

## 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 (丽江县) 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*<sup>13</sup>. The Mosuo people in Weixi County (维西县) in Yunnan who use the

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autonym *ma<sup>33</sup> li<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> sa<sup>33</sup>* (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<sup>33</sup> xi<sup>~33</sup>*. 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<sup>33</sup> zu<sup>33</sup>*. In the area of Zhongdian (中甸), Sanba (三坝), and the Luojin River (洛金河), Mosuo who use the autonym *zuæ<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup>* also speak this dialect. The autonyms *na<sup>13</sup>*, *na<sup>33</sup> xi<sup>~33</sup>*, and *na<sup>33</sup> zu<sup>33</sup>* 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 <sup>33</sup> 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 <sup>h</sup> b |                     | t t <sup>h</sup> d    |                        |                       |                | k k <sup>h</sup> g |
| Nasal     | m                  |                     | n                     |                        |                       | n̪             | ŋ                  |
| Fricative |                    | f                   | s z                   | ç ʐ                    |                       |                | x ɣ                |
| Affricate |                    |                     | ts ts <sup>h</sup> dz | tç tç <sup>h</sup> dz  | tʂ tʂ <sup>h</sup> dz |                |                    |
| Lateral   |                    |                     | ɬ                     |                        |                       |                |                    |
| fricative |                    |                     |                       |                        |                       |                |                    |
| Lateral   |                    |                     | l                     |                        |                       |                |                    |
| approx    |                    |                     |                       |                        |                       |                |                    |

Table 1. Initials

#### 2.1.1 Bilabials

When the bilabial /p, p<sup>h</sup>, b/ appears preceding the vowel /y/ or /ə/, the bilabial becomes trilled. For example:

|   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (1) py <sup>33</sup> [p̪y <sup>33</sup> ]                                       | ‘to dry, dry’           |
| (2) bə <sup>31</sup> [b̪ə <sup>31</sup> ]                                       | ‘yak’                   |
| (3) by <sup>33</sup> dz̪i <sup>33</sup> [b̪y <sup>33</sup> dz̪i <sup>33</sup> ] | ‘lower part of the leg’ |
| (4) p <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>13</sup> [p̪ <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>13</sup> ]           | ‘explain’               |
| (5) p <sup>h</sup> y <sup>33</sup> [p̪ <sup>h</sup> y <sup>33</sup> ]           | ‘white’                 |
| (6) pə <sup>13</sup> [p̪ə <sup>13</sup> ]                                       | ‘pull out’              |
| (7) by <sup>31</sup> [b̪y <sup>31</sup> ]                                       | ‘spread, sprinkle’      |

#### 2.1.2 my

The combination of /m/ and /y/ can be pronounced as either [my] or [m̪]. For example:

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| (8) my <sup>33</sup> [m̪y <sup>33</sup> ]                                      | ‘fire’        |
| (9) my <sup>33</sup> gy <sup>33</sup> [m̪y <sup>33</sup> g̪y <sup>33</sup> ]   | ‘thunder’     |
| (10) my <sup>33</sup> dza <sup>31</sup> [m̪y <sup>33</sup> dza <sup>31</sup> ] | ‘bad weather’ |

#### 2.1.3 Alveolars

When /t, t<sup>h</sup>, d, n, l/ precedes the final /i, æ, ə, ə̪, uæ, uəə̪/, the actual sound is the retroflexed [ʈ, ʈ<sup>h</sup>, ɖ, ɳ, ɻ], respectively. For example:

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| (11) tuæ <sup>33</sup> [tuæ <sup>33</sup> ]                             | ‘trip and fall’  |
| (12) t <sup>h</sup> uœ <sup>13</sup> [t <sup>h</sup> uœ <sup>13</sup> ] | ‘envelop, cover’ |
| (13) næ <sup>55</sup> [næ <sup>55</sup> ]                               | ‘hide, avoid’    |
| (14) dœ <sup>33</sup> [dœ <sup>33</sup> ]                               | ‘crawl’          |
| (15) li <sup>13</sup> [li <sup>13</sup> ]                               | ‘maggot’         |

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

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

|   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| (16) ki <sup>55</sup> [ci <sup>33</sup> ]                                     | ‘give (as a gift)’ |
| (17) k <sup>h</sup> i <sup>33</sup> [c <sup>h</sup> i <sup>33</sup> ]         | ‘leaf (of a door)’ |
| (18) gœ <sup>33</sup> tœu <sup>33</sup> [jœ <sup>33</sup> tœu <sup>33</sup> ] | ‘above, on top’    |
| (19) xi <sup>33</sup> [çi <sup>33</sup> ]                                     | ‘tooth’            |

#### 2.1.5 Velars with the finals *a*, *æ*, and *œ*

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

|   |  |
|---|--|
| (20) kœ <sup>33</sup> [qœ <sup>33</sup> ]                             | ‘erhu’ (kind of stringed musical instrument) |
| (21) k <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> [q <sup>h</sup> a <sup>55</sup> ] | ‘to shoot, to fire’                          |
| (22) k <sup>h</sup> æ <sup>13</sup> [q <sup>h</sup> æ <sup>13</sup> ] | ‘angry’                                      |
| (23) ka <sup>55</sup> [qa <sup>55</sup> ]                             | ‘thin’                                       |

#### 2.1.6 Velar γ

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

|   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| (24) γæ <sup>33</sup> [kæ <sup>33</sup> ]                                   | ‘wealthy’        |
| (25) γu <sup>33</sup> [ku <sup>33</sup> ]                                   | ‘hard, stiff’    |
| (26) γua <sup>33</sup> [kuɑ <sup>33</sup> ]                                 | ‘village’        |
| (27) γa <sup>55</sup> [ka <sup>55</sup> ]                                   | ‘win’            |
| (28) γv <sup>33</sup> γv <sup>33</sup> [kv <sup>33</sup> kv <sup>33</sup> ] | ‘chew’           |
| (29) γœ <sup>33</sup> nœ <sup>33</sup> [kœ <sup>33</sup> nœ <sup>33</sup> ] | ‘be mischievous’ |
| (30) γo <sup>13</sup> [ko <sup>13</sup> ]                                   | ‘needle’         |

|                 |                                 |                  |                 |                                 |                   |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| p               | py <sup>13</sup>                | ‘pull out’       | dz              | dzə <sup>33</sup>               | ‘to eat’          |
| p <sup>h</sup>  | p <sup>h</sup> y <sup>13</sup>  | ‘example’        | s               | so <sup>33</sup>                | ‘three’           |
| b               | by <sup>13</sup>                | ‘braise’         | z               | zu <sup>33</sup>                | ‘grass’           |
| m               | ma <sup>33</sup>                | NEG              | ts              | tsæ <sup>13</sup>               | ‘to snatch, grab’ |
| f               | fy <sup>33</sup>                | ‘like’           | ts <sup>h</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> æ <sup>13</sup> | ‘inspect’         |
| t               | ti <sup>31</sup>                | ‘pound, pestle’  | dz              | dzæ <sup>13</sup>               | ‘stairs’          |
| t <sup>h</sup>  | t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>31</sup>  | ‘intelligent’    | ʂ               | ʂo <sup>31</sup>                | ‘clean’           |
| d               | di <sup>31</sup>                | ‘pull’           | ʐ               | ʐu <sup>13</sup>                | ‘type; kind’      |
| ɿ               | ɿa <sup>13</sup>                | ‘exceed’         | tʂ              | tʂi <sup>13</sup>               | ‘to write’        |
| l               | li <sup>33</sup>                | ‘look; see’      | tʂ <sup>h</sup> | tʂ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>13</sup> | ‘sweet’           |
| k               | ku <sup>33</sup>                | ‘garlic’         | dʐ              | dʐi <sup>13</sup>               | ‘water’           |
| k <sup>h</sup>  | k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>33</sup>  | ‘cover’          | n               | na <sup>33</sup>                | ‘sharp’           |
| g               | gu <sup>33</sup>                | ‘repair’         | ɳ               | ɳa <sup>33</sup>                | ‘dislike’         |
| x               | xo <sup>13</sup>                | ‘go (IMP)’       | ɳ               | ɳa <sup>33</sup>                | 1SG.PRO           |
| ɣ               | ɣo <sup>13</sup>                | ‘needle’         | ç               | çi <sup>31</sup>                | ‘fragrant’        |
| ts              | tsə <sup>33</sup>               | ‘to tie, fasten’ | ʐ               | ʐo <sup>13</sup>                | ‘sheep’           |
| ts <sup>h</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> ə <sup>33</sup> | ‘warm, hot’      |                 |                                 |                   |

Table 2. Examples of initials

## 2.2 Finals

There are 25 rhymes (vowels). Among them, there are 15 monophthongs: ɿ, i, e, æ, a, o, ə, ə̄, u, ɿ, ū, ɿ̄, ɿ̄̄; and 10 diphthongs: uæ, ua, uə, ie, ui, uo, uə̄, ɿæ, ɿə̄, ɿ̄̄̄.

|            | Front                                      | Central     | Back           |
|------------|--|-------------|----------------|
| Close      | i, ɿ                                       | ɿ           | ū, u, ɿ̄, ɿ̄̄ |
| Close-mid  | e  |             | o, ɿ̄̄         |
| Mid        |  | ə, ə̄, ɿ̄̄̄ |                |
| Open-mid   | æ  |             |                |
| Open       |  | a           |                |
| Diphthongs | uæ, ua, uə, ie, ui, uo, uə̄, ɿæ, ɿə̄, ɿ̄̄̄ |             |                |

Table 3. Finals

### 2.2.1 ɿ with retroflex and apical sounds

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

(31) tsɿ<sup>33</sup> tsɿ<sup>31</sup> [tsɿ<sup>33</sup> tsɿ<sup>31</sup>] ‘ravage, trample on’  
 (32) ts<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>31</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>13</sup> [ts<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>31</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ɿ<sup>13</sup>] ‘fight’

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| (33) dz $\ddot{\text{t}}$ <sup>33</sup> [dz $\ddot{\text{t}}$ <sup>33</sup> ]                         | ‘street’            |
| (34) dz $\ddot{\text{t}}$ <sup>31</sup> [dz $\ddot{\text{t}}$ <sup>31</sup> ]                         | ‘stand to lose’     |
| (35) t $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>31</sup> [t $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>31</sup> ]                           | ‘soak’              |
| (36) t <sup>h</sup> $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>13</sup> [t <sup>h</sup> $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>13</sup> ] | ‘cheese’            |
| (37) d $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>13</sup> [d $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>13</sup> ]                           | ‘big’               |
| (38) n $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>33</sup> [n $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>33</sup> ]                           | QM                  |
| (39) l $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>33</sup> [l $\ddot{\text{i}}$ <sup>33</sup> ]                           | ‘a pellet, a grain’ |

### 2.2.2 The final e

When the final /e/ follows the dental sibilant sounds /ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, dz, s, z/ or the retroflexed sounds /t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ , t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup>, dz,  $\ddot{\text{s}}$ , z $\ddot{\text{s}}$ , the /e/ is pronounced as the comparatively open [ɛ]. For example:

|   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| (40) tse <sup>13</sup> [tse <sup>13</sup> ]   | ‘pursue; seek’    |
| (41) t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>33</sup> t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>31</sup> l $\ddot{\text{o}}$ <sup>33</sup> [t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>33</sup> t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>31</sup> l $\ddot{\text{o}}$ <sup>33</sup> ] | ‘compete’         |
| (42) dze <sup>55</sup> [dze <sup>55</sup> ]   | ‘sugar’           |
| (43) se <sup>33</sup> [sɛ <sup>33</sup> ]   | ‘go; walk’        |
| (44) e <sup>33</sup> ze <sup>33</sup> ze <sup>33</sup> [ɛ <sup>33</sup> zɛ <sup>33</sup> zɛ <sup>33</sup> ]   | ‘slowly’          |
| (45) tse <sup>13</sup> [tse <sup>13</sup> ]   | ‘jab, poke’       |
| (46) yo <sup>33</sup> t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> e <sup>55</sup> [yo <sup>33</sup> t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> ɛ <sup>55</sup> ]   | ‘comb one’s hair’ |
| (47) dze <sup>55</sup> [dze <sup>55</sup> ]   | ‘stretch’         |
| (48) se <sup>33</sup> [sɛ <sup>33</sup> ]   | ‘seek’            |
| (49) my <sup>33</sup> ze <sup>33</sup> [my <sup>33</sup> zɛ <sup>33</sup> ]   | ‘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) æ <sup>55</sup> [? $\ddot{\text{æ}}$ <sup>55</sup> ]                                   | ‘copper’ |
| (51) æ <sup>31</sup> mi <sup>33</sup> [? $\ddot{\text{æ}}$ <sup>31</sup> mi <sup>33</sup> ] | ‘hen’    |

### 2.2.4 The final ɔ̄

When the final /ɔ̄/ follows the retroflexed sounds /t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ , t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup>, dz,  $\ddot{\text{s}}$ , z $\ddot{\text{s}}$ , it is pronounced [uɔ̄]. For example:

|  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (52) t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ ɔ̄ <sup>55</sup> [t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ uɔ̄ <sup>55</sup> ]                           | ‘cough’                               |
| (53) t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> ɔ̄ <sup>13</sup> [t $\ddot{\text{s}}$ <sup>h</sup> uɔ̄ <sup>13</sup> ] | ‘hold, grasp’                         |
| (54) dz $\ddot{\text{o}}$ <sup>13</sup> [dzuɔ̄ <sup>13</sup> ]   | ‘bad (bad person)’                    |
| (55) $\ddot{\text{s}}$ ɔ̄ <sup>33</sup> [s <u>u</u> ɔ̄ <sup>33</sup> ]                                       | ‘lead (lead the way, act as a guide)’ |
| (56) z $\ddot{\text{o}}$ <sup>31</sup> [z <u>u</u> ɔ̄ <sup>31</sup> ]  | ‘conceal, hide’                       |

|   |                                  |                     |    |                                  |                   |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------|----|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| í | li <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘a pellet, a grain’ | ú  | xú <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘hair; feather’   |
| i | li <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘look, see’         | ð  | ð <sup>33</sup>                  | ‘bone’            |
| e | ze <sup>33</sup>                 | PERF, CSM           | úæ | xúæ <sup>33</sup>                | ‘buy’             |
| æ | bæ <sup>13</sup>                 | ‘run’               | úø | xúø <sup>13</sup>                | ‘slow’            |
| ɑ | dza <sup>13</sup>                | ‘good’              | úð | k <sup>h</sup> úð <sup>33</sup>  | ‘horn (ox horn)’  |
| o | zø <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘come’              | uæ | duæ <sup>13</sup>                | ‘very’            |
| ə | tsø <sup>33</sup>                | ‘correct’           | ua | kua <sup>33</sup>                | ‘fireplace’       |
| ð | tsð <sup>31</sup>                | ‘obstruct’          | uø | luø <sup>13</sup>                | ‘ashes’           |
| u | tu <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘plant, grow’       | ie | bie <sup>13</sup>                | ‘lazy’            |
| v | gv <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘nine’              | ui | ts <sup>h</sup> ui <sup>55</sup> | ‘unit of measure’ |
| w | t <sup>h</sup> w <sup>33</sup>   | 3SG.PRO             | uo | xuo <sup>13</sup>                | ‘eight’           |
| í | xí <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘person’            | úð | yuð <sup>55</sup>                | ‘swallow, gulp’   |
| ð | ð <sup>33</sup> yæ <sup>31</sup> | 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 <sup>33</sup> | ‘busy’       | mid level   |
| 31 | tsa <sup>31</sup> | ‘stare’      | low falling |
| 55 | tsa <sup>55</sup> | ‘catch fish’ | high level  |
| 13 | tsa <sup>13</sup> | ‘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) bie<sup>13</sup> ‘lazy’
- (58) tuo<sup>13</sup> ‘rely’
- (59) die<sup>13</sup> ‘connect’
- (60) bu<sup>13</sup> ‘steamed rice’

Low rising tone in the second syllable of bisyllabic words:

- (61) dæ<sup>33</sup> ta<sup>13</sup> ‘let through, make way’
- (62) læ<sup>33</sup> po<sup>13</sup> ‘run for it’

(63)  $gə^{33}$   $bv^{13}$  ‘emit’  
 (64)  $la^{31}$   $la^{13}$  ‘fight’  
 (65)  $dzo^{31}$   $dzo^{13}$  ‘feel, touch a little’

### 2.3.2 Mid level tone in bisyllabic words

(66)  $po^{33}$   $po^{33}$  ‘escape’  
 (67)  $di^{33}$   $di^{33}$  ‘chase’  
 (68)  $sə^{33}$   $sə^{33}$  ‘make war’  
 (69)  $lə^{33}$   $sə^{33}$  ‘call someone names’  
 (70)  $gə^{33}$   $do^{33}$  ‘climb up’

### 2.3.3 Low falling tone as the first syllable of bisyllabic words

(71)  $tsə^{31}$   $tv^{33}$  ‘boil’  
 (72)  $ya^{31}$   $mi^{33}$  ‘thank’  
 (73)  $bi^{31}$   $da^{13}$  ‘leave to make way for’  
 (74)  $bo^{31}$   $bo^{13}$  ‘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) $çæ^{55}$      | xiàn | ‘county’             |
| (76) $çu^{55}$      | chòu | ‘smelly’             |
| (77) $tçe^{55}$     | jìn  | ‘enter’              |
| (78) $tçə^{55}$     | zhà  | ‘explode’            |
| (79) $me^{55}$      | mèi  | ‘evil spirit, demon’ |
| (80) $se^{55}$      | sài  | ‘competition’        |
| (81) $çuæ^{55}$     | xuàn | ‘revolve’            |
| (82) $xu^{55}$      | hù   | ‘protect’            |
| (83) $tæ^{55}$      | dào  | ‘road, path’         |
| (84) $tç^{h}i^{55}$ | qì   | ‘utensil’            |

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

(85)  $yuə^{55}$  ‘swallow, gulp’  
 (86)  $h^{55}$  ‘stop’  
 (87)  $çi^{55}$  ‘one hundred’  
 (88)  $dzi^{55}$  ‘eat’  
 (89)  $zv^{55}$  ‘four’

(90) *ni<sup>55</sup>* ‘listen’  
 (91) *tsa<sup>55</sup>* ‘catch fish’  
 (92) *bi<sup>55</sup>* ‘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) *bæ<sup>31</sup> pæ<sup>13</sup>* → *bæ<sup>31</sup> bæ<sup>13</sup>* ‘flower(s)’

### 2.4.2 Regressive assimilation of initials

(94) *go<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>33</sup>* → *ko<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>33</sup>* ‘a pass between two mountains’

### 2.4.3 Progressive assimilation of finals

(95) *pa<sup>33</sup> zə<sup>31</sup>* → *pa<sup>33</sup> za<sup>31</sup>* ‘cake’  
 (96) *gə<sup>31</sup> dze<sup>33</sup>* → *gə<sup>31</sup> dzə<sup>33</sup>* ‘on top’

### 2.4.4 Regressive assimilation of finals

(97) *ɿe<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>* → *ɿi<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>* ‘radish’  
 (98) *tv<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup>* → *tu<sup>33</sup> tu<sup>55</sup>* ‘hat’

### 2.4.5 Progressive assimilation of initials accompanied by progressive assimilation of finals

(99) *sw<sup>33</sup> ni<sup>31</sup>* → *sw<sup>33</sup> sw<sup>31</sup>* ‘choose, select’

#### 2.4.6 Regressive assimilation of initials accompanied by regressive assimilation of finals

(100) t<sub>ʂ</sub>e<sup>33</sup> dzy<sup>33</sup> → dzy<sup>33</sup> dzy<sup>33</sup> ‘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) my<sup>55</sup> ‘fire’
- (102) t<sub>ʂ</sub>e<sup>33</sup> ‘earth, soil’
- (103) bi<sup>33</sup> ‘snow’
- (104) xi<sup>13</sup> ‘rain’
- (105) la<sup>33</sup> ‘tiger’
- (106) zi<sup>33</sup> ‘cow’
- (107) k<sup>h</sup>y<sup>31</sup> ‘dog’
- (108) zuæ<sup>33</sup> ‘horse’

#### 2.5.2 Final + tone

- (109) a<sup>13</sup> ‘goose’
- (110) y<sup>33</sup> ‘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) kuɔ<sup>13</sup> ‘lose, be missing’
- (112) k<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>13</sup> ‘smart’
- (113) dzi<sup>31</sup> ‘water’

(114)  $t\zeta i^{33}$  ‘cloud’  
 (115)  $t^h o^{31}$  ‘lean on’  
 (116)  $do^{31}$  ‘see’  
 (117)  $b\zeta^{13}$  ‘sprinkle’

Polysyllabic non-compound words:

(118)  $pa^{31} za^{31}$  ‘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)  $dza^{13}-dza^{55}$   
 good-bad  
 ‘quality’

(120)  $ts^h u^{33}-zo^{13}$   
 goat-sheep  
 ‘sheep’ (collective term that includes both goats and sheep)

(121)  $my^{33}-di^{13}$   
 heaven-earth  
 ‘world’

(122)  $ni^{13}-sæ^{33}$   
 near-far  
 ‘far and near’

(123)  $zo^{33}-my^{33}$   
 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)  $z̄i^{33}-ȳw^{55}$

cow-skin

‘leather’

(125)  $z̄uæ^{33}-d̄zə^{31}$

horse-saddle

‘saddle’

(126)  $ȳo^{33}-x̄u^{33}$

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)  $ṣe^{33}-p̄u^{31}$

meat-dried

‘cured meat’

(128)  $l̄y^{33}-p̄u^{31}$

field-dry

‘non-irrigated land, dry land’

(129)  $t̄ṣ^{h}uæ^{33}-x̄u^{13}$

rice-red

‘red rice’

(130)  $ts^{h}ə^{31}-p^{h}y^{13}$

vegetable-white

‘cabbage’

(131)  $li^{31}-p^{h}y^{13}$

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) di<sup>13</sup>-k<sup>h</sup>v<sup>13</sup>  
chase-dog  
'hunting dog'

(133) dzæ<sup>33</sup>-zuaæ<sup>33</sup>  
ride-horse  
'horse for riding'

(134) ly<sup>31</sup>-zi<sup>13</sup>  
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) sw<sup>33</sup>-dzu<sup>33</sup>  
firewood-CLS  
'tree'

(135b) sw<sup>33</sup>-dzu<sup>33</sup>      di<sup>33</sup>   dzu<sup>33</sup>  
firewood-CLS      one    CLS  
'one tree'

(136) xa<sup>33</sup>-lui<sup>33</sup>  
grain-CLS  
'grain'

(137) nə<sup>31</sup>-lui<sup>55</sup>  
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) gə<sup>31</sup>-ti<sup>33</sup>  
up-get up  
'get up'

(139) də<sup>33</sup>-ta<sup>13</sup>  
side-cause  
'make way, get out of the way'

(140) my<sup>31</sup>-za<sup>31</sup>  
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) xa<sup>33</sup>-mi<sup>55</sup>  
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) ɿi<sup>33</sup>-bo<sup>33</sup>  
ear-deaf  
'deaf person'

(143) nə<sup>31</sup>-ya<sup>13</sup>  
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/a (phonological variants), to form kinship terms. For example:

(144) ə<sup>33</sup>-sw<sup>33</sup> 'grandfather'  
(145) ə<sup>33</sup>-da<sup>33</sup> 'father'  
(146) ə<sup>33</sup>-mi<sup>33</sup> 'mother'  
(147) a<sup>33</sup>-my<sup>33</sup> 'older brother'

**3.1.2.2.2 Suffixes** Verb root with the suffix -di<sup>31</sup> to express nominalization.

(148)  $m\gamma^{33}$ -di<sup>31</sup>  
wear-NOM  
'things to wear'

(149)  $k^h\theta^{13}$ -di<sup>31</sup>  
fill-NOM  
'item used to fill something'

(150)  $dz\gamma^{33}$ -di<sup>31</sup>  
eat-NOM  
'things to eat'

*mi*<sup>33</sup> 'mother' can suffix to a noun root, thus forming a noun that expresses a female animal or an augmentative. For example:

(151)  $x\alpha^{33}$  (loan)-*mi*<sup>33</sup>  
Han  
'Han woman'

(152)  $b\theta^{33}$ -*mi*<sup>33</sup>  
Pumi  
'Pumi woman'

(153)  $\alpha^{31}$ -*mi*<sup>33</sup>  
chicken  
'hen'

(154)  $zi^{33}$ -*mi*<sup>33</sup>  
room  
'big room'

(155)  $z\theta^{33}$ -*mi*<sup>33</sup>  
road  
'broad street'

(156)  $k^h\theta^{31}$ -*mi*<sup>33</sup>  
pannier  
'big pannier'

*zo*<sup>33</sup> 'son' can suffix to a noun root, thus forming a diminutive. For example:

(157)  $k^h u a^{13}$ -zo<sup>33</sup>  
bowl  
'small bowl'

(158)  $z i^{33}$ -zo<sup>33</sup>  
cow  
'calf'

(159)  $l y^{33}$ -zo<sup>33</sup>  
rock  
'pebble'

(160)  $z \varrho^{33}$ -zo<sup>33</sup>  
road  
'path'

(161)  $k^h \vartheta^{31}$ -zo<sup>33</sup>  
pannier  
'small pannier'

$x \tilde{i}^{33}$  'person' can suffix to a verb root, thus forming a noun that expresses an agentive nominalization.

(162)  $d z \varrho^{33}$ -gu $\vartheta^{55}$ - $x \tilde{i}^{33}$   
street-stroll-person  
'person who goes to the local market'

(163)  $s w^{33}$ -da<sup>31</sup>- $x \tilde{i}^{33}$   
firewood-cut-person  
'woodcutter'

(164)  $t s^h o^{33}$ -li<sup>33</sup>- $x \tilde{i}^{33}$   
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 Chinese<sup>3</sup> 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 <sup>31</sup> | xo <sup>55</sup> | yánghuǒ |
|       | foreign          | fire             |         |
|       | 'match'          |                  |         |

|       |                  |                  |         |
|-------|------------------|------------------|---------|
| (166) | zæ <sup>31</sup> | sa <sup>55</sup> | yángsǎn |
|       | foreign          | umbrella         |         |
|       | 'umbrella'       |                  |         |

|       |                  |                   |          |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|----------|
| (167) | çæ <sup>33</sup> | tṣa <sup>13</sup> | xiāngzào |
|       | scented          | soap              |          |
|       | 'scented soap'   |                   |          |

|       |                                |                   |       |
|-------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| (168) | p <sup>h</sup> i <sup>33</sup> | çei <sup>31</sup> | píxié |
|       | skin                           | shoes             |       |
|       | 'leather shoes'                |                   |       |

|       |                  |                   |       |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
| (169) | zɑ <sup>31</sup> | kao <sup>33</sup> | yágāo |
|       | tooth            | paste             |       |
|       | 'toothpaste'     |                   |       |

<sup>3</sup> 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) çæ<sup>31</sup> zæ<sup>33</sup> xiāngyān  
scented smoke  
'cigarettes'

(171) wa<sup>33</sup> tʂɿ<sup>33</sup> wàzi  
socks  
'socks'

After 1951,<sup>4</sup> 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) zuæ<sup>31</sup> tse<sup>31</sup> yuánzé  
'principle'

(173) kuæ<sup>33</sup> po<sup>13</sup> guǎngbō  
'broadcast'

(174) ʂe<sup>13</sup> xue<sup>13</sup> tsuʂ<sup>55</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> shèhuì zhǔyì  
'socialism'

(175) tæ<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> diànyǐng  
'film, movie'

(176) ti<sup>13</sup> tsu<sup>33</sup> dìzhǔ  
'landlord'

(177) xo<sup>33</sup> tso<sup>33</sup> ʂe<sup>13</sup> 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

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<sup>4</sup> 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) | <b>zæ</b> <sup>33</sup> -ts <sup>h</sup> e <sup>33</sup> | yán |
|       | salt-salt  |     |
|       | ‘salt’   |     |

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

|       |  |      |
|-------|--|------|
| (179) | <b>mæ</b> <sup>33</sup> <b>ɔ</b> <sup>31</sup> - <b>te</b> <sup>33</sup> | dēng |
|       | oil-lamp   |      |
|       | ‘oil lamp’   |      |

|       |  |    |
|-------|--|----|
| (180) | <b>mə</b> <sup>31</sup> - <b>dʒi</b> <sup>13</sup> | mò |
|       | ink-water  |    |
|       | ‘ink’  |    |

|       |  |    |
|-------|--|----|
| (181) | <b>si</b> <sup>33</sup> - <b>k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>31</sup></b> | sī |
|       | silk-thread  |    |
|       | ‘silk thread’  |    |

|       |  |     |
|-------|--|-----|
| (182) | <b>zə</b> <sup>33</sup> - <b>ts<sup>h</sup>ə</b> <sup>13</sup> | 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) | po <sup>33</sup> dzw <sup>33</sup>                 | ‘carpenter’                |
| (184) | lo <sup>33</sup> zi <sup>33</sup> xī <sup>33</sup> | ‘peasant’ (lit. ‘laborer’) |
| (185) | se <sup>31</sup> la <sup>33</sup> xī <sup>33</sup> | ‘smith, blacksmith’        |

(186) *ji<sup>33</sup> mi<sup>33</sup>* ‘sun’  
 (187) *lv<sup>33</sup>* ‘field’  
 (188) *zi<sup>33</sup>* ‘cow’  
 (189) *bi<sup>33</sup>* ‘snow’  
 (190) *so<sup>33</sup> ji<sup>33</sup>* ‘tomorrow’  
 (191) *e<sup>33</sup> ji<sup>55</sup>* ‘yesterday’  
 (192) *zo<sup>33</sup> gy<sup>33</sup>* ‘Lijiang’  
 (193) *lo<sup>33</sup> gy<sup>33</sup>* ‘Ninglang’  
 (194) *dze<sup>33</sup> gw<sup>33</sup>* ‘Yongsheng’

Most nouns cannot be reduplicated. Nouns that express people usually add the suffix *yæ<sup>33</sup>* to express the plural. For example:

(195) *xi<sup>33</sup>* *xi<sup>33</sup>-yæ<sup>33</sup>*  
 ‘person’ ‘people’  
 (196) *p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> tce<sup>33</sup>* *p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> tce<sup>33</sup>-yæ<sup>33</sup>*  
 ‘man’ ‘men’  
 (197) *mi<sup>31</sup> zu<sup>13</sup>* *mi<sup>31</sup> zu<sup>13</sup>-yæ<sup>33</sup>*  
 ‘woman’ ‘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) *sw<sup>33</sup>* *sw<sup>33</sup>-sw<sup>33</sup>*  
 ‘know, recognize’ ‘know each other’  
 (199) *ja<sup>33</sup>* *zu<sup>31</sup>* *duæ<sup>13</sup>* *sw<sup>33</sup>-sw<sup>33</sup>.*  
 1SG.PRO pair very know  
 ‘We are on very good terms.’  
 (200) *la<sup>13</sup>* *la<sup>31</sup>-la<sup>13</sup>*  
 ‘hit’ ‘fight’

(201) zo<sup>33</sup>-my<sup>55</sup>-yæ<sup>33</sup> la<sup>31</sup>-la<sup>13</sup> i<sup>33</sup>.  
 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<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>* ‘came’** The verb *ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>* ‘came’ does not distinguish person, and expresses a past tense ‘come’. For example:

(202) jn<sup>33</sup> e<sup>33</sup> ni<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO yesterday came  
 ‘I came yesterday.’

(203) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup> ze<sup>55</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO came PERF  
 ‘He came.’

**4.1.2.1.2 *zu<sup>33</sup>* ‘come’** The future tense *zu<sup>33</sup>* ‘come’ is used in non-perfective aspects, and expresses possible arrival, future arrival, or an imperative. For example:

(204) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> zu<sup>33</sup> i<sup>33</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO come may  
 ‘He might come.’

(205) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> zu<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>w<sup>13</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO come will according to talk  
 ‘The word is he’ll come.’

(206) ts<sup>h</sup>uæ<sup>13</sup> zu<sup>33</sup>.  
 hurry come  
 ‘Hurry up and come.’

**4.1.2.1.3 *zi<sup>33</sup>* ‘come’** The verb *zi<sup>33</sup>* ‘come’ expresses a present progressive ‘come’. For example:

(207) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>55</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO comes CSM  
 ‘He is coming.’

4.1.2.1.4 *k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>* ‘go’ The verb *k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>* ‘go’ expresses a past completed action. For example:

(208)    *na<sup>33</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>ue<sup>33</sup> mi<sup>31</sup>    k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>.*  
           1SG.PRO Kunming    go  
           ‘I have gone to Kunming.’

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

(209)    *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup>    pe<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>cin<sup>33</sup>    xu<sup>33</sup>    ze<sup>55</sup>.*  
           3SG.PRO Beijing    go    PERF  
           ‘He went to Beijing (and has not yet returned).’

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

(210)    *na<sup>33</sup>    pe<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>cin<sup>33</sup>    bi<sup>33</sup>.*  
           1SG.PRO Beijing    go  
           ‘I will go to Beijing.’

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

(211)    *a<sup>33</sup> p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>31</sup>    xo<sup>13</sup>!*  
           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<sup>33</sup>* The verb *dzo<sup>33</sup>* expresses the existence of people, animals, and objects not included in other categories. For example:

(212)    *na<sup>33</sup>    l<sup>h</sup>o<sup>31</sup>    xi<sup>33</sup>    z<sup>h</sup>y<sup>33</sup>    ky<sup>31</sup>    dzo<sup>33</sup>.*  
           1SG.PRO family people four CLS EXIST  
           ‘There are four people in my family.’

(213)    *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup>    l<sup>h</sup>o<sup>31</sup>    zi<sup>33</sup>    z<sup>h</sup>y<sup>33</sup>    p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>31</sup>    dzo<sup>33</sup>.*  
           3SG.PRO family cow four CLS EXIST  
           ‘His family has four cows.’

(214)    *lo<sup>33</sup>                      dzo<sup>33</sup>.*  
           something    EXIST  
           '(I'm) busy.'

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

(215)    *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup>    lə<sup>31</sup>    sə<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>31</sup>    d<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup>    dzw<sup>31</sup>    di<sup>31</sup>.*  
           3SG.PRO family    pear        one    CLS    EXIST  
           'His family has one pear tree.'

(216)    *nə<sup>31</sup> l<sup>h</sup>y<sup>33</sup>    di<sup>31</sup>    zo<sup>31</sup>    li<sup>33</sup>    mæ<sup>33</sup>    xi<sup>31</sup>.*  
           eyes        EXIST    but    see    NEG    accomplish  
           'Has eyes but can't see.'

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

(217)    *k<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>13</sup>    ko<sup>33</sup>    d<sup>h</sup>zi<sup>33</sup>    mæ<sup>33</sup>    zi<sup>33</sup>.*  
           bowl    LOC    water    NEG    EXIST  
           'There isn't water in the bowl.'

(218)    *kua<sup>33</sup>    ko<sup>33</sup>    my<sup>55</sup>    t<sup>h</sup>e<sup>33</sup>    mæ<sup>33</sup>    zi<sup>33</sup>.*  
           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)    *so<sup>31</sup> kə<sup>13</sup>    so<sup>31</sup> so<sup>31</sup> kə<sup>13</sup> kə<sup>13</sup>*  
           'clean'        'very clean'

(220)    *f<sup>h</sup>v<sup>33</sup> sa<sup>31</sup>    f<sup>h</sup>v<sup>33</sup> f<sup>h</sup>v<sup>33</sup> sa<sup>31</sup> sa<sup>31</sup>*  
           'happy'        'very happy'

#### 4.1.4 Numerals

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

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|                                 |         |                                 |                |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| df <sup>33</sup>                | ‘one’   | xuo <sup>13</sup>               | ‘eight’        |
| ji <sup>33</sup>                | ‘two’   | gy <sup>33</sup>                | ‘nine’         |
| so <sup>31</sup>                | ‘three’ | ts <sup>h</sup> e <sup>33</sup> | ‘ten’          |
| zv <sup>55</sup>                | ‘four’  | ci <sup>55</sup>                | ‘hundred’      |
| ŋua <sup>33</sup>               | ‘five’  | ty <sup>33</sup>                | ‘thousand’     |
| k <sup>h</sup> uɔ <sup>13</sup> | ‘six’   | mæ <sup>31</sup>                | ‘ten thousand’ |
| ʂi <sup>33</sup>                | ‘seven’ |                                 |                |

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Table 6. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number ‘ten’ has three forms: from ten to nineteen, it is pronounced *ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>33</sup>*; from twenty to twenty-nine it is pronounced *tsuŋ<sup>33</sup>*; and from thirty to thirty-nine it is pronounced *ts<sup>h</sup>uŋ<sup>33</sup>*.

Ordinal numbers mostly adopt Chinese loan words. For example *ti<sup>13</sup> æ<sup>33</sup>* ‘second’, *ti<sup>13</sup> y<sup>33</sup>* ‘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<sup>h</sup>o<sup>13</sup> used with large animals such as cattle and tigers, as well as body parts such as hands and feet

(222) zi<sup>33</sup> di<sup>33</sup> p<sup>h</sup>o<sup>13</sup>  
cow one CLS  
‘a cow’

(223) mi<sup>31</sup> used with chicken, ducks, pigs and horses

(224) æ<sup>13</sup> di<sup>33</sup> mi<sup>31</sup>  
chicken one CLS  
‘a chicken’

(225) lu<sup>33</sup> mostly used with inanimates

(226) æ<sup>13</sup> yo<sup>31</sup> di<sup>33</sup> lu<sup>33</sup>  
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)  $y^{33}$  used to indicate one person

(228)  $x\tilde{i}^{33}$   $di^{33}$   $y^{33}$   
person one CLS  
'a person'

(229)  $ky^{31}$  used to indicate the plural 'people'

(230)  $ja^{33}$   $l\theta^{31}$   $x\tilde{i}^{33}$   $z\tilde{y}^{33}$   $ky^{31}$   $dzo^{33}$ .  
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)  $xa^{33}$   $di^{33}$   $lu^{33}$   
cereal one CLS  
'a grain of cereal'

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

(232)  $x\tilde{i}^{33}$   $di^{33}$   $tci^{33}$   $t^h\alpha^{33}$   $\alpha^{33}$   $so^{31}$   $x\tilde{i}^{33}$   $di^{33}$   $tci^{33}$   $lo^{33}$   $zi^{55}$ .  
people one CLS book study people one CLS labor  
'Some people study, some people do labor.'

(233)  $x\tilde{i}^{33}$   $di^{33}$   $du^{31}$   
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)  $zi^{33}$   $t^h\alpha^{33}$   $p^h o^{13}$   
cow that CLS  
'that cow'

(235)  $\text{æ}^{13}$   $\text{tʂ}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{33}$   $\text{mi}^{33}$   
 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)  $\text{d}i^{33}$   $\text{ʂw}^{31}$   $\text{xw}^{33}$   $\text{dzi}^{31}$   
 one CLS go EXPER  
 ‘has gone one time’

(237)  $\text{ji}^{33}$   $\text{ʂw}^{31}$   $\text{xw}^{33}$   
 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             | $\text{ŋa}^{33}$<br>1SG.PRO     | $\text{d}i^{33}$ $\text{ʂw}^{31}$<br>1INC.PRO                      |  | 2nd             | $\text{no}^{55}$<br>2SG.PRO                   | $\text{no}^{55}$ $\text{ʂw}^{31}$<br>2PL.PRO                        |  |
|                 |                                 | $\text{ŋa}^{33}$ $\text{ʂw}^{31}$<br>1EXC.PRO                      |  |                 | $\text{no}^{13}$<br>2SG.PRO.FAM               | $\text{no}^{55}$ $\text{su}^{31}$ $\text{ku}^{31}$<br>2PL.PRO.FAM   |  |
|                 | $\text{ŋə}^{13}$<br>1SG.PRO.FAM | $\text{d}i^{33}$ $\text{su}^{31}$ $\text{ku}^{31}$<br>1INC.PRO.FAM |  | 3rd             | $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{33}$<br>3SG.PRO | $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{33}$ $\text{ʂw}^{31}$<br>3PL.PRO      |  |
|                 |                                 | $\text{ŋə}^{13}$ $\text{su}^{31}$ $\text{ku}^{31}$<br>1EXC.PRO.FAM |  |                 |   | $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{33}$ $\text{tʂi}^{31}$<br>3PL.PRO.FAM |  |

Table 7. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns  $\text{ŋa}^{33}$ ,  $\text{no}^{55}$ , and  $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{33}$  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) *ŋa<sup>33</sup> gi<sup>33</sup> zu<sup>33</sup>*  
 1SG.PRO (younger) brother  
 ‘my (younger) brother’

(239) *no<sup>55</sup> zo<sup>55</sup>*  
 2SG.PRO son  
 ‘your son’

(240) *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ə<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup>*  
 3SG.PRO grandmother  
 ‘his grandmother’

(241) *ŋa<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>31</sup>*  
 1SG.PRO family  
 ‘my family’

(242) *no<sup>55</sup> yua<sup>33</sup>*  
 2SG.PRO village  
 ‘your village’

(243) *ŋa<sup>33</sup> yæ<sup>31</sup> gi<sup>33</sup> zu<sup>33</sup>*  
 1PL.PRO (younger) brother  
 ‘our younger brother’

(244) *no<sup>55</sup> yæ<sup>31</sup> zo<sup>55</sup>*  
 2PL.PRO son  
 ‘your (pl.) son’

(245) *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> yæ<sup>31</sup> ə<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup>*  
 3PL.PRO grandmother  
 ‘their grandmother’

(246) *ŋa<sup>33</sup> yæ<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>31</sup>*  
 1PL.PRO family  
 ‘our family’

(247) no<sup>55</sup> yæ<sup>31</sup> yua<sup>33</sup>  
 2PL.PRO village  
 ‘your (pl.) village’

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

(248) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> tçi<sup>31</sup> by<sup>33</sup> eo<sup>31</sup> xa<sup>13</sup>  
 3PL.PRO.FAM POSS school  
 ‘their school’

(249) ja<sup>33</sup> by<sup>33</sup> ba<sup>33</sup> la<sup>13</sup>  
 1SG.PRO POSS clothes  
 ‘my clothes’

(250) no<sup>55</sup> by<sup>33</sup> sw<sup>31</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>  
 2SG.PRO POSS knife  
 ‘your knife’

(251) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> by<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uə<sup>33</sup>  
 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) ja<sup>33</sup> d<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup> y<sup>33</sup> la<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO one CLS ADVB go  
 ‘I go by myself.’

(253) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ji<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>31</sup> d<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup> ki<sup>55</sup> dzw<sup>13</sup> ə<sup>33</sup> ji<sup>13</sup> ?  
 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 *ə*<sup>33</sup>, found in the 1INC.PRO and 1INC.PRO.FAM pronouns, means “self”. *sw*<sup>31</sup> *ku*<sup>31</sup> 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: *ts<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>* ‘this (near)’, *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>* ‘that (far)’, and *də<sup>55</sup>* *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>* ‘that (even further away).’ The distal demonstrative pronoun *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>* is the third person singular pronoun.

(254)    *ts<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>*    *kə<sup>31</sup>*  
           this            CLS.round stick (loan)  
           ‘this one’

(255)    *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>*    *p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>13</sup>*  
           that            CLS.page  
           ‘that one’

(256)    *də<sup>55</sup>*    *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>*    *mi<sup>33</sup>*  
           that (far away)    CLS.small animal  
           ‘that (far away) one’

#### 4.1.6.4 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *ni<sup>13</sup>* ‘who’, *zo<sup>31</sup>* *ko<sup>33</sup>* ‘where’, *a<sup>33</sup>* *tso<sup>33</sup>* ‘what’, *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup>* *ne<sup>13</sup>* ‘how’, and *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup>* *za<sup>13</sup>* ‘how many’. For example:

(257)    *ni<sup>13</sup>*    *nw<sup>33</sup>*    *bi<sup>33</sup>?*  
           who    EMPH    go  
           ‘Who goes?’

(258)    *no<sup>55</sup>*    *zo<sup>31</sup>* *ko<sup>33</sup>*    *bi<sup>33</sup>?*  
           2SG.PRO    where    go  
           ‘Where are you going?’

(259)    *no<sup>55</sup>*    *a<sup>33</sup>* *tso<sup>33</sup>*    *zi<sup>13</sup>?*  
           2SG.PRO    what    do  
           ‘What are you doing?’

(260)    *t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>33</sup>*    *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup>* *ne<sup>13</sup>*    *zə<sup>13</sup>?*  
           3SG.PRO    what            say  
           ‘What did he say?’

(261)    *ŋu<sup>33</sup>*    *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup>* *za<sup>13</sup>*    *dzo<sup>13</sup>?*  
           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<sup>33</sup> yo<sup>33</sup> le<sup>33</sup> t̄eo<sup>31</sup>* ‘often’, *t̄s<sup>h</sup>uæ<sup>31</sup> zi<sup>13</sup>* ‘immediately’, and *ne<sup>31</sup>* ‘just’, etc. For example:

(262) t̄w<sup>33</sup> le<sup>33</sup> yo<sup>33</sup> le<sup>33</sup> t̄eo<sup>31</sup> t̄s<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>55</sup> dzə<sup>33</sup> bu<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>.  
3SG.PRO often here LOC play came  
'He often came here to play.'

(263) no<sup>55</sup> t̄s<sup>h</sup>uæ<sup>31</sup> zi<sup>13</sup> zæ<sup>33</sup> le<sup>33</sup> ki<sup>55</sup> xo<sup>13</sup>.  
2SG.PRO immediately Yang house DAT go  
'You immediately go to the Yangs' house.'

(264) ja<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ji<sup>33</sup> ne<sup>31</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>.  
1SG.PRO this day just came  
'I just came today.'

Adverbs that express degree are: *dzə<sup>13</sup>* ‘very’, *duæ<sup>13</sup>* ‘too’, *wiə<sup>13</sup>* ‘even more’, and ... *xw<sup>33</sup> ... xw<sup>33</sup>* ‘...the more ... the more’. For example:

(265) xi<sup>33</sup> t̄w<sup>33</sup> y<sup>33</sup> dzə<sup>13</sup> nu<sup>33</sup> ci<sup>31</sup>.  
person that CLS very good-looking  
'That person is very good-looking.'

(266) sy<sup>33</sup> sy<sup>13</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> duæ<sup>13</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> dza<sup>13</sup>.  
paper this CLS too NEG good  
'This piece of paper is not too good.'

(267) t̄æ<sup>33</sup> z<sup>31</sup> t̄s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup> xw<sup>33</sup> t̄s<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup> dza<sup>13</sup> xw<sup>33</sup> dza<sup>13</sup>.  
books read more read good more good  
'The more books read, the better.'

Other adverbs include *dza<sup>13</sup> pa<sup>33</sup>* ‘properly’; *wiə<sup>33</sup>* ‘again’ which expresses repetition; *t̄hæ<sup>33</sup>* ‘anyway’ which expresses confirmation; and *ma<sup>33</sup>/mæ<sup>33</sup>* (phonological variants) which expresses ‘not’. For example:

(268) ð<sup>33</sup> sw<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>31</sup> dza<sup>13</sup> pa<sup>33</sup> t̄æ<sup>33</sup> z<sup>31</sup> so<sup>31</sup> zo<sup>33</sup>.  
1INC.PRO good book study ought  
'We ought to study very hard.'

(269) no<sup>55</sup> we<sup>33</sup> d<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup> piæ<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>33</sup>.  
 2SG.PRO again one CLS (loan) read aloud  
 ‘Please read it aloud once more.’

(270) ja<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> xo<sup>33</sup> jni<sup>31</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO anyway go want  
 ‘I want to go anyway.’

(271) no<sup>55</sup> mæ<sup>33</sup> ny<sup>33</sup>.  
 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*<sup>33</sup> ‘and’; *nur*<sup>33</sup> ‘or, also’, which can be used in alternate choice (A not A) questions; *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> ‘but, also’. For example:

(272) ja<sup>33</sup> la<sup>33</sup> no<sup>55</sup> d<sup>h</sup>i<sup>33</sup> bæ<sup>33</sup> lo<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO and 2SG.PRO the same labor  
 ‘You and I labor equally.’

(273) ð<sup>33</sup> su<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>31</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> nur<sup>33</sup> mæ<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> ?  
 1INC.PRO go or NEG go  
 ‘Are we going or not?’

(274) ð<sup>33</sup> su<sup>31</sup> ku<sup>31</sup> yo<sup>33</sup> dæ<sup>33</sup> yæ<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> zo<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> li<sup>31</sup>.  
 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*<sup>33</sup> ... *jni*<sup>33</sup> ‘because ... thus’; *bi*<sup>33</sup> *la*<sup>33</sup> ‘even if ... still ...’; *bi*<sup>33</sup> *dzo*<sup>31</sup> ‘if’ and ‘even if ... still ...’.

(275) no<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ci<sup>31</sup> zo<sup>33</sup>,  
 2SG.PRO work energetically because  
 tue<sup>33</sup> tsæ<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ui<sup>31</sup> jni<sup>33</sup>.  
 group.leader serve.as COP  
 ‘Because you work energetically, you are made group leader.’

(276) *ji<sup>33</sup> mi<sup>33</sup> mæ<sup>33</sup> gy<sup>31</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> la<sup>33</sup> le<sup>33</sup> li<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>.*  
 sun NEG set even.if rest will CSM  
 ‘Even if the sun has yet to set, (we) will still rest.’

(277) *lo<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> dzo<sup>31</sup> xa<sup>33</sup>-dzw<sup>33</sup>-di<sup>31</sup> dzo<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ku<sup>33</sup>.*  
 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<sup>33</sup>* (EMPH), *zo<sup>33</sup>* (COMP), *lo<sup>33</sup>* (COMP), *la<sup>33</sup>* (COMP), *ki<sup>55</sup>* (DAT), *by<sup>33</sup>* (POSS, SUB), *t<sup>h</sup>ur<sup>33</sup>* (REL), *xi<sup>13</sup>* (NOM), and *zi<sup>33</sup>* (ADV.MAN).

1. *nur<sup>33</sup>* 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<sup>33</sup>*, the sentence is grammatical, but one does not get the emphasis on the agent in the reading. For example:

(278) *ə<sup>33</sup> mi<sup>33</sup> nur<sup>33</sup> dzw<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup>.*  
 mother EMPH eat can  
 ‘**Mother** can eat.’

(279) *t<sup>h</sup>ur<sup>33</sup> nur<sup>33</sup> ja<sup>33</sup> la<sup>13</sup>.*  
 3SG.PRO EMPH me hit  
 ‘**He** hit me.’

The emphatic marker *nur<sup>33</sup>* can also appear after a word or phrase that expresses time or manner. For example:

(280) *ja<sup>33</sup> a<sup>31</sup> yo<sup>33</sup> nur<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> ɔ<sup>33</sup> so<sup>31</sup>.*  
 1SG.PRO home EMPH book study  
 ‘I study at **home**.’

(281) *t<sup>h</sup>ur<sup>33</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> no<sup>33</sup> nur<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>.*  
 3SG.PRO now EMPH came  
 ‘He just came **now**.’

2. The complementizer *zo<sup>33</sup>* links a verb or stative verb with a word or phrase that indicates degree. For example:

(282) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *lə*<sup>33</sup> *dzuw*<sup>33</sup> *zo*<sup>33</sup> *ni*<sup>33</sup> *ze*<sup>33</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO also eat COMP full CSM  
 'I also ate to the point of being full.'

(283) *ts<sup>h</sup>W*<sup>33</sup> *zo*<sup>33</sup> *ma*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>a*<sup>13</sup> *ze*<sup>33</sup>  
 hot COMP NEG can CSM  
 'unbearably hot'

3. *Io*<sup>33</sup> and *Ia*<sup>33</sup> are complementizers which link a verb head with a stative verb indicating degree. *Io*<sup>33</sup> and *Ia*<sup>33</sup> appear following the verb head and preceding the stative verb. *Io*<sup>33</sup> is used with processes that one can observe, while *Ia*<sup>33</sup> is used with processes that are not necessarily observable, such as emotion. For example:

(284) *zi*<sup>13</sup> *Io*<sup>33</sup> *duæ*<sup>13</sup> *dza*<sup>13</sup>  
 sleep COMP very good  
 'sleep very well'

(285) *dza*<sup>31</sup> *bu*<sup>33</sup> *Ia*<sup>33</sup> *fu*<sup>33</sup> *ze*<sup>33</sup>  
 play COMP happy PERF  
 'played happily'

4. *ki*<sup>55</sup> is a dative marker; it is added after a noun or pronoun object. For example:

(286) *t<sup>h</sup>W*<sup>33</sup> *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT teach  
 'He teaches me.'

If there is both a direct and an indirect object in one sentence, *ki*<sup>55</sup> usually is added after the indirect object. For instance:

(287) *t<sup>h</sup>W*<sup>33</sup> *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> *ə*<sup>33</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO DAT book teach  
 'He teaches me to read books.'

(288) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *no*<sup>55</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> *ə*<sup>33</sup> *di*<sup>33</sup> *pa*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO DAT book one CLS give  
 'I give you a book.'

5. *by*<sup>33</sup> is a marker of subordination. It is added following the attributive noun, pronoun or adjective, and preceding the head. For example:

(289) *na<sup>33</sup> by<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> z<sup>33</sup>*  
 1SG.PRO POSS book  
 ‘my book’

(290) *di<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>33</sup> by<sup>33</sup> bæ<sup>31</sup> d<sup>h</sup>zi<sup>31</sup>*  
 ground POSS crops  
 ‘ground crops’

6. *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup>* is the distal demonstrative pronoun. It relativizes a clause so that it can modify the head noun. For example:

(291) *na<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>e<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>w<sup>13</sup> t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> yo<sup>31</sup> d<sup>h</sup>zi<sup>13</sup>*  
 1SG.PRO salt NEG put this soup  
  
*di<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>13</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>.*  
 one bowl drink PERF  
 ‘I drank one bowl of unsalted soup.’

7. *xi<sup>13</sup>* is added following an adjective to form a nominalization. For instance:

(292) *t<sup>h</sup>ci<sup>33</sup>* *t<sup>h</sup>ci<sup>33</sup>-xi<sup>13</sup>*  
 small small-NOM  
 ‘small’ ‘small one’

(293) *x<sup>h</sup>u<sup>31</sup>* *x<sup>h</sup>u<sup>31</sup>-xi<sup>13</sup>*  
 short short-NOM  
 ‘short’ ‘short one’

(294) *x<sup>h</sup>u<sup>13</sup>* *x<sup>h</sup>u<sup>13</sup>-xi<sup>13</sup>*  
 red red-NOM  
 ‘red’ ‘red one’

(295) *p<sup>h</sup>y<sup>13</sup>* *p<sup>h</sup>y<sup>13</sup>-xi<sup>13</sup>*  
 white white-NOM  
 ‘white’ ‘white one’

8. *zi<sup>33</sup>* is an adverbial marker and follows the adverbial phrase. For example:

(296) *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> o<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>55</sup> zi<sup>33</sup> se<sup>33</sup>.*  
 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<sup>31</sup>*, *ni<sup>55</sup>*, *ne<sup>33</sup>*, and *uə<sup>55</sup>*. For example:

(297)     $\partial^{33}$   $ze^{33}$   $se^{33}$   $ka^{31}!$   
           slow        go        IMP  
           'Take care!' (imperative)

(298)     $t^h w^{33}$      $t\$_{h} w^{33}$   $ni^{33}$   $ts^h i^{13}$   $ni^{55}.$   
           3SG.PRO    this        day        came        COP  
           'He came today.' (declarative)

(299)     $ma^{33}$      $tsə^{33}$      $nə^{33}?$   
           NEG        correct    QM  
           'Isn't it so?' (interrogative)

(300)     $ja^{33}$      $ma^{33}$   $ny^{33}$   $uə^{55}!$   
           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 *ə<sup>31</sup>*, *xi<sup>55</sup>*, *p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>55</sup>*, etc. For example:

(301)     $\partial^{31}!$      $duə^{13}$   $ma^{33}$   $tsə^{33}$   $ze^{33}!$   
           INTERJ    very        NEG        proper    CSM  
           'Hey! That's unseemly!'

(302)     $xi^{55}!$      $k^h a^{33}$   $dze^{33}$      $t\$_{h} w^{33}$   $k^h uə^{33}$   $duə^{13}$   $dza^{13}$   $le^{33}!$   
           INTERJ    corn        this        piece      very        good        EXCLM  
           'This piece of corn is really good!'

(303)     $p^h i^{55}!$      $sə^{33}$   $do^{33}$      $ma^{33}$   $sw^{33}!$   
           INTERJ    bashful    NEG        know  
           'Bah! Doesn't know shame!'

#### 4.1.9.3 Aspect particles

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

(304)  $t^h w^{33}$   $lo^{33}$   $zi^{33}$   $dzəo^{31}$ .

3SG.PRO work PROG  
'He is working.'

(305)  $t^h w^{33}$   $xa^{33}$   $di^{33}$   $k^h ua^{33}$   $dzw^{33}$   $ze^{33}$ .

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)  $ja^{33}$   $nw^{33}$   $t^h w^{33}$   $ki^{55}$   $so^{13}$ .

1SG.PRO EMPH 3SG.PRO DAT teach  
'I teach him.'

(309)  $t^h w^{33}$   $ja^{33}$   $la^{33}$ .

3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO hit  
'He hits me.'

(310)  $ja^{33}$   $t^h w^{33}$   $sw^{33}$   $ji^{33}$   $ma^{33}$   $ny^{33}$ .

1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO pass away COP NEG know  
'I didn't know he passed away.'

(311) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> *ɔ*<sup>33</sup> *xuæ*<sup>31</sup> *ma*<sup>33</sup> *k<sup>h</sup>i*<sup>13</sup>.

1SG.PRO book buy NEG go

‘I don’t go to buy books.’

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

The dative marker *ki*<sup>55</sup> does not appear following the object:

(312) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.

1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO teach

‘I teach him.’

Following the object the dative marker *ki*<sup>55</sup> appears:

(313) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.

1SG.PRO 3SG.PRO DAT teach

‘I teach him.’

Emphasis on ‘I’ teach, following the object the dative marker *ki*<sup>55</sup> does not appear:

(314) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *nw*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.

1SG.PRO EMPH 3SG.PRO teach

‘I teach him.’

Emphasis on ‘I’ teach, following the object the dative marker *ki*<sup>55</sup> appears:

(315) *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *nw*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.

1SG.PRO EMPH 3SG.PRO DAT teach

‘I teach him.’

Object is fronted, following the subject is the emphatic marker *nw*<sup>33</sup>, following the object the dative marker *ki*<sup>55</sup> does not appear:

(316) *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *nw*<sup>33</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.

3SG.PRO 1SG.PRO EMPH teach

‘I teach him.’

Object is fronted, following the subject is the emphatic marker *nw*<sup>33</sup>, following the object the dative marker *ki*<sup>55</sup> appears:

(317) *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *ŋa*<sup>33</sup> *nw*<sup>33</sup> *so*<sup>13</sup>.

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*<sup>13</sup> NOM/ATR act as attributives, the attributive precedes the noun, as in example (322). For example:

(318) *ja*<sup>33</sup> *dze*<sup>33</sup> *p<sup>h</sup>y*<sup>13</sup> *xuæ*<sup>33</sup> *bi*<sup>33</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO sugar white buy go  
 'I'm going to buy white sugar.'

(319) *t<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *nw*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> *ɔ*<sup>33</sup> *di*<sup>33</sup> *pa*<sup>31</sup> *ja*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup>.  
 3SG.PRO EMPH book one CLS 1SG.PRO DAT give  
 'He gave me a book.'

(320) *k<sup>h</sup>ua*<sup>13</sup> *ts<sup>h</sup>w*<sup>33</sup> *lə*<sup>33</sup> *ja*<sup>33</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup> *ki*<sup>55</sup>.  
 bowl this CLS 1SG.PRO DAT give  
 'Give me this bowl.'

(321) *ja*<sup>33</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> *ɔ*<sup>33</sup> *di*<sup>33</sup> *pa*<sup>31</sup> *ji*<sup>31</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO book one CLS want  
 'I want a book.'

(322) *ja*<sup>33</sup> *xū*<sup>13</sup>-*xi*<sup>13</sup> *pa*<sup>31</sup> *la*<sup>13</sup> *mv*<sup>33</sup> *fu*<sup>31</sup>.  
 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) *ja*<sup>33</sup> *no*<sup>55</sup> *ma*<sup>33</sup> *fu*<sup>31</sup>.  
 1SG.PRO 2SG.PRO NEG like  
 'I don't like you.'

(324) *no*<sup>55</sup> *t<sup>h</sup>æ*<sup>33</sup> *ɔ*<sup>33</sup> *dza*<sup>13</sup> *pa*<sup>33</sup> *zi*<sup>33</sup> *so*<sup>31</sup> *zo*<sup>33</sup>.  
 2SG.PRO book good ADV.MAN study should  
 'You should study hard.'

(325) *sv<sup>33</sup> sv<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> sə<sup>33</sup> nw<sup>33</sup> xū<sup>13</sup>.*  
 paper that blood EMPH red  
 ‘That paper is as red as blood.’

(326) *zo<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> y<sup>33</sup> dze<sup>31</sup> nw<sup>33</sup> bæ<sup>13</sup>.*  
 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<sup>33</sup>* or *ka<sup>33</sup>* ‘also’ is required to join them. In (327), no conjunction joins the two clauses.

(327) *[[no<sup>55</sup> yo<sup>33</sup> da<sup>33</sup> xo<sup>55</sup>] [nə<sup>33</sup> gi<sup>13</sup> zo<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>]].*  
 2SG.PRO front go 1SG.PRO behind go  
 ‘You walk in front, I’ll come behind.’

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

(328) *[[no<sup>55</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>] [nə<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>]].*  
 2SG.PRO go 1SG.PRO also go  
 ‘You go, I’ll also go.’

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

(329) *[[t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>] [nə<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>]].*  
 3SG.PRO go 1SG.PRO also go  
 ‘He goes, I’ll also go.’

Example (330) uses *nw<sup>33</sup>* ‘or’, which appears in the final position of the first clause.

(330) *[[no<sup>55</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ni<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> nw<sup>33</sup>] [so<sup>33</sup> ni<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>?]].*  
 2SG.PRO this day go or tomorrow go  
 ‘Are you going today or tomorrow?’

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

(331) [[t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> lo<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>33</sup> uə<sup>33</sup>] [t<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>33</sup> ə<sup>33</sup> so<sup>31</sup> dza<sup>13</sup>.]]  
 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<sup>33</sup>* ... *ni<sup>33</sup>* 'because ... thus' and *be<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>33</sup>* 'even though ...' are used to join them. With *zo<sup>33</sup>* ... *ni<sup>33</sup>* 'because ... thus', *zo<sup>33</sup>* 'because' appears in the final position of the first clause, and *ni<sup>33</sup>* COP appears in the final position of the second clause. With *be<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>33</sup>* 'even though ...', *be<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>33</sup>* appears in the final position of the first clause. For example:

(332) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> nw<sup>33</sup> dza<sup>33</sup> ɿi<sup>55</sup> zo<sup>33</sup> t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> po<sup>13</sup>  
 3SG.PRO EMPH bad do because 3SG.PRO take  
 'Because he did bad things, as a result he

le<sup>33</sup>-ɿi<sup>33</sup> lo<sup>31</sup> na<sup>33</sup> bu<sup>33</sup> ko<sup>31</sup> tæ<sup>33</sup> ni<sup>33</sup>.  
 ACCOMP-catch prison LOC lock up COP  
 was locked up in prison.'

(333) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> xa<sup>33</sup> dzo<sup>33</sup> be<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>33</sup> dzw<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> ɻua<sup>31</sup>.  
 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) xi<sup>33</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> v<sup>33</sup> duæ<sup>13</sup> dza<sup>13</sup>.  
 person this CLS very good  
 'This person is very good.'

(335) t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> lo<sup>33</sup> ɿi<sup>33</sup> xu<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>.  
 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) no<sup>55</sup> zo<sup>31</sup> ko<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>13</sup>?  
 2SG.PRO where go (used with 2<sup>nd</sup> p)  
 ‘Where are you going?’

(337) ɿu<sup>33</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>31</sup> za<sup>13</sup> dzo<sup>13</sup>?  
 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) bi<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup>?  
 go NEG go  
 ‘Are you going?’

(339) dza<sup>13</sup> nu<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> dza<sup>13</sup>?  
 good or NEG good  
 ‘Okay?’

3. Those that add the interrogative adverb *ə*<sup>33</sup> QM preceding the verb to pose the question and also often have the change of state marker *ze*<sup>33</sup> at the end of the sentence working in concert with it. For example:

(340) ə<sup>33</sup> my<sup>13</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>?  
 QM do CSM  
 ‘Is it done?’

(341) ə<sup>33</sup> ny<sup>13</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>?  
 QM know CSM  
 ‘Do you know?’

4. Those that add the change of state marker *ze*<sup>33</sup> at the end of the sentence to pose the question. For example:

(342) no<sup>55</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> bi<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>?  
 2SG.PRO NEG go CSM  
 ‘You didn’t go?’

(343) *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>33</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> xu<sup>33</sup> ze<sup>33</sup>?*  
 3SG.PRO NEG go CSM  
 'He didn't go?'

#### 4.4.3 Imperative sentences

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

(344) *no<sup>55</sup> tʂ<sup>h</sup>uæ<sup>33</sup> se<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>31</sup>!*  
 2SG.PRO fast go IMP  
 'Please hurry up!'

(345) *dɪ<sup>33</sup> ka<sup>33</sup> lə<sup>13</sup>!*  
 one help IMP  
 'Please give a hand!'

(346) *le<sup>33</sup>-zæ<sup>33</sup> mə<sup>33</sup>!*  
 ACCOMP-smile IMP  
 'Smile!'

(347) *t<sup>h</sup>w<sup>31</sup> ma<sup>33</sup> do<sup>13</sup>!*  
 drink NEG PRTCL  
 'Don't drink (it)!'

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

|             |   |        |                     |
|-------------|---|--------|---------------------|
|             | exclusive familiar<br>pronoun                       |        |                     |
| 2SG.PRO     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular<br>pronoun          | EXPER  | Experiential aspect |
| 2SG.PRO.FAM | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular<br>familiar pronoun | IMP    | Imperative          |
| 2PL.PRO     | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person plural<br>pronoun            | INTERJ | Interjection        |
| 2PL.PRO.FAM | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person plural<br>familiar pronoun   | LOC    | Locative            |
| 3SG.PRO     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular<br>pronoun          | NEG    | Negative            |
| 3PL.PRO     | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural<br>pronoun            | NOM    | Nominalizer         |
| 3PL.PRO.FAM | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural<br>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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