Nominal Morphology in Caodeng rGyalrong[*]

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rGyalrong is an important Tibeto-Burman language of western Sichuan. The language is extremely diverse with several mutually unintelligible dialects; both its internal subclassification and its position in the Tibeto-Burman family remain unsettled. This article presents a detailed analysis of the nominal morphology of Caodeng, a little-documented major subdialect of northwestern rGyalrong, on the basis of fresh data collected in recent field work conducted in China.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, rGyalrong, Nominal morphology

0. Introduction

This paper outlines nominal morphology in Caodeng rGyalrong[1] (hereafter: Caodeng), a Tibeto-Burman language of western Sichuan. Caodeng is a representative variety of the little-studied **Stodpa** or **Northwestern** dialect of rGyalrong.[2] The Northwestern dialect diverges sharply from the Eastern dialect (including such well-known varieties as Suomo and Zhuokeji or lCogrtse) with which it is mutually unintelligible. The importance of rGyalrong in Tibeto-Burman is now widely recognized, yet knowledge on this language to date has been based almost exclusively on the Eastern dialect. It will be the objective for the research endeavors currently undertaken by the present author to remedy this imbalance.

Demographic and sociolinguistic information on Caodeng and other varieties of Northwestern rGyalrong is provided in Lin (1993: 526-610) and Sun (to appear). Lin (1993: 526-610) elaborates on the structure of the Caodeng syllable; Sun (1995; to appear) treat various aspects of the phonology of Caodeng. A more comprehensive presentation of the Caodeng phonological system is in preparation (Sun: forthcoming (a)).

The organization of this paper will be as follows. An outline of the major morphological processes in Caodeng given in §1 serves as a backdrop for the ensuing discussions. The properties of the two main types of nominals, nouns and pronouns, will be introduced in §2, followed by a description of nominal adjuncts in §3. Section §4 deals with morphological categories that operate in nominal derivation and inflection. The final section, §5, is devoted to various patterns of nominalization.

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[1] The proper transliteratin of the Tibetan name of this language should be *rGyalrong* instead of the popular but erroneous form *rGyarong*. The linguistic position of rGyalrong in Tibeto-Burman remains a moot point. Based on the latest demographic statistics released in China, Lin (1993: 411-412) estimates that the language is presently spoken by around 150,000 ethnic Tibetans.

[2] Caodeng is one of the two major subdialects of Northwestern rGyalrong, the other being Ribu. The Caodeng data reported herein represent the speech of Gaqiuli village in Caodeng township, Ma'erkang county, Aba prefecture, Sichuan. I wish to thank my principal language consultant Mr. Shi Danluo (in Tibetan: *bsTan-'dzin Blo-gros*) for his enthusiastic and painstaking collaboration. The transcription is phonemic.

1. Morphological processes in Caodeng: An overview

1.1 Affixation

Caodeng word-formation displays a strong tendency for agglutination. A typical Caodeng word comprises a root plus a string of clearly segmentable affixal formatives. Portmanteau affixes, as shown in (1) below, are rare:

(1) a. tə-ⁿdzɐ(-**jə**)   'You (singular) eat (it)!'

     IMP-eat-TR:2/3S[3]

   b. jə-**kə**-ó-xsək-aŋ   'You will hit me'

     FUT-2>1-INV-hit-1S

The optional -*jə* suffix in (1a) signals not only transitiveness, but also non-first person, singular number, imperfective aspect, as well as direct viewpoint, whereas the *kə*-prefix in (1b) represents a special scenario with a second-person agent acting on a first-person patient.

The language is unusual in Tibeto-Burman for its propensity toward prefixation. Words carrying long strings of prefixes are quite common. The following conjugated form of the verb *kɐ-wi* 'to come', for example, contain as many as five prefixes:

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[3] The following abbreviations occur in the grammatical glosses in this paper:

1	first person	2	second person	3	third person
ANA	anaphor	AUX	Auxilliary	CAUS	causative
CL	classifier	COMP	comparative	COMT	comitative
CONJ	conjunction	CONN	connective	COP	copula
D	dual	DET	determiner	DIST	distal
ERG	ergative	EV	evidential	EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future	GEN	genitive	INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive	INV	inverse	IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective	LOC	local (case)	NOM	nominalizer
OR	orientation marker	P	plural	PAT	patient
PF	perfective	POSS	possessive	PROG	progressive
PUR	purposive	REFL	reflexive	S	singular
NEG	negator	SMBL	semblative	SPC	specific
SUB	subordinator	SFP	sentence-final particle	TOP	topicalizer
TR	transitive				

(2) ɐ-mə-tʰɐ-tə-sə-wɐ

DIST-NEG-IMP:DOWNSTREAM-2-CAUS-come

'Don't make him come downstream!'[4]

1.2 Reduplication

This prevalent morphological device in Caodeng involves a partially reduplicated syllable consisting of the initial of the root plus the vowel -ə.[5] Consider the derivation of reciprocal (3) and intensive process verbs (4) exemplified below:[6]

(3) kɛ́-stʰɔ   'to push'   kɐ(-mə)-stʰə́-stʰɔ   'to push each other'

     kɛ́-ⁿge   'to call'   kɐ(-mə)-ⁿgə́-ⁿge   'to call each other'

(4) kə-rkaŋ   'to be strong'   kɐ-nə-rkə́-rkaŋ   'to become stronger and stronger'

     kə-vde   'to be good'   kɐ-nə-vdə́-vde   'to become better and better'

Reduplication in lexical categories other than verbs is less common. It is found, for example, in the formation of temporal phrasal idioms meaning 'X after X' and '...X running':

(5) sŋi   'day'   pe   'year'

     kʰe-sŋi   'each day'   kʰe-pe   'each year'

     kʰe-sŋi-sŋi   'day after day'   kʰe-pə-pe   'year after year'

     kʰe-ʁne-sŋi-sŋi   'two days running'   kʰe-vde-pə-pe   'four years running'

Reduplication is also utilized to derive certain complex nominals. Many terms expressing binary human relations are formed by prefixing *kɐ-ⁿdʒə-* to the nominal root signifying one of the binary relations, followed optionally by a partially reduplicated syllable:[7]

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[4] The distal prefix *ɐ-* denotes that the command/request is to be executed at a later time in a different location than where the hearer is at the moment.

[5] This vowel may become /i/ and /u/ under assimilation to high root vowels of the same quality.

[6] The optional prefix *mə-* is a reciprocal marker.

[7] In the alternant form where the reduplicated syllable does not occur, penultimate accent, if any, is realized on the -*ⁿdʒə* syllable.

(6) tɐ-tʃu   'son'   kɐ-ⁿdʒə(-tʃə)-tʃu   'father and son'

    tə́-mej   'daughter'   kɐ-ⁿdʒə(-mə́)-mej   'mother and daughter'

    tɐ-lŋaʔ   '(small)child'   kɐ-ⁿdʒə(-lŋə)-lŋaʔ   'parent and child'

    té-rdʒep   'wife'   kɐ-ⁿdʒə(-rdʒə́)-rdʒep   'married couple'

    té-nma   'husband'   kɐ-ⁿdʒə(-nmə́)-nma   'married couple'

Closely related is the phrasal idiom shown in (7), where a personal name or term of interpersonal relation co-occurs with the root-form of an associated relational term prefixed by the pronoun *ko-* and a partially reduplicated syllable:[8]

(7) tɐ-lŋaʔ   'small child'   rtɐnlo-ko(-lŋə)-lŋaʔ   'the rTanlo's (husband, wife,
                                                          and child(ren))'

    ʁjɔʔ   'servant'   rjjélpo-ko(-ʁjə)-ʁjɔʔ   'chieftain and (his) servants'

    slome   'student'   ʁgergɐn-ko-slomə-me   'teacher and (his)students'

    ʁgépru   'disciple'   vlɐrgɐn-ko-ʁgeprú-pru   'master and (his) disciples'

1.3 Stem modification

1.3.1 Segmental alternation

Allomorphy by consonantal alternation is best illustrated by the few remnant lexical causative verbs in (8) where the causatives contain plain or aspirated voiceless initials whereas the corresponding non-causatives contain voiced prenasalized ones:

(8) Non-causative   Causative

    ⁿbrɐt 'to break (as of ropes)'   prɐt 'to break (ropes)'

    ⁿɟɟop 'to break (as of bowls, sticks, etc.)'   cçʰop 'to break (bowls, sticks)'

Sporadic instances of segmental alternation are noted elsewhere in the lexicon. The most fascinating example is the morpheme **mer** 'night', which acquires a glottal stop in *jo-merʔ* 'tonight', optionally loses the coda -r in *ʃor-me~ʃor-mer* 'last night', and has the coda shifted to the initial position in *kɐ-nə́-rme* 'to spend night'.   Equally

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[8] With multisyllabic morphemes, the final syllable alone is reduplicated and inserted between this and previous syllables like an infix, see the last two examples in (7).

striking is the case where voiceless plain stops in the demonstrative *kəkoʔ* 'this' turn into aspirated ones in the derived locational adverb $k^h \acute{\partial} k^h o$(-s) 'here'.

1.3.2 Flip-flop of the glottal-stop coda

This unusual type of stem-alternation process is applied regularly in Caodeng to derive perfective stems from the corresponding imperfectives (see Sun to appear: §2.1 for details):[9]

(9) Imperfective   Perfective   Gloss
   -tsi   -tsiʔ   'to understand'
   -nəfkro   -nəfkroʔ   'to peek'

   -nts^{h}aʔ   -nts^{h}a   'to set out'
   -rqəjeʔ   -rqəje   'to untie'

1.3.3 Ablaut

Vocalic alternation, or ablaut, is a distinctive trait of Caodeng. Ablaut occurs extensively in the derivation of irregular verb stems, a topic which merits a separate study. For our present purposes, it will suffice to illustrate two kinds of ablaut utilized in stem-formation. In one type, modification of the stem-vowel is required in addition to final glottality reversal (as shown in (9) above) in the formation of perfective stems:

(10) 'to walk'   -nkɐ [IMPF]; -nkeʔ [PF]
     'to measure weight'   -skɐr [IMPF]; -skerʔ [PF]

Many transitive verbs also employ ablaut in other restricted grammatical environments, namely in second/third person singular non-perfective forms (represented below by the imperative). Such verbs, therefore, display as many as three distinct stems, for example:

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[9] This highly peculiar morphological rule, totally overlooked in the previous reports on northwestern rGyalrong, is shared by other northwestern dialects (such as Ribu), as well as by Guanyinqiao, a neighboring rGyalrongic language.

(11) 'to buy'   -χtu [IMPF]; -χtuʔ [PF]; -χte [IMP]

     'to cause to come'   -səwi [IMPF]; -səweʔ [PF]; sə-wɐ [IMP]

Ablaut is found sporadically in other word classes as well. Many nouns have an ablauted alternant occurring word-internally in compounds. Numerals, likewise, display such alternations (see §3.3 below):

(12) 'kʰe   'house'   kʰɐ-rmiʔ   'house-name'

    jle   'male dzo'[10]   jlɐ-ʁɐrʔ   'male dzo calf'

    sqeʔ   'ten'   sqɐ́-mŋo   'fifteen'

    kə́-vdɐ   'four'   vde-sqe   'forty'

1.3.4 Suprasegmental alternation

Suprasegmental alternation in Caodeng refers to allomorphy characterized by the manipulation of (pitch-)accent placement. Accent shift occurs sporadically in lexical derivation. An interesting set of examples is provided below where the deictic adverbs 'here' and 'there' are derived respectively from the demonstratives 'this' and 'that' with preposed accent (and, in one case, with segmental alternation also, see §1.1.3.1 above).

(13) kəkoʔ   'this'   kʰə́kʰo(-s)   'here'

    nənəʔ   'that'   nə́nə(-s)   'there'

The stative verb *kə-tʃorʔ* 'to be sour' and its derived noun *kə́-tʃor* 'pickled radish leaves (dried)' further illustrate this kind of unproductive alternation. More systematic application of accent shift is made use of in various areas of Caodeng grammar, including vocatives (see below) and interrogative verb forms (for details, see Sun to appear §4).

1.4 Compounding

Compounding is another major word-formation process in Caodeng. Compounds, almost all of which are nominal, may be composed entirely of unaffixed roots:

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[10] A hybrid bovine produced from male yaks and female cattle.

(14) pa   'pig'
      ʃe   'meat; flesh'
      pa-ʃe   'pork'

      qɐjʔ   'wheat'
      tɐ-ɣveʔ   'awn'
      qɐj-ɣveʔ   'awn of wheat'

As a rule, inherent nominal prefixes of non-initial compound components (if any) are dropped.   Thus, in the second example above, the prefix *tɐ-* of *tɐ-ɣveʔ* 'awn' does no occur in the compound 'awn of wheat'.   On the other hand, prefixes of initial compound components are obligatorily retained.   These constitute a subtype of the **affixed compounds** in this language:

(15) tɐ-seʔ   'ramie'
      tɐ-roʔ   'stalk'
      tɐ-se-roʔ   'ramie stalk'

      qɛ́-rtse   'deer'
      tɛ́-qʰru   'antler'
      qɐ-rtsɛ́-qʰru   'deer-antler'

      kə-tʃor-cçiʔ   'juice of sour pickles'
      NOM-sour-water

      sɐ-sə-vlu   'fuel'
      NOM:INST-CAUS-burn

Compounds containing more than two components are not common:

(16) rɟjɐ-pɣe-lɔʔ   'henhouse'
      Chinese-fowl-nest

      pa-ɲo-ʃe   'meat of crazy pigs'
      pig-crazy-flesh

1.5 Incorporation

Lexical incorporation, a subtype of compounding (Sapir 1911), is a rather common word-formation process in Caodeng whereby culturally important transitive activities involving generic patient arguments get detransitivized by making the patient part of the verb stem, prefixed by the verbalizing morphemes *nə-* (with the alternant ~n- before stops and affricates) or *nɐ-* (if the original nominal prefix is *tɐ-*):

(17) ʃɐpétsət   'catfish sp.'

    kɐ-**nə**-ʃɐpétsət   'to catch catfish; to go catfishing'

    tʃaɲe   'loach'

    kɐ-**nə**-tʃaɲe   'to catch loaches'

    té-tsɔ   'choma (a species of starchy plant)'

    kɐ-**né**-tsɔ   'to dig for choma'

    tɐ-priʔ   'supper'

    kɐ-**nɐ**-priʔ   'to eat supper'

In another type of incorporation, shown in (18) below, a potential agent or instrument argument is turned into part of the stem, resulting in a transitive verb:

(18) rtʃaχpe   'robber' (< WT *jag.pa*)[11]

    kɐ-**nə**-rtʃaχpe   'to rob'

    rtɐltʃaʔ   'whip' (< WT *rta-lcags*)

    kɐ-**nə**-rtɐltʃaʔ   'to whip'

2. Nominals

Nominals include nouns and pronouns. They can be distinguished from other lexical categories by their ability to inflect for case and possession, or be marked with derivational morphology for such categories as number and gender.

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[11] Tibetan forms cited in this paper will be given according to the Wylie's system of Written Tibetan (WT) transliteration.

2.1 Nouns

The majority of nouns in Caodeng are polymorphemic, consisting either of prefixed nominal roots or (prefixed) compounds.   Monomorphemic, unaffixed nouns such as those in (19) are relatively few:

(19) smi   'fire'   ʃkótse   'stone'

    ʃe   'flesh'   cçotpoʔ   'bladder'

    'ⁿbri   'horse'   ʃkúru   'takin'

2.1.1 Noun prefixes

A great many (non-derived) nouns carry either one of the three nominal prefixes in this language, *tə-*, *tɐ-*, and *qɐ-*.   These prefixes are semantically empty and distributionally random, except that most body part terms take *tə-* while *qɐ-* often occurs in animal and plant names:

(20) tə-mkɐ   'neck'

    tə-rmu   'hailstone'

    tɐ-sɐ   'blood'

    té-jlop   'steam'

    qɐ-ʃpe   'frog'

    qé-ljje   'soot'

As mentioned above in §1.4, the nominal prefix of the first component in a compound is retained, but that of the second component drops.

2.2 Pronouns

In Caodeng, pronouns include personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, reflexive, and anaphoric pronouns

2.2.1 Personal pronouns

The Caodeng system of personal pronouns is the following:

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1:inclusive	ɐ-ɟɟiʔ	tsə-ɟɟə-niʔ	jə-ɟɟə-rɐʔ
1:exclusive		tsə-ɟɟə	jə-ɟɟə
2	nɐ-ɟɟiʔ	ⁿdzə-ɟɟə-niʔ	nə-ɟɟə-rɐʔ
3	(kə-)koʔ; nənəʔ; o-ɟɟiʔ[12]	ɟɟɐ-niʔ	ɟɟɐ-rɐʔ

Personal pronouns distinguish singular, dual, and plural number in all persons.
As a salient trait of the Caodeng pronominal system, composite pronominal forms are
used in place of monomorphemic ones as found in the Eastern dialects.[13]   In the first-
person dual and plural, inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished.   In one rather
remarkable usage, conjunction of singular personal pronouns and some other nominal
can be expressed alternatively by these pronouns in the dual or plural.   Thus, instead
of *ɐɟɟiʔ scɕʰənəʔ sonɐm* 'I and Sonam' (*scɕʰənəʔ* being the conjuction), one can say the
following (lit."Sonam we two"):[14]

(21) a. tsəɟɟə   sonɐm-ni

        1D:EXCL   Sonam-D

or:

    b. sonɐm   tsəɟɟə-ni

        Sonam   1D:EXCL-D

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[12] The third person pronoun *oɟɟiʔ* has a deliberate-style variant *wəɟɟiʔ*.

[13] Compare lCogrtse *ŋa* 'I', *no* 'you (singular)', and *mə* 's/he'. The Longerjia variety of
Northeastern rGyalrong, another major rGyalrong dialect, also utilizes composite pronominal
forms in the first-person singular: *a-ʒo* 'I', *na-ʒo* 'you (singular)', and *ə-ʒo* 's/he' (personal
research). Note that the initial morphemes in the Caodeng composite personal pronouns (except
in the third person non-singulars) are the main indices of person and number. The same forms
occur also in possessive pronouns (§2.2.2), and as nominal possessive prefixes (§4.2.2).   They
are, furthermore, highly similar to person/number agreement suffixes on verbs, as observed in
Sun 1984: 84 and Anderson 1985: 188.

[14] This is to be compared with Amdo Tibetan (personal research), where the only grammatical way
of saying 'Sonam and I' is by conjoining Sonam and the first-person dual exclusive pronoun:
sonæm ŋə-ɲæ (lit. "Sonam we-two").

Of the four third-person singular forms shown above, (kə)ko? and nənə? (and their dual and plural forms with the respective suffixes -ni? and -rɐ?) are really the demonstratives 'this' and 'that' and can only refer, often with finger-pointing, to someone present at the speech-act location whereas oʝi? indicates referents that are not.

2.2.2 Possessive pronouns

A number of Caodeng expressions related to possession contain the morpheme '-ɣu which, in some contexts, still means 'body'. The usage of this morpheme is illustrated in (22a-b):

(22) a. ɛ́-pe-kə   piru   ɛ́-ɣu   ne-səntɐp
       1S:POSS-father-ERG   coral   1S:POSS-possession   PF:TR-bequeath:PF
       'My father bequeathed me the coral.'

   b. tʃʰə?   nɛ́-ɣu   re?-cçə
      what   2S:POSS-possession   need-EV
      'What do you need?'

The language has a whole set of possessive pronouns derived apparently from coalescing this particular possessive morpheme and the respective personal pronouns (see § 4.2.2 below):[15]

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1:inclusive	ɐ-ʝu?	tsə-ʝʝənu	jə-ʝʝəro
1:exclusive		tsə-ʝju	jə-ʝju
2	nɐ-ʝju?	ⁿdzə-ʝʝənu	nə-ʝʝəro
3	o-ʝju?	ʝʝɐnu	ʝʝɐro

The possessive pronouns are used only as nominals, never attributively. One example is given in (23):

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[15] Note that the lexical accent of -'ɣu is lost in the derived possessive pronouns.

(23) kəkoʔ   ˀⁿbri   ʁnes   nəʔ   ʐɟuʔ   ŋoʔ

this   horse   two   DET   mine   COP

'These two horses are mine.'

Notably, the reference in the sentence above is **unique** (i.e. there are only two horses present at the speech-act location). In contrast, (24) below expresses **partitive (selective) reference** by means of the personal pronoun together with the possessed forms of the morpheme *'-ɣu*:

(24) kəkoʔ   ˀⁿbri   ʁnes   ʐɟiʔ   ɛ́-ɣu   ŋoʔ

this   horse   two   1S   1S:POSS-possession   COP

'These two horses (among others) are mine.'

2.2.3 Demonstrative and orientational pronouns

Caodeng, like other dialects of rGyalrong, employs a remarkably rich system of spatial deixis. A speaker-oriented set of demonstrative pronouns as well as a geographically determined set of orientational pronouns are distinguished.

2.2.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Caodeng employs the following two-term system of demonstrative pronouns:

	SINGULAR	**DUAL**	**PLURAL**
Proximal	(kə)koʔ	(kə)ko-niʔ	(kə)ko-ʁɐʔ
Distal	nənəʔ	nənə-niʔ	nənə-ʁɐʔ

The distinction between the proximal and distal forms is based, as in English, on relative distance from the speaker:

(25) **kəkoʔ**   ʐɟuʔ   ŋoʔ   **nənəʔ**   ʐɟuʔ   maʔ

this   mine   COP   that   mine   COP:NEG

'This is mine; that is not mine.'

The demonstratives have nominal as well as attributive uses (see §3.2 below).

2.2.3.2 Orientational pronouns

The category of orientation represents an intricate area in rGyalrong morphosyntax, to which a separate study will be devoted (Sun forthcoming b.). The discussion in this subsection is restricted to a set of derived orientational pronouns in Caodeng.

The Caodeng category of orientation, or geographically-based spatial deixis, involves three distinct dimentions, which we will call the solar, the river (or valley), and the vertical subsystems, each of which comprises two opposing terms as shown in the table below:

Subsystems	Terms	
Solar	eastward (i.e. toward where the sun rises)	westward
River	upstream	downstream
Vertical	uphill; upstairs	downhill; downstairs

A distinct system, howover, is utilized inside the traditional rGyalrong stone houses where spatial orientation is determined by arbitrary conventions completely unrelated to the geographical features in the environment. The deictic center in this system is the hearth in the living room, and orientational values from the solar and river subsystems are mapped onto the four sides of the hearth in the following fashion:

Side of Hearth (viewer standing at the door facing the hearth)	Caodeng terms	Orientation Terms Mapped
Top	k^hɐ́-p^hək	eastward
Bottom	k^hɐ́-ɲi	westward
Right	k^hɐ́-ldi	upstream
left	k^hɐ́-jmo	downstream

Orientational pronouns, which represent either locations or entities occupying such locations, are morphologically complex deictic nominals of the structure: possessive prefix + orientation morpheme (indicating the six contrasting orientation terms) + locational morpheme (either *'-k^{h}o* or *'-ta(-kó-ta)*; *'-p^{h}i*; *'-cço*). These pronouns are given in the table below:

	Up	Down	Upstream	Downstream	Eastward	Westward
speaker-oriented	ɐ-tó-kʰo	ɐ-kí-kʰo	ɐ-lí-kʰo	ɐ-tʰí-kʰo	ɐ-kú-kʰo	ɐ-ⁿdí-kʰo
neutral	'-ta; -kó-ta	'-pʰi	-lɐ́-cço	-tʰɐ́-cço	-kɔ́-cço	-ⁿdɔ́-cço

Caodeng orientational pronouns

Ordinary possessive prefixes are used for marking the three deictic centers (speaker, hearer(s), non-participant(s)). However, Caodeng distinguishes a special set of speaker-oriented locational morphemes which can only go with the first-person singular possessive prefix ɐ-. For instance, either *ɐ-tó-kʰo* or *ɐ́-ta/ɐ-kó-ta* can be used to refer to an entity or location situated above the speaker himself,[16] but when the deictic center is the hearer or a non-participant, *nɐ́-ta* and *ó-ta* must occur instead of **nɐ-tó-kʰo* and **o-tó-kʰo*.

In the illustrative sentence below (taken from the story [The goiter]), a demon asked its comrades to remove the goiter from the person who was located at the downstream side of the demons addressed. Note how the orientation pronoun *nɐ-tʰɐ́cço* is used for designating this referent:

(26) tɐ́ɟjo   kə-rdɔʔ-kə   **nə-tʰɐ́cço**

demon   one-CL-ERG   2P:POSS-the one downstream

o-sqɐzdʒe   lɐ́-pʰət-nə   te-tsəʔ-cçə

3S:POSS-goiter   IMP-pluck-2P   PF:TR-say:PF-EV

'One demon said: "The one at your downstream side, pluck out his goiter!"'

2.2.4 Interrogative pronouns

The primary interrogative pronouns in Caodeng are given in (27) and illustrated in (28a-e):

(27) ʃo   'who'

ʃə   'whose'

tʃʰəʔ   'what'

ʃɐ́ɟjə(-nə); ʃɐ́ɟji(-nə)   'when'

tʃʰɐ   'why'

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[16] My consultant feels that the referents of speaker-oriented locational pronouns (e.g. *ɐ-tó-kʰo*) are more distant than that of the corresponding neutral ones (e.g. *ɐ́-ta*).

(28) a. nɐɟɟiʔ   (ə́n-)ʃo   tə-ŋo

       2S   EMPH-who   2-COP

       'Who (in the world) are you?'

    b. ʃə   ó-ⁿbri   te-zmərkuʔ?   ŋo-cçə

       whose   3S:POSS-horse   PF:TR-cause to steal-PF   COP-EV

       'Whose horse got stolen?'

    c. stʰɔre   tʃʰəʔ-cçə   te-kɐ-ⁿdze   reʔ-cçə

       first   what-INDEF   OR-INF-eat   should-EV

       'What should I eat first? '

    d. nəɟɟɔrɐʔ   ʃə́ɟɟənə   tə-nə́we-nə

       2P   when   2-come back-2P

       'when will you come back?'

    e. tʃʰɐ   mə́-kʰut-cçə

       why   NEG:IMPF-be allowed-EV

       'Why can't it be?/Why is it not allowed?'

There are, in addition, a number of derived interrogative pronouns which are formed out of *tʃʰəʔ* 'what'.

(29) ŋé-tʃʰə(-s)   'where; whereto; wherefrom'

     tʃʰə́-scçet   'how many/much'

     tʃʰə́-kə-scçi   'what kind of'

     ŋə- tʃʰə-nə   'which'

(30) a. jəɣe   ŋɐ́tʃʰəs   tʰɐ-to   ŋoʔ

       book   where   PROG-exist:PF   COP

       'Where is the book?'

    b. nɐɟɟiʔ   nɐ-ʃɔχkɔr   tʃʰə́scçet   toʔ

       2S   2S:POSS-money   how much   exist

       'How much money do you have?'

    c. jəɣe   tʃʰə́kəscçi   tə-ta-χtu

       book   what kind   PF-2-buy:PF

       'What kind of a book did you buy?'

Note that the Caodeng expressions for 'how' are single phonological words

composed of *tʃʰəʔ* 'what' in collocation with a finite form of the verb *kɐ-soʔ* or *kɐ-fsət* 'to do in a certain way'. In true information questions, such as (31) below, the accent is borne by *tʃʰəʔ.*[17]

(31) ʃɔχkɔr kótsɐɟji kə-lden nəʔ kɐ-nɐpóro

     money so NOM-exist in quantity DET INF-take care of

tʃʰɕ́ʔ-te-so-ŋ

what-IMPF-do-1s

'How should I take care of so much money?'

2.2.5 Reflexive pronoun

There is a reflexive pronoun *təɟjiʔ* in Caodeng which, however, is rarely used except in the indefinite meaning 'oneself', e.g.

(32) a. təɟjiʔ tɕ́-ⁿbri 'one's own horse'

     oneself REFL:POSS-horse

   b. kʰɐrme kɐ-pe mɐ-vde ⁿdenəʔ

     curse INF-do NEG:IMPF-be good CONJ

     təɟjiʔ tɕ́-ta ʃɐ

     oneself REFL:POSS-top go

'Cursing is no good for it backfires (lit. goes onto oneself).'

Reflexiveness in this language is normally marked by a distinct prefix *-ɟjɐ* on the verb.

2.2.6 Anaphoric pronouns

Anaphoric reference by means of specific pronouns is a prevalent referent-tracking strategy in Caodeng connected speech. Like the demonstratives, anaphoric pronouns can also be used attributively. The main anaphoric pronouns are *qʰɐʔ* and *nəʔ.*[18] Both can take the postposed determiner *nəʔ*, and can be used interchangeably to signal identity between what is being said and what has been said before.

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[17] With the accent shifted to word-final position (i.e. *tʃʰə-te-soʔ-ŋ*), (31) turns into a rhetorical question: 'How can I (possibly) take care of so much money?'

[18] There is a third anaphoric pronoun, *ko*, whose usage seems much more restricted. One of its uses in word-formation is illustrated in (7) above.

Reference can be made to a segment of prior discourse.   Examples are:

(33) a. stat^hɐr   **q^hɐʔ**   te-tsə?   nə?   ɐɟɟi?   nə-səsi-aŋ

      Stathar   ANA   PF:TR-say:PF   DET   1S   PF-think:PF-1S

      ʃte?   ʃənə?   mɐ-ⁿdzək-cçə

      COP:EMPH   CONJ   NEG-correct:PF-EV

      'I don't think **that** which Stathar said was right.'

   b. o-zde?-ntʃ^hon   tə-rɐro?   wɐɟjo   ŋo?-cçə   q^ho?

      3S:POSS-companion-also   PF-get up:PF   exist:EV   COP-EV   CONN

      χʃíkə   nɐ-nɐscçer?-cçə

      very   PF-be frightened:PF-EV

      nə?   tʃ^hə?-cçə   ŋo?   kə   ne-səsi-cçə

      ANA   what-INDEF   COP   SFP   PF:TR-think:PF-EV

      'He was much frightened to find that his (deceased) companion had also gotten up, and he thought: "What is **this** (about)?"'

Anaphoric pronouns can also point back to previously mentioned noun phrases, as in (34):

(34) vlɐrgɐn   nə?   [χʃíkə   o-kɐ-snéje   χserzge-cçə]

      master   TOP   very   3S-NOM:PAT-cherish   gold saddle-INDEF

      nɐ-to   ŋo?-cçə   q^ho?   **nə/q^hɐ-nə?**   nə?

      PF-exist:PF   COP-EV   CONN   ANA-DET   TOP

      ⁿdzə-vzər   ne-te-cçə

      3D-side   PF:TR-put:PF-EV

      'The master had a gold saddle which he cherished greatly, and **that** (he) put beside (the two of) them.'

Anaphoric pronouns have another usage with a disambiguating function.   In a segment of discourse concerning two third-person referents, the speaker can choose to empathize with one of them, and use anaphoric pronouns to refer specifically to the other entity.[19]   In (35) below, narrated from the angle of Krashi, reference to the

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[19] Reference to the referent the speaker empathizes with, on the other hand, can be made via using the regular third-person pronoun *oɟi?*. This reference-tracking devise appears to be akin to the system of *obviation* in Algonquian languages (such as Blackfoot, Pustet 1994) or that of the "*fourth person*" in Navajo (Comrie 1994), but seems much less rigorous than in the latter

beggar is signaled consistently by $q^h\mathit{v}\mathit{?}$ throughout the text:

(35)

kréʃi	tʃoⁿbɐjʔ-s	kənɐpʰúpʰu	ne-mti-cçə
Krashi	road-LOC	beggar	PF-see:PF-EV

'Krashi saw the beggar by the road.'

qʰoʔ	**qʰɐʔ**	kənɐpʰúpʰu	nə-kə	kréʃi	ó-pʰa-s
CONN	ANA	beggar	DET-ERG	Krashi	3S:POSS-location-LOC

ʃɔχkɔr	nə-sɐⁿbi-cçə
money	PF-beg:PF-EV

'**The beggar** asked Krashi to give him money.'

qʰoʔ	kréʃi-kə	**qʰɐʔ-ópʰa**	ʃɔχkɔr	kə-lvaʔ	ne-ⁿbi-cçə
CONN	Krashi	ANA-LOC	money	one-CL	PF-give:PF-EV

'Krashi gave **him** a dollar.'

ʃənəʔ	**qʰɐnɔʔ-kə**	kréʃi	te-naʁdaʁduʔ-cçə
CONN	ANA-ERG	Krashi	PF-scold:PF-EV

'But **he** scolded Krashi.'

Anaphoric pronouns are also used extensively in deictic expressions, a sample of which is given in (36) below:

(36)

nə-o-fsɔ́fsi	'the next day'
nə-o-fsɛ́ⁿdɐ	'the day after the next'
nə-o-qʰóⁿdɐ	'the second day after the next'
nə-o-ʃorʔ	'the day before'
nə-o-ʃórⁿdʒi	'the second day before'
nə-nə-o-ʃórⁿdʒi	'the third day before'
nə-o-qʰu	'after that; afterwards'
nə-o-sɛ́fsət	'in that manner'
nə-o-rjaŋ	'at that time'

languages since the subdivision of third persons in Caodeng is not marked on the verb morphology. "Fourth person" of the Caodeng rGyalrong type is also found elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman, for example in Lahu (David Bradley; personal communication).

There are several things to note about the foregoing examples. First, this is one context where the anaphoric pronoun *nə* is preferred to *qʰɐ*. Second, the anaphoric pronoun *nə-* is normally pronounced *no* under assimilation to the following *-o*. The latter morpheme, in fact, is none other than the third-person singular possessive prefix. This is an archaic pattern with possessed heads following demonstratives retained in these lexicalized expressions but no longer operative elsewhere in Caodeng.[20]

3. Nominal adjuncts

3.1 Referentiality markers

Definite nominals show zero-marking or take the determiner *nəʔ*, while the indefinite marker in Caodeng is *-cçə* followed often by the classifier phrase *kə-rdɔʔ*. An example, taken from the folktale [The rabbit, the fox, and the leopard], is given as follows:

(37) kə-qɐrɲiʔ   tʃoⁿbɐjʔ-s   vlɐrge   nɐ-kə-nəvlɐmtʃòt-**cçə**

PUR-hunt   way-LOC   monk   PF-NOM-chant sutra:PF-**INDEF**

ne-tʰək-nə-cçə

PF-meet:PF-3P-EV

qʰoʔ   vlɐrge   o-tɐlen   ne-nsəkʰi-nə-cçə

CONN   monk   3S-saddlebag   PF-rob:PF-3P-EV

'On the way hunting, they came across a monk who had gone chanting sutras and they robbed the monk of his saddlebag.'

Indefinite specific reference, on the other hand, is indicated by attaching the indefinite marker rather to *kə-rdɔʔ*. Contrast the following:

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[20] The older strucuture is still fully functional in Eastern rGyalrong. Contrast the following:

1Cogrtse		Caodeng	
ʃtə	wə-tʃəm	kəkoʔ	kʰe
this	3S:POSS-house	this	house

(38) a. ɐɟjiʔ   ⁿbɐrkʰemʔ-s   ʁgergɐn-**cçə**   kə-rdɔʔ   ʃə-nɐŋoroʔ-aŋ

   1S   PN-LOC   teacher-INDEF   one-CL   go and-look for-1S

   'I will go and look for a (i.e. any one) teacher at Ma'erkang.'

   b. ɐɟjiʔ   ⁿbɐrkʰemʔ-s   ʁgergɐn   **kə-rdɔʔ-cçə**   ʃə-nɐŋoroʔ-aŋ

   1S   PN-LOC   teacher   one-CL-INDEF   go and-look for-1S

   'I will go and look for a specific teacher at Ma'rkang.'

There is a second marker of specificity of much narrower scope, *-cçe*, used only with temporal and locational terms.   This form is exemplified in (39) below:

(39) kə-sŋi-**cçe**   nəʔ   ʃɐli-**cçe**   lɐ-zɣòt-nə   qʰoʔ

   one-day-INDEF   DET   upstream-INDEF   PF-arrive:PF-P   CONN

   rgonbe-cçə   wɐɟjo   ŋoʔ-cçə

   monastery-INDEF   exist:EV   COP-EV

   'One day, as they arrived at a certain place upstream, they found a monastery.'

Importantly, the two indefinite morphemes illustrated in (39) above are not interchangeable.

3.2 Attributive demonstratives

When used attributively, demonstratives (i.e. demonstrative adjectives) must precede their noun heads which in turn may be followed by modifiers, quantifiers and the optional determiner *nəʔ*.

(40) a. kəkoʔ   'ⁿbri   ʁnes   (nəʔ)

   this   horse   two   DET

   'these two horses'

   b. kəkoʔ   'ⁿbri   kəʒroʔ   ʁnes   (nəʔ)

   this   horse   fine   two   DET

   'these two fine horses'

   c. kəkoʔ   ʃorʔ   nɐɟjiʔ-kə   'ⁿbri   kəʒroʔ   ʁnes   tə-ta-χtu   (nəʔ)

   this   yesterday   2S-ERG   horse   good   two   PF-2-buy:PF   DET

   'these two fine horses that you bought yesterday'[21]

---

[21] The internally headed relative clause shown here represents an unmarked relativization pattern in Caodeng.

3.3 Cardinal numerals

The Caodeng cardinal numerals from one through ten are:

(41) ɕçet   'one'   ʁne(s)   'two'

     χsəmʔ   'three'   kə́-vdɐ   'four'

     kə́-mŋo   'five'   kə́-tʃɵ   'six'

     kə́-ʃnes   'seven'   kə́-rɕçet   'eight'

     kə́-nⁿgət   'nine'   sqeʔ   'ten'

The form *cçet* 'one' rarely occurs outside of counting. The form *kə-rdɔʔ*, found frequently in indefinite nominal reference (see §3.1 above), is structurally [one+ classifier][22] with the morpheme *kə-* representing the numeral 'one' in classifier phrases. The numerals from four to nine contain a *kə-* prefix, which is omitted when these numerals occur in numeral phrases and non-initially in compound numerals, exemplified below by the numerals from eleven to nineteen (structurally 10-1; 10-2, etc.):

(42) sqɐ́-fte   'eleven'   sqɐ́-mne   'twelve'

     sqɐ-fʃəmʔ   'thirteen'   sqɐ́-vdɐ   'fourteen'

     sqɐ́-mŋo   'fifteen'   sqɐ́-ftʃɵ   'sixteen'

     sqɐ́-ʃnes   'seventeen'   sqɐ́-rɕçet   'eightteen'

     sqɐ́-nⁿgət   'nineteen'

The extensive stem modification shown in the compound numerals in (42) (and earlier in (12) above) constitutes a striking characteristic of the language.[23] The decades (structurally 2-10; 3-10, etc.) below supply more examples of this phenomenon:

(43) ʁne-sqe   'twenty'   χsó-sqe   'thirty'

     vde-sqe   'forty'   mŋo-sqe   'fifty'

     kə-tʃɵ-sqe   'sixty'   kə-ʃne-sqe   'seventy'

     kə-rɕçe-sqe   'eighty'   kə-nⁿgə-sqe   'ninety'

---

[22] With numerals higher than one, however, the application of the classifier *-rdɔʔ* is much more restricted.

[23] For a discussion of stem alternation in the numerical systems of other Qiangic languages, see Huang 1991: 288-932.

The word for 'one hundred' is *o-rɟje*, probably a loan from Tibetan (cf. WT *brgya*). In combination with the other unit numerals, however, a distinct morpheme *'-ri* replaces *-rɟje*:

(44) ʁné-ri   'two hundred'   χsó-ri   'three hundred'

vdé-ri   'four hundred'   mŋó-ri   'five hundred'

kə-tʃɵ́-ri   'six hundred'   kə-ʃné-ri   'seven hundred'

kə-rcçé-ri   'eighty hundred'   kə-nⁿgɵ́-ri   'nine hundred'

Consider also:

(45) o-rɟje scçʰənəʔ kə-rdɔʔ   'one hundred and one'

o-rɟje scçʰənəʔ ʁnes   'one hundred and two'

ston-tso kə-rdɔʔ   'one thousand'

kʰro-tso kə-rdɔʔ   'ten thousand'

3.4 Classifiers and measure words

The rGyalrong language, like Tibetan, has few true classifers.   Numerals combine freely with their head nouns, as in (46):

(46) kʰezeʔ   ʁne(s)   'two dogs'

dog   two

Three of the handful of true classifiers in the language are given below:

(47) Classifier   Referents

-ʁⁿbɣeʔ   sticks; logs; trees; hairs

-lvaʔ   dollars; sheets (of paper); leaves

-rdɔʔ   humans; insects; small rounded objects

Classifiers and **measure words** combine with numerals to form numeral phrases, which must follow the head nouns they modify:

(48) tʃeʔ   kə-tʂúŋtʂuŋ   'one cup of tea'

tea   one-cup

Numerals used in numeral phrases constitute a special set:

(49) kə-   'one'   ʁne-   'two'

      χso-   'three'   vde-   'four'

      mŋo-   'five'   kə-tʃə-   'six'

      ʃne-   'seven'   rcçe-   'eight'

      nⁿgə-   'nine'   sqe-   'ten'

4. Morphological categories of nominals

4.1 Derivational categories

4.1.1 Gender

Caodeng, and Tibeto-Burman languages in general, lack grammatical gender. Thus, we mean by "gender" derivationally marked distinctions in natural (semantic) gender.   The unmarked male and female gender suffixes are respectively *'-mo* and *-pʰo*:

(50) preʔ   'Asiatic black bear'

      pré-mo   'female black bear'

      pre-pʰo   'male black bear'

      rɟɟɐ-pɣe   'chicken'

      rɟɟɐ-pɣé-mo   'hen'

      rɟɟɐ-pɣɐ-pʰo   'rooster'

Moreover, some (culturally important) animal names have lexicalized the two genders, using in some cases Tibetan loans:

(51) ⁿboleʔ   'male common cattle'   qɐⁿbruʔ   'male yak'

      ŋe   'female common cattle; cow'   qre   'female yak'

      jle   'male dzo'   ʁlɐrtsi   'male musk deer' (WT *gla.rtsi*)

      ftsɔ   'female dzo'   cçé-mo   'female musk deer'

      pʰo-rtɐ   'male horse' (WT *rta.pho*)

      rgonme   'mare' (WT *dgon.ma*)

4.1.2 Number

Number specification, likewise, is a non-obligatory derivational category in Caodeng. Any countable nominal may be optionally marked with the dual -*ni* or plural -*rɐ*:

(52) qɐɟjeʔ-**ni**/-**rɐ** ⁿbrɘ́tʃu-**ni**/-**rɐ**

      tiger-D/P   knife-D/P

Plurality, however, can often be left unmarked. Thus, the referent(s) of the patient argument '*ⁿbri* 'horse' in (53) below can be one or more than one:

(53) kómtʰɔ-s   'ⁿbri   ɐ-tʰɐ-tə-sɐvɟjoskeʔ-nə

      doorway-LOC   horse   DIST-IMP-2-saddle-3P

      'You (go and) saddle the horse(s) at the door!'

Furthermore, number enclitics do not occur if quantification is explicitly expressed:

(54) a. ⁿboleʔ   kə-mərku-cçə   χsəmʔ   jɐ-weʔ-nə-cçə

      male cattle   NOM:AGT-steal-INDEF   three   PF-come:PF-3P-EV

      'Three thieves came to steal the male cattle.'

     b. káde   nə-tsoʔ   nə   tɘ́ɟjo   mtsʰòt   jɐ-weʔ-nə-cçə

      a while   PF-elapse:PF   SUB   demon   many   PF-come:PF-3P-EV

      'After a while, many demons came.'

The plural marker -*rɐ* has developed a secondary **associative** meaning 'and the like; and associates'. Thus, *ⁿbrɘ́tʃu-rɐ*, in (52) above can also mean 'knife/knives and the like'. In this important usage,[24] the marker -*rɐ* applies to all nominals. For further illustration, consider (55) below (taken from the story [The unknown beast]) where -*rɐ* obviously does not mark plurality per se, as the noun 'his flesh' is uncountable:

---

[24] Plural marking used associatively seems quite common in Tibeto-Burman languages, some examples are Guanyinqiao -*ɟi* (Mu'erzong variety; personal research), Limbu -*haʔ* (van Driem 1987: 30), and Dumi -*mɨl* (van Driem 1993: 61). For a recent discussion of typological issues related to associativity and number systems, see Corbett and Mithun 1995.

(55) ó-ⁿge-scçʰənə   o-ʃé-ʀɐ   pʰóʃʃet   tʰe-lét-cçə

    3S:POSS-clothes-CONJ   3S:POSS-flesh-**P**   pieces   PF:TR-render:PF-EV

    'It tore his clothes and flesh (and what not) all to pieces.'

Being enclitics (i.e. phrasal suffixes), they must be added to the whole nominal phrase. Phrase-internal or double marking results in ungrammaticality:

(56) kəkoʔ   ɐ-tʃu-ʀɐ   'these sons of mine'

    this   1S:POSS-son-P

    *kəkoʔ-ʀɐ   ɐ-tʃu

    *kəkoʔ-ʀɐ   ɐ-tʃu-ʀɐ

The following example shows that number enclitics must precede case markers, which are also enclitics:

(57) rtʃaχpe-ʀɐ-kə   ɐrtʃówɐ   kɐ-nərtʃaχpe   mə-nɐ-ccʰɐʔ-nə-cçə

    robber-P-ERG   mendicant friar   INF-rob   NEG:PF-PF-be capable-P-EV

    'The robbers did not succeed in robbing the mendicant friar.'

4.1.3 Diminutives

Many Caodeng nouns, both animate and inanimate, can take the diminutive suffix *-pu* which comes transparently from the noun *tɐ-pu* 'son':[25]

(58) pɣe   'fowl'   pɣɐ-pu   'chick'

    qɐɟɟiʔ   'sheep'   qɐɟɟi-pu   'lamb'

    təcçiʔ   'river'   təcçi-pu   'rivulet'

    ⁿbrətʃu   'knife'   ⁿbrətʃu-pu   'dagger; small knife'

Diminutive formation is by no means productive. For one thing, diminutive meaning is lexicalized in quite a few nouns, as in (59):

(59) qɐⁿbruʔ   'yak (male)' pɐjuʔ   'yak calf'

    'ⁿbri   'horse'   tʰor; tʰor-pu   'colt'

    tərpe   'ax'   vzoste   'small ax'

    ɣⁿbi   'drum'   ʁlɐ-rŋɐ   'small drum'

---

[25] This is strikingly paralleled by the Tibetan diminutive suffix -'*u*, which is likewise grammaticalized from *bu* 'son'.

Other idiosyncratic restrictions apply; thus, the word *tə́ⁿge* 'clothes' cannot take the diminutive suffix---the meaning 'small clothes' is conveyed syntactically:

(60) tə́ⁿge   kəxtʃiʔ

     clothes   small

4.2 Inflectional categories

4.2.1 Case

The Caodeng system of nominal case-marking is far from rigorous, compared with some other Tibeto-Burman languages. The two basic case forms in the language, the ergative-instrumental *-kə* and the locative *-s*, are frequently subject to ellipsis. Nominals bearing either patient or recipient roles, furthermore, are usually not case-marked:

(61) ɐɟɟiʔ-kə   sonɐm   jəɣe   kə-rdɔʔ   nə-ⁿbi-aŋ

     1S-ERG   Sonam   book   one-CL   PF-give as gift:PF-1S

     'I gave Sonam one book.'

Case-marking morphology in Caodeng is heterogeneous, employing enclitics, agreement prefixes, as well as stem modification by accent relocation. The various core and oblique cases in Caodeng are presented in the following subsections.

4.2.1.1 Ergative

Caodeng can be regarded as an ergative language in the standard sense that the agent in transitive clauses takes distinct case-marking while the patient in transitive clauses as well as the only core argument in intransitive clauses are left unmarked. In fact, what Caodeng has is a **split ergative** system where the applicability of the ergative-instrumental marker *-kə* is determined by the relative ranking of the agent and patient-recipient arguments on an animacy-empathy hierarchy (cf. also Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1994:§ 4.2; Foley and Van Valin 1985:§ I.2; Ebert 1987):

(62) **speaker > hearer > non-participant > non-human animate > inanimate**

The major function of the ergative case in the Caodeng system, then, 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 (62).   Thus, in the sentences

(63) a. sonɐm   tʃeʔ   tʰe-tʰi

      Sonam   tea   PROG:TR-drink:PF

      'Sonam has been drinking tea.'

    b. sonɐm   qɐɟje   ne-ntʃʰeʔ

      Sonam   tiger   PF:TR-kill:PF

      'Sonam killed the tiger.'

ergative marking is not needed because they are about a human agent (Sonam) acting on non-human patients (tea, tiger).[26]   Another factor contributing to the omissibility of ergative morphology in (64b) is the lexical semantics of the verb *kɐ-ntʃʰeʔ* 'to kill', which, unlike the English verb to kill but paralleling the Chinese verb 殺, necessarily implies a human agent.   Observe (64) below, where not only is the ergative case required on the marked agent 'tiger', but a different verb *kɐ-sɔ́-set* 'to cause to die' has to be used:

(64) qɐɟje*(-kə)   sonɐm   ne-sə-set

    tiger-**ERG**   Sonam   PF:TR-CAUS-die:PF

    'The tiger killed Sonam (lit. caused Sonam to die).'

    The rich verbal morphology in this language helps to further clarify the semantic roles of the clausal arguments.   This can be illustrated by (61), repeated below as (65):

(65) ɐɟjiʔ   sonɐm   jəɣe   kə-rdɔʔ   nə-ⁿbi-aŋ

    1S   Sonam   book   one-CL   PF-give as gift:PF-1S

    'I gave Sonam one book (as a gift).'

---

[26] In these sentences, the ergative case-marker can still be used if agency is emphasized. In contrast, in such consistently ergative Tibeto-Burman languages as Amdo Tibetan the subjects of most transitive clauses, agent or not, are obligatorily marked with the ergative case. In the Amdo equivalent of the same sentence, the ergative *-kə* on the agent is mandatory despite the transparent semantics:

    sonæm*(-kə)   tʃæ   ntʰoŋ-kə   jod-kə

    Sonam-ERG   tea   drink-PROG   AUX: IMPF-EV

Several morphological markings are present in this sentence to indicate that the argument configuration involved is unmistakably 1>3 (i.e. a first-person agent acting on a third-person patient) rather than the other way around. The absence of the ergative case, first of all, supplies important clue that the sentence predicates an unmarked transitive scenario, one in which the agent is higher ranked on the emphathy hierarchy. Morphology inside the verb phrase corroborates this interpretation via the category of direction (DeLancey 1981) whereby marked-agency scenarios require the verb to be marked as **inverse**. The absence of inverse marking in (65), then, is another reliable indicator that the directionality of the transitive event is 1>3. Contrast the above with the marked-agency sentences below where the ergative case -*kə* and the inverse prefix *o(γ)-* are obligatory:

(66) a. sonɐm*(-kə)   ɐɟjiʔ   jəye   kə-rdɔʔ   nə-oγ-ⁿbi-aŋ

       Sonam-**ERG**   1S   book   one-CL   PF-INV-give:PF-1S

       'Sonam gave me one book.'

  b. sonɐm*(-kə)   nɐɟjiʔ   nə-tə-o-ʁⁿduʔ

       Sonam-**ERG**   2S   PF-2-INV-beat:PF

       'Sonam beat you up.'

Ergative case marking, however, is required whenever the patient precedes the agent, as in (67):

(67) preʔ   sonɐm*(-kə)   ne-ntʃʰe

    black bear   Sonam-ERG   PF:TR-kill:PF

    '(lit.) The black bear Sonam killed.'

However, if the patient is topicalized, carrying a topic-marker *nəʔ* or separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause, ergative case-marking becomes omissible:[27]

(68) preʔ   nəʔ   sonɐm(-kə)   ne-ntʃʰe

    black bear   Top   Sonam-ERG   PF:TR-kill:PF

    'The black bear, Sonam killed it.'

---

[27] DeLancey (1977: 3-4) also observes that in Classical Tibetan and Rawang, ergative marking is omitted after topicalizing particles.

4.2.1.2 Instrumental

Instrumental arguments carry the ergative-instrumental case-marker -$kə$:

(69) a. né-ja-kə   mə-tə-tə-sə-nəⁿdzéthi   kə

2S:POSS-hand-INST   NEG-OR-IMP-CAUS-eat meal   SFP

ⁿdʒə́ŋo-kə   tə-sə-nəⁿdzéthi

chopsticks-INST   OR:IMP-CAUS-eat meal

'Don't eat with your hands, eat with chopsticks.'

b. kəmərku-rɐ-(kə)   qɐjje   o-mkɐ   təⁿbreʔ-kə

thief-P-ERG   tiger   3S:POSS-neck   rope-INST

te-sə-vraʔ-nə-cçə

PF:TR-CAUS-tie:PF-3P-EV

'The thieves put a rope on the neck of the tiger.'

Importantly, the presence of the instrumental case marker increases the valency of the verb by causativizing it. Note the causative prefix $sə$- in the above examples. In some circumstances, the instrumental suffix as well as the causative prefix can both be omitted. Thus, as a syntactic alternative to (69b), one can say (70) below:

(70) kəmərku-rɐ-kə   qɐjje   o-mkɐ   təⁿbreʔ   te-vraʔ-nə- cçə

thief-P-ERG   tiger   3S:POSS-neck   rope   PF:TR-tie:PF-3P-EV

'The thieves put a rope on the neck of the tiger.'

Moreover, Caodeng abhors two adjacent nominals case-marked by the isomorphic agentive-instrumental -$kə$, hence the ill-formedness of the sentence below:

(71) *sonɐm-kə   tomde-kə   preʔ   ne-sə-ntʃʰe

Sonam-ERG   gun-INST   black bear   PF:TR-CAUS-kill:PF

'Sonam killed the black bear with the gun.'

The occurrence of case-marked instruments is rather infrequent in this language. One reason for this is the abundance of instrument-incorporating verbs such as in (72) below:

(72) kɛ́-rtop   'to beat with rod'

ka-ʁɲopʔ   'to beat with fists'

kɐ-sə́nkhət   'to knife; to stab with knife'

ⁿbərlen kɐ-lɛt   'to plane'

qérɐt kɐ-lɛt   'to saw'

With such verbs, no instrumental arguments are permitted:

(73) ɐɟiʔ-kə   kréʃi   tə-sənkʰət-aŋ

    1S-ERG   Krashi   PF-stab with knife:PF-1S

    'I stabbed Krashi with a knife.'

There is, furthermore, a class of **instrumental verbs** which obligatorily treat instrumental nominals as direct objects. A good example is the verb *kɐ-sɐ́tse* 'to thrust or prick with something'. Consider the sentence in (74):

(74) kəkoʔ-kə   mdoŋ   ɐ́-ʁɐ(r)-s   jə-sɐ́tsɐ

    3S-ERG   spear   1S-body-LOC   FUT-thrush with something

    'He will thrust the spear at me (lit. my body).'

Note that the true semantic patient in (74) is obliquely marked with the local case as the goal of the thrusting action.

Attached to nominalized subordinate clauses (see § 5 below), the instrumental *-kə* can also express a loose **logical link** between two clauses, as in (75):[28]

(75) kənmɲɐ́msu -kə   pɐ́ntjaŋ   ó-ta   kɐ-mdzu-kə   ne-cçʰòp

    fat person-ERG   chair   3S:POSS-top   INF-sit-INST   PF:TR-break:PF

    'The fat person broke the chair by sitting on it.'

4.2.1.3 Vocative

Caodeng has a special devise for turning nominals into the vocative, namely by shifting the lexically contrastive pitch accent to the penultimate syllable. This strategy works well with personal names, most of which are loaned from Tibetan and accented on the final syllable:

(76) Personal Name   Vocative Form

    rtɐn-lo   rtɐ́n-lo

    so-nɐm   só-nɐm

    ʁge-ⁿdən   ʁgé-ⁿdən

    skɐ-lə-vzaŋ   skɐ-lɐ́-vzaŋ

    dzo-mɐ   dzó-mɐ

    ɬɐ-mu   ɬɐ́-mu

    metɔʔ   métɔʔ

    krɐʃimtsʰo   krɐʃímtsʰo

---

[28] Clausal subordinators in Tibeto-Burman languages often stem from ergative-instrumental case postpositions; for discussions see Genetti 1986 and Ebert 1994 §6.3.

Nominals already bearing penultimate accent, however, remain such in the vocative except for added intonational emphasis.[29]

4.2.1.4 Local

The local case marker -*s* expresses a vague local meaning and, as evidenced in (77) below, can occur in locative, ablative, as well as allative contexts:

(77) a. pʰə́ntsʰɔ   ŋétʃʰə-**s**   tʰɐ-smo

Phentsho   where-LOC   PROG-exist

'Where is Phentsho?'

b. pʰə́ntsʰɔ   ŋétʃʰə-**s**   jɐ-weʔ   ŋoʔ

Phentsho   where-LOC   PF-come:PF   COP

'Where did Phentsho come from?'

c. pʰə́ntsʰɔ   ŋétʃʰə-**s**   jə-ʃɐ   ŋoʔ

Phentsho   where-LOC   FUT-go   COP

'Where will Phentsho go?'

More explicit locational senses can be conveyed by locational nouns in a possessed construction (see §4.2.2 below): **possessive prefix + locational noun (+ locative case)**. Thus, 'on the book' is *jəɣe ó-ta(-s)*, literally "book its-top". Following is a rather exhaustive list of such nouns:

(78) '-ta   'space on/overɐbove'

'-pʰi   'space under/below/beneath'

'-naŋ ~ -naŋʔ   'space inside'

-pʰiʔ   'space outside'

-vzər   'space at the corner of; space beside'

'-ʁɐ(r)   'space on the body/vertical side of'

-ʁúri ~ -ʁóri   'space in front of'

-qʰu   'space at the back of'

---

[29] In Ribu, another major northwestern rGyalrong dialect, accent shifts to the leftmost syllable of the word in vocative formation (personal research):

Personal Name   Vocative Form

skɐ-lə-vzaŋ   **skɐ́**-l(ə)-vzaŋ

ptʂɐ-ʃi-mtso   **ptʂɐ́**-ʃi-mtso

Alternatively, the same meaning can be conveyed via word-formation, combining locational nouns directly with noun stems to form compounds which may also be marked for the locative case. In this strucutre, the lexical accent of accented locational nouns is realized on the final syllable of the noun stems, e.g. *jəɣé-ta(-s)* 'on the book'.

More examples of the two uses of the Caodeng locational nouns are provided in (79a-d) below:

(79) a. tʰɐfké-**ta**   lɐʒoʔ-cçə   tʰɐ-mqɔ

      firepace-**over**   dried meat-INDEF   PROG-hang:PF

      'Some dried meat hangs over the fireplace.'

   b. nə-toŋraŋcçaʔ   nə   kʰɛxpʰe **ó-pʰi**   ɐ-nɐ-tə-rko-n

      2P:POSS-white conch DET grinder 3S:POSS-under DIST-OR-IMP-put:2P

      'Put your white conch under the grinder!'

   c. ó-naŋ-s   kərⁿbjoʔ   tʰɐ-kə-smo   toʔ

      3S:POSS-inside-LOC   person   PROG-NOM-stay   exist

      'There are people inside.'

   d. cçɐntʰaŋ   ó-ʁɐ(r)-rcçənə   rtsʰərtsʰəmɐle?

      fresco   3S:POSS-vertical side-TOP:EMPH   mess

      ne-səɣso   wɐjjo   ŋo-cçə

      PF-make:PF   exist:EV   COP:PF-EV

      '(They found that) he had turned the surface of the fresco into a mess.'

Possessed forms of, '-*pʰa*, a locational noun of uncertain meaning, can be used as a complex case marker on both animate goal and source arguments, as (80a-d) illustrate:[30]

(80) a. sonɐm   **ó-pʰa**   tɐ́kʰu   ɐ-nə-tɔ́-kʰe

      Sonam   3S:POSS-location   cigarette   DIST-IMP:OR-2-hand to

      'Hand the cigarette to Sonam!'

   b. sonɐm   **ó-pʰa**   tɐ́kʰu   ɐ-ʃə-kə-tə-rojʔ

      Sonam   3S:POSS-location   cigarette   DIST-go and-IMP:OR-2-fetch

      'Go eastward and fetch the cigarette from Sonam!'

---

[30] This locational noun will henceforth be vaguely glossed as 'location'. Its possessed form is often shortened to '-*pʰa(-s)*, but note the unacceptability of *ɐjjí-pʰa* 'to or from me'.

c. jəɣe   ɬɐmu   **ó-pʰa**   tʰɐ-sə-tsomʔ

letter   Lhamu   3S:POSS-location   IMP:OR-CAUS-take

'Have someone take the letter downstream to Lhamu!'

d. sonɐm-kə   rtɐnlo   **ó-pʰa**   qɐjjiʔ

Sonam-ERG   Rtanlo   3S:POSS-location   sheep

te-χtuʔ   nəʔ   nə-rla-cçə

PF:TR-buy:PF   DET   PF-be lost:PF-EV

'The sheep that Sonam bought from Rtanlo went astray.'

However, recipient arguments of such basic ditransitive verbs as *kɐ-ⁿbiʔ* 'to give (as gift)', *kɐ-sə́mtsi* 'to teach', and *kɐ-vzjaŋ* 'to learn from' are incompatible with this complex case-marker, hence the ill-formed sentences in (81a-c):

(81) a. koʔ   tɐpi   kəkoʔ(*ó-pʰa)   nə-ⁿbeʔ

this   butter   3S   IMP-give as gift

'Give this butter to him (as a gift)!'

b. statʰɐr-kə   ɐjjiʔ(*ó-pʰa)   tsʰopdən skɐt   nə-o-səmtsiʔ-aŋ

Stathar-ERG   1S   Caodeng language   PF-INV-teach:PF-1S

'Stathar has taught me the Caodeng language.'

c. rtɐnlo*(ó-pʰa)   tsʰopdən skɐt   nɐ-vzjaŋ

Rtanlo   Caodeng language   IMP-learn

'Learn the Caodeng language from Rtanlo!'

4.2.1.5 Comparative and semblative

Standards in comparative constructions take the comparative case-markers -*ʃɔχtenəʔ* or -*ʃɔʁrenə*:

(82) ɐjjiʔ   kréʃi-ʃɔχtenəʔ   mtsʰòt   ⁿbriʔ-aŋ-cçə

1S   Krashi-COMP   much   tall-1S-EV

'I am much taller than Krashi.'

Standards of equative comparison, on the other hand, are marked with the semblative -*jɐrmɐr*:

(83) kəkoʔ   nɐmkʰe-ɬɐmu-**jɐrmɐ(r)**   npʰjor-cçə

     3S   heaven-goddess-SMBL   beautiful-EV

     'She is as beautiful as a goddess from heaven.'

4.2.1.6 Comitative

The comitative case-marker is *-krɐ*:

(84) a. kréʃi   ɐjjiʔ   ɐ-**krɐ**   tʰɐ-rɐvzjaŋʔ

        Krashi   1S   1S:POSS-COMT   PROG-study:PF

        'Krashi has been studying with me.'

     b. ʁdórʒe   ó-mo-**krɐ**   tsʰɐjʔ   kə-χtuʔ   tʰe-re

        Dorji   3S:POSS-mother-COMT   vegetables PUR-buy   Pf:OR-go:PF

        'Dorji went with his mother to buy vegetables.'

Note that in (84a-b) above, verbs agree in number only with the singular subjects *Krashi* and *Dorji*.   Consider (85a-b) below where the participants are conjoined rather by *-scçʰənəʔ* 'and', the verbs must carry the **dual** agreement suffixes:

(85) a. kréʃi   ɐjjiʔ-scçʰənəʔ   tʰɐ-rɐvzjaŋʔ-**tsə**

        Krashi   1S-CONJ   PROG-study:PF-1D

        'Krashi and I have been studying.'

     b. ʁdórʒe-scçʰənəʔ ó-mo-**ni**   tsʰɐjʔ   kə-χtuʔ   tʰe-re-**ⁿdzə**

        Dorji-CONJ   3S:POSS-mother-D   vegetables PUR-buy   PF:OR-go:PF-3D

        'Dorji and his mother went to buy vegetables.'

4.2.1.7 Benefactive

Arguments bearing the semantic benefactive role in Caodeng are represented as possessors:[31]

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[31] The isomorphism of benefactive and genitive case-marking is parallelled by such neighboring TB languages as Qiang (LaPolla: ms) and Guanyinqiao. Observe, for example, the sentence 'Tshewang made butter bread for me.' in Mu'erzong (Chinese name: 木爾宗; a variety of the Guanyinqiao language; personal research) below:

tsʰevaŋ   ŋɐ-**jə**   jaɣligə   kə-vi-sə

Tshewang   1S-GEN   butter bread   PF-make:PF-EV

(86) a. tsʰewaŋ-kə   sonɐm   o-pəʒbɐʔ   te-peʔ

     Tshewang-ERG   Sonam   3S:POSS-butter bread   PF:TR-do:PF

     'Tshewang made butter bread for Sonam.'

   b. ko-niʔ-kə   ɐ-tsʰɐjʔ   mtsʰòt   te-xsərʔ-ⁿdzə-cçə

     3-D-ERG   1S:POSS-curry   much   PF:TR-stirfry:PF-3D-EV

     'The two of them stirfried many dishes for me.'

Isomorphism in the case-marking of possessors and benefactives leads sometimes to ambiguities, as in (87):

(87) tsʰewaŋ-kə   kréʃi   o-kəcçʰiʔ   te-χtuʔ-cçə

     Tshewang-ERG   Krashi   3S:POSS-candy   PF:TR-buy:PF-EV

     'Tshewang bought candy for Krashi.'

     'Tshewang bought Krashi's candy.'

Closely related in meaning to the above are case roles marked by *o-χte* or *o-fcçɐ* 'on behalf of' (88a,b) and *o-tə́nkə* (< WT *ton-gyis*) 'for the sake of' (88c):

(88) a. ɐjjiʔ   **a-χte**   ⁿbri   ta-χte

     1S   1S:POSS-behalf   horse   IMP-buy

     'Buy horses for me (on my behalf)!'

   b. kəkoʔ   ɐjjiʔ   **ɐ-fcçɐ**   ʁmɐrtʰaŋ   ke-re

     3S   1S   1S:POSS-behalf   Hongyuan   PF:OR-go:PF

     'He went to Hongyuan in my place.'

   c. ɐjjiʔ   **ɐ-tə́nkə**   kəkoʔ   tɐwaʔ   kə-pʰə́rtʃu   nə́-tʰe

     1S   1S:POSS-sake   this   liquor   one-bowl   IMP-drink

     'Drink this bowl of liquor for my sake!'

4.2.2 Possession

Another major inflectional category of Caodeng nonimals is possession.[32] Given two juxtaposed nouns in a possessive relation, the possessed head noun must be marked with a **possessive prefix** which agrees in person and number with the possessor. The possessive prefixes in Caodeng are given in the table below:

---

[32] Nominal possession as a distinct category of nominal inflection was recognized by Sun Hongkai more than ten years ago in an obscure journal article (Sun 1984) which discusses, among other things, the formal link between personal pronouns and possessive prefixes in several Tibeto-Burman languages of China (Dulong, Nusu, Ersu, Taraon, Lisu, Jingpo, and rGyalrong).

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1	ɐ-	tsə-	jə-
2	nɐ-	ⁿdzə-	nə-
3	o-		
Reflexive	tə-		

Thus, for example, to express the meanings 'Trashi's dog' and 'Lhamu's daughters' hair' one must say:

(89) kréʃi   o-kʰezeʔ

     Krashi   3S:POSS-dog

   ɬɐmu   ó-mej-rɐ   nə-kormɐ

   Lhamu   3S:POSS-daughter-P   3P:POSS-hair of head

Importantly, if the possessor noun is not expressed, possessor agreement is always with the subject of the sentence. Note the following contrast in (90) below:

(90) a. sonɐm-kə   ó-rdʒep   ne-mti

     Sonam-ERG   3S:POSS-wife   PF:TR-see:PF

     'Sonam saw his own wife.'

   b. sonɐm-kə   zde   ó-rdʒep   ne-mti

     Sonam-ERG   M   3S:POSS-wife   PF:TR-see:PF

     'Sonam saw his (someone else's) wife.'

Pronominal possessors are usually omitted (91a), except when emphasis is intended (91b):

(91) a. **o-tékʰu**   'his/her tobacco'

     3S:POSS-tobacco

   b. oɟjiʔ **o-tékʰu**   'his/her own tobacco'

     3S   **3S:POSS**-tobacco

Caodeng nouns fall into two classes: alienable and inalienable; the latter includes kinship terms, body-part terms, and names of certain intimate personal belongings (e.g. tɐ-mgom 'pillow'). They behave differently with respect to the combinability of their inherent noun prefixes and the possessive prefixes. Thus, an inalienable noun must drop its noun prefix, if any, before it can be marked with a possessive prefix (92).

On the other hand, possessive prefixes cannot be added directly to unprefixed alienable noun stems (93):

(92) tá-mɲa   'eye'   →   ɐ́-(*tə-)mɲa   'my eye'

    tɐ-ɣnɐ   'relative'   →   ɐ-(*tɐ-)ɣnɐ   'my relative'

(93) tá-tʰu   'large iron wok'   →   ɐ-*(tá-)tʰu   'my iron wok'

    tɐ́-kʰu   'cigarette'   →   ɐ-*(tɐ́-)kʰu   'my cigarette'

A few additional examples of this contrast are given in (94):

(94) tɐ-ʁjəp   'shadow; shade'

    ɐ-ʁjəp   'my shadow (inalienable)'

    ɐ-tɐ-ʁjəp   'my shade (alienable)'

    tɐ-sɐ   'blood'

    ɐ-sɐ   'my own blood (inalienable)'

    ɐ-tɐ-sɐ   'blood owned by me (alienable)'

    tɐ́-lo   'milk'

    ɐ́-lo   'my own milk (as of a mother's milk; inalienable)'

    ɐ-tɐ́-lo   'milk owned by me (alienable)'

Aside from its major function in expressing nominal possession, the structure **N1 POSS-N2** occurs also in locative phrases (§4.2.1.4). In such phrases, possessive prefixes are as a rule attached to unprefixed directional morphemes, e.g.:

(95) sⁿdɐj   ó-ʁɐ(r)   'on the wall'

    wall   3S-body

As a rare exception to this generalization, the word *tə-vzər* 'vertical edge' keeps the prefix *tə-* when possessive prefixes are added, possibly to avoid homonymy of the following type:

(96) kʰe o-tə-vzər   'exterior vertical edge of the house'

    kʰe o-vzər   'corner in the house; exterior rim of the house'

In another important usage, possessive prefixes represent **patient** arguments in certain types of syntactic structures. The example in (97) below demonstrates this function of possessive prefixes on a derived agentive noun (see §5.1.1 below):

(97) ɐ-kə-wɐstot-nə-rɐ

    1S:POSS:PAT-NOM-praise-3P-P

    'those who praise me'

Another syntactic environment calling for patient marking via nominal possession is provided by N + V predicates where N is an integral part of the meaning of the transitive predicates. Example (98) below shows one such complex verb -mt ^{h}u kɐ-lɐt 'to cast spell on (by chanting sutras)':

(98) nənə?   vlɐrme-kə   ɐ-mt^{h}u   t^{h}e-lɐt

    that   monk-ERG   1S:POSS-spell   PF:TR-cast:PF

    'That monk has cast a spell on me.'

The "outer object" and semantic patient (ɐʝi? 'I') here has to be expressed as an oblique possessor of the "inner object" (mt^{h}u 'spell'). Note that the sentence above is expressed in **direct viewpoint** (see §4.2.1.1 above) with the verb agreeing with the third person singular agent even though semantically the sentence predicates a marked scenario in which the speaker is affected by the action of a non-participant.[33]

5. Nominalization

Nominalization, by which verbs, verb phrases, or whole finite clauses are turned into nominals, plays a pivotal role in the grammar of Caodeng. Such important syntactic processes as complementation, relativization, clefting, and the formation of attributive stative verbs are all built upon nominalization. In the remainer of this paper, we discuss in turn the formation of various subtypes of nominalized structures.

5.1 Deverbal nouns denoting arguments

This type of nominalization produces derived nouns denoting arguments subcategorized for by the source verbs. Such nouns behave morphosyntactically as ordinary common nouns.

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[33] This can be accounted for by the general restrictions on verb agreement in rGyalrong. Unlike in such Tibeto-Burman languages as Qiang (Huang 1991: 307), Tangut (Keping 1981: 45-46), or Jingpo (Dai and Xu 1992: 275-280), verbs in rGyalrong agree only with core sentential arguments, and never with possessors.

5.1.1 Agentive nouns

The so-called "agentive nouns" are formed productively by attaching the prefix *kə-* to the verb root. Despite the misleading traditional term, the examples in (99) demonstrate that this derivational process yield nouns that denote, among other things, themes of intransitive process ('to become ill') and stative ('to be rich') verbs as well as agents of transitive action verbs (e.g. 'to steal'):

(99) -mərku 'steal'   →   kə-mərku 'thief'

     -nⁿgiʔ 'become ill'   →   kə-nⁿgiʔ 'patient'

     -timʔ 'be rich'   →   kə-timʔ 'rich person'

5.1.2 Patient deverbal nouns

By taking the prefix *kɐ-*, transitive verb roots are made into patient deverbal nouns with the meaning 'that which is verb-ed':

(100) -ⁿdze 'eat'   →   kɐ-ⁿdze 'food'

     '-tʰi 'drink'   →   kɐ́-tʰi 'soup; gruel; beverage'

     -riʔ 'let remain'   →   kɐ-ⁿdzɐ-ri 'leftover (food)'

5.1.3 Oblique deverbal nouns

A third nominalizing prefix *sɐ-*, when added to the perfective stem of a verb, turns it into a derived noun with locative, instrumental, or temporal meanings:

(101) -scçe 'give birth'   →   sɐ-scçeʔ 'birthplace; birthday'

     -rⁿgu 'sleep'   →   sɐ-rⁿguʔ 'sleeping place'

     -χtu 'buy'; -ntsweʔ 'sell'   →   sɐ-ra-χtu-tsweʔ 'marketplace'

     -ʃʃo 'dye (v.)'   →   sɐ-ʃʃoʔ 'dye (n.)'

5.2 Action and state nominalization

The second type of nominalization creates abstract nouns referring to the types of activities or states predicated by the lexical verbs. Formation of such nouns also employs the nominalizing prefixes *kɐ-* and *kə-*. Dynamic verbs take *kɐ-* (e.g. -ⁿdze

'eat' → *kɐ-ⁿdze* 'to eat'); with inherently stative verbs, however, the addition of the prefixes *kə-* or *kɐ-* yields semantically differentiated verbal nouns denoting, respectively, a state and a process (change of state).   Examples of state (102a) versus process (102b) verbal nouns from the verb root -*ⁿgu* 'be poor' follow:

(102) a. **kə-ⁿgu**   mɐ-vde

        INF-be poor   NEG:IMPF-be good

        'It is not good to be poor.'

    b. **kɐ-ⁿgu**   mɐ-vde

        INF-be poor   NEG:IMPF-be good

        'It is not good to become poor.'

These nominal forms will henceforth be regarded as infinitives, on account of the verb-like properties they retain.   These include the distinction in dynamicity shown in (102) above, as well as such verbal categories as viewpoint (103a), negation (103b), and orientation (103c).   Also retained unmodified are complements (103d) and adjuncts (103e):

(103) a. kɐ-o-ɟjɐ-sérne   mɐ́-nos

        INF-INV-REFL-get close   NEG:IMPF-dare

        'S/he dare not get close.'

    b. kʰɔ́kʰos   tékʰu   **mɐ-kɐ-ski**   reʔ

        here   cigarette   NEG:IMPF-INF-smoke   must

        'One must not smoke here.'

    c. ɐɟjiʔ   fsɔ́fsi-nə   **tʰe-kɐ-ʃɐ**   reʔ

        1S   tomorrow-DET   OR-INF-go   must

        'I must go downstream tomorrow.'

    d. **qɐrme**   ⁿge-kɐ-ntʃʰe   mɐ-joʔ

        Tibetan eared pheasant   OR-INF-kill   NEG:IMPF-be allowed

        'It is not allowed to kill Tibetan eared pheasants.'

    e. **mer**   kɐ-nkɐ   sɐvɐr-cçə

        at night   INF-walk   be frightening-EV

        'It is scary to walk at night.'

Across the rGyalrong dialects, moreover, the infinitive is treated by native speakers as the citation form of verbs.[34]

5.3 Clausal nominalization

In Caodeng, propositions which name specific (i.e. token) events or states can be nominalized straightforwardly by adding to the input clause a postposed determiner/subordinator -nəʔ 'that'.[35] Two illustrations of their use as sentential complements are given below:

(104) a. ɣves-kə   kʰezeʔ   o-ʃneʔ   te-ⁿdzeʔ-cçə

        badger-ERG   dog   3S:POSS-nose   PF:TR-eat:PF-EV

        'The badger bit the dog on the nose.'

    b. [ɣves-kə   kʰezeʔ   o-ʃneʔ   te-ⁿdzeʔ(*-cçə)]

        badger-ERG   dog   3S:POSS-nose   PF:TR-eat:PF-EV

        nəʔ   ɐɟɟiʔ   'sis-aŋ

        DET   1S   know-1S

        'I know that the badger bit the dog on the nose.'

(105) a. ɐɟɟiʔ   ʃorʔ   kɐ́ntʃʰaŋ   koʔ   tə́mej   nəʔ   nɐ-mti-aŋ

        1S   yesterday   street   this   woman   DET   PF-see:PF-1S

        'I saw this woman on the street yesterday.'

    b. [ɐɟɟiʔ   ʃorʔ   kɐ́ntʃʰaŋ   tə́mej   nɐ-mti-aŋ]   kətaʔ   ŋoʔ

        1S   yesterday   street   woman   PF-see:PF-1S   true   COP

        'It is true that I saw the woman on the street yesterday.'

As evidenced in (104a,b), nominalized clauses do not show evidential marking, since their discourse function is to provide backgrounded information rather than make new assertions (Noonan 1985:108).   Nominalized clauses are finite in all other respects.

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[34] This statement is founded on my personal field experiences in the rGyalrong country. Lin (1993: 191) also considers this deverbal form, which he labeled "不定式" the standard Chinese term for the infinitive, as the representative form of verbs in lCogrtse rGyalrong.

[35] This morpheme is identical in function to the form -tə in the Eastern dialect.

Yet another type of nominalized structure has been noted in my corpus, apparently intermediate in position between infinitival and clausal nominalization. In this construction, propositions are nominalizes by attaching the nominalizer *kə-* to the non-finite verb. The construction is similar to nominalized clauses (§5.3) in its ability to contain agent arguments as well as the determiner/subordinator *nəʔ*. Unlike nominalized clauses, its predicates are necessarily non-finite. This construction, then, may be considered a type of "action nominals", that is, noun phrases with an action/stative noun as head plus certain reflexes of the input proposition. Observe the following with a nominalized clause (106a) in contrast with an action nominal (106b):

(106) a. kréʃi-kə   sonɐm   **te-nɐkʰojʔ**   nəʔ   jəjjərɐʔ   kəmdiʔ   'sis-jə

Krashi   Sonam   PF-bully:PF   DET   1P   all   know-1P

'We all know that Krashi bullied Sonam.'

b. kréʃi-kə   sonɐm   **kə-nɐkʰoj**   nəʔ   jəjjərɐʔ   kəmdiʔ   'sis-jə

Krashi   Sonam   NOM-bully   DET   1P   all   know-1P

'We all know about Krashi's (tendency for) bullying Sonam.'

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草登嘉戎語的名物詞形態

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　　嘉戎語分布於川西，在藏緬語族中有特殊重要地位。本語內部分歧大，各主要方言互不通話，其語支系屬及方言次分類尚未定論。草登話係嘉戎語西北方言主要土語之一，過去乏人深入研究。本文運用作者長期調查所得第一手材料，系統介紹草登話名物詞之形態語法。

　　本文結構如下：第一節開宗明義，廣泛討論草登話的各種形態程序。第二節及第三節分別介紹兩類名物詞——名詞及代名詞，及名物詞附屬成分，包括引稱標記、指示形容詞、數詞、以及量詞。第四節鋪陳名物詞之派生及曲折形態範疇。最後一節專門用以探討名物化的幾種形式及其用法。

關鍵詞：藏緬語族　嘉戎語　名物詞形態學