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A Field-Based Study of Tshodrug Tibetan

Anastassiya Kolesnichenko

► **To cite this version:**

Anastassiya Kolesnichenko. A Field-Based Study of Tshodrug Tibetan. Humanities and Social Sciences. 2025. <dumas-05387501>

HAL Id: dumas-05387501

<https://dumas.ccsd.cnrs.fr/dumas-05387501v1>

Submitted on 28 Nov 2025

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LABORATOIRE D'HISTOIRE DES THÉORIES LINGUISTIQUES

UNIVERSITÉ PARIS CITÉ

Faculté Sociétés et Humanités

UFR LINGUISTIQUE

Année 2025

N°

Thesis for the diploma

Master 2 Language Sciences – Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics

Presented and defended publicly on: 12 June 2025

By

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A Field-Based Study of Tshodrug Tibetan

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Acknowledgments

This thesis could not have taken shape without the generosity and patience of the people who shared their voices, time, and guidance.

First and foremost, heartfelt gratitude goes to my primary consultant, whose unflinching enthusiasm turned long sessions of elicitation into genuine moments of discovery and delight. Her willingness to spend countless hours analysing Tshodrug—without ever asking for compensation—was the cornerstone of this project, and her insights resonate on every page.

Equal thanks are due to the wider Tshodrug-speaking community. From the very first invitation to visit their villages, every encounter was marked by remarkable kindness: meals appeared unasked, beds were readied without fuss, and transport was conjured out of thin mountain air. Although individual names cannot be listed here, each speaker, driver, cook, host, and story-teller is remembered with profound appreciation. This work quite literally travelled on their goodwill.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Aimée Lahaussois, whose intellectual compass guided each stage of the analysis. Her perceptive questions, theoretical clarity, and steady encouragement transformed confusion into insight and pointed the way whenever the data seemed to stall.

Finally, warm thanks to the lecturers and staff of Université Paris Cité. The breadth of training offered in the MA programme proved indispensable once the recorder was switched on and real-world problems arose.

To everyone named and unnamed who made this research possible: thank you. May this thesis repay, in some small measure, the trust and generosity that brought it to life.

Résumé et indexation en français

Titre : Une étude de terrain sur le tibétain Tshodrug

Résumé :

Cette thèse propose la première description à plusieurs locuteurs du tibétain Tshodrug, variété khams en danger parlée à Tshodrug (Yunnan, Chine). Dix-huit mois de terrain—entretiens urbains, élicitation à distance et séjour de trois semaines au village—ont produit un corpus de trois heures auprès de 22 locuteurs répartis dans quatre villages. Dans ce corpus, la thèse traite 900 entrées lexicales, 190 phrases élicitées choisies pour l'analyse morphosyntaxique, ainsi que neuf récits intégralement annotés issus de 30 textes enregistrés. L'étude offre (i) une phonologie segmentale et tonale et (ii) une morphosyntaxe complète des noms, pronoms, adjectifs, numéraux, quantifieurs, postpositions, adverbes, directionnels, verbes, interrogatifs, nominalisateurs de relatives, conjonctions et particules interactionnelles. Les traits centraux—ordre verbe final, morphologie TAMÉ post-verbale, cas enclitiques, absence de genre grammatical—confirment l'appartenance du Tshodrug à l'espace typologique tibétique tout en fournissant des données inédites pour la recherche comparative. Un corpus annoté et un lexique électronique de 900 entrées accompagnent la thèse, au service de la recherche universitaire et des initiatives communautaires de revitalisation.

Mots clés français : recherche linguistique, tibétain tshodrug, étude de terrain, analyse morphosyntaxique, langues tibétaines

Forme ou Genre :

Rameau¹ : Thèses et écrits académiques

¹ Répertoire d'autorité-matière encyclopédique et alphabétique unifié (français)

Abstract and indexation in English

Title: A Field-Based Study of Tshodrug Tibetan

Abstract:

This thesis presents the first multi-speaker description of Tshodrug Tibetan, an endangered Khams variety spoken in Tshodrug village (Yunnan, China). Eighteen months of fieldwork—combining urban interviews, remote elicitation and a three-week village stay—produced a three-hour corpus from 22 speakers across four villages. From these materials the thesis analyses 900 lexical items, 190 elicited sentences selected for morphosyntactic coverage, and nine fully annotated narratives drawn from 30 recorded texts.

The work delivers (i) a segmental and tonal phonology and (ii) a full morphosyntactic account of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, postpositions, adverbs, directionals, verbs, interrogatives, relative-clause nominalisers, conjunctions and interactional particles. Core patterns—verb-final order, post-verbal TAME morphology, enclitic case, lack of grammatical gender—confirm Tshodrug’s place within the Tibetic typological profile while furnishing new primary data for comparative research. An annotated corpus and a 900-entry electronic lexicon accompany the thesis, supporting academic inquiry and community-based language-maintenance initiatives.

English keywords: linguistic research, Tshodrug Tibetan, field-based study, morphosyntactic analysis, Tibetic languages

Publication type:

Theses and Academic Writings

List of abbreviations

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ABIL	ability
ADD	additive
ASSUM	assumptive
CAUS	causative
CIS	cislocative
CMPR	comparative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DIR	directional
DIST	distal
DOWN	downward
EGO	egophoric
ERG	ergative
EX	exclusive
EXP	experiential
FACT	factual
FRDIST	further distal
GEN	genitive

IMN	imminent
IMP	imperative
IN	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INFL	inflectional
INS	instrumental
INTL	intentional
IRRV	irreversible
KNOW	know how
LOC	locative
MIR	mirative
MOV	movement
NEC	necessitative
NEG	negation
NMZ	nominalizer
NSG	non-singular
NVSEN	non-visual sensory
ORD	ordinal
PAUS	pause
PERM	permissive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
Q	question
RES	resultative
SFP	sentence-final particle
SG	singular
SIMUL	simulative
SUP	superlative

TEMP	temporal
TRANSL	translocative
TOP	topic
UP	upward
VSEN	visual sensory
ZH	Chinese (loanword)

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1. Introduction

Tshodrug Tibetan is spoken in four adjoining settlements—Tshodrug, Cizhong, Jueren and Kaidongka—clustered within 2–5 km of one another in Yanmen Township, Deqing County, Deqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China. Within Tournadre & Suzuki’s (2023) geographical taxonomy it belongs to the Melung branch of the Sems-kyi-nyila subgroup of Khams Tibetic. Despite the language’s strategic position on the Mekong corridor—and the fact that the community is one of the very few Tibetic groups to have embraced Roman-Catholic Christianity, yielding liturgical practices and loan patterns of considerable typological interest—no systematic description had ever been produced.

Historical references are scant. French missionaries working in the region compiled a *Dictionnaire français-tibétain* (1956) that cites Tshodrug as a possible source for selected entries but offers no grammatical commentary. The nearest documented relative is Sakar Tibetan (Suzuki 2012), while the wider Khams continuum has only recently been synthesised by Tournadre & Suzuki (2023). Thus, Tshodrug represents a critical missing piece in the comparative Tibetic record.

The four villages together number roughly 1 700 inhabitants (2025 estimate). Fluency in Tshodrug is now largely confined to middle-aged and elderly speakers; younger residents use Mandarin in schooling and commerce, placing the local language in a highly endangered position.

This thesis responds to that urgency. It provides an integrated analysis of Tshodrug phonetics, phonology and morphosyntax, grounded in an 18-month field programme that yielded a three-hour corpus from twenty-two speakers. From those materials the study examines 900 lexical items, 190 elicited sentences and nine fully annotated narratives drawn from a larger set of thirty recorded texts. The resulting description supplies baseline data for Tibetic typology—including potential insights into the linguistic effects of Christian liturgical discourse—and a resource for any future community-driven revitalisation work.

2. Methods and materials

2.1. Ethical considerations

The initial urban phase of the project received formal clearance from the Paris Graduate School of Linguistics' Ethics Committee. For those sessions the primary speaker signed individual consent forms at every meeting after receiving a detailed information sheet in English.

Subsequent work was carried out at the explicit invitation of community leaders in Tshodrug community and was entirely self-financed. For the remote recordings and the on-site field stay a one-page general consent form was signed by each participant in Mandarin Chinese. All files are stored under anonymised speaker codes, and no personal identifying details are released in this thesis or its accompanying archive, in accordance with those consent agreements.

2.2. Consultant profiles

Twenty-two speakers (12 women, 10 men) representing four neighbouring villages participated:

- Age range: 20 – 91 years (mean \approx 47)
- Linguistic background: all are heritage speakers of Tshodrug; some report functional proficiency in Mandarin.

2.3. Research design and corpus compilation

The research unfolded in four sequential phases.

Stage 1 (January – June 2024) took place in Paris, where weekly face-to-face sessions with a single primary consultant generated the core pilot corpus: roughly 1 500 word tokens and 500 elicited sentences. These data supported a preliminary morphosyntactic sketch and a seed lexicon.

Stage 2 (September – December 2024) extended the project online. Remote WeChat interviews with five additional speakers yielded five spontaneous narratives and allowed the earlier elicited material to be checked and the glossing conventions to be refined.

Stage 3 (January 2025) consisted of a three-week visit to the Tshodrug area. Invited by local residents and working with 22 speakers in total, the study recorded 25 further narratives.

Stage 4 (February 2025 – June 2025) was devoted to desk analysis and thesis preparation. Phonetic and phonological analysis was conducted on the primary consultant's recordings; the entire morphosyntax was re-analysed in light of the enlarged corpus; and all materials were fully glossed. The final corpus comprises nine fully annotated narratives, a 190-sentence morphosyntax set and a lexicon of approximately 900 entries, all deposited alongside this thesis.

2.4. Analytical procedures

Phonetic layer

All tokens were broad-transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Morphosyntactic layer

Elicitation followed the functional inventory recommended in Aikhenvald's *The Art of Grammar* and Tibetic checklists in Tournadre & Suzuki (2023). Tokens were glossed in accordance with the Leipzig rules.

3. Phonetic and phonological analysis

This chapter presents an overview of the sound system of Tshodrug Tibetan. As Tshodrug is a spoken language with no writing system, all phonetic data in this section—as well as all transcriptions throughout this thesis—are provided using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

It is important to note that the analysis presented here is primarily based on recordings of isolated word pronunciations elicited from a primary language consultant. While words produced by other speakers during continuous speech in narrative contexts appear acoustically similar, their precise phonetic features are less perceptible compared to the clearly articulated, isolated forms recorded with the primary consultant.

Due to limitations in time and resources, it was not possible to record the entire collected wordlist with additional native speakers to fully verify the consistency of pronunciation across speakers. Furthermore, because of the time constraints associated with a master’s thesis, no instrumental phonetic analysis (e.g., using Praat) could be conducted. These two limitations highlight potential directions for future research on the phonetic and phonological properties of Tshodrug Tibetan.

The sections that follow will first present the syllable structure of Tshodrug Tibetan, then introduce the consonant inventory along with various segmental features such as voicing, prenasalization, and postaspiration. This will be followed by a discussion of the vowel inventory and, finally, an overview of the tone system.

3.1. Syllable structure

The maximum syllable structure of Tshodrug Tibetan can be represented as follows:

	(c ₁)	(C _i)	(G)	V	(C _f)				
c ₁ :	preinitials	C _i :	initials	G:	glide	V:	vowels	C _f :	finals

The minimal syllable structure consists of a single vowel. However, not all vowels were attested to occur independently as full syllables. The vowels observed in this position are [i, e, u, o, ɔ]. Examples include the first syllables of the following words: *íḍzèʔ* “all,” *éṃē* “mother,” *úkhē* “owl,” *ōjê* “to kiss,” *ḡkʰù* “DEM.DIST.”

A syllable may also consist of an initial consonant followed by a vowel. In this structure, all consonants and vowels listed in the segmental inventories have been attested. Examples include: *d^hɕ* “to sprout,” *t^o* “bear,” *t̪s̪ù* “to take away,” *ʃ* “year,” *ŋà* “money,” *ʔ* “heart,” *kʸ* “to hide,” *wé* “fox,” *s^hē* “gold,” *jē* “to borrow,” among others.

In rare cases, a syllable may also include a glide [w] between the initial consonant and the vowel. This pattern was primarily observed with the vowels [ɛ] and [e], as illustrated in: *kwè* “to turn over,” *z^wè* “song,” *d̪z^hwē* “grass,” and similar examples.

Preinitials also occur in Tshodrug syllable structure, but they appear to be limited to the nasals [m] and [n]. These preinitials combine with various following consonants, as seen in: *^mb^hē* “to burn,” *ⁿd̪* “to recite,” *ⁿd̪z^hwē* “hoe,” *ⁿgʸ* “end,” among others. The full list of consonants that can co-occur with these preinitials is provided in Section 2.2.

Finally, all of the syllable structures discussed above may also include a final consonant. In Tshodrug, the only attested finals are the glottal stop [ʔ] and the glide [j]. Examples include: *rûʔ* “friend,” *g^hūj* “to dig,” *^mbêʔ* “to lose,” *^{d̪}z^hūj* “to flee,” *kwèʔ* “to stop,” among others.

3.2. Consonants

The general consonant and vowel inventories of Tibetic languages were first systematically studied in Tournadre and Suzuki (2023) and subsequently compared to the findings from Tshodrug Tibetan. The only notable distinction attested in Tshodrug Tibetan—but absent from *Chart VII.1: Pandialectal Transcription of the Consonants* in Tournadre and Suzuki (2023)—is the presence of aspiration not only in voiceless plosives, affricates, and fricatives, but also in their voiced counterparts. While this distribution requires further verification through instrumental phonetic analysis, it is reported here based on the current stage of research.

Table 1 below presents the attested consonant inventory of Tshodrug Tibetan, organized by manner and place of articulation. The inventory includes voiceless, voiced, and aspirated phonemes in both voiceless and voiced series.

Table 1: Consonant inventory

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Prepalatal	Palatal	Pre-velar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	<i>vcls.</i>	p	t					k	ʔ
	<i>aspir.</i>	p ^h	t ^h					k ^h	
	<i>voic.</i>	b	d					g	
	<i>aspir.</i>	b ^h	d ^h					g ^h	
Affricate	<i>vcls.</i>		ts̩	tʂ̩	tɕ̩				
	<i>aspir.</i>		ts̩ ^h	tʂ̩ ^h	tɕ̩ ^h				
	<i>voic.</i>		d̩z̩	d̩ʒ̩		d̩z̩ ^j			
	<i>aspir.</i>		d̩z̩ ^h	d̩ʒ̩ ^h		d̩z̩ ^j ^h			
Fricative	<i>vcls.</i>		s	ʂ			x ^j	x	
	<i>aspir.</i>		s ^h						
	<i>voic.</i>		z	ʒ					
	<i>aspir.</i>		z ^h						
Lateral	<i>vcls.</i>		l̩						
	<i>voic.</i>		l						
Tap	<i>voic.</i>		r						
Nasal	<i>vcls.</i>	m̩	n̩						ŋ̩
	<i>voic.</i>	m	n			ɲ			ŋ
Glide		w				j			

The phoneme /d̩z̩/ exhibits allophonic variation in the speech of most speakers, with [d̩z̩] occurring as a non-contrastive variant. The same applies to the phoneme /ʂ/, which also shows allophonic variation, with [ɕ̩] occurring as a non-contrastive variant. No minimal pairs have been attested for these cases. In some instances, the same words were recorded with either [d̩z̩^j] or [d̩z̩], [ʂ] or [ɕ̩] during different interviews. However, since [d̩z̩^j] and [ʂ] account for the vast majority of occurrences (approximately 90%), they are used as the representative forms in the consonant inventory and throughout the transcriptions in this study.

3.2.1. Voicing

Voicing is phonemic in Tshodrug Tibetan, as demonstrated by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:

b-p:	bôʔ (<i>air</i>) — pôʔ (<i>to descend</i>)
b ^h -p ^h :	b ^h é (<i>to bury</i>) — p ^h é (<i>cow</i>)
d-t:	dèʔ (<i>to give</i>) — tèʔ (<i>to lean</i>)
d ^h -t ^h :	d ^h ē (<i>to chase</i>) — t ^h ē (<i>horse</i>)
g-k:	gé (<i>to love</i>) — ké (<i>where</i>)
g ^h -k ^h :	g ^h ē (<i>across</i>) — k ^h ē (<i>to bring</i>)
ḍz-ṭs:	ḍzòʔ (<i>to plant</i>) — ṭsòʔ (<i>to be worried</i>)
ḍz ^h -ṭs ^h :	ḍz ^h ē (<i>root</i>) — ṭs ^h ē (<i>salt</i>)
ḍz-ṭʂ:	ḍzè (<i>to fear</i>) — ṭʂè (<i>blood</i>)
ḍz ^h -ṭʂ ^h :	ḍz ^h ē (<i>hair</i>) — ṭʂ ^h ē (<i>eagle</i>)
ḍz-ṭʂ:	ḍzèʔ (<i>iron</i>) — ṭʂèʔ (<i>pair</i>)
ḍz ^h -ṭʂ ^h :	ḍz ^h é (<i>tea</i>) — ṭʂ ^h é (<i>rain</i>)
z-s:	zôʔ (<i>to pretend</i>) — sôʔ (<i>to give back</i>)
z ^h -s ^h :	z ^h ē (<i>to hang</i>) — s ^h ē (<i>gold</i>)
z-ʂ:	zê (<i>four</i>) — ʂê (<i>to dissolve</i>)
l-ʎ:	lē (<i>river deer</i>) — ʎē (<i>deity</i>)
m-ṃ:	mèʔ (<i>wound</i>) — ṃèʔ (<i>to put out the fire</i>)
n-ṅ:	nés ^h ṽ (<i>sibling</i>) — ṅēs ^h ṽ (<i>pillow</i>)
ŋ-ṅ:	ŋē (<i>five</i>) — ṅē (<i>drum</i>)

It is important to note that a few instances of voicing assimilation were observed during the analysis of Tshodrug Tibetan. These cases involved only the consonant pairs [z] ~ [s] and [z] ~ [ʂ], and occurred exclusively with specific words or grammatical markers, rather than being a regular phonological process across the language.

For example, the verb *sé* “to eat” was frequently realized as *zé* when it did not appear in the initial position of a verbal phrase. Similarly, the cislocative marker *ʂô* was consistently pronounced as *zô* when preceded by a negative marker *mé* within the verbal phrase. This alternation cannot be attributed to the presence or quality of a preceding vowel, as various verbs and verbal markers were attested before *ʂô*, yet the voicing change occurred only after

negation. No clear conditioning factors were identified for other instances of voicing alternation either, and no systematic explanation has yet been observed. This phenomenon requires further data collection and more detailed investigation.

3.2.2. Prenasalization

Although Tournadre and Suzuki (2023) note that preinitials in Tibetic languages may include obstruents, nasals, and liquids from the labial, denti-alveolar, retroflex, velar-uvular series, as well as glottals, only the nasals [m] and [n] were attested as preinitials in Tshodrug Tibetan. Moreover, their occurrence is restricted to specific combinations with the consonants listed below. The preinitials are pronounced with lower sonority than the following consonants (initials) and are realized with reduced intensity, which supports their analysis as preinitials rather than initials.

The contrastive function of preinitials is demonstrated by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs. In each case, the presence of a preinitial nasal results in a difference in lexical meaning:

b- ^m b:	bêʔ (<i>to carry on one's back</i>) — ^m bêʔ (<i>representative</i>)
b ^h - ^m b ^h :	b ^h ì (<i>custom</i>) — ^m b ^h ì (<i>abundant</i>)
d- ⁿ d:	dôʔ (<i>to suffer</i>) — ⁿ dôʔ (<i>to sit</i>)
d ^h - ⁿ d ^h :	d ^h ē (<i>to chase</i>) — ⁿ d ^h ē (<i>arrow</i>)
ḏz̄- ⁿ ḏz̄:	ḏz̄è (<i>to fear</i>) — ⁿ ḏz̄é (<i>to look like</i>)
ḏz̄ ^h - ⁿ ḏz̄ ^h :	éḏz̄ ^h ỳ (<i>just now</i>) — é ⁿ ḏz̄ ^h ỳ (<i>like this</i>)
ḏz̄- ⁿ ḏz̄:	ḏz̄īb ^h ỳ (<i>king</i>) — ⁿ ḏz̄īb ^h ỳ (<i>beautiful</i>)
ḏz̄ ^h - ⁿ ḏz̄ ^h :	ḏz̄ ^h ỳ (<i>approximately</i>) — ⁿ ḏz̄ ^h ỳ (<i>to enter</i>)
ḏz̄ ^l - ⁿ ḏz̄ ^l :	ḏz̄ ^l ôʔ (<i>to launch</i>) — ⁿ ḏz̄ ^l ôʔ (<i>to look</i>)
ḏz̄ ^h - ⁿ ḏz̄ ^h :	ḏz̄ ^h à (<i>ten</i>) — ⁿ ḏz̄ ^h à (<i>to catch</i>)
g- ⁿ g:	gỳ (<i>nine</i>) — ⁿ gỳ (<i>end</i>)
g ^h - ⁿ g ^h :	g ^h ỳ (<i>to steal</i>) — ⁿ g ^h ỳ (<i>to move body</i>)

3.2.3. Postaspiration

Postaspiration is phonemic in Tshodrug Tibetan, as demonstrated by the following minimal pairs:

p-p ^h :	pî? (<i>Tibetan</i>) — p ^h î? (<i>incense stick</i>)
b-b ^h :	bé (<i>unfortunately</i>) — b ^h é (<i>indigestion</i>)
t-t ^h :	tè? (<i>to lean</i>) — t ^h è? (<i>cottage cheese</i>)
d-d ^h :	dè? (<i>to give</i>) — d ^h è? (<i>to seal</i>)
k-k ^h :	kē (<i>pillar</i>) — k ^h ē (<i>mouth</i>)
g-g ^h :	gó (<i>to wait</i>) — g ^h ó (<i>door</i>)
ts̄-ts̄ ^h :	ts̄ỳ (<i>to borrow</i>) — ts̄ ^h ỳ (<i>dog</i>)
dz̄-dz̄ ^h :	dz̄ē (<i>to add</i>) — dz̄ ^h ē (<i>root</i>)
t̄s̄-t̄s̄ ^h :	t̄s̄i? (<i>to take away</i>) — t̄s̄ ^h i? (<i>shy</i>)
q̄z̄-q̄z̄ ^h :	q̄z̄ý (<i>to ask</i>) — q̄z̄ ^h ý (<i>snake</i>)
t̄ç̄-t̄ç̄ ^h :	t̄ç̄è (<i>feed</i>) — t̄ç̄ ^h è (<i>water</i>)
dz̄i-dz̄i ^h :	dz̄iē (<i>hundred</i>) — dz̄i ^h ē (<i>to ride</i>)
s-s ^h :	sè? (<i>to kill</i>) — s ^h è? (<i>to open</i>)
z-z ^h :	zô? (<i>to pretend</i>) — z ^h ô? (<i>to make</i>)

3.3. Vowels

The tables below present the vowel inventory of Tshodrug Tibetan. Table 2 shows the attested oral vowels, organized by height, backness, and rounding. Table 3 displays the corresponding nasal vowels, which are contrastive for most oral vowel categories. No nasal counterparts have been attested for the vowels [ə] and [ɣ].

Table 2: Oral vowel inventory

	Front		Central		Back	
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
Close	i			ɨ		u
Close-mid	e				ɤ	o
			ə			
Open-mid	ɛ					ɔ
			e			
Open						

Table 3: Nasal vowel inventory

	Front		Central		Back	
	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
Close	ĩ			ɨ̃		ũ
Close-mid	ẽ					õ
Open-mid	ɛ̃					ɔ̃
			ẽ			
Open						

The vowel system of Tshodrug Tibetan shows clear phonemic contrasts based on both vowel quality and nasality, as demonstrated by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs.

Oral vowel contrasts:

- i-e: kɨʔ (to hiccup) — kɛʔ (language)
- e-ɛ: rɛʔ (to become) — rɛ̃ʔ (COP2/FACT)
- e-ə: ré (goat) — rə (mountain)
- u-ɨ: tʰù (grain) — tʰɨ (DEM.FRDIST)
- u-ɤ: ékʰù (1SG.INCL) — ékʰɤ (paternal uncle)
- u-o: ɲú (to buy) — ɲó (name)
- u-ɔ: ʎùʔ (to cheat) — ʎɔʔ (to learn)
- o-ɣ: kó (who) — kɣ (to hide)
- o-ɔ: tòʔ (to reach) — tɔʔ (to lay)
- ɔ-ɣ: t̃sʰò (to dry) — t̃sʰɣ (to wash)

These pairs confirm that vowel quality distinctions are phonemic.

Nasal vowel contrasts:

- i-ĩ: xìʔ (*fire*) — xĩʔ (*to ripen*)
 e-ě: dz̄^hē (*to change clothes*) — dz̄^hě (*gunpowder*)
 ε-ě̃: ^mbýt̄sē (*otherwise*) — ^mbýt̄sě̃ (*just*)
 e-ě̃: |ē (*deity*) — |ě̃ (*shoe*)
 ʉ-ũ̃: g^hʉ (*to need*) — g^hũ̃ (*to hang*)
 u-ũ̃: t^hū (*grain*) — t^hũ̃ (*to see*)
 o-õ̃: xò (*to bite*) — xõ̃ (*to fry*)
 ɔ-õ̃: ts̄õ̃m̄ē (*clean*) — ts̄õ̃m̄ē̃ (*all*)

These pairs demonstrate that nasality is also phonemic.

3.4. Tones

As described for Tibetic languages in general by Tournadre and Suzuki (2023), Tshodrug Tibetan exhibits a word tone system. In monosyllabic words, four tones are attested:

Table 4: Tone inventory

Tone Diacritic	Register	Tone pattern	Tone — Numerical Values
-	high register	level	[55]
`	high register	falling	[53]
´	low register	slightly rising	[24]
^	low register	rising-falling	[132]

This tone analysis and notation follow the system proposed by Kitamura (1977). Minimal pairs in Tshodrug that illustrate the phonemic status of these tones are presented below:

-	sē	'ground'
`	sè	'to burn'
´	sé	'to eat'
^	sê	'to drop'

In disyllabic words, these tone features are distributed across both syllables. The high level tone is realized with a high tone on both syllables: S[55] S[55]. In the falling tone, the first syllable begins high and the second syllable lowers slightly: S[55] S[53]. For the rising tone, the pitch rises across the syllables: S[24] S[55]. In the rising-falling tone, the pitch slightly rises on the first syllable and then falls on the second: S[24] S[53].

Examples of disyllabic tone patterns in Tshodrug:

-	nēĩ	'sweets'
`	pīmùʔ	'knee'
'	džýmē	'pot'
^	m̄býtùʔ	'flower'

In polysyllabic words, any syllables beyond the second are typically realized as a reduced or weak form of the low register, rising-falling tone. Tournadre and Suzuki (2023) also note the existence of a fifth category—atonal words, typically associated with grammatical clitics or affixes. This pattern has likewise been observed in Tshodrug Tibetan, particularly on grammatical markers that do not carry any independent lexical meaning beyond their grammatical function.

There are occasional exceptions to the tonal patterns described above. In most of these cases, the forms involved appear to be fixed expressions or compound words composed of originally separate lexical items. These do not conform to the standard word tone patterns and may reflect prosodic restructuring.

It is also important to note that, although other scholars often mark tone before the word (to indicate that it applies to the word as a whole in Tibetic languages), this paper instead places tone markings on each syllable individually. This decision is based on the observation that even in a word tone system, disyllabic words exhibit distinct pitch movements across syllables, rather than a single, uniformly applied tone. For example, in a rising tone pattern, the second syllable does not continue rising but instead levels off at a high pitch. Similarly, in a falling tone pattern, the first syllable is high, while the second exhibits a falling pitch; they do not form a continuous fall across both syllables. For these reasons, tone markings are applied per syllable to preserve both clarity and accuracy in transcription.

4. Morphosyntactic analysis

Before the chapter turns to the individual word classes, a brief map of Tshodrug clause and phrase structure is required. Tshodrug Tibetan is an SOV language in which the verb invariably closes the clause; only topicalised or contrastive objects may be fronted ahead of the subject. In both main and embedded clauses the verb phrase (VP) occupies the final slot and carries a fixed string of functional material:

NEG / IMP + VERB + Q + DIR + ASP/MOOD/VAL + EVID

Likewise, noun phrases (NPs) are assembled from a large inventory of dependents that follow a strict order (Tournadre & Suzuki 2023):

(DEM) + NOUN + ADJ + (DEM) + NUM/QNT + DEM/DFM + PL + CASE + TOP

These tight positional templates make it straightforward to identify the distributional “slots” that define Tshodrug word classes in the sense of comparability, replaceability, and contrast advocated in practical grammars (Aikhenvald, 2014; Klamer, 2000). Table 5 summarises the diagnostic environments for the ten major classes treated in this chapter and previews where they surface in these templates.

Table 5: Distributional profile of word classes

Class	Core slot(s)	Grammatical marking
Nouns	NP head, clause subject/object	case-marking; plurality; topicality; coordination; additivity
Pronouns	NP head, clause subject/object	case-marking; plurality; topicality; coordination; additivity
Adjectives	post-nominal modifier; copula complement	superlativity; mirativity
Numerals & Quantifiers	post-nominal modifier	ordinality; coordination
Postpositions	PP head	none
Adverbs	clause-level adjunct (after subject / pre-verbal)	topicality
Directionals	before verb or between two locatives	none

Verbs	VP nucleus	aspect; modality; valency; directionality; negation; interrogativity; evidentiality; temporality; conditionality; nominalization
Interrogatives	pre-verbal focus slot	none
Conjunctions	clause-final or affix/clitic position	none

Clitics vs. Affixes in Tshodrug

Following Aikhenvald’s (2014) operational tests, elements in Tshodrug are treated as clitics if they (i) are toneless, (ii) attach to the right edge of an entire phrase, and (iii) lack independent semantic load. Case, topic, plural, coordinative, additive markers meet all three criteria and therefore behave as second-position clitics within the NP.

By contrast, adjectival and verbal affixes are always tonally specified, lexically contentful, and phonologically bound to the lexical stem. They never occur phrase-finally but remain stem-proximate, showing classic properties of derivational or inflectional morphology (Klamer, 2000).

4.1. Nouns

4.1.1. Case markers

Table 6: Case markers

Cases	Morphemes
Absolutive	∅
Ergative	gɛ
Genitive	gɛ
Instrumental	gɛ
Dative	ts ^h ɣ
Locative	nə

Tshodrug features six cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, instrumental, dative, and locative (see Table 6). Tournadre and Suzuki (2023) note that the absolutive case is unmarked in all Tibetic languages, and this holds true for Tshodrug as well. The other grammatical cases are indicated by dedicated morphemes. Since the absolutive case is always unmarked, it is not glossed throughout this study for simplicity.

It is important to note that the ergative case is used exclusively with controllable transitive verbs (e.g., eat, write, close, give), as opposed to non-controllable transitive verbs (e.g., hear, receive, love, find). When a clause contains a single subject with multiple verbs, and at least one of them is controllable transitive, the ergative case marker still applies. This suggests that ergative marking in Tshodrug is sensitive to the presence of volitional action, even when accompanied by verbs that would not independently trigger ergativity. The semantic notion of controllability in Tibetic languages has been noted by many authors, including Tournadre (1996a) and DeLancey (2011a), among others.

Additionally, as the same case marker, *nə*, is used on nouns regardless of the direction—whether “to,” “from,” “into,” or “out of”—it is treated as the locative case in this study. The specific direction is typically indicated by directional particles, which are discussed in a dedicated section.

Overall, the case markers are treated as clitics in this study due to two key properties: they lack tonal specification and do not carry independent grammatical meaning, and they attach not to the noun root but to the right edge of the entire noun phrase. A clear example of a case marker following an adjective, numeral, demonstrative, and plural marker within a single noun phrase can be found in example (57).

More broadly, the examples below illustrate the use of each of the six grammatical cases in Tshodrug.

Absolutive case

- (1) $\acute{e}p^h\bar{e}$ $nij\hat{e}?\text{-}d\hat{e}?\text{-}n\hat{a}$
 father sleep-PROG2-VSEN
 Father is sleeping.

Ergative case

- (2) $\widehat{d}\acute{z}\bar{e}s\bar{i}=\mathbf{g\epsilon}$ $g^h\acute{u}$ $\widehat{d}z'\hat{e}?\text{-}r\hat{e}?$
 Jasi=ERG door close-FACT
 Jasi closed the door.

Genitive case

- (3) $\acute{e}w\bar{o}?\text{-}\mathbf{g\epsilon}$ $z\bar{e}p^h\bar{e}$ $m\acute{e}\text{-}|\bar{o}$
 elder_brother=GEN thing NEG1-take
 Don't take your older brother's things.

Dative case

- (4) $k^h\acute{e}=ts^h\acute{\epsilon}=g\epsilon$ $ts^h\grave{y}=ts^h\grave{y}$ $s\acute{\epsilon}$ $d\grave{e}?\text{-}d\acute{e}?\text{-}n\grave{a}$
 3NSG=PL=ERG dog=**DAT** food give-PROG2-VSEN
 They're giving food to the dog.

Instrumental case

- (5) $k^h\grave{o}=g\epsilon$ $ts^h\grave{y}d^h\acute{\epsilon}=g\epsilon$ $d\grave{z}^h\bar{e}$ $t\grave{u}?\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 3SG=ERG scissors=**INS** hair cut-FACT
 She cut her hair with scissors.

Locative case

- (6) $\acute{e}^n d\grave{z}i\bar{e}=ts^h\acute{\epsilon}$ $s\acute{i}=n\grave{a}$ $ts^h\bar{e}$ $ts^h\acute{o}k^h\acute{\epsilon}=n\grave{a}$ $w\acute{o}\text{-}?\acute{i}$
 1PL.EX=PL field=**LOC** DIR.PROX shop=**LOC** move-EGO
 We came to the shop from the field.

4.1.2. Definiteness markers

In Tshodrug, the third person singular pronoun $k^h\grave{o}$ functions as a definite marker when used postnominally (see examples 8 and 10), while the numeral $d\grave{z}i$ 'one' serves as an indefinite marker (see examples 7 and 9). Both forms are used with animate and inanimate nouns, and occur with both subjects and objects. These definiteness markers follow the head noun, as well as elements such as adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, or nominalizers, but they precede case markers and topic markers within the noun phrase.

Since $k^h\grave{o}$ and $d\grave{z}i$ both retain their original meanings when used independently—as a pronoun and a numeral, respectively—and because they bear a lexical tone, they are treated in this study as independent words, rather than clitics or affixes. They are glossed according to their specific function in context, whether pronominal, numeral, or definiteness-related.

- (7) $r\acute{e}r\grave{o}?$ $d\grave{z}i=g\epsilon$ $n\bar{e}l\bar{i}$ $ts\grave{o}m\bar{e}$ $s\acute{e}\text{-}d\grave{z}i\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 child **INDF**=ERG sweets all eat-IRRV-FACT
 A child ate all the sweets.

- (8) $r\acute{e}r\grave{o}?$ $k^h\grave{o}=g\epsilon$ $n\bar{e}l\bar{i}$ $ts\grave{o}m\bar{e}$ $s\acute{e}\text{-}d\grave{z}i\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 child **DEF**=ERG sweets all eat-IRRV-FACT
 The child ate all the sweets.

(9) ^mbýtù? **d̥zi** ní=gε ^{d̥zò?}-r̥í
flower **INDF** 1SG.INFL=ERG plant-EGO
I planted a flower.

(10) ^mbýtù? **k^hò** ní=gε ^{d̥zò?}-r̥í
flower **DEF** 1SG.INFL=ERG plant-EGO
I planted the flower.

4.1.3. Plural marker

Tshodrug also features a plural marker, ^{ts^hě}. This marker cannot be used in conjunction with the indefinite marker, but it can combine with the plural form of the definite marker, which is identical to the third person non-singular pronoun ^{k^hě}. The plural marker is attested following nouns (see examples 33, 85-86, 156), pronouns (see examples 26, 68, 75-76, 93-94, 105, 120, 135, 155, 183), and demonstratives (see examples 29-31, 34, 36, 57, 72). It bears no tone and carries no independent lexical meaning. Therefore, it is treated as a clitic in this study.

The same examples from the previous section illustrate how plurality is used to express either unspecified or specific animate and inanimate referents in the plural (see examples 11–14).

(11) ^{rérò?}=^{ts^hě}=gε nēlĩ ^{ts̥m̥ē} sé-d̥zi-r̥ê?
child=**PL**=ERG sweets all eat-IRRV-FACT
Children ate all the sweets.

(12) ^{rérò?} ^{k^hě}=^{ts^hě}=gε nēlĩ ^{ts̥m̥ē} sé-d̥zi-r̥ê?
child **DEF.PL=PL**=ERG sweets all eat-IRRV-FACT
The children ate all the sweets.

(13) ^mbýtù?^{=ts^hě} ní=gε ^{d̥zò?}-r̥í
flower=**PL** 1SG.INFL=ERG plant-EGO
I planted flowers.

(14) ^mbýtù? ^{k^hě}=^{ts^hě} ní=gε ^{d̥zò?}-r̥í
flower **DEF.PL=PL** 1SG.INFL=ERG plant-EGO
I planted the flowers.

4.1.4. Topic marker

In Tshodrug, there is a topic marker *dε* that emphasizes the subject or referent, signaling that a description or additional information about it will follow. Since *dε* bears no tone, has no independent lexical meaning, and is attested following a variety of parts of speech—including nouns, demonstratives, temporal adverbs, as well as grammatical markers such as case markers and the plural clitic—it is treated as a clitic in this study. Due to its discourse-dependent nature, its function is difficult to describe in isolation.

The examples below (15–16) were elicited during isolated-sentence tasks with the primary consultant; however, numerous additional instances of *dε* can be found in the narrative texts in Appendix A.

- (15) ṁḗ=**dε** wóṁḗ=ge z^hṡṡ-gù? rê?
- butter=**TOP** milk=INS make-NMZ2 COP2
- Butter is something that is made from milk.

- (16) k^hṡ^hb^hḗ òk^hù=**dε** ní=ge p^hṡṡḗ=ge z^hṡṡ-gù? rê?
- house DEM.DIST=**TOP** 1SG.INFL=GEN parents=ERG make-NMZ2 COP2
- That house is the one that was built by my parents.

4.1.5. Differential object marker

Certain verbs in Tshodrug appear to condition differential object marking (DOM), although the precise morphosyntactic or semantic parameters that govern this alternation remain unclear. In the current study, DOM was observed with emotion predicates, particularly the verb *dā* ‘like’, in elicited data with the primary consultant (see examples 17-19). With such verbs, the direct object is marked with *lə* when it is animate or human, while inanimate objects remain unmarked. This pattern reflects an animacy-based DOM system, which aligns with lemmolo’s (2011) conclusion that animacy is a central factor in DOM across Tibetic languages.

However, the status of DOM in Tshodrug remains uncertain. No instances of object marking were observed in spontaneous speech or narratives from other speakers, suggesting that the phenomenon may be idiosyncratic, speaker-specific, or possibly a contact-induced feature borrowed from neighboring Tibetic dialects. It may also represent a residual grammatical feature that has undergone attrition and is now in decline.

- (17) $\bar{e}n\dot{u}?$ $\bar{e}xw\grave{e}-l\dot{a}$ $d\bar{e}\bar{e}-r\hat{e}?$
 Anju Ahua-**DOM** like-FACT
 Anju likes Ahua.
- (18) $\bar{e}n\dot{u}?$ $\widehat{ts}^h\dot{y}-l\dot{a}$ $d\bar{e}\bar{e}-r\hat{e}?$
 Anju dog-**DOM** like-FACT
 Anju likes dogs.
- (19) $\bar{e}n\dot{u}?$ $^mb\acute{y}t\grave{u}?$ $d\bar{e}\bar{e}-r\hat{e}?$
 Anju flower like-FACT
 Anju likes flowers.

4.2. Pronouns

4.2.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronoun system in Tshodrug distinguishes person (first, second, third) and number (singular vs. non-singular), but not gender. Within the first-person non-singular category, a further distinction is made between inclusive forms (including the listener) and exclusive forms (excluding the listener) (see Table 7). An optional element, $^{\widehat{a}z\bar{i}e}$, may occur with second- and third-person non-singular pronouns to convey a more polite or formal register.

In this study, these forms are referred to as non-singular rather than “plural” because they may occur with or without the plural marker. In natural narrative speech (see Appendix A), bare pronouns without the plural marker are frequently used to express plural reference, indicating that plurality is inherent to the pronouns themselves. Referring to them as non-singular thus captures both bare and overtly marked forms more accurately.

Additionally, although Tibetic pronoun systems are often described as distinguishing plural and dual, the Tshodrug data show that non-singular pronouns can be followed by various numerals (not only “two”) to specify quantity. Therefore, this study does not treat dual as a separate grammatical category.

Table 7: Personal pronouns

Person \ Number	Singular	Non-singular
1	ηέ	ékù? [IN] é ⁿ dziē [EX]
2	t̪ ^h ù?	t̪ ^h é(ⁿ dziē)
3	k ^h ò	k ^h é(ⁿ dziē)

Case markers

Personal pronouns in Tshodrug inflect for five of the six nominal cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, dative, and locative. As with nouns, the absolutive case is unmarked. The ergative case appears only with controllable verbs but is optionally omitted in informal speech. In examples throughout this paper, any omission of the ergative reflects the natural usage of the speakers consulted.

Of all the personal pronouns, only the first-person singular form shows dedicated inflection across most cases, appearing as *ní* in all but the absolutive. In contrast, other pronouns maintain an invariant stem across cases. Nonetheless, *ní* is increasingly being replaced by the bare form *ηέ*, especially in the dative context, reflecting patterns of modern usage (see examples 52, 163, 170-171, 184). In general, the first-person singular pronoun employs a distinct case form for ergative, dative, and locative, while *ní* alone often suffices for the genitive case.

Absolutive case

- (20) ηέ d̪é̃t̪^hĩ t^hɔ̃m̪ē ŋĩ wó-ŋú
 1SG Deqin_county time two move-EXP
 I have been to Deqin twice.

Ergative case

- (21) ní=γε k^hò b̪ý|ē t̪^hé̃-d̪é?-ŋĩ
 1SG.INFL=ERG 3SG clothes wear-PROG2-EGO
 I dressed her.

Genitive case

- (22) k^hò=γε ní ⁿd̪zékò? jē-ʂô
 3SG=ERG 1SG.GEN bag borrow-CIS
 She borrowed my bag.

Dative case

- (23) k^hò=ge ní=ts^hɣ p^hɣ^mb^hòʔ d̥zi dèʔ-ʂò
 3SG=ERG 1SG.INFL=DAT gift INDF give-CIS
 He gave me a gift.

Locative case

- (24) k^hé=ts^hɛ p^hɣ^bōʔ ní=nə p^hē k^hērêʔ-rêʔ
 3NSG=PL gift 1SG.INFL=LOC DIR.DIST obtain-FACT
 They received a gift from me.

4.2.2. Emphatic pronouns

Table 8: Emphatic pronouns

Number Person	Singular	Non-singular	Dual
1	é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó	ékùʔ r̥ó=ts ^h ɛ [IN] é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó=ts ^h ɛ [EX]	ékùʔ r̥ó ɲī [IN] é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó ɲī [EX]
2	t̥ɕ ^h é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó	t̥ɕ ^h é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó=ts ^h ɛ	t̥ɕ ^h é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó ɲī
3	k ^h é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó	k ^h é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó=ts ^h ɛ	k ^h é ⁿ d̥z̥iē r̥ó ɲī

Tshodrug features a set of emphatic pronoun constructions that incorporate the lexical item *r̥ó*, meaning “self.” This element is fully lexicalized and can function independently, as evidenced by its standalone use in narratives (see Appendix A). While these constructions do not entirely mirror the structure of regular personal pronouns, they share certain morphosyntactic features. Table 8 illustrates the singular, non-singular, and dual forms, though any numeral—not just “two”—may be used to indicate specific referents. These emphatic pronouns typically replace the subject in a clause and can carry case marking, thereby eliminating the need to restate the corresponding personal pronoun (see examples 25-26).

- (25) b̥ý|ē éⁿd̥z̥iē r̥ó=ge t̥ɕ^hé-ʔí
 clothes 1NSG self=ERG wear-EGO
 I dressed myself.

- (26) sḙ́ kʰéⁿdziē rṵ=ts^hḙ́=gε zʰṵʔ-rḙ́ʔ
 food 3NSG self=PL=ERG make-FACT
 They cooked food themselves.

4.2.3. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns in Tshodrug are formed using the same emphatic pronoun constructions, but with the addition of the appropriate personal pronoun at the beginning and a reduplication of *rṵ* (“self”) at the end, as illustrated in examples (27) and (28).

- (27) kʰò sʰiḡʰù nó kʰéⁿdziē rṵ rṵ ⁿdziṵʔ-rḙ́ʔ
 3SG mirror in 3NSG self self look-FACT
 She looked at herself in the mirror.

- (28) ŋé sḙ́ zʰṵʔ=lə éⁿdziē rṵ rṵ ŋè-dzi-ṣṵ
 1SG food make=TEMP 1NSG self self cut-IRRV-CIS
 I cut myself while cooking.

4.2.4. Demonstrative pronouns

Tshodrug also features three demonstrative pronouns—*n^dhè* (proximal ‘this’), *ṵk^hù* (distal ‘that’), and *t^hù* (further distal ‘that over there’)—which function both as third-person pronouns and as determiners.

When used pronominally, all three demonstratives precede the noun and are followed by the topic marker. To express plurality (“these” or “those”), the plural marker is inserted between the demonstrative and the topic marker, as illustrated in examples (29–31).

- (29) ⁿd^hè=ts^hḙ́=gε |ḙ́ rḙ́ʔ
 DEM.PROX=PL=TOP shoe COP2
 These are shoes.

- (30) ṵk^hù=ts^hḙ́=gε sák^hṵ rḙ́ʔ
 DEM.DIST=PL=TOP restaurant COP2
 Those are restaurants.

- (31) t^hù=ts^hḙ́=gε ⁿdzi^hō rḙ́ʔ
 DEM.FRDIS=PL=TOP Naxi_people COP2
 Those over there are Naxi people.

When functioning as determiners, demonstratives may occur either before (see examples 33, 35, and 37) or after (see examples 32, 34, and 36) the head noun. In this usage, the topic marker is not present. Plurality is marked on whichever element—noun or demonstrative—occurs last in the noun phrase.

- (32) $\widehat{t\check{c}^h\acute{e}l\check{s}}$ $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}+\widehat{t\check{c}^h\acute{y}b^h\check{y}}$ **nd^hè** $\text{m}\acute{e}\text{-}\check{s}\check{y}\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 elephant year+big **DEM.PROX** NEG1-die-FACT
 This old elephant did not die.
- (33) **nd^hè** $\text{j}\check{e}=\widehat{t\check{s}^h\check{e}}$ $\widehat{t\check{c}^h\acute{u}}$ $s^h\text{ɪ}p^h\check{y}$ $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\text{-}n\hat{e}$
DEM.PROX shoe=PL wear comfortable COP1-VSEN
 These shoes are comfortable to wear.
- (34) $k^h\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\widehat{d\check{z}^h\check{y}}$ $\text{ɔ}k^h\hat{u}=\widehat{t\check{s}^h\check{e}}$ $\widehat{t\check{c}^h\acute{e}^nd\check{z}i\check{e}}$ $\text{n}\acute{u}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $\text{j}\check{e}$ $r\acute{e}?$
 key **DEM.DIST=PL** 2NSG two=GEN part COP2
 Those keys are yours.
- (35) $\text{n}\acute{e}$ $\text{n}\acute{e}\text{m}\check{o}\check{e}\text{t}\check{y}k^h\check{e}$ $\text{ɔ}k^h\hat{u}$ $s\acute{a}k^h\check{y}=\text{n}\acute{a}$ $s\acute{e}$ $\text{w}\acute{o}\text{-}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$
 1SG everyday **DEM.DIST** restaurant=LOC eat move-EGO
 I always go to eat at that restaurant.
- (36) $\text{j}\check{y}^n\text{b}^h\check{y}$ $\text{t}^h\hat{u}=\widehat{t\check{s}^h\check{e}}$ $k^h\hat{o}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{-}\text{g}\hat{u}?$ $r\acute{e}?$
 pants **DEM.FRDIST=PL** 3SG=ERG buy-NMZ2 COP2
 Those pants over there are the ones that were bought by him.
- (37) $\text{t}^h\hat{u}$ $\text{m}\hat{o}$ $k^h\hat{o}$ $\text{n}\acute{e}$ $\text{t}^h\check{u}\text{-}\text{m}\acute{e}\text{-}\text{n}\acute{u}$
DEM.FRDIST person DEF 1SG see-NEG1-EXP
 I've never seen that person over there.

4.2.5. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Tshodrug are formed through distinct constructions:

Table 9: Indefinite pronouns

	-BODY	-THING
EVERY-	$\text{m}\hat{o}$ $k\acute{o}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$	$\text{z}\acute{e}p^h\check{e}$ $k\acute{o}\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}$
ANY-	$\text{m}\hat{o}$ $k\acute{o}$ $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{n}\check{y}$	$\text{z}\acute{e}p^h\check{e}$ $\text{g}\acute{e}\text{n}\check{e}$ $\text{ɔ}^{\text{h}}\text{-}\text{n}\check{y}$
SOME-	$\text{m}\hat{o}$ $\widehat{d\check{z}i}$	$\text{g}\acute{e}\text{n}\check{e}$ $\widehat{d\check{z}i}$
NO-	$\text{m}\hat{o}$ $\widehat{d\check{z}i}=\text{l}\check{y}$	$\text{g}\acute{e}\text{n}\check{e}$ $\widehat{d\check{z}i}=\text{l}\check{y}$

Everybody/everything

These pronouns are constructed using “person/thing all,” referring to all the mentioned individuals or objects.

- (38) **ṃô** **kóʔī** sḗ sé-dêʔ-nô
 person **all** food eat-PROG2-VSEN
 Everybody is eating.

- (39) **zēp^hē** **kóʔī** ⁿdžékòʔ nó jûʔ-rêʔ
 thing **all** bag in have.FACT-FACT
 Everything is in the bag.

Anybody/anything

Formed with “person/thing who/what COP1-COND,” these constructions indicate the potential for any person or thing to undergo an action. In this construction, the copula verb “to be” can be replaced with modal verbs such as “need” or “want” to express phrases like “anything you need” (see example 41).

- (40) **ṃô** **kó** **ʔī-nɣ** ⁿd^hé wó-tçùʔ-rêʔ
 person **who** **COP1-COND** here move-PERM-FACT
 Anybody can come here.

- (41) **zēp^hē** **gēŋē** **g^hū-nɣ** k^hē-sō
 thing **what** **NEC-COND** bring-leave.IMP
 Take anything you need.

Somebody/something

Created with “person/what INDF,” these pronouns denote that at least one individual or object among the mentioned entities performs the action.

- (42) **ṃô** ^dzi=gε ^tç^hùʔ kɣtôʔ-dêʔ-nô
 person **INDF=ERG** 2SG call-PROG2-VSEN
 Somebody is calling you.

- (43) ηέ **gēŋē** **dzi** t^hṽ-g^hṽ-dzê?
 1SG **what** **INDF** drink-NEC-NVSEN
 I need something to drink.

Nobody/nothing

These pronouns are constructed with “person/what one=ADD” and are followed by a negated verb, signifying that not even a single person or object can perform the action.

- (44) ts^háŋṽ **mê** **dzi=lv** **mé-dê?-nê**
 at_home **person** **one=ADD** **NEG1-stay-VSEN**
 There is nobody at home.

- (45) k^hò **gēŋē** **dzi=lv** **nè-rê?**
 3SG **what** **one=ADD** **NEG.have.FACT-FACT**
 She has nothing.

4.3. Adjectives

4.3.1. Noun modification

In Tshodrug, adjectives used to modify nouns are placed immediately after the noun and before all other modifiers or markers within the noun phrase. When two adjectives modify the same noun, their order can vary depending on which property is emphasized. For instance, in example (46), emphasis is placed on "new," while in example (47), the emphasis is on "black":

- (46) ηέ lǐ **sēp^hē** nénè? **dzi** ɲú-ʔí
 1SG shoes **new** black **INDF** buy-EGO
 I bought new black shoes.

- (47) ηέ lǐ **nénè?** sēp^hē **dzi** ɲú-ʔí
 1SG shoes **black** new **INDF** buy-EGO
 I bought black new shoes.

Additional examples of adjectives modifying nouns can be found in (54), (56), and (162).

4.3.2. Copula complementation

Adjectives may also function as complements of the copula, typically appearing before the copula verb (see example 48). Further instances are seen in examples (33), (72), (80), (91), and (189).

- (48) ēlè=gε ʂwé k̄ȳk̄h̄ē rêʔ
Ala=GEN hat **white** COP2
Ala's hat is white.

4.3.3. Comparative and superlative formation

To form the comparative, the marker *kólə* is placed between the comparandum, followed by the standard of comparison, and the adjective. When pronouns are used in place of nouns, the element *lə* is typically omitted.

- (49) ló t̄ç^hè ts^hóʔ t̄ç^hè kólə tsōm̄ē rêʔ
river water lake water **CMPR** clean COP2
River water is cleaner than lake water.

To express the superlative form, the marker *wê* is suffixed to the adjective. Adjective is then reduced to its core morpheme carrying the main meaning. Overall, the final adjectival morphemes—such as *mε*, *p^he*, and *b^hɣ*, among others—which do not carry any inherent meaning, are normally omitted when another morpheme is suffixed to the adjective. A further instance of such reduction can be found in examples (51) and (54).

- (50) lət̄ç^hèʔ=dε tsō-wê rêʔ
Lacha=TOP clean-**SUP** COP2
River Lancang is the cleanest.

4.3.4. Degree suffixation

Tshodrug also features a mirative degree suffix *t̄ç^hid̄q̄^hɣ*, used to express heightened surprise or emotional intensity—roughly equivalent to exclamatives like “How ___!” or “What a ___!” in English. This suffix attaches directly to the adjective stem and causes the reduction of the

adjective’s final syllable, which lacks independent semantic content. Its attachment is morphologically conditioned: it does not occur after reduplicated adjectives, a pattern consistent with other degree-related suffixes described in Tibetic languages (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003; Tournadre & Suzuki 2023). In this study, $\widehat{t\check{c}^h i d z^h y}$ is analyzed as a derivational suffix within the adjective system, rather than a syntactically free element. Examples such as (51) and (54) illustrate its use, where the adjective is reduced and suffixed, conveying strong affective evaluation.

- (51) $p\check{y} m\check{y}$ $k^h\grave{o}$ $\widehat{t\check{c}^h i d z^h y}$
 girl DEF beautiful-MIR
 What a beautiful girl!

4.3.5. Reduplication and compounding

Reduplication for emphasis

Many adjectives in Tshodrug already consist of two acoustically similar morphemes. Further reduplication can be used to emphasize the intensity or degree of the quality described by the adjective (see example 52). Other instances of adjective reduplication can be seen in examples (134) and (162).

- (52) $\eta\acute{e}=\widehat{t\check{s}^h y}$ $b\check{y} g\grave{u}?$ $m\check{y} m\check{e}\sim m\check{y} m\check{e}$ $\widehat{d\check{z}i}$ $d\grave{e}?-r\grave{u}?$
 1SG=DAT hot_pepper red~red INDF give-POL
 Give me a red-red chili pepper, please.

Nominalization of polar adjectives

In Tshodrug, polar adjectives are compounded to create specific nouns. For instance, “hot” and “cold” combine to form “temperature”; “big” and “small” create “size”; “long” and “short” form “length,” and so on (see Table 10). The process involves taking one morpheme from each adjective, typically the one that bears the primary meaning. This method of compounding was mentioned by Tournadre and Suzuki (2023) as being present in other Tibetic languages as well as in Classical Tibetan.

Table 10: Nominalization of polar adjectives

ts̄ȳrèʔ	+	d̄z̄ ^{h̄} ʒ̄m̄à	=	ts̄ȳd̄z̄ ^{h̄} ʒ̄
<i>hot</i>		<i>cold</i>		<i>temperature</i>
t̄ç ^{h̄} íʒ ^{h̄} ̄ȳ	+	t̄ç ^{h̄} áʒ ^{h̄} ʒ̄	=	t̄ç ^{h̄} ít̄ç ^{h̄} ʒ̄
<i>big</i>		<i>small</i>		<i>size</i>
r̄íʒ ^{h̄} ̄ȳ	+	t̄ ^{h̄} ýʒ ^{h̄} ʒ̄	=	r̄ít̄ ^{h̄} ʒ̄
<i>long</i>		<i>short</i>		<i>length</i>
d̄z̄íéʒ̄èʔ	+	ǰ̄ʒ̄lèʔ	=	d̄z̄íéǰ̄
<i>heavy</i>		<i>light</i>		<i>weight</i>
t̄ ^{h̄} ɪ ^{m̄} ʒ̄ ^{h̄} ̄ȳ	+	t̄ ^{h̄} ýʒ ^{h̄} ʒ̄	=	t̄ ^{h̄} ɪʒ̄ ^{h̄} ʒ̄
<i>tall</i>		<i>short</i>		<i>height</i>

Psychocollocations

Additionally, Tshodrug features psychocollocations that combine body part terms with descriptive adjectives to express psychological states. For example, “brain+sharp” means “smart” (example 53), and “heart+hot” means “anxious” (example 54), among others. This phenomenon aligns with the findings of Matisoff (1986), who discusses similar psychocollocations in Southeast Asian and Sino-Tibetan languages, emphasizing their cultural and linguistic significance.

- (53) p^{h̄}ēs̄ē lēp^{h̄}ē+zīʒ̄èʔ r̄èʔ
Pasan **brain+sharp** COP2
Pasan is smart.

- (54) ǰé s^{h̄}ɪ̄+ts̄ē-t̄ç^{h̄}íʒ̄^{h̄}̄ȳ
1SG **heart+hot-MIR**
I feel so anxious!

Size-based compounding

Finally, in Tshodrug, there are compounds that utilize size adjectives such as “big” and “small” to express relative qualities. For instance, the compound “power+big” denotes “powerful,” whereas “power+small” signifies “weak.” Similarly, “scale+big” translates to “wide” and “scale+small” to “narrow.” Example (32) illustrates the term “old,” which is formed by compounding “year” with “big,” in contrast to “young,” which results from compounding

“year” with “small.” Additionally, example (80) demonstrates the term “expensive,” derived from the compounding of “price” with “big,” as opposed to “cheap,” which is formed by combining “price” with “small.”

4.4. Numerals and quantifiers

4.4.1. Numerals

Table 11: Numerals

1	dzì	11	dz ^h ōdzì	10	dz ^h ə	100	dz ^l ē
2	ŋī	12	dz ^h ūŋī	20	ŋíʂʎ	200	ŋídz ^l ē
3	sō	13	dz ^h ūsō	30	sōdz ^h ə	300	sōdz ^l ē
4	zə	14	dz ^h ūzə	40	zəd ^h ə	400	zəd ^l ē
5	ŋē	15	dz ^h ēŋē	50	ŋydz ^h ə	500	ŋydz ^l ē
6	dzòʔ	16	dz ^h ədzòʔ	60	dzódz ^h ə	600	dzódz ^l ē
7	d ^h ē	17	dz ^h ūd ^h ē	70	d ^h ēdz ^h ə	700	d ^h ēdz ^l ē
8	dzíʔ	18	dz ^h ūd ^h dzíʔ	80	dzíʔdz ^h ə	800	dzíʔdz ^l ē
9	gŷ	19	dz ^h ēgŷ	90	gūd ^h ə	900	gŷdz ^l ē

1,000	tōʈʂèʔ	10,000	tʂ ^h ŷtʂ ^h ŷ
-------	--------	--------	------------------------------------

54	ŋydz ^h ə dzē zə
76	d ^h ēdz ^h ə dzŷ dzòʔ
101	dz ^l ē=dŷ dzì
123	dz ^l ē=dŷ ŋíʂʎ dzē sō
258	ŋídz ^l ē ŋydz ^h ə dzŷ dzíʔ
693	dzódz ^l ē gūd ^h ə dzē sō
2,157	tōʈʂèʔŋī=dŷ dz ^l ē=dŷ ŋydz ^h ə dzŷ d ^h ē
7,863	tōʈʂèʔd ^h ē=dŷ dzíʔdz ^l ē dzódz ^h ə dzē sō
14,679	tʂ ^h ŷtʂ ^h ŷdzì=dŷ tōʈʂèʔzə=dŷ dzódz ^l ē d ^h ēdz ^h ə dzē gŷ
38,152	tʂ ^h ŷtʂ ^h ŷsō=dŷ tōʈʂèʔdzíʔ=dŷ dz ^l ē=dŷ ŋydz ^h ə dzŷ ŋī

Tshodrug utilizes the numeral system, where large numbers are grouped by 10,000. This system shares many similarities with the numeral system of Sakar Tibetan as described by Suzuki (2012).

Overall, teens (11-19), thousands (1,000-9,000), and ten-thousands (10,000-90,000) are formed by combining “ten/thousand/ten-thousand + ones.” Tens (20-90) and hundreds (200-900) are formed by the reverse combination: “ones + ten/hundred.” The numeral “ten” used

in some of these constructions exhibits variations in its allophonic realizations, while other numerals show tone variations.

To form non-rounded tens such as 23, 97, and 64, the construction “tens + add + ones” is used, where “add” is represented by $\widehat{dz\bar{e}}/\widehat{dz\bar{y}}$ respectively. To form non-rounded hundreds from 101 to 199, the construction “hundred + and + tens + add + ones” is used, where “and” is represented by conjunction $d\bar{y}$ respectively. For other non-rounded hundreds, the connective “and” is not required. For thousands and ten-thousands, the connective “and” is required for all of them.

To form ordinal numbers, the ordinal marker $b\bar{e}$ is placed after the number.

Syntactically, numerals in Tshodrug are positioned after a noun and an adjective, but before definiteness markers and any case or postposition within the noun or postposition phrase. Demonstratives can be placed either before or after the numerals. If they are placed after, a plural marker is added (see example 56).

- (55) $\eta\acute{e}$ $d\bar{y}k^h\bar{e}?$ $\mathfrak{s}\bar{m}b^h\bar{y}$ $\widehat{dz^h\bar{a}}$ $\eta\acute{u}-\eta^{\hat{a}}$
 1SG cucumber delicious **ten** buy-EGO
 I bought ten delicious cucumbers.

- (56) $s\acute{i}p^h\bar{o}$ $\widehat{dz\bar{i}\bar{o}n}g\bar{y}?$ $\mathfrak{m}\hat{e}$ $s\bar{o}-b\bar{e}$ $k^h\bar{o}$ $n\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}b^h\bar{y}$ $r\hat{e}?$
 tree behind person **three-ORD** DEF 1SG.GEN elder_sister COP2
 The third person behind the tree is my older sister.

- (57) $k^h\bar{o}$ $\eta\acute{e}\widehat{dz^h\bar{y}}$ $k\bar{y}k^h\bar{e}$ $z\hat{e}$ $\bar{o}k^h\bar{u}=\widehat{ts^h\bar{e}}=\widehat{ts^h\bar{y}}$ $s\acute{e}$ $d\bar{e}?-d\bar{e}?-n\hat{a}$
 3SG kitten white **four** DEM.DIST=PL=DAT food give-PROG2-VSEN
 He fed those four white kittens.

- (58) $\widehat{dz\bar{u}o}d\bar{z}^h\bar{y}$ $\bar{o}k^h\bar{u}$ $\widehat{dz\bar{o}?$ $d\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $s\acute{e}$ $p^h\bar{y}-\mathfrak{s}\hat{e}$
 table[ZH] DEM.DIST **six** on_top_of food IMP-serve
 Serve the food on those six tables.

4.4.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Tshodrug, which function analogously to numerals and occupy the same syntactic position, include the following items (see Table 12). Notably, the quantifier “each” must obligatorily occur with both the subject and the object. Quantifiers may also be followed by an indefinite marker, thereby rendering the entire noun phrase as an unspecified unit.

Table 12: Quantifiers

each	rýrè
both	ḡìgèʔ
all	kóʔī
a few	ⁿgǎrè
many	némū / kódzʰē

(59) ḡê rýrè lékʰē rýrè jêʔ-rêʔ
 person **each** work **each** have.FACT-FACT
 Each person has a task.

(60) lé ḡìgèʔ jétsʰò nó tòʔ-zì-rêʔ
 path **both** village in reach-INTL-FACT
 Both roads will lead to the village.

(61) tsʰý kóʔī sóʔ-dzêʔ
 dog **all** bark-NVSEN
 All dogs are barking.

(62) ḡé éré shūjè ⁿgǎrè dži jêʔ
 1SG still pear **a_few** INDF have.FACT
 I still have a few pears left.

(63) šwê némū dži dítsʰý-dêʔ-nê
 bird **many** INDF fly-PROG2-VSEN
 There are many birds flying.

(64) ḡê kódzʰē dêʔ-nê
 person **many** stay-VSEN
 There are many people.

4.5. Postpositions

Tshodrug is a postpositional language. In this study, postpositions are treated as an independent word class, based on several diagnostic criteria. First, unlike grammatical clitics in the noun phrase—which are toneless, lack lexical meaning, and serve only grammatical functions—postpositions in Tshodrug bear their own lexical meaning and always carry a tone,

regardless of whether they are monosyllabic or disyllabic. Many postpositions are also disyllabic, further supporting their phonological independence (see Table 13).

Second, narrative data revealed additional evidence of their status as independent words: speakers were occasionally observed using postpositions without an overt noun phrase preceding them, or making audible pauses before or after a postposition without needing to repeat it (see Appendix A). This behavior would be unexpected if postpositions were phonologically dependent clitics.

Based on these formal and distributional properties, postpositions in Tshodrug are analyzed as syntactically and phonologically independent. The following postpositions were identified during this study:

Table 13: Postpositions

nó	—	in
nóthē	—	inside
dz'ɔ̃sùʔ	—	outside
gǒ	—	on
dīt ^h ē	—	on top of
sót ^h ē	—	below
s̄zəʔ	—	under
k ^h ə ⁿ dz ^h ɔ̃	—	in front of
dz'ɔ̃ ⁿ gɣʔ	—	behind
d̄z ^h ē	—	near
d̄zēʔ	—	beside
k ^h ē	—	by
ts̄ygeʔ	—	in the middle
pélēʔ	—	between
g ^h ē	—	across

(65) émə bēb^hɣ **nó** s̄é xò-dēʔ-nâ
 mother wok **in** food fry-PROG2-VSEN
 Mother is frying food in a wok.

(66) t̄ç^hɰʔ=gε jémē néts^hɣ **só** k̄y-dēʔ-nâ
 2SG=GEN cat bed **below** hide-PROG2-VSEN
 Your cat is hiding under the bed.

(67) ηé ɛxwè=dɣ ɛmɣ ηī **pélēʔ** ⁿdôʔ-zì-ʔ̄
 1SG Ahua=CONJ Amy two **between** sit-INTL-EGO
 I will sit between Ahua and Amy.

4.6. Adverbs

4.6.1. Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time, as well as units of time such as hours, days of the week, months, and years, are typically placed immediately after the subject in Tshodrug. The key distinction is that adverbs of time do not require any case marker, whereas other units of time do.

Specifically, hours, days of the week, and months require the locative case *nə* to convey expressions like “at a certain hour,” “on a certain day of the week,” or “in a certain month.”

Additionally, Tshodrug uses a 12-hour time system. The full structure for expressing time is: part of the day + hour + NUM + ORD + and + minute + NUM + LOC, where the ordinal marker used is *bē* respectively.

(68) *dīṃə* **k^hédz^hṣ̄** *rê?*
 wedding **yesterday** COP2
 The wedding was yesterday.

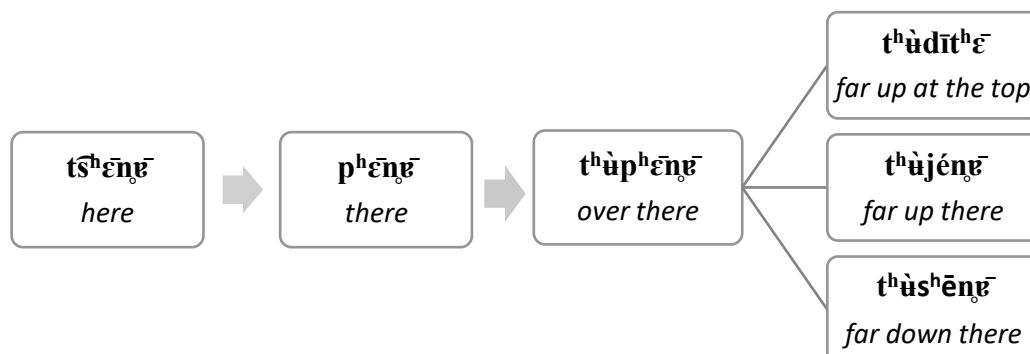
(69) *éⁿdz̄jē=ts^hḡ* **ér̄ṣ̄** *s̄ḡ* *sé-ⁿdô?*
 1NSG.EX=PL **still** food eat-PROG2
 We are still eating.

(70) *ní* *s^hīṃȳ* **ⁿdéwē** **d̄z̄ò?-bē=nə** *dīdō* *wó-zì-rê?*
 1SG.GEN younger_sister **month** **six-ORD=LOC** Shangrila move-INTL-FACT
 My little sister will go to Shangrila in June.

(71) *ḡé* *sóṅi?* **ṣúk^hē** **t̄ḡitsùj** **d̄z̄ò?-bē=nə** *jé* *l̄ó-zì-ṛî?*
 1SG **tomorrow** **morning** **hour** **six-ORD=LOC** DIR.UP get_up-INTL-EGO
 I will get up at 6 AM tomorrow.

4.6.2. Adverbs of place

Figure 1: Adverbs of place



Tshodrug features both horizontal and vertical spatial adverbs, marking proximal and distal locations (see Figure 1). Each of these adverbs includes a directional element—drawn from the independent class of directionals (see Section 4.7)—and, in the case of vertical adverbs, also incorporates a syllable corresponding to the further distal demonstrative (discussed in Section 4.2.4). The final syllable common to all of these forms, *ŋē*, is of uncertain origin but is hypothesized to contribute the locative or adverbial meaning.

The horizontal spatial adverbs exhibit a three-way contrast: *ts^hēŋē* (“here”), *p^hēŋē* (“there”), and *t^hùp^hēŋē* (“over there”). Additionally, *n^dh^é* can also be used to indicate “here.”

The vertical adverbs, typically used for distant spatial reference, likewise follow a three-way distinction: *t^hùs^hēŋē* (“far down there”), *t^hùj^éŋē* (“far up there”), and *t^hùdīt^hē* (“far up at the top”), where *dīt^hē* is a postposition (see Section 4.5.).

These adverbs of place may appear either before or after the subject within the clause (see examples 72–73).

- (72) **n^dh^é** nōs^hi jéb^hÿ rê?
- here** weather good COP2
- The weather is good here.

- (73) rérò? ōk^hù=ts^hē **t^hùs^hēŋē** ts^hélè? jê?-dê?-nâ
- child DEM.DIST=PL **far_down_there** game do-PROG2-VSEN
- The children are playing far down there.

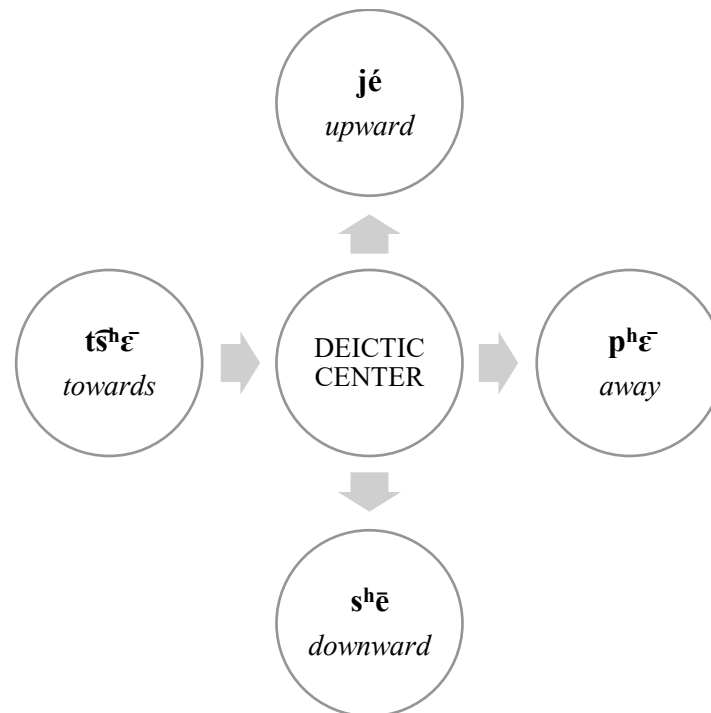
Tshodrug also contains fixed constructions meaning “everywhere” and “nowhere.” The expression for “everywhere” consists of the structure “where COP1-NMZ3,” glossing approximately as “wherever it is” (see example 74). The structure for “nowhere” takes the form “where=ADD NEG2,” and conveys the sense of “even wherever it cannot be found” (see example 75). Both constructions are structurally similar to the indefinite pronouns discussed in Section 4.2.5.

- (74) ŋé k^hōdž^hÿ **ké** **ŋī-s^hē** dž^hè-ŋī
- 1SG key **where** **COP1-NMZ3** search-EGO
- I looked for keys everywhere.

- (75) s^wá **ké=ly** **né-nò?**
- sickle **where=ADD** **NEG2-have.VSEN**
- The sickle is nowhere.

4.7. Directionals

Figure 2: Directionals



There are four directional markers in Tshodrug: distal ($p^h\bar{\epsilon}$), proximal ($ts^h\bar{\epsilon}$), upward ($j\acute{\epsilon}$), and downward ($s^h\bar{\epsilon}$) (see Figure 2). While Genetti et al. (2021) observe that directionals in Tibeto-Burman languages are typically analyzed as verbal prefixes or clitics, the present study demonstrates that in Tshodrug, they function as an independent word class.

This conclusion is supported by several factors. First, their syntactic position is highly variable. When no specific location is expressed, and only a general movement is indicated, directionals typically precede the verb. However, when specific spatial reference is involved, they occur either immediately after the location they refer to or between two location phrases—each marked with the locative case or followed by postpositions (see examples 81–84). This distribution clearly excludes an analysis of directionals as verbal prefixes.

Second, they cannot be treated as clitics. In this study, clitics are defined as elements that lack lexical meaning, are phonologically dependent on a host, and do not bear tone. Directionals in Tshodrug contrast sharply with these characteristics: they are tonally specified, carry inherent meaning, and are not phonologically bound.

Most decisively, natural speech data from narratives reveal that speakers often pause before, after, or even both before and after directionals—without rearticulating them. If they were clitics, their prosodic dependence would require reattachment or repetition following a

pause. The absence of such behavior strongly supports their analysis as syntactically and phonologically autonomous elements.

For these reasons, directionals in Tshodrug are best analyzed as a closed-class category parallel to postpositions.

(81) ηέ sí=nə p^hē t̃^hūk^hǔ=nə wó-γ̃í
 1SG field=LOC **DIR.DIST** church=LOC move-EGO
 I went from the field to the church.

(82) k^hò t̃^hē péγ-ξò
 3SG **DIR.PROX** arrive-CIS
 He arrived (at my place).

(83) ηέ p^hým^hò? gē=nə jé ló-γ̃í
 1SG gift box=LOC **DIR.UP** get_up-EGO
 I took the gift out of the box.

(84) ēxwè síp^hò dīt^hē s^hē p̃òγ-dêγ-nâ
 Ahua tree on_top_of **DIR.DOWN** descend-PROG2-VSEN
 Ahua climbed down from the top of the tree.

Directionals also play a productive role in the formation of other lexical categories. All four serve as components in the creation of adverbs of place (see Section 4.6.2). Moreover, the combination of proximal and distal directionals forms a reciprocal construction meaning “each other,” reflecting an action directed away from and back toward the deictic center (see examples 85–86).

(85) nésh̃í=t̃^hē p^hē t̃^hē rù? jêγ-zì-rê?
 sibling=PL **DIR.DIST** **DIR.PROX** help do-INTL-FACT
 Siblings help each other.

(86) !éγút̃^hòγ=t̃^hē p^hē t̃^hē p^hým^hò? dèγ-zì-rê?
 student=PL **DIR.DIST** **DIR.PROX** gift give-INTL-FACT
 Students give each other gifts.

4.8. Verbs

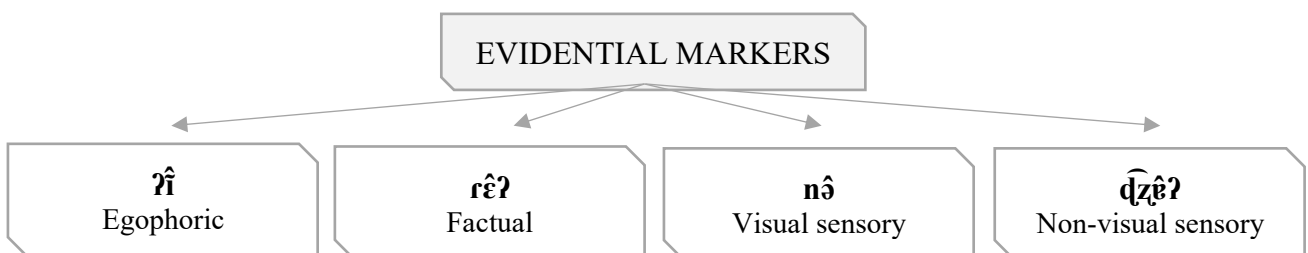
Before turning to the analysis of verbal morphology, it is important to highlight that Tshodrug employs a conjunct-disjunct system, in which verb forms are morphologically marked based on the alignment between the speaker, the subject, and the epistemic source of information. Specifically, first-person markers are used on verbs in second-person questions, reflecting the speaker's anticipation of the addressee's response. This typological pattern aligns with what Creissels (2008) describes in his analysis of conjunct-disjunct systems, where verb morphology is conditioned by the involvement of the speaker in statements and the addressee in questions.

Notably, Tshodrug verbs do not inflect for person, gender, or number, nor do they encode tense morphologically. Temporal distinctions are typically conveyed through adverbs of time. However, the language exhibits a rich array of predicate types, evidential markers, and aspectual or modal distinctions.

While clitics in the noun phrase were identified partly by their lack of tone and lexical meaning, verbal affixes in Tshodrug are uniformly tonal. This is due to the fact that all verbal affixes also carry independent lexical meaning, further supporting their classification as derivational or inflectional morphemes rather than clitics. The following subsections present and analyze the various types of verbal markers observed in this study.

4.8.1. Evidential markers

Figure 3: Evidential markers



As the types of predicates used in Tshodrug are closely connected to evidentiality, evidential markers are first addressed in this section. Four evidential markers were identified in the study: egophoric, factual, visual sensory, and non-visual sensory (see Figure 3). These markers appear as suffixes on the verb and signal the speaker's relationship to the source of information.

- The egophoric marker reflects the speaker’s direct involvement or knowledge of the event.
- The factual marker indicates information that is taken as generally true, assumed to be known, or presented without reference to a specific sensory source.
- The visual sensory marker is used when the speaker directly sees the event take place.
- The non-visual sensory marker applies when the information is based on hearing, smell, taste, touch, or other non-visual perceptual input.

Instances of all four evidential markers are distributed throughout the majority of examples in this study. For egophoric, see examples (6), (9-10), (13-14), (21), (25), (35), (46-47), (55), (67), (71), (74), (77), (81), (83), (106), (127-128), (136), (151), (153), (158-160), (165), (180), (183-186). For factual, see (2), (5), (7-8), (11-12), (17-19), (24), (26-27), (32), (39-40), (45), (59-60), (62), (70), (76), (85-86), (92), (95), (101), (103), (107-108), (110), (112-114), (117-118), (121), (123), (125), (137), (142), (144), (146), (155-157), (163), (165-166), (179), (181-183). For visual sensory, see (1), (4), (33), (38), (42-44), (57), (63-66), (73), (79-80), (84), (91), (94), (96), (102), (115-116), (126), (143), (145), (147), (149-150), (164), (168), (172). The non-visual sensory marker is attested in example (61).

Only one verb in the corpus, the verb meaning “to have,” exhibits distinct lexicalized forms for different evidential contexts:

- *ηò* ‘have.VSEN’, and
- *jê?* ‘have.FACT’ (used with the factual marker).

These are further discussed in the context of existential–possessive predicates in Section 4.8.2.3.

The following examples ((97)–(99)) demonstrate how evidential markers change the interpretation of the same sentence depending on the source of information:

(87) *rérò?* *η̃-ⁿdô?-rê?*
 child cry-PROG1-**FACT**

The child is crying (*I know for a fact, or someone told me, that the child is crying*).

(88) *réròʔ* *ŋ̃̄-dêʔ-nê*
 child cry-PROG2-**VSEN**
 The child is crying (*I see the child crying*).

(89) *réròʔ* *ŋ̃̄-dzêʔ*
 child cry-**NVSEN**
 The child is crying (*I hear the child crying but do not see them*).

Additionally, the egophoric and factual markers also serve as copulas, a point discussed in more detail in Section 4.8.2.1.

4.8.2. Types of predicates

Predicate structures in Tshodrug are highly sensitive to evidential distinctions and can be categorized into several basic types based on their semantic function. As in many Tibetic and other Sino-Tibetan languages, predicate constructions often reflect source of information, speaker involvement, and clause type (DeLancey 2001; Tournadre & Suzuki 2023). In Tshodrug, predicates can be broadly grouped into three major classes: equative-descriptive, existential-locational, and existential-possessive. These predicate types all participate in the language’s evidential marking system, primarily using factual and visual sensory evidential markers. Additionally, each predicate type displays distinct syntactic behaviors and negation strategies, the latter of which are discussed separately in Section 4.8.6.2.

4.8.2.1. Equative-descriptive predicates

As mentioned in Section 4.8.1, the egophoric and factual evidential markers also serve as copulas. In Tshodrug, there are two such copular forms— *ʔi* COP1 and *rêʔ* COP2—which function in both equative and descriptive contexts. These are treated as independent copula predicates in this study and are glossed as COP1 and COP2 when functioning as copulas, and as EGO and FACT when serving evidential functions.

When used in equative functions, COP1 is reserved for first-person affirmative statements (e.g., example 90) and second-person interrogatives (example 91), reflecting the anticipatory behavior characteristic of conjunct–disjunct systems. COP2, by contrast, is used in third-person affirmative contexts (example 92). Occasionally, COP2 may also be used with the first person to indicate past factual states, as in example (93), when something was formerly true but is no longer valid. However, the reverse—COP1 with third person—does not occur.

- (95) k^hʎⁿdz^hè p^hʎ^lḡ dz^lē dz^hʎ ⁿdḡʎ-rêʎ
 3NSG_family bovine hundred approximately **be-FACT**
 There are about a hundred cattle in their family.
- (96) éⁿdz^lē=ts^hḡ k^hʎ^bh^hē tó^mb^hʎ nó ⁿdḡʎ
 1NSG.EX=PL house first in **be**
 We are at the first house.
- (97) k^héⁿdz^lē=ts^hḡ ét^hē tḡ^hūk^hḡ=nə **dêʎ-nâ**
 3NSG=PL today church=LOC **stay-VSEN**
 They are at the church now.

4.8.2.3. Existential-possessive predicates

Tshodrug uses two distinct verbs to express existential–possessive relations:

- *jḡʎ* ‘have.FACT’
- *ηḡ* ‘have.VSEN’

These forms of the verb ‘to have’ are unique in that they lexicalize evidential distinctions—unlike other verbs, which express evidentiality through suffixes. Crucially, the factual form *jḡʎ* still co-occurs with the factual evidential suffix (e.g., *jḡʎ-rêʎ*), while the visual-sensory form *ηḡ* inherently encodes evidentiality and does not require or take an additional visual-sensory marker. Examples (98–99) demonstrate their existential use. Possessive factual usage is illustrated in examples (59), (62), and (190), and possessive visual-sensory use is seen in examples (175) and (188).

- (98) jég^hèʎ dḡ^lúodz^hʎ dīt^hē **jḡʎ-rêʎ**
 book table[ZH] on_top_of **have.FACT-FACT**
 There is a book on top of the table.
- (99) jég^hèʎ dḡ^lúodz^hʎ dīt^hē **nòʎ**
 book table[ZH] on_top_of **have.VSEN**
 There is a book on top of the table.

4.8.3. Aspect markers

Tshodrug features a rich set of aspectual markers that convey various temporal and intentional nuances of verbal actions. These markers interact with the evidential system and reflect subtle distinctions in how an event is perceived, experienced, or intended. Aspect markers typically follow the verb stem and precede evidential suffixes.

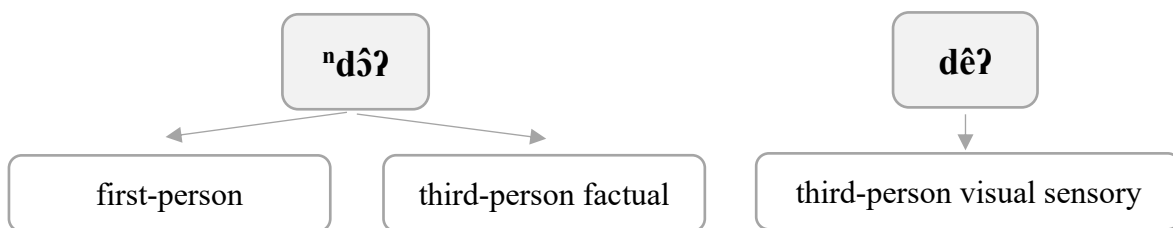
The following table summarizes the major aspectual markers attested in this study:

Table 14: Aspect markers

Marker	Type	Function / Description
ⁿ dô?	Progressive	Used for 1st person and 3rd person factual progressive actions
dê?	Progressive	Used for 3rd person visual-sensory progressive actions
ts ^h ê	Continuative	Indicates continued or ongoing state of action
t ^h új	Perfective	Indicates completed action
dzi	Irreversible	Marks actions that are irreversible or final (e.g., death, breakage)
ɲú	Experiential	Marks past experience of an action, or lack thereof when negated
rê?	Resultative	Marks resultative state resulting from the action
zi / tç ^h i	Intentional	Marks planned or intended action, habitual/future meaning
ri	Imminent	Marks an action that is about to happen

4.8.3.1. Progressive markers

Figure 4: Progressive markers



Tshodrug employs two distinct markers to express progressive aspect: ⁿdô? and dê?. The marker ⁿdô? is used in first-person progressive constructions that notably lack the expected egophoric marker (see examples 69, 100, 154), as well as in third-person factual progressive contexts (see examples 87, 101, 182). In contrast, dê? is employed specifically in third-person

progressive sentences marked for visual-sensory evidentiality, as illustrated in examples (1), (4), (38), (42), (57), (63), (65-66), (73), (79), (84), (88), (102), (147), (149), (150), (172)).

(100) ηέ έτ^hē jég^hè? ⁿd^hǣ-ⁿdš?
 1SG now book read-**PROG1**
 I am reading a book now.

(101) ēxwè ηέ-ⁿdš?-rê?
 Ahua be_sick-**PROG1**-FACT
 Ahua is sick.

(102) éṃē mīmì? sě dè?-dê?-nê
 mother infant food give-**PROG2**-VSEN
 Mother is feeding the baby.

4.8.3.2. Continuative marker

Tshodrug expresses continuative aspect—indicating that an action is still ongoing or in a sustained state—using the marker $\widehat{ts}^h\hat{a}$. This marker directly follows the main verb and precedes evidential markers, if present. Unlike the progressive aspect, which marks currently unfolding actions, the continuative marker often refers to persistent states or repetitive situations.

Due to its discourse-dependent nature, the continuative marker is difficult to elicit or interpret accurately in isolated sentences. Consequently, the examples provided here are drawn from natural speech contexts: specifically, from Text 6, line 26 (see example 103) and Text 9, line 22 (see example 104) in Appendix A.

(103) $\widehat{ts}^h\hat{y}$ k^hò=dε sórē ^mb^ys^hē=gε $\widehat{dz}ò?$ - $\widehat{ts}^h\hat{a}$ -rê?
 dog DEF=TOP below wasp=ERG sting-**CONT**-FACT
 The dog continued to be stung by the wasps below.

(104) ét^hē $\widehat{dz}^h\hat{y}$ =dε $\widehat{t}^h\hat{e}$ $\widehat{dz}^h\hat{e}$ néṃē s^hē- $\widehat{ts}^h\hat{a}$ jê?-é
 now approximately=TOP 2NSG near sun appear-**CONT** have.FACT-Q
 Is the sun still out around now, near you?

4.8.3.3. Perfective marker

The perfective marker *t^húj* is used to express completed actions or events. It frequently corresponds to the sense of “already” and can refer to either recent or more temporally distant completions. It is used particularly when the speaker wants to draw attention to the fact that something has been done (see examples 105-106). Further instances of this perfect marker can be observed in examples (168), (172), (176), and (185).

- (105) éⁿdʒi^hē=ts^hǣ sǣ sé-t^húj
1NSG.EX=PL food eat-PFV
We have already eaten.

- (106) dīmǎ t^hē-t^húj-lǎ ηé ts^hǣ wó=dɿ nì? wó-ʔí
spectacle watch-PFV-TEMP 1SG DIR.PROX come=CONJ sleep move-EGO
After having watched the spectacle, I came back home and went to sleep.

4.8.3.4. Irreversible marker

The marker *dzi* is used for semantically irreversible actions, such as death, destruction, or serious injury (see examples (107-108)). It derives from the full verb *dzi^hè* meaning “to leave” and has grammaticalized into a bound aspect marker. It is always placed between the verb and the evidential marker. Additional instances of this usage can be found in examples (28), (166), and (180).

- (107) dʒǣsī níⁿd^hē=gε sèʔ-dzi-rê?
Jasi rifle=INS kill-IRR-FACT
Jasi was killed with a gun.

- (108) pýmǎ dzi k^hénù? mǎ=gε dʒ^hē jêʔ-dzi-rê?
girl INDF last_evening person=ERG violence do-IRR-FACT
Someone assaulted a girl last night.

4.8.3.5. Experiential marker

The experiential marker *ɲú* in Tshodrug signifies that an action has been experienced at least once in the past without specifying the exact time (see examples 109-110). When combined with a negative marker, *ɲú* indicates that the action has never been experienced. Other instance of it can be seen in examples (20), (37), and (138).

- (109) ηέ έρέ? t^h̄⁵-mé-ηύ
 1SG alcohol drink-NEG1-EXP
 I have never drunk alcohol.
- (110) ēxwè k^hò t^h̄⁵ηē d̄zi t^h̄⁵-ηύ-rê?
 Ahua 3SG time one see-EXP-FACT
 Ahua has seen her once.

4.8.3.6. Resultative marker

The resultative aspect in Tshodrug is marked by *rê?*, which indicates that a certain state has resulted from a prior action. This state is understood to still hold or be relevant at the time of speaking.

Due to its contextual nature, this marker is difficult to elicit in isolation. Therefore, the following examples are drawn from natural discourse—Text 5, lines 13 and 51 in Appendix A (see examples 111-112).

- (111) ékù? ηī šē d̄zi z^h̄⁵?-rê?-g^h̄⁵
 1NSG two meat INDF make-RES-NEC
 We should get the meat cooked.
- (112) sî? d̄z̄ó^hē=dε t̄yrē nēt̄^hē z^h̄⁵?-rê?-rê?
 louse chest=TOP at_that_time bruise make-RES-FACT
 It left a bruise at the louse's chest at that very moment.

4.8.3.7. Intentional marker

The intentional marker *zì* (also realized as *t̄çhì*) expresses future, planned, or deliberate actions (see examples 113-114). It can also imply habitual or volitional behavior (see examples 76 and 85-86). Speakers use either form interchangeably with no clear distribution.

- (113) éηē=ge ét^hē s̄é z^h̄⁵?-zì-rê?
 mom=ERG now food make-INTL-FACT
 Mom is going to cook now.
- (114) k^hò ḡōb^hē=nə wó-zì-rê?
 3SG temple=LOC move-INTL-FACT
 She is going to the temple.

Additional instances of its usage in future contexts can be found in examples (60), (67), (70-71, (136-137), (155), (158-160), (162), (180), and (184-186).

4.8.3.8. Imminent marker

The marker *rí* indicates that an action is about to occur imminently (see examples 115-116). It is frequently used in predictions, warnings, or urgent instructions.

(115) *sĕ́* *sé-rí-nâ*
 food eat-**IMN**-VSEN
 It's almost time to eat.

(116) *gérĕ=nə* *ᵐbýtù?* *xwĕ-rí-nâ*
 garden=LOC flower bloom-**IMN**-VSEN
 The flowers in the garden are about to bloom.

4.8.4. Mood markers

Tshodrug uses a range of mood markers to convey the speaker's attitude toward the action or event described by the verb. These include markers for necessity, permission, ability, know-how (competence), desire, and assumption. Most mood markers follow the main verb and precede any evidential suffixes.

The following table summarizes the major mood markers attested in this study:

Table 15: Mood markers

Marker	Type	Function / Description
<i>g^hĕ</i>	Necessitative	Indicates obligation or necessity
<i>tçù?</i>	Permissive	Marks permission or ability to do something
<i>dz^hĕ</i>	Ability	Marks capability to perform an action
<i>s^hi</i>	Know-how	Indicates proficiency or skill in performing an action
<i>sĕ́</i>	Desiderative	Indicates desire to perform an action
<i>tçè?</i>	Assumptive	Expresses assumption or supposition
<i>p^hý</i>	Imperative	Direct command, considered impolite
<i>rù?</i>	Polite	Polite imperative or request

4.8.4.1. Necessitative marker

The necessitative marker *g^hũ* indicates that the action expressed by the verb is necessary, obligatory, or needed. It typically appears before evidential markers. This marker can be used in both personal obligation (e.g., “I must...”, “I need to...”) and general necessity (e.g., “One must...”, “It is needed to...”):

- (117) *t̂ç^hè* *jé* *xwè?*=*dɣ* *t^hõ-g^hũ-rê?*
water DIR.UP boil=CONJ drink-**NEC-FACT**
You must boil water and only then drink it.

- (118) *ré=ts^hɣ* *ⁿdárē* *jò?-g^hũ-rê?*
goat =DAT feed throw-**NEC-FACT**
We need to feed the goats.

4.8.4.2. Permissive marker

The permissive marker *t̂çù?* is used to express permission or allowance. It typically appears at the end of the verb phrase and often occurs in interrogative or declarative contexts involving social permission or situational allowance:

- (119) *ɲé* *sónì?* *wó-é-t̂çù?*
1SG tomorrow move-Q-**PERM**
Can I come tomorrow?

- (120) *ékù?=ts^hɛ̃* *t̂ç^hē* *wó-t̂çù?*
1NSG.EX=PL have_fun move-**PERM**
We’re allowed to go have fun.

4.8.4.3. Ability marker

The ability marker *d̂z^hē* marks physical or mental capacity to perform an action. It is placed directly after the verb stem:

- (121) *k^hò* *t̂ç^hēd̂z^hì?-d̂z^hē-rê?*
3SG swim-**ABIL-FACT**
He can swim.

- (122) ηέ t^hē dz^hē-dz^hē
 1SG horse ride-**ABIL**
 I can ride a horse.

4.8.4.4. Know-how marker

The know-how marker *s^hi* expresses competence or skill in performing an action. It conveys an established ability or mastery, often used with habitual actions:

- (123) d̄zōmē bý|ē dzē-s^hi-rê?
 Dzhoma cloth sew-**KNOW-FACT**
 Dzhoma is good at sewing clothes.

- (124) ηέ s̄é z^hô?-s^hi
 1SG food make-**KNOW**
 I am good at cooking.

4.8.4.5. Desiderative marker

The desiderative marker *s̄ē* marks the subject's desire to carry out an action. It typically follows the verb and precedes evidential markers:

- (125) k^hò s̄òηì? d̄étç^hī wó-s̄ē-rê?
 3SG tomorrow Deqin_county move-**DES-FACT**
 He wants to go to Deqin tomorrow.

- (126) énù? ηέ xēṃȳ nì?-s̄ē-nâ
 this_evening 1SG early sleep-**DES-VSEN**
 I want to sleep early tonight.

4.8.4.6. Assumptive marker

The assumptive marker *t̄çè?* conveys an assumption or supposition about an event that may not be directly confirmed by the speaker. It is often used in conditional or hypothetical contexts:

- (127) éṃē=ge tòʔ-wó-**tçèʔ** jêʔ=dɿ
 mother=ERG scold-MOV-**ASSUM** do=CONJ
 Assuming that my mother would scold me,
- rûʔ ɲāṃɿ tç^hē mé-wó-ʔí
 friend together have_fun NEG1-move-EGO
 I didn't go out to have fun with my friends.

- (128) tç^hé pòʔ-wó-**tçèʔ** jêʔ=dɿ
 rain descend-MOV-**ASSUM** do=CONJ
 Supposing that it will rain,
- bý|ē jé ròʔ-rêʔ-ʔí
 cloth DIR.UP collect-RES-EGO
 I've collected all the clothes.

4.8.4.7. Imperative marker

To form an imperative, the marker *p^hý* is placed before the verb (see example 129). However, its usage is considered impolite and is predominantly employed when addressing children. In negative imperatives, *p^hý* is omitted (see example 130). Additionally, there are two verbs with unique imperative forms. The verb *wó*, meaning “move,” has the imperative form *ʂùʔ*, and the verb *dz^hè*, meaning “leave,” has the imperative form *sō* (see examples 131 and 132). However, the imperative *ʂùʔ* is not used with negation; instead, *wó* is employed (see example 130).

- (129) t^hē ʰdárē **p^hý-jòʔ**
 horse feed **IMP-throw**
 Throw the feed to the horse.
- (130) jé **mé-wó**
 DIR.UP **NEG1-move**
 Don't come up.
- (131) t^hē **ʂùʔ**
 DIR.PROX **move.IMP**
 Come in.
- (132) p^hē dz^hý **sō**
 DIR.DIST approximately **leave.IMP**
 Move a little that way!

4.8.4.8. Polite marker

In more respectful imperative constructions, the marker *rùʔ*, which literally means “to help” but is translated as “please” in this context, is positioned at the end of the verb phrase (see example 133). Additionally, this marker can be employed in requestive sentences to ask for assistance or a favor (see example 134).

(133) s^hē ʰdôʔ-rùʔ
 DIR.DOWN sit-POL
 Please sit down.

(134) d̄z^hé tsýrèʔ~tsýrèʔ d̄zi dèʔ-rùʔ
 tea hot~hot INDF give-POL
 Please give me some very hot tea.

4.8.5. Directional markers

Tshodrug features three directional markers that attach to verbs to indicate the orientation or direction of movement:

- *ʂô* (cislocative): movement toward the deictic center
- *d̄z^hè* (translocative): movement away from the deictic center
- *wó*: general movement, direction-neutral or unspecified

These markers can co-occur with directional adverbs discussed in Section 4.7, adding a layer of spatial deixis to the verb phrase. Examples of their usage can be seen in (135–137).

(135) éⁿd̄z^hé=ts^hǣ t̄ç^hǣp^hē dèʔ-ʂô
 1NSG.EX=PL punishment give-CIS
 We received punishment.

(136) ɲé kúǵè jòʔ-d̄z^hè wó-zì-ʔí
 1SG trash throw-TRANSL move-INTL-EGO
 I will go throw away the trash.

(137) rùʔ d̄zi sóɲìʔ péʔ-wó-zì-rêʔ
 friend INDF tomorrow arrive-MOV-INTL-FACT
 A friend will come tomorrow.

4.8.6. Other markers

The following table summarizes other markers attested in this study:

Table 16: Other verbal markers

Marker	Type	Function / Description
é	Question	Used in polar questions; follows the main verb.
mé	Negation (NEG1)	Used with past, imperatives, conditionals; appears with VSEN in predicates.
né	Negation (NEG2)	Used with present and future; appears with FACT in predicates.
mí	Negative Copula (COP1)	Dedicated negated form for COP1 (1st person equative-descriptive).
nè	Negative Possessive (have.FACT)	Dedicated negated form of factual “have”.
shì?	Converb	Converb of manner; modifies main verb’s action.
dz’ò?	Causative	Indicates making/letting someone do something.
zî?	Simulative	Indicates pretended action or behavior.
k ^h ə	Discourse marker	Tone-less, unclear function, used across narratives, glossed as "?".

4.8.6.1. Question marker

When a sentence lacks interrogative words, the question marker é is inserted in the verb phrase, typically following the main verb:

- (138) t̃ç^hù? t̃s̃ỹgù? wó-é-ɲú
 2SG Tshodrug move-Q-EXP
 Have you ever been to Tshodrug?

- (139) ɲé sóɲì? wó-é-g^hũ
 1SG tomorrow move-Q-NEC
 Do I need to come tomorrow?

4.8.6.2. Negation markers

Two negative markers were identified in this study: NEG1 *mé* and NEG2 *né*. In general, NEG1 is used with past events (see examples 32, 37, 109, 127, 151, 159), imperatives (examples 3, 130, 190), and conditionals (example 180), while NEG2 is used with present and future events

(examples 161, 169, 174). However, these rules do not fully apply to predicates in the present tense, which tend to follow different patterns.

For equative-descriptive predicates in the present tense, COP1 has a dedicated negative form *mí* (example 140), while COP2 is negated using NEG1 (example 141). In existential-locative predicates, NEG1 is used with visual-sensory evidentials (example 143), while NEG2 occurs with factual evidentials (example 142). For existential-possessive predicates, have.FACT has a dedicated negative form *nè* (example 144), while have.VSEN is negated with NEG2, in accordance with the general rule (example 145).

This complex interplay suggests nuanced morphosyntactic conditioning of negation in Tshodrug and warrants further investigation.

Equative-descriptive predicates

- (140) ηέ ⁿd̥z̥ũdz̥h̥ɣ̃ **mí**
 1SG livestock_farmer **NEG.COP1**
 I am not a livestock farmer.

- (141) kʰò ⁿd̥z̥ũdz̥h̥ɣ̃ **mé-rêʔ**
 3SG livestock_farmer **NEG1-COP2**

Existential-locative predicates

- (142) ^{t̥s}ʰəŋõ ɱə̃ d̥zi=lɣ̃ **né-ⁿd̥ôʔ-rêʔ**
 at_home person one=ADD **NEG2-be-FACT**
 There is nobody at home.

- (143) ^{t̥s}ʰəŋõ ɱə̃ d̥zi=lɣ̃ **mé-dêʔ-nâ**
 at_home person one=ADD **NEG1-stay-VSEN**
 There is nobody at home.

Existential-possessive predicates

- (144) kʰò gēŋē d̥zi=lɣ̃ **nè-rêʔ**
 3SG what one=ADD **NEG.have.FACT-FACT**
 He has nothing.

- (145) swé ké=lɣ̃ **né-nòʔ**
 sickle where=ADD **NEG2-have.VSEN**
 The sickle is nowhere to be found.

4.8.6.3. Converb marker

Tshodrug features a converb marker *sʰiʔ*, which directly attaches to the verb it modifies (see examples 146-147). This marker functions as a converb of manner, specifying how the action of the main verb is carried out.

(146) *réròʔ* *nḁzʰi-**sʰiʔ*** *nḁzʰi-**sʰiʔ*** *jé* *tḁʰi-rêʔ*
 child fall-**CVB** fall-**CVB** DIR.UP stand-FACT
 Child stood up after falling again and again.

(147) *kʰò* *ʔikʰé-**sʰiʔ*** *kʰēwêʔ-dêʔ-nê*
 3SG be_angry-**CVB** speak-PROG2-VSEN
 She spoke while being angry.

4.8.6.4. Causative marker

Tshodrug uses the causative marker *dziʔ* to indicate that the subject causes or compels someone else to perform an action (see examples 148-149). It is suffixed to the verb stem and precedes any additional verbal morphology, such as progressive or evidential markers. This construction expresses indirect agency and typically translates into English as “make someone do something” or “have someone do something.”

In addition to coercive meanings, the causative marker can also convey permissive interpretations depending on context, such as “let someone do something.” The distinction between coercive and permissive uses is usually inferred pragmatically from the surrounding discourse.

(148) *ēlè* *éⁿdzʰè* *épʰē* *éḁē* *ḁī=ge*
 Ala 1NSG_family father mother two=ERG
 Ala, my parents

ḁé *nḁʰē* *dziʔ* *lòʔ-**dziʔ**-sʰô*
 1SG arrow launch learn-**CAUS**-CIS
 are making me learn archery!

(149) *ébʰi* *pḁjē* *nijêʔ-**dziʔ**-dêʔ-nê*
 elder_sister younger_sibling sleep-**CAUS**-PROG2-VSEN
 The sister is making her little brother go to sleep.

4.8.6.5. Simulative marker

The simulative marker *zôʔ* conveys that the subject is pretending to perform an action (see examples 150-151). It is suffixed to the verb stem and typically followed by other aspectual or evidential markers. This form allows the speaker to describe feigned behavior or imagined actions, translating to English as “pretend to [verb].”

- (150) *kʰò* *jégʰèʔ* *ⁿdzôʔ-zôʔ-dêʔ-nâ*
 3SG book look-**SIMUL**-PROG2-VSEN
 He is pretending to read a book.

- (151) *ŋé* *mé-tsʰúj* *jêʔ-zôʔ-ʔí*
 1SG NEG1-hear do-**SIMUL**-EGO
 I pretended not to hear.

4.8.6.6. *kʰə* marker

There is also a marker *kʰə* that was attested in verbal phrases used by speakers across various narrative contexts (see Appendix A). It bears no tone and is sometimes pronounced simply as a bare *kʰ* sound. This marker appeared in a wide range of environments, and no consistent pattern or function could be identified. As a result, it is glossed with a question mark throughout this study. Interestingly, this same marker remained unexplained in Bartee’s (2007) PhD dissertation on Dongwang Tibetan, suggesting that it may indeed lack a clear grammatical function and could simply serve as a discourse filler. Further investigation is required to determine its nature and role in Tshodrug.

4.9. Interrogatives

Table 17: Interrogatives

<i>kó</i>	who
<i>gēŋē</i>	what
<i>ké</i>	where
<i>ŋé</i>	when
<i>gēŋējêʔdɿ</i>	why
<i>kʰzòʔ</i>	how
<i>kʰzìʔ</i>	how much

Tshodrug Tibetan makes productive use of a set of interrogative forms that function both as interrogative pronouns in direct questions and as *wh*-words introducing embedded clauses. These forms typically occur preverbally, and when they are used in main clause questions, the verb does not carry the usual interrogative marker—interrogativity is fully expressed through the presence of the *wh*-word itself.

Each interrogative word targets a different semantic domain, including person, thing, place, time, reason, manner, and quantity. These interrogatives also occur frequently in natural discourse, not only in direct information-seeking questions but also in complement clauses, following verbs of cognition, speech, or necessity.

This dual behavior aligns closely with patterns observed across Tibetan dialects, as described by Xian and Yang (2025), who show that Tibetan interrogative pronouns fall into semantically motivated categories and fulfill a wide range of syntactic roles—including subject, object, attributive, and adverbial. The forms in Tshodrug Tibetan exhibit similar multifunctionality and are regularly attested in both elicited and narrative data.

Below are illustrative pairs for each interrogative, showing their use in both a direct question and in a *wh*-clause:

Who

(152) k^hò kó rê?
 3SG **who** COP2
 Who is he?

(153) t̃ç^hù?
 2SG **who** ʔí ɲé xēg^hô
 2SG **who** EGO 1SG know
 I know who you are.

What

(154) t̃ç^hù?
 2SG **gēṅē** jêʔ-ⁿdôʔ
 2SG **what** do-PROG
 What are you doing?

(155) k^hé=ts^hǎ=ge ékùʔ=ts^hǎ **gēṅē** jêʔ-g^hū-rêʔ s^hé-zì-rêʔ
 3NSG=PL=ERG 1NSG.IN=PL **what** do-NEC-FACT say-INTL-FACT
 They will explain what we have to do.

Where

(156) m^hbýtù?=^hts^hẽ ké j^hâ?-rê?
 flower=PL **where** have-FACT
 Where are the flowers?

(157) k^hé^hndz^hl^hē ŋī=ge z^hó?ē=^hts^hɣ ké wó-g^hǎ-rê? d^hz^hɣ-rê?
 3NSG two=ERG Joa=DAT **where** move-NEG-FACT ask-FACT
 The two of them asked Joa where to go.

When

(158) t^hç^hù? t^há^hŋō^h ñé wó-zì-ŋí
 2SG at_home **when** move-INTL-EGO
 When are you going home?

(159) k^hò ñé wó-zì-ŋí s^hé-má-z^hô
 3SG **when** move-INTL-EGO say-NEG-CIS
 She didn't tell me when she would come.

Why

(160) gēñējê?dɣ t^hç^hù? dētç^hí wó-zì-ŋí
why 2SG Deqin_county move-INTL-EGO
 Why are you going to Deqing?

(161) rérò? k^hò gēñējê?dɣ ŋĩɣ=mà xē<né>g^hŋ
 child DEF **why** cry=NMZ1 know<NEG2>know
 I don't know why the child is crying.

How

(162) t^hç^hù? rýmè? t^hɪ^hm^hb^hɣ~t^hɪ^hm^hb^hɣ dīt^hē p^hē kýzò? p^hè?-zì
 2SG hedge high~high on_top_of DIR.DIST **how** jump-INTL
 How are you going to jump over this extremely high hedge?

(163) k^hò=ge ñé=^hts^hɣ sí kýzò? mǎ-g^hǎ-rê? l^hò?-s^hô
 3SG=ERG 1SG=DAT field **how** plough-NEG-FACT learn-CIS
 He taught me how to plough the field.

How much

(164) ét^hē t̄çitsùj kázi? ʔi-nê
now hour **how_much** COP1-VSEN
What time is it now?

(165) ηέ k^hò=ts^hγ ηə kázi? dèʔ-g^hḡ-rêʔ s^hé-dêʔ d̄z̄ý-ʔi
1SG 3SG=DAT money **how_much** give-NEC-FACT say-PROG ask-EGO
I asked him how much I need to pay.

4.10. Relative clause nominalizers

Tshodrug Tibetan exhibits an unusually rich nominalization system, with at least four distinct nominalizers—*mə*, *gùʔ*, *s^hē*, and *z^hý*—that function primarily to form relative clauses, but differ in their semantic scope, aspectual implications, and modal interpretation.

This aligns with the extensive use of nominalizations in other Tibeto-Burman languages, as discussed by Noonan (1997). Noonan highlights how nominalizations in languages such as Chantyal go well beyond prototypical noun formation: they are used to construct relative clauses, complement clauses, noun modifiers, and even main predicates. Tshodrug follows this pattern but innovatively distributes these functions across multiple nominalizers, each tied to a specific semantic or grammatical domain.

1. *mə* – Marks factive or realis relative clauses, often describing completed, specific, or actualized events or states. It applies to both agents and patients and is compatible with both affirmative and negative polarity.

2. *gùʔ* – Specializes in resultative or perfective relative clauses, where the focus is on the resulting state of an object or event. It is used most often with perfective verbs and patient-oriented interpretations.

3. *s^hē* – Encodes purposive or action nominalizations, referring to general activities, tools, or intentions. These are less temporally anchored and resemble infinitival or gerund-like uses in English.

4. *z^hý* – Used for potential or irrealis nominalizations, typically referring to possible, usable, or desired items. It is often employed in contexts of necessity, modality, or negation.

This typological distinction among relative clause nominalizers reflects broader patterns noted in Comrie & Thompson (1985), Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993), and Yap, Matthews & Horie (2011), who show that languages may grammaticalize semantic, aspectual, or modal contrasts into dedicated nominalizing forms.

Below are illustrative examples of all four nominalizer types. Given that these forms lack independent lexical meaning and obligatorily follow the verb, they are analyzed and glossed as verbal suffixes in this study.

Nominalizer *mə*

- (166) pý tsédz^hi-mə k^hò k^hédz^hõ şÿ-dzi-rê?
 boy have_fever-NMZ1 DEF yesterday die-IRRV-FACT
 The boy that had fever died yesterday.
- (167) sī şēp^hē mí-mə d̄zi k^hē-şù?
 wood wet NEG.COP1-NMZ1 INDF bring-move.IMP
 Bring me some wood that is not wet.
- (168) d̄zÿmē ⁿd̄zìó^mē tùʔ-t^húj-mə k^hò nējs^hi d̄zi ʔí-nê
 monkey tail cut-PFV-NMZ1 DEF nuisance INDF COP1-VSEN
 The monkey that had its tail cut was a nuisance.
- (169) ɲé léréʔ-mə né-jê?
 1SG work-NMZ1 NEG-do
 I will not be someone who works.

Nominalizer *gùʔ*

- (170) t̄ç^hè xwèʔ-gùʔ k^hò ɲé=ts^hɣ dèʔ-rù?
 water boil-NMZ2 DEF 1SG=DAT give-POL
 Please give me the water that has boiled.
- (171) k^hò=ge ɲé=ts^hɣ k^hwé z^hõʔ-gùʔ ⁿgÿrè d̄zi k^hē-şõ
 3SG=ERG 1SG=DAT meal cook-NMZ2 a_few INDF bring-CIS
 She brought me some meals that had been cooked.
- (172) d̄zõmē k^hó^mb^hÿ xíʔ-t^húj-gùʔ d̄zi sé-dêʔ-nê
 Dzhoma peach ripen-PFV-NMZ2 INDF eat-PROG2-VSEN
 Dzhoma is eating a peach that has ripened.

- (173) lè? d̄z'wèʔ-gù? kʰò jòʔ-pʰý-d̄z'è
 branch break-NMZ2 DEF throw-IMP-TRANSL
 Throw away the branch that is broken.

Nominalizer sʰē

- (174) ɲé wó éⁿd̄zʰý jêʔ-sʰē né-lí
 1SG move like_this do-NMZ3 NEG2-find_way
 I can't walk or do something that is like that.

- (175) kʰýⁿd̄zʰèdêʔ nìʔ-sʰē=ly né-nòʔ
 3NSG_family sleep-NMZ3=ADD NEG2-have.VSEN
 They don't even have a place to sleep.

- (176) sóŋìʔ kʰē-sʰē ròʔ ⁿd̄z'èʔ-é-tʰúj
 tomorrow bring-NMZ3 collect finish-Q-PFV
 Have you finished packing everything that you need to take with you tomorrow?

- (177) jégʰèʔ d̄zʰý-sʰē d̄zì kʰē-ʂùʔ
 letter write-NMZ3 INDF bring-move.IMP
 Bring me something I can write a letter on.

Nominalizer zʰý

- (178) énúʔ sʰēgʰý sé-zʰý né-nòʔ
 this_evening evening eat-NMZ4 NEG2-have.VSEN
 There's nothing that we can eat this evening.

- (179) sóŋìʔ ʂùʔ-zʰý ɲú wó-gʰǣ-rêʔ
 tomorrow use-NMZ4 buy move-NEC-FACT
 Tomorrow, you need to go buy everything we use.

- (180) t̄çʰùʔ=ge ɲé nēlĩ sé-zʰý mé-dèʔ-nɣ
 2SG=ERG 1SG sweets eat-NMZ4 NEG1-give-COND
 If you don't give me sweets that I can eat,

- ɲé ɲý-d̄zì-zì-ʔĩ
 1SG cry-IRR-INTL-EGO
 I will cry.

- (181) མཉམ་ཚུལ་ ཇོ་མཚོ་མཉམ་ གཞི་ རྩོམ་ཁོངས་ རྩོམ་ཚུལ་
 use-NMZ4 all box inside have.FACT-FACT
 All the tools that you can use are in the box.

4.11. Conjunctions

Tshodrug Tibetan displays a morphologically diverse system of clause-linking strategies, including clitic conjunctions, verbal suffixes, and independent conjunction words. These forms encode a variety of semantic relations such as coordination, temporal sequence, conditionality, and contrast, and can be classified based on their morphosyntactic behavior.

Conjunctions in Tshodrug fall into three morphosyntactic classes: clitics, verbal suffixes, and independent words (see Table 18).

Table 18: Conjunction types

Type	Form	Meaning/Function	Host type
Clitic	=dʎ	and (coordinative/causal)	various categories
Clitic	=lʎ	also, even (additive)	various categories
Suffix	-nʎ	if (conditional)	verb only
Suffix	-lə	after, once, while (temporal)	verb only
Suffix	-nʎ-lə	even if, although (concessive)	verb only
Independent word	mé... kḥ	before	full clause
Independent word	né... dʒê	until	full clause
Independent word	...métséʔ, érḥ	not only..., but also	full clause
Independent word	...rḥʔ	about	full clause

4.11.1. Clitic conjunctions

The clitics *dʎ* ‘and, so’ and *lʎ* ‘also, even’ can attach to a wide range of host types—including nouns, pronouns, verbs, numerals, quantifiers, and adverbs, as well as to other grammatical suffixes and clitics. They lack inherent tonal specification and do not carry independent lexical meaning. Due to their syntactic flexibility and phonological dependence, they are analyzed as

second-position clitics (see examples 183 and 184). Numerous additional examples can be found in the narratives presented in Appendix A.

(182) k^hò sémə̃ ɲé=**ɗɣ** tʰáŋō dɛ̃ʔ-ⁿdóʔ-rêʔ
 3SG very be_sick=**CONJ** at_home stay-PROG1-FACT
 She was very ill, so she stayed home.

(183) ɲé zwè ḍẓ^hō-ʔî k^hé=**ts^hɛ=ɪɣ** zwè ḍẓ^hō-rêʔ
 1SG song sing-EGO 3NSG=PL=**ADD** song sing-FACT
 I sang, and they also sang.

4.11.2. Verbal suffix conjunctions

The suffixes *nɣ* ‘if’, *lə* ‘after, once’, and *nɣ-lə* ‘even if, although’ are restricted to verbal hosts, typically occupying a clause-final position. They do not bear tones and exhibit no independent syntactic function outside the verb complex, which motivates their analysis as derivational or converbial suffixes (see examples 185-187). These forms are also highly frequent and productive in natural speech, with numerous further instances appearing throughout the narratives in Appendix A.

(184) k^hò ɲé=**ts^hɣ** ḍẓ^hɣ-**nɣ** ɲé ṭṣōmə̃ shé-zì-ʔî
 3SG 1SG=DAT ask-**COND** 1SG all say-INTL-EGO
 If he asks me, I will tell him everything.

(185) sɛ́ sé-t^húj-**lə** ṭɕ^hɛ̃ wó-zì-ʔî
 food eat-PFV-**TEMP** have_fun move-INTL-EGO
 After I finish eating, I’m planning to go out and have some fun.

(186) ṭɕ^héb^hē pôʔ-**nɣ-lə** ḍẓ^hōⁿgɣʔ lérêʔ wó-zì-ʔî
 rain descend-**COND-TEMP** outside work move-INTL-EGO
 Although it is raining, we are still going to work outside.

4.11.3. Independent conjunction words

The remaining forms—including *mé... ḳî* ‘before’, *né... ḍẓê* ‘until’, *métsèʔ... érō* ‘not only... but also’, and *... ròʔ* ‘about’—exhibit clear characteristics of independent lexical items. They appear as separate phonological words, are tonally specified, and consist of multi-part

constructions in some cases. These are treated as conjunctive adverbs or adverbial phrases (see examples 188-191).

- (187) **mé-wó** **kî** ηέ kɪtɔʔ-ʂùʔ
NEG-move **before** 1SG call-move.IMP
 Before you leave, call me.
- (188) sɔ̃pʰiʔ tsédzʰi **né-ròʔ-kʰə** **dzê**
 next year grain **NEG2-harvest-?** **until**
 Until we harvest the grains next year,
 éⁿdzʰédêʔ sé-zʰɻ né-nòʔ
 1NSG_family eat-NMZ4 NEG2-have.VSEN
 our family will have nothing to eat.
- (189) kʰò m̩ə tsʰɔ̃m̩ē **metsèʔ** **érɔ̃** m̩ə ʂókʰò r̩éʔ
 3SG person beautiful **not_only** **still** person rich COP2
 Not only he is handsome, but he is also rich.
- (190) ηè j̩ʰʔ r̩òʔ m̩ə=tsʰɻ mé-sʰé
 money have.FACT **about** person=DAT NEG1-SAY
 Don't tell others about having money.

4.12. Interactives

Obtaining natural interactional data in field linguistics poses significant challenges. Speakers often become self-conscious or alter their behavior when being recorded, making spontaneous interactions difficult to capture. While covert recording might yield more naturalistic data, it raises serious ethical concerns and is not a viable option in responsible linguistic research. As a result, it is often difficult to gather a substantial corpus of interactives within the limited timeframe of a short-term field study. Nevertheless, some naturally occurring examples were successfully recorded, and additional data were elicited in collaboration with the primary consultant. This elicitation was guided by the categories and illustrative examples of interactives provided in Heine (2021). The table 19 below presents the interactives that were collected during the study.

Table 19: Interactives

Interactives	Translation	Usage
ATTENTION SIGNALS		
wèj	Hey!	Used to call someone; considered impolite.
DIRECTIVES		
ʂùʂù?	Come!	Used to have someone move closer.
sō	Go!	Used to make someone leave.
méjè?	Cut it out!	Used to tell someone to stop doing something foolish or annoying.
mézĩ	Stop messing around!	Used to command children to stop behaving chaotically or foolishly.
ts ^h ɛp ^h ɣts ^h ɛ	Do as you are told!	Used to tell a child to do what they are told by others.
zɔ̃p ^h ɣts ^h ɛ	Hold!	Used when asking someone to take and hold an object.
ts ^h ɛdèʂù?	Give!	Used when asking someone to hand over an object.
górù?	Wait!	Used when asking someone to stop.
ts ^h ɣdɛ̀bè	Hurry!	Used when asking someone to do something faster.
ɲémédz'ò?	Take care!	Used when wishing someone well and asking them to be careful.
s ^h ɪp ^h ɣdz'òʂù?	Enjoy!	Used when encouraging someone to have a good time.
DISCOURSE MARKERS		
ɛ̀lè	Well, ...	Used at the beginning of a sentence to signal a shift in topic, hesitation, to soften a statement, or to give the speaker time to think, without carrying propositional meaning itself.
ʂĩ	So, ...	Used to introduce a result, summary, or next step in a narrative or explanation.
ó	—	Used as a sentence-final particle with no clear propositional meaning, often serving to add slight emphasis, convey speaker attitude, or maintain conversational flow.
EVALUATIVES		
dzɛ̀ʂɣgôrô	Horrible!	Used to express strong negative judgment or reaction.
dzɛ̀z ^h ɣsɛ̀z ^h ɣnɛ̀mə	Unbelievable!	Used to express astonishment or disbelief.
dzi ^h ɛ̀məʂĩnə	Bravo!	Used to express approval or praise.

dzɛ́lòʔdɛ	You're lying!	Used to accuse someone of lying or exaggerating.
ʔɛ́tɕ ^h úʔlèʔ	What a pity!	Used to express sympathy or regret.
tɕó	So sad!	Used to express sorrow or disappointment.
IDEOPHONES		
bòŋ	Thud!	Used to describe the dull, heavy sound of an object falling onto a solid surface.
p ^h ʔtó	Plop!	Used to represent the sound of an object falling into water.
dɛ̀	Bang!	Used to represent the loud, explosive sound of a gunshot.
dĩdĩ	Ding-dong!	Used to represent the sound of a bell ringing.
ʂwèʂwèʂwè	Pitter-patter.	Used to represent the sound of rain lightly falling.
xūjû	Whoosh!	Used to represent the sound of wind moving quickly.
b'è	Smack!	Used to imitate the noise of a slap in the face.
ɛ̀tì	Achoo!	Used to represent the sound of sneezing.
xɛ̀xɛ̀	Ha-ha!	Used to represent the sound of laughter.
INTERJECTIONS		
ɛ̀jɔ́	Ouch!	Used to express sudden pain or discomfort.
ɛ̀	Oh! / Ah!	Used to express a range of emotions, including fright and being awe-inspired.
	Tsk-tsk!	Used by adults to indicate disapproval of a child's behavior.
ɛ̀ŋʔ	Oh my God!	Used to express a wide range of strong emotions such as surprise, shock, amazement, or disbelief.
p ^h ɛ̀p ^h ɛ̀p ^h ɛ̀	Oops!	Used to express regret or self-reproach after saying something wrong; often accompanied by a physical gesture, such as hitting one's mouth.
RESPONSE ELICITORS		
ʔɛ̀	A?	Used to ask for repetition or clarification.
ɛ̀ʔĩ	Really?	Used to express surprise, doubt, or interest.
RESPONSE SIGNALS		
lŋ	Mhm.	Used to show that the speaker understands or agrees with what was said.
lŋʔý	Nuh-uh.	Used to indicate disagreement or refusal.
jéjê	Okay.	Used to indicate a positive response.

réʔrêʔ	True.	Used to affirm that a statement made by someone else is accurate or correct.
SOCIAL FORMULAE		
dz ^h ēnê	Thank you!	Used to express gratitude or appreciation.
rēʔmét ^h è	Sorry.	Used to apologize for an action or mistake.
mérèʔt ^h è	What I did was wrong.	Used to acknowledge wrongdoing and offer an apology.
mé ⁿ dzèʔ	Good bye!	Used to express farewell when leaving.
VOCATIVES		
ʔò []	O [name], ...	Used to directly address someone by their name or title; can be omitted.
pý	Boy, ...	Used by adults to address an unknown male child.
pým̃	Girl, ...	Used by adults to address an unknown female child.
ék ^h ỳ	Uncle, ...	Used by children to address an unknown adult man.
ég ^h ě	Aunt, ...	Used by children to address an unknown adult woman.
éwōʔ	Man, ...	Used by younger adults to address an unknown older male.
éb ^h ỳ	Woman, ...	Used by younger adults to address an unknown older female.
émī	Grandfather, ...	Used to address an unknown elderly male.
éjīʔ	Grandmother, ...	Used to address an unknown elderly female.
[] ép ^h ē	Father of [first child's name], ...	Used by a wife to address her husband in a loving and respectful way.
[] éṃṃē	Mother of [first child's name], ...	Used by a husband to address his wife in a loving and respectful way.
ém̃ ēṃù ēnū	Dear/darling, ...	Used by mothers to address a child in a loving and gentle manner.

5. Discussion

The 18-month programme—combining urban interviews, remote elicitation and on-site village work—has produced the first multi-speaker corpus of Tshodrug Tibetan. Although unusually extensive for an endangered variety, the materials still leave several domains open to debate:

- Phonological questions. A full series of voiced post-aspirated obstruents is tentatively posited—an inventory scarcely attested elsewhere in Khams. Instrumental phonetics and broader age sampling are required to decide whether these are phonemic or allophonic, and to refine the inventory of nasal versus oral vowels. Speaker-dependent pitch patterns over polysyllables likewise call for acoustic confirmation to distinguish lexical tone from pragmatic intonation.

- Argument marking. Elicited clauses show an animacy-based differential object marker with emotion verbs, yet the marker is absent in spontaneous narratives. Determining whether this reflects lexical licensing, optional pragmatics or attrition remains a priority.

- Negation. Two segmentally distinct negatives—mé and né—interact idiosyncratically with aspect, evidentiality and polar interrogatives. Controlled cloze tests are needed to model their distribution across clause types.

- Motion and deixis. Free horizontal/vertical directionals and bound cis-/translocative suffixes co-occur, but their semantic partitioning in multi-locative clauses is still opaque.

- Discourse morphology. Over sixty interactional particles have been identified, yet their prosody and discourse-pragmatic functions await conversation-analytic study. A clause-internal, toneless khə resists current classification.

- Sociolinguistic dynamics. Fluent speakers under thirty code-switch readily to Mandarin, signalling incipient shift. A new vitality survey is needed to track transmission and inform community revitalisation.

Despite these open problems, the research confirms that Tshodrug shares the core morphosyntactic profile synthesised for Tibetic languages by Tournadre & Suzuki (2023):

1. Verb-final clause structure
2. Post-verbal nominalizers and auxiliaries
3. TAME categories expressed by auxiliaries and/or suffixes
4. Modal verbs post-posed to the lexical verb
5. Negation prefixed to the verb or auxiliary
6. Optional ergative case conditioned by controllability
7. Case expressed by enclitics
8. Post-nominal numerals and quantifiers
9. Post-nominal adjectives
10. Exclusive use of postpositions
11. Richly grammaticalised evidential and epistemic systems
12. Grammaticalised intentionality via auxiliary verbs
13. Lexical contrast between controllable vs. non-controllable verbs
14. Absence of grammatical gender

These convergences situate Tshodrug securely within the Tibetic typological space, while the unresolved issues outlined above make it a promising testing ground for theories of clausal architecture, contact-induced change and discourse pragmatics.

6. Conclusion

Drawing on eighteen months of urban, remote and village-based fieldwork, this thesis assembles the first multi-speaker documentation of Tshodrug Tibetan and integrates it into a coherent analytical account. From the raw corpus—3 hours of audio, 1 500 elicited lexical items, 500 targeted morphosyntax sentences and 30 spontaneous narratives—900 lexical entries, 150 illustrative sentences and nine fully transcribed narratives have been incorporated into the body of the thesis. Each is phonetically transcribed, glossed and cross-referenced, supplying a reliable baseline for subsequent research and serving as a community resource.

Beyond filling a geographical gap in Tibetic studies, the analysis extends comparative work by confirming fourteen typological touchstones of Tibetic morphosyntax while foregrounding features—such as voiced post-aspirated obstruents, an emergent animacy-based DOM system, dual negation and an unusually rich discourse-particle inventory—that invite deeper theoretical treatment. The open-access corpus, electronic lexicon and structured grammatical description now in place equip phoneticians, typologists, sociolinguists and language-maintenance practitioners with the empirical tools necessary to refine phonological models, test morphosyntactic hypotheses and design revitalisation initiatives.

In short, the present study secures a lasting record of Tshodrug at a critical juncture of language shift, anchors it firmly within the Tibetic typological landscape and delineates clear empirical pathways—instrumental, experimental, conversational and sociolinguistic—for the next phase of inquiry.

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Appendix A: Tshodrug narratives

This appendix contains nine narratives selected to illustrate various linguistic and cultural features of the Tshodrug language. The texts represent a range of genres and communicative contexts and were chosen both for their linguistic value and for the cultural insights they offer.

The first group consists of three narratives on community practices: *Holidays in the Tshodrug Community*, *Community Funeral Practices*, and *Community Wedding Traditions*. These were included to document and preserve important cultural knowledge regarding local traditions. Notably, *Holidays in the Tshodrug Community* contains unusually long Christian holiday names, introduced to the region by missionaries in the last century. These names are segmented with dots in the transcription at intonational phrase boundaries but are not glossed word-by-word. While names such as Jesus or Maria are clear, the precise meanings of many other components remain uncertain. They are therefore presented as unanalyzed units in this thesis, but future research may benefit from tracing their etymology and integration into Tshodrug.

The second group includes two traditional stories: a local legend explaining the origin of the unexpectedly large number of cypress trees in the region, and a children's tale about a flea and a louse, offering a humorous explanation for the louse's dark-colored belly.

The third group features three narratives based on visual stimuli commonly used in linguistic fieldwork: *Frog, Where Are You?*, *A Hunting Story*, and *The Pear Story*. These were included for their potential value in future cross-linguistic or typological comparison.

Finally, this appendix includes an audiomessage sent by a community member to the researcher during the remote phase of fieldwork. It was selected because it features direct address to a second person—an interactional structure rarely captured in monologic texts and difficult to obtain in this context. As such, it was deemed valuable for inclusion in this collection.

All nine narratives were told by nine different speakers from the four villages that make up the Tshodrug community. Of these, five are women and four are men, ranging in age from 25 to 80 years old. All speakers gave written consent to have their stories published. However, due to consent-related limitations, no personal identifying information is shared in this thesis.

Each narrative was transcribed and glossed in collaboration with the primary language consultant. All morphemes are glossed, and each clause is followed by a free translation. In

addition, before the interlinear analysis of each narrative, a full English version of the story is provided. This version is lightly stylized according to natural English narrative conventions, with the aim of presenting a coherent and engaging account of the story as a whole. While it remains faithful to the original meaning, it is not a line-by-line translation, but rather a fluent retelling intended to help readers grasp the overall structure, tone, and narrative flow.

Text 1: Holidays in the Tshodrug Community

In our community, we have a tradition of celebrating the Chinese New Year. Then, in February, we also observe the Sanduo Festival, which comes from the Naxi people. Among all the holidays we celebrate, the Sanduo Festival is perhaps the one we could call a Tibetan holiday — wouldn't you agree? So traditionally, we celebrate that one too.

When it comes to religious holidays, Christmas is the biggest — we always celebrate it. After Christmas comes Easter, which is the second most important. Then we observe Ascension Day as the third, and the Assumption of Mary as the fourth. Following that, we celebrate the Annunciation. And after Christmas again, we also have Candlemas and the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus.

So, how many are there altogether? Well, there really are all kinds of holidays! Just among the religious ones, there are seven in total — seven Christian holidays that we keep.

As for our own local traditions, we mainly celebrate Chinese New Year and the Sanduo Festival in February. Other than those, we don't really have any other holidays of our own. We don't celebrate any other specifically Tibetan holidays. That's just how it is.

- (1) ékùʔ=tsʰǎ lósʰǎ d̄zi dʰǎ̄ bʰi jûʔ-rêʔ
 1NSG.IN=PL Chinese_New_Year INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 We have a custom of celebrating the Chinese New Year.
- (2) ŋī-bē=dɛ
 two-ORD=TOP
 In February,
- (3) n̄dz̄iʰō=gɛ ... d̄zi d̄z̄iʰǎ̄ lósʰǎ̄ d̄zi dʰǎ̄ bʰi jûʔ-rêʔ
 Naxi=GEN PAUS Sanduo_festival INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 we also celebrate the Sanduo Festival of the Naxi people.
- (4) ékùʔ=tsʰǎ̄ d̄z̄éz̄ȳ=dɛ ʔkʰù=lɿ é r̄ǎ̄
 1NSG.IN=PL holiday[ZH]=TOP DEM.DIST=ADD still
 Among our holidays, at least that one
- (5) píʔ=gɛ d̄z̄éz̄ȳ rêʔ shé é-ʔi-é
 Tibetan=GEN holiday[ZH] COP2 say Q-COP1-Q
 can be said to be a Tibetan holiday, right?
- (6) ʔí ʔkʰù d̄zi dʰǎ̄ bʰi jûʔ-rêʔ
 so DEM.DIST INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 So, traditionally, we celebrate that.

- (7) ʔí nət̪çùʔ=dɛ ...
 so religious_holiday=TOP PAUS
 Regarding religious holidays,
- (8) jésʰò.t̪sʰõ.nət̪çùʔ d̪zi dʰõ bʰi j̪ɰʔ-r̪ɛʔ
 Christmas INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 we always celebrate Christmas —
- (9) t̪çʰi-wê r̪ɛʔ
 big-SUP COP2
 that's the biggest.
- (10) ʔí kʰò t̪sʰẽ péʔ-kʰə-lə=dɣ ...
 so 3SG limit arrive-?-TEMP=COND PAUS
 After that,
- (11) jésʰò.jõ.sím̪b̪y̪.ʂõ.nət̪çùʔ d̪zi dʰõ bʰi j̪ɰʔ-r̪ɛʔ
 Easter INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 we traditionally celebrate Easter —
- (12) ŋī r̪ɛʔ
 two COP2
 that's the second one.
- (13) kʰò t̪sʰẽ péʔ-kʰə-lə
 3SG limit arrive-?-TEMP
 Next,
- (14) jésʰò.ŋə̌lə.ʂĩb̪y̪.nət̪çùʔ dʰõ bʰi j̪ɰʔ-r̪ɛʔ
 Ascension_Day celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 we celebrate Ascension Day —
- (15) s̪õ r̪ɛʔ
 three COP2
 that's the third one.
- (16) ʔí kʰò t̪sʰẽ péʔ-kʰə-lə ...
 so 3SG limit arrive-?-TEMP PAUS
 Then,
- (17) j̪õ.tém̪b̪h̪ẽ.mér̪ij̪ẽ.ŋə̌lə.kʰẽ.p̪h̪ẽ.nət̪çùʔ d̪zi dʰõ bʰi j̪ɰʔ-r̪ɛʔ
 Assumption_of_Mary INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
 we celebrate the Assumption of Mary —

- (18) zâ rê?
four COP2
that's the fourth one.
- (19) ʔí kʰò tsʰě péʔ-kʰə-lə ...
so 3SG limit arrive-?-TEMP PAUS
Next,
- (20) jó.témbʰě.mérījē.ŋə̃lə.kʰě.pʰě.nétçùʔ rêʔ-tʰúj-lə
Assumption_of_Mary COP2-PFV-TEMP
after the Assumption of Mary,
- (21) jó.témbʰě.mérījē.ǰěsē.dzùpʻ.nétçùʔ shé-mə dzì dʰš bʰì jûʔ-rêʔ
Annunciation say-NMZ1 INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
we celebrate what's called the Annunciation.
- (22) ʔí kʰò tsʰě péʔ-kʰə-lə jésʰò tsʰõ-tʰúj-lə ...
so 3SG limit arrive-?-TEMP Jesus be_born-PFV-TEMP PAUS
Following that, after Christmas,
- (23) jésʰò.tsʰě.débʻ.nétçùʔ jésʰò.ŋó.dégé.nétçùʔ dzézʻ dzì jûʔ-rêʔ
Candlemas Feast_of_Holy_Name holiday[ZH] INDF have.FACT-FACT
there are Candlemas and the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus.
- (24) ʔí kəziʔ nòʔ
so how_many have.VSEN
So, how many are there?
- (25) ēlè kʰò ŋʻkʰèʔdʻdʻkʰě ēmʻ nòʔ
well 3SG all_kinds_of surely have.VSEN
Well, there really are all kinds of them.
- (26) nétçùʔ=dε dʰě jûʔ-rêʔ
religious_holiday=TOP seven have.FACT-FACT
As for the religious holidays, there are seven.
- (27) ékùʔ=tsʰě=ge dʻdʻdʻbê=ge dzézʻ ŋʻkʰè dʰš jûʔ-rêʔ
1NSG.IN=PL=GEN Christian=GEN holiday[ZH] kind seven have.FACT-FACT
We have seven kinds of Christian holidays.
- (28) ʔí ékùʔ=tsʰě=dε lósʰě dzì
so 1NSG.IN=PL=TOP Chinese_New_Year INDF
Regarding our own holidays, it is customary to celebrate Chinese New Year,
- (29) ʔí ŋī-bē dzīdʻhʻlósʰě dzì dʰš bʰì jûʔ-rêʔ
so two-ORD Sanduo_festival INDF celebrate custom have.FACT-FACT
and in February, the Sanduo Festival.

- (30) túj ékùʔ=ts^hǎ dzézʔ né-nòʔ
 anymore 1NSG.IN=PL holiday[ZH] NEG2-have.VSEN
 We don't have any other holidays of our own.
- (31) píʔ=ge dzézʔ túj né-nòʔ
 Tibetan=GEN holiday[ZH] anymore NEG2-have.VSEN
 We don't have any other Tibetan holidays.
- (32) éⁿdž^hʔ ʔí
 like_this COP1
 It's like this.

Text 2: Community Funeral Practices

When a Christian is nearing irreversible death, it is customary for people from all the villages to come and help. Prayers are recited, and once the person has stopped breathing, everyone heats water to wash the body. After washing is completed, the deceased is placed in the designated resting place.

For as many evenings as the body remains—whether for three or four days—the community accompanies the deceased in shifts. Each evening, prayers are recited, and during the day, priests come to perform the Mass. That’s the tradition. As for washing the deceased, it is customary for everyone—so long as they are Christian—to help wash the body in this way.

Then comes the viewing. The exact time is determined either by the church representatives or, if not, by the local community leaders. Once the time is set, the viewing takes place. On the day of the viewing, people bring offerings of grain, and nowadays, a bit of money as well. After these offerings are made, it is also necessary to provide the attendees with food each day.

Before the viewing, preparations are carried out by all the villages—every Christian contributes to the work. When the time comes in the morning, the priests announce the time for the funeral procession—whether at eight or nine o’clock. At the appointed hour, the procession sets out for the mountain for the parting with the deceased. But before the departure, everyone is given food. For this meal, breakfast and lunch are combined and served as one.

Then, the deceased is carried. Everyone participates. While carrying the body, those who know how sing religious songs and walk at the front. Leading the procession are the priests, followed by the singers, and at the very front, the person carrying the cross.

Everyone takes turns carrying the deceased. Each carries as much as they are able. Those who can carry, must. They continue like this until they reach the cemetery. Those who cannot carry the deceased sing religious songs. Those who do carry—taking turns—carry the deceased with care and respect.

All the villages come to help. It remains this way even today. The customs in our region are truly admirable. When someone dies or falls ill—in these moments of hardship—everyone comes together. As long as they have time, people help as much as they can. If a family has no time at all, then of course there is no way. But otherwise, everyone who can help does so—even locking up their homes to join.

- (1) $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{y}d\grave{o}b\acute{e}}$ $m\grave{a}$ $g^h\acute{e}-\widehat{d\acute{z}i-l\grave{a}}=d\acute{y}$ $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}$ $j\acute{u}t\acute{s}^h\grave{o}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}$...
 Christian person pass_away-IRRV-TEMP=CONJ all village INDF PAUS
 When a Christian is near irreversible death,
- (2) $j\acute{u}t\acute{s}^h\grave{o}$ $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}=g\acute{e}$ $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{e}}$ $r\grave{u}?$ $d\grave{e}?$ b^hi $j\acute{u}?$ - $r\acute{e}?$
 village all=ERG DIR.PROX help give custom have.FACT-FACT
 it is customary for people from all the villages to come and help.
- (3) $g\acute{i}$ $^nd\acute{u}b^h\acute{e}$ $^nd\acute{u}$ $g\acute{i}$ $b\acute{o}g\widehat{t\acute{c}\acute{e}}$ $^nd\acute{z}i\acute{e}?$ - $k^h\acute{a}-t^h\acute{u}j-l\grave{a}$ $g\acute{i}$...
 so prayer recite so stop_breathing finish-?-PFV-TEMP so PAUS
 So, they recite prayers, and after the person stops breathing,
- (4) $p^h\acute{y}^mb^h\acute{y}$ $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}=l\acute{y}$ $\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{e}}$ $j\acute{e}$ $\widehat{t\acute{s}\acute{e}}$ $s^h\acute{e}$ $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$...
 deceased all=ADD water DIR.UP heat DIR.DOWN wash PAUS
 everyone heats water for the deceased, washes the body,
- (5) $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}=g\acute{e}$ $s^h\acute{e}$ $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$ $^nd\acute{z}i\acute{e}?$ - $k^h\acute{a}-t^h\acute{u}j-l\grave{a}$
 all=ERG DIR.DOWN wash finish-?-PFV-TEMP
 and once they've finished washing,
- (6) $g\acute{i}$ $p^h\acute{y}^mb^h\acute{y}$... $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}$ $z\acute{e}?$ - $s^h\acute{e}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}=n\acute{a}$ $p^h\acute{e}$ $z\acute{e}?$
 so deceased PAUS all place-NMZ3 INDF=LOC DIR.DIST place
 they place the deceased in the designated resting place.
- (7) $g\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}n\grave{u}?$ $\acute{s}\grave{u}$... $kw\acute{e}^nd\acute{z}i$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i\acute{o}?$ - $s^h\acute{i}?$ $s^h\acute{o}-g^h\acute{u}-r\acute{e}?$
 so this_evening every PAUS swap launch-CVB guard-NEC-FACT
 All these evenings, they accompany the deceased by taking turns.
- (8) $n\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ $s\acute{o}$ $z\acute{e}?$ - $n\acute{y}$ $z\acute{e}?$ $n\acute{e}m\acute{e}$ $z\acute{a}$ $z\acute{e}?$ - $n\acute{y}$ $z\acute{e}?$
 day three place-COND place day four place-COND place
 If the body is put for three days, then three days; if it's put for four days, then four days.
- (9) $g\acute{i}$ $p^h\acute{e}$ $z\acute{e}?$ - $t^h\acute{u}j-l\grave{a}$ $g\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}n\grave{u}?$ $\acute{s}\grave{u}$ $^nd\acute{u}b^h\acute{e}$ $^nd\acute{u}$
 so DIR.DIST place-PFV-TEMP so this_evening every prayer recite
 So, after the body is placed, people recite prayers every evening,
- (10) $n\acute{e}m\acute{e}=n\acute{a}$ $g\acute{i}$ $s\acute{i}^nd\acute{z}^h\acute{e}$ $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}=g\acute{e}$ $m\acute{i}s\acute{e}?$ $z^h\acute{o}?$
 day=LOC so priest all=ERG Mass make
 and during the day, the priests come to perform the Mass.
- (11) $g\acute{i}$ $\acute{e}^nd\acute{z}^h\acute{y}$ $j\acute{e}?$ = $d\acute{y}$ $g\acute{i}$ $p^h\acute{y}^mb^h\acute{y}=l\acute{y}$ $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$ $s^h\acute{e}-n\acute{y}=d\acute{y}$
 so like_this do=CONJ so deceased=ADD wash say-COND=CONJ
 That's how it's done, and if we talk about washing the deceased
- (12) $k\acute{o}g\grave{i}=g\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}^nd\acute{z}^h\acute{y}$... $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{y}d\grave{o}b\acute{e}}$ $g\acute{i}-n\acute{y}$
 all=ERG like_this PAUS Christian COP1-COND
 everyone—if they are Christian—

- (13) $\widehat{ts}^h\bar{e}$ $p^h\bar{e}$ $\acute{e}^n\widehat{d}\acute{z}^h\bar{y}$ $\widehat{t}\bar{s}^h\bar{y}$
 DIR.PROX DIR.DIST like_this wash
 traditionally help wash one another like that.
- (14) $\gamma\acute{í}$ $^n\widehat{d}\acute{z}i\acute{s}\gamma\bar{t}^h\bar{u}$ $j\acute{e}?$... $\widehat{d}\acute{z}i\acute{u}\bar{t}^h\bar{i}$ $\bar{s}\acute{y}\widehat{d}\bar{z}\bar{e}=d\bar{e}$...
 so viewing do PAUS exact[ZH] time[ZH]=TOP PAUS
 Then, the viewing is done. As for the exact time,
- (15) $m\acute{e}^ng^h\bar{y}$ $\acute{e}^n\widehat{d}\acute{z}^h\bar{y}$...
 as_well like_this PAUS
 it goes like this:
- (16) $\widehat{d}\bar{z}i\bar{e}ox\bar{u}j=n\bar{a}$ $^m\bar{b}\acute{e}\gamma=g\bar{e}$ $g\bar{u}j\bar{d}\bar{i}$ $j\acute{e}?$
 church[ZH]=LOC representative=ERG regulation[ZH] do
 the church representatives set the regulations;
- (17) $m\acute{i}-n\bar{y}$ $s^j\bar{e}od\bar{i}=n\bar{a}$ $^m\bar{b}\acute{e}\gamma=g\bar{e}$ $g\bar{u}j\bar{d}\bar{i}$ $j\acute{e}?$
 NEG.COP1-COND small_settlement[ZH]=LOC representative=ERG regulation[ZH] do
 otherwise, the representatives of the local settlement do.
- (18) $g\bar{u}j\bar{d}\bar{i}$ $j\acute{e}?\bar{t}^h\acute{u}j\bar{l}\bar{a}$ $\gamma\acute{í}$...
 regulation[ZH] do-PFV-TEMP so PAUS
 So, once the regulation is set,
- (19) $\gamma\acute{í}$ $^n\widehat{d}\acute{z}i\acute{s}\gamma\bar{t}^h\bar{u}$ $j\acute{e}?$... $^n\widehat{d}\acute{z}i\acute{s}\gamma\bar{t}^h\bar{u}$ $j\acute{e}?\bar{k}^h\bar{a}=d\bar{y}$ $n\acute{e}=d\bar{e}$ $\gamma\acute{í}$...
 so viewing do PAUS viewing do-?=CONJ day=TOP so PAUS
 the viewing takes place. On the day of the viewing,
- (20) $t^h\bar{u}$ $\bar{b}\acute{e}?$ $k^h\bar{e}$ $\gamma\acute{í}$... $\widehat{ts}\acute{e}\widehat{d}\bar{z}^h\bar{i}$ $k^h\bar{e}$
 grain carry_on_back bring so PAUS grain bring
 people bring grains,
- (21) $\acute{e}s\bar{v}=d\bar{e}$ $\eta\bar{a}$ $l\acute{a}l\bar{e}b\bar{y}j\bar{e}$ $k^h\bar{e}-r\acute{e}?$
 nowadays money a_little bring-FACT
 and nowadays they also bring a bit of money.
- (22) $\gamma\acute{í}$ $k^h\bar{e}$ $^n\widehat{d}\bar{z}i\acute{e}\gamma\bar{t}^h\acute{u}j\bar{l}\bar{a}=d\bar{y}$ $\gamma\acute{í}$...
 so bring finish-PFV-TEMP=CONJ so PAUS
 So, after they finish bringing the offerings,
- (23) $\gamma\acute{í}$... $n\acute{e}m\bar{e}$ $r\acute{y}r\acute{e}$... $w\acute{o}$ $s\acute{e}=l\bar{y}$ $p^h\bar{e}$ $d\acute{e}?\bar{g}^h\bar{u}-r\acute{e}?$
 so PAUS day each PAUS again food=ADD DIR.DIST give-NEC-FACT
 it is also necessary to provide them with food each day.
- (24) $^n\widehat{d}\acute{z}i\acute{s}\gamma\bar{t}^h\bar{u}$ $m\acute{e}-j\acute{e}?\bar{k}^h\bar{a}=d\bar{y}$ $m\acute{e}^ng^h\bar{y}$ $\widehat{d}\bar{z}\acute{o}\widehat{d}\bar{z}i?$ $j\acute{e}?$
 viewing NEG1-do-?=CONJ as_well preparation do
 Before the viewing takes place, preparations are also made.

- (25) jútshò kóʔĩ=gε tsʰē rùʔ d̥z̥dòʔbê kóʔĩ=gε tsʰē rùʔ dèʔ
village all=ERG DIR.PROX help Christian all=ERG DIR.PROX help give
All the villages and all the Christians help.
- (26) tsʰē rùʔ dèʔ-tʰúj-lə ʔí ...
DIR.PROX help give-PFV-TEMP so PAUS
After the help has been given,
- (27) ʔí s̥ʔdzē tòʔ-tʰúj-lə d̥z̥əʔs̥ē ...
so time[ZH] reach-PFV-TEMP morning[ZH] PAUS
when the time comes in the morning,
- (28) s̥ĩndzʰē=tsʰē=gε d̥ziú d̥ě=nə t̥çʰi-zì sʰé
priest=PL=ERG nine[ZH] hour[ZH]=LOC escort-INTL say
the priests say to escort the deceased at nine
- (29) bē d̥ě=nə t̥çʰi-zì sʰé
eight[ZH] hour[ZH]=LOC escort-INTL say
or at eight.
- (30) gūjd̥ s̥ʔdzē=nə t̥ýrē ...
appointed[ZH] time[ZH]=LOC at_that_time PAUS
At the appointed time,
- (31) rá=nə sʰèʔ-kʰə wó-gʰǎ-rêʔ
mountain=LOC separate-? move-NEC-FACT
they must set off to the mountain for the parting with the deceased.
- (32) rá=nə mé-sʰèʔ k̥ǒ=dɿ
mountain=LOC NEG1-separate before=CONJ
But before the parting at the mountain,
- (33) wóʔâ s̥é s̥ýtòʔ d̥zi pʰē dèʔ
still food plate INDF DIR.DIST give
everyone is still given some food.
- (34) s̥ʔm̥ē=dε ... s̥ʔdz̥iʰē=dɿ n̥dz̥ézʰē d̥z̥èʔ sʰé=dɿ
meal=TOP PAUS breakfast=CONJ lunch combine say=CONJ
For the meal, they combine breakfast and lunch
- (35) éndz̥ʰɿ d̥zi dèʔ-gʰǎ-rêʔ
like_this INDF give-NEC-FACT
and are required to serve it like that.
- (36) ʔí m̥ə kóʔĩ=gε tsʰē b̥èʔ-kʰə-wó
so person all=ERG DIR.PROX carry_on_back-?-MOV
Then, everyone carries the deceased on their backs.

- (37) bêʔ-kʰə-lə kóʔi=ge ēlè ...
 carry_on_back-?-TEMP all=ERG well PAUS
 While they're carrying him, everyone—well,
- (38) lúlě dʒʰǝ-sʰi-mə
 religious_song sing-KNOW-NMZ1
 those who know how to sing religious songs—
- (39) xēngʰō lúlě dʒʰǝ ... pʰē wó
 at_the_front religious_song sing PAUS DIR.DIST move
 sing as they walk at the front.
- (40) xēngʰō=dε sīndʒʰè kóʔi wó
 at_the_front=TOP priest all move
 At the front walk the priests,
- (41) ʒí tsʰě péʔ-lə=dɿ ... lúlě dʒʰǝ-mə wó
 so limit arrive-TEMP=CONJ PAUS religious_song sing-NMZ1 move
 then those who sing religious songs,
- (42) dzédʒʰě dzìèʔ-mə pʰēméjèʔ wó
 cross carry-NMZ1 at_the_very_beginning move
 and the one carrying the cross walks at the very beginning.
- (43) kóʔi=ge lúnliù jéʔ=dɿ bêʔ
 all=ERG in_turn[ZH] do=CONJ carry_on_back
 Everyone takes turns carrying the deceased.
- (44) ró dzʰǝlɿdzʰǝtsùj dzʰɿ bêʔ
 self as_much_as_can approximately carry_on_back
 Each person carries as much as they can.
- (45) bêʔ-dʒʰǝ-mə=dε ídʒèʔ=dε bêʔ-gʰǝ-réʔ
 carry_on_back-ABIL-NMZ1=TOP all=TOP carry_on_back-NEC-FACT
 Those who are able must all carry.
- (46) ró sē téᵐbʰē né-tòʔ-kʰə dʒè bêʔ
 self land holy NEG2-reach-? until carry_on_back
 They carry the deceased until they reach the cemetery.
- (47) éndʒʰɿ wó-gʰǝ-réʔ
 like_this move-NEC-FACT
 They must walk like this until then.
- (48) ʒí lúlě dʒʰǝ-dʒʰǝ-mə lúlě dʒʰǝ
 so religious_song sing-ABIL-NMZ1 religious_song sing
 So, those who can sing religious songs, sing.

- (49) bêʔ-né-dz^hē-mà kóʔī=ge=dε lúlǐē dǔ^hǎ⁵
 carry_on_back-NEG2-ABIL-NMZ1 all=ERG=TOP religious_song sing
 Those who cannot carry the deceased, all sing religious songs.
- (50) ʔí ... p^hǎ^mb^hǎ bêʔ-mà lúnliù jêʔ-ts^hâ-mà
 so PAUS deceased carry_on_back-NMZ1 in_turn[ZH] do-CONT-NMZ1
 Those who carry the deceased—those who take turns doing so—
- (51) éⁿdǔ^hǎ bêʔ-k^hǎ-rêʔ
 like_this carry_on_back-?-FACT
 carry the deceased in this way.
- (52) jút^hts^hò kóʔī=ge ts^hē rùʔ dèʔ-zì-rêʔ èlè ...
 village all=ERG DIR.PROX help give-INTL-FACT well FACT
 All the villages come to help.
- (53) p^héⁿg^hǎ é^sǎ=lx éⁿdǔ^hǎ rêʔ
 as_well nowadays=ADD like_this COP2
 It's still like this today.
- (54) néⁿdǔ^hǎj=dε pǎ^htsǎ shé-g^hǎ-rêʔ n^dhé ló^mb^hē=dε
 custom=TOP excellent say-NEC-FACT here region=TOP
 It's necessary to say that the customs here in our region are excellent.
- (55) ʔô ʂǎ nǎ^hts^hē ...
 person die fall_ill PAUS
 When someone dies or falls ill—
- (56) éⁿdǔ^hǎ fǐ^mǎ=dε dék^hē dóp^hù shé-z^hǎ
 like_this aspect[ZH]=TOP family hardship say-NMZ4
 in aspects like these, so-called family hardships—
- (57) kóʔī=ge éⁿdǔ^hǎ ...
 all=ERG like_this PAUS
 everyone,
- (58) tǎ^hǎdzǎ^hēgǎ^hdzǎ^hē éⁿdǔ^hǎ rùʔ jêʔ b^hǎ jùʔ-rêʔ èlè
 as_much_as_can like_this help do custom have.FACT-FACT well
 according to tradition, helps as much as they can.
- (59) dék^hē=dε tǎ^hs^hǎ=dε mé-tǎ^hǎ-dzǎ^h-nǎ bǎⁿfē nè
 family=TOP at_all=TOP NEG1-have_time-IRR-COND solution[ZH] NEG.have.FACT
 If a family has absolutely no time, then there's no way.
- (60) m^bǎ^htsǎ^hē=dε ... tǎ^hǎ-mà íⁿdǔ^hǎ=dε ...
 otherwise=TOP PAUS have_time-NMZ1 all=TOP FACT
 Otherwise, everyone who has time

(61) dék^hē g^hó dzíêʔ-k^hə-s^hiʔ=dɿ wó rùʔ jêʔ-g^hǣ-rêʔ éⁿdž^hǿ

family door close-?-CVB=CONJ move help give-NEC-FACT like_this

must come help like this, by closing the doors of their homes.

Text 3: Community Wedding Traditions

Well, it has turned into something like a historical narrative. As part of weddings, there is someone among us called a matchmaker. Regarding the matchmaker, regardless of whether the man goes to join the woman's family as a husband, or the woman goes to join the man's family as a wife, the so-called matchmaker has the task of going to welcome the other side.

As for the escort party, again according to tradition, if the woman is the one going to join the man's family, then the escort party has the task of escorting her from behind. And if the man is the one going, then there is a tradition like this of the escort party accompanying him.

Once the future wife arrives at the home of the future husband, it is said there's a custom in which the matchmaker can take the escort party to the backyard to enjoy the sun.

After it reaches that point, the remaining work becomes the responsibility of the coordinators who were invited to help the family. The role of the coordinators—depending on how many people are expected on that day—is to manage everything. That's their task.

The escort party traditionally consists of the highest-ranking chiefs. At that time, they serve as the escort party. When wish songs are sung on that day, the escort party also sings first. They sing at the head of the wedding table. Once the wedding table has been set, the escort party must be seated at its head. And so, it's the escort party who begin the singing.

Only then do the coordinators sing, and only after them do the guests join in. So, if the escort party at the head of the table has completely finished singing, then when it comes to the middle of the wedding table, it is customary for the guests to sing. When it comes to the end of the wedding table, the guests sing again as well.

Next, when the time comes to prepare to serve dinner, it is once again the coordinators' duty. When the meal is about to be served, and after the wish song for good fortune has been sung, the newlyweds are escorted into the house.

There are usually five or six coordinators. About three of them take a shift in the meal-serving area, and the other three or so take a shift at the wedding table. After arriving at the meal area, there is a custom for the newlyweds to drink toasts with everyone. This custom is practiced today and was the same in the past.

To express gratitude to all the people—to all the guests—for their efforts, the newlyweds go around toasting with everyone. There's also a tradition of playing all kinds of games.

Then, when evening arrives, it's time for the traditional slow-paced dance. Before the dance begins, there is a custom to sing a wish song for good fortune. There's a song wishing

happiness, a song wishing many gatherings, a song wishing peace, a song wishing family wealth. After all of those are sung, only then—once the song for good fortune has been sung—does the traditional slow-paced dance begin. It's at that moment, just before the dancing starts, that this song is performed.

Once the song is sung, all the women traditionally carry out trays, don't they? On the trays, they place glasses of alcohol, lay ceremonial white scarves, and invite all the men—all the grandfathers, don't they—down to dance for good fortune. All the women must welcome the men.

Once everyone has been welcomed down, they call for forming a circle of good fortune, and only then does the traditional slow-paced dancing begin. There is a custom to dance like this. This is our understanding of a wedding.

(1) ēlè ... k^hò=dε η̄x̄d^hē éⁿd̄zē rê?-t^húj-rê?
 well PAUS 3SG=TOP history like become-PFV-FACT
 Well, it has turned into something like a historical narrative.

(2) k^hò=gε dīṃà=gε jē=nə=dɣ
 3SG=GEN wedding=GEN part=LOC=CONJ
 As part of weddings,

(3) ékù?=gε ... péb^hē s^hé-mà d̄zi ⁿdô?-rê?
 1NSG=GEN PAUS matchmaker say-NMZ1 INDF be-FACT
 there is someone called a matchmaker among us.

(4) péb^hē=dε m̄x̄g^hwē wó ʔî xěo
 matchmaker=TOP husband move COP1 whether[ZH]
 As for the matchmaker, regardless of whether the man goes to join the woman's family as a husband

(5) n̄x̄ṃē ... wó ʔî xěo=dɣ ...
 wife PAUS move COP1 whether[ZH]=CONJ PAUS
 or the woman goes to join the man's family as a wife,

(6) péb^hē s^hé-mà k^hò=dε
 matchmaker say-NMZ1 3SG=TOP
 the so-called matchmaker

(7) ɔk^hù=dε s̄ wó-mà=gε lék^hē d̄zi j̄ê?-rê?
 DEM.DIST=TOP welcome move-NMZ1=GEN work INDF have.FACT-FACT
 has the task of going to welcome the other side.

- (8) ēlè pēt̃hì kʰò=dε ... ñd̃zúlòʔ=dε wó ...
 well escort_party DEF=TOP PAUS tradition=TOP again PAUS
 Regarding the escort party, again according to tradition,
- (9) ēlè ... ñm̃ē wó-mà ʔí-nɣ ñm̃ē pʰē d̃z̃ɔ̃tʰē
 well PAUS wife move-NMZ1 COP1-COND wife DIR.DIST behind
 if the woman is the one going to join the man's family as a wife,
- (10) pʰē t̃hì-wó-mà=gε lékʰē d̃z̃ì j̃t̃ʔ-r̃êʔ
 DIR.DIST escort-MOV-NMZ1=GEN work INDF have.FACT-FACT
 then the escort party has the task of escorting her from behind.
- (11) ʔí m̃gʰwē wó-nɣ-lə m̃gʰwē pʰē t̃hì-wó-mà
 so husband move-COND-TEMP husband DIR.DIST escort-MOV-NMZ1
 And so, if it's the husband who is going,
- (12) pēt̃hì=gε ñd̃zúlòʔ=dε éⁿd̃z̃h̃ ʔí j̃t̃ʔ-r̃êʔ
 escort_party=GEN tradition=TOP like_this INDF have.FACT-FACT
 then there is a tradition of the escort party accompanying the man like this.
- (13) ñm̃ē ts̃h̃əŋɔ̃ péʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɣ ...
 wife at_home arrive-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 After the future wife arrives at the home of the future husband,
- (14) pébʰē t̃s̃óⁿd̃z̃ɔ̃ʔ néŋm̃ē=gε g̃êʔ-t̃çùʔ sh̃é bʰì j̃t̃ʔ-r̃êʔ
 matchmaker backyard sun=INS tan-PERM say custom have.FACT-FACT
 it is said there's a custom where the matchmaker takes the escort party to the backyard to
 enjoy the sun.
- (15) ēlè ŋə̃ péʔ-lə=dɣ té lékʰē=dε
 well there arrive-TEMP=CONJ then work=TOP
 After it comes to this point, the remaining work is now
- (16) dékʰē ts̃h̃ē rùʔ d̃z̃h̃-t̃s̃h̃ə-mà=gε d̃z̃òlì=gε j̃ē r̃êʔ
 family DIR.PROX help ask-CONT-NMZ1=GEN coordinator[ZH]=GEN part COP2
 the responsibility of the coordinators who were invited to help the family.
- (17) ʔí d̃z̃òlì=gε lékʰē ...
 so coordinator[ZH]=GEN work PAUS
 So, the work of the coordinators is—
- (18) éŋ m̃d̃z̃h̃ē kázìʔ ñd̃ɔ̃ʔ sh̃é-mà kʰò=dε ...
 today headcount how_much be say-NMZ1 DEF=TOP PAUS
 based on however many people are expected that day—

- (19) ēlè dzṑlì=gε d̄z̄x̄ùj=dε kʰò=gε jêʔ-gʰmà rêʔ
 well coordinator[ZH]=ERG supervision[ZH]=TOP 3SG=ERG do-NEC-NMZ1 COP2
 well, managing everything is what the coordinators must do.
- (20) ēlè pʰɪbʰɣ̣ t̄çʰí-wê=dε p̄étçʰì sʰé bʰì j̄úʔ-rêʔ
 well chief big-SUP=TOP escort_party say custom have.FACT-FACT
 The escort party is traditionally the highest-ranking chiefs.
- (21) t̄ýrē=dε p̄étçʰì
 at_that_time=TOP escort_party
 At that time, they are the escort party.
- (22) éɲ̄ ɭ̄ɣ̄ ɭ̄ō-nɣ-lə tómbʰɣ̄ pʰéngʰɣ̄ p̄étçʰì=gε ɭ̄ō
 today wish_song sing-COND-TEMP first as_well escort_party=ERG sing
 When songs of good wishes are sung this day, the escort party also sings first.
- (23) d̄z̄ʰí ngʰò p̄étçʰì=gε ɭ̄ɣ̄ ɭ̄ō
 wedding_table head escort_party=ERG wish_song sing
 They sing at the head of the wedding table.
- (24) d̄z̄ʰí=ɭv pʰē d̄z̄ʔ-tʰúj-lə
 wedding_table=ADD DIR.DIST set-PFV-TEMP
 Once the wedding table has been set,
- (25) p̄étçʰì=dε jé ... d̄z̄ʰí ngʰò d̄z̄ʔ-gʰm-rêʔ
 escort_party=TOP DIR.UP PAUS wedding_table head seat-NEC-FACT
 the escort party must be seated at its head.
- (26) ʔí ɭ̄ɣ̄ ɭ̄ō-mà p̄étçʰì=gε k̄ej̄sì jêʔ=dɣ̄ ɭ̄ō
 so wish_song sing-NMZ1 escort_party=ERG start[ZH] do=CONJ sing
 And so, it is the escort party who begin singing first.
- (27) ʔí m̄ýngʰē ... d̄z̄ṑlì=gε ɭ̄ō ...
 so only_then PAUS coordinator[ZH]=ERG sing PAUS
 Only then do the coordinators sing,
- (28) m̄ýngʰē n̄d̄z̄ipʰɣ̄=gε ɭ̄ō
 only_then guest=ERG sing
 and only after them do the guests sing.
- (29) p̄étçʰì=gε d̄z̄ʰí ngʰò ɭ̄ō-d̄z̄i-tʰúj-nɣ=dɣ̄ ...
 escort_party=ERG wedding_table head sing-IRR-TEMP-COND=CONJ PAUS
 So, if the escort party at the head of the wedding table has completely finished singing,
- (30) té kʰò t̄sʰē péʔ-lə
 then 3SG limit arrive-TEMP
 after that,

- (31) $\widehat{d\acute{z}h\acute{i}}$ $g\acute{e}?\text{-}n\acute{a}$ $s^h\acute{e}$ $p\acute{e}?\text{-}l\acute{a}=\text{d}\nu$
 wedding_table middle=LOC DIR.DOWN arrive-TEMP=CONJ
 when it comes to the middle of the wedding table,
- (32) $^n\widehat{d\acute{z}i}p^h\acute{y}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $l\acute{y}$ $l\acute{o}$ $b^h\acute{i}$ $j\acute{u}?\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 guest=ERG wish_song sing custom have.FACT-FACT
 it is customary for the guests to sing.
- (33) $\acute{r}\acute{i}$ $s^h\acute{e}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}h\acute{i}}$ $^n\text{g}\acute{y}$ $p\acute{e}?\text{-}l\acute{a}$
 so DIR.DOWN wedding_table end arrive-TEMP
 When it comes to the end of the wedding table,
- (34) $p^h\acute{e}^n\text{g}^h\acute{y}$ $^n\widehat{d\acute{z}i}p^h\acute{y}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $l\acute{o}$
 as_well guest=ERG sing
 the guests sing again as well.
- (35) $\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ $k^h\acute{o}$ $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{e}}$ $p\acute{e}?\text{-}l\acute{a}=\text{d}\nu$...
 well 3SG limit arrive-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 Next,
- (36) $\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ $s^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{y}$ $s\acute{y}m\acute{e}$ $d\acute{e}?$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{o}d\acute{z}i}?$ $k^h\acute{o}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $\acute{s}\acute{y}d\acute{z}\acute{e}$ $t\acute{o}?\text{-}k^h\acute{a}\text{-}l\acute{a}$
 well evening meal give preparation DEF=GEN time[ZH] reach-?-TEMP
 once the time to prepare to serve dinner comes,
- (37) $w\acute{o}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{o}l\acute{i}}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $z\acute{e}w\acute{u}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}$ $j\acute{u}?\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 again coordinator[ZH]=GEN duty[ZH] INDF have.FACT-FACT
 it is again the duty of the coordinators.
- (38) $\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ $s\acute{y}m\acute{e}$ $d\acute{e}?\text{-}\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{i}}\text{-}k^h\acute{a}\text{-}l\acute{a}$...
 well meal give-INTL-?-TEMP PAUS
 When the meal is about to be served,
- (39) $j\acute{o}$ $l\acute{y}$ $p^h\acute{e}$ $l\acute{o}\text{-}t^h\acute{u}j\text{-}l\acute{a}$
 good_fortune wish_song DIR.DIST sing-PFV-TEMP
 and once the song wishing good fortune has been sung,
- (40) $p\acute{y}n\acute{u}\acute{e}$ $n\acute{i}=\text{l}\nu$ $p^h\acute{e}$ $\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{i}}\text{-}k^h\acute{a}\text{-}w\acute{o}$
 newlyweds two=ADD DIR.DIST escort-?-MOV
 the newlyweds are both escorted into the house.
- (41) $\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{o}l\acute{i}}=\text{d}\epsilon$ $n\acute{e}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{o}}?$ $^n\text{d}\acute{o}?\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
 well coordinator[ZH]=TOP five six be-FACT
 There are usually five or six coordinators.
- (42) $\acute{r}\acute{i}$ $s\acute{o}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}^h\acute{y}}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}=\text{d}\epsilon$ $p^h\acute{e}$ $s\acute{y}m\acute{e}=\text{n}\acute{a}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}w\acute{e}}$
 so three approximately INDF=TOP DIR.DIST meal=LOC shift[ZH]
 About three of them take a shift at the meal-serving area,

- (43) sō d̄zʰȳ d̄zi tsʰē d̄zʰí=nə d̄zʰwē
 three approximately INDF DIR.PROX wedding_table=LOC shift[ZH]
 while the other three or so take a shift at the wedding table.
- (44) ēlè pʰē s̄ym̄ē=nə péʔ-kʰə-tʰúj-lə ...
 well DIR.DIST meal=LOC arrive-?-PFV-TEMP PAUS
 After arriving at the meal-serving area,
- (45) p̄ȳŋē ŋī kʰò=dε d̄z̄ídz̄ìù jêʔ bʰì j̄úʔ
 newlyweds two DEF=TOP drink_a_toast[ZH] do custom have.FACT
 it's customary for the newlyweds to drink toasts with everyone.
- (46) éss̄ d̄z̄ídz̄ìù=lɿ jêʔ bʰì j̄úʔ-rêʔ
 nowadays drink_a_toast[ZH]=ADD do custom have.FACT-FACT
 There is a custom to do this nowadays,
- (47) t̄ȳrē=lɿ éⁿd̄zʰȳ rêʔ
 at_that_time=ADD like_this COP2
 and it was like this in the past too.
- (48) m̄ə kóʔī ... ⁿd̄z̄īpʰȳ kóʔī d̄óʔtʰékētʰê síkèʔ jêʔ=dɿ
 person all PAUS guest all work_hard meaning do=CONJ
 To express gratitude to all the people, to all the guests, for their efforts,
- (49) p̄ȳŋē ŋī=gε d̄z̄ídz̄ìù jêʔ bʰì j̄úʔ
 newlyweds two=ERG drink_a_toast[ZH] do custom have.FACT
 the newlyweds customarily go around toasting with everyone.
- (50) ʔí éⁿd̄zʰȳ ... tsʰélèʔ d̄z̄īm̄ȳ jêʔ-sʰē ⁿd̄z̄úlòʔ=dε éⁿd̄zʰȳ rêʔ
 so like_this PAUS game game do-NMZ3 tradition=TOP like_this COP2
 There is also a tradition of playing all sorts of games.
- (51) ēlè sʰēgʰȳ=nə péʔ-lə=dɿ t́é ...
 well evening=LOC arrive-TEMP=CONJ then PAUS
 Then, when evening comes,
- (52) t̄ȳrē=dε d̄z̄ō t̄çʰē
 at_that_time=TOP slow_paced_dancing dance
 it is time for the traditional slow-paced dancing.
- (53) t̄çʰē-t̄çʰì-mə kʰò tóⁿgʰò=dε
 dance-INTL-NMZ1 DEF previously=TOP
 Before the dancing begins,
- (54) j̄ō l̄ȳ l̄ō bʰì j̄úʔ-rêʔ
 good_fortune wish_song sing custom have.FACT_FACT
 there is a custom to sing a song wishing good fortune.

- (55) s^hī ǰǎ ǰō n^hdz^hū ǰǎ ǰō ...
happiness wish_song sing gathering song sing PAUS
There's a song wishing happiness, a song wishing frequent gatherings,
- (56) dī ǰǎ ǰō ... dék^hē=ge ʂó ǰǎ ǰō
peace wish_song sing PAUS family=GEN wealth song sing
a song wishing peace, a song wishing wealth for the family.
- (57) ʂk^hù ... n^hdzi^hêʔ-t^húj-lə ...
DEM.DIST PAUS finish-PFV-TEMP PAUS
After all of those are sung,
- (58) m^hǎⁿg^hē jō ǰǎ ... p^hē ǰō-t^húj-lə
only_then good_fortune wish_song PAUS DIR.DIST sing-PFV-TEMP
only then—once the wish song for good fortune is sung—
- (59) ʔí jō d̄zō kējʂì jêʔ=dɿ
so good_fortune slow_paced_dancing start[ZH] do=CONJ
does the traditional slow-paced dance for good fortune begin;
- (60) t^hǎ^rē t̄^hē-t̄^hì-mà=ge ǰǎ d̄zi jêʔ-rêʔ
at_that_time dance-INTL-NMZ1=GEN wish_song one have.FACT-FACT
it's at that time, just before the dancing starts, that this song is performed.
- (61) ʂk^hù p^hē ǰō-t^húj-lə té ... pōnèʔ t̄s̄m̄ē=ge ...
DEM.DIST DIR.DIST sing-PFV-TEMP then PAUS woman all=ERG PAUS
After this song is sung, all the women
- (62) t̄ʂ̄p^hēn d̄zi d̄zi^hèʔ b^hì jêʔ-rêʔ é-ʔí-é
tray[ZH] INDF carry custom have.FACT_FACT Q-COP1-Q
traditionally carry out trays, don't they?
- (63) t̄ʂ̄p^hēn=nə s^hē ... érèʔ pējdzǎ s^hē zêʔ
tray[ZH] DIR.DOWN PAUS alcohol glass[ZH] DIR.DOWN place
On the trays, they place glasses of alcohol,
- (64) kādèʔ d̄zi s^hē t̄ʂ̄=dɿ ...
ceremonial_white_scarf INDF DIR.DOWN lay=CONJ PAUS
lay ceremonial white scarves, and
- (65) p^hǎ^rt̄s̄érèròʔ kóʔí ... é^mī=t̄s̄^hē=t̄s̄^hǎ é-ʔí-é
man all PAUS grandfather=PL=DAT Q-COP1-Q
they invite all the men— all the grandfathers, don't they—

- (66) jǒ s^hē s^hŭ-rù?
 good_fortune DIR.DOWN invite-POL
 down to dance for good fortune.
- (67) p^hŷŋ^hŷréròʔ=gε s^hŷ-g^hŭ-rê?
 woman=ERG welcome-NEC-FACT
 All the women must welcome the men.
- (68) ʔí s^hē s^hŷ-t^hŷj-lə t^hé ...
 so DIR.DOWN welcome-PFV-TEMP then PAUS
 Once they've welcomed everyone down,
- (69) jǒ r^hè-g^hŭ s^hé=d^h
 good_fortune make_circle-NEC say=CONJ
 they call for forming a circle of good fortune, and
- (70) m^hŷ^hg^hē jǒ d^hzō k^hējsì m^hŷ^hg^hē t^hŷ^hē
 only_then good_fortune slow_paced_dancing start[ZH] only_then dance
 only then do they begin the traditional slow-paced dance for good fortune.
- (71) é^hŋ^hd^hz^hŷ d^hzì t^hŷ^hē b^hŷi j^hŷʔ-rê?
 like_this INDF dance custom have.FACT-FACT
 There is a custom to dance this way.
- (72) dīm^hə=gε k^hó^hk^hè=dε é^hŋ^hd^hz^hŷ d^hzì rê?
 wedding=GEN understanding=TOP like_this INDF COP2
 This is our understanding of a wedding.

Text 4: The Legend of the Cypress Trees

Once upon a time: first, there was the Potala Palace in Lhasa; second, there was a raven in the sky; and third, there were cypress trees by the Lancang River.

After hearing someone say the Potala Palace was being renovated, the cypresses thought about it. Having heard it said that way, the cypresses formed a group. From up across here, they decided to go help with the renovation.

Once they had set off and reached halfway, a raven called out, “Hey, buddy, you’re escorting all these folks like this—where are you going?”

The cypress replied, “We heard someone say the Potala Palace in Lhasa is being renovated, so we’re going to help with the renovation.”

But the raven tricked them. “Oh, you’re only going now? I heard the renovation is already finished! Even if you reach it, what meaning will it have?”

The cypress believed him. It turned back and said to the others down below: “What a pity, friends! We’re headed up, but they say the Potala Palace is already finished! Even if we get there, what meaning will it have? But going all the way back—our homeland is too far! This evening, we should make camp around what’s called Yunling Township.”

And so, nowadays, in Yunling Township and Lhunze County, the only trees still standing—cypress trees—are believed to have originated from that event.

(1) ηέ xēm̄ȳ=dε |ēs^hē pút^hè|ēk^hṣ̄=dε d̄zi ...
 time early=TOP Lhasa_city Potala_palace=TOP one PAUS
 Once upon a time: first, there was the Potala Palace in Lhasa city;

(2) ηέk^hē ṣ̄yrù? =dε ηī ...
 sky raven=TOP two PAUS
 second, there was a raven in the sky;

(3) lát^hè? k^hē ṣ̄yk^hē=dε s̄ō s^hé-rê?
 Lancang_river by cypress=TOP three say-FACT
 third, there were cypress trees by the Lancang River, they say.

(4) ṣ̄yk^hē k^hò=dε |ēs^hē pút^hè|ēk^hṣ̄ gò?-ⁿdṣ̄? rò?
 cypress DEF=TOP Lhasa_city Potala_palace renovate-PROG1 about
 After the cypresses thought about someone saying that the Potala Palace in Lhasa city was being renovated,

- (5) s^hé-dzê? dzê-t^húj-lə=dɤ éⁿdz^hɣ̃ dzi ts^húj-t^húj-lə=dɤ
 say-NVSEN think-PFV-TEMP=CONJ like_this INDF hear-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 after they had heard someone say it like that,
- (6) ēlè ... ṣýk^hē k^hò=dɛ ⁿd^hé jé ...
 well PAUS cypress DEF=TOP here DIR.UP PAUS
 well, the cypresses
- (7) dzù dzi z^hóʔ-k^hə-t^húj-lə=dɤ ⁿd^hé jé g^hē
 group[ZH] INDF make-?-PFV-TEMP=CONJ here DIR.UP across
 formed a group, and up across from here,
- (8) ḷēs^hē pút^hèḷēk^hṣ̣ gòʔ-s^hē rùʔ wó-ṭ^hì jêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
 Lhasa_city Potala_palace renovate-NMZ3 help move-INTL do say-FACT
 they decided to go help with the renovation of the Potala Palace in Lhasa city, they say.
- (9) rùʔ wó-ṭ^hì jêʔ-t^húj-lə=dɤ ʔí dzjè-wó-t^húj-lə=dɤ
 help move-INTL do-PFV-TEMP=CONJ so leave-MOV-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 Once they decided to go help and had set off,
- (10) ḷé̄gèʔ péʔ-lə=dɤ ŋék^hē ṣýrùʔ k^hò=gɛ s^hé-nâ=dɤ
 halfway arrive-TEMP=CONJ sky raven DEF=ERG say-NVSEN=CONJ
 when they reached halfway, a raven said:
- (11) wèj p̣ýtṣērùʔ ṭ^hàʔ éⁿdz^hɣ̃ ṃə tṣṣ̣ṃē ts^hē ṭ^hì-k^hə=dɤ
 hey buddy 2SG like_this person all DIR.PROX escort-?=CONJ
 “Hey, buddy, you’re escorting all these guys like this —
- (12) ké dzjè-wó-ṭ^hì s^hé-rêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
 where leave-MOV-INTL say-FACT say-FACT
 where are you going?” he said, they say.
- (13) ké dzjè-wó-ṭ^hì s^hé-lə=dɤ
 where leave-MOV-INTL say-TEMP=CONJ
 After he asked where they were going,
- (14) ṭýrē ṣýk^hē k^hò=dɛ s^hé-nâ ...
 at_that_time cypress DEF=TOP say-VSEN PAUS
 the cypress then replied:
- (15) ḷēs^hē=dɛ pút^hèḷēk^hṣ̣ gòʔ-ⁿdóʔ ròʔ s^hé-dzêʔ
 Lhasa_city=TOP Potala_palace renovate-PROG1 about say-NVSEN
 “We heard someone say that the Potala Palace in Lhasa city is being renovated,
- (16) éⁿdẓìē=ts^hɛ̄ ḷēs^hē pút^hèḷēk^hṣ̣
 1NSG.EX=PL Lhasa_city Potala_palace
 so we’re going to help

- (17) gòʔ-s^hē rùʔ wó-tc^hi s^hé-rêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
renovate-NMZ3 help move-INTL say-FACT say-FACT
with the renovation of the Potala Palace in Lhasa city,” he said, they say.
- (18) ʔí ṣýrùʔ k^hò=ge s^hé-nâ dzéjòʔ-t^húj-lə=dɣ ...
so raven DEF=ERG say-VSEN deceive-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
Then the raven said — he deceived them:
- (19) wéʔè tc^héⁿdzīē=ts^hě wó^mb^hē k^hò=nə jé wó-ts^hâ-t^húj-lə=dɣ
oh 2NSG=PL only_now 3SG=LOC DIR.UP move-CONT-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
“Oh, you’re only going there now?
- (20) j̣ēs^hē pút^hèlj̣ēk^hǝ̣=dɛ gòʔ ndzīêʔ-t^húj-rêʔ s^hé-dzêʔ ó
Lhasa_city Potala_palace=TOP renovate finish-PFV-FACT say-NVSEN SFP
But they say the Potala Palace in Lhasa city has already been renovated!
- (21) tc^héⁿdzīē=ts^hě jé=nə tòʔ-nɣ-lə
2NSG=PL DIR.UP=LOC reach-COND-TEMP
Even if you reach it up there,
- (22) íṣý ké j̣úʔ s^hé-rêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
meaning[ZH] where have.FACT say-FACT say-FACT
what meaning will it have?” he said, they say.
- (23) ʔí týrē ṣýk^hē k^hò=dɛ dēs^hǝ̣-dzêʔ-t^húj-lə=dɣ ...
so at_that_time cypress DEF=TOP believe-NVSEN-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
At that moment, the cypress believed him, and after that,
- (24) s^hē wó=dɣ
DIR.DOWN move=CONJ
he went down and
- (25) s^hēk^hədī k^héⁿdzīē rúʔ=ts^hǝ̣=ts^hɣ s^hé-t^húj-lə=dɣ ...
downward_direction 3NSG friend=PL=DAT say-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
said to his companions down below:
- (26) kēkē: rúʔ p^hɣ tsǝ̣m̄ē ... jé wó-nɣ=dɣ
what_a_pity friend male all PAUS DIR.UP move-CONJ=COND
“What a pity, friends! We’re going up,
- (27) j̣ēs^hē pút^hèlj̣ēk^hǝ̣=dɛ gòʔ ndzīêʔ-t^húj-rêʔ s^hé-dzêʔ ó
Lhasa_city Potala_palace=TOP renovate finish-PFV-FACT say-NVSEN SFP
but they say the Potala Palace in Lhasa city has already been renovated!
- (28) ʔí ... jé=nə péʔ-nɣ-lə
so PAUS DIR.UP=LOC arrive-COND-TEMP
So even if we reach it up there,

- (29) ís̀ ḱé j̃ú? gò? ñd̃z̃'ê?-t̃h̃új-ñɣ=d̃ɣ
 meaning[ZH] where have.FACT renovate finish-PFV-COND=CONJ
 what meaning will it have, if they've already finished renovating it?
- (30) ʔí s̃h̃ē d̃z̃j̃è-wó s̃h̃é-ñɣ
 so DIR.DOWN leave-MOV say-CONJ
 But if we say to go back down,
- (31) p̃h̃j̃j̃ē d̃z̃'ót̃h̃è? r̃í-d̃z̃h̃j̃ ... ékù?-t̃s̃h̃ě énú?=d̃ɛ ...
 homeland distance long-MIR PAUS 1NSG.IN=PL this_evening=TOP PAUS
 the distance to our homeland is too far! This evening,
- (32) júl̃ s̃h̃ĩŋō s̃h̃é-s̃h̃ē k̃h̃ò=ñə=d̃ɛ
 Yunling_township around say-NMZ3 DEF=LOC=TOP
 around the so-called Yunling Township,
- (33) t̃s̃j̃p̃h̃ò d̃z̃i d̃z̃'ô?-g̃h̃ū s̃h̃é-t̃h̃új-l̃ə=d̃ɣ ...
 camp INDF launch-NEC say-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 we should make camp," he said, and so,
- (34) é-s̃'̃=d̃ɛ júl̃=d̃ɛ l̃ū^ñd̃z̃h̃'è=d̃ɛ
 nowadays=TOP Yunling_township=TOP Lhunze_county=TOP
 nowadays, in Yunling Township and Lhunze County,
- (35) s̃j̃k̃h̃ēp̃h̃ò l̃j̃l̃è? j̃ú?-m̃ə=d̃ɣ
 cypress_tree only have.FACT-NMZ1=CONJ
 the only trees present—cypress trees—
- (36) ēl̃ k̃h̃ò=ñə t̃s̃h̃ē=g̃ɛ d̃z̃ūwē pé?-wó-g̃h̃ū-r̃ê? s̃h̃é-r̃ê?
 well 3SG=LOC DIR.PROX=GEN origin arrive-MOV-NEC-FACT say-FACT
 well, they are believed to have originated from there, they say.

Text 5: The Story of the Flea and the Louse

Well, I'll tell a story from long ago. It's about a louse and a flea. The louse and the flea were very good friends. One day, the two of them had a bit of a discussion.

"Today we need to go chop some wood," said the flea.

"We can do that," replied the louse. "Let's go chop wood today."

Then the flea added, "Before we head out, we should blow on the fire and put the meat in the pot so it can cook."

"Right," said the louse. "Let's get the meat cooked first."

So they cooked the meat. Once it was done, they went off to the mountains to chop wood. They chopped and chopped until the load was enough. They stacked up a full bundle and lifted it onto their backs.

The louse, after loading its bundle, said, "I'm done," and slowly made its way home.

The flea, after piling up its own load and lifting it onto its back, gave a big jump forward — and the whole load scattered to the ground. It started gathering and stacking the wood again. Once more, it loaded it up, and once more, it spilled. Again, it tried to carry it — and again, the load fell.

In the meantime, the louse had already made it home.

The flea, still busy piling the load again and again, was bound to be late — wasn't it?

The louse had been quick. It opened the lid of the pot and started eating the meat they had cooked before leaving. It ate all of it. Every last bit.

Just then, the flea got home. It threw down the firewood, came up to the stove, and looked inside the pot. But how could there be any meat left? The louse had already eaten it all.

The flea got very angry. It slammed the lid of the pot shut and struck the louse on the chest with it. Right then and there, a dark bruise appeared.

And so, that's the short little story of the flea and the louse.

(1) ēlè ... ηέ xēṃ̀ỳ=ge tḕp`hì d̄zi s`hé
well PAUS time early=GEN story INDF say
Well, I'll tell a story from a long time ago.

(2) sì? d̄zi d̄zi'úwè? d̄zi s`hé-rê?
louse INDF flea INDF say-FACT
It's about a louse and a flea, they say.

- (3) sìʔ=dɿ d͡ziúwèʔ ɲĩgèʔ=dɛ rúʔ=lɿ séŋē ʰd͡ziʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
louse=CONJ flea both=TOP friend=ADD very be_friends-FACT say-FACT
The louse and the flea were very good friends, they say.
- (4) ʔí kʰé ɲĩgèʔ tʰhē d͡ziúkʰē jêʔ-zôʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɿ ...
so 3NSG both DIR.PROX discussion do-SIMUL-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
So, the two of them had a kind of discussion:
- (5) érí=dɛ ékùʔ ɲĩgèʔ sī d͡zi d͡zòʔ wó-gʰǎ sh'é-zôʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
today=TOP 1NSG.IN both wood INDF chop move-NEC say-SIMUL-FACT say-FACT
“Today we need to go chop the wood,” it said, they say.
- (6) d͡ziúwèʔ kʰò=gɛ sh'é=dɿ ... ʔí sìʔ kʰò=gɛ sh'é=dɿ ...
flea DEF=ERG say=CONJ PAUS so louse DEF=ERG say=CONJ PAUS
The flea said that, and then the louse replied:
- (7) t͡ɕùʔ-rêʔ érí ékùʔ ɲĩgèʔ sī d͡zi d͡zòʔ ʰgʰô sh'é-zôʔ sh'é-rêʔ
PERM-FACT today 1NSG.IN both wood INDF chop let's_go say-SIMUL say-FACT
“We can do that. Let’s go chop some wood today,” it said, they say.
- (8) ʔí d͡ziúwèʔ kʰò=gɛ sh'é=dɿ
so flea DEF=ERG say=CONJ
Then the flea added:
- (9) sī pʰē d͡zòʔ mé-wó k͡ʂ=dɿ
wood DIR.DIST chop NEG1-move before=CONJ
“Before we go chop the wood,
- (10) xēŋē ékùʔ ɲĩgèʔ xìʔ d͡zi jé bēʔ=dɿ
first_of_all 1NSG.IN both fire INDF DIR.UP blow=CONJ
we need to first blow on the fire and
- (11) d͡zýmē nóthē šē d͡zi zʰôʔ-rêʔ-gʰǎ sh'é sh'é-rêʔ
pot inside meat INDF make-RES-NEC say say-FACT
put the meat in the pot so it get cooked,” it said, they say.
- (12) ʔí sìʔ=gɛ sh'é=dɿ t͡ɕùʔ-rêʔ
so louse=ERG say=CONJ PERM-FACT
The louse answered, “We can do that.
- (13) ékùʔ ɲī šē d͡zi zʰôʔ-rêʔ-gʰǎ sh'é-zôʔ sh'é-rêʔ
1NSG two meat INDF make-RES-NEC say-SIMUL say-FACT
We should get the meat cooked,” it said, they say.
- (14) ʔí šē d͡zi jé zʰôʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
so meat INDF DIR.UP make-RES say-FACT
So they cooked the meat, they say.

- (15) ʃē d̄zi jé zʰóʔ-rêʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɿ
meat INDF DIR.UP make-RES-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
Once they had cooked the meat,
- (16) ʔí pʰē wó rá=nə s̄ĩ d̄zòʔ-zòʔ wó sʰé-rêʔ
so DIR.DIST move mountain=LOC wood chop-SIMUL move say-FACT
they went off to chop wood in the mountains, they say.
- (17) s̄ĩ pʰē d̄zòʔ=dɿ kʰédzʰē t̄çùʔ-kʰə-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
wood DIR.DIST chop=CONJ load enough-?-COP2 say-FACT
They chopped the wood, and soon the load was enough, they say.
- (18) kʰédzʰē t̄çùʔ t̄sʰē d̄ziʔ sʰé-rêʔ
load enough DIR.PROX pile say-FACT
They piled up enough of a load, they say.
- (19) t̄sʰē d̄ziʔ=dɿ jé bêʔ-kʰə-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
DIR.PROX pile=CONJ DIR.UP carry_on_back-?-FACT say-FACT
They piled it up and carried it on their backs, they say.
- (20) siʔ kʰò=dɛ jé bêʔ-kʰə-rêʔ=dɿ ...
louse DEF=TOP DIR.UP carry_on_back-?-FACT=CONJ PAUS
The louse, after putting the load on its back,
- (21) bēʔ-tʰúj ó sʰé-rêʔ=dɿ kʷj̄ē~kʷj̄ē~kʷj̄ē~kʷj̄ē~kʷj̄ē wó=dɿ
carry_on_back-PFV SFP say-FACT=CONJ slow~slow~slow~slow~slow move=CONJ
said, “I’ve finished loading,” slowly went away and
- (22) t̄sʰəŋō tòʔ-kʰə-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
at_home reach-?-FACT say-FACT
arrived home, they say.
- (23) ʔí d̄ziúwèʔ kʰò=gɛ=dɛ ...
so flea DEF=ERG=TOP PAUS
The flea
- (24) kʰédzʰē t̄sʰē d̄ziʔ t̄sʰē bēʔ-tʰúj-lə
load DIR.PROX pile DIR.PROX carry_on_back-PFV-TEMP
after finishing piling up the load and putting it on its back,
- (25) wó pʰē d̄zi pʰèʔ
again DIR.DIST one jump
jumped forward —

- (26) wó k^hédz^hē s^hē síʔ-rêʔ-rêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
again load DIR.DOWN scatter-RES-FACT say-FACT
and the load scattered down, they say.
- (27) wó k^hédz^hē wó jé d̄ziʔ-dêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
again load again DIR.UP pile-PROG2 say-FACT
It started piling the load up again, they say.
- (28) wó k^hédz^hē ts^hē bêʔ
again load DIR.PROX carry_on_back
Once more, it carried the load on its back,
- (29) wó s^hē síʔ-rêʔ-rêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
again DIR.DOWN scatter-RES-FACT say-FACT
and once more, it scattered down, they say.
- (30) wó ts^hē bêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
again DIR.PROX carry_on_back say-FACT
It carried it on its back again, they say.
- (31) ʔí sìʔ k^hò k^hɣ̄ⁿd̄z^hɣ̄ jêʔ
so louse DEF like_that do
In the meantime, the louse had done it like that —
- (32) sìʔ k^hò=dε ts^háŋō tòʔ-k^hə<ēm̄ɣ̄>t^húj ó
louse DEF=TOP at_home reach-ʔ<already>PFV SFP
it had already arrived home, they say.
- (33) ʔí d̄ziʔúwèʔ k^hò=dε éⁿd̄z^hɣ̄ d̄ziʔ-dêʔ-rêʔ s^hé-rêʔ
so flea DEF=TOP like_this pile-PROG2-FACT say-FACT
While the flea was constantly piling it up like that, they say.
- (34) ʔí d̄ziʔ=dɣ̄ t̄y^rē ʔí k^hò p^hɣ̄-d̄zi ēm̄ɣ̄ ó
so pile=CONJ at_that_time so 3SG be.late-IRRV surely SFP
So, because it was constantly piling it up like that, by then it was surely late —
- (35) d̄ziʔúwèʔ p^hɣ̄-d̄zi wó-zì mí-é
flea be.late-IRRV move-INTL NEG.COP1-Q
the flea was going to arrive late, wasn't it?
- (36) sìʔ k^hò ⁿd̄z̄l̄ū d̄z̄l̄è s^hé-rêʔ
louse DEF fast leave say-FACT
The louse left quickly, they say.
- (37) ʔí p^hē wó-lə=dɣ̄ d̄z̄ýmē nót^hē s̄ē z^hŋʔ-rêʔ-mə k^hò
so DIR.DIST move-TEMP=CONJ pot inside meat make-FACT-NMZ1 DEF
So, the meat they had cooked in the pot before leaving —

- (38) siʔ=ge kʰylò jé sʰèʔ ... tsʰē sé-tsʰâ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
louse=ERG lid DIR.UP open PAUS DIR.PROX eat-CONT-FACT say-FACT
the louse opened the lid and ate it, they say.
- (39) sē=lx tsʰm̄ē tsʰē sé nʰdzʰêʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
meat=ADD all DIR.PROX eat finish-FACT say-FACT
It ate all the meat, they say.
- (40) sē tsʰm̄ē tsʰē sé nʰdzʰêʔ ó sʰé-rêʔ
meat all DIR.PROX eat finish-FACT SFP say-FACT
It really ate all the meat, they say.
- (41) dzʰúwèʔ kʰò=ge tʰrē tsʰáŋō tòʔ-kʰə-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
flea DEF=ERG at_that_time at_home reach-?-FACT say-FACT
At that moment, the flea got home, they say.
- (42) ʔí tsʰáŋō péʔ-kʰə-tʰúj-lə=dʌ ʔí ...
so at_home arrive-?-PFV-TEMP=CONJ so PAUS
So, after it arrived home,
- (43) dzʰúwèʔ kʰò=ge=dε sʰ sʰē jòʔ jé wó
flea DEF=ERG=TOP wood DIR.DOWN throw DIR.UP move
the flea threw the wood down, went up,
- (44) tʰódʰī dzʰm̄ē nóʰē sē é-nòʔ nʰdzʰôʔ-zôʔ sʰé-rêʔ
stove pot inside meat Q-have.VSEN look-SIMUL say-FACT
and looked to see if there was any meat in the pot on the stove, they say.
- (45) sē=dε ké júʔ ó ... tʰrē=dε
meat=TOP where have.FACT SFP PAUS at_that_time=TOP
But how could there be any meat? By that time,
- (46) siʔ=ge tsʰm̄ē tsʰē sé nʰdzʰêʔ-rêʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
louse=ERG all DIR.PROX eat finish-RES-FACT say-FACT
the louse had already finished eating all of it, they say.
- (47) ʔí dzʰúwèʔ kʰò=ge tsʰpēdzʰòʔ-dzʰʰ-tʰúj-lə=dʌ
so flea DEF=ERG get_angry-MIR-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
So the flea got very angry, and after that,
- (48) dzʰm̄ē tsʰē dzʰêʔ-tʰúj-lə=dʌ
pot DIR.PROX close-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
it closed the pot and
- (49) siʔ=ge dzʰódʰē=nə dzʰôʔ-dêʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
louse=GEN chest=LOC launch-PROG2-FACT say-FACT
struck it against the louse's chest, they say.

- (50) siʔ d͡zɔ́dʰē=nə d͡zʲɔ́ʔ-dêʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɻ
 louse chest=LOC launch-PROG2-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 After it struck the louse's chest,
- (51) siʔ d͡zɔ́dʰē=dɛ tʲrē nétɕʰē zʰɔ́ʔ-rêʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
 louse chest=TOP at_that_time bruise make-RES-FACT say-FACT
 it left a bruise there at that very moment, they say.
- (52) tʲrē d͡zʲúwèʔ=dɻ siʔ ŋīgèʔ tēpʰi kʰɻ̃ⁿd͡zʰɻ̃ tʰɻ̃tʰɔ́ d͡zi ʔĩ ó
 at_that_time flea=CONJ louse both story like_that short INDF COP1 SFP
 So, the story of the flea and the louse is just a short one like that.

Text 6: Frog, Where Are You?

Once upon a time, a child and a dog caught a frog and put it in a jar. They played together happily. But that evening, while they were sleeping, the lid wasn't sealed properly. The frog jumped out and ran away.

The next day, they looked everywhere. The dog checked the jar. The child turned over all the clothes, opened the window, and kept searching. But in the commotion, the dog slipped and tumbled out of the window, and the jar broke.

So the two of them went outside and continued searching. They looked around the yard, then farther away—up a mountain, near a tree. There, they found a wasp nest hanging in the branches, and a hole in the ground below.

They looked around the nest, and while the child was peering into the hole, the dog accidentally disturbed the wasps. The wasps flew out and started stinging them.

The child scrambled up the tree to escape, but the dog stayed below, getting stung.

Just then, the frog popped out of the hole and glanced at them.

While the child was hiding in the tree, thinking, "Maybe it's nothing to worry about," an owl crawled out toward him. The dog, still being stung, ran off, and the child quickly followed.

After the owl stopped chasing and the wasps gave up, they ran and ran until they reached the top of a boulder.

From there, they kept looking for the frog. As the child leaned forward to look more closely, a deer suddenly appeared, lifted him onto its head, and took off running. The dog chased after them from below.

Eventually, the deer threw both the child and the dog down a small cliff, and they splashed into a pond. The child picked up the dog and waded forward. Not far ahead, he saw a dried-up tree lying in the water.

He whispered, "Quiet," to the dog, and slowly crept forward. Then he turned around—and saw the frog, surrounded by new friends and playing with a group of children.

Feeling happy for the frog, the child and the dog said goodbye and left.

- (1) ηέ xēm̄ȳ g^hǒ é shé-rê?
time early during Q say-FACT
A long time ago—was it no so, they say?

- (2) rérò? d̄zi ɣí ts̄h̄ȳ d̄zi ɣí=dɣ ... kh̄é n̄igè?
 child INDF so dog INDF so=CONJ PAUS 3NSG both
 So, a child and a dog, the two of them
- (3) bíph̄ē d̄zi=dε ... ph̄ē ... tēmb̄h̄i d̄zi nó d̄zìùʔ-ts̄h̄á-r̄éʔ sh̄é-r̄éʔ
 frog INDF=TOP PAUS DIR.DIST PAUS jar INDF in put-CONT-FACT say-FACT
 put a frog in a jar, they say.
- (4) kh̄é n̄āṃȳ ts̄h̄élèʔ j̄èʔ-r̄éʔ sh̄é-r̄éʔ
 3NSG together game do-FACT say-FACT
 They played together, they say.
- (5) té=dε kh̄é sh̄ēḡh̄ȳ n̄iʔ-d̄éʔ-l̄a
 then=TOP 3NSG evening sleep-PROG2-TEMP
 Then, while they were sleeping in the evening,
- (6) bíph̄ē kh̄ò kh̄ȳl̄ò sh̄ē mé-d̄h̄è=dɣ bíph̄ē kh̄ò té ...
 frog DEF lid DIR.DOWN NEG1-seal=CONJ frog DEF then PAUS
 the frog, the lid wasn't sealed, and the frog then
- (7) ōṅà sh̄ē ph̄è-d̄zìè d̄z̄h̄ūj-d̄zìè-wó-r̄éʔ sh̄é-r̄éʔ
 there DIR.DOWN jump-TRANSL flee-TRANSL-MOV-FACT say-FACT
 jumped out and ran away, they say.
- (8) ts̄h̄ēp̄h̄ē kh̄é n̄igèʔ ... d̄z̄h̄è~d̄z̄h̄è~d̄z̄h̄è ...
 after_that 3NSG both PAUS search~search~search PAUS
 After that, they both looked and looked and looked for it,
- (9) bíph̄ē kh̄ò=lɣ ... tēmb̄h̄i nó jé d̄z̄h̄è
 frog DEF=ADD PAUS jar in DIR.UP search
 the frog [int. the dog] looked for it in the jar,
- (10) rérò? kh̄ò=lɣ ... b̄ȳl̄ē kóʔi=lɣ kwèʔ-s̄h̄iʔ d̄z̄h̄è
 child DEF=ADD PAUS clothes all=ADD turn_over-CVB search
 the child also searched for it by turning over all the clothes,
- (11) k̄ēdz̄š̄ jé sh̄è-s̄h̄iʔ d̄z̄h̄è ...
 window DIR.UP open-CVB search PAUS
 searched for it by opening the window,
- (12) d̄z̄h̄è~d̄z̄h̄è~d̄z̄h̄è ɣí ts̄h̄ȳ kh̄ò ... z̄ōr̄i mé-j̄èʔ-t̄h̄új-l̄a ɣí=dɣ ...
 search~search~search so dog DEF PAUS careful NEG1-do-PFV-TEMP so=CONJ PAUS
 they searched and searched and searched, but as the dog was careless,
- (13) k̄ēdz̄š̄ sh̄ē kh̄ȳl̄òd̄z̄h̄ē=dɣ tēmb̄h̄i sh̄ē d̄z̄wèʔ-d̄zì-r̄éʔ sh̄é-r̄éʔ
 window DIR.DOWN tumble=CONJ jar DIR.DOWN break-IRR-FACT say-FACT
 it tumbled out of the window, and the jar broke, they say.

- (14) rérò? k^hé̃ ñīgè?=_{lɻ} s^hē d̥z̥i̥ʒ̥g̥ɻ tò? d̥z̥i̥ʒ̥g̥ɻ s^hē d̥z̥^hè s^hé-rê?
child 3NSG both=ADD DIR.DOWN outside reach outside DIR.DOWN search say-FACT
They both, along with the child, got outside and started searching there too, they say.
- (15) d̥z̥i̥ʒ̥g̥ɻ d̥z̥^hè~d̥z̥^hè~d̥z̥^hè p^hē wó=dɻ ...
outside search~search~search DIR.DIST move=CONJ PAUS
They searched and searched and searched outside, then went further and
- (16) rá=nə p^hē d̥z̥^hè síp^hō̃ d̥z̥i=nə p^hē d̥z̥^hè
mountain=LOC DIR.DIST search tree INDF=LOC DIR.DIST search
searched on the mountain and at the tree,
- (17) síp^hō̃ p^hē d̥z̥^hè-lə ... ^mb̥ɻs^hē ^mb̥ɻs^hēt̥s^hō̃ d̥z̥i t^hũ s^hé-rê?
tree DIR.DIST search-TEMP PAUS wasp wasp_nest INDF see say-FACT
while they were searching at the tree, they saw wasps, a wasp nest, they say.
- (18) ʔí̃ s̥ó̃rē s̥ɻg^hō̃̃ d̥z̥i=_{lɻ} nò? s^hé-rê?
so below hole INDF=ADD have.VSEN say-FACT
There was also a hole in the ground below, they say.
- (19) ^mb̥ɻs^hēt̥s^hō̃̃ d̥z̥^hè~d̥z̥^hè~d̥z̥^hè t̥s^hɻ̃ k^hò=gɛ ...
wasp_nest search~search~search dog DEF=ERG PAUS
They searched and searched and searched at the beehive,
- (20) rérò? k^hò=gɛ ... s̥ɻg^hō̃̃ s^hē ⁿd̥z̥i̥ʒ̥?~d̥è?~_{lɻ} ...
child DEF=ERG PAUS hole DIR.DOWN look-PROG2-TEMP PAUS
and while the child was looking down the hole,
- (21) t̥s^hɻ̃ k^hò=gɛ jé wó=dɻ
dog DEF=ERG DIR.UP move=CONJ
the dog went up and
- (22) síp^hō̃̃=nə ... ^mb̥ɻs^hē k^hò d̥z̥^hā̃ j̥è?~d̥z̥i=dɻ
tree=LOC PAUS wasp DEF violence do-IRRV=CONJ
disturbed the wasps in the tree and
- (23) ^mb̥ɻs^hē=gɛ té x̥i̥è-k^hə̃ d̥z̥ò?~k^hə̃-rê?
wasp=ERG then chase-? sting-?-FACT
the wasps then chased after them and stung them.
- (24) d̥z̥ò?~k^hə̃-lə ʔí̃=dɻ ...
sting-?-TEMP so=CONJ PAUS
And so, while they were stinging them,
- (25) rérò? k^hò=dɛ jé síp^hō̃̃ d̥i̥t^hē ⁿd̥z̥è?~d̥z̥i̥è~wó
child DEF=TOP DIR.UP tree on_top_of climb-TRANSL-MOV
the child climbed up the tree,

- (26) $\widehat{ts}^h\check{y}$ $k^h\grave{o}=d\epsilon$ $\check{s}\acute{o}r\bar{e}$ $^m b\check{y}s^h\bar{e}=g\epsilon$ $\widehat{dz}\grave{o}?\widehat{ts}^h\grave{\alpha}-r\hat{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\hat{e}?$
 dog DEF=TOP below wasp=ERG sting-CONT-FACT say-FACT
 but the dog continued to be stung by the wasps below, they say.
- (27) $b\acute{i}p^h\bar{e}$ $k^h\grave{o}$ $\check{r}\acute{i}=d\check{y}$... $s\check{y}g^h\check{s}=n\bar{a}$ $j\acute{e}$ $l\hat{e}?\check{d}y$
 frog DEF so=CONJ PAUS hole=LOC DIR.UP get_out=CONJ
 The frog got out of the hole and
- (28) $\widehat{dz}\grave{i}$ $^n \widehat{dz}\acute{\acute{o}}?\widehat{d}\hat{e}?\widehat{n}\hat{a}$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\hat{e}?$
 one look-PROG2-VSEN say-FACT
 took a glance at them, they say.
- (29) $\check{r}\acute{i}$ $\widehat{ts}^h\check{\epsilon}p^h\bar{e}=d\epsilon$... $\widehat{ts}^h\check{y}$ $k^h\grave{o}$ $^n \widehat{dz}\acute{\acute{o}}\widehat{dz}\grave{i}\grave{e}-w\acute{o}-l\bar{a}$
 so after_that=TOP PAUS dog DEF run-TRANSL-MOV-TEMP
 So, after that, while the dog ran away
- (30) $r\acute{e}r\grave{o}?$ $k^h\grave{o}$ $d\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $s\acute{i}p^h\check{o}=n\bar{a}$ $k\acute{y}=d\check{y}$
 child DEF on_top_of tree=LOC hide=CONJ
 and the child hid at the top of the tree,
- (31) $n\acute{e}\check{s}\check{u}$ $p\acute{o}$ $\widehat{d}\check{z}\acute{\acute{e}}-l\bar{a}=d\check{y}$...
 no_worries perhaps think-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 thinking, "Maybe it's nothing to worry about,"
- (32) $\acute{u}k^h\bar{e}$ $\widehat{dz}\grave{i}$ $d\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $s^h\bar{e}$ $l\hat{e}?\widehat{k}^h\grave{\alpha}-\check{s}\acute{o}$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\hat{e}?$
 owl INDF on_top_of DIR.DOWN get_out-?-CIS say-FACT
 an owl crawled out toward him, they say.
- (33) $\check{r}\acute{i}$ $\widehat{ts}^h\check{y}$ $k^h\grave{o}=d\epsilon$... $\widehat{dz}\grave{o}?\widehat{k}^h\grave{\alpha}=d\check{y}$ $^n \widehat{dz}\acute{\acute{o}}\widehat{dz}\grave{i}\grave{e}-w\acute{o}$
 so dog DEF=TOP PAUS sting-?=CONJ run-TRANSL-MOV
 So, the dog got stung and ran away,
- (34) $r\acute{e}r\grave{o}?$ $k^h\grave{o}=l\check{y}$ $n\bar{a}m\check{y}$ $^n \widehat{dz}\acute{\acute{o}}\widehat{dz}\grave{i}\grave{e}$
 child DEF=ADD together run-TRANSL
 and the child ran away with it.
- (35) $\widehat{ts}^h\check{\epsilon}p^h\bar{e}$ $\check{r}\acute{i}$ $k^h\acute{e}$ $n\bar{i}g\grave{e}?$ $p^h\bar{e}$ $w\acute{o}=d\check{y}$...
 after_that so 3NSG both DIR.DIST move=CONJ PAUS
 After that, they both ran away, and
- (36) $\acute{u}k^h\bar{e}=g\epsilon$ $r\acute{e}r\grave{o}?$ $k^h\grave{o}=d\epsilon$ $\acute{u}k^h\bar{e}=g\epsilon$ $\check{x}\acute{i}\check{e}-k^h\grave{\alpha}$
 owl=ERG child DEF=TOP owl=ERG chase-?
 once the owl stopped chasing the child
- (37) $\widehat{ts}^h\check{y}$ $k^h\grave{o}=d\epsilon$... $^m b\check{y}s^h\bar{e}=g\epsilon$ $\check{x}\acute{i}\check{e}-k^h\grave{\alpha}-t^h\acute{u}j-l\bar{a}$...
 dog DEF=TOP PAUS wasp=ERG chase-?-PFV-TEMP PAUS
 and the wasps stopped chasing the dog,

- (38) $n\widehat{dz}i\bar{u}\sim n\widehat{dz}i\bar{u}\sim n\widehat{dz}i\bar{u}$... $n\widehat{dz}i\bar{u}\text{-}k^h\bar{a}=d\gamma$
run-run-run PAUS run-?=CONJ
they ran and ran and ran
- (39) $p^h\bar{e}$... $d\acute{u}p^h\bar{o}$ $d\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{i}$ $p\acute{e}?\text{-}\widehat{d}z\bar{i}\bar{e}$ $s^h\acute{e}\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
DIR.DIST PAUS boulder on_top_of INDF arrive-TRANSL say-FACT
until they arrived at the top of a boulder, they say.
- (40) $d\acute{u}p^h\bar{o}$ $d\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $j\acute{e}$ $l\acute{o}\text{-}t^h\acute{u}j\text{-}l\bar{a}$... $t\acute{e}$...
boulder on_top_of DIR.UP get_up-PFV-TEMP PAUS then PAUS
Once they got up on the boulder,
- (41) $w\acute{o}l\hat{a}$ $b\acute{i}p^h\bar{e}$ $k^h\bar{o}$ $\widehat{d}z^h\bar{e}\text{-}d\acute{e}?\text{-}r\acute{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
still frog DEF search-PROG2-FACT say-FACT
they were still looking for the frog, they say.
- (42) $\widehat{d}z^h\bar{e}\text{-}d\acute{e}?$ $z\bar{o}\bar{m}\acute{e}$... $d\acute{u}p^h\bar{o}$ $d\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $l\acute{o}\text{-}d\acute{e}?$
search-PROG2 just_as PAUS boulder on_top_of get_up-PROG2
Just as they were looking for the frog, standing on the boulder,
- (43) $n^g\bar{h}\bar{o}$ $p^h\bar{e}$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{i}\bar{o}=d\gamma$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{i}\bar{o}$ $\gamma\acute{i}=d\gamma$
head DIR.DIST stretch=CONJ stretch so=CONJ
the child stretched his head slightly forward, and
- (44) $\gamma\bar{w}\bar{e}$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{i}$ $t\bar{s}^h\bar{e}$ $l\acute{e}?\text{-}k^h\bar{a}\text{-}\gamma\bar{o}$ $s^h\acute{e}\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
deer INDF DIR.PROX get_out-?-CIS say-FACT
a deer suddenly emerged, they say.
- (45) $\gamma\bar{w}\bar{e}$ $k^h\bar{o}=g\bar{e}$ $r\acute{e}r\bar{o}?$ $n^g\bar{h}\bar{o}d^h\bar{e}$ $t\bar{s}^h\bar{e}$ $t\bar{o}?\text{-}k^h\bar{a}=d\gamma$...
deer DEF=ERG child crown DIR_PROX lay-?=CONJ PAUS
The deer carried the child on its head and
- (46) $n\widehat{dz}i\bar{u}\text{-}\widehat{d}z\bar{i}\bar{e}\text{-}w\acute{o}$ $s^h\acute{e}\text{-}r\acute{e}?$
run-TRANSL-MOV say-FACT
ran away, they say.
- (47) $t\bar{s}^h\bar{y}$ $k^h\bar{o}$ $\gamma\acute{r}\bar{e}$ $p^h\bar{e}$ $x\bar{i}\bar{e}\sim x\bar{i}\bar{e}\sim x\bar{i}\bar{e}\sim x\bar{i}\bar{e}$...
dog DEF below DIR.DIST chase~chase~chase~chase PAUS
The dog chased after them from below,
- (48) $x\bar{i}\bar{e}=d\gamma$ $p^h\bar{e}$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{y}$ $t\bar{o}?\text{-}t^h\acute{u}j\text{-}l\bar{a}=d\gamma$...
chase=CONJ DIR.DIST a_bit reach-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
and after it chased them and they reached a bit further,

- (49) $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{e}?$ $d\acute{i}t^h\acute{e}$ $s^h\acute{e}$...
 cliff on_top_of DIR.DOWN PAUS
 down a cliff,
- (50) $\widehat{d\acute{z}\acute{e}?$ $\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{u}t\acute{c}^h\acute{o}?$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}$ $d\acute{i}t^h\acute{e}$ $s^h\acute{e}$ $j\acute{o}?\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{e}-r\acute{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\acute{e}?$
 cliff small INDF on_top_of DIR.DOWN throw-TRANSL-FACT say-FACT
 the deer threw them down a small cliff, they say.
- (51) $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$ $k^h\acute{o}=d\acute{y}$ $r\acute{e}r\acute{o}?$ $\eta\acute{i}g\acute{e}?$... $k^h\acute{o}$ $d\acute{i}t^h\acute{e}$ $s^h\acute{e}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}^h\acute{y}-k^h\acute{\theta}=d\acute{y}}$
 dog DEF=CONJ child both PAUS 3SG on_top_of DIR.DOWN tumble-?=CONJ
 Both the dog and the child tumbled down from it and
- (52) $s^h\acute{e}$ $\acute{s}\acute{o}r\acute{e}$... $\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{e}d\acute{o}}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}=n\acute{\theta}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{o}?\widehat{r\acute{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\acute{e}?$
 DIR.DOWN below PAUS pond DEF=LOC launch-FACT say-FACT
 plopped into the pond below, they say.
- (53) $\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{e}d\acute{o}=n\acute{\theta}}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{o}?\sim\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{o}?\sim\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{o}?\sim t^h\acute{u}j-l\acute{\theta}}$ $r\acute{e}r\acute{o}?$ $j\acute{e}$...
 pond=LOC launch~launch~launch-PFV-TEMP child DIR.UP PAUS
 After they plopped into the pond,
- (54) $r\acute{e}r\acute{o}?$ $k^h\acute{o}$... $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$ $j\acute{e}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{o}d\acute{o}?\sim t^h\acute{u}j-l\acute{\theta}}$...
 child DEF PAUS dog DIR.UP hold-PFV-TEMP PAUS
 and after the child held up the dog
- (55) $w\acute{o}\sim w\acute{o}\sim w\acute{o}\sim w\acute{o}-\widehat{d\acute{z}l\acute{e}-l\acute{\theta}=d\acute{y}}$
 move~move~move~move-TRANSL-TEMP=CONJ
 and walked forward,
- (56) $p^h\acute{e}$ $p^h\acute{e}\eta\acute{e}$... $s\acute{i}p^h\acute{o}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}$ $t^h\acute{u}$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\acute{e}?$
 DIR.DIST there PAUS tree INDF see say-FACT
 he saw a tree a bit further ahead, they say.
- (57) $s\acute{i}p^h\acute{o}$ $g^h\acute{e}-t^h\acute{u}j-m\acute{\theta}$ $\acute{e}^n\widehat{d\acute{z}^h\acute{y}}$ $\widehat{t\acute{c}^h\acute{\alpha}=n\acute{\theta}}$ $j\acute{o}?\widehat{r\acute{e}?\sim m\acute{\theta}}$ $\widehat{d\acute{z}i}$ $t^h\acute{u}$ $s^h\acute{e}-r\acute{e}?$
 tree dry-PFV-NMZ1 like_this water=LOC throw-FACT-NMZ1 INDF see say-FACT
 He saw a tree that was dried up and that was thrown like this into the water, they say.
- (58) $t^h\acute{u}-t^h\acute{u}j-l\acute{\theta}$... $k^h\acute{\alpha}r\acute{e}$ $b^h\acute{y}-d\acute{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}$
 see-PFV-TEMP PAUS mouth IMP-stay say
 Once he saw it, he said, 'Quiet!'
- (59) $\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$ $k^h\acute{o}=\widehat{t\acute{s}^h\acute{y}}$ $k^h\acute{\alpha}r\acute{e}$ $b^h\acute{y}-d\acute{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}$
 dog DEF=DAT mouth IMP-stay say
 he said 'Quiet!' to the dog,
- (60) $k\acute{y}l\acute{e}$ $p^h\acute{e}$ $w\acute{o}-t^h\acute{u}j-l\acute{\theta}$... $p^h\acute{e}$ $s\acute{y}r\acute{y}k^h\acute{u}j$
 slowly DIR.DIST move-PFV-TEMP PAUS DIR.DIST flip_over
 and after slowly moving a bit forward, he flipped himself over

- (61) p^hē d̄z̄l̄ɔ̄n̄ḡɣ̄? n̄d̄z̄l̄ɔ̄ɣ̄-l̄ə t̄é ...
 DIR.DIST behind look-TEMP then PAUS
 and looked to see what was behind,
- (62) bíp^hē k^hò=d̄ɛ ɣ̄í=d̄ɣ bíp^hē r̄ú? ... r̄ú? ḡòd̄z̄l̄ē t̄s̄éɣ̄-t̄h̄ɰj
 frog DEF=TOP so=CONJ frog friend PAUS friend many meet-PFV
 the frog met a lot of friends
- (63) ɣ̄í t̄s̄ɣ̄ḡ^hɣ̄=l̄ɣ d̄êɣ̄-n̄â s^hé-r̄êɣ̄
 so kid=ADD stay-VSEN say-FACT
 and was with many children, they say.
- (64) t̄é k^hé n̄īḡè? ... ḡé-t̄ɕ^hīd̄z̄^hɣ̄ d̄ē-t̄ɕ^hīd̄z̄^hɣ̄ ɣ̄í=d̄ɣ ...
 then 3NSG both PAUS love-MIR like-MIR so=CONJ PAUS
 They were both so happy for the frog,
- (65) ɔ̄n̄ə p^hē ... m̄éⁿd̄z̄è? s^hé=d̄ɣ t̄é d̄z̄l̄è-k^hə-r̄êɣ̄ s^hé-r̄êɣ̄
 there DIR.DIST PAUS goodbye say=CONJ then leave-?-FACT say-FACT
 said 'Goodbye!' and left, they say.

Text 7: A Hunting Story

A long time ago, there was a hunter's family: a father, a mother, and their two children.

One day, the father went out hunting. Along the way, he ran into two neighbors — a married couple.

"Going hunting today?" they asked.

"Yes," the father replied, and slowly continued on his way.

After a while, he began to feel hungry. Just then, he saw a peach tree. He picked a few peaches, ate two or three, and then moved on.

He kept walking, but no wild animals appeared. After some time, he felt thirsty and stopped to drink from a canal. Refreshed, he continued again.

Eventually, he spotted three deer. He raised his rifle and shot one. He packed the deer into a large bag and carried it with him.

But two eagles flying overhead saw the deer. They tried to snatch it away and nearly succeeded. The father managed to fend them off and hurried away, stopping again at the same canal to rest. He set the bag down and knelt to drink some water. Just then, a small monkey appeared.

The father quickly caught the monkey.

On his way home, he crossed paths once more with the same neighbors. The woman said, "Since you caught a monkey, how about I give you some bananas for it, and you share some of the deer meat with me later?"

"Sounds good," the father agreed.

When he got home, he gave the monkey to his child to play with. He tied it with a rope and left it at the house.

Later, the neighbor brought bananas, and they shared the deer meat. She picked up her share and left.

That evening, the family sat down and ate the deer meat for dinner. The boy fed one of the bananas to the monkey.

But during the night, while everyone was asleep, the monkey's mother quietly appeared. She untied the rope and took her child back with her.

- (1) ɲé xēɲỳ ɡʰó=dε
time early during=TOP
A long time ago,
- (2) rýdè? ɲɯj ɲə̃ dékʰē d̄zi ʰdôʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
wild_animal hunt person family INDF be-FACT say-FACT
there was a family of a hunter, they say.
- (3) épʰē d̄zi éɲə̃ d̄zi rérò? ɲī ʰdôʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
father one mother one child two be-FACT say-FACT
There were a father, a mother, and two children, they say.
- (4) ʔí ní d̄zi=dε épʰē kʰò=dε rýdè? ɲɯj-d̄zi è wó-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
so day one=TOP father DEF=TOP wild_animal hunt-TRANSL move-FACT say-FACT
One day, the father went to hunt, they say.
- (5) ʔí wó~wó~wó-lə ... lé̄gè? tòʔ-lə=dɣ ...
so move~move~move-TEMP PAUS halfway reach-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
After he had been going for a while and had reached halfway,
- (6) kʰýⁿd̄zʰè ... kʰýⁿd̄zʰè d̄zúrù? zýtshō ɲī t̄sèʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
3NSG_family PAUS 3NSG_family neighbor married_couple two meet-FACT say-FACT
he met a family of neighbors—a married couple, they say.
- (7) ʔí d̄zúrù? kʰò=gε sʰé=dɣ
so neighbor DEF=ERG say=CONJ
So, the neighbor said,
- (8) érí=dε rýdè? ɲɯj wó-t̄çʰi-é sʰé-rêʔ
today=TOP wild_animal hunt move-INTL-Q say-FACT
'Are you going to hunt today?', they say.
- (9) ʔí ʔí ó sʰé=dɣ épʰē kʰò ... wó d̄zi~d̄zi~d̄zi ...
so COP1 SFP say=CONJ father DEF PAUS move one~one~one PAUS
'Yes,' said the father, and step by step, he went away,
- (10) ʔí ký|ē~ký|ē d̄zjè-wó-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
so slow~slow leave-MOV-FACT say-FACT
so, he slowly left, they say.
- (11) ký|ē~ký|ē wó-lə ... lé̄gè? tòʔ-lə=dɣ ...
slow~slow move-TEMP PAUS halfway reach-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
After he had gone slowly and had reached halfway,
- (12) tùʔ-t̄çʰi d̄zʰý=dɣ ʔí kʰý^mbʰý^phō d̄zi tʰũ sʰé-rêʔ
be_hungry-MIR=CONJ so peach_tree INDF see say-FACT
he felt hungry and saw a peach tree, they say.

- (13) k^hʏ^mb^hʏp^hô=nə k^hʏ^mb^hʏ ... ɲī sō d̄zi sé-k^hə=dʏ
 peach_tree=LOC peach PAUS two three INDF eat-?=CONJ
 He ate two or three peaches at the peach tree,
- (14) wó ... ép^hē k^hò wó ... kʏl̄ē~kʏl̄ē d̄zjè-wó-rê? s^hé-rê?
 again PAUS father DEF again PAUS slow-slow leave-MOV-FACT say-FACT
 and then the father slowly left again, they say.
- (15) ʒí ... wó~wó~wó-lə ...
 so PAUS move~move~move-TEMP PAUS
 So, after he had been going for a while,
- (16) wól̄ə=lʏ rʏdè? mé-t^hũ s^hé-rê?
 still=ADD wild_animal NEG1-see say-FACT
 he still didn't see any wild animals, they say.
- (17) ép^hē k^hò wó ... t̄c^hēgō-t̄c^hīd̄z^hʏ=dʏ
 father DEF again PAUS be_thirsty-MIR=CONJ
 Then the father felt thirsty and
- (18) t̄c^hēg^hē nót^hē t̄c^hà d̄zi t^hʒ-rê? s^hé-rê?
 canal inside water INDF drink-FACT say-FACT
 drank water from a canal, they say.
- (19) t̄c^hēg^hē t̄c^hà=nə t^hʒ-t^húj-lə
 canal water=LOC drink-PFV-TEMP
 After he had drunk the water from the canal,
- (20) wó ép^hē k^hò ... wó d̄zjè-wó-rê? s^hé-rê?
 again father DEF PAUS again leave-MOV-FACT say-FACT
 the father left again, they say.
- (21) d̄zjè-wó-lə wó^mb^hē=dε rʏdè? ... ʒwē sō t^hũ-rê? s^hé-rê?
 leave-MOV-TEMP finally=TOP wild_animal PAUS deer three see-FACT say-FACT
 As he left, he finally saw wild animals—three deer, they say.
- (22) ʒí ép^hē k^hò=gε ... níⁿd^hē t̄s^hē l̄ō=dʏ ...
 so father DEF=ERG PAUS rifle DIR.PROX take=CONJ PAUS
 So, the father took his rifle and
- (23) ʒwē d̄zi=dε s^hē sè?-k^hə-rê?-rê? s^hé-rê?
 deer one=TOP DIR.DOWN kill-?-RES-FACT say-FACT
 killed one deer, they say.
- (24) ʒwē d̄zi s^hē sè?-t^húj-lə
 deer one DIR.DOWN kill-PFV-TEMP
 After he killed one deer,

- (25) ʒí kʰò n̄džékò? t̄çʰibʰy~t̄çʰibʰy d̄zi=nə d̄zi'ùʔ-kʰə-rê? sʰé-rê?
 so 3SG bag big~big INDF=LOC put-?-FACT say-FACT
 he put it into a big bag, they say.
- (26) n̄džékò? t̄çʰibʰy d̄zi=nə d̄zi'ù-lə ...
 bag big INDF=LOC put-TEMP PAUS
 Once he put it into a bag,
- (27) pʰêŋē xēnè ŋī=gε épʰē ʃwē sèʔ-sʰē tʰũ=dɿ ...
 there eagle two=ERG father deer kill-NMZ3 see=CONJ PAUS
 two eagles saw the killed deer,
- (28) xēnè ŋī=gε ʃwē t̄ʃù-gʰū-sē d̄žé-lə ...
 eagle two=ERG deer take_away-NEC-DES think-TEMP PAUS
 and after the eagles thought, 'We want to take it away,'
- (29) t̄ylèd̄zi mí-nɿ t̄ʃù-kʰə-rí-rê? sʰé-rê?
 a_little_bit NEG.COP1-COND take_away-?-IMN-FACT say-FACT
 they almost succeeded, they say.
- (30) ʒí ... épʰē kʰò=gε sʰē wó=dɿ
 so PAUS father DEF=ERG DIR.DOWN move=CONJ
 So, the father went down, and
- (31) étʰē t̄çʰà kʰē kʰò d̄zʰē tòʔ-lə
 just_now water by DEF near reach-TEMP
 when he reached the same water as earlier,
- (32) n̄džékò? sʰē !è=dɿ sʰē zêʔ=dɿ
 bag DIR.DOWN remove=CONJ DIR.DOWN place=CONJ
 he took off the bag and put it down, and
- (33) t̄çʰà d̄zi tʰš-lə d̄žɿmē t̄çʰút̄çʰš d̄zi péʔ-ʃô sʰé-rê?
 water INDF drink-TEMP monkey small INDF arrive-CIS say-FACT
 while he was drinking water, a small monkey came to him, they say.
- (34) ʒí épʰē kʰò=gε d̄žɿmē t̄çʰút̄çʰš kʰò ...
 so father DEF=ERG monkey small DEF PAUS
 So, the father
- (35) n̄džʰà-kʰə-rê? t̄ʃhē n̄džʰà-kʰə-rêʔ-rê? sʰé-rê?
 catch-?-RES DIR.PROX catch-?-RES-FACT say-FACT
 caught the small monkey, they say.

- (36) ʔí lǝ̀gèʔ tòʔ-lə ...
so halfway reach-TEMP PAUS
Then, after reaching halfway,
- (37) d̄zúrùʔ z̄ʔtsʰõ ñī kʰò t̄sɛʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
neighbor married_couple two DEF meet-FACT say-FACT
he met those two neighbors—the married couple, they say.
- (38) ʔí ém̄ē kʰò=gɛ sh'é=dɣ
so mother DEF=ERG say=CONJ
So, the mother said:
- (39) t̄çʰùʔ d̄z̄ɣm̄ē ... n̄dz̄lʰə-kʰə-rêʔ-ʂõ d̄z̄é-nɣ ...
2SG monkey PAUS catch-?-RES-CIS think-COND PAUS
'Since you've caught the monkey,
- (40) ní:=gɛ t̄çʰùʔ=tsʰɣ d̄z̄ɣm̄ē=tsʰɣ s̄iēdz̄l̄ēo dèʔ ...
1SG=ERG 2SG=DAT monkey=DAT banana[ZH] give PAUS
what if I give you bananas for it,
- (41) t̄çʰùʔ kətʰè ní:=tsʰɣ ... ʂwē ʂē gʰôʔ dèʔ-zi-é sh'é-rêʔ
2SG later 1SG=DAT PAUS deer meat split give-INTL-Q say-FACT
and you later share the deer meat with me?', they say.
- (42) épʰē kʰò=gɛ jêʔ-t̄çùʔ ēn̄d̄z̄ɣʰɣ t̄sh̄õdz̄l̄õ-t̄çùʔ sh'é-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
father DEF=ERG do-PERM like_this trade-PERM say-FACT say-FACT
The father said: 'We can do it, we can trade like this,' they say.
- (43) ʔí t̄sh̄əŋõ péʔ-lə=dɣ épʰē kʰò=gɛ d̄z̄ɣm̄ē ...
so at_home arrive-TEMP=CONJ father DEF=ERG monkey PAUS
So, after he arrived home, the father
- (44) t̄sh̄ē réròʔ=tsʰɣ t̄sh̄élèʔ jêʔ-dz̄l̄òʔ
DIR.PROX child=DAT game do-CAUS
let the child play with the monkey,
- (45) réròʔ=tsʰɣ pʰē dèʔ=dɣ réròʔ t̄sh̄élèʔ jêʔ-dz̄l̄òʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
child=DAT DIR.DIST give=CONJ child game do-CAUS-FACT say-FACT
he gave it to the child and let the child play with it, they say.
- (46) épʰē=gɛ d̄z̄ɣm̄ē ... tʰēl̄ɣ=gɛ t̄sh̄ē t̄è-dêʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
father=ERG monkey PAUS rope=INS DIR.PROX tie-PROG2-FACT say-FACT
The father tied the monkey with a rope, they say.
- (47) t̄sh̄əŋõ t̄sh̄ē t̄è-dêʔ-rêʔ sh'é-rêʔ
at_home DIR.PROX tie-PROG2-FACT say-FACT
He tied it at home, they say.

- (48) ʔí d̤zúrù? éᵐē kʰò=gε ...
so neighbor mother DEF=ERG PAUS
Then the neighbor-mother
- (49) s̤iēd̤ziēo pʰē dèʔ=dɣ ...
banana[ZH] DIR.DIST give=CONJ PAUS
gave the bananas, and
- (50) ʃwē ʃē sʰē gʰòʔ-kʰə-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
deer meat DIR.DOWN split-?-FACT say-FACT
they shared the deer meat, they say.
- (51) t̤sʰē ló=dɣ d̤zìè-wó-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
DIR.PROX get_up=CONJ leave-MOV-FACT say-FACT
She picked it up and left, they say.
- (52) ʔí épʰē=dɣ éᵐē kʰé ...
so father=CONJ mother 3NSG PAUS
So, the father, the mother, and they all
- (53) ʔí sʰēgʰɣ s̤é=dε ʃwē ʃē t̤sʰē sé-dêʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
so evening food=TOP deer meat DIR.PROX eat-PROG2-FACT say-FACT
were eating deer meat for dinner.
- (54) ʔí pý kʰò=gε ...
so boy DEF=ERG PAUS
The boy
- (55) d̤zɣᵐē=t̤sʰɣ=dε s̤iēd̤ziēo d̤zi sé-d̤zìòʔ-rêʔ sʰé-rêʔ
monkey=DAT=TOP banana[ZH] INDF eat-CAUS-FACT say-FACT
let the monkey eat a banana, they say.
- (56) ʔí sʰēgʰɣ ʃù kʰén̤d̤ziē=t̤sʰɣ s̤é sé-tʰúj-lə ...
so evening every 3NSG=PL food eat-PFV-TEMP PAUS
So, after they ate in the evening,
- (57) n̤ijêʔ-dêʔ gʰó=dɣ ...
sleep-PROG2 during=CONJ PAUS
while they were sleeping,
- (58) d̤zɣᵐē éᵐē=gε kʰýrē~kʰýrē t̤sʰē péʔ-wó=dɣ ...
monkey mother=ERG quiet~quiet DIR.PROX arrive-MOV=CONJ PAUS
the mother of the monkey quietly came,

(59) t^hə̀l̩y̌ s^hē l̩̀è=dɿ
rope DIR.DOWN remove=CONJ
took off the rope, and

(60) d̩̄z̄x̄m̄ē k^hò p^hē t̩̀s̩̀ī̩ʔ-k^hə-r̩̀êʔ s^hé-r̩̀êʔ
monkey DEF DIR.DIST take_away-?-FACT say-FACT
took away the monkey, they say.

Text 8: The Pear Story

A man was up in a pear tree picking pears. After filling two or three baskets, he placed them on the ground near the tree and climbed back up to pick more.

Just then, a boy rode up on a bicycle. He saw the pears, looked up at the man in the tree—who wasn't paying attention—and quickly loaded a full basket onto his bike. He stole the basket and rode off.

A short while later, as he was riding, a girl appeared on the path. Glancing at her, he was caught off guard when a gust of wind blew his hat off. As he reached for it, he lost balance and tumbled off the bicycle. The basket of pears flew into the air, and fruit scattered everywhere.

Three children walking nearby saw what happened and rushed over. They helped the boy up and gathered the fallen pears. Once he was standing again, they let him go on his way and the three of them walked off in the opposite direction.

But just as they were leaving, one of the boys noticed the boy's hat lying on the ground. He picked it up, called out to him, and ran to return it. Grateful, the boy handed each of the three children a pear. Then they all parted ways.

As the children walked back, they passed under the pear tree. The man who had been picking pears had just climbed down and immediately noticed that one of his baskets was missing. He looked at the three children—each holding a pear—and thought to himself, "It must have been them who stole it."

- (1) pʸtsērérò? d̄zi s^hū|əp^hô=nə s^hū|ə tù?
 man INDF pear_tree=LOC pear cut
 A man was picking pears on a pear tree,
- (2) ʔí s^hū|ə s^hē tù?-t^húj-lə=dɿ
 so pear DIR.DOWN cut-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 and once he finished picking the pears,
- (3) s^hū|əp^hô d̄z^hē k^hò=nə ... zê?-rê? ...
 pear_tree near DEF=LOC PAUS place-RES PAUS
 he placed them near the pear tree;
- (4) ts^hŷk^hè? ... ts^hŷk^hè? ŋī sō d̄zi s^hē tù?
 basket PAUS basket two three INDF DIR.DOWN cut
 he picked two or three baskets of pears

- (5) $\widehat{ts}^h\bar{e}$ $s\bar{e}k^h\bar{e}$ $z\hat{e}?\text{-}r\hat{e}?\text{-}t^h\acute{u}j\text{-}l\bar{a}$
 DIR.PROX on_the_ground place-RES-PFV-TEMP
 and after placing them on the ground
- (6) $w\acute{o}j\hat{a}$ $j\acute{e}$ ${}^n\widehat{dz}\hat{e}?\text{-}k^h\bar{a}\text{-}t^h\acute{u}j\text{-}l\bar{a}=\text{d}\gamma$...
 still DIR.UP climb-?-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 and climbing back up,
- (7) $w\acute{o}j\hat{a}$ $s^h\bar{u}j\bar{u}$ $t\bar{u}?$ $w\acute{o}\text{-}r\hat{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}\text{-}r\hat{e}?$
 still pear cut move-FACT say-FACT
 he went to pick more pears, they say.
- (8) $\acute{r}\acute{i}$ $p\acute{y}$... $p\acute{y}$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{i}$ $p\acute{e}?\text{-}w\acute{o}\text{-}l\bar{a}$
 so boy PAUS boy INDF arrive-MOV-TEMP
 Then a boy arrived,
- (9) $\widehat{d\acute{e}t\check{s}^h\bar{e}}$ $\widehat{dz}\bar{i}\bar{e}\text{-}k^h\bar{a}=\text{d}\gamma$ $p\acute{y}$ $\widehat{d}z\bar{i}$ $\bar{o}j\bar{a}$ $\widehat{ts}^h\bar{e}$ $p\acute{e}?\text{-}k^h\bar{a}\text{-}l\bar{a}=\text{d}\gamma$
 bicycle[ZH] ride-?=CONJ boy INDF there DIR.PROX arrive-?-TEMP=CONJ
 he was riding a bicycle, and after arriving there,
- (10) $\acute{r}\acute{i}$ $p\acute{y}$ $k^h\bar{o}=\text{g}\epsilon$ $s^h\bar{u}j\bar{u}$ $t^h\bar{u}\text{-}\widehat{d}z\bar{i}$ $s^h\bar{u}j\bar{u}$ $t^h\bar{u}\text{-}\widehat{d}z\bar{i}$
 so boy DEF=ERG pear see-IRRV pear see-IRRV
 he saw the pears;
- (11) $j\acute{e}$ $w\acute{o}$ $t^h\bar{u}$ $p^h\bar{o}$ $\widehat{d}\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $m\hat{a}$ $k^h\bar{o}=\widehat{ts}^h\gamma$ ${}^n\widehat{dz}\bar{i}\acute{y}?\text{-}l\bar{a}$
 DIR.UP move DEM.FRDIST tree on_top_of person DEF=DAT look-TEMP
 he looked up at the person at the top of the tree,
- (12) $m\hat{a}$ $k^h\bar{o}$ $s^h\bar{e}$ ${}^n\widehat{dz}\bar{i}\acute{y}?\text{-}m\acute{e}\text{-}d\acute{e}?$...
 person DEF DIR.DOWN look-NEG1-PROG2 PAUS
 the person wasn't looking down,
- (13) $t\acute{y}r\bar{e}$ $k^h\bar{o}=\text{g}\epsilon$... $\widehat{ts}^h\gamma k^h\bar{e}?$ $k\acute{s}$ $k^h\bar{o}=\text{d}\epsilon$
 at_that_time 3SG=ERG PAUS basket full DEF=TOP
 and at that moment, he
- (14) $\widehat{d\acute{e}t\check{s}^h\bar{e}}$ $\widehat{d}\bar{i}t^h\bar{e}$ $j\acute{e}$ $z\hat{e}?\text{-}k^h\bar{a}=\text{d}\gamma$ $g^h\gamma\text{-}k^h\bar{a}=\text{d}\gamma$
 bicycle[ZH] on_top_of DIR.UP place-?=CONJ steal-?=CONJ
 placed a full basket on top of the bicycle, stole it,
- (15) $\widehat{dz}\bar{i}\bar{e}\text{-}w\acute{o}\text{-}r\hat{e}?$ $s^h\acute{e}\text{-}r\hat{e}?$
 leave-MOV-FACT say-FACT
 and left, they say.

- (16) ʔí dʒìè-wó-tʰúj-lə=dɿ ... dʒìè-wó-tʰúj-lə=dɿ
 so leave-MOV-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS leave-MOV-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 So, once he left and
- (17) léǵèʔ péʔ-kʰə-lə pým̩y̯ dʒi tsʰɛ péʔ-wó
 halfway arrive-?-TEMP girl INDF DIR.PROX arrive-MOV
 reached halfway, a girl arrived,
- (18) ʔí tʳrē kʰò ēndzʰy̯ pʰɛ nʰdzʰʔ-zʰʔ-lə=dɿ
 so at_that_time 3SG like_this DIR.DIST look-SIMUL-TEMP=CONJ
 at that moment, he looked at her like that,
- (19) lǒbèʔ=ge ʂwé pʰɛ tʰé-rêʔ ...
 wind=ERG hat DIR.DIST float=RES PAUS
 and the wind blew away his hat;
- (20) ʂwé pʰɛ tʰé-rêʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɿ
 hat DIR.DIST float-RES-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 after the hat floated away and
- (21) tʳrē tsʰɛ wó-kʰə-lə
 at_that_time DIR.PROX move-?-TEMP
 he moved,
- (22) ró tʳrē dētsʰɛ sʰɛ kʰýlòdʰé-rêʔ
 self at_that_time bicycle[ZH] DIR.DOWN turn_over-RES
 he himself flipped off the bicycle;
- (23) sʰɛ kʰýlòdʰé-rêʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɿ
 DIR.DOWN turn_over-RES-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 as he flipped off the bicycle,
- (24) sʰūʔɛ=dɿ ... ró=lɿ sʰɛ nʰdzʰy̯ ...
 pear=CONJ PAUS self=ADD DIR.DOWN fall PAUS
 the pears and he fell down,
- (25) sʰūʔɛ tsǒm̩ɛ sʰɛ sɛ kʰɛ tʰɛʔ ...
 pear all DIR.DOWN ground by scatter PAUS
 all the pears scattered on the ground;
- (26) ʔí pʰɛkʰədʰtsʰɛ réròʔ sǒ tsʰɛ péʔ-wó
 so from_gaze_direction child three DIR.PROX arrive-MOV
 then three children came from the direction of his gaze;
- (27) réròʔ sǒ=ge jé rùʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɿ ...
 child three=ERG DIR.UP help-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 after the three children helped him get up,

- (28) t́yrḗ kʰò=tsʰɿ ... jé rùʔ-tʰúj-lə
 at_that_time 3SG=DAT PAUS DIR.UP help-PFV-TEMP
 once they helped him get up,
- (29) sh̩ú|ù=lv jé tʰɿ dèʔ
 pear=ADD DIR.UP pick_up give
 they also picked up and gave him the pears;
- (30) ʔí jé d̩zòʔ-dêʔ-tʰúj-lə
 so DIR.UP set_upright-PROG2-PFV-TEMP
 once they set him upright,
- (31) ʔí t́yrḗ kʰò ... pʰē wèʔ-d̩zìè
 so at_that_time 3SG PAUS DIR.DIST let_go-TRANSL
 they let him go;
- (32) ʔí ró s̩ǒgèʔ=lv pʰē ...
 so self all_three=ADD DIR.DIST PAUS
 all three of them
- (33) zù d̩zi pʰē d̩zjè-wó ...
 direction INDF DIR.DIST leave-MOV PAUS
 went away in the opposite direction;
- (34) pʰē d̩zjè-wó-rêʔ wó pý d̩zi kʰò ...
 DIR.DIST leave-MOV-FACT again boy one DEF PAUS
 they went away, but then one of the boys
- (35) kʰò=gε ʃwé sē kʰē jòʔ-rêʔ-shē tʰũ
 3SG=GEN hat ground by throw-FACT-NMZ3 see
 saw his hat thrown on the ground;
- (36) ʃwé sē kʰē jòʔ-rêʔ-shē tʰũ-tʰúj-lə
 hat ground by throw-FACT-NMZ3 see-PFV-TEMP
 once he saw the hat on the ground
- (37) ʃwé kʰò jé tʰɿ-kʰə-tʰúj-lə=dɿ ...
 hat DEF DIR.UP pick_up-?-PFV-TEMP=CONJ PAUS
 and picked it up,
- (38) ʔí ʃwé kʰò jé tʰɿ-kʰə-tʰúj-lə
 so hat DEF DIR.UP pick_up-?-PFV-TEMP
 after picking it up,
- (39) wó pý kʰò=tsʰɿ pʰē k̩t̩t̩ʔ=dɿ pʰē d̩zʰō wó-rêʔ
 again boy DEF=DAT DIR.DIST call=CONJ DIR.DIST return move-FACT
 he called out to that boy and went to return it to him.

- (40) p^hē d̄z^hō̄ wó-t^húj-lə=dɣ tɛ́ pý k^hò=gɛ
 DIR.DIST return move-PFV-TEMP=CONJ then boy 3SG=ERG
 Once he went to return the hat, the boy then
- (41) k^héⁿd̄zⁱē sō̄=ts^hɣ s^hūl̄ɰ̄ n̄d̄z̄ýd̄zⁱè? sō̄ p^hē dè? ...
 3NSG three=DAT pear unit three DIR.DIST give PAUS
 gave the three boys three pears;
- (42) p^hē dè?-t^húj-lə ɣí t̄ýrē̄ ...
 DIR.DIST give-PFV-TEMP so at_that_time PAUS
 after he gave them the pears,
- (43) k^héⁿd̄zⁱē ts̄ō̄m̄ē p^hē d̄z̄é̄ ...
 3NSG all DIR.DIST disperse PAUS
 all of them dispersed;
- (44) ɣí t^hɰ̄ rérò? sō̄ k^hò=lɣ p^hēk^həd̄í d̄zⁱè-wó-lə=dɣ
 so DEM.FRDIST child three DEF=ADD turn_around leave-MOV-TEMP=CONJ
 once those three children turned around and left,
- (45) wól̄ə̄ s^hūl̄ɰ̄p^hō̄ zò? p^hē tò?-k^hə̄
 still pear_tree under DIR.DIST reach-?
 they then arrived under the pear tree;
- (46) s^hūl̄ɰ̄p^hō̄ zò? p^hē tò?-k^hə̄ d̄z̄ó̄d̄zⁱ?-k^hə-lə ...
 pear_tree under DIR.DIST reach-? prepare-?-TEMP PAUS
 when they were just coming close to it,
- (47) t^hɰ̄ d̄t^hē̄ ... s^hūl̄ɰ̄ t̄ù?-d̄é?-m̄ə̄ k^hò=lɣ
 DEM.FRDIST on_top_of PAUS pear cut-PROG2-NMZ1 DEF=ADD
 the person who was cutting the pears at the top
- (48) s^hē p̄ò?-k^hə̄ s^hē p̄ò?-k^hə-lə=dɣ
 DIR.DOWN descend-? DIR.DOWN descend-?-TEMP=CONJ
 also came down, and after he came down,
- (49) r̄ó=gɛ jē ts^hɣk^hè? d̄zⁱ=dɛ t̄ýrē̄ m̄b̄é?-t^húj ...
 self=GEN part basket one=TOP at_that_time lose-PFV PAUS
 one of his baskets was missing;
- (50) ɣí p^hē s̄ɣ̄ŋ̄t̄ō̄-d̄é?-lə=dɣ
 so DIR.DIST ponder-PROG2-TEMP=CONJ
 so he started pondering:
- (51) t^hɰ̄ rérò? sō̄ k^hò=gɛ
 DEM.FRDIST child three DEF=ERG
 those three children

- (52) lʏg^hwē=nə s^hū|ǝ rʏrè z̄j-k^hə-lə=dʏ
 hand=LOC pear each hold-?-TEMP=CONJ
 each had a pear in their hands;
- (53) tɛ t^hǝ t̄ʊʔ-mə k^hò=gɛ=dɛ ...
 then DEM.FRDIST cut-NMZ1 DEF=ERG=TOP PAUS
 so the man who was cutting the pears thought,
- (54) tʏrē k^héⁿd̄z̄iē s̄ō=gɛ g^hʏ k^hē-é d̄z̄é
 at_that_time 3NSG three=ERG steal bring-Q think
 “It must have been the three of them who stole them.”

Text 9: Audio Message to the Researcher

So, this is how a person's life is, isn't it? No matter what, we always seem to be busy. Even though it's already gotten so late again, I just now found a moment to sit down and write out these thoughts — thinking about someone across the ocean who might be waiting for me.

How are you these days, you on the other side of the ocean? We don't even know each other, do we? We've never even seen each other's face. And yet, even so, I've kept thinking — day after day — that I should send you something. So tonight, in the language of the Tshodrug people, I'm sending you this message.

But still... I don't really know what I should write. Honestly, I'm doing this for the first time — it's a bit nerve-wracking, isn't it? Sometimes, when I try, my thoughts get all tangled. So, has it become evening where you are now, over there? Is the sun still shining where you are?

I find myself thinking about strange little things like that — don't I? Don't laugh at me.

You, on the other side of the ocean — in my thoughts, I keep saying: *Please, be well. Please, be happy.* That's what I hope.

So yes, I really don't know what I should be writing, do I? When something like this suddenly happens — reaching out to someone I've never seen, someone I don't even know — it's hard to find the words.

But this evening, what I feel in my heart — I'm saying it like this.

Please, don't be upset. If you continue your studies, I truly hope you gain deep knowledge. And whatever it is that you wish for in your heart — may it come to you, just as you imagine, with nothing standing in your way.

Warmest wishes.

(1) ʔí m̩â=gε néts^hè d̩zi k^hò é-ʔí-é
so person=GEN lifetime one DEF Q-COP1-Q
So, a person's one life — that's how it is, isn't it?

(2) gēŋē ʔí-nɣ d̩zi t̩ç^hòʔ-zôʔ-dêʔ ó
what COP1-COND one be_busy-SIMUL-PROG2 SFP
No matter what, one is always kind of busy.

(3) éⁿd̩z̩^hɣ̩ ɣ̩ɣ̩ɣ̩ r̩êʔ j̩êʔ-t^húj wó ŋé ...
like_this late COP2 do-PFV again 1SG PAUS
Although it has already become late like this again, I,

- (4) $\widehat{dz}i\widehat{e}ts^{h}u?$ $p^{h}\bar{e}$ $k^{h}\bar{e}$ $\eta\hat{a}$ \widehat{dzi} $\eta\acute{e}$ $g\acute{o}\text{-}^{n}d\hat{o}?\text{-}r\acute{e}?$ $\widehat{d}z\acute{e}\text{-}t^{h}u\acute{j}\text{-}l\bar{a}=d\gamma$
ocean DIR.DIST by person INDF 1SG wait-PROG1-FACT think-PFV-TEMP=COND
after thinking about how a person by the other side of the ocean is waiting for me,
- (5) $\eta\acute{e}$ $w\acute{o}^{m}b^{h}\bar{e}$... $s^{h}\bar{e}$ \widehat{dzi} $\widehat{d}z^{h}\gamma$...
so only_now PAUS DIR.DOWN one write PAUS
only now wrote down
- (6) $r\acute{o}=g\epsilon$ $s^{h}\bar{i}$ $s\bar{\gamma}^{m}b^{h}\bar{e}$ $k^{h}\hat{o}$
self=GEN heart thought DEF
my thoughts.
- (7) $\eta\acute{e}$ $\widehat{dz}i\widehat{e}ts^{h}u?$ $p^{h}\bar{e}$ $k^{h}\bar{e}=g\epsilon$ $\widehat{t}\check{c}^{h}u?$ $\acute{e}r\bar{i}$ $k^{h}\acute{e}d\widehat{z}^{h}\bar{o}$ $d\bar{i}m\grave{a}$ $\acute{e}\text{-}\eta\acute{e}$
so ocean DIR.DIST by=GEN 2SG today yesterday peacefull Q-COP1
So, you on the other side of the ocean — are you doing well these days?
- (8) $\acute{e}k\grave{u}?$ $\eta\bar{i}g\grave{e}?\text{-}d\epsilon$ $x\bar{e}\langle l\gamma\text{-}k^{h}\bar{a}\text{-}\acute{e}\rangle g^{h}\hat{o}$
1NSG.IN both=TOP know<ADD-?-Q>know
We don't even know each other, right?
- (9) $d^{h}\bar{u}k\grave{e}$ $\widehat{dzi}=l\gamma$ $t^{h}\bar{u}\text{-}k^{h}\bar{a}\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}\eta\acute{u}$
face INDF=ADD see-?-Q-EXP
And we haven't even seen each other's face before?
- (10) $\eta\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}^{n}\widehat{d}z^{h}\gamma$ $\eta\acute{e}\text{-}n\gamma\text{-}l\bar{a}$... $\eta\acute{e}$ $w\acute{o}l\hat{e}$...
so like_this COP1-COND-TEMP PAUS 1SG still PAUS
But even though it's like this, I still —
- (11) $n\acute{e}m\bar{e}$ $r\acute{y}r\acute{e}$ $\widehat{t}\check{c}^{h}u?\text{-}t\bar{s}^{h}\gamma$ \widehat{dzi} $f\bar{e}$ $d\grave{e}?\text{-}g^{h}\bar{u}\text{-}r\acute{e}?$ $\widehat{d}z\acute{e}\text{-}t^{h}u\acute{j}\text{-}l\bar{a}=d\gamma$
day each 2SG=DAT one send[ZH] give-NEC-FACT think-PFV-TEMP=COND
after thinking every day that I need to send you something,
- (12) $\acute{e}\text{-}\eta\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{e}$...
Q-COP1-Q PAUS
right,
- (13) $\eta\acute{e}$ $\acute{e}n\grave{u}?\text{-}l\gamma$ $\widehat{t}s\bar{\gamma}g\grave{u}?\text{-}g\epsilon$ $w\hat{e}$ $k\grave{e}?\text{-}g\epsilon$ $\acute{e}\text{-}\eta\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{e}$
so this_evening=ADD Tshodrug=GEN resident language=INS Q-COP1-Q
this evening too, in the language of the Tshodrug people, right,
- (14) \widehat{dzi} $\widehat{t}\check{c}^{h}u?\text{-}t\bar{s}^{h}\gamma$ $p^{h}\bar{e}$ $f\bar{e}$ $d\grave{e}?$ \acute{o}
one 2SG=DAT DIR.DIST send[ZH] give SFP
I'm sending you a message.
- (15) $w\acute{o}$ $\eta\acute{e}$ $g\bar{e}\eta\bar{e}$ $\widehat{d}z^{h}\gamma=l\gamma$ $x\bar{e}\langle k^{h}\bar{a}\text{-}\acute{e}\rangle g^{h}\hat{o}$
again 1SG what write=ADD know<?-Q>know
But again, I don't even know what I should write.

- (16) ηέ=lx wó^mb^hē ... k^hò jê?-t^húj-lə ...
 1SG=ADD only_now PAUS 3SG do-PFV-TEMP PAUS
 I also only now... after doing it...
- (17) éⁿdž^hý k^hò=dε lé dži mí-é
 like_this 3SG=TOP matter one NEG.COP1-Q
 it's the first time I'm doing something like this, isn't it?
- (18) γί ts^hērè pé?-t^húj-lə=dý
 so sometimes arrive-PFV-TEMP=CONJ
 So, when it comes to it sometimes,
- (19) s^hĩ sý^mb^hē tsò? k^hò nò?
 heart thought nervous DEF have.VSEN
 I have nervous thoughts.
- (20) γί dz^lēts^hò? p^hē k^hē=gε tç^hù? ...
 so ocean DIR.DIST by=GEN 2SG PAUS
 So, you on the other side of the ocean —
- (21) ét^hē dz^hý=dε tç^hé dz^hē ... s^hēg^hý rê?-é-t^húj
 now approximately=TOP 2NSG near PAUS evening become-Q-PFV
 has it become evening around now, over there near you?
- (22) wó ét^hē dz^hý=dε tç^hé dz^hē né^mē s^hē-ts^hâ jâ?-é
 again now approximately=TOP 2NSG near sun appear-CONT have.FACT-Q
 Also, is the sun still out around now, near you?
- (23) ηέ ts^hērèts^hēzō éⁿdž^hý g^hés^wédž^hýgù? dž^é-k^hə é-γ^h-é
 1SG sometimes like_this weird think-? Q-COP1-Q
 I sometimes think about such weird things, don't I?
- (24) tç^hù? g^hé>mé<š^hwé ó
 2SG laugh>NEG1<laugh SFI
 Don't laugh at me.
- (25) dz^lēts^hò? p^hē k^hē=gε tç^hù? ...
 ocean DIR.DIST by=GEN 2SG PAUS
 You on the other side of the ocean —
- (26) ηέ s^hĩ sý^mb^hē nó^gh^ō=dε ... tç^hù? dī^mè rê?-rù?-g^hū
 1SG heart thought inside=TOP PAUS 2SG peaceful COP2-POL-NEC
 in my thoughts: "Please, you must be well,
- (27) s^hīp^hý rê?-rù?-g^hū dži s^hé ó
 happy COP2-POL-NEC one say SFP
 you must be happy." I say this.

- (28) ʔí nɛ́ ... gɛ̃nɔ̃ d͡z̥h̥y-d͡zi-gʰɛ̃ xɛ̃<nɛ́>gʰɔ̃-nɛ̃ é-ʔí-é
 so 1SG PAUS what write-IRR-NEC know<NEG2>know-VSEN Q-COP1-Q
 So, I clearly don't know what I should write, do I?
- (29) ʔí ... t͡sʰɛ̃rè péʔ-tʰúj-lə=dɣ ʔínɛ̃mɛ̃ ...
 so PAUS sometimes arrive-PFV-TEMP=CONJ suddenly PAUS
 When it happens so suddenly sometimes —
- (30) tʰɛ̃-mé-ɲú-mà d͡zi=t͡sʰɣ é-ʔí-é
 see-NEG1-EXP-NMZ1 INDF=DAT Q-COP1-Q
 to a person I've never seen, right,
- (31) xɛ̃<nɛ́>gʰɔ̃-mà d͡zi=t͡sʰɣ ...
 know<NEG2>know-NMZ1 INDF=DAT PAUS
 to someone I don't know —
- (32) gɛ̃nɔ̃ sʰé-d͡zi-gʰɛ̃=lɣ xɛ̃<nɛ́>gʰɔ̃-nɛ̃
 what say-IRR-NEC=ADD know<NEG2>know-VSEN
 I don't even know what I should say.
- (33) ʔí énuʔ=dɛ
 so this_evening=TOP
 So, this evening,
- (34) ní=gɛ ró=gɛ sʰí=nə kʰò d͡z̥ɛ̃ d͡zi
 1SG.INFL=ERG self=GEN heart=LOC 3SG think INDF
 what I think in my heart —
- (35) énd͡z̥h̥y d͡zi jêʔ-rêʔ ó
 like_this INDF do-FACT SFP
 I say it like this.
- (36) ʔí t͡ɕʰɛ̃ʔ ʔí<mé>kʰé jêʔ-rùʔ
 so 2SG be_angry<NEG1>be_angry do-POL
 Please, don't be angry.
- (37) ʔí d͡ziʔtʰɛ̃=dɛ ... t͡ɕʰɛ̃ʔ jégʰèʔ ʔòʔ-nɣ-lə ...
 so in_the_future=TOP PAUS 2SG book learn-COND-TEMP PAUS
 If you study in the future,
- (38) jégʰèʔ sʰi-d͡ziʔòʔ-rùʔ
 book KNOW-CAUS-POL
 I wish for you to gain strong knowledge.
- (39) ʔí sʰí sɣ̃ᵐbʰɛ̃ nó gɛ̃nɔ̃ d͡z̥ɛ̃-nɣ-lə ...
 so heart thought in what think-COND-TEMP PAUS
 And whatever you wish for in your heart —

- (40) $\widehat{t\phi^h\ddot{u}^?}$ $s^{h\bar{r}}=n\bar{a}$ $\widehat{d\check{z}\acute{e}-m\grave{a}}$ $\eta\acute{y}^n\widehat{d\check{z}^h\bar{e}}$
 2SG heart=LOC think-NMZ1 the_same
 may it come to you just as you imagine it,
- (41) $\acute{e}^n\widehat{d\check{z}^h\ddot{y}}$ $^n\widehat{d\check{z}^h\bar{u}-d\check{z}^l\grave{o}^?-r\grave{u}^?-g^h\ddot{u}}$ \acute{o}
 like_this proceed_unimpeded-CAUS-POL-NEC SFP
 without obstacles.
- (42) \acute{r}^i $\widehat{d\check{z}\bar{e}sid\acute{y}l\grave{e}}$ \acute{o}
 so best_wishes SFP
 Best wishes!

Appendix B: Tshodrug lexicon

é ^b h̄y	elder sister	bê?	to blow
édz̄ ^h h̄y	recently, just now	bíp ^h ē	frog
ég ^h ē	maternal aunt	bítçè?	whip
éjī?	grandmother	bô?	air
ékù?	1NSG.IN	bōdz̄ ^h ú	to pant
ék ^h h̄y	paternal uncle	bô?tçè	to stop breathing
éṃē	mother	bōtç ^h ò?	breath
émī	grandfather	býgù?	hot pepper
ēṃy	surely, already	býl̄ē	cloth
éṃī?	paternal aunt	býl̄i	penis
énù?	this evening	b ^h é	to bury
é ⁿ dz̄l̄ē	1NSG.EX	b ^h é	indigestion
é ⁿ dz̄ ^h è(dê?)	1NSG family	b ^h ê	to pull out
ē ⁿ dz̄ò?	immediately	b ^h î	to pick (grass, flower)
é ⁿ dz̄ē	like	b ^h ì	custom
é ⁿ dz̄ ^h h̄y	like this	b ^h ú	to soak
ép ^h ē	father	déd ^h ù	fava bean
érè?	alcohol	dè?dz̄ô	to remember
érī	today	dē	to like
érś	still	dēṃṃè	beautiful (for things)
ésṽ	nowadays	dê?	to stay, to live
ésṣ̄	chopsticks	dè?	to give
ét ^h ē	now	dék ^h ē	family
étçì?	this year	désē	room
étsō	beard	dēb ^h ē	real
éwō?	elder brother	dēs ^h ṣ̄	to believe
ézś	maternal uncle	détç ^h ī	Deqin county
bê?	to carry on one's back	dīdō	Shangrila city
béb ^h h̄y	wok	dīṃṃè	wedding, spectacle, event;
bé	unfortunately		peaceful

dīt ^h ē	on top of	dzīk ^h 5	palace
dí	to fly	dzīm̄y	game
dô?	et cetera	dzījò?	heel
dòdz̄y	temporarily	dzò?	to strike, to plant, to sting, to set (upright), to chop, to seat
dóssù?	roof slit		
dô?	to suffer	dz5rē	hell
dók ^h ō	above	dzūwē	origin
dóp ^h û	hardship	dzūzè?	dirty
dû?	to collapse	dzy ^h mē	pot
dúp ^h ō	boulder	dzhē	near; root, vein, pulse
dūsù?	to show off	dzhē	to change clothes
dút̄ ^h ùj	grave	dzhè	to search
dúts̄ùj	time	dzhè?	to calculate
dýk ^h è?	cucumber	dzhē	gunpowder
dýlè?	soft	dzh ^h ī	to tie (a belt)
dýlù?	stone	dzh ^h wē	grass
d ^h ē	to chase	dzh ^h y	approximately
d ^h è?	to seal	dziē	hundred
d ^h ē	seven	dziè	to leave
d ^h ī	on top	dziè?	iron; to carry
d ^h 5	to hit; to celebrate	dziê?	to close, to press
d ^h ũ / d ^h ũkè	face	dziébè?	fat (for people)
d ^h û	to sprout	dziéb ^h ē	enemy
dzē	to add	dziébì?	vagina
dzē	to embroider, to sew	dziēk ^h ērê?	spider
dzé?	beside	dziēmè?	intestine
dzé ^h dzhē	cross	dziēnè?	forest
dzéjò?	to lie, to deceive	dziē ⁿ dzhē	pin, nail
dzi	one	dziétò?	shit
dzi?	eight	dziēts ^h ò?	ocean
dzi?	to stack, to pile	dziè?	to chop, to cut off
dzīb ^h y	king, emperor	dziébè?	heavy
dzīk ^h è?	country, kingdom	dziéj5	weight

d̄zi'elè?	tongue	d̄zô?	to drop
d̄zi'ò?	to vomit; to stuff	d̄zò?	six; to mix
d̄zi'ōrī	far	d̄zōzō	hive
d̄zi'ó	wall	d̄zód ^h ē	chest
d̄zi'ót ^h è?	distance	d̄zódzì?	to prepare
d̄zi'ó?	to launch	d̄zójē	hut
d̄z'ód ^h ò?	buttocks	d̄zōnè?	fly
d̄zi'ōd̄zè?	deaf	d̄zōts ^h à	bee
d̄zi'ōng'è?	behind	d̄zūdò?	to hold
d̄zi'ōsù?	outside	d̄zúk ^h ē	discussion
d̄zi'ōt ^h ē	in the future, behind	d̄zūjp ^h ē	stomach
d̄zi'ō	to lie down, to stretch	d̄zúrù?	neighbor
d̄zi'ù?	to put, to cover	d̄zūwē	sack
d̄zi'úwè?	flea	d̄z'új ^h mē	ant
d̄zi'wè?	to break	d̄z'új ^h t ^h ē	bat
d̄zi ^h ē	good; to ride	d̄z'ý	to ask
d̄zi ^h é	tea	d̄z'ýdò?bê	Christian
d̄zi ^h ég ^h ō	anus	d̄z'ýdzìè?	seed
d̄zi ^h è	ten	d̄z'ýmē	monkey
d̄zi ^h éb ^h ē	raw	d̄z ^h ē	hair; violence
d̄zi ^h ō	to give back, to return	d̄z ^h í	half a kilo; wedding table
d̄zi ^h ō	to study	d̄z ^h ī	cloud
d̄z'ê	until	d̄z ^h ō	swollen
d̄z'è	to fear	d̄z ^h ó	song
d̄z'ê?	rock, cliff	d̄z ^h ō	to sing / honey
d̄z'è?	to combine	d̄z ^h ó / d̄z ^h ó ^h mē	cold
d̄z'ég ^h ō	cave	d̄z ^h īj	to flee
d̄z'ēsè?	to comb	d̄z ^h ý	snake
d̄z'é	to disperse	d̄z ^h ý	to tumble, to roll
d̄z'émē	rice	d̄z ^h ý	to write
d̄z'é	to think	d̄z ^h ýdzì ^h ō	knife
d̄z'ō	traditional slow-paced	g'é	to love; saddle
dancing		g'ē ^h ē	what

gē	box	jē	part, side
gê?	to tan, to roast	jé / jéb ^h ỳ	good
gérē	garden	jē	to borrow (borrow and return the same item)
gēgù?	elderly woman		
gēk ^h ē	cold season	jê?	to do
gēpè?	old (for people)	jég ^h è?	book, letter
gēṭ ^h ē	jewelry	jēmè?	willow
gó?ē	egg	jēm̩	Sichuan pepper
gógò?	curved	jés ^h ò	Jesus
gōb ^h ē	temple	jétò?	to support
gó	to wait	jí ỳ	all
gò?	to renovate, to repair	jíwē	handle
gūg ^h ūj	round	jò?	to throw
gūjt̩?	around	jō	good fortune
gúrè?	bad	jǒlè?	light (in weight)
gū	to lay (eggs)	júlǐ	Yunling Township
gūj	cunning	júts ^h ò	village, region, area
gŷ	nine	kē	pillar; hard, to be hard
gýḍẓ ^h ò?	happiness	ké	where
g ^h éşwê	to laugh	kēm̩	thief
g ^h éşwêḍẓ ^h gù?	weird	kədè?	ceremonial white scarf
g ^h ē	across	kád ^h ì?	which
g ^h ē	to pass away	káṭ ^h ì?	waist
g ^h ūj	to dig	kázi?	how many, how much
g ^h ū	to need	kè?	language
g ^h ū	to hang	kēdẓ ^h ē	beige
g ^h ô?	to split	kēdẓ ^h ǐ	window
g ^h ō	back	kēm̩	star; minute
g ^h ó	during; on	két ^h è	later
g ^h ó	door	kéj̩	kidney
g ^h óp ^h è	door leaf	kì?	to hiccup
g ^h ŷ	to steal	kó	who
íḍẓè?	all	kóḍẓè?	hen

kòʔ	to cover	k ^h énùʔ	last evening
kóʔɪ	all	k ^h é(ᵐdzìē)	3NSG
kódzì ^h ē	many	k ^h ēt ^h ē / k ^h ē	ladder, stairs
kó ⁿ dzìʔ	to peek	k ^h éŋì	before (in the past)
kó	full	k ^h ò	3SG
kújè	trash	k ^h ōt ^h ə	to have diarrhea
kūròʔ	donkey	k ^h ô	to understand
kú	price	k ^h ōdzì ^h ŷ	key
kwè	to turn over	k ^h ók ^h è	understanding
kwèʔ	to stop, to block	k ^h ób ^h ē	house
kwē ⁿ dzì	swap	k ^h ōb ^h ē	leg, foot
ký	to hide	k ^h ódí	roof
kýk ^h ē	white	k ^h ūj	to throw; to come back
kýjē	slow	k ^h ǎ	rare
kýlí	neck	k ^h új	to hurt
kýrèʔ	belt	k ^h wé	bread, cake; meal
kýtòʔ	to call	k ^h ýlò	dialect
kýzòʔ	how	k ^h ýlò	lid
k ^h ē	mouth; by, around	k ^h ýlòd ^h é	to turn over
k ^h é	snow	k ^h ý ^m b ^h ŷ	peach
k ^h ēŋé	to obey	k ^h ý ^m b ^h ŷp ^h ô	peach tree
k ^h ērêʔ / rêʔ	to obtain	k ^h ý ⁿ dzì ⁿ è(dêʔ)	3NSG family
k ^h ēt ^h à	saliva	k ^h ý ⁿ dzì ^h ŷ	like that
k ^h ēwêʔ	to speak	k ^h ýrē	quiet
k ^h ē	to dry	lē	river deer
k ^h á ^m b ^h ŷ	peach	lèʔ	branch
k ^h ā ^m b ^h ŷ	dry	lébèʔ	shoulder
k ^h ā ⁿ dzì ^h ŷ	in front of	lé ⁿ d ^h ē	bag
k ^h ē	to bring	lézòʔ	armpit
k ^h édzì ^h ē	load	lé	road
k ^h édzì ^h ŷ	yesterday	légèʔ	halfway
k ^h édzì ^h ŷk ^h éŋì	several days ago	lálèbýjē	a little
k ^h éné ^m ê	the day before yesterday	lát ^h èʔ	Lancang river

lê?	to get out	l̥é?út̥h̥ò?	student
l̥əp ^h ē	brain	l̥ē	shoe
l̥égém̥y̆	difficult	l̥è	to remove
l̥ék ^h ē / l̥é	work, matter	l̥ō	to take; to sing
l̥é̄l̥èb ^h y̆	easy	l̥ô	year
l̥érê?	to work	l̥ò?	to learn
li?	to feed (someone) a drink	l̥ù?	to cheat
l̥íp ^h y̆	body	l̥y̆	wish song
l̥ô?	sheep	l̥y̆ ⁿ b ^h y̆	pants
l̥ódz ^h à?	shepherd	mè?	wound
l̥ódz ^h ì?	lamb	m̄ējē	peacock
l̥óm̄ē	ewe	m̄ēm̄y̆	army
l̥ó	to get (something) up	m̄ás ^h ĩ	population
l̥ò	bull	m̄és ^h ĩ	birthmark
l̥ōbè? / l̥ōm̄ē	wind	m̄ê?	lower body
l̥ōdz ^h ĩ	young bull	m̄ēk ^h ē	light red
l̥ōk ^h ē	abdomen	m̄ēŋè	dark red
l̥óm ^h b ^h ē	river; region	m̄imi?	infant
l̥ós ^h ē	Chinese New Year	m̄ísè?	Mass
l̥ōwē	lung	m̄ùdz ^h ĩ	to pre-masticate
l̥úk ^h ē	stomach	m̄y̆dz ^h ĩē	headcount
l̥úl̄ē	religious song	m̄y̆ ⁿ g ^h ē	only then
l̥ū ⁿ d̄z ^h à	Lhunze County	m̄y̆g ^h wē	husband
l̄	to find	m̄y̆m̄ē	low
l̄y̆g ^h ē	moon	m̄y̆m̄ē	red
l̄y̆g ^h wē	arm, hand	m̄bé?	swelling, bump
l̄y̆l̄è?	only	m̄bê?	representative
l̄ē	month (in general); deity	m̄bét ^h è	mosquito
l̄è?	a little over	m̄bét ^h sù?	fist
l̄ê?	to rake through	m̄bê?	to lose; to call for
l̄ēm̄y̆	goddess	m̄bēl̄i	chin
l̄ēs ^h ē	Lhasa city	m̄bî?	to invite
l̄ézò?	domestic animal	m̄b̄y̆rè?	ready

ᵐᵇýsē	wasp	nétᵗᵗʰᵗ	bed
ᵐᵇýsētᵗᵗʰᵗ	wasp nest	né	wheat
ᵐᵇýtò?	fire tongs	nébʰᵗ	treasure
ᵐᵇýtù?	flower	nēpè?	ear
ᵐᵇýtsē	otherwise	népʰē	sick person, patient
ᵐᵇýtsē	just	nì? / nìjê?	to sleep
ᵐᵇʰᵗ	worm	nīkʰē	blind
ᵐᵇʰē	to burn	nīlē	dream
ᵐᵇʰì	abundant	níʰdʰē	rifle
ᵐᵇè?	to put out (the fire)	nīpʰᵗ	eyebrow
ᵐᵇᵗ	person, human	nītsʰᵗ	eye
ᵐᵇᵗlè	tender	nó	in
ᵐᵇē	medicine	nóʰē / nógʰō	inside
ᵐᵇēwē	mole	nōᵗᵇè	the day after tomorrow
ᵐᵇé	butter	nósè?	midnight
ᵐᵇédzʰᵗē	butter tea	nōsʰì	weather
ᵐᵇékʰᵗ	oil	nūjsʰì	nuisance
ᵐᵇý	female	nýmè?	leaf
néjū	fog	nýᵐᵇē	wife, daughter-in-law
nénè?	black	ⁿdēwē	month (while listing months of the year: ⁿdēwē NUM-ORD)
néᵗᵗ?	last year	ⁿdárē	feed
nétᵗʰē	bruise	ⁿdê?	to tie
nétᵗʰē	soup	ⁿdô?	to sit, to be
nēdzʰūj	pointy	ⁿdūlᵗ	bullet
nétᵗʰē	to fall ill	ⁿdū	to recite
nédzʰūj	custom	ⁿdū?	to desire
nēlī	sweets, sweet	ⁿdūbʰē	prayer
néᵐᵇē / né	sun, day	ⁿdýgē	dress
néᵐᵇētýkʰē	everyday	ⁿdýpè?	wing; leaf
némū	many	ⁿdʰē	arrow
nésʰᵗ	sibling	ⁿdʰē	to tremble
nétᵗᵗ?	religious holiday	ⁿdʰé	here
nétᵗʰᵗ / tsʰᵗ	lifetime		

ⁿ d ^h ḿ	to read	ⁿ dz ^h wē	hoe
ⁿ gēwē	blacksmith	ⁿ dzé	to look like
ⁿ gōpé?	to succeed	ⁿ dzé?	to slip
ⁿ gŷ	end	ⁿ dzīp ^h ŷ	guest
ⁿ gŷrè	a few	ⁿ dzōd ^h ē	cheek
ⁿ g ^h ē	to forge; yak calf	ⁿ dzōd ^h ī	lightning, thunder
ⁿ g ^h ō	to shove handfuls into one's mouth	ⁿ dzydzīè?	unit
ⁿ g ^h ò	head	ⁿ dzūdz ^h ŷ	livestock farmer
ⁿ g ^h òd ^h ē	top of the head	ⁿ dzúlò?	tradition
ⁿ g ^h ŷ	to move body	ⁿ dz ^h ī	(uncooked) rice
ⁿ dzé?	to climb	ⁿ dz ^h ū	to proceed unimpeded
ⁿ dzāg ^h ŷ?	finger, toe	ⁿ dz ^h ŷ	to fall
ⁿ dzékò?	bag	ḡē	nose
ⁿ dzézhē	noon	ḡé	to pain
ⁿ dzīb ^h ŷ	beautiful (for things)	ḡēbēbē?	to snore
ⁿ dzō?	to establish	ḡégō	dark
ⁿ dz ^h é / ⁿ dzézhē	lunch	ḡī	two
ⁿ dz ^h ó	bridge	ḡīgè?	both
ⁿ dz ^h ò	bull yak	ḡīmè?	bamboo
ⁿ dz ^h óḡī	world	ḡīm ^b hē	old (for things)
ⁿ dz ^h ōḡà	cow yak	ḡēs ^h ī	pillow
ⁿ dz ^h ŷ	to enter	ḡé	fish
ⁿ dz ^h é?	to finish	ḡè	to cut
ⁿ dz ^h ēs ^h ī	cockroach	ḡédz ^h ŷ	kitten
ⁿ dz ^h ó?	to look	ḡémḡē	cat
ⁿ dz ^h ōlè?	warm	ḡéwótsè?	to mock
ⁿ dz ^h óḡē	tail	ḡāḡŷ	together
ⁿ dz ^h ū	to run	ḡé	to listen
ⁿ dz ^h ūp ^h ŷ	fast	ḡó	to name
ⁿ dz ^h ūşè?	quickly	ḡódz ^h è?	fat (for animals)
ⁿ dz ^h à	to catch	ḡú	to buy
ⁿ dz ^h ō	Naxi ethnic group	ḡē	five; to reap
		ḡé	1SG; time

ηέκ ^{hē}	sky	ρύβ ^{hē}	brother
ηέ	money, silver	ρῡjē	younger sibling
ηэдz ^{hù}	ear	ρῡmḃ	girl, daughter
ηεj / ε ^{hē} ηεj	to hunt	ρῡmḃrérò?	woman
ηῡd ^{hē}	history	ρῡηē	newlyweds
ηῡnè?	breast; breast milk	ρῡpè?	skin
ηῡ ⁿ dz ^{hē}	the same	ρῡtsērérò?	man
ηῡs ^ḃ	last night	ρῡtsērû?	buddy
ηḃ	drum	ρῡtsō	proper, excellent
ηḃ?	snivel	ρ ^{hē}	cow
ηḃ	to cry	ρ ^{hē} ?	to jump; pig
ηḃk ^{hè} ?	type, kind	ρ ^{hē} è?	piglet
ηḃk ^{hè} ?dzók ^{hē}	all kinds of	ρ ^{hē} mē	sow
ōjê	to kiss	ρ ^{hē} ets ^{hē}	boar
ōηà	there (mentioned place)	ρ ^{hē} áηē	woodshed
ōtç ^{hà}	sweat	ρ ^{hē} è?	to take off clothes
petç ^{hi}	escort party from the groom's/bride's side	ρ ^{hē} édz ^{hà} ?	cattle farmer
peḥ ^{hē}	chair	ρ ^{hē} ēk ^{hədī}	to turn around
pé?	to arrive	ρ ^{hē} ēméjè?	at the very beginning
pé	to spit out	ρ ^{hē} é ⁿ g ^{hḃ} / m ^é ⁿ g ^{hḃ}	as well
péb ^{hē}	matchmaker (man)	ρ ^{hḃ}	to push
pédz ^{lè} ?	cow dung	ρ ^{hḃ} ?	incense stick
pélē?	between	ρ ^{hḃ} / ρ ^{hḃ} b ^{hḃ}	chief
pé ⁿ dz ^{hī}	in between	ρ ^{hḃ} ūd ^{z^{hḃ}εj}	pigeon
pī?	Tibetan	ρ ^{hḃ} ũkwè?	to clear land for farming
pīmù? / pītò?	knee	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃ	be late
pô?	perhaps	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃ	male
pōnè?	woman	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃjē	hometown
pô?	to descend	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃḃ	bovine
pù?	to dare	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃmē	parents
pút ^{hè} lèk ^{hḃ}	Potala Palace	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃ ^m b ^{hḃ} ?	gift
ρḃ	boy, son	ρ ^{hḃ} ḃ ^m b ^{hḃ}	deceased
		ρ ^{hḃ} ḃ ⁿ d ^{hḃ}	sleeve

p ^h ýtḙ ^h ṣ̄	heifer	sé ⁿ déwē	Monday, Moon
ré	goat	sép ^h ē	anger
rérò?	child	sép ^h ēsē	Friday, Venus
rêrò	to be drunk	sép ^h ē ^m b ^h ē	Saturday, Saturn
rá	mountain	sép ^h ūb ^h ý	Thursday, Jupiter
rádè? / rá ⁿ g ^h ṣ̄	mountain peak	sē	to think, to want
rê?	to become	sák ^h ṣ̄	restaurant
rét ^h ṣ̄?	bone	sè?	to kill
ríb ^h ý	long	sèdzlò?	frost
rí ^t ṣ̄	length	sēk ^h ē	certain
rò?	to collect, to harvest	sékwè?	half
rósī	hayloft	sēṇì?	the next day
ró	self	sēmè?	bean
rô?	corpse	sēmè?	red bean
rò?	about	séṃē	very
ró?ē	horn	sēp ^h ē	new
rû?	friend	sēwē	hail
rù?	help	sēxù?	dark yellow
rû? ⁿ dzi?	to be friends	sé	food
rúrù?	to help	sì?	louse
rýdè?	wild animal	sî?	to scatter
rýdz ^h ì?	baby goat	sīdò?	effort
rýmè?	fence, hedge	síkè?	meaning
rýṃē	female goat	símà	to plough
rýrè	each	sī ⁿ dz ^h è	priest
sē	ground, land, soil, earth	síp ^h ē	dew
sé	to eat; planet	sītḙè?	sparkling
sê	to drop	sī	wood
sè	to burn oneself	sí	field
sēdē	carpet	sígê?	really
sélēb ^h ē	Wednesday, Mercury	sīk ^h ṣ̄	throat
sémíṃē	Tuesday, Mars	síp ^h ō	tree
sénéṃē	Sunday, Sun	sīp ^h ò	to regret

síʒèʔ	sharp	s ^h ě	fart
sĩts ^h è	grandchild	s ^h ěg ^h ỳ	evening
sĩz ^h ò	carpenter	s ^h ē	gold
sóʔ	to bark	s ^h ĩg ^h ù	mirror
sō	three	s ^h ĩm̩ỳ	younger sister
só	copper	s ^h ĩŋō	around
sôʔ	to give back, to return	s ^h ĩp ^h ỳ	happy, comfortable
sóŋìʔ	tomorrow	s ^h ĩ	heart (emotional)
sóŋìʔnōŋè	several days after	s ^h ĩg ^h é	happy
sónùʔ	tomorrow evening	s ^h ō	to accompany, to guard
sóʔp ^h ìʔ	next year	s ^h ò	to give birth; tooth
sùʔ	life; to accumulate	s ^h ũ ù	pear
sùʔd ^h ō	to lose life	s ^h ũ ùp ^h ô	pear tree
súmē	hay	s ^h ũ ĩ	seed
sũ	to invite	s ^h ỹm̩ỳ	nail
swé	sickle	ʒē	meat
sỳ	to welcome	ʒé	cock
sỹg ^h ĩ	hole (in the ground)	ʒèʔ	to sweep
sýmē	meal	ʒējùʔ	servant
sỹm̩ỳ	comb	ʒémē	broom
sỹ ^m b ^h ē / sỹŋỳ	thought	ʒê	to serve
sỹŋỳtō	to think over, to ponder	ʒê	to dissolve, to melt, to shrink, to digest
sỹrỳk ^h új	to flip over	ʒēp ^h ē	wet
sýs ^h ē	yellow	ʒē	to choose
sỹsòʔ	thin	ʒĩd ^h ē	bottle
sỹtòʔ	to bite; one plate (of food)	ʒĩ ^m b ^h ỳ	delicious
sýtòʔ	hard	ʒòʔ	power
sỹzòʔ / zòʔ	under	ʒôʔ	to rub
s ^h ē	to appear	ʒók ^h ò	rich
s ^h é	to say	ʒō ì	melody
s ^h èʔ	to open; to separate	ʒórē / ʒót ^h ē	below
		ʒĩ	to empty out

şǎ	always, often	té ^m b ^h ō	corn
şù	direction	tēs ^h ŷ	secretly
şúk ^h ē	morning	tě	shelf
şú ù	leaf	tějē	answer
şù?	to use	těj ^h i	story
şúgē	carton	tè?	to lean
şūg ^h ò	glass	té	then
şūg ^h ù	paper	tēg ^h ē	walnut
şūkè	chick	tì?	correct
şū ⁿ dò?	page	tô?	poison
şūp ^h ŷ / p ^h ŷ	feather	tò?	to reach
şūs ^h ē	use, purpose	tó ^m b ^h ŷ	first
şúz ^h ē / şúdz ^h ē	breakfast	tónù?	that evening
şwē	deer	tón ^g hò	previously, earlier, before
şwé	hat; mouse	tō	to release (gases)
şwè?	to cut (wood)	tó	bear
şwē	to want to release gas	tōmè?	free
şwê	bird	tōs ^h ŷ	at all
şŷ	to die	tōt ^h sè?	thousand
şŷk ^h ē	cypress	tò?	to lay; to scold
şŷk ^h ē	fat	tō ^m b ^h ē	empty
şŷmē	sand	tón ^g hē	throat
şŷmēk ^h ə ò?	butterfly	tōwē	belly
şŷnô?	to smell	tówé	smoke
şŷŋŷ	mole	tù?	to cut; to be hungry; floor
şŷrù?	raven	tūd ^h ŷū	wardrobe
şŷşŷ	late	tūk ^h ē	hungry
tè	to attach, to tie	túj	anymore
tè?	tiger	tŷlédzi / tŷlè?	a little bit
tēbè	shoulder blade	tŷnì?	then (in the past)
tēdzò?	memory	tŷrē	at that time
té ^m b ^h ē	holy	tŷrŷ	axe
tē ^m b ^h i	jar	t ^h ē	to watch; horse

t ^h è?	to weave	ṭ ^h édǎ	water barrel
t ^h ēḷȳ	rope	ṭ ^h édz ^h ì?	to swim
t ^h è?	cottage cheese	ṭ ^h édzǐ	well
t ^h é	to pull	ṭ ^h ēg ^h ē	water canal
t ^h ṁb ^h ȳ	high, tall, deep	ṭ ^h ēg ^o	to be thirsty
t ^h ṁt ^h ǎ	height	ṭ ^h ē	to dance, to have fun
t ^h ōḷì	squirrel	ṭ ^h ə	to be free, to have time
t ^h órȳ	pine forest	ṭ ^h ák ^h ē	ash
t ^h ǎbè?	thick	ts ^h áŋǎ	at home
t ^h ǎd ^h ǐ	stove	ṭ ^h əṭ ^h ǎ	small
t ^h ǎm̄ē	time (like in “one time”)	ṭ ^h é	to float, to grow
t ^h ǎ	to drink	ṭ ^h ēḷǎ	elephant
t ^h ù / t ^h ūz ^h ǎ	grain	ṭ ^h é(ṁdz ^h ē)	2NSG
t ^h ū	to see	ṭ ^h éṁdz ^h è(dé?)	2NSG family
t ^h ūjm̄ē	bald	ṭ ^h ēp ^h ē	punishment
t ^h ȳ	to pick up	ṭ ^h í / ṭ ^h íb ^h ȳ	big
t ^h ȳdǎ?	poor	ṭ ^h ì	to escort
t ^h ȳrì?	dispute	ṭ ^h ṁb ^h ē	liver
t ^h ȳt ^h ǎ	short	ṭ ^h íṭ ^h ǎ	size
ṭ ^h è	feed	ṭ ^h ǐ	urine
ṭ ^h è?	pair	ṭ ^h ó?	be busy
ṭ ^h ēg ^h wē	feces	ṭ ^h ūk ^h ǎ	church
ṭ ^h ēz ^h ì	project, order	ṭ ^h út ^h ǎ	mouth
ṭ ^h è?	to be tired	ṭ ^h ù?	2SG
ṭ ^h ṁts̄ùj	hour	ṭ ^h úṭ ^h ǎ	small
ṭ ^h óṁdz ^h ǎ?	backyard	ṭ ^h ǎ	to wear
ṭ ^h ù?	enough	ṭ ^h wē	to chew
ṭ ^h ūb ^h ē	forehead	tsé	to heat
ṭ ^h wébè?	lip	tsē	be hot
ṭ ^h é / ṭ ^h éb ^h ē	rain	tsè?	to end
ṭ ^h è	water	tsédz ^h ì	grain
ṭ ^h ēb ^h ē	wave	tsédz ^h ì	fever
ṭ ^h édǎ	pond	tsǎm̄è?	rib

tsòʔ	nervous	ts ^h új	to hear
tsōmē	clean	ts ^h əjk ^h ǿ	prison
tsǿmē	all	ts ^h ÿ	dog
tsūwē	grass	ts ^h ÿd ^h ē	scissors
tsəj	proportion	ts ^h ÿg ^h ÿ	puppy
tsÿ	to borrow (borrow and pay back equivalent)	ts ^h ÿk ^h èʔ	basket
tsÿdq ^h ǿ.	temperature	ts ^h ÿk ^h ǿ	treasury
tsÿgèʔ	in the middle	ts ^h ÿmè	niece
tsÿgùʔ	Tshodrug village	tʂè	blood
tsÿkè ⁿ dzÿg ^h ÿ	insect	tʂèʔ	to meet
tsÿpēdqòʔ	to get angry	tʂiʔ	to give birth; to take away
tsÿp ^h ò	camp, stay	tʂù	to take away
tsÿrèʔ	weed	tʂúdzòʔ	elbow
tsÿrèʔ	hot	tʂÿg ^h ÿ	kid
ts ^h ē	salt	tʂÿtcèʔ	horizontal
ts ^h ē	limit	tʂ ^h ē	eagle
ts ^h ērè / ts ^h ērètst ^h ēzǿ	sometimes	tʂ ^h ə	money
ts ^h ēp ^h ē	after that	tʂ ^h iʔ	shy, embarrassed
ts ^h è	fat, lard	tʂ ^h ílf	flute
ts ^h é	vegetable	tʂ ^h ǿ	to be born
ts ^h élèʔ	game	tʂ ^h ò	to release; to dry
ts ^h émÿ	thorny	tʂ ^h ǿmē	beautiful (for people)
ts ^h ēp ^h ē	pancreas	tʂ ^h əʔ	to scatter
ts ^h ērī	night	tʂ ^h ÿ	to wash
ts ^h ērí	longevity	tʂ ^h ÿp ^h ē	gallbladder
ts ^h ǿ	business	tʂ ^h ÿtʂ ^h ÿ	ten thousand
ts ^h ǿ / ts ^h ǿdzǿʔ	to trade, to sell	úk ^h ē	owl
ts ^h ó	nest	wé	fox
ts ^h ǿk ^h ǿ	shop	wèʔ	to let go
ts ^h òʔ	lake, sea	wízē	light, ray of light
ts ^h ówòʔ	nephew	wó	to move
ts ^h ǿ	to gather	wōs ^h ǿ	bruise
		wó	again

wódzí ^h ē	milk tea	zýts ^h ō	married couple
wólâ	still	zǎ ^m b ^h ÿ	of a good quality
wó ^m b ^h ē	finally, only now	z ^h ē	rainbow
wóm̄ē	(cattle) milk	z ^h ē	to hang
wós ^h è	to know each other	z ^h ô?	to make
wúlì?	calf	zê?	to place
xēg ^h ô	to know	zēné ^{m̄} ê	two days before yesterday
xēm̄ÿ	early	zê	four
xēnè	eagle	zē	traditional fast-paced
xē ⁿ dž ^h ÿ	ghost		dancing
xē ⁿ g ^h ō	at the front	zēk ^h ē	hot season
xēŋē	first of all	zēp ^h ē	thing
xì?	fire	zēŋè	two days after tomorrow
xǐ?	to ripen	zō ^{m̄} ê	just as
xīs ^h ô	to rest	zūjē	another side
xò	to bite	zwe	song
xóxò?	concave		
xò	to fry		
xwē	to bloom		
xwè?	to boil		
xǐè	to chase; to kick out		
ʔínè ^{m̄} ê	suddenly		
ʔǐ	heart (physical)		
ʔǐk ^h é	to be angry		
ʔǐs ^h ǐ	green, blue		
zî?	leopard		
zīşè?	sharp (for mind, intellect, thinking)		
zô?	thigh		
zô?	to pretend		
zōrì	careful		
zō	to hold		