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Certain Phonological Peculiarities of Taku Tibetan

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Abstract

Taku is an obscure variety of Tibetan spoken at Sandagu Village in Luhua Town of Heishui County in northern Sichuan. Situated in a remote borderland between Amdo Tibetan and Northern Qiang, this previously unstudied Tibetan variety is unintelligible to speakers of the mainstream Tibetan dialects (in particular Amdo and Khams) on first contact, owing to its unusual phonological, grammatical, as well as lexical features. Examples of its phonological peculiarities include a *glide* ɰ realization of Written Tibetan <r> (reminiscent of Northern Qiang) and its voiceless counterpart ɰ̥ as reflex of Written Tibetan <sr>, abundance of central vowels, phonemic opposition of velar, uvular, and glottal fricatives, and lack of phonemic tone despite massive syllable-canon reduction. In this talk, a selected number of phonetic and phonological features of special interest for Tibetology and Sino-Tibetan linguistics will be presented, with forays into their historical origins.

Time Ordinals in Ngwi Languages of Sichuan
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Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages, including the Ngwi (Loloish, Yi Branch) languages have two-syllable lexical time ordinals (yesterday, today, tomorrow; last year, this year, next year and so on) for up to a maximum of nine days and years in the past and in the future. These are usually compounds with one bound lexical ordinal element followed by one analyzable element meaning 'day' or 'year'; some languages also allow some or all of 'morning', 'evening' and 'night' to occur in the second slot, especially for the time ordinals closest to the present. For time ordinals closest to the present, the forms are often less analyzable; this is particularly true for 'tomorrow' and 'next year'.

These time ordinals may contain fossilized cognate lexical material otherwise absent from a language or subgroup of TB, but otherwise widespread across TB. For example, Lisu has [ni³⁵] in year ordinals, cognate with Proto-Eastern TB ***s-nik**; otherwise, Lisu has [k^ho²¹] for 'year' as elsewhere in Ngwi (Loloish) languages. In some subgroups of TB, some of the bound time ordinal forms resemble numerals, but are not identical in form; this presumably reflects their compound origins. In other subgroups, the bound forms do not resemble numerals.

Phonological sound correspondences seen in nominal and verbal stems are not followed as regularly in the bound elements of these time ordinal forms. This may be due to sandhi effects within these two-syllable compounds, and to paradigmatic effects from adjacent items in the day or year ordinal paradigms.

Data from Ngwi (Loloish, Yi Branch) languages of Sichuan is presented, derived from two clusters: Northern NgwiNuosu, and its subvarieties including Yinuo, Lindimu, Suondi and Adur as spoken in various parts of Liangshan; and Central NgwiLipo and Lisu as spoken in Panzhihua and southwestern Liangshan.

A Study of Malimasa Phonology: Synchronic Analysis and Diachronic Hypothesis

Malimasa is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Tacheng Town, Weixi County, Yunnan Province. It has about 2000 speakers whose ancestors are assumed to have migrated from Muli County, Sichuan Province. In *A Brief Introduction to Naxi Language* (He and Jiang 1985), Malimasa was briefly mentioned and classified as a variety of Yongningba dialect of Naxi. This article focuses on Malimasa in three aspects: The first section, based on fieldwork on Malimasa in 2011 and 2012, proposes a phonemic analysis which differs greatly from that in He and Jiang (1985). The second section tries to trace some historical sound change happened in Malimasa with Proto-Naish (Jacques and Michaud 2011) and Proto-Naxi (Li 2013) as references. The third section discusses the contribution that Malimasa offers to the reconstruction of Proto-Naish.

A synchronic analysis of Malimasa phonology reveals its phonological features as follows:

- (1) Malimasa contrasts prenasalized obstruents and voiced obstruents. This contrast is relatively marginal comparing with AS Naxi (Michailovsky and Michaud 2006) and Baoshan Naxi (Li 2012) which have numerous examples for each pair of prenasalized / voiced obstruents.
- (2) Malimasa contrasts apical stops and retroflex stops. Minimal pairs can be found only before the vowel /o/.
- (3) Malimasa has 9 nasalized finals whose distributions are relatively restricted, usually after velar initials, except in some loan words.
- (4) Malimasa has a diphthong [ei] that should be analyzed as a distinct final, which is rare in other Naish languages.
- (5) Malimasa has a word-tone system instead of a syllable-tone system. Both monosyllabic words and multisyllabic words have the same four tonal classes. There are also tone sandhi when monosyllabic words combine to form phrases.

Some diachronical sound change happened in Malimasa can be deduced:

- (1) Prenasalized obstruents in Malimasa are remnants of the change $*NC > C$. There is also an ongoing change $NC > N$ affecting prenasalized obstruents survived from $*NC > C$ change.
- (2) The diphthong [ei] is newly emerged.

(3) Like Lijiang Naxi, Malimasa has a retroflex vowel [ɤ̣]. However, [ɤ̣] in Malimasa is evolved from high, back vowels in the proto-language after retroflex initials. Therefore, the distribution of [ɤ̣] in Malimasa is totally different from that in Lijiang.

The Malimasa data make an important contribution to reconstruction of Proto-Naish in the following aspects:

(1) Malimasa provides us further evidence for the initial cluster *Kr- as Jacques and Michaud (2011) have proposed. For example, “gallbladder” is [tɕi52], and “foot” is [tɕhi21].

(2) Malimasa data support two more initial clusters: *Cd- and *Cl-. Examples for the former are [lɤ52] “to get” (cf. Lijiang [du33], Yongning [ɖu33]), and [lo21] “to see” (cf. Lijiang [do21], Yongning [do13]). Examples for the latter are [xe52] “trousers” (cf. Lijiang [le33], Yongning [ɬi11]), and [xø21] “the distance from the fingertip of one hand to another when spreading two arms” (cf. Lijiang [ly21], Yongning [ɬi13]).

(3) Malimasa has sporadic initial alternations distinguishing verbs and nouns from same roots, suggesting a suffix changing nouns to verbs in the proto-language. Examples are: [ba45] “flower”/[wa52] “to blossom”, [ba24] “broom”/[wa24] “to sweep”, and [zo21] “skin”/[ɤ̣24] “to skin”.

[word count: 496]

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Title: Complexities in a simple level-tone system:
Phonological and phonetic perspectives on Lijiazui Na

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Abstract

Lijiazui Village is located in Wujiao Township, Muli County, Sichuan, adjacent to Yongning Township of Yunnan Province. The village has a population of around 400. The language spoken by these people, whose endonym is /na/, is referred to here as the Na language (following Lidz 2010); it is also known as ‘Mosuo’ and ‘Narua’ (ISO 639-3 code: NRU).

Traditionally, scholars working on tonal languages in China used to record any tone they encountered with the five-point scale devised for Chinese dialects, which has shown its usefulness in the notation of contour tones in the Sinosphere. Recently, some new models and perspectives have been applied for the analysis on tone system of Sino-Tibetan languages of Sichuan and abutting areas, e.g. Southern Qiang (Evans 2008), Pumi (Ding 2001; Jacques 2011), Naxi (Michaud & He Xueguang 2007), and Yongning Na (Michaud 2008).

Some phenomena in the initial fieldwork on Lijiazui Na inspired me to analyze its tonemes as constituting a level tone system. For example, different phonetic behaviors are observed for one word, which hints that these surface tones belong to one underlying toneme. Fig 1 shows four tokens of /la/ ‘tiger’, colored red, yellow, blue, and green from the first to the fourth. The 1st, 3rd, 4th token have close mean F0 value, while the 2nd token has a difference of about 2 ½semitones vs. the other three. With the five point scale, the 1st, 3rd, 4th token would be recorded as high to mid falling tone, and the 2nd as mid level tone. However, the distinction of F0 of one word can also be explained as belonging to mid tone in the view of level tone system. For another instance, the toneless possessive particle /by/ gets its tone from the former syllable, which suggests that the tone of nouns in possessive constructions can be ‘split’ or ‘spread’, the pattern extending over the noun itself and the following possessive particle.

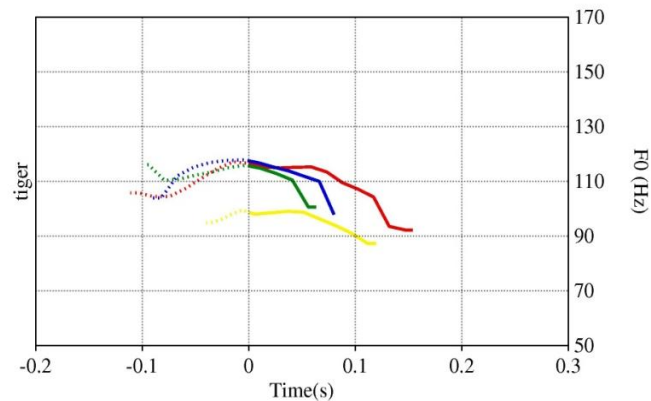


Fig.1 Tiger

A set of experiments placing lexical words in carrier sentences (frames) have proved that the surface tonemes of Lijiazui Na map to various underlying tonemes. The experiments attempted so far aim to cover the following categories: (i) isolated words, (ii) compound nouns, (iii) object-verb combinations and (iv) numeral-plus-classifier phrases. Phonetic data (F0 tracings) are also compared in order to advance further towards understanding the connection between the phonetic behavior and phonological identity of the various tone categories.

Provisional conclusions will be set out: at the present stage, the system is analyzed as comprising (i) four surface tonemes: M-mid tone (33/53); L-low tone (31); LM-low to mid tone(13); MH-mid to high tone (35); (ii) eight underlying tonemes for nouns, and six for verbs.

Key Words: Lijiazui Na; level tone; phonetic behavior; phonological identity

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Lataddi Narua Tones:

The tonal system of a Sìchuān variety of Yǒngníng Na

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Abstract

Yǒngníng Na (YN Na) is the central of three dialects of the language recently given *Ethnologue* status as Narua [nru]. Also known as Eastern Nàxī or Mósuō, Narua comprises the three eastern dialects of the Nàxī language of SW China identified by Chinese linguists in the late 1970's (Hé & Jiāng, 1985:104-116). Three Yúnnán varieties have already been documented, but very little data has been made available to date on YN Na as it is spoken in Sìchuān.

The variety of YN Na under study here is referred to as Lataddi Narua /la^hla^hdi^h na^hzwa^h/: LTD Narua for short. It is spoken in and around the swamp area known as the Grass Sea which forms the eastern end of Lúgū Lake in Yányuán County, Liángshān Yí Autonomous Prefecture, Sìchuān Province. Data was collected during 2008-2010, both in Chéngdū in collaboration with native speakers living there and in Wǔzhīluò, a sub-village of Bóshù Village on the northern edge of the swamp (四川省凉山彝族自治州盐源县泸沽湖镇博树村五指落) - see map below.

The tone system of LTD Narua exists, not at syllable level as in languages such as Mandarin and Nàxī (aka Western Nàxī), but at word level. The domain of influence of the tone is not necessarily restricted to the lexical item, but extends across an entire phonological phrase, which may consist of more than one word, including compound nouns, N + DEM/NUM + CL, ADJ + PTCL, and PAT(N) + V where there is no verbal prefix.

Under the current analysis, LTD Narua tones are described using two tonal levels: H (high) and L (low). This differs from the other varieties of YN Na documented to date and from (Western) Nàxī, which have been described in terms of three tonal levels. In LTD Narua noun and adjective word classes, there are four tone categories which, on the basis of phonetic evidence as well as descriptive economy, are described as /H/, /HL/, /L/ and /LH/. Although realisations of these categories vary somewhat depending on the number of syllables in the phonological word, the categories do not change.

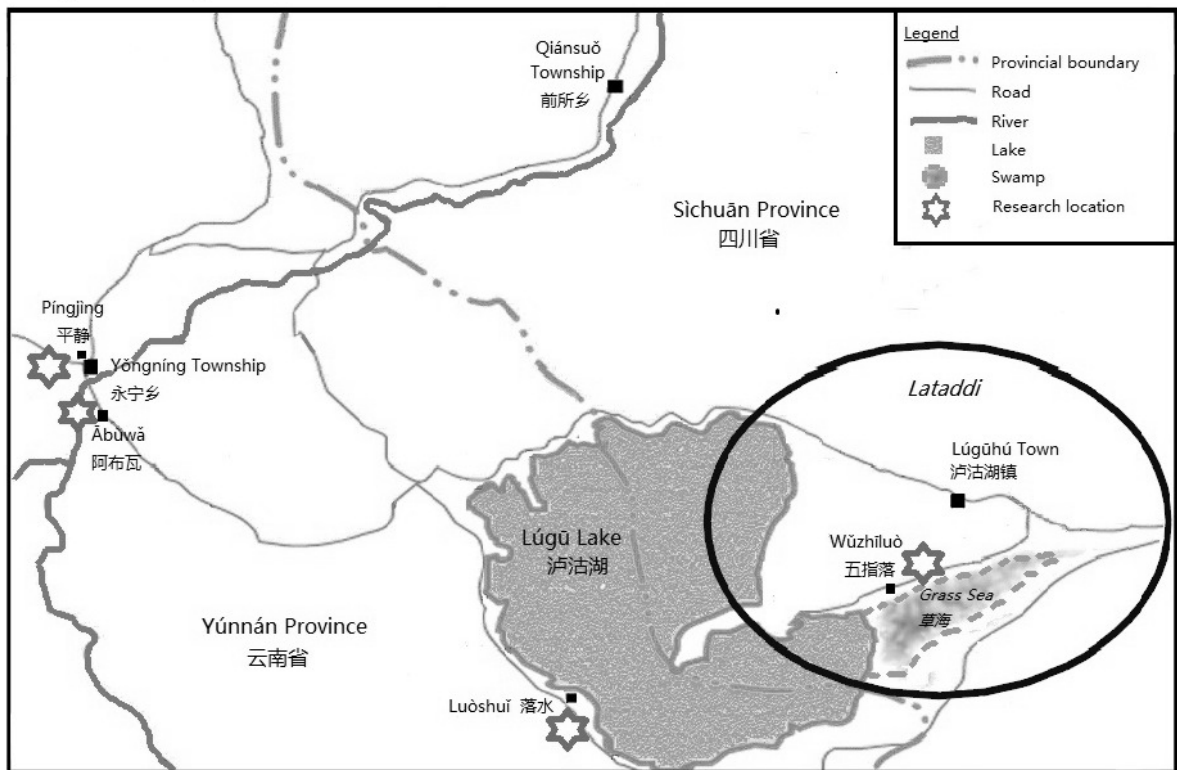
Intonation and stress also have roles in the prosodic system of LTD Narua. An utterance may not end on a flat tone: its last syllable has to either rise or fall, although this contour is not phonemic. A phonological phrase of tonal category /H/ will unfold gradually as a fall over any number of syllables when utterance final. In phrases consisting of N + NUM + CL, where the number is emphasised, it is pronounced with stress.

The tone system of LTD Narua as it relates to nouns and to adjectives as attributives is clear and described in this paper. The system for verbs (and adjectives as predicates) is not fully described at the present stage, so this presentation will not broach the subject.

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Map showing locations of YN Na research



Phrasing, prominence, and morphotonology: How utterances are divided into tone groups in Yongning Na

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Abstract

Yongning Na is a Sino-Tibetan language spoken in an area straddling the border between Yunnan and Sichuan, in the vicinity of lake Lugu.¹ This presentation addresses a central part of its tone system: how a sentence is divided into tone groups.

The Yongning Na tone system is based on three levels (L, M and H). It comprises a host of rules that are specific to certain morphosyntactic contexts. This large set of rules constitutes the core of the tonal morphology of Yongning Na, and represents the bulk of what language learners must acquire to master this tone system. Different rules apply in the association of a verb with a subject or an object, the association of two nouns into a compound, that of a numeral and classifier, or that of a word and its affixes, for instance. The tonal computation takes place within a domain referred to here as the *tone group*. This computation is conducted independently for successive tone groups. The division of the utterance into tone groups is a central part of Na prosody; several options are generally open, and the choice among them has important implications in terms of the utterance's information structure. Prominence (conveying information structure) and phrasing (reflecting syntactic structure) interact in the division of an utterance into tone groups. There is therefore no hard-and-fast correspondence between syntactic structure and the division into tone groups. Speakers may choose to integrate large chunks of speech into a single tone group, resulting in a stronger integration; or they may divide the utterance into a number of tone groups, with the stylistic effect of emphasizing these individual components one after the other.

This presentation examines detailed examples from narratives, bringing out general tendencies. Special attention is paid to cases that provide insights into how divisions into tone groups become habitual, and eventually become lexicalized: (i) the manner adverbials /t͡ɕʰuɿniɿ/ 'in this way, thus' and /tʰvɿniɿ/ 'in that way', which constitute a tone group on their own in the majority of cases; and (ii) compounds that resist the tendency towards integration into a single tone group.

The data sets on which the analysis is based are available from the Pangloss Collection, at the following address:

http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/archivage/languages/Na_en.htm

¹ Publications about Yongning Na include: Lidz 2007, 2010, 2011; Michaud 2008, 2012, 2013; Lidz & Michaud 2008; Michaud & Latami Dashi 2011.

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Synchronic analysis and diachronic development of obstruent vowels in Ersu and Lizu

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Abstract

This paper concerns the synchronic and diachronic aspects of obstruent vowels in two closely related Qiangic languages of China's Sichuan province, Ersu and Lizu. The presence of two high obstruent vowels, here notated /z̥/ and /ɣ̥/, is posited for each language based on experimental and observational evidence (Chirkova et al. manuscript). These obstruent vowels are pronounced with additional constriction, producing audible frication and modified formant values compared to the corresponding ordinary vowels [i] and [u]. In accordance with aerodynamic factors involved in high vowel frication (Ohala 1983), it is hypothesized that these obstruent vowels derive from high vowels and glides (including earlier /i/ and /u/ and their corresponding glides /j/ and /w/).

A reconstruction of Proto-Ersuic, the hypothetical recent ancestor language of Ersu and Lizu, has recently been carried out by Dominic Yu (2012). However, published research on the synchronic and diachronic properties of obstruent vowels (e.g. Alan Yu 1999, Connell 2001) suggest that Yu's conclusions should be modified to better account for the origins and subsequent development of obstruent vowels in Ersu and Lizu.

Specifically, we argue that the development of the obstruent vowels */z̥/ and */ɣ̥/ was conditioned by nasal coda loss. Furthermore, the obstruent vowels have had interesting effects on preceding onset consonants, notably in Ersu, where they have led to dramatic changes in place of articulation. For example, the Ersu-Lizu onset correspondences /b/ : /d/, /p/ : /t/, /p^h/ : /t^h/ are a direct result of Ersu assimilation to the labial properties of the obstruent vowel /ɣ̥/, as seen in the following Ersu-Lizu cognate pairs: /bɣ̥³¹/ [ɸ³¹], /dɣ̥⁵¹/ [dɸ⁵¹] 'plow handle'; /vo⁵¹pɣ̥⁵¹/, /bo⁵⁵tɣ̥⁵¹/ 'horse mane'; /lva³¹Np^hɣ̥⁵¹/, /le⁵⁵Nt^hɣ̥⁵¹/ 'hammer'. Finally, the development of obstruent vowels in cases where current reconstructions of PTB show no high vowels or glides suggests the presence of additional glides in the immediate ancestor of Ersu and Lizu, some of which might be reconstructible back to PTB.

Following an elaborated explanation of the above phenomena, a reconstruction of relevant aspects of the immediate ancestor of Ersu and Lizu will be proposed, along with a set of sound changes from PTB to the immediate ancestor of Ersu and Lizu, and from the latter to Ersu and Lizu. This revised reconstruction has implications for the relationship between the immediate ancestor of Ersu and Lizu and PTB, and also better motivates the sound changes that led to some of the more unusual sound correspondences found to hold between Ersu and Lizu.

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Tense and Aspect Morphology in Lizu : A First Look

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Abstract

Based on elicited and spontaneous narrative data, this paper investigates primary tense and aspect distinctions in the verb morphology of the Mianing dialect of Lizu (also known as Løzü or Lvzu). It has been observed that the language has recourse to not only affixes, but also clitics and auxiliaries to represent its major tense and aspect categories. In discussing related grammatical markings and constructions, this paper will show that the uses of these grams are also determined by specific factors such as transitivity, volitionaliy, and aktionsart types as encoded in the verb. Finally, a few notes will be given on the developments of the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’, which have undergone grammaticalization and now can also serve as tense-aspect markers.

Verb predicate Structure in the Mu-nya language

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The basic Verb predicate structure in the Mu-nya Language can be described as follows:

ŋi⁵⁵ pø³³ji⁵⁵ k^hu³³- ri⁵⁵ = po³³ ŋΛ⁵⁵.
I [AGT] Tibetan letters Dir-√write = SFX[impfct] DEC

I write Tibetan letters.

DirPFX- STEM =AspSFX (/=ModAUX) DEC.

DirPFX: Directional prefix

AspSFX: Aspect suffix

ModAUX: Modal Auxiliary verb

DEC: Declarative

Mu-nya has six kinds of DirPFX, which show the directionality of the verb, but they do not express aspect. AspSFX comes after a verb stem and expresses perfect/imperfect of the action or behavior, but the aspects do not express tense directly. ModAUX appears at the position of AspSFX when necessary. And DEC is an independent part of speech, which expresses evidentiality of the sentence. The Mu-nya Verbs are classified as three groups: controllable verbs, uncontrollable verbs, and stative verbs according to the connection with DEC. In addition, Mu-nya has a vowel alternation system according to the corresponding person of the subject in Vp. However, so far it was difficult to explain on which element in Vp the vowel change would occur. We analyze the vowel alternation system in the Mu-nya language, and try to clarify the issue in regard to the agreement with its subject in number and person.

More evidence for the genetic relationship between Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman

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Abstract

With more studies on Sino-Tibetan languages, the hypothesis of Sino-Tibetan including Sinitic, Tibeto-Burman, Kam-Tai, and Miao-Yao has been challenged. However, the genetic relationship between Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman has been generally taken for granted until now. If looking into the evidence for such genetic relationship, there are still two remaining problems:

- 1, more than several hundreds of corresponding morphemes between Chinese and Tibetan are listed up to this date. How can we make sure they are not accidentally corresponding?
- 2, for those which are not accidental correspondences, how can we make sure they are cognates instead of loanwords? Loanwords can also result in sound correspondence as we see between Old Chinese and Tai, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese.

Corresponding morphemes are a necessary condition of genetic relationship of languages, not a sufficient condition.

Recently, based on more rigorous methods, we have compared Old Chinese (OC) with Written Tibetan (WT) and Proto-Yi (PY) based on Yi dialects in Sichuan and Yunnan, more evidences have been accumulated for the genetic relationship between Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman.

In order to eliminate accidental correspondences, we propose a correlated principle to build correspondences. For example, it is necessary to find out both vowel correspondence and ending correspondence if we claim the sound correspondence for a final. For example (“=” means corresponding):

morpheme	final	OC	OC Rec	TB	Vowel	ending	Rank
蜂	东		phjwoŋ1	buŋ	o = u	ŋ = ŋ	
孔	东		khuoŋ3	khun	o = u	ŋ = ŋ	
痛	东		thjwoŋ5	gduŋ(s)	o = u	ŋ = ŋ	
恶	铎		?ak7	?ag	a = a	k = g	2nd
赤	铎		thjak7	khrag	a = a	k = g	1st
渡	铎		dwak10	daa	a = a	k = a	
百	铎		prak7	brgjaa	a = a	k = a	

In the same way, correspondences are also found between Old Chinese and Proto-Yi.

Rank distributions are largely tested in our fieldwork and the result is clear. In languages with genetic relationship, the ratio of cognates in 1st 100 words (high rank kernel words) is higher than that in 2nd 100 words (low rank kernel words). In

languages with contact relationship, the ratio of loanwords in 1st 100 words is lower than that in 2nd 100 words.

According to our correlated principle, 150 corresponding morphemes between Old Chinese and TB are found out, 40 of which belonging to kernel words with the following distribution:

The first 100 words: 26

The second 100 words: 14

This distribution strongly suggests that Chinese and Tibetan have genetic relationship.

We have also compared Old Chinese and Proto-Yi and found out the following rank distribution of kernel words:

The first 100 words: 21

The second 100 words: 6

This result also suggests strongly that Chinese and Yi have genetic relationship.

In conclusion, the rank distribution of kernel words supports the genetic relationship between Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman.

Morphology of adverbial clauses in nDrapa

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Abstract

This presentation mainly examines morphology of the verbs in adverbial clauses such as conditionals and concessives in nDrapa (Daofu and Yajiang Counties, Kanzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture). One of the observable characteristics is negation: the prohibitive form is employed as the negation in a certain type of clauses. For example, in (1), *na-* ‘DWN.PROH’, the prohibitive form of the downward directional prefix (*a-* ‘DWN’), is used for negation.

- (1) *somuŋi3* *maŋku3* *na-te=rɿ3*, *the-a2* *re3*.
tomorrow rain DWN.PROH-fall=COND pleasant-RT SFP
‘If rain does not fall tomorrow, it will be pleasant.’

Moreover, the point-of-view marking (Pattern A: egophoric/Pattern B: non-egophoric) is neutralized in the subordinate clauses, but the participation of the pivot (i: the speaker of a direct declarative sentence; ii: the hearer of an interrogative sentence; or iii: the original speaker of a reported sentence) may affect the acceptability of a certain type of adverbial clause. For example, (2) is less acceptable than (3): In (2), the natural condition is stated objectively, but in (3), the speaker states the event that involved him/herself. This phenomenon is observed in Levels IV and V of Tsunoda’s ‘five levels in clause linkage’ (Tsunoda 2012).

- (2) ? *satsa3* *fiɖziɖzi3* *re=aɕɰ3*, *maŋku3* *a-mə-tti3*.
ground wet COP₄=CONC₂ rain DWN-NEG-reach
‘Although the ground is wet, (I guess that) it did not shower.’

- (3) *ŋa1* *ɿpe1* *ma-the=aɕɰ3*, *chanba3* *ni=tɕ3* *ma-jɿ3* *pa3*.
1SG a.little NEG-pleasant=CONC₂ cold sick=IPFV NEG-COP1 INF
‘Although I slightly feel bad, I don’t think I have a cold.’

I will describe the morphological characteristics of adverbial clauses in nDrapa and will discuss the contrast with other languages in the western Sichuan area.

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Presence or absence of tone in a Northern Qiang dialect.

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For decades, the presence or absence of lexical tone has been considered a sufficient test to classify Northern and Southern Qiang languages (H. Sun 1981). No Northern Qiang (NQ) dialect had been described with morphemic tone, and no Southern Qiang (SQ) dialect had been described without morphemic tone (although there has been some debate about the Puxi variety, cf. Huang 2004). Similarly, Northern Qiang dialects have been described with distinctive vowel length, while this is not found in SQ.

Beginning with the authors' initial contact with the Yunlinsi dialect of Northern Qiang in 2005, there have appeared tantalizing minimal pairs which seem to be distinguished by tone. It appears that tone might only distinguish long vowels, as in the following examples (minimal triples are scarce):

V		Fall		Low	
/pæ/	'bloom'	/pæ:/	'brown bear'	/pæ:/	'give birth'
/bu/	'board'	--	--	/bu:/	'sugar'
/qu ^ʁ /	'fear'	/qu ^ʁ :/	'pocket'	--	--

Thus far, all examples of words that appear to carry a tone distinction are monosyllables, and vowel length appears to be involved in some way. This paper reports on the results of speech synthesis and perception tests performed onsite in the Summer of 2013 to determine whether at least *some morphemes* in Yunlinsi are specified for pitch, which has been proposed as a definition of a tone language (Hyman 2001:1368). The study also intends to discover whether short vowels can carry tonal distinctions, as well as what happens to tonal distinctions in a larger morphosyntactic context.

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Towards a more comprehensive understanding of Qiang dialectology: New evidence from the Yonghe Qiang

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Abstract

Qiang language varieties belong to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman. Ethnic Qiang people live in Aba Prefecture, Sichuan, China. The main locus of Qiang speakers are in Heishui, Mao, Wen, and Li counties. Qiang varieties have been presented as belonging to two languages, Northern and Southern on the basis of certain typological features (H. Sun, 1981). This hypothesis, that Qiang varieties fall neatly into northern and southern categories, has remained largely unchallenged throughout the years although there has been some disagreement as to whether certain dialects should be considered northern or southern (LaPolla, 2003). Other research has brought to light that some varieties that do not conform to the prescribed typological characteristics of the north-south paradigm (Huang, 2007). One such variety is the Yonghe lect, which is spoken in Mao County, Yonghe Township. Yonghe, having a population of approximately 4,000 people, has not been mentioned in any literature on Qiang dialectology. Speakers of Yonghe share low intelligibility with speakers of Southern and Northern Qiang varieties. Speakers of Yonghe do share high intelligibility with speakers in the neighboring Goukou Township, which has been described as belonging to the Heihui dialect of Southern Qiang (Liu 1998). This paper presents a phonological analysis of Yonghe which provides insights useful for the comparison of Yonghe to the other varieties of Qiang that have been classified as either Northern or Southern. In addition to phonological comparisons, isogloss bundles and intelligibility testing further strengthen these comparisons. This paper demonstrates that there is low intelligibility between the speakers of Yonghe and speakers of other Qiang varieties other than Goukou. In addition, phonological differences between Yonghe and other Qiang varieties reveal that Yonghe is as dissimilar to the varieties of Qiang classified as “Northern” as it is to the “Southern” dialects spoken in Lixian, Wenchuan and Maoxian. Thus, this paper concludes that the variety of Qiang spoken in Yonghe and Goukou should be considered a distinct synchronic language on grounds of shared phonological innovations, intelligibility phenomena, lexical similarity, as well as ethnolinguistic and cultural identity. Lastly a cluster approach to Qiang dialectology is presented as a more comprehensive way of understanding Qiang language varieties.

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Evidence and paradigms in Wadu Pumi

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Abstract

Evidentiality and egophoricity are two sides of the same coin in Wadu Pumi. On the one hand, speakers report on things that they are involved in themselves (egophoric); on the other hand they report on the actions of others (evidential). There are three sets of evidential and egophoric markers in Wadu Pumi that occur in the same (post-verbal) slot and cannot be used together. The markers are given in the Table and an example of their position in a clause is given in (1).

	EGOPHORICITY				EVIDENTIALITY	
	EGO 1SG	EGO 2SG	EGO INCL	EGO PL	NON-EGO	
Perfective	sã	si	sã		si	Inferential
Progressive/ habitual	q̣ã	qu	q̣wã		qau	Direct
Volitive/ hortative	ʂu		gi	çĩ	qei	Expectational

- (1) ne-dẓ̌ q̣ã , é la ne- dẓ̌ sã , ḳ̌ ẓ̌
 down-sit PROG:EGO1SG 1SG also down- sit PERF:EGO1SG cold very
 ṇ̌ṣ̌ bu
 morning TOP
 I sit down regularly, I sat down (in the morning) as well; it's very cold in the morning.

Similar markers in related dialects have been analysed in various ways. Lu (1983:42) treats them as a single paradigm of past, present and future tense markers. Fu (1998:104) analyses them rather as perfective, progressive and prospective aspect markers. Ding (1998) does not treat them as one paradigm, but analyses the three different sets of markers as aspectual, evidential and modality markers respectively.

This paper will discuss how the temporal, aspectual and modal notions interact with the egophoric-evidential parameter in Wadu Pumi, and whether these three sets of markers can be analysed as a single paradigm or not.

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Time without tense in Nyagrong Minyag

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Abstract

This study provides a preliminary report on the tense and aspectual system of the Bangsmad dialect of Nyagrong Minyag, an understudied Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Xinlong County, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan. We show that Nyagrong Minyag is typologically a “tenseless language” in the sense of Smith (2008)—it relies on the viewpoint-aspect contrast between imperfective and perfective, which allows temporal inference.

While Nyagrong Minyag remains less studied (only Suzuki 2008 for the rGyarwagshis dialect), extensive research on other rGyalrongic languages has laid a solid foundation for our analyses. Lin (2011:59-60) identifies three major functions associated with the perfective verb form in rGyalrong Proper: a) to denote a single, unified, discrete event (on dynamic verbs), b) to signal a change of state (on stative verbs), and c) to refer to a past situation as related to the present (i.e. the perfect viewpoint). We claim that Nyagrong Minyag employs the same mechanism—in which the prefix *də-* is responsible for the formation of perfective verbs, and serves as the aforementioned functions (see example (1a-c)).

The imperfective verb forms of this language, on the other hand, possess no preverbal morphology—a curious finding which relates to the Qiang language (Lapolla 2003:164) rather than other rGyalrongic languages (e.g. Lin 2003; Sun 2003). As shown in Example (2a), the verb stem by itself carries the prospective aspect, whereas the addition of a sentence-final copula verb can be used to indicate the continuous aspect, as in (2b).

Smith (2008), following Comrie (1976), proposes a three-way classification of the tense and aspectual typology, and maintains that in “tenseless languages”, the temporal information is pragmatically inferred from aspectual information—an unbounded situation is by default Present, while a bounded situation is Past. Nyagrong Minyag is arguably a member of this type, which “expresses time without tense”. The temporal interpretation is inferred from the verbal morphology of perfective/imperfective counterpart as “past/non-past” (cf. (1a) and (2b)). The significant contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect in Nyagrong Minyag is reflected not only by the presence/absence of the perfective marking *də-*, but also by the aspiration alteration in some verb stems, which appears to be conditioned by the perfective morphology (cf. *də-tət^hu* in (1a) and *t^hət^hu* in (2a)).

The “tense” distinction inferred from the presence/absence of perfective marking (*də-*) is further attested in a specific pair of copula *tei/də-tewa*. In this language, *tei* functions as the existential verb and introduces the adpositional predicate. The sentence is interpreted as

Present tense by default, as shown in (3a), whereas the addition of the perfective marker *də-* creates a Past interpretation, as in (3b). When applied to dynamic verbs, this pair of lexical items provides continuous aspect with temporal inferences—*tei* implies “future” continuous, whereas *də-tewa* for “past” continuous, as in (4a) and (4b), respectively.

- (1) a. *ŋa ni-də də-tət^{hu}*
1SG 2SG-OBJ PFV-pull₂.1A
‘I pulled you.’
b. *ŋa də-βdzwa*
1SG PFV-drunk
‘I am (already) drunk.’
c. *ŋa tsi də-tsi*
1SG food PFV-eat
‘I have eaten. (I don’t want to eat anymore.)’
- (2) a. Prospective aspect (neutral):
ŋa ni-də t^{hə}t^{hu}
1SG 2SG-OBJ pull₁.1A
‘I am going to pull you.’
b. Continuous aspect
ŋa ni-də t^{hə}t^{hə} ŋə
1SG 2SG-OBJ pull₁ COP.1
‘I am pulling you.’
- (3) a. *ŋa yu nu tɛɛ*
1SG house LOC EXIST.1
‘I am in the house.’
b. *ŋa yu nu də-tewa*
1SG house LOC PFV-EXIST.1
‘I was in the house.’
- (4) a. *ŋa ni-də t^{hə}t^{hə} tɛɛ*
1SG 2SG-OBJ pull₁ EXIST.1
‘I will be pulling you (some time in the future).’
b. *ŋa ni-də t^{hə}t^{hə} də-tewa*
1SG 2SG-OBJ pull₁ PFV-EXIST.1
‘I was pulling you.’

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What lies behind Wobzi Consonant Clusters?

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Abstract

Wobzi is a dialect of Lavrung, a Rgyalrongic language spoken in Chuchen County, Rngaba Autonomous Prefecture of Tibetan and Qiang.

The extremely elaborated consonant clusters in the onset position of Lavrung are under analysis in this talk.

A Lavrung onset can reach up to five or more consonants. Huang (2007) finds an example with five consecutive consonants in the dialect of Guanyinqiao: *ɛvrɔzyə* “hatch”; Yin (2007) and my own fieldwork show a number of examples with four-consonant onsets in Njorogs and Wobzi: Wobzi. *ɛnsɕʰə* “hibernate”, etc. As a result, we are interested in how these consonants are organised and what they tell us about the phonology of the language.

In this talk, we are going to give a phonological account to the structure of the Wobzi onset and the way to derive a Wobzi onset.

We will first examine the different roles (pre-initials, initial and medial) of the onset by applying the reduplication test, which contributes to the analysis of its structure. Then we will focus on the pre-initial hierarchy, using various phonomorphological tests (resyllabification, reduplication, etc). The hierarchy will be dealt with by modern phonological theories.

Finally, we will see how these phonological rules work in a whole syllable and even an utterance.

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Person marking in Resnyeske

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This paper deals with the verbal flexion of Resnyeske *rəʃnəske*, a Rgyalrongic language spoken in Rtau country (Chine Daofu 道孚), Sichuan province, China. Previous description of the verbal flexions of closely related languages include Huang (1991) and Sun & Tian (to appear).

This study is divided into three sections.

First, we present the attested verb paradigms, including irregular verbs, and propose a morphophonological analysis of vowel alternations.

Second, we study the morphosyntactic encoding of the arguments for a variety of verbs, and show that although only two major conjugation types exist (transitive and intransitive), no less than ten sub-categories of verbs have from a morphosyntactic point of view.

Third, we propose a historical account of the origin of the verbal paradigm of Resnyeske on the basis of related languages, especially Rgyalrong and Lavrung.

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Intelligibility, identity, and structure in Western rGyalrongic

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Abstract

This paper compares intelligibility, ethnolinguistic identity, and linguistic structure between rGyalrongic lects in the following locations belonging to Ganzi Prefecture: Daofu County's Xianshui Town, and Danba County's Niega and Geshiza Townships. rGyalrongic language varieties, located in both Aba and Ganzi Prefectures of northwestern Sichuan, have been demonstrated to be a genetic subgroup within Sino-Tibetan by J. Sun's (2000) discovery of four paradigmatic, individual-identifying, and morphologically complex shared innovations. Although rGyalrongic has been established as a subgroup, the internal diachronic and synchronic divisions have not been rigorously established. J. Sun proposed three distinct synchronic languages belonging to rGyalrongic—rGyalrong, Lavrung, and Horpa-Shangzhai—but he also suggests that rGyalrong could be conceived of as three languages and Horpa-Shangzhai could be considered two languages. Jacques (Forthcoming) and Gates (2012) challenge the hypothesis that rGyalrong is a single synchronic language, the former proposing a four way division and the latter identifying five distinct synchronic languages. J. Sun's Horpa and Shangzhai have been granted ISO 639-3 codes [ero] and [jih] respectively, and were subsequently entered into the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009). This paper concerns itself with Horpa-Shangzhai, referred heretofore as the 'Western rGyalrongic' language cluster. Western rGyalrongic language varieties, with about 45,000 speakers scattered throughout Ganzi Prefecture's Daofu, Luhou, Danba, and Xinlong Counties and Aba Prefecture's Rangtang and Jinchuan Counties, were first categorized as a single synchronic language known under the names Ergong (Sūn 1983) and Daofu (Huáng 1991), respectively. More recently, Suzuki (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2012) has proposed that four synchronic languages should be recognized from this cluster, renaming Horpa as sTau (in Daofu, Luhuo, and Danba), Nyagrang Minyang (in Xinlong), and Geshitsa (in Danba County), and renaming Shangzhai as Puxi. Before any of the above competing hypotheses (or others unmentioned) can be chosen as the best reflection of the ethnolinguistic situation, adequate criteria must be agreed upon and sufficient evidence must be provided, integrating synchronic and diachronic, ethnocultural and linguistic. Fresh data used in this paper serves as a catalyst towards that end and simultaneously provides evidence supporting Suzuki's split of Geshitsa from sTau. In short, intelligibility testing was conducted by asking participants from Xianshui, Geshiza and Niega to listen to recorded sentences from each lect and retell what they understood. A detailed analysis of these retellings reveals low intelligibility between speakers of Xianshui and speakers of Geshiza/Niega, and marginal intelligibility between speakers of Geshiza and speakers of Niega. Ethnic identity was explored through the use of participatory methods and informal interviews, revealing ethnic affinity between speakers from the three locations, a mix of high and low perceived intelligibility, and onomastic identities that correlate with intelligibility testing results. In addition, wordlists, sentences, and natural texts from Xianshui, Geshiza, and Niega were collected and a preliminary analysis is presented, including a presentation of isogloss bundles that correlate with intelligibility and ethnic identity.

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Inverse Marking in Nyagrong Minyag

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Abstract

This study explores the inverse marking system found in the Bangsmad dialect of Nyagrong Minyag, an under-documented language spoken in Xinlong County, Ganzi Prefecture, Sichuan. Typologically intriguing, while the rGyarwagshis dialect of Nyagrong Minyag does not employ an inverse pattern (Suzuki 2008), the Bangsmad dialect exhibits an inverse-marking mechanism which is rather different from that of other rGyalroic and Qiangic languages (e.g. Japhug rGyalrong (Jacques 2010), Caodeng rGyalrong (Sun and Shi 2002) and Shixing (Chirkova 2008)). The inverse-marking mechanism of the Bangsmad dialect is typologically special in several aspects: i) it is sensitive to sentence type, and ii) the type of split on the Empathy Hierarchy is rather different from the areal majority.

In declarative constructions of Nyagrong Minyag, a sentence is treated as “direct” only when the agent is a first-person argument. Inverse marking occurs to the left of the verb stem wherever the agent is a non-first-person argument, including “3→2”, “3→1”, “2→1”, and also “2→3” and “3→3”, as illustrated in Examples (1)-(5) and Figure 1. In *wh*-questions and imperative sentences, however, this language exhibits a distinct “1 > 2 > 3” hierarchy, in which a “2→3” sentence does not carry an inverse marking, as in (6)-(7) and Figure 2. The inverse pattern appears to be sensitive to different sentence types.

We claim that the inverse pattern in declarative sentences presents the language's strong preference of "first-person prominence" (i.e. $1 > 2/3$). This phenomenon is also observed in Nyagrong Minyag's person agreement system and copula forms, in which specific forms of aspect marking/verbal morphology are employed for sentences that involves a first-person argument. Descriptively, this type of "first person dominant" marking mechanism is similar to that of Rawang (LaPolla 2010).

While many rGyalrongic languages exhibit a “SAP > non-SAP” hierarchy and distinguish among the degree of animacy in third person, Nyagrong Minyag is clearly not a member of these types. The split on the EH in its declarative sentence falls between first and second person, and no distinction among third person human, animate and inanimate is attested.

- (1) ədɛ ŋa-də φ-tə ŋə
 3SG 1SG-ACC INV-beat₁ COP.1
 ‘He is beating me (now).’ (3→1)

- (2) *nalə* *ŋa* *Lozom-də* *tu* (1→3)
tomorrow 1SG PN-ACC beat₁.1A
‘Tomorrow I will beat Lozom.’
- (3) *ni* *ədɛ-də* *ϕ-si* *nəŋə* (2→3)
2SG 3SG-ACC INV-kill COP
‘You will kill him (someday)’
- (4) *məgə* *ŋa-də* *də-β-zwa* (3→1)
yesterday 1SG-ACC PFV-INV-push₂.1O
‘Yesterday I was pushed (by somebody).’
- (5) *məgə* *ni* *Lozom-də* *də-v-li* (2→3)
yesterday 2SG PN-ACC PFV-INV-release
‘You released Lozom yesterday. (You don’t remember.)’
- (6) *na* *s^hə-də* *də-t^hə* *ŋə* (2→3)
2SG who-ACC PFV-beat₂ INT
‘Who did you beat?’
- (7) *Lozom-də* *gə* *tə!* (2→3)
PN-ACC IMP beat₁
‘(You) beat Lozom! (imperative)’

*In the examples above, stem₁ indicates imperfective verb forms, and stem₂ for perfective verb forms.

Figure 1: Inverse marking in declarative sentences

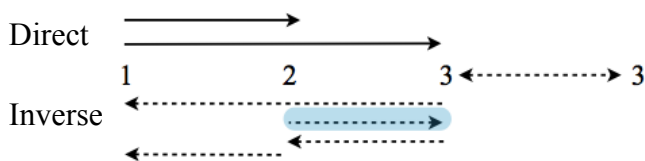
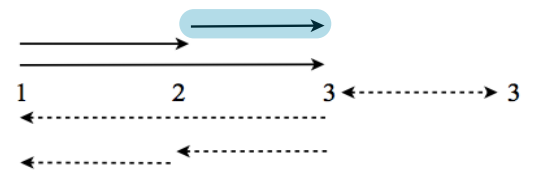


Figure 2: Inserve marking in wh-questions/
imperative sentences



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Associated motion in Rgyalrong and Kiranti languages

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Associated motion is a category first described in various languages of Australia (see [Koch 1984](#), [Wilkins 1991](#)) and more recently applied to the Tacanan languages of South America (see [Guillaume 2008](#), [Guillaume to appear](#)).

This category refers to grammatical markers that attach to verbs and “specify that the event denoted by the verb stem is associated with a motion event” as [Wilkins \(1991: 207\)](#) puts it. In some languages, the associated motion system can include up to 14 distinct affixes, distinguished by three main parameters: 1) the deixis (whether the motion is towards the speaker, away from the speaker or unspecified) 2) the syntactic role of the entity undergoing the motion (S/A vs. O) 3) the time of the motion relative to the action expressed by the verb stem (prior, concurrent, subsequent).

Rgyalrong and Kiranti languages have independently grammaticalized associated motion morphemes from motion verbs such as “come” and “go”. While the systems found in Rgyalrong and Kiranti are much less elaborate than those attested in Arandic, they nevertheless present several unusual typological phenomena.

This presentation is divided into three sections.

First, we describe the associated motion system of Japhug Rgyalrong and Khaling. The two systems are radically different. While Khaling has suffixes, Japhug Rgyalrong has associated motion *prefixes*, a typological oddity for a verb final language (see [Jacques to appear](#)). While in Japhug associated motion prefixes have lost all verbal properties, in Khaling both the verb stem and the associated motion affix receive person and tense agreement.

Second, we propose a series of scenarios to account for the grammaticalization of associated motion affixes in Rgyalrong and Kiranti.

Third, we refine the existing typologies of associated motion system by comparing the Rgyalrong and Kiranti systems with data from Arandic, Tacanan and Algonquian languages.

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Zbu rGyalrong, a language spoken in northwestern 'Barkhams county, shows a tone and stress system akin to what is commonly known as pitch accent. The system attested in Ngyaltsu variety shows numerous peculiarities, though very recognizable as part of the common rGyalrong pattern. In this report, the attested system will be described, particularly through its interaction with verbal morphology. The surface tone will be shown as derived from a series of interactions between different types of stems and prefixes. Finally, the probable diachronical development or retention will constitute a final point of this discussion.

Initial findings on Nyagrong Minyag phonetics

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Abstract

This talk presents an analysis of the speech sounds of Nyagrong Minyag employing palatographic, acoustic, and video techniques to complement traditional auditory analysis. Nyagrong Minyag is an understudied language of Xinlong (Nyagrong) County, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province; it is not to be confused with Muya (ISO 639-3: mvm), spoken near Kangding. It is likely a Rgyalrongic language, whose closest living relative is probably Horpa (ISO 639-3: ero). Nyagrong Minyag, however, differs significantly from published descriptions of Horpa and other Rgyalrongic languages, especially in terms of the phonetics.

After presenting the phoneme inventory and syllable structure of Nyagrong Minyag, this talk will elaborate on the researcher’s use of instrumental techniques to identify some of the more challenging phonemic distinctions and resolve cases where the details of articulation are unclear. Palatographic evidence is used to show the contrasting coronal places of articulation, and video evidence is presented for distinguishing the labial sounds. Acoustic data is used for characterizing pre-initials and vowel distinctions.

The data presented in this talk provide the first phonetic description of Nyagrong Minyag and add to our understanding of the phonetics of Rgyalrongic languages more generally.

Irrealis across the Kiranti languages

In examining the notion of irrealis across a sample of Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal (Thulung, Khaling, Koyi, Limbu, Dumi), the following patterns come to light:

1) The irrealis is found with counterfactual conditionals, as seen in the following Thulung example:

go mukli mi-bi-ŋ-wa-m mala ama-mam-ka dykha be-m-**ba**
1SG Mukli NEG-come-1SG-IRR-NMLZ COND 1SG.POSS-mother-ERG difficulty do-3PL-IRR
If I had not come to Mukli, my mother would have struggled.

2) The irrealis is found in the negative past forms of verbs. This is the case in Thulung and Khaling, where the irrealis marker is found throughout negative past paradigms. The following examples show the substitution of the irrealis marker (-wa, -w respectively) for the past marker (-to, -t respectively):

mi-suu-u-wa	suu-uto	(Thulung)
NEG-tell-1SG/3SG-IRR	tell-1SG/3SG.PST	
I did not tell it.	I told it.	

mu-t ^h əŋ-wa	t ^h əŋ-ta	(Khaling)
NEG-see-IRR.1SG	see-1SG.PST	
I did not see it	I saw it.	

Possible associations with negation are also found in Limbu, where the negative prefix *mən-* is homophonous with the irrealis suffix (glossed "conditional" in van Driem 1985 but actually an irrealis). Furthermore, Limbu has a portemanteau agreement marker for 1s or 1s/3 negative past forms (<-paŋ>); there are several possible analyses for the p element within the portemanteau (-aŋ is 1s), one of which is that it is cognate with the Thulung-Khaling irrealis markers.

3) Mutual exclusivity of irrealis and past marker: in some languages, past and irrealis markers are mutually exclusive (Thulung, Khaling); they either occupy the same slot within the verbal template, or different slots that cannot be filled at the same time. This mutual exclusivity is not universal (in Limbu for example, the irrealis can cooccur with the past marker -ε) but suggests that past and irrealis are sometimes set up in opposition to each other. Steele proposes a semantic primitive to link the two concepts--a connection which is found in a number of language families--namely the dissociative, "past time is dissociated from present time. Irrealis is dissociated from reality." (1975 : 217)

4) Absence of irrealis marking in languages which have undergone a flip-flop in past marking: in both Dumi and Koyi, the past marker was reanalyzed as a non-past marker. Evidence of this is in the transitive agreement markers in Koyi, where the reflex of the Kiranti past marker *-ta is seen in the *non-past* markers:

NPST PST

1SG>3SG	-do	-uŋa
2SG>3SG	-dana	-una
3SG>3SG	-da	-u

There seems to be a correlation between the absence of the irrealis marker and the unmarkedness of the past in these languages.

Based on the above, I would like to explore in greater detail the distribution of functions of the irrealis marker across Kiranti languages. Is Bybee correct in stating, speaking cross-linguistically, that irrealis is "simply too general to be useful, except as a pointer to a very broad domain" (1998: 269), or is there, in the Kiranti languages, evidence of sufficient shared features, centering around negation and past, to justify the the notion of an irrealis marker?

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Something different from the pitch: evidences against the monogenesis of the suprasegmentals from the Eastern Tibetan languages

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Abstract

This paper provides various suprasegmental features in the Tibetan languages spoken in the easternmost Tibetan area, i.e. Sichuan-Gansu border region, called Eastern Tibetan languages (henceforth ETL). The analysis shows a new type of tonogenesis in the field of the Tibetan linguistics. Most of the materials discussed here are based on my first-hand data collected for this decade.

The members of the ETL to be mentioned in the paper are: Cone ཙ་མེ་ 卓尼 (kLuchu ལུ་མུ་ 洮河畔 + Nyinpa ཉིན་པ་ 尼巴), Thewo ཐེ་བོ་ (stod སྟོད་ 鉄布 + smad མཐུ་ 下迭部), mBrugchu འབྲུག་མུ་ 舟曲 (Ongsum ཨོང་མུ་གུ་ 八楞 + dGonpa དགོན་པ་ 拱坝), dPalskyid དཔ་ལ་སྐུ་ (dPalskyid དཔ་ལ་སྐུ་ 巴西 + Babzo བབ་བཟོ་ 包座), Khodpokhog ཁོད་པོ་ཁོག་ 九寨沟 (gZitsakhog གཟི་ཙ་ཁོག་ 九寨沟风景区 + nKhyungkyog འཕྲུང་རྒྱུག་ 中查), Sharkhog ཤར་ཁོག་ 松潘岷江畔 (stod སྟོད་ 川主寺以北 + smad མཐུ་ 大寨、黄龙) and Khromjekhog ཁྲོམ་རྩེ་ཁོག་ 牟尼沟 [subgroup names in parantheses]. There are several previous works on these languages such as Nagano (1980), Lin (2002), Sun (2003b) and rNam-rgyal Tshe-brtan (2007), which merely treat one language group or variety without any areal perspectives. On the other hand, Sun (2003a) provides many sorts of the suprasegmental system of whole Tibetan languages including some ETL varieties, but according to his analysis, the tone is always related to the pitch. This is different from my analysis to introduce a phonation-type register. Thus, I will provide an overall picture of the suprasegmental system of the ETL from a macroscopic perspective.

The suprasegmentals in the ETL are various but their origin may be only one system which is different from the well-known and widespread pattern of tonogenesis in the Tibetan languages especially Central and Khams. In the ETL, it is only Cone which has a pitch distinction in its phonology. On the other hand, mBrugchu has no suprasegmentals which function in the phonology but it has a phonetically clear realisation of "breathy voice." Other ETL varieties often have a "creaky voice," which basically function as a phonological aspect called "register distinction" in my analysis, for example, Suzuki (2008).

The paper attempts to explain these differences with a different idea of tonogenesis: "registrogenesis." This idea has been applied for several languages (Ratree & Jongman 2002), but the term "register" used by the present author is based on the definition proposed by Zhu (2010). The register in Zhu (2010) is defined with the difference of phonation without any relation to the phonological pitch height. In other words, the main phonetic characteristics of suprasegmentals belong to the phonation type. In this theory, the original pitch height would have been high for any kinds of initial simplexes as a default, as attested in many varieties of Amdo Tibetan, but there occurred many changes in initial complexes, which reflected to various phonation types (creaky, breathy, or tense, lax, etc.). Because the pitch and the phonation type are independent from each other, they two can co-occur in one language system, as in Wu of the Sinitic languages. In the ETL, these two features do not co-occur and the difference of phonation types can change their phonetic quality so that the pitch can be generated by losing various phonation realisations.

With this theory, we can understand the phonetic phenomenon attested in the ETL that a word can be pronounced either in high pitch or in low pitch, for *the pitch height is not fundamental feature* of the suprasegmentals in many varieties of the ETL. In addition to this, we can explain how a archaic resonant (always voiced) simplex has been pronounced in *high* pitch. Contrarily, a breathy voice often induces low pitch and a creaky voice can induce high pitch, but the pitch height is hardly essential to the phonological treatment. Instead, the most important feature is a voice quality, which can be distinguished from non-breathy or non-creaky voice.

From the viewpoint of the development from the phonation to the pitch, the order of each ETL may be:

- 1) the most primitive, i.e. phonation-like languages : mBrugchu (Ongsum + dGonpa) ;
- 2) more phonation-like languages : dPalskyid (dPalskyid + Babzo), Khodpokhog (gZitsakhog + nKhyungkyog) and Thewo (smad) ;
- 3) less phonation-like or more pitch-like languages : Thewo (stod), Sharkhog (stod + smad) and Khromjekhog ;
- 4) pitch-like languages are Cone (kLuchu + Nyinpa).

Note that all the suprasegmental patterns in the ETL do not originate from the well-known tonogenesis but from the various innovation of the register-based tonogenesis.

As an appendix, the paper provides a detailed toponym list of the language area of each ETL.

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Verb Classification and *Aktionsart* in the Nuosu Yi Language

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Abstract

This paper discusses and introduces the verb classification and *aktionsart* of the Nuosu Yi language. The Nuosu Yi language has all kinds of the five *aktionsart* features which have been introduced by pioneer linguists Zeno Vendler (1967), David Dowty (1979), Carlota S. Smith (1997), Van Valin (2005) and Van Valin & LaPolla (1997). The verbs of Nuosu Yi language can be classified into five categories: those that express ‘state’, ‘activity’, ‘achievement’, ‘accomplishment’ and ‘semelfactive’. It also discusses the opposition of the terms ‘aspect’ and ‘*aktionsart*’ in Nuosu language through distinguishing the concept opposition of ‘viewpoint aspect’ and ‘situation aspect’, ‘grammatical aspect’ and ‘lexical aspect’, ‘subjective aspect’ and objective aspect, and so on.

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The Tibetan Dialects in the South of Qinghai

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Abstract: The south of Qinghai refers to Guoluo and Yushu. This region adjoins the north of Sichuang, the south of Gangsu, and the southeast of Tibet, which is also a place where Tibetan dialects, namely Anduo, Kang and Weizang merge and transit, so the distribution and the characteristics of the Tibetan dialects are very complex here.

We made a very detailed investigation of Tibetan-Anduo dialects of the south of Qinghai, the north of Sichuang, and the south of Gangsu. Currently we are investigating Kang dialects of the south of Qinghai and the north of Sichuang, and having a preliminary understanding about the dialects in this region, which have characteristics of both A and B dialects, even C dialect, thus they can offer distinct perspective to observe the evolution of languages, and can be key links connecting different dialects on the chain of language evolution. Taking Chu dmar leb Tibetan in the south of Qinghai as an example, its initial consonants are nearly the same to the ones in dialects such as Kang and some other places in Sde dge of the north of Sichuang, but its rimes are correspondence with Anduo dialect, so does Rma stod of Anduo dialect near Chu dmar leb. Furthermore, tones with functions of phoneme are beginning to arise in these dialects; therefore, it is of great significance to carry out investigations to the Tibetan dialects in this region.

Key words: the south of Qinghai; the north of Sichuang; Tibetan dialects; characteristics of dialects

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