} \ \text{kam} \ na-sɔŋʃt-w \ rɔŋ \ \text{kam} \\
\text{pig} \ \text{door} \ PFT\text{-open-3s} \ \text{CON} \ \text{door}.... \\
The \text{pig} \ \text{opened the door and then the door}....
\]

Furthermore, if the object is human and the subject is animate, the object ranks higher on the animacy hierarchy than the subject but \( k \o \) is not obligatory, contrary to the expectation:

\[
(299a) \text{tɔwaʔm} \ \text{tɔrmu} \ na-sat-w \\
\text{bear} \ \text{person} \ PFT\text{-kill-3s} \\
The \text{bear} \ \text{killed a man.}
\]

\[
(299b) \text{tɔwaʔm} \ \text{kɔ} \ \text{tɔrmu} \ na-sat-w \\
\text{bear} \ PR \ \text{person} \ PFT\text{-kill-3s} \\
The \text{bear} \ \text{killed a man.}
\]

Both sentences in (299) are perfectly grammatical. If the animacy hierarchy would be the only trigger for marking with \( k \o \), the sentence without \( k \o \) would be ungrammatical. Also, \( k \o \) can occur with subjects of all persons when the third person argument is inanimate, as in direct speech quotations:

\[
(300) \eta \ k \o \ \eta \eta \ \k\o\-nɔndʒe \ \text{katʃʰi} \ \text{ra} \ na-çəs-ŋ \\
\text{I} \ PR \ \text{you} \ \text{NOM-have.a.meal} \ \text{go} \ \text{need} \ \text{PFT\text{-say-1s}} \\
"\text{You should go and have a meal}," \ I \ \text{said.}
\]

Sun does make the important observation that for constituents which do not have obligatory marking with ergative marker -\( k \o \), the marker can still be used to give emphasis to that particular constituent.
Though Sun's analysis only deals with subjects and objects, his understanding that -kə can mark emphasis beside ergativity goes a long way towards explaining the non-obligatory marking with kə that occurs so frequently in the Jiāomǔzú dialects. However, a split-ergative system cannot account for the occurrence of several markers in one sentence. Sun remarks that in Cǎodēng it is not possible to have two ergativity markers in one sentence.

Lín Xiàngróng, writing about Zhuōkèjī, reports on a marker kə which can mark a number of different semantic roles. He lists agent, instrumental, cause, and reason. Lín calls this marker 'agentivity marker' but avoids the term 'case'. Lín notes that marking does not occur with first and second person constituents, unless the speaker wants to emphasise that constituent, and that topicalisation of the non-agent triggers marking on the agent. His examples for topicaled sentences include sentences in which an animate subject is marked with kə while the object is inanimate.125

Animacy-empathy hierarchy as described by Sun for Cǎodēng is clearly not the only determining factor in Zhuōkèjī. This affirms the conclusions for Jiāomǔzú, as does the obligatory marking for third person subjects when they occur with a first or second person object and the non-obligatory marking to emphasise a constituent. However, Lín's agentivity marker cannot deal with scenario three and four in the Jiāomǔzú data, nor does he list the possibility of having more than one marker in a sentence.

One of the most recent descriptions of a rGyalrong dialect is Guillaume Jacques' description of Chábǎo. Jacques recognises that case is not a very appropriate term to cover the meaning or function of markers like kə, but since other scholars work with the category he retains it in his description. The Chábǎo dialect has an ergative marker kɯ which can mark agent and instrumental. The ergativity marker rarely occurs with first or second person and can be used to emphasise a particular constituent. The marker can also mark reason, and can be reinterpreted as a sentence connector. There can be two markers in one sentence.126 The Chábǎo marker kɯ seems quite close to Jiāomǔzú's prominence marker kə, in that it is used to prominence to constituents, it can occur with more than one constituent in a sentence, and it occurs more frequently with third person agents than with first or second person agents.

In view of the usage of kə in Jiāomǔzú, case, even in the sense used by other scholars, is not the right syntactic category. Marker kə is best categorised as a discourse marker.

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