

## Word-order variations and constituent structure in Naxi

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### 1. Word-order and configurationality

- (1) a. John gave Mary a book.  
 b. \*John gave a book Mary  
 c. Mary gave John a book ≠ John gave Mary a book.  
 d. \*Mary gave a book John.  
 e. \*A book gave Mary John.  
 f. \*A book gave John Mary.
- (2) a.  $\alpha^{55}na^{33}$   $n\gamma^{33}$   $\alpha^{33}lia^{33}$   $k\emptyset^{55}$   $t^he^{33}\gamma^{33}$   $nd\gamma^{33}$   $ts^ha^{33}$   $ji\emptyset^{55}$   
 Grandma NOM Alian OBL book one CL give  
 ‘Grandma gave Alian a book.’  
 b.  $\alpha^{55}na^{33}$   $n\gamma^{33}$   $t^he^{33}\gamma^{33}$   $nd\gamma^{33}$   $ts^ha^{33}$   $\alpha^{33}lia^{33}$   $k\emptyset^{55}$   $ji\emptyset^{55}$   
 c.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33}$   $k\emptyset^{55}$   $\alpha^{55}na^{33}$   $n\gamma^{33}$   $t^he^{33}\gamma^{33}$   $nd\gamma^{33}$   $ts^ha^{33}$   $ji\emptyset^{55}$   
 d.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33}$   $k\emptyset^{55}$   $t^he^{33}\gamma^{33}$   $nd\gamma^{33}$   $ts^ha^{33}$   $\alpha^{55}na^{33}$   $n\gamma^{33}$   $ji\emptyset^{55}$   
 e.  $t^he^{33}\gamma^{33}$   $nd\gamma^{33}$   $ts^ha^{33}$   $\alpha^{55}na^{33}$   $n\gamma^{33}$   $\alpha^{33}lia^{33}$   $k\emptyset^{55}$   $ji\emptyset^{55}$   
 f.  $t^he^{33}\gamma^{33}$   $nd\gamma^{33}$   $ts^ha^{33}$   $\alpha^{33}lia^{33}$   $k\emptyset^{55}$   $\alpha^{55}na^{33}$   $n\gamma^{33}$   $ji\emptyset^{55}$

- Phrase structure in English and Naxi

- (3) a. S [<sub>VP</sub> V IO DO ]  
 b. \*S [<sub>VP</sub> V DO IO ]  
 c. \*DO [<sub>VP</sub> V S IO ]  
 d. ...

- (4) a. S DO IO V  
 b. S IO DO V  
 c. DO S IO V  
 d. ...

- (5) a. S [<sub>VP</sub> DO IO V ]  
 b. S IO<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> DO t<sub>i</sub> V ]  
 c. DO<sub>i</sub> S [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> IO V ]  
 d. ...

- (6) a. 
- b. 

## 2. Subject-object asymmetries

- Coordination diagnostics for constituency
- (7) a. S [ <sub>VP</sub> V O ] and [ <sub>VP</sub> V O ]  
 b. \*[ S V ] and [ S V ] O
- (8) a. John [ <sub>VP</sub> sold the car ] and [ <sub>VP</sub> bought a house ]  
 b. John sold and Fred bought a house.
- (9) a. John sold and Fred bought a house.  
 b. \*[ John sold ] and [ Fred bought ] a house.  
 c. [ John sold *t<sub>i</sub>* ] and [ Fred bought *t<sub>i</sub>* ] a house<sub>*i*</sub>
- (10) a. John typed and Bill signed the letter quickly.  
 b. [ John [ <sub>VP</sub> [ <sub>VP</sub> typed the letter ] quickly ] ] and [ Bill [ <sub>VP</sub> [ <sub>VP</sub> signed the letter ] quickly ] ]  
 c. \*[ John [ <sub>VP</sub> [ <sub>VP</sub> typed *t<sub>i</sub>* ] *t<sub>j</sub>* ] ] and [ Bill [ <sub>VP</sub> [ <sub>VP</sub> signed *t<sub>i</sub>* ] *t<sub>j</sub>* ] ] the letter<sub>*i*</sub> quickly<sub>*j*</sub>
- (11) a. S [ O V ][ O V ]  
 b. \*[ S O ][ S O ] V  
 c. \*[ S O V ][ S O ]
- (12) a. α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup> nɣ<sup>33</sup> [ u<sup>33</sup>jə<sup>33</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>33</sup>ka<sup>33</sup> ] [ α<sup>33</sup>ka<sup>33</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ku<sup>33</sup>tɣ<sup>33</sup> ]  
 Alian NOM Uje ACC scold Aka ACC praise  
 ‘Alian scolded Uje, and praised Aka.’  
 b. \*[ α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup> nɣ<sup>33</sup> u<sup>33</sup>jə<sup>33</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ] [ α<sup>33</sup>hua<sup>33</sup> nɣ<sup>33</sup> α<sup>33</sup>ka<sup>33</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ] ka<sup>33</sup>ka<sup>33</sup>  
 Alian NOM Uje ACC Ahua NOM Aka ACC scold  
 ‘Alian Uje, Ahua Aka scolded.’  
 c. \*[ α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup> nɣ<sup>33</sup> u<sup>33</sup>jə<sup>33</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ka<sup>33</sup>ka<sup>33</sup> ] [ α<sup>33</sup>hua<sup>33</sup> nɣ<sup>33</sup> α<sup>33</sup>ka<sup>33</sup> kə<sup>55</sup> ]  
 Alian NOM Uje ACC scold Ahua NOM Aka ACC  
 ‘Alian scolded Uje, Ahua Aka.’
- (13) a. α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup> [ ts<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>33</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ər<sup>33</sup> ] [ xə<sup>33</sup>p<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> xər<sup>55</sup> ]  
 Alian rice wash vegetable cut  
 ‘Alian washed rice and cut vegetables.’  
 b. \*[ α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>33</sup> ] [ u<sup>33</sup>jə<sup>33</sup> xə<sup>33</sup>p<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ] tɕ<sup>h</sup>ər<sup>33</sup>  
 Alian rice Uje vegetable wash  
 ‘Alian rice, and Uje vegetables washed.’  
 c. \*[ α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ua<sup>33</sup> tɕ<sup>h</sup>ər<sup>33</sup> ] [ u<sup>33</sup>jə<sup>33</sup> xə<sup>33</sup>p<sup>h</sup>e<sup>55</sup> ]  
 Alian rice wash Uje vegetable  
 ‘Alian washed rice, and Uje vegetables.’
- Ellipsis diagnostics for constituency
- (14) a. John will read the book, and Bill should \_\_\_ too. \_\_\_ = read the book  
 b. John read the book, and Bill did \_\_\_ too. \_\_\_ = read the book
- (15) a. \*John will read the book, and \_\_\_ should \_\_\_ the newspaper too.  
 b. \*John read the book, and \_\_\_ did \_\_\_ too.

- (16) a.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} x\alpha^{33} ndz\eta^{33} nd\acute{e}r^{33}$ ,  $u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} l\alpha^{33} x\alpha^{33} ndz\eta^{33} nd\acute{e}r^{33}$   
 Alian rice eat should Uje also rice eat should  
 ‘Alian should eat rice, and Uje should eat rice, too.’
- b.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} x\alpha^{33} ndz\eta^{33} nd\acute{e}r^{33}$ ,  $u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} l\alpha^{33}$  \_\_\_\_\_  $nd\acute{e}r^{33}$   
 Alian rice eat should Uje also \_\_\_\_\_ should  
 ‘Alian should eat rice, and Uje should too.’
- c.  $*\alpha^{33}lia^{33} x\alpha^{33} ndz\eta^{33} nd\acute{e}r^{33}$ , \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  $ndz\eta^{33} ts\acute{o}^{33}$   
 Alian rice eat should \_\_\_\_\_ eat will  
 ‘Alian should eat rice, and will eat (rice).’

- (17) a.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$ ,  $\alpha^{33}ka^{33} l\alpha^{33} u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$   
 Alian Uje ACC help can Aka also Uje ACC help can  
 ‘Alian can help Uje, Aka also can help Uje.’
- b.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$ ,  $\alpha^{33}ka^{33} l\alpha^{33}$  \_\_\_\_\_  $t^h\alpha^{55}$   
 Alian Uje ACC help can Aka also \_\_\_\_\_ can  
 ‘Alian can help Uje, Aka also can (help Uje).’
- c.  $*\alpha^{33}lia^{33} u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$ , \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  $l\alpha^{33} ka^{33}ka^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$   
 Alian Uje ACC help can \_\_\_\_\_ also scold can  
 ‘Alian can help Uje, and Alian also can scold Uje.’

- Movement diagnostics for constituency

- (18) a. (John wished to buy a house, and) [ buy a house ]<sub>i</sub> he will  $t_i$   
 b.  $*(\text{John wished to buy a house, and}) he_i \text{ buy}_j t_i \text{ will } t_j \text{ a house}$

- (19) a. (they said John would buy a house, and) [ buy a house ]<sub>i</sub> they believed he will  $t_i$   
 b.  $*(\text{they said John would buy a house, and}) he_i \text{ buy}_j \text{ they believed } t_i \text{ will } t_j \text{ a house.}$

- (20) a.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} x\acute{o}^{33}p^he^{55} x\acute{e}r^{55} kv^{55}$ ,  $\eta\acute{o}^{31} s\acute{r}dv^{33} me^{33} t^h\gamma^{33} n\gamma^{33}$  [  $x\alpha^{33} t\gamma^{33}$  ]  $m\acute{o}^{33} kv^{55}$   
 Alian vegetable cut can, 1SG think that 3SG NOM meal do not can  
 ‘Alian can cut vegetables, cook a meal I think she cannot.’
- b.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} x\acute{o}^{33}p^he^{55} x\acute{e}r^{55} kv^{55}$ , [  $x\alpha^{33} t\gamma^{33}$  ]<sub>i</sub>  $\eta\acute{o}^{31} s\acute{r}dv^{33} me^{33} t^h\gamma^{33} n\gamma^{33} t_i m\acute{o}^{33} kv^{55}$   
 Alian vegetable cut can, meal do 1SG think that 3SG NOM not can  
 ‘Alian can cut vegetables, cook a meal I think she cannot.’
- c.  $*\alpha^{33}lia^{33} x\acute{o}^{33}p^he^{55} x\acute{e}r^{55} kv^{55}$ ,  $t^h\gamma^{33} n\gamma^{33}_i x\alpha^{33}_j \eta\acute{o}^{31} s\acute{r}dv^{33} me^{33} t_i t_j t\gamma^{33} m\acute{o}^{33} kv^{55}$   
 Alian vegetable cut can, 3SG NOM meal 1SG think that do not can  
 ‘Alian can cut vegetables, cook a meal I think she cannot.’

- (21) a.  $\alpha^{33}lia^{33} u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$ ,  $na^{55}$  [  $\alpha^{33}hua^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33}$  ]<sub>i</sub>  
 Alian Uje ACC help can but Ahua ACC help  
 $\eta\acute{o}^{31} s\acute{r}dv^{33} me^{33} t^h\gamma^{33} n\gamma^{33} t_i m\acute{o}^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$   
 1SG think that 3SG NOM not can  
 ‘Alian can help Aka, but help Ahua I think she cannot.’
- b.  $*\alpha^{33}lia^{33} u^{33}j\acute{o}^{33} k\acute{o}^{55} pa^{33}pa^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$ ,  $na^{55} t^h\gamma^{33} n\gamma^{33}_i \alpha^{33}hua^{33} k\acute{o}^{55}_j$   
 Alian Uje ACC help can but 3SG NOM Ahua ACC  
 $\eta\acute{o}^{31} s\acute{r}dv^{33} me^{33} t_i t_j pa^{33}pa^{33} m\acute{o}^{33} t^h\alpha^{55}$   
 1SG think that help not can

- Binding and coreference diagnostics for hierarchical structure

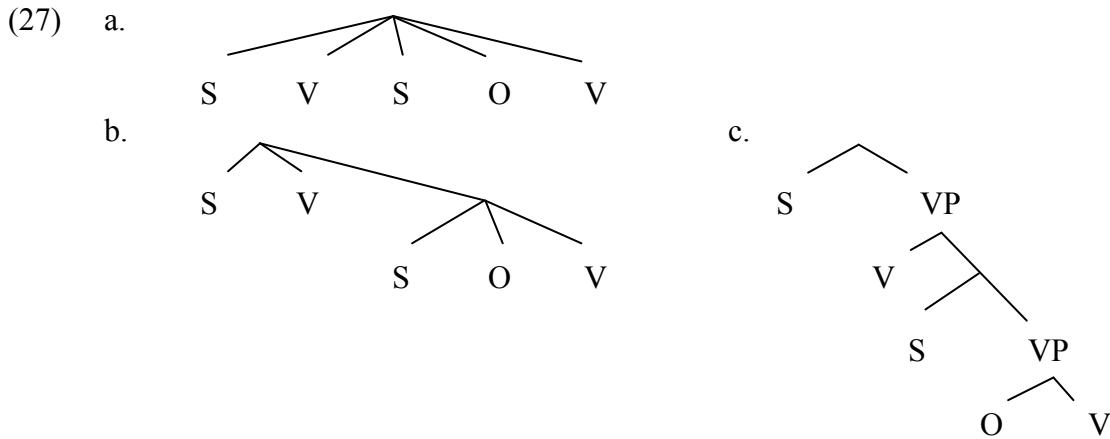
(22) a. John [<sub>VP</sub> likes himself ]  
 b. \*himself [<sub>VP</sub> likes John ]

(23) a. α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup><sub>i</sub> nɣ<sup>33</sup> tʰɣ<sup>33</sup> u<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>33</sup>u<sup>31</sup><sub>i</sub> kθ<sup>55</sup> pʰiə<sup>55</sup>pʰiə<sup>31</sup>  
 Alian NOM 3SG self ACC like  
 ‘Alian likes herself.’  
 b. \*tʰɣ<sup>33</sup> u<sup>33</sup>tu<sup>33</sup>u<sup>31</sup><sub>i</sub> nɣ<sup>33</sup> α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup><sub>i</sub> kθ<sup>55</sup> pʰiə<sup>55</sup>pʰiə<sup>31</sup>

(24) a. S [<sub>VP</sub> V O ]  
 b. S [<sub>VP</sub> O V ]

(25) a. John<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> is smart. OK *i≠j*, OK *i=j*  
 b. He<sub>i</sub> said that John<sub>j</sub> is smart. OK *i≠j*, \**i=j*  
 c. [ his<sub>i</sub> mother ] said that John<sub>j</sub> is smart. OK *i≠j*, ?*i=j*

(26) a. α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup><sub>i</sub> nɣ<sup>33</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>33</sup> tʰɣ<sup>33</sup><sub>j</sub> dza<sup>31</sup> gɣ<sup>33</sup> tsɿ<sup>55</sup> OK *i≠j*, OK *i=j*  
 alian NOM say that 3SG very smart -EVID  
 ‘Alian said that she is very smart.’  
 b. tʰɣ<sup>33</sup><sub>i</sub> nɣ<sup>33</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>33</sup> α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup><sub>j</sub> dza<sup>31</sup> gɣ<sup>33</sup> tsɿ<sup>55</sup> OK *i≠j*, \**i=j*  
 3SG NOM say that alian very smart -EVID  
 ‘She said that Alian is very smart.’  
 c. tʰɣ<sup>33</sup><sub>i</sub> ŋgə<sup>33</sup> ə<sup>31</sup>me<sup>33</sup> nɣ<sup>33</sup> sə<sup>55</sup> me<sup>33</sup> α<sup>33</sup>lia<sup>33</sup><sub>j</sub> dza<sup>31</sup> gɣ<sup>33</sup> tsɿ<sup>55</sup>  
 3SG POSS mother NOM say that alian very smart -EVID  
 ‘Her mother said that Alian is very smart.’ OK *i≠j*, ?*i=j*



**Selected references**

He, Jiren and Jiang, Zhuyi. 1985. Naxiyu Jianzhi [A brief monography on the Naxi language]. Beijing: Minzu Chubanshe.  
 He, Zhiwu. 1987. Naxi jichu yufa [A basic grammar of Naxi]. Kunming: Yunnan Minzu Chubanshe.