CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

QIANG*

Randy J. LaPolla

Qiang is spoken in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in northwest Sichuan Province, China; it belongs to the Qiangic branch of Tibeto-Burman. There are two major Qiang dialects, Northern Qiang (spoken in Heishui County, and the Chibusu district of Mao County; roughly 70,000 speakers) and Southern Qiang (spoken in Li County, Wenchuan County, Mao County, and Songpan County; about 60,000) (Sun 1981a: 77-78). The dialect presented here is the Northern Qiang variety spoken in Ronghong Village, Yidu Township, Chibusu District, Mao County.

1 THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Qiang has thirty-nine consonants at seven points of articulation (Table 35.1), plus complex consonant clusters, both in initial and final position.

Items in parentheses are not phonemic: [v] is an allophone of /w/ when it appears before front vowels; [x] and [y] are allophones of /s/ and /z/, respectively, when followed by a voiced consonant. There is no phonemic contrast between a glottal stop onset and a pure vocalic onset or between /l/ and /w/. Almost all of these consonants, except the aspirated stops, can be finals. All of the original Proto-Tibeto-Burman finals were lost (cf. Liu 1984), but new ones were created from the merging of two syllables where the de-stressing of the second syllable led to the loss of the final vowel (and often reduction of the original initial, e.g. [slp/'] 'tree' < /slp/ 'wood' + /ph/ 'forest').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspirated stop</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>qh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>dz</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asp. affricate</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>zh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced affricate</td>
<td>dz</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless fricative</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>η</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced fricative</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiceless lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced lateral</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* I would like to thank R.M.W. Dixon and Alexandra Aikhenvald for valuable comments on a draft of this chapter.
Phonetically, consonant clusters are formed by /g/ and one of the following initials: /p, t, k, q, 2, b, d, g, m, d/z/, /h/ followed by /k, s, ts, t, s, l, z, dz, z, dz/ or /h/ followed by /s, s, ts, t, l, c, z, dz, a, o, x, dz/. Phonetically /g/ becomes [s] before /i/ and /u/, and becomes [g] before /i/, /i/, /o/, /o/ and /l/, and the pre-initials all become voiced before initials (e.g., /ma-xxuuk/ 'eyebrows'; /hyp/ 'living', 'to be alive'; /mo/ 'entrust to'; /yel/ 'dread'; /el/ 'dear'; /e/ 'disease'; /el/ 'to enameil'). Some examples of clusters in final position: /fghex/ 'sip (v)'; /fygaxa/ 'laugh (v)'; /fyyg/ 'horse dung'; /fghax/ 'palm'; /fgy/ 'shade (v)'.

The Qiang vowels are given in (1):

(1)

\[ \text{i, i, y, y: } \text{u, u,} \]

\[ \text{e, e, e: } \text{e, o, o,} \]

\[ \text{a, a, a, a: } \text{a, o,} \]

There are fourteen native diphthongs /via, iea, ye, eu, eu, ci, eo, io, ou, ea, ea, ea, ia, iu/ and one native triphthong /viaaa/. The diphthongs /via/ and /ya/ occur when the first person suffix -/7a/ or the future tense marker -/7a/ is added to a root such as /hyp/ 'carry': /hyp/ 'I carry', /hyp/ 'will carry'. Two diphthongs /via, via/ and two triphthongs /viaa, viaa/ appear only in Chinese loan words.

Four of the basic vowels (i, e, a, u) show a lexical contrast in r-colouring, a retroflexion of the tongue at the end of the vowel, and all vowels can take r-colouring when they are the final vowel of a verb with 1p marking (which is /7/). The r-colouring participates in the vowel harmony scheme (see below) and is treated as a vowel feature rather than a consonant.

The syllable canon is given in (2):

(2)

\[ \text{(C) (C) (V) v (V) (C) (C) [friC] [glide] [glide] [friC]} \]

The minimum syllable is a single vowel, e.g. /la/ 'one', the maximum is /CCVVC, e.g. /fghex/ 'sac'. Any of the consonants listed in Table 35.1 can be the initial consonant of a syllable, but only fricatives can be the first consonant of a cluster. The same restriction applies to final consonant clusters. When certain consonants appear in non-word-initial position due to affixation or compounding, they undergo lenition, e.g. /pl/ > /p/: /dhr/ 'blow' > /p/: 'blow (imperative)'; /k/ > /x/: /dkh/ 'hit (people)' > /kaxe/ 'hit (part') /t/ > /l/: /ml/ /el/ 'able’ > /mla/ 'not able'; /t/ > /l/: /dml/ 'hit’ > /ml/ ‘hit (imperative)’; /z/ > /w/: /dz/ 'go’ > /wz/ 'go out'; /w/ > /w/: /wz/ 'pile’ > /raw/ 'piled'.

Comparing Ronghong and Maowu dialects (Sun 1981a forms), we can see that a similar type of weakening has occurred historically to pre-initial consonants in Ronghong (e.g. Ronghong /hxa/, Maowu /hksi/ 'good').

In general, stress is topical, which leads to the loss of second syllables in bisyllabic words, particularly if the final is /a/, e.g. /h/ prefix /h/ /h/ /d/: /dhr/ 'drink’ > /h:dr/: 'drink' (imperative).

There is a pattern of vowel harmony where the vowel of the first syllable of a compound or prefix + root combination harmonizes wholly or partially (e.g. becomes fricative) with the vowel of the second syllable or root (e.g. /t/ 'bird’ /f/ /f/ ‘black’ > /w/ /p/: /wild pigeons’; /f/ 'ten’ /f/ 'one’ > /h/ /eleven’). If the second syllable of a compound or prefix + root form has r-colouring, in many cases the first syllable also takes on r-colouring (e.g. /me/ 'not’ + /we/ 'reduce’ > /we’re/ 'uncessingly').

When a collocation of consonants due to derivation or compounding results in an unacceptable cluster of consonants, an epenthetic schwa is inserted to break up the cluster (e.g. /h/ /h/ /h/ /h/ /h/ /h/ (or ‘doctor’)).

These phonological processes (the stress pattern, harmony, epenthesis) occur within a unit that can be defined as the phonological word.

Many lexical items in Qiang allow free variation of the pre-initial, initial, or final consonant (e.g. /phu/ - /phu/ 'white’; /phu/ - /phu/ ‘black’; /m/ - /m/ 'smoke’; /m/ - /m/ ‘mouth’; /phu/ - /phu/ ‘fur’; /mau/ - /mau/ 'sky’; /qh/ - /qh/ ‘bitter’).

2 THE NOUN PHRASE

The order of the constituents in an NP is given in (3):

(3)

\[ \text{GEN + REL + HEAD + ADV + DEM/DEF + (NUM + CL)/PL} \]

Many combination of the elements in (3) is possible, though a numeral must be followed by a classifier. Classifiers also occur with demonstratives. Adjective modifiers can appear either as non-nominalized post-head adjectives (generally simple adjectives) or nominalized adjectives in pre-head relative clause structures (generally complex modifiers). When more than one adjective appears in an NP, the order of the adjectives in terms of type of adjective is the mirror image of that in English. (Ex. (4) contains two NPs (bracketed)).

(4)

[the: /iap/ /i/ /i/ /i/ /i/ /i/ sa] 3SG-GNH-house old-that-cl beside-LOC rock big-three-cl bow mining

[there are three big rocks beside that old house of his]
3 NOMINAL RELATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

The semantic and pragmatic roles of the major arguments of a sentence are mainly expressed by word order and the following enclitics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic marker</th>
<th>gubul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent, instrumental, ablative, peritropic ('through', 'along') marker</td>
<td>wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive, recipient marker</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, allative marker</td>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, allative, temporal, goal marker</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative, temporal marker</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative, conjunction marker</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative marker</td>
<td>sā/tāi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These markers are generally used alone but there are some instances where a locative and ablative marker, or a semantic marker and the topic marker, are used together.

In both transitive and ditransitive sentences, if the actor is the topic (initial NP), then the NP representing the actor need not take any agentic marking. Generally only when there is marked word order, or when there is a need to emphasize the agentivity of the actor, is the agentic marker /-wul/ used after the NP representing the actor, as in (6).

(6) the: tseg pi-xoq-la sum-wu de-lji gwa. 3sg-GEN pen-three CL teacher-AGT DIR-give-CSM COP ‘The teacher gave him three pens.’

In some cases, even when the word order is actor-undergoer, if the flow of action is marked (e.g. a third person referent is acting on a first person referent), or if the actor is inanimate, then agent marking is necessary for clarity, as in (7):

(7) a. a: mi-wu qa dz-li. person-AGT 1sg DIR-hit ‘Somebody hit me.’

b. momu-wu qa da-uoq-za-so. wind-AGT 1sg DIR-fall-over-CAUS-1sgU ‘The wind knocked me over.’

An instrumental NP is marked by the postposition /-wul/, the same form as the agentic and ablative tags.

(8) a. qa shuq-le-wu the: dza-ta. 1sg hammer-DEF-INST 3sg hit:1sg ‘I use the hammer to hit it.’

A genitive NP appears before the noun it modifies, and can be followed by the genitive marker /-tp/, e.g. /ptuq-sop-teq pula/ [Little.Zhong-GEN cat] ‘Little Zhang’s cat’. When the relationship between two nouns in a genitive relationship is clear, as in most cases of inalienable possession, the genitive particle is not needed.

In general, the NP representing the undergoer of a transitive verb does not take any marking of its undergoer status, though if the undergoer is animate and the NP representing the actor

TABLE 35.2 THE QIANG PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa</td>
<td>rgl-zel</td>
<td>rgl-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tā-ba</td>
<td>tā-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the/guqen</td>
<td>the-xel</td>
<td>the-xe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 U is the gloss for a bound non-actor marker, e.g. ‘1sgU’ means ‘1sg non-actor’.
The particle /ga/ is also used for the arguments of certain verbs, such as in (15):

(15) a. นิท-ู-鹬 nge-khu.
    2sgREFL-LOC NEG.IMP.+upset
    ‘Don’t be angry at yourself.’

In comparative clauses, the positive comparative marker is /sá/, while the negative comparative is /tú-.ná/.

(16) a. น้า thet-á tse-fia.
    1sg 3sg-COMPAR still-white:1sg
    ‘I am lighter (in colour) than him.’

b. น้า tó-túkí ma-wa.
    1sg 2sg-COMPAR NEG-big:1sg
    ‘I am not as big as you are.’

The unmarked locative/adative postpositions are /- tão/ and /-lät/, e.g. /pētīn-lu kan/ [Beijing-LOC go] ‘go to Beijing’. It is also possible in some cases for the locative postposition to appear as a lengthened vowel on the noun representing the location, e.g. /lúdzīt-ī- lnát-dzyu/ ‘in/to Chengdu’.

The locative /-lät/ generally marks containment in some sort of vessel or movement in or out of one, e.g. /pān-kōng-zu/ [office-LOC] ‘in the office’.

The ablative postposition is the same form as the agentic and instrumental postposition, /-wū/. It can be used alone (/pētīn-wū/ ‘from Beijing’), or with one of the other locative postpositions introduced above (/tīzu-wū lū/ [above-LOC-ABL] fly) ‘fly from above’. It can also be used with a perceptive meaning, ‘along’.

In a possessive construction, if the object is owned by the person, or is physically part of the person, then there is no marking on the possessor, but if the situation is simply one of temporary possession and not ownership, then the possessor takes the locative/adative marker /-lät/. If the situation involves ownership of an object or relationship (brother, sister, etc.), then the causative suffix must be used with the appropriate verb of possession, which differs with the type of noun possessed or the nature of the possession.

(17) a. khuntsi tug-d-yλ3-zí zh-λ3.
    Khuntsi younger.brother-four-CL have/exist-CAUS
    ‘Khuntsi has four younger brothers.’

b. น้า tīg-t上演 mi.wu.
    1sg leg-two-CL have/exist:1sg
    ‘I have two legs.’

c. tīg-ti3e-le gā-ta s2
    2sg-key-zef 1sg-LOC have/exist
    ‘I have your key.’

4 THE VERB COMPLEX

The verb complex is defined as the predicated part of the clause, not including the sentence-final mood particles. In its most expanded form, the verb complex has a manner adverbial, an orientation prefix, a negative prefix, an aspectual prefix, the verb, causative marking, future tense marking, aspect marking, and person marking, in that order. A particle which means ‘again’ can also follow the verb, though does not occur with the negative or the aspectual...
prefix. There is an adverb of degree that follows some intransitive stative verbs. If there is an auxiliary verb, then it follows the main verb.

The verb in Qiang can be defined as an element that can take the directional prefixes, the negative prefix, and/or the causative suffix. Many verbs in Qiang can be used either intransitively or transitively. There is no applicative construction for adding an undergoer or benefactive argument. It is possible to derive verbs from nouns by putting the verb /pəl/ 'to do' after the noun.

Intransitives can be formed by reduplicating the verb to make a reciprocal, e.g. /lum/ 'curse'; /kumu/ 'curse each other'. The verb in this construction can either take one plural argument or two arguments, one of which is marked as an indirect argument by the copulative postposition /pəl/. While there is marking of the reciprocal on the verb, there is no marking of reflexives on the verb, and also no middle voice or passive constructions.

Transitive verbs can be formed from intransitives using the causative suffix /-z/, which increases the volatility of intransitive (18a), transitive (18b), and ditransitive (18c) verbs. Causatives derived using this suffix can be permissive or causative, and either direct or indirect causatives. The /-z/ representing the causee can take agentive/instrumental marking if the basic clause from which it is formed is transitive.

(18) a. qa wi sa tux u-z-zi. 1sg water DIR-BOIL-CAUS-CAUS:1sg 'I brought the water to a boil.'

b. qa rua:ru ni tux-e ze za-pu-za. 1sg 3sg-AGT CUP-ONE-CL DIR-BUY-CAUS:1sg 'I made him buy a cup.'

c. qa xamti:ru nu leyt-ze pen kumtis-ta 1sg Xamtij-AGT book-DEF-CL KUMTIS-LOC DIR-BOIL:1sg:PUT 'I'm going to make Xamtij buy the book for Kumtis.'

Three sets of verbs reflect an old voiced—voiceless (aspirated) contrast in simplex-causative pairs. This type has a sense of direct causation, and not permission; they cannot take a further productive causative suffix.

(19) simplex causative

de-pe fie-phe tear (of clothes)
dle-te flu-que break (of bowls, etc.)
du-si fiu-qi break (in two) (of tree limbs, etc.)

Intransitive stative verbs form a separate class from transitive and activity intransitive verbs, so can be called 'adjectives'. They can be predicates without the use of the copula, and take the same person marking forms as other intransitive verbs, but unlike verbs, they can be nominalized using the definite and indefinite markers, and can take the postpositional adverb /twa/ 'very'. The meaning of reduplication for most verbs is reciprocity, while the meaning of reduplication for adjectives is intensification or plurality. Intransitive stative verbs are comparative even without overt marking of comparison.

There are only three types of reduplication of adjectives: AA (marks plurality; /paspat/ 'some round things'), AUA (intensification; /pasat:pasat/ 'very round'), A-A: (plurality plus intensification; /paspat:pasat/ 'some very round things'; /hu/ is a stressed syllable added to the reduplicated form).

There are four main existential/localative verbs: /pəl/, for inanimate referents that are not in containers or immovable or inalienably connected to some larger entity; /hu/, for a referent located in a containment of some type; /lum/, for animate referents; and /lum/, for possession of qualities and for immovable referents or referents inalienably connected to a larger entity.

Following are some auxiliary verbs and their meanings/actions: /tyog/ 'learn to do'; /lum/ or /lum/ 'natural (physical) ability'; /lum/ 'ability to fit into something else'; /lum/ 'willingness to perform an action or to allow others to perform an action, or in some cases the possibility of some situation'; /lum/ 'to do'; /lum/ 'ought to'; /lum/ permission or lack of it; /lum/ 'want'; /lum/ 'will' (in optative constructions); /lum/ experiential aspect. These verbs take a complement clause that is not nominalized, but does not take person marking.

Person marking suffixes on the verb generally reflect the person and number of the actor of a transitive clause and the single direct argument of an intransitive clause.

All verbs can take person marking, but only animate arguments are marked. In some contexts, such as nominalizations and some complement clauses, no person marking is used, while in other contexts, such as with some third-person plural actors, the person marking is optional. Table 35.3 gives the forms of the suffixes.

Another set of suffixes can be used for marking a non-agent human referent. These forms are given in Table 35.4.

A set of eight verbal prefixes marks the orientation of the action vis-à-vis the speaker. Not all verbs can take all eight prefixes; e.g. /hu/ 'look at' only takes one prefix. The form of the prefix follows the rules of vowel harmony. Following are the prefixed forms of the verb /hul/, which also means 'look at':

(20) /hul/ look upwards /hul/ look downwards
 /hul/ look towards centre /hul/ look outwards from centre
 /hul/ look upstream /hul/ look downstream
 /hul/ look in /hul/ look out

Aside from marking the aspect of the action, the orientation prefixes are also used to mark a change in the Aktionsart of the verb, from state or activity to achievement or accomplishment, e.g. /hu/ 'big', /hu/ 'become big', /lum/ 'eat' (activity), /lum/ 'eat' (achievement).
The prohibitive is expressed by the prefix /ko:/- (1p-ko- ~ 1p-ko - 2p-ko - 3p-ko) (<p-pa 'don't'), which appears in the same position as the negative prefix. For example: ho-ko-pa-ad! [DIR-NEG,IMP-GO] 'Don't go out!'

Polarity questions can be marked by Rising intonation and by the addition of the clause-final particle /-na/ (2sg-na/ plus question particle) for 2sg action/topic, or /-gaa/ (often pronounced [wo] for all other persons or numbers.

(26) a. ?a: zme gwa-n-a? b. the: zme gwa-gaa?
2sg Qiang COP/2sg-Q 3sg Qiang COP-Q
'Are you a Qiang (person) ~?  'Is she a Qiang ?'

Polarity questions can also be formed by repeating the entire verb complex, with the first token in the positive and the second token in the negative, and the question particle on both tokens:

(27) ?a: gwa-na ho-qa-n-a ho-maa-gaa-n-a?
2sg Qiang COP/2sg-Q Qiang COP-Q COP/2sg-Q
'Did you go to Chengdu?'

Question particles are used even if interrogative pronouns are used in the sentence.

Epistemic and root modals are expressed using the same structure, a nominalized clause followed by the copula, or the auxiliary verb /ba/ the 'cought'. Person marking on the verb is optional in this construction, but if it appears, it is the non-agent marking that is used.

(28) the: tso-za la-s gwa-gaa. (<wo)
3sg home-LOC come-NOM COP/3sgQ
'S/he must come home!'

The potential to perform an action is also expressed by the use of auxiliary verbs, with the choice of auxiliary verb depending on the type of potentiality (see the discussion of verb types above).

In Qiang the unmarked clause is assumed to represent knowledge that the speaker is sure of, like a direct evidential. To express the fact that what the speaker is reporting is hearsay, /i/ (<jia/ 'to say') is added to the end of the verb complex.

(29) the: zdo-za la-s ho-qa-l.
3sg Chengdu DIR-go-loc
'He went to Chengdu.' (indirect evidential, hearsay)

If rather than hearing about an action, one sees the result of the action (not the action itself) and infers that the action took place based on that evidence, this lack of direct evidence is read by adding the particle /-k/ to the verb, after the change of state marker and any other aspect markers, but before the person marking.

(30) dzy de-zge-jg-k.
door DIR-open-LOC-INF
'The door is open! (guess)

If the situation is such that one has just discovered the evidence of the action (mirative), then this can be expressed by adding the particle /wet/ after /-k/.

5 ADVERBIALS
The relative degree marking adverb /pa/ (1p-pa ~ 2p-7a ~ 2p-7a ~ 3p-7a) (also used to mean 'still', 'yet') is generally used in the comparative construction /paw-7a/ (still-big) 'relatively big'.

The suplicative of adjectives and some stative verbs is marked by the prefix /lal/ (1p-la-7a-7a-7a)
(most-big-that-CL) 'the biggest (stick-like object)'. The form of the superlative is similar to one of the harmony prefixes of the preverbal adverb for marking a relative degree, but the harmony does not undergo vowel harmony.

The negative adverbial prefix *ma/ (ma-ma - ma - nā) appears after the orientation prefix, e.g. ma-mer-na-qi (orientation prefix + negative + 'go') didn’t go out'. The same negative adverbial prefix is used for all types of negation except the prohibitive.

Generally manner adverbs take l-n/ if, though if reduplicated, then l-n/ is not used:

(31) a. akha-kha a=a=km b. akha-pī a=a=km
   slow Dir-eat slow-ADV Dir-eat
   'eat slowly'
   'eat slowly'.

Some adjectives, when acting as manner adverbs, take l-jī or l-sī rather than l-n/, e.g. la: a: goodl > la: l-jī 'well'.

6 THE CLAUSE

The order of the NPs in the clause is affected by pragmatic factors such as topicality, but the verb always appears in final position. The only exception to this is the occasional utterance clarification of an NP that was omitted or expressed as a pronoun in the clause. The most unmarked word order in the clause is given in (33).

(32) (TEMP)-(LOC)-(actor)-(goal/recipient)-(undergoer)-(VC)-(PRET).

The main type of relative clause is a pre-head nominalized clause. Which nominalizer a relative clause takes depends on the semantics of the head noun. If the head noun is an undergoer or other non-nominative, including an animate actor, then the genitive marker l-qi is used:

(33) pa-ta=qi-soi-si-ba-ne-tj 1sg-food/DIR-eat-following teeth wash
   'After I eat a meal, I brush my teeth.'

If the head noun is an instrument (even if it is animate), then the nominalizes l-t/ is used:

(34) doq=za-s km-a-le
   dog=DEF afraid-CAUS-NOM dog-DEF
   'The dog used to frighten people.'

If the head noun is an animate actor, then the nominalizer l-m/ is used. This form derives from the word /m/ 'person', but it has fully grammaticalized, to the point that it can be used together with l/m as the head noun. (Contrast (34) and (35)).

(35) qa=ba-la-djo-in m-kha-le
   1sg-DIR-bite-NOM dog-DEF
   'the dog which just bit me'

Complement clauses of most secondary verbs are not nominalized (e.g. (36)), but complements of the copula are generally nominalized, generally by l-t/ (e.g. (37) and sometimes by l-m/.

(36) the: sti-sa 1sg-alone alone sleep NEG-dare
   'She doesn’t dare sleep alone.'

Generally hypotactic clause juncture involves nominalization of the subordinate clause, with various particles used to express the relationships between the actions expressed by the two clauses. If the action expressed by the second clause preceded the action expressed by the first clause, then the predicate can take the form *lula-top-Verb 'had not yet Verb' in the first clause and be nominalized by l-t/, as in (38).

(38) nuq, qa ma-t-pa-ne-li, the qa su-ni de-l.
   yesterday 1sg NEG-yet-go-GEN 3sg 1sg fruit DIR-give
   'Yesterday before I left, she gave me a package of fruit.'

Another option is to have the initial clause nominalized by l-t/ and followed by /qi/ 'before'. If instead the action expressed by the second clause is said to follow the action of the first clause (whether or not the first action was completed), then the particle /qi-le/ or /su-ni/ 'following' is used at the end of the first clause:

(39) qa su-ba=lo a-ka-pa-qi, su= 1sg food/DIR-eat-following teeth wash
    food-dare
    'After I eat a meal, I brush my teeth.'

To make explicit the idea that an action immediately followed another, the particle /su-ni/ is used instead of /qi-le/ or /su-ni/.

A cause-effect relation can also be marked by adding the instrumental postposition or the manner adverbial marker l-s/ to the end of the first clause:

(40) the: dzo-qu-le dpal-wa, pi=su=si ma-t-pa-ja.
     3sg-foot-DEF break-INST now walk NEG-able-ASP
     'His foot is broken so he/she cannot walk now.'

(41) the: sti=su-qi l-a-le.
     3sg cliff DIR-GO-ADV DIR-die
     'She died from falling off the cliff.'

To express the concessive, the phrase /lha-t-pa-lu/ (DIR-COP 'come') is added to the end of the first clause:

(42) qa qa-sa lha-yula-la-haqt-la, 1sg face DIR-wash-although beard DIR-NEG-shave:1sg
     'Although I washed my face, I didn’t shave.'

In quoting another’s speech, the quoted speech generally follows the NPs representing the speaker and addressee, and is followed by the verb /ja/ (ja = ji) 'to say'. Both direct and indirect quotation are possible. If there is a more specific source of asking or replying, than this verb may precede the quoted speech, though the verb /ja/ 'to say' still follows the quote, as in the two tokens of this structure in (43):

(43) sti=su-ba-la-lu 1sg-la-lu, ha! 1sg face =su-wa 1sg face
     3sg face DIR-ask-HS EXCL 2sg What-because DIR-cry-2sg-Q
     3sg stomach-deep-AGT
     'What! My face, why are you crying?'

"jo-kui, 'aiguaq koe-zi-n-a?" jo-kui-ru, kopto-g-tou
say-HS why DIR-cry-2sg-q say-HS-LINK orphan-DEF:one:CL
he-guye-kai, 'qo-mo:i ep le me-zi-i
DIR-answer-HS 1sg-TOP father also NEG-have/exist-CSM
aw lo me-zi-i, ga-zi fla-xag gianfu
mother also NEG-have/exist-CSM night-ADV DIR-dark as soon as
sko-le qa dzo-lai,' jo-kopga-ya ...
orangutan-DEF 1sg cat-come:PRT say-HAB-LINK

"The stomach asked him, "Why are you crying?", he said, "Why are you crying?"
The orphan answered, "I have neither father nor mother. As soon as it gets dark, 
orangutan is going to come eat me."

In terms of cross-clause coreference, there are neither accusative nor ergative syntactic 
restrictions on control of the zero anaphor of the second clause.

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