

AN OVERVIEW OF THE MOSUO LANGUAGE

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‘Mosuo’ refers to the Eastern Naxi varieties, which are spoken along the border of Yunnan and Sichuan Provinces in southwestern China. This study presents an overview of the Yongning variety of Mosuo, of which the author is a native speaker, focusing on the language’s phonology, morphology, and morphosyntax.

Keywords: Mosuo, Na, Eastern Naxi, morphosyntax.

1. SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The Mosuo language belongs to the Yiish (Lolo-Burmese) branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Today, the term ‘Mosuo’ is used to designate the three eastern dialects of Naxi, although prior to the designation of the fifty-six ethnicities in China by the central government, ‘Mosuo’ and its variants were used to refer to both the Naxi and the Mosuo.

The Mosuo people are mainly distributed across Ninglang County (宁蒗县) in Yunnan Province, and Yanyuan (盐源), Yanbian (盐边), and Muli (木里) counties in Sichuan Province in the People’s Republic of China. Besides these areas, Qizong (其宗) in Yongsheng County (永胜县), and Hailong (海龙) and Fengke (奉科) in Lijiang County (丽江市) also have a small distribution. The population is approximately 40,000.

On the basis of linguistic and lexical differences, the Mosuo language can be divided into three dialects: Yongning (永宁), Beiqu (北渠), and Guabie (瓜别). The Yongning dialect is mainly distributed across Yongning in Ninglang County in Yunnan Province and Zuosuo Township (左所乡) in Yanyuan County in Sichuan Province; the autonym for the Mosuo people who speak this dialect is *na*¹³. The Mosuo people in Weixi County (维西县) in Yunnan who use the

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autonym *ma*³³ *li*⁵⁵ *ma*³³ *sa*³³ (the ‘Muli Mosuo’) also speak this dialect. The Beiqu dialect is mainly distributed across Beiqu in Ninglang County, and Shaoping (哨平) and Zhangzidan (獐子旦) in Yongsheng County. The Mosuo people who speak this dialect use the autonym *na*³³ *xi*³³. The Guabie dialect is mainly distributed across Guabie Township in Yanyuan County; Bo’ao (博凹), Lie’ao (列凹), and Yanbian districts in Muli County also have a small distribution. The Mosuo people who speak this dialect use the autonym *na*³³ *zu*³³. In the area of Zhongdian (中甸), Sanba (三坝), and the Luojin River (洛金河), Mosuo who use the autonym *zuæ*³³ *k^ho*³³ also speak this dialect. The autonyms *na*¹³, *na*³³ *xi*³³, and *na*³³ *zu*³³ all are variants of the name of one minority, with a convergence of the ethnicity’s name on ‘Na’, thus one can say ‘the Na’ or ‘the Na people’. In the Chinese language historical records, the names ‘Moxie’ and ‘Mosha’ are variant orthographical representations used by different Chinese dynasties of the term ‘Mosuo’.

The Yongning dialect is the nucleus of the Mosuo language. The Na who use this dialect, on the basis of historical tradition, are customarily called the Mosuo; the English transliteration of this name is ‘Moso’. The Mosuo language is the main communication tool of the Mosuo people, but the majority of the Mosuo people live scattered across the boundary area of Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. This area has high mountains and steep slopes, and travel is difficult. Before liberation, the Mosuo very rarely traveled between each others’ areas, and there were definite difficulties in communication.

From a phonetic perspective, the characteristics of the Mosuo language are as follows. Initials include voiced stops, voiceless stops, voiced affricates, voiceless affricates, voiced fricatives, and voiceless fricatives. Rhymes are mainly monophthongs; diphthongs primarily appear in Mandarin loanwords. Vowels can be nasalized. Syllables mostly are composed of an initial and a rhyme; a small number of syllables consist of just the rhyme. Each syllable has a fixed tone.

From a grammatical standpoint, word order and function words are important methods of expressing the grammar and meaning. The basic order of sentence elements is subject-verb or subject-object-verb; when the subject or object is followed by a relational marker, the two positions can be exchanged. When a phrase indicating measure modifies a noun, the modifier follows the noun; when an adverb modifies a verb it precedes the modified verb. Tone sandhi also plays a role in expressing grammatical meaning. When monosyllabic transitive verbs reduplicate, the tones undergo change and they express reciprocal action.

This article uses the native language of the author, the dialect of Abuwa (阿布瓦) village of Yongning Township of Ninglang County, to provide a concise introduction to Mosuo phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Initials

There are ³³ initials:

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labio-dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Alveolo-palatal</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>
Stop	p p ^h b		t t ^h d				k k ^h g
Nasal	m		n			ɲ	ŋ
Fricative		f	s z	ɕ ʑ	ʂ ʐ		x ɣ
Affricate			ts ts ^h dz	tɕ tɕ ^h dʑ	tʂ tʂ ^h dʐ		
Lateral fricative			ɬ				
Lateral approx			l				

Table 1. Initials

2.1.1 Bilabials

When the bilabial /p, p^h, b/ appears preceding the vowel /ɤ/ or /ə/, the bilabial becomes trilled. For example:

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------|
| (1) | pɤ ³³ [Bɤ ³³] | ‘to dry, dry’ |
| (2) | bə ³¹ [Bə ³¹] | ‘yak’ |
| (3) | bɤ ³³ dzi ³³ [Bɤ ³³ dzi ³³] | ‘lower part of the leg’ |
| (4) | p ^h ə ¹³ [B ^h ə ¹³] | ‘explain’ |
| (5) | p ^h ɤ ³³ [B ^h ɤ ³³] | ‘white’ |
| (6) | pə ¹³ [Bə ¹³] | ‘pull out’ |
| (7) | bɤ ³¹ [Bɤ ³¹] | ‘spread, sprinkle’ |

2.1.2 mɤ

The combination of /m/ and /ɤ/ can be pronounced as either [mɤ] or [ṁ]. For example:

- | | | |
|------|---|---------------|
| (8) | mɤ ³³ [ṁ ³³] | ‘fire’ |
| (9) | mɤ ³³ gɤ ³³ [ṁ ³³ gɤ ³³] | ‘thunder’ |
| (10) | mɤ ³³ dza ³¹ [ṁ ³³ dza ³¹] | ‘bad weather’ |

2.1.3 Alveolars

When /t, t^h, d, n, l/ precedes the final /i, æ, ə, ə, uæ, uæə/, the actual sound is the retroflexed [t, t^h, d, ŋ, or l], respectively. For example:

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (11) tuæ ³³ [tuæ ³³] | ‘trip and fall’ |
| (12) t ^h uə ¹³ [t ^h uə ¹³] | ‘envelop, cover’ |
| (13) nə ⁵⁵ [nə ⁵⁵] | ‘hide, avoid’ |
| (14) də ³³ [də ³³] | ‘crawl’ |
| (15) lɿ ¹³ [lɿ ¹³] | ‘maggot’ |

2.1.4 Velars with the high front vowels *i* and *e*

When the velar sound /k, k^h, g, x/ precedes the final /i/ or /e/, the place of articulation moves forward so that the sound is pronounced as a palatal [ç, ç^h, ʝ, ɕ], respectively.

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| (16) ki ⁵⁵ [çi ³³] | ‘give (as a gift)’ |
| (17) k ^h i ³³ [ç ^h i ³³] | ‘leaf (of a door)’ |
| (18) gə ³³ tɕu ³³ [ʝi ³³ tɕu ³³] | ‘above, on top’ |
| (19) xi ³³ [çi ³³] | ‘tooth’ |

2.1.5 Velars with the finals *a*, *æ*, and *ə*

When the velar sound /k/ or /k^h/ precedes the final /a, æ, ə/, the place of articulation moves back so that the sound is pronounced as /q/ or /q^h/, respectively. For example:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (20) kə ³³ [qə ³³] | ‘erhu’ (kind of stringed musical instrument) |
| (21) k ^h ɑ ⁵⁵ [q ^h ɑ ⁵⁵] | ‘to shoot, to fire’ |
| (22) k ^h æ ¹³ [q ^h æ ¹³] | ‘angry’ |
| (23) kɑ ⁵⁵ [qɑ ⁵⁵] | ‘thin’ |

2.1.6 Velar *y*

When the velar sound /y/ precedes the final /æ, a, o, u, y, ə, ua/, the place of articulation moves back so that the sound is pronounced as the uvular [ɣ]. For example:

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (24) yæ ³³ [ɣæ ³³] | ‘wealthy’ |
| (25) yu ³³ [ɣu ³³] | ‘hard, stiff’ |
| (26) yua ³³ [ɣua ³³] | ‘village’ |
| (27) yɑ ⁵⁵ [ɣɑ ⁵⁵] | ‘win’ |
| (28) yɿ ³³ yɿ ³³ [ɣy ³³ ɣy ³³] | ‘chew’ |
| (29) yə ³³ ɲi ³³ [ɣə ³³ ɲi ³³] | ‘be mischievous’ |
| (30) yo ¹³ [ɣo ¹³] | ‘needle’ |

p	py ¹³	‘pull out’	dz	dzø ³³	‘to eat’
p ^h	p ^h y ¹³	‘example’	s	so ³³	‘three’
b	by ¹³	‘braise’	z	zu ³³	‘grass’
m	ma ³³	NEG	tʂ	tʂæ ¹³	‘to snatch, grab’
f	fɿ ³³	‘like’	tʂ ^h	tʂ ^h æ ¹³	‘inspect’
t	ti ³¹	‘pound, pestle’	dz̥	dz̥æ ¹³	‘stairs’
t ^h	t ^h i ³¹	‘intelligent’	ʂ	ʂo ³¹	‘clean’
d	di ³¹	‘pull’	z̥	z̥u ¹³	‘type; kind’
ɬ	ɬa ¹³	‘exceed’	tɕ	tɕi ¹³	‘to write’
l	li ³³	‘look; see’	tɕ ^h	tɕ ^h i ¹³	‘sweet’
k	ku ³³	‘garlic’	dʒ	dʒi ¹³	‘water’
k ^h	k ^h u ³³	‘cover’	n	na ³³	‘sharp’
g	gu ³³	‘repair’	ŋ	ŋa ³³	‘dislike’
x	xo ¹³	‘go (IMP)’	ɲ	ɲa ³³	1SG.PRO
ɣ	ɣo ¹³	‘needle’	ɕ	ɕi ³¹	‘fragrant’
ts	tsø ³³	‘to tie, fasten’	ʐ	ʐo ¹³	‘sheep’
ts ^h	ts ^h ø ³³	‘warm, hot’			

Table 2. Examples of initials

2.2 Finals

There are 25 rhymes (vowels). Among them, there are 15 monophthongs: i, ɪ, e, æ, ɑ, o, ə, ɤ, u, ʊ, ɯ, ɨ, ɔ̃, ʊ̃, ɤ̃; and 10 diphthongs: uæ, uɑ, uə, ie, ui, uo, uɤ, ʊ̃æ, ʊ̃ə, ʊ̃ɤ.

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
Close	i, ɨ	ɨ	ɯ, u, ʊ̃, ʊ
Close-mid	e		o, ɔ̃
Mid		ə, ɤ, ɤ̃	
Open-mid			
	æ		
Open		ɑ	
Diphthongs	uæ, uɑ, uə, ie, ui, uo, uɤ, ʊ̃æ, ʊ̃ə, ʊ̃ɤ		

Table 3. Finals

2.2.1 *i* with retroflex and apical sounds

When the final /i/ follows a very retroflexed sound or the apical sounds /t, t^h, d, n, l/, it is pronounced as the retroflex final [ɿ]. For example:

- (31) tʂi³³ tʂi³¹ [tʂɿ³³ tʂɿ³¹] ‘ravage, trample on’
 (32) tʂ^hi³¹ tʂ^hi¹³ [tʂ^hɿ³¹ tʂ^hɿ¹³] ‘fight’

- (33) dzɿ³³ [dzɿ³³] ‘street’
 (34) dzɿ³¹ [dzɿ³¹] ‘stand to lose’
 (35) tɿ³¹ [tɿ³¹] ‘soak’
 (36) t^hɿ¹³ [t^hɿ¹³] ‘cheese’
 (37) dɿ¹³ [dɿ¹³] ‘big’
 (38) nɿ³³ [nɿ³³] QM
 (39) lɿ³³ [lɿ³³] ‘a pellet, a grain’

2.2.2 The final *e*

When the final /e/ follows the dental sibilant sounds /ts, ts^h, dz, s, z/ or the retroflexed sounds /tɕ, tɕ^h, dʒ, ʂ, ʐ/, the /e/ is pronounced as the comparatively open [ɛ]. For example:

- (40) tse¹³ [tse¹³] ‘pursue; seek’
 (41) tɕ^he³³ tɕ^he³¹ lə³³ [tɕ^hɛ³³ tɕ^hɛ³¹ lə³³] ‘compete’
 (42) dze⁵⁵ [dze⁵⁵] ‘sugar’
 (43) se³³ [se³³] ‘go; walk’
 (44) e³³ ze³³ ze³³ [e³³ zɛ³³ zɛ³³] ‘slowly’
 (45) tɕe¹³ [tɕe¹³] ‘jab, poke’
 (46) ʏo³³ tɕ^he⁵⁵ [ʏo³³ tɕ^hɛ⁵⁵] ‘comb one’s hair’
 (47) dʒe⁵⁵ [dʒɛ⁵⁵] ‘stretch’
 (48) ʂe³³ [ʂɛ³³] ‘seek’
 (49) mɤ³³ zɛ³³ [mɤ³³ zɛ³³] ‘snatch, grab’

2.2.3 The final *æ*

When the final /æ/ by itself constitutes a syllable, a slight glottal stop appears. For example:

- (50) æ⁵⁵ [ʔæ⁵⁵] ‘copper’
 (51) æ³¹ mi³³ [ʔæ³¹ mi³³] ‘hen’

2.2.4 The final *ə*

When the final /ə/ follows the retroflexed sounds /tɕ, tɕ^h, dʒ, ʂ, ʐ/, it is pronounced [uə]. For example:

- (52) tɕə⁵⁵ [tɕuə⁵⁵] ‘cough’
 (53) tɕ^hə¹³ [tɕ^huə¹³] ‘hold, grasp’
 (54) dʒə¹³ [dʒuə¹³] ‘bad (bad person)’
 (55) ʂə³³ [ʂuə³³] ‘lead (lead the way, act as a guide)’
 (56) ʐə³¹ [ʐuə³¹] ‘conceal, hide’

i	li ³³	‘a pellet, a grain’	ũ	xũ ³³	‘hair; feather’
i	li ³³	‘look, see’	ǣ̃	ǣ̃ ³³	‘bone’
e	ze ³³	PERF, CSM	ũæ	xũæ ³³	‘buy’
æ	bæ ¹³	‘run’	ũə	xũə ¹³	‘slow’
ɑ	dʒɑ ¹³	‘good’	ũə̃	k ^h ũə̃ ³³	‘horn (ox horn)’
o	ʒo ³³	‘come’	uæ	duæ ¹³	‘very’
ə	tsə ³³	‘correct’	ua	kuə ³³	‘fireplace’
ə̃	tsə̃ ³¹	‘obstruct’	uə	luə ¹³	‘ashes’
u	tu ³³	‘plant, grow’	ie	bie ¹³	‘lazy’
ɤ	gɤ ³³	‘nine’	ui	ts ^h ui ⁵⁵	‘unit of measure’
u	t ^h u ³³	3SG.PRO	uo	xuo ¹³	‘eight’
ĩ	xĩ ³³	‘person’	uə̃	ɣuə̃ ⁵⁵	‘swallow, gulp’
õ	õ ³³ ɣæ ³¹	1INC.PRO			

Table 4. Examples of finals

2.3 The Four Tones

Mosuo has lexical tone. There is a four-way system with a mid level tone, a low falling tone, a high level tone, and a low rising tone, as seen in Table 5.

33	tsa ³³	‘busy’	mid level
31	tsa ³¹	‘stare’	low falling
55	tsa ⁵⁵	‘catch fish’	high level
13	tsa ¹³	‘kick’	low rising

Table 5. The four tones

2.3.1 Low rising tone

Low rising tone can be found in monosyllabic words, as in examples (57) through (60), and in the second syllable of bisyllabic words, as in examples (61) through (65).

- (57) bie¹³ ‘lazy’
 (58) tuo¹³ ‘rely’
 (59) die¹³ ‘connect’
 (60) bu¹³ ‘steamed rice’

Low rising tone in the second syllable of bisyllabic words:

- (61) dæ³³ ta¹³ ‘let through, make way’
 (62) læ³³ po¹³ ‘run for it’

- (63) gə³³ by¹³ ‘emit’
 (64) la³¹ la¹³ ‘fight’
 (65) dzo³¹ dzo¹³ ‘feel, touch a little’

2.3.2 Mid level tone in bisyllabic words

- (66) po³³ po³³ ‘escape’
 (67) di³³ di³³ ‘chase’
 (68) sə³³ sə³³ ‘make war’
 (69) lə³³ sə³³ ‘call someone names’
 (70) gə³³ do³³ ‘climb up’

2.3.3 Low falling tone as the first syllable of bisyllabic words

- (71) tse³¹ ty³³ ‘boil’
 (72) ɣa³¹ mi³³ ‘thank’
 (73) bi³¹ da¹³ ‘leave to make way for’
 (74) bo³¹ bo¹³ ‘kiss a little’

2.3.4 High level tone

High level tone in Chinese loan words with fourth tone (the first column from the left is Mosuo, the second column is the Chinese source):

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|----------------------|
| (75) ɕæ ⁵⁵ | xiàn | ‘county’ |
| (76) ɕu ⁵⁵ | chòu | ‘smelly’ |
| (77) tɕe ⁵⁵ | jìn | ‘enter’ |
| (78) tɕa ⁵⁵ | zhà | ‘explode’ |
| (79) me ⁵⁵ | mèi | ‘evil spirit, demon’ |
| (80) ʂe ⁵⁵ | sài | ‘competition’ |
| (81) ɕua ⁵⁵ | xuàn | ‘revolve’ |
| (82) xu ⁵⁵ | hù | ‘protect’ |
| (83) tæ ⁵⁵ | dào | ‘road, path’ |
| (84) tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵ | qì | ‘utensil’ |

The high level tone appears in monosyllabic words of Mosuo origin comparatively infrequently. The following are the only attested examples:

- (85) yua⁵⁵ ‘swallow, gulp’
 (86) ɬi⁵⁵ ‘stop’
 (87) ɕi⁵⁵ ‘one hundred’
 (88) dzi⁵⁵ ‘eat’
 (89) zy⁵⁵ ‘four’

- (90) ji^{55} 'listen'
 (91) tsa^{55} 'catch fish'
 (92) bi^{55} 'snow'

2.4 Morphophonemic changes

Morphophonemic change in action can be observed in Mosuo. In the following examples of assimilation, the first form in each set is found in the speech of older people and those who live in more remote areas, while the second form is found in the speech of younger people and those who live in areas with more contact with the outside world. The newer forms may reflect the influence of Mandarin, local varieties of Chinese, or minority languages spoken in the area.

Assimilation in Mosuo can be either progressive or regressive, and can affect initials, finals, or both.

2.4.1 Progressive assimilation of initials

- (93) $\text{bæ}^{31} \text{pæ}^{13} \rightarrow \text{bæ}^{31} \text{bæ}^{13}$ 'flower(s)'

2.4.2 Regressive assimilation of initials

- (94) $\text{go}^{33} \text{kɑ}^{33} \rightarrow \text{ko}^{33} \text{kɑ}^{33}$ 'a pass between two mountains'

2.4.3 Progressive assimilation of finals

- (95) $\text{pa}^{33} \text{zə}^{31} \rightarrow \text{pa}^{33} \text{zɑ}^{31}$ 'cake'
 (96) $\text{gə}^{31} \text{dze}^{33} \rightarrow \text{gə}^{31} \text{dzə}^{33}$ 'on top'

2.4.4 Regressive assimilation of finals

- (97) $\text{ɬe}^{33} \text{bi}^{33} \rightarrow \text{ɬi}^{33} \text{bi}^{33}$ 'radish'
 (98) $\text{ty}^{33} \text{tu}^{55} \rightarrow \text{tu}^{33} \text{tu}^{55}$ 'hat'

2.4.5 Progressive assimilation of initials accompanied by progressive assimilation of finals

- (99) $\text{suw}^{33} \text{ni}^{31} \rightarrow \text{suw}^{33} \text{suw}^{31}$ 'choose, select'

2.4.6 Regressive assimilation of initials accompanied by regressive assimilation of finals

(100) tɕe³³ dzy³³ → dzy³³ dzy³³ ‘damp soil’

2.5 Syllable Structure

There are two types of syllable structure in the Mosuo language: initial + final + tone, as shown in §2.5.1, and final + tone, as shown in §2.5.2.

2.5.1 Initial + final + tone

In Mosuo, this form is predominant. Examples of this structure include:

- (101) mɿ⁵⁵ ‘fire’
- (102) tɕe³³ ‘earth, soil’
- (103) bi³³ ‘snow’
- (104) xi¹³ ‘rain’
- (105) lɑ³³ ‘tiger’
- (106) ʒi³³ ‘cow’
- (107) k^hɿ³¹ ‘dog’
- (108) zuæ³³ ‘horse’

2.5.2 Final + tone

- (109) ɑ¹³ ‘goose’
- (110) ɿ³³ ‘pot, pan’

3. LEXICAL ITEMS

3.1 Morphology

With regard to word structure, words can be divided into two types: non-compound words and compound words. Non-compound words are words that are composed of one basic morpheme. These can be further divided into two types, according to the number of syllables: monosyllabic non-compound words and polysyllabic non-compound words. For example:

3.1.1 Monosyllabic non-compound words

- (111) kuə¹³ ‘lose, be missing’
- (112) k^huɑ¹³ ‘smart’
- (113) dʒi³¹ ‘water’

- (114) tɕi³³ 'cloud'
 (115) t^ho³¹ 'lean on'
 (116) do³¹ 'see'
 (117) bə¹³ 'sprinkle'

Polysyllabic non-compound words:

- (118) pa³¹ ʒa³¹ 'cake'

3.1.2 Compound words

Compound words contain two or more morphemes per word. Of the common compound words, some are formed from a root plus a root, while others are formed from a root and an affix.

3.1.2.1 Root + root compounds

The examples below illustrate compound words formed by putting together a root with a root.

3.1.2.1.1 Coordinate compounds Many coordinate compounds are nouns, but there are also a small number of verbs and adjectives. (Please see §4.1.1 for discussion of nouns, §4.1.3 for verbs, and §4.1.4 for adjectives.) For example:

- (119) dʒa¹³-dʒa⁵⁵
 good-bad
 'quality'
- (120) ts^hu³³-ʒo¹³
 goat-sheep
 'sheep' (collective term that includes both goats and sheep)
- (121) mɿ³³-di¹³
 heaven-earth
 'world'
- (122) ni¹³-ʂæ³³
 near-far
 'far and near'
- (123) zo³³-mɿ³³
 son, male-mother, female
 'offspring'

3.1.2.1.2 Head-modifier compounds The large majority are nouns, but there are also a small number of verbs. Some nouns are formed from noun roots modifying noun roots, with the modifying root preceding the modified root. For example:

- (124) zɿ³³-ɣu⁵⁵
 cow-skin
 ‘leather’
- (125) zuæ³³-dzə³¹
 horse-saddle
 ‘saddle’
- (126) yo³³-xũ³³
 head-fur
 ‘hair’

Some nouns are formed from an adjective root modifying a noun root, with the adjective root following the noun root. For example:

- (127) ʂe³³-pũ³¹
 meat-dried
 ‘cured meat’
- (128) lɿ³³-pũ³¹
 field-dry
 ‘non-irrigated land, dry land’
- (129) tʂ^huæ³³-xũ¹³
 rice-red
 ‘red rice’
- (130) ts^hə³¹-p^hɿ¹³
 vegetable-white
 ‘cabbage’
- (131) lie³¹-p^hɿ¹³
 tea-white
 ‘snow tea’

Some nouns are formed from a verb root modifying a noun root, with the verb root preceding the noun root. For example:

- (132) di¹³-k^hɿ¹³
 chase-dog
 ‘hunting dog’
- (133) dzæ³³-zuæ³³
 ride-horse
 ‘horse for riding’
- (134) lɿ³¹-zi¹³
 plough-ox
 ‘ox for ploughing’

Some nouns are formed from a noun root modifying a classifier, with the noun root preceding the classifier. That the noun root plus classifier combination is acting as a single lexeme is clear from the way that the unit takes a classifier, as in example (135b).

- (135a) suɿ³³-dzɯ³³
 firewood-CLS
 ‘tree’
- (135b) suɿ³³-dzɯ³³ dɿ³³ dzɯ³³
 firewood-CLS one CLS
 ‘one tree’
- (136) xɑ³³-luɿ³³
 grain-CLS
 ‘grain’
- (137) nə³¹-luɿ⁵⁵
 eye-CLS
 ‘eye’

Some verbs are formed from a noun root that indicates direction modifying a verb root, with the directional noun root preceding the verb root. For example:

- (138) gə³¹-ti³³
 up-get up
 ‘get up’

- (139) də³³-tə¹³
side-cause
'make way, get out of the way'

- (140) mɿ³¹-zə³¹
down-walk, go
'go down'

3.1.2.1.3 Object-verb compounds An object-verb compound consists of a direct object and a verb. In Mosuo object-verb compounds, the direct object precedes the verb, as in the word order of Mosuo sentences. For example:

- (141) xə³³-mi⁵⁵
food-beg for
'to beg'

3.1.2.1.4 Subject-predicate compounds Verb roots modify noun roots, with the verb root following the noun root. This type of compound word is usually a noun. For example:

- (142) ɬi³³-bo³³
ear-deaf
'deaf person'

- (143) nə³¹-ɣə¹³
eye-blind
'blind person'

3.1.2.2 Root-affix compounds

Roots and affixes combine to form compound words. According to the position of the attached constituent, they can be divided into two types of compounds: compounds that take prefixes and compounds that take suffixes.

3.1.2.2.1 Prefixes Bound morphemes add the prefix for kin, ə/ɑ (phonological variants), to form kinship terms. For example:

- (144) ə³³-su³³ 'grandfather'
(145) ə³³-dɑ³³ 'father'
(146) ə³³-mi³³ 'mother'
(147) ɑ³³-mɿ³³ 'older brother'

3.1.2.2.2 Suffixes Verb root with the suffix -di³¹ to express nominalization.

- (148) $my^{33}-di^{31}$
 wear-NOM
 ‘things to wear’
- (149) $k^h\theta^{13}-di^{31}$
 fill-NOM
 ‘item used to fill something’
- (150) $dzu^{33}-di^{31}$
 eat-NOM
 ‘things to eat’

mi^{33} ‘mother’ can suffix to a noun root, thus forming a noun that expresses a female animal or an augmentative. For example:

- (151) $x\ae^{33}$ (loan)- mi^{33}
 Han
 ‘Han woman’
- (152) $b\theta^{33}-mi^{33}$
 Pumi
 ‘Pumi woman’
- (153) $\ae^{31}-mi^{33}$
 chicken
 ‘hen’
- (154) $zi^{33}-mi^{33}$
 room
 ‘big room’
- (155) $z\theta^{33}-mi^{33}$
 road
 ‘broad street’
- (156) $k^h\theta^{31}-mi^{33}$
 pannier
 ‘big pannier’

zo^{33} ‘son’ can suffix to a noun root, thus forming a diminutive. For example:

- (157) k^hua¹³-zo³³
bowl
'small bowl'
- (158) ʒi³³-zo³³
cow
'calf'
- (159) ly³³-zo³³
rock
'pebble'
- (160) zə³³-zo³³
road
'path'
- (161) k^hə³¹-zo³³
pannier
'small pannier'

xĩ³³ 'person' can suffix to a verb root, thus forming a noun that expresses an agentive nominalization.

- (162) dzu³³-guə⁵⁵-xĩ³³
street-stroll-person
'person who goes to the local market'
- (163) su³³-da³¹-xĩ³³
firewood-cut-person
'woodcutter'
- (164) ts^ho³³-li³³-xĩ³³
show-watch-person
'audience'

3.2 Loan words

Contact between the Mosuo and the Han has a very long-standing history. According to the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biographies of the Southwest Yi: Western Qiang Biography, Volume 3* (Han and Chao dynasties); the local historical records *Xikang Tujing* (Ming Dynasty) writing on folk customs; and

The Yongbei Zhiliting Record account in the seventh article of the *Xikang Tujing*, during the Later Han period, the Mosuo people and the Han had economic and cultural relations. In recent years, contact between the Mosuo and the Han has increased in frequency; this type of contact naturally also is reflected in the use of borrowed vocabulary.

The Mosuo language has absorbed Chinese loanwords mainly in two ways: by direct loan and by borrowing a Chinese morpheme and compounding it with a native morpheme to form a new word. The more recent the borrowing, the more that the direct loan style becomes important.

3.2.1 Direct loans

The Mosuo people borrowed words from Chinese³ before the foundation of the People's Republic of China. Now, in Mosuo colloquial speech these old borrowings are seldom used, and are mainly preserved in the speech of the elderly. For example:

- | | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------|----------|
| (165) | zæ ³¹
foreign
'match' | xo ⁵⁵
fire | yánghuǒ |
| (166) | zæ ³¹
foreign
'umbrella' | sa ⁵⁵
umbrella | yángsǎn |
| (167) | ɕæ ³³
scented soap
'scented soap' | tɕa ¹³
soap | xiāngzào |
| (168) | p ^h i ³³
skin
'leather shoes' | ɕei ³¹
shoes | píxié |
| (169) | za ³¹
tooth
'toothpaste' | kao ³³
paste | yágāo |

³ Translator's note: In the examples given below, the standard Mandarin forms of the borrowed words are provided for the reader's reference, as transcriptions of the forms in the variety of Yunnanese spoken in the area unfortunately are not available. The loss of final /n/ and /ŋ/ is typical of Yunnanese phonology.

- (170) ɸæ³¹ zæ³³ xiāngyān
 scented smoke
 ‘cigarettes’
- (171) wɑ³³ tɕi³³ wàzi
 socks
 ‘socks’

After 1951,⁴ for the Mosuo, like every other ethnicity, fundamental change occurred in production, life, politics, economy, culture, and every other facet of daily life. This era brought the unceasing appearance of new objects and concepts, and an increasingly large group of new words borrowed from Chinese for technical use. Previously, only a small group of loans for material goods were borrowed from Chinese into Mosuo. These new technical words mostly were borrowed directly from Chinese. For example:

- (172) zuæ³¹ tse³¹ yuánzé
 ‘principle’
- (173) kuæ³³ po¹³ guǎngbō
 ‘broadcast’
- (174) ɕe¹³ xue¹³ tsu⁵⁵ ʒi³³ shèhuì zhǔyì
 ‘socialism’
- (175) tæ³³ ʒi³³ diànyǐng
 ‘film, movie’
- (176) ti¹³ tsu³³ dìzhǔ
 ‘landlord’
- (177) xo³³ tso³³ ɕe¹³ hézuòshè
 ‘cooperative’

3.2.2 Loan-calque compounds

The following examples show compounds where a Chinese morpheme has been borrowed into Mosuo and compounded with a native morpheme to create a new

⁴ The Communists gained power in 1949, but as the Mosuo area is fairly remote, change came to the area around 1951.

word. In each example, the morpheme borrowed from Chinese is indicated in boldface.

Note that in this example, the Mosuo and Chinese words are synonymous.

- (178) **zæ**³³-ts^he³³ yán
 salt-salt
 ‘salt’

In the following examples, the Mosuo and Mandarin words each contribute to the semantics of the larger whole.

- (179) mæ³³ æ³¹-**te**³³ dēng
 oil-lamp
 ‘oil lamp’

- (180) **mə**³¹-dzɿ¹³ mò
 ink-water
 ‘ink’

- (181) **si**³³-k^hu³¹ sī
 silk-thread
 ‘silk thread’

- (182) **zə**³³-ts^hə¹³ yān
 tobacco-leaf
 ‘tobacco leaf’

4. SYNTAX

The words of the Mosuo language, according to their syntactic characteristics, can be divided into nine classes: nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, classifiers, pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions, and particles.

4.1 Word classes

4.1.1 Nouns

Nouns are an open class, and serve as the arguments of verbs. The word class includes people, things, times, and places. For example:

- (183) po³³ dzɿ³³ ‘carpenter’
 (184) lo³³ ʒi³³ xī³³ ‘peasant’ (lit. ‘laborer’)
 (185) ʃe³¹ la³³ xī³³ ‘smith, blacksmith’

- (186) $\text{ni}^{33} \text{mi}^{33}$ 'sun'
 (187) li^{33} 'field'
 (188) zi^{33} 'cow'
 (189) bi^{33} 'snow'
- (190) $\text{so}^{33} \text{ni}^{33}$ 'tomorrow'
 (191) $\text{e}^{33} \text{ni}^{55}$ 'yesterday'
- (192) $\text{zo}^{33} \text{gy}^{33}$ 'Lijiang'
 (193) $\text{lo}^{33} \text{gy}^{33}$ 'Ninglang'
 (194) $\text{dze}^{33} \text{gu}^{33}$ 'Yongsheng'

Most nouns cannot be reduplicated. Nouns that express people usually add the suffix yæ^{33} to express the plural. For example:

- (195) xĩ^{33} 'person' $\text{xĩ}^{33}\text{-yæ}^{33}$ 'people'
- (196) $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}^{33} \text{tɕe}^{33}$ 'man' $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}^{33} \text{tɕe}^{33}\text{-yæ}^{33}$ 'men'
- (197) $\text{mi}^{31} \text{zu}^{13}$ 'woman' $\text{mi}^{31} \text{zu}^{13}\text{-yæ}^{33}$ 'women'

4.1.2 Verbs

Monosyllabic transitive verbs can be reduplicated, and the verb intransitivizes. With a plural actor, the reduplicated verb takes on a reciprocal meaning. For example:

- (198) su^{33} 'know, recognize' $\text{su}^{33}\text{-su}^{33}$ 'know each other'
- (199) $\text{ɲa}^{33} \text{zu}^{31} \text{duæ}^{13} \text{su}^{33}\text{-su}^{33}$.
 1SG.PRO pair very know
 'We are on very good terms.'
- (200) la^{13} 'hit' $\text{la}^{31}\text{-la}^{13}$ 'fight'

- (201) zo³³-mɿ⁵⁵-ɣæ³³ la³¹-la¹³ i³³.
 boy-girl-PL fight will
 ‘Children will fight.’

4.1.2.1 ‘Come’ and ‘go’

The verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ have suppletive forms that make aspect distinctions lexically.

4.1.2.1.1 *ts^hi¹³* ‘came’ The verb *ts^hi¹³* ‘came’ does not distinguish person, and expresses a past tense ‘come’. For example:

- (202) ɲa³³ e³³ ɲi⁵⁵ ts^hi¹³.
 1SG.PRO yesterday came
 ‘I came yesterday.’

- (203) t^hu³³ ts^hi¹³ ze⁵⁵.
 3SG.PRO came PERF
 ‘He came.’

4.1.2.1.2 *ʒu³³* ‘come’ The future tense *ʒu³³* ‘come’ is used in non-perfective aspects, and expresses possible arrival, future arrival, or an imperative. For example:

- (204) t^hu³³ ʒu³³ i³³.
 3SG.PRO come may
 ‘He might come.’

- (205) t^hu³³ ʒu³³ bi³³ tsu¹³.
 3SG.PRO come will according to talk
 ‘The word is he’ll come.’

- (206) tɕ^huæ¹³ ʒu³³.
 hurry come
 ‘Hurry up and come.’

4.1.2.1.3 *ʒi³³* ‘come’ The verb *ʒi³³* ‘come’ expresses a present progressive ‘come’. For example:

- (207) t^hu³³ ʒi³³ ze⁵⁵.
 3SG.PRO comes CSM
 ‘He is coming.’

4.1.2.1.4 *k^{hi}13* ‘go’ The verb *k^{hi}13* ‘go’ expresses a past completed action. For example:

- (208) *ɲa*³³ *k^hue*³³ *mi*³¹ *k^{hi}*¹³.
 1SG.PRO Kunming go
 ‘I have gone to Kunming.’

4.1.2.1.5 *xu*³³ ‘go’ The verb *xu*³³ ‘go’ is only used with the third person, and expresses a past tense uncompleted action. For example:

- (209) *t^hu*³³ *pe*³¹ *tɕin*³³ *xu*³³ *ze*⁵⁵.
 3SG.PRO Beijing go PERF
 ‘He went to Beijing (and has not yet returned).’

4.1.2.1.6 *bi*³³ ‘go’ The verb *bi*³³ ‘go’ expresses a future action of going. For example:

- (210) *ɲa*³³ *pe*³¹ *tɕin*³³ *bi*³³.
 1SG.PRO Beijing go
 ‘I will go to Beijing.’

4.1.2.1.7 *xo*¹³ ‘go’ The verb *xo*¹³ ‘go’ expresses an imperative. For example:

- (211) *a*³³ *p^ho*³¹ *xo*¹³!
 outside go
 ‘Go out!’

4.1.2.2 Existential verbs

In the Mosuo language, items can be categorized according to their qualities into those that use one of three different verbs to express existence.

4.1.2.2.1 *dzo*³³ The verb *dzo*³³ expresses the existence of people, animals, and objects not included in other categories. For example:

- (212) *ɲa*³³ *lə*³¹ *xĩ*³³ *zɿ*³³ *kɿ*³¹ *dzo*³³.
 1SG.PRO family people four CLS EXIST
 ‘There are four people in my family.’

- (213) *t^hu*³³ *lə*³¹ *zi*³³ *zɿ*³³ *p^ho*³¹ *dzo*³³.
 3SG.PRO family cow four CLS EXIST
 ‘His family has four cows.’

- (214) lo³³ dzo³³.
 something EXIST
 ‘(I’m) busy.’

4.1.2.2.2 *di*³¹ The verb *di*³¹ expresses the existence of things that are connected to a larger entity, such as plants, fruit, and body parts. For example:

- (215) t^hu³³ lə³¹ sə³³ lə³¹ di³³ dzu³¹ di³¹.
 3SG.PRO family pear one CLS EXIST
 ‘His family has one pear tree.’

- (216) nə³¹ lɿ³³ di³¹ zo³¹ li³³ mə³³ xi³¹.
 eyes EXIST but see NEG accomplish
 ‘Has eyes but can’t see.’

4.1.2.2.3 *zi*³³ The verb *zi*³³ expresses the existence of contents in a container. For example:

- (217) k^hua¹³ ko³³ dʒi³³ mə³³ ʒi³³.
 bowl LOC water NEG EXIST
 ‘There isn’t water in the bowl.’

- (218) kua³³ ko³³ mɿ⁵⁵ t^he³³ mə³³ ʒi³³.
 stove LOC fire DUR NEG EXIST
 ‘There isn’t any fire in the stove.’

4.1.3 Adjectives

Most bisyllabic adjectives can be reduplicated to express an increase in degree. It should be noted that both verbs and adjectives can reduplicate, which may be evidence for treating adjectives as a subclass of verbs in Mosuo. For example:

- (219) ʃo³¹ kə¹³ ʃo³¹ ʃo³¹ kə¹³ kə¹³
 ‘clean’ ‘very clean’

- (220) fɿ³³ sa³¹ fɿ³³ fɿ³³ sa³¹ sa³¹
 ‘happy’ ‘very happy’

4.1.4 Numerals

The cardinal numbers of the Mosuo language are presented in Table 6:

di ³³	‘one’	xuo ¹³	‘eight’
ni ³³	‘two’	gy ³³	‘nine’
so ³¹	‘three’	ts ^h e ³³	‘ten’
zy ⁵⁵	‘four’	ei ⁵⁵	‘hundred’
ŋua ³³	‘five’	ty ³³	‘thousand’
k ^h uə ¹³	‘six’	mæ ³¹	‘ten thousand’
ʂi ³³	‘seven’		

Table 6. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number ‘ten’ has three forms: from ten to nineteen, it is pronounced *ts^he³³*; from twenty to twenty-nine it is pronounced *tsu³³*; and from thirty to thirty-nine it is pronounced *ts^hu³³*.

Ordinal numbers mostly adopt Chinese loan words. For example *ti¹³* ʂ³³ ‘second’, *ti¹³* y³³ ‘fifth’, etc.

4.1.5 Classifiers

In the Mosuo language, classifiers are fairly abundant. Classifiers can be divided into two types: noun classifiers and verb classifiers, according to their use and nature.

Noun classifiers are used with count nouns. A given classifier is used with nouns that share a semantic property, such as shape or consistency, for example:

- (221) p^ho¹³ used with large animals such as cattle and tigers, as well as body parts such as hands and feet

- (222) ʂi³³ di³³ p^ho¹³
cow one CLS
‘a cow’

- (223) mi³¹ used with chicken, ducks, pigs and horses

- (224) æ¹³ di³³ mi³¹
chicken one CLS
‘a chicken’

- (225) lu³³ mostly used with inanimates

- (226) æ¹³ yo³¹ di³³ lu³³
chicken egg one CLS
‘a chicken egg’

There are two noun classifiers for ‘person’: one classifier is used with the singular and one classifier is used with the plural.

(227) γ^{33} used to indicate one person

(228) $xĩ^{33}$ $dĩ^{33}$ γ^{33}
 person one CLS
 ‘a person’

(229) $k\gamma^{31}$ used to indicate the plural ‘people’

(230) $ɲa^{33}$ $lə^{31}$ $xĩ^{33}$ zy^{33} $k\gamma^{31}$ dzo^{33} .
 1SG.PRO family people four CLS EXIST
 ‘There are four people in my family.’

Noun classifiers and numerals create numeral-classifier phrases that modify nouns. They are located after the noun. For example:

(231) $xɑ^{33}$ $dĩ^{33}$ lu^{33}
 cereal one CLS
 ‘a grain of cereal’

Classifiers can express a collective, such as: $tɕi^{33}$ ‘some’, du^{31} ‘a group of’, etc. Examples are such as below:

(232) $xĩ^{33}$ $dĩ^{33}$ $tɕi^{33}$ $t^hæ^{33}$ $ə^{33}$ so^{31} $xĩ^{33}$ $dĩ^{33}$ $tɕi^{33}$ lo^{33} $ʒi^{55}$.
 people one CLS book study people one CLS labor
 ‘Some people study, some people do labor.’

(233) $xĩ^{33}$ $dĩ^{33}$ du^{31}
 people one CLS
 ‘a group of people’

Additionally, noun classifiers with demonstrative pronouns can create demonstrative-classifier phrases that modify nouns. They are located after the noun. For example:

(234) $ʒi^{33}$ t^hu^{33} p^ho^{13}
 cow that CLS
 ‘that cow’

- (235) æ¹³ tɕ^hu³³ mi³³
 chicken this CLS
 ‘this chicken’

Verb classifiers only can be used with numerals to create numeral-classifier phrases, to make a verb modifier, which is located before the verb. For example:

- (236) di³³ su³¹ xu³³ dʒi³¹
 one CLS go EXPER
 ‘has gone one time’

- (237) ni³³ su³¹ xu³³
 two CLS go
 ‘went two times’

4.1.6 Pronouns

These are categorized into four types: personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns.

4.1.6.1 Personal pronouns

The first person, second person, and third person personal pronouns all have a singular and a plural form. The first person plural has an exclusive form and an inclusive form. The first and second person singular and plural and the third person plural all have familiar forms. The familiar forms are used with friends and relatives the same age or younger, while the formal forms are used when speaking with elders.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>		<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st	ɲa ³³ 1SG.PRO	õ ³³ yæ ³¹ 1INC.PRO	2nd	no ⁵⁵ 2SG.PRO	no ⁵⁵ yæ ³¹ 2PL.PRO
		ɲa ³³ yæ ³¹ 1EXC.PRO		no ¹³ 2SG.PRO.FAM	no ⁵⁵ su ³¹ ku ³¹ 2PL.PRO.FAM
	ɲə ¹³ 1SG.PRO.FAM	õ ³³ su ³¹ ku ³¹ 1INC.PRO.FAM	3rd	t ^h u ³³ 3SG.PRO	t ^h u ³³ yæ ³¹ 3PL.PRO
		ɲə ¹³ su ³¹ ku ³¹ 1EXC.PRO.FAM			t ^h u ³³ tɕi ³¹ 3PL.PRO.FAM

Table 7. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns ɲa³³, no⁵⁵, and t^hu³³ can be used in possessive constructions with ‘family’, ‘village’, and ‘hamlet’; with this limited set of nouns,

no possessive marker is needed (cf. examples (238)–(247)) as possession is inalienable. For example:

- (238) ɲa^{33} $\text{gi}^{33} \text{zu}^{33}$
 1SG.PRO (younger) brother
 ‘my (younger) brother’
- (239) no^{55} zo^{55}
 2SG.PRO son
 ‘your son’
- (240) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ $\text{ə}^{33} \text{ʒi}^{33}$
 3SG.PRO grandmother
 ‘his grandmother’
- (241) ɲa^{33} lə^{31}
 1SG.PRO family
 ‘my family’
- (242) no^{55} yua^{33}
 2SG.PRO village
 ‘your village’
- (243) $\text{ɲa}^{33} \text{yə}^{31}$ $\text{gi}^{33} \text{zu}^{33}$
 1PL.PRO (younger) brother
 ‘our younger brother’
- (244) $\text{no}^{55} \text{yə}^{31}$ zo^{55}
 2PL.PRO son
 ‘your (pl.) son’
- (245) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33} \text{yə}^{31}$ $\text{ə}^{33} \text{ʒi}^{33}$
 3PL.PRO grandmother
 ‘their grandmother’
- (246) $\text{ɲa}^{33} \text{yə}^{33}$ lə^{31}
 1PL.PRO family
 ‘our family’

- (247) no⁵⁵ yæ³¹ yua³³
 2PL.PRO village
 ‘your (pl.) village’

When the connection between the possessor and the possessed is more distant, the possessive marker *by*³³ is used, as in examples (248)–(251).

- (248) t^hu³³ tɕi³¹ by³³ ɕo³¹ xa¹³
 3PL.PRO.FAM POSS school
 ‘their school’

- (249) ɲa³³ by³³ ba³³ la¹³
 1SG.PRO POSS clothes
 ‘my clothes’

- (250) no⁵⁵ by³³ su³¹ t^hi¹³
 2SG.PRO POSS knife
 ‘your knife’

- (251) t^hu³³ by³³ ts^ho³³ k^huə³³
 3SG.PRO POSS pocket
 ‘his pocket’

The plural pronoun suffix is somewhat optional: if the plural reading can be determined from the use of a numeral or from discourse context, then the plural pronoun need not appear.

- (252) ɲa³³ di³³ y³³ la³³ bi³³.
 1SG.PRO one CLS ADVB go
 ‘I go by myself.’

- (253) t^hu³³ ɲi³³ lə³¹ di³³ ki⁵⁵ dzu¹³ ə³³ ɲi¹³ ?
 3SG.PRO two CLS one CLS live QM COP
 ‘Do their two families live in one place?’

4.1.6.2 Reflexive pronouns

Note that *ō*³³, found in the 1INC.PRO and 1INC.PRO.FAM pronouns, means “self”. *su*³¹ *ku*³¹ is a plural familiar suffix used in the first and second person plural familiar forms.

4.1.6.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are: $t_s^{h\omega^{33}}$ ‘this (near)’, $t^{h\omega^{33}}$ ‘that (far)’, and $d\theta^{55}$ $t^{h\omega^{33}}$ ‘that (even further away)’. The distal demonstrative pronoun $t^{h\omega^{33}}$ is the third person singular pronoun.

- (254) $t_s^{h\omega^{33}}$ $k\theta^{31}$
 this CLS.round stick (loan)
 ‘this one’
- (255) $t^{h\omega^{33}}$ $p^{h\alpha^{13}}$
 that CLS.page
 ‘that one’
- (256) $d\theta^{55}$ $t^{h\omega^{33}}$ mi^{33}
 that (far away) CLS.small animal
 ‘that (far away) one’

4.1.6.4 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are ni^{13} ‘who’, zo^{31} ko^{33} ‘where’, α^{33} tso^{33} ‘what’, $k^h\alpha^{31}$ ne^{13} ‘how’, and $k^h\alpha^{31}$ $z\alpha^{13}$ ‘how many’. For example:

- (257) ni^{13} $n\omega^{33}$ $bi^{33?}$
 who EMPH go
 ‘Who goes?’
- (258) no^{55} zo^{31} ko^{33} $bi^{33?}$
 2SG.PRO where go
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (259) no^{55} α^{33} tso^{33} $z\alpha^{13?}$
 2SG.PRO what do
 ‘What are you doing?’
- (260) $t^{h\omega^{33}}$ $k^h\alpha^{31}$ ne^{13} $z\alpha^{13?}$
 3SG.PRO what say
 ‘What did he say?’
- (261) ηu^{33} $k^h\alpha^{31}$ $z\alpha^{13}$ $dzo^{13?}$
 money how much EXIST
 ‘How much money is there?’

4.1.7 Adverbs

Adverbs cannot be reduplicated. They mainly are used to modify verbs and adjectives, and often appear preceding a verb or adjective. Adverbs that express time are: *le*³³ *yo*³³ *le*³³ *tɕo*³¹ ‘often’, *tɕ^huæ*³¹ *zi*¹³ ‘immediately’, and *ne*³¹ ‘just’, etc. For example:

- (262) *t^hu*³³ *le*³³ *yo*³³ *le*³³ *tɕo*³¹ *tɕ^hu*³³ *ko*⁵⁵ *dʒə*³³ *bu*³³ *ts^hi*¹³.
- 3SG.PRO often here LOC play came
- ‘He often came here to play.’

- (263) *no*⁵⁵ *tɕ^huæ*³¹ *zi*¹³ *zæ*³³ *lə*³³ *ki*⁵⁵ *xo*¹³.
- 2SG.PRO immediately Yang house DAT go
- ‘You immediately go to the Yangs’ house.’

- (264) *ɲa*³³ *ts^hu*³³ *ɲi*³³ *ne*³¹ *ts^hi*¹³.
- 1SG.PRO this day just came
- ‘I just came today.’

Adverbs that express degree are: *dʒə*¹³ ‘very’, *duæ*¹³ ‘too’, *uə*¹³ ‘even more’, and ... *xu*³³ ... *xu*³³ ‘...the more ... the more’. For example:

- (265) *xɿ*³³ *t^hu*³³ *ɥ*³³ *dʒə*¹³ *nu*³³ *ɕi*³¹.
- person that CLS very good-looking
- ‘That person is very good-looking.’

- (266) *ɕɥ*³³ *ɕɥ*¹³ *ts^hu*³³ *p^hæ*³³ *duæ*¹³ *ma*³³ *dʒa*¹³.
- paper this CLS too NEG good
- ‘This piece of paper is not too good.’

- (267) *t^hæ*³³ *ə*³¹ *tɕ^ho*³³ *xu*³³ *tɕ^ho*³³ *dʒa*¹³ *xu*³³ *dʒa*¹³.
- books read more read good more good
- ‘The more books read, the better.’

Other adverbs include *dʒa*¹³ *pa*³³ ‘properly’; *uə*³³ ‘again’ which expresses repetition; *t^hæ*³³ ‘anyway’ which expresses confirmation; and *ma*³³/*mæ*³³ (phonological variants) which expresses ‘not’. For example:

- (268) *õ*³³ *su*³¹ *ku*³¹ *dʒa*¹³ *pa*³³ *t^hæ*³³ *ə*³³ *so*³¹ *zo*³³.
- 1INC.PRO good book study ought
- ‘We ought to study very hard.’

- (269) no⁵⁵ uə³³ di³³ piæ³³ tʂ^ho³³.
 2SG.PRO again one CLS (loan) read aloud
 ‘Please read it aloud once more.’
- (270) na³³ t^hæ³³ bi³³ xo³³ ji³¹.
 1SG.PRO anyway go want
 ‘I want to go anyway.’
- (271) no⁵⁵ mæ³³ ny³³.
 2SG.PRO NEG know
 ‘You don’t know.’

4.1.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are of two types: paratactic and hypotactic. Paratactic conjunctions are used to join two words, phrases, or sentences. The main paratactic conjunctions are *la*³³ ‘and’; *nu*³³ ‘or, also’, which can be used in alternate choice (A not A) questions; *t^hæ*³³ ‘but, also’. For example:

- (272) na³³ la³³ no⁵⁵ di³³ bæ³³ lo³³ ʒi³³.
 1SG.PRO and 2SG.PRO the same labor
 ‘You and I labor equally.’
- (273) ʔ³³ su³¹ ku³¹ bi³³ nu³³ mæ³³ bi³³ ?
 1INC.PRO go or NEG go
 ‘Are we going or not?’
- (274) ʔ³³ su³¹ ku³¹ yo³³ dæ³³ yæ³³ ʒi³³ zo³³ t^hæ³³ ma³³ li³¹.
 1INC.PRO before then do should but NEG be free
 ‘We should have done it before, but we didn’t have time.’

Hypotactic conjunctions are used to join main and subordinate clauses; the principle hypotactic conjunctions are: *zo*³³ ... *ji*³³ ‘because ... thus’; *bi*³³ *la*³³ ‘even if ... still ...’; *bi*³³ *dzo*³¹ ‘if’ and ‘even if ... still ...’.

- (275) no⁵⁵ lo³³ ʒi³³ tʂi³¹ zo³³,
 2SG.PRO work energetically because

 tue³³ tʂæ³³ ʒi³³ k^hu³¹ ji³³.
 group.leader serve.as COP
 ‘Because you work energetically, you are made group leader.’

- (276) ni^{33} mi^{33} mæ^{33} gy^{31} bi^{33} la^{33} le^{33} hi^{33} bi^{33} ze^{33} .
 sun NEG set even.if rest will CSM
 ‘Even if the sun has yet to set, (we) will still rest.’

- (277) lo^{33} ma^{33} zi^{33} bi^{33} dzo^{31} xɑ^{33} - dzu^{33} - di^{31} dzo^{33} ma^{33} ku^{33} .
 work NEG do if food-eat-NOM EXIST NEG able
 ‘If one doesn’t work, then one can’t have food to eat.’

4.1.9 Particles

Particles are of three types: relational markers, mood particles and aspect particles:

4.1.9.1 Relational markers

The relational markers of Mosuo are nur^{33} (EMPH), zo^{33} (COMP), lo^{33} (COMP), la^{33} (COMP), ki^{55} (DAT), by^{33} (POSS, SUB), thu^{33} (REL), xi^{13} (NOM), and zi^{33} (ADV.MAN).

1. nur^{33} is an emphatic marker indicating focus.

When located after the subject noun or pronoun, the emphatic marker emphasizes the agent. Without the emphatic marker nur^{33} , the sentence is grammatical, but one does not get the emphasis on the agent in the reading. For example:

- (278) ə^{33} mi^{33} nur^{33} dzu^{33} zi^{33} .
 mother EMPH eat can
 ‘**Mother** can eat.’

- (279) thu^{33} nur^{33} ja^{33} la^{13} .
 3SG.PRO EMPH me hit
 ‘**He** hit me.’

The emphatic marker nur^{33} can also appear after a word or phrase that expresses time or manner. For example:

- (280) ja^{33} ɑ^{31} yo^{33} nur^{33} thæ^{33} ə^{33} so^{31} .
 1SG.PRO home EMPH book study
 ‘I study at **home**.’

- (281) thu^{33} zi^{33} no^{33} nur^{33} tsʰi^{13} .
 3SG.PRO now EMPH came
 ‘He just came **now**.’

2. The complementizer zo^{33} links a verb or stative verb with a word or phrase that indicates degree. For example:

- (282) ɲa^{33} lə^{33} dzu^{33} zo^{33} ɲi^{33} ze^{33} .
 1SG.PRO also eat COMP full CSM
 ‘I also ate to the point of being full.’

- (283) $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ zo^{33} ma^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{a}^{13}$ ze^{33}
 hot COMP NEG can CSM
 ‘unbearably hot’

3. lo^{33} and la^{33} are complementizers which link a verb head with a stative verb indicating degree. lo^{33} and la^{33} appear following the verb head and preceding the stative verb. lo^{33} is used with processes that one can observe, while la^{33} is used with processes that are not necessarily observable, such as emotion. For example:

- (284) zi^{13} lo^{33} duæ^{13} dza^{13}
 sleep COMP very good
 ‘sleep very well’

- (285) dza^{31} bu^{33} la^{33} fu^{33} ze^{33}
 play COMP happy PERF
 ‘played happily’

4. ki^{55} is a dative marker; it is added after a noun or pronoun object. For example:

- (286) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ɲa^{33} ki^{55} so^{13} .
 3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT teach
 ‘He teaches me.’

If there is both a direct and an indirect object in one sentence, ki^{55} usually is added after the indirect object. For instance:

- (287) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ɲa^{33} ki^{55} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}^{33}$ ə^{33} so^{13} .
 3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT book teach
 ‘He teaches me to read books.’

- (288) ɲa^{33} no^{55} ki^{55} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}^{33}$ ə^{33} di^{33} pa^{33} ki^{55} .
 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO DAT book one CLS give
 ‘I give you a book.’

5. by^{33} is a marker of subordination. It is added following the attributive noun, pronoun or adjective, and preceding the head. For example:

- (289) ŋa^{33} by^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}^{33}$ ə^{33}
 1SG.PRO POSS book
 ‘my book’

- (290) di^{33} ko^{33} by^{33} bæ^{31} dzi^{31}
 ground POSS crops
 ‘ground crops’

6. $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ is the distal demonstrative pronoun. It relativizes a clause so that it can modify the head noun. For example:

- (291) ŋa^{33} $\text{ts}^{\text{h}}\text{e}^{33}$ ma^{33} $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{13}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ yo^{31} dzi^{13}
 1SG.PRO salt NEG put this soup

 di^{33} $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{ua}^{33}$ $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{13}$ ze^{33} .
 one bowl drink PERF
 ‘I drank one bowl of unsalted soup.’

7. xi^{13} is added following an adjective to form a nominalization. For instance:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (292) | tɕi^{33}
small
‘small’ | $\text{tɕi}^{33}\text{-xi}^{13}$
small-NOM
‘small one’ |
| (293) | xũ^{31}
short
‘short’ | $\text{xũ}^{31}\text{-xi}^{13}$
short-NOM
‘short one’ |
| (294) | xũ^{13}
red
‘red’ | $\text{xũ}^{13}\text{-xi}^{13}$
red-NOM
‘red one’ |
| (295) | $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{y}^{13}$
white
‘white’ | $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{y}^{13}\text{-xi}^{13}$
white-NOM
‘white one’ |

8. zi^{33} is an adverbial marker and follows the adverbial phrase. For example:

- (296) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ə^{33} ze^{33} ze^{55} zi^{33} se^{33} .
 3SG.PRO slowly ADV.MAN go
 ‘He walks slowly.’

4.1.9.2 Mood particles

For the large part, these appear at the end of sentences and express moods such as imperative, declarative, interrogative, and exclamation, using the particles *ka*³¹, *ji*⁵⁵, *ne*³³, and *uə*⁵⁵. For example:

- (297) ə³³ ze³³ se³³ ka³¹!
 slow go IMP
 ‘Take care!’ (imperative)
- (298) t^hu³³ t^hu³³ ji³³ t^hi¹³ ji⁵⁵.
 3SG.PRO this day came COP
 ‘He came today.’ (declarative)
- (299) ma³³ tsə³³ nə³³?
 NEG correct QM
 ‘Isn’t it so?’ (interrogative)
- (300) ja³³ ma³³ nɿ³³ uə⁵⁵!
 1SG.PRO NEG know EXCLM
 ‘I don’t know! (exclamation)’

There are also interjections expressing emotion which appear at the beginning of a sentence. The frequently used interjections are ə³¹, xi⁵⁵, p^hi⁵⁵, etc. For example:

- (301) ə³¹! duæ¹³ ma³³ tsə³³ ze³³!
 INTERJ very NEG proper CSM
 ‘Hey! That’s unseemly!’
- (302) xi⁵⁵! k^ha³³ dze³³ t^hu³³ k^huə³³ duæ¹³ dza¹³ le³³!
 INTERJ corn this piece very good EXCLM
 ‘This piece of corn is really good!’
- (303) p^hi⁵⁵! sə³³ do³³ ma³³ su³³!
 INTERJ bashful NEG know
 ‘Bah! Doesn’t know shame!’

4.1.9.3 Aspect particles

*dzo*³¹ expresses the present progressive aspect; *ze*³³ expresses perfective aspect. For example:

- (304) $t^h\omega^{33}$ lo^{33} zi^{33} dzo^{31} .
 3SG.PRO work PROG
 ‘He is working.’
- (305) $t^h\omega^{33}$ xa^{33} di^{33} $k^h\omega a^{33}$ $dz\omega^{33}$ ze^{33} .
 3SG.PRO rice one CLS.bowlful eat PERF
 ‘He ate a bowl of rice.’

4.2 Word order

The basic components of Mosuo sentences are subjects and predicates; predicates can optionally contain objects, attributes, adverbials, and complements.

4.2.1 Basic word order

Subjects are located preceding predicates; nouns, pronouns, and nominal phrases can be subjects. Predicates are located following subjects; verbs, adjectives, nouns and certain phrases can be predicates. For example:

- (306) $k^h a^{33}dze^{33}$ dza^{13} ze^{33} .
 corn good CSM
 ‘The corn is good.’
- (307) no^{55} xo^{55} !
 2SG.PRO go
 ‘Go!’

Objects usually follow the subject, but precede the verb. Nouns, pronouns, nominal structures with an adjective and the nominalizer xi^{13} , and phrases can be objects. For example:

- (308) ja^{33} $n\omega^{33}$ $t^h\omega^{33}$ ki^{55} so^{13} .
 1SG.PRO EMPH 3SG.PRO DAT teach
 ‘I teach him.’
- (309) $t^h\omega^{33}$ ja^{33} la^{33} .
 3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO hit
 ‘He hits me.’
- (310) ja^{33} $t^h\omega^{33}$ $\text{ʃ}\omega^{33}$ ji^{33} ma^{33} ny^{33} .
 1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO pass away COP NEG know
 ‘I didn’t know he passed away.’

- (311) ɲa^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{æ}^{33}$ ʂ^{33} $\text{xu}\text{æ}^{31}$ ma^{33} $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{i}^{13}$.
 1SG.PRO book buy NEG go
 ‘I don’t go to buy books.’

The dative marker ki^{55} , grammaticalized from the verb ki^{55} ‘give’, appears following the object unless it can be understood from the discourse context. ki^{55} is not restricted to use with benefactives. For example:

The dative marker ki^{55} does not appear following the object:

- (312) ɲa^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ so^{13} .
 1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO teach
 ‘I teach him.’

Following the object the dative marker ki^{55} appears:

- (313) ɲa^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ki^{55} so^{13} .
 1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO DAT teach
 ‘I teach him.’

Emphasis on ‘I’ teach, following the object the dative marker ki^{55} does not appear:

- (314) ɲa^{33} nu^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ so^{13} .
 1SG.PRO EMPH 3SG.PRO teach
 ‘I teach him.’

Emphasis on ‘I’ teach, following the object the dative marker ki^{55} appears:

- (315) ɲa^{33} nu^{33} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ki^{55} so^{13} .
 1SG.PRO EMPH 3SG.PRO DAT teach
 ‘I teach him.’

Object is fronted, following the subject is the emphatic marker nu^{33} , following the object the dative marker ki^{55} does not appear:

- (316) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ɲa^{33} nu^{33} so^{13} .
 3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO EMPH teach
 ‘I teach him.’

Object is fronted, following the subject is the emphatic marker nu^{33} , following the object the dative marker ki^{55} appears:

- (317) $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{33}$ ki^{55} ɲa^{33} nu^{33} so^{13} .
 3SG.PRO DAT 1SG.PRO EMPH teach
 ‘I teach him.’

4.2.2 Attributives and word order

When adjectives, numeral phrases, or classifier phrases act as attributives, the attributive is located following the noun, as in examples (318-321). When nouns, pronouns, numerals, or adjectives that are followed by the marker *xi*¹³ NOM/ATR act as attributives, the attributive precedes the noun, as in example (322). For example:

- (318) *ɲa*³³ *dze*³³ *p^hɿ*¹³ *xuæ*³³ *bi*³³.
 1SG.PRO sugar white buy go
 ‘I’m going to buy white sugar.’

- (319) *t^hu*³³ *nu*³³ *t^hæ*³³ *ə*³³ *di*³³ *pa*³¹ *ɲa*³³ *ki*⁵⁵ *ki*⁵⁵.
 3SG.PRO EMPH book one CLS 1SG.PRO DAT give
 ‘He gave me a book.’

- (320) *k^hua*¹³ *tɕ^hu*³³ *lə*³³ *ɲa*³³ *ki*⁵⁵ *ki*⁵⁵.
 bowl this CLS 1SG.PRO DAT give
 ‘Give me this bowl.’

- (321) *ɲa*³³ *t^hæ*³³ *ə*³³ *di*³³ *pa*³¹ *ɲi*³¹.
 1SG.PRO book one CLS want
 ‘I want a book.’

- (322) *ɲa*³³ *xũ*¹³-*xi*¹³ *pa*³¹ *la*¹³ *mɿ*³³ *fu*³¹.
 1SG.PRO red-ATR clothes wear like
 ‘I like to wear red clothes.’

4.2.3 Adverbials and word order

Generally, adverbials occur in front of the verb. Adverbs and adjectives can act as adverbials; sometimes nouns and verbs can also act as adverbials. For example:

- (323) *ɲa*³³ *no*⁵⁵ *ma*³³ *fu*³¹.
 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO NEG like
 ‘I don’t like you.’

- (324) *no*⁵⁵ *t^hæ*³³ *ə*³³ *dʒa*¹³ *pa*³³ *ʒi*³³ *so*³¹ *zo*³³.
 2SG.PRO book good ADV.MAN study should
 ‘You should study hard.’

- (325) sə³³ sə³³ t^hu³³ sə³³ nu³³ xũ¹³.
 paper that blood EMPH red
 ‘That paper is as red as blood.’

- (326) zo³³ t^hu³³ ɣ³³ dze³¹ nu³³ bæ¹³.
 man this CLS fly EMPH run
 ‘This man runs as if he were flying.’

4.3 Complex constructions

Mosuo sentence construction can be divided into two types: simple sentences and complex sentences. Complex sentences can be further divided into two types, combined complex sentences and subordinated sentences, according to the relationship of the clauses. In compound complex sentences, sometimes there is no conjunction accompanying the nouns, while sometimes the use of a conjunction or a connective adverb such as *lə*³³ or *ka*³³ ‘also’ is required to join them. In (327), no conjunction joins the two clauses.

- (327) [[no⁵⁵ ɣo³³ da³³ xo⁵⁵] [ɲa³³ gi¹³ ʒo³³ bi³³]].
 2SG.PRO front go 1SG.PRO behind go
 ‘You walk in front, I’ll come behind.’

Example (328) uses *lə*³³ ‘also’, which appears following the subject of the second clause.

- (328) [[no⁵⁵ bi³³] [ɲa³³ lə³³ bi³³]].
 2SG.PRO go 1SG.PRO also go
 ‘You go, I’ll also go.’

Example (329) uses *ka*³³ ‘also’, which appears following the subject of the second clause.

- (329) [[t^hu³³ bi³³] [ɲa³³ ka³³ bi³³]].
 3SG.PRO go 1SG.PRO also go
 ‘He goes, I’ll also go.’

Example (330) uses *nu*³³ ‘or’, which appears in the final position of the first clause.

- (330) [[no⁵⁵ t^hu³³ ɲi³³ bi³³ nu³³] [so³³ ɲi³³ bi³³?]]
 2SG.PRO this day go or tomorrow go
 ‘Are you going today or tomorrow?’

Example (331) uses *uə*³³ ‘but also’, which appears in the final position of the first clause.

- (331) [[t^hu³³ lo³³ ko³³ t^hɑ³³ uə³³] [t^hæ³³ ʒ³³ so³¹ dʒɑ¹³.]]
 3SG.PRO labors good but also book studies good
 ‘He not only labors well, but also studies well.’

In between the two parts of a principle and subordinate complex sentence, *zo*³³ ... *ɲi*³³ ‘because ... thus’ and *be*³³ *lə*³³ ‘even though ...’ are used to join them. With *zo*³³ ... *ɲi*³³ ‘because ... thus’, *zo*³³ ‘because’ appears in the final position of the first clause, and *ɲi*³³ COP appears in the final position of the second clause. With *be*³³ *lə*³³ ‘even though ...’, *be*³³ *lə*³³ appears in the final position of the first clause. For example:

- (332) t^hu³³ nu³³ dʒɑ³³ ʒi⁵⁵ zo³³ t^hu³³ po¹³
 3SG.PRO EMPH bad do because 3SG.PRO take
 ‘Because he did bad things, as a result he

le³³-ʒi³³ lo³¹ na³³ bu³³ ko³¹ tæ³³ ɲi³³.
 ACCOMP-catch prison LOC lock up COP
 was locked up in prison.’

- (333) t^hu³³ xa³³ dʒo³³ be³³lə³³ dʒu³³ ma³³ ɲua³¹.
 3SG.PRO food has even.though eat NEG give alms
 ‘Even though he has food, he doesn’t give alms.’

4.4 Mood

Sentences can be divided into four types based on mood: declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences and interjections.

4.4.1 Declarative sentences

Declarative sentences usually have a modal particle at the end of the sentence, but sometimes can occur without a modal particle. For example:

- (334) xĩ³³ tɕ^hu³³ ɣ³³ duæ¹³ dʒɑ¹³.
 person this CLS very good
 ‘This person is very good.’

- (335) t^hu³³ lo³³ ʒi³³ xu³³ ze³³.
 3SG.PRO labor go CSM
 ‘He went to do labor.’

4.4.2 Interrogative sentences

There are four types of interrogative sentences, as follows:

1. Those that use an interrogative pronoun to pose the question. For example:

(336) no⁵⁵ zo³¹ ko³³ k^hi¹³?
 2SG.PRO where go (used with 2nd p)
 ‘Where are you going?’

(337) ŋu³³ k^ha³¹ ʒa¹³ dʒo¹³?
 money how much EXIST
 ‘How much money is there?’

2. Those that use a V-not-V or ADJ-not-ADJ construction as a way to pose the question. For example:

(338) bi³³ ma³³ bi³³?
 go NEG go
 ‘Are you going?’

(339) dʒa¹³ nu³³ ma³³ dʒa¹³?
 good or NEG good
 ‘Okay?’

3. Those that add the interrogative adverb ə³³ QM preceding the verb to pose the question and also often have the change of state marker ze³³ at the end of the sentence working in concert with it. For example:

(340) ə³³ mɿ¹³ ze³³?
 QM do CSM
 ‘Is it done?’

(341) ə³³ nɿ¹³ ze³³?
 QM know CSM
 ‘Do you know?’

4. Those that add the change of state marker ze³³ at the end of the sentence to pose the question. For example:

(342) no⁵⁵ ma³³ bi³³ ze³³?
 2SG.PRO NEG go CSM
 ‘You didn’t go?’

- (343) t^hu³³ ma³³ xu³³ ze³³?
 3SG.PRO NEG go CSM
 ‘He didn’t go?’

4.4.3 Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences usually have a mood particle such as *ka*³¹, *lə*³³, or *mə*³³ at the end of the sentence, although some just use falling intonation. Sentences that express a request usually use *ka*³¹ or *lə*³³, while those that express an exhortation usually use *mə*³³, and those that express a command usually use falling intonation. For example:

- (344) no⁵⁵ tɕ^huæ³³ se³³ ka³¹!
 2SG.PRO fast go IMP
 ‘Please hurry up!’

- (345) di³³ ka³³ lə¹³!
 one help IMP
 ‘Please give a hand!’

- (346) le³³-zæ³³ mə³³!
 ACCOMP-smile IMP
 ‘Smile!’

- (347) t^hu³¹ ma³³ do¹³!
 drink NEG PRTCL
 ‘Don’t drink (it)!’

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1SG.PRO	1 st person singular pronoun	COP	Copula
1SG.PRO.FAM	1 st person singular familiar pronoun	CSM	Change of state marker
1PL.PRO	1 st person plural pronoun	DAT	Dative
1INC.PRO	1 st person plural inclusive pronoun	DUR	Durative
1INC.PRO.FAM	1 st person plural inclusive familiar pronoun	EXCLM	Exclamative
1EXC.PRO	1 st person plural exclusive pronoun	EMPH	Emphatic
1EXC.PRO.FAM	1 st person plural	EXIST	Existential

	exclusive familiar pronoun		
2SG.PRO	2 nd person singular	EXPER	Experiential aspect
	pronoun		
2SG.PRO.FAM	2 nd person singular familiar pronoun	IMP	Imperative
2PL.PRO	2 nd person plural	INTERJ	Interjection
	pronoun		
2PL.PRO.FAM	2 nd person plural familiar pronoun	LOC	Locative
3SG.PRO	3 rd person singular	NEG	Negative
	pronoun		
3PL.PRO	3 rd person plural	NOM	Nominalizer
	pronoun		
3PL.PRO.FAM	3 rd person plural familiar pronoun	PERF	Perfective aspect
ACCOMP	Accomplished	PL	Plural
ADVB	Adverbializer	POSS	Possessive
ADV.MAN	Adverbial (manner)	PROG	Progressive aspect
ATR	Attributive	QM	Question marker
CLS	Classifier	REL	Relativizer
COMP	Complementizer	SUB	Subordinator

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