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## Tonal alternations in the Pumi verbal system<sup>1</sup>

Guillaume Jacques, CNRS-INALCO

Summary: This paper presents two hitherto unnoticed sets of alternations in the tonal systems of Northern Pumi. First, in some verbs, rising tone in the citation form alternates with falling tone in the perfective. Second, the verb “to go”, when combined with other verbs, presents tonal alternations which are not found elsewhere in the verbal system. A sample text is added in the appendix to illustrate the tonal phenomena discussed in the article.

Keywords: Pumi, Tonal alternation, Directional prefixes

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## 1. Introduction

Like most Qiangic languages (apart from Northern Qiang and Japhug Rgyalrong), Pumi dialects<sup>2</sup> have tonal contrasts. On monosyllables, either two tone categories (Lu 2001:21, Matisoff 1997) or three (Ding 2001, 2003, Lu 2001: 97) are found depending on the dialect.

Earlier work on Pumi (Lu 1983:15-20, Fu 1998:18-20, Lu 2001) analyzes the tonal system of this language on the model of Chinese, transcribing all syllables as if they had an inherent tone. They do, however, mention some cases of sandhi and interaction between stems and affixes (Fu 1998:28-9, 88-9).

Matisoff (1997) is the first article to use Africanist transcription instead of the Chao Yuen-ren system for transcribing Pumi tones, a system which is better suited for a language typologically closer to the African type than to the Chinese one (Hyman 2007, Evans 2008). Although the focus of this article was mainly on comparative linguistics, he nevertheless offers a valuable description of tonal sandhi and tonal alternation phenomena at the word level.

Ding (2001, 2006, 2007) analyzes the Pumi tonal system as a Pitch-accent system<sup>3</sup> and compares it to various Japanese dialects. Since his analysis is considerably more developed than those of his predecessors, it is worthwhile to describe it in more detail.

In the variety described by Ding, as in other dialects described by Lu (2001), monosyllables have three surface realizations: high (H), falling (F) and rising (R). He analyzes these categories as underlying H, HL and LH respectively. This analysis is justified by the patterns of tone spreading when an enclitic is added after a monosyllabic noun, as shown in Table 1:

**Table 1 : Analysis of Pumi tones in monosyllables according to Ding (2006:13)**

Citation form	Realization with an enclitic	meaning
ʃi <sup>F</sup>	ʃi <sup>H</sup> ge <sup>L</sup> H.L	louse
ʃi <sup>H</sup>	ʃi <sup>H</sup> ge <sup>H</sup> H.H	hundred
ʃi <sup>R</sup>	ʃi <sup>L</sup> ge <sup>H</sup> L.H	new

The fact that the same tonal categories are realized as contour tones in citation form but appear as series of High and Low when a clitic is attached shows that an analysis in terms of syllable tone is not tenable for Pumi dialects, and that all contour tones of this language must be analyzed as combinations of high and low tones.

In polysyllabic words, the range of attested possibilities for a word of  $n$  syllables is much lower than  $3^n$ , the number of categories which would be expected if each syllable had an underlying tone. Ding (2003:590 and 2007:14) describes the following categories (where F, H, L and R represent the surface realizations of the tones, respectively falling, high, low and rising): only four patterns on disyllabic words (instead of an expected  $3^2 = 9$ ), six patterns on trisyllabic words (instead of 27) and seven on quadrisyllabic words.

**Table 2 : Realization of the tonal categories in Xinyingpan Pumi (Ding 2007:14).**

<sup>2</sup> Pumi (a.k.a. Prinmi) is a cluster of at least two distinct languages spoken across Yunnan and Sichuan, mainly in Lanping county, Ninglang county (Yunnan), Muli county and Jiulong county (Sichuan). The total number of speakers is above 30,000. In Muli county, it is the main language among ethnic Tibetans, and speakers of Shixing, Kami Tibetan and other languages also learn it as a second language (Chirkova 2009:3).

<sup>3</sup> Since the category of ‘Pitch Accent’ is difficult to define rigorously cross-linguistically (Hyman 2009), we will avoid this term in the present paper.

category	spread	1	2	3	4
A 1	-	F	HL	HLL	HLLL
B 1	+	H	HH	HHL	HHLL
C 2	-	R	<u>LH</u>	LHL	LHLL
D 2	+		<u>LH</u>	LHH	LHHL
E 3	-		LR	<u>LLH</u>	LLHL
F 3	+			<u>LLH</u>	LLHH
G 4	X			LLR	LLLH

The categories C and D on bisyllabic words on the one hand and E and F on trisyllabic words are distinct only when a clitic or a compound word is added: with C and E categories, the high tone does not spread onto the next syllable, while it does with D and F categories. For instance,  $t\tilde{o}^Lpu^H$  ‘donkey’ and  $tʃi^Lm\tilde{e}^H$  ‘dog hair’ pattern differently when a subsequent syllable is added: with  $t\tilde{o}^Lpu^H$ , which belongs to category D, the subsequent syllable has a high surface tone (for instance  $t\tilde{o}^Lpu^Hk'u^H$  ‘donkey head’), whereas with  $tʃi^Lm\tilde{e}^H$ , which belongs to category C, it has a low surface tone (no example provided in Ding’s papers).

According to Ding’s analysis, two underlying properties are enough to yield the observed categories: the place of the high tone in the prosodic domain, and whether this high tone can spread on the next syllable. The number in the first column indicates which syllable in the prosodic domain is the locus of the high tone, and in the second column, + indicates that the high tone can spread, – indicates that it cannot, and X that either is possible in free variation. The underlying high tone spreads rightwards, so that syllables situated on its left are realized with a low tone. If the number of syllables in the prosodic domain is inferior to the place of the high tone (for instance, category C with a monosyllable, the high tone should be placed on the second syllable, but only one syllable is present in the prosodic domain), a rising tone results.

This analysis elegantly accounts for the data of the Xinyingpan variety; however, it will be shown below that some tonal alternations found in other Pumi dialects are difficult to explain using this model.

Since the regular tonal alternation patterns in nominal compounding observed in these Pumi dialects do not seem to exhibit exactly the same behavior as in the variety described by Ding, I will lay out basic facts about the tonal system of Shuiluo Pumi and describe tonal alternations in nouns (which are simpler) before discussing the problematic phenomena observed in the verbal system in the following sections.

## 2. Segmental inventory.

The dialects investigated in this study are the Mudiqing (木底箐, Ninglang, Lijiang, Yunnan) and Shuiluo (水洛, Muli, Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture, Sichuan) varieties, which belong to the Northern Pumi language (see Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> The tonal alternation patterns in both dialects are almost identical. These dialects are related to the Xinyingpan dialect, with which they are mutually intelligible according to my informants’ opinion. The data was collected during two field trips in July-August 2008 and February-March 2009 respectively. The present paper will mostly use data from the Shuiluo dialect.

<sup>4</sup> My Mudiqing Pumi consultant Mr. Cao was born in 1962 and lives in Yongning township in a community of speakers of the Na language (see Michaud 2008 for more information about this language). He speaks Chinese, Na and Pumi. My Shuiluo Pumi consultant Ngag-dbang was a retired cadre. He lived in Qiaowa (the seat of the government in Muli county), was married to a speaker of Taoba Pumi (a very close variety) and spoke the language on a daily basis, though Chinese was naturally his main language.

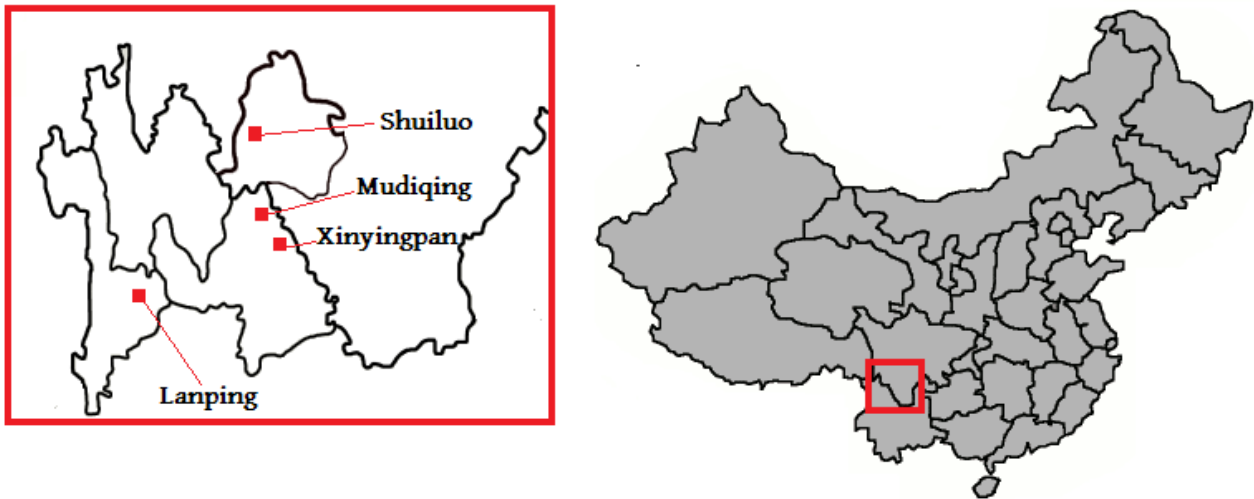


Figure 1: The location of Lanping, Shuiluo, Mudiqing and Xinyingpan Pumi dialects.

Since the segmental phonology of Shuiluo Pumi differs from all previously described varieties (including the eight dialects in Lu 2001, among which it is closest to Taoba), I will first present a basic account of the vocalic and consonantal inventory of this language. The basic syllabic structure is C(r)(G)V(G), where C, V and G stand for consonant, vowel and glide respectively.

This syllabic structure is simpler than the one found in Lanping of Xinyingpan, as most consonant clusters have disappeared. The only attested clusters are br- and pr-, and br- freely alternates with dzw- in some words.

The list of attested rhymes is the following:

Table 3 : The rhymes of Shuiluo Pumi.

	i	e	ɛ	ə	ɜ	a	u	o	ĩ	ẽ	ã	õ
V	i		ɛ	ə	ɜ	a	u	o	ĩ	ẽ	ã	õ
Vu				-əu				-ou				
Vi		-ei										
-jV		-je	-jɛ	-jə	-jɜ	-ja	-ju	-jo			-jã	-jõ
-wV	-ui		-wɛ	-wə	-wɜ	-wa			-wĩ	-wẽ	-wã	
		-wei		-jəu								

The phonetic realization of these rhymes is not entirely straightforward: /wə/ is realized [u],<sup>5</sup> the glide -w- is realized [-ɥ-] after a coronal consonant and before a front vowel. /ə/ has three allophones: [ɿ] after dental fricatives and affricates (as in *tsə* ‘to milk’ [tsɿ<sup>55</sup>]), [ɻ] after retroflex fricatives and affricates (as in *tsə* ‘gall bladder’, [tsɻ<sup>55</sup>]) and as the labial trill [ɸ] after bilabial stops (as in *pə* ‘to dig’ [pɸ<sup>55</sup>]). As in other attested forms of Pumi, no final consonants are found.

There are 40 consonant phonemes in Shuiluo Pumi:

Table 4 : The initial consonants of Shuiluo Pumi.

p	t		k
p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>		k <sup>h</sup>
b	d		g
	ts	tɕ	tʂ

<sup>5</sup> This analysis is preferred because the non-egophoric infix <w> added to a stem in -ə yields the surface vowel [u]: *ɬə* ‘to jump’ > [ɬwə] *ɬwə*.

	ts <sup>h</sup>	tɕ <sup>h</sup>	tʂ <sup>h</sup>		
	dz	dʒ	dʐ		
	s	ɕ	ʂ	x	h
	s <sup>h</sup>	ɕ <sup>h</sup>	ʂ <sup>h</sup>		
	z	ʐ	ʐ	ɣ	ɦ
m	n			ŋ	
m̥	ŋ̥			ŋ̥	
	l		r		
	l̥				

Unlike other Pumi dialects, Shuiluo Pumi has aspirated fricatives,<sup>6</sup> and has a real trill [r] contrastive with the voiced fricative [ʐ]. The velar fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/ are realized as uvulars before back vowels, and as palatal fricatives before /i/.

### 3. The tone system of Shuiluo Pumi

Like the Niuwozi Pumi dialect studied by Ding, Shuiluo Pumi has three surface tonal categories on monosyllables, that can be described as high, falling and rising in isolation. This basic system on monosyllables is also remarkably similar to that of Shixing (Chirkova and Michaud 2009). For convenience, I use the Africanist tone marks (like Matisoff 1997), as summarized in the following table. Low pitch (which is either the effect of an underlying low tone or the realization of an absence of tone) will be transcribed with a grave accent.

**Table 5 : Tonal categories on monosyllables in Shuiluo Pumi.**

example	meaning	Underlying analysis
ǎ njê	eye	A: 1, -spread
á njé	red	B: 1, +spread
ǎ njě	black	C: 2, -spread

For the time being, I follow Ding's analysis. However, we will see that the analysis of the rising tone is not straightforward. On disyllabic nouns, four distinct patterns are attested:

**Table 6 : Tonal categories on disyllables in Shuiluo Pumi.**

example	meaning	Ding's analysis
ǎǎ HL rwábò	willow	A: 1, -spread
áá HH rwámí	mare	B: 1, +spread
ǎá LH rwámí	female yak	C/D: 2
ǎǎ LR rǎdzǎ	alcohol	E: 3, -spread

We find here the same four surface categories presented by Ding (C and D can only be distinguished if a subsequent syllable is added). For trisyllables and quadrisyllables, there are not enough words in my lexicon to provide a comprehensive account of the possible surface forms. Contour tonal patterns are restricted to the last syllable of a phonological word, following a general cross-linguistic

<sup>6</sup> These aspirated fricatives come from {s+aspirated affricate} clusters.

tendency (Zhang 2004:929).

In compound words of two syllables, the following rule can be used to predict the tonal pattern of the resulting disyllable (rows indicate the first element and columns the second element of the compound):

**Table 7 : Examples of regular tonal change in composition.**

	dó 'back'	rê 'skin'	sěi 'blood'
gwí 'bear'	gwí dó	gwí rə	gwí séi
kwâ 'cow'	kwâ dó	kwâ rə	kwâ séi
ɣwǐ 'horse'	ɣwǐ dó	ɣwǐ rə	ɣwǐ séi

The tonal patterns observed in Table 7 can be described as follows:

**Table 8 : Regular tonal change in composition.**

	H	F	R
H	HH	HH	HH
F	LH	LH	LH
R	LH	LH	LH

Only two patterns are found: high-high and low-high. The tonal pattern of the disyllable only depends on the first syllable. A similar, though not identical rule is found in the neighboring Shixing language (Chirkova and Michaud 2009:549). However, this productive rule has a few exceptions, such as bípə 'sand' from bí 'sand' and pǎ 'flour, powder' (the expected form would be \*bípə).<sup>7</sup> These exceptions are best considered as older compounds, to which the regular rule is not applicable. The composition rules presented above do not only apply to compound nouns, but sometimes also to object+verb compounds, though the exact environment where these occur still deserves further research.

#### 4 Regular alternations in the verbal system

The Pumi verb is very rich in affixes, most of which are monosyllabic. The longest suffix -mədərə is three syllables long, made from the nominalizing suffix -mə (itself a grammaticalized form of the noun mê 'man'), the copula dê and the progressive suffix -rə. It is an evidential marker used in stories to report facts that the speaker has not witnessed himself. Although the etymology of this trisyllabic suffix is still synchronically transparent, it is fully grammaticalized, and the lexical tone of the verb spreads over the three syllables.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The word ʷtsa.bɣ 'flour, powder' in Yongning Na, whose second syllable is possibly related to pǎ (either as a cognate or as a loanword) also presents irregular tonal patterns (Michaud and Latami 2009:14).

<sup>8</sup> If it were not fully grammaticalized, one would not expect the tone spreading patterns described in this section. The copula, when it appears with nouns, does not show such peculiar behaviour: the high tone of monosyllabic nouns does not spread on the copula. In isolation, the copula followed by the progressive is realized dá-rə (or rather dê-rə), but in fluent speech it is often realized as low tone on both syllables as an effect of the intonation.

Suffixes are toneless, and the intrinsic tone of the verbal stems spreads onto it.<sup>9</sup> The following table shows tonal spreading patterns with a monosyllabic suffix (the progressive -rə) and with the trisyllabic -mədərə:<sup>10</sup>

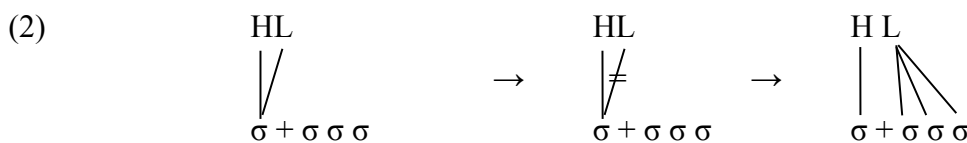
**Table 9 : Tonal spreading with monosyllabic verbs.**

Basic form	Monosyllabic suffix	realization	Trisyllabic suffix	realization	meaning
ʒwí	ʒwí-rə	ʒwí-rə́	ʒwí-mədərə	ʒwí-mədərə́	observe
ʒê	ʒê-rə	ʒê-rə̀	ʒê-mədərə	ʒê-mədərə̀	stay
tă	tă-rə	tă-rə́	tă-mədərə	tă-mədərə́	arrive

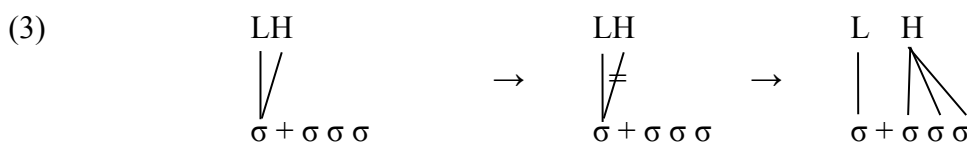
The tonal spreading patterns of the first two tonal categories are straightforward. They can be represented in the following way:



The high tone is a single H tone underlyingly. It associates to the stem and spreads rightwards to all following suffixes, which are toneless.



The falling tone is underlyingly composed of two tonal elements H and L. When suffixes are added to the stem, the high tone remains in situ, while the low tone is reassociated to the following suffix. The same analysis cannot be proposed for the rising tone if it is analyzed as LH, as the following result would be expected:



We would obtain \*tă-mədərə́, an impossible form. In order to explain the attested form tă-mədərə́, a solution would be to analyze the surface rising tone as an underlying low tone. The form tă-mədərə́ would be as such:

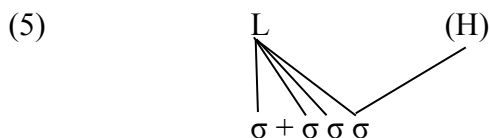
<sup>9</sup> Apart from the suffixes, directional prefixes and many discourse particles are toneless; in the appended story, toneless affixes and particles have no tone marks in the underlying form. The idea that underlying low-tone syllables must be distinguished from toneless syllables in Pumi is found in Greif (2010).

<sup>10</sup> Many examples of verbs with this suffix can be found in the story in the appendix.





A rule against low-tone words (or rather the obligatory presence of a high tone in phonological words as in other Qiangic languages, see Evans 2008:484) would then change the last syllable of the word into a surface rising tone by insertion of a postlexical high tone.



A similar rule has been described for Yongning Na (Michaud 2008:186).<sup>11</sup> In this analysis, low-rising words such as *rɜdzɛ̃* 'alcohol' cited in section 1 must be analyzed with a low tone pattern L as the underlying form. The only problem with this theory is the form of verbs with monosyllabic suffixes: the suffix is realized with a high tone, not a rising one. If the analysis of rising tone monosyllabic verbs as having an underlying low tone were correct, we would expect the form \**tà-rě* instead of attested *tà-ré*:



I do not have any elegant explanation to propose to solve this problem. Two analyses are possible.

First, one could analyze rising tone monosyllables as underlying LH, and add a rule according to which a high tone following a low tone is deleted if it has to spread on more than one syllable. However, this analysis is problematic as it increases the complexity of the basic form and requires the addition of an arbitrary rule.

Second, if one maintains the analysis of the monosyllables as low tones, one must account for the high tone by a special rule. A possible solution is to suppose that low tone fails to spread on one-syllable suffixes, and that the postlexical high tone (automatically added in words without underlying high tone) associates with a toneless syllable. Therefore, no surface rising tone occurs.<sup>12</sup>



I will adopt the second option in this paper.

Disyllabic verbs have a much simpler pattern: the suffixes are always realized with low pitch, except with low-rising disyllabic verbs (that is, underlying low tone verbs), as the last syllable of the verb undergoes the same change as for monosyllabic verbs.

<sup>11</sup> '[...] the L+L sequence cannot surface as such, due to a general prohibition against all-L phonological words (and a fortiori all-L utterances) in Na. The all-L sequence is avoided by post-lexical addition of a final M tone, which modifies L+L to L+LM[...]'

<sup>12</sup> This idea was suggested by Alexis Michaud, but I remain responsible for any error in the analysis set out in this section.



## 5 Irregular alternations

In the previous section, I have presented a basic account of the regular tonal alternations observed in the verbal system of Shuiluo Pumi. In the present section, I will turn to two sets of alternations that cannot be accounted for synchronically by a set of simple rules and are lexically determined.

### 5.1 Rising tone monosyllabic verbs

We observe that several rising tone monosyllabic verbs undergo tonal alternation in the perfective form, when a directional prefix is added. The directional prefix has low surface tone, the verb stem high surface tone and the suffix low surface tone (the first example *suǎ* in the table is a non-alternating verb):

**Table 13 : Examples of alternating rising tone verbs.**

Basic form	Perfective form (1sg or 3sg)	expected	meaning
<i>swǎ</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ə-swà-sǎ́</i>		I counted
<i>tɕǐ</i>	<i>nè-tɕí-sǎ́</i>	* <i>nè-tɕì-sǎ́</i>	I poured
<i>lěi</i>	<i>nè-léi-sǎ́</i>	* <i>nè-lèi-sǎ́</i>	I ploughed
<i>ɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>è-ɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ-sǎ́</i>	* <i>t<sup>h</sup>è-ɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ-sǎ́</i>	I scooped
<i>gǐ</i>	<i>nè-gí-sǎ́</i>	* <i>nè-gì-sǎ́</i>	I wore (clothes)
<i>těi</i>	<i>nè-téi-sǎ́</i>	* <i>nè-tèi-sǎ́</i>	I wore (a hat)
<i>zǐ</i>	<i>dè-zǐ-ɕì</i>	* <i>dè-zǐ-ɕí</i>	It became lighter

The resulting perfective forms with LHL tone pattern look like perfective forms of falling tone verbs. Unlike the alternations observed with the prefix *tǎ-*, which can be explained as cases of assimilation, there is no evidence that the tone change observed here is caused by the directional prefixes. Some disyllabic verbs with low-rising tone pattern, such as *kə̀tsěi* 'small', also present this alternation: the perfective form of this stative verb is realized as *nè-kə̀tséi-ɕì* 'it became small'.

These alternations are observed both in running speech (recorded stories, as the one in the appendix) and isolated sentences. Therefore, it cannot be an effect of intonation.

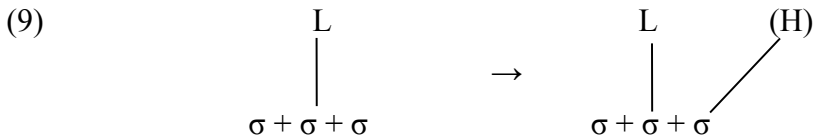
Alternating verbs should be synchronically analyzed as a fourth lexical tonal class, distinct from both falling tone and rising tone, with a distinct underlying representation. However, an analysis in terms of H and L tones cannot easily account for the data presented above. Since falling and rising tone verbs have been respectively analyzed as H, HL and L in the previous section, we are left with only two possibilities: either to consider alternating verbs as underlying LH, or to suppose the existence of a contrast between L and underlyingly toneless verbs.<sup>16</sup>

Proposing a category LH has one obvious advantage: we could unify the four tonal patterns found on monosyllables with those of disyllables shown in Table 4. However, the discussion in

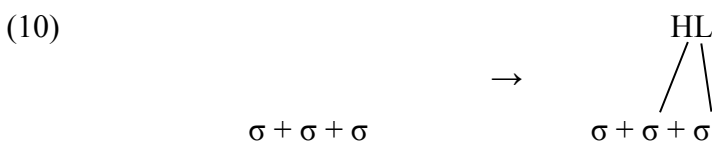
<sup>16</sup> One anonymous reviewer suggested that the alternation could be explained by assuming that the alternating verbs were LH underlyingly, with a leftward spread of the L tone on the prefix. He pointed out that such cases of leftward spread are attested in Pumi dialects (see for instance Ding 2001:76 concerning the *v-* prefix with the kinship terms). However, one would still have to explain why LH spreads leftwards with some verbs, and rightwards with others, and why in HL verbs the H tone does not spread leftwards. Besides, allowing leftward spread in the verbal system would unduly increase the complexity of the analysis. We adopt here the idea that only rightward spread is allowed.

section 3 has already shown that LH would account poorly for the spreading rules observed when various suffixes are added to the verb stem.

The other alternative, which I will adopt in this article, is to hypothesize that of the alternating and non-alternating rising tone verbs, one category is toneless and receives a default low tone like affixes or sentence particles, and the second one has an underlying L tone. According to the analysis in section 3, we would expect a prefixed monosyllabic verb with underlying Low tone to have the surface form LLH:

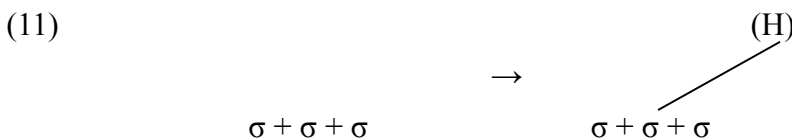


Non-alternating verbs are therefore verbs with underlying L tone. With toneless verbs, on the other hand, the insertion of a high tone is not accounted for by the rules presented in section 3. The surface tonal pattern LHL looks as if the HL had been inserted on the toneless verbal stem (a simple H tone would not do, as it would result in an LHH pattern):



This process could be interpreted either as a kind of polarity.<sup>17</sup> However, a simpler solution might be possible. As mentioned in section 3, a postlexical H tone must be inserted in all-low phonological words. Since toneless syllables are normally realized with a surface low tone, the high tone insertion would have to appear in a word whose syllables are all underlyingly toneless.<sup>18</sup> To explain the LHL tone pattern, we only need to add two specifications to the postlexical High tone insertion rule:

- (i) In verbal forms where all syllables are underlyingly toneless, the postlexical H tone is inserted on last syllable of the morpheme that contains the second syllable, regardless whether it is an affix or a verbal stem.<sup>19</sup>
- (ii) Postlexical H tones cannot spread.



We need an additional rule to explain why toneless and Low tone verb stems share the same tonal patterns in non-prefixed verb forms:

- (iii) In non-prefixed verb forms (when the verb stem is the first syllable of the phonological word), an L tone is inserted on toneless verbal stems.

Without rule (iii), we would expect the bare stem form to be realized with a high tone (13), and the form suffixed with -mədərə to be realized as LLLH (14).



<sup>17</sup> Presence of polarity in Pumi would be one further argument in favor of Evans' (2008:484-5) idea that Qiangic languages, including Pumi, present tonal features thought to be characteristic of African tone languages.

<sup>18</sup> Note that in this hypothesis, toneless verb stems do not follow the same tone rules as toneless affixes or sentence particles.

<sup>19</sup> In disyllabic verbal stems such as *nə-kətseí-éi* 'it became small' mentioned above, the high tone is placed on the second syllable.



prefix other than tɔ- is added. Her list includes the following (all tone 24, low rising tone):

**Table 15 : Alternating verbs in Fu (1998).**

Meaning	Basic form	Meaning	Basic form
烂 rotten	bzi	换 change	ʒdʒu
天阴 dark	dəuŋ	还 give back	ts <sup>h</sup> ue
(棍子) 断 break	dən	垮 collapse	bie
脱落 to get off	ga	撕 tear off	t <sup>h</sup> e
脱臼 dislocate	ɬi	卖 sell	ʃtʃi
剩余 remain	xɑ	弄垮 cause to collapse	p <sup>h</sup> ie
听见 hear	noŋ	拿 take	ɹua
灭 destroy	go	送 give	ʃtʃyn
采 pick up	q <sup>h</sup> ɑ	跑 run	bzin
抽烟 smoke (= drink)	t <sup>h</sup> in	扔 throw	vba
连接 link	ʃtʃ <sup>h</sup> ua		

Several etyma are found in both Matisoff's and Fu's lists: "rot" and "collapse", but since their fieldwork research was based on entirely different wordlists, relatively few comparable etyma are found. By contrast, I collected vocabulary on Shuiluo and Mudiqing Pumi using the same basic list, and as a result find many common etyma between these two varieties, allowing a better evaluation of how stable the tonal alternation is across Pumi dialects. In my data, I find the following list of examples belonging to the fourth category:

**Table 16 : Alternating verbs in Shuiluo and Mudiqing Pumi.**

	Shuiluo	Mudiqing
scoop	ɕ <sup>h</sup> ǎ	tɕ <sup>h</sup> ǎ
leak	zǎ	dzǎ
ride	dzěi	dzěi
plant	lěi	lěi
wear (hat)	těi	těi
pour	tɕǐ	
wear	gǐ	gǔ
remember	tɕǐ	
drink	t <sup>h</sup> ǐ	t <sup>h</sup> iě
flee	ts <sup>h</sup> ǐ	
break	dzǐ	dzê
light	ʒǐ	dzě (no alternation)
fat	ts <sup>h</sup> wǎ	ts <sup>h</sup> ǎ
flee		p <sup>h</sup> ě
fly		biě
run		dzě

bear on the back		kǔ
do		dzǔ
sell	ɕí	kǐ
hide	ʂú	tʂǔ
understand		nǒ
use	zəzǎ	zǎ
obtain		rǐ
give		tɕyě

From this list, we observe that not all verbs are alternating in both dialects, even when we find cognates. Five exceptions are found (out of 13 verbs with cognates in both dialects). In Mudiqing there are two falling tone verbs dzê̂ ‘break’ and ts<sup>h</sup>ê̂ ‘fat’ corresponding to alternating tone verbs in Shuiluo, and one rising tone verb dzě̃ ‘light’ without alternation (past k<sup>h</sup>ə-dzě̃-ɕí) whereas its cognate in Shuiluo has alternation. Similarly, in Shuiluo we find two falling tone verbs ɕí ‘sell’ and ʂú ‘hide’ corresponding to alternating verbs in Mudiqing.

The tonal correspondences are even more complex if Fu’s (1998) data are taken into consideration. Although a few items in her list correspond to alternating verbs in Shuiluo or Mudiqing (‘give’, ‘hear’ = ‘understand’, ‘smoke’ = ‘drink’), in other cases they correspond to falling tone verbs, for instance ts<sup>h</sup>ue<sup>24</sup> ‘give back’, whose cognates are ts<sup>h</sup>wê in Shuiluo and ts<sup>h</sup>wí in Mudiqing.

These puzzling exceptions can be accounted for by supposing a process of analogical leveling at the expense of the alternating verbs: alternating verbs, which are much less numerous than either rising tone or falling tone verbs, tend to become falling tone verbs (or in one case, a rising tone verb) by generalizing the surface tone found on the prefixed verbal forms. In this hypothesis, whenever a verb has tonal alternation in any Pumi dialect, regardless of the fact that other dialects may have falling tone in the corresponding etymon, the verb in question ought to be reconstructed in proto-Pumi as belonging to the fourth tonal category, that is alternating verbs.

We find no cases of a correspondence between a high tone verb and an alternating verb across dialects,<sup>20</sup> and this is expected since alternation verbs never behave like high-tone verbs either in prefixed and non-prefixed form; an analogical change from high-tone to alternating or vice-versa would not be motivated phonetically.

In summary, for the Northern Pumi dialects under investigation, I propose that we must distinguish four, not three tonal classes on monosyllabic verbs:

**Table 17 : Monosyllabic verbs.**

toneless	Basic form	Perfective 1sg	meaning
H	pé	nè-pé-sǎ́	to dig
HL	kô	nè-kó-sǎ̀	to win
L	bǔ	nè-bù-sǎ́	to bury
toneless	gǐ	nè-gí-sǎ̀	to wear

For disyllabic verb stems, we find five tonal categories:

**Table 18 : Disyllabic verbs.**

<sup>20</sup> As was pointed out by an anonymous reviewers.

tone	Basic form	Perfective 1sg (or 3sg)	meaning
LH	rə̀gí	hə̀-rə̀gí-sǎ̀	to hug
H	ɕúwá	ni̯è-ɕúwá-sǎ̀	to wring
HL	tɕéɕwà	kʰə̀-tɕéɕwà-sǎ̀	to throw
L	ɣòdǒ	kʰə̀-ɣòdǒ-sǎ̀	to step across
toneless	kə̀tsɛ̀i	nè-kə̀tsɛ̀i-ɕì	to be small

No direct evidence of a toneless category has been found in either monosyllabic or disyllabic nouns, which seem to lack this kind of tonal alternation at least in Shuiluo Pumi, but traces of it could potentially be found in seemingly irregular nominal compounds (such as those mentioned in section 2). No definite historical explanation for this phenomenon can be given until the issue of Pumi tonogenesis has been properly addressed. This topic lies beyond the scope of this paper, as it would require a systematic comparison with other Qiangic languages.

## 5.2 The verb 'to go'

When a monosyllabic verb is suffixed with the non-egophoric form  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$  of the verb 'to go', this verb undergoes unusual tone changes:

**Table 19 : Tonal alternations with the verb “to go”.**

Basic form	Suffixed with the verb 'to go'	expected	meaning
dzǎ	dzǎ- $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ -mǎdǎrǎ	*dzǎ- $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ -mǎdǎrǎ	went to sit
tô	tô- $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ -mǎdǎrǎ	id.	went to see
zǎ	zǎ- $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ -mǎdǎrǎ	*zǎ- $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ -mǎdǎrǎ	went to sleep

When the basic verb is high tone, the tone of  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$  is assimilated, and the high tone propagates again onto the suffix, quite unlike the high tone of the directional  $tǎ-$ , which, as we have seen, cannot propagate across more than one morpheme boundary.

When the verb is falling tone,  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$  becomes low-toned, and so does the following prefix. This form is expected from the rules proposed in section 2:

$$(17) \quad \begin{array}{ccc} \text{HL (HL)} & & \text{HL (HL)} \\ | \quad | & \rightarrow & | \quad / \quad / \quad / \\ \sigma + \sigma + \sigma\sigma & & \sigma + \sigma + \sigma\sigma \end{array}$$

Finally, when the preceding verb is in the rising tone, we observe an entirely unexpected alternation:  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$  becomes high tone, and this high tone spreads onto the following suffix. No matter which underlying representation one chooses for  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ , one cannot explain this phenomenon. Even assuming that  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$  were a toneless stem for instance, one would expect L-L-LLR \*zǎ- $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ -mǎdǎrǎ, not L-H-HHH.

As with the preceding alternation, I have no theoretical analysis to propose that would solve this problem. In present-day Shuiluo Pumi, this verb is highly irregular: it has four unpredictable forms  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ - (basic form)  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$ - (egophoric with directional prefixes),  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$  (non-egophoric) and  $\xi\hat{\epsilon}$



(imperative).<sup>21</sup> Whether these unpredictable forms are the result of preservation of ancient alternations or secondary idiosyncrasies must be left for future investigations.

## 6. Conclusion

This article has documented and analyzed several tonal alternations in the verbal system of Shuiluo Pumi. It demonstrated that four tonal classes must be distinguished for monosyllabic verbs, and five for disyllabic verbs. The issue of tonal alternations in noun phrases (including tri- and quadric-syllabic nominal compounds), and of the effect of intonation on tone realization is left for further research. An important issue would be to determine whether evidence for the contrast between toneless vs. L tonal classes found in verbal morphology can be brought to light in the domain of nominal morphology.

Properly understanding the alternation patterns of Pumi is not only of interest for historical linguistics and theoretical phonology, it also has a considerable practical importance for transcribing Pumi stories correctly, as is illustrated in the excerpt from a Pumi traditional story presented in the Appendix.

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<sup>21</sup> Most of these forms are attested in the story in the appendix.

## Appendix: A sample story in Shuiluo Pumi<sup>22</sup>

The glosses generally follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, except for the following:

AGENT	agentive
ASSER	assertive
T	
EGO	egophoric
MOD	modal
NAR	narrative
N.EGO	non-egophoric
OBL	oblique
VOL	volitive
SIMULT	simultaneous

Clitics, indicated by = rather than -, differ from genuine suffixes in that only the rising tone can spread on them, the high tone cannot spread rightwards on clitics in this variety of Pumi, unlike in the variety described by Ding (2003).

tsɜk <sup>h</sup> wǎ	pá	rû = mə	= ɣɜ	tópi
<b>tsɜk<sup>h</sup>wǎ</b>	pá	<b>rú = mǎ</b>	<b>= ɣǎ</b>	tópi
pig_head	divination	divinate = NMLZ	= GE	story

N

The story of the one who made divination with a pig head.

01	ʒenǐ	ʒenǐ	mǎdzɜ	hmǐ = mə	tɜ-tɜ
	<b>ʒènǐ</b>	<b>ʒènǐ</b>	mǎdzɜ	<b>hmǐ = mǎ</b>	tɜ-tɜ
	before	before	poor_man	beg = NMLZ	one-CL

Once upon a time, there was a poor beggar.

02	hmǐ	gjelǐjǎ	úní	= k <sup>h</sup> jɛ	dzɛ̂-mǎdǎrǎ
	hmǐ	<b>gjelǐjǎ</b>	úní	<b>= k<sup>h</sup>jɛ̂</b>	<b>dzɛ̂-mǎdǎrǎ</b>
	beg	while	this_way	time	go-NAR

He was begging around.

03	tɜ-hnǎ	= bo	rwǎ	ǎ	tɜ-kǎ	bǎ = wǎ
	tɜ-hnǎ	<b>= bǎ</b>	<b>rwǎ-</b>	<b>ǎ</b>	tɜ-kǎ	<b>bǎ = wǎ</b>
	one-day	= TOP	yak	herd	one-household	house:GEN-LOC
	tǎ-mǎdǎrǎ					
	<b>tǎ-mǎdǎrǎ</b>					
	arrive-NAR					

<sup>22</sup> A partially similar story is found in the Tibetan *ro-sgrung* cycle (Robin and Klu-rgyal 2005:177-193). This story was recorded from Ngag-dbang in Muli in February 2009. We present here only one fourth of the entire story, for want of space. The recording will be made available on the LACITO Archive (<http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/archivage/>) eventually.

One day, he arrived at a place where there was a household of yak herders.

- 04 rwê- ħ- hōbă ů-bje rwê tsó-rə = k<sup>h</sup>je zê-mədərə  
**rwè- ħ- hōbà ù-bjé** rwê **tsó-ró** = k<sup>h</sup>jè **zè-mədèrè**  
 yak herd girl this-DAT yak milk-PROG when stay-NAR  
 There was a shepherdess milking yaks.

- 05 tsá tiō tšiwá mjě-ćí, rwê tsó = mə-bje zŵí-mədərə  
**tsá tiō tšiwá mjè-ćí,** rwê **tsó = mə-bjè** **zŵí-médóró**  
 he any busy NEG-have yak milk = NMLZ-DAT watch-NAR  
 He had plenty of time, and watched her milking yaks.

- 06 utí rwê- ħ- hōbă rwê tsó-tɕwi p<sup>h</sup>ă = wō  
**ùtí rwè- ħ- hōbà** rwê **tsó-tɕwí** **p<sup>h</sup>à = wó**  
 this yak herd girl yak milk-PROG half-LOC  
 As she was milking yaks,

- 07 rǐ gap<sup>h</sup>á nɜ-ɣâ = nje = bo  
**rǐ gáp<sup>h</sup>á nè-ɣâ = njè = bò**  
 turquoise one\_half PFV:DOWN-fall = AGEN = TO  
 T P  
 one half of her turquoise pendant fell down.

- 08 kí = wō nɜ-tɕí-mədərə  
**kí = wò nè-tɕí-médóró**  
 pasture-LOC PFV:DOWN-fall-NAR  
 It fell on the grass.

- 09 kí = wō nɜ-tɕí = k<sup>h</sup>je tsá  
**kí = wò nè-tɕí = k<sup>h</sup>jè tsá**  
 pasture-LOC PFV:DOWN-fall when he

xá mǎ-kǔ-mədərə  
 xá **mà-kú-mədèrè**  
 know NEG-know-NAR

She did not notice it when it fell on the grass.

- 10 tɜ-tɕ<sup>h</sup>ě = bo rwê = nje xêi tɜ-pǎ  
**tɜ-tɕ<sup>h</sup>ě = bò rwê = njè xêi tɜ-pǎ**

one-moment = TOP yak = AGENT dung one-CL

tsá = tì rì = k<sup>h</sup>ú nɔ̃-x < w > eì-mədərǎ

tsá = ti rǐ = k<sup>h</sup>u nɔ̃-x < w > eǐ-mədərə

he = this turquoise = on PFV:DOWN-defecate < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

At that moment, the yak defecated on her turquoise.

11 utí hmǐ = mə = ti tá-mədərə

**u-tí hmǐ = mə = ti tá-mədərə**

this beg = NMLZ this see-NAR

The beggar saw it.

12 tɔ́bó tɔ̃-tɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ rwɛ́ tsó ts<sup>h</sup>á = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ = bo

**tɔ́bó tɔ̃-tɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ rwɛ́ tsó ts<sup>h</sup>á = k<sup>h</sup>jè = bɔ̀**

now one-moment yak milk end when TOP

After a while, as she finished milking her yak,

13 rwɛ́- ɰ- hōbǎ nǎ hjǔ = po hɔ̃-zâ = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ = bo

**rwɛ́- ɰ- hōbǎ nǎ hjǔ = pɔ́ hɔ̃-zâ = k<sup>h</sup>jè = bɔ̀**

yak herd girl milk tent = under PFV:IN-take = when = TO

P

the shepherdess took the milk to her tent.

14 utí hmǐ = mə = ti tsá bǎ = wǒ hɔ̃-ɕǎ

**ùtí hmǐ = mə = ti tsá bǎ = wǒ hɔ̃-ɕǎ**

this beg = NMLZ this she house:GEN-LOC PFV:IN-go.N.3.VOL

tɔbo, hmǐ-ɕǎ-mədərə

**tɔbɔ hmǐ-ɕǎ-mədərə**

then beg-go-NAR

The beggar went inside her house to beg.<sup>23</sup>

15 “tɔ́bó bêi tɔ̃-k<sup>h</sup>wǎ sǐtɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ tɔ̃-zǐ ɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ-ku

**tɔ́bó bêi tɔ̃-k<sup>h</sup>wǎ sǐtɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ tɔ̃-zǐ ɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ-kú**

now rice one-bowl breakfast one-CL feed-IMP

t<sup>h</sup>ɔ̃zɛ hmǐ-ku” tɕ < w > ǎ-mədərə

<sup>23</sup> This sentence shows an example of the alternation treated in section 5.2. Note also the irregular form hɔ̃-ɕǎ of the verb “to go”.

t<sup>h</sup>ə̀z̥ɛ      hmĩ-kú”      tɕ < w > ə-mədərə  
 thank\_you    beg-IMP      say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

He said, ‘Please, give me a bowl of rice for breakfast.’

- 16    ũ = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ      məkə́bá      = njɛ      bêi      t̩́-zǐ      t<sup>h</sup>ɜ-ɕ<sup>h</sup> < w > ɛ̃-mədərə  
       ù = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ́      məkə́bá      = njè      bêi      t̩́-zǐ      t<sup>h</sup>ɜ-ɕ<sup>h</sup> < w > è-mədərə  
 that-time    family      = AGEN    rice      one-CL    PFV-feed < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

T

Then, the people from this family gave him a meal.

- 17    tsá      bêi      dzə-tɕui      p<sup>h</sup>ǎ = wō      ts<sup>h</sup>ə̃      = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ      = bo  
       tsá      bêi      dzə́-tɕuì      p<sup>h</sup>à = wó      ts<sup>h</sup>ə̃      = k<sup>h</sup>jè      = bò  
 he      rice      eat-PROG    half-LOC    time      = when      = TO

P

As he was halfway through his meal,

- 18    utí      rwə-      ħ-      hōbǎ      rǐ      njɜ-mĩ-ɕi  
       ùtí      rwə́-      ħí-      hōbà      rǐ      njɜ́-mí-ɕì  
 this      yak      herd    girl      turquoise    PFV-disappear-EVD

xá      kũ-mədərə

xá      kù-mədərə

understand    understand-NAR

The shepherdess noticed that her turquoise pendant was missing.

- 19    “tə́bó      â      = ti      rǐ      ú-ní      p<sup>h</sup>ũ      njɛ = mə  
       tə́bó      â      = tì      rǐ      ú-ní      p<sup>h</sup>ũ      njɛ́ = mə  
 now      me      = this    turquoise    this\_way    price      valuable = NMLZ

= də      = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ,

= dè      = k<sup>h</sup>jè,

= COP      = when

‘My turquoise is so valuable,

- 20    tə́bó      njɜ-mĩ-ɕi      = bo      tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə́ní      pə̃-ji      dǒ”  
       tə́bó      njɜ́-mí-ɕì      = bò      tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə́ní      pə́-ji      dǒ  
 now    PFV-disappear-EVD    = TO    how      do-NMLZ:MOD    modal

P

tɕĩ́-mədərə

tɕĩ́-mədərə



waste PFV-become-N.EGO say = then cry-about\_to-NAR

What a waste !” she said, and was about to cry.

- 27 “t<sup>h</sup>ɜ̄zɛ̄” hmǐ = mə-bje “njê k<sup>h</sup>ətí t<sup>h</sup>ô ɕǐ mǎ-a-wô”  
 t<sup>h</sup>ɜ̄zɛ̄ hmǐ = mǎ-bjè njê k<sup>h</sup>ətí t<sup>h</sup>ô ɕǐ mǎ-à-wó”  
 please beg = NMLZ-DAT you some method have NEG-Q-modal  
 She told the beggar: “Don’t you have some trick,

- 28 njê pá rû nǎ ú-ní mǎ-a-ŋû”  
 njê pá rû nǎ ú-ní mǎ-à-ŋú  
 you divination divinate etc this\_way NEG-Q-know

tɕ < w > ǎ- mǎdərə

**tɕ < w > ǎ- mǎdərə**

say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

wouldn’t you know how to practice divination, by any chance ?”

- 29 ũ = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ = bo utí hmǐ = mə = njɛ “pá rû  
 ù = k<sup>h</sup>jé = bð ùtí hmǐ = mǎ = njè “pá rú  
 this\_time = TOP this beg = NMLZ = AGEN divination divinate  
 T

hálóti = bo ŋû” tɕ < w > ǎ-mǎdərə  
 hálóti = bð ŋû” **tɕ < w > ǎ-mǎdərə**  
 a\_little = TOP know say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

Then the beggar said “I know divination a little.”

- 30 tsá pədzí rwê-xêi = pǎ = po rǐ ũ = po  
 tsá pədzí rwê-xêi = pǎ = pð rǐ ù = pó  
 he just\_before yak-dung = CL = under turquoise it = under

nɜ-ɕê tsá tá-mǎdərə  
 nɜ-ɕê tsá **tá-mǎdərə**  
 PFV:DOWN-go.N.EGO he see-NAR

Just before, he had seen the turquoise going under the yak dung.

- 31 tsá gjǎ = wõ xwê = po dzwá tɕǎ-mǎdərə  
 tsá **gjǎ = wó** xwê = pð dzwá **tɕǎ-mǎdərə**  
 he heart = LOC heart = under smooth very-NAR  
 He was not worried at all.

- 32 pá rû hálóti dei ŋû” tɕ < w > ǎ-mədərə  
 pá rû **hálótì** **dèi** ŋû” **tɕ < w > ǎ-mədərǎ**  
 divination divinate a\_little PART know say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR  
 He said “I know divination a little.”

- 33 nǎdjé tʰɔzê njê =nje pá ti rû-ku  
**nǎdjé tʰɔzê njê =njè** pá **tì** **rú-kù**  
 then please you =AGEN divination a\_little divinate-IMP  
 T

“In this case, please make a divination,

- 34 njê mjê kʰǔ la ǎ-bə kʰĩ-ʂa bo  
 njê mjê kʰǔ **là à-bó** **kʰĩ-ʂá** **bò**  
 you what need all my-house give-FUT TOP  
 we will provide you with anything you need,

- 35 njê pá rû =kʰje mjê ti kʰǔ wô,  
 njê pá rû =**kʰjè** mjê **tì** kʰǔ wô,  
 you divination divinate =when what a\_little need modal  
 pá rû-sǎ mjê kʰǔ wô”  
 pá **rú-sǎ** mjê kʰǔ wô”  
 divination divinate-NMLZ:OBL what need modal

tɕ < w > ǎ-mədərə

**tɕ < w > ǎ-mədərǎ**

say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

whatever you need when you divinate, whatever you use to divinate.”

- 36 utí hmǐ-mə ti tsá tʂéi-mədərə  
**ùtí hmǐ-mə** **tì** tsá **tʂéi-mədérǎ**  
 this beg-NMLZ this meat want\_to\_eat-NAR  
 The beggar wanted to eat meat.

- 37 pá rû-sǎ bo tɔnjě bo kʰətí kʰǔ mǎ-wô  
 pá **rú-sǎ** **bò** **tɔnjě** **bò** **kʰətí** kʰǔ **mà-wó**  
 divination divinate-NMLZ:OBL TOP other TOP some need NEG-modal  
 “To do divination, I don’t need anything else,



- 38    tsək<sup>h</sup>uə    tǰé-jǎ    ǎ-k<sup>h</sup>ǐ    bo    dzǎ-kei  
**tsək<sup>h</sup>wə**    tǰé-jǎ    **à-k<sup>h</sup>ǐ**    **bò**    **dzǎ-kéi**  
pig\_head    one-CL    Q-give    TOP    fine-OPT  
if you give me the head of a pig, it will be just fine.
- 39    tsək<sup>h</sup>wə    tǰé-jǎ    jǚ”    tɕ < w > ə-mədərə  
**tsək<sup>h</sup>wə**    tǰé-jǎ    jǚ”    **tɕ < w > ə-mədərə**  
pig\_head    one-CL    bring    say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR  
Bring me a pig’s head,
- 40    tsək<sup>h</sup>wə    tǰé-jǎ    k<sup>h</sup>ǔ”    tɕ < w > ə-mədərə  
**tsək<sup>h</sup>wə**    tǰé-jǎ    k<sup>h</sup>ǔ”    **tɕ < w > ə-mədərə**  
pig\_head    one-CL    need    say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR  
I need a pig’s head.”
- 41    “áláçi”    tɕ < w > ə-mədərə    tɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ    = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ    tsək<sup>h</sup>wə  
**áláçi**    **tɕ < w > ə-mədərə**    tɕ<sup>h</sup>ǎ    = **k<sup>h</sup>jè**    **tsək<sup>h</sup>wə**  
thank\_you    say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR    quick    = when    pig\_head
- tǰé-jǎ    tsǎ-bje    t<sup>h</sup>ɜ-k<sup>h</sup> < w > ǐ-mədərə  
tǰé-jǎ    **tsǎ-bjé**    **t<sup>h</sup>ɜ-k<sup>h</sup> < w > ǐ-mədərə**  
one-CL    he-DAT    PFV-give < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR  
They said “Thank you”, and immediately gave him a pig’s head.
- 42    tǎbó    tsǎ    = nje    tsək<sup>h</sup>uə-bje    səkɜradzɰí    tǎ-tǎ  
**tǎbó**    tsǎ    = **njè**    **tsək<sup>h</sup>uə-bjé**    **səkɜradzɰí**    tǎ-tǎ  
now    he    = AGEN    pig\_head-DAT    wood\_stick    one-CL  
T
- hɜ-tsɪ    tǎbo  
**hɜ-tsɪ**    **tǎbò**  
PFV-insert    then  
Then, he inserted a wood stick into the pig head,
- 43    tsək<sup>h</sup>uə    hɜ-ɕ<sup>h</sup>wěi    tǎbo    ǔ-k<sup>h</sup>u    hɜ-tsɪ    tǎbo  
**tsək<sup>h</sup>uə**    **hɜ-ɕ<sup>h</sup>wěi**    **tǎbò**    **ù-k<sup>h</sup>ú**    **hɜ-tsɪ**    **tǎbò**  
pig\_head    PFV-pierce    then    this-above    PFV-insert    then  
he pierced the pig head, and inserted (the wood stick) into it.
- 44    tǎbó    gutó = wǒ    péro-mədərə

təbó gùtó = wò péro-mədərə

now hearth-LOC burn-NAR

Then, he cooked it on the hearth.

45 tətɕǐ kʰətí swǎ-rõ “....” tɕ < w > ǎ-mədərə

tətɕǐ kʰətí swà-ró “....” tɕ < w > ə-mədərə

also some recite-DUR “....” say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

He also recited something like “....”,

46 swǎ-ji bo tsǎ-bje tǰö la mǎ-bô-mədərə

swà-jí bò tsǎ-bjé tǰö là mà-bó-mədərə

recite-NMLZ:MOD TOP he-DAT any all NEG-be\_there-NAR

it was not at all what had to be recited.

47 xaswaməswá pə tʂə pá-mədərə

xàs-wàməswá pə tʂə pá-mədərə

recite\_nonsense do trick do:N.EGO:VOL-NAR

He was reciting nonsense, deceiving them.

48 təbó tsəkʰwǎ tʰjě hmǐ-rə tsʰə bo

təbó tsəkʰwǎ tʰjě hmǐ-rə tsʰə bò

now pig\_head almost cooked-PROG time TOP

As the pig head was about to be cooked,

49 tsəkʰwǎ kəradzǰwǐ =kʰu djâ-mədərə, utí kʰə-tʂǒ təbo

tsəkʰwǎ kəradzǰwǐ =kʰù djâ-mədərə, ùtí kʰə-tʂǒ tətò

pig\_head stick = on be\_there-NAR this PFV-take\_out then

he took out the pig head from the stick where it was.

50 swǎ-rě pə nǎ bo kô lwǎ

swà-ré pə nà bò kô lwǎ

recite-SIMULT do etc TOP valley thrust

já lwǎ pá-mədərə

já lwǎ pá-mədərə

mountain\_crest thrust do:N.EGO:VOL-NAR

While he was reciting, he thrust (the stick) around in a disorderly way.



he thrust it outside the tent, on the pasture.

- 55 rwê-xêi = rə = to la lwă-rôtçə  
**rwê-xêi-ré = tò là lwê-rôtçə**  
 yak-dung-PL = on all thrust-pretend

He pretended to thrust it towards many yak dungs.

- 56 tɜ-tɕ<sup>h</sup>ě = k<sup>h</sup>jɛ bo utí rwê-xêi rǐ  
**tɜ-tɕ<sup>h</sup>ě = k<sup>h</sup>jè bò ùtí rwê-xêi rǐ**  
 one-moment = when TOP this yak-dung turquoise

- kwî-sě ti = to tɜ-lwă = njɛ bo  
**kwî-sě tì = tò tɜ-lwă = njè bò**  
 be\_there-NMLZ:OBL this = on one-thrust = AGENT TOP

After a while, he thrust it towards the yak dung where the turquoise was.

- 57 njê-bă rǐ təpǒ â-mə-kwî-rə ă”  
**njê-bă rǐ təpǒ á-mə-kwî-rə ă”**  
 you-house:GEN turquoise on\_the\_ground Q-NEG-be\_there-PROG INT

tɕ < w > ă-mədərə

**tɕ < w > ă-mədərə**

say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

He said: “Isn’t it your turquoise here on the ground?”

- 58 məkă-bă njɜ-gjǔ = njɛ bo  
**məkə-bə njê-gjǔ = njè bò**  
 house PFV-glad = AGEN TOP

T

The people of this house were very glad.

- 59 məkă-bă dzǐ njɜ-zû, njɜ-gjǔ = njɛ “áláçì,  
**məkə-bə dzǐ njê-zû, njê-gjǔ = njè áláçì**  
 house true PFV-believe PFV-glad = AGEN thank\_you

T

- tɕósõtɕ<sup>h</sup>í niê = bo m̂ mə-dzâ tǐ d̂-çì,  
**tɕósotɕ<sup>h</sup>í niê = bò m̂ mà-dzâ tǐ d̂-çì**  
 my\_respects you = TO man NEG-same one COP-EVD

P

áláçi” tç < w > ə-mədərə

áláçi tç < w > ə-mədərə

thank\_you say < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

These people believed it was true and said: “Thank you so much, how extraordinary, you are an uncommon man, thank you !”

60 təbó tsá pá rû ŋû-rə tçə,  
təbó tsá pá rû **ŋú-rə** tçə,  
now he divination divinate know-PROG say

médzɛ́ pá rû ŋû-rə tçə

médzɛ́ pá rû **ŋú-rə** tçə

poor\_man divination divinate know-PROG say

They said that he knew divination, that the poor beggar knew divination.

61 ljowá-bje thɜ-lóz < w > ə-mədərə

ljòwá-bjé thɜ-lóz < w > ə-mədərə

all-DAT PFV-tell < N.EGO:VOL > -NAR

They told everyone.

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