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Approaching the prosodic system of Shǐxīng¹

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Abstract

The present approach to the prosodic system of Shǐxīng, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the South-West of China, aims to bring out the combinatorial properties of its lexical tones through systematic manipulations of nouns and verbs.

Shǐxīng is phonologically monosyllabic, with two types of monosyllables: (i) *roots*, which are lexically specified for tone and exhibit a three-way tonal contrast between high (H), low (L) and falling (HL) tones, and (ii) *affixes*, which are toneless. Units of two syllables or more (words and phrases) are formed out of these two types of monosyllables, viz. tonally specified and toneless, and exhibit three contrastive tone patterns, similar to those of monosyllables, viz. /H/, /L/ and /HL/.

The domain for contrastive tone patterns in Shǐxīng obtains at the intersection of lexicon and grammar: it is the phonological word in the lexicon and the phonological phrase in the utterance. Overall, two rules apply in determining the surface tone pattern for a unit of two syllables or more. Rule 1: The tone pattern of the first element decides the tone pattern of the resulting combination. Rule 2: /L/ and /HL/ neutralize to /L/.

We discuss the exact application of these rules on the basis of combinations of tonally specified and toneless elements. We also set out hypotheses concerning the prototypical domain for tone rule application in Shǐxīng, as well as the domain above it—that of phrasal tone patterns.

The article is concluded by a summary of the organization of the tonal system of Shǐxīng. Two appendices provide (i) information about the language materials and experimental setup, and (ii) one transcribed traditional Shǐxīng story, intended to facilitate the reader's evaluation of the proposed analysis.

1. Introduction

It is probably not a coincidence that the term ‘omnisyllabic’, which refers to a tone system where each syllable carries distinctive tone, was coined by a Tibeto-Burmanist, James A. Matisoff: this type of tonal organization is widespread in Sino-Tibetan, as also in neighbouring language families—Hmông-Miên, Tai-Kadai and Austroasiatic. However, in recent years, groundbreaking research into the prosodic systems of various Tibeto-Burman languages has revealed an increasing number of systems structured in terms of H and L level tones, for instance in Tibetan dialects (Sun 1997), rGyalrong (Sun 2005), and Kuki languages (Hyman and VanBik 2002, Hyman 2007). Overall, these newly explored prosodic systems exhibit a wide range of prosodic types, particularly in terms of the relevant tone-bearing units, the domain of tone, and the relationship of tones with syllable structure, consonants, and phonation types. Similarities of these systems with some Subsaharan (essentially Bantu) tone systems have been noted (cf. Hyman, *op. cit.*, and Evans 2008a, b), allowing for the

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application to Tibeto-Burman tone systems of models and methods inspired from approaches developed in African linguistics (e.g. Michaud 2006; Michaud and He Xueguang 2007).

The present study adds to the growing body of research on Tibeto-Burman level-tone systems by providing a description of the prosodic system of Shǐxīng (史兴语), a Tibeto-Burman language of South-West China. Its aim is twofold: to bring to light the salient characteristics of Shǐxīng prosody, and to place the system in its broader areal and typological context.

1.1. Shǐxīng: location and linguistic affiliation

Shǐxīng is spoken by approximately 1,800 people who reside along the banks of the Shuǐluò 水洛 river in Shuǐluò Township 水洛乡 of Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County 木里藏族自治县 (WT *smi li rang skyong rdzong*). This county is part of Liángshān Yí Autonomous Prefecture 凉山彝族自治州 in Sìchuān Province 四川省 in the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Shǐxīng is currently classified as belonging to the Qiangic subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Bradley 1997:36-37, Sūn Hóngkǎi 2001, Thurgood 2003:17).

Shǐxīng is one of the lesser-known Sino-Tibetan languages spoken in the PRC. Only two brief outlines in Chinese exist. They focus on two distinct sub-varieties of this language: that of the Lower Reaches of the Shuǐluò river (Sūn Hóngkǎi 1983), and that of its Upper Reaches (Huáng Bùfán & Rénzēng Wāngmǔ 1991). The present research builds on these studies as well as on the first author’s fieldwork on the Upper Reaches variety of Shǐxīng (Chirkova 2007, forthcoming).

1.2. Shǐxīng tones

Shǐxīng is a tonal language. It has three lexical tones on monosyllables, namely (i) high, /H/; (ii) low, /L/, realized as [LH] in isolation; and (iii) falling, /HL/, as illustrated in Table 1.²

| tone | realization in isolation | example | | meaning |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| | | representation | realization | |
| /H/ | [H] | / ^H ts ^h i/ | [^H ts ^h i] | to measure |
| /L/ | [LH] | / ^L ts ^h i/ | [^{LH} ts ^h i] | ploughshare |
| /HL/ | [HL] | / ^{HL} ts ^h i/ | [^{HL} ts ^h i] | backbone |

Table 1. A minimal set exemplifying the three-way tonal contrast on monosyllables

We analyze the surface realization of /L/ tone as [LH] as resulting from the principle that at least one syllable per tonal domain must have a tone other than [L]. Said differently, at the surface level a tonal domain should have at least one [H] (cf. the observation that “all-L words are dispreferred”, proposed among universal tendencies of tone by Cahill 2007:5-6). Overall, addition of a final [H] tone in prosodic words and phrases having /L/ tone is cross-linguistically common; it is attested in such diverse languages as Osaka Japanese (Haraguchi 1999:19), Matengo and Kinatumbi (Bantu; Odden 2005:415), and Mùkǎ Qiāng 木卡羌 (Evans 2008c). In the latter language, the final H is described as a “right-edge post-lexical tone”.

² The phonemic transcription adopted in this study essentially follows the conventions proposed for the Upper Reaches sub-variety in Huáng and Rénzēng (1991), with some minor adjustments based on the first author’s fieldwork (Chirkova forthcoming). In our notations, H corresponds to Huáng and Rénzēng’s “55”, L to “33” and “35”, and HL to “53” (see Chirkova 2007 for a detailed discussion).

Shǐxīng has a simple syllabic structure: (C)(G)V, where initial consonant and glide are optional; glides have a very restricted distribution, so that in effect most syllables are simply (C)V.

Most Shǐxīng monosyllables are lexically specified for tone (roots, i.e. morphs that serve as the obligatory foundation of the word and typically carry its main meaning, Mithun 2001 [1999]: 39). A small number of monosyllables are toneless, namely:

(a) affixes, i.e. bound morphs, which are not roots and which are constituent of words rather than phrases; e.g. the nominal agentive and feminine suffix /-mi/ and the verbal directional prefix /bə-/ ‘outward’

(b) enclitics, i.e. words which cannot serve as domain for tone patterns and attach to a host phonological word for application of tone pattern derivation rules; e.g. case markers, such as the genitive marker /ji/, and aspectual and modal auxiliaries and markers of nominalization, e.g. the past patient nominalising marker /li/

Similar to many other phonologically monosyllabic languages of East Asia, e.g. Vietnamese (Thompson 1965) or Deuri (Jacquesson 2005), Shǐxīng has a strong tendency towards disyllabicity in the lexicon through affixation, compounding and reduplication. In other words, the majority of Shǐxīng words are disyllabic, formed from two morphemes each of which may originally be specified for tone (root) or toneless (affix). In view of the three major word formation processes, a disyllabic Shǐxīng word may contain:

(i) one morpheme lexically specified for tone per word, as in:³

(a) monomorphemic words, e.g. /^Hsē_tçē/ ‘domestic animals, cattle’ (WT *sems can*)

(b) words formed through affixation, i.e. combinations of one morpheme lexically specified for tone and one toneless. In verbs, the latter precedes the root, e.g. /^Lbə-gi/ ‘pull out, lengthen’ (</^Hgi/ ‘pull’); in nouns, it follows the root, e.g. /^Hrua-mi/ ‘flea’ (</^Hrua/ ‘flea’)

(c) words formed through reduplication, e.g. /^Ltʂa-tʂa/ ‘bundle’

(ii) two morphemes which are lexically specified for tone, viz. in words formed through compounding, e.g. /^Lra-ŋō/ ‘feather’ (</^Lra/ ‘chicken’, /^Lŋō/ ‘hair’).

Shǐxīng words of two syllables or more as well as phonological phrases in connected speech exhibit a three-way tone pattern contrast similar to that of the three lexical tones, namely (i) /H/, (ii) /L/ and (iii) /HL/. These tone patterns are realized as follows:

(i) /H/ is attached to all syllables within the tone domain, e.g. /^Hla-bə-la-mi/ ‘grandchildren’ is realized as [^Hla-^Hbə-^Hla-^Hmi], and the phrase /^Hʔē dzua = gɜ/ ‘hit the sheep’ (</^Hʔē/ ‘sheep’, /^Ldzua/ ‘hit’, the toneless volitional auxiliary /gɜ/) is realized as [^Hʔē ^Hdzua = ^Hgɜ]:

(1) ^Hŋɜ# ^Hʔē dzua = gɜ#.
 1SG sheep hit=VOL

‘I will hit the sheep.’

³ In our notations, the underscore sign (‘_’) separates syllables in a monomorphemic polysyllabic word; the hyphen (‘-’) separates morphemes in a word; the equals sign (‘=’) separates enclitics from their host phonological word; and the pound sign (‘#’) separates tone pattern domains. A full list of symbols and abbreviations used in glossing is provided at the end of the article.

(ii) /L/ is attached to all syllables except the final one, which receives a [H] tone, analyzed here as a post-lexical addition. For example, /^Lma_zɿ sæ/ ‘cat’s blood’ (< /^Lma_zɿ/ ‘cat’, /^{HL}sæ/) realized as [^Lma_^Lzɿ ^Hsæ]:⁴

(2) ^Lha = zɿ# ^Lma_zɿ sæ# ⁰ɲõ.
 this=TOP cat blood COP

‘This is cat’s blood.’

(iii) /HL/ is realized as [H] on the first syllable and [L] on the remaining syllables, e.g. /^{HL}rua-mi/ ‘flea’ (< /^{HL}rua/ ‘flea’, plus the toneless suffix /-mi/) realized as [^Hrua-^Lmi]; or the compound /^{HL}su-su = li/ ‘collected objects’ (< /^{HL}su-su/ ‘pick up, collect’, plus the toneless past patient nominalizing marker /li/), realized as [^Hsu-^Lsu = ^Lli].

In sum, the three distinctive surface tone patterns of Shìxīng, phonetically (i) a sequence of H tones, (ii) L on all syllables up to the penultimate, H on the last syllable, and (iii) H on first syllable, L on following syllables; are here analysed as the phonetic implementation of /H/, /L/ and /HL/, respectively. We treat the mode of association of tones to syllables as one-to-one mapping of tones to available syllables, followed by spreading of the last tone, and finally by addition of a post-lexical final [H] in phrases that lack any [H] tone. Said differently, contrastive tone in Shìxīng is distributed over the word as a whole, irrespective of the number of syllables, similar, for instance, to Kagoshima Japanese (Kubozono 2005:385). All in all, the tonal output in units of two syllables or more in Shìxīng is structured in terms of H and L levels, with the requirement of having at least one H per tone domain.

1.3. Goal and method

The present study explores the relationship between the three lexical tones on monosyllables and the three contrastive surface tone patterns on words and phrases of two syllables or more (both phonological words and phonological phrases). The method used here consists in systematic derivations of di-, tri- and quadri-syllabic words and phrases out of mono- and disyllabic morphs (words) and words (phrases), aiming to bring out the combinatorial properties of Shìxīng tones.

On the level of words, derivations were performed through affixation and compounding. Notably, *productive* derivation being the essence of the manipulations attempted here, only productive affixes (namely, verbal prefixes) could be used. Nevertheless, regularities of tone pattern derivation revealed on the basis of productive derivation processes (in both words and phrases) shed light on tone pattern derivation in words with synchronically unproductive affixes as well as in those formed through reduplication (as detailed in §2.1.1).

On the level of phrases, di-, tri- and quadri- syllabic phrases were formed by adding one or several enclitics to a word, or by combining two words into: (i) modifying noun-noun compounds (‘determinative compounds’) and (ii) noun-verb (object-verb) phrases.

For example, in order to understand how the input tones of two monosyllabic words forming a disyllabic compound (word or phrase) relate to the resulting tone pattern of this compound, we examined all possible combinations of the input tones by combining /H/, /L/ and /HL/ monosyllabic words, respectively, with monosyllabic /H/-, /L/- and /HL/-toned and

⁴ The copula /ɲõ/ is toneless; phonetically, it is realized on a low pitch, due to its utterance-final position. The tonelessness of an element in the utterance is hereafter indicated by the “⁰” sign.

toneless morphemes, leading to 12 combinations in total. Examples (3) through (6) combine a monosyllabic /H/ word with /H/, /L/, /HL/ and toneless morphemes, respectively:

- (3) /^Hʔɛ̃/ ‘sheep’+ /^Hrə/ ‘skin’ > /^Hʔɛ̃ rə/ ‘sheep skin’
(4) /^Hʔɛ̃/ ‘sheep’+ /^Lɛ̃/ ‘neck’ > /^Hʔɛ̃ ɛ̃/ ‘sheep neck’
(5) /^Hʔɛ̃/ ‘sheep’+ /^{HL}q^hə/ ‘excrement’ > /^Hʔɛ̃ q^hə/ ‘sheep excrement’
(6) /^Hʔɛ̃/ ‘sheep’+ the genitive particle /ji/ > /^Hʔɛ̃=ji/ ‘of a sheep’

In a similar fashion, we examined all possible combinations of input tones in trisyllabic compounds, consisting of a monosyllabic element and a disyllabic element, and in quadrisyllabic compounds, consisting of two disyllabic elements.

The target items were recorded first in isolation and then inside carrier sentences. The interested reader is referred to Appendix I for additional information on the experiment: language materials, speaker and settings. Appendix II provides one transcribed traditional story to facilitate the assessment of the validity of our analysis and conclusions based on natural speech data.

1.4. Tone domain: From monosyllables to phonological words and phonological phrases

The domain for the contrastive tone patterns in Shǐxīng obtains at the intersection of lexicon and grammar: it is the phonological word in the lexicon and the phonological phrase in the utterance (continuous speech).

A phonological word in Shǐxīng is a unit equal to or larger than one syllable, which, when larger than one syllable, is subject to the processes of consonant lenition and vowel harmony (Chirkova forthcoming). Phonological words in Shǐxīng coincide with grammatical words (a grammatical word is a grammatical unit between morpheme and syntactic phrase, which consists of a number of grammatical elements which always occur together, in a fixed order, and have a conventionalized coherence and meaning: Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:35). Enclitics are grammatical, but not phonological words in Shǐxīng, as they cannot serve as domain for the contrastive tone patterns.

A phonological phrase, on the other hand, is a unit consisting of two or more grammatical words. Its defining characteristic in Shǐxīng is that it serves as the domain of tone, similar to *bunsetsu* (文節) in Japanese (e.g. Uwano 1999, Kubozono 2007). Similar to words of two syllables or more, phonological phrases consist of tonally specified elements (words) and toneless elements (enclitics), in various combinations.

In Shǐxīng, the level of the phonological word and that of the phonological phrase are indistinguishable in terms of tone patterns: the same tone patterns are found at both levels, viz. /H/, /L/ and /HL/, which are in turn similar to those of monosyllables. The surface similarity of the contrastive tone patterns of phonological words with those of phonological phrases in connected speech suggests that the two obtain through the same tone pattern derivation rules. (An added complexity is that, when a Shǐxīng phonological phrase is elicited in isolation, its tonal pattern tends to be the mere juxtaposition of the tone patterns of its constituting elements.)

We propose that the likeness of the tone patterns observed on phonological words and phonological phrases is due to the similarity of the processes of tone pattern derivation operating at both levels. These processes involve either (i) two elements, of which each has its own tone pattern, or (ii) two elements, of which only one is specified for tone and the other is toneless. Notably, both phonological words and phonological phrases are made out of an input that contains either:

- (i) one element lexically specified for tone, i.e. phonological words formed through affixation or reduplication and phonological phrases composed of one word and an enclitic, or
- (ii) two or more elements lexically specified for tone, i.e. phonological words formed through compounding or phonological phrases consisting of two or more grammatical words (optionally followed by enclitics).

Consequently, two different processes are involved:

- (i) in the former case, the spread of tone from the tonally specified element to the totality of the higher-level unit; and
- (ii) in the latter case, a tone pattern derivation, i.e. the derivation of a new tone pattern for the higher-level unit from the tone patterns of its constituting elements, accompanied by substantial tone neutralization.

1.5. Tone pattern derivation rules

Two rules operate both on the level of phonological words and on that of phonological phrases, and apply both in tone spread and in tonal derivation (with some added complexities to be set out below). These two rules can thus be considered as tenets of the tonal system of Shǐxīng:

Rule 1: The tone pattern of the first element decides the tone pattern of the resulting combination.

Rule 2: /L/ and /HL/ neutralize to /L/ in derivations.

Overall, the former rule appears to be shared by many languages of the Chinese South-West, such as Lizu (Chirkova 2008), Prinmi (Púmǐ 普米) or Qiāng (Evans 2000d). The second rule, on the other hand, is specific to Shǐxīng.

A combination of these two rules in Shǐxīng yields only three contrastive tone patterns, thus neutralizing some of the tonal contrasts of the constituting elements (e.g. H+H, H+L and H+HL all yield H, see examples 3-5). In addition, the regular application of these two rules can be counteracted by hypercorrection. When, in the course of work sessions, the language consultant was faced with a pair of items that had identical tones on the surface but were made out of tonally different elements (such as the /H/-/HL/ tone pair /^Hʂɿ/ ‘fishing net’ vs. /^{HL}ʂɿ/ ‘tongue’, in which the /H/-/HL/ contrast neutralizes in the carrier sentence /^Hha = zɿ # NP # ⁰ɲõ/ ‘This is NP.’, see §3), he tended to realize each of the constituting elements with its lexical tone, in a conscious effort to avoid surface homophony of underlyingly distinct forms. These instances of hypercorrection are in fact part of a broader phenomenon: a salient characteristic of Shǐxīng prosody is that there is some room for stylistic variation in the division of the utterance into phonological phrases and words, so that a sequence of two or more words that does not form a tone domain and that is therefore in principle not subject to tone pattern derivation rules, e.g. a phrase quoted in isolation, can occasionally receive one of the contrastive tone patterns, i.e. function as a single tonal domain. Conversely, a phonological word can be stripped of its tone pattern, and be realized as the succession of its constituting elements, each with its own tone, as is not uncommon in careful speech, viz. in those contexts where the speaker deliberately aims at bringing out individual words. For example, in word elicitation sessions, our language consultant often rendered disyllabic verbs formed through prefixation with the input tones on the verb root, e.g. [t^hu-^{LH}tɕ^hæ] ‘handle,

pass over' (< /^Ltɕ^hæ/ 'pass, give') or [bə^{HL}xɪ] 'throw, cast' (< /^{HL}k^hɪ/ 'throw'); in fluent speech, both forms are realized with /L/ tone pattern, i.e. /^Lk^hu-tɕ^hæ/ and /^Lbə-xɪ/.

2. Tone pattern derivation rules: from monosyllables to phonological words and phonological phrases

Section 2.1 outlines tone pattern derivations in cases where there is only one tonally specified element in the input, and section 2.2 cases where the input contains two tonally specified elements.

2.1. One tonally specified element in the input

Cases where the input contains only one tonally specified element considered in this study include:

(i) on the level of phonological words: verbs formed through prefixation. This category can in turn be subdivided into two subsets, depending on whether the verbal root (mono- or disyllabic) is preceded by one single prefix, or by two prefixes.

(ii) on the level of phonological phrases: mono- and disyllabic words followed by enclitics; again, from the point of view of the tonal output a distinction has to be drawn between association of one single enclitic and of two enclitics.

The results of the derivations are summarized in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. The symbol 'Ø' stands for toneless elements (prefixes and enclitics). The column in Table 2 represents prefixes (one or two per combination). The row in Table 3 stands for verb roots, which can be either mono- or disyllabic.

The columns in Table 3 correspond to (mono- or disyllabic) words; the rows represent enclitics. The intersection of columns and rows provides the tone pattern of the resulting combination. (Relevant examples are provided in §2.1.1.)

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------|----------|-----------|
| | | verb root | | |
| | | H | L | HL |
| prefix | Ø | H | L | |
| | Ø+Ø | L | | |

Table 2. Tone patterns in verbs formed through prefixation; Ø stands for toneless elements (here, prefixes)

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
| | | enclitic | |
| | | Ø | Ø+Ø |
| word | H | H | HL |
| | L | L | |
| | HL | HL | |

Table 3. Tone patterns in phonological phrases formed from a word followed by one or two enclitics;

Ø stands for toneless elements (here, enclitics)

The following observations can be made about these two data sets (verbs formed through prefixation and phrases formed from a word followed by enclitics).

Observation 1: The number of constituting elements is relevant to the resulting tone pattern.

In both cases, combinations of two elements (one prefix and one root or one word and one enclitic) and combinations of three elements (two prefixes and a root or one word and two enclitics) yield different tone patterns. Combinations of one tonally specified element with one toneless element, on the one hand, and those of one tonally specified element with two or more toneless elements, on the other hand, are therefore considered separately.

2.1.1. Combinations of one tonally specified element with a single toneless element: (i) Word+enclitic and (ii) Prefix+verb

(i) Word+enclitic

The examined combinations of a word followed by one enclitic (Table 3) conform with Rule 1 (“The tone pattern of the first element decides the tone pattern of the resulting combination”). The resulting tone pattern is an expansion of the tone of the word. For example:

(7) /^Lsɣ/ ‘select’ + the past patient nominalizing marker /li/ > /^Lsɣ=li/ ‘selected objects’

(8) /^Htsa/ ‘jump’ + the perfect aspect auxiliary /sɣ/ > /^Htsa=sɣ/ ‘have jumped’

Rule 1 appears to account also for tone patterns on words formed with synchronically unproductive affixes, e.g. nouns formed through suffixation, as observed through nouns which exist as doublets: one form as monosyllable (bare root) and another suffixed (root+suffix) (Chirkova 2007). For example:

(9) /^Hçæ/ ‘louse’ and /^Hçæ-mi/ ‘louse’

(10) /^Hrua/ ‘flea’ and /^Hrua-mi/ ‘flea’

The same rule is likely to apply also in the case of verbs formed through reduplication, e.g. /^Ltsa-tsa/ ‘bundle’, in which we take the first element to be the root. This suggests that from the tone of a disyllabic noun formed through suffixation, or of a verb formed through reduplication, we can predict the tone of its first element, its root. This is useful for the analysis of bound roots. For example, the bound root of the verb /^Ltsa-tsa/ ‘bundle’ must carry /L/ tone.

In sum, toneless morphemes (suffixes and enclitics) apparently do not affect the input tone pattern of their preceding host, a tonally specified element (morpheme or word respectively). The process of tone pattern derivation can hence be said to be a left-to-right spread of the tone of the tonally specified element, this tone pattern adjusting to the new number of syllables in the resulting compound.

A comparison of combinations of enclitics with, on the one hand, monosyllabic host words and, on the other hand, disyllabic host words yielded an additional observation:

Observation 2: The shorter the resulting combination, the greater the integration of the toneless element.

In the derivations, host words and enclitics are likely to be integrated into a single phonological phrase (and thus to be subject to Rule 1), if the host word is monosyllabic, e.g. in examples (7-8). If the host word is disyllabic, such integration can also take place; alternatively, the enclitic may simply be treated as an extra, weak syllable added to a fully articulated phonological word after all tone derivation rules have applied. For example:⁵

⁵ The mechanism involved in tone pattern placement in the phrase [^Hhĩ = ^Lthi = ^Lrẽ] ‘that man’ is detailed in §2.1.2.

- (11) ^Hhĩ = ^Lt^hi = ^Lrẽ# ^Hma# ^Hʂu-hĩ = ⁰sɿ# ^Hbã ^Hʁẽ.
 person=that=AGT today Shu-person=PNT.ANM guest call

‘That man invites the Shǐxīng person to his place today.’

- (12) ^Hhĩ = ^Lt^hi = ^Lrẽ# ^Hma# ^Ltʂa_wɜ = ⁰sɿ# ^Hbã ^Hʁẽ.
 person=that=AGT today monk=PNT.ANM guest call

‘That man invites the monk to his place today.’

- (13) ^Hhĩ = ^Lt^hi = ^Lrẽ# ^Hma# ^{HL}sĩ-zu = ⁰sɿ# ^Hbã ^Hʁẽ.
 person=that=AGT today carpenter=PNT.ANM guest call

‘That man invites the carpenter to his place today.’

(ii) Prefix+verb

The following observation holds for the examined cases of verbs formed through prefixation (Table 2):

If the tone of the root is H, the prefix assimilates to it, resulting in a H pattern for the combination, as in examples (14-17):

- (14) /miæ-/ ‘downward’ + /^Hçĩ/ ‘look’ > /^Hmiæ-çĩ/ ‘look down’

- (15) /bə-/ ‘outward’ + /^Hçĩ/ ‘look’ > /^Hbə-çĩ/ ‘look out’

- (16) /k^hu-/ ‘inward’ + /^Hçĩ/ ‘look’ > /^Hk^hu-çĩ/ ‘look inside’

- (17) /dʒi-/ ‘upward’ + /^Hçĩ/ ‘look’ > /^Hdʒi-çĩ/ ‘look up’

If the tone of the verbal root is /L/ or /HL/, the resulting tone is /L/, neutralizing the contrast between /L/ and /HL/ over the root (Rule 2). For example:

- (18) /dʒi-/ ‘upward’ + /^Lpiæ/ ‘climb’ > /^Ldʒi-piæ/ ‘climb up’

- (19) /k^hu-/ ‘inward’ + /^Ldzõ-dzõ/ ‘run’ > /^Lk^hu-dzõ-dzõ/ ‘run inside’

- (20) /miæ-/ ‘downward’ + /^{HL}khi/ ‘throw’ > /^Lmiæ-xi/ ‘throw down’

- (21) /miæ-/ ‘downward’ + /^{HL}pũ/ ‘pile up’ > /^Lmiæ-pũ/ ‘pile down, put down’

2.1.2. Combinations of one tonally specified element with two or more toneless elements

When a combination consists of three elements (a verbal root preceded by two prefixes or a word followed by two enclitics), the regularities that apply are markedly different from those noted above. In light of the above observations, one would expect word-enclitics combinations to undergo a left-to-right spread of the tone of the host word. However, all examined combinations in our data neutralize to /HL/: the host word receives [H], and the enclitics receive [L] (see Table 3). This pattern is observed in (11-13) above, over the phrase [^Hhĩ = ^Lt^hi = ^Lrẽ] ‘that man’; or in example sentences (22-23), in which the verb is followed by three enclitics:

- (22) ^Hŋɜ# ^Hqua = ^Lts^ha = ^Lwu = ^Lsɿ.
 1SG weep=TERM=RES=PRF

‘I finished weeping.’ (< /^Hqua/ ‘weep’)

- (23) ^Hŋʒ# ^Htʂa = ^Ltʂ^ha = ^Lwu = ^Lsŋ.
 1SG jump=TERM=RES=PRF

‘I finished jumping.’ (< /^{HL}tʂa/ ‘jump’)

In the case of verbs preceded by two prefixes, there is a similar neutralization of the three contrastive tones of the root to one single tone pattern, viz. /LH/: the prefixes receive [L] and the root [H]. For example:

- (24) ^Ldʒi-^Llʒ-^Hçĩ # ^Lmiæ-^Llʒ-^Hçĩ # ^Lk^hu-^Llʒ-^Hçĩ # ^Lbə-^Llʒ-^Hçĩ #
 upward-PFV-look downward-PFV-look inward-PFV-look outward-PFV-look

‘have looked up and down, inside and outside’ (< /^Hçĩ/ ‘look’)

- (25) ^Lçĩ-^Llʒ-^Hp^hʒ # ^Lk^hu-^Llʒ-^Hp^hʒ #, ^Ldʒi-^Llʒ-^Hp^hʒ # ^Lmiæ-^Llʒ-^Hp^hʒ #
 outward-PFV-dig inward-PFV-dig upward-PFV-dig downward-PFV-look

‘have dug in and out, up and down’ (< /^Lp^hʒ/ ‘dig’)

- (26) ^Lçĩ-^Llʒ-^Htʂa # ^Lk^hu-^Llʒ-^Htʂa #, ^Ldʒi-^Llʒ-^Htʂa # ^Lmiæ-^Llʒ-^Htʂa #
 outward-PFV-jump inward-PFV-jump upward-PFV-jump downward-PFV-jump

‘have jumped in and out, up and down’ (< /^{HL}tʂa/ ‘jump’)

This neutralization of all tones in both cases suggests that the input lexical tones are disregarded altogether. Instead, the root of the word in the case of verbs and the head of the compound in the case of phrases (word+enclitic combinations), respectively, receives a [H] tone, and all remaining syllables a [L] tone. This differs radically from the tonal derivations over two-element combinations. We therefore propose that when the number of elements per combination reaches three, tone derivation rules no longer apply.

The neutralization of tones in combinations consisting of three elements, taken together with Observation 2 above (“The shorter the resulting combination, the greater the integration of the toneless element”), leads to the conclusion that the prototypical domain for the application of regular tone pattern derivation rules is restricted in Shǐxīng to two elements, and ideally, two syllables (binary foot). This entails that in Shǐxīng, the lexical and phonological levels converge in favoring disyllabicity both in the lexicon and in the prosodic organization.

As for the way in which tone is assigned over units that exceed this size, we suggest that the H tone is related to stress and assigned to the most “stress-prone” element within the combination: the root at the word level, and the head at the phrase level; whereas the remaining elements are unstressed, or L (cf. Yip 2006: 243-246). Overall, the link between H tone and stress is well-attested cross-linguistically: H tone can be diachronically reinterpreted as stress under certain conditions: when it is obligatory, culminative, privative, metrical, or otherwise restricted in distribution. Synchronically, numerous systems are analytically indeterminate, and can be described either in tonal terms, or in terms of *stress realized as H*

tone (e.g., Yoneda 2005: 394; for a general discussion, see the special issue of *Phonology* entitled “Between stress and tone”: vol. 23.2, 2006).

2.2. Two tonally specified elements in the input

Cases where the input contains two tonally specified elements considered in this study include:

- (i) modifying noun-noun compounds, formed from mono- and disyllabic nouns;
- (ii) noun-verb (object-verb) phrases, formed from mono- and disyllabic nouns and verbs (optionally followed by an enclitic).

The observed tone derivation patterns for combinations containing two tonally specified elements are summarized in Table 4. The columns and rows indicate the input tones: the columns the three possible contrastive tones of the first element and the rows the three possible contrastive tone of the second element. The intersection gives the resulting tone pattern for the combination. Both the first and the second member of the compound can be mono- or disyllabic, so that Table 4 applies to di-, tri- and quadri-syllabic combinations alike.

| | | tone of the second element | | |
|---------------------------|----|----------------------------|---|----|
| | | H | L | HL |
| tone of the first element | H | H | | |
| | L | L | | |
| | HL | L | | |

Table 4. Tone patterns in determinative compounds and object-verb phrases

The resulting combinations straightforwardly obtain from the application of Rules 1 and 2 (§1.5), repeated below for convenience:

Rule 1: The tone pattern of the first member of the compound decides the tone pattern of the resulting combination.

Rule 2: /L/ and /HL/ neutralize to /L/.

In other words, it is again the tone pattern of the first element that determines the tone pattern of the compound. If the tone of the first element is /H/, the resulting tone pattern is /H/. If the tone of the first element is /L/ or /HL/, the resulting tone pattern is /L/. For example:

- (27) /^Hʔẽ/ ‘sheep’ + /^Hk^ha-miæ/ ‘footprint’ > /^Hʔẽ k^ha-miæ/ ‘sheep hoof prints’
- (28) /^Hʔẽ/ ‘sheep’ + /^Lṁiæ-tsũ/ ‘tail’ > /^Hʔẽ ṁiæ-tsũ/ ‘sheep tail’
- (29) /^Hʔẽ/ ‘sheep’ + /^{HL}ṁɜ-mi/ ‘heart’ > /^Hʔẽ ṁɜ-mi/ ‘sheep heart’
- (30) /^Lrõ/ ‘horse’ + /^Hrə/ ‘skin’ > /^Lrõ rə/ ‘horse skin’
- (31) /^Lrõ/ ‘horse’ + /^Lɛẽ/ ‘neck’ > /^Lrõ ɛẽ/ ‘horse neck’
- (32) /^Lrõ/ ‘horse’ + /^{HL}q^hə/ ‘excrement’ > /^Lrõ q^hə/ ‘horse excrement’
- (33) /^{HL}bõ/ ‘yak’ + /^Hk^ha-miæ/ ‘footprint’ > /^Lbõ k^ha-miæ/ ‘yak hoof prints’
- (34) /^{HL}bõ/ ‘yak’ + /^{HL}ṁɜ-mi/ ‘heart’ > /^Lbõ ṁɜ-mi/ ‘yak heart’
- (35) /^{HL}bõ/ ‘yak’ + /^Lṁiæ-tsũ/ ‘tail’ > /^Lbõ ṁiæ-tsũ/ ‘yak tail’

In sum, the prosodic structure of compounds in Shìxīng is determined by their initial member, as in Kagoshima Japanese (Kubozono 2005: 386, Uwano 2007) or Shanghai Chinese (Yip 2002: 187).

3. Discussion

Looking back on the aforementioned observations on tone-pattern spreading and tonal derivation, we propose the following conceptualization of the tonal system of Shǐxīng.

This system is based on a binary opposition of /H/ and /L/ levels. The /HL/ tone appears to have a status of its own within the system, dissimilar to that of /H/ and /L/. This is evidenced by (i) the neutralization of the /L/-/HL/ contrast to /L/ in derivations (see Tables 2 and 4) and (ii) the neutralization of the /H/-/HL/ contrast to /H/ in monosyllabic words in continuous speech, as in examples (36-37). These examples show two contrastive /H/-/HL/ pairs: /^Hʂɿ/ ‘fishing net’ vs. /^{HL}ʂɿ/ ‘tongue’, and /^Hpũ/ ‘move’ vs. /^{HL}pũ/ ‘pile up’. This tonal contrast neutralizes to /H/ in continuous speech, so that example (36) stands for both ‘This is a fishing net’ and ‘This is a tongue’, whereas example (37) stands both for ‘They are about to move’ and ‘They are about to pile up’:

- (36) ^Lha = zɿ# ^Hʂɿ# ⁰ɲõ.
this=TOP fishing.net COP
 tongue

‘This is a fishing net.’

‘This is a tongue.’

- (37) ^Hthi = rẽ# ^Hpũ# ^Ltçi-tçi# ^Lbɜ = jĩ.
that=PL move do-do make=PROG
 pile.up

‘They are about to move.’

‘They are about to pile up.’

Notably, in view of the surface homophony of these tonally distinct forms and in the absence of a larger context to disambiguate them in the context of our experiment, our language consultant resorted to the strategy of hypercorrection (see §1.5). Thus, he insisted on realizing the members of each pair with their respective citation tone, so that his rendering of the sentence ‘This is a tongue.’ was consequently corrected to /^Lha = zɿ# ^{HL}ʂɿ# ⁰ɲõ./ and that of the sentence ‘They are about to pile up.’ to /^Hthi = rẽ# ^{HL}pũ# ^Ltçi-tçi# ^Lbɜ = jĩ/.

In view of the special behavior of /HL/, as compared to /H/ and /L/, we analyze the /HL/ category as marked. It is more complex than /H/ and /L/ level tones and prone to simplify to a non-contour tone. As a complement to this flat synchronic statement, it appears useful to place the facts in diachronic perspective, as argued by Martinet, who referred to this approach as “synchronie dynamique” (Martinet 1990). The class of HL words in Shǐxīng is likely to be a recent development. In addition to the neutralization patterns just cited, this is evidenced by the fact that /H/ and /HL/ both tend to occur on syllables with voiceless initials; whereas /L/ tends to occur on syllables with voiced initials. The genesis of the tonal system of Shǐxīng is likely to be related (in ways which still need to be explored) to the two-way tonal split conditioned by voicing of the initials that is widely attested in East Asian languages (Haudricourt 1954, 1972; about Tibetan, see Sun 1997). This issue will be investigated in future by examining more closely the structure of the Shǐxīng lexicon.

4. Conclusion and perspectives for future research

This study brought out the following essential characteristics of the prosodic system of Shǐxīng:

- (i) the use of two tonal levels, [H] vs. [L]
- (ii) the requirement of at least one [H] tone per phrase (obligatoriness)
- (iii) the tonelessness of affixes and enclitics
- (iv) the domain of tone patterns: the phonological word in isolation and the phonological phrase in continuous speech
- (v) a constraint on the length of the domain for tone rule application: (a) the prototypical domain is equal to two syllables (binary foot); and (b) when the number of elements per combination exceeds three, tone derivation rules no longer apply (phrasal tone pattern domain)

Characteristics (i)-(iv) are shared by the neighbouring languages due to common inheritance and to areal contact. Disentangling the two, in particular in view of a better understanding of the genetic affiliation of Shǐxīng, is one of the challenges for future work. It is our hope that more languages of the area, some of which clearly possess restricted tone systems akin to that of Shǐxīng, but are currently described in terms of omnysyllabic tones, e.g. Guìqióng (Wāng 2008) or Mùyǎ (Yīn 2008), can be analyzed along the lines of the present analysis to provide foundation for cross-linguistic comparisons (e.g. with an eye on the subgrouping argument) or queries into issues of tonogenesis in the region (cf. Chirkova 2007).

Another challenge will consist in reflecting on the necessity for the recognition of a higher-level prosodic domain, in addition to the level of tone-rule application (§1.5), viz. that of phrasal tone patterns, where tone patterns are determined by what appears to be stress rules (§2.1.2).

Other tasks for future research include enlarging the data corpus and verifying the data with more speakers, and extending the investigation to the Lower Reaches dialect of Shǐxīng.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| 1,2,3 | first, second, third person pronoun |
| < | derived from |
| > | shows the outcome of a derivation |
| - | separates morphemes within a word |
| — | separates syllables within a monomorphemic polysyllabic word |
| = | separates a word from an enclitic |
| # | indicates a juncture between two tone domains |
| [] | encloses direct speech |
| ∅ | indicates a toneless element in the utterance |
| ? | indicates a morpheme or word whose meaning is unclear |
| AGT | agent |
| ANM | animate |
| CMPR | standard of comparison |
| COM | comitative |
| COP | copula |
| DUR | durative |
| GEN | genitive |
| IPFV | imperfective |
| LOC | locative |
| NEG | negation |
| NMLZ | nominalizer |
| PL | plural |
| PFV | perfective |
| PNT | patient |
| PRF | perfect |
| PROG | progressive |
| PST | past |
| RES | resultative |
| SG | singular |
| TERM | terminative |
| TOP | topic |
| VOC | vocative |
| VOL | volition |
| WT | Written Tibetan |
| [<i>italics</i>] | indicate personal names |

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Appendix I: Experiment: Language materials, speaker, settings

The corpus for this study is made up of mono- and disyllabic words (both nouns and verbs), taken from the Shìxīng vocabulary list compiled by the first author during her fieldwork in 2005 and 2006. For disyllabic words, we mostly used monomorphemic disyllabic words in the case of nouns, e.g. /^Hsē_tē/ ‘domestic animals (WT *sems can*)’ and /^Lma_zɿ/ ‘cat’; as well as some words formed through affixation, e.g. /^Hŋɜ-mi/ ‘heart’, /^Hpu-mi/ ‘frog’. In the case of disyllabic verbs, verbs formed through reduplication were mostly made use of, e.g. /^Hsu-su/ ‘pick up’, /^Htō-tō/ ‘chat’.

The following derivation strategies were made use of:

(i) compounding in nouns and verbs: modifying noun-noun compounds; object-verb compounds; and combinations of a noun or a verb with one or two enclitics, notably the genitive marker /ji/, the locative marker /no/, the animate patient marker /sɿ/, the past patient nominalising marker /li/ and the purpose patient nominalising marker /gɜ/

(ii) affixation in verbs: derivation of a verb from a mono- or di-syllabic root combined with one of the directional prefixes: (a) /dzi-/ ‘upward’, (b) /miæ-/ ‘downward’, (c) /k^hu-/ ‘inward’, (d) /bə-/ ‘outward’, (e) /çi-/ ‘to’ (opposite to /k^hu-/ ‘fro’ in set expressions) or (f) the perfective prefix /lɜ-/; or from a root combined with one of the directional prefixes and the perfective prefix.

For each resulting di-, tri- and quadri-syllabic unit we examined the relationship between the input and the resulting surface tones.

The first stage of the experiment consisted in recording the target items first in isolation and then inside carrier sentences. Some examples of the carrier sentences are:

For nouns:

(38) ^Lha = zɿ# NP # ^oŋō.
this=TOP COP

‘This is NP.’

(39) ^Hhī = ^Lt^hi = ^Lrē = ^Lzɿ# ^Hma # NP = sɿ# ^Hbā ɛē = jī.
person=that=AGT=TOP today NP=PNT.ANM guest call=PROG

‘Today that man invites NP to his place.’

For verbs:

(40) ^Hŋɜ # V = gɜ.
this V=VOL

‘I will V.’

(41) ^Lt^hu-wu = ɛō# V = li# ^{LH}dzō.
3SG-family=on V=NMLZ.PST exist

‘They have a lot of VNMLZ.PST.’

The use of carrier sentences was initially intended to stabilize phonetic realization, for ease of comparison of F0 curves across items. In the end, the use of carrier sentences yielded a number of minor differences in tone realization, such as the late realization of the LH and HL tone patterns in disyllabic words (free variation of L.H/L.LH and H.L/H.HL patterns respectively). For example:

- (42) ^Lha = zɿ# ^Lp^ha_^{LH}za# ɔ̃nɔ̃.
 this=TOP shoes COP

‘These are shoes.’ (< /^Lpha_za/ ‘shoes’ in isolation)

- (43) ^Lha = zɿ# ^Hʔɛ = ^Hji ^Hk^ha-^{HL}miæ# ɔ̃nɔ̃.
 this=TOP sheep=GEN hoof-below COP

‘These are sheep hoof prints.’ (< /^Hʔɛ k^ha-miæ/ ‘sheep hoof prints’ in isolation)

The second stage of the experiment consisted in systematic derivations of tone patterns in di-, tri- and quadri-syllabic words or phrases. The target items were recorded again first in isolation and then in the appropriate carrier sentence.

The data were elicited in four work sessions in March-April 2008, during the joint fieldwork of the two authors in the town of Qiáowǎ 乔瓦, the administrative seat of the Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County. The language consultant who took part in the study is Mr. Lǚróng Duōdīng 鲁绒多丁 [˧dʒi-^Hʂɛ̃ ^Hlu-^Hzũ ^Hto-^Hdĩ] (WT *blo bzang stobs ldan*), the principal language consultant of the first author since 2005.⁶

The recordings took place in a quiet room that had been padded up with household linen to reduce reverberation as far as possible. An electroglottographic signal was recorded simultaneously with the audio signal by a Fostex FR2-LE digital recorder (24-bit, 44,100 Hz). The equipment used was an EG2-PC two-channel electroglottograph (Rothenberg 1992) and a Beyer M88 microphone.

⁶ Lǚróng Duōdīng is a native speaker of the Upper Reaches sub-variety of Shǐxīng, originally from Lánmǎn /^Hlā-mǎ/ hamlet in Shuǐluò Township. In addition to Shǐxīng, he is proficient in the local variety of Chinese, the local variety of Tibetan (Kami Tibetan 嘎米藏语) and in the local variety of Prinmi. He has lived and worked in the town of Qiáowǎ, the administrative seat of the Mùlǐ Tibetan Autonomous County, for several decades, but he visits his home township regularly and speaks his native language at home with his wife, also a native of Shuǐluò, thereby maintaining a good proficiency in Shǐxīng.

Appendix II: “Daly Kuku and Gutsen Padzhe”

1. ^{HL}ji-ŋe # ^{HL}ji-ŋe # ^Hhĩ # ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku # ^Hma-hĩ # ^{LH}dzi # ^{LH}jĩ = ^odzõ.⁷

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--|--------------------|
| ^{HL} ji-ŋe | ^{HL} ji-ŋe | ^H hĩ | ^L da- ^H lɔ- ^L ku- ^L ku | ^H ma-hĩ |
| previous-? | previous-? | person | <i>personal.name</i> | name-person |

^{LH}dzi ^{LH}jĩ = ^odzõ.
one exist.ANM=DUR

Long time ago, there was a man by the name of Daly Kuku.

2. ^Hha # ^Hhĩ # ^Hha # ^{HL}ka-duɜ.

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| ^H ha | ^H hĩ | ^H ha | ^{HL} ka-duɜ |
| this | person | this | strength-big |

He was very strong.

3. ^Ltʰɜ-læ = zɿ # ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕɜ # ^{HL}pɜ-hĩ # ^Ldzi = lɜ # ^{LH}jĩ = ^odzõ.

| | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| ^L tʰɜ-læ = zɿ | ^H gu-tsẽ-pa-tɕɜ | ^{HL} pɜ-hĩ |
| that-become=TOP | <i>personal.name</i> | speak-person |

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ^L dzi = lɜ | ^{LH} jĩ = ^o dzõ |
| one=also | exist.ANM=DUR |

Then, there was also a man called Gutsen Padzhe.

4. ^Ltʰi = lɜ # ^{HL}ka-duɜ = hĩ # ^oɲõ.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| ^L tʰi = lɜ | ^{HL} ka-duɜ = hĩ | ^o ɲõ |
| 3SG=also | strength-big=person | COP |

He, too, was very strong.

5. ^Ldzi-ma # ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕɜ = ^orẽ # ^Lbi = sɿ # ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^okɜ # ^{HL}kaɔ-tsʰi = gɜ # ^{HL}ɕyɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

| | | | |
|---------------------|--|----------------------|--|
| ^L dzi-ma | ^H gu-tsẽ-pa-tɕɜ = ^o rẽ | ^L bi = sɿ | ^L da- ^H lɔ- ^L ku- ^L ku = ^o kɜ |
| one-day | <i>personal.name</i> =AGT | walk=PRF | <i>personal.name</i> =at |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| ^{HL} kaɔ-tsʰi = gɜ | ^{HL} ɕyɜ = ^L li = ^L ɲõ |
| strength-measure=VOL | think=NMLZ.PST=COP |

One day, Gutsen Padzhe wanted to measure strength with Daly Kuku.

6. ^Ltʰɜ = ma = li # ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕɜ # ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^oɲi # ^Ldzo-hõ = no # ^Hpao = ^Ltɕʰu = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

⁷ Note the unusual tone pattern of the name of the main protagonist, i.e. [^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku] ‘Daly Kuku’. Personal names in Shìxīng normally carry /H/ tone pattern, e.g. /^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕɜ/ or /^Hlu-zũ-to-dĩ/ (/^Ldzi-ɕẽ/ in /^Ldzi-ɕẽ # ^Hlu-zũ-to-dĩ/ is a place name). At present, we do not have any explanation for the atypical tone pattern of the name of the main protagonist of the story, neither do we know what the name means. In the text, the name is provided in phonetic transcription, i.e. [^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku].

^Lt^h3 = ma = li ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕ3 ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^oji ^Ldzo-hō = no
that=day=NMLZ.PST *personal.name* *personal.name*=GEN house=inside

^Hpao = ^Ltɕ^hu = ^Lli = ^Lɲō
arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

That day he arrived at Daly Kuku's house.

7. ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku # ^Lmi = ^{LH}jĩ = ^Lli = ^Lɲō.
^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku ^Lmi = ^{LH}jĩ = ^Lli = ^Lɲō
personal.name NEG=exist.ANM=NMLZ.PST=COP

Daly Kuku was not at home.

8. ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^Hji # ^Lts^hɿ-dzy3 = zɿ # ^Ldzō-hō # ^{LH}jĩ = ^odzō.
^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^Hji ^Lts^hɿ-dzy3 = zɿ ^Ldzō-hō ^{LH}jĩ = ^odzō
personal.name=GEN life-friend=TOP house exist.ANM=DUR

Daly Kuku's wife was at home.

9. ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕ3 # ^Lt^hu-wu # ^Ldzō-hō # ^Hk^hu-pao = ^Ltɕ^hu = ^Lli = ^Lɲō.
^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕ3 ^Lt^hu-wu ^Ldzō-hō ^Hk^hu-pao = ^Ltɕ^hu = ^Lli = ^Lɲō
personal.name 3SG-family house inward-arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

Gutsen Padzhe entered their house.

10. [^Hɲ3 # ^Lt^h3 = wu # ^Hka-d3 = g3#,] ^{HL}p3 = ^Lli = ^Lɲō.
[^Hɲ3 ^Lt^h3 = wu ^Hka-d3 = g3,] ^{HL}p3 = ^Lli = ^Lɲō
1SG 3SG=COM strength-perform=VOL speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

“I was to fight with him!”, he said.

11. ^Lt^h3 = lɛ # ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^oji # ^Lts^hɿ-dzy3 = ^orẽ ^Lzu = sɿ # ^Hts^h3 # ^Ldz3-bu = ^oɕō # ^Lk^hu-tɕ^ha = sɿ
^Ldzy3-^Hlɔ = ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲō.
^Lt^h3 = lɛ ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku = ^oji ^Lts^hɿ-dzy3 = ^orẽ ^Lzu = sɿ ^Hts^h3
that=become *personal.name*=GEN life-friend=AGT be.afraid=PRF salt

^Ldz3-bu = ^oɕō ^Lk^hu-tɕ^ha = sɿ ^Ldzy3-^Hlɔ = ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲō
chest=on inward-seize=PRF lift=do=NMLZ.PST=COP

Then, scared out of her wits, the wife of Daly Kuku grabbed the salt cupboard and lifted it.

12. ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕ3 # ^Ldō = lɛ # ^{HL}t^hi # ^Hɕy3 = ^Lli = ^Lɲō.
^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕ3 ^Ldō = lɛ ^{HL}t^hi ^Hɕy3 = ^Lli = ^Lɲō
personal.name see=become that think=NMLZ.PST=COP

Upon seeing that, Gutsen Padzhe thought the following.

13. [H^hha # H^a-me # H^hhĩ H^hha = rē = 0l3 # L^dz3-bu = l3 # L^dzy3-l3 # L^dō = jĩ.]
 [H^hha H^a-me H^hhĩ H^hha = rē = 0l3 L^dz3-bu = l3
 this VOC-mother person this=AGT=also chest=also

L^dzy3-l3 L^dō = jĩ]
 lift be.able=PROG

“This woman can lift a whole cupboard!”

14. [L^dda-H^lə-L^ku-L^ku = 0li # L^s3-ka = l3 # H^{ka} # H^{ka}-pao # L^khu3 = HL^{so-ti}#,] HL^{cy3} = L^{li} = Lⁿō.
 [L^dda-H^lə-L^ku-L^ku = 0li L^s3-ka = l3 H^{ka} H^{ka}-pao L^khu3 = HL^{so-ti},]
personal.name=?NMLZ.PST CMPR=also strength very big=probably

HL^{cy3} = L^{li} = Lⁿō
 think=NMLZ.PST=COP

“Daly Kuku is probably even stronger than she is,” he thought.

15. L^{si}-ji = zŋ # LH^{da} # L^th3 = mu = tɕŋ # L^b3 = sŋ # L^zu = sŋ # L^bə-H^tsa = L^{xa} = L^{li} = Lⁿō.
 L^{si}-ji = zŋ LH^{da} L^th3 = mu = tɕŋ L^b3 = sŋ L^zu = sŋ
 then-?=TOP nothing ?=NEG=delay make=PRF be.afraid=PRF

L^bə-H^tsa = L^{xa} = L^{li} = Lⁿō
 outward-go=go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP

Then, without saying a word, he ran away in fear.

16. L^{ma}-l3-ka # L^dda-H^lə-L^ku-L^ku # L^dzō-hō # H^{la}-H^pao = L^tçhũ = L^{li} = Lⁿō.
 L^{ma}-l3-ka L^dda-H^lə-L^ku-L^ku L^dzō-hō H^{la}-H^pao = L^tçhũ = L^{li} = Lⁿō
 day-?LOC-back *personal.name* house PFV-arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

Then Daly Kuku returned home later that afternoon.

17. L^th3 = læ # L^thi = ji # L^tsh^h-H^dzy3 = 0rē # L^dda-H^lə-L^ku-L^ku = 0no # H^p3 = L^{li} = Lⁿō.
 L^th3 = læ L^thi = ji L^tsh^h-H^dzy3 = 0rē L^dda-H^lə-L^ku-L^ku = 0no
 that=become 3SG=GEN life-friend=AGT *personal.name*=inside

H^p3 = L^{li} = Lⁿō
 speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

His wife told Daly Kuku.

18. [H^{ma} # H^{gu}-tsē-pa-tç3 # L^a = l3 # L^tçhũ = sŋ#, Lⁿⁱ = wu # H^{ka}-d3 = g3 # HL^{p3} = jĩ.]
 [H^{ma} H^{gu}-tsē-pa-tç3 L^a = l3 L^tçhũ = sŋ#, Lⁿⁱ = wu
 today *personal.name* here=LOC come=PRF 2SG=COM

^Hkɑ-dʒ = gʒ strength-perform=VOL
^Hl pʒ = jĩ] speak=PROG

“Gutsen Padzhe came over today, saying he wanted to fight with you.”

19. ^Ltʰʒ = lǎ # ^Lda-^Hlǝ-^Lku-^Lku # ^Lrẽ = zɿ: # [^{LH}za # ^{LH}jĩ:] # ^Hl pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Ltʰʒ = lǎ that=become
^Lda-^Hlǝ-^Lku-^Lku *personal.name*
^Lrẽ = zɿ: AGT=TOP
 [^{LH}za where
 [^{LH}jĩ:] exist.ANM

^Hl pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ
 speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

Daly Kuku asked: “Where is he?”

20. ^Ltʰi = ji # ^Ltsʰɿ-dʒyʒ # ^Lrẽ = zɿ # ^Hl pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Ltʰi = ji 3SG=GEN
^Ltsʰɿ-dʒyʒ life-friend
^Lrẽ = zɿ AGT=TOP
^Hl pʒ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

His wife answered.

21. [^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕʒ # ^Ho-wu = ^okʒ # ^Hpɑ = lǎ #, ^Hɲʒ # ^Lzu = sɿ # ^Htsʰʒ # ^Ldʒʒ-bu # ^Ldʒyʒ-dʒi-lʒ # ^Ldʒ = sɿ #, ^Ltʰʒ = lǎ = zɿ # ^{LH}da # ^Ltʰʒ = mu = tɕɿ # ^Lbʒ = sɿ # ^Htsɑ = ^Lwu = ^Lsɿ.]

[^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕʒ *personal.name*
^Ho-wu = ^okʒ self-family=at
^Hpɑ = lǎ arrive=become
^Hɲʒ 1SG

^Lzu = sɿ, be.afraid=PRF
^Htsʰʒ salt
^Ldʒʒ-bu chest
^Ldʒyʒ-dʒi-lʒ lift-one-lift
^Ldʒ = sɿ perform=PRF

^Ltʰʒ = lǎ = zɿ that=become=top
^{LH}da # nothing
^Ltʰʒ = mu = tɕɿ # ?=NEG=delay
^Lbʒ = sɿ make=PRF

^Htsɑ = ^Lwu = ^Lsɿ]
 go=RES=PRF

“When Gutsen Padzhe came to our place, I was so afraid that I lifted the cupboard in the air, and seeing this, he went away without saying a word.”

22. ^Lma-^Hsɿ-^Lma-^Lli # ^Lda-^Hlǝ-^Lku-^Lku # ^{LH}lu # ^Lbi = sɿ # ^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕʒ # ^Hla-ɕǎ # ^Hxa = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Lma-^Hsɿ-^Lma-^Lli the.second.day
^Lda-^Hlǝ-^Lku-^Lku *personal.name*
^{LH}lu again
^Lbi = sɿ walk=PRF

^Hgu-tsẽ-pa-tɕʒ *personal.name*
^Hla-ɕǎ PFV-search
^Hxa = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP

The following day, Daly Kuku went to look for Gutsen Padzhe.

23. ^Lt^hɜ = læ # ^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ # ^{HL}tɕ^hu-bu-za-hĩ # ^Hjĩ = no # ^{LH}jĩ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Lt^hɜ = læ ^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ ^{HL}tɕ^hu-bu-za-hĩ ^Hjĩ = no
that=become *personal.name* other.side field-inside

^{LH}jĩ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ

exist.ANM=NMLZ.PST=COP

Gutsen Padzhe found him in a field on the other side of the river.

24. ^Lt^hɜ = læ # ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku # ^Htɜ # ^Hpao = ^Ltɕ^hũ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ#, ^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ # ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku#
^Hdõ = ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ#, ^Lzu-wu# = ^Lpu = wu = sɿ # ^Lzɿ-bɜ # ^Ldzi-wu ɲi# ^Lwɜ-suɜ-hĩ # ^Ldzyɜ-lɜ = sɿ #
^Ht^ha_pao # ^Lku-la # ^{HL}sũ = ku_ri # ^Lto-^Hwu = ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Lt^hɜ = læ ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku ^Htɜ ^Hpao = ^Ltɕ^hũ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ,
that=become *personal.name* there arrive=come=NMLZ.PST=COP

^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku ^Hdõ = ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ,
personal.name *personal.name* see=do=NMLZ.PST=COP

^Lzu-wu = ^Lpu = wu = sɿ ^Lzɿ-bɜ ^Ldzi-wu ɲi
be.afraid=IPFV=RES=PRF plough.ox one-pair and

^Lwɜ-suɜ-hĩ ^Ldzyɜ-lɜ = sɿ ^Ht^ha_pao ^Lku-la ^{HL}sũ = ku_ri
cow-lead-person lift=PRF head ?around three=circle

^Lto = ^Hwu = ^Ltɕi = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ

circle=RES?=do=NMLZ.PST=COP

When Daly Kuku arrived there, Gutsen Padzhe saw him and, scared out of his wits, grabbed the pair of oxen together with the boy leading the oxen, lifted all of them and swung them three times around his head.

25. ^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ # ^{HL}t^hi # ^{HL}pɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ ^{HL}t^hi ^{HL}pɜ = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ
personal.name that speak=NMLZ.PST=COP

Gutsen Padzhe then [pretended he was not himself, and] said.

26. [^Lɲi = wu # ^Hka-dɜ = gɜ # ^{HL}pɜ-hĩ # ^Hɲɜ # ^{HL}mõ = fiõ #, ^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ # ^Hɲɜ # ^{HL}mõ = fiõ#,] ^Ht^hi #
^Lpɜ = læ #, ^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku # ^Htsa = ^Lxa = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ.

[^Lɲi = wu ^Hka-dɜ = gɜ ^{HL}pɜ-hĩ ^Hɲɜ ^{HL}mõ = fiõ
2SG=COM strength-perform=VOL speak-person 1SG NEG.COP=EMPH

^Hgu-tsē-pa-tɕɜ ^Hɲɜ ^{HL}mõ = fiõ,] ^Ht^hi ^Lpɜ = læ
personal.name 1SG NEG.COP=EMPH that speak=become

^Lda-^Hlɔ-^Lku-^Lku ^Htsa = ^Lxa = ^Lli = ^Lɲõ
personal.name go=go.PST=NMLZ.PST=COP

“I am not the one who wanted to fight with you. I am not Gutsen Padzhe.” So, Daly Kuku went away.

Daly Kuku and Gutsen Padzhe

Long time ago, there was a man by the name of Daly Kuku. He was very strong. Then, there was also a man called Gutsen Padzhe. He, too, was very strong. One day, Gutsen Padzhe wanted to measure strength with Daly Kuku. When he arrived at Daly Kuku’s house, Daly Kuku was not at home, but his wife was at home. Gutsen Padzhe entered their house. “I want to fight Daly Kuku!” he said. Scared out of her wits, the wife of Daly Kuku grabbed the cupboard and lifted it. Upon seeing that, Gutsen Padzhe thought: “This woman can lift a whole cupboard! Daly Kuku is probably even stronger than she is.” Then, without saying a word, he ran away in fear. When Daly Kuku returned home, later that afternoon, his wife told him: “Gutsen Padzhe came over, saying he wanted to fight with you.” Daly Kuku asked: “Where is he?” His wife answered: “When Gutsen Padzhe came to our place, I was so afraid that I lifted the cupboard in the air, and seeing this, he went away without saying a word.” The following day, Daly Kuku went to look for Gutsen Padzhe and found him in a field on the other side of the river. When Daly Kuku arrived there, Gutsen Padzhe saw him and, scared out of his wits, grabbed the pair of oxen together with the boy leading the oxen, lifted all of them and swung them three times around his head. Gutsen Padzhe then pretended he was not himself, saying: “I am not the one who wanted to fight with you. I am not Gutsen Padzhe.” So, Daly Kuku went away.