

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF LOLO¹

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PREFACE

In the spring of 1938, with the transfer of the University of Peking to Yunnan, I came into contact with the Lolo people and became interested in their language. Since that time I have travelled in some of the other provinces bordering Yunnan in order to study other dialects of Lolo. The description which follows is based upon the dialect of Pei-shan which is situated in the Hsi-ch'ang district of Sikang, but I have endeavoured as far as I am able to compare this dialect with others which I have studied at first hand or that have been described by other scholars.

As many dialects still remain to be studied in a scientific manner and the phonetic structure of Lolo words in general has degenerated to a considerable degree, I cannot undertake an etymological study of the language in this work. Although I have tried to arrange my material according to modern phonetic and linguistic science I can lay no claim to completeness. I have no doubt that further studies will improve and correct this first sketch.

I cannot express sufficient gratitude to Professor G. Haloun under whose supervision this dissertation was written. He has read the whole work in manuscript and has offered many valuable suggestions and much acute criticism as to both arrangement of the material and the analysis of the language structure. Without his encouragement I should probably never have undertaken this task; and without his help the work would not have achieved its present form.

I owe sincere thanks to Professor W. Simon and Mr. R. A. D. Forrest for some suggestions incorporated in this work; to Mr. A. R. Davis who read through the manuscript and made sensitive suggestions. Grateful thanks are due to Mr. R. Y. Jennings and Dr. L. E. R. Picken of Jesus College for the encouragement they have given me and the facilities with which they have

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I am deeply indebted to the British Council for awarding me a scholarship which enabled me to come and stay in this country; to Huachung University for releasing me from my duties for the past two years; and to the Board of Research Studies for financial assistance in the production of this dissertation. Finally, I take this opportunity of thanking my Lolo informants and all those who have given me their aid in my field work in various Lolo regions.

M. C. Fu
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Annam
AP	adverbial particle
B.	Burma
C.	Cambodia
c.	chüan (the Chinese term for chapter)
H.	Hê-chang (Kwei-chow)
K.	Kweichow
L.	Lu-nan (Yunnan)
Lc.	Lu-ch'üan (Yunnan)
lit.	literally
NUM	numerative
OP	object particle
PD	particle expressing duration
PP	particle expressing past tense
PRT	particle
S.	Sikang
Si.	Siam
SP	subject particle
STP	substantivizing particle
Sz.	Szechwan
T.	Ta-ting (Yunnan)
t.	tome
voc.	vocabulary
Y.	Yunnan

Underlined numbers (e.g. 169) refer to items in the Bibliography (pp. 227 *ff.*, below).



INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

NAMES FOR THE LOLO

(1) Some Common Names Used Today.

A. Lolo.

1. The term *Lolo* is generally applied by both the Chinese and Europeans to the peoples who speak a particular language found in south-western China and extending to northern and eastern Burma and Tongking. The speakers of this language, except those who call themselves *Lolop'o*, dislike this term.

For the origin of the term "Lolo", there have been four suggestions, viz., that it derives from

(a) the tribal designation *no*: P. Vial suggested in 1898 that because in some regions the Chinese confuse the *n* and *l* sounds, they have rendered *no*, which the Lolos call themselves, as *lo* and through the doubling of this syllable the term has become *Lolo* (187, p.70);

(b) a Chinese word for 'basket': C.E. Hicks maintained in 1910 that "Lolo" is a contemptuous nickname given by the Chinese because of the small basket called *lolo* in Chinese, in which the Lolos keep the bamboo tubes which symbolize their ancestral spirits (93, p.217);

(c) a name of a Lolo tribe: In 1913 A. Liétard proposed that the name of a particular tribe, the Lolo(p'o), was used by the Chinese to designate the Lolo peoples as a whole (127, p. 23);

(d) the tribal name *Lulu*: T'ien Ju-ch'êng writing in 1557 (176, p. 88) declared that "Lolo" is a corruption of *Lulu* (廬鹿) The author of the *Album of the Miaotzü* (18, p. 272), Ku Yen-wu (105, cc. 109, 111), T'an Ts'uei (167), Yan Shên (158, p. 165), F. S. A. Bourne (16, p. 88), T. de Lacouperie (109, p. 89), P. Pelliot (148, p. 137), M. A. Vissière (189, p. 178) support this idea.

Of these four suggestions, the second is the least likely because the people of one of the Lolo-speaking tribes call themselves "Lolo(p'o)"; the first is possible but unlikely because no Lolo tribes call themselves "nono"; I am inclined to combine the third and fourth and I would propose that "Lolo" is a term by which a tribe of Lolo-speaking peoples call themselves and that this same tribe was called "Lulu" in the T'ang Dynasty.

B. No-su and Ni or Gni.

2. The Lolos have, besides *Lolo(p'o)*, many other names which they have given themselves and which vary from region to region. The most widely used

is *No-su* which is pronounced *Ne-su*, *Na-su* and *Nəu-su* in different regions. The first syllable (*no*, *ne*, etc.) in all these terms means 'black', while the last is a particle used to turn the preceding verb or adjective into a substantive. The term *No-su* and its variations (*Ne-su*, *Na-su*, etc.), therefore, mean 'black ones' or 'black men'.

3. The history of the term *No-su* is rather interesting. While travelling in the Ta-lian Mountains in 1943, I procured a Lolo manuscript entitled *The Origin of the Gods* in which there is a passage running thus:

'In ancient times there were three families of white persons living on earth. But in heaven there lived three families of black persons. . .'

The manuscript goes on to relate the descent of these black persons to earth and how they married on earth and became ancestors of the Black Lolos (69:8-21).

Whether this myth was originally composed to support the superiority of the "Black" Lolos, or whether their superiority is the natural result of the myth is unclear, but in Sikang, Szechwan and some regions of Yunnan and Kweichow, the Lolos are distinguished into two main classes. The ruling class is called *no* 'black', and the lower, *tç'y* 'white'. It would appear that originally the term "No-su" applied only to the "Black" Lolos. But as it was customary to refer to the conquered by the name of the conqueror and in the course of time more and more White Lolos were conquered by the Black Lolos, the term "No-su" has come to include the White Lolos as well.

4. The Lolo speakers in Sikang and Szechwan also refer to themselves as *Ni* ([a] below) and those in Lu-nan (Yunnan) call themselves *Gni* ([b] below):

(a)

(b)

Ni and *Gni* are obviously of the same origin but their meaning is not known. A. Liétard suggested (127, p. 31, f.n.) in 1913 that *Ni* might mean 'browner skin' as opposed to the Lolo term for the Chinese (*ɣo*) which might mean 'whiter skin', but Liétard produced no better reason in support of his thesis than his own assertion that *ni* means 'impure' and *ɣo* denotes 'pure'. In fact, in the regions to which Liétard referred, the word for 'impure' is not *ni* but *bo-a-ɣo* or *ku-a-tɕl* and the word for 'pure' is *bo-ɣo* or *ɣo* which is different from the word for the Chinese, *ɣo*. The *Ni* or *Gni* is probably connected with *No* (see § 2). The former might be an older form of the latter because it is now used only in compound words or in the written language.

C. Man-tzŭ, I-jên, etc.

5. The Lolo-speaking peoples are also referred to as *Man-tzŭ*, *Man-chia*, *I-jên*, *I-chia*, *I-chiao*, *I-pien*, or sometimes *Miao-tzŭ*. In Chinese *Man* and *I* both mean 'barbarians' or 'aborigines', *tzŭ* is a substantive suffix, *jên* means

'people', *chia* 'family' or 'tribe', *pien* 'border', and *chiao* 'religion' or 'sect'. *Miao-tzŭ* generally refers to a tribe who speak a language different from Lolo but it is sometimes applied to the Lolos by many Chinese and some European writers.¹ All the Lolos hate the terms *Man-tzŭ*, *Man-chia* but they are willing to accept any name containing *I*, like *I-jên*, *I-chia*, and so on.

(2) Former Names.

6. The above are the most general terms for the Lolo-speaking peoples today. I shall now discuss various terms in historical documents, which may refer to them.

A. Lu < Old Chinese *lo* < **glag* (盧).

7. The *Lu*, according to the *Shu-ching*,² were among the eight tribes which in 1122 B.C.³ helped the western Chinese King Chou-wu to attack the tyrant Chou of the Shang Dynasty (Eastern China). For identifying the Lu of about 3000 years ago with the Lolos of today, we have no better grounds than the following:

- (a) that Lu < Lo and Lo < La are similar in sound;
- (b) in Old Chinese *lu* could also mean 'black' as does *no* in the modern Lolo language;
- (c) that the tribe Lu lived in western China.

B. Lü-jang < Old Chinese *lu* (*glu*)-*sniag* (婁讓).

8. During the time of Emperor Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.) of the later Han the court received three poems of praise from the king of the Pai-lang in Tso-tu (to the north of present Hsi-ch'ang, Sikang). The sounds of these poems were transcribed in Chinese characters which are found in the *Tung-kuan-han-chi* (146, c. 22). The language is obviously Tibeto-Burman and very near to Lolo and Moso. Some scholars hold that the Lü-jang were the forefathers of the Lolos or Mosos of today but I think that the link is not sufficiently strong to prove that the language in which these poems were written actually represents ancient Lolo (see §§ 37, 38, 39).

C. Ts'uan (爨).

9. The term "Ts'uan" first appears in the Wei Dynasty (220-265 A.D.) as a family name. In the T'ang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), because some members of the Ts'uan family ruled over the Wu-man and Pai-man tribes in Yunnan, *Ts'uan* became a tribal name which covered both the Wu-man and the Pai-man. As the Wu-man were the ancestors of the Lolo (see § 40), the term *Ts'uan* is thus one of their historical names.

¹ E.g., the author of *Album of Miao-tzŭ* (18, 151, 30, 28), Blaskiston (10, see § 30).

² *Shu-ching*, Mu-shih.

³ In the traditional chronology.

D. Wu-man (烏蠻).

10. During the T'ang period the Ts'uan people were divided into two tribes of which the eastern one was also called *Wu-man* 'Black Barbarians'. From the small vocabulary of Wu-man given in the *Man-shu*, a work completed in 865 A.D., the Wu-man of the ninth century spoke Lolo. A discussion of the Wu-man words will be given in § 40.

E. Lu-lu < Middle Chinese *luo-luk* (盧鹿).

11. According to the *Chiu Tang-shu* (131, c. 222) and the *Hsin Tang-shu* (165, c. 222), the Lulu-man were one of the seven Wu-man tribes. They have been identified with the present-day Lolos by many writers (see § 1 [d]). In Wu Han-ch'ên's *Yu-hu-ch'un* we also find the term "Lulu" (虜虜) which, according to M. A. Vissière (189, p. 178), refers to the Lolo.

F. Loloszū (羅羅斯) or Loloman (羅羅蠻).

12. These two terms are the same as "Lolo". All three are first mentioned in the *Yüan-shih* completed in 1370 (166, c. 12, c. 61).

G. Kolo or Koloman.

13. These people are the Lolo. Marco Polo (see §§ 26, 27) met the Koloman in eastern Yunnan in the thirteenth century.

H. Other Terms in Later Use.

14. Many other terms for the Lolo tribes are found in (a) Li Ching's *Yunnan chih-lüeh* written in 1301 (118); (b) Yang Shên's *Nan-chao-yeh-shih* completed in 1550 and translated into French in 1904 by C. Sainson (158); (c) various versions of the manuscript entitled *The Album of the Miao-tzū*, first written in about 1730 by a Chinese native traveller and for which there have been three English (18, 151, 30) and one German translation (28); (d) The *Huang-ch'ing-chih-kung-t'u* (皇清職貢圖) of 1773 and other works translated by G. Devéria in *La frontière Sino-Annamite* (1886, 51); and (e) Chao Shên-chên and others' *Yun-nan tung-chih-kao* published in 1835 (23, c. 182-187). The additional terms for the Lolos which we find in these works may for convenience be divided into two groups. Some are still used.

•Those having "Lolo" as a part of their names.		•Those not having "Lolo" as a part of their names.	
Hei Lolo	Ko Lolo	A-k'a	Mê-ch'a
Pai Lolo	Kan Lolo	A-hsi	Mu-chi
Ta Lolo	Lu-wu Lolo	Ch'ê-su	Nie-su
Hsiao Lolo	Miao Lolo	Ko-lo	Pi-lu
A-hsieh Lolo	P'u-la Lolo	K'u-ts'ung	Sa-mo
A-chê Lolo	Sa-mi Lolo	Lo-wu	T'ie-suo-ch'ing
Chüeh Lolo	Sa-wan Lolo	Lu-yü	Yao-chi-jung
Hai Lolo			

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOLO-SPEAKING PEOPLES

(1) Distribution According to Tribes.

15. There has been no complete work dealing with the distribution of the Lolos in a comprehensive way. From the sixteenth century onwards, there have been many incomplete statements by various scholars on this subject. I have found it necessary to add to these publications⁵ some of the results of my own field work.

16. The following table shows the names of the tribes, the districts where they are found and works published about their spoken language. (For the written language see §§ 33, 34.) The phonetic transcriptions of the names are in accordance with the tribe's own pronunciation; the customary spellings of the names are placed after a semi-colon; and the Chinese names, of which the general names like Lolo, I-jên, Man-tzŭ are left out, are in parentheses.

Names and Distribution of the Various Tribes and Publications on their Spoken Language.

A-çi; A-hi, A-hsi, A-chi, A-shi (A-hsi, A-hsie)

Y.: Lu-nan, Mi-lê, Ch'ü-ching, K'ai-hua, Lu-hsi.

Vial (1898): Lu-nan, voc. 8 words—187, p. 14.

Boell (1899): Ch'ü-ching, voc. about 120 words, with some phrases—11, pp. 10-17.

Liétard: Lu-nan:

(1909): grammar—122, pp. 285-314;

(1909): voc. about 300 words—121, pp. 550-556;

(1911): grammar—125, pp. 627-663;

(1911): Lolo-French voc.—124, pp. 1-37, 123-156, 316-346, 544-558;

(1912): French-Lolo voc.—126, pp. 1-42;

(1912): voc. about 300 word—143, pp. 24-187, 199.

⁵ 1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 16. 18. 19. 22. 23. 26. 28. 29. 30. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 48. 51. 53. 55. 61. 62. 63. 76. 77. 78. 79. 81. 83. 84. 85. 88. 91. 94. 95. 97. 101. 102. 104. 105. 111. 112. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 121. 123. 135. 139. 142. 145. 153. 154. 155. 157. 158. 162. 163. 169. 170. 171. 178. 180. 181. 182. 183. 186. 197.

A-dzɛ-p'ó; A-dje-p'ó (A-chê-lo-lo)

Y.: *Mi-lê, K'ai-yüan, Lu-hsi, T'ung-hai, Pin-ch'uan.*

A-k'a; Kɔ; A-k'a, Kaw (A-k'a)

Y.: *Szŭ-mao, Lan-ts'ang, Fu-hai, K'ai-hua, Lin-chiang, Ch'ê-li, Chên-yüeh.*

B.: *Kengtung State.*

Gaide (1905): Szŭ-mao, voc. 7 words—76.

Scott (1900): Kengtung, voc. 237 words—162, pp. 692-694.

Taylor (1928): Kengtung, voc. about 200 words—83, Part II, pp. 2-236.

A-kø; A-ko

B.: *Kengtung State.*

Scott (1900): Kengtung, voc. 241 words with a few phrases or sentences—162, pp. 694-697.

A-lie-p'ó

Y.: *Lu-nan, and an area containing parts of Lu-nan, Ch'êng-chiang, Hua-ning and Mi-lê.*

A-lu-p'u (see Na-se)**A-soŋ; A-song**

A.: *Pu-fang.*

Lefèvre-Pontalis (1892): voc. about 80 words—111, pp. 259-269.

A-tʂa-p'ó; A-cha-p'ó

Y.: *Kuang-nan.*

Dza-i-p'ó; Dja-yi-p'ó

Y.: *an area partly in Lu-nan and partly in Mi-lê.*

Ha-ni or Hu-ni; Wo-ni (Wo-ni, Ho-ni)

Y.: *Mêng-tzŭ, Chien-shui, Yüan-chiang, Ning-êrh, Hsin-p'ing, Chên-Yüan, Mê-chiang, Szŭ-mao.*

A.: *Lao-kai.*

De Lagrée (1873): Yüan-chiang, voc. about 130 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Bourne (1888): Szŭ-mao, voc. nos. 4-5, about 40 words each—16, p. 90.

D'Orléans (1898): Bo-ko-po (on the road between Mêng-tzŭ and Szŭ-mao), voc. no. 2, 56 words; Pi-chu (on the road between Meng-tzŭ and Szŭ-mao), voc. no. 9, 84 words—145, pp. 433-434, 435-439.

Madrolle (1908): Lao-kai, voc. about 150 words—137, pp. 562-565.

Ha-tu

Y.: *Pan-hu-tzŭ* (on the road between *Mêng-tzŭ* and *Szŭ-mao*).

D'Orléans (1898): voc. no. 10, 82 words—145, pp. 435-439.

Han or Hā (Ho-ni)

Y.: *La-mi* (on the road between *Mêng-tzŭ* and *Szŭ-mao*).

D'Orléans (1898): voc. no. 8, 55 words—145, pp. 433-435.

K'a-la-p'ó

Y.: *Yao-an*.

Ka-si-ia; Ka-si-ya (generally referred to as K'ó)

A.: *Province du Ht. Mékong*.

C.: *Ht. Cambodge*.

De Lagrée (1873): Paleo (Ht. Cambodge), voc. about 130 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Madrolle (1908): Province du Ht. Mékong, voc. about 150 words—137, pp. 562-565.

K'a-to; Kha-to, K'a-tu (K'a-tuo)

Y.: *Yüan-chiang, Mê-chiang, Shên-k'ou* (near *Hsin-shui-ho*).

De Lagrée (1873): Yüan-chiang, voc. 130 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Bourne (1888): Shên-k'ou, voc. no. 6, 38 words—16, p. 90.

K'a-u-ni; K'a-wu-gni (Wo-ni)

A.: *Pu-fang*.

Lefèvre-Pontalis (1892): voc. about 80 words—111, pp. 259-269.

Kɛ-sø-p'ó; Kê-sö-p'ó

Y.: *Hei-yen-ching, Lu-fêng, Lo-tsê*.

Liétard (1909): Hei-yen-ching, voc. 35 words with some phrases and sentences—123, pp. 564-565.

Kø-sø-p'ó; Kösö-p'ó

Y.: *Yao-an, Ta-yao*.

Liétard (1909): near Pai-yen-ching-ho, Yao-an, voc. 25 words with some phrases and sentences—123, p. 564.

Kɔ; Kaw (see A-k'a)**Ko-p'u** (Kan-yi, Kan Lolo, Kan-p'o-lo)

Y.: *Shih-tsung, Lo-p'ing, Lu-hsi, P'ing-yi, Lu-liang, Wu-ting, Tu-dza, Hsün-tien.*

Maire (1909): southern parts of Shih-tsung and Lo-p'ing, voc. 24 words with some phrases and sentences—123, p. 562.

Nicholls (1911): northern Wu-ting, about 80 words—33, pp. 314-315.

De Fleurette (1912): Tu-dza, voc. no. 15, about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187, 199.

Lepage (1912): Tu-dza, voc. no. 15 bis, about 300 words; Hsün-tien, voc. no. 20, about 380 words—143, pp. 24-187, 207-208.

K'u-tsung

Y.: *Hsin-p'ing.*

La-hu or **La-xu**, or in some regions **La-ṣu; La-hu, La-shu** (Lo-hei)

Y.: *southern districts between the Salween and the Mekong.*

B.: *Kengtung State.*

Si: *northern Siam.*

D'Orléans (1898): near Dayakeu (Y.), voc. no. 14, 70 words—145, pp. 435-439; Kung-fang (Y.), voc. no. 17, 72 words—145, pp. 439-442.

Scott (1900): Kengtung State, voc. about 250 words, voc. about 150 words—162, pp. 697-699; voc. about 150 words—162, pp. 699-702.

Davies (1909): Phaya kili (S.), voc. 109 words—48, tables in pocket of cover.

Taylor (1928): Kengtung, grammar and voc. of about 200 words—83, Part II, pp. 2-236.

Telford (1938): Kengtung State, grammar and voc. of about 2000 words—172, pp. 8-100.

La-ka

Y.: *between Wu-ting and the Golden Sand River.*

Nicholls (1911): voc. about 80 words—33, pp. 314-315.

Li or **Li-p'ɔ; Li-p'o, Li-pu**

Y.: *Yung-jên, Ta-yao, Yao-an, Wu-ting.*

Liétard (1909): Ta-yao, Yao-an, voc. 25 words with some phrases and sentences—123, p. 565.

D'Ollone (1912): Mi-ta-la (Wu-ting), voc. about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187.

Fu (1944): Yung-jên, phonetics—72, pp. 1-14.

Li-p'a

Y.: *Pin-ch'uan*.

Liétard (1909): voc. 24 words with some phrases and sentences—123, p. 566.

Li-su, Liso, Lisou, Lissou, Lisaw, Li-hsaw, Lei-su (Li-su)

Y.: *Yung-pei, Hua-p'ing, Yung-ning, Tseu-k'ou, Wei-hsi, Pin-ch'uan, Yao-an, Ta-yao, Kung-shan, Ting-wên, Yang-pi, Shun-ning, Lu-ch'üan, T'êng-ch'ung, Kêng-ma, K'ang-lo, Yün-lung, Pi-chiang, Lu-shui, Yüan-mou, Wu-ting.*

S.: *Tê-ch'ang.*

B.: *Bhamo, Kengtung State, Mong-Mit, Kachin Hills.*

Anderson (1871): northern Shan State, voc. about 200 words—3, pp. 400-409.

Biet (1873): Tseu-k'ou, voc. 100 words—50, pp. 144-150.

D'Orléans (1898): Lu-ku (near Yün-lung), voc. no. 19, 72 words—145, pp. 439-442; La-me-ti (southern Wei-hsi), voc. no. 22, 64 words—145, pp. 439-442.

Scott (1900): northern Shan State, voc. 248 words with some phrases and sentences—162, pp. 661-669; near T'êng-ch'ung (?), voc. 65 words—162, pp. 702-704.

Johnston (1908): Yung-ning, voc. 81 words—102, pp. 392-396.

Davies (1909): Kachin Hills, voc. 169 words—48, tables in pocket of cover.

Nicholls (1911): between Wu-ting and the Golden Sand River, voc. about 80 words—33, pp. 314-315.

Rose and Brown (1911): Salween Valley: lat. 26°15', lat. 27°30'; Ku-yung Kai Frontier: lat. 25°20'; vocs. about 245 words each, with some phrases and sentences—155, pp. 270-276.

Fraser (1922): T'êng-ch'ung, grammar and a voc. of about 1500 words—64, pp. 69-108.

Taylor (1928): Shan States, voc. about 200 words—83, Part II, pp. 2-236.

Ruey (1948): Kêng-ma, phonetics and voc. 271 words—156, pp. 303-326.

Li-su-p'a (Li-su)

Y.: *left bank of the Golden Sand river in the district of Wei-hsi.*

Monbeig (1909): Wei-hsi, voc. 27 words with some phrases and sentences—123, p. 567.

Lolop'ô (T'u-jên, T'u-chia)

Y.: *Chên-nan, Yao-an, Ta-yao, Ch'u-hsüng, Pin-ch'uan, Kuang-t'ung, Ting-yüan, Ching-tung* (?).

Liétard: *Chu-k'u-la* (Pin-ch'uan):

(1908): voc. about 150 words—137, pp. 562-565;

(1909): voc. about 300 words—123, p. 563;

(1912): voc. no. 26 about 350 words—143, pp. 24-187, 205;

(1913): grammar—127, pp. 195-267.

Lo-pi

Y.: *Hsin-p'ing*.

Manzi or Man-za; Mân-zi (Hei-Lolo). Men-zi (Hei-Lolo, Hua-Lolo, K'an-t'ou-Lolo). Muη-za; Mung-za (Hua-Lolo, Pai-Lolo). Mu-tɕɿ or Mudzɿ (?)

A.: *Tongking*.

De Lagrée (1873): voc. about 130 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Bonifacy (1905): voc. about 150 words—13, pp. 311-316; (1908): four vocs., about 200 words each—14, pp. 553-556.

Mo-tɕɿ-vo-ts'ô; Mo-tzŭ-vo-ts'ô

S.: *Li-ch'i (Hui-li)*.

D'Ollone (1912): voc. no. 27, about 320 words with 14 phrases and sentences altogether—143, pp. 24-187, 206.

Məη-pa; Mêng-pa

Y.: *Fu-ning*.

Bourme (1888): Szŭ-t'ing (Fu-ning), voc. no. 10, 38 words—16, p. 90.

Mi-tɕa; Mi-cha. (Mê-ch'a, Mu-ch'a)

Y.: *Wu-ting*.

D'Ollone (1912): Shih-p'an-kou (Wu-ting), voc. no. 23, about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187.

Mi-si-p'ô

Y.: *Yen-fêng, Ta-yao*.

Na-p'u; (Hei-yi, Hei-Lolo)

Y.: *Chao-t'ung, P'ing-yi, Ch'ü-ching, Lo-p'ing, Lu-nan, Mi-lê, Yi-liang*.

Na-se, Na-se-p'ü, Na-so-pu, U-lu-p'ü, or A-lu-p'ü; (Er-yi-tzü, Pai-yi)

Y.: *Ch'ü-ching, P'ing-yi, Lu-nan, Lu-liang, Lo-p'ing, Chan-yi, Shih-tsung, K'un-ming.*

Boell (1899): *Ch'ü-ching*, voc. 126 words—11, pp. 10-17.

Badie (1908): *Ch'ü-ching*, voc. about 150 words—137, pp. 562-565.

De Fleurette (1912): *I-wo-fêng*, voc. no. 16, about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187, 200.

Lepage (1912): *I-wo-fêng*, voc. no. 16 bis, about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187, 201.

Na-su

Y.: *Szŭ-mao.*

Bourne (1888): voc. no. 3, 38 words—16, p. 90.

Nē-su or Ni; Ne-su, Nei-su, Ner-su

S.: *Hui-li, Tê-ch'ang, Yen-pien, Southern Yen-yüan.*

K.: *Wei-ning.*

Y.: *Hsüan-wei, Shih-p'ing.*

Bourne (1888): *Ta-shih-p'ing* (Wei-ning), voc. no. 1, 38 words—16, p. 90;

T'ang-t'ang (on the road from Hsüan-wei to Wei-ning), voc. no. 2, 38 words—16, p. 90; *K'ao-p'o* (Shih-p'ing), voc. no. 7, 38 words—16, p. 90.

Davies (1909): *Ta-shih-p'eng* (Hui-li), voc. 162 words—48, tables in pocket of cover.

Näu-su; Neu-su

K.: *Hê-chang, Wei-ning.*

D'Ollone (1912): *Wei-ning*, voc. no. 19, about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187, 202.

No-su or Ni; No-su, Nou-su

S.: *Ta-liang Mountains (including Chao-chüeh), Hsi-ch'ang, Mien-ning, Yüeh-sui, Chiu-lung, Northern Yen-yüan, Mu-li, Han-yüan.*

Sz.: *Lei-po, Ma-pien, O-pien, P'ing-shan, Hsiao-liang-shan.*

Y.: *Chao-t'ung, Yüing-shan, Ch'iao-chia.*

Baber (1882): left bank of the Ta-tu River near Yüeh-sui, voc. 130 words with ten sentences—4, pp. 73-78; near Wa-shan (east of Yüeh-sui), only numerals—4, p. 72; near Ma-pien, only numerals—4, p. 72.

Hosie (1884): *Hai-t'ang* (Yüeh-sui), voc. about 100 words—94, p. 62.

Bonin (1903): *Ta-liang Mountains*, voc. 57 words, with some phrases and sentences—15, pp. 124-126.

- Johnston (1908): Pa-u-rong (west to Yüeh-sui), voc. 56 words—102, pp. 562-565.
- Madrolle and Martin (1908): Hai-t'ang (Yüeh-sui), voc. about 150 words—137, pp. 562-565.
- Clarke (1911): An-shun, voc. about 150 words—33, pp. 307-312.
- Hicks (1911): Chao-t'ung, voc. about 80 words—33, pp. 314-315.
- Fleurette (1912): Hsi-ch'ang, voc. no. 28, about 350 words—143, pp. 24-187, 207-208; voc. no. 29, about 350 words—143, pp. 24-187, pp. 207-208.
- De Guebriant (1912): Pa-ki-shan (near Chao-chüeh), voc. no. 31, about 400 words—143, pp. 24-187, 210-212.
- D'Ollone (1912): Szü-kuei-pa (near Chao-chüeh), voc. no. 30, about 300 words—143, pp. 24-187, 209; Kan-hsiang-ying (Mien-ning), voc. no. 32, about 700 words—143, pp. 24-187, 213-218.
- Sun (1931): Hsi-ch'ang, voc. about 200 words and about 240 phrases and sentences altogether—164, pp. 1-40.
- Young (1942): Hsi-ch'ang, voc. about 150 words—198, pp. 28-32.
- Fu, Si-k'ang (1943): grammar—66; (1944): voc. about 700 words and about 1000 sentences—67, pp. 19-52.
- Lin (1946): on the borders of Sikang and Szechuan, voc. 56 words—128, pp. 96-100.
- Wên (1948): the vowel phonemes, Hsi-ch'ang dialect—196, pp. 133-138.⁶

ji or ji-pa; Gni, Gni-pa, Nyi-pa, Ni-p'a

Y.: Lu-nan, Lu-liang, Lu-hsi, Mi-lê, I-liang, Kuang-nan, Ch'ü-ching.

Vial: Lu-nan:

(1890): voc. about 60 words—184, pp. 16-17;

(1898): voc. about 500 words—187, pp. 41-66;

(1908): grammar—137, pp. 566-568; voc. about 350 words—137, pp. 568-576;

(1909): French-Lolo dictionary—188, pp. 1-349; grammar—188, pp. 19-83.

Liétard (1909): Lunan, voc. 27 words with some phrases and sentences—123, pp. 559-560.

Boell (1899): Ch'ü-ching, voc. 125 words—11, pp. 10-17.

⁶ Prof. Wên attributes the vowel phonemes he describes to the Hsi-ch'ang dialect of Sikang. From my own field work in Hsi-ch'ang, this attribution appears to be unreliable. His informant (Mr. Li Shih-an), whom I personally know very well, speaks the ²³no dialect as spoken in the Lei-po district of Szechwan.

Pa-hoŋ; Pahawng (Ma-hei)

Y.: *T'a-lang, Szŭ-mao, P'u-êrh.*

P'a-na

A.: *Pu-fang.*

Lefèvre-Pontalis (1892): voc. 80 words—111, pp. 259-269.

Pi-o (Wo-ni)

Y.: *Mê-chiang.*

P'o-her; P'o-erh (P'u-la)

Y.: *Mêng-tzŭ, Lu-hsi.*

Bourne (1888): So-shao-pa (Mêng-tzŭ), voc. no. 8, 38 words—16, p. 90.

P'o-lo (P'u-la)

Y.: *K'ai-hua, Yüan-chiang.*

Bourne (1888): Pu-piao (K'ai-hua), voc. no. 9, 38 words—16, p. 90.

P'u-p'a (P'u-la)

A.: *Tongking.*

Bonifacy (1909): Ban-pang (Tongking), voc. about 300 words—123, pp. 550-556.

P'u-tu (Wo-ni)

Y.: *Mê-chiang.*

fo-ni; Sho-gnie (Per-tzŭ)

Y.: *Kunming.*

fa-ni; Sha-ni (Sa-mi)

Y.: *Kunming.*

tşo-ko; Cho-ko

A.: *Tongking.*

Bonifacy (1909): Lang-dan (Tongking), voc. about 300 words—123, pp. 559-560.

tşu-so-ho; Chu-sho-ho

Y.: *Mêng-hua.*

Tu-tan or **Tu-tē**

Y.: *Hsien-na-liang* (on the road between Szü-mao and Ta-li).

D'Orléans (1898): voc. no. 15, 71 words—145, pp. 435-439.

U-lu-p'u (see **Na-se**)**Tribal names not known but merely referred to as Lolo, Man-tzŭ, I-jên, etc.**

Y.: *Wu-ting* (?).

T'an (1835): voc. about 800 words—23, c. 172.

Y.: *Hui-tsê*.

Fang-kwei (1835): voc. about 500 words—23, c. 190.

Y.: *Hua-p'ing*.

Garnier (1873): Ma-ch'ang (Hua-p'ing), voc. 12 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Y.: *Jung-jên*.

Garnier (1873): Jên-ho-kai (Yung-jên), voc. 103 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Y.: *Yüan-chiang*.

Lagrée (1873): voc. 138 words—110, pp. 493-517.

Y.: *Szŭ-mao*.

Bourne (1888): Na-k'u-li (Szŭ-mao), voc. no. 5, 38 words—16, p. 90.

Y.: *Mêng-hua*.

Scott (1900): voc. 116 words—162, pp. 670-680.

Y.: *Mêng-hua*.

Davies (1909): voc. 161 words—48, tables in pocket of cover.

Y.: *Wu-ting*.

Charria and Monbaig (1912): voc. no. 25, about 300 words (the informant was a Chinese who can speak Lolo)—143, p. 24-187.

K.: *Chên-ning*.

Lepage (1912): voc. nos. 17, 18, about 300 words each—143, pp. 24-187.

From the above table we can see how widely the Lolo speakers are spread. They are most concentrated in the area of the Ta-liang Mountains. But they extend in the east to Shun-ning in Kweichow; in the west to the left bank of the Irrawaddy River near Mandalay in Burma; and in the north to a point somewhat beyond the Ta-tu River (Sikang). In the south, however, they are scattered in little groups throughout the Yunnan province of China and the Kengtung State of Burma. A few of them are even found in Siam and the northern part of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

(2) Number of Lolo Speakers.

17. To estimate the number of Lolo speakers is a very difficult task. This is not only because they are so widely distributed but also because many of the regions which they occupy have not been explored. T. de Lacouperie in 1887 estimated the Lolo population to be at some 3 millions (108, p. 88). Prof. C. C. Young in 1935 gave the figure of 5,500,000 for those living in China (197, p. 4, n. 3). In 1946 Dr. Y. H. Lin gave 1,800,000 for those in Yunnan, Sikang and Szechwan (128, p. 81) without mentioning those in Kweichow or elsewhere. All these figures include only those people who are generally referred to as Lolo. We must notice, however, that besides those so-called Lolo tribes, there are many others that are not called Lolo (like Li-su, A-k'a) but which also speak Lolo as well. I am inclined to calculate the Lolo speakers in different regions in the following way:

Sikang and Szechwan.

The Chinese in south Sikang generally maintained that there are 2 million Lolos in the Ta-liang Mountains. This is an exaggeration. I estimate those in the Ta-liang Mountains and the western districts (including the Hsiao-liang Mountains) of Szechwan at 1,000,000; and those in the Hsi-ch'ang, Mienning, Yüeh-sui, Tê-ch'ang, Hui-li, Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, Han-yüan, Chiu-lung and Mu-li districts of Sikang at 1,500,000; which amounts to 2,500,000 for these two provinces.

Yunnan.

H. R. Davies in 1894-1895 and 1898-1900 visited all but three of the 84 official cities of Yunnan (157, p. 121). In his *Yün-nan: the link between India and the Yangtze* (48, p. 307), he says, 'Everywhere throughout Yunnan are the Lolos, a fine race and more numerous than any other tribe'. According to the Census of Yunnan (1933), the population of Yunnan was 11,795,486. If we give one-third of the population to the Lolo speakers (I say speakers deliberately because there are Lolo speakers who are not called Lolos), we get the approximate figure of 3,900,000.

Kweichow.

I accept Prof. Young's estimate of 500,000.

Burma.

In 1921 the Census of India put the Lolos at 769 persons in the Northern Shan States but they were not tallied in the 1931 census (9, p. 182). They must have been included in the other races. The A-k'a, according to Scott (162,

p. 588), are probably the most numerous and most widely distributed of the hill tribes in Kengtung; in 1931 this tribe, together with the A-ko, was returned as 41,750 persons (2, p. 198). If we add to the above two figures 19,698 Lisus and 26,864 Lahus according to the same census, we arrive at a round figure of 89,000 Lolo speakers.

Annam.

The Lolos form one of the six principal linguistic groups of French Indo-China. The local calculation of the Lolo population is 34,000 (138, p. XI).

Siam and Cambodia.

No estimate of the Lolo speakers in these two countries has yet been made. I estimate them at 30,000.

Putting these figures together, we have 7,053,000 Lolo speakers.⁷

⁷ Sikang and Szechwan:	2,500,000
Yunnan:	3,900,000
Kweichow:	500,000
Burma:	89,000
Annam:	34,000
Siam and Cambodia:	<u>30,000</u>
Total:	7,053,000

CHAPTER III

ETHNOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES

(1) *Ethnological Affinities.*

18. "Lolo" is by no means the name of a race. It is accurate and convenient to regard it as the name of a language. The speakers of Lolo, in my opinion, can be ethnologically classified into three groups:

A. *Brownish Europeids.*

This group includes

(a) the Black Lolo (called by themselves ²*no* 'black') living in Sikang and Szechwan.⁸ Others can be found along the borders of Sikang and Yunnan and also along the borders of Yunnan and Kweichow. They do not intermarry with any other race. They do not even marry the White Lolos (called by themselves ²*tç'y* 'white') whom they consider to be not only their slaves but also a different race. In the Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Mountains, if a Black Lolo man commits adultery with a White Lolo woman or a woman of any other race, the only punishment the adulterer ever suffers is to be asked to give a feast and to confess his fault in the presence of his relatives; but if a White Lolo man or a man of any other race commits adultery with a Black Lolo woman, both of them have to die, for the Black Lolos want to prevent the blood of other races from mixing with theirs.

(b) the pure Li-su living along the Salween and Lan-ts'ang (Mekong) rivers (about lat. 25°30' to lat. 27°30'). Slavery is unknown among the Li-su although they also have the distinguishing names 'black' and 'white'. No physical distinction seems to exist between the Black Li-su and the White Li-su. By "pure Li-su" I mean the Li-su who do not intermarry with other races.

B. *Mongolians.*

This group includes

⁸ Dr. Thorel includes the Black Lolo among his branch 'foncé' of the 'race brune' or 'rameau noir de la race caucasique' (175, p. 290). Dr. Keane places them under his 'Khmer branch of Caucasian races' (103, p. 32). Deniker refers to them as 'Gypsy type' (42, p. 381). Dr. Hadden suggests that the Lolo ('the true No-su'), 'Man-tse' and 'Moso' belong to the same stock as the Nēsiōtes (Indonesian) or to an allied one (86, pp. 105-106). Apparently he is not aware that the Lolo are also referred to as Man-tzū and that the Moso are of different race from the Lolo.

(a) most of the White Lolos living in Sikang, Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow and Annam;

(b) people of Mongolian race who have been taken captive in the last three generations, living among the Black and White Lolos and speaking Lolo. These people, as a rule, become White Lolos four or five generations after their capture and are allowed to intermarry with the White Lolos.

C. Half Breeds.

This group includes

(a) the offshoots of the Black Lolos in Yunnan, Kweichow and Annam and the Li-su in Yunnan and Burma, who have intermarried with the Mongolian race;

(b) a part of the White Lolos in Yunnan and Kweichow who have Black Lolo blood in their veins;

(c) the so-called Wo-nis (including A-k'a, K'a-tu, Pu-tu, Pi-o, P'u-la, etc.) who stretch from the 24th parallel of latitude (Yunnan) to lat. 13°30' (Cambodia).

19. The Brownish Europeids (both men and women) are dolichocephalic and very tall (the pure Li-sus are generally shorter than the Black Lolos). They have horizontal and deep-set eyes, broad shoulders, an average mouth, a prominent nose, and black,⁹ coarse and straight¹⁰ hair. The half-breeds are shorter than the Brownish type and their other physical features are in general nearer to those of the Mongolian race. In Tongking it is hard to tell a Black Lolo from an Annamese by his physical appearance. The P'u-la tribe living in the hills of Mêngtzü in Yunnan are very short: the women have an average height of not more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the men, a height of $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet; both are well-formed (91, p. 98). A. Henry, in his "The Lolo and other tribes of Western China" (91, p. 98) says that the P'u-las are pigmies and perhaps a pure race. But there is no proof that they are pure and I believe that they are half-breeds who originally spoke a different language, and who have had, in the course of time, the Lolo language impressed upon them by the Black Lolos when they were slaves.

⁹ E. C. Baber says that some Lolos have red or yellow hair (4, p. 71). Liétard met some Lolos with red hair in certain villages of Mi-lê, Yunnan (127, p. 59).

¹⁰ I have found in Sikang and Kweichow some Lolos whose hair was decidedly wavy. A. F. Legendre met at Wu-tu-vo (near the Ta-tu River) a Lolo with frizzy hair (114, p. 522).

(2) Linguistic Affinities.

20. In 1887 Prof. T. de Lacouperie gave Laka-Lolo as the name of a language group belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family. Under this group he listed the following eight languages (108, pp. 133-134):¹¹

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| (a) Laka-Lolo | (b) Yi-chia |
| (c) Liso or Leisu | (d) Moso |
| (e) Kouy | (f) Ka-to |
| (g) Honhi | (h) Ka-kho |

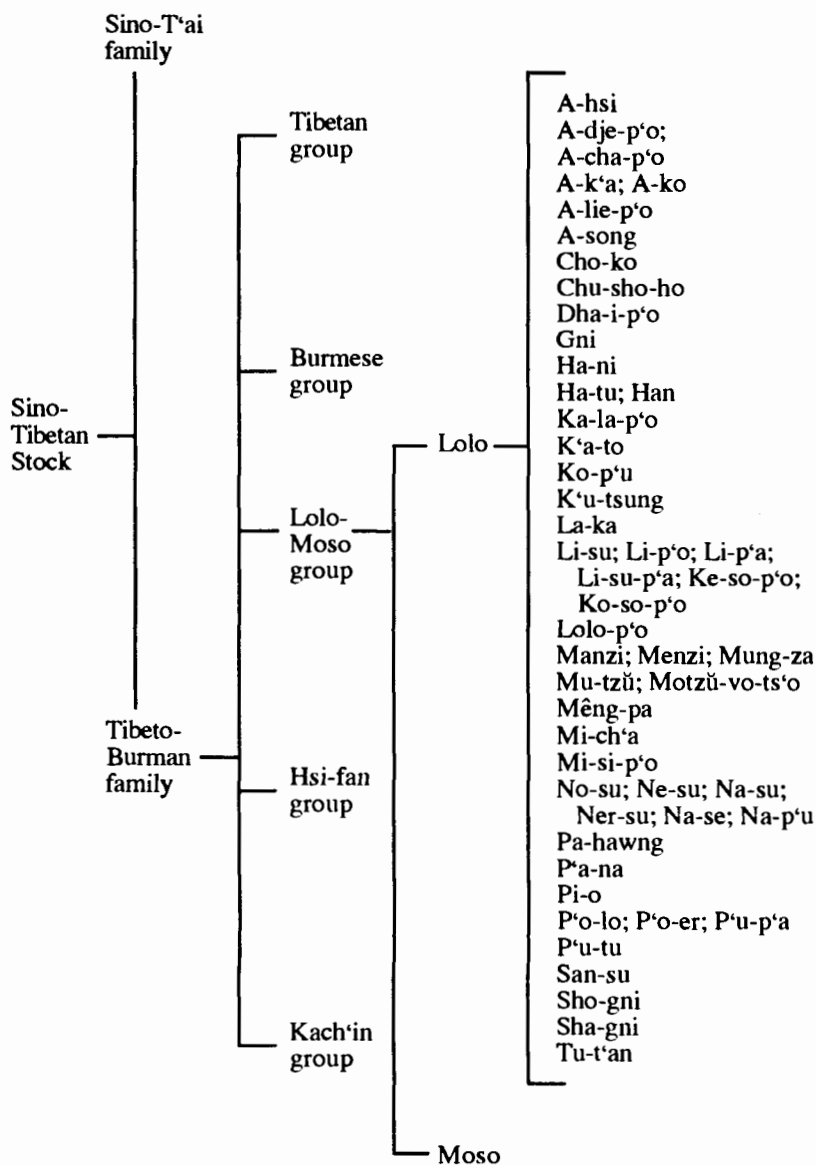
H. R. Davies in 1909 produced a table showing the languages of Yunnan and Szechwan. Under the Tibeto-Burman family he gave five groups of which Lolo is one. Under the Lolo group he included (a) Lolo, (b) Li-su, (c) La-hu, and (d) Wo-ni, and under Wo-ni he placed Ma-hei, K'a-to, Pu-tu, A-k'a, etc. (48, p. 337). He was quite right in striking out Yi-chia from Lacouperie's table but he made a mistake when he included Moso among the Si-fan group instead of placing it in the Lolo.

In 1927 Mr. G. A. Grierson used the group name "Lolo-Moso" under which he included Lolo, Moso, Li-su, A-k'a, Kwi and others (83, part I, p. 415). Two years after Grierson's classification Prof. H. Maspero gave Tibetan, Burmese, Lolo, Moso, and Li-su as the five separate groups of the Tibeto-Burman family (139, p. 67). Mr. J. J. Bennison,¹² when classifying the languages of Burma in 1933, included Li-su (called Li-saw in his work), Lolo, La-hu and Pyin under the group name "Lolo-Muhso" (9, p. 182). Dr. V. K. Ting in 1936 added Si-fan to Davies' Lolo group and changed the group name to Ts'uan, but made no mention of Moso at all (177, p. 3). Since then, linguists like Dr. F. K. Li (120) and Prof. C. P. Lo (132) have agreed to place Lolo and Moso in one and the same group but the question of where to place Li-su, La-hu, A-k'a and some others still remains open.

21. The Li-su language is no doubt a dialect of Lolo; La-hu, A-k'a, A-ko, and Mu-tze stand between Lolo and Moso but, because they are nearer to Lolo than to Moso, I include them under Lolo. On the next page is a table showing the important Lolo dialects and their relation to other language groups in the same family.

¹¹ Lacouperie might have been influenced by Dr. Cust's classification published in 1878 (45, pp. 112-113), in which 'Lolu', 'I-kia', and 'Man-tse' are treated as three different languages while they are all generally applied to the Lolo.

¹² Before Bennison, Eales in 1891 (54, p. 159) made a classification of the languages of Burma, in which he included Li-su among his Kachin-Naga group. This is a mistake. Lolo is not mentioned in his classification.



CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LOLO SCRIPT

(1) Inscriptions.

22. Five Lolo inscriptions on stone have been discovered.

A. Tsuan-tzŭ-ai-pei (1533?).

This was found on Tsuan-tzŭ-ai, a cliff in the Lu-ch'üan district of Yunnan. It bears some 550 Lolo characters. A rubbing of the inscription is reproduced in D'Ollone's *Écritures des peuples non-chinois de la Chine* (144, plate II) and in Charria's *Quatre inscriptions du Yunnan* (24, facing p. 196).

B. Fêng-chao-pei (1534).

This inscription was found on a hillside half a day's journey on foot from Ts'uan-tzŭ-ai. It bears 17 Lolo characters and 17 Chinese ones. The Chinese and Lolo characters are neither phonetic renderings nor translations of each other although a few words correspond. The last Lolo sentence, for example, reads *ny ŋu do ts'e çi* 'Died on the 10th day of Ox-month', but the Chinese inscription has nothing corresponding to it. Both D'Ollone and Charria have reproduced this inscription in their works (144, plate III; 24, facing p. 196).

C. Ch'ien-sui-ch'ü-pei (1546).

This is a bilingual inscription found at Ta-ting, Kweichow. A rubbing is reproduced in Dr. Ting's *Ts'uan-wên-ts'ung-k'ê* (177, p. 5). Both the Lolo and the Chinese characters are for the most part indistinct.

D. An-shih-pei (1764).

This stone was found at Yang-kai-tzŭ near Weining, Kweichow. It has about 200 Lolo characters engraved on it by the side of 63 Chinese characters. A reproduction of the rubbing is given by D'Ollone (144, plate IV).

E. Fan-chou-pei (1860?).

This was found at Fan-chou near Ma-kai. D'Ollone has reproduced the rubbing of this inscription, on which only 39 Lolo characters are discernible.

(2) Manuscripts.

23. The Lolos do not use printing.¹³ Manuscripts are copied by hand whenever the need arises. The paper and ink used are made by Chinese. Their native pens are of bamboo but those living near Chinese people have adopted the Chinese brush. Only a very few Lolos are literate and most of these are shamans or *pimo* as they are called in their own language. Although the shamans are the religious leaders and teachers, there is not a single Black Lolo in the Ta-liang Mountains who is a shaman. All the shamans there are White Lolos.

24. I shall first discuss the classes of manuscripts and then the age of writing.

Classes of the Lolo Manuscripts.

D'Ollone in 1912 mentioned six Lolo manuscripts (144, pp. 8-9):

- (a) *Livre de famille*
- (b) *Le Déluge*
- (c) *La dispersion des races*
- (d) *La numération*
- (e) *La description des animaux*
- (f) *La description des fleuves et montagnes*

Prof. C. C. Young, who had seen many more Lolo manuscripts than D'Ollone, proposed an arrangement in 23 groups (119, pp. 49-62) with which I do not agree. I cannot see any reason for classifying, for example, 'Manuscrit écrit sur satin', 'Le plus vieux manuscrit connu', and 'Sacrifices aux dieux' as parallel groups. I would suggest the following classification:

(A) *Religious and mythological.*1. *Mythological or legendary.*

- (i) Genesis, flood, history of chiefs, and distribution of races.

ɣw-γ or **ɣw-γo** 'History of All'. This is sometimes divided into several books and each bears a separate title.

- (ii) The story of the gods.

sɟ-zw-bo-p'a, 'The Origin of the Gods'. The names and origins of the tribal gods are stated in this manuscript.

- (iii) The story of kings.

vo-ɳ-bo-p'a 'The Origin of Kings'. This is the story of three kings: one Chinese, one Lolo, and one Tibetan.

¹³ There is only one example of a Lolo printed book issued under the auspices of the Lolo Prince Ling, of which two pages are reproduced by D'Ollone (144, Plate VII).

- (iv) The story of princes.
dzj-mo-bo-p'a 'The Origin of the Princes'. This contains many stories of princes who have ruled over the Lolos.
2. *Festival and funeral.*
- (i) Funeral.
ts'ɔ-pi or **ts'ɔ-pi-ts'ɔ-mo** 'Funeral Book'. This is chanted at the ceremony of sending Sa-ma-ni, the bamboo splits symbolizing the spirits of their ancestors, to the high mountains.
- (ii) Sacrificial songs.
 The titles of such manuscripts differ according to which animal is to be offered at the ceremony. Thus there are
va-le-dzɯ 'Offering a Chicken';
lu-le-dzɯ 'Offering an Ox';
io-le-dzɯ 'Offering a Sheep'.
- (iii) New Year songs.
k'u-sɻ-ho-su 'Songs for New Year's Day'.
3. *Exorcism and divination.*
- (i) Chants for warding off devils.
ɲie-ts'ɻ-sɻ-t'u-ɰ 'Warding off the Devils'. Because the shamans believe that there are different sorts of devils, they often give different titles to the books chanted for warding off different devils. One of them, for example, is entitled **ts'ɔ-dzɯ-ha-ɲ-ɲe**, 'The Person-eating Devil with a Red Tongue'.
- (ii) Chants for counteracting ill omens.
ɕi-e-tɕ'ie-pu or **ɕi-k'u-pu** 'Counteracting Ill Omens'. This is regularly chanted on one or more occasions every year. If some taboo be violated, an extra ceremony of chanting should take place.
- (iii) Chants for protection against curses.
ɲ-se-k'a-ha 'Protection against Curses'. This is chanted when a Lolo believes that he is under a curse of his enemy.
- (iv) Chants for calling back souls.
ɰ-ts'ɔ-t'u-ɰ 'Soul-ransoming Book'. This is a charm for the cure of diseases. The Lolos believe that when a person is ill his soul leaves him or her and that by incantation they can recall the soul and therefore cure the affected person.
- (v) Books of divination.
tɕa-mo-t'u-ɰ 'Book for Diviners'. This aids the shaman in fortune-telling, selection of auspicious dates, interpretation of

dreams, and in deciding whether or when a patient will recover.

k'u-sø-t'u-ʒ 'Fortune-telling Book'. This is similar to the above but it also gives instructions for weather forecasting.

io-ku-tʃ-t'u-ʒ 'On the Findings of Burnt Scapulae of Sheep'. When the Lolos wish to divine the future, they burn the scapula of a dead sheep at various points so as to cause cracks on it. This manuscript aids the shaman in the interpretation of the cracks. In some versions of this work the method of reading a scarred board, called **se-ŋ** in Lolo, is also set out.

4. *Forms of worship influenced by Chinese religion* (*197*, pp. 50, 54, 55, 57).
 - (i) Thanking the Heavens.
 - (ii) Worship of *Li-lao chiün*.
 - (iii) Worship of *Lung-wang*.

(B) Secular.

1. *Genealogical.*
 - (i) Genealogy of laymen.
ts'w-tʃ 'Generation of Man'. Often beginning with some mysterious ancestors, this manuscript records the names of the men of every generation and finally ends with the names of boys of the youngest generation.
 - (ii) Genealogy of shamans.
pi-tʃ 'Generation of Shamans'. It generally begins with a short story of the first shaman (called A-su-la-dze in Sikang and Szechwan) and ends with the name of the shaman who wrote the book.
2. *Manuals of instruction.*

ŋa-ŋ-t'u-ʒ 'Book of Teaching'. This is written for teaching the children the names of animals, trees, flowers, tools, numerals, mountains, rivers, places, etc.

ma-ha-tʃ 'The Story of Rain'. In this manuscript the writer compares the qualities or functions of different kinds of things and ends with the statement that water is the best of all.
3. *Works on language.*
 - (i) Dialects.
do-sə-ia 'Three Dialects'. This states the distribution of the three dialects spoken in Sikang and Szechwan.

(ii) Dictionaries of Lolo.

A Lolo dictionary compiled by a Lolo in Yunnan. In this manuscript some Chinese characters are used to help in writing and in pronunciation (197, p. 61).

A Lolo dictionary compiled by a Lolo in Hê-chang, Kweichow. This is a dictionary of the Lolo characters. It has been translated into Chinese and transcribed with the International Phonetic Alphabet by Mr. An Kuan-liang who was trained in linguistics.

4. *Proverbs and songs.*

(i) Proverbs.

lu-pɿ-tʰw-ʒ 'Book of Proverbs'. Many proverbs are found in this manuscript. Although not everybody knows the written language, every adult in the Ta-liang Mountains can quote a few of these proverbs (see 68, pp. 1-2).

(ii) Wedding songs.

a-mo-ŋe-zw 'Mother and Daughter'. This is the folk song sung by the bride and her girl friends during her wedding day.

(iii) Songs in praise of beautiful women.

a-mo-ts'ɿ 'The Stories of Beauties'. This relates the stories of beautiful girls.

(iv) Songs for the festival seasons other than New Year's Day.

to-tse-ho-su 'Songs for the Torch Festival'.

(v) Battle songs.

dʒɿ-se-tʰw-ʒ 'Book of Battle Songs'.

(vi) Songs of love for home.

e-ŋ-ŋgu 'Love for Home'. This is written to be sung when one leaves home or thinks of somebody who has left home (73).

The Age of Lolo Writing.

25. Dr. V. K. Ting in 1936 suggested that the *Pai-lang Poems of Praise* (see § 8 and § 37) were written in a script from which the present-day Lolo writing was derived. This suggestion is a guess which can never be substantiated unless we discover this ancient Lolo writing. I rather think that these three poems were not written in a native script at all (see § 37). However, we have Lolo inscriptions which undoubtedly date back to 1534 A.D., and in Prof. Young's collection there are three manuscripts written, judging from the Chinese characters for the dates of copying, in 1565, 1566 and 1569 respectively. These are the oldest Lolo manuscripts we know of today. T'ien Ju-ch'êng, the author of the *Hsing-pien-chi-wên* published in

1557, appears to have seen Lolo writing, and he said that it was like the Mongol writing (176, p. 89). Although there is no way of establishing when the Lolo started to write down their language, there can be no doubt that the Lolo writing, if we may judge from the simplified forms which it already possesses in the early inscriptions I mentioned in § 22, must have been in existence for a considerable time before the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON LOLO

(1) European.

A. Early Contacts with the Lolo.

26. Marco Polo was the first European who travelled in the Lolo regions. In the 13th century he passed through Sikang to Yunnan and reached the regions of the Colomans, lying in eastern Yunnan. These are the regions occupied by the Lolos today. Because his descriptions of the people living in Hsi-ch'ang (called Caidu in his book, 200, pp. 34-35) fit the Sifans rather than the Lolos, he seems not to have met Lolos there.

27. It would appear, however, from his description of the Colomans (201, p. 85), that the Colomans he met in eastern Yunnan were Lolos, for he makes the following remarks which would describe the present-day Lolos:

- (a) that they were tall, handsome, brown complexioned;
- (b) that they were good soldiers;
- (c) that they lived among great mountains;
- (d) that they burned their dead.

His description also contains the interesting fact that they were idolaters. This is still true of the Lolos in the eastern regions today. Some of the Colomans, according to Marco Polo, were very rich merchants and their currency was of cowries and gold. This is no longer true today for few of them are rich merchants and they all use Chinese currency.

The Coloman of Marco Polo's time may be identified with the Ko-lo-lo or Ko-lo in the *Yün-nan-t'ung-chih-kao* completed in 1835 (23, c. 182, 183) for two reasons:

(a) *man* in *Coloman* is a Chinese word for 'barbarians' and *Colo* is phonetically the same as *Ko-lo-(lo)*.

(b) According to the *Yün-nan-t'ung-chih-kao*, the Kolo live in Shih-tung and Yüan-mou and the Ko-lo-lo live in Mi-lê and Lu-hsi (23, c. 182, 183). These districts are all in eastern Yunnan and Mi-lê; Shih-tung and Lu-hsi form a group with Lo-p'ing which, as Yule suggested (200, p. 92, n. 6), was the probable position of the Coloman region.

28. The term "Lolo" first appeared in European literature when Du Halde published his *Description de l'empire de la Chine* in 1735. But the people whom he described as Lolo (87, pp. 54-55) were obviously the Thai, and the Lolo seemed to have been included in the Miao-tzū in his book. In

1850, J. R. Logan, in his *Ethnology of South-eastern Asia* (133, p. 441), made the same kind of mistake as Du Halde in that he classified Lolo among the Lau who are in fact a Thai tribe.

29. J. Fenouil, a French missionary in China, was captured in January, 1861, by some Lolos at a place between Yung-shan and Ta-kuan in Yunnan. After his release he wrote to M. Legrégois in Paris a letter which was published in the following year in the *Annales de la propagation de la foi* (59, pp. 319-334). In this letter the terms "Man-tzü" and "I-jên" were identified with each other. This identification is correct.

30. T. W. Blaskiston, who travelled to the eastern border of the Hsiao-liang mountains (P'ing-shan) in 1861, published his *Five Months on the Yangtze* in 1862, using the term 'Miao-tze' for the Lolos but pointing out that they are physically different from the Chinese (10, p. 271). Eight years later, C. Thorel first suggested that the Lolos were a branch of the Caucasian race (174, p. 41).

B. Linguistic Study.

31. A fairly full account of the growing acquaintance with the Lolos from the reports of European travellers up to 1907 is given by Cordier (40). I shall restrict myself to a brief statement of the studies on the Lolo language published by European scholars.

(a) *Vocabularies.*

32. There was no linguistic material on the Lolo language until J. Anderson published some 200 words of the Li-su dialect in 1871 (3, appendix B, pp. 400-409). In 1873 F. Garnier and D. de Lagrée published their *Vocabulaires Indo-Chinois* (110, pp. 493-517). Ten of them, in my opinion, are Lolo. After Anderson, Garnier and Lagrée, many Lolo vocabularies have been published by European writers, among whom the most important are P. Lefèvre-Pontalis (1892), Prince Henri D'Orléans (1898), P. Boell (1899), J. G. Scott (1900), Commandant Bonifacy (1905, 1908), C. L. Madrolle (1908), P. Vial (1909), H.R. Davies (1909), S. R. Clarke (1911), and A. Liétard (1911, 1912). For further details see the Table in § 16.

(b) *Script.*

33. R. P. Crabouillet (43, p. 105) and Garnier (77, vol. II, p. 520) first mentioned the existence of Lolo writing in 1873, but the study of the Lolo characters began only in 1881, immediately after the Lolo manuscript written

on satin found its way to England.¹⁴ At the Evening Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society held on June 18th, 1881, W. Gill read E. C. Baber's paper entitled 'A Journey of Exploration in Western Ssu-ch'uan' in which he produced (i) a bilingual text including 132 Lolo characters and Chinese characters which, according to him, have only phonetic value (4, p. 126); (ii) a small vocabulary of 20 words written in Lolo characters by a Lolo shaman (4, p. 127); (iii) a reproduction of eight pages of a Lolo manuscript (4, facing p. 128).

34. Five months later Col. H. Yule read Prof. T. de Lacouperie's paper with the title 'On a Lolo MS. Written on Satin' at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society held on December 19th, 1881. Lacouperie in this paper suggested that the Lolo writing was phonetic and was intimately connected with the legend of a stone seal found at Harapa, near Lahore (106, plates A, B; pp. 121-122) and that it also had remote affinities with the Indo-Pali and some other Asiatic scripts (106, pp. 122-123). In the following year he had an argument (107, p. 403) with H. Clarke who maintained that the Lolo writing of western China was connected with the Vei characters of the Republic of Liberia in western Africa (31, p. 370). Opposing Lacouperie's theory, Baber (4, p. 126), F. S. A. Bourne (16, p. 19), P. Vial (184, p. 15; 187, p. 39) and some others all agreed that the Lolo writing, like the Chinese, was of ideographic origin. I shall give details of their theories when I discuss the origin and construction of the Lolo script in a later chapter and it may suffice here to mention a few more works by European writers in which Lolo characters are found:

- C. GOULD, 80 (1886)—158 characters (pp. 256-258). No explanation is given.
- G. DEVÉRIA, (i) 51 (1886)—Only reproductions of a part of Baber's materials are found in this book (pp. 152-153). (ii) 52 (1891)—Some different forms for the ten numerals collected by Baber and Bourne (p. 365) and 16 other characters according to Vial (p. 368).
- F. S. A. BOURNE, 16 (1888)—16 characters with pronunciation and meaning (p. 8) and 375 characters with pronunciation only (facing p. 20).
- P. VIAL, (i) 184 (1890)—57 characters with pronunciation and meaning (pp. 16-17), 23 characters showing the sounds of the Lolo language (p. 18), and a Lolo text (p. 21). (ii) 187 (1898)—44 characters with pronunciation and meaning; most of them are the same as those in 184, p. 16 (pp. 41-44). Several Lolo texts are also found in this book (pp. 42-65). (iii) 188

¹⁴ E. C. Baber obtained this MS. in China and sent it in 1881 to H. Yule, who presented it to the British Museum in 1889.

- (1909)—a French-Lolo dictionary in which the written forms for each spoken word are given (pp. 1-350).
- A. HENRY, 91 (1903)—23 characters with pronunciation and meaning (pp. 99-100).
- H. CORDIER, 40 (1907)—Only a facsimile of a page of a Lolo manuscript is given.
- D'OLLONE, 144 (1912)—Contains three dictionaries of Lolo characters (pp. 33-209, 213-238, 24-264) and photographs of five rubbings of inscriptions on stone, a manuscript and two pages of a Lolo printed book (plates II-VII).
- H. MUELLER, 140 (1912)—Reproduces six specimens of Lolo writing which contain 300 characters altogether (p. 53). About 40 characters with pronunciation are also given (p. 55).
- F. M. SAVINA, 160 (1924)—All the Lolo characters given in this book are from Vial's work.
- S. POLLARD, 152 (1921)—Gives 22 characters with pronunciation and meaning (p. 259).
- C. E. JAMIESON, 100 (1923)—Reproduces two pages of a manuscript, which contain drawings and about 150 characters (p. 376).
- T. COOK, 38 (1936)—Gives 57 characters with pronunciation and meaning (pp. 72-73) and a photograph of a letter written on a wooden board which contains about 300 characters.

(c) *Grammar.*

35. P. Vial in 1890 first made a very brief statement of less than two pages on the word order of Lolo (184, pp. 10-11). In 1899 P. Boell enlarged Vial's statement and in addition mentioned the function of a few particles (11, pp. 5-7). In 1903 A. Henry made some remarks on the modification of forms of Lolo verbs (91, p. 101). Five years later Vial's *Petit lexique Français-Gni* (Lolo) was published as an appendix to Madrolle's *Quelques peuples Lolo* (137, pp. 566-568); here Vial, besides the word order, deals with the construction of questions and gives 16 numeratives used in the Gni dialect. In the following year Vial, in his *Dictionnaire Français-Lolo, dialecte Gni*, gave a special chapter to grammar in which many important grammatical categories were treated (188, pp. 19-83). In the same year A. Liétard also published an article on the grammar of the A-hi dialect of Lolo (122, pp. 285-314). These two grammars may be regarded as the first in which word formation, word order and grammatical elements were all discussed. Liétard in 1911 again published a grammar of the A-hsi dialect (125, pp. 627-663), containing only a few alterations and additions to his first one. Two years later he produced a grammar of the Lolo-p'o dialect (127, pp. 195-267) in which he used the same

method as the one used in his A-hi grammar. In 1922 a handbook of Lisu was published by J. O. Fraser (64) and in 1938 another of Lahu was produced by J. H. Telford (172). The first parts of both books are on grammar.

36. All the works on Lolo grammar mentioned above are confined to the dialects of Yunnan or Burma. On the Lolo dialect spoken in Annam, Bonifacy in 1905 made a few remarks (13, pp. 317-320) which are in fact valid for the Lolo language as a whole. For the dialects in Sikang see the next section.

(2) Chinese.

A. Works by Earlier Chinese Scholars.

(a) *Three early Pai-lang poems transcribed by T'ien Kung.*

37. In the *Tung-kuan han-chi* (146, c. 22) there are three Pai-lang (self-designation Lü-jang, see § 8) poems of about 58-75 A.D. transcribed with Chinese characters and accompanied by a translation into Chinese. According to Dr. V. K. Ting (1936, 177, p. 8), these poems were first written in Lolo script and then transcribed and translated. But I am of the opinion that Chu Fu, the Chinese governor who submitted the poems, anxious to impress the Emperor Ming-ti with his political achievements, wrote these poems himself in Chinese and asked T'ien-kung, who knew the Pai-lang language and is credited with the translation, to translate them into Pai-lang so as to make them appear to be Pai-lang in origin, and then sent them to the Emperor in the name of the Pai-lang King. This explanation is plausible especially as the poems were in praise of the Chinese rule and of the willingness of the Pai-langs and some other tribes to remain under Chinese suzerainty. A further reason I have for holding this opinion is that, though these poems have a foreign vocabulary, the word order is generally Chinese.

38. The first and second poems are of fourteen lines each, and the third has sixteen lines. Each line contains four syllables, so that there are altogether 176 syllables. Three Chinese scholars have studied these poems. Mr. C. J. Wang in 1932 held that the Pai-lang language was closer to the Lolo-Moso group than to the Tibetan group (190, p. 45). Dr. V. K. Ting in 1936 found in the poems 21 words which are similar to the Lolo language of today and suggested that the Pai-lang language was ancient Lolo (177, pp. 6-8). Professor C. C. Young in the same year discovered in the poems 14 words which, according to him, exactly resemble the present Lolo language, and went further by maintaining on the ground of linguistic resemblance that the Pai-lang tribe were the ancestors of the Lolos of today (200, p. 673).

39. In dealing with the language of these poems we need to notice

(i) that if we find similarities between some 20 words of a modern language and an ancient text of about 150 words (excluding the Chinese loan-words), it does not follow that one is the antecedent of the other;

(ii) that the modern Lolo language must have changed a great deal from its antecedent language of about 2000 years ago; before we make a comparison we had better reconstruct the ancient Lolo language, or at least know more of the Lolo dialects and other languages which may be close to the Pai-lang language;

(iii) that the use of Chinese characters to transcribe the Pai-lang sounds is by no means accurate.

Although I have been able to find more words in the modern Lolo and Moso languages which are cognate to Pai-lang, I only conclude that the three Pai-lang poems transcribed by T'ien Kung were in a language which belongs to the Lolo-Moso group.

(b) *Lolo words found in the Man-shu of the 9th century.*

40. Fan Ch'uo in his *Man-shu*, completed in 865 A.D., transcribed eight words of the Wu-man language, seven of which are obviously Lolo (56, chapters V and VIII). Ling Shun-shêng in 1938 compared the Wu-man words with Lolo and Pai-yi (129, p. 65) but he could not explain the words for 'to invite' and 'bamboo'. Although I still cannot trace the origin of the word for 'bamboo', I have been able to establish that the Chinese transcription '數' for the Wu-man word for 'to invite' is cognate to zo 'to invite', in the Lolo dialect of the Ta-liang Mountains. In the following table the reader will find the Chinese characters which Fan used to transcribe the Wu-man words, along with the ancient pronunciation of these characters and the corresponding words in two Lolo dialects of today:

Meaning	Fan's transcription	Reconstructed pronunciation of the transcriptions	Lolo Dialects	
			Ta-liang Mountains	Mêng-tzŭ
'city wall'	弄	luŋ	lu	lu
'bamboo'	剪	ts'ien	ma	mə
'salt'	𩇛	x'iu	ts'w	ts'a
'earth'	𩇛	nz'ǐəu	m-dw	ŋ
'invite'	數	ʃ'iu	zo	ts'ě
'sour'	制	tç'iei	tçi	tçie
'mountain'	𩇛	pjiě	bo	bɛ
'top; go up'	陀	da	t'o, do	t'ie

The above table may enable us to say that the Wu-man or a tribe of the Wu-man in the 9th century spoke Lolo and Fan Ch'uo was the first scholar who transcribed Lolo words.

(c) *Lolo vocabulary collected in the middle of the 18th century.*

41. This vocabulary was probably collected on the occasion of the revision and enlargement of the *Hua-i i-yü* ordered by Emperor Chien-lung in 1748. It comprises 9 volumes and records also the forms in Lolo script (75, pp. 95-97).

(d) *Lolo vocabulary collected by T'an Ts'ui towards the end of the 18th century.*

42. About 800 Lolo words are given in T'an Ts'ui's *Nung-pu-suo-lu*, chapter on Ts'uan-ya (168), which was later published in the *Yünnan-t'ung-chih-kao* (23, c. 190). This vocabulary might have been collected in Wu-ting (Yunnan) and it was written with Chinese characters used as phonetic symbols. This vocabulary is reproduced in *Yünnan t'ung-chih*. It is also reproduced and translated by Ivanovski in his *Yon-Nan'skiye Inorodci* (96, pp. 244-519 and Appendix 1). Besides this vocabulary some other shorter vocabularies are also found in the topographies of some districts.

B. Works by Chinese Writers of Today.

43. Present-day Chinese scholars only began to study the Lolo language in this century. Most of them have devoted their attention to the script. As for Lolo phonetics, I have published a monograph on the *Phonetics of the Li-p'oh language in Yung-jên* (73) and Mr. Y. F. Ruey has published his 'Notes on the Sounds of the Li-su language with Remarks on the Li-su Script' (156, pp. 303-326). On the grammar, there have been only two short notes on the Hsi-ch'ang dialect by myself (66; 67, pp. 12-18). For publications of vocabularies the readers are asked to refer to the Table in § 16. I shall here enumerate the important works concerned with Lolo manuscripts and script.

C. H. LIU, 130 (1932)—Contains brief remarks on a Lolo manuscript from Ma-pien, Szechwan. The writer says that this manuscript contains 8066 characters of which 625 are different in form (p. 235). The sounds and meaning of the characters are not discussed.

C. C. YOUNG, 199 (1935)—The following materials are found in this work: (i) 3 lists containing respectively, according to the writer, all the characters used by the Lolos of the Ta-liang Mountains (facing p. 32), the characters of the Lolos east of Kun-ming (p. 48), and all the characters of the Lolos south of Kun-ming influenced by the Chinese (p. 48). No pronunciation or meanings are given. (ii) A Lolo text with phonetic transcription only (pp. 40-41). (iii) A text from a manuscript containing the names of the

- gods derived from Chinese Taoism (pp. 43-44). (iv) Two photographs showing Lolo manuscripts from the Ta-liang Mountains (facing p. 64).
- V. K. TING, 177 (1936)—A photograph of the rubbing of an inscription and ten texts of which seven are transcribed with the Chinese Phonetic Symbols (*Chu-in-fu-hao*) and translated into Chinese by Mr. Lo Wên-pi, a Lolo of Ta-ting, Kweichow. The transcriptions are not accurate.
- Y. WÊN, (i) 192 (1939)—Compares different forms of about 30 Lolo characters. (ii) 193 (1940)—Gives some remarks on various Lolo-Chinese vocabularies. (iii) 194 (1940)—Is a comparative study of the written forms of four regions in Yün-nan. (iv) 195, (1947)—Deals with some 45 characters with their variants in several regions (pp. 245-249).
- Chao-chi YOUNG, 198 (1942)—About 200 characters are given with meanings and pronunciations transcribed with Chinese characters.
- M. C. FU, (i) 68 (1945)—Is a study of the Lolo proverbs in Lolo writing (pp. 2-11). (ii) 69 (1945)—Deals with a Lolo text and a drawing which also bears Lolo characters (pp. 8-36). Phonetic transcription, literal meaning, free translation, and explanations of the grammatical elements of the text are given. (iii) 74 (1947)—On a Lolo poem of 32 lines. Pronunciation, literal and free translations are given (pp. 6-8).
- Y. H. LIN, 128 (1946)—56 kinship terms in Lolo writing with their sounds and meaning (pp. 96-100).
- H. L. MA, 136 (1948)—Deals with a Lolo text. Phonetic transcription, literal and free translations are also given (pp. 577-666).

44. In conclusion, therefore, we note that, although it was the Chinese who started collecting the Lolo vocabulary, Europeans (mostly French and English) were the first to undertake the study of the Lolo language from the linguistic point of view. As a whole, Europeans have done more work on the Lolo language than the Chinese. To them we owe most of the vocabulary, elementary grammar, and the discussions of the origin of the script. The study of the phonetics has lately been undertaken by Chinese scholars who have been trained in phonetics and who use the phonetic symbols of the International Phonetic Association.

GRAMMAR

CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF MATERIAL AND COMPARISON
OF THE DIALECTS

(1) Definition of Language Material Used.

45. This work is an attempt to describe the grammar of Lolo in its present stage. Although many vocabularies and some works on grammar have already been published by my predecessors, not many of them can be used for our purpose. This is for three reasons:

(a) The phonetic transcriptions employed are, in many cases, very vague or wrong. The system of Lolo sounds (especially the consonants), is very complicated. Some of these sounds are so strange to the ears of both the Chinese and the Europeans that if they are not trained phoneticians, they would not be able to distinguish them, or, if they are able to do so, they would not be able to transcribe them with proper symbols or describe them with satisfactory accuracy. For example, in Sikang the Lolo word for 'iron' is ²su-²du, the last syllable of which is pronounced with vibrating lips; but Baber's¹⁵ transcription for this word is ²shu-thdhru (4, pp. 72, 75). The Lolo word for 'to give' is ³bɿ, but D'Ollone gives in some cases "bieuh" (144, 1st Dictionary, pp. 1, 28) and in one case "beu" (144, 1st Dictionary, p. 29).

(b) Sometimes wrong meanings are given to the words due either to carelessness or misunderstanding. For example, the Lolo word ¹dza of the Sikang dialects means 'table food or cooked rice', but D'Ollone gives it the meaning 'to eat' (144, 1st Dictionary, p. 15). When Baber asked for the word for 'eat' he was, through a misunderstanding, given the word for 'drink' (4, p. 78). Similarly, he was given the word for 'body' instead of 'back' (4, p. 76).

(c) Inaccurate grammatical analyses are not uncommon. Baber's transcription for 'dead' includes a final particle which makes the word mean 'to have died' (4, p. 78). Even excellent scholars of Lolo, like Vial and Liétard, have sometimes made mistakes.

However, I have found in these publications some very valuable material and I shall make use of them, whenever I think them accurate or their faults are easily corrected.

¹⁵ Baber says that the vowel u with a dot below (/u̇/) is like u in the English word *but* (4, p. 78).

46. In order to study the Lolo language, I have, during the past eleven years, travelled to the centre of the Ta-liang Mountains and many other districts of Sikang, to various parts of Yunnan and a few places in Kweichow. The five dialects which I shall describe in detail in this work are as follows:

(a) *Pei-shan* (北山) *dialect*. Pei-shan is about fifteen miles north of the town-centre of Hsi-ch'ang district in southern Sikang. Of all the five dialects, this dialect commands the largest area (see § 51). The speakers of this dialect call themselves **no-su**. The material was gathered in 1943 and my informant was a Lolo shaman who also taught me the writing.

(b) *Hsiao-hei-ching* (小黑金) *dialect*. Hsiao-hei-ching is two days' journey on foot to the west of the town-centre of Hui-li district in southern Sikang. This dialect is spoken not only in the Hui-li district but also in the Tê-ch'ang, and in the southern parts of Yen-yüan, Yen-pien, Hsi-ch'ang, and Chao-chüeh districts. This dialect area is the second largest in size. The speakers call themselves **ne-su**. The material was gathered in 1943 and my informant was Mr. Djü-dü I-ho Ch'ü-ho who came from Hsiao-hei-ching and travelled with me in the Ta-liang Mountains.

(c) *Ta-t'un dialect*. Ta-t'un is the name of a lake lying about seven miles north-west of the town-centre of Mêng-tzù district in south-eastern Yunnan. The dialect is spoken by the people living around the lake. It extends, according to my informants Messrs. Chang and Li, to Shih-p'ing district in the same province. The material was collected in 1938.

(d) *Pai-mei dialect*. Pai-mei is a village about fourteen miles north-west of the city-centre of Kun-ming, provincial capital of Yunnan. The dialect is also spoken in many other villages near Pai-mei. The speakers call themselves **pa-tsɿ**. The material was obtained in 1940 and my informant was Mr. Pi Huan.

(e) *Ch'a-tsu dialect*. Ch'a-tsu is a village about ten miles south of the town-centre of Yung-jên district in northern Yunnan. The dialect is also spoken in many other villages near Ch'a-tsu and in some villages east of the town-centre. It extends in the south to the Ta-yao and Yao-an districts. The speakers call themselves **li** or **li-p'ɔ**. The material was mostly obtained during the winter of 1939-40 and further supplemented in December, 1943. My informant was Mr. Mao Chêng-hung.

Besides these five dialects I shall also refer to some other dialects which I have studied at first hand, but on which I have only incomplete material.

47. Other dialects worked out by other authors, which I shall often refer to, are

(a) *Gni dialect*. This is the dialect studied by P. Vial. It is spoken in the Lu-nan, Lu-hsi, Mi-lê, I-liang, Kuang-nan, and Ch'ü-ching districts in

eastern Yunnan. Vial's information was obtained at Lu-mei-yi of Lu-nan. The speakers call themselves **ni** or **ni-pa** (generally spelt Gni or Gni-pa). For publications on this dialect see the Table in § 16.

(b) *A-hi dialect*. In 1893 Vial started studying this dialect (186, vol. XXV, no. 1254, pp. 281-283) but we owe most of the valuable information to A. Liétard for whose publications the reader is asked to refer to the Table in § 16. The dialect upon which Liétard's information is based is that spoken in southern Lu-nan. Speakers of the same dialect are also found in the Mi-lê, Ch'ü-ching, K'ai-hua and Lu-hsi districts in Yunnan province. It is thus a near neighbor of Gni. The speakers call themselves **a-çi** (generally spelt A-hi or A-hsi) or **a-çi-pa**.

(c) *Lolop'o dialect*. This was also studied by Liétard who published his *Au Yunnan, Lolop'o* in 1913 (127). The material was gathered at Chu-k'u-la of the Pin-ch'uan district in Yunnan. Speakers of this dialect are also found in the Chên-nan, Yao-an, Ta-yao, Ch'u-hsüing, Kuang-t'ung, Ting-yüan and perhaps Ching-tung districts of Yunnan. The native speakers call themselves **lo-lo-p'o**.

(d) *Li-su dialect*. The people, who are generally referred to as Li-su, speak several Lolo dialects. Since J. Anderson published a Li-su vocabulary in 1871 (3, pp. 400-409), many works have been published on this subject (see the Table in § 16). The most important writer is J. O. Fraser, who published his *Handbook of the Li-su language* in 1922 (64), based upon the dialect spoken in the T'êng-ch'ung district of Yunnan. The names by which the Lisu speakers call themselves vary according to regions. In most regions the name is **li-su**; in Pin-ch'uan it is **li-p'a**; in Yung-jên, Ta-yao, Yao-an, and Wu-ting (Yunnan) it is **li-po**. The native speakers of the Ch'a-tsu dialect mentioned in § 46 call themselves **li-p'ɔ**, but they are called Li-su or I-jên by their Chinese neighbours.

48. References to other dialects will be given whenever I quote from them. I shall refer to the dialects I have studied at first hand by the name of the native place of my informant (Pei-shan, Hsiao-hei-ching, etc.); in referring to the dialects studied by other authors I shall use the names they give (Gni, A-hi, etc.).

(2) Comparison of the Dialects Described.

A. The Five Main Dialects.

49. The following are the characteristics of the five dialects mentioned above in § 46.

The Pei-shan dialect is characterized by the voiceless fricative nasals **ŋ**, **ɲ**, etc., and by the use of the post-verb-adjective particle **su**. The Hsiao-hei-ching dialect possesses the labio-velars **kw**, **k'w**, **gw**, etc., and uses the post-verb-adjective particle **fu**. The Ta-t'un dialect is characterized by the falling diphthongs **ei**, **əu**, etc., and by the use of the post-verb-adjective particles **p'ɔ** and **mɔ**. The Pai-mei dialect is characterized by its six tones (the first three dialects have three tones each and the fifth has five) and by the use of the post-verb-adjective particles **fa** and **dɛ**. The Ch'a-tsu dialect is characterized by its five tones and the use of the post-verb-adjective particle **ku**.

The first two dialects have nasalized plosives and affricates like **mb**, **nd**, **ndz**; the two adjectival prefixes **a** and **e**; and the device of repeating one syllable of verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc., to ask questions; but lack final nasal consonants and nasalized vowels. The last three dialects, in contrast with the first two, lack nasalized plosives and affricates, the two adjectival prefixes, or the device of repeating one syllable of verbs, adjectives or adverbs to ask questions; but they do have final consonants and nasalized vowels.

If we combine the first three and the last two in separate groups, we note that the former group has the voiceless lateral fricative **ɬ**, the rounded front vowel **y** and the pre-verb-adjective particles **ko** (Pei-shan), **t'w** (Hsiao-hei-ching), **ɑ** (T'a-t'un); whereas the latter group has none of these. The third dialect holds a position between the first two and the last two.

50. The next table summarises the characteristics of the five dialects.

B. Three Dialects Distinguished by Native Speakers.

51. The Lolo speakers in Sikang and Szechwan divide their language into three dialects; (a) ³ʂɿ ²ndza, (b) ²ʒ ²no, and (c) ²so ³ndi. I have given the romanized spelling in my *Sikang-Lolo conversation* (67, p. 1) as Shih-ndha, Ji-no, So-ndi respectively. We may draw a line from the town-centre of Yen-pien district and northeastward along the main road across Yen-yüan, Hsi-ch'ang, Chao-chüeh to Pao-k'ou-liang-tzũ, and draw another line from Pao-k'ou-liang-tzũ northwestward to Fu-lin. We have then three areas. The Ji-no is spoken in the eastern area: the Shih-ndha, in the western area; the So-ndi, in the southern area. This division of dialects is found in a Lolo manuscript entitled *do-so-ia*, 'The Three Dialects'. The distinction is also known to those who cannot read.

52. It is very interesting that we can tell which of the three dialects the natives speak by the dress of the Lolo men, that is, by the width of the leg of their trousers. The Ji-no speakers wear the wide style, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet; the So-ndi speakers wear the narrow style, about 5 to 8 inches; and the Shih-ndha speakers the middle style, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet. Roughly speaking, most

Pei-shan	has voiceless fricative nasals; uses the post-verb-adjective particle su .	have nasalized plosives and affricates and two adjectival prefixes;	
Hsiao-hei-ching	has labialized velars; uses the post-verb-adjective particle fu .	repeat one syllable to form the interrogative mood; lack final consonants and nasalized vowels.	have the voiceless lateral fricative ɬ , and the front rounded vowel y ; use the pre-verb-adjective particles.
Ta-t'un	has falling diphthongs; uses the post-verb-adjective particles p'ɔ and mɔ .	lack nasalized plosives and affricates, and the two adjectival prefixes;	
Pai-mei	has six tones; uses the post-verb-adjective particles fa and dɛ .	do not repeat a syllable to form interrogatives; have final consonants and nasalized vowels.	lack ɬ and y ; do not use any pre-verb-adjective particles.
Ch'a-tsu	has five tones; uses the post-verb-adjective particle ku .		

Lolos in the Ta-liang Mountains speak Shih-ndha; most Lolos in the Hsiao-liang Mountains speak Ji-no; and the Lolos in the southern part of the Chien-ch'ang valley speak So-ndi.

53. No sharp lines can be drawn between two dialect areas. These divisions, however, are only approximately accurate. As there is little difference between Ji-no and Shih-ndha I would prefer to consider them as one dialect only. They both have the voiceless fricative nasals **ɱ**, **ɳ**, etc., these being replaced in So-ndi by voiced nasals **m**, **n**, etc. Again, the speakers of Ji-no and Shih-ndha use **ko** as a pre-verb-adjective particle, but the So-ndi speakers use **t'u**, which has the same function as **ko** in Shih-ndha and Ji-no. The Pei-shan dialect, which I have chosen as representative of Shih-ndha, can be easily understood almost throughout the Shih-ndha area and it is also

intelligible in the Ji-no area, though some difficulty may occasionally arise through different pronunciations of the same word like ²bo (Shih-ndha) and ²bu (Ji-no), both meaning 'mountain' or 'to go'.

C. The Simplified Form of the Shih-ndha Dialect.

54. The pronunciation of Shih-ndha dialect as spoken by the native speakers living in T'ien-pa east of Yüeh-sui, and by those living in the plains of Mien-ning and Hsi-ch'ang¹⁶ has been much simplified. The striking feature is that the nasal element of the nasalized plosives and affricates has been dropped. The following are some examples:

<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Standard Shih-ndha (Pei-shan)</i>	<i>T'ien-pa and Shui-t'ien</i>
'write'	² bu	² bu
'be satiated'	² mbu	² bu
'nine'	² gu	² gu
'love'	² ŋgu	² gu

D. Some Characteristics of the Gni, A-hi, Lolop'ö and Li-su dialects.

55. The Gni dialect possesses what I may call 'lateral affricates', which are pronounced¹⁷ by raising the tip and both sides of the tongue to touch the ridge of the upper teeth and the hard palate, the air-passage being blocked in the middle and on both sides of the tongue. When both sides of the tongue are removed from the hard palate, the air escapes with two explosions at both sides and a lateral sound immediately follows the explosions. Although there is no audible friction, I call them lateral affricates because they are pronounced in a way similar, though not identical, to that of pronouncing affricative consonants like *ts*, *dz*. There are also in this dialect the sound *ʃ* transcribed "shl" by Vial (188, p. 7), and the post-verb-adjective particles *ma* and *la* (188, pp. 20, 27). When asking questions these people repeat one syllable of the verb (or other words) at the end of a sentence if no interrogative words are used (188, p. 51). This dialect has five tones (188, p. 5).

56. The A-hi and Lolop'ö dialects also have five tones each (122, p. 126; 127, p. 199). Some vowels are distinguished by length (122, p. 286; 127,

¹⁶ The No-su people found in the plains of Mien-ning and Hsi-ch'ang are probably White Lolos who have become independent of the Black. Because they cultivate rice-fields they are called Shui-t'ien or Fei-t'ien (水田). (Some local Chinese in Mien-ning pronounce the Chinese word for 'water' as "fei.")

¹⁷ As imitated by Mr. Ma Hsiieh-liang who studies this dialect.

p. 197). No sounds like **l** and **y** are found in these two dialects. The device of repetition (verbs, etc.) for asking questions is not used in Lolop'o. The post-verb-adjective particle of A-hi is **mo** or **sa** (122, p. 294) and that of Lolop'o is **lu** (127, pp. 222-223). The Lisu speakers use **su** as a post-verb-adjective particle (64, p. 10) and distinguish six tones (64, p. 4).

57. The nasalized plosives and affricates possessed by the Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching dialects and the final nasal consonants and nasalized vowels found in the Ta-t'un, Pai-mei, and Ch'a-tsu dialects do not exist in the Gni, A-hi, Lolop'o, or Li-su dialects.

CHAPTER II

PHONETICS

58. Because the Pei-shan dialect is the most widespread, I shall take it as the basis of my description. The Pei-shan phonemes are of three main classes: consonants, vowels, and tones.

(1) Consonants.

59. The consonants are forty-nine in number. (See the following chart.) They may be divided into nine classes according to the place of articulation.

A. Bilabials.

(i) **p** — As in French *pain*. The air-passage is completely blocked by closing the lips and raising the soft palate; when the passage is suddenly opened the outcoming air escapes from the mouth, and in doing so makes an explosive sound. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. There is no audible puff of breath or aspiration after the explosion. It may therefore be defined as a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive consonant. For example: ¹**po** 'to run'.

(ii) **p**¹⁸ — As in English *pipe*, but there is stronger aspiration with the Lolo **p**⁴. It is a voiceless, aspirated bilabial plosive consonant and differs from **p** simply in being aspirated; that is, a puff of breath is heard after the explosion. For example: ³**p**⁴**o** 'to open'.

(iii) **b** — As in French *bain*. It is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial plosive consonant and is formed like the **p** except that the vocal cords are made to vibrate. For example: ²**bo** 'mountain; to go'.

(iv) **mb** — The mouth passage is completely blocked by closing the lips; the soft palate is first lowered so that the air passes through the nose, and then immediately raised so as to let the air suddenly escape from the mouth when the lips are opened. The vocal cords are made to vibrate. There is no audible puff of breath after the explosion. This sound can be easily formed by pronouncing **m** immediately before the sound of **b** with one and the same breath impulse. For example: ²**mbo** 'skirt'. The **ndz**, **nd**, **ndz**, **ndʒ**, **ndj**, and **ŋg** which will be presented below are formed in the same manner of articulation as **mb** except that a fricative sound is produced immediately after the explosion for **ndz**, **ndz**, **ndʒ**, **ndj**. The tongue positions for these nasal

¹⁸ In this thesis the apostrophe denotes aspiration.

		Plosive				Affricate				Fricative		Nasal		Lateral	
		Voiceless		Voiced		Voiceless		Voiced		Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd
Bilabial	upper lip, lower lip	p'	p	b	mb							ɱ	m		
Labio-dental	upper teeth, lower lip									f	v				
Dental	upper teeth, tip of tongue					ts'	ts	dz	ndz	s	z				
Apico-alveolar	upper teeth-ridge, tip of tongue	t'	t	d	nd							ɲ	n	l	l
Apico-predental	hard palate, tip of tongue					tʂ'	tʂ	dʒ	ndʒ	ʂ	ʒ				
Palato-alveolar	hinder part of upper teeth-ridge, tip & blade of tongue					tʃ'	tʃ	dʒ	ndʒ	ʃ	ʒ				
Palatal	hard palate, middle of tongue					tɕ'	tɕ	dʝ	ndʝ	ç		ɟ	ɲ		
Velar	soft palate, back of tongue	k'	k	g	ŋg					x	ɣ		ŋ		
Glottal	vocal cords									h					

Table of Lolo Consonants

elements are the same as those for their following plosive or affricative elements. This series of sounds may be called nasalized plosive and affricative consonants and exist in all the Lolo dialects of Sikang and Szechwan except those spoken by the Lolos living in T'ien-pa and by the Shui-t'ien Lolo living in Mien-ning and Hsi-ch'ang (see § 54). These sounds also exist in Hê-chang, Kweichow.

When preceding **u**, the **p**, **p'**, **b**, or **mb** is pronounced with vibrating lips. Examples are ¹**pu** 'to dare; generous', ¹**p'u** 'to untie', ¹**bu** 'a sheet (of flat objects)', ¹**mbu** 'to scold; to gather'.

(v) **m** — The same as the English **m**. It can be briefly described as a voiced bilabial nasal consonant. For example: ¹**ma** 'bamboo'.

(vi) **ɱ** — May be defined as a voiceless bilabial nasal fricative consonant. It is formed exactly like the **m** except that the vocal cords are not made to vibrate and a noticeable friction is heard. It may therefore be produced by closing the lips and letting the air pass out through the nose with an audible friction. The middle sound of the English interjection *ɱɱɱ* is the same as this sound. A Lolo example is ¹**ɱa** 'to teach'.

There are two other voiceless nasal fricative consonants, **ɸ** and **ɶ**, which will be described later.¹⁹

B. Labiodentals.

(vii) **f** — The same as the sound of **f** in English *five*. It may be described as a voiceless labiodental fricative consonant. For example: ²**fe** 'to throw'.

(viii) **v** — The same as **v** in English *value*. It is a voiced labiodental fricative consonant. For example: ²**ve** 'to twist'.

C. Dentals.

(ix) **ts** — The air-passage is completely blocked by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the back part of the upper teeth; when the tongue is removed from the teeth, the outcoming air escapes from the mouth; the removal of the tongue is performed in such a way that the effect of a fricative sound is audible before any following sound is reached. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. There is no aspiration combined with the fricative element. It may be described as a voiceless unaspirated dental fricative consonant. It is near to **ts** in English *cats* but care must be taken not to aspirate it. For example: ²**tsa** 'mud'.

¹⁹ For printing convenience, in my *Sikang Lolo conversation* (67) I use **hm**, **hn**, **hgn** to represent **ɱ**, **ɸ**, **ɶ** respectively, but care must be taken not to pronounce these sounds with a separate **h** sound before or after **m**, **n**, or **ɶ**.

(x) **ts'** — An aspirated **ts** and nearly like the sound of **ts** in *cats* but with stronger aspiration. For example: ²**ts'a** 'hot; fine (weather)'.

(xi) **dz** — A voiced **ts** and is like the sound of **ds** in English *reads*. For example: ²**dza** 'table food; cooked rice'.

(xii) **ndz** — Pronounce a very short nasal sound with the tongue in position for **dz**, followed immediately by **dz** with one and the same breath impulse. For example: ²**ma ndza** 'black ink'.

(xiii) **s** — Pronounced as in English *see* (never as in *rose* or *pleasure*) but with the tip of the tongue somewhat lowered. For example: ²**sa** 'to be finished; to be well in health'.

(xiv) **z** — This is a voiced **s** and is like **z** in English 'zeal'. For example: ²**za ho** 'clever, wise'.

D. Apico-alveolars.

(xv) **t²⁰** — As in English *star*. The air-passage is completely blocked by raising the soft palate and raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth-ridge; when the tongue is removed from the alveolar ridge, the outcoming air suddenly escapes through the mouth, and in doing so makes an explosive sound. It is unaccompanied by voice or aspiration. It may therefore be described as a voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar plosive consonant. For example: ²**ta** 'to place'.

(xvi) **t'** — An aspirated **t** and is like **t** in English *tall*. For example: ¹**t'a** 'don't (imperative mood)'.

(xvii) **d** — A voiced **t** and is like **d** in English *tidings*. For example: ²**da** 'to reach'.

(xviii) **nd** — Pronounce a very short **n** just before **d** with one and the same breath impulse. For example: ¹**nda** 'excessive in desires'.

When preceding **u**, the **t**, **t'**, **d**, or **nd** is pronounced with vibrating lips. Examples are ¹**tu** 'thousand; to light (lamp, fire)', ¹**t'u** 'a boil; pimple', ³**du** 'wing', ¹**ndu** 'to beat'.

(xix) **n** — A voiced apico-alveolar nasal consonant and is like **n** in English *name*. For example: ¹**na** 'to be ill; to suffer from a pain'.

(xx) **ŋ** — May be described as a voiceless apico-alveolar nasal fricative consonant. In pronouncing it, the mouth passage is completely blocked by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth-ridge; the soft palate is lowered, so that the air passes out through the nose; and audible

²⁰ In this grammar the symbols **t**, **t'**, **d**, **nd**, **n**, **ŋ**, **l**, **ɬ** are used for the apico-alveolars. But **t**, **t'**, **d** and **n** are dentals when used for the explosive or nasal element in **ts**, **ts'**, **dz** and **ndz**. Compare the footnote on the apico-prepalatals.

friction is produced in the nose but the vocal cords are not made to vibrate. For example: ¹ɣa 'to listen; to ask'.

(xxi) **l** — A voiced apico-alveolar lateral consonant, the same as the English **l** used before vowel sounds; as in 'late' but not as in 'world' or 'fall'. A Lolo example is ²la 'to come'.

When used before **u**, **l** is pronounced with the tip of the tongue curling back to touch the front part of the hard palate. The narrow transcription for this sound is ɭ. For example: ²lu 'city'.

(xxii) **ʃ** — Pronounced by raising the soft palate to shut off the nasal cavity and raising the tip of the tongue to touch the upper teeth-ridge; the air-passage is blocked in the middle and is left open on both sides of the tongue; when the air passes out, an audible friction is produced; the vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It may be described as a voiceless apico-alveolar lateral fricative consonant. It is like the Welsh **ll**, but the Lolo **ʃ** is pronounced with a stronger friction. This sound exists in many other dialects and is transcribed by various writers with **shl** (188), **hl** (4, p. 72; 144, 1st Dictionary p. 24), **L** (163), etc. In pronouncing this consonant, care must be taken not to combine any sounds like **sh**, **h** with **l**, or to produce it as an aspirated **l**. A Lolo example is ⁴ʃa 'trousers'.

E. Apico-prepalatals.²¹

(xxiii) **tʃ** — Articulated by the tip of the tongue curled back so as to come in contact with the front part of the hard palate; when the outcoming air passes through the mouth, the tip of the tongue is removed not too rapidly from the palate; at the beginning of the separation there is an explosion only feebly articulated, and as the separation proceeds, a fricative sound is audible; there are no voice or aspiration combined with the sound. It may be described as a voiceless, unaspirated apico-prepalatal affricative consonant. Care must be taken not to substitute for it the sound of the English **ch**. For example: ¹tʃa 'to eat'.

(xxiv) **tʃʰ** — An aspirated **tʃ**. For example: ¹tʃʰa 'to argue, to dispute'.

(xxv) **dʒ** — A voiced **tʃ**. For example: ²dʒa 'magpie'.

(xxvi) **ndʒ** — Pronounce a very short nasal sound with the tongue in the position for **dʒ** and pronounce **dʒ** immediately after the nasal sound with

²¹ The symbols representing the nasal and explosive elements in **tʃ**, **tʃʰ**, **dʒ**, **ndʒ**, are here used to represent sounds produced with the tongue in the same position as for the fricative elements, **ʃ**, **ʒ**. The consonants **tʃ**, **tʃʰ**, **dʒ**, **ndʒ** should be written as **tʃ**, **tʃʰ**, **dʒ**, **ndʒ** in narrow transcription. Because the corresponding plosives (like **t**, **d**) do not exist in this dialect and the symbols representing the fricative elements (**ʃ**, **ʒ**) are enough here to show the place of articulation, I transcribe them with **tʃ**, **tʃʰ**, **dʒ**, **ndʒ**. In a similar way I transcribe the palato-alveolar and palatal affricates.

one and the same breath impulse. For example: **¹ndza** 'beautiful, handsome, pretty'.

(xxvii) **ʂ** — Articulated by the tip of the tongue curled back against the front part of the hard palate; the space between the tip of the tongue and the hard palate is very narrow, so that the air escapes making a fricative sound. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It may be described as a voiceless apico-prepalatal fricative consonant. For example: **¹sa** 'poor'.

(xxviii) **z** — A voiced **ʂ**. Example: **¹za** 'to quarrel; make an uproar'.

F. Palato-alveolars.²²

(xxix) **ʧ** — About the same as **ch** in English *church* but not aspirated. In pronouncing this sound, the air-passage is first completely blocked by raising the soft palate and raising the tip and blade of the tongue to touch the hinder part of the upper teeth-ridge; when the outgoing air passes through the mouth, the tongue is removed not too rapidly from the alveolar ridge; at the beginning of the separation there is an explosion which is rather feeble, and as the separation proceeds, a fricative sound becomes audible. No voice is present. No aspiration is combined with the fricative element. There is a protrusion of the lips. This may be described as a voiceless palato-alveolar affricative consonant. For example: **²ʧʎ** 'varnish'.

(xxx) **ʧʰ** — An aspirated **ʧ** and resembles **ch** in English *chair*, but the aspiration with the Lolo sound is stronger than with the English word. For example: **²ʧʰʎ** 'dog'.

(xxxi) **dʒ** — A voiced **ʧ**. It is pronounced as **j** in English *jump*. For example: **²dʒʎ** 'brass'.

(xxxii) **ndʒ** — Pronounce a nasal sound with the tongue in the position required for the production of **dʒ**, and then pronounce **dʒ**. These two elements should be articulated with one and the same breath impulse. For example: **²ndʒʎ** 'skin'.

(xxxiii) **ʃ** — May be briefly described as a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative consonant. It is like the sound of English **sh** in *ship*. For example: **²ʃʎ** 'taste'.

(xxxiv) **ʒ** — Like the sound of the English **s** in words like *measure*, *pleasure*. It is a voiced **ʃ**. For example: **²ʒ** 'water; to go'.

G. Palatals.²³

(xxxv) **tɕ** — In pronouncing **tɕ**, the tip of the tongue is kept well down behind the lower front teeth and the middle of the tongue is raised to

²² See the note on the apico-prepalatals.

²³ See the note on the apico-prepalatals.

touch the hard palate, the soft palate remaining in its raised position. When the outcoming air passes through the mouth, the tongue is removed not as quickly as in the case of normal plosives; at the beginning of the separation there is a feeble explosion, and as the separation proceeds, a fricative sound is heard. No aspiration is combined with the fricative element. No voice is present. It may be described as a voiceless, unaspirated palatal affricative consonant. For example: ¹tɕia 'to fear'.

(xxxvi) tɕ' — An aspirated tɕ. For example: ¹tɕ'ia 'to jump'.

(xxxvii) dj — A voiced tɕ. For example: ²djia 'forked road'.

(xxxviii) ndj — Pronounce a nasal sound with the tongue in the same position as that required for the production of dj, and then pronounce dj. These two elements must be produced with one and the same breath impulse. For example: ¹ndjia 'broken to pieces'.

(xxxix) ɲ — As gn in French *montagne*. The soft palate is lowered so as to open the nasal passage to the breath stream. The middle of the tongue should be in position for the pronunciation of tɕ, then the resulting sound is ɲ. Compare ³ɲi 'two' and ³ni 'the name which the Lolo call themselves'.

(xxxx) ŋ — A voiceless palatal nasal fricative consonant. It differs from ɲ in that it is voiceless and fricative. It is produced by putting the tongue in the position required for ɲ and producing a fricative sound by exhaling breath through the nose. For example: ³ŋi 'to smell'.

(xxxxi) ɕ — In pronouncing this consonant, the middle of the tongue is raised against the hard palate; the space between the tongue and the palate is very narrow, so that when the air passes out through the mouth, a fricative sound is heard. The soft palate is in its raised position. The vocal cords are not made to vibrate. It may be described as a voiceless palatal fricative consonant. For example: ¹ɕia 'to pick (flowers, etc.)'.

H. Velars.

(xxxxii) k — As c in French *car*. The air-passage is completely blocked by raising the back of the tongue to touch the soft palate which is also raised so as to shut off the nose passage; when the tongue is removed from the soft palate, the outcoming air suddenly escapes through the mouth and in doing so makes an explosive sound. It is not accompanied by voice or aspiration. It may be described as a voiceless, unaspirated velar consonant. For example: ²kw 'to hear'.

(xxxxiii) k' — An aspirated k like the English k in *key*, but the aspiration is stronger with the Lolo k. For example: ¹k'w 'bitter'.

(xxxxiv) g — A voiced k like the French g in *gare*. For example: ²gw 'to have heard'.

(xxxxv) **ŋg** — Pronounce a velar nasal immediately before **g** with one and the same breath impulse. For example: ²**ŋgu** 'to grind with the teeth'.

(xxxxvi) **ŋ** — As **ng** in English *sing*. Close the mouth passage by raising the back of the tongue to touch the soft palate which is at the same time lowered, so that the outcoming air escapes through the nose. The vocal cords are made to vibrate. It may be described as a voiced velar nasal consonant. For example: ²**ŋu** 'to be'.

(xxxxvii) **x** — The tongue position for **x** is the same as that for **k** except that the space between the back of the tongue and the soft palate is narrow instead of being stopped, so that a fricative sound is produced in place of an explosive one. It may be described as a voiceless velar fricative consonant. For example: ²**xu** 'skillful; able'.

(xxxxviii) **ɣ** — The voiced consonant corresponding to **x**. It is like **g** in German *Wagen*. A Lolo example is ²**ɣu** 'to get; to win'.

I. Glottals.

(xxxxix) **h** — A voiceless glottal fricative consonant which is alone in its class. The sound is the same as that of the English **h** in *home*. In many Lolo dialects this sound is not distinct from that represented by **x**, but in this dialect these two sounds are quite distinct from each other. Compare ²**hu** 'fish; to borrow' with the example given under **x**.

60. The forty-nine consonants described above can be divided into the following five classes according to their manner of articulation:

- A. Plosives—12 in number. For example: **p, t, k**.
- B. Affricates—16 in number. For example: **ts, tʃ, tf, tç**.
- C. Fricatives—12 in number. For example: **f, s, ʃ, ç, x, h**.
- D. Nasals—7 in number. For example: **m, n, ɲ, ŋ**.
- E. Laterals—2 in number; i.e. **l, ɭ**.

61. All the Lolo consonants described above are tabulated on the next page according to both the place and the manner of articulation.

62. Six of these 49 consonants can be used as syllabic sounds. They are **m, v, z, l, ʒ, ʒ**. The fact that a consonant is syllabic is marked by placing /, / under the symbol, as **ɱ, ɭ**. The following are illustrations:

² ɱ 'to do, to work'	² ɱɱ 'mushroom'
³ ɣ 'to sell'	² ɭ 'urine'
³ ɭ 'seed'	hɭ 'to tend (cattle)' ²⁴
² ɭ 'grass; early'	² ʒ 'water; soup; to flow; to laugh'

²⁴ The **l** after **h** is pronounced like the **l** before **u** (see § 59, xxi).

(2) Vowels.

63. The Pei-shan dialect possesses sixteen pure or simple vowels and five diphthongs:

A. Pure Vowels.

64. The sixteen pure vowels may be classified in three ways:

(i) According to the part of the tongue that is the highest; here we distinguish three classes:

- (a) front vowels — ɿ, ʝ, ɶ, ʌ, ʏ, i, y, e, ø, ε;
- (b) central vowels: ʉ, a;
- (c) back vowels— u, ʊ, o, ɔ.

(ii) According to the distance between the tongue and the roof of the mouth; here we distinguish four classes:

- (a) close vowels — ɿ, ʝ, ɶ, ʌ, ʏ, i, y, ʉ, u, ʊ;
- (b) half-close vowels— e, ø, o;
- (c) half-open vowels— ε, ɔ;
- (d) open vowel— a.

(iii) According to the position or shape of the lips; here we distinguish three classes:

- (a) spread vowels— ɿ, ɶ, ʌ, i, e, ε, ʊ;
- (b) neutral vowel— a;
- (c) rounded vowels— ʝ, ʏ, y, ø, ɔ, o, ʉ, u.

65. The following are descriptions of these pure vowels in detail:

(i) ɿ — The part of the tongue that is highest is the tip of the tongue; the distance between the tongue and the upper teeth is very *close*; the position of the lips is *spread*. The sound of this vowel can be obtained by pronouncing the consonant *z* but lowering the tip of the tongue a little, so that the air-passage between the tip of the tongue and the back of the upper teeth is wider than that for the consonant *z*, and no friction is noticeable. This vowel is very common in Chinese, as in the word tsɿ (子) meaning 'son'. A Lolo example is ʔsɿ 'to die'.

(ii) ʝ — This vowel can be easily acquired by pronouncing the previous ɿ with rounded lips. ʔsʝ 'blood'.

(iii) ɶ — is a velarized ɿ. It can be acquired by pronouncing the vowel ɿ and at the same time raising the root of the tongue toward the soft palate. The lips are widely *spread*. For example: ʔsɶ 'to know'.

(iv) ʌ — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the tip of the tongue; the distance between the tongue and the hard palate is very *close*; the position of the lips is *spread*.

This sound can be produced by pronouncing the consonant **ʒ** and at the same time lowering the tip of the tongue in order to widen the air-passage to the point where no friction is noticeable. This is about the same as **ㄐ** **ㄓ** 'to know', in the Peiping dialect of Chinese. A Lolo example is **ʒ** 'gold'. When **ʒ** follows a palato-alveolar consonant, the tongue position is changed to that for the pronunciation of the consonant **ʒ** but the space between the tip and blade of the tongue and the hinder part of the alveolar ridge is somewhat widened to avoid a noticeable friction. For example: **ʒ** 'to weave'.

(v) **ɨ** — This vowel differs from the previous **ʒ** in that it is pronounced with rounded lips. The distinction between **ʒ** and **ɨ** is well exemplified by **ʒ** 'to strike forward' and **ɨ** 'wine'.

Because the tip of the tongue plays an important part in forming the above five vowels we may call them apical vowels. They are sometimes pronounced with slight friction.

(vi) **i** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the forepart of the *front*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is *close*; the position of the lips is *spread*.

The sound of **i** is the same as that of **ea** in English *sea*, but there is no noticeable length in the Lolo **i**. For example: **i** **i** 'scabbard'.

(vii) **e** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the centre part of the *front*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is usually between *close* and *half-close*; the position of the lips is *spread*.

This vowel is the short sound of the English **i** in 'six' and **y** in 'lily'. When pronouncing this vowel the Lolo speakers sometimes lower the tongue to the position of *half-close*.

For example: **e** **i** 'younger brother (addressed by one's elder brother)'.

(viii) **ɛ** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the hinder part of the *front*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is often *half-open*; the position of the lips is *spread*.

ɛ represents a sound which is between the English short sound of the letter **e** (as in *bed*) and the short sound of the letter **a** (as in *bad*). The Lolo speakers sometimes pronounce this sound just like the short **a** in English. Thus the Lolo word for 'heart' **ɛ** **ma** can be freely pronounced **ɛ** **ma**.

(ix) **a** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the *central*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is *open*; the position of the lips is *neutral*.

The highest part of the tongue sometimes changes to a hinder part as in English **a** in *half*, and sometimes moves to the front as required for the

French **a** in *part*. This variation of the quality of **a** does not affect the meaning of words. For example: ²ha 'hundred'.

(x) **ɔ** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the hinder part of the *back*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is between *half-open* and *open*; the position of the lips is *rounded*.

This is like the sound of the English letters **aw** in *saw*. A Lolo example is ¹hɔ 'mist'.

When **ɔ** is preceded by a dental consonant, its tongue position becomes higher. For example: ²sɔ 'three'.

(xi) **o** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the centre part of the *back*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is *half-close*; the position of the lips is *rounded*. For example: ³ho 'speech'.

(xii) **u** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the forepart of the *back*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is *close*; the position of the lips is *rounded*.

The sound of **u** is like that of the English **u** in *rule*, but there is no noticeable length with the Lolo **u**. For example: ¹tu 'thousand; to light (lamp, fire, etc.)'.

When following **f, k, k', g, ŋg, tɕ, tɕ', ndz, ʂ, or z**, the **u** is pronounced as **ʊ** with the friction hardly noticeable. For example: ¹fu 'six', ³ku 'sweat; perspiration', ¹k'u 'year', ¹gu 'to row (boat)', ²ŋgu 'to love; to think of', ²tɕ'u 'to stab; to prick', ²ndz'u 'to lock', ¹ʂu 'to remember', ³zu 'to stop'.

(xiii) **y** — The rounded counterpart of **i**. It can be easily acquired by trying to pronounce **i** with rounded lips. This sound does not exist in English. The French **u** as in *fumer* represents the same sound as the Lolo **y**. For example: ²y 'to learn'.

(xiv) **ø** — The rounded counterpart of **e**. It is like the sound of the French **eu** in *peu* except that when pronouncing the Lolo **ø**, the distance between the tongue and the palate is closer. Put the tongue in the position for **e** and round the lips without changing the tongue position and then utter the sound which is **ø**. This sound is well distinct from **e**. Compare the following two pairs of examples:

²dze 'to leave behind; to have as remainder'

²dzø 'to meet with'

²se 'finger-nail; a part or portion'

²sø 'charcoal; fireplace'

(xv) **w** — The spread counterpart of **u**. The learner may begin with **u** and, keeping the tongue motionless, spread the lips as if for the sound of **i**; then the resulting sound is **w**. If this method fails to produce the required

sound, it may be obtained by beginning with **i**, and then, without change of lip position, trying to utter **u**. For example: ³g^u 'to play'.

(xvi) **u** — The part of the tongue that is the highest is the *central*; the distance between the tongue and the palate is *close*; the position of the lips is *rounded* and protruded.

Try to pronounce the above mentioned **u** with rounded and protruded lip position and at the same time advance the tongue to the central position. For example: ³g^u 'wild goose'.

B. Diphthongs.

66. The sixteen pure vowels described in the preceding section are articulated without changing the organs of speech from the beginning to the end of the sound, that is, during the uttering of each of the pure vowels the organs of speech remain stationary. A diphthong, however, starts in one vowel position and glides towards another vowel position within one and the same breath impulse. The English diphthongs are all of the 'falling' type with greater prominence at the beginning. The Lolo diphthongs on the contrary are all of the 'rising' type with greater prominence at the end. The following are the five Lolo diphthongs :

(i) **ie** — begins with **i** and ends with **e**. For example: ²t^ɕie 'to lift or to carry (by two or more persons)'.

(ii) **iɛ** — begins with **i** and goes in the direction of the sound of **a** in English *har*; the movement usually stops at **ɛ**. For example: ²piɛ 'to kick; to be naughty'.

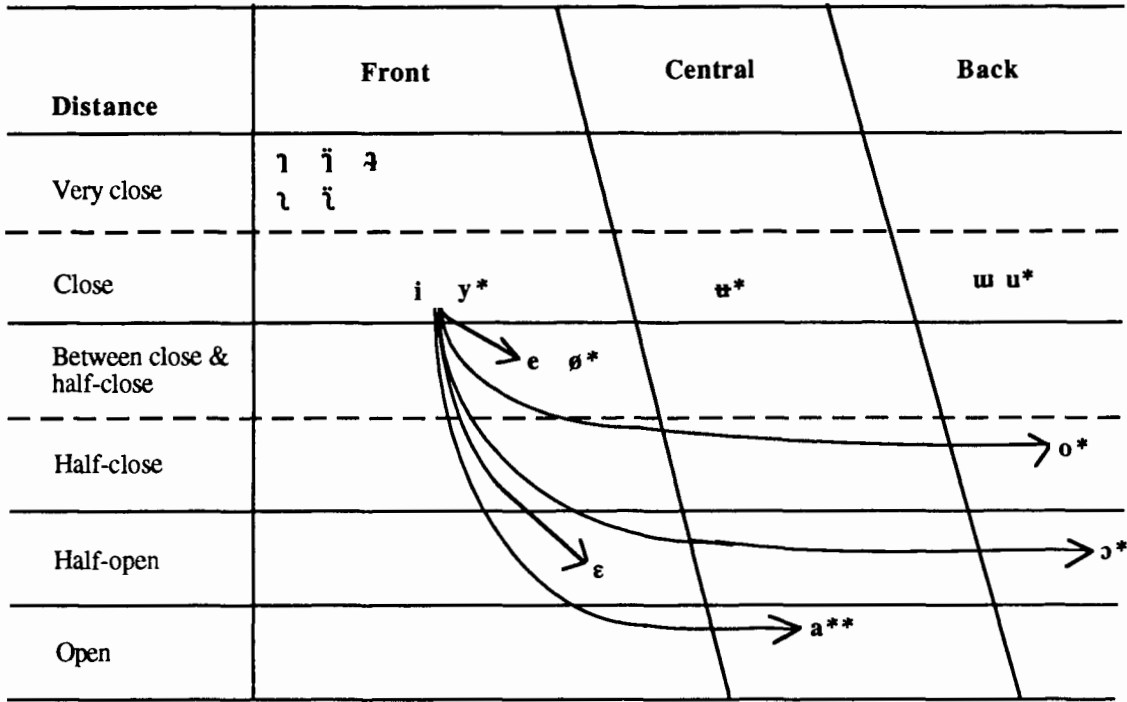
(iii) **ia** — begins with **i** and ends with **a**. For example: ²ia 'to go (on parting)'.

(iv) **io** — The gliding sound is from **i** to **o**. For example: ²io 'sheep'.

(v) **io** — This is a combination of **i** and **ɔ**. For example: ²t^ɕio 'to pat; to tap'.

All these Lolo diphthongs begin with **i**. There are also some loanwords from Chinese which contain a kind of diphthong beginning with **u** (see § 75).

67. We can now draw up a table of Lolo vowels and a diagram showing the relations of the Lolo vowels (except the five apical vowels) to the eight cardinal vowels.

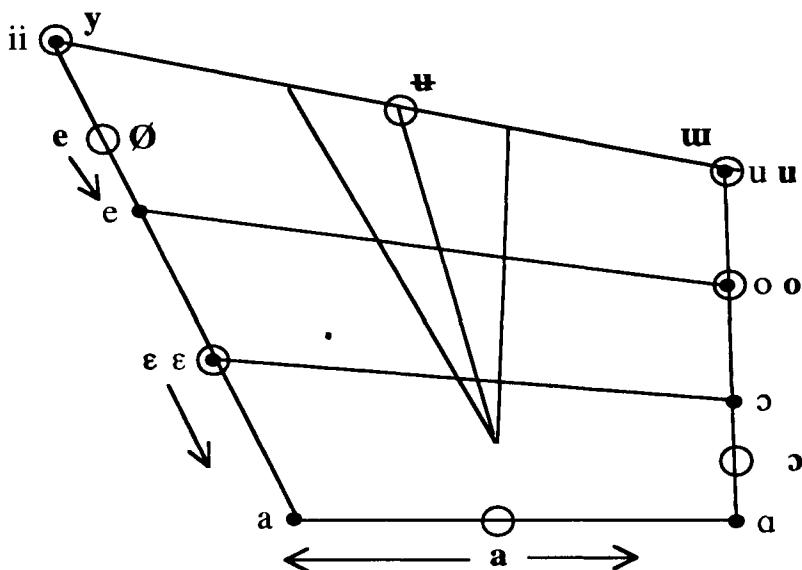


* indicates rounded lips

** indicates neutral lips

↪ indicates the movement from the initial element to the final element of diphthongs

Diagram Showing the Approximate Tongue Positions of Lolo Vowels Compared with those of Cardinal Vowels



The black dots indicate the positions of the highest point of the tongue when pronouncing the Cardinal Vowels; the circles indicate those when pronouncing the Lolo vowels.

The arrows indicate the free variations of the Lolo vowels.

The symbols at the right-hand side represent vowels pronounced with rounded lips; those at the left-hand side represent vowels pronounced with spread or neutral lips.

(3) Tones.

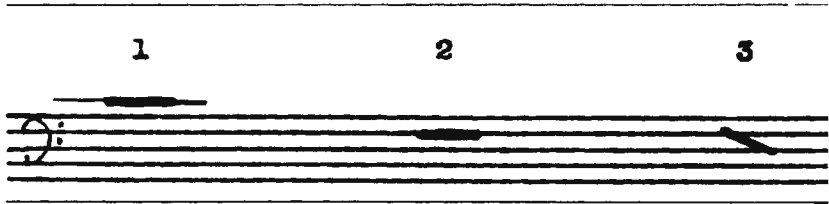
A. The Values of the Tones.

68. In the Lolo language, as in Chinese, features of pitch are used as primary phonemes. This is to say that the same syllable may have different meanings according to its musical tone. The number of tones generally varies

from region to region. In the Pei-shan dialect there are three tones of which the values and examples are given below:

Numbers	Value	Examples
1	high-level	¹ he 'to stand'
2	mid-level	² he 'arrow'
3	low-falling	³ he 'to speak'

The tones are symbolized by Arabic numerals put before every syllable of Lolo words in this work. These three tones can be more accurately represented by the following musical staff (showing the ordinary pitch used by male adults):



B. Change of the Tones.

69. The values of the tones are not changed in sentences, except for the third tone. When a word under the third tone is repeated to form the interrogative mood, the reduplicated syllable assumes the second tone, that is, it changes from a low-falling tone to a mid-level tone. For example:

²nw ³sɿ ²sɿ? 'Do you know?'

²nw ³ɣ ²ɣ? 'Do you sell?'

²nw ²ts'ɿ ³he ³ɣ ²ɣ? 'Do you like it?'

C. Distribution of the Tones.

70. In Tibetan the initial letter and the prefix govern the tones (g, p. 16). No such rule can be found for the Lolo tones. In the Pei-shan dialect there are 291 different syllables. If we count the difference of tones we get 539 different units. Although this shows that not every syllable distinguishes three tones, most consonants occur in syllables distributed in different tones. The following are examples of words with bilabial and labiodental consonants:

¹pu 'to dare; to be generous'

²pu 'to resist; to return (to a place)'

- ³pu 'to be quiet, calm'
¹p'u 'to untie'
²p'u 'value, price; to cost'
³p'u 'to seal; to turn over'
¹bu 'sheet (numeralive)'
²bu 'to write; image of gods; outside'
³bu 'worm; silkworm; mosquito; fly'
¹mbo 'roll'
²mbo 'skirt (of cloth)'
³mbo 'good'
¹mo 'to meet'
²mo 'Chinese peck; ten thousand'
¹a ³mo 'old'
¹fu 'six'
²fu 'to burn; marriage'
³fu 'to button'
¹y ²dji 'to be correct'
²y 'the intestines; to be mad; to hatch'
³y 'to sell'
¹ŋa 'to teach'
³ŋo 'to blow; to play (musical instruments)'

(4) Stress.

71. Syllables of a simple or compound word are evenly stressed no matter whether they are affixes or stem words. Thus, in ²a ²so 'long', the prefix ²a has the same stress as the stem word ²so; in the compound ²ia ²ka ¹pi ²du 'pipe-cleaner', the constituent words ²ia ²ka and ¹pi have the same stress as the particle ²du.

The words in a phrase, clause, or sentence generally have even stress except in the following cases:

(a) A numeralive is unstressed when immediately following a substantive or an adjective, as ²ma in the following examples:

²no ²ma 'a Black Lolo'

³mbo ²ma 'a good one'

(b) When the speaker wants to emphasize one or more words, these words usually bear stronger stress. In the following sentence

²nw ²ŋa ³do ¹ma ³a ¹ŋa ²nw ²ŋa ²nw ¹ndu

'If you do not obey me, I shall beat you',

the word ¹ndu can be emphasized by pronouncing it with a stress stronger than that of all the other words in the sentence.

The strongly stressed and the unstressed syllable may retain their ordinary tones, but it often happens that the strongly stressed syllable is especially highly pitched and the unstressed syllable has a pitch lower than its ordinary tone. Stress, however, unlike the tone, is not used to differentiate the meaning of disyllabic words.

(5) Construction of Syllables.

72. We have now seen that the Pei-shan dialect possesses forty-nine consonants, sixteen vowels and three tones. The consonant system is very complicated. Two kinds of voiced plosives and affricates are found: one kind is non-nasalized (e.g., **b**, **d**, **dz**) and the other is nasalized (e.g., **mb**, **nd**, **ndz**). All the voiceless consonants except **ç** and **h** have their corresponding voiced partners, as **p** has **b**, **t** has **d**, **f** has **v**. There are twelve fricatives, seven nasals and two laterals. Most of the vowels are used singly. Besides sixteen simple vowels, five diphthongs occur. Five apical vowels are also found in this dialect.

The vowels are sometimes used as the initial sound of a syllable, but the consonants are never used as final elements except for a few which are syllabic (as the **m** in ¹mqm 'below').

73. A majority of the spoken words are, like the written forms, monosyllabic. One syllable generally consists of three primary phonemes: one consonant, one vowel, and one tone. It consists of at most four phonemes: one consonant, two vowels and one tone; at a minimum it has two phonemes, one vowel or one syllabic consonant and one tone. The following are illustrations:

(i) *Those consisting of one vowel and one tone.*

¹i 'needle'

²ε 'duck'

³a 'not'

³o 'life'

(ii) *Those consisting of one consonant (syllabic) and one tone.*

²mq 'horse'

¹q 'to set free; to take off (clothes)'

²q 'four; to send; to roll up (as a scroll)'

³q 'seed'

(iii) *Those consisting of two vowels and one tone.*

²ia 'to go (on parting)'

²io 'sheep; a numerative for persons'

(iv) *Those consisting of one consonant, two vowels (diphthong) and one tone.*

²pie 'to kick; to be naughty'

²mbie 'to shoot; to throw'

³djia 'spear'

(6) Sounds of the Chinese Loanwords.

74. The speakers of the Pei-shan dialect have borrowed only about thirty words from the Chinese. In most cases they have replaced the foreign sounds by the phonemes of their own language. Two points may be mentioned about this phonetic substitution.

(a) The Chinese nasalized vowels become oral ones and the Chinese final nasal consonants are dropped. For example:

¹ka 'steel'; from kã (kaŋ 鋼)²⁵

²i or ²ie 'tobacco'; from iẽ (iɛn 菸)

³lu 'dragon'; from luŋ 龍

(b) They often render the same Chinese sound in different ways. The Chinese sound tsɿ, for example, in some cases remains unchanged and in others is replaced by ndzɿ:

²tɕ'w ²tsɿ 'cart'; from ts'e tsɿ (tɕ'ə tsɿ 車子)

³tɕ'ɿ ²tsɿ 'ruler (for measuring)'; from ts'ɿ tsɿ (tɕ'ɿ tsɿ 尺子)

³lo ²tsɿ 'mule'; from lo tsɿ (luo tsɿ 驢子)

³tɕo ²tsɿ 'table'; from tso tsɿ (tɕuo tsɿ 桌子). This is for the Chinese table which is about three times as high as their own. They call their own table ²dzu ²t'i.

²tɕ'a ²ndzɿ 'window'; from ts'ã tsɿ (tɕ'uaŋ tsɿ 窗子)

³ti ²ndzɿ 'inn'; from ti tsɿ (tiɛn tsɿ 店子)

75. The only sound combination taken from the Chinese for which they have no equivalent is the diphthong ua, e.g.:

²k'ua ²k'ua 'basket'; from k'uã k'uã (k'uaŋ k'uaŋ 筐筐)

²xua ²se 'peanut'; from xua sɛ (xua səŋ 花生)

³ɕua ³tsɿ 'brush'; from sua tsɿ (ɕua tsɿ 刷子)

²⁵ The transcription of the Chinese is based upon the dialect spoken by the Chinese with whom these Lolo are in contact. The Mandarin pronunciation is given in brackets.

(7) Other Dialects and Some Correspondences.

(i) Consonants and Vowels.

A. Labialized Velars and Voiceless Fricative Nasals.

76. The Hsiao-hei-ching dialect has a set of labialized velars and, like the dialects of Ta-t'un, Pai-mei, Ch'a-tsu, has no sounds like η , η , etc. In pronouncing the labialized velars, the stoppage of air-passage is made at two points of the speech organs: one by the back of tongue and the soft palate and another by the two lips. For instance, $k\omega$ can be acquired by pronouncing k and p at the same time, $\eta\omega$ by pronouncing m and η at the same time. These labialized velars only occur before the vowel u but are distinct from the ordinary velars before u . They correspond to the ordinary velars of other dialects. The voiceless fricative nasals of Pei-shan correspond to the ordinary voiced nasals of other dialects. Examples will be seen in the following table:

	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>
'to call out'	ku	k ω u	(ϵ -a)	xa	k'u
'to steal'	k'u	k ω 'u	k'y	k'u	k'u
'nine'	gu	g ω u	k+	k ω	k ω
'convex'	η gu	η g ω u	($t\epsilon$)		
'to weep'	i- η o	η wu	η	η ω	η ω
'to teach'	η a	ma	m ω a	mo	m ω
'nose'	η a-bi	na-bi	n ω x -k ω x	nu-pi	nu-ku
'to smell'	η ie	bo- η y		n ϵ	n ω -x ω

B. The Nasalized Plosives and Affricates.

77. The nasalized plosives and affricates of the Pei-shan and Hsiao-

	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>
'be satiated'	mbu	mbo	pu	pu	bu
'skin'	ndʒɿ	ndʒɿ	kə	dʒi	dʒi
'to rule'	ndʒj̄	ndzu	pa-dzə		kua ²⁶
'to drink'	ndɔ	ndo	da	do	dɔ
'wine'	ndzɿ	ndzɿ	tʂɿ	dʒɿ	dʒɿ- ϵ -p' ϵ
'level; flat'	ndjio	ndjio	p'i ²⁷	da	dɔ-dɔ
'to pull'	η gɔ	η gɔ	(sē)	tʂi ϵ	kɔ

²⁶ From Chinese 管 (Mand. guǎn).

²⁷ From Chinese 平 (Mand. píng).

hei-ching dialects correspond to the non-nasalized plosives and affricates (voiced or voiceless) or the Ta-t'un, Pai-mei, and Ch'a-tsu dialects. Nasalized plosives and affricates are also found in the dialects of Hê-chang (Kweichow) and Lu-ch'üan (Yunnan) but the voiced elements are replaced by their corresponding voiceless aspirated sounds in the Lu-ch'üan dialect; the speakers in Lu-ch'üan use, for example, **ntɕʰ** for 'wine' and **ŋkʰ** for 'to pull' (136).

78. Although the Moso language, which is very closely related to Lolo, also has nasalized plosives and affricates, except in a few words (such as **ŋgw**, which means 'to chew' in both languages), they correspond to the non-nasalized Lolo consonants; contrariwise, the Lolo nasalized plosives and affricates correspond to non-nasalized Moso consonants:

	<i>Lolo (Pei-shan)</i>	<i>Moso (Li-chiang)</i>
'mountain'	bo	mbo ('slope')
'to run'	po	mba
'bridge'	dzø	ndzɔ
'to fly'	djie	ndzi
'to eat'	dzu	ndzɿ
'to ride'	dzɿ	ndzɑ
'to have'	djio	ndjy
'nine'	gu	ŋgu
'to drink'	ndo	tʰ
'skin'	ndʒɿ	ɣw
'to rule'	ndzʰ	ga
'level; flat'	ndjio	dy
'wine'	ndzɿ	ʒ
'buckwheat'	ŋgw	ɛ-gw

C. The Palato-alveolars of the Pei-shan Dialect.

79. The palato-alveolars of the Pei-shan dialect correspond to the dentals of the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect and the velars or palatals of some other dialects and Moso. Examples are given in the following table:

	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Moso</i>
'star'	ᵿ-ᵿᵿ	ᵿ-tᵿᵿ	tᵿᵿ-mᵿ	tᵿᵿie.ɿ ²⁸	kᵿ; kᵿ	kw
'dog'	ᵿᵿ	tᵿᵿ	tᵿᵿ	tᵿᵿ	(a-nw)	k'w
'brass'	dᵿᵿ	dᵿᵿ	(t'ᵿ) ²⁹	dᵿi	(t'ᵿ) ²⁹	ɿɿ ²⁸
'skin'	ndᵿᵿ	ndᵿᵿ	kᵿ	dᵿi	dᵿi	ᵿw
'wife'	ᵿᵿ-mᵿ	sᵿᵿ-mᵿ	ᵿ-ga-mᵿ	tᵿᵿ-ma	ᵿi-mᵿ	(ni-nv)
'water'	ᵿ	ᵿ	ᵿi	ᵿia	a-dᵿie	dᵿi

80. The palato-alveolars of the Pei-shan dialect, in my opinion, were originally velars. While travelling in the Ta-liang Mountains I gathered two interesting phonetic variations of these six words in two villages along the main road from Hsi-ch'ang to Chao-chüeh (on the borderline of the Shih-ndha and So-ndi dialects). These are:

	<i>Szü-k'ai-pa-tzŭ</i>	<i>at the foot of Lo-no-tᵿᵿ-ho</i>
'star'	ᵿ-kᵿ	ᵿ-kᵿ
'dog'	k'ᵿ	k'ᵿ
'brass'	ᵿᵿ	ᵿᵿ
'skin'	ᵿᵿᵿ	ᵿᵿᵿ
'wife'	xᵿ	xᵿ
'water'	ᵿᵿ	ᵿᵿ

These phonetic variations throw a new light on the process of the change from velars to palato-alveolars. Let us take the Lolo word for 'dog' as an example:

Ancient

<i>Pronunciation</i>	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un & Pai-mei</i>
k'ᵿi ³⁰	k'ᵿ > ᵿᵿ	k'ᵿ > tᵿᵿ	tᵿᵿ

D. The Apico-prepalatal Plosives.

81. In the Hê-chang dialect there are apico-prepalatal plosives besides their corresponding affricates (tᵿ, tᵿ', dz, etc.). These plosives generally correspond to the palatal affricates of many other dialects. The following are some corresponding words of the Hê-chang and the Pei-shan dialects:

²⁸ ɿ is used to indicate the retroflexed tongue position of the vowel preceding it.

²⁹ From Chinese 銅 (Mand. tóng).

³⁰ Compare Tibetan k'ji (Z, p. 134), Burmese k'we (17, p. 217), and Kachin gwi (92, p. 76).

	<i>Hê-chang (Kweichow)</i>	<i>Pei-shan (Sikang)</i>
'to change; to turn into'	tʰe	tʰio
'silver; white'	tʰu	tʰy
'to fall (from a height)'	dɔ	djie
'bee'	du	djie
'to fly'	ɖu	djie

In the Lolo text from Lu-ch'üan (Yunnan) studied by Mr. H. L. Ma (136), there are also some words containing apico-palatal plosives which again correspond to the palatal affricates of the Pei-shan dialect.

E. Final Nasal Consonants.

82. In most dialects about which we have information there are no final consonants, that is, it is always a vowel sound or a syllabic consonant which ends a syllable. But in some dialects, like those of Ta-t'un, Pei-mei, Ch'a-tsu, syllables are found which end in **n** or **ŋ** or in nasalized vowels. In the following table we shall see some examples of them with their corresponding words in Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching. I also include Written Tibetan synonyms, some of which may be cognate with the Lolo words.

	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Tibetan</i>
'house'	i	ʂɿ	hě	hě	xě	k'aŋ-pa
'foolish'	dø	dy			çin	glem-pa
'rye'	zu	zu	zɯŋ			
'wheat'	ʂa	ʂa	ʂuŋ	ʂɯ	ʂo	gro
'tooth'	dʒɿ	dʒɿ	dzě	djie	sə	tʰems
'city'	lu	lu	lã	djie		groŋ-k'jer
'bean'	nɔ	nɔ	a-nɔ	noŋ	no-pu	sran-ma

We may assume that in an earlier stage of the Lolo language there were final nasals, which in later days have been dropped in many dialects, at times leaving a trace on the vowel sounds preceding them. We have seen (§ 40) that in the 9th century the Lolo language had a final nasal consonant in the word for 'city' (luŋ).

F. Length of Vowels.

83. In most Lolo dialects vowel length is not distinctive in differentiating the meaning of words. The A-hi and Lolop'o dialect, according to Liétard, distinguish short and long vowels:

<i>Ahi (122, p. 286)</i>		<i>Lolop'o (127, p.197)</i>	
<i>short</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>long</i>
a	a:	a	a:
i	i:	i	i:
o	o:	o	o:
		e	e:

In the Pai-mei dialect a long **i** is used only in the word denoting a place which is further away from the speaker. This dialect, thus, has three demonstrative pronouns for three different distances from the speaker:

<i>this</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>yon (yonder)</i>
¹a ³kw	²ni ³kw	²ni: ³kw

G. Vowel Shifts.

84. The important vowel shifts which I want to point out are connected with the apico-alveolar and dental consonants.

(a) Where Pei-shan has **o** after the apico-alveolar consonants, Pai-mei has **ɑ**,³¹ Hsiao-hei-ching has **ɛ**, Ch'a-tsu has **ie**, and Ta-t'un has **ie**. For example:

	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>
'embrace'	to	tɑ	tɛ	die	die
'sharp'	t'o	t'ɑ	t'ɛ	t'ie	t'ie
'black'	no	nɑ	nɛ	nie	nie
'hand'	lo	lɑ	li	lie	lie

The above vowel shift is very regular, except that the Hsiao-hei-ching word for 'hand' is **li** instead of **ie**.

(b) Where Pei-shan and Ch'a-tsu have **ɔ** after apico-alveolar or dental consonants, Hsiao-hei-ching and Pai-mei have **o**, and Ta-t'un has **ɑ**:

³¹ Pai-mei and Ta-t'un distinguish **a** (as in French *patte*) from **ɑ** (as in French *pas*).

	<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>
'person'	ts'ɔ	tʃ'o	ts'o	ts'ɔ	ts'a
'to drink'	ndɔ	do	ndo	dɔ	da
'three'	sɔ	so	so	sɔ	sa

(ii) *Tones*A. *Number of Tones.*

85. The Hsiao-hei-ching and Ta-t'un dialects, like the Pei-shan dialect, distinguish three tones, but other dialects distinguish four, five, or even six:

<i>Dialects</i>	<i>Number of Tones</i>
Pei-shan	3
Hsiao-hei-ching	3
Ta-t'un	3
Lu-ch'üan	4
Ch'a-tsu	5
Gni (Lu-nan)	5 (188, p. 8)
A-hi (Lu-nan)	5 (122, p. 126)
Lolop'o (Chu-k'u-la)	5 (127, p. 199)
Pai-mei	6
Li-su (T'êng-ch'ung)	6 (136, p. 579)

B. *The Values of the Tones.*

86. In describing the values of the tones we may use Dr. Y. R. Chao's tone-letters.³² He employs a vertical line, on the left-hand side of which he places strokes indicating both the pitch of the tone and the way it is sounded. The strokes are so placed that we may see the pitch of the tone according to how and where they touch the vertical line. Thus, a stroke at its base shows the lowest tone, and one touching the top, the highest; a stroke from a point rising at an angle to touch the vertical line shows a rising tone; and so on. In the following diagrams I show how the five pitches of tones are scaled out on the vertical line and provide examples of how the tones are indicated.

³² "A system of tone letters," *Le maître phonétique* (1930), p. 24.

Scale	Examples
5 high	⌈ 55—high-level
4 half-high	┆ 33—mid-level
3 middle	┆ 11—low-level
2 half-low	∨ 51—high-falling
1 low	∨ 214—low-dipping

The three tones of the Pei-shan dialect are to be represented by the tone-letters as follows:

- (1) 55 ⌈
 (2) 33 ┆
 (3) 31 ∨

87. The following are descriptions of the value of the tones of some other dialects. For simplicity, I give only the Arabic numerals and use their corresponding graphs only where necessary.

(a) *Hsiao-hei-ching dialect.*

The values of the three tones of the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect are the same as those of the Pei-shan dialect.

(b) *Ta-t'un dialect.*

This dialect has three tones, viz.:

- (1) 55 η^{55} 'earth; green; to see'
 (2) 33 η^{33} 'short; ox'
 (3) 51 η^{51} 'two; date; to sit'

When syllables are spoken in succession, the value of some tones is changed. The following rules are to be observed:

- (i) 51 + 55 → 31 + 55

be^{51} 'mountain, hill'

$be^{51} tie^{55}$ → $be^{31} tie^{55}$ 'peak (of mountain)'

ti^{51} 'one'

$ts'a^{55} ti^{51} t'a^{55}$ → $ts'a^{55} ti^{31} t'a^{55}$ 'a person; a man'.

- (ii) 55 + 51 → 55 + 31

η^{51} 'to sit'

$a^{55} \eta^{51}$ → $a^{55} \eta^{31}$ 'sit down'.

There are two other sandhi rules which occur only in compound words:

- (i) 33 + 55 → 35 + 55

$s\eta^{33}$ 'wood'

$s\eta^{33} dz\tilde{e}^{55}$ → $s\eta^{35} dz\tilde{e}^{55}$ 'tree'

(ii) 51 + 51 → 31 + 51

ɸ⁵¹ 'two'ɸ⁵¹ ɔ⁵¹ → ɸ³¹ ɔ⁵¹ 'February'(c) *Ch'a-tsu dialect.*

This dialect has five tones, viz.:

(1) 55	mɔ ⁵⁵	'to teach; to see'
	lɿ ⁵⁵	'to fry'
	xē ⁵⁵	'rat'
(2) 33	mɔ ³³	'bamboo'
	xē ³³	'house'
(3) 31	mɔ ³¹	'old; not'
(4) 51	xē ⁵¹	'eight; to stand'
(5) 15	lɿ ¹⁵	'blue'

Tone sandhi. In the case of compound words there is a tendency indicated by the following formula:

55 + 55 or 33 → 55 + 31

ti⁵⁵ sɔ⁵⁵ → ti⁵⁵ sɔ³¹ 'third'sɔ⁵⁵ tɕⁱ33 → sɔ⁵⁵ tɕⁱ31 'thirty'(d) *Pai-mei dialect.*

This dialect has six tones, viz.:

(1) 55	fɿ ⁵⁵	'wood; to sweep'		
(2) 33	fɿ ³³	'other people; to die'	niē ³³	'frost'
(3) 31			niē ³¹	'to be'
(4) 51	fɿ ⁵¹	'seed'	niē ⁵¹	'fog; soil; mud'
(5) 214	fɿ ²¹⁴	'thirsty; new'		
(6) 11	fɿ ¹¹	'blood; seven; grass; written characters'	niē ¹¹	'and; to steam'

The tones 55, 33, 11 are in fact higher pitched. They should have been indicated as 66, 44, 33 respectively, but Dr. Chao's system does not allow such an indication as 66.

There is no regular tone sandhi in this dialect.

(e) *Other dialects.*

The Lu-ch'üan dialect has four tones which are transcribed by Mr. H. L. Ma as 55, 33, 22, 42 (the latter is short and ends with a glottal stop) (136, p. 579). For the tone-values of Gni, A-hi, Lolop'o, and Li-su the reader is asked to refer to the works by various authors. Their descriptions of tone-values are so vague that it is impossible for me to transcribe them with the tone-letters.³³

C. **Distribution and Correspondences of the Tones in the Various Dialects.**

88. It may be interesting to notice that in the Lolo dialects of Ch'a-tsu and Pai-mei words containing initial voiced plosives (e.g., **b, d, g**) or affricates (e.g., **dz, dʒ, dj**) never occur with the high-level tone; but this rule does not apply to the dialects of Pei-shan, Hsiao-hei-ching, or Ta-t'un.

89. Although these five dialects all have the high-level and mid-level tones, we must notice that they do not often correspond to each other. For instance, a word possessing the high-level tone in one dialect may have low-falling in another. On the following page is a table showing the correspondences; when several tones are given together, they are arranged according to the frequency of the correspondence. In this table we see, for example, that tone 55 of the Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching dialects corresponds generally to tone 31 of the Ch'a-tsu dialect, to tone 214 of the Pai-mei dialect, and to tone 51 of the Ta-t'un dialect.

<i>Pei-shan</i>	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>
55	55	31, 55, 51	214, 51, 11	51, 55
33	33, 55	31, 55, 33, 15	31, 33, 55, 11	55, 51, 33
31	31	31, 33, 55	31, 11, 51, 33	51, 55

³³ When I quote from other authors, I leave out the marks of the tones. The tones of the five dialects I have studied at first hand are indicated by Arabic numerals put at the left-hand top corner of the syllable. The relation between the numbers and the tone-values are shown in the following table:

<i>Number</i>	<i>Pei-shan & Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>
1	55	55	55	55
2	33	33	33	33
3	31		31	31
4		51	51	51
5			15	214
6				11

CHAPTER III

THE WRITTEN CHARACTERS

90. The Lolo peoples have a kind of script of their own. I shall discuss it under the topics (1) direction of writing, (2) the origin of the script, (3) the relation between the Lolo and other scripts, (4) the construction of the characters, (5) the relation between the written characters and the spoken words, and (6) punctuation and signs of repetition. Before I go into detail it may be useful to say something about the script in general.

91. The script is now used among the Lolo tribes living in Sikang, Szechwan, north-western Kweichow, and the north-eastern and south-western parts of Yunnan and in a few villages near Pufang in Annam.³⁴ It is not known to those living in Burma, Cambodia, or many other parts of Yunnan (for instance, Jung-jên, Chên-nan, Pin-ch'uan).

92. The characters, like those of the Chinese, are of uniform size. In Sikang and Szechwan a character is generally greater in height than in breadth. In Yunnan and Kweichow it tends to form a square. The pen with which the Lolo write is made of bamboo. It is about four to five inches long and about three-tenths of an inch broad, with a pointed end split into two sections. Some Lolos have adopted the Chinese hair brush. They do not make ink and paper. Chinese black ink and yellow paper are used. Characters in red ink are occasionally found in their manuscripts.

(1) Direction of Writing.

93. The direction of Lolo writing varies from region to region. Generally speaking, in Sikang and Szechwan³⁵ the Lolo writing proceeds along a horizontal line and from right to left; in Yunnan and Kweichow it is read in vertical columns and from left to right as in the Szü-mao (91, p. 99) and Lu-nan (184, p. 18) districts of Yunnan, or sometimes from right to left, under the influence of Chinese writing.

³⁴ Some Lolo manuscripts have been found near Pufang, Annam. See 111, p. 251.

³⁵ According to Dr. Chungshee Hsien Liu (130, pp. 235-237), a Lolo manuscript from Ma-pien district of Szechwan is read in vertical columns and from left to right. But I think that the page he reproduces in this article should be turned upside down and read horizontally from right to left.

	Sikang & Szechwan	Kweichow		Yunnan	
		Hê-chang (2)	Ta-ting (177)	Lu-ch'üan (136)	Lu-nan (188)
'head'	ㄅ, ㄅ, ㄅ	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉
'hand'	𠃉	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'mountain'	𠃉, 𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'person'	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'water'	𠃉, 𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'door'	𠃉 'to pass'	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'silver, white'	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'snake'	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'one'	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'two'	𠃉, 𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'ten'	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'wood, to know'	𠃉, 𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'to rule'	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉
'to come'	𠃉, 𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉	𠃉

On account of these divergences Sikang and Szechwan characters are generally turned round and written sideways when they are used in the writing of Yunnan and Kweichow and vice-versa. In the table on the facing page the reader will find examples of this.

94. With regard to the origin of these two directions of writing, D'Ollone suggested in 1912 that the horizontal was earlier than the vertical one. He gave two reasons in support of his suggestion (144, p. 15). (a) The Lolos know, besides their own writing, only Chinese writing which is vertical. If the original was vertical, nothing could have made them change it into a horizontal type. (b) At the present time only the independent Lolos use the horizontal type and all the Lolos who have been under Chinese authority employ the vertical type. It is therefore quite natural that they originally wrote along a horizontal line and in some regions they have adopted a vertical form in imitation of the Chinese writing.

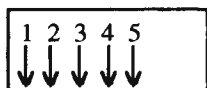
95. My opinion is the very opposite of D'Ollone's. I approach the matter from an analysis of the construction of the written characters. The Lolo writing was ideographic although it is now used phonetically. A detailed account will be given in §§ 100-102 and the examples in the next table may suffice for the present.

It is very obvious that the vertical form was first universally used by the Lolos, and in later days the Lolos in Sikang and Szechwan have adopted the horizontal type. What has made them adopt this different type? My answer to this question is that this was due to a change in writing-materials. Before the Lolos could get hold of Chinese paper, their characters must have been written or carved on hard objects such as animal bones or wooden boards. When they began to use Chinese writing paper they bound a number of sheets into books by fastening some sheets together on the left-hand side margin by a bamboo stick slightly longer than the book so as to protrude beyond its edges. The horizontal dimension of the book is about two or three times greater than the vertical. The shamans generally hold the books up when chanting, and, paper being soft, they found it cumbersome to turn over the pages while reading. In Sikang and Szechwan a solution was found by turning the books round so as to let the pages hang downwards with the bamboo fastener running along on top. In this manner, they could turn the pages over the top with ease. But with this the manner of the reading was also changed. Whereas they read downwards before, they now read from right to left. In Yunnan and Kweichow, they solved their difficulty by altering the size of the paper, i.e. reducing the horizontal dimension. The diagrams (below, p. 79) will make my statement clearer.

Meaning	Characters of horizontal type	Characters of vertical type	
'person'	人, 亻	人, 亻, 𠂇, 𠂇	(a human figure)
'head'	头, 头	头, 头, 头, 𠂇	(a human head on the body)
'food'	食	食	(some food in a bowl)
'left'	左	左	(a human figure with the left hand out)
'right'	右	右	(a human figure with the right hand out)

I do not deny that we can still find in Yunnan and Kweichow some manuscripts which are in the shape of a square or are slightly greater in breadth than in height, but I have not seen any manuscripts in these two provinces similar to those of Sikang and Szechwan.

Former form

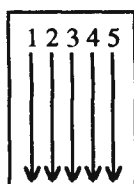


Present-day forms

Sikang & Szechwan



Yunnan & Kweichow



(2) The Origin of the Script.

96. For the origin of the Lolo writing, there have been two different theories. (See the appendix for the syllabary.)

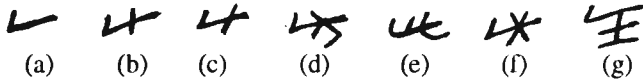
(a) *Ideographic*. Baber first proposed this theory in 1882 (4, p. 126) but he did not give any evidence to support it. It was Vial who first tried to prove this theory. In his *De la langue et de l'écriture indigènes au Yunnan* (184, p. 15, 1890), he gave 48 written characters (used in Lu-nan) which he thought to be ideographic. Eight years later, in his *Les Lolos: histoire, religion, mœurs, langue, écriture* (187, p. 39), he presented 45 characters, most of which are the same as those given in his former work. D'Orléans (145, p. 615), Henry (91, p. 99) and Shirokogoroff (163, p. 185) all agreed with Vial.

(b) *Phonetic*. This theory was held by Prof. Lacouperie. In 1882 he produced an article with the title "On a Lolo MS. written on satin" (106) in which he suggested that the Lolo writing was alphabetic, and said that the number of whole letters seemed to be under thirty (106, p. 122). This theory is interesting but fallacious. He based it upon a bilingual text, another 21 Lolo characters and a short vocabulary which were all published by Baber (4, pp. 126-127). These materials have the following defects:

(1) The Chinese characters in the bilingual text are not adequate to represent the Lolo sounds. Lacouperie was wrong in thinking that all the Chinese characters in this text have phonetic value. In fact, some Chinese characters are used to indicate the meaning of the Lolo characters, "黑", "松", "金", "去", for example, have nothing to do with the sounds of their corresponding Lolo characters.

- (2) Many of Baber's phonetic transcriptions for the Lolo words are not accurate (see § 45).

Moreover Lacouperie's deductions show a certain prejudice. Why does the stroke (a) below in characters like (b), (c) [*sic*], and (d) below indicate the sound **t**, but in characters like (e), (f), and (g) below indicate other sounds?



If we observe the characters used in Hê-chang (Kweichow) which is not far from the area where Baber obtained the materials, we find that the stroke (a) above occurs in characters containing the following 21 consonants: **p', b, m, v, dz, s, t', d, nd, n, l, nd, tɕ, dz, tɕ, dj, k', g, ŋg, ɣ, h**. I agree with Vial's theory and shall give a detailed account when I come to discuss the construction of the Lolo characters (§§ 100-107).

(3) The Relation between the Lolo and Other Scripts.

97. Prof. Lacouperie suggested in 1882 (106, p. 123) that the Lolo writing has an extraordinary resemblance to the Rejang, affinities with the 'Indo-Pali' and the Chinese ancient writing ('Hsiao-chuan') and was intimately connected with the legend of a stone seal found at Harappa, near Lahore (the only example then known of the Indus script). His evidence does not bear out any of his statements.

98. H. Clarke in 1882 (31, p. 370) made a comparison between some of the Lolo characters and the Vei characters. He believed that the Lolo and Vei writings were connected. The Vei language is now spoken, side by side with English, in the Republic of Liberia in West Africa. The Vei writing is generally described as of modern invention but Clarke maintained that it is an ancient syllabary. Clarke gave a list containing 26 Lolo characters with the same number of Vei characters to show their resemblances (31, p. 370). A week after Clarke published his article, Lacouperie produced an article (107, p. 403) in which he objected to Clarke's suggestion, which hardly needs to be refuted in detail.

99. In my opinion Lolo writing has nothing to do with ancient Chinese writing, though we can find among the Lolo characters (especially those used in Yunnan) a number of Chinese loan-characters taken from the Chinese *kai shu*, such as 王 (uaŋ) and 下 (çia).³⁶ The existence of some Chinese characters among the Lolo graphs is no proof that the Lolo writing has descended from the Chinese. Because we have not been able to find any

³⁶ These two characters are found in the list of Lolo characters published by Bourne (16, facing p. 20).

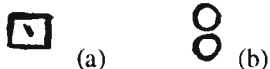
reliable affinities between the Lolo and other scripts, I venture to maintain that the Lolo writing, as a whole, is independent of any other scripts both in origin and in development.

(4) The Construction of the Lolo Characters.

100. The Lolo script is of ideographic origin. (See the appendix for a list of the Lolo characters.) Many characters were abbreviated and reduced to such a degree that they have lost all likeness to the original forms from which they were derived but, if we make a comparative study of the different forms of the same characters in different regions, the principles of the construction of characters can still be traced. Before proceeding to the classification of Lolo characters the following two points may be noted:

(a) Because of the change in direction of writing in Sikang and Szechwan, when reading the characters of these two regions the reader should, except for a few characters, turn the paper to the left at right angles (see § 93).

(b) Although all the Lolo characters have a monosyllabic pronunciation and most were formed to express meanings which are represented by mono-syllabic words, some characters were built as if to express meanings which are represented by disyllabic words or even phrases but they actually represent the sound of only one syllable of the compound. Thus, (a) below is a picture of a city-wall and its pronunciation ²lu signifies 'city-wall'; (b) below is a picture of a pair of bracelets but is read (though the spoken word for 'bracelets' is ¹lo ³gu) only gu, and used for the meanings 'to paddle', 'to sew', 'to return (a thing)', or 'nine' according to its tone.



101. According to the relation between the construction and the meaning of the Lolo characters, the Lolo characters may be classified into two principal groups,³⁷ shown in the following tables.

(a) *Pictographic characters.* A character of this group is a sketch of the object it depicts.

(b) *Symbolic characters.* This group of characters can be subdivided into two classes: the simple and the compound. In characters of the former class the meaning is suggested merely by a sketch of some concrete thing or other diagram while a character of the latter class is a sketch of some concrete object (which may be character itself) with other mark or marks added to indicate a particular aspect of the object.






³⁷ Examples of Hê-chang are from 2; those of Ta-ting from 177; those of Lu-nan from 188, and those of Lu-ch'üan from 136.

(a) *Pictographic characters.*

	H.	T.	Lc.	L.	S. & Sz.
'man, person'	 ts'ɔ		 ts'ɔ	 ts'ɔ	 ts'ɔ
'snake'	 (by) ʒɛ	 ʒa	 ʒɔ	 ʒɛ (p'ɛ)	 (² bu) ʒɹ
'egg'		 t'ə	[none given] lu	 ɬa	 ² tɕ'ie
'wing'	 du	 dɔ̄		 du	 ³ du
	 (p'u) ɲɔ		 ɲɛ		 (² p'u) ² ɲio
'land' ³⁸	 p'u (ɲɔ)	[none given] p'u		 p'u 'to open'	 ² p'u (² ɲio)

³⁸ The curves in these characters indicate the undulating character of the land.

(b) *Symbolic characters.*(i) *Simple symbolic characters.*

	<i>H.</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>Lc.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>S. & Sz.</i>
'shaman, to chant'	 pu	 pe	 pe	 pi	 ²pi

The character is a sketch of the tree-branch used by the shaman during a religious ceremony.


'to divine'	 p'a	 ³p'a
-------------	--	---

The character is a drawing of the scapula of a sheep. The dot indicates the burns, and the cross the cracks.

'to roll up'	 le	 le	 ʔ
--------------	---	---	--

'to surround'	 , 	 ³tso
---------------	---	--

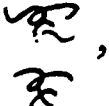
tʂyʉ
'to gather together'

'to do'	 tsyʉ
---------	---

This character was built as if to express the meaning of the phrase "pə-tʂyʉ-tʂə-tʂyʉ," which means 'to do it again and again', literally, 'repeat, do, turn, do', but in fact it is used only for the sound tʂyʉ.

(ii) Compound symbolic characters.

H.	T.	Lc.	L.	S. & S _c .
		nt'd		ndɔ
This is a drawing of a pipe with the dots representing some liquid.				



'to overflow'	he	This character is composed of 'water' and or expressing the idea of 'over-flowing'.		
---------------	----	--	--	--

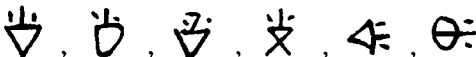
'plain'	ndi	di (or probably ndi)	nt'e	³ ndi

This character is composed of the character for 'land' and a dot indicating the flat parts of the land.

'middle'	dzɔ	dzɛ̃	dzɛ	tʂɔ 'to have'	dzɔ
This character is composed of the character for 'land' and one or two strokes indicating the middle part of the land.					


'to think of, to love'	ndju		ga	ngu (S.)

This character contains an abbreviated sketch of a heart which is written



in different regions, and the strokes signify the idea of 'thinking'.



102. In the Chinese script there are many characters whose meaning derives from the combination of the meanings of their components which can stand alone as separate characters. This method is not generally used in the making of the Lolo characters. However, I have found two Lolo characters of this kind in Hê-chang, Kweichow. They are

'pond, pool, lake'  xyu

The character is composed of (a) below (a reduced form of [b] below, also meaning 'pond, pool, lake'), and (c) below, the character for 'water'.

 (a)  (b)  (c)

'blind'  dji

This is composed of , meaning 'black', and , meaning 'to close'.

The majority of the Chinese characters are composed of a 'signific' which suggests the meaning and a 'phonetic' which represents a sound identical or very similar to the resultant character. There are no Lolo characters of this kind.

(5) The Relation between the Written Characters and the Spoken Words.

103. The Lolo characters, as we have seen in §§ 94-96 and 101, are no doubt of ideographic origin. No phonetic alphabet is used. A character contains no element which represents the sound of the character. When the characters first came into use, the form of each character resembled or suggested the meaning of the word it represented. In later times the ideographs have become symbols that conventionally represent only sounds. Even the Lolo shamans who teach the script cannot tell us or have not bothered to learn the original meaning and construction of their characters. They merely know that each character represents one syllable, and which character represents which syllable.

104. Although all the characters represent a single syllable only, there are many Lolo spoken words which are composed of two or more syllables. Thus, to represent a disyllabic word, two characters should be used. The distance between one character and another is, except where rhythmical marks

occur (see § 106), approximately the same. No signs are used to demarcate one word from another. It is only the context that helps the reader to know which two or more characters represent one spoken word. The following is one sentence of the Pei-shan dialect as represented by the written characters (read from right to left):

² djio	² i o	² sɔ	² po	³ tɕ'io	² ma
have	NUM	threefriend.....		NUM

³ tsɿ	² ts'o	² tu	³ a	¹ mo	³ sø	³ e
one	manancient time.....				

This sentence means 'In ancient times there was a man who had three friends.'
³e ³sø ¹mo ³a ²tu 'ancient time' is one word represented by five characters and ²po ³tɕ'io 'friend' is another represented by two.

Although there are some characters which represent one single sound (syllabic consonant or vowel), no two characters can be used to represent one syllable. For example, (a) below represents *i* and (b) below represents *a*; when (a) is written before (b) they represent *i* and *a* but not *ia*, for which there is a special character, (c) below.

(a)	(b)	(c)

105. There are 291 different syllables in the Pei-shan dialect area. If we count tonal differences the number amounts to 539. Since the Lolo generally do not strictly observe tonal differences in their writing, and sometimes use the same characters to write slightly different syllables, only 253 characters are commonly used. The following list contains all the characters with their corresponding syllables. There are 1058 different written forms altogether, but only 559 separate characters can be distinguished. Thus for the syllable *pi*, there are 46 different written forms but they represent only 15 different characters. The order of different characters for the same syllable and that of different forms of the same character are arranged according to the approximate frequency of their use in the area of the Shih-ndha dialect. Different forms of the same characters are separated from each other by

commas; different characters by semi-colons. The syllables are arranged according to the following order:

Consonants

p	p'	b	mb	ɱ	m	f	v		
ts	ts'	dz	ndz			s	z		
t	t'	d	nd	ɸ	n	ʈ	ɭ		
tʂ	tʂ'	dʒ	ndʒ			ʂ	ʐ		
tʃ	tʃ'	dʒ	ndʒ			f	ʒ		
tɕ	tɕ'	dj	ndj	ɲ	ɲ	ç			
k	k'	g	ɣg		ɣ	x	ɣ	h	

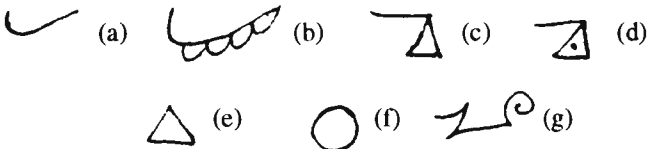
Vowels

ɨ	ï	ɯ	ï	ɨ	u	
i	y		ɤ	ɯ	u	
e	ø				o	
ɛ					ɔ	
			a			
ie					io	
iɛ					iɔ	
			ia			

(6) Punctuation Marks and Signs of Repetition.

A. Punctuation Marks.

106. The Lolos use a special sign to mark a pause in their expressions. It is used wherever there is a pause, whether at the end of a sentence or within. I shall call this a 'rhythmical mark'. In Sikang and Szechwan this mark is (a) (below); it is often written as (b) (below) at the end of a paragraph, and the next paragraph generally begins immediately after it. In the Szŭ-mao district of Yunnan (c), (d), (e), or (f) are used. In the Hê-chang district of Kweichow (g) is used, generally at the end of a sentence.



In all the different regions a small circle “.” can be used in place of the marks mentioned above. Sometimes, however, punctuation is not used at all. In such cases the rhythmical groups are either not distinguished or distinguished by leaving blank spaces. The diagrams on the next page (p. 89) will illustrate how the rhythmical groups are distinguished.

- Key:
- represents a character;
 - represents a character after which there is a pause;
 - represents a character at the end of a sentence.

B. Signs of Repetition.

107. In Sikang and Szechwan three signs are used to mark repetition. The Yi character (a) or (b) below marks the repetition of the character to its right and (c) marks repetition of the character immediately above it. In Yunnan and Kweichow the sign (c) is not used. The sign (a) becomes (d) and marks the repetition of the character preceding it in the line.

ㄨ
(a)

ㄩ
(b)

||
(c)

:<
(d)

The use of these signs will become clear from the diagrams on page 90.

Sikang and Szechwan

					e	d	c	b	a
				e =	g	ll	b	ㄨ	e
g	d	b	e						

←

Yunnan and Kweichow

↓	a	e		a	e
	b	ㄨ		b	e
	c	b	=	c	b
	d	g		d	g
	e	h		e	h

CHAPTER IV PARTS OF SPEECH

Introductory Remarks.

108. Most Lolo words consists of one or two syllables only. Words of more than two syllables are usually compounds. Mood, aspect, and tense of the verb; case of the substantive and pronoun; and number of the pronoun may be expressed by means of particles or by other grammatical devices. The words themselves do not vary in their phonetic structure whatever their syntactical function may be, with the exception of changes affecting:

- (a) the three personal pronouns in order to express number, and the pronoun of the second person in order to express case;
- (b) verbs, adjectives or adverbs reduplicating one syllable in interrogation;
- (c) a few exceptional words, e.g., ¹*ndu* 'to strike' (§ 203), ²*kw* (§ 215).

Agreement of words in person, number, gender, etc., does not exist in Lolo. Generally speaking, the position of words in sentences is fixed. The following rules may be mentioned here in order to help the reader to understand the examples given in this chapter:

- (a) The subject precedes the predicate;
- (b) The object precedes its verb;
- (c) Adnominal attributes (qualifying adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, numerals and numeratives) follow the substantive, with the exception of possessive pronouns and genitive attributes which precede it.³⁹

109. Western scholars like P. Vial and A. Liétard have taken for granted that all the parts of speech of traditional European grammar can be applied to Lolo. This is, however, by no means the case. I shall assign the Lolo words to eight classes in accordance with their function and form.

(1) Substantives.

A. Characteristics.

110. A substantive⁴⁰ is often used with and can be used without a numerative. When it is not followed by a numerative, it is used in a generic

³⁹ Adverbs and indefinite and interrogative pronouns may precede or follow the word qualified.

⁴⁰ In Lolo, so-called proper, abstract, collective and material nouns are not grammatically distinguished from common nouns.

sense. When it is followed by a numerative, a specific sense is implied.⁴¹ Compare the following three examples:

²ts'ɔ̄ ²nu ²za ʔhɔ̄. ¹la ³mo ²nu ²za ʔk'ɔ̄.
 man SP clever. tiger SP brave
 'Man is clever. The tiger is brave.'

²ts'ɔ̄ ²ma ²bo ʔo.
 man NUM go PP
 'A man has gone.'

³mbo ²ma ²bo ʔo.
 good NUM go PP
 'A good one has gone.'

No numerative is used with the two substantives in the first example. In the second example the numerative ²ma follows the substantive ²ts'ɔ̄ and in the third it follows the adjective ³mbo whose function is substantival here.

B. Numerative Adjuncts.

111. All substantives fall into two classes; the first takes the general numerative ²ma and the second takes special numeratives. The numerative ²ma is used with nearly half of all the substantives in the language, like those denoting the names of human beings, animals, birds, insects (except those denoting the cow, the snake, and the dragon), as well as things of round, oval, or square shape. Each of the other numeratives is used with a much smaller number of words; for example, ²tɕie is used only with substantives denoting the names of things which are long in shape, like the words for *street*, *thread*, *needle*, *pen*, *snake*; ²k'ɛ is used only for the word meaning 'village'. Here are some examples:

- (a) Substantives used with the numerative ²ma:⁴²
²no ²su 'Lolo'; ³he ²ŋga 'Chinese'; ²bo 'mountain, hill';
²e ²tɕie 'head'; ²zu 'son'; ²ŋ 'horse'; ²vo 'pig'; ²va 'fowl
 (cock or hen)'; ²ha ²tsɿ 'sparrow'; ³bu ³ɿ 'butterfly'; ¹bu ³y
 'ant'; ¹pa ³le 'chestnut'; ³sɿ ¹nda 'pear'; ²tɕa ²o ²pa 'brick';
³tɕie 'egg'.
- (b) Substantives used with other numeratives:
²hu 'fish' and ²se ²ndzø 'thread' take the numerative ²tɕie.
³e ²k'ɔ̄ 'door' and ³fɿ ²t'i 'hanging screen' take the

⁴¹ For case and case-particles, see §§ 442-459.

⁴² The numerative ²ma is not interchangeable with the other numeratives.

numerative ²bu. ¹ve ³ga 'clothes' and ¹ta 'trousers' take the numerative ²gu.

C. Particles Used in Direct Address.

112. When addressing one's younger brothers, younger sisters, or any members of the younger generation, one uses their ordinary names⁴³; when addressing one's elder brothers and sisters, friends, or strangers, one uses their honorific names. One should also call one's younger cousins by their honorific names if their father is the eldest brother of one's own father. When a Lolo addresses his uncle on the father's side he uses his honorific name but replaces the first syllable of the name by a vocative particle ³a; in the case of uncles on the mother's side the first syllable of their honorific names is replaced by ³ma or ³o; in the case of aunts the syllable is replaced by ³ba. Thus, if the honorific name of one's uncle on the father's side is ³ŋ ¹ka, one generally addresses him by ³a ¹ka. In a few places in the So-ndi area the first syllable of the honorific names is not suppressed when these vocative particles are added.

The **a** preceding the words for 'father', 'mother', 'grandfather', 'grandmother' and some other kinship terms is probably also of vocative origin. The distinction between the vocative and non-vocative forms of these terms still exists in the Pai-mei, Ch'a-tsu and Hsiao-hei-ching dialects. Compare the forms in the table on the next page.

It is to be noted that the vocative particles are used in these dialects only for relatives of the older generation. This shows that they may also have an honorific value.

D. Gender.

113. No grammatical gender is expressed in Lolo. The sex of relatives is generally shown by using different words and that of other animate objects by adding to the common word other words meaning 'male' or 'female'. I shall now consider the two under separate headings.

(a) Kinship terms.

114. The kinship terms are of two kinds according to whether the sex of the speaker is observed or not. On the one hand, in addressing members of an older or younger generation the sex of the speaker does not require the use of different terms; for instance, a son and a daughter call their father by one

⁴³ Every Lolo in Sikang has two names besides his or her surname: one is ²ŋi 'the ordinary name' and the other ²ŋi ²dzo 'the honorific name'.

		<i>Pai-meï</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Hsiao- hei- ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Pei- shan</i>
'father'	<i>vocative</i>	² a ³ pu	³ a ² bɔ	¹ a ¹ ta	³ a ¹ ti	¹ a ¹ ta
	<i>non- vocative</i>	³ pu	² bɔ	¹ ta		
'mother'	<i>vocative</i>	² a ³ m	³ a ¹ mɔ	¹ a ¹ mo	³ a ¹ ma	¹ a ¹ mo
	<i>non- vocative</i>	³ m	¹ mɔ	¹ mo		
'grandfather'	<i>vocative</i>	³ a ² po	³ a ¹ pu	¹ a ³ p'u	¹ a ³ jie	¹ a ³ p'u
	<i>non- vocative</i>	² po	¹ pu	³ p'u		
'grandmother'	<i>vocative</i>	² a ³ mɛ	³ a ⁵ p'ɛ	³ a ¹ mo	¹ a ¹ nɛ	³ a ¹ ma
	<i>non- vocative</i>	³ mɛ	⁵ p'ɛ	¹ mo		

and the same term, and a father and a mother call their son by one and the same term. Thus,

¹a ¹ta, ¹p'a⁴⁴ 'father'; ¹a ¹mo 'mother'; ²zu 'son'; ³a ²m 'daughter.'

On the other hand, differences arise in addressing persons of the same generation. The rule is that a man addresses his elder and younger sisters by one and the same term, but addresses his elder brother by one term and his younger brother by another; a woman addresses her elder and younger brothers by one and the same term, but addresses her elder sister by one term and her younger sister by another. The terms are shown in the following diagram:

⁴⁴ ¹p'a is rarely used.

(c) *Other dialects.*

116. The Hsiao-hei-ching, Ch'a-tsu, Gni, and Lolop'o dialects all make the same distinction⁴⁵ stated above. The words denoting sex are listed in the following table:

		<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Gni</i> ⁴⁶	<i>Lolop'o</i> ⁴⁷
<i>MALE</i>	person	² p'o	³ p'ɔ, ¹ p'ɔ, ⁵ p'ɔ	p'a	p'o
	mammal	¹ pa	¹ pɔ	pa	po
	bird	² pu	² p'u	p'u	p'e:
<i>FEMALE</i>	person	¹ mo	¹ mɔ, ³ mɔ, ⁵ mɔ	ma	mo
	mammal	¹ mo	¹ mɔ	ma	mo
	bird	¹ mo	² mɔ, ³ mɔ	p'ɛ	ma

117. In the A-hsi dialect of Lu-nan (122, p. 292) and the Lisu dialect of T'êng-ch'ung (64, p. 6) there are no special words denoting the sex of birds although different words are used for human beings and animals. In the Ta-t'un dialect ³p'ɔ is used for all animate objects of male sex and ³mɔ for those of female sex. In the Pai-meï dialect there are also only two words showing the sex: ⁵pu is used for the male and ²ɿ for the female, but they are used only for animals.

E. *Number.*

118. In Lolo there is no grammatical form for expressing the plural number of substantives. According to some authors, Gni is supposed to use *ɣe* or *dza* (188, pp. 24-25), A-hsi uses *çi* (122, p. 292), Li-su uses *bu* (64, pp. 5-6), and La-hu uses *te-p'a*, *te-g'ui*, or *hui* (172, p. 8) to form the plural of the substantive. To my mind these statements are not correct. The meanings of *ɣe*, *dza*, etc., all involve the notion of collectivity. Let us take some examples from the Gni dialect: *ts'o ɣe* means 'man', *sɛ ba ɣe* 'the priesthood', *tɕe ma ɣe* 'the good'. For such expression as 'three persons' a Gni Lolo says *ts'o sui ju* but never *ts'o ɣe sui ju* (188, pp. 25, 75).

⁴⁵ According to J. H. Telford (172, p. 8) there is also such a distinction in Lahu.

⁴⁶ 188, p. 28.

⁴⁷ 127, pp. 219-220.

(2) Pronouns.

A. Characteristics.

119. A pronoun, like a substantive, cannot be preceded by the negative ³a. Among the pronouns only the demonstratives and the interrogatives ²çi and ³k'u can be immediately followed by a numerative. Thus, in Lolo, one cannot say ³a ²ŋa in the sense of ²ŋa ³a ²ŋu 'It is not I' (lit. "I not is"). One can say ²ts'ŋ ²ma 'this one', ²çi ²ma 'which one' but cannot say ²ŋa ²ma in the sense of ²ŋa ²a ²di 'I alone; only I'.

B. Sub-classes.

The pronouns may be divided into five sub-classes.

(a) Personal pronouns.

120. The personal pronouns and their possessive forms are shown in the following table:

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
² ŋa	'I, my, me'	³ ŋo, ³ ŋo ² yo	'we, our, us'
² nw	'thou, thy, thee'	³ no, ³ no ² yo	'you, your'
² ts'ŋ	'he, she, his, her, him, it, its'	² ts'o, ² ts'o ² yo	'they, their, them'
² ko	'him'		
² ŋa ² ve	'mine'	³ ŋo ² ve, ³ ŋo ² yo ² ve	'ours'
¹ ni, ¹ ni ² ve	'thine'	³ no ² ve, ³ no ² yo ² ve	'yours'
² ts'ŋ ² ve	'his, hers'	² ts'o ² ve, ² ts'o ² yo ² ve	'theirs'

(i) Plural number.

121. As shown in the above table, the plural pronouns are formed either by changing the vowels of the singular pronouns into o or by both changing the vowels and adding the suffix ²yo; the tone of the first and second person pronouns are changed from the mid-level to the mid-falling. Although these inflected forms are confined to the personal pronouns, we cannot, as maintained by other authors, say that there is no inflection in Lolo.

122. The Hsiao-hei-ching dialect has the same vowel change except that the plural form of the third person pronoun is ¹t'u. the dialects of Pei-mei, Ta-t'un, Ch'a-tsu, A-hsi (122, p. 302), Lolop'o (127, p. 234) and T'êng-ch'ung (Lisu, 64, p. 11) all form the plural of the personal pronouns by simply adding a suffix to the singular. The Gni dialect (188, p. 30) forms the third

person plural by adding a suffix to the singular, the second person plural by changing both the consonant and the vowel of the singular, and the first person plural by merely changing the tone of the singular.

123. Besides, the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect has an exclusive and an inclusive form for the plural of the first person pronoun: ²ŋo excludes the person or persons spoken to and ²a ¹se includes the person or persons spoken to. This distinction also exists in the Gni dialect (188, p. 30).

(ii) *Possessive forms.*⁴⁸

124. There are no special forms for the personal pronouns in the attributive use (English *my*, etc.), except in the case of the second person singular for which ¹ni is used. All the personal pronouns used attributively precede the word qualified:

²ŋa ²ŋa ³va ¹la ²ga, ²nu ¹ni ³va ¹la ²ga, ²ts'ŋ ²ts'ŋ ³va ¹la ²ga
 I my cloak wear you your cloak wear, he his cloak wear
 'I wear my cloak, you wear yours, he wears his.'

When used predicatively or as subject, the possessive is formed by adding the particle ²ve:

²ts'ŋ ²gu⁴⁹ ²ŋa ²ve, ²a ¹dzŋ ²gu ²ts'o ²ve
 this PL I GEN that PL they GEN
 'These are mine, those are theirs.'

¹ni ²ve ²a ²ŋio, ²ts'ŋ ²ve ²e ²ŋio
 you GEN plenty he GEN few
 'Yours are plenty, his are few.'

Note that when ²ve is added, the vowel and tone of the second person singular form is changed.

125. The Hsiao-hei-ching dialect does not change the vowel of the second person singular pronoun when forming the possessive, but the tones of all three persons of the singular are changed uniformly to the mid-falling tone, whether in predicative, subjective, or attributive use. It is very interesting to notice also that when a speaker of the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect refers to his or her or other's relatives of the elder generation like 'father', 'mother', 'grandfather', etc., the vowels of the three personal pronouns are changed to *a* and the tones are changed into the low-rising (tone-letters 15). This tone is not found with other words.

⁴⁸ For other cases, see § 442-459.

⁴⁹ For the suffix ²gu, see below § 133. (Ed.)

¹ŋa 'I, me'; ¹nu 'thou, thee'; ²ts'ŋ 'he, she, him, her'.

² ŋa ¹ ẓ ³ ɣ	'my elder brother'
³ nu ¹ ẓ ³ ɣ	'thy elder brother'
³ ts'ŋ ¹ ẓ ³ ɣ	'his or her brother'
³ ŋa ² dzo ² bo	'my thing'
³ nu ² dzo ² bo	'thy thing'
³ ts'ŋ ² dzo ² bo	'his or her thing'
⁵ ŋa ¹ ta	'my father'
⁵ na ¹ ta	'thy father'
⁵ t'a	'his father'

(iii) *Different forms for the third person singular.*

126. As shown in the table in § 120, there are two forms for the third person singular: ²ts'ŋ can be used as subject, as object, or in the position of the possessive; ²ko can only be used as object. Therefore ²ŋa ²ko ¹tɕia and ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ¹tɕia both mean 'I am afraid of him'.

The Ta-t'un dialect has also two forms for this pronoun: ¹ka is often used in the subjective case and ¹ke is often used in the objective case, although these two forms are sometimes interchanged.

(iv) *Origin of ²ts'ŋ.*

127. The word ²ts'ŋ 'he, she, him, her, it' is identical with the demonstrative pronoun of proximity, ²ts'ŋ 'this'.⁵⁰ Its original initial sound was probably a velar plosive consonant, as may be inferred from the dialects of Ta-t'un, (¹ka, ¹ke), A-hsi (kø, 122, p. 302), and Gni (ke, 188, p. 30). The initials of the ²tɕi of Pai-mei, the ³jiɔ, ³zo of Ch'a-tsu, the ja of Lolop'o (127, p. 234), and the ji of Li-su (64, p. 11) are probably developed from the same velar sound.

(v) *Words expressing exact numbers.*

128. There are certain ways of expressing the exact number of persons for the personal pronouns.

In the case of one person, ²a ²di 'alone' is used:

² ŋa ² a ² di	'I alone, only I'
² nu ² a ² di	'thou alone, only thou'
² ts'ŋ ² a ² di	'he alone, only he, only she'

In the case of two persons, ¹niɛ (from the word for two, ³ni) is added to

⁵⁰ Similarly, the Moso people use the demonstrative pronoun of distance ('that') as the third person pronoun.

the singular forms; the form of the second person pronoun is changed into ³ni:

- ²ŋa ¹ŋiɛ 'we two'
³ni ¹ŋiɛ 'you two'
²ts'ɣ ¹ŋiɛ 'they two'

In the case of more than two persons, the cardinal numerals and numerative are added to the plural forms of the first and second person pronouns but to the singular form of the third person:

- ³ŋo ²sɔ ⁴io 'we three'
³no ²sɔ ⁴io 'you three'
²ts'ɣ ²sɔ ³io 'they three'

The Ta-t'un dialect and many others have no special forms for the dual number; only cardinal numerals and numeratives are added to either the singular or the plural forms.

(b) *Reflexive pronouns.*

129. The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding ¹tsɣ ³tɕie, 'self', (borrowed from the Chinese tsɣ-tɕi 自己) to the singular or plural forms of the personal pronouns. The pronoun of the second person singular is changed into ¹ni when the word for 'self' is added:

² ŋa ¹ tsɣ ³ tɕie	'myself'
¹ ni ¹ tsɣ ³ tɕie	'thyself'
² ts'ɣ ¹ tsɣ ³ tɕie	'himself, herself'
³ ŋo ¹ tsɣ ³ tɕie	'ourselves'
³ no ¹ tsɣ ³ tɕie	'yourselves'
² ts'o ¹ tsɣ ³ tɕie	'themselves'

The possessive of the reflexive pronouns is formed by adding the particle ²ve, for example: ²ŋa ²tsɣ ³tɕie ²ve 'my own'.⁵¹

130. Some other dialects form their reflexive pronouns in a way different from that of Pei-shan: In the Pai-mei dialect, ²tɕia ⁵tɕia 'self' is added to the possessive forms, thus, ³ŋ ³bu ²tɕia ⁵tɕia 'myself', ²na ³bu ²tɕia ⁵tɕia 'himself', ³ŋ ²tɕɿ ³bu ²tɕia ⁵tɕia 'ourselves', etc. If the suffix ³de is added to these forms, the possessive reflexive pronouns are formed, as ³ŋ ³bu ²tɕia ⁵tɕia ³de 'my own'. The speakers of Lolop'o (127, p. 235), either add **dze**: tɕa 'self', or repeat the singular form and insert **be**, thus both ŋo **dze**: tɕa and ŋo **be** ŋo mean 'myself'.

⁵¹ Reciprocity is expressed by ²dɕɿ; see §§ 452, 453.

(c) *Demonstrative pronouns.*(i) *Basic forms.*

131. There are three basic demonstrative pronouns used in accordance with three degrees of distance:

² ts'ɣ	'this', denoting proximity
² a 'dzɿ	'that', denoting distance
² a 'di	'yon', ⁵² denoting a greater degree of distance

(ii) *For the demonstrative of persons and things.*

132. Numeratives are used after the demonstrative pronouns. For example:

² ts'ɔ ² ts'ɣ ² ma	'this person'
² ts'ɔ ² a 'dzɿ ² ma	'that person'
² ts'ɔ ² a 'di ² ma	'that person (farther away from the speaker)'
² lu ² ts'ɣ ² tɕie	'this ox'
² lu ² a 'dzɿ ² tɕie	'that ox'
² lu ² a 'di ² tɕie	'that ox (farther away)'

When no numeral is used as in the above six examples, only one person or thing is intended. In speaking of two or more persons or things, the numeral is inserted between the demonstrative pronoun and the numerative. Thus, ²ts'ɔ ²ts'ɣ ³ɲi means 'these two persons'.

133. If there are two or more objects but the speaker does not want to express the exact number, or if he speaks of something which cannot be counted, the suffix ²ɣw is added to the demonstrative pronouns:

² ts'ɔ ² ts'ɣ ² ɣw	'these persons, this sort of person'
² ts'ɔ ² a 'dzɿ ² ɣw	'those persons, that sort of person'
² ts'ɔ ² a 'di ² ɣw	'those persons (farther away), that sort of person'
³ ɲm 'sɿ ² ts'ɣ ² ɣw	'this sort of cloth'
³ ɲm 'sɿ ² a 'dzɿ ² ɣw	'that sort of cloth'
³ ɲm 'sɿ ² a 'di ² ɣw	'that sort of cloth'

Note that although ²ɣw has in some contexts a plural value, it is never used before a numeral. For instance, 'those three persons' is rendered by ²ts'ɔ ²a 'dzɿ ²so ²io but not by *²ts'ɔ ²a 'dzɿ ²ɣw ²so ²io.

⁵² *Yon* is obsolete and *yonder* is going out of use in Standard English.

(iii) *For the demonstrative of place.*

134. For demonstrative of place, the suffix ³ko is added to the basic forms and ²ts'e or ²t'ie is often used to replace ²ts'ŋ:

² ts'ŋ ³ ko, ² ts'e ³ ko, ² t'ie ³ ko	'here, this place, this part'
² a ¹ dzŋ ³ ko	'there, that place, that part'
² a ¹ di ³ ko	'yonder, yonder place, yonder part'

(iv) *Other dialects.*

135. In the plains of Hsi-ch'ang and Mien-ning the speakers do not make a distinction between ²a¹dzŋ and ²a¹di; both words are used to mean 'that'. The dialects of Hsiao-hei-ching (²ts'ŋ 'this'; ³ho¹ty 'that'), Ta-t'un (¹a 'this'; ³ke 'that'), Ch'a-tsu (³t'i 'this'; ⁵go or ²go 'that'), A-hsi (ki 'this'; va 'that': 122, p. 303), Lolop'o (i 'this'; ge: 'that': 127, p. 236) and Gni (e-la 'this'; kE-la 'that': 188, pp. 28-29) all distinguish only two degrees, viz., proximity and distance.

136. The Pai-mei dialect distinguishes two degrees for persons or things (²a¹tε, 'this'; ²ni¹tε, 'that') but distinguishes three for place:

¹ a ³ kw	'here';	² ni ³ kw	'there';	² ni: ³ kw	'yonder' ¹
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137. The Li-su dialect of T'êng-ch'ung, according to Fraser (64, p. 12), has three sub-categories for 'that', the distinction referring to different degrees of height:

¹ e, at'e 'this'	gɔ	'that' (on the same level as the speaker)
	nje	'that' (on a higher level than the speaker)
	je	'that' (on a lower level than the speaker)

A similar distinction is also made in the La-hu dialect of the Kengtung State in Burma (172, p. 11).²

(v) *The syntactical function of ²ts'ŋ.*

138. The demonstrative pronoun ²ts'ŋ 'this' can be used for taking up a word, a phrase, or a clause of the preceding context. The following are examples:

¹ The distinction of three degrees of the demonstrative pronouns also exists in the Moso dialect of Li-chiang:

² ts'ŋ	'this';	² t'ŋ	'that';	¹ e ² t'ŋ / ¹ e ² t'e ² t'ŋ	'yonder'.
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² Kachin (a language of the Burmese group), as described by Hertz (92, p. 10), also distinguishes the same sub-categories as Li-su and La-hu do; but according to Cushing (44, p. 12), the distinction is due to degrees of distance and not of height. Further investigation will be necessary to resolve this question.

¹ni ³do ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ¹ʂu ³e ²sŋ.
 you(r) word(s) I these remember still
 'I still remember what you have said.'

¹ni ³do ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ³a ¹ʂu ²o.
 you(r) word(s) I these NEG remember PRT
 'I cannot remember what you have said.'

²bu ²ma ²ts'ŋ ³ni ²ma ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ³sŋ ³a ¹ku.
 words these two NUM I these know NEG be able
 'I cannot understand these two words.'

In the first and second sentences, ²ts'ŋ takes up the phrase ¹ni ³do 'your words'; in the third the first ²ts'ŋ is a demonstrative pronoun in attributive position and the second ²ts'ŋ takes up the whole phrase ²bu ²ma ²ts'ŋ ³ni ²ma 'these two words'.

²ts'ŋ ²la ³a ²la ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ³a ²djie.
 he come NEG come I this NEG know
 'I do not know whether he comes or not.'

The second ²ts'ŋ in this sentence takes up the clause ²ts'ŋ ²la ³a ²la 'whether he comes or not', which is the object of the verb ²djie 'to know'.

As will be seen, ²ts'ŋ in this usage is similar to a relative pronoun, a category which does not exist in Lolo as such (cf. § 149).

This use seems not to be found in other dialects which we know except that of Hsiao-hei-ching.

(d) *Interrogative pronouns.*

(i) *Basic forms.*

139. There are three basic forms of the interrogative pronouns: ¹k'a, ²çi and ³k'ũ.

(i) ¹k'a 'where, how'.

140. The following words are formed by adding various suffixes to ¹k'a:

¹k'a ²di / ¹k'a ²du / ¹k'a ²dzŋ 'who? / whom?'

¹k'a ³ko 'where'

Here are some examples showing the use of these words:

(1) ²nũ ¹k'a ²bo? or ²nũ ¹k'a ³ko ²bo?

'Where are you going? Where do you go?' (²bo 'to go')

(2) ²k'o ²bo ²ts'ŋ ²ma ¹k'a ³p'o?

'How (do you) open this box?' (²k'o ²bo 'box'; ³p'o 'to open')

- (3) ²ts⁴ ʼk'a ²di ²ɲu?
'Who is he?' (²ɲu 'to be')
- (4) ¹k'a ²di ³e ²k'ɯ ²ndjie?
'Who is knocking at the door? Who knocks at the door?'
(³e ²k'ɯ 'door'; ²ndjie 'to knock')
- (5) ²nu ¹k'a ²di ²ɲgu?
'Whom do you love?'

141. When ¹k'a ²di, ¹k'a ²du, or ¹k'a ²dzɿ is used attributively (i.e. English 'whose'), it simply precedes the word qualified. The possessive in the predicative or subjective use, like the personal pronouns, is formed by adding the particle ²ve.

- (1) ¹k'a ²di ³va ʼla ²ts⁴ ²gu ²ɲu?
'Whose cloak is this?' (³va ʼla 'cloak')
- (2) ³va ʼla ²ts⁴ ²gu ¹k'a ²di ²ve ²ɲu?
'Whose is this cloak?'
- (3) ¹k'a ²di ²ve ²ɲu?
'Whose is it?'

(ii) ²ci 'what, which'.

142. ²ci, like ¹k'a can be used either with or without a numerative or its equivalent. Examples of the use of ²ci without a numerative or its equivalent:

- (1) ²ts⁴ ²gu ²ci ²ɲu?
'What are these? What is this (sort of thing)?'
- (2) ²nu ²ci ²dzu ¹tɕ'ie?
'What do you like to eat?'
- (3) ²bu ²ma ²ts⁴ ²ma ²ci ²ɲu?
'What is the meaning of this written character?' (²bu ²ma 'written character')

Examples of the use of ²ci with a numerative or its equivalent:

- (1) ²ts⁴ ²ci ²ma ²ɲu?
'What is he?'
- (2) ³e ³ni ²ci ³ni ²ɲu?
'What date is to-day?'

143. When used attributively, the combination of ²ci and a numerative or its equivalent always follows the word qualified.

- (1) ²nu ³ɲ ¹pa ²ci ²ma ²dzɿ?
'Which horse do you ride?'
- (2) ²nu ³t'w ²ʒ ²ci ¹dze ²pi?
'Which book do you read?'

²çi is used before two nouns: one is ²ŋi 'name', and the other is ¹ia 'kind, sort'. The combination of ²çi and ¹ia is often contracted into ¹çia.

- (1) ²ni ¹e ³du ²çi ²ŋi?
'What is the name of the place where you live?'
- (2) ²a ¹dzŋ ²gu ²çi ¹ia ²ŋu?
'What sort of thing is that?'

144. 'Why' is expressed by ²çi ²ŋ, lit. 'what do', as in ²tsŋ ²çi ²ŋ ³a ²la ²sŋ? 'Why has he not come yet?' (²la 'to come'; ²sŋ 'yet').

(iii) ³k'ʉ 'which'.

145. This word is generally used with a numerative or a substantive. For example:

- ³va ²la ³k'ʉ ²gu ²ŋa ²ve ²ŋu?
'Which cloak is mine?' (³va ²la 'cloak'; ²gu, a numerative for clothes)
- ²nu ³k'ʉ ³t'ʉ ²la?
'When will you come?' (³t'ʉ 'time'; ²la 'to come')

146. 'How?' is expressed by ³k'ʉ ²ŋ, lit. 'which do' as in ²nu ³k'ʉ ²ŋ ²ŋ? 'How will you do it?' (²ŋ 'to do, to make')

147. If to ³k'ʉ we add ²ŋø or ²ŋio which is the stem of ²a ²ŋø ²a ²ŋio, 'many, much' and ²e ²ŋø ²e ²ŋio 'few, little', the resultant word ³k'ʉ ²ŋø or ³k'ʉ ²ŋio means 'how many? / how much?', as in the following sentences:

- (1) ²nu ³k'ʉ ²ŋø ²?
'How much do you want? / How many do you want?'
- (2) ²tsŋ ³k'ʉ ²ŋø ²djio?
'How much has he? / How many has he?'

When used attributively, it follows the word qualified.

- (3) ²nu ²djie ³k'ʉ ²ŋø ²djio?
'How many slaves have you? (²djie 'slave')
- (4) ²nu ²tç'y ³k'ʉ ²ŋø ²djio?
'How much silver have you? (²tç'y 'silver')

³k'ʉ ²ŋø can be used before a numerative or its equivalent:

- (5) ²nu ²no ²su ³t'ʉ ²ẓ ³k'ʉ ²ŋø ¹k'u ²y ²o?
How many years have you learnt the Lolo writing? (lit. "you Lolo book how many year learn PP")
- (6) ²tsŋ ³ŋm ¹sŋ ³k'ʉ ²ŋø ²tsŋ ²ŋu?
'How many feet of cloth is this? (lit. "this cloth how many foot is")

(iv) *Interchange between ²çi and ³k'æ.*

148. When used before a numerative meaning 'which?', ²çi and ³k'æ are interchangeable. Thus ²nw ³ŋ ¹pa ²çi ²ma ²dzɿ? and ²nw ³ŋ ¹pa ³k'æ ²ma ²dzɿ? both mean 'Which horse do you ride?'; ³va ²la ³k'æ ²gu ²ŋa ²ve ²ŋw? and ²va ²la ²çi ²gu ²ŋa ²ve ²ŋw? both mean 'Which cloak is mine?.'

(v) *Interrogative pronouns in non-interrogative sentences.*

149. The above-mentioned words are called interrogative pronouns merely because they can help the speaker to ask questions without using other grammatical devices. They can be also used in non-interrogative sentences. As will be shown in the following examples, they correspond in many cases to the relative pronouns in English:

- (1) ¹k'a ²di ¹ni ³ŋa ¹tɕ'o ²k'u ²se ²bo ²ŋa ³a ²sɿ.
'I do not know who has stolen your gun.' (lit. "who your gun steal take go I not know")
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²gw ¹k'a ²di ¹ni ³a ²sɿ.
'Nobody knows it.' (lit. "this-kind-of-thing who even not know")
- (3) ¹k'a ²di ²la ¹k'a ²di ¹zo.
'Entertain anybody who comes.' (lit. "who come whom entertain")
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ²gw ¹k'a ²di ²ve ²ŋw ²ts'ɿ ³sɿ ²su ³a ²djio.
'Nobody knows whose these are.' (lit. "these whose is man know STP not have")
- (5) ²nw ²çi ¹ia ²djio ²çi ¹ia ²ŋa ³bɿ.
'Give me whatever you have.' (lit. "you what sort have what sort me give")
- (6) ²ts'ɿ ²çi ¹ia ²bu ¹çia ²tɕw.
'Whatever he writes is right.' (lit. "he what sort write what sort right")
- (7) ²çi ¹ia ²nw ³ɿ ²ŋa ³çi ¹ia ²vɿ.
'I will buy whichever you sell.' (lit. "what sort you sell what sort I buy")
- (8) ²nw ¹k'a ³ko ²bo ²ŋa ¹k'a ³ko ²bo.
'I will go wherever you go' (lit. "you where go I where go")
- (9) ²ŋa ¹k'a ³ko ¹ni ³a ²bo.
'I do not go anywhere.' (lit. "I where even not go")
- (10) ³k'æ ²ŋø ²ts'ɿ ²ɿ ³k'æ ²ŋø ²ts'ɿ ³bɿ.
'Give him as many as he asks for.' (lit. "how many he want how many him give")

- (11) ²ts'ŋ ²ci ²ŋ ³a ²ŋa ²sŋ ²ŋa ³a ³sŋ.
 'I do not know why he has not come yet.' (lit. "he why not come yet I not know")
- (12) ²ts'ŋ ³k'w ²ŋ ²ŋ ¹k'a ²di ¹ŋi ³a ³sŋ.
 'Nobody knows how he did it.' (lit. "he how do who even not know").

(vi) *Other dialects.*

150. The interrogative pronouns of the other four dialects are listed below:

	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>
'who, whom'	¹ ha ³ dzŋ	³ a ¹ sɔ	³ a ¹ sɔ	³ a ³ si
'whose'	¹ ha ³ dzŋ ² ve	² a ³ sɔ ² bɛ	³ a ¹ sɔ ³ buw	³ a ³ si ³ buw
'what'	³ a ¹ fu	² a ¹ tɕ'ɛ	³ a ³ tsɔ, ³ a ¹ tɕa	² to ³ tɕiɛ
'which'	² a ² fŋ	⁴ ke	¹ pɔ	¹ to
'where'	¹ ha ³ ko, ¹ k'a ³ ko	⁴ ke ³ jiə	³ a ¹ pə ¹ kə	¹ to ³ ku
'how many; how much'	³ k'a ² ŋio	² ko ² no	³ k'ɔ, ³ k'ɔ ¹ nɔ	³ k'o ³ niɛ
'why'	³ a ¹ fu ³ ŋ	² a ¹ tɕ'ɛ ² məw ² nəw	¹ a ¹ tsɔ ¹ piɛ	² a ² fŋ ¹ po ¹ no, ³ ŋ ³ fŋ ² po ² to
'how'	³ k'a ² ŋ	⁴ ke ³ se	¹ a ¹ tsɔ ¹ piɛ	² to ³ tɕiɛ ¹ pɛ

151. From the above table and what has been said in §§ 100-11, we may draw attention to the following points:

- k'a**, with its variations **k'ɔ**, **k'o**, **ke**, **ha**, forms the essential part of a good number of the interrogative pronouns. **k'a** of Gni (188, p. 34), **ka** of A-hsi (122, p. 306), **k'o** and **ha** of Lolop'o (127, p. 238) all support this point.
- sɔ**, with its variation **si**, is the stem of the interrogative pronouns for persons. **sa** of Gni (188, p. 34) and **sø** of A-hsi (122, p. 306) are its cognates.
- tsɔ**, with its variations **tɕa**, **tɕ'ɛ**, is the stem of the interrogative pronouns for animals and inanimate things. The Lolop'o form **tɕa** (127, p. 238) is cognate.
- The prefix **a** plays an important role in the formation of the interrogative pronouns of the four dialects listed in the table. This applies also to the Gni (188, p. 34), A-hsi (122, p. 306) and Lolop'o (127, p. 237) dialects.

(e) *Indefinite pronouns.*

152. ²su means 'other' or 'others' and is applied only to persons.

- (1) ²ts'ɔ̄ ³mbo ²ma ²su ²ŋgu. 'A good man loves others'
(lit. "man good (NUM) others love")
- (2) ²su ²ʒ ³a ³mbo. 'It is not good to laugh at other people.'
(²ʒ 'to laugh, to laugh at')
- (3) ²ts'ɣ ²su ³a ¹ndu. 'He does not strike other people.'

153. The possessive case of ²su in the subjective or predicative use is formed by adding the particle ²ve, as in the following two sentences:

- (1) ²su ²ve ³a ³mbo ²ŋa ²ve ³mbo. 'Others are not good, mine is good.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ²gw ²su ²ve ²ŋw. 'These are others.'

154. When ²su forms a part of a compound word its opposite term is ²e, 'my' or 'our', which occurs only in poetry or songs. Here are two lines from a poem with the title ²e ²ŋ ²ŋgu, 'The Love for Home' (73, p. 7).

¹ɛ ¹ndza ²e ²ŋ ²djio,
¹ɛ ³ŋio ²su ²ŋ ²hu ²bo ²vo.

'There were handsome young men at home,
But now their eyes look on a foreign land.'

(¹ɛ 'young man'; ¹ndza 'handsome, beautiful'; ²e ²ŋ 'home place; fatherland'; ²su ²ŋ 'foreign country, others' place')

155. ²dʒɿ ¹kw 'all', is used for both persons and things.

- (1) ²dʒɿ ¹kw ²la ²o. 'All have come.'
- (2) ²dʒɿ ¹kw ³mbo. 'All are good.'

156. ³ts'ɣ ¹tʂa or ³ŋi ¹kw 'some, a little', is used for things only.

- (1) ²ŋa ³ts'ɣ ¹tʂa ²djio. 'I have some.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ³ts'ɣ ¹tʂa ³sɣ. 'He knows a little.'

157. For words meaning 'somebody, someone, anybody, anyone', 'something, anything', the substantives ²ts'ɔ̄ 'person' and ²dzu ²gu 'things' are used respectively, but without numeratives.

- (1) ²a ¹dʒɿ ³ko ²ts'ɔ̄ ²djio ²djio? 'Is there anybody there?'
- (2) ²ts'ɔ̄ ²i ²ts'ɣ ³pu ²djio. 'Somebody is in this room.'
- (3) ²k'o ²bo ²ts'ɣ ²ma ²ko ²dzu ²gu ²djio ²djio? 'Is there anything in this box?'
- (4) ²k'o ²bo ²ts'ɣ ²ma ²ko ²dzu ²gu ²djio. 'There is something in this box.'

158. The combination of 'numeral plus numerative' can have the force of an indefinite pronoun, as in the following examples:

- (1) ³no ³ni ²ma, ³ts'ŋ ²ma ³ŋ ³ŋ ¹tuw ²la, ³ts'ŋ ²ma ³ts'a ¹p'o ³ni ²la.
'One of you two may come tomorrow and one the day after tomorrow.'

If the adverb ¹a ²p'a 'else', is placed before the second ³ts'ŋ ²ma, the above sentence is to be translated as 'One of you two may come tomorrow, the other the day after tomorrow.' Similarly, ¹a ²p'a ³ni ²ma, etc., means 'the other two', etc.

- (2) ²ŋa ²ts'o ²yo ¹ŋa ²o, ³ni ²ma ³he ²ko ²ts'o ²yo ³a ¹dzŋ ³ko ²djio ³a ²ndzo. 'I asked them, both said that they had never been there.'

³ts'ŋ ²ma means 'each' in such a sentence as

- (3) ²ŋo ²so ²io ³ts'ŋ ²ma ²tç'y ²ts'e ²ma ²djio.
'We three each have ten pieces of silver.'

159. When a numerative follows a substantive or an adjective without being accompanied by a numeral, it also has the force of an indefinite pronoun or an indefinite article. (See Numeratives, §§ 256 ff.)

(3) Adjectives.

A. Characteristics.

160. The adjectives form the only word class with which we find the use of the contrasting prefixes **a** and **e** (see [B] below.) An adjective can be negated by ³a 'not' (see Negation, §§ 460 ff.). When used after a substantive an adjective can either qualify the substantive as an adjunct or serve as a predicate; it is the context that determines for which purpose it is used. When following a pronoun, an adjective is always used as a predicate. Let us examine the following expressions:

- (1) ²ve ²ve ¹ndza. 'Beautiful flowers' or 'Flowers are beautiful'
(²ve ²ve 'flower', ¹ndza 'beautiful')
- (2) ²ve ²ve ²ts'ŋ ²ma ¹ndza. 'This flower is beautiful.'
- (3) ²ve ²ve ¹ndza ²ts'ŋ ²ma. 'This beautiful flower.'
- (4) ²nuw ¹ndza. 'You are beautiful.'

In the first expression, the adjective ¹ndza can be understood either as the adjunct of the substantive ²ve ²ve or as the predicate to the subject ²ve ²ve. Only the further context or the situation can determine the exact meaning. In the second expression, because the demonstrative pronoun ²ts'ŋ and the numerative ²ma stand between the substantive and the adjective, ¹ndza is definitely the predicate to the subject ²ve ²ve. Because the demonstrative pronoun and the numerative come after the adjective in the third expression,

the adjective **1ndza** is certainly an adjunct used to qualify the substantive **2ve**. As **1ndza** is used after a pronoun in the last expression, it is definitely the predicate.

B. The Two Prefixes of Adjectives.

161. There are two prefixes applied to adjectives of opposite meaning: **a** is used to express the greater and **e** the lesser degree of magnitude. The stems of the adjectives are in most cases the same:

	<i>Greater degree</i>		<i>Lesser degree</i>
2a 2so	'long'	2e 2so	'short'
2a 2dʒl	'broad'	2e 2dʒl	'narrow'
2a 2tu	'thick (of flat objects)'	2e 2tu	'thin (of flat objects)'
1a 1fu	'thick (of round objects)'	1e 1fu	'thin (of round objects)'
2a 2ɳm	'deep, high'	2e 2ɳm	'shallow, low'
2a 2ɟ	'heavy'	2e 2ɟ	'light'
2a 2nio, 2a 2nø	'many, much'	2e 2nio, 2e 2nø	'few, little'

There are four adjectives of which the stems are different:

1a 2ʒ 'big, large'

1e 3tsɟ 'little, small'

2a 2kɔ 'hard'

2e 2no 'soft'

The two prefixes in the above examples are all under the second tone, except those of the words for 'thick (of round objects)', 'thin (of round objects)', 'big, large', and 'little, small', which have the first tone.

162. There are three pairs of adjectives which use the prefix **a** for both degrees of meaning. They are

2a 2ɳl 'new'

2a 2bi 'old'

2a 2ɳl 'young'

1a 3mo 'old'

2a 2ɳ 'dry'

2a 2dzø 'wet'

The lack of contrast in the case of these words may be due to the fact that it is difficult and indeed not necessary to determine which is of greater magnitude. For the same reason, only the prefix **a** is used for the words denoting colours:

2a 2pe 'red', **2a 2ɳl** 'yellow', **2a 2ɳ** 'green (of grass etc.); blue (of sky etc.)', **2a 2tɕy** 'white', **2a 2no** 'black', **2a 2so** 'gray', **1a 3to** 'dark green', **2a 1tɕo** 'multi-coloured'

163. The prefixes of the words mentioned in § 161 can never be omitted except that **a** is sometimes omitted in ancient texts. The prefix **a** in words other than those mentioned in § 161 can be left out when used to qualify a substantive attributively. Thus for 'a long rope' we must say ¹djy ³hɔ ²a ²ʒo ²tɕie; but for 'a red flower', we can say either ²ve ²ve ²a ²ŋe ²ma or ²ve ²ve ²ŋe ²ma. When these adjectives are used subjectively or predicatively, the prefix **a** must be retained. For example:

- (1) ²a ²tɕ'y ²su ³mbo ²a ²no ²su ³a ³mbo. 'The white one is good and the black one is not good.' (²su is a particle used to turn the preceding adjective or verb into a substantive).
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ²gɯ ²a ²tɕ'y ²su ²ŋɯ. 'These are white ones.'

164. When the words for 'white' and 'black' are used to mean 'White Lolo' and 'Black Lolo' respectively, they always go without their prefix, as in the following two sentences:

- (1) ²nu ²tɕ'y ²ma ³da ²no ²ma ²ŋɯ? 'Are you a White Lolo or a Black Lolo?' (³da is a particle used for asking alternative questions)
- (2) ²ŋa ²no ³ma ²ŋɯ ²ts'ɣ ²tɕ'y ²ma ²ŋɯ. 'I am a Black Lolo and he is a White Lolo.'

165. In the following adjectives the prefixes of magnitude are not used, and to express the opposite meaning, the negative word ³a is added. Care must be taken not to confuse the prefix ²a or sometimes ¹a with the negative word ³a 'not'.

¹ ndza	'beautiful, handsome, pretty, bright'	³ a ¹ ndza	'not beautiful, ugly'
² t'o	'sharp'	³ a ² t'o	'not sharp, blunt'
¹ hɔ	'smooth, slippery'	³ a ¹ hɔ	'not smooth, not slippery, rough'
² bo ² ʒo	'clean'	² bo ³ a ² ʒo	'not clean, dirty'

166. The prefix **a** is not used with the adjectives of the Ta-t'un, Pai-mei, or Ch'a-tsu dialects but is used in the Hsiao-hei-ching, A-hsi (122, p. 294), and A-ko (Kengtung State, Burma: 162, p. 695) dialects. In Lolop'o (127, p. 224) it appears as **ja**, in A-k'a (145, p. 693) as **je**, and in the Li-su dialect of the Kengtung State as **i** (145, p. 703). Here are some examples from these three dialects:

	<i>Lolop'o</i>	<i>A-k'a</i>	<i>Li-su</i>
'red'	ja nji	je ne	i ni (ɕu) ⁵⁵
'yellow'	ja ɕæ	je ɕu (ɕu ?)	i ɕu (ɕu) ⁵⁵
'black'	ja nɛ	je na	i na (la)

167. The use of the contrasting prefixes **a** and **e**, as far as my knowledge of Lolo goes, exists only in Sikang and Szechwan provinces and the Chao-t'ung district of Yunnan province.⁵⁶ Here are comparative tables of adjectives, as spoken in nine Lolo dialects. The Moso and Tibetan equivalents are also included.

168. In these examples we may notice that the stems of these words in Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching correspond in most cases to the words denoting the greater degree of magnitude in other dialects and related languages. It cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be decided whether the contrast between the prefixes **a** and **e** is original and is still kept by the Lolo dialects of Sikang and some other adjacent areas like Chao-t'ung (Yun-nan), or whether this usage is a secondary local development.

	<i>long</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>broad</i>	<i>narrow</i>
<i>Pei-shan</i>	² a ² ɕo	² e ² ɕo	² a ² dɕɿ	² e ² dɕɿ
<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	¹ a ³ ɕu	¹ e ³ ɕu	¹ a ³ dɕɿ	¹ e ³ dɕɿ
<i>Ta-t'un</i>	¹ ɕɛ̃	² ŋ	¹ k'ua	³ tse
<i>Pai-mei</i>	² ɕi	² nĩ	¹ k'ua	¹ tɕiɛɿ
<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	² ɕi	³ tɣ	⁴ kua	⁴ tsə
<i>Gni</i>	ɕ'ie	ŋ	giɛ (= 'big')	ɲia (= 'small')
<i>A-hsi</i>	hɛ	ne, ne:, te:	kje	tse:
<i>Lolop'o</i>	ɕe:	nji	—	—
<i>Li-su</i>	ɕɿ	ɲje	ɣi	tswe
<i>Mo-so (Wei-hsi)</i>	⁴ ɕɛɿ	⁴ ŋɛɿ	³ pa	³ ts'ɿ
<i>Written Tibetan</i>	riŋ-ba	t'uŋ-ba	zeŋ, gzeŋ	dog-po
<i>Spoken Tibetan</i>	riŋ-po	t'uŋ-t'uŋ, t'uŋ-ŋu	ɕaŋ-tɕ'em-po	tok-po

⁵⁵ In Scott's work (145, p. 703) "i ni ɕu" is given as 'yellow' and "i ɕu ɕu" as 'red'; I think this is due to misprints.

⁵⁶ I have found only a few words of this kind in Clarke's work, as **a mu** 'high'; **e mu** 'low' (33, pp. 314-315).

	<i>thick (of flat objects)</i>	<i>thin (of flat objects)</i>	<i>thick (of round objects)</i>	<i>thin (of round objects)</i>
<i>Pei-shan</i>	² a ² tu	² e ² tu, ² e ² bo	¹ a ¹ fu	¹ e ¹ fu
<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	¹ a ³ tu	² e ³ bo	¹ a ² kw'u	¹ e ² kw'u
<i>Ta-t'un</i>	⁴ t'əu	³ bo	³ p'ε	² ts'i
<i>Pai-mei</i>	² t'əɿ ² pe	³ bu	³ pə	³ ts'i
<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	¹ t'ɣ	³ bo	³ pe	³ ts'i
<i>Gni</i>	t'u	ba	tlu	tse ba
<i>A-hsi</i>	t'o	bo	t'o	tse:
<i>Lolop'o</i>	t'u	—	—	—
<i>Li-su</i>	t'u	ba	—	—
<i>Mo-so (Wei-hsi)</i>	¹ la	³ mbe	² py	³ ts'ɿ
<i>Written Tibetan</i>	h't'ug-po	srab-pa	sbom-pa, sbom-po	p'ra-ba, p'ra-mo
<i>Spoken Tibetan</i>	t'uk-po	trap-po	bom-po	t'ra-po

	<i>high</i>	<i>low</i>	<i>heavy</i>	<i>light</i>
<i>Pei-shan</i>	² a ² ŋm	² e ² ŋm	² a ʔ	² e ʔ, ² io ² so
<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	¹ a ¹ ne	¹ e ¹ ne	¹ a ɿ	¹ e ɿ
<i>Ta-t'un</i>	¹ mə	¹ ti	¹ li	¹ la
<i>Pai-mei</i>	² mɛɿ	⁴ ta	² liɛ	³ lo
<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	¹ mɣ	¹ mə, ¹ ka	³ li	¹ ɔ
<i>Gni</i>	mu	nɛ	lje	lo
<i>A-hsi</i>	mo	ne	tɛ:	lu
<i>Lolop'o</i>	mu	pja	—	la
<i>Li-su</i>	mu, a mu mu	e	li	ɔ
<i>Mo-so (Wei-hsi)</i>	³ suɛ	³ hy	² rɿ	³ jiɔ
<i>Written Tibetan</i>	mt'o-ba	dmaḥ-ba	ljid-pa	jaŋ-po
<i>Spoken Tibetan</i>	t'o-po	ma-po	ji-po	jaŋ-po

C. Repetition of Adjectives.

169. Any adjective can be repeated for emphasis. For example:

¹ a ʔʒ	'big, large, great'	¹ a ʔʒ ¹ a ʔʒ	'very big'
¹ e ʔtsɿ	'little, small'	¹ e ʔtsɿ ¹ e ʔtsɿ	'very little'
² a ʔʂo	'long'	² a ʔʂo ² a ʔʂo	'very long'
² a ʔpe	'red'	² a ʔpe ² a ʔpe	'very red'
³ mbo	'good, fine, nice'	³ mbo ³ mbo	'very good'
¹ ndza	'beautiful'	¹ ndza ¹ ndza	'very beautiful'

As we have seen in the examples, the prefix, if there is any, is repeated as well as the stem. When the repetition functions as a means of asking questions, it is only the stem that is repeated; thus ²a ʔpe ʔpe means 'Is it red?'; ²a ʔʂo ʔʂo means 'Is it long?'

170. When an adjective is repeated and the particle ²dʒɿ is inserted, still greater emphasis is given. For example:

³se ʔp'o ʔts'ɿ ʔma ¹a ʔʒ ²dʒɿ ¹a ʔʒ ʔma ʔɣw.

'This official is very very high in rank. (³se ʔp'o, 'official')

³a ʔɳ ²zɯ ʔts'ɿ ʔma ¹ndza ²dʒɿ ¹ndza ʔma ʔɣw.

'This girl is a most beautiful one.' (³a ʔɳ ²zɯ 'girl').

In such a sentence as the following, the mere repetition roughly corresponds to the comparative degree in English, while repetition with the particle inserted is more or less like the English superlative.

²ts'ɿ ʔts'ɿ ʔma ³mbo, ²a ¹dʒɿ ʔma ³mbo ³mbo, ²a ¹di ʔma ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo.

'This person is good, that one is better and that one (yonder) is the best.'

The idea of comparison expressed by such a sentence is not as strict as that expressed by the English forms of comparison. Thus, when referring to two objects, a Lolo speaker often uses the ordinary form for the positive degree and the 'A. + ²dʒɿ + A.' form for the comparative degree, as is shown by the following examples:

²ts'ɿ ʔma ¹ndza ²a ¹di ʔma ¹ndza ²dʒɿ ¹ndza.

'This one is beautiful and that one is more beautiful (or very beautiful).'

²ts'ɿ ʔma ¹a ʔʒ, ²a ¹dʒɿ ʔma ¹a ʔʒ ²dʒɿ ¹a ʔʒ.

'This one is big and that one is bigger (or very big).'

²no ʔsu ʔts'ɿ ʔma ²za ʔk'ɿ, ²a ¹dʒɿ ʔma ²za ʔk'ɿ ²dʒɿ ²za ʔk'ɿ.

'This Lolo is brave; that one is braver (or very brave).'

171. The speakers of the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect use the same method of repetition of adjectives as described in the preceding two sections except that they use the particle ²zɯ instead of ²dʒɿ, as ³mbo ²zɯ ²mbo 'very good,

better'. The dialects of Ch'a-tsu Lolop'o (127, p. 224)⁵⁷ and A-hsi (122, p. 294) employ the repetition but do not have this use of particles.

D. The Substantivizing Particle ²su.⁵⁸

172. When an adjective is followed by the particle ²su, it functions normally as a substantive. For example:

- (1) ²a ²pe ²su ¹ndza, ²a ²tç'y ²su ³a ¹ndza.
'The red ones are beautiful; the white ones are not beautiful.'
- (2) ³sa ²su ¹ji ³mbo, ³su ²ga ²su ¹ji ³mbo, ²dø ²su ²a ²di ³a ³mbo.
'The poor ones are good, the rich ones are also good, only the wicked ones are not good.' (lit. "poor STP also good, rich STP also good, wicked STP only not good").
- (3) ²pa ²a ²şl ²su ³he ³ç, ²a ²bi ²su ³he ³a ³ç.
'I like the new one, I do not like the old one.' (³he ³ç 'to like')
- (4) ²ts'v ²ma ¹a ³mo ²su ¹to ²p'i ²çi.
'One ought to respect the old.' (lit. "man NUM old STP respect ought").

In the first two examples the adjectives preceding the particle ²su are used as subjects, whereas in the last two they are used as objects.

173. The particle ²su is sometimes used even when an adjective functions as an adjunct (i.e. used attributively), but this use of ²su is optional, as it is when it accompanies an adjective used predicatively. Whenever the copula ²ɲw 'to be' is used, the adjective in predicative use must be followed by the particle ²su. The following examples will illustrate this:

- (1) ¹ve ³ga ²a ²şl (²su) ²ts'ɲ ²gu. 'This article of new clothes . . .'
- (2) ¹ve ³ga ²ts'ɲ ²gu ²a ²şl (²su). 'This article of clothes is new.'
- (3) ¹ve ³ga ²ts'ɲ ²gu ²a ²şl ²su ²ɲw. 'This article of clothes is a new one.'

174. The particle ²su functions in Hsiao-hei-ching in the same way as in Pei-shan. In Ch'a-tsu the particle ¹kw serves the same purpose. In Pai-mei, when an adjective is used as an adjunct, no particle is added except with adjectives of colour which take the particle ³dε and double the adjective as in ¹vi ¹leɹ ³çiε ¹çiε ³dε 'red flowers';⁵⁹ when an adjective is used as a subject or

⁵⁷ Liétard suggests that the repetition of adjectives in Lolop'o is equivalent to the superlative degree of comparison (127, pp. 224, 227); but I think it is safer to regard it as a case of emphasis.

⁵⁸ For the use of the particle ²ko with adjectives, see §§ 196, 198.

⁵⁹ In the Pai-mei dialect the first syllable of the doubling of the adjectives of colour always has the mid-falling tone and the second has the high-level.

an object to any verb or as a complement to the verb 'to be', the particle ⁵fa is added. In Ta-t'un, there are two particles, ³p'ɔ and ³mɔ, which may correspond to the Tibetan **po** and **mo** (g, p. 31) respectively. Either ³p'ɔ or ³mɔ may be added to the same adjective without distinction; but for the words meaning 'big', 'small', 'dry', 'wet', 'convex', 'concave', 'rich', 'poor', 'lovely', 'sour', 'sweet', 'bitter', 'hot', and 'salty', ³p'ɔ is preferable, while for those meaning 'square' or 'round' ³mɔ is preferable.

(4) Verbs.

A. Characteristics.

175. A verb, like an adjective, can be negated by ³a but, unlike an adjective, it does not take the prefixes **a** or **e**. All verbs are monosyllabic except for a few compounds. When a verb is in the predicative position, it is often preceded by the particle ²ko. If the verb follows a negative word, the particle ²ko precedes the latter. For example:

- | | |
|---|--|
| ² bo 'to go' | ³ a ² bo 'not to go' |
| ² dzɯ 'to eat' | ³ a ² dzɯ 'not to eat' |
| ² ŋa ² ko ³ a ¹ he 'I do not stand up.' | |

B. Sub-classes.

176. The Lolo verbs may be subdivided into three classes: (a) transitive verbs, (b) intransitive verbs, and (c) auxiliary verbs.

(a) Transitive verbs.

177. Transitive verbs are all those which can take an object, direct or indirect, although they naturally do not always do so.

- (1) ²ŋa ²ts'ɣ ³a ¹ndu. 'I do not beat him.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ²no ²su ³ho ³he. 'He speaks Lolo.'
- (3) ²nɯ ²ʒ. ²ts'ɣ ²i ¹ŋo. 'You laugh. He cries.'⁶⁰
- (4) ²ŋa ³a ¹tɕia. 'I do not fear.'

(b) Intransitive verbs.

178. Intransitive verbs are those which cannot take an object except that some of them take a locative object (*neutra transitiva*). For example: ²la 'to come'; ²bo 'to go'; ¹po 'to run'; ³tuw 'to rise', etc. The copula ²ŋɯ 'to be'

⁶⁰ We can easily change the third example into ²nɯ ²ts'ɣ ²ʒ, ²ts'ɣ ²nɯ ²i ¹ŋo, 'You laugh at him; he cries for you.' If ²ts'ɣ is inserted between ²ŋa and ³a, sentence (4) will mean 'I am afraid of him.'

is also included under this class. When you are not sure whether a verb is transitive or intransitive you can test it by placing two pronouns or substantives before it; a transitive verb can take the second pronoun or substantive as an object while an intransitive verb cannot, except when the preceding word denotes locality. Compare the verbs in the following examples:

•The italicized words are transitive verbs:

- (1) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ¹mo ²o. 'I have met him.'
- (2) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ³a ¹su ²o. 'I have forgotten it.'
- (3) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ³la ^{hu} ²ta. 'I am waiting for him.'
- (4) ¹ma ¹vŋ ²da ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ¹ndzu. 'Ma Vz-da hates Lolo M-ka.'
- (5) ²ts'ŋ ²no ³su ³t'w ³z ²djio. 'He has some Lolo manuscripts.'

•The italicized words are intransitive verbs:

- (1) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ²tɕ'ia 'I and he jump.'
- (2) ²ts'ŋ ²ŋa ²bo ¹mi 'He and I will go.'
- (3) ²ts'ŋ ¹k'a ²di ²ŋw 'Who is he?'
- (4) ²nw ¹k'a ³ko ¹e? 'Where do you live?' (¹k'a ³ko is the locative object)
- (5) ²ts'ŋ ²dzɔ ²no ²la ²o. 'He has come to Mien-ning.' (²dzɔ ²no is the locative object)

(c) Auxiliary verbs.

179. The auxiliary verbs are used together with other verbs and always follow them.

180. ¹ku 'can, to be able' (expressing ability or possibility).

- (1) ²nw ²no ²su ³ho ³he ¹ku ¹ku? 'Can you speak Lolo?'
- (2) ²ŋa ³he ¹ku. 'I can speak (Lolo).'
- (3) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ³gw ²ŋ ¹ku. 'I can do it.' or 'I am able to do it.'
- (4) ²mo ²ŋ ²djie ¹ku. 'It may be raining.'

181. ¹he 'can' (expressing possibility)

- (1) ³tɕw ²zw ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²ze ³a ¹he. 'This bowl cannot be used.'
(³tɕw ²zw 'bowl, cup'; ²ze 'to use')
- (2) ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²ŋa ²ve ³a ²ŋw, ²nw ²ɕ ³a ¹he. 'This is not mine, it cannot be presented to you.' (²ɕ 'to present').
- (3) ³he ²ŋga ³ho ^{ɕie} tsŋ ²no ²su ³ho ²bu ²ma ²bu ³t'w ³z ²bu ³ni ¹ia ³he ¹he. 'The Chinese 'ɕie tsŋ' ["write characters"] can be translated in Lolo either with ²bu ²ma ²bu or as ³t'w ³z ²bu. (³he 'to speak, to say')

- (4) ³ḡɔ ²ts'ɣ ²ḡw ²a ²jɒ ²ḡ ²djio, ²ze ¹sa ³a ¹he. 'We have plenty of this kind of thing; it can never be used up.' (²ḡ is an adverbial particle; ¹sa 'to finish')

The verb preceding ¹he is translatable by the passive voice.

182. ¹tɕ'ie 'to wish'

- (1) ²nuw ²bo ¹tɕ'ie ¹tɕ'ie? 'Do you wish to go?'
 (2) ³a ²ḡ ²nuw ²ḡa ¹tʃ'ɣ ³mo ²dzw ¹tɕ'ie. 'I wish to have my supper now.'

183. ¹pu 'to dare'

- (1) ²nuw ²ci ²ḡ ²ts'ɣ ²ḡw ²ḡ ¹pu? 'How dare you do such a thing?'
 (2) ²ts'ɣ ³do ¹ma ³he ³a ¹pu. 'He dare not speak.'
 (3) ²ts'ɣ ²la ³a ¹pu. 'He dare not come.'

184. ¹zo 'must'

- (1) ³no ²bo ¹zo ¹zo? 'Must you go?'
 (2) ²nuw ²la ¹zo. 'You must come.'
 (3) ²ḡa ²bo ¹zo, ²ts'ɣ ²bo ³a ¹zo. 'I must go, he does not have to go.'

185. ²p'i ²ci 'ought, should'⁶¹

- (1) ²ḡa ²ts'ɣ ²ḡw ²ḡ ²p'i ²ci ²ci? 'Ought I to do this?'
 (2) ²nuw ²ko ²la ²p'i ²ci. 'You ought to come.'
 (3) ³a ²ḡ ²ḡa ²ko ²bo ²p'i ²ci. 'I should go now.'

(i) *Auxiliaries expressing aspects or direction.*

186. ²to expresses the successful completion of an action.

- (1) ²ḡa ³a ¹ji ¹he ²sɔ ²no ²bo ¹a ²djy ²bo ²to.
 'I shall succeed in entering the Lung-t'ou mountain next year.'
 (2) ²ḡa ²ts'ɣ ²ḡ ²to ²o. 'I have succeeded in doing it.'
 (3) ²no ²su ³ho ²y ²sɔ ¹k'u ²djie ²nuw ³sɣ ²to. 'If you learn Lolo for three years, you will succeed in understanding it.'
 (4) ³lo ³ho ¹ma ³tɕa ²dɣl ¹se. ¹ma ³tɕa ³lo ³ho ²yɯ ²to ²o. 'The Lo-lo and Ma-tɕa clans were fighting against each other; Ma-tɕa has succeeded in conquering Lo-ho.' (³a ²ḡ ²nuw 'now'; ²dɣl ¹se 'to fight against each other'; ²yɯ 'to win')

⁶¹ From Chinese 必需 (Mand. *bìxū*) [Ed.]

- (5) ²ŋa ¹ni ²dʒɿ ²ɣw ²su ³a ²to. 'I shall never succeed in returning your kindness. I am very grateful to you.' (lit. "I your benefaction return not ²to")

187. ²da is similar in function to ²to (§ 186) and can replace it if the object of action is considered to share in the action. It cannot be used with an intransitive verb.

- (1) ¹ni ¹i ³ts'ɿ ²tɕie ²ts'ɿ ²va ³tɕ'ie ³ts'ɿ ²ma ²pa ²da. 'One needle of yours will be sufficient exchange for one egg of his.' (lit. "your needle one NUM his egg one NUM exchange ²da")
- (2) ¹tɕio ²a ²dʒɿ ²ma ²ŋa ³ndu ³zo ²da. 'I shall succeed in hitting that eagle with a gun.' (¹tɕio 'eagle'; ³zo 'to hit')
- (3) ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ¹se ²da ²o. 'I have succeeded in overcoming him.' ('se 'to fight')
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ³ni ²ma ³dʒw ³mo ³gw, ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ²ɣw ³a ²da. 'These two men are gambling, this one will lose.' (³dʒw ³mo 'money'; ²gw 'to play'; ²ɣw 'to win').

²da in all these examples can be replaced by ²to, but ²to in the examples (1), (2), (4) and (5) of § 186 cannot be replaced by ²da.

188. The particle ²ta is used after a transitive or an intransitive verb to show the duration of the action or the result of the action, as is illustrated by the following examples:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ³t'w ²ʒ ²bu ²ta. 'He is writing.'
- (2) ³a ²ŋ ²nw ²ŋa ¹dza ²dʒw ²ta. 'I am eating now.'
- (3) ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ¹mo ³t'w ²ko ²ts'ɿ ³t'w ²ʒ ²pi ²ta. 'When I saw him he was chanting.'
- (4) ¹he ²ta. 'Stand (here or there)!'
- (5) ²la ¹hw ²ta. 'Wait (here, or there)!'
- (6) ²ɿ ²ta. 'Roll (it) up!'
- (7) ²ie ²ta. 'Wrap (it) up!'
- (8) ²nw ²ŋa ³do ¹ʒu ²ta! 'Remember what I have said.'
- (9) ²ŋa ¹lo ³tɕɿ ²di ²ŋ ²ʒ ²ta, ²ʒ ²du ²o. 'I have cut my finger with a knife, the blood flows.' (lit. "I finger knife hold cut ²ta blood come-out PP")

In the last example, although the action of cutting is a thing of the past, yet the result of the cutting is still present. Therefore ²ta is not used in ²nw ¹lo ³tɕɿ ²do ²ŋ ¹t'a ²ʒ: 'Don't cut your finger with the knife!' (¹t'a 'don't').

When ³ŋo 'to think' is followed by ²ta, it means 'to make up one's mind', as in ²ŋa ³ŋo ²ta ²o 'I have made up my mind.'

189. ²la and ²ʒ (or ²le):

These two auxiliaries (when used as full verbs, they mean 'come' or 'go' respectively) are used after full verbs: ²la showing a motion towards the speaker, and ²ʒ a motion away from the speaker. For example:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ² bo ² la. 'Come in.' | ² bo ² ʒ. 'Go in.' |
| ² du ² la. 'Come out.' | ² du ² ʒ. 'Go out.' |
| ³ se ² la. 'Bring (it) here.' | ³ se ² ʒ. 'Take (it) away.' |
| ³ tʂu ² zu ³ tʂie ³ se ² la. 'Bring (me) a bowl. Fetch a bowl.' | |
| ³ tʂu ² zu ² ts'ɿ ² tʂie ³ se ² ʒ. 'Take this bowl away.' | |

190. Words denoting position come before ²la or ²ʒ and after a full verb or verbs. Examples are:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| ³ se ² k'u ¹ tʂio ² la. | 'Bring (it) in.' |
| ³ se ² k'u ¹ tʂio ² ʒ. | 'Take (it) in.' |
| ³ se ² mie ¹ tʂio ² la. | 'Bring (it) near here.' |
| ³ se ² mie ¹ tʂio ² ʒ. | 'Take (it) farther away.' |
| ³ se ² ts'e ³ ko ² la. | 'Bring (it) here.' |
| ³ se ² a ¹ dzɿ ³ ko ² ʒ. | 'Take (it) there.' |
| ² tʂ'ie ¹ t'o ² ts'e ³ ko ² la. | |
| 'Jump up here (when speaker is on a higher level).' | |
| ² tʂ'ie ¹ t'o ² a ² dzɿ ³ ko ² ʒ. | |
| 'Jump up there (when speaker is on a lower level).' | |

In the last two examples ²tʂ'ie 'to jump' and ¹t'o 'to go or come up' are two verbs.

191. From the last four examples given in the foregoing section, it will be noticed that these two auxiliaries combine with different demonstrative pronouns, that is, ²la with that of proximity (²ts'ɿ) and ²ʒ with that of distance (²a ¹dzɿ, ²a ¹di). The same difference applies to the personal pronouns when they are used to show positions: ²la with the first person and ²ʒ with the second or third person pronouns. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) ²ʃɿ ²ma ²ŋa ¹tʂio ¹po ²la. 'A dog runs towards me.
(²ʃɿ 'dog'; ¹po 'to run').
- (2) ²ʃɿ ²ma ²nu ¹tʂio ¹po ²ʒ. 'A dog runs towards you.'
- (3) ²ʃɿ ²ma ²ts'ɿ ¹tʂio ¹po ²ʒ. 'A dog runs towards him.'
- (4) ²ʃɿ ²ma ³ŋo ¹tʂio ¹po ²la, ²ʃɿ ²ma ²ts'o ¹tʂio ¹po ²ʒ. 'One dog runs towards us and another towards them.'

192. ²la can also be used to show that in the development of some action a certain point has been achieved, as is illustrated by the following examples:

- (1) ²ŋa ²bu ²ma ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³he ²du ²la. 'I can pronounce this word.'

- (2) ²no ²su ²bu ²ma ³a ²su ²la ²dze ²bo ²la ²su ²ɲw. 'The Lolo writing was invented by A-su-la-dze.' (²bo 'to invent').

(ii) ²se ²la and ²ko ²ʒa.

193. These two auxiliaries correspond to ²la and ²ʒ: ²se ²la for a motion towards the speaker and ²ko ²ʒa for a motion away from the speaker. The latter two forms are used only with verbs expressing 'bringing', 'fetching', 'taking', etc. For example:

- (1) ²lu ¹ma ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²ɲgu ²se ²la. 'Pick up this stone!' (²lu ¹ma 'stone'; ²ɲgu 'to pick up').
 (2) ²lu ¹ma ²ts'ɿ ²ma ¹pi ²ko ²ʒa. 'Take this stone away.'
 (3) ²nw ²ts'ɿ ²ʒɿ ²se ²la. 'Show him in!' (²ʒɿ 'to lead')
 (4) ²ɲa ²nw ²ʒɿ ²ko ²ʒa. 'I shall see you to the door.'

(iii) *Other dialects.*

194. The auxiliaries showing the direction of motion are also used in other dialects. The difference lies merely in the pronunciation of the words.

	<i>Showing motion towards the speaker</i>	<i>Showing motion away from the speaker</i>
Hsiao-hei-ching	² la	² ji
Pai-mei	³ le	³ ji
Ch'a-tsu	¹ lie	¹ ji
Ta-t'un	¹ lie	¹ le

In all these five dialects the auxiliaries for the motion towards the speaker are also verbs for 'to come' and those for the motion away from the speaker are also verbs for 'to go', except that ²se ²la and ²ko ²ʒa of the Pei-shan dialect cannot be used as the verbs for 'to come' and 'to go'.

D. **The Particle ²ko.**

195. This particle has three functions: (a) before a verb to mark its being in the predicative position; (b) after a verb to introduce adverbs, second predicatives or any other words following the verb; and (c) standing at the end of a temporal clause.

(a) *Before a verb.*

- (1) ²ko ²ɲø. 'Sit down.'
 (2) ²a ¹dzɿ ³ko ²ko ¹he. 'Stand there!'

- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²a ¹dʒɿ ³ko ²ko ³gw. 'He plays there.'
- (4) ²mo ²ɿ ²ko ³a ³djie ²o. 'It has stopped raining. (²mo ²ɿ 'heaven, sky'; ³djie 'to fall')
- (5) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ²ko ¹ndu ¹mi. 'He will strike you.'
- (6) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ²bu ²ma ²bu ²ko ¹ɿa. 'He teaches the writing of Lolo characters.' (lit. 'he Lolo character write ²ko teach')
- (7) ²ko ²tsɿ ²tsɿ? 'Right?'

196. The same particle ²ko is sometimes used with adjectives for the same purpose. For example:

- (1) ²ve ²ve ²ts'ɿ ²gw ²ko ²a ²ɿe. 'These flowers are red.'
- (2) ³a ²ɿ ²zɿ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²ko ¹ndʒa. 'This girl is beautiful.'

(b) *After a verb.*

197.

- (1) ³a ²ɿ ²zɿ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²ɿ ²ko ¹ndʒa. 'This girl laughs charmingly.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ³ho ³he ²ko ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo. 'He speaks Lolo very well.'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ³he ²ko ²tsɿ. 'He said 'right'.' (He agreed)
- (4) ²ɿa ³ɿo ²ko ²tsɿ. 'I think it right.' (I agree)
- (5) ²nu ³ɿo ²ko ²tsɿ ²tsɿ? 'Do you think it right?'
- (6) ²ɿa ³se ²p'o ³he ²ko ²ts'ɿ ²gw ²ɿ ³a ²tsɿ. 'My chief said that it is not right to do this sort of thing.'

198. The same applies to adjectives in predicative position:

- ²ve ²ve ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²a ²ɿe ²ko ¹ndʒa. 'This flower is beautifully red.'

(c) *Standing at the end of a temporal clause (for this use see § 375).*

(d) *Other dialects.*

199. The particle ³tɿw of the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect has the same function as ²ko of the Pei-shan dialect. I have found in many Lolop'o expressions given by Liétard the particle *te* which, although not pointed out by Liétard, seems to have more or less the same function as ²ko of Pei-shan and ³tɿw of Hsiao-hei-ching. Liétard makes some mistakes in his translation of Lolo expressions because he does not know the function of this particle. For example, he translates *te la* with *revenir* ('come back') (127, p. 243) and *te dje:* with *un peu caler* ('prop up a little') (127, p. 259). *la* means 'to come' and *dje:* means 'to prop up'; the addition of the particle *te* does not make

these two words mean 'revenir' and 'un peu caler' but shows that the following verb is in the predicative position.

No equivalents of the pre-verb ²ko are found in the Ch'a-tsu, Pai-mei, and Ta-t'un dialects. But, corresponding to the post-verb ²ko, Pai-mei has ³ke and Ta-t'un has ²do. Thus 'He laughs charmingly' is rendered by

²tçi ³ya ³ke ⁶çio. (Pai-mei)

¹ka ⁴ye ²do ¹pi. (Ta-t'un)

³co ¹ve ¹z ³tse. (Ch'a-tsu)

E. The Substantivizing Particles ²su and ²du.

200. The particle ²su which we have described with the adjective (§§ 172-173) can also be used with verbs transforming them into *nomina agentis*. Another particle, ²du (literary form ²lu) is used only with transitive verbs. A verb followed by ²su denotes the actor; followed by ²du, it denotes the object of the action. For example, ³sɿ means 'to know', ³sɿ ²su means 'he who knows', and ³sɿ ²du means 'that which is known'. Further examples are as follows:

- (1) ²la ²su ²a ²ɲio. ²bo ²su ²e ²ɲio. 'Those who come are many. Those who go are few.'
- (2) ¹se ²su ²za ²k'ɔ, ³he ²su ²za ³a ²k'ɔ. 'Those who fight are brave. Those who speak are not brave.'
- (3) ²ts'ɔ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ¹mo ²du ²a ²ɲio. 'What this man has seen is much.' (i.e. He has seen the world.)
- (4) ²tʃ'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²dzu ²du ³a ³mbo. 'What this dog eats is not good.'¹

F. Voice.

201. The passive voice is not very frequently used. However, it can be expressed by the logical object assuming the position of the grammatical subject. The agent is not expressed in such a construction. For example:

- (1) ²ts'ɔ ²ma ¹se ²sɿ ²o. 'A man is killed.'
- (2) ³sɿ ²bo ²ts'ɿ ²ɣu ²k'ɛ ²o. 'These trees have been cut down.'

The agent may precede an instrumental noun phrase; for example:

- (1) ²ts'ɔ ²ma ³ɲa ¹tʃ'o ¹se ²sɿ ²o. 'A man was shot dead with a gun.' (³ɲa ¹tʃ'o 'gun').

¹ When substantivizing a clause, ²su has the same function as ²du; thus, the ²du in the last two examples can be replaced by ²su, but ²su cannot replace the ²du in all the examples given in § 299.

202. Any transitive verb preceding the auxiliary verb ¹he 'can' is turned into the passive voice.

- (1) ²no ²su ²ts'ɣ ²ma ²to ²ma ²ŋw. ²ts'ɣ ¹se ³a ¹he. 'This Lolo is quick-witted. He cannot be killed.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ²gw ²ɣ ¹he. 'These things can be bought.'

203. The verb ¹ndu 'to strike, beat, shoot (with a gun)' forms its passive form by changing its high-level tone into a mid-falling one. Compare the following two pairs of examples:

- (1) ²ŋa ²ts'ɣ ¹ndu. 'I strike him.'
- (2) ²ŋa ²ts'ɣ ³ndu. 'I am struck by him.'
- (3) ²no ²su ²ts'ɣ ²ma ³he ²ŋga ²a ¹dzɣ ²ma ¹ndu ¹mi. 'This Lolo will strike that Chinese.'
- (4) ²no ²su ²ts'ɣ ²ma ³he ²ŋga ²a ¹dzɣ ²ma ³ndu ¹mi. 'This Lolo will be struck by that Chinese.'

G. Mood.

Three moods can be distinguished:

204. (a) *Assertive*. No particle is used to express the assertive.

- (1) ²ts'ɣ ²la. 'He comes.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ³e ²k'ɰ ³p'o ²o. 'He has opened the door.'

205. (b) *Imperative*. This mood does not normally need a particle either. However, when a special or prolonged effort is required the exhortative ¹ha (or ¹tɕie) may be used.

- (1) ²nw ³ŋo ¹ha! 'Think it over!'
- (2) ²nw ²ts'ɣ ²dzw ¹ha! 'Taste it!'
- (3) ²nw ²no ²su ³ho ³he ¹ha! 'Try to speak Lolo!'
- (4) ²nw ²ts'ɣ ²e ²ko ³hw ³ɣ ¹ha. ²ts'ɣ ²pu ²la ³da ³a ²la ²ɣ. 'Go to his home and see whether he has come back or not.'
- (5) ²ŋa ²ŋ ¹ha! 'Let me do it!'
- (6) ²ts'ɣ ²gw ²le ²kɔ ²kɔ. ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ²ŋ ¹ha! 'This is very difficult. Let Lo-ho La-ha do it!'

If the subject is not expressed, the pronoun of the second person is always implied. ²ia is the special form for 'Let us go', to which no other words can be added in the same sentence.

For prohibitive negation, see §§ 472, 473.

- (c) *Interrogative mood* (see §§ 392-402).

206. The imperative particle ¹a of the Ta-t'un dialect.

In the Ta-t'un dialect there is a pre-verb particle, ¹a, used to form the imperative mood. Compare the following two pairs of examples:

¹a ⁴ŋ! 'Sit down!'

¹ka ¹hei ³k'ε ⁴ŋ. 'He sits in a boat.' (lit. "he boat upper-side sit")

¹na ¹ts'ε̃ ¹a ⁴həu. 'Please stand up.' (lit. "you please (¹a) stand")

¹ŋo ¹hei ³k'ε ⁴həu. 'I stand in a boat.'

H. Tense.

Three tenses may be distinguished by particles or the lack of them: (a) past tense, (b) future tense, and (c) present tense.

(a) Past tense.

207. The particle ²ndzo is used to imply an indefinite or remote past. For example:

(1) ²nu ²ts'ŋ ²γw ¹mo ²ndzo? 'Have you ever seen him?'

(2) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ²γw ¹mo ²ndzo ³a ¹he ²de ¹k'u. 'I saw him last year.'

(3) ²ŋa ²no ²su ³ho ²y ²ndzo. 'I learnt Lolo some time before.'

208. The particle ²o or ²vo, which, when following a syllable of the first tone (i.e. high-level) changes into ¹o or ¹vo, implies that the action has taken place in the near past or its continuation to the present time. For example:

(1) ²ts'ŋ ³a ³de ¹he ²bo ²o. 'He left yesterday.'

(2) ²nu ³a ³de ¹he ²la ³t'w ²ko, ²ts'ŋ ²e ²ko ²bo ²o. 'When you came yesterday he had gone home.'

(3) ²ŋa ²ts'e ³ko ²ŋi ¹k'u ³djie ²o. 'I have been here for two years.'

(4) ²ŋa ¹mo ²γw ²dzu ²o. 'I have had my lunch.'

(5) ²ŋa ²ŋi ²t'i ²dzu ¹sa ¹o. 'I have finished my breakfast.'

(6) ²ts'ŋ ²z̄ ²o. 'He began laughing.'

For negative expressions of the past tense, see Negation, §§ 460 ff.

(b) Future tense.**(i) Use of the particle ¹lo.**

209. The near future is expressed by joining the particle ¹lo to the verb. Examples:

(1) ²ŋa ¹dza ²dzu ¹lo. 'I am going to dine.'

(2) ²ts'ŋ ²e ²ko ²la ¹lo. 'He is coming home.'

(3) ²ts'o ²γo ²ŋa ³hu ²la ¹lo. 'They are coming to see me.'

(ii) *Use of the particle ¹mi.*

210. This particle expresses futurity combined with the idea of intention. Examples:

- (1) ²ŋa ³ts'ɿ ³ni ³hɛ ²ŋga ³ho ²ts'e ²kɯ ²y ¹mi. 'I shall (= have the intention to) learn ten sentences every day.'
- (2) ²ŋa ²ko ¹e ¹mi. 'I shall go to bed.'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²a ¹dzɿ ³ko ²bo ¹mi. 'He will go there.'
- (4) ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ¹ndu ¹mi. 'I shall strike him.'

This particle can also be used in an interrogative sentence. For example:

- (5) ²nɯ ³k'ɯ ³tɯ ²ko ²la ¹mi. 'When will you come?' or 'When would you come?'
- (6) ²nɯ ²no ²su ³ho ²ŋa ¹ŋa ¹la, ²ko ²tɕɯ ¹mi? 'Would you come to teach me Lolo?'

(iii) *Use of the particle ²mo.*

211. This particle expresses futurity combined with the idea of certainty. Examples:

- (1) ²ŋa ²nɯ ²ɕɿ ²ɕ ²mo. 'I will take you there.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²nɯ ³hɯ ²la ²mo. 'He shall come and see you.'
- (3) ²nɯ ²ts'ɿ ²gɯ ²vɿ ²vɿ ²mo? 'Are you sure you will buy these things?'

212. ²mo can be replaced by ²mo ²di but the latter is not used in interrogative sentences.

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²nɯ ¹ndu ²mo ²di. 'This man shall beat you.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ²ŋgu ²mo ²di. 'He certainly loves the Lolo.'

213. When ²mo and ¹lo come together, the latter stands before the former. They express near future and certainty.

- (1) ²nɯ ³ŋ ²ɕɿ ¹tu ²la ²nɯ, ²ŋa ²nɯ ²la ¹hɯ ²ta ¹lo ²mo. 'If you come tomorrow I will certainly wait for you.'
- (2) ²ŋa ¹ni ³do ¹ma ¹ŋa ¹lo ²mo. 'I will obey you.'

(c) *Present tense.*

214. When a verb is not accompanied by the particles ²ndzo, ²o (²vo), ¹lo, ¹mi, or ²mo, the present tense is intended unless some words denoting past time or future time like those for 'yesterday' or 'tomorrow' are used. Examples:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ³ŋa ¹ts'o ³ts'ɿ ²ha ²dzɿ ²djio. 'He has one hundred guns.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ³a ²la. 'He does not come.'

- (3) ²ŋa ³a ²bo. ²ts'ɿ ²bo ²o. 'I do not go. He has gone.'
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ²a ¹dʒɿ ³ko ²dʒio ²ndzo. ²ts'ɿ ³a ²ŋ ²nu ²bo ³a ¹tɕ'ie. 'He was there before. He does not want to go now.'

(d) ²ku and ²gu.

215. The word for 'to hear' is ²ku. If the voiceless consonant is changed into a voiced one (i.e. ²gu) it means 'to have heard'; if the particle ²o is used it must be added to ²gu and not to ²ku. The following two sentences will exemplify this.

- (1) ²ŋa ³he ²nu ²ku, ²nu ²gu ²gu? 'I am telling you, have you heard?' (lit. "I speak you hear, you heard")
- (2) ²ŋa ²gu ²o. 'I have heard.'

(e) *Other dialects.*

216. The speakers of the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect also use the particle ²o or ²vo to form past or perfect tense. Here is a table to show such equivalents in other dialects.

Pai-mei	³ ɿ
Ch'a-tsu	a, v, ³ gɿ, ³ gɿv, ¹ t'a
Ta-t'un	³ wa
Gni (188, pp. 42-43)	ra (may be ɿa)
Lolop'o (127, p. 244)	ja
A-hsi (122, p. 307)	ho
Li-su (127, p. 24)	ɿ

The tones of a and ɿ of Ch'a-tsu are the same as that of the verb to which they are added; and a is always linked with the vowel sound of a preceding word. For example:

³zɿ ³jia. 'He has gone.' (³ji 'to go')

³zɿ ¹liea. 'He has come.' (¹lie 'to come')

Liétard distinguishes present, past, and future tenses in both the A-hsi (122, p. 244) and the Lolop'o (127, p. 307) dialects. But the functions of the particles for the present and the future tenses as stated by him seem rather doubtful. For instance, to is described as the particle for the present tense on p. 244 (127), but on p. 245 of the same work the same particle is used in the past tense.

I. Some Difficult Verbs.

(a) **ʂu.**

217. This verb is very commonly used. It may be translated with 'to do, to act on or upon' and often replaces specific verbs. For example:

- (1) ²ŋa ¹ŋi ¹pa ³a ²dji, ²ŋa ²go ²ʂu ¹zo. 'I have no horse, I have to travel on foot.' (²go 'road'; ²go ²ʂu 'to travel on foot'; lit. "to do the road")
- (2) ²nw ³se ²po ³se ²mo ²ɣw ¹mo ²ko, ʃ ²dw ²ʂu ¹zo. 'When you see chiefs or wives of chiefs, you must honour them with a salute.' (ʃ ²dw 'ceremony')
- (3) ²dji ²ma ²no ³a ²ŋi ²zw ²ma ²ʂu ²nw, ²ts'o ²yo ²k'a ¹ ʃ ³ ʃ ³ndu ²sɿ ¹zo. 'If a slave commits adultery with a black Lolo woman, both have to die.' (²a ²ŋi ²zw 'woman, girl'; ²a ³ŋi ²zw ²ʂu 'to have sexual intercourse with a woman')
- (4) ²ŋa ¹dza ²ʂu ¹sa ²o ²bo. 'I will go after I finish my meal.' (²ʂu replaces ²dzw 'to eat')
- (5) ²ŋa ²ndzɿ ²ʂu ²nw ¹ndo. 'I will buy you a drink.' (²ʂu replaces ²ɣ 'to buy')
- (6) ²ŋa ¹dza ²dzw ¹sa ³t'w ²ko ³e ³sø ¹mo ³a ²ɣw ²ʂu. 'I will relate a story after the meal.' (²ʂu replaces ³sɿ 'to relate')

(b) ²kw, ²gw, ¹ŋa.

218.

²kw 'to hear'²gw 'to have heard'¹ŋa 'to listen to; to ask'

For examples of the use of ²kw and ²gw, see § 215. The following examples will show the difference between ²kw and ¹ŋa. ¹ŋa can also mean 'to ask' when the context requires such a meaning.

- (1) ²ŋa ³he ²nw ²kw, ²nw ¹ndza ²ŋi ²ta ¹ŋa ²ta. 'I will tell you, listen to me carefully.' (lit. "I speak you hear, you carefully listen")
- (2) ²nw ²pi ²ŋa ²kw. 'Read to me.' (lit. "you read I hear")
- (3) ²ŋa ²nw ¹ŋa ²ta, ²nw ¹ŋa ¹ŋa? 'I am telling you, are you listening?'
- (4) ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ¹ŋa, ²nw ¹ŋa ²ta. 'I am asking him, listen to me.'

(c) ²ɣw, ²ɣw ¹mo, ¹po, ³hw.

219.

²ɣw ¹mo 'to see, to meet'¹mo 'to meet'

¹po 'to look, to look at'

³huu 'to look into, to call on, to visit'

Examples:

- (1) ²nwu ²ha ²tsɿ ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ²ɣu ¹mo ¹mo? 'Do you see that bird?'
- (2) ²ɲa ²ts'ɿ ²ɣu ¹mo ¹tɕ'ie. 'I wish to see him. I wish to meet him.'
- (3) ²ɲa ²ts'ɿ ¹mo ²ndzo. 'I have met him.'
- (4) ²nwu ³he ²ɲa ¹po. 'Show me where to look.' (lit. "you speak I look")
- (5) ²ɲa ²ts'ɿ ²ɣu ¹po, ²tɕsu ²tɕsu? 'May I have a look at these?'
- (6) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²nu ³hu ²la, ²nwu ²ts'ɿ ²ko ¹mo ¹mo? 'A man has come, will you see him?'
- (7) ²ɲa ³ɲ ³ɣɿ ¹tu ²nwu ³hu ²bo. 'I shall call on you tomorrow.'

(d) ²bo, ²ɕ, ²le, ²ia.

220.

²bo 'to walk', frequently used to mean 'to go'

²ɕ or ²le 'to go'

²ia 'to go'—only used when asking somebody to leave with you

Examples:

- (1) ²ɲa ²bo ²nwu ¹po, ²nwu ²ɕ ²ɲ ²ta ²ko ³ci. 'If I walk and you run, you will arrive before me.' (lit. "I walk you run, you early arrive")
- (2) ²nwu ²le (or ²ɕ or ²bo). 'You go!'
- (3) ²ia. 'Let us go.'

(e) ²djio, ²bu, ²dzu.

221.

²djio 'to have, to possess, to be in, at, or on'

²bu 'to exist, to be in, at, or on'—used only when referring to inanimate objects

²dzu 'to be in, at, or on'—used only when referring to plants

Examples:

- (1) ²ɲa ²no ²su ³t'u ²ɕ ²ts'e ¹dze ²djio. 'I have ten books in Lolo writing.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²zu ³ni ²ma ²djio. 'He has two sons.'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²e ²ko ²djio. 'He is in the room. He is at home.'
- (4) ³o ²dzo ²ta ²djio ³djie ²la ²da ²bo ²ko, ³go ³mo ³ts'ɿ ²tɕie ²a ²di ²bu. 'There is only one way to go from Hsi-ch'ang to Chao-chüeh.'

- (5) ³tsɿw ²zɿw ²tɕie ³tso ²tsɿ ²e ²tɕie ²bu. 'There is a bowl on the table.'
- (6) ²i ²ɣa ³sɿ ²bo ²sɔ ²bo ³dzu. 'There are three trees behind the house.'
- (7) ²ts'e ³ko ²ve ²ve ²a ²ɲio ²ŋ ²dzu. 'There are many flowers here.'

²bu and ³dzu in these sentences can be replaced by ²djio without changing the meaning but they cannot take the place of ²djio in the first three sentences.

J. The So-Called Prepositions or Postpositions.

222. There are no prepositions in Lolo. Certain verbs are used in some instances to do the work of the prepositions or postpositions of other languages and in others substantives are used. Generally the respective meaning of the verb and the substantive is sufficient to determine the relationship. The following will show the behavior of the Lolo verbs in this respect.⁶³

(a) *Place.*

223. The locations and terminations require neither auxiliaries nor special verbs. For example:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²e ³ko ²djio. 'He is at home.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ³e ²k'ɸ ²k'u ¹tɕio ¹he. 'He stands inside the door.' (lit. "he door inside stand")
- (3) ²ŋa ³e ²k'ɸ ¹he ¹tɕio ²ŋø. 'I sit outside the door.'
- (4) ²ŋa ²dzɔ ²no ²bo ¹mi. 'I shall go to Mien-ning.'
- (5) ²ts'ɿ ³o ²dzɔ ²la ²o. 'He has come to Hsi-chang.'

224. For the ablatives the verb ²ta 'to place' is used.

- (1) ²nɿw ¹k'a ³k'o ²ta ²la? 'Where do you come from?'
- (2) ²ŋa ³o ²dzɔ ²ta ²la. 'I come from Hsi-ch'ang.'

(b) *Instrumentalis.*

225. The verb ³se 'to take, to hold' is used.

- (1) ²ŋa ³t'w ²ɰ ²bu ²du ²tɕie ³se ²bu ²ma ²bu. 'I write with a pen.' (lit. "I pen NUM take character write")
- (2) ²nɿw ³ŋa ¹tso ²dzɿ ³se ¹la ³mo ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ¹ndu! 'Shoot that tiger with a gun!'

(c) *Comitativus.*

226. The verb ¹tɕio 'to follow' is used, but only with animate beings.

⁶³ For substantives denoting positions (on, above, under, in front of, etc.), see § 414.

- (1) ²ŋa ³se ²p'o ²ma ¹tɕ'io ²la. 'I come with a chief.' (lit. "I chief NUM follow come")
- (2) ²nɯ ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ¹tɕ'io ³ɡw ²bo! 'Go and play with Lo-ho La-ha!'
- (3) ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ¹ŋa ¹vɲ ²da ³dʒɹ ¹tɕ'io ²bo ʔo. 'Lo-ho La-ha has gone together with Ma Vz-da.' (²dʒɹ 'reciprocally')

(5) Adverbs.

A. Characteristics.

227. Adverbs are often followed by the particle ²ŋ ²ta, although the use of this particle is in some cases optional. Most adverbs precede the word they qualify. Some follow, and a few can either precede or follow. The negative word ³a either precedes or stands between two syllables if the word qualified consists of more than one syllable. The particle ²sɲ 'yet' cannot be preceded by ³a.

- (1) ²ts'o ²ɣo ³k'a ¹ɿ ³ɿ (²ŋ ²ta) ²la ʔo. 'They all have come.'
- (2) ²vɛ ²vɛ ²ts'ɲ ²ma ²a ¹dʒɹ ²ma ²dʒɹ ²su ²ŋ ²ta ²a ²ŋɛ. 'This flower and that one are equally red.'
- (3) ²vɛ ²vɛ ²ts'ɲ ³ɲi ²ma ³dʒɹ ³a ²su ²ŋ ²ta ²a ²ŋɛ. 'These two flowers are not equally red.'
- (4) ²ts'ɲ ³he ³a ¹hɔ. 'He does not speak well.'
- (5) ²ts'ɲ ³tʷ ²ʒ ³a ²bu ²sɲ. 'He has not written the letter (or book).'

B. Sub-classes.

228. Adverbs may be divided into three sub-classes according to their position.

(a) Adverbs standing before the word they qualify.

229. Most of the adverbs of time fall into this class.

- (1) ¹t'a ³ɿ 'often, always'
²ts'ɲ ¹t'a ³ɿ ²ts'e ³ko ²la. 'He often comes here.'
²ts'ɲ ¹t'a ³ɿ ³he ¹ma ¹k'a. 'He is always happy.'
- (2) ³ts'ɲ ²lo 'for a while'
²ts'ɲ ²ɡw ³die ²ŋa ³ts'ɲ ²lo ²huw. 'Lend it to me for a while.'
²ŋa ³ts'ɲ ²lo ³ɡw ²mo. 'I will play for a while.'
- (3) ³ɛ ²sa 'for a short while, in a moment'
²ŋa ³ɛ ²sa ²la. 'I'll come in a moment.'
²ŋa ³ɛ ²sa ²ko ³ɡw ²mo. 'I will play for a short while.'

- (4) ²djy ²zǐ 'for ever'
²ŋa ²djy ²zǐ ²ts'ɿ ²ŋgu. 'I love him for ever.'
²ŋa ²djy ²zǐ ³a ²la ²o. 'I'll never come again.'
- (5) ³a ²ŋ / ³a ²ŋ ²nw / ³a ²ŋ ³tɕie 'now; at the present time'
²ŋa ³a ²ŋ ²bo. 'I am going now.'
- (6) ³a ²ŋ ²ts'ɿ ³t'w ²ko / ³a ²ŋ ²ts'ɿ ²ve 'at this time' (lit. "now this time")
²ts'ɿ ³a ²ŋ ²ts'ɿ ³t'w ²ko ²ts'ɿ ²gw ³a ³sɿ. 'He does not know it at this time.'
- (7) ³a ²ŋ ³ts'ɿ ²lo ²ko 'at this very time'
²ts'ɿ ³a ²ŋ ³ts'ɿ ²lo ²ko ²ts'e ³ko ³a ²djio. 'He is not here at this very time.'
- (8) ³a ²ŋ ²i ³ni 'just now'
²ts'ɿ ³t'w ²ẓ ¹dze ³tso ²tsɿ ²e ²tɕie ³a ²ŋ ²i ³ni ²ta. 'He put a book on the table just now.'
- (9) ³a ²ŋ ²gw ²nw 'presently'
²ŋa ³a ²ŋ ²gw ²nw ²ts'ɿ ²gw ²ŋ. 'I'll do it presently.'
- (10) ²dw ²dw ²ŋ ²ta / ³ts'ɿ ³ni ²dze ³a ²dze (²ŋ ²ta) 'every day'
²nw ²dw ²dw ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋa ¹ŋa ²la. 'Come to teach me every day.'
- (11) ³a ¹he ²mo 'before; formerly; previously'
²ŋa ³a ¹he ³mo ²ts'ɿ ²gw ²ŋ ³a ²ndzo. 'I never did such a thing before.'
- (12) ³e ³sø ¹mo ³a ²ɬw 'in ancient times; in olden times'
³e ³sø ¹mo ³a ²ɬw ²no ²su, ³he ²ŋga, ³o ³dzu, ²ts'ɿ ²so ³bu ³ts'ɿ ³bu ²su ²ŋw. 'In ancient times the Lolo, the Chinese and the Tibetans were but one people.'
- (13) ³ŋ ³ɣɿ ¹ɣa ¹ɛ / ³ɛ ²sa ¹ɣa 'in the future, from now on'
²ŋa ³ŋ ³ɣɿ ¹ɣa ¹ɛ ²ts'ɿ ²gw ³a ³he ²o. 'I'll never talk like this in the future.'
- (14) ³k'a ¹ɿ ³ɿ (²ŋ ²ta) 'all; altogether'
³ŋo ³k'a ¹ɿ ³ɿ ²bo. 'We go altogether.'
- (15) ¹a ³mo 'badly'
³tṣw ²zw ²ts'ɿ ²tɕie ¹a ³mo ¹ndjia ²o. 'This bowl is badly broken.'
- (16) ²a ¹ŋa ²ŋ ²ta 'seriously, strictly, heavily'
²ts'ɿ ²a ¹ŋa ²ŋ ²ta ¹na 'He is seriously ill.'
- (17) ³nio ³tse ²ŋ ²ta 'carefully'
²nw ³nio ³tse ²ŋ ²ta ²bu ²ma ²bu 'Write carefully!'
- (18) ¹ni / ²nie 'too, also, even, either.' When followed by ³a 'not', it means 'neither'. The English expression 'neither . . . nor' is expressed by ¹ni ³a . . . ¹ni ³a:

²ts⁴ ³he ²ŋga ³ho ³he ¹ku ²no ²su ³ho ¹ni ³he ¹ku. 'He can speak Chinese and he can speak Lolo too.'

²na ³a ²ŋ ²nw ³he ¹ma ³a ¹k'a, ²ŋa ³ni ¹ku ¹ni ³a ¹ndo. 'I am not happy now, I don't drink even a drop.'

²nw ³a ²bo ²nw, ²ŋa ¹ni ³a ²bo ¹mi. 'If you don't go, I shan't go either.'

²ts⁴ ³he ¹ni ³a ³he, ²ʒ ¹ni ³a ²ʒ. 'He neither speaks nor laughs.'
(Note that in this sentence the two verbs are used twice).

(19) ²ci ²ŋ ¹ni 'anyway' (lit. "which do too")

²ts⁴ ²ci ²ŋ ¹ni ³a ²la. 'Anyway, he will not come.'

(20) ²a ²di 'only'

²ts⁴ ²no ²su ³t'u ³ʒ ³ts⁴ ¹dze ²a ²di ²djio. 'He has only one Lolo manuscript.'

(21) ³a ²ndzɿ ²ŋ ²ta 'certainly'

²ŋa ³a ²ndzɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²la. 'I certainly come.'

(22) ³a 'not' (see Negation §§494 ff.).

(23) ³ts⁴ ³gu 'once'; ³ni ³gu 'twice'; ²sɔ ³gu 'three times'

²nw ²bu ²ma ³ts⁴ ²ma ²sɔ ³gu ³he! 'Pronounce each word three times!'

²ts⁴ ³ni ³gu ²la ²ndzo. 'He came twice.'

(b) *Adverbs standing after the word they qualify.*

230.

(1) ¹hɔ 'well'

²ts⁴ ²no ²su ³ho ³he ¹hɔ. 'He speaks Lolo well.'

(2) ²ɣu 'with difficulty'

³he ²ŋga ³ho ²ɣ ²ɣu. 'The Chinese spoken language is difficult to learn.'

(3) ¹sa 'easily, comfortably'

²no ²su ³ho ¹ŋa ¹sa. 'The Lolo spoken language is easy to teach.'

²nw ²ts'e ³ko ¹e ¹sa ¹sa? 'Are you living comfortably here?'

(4) ¹ko ¹pa 'in pieces'

³tʂu ³su ³ts⁴ ²tɕie ³ndu ¹ko ¹pa ²o. 'This bowl was broken in pieces.'

(5) ²ʒ 'early'

²ŋa ²la ²ʒ. 'I come early.'

(6) ¹nia 'late'

²nw ³tu ²la ¹nia. 'You get up late.'

(7) ²sɿ 'yet'

³ts⁴ ²lo ²ko ²ŋɔ ²sɿ. 'Sit down for a longer time.'

²nɯ ¹a ²p'a ³ɲi ¹kw ¹ndɔ ²ʂɿ. 'Drink a bit more.'

For further examples see Negation §§ 494 ff.

(8) ²mi ³ta 'soon'

²ŋa ^ʃa ²mi ³ta. 'I'll come soon.'

(9) ¹pu ¹ʂɿ / ²ʂɿ ¹mo 'again'

²nɯ ²tsɿ ^ʃhe ¹pu ¹ʂɿ. 'Say it again.'

(10) ²kɔ 'very, too'

²tsɿ ²za ²hɔ ²kɔ. 'He is very clever.'

³e ³ɲi ²ts'a ²kɔ. 'It is very hot today.'

²tsɿ ¹a ²ʒ ²kɔ. 'This is too big.'

(c) *Adverbs standing either before or after the word they qualify.*

231.

(1) 'slowly':

²a ²za ²a ²za (²ŋ ²ta) / ²a ²za (²ŋ ²ta)

²a ²za ²a ²za ³he! / ³he ²a ²za ²a ²za! 'Speak slowly!'

(2) 'quickly, fast':

¹he ²dʒio ¹he ²dʒio (²ŋ ²ta)

⁴e ²dʒio ⁴e ²dʒio (²ŋ ²ta)

¹he ²dʒio ²dʒio (²ŋ ²ta)

⁴e ²dʒio ²dʒio (²ŋ ²ta)

²dʒie (²ŋ ²ta)

²nɯ ¹he ²dʒio ¹he ²dʒio ¹po / ¹po ¹he ²dʒio ¹he ²dʒio ! 'Run quickly!'

(3) ²ga ³ʂw 'far, afar'

²tsɿ ²ga ³ʂw ²ŋ ²ta ²la / ²tsɿ ^ʃa ²ga ³ʂw. 'He comes from afar.'

(4) ²ga ²ɲɔ 'near'

²ga ²ɲɔ ²ŋ ²ta ²la / ^ʃa ²ga ²ɲɔ. 'Come near.'

(5) ²dʒɿ ²su. When followed by ²ŋ ²ta and preceding the word qualified, it means 'equally'; when following the word qualified, it means 'the same'.

²tsɿ ³ɲi ²ma ²dʒɿ ²su ²ŋ ²ta ³mbo. 'These two are equally good.'

³ŋo ¹ɲie ³he ²dʒɿ ²su. 'We two speak of the same thing.'

C. The Adverbial Particle ²ŋ ²ta or ²ŋ.

232. As we have noticed in the preceding section, there are not many adverbs proper in Lolo. But many adverbs can be formed by adding the particle ²ŋ ²ta or ²ŋ to words belonging to other parts of speech. Furthermore, a speaker can add either ²ŋ ²ta or ²ŋ to a phrase or a clause in order to turn it into an adverbial one. In the following examples the adverbs or adverbial phrases and clauses which are formed in this way are italicized.

(a) *From adjectives.*

233. Many adverbs can be formed from adjectives. If the adjective is a disyllabic word, the two syllables or the last one can be repeated once when emphasis is given to it. In the following first sentence, ²io ²so ²ŋ ²ta can be replaced by ²io ²so ²io ²so ²ŋ ²ta or ²io ²so ²so ²ŋ ²ta.

- (1) ³e ²k^h ²io ²so ²ŋ ²ta ²ndjie! 'Knock at the door lightly!' (²io ²so 'light')
- (2) ²ts^ɰ ²ku ²ɣɰ ²tsɰ ²ŋ ²ta ²la ²la? 'Does he really come?' (²ku ²tsɰ 'real, true')
- (3) ²dzu ²gu ²ts^ɰ ²ma ¹a ²ʒ ²ŋ ²ta ²ze ²su ²ŋw. 'This thing is very useful. This thing is of great use.' (¹a ²ʒ 'big')
- (4) ²dzu ²gu ²ts^ɰ ²ma ¹e ²tsɰ ²ŋ ²ta ²ze ²su ²ŋw. 'This thing is of a little use.' (¹e ³tsɰ 'little')

(b) *From verbs.*

234.

- (1) ²ts^ɰ ²ʒ ²ŋ ²ta ³do ¹ma ³he. 'He speaks laughingly.'
- (2) ²nw ²ɲ ²ŋ ²ta ³he. ²ŋa ¹he ²ŋ ²ta ³he. 'You speak sitting. I speak standing.'
- (3) ²ŋa ³ɲ ²ŋ ²ta ²la, ²nw ²vɲ ²ŋ ²ta ²la. 'I come to sell and you come to buy.'

(c) *From substantives.*

235.

- (1) ²ŋa ³he ²ŋga ³ho ³he, ²nw ²no ²su ³ho ²ŋ ²ta ³he. 'I speak Chinese, you translate it into Lolo.' (²no ²su ³ho 'the Lolo spoken language')
- (2) ²ha ²tsɰ ²a ¹dʒɰ ³ni ²ma ³ts^ɰ ²ma ¹t^o ²le ²ŋ ²ta ²djie ³ts^ɰ ²ma ¹o ²le ²ŋ ²ta ²djie. 'Those two sparrows: one flies upwards and the other flies downwards.' (¹t^o ²le 'upper side'; ¹o ²le 'lower side')

(d) *From pronouns.*

236.

²ŋa ²ts^ɰ ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ. 'I do (it) this way.' (²ts^ɰ 'this'; ²ts^ɰ ²ŋ ²ta is sometimes changed into ³sɰ ²ŋ ²ta)

(e) *Formed with phrases or clauses.*

237.

- (1) ²nw ³ts^ɰ ²ma ³ts^ɰ ²ma ²ŋ ²ta ³he. 'Speak one after the other.'
- (2) ²ts^ɰ ³ho ²su ³ho ²ŋ ²ta ²tɰ^ɰ. 'He dances singing a song.' (³ho ²su 'song'; ³ho 'to sing')

- (3) ²ŋa ³he ¹ma ¹k'a ²dʒɿ ¹k'a ²ŋ ²ta ²nu ¹mo. 'I am very glad to meet you.' (³he ¹ma 'heart'; ¹k'a 'happy, glad')
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ²ŋa ¹tɕ'io ²ŋ ²ta ²no ²su ³t'u ²ʒ ²y. 'He learns the Lolo writing from me.' (¹tɕ'io 'to follow')
- (5) ²ŋa ²nu ¹ŋa ²ŋ ²ta ²bu ²ma ²bu. 'I am writing Lolo characters to teach you.' (¹ŋa 'to teach')

In forming an adverbial phrase or clause, ²ta may be used instead of ²ŋ ²ta or ²ŋ. However, ²ŋ ²ta is the most commonly used form.

238. The adjective ³mbo, when preceding the word qualified, is generally followed by ²ŋ ²ta and means 'precisely'; when following the word qualified, it is generally not followed by ²ŋ ²ta and means 'well'. In both cases its tone is changed to the high-level.

- (1) ²nu ¹mbo ²ŋ ²ta ³he! 'Speak precisely.'
- (2) ³he ¹mbo! 'Well spoken!'

D. Absolute Position of Adverbs of Time.

239. Adverbs and other expressions of time are often placed at the beginning of a sentence, being in an absolute position. For example:

- (1) ³ŋ ³ʒɿ ¹tu ²ŋa ²bo. 'I'll go tomorrow.'
- (2) ³ŋ ³ʒɿ ¹tu ²ŋa ³a ²bo. 'I'll not go tomorrow.'
- (3) ³ŋ ³ʒɿ ¹tu ²ŋa ²a ¹dʒɿ ³ko ³a ²ndʒɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²bo. 'I'll certainly go there tomorrow.'
- (4) ³a ³de ¹he ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ²ɣu ¹mo. 'I saw him yesterday.'

E. Other Dialects.

240. The position of adverbs in the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect is the same as that in the Pei-shan dialect. In Ch'a-tsu, Pai-mei, Ta-t'un and Lolop'o (127, p. 254) most adverbs are placed before the word they qualify. In Gni, according to Vial (188, p. 53), adverbs of time are generally placed at the beginning of the sentence; adverbs of place, before the verb; adverbs of quantity, after the verb qualified.

241. The Hsiao-hei-ching dialect has also the particle ²ŋ ²ta or ²ŋ, which appears in Ta-t'un only as ²ŋ and in Li-su as *bje* (64, p. 33). The adverbial particles in Ta-t'un and Li-su are not used as extensively as in Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching.

(6) Numerals.

A. Characteristics.

242. Numerals are often used with numeratives or units of measures, or substantives functioning as units of measures.

- (1) ²ts'ɔ̄ ³ni ²ma ²la ²o. 'Two persons have come.'
 (2) ²ts'ɣ̄ ²tɕ'y ²ts'e ²io ²djio. 'He has ten taels of silver.'
 (3) ²na ²ndzɿ ³ts'ɣ̄ ³tɕw ²zu ¹ndo ²o. 'I have had a cup of wine.'

²ma in the first sentence is a numerative for persons and many other things; ²io in the second is a unit of weight; ³tɕw ²zu is a substantive which means 'cup, bowl' and functions here as a unit of measure.

B. Sub-classes.

243. I shall describe the numerals in the following three sections: cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers, and fractional numbers.

(a) Cardinal numbers.

244.

1	³ ts'ɣ̄	13	² ts'e ² sɔ̄	30	² sɔ̄ ² ts'e
2	³ ni	14	² ts'e ² l̄	31	² sɔ̄ ² ts'e ¹ ts'ɣ̄
3	² sɔ̄	15	² ts'e ² ɲw	40	² l̄ ² ts'e
4	² l̄	16	² ts'e ¹ fu	50	² ɲw ² ts'e
5	² ɲw	17	² ts'e ³ ɕɿ	60	¹ fu ³ ts'e
6	¹ fu	18	² ts'e ¹ he	70	¹ ɕɿ ³ ts'e
7	³ ɕɿ	19	² ts'e ² gu	80	¹ he ³ ts'e
8	¹ he	20	³ ɲ̄ ² tse	90	² gu ² ts'e
9	² gu	21	³ ɲ̄ ² tse ¹ ts'ɣ̄		hundred ² ha
10	² ts'e	22	³ ɲ̄ ² tse ³ ni		thousand ¹ tu
11	² ts'e ² tsɿ	23	³ ɲ̄ ² tse ² sɔ̄		ten thousand ¹ va
12	² ts'e ³ ni				hundred thousand ¹ mo

245. In the formation of the cardinals, the following points are to be noted:

(i) In the case of a number higher than ten, when the smaller number follows the larger, addition is implied (for example: ²ts'e ²sɔ̄ = ten + three = thirteen); when the larger follows the smaller, multiplication is implied (for example, ²sɔ̄ ²ts'e = three X ten = thirty).

(ii) In the numbers from twenty to twenty-nine ³ni is changed to a syllabic consonant ³ɲ̄, and ²ts'e to ²tse of which the initial has lost its aspiration.

(iii) ³ts'ɣ̄ in 'eleven' becomes ²tsɿ which is unaspirated and has the second tone, and in numbers higher than 'eleven', i.e., 'twenty-one', 'thirty-one', etc., becomes ¹ts'ɣ̄ with the first tone.

(iv) The tone of ³ʒɿ (seven) in the numbers from seventy to seventy-nine changes its tone to the first; and ²ts'e (ten), when used after a number under the first tone, i.e. six, eight, seven (which in this case is regarded as having the first tone), changes its tone to the third.

(v) The highest number which has a special word is ¹mo 'hundred thousand'. For numbers higher than 'ten thousand' (¹va) other numerals are added before ¹va or ¹mo which can also form higher numbers by themselves. For example, ²ɣa ¹mo and ²ɣa ²ts'e ¹va both mean 'five hundred thousand'; ¹va ¹va and ¹tu ¹mo are both equal to 'hundred million'.

(b) *Ordinal numbers.*

246. Only 'first' and 'second' have special expressions:

²ɣo ¹tɕio 'first' (lit. "our side")

²ɣa ¹tɕio 'second' (lit. "behind side")

For the other ordinal numbers the cardinal numbers are used. Examples:

²ts'ə ²ts'ɿ ²ɿ ²ma ²ɣo ¹tɕio ²ma ²no ²ma ²ɣu, ²ɣa ¹tɕio ²ma

²tɕy ²ma ²ɣu, ²sə ²ma ³he ²ɣga ²ma, ²ɿ ²ma ³o ²dzu ²ma

²ɣu. 'Of these four persons the first one is a Black Lolo;

the second, a White Lolo; the third, a Chinese; and the

fourth, a Tibetan.'

(c) *Fractional numbers.*

247. Fractions are expressed by the following formula:

denominator + ¹p'o + ¹ts'ɿ + numerator + ²se

(¹p'o means 'part', ¹ts'ɿ means 'to divide' and ²se means 'share')

The following are examples:

²sə ¹p'o ¹ts'ɿ ³ts'ɿ ²se 'one third'

²ɿ ¹p'o ¹ts'ɿ ²sə ²se 'three fourths'

²ts'e ¹p'o ¹ts'ɿ ³ʒɿ ²se 'seven tenths'

'Half' is expressed by ²gu ²p'a; thus ³ts'ɿ ²gu ²p'a is equivalent to ³ɿ ¹p'o ¹ts'ɿ ³ts'ɿ ²se.

C. *Other Words Connected with Numerals.*

248. 'Odd' is rendered by ²ndza, as in the following examples:

³ts'ɿ ²ha ²ndza 'one hundred odd'

¹fu ¹va ²ndza 'sixty thousand odd'

³ɿ ²tse ¹k'u ²ndza 'twenty odd years'.

249. Alternative numbers are expressed by two cardinal numerals with numeratives. For example:

²a ¹dzɿ ³ko ²ts'ɔ ²ŋw ²ma ¹fu ²ma ²djiə. 'There are five or six persons there.'

250. In compound numbers ²sɿ ³ni may be inserted between the component numbers:

³ts'ɿ ²ha ²sɿ ³ni ²ŋw 'one hundred and five'

²ɿ ¹tu ²sɿ ³ni ²ŋw ²ts'e 'four thousand and fifty'

251. 'Once', 'twice', etc., are expressed by joining the suffix ³gu to the cardinals. For examples, see § 229.

D. Other Dialects.

252. *Cardinals.* The component for 'one' in the word for 'eleven' is, as in Pei-shan, unaspirated in Pai-mei, Hsiao-hei-ching and Li-su (64, p. 15). The component for 'ten' in the word for 'twenty' is, as in Pei-shan, unaspirated in many dialects such as Hsiao-hei-ching, Pai-mei, Ta-t'un, Ch'a-tsu and Li-su (64, p. 15). See the following table:

	<i>Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Li-su</i>
'one'	³ ts'ɿ	⁶ t'ɛ	⁴ ti	³ t'i	t'i
'ten'	¹ ts'e	² ts'i	⁴ ts'ɛ	² tɕ'i	ts'i
'eleven'	¹ ts'e ³ tsɿ	² ts'i ³ ɸɿ	³ ts'ɛ ⁴ t'i	³ tɕ'ie ¹ t'i	ts'e ti
'twenty'	² ni ¹ tse	² nie.ɿ ² tsi	³ ŋ ¹ tse	³ ŋ ² tɕi	nji tsi

Note that in Ta-t'un the word for 'one' is unaspirated when standing alone, and is aspirated when used as a part of the word for 'eleven'.

253. *Ordinals.* In Hsiao-hei-ching the speakers use the same system of ordinals as in Pei-shan. There are no ordinals in the Gni area where the cardinals are used for ordinals (188, p. 36). In Pai-mei, Ta-t'un, and Ch'a-tsu the prefix ¹ti, which is borrowed from the Chinese '第', is used as the ordinal prefix: in Ta-t'un the word for 'second' is rendered by ¹ti ³hɛ; in Ch'a-tsu the Chinese forms (rendered as ¹ti ⁵ji, ¹ti ³ɣə) are used for 'first' and 'second', and ti with normal Lolo cardinals is used for the higher numbers. The A-hsi use the Chinese ordinal for 'first' and 'second' and use one of the following two ways of expressing the ordinals from 'third' upwards (188, p. 299):

- cardinal + numerative or its equivalent + t'ɰ ('that') + numerative or its equivalent
- cardinal + numerative or its equivalent + t'i ('one') + numerative or its equivalent

The Li-su employ the second way but add the particle *ma* to the end of the phrase (64, p. 19). The Lolop'o form their ordinals by repeating their

cardinals and adding appropriate numeratives, for example, **t'i mo t'i mo** 'the first one', **so le: so le:** 'the third one' (127, p. 229).

254. Fractions. The speakers of the Hsiao-hei-ching, Pai-mei and Ta-t'un dialects use more or less the same method as employed in the Pei-shan dialect. The speakers of Ch'a-tsu omit the word for 'to divide'. The following is a table of their respective formulas.

<i>Pei-shan & Hsiao-hei-ching</i>	Denominator + ¹ p'o + ¹ ts'ŋ + Numerator + ³ se
<i>Pai-mei</i>	Denominator + ⁵ fe + ⁵ xw + Numerator + ⁵ fe
<i>Ta-t'un</i>	Denominator + ³ pe + ¹ k'ε + Numerator + ³ pe
<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	Denominator + ky + Numerator + ³ ky

As the reader will notice, in Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching different words are used after the denominator and the numerator; in the other dialects mentioned the same word is repeated.

(7) Numeratives and Counting Units.

A. Characteristics.

255. Words of this class, like substantives, pronouns, and numerals, cannot be negated. This class of words is the only one which can be preceded by a numeral.

(i) Numeratives.

B. The Use of Numeratives.

256. Numeratives are frequently used after substantives with or without numerals or pronouns standing between them and the substantives. They fulfill the following functions:

(i) *Distinguishing the meaning of substantives.*

257. A numerative suggests the shape of the object denoted by the substantive. For example, the numerative ²bu is used for things with an even or flat surface, like 'door', 'curtain'; ²tɕie is used for long things, like 'snake', 'street'. Therefore the meaning of one and the same substantive can convey different meanings by the use of different numeratives. Examples are:

- ²ve ²ve ³ts'ŋ ²ma 'one (single) flower'
- ²ve ²ve ³ts'ŋ ²tɕie 'one branch in flower'
- ²ve ²ve ³ts'ŋ ²bo 'one tree in flower'
- ³sɿ ²vo ²ts'ŋ ²ma 'this peach'
- ³sɿ ²vo ²ts'ŋ ²bo 'this peach-tree'
- ³sɿ ²vo ²ve ²ve ²ts'ŋ ²ma 'this peach-flower'

- ³sq ²vo ²ve ²ve ²ts' ²tçie 'this branch of peach blossom'
³sq ²vo ²ve ²ve ²ts' ²bo 'this peach-tree in flower'
²i ²a ¹dzɿ ³pu 'that room'
²i ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma 'that house'
²i ²a ¹dzɿ ²k'e 'that village' (a group of houses)

(ii) *Turning a verb or an adjective into a substantive.*

258. A verb or an adjective can be turned into a substantive by adding to it the appropriate numerative. For example:

- (1) ²ɲa ²sa ²ma ³su ²sɿ ²ma ³a ³su. 'I am looking for a living one, not for a dead one.'
- (2) ²ts' ²a ²ɲe ²ma ³he ³ɿ ²a ²tç'y ²ma ³he ³a ³ɿ. 'He likes a red one, not a white one.'

In the above two sentences ²sa 'to be alive', and ²sɿ 'to die' are verbs; ²a ²ɲe 'red', and ²a ²tç'y 'white' are adjectives: all are used as substantives because the numerative ²ma has been added to them.

(iii) *Serving as the indefinite article.*

259. When a numerative immediately follows a substantive, it has nearly the same function as the English indefinite article *a*. The following are illustrations:

- (1) ²a ¹dzɿ ³ko ²ts' ²ma ²la. 'There comes a person.'
- (2) ²bo ²dzɯ ²ma ³a ²ɲ ²zu ²ma ¹tçio ³a ¹ts'ɿ ²ɲ ²ta ²za ²k'ɔ. 'A man is braver than a woman.'
- (3) ³ve ²se ²ma ³de ³ve ²ma ¹lo ²p'i ²çi. 'A host should respect a guest.'

Where it is necessary to express singularity of the object, the cardinal numeral ³ts'ɿ should be used, as in the following sentence:

- ²ts' ³ts'ɿ ²ma ²ts'e ³ko ²a ³di ²djio. 'There is only one person here.'

C. List of Numeratives.

260. Here are the numeratives arranged in alphabetical order:

- (1) ²bo. For plants except for a single blade of grass. Examples: ³sq ²bo 'tree'; ²sa 'wheat'; ²ɹ 'grass' (the whole plant is intended).
- (2) ¹bu. For things with an even or flat surface such as ³e ²k'ɯ 'door'; ³fɿ ²tsɿ 'mat'; ¹e ³po 'coverlet', etc.
- (3) ²djie. For meals. Example: ²dza 'meal'; ³ts'ɯ 'breakfast'.
- (4) ¹dze. For 'books', ²t'ɯ ²ɹ.
- (5) ²dzɿ. For ³ɲa ¹ts'o 'gun'; ²ɲ ¹ɿa 'saddle (on back of horse)'; ²ndzu ²du 'lock'.

- (6) **²gu**. For an article of clothing. Examples: ¹ve ³ga 'clothes'; ¹mbo 'skirt'; ¹la 'trousers'.
- (7) **²ka**. For a quantity of 'tobacco'. (²ie ³ts'ŋ ²ka means 'one pipe of tobacco' or 'one cigarette'.)
- (8) **²k'e**. For ²i 'village'. (The word has this meaning only when the numerative ²k'e is used with it.)
- (9) **²ma**. For persons, animals, birds, insects, excepting those using ²tɕie as their numeratives; things of round form (like fruits, wheels); and anything having no special numerative (like 'basket', 'written character').
- (10) **¹ŋŋ**. For ³to ²fu / ¹tu ³fu 'bean-curd' and any river or brook. Both ¹e ³go and ²ʒ mean 'water'; if ¹ŋŋ is used with one of the two it means 'river' or 'brook'.
- (11) **¹p'ie**. For tools with a blade like ²di ²ŋ 'knife'; ²ve ³mo 'axe'; ²nie ²ta 'scissors'; and for ²ŋgu ²lu 'tile'.
- (12) **³pu**. Only for the word ²i when the meaning 'room' is intended.
- (13) **¹p'ŋ**. For a flat piece of anything. Examples: ³ŋm ¹sŋ ³ts'ŋ ¹p'ŋ 'a piece of cloth'; ³t'u ²ʒ ³ts'ŋ ¹p'ŋ 'a piece of paper'.
- (14) **¹šo**. For 'song or poem'. Examples: ³ts'o ³lo ³ts'ŋ ¹šo 'one song'; ¹k'u ³ŋ ³ho ²su ³ts'ŋ ¹šo 'one song for New Year's Day'.
- (15) **²tɕie**. For anything in slender form excepting persons and plants, like ²bu ²ŋ ¹ 'snake'; ¹i 'needle'; ²se ²ndzø 'thread'; ²he 'arrow'; ³t'u ²ʒ ²bu ²du 'pen'; ³ŋ ²mo 'boat'; ³tɕie ¹ša 'street'; and for ³ts'u ²zu 'cup, bowl'.
- (16) **²tɕ'ie**. For xo 'bow'; ³t'u ²ʒ 'paper' (when 'sheet' is intended).
- (17) **²tɕio**. For 'cloud'. Example: ²tie ²ts'ŋ ²tɕio 'one cloud'.
- (18) **³t'u**. For 'rain' (when 'a short period' is intended).

D. A Variation of the Numerative ²ma.

261. When three or more persons are implied ²io is used instead of ²ma. For example:

- (1) ²ts'ə ²sə ²io ²ts'e ³ko ²djio. 'There are three persons here.'
- (2) ²no ²su ²ts'e ²io ³ŋ ²ŋ ¹tu ²la. 'Ten Lolos will come tomorrow.'

The above rule is also followed after the interrogative pronoun ²çi 'what, which'. After ³k'u ²ŋø 'how many, how much', ²io is generally used unless the speaker is sure that the number cannot be larger than two. For example:

- (1) ²ts'ə ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²çi ²ma ²ŋu? 'What is this person?'
- (2) ²ts'ə ²ts'ŋ ²sə ²io ²çi ²io ²ŋu? 'What are these three persons?'
- (3) ²ts'ə ³k'u ²ŋø ²io ²a ¹dʒ ³ko ²djio? 'How many persons are there in that place?'

E. Other Dialects.

262. The Hsiao-hei-ching dialect uses nearly the same numeratives as the Pei-shan dialect except that some are different in pronunciation. These two dialects possess fewer numeratives than all the other dialects I know. The Pai-mei dialect, for instance, has 44 numeratives. Each of the other dialects has a widely used numerative equivalent to ²ma of the Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching dialects. Here is a table to show the correspondence of this general numerative:

Pei-shan & Hsiao-hei-ching	² ma
Gni (188, p. 76)	ma
Lolop'o (127, pp. 206-7)	mo, le:, de:
A-hsi (188, p. 298)	mo, lø
Li-su (64, p. 16)	ma
Ta-t'un	¹ t'a, ¹ na, ¹ a or ³ a
Pai-mei	¹ te
Ch'a-tsu	¹ na, ³ la, ³ ma, ⁵ tç'i ² γ, ² wo

(ii) Counting units.

F. Meaning of 'Counting Units'.

263. Under 'counting units' I include (1) measures and weights and (2) divisions of time and seasons. These terms are substantives in meaning but they are grammatically of the same class as the numeratives. Both the numeratives and the counting units can be preceded by numerals and demonstrative pronouns, but the substantives cannot. For example:

- (1) ²ηω ²mo ³ts'γ ²lo ²ηω. 'Five mo make one lo.'
- (2) ³ts'γ ¹k'u ²ts'e ³ju ²ω. 'One year has twelve months.'
- (3) ³ηm ¹ɿ ²ts'γ ¹p'γ ¹he ²ts'γ. 'This piece of cloth measures eight ²ts'γ.'

G. Measures and Weights.

(a) Measures of quantity.

264.

²mo = equals the Chinese 'peck'

²lo = five ²mo

²ie = two ²lo

²ɿγ = one-tenth of a ²mo

For measuring quantity below the ${}^2\text{ʂ}\text{ɿ}$, ${}^3\text{tʂ}\text{w}$ ${}^2\text{z}\text{w}$ ‘bowl’ is used. There are some other words for indefinite quantity:

${}^3\text{k}\text{w}$ = handful. Example: ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{w}}$ ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{y}}$ ${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ${}^3\text{k}\text{w}$ ‘one handful of rice’.

${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ = a tuft, a skein. Example: ${}^2\text{se}$ ${}^2\text{ndz}\text{ø}$ ${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ‘one skein of thread’.

${}^2\text{ga}$ = a crowd, a flock, a pile. Examples: ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɔ}}$ ${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘a crowd of persons’; ${}^3\text{g}\text{w}$ ${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘a flock of wild geese’; ${}^2\text{dz}\text{u}$ ${}^2\text{gu}$ ${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘a pile of things’.

(b) *Measures of length.*

265. For measuring things or short distances the Chinese terms are used:

${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ = a Chinese foot

${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ue}}$ = one-tenth of a ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$

For the Chinese *chang* (丈), ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{e}}$ ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ‘ten ${}^2\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ’ is used; for a roll of cloth corresponding to a Chinese *p’i* (疋) or *chien* (件) ${}^1\text{io}$ or ${}^1\text{p}^{\text{ɿ}}$ is used.

266. Road distances are expressed in terms of ‘a day’s journey’. Examples:

${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{w}}$ ${}^1\text{ŋgo}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘a dawn’s journey’ (starting about one or one and a half hours before breakfast and reaching a place at breakfast time)

${}^1\text{ma}$ ${}^3\text{lo}$ ${}^2\text{k}^{\text{u}}$ ${}^1\text{he}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘a little less than a half day’s journey’ (starting in early morning and reaching a place before noon; lit. “noon inside outside journey”)

${}^3\text{bu}$ ${}^2\text{dze}$ ${}^2\text{k}^{\text{u}}$ ${}^1\text{he}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘a bit more than a half day’s journey’ (starting in early morning and reaching a place at lunch time, i.e. between about one and two o’clock p.m.)

${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ɿ}}$ ${}^3\text{j}\text{i}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘one day’s journey’

${}^2\text{s}\text{ɔ}$ ${}^3\text{j}\text{i}$ ${}^2\text{ga}$ ‘three days’ journey’

(c) *The measure of area.*

267. There is only one word of this kind: ${}^3\text{p}^{\text{u}}$ corresponding to the Chinese *ch’iu* (丘), which is only used in southwestern China. It has no fixed limit. It may sometimes mean half an acre and may sometimes mean several acres.

(d) *Weights.*

268.

${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ie}}$ = equals Chinese *chin* (斤)

${}^3\text{io}$ = one-sixteenth of a ${}^3\text{tʂ}^{\text{ie}}$

${}^2\text{ɿ}$ = one-tenth of a ${}^3\text{io}$

${}^2\text{z}$ = one-tenth of a ${}^2\text{ɿ}$

H. Times and Seasons.

(a) *Day and different periods of a day.*

269.

- ³ɲi 'day (of twenty-four hours)
²ɲ ³ɲi 'day (as opposed to night)
¹ʃ^ɻ ³mo / ¹k^ʷ ³mo 'night'
²ɲ ²tʰi 'morning'
¹mo ²ɛ 'forenoon'
¹ma ²o / ¹ma ²ɬw 'noon'
³bu ²dze 'afternoon'
³ɲ ¹ʃ^ɻ / ³ɲ ¹k^ʷ 'evening, to be dark'
³e ³ɲi 'today'
³ɲ ³ʂɻ ¹tuw / ³ɲ ³ʂɻ ³ɲi 'tomorrow'
²ts^ʰa ¹p^ʰo ³ɲi / ²ts^ʰa ¹p^ʰa ³ɲi 'day after tomorrow'
¹ts^ʰa ³a ³tʰɕi ³ɲi 'the second day after tomorrow'
¹ts^ʰa ³a ¹ɬa ³ɲi 'the third day after tomorrow'
³a ³de ¹he 'yesterday'
¹ʂɔ ²mo ³ts^ʰɻ ³ɲi 'day before yesterday'
¹ʂɔ ²mo ¹ʂɔ ²mo ³ts^ʰɻ ³ɲi / ¹ʂɔ ²ɲ ³o ³de ¹he 'three days ago'
³e ²mi (¹ʃ^ɻ ³mo) 'tonight'
³ɲ ³ʂɻ ²mi (¹ʃ^ɻ ³mo) 'the second night from today'
²ts^ʰa ³a ¹p^ʰo ²mi / ²ts^ʰa ³a ¹p^ʰa ²mi 'the third night from today'
³a ³ndo ¹ho (¹ʃ^ɻ ³mo) / ³a ¹mi 'last night'
¹ʂɔ ²mo ²ts^ʰɻ ¹ho 'the night before last'

(b) *Dates of a month.*

270. The Lolos in Sikang divide the month into two parts: the first part is called ²ɲ ²dɔ and contains the first fifteen days of a month, and the second part is called ²ɲ ²ʒ and contains the remaining days of the month. ²ɲ means 'heaven, sky' in derivative words; ²dɔ means 'to go up, to climb up'; ²ʒ means 'to go down, to descend'. According to the Lolo shamans, the moon goes up the sky during the first half of the month and starts coming down from the sixteenth night of the month. When they say ³e ²mi ²ɲ ²dɔ they mean 'There is moonlight tonight'; ³e ²mi ²ɲ ²ʒ means 'There is no moonlight tonight'.

271. The names of the first ten days of a month begin with ²dɔ, followed by the cardinal numeral and then ³ɲi 'day'. Thus:

- ²dɔ ³ts^ʰɻ ³ɲi 'the first day of a month'
²dɔ ³ɲi ³ɲi 'the second'
²dɔ ²sɔ ³ɲi 'the third'

²dɔ ²ts'e ³ni 'the tenth'

From the eleventh to the fifteenth ²dɔ is omitted, thus:

²ts'e ²tsɿ ³ni 'the eleventh'

²ts'e ²ŋw ³ni 'the fifteenth'

The names of the days from the sixteenth onwards are all formed by prefixing ²ʒ to cardinals and ending with the word for 'day'. Care must be taken that the sixteenth starts from the cardinal 'one' again. Thus,

²ʒ ³ts'ɿ ³ni 'sixteenth' (the first day of going down)

²ʒ ³ni ³ni 'seventeenth'

²ʒ ²sɔ ³ni 'eighteenth'

²ʒ ²ŋw ³ni 'twentieth'

²ʒ ²ts'e ²l ³ni 'twenty-ninth'

²ʒ ²ts'e ²ŋw ³ni 'thirtieth'

'Fifteenth' and 'thirtieth' (or 'twenty-ninth' if the month contains only 29 days) can also be expressed by ²dɔ ²gɘ and ²ʒ ²gɘ respectively. ²gɘ means 'to exterminate'.

(c) *Year and month.*

272. The Lolos in Sikang distinguish only two seasons: one is ²ŋ ²ni 'the warm season' (from the second month to the seventh of a year), and the other is ²ŋ ²ts'u 'cold season' (from the eighth month of one year to the first month of the next). The word for 'year' is ¹k'u or sometimes ¹k'o; 'this year', 'next year', etc., are formed by adding other words to ¹k'u:

³a ²ŋ ²ʒo ¹k'u 'this year'

¹ŋio ³a ²de ¹k'u 'next year'

²ɣa ²de ¹k'u 'year after next'

³a ¹he ²de ¹k'u 'last year'

²mie ²de ¹k'u 'year before last'

273. The word for 'month' is ²bu ³lɔw and 'this month' is expressed by ³a ²ŋ ²ts'ɿ ²bu ³lɔw; 'next month' by ²ɣa ²bu ³lɔw ²su; 'last month' by ²mie ²bu ³lɔw ²su.

274. The names of the twelve months of a year are formed by combining the names of the twelve symbolical animals and ³lɔw or ¹lɔw which is the contracted form of ²bu ³lɔw. Although the order of the names of the twelve animals is the same as that of the Chinese, the first month is not only different from that of the Chinese but also varies according to region. For instance, in Chao-chüeh the first month of a year is 'Monkey'; in Chu-hei 'Hen'; in P'u-hsüing 'Dog'. All the above three places are in the Ta-liang

Mountains. In most parts of Mien-ning, Hsi-ch'ang and Chiu-lung, the first month starts with 'Horse'. The following are the names of the twelve months starting with 'Horse':

- ²ŋ ³ɬw 'first month' (Horse Month)
- ²io ³ɬw 'second month' (Sheep Month)
- ¹ŋio ³ɬw 'third month' (Monkey Month)
- ²va ³ɬw 'fourth month' (Hen Month)
- ²ɬɿ ³ɬw or in some places ²k'w ³ɬw 'fifth month' (Dog Month)
- ²vo ³ɬw 'sixth month' (Pig Month)
- ¹he ³ɬw 'seventh month' (Rat Month)
- ²ŋø ³ɬw 'eighth month' (Ox Month)
- ¹la ³ɬw 'ninth month' (Tiger Month)
- ³t'w ³w ³ɬw 'tenth month' (Rabbit Month)
- ²lu ³ɬw 'eleventh month' (Dragon Month)
- ³ʂɿ ³ɬw 'twelfth month' (Snake Month)

(d) *Other dialects.*

275. The distinction of two parts of a month exists in all the Lolo dialects of Sikang and Szechwan. Most of the other dialects we know have adopted the Chinese calendar and their first month is 'Tiger'.

(8) **Interjections.**

276. The following interjections are in common use:

- (1) ²ŋe. Expresses assent in the sense of 'your request or command will be complied with' or 'it is as you said'. This interjection becomes ³nie ³nie in Pai-mei, ³ŋə ³ŋə in Ch'a-tsu, ³ŋ in Ta-t'un.
- (2) ⁴ŋ. Expresses dissent.
- (3) ⁵ẽ. Indicates failure to understand what has been said. The speakers of the Pai-mei dialect use ³ẽ.
- (4) ³a ³ɬw / ³a ³ɬw ³a ³ɬw. Expresses surprise. It becomes ³ɔ ¹ɬw or ³ɔ ¹ɬw ³ɔ ¹ɬw in Ch'a-tsu and ³a ³ɬw ⁶ɣw in Pai-mei.
- (5) ¹a ³i. Expresses sorrow. ³ɔ: ²mɛ: in Ta-t'un.
- (6) ³hv. Expresses hatred. It becomes ³ha in Ta-t'un,⁶⁴ and ³hẽ in Pai-mei.
- (7) ¹jiɛ. Expresses welcome. It becomes ²a ²jiɛ in Pai-mei and ³a ²jiɑ: in Ta-t'un.
- (8) ³ha ³ha. Sound of amusement.
- (9) ²ɛ / ²ɛ ²ɛ. A familiar vocative.

⁶⁴ MS. may read ¹ha. [Ed.]

- (10) $^3\text{a } ^3\text{jio}$. Expresses pain or pity. It becomes $^5\text{a } ^3\text{jio}$ in Ch'a-tsu, $^3\text{a } ^3\text{jio}$ in Ta-t'un and $^2\text{a } ^3\text{jio } ^2\text{jio}$ in Pai-mei. In Ch'a-tsu a man may also use $^5\text{a } ^3\text{la } ^5\text{a } ^3\text{la}$ to express pain, and a woman $^5\text{a } ^3\text{la } ^5\text{ei}$.
- (11) f^{x} , $\text{f}^{\text{x}} \text{f}^{\text{x}}$. (The superscript x denotes that the preceding sound is produced by inhaling breath.) Expressive of dreadful or unbearable pain, especially when a patient is obliged to move. It becomes f^{x} in Ta-t'un.
- (12) ts^{x} / $\text{ts}^{\text{x}} \text{ts}^{\text{x}}$ / p^{x} / $\text{p}^{\text{x}} \text{p}^{\text{x}}$. Expresses praise. These sounds are clicks.

CHAPTER V

WORD-FORMATION

(1) Compound Words.

A. Contraction of One Component of Compounds.

277. Many compound words consists of one component which is a full word when standing alone and another component which appears to be an abbreviated form of a word. For example: ²η ²ʃʌ 'star' contains ²η and ²ʃʌ. ²ʃʌ can stand alone in the meaning 'star' and ²η has the meaning of 'heaven, sky' for which the word in current use is ²mo ²η. Another interesting example is ²no ²η 'Lolo land', which consists of ²no 'Black Lolo', and ²η which comes from ²η ²ɗw 'land'. Similarly ²ʒə ²η means 'Chinese land', and ²su ²η means 'strange place, foreign country'. Although ²η in compounds means sometimes 'heaven' and sometimes 'land', it cannot be used alone to mean either 'heaven' or 'land'. Therefore ²η must be a contracted form of the word for 'heaven' and that for 'land' although we cannot be sure whether the present ²mo ²η and ²η ²ɗw themselves are original or not. In some cases the compounds obviously keep some ancient forms. One example will be sufficient here. The current word for 'head' is ²e ²ʃʃie but in some compounds the component which means 'head' is ²o, as in ²o ²ʃi 'hair on the human head' (lit. "head hair") and ²o ¹no 'brain', of which the ¹no means 'brain'. ²o still means 'head' in poems or proverbs. The following words from other dialects will also help to show its original meaning:

	<i>Hsiao- hei-ching</i>	<i>Gni</i> ⁶⁵	<i>A-hi</i>	<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>	<i>Ta-t'un</i>	<i>Pai-mei</i>
head	¹ o ¹ ma, ¹ o ¹ ʃʃi	ko	o ko	¹ vu ² ɗw	² vu ¹ dε	³ η ³ tu ² peɿ
hair	¹ o ¹ ʃie	o ts'e		⁵ vu ¹ ts'e	² vu ¹ ʃʃie	³ η ¹ ʃʃə
brains	³ o ¹ no	o nu		¹ vu ³ na	¹ η ³ nəu	⁵ noη

It is certain that the first part of those three words means 'head', except for the words for 'brains' in Ta-t'un and Pai-mei. In the examples given in the next sections the current form of any component of a compound is given in brackets whenever the compounded form is different from the current form.

⁶⁵ 188, pp. 321, 80, 71.

B. Construction of Compounds.

(a) Compound Substantives.

278. Compound substantives are a very large proportion of the compound words and are formed in the following ways.

(I) Substantive + Substantive = Substantive.

279. (i) *Attributive compounds* (the first component modifies the second):

- ²ʂə 'Chinese' + ²ŋ (²ŋ ²du) 'land' = ²ʂə ²ŋ 'Chinese land'
³i ³tø 'coat' + ¹lo 'hand' = ³i ³tø ¹lo 'sleeves'
²sɿ 'wood' + ¹lo 'hand' = ²sɿ ¹lo 'branches'
²sɿ 'wood' + ²ŋ 'horse' = ²sɿ ²ŋ 'cart'
²ɣ 'intestines' + ³ma ²ma 'fruit' = ²ɣ ³ma ²ma 'kidney'
²djie 'bee' + ²ʒ 'water' = ²djie ²ʒ 'honey'
²bu (²ho ²bu) 'sun' + ²ʒ 'shadow' = ²bu ²ʒ 'shadow'
²ʒ 'water' + ¹ɣ 'upper part' = ²ʒ ¹ɣ 'north'
²ʒ 'water' + ¹ŋm 'lower part' = ²ʒ ¹ŋm 'south'⁶⁶

280. (ii) *Synonymic compounds*:⁶⁷

- ¹p'o 'part' + ¹tɕio 'side' = ¹p'o ¹tɕio 'direction'
¹sa 'sign' + ²ʒ 'shadow' = ¹sa ²ʒ 'shadow'

(II) Substantive + Adjective = Substantive.

281. The second component always modifies the first:

- ²ɣ 'intestines' + ²no 'black' = ²ɣ ²no 'large intestines'⁶⁸
²ɣ 'intestines' + ²ŋe 'red' = ²ɣ ²ŋe 'small intestines'
¹la 'tiger' + ²ŋe 'red' = ¹la ³ŋe 'fierce tiger'
¹tɕio 'eagle' + ²no 'black' = ¹tɕio ³no 'fierce eagle'

(III) Substantive + Verb = Substantive.

282. The first component is the object of the action:

- ²dza 'food, cooked rice' + ²ŋ 'to make' = ²dza ²ŋ 'cook'
²sɿ 'wood' + ²k'ɛ 'to cut' = ²sɿ ²k'ɛ 'woodcutter'

⁶⁶ These two words show that their inventors were living near a river flowing from north to south.

⁶⁷ Synonymic compounds are rare and no adversative compounds exist.

⁶⁸ In the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect ¹ɣ ¹ne 'large intestines' is from ¹ɣ 'intestines' and ¹ne 'black'; ¹ɣ ²tɕɣ 'small intestines' from ¹ɣ 'intestines' and ²tɕɣ 'white'.

- ²dza 'food, cooked rice' + ²ɲ 'to make' = ²dza ²ɲ 'cook'
²sɻ 'wood' + ²k'ɛ 'to cut' = ²sɻ ²k'ɛ 'woodcutter'
¹lo ³ga 'palm of the hand' + ³hu 'to look into' = ¹lo ³ga ³hu
 'palmist'
³ɲio 'work, affair' + ²bo 'to have' = ³ɲio ²bo 'worker, farmer,
 labourer'

283. The first component is the agent:

- ²bu (²ho ²bu) 'sun' + ²du 'to come or go out' = ²bu ²du 'east'⁶⁹
²bu (²ho ²bu) 'sun' + ²djie 'to fall' = ²bu ²djie 'west'
²sɻ 'wood' + ¹tɕio ³lo 'to roll' = ²sɻ ¹tɕio ³lo 'wheel'

(IV) *Substantive + Numerative = Substantive.*

284. In some cases the addition of the numerative is to a certain extent facultative and contributes nothing to the meaning. The ³lu, ¹mo, ³he of the following examples are still often used alone in poems, songs, or proverbs. In other cases the specific numerative will change the significance of the substantive, as ²ɲio, ²i and ²sɻ in the last three of the following examples:

- ³lu 'stone' + ²ma = ³lu ¹ma 'stone'
¹mo 'soldier' + ²io (a NUM for three or more persons) = ¹mo ³io
 'soldier'
³he 'heart' + ²ma = ³he ¹ma 'heart'
²dzɻ 'tooth' + ²ma = ²dzɻ ¹ma 'tooth'
³fu 'button' + ²tɕie = ³fu ³tɕie 'button'
²ɲio (²ɲio ³tsɻ) 'eye' + ²ma = ²ɲio ¹ma 'eye-ball'
²i 'house' + ²k'ɛ = ²i ²k'ɛ 'village'
²sɻ 'wood' + ²bo = ²sɻ ²bo 'tree'

(V) *Substantive + Numeral = Substantive.*

285. In the following examples ¹po seems to be connected with ¹p'a 'father', and ¹mo is definitely another form of ¹a ¹mo 'mother'.

Examples:

- ¹po ³ɲi 'father and one of his sons or daughters'
¹po ²sɔ 'father and two of his sons or daughters'
¹po ²ɳ 'father and three of his sons or daughters'
¹po ²ɲu 'father and four of his sons or daughters'
¹mo ³ɲi 'mother and one of her sons or daughters'
¹mo ²sɔ 'mother and two of her sons or daughters', etc.

⁶⁹ The ²bu in these two examples can be replaced by ²dzɻ 'sun', which is now used only in the written language.

(VI) *Compound substantives formed by three or more words.*

286. These compounds are few in Lolo.

Substantive + Verb + Substantive = Substantive.

¹mo (¹mo ³io) 'soldier' + ²ʂɿ 'to command' + ³se ²p'o 'chief, officer' = ¹mo ²ʂɿ ³se ²p'o 'military officer'

Substantive + Substantive + Verb = Substantive.

²ʂɿ ²ɳ 'cart' + ³du 'wing' + ²tiɛ 'to bear' = ²ʂɿ ²ɳ ³du ²tiɛ 'flying cart, aircraft'⁷⁰

287. Some four-syllable substantives are formed by the formula ³ʂɿ + substantive X + ¹se + substantive X'. Substantives formed in this way always refers to mysterious things. (³ʂɿ 'to know', ¹se 'to kill').

³ʂɿ ²zu ¹se ²zu 'god' (= ³ʂɿ ²zu)

³ʂɿ ²ɳ ¹se ²ɳ 'mysterious horse'

(VII) *Special compound substantives.*

288. The first type is formed by the combination of a verb and a substantive, e.g., ³ʂɿ 'to know' + ²zu 'son' = ³ʂɿ ²zu 'god' (lit. "son of knowledge").

The second type contains two verbs, e.g., ²mbiɛ 'to shoot (arrows)' + ²pu 'to resist' = ²mbiɛ ²pu 'leather sleeves' (formerly worn to protect arms from injury by arrows or spears.)

(b) *Compound Adjectives.*

289. *Substantive + Adjective = Adjective.*

²ɣu 'strength' + ¹ʂɿ 'dry' = ²ɣu ¹ʂɿ 'thirsty'

²ga 'road' + ²ʂo (²a ²ʂo) 'long' = ²ga ²ʂo 'far'⁷¹

²ko (³ko ¹po) 'body' + ²ts'a 'hot' = ²ko ²ts'a 'busy (physically)'

³he (³he ¹ma) 'heart' + ²ts'a 'hot' = ³he ²ts'a 'busy (mentally)'

²ndʒɿ 'skin' + ¹ndʒa 'beautiful' = ²ndʒɿ ¹ndʒa 'strong'⁷²

²ts'u 'salt' + ²ɸɿ 'sweet' = ²ts'u ²ɸɿ 'salty'⁷³

(c) *Compound Verbs.*

290. Compound verbs are formed in the following two ways:

⁷⁰ ²ʂɿ ²ɳ is a compound itself; see § 279.

⁷¹ ²ga ²ɳi 'near' is formed on the analogy of ²ga ²ʂo (²ɳi means 'near' itself).

⁷² 'Weak' is expressed by ²ndʒɿ ³a ¹ndʒa, literally, "skin not beautiful".

⁷³ In the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect the word is ²ts'u ²k'u, where ²k'u means 'bitter'.

(I) *Substantive + Verb = Verb.*⁷⁴

291.

²ṃ (²mo ²ṃ) 'heaven, sky' + ²ku 'to sound' = ²ṃ²ku 'to thunder'

²ʒ 'water' + ²ndzo 'to pass through' = ²ʒ²ndzo 'to leak'

²ʒ 'water' + ¹ʃṽ 'to comb' = ²ʒ¹ʃṽ 'to swim'

(II) *Verb + Verb = Verb.*

292. These are always compounds of synonyms or near-synonyms:

²ṃø 'to swallow' + ¹ndo 'to inhale, to drink' = ²ṃø¹ndo 'to swallow'

³tɕio 'to scold' + ¹tsɿ 'to blame' = ³tɕio¹tsɿ 'to scold, to call one's name'

C. Other Dialects.

293. All the dialects we know share in the general characteristic that most compounds are substantives and most compound substantives are formed by combining two substantives.

294. In the Ch'a-tsu dialect there are many compound substantives which are formed by adding a Chinese loan-word to a Lolo word. In these compounds the Lolo component corresponds in meaning with a part of the borrowed Chinese compound. For example:

⁵dji ³p'i ³xε 'leather shoes': ⁵dji is a Lolo word meaning 'leather'; ³p'i ³xε is from Chinese, where 皮 ³p'i means 'leather' and 鞋 ³xε means 'shoe'. Thus the compound means literally 'leather-leather-shoe'.

³t'ɔ ³vi ¹çin ³tsɿ 'letter-paper': ³t'ɔ ³vi is the Lolo word for 'paper'; ¹çin ³tsɿ is borrowed from the Chinese word for 'letter-paper', where 信 ¹çin means 'letter' and 紙 ³tsɿ means 'paper'. Thus the compound means literally 'paper-letter-paper'.

³va ¹tçie ³po ¹ts'ε 'spinach': ³va ¹tçie is Lolo, meaning 'vegetable'; 白 ³po 菜 ¹ts'ε is the Chinese word for 'spinach', of which ¹ts'ε means 'vegetable'. Thus the compound means literally 'vegetable-spinach-vegetable'.

In the same dialect there is one compound which contains a Lolo adjective and a Chinese loan-word. It is ³mɔ ²t'uē⁵ji 'tortoise', where the Lolo component ³mɔ means 'old' and the borrowed component ³t'uē⁵ji 圓魚 (round fish) means 'tortoise'; the compound means literally 'old round fish'. Note that the adjective is placed before the word qualified in this compound.

⁷⁴ There is no formal difference from the nominal compounds in § 282 and the function is fixed by usage.

(2) Derivatives.

A. Distinction between Compound Words and Derivatives.

295. Compound words are formed by combining two or more full words of which one component may occasionally be contracted. The derivatives are formed either by combining one or more words and other grammatical elements (e.g. prefixes), or by changing the body of a word (consonant, vowel, and/or tone), or by reduplication.

B. Classes of Derivatives.

296. The derivatives are of five kinds: (a) those formed by means of a prefix; (b) those formed by means of a suffix; (c) those formed by a particle; (d) those formed by significant change in the body of a word; and (e) those formed by reduplication.

(a) Derivation by prefix.

297. There are five prefixes: **a**, **o**, **e**, **ma** and **ba**. When used with the honorific names of uncles or aunts, ³**a**, ³**o**, ³**ma** and ³**ba** have the function of a vocative. When used with kinship terms **a** has no vocative function in the Pei-shan dialect, but it forms the vocative in some other dialects (§ 112). **a** forms a part of many interrogative pronouns in the Hsiao-hei-ching, Ta-t'un, Ch'a-tsu and Pai-mei dialects (§§ 150, 151). With many adjectives **a** and **e** serve to denote the greater and lesser degrees of magnitude (§ 161); with some others, especially adjectives of colour, **a** is also used but without significant function (§ 162).

(b) Derivation by suffix.

298. The suffixes used in derivation are as follows:

- (i) ²**yo**. For the plurals of the personal pronouns, with change of the vowels of the singular forms (§ 121).
- (ii) ²**gw**. For the plurals of the demonstrative pronouns (§ 133).
- (iii) ³**ko**. For the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns of place (§§ 134, 140).
- (iv) ²**di**, ²**dw**, or ²**dzɿ**. For the interrogative pronouns 'who', 'whom' (§ 140).
- (v) ¹**mo** and ²**zw**. ¹**mo**, probably from ¹**a** ¹**mo** 'mother', is used to express superiority in size, age, etc., while ²**zw** 'son' is used as a diminutive in compounds. Examples are:

³**ɳw** (³**ɳw** ¹**po**) 'ear' + ¹**mo** =

³**ɳw** ¹**mo** 'ear excepting lobe'

³**ɳw** ²**zw** 'ear-lobe'

²ʒ 'water' + ¹mo = ²ʒ ¹mo 'river'
²ʒ ²zɯ 'brook'
¹lo 'hand' + ¹mo = ¹lo ³mo 'thumb'
²di ²ɲ 'knife' + ²zɯ = ²di ²ɲ ²zɯ 'small knife'

(c) *Derivation by particles.*

(i) *Substantivization.*

299. The particles ²su and ²du (or ²lu in the written language) are used to substantivize a verb or an adjective. The particle ²su denotes the agent, whereas ²du denotes the thing which is acted upon or which is used. Thus, ³sɻ ²su expresses 'wise man' ('he who knows'), but ³sɻ ²du means 'knowledge' ('what is known').

³he ²su 'speaker'

¹ɲa ²su 'teacher'

³pɻ ²su 'porter'

²ʒ ²du 'joke' (what is laughed at)

²dʒio ²du 'matter, affair, accident' ('what is had'; i.e., what happened)

³he ²du 'words, speech, expressions' (what is spoken).

²dzu ²du 'food' (what is eaten)

³ndu ²du 'hammer' (what is used for striking)

²ndzu ²du 'lock' (what is used for locking).

Some of the words formed by adding ²su have special meaning. Thus, ²no ²su, which should mean anything that is black, is generally used as the tribal name of the Lolo.

There are two exceptional uses of ²su where according to the above rule ²du would be expected:

¹e ³go ³tse ²su 'kettle, pot' (¹e ³go 'water'; ³tse 'to hold'; ²su in this word can be replaced by ²du)

³ho ²su 'song' (This word can also mean 'singer' when the context requires this meaning.)

(ii) *Adverbs (see §§ 233-236).*

(d) *Derivation by the change of the body of a word.*

300. Some derivatives are formed by changing the body of a word with or without the addition of a suffix. Examples of such derivatives are:

(a) The vowel change of the singular forms of personal pronouns when the plurals are formed, with or without the addition of the suffix ²yo. In the first and second person pronouns, this is accompanied by a change of tones (§ 121).

- (b) The tonal and vocalic change of the singular form of the pronoun of the second person when the possessive case is formed (§ 124).
- (c) The tonal and vocalic change of the word ³ni when the dual number is formed (§ 128).
- (d) The tonal change of the verb ¹ndu when the passive voice is formed (§ 203).
- (e) The change of the consonant of the word ²ku when past time is intended (§ 215).
- (e) *Derivation by reduplication.*

301. Emphasis can be expressed by doubling adjectives. For examples see § 169.

302. Adverbs of manner or degree can also be doubled either for emphasis or for euphony:

² a ² za (² ŋ ² ta) 'slowly'	² a ² za ² a ² za (² ŋ ² ta) 'very slowly'
¹ he ² djio (² ŋ ² ta) 'quickly'	¹ he ² djio ¹ he ² djio (² ŋ ² ta) 'very quickly'

The second ²a and ¹he in the above examples can be omitted.

² ga ³ ɕw (² ŋ ² ta) 'far'	² ga ³ ɕw ² ga ³ ɕw (² ŋ ² ta) 'very far'
¹ mbo (² ŋ ² ta) 'carefully, well'	³ mbo ¹ mbo (² ŋ ² ta) 'very carefully, very well'
² ko 'very, too'	² ko ² ko 'very very, too'

303. For reduplication and insertion of the particle ²dʒɿ at the same time, see § 170.

(3) Formulas for the Structure of Words.

304. From the foregoing sections of this chapter, the following formulas for the structure of isolated words (mono- or polysyllabic) may be offered.⁷⁵

- (1) R
²vo 'pig'; ²a ²ti 'sneeze'; ³xo ¹xo 'jewsharp'

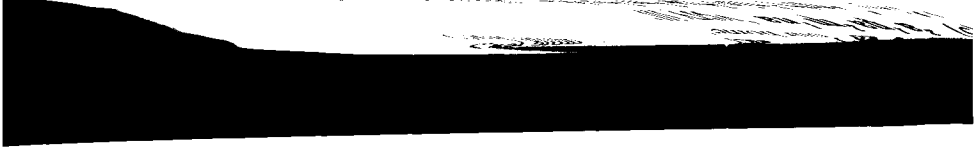
⁷⁵ Abbreviations and symbols:

R	radical word
R', R'', R'''	a second, a third, a fourth R
p	prefix
s	suffix
pa	particle
()	symbolizes the incapacity of an element to stand alone
-	represents a syllable of a R, which has been omitted
superscript xx	symbolizes change of consonant, vowel, or tone
<	change from

- (2) R + R
 $^2v\epsilon$ $^2v\epsilon$ 'flower' ($^2v\epsilon$ can be used alone for the same meaning)
- (3) R + (-R)
 $^2k'a$ ^2sa ^2sa 'thanks'
 1he 2djio 2djio 'quickly'
- (4) (p) + (R) (The R is sometimes used alone in written language.)
 2a 2no 'black'; 2a ^2so 'long'
- (5) R + (s)
 $^2ts'$ 2gw 'these, this sort'
- (6) R + (pa)
 $^2ts'$ $^2\eta$ 2ta 'in this way' ($^2ts'$ 'this')
- (7) (p) + R - (pa)
 2a $^2\eta\epsilon$ 2su 'the red'
- (8) (R') + R
 $^2\eta$ $^2nd\text{z}\eta$ 'vault of heaven' (lit. "heaven-skin")
- (9) R + (R')
 2su $^2\eta$ 'foreign land'
- (10) R + R'
 $^2s\eta$ 1lo 'tree-branches' (lit. "wood-hand")
- (11) R + R' + R''
 $^2ts'$ 2dzw 1la 3mo 'fierce tiger', generally used figuratively to mean 'a fierce or very brave man'. Note that a qualifying element ($^2ts'$ 2dzw 'man eating') is used before a qualified one only in compounds.
- (12) (R) + R' R''
 1mo $^3\text{sz}\eta$ 3se $^2p'o$ 'military officer'
- (13) R + R' + R'' + R'''⁷⁶
 $^2s\eta$ $^2\eta$ 3du 2tie 'flying cart, aircraft'
- (14) R^{xx}
 3no (< $^2n\omega$) 'you (plural)'

Words formed by means of the formulas (1) and (2) can be called radical words; those formed by (3), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (14) are derivatives; those formed by (8), (9), (10), (11), (12) and (13) are compound words.

⁷⁶ The structure described in § 287 may be regarded as a special case. The formula would be R + R' + R'' + R'.



CHAPTER VI
SYNTAX: GENERAL

(1) Grammatical Relation of Words.

305. The order of words serves to show the grammatical relations between words in phrases or sentences. Such relations are three in number: (I) attribution, (II) co-ordination, and (III) predication. Syntactical particles are sometimes used to express these relations.

(I) Attribution.

A. Position of Elements in Attribution.

306. Words in attribution can be analyzed into two elements: the head of the attribution and the attribute. There are no particles or affixes expressing attribution and heads and attributes are simply juxtaposed. In the following examples the italicized words are heads and the rest are attributes.

(a) *Head precedes attribute.*

307. Adjective attributes, demonstrative pronouns, numerals, and some adverbs always follow.

- (1) *²ve ²ve ²a ²pe ²ma* 'a red flower' (lit. "flower red NUM")
- (2) *²no ²su ²ts'ɿ ²ma* 'this Lolo'
- (3) *³he ²ɣga ³ni ²ma* 'two Chinese'
- (4) *³he ¹ho* 'well spoken' (lit. "speak well")
- (5) *²a ²pe ²ko* 'very red' (lit. "red very")

(b) *Head follows attribute.*

308. Genitive attributes and many adverbs always precede.

- (1) *²a ²nie ³p'u ²su* 'cat's tail' (lit. "cat tail")
- (2) *³tsɔ ²tsɿ ³ʃɿ ²ʃɿ* 'legs of a table' (lit. "table leg")
- (3) *²ts'ɿ ³vɿ ²ɣ* 'his brother'
- (4) *²ɣa ²e ²ko* 'our home'
- (5) *²a ¹ɣa ²ɿ ¹na* 'very ill'
- (6) *²ts'ɿ ³niɔ ²tse ²ɿ ²ta ³he*. 'He speaks carefully.'

(c) *Attribute inserted into the body of a head.*

309. The negative ³a or ¹t'a is inserted always between the two syllables of a word if this word contains more than one syllable. Examples:

- (1) ²γw ³a ¹mo 'not see'
- (2) ²a ³a ²no 'not black'
- (3) ²bu ¹t'a ¹ts'γ. 'Don't stand on ceremony.'

310. Heads or attributes of a longer attributive structure can in turn be analyzed into heads and attributes. Example:

²a ²jnie ²a ²no ²a ¹ηa ²η ¹a ²z ²ma 'a very big black cat'
(lit. "cat black very big NUM")

In the above example ²a ²jnie ²a ²no is the head in which ²a ²jnie is the head and ²a ²no the attribute; ²a ¹ηa ²η ²a ²z ²ma is the attribute which contains ²a ²z as its head and ²a ¹ηa ²η as its attribute.

B. The Closing of an Attribution.

311. An attribution can be closed at its beginning by a personal pronoun in attributive use and at the end by a numerative. In the sentence

¹a ²i ²ts'γ ²ma ²ηa ²zaw ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo ²ma ²ηw.

'This boy is my best son.' (lit. "boy this NUM my son best NUM is")

¹a ²i ²ts'γ ²ma is an attributive phrase in which ¹a ²i is the head and ²ts'γ ²ma the attribute; ²ηa ²zaw ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo ²ma is another attributive phrase in which ²ηa is the attribute and the remaining words form the head. ²ma closes the former attribution at the end, and ²ηa and ²ma close the latter at both ends.

(II) Co-ordination.

A. Structure of Co-ordination.

312. The term co-ordination is used here for a combination of two or more elements of which one does not govern the other.

B. Ways of Expressing Co-ordination.

313. Co-ordination is expressed in the following ways (the co-ordinated elements are italicized in the examples):

(a) *Juxtaposition.*

314. The order of elements of a co-ordinative structure is free, though it sometimes reflects the importance of position or period of time. Examples:

- (1) ²no ²su ³he ²ηga ³o ³dzu ³ts'γ ³bu ²su ²ηw. 'The Lolo, the Chinese, and the Tibetan are descendants of the same race.'
- (2) ²nw ²ts'γ ²ηa ³dʒɿ ²su ²η ²ta ²za ²k'ɿ. 'You, he and I are equally brave.'

(b) *By means of a particle.*

315. There is no connecting particle expressing co-ordination in Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching⁷⁷ except for the alternative particle ³da which is used only in direct or indirect questions. For example:

- (1) ²ho ²bu ³da ²lo ²bo? 'The sun or the moon?'
- (2) ²no ²su ³da ³he ²nga? 'Lolo or Chinese?'
- (3) ²na ²e ²i ³da ¹ni ²e ²i? 'My younger brother or your younger brother?'
- (4) ²no ²ma ³da ²tɕy ²ma ²na ³a ³sɿ. 'I do not know whether (he is) a Black Lolo or White Lolo.'

316. Cumulative conjunctions are used to express co-ordination in the other three dialects. ¹ne 'and' is used in Ch'a-tsu; ⁶nie and ²ʃo in Pai-mei, with the former coming between elements connected and the latter at the end of a co-ordination. The speakers can choose either one of the two. In Ta-t'un there are three particles for the same purpose: when ¹ke is used it comes between elements connected; when ¹ts'a is preferred it stands at the end of a co-ordination; ¹ne ³nəu ¹ne can be used in place of ¹ke but can be applied only to words denoting persons. In all these dialects a connecting particle inserted into a co-ordinative structure can be used for two or more elements, but the particles standing at the end can be used only for two elements. Note that in all cases a single element may contain one or more words. Here are a phrase and a sentence as examples (the elements connected are italicized):

- (1) 'his elder brother and my son'
- (2) 'The sun, the moon, and the stars are in the sky.'

Ch'a-tsu:

- (1) ²zɔ ¹ko ¹ne ¹ŋɔ ²zɔ.
- (2) ¹a ³mu ³ts'ɔ ¹ci ¹ne ³hō ³bo ¹ne ¹ke ¹a ³nu ¹hɔ ²dzɔ.

Pai-mei:

- (1) ²ci (or ²ci ³bu) ¹vi ⁶nie ³ŋ (or ³ŋ ³bu) ³niẽ ²mo or
²ci (or ²ci ³bu) ¹vi ³ŋ (or ³ŋ ³bu) ³niẽ ²mo ²ʃo.
- (2) ²meɿ ³nie ²ŋ ⁶nie ²tu ¹tu ³ŋ ⁶nie ²ciẽ ³me ²p'ẽ ²ta ³dɔ.

Ta-t'un:

- (1) ¹ka ¹ko ¹ko ¹ke ¹ŋɔ ³ŋe ¹ci'ie or

⁷⁷ The speakers of the Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching dialects often employ sentences containing two or more co-ordinative clauses where we would use a simple sentence in English. Thus, 'You and I are strong' is rendered by ²nu ¹ni ²ndɿɿ ¹ndza, ²na ¹ni ²ndɿɿ ¹ndza (lit. "you also strong I also strong"). Similarly 'He is strong and clever' is expressed by ²ts'ɿ ²ndɿɿ ¹ndza ¹ni ²ndɿɿ ¹ndza, ²ts'ɿ ²za ²hɔ ¹ni ²za ²hɔ. (lit. "he strong also strong, he clever also clever").

- 'ka 'ko 'ko 'ŋɛ ʒŋəʊ ʒŋɛ 'ŋɔ ʒŋɛ 'tɕ'ie or
 'ka 'ko 'ko 'ŋɔ ʒŋɛ 'tɕ'ie 'ts'a.
 (2) ʒn 'tɕi ʒmɔ 'ke ʒhɔ ʒpɔ ʒmɔ 'ke 'tɕɛ ʒmɔ 'ŋɪ ʒ't'ie ʒdzɔ.

(III) Predication.

A. Structure of Predicates.

317. A predicative structure is generally analyzed into subject and predicate. The structure of the predicate may be of the following patterns:

(a) *Intransitive verb or neutrum transitivum with locative object.*

- (1) ʒŋa ʒbo. 'I go.'
- (2) ʒnu ʒla! 'You come!'
- (3) ʒts'ɣ ʒla ʒvo. 'He has come.'
- (4) ʒts'ɣ ʒa ʒla. 'He does not come.'
- (5) ʒts'ɣ ʒe ʒko ʒla ʒvo. 'He has come home.'
- (6) ʒŋa ʒo ʒdzɔ ʒbo ʒmo. 'I will go to Hsi-ch'ang.'

In (1), (2) and (3) finite verbs are used as the predicate; ʒvo is a particle used to form past tense. In (4) ʒa ʒla is the predicate, which is of attributive structure with the finite verb ʒla as the head of the attribution. In (5) and (6) the predicates are ʒe ʒko ʒla ʒvo and ʒo ʒdzɔ ʒbo ʒmo of which ʒe ʒko and ʒo ʒdzɔ are locative objects.

(b) *Complement and copula.*

318. Substantives and pronouns can take a copula whereas the adjective cannot unless it is substantivized.

- (1) ʒts'ɣ ʒhe ʒŋga ʒŋu. 'He is Chinese.'
- (2) ʒts'ɣ ʒgɯ ʒŋa ʒve ʒŋu. 'These are mine.'
- (3) ʒve ʒve ʒts'ɣ ʒma ʒa ʒŋe ʒsu ʒŋu. 'This flower is a red one.'
- (4) ʒts'ɔ ʒa ʒdzɣ ʒma ʒmbo ʒma ʒŋu. 'That man is a good one.'

In (1) and (2) the substantive ʒhe ʒŋga and the pronoun ʒŋa ʒve with the copula ʒŋu are the predicates. In (3) and (4) the substantivized adjectives ʒa ʒŋe ʒsu and ʒmbo ʒŋa with the copula are the predicates.

(c) *Substantives, pronouns, and adjectives in predicative position (without copula).*

319. Examples of substantives or words of substantive function used in predicative position:

- (1) ʒts'ɣ ʒno ʒsu ʒma. 'He is a Lolo.'
- (2) ʒts'ɣ ʒsɣ ʒvo ʒve ʒve ʒtɕie. 'This is a branch of peach blossom.'
- (3) ʒts'ɣ ʒŋa ʒa ʒta. 'He is my father.'

- (4) ²ŋa ³ve ²se ²nɯ ³de ³ve. 'I am the host and you are the guest.'
(lit. "I host you guest")
- (5) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²pi ²mo ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ²su ¹ju. 'This one is a shaman.
That one is a wizard.' (lit. "this NUM shaman that NUM
wizard").
- (6) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³mbo ²ma. 'This is a good one.'
- (7) ²ts'ɿ ²ɣw ³dø ²su. 'These are bad ones.'

In the last two examples the adjectives ³mbo 'good' and ³dø 'bad' are substantivized by the numerative ²ma and the particle ²su respectively.

320. Examples of pronouns in predicative position:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²ŋa. 'This is I.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²ɣw ²ŋa ²ve ²a ¹dzɿ ²ɣw ¹ni ²ve. 'These are mine and
those are yours.'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²ɣw ³ŋo ²ve. 'These are ours.'
- (4) ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ¹k'a ²di ²ve? 'Whose is that one?'
- (5) ²ts'ɿ ¹k'a ²di? 'Who is he?'

321. Examples of adjectives in predicative position:

- (1) ²ve ²ve ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²a ²ŋe. 'This flower is red.'
- (2) ¹a ²i ²ts'ɿ ²ma ¹a ²ʒ ²vo. 'This child has grown up.' (¹a ²ʒ 'big')
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²za ²hɔ. 'He is clever.'
- (4) ²nɯ ²za ²k'ɔ. 'You are brave.'
- (5) ²ts'ɿ ²za ²k'ɔ ²k'ɔ? 'Is he brave?'
- (6) ²ts'ɔ ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ¹a ³mo. 'That man is old.'
- (7) ³a ²ŋ ²zɯ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ¹ndzɔ. 'This girl is beautiful.'
- (8) ²ʒ ²mo ²a ¹dzɿ ¹ŋm ²a ²ʒo. 'That river is long.'
- (9) ²mo ²ŋ ²ts'a. 'It is hot. It is fine.'
- (10) ²mo ²ŋ ¹ga ²ŋgo. 'It is cold.'

(d) *Transitive verb.*

322. In Lolo the object or objects generally stand between the subject and verb with its attribute. In the following examples the object is italicized:

(i) *Single object.*

323.

- (1) ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ¹ndu. 'I strike him.' (lit. "I him strike")
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ²ŋa ¹ndu. 'He strikes me.'
- (3) ²nɯ ²ŋa ¹t'a ¹ndu. 'Don't strike me!' (lit. "you me don't strike")
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ³ho ³he. 'He speaks Lolo.'
- (5) ¹la ³mo ²ma ²ts'ɔ ²dzɯ. 'A tiger eats human beings.'
- (6) ²ŋa ²nɯ ²la ¹hw. 'I wait for you.'

- (7) ²ts'ɿ ³a ²ŋ ²zɯ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²ŋgu. 'He loves this girl.'

(ii) *Double object.*

324. The indirect object follows the direct.

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ³ho ²ŋa ¹ŋa. 'He teaches me the Lolo language.'
 (2) ²nɯ ²no ²su ³ho ¹k'a ²di ¹ŋa? 'Whom do you teach the Lolo language?'
 (3) ²ts'ɿ ³ts'ɿ ²ma ²ŋa ³bɿ ²vo. 'He has given me one.'
 (4) ²ŋa ³do ¹ma ³ji ²kɯ ²ts'ɿ ¹ŋa. ²ts'ɿ ³ts'ɿ ¹ia ¹ji ³a ³he. 'I asked him two questions. He did not say anything.' (lit. "I words two sentences him ask. He one kind even not say.")
 (5) ²nɯ ³dzu ³mo ³ts'ɿ ¹tsa ²ŋa ²hu, ²tsɯ ²tsɯ? 'Will you lend me some money?' (lit. "you money some me lend, right right")
 (6) ²ŋa ³ŋi ¹pa ³ts'ɿ ²ma ²ts'ɿ ³ɣ ²ko ²sa. 'I have sold him one horse.'
 (7) ²nɯ ²tfɿ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²ŋa ³bɿ, ²tsɯ ²tsɯ? 'Will you give me this dog?'

B. Ellipsis of Subject or Object.

325. The subject is often omitted with the imperative or exhortative and sometimes in other sentences where context allows. Here are examples:

- (1) ¹a ²i ²ts'ɿ ²ma ¹ndu! 'Strike this child!'
 (2) ²ts'e ³ko ²ŋø ²ta ³xo ¹xo ³ŋo. 'Sit here and play the jewsharp.'
 (3) ³e ²k'ɯ ³p'o. 'Open the door.'
 (4) ²ɣɯ ¹ndi ¹ndi? 'Have (you) strength?'
 (5) ²no ²su ³ho ²he ¹ku ¹ku? 'Can (you) speak Lolo?'
 (6) ³he ¹ku. '(I) can speak.'

In most cases we may be right in saying that the personal pronoun ²nɯ 'you' is left out in the above expressions, but in some cases we may be also right in saying that some other word is understood. For instance, if the first expression is an answer to the question ³a ²ŋ ²nɯ ²ts'ɿ ²çi ¹ia ²ŋ 'What is he doing now?', the word left out is ²ts'ɿ 'he'. If three persons are all holding a jewsharp and one of them uttered the second sentence, the subject understood is ³ŋo 'we', or ³ŋo ²so ²io 'we three'. It is obvious that in the last example both the subject and the object are left out.

C. Word Order and Particles in Predication.

326. There are two ways of expressing predication: (a) by word order and (b) by means of particles.

(a) *By word order.*

327. In normal predication (comprising the elements of subject, verb or predicative, and object or objects), a subject, generally speaking, goes before all the other elements, the verb follows the subject, and an object or objects precede the verb. A predicative, whether forming the predicate alone or used with a copula, follows its subject. The relation of predication can be expressed simply by placing one element next to another. The position of the elements is so important that, if two elements change their places, the whole meaning of a sentence is altered or lost. For instance, ${}^2\eta a \ {}^2ts' \eta \ {}^2\eta gu$ means 'I love him (or her)' ${}^2ts' \eta \ {}^2\eta a \ {}^2\eta gu$ means 'He (or She) loves me' and ${}^2\eta a \ {}^2\eta gu \ {}^2ts' \eta$ is meaningless. Many other examples can be found in the immediately preceding sections.

328. An object or an object clause which contains more words than the subject will preferably be placed in absolute position before the subject.⁷⁸ In the following examples the objects are italicized.

- (1) ${}^3dzu \ {}^3mo \ {}^3gu \ {}^2\eta a \ {}^3he \ {}^3a \ {}^3\gamma$. 'I do not like to gamble.' (${}^3dzu \ {}^3mo \ {}^3gu$ 'to gamble', lit. "money play")
- (2) ${}^2ts' \eta \ {}^3mbo \ {}^3da \ {}^3a \ {}^3mbo$. ${}^2\eta a \ {}^3a \ {}^3s\eta$. 'I do not know whether he is good or not.'
- (3) ${}^2nu \ {}^3a \ {}^3de \ {}^1he \ {}^2\eta a \ {}^1\eta a \ {}^2su \ {}^2\eta a \ {}^3a \ {}^1su \ {}^2o$. 'I have forgotten what you taught me yesterday.'

In such cases the pronoun ${}^2ts' \eta$ 'this' is often substituted for the object in its normal position. With double object, the direct object takes absolute position. For example:

${}^3\eta a \ {}^1ts'o \ {}^2ts' \eta \ {}^2dz\eta \ {}^2ts' \eta \ {}^2\eta a \ {}^3b\eta \ {}^2o$. 'He has given this gun to me.'

329. The combination 'substantive-adjective' is by itself ambiguous because in this case the adjective can be used either as an attribute or as predicate and, if its function is not clear from the context, it will need some other words to make the function clear. For example:

Attribution or predication:

- (1) ${}^2ve \ {}^2ve \ {}^2a \ {}^2\eta e$. 'red flower' (attribution) or 'The flower is red.' (predication)

Attribution:

- (2) ${}^2ve \ {}^2ve \ {}^2a \ {}^2\eta e \ {}^2ma$ 'a red flower'
- (3) ${}^2ve \ {}^2ve \ {}^2a \ {}^2\eta e \ {}^2ts' \eta \ {}^2ma$ 'this red flower'
- (4) ${}^2ve \ {}^2ve \ {}^2a \ {}^2\eta e \ {}^2a \ {}^1dz\eta \ {}^2ma$ 'that red flower'

⁷⁸ Any object can be placed before the subject for emphasis when the subject is followed by a subject particle (see § 446).

- (5) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔɥe ʔci ʔma? 'which red flower?'
 (6) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔɥe ʔso ʔma 'three red flowers'
 (7) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔɥe ʔts'ɥ ʔgw 'these red flowers' or 'this sort of red flowers'
 (8) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔɥe ʔa ʔdzɥ ʔgw 'those/that sort of red flowers'
 (9) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔɥe ʔci ʔgw? 'which/which sort of red flowers?'

Predication:

- (10) ʔve ʔve ʔma ʔa ʔɥe. 'A flower is red.'
 (11) ʔve ʔve ʔts'ɥ ʔma ʔa ʔɥe. 'This flower is red.'
 (12) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔdzɥ ʔma ʔa ʔɥe. 'That flower is red.'
 (13) ʔve ʔve ʔci ʔma ʔa ʔɥe. 'Which flower is red?'
 (14) ʔve ʔve ʔso ʔma ʔa ʔɥe. 'Three flowers are red.'
 (15) ʔve ʔve ʔts'ɥ ʔgw ʔa ʔɥe. 'These/this sort of flowers are red.'
 (16) ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔdzɥ ʔgw ʔa ʔɥe. 'Those/that kind of flowers are red.'
 (17) ʔve ʔve ʔci ʔgw ʔa ʔɥe? 'Which/which sort of flowers are red?'

(b) *By means of particles.*

330. Whenever one of the three subject particles ʔnuw, ʔle, or ʔsu stands between two elements of a combination, the combination must be understood as a predication in which the preceding element is the subject and the following the predicate. If any object or objects are present, they follow the subject particle. Thus, these subject particles mark the subject and can be used whatever the structure of the predicate may be. In any of the following examples ʔnuw can be replaced by ʔle. ʔsu is now used only in proverbs or the written language.

Subject-predicative:

- (1) ʔts'ɥ ʔma ʔnuw ʔno ʔsu ʔma. 'This one is a Lolo.'
 (2) ʔts'ɥ ʔgw ʔnuw ʔve ʔve ʔa ʔɥe. 'These are red flowers.'
 (3) ʔts'ɥ ʔma ʔnuw ʔa ʔɥ. 'This one is big.'
 (4) ʔve ʔve ʔts'ɥ ʔma ʔnuw ʔa ʔɥe ʔma. 'This flower is a red one.'

Subject-complement-copula or Subject-verb:

- (5) ʔts'ɥ ʔnuw ʔo ʔdzu ʔma ʔɥw. 'He is a Tibetan.'
 (6) ʔɥ ʔpa ʔa ʔdzɥ ʔma ʔnuw ʔɥa ʔve ʔɥw. 'That horse is mine.'
 (7) ʔva ʔla ʔts'ɥ ʔgu ʔnuw ʔa ʔɥɥ ʔgu ʔɥw. 'This cloak is a new one.'
 (8) ʔlo ʔho ʔla ʔha ʔnuw ʔa ʔla ʔsɥ. 'Loho Laha has not come yet.'

Subject-object(s)-verb:

- (9) ʔts'ɥ ʔts'ɥ ʔma ʔnuw ʔhe ʔɥga ʔho ʔhe ʔku. 'This person can speak Chinese.'
 (10) ʔse ʔp'o ʔts'ɥ ʔma ʔnuw ʔɥa ʔts'o ʔdzɥ ʔdie ʔɥa ʔbɥ ʔo. 'This officer has given me a gun.'

(IV) Relation between Attribution, Co-ordination and Predication.

331. When two words combine, the ensuing structure may represent one of these three types. In expanded structures the basic combinations may assume other functions. In the expression ${}^2\eta a\ {}^2e\ {}^2i\ {}^2ts'w\ {}^3mbo\ {}^2ma\ {}^2\eta w$ 'My younger brother is a good man' (lit. "my younger-brother man good NUM is"), the subject ${}^2\eta a\ {}^2e\ {}^2i$ and the predicate ${}^2ts'w\ {}^3mbo\ {}^2ma\ {}^2\eta w$ form a predication. The subject is an attributive structure which contains ${}^2e\ {}^2i$ as the head and ${}^2\eta a$ as the attribute. The predicate consists of the copula ${}^2\eta w$ and the complement ${}^2ts'w\ {}^3mbo\ {}^2ma$ which contains the numerative 2ma and the attributive phrase ${}^2ts'w\ {}^3mbo$ with ${}^2ts'w$ as the head and 3mbo the attribute.

If we analyse the expression ${}^2ts'j\ {}^2la\ {}^3da\ {}^3a\ {}^2la\ {}^2\eta a\ {}^3a\ {}^3s\eta$ 'I do not know whether he will come' (lit. "he come or not come I not know"), we find in the first instance three elements which form a predication: ${}^2\eta a$ is the subject, ${}^3a\ {}^3s\eta$ a negated verb, while ${}^2ts'j\ {}^2la\ {}^3da\ {}^3a\ {}^2la$ functions as its object. This object itself is a clause of predicative structure of which ${}^2ts'j$ is the subject and the remaining words form the predicate, in which 2la and ${}^3a\ {}^2la$ are in co-ordination joined by the particle 3da . Such complicated structures will be fully discussed when we come to the structure of sentences.

(2) Sentences.

332. Sentences can be classified according to either (I) the pattern of their structure or (II) their mood.

I. Classes of Sentences According to Structure.

333. Classifying sentences according to their structure, we may distinguish four kinds:

(A) *Minor sentences.* Any sentences which cannot be analyzed into subject and predicative or predicate are thus classified.

(B) *Simple sentences.* If a sentence can be analyzed into a subject and a predicate it is a simple sentence. A simple sentence is always a predication, the elements of which may be sometimes an attributive or co-ordinative structure, but must not consist of clauses.

(C) *Complex sentences.* A complex sentence consists of a main clause and one or more dependent clauses which take the place of any single element of a simple sentence.

(D) *Compound sentences.* A compound sentence is formed by two or more independent clauses co-ordinated in one sentence.

A. Minor Sentences.

334. A minor sentence may contain only one word or two or more words. Some particles may be used with the word or words but a particle by itself cannot form a sentence.

(a) *One word sentences.*

335.

- (i) *Interjections* (no particle is used with interjections):
²ŋɛ! 'Yes!' (cf. § 228) ⁴m! 'No!' (cf. § 228)
- (ii) *Vocatives*:
¹a¹ta! 'Father!' ²bo ²dzu! 'Young man!'
³se ²p'o! 'Officer! / Lord!' ³a ¹ka! 'Uncle Ka!'
- (iii) *Command or wish*:
²ia. 'Let's go.' (²ko) ³he! 'Speak!'
(²ko) ³la! 'Come!' (²ko) ²ɲø! 'Sit down!'
- (iv) *Answers to questions or continuations of dialogue*:
³e ³ɲi 'today!' ²tɕw 'Right.'
¹a ²ʒ 'Big.' ³mbo 'Good.'

(b) *Sentences of more than one word.*

336. This may consist of the doubling of one word, reduplication of one syllable of one word, or two or more words (answers to questions, continuations of dialogue, commands or wishes, brief statements, interrogations, or formulaic expressions):

One word with one syllable reduplicated or the doubling of one word:

- ¹a ²ʒ ²ʒ? 'Big?'
²a ²ʒo ²ʒo? 'Long?'
²a ²ʒo ²a ²ʒo. ²a ²ʒo ²dʒɿ ²a ²ʒo. 'Very long.'

Attribution:

- ²ts'ɔ ²za ʒ'ɔ ²ma. 'A brave person.'
²ŋa ²e ʒi. 'My brother.'
¹t'a ʒa! 'Don't come!'
³a ʒa. 'Not come.'
³tw ²ʒ! 'Morning!' (lit. "get-up early")
³tw ¹ɲia! A formal answer to the above. (lit. "get-up late")
³tw ³a ²ʒ. Same as the above. (lit. "get-up not early")
³tw ¹ɕw! 'Welcome!' (lit. "turn-up suddenly"; this is generally spoken by a person to a visitor who has not called for some time)
³tw ³a ¹ɕw. A formal answer to the above.

¹ŋm ³a ¹pi. 'not certain.' (¹ŋm ¹pi is used only in this formulaic expression)

²bu ¹t'a ¹ts'ŋ! 'Don't stand on ceremony!' (²bu ¹ts'ŋ is used only in this expression)

²k'a ³a ²ʒa. 'Don't mention it.' (a formal answer to ²k'a ²ʒa ²ʒa)

Co-ordination:

²no ²su ³he ²ŋga. 'Lolo and Chinese.'

²ŋw ³da ³a ²ŋw? 'Is it?' or 'Isn't it?'

Object-verb structure:

²nw ³ʒw ²la. '(I) come to see you.'

²nw ³tʃio ³he. '(I) tell you.'

²nw ³tʃio ³do ¹ma ²kw ²tʃŋ ³he. 'To tell you the truth.'

²ts'ŋ ²gʷ ³se ²ko ²ʒa! 'Take these away!'

¹io ³a ²djio or ³nio ³a ²djio. 'It doesn't matter.' (lit. "matter not have")

¹ie ²ndʒ ³a ²djio. 'I am sorry.' (lit. "face not have")

B. Simple Sentences.

(a) *Basic types.*⁷⁹

337. There are six basic types of simple sentences.

Type a: Subject-Adjective or Substantive etc. in predicative position:

(1) ²ts'ŋ ¹ndʒa. 'He is beautiful.'

(2) ²ts'ŋ ²no ²su ²ma. 'He is a Lolo.'

Type b: Subject-Complement-Copula:

(1) ²ts'ŋ ¹ndʒa ²ma ²ŋw. 'He is beautiful one.'

(2) ²ts'ŋ ²no ²su ²ma ²ŋw. 'He is a Lolo.'

Type c: Subject-Intransitive Verb:

²ts'ŋ ²la. 'He comes.'

Type d: Subject-Neutrum Transitivum-Locative Object:

²ts'ŋ ²dʒo ²no ²bo ²o. 'He went to Mien-ning.'

Type e: Subject-Object-Transitive Verb:

²ts'ŋ ²ŋa ¹ndu. 'He strikes me.'

Type f: Subject-Direct Object-Indirect Object-Transitive Verb:

²ts'ŋ ²no ²su ³ho ²ŋa ¹ŋa. 'He teaches me Lolo.'

⁷⁹ Cf. §§ 317-325.

(b) *Structure of the elements of simple sentences.*(i) *Subject.*

338. A subject may be a simple word or may contain two or more words which form an attributive structure:

²ve ²ve ²a ²tɕy ²ts'ɿ ²gw ²djie ²o. 'These white flowers have fallen from the plants.'

²ts'ɿ ²gw is the attribute and ²ve²ve ²a ²tɕy the head which is itself an attributive structure, ²ve ²ve being the head and ²a ²tɕy the attribute.

339. A subject may be a co-ordinative structure:

²nu ²ts'ɿ ²ɲa ³k'a ɿ ɿ ²bo. 'You, he, and I all go.'

²nu, ²ts'ɿ and ²ɲa are in co-ordination.

340. A subject may be a substantivized phrase:

(1) ²ts'ɔ ¹tsɿ ²nu ³a ³mbo. 'To scold other people is not good.'

(2) ²ts'ɔ ¹tsɿ ²su ³a ³mbo. 'Those who scold other people are not good.'

In the first example the phrase ²ts'ɔ ¹tsɿ, lit. "person scold", has taken on the subject particle ²nu which turns the verb into a verbal noun⁸⁰; in the second the particle ²su changes the verb into a *nomen agentis*.

Several such phrases may be co-ordinated:

²ts'ɔ ¹tsɿ, ²ts'ɔ ¹ndu, ³do ¹ma ³gw ²du ³he ²nu ³k'a ɿ ɿ ³a ³mbo.

'To scold others, to strike others, and to tell a lie are all not good.'

(lit. "person scold, person strike, words false tell SP all not good")

(ii) *Substantives and adjectives in predicative position.*

341. A predicative, if not a single word, is often an attributive structure:

(1) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo ²ma (²ɲu). 'He is a very good Lolo.'

(2) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³a ³mbo ²ma (²ɲu). 'This is one who is not good.'

(3) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²a ¹ɲa ²ɲ ³mbo. 'This one is exceedingly good.'

In the first example ²no ²su is the head of the attributive phrase ²no ²su ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo ²ma. In the second example the ³a is the attribute to the adjective ³mbo. In the third example the attributive phrase ²a ¹ɲa ²ɲ ³mbo is the predicate, the adjective ³mbo being the head. As ³mbo is not substantivized, the copula ²ɲu cannot be used.

342. Predicatives can also be substantivized phrases.

(1) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ³ʒu ²su. 'He is the one who is looking for you.'

(2) ²ɲa ²ts'ɿ ³hu ²la ²su. 'It is I who comes to see him.'

⁸⁰ The subject particles may be left out and the same effect is then achieved by position only.

- (3) ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ²no ²su ³ho ²ŋa ¹ŋa ²su. 'Lo-ho La-ha is the one who teaches me Lolo.'

Note that the predicative in this instance is always of the structure 'Object-Verb-²su (substantivizing particle)' or 'Indirect object-Direct object-Verb-²su' as has been shown by the above examples.

343. A predicative may be a co-ordinative structure:

²ts' ²yo ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha, ¹ŋa ¹vŋ ³da.

'They are my friends, Lo-ho La-ha and Ma Vz-da.'

(iii) *Verbal-predicate.*

344. Attribution is extensively used:

(1) ²ts'ŋ ³a ²bo. 'He does not go.'

(2) ²ts'ŋ ³a ²ndzɿ ²ŋ ²bo. 'He will certainly go.'

(3) ²ts'ŋ ²e ²ko ²djio ²ŋ ²ta ²ko ²nu. 'He rests by staying at home.'

²bo is the head of the attributions in the first two sentences. In the third ²ko ²nu is the head and ²e ²ko ²djio ²ŋ ²ta the attribute, which is an adverbialized phrase.

345. Adverbial complements may follow the verb or predicative adjective if introduced by the particle ²ko:

(1) ¹la ³tɕio ²ts'ŋ ²gw ¹ndɔ ²ko ³mbo. 'This tea tastes nice.'

(2) ²ve ²ve ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²a ²ŋe ²ko ¹ndza. 'This flower is beautifully red.'

346. The verbal predicate may be a co-ordinative structure

(i) when the alternative particle ³da is used in asking questions:
²nu ²la ³da ²la? 'Will you come or not?'

(ii) when the adverb ¹ŋi is used:

²ts'ŋ ³he ¹ŋi ³he ¹hɔ ²bu ¹ŋi ²bu ¹hɔ. 'He speaks (and speaks) well and writes (and writes) well, too.'

(iv) *Object.*

347. Both direct and indirect objects may be attributive structures unless pronouns are used, to which no attribute can be attached.

²ŋa ³ŋa ¹ts'o ³mbo ²dzɿ ³die ³se ²p'o ²ts'ŋ ²ma ³bŋ ²o. 'I have given this chief a good gun.'

In the direct object ³ŋa ¹ts'o is the head; in the indirect object ³se ²p'o is the head.

348. A substantivized phrase may serve as direct or indirect object.

(1) ²ŋa ²no ²su ²bu ²ma ²bu ²ts'ŋ ¹ŋa. 'I teach him to write the Lolo characters.'

(2) ²ŋa ³dzɿ ³mo ³die ³ŋ ¹pa ²ɣɿ ²la ²su ³bŋ ²o. 'I have given the money to the one who brought the horse.'

349. A direct or indirect object can also be formed by co-ordinative structure.

²ŋa ²no ²su ³ho ²no ²su ³tʷ ²ʒ ²no ²su ³ŋ ³ŋio ²nu ²ts'ŋ ¹ŋa.
'I teach you and him the Lolo language, the Lolo writing, and all the Lolo lore.'

²no ²su ³ho, ²no ²su ³tʷ ²ʒ, and ²no ²su ³ŋ ³ŋio are the three members of the co-ordination used for the direct object, ²nu and ²ts'ŋ are the two members of the co-ordination used as the indirect object.

350. The grammatical subject and object or objects are generally also the notional ones with the following exceptions:

- (i) When the passive voice is intended (§§ 201-203);
- (ii) When the verb is preceded by ²dʒɿ (§§ 452-453).

C. Parts of Speech and Their Syntactical Functions.

(a) *Substantives.*

351. A substantive can be used in attribution as

- (i) the head:
 - (1) ²ts'ɔ ³mbo ²ma 'a good man'
 - (2) ²ŋa ¹a ¹ta 'my father'
- (ii) the attribute:
 - (1) ²no ²su ³tʷ ²ʒ 'the Lolo book'
 - (2) ¹ŋa ¹vɿ ²da ¹vɿ ²ɣ 'Ma Vz-da's elder brother'

352. Substantives can also be used as members of co-ordinative structures:

- (1) ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ¹ŋa ¹vɿ ²da ²la ²o. 'Lo-ho M-ka and Ma Vz-da have come.'
- (2) ³he ²ŋga ²no ²su ²dʒɿ ²ʒu. 'The Chinese and Lolo are equal.'

353. In predication a substantive can be used as

- (i) the subject:

²ʒɔ ²no ²bo ¹a ²dʒy ²a ²ŋŋŋ ²dʒɿ ²a ²ŋŋŋ. 'The Lung-t'ou mountain is very high.'
- (ii) the object:

²ts'ŋ ³he ²ŋga ³ho ²ŋa ²e ²i ¹ŋa. 'He teaches my younger brother Chinese.'
- (iii) the predicative:

²ts'ŋ ³o ³dzu ²ma. 'He is a Tibetan.' (without copula)

²ts'ŋ ³o ³dzu ²ma ²ŋu. 'He is a Tibetan.' (with copula)

(b) *Pronouns.*

354. The pronouns have the same syntactical functions as the substantives except that the pronouns cannot take attributes. Thus, a substantive and a pronoun may occur in the same position and yet they function differently in the sentence. Compare the following:

- (1) ²bo ²dzu ¹ndza ²ma. 'a handsome young man'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ¹ndza ²ma. 'He is a handsome one.'

(c) *Adjectives.*

355. An adjective can serve in attribution as

(i) the head:

- (1) ²a ¹pa ²ŋ ³mbo 'exceedingly good'
- (2) ¹e ³tsɣ ²ko 'too small'

(ii) the attribute:

²ve ²ve ²a ²tɕ'y ²ma 'a white flower'

356. In predication an adjective can serve as predicative with or without a copula.⁸¹

- (1) ²no ²su ²ts'ɣ ²ma ²za ²ho. 'This Lolo is clever.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ²za ²ho. 'He is clever.'

357. An adjective is substantivized if followed (i) by a numerative, or (ii) by the particle ²su. It can also be adverbialized by the particle ²ŋ ²ta if preceding the verb (§ 233) and by ²ko if following the verb (§ 197).

(d) *Verbs.*

358. The usual function of a verb is predicative.

- (1) ²ts'ɣ ²la. 'He comes.'
- (2) ²pa ²no ²su ³ho ³he ¹ku. 'I can speak Lolo.'

359. In adverbial attribution a verb is always the head unless adverbialized by the particle ²ŋ ²ta.

³ŋo ²dʒɿ ¹kw ²bo. 'We go together.' (as head)

²ts'ɣ ²i ¹ŋo ²ŋ ²ta ²bo, ²o. 'Crying, he went.' (²i ¹ŋo as attribute).

360. Verbs can serve as members of co-ordinative structures:

²ts'ɣ ²la ³da ³a ²la? 'Will he come or not?'

361. A verb can be turned into a verbal noun if the particle ²su or ²du (literary form ²lu) follows it (§ 200). If combined with an object, position itself is sufficient to show this force (§ 340 and footnote).

⁸¹ Cf. §§ 318, 319.

(e) *Adverbs.*

362. The adverbs often serve as attributes in an attributive structure but they can also be used as the head of an attribution (see § 435).

The head and its attribute in all kinds of attribution in this dialect are placed close to each other. However, adverbs of time used as attributes can shift to a position before or after the subject.

(f) *Numerals and Numeratives.*

363. Numerals and numeratives often stand together and are generally used as attributes in attributive structures. A combination of a numeral and a numerative can have the force of a pronoun. For examples see § 158.

(g) *Function of words in quotations, etc.*

364. In quotation, or in counting, all words other than substantives can function as the substantive. For example:

(1) ³mbo ¹ndu ²bu ²ma ³ni ²ma ²ɣu. ‘³mbo and ¹ndu are two words.’

(2) ²ts^ˈɣ (²ma) ³ju (²ma) ²sɔ (²ma) ‘One, two, three . . .’

D. *Complex Sentences.*

365. In the following, I shall distinguish, according to their functions, subject, predicative, object, adjective and adverbial clauses. The first four of these often take the substantivizing particle ²su.

(a) *Subject clauses.*

366.

(1) ²ts^ˈɣ ²la ³da ³a ²la ¹ɲm ³a ¹pi. ‘Whether he will come is not certain.’

(2) ²nu ²sɣ ²ɲ ²ta ²ɲ ²za ²hɔ ²dʒɹ ²za ²hɔ ‘That you are doing it in this way is very clever.’ or ‘You are very clever to do it in this way.’

(3) ²nu ³he ²su ²kw ²tʂɹ. ‘What you have said is true.’

(b) *Predicative clauses.*

367.

(1) ²ts^ˈɣ ²ɲa ³a ²de ¹he ²dzø ²su. ‘He is the one whom I met yesterday.’

(2) ³do ¹ma ²ts^ˈɣ ²ɣw ²ts^ˈɣ ³a ²de ¹he ³he ²su. ‘These words are what he said yesterday.’

(3) ³se ²p^ˈo ²ts^ˈɣ ²ma ²ɲa ²ts^ˈɣ ³do ¹ma ¹ɲa ²su. ‘This chief is the one whose order I obey.’ (lit. ‘chief this NUM I his words listen-to STP’)

Note that ²dzø ‘to meet’, ³he ‘to speak’, and ¹ɲa ‘to listen to’ are the finite verbs in the clauses. There are no finite verbs in these three sentences. If the

copula ²ηω 'to be' is added to the end of these sentences, the clauses become the complements but the meanings will remain the same.

(c) *Object clauses.*

368.

- (1) ²ηα ²τς'γ ³he ²su ³he ³a ³γ. 'I do not like what he said.'
- (2) ²τς'γ ²la ³da ³a ²la ²ηα ³a ³ςγ. 'I do not know whether he will come or not.'
- (3) ²ηα ³he ²ko ²τς'γ ²gu ³a ³mbo. 'I said that these are not good.'
- (4) ²ηα ³ηο ²ko ²τς'γ ³e ³ji ³a ²la. 'I think that he will not come today.'
- (5) ²ηα ³ςγ ²ko ²τς'γ ¹jie ²dʒɿ ²ηgu. 'I know that these two love each other.'

When a clause is used as the object of a sentence, it can be placed either after or before the subject as is shown in examples (1) and (2). If the clause is introduced by the particle ²ko it must follow the particle as is illustrated by the last three sentences. The clause placed before its subject (i.e. in absolute position) is often taken up by the pronoun ²τς'γ standing in the normal position of the object. The second sentence given above, for instance, is frequently replaced by ²τς'γ ²la ³da ³a ²la ²ηα ²τς'γ ³a ³ςγ. Thus the most commonly used structure expressing the meaning conveyed by sentences like (1) and (2) is

Object clause - Subject - ²τς'γ - Finite Verb

For this use of the pronoun ²τς'γ see also § 138.

369. In the following constructions a double object occurs:

- (1) ²ηα ²τς'γ ²gu ²die ³a ³m ²zu ²nu ²ηgu ²su ³βγ ²o. 'I have given these to the girl who loves you.'
- (2) ²τς'γ ²nu ²çi ³ia ²djio ²su ²τς'γ ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ³βγ ²o. 'What you possess he has given to that man.'
- (3) ²ηα ²nu ²çi ³ia ²djio ²su ²τς'γ ²nu ³hu ²la ²su ³βγ ²o. 'I have given what you possess to the one who came to see you.'

The direct object expressed by an object clause is often placed before its subject and taken up by ²τς'γ standing in the normal position of the object. Thus the above two sentences (2) and (3) could be

- (1) ²nu ²çi ³ia ²djio ²su ²τς'γ ²τς'γ ²τς'γ ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ³βγ ²o.
- (2) ²nu ²çi ³ia ²djio ²su ²ηα ²τς'γ ²τς'γ ²nu ³hu ²la ²su ³βγ ²o.

(d) *Adjective clauses.*

370. Adjective clauses may be used to qualify a substantive in predicative position as well as one in subjective or objective position.

- (1) ²τς'γ ²nu ²τς'γ ¹ndzu ²su ²bo ²o. 'The man whom you hate has gone.'

- (2) *³ḡ ³ḡnio ²nu ²a ²ḡ ²nu ³he ²su ²le ²kɔ ³dʒl ²le ²kɔ.* 'The task you are now undertaking is very difficult.'
- (3) *³do ¹ma ²nu ³a ³de ¹he ³he ²su ²ḡa ²ts'ḡ ³a ¹su ²o.* 'I forgot what you said yesterday.' (³a ¹su 'not remember' = 'forget')
- (4) *²ḡm ¹sḡ ²nu ²y ²la ²su ²ḡa ²ts'ḡ ³ḡo ¹a ¹mo ³bḡ ²o.* 'I have given to our mother the cloth you bought.'
- (5) *²ts'ḡ ²ma ¹a ²i ²nu ²ts'ḡ ²ḡḡu ²su.* 'This one is the boy you love.'
- (6) *²ts'ḡ ¹dze ³t'w ²z ²nu ²ts'ḡ ²ḡsu ²la ²su.* 'This book is the one you have come for.'

The clauses italicized in the first two examples are attributes to the subject; those in the second two examples to the object; and those in the last two examples to the predicative. Such attributive clauses always immediately follow their head and are closed by the particle ²su.

371. It is to be noted that the head of an attribution where the attributive clause is introduced by the particle ²su is always the notional object of the verb of the attributive clause. The pronoun ²ts'ḡ is used in the attributive clause to represent the head if its omission would alter the meaning of the sentence. For instance, if ²ts'ḡ in the first example is left out, the subject of the clause, ²nu 'you', would be taken as object and the whole sentence would mean 'The man who hates you has gone'. The demonstrative pronoun ²ts'ḡ is not used in the clause of the second example because the meaning of the word ³ḡ ³ḡnio 'task, affair, matter' shows that the word must be the notional object of the finite verb of the attributive clause. For the difference between an attributive clause and an attributive phrase or word, I suggest the following rule:

Whenever the head of an attribution is the notional subject of its attribute introduced by the particle ²su, the attribute is either a phrase or a word, in which case this notional subject is never expressed in the attribute; whenever the head is the notional object of the attribute introduced by ²su, the attribute is always a clause, in which case the subject of the clause must be expressed. Compare the following.

- (1) *³he ²ḡga ²la ²su ³mbo ²dʒl ³mbo.* 'The Chinese who are coming are very good.'
- (2) *³he ²ḡga ²a ¹dzḡ ³ko ²bo ²su ²za ²k'ɔ ²dʒl ²za ²k'ɔ.* 'The Chinese going there are very brave.'
- (3) *³he ²ḡga ²nu ²ḡḡu ²su ²za ²hɔ ²dʒl ²za ²hɔ.* 'The Chinese who love you are very clever.'
- (4) *³he ²ḡga ²nu ²ts'ḡ ²ḡḡu ²su ²ts'ḡ ²ma ¹ndza ²dʒl ¹ndza.* 'This Chinese whom you love is very handsome.'

In all these examples ³he ²ŋga 'Chinese' is the head, the attribute ²la 'to come' in the first example is one word; the two attributes in the second and third examples are phrases of which ³he ²ŋga is the unexpressed notional subject; the attribute in the last example is a clause of which ²nw is the subject and ³he ²ŋga is the notional object taken up by the pronoun ²ts'ŋ.

(e) *Adverbial clauses.*

372. Clauses of this type are not fully developed in the Pei-shan dialect through the lack of conjunctions. However, a few particles serve to mark the end of adverbial clauses:

(i) *The adverbial particle ²ŋ ²ta introducing clauses of manner.*

373.

- (1) ²ts'ɔ ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²ts'ŋ ²ŋa ¹ndzu ²ŋ ²ta ²la. 'This man is coming as if he hated me.'
- (2) ²no ²su ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ²ts'ŋ ³l ²du ³a ¹tʂ'a ²ŋ ²ta ²bo ²o. 'That Lolo went away in an unreasonable manner.' (lit. "Lolo that NUM he reason not care ²ŋ ²ta go PP")

In these two sentences the clauses ended by the particle ²ŋ ²ta are the attributes to ²la and ²bo respectively. Whenever one wants to use a clause of manner as the attribute to a finite verb, the relation of attribution can always be expressed by adding this particle to the end of the clause.

(ii) *The subject particle ²nw introducing conditional clauses.*

374.

- (1) ²nw ³a ²bo ²nw ²ŋa ³a ²bo. 'If you do not go I shall not go either' or 'Because you do not go, I shall not go.'
- (2) ²nw ¹za ³a ²ta ²nw ²ŋa ²nw ¹ndu. 'If you do not make way here I shall beat you.'
- (3) ²ŋa ³du ¹ndi ²nw ²ŋa ³djie ¹ku. 'If I had wings I could fly.'
- (4) ³ŋo ²no ²su ¹na ²o ²nw ²pi ²mo ²pi. ¹pu ³ts'ŋ ³cia ²se ³a ¹po. 'If we Lolo are ill, we ask the shaman to exorcise the evil spirit. We do not consult doctors.'

(iii) *The post-verb particle ²ko or its augmented form ³t'w ²ko 'time', introducing temporal clauses.*

375.

- (1) ²nw ²e ²ko ²bo ²ko ³ŋo ²dʒɿ ²ŋgu ²ŋgu? 'When you have gone shall we think of each other?'

- (2) ²ηa ³a ²la ²sɿ ²ko ²tsɔ̄ ²ko ²la ²ndzo ²ndzo? 'Did anybody come before I came?' (lit. "I not come ²ko person ²ko⁸² come PP PP")
- (3) ¹pu ³tsɿ ²γ ¹ho ²ta ²ko ²ko ¹e ²ta ¹zo. 'After you have applied the ointment, you must lie down.'

(iv) *Concessive clauses.*

376. Concessive clauses may be expressed by the help of the adverb ¹ni 'too'. For example:

²tsɿ ²bo ¹ni ²bo ²o, ²tsɿ ³se ²p'o ¹mo ³a ²ndzo.

'Although he went, he did not see the chief.' (lit. "he go too go PP, he chief see not PP")

(v) *Adverbial clauses of purpose or result.*

377. These clauses can be expressed by position.

³ηo ³ni ³bu ²dʒɿ ²fu ³ηo ²djie ²ʒ ²dʒɿ ¹kw ²η ²ta ¹se. 'We two clans are united by marriage in order that we should fight together against our enemy.' (lit. "we two clans marry our enemy together ²η ²ta fight")

378. A compound sentence structure can be used as an element of a complex sentence. For example, see § 381.

E. Compound Sentences.

379. A conjunction expressing cumulative co-ordination of clauses is lacking in Lolo. Thus, 'I went home yesterday and we came back today' is rendered by two sentences.

²ηa ³a ³de ¹he ²e ²ko ²bo.

³ηo ³e ³ni ²pu ²la.

The effect of a cumulative co-ordinating conjunction is, however, achieved by the use of the adverb ¹ni 'too' in each part of the cumulative combination, as in:

- (1) ²tsɿ ²γ ¹ni ²la ²o, ²tsɿ ²γ ³tɕ'io ²po ¹ni ²la ²o. 'He has come and his friend has come too.'
- (2) ²tsɿ ²γ ¹ni ³a ²bo, ²ηa ¹ni ³a ²bo. 'He does not go, I shall not go either.'

380. Alternative co-ordination is expressed by means of the particle ³da. The compound sentence thus formed is always interrogative.

- (1) ²tsɿ ²γ ²a ²di ²la ³da ²tsɿ ²γ ²tsɿ ²γ ³tɕ'io ²po ³tɕ'io ²la? 'Will he come alone or with his friend?'
- (2) ²nu ²la ³da ²tsɿ ²γ ²la? 'Will you come or he come?'

⁸² For this use of ²ko, see § 195.

381. A compound sentence structure may be used as a clause of a complex sentence, as in:

- (1) ²ts'γ ²la ³da ²ts'γ ³ŋe ²mo ²la ²çi ²ma ¹ni ³a ²sŋ. 'Nobody knows whether he will come or his sister will come.'
- (2) ²ŋa ²a ¹dzŋ ³ko ²bo ²da ²ts'γ ²ts'e ³ko ²la ¹ŋam ³a ¹pi. 'It is not certain whether I shall go there or he will come here.'

II. Classes of Sentences Distinguished by Mood.

382. Sentences may be classified into four kinds according to their mood or quality: (A) assertive sentences, (B) interrogative sentences, (C) imperative sentences, and (D) exclamatory sentences. Each kind has, as we shall see, its particular structure or structures.

A. Assertive Sentences.

383. An assertive sentence is a statement, either affirmative or negative. The most common structure of this kind of sentence is predication. Co-ordination formed by two or more clauses is also used. Attributive phrases, the Object-Verb structure and single words are used only in reply to questions or in continuations of dialogue. The following examples are all of affirmative statements; for negative statements see 'Negation' § 460 ff.

(a) Predication.

384.

Subject-Predicate (without object):

- (1) ²ts'γ ²bo ²o. 'He has gone.'
- (2) ³ŋ ¹pa ²a ¹dzŋ ²ma ²a ²tç'y ²ma ²ŋw. 'That horse is a white one.'
- (3) ³ŋ ¹pa ²a ¹dzŋ ²ma ²a ²tç'y. 'That horse is white.'
- (4) ²no ²su ²ts'γ ²ma ²pi ²zu ²ma. 'This Lolo is studying to be a shaman.'
- (5) ²ts'γ ²ma ²ŋa ²ve. 'This is mine.'

Subject-Object-Verb:

- (6) ²ŋa ¹f'ŋ ³mo ²dzw ²o. 'I have had my supper.'
- (7) ²ts'γ ²vo ²sŋw ²dzw ¹tç'ie. 'He likes pork.' (lit. 'he pork eat like')
- (8) ²ŋa ²no ²su ³t'u ²ç ³ts'γ ¹dze ²ts'γ ³bŋ ²o. 'I have given him a book in Lolo writing.'
- (9) ²pi ²mo ²ts'γ ²ma ²bu ²ma ²bu ²ŋa ¹ŋa ²ta. 'This shaman is teaching me to write the Lolo characters.'

- (3) ²ts'ɔ ²ts'ɣ ²ma ²çi ²ma 'What is this man?'
 (4) ²ts'ɣ ²ma ¹k'a ²di ²ve? 'Whose is this one?'

Subject-Object-Verb:

- (5) ¹k'a ²di ²nu ³su ²la ²o? 'Who has come to see you?'
 (6) ²nu ¹k'a ²di ¹mo ¹tç'ie? 'Whom do you want to see?'
 (7) ²nu ³m ¹pa ³k'w ²ju ²ma ²djio? 'How many horses have you?'
 (8) ²nu ¹k'a ³ko ²ts'ɣ ¹mo ²ndzo? 'Where did you ever see him?'
 (9) ¹k'a ²di ²no ²su ³ho ²nu ¹ma? 'Who teaches you Lolo?'
 (10) ²nu ²çi ¹ia ³die ²ts'ɣ ³bɣ ²o? 'What did you give to him?'

(ii) Attributive phrases.

390.

- (1) ²çi ²ma? 'Which one?'
 (2) ¹k'a ³ko ²bo? 'Where do you go?'
 (3) ¹k'a ²di ²zu? 'Whose son?'

(iii) Interrogative words used alone.

391.

- (1) ¹k'a ²di? 'Who?'
 (2) ³k'w ²ju? 'How many?' / 'How much?'
 (3) ¹k'a ³ko? 'where?'
 (4) ¹k'a ²di ²ve? 'Whose?'

(b) Reduplication.

392. Questions are often formed by reduplicating the monosyllabic verb, adjective, adverb, auxiliaries, or some particle⁸³ standing at the end of the sentence or before the final particle. If the verb, adjective or adverb is disyllabic only the last syllable is reduplicated. If the syllable repeated has the third tone, the reduplicated form acquires the second tone (the original tone is marked in the examples). Predication is the more usual structure for this means of forming a question. The interrogative sentence thus formed may consist of only one single verb, adjective, or adverb.

(i) Predication.

393.

Subject-Predicate (without object):

- (1) ²nu ²bo ²bo? 'Will you go?' or 'Are you going?' (lit. "you go-go")
 (2) ²ts'ɣ ²la ²la? 'Will he come?' or 'Is he coming?'
 (3) ²ts'ɣ ²la ²la ²o? 'Has he come?'

⁸³ The particles which can be reduplicated for this purpose are ²ndzo (§ 207), ²to (§ 186), ²da (§ 187), ²ta (§ 188).

- (4) ʔtsʰɿ ʔla ʔndzo ʔndzo? 'Did he ever come?'
 (5) ʔtsʰɿ ʔno ʔsu ʔma ʔɿwa ʔɿwa? 'Is he a Lolo?'
 (6) ʔve ʔve ʔtsʰɿ ʔma ʔndza ʔndza? 'Is this flower beautiful?' (lit. "flower this NUM beautiful-beautiful")
 (7) ʔa ʔi ʔa ʔdzɿ ʔma ʔza ʔkʰɿ ʔkʰɿ? 'Is that boy brave?'
 (8) ʔmo ʔɿ ʔtsʰa ʔtsʰa? 'Is it hot?' or 'Is it fine?'
 (9) ʔz ʔmo ʔa ʔdzɿ ʔɿm ʔa ʔso ʔso? 'Is that river long?'
 (10) ʔnu ʔga ʔɿgo ʔɿgo? 'Are you cold?'
 (11) ʔtsʰɿ ʔhe ʔho ʔho? 'Does he speak well?' (lit. "he speak well-well")

Subject-Object-Verb:

- (12) ʔnu ʔtsʰɿ ʔndu ʔndu? 'Do you beat him?'
 (13) ʔɿa ʔtsʰɿ ʔndu ʔzo ʔzo? 'Must I beat him?'
 (14) ʔnu ʔtsʰɿ ʔndu ʔndu ʔo? 'Have you beaten him?'
 (15) ʔtsʰɿ ʔɿa ʔɿgu ʔɿgu? 'Does he love me?' or 'Does he think of me?'
 (16) ʔnu ʔno ʔsu ʔho ʔɿa ʔɿa? 'Will you teach me Lolo?'

(ii) *Object-verb phrases.*

394.

- (1) ʔɿu ʔndi ʔndi? 'Have you strength?'
 (2) ʔxo ʔxo ʔɿpo ʔɿpo? 'Do you play jewsharp?'
 (3) ʔxo ʔxo ʔmo ʔku ʔku? 'Can you play jewsharp?'

(iii) *Single word reduplicated.*

395.

- (1) ʔla ʔla? 'Will (you) come?' or 'Are (you) coming?' (lit. "come-come")
 (2) ʔbo ʔbo? 'Will (you) go?' or 'Are (you) going?'
 (3) ʔa ʔso ʔso? '(Is it) long?'
 (4) ʔndza ʔndza? '(Are you) beautiful?'

In all the examples under B and C another personal pronoun can of course be implied according to context.

(c) *Use of certain particles.*

396. Two particles serve to form interrogative sentences:

(i) ʔda.

(1) *Alternative questions.*

397. This particle is used to form alternative questions. The resulting sentence complies with one of the two following formulas according to whether the alternative requires a negative or not.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ If turned into clauses in complex sentences both constructions lose their interrogative value or may be spoken of as 'indirect questions'.

- (1) A + ³da + ³a + A. For example:
²nw ²la ³da ³a ²la? 'Will you come or not?' (lit. "you come or not come")
- (2) A + ³da + B. If more than two alternatives are provided '³da C', '³da D', etc., can be added. For example:
²nw ²ts'ɿ ²ŋgu ³da ²tsɿ ¹ndzu? 'Do you love him or hate him?'
²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ²ma ³da ³o ³dzu ²ma ³da ³he ²ŋga ²ma? 'Is he a Lolo, a Tibetan, or a Chinese?'

398. Both formulas are generally used in predicative position:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²la ²o ³da ³a ³la ²ɿ. 'Has he come or not?'
 (2) ²ts'ɿ ³mbo ²ma ³da ³a ³mbo ²ma ²ŋw? 'Is it a good one or a bad one?'
 (3) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²ma ³da ²tɕy ²ma ²ŋw? 'Is he a Black Lolo or a White Lolo?'
 (4) ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³mbo ³da ³a ³mbo? 'Is this man good or not?'
 (5) ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²no ²ma ³da ²tɕy ²ma? 'Is he a Black Lolo or White Lolo?'
 (6) ²nw ²ts'ɿ ¹ndu ³da ²ts'ɿ ³a ¹ndu? 'Do you beat him or not?'
 (7) ²nw ²no ²su ³ho ¹ŋa ³da ³he ²ŋga ³ho ¹ŋa? 'Do you teach Lolo or Chinese?'
 (8) ²nw ²no ²su ³ho ¹ŋa ³da ²no ²su ³ho ²y? 'Do you teach Lolo or learn Lolo?'
 (9) ²nw ²ts'ɿ ²ɣw ³die ²ŋa ³bɿ ³da ³a ³bɿ? 'Will you give me these or not?'
 (10) ²nw ²ts'ɿ ²ɣw ³die ²ŋa ³bɿ ³da ²ts'ɿ ³bɿ? 'Will you give these to me or to him?'
 (11) ²nw ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³die ²ŋa ³bɿ ³da ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ³die ²ŋa ³bɿ? 'Will you give me this one or that one?'

When the first formula is used, the object after ³da can be left out. Thus the second ²ts'ɿ in (6) can be omitted. In the case of the second formula, the object must occur again after ³da even if it is the same as that before ³da. Example (8) above illustrates this point. As example (10) illustrates, the indirect object is left out after ³da if it is the same as that before ³da. It can be repeated if the speaker so wishes. The subject of such a sentence can be left out if easily supplied from the context:

- (12) ³xo ¹xo ³ŋo ³da ³a ³ŋo? 'Do (you) play jewsharp?'
 (13) ²ŋ ²t'i ²dzu ³da ³a ²dzu ²sɿ? 'Have (you) had your breakfast yet?'
 (14) ³mbo ³da ³a ³mbo? 'Good or not?'
 (15) ²no ²ma ³da ²tɕy ²ma? 'A Black Lolo or a White Lolo?'

(2) *Rhetorical questions.*

399. At the end of a sentence ³da forms rhetorical questions.

- (1) ²nw ²ts'e ³ko ²djio ³da. 'Here you are, aren't you?'
 (2) ²nw ²e ²ko ²djio ³da. 'You are at home, aren't you?'

- (3) ²nw ³a ²bo ²sɿ ³da. 'You have not gone yet, have you?'⁸⁵
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ³a ²la ²sɿ ³da. 'He has not come yet, has he?'
- (5) ²ts'ɿ ²ŋa ²ŋgu ³da. 'He loves me, doesn't he?'
- (6) ²no ²su ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo ³da? 'The Lolo people are very good, aren't they?'
- (7) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²ma ³da? 'He is a Black Lolo, isn't he?'
- (8) ²nw ²ts'e ³ko ³y ¹lo ²ŋ ²la ³da? 'You come here as a merchant, don't you?'
- (9) ²nw ³a ³de ¹he ²la ³da? 'You came yesterday, didn't you?'
- (10) ²nw ²ts'ɿ ³a ²djie ³da? 'You don't know it, do you?'

b. ¹pa.

400. This particle is used in anticipation of an answer and the questions formed by it are also rhetorical, although to a lesser degree than those formed by ³da.

- (1) ³e ²ŋi ²ŋ ¹l ³p'u ²dʒɿ ³p'u, ¹ni ¹ve ³ga ²e ³bo. ²nw ²ga ³ŋgo ¹pa? 'It blows very hard today. Your clothes are thin, you are cold, aren't you?'⁸⁶
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ¹tʃ'ɿ ³mo ³a ²dzw ²sɿ, ²ts'ɿ ¹mi ¹pa? 'He has not had his supper, he is hungry, isn't he?'
- (3) ²ŋa ³a ²ŋ ²i ³ni ²ts'ɿ ²ɣw ¹mo. ²nw ³he ²ko ²ts'ɿ ²bo ²o, ²kw ³a ²tʃɿ ¹pa? 'I saw him just now. You said that he had gone, isn't it true?'
- (4) ²nw ³sɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ, ³a ²tʃw ¹pa? 'The way you are doing it is not right, is it?'

(4) *Interrogative words used in constructions (b) (reduplication) and (c) (particles).*

401. Interrogative pronouns occurring in alternative questions formed by the particle ³da keep their interrogative value. Examples are as follows:

- (1) ¹k'a ²di ²la ³da ¹k'a ²di ³a ²la? 'Who will come and who will not come?'
- (2) ¹k'a ²di ²bo ³da ¹k'a ²di ²la? 'Who will come and who will go?'
- (3) ²çi ²ma ³mbo ³da ²çi ²ma ³a ³mbo? 'Which is good and which is bad?'
- (4) ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ³ŋi ²ma ²nw ²çi ²ma ²ŋgu ²çi ²ma ¹ndzu? 'Which of these two men do you love and which do you hate?'

⁸⁵ When uttering any one of the first three sentences the speaker may be looking at the listener.

⁸⁶ The answer expected would be ²ga ³ŋgo 'cold', but the person questioned could also say ²ga ³a ³ŋgo 'not cold'.

402. In questions formed by reduplication, a pronoun may lose its interrogative value, as in

- (1) ³k'w ²ji ²ts'ɣ ²ɿ ²nw ³sɿ ³sɿ? 'Do you know how much he wants?'
- (2) ²nw ²çi ¹ia ²djio ²çi ¹ia ³die ²ŋa ³bɿ ³bɿ? 'Do you give me what you have?'

C. Imperative Sentences.⁸⁷

403. The imperative mood can be formed in three ways, as is illustrated by the following three examples:

- (1) ²nw ²la!
- (2) ²ko ²la!
- (3) ²la!

These three sentences all mean 'Come!' The first is a predication, the second a finite verb with a particle preceding it, the third a single word. Of these three ways of expressing a command or a wish the second is the commonest. Other examples are:

- (1) ²ko ²ʒ! 'Go!'
- (2) ²ko ²ŋø! 'Sit down!'
- (3) ²ko ³he! 'Speak!'
- (4) ³he ¹ma ¹e ³tsɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²ko ³he! 'Speak carefully!'
- (5) ²a ¹dʒɿ ³ko ²ko ²ʒ! 'Go there!'⁸⁸

404. The particle ¹ha (or ¹tɕie) has an exhortative force; for examples see § 205.

D. Exclamatory Sentences.

405. Exclamatory sentences are generally very short. They are mostly minor sentences in structure and may be classified into the following three groups:

(a) *An interjection standing alone.*

406. Examples:

- (1) ³a ³pu! (Expressive of surprise)
- (2) ¹jiɛ! 'Hullo!'
- (3) ¹e ³i! (Expressing sorrow)

⁸⁷ For prohibitive negation, see §§ 472-474.

⁸⁸ For the function of ²ko, see §§ 195-197.

(b) An interjection combined with other words.

407. Examples:

- (1) ¹jje, ²nu! 'Hullo, you!'
- (2) ³hy, ³a ²ze ²su! 'Bah, useless thing! (Idiot!).'
- (3) ³a ³puw, ¹a ²ʒ ²dʒɿ ²a ²ʒ! 'Oh, very big!'

(c) Use of strong stress or of repetition.

408. A strong stress is laid on one word. The stressed word is often shifted to the beginning of the sentence and repeated in its normal position.

For example:

- (1) ¹a ³mo ²su! 'Old man!'
- (2) ¹ndza ²ma! 'A beautiful one!'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²ma, ²ɣa ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³he ³a ³ɣ! 'This one, I do not like this one!'
- (4) ²ɣa, ²ɣa ³he ¹ma ¹k'a! 'I, I am happy!'

409. Another kind of repetition occurs when a thing is first affirmed and then negated or vice versa. The degree of quality is often expressed in the latter case.

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ³mbo ²ma, ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ³mbo ²ma ³a ²ɣu! 'He, a good man! He is not.'
- (2) ²ts'ɿ ³a ³mbo, ²ts'ɿ ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³mbo ²ma ²ɣu. 'He, not good! He is a very good one.'

The commas in the above two sentences and the last two examples of the preceding section indicate a pause. The word or words preceding the comma are stressed and spoken in a higher pitch than when they reoccur in the later part of the sentences.

CHAPTER VII

SYNTAX: SPECIAL

(1) Relation between Substantives.

410. When two or more substantives are placed one after another, four different relations can be established: (A) co-ordination, (B) attribution, (C) apposition,⁸⁹ and (D) predication.

A. Co-ordination.

411. When two or more substantives are used together and they exclude one another in meaning, these substantives are in co-ordination.

- (1) ²bo ²dzu ³a ²ŋ ²zu 'boys and girls'
- (2) ³ve ²se ³de ³ve 'the host and the guest'
- (3) ³sɿ ²bo, ²ve ²ve, ²ʒ 'the trees, the flowers and the grass'

B. Attribution.

412. The relation between two substantives following one another is generally determined by their meanings. When the second substantive has a broader meaning than the first, the two substantives are in attribution: the first being the attribute, the second the head.

- (1) ³ŋ ¹pa ²e ²tɕ'ie 'the horse's head'
- (2) ²ts'ɔ ³ŋa ¹bi 'a man's nose'
- (3) ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ²zu 'Lo-ho M-ka's son'
- (4) ³sɿ ¹nda ²ve ²ve 'pear-blossom'

There are of course more 'heads' than 'horses', more 'noses' than 'persons', more 'sons' than 'Lo-ho M-ka', and more 'flowers' than 'pears'.

413. If two or more attributes or heads are used, the heads are repeated as many times as there are attributes and vice versa.

- (1) ³ŋ ¹pa ²e ²tɕ'ie ²lu ²e ²tɕ'ie 'the horse's head and the cow's head'
- (2) ³ŋ ¹pa ²e ²tɕ'ie ³ŋ ¹pa ³p'u ²su 'the horse's head and tail'

414. Positional relations (expressed by prepositions in European languages) are expressed in Lolo by substantive attributive combinations, in which the word denoting a position acts as head.

- (a) ¹he 'outside'
- ²lu ¹he 'outside the city-wall'
- ³tsu ²zu ¹he 'outside the bowl'

⁸⁹ Apposition may be considered as a case of co-ordination, but one appositional member may also be regarded as an explanation of another.

- (b) ²ko or ²k'u 'inside'
²lu ²k'u 'inside the city-wall'
³tʂu ²zu ²ko 'in the bowl'
- (c) ²e ²tʂ'ie 'upper side' (This word is the same as that for 'head.')
- ³tʂo ²tʂɿ ²e ²tʂ'ie 'on the table'
²dzø ²e ²tʂ'ie 'on the bridge'

Note that 'on the ground' is expressed by ²ŋ ²du ²ko but not by ²ŋ ²du ²e ²tʂ'ie.

- (d) ³la ¹ɣ 'lower side'
³tʂo ²tʂɿ ³la ¹ɣ 'under the table'
²dzø ³la ¹ɣ 'under the bridge'
- (e) ²miɛ or ²miɛ ²le 'front'
²bo ²miɛ ²le 'in front of the hill'
²i ²miɛ ²le 'in front of the house'
- (f) ²ɣa or ²ɣa ²le 'behind'
²bo ²ɣa ²le 'behind the hill'
²i ²ɣa ²le 'behind the house'
- (g) ²la ²i 'right-hand side'
²i ²la ²i 'on right-hand side of the house'
- (h) ²la ²ɣ 'left-hand side'
²i ²la ²ɣ 'on the left-hand side of the house'

The word ¹tʂio 'side', can be added to ¹he, ²k'u, ³la ¹ɣ, ²miɛ, ²ɣa, ³la ²i, and ²la ²ɣ without changing their meanings. The two substantives can be separated from each other by other words. For example:

²i ¹a ²ʒ ²tʂ'ɿ ²ma ²la ²i 'on the right-hand side of this big house.'

C. Apposition.

415. The appellative precedes the proper name:

- (1) ³se ²p'o, ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka. 'Chief, Lo-ho M-ka.'
 (2) ²ndzɿ ³mo, ³a ³xu 'Prince A-hu.'

D. Predication.

416. When two substantives from a sentence,⁹⁰ the first is the subject and the second the predicate. The copula must be used if the sentence is negative because a substantive cannot be negated.

- (1) ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ²no ²ma (²ŋu). 'Lo-ho M-ka is a Black Lolo.'

⁹⁰ Except for a minor one.

(2) ³lo ³ho ³η ¹ka ³se ²p'ō ³a ²ηu. 'Lo-ho M-ka is not the chief.'

A subject particle can be inserted between the two substantives; thus the first example can also be

(3) ³lo ³ho ³η ³ka ²nu ²no ²ma (²ηu).

(2) Relation between Pronouns.

417. When two or more pronouns are placed one after another, two relations can be established: (A) co-ordination and (B) predication.

A. Co-ordination.

418. Pronouns are in co-ordination when

(a) followed by a numeral and a numerative:

- (1) ²ηa ²nu ³ni ²ma. 'I and you, (we) two'
- (2) ²nu ²ts'γ ²ηa ²so ²io. 'You, he and I, (we) three'

(b) followed by an adjective or an intransitive verb:

- (1) ²nu ²ηa ³mbo. 'You and I are good.'
- (2) ²ts'γ ²ηa ²bo. 'He and I will go.'

(c) followed or preceded by a subject particle:

- (1) ²ts'γ ²ηa ²le ²ʒ. 'He and I laugh.' (In this case ²le is preferable and ²nu and ²su are better avoided, as ²nu can also mean 'you' and ²su can also mean 'other people'.)
- (2) ²ηa ²le ²nu ²ts'γ ²ηgu. 'I love you and him.'

B. Predication.

419. Two pronouns are usually in predication when

(a) the first is a personal or demonstrative pronoun and the second an interrogative one:

- (1) ²ts'γ ¹k'a ²di? 'Who is he?'
- (2) ²ts'γ ²çi ²ma? 'What is he?' or 'What is this?'

(b) the second is in the possessive case:

- (1) ²ts'γ ²ηa ²ve. 'He is mine.' or 'This is mine.'
- (2) ²a ¹dzγ ²gw ¹ni ²ve. 'Those are yours.'

(c) followed by the copula ²ηu:

- (1) ²ηu ²nu ³a ²ηu. 'I am not you.'
- (2) ²ηa ²ve ²ts'γ ²gw ²ηu. 'These are mine.' (lit. "mine these are").

(3) Relation between Verbs.

420. When two or more verbs follow one another, the relation between them is either co-ordination or adverbial attribution, unless the second is an auxiliary verb.

A. Co-ordination.**(a) Transitive verbs.**

421. When two or more transitive verbs are used together, and take the same object, the object must be repeated as many times as there are verbs. For example:

- (1) ²ηα ²ts'γ ¹ιcia ²ts'γ ²ηgu. 'I am afraid of him and love him.'
- (2) ²ηα ²ts'γ ²gw ²γ ²ts'γ ²gw ³γ. 'I buy and sell these things.'

(b) Intransitive verbs.

422. When two intransitive verbs used together in a sense of contrast have the same subject, the subject should be repeated before the second verb unless the adverb ¹ni is used.

- (1) ²ts'γ ²la ²ts'γ ²bo. 'Men are coming and going.'
- (2) ²ts'γ ¹ni ²i ¹ηo ¹ni ²z. 'He cries and laughs.'
- (3) ²ts'γ ²ηθ ¹ni ³a ²ηθ ²bo ¹ni ³a ²bo. 'He neither sits down nor leaves.'

B. Attribution.

423. If a verb is used as an attribute to another, it requires the adverbial particle ²η ²ta. For example:

- (1) ²ts'γ ²ηθ ²η ²ta ³he. 'Sitting (there), he speaks.'
- (2) ²ts'γ ²i ¹ηo ²η ²ta ²la. 'He comes crying.'
- (3) ²ηα ²ts'γ ²z ²η ²ta ³he. 'Laughing at him, I speak.'
- (4) ²ts'γ ²z ¹ηl ²η ²ta ²la. 'He is swimming towards us.'

C. Auxiliary Verbs.

424. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be followed by an auxiliary verb. For an enumeration see §§ 179-185.

(4) Relation between Adjectives.

425. When several adjectives are used together, they can form co-ordinative structures only.

(a) In predicative position.

426. When used as the predicate, the members of the co-ordination are simply juxtaposed. The members can be in any order the speaker desires.

- (1) ²ts'γ ²le ³mbo ¹ndza ²za ²k'γ. 'He is good, handsome, and brave.'
- (2) ²ts'γ ²ts'γ ²ma ²nwu ²gu ²djie ¹e ³ts'γ ³a ¹γl. 'This person is thin, small, and young.'

427. When the adjectives are followed by a numerative or the particle ²su, and function as substantives, the same numerative or particle should be repeated after every adjective no matter how many objects are referred to.

- (1) ²ts'ŋ ²nw ³mbo ²ma ¹ndza ²ma ²za ²k'ɔ ²ma. 'He is a good, handsome, and brave person.'
- (2) ²lu ²ts'ŋ ²gw ²ndʒɹ ¹ndza ²su ¹a ²ʒ ²su. 'The cows are strong and big.'

(b) *In attributive position.*

428. When several adjectives stand together as an adnominal attribute, the same substantive is generally used before each adjective. If there is a numerative, it can either be repeated after each adjective or be used once only at the end of the combination. If the numerative is repeated the substantive is generally not.

- (1) ²ts'ŋ ²gw ²vɛ ²vɛ ²a ²ŋɛ ²vɛ ²vɛ ¹ndza. 'These are beautiful red flowers.'
- (2) ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²ts'ɔ ³mbo ²ts'ɔ ²xw ²ma. 'This is a good and able person.'
- (3) ²ts'ŋ ²no ²su ³mbo ²ma ²xw ²ma ²za ²k'ɔ ²ma. 'He is a good, able, and brave person.'

429. Adjectives of colour, size and quality used as an adnominal attribute generally adopt the order 'colour-size-quality'. A numerative is used at the end and the substantive is not repeated. For example:

²ts'ŋ ²ɸ'ɹ ²a ²no ¹e ³tsɹ ¹ndza ²dʒɹ ¹ndza ²ma ²dʒio. 'He has a very beautiful little black dog.' (lit. "he dog black little beautiful ²dʒɹ beautiful NUM have")

430. Adjectives substantivized by a numerative or the particle ²su assume the functions of the substantive and can enter into any combination characteristic of the substantive. They can, for instance, act as subject with an adjective as their predicate:

²a ²ŋɛ ²ma ¹ndza. 'The red ones are beautiful.'

(5) **Relation between Numerals.**

431. When the larger number precedes the smaller addition is indicated; but when the larger number follows the smaller, multiplication is indicated. This rule also applies to three numbers used together. For example:

²sɔ ²ha ¹fu = (3 x 100) + 6 = 306

432. In alternative numbers the smaller always precedes the larger.

- (1) ²ŋw ²ma ¹fu ²ma 'five or six (NUM)'
- (2) ²gu ²ma ²ts'e ²ma 'nine or ten (NUM)'
- (3) ³ŋw ²ts'e ¹fu ²ts'e 'fifty or sixty'
- (4) ³ni ²ha ²so ³ha 'two or three hundred'

(6) **Relation between Adverbs.**

433. Adverbs following one another can form either co-ordinative or attributive structures.

A. Co-ordination.

434. When adverbs are co-ordinated, the order of words is free except that adverbs of time are generally placed before others.

- (1) ²nwu ²a ²za ²a ²za (²ŋ ²ta) ³juo ³tse ²ŋ ²ta ³he. 'Speak slowly and carefully.'
- (2) ²ŋa ³ŋ ³ɣ ¹ya ⁴e ³juo ³tsɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ. 'From now on I shall do it carefully.'

The two adverbs in the first example can change their places but the two of the second examples cannot.

B. Attribution.

435. The attribute precedes with the exception of ²kɔ 'very', which always follows any word it qualifies.

- (1) ²ŋa ¹t'a ³ɿ ³juo ³tse ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ. 'I always do it carefully.' (lit. "I always carefully ²ŋ ²ta do")
- (2) ³ŋo ²dʒɿ ²su ³juo ³tse ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ ¹zo. 'We must do it equally carefully.'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ¹he ²dʒio ¹he ²dʒio ²kɔ ²ŋ ²ta ²la. 'He is coming very quickly.'

(7) **Relation of Substantives and Pronouns to Adjectives and Numeratives.**

436. Adjectives can be either attributes or predicates to a substantive but only predicates to a pronoun. In both cases they follow the substantive or pronoun. The position of the numerative serves to distinguish attributive from predicative function in the case of a substantive followed by an adjective.

- (1) ²nwu ³mbo. 'You are good.'
- (2) ³se ²p'o ³mbo 'good chiefs' or 'The chiefs are good.'
- (3) ³se ²p'o ³mbo ²ma 'a good chief'
- (4) ³se ²p'o ²ts'ɿ ²ma ³mbo. 'This chief is good.'

437. When an adjective follows a combination of which the last element is a substantive other than a proper name, and the remaining words are proper names, the proper names form the subject, and the last substantive together with the adjective as its attribute becomes the predicate:

³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ¹ŋa ¹vŋ ³da ²ts'ɔ ³mbo. 'Lo-ho M-ka and Ma Vz-da are good men.'

438. If an adjective is preceded by several substantives of which the last has a broader meaning, this last substantive with the adjectives as its attribute forms the predicate:

²ŋa ¹a ¹ta ¹a ¹mo ¹p'a ³γ ²ts'ɔ ²za ²k'ɔ. 'My father, mother and uncle are brave persons.'

439. A numerative used with a substantive, a demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative pronouns ²çi or ³k'ɥ ²ŋi always follows immediately, and unless accompanied by a numeral, a demonstrative pronoun or an interrogative pronoun it refers to one person or object but not a particular one.

(1) ²pi ²mo ²ma ²la ²o. 'A shaman has come.'

(2) ²pi ²mo ²ts'ɣ ²ma ³mbo ²dʒɹ ²mbo. 'This shaman is very good.'

440. A substantive, if acting as an adverbial attribute to an adjective, requires the use of the particle ²ŋ ²ta. For example:

³lu ¹ma ²a ¹dʒɹ ²ma ²bo ²ŋ ²ta ²a ²ŋm. 'That stone is high as a mountain.' (lit. "stone that NUM mountain ²ŋ ²ta high").

(8) Relation of Verbs and Adjectives to Adverbs.

441. Adverbs are generally used as attributes to verbs or adjectives although they can also be used as attributes of other adverbs (see § 435). Some of them precede their heads, some of them follow, and a few may either precede or follow. For details see §§ 228-231.

(9) Relation of Substantives and Substantive Equivalents to Verbs.

442. Substantives and their syntactical equivalents (pronouns, substantivized adjectives, numerals, verbal substantives and nominal clauses) in their relation to verbs, can be either their subjects, objects or adverbial attributes. These relations have been treated in Chapter VI (SYNTAX: GENERAL), but here may be the place to restate and complete what was said about case relationships in various preceding sections.

The following cases are distinguished either by position or by means of particles:

A. Vocativus.

443. The vocativus is normally expressed by absolute position:

³se ²p'o, ²ko ²a! 'Chief, come!'

²bo ²dzu, ²e ²ko ²bo! 'Young man, go home!'

444. With the honorific names of uncles and aunts, vocative particles are used (see § 112).

B. Subjectivus.

445. When acting as subject, a substantive or its equivalent precedes (with its attribute) the verb (with the attributes and objects of the verb). The subject may be marked off by one of the three subject particles, ²nu, ²le and ²su, the last used only in literary style. The use of those particles is optional.

(1) ³lo ³ho ³η ¹ka ²nu ²no ²ma. 'Lo-ho M-ka is a Black Lolo.'

(2) ³η ³djie ²su ³η ³djie.

³lo ²tsɿ ³su ³lo ²tsɿ.

³η ³djie ³lo ²tsɿ ²dʒɿ ³a ²fu.⁹¹

'The horse is horse.

The mule is mule.

There is no marriage between the two.'

(3) ²ts'ɿ ²le ³mbo. 'He is good.'

(4) ²nu ²nu ¹ndz'a. 'You are beautiful.'

(5) ²ts'ɿ ³mbo ²nu ²la ²o. 'The good man has come.'

(6) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ³hu ²la ²su ²nu ³he ²ηga ³ho ³he ¹hɔ. 'The man who came to see you speaks Chinese well.'

(7) ³a ²η ²zu ²nu ²ts'ɿ ²ηgu ²su ²le ¹ndz'a ²dʒɿ ¹ndz'a. 'The girl whom you love is exceedingly beautiful.'

(8) ²no ²su ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²nu ³he ²ηga ³ho ³he ¹hɔ. 'This Lolo speaks Chinese well.'

(9) ²ts'ɿ ²le ²no ²su ³ho ²ηa ¹ηa. 'He teaches me Lolo.'

446. If a subject particle is used, the object may for the sake of emphasis precede the subject:

¹ni ³pe ²mo ²ηa ²le ²ηgu. 'I love your sister.'

In such a construction the demonstrative pronoun ²ts'ɿ is very often used after the particle to repeat the object.

447. A phrase of the structure *Object-Verb*, followed by the particle ²nu or ²le becomes an infinitive phrase standing as the subject.

⁹¹ This is a popular proverb. The 'horse' is likened to the Black Lolo and the 'mule' to the White Lolo. These two classes do not intermarry.

- (1) ³do ¹ma ³gu ²du ³he ²nu ³a ³mbo. 'To tell a lie is bad.'
- (2) ³xo ³xo ³no ²nu ¹qa ¹sa ³dzɿ ¹qa ¹sa. 'To play a jewsharp is very sweet.'

448. In hypothetical sentences the clause marked off by ²nu or ²le acquires conditional force:

- (1) ²mo ²ŋ ²djie ²la ²nu ³mbo. 'It would be nice if it was raining.'
- (2) ²qa ³du ¹ndi ²nu ³djie ¹ku. 'If I had wings I could fly.'
- (3) ³go ²no ²su ¹na ²o ²nu ²pi ²mo ²pi. 'If we Lolos are ill, we ask the shaman to chant.'

449. Expressions of place or time may function as grammatical subject and be marked off by ²nu or ²le⁹²:

²no ²su ²ŋ ²du ²nu ²ʒ ²ŋgw ³a ¹ndo ²ʒ ²ŋgo ²a ²di ¹ndo. 'In the Lolo region people do not drink boiled water and drink only cold water.'

C. Predicativus.

450. This case applies wherever the substantive or its equivalent stands in predicative position without being governed by a verb or accompanied by the copula (the use of which is optional except in negative predication). The substantive, in this case, acts syntactically like an intransitive verb and takes adverbs but retains the character of a substantive with respect to adnominal attributes.

- (1) ³go ²no ²su. 'We are Lolos.'
- (2) ³a ³de ¹he ²nu ³hu ²la ²su ²qa. 'It is I who came to see you yesterday.'
- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²no ²su ³a ²ŋu. 'He is not Lolo.'
- (4) ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ³mbo ²ma. 'Lo-ho La-ha is a good one.'
- (5) ³go ³ka ¹ɿ ³ɿ ²no ²su. 'We are all Lolos.'
- (6) ³lo ³lo ¹la ²ha ³a ³de ¹he ²no ²su ²ma. ²ts'ɿ ³e ³ɿi ³he ²ŋga ²ma ¹tɕ'io ²o. 'Lo-ho La-ha was a Lolo yesterday. He becomes a Chinese to-day.'

D. Objectivus.

451. Normally the object precedes its verb (and the adverbial attribute of the verb, if there is any) but it can be placed before the subject if the latter is followed by a subject particle. Such an object is often repeated by means of

⁹² With the adverb ³a ²ŋ ²nu, ²nu has become fixed and can now stand in any position the adverb takes.

the demonstrative pronoun ²ts'ŋ in the normal position of the object (see §§ 138, 368, 369). With a double object, the indirect follows the direct.

452. Except in the case of the double object, if two substantives or pronouns precede a transitive verb, the first will normally be the subject and the second the object.⁹³ If the verb is preceded by the particle ²dʒl 'reciprocally', both substantives or pronouns are the notional subjects and objects. For example:

³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ¹ŋa ¹vŋ ²da ²dʒl ¹se. 'Lo-ho M-ka and Ma Vz-da fight against each other.'

453. When three or more substantives or pronouns are used before a transitive verb, a subject particle will serve to distinguish the subject and the object. For example:⁹⁴

- (1) ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ²nu ¹ŋa ¹vŋ ²da ³tʂu ²lu ¹la ²dze ¹ndu. 'Lo-ho M-ka strikes Ma Vz-da and Chu-lu La-dze.'
- (2) ³lo ³ho ³ŋ ¹ka ¹ŋa ¹vŋ ²da ²nu ³tʂu ²lu ¹la ²dze ³dʒl ¹ndu. 'Lo-ho M-ka united with Ma Vz-da to fight against Chu-lu La-dze.'
(Three persons are fighting; the first two are on one side, the last one on the other.)

454. There is no difference in form whether an object is a direct (accusativus) or indirect one, or a local object (locativus, ablativus, terminativus) with verbs of motion. In several Lolo dialects, object particles are commonly used (see §§ 501, 502). In the dialect described, however, there are two object particles. They are used only with a few verbs and their use is optional except with the verb ³he in the sense of 'to tell'.

(a) ³tʂio.

455. This particle is used with verbs meaning 'to tell', 'to ask', 'to give', 'to present', 'to borrow', 'to exchange' and 'to protect'. It is usually attached to an animate object, irrespective of the object being in the dativus or the accusativus but combined with the dativus if there are both:

- (1) ²ŋa ²nu ³tʂio ³he. ²nu ²ŋa ³tʂio ²pa. 'I speak to you. You answer me.'
- (2) ²ʂi ²ma ³do ¹ma ³a ¹ŋa ²su ²ŋa ³tʂio ³he. 'Tell me any one who does not obey.'
- (3) ²ts'ɔ ²ts'e ²io ²ŋa ³tʂio ³ndi ²ta. 'Ten persons are escorting me.'

⁹³ In instrumentalis the substantive immediately preceding the verb is the agent (see § 459).

⁹⁴ If ²nu in the first example is omitted, the first person mentioned is definitely the subject and the last the object, but whether the second person is striking or being struck is obscure. Should ²nu in the second example be left out, the sentence would mean 'Lo-ho M-ka, Ma Vz-da and Chu-lu La-dze fight (or strike) one another.'

- (4) ²ŋa ³do ³ʒw ³tʷ ²ʒ ²bu ³a ¹ku. ²ŋa ³do ¹ma ³se ²pʻo ¹tʃio ³he ²bo.
'I cannot write the writ, I will go and speak (words) to the chief.'

(b) ³die.

456. ³die is used with the same verbs and in the same way as ³tʃio, except that it is attached to the accusativus if combined with the verbs ³bŋ 'to give' or ²ʃ 'to present'.

- (1) ²ŋa ³ŋi ¹pa ¹fu ²ma ²nu ³die ³na ¹tʃʻo ³tsʻŋ ²dʒi ²pa ²la, ²tʃw ²tʃw? 'May I exchange my six horses with you for one gun?'
 (2) ²ŋa ³dʒw ³mo ³a ²dʒio ²o. ³a ²ŋi ²nu ²tsʻo ³die ³dʒw ³mo ²hw ¹zo. 'I am hard up, I must borrow some money from somebody.'
 (3) ²nu ²tsʻŋ ²ma ²die ²ŋa ³bŋ, ²ko ²tʃw ²tʃw? 'Will you give this one to me?'
 (4) ²tsʻŋ ³tʷ ²ʒ ²tsʻŋ ¹dze ³die ²ŋa ²ʃ ²o. 'He has presented this book to me.'

In the first two examples ³die is added to the indirect object; in the last two it follows the direct object. It is interesting to mention that the direct objects ²tsʻŋ ²ma and ³tʷ ²ʒ ²tsʻŋ ¹dze can be left out if the context or situation can make the meaning clear.

E. Genitivus.

457. A genitive attribute precedes its substantive without any intervening particle. Only when a substantive or pronoun is used subjectively or predicatively is the use of the particle ²ve required.

- (1) ³lo ³ho ³ŋi ¹ka ²zu ²za ²kʻo ²dʒi ³za ²kʻo. 'Lo-ho M-ka's son is very brave.'
 (2) ²tsʻŋ ²ŋa ²e ²i ³tʃʻio ²po ²ŋw. 'He is my younger brother's friend.'
 (3) ²tsʻŋ ²ŋa ³se ²pʻo ²ŋw. 'He is my officer.'
 (4) ³lo ³ho ³ŋi ¹ka ²ve ³mbo. 'Lo-ho M-ka's is good.'
 (5) ²tsʻŋ ²gʷ ³lo ³ho ³ŋi ¹ka ²ve ²ŋw. 'These are Lo-ho M-ka's.'
 (6) ³va ²la ²tsʻŋ ²gu ²ŋa ²ve ²ŋw. 'This cloak is mine.'

For the change of form in genitive (possessive) pronouns, see §§ 124, 125.

F. Adverbials

458. A substantive or a pronoun may be in the adverbial when preceding a verb. Adverbs of manner require the use of the particle ²ŋi ²ta.

- (1) ²tsʻŋ ³a ¹ju ¹he ²de ¹kʻu ²bo ¹mi. 'He will go next year.'
 (2) ²ŋa ³he ²ŋga ³ho ³he. ²nu ²no ²su ³ho ²ŋi ²ta ³he. 'I speak Chinese, (you) translate (it) into Lolo.' (lit. "I Chinese speak. You Lolo language ²ŋi ²ta speak")

- (3) ²ts'ɿ ²a ¹dzɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ. ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ²ŋ ²ta ²ŋ. 'He does (it) in that way. I do (it) in this way.' (lit. "he that ²ŋ ²ta do. I this ²ŋ ²ta do.")

459. The instrumentalis is expressed by means of the verb ³se ('to take', 'to hold') in the active voice, but this is omitted in the passive:

- (1) ²ŋa ¹r'u ²ʒ ²bu ²du ²tɕie ³se ²bu. 'I write with a pen.'
 (2) ²ŋa ²he ²tɕie ²mbie ²o. 'I have been shot with an arrow.' (lit. "I arrow NUM shoot PP")

(10) Negation.

460. Ordinary negation is expressed by ³a 'not'; and the prohibitive negation by ¹t'a 'do not' (Latin *noli*).

A. Ordinary Negation.

(a) Position of ³a with single words.

461. ³a is placed immediately before a monosyllabic word which it qualifies. The following are examples:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ³mbɔ ²ma ³a ²ŋu. 'He is not a good man.'
 (2) ²ts'ɿ ²ts'ɿ ³a ³mbɔ ²ma ²ŋu. 'He is a bad man.'
 (3) ²ŋa ³sɿ ²su ³ts'ɿ ²gu ²p'a ³a ²djio. 'I know less than half of it.' (lit. "I know STP one half not have")
 (4) ²ŋa ³a ³sɿ ²su ³ts'ɿ ²gu ²p'a ²djio. 'I do not know half of it.' (lit. "I not know STP one half have")
 (5) ²ŋa ³a ³sɿ ²su ³ts'ɿ ²gu ²p'a ³a ²djio. 'I know more than half of it.' (lit. "I not know STP one half not have")

462. If the word qualified is a disyllabic word, ³a is inserted between the two syllables:

- (1) ²no ²su ²ts'ɿ ²ma ²za ³a ²k'ɿ. 'This Lolo is not brave.'
 (2) ²ts'ɿ ³ni ²ma ²dʒɿ ³a ²su. 'These two are not the same.'
 (3) ²bo ²a ¹dzɿ ²ma ²a ³a ²ŋum. 'That hill is not high.'
 (4) ²ŋa ²ts'ɿ ³dø ²ma ³he ³a ³ɿ. 'I do not like a bad man.'

463. When qualifying a word of three syllables of which the last reduplicates the second, ³a is placed after the first syllable. Example:

- ²ts'ɿ ¹he ³a ²djio ²djio (²ŋ ²ta) ²bo. 'He does not walk quickly. (lit. "he not quickly walk")

If the word qualified contains four syllables of which the last two reduplicate the other two, ³a is used after the first syllable and repeated after the third:

- ²ts'ɿ ²a ³a ²za ²a ³a ²za (²ŋ ²ta) ³he. 'He does not speak slowly.' (lit. "he not slowly speak")

464. If any particle is used before a monosyllabic word, ³a comes between the particle and the word to which the particle is added:

²nw ²ko ³a ²la ³tʷ ²ko ²ts'ɣ ²bo ²o. 'He went away when you had not yet come.'

(b) *Position of ³a in phrases.*

465. ³a has a very close relation with the word qualified. When ³a precedes or is inserted into a word followed by the particle ²su or a numerative, it should be understood that the particle or the numerative is added to a negative combination of two words. Thus ²su and ²ma in ³a ³mbo ²su and ³a ³mbo ²ma is applied to ³a ³mbo as a whole and not to ³mbo alone. ³a ³mbo ²su means 'the not-good ones' and ³a ³mbo ²ma means 'a not-good one'. Compare the following sentences:

- (1) ²nw ³mbo ³ma ³a ²ɲw. 'You are not a good one.'
- (2) ²nw ³a ³mbo ²ma ²ɲw. 'You are a bad (not-good) one.'
- (3) ²nw ³a ³mbo ²ma ³a ²ɲw. 'You are not a bad (not-good) one.'
- (4) ³do ¹ma ²ts'ɣ ²ɣw ²kw ²tsɿ ²su ³a ²ɲw. 'These words are not the truth.'
- (5) ³do ¹ma ²ts'ɣ ²ɣw ²kw ³a ²tsɿ ²su ²ɲw. 'These words are falsehoods (not-true).'
- (6) ³do ¹ma ²ts'ɣ ²ɣw ²kw ³a ²tsɿ ²su ³a ²ɲw. 'These words are not falsehoods (not-true).'

466. When the word qualified is repeated to express a greater degree, ³a is also repeated:

²ts'ɣ ²ma ³a ³mbo ²dʒɿ ³a ³mbo ²ma ²ɲw. 'This one is a very bad one.'
(lit. "This NUM not good ²dʒɿ not good NUM is")

(c) *Negation in the past tense.*

467. Simple negation in the past tense is effected by adding the particle ²o or ²vo to the negated verb or adjective in predicative position:

- (1) ²ɲa ²no ²su ³ho ²so ³ɲi ³a ²y ²o. 'I have not learnt Lolo for three days.' (The speaker learnt Lolo three days ago.)
- (2) ²ɲa ³ɲi ¹k'u ²vo ²ɣw ³a ²dzw ²o. 'I have not eaten pork for two years.' (The speaker ate pork two years ago.)
- (3) ²ts'ɣ ³e ³ɲi ³a ²bo ²o. 'He will not go today.' (He went before.)
- (4) ²ts'ɣ ³do ¹ma ²ts'ɣ ²ɣw ³a ³he ²o. 'He will not say anything of this sort again.' (He said it before.)
- (5) ²ve ²ve ²ts'ɣ ²ɣw ²a ³a ²ɲe ²o. 'These flowers are no longer red.' (The flower was red before.)

468. When the particle ²ndzo is negated by ³a, it conveys the idea of 'never':

- (1) ²ŋa ²no ²su ³ho ²y ³a ²ndzo. 'I have never learnt Lolo.'
- (2) ²ts'ŋ ³do ¹ma ³gw ²du ³he ³a ²ndzo. 'He has never told a lie.'
- (3) ²ya ²le ²ts'ŋ ²do ¹ma ³gw ²du ³he ³a ²ndzo. 'He never told a lie before.' (²ya ²le 'before, formerly')
- (4) ²ŋa ²ts'ŋ ²gw ²dzu ³a ²ndzo. 'I have never eaten this sort of thing.'

469. 'Not yet' is expressed by the addition of the adverb ²sŋ to the negated verb:

- (1) ²ŋa ²no ²su ³ho ³a ²y ²sŋ. 'I have not yet learnt Lolo.'
- (2) ²ŋa ²ŋ ²t'i ³a ²dzu ²sŋ. 'I have not had my breakfast yet.'
- (3) ²ts'ŋ ³a ²bo ²sŋ. 'He has not gone yet.'
- (4) ³a ²ŋ ²nw ²ts'ŋ ³a ²la ²sŋ. 'Just now, he has not yet come.'

(d) An older form of ³a.

470. In the written manuscripts ³a is mostly replaced by ³ma. The position of ³ma is the same as ³a in the modern language. This older form is still in existence in many other dialects; for details see § 494.

B. Prohibitive Negation.

471. The position of ¹t'a is the same as that of ³a. It is used with verbs and refers to the second person only. The subject is generally understood, although it may be overtly expressed. Thus, ¹t'a ²la and ²nw ¹t'a ²la! both mean 'Don't come!' but the former is more commonly used. The following examples will illustrate the use of ¹t'a:

- (1) ¹t'a ²bo! 'Don't go!'
- (2) ¹t'a ²dzu! 'Don't eat!'
- (3) ²ts'ŋ ¹t'a ¹ndu! 'Don't strike him!'
- (4) ²so ¹t'a ²du! 'Don't sigh!'
- (5) ²dʒɿ ¹t'a ¹se! 'Don't fight against each other!'
- (6) ²dza ²dzu ³t'w ²ko ³o ³le ¹t'a ¹p'u! 'Don't belch when dining!'
- (7) ²djy ¹t'a ²la. 'Don't be afraid!'
- (8) ²ts'ŋ ²ɣw ¹t'a ¹mo! 'Don't look at him!'

472. The use of ¹t'a does not imply any sense of impoliteness. Thus ²bu ¹t'a ¹ts'ŋ means 'Don't stand on ceremony!', and the following sentence is considered as a kind form of refusal:

²ŋa ³e ³ni ³a ¹le ²nw ²ŋa ¹t'a ¹zo. 'I am not free to-day, please don't invite me.'

However, there are two formulaic expressions in which ³a is used instead of ¹t'a:

- (1) ²k'a ³a ²ʒa. 'Don't thank (me); Don't mention it.' (lit. "not thank")
- (2) ³a ¹tʃia ³a ¹tʃia. 'Never mind; Don't worry.' (lit. "not fear not fear")

The expression ²k'a ¹t'a ²ʒa is never heard. ¹t'a ¹tʃia can be used but means the same as ²dʒy ¹t'a ²ʃa 'Don't be afraid!', although the latter is more commonly used.

473. Prohibition referring to the third or the first person is expressed by a periphrastic construction in which the verb is followed by ³a ²tʃu 'not right'.

- (1) ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ²la ³a ²tʃu. 'Lo-ho La-ha mustn't come!'
- (2) ²ŋa ²bo ³a ²tʃu. 'I mustn't go!'

(11) Comparison.

474. In the following, I distinguish four types of comparison:

(A) equality, (B) non-equality, (C) superiority, and (D) inferiority.

A. Comparison without Expression of Quality.

(a) Equality.

475. Equality is expressed by ²dʒɹ ²su 'the same', or by ¹tʃio ¹ts'ŋ or ²dʒɹ ¹ts'ŋ 'equal to', placed after the words denoting the persons or things compared.

- (1) ²ts'ŋ ²nu ²dʒɹ ²su. 'He is the same as you.'
- (2) ³ŋo ¹niε ²dʒɹ ²su. 'We two are equal.'
- (3) ²ts'ŋ ²ma ²a ¹dʒɹ ²ma ²dʒɹ ²su. 'This one is the same as that one.'

(b) Non-equality.

476. Non-equality without statement of quality is expressed by inserting ³a 'not', into ²dʒɹ ²su.

- (1) ²ts'ŋ ²nu ²dʒɹ ³a ²su. 'You are not the same as he.'
- (2) ²ts'ŋ ²ts'ŋ ³ni ²ma ²dʒɹ ³a ²su. 'These two persons are not the same.'

(c) Superiority.

477. Superiority is expressed by inserting ³a into ¹tʃio ¹ts'ŋ or ²dʒɹ ¹ts'ŋ. The word or words denoting the superior are placed before that denoting the inferior.

- (1) ²ts'ŋ ²nu ¹tʃio ³a ¹ts'ŋ. 'He is better than you are.'

- (2) ³lo ³ho ¹la ²ha ¹ma ¹vɿ ²da ¹tɕio ³a ¹ts'ɿ. 'Lo-ho La-ha is better than Ma Vz-da.'

(d) *Inferiority.*

478. Inferiority is expressed by ³a ²dʒɿ, ²dʒɿ ³a ²to 'not so good as'⁹⁵ or ³a ²tɕie or ²tɕie ³a ²to 'not to be compared with'. The word or words denoting the inferior stand before that denoting the superior:

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ³a ²dʒɿ. 'He is inferior to you.'
 (2) ²ts'ɿ ²ve ¹ni ²ve ²tɕie ³a ²to. 'His cannot be compared with yours.'

B. Comparison of Quality but without Expression of the Degree of Quality.

479. The words denoting the quality form the predicate, and the comparison word or words is turned into an adverbial attribute by the addition of the particle ²ɱ ²ta or ²ɱ.

(a) *Equality.*

480. Equality is expressed by ²dʒɿ ¹ts'ɿ 'equal to', ²dʒɿ ²su 'the same', or ²dʒɿ ¹kw 'side by side'.

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ²dʒɿ ¹ts'ɿ ²ɱ ²ta ¹ndʒa. 'He and you are equally beautiful.'
 (2) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ²dʒɿ ²su ²ɱ ²ta ³mbo. 'He is as good as you are.'

(b) *Non-equality.*

481. Non-equality is expressed by negating ²dʒɿ ²su.

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ³ni ²ma ²dʒɿ ³a ²su ²ɱ ²ta ¹ndʒa. 'These two are not equally beautiful.'
 (2) ²ts'ɿ ²ɱa ²dʒɿ ³a ²su ²ɱ ²ta ²za ²ɰɔ. 'He and I are not equally clever.'

These two sentences can also be taken to mean respectively 'These two are both beautiful, but not in the same way' and 'He and I are both clever, but not in the same way.'

(c) *Superiority.*

482. Superiority is expressed by negating ¹tɕio ¹ts'ɿ. The superior is placed before the inferior.

- (1) ²ts'ɿ ²nu ¹tɕio ³a ¹ts'ɿ ²ɱ ²ta ¹ndʒa. 'He is more beautiful than you are.'
 (2) ²ɱa ²ve ¹ni ²ve ¹tɕio ³a ¹ts'ɿ ²ɱ ²ta ²a ²ɱio. 'Mine is more than yours.'

⁹⁵ ²dʒɿ 'so good as'; ²tɕie 'to compare'; ³a 'not'; ²to, a particle expressing aspect (see § 186).

(d) Inferiority.

483. Inferiority is expressed by using ³a ²dʒɿ and the word denoting quality is also negated. The inferior goes before the superior. ³a in ³a ²dʒɿ being itself a negative word, the second ³a before the predicate is, in fact, pleonastic.

- (1) ²ts'ɣ ²nu ³a ²dʒɿ ²ɸ ²ta ³a ¹ndʒa. 'He is not as beautiful as you are.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ²ɸa ³a ²dʒɿ ²ɸ ²ta ²za ³a ²k'ɔ. 'He is not as brave as I am.'

C. Comparison of Quality and the Degree of Quality.**(a) Superiority.**

484. This is expressed by the following formula in which ¹t'o (meaning 'over') can be omitted:

Superior + degree + inferior + ¹t'o + quality

- (1) ²ts'ɣ ³ɸi ¹k'u ²ɸa ¹t'o ²ʒ. 'He is two years older than I am.' (The prefix ¹a of ¹a ²ʒ is left out.)
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ³ɸi ²ma ²sɔ ²bo ¹ts'ɣ ³ko ²ts'ɣ ²ma ³ɸi ²bo ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ¹t'o ²bo ²dʒu. 'This person has two-thirds more than that one.' (lit. "this two NUM three part divide inside this NUM two part over beyond").

(b) Inferiority.

485. In expressing inferiority the word ³la ¹ɣ 'below', takes the place of ¹t'o + quality in the formula for superiority, and the superior changes places with the inferior.

- (1) ²ts'ɣ ³ɸi ¹k'u ²ɸa ³la ¹ɣ. 'He is two years younger than I am.'
- (2) ²ts'ɣ ³ɸi ²ma ²sɔ ²bo ¹ts'ɣ ³ko ²ts'ɣ ²ma ³ɸi ²bo ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ³la ¹ɣ. 'This person has two-thirds less than that one.'

D. Co-ordinative Comparison.⁹⁶

486. Comparison can also be expressed by two or more clauses in co-ordination. The clause denoting inferiority stands before that denoting superiority. The adjective or phrase which denotes the quality compared is doubled in the second clause.

²ts'ɣ ²ma ¹a ²ʒ, ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ¹a ²ʒ ¹a ²ʒ. 'This one is big, and that one is bigger.'

⁹⁶ Cf. §§ 169, 170.

When three degrees are desired, the superlative can be expressed by inserting ²dʒɿ into the reduplicate, and it can also be emphasized by the addition of the adverb ²a ¹ŋa ²ŋ ²ɿ 'exceedingly'.

²ts'ŋ ²ma ¹ndza, ²a ¹dʒɿ ²ma ¹ndza ¹ndza, ²a ¹di ²ma (²a ¹ŋa ²ŋ) ¹ndza ²dʒɿ ¹ndza. 'This one is beautiful, that one is more beautiful, yonder one is most beautiful.'

In the above sentence the three clauses are in co-ordination.

(12) Syntax in Other Dialects.

487. Although the description in Chapters VI and VII is based upon the Pei-shan dialect of Sikang, it applies to nearly all the various Lolo dialects in Sikang and Szechuan provinces, if we disregard local differences of pronunciation. Most of the features described fit the Lolo language as a whole but there are the following exceptions.

A. The Position of Demonstrative Pronouns.

488. In the Pai-mei dialect, the demonstrative pronouns, when used attributively, can be placed either before or after the substantive which they qualify. The numeratives or the plural suffix always immediately follow the demonstrative pronoun. For example:

² tʃ'o ² a ¹ tɛ / ² a ¹ tɛ ² tʃ'o	'this person'
² tʃ'o ² a ³ çio / ² a ³ çio ² tʃ'o	'these persons'

489. In A-hi and Lolop'o a demonstrative pronoun accompanied by a numerative follows the substantive it qualifies, but a demonstrative pronoun without a numerative may precede or follow the substantive. For examples see Liétard's articles (122, p. 305; 127, p. 236).

490. In Gni the demonstrative pronoun is placed before the substantive qualified; the particles *la* (singular) or *je* (plural) and the numeral and the numerative are placed after the substantive. Examples are found in Vial's *Dictionnaire français-lolo* (188, p. 28).

B. Relation of Substantives and Pronouns to the Copula.

491. In all the Lolo dialects of Sikang and Szechuan, a substantive or pronoun can be used as the predicate without the copula. In Ta-t'un, the pronoun has the same function, but the substantive cannot be used as a predicate without the copula. In the Ch'a-tsu, Ta-t'un, and Pai-mei dialects a copula is necessary in both cases.

C. Interrogation.

492. In Gni and A-hi, as in the dialects of Sikang and Szechuan, an interrogative sentence can be formed by repeating the verb, adjective, adverb, auxiliary word or particle, or the last syllable of the verb, adjective, or adverb if it contains more than one syllable. In the Ch'a-tsu, Ta-t'un, Pai-mei, and many other dialects, a final particle is used for the same purpose. Here are some examples of the interrogative final particles:

Ch'a-tsu: ⁵le or ¹ηe

Ta-t'un: ²nie

Pai-mei: ²ηa, ²çi, ²a, or ¹pie ¹lie.

D. Negation.

(a) Ordinary negation.

493. The ordinary negative word in all the other dialects we know (except the Hsiao-hei-ching and A-hi dialects, which like Pei-shan have only the vowel sound **a**), has a nasal consonant. Many examples are given in the following list:

<i>Ta-t'un</i>		⁴ ma
<i>Pai-mei</i>		² ma
<i>Gni</i>	(188, p. 52)	ma
<i>He-chang</i>	(2, p. 25)	³ ma
<i>Lu-ch'üan</i>	(136, p. 634)	⁶ ma
<i>A-k'a</i>	(162, pp. 692-694)	ma
<i>Li-su</i>	(64, p. 47)	ma
<i>Ch'a-tsu</i>		³ mɔ
<i>Lolop'o</i>	(127, pp. 243, 249)	ŋ (in certain places, ma)

This **m-** form corresponds to **ma** or **mi** of Tibetan (8, p. 56; 99, pp. 65, 66), **ma** of Burmese (17, p. 7; 134, p. 243), and the syllabic **ŋ** is the same as that of Kachin (90, p. 34). These correspondences and the written form ³ma of Pei-shan prove that the form with an initial nasal consonant is original.

(b) Prohibitive negation.

494. In all the Lolo dialects of which I have any knowledge, there is a special word to denote prohibitive negation. It is ¹t'a (Pei-shan and Hsiao-hei-ching), ¹ta (Ta-t'un), ²t'a (Pai-mei), ³t'o or ³t'a (Ch'a-tsu), etc., according to regions. It is not accompanied by the ordinary negative word (**a**, **ma**, etc.), except in the Lolop'o dialect where ¹t'o and **ŋ** together form the prohibitive negation, as in **nji t'o ŋ bɛ!** 'Don't speak!' (127, p. 246).

E. Conjunctions.

495. There are no conjunctions in the Lolo dialects of Sikang. But some conjunctions are found in many other dialects. Below are examples taken from the Ch'a-tsu, Pai-mei and Ta-t'un dialects:

(a) *and*

Ch'a-tsu: ¹ne

Pai-mei: ⁶nie

²ʈ'o

Ta-t'un: ¹ke or ¹ŋe ³nəu ¹ŋe or ¹ts'a

(b) *but*

Ch'a-tsu: ³bie ²di

Pai-mei: ²ha ²ji

Ta-t'un: ¹ba ³li

(c) *because*

Ch'a-tsu: ³pu ³do

Pai-mei: ²po ²to

Ta-t'un: ³ji ¹wei (from the Chinese 因為 yīnwèi)

(d) *therefore*

Ch'a-tsu: ¹se

Pai-mei: ¹pa ¹ji

Ta-t'un: ¹a ³sə ³ji (¹a is a native prefix but
³sə ³ji is from Chinese 所以 suǒyǐ)

(e) *if*

Ch'a-tsu: ¹ʂe . . . ¹e

Ta-t'un: ¹ta . . . ⁴ŋ ³tɕie

Pai-mei: ³pi ²fa (from the Chinese 比方 bǐfāng)

496. The conjunctions for 'and' are used only to join two or more words and cannot be used between two clauses. ¹ne, ⁶nie, ¹ke and ¹ŋe ³nəu ¹ŋe are placed between words joined; ²ʈ'o and ¹ts'a after words joined. The words for 'but' stand between two clauses but rhythmically belong to the second one. 'Because' is placed at the end of the first clause, except in the Ta-t'un dialect where it appears at the beginning; the second clause begins with 'therefore'. In Ch'a-tsu a conditional clause is headed by ʂe and ends with ¹e; in Ta-t'un ¹ta comes after the subject and ⁴ŋ ³tɕie at the end of a conditional clause; ³pi ²fa in Pai-mei stands at the beginning of a conditional clause.

F. Case.

(a) *Subjectivus*.

497. I found in the Ta-t'un dialect the particle **ʼla** which denotes the subjective case of a substantive or a pronoun. When the case is expressed by this particle, the position of the subject and the object can be interchanged; when the particle is not used, the subject always precedes the object. For example:

'I do not strike you.'

(1) ʼŋo ʼla ʼna ʼma ʼdɛ.

(2) ʼna ʼŋo ʼla ʼma ʼdɛ.

(3) ʼŋo ʼna ʼma ʼdɛ.

'The cat eats the mouse.'

(4) ʼa ʼna ʼmɔ ʼla ʼŋ ʼdɛ ʼmɔ ʼdza.

(5) ʼŋ ʼdɛ ʼmɔ ʼa ʼna ʼmɔ ʼla ʼdza.

(6) ʼa ʼna ʼmɔ ʼŋ ʼdɛ ʼmɔ ʼdza.

498. The particle **li**, described by Vial as a preposition corresponding to *par* in French (188, p. 68), is also a particle denoting the subjective case. Vial confused the function of this particle with that of some others. Two examples from his book will make my observation clear:

(1) ŋa k'e li dɛ tɛ. 'He has struck me.'

(2) lo tʃɛ la li dza. 'The tiger eats the sun (solar eclipse).'

In these two sentences the particle **li** is obviously used to denote the preceding **k'e** 'he' and **la** 'tiger' as the subjective.

499. Besides **ʼla** of Ta-t'un, and **li** of Gni, I have also found **ʼlie** in Ch'a-tsu. These particles all correspond to **ʼle** in the dialects of Sikang and Szechuan.

(b) *Objectivus*.

500. The objective case is expressed in the Hsiao-hei-ching dialect by means of a particle, but with certain verbs only. In the other three dialects this case is expressed by position alone. Thus, for 'He has told me', we say **ʼtsʰŋ ʼŋa ʼtʃio ʼhe ʼo** in the Lolo region of Sikang and Szechuan; and **ʼzɔ ʼŋo ʼbie ʼgɔ** (lit. 'he me speak PP') in Ch'a-tsu.

501. In the Lolop'o dialect the particle **lo** is added to a pronoun or a substantive to form the objective case, though Liétard did not point this out. The following three examples will illustrate this:

- (1) ŋo nji lo so tʃ'a k'u, nji ŋ da p'o. 'I called you three times, you did not answer.' (lit. "I you OP three time call, you not answer") (127, pp. 264, 162)

- (2) **nji ɣo lo djo ŋ djo?** ‘Do you love me?’ (lit. “you I OP love not love”) (127, p. 239, line 4)
- (3) **ja ts’a lo ŋ fu.** ‘He does not deceive people.’ (lit. “he people OP not deceive”) (127, pp. 262, 142)

nji, **ɣo**, and **ts’a** in these sentences are all in the objectivus. Because Liétard did not know this function of **lo**, he made some mistakes in his translation of the Lolop’o expressions. For instance, **nji ja lo k’u ji nji** is rendered as *Dis-lui de s’en aller* (127, p. 264), while it actually means ‘You must go and call him’ (lit. “you he OP call go must”).

(c) *Genitivus.*

502. In the Hsiao-hei-ching, Ch’a-tsu, Ta-t’un and many other dialects, the genitive case is formed as in Pei-shan, by adding a particle only when the substantive or pronoun is used subjectively or predicatively. The speakers of the Pai-mei dialect add the particle ²**buw** to the pronoun even when it is used as an attribute to a substantive. For example:

- (1) ³**ŋ³ buw² li² tɕ’ia.** ‘Mine is good.’ (subjectively)
- (2) ²**a¹ tɕ³ ŋ³ buw³ niɛ.** ‘This is mine.’ (predicatively)
- (3) ³**ŋ³ buw³ ko⁵ ko.** ‘My hat.’ (attributively)

503. The speakers of the Gni dialect can use the genitive particle **ŋa** between two substantives to indicate that the first is in the genitivus (188, p. 23). The **ŋa** in this use can be replaced by the pronoun of the third person singular **k’e** (*ibid.*). It is usual in Li-su to use the pronoun of the third person singular after a substantive to indicate possession, but this pronoun is left out in indefinite expressions. In the following two examples given by Fraser (64, p. 8), **ji** is the pronoun of the third person singular:

- (1) **a ɣa ji ni ma** ‘the chicken’s heart’
- (2) **a ɣa ni ma** ‘chicken’s heart’

(d) *Etymological relations of the case particles.*

504. Some case particles of Lolo show close and easily recognisable connections with the case particles of some other Tibeto-Burman languages. Thus the subject particle ²**nwu** of Pei-shan and its equivalents in other dialects correspond to ²**nwu** or ³**ne** of Moso (74, p. 3; 71, pp. 92-95) and perhaps also to the Tibetan and Nam **ni** which is used to mark a discrimination of one topic from another (173, p. 177). The object particle **lo** of Lolop’o corresponds to the Tibetan **la** which is mostly used for the dative (99, pp. 22, 24) and sometimes for the accusative (8, p. 27; 89, p. 63). It also corresponds to the **la** in Nam (173, p. 193). ³**tɕio** of Sikang and Szechwan corresponds to the Moso ³**tɕie** (74, p. 3), the Burmese **ko** or **go** (20, pp. 46-47) and the Garo **ko** (150,

p. 3); the Lolo **die** perhaps corresponds to the Moso **ᵀ** (74, p. 3) and the Burmese **t'o** (17, p. 2; 134, p. 59). As for the genitive, **ᵇa** of Gni and **ja** of Lolop'o (122, p. 294) may correspond to **²ᵍu** and **³ᵍᵍu nu** in Moso (71, pp. 92-94) and **kji (kyi), ᵍji (gyi), ᵍi** (99, p. 23) in Tibetan.

505. It may be noted that in Moso, which is closely related to Lolo, case particles are regularly used and the rules of word position are quite free. A full account of this has been given in my Moso grammar (71, pp. 83, 84, 95, 134).

ㄣ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ

34) mi } - ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ; ㄨ, ㄨ

36) ma - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ; ㄣ

37) mo - ㄣ; ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ;
ㄨ; ㄨ

38) f1 - ㄣ

39) fe - ㄣ

40) fa - ㄣ, ㄣ; ㄣ

41) fo - ㄣ, ㄣ

42) fu - ㄣ; ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ

43) v - ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ

44) v1 - ㄣ; ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ

45) ve₁₂ - ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ; ㄣ

46) ve - ㄣ; ㄣ

47) va - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ; ㄣ

48) vo - ㄣ, ㄣ, ㄣ

49) ts1 - ㄣ; ㄣ, ㄣ

50) ts4 - ㄣ

- 51) tsɿ - 𪛗, 𪛘, 𪛙
- 52) tse - 𪛚
- 53) tsø - 𪛛, 𪛜, 𪛝, 𪛞, 𪛟
- 54) tsa - 𪛠, 𪛡
- 55) tso - 𪛢, 𪛣, 𪛤
- 56) tsu - 𪛥, 𪛦
- 57) tsʹɿ - 𪛧, 𪛨, 𪛩, 𪛪, 𪛫, 𪛬, 𪛭, 𪛮, 𪛯
- 58) tsʹy - 𪛰, 𪛱, 𪛲, 𪛳
- 59) tsʹe - 𪛴
- 60) tsʹø - 𪛵, 𪛶
- 61) tsʹɛ - 𪛷, 𪛸, 𪛹, 𪛺, 𪛻, 𪛼
- 62) tsʹa - 𪛽
- 63) tsʹo } 𪛿, 𪛾, 𪛿
- 64) tsʹo }
- 65) tsʹu - 𪛿, 𪛾, 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿
- 66) tsʹu - 𪛿
- 67) dzɿ - 𪛿, 𪛿
- 68) dzɿ - 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿
- 69) dzɿ - 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿, 𪛿

- 70) dze - 𑄎, 𑄏, 𑄐, 𑄑, 𑄒, 𑄓
- 71) dzø - 𑄔, 𑄕, 𑄖
- 72) dze - 𑄗, 𑄘
- 73) dza - 𑄙, 𑄚, 𑄛, 𑄜, 𑄝, 𑄞
- 74) dzo - 𑄟, 𑄠
- 75) dzu - 𑄡, 𑄢, 𑄣, 𑄤, 𑄥, 𑄦, 𑄧, 𑄨, 𑄩
- 76) dzu - 𑄪, 𑄫, 𑄬, 𑄭
- 77) ndzɿ - 𑄮
- 78) ndzy - 𑄯, 𑄰, 𑄱
- 79) ndzɿ - 𑄲, 𑄳, 𑄴
- 80) ndze - (For this syllable the characters for dze are used)
- 81) ndzø - 𑄵
- 82) ndza - 𑄶
- 83) ndzo - 𑄷
- 84) ndzu - 𑄸, 𑄹, 𑄺
- 85) ndzu - 𑄻
- 86) sɿ - 𑄼, 𑄽, 𑄾
- 87) sy - 𑄿, 𑅀, 𑅁, 𑅂, 𑅃, 𑅄
- 88) sɿ - (For this syllable the character for sɿ is used)

- 89) se - 瑟, 瑟; 世, 世; 世
- 90) sɔ - 索, 索, 索
- 91) sa - 沙, 沙, 沙, 沙, 沙, 沙; 沙, 沙, 沙, 沙, 沙,
沙; 沙
- 92) so - 所
- 93) so - 所
- 94) su - 苏, 苏; 苏, 苏; 苏, 苏
- 95) z - 兹
- 96) zy - 兹, 兹, 兹; 兹, 兹, 兹; 兹, 兹
- 97) zɿ - 兹
- 98) ze - 泽, 泽; 泽, 泽; 泽
- 99) za - 扎, 扎
- 100) zo - 佐, 佐, 佐
- 101) zu - (For this syllable the characters for zy are used)
- 102) zuu - 苏
- 103) ti }
104) tie } - 提, 提, 提, 提
- 105) tiɛ - 提
- 106) tɔ - 透, 透; 透, 透; 透, 透; 透

- 126) duu - 𐄂, 𐄃, 𐄄
- 127) ndi } - 𐄅, 𐄆; 𐄇
- 128) ndie } - 𐄈, 𐄉; 𐄊
- 129) ndø - 𐄋, 𐄌
- 130) nda - 𐄍, 𐄎
- 131) ndo } - 𐄏, 𐄐, 𐄑
- 132) ndo } - 𐄒, 𐄓, 𐄔
- 133) ndu - 𐄕, 𐄖, 𐄗, 𐄘; 𐄙
- 134) nduu - 𐄚
- 135) ŋe - 𐄛
- 136) ŋa - 𐄜, 𐄝, 𐄞; 𐄟, 𐄠; 𐄡
- 137) ŋo - 𐄢, 𐄣
- 138) ŋuu - (For this syllable the characters for ŋa are used)
- 139) ni - 𐄤, 𐄥
- 140) nia - 𐄦, 𐄧, 𐄨, 𐄩; 𐄪
- 141) nø - 𐄫, 𐄬, 𐄭; 𐄮
- 142) ne - (For this syllable the characters for nia are used)
- 143) na - 𐄯, 𐄰, 𐄱, 𐄲
- 144) no } - 𐄳, 𐄴; 𐄵, 𐄶
- 145) nu } - 𐄷, 𐄸; 𐄹, 𐄺

- 164) tɕu - 𠂇, 𠂈
- 165) tɕɿ - 𠂉, 𠂊, 𠂋, 𠂌, 𠂍, 𠂎
- 166) tɕɿ - 𠂏, 𠂐
- 167) tɕ'a - 𠂑, 𠂒, 𠂓, 𠂔, 𠂕, 𠂖, 𠂗, 𠂘, 𠂙, 𠂚
- 168) tɕ'o - 𠂛
- 169) tɕ'u - 𠂜, 𠂝
- 170) tɕɿ - (For this syllable the characters for tɕ'a are used)
- 171) dzɿ - 𠂞, 𠂟, 𠂠, 𠂡, 𠂢, 𠂣, 𠂤
- 172) dz'a - 𠂥, 𠂦
- 173) dz'o } - 𠂧
- 174) dz'u } - 𠂧
- 175) dzɿ - 𠂨
- 176) ndzɿ } - 𠂩
- 177) ndz'u } - 𠂩
- 178) ndz'a - 𠂪, 𠂫, 𠂬, 𠂭
- 179) ndz'o - 𠂮
- 180) ndz'u - 𠂯, 𠂰, 𠂱, 𠂲
- 181) ndzɿ - 𠂳, 𠂴, 𠂵, 𠂶, 𠂷, 𠂸, 𠂹, 𠂺
- 182) ɕɿ - 𠂻, 𠂼, 𠂽, 𠂾, 𠂿

- 201) tɕio } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 202) tɕio } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 203) tɕy - ㊸, ㊹, ㊺, ㊻, ㊼
- 204) tɕi } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 205) tɕie } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 206) tɕie } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 207) tɕia } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 208) tɕio - ㊸, ㊹, ㊺, ㊻, ㊼, ㊽
- 209) tɕy - ㊸, ㊹, ㊺
- 210) dji } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 211) djie } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 212) djia - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 213) djio - ㄨ, ㄨ
- 214) djy - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 215) djø - xxx
- 216) ndji } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 217) ndjie } - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 218) ndjie - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ
- 219) ndjia - ㄨ, ㄨ, ㄨ

- 220) ndjio - 𑄠𑄢; 𑄠𑄣
- 221) ndjio - 𑄠𑄤
- 222) ndjy - 𑄠𑄥; 𑄠𑄦; 𑄠𑄧
- 223) 𑄠𑄨i - (For this syllable the character for ni is used)
- 224) 𑄠𑄨ia - (For this syllable the character for 𑄠𑄨ia is used)
- 225) 𑄠𑄨i - 𑄠𑄩, 𑄠𑄪, 𑄠𑄫, 𑄠𑄬
- 226) 𑄠𑄨ie - 𑄠𑄭; 𑄠𑄮; 𑄠𑄯; 𑄠𑄰; 𑄠𑄱
- 227) 𑄠𑄨ia - 𑄠𑄲, 𑄠𑄳; 𑄠𑄴, 𑄠𑄵
- 228) 𑄠𑄨io } - 𑄠𑄶
- 229) 𑄠𑄨io } - 𑄠𑄷
- 230) 𑄠𑄨y - 𑄠𑄸, 𑄠𑄹
- 231) 𑄠𑄨φ - 𑄠𑄺
- 232) 𑄠𑄨i - 𑄠𑄻, 𑄠𑄼, 𑄠𑄽; 𑄠𑄾, 𑄠𑄿, 𑄠𑅀, 𑄠𑅁, 𑄠𑅂, 𑄠𑅃, 𑄠𑅄, 𑄠𑅅; 𑄠𑅆, 𑄠𑅇, 𑄠𑅈, 𑄠𑅉
- 233) 𑄠𑄨ia - 𑄠𑅊, 𑄠𑅋; 𑄠𑅌
- 234) 𑄠𑄨io - 𑄠𑅍; 𑄠𑅎
- 235) 𑄠𑄨e } - 𑄠𑅏
- 236) 𑄠𑄨e } - 𑄠𑅐
- 237) 𑄠𑄨φ - (For this syllable the characters for 𑄠𑄨un are used)
- 238) 𑄠𑄨a - 𑄠𑅑

- 239) kɔ - 𠄎, 𠄎
- 240) kɔ - 𠄎
- 241) kɬ - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 242) ku - 𠄎
- 243) kɯ - 十, 𠄎
- 244) k'e } - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 245) k'ɛ }
- 246) k'a - 𠄎, 𠄎
- 247) k'o - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 248) k'ɬ } - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 249) k'u }
- 250) k'ɯ - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 251) ge - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 252) gɛ - 𠄎, 𠄎
- 253) ga - 𠄎, 𠄎
- 254) gɔ - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎
- 255) gɔ - 𠄎
- 256) gɬ - 𠄎, 𠄎
- 257) gu - 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎, 𠄎

- 258) gɯ - 𐄂, 𐄃, 𐄄, 𐄅, 𐄆, 𐄇, 𐄈, 𐄉, 𐄊, 𐄋, 𐄌, 𐄍, 𐄎
- 259) ɲge - 𐄏
- 260) ɲga - 𐄐
- 261) ɲgo - 𐄑, 𐄒, 𐄓, 𐄔
- 262) ɲgu - 𐄕
- 263) ɲgɯ - 𐄖, 𐄗, 𐄘, 𐄙
- 264) ɲɛ - 𐄚, 𐄛
- 265) ɲa - 𐄜, 𐄝
- 266) ɲo - 𐄞, 𐄟, 𐄠, 𐄡, 𐄢
- 267) ɲɯ - 𐄣, 𐄤, 𐄥, 𐄦, 𐄧
- 268) xa - 𐄨, 𐄩
- 269) xo - 𐄪, 𐄫, 𐄬, 𐄭, 𐄮, 𐄯
- 270) xɛ - 𐄰, 𐄱, 𐄲, 𐄳
- 271) xɯ - 𐄴, 𐄵, 𐄶, 𐄷, 𐄸, 𐄹, 𐄺
- 272) ya - 𐄻
- 273) yo - 𐄼, 𐄽, 𐄾, 𐄿, 𐅀, 𐅁, 𐅂
- 274) yɯ - 𐅃
- 275) hɿ - 𐅄, 𐅅, 𐅆, 𐅇, 𐅈
- 276) he - 𐅉, 𐅊, 𐅋, 𐅌, 𐅍, 𐅎, 𐅏, 𐅐, 𐅑

- 277) he - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄
- 278) ha - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄
- 279) ho - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄
- 280) ho - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄
- 281) hu - ㄏ, ㄏ̄
- 282) i - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄
- 283) ie - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄
- 284) ia - ㄏ
- 285) io - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄
- 286) y - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄
- 287) e - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄
- 288) ø - ㄏ
- 289) ε - ㄏ
- 290) a - ㄏ
- 291) o - ㄏ, ㄏ̄, ㄏ̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄, ㄏ̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

AJIHP	Anthropological Journal of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.
BIHP	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
BMSA	Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.
BSAP	Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.
Géog.	Bulletin de la Société de Géographie (= <i>La Géographie</i>).
Geog. J.	The Geographical Journal.
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JAIB	The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JNRAS	Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB	Journal of Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JR Geog. Soc.	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JWCBS	Journal of the West China Border Research Society.
MC	Les Missions Catholiques.
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography.
TP	T'oung Pao.

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