Multifunctionality of the Demonstrative Enclitic in nDrapa

Yang Huang
Southwest Jiaotong University, China
elvishuang@swjtu.edu.cn

Abstract: This draft paper investigates the multifunctions of the demonstrative enclitic that is observed in the nDrapa language in western Sichuan, China. Following recent advances in the theoretical analysis of linguistic typology, this draft paper describes seven grammatical features of this demonstrative enclitic. On this basis, I argue that demonstrative enclitic in nDrapa may attach to predicates that is uncommon in other Qiangic languages as well as the world's languages.

Key words: Multifunctions Demonstrative enclitic nDrapa Tibeto-Burman

1. Introduction

nDrapa (扎巴语) (Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman; ISO639-3: zhb) is an endangered language spoken by approximately 11,230 Tibetan people in Daofu (道孚) and Yajiang county (雅江) in western Sichuan province of China. The nDrapa people are the indigenous residents living along the Yalong River (雅砻江), who are thought to be connected with the culture of 'East Female Country' (东女国) (approx. 6th－7th century A.D) in ancient China.

Like its Qiangic neighbors, nDrapa distinguishes three deictic forms of demonstratives—proximal, medial and distal—to encode spatial references. Despite of its canonical demonstratives which function as demonstrative adverbs and demonstrative determiners (Fillmore 1982:47; Aikhenvald 2015:186), nDrapa has a particular demonstrative enclitic *mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} cliticizing to a wide range of host elements, and this enclitic shows no inflection for gender, number or case.

This paper describes seven multi-functions of the enclitic demonstrative of the lower nDrapa spoken at Murong village (木绒乡) in Yajiang. On this basis, I argue that the multi-functionality of the enclitic demonstrative in synchrony represents a particular pattern of grammaticalization of demonstratives in diachrony. This pattern distinguishes nDrapa from the other adjacent Qiangic variants.

2. The nDrapa language and its speakers

Due to its unique and isolated geological context, the nDrapa people have been living an isolated life for centuries. The nDrapa area was originally part of Kham Province. A 1983 source listed 15,000 people belonging to the nDrapa ethnolinguistic group in China. However, with the increasing pace of migration and urbanization, the number of nDrapa speakers reduces every year. According to a demographic survey carried out in 2017 (Huang forthcoming), there are about 11,230 speakers who use nDrapa as their daily

language. Table 1 provides up-to-date information of the number of speakers.

Table 1. Villages where nDrapa is spoken.

乡名称 **Villages**	**使用上扎巴话的村名** **Areas where upper nDrapa is spoken**	**人口(approx.)** **Population**
仲尼乡 *Zhongni*	亚中、麻中、扎然、格孜、折多、贡拖、教学 *Yazhong, Mazhong, Zharan, Gezi, Zheduo, Gongtuo, Jiaoxue*	1,000
红顶乡 *Hongding*	红顶、地入、俄古、向秋 *Hongding, Diru, Egu, Xiangqiu*	1,000
扎拖乡 *Zhatuo*	波罗塘、一地瓦子、洛古、扎贡、扎拖 *Boluotang, Yidiwazi, Luogu, Zhagong, Zhatuo*	1,000
亚卓乡 *Yazhuo*	各布、莫洛、呷拉坎、卡六、乌拉、亚马子、盘龙、容须卡 *Gebu, Moluo, Galakan, Kaliu, Wula, Yamazi, Panlong, Rongxuka*	2,000
下拖乡 *Xiatuo*	下瓦然、上瓦然、托比、容须、麦里、左古、一无 *Xiawaran, Shangwaran, Tuobi, Rongxu, Maili, Zuogu, Yiwu*	1,000
乡名称 **Villages**	**使用下扎巴话的村名** **Areas where lower nDrapa is spoken**	**人口(approx.)** **Population**
瓦多乡 *Wado*	杜米村、白龙村、学优村、交吾村、吾知村、中古村 *Dumi, Bailong, Xueyou, Jiaowu, Wuzhi, Zhonggu*	2,300
木绒乡 Murong	安桂、木绒、沙学、新卫 *Angui, Murong, Shaxue, Xinwei*	3,000

Language contact is popular in nDrapa areas. The lower nDrapa language (Murong dialect) is extensively influenced by surrounding Kham Tibetan and Southwest Mandarin. Both languages are dominant in various forms of traditional and new media in the daily life of the nDrapa group (Roche et al. 2018).

Phonologically, the Murong nDrapa has forty-three consonants, and distinguishes six places of articulations: labial, alveolar, palatal, retroflex, velar, and glottal. nDrapa also has a large number of consonant clusters as is shown in Table 2 and 3.

Table 2. The Murong nDrapa consonant phonemes

	labial	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
Voiceless stop	p	t			k	ʔ
Aspirated stop	pʰ	tʰ			kʰ	
Voiced stop	b	d			g	
Voiceless affricate		ts	tʂ	(tʃ) tɕ		
Aspirated affricate		tsʰ	tʂʰ	(tʃʰ) tɕʰ		
Voiced affricate		dz	dʐ	dʑ		
Voiceless fricative	f	s	ʂ	(ʃ) ɕ	x	h
Voiced fricative	v	z	ʐ	(ʒ) ʑ		
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
	m̥	n̥				
Voiceless lateral		ɬ				
Voiced lateral		l				
Approximant	w			j		

Table 3. The Murong nDrapa consonant clusters

pt, ptʰ, pts, ptsʰ, ptʂ, ptʂʰ, ptɕ, ptɕʰ
bd, bdz, bdʑ

fs, fs^{h}, fɕ

vz, vʑ, vl

ʂt, ʂts, ʂtʂ, ʂtɕ, ʂk

np, np^{h}, nt, nt^{h}, nts, nts^{h}, ntʂ, ntʂ^{h}, ntɕ, ntɕ^{h}, nk, nk^{h}, nd, ndz, ndz̩, ndʑ, ng

mp, mph, mt, mt^{h}, mts, mts^{h}, mtɕ, mtɕ^{h}, mtʂ, mb, md, mdz, mdz̩, mn, mɳ

There are sixteen vowels (/ɿ/, /i/, /y/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /ə/, /a/, /o/, /ɔ/, /ʊ/, /u/, /ĩ/, /ẽ/, /ã/, /õ/) and nine diphthongs (/ei/, /ia/, /ya/, /ye/, /ue/, /uɛ/, /uɛ̃/, /ua/, /uã/) in Murong nDrapa. The nasalized vowels only appear in loanwords from Kham Tibetan and Southwest Mandarin. The tones show a high level—low rising contrast. In this respect, only two (55, 24) out of the four tones (55, 24, 33, 53) show contrastive values.

The structure of the noun phrase is generally head-initial. The verb stem is usually marked with directional prefix, negative marker, causative marker, aspect maker, disjunct, and evidential marker (Shirai 2009:8). Mirative and humble/pejorative mood markers have the scope over nominals rather than predicates (Huang forthcoming). Agreement is not marked with predicates, but with the distinct forms of aspect markers as well as sentence-final question particles. Table 4 shows the ordering of verbal morphology in nDrapa.

Table 4. The structure of verbal morphology in nDrapa

(DIR)-(NEG$_{canonical}$)-VP-(CAUS)-(ASP)-(DISJ)-(EVD)-(QUES)

(DIR) -VP-(CAUS)-NEG$_{PROH/IRR}$-(ASP)-(DISJ)-(EVD)-(QUES)

3. The expression of demonstratives in nDrapa

A variety of demonstrates exhibit diverse functions in accordance with their deictic contrast. nDrapa uses three deictic forms of demonstratives—proximal, medial and distal—to encode spatial references. The pronominal demonstratives work as determiners and individual arguments (subject, object) in most occasions. In some cases, however, they correlate with a suffixed demonstrative *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}*, giving rise to a compound demonstrative structure to strengthen the deictic function. In this case, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* loses its lexical meaning, and undergoes a process of phonological reduction when cooperated with the plural forms of demonstratives. For example:

Table 5. The expression of the compound demonstratives

	Proximal	Medial a little far, but visible	Distal far, invisible
singular	kə^{33}ʐ̩^{53}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}	ku^{33}tɕu^{55}ʐ̩^{33}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}	tʊ^{33}ʐ̩^{53}-mbə^{33}rə^{33} t^{h}ə^{33}ʐ̩^{53}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}
dual	kə^{33}ʐ̩^{53}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}-nɛ^{33} kə^{33}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}-nɛ^{53}	ku^{33}tɕu^{55}ʐ̩^{53}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}-nɛ^{33} ku^{33}tɕu^{55}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}-nɛ^{53}	tʊ^{33}ʐ̩^{53}-mbə^{33}rə^{33}-nɛ^{53}
plural	kə^{33}-mbə^{33}-ʐ̩e^{53}	ku^{33}tɕu^{55}-mbə^{33}-ʐ̩e^{53}	tʊ^{33}-mbə^{33}-ʐ̩e^{53}

Originally, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* was a distal demonstrative denoting distance to the deictic center. When fused with the canonical demonstratives, the meaning of the compound structure is largely based on the canonical demonstratives and not that of *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}*. Morphologically, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* is likely to insert between the singular demonstrative and its

number markers. As indicated in table 5, both the dual marker *-nɛ*^{33} and the plural marker *-ʐe*^{53} must suffix to *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} to constitute a new demonstrative form.

4. Multifunctions of *mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33}

4.1 The genesis of *mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33}

In most circumstances, *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} correlates with the pronominal demonstratives to form 'sandwich' demonstratives. This structure usually has a nominals in its middle. In this respect, *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} is a typical distal demonstrative pronoun that implies a deictic reference point away from the speaker. As shown in (1), *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} suffixes the noun 'mother', and the canonical demonstrative *tʊ*^{33}*ʐə*^{55} works together with *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} to intensify the deictic function.

(1) tʊ^{33}ʐə^{55} mɪ^{24}-*mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} mei^{55} tɛ^{33}-ji^{33} kə^{55}-t^{h}ɛ^{33}-ʂtia^{33}.
DIST mother-DEM name NUM-CL DIR-give-PFV:DISJ
(ʂtia^{33} < ʂtɪ^{33} + a^{33})
That mother gives the man a name.

It is also possible for *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} to suffix to some other nominals. In (2), it appears after the classifier, and in (3) it is postposed the nominalizer *-ji*^{55}. For instance:

(2) tə^{33}mtsho^{55} pe^{33}ma^{33}la^{33}, tɕ^{h}u^{55}lu^{55} tɪ^{33}-*mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} tɕ^{h}i^{55}ta^{55}
LNK DM Buddha Dharma NUM:CL-DEM in that way
tɪ^{33} tɕa^{33}-ʐɛ^{33}
NUM:CL have-EMPH.EVD
Then, I should say that, what kind of influence that Buddha Dharma will have?

(3) tə^{33}mtsho^{55} pe^{33}ma^{33}la^{33} tʊ^{33}ʐə^{55} ʂ^{h}u^{24} zi^{55}-ji^{33}-*mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33},
LNK DM DIST pine tree hold-NMLZ-DEM
nbə^{33}lɪ^{55} gu^{33}hts^{h}e^{55} tə^{55}-de^{33}li^{33}-ʂtia^{33}-dɛ^{33}
all hair DIR-tie up-PFV:DISJ-HS
Then I heard that someone who held that pine tree tied up the King's hair.

In the meantime, *-mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} can suffix to the verb stem denoting a manner of the verbal action, which is a common manner adverbial demonstrative as '*do it like that*' is in English (cf. Dixon 2003) or '那样' (*nàyàng*) in Chinese. To illustrate:

(4) ʑe^{33}tə^{55}tə^{33} hkia^{53}, tʂ^{h}ə^{24} də^{55}-tɕy^{55} kə^{55}-ts^{h}o^{33}
young LNK legs NUM-CL DIR-stand
ndzʮi^{55}-ndu^{55}-*mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33}
walk-MOD-DEM
(When he was) young, (he) could walk with four legs like that, (guess what is it?)

(5) kə^{33}ʐə^{55} tɕɪ^{55}tɕɪ^{55} ndʑa^{55}-ze^{55} mə^{55}-pʊ^{55}-*mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33}
PROX.PL big good-NMLZ NEG-have-DEM
kɛ^{55}tʂe^{33} a^{55}-fɕe^{55}-ʐɛ^{33}
what DIR-say-EMPH.EVD

There are so many good things. What should I say...

As a manner adverbial demonstrative, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* does not require a secondary pre-verbal manner demonstrative *kə^{33}ta^{53}* 'do it in this way' or *tʊ^{33}ta^{53}* 'do it in that way'. It occurs together with a lexical verb in the sentence. The default demonstrative features of *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* originate from its deictic function. As Levinson (1983:54) puts it, "deixis concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize of the context of utterance...also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context." *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* retains its lexical meaning and deictic feature when it is cliticized to the host elements. Alternatively, it serves multiple syntactic functions in accordance with distinct hosts. We will now see the examples in turn:

4.2 Nominalizer mbə^{33}rə^{33}

Some data illustrate a nominalizer *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* when it occurs with adjectives. In nDrapa, there are three nominalizers *-ji^{33}*, *-ze^{33}*, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}*. *-ji^{33}*and *-ze^{33}* correlate with verbs indicating the people and instruments that are related to the verbal actions, while only *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* is compatible with adjectives (Huang forthcoming). *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* in (6) and (7) may be reanalyzed as a nominalizer on the account that the [adjective-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}*] occupies the object spots in the sentence.

(6) kə^{33}ʐ̩e^{55} pʰĩ^{33}gɔ^{55}-kʰə^{33} n̥i^{55}n̥i^{55}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* nə^{33}
PROX.PL apple-LOC red-NMLZ CONJ
n̥ə^{55}n̥ə^{55}-mbə^{33}rə^{33} ŋa^{33} ga^{33}-ʐ̩ɛ^{33}
green-NMLZ 1sg like-EMPH.EVD
Considering all these apples, I like the red one and the green one.

(7) va^{55} kə^{33}ʐ̩ə^{55} tsʰui^{55}tsʰui^{55}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* kə^{55}-sʰɛ^{33},
pig PROX fat-NMLZ DIR-kill
dze^{55}dze^{55}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* ʐ̩ɻ^{24}-wu^{33} ə^{55}-lɛ^{33}
thin-NMLZ mountain-LOC DIR-put
All these pigs, the fat ones must be killed, and the thin ones should be taken to the mountain.

4.3 Attributive marker mbə^{33}rə^{33}

The demonstrative *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* may be interpreted as an attributive marker when it is embedded between the adjective and noun. A degree adverb typically accompanies this structure. In this case, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* has the feature as a linker at large as shown in example (8) and (9).

(8) tɛ^{55}ʂtsə^{33}ndu^{33} kɛ̃^{55}tsɻ^{55} [ʂti^{24} hte^{55}mtɕhe^{33}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* sʰa^{55}tɕʰa^{55}]
Kangding Ganzi most prosperous -ATTR place
tɕi^{33}-tʂə^{55}-ʐ̩ɛ^{33}
COP-DUR-EMPH.EVD
Kangding is the most prosperous place in the Ganzi autonomous region.

(9) tə^{33}mtsʰo^{55} tʊ^{33}ʐ̩ə^{55}ʑə^{33} [je^{55}fi^{33}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* ʐ̩ɻ^{24}-pə^{33}dʑə^{55}] ʐ̩ɛ^{33}

LNK that place little-ATTR DIMI-child COP
After that, the little girl was at that place (the little girl was born).

4.4 Relativizer mbə^{33}rə^{33}

There are some contexts where *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* links a relative clause and its head noun. In this use, it seems to be developing into a linker in general and a relativizer in particular. The development of this linking function occurs at the expense of its deictic function. The relative clause linked by *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* must prepose the head noun, as in the following two examples:

(10) kə^{33}ʐə^{53} [[ȵa^{55}tɕ^{h}u^{33}k^{h}ɛ^{33}-ȵi^{33} kə^{55}-fɕi^{33}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}*] †ɕã^{33}tsʅ^{53}]
PROX Yajiang-ABL DIR-buy-REL jacket
ȵi^{55}ȵi^{55}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* də^{33}zʅ^{55}zʅ^{33}
red-DEM beautiful
This jacket bought from Yajiang looks beautiful.

(11) [[ŋa^{55} tʂo^{24}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}*] k^{h}ə^{24}] ptʂ^{h}a^{33}ptʂ^{h}a^{33}
1sg see-REL dog spotted
a^{55}-nk^{h}u^{33}-ndze^{33}ndze^{33}-ȵi^{33} ptsa^{55}la^{33} mue^{33}-tʂə^{33}-ʐɛ^{33}
DIR-jump-up and down-AUX play CVB-DUR-EMPH.EVD
The spotted dog that I saw just now jumped up and down, and played in the (garden).

4.5 The focus marker-alike mbə^{33}rə^{33}

Last but not least, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* can co-occur with the proximal demonstrative *kə^{33}ʐe^{53}* 'this'. Semantically, these two elements are contradictive resulting from their contrastive deictic features. *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}*, in this function, highlights the contrastive information. Speakers usually use this expression when they intend to contribute new information in the course of the interlocution. Note that this feature of *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* is not productive. It is only restricted to a small number of old native speakers at age 50 or over. Consider, for instance, the following example from the nDrapa text.

(12) tʂu^{55}mpa^{33} kə^{33}ʐe^{53} te^{55}nta^{33}-*mbə^{33}rə^{33}* zʅ^{24}zʅ^{33} ɕ^{h}i^{55}ɕ^{h}i^{55}
countrymen PROX.PL thing-DEM confidently always
fɕe^{55}fɕe^{55}-tʂə^{33}-ʐɛ^{33}
talk-DUR-EMPH.EVD
All these countrymen are confidently talking about this thing at times.

4.6 The thetical dɛ^{33}mbə^{33}rə^{33}

nDrapa enjoys a wide range of SAY verbs. Some SAY verbs have derived the function as evidential marker to encode a hearsay evidential (Shirai 2007). In Murong nDrapa, different evidential categories can also be constituted with flexible word orders of SAY verbs, such as: *-dɛ^{33}*, *-dɛ^{33}dzɛ^{33}* (hearsay); *-dɛ^{33}dʐɛ^{33}* (hearsay and story-telling); *-dzɛ^{33}dɛ^{33}* (third-hand hearsay); *-dɛ^{33}* (quotative); *-mba^{33}* (inference); *-ʂtɪ^{33}* (visual/perfective) (Huang

forthcoming). In some instances, the combination *dɛ^{55}mbə^{33}rə^{33}* may serve as a thetical that is added at the periphery of an utterance. The thetical *dɛ^{55}mbə^{33}rə^{33}* consists of a SAY verb *dɛ^{33}* and the demonstrative enclitic *mbə^{33}rə^{33}*. It forms utterances of its own, and its meaning is determined essentially by the situation of discourse rather than syntactic relation within a sentence (cf. Kaltenböck et al. 2011:851-852).

As is illustrated in following two sentences, the thetical *dɛ^{55}mbə^{33}rə^{33}*maintains its lexical meaning—'say it like that'—as a chunk detached from the anchor clause. Rather, it may embed between the head noun and the locative case marker in (14).

(13) tʊ^{33}ʐə̩^{55} tʂe^{33}sɛ^{55} #*dɛ^{33}mbə^{33}rə^{33}*# tʰui^{55} ʐə̩^{55} mei^{24} nə^{33}
DIST Zese #say it like that# 3sg.REFL GEN name CONJ
ndʐa̩^{33}ndʐa̩^{55} tɪ^{33}.
same NUM:CL
So, Zese... #I should say it like that#...the king himself has the same name as Zese.

(14) tə^{33}mtsho^{55} ˈlĩ^{24}tʂʰa^{33} #*dɛ^{33}mbə^{33}rə^{33}*# -kʰə^{33} ʐi^{24} ɕʰu^{55}-tʂɛ^{33}.
LNK forest #say it like that# -LOC go MOD-DUR:EMPH
Then, I should go to the forest...#say it like that#... into the forest.

4.7 Summary and discussion

The previous paragraphs have shown that a particular complex set of functions of the demonstrative enclitic *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* is attested in the nDrapa data. In all cases, it is similar to the pronominal canonical distal and adverbial demonstrative when attached with nominals and lexical verbs separately. Rather, *-mbə^{33}rə^{33}* derives the functions of nominalizer, attributive marker, relativizer, focus marker or even thetical when it develops from deictic use to non-deictic use. This process involves a process in which the speakers lost their way to interpret deixis in interlocution. The various grammatical distinctions established in this paper are outlined in Table 5.

Table 5. Grammatical features of the demonstrative enclitic mbə^{33}rə^{33}

	Distal	**Adverbial DEM**	**Nominalizer**	**Attributive**	**Relativizer**	**Focus marker**	**Thetical**
Usually cliticizes the nominals. *As one part of the 'sandwish' demonstratives. Strong deixis.*	✓						
Normally attaches to verbs and adjectives. *Can be interpreted as 'do it that way' or 'in that degree'. Deixis is not too strong.*		✓					
Only co-occurs with predicates. *Indicates the person/ sth related to the verbal action or the property of the adjective. Deixis neutral.*			✓				
Links the attributive adjectives and their head nouns. Crosses the boundary of the previous suffixed position, and embeds between two elements. *No particular meaning. Deixis weak.*				✓			
Attaches to a clause rather than a word. Links the clause and its head							

noun. *No particular meaning. Deixis weak.*	✓		
Highlights contrastive information. Reminds the hearer that a particular part is important in discourse. Deixis weak.		✓	
Syntactically and semantically independent. A parenthetical in discourse. Fused with 'say' verb. *Indicates the speaker's comments. Deixis weak.*			✓

As Diessel (1999:24) argues that "unlike adnominal, pronominal and identificational demonstratives, adverbial demonstratives are always unbound. I am at least **not** aware of any language in which adverbial demonstratives are clitics." It is noteworthy from the nDrapa data that the postposed demonstrative enclitic *mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} has developed its function from the original deictic indicator to a wide range of deictic-neutral functions. *mbə*^{33}*rə*^{33} can attach not only to nominals, but also to predicates and clauses. Further, it may combine with the SAY verb to constitute a thetical that is free from the context. Certain demonstrative enclitics in the world's languages may be attached NOT ONLY to nominal elements, but also to predicative elements. Given a variety of distinct grammatical positions, a demonstrative enclitic may be simultaneously reanalyzed as attributive marker, nominalizer, relativizer, focus marker and a thetical. This is explored in accordance with the data in the nDrapa language.

Abbreviations & Conventions

ABL	Ablative marker	HS	Hearsay
ASP	Aspect	IRR	Irrealis
ATTR	attributive marker	LOC	Locative marker
AUX	Auxiliary	LNK	Link
CAUS	Causative	MOD	Modal
CL	Classifier	NEG	Negative
COP	copular	NMLZ	Nominalizer
CONJ	conjunctive marker	NUM	Numeral
CVB	Coverb	PFV	Perfective
DEM	Demonstrative	PL	Plural
DIMI	Diminutive marker	PROH	Prohibitive
DIR	Directional prefix	PROX	Proximal
DISJ	Disjunct	QUES	Question particle
DIST	Distal	REL	Relativizer
DM	Discourse marker	†	Sinitic loans
DUR	Durative	#	parenthetical parts
EMPH	Emphatic		

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