SKETCH GRAMMAR OF THE KARLONG VARIETY OF MONGGHUL, AND DIALECTAL SURVEY OF MONGGHUL

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

DECEMBER 2007

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The number of people who helped me in the course of my research, providing language information, translation, advice, and practical support is too great for me to list everyone individually. I can only list some of them here. Nevertheless, I thank all of them very much, since without their support I would not have been able to complete (or even start) this work. I especially thank all members of the Monguor speech community for their assistance. Especially I would like to thank my two main teachers from Fulaan Nura, Lamikar of Wushi township, and Lamikar of Hongyazigou township, and my teachers from the Ledu area, Li Gendshjia, Li Alghundurji, and Li Dujicirang, and Li Young Sheng. For Tianzhu data I would like to thank a young woman from Dawan, Qi Shengqin, and a grandmother from Dawan.

Thanks go to my translators, for their tireless and patient help with elicitation session, transcriptions and translations. They are Wen Xiangcheng, from Minhe, Qinghai, and a young woman from Tianzhu, Gansu. I also thank Ha Mingzong , Qi Yinghua and Rose for additional translations for material used in this dissertation.

For invaluable practical and linguistic support I would like to thank Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart. For advice and practical support I thank Juha Janhunen and Stefan Georg.

I am grateful to my dissertation committee for their advice and support: Alexander Vovin, Virginia Bennett, Robert Blust, David Stampe, Kenneth Rehg.

Thanks for Chinese translations go to Tsz-Him Tsui, Tracy Tang, Karen Huang, Wen-Wei Han, Nian Liu, and Dorinda Liu. For Qinghaihua translation I thank Khadijia Niu. For Japanese translation I thank Mie Hiramoto. And lastly, for help with English I would like to thank Jason Lobel, James Crippen.

All these people have provided help, advice, and answers. Needless to say, any mistakes are of course my own responsibility.

Many thanks to the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies for their generous funding of my research.

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I would like to thank my mother Maria Faehndrich for her support over the years as I worked my way towards the Ph.D.

And last but not least I would like to thank Jonathan Levy for his unfailing help and support.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a sketch grammar of the Karlong variety of Mongghul, an endangered language of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund. It includes a description of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and the socio-linguistic situation, and short discussions of classification and language contact. The dissertation also includes a concise survey of the phonology and morphology of known Mongghul varieties, as well as a short Karlong dictionary and a corpus of Karlong texts.

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Figure 7. Map of Qinghai and Gansu (not to scale) 343

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

//	Short pause
///	Long pause
$	Syllable boundary
—	No data available; no correspondence
1p.	1st person
1PL	1st person plural pronoun
1SG	1st person singular pronoun
2PL	2nd person plural
2SG	2nd person singular
3PL	3rd person plural
3SG	3rd person singular pronoun
ABL	Ablative case
ACC	Accusative case
ADJ	Adjectival suffix
adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
AG	Agentive
ASSERT	Assertive
AUX	Auxiliary
aux.	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier
cl.	Classifier

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COLL	Collective
com.	Comitative case
COM	Comitative case
CMPL	Completed action marker (Chinese)
COMPL	Completive
conc.	Concessive (other sources)
CONC	Concessive (my data)
conj.	Conjunction
conv.	Converb
conv.abtemp.	Abtemporal converb
conv.cond.	Temporal-conditional converb
conv.fin.	Final converb
conv.mod.	Modal converb
conv.perf.	Perfective converb
conv.term.	Terminative converb
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative case
DH	Huzhu Mongghul data from Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis 1996
DIM	Diminutive
DL	Dual
DM	Minhe Mangghuer data from Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis 1996
dub.	Dubitative
dur.	Durative
EMPH	Emphasizer
FN	Fulaan Nura
GEN	Genitive case

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HG	Halchighol
HORT	Hortative
imp.	Imperative
IMP	Imperative
IMPERF	Imperfective
INST.COM	Instrumental-comitative case
INTERR	Interrogative
INTJ	Interjection
intj.	Interjection
intr.	Intransitive
LK	Li Keyu (1988)
LOC	Locative
LT	Literary Tibetan
MS	Mostaert & de Smedt (1964)
n.	Noun
NG	Naringhol
n.s.	Nominal suffix
narr.	Narrative
NEG	Negative
NEG.AUX	Negative auxiliary
nom.act.	Nomen actoris
NOM.ACT	Nomen actoris
n.s.	Nominal suffix
num.	Numeral
Ø	Zero (used, for example, to show that a sound has been deleted)
OBJ	Objective

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OBL	Oblique
ORD	Ordinal number prefix (Chinese)
PTCL	Particle
part.ag.	Agentive participle
part.fut	Future participle
PART.FUT	Future participle
part.interr	Interrogative particle
PART.PERF	Perfective participle
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive marker
postp.	Postposition
PRHB	Prohibitive particle
pron.	Pronoun
PTCL	Particle
ptcl.	Particle
PURP	Purposive
QHH	Qinghaihua
QUOT	Quotative particle
RECIP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive suffix
refl.dat.	Reflexive dative
REFL.PRON	Reflexive pronoun
S13	Speaker 13
S20	Speaker 20
S26	Speaker 26
SG	Singular

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SM	Smedt, A. de and Mostaert A.
SMN	Smedt, A. de and Mostaert A. (Dictionary, 1929-31)
son	Sonorant
SUBJ	Subjective perspective
SUBORD	Gerund of absolute subordination
SUCC	Successive
TA	Tense and aspect
TDV	Todaeva (1973)
term.	Terminative
TERM	Terminative
V	Vowel
v.	Verb
v.s.	Verbal suffix
VRBL	Verbalizer
VgV	Vowel-/g/-vowel sequence
VjV	Vowel-/j/-vowel sequence
vol.	Voluntative
VOL1	Voluntative 1st person
WM	Written Mongolian
WT	Written Tibetan
Zhao	Huzhu data from Zhaonasitu 1981

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 INTRODUCTION

I.1.1 Preliminaries

The goal of this dissertation is to describe Karlong (KL), one of the undocumented varieties of Mongghul, and to present a short survey of the dialectal situation of Mongghul as a whole.

Mongghul is an endangered language of the Monguor subgroup of the Mongolic language family, spoken in the Provinces of Qinghai and Gansu in the People's Republic of China. More specifically, it is spoken in the following Counties: Huzhu Tu Autonomous County (Qinghai), Datong Hui and Tu Autonomous County (Qinghai), Ledu County (Qinghai), Tianzhu Tibetan Autonomous County (Gansu), in Ping'an (Li, p.c.), and possibly in Menyuan Hui Autonomous County (Qinghai) (cf. Georg 2003:286). According to Dwyer (2001:1), (a variety of) Monguor is also spoken in Dahejia county in Gansu. There are probably at least five varieties of Mongghul. I use the term 'varieties' since it is not well known to what extent these varieties differ. The varieties are: (1) Naringhol, (2) Halchighol, (3) Karlong, (4) Datong, and (5) Tianzhu. Only the first two are described to some extent, and there are two articles and one book on Tianzhu.

The official Chinese name for Monguor is *Tǔzúyǔ* (土族语). In this dissertation I will use the term "Monguor" to refer to the subgroup of Mongolic languages constituted by Mongghul, Mangghuer, and their dialects. If I want to refer to Mongghul and Mangghuer, as well as Baoan/Nianduhu and Wutun, which are not Monguor languages, I will use the term "Shirongolic".

Little is known about the dialectal variation of Mongghul. It is not completely clear how many dialects there are, or how much they differ from each other. Unfortunately, of those Mongghul varieties whose existence is known, those that have the least (or no) linguistic work done are the most endangered ones. It is critical that these varieties become documented, and the

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internal variation of Mongghul described, before the most endangered varieties of Mongghul disappear.

A 1990 census counted 191,624 people of Tu nationality (Mongghul and Mangghuer, see section I.1.4 for more details of the relationship between Mongghul and Mangghuer). Of these, probably about 150,000 are Mongghul (Georg 2003:286). However, as Georg stresses, not all of them necessarily speak Mongghul; there may be as few as 50,000 speakers left (2003:286-7). The number of speakers of different varieties of Mongghul ranges from many thousands (for example Karlong, ca. 18,000 speakers[1]) to very few (Datong, about 10 speakers).

Full documentation of Mongghul is crucial not just to collect and preserve information about the dialectal situation of Mongghul, but also because Mongghul is found in an area of unique language contact. The area where Mongghul is spoken is home to languages from four different language families (Mongolic, Turkic, Tibetan, Chinese[2]) that are all typologically very different (Turkic and Mongolic are typologically similar, but Chinese and Tibetan are typologically different from each other and from the 'Altaic' languages). Not much is known about what kinds of language change are possible in such a situation.

As the basis of this dissertation, I collected data from native speakers in Qinghai and Gansu provinces, China. The description of Karlong is based on a collection of words, sentences, stories, songs, and information about language use and language attitudes. It includes a description of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, language history, information on language contact, and sociolinguistic information. Appendix III contains all vocabulary used in illustrative examples, as well as words elicited for a word list based on the Swadesh 200-word list. The dialectological survey is based on the same short wordlist for the comparison of phonology and lexicon, as well as elicited sentences for a short comparison of morphology and syntax. Part of the data for the dialectological survey is taken from published works on Mongghul varieties.

[1] Information from Limusishiden, email December 22, 2005.
[2] I am aware that others have argued that Sino-Tibetan constitutes a language family, however, because of their typological differences, and the difference of their influence on Karlong, I list them as separate language families.

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I.1.2 Language Consultants

The data forming the basis of the description of KL was provided by two native speakers of this variety from the Fulaan Nura region. Lamikar[3] (age: 42, female) is originally from Xishan, Hongyazigou township, Huzhu county, Qinghai province. Lamikar[4] (age: 40, female) is originally from Shdazin village, Hongyazigou township, Huzhu county, Qinghai province, PRC. Both of them moved to Wushi county after getting married, and both now live in Xining. Neither of the two women received formal schooling, and they are not literate beyond the knowledge of some few characters. They both speak Mongghul, as well as Qinghaihua (青海话, Chinese dialect spoken in Qinghai province, which has undergone some influence form neighboring Tibetan, Mongolic, and Turkic languages). Both also have a basic understanding of Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese).

The data for Karlong of Ledu was provided by four male speakers in the village of Maqang, Dala township, Ledu county. All speakers were born and raised in the village. Li Gendenshjia[5], age 72, speaks Mongghul, Qinghaihua, understands Tibetan and speaks it a little. He is not literate. He did not receive any formal schooling. Li Alghundurji[6], age 57, and Li Dujicirang[7], age 50, speak Mongghul, Qinghaihua, and Putonghua, and received schooling in Chinese. Li Young Sheng[8] speaks Mongghul, Qinghaihua, Putonghua, and some Tibetan, and received schooling in Chinese.

The Tianzhu data was provided by three female speakers. All three are from from Dawan village, Tiantang township, Tianzhu county, Gansu province. The youngest speaker[9] is a 20-year old female who speaks Mongghul, Puthonghua, Qinghaihua[10], some Tibetan and a little Qinghaihua. She received formal schooling up to the level of Dazhuan (two years of study to

[3] Speaker code 13.
[4] Speaker code 20.
[5] Speaker code 23.
[6] Speaker code 24.
[7] Speaker code 25.
[8] Speaker code 26.
[9] Speaker code 1.
[10] Qinghaihua is spoken in Tiantang, Gansu, which borders Qinghai.

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become a teacher, added after completing several years of study equivalent to high school, but more career oriented[11]) in Chinese and, since grade three, instructions in Tibetan as a foreign language. The second speaker is a 70-year old female, who speaks Mongghul and the local Chinese variety. She received no schooling and is not literate. The third speaker, Qi Shengqin, is 30 years old and speaks Mongghul, Tibetan, local Chinese, and Putonghua. She received schooling in Chinese and Tibetan.

Most of the data was elicited through translators speaking Qinghai Chinese, and sometimes Mongghul. Some data was elicited by myself using Mandarin Chinese.

I.1.3 Technical Information

The data were recorded as digital audio recordings, and transcribed by me. As much as possible, all recorded data, as well as annotations and transcriptions, will be made available in accessible archives after the completion of this dissertation.

All data was recorded on a Marantz 660 digital recorder[12], and edited using Audacity[13]. I used Wordcorr for lexical and phonological comparison, Toolbox for the dictionary and for interlinearization, and Elan to link audio (and video) with transcriptions and translations.

I.1.4 Position of Mongghul in the Mongolic Language Family

Originally, Mongghul (Huzhu) and its sister language Mangghuer (Minhe) were believed to be two dialects of the same Monguor language. A number of Mongolists now assume that Mongghul and Mangghuer are in fact two distinct languages (Slater 2003, Janhunen 2003). However, there are some current materials that still treat Huzhu and Minhe as two dialects of one language, Monguor, for example, Üjiyediin (1994), Todaeva (1997). Some of the use of the term "dialects" to refer to different varieties of Monguor which are not mutually intelligible might be due to non-linguistic factors: Chinese languages which are not mutually intelligible are still referred to as

[11] Thanks to Kevin Stuart for explaining this to me.
[12] Many thanks to Kevin Roddy for his help with the Marantz recorder.
[13] Software for editing audio. I used it only for cutting, copying, and pasting.

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"dialects", and this usage of the term may have been transferred to work on other languages within China.

The exact position of Mongghul (and Monguor) in the Mongolic language family is not yet entirely clear. There are currently a number of different approaches to classifying Mongghul. Mostly the classifications are based on genetic relationship, but areal features are also taken into account. The following is a survey of some classifications of Monguor. All tree diagrams except Nugteren (1997) given are my own interpretations of the relationships described by other authors.

I.1.4.1 Genetic classifications

Poppe (1955) includes Monguor as one of four subgroups of the East Mongolian branch. According to Poppe (1955:23), the subgroup Monguor includes the following languages: Monguor proper (Dolot[14]), Aragwa, San-ch'uan[15], Santa, Shera Yögur[16], Shirongol[17].

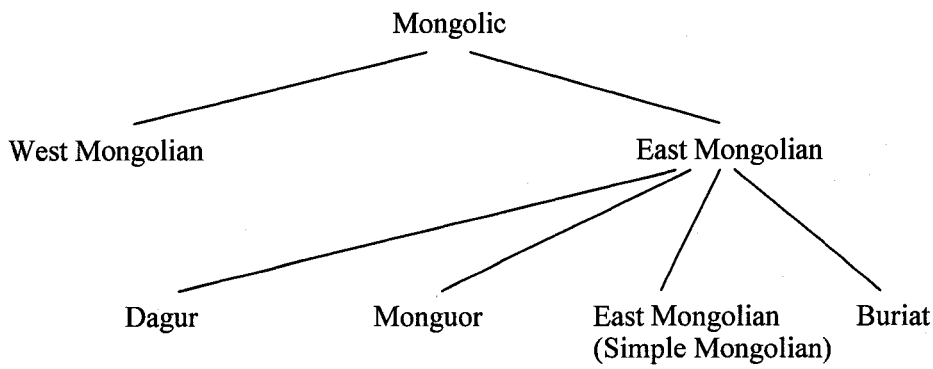


Figure 1. Poppe's (1955) Classification of Mongolic Languages

Doerfer (1964:41-43) classifies Monguor as one of the "isolated languages" of the Mongolic language family. In his classification, the other isolated languages of Mongolic are Dagur and

[14] Traditional term for Mongghul, according to Georg (2003:286).
[15] Region in Minhe territory.
[16] Shira Yughur.
[17] According to Georg (2003:286), an early term for "all Mongolic groups of the Gansu-Qinghai region with the exception of the Shira Yughur and the Qinghai Oirat". Cf. also Janhunen (2003a).

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Moghol. As members of Monguor, Doerfer, like Poppe (1964), lists Monguor proper, Aragwa, San-ch'uan, Santa, Shira Yughur, and Shirongol.

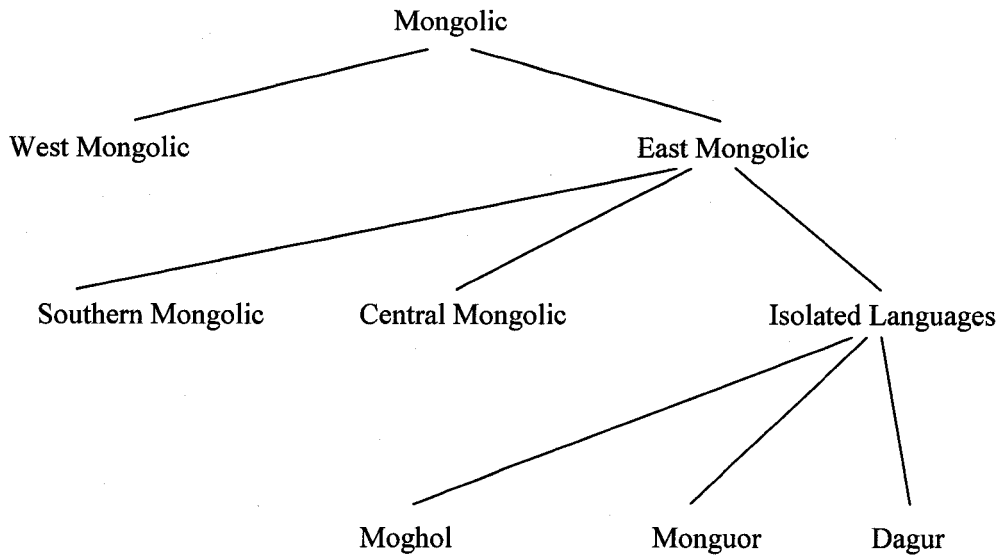


Figure 2. Doerfer's (1964) Classification of Mongolic Languages

The first instance of "Aragwa" being mentioned in the literature that I found is Mostaert (1931:78), who states that a "group of Mongols, calling themselves Aragwa, live northwest of Mao-paisheng." de Smedt & Mostaert (1929-1931:10) list the term in their dictionary, stating that Aragwa are a Mongolic tribe that lives at the source of the "Pe choei ho" or tɕiɢa:n ɢuor (this river is most likely the *beichuanhe* 北川河). The next author to mention them is Sinor (1952), who mentions "l'aragva" as one of the "archaic" Mongolic languages of Gansu (p.373). Poppe (1955:23) includes Aragwa as a member of the Monguor group of the East Mongolian branch. Doerfer (1964) also lists Aragwa as a member of Monguor. I was not able to find out anything about this variety, since nobody I talked to in Qinghai and Gansu recognizes this term.

Nugteren (1997:207-208) states that the group of "peripheral" Mongolic languages (including Dagur, Shera Yogur, Monguor, Bao'an, Dongxiang, and Moghol) has "not been defined by means of linguistic criteria...nor has it been subdivided". Nugteren (1997:209-210, 215) proposes

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a "Shirongol" subgroup of Mongolic, consisting of Monguor, Bao'an, and Dongxiang, with Bao'an and Dongxiang more closely related to each other than to Monguor. This group is separate from a Shera Yogur subgroup, but both of them belong to a Qinghai-Gansu subgroup.

Nugteren, in his paper discussing Turkic loanwords in Monguor, Bao'an, Dongxiang, and Eastern Yughur, "provisionally" classifies these languages "as a subgroup within the Mongolic language family, called Southern Mongolic" (1998:683).

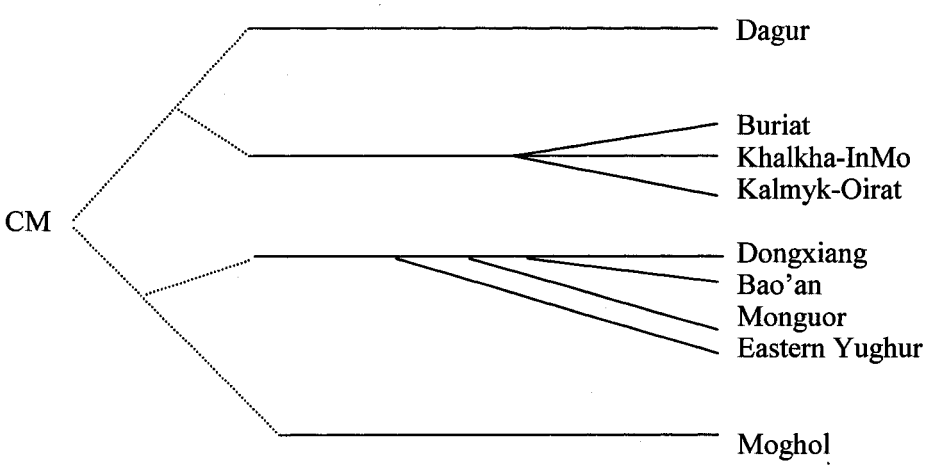


Figure 3. Nugteren's (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages (simplified from the original)

Iakhontova (1997:10) places Monguor in a subgroup of Mongolic made up of Santa, Bonan, and Shira Yughur.

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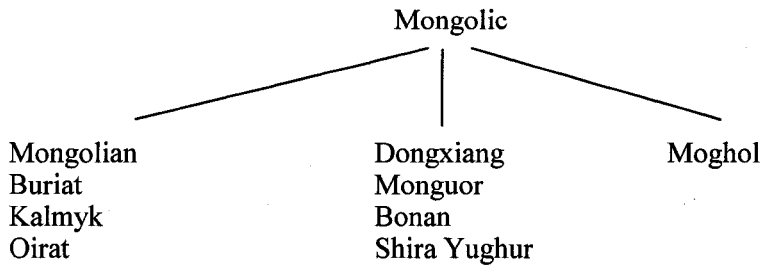


Figure 4. IAkhontova (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages

According to Slater, Monguor is a subgroup of the Mongolic language family in the south-eastern, non-harmonizing group of Mongolic languages (2003:338-341). Like Iakhontova (1997), Slater gives the other members of this group as Santa, Bonan, and Shira Yughur (2003:341).

Rybatzki (2003:389) offers the following tentative taxonomy: a Southeastern branch of Mongolic, consisting of Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, Santa, divided into two subgroups: Mongghul-Mangghuer and Bonan-Santa. According to Rybatzki, Shira Yughur is equally close to the southwester group of Mongolic and to the group made up of Buryat, Khalkha, Ordos, and Oirat (2003:388).

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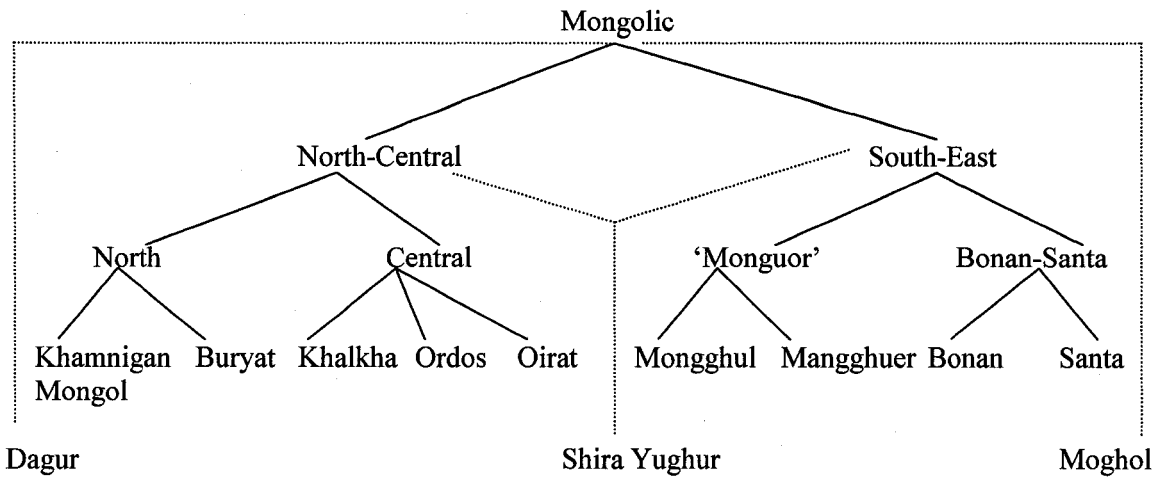


Figure 5. Rybatzki (1997) Classification of Mongolic Languages

According to Todaeva (1997:124), Monguor belongs to the "marginal branch" of the Mongolic language family, together with Santa, Bao'an, Dagur, and Moghol.

Hypotheses regarding specifically the make-up of the Shirongol (or Monguor) subgroup of Mongolic are discussed by the Ethnologue, EMELD, the Linguist List, and Janhunen (2003a).

The Ethnologue[18] lists Monguor as a language with two major dialects: Huzhu and Minhe.

Another classification is given by EMELD[19]. Monguor is described as consisting of Huzhu, Minhe, Niandhu/Baoan, and Wutun.

The Linguist List offers yet a different picture. It lists as members of the Monguor subgroup the following languages: Bonan, Dongxian, Kangjia, Tu (Monguor), and East Yugur[20].

Janhunen (2003a) writes that Potanin used "Shirongol" to refer to what are today called Mongghul, Mangghuer, Bonan, and Santa. Janhunen proposes to use the term "Shirongolic" to refer to this group of languages (2003:88a). He states that

[18] http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=mjg, accessed 12/4/07.
[19] Electronic Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data, http://emeld.org/goals/languages.cfm, accessed 12/4/07.
[20] http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/new-website/LL-WorkingDirs/forms/langs/get-familyid.cfm?CFTREEITEMKEY=ATAAB, accessed 12/4/07.

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> [a]lthough it is too early to say what the exact taxonomic relationship between the Mongolic languages of the Kokonor region are, there is increasing evidence that, at least structurally, these languages have much in common with each other. Potanin's idea that they form a distinct branch of Mongolic is therefore justified, perhaps not in the genetic framework, but certainly in the areal sense (Janhunen 2003a:87-88).

There is some agreement in the different genetic classifications of Mongghul. For example, in most genetic classifications I was able to find Mongghul (or Monguor) is grouped together with Santa (Dongxiang) and Bao'an. In some cases, Shira Yughur is added to the group. Recent classifications place Huzhu and Minhe together in a subgroup "Monguor" within the Shirongolic group of languages. Shirongolic is usually classified either as a (South-) Eastern branch of Mongolic, or as a "peripheral" group.

I.1.4.2 Areal relationships

Mongghul is generally considered to be a language of the Gansu-Qinghai Sprachbund. Mongghul varieties are spoken in a unique language contact situation, with four different language families representing different degrees of typological differences. Besides Mongghul and its sister language Mangghuer, this Sprachbund also includes other Mongolic languages (Bonan, Santa, Mangghuer, Shira Yughur), Chinese (dialects of Mandarin Chinese and other Chinese varieties), and Tibetan (dialects of Amdo Tibetan), as well as Turkic (Salar and Sarygh Yughur) (Janhunen, to appear; Janhunen 2004). Mongolic and Turkic[21] are agglutinating and SOV, while Chinese is isolating and largely SVO. Tibetan is SOV and uses suffixes.

[21] Mongolic and Turkic are by some people considered to be members of the Altaic language family.

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I.1.5 Mongghul Varieties

More than seventy years ago, Mostaert (1931:85) stated that "[i]t is impossible at present to state the number of Mongolian idioms of Kansu and to establish even a rudimentary classification of them. I believe, nevertheless, that they are numerous."

Even now, the dialectal situation of Mongghul has not yet been thoroughly investigated. It is not exactly clear how many dialects there are, and exactly how much they differ from each other. Most linguistic work has been based on two dialects of Mongghul: Halchighol and Naringhol. These are the varieties mentioned most often in connection with Mongghul or Monguor, e.g., in the Ethnologue[22], and the Linguist List[23]. EMELD[24] also lists the Tianzhu and Datong varieties.

Most 'dialectological' studies of Monguor have concentrated on the differences between Mongghul and Mangghuer, which are arguably two different languages (Slater 2003:332). Differences between varieties of Mongghul have only been studied to a limited extent. Todaeva's (1973) work includes some information on the differences between Halchighol and Naringhol, and, in some cases, Fulaan Nura, in the areas of phonology, morphology and lexicon. de Smedt & Mostaert (1964:x) mention that Fulaan Nura is a sub-dialect of Huzhu.

I.1.5.1 Previous Classification of Mongghul Varieties

SM (1964:x) list Halchighol, Fulaan Nura (Karlong), and Naringhol as sub-dialects of Huzhu. According to Todaeva (1997:124) Monguor consists of two sharply different dialects (Huzhu and Minhe), where Huzhu consists of a number of 'Redensarten'[25]: Halchighol, Fulaan Nura (Karlong), Naringhol, while Minhe is not differentiated. (Note, however, that according to Slater (2003:309) "[s]peakers [of Minhe] report noticeable dialectal differences, particularly in the areas of phonology and lexicon".)

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[22] http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=mjg, accessed 12/4/07.
[23] http://linguistlist.org/forms/langs/LLDescription.cfm?code=mjg, accessed 12/4/07.
[24] http://emeld.org/goals/languages.cfm, accessed 12/4/07.
[25] говоры

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Dwyer (2001:1), in a rough draft of a grammatical sketch of Monguor, lists the following Monguor varieties: Minhe, Huzhu, Nianduhu/Baoan, and Wutun. She goes on to describe Nianduhu/Baoan and Wutun as "highly divergent language communities", and to state that "Tianzhu and Datong Monguor appear to be subvarieties of Huzhu Monguor".

Georg (2003:286) mentions the following Mongghul dialects: Halchighol, Naringhol, and a dialect spoken along the Fulaan Nuraghol river[26], of which, according to Georg, "little is known". He also states that "[t]here are indications that Mongghul, possibly in a special dialectal variety, has also been spoken (and is possibly still spoken) further north in what is now Menyuan Hui Autonomous County of Qinghai" (2003:286).

Janhunen (2006a:6) presents yet another internal classification of Monguor: Mongghul (Huzhu), Mangghuer (Minhe), and the variety documented by Mostaert and de Smedt, which, according to Janhunen, "is strictly speaking neither Mangghuer not Mongghul, but a third variety of the same group of languages, a variety perhaps best labeled *Mongghuor*", which, according to Janhunen, "in some respects...seems to be intermediate between Mongghul and Mangghuer." Janhunen goes on to say that "the dialectal variation within Mongghul is considerable and little investigated."

Janhunen (2006b:28) sees Monguor as consisting "of at least three clearly distinct, though closely related languages that are perhaps best referred to as *Mongghul*, *Mongghuor*, and *Mangghuer*."

According to Ha and Stuart (2006:46), "[t]he Monguor language consists of Minhe, Huzhu, Tongren (Rebgong), Shaowa Wo[27], and Wutun dialects that, while sharing commonalities, are mutually unintelligible".

EMELD describes Tianzhu (county) Monguor and Datong (county) Monguor as subvarieties of Huzhu Monguor.

---

[26] Karlong

[27] Shaowa Wo are a population group who are classified as Tuzu, but who do not speak Tuzu but a Tibetan variety (Ha, personal communication, August 26, 2007).

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The Ethnologue lists Monguor as a language with two major dialects (Huzhu and Minhe), of which Huzhu is divided into three further sub-dialects: Mongghul, Halchighol, Naringhol.

The Linguist List gives the following as dialects of Tu (Monguor): Halchighol, Mangghuer, Naringhol, and Mongghul[28].

The last two classifications are problematic, since according to most classifications, Huzhu is the same as Mongghul, while Halchighol and Naringhol are varieties of Mongghul.

Limusishiden (p.c., email 12/13/2005) offers the following preliminary analysis of Mongghul varieties:

1) Halchi[29] (spoken in Donggou, Donghe, Halazhigou, Dongshan[30] and Taizi, Wufeng townships and Danma and Weiyuan Towns in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County).

a. Naringhol.

b. Other varieties.

2) Datong (variety spoken in Wufeng Township in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County is close to the variety that used to be spoken in Datong).

3) Fulaan Nura (Karlong) (spoken in Wushi, Hongyazigou and Sunduo townships in Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County and Dala Township, Ledu County).

4) Tianzhu and Mengyuan are mixed varieties, with speakers stemming from different areas in Huzhu. According to Limusishiden (p.c., email 12/15/2005), the Mongghul people living in Tianzhu are from all areas in Huzhu County. There are a total of about 20,000 Mongghul living in Gansu Province, but only a few thousand at the most still speak Mongghul. (Limusishiden, p.c., email 12/15/2005.)

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[28] http://cf.linguistlist.org/cfdocs/new-website/LL-WorkingDirs/forms/langs/LLDescription.cfm?code=mjg, accessed 12/4/07.

[29] If Limusishiden's classification of Hachighol is correct, it is questionable what previous writings about the differences between Naringhol and Halchighol are based on, for example Todaeva (1973). Possibly when writers distinguish between Naringhol and Halchighol, "Naringhol" corresponds to the subvariety of Halchighol called Naringhol by Limusishiden, while "Halchighol" corresponds to the other subvariety.

[30] According to Limusishiden (p.c., email 12/15/2005), there are more than 8,000 speakers of Mongghul in Dongshan Township.

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The survey above shows that internal variation of Mongghul, and even the question of what should be considered different dialects within Monguor, is not yet very clear.

Krippes (1992:36-37), in evaluating different sources of Mongguor materials (in a dissertation about the reconstruction of Proto-Mongolian initial *p), uses the comparative table given in Todaeva (1973:42) to determine if various dictionaries of Mongghul consist of only one, or more than one, subdialects of Mongghul.

I.1.6 Discussion of Mongghul Varieties

I.1.6.1 Naringhol

Naringhol is the most described Mongghul variety. de Smedt & Mostaert's dictionary (1931) and grammar (1933) are based on the Naringhol dialect as spoken in the village of Alima Hangshar, southeast of the center of Huzhu. Schröder's grammar (1964) also seems to be based on this variety, or possibly a variety geographically located between Naringhol and Halchighol. The same is true for the texts contained in Schröder (1959). Róna-Tas's (1966) discussion of Tibetan loanwords in Mongghul is based on the materials found in de Smedt & Mostaert and Schröder. Todaeva (1973) contains materials from and information about Naringhol.

According to Li (p.c.), Naringhol is actually a subvariety of Halchighol.

As stated above, Janhunen (2006a:6) considers the Mongghul variety described by Mostaert and Smedt to be a variety different from, and "perhaps intermediate between Mongghul and Mangghuer."

Based on these different classifications, Naringhol (as described by de Smedt and Mostaert) is either a sub-variety of Halchighol, a sister-variety of Halchighol within the group of Huzhu Mongghul varieties, or a variety which is neither Huzhu Mongghul nor Minhe Mangghuer, but in between those two.

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I.1.6.2 Halchighol

Next to Naringhol, Halchighol is the other most mentioned and described variety of Mongghul. Todaeva (1973) is based mostly on Halchighol. Schröder (1964) may also contain Halchighol material. The short grammar by Zhaonasitu (1981) and the comparative grammar by Chinggeltei and Li Keyu (1988) are also based on Halchighol. Another grammar of Halchighol is Chinggeltei (1991), which was translated into English by Üjiyediin Chuluu (1994). The short grammar by Georg (2003) is also based on Halchi.

According to Limusishiden (p.c.), Halchighol has less Tibetan influence compared with Fulaan Nara. Speakers of Halchi call themselves Mongghul. Halchi is divided into two groups:

a) The variety spoken in the following townships: Halazhigou, Danma, Donggou, Donghe, Taizi, and Wufeng, as well as the Weiyuan region.
b) the variety of Dongshan township, which corresponds to the Naringhol, described by de Smedt & Mostaert and Schröder.

Limusishiden and Kevin Stuart have published extensively on Mongghul folklore and culture in the Halchi variety (particularly the variety as spoken in Danma township, Limusishiden's hometown).

Halchighol is a variety of Huzhu Mongghul.

I.1.6.3 Karlong

Karlong (or Fulaan Nura), is spoken in Wushi, Hongyazigou and Sunduo townships in Huzhu county, and in Dala Township, Ledu County, both counties in Qinghai province. There are 18,000[31] speakers of Karlong. KL has undergone a strong Tibetan influence. "Karlong" is what the speakers of the Mongghul in this area call themselves (Li, p.c.). Some features of this variety are mentioned in Todaeva (1973).

[31] Limusishiden, p.c., email, 12/22/2005.

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Authors who mention this variety (Todaeva 1973, Mostaert 1964, Georg 2003) classify it as a variety of Huzhu Mongghul.

I.1.6.4 Tianzhu

According to Limusishiden (p. c.), Mongghul speakers living in Tianzhu moved there from different villages in Huzhu about four or five generations ago for a number of reasons: to escape the law, to escape starvation, and to escape Ma Bufang (马步芳), who forcefully conscripted men into his army (see also Ha and Stuart 2006:51). Ha and Stuart (2006:51) give the 1920s and 1930s as the arrival date of Ha clan Monguors in Hawan village in Tianzhu.

A new, slightly different, variety of Mongghul has emerged in Tianzhu as the result of dialect mixing. Ha and Stuart (2006:55) list some phonological features that distinguish Tianzhu Mongghul from the Mongghul spoken in Huzhu county. However, Tianzhu is closer to Halchi than to other varieties of Mongghul.

There are very few publications on the Tianzhu variety. I am aware of the following: Ha and Stuart (2006), Ha and Li (1999), and Kakudo (1997).

Tianzhu can be classified as a variety of Halchighol, Huzhu, with some changes due to dialect mixing, and distance in time and space.

I.1.6.5 Datong

Datong is spoken in Wufeng township Huzhu County and villages in Datong county (Qinghai province) (Limusishiden, p.c.). Several years ago there were about 10 speakers left of the Datong variety (Juha Janhunen, Kevin Stuart, Limusishiden, p. c.). I was not able to locate any speakers. This variety is moribund, or already extinct. No work has been done on the Datong variety of Mongghul.

According to Limusishiden (p.c.), there has been quite a bit of contact between the Datong and Halchi and Fulaan Nara varieties. Mongghul came to Datong from Huzhu about eight to nine

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generations ago. That the people in Datong are originally from Huzhu is witnessed by the fact that on Mourning Day, people bow in the direction of Huzhu first (Limusishiden, p.c.).

Unless speakers are found and interviewed, the only thing that can be said about this variety is that is was most likely a variety of Huzhu Monghul.

I.1.6.6 Menyuan

According to Limusishiden (p.c.), families from different places within Huzhu county live in Menyuan. At this point I do not know how long Mongghul have been living in Menyuan. As far as I know, there is no documentation of this variety.

I.1.6.7 Ping'an

According to Limusishiden (p.c.), Mongghul is also spoken in Ping'an. As far as I know, there is no documentation of this variety.

I.2 HISTORY

According to most accounts, the Monguor arrived in the Qinghai region in the 13th century.

Mostaert (1931:79) writes that the Mongols in Gansu came to that area at different times and from different areas, starting during the time of Chingis Khan. More specifically, he states that a group of Mongols was established in Gansu during the beginning of the Ming dynasty, coming "probably from Western or Central Mongolia" (1931:82).

Schram (1954:21) writes that "a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region". According to Schram (1954), part of the Monguors were originally a Turkic group, the Shat'o Turks. Citing the Annals of Xining, Schram (1954:29) states that a Mongol army was active in the region of Kukunor and Xining in 1275, and a son-in-law of Chingis Khan (Chang-chi) was appointed governor in 1287. According to Schram (1954:29, cf. also 57) the first historical reference show that Monguors were living in Xining already before the beginning of the Ming dynasty.

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Similarly, Georg (2003:287) states that there probably were no Mongols in the Qinghai region before 1227, when Mongol troops occupied the region.

However, the theory that the Monguor are actually descendants of the *Tuyuhun* is also defended by a number of authors.

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CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1 INTRODUCTION

Most of the previous research on Mongghul is based on two varieties: Halchighol and Naringhol. Also, there are two published works on the Tianzhu variety, one article (Ha and Stuart 2006) and one book (Ha and Li 1999), which does not contain a linguistic description, but does contain some description about the general language situation, and Chinese translations of songs. Some features of Karlong are described in Todaeva (1973). No work at all has been done on the Datong variety.

The following is a summary of previous research on and documentation of varieties of Mongghul. In some cases I was not able to find out which variety of Mongghul the research is based on. In other cases, it is even unclear which of the two 'Monguor' languages the research is based on.

II.2 EARLY SOURCES

Mongghul is first mentioned by Huc (1850), and Przheval'skii (1875). Huc (1850) recounts the travels of the missionaries Huc and Gabet. Huc and Gabet's guide, Samdadchiemba, was a Dchiahour, that is, a Monguor (according to Mostaert (1931:83), he came from San-ch'uan). Huc and Gabet visited their guide's area of origin.

According to Georg (2003:287), Potanin (1893) has the "first collection of linguistic data...of any kind of 'Monguor'", which, however, "apparently represent an early variant of Mangghuer, rather than Mongghul." Rockhill (1894) also contains Monguor words. So do D'Ollone (1912) and Tafel (1914).

II.3 ETHNOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Mostaert (1931) is a survey of the Mongolic languages spoken in Gansu. Mostaert gives some information about local politics and religion, as well as the origin of the Mongolic speakers in

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Gansu. Like many other authors, Mostaert believes that Mongols came to the area starting probably at the time of the Mongolic empire (1931:79). According to Mostaert, the Mongolians in Gansu today very likely originated from different places (1931:86). For Monguor, Mostaert notes its archaism, in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary (1931:86). He also mentions the great impact of language contact, mainly from Tibetan and Chinese, and to a much lesser extent from Turkic (1931:88).

Ethnographic and historical information about the Monguor people is also given in Schram's three-part work (1954-1961). Among other topics, Schram (1954) describes the following: location, historical background, other populations in the area, the Monguor clans (names and locations of clans, as well as clan structure), festivals, social structure (especially the role of the maternal uncle), costume, and economy. His description is based on his experiences in Xining between 1911 and 1922. Of the language, Schram provides a list of kinship terms.

II.4 GRAMMAR AND OVERALL DESCRIPTIONS

Mostaert (1931:87-89) lists a number of special features of Monguor, such as the locative *–re*, as well as the archaic present *–m* and the converbum finale *-ra*. He notes that Monguor has retained some archaic vocabulary, stating that some of the words preserved in this language cannot be found in Written Mongolian or other Mongolian languages (1931:88).

de Smedt and Mostaert (1964) is a grammar of the Naringhol dialect. It includes information on phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as a small dictionary.

Schröder (1964) is a grammatical sketch of Monguor. Based on what he states on p. 144,[32] it seems that this description is based on a variety located between Naringhuol and Halchighol. Schröder discusses some of the archaic features of Monguor, gives a short description of phonology, and a short description of morphology and syntax.

[32] "die vom Verfasser aufgenommenen Texte gehören zur etwas abweichenden Mundart der Gegend von *Xonitsi paŋ* (chin. *Yang-chüan*)"

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Todaeva (1973) is a fairly detailed grammar of Monguor, which is based mostly on Halchighol, but also contains some data for Naringhol and a little data from Fulaan Nura (Karlong), as well as quite a bit of data from Minhe. Todaeva (1973) also contains texts and a short dictionary.

The short grammar by Zhaonasitu (1981) and the comparative grammar by Chingeltei and Li Keyu (1988)[33] are also based on Halchighol. Another grammar of Halchighol is Chinggeltei (1991), which was translated into English by Chaolu Wu (1994). Special topics of Mongghul grammar are treated in Chingeltei (1989)[34] and Kakudo (1989)[35].

Chuluu (1994) contains a short survey of where Monguor (consisting of the Huzhu and Minhe dialects) is spoken, a list of the phonemes and allophones of Huzhu, a short discussion of vowel harmony, a list of inflectional suffixes, and several pages of example sentences with morpheme-by-morpheme and free translations.

Todaeva (1997) is a very short grammar of Halchighol.

A short but thorough description of Mongghul is Georg (2003, 20 pages).

Shimunek (2006), in his short description of Mongolic perception verbs, includes data from Mongghul. He does not state which variety of Mongghul the data belongs to.[36]

II.5 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

Mostaert (1931) cites the difference in accentuation as compared to other Mongolic languages (varieties of Monguor have final stress), as well as a number of sound changes that took place in Monguor (p. 89), and some archaic phonetic features (p. 87).

Khelimskiy (1984) discusses Monguor words starting with /h/ and its allophones (since he bases his conclusions on de Smedt and Mostaert 1933, it is probably the Naringhuol dialect).

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[33] Both Zhaonasitu (1981) and Chingeltei and Li Keyu (1988) contain comparisons with Mangghuer.
[34] He discusses "subjective and objective mood" (perspective).
[35] He discusses the suffix "-ngge" [-ŋge].
[36] However, the following Mongghul sources are listed in his references: Hasbaatar (1985), Li Keyu (1988), MS (1964), Sun Zhu (1990), and Chinggeltei (1988). In addition, he lists Ha Mingzong (who is from Hawan village in Tianzhu, Gansu, cf. Ha and Stuart 2006) as his informant for Mongghul data.

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Svantesson (2003), in his article on Mongolic pre-aspiration, discusses Monguor aspiration dissimilation.

II.6 TEXTS

Most published Mongghul texts are based on Halchighol, but there is also a little material on the Tianzhu.

Schröder (1959) is based on the Halchighol variety, or a variety located geographically between Halchighol and Naringhol. "Aus der Volkdichtung der Monguor, Teil 1", is a collection of a number of texts, a few melodies, as well as a discussion of the methods of collecting the data, and some discussion of their possible origin. One of his informants was from Mula-xonitsi-pung, the other one was from Tuo-chia in the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling (both are located between the Naringhuol and the Halchighol areas). Schröder contains the following texts (with translation): the introduction of "Das weisse Glücksschaf[37]" (*xoni*), a number of Mangudze[38] stories, "Das Entenpaar" (*son nirwa*, a version of the Larinbudo and Jiminsu story), various riddle songs (Die drei Länder, Die drei Vögel, Die Feldarbeit, Das Schnappsbrennen, Der Webstuhl, Das Brotdämpfen), and a number of idioms. Schröder (1970, "Aus der Volkdichtung der Monguor, Teil 2") is based on the same variety as Schröder (1959).

Heissig (1980) contains a copy of the Geser epos written down by Schröder. It is a copy of Schröder's actual handwritten version (consisting of 12,000 lines), with line numbers, containing some musical notations and some notes in Chinese. The book also contains the translation of lines 1-822, as well as lines 1337-1745. There is also a free translation of lines 1-1661, and a preliminary translation of lines 1662-2450.

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[37] "The lucky white sheep", according to Schröder (1959:22) the introduction to a large collection of myths describing the origin of animals.

[38] Mangudze are female monsters which devour people, or threaten to devour them. In those versions of the story in which someone is devoured, the stomach of the Mangudze is frequently cut open, and the devoured one is freed.

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Chingeltei et al. (1986) sentences and texts, are based on the Halchighol variety, according to Georg (2003:288).

Studies of Mongghul texts have been done by Kakudo (1988, 1996).

The work of Limusishiden & Stuart is generally based on the Halchi variety. Limusishiden is a native of Tughuan village, Danma Township.

Limusishiden & Stuart (1994) describes the Huzhu Monguor deity, the Pram, as well as customs and beliefs associated with it. Samples of Mongghul language are limited to language associated with these customs and beliefs.

Limusishiden & Stuart (1995) is the English translation of Larinbuda and Jiminsu. It contains some discussion of the tragedy, as well as some discussion of the Monguor language in general.

Limusishiden & Stuart (1996) is a textbook for teaching English to speakers of Mongghul. The language of instruction is Mongghul.

The Huzhu materials in Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996) are Halchighol.

Texts and songs, jokes and riddles in the Halchi variety have been published by Limusishiden & Stuart (1998).

Limusishiden & Stuart (1999) is a list of Huzhu Mongghul language materials available in the Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) County Culture Office, including some primary school teaching materials, texts, and songs.

Limusishiden & Stuart (2001) is a selection of texts from *Chileb*, the only existing journal with texts written in Mongghul. The stories selected have been re-transcribed in the Halchi variety.

For Tianzhu, there is one unpublished text of Tianzhu (Ha, ms, transcription with glosses and translations of conversations of the author with his grand-uncle), and some short examples of Tianzhu in Ha and Stuart (2006).

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II.7 Dictionaries, Vocabularies and Wordlists

There are a number of early wordlists. Potanin (1893) probably includes the first Monguor wordlist (Georg 2003:287). However, since the wordlist from Sanchuan, which is in today's Minhe county, it is Mangghuer data, not Mongghul. Rockhill (1894) contains a 3-page wordlist of San-ch'uan (Mangghuer) vocabulary. D'Ollone (1912) contains 26 words of a variety he calls "Toujen"[39]. Tafel (1914:247) contains a short list (26 words and 2 sentences) of "Tu ren", collected in the area of Wei yüan bu (Huzhu).

Smedt and Mostaert, Monguor-French dictionary (1929-1931) is of the Naringhol dialect (but cf. Janhunen 2006 regarding the classification of the variety described by Mostaert and de Smedt).

Hasbaatar (1985) is a dictionary containing 225 pages of Mongghul words with Chinese translations, with Written Mongolian and Tibetan equivalents where appropriate. According to Georg (2003:288), it is based on Halchighol. However, Krippes (1992:36-37) states that it is based on Naringhol[40]. He identifies the variety as Naringhol based on "[t]hrough an analysis of the linguistic features of some key words in the comparative table in Todaeva (1973:42)" (1992:37).[41] However, Krippes (1992: 37-38) also states that the materials in Hasbaatar (1985) may not be homogeneously Naringhol, since some items "do not coincide with de Smedt &

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[39] According to D'Ollone (1912), the data was collected in Souonapa. According to http://www.fallingrain.com/world/CH/15/Suonan.html , (7/10/06), "Souonapa" is an alternate name for "Dongxiang", which makes it possible that the variety he documented is actually Dongxiang. Comparison of D'Ollone's data with Dongxiang is necessary to determine this for certain.

[40] Krippes (1992:37) states that the informants are from the following places: Köke nagur province, Dongwezhen county, Ma rensu county, and Qiaozheliang county.

[41] Todaeva (1973:42) gives the following table (translated here from the Russian original; hg. = Halchighol, ng. = Naringhol, fn. = Fulaan Nura):

m ~ n: ʤamtoɢ 'half' (hg., fn.), ʤantoɢ (ng.)

v ~ b: lavʧi 'foliage' (hg.), labʧi (fn.), labʃʤi (ng.)

n ~ l: noɢdo: 'bridle' (hg., ng.), loɢdo: (fn.)

s ~ r: sba:vaɢ 'frog' (hg., ng.), rba:vaɢ (fn.)

t ~ ʧ: ntera: 'sleep; (hg., ng.), 'nʧa: (fn.)

ʃ ~ f: ʃiliu: 'unnecessary, excess' (hg., fn.), fuliu: (ng.)

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Mostaert's Naringhol (1933)." Since, according to Janhunen (2006) SM may not, in fact, be Naringhol, this is not necessarily a valid comparison.

Li Keyu's (1988) Mongghul-Chinese dictionary is 700 pages long and also contains sample phrases. According to Limusishiden (p.c., email, 1/2/2007) the dictionary is based mostly on Naringhol.

Sun Zhu's (ed., 1990) Comparative Mongolian Dictionary contains Monguor data. In addition to lexical entries, it also contains some information on phonology and morphology. It is not clear which variety of Monguor is illustrated here. However, according to Krippes (1992:37-38) it may be at least partially Naringhol.

Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. (1996) contains an English – Mongghul (Halchi) and Mangghuer dictionary (59 pages).

The dictionary in the back of Zhaonasitu (1981) is based on data collected in the Donggou area (Limusishiden, p.c., email 3/8/2007).

II.8 Language Contact / Sprachbund

The impact of language contact on Monguor has been extensive. As early as 1850, Huc describes the Dchiahour language as "a mixture of Mongolian, of Chinese, and of Eastern Tibetan" (as cited in Mostaert 1931:83-84). According to Mostaert (1931:84), Przheval'skii (1875) states that Monguor "appears to be a compound of Mongolian, Chinese, and unknown words". Tafel (1914:247) writes that Tu ren of Wei-yüan-bu (Huzhu) consists of seventy percent of Mongolian words, while the remaining thirty percent consist of "much peculiar [items], probably Turkish, but also contain Tibetan and Chinese words."[42]

Mostaert himself notes that Monguor has undergone strong influence from the other languages in the area, having loanwords mainly from Chinese and Tibetan, as well as some few Turkish loanwords (1931:88).

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[42] "viel Eigenartiges, wahrscheinlich Türkisches, enthalten aber auch tibetische und chinesische Worte."

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Róna-Tas (1960)[43] discusses the syllable structure of Monguor in light of Tibetan influences.

Róna-Tas (1962) discusses the development of Mongolian final *–l* and *–d* into *–r* in Monguor. He notes that this development parallels a similar development in Tibetan.

Róna-Tas (1966) discusses the Tibetan loanwords in Mongghul. He uses Mostaert and Schröder as the sources for his Mongghul words, which means that here materials are from the Naringhol and Halchighol varieties. Among other topics, Róna-Tas discusses comparative phonology, borrowed lexical items and morphology, the origin of these loanwords, the historical and social background of the language contact situation, the time at which the items were borrowed, and the semantic areas of the words borrowed. He notes that most borrowed vocabulary is related to Buddhism, female vocabulary, flora, fauna and geographical terms (1966:216-217). According to Róna-Tas, all of the items were borrowed after the 14th century, and most of them were borrowed after the 16th century (1966:217).

Chingeltei (1989) gives a short description of the subjective and objective mood (probably borrowed from Tibetan) in the Monguor language. He does not state which variety of Monguor is discussed in his article.

In addition to the work by Róna-Tas, Tibetan loanwords in Mongghul have been studied by Hua Kan (1994).

Nugteren (1998) discusses Turkic loanwords in Monguor, Bao'an, and Dongxian, as well as in some cases those found in Eastern Yugur.[44] The loanwords are in the semantic domains of body part and functions, fauna and flora, nature, units, as well as various miscellaneous words. Not all the words Nugteren discusses are found in all of the four Mongolic languages. The distribution of the loans varies. Regarding the origin of the loanwords, beyond the fact that they are Turkic, Nugteren notes that there are currently three Turkic languages spoken in the neighboring areas: Salar (Oghuz), Western Yugur (North-Eastern), and Kazakh (Kypchak)

[43] Since this is part of his work on Tibetan loanwords in Monguor (cf. Róna-Tas 1966), this article is most likely also based on MS 1964 and Schröder.

[44] He does not include in his discussion what he calls "ancient cognates", i.e. "words that are common to (nearly) all Turkic and Mongolic languages" (1998:683).

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(1998:685). He further notes that Uygur (Chagatay) tradesmen have also have contact with the Mongolic languages under discussion (1998:685). While these four languages are potential sources of the loanwords he discusses, he also notes that the source can often not be determined, due to phonetic changes in the word, and also because some words seem to contain phonetic features pointing to different Turkic languages (1998:685-6). The Mongolic languages discussed might also have had contact with other Turkic languages before arriving in the Qinghai/Gansu region (1998:685). As to the time of borrowing, Nugteren states that it might have been "very early", since some words are phonetically conservative, and some are found in all of the Mongolic languages of the region (1998:686).

Janhunen (2004) gives a short overview of the Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund, naming its members, and some of its features. Janhunen (to appear) is a more thorough discussion of the Sprachbund, addressing topics such as the genetic taxonomy of the languages involved, their sociolinguistic hierarchy and spheres of interaction, the history of the study of the phenomenon of language contact in Qinghai-Gansu, 'Creoles' in the area, and patterns of outcomes of the contacts, specifically the typological properties of the results. In addition to the category of perspective (or 'mood', cf. Chingeltei (1989)), Janhunen also mentions the final indefinite article[45] found in some Mongolic languages of the Sprachbund, which is a Tibetan feature.

II.9 DIALECTOLOGY

Monguor dialectology has been investigated by Kakudo (1987), who reviews previous works on Monguor and gives an overview of the varieties described by different authors and their phonological variations.

[45] He does not state what this article is, but it is likely to be *–ŋge*.

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II.10 ORTHOGRAPHY

Some discussion of Monguor orthography can be found in Georg (2003:288). Limusishiden and Stuart (1999) give a list of materials available in written Mongghul materials (mostly teaching textbooks, other textbooks, songs, and folklore). Kakudo (1990) discusses issues of orthography.

II.11 CURRENT RESEARCH

Arienne Dwyer is currently investigating Monguor. ("Language Contact and Variation: A Discourse-based Grammar of Monguor"[46]). According to Dwyer, she has material ("minimally annotated audio and video") from three varieties of Monguor: "Northern (Huzhu Mongghul), Southeast (Minhe Mangghuer), and Southwest (Tongren Mongghul)"[47]. It is unclear which variety of Mongghul Dwyer is investigating.

II.12 CONCLUSION

While there is a certain amount of materials available for Huzhu Mongghul, almost no documentation as been done for the Karlong dialect. Documentation of Karlong is limited to samples of phonology, morphology, and lexicon in Todaeva (1973). In addition, the existence of the Karlong (Fulaan Nura) dialect is mentioned by de Smedt & Mostaert (1964:x), Todaeva (1997:124), and Georg (2003:286).

For the other materials of Huzhu Mongghul, it is not always completely clear which dialect of Huzhu Mongghul was described.

[46] http://www.neh.gov/news/archive/20050505.html, accessed 12/4/07.
[47] information from Dwyer's NSF proposal, page 6, available at http://www.neh.gov/GRANTS/guidelines/delsamples/mongour.pdf, accessed 12/4/07.

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CHAPTER III. PHONOLOGY

III.1 INTRODUCTION

The phonology of Karlong is fairly similar to that of other Mongghul dialects. The main differences between Karlong and other Mongghul dialects are in the vowels (more vowel deletions in Karlong), and the diphthongs (Karlong has fewer diphthongs).

Karlong, like other Mongghul dialects, has changed the original Mongolic phonology by splitting post-palatal sounds into retroflex and alveo-palatal sounds under Chinese influence. It has also changed its syllable structure, adding initial consonant clusters, under Tibetan influence.

III.1.1 Notes on Terminology

In this dissertation, I use the term "preinitial" to refer to the first consonant in a true consonant cluster, and "initial" to refer to the second consonant. I use this terminology following the practice in Tibetan linguistics, since consonant cluster formation in Karlong (and Mongghul as a whole) as been storngly influenced by Tibetan. In addition, the terms "preinitial" and "initial" are also used by authors discussing consonant clusters in Mongghul, e.g. Georg (2003), Janhunen (2001), and Róna-Tas (1966).

The term "comparative data" applies to the discussion of data from the different Mongghul dialects. If the discussion includes data from Middle Mongolian or Written Mongolian, I use the term "historical data".

III.1.2 Notes on Transcription

My transcriptions of Karlong are written using IPA. To simplify typing, I am using p, t, k, ts, and tɕ to stand for aspirated voiceless stops and affricates [p^h, t^h, k^h, ts^h, and $tɕ^h$], and b, d, g, and ɢ to stand for voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates [p, t, k, and q]. Data given in italics can be assumed to be in phonemic transcriptions. Where a difference between underlying and surface representation is illustrated, phonemic transcription is given in slashes (/x/), while phonetic

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transciption is given in square brackets ([y]). Unless otherwise indicated, transcriptions in tables are phonemic.

Of the sources describing varieties of Mongghul, only Zhaonasitu (1981) uses mostly IPA. Most other sources transcribe Mongghul using the orthography based on pinyin (Georg 2003, Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis 1996 and Li Keyu 1988). De Smedt and Mostaert (1929-1931) use a phonetic transciption based on Roman characters, and Todaeva uses a cyrilic-based transcription. The spelling of Written Mongolian in this dissertation reflects the spelling in Lessing (1995) 3rd reprinting, with the following exceptions: Lessing 'x', 'z' and 'c' are in this dissertation written using 'q', 'ʤ', and 'ʧ' respectively. The sources not using IPA do not give IPA equivalents, (although Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis 1996:2-3 list "English word[s] with an approximate sounding letter"). Therefore, the following are my approximations of IPA equivalents, and may not be completely accurate.

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Table 1. IPA Equivalents of Consonants in Cited Sources

IPA	Pinyin-based Orthography	SMN	TDV
p^h	p	p’	п
b	b	B	б
m	m	m	м
f	f	f	ф
v			в
t^h	t	t’	т
d	d	D	д
ts	c	ts’	
dz	z	Dz	дз
s	s	s	с
n	n	n	н
r	r	r	р
l	l	l	л
$tɕ^h$	q	tś’	
dʑ	j	DŹ	
ɕ	x	ś	
j	y	y	j
tʃ			ч
dʒ			дж
ʃ			ш
$tʂ^h$	ch	ṭs’	
dʐ	zh	Dẓ	
ʂ	sh	ṣ	
ʐ		ẓ	
k^h	k	k’	к
g	g	G	г
x	h	X	х
ŋ	ng	ŋ	н
w	w	w	
ɣ	gh	ɢ	б

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Table 2. IPA Equivalents of Vowels in Cited Sources

IPA	Pinyin-based Orthography	SMN	TDV
i	i	i	i
y		ü	
ʊ		u̯	
u	u	u	y
e	e	e	e
ɛ		e̯	
ə		ẹ	
o	o	o	o
æ		ä	
a	a	ɑ	a
i:	ii	ī	ī
y:		ǖ	
ʊ:		ū̯	
u:	uu	ū	ȳ
e:		ē	ē
ɛ:		ē̯	
o:	oo	ō	ō
æ:		ā	
a:	aa	ā	ā

III.2 CONSONANTS

The following sections discuss Karlong consonants, their allophones, and comparisons with other varieties of Mongghul.

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III.2.1 Consonant Inventory

Table 3. KL Consonants

Manner/Place	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular
stop	p b		t d			k g	ɢ
affricate			ʦ ʣ	ʨ ʥ	ʈʂ ɖʐ		
fricative		f	s	ɕ	ʂ	x	
nasal	m		n			ŋ	
trill			r				
lateral approximant			l				
glide				j		w	

Stops and affricates in Karlong have two series: strong and weak. Strong consonants are those which are voiceless and aspirated, and weak consonants are voiceless and unaspirated. For the uvular place of articulation, there is only a weak stop, with no strong counterpart. Fricatives appear only as voiceless. All sonorants are voiced.

For this dissertation I will use the term "strong" to refer to all voiceless aspirated stops and affricates, and the voiceless fricatives. I will use the term "weak" to refer to all voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates and the voiced fricative.

In the following sections I describe the allophonic realizations of consonants as well as their correspondences with other Mongghul dialects.

III.2.2 Stops

III.2.2.1 /p/

/p/ is a strong bilabial stop.

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III.2.2.2 /p/ - Comparative data

In some cases, /p/ and /b/ are in free variation in Karlong, and correspond to each other across varieties, e.g. Karlong *baɢa ~ piɢa* 'hit, beat', DH *pugha*, TDV *baɢa*, LK *bagha*, SMN *baɢa*.

III.2.2.3 /b/

/b/ is a weak bilabial stop.

b → v / #_ (optional)

E.g. *e:* /budaɢula/ [vutaqula] ~ [putaqula] 'we two'

III.2.2.4 /b/ - Comparative data

/b/ in Karlong generally corresponds to /b/ in other dialects, but there are some exceptions. /b/ before alveo-palatals is in free variation with /ɕ/ within dialects. /b/ and /ɕ/ also correspond across dialects (see examples below). In one example, KL /b/corresponds to WM /g/.

Table 4. /b/ Before Alveo-palatals in Karlong

Gloss	DH	Zhao	Li Keyu	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
straight/flat	texjin	tebɕin	tebxin	tebɕʥin[48]	—[49]	tebʃen	tegsi
leaf	laxji	labʥə	laxji	labɕʥi	laɕʥi ~ labɕʥi	labʧi	nabʧi/n[50]
button	texji	teɕʥə	tebji	tebɕʥi	—	—	tobʧi
thumb	—	—	gebqi ~ gexqi	ɕgeɕʥi ɕgabʥi	geɕʥi χuri	—	—

There is at least one instance where different varieties of Mongghul show /b/ vs. /w/ vs. /m/: KL *maɢuasi*[51] 'wall', DH *walighasi*, LK *walghasi*, *balghasi*, SMN *baga:se ~ barɢa:se*, TDV *balɢa:se*, WM *balyasu/n* 'id'.

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[48] S26 /teɕʥim/

[49] The em-dash means that there is no data available, or that there is no correspondence in that variety.

[50] "/n" is used to express the fleeting *n* of Written Mongolian. For a short discussion of the fleeting *n*, see section IV.4.2.3.

[51] Also note the lack of /l/ in KL.

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/b/ can is in free variation with /p/ in some words, and /p/ and /b/ also correspond to each other in different dialects, e.g. KL *pasɨ* 'stand', SMN *bose*, TDV *bose*, Zhao *posə*, LK *posi ~ bosi*, WM *bøgesy/n* 'id'. Also, KL *paɢa ~ baɢa* 'hit', DH *pugha*, TDV *baɢa*, LK *bagha* 'id', and KL *pasɨlɢua* 'threshold', Zhao *bosɢo*, DH *puzigha*, LK *posghu ~ pusghu*, SMN *bosɢuo*, TDV *bosɢo*, WM *bosuɣa* 'id'.

For Halchi, Zhaonasitu notes that /b/ and /v/ can vary word-initially.

III.2.2.5 /t/

/t/ is a strong alveolar stop. For some speakers the place of articulation may also be dental.

III.2.2.6 /t/ - Comparative data

There are two instances where /t/ varies with /d/ within and across dialects:

Table 5. /t/ ~ /d/ Variations

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	TDV	SMN	KL	WM
step-mother	huiti aama	—	huidu aama	—	χue:di a:ni	xueidɨ a:ma ~ xuitɨ a:ma	—
cold	kuiden	keiiden	kuiden	kui:ten	kui:diæn	kuitan ~ kuidan	kyiten

III.2.2.7 /d/

/d/ is a weak alveolar (or dental) stop.

III.2.2.8 /d/ - Comparative data

Generally /d/ in Karlong corresponds to /d/ in other dialects of Mongghul. However, see discussion of /t/ in section III.2.2.6.

III.2.2.9 /k/

/k/ is a strong velar stop.

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III.2.2.10 /k/ - Comparative data

/k/ in Karlong generally corresponds to /k/ in other Mongghul varieties.

III.2.2.11 /g/

/g/ is a weak velar stop.

g → ɣ / _ # (optional)

E.g. /ndog/ [ntoɣ] ~ [ntok] 'color'

ɣ → x / _ # (optional)

E.g. /ndog/ [ntox] ~ [ntok] 'color'

Since /ɢ/ can also become [x] at the end of the word (see below), it is not always possible to distinguish between /g/and /ɢ/ in Karlong. Checking correspondences in other Mongghul varieties and in WM (or Tibetan) is not necessarily a reliable means of distinguishing between these two sounds in Karlong, since Karlong may not have the same sounds as these other languages in all cases. See III.2.11 for comparative data and more discussion of the velar-uvular distinction.

III.2.2.12 /g/ - Comparative data

See III.2.11 for comparative data.

III.2.2.13 /ɢ/

/ɢ/ is a weak uvular stop.

ɢ → χ / # _ (optional)

E.g. /ɢari ɕ-ʥ-a/: [χari ɕ-tɕ-a] ~ [qari ɕ-tɕ-a] 'went out' (go.out go-PERF-OBJ)

ɢ → ø / x _ (optional)

E.g. /xɢei/ [xej] ~ [xqej] 'pig'

ɢ → ɣ / V _ V

E.g. /maɢaɕi/ [mɑɣaɕi] ~ [mɑɢaɕi] 'tomorrow'.

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ɢ → x / _ #

E.g. /radaɢ/ [ratax] 'hunt'.

In some words, /ɢa/ [qa] varies with /ɢua/ [qwa], e.g. /xurɢua/ [xurqa] ~ [xurqwa] 'lamb'.

III.2.3 Affricates

III.2.3.1 /ts/

/ts/ is a strong alveolar affricate. There are very few instances of [ts^h] in the data. In most cases, [ts^h] varies with either [s] or [tɕ^h]. For example, 'blood' can be both [ts^{h}itsɨ] or [tɕ^{h}itsɨ], and 'barley' can be either [spi:] or [ts^{h}pi:]. Only in two words does [ts^h] not vary with other sounds: /ntsua/ [nts^{h}ua] 'lake' (WT *mtsho*, 'id') and /ntsowa/ [nts^{h}owa] 'area' (WT *rtswa* 'grass' + *-ba* 'place').[52]

III.2.3.2 /ts/ - Comparative data

According to Georg (2003:290), /ts/ in (Halchighol) Huzhu "occur[s] mostly in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords", but also in free variation with /tɕ/, e.g. in the word 'to bleed': *cizida* ~ *qisida*[53]. According to Zhaonasitu (1981:7) /ts/ occurs only in loans. He also notes the variation of /ts/ with /s/ (1981:6).

III.2.3.3 /dz/

/dz/ is a weak alveolar affricate. It can varies with /s/ in a number of words, e.g. /tɕadzɨ/ [tɕ^{h}atsɨ] ~ [tɕ^{h}asɨ] 'snow'.

[52] As Robert Blust points out, it is likle that if /s/ did occur after /n/ in this context, most likely a /t/ would be inserted be inserted between the two sounds.
[53] Georg (2003) uses a transcription based on pinyin for his data. Cf. discussions of pinyin-based transcriptions in section III.1.1.

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III.2.3.4 /ʤ/ - Comparative data

According to Georg (2003:290), /ʤ/, like /tz/, "occur[s] mostly in Chinese and Tibetan loanwords" in (Halchighol) Huzhu, but also in some "irregular Mongolic etyma". In Karlong it appears in Mongolic words such as *ʧaʤɨ* 'snow', *xuliʤɨ* 'bamboo', and also in Chinese loans, e.g. *ʤe:la* 'welcome', Chinese *jiē* 接 'id', *laŋlaŋʤɨ* 'basket', Chinese *lánzi* 蓝字 'id', and in Tibetan loans, e.g. *sʤer* 'gold', WT[54] *gser* 'id', *neʧʤa:* 'dinner', WT *nub-za* 'id'.

/ʤ/ and /s/ vary within dialects, and also correspond to each other across dialects, e.g. KL *ʧaʤɨ* 'snow', Zhao *ʧasə*, DH *qasi* and *qazi*, LK *qasi*, SMN *ʧicœse*, TDV *ʧasi*, WM *ʧasu/n* 'id'. According the Zhao (Halchi), the environment for /ʤ/ ~ /s/ variations is before /ə/.

III.2.3.5 /ʈʂ/

/ʈʂ/ is a strong retroflex affricate. There are only few instances of /ʈʂ/ in the data, most of them Chinese loanwords: *ʈʂuan* 'ship' (Chinese *chuán* 船 'id') and *ʈʂugɨ* 'stab' (Chinese *chuō* 戳 'id'). However, there is also *ʈʂaŋ* 'probably'.

III.2.3.6 /ʈʂ/ - Comparative data

According to Zhaonasitu (1981:7), /ʈʂ/ occurs only in loans, while according to Georg (2003:290) /ʈʂ/ "occur[s] mostly in Chinese and Tibetan loans". In KL, /ʈʂ/ occurs mostly in loans, and in my data it appears only in a few cases.

III.2.3.7 /dʐ/

/dʐ/ is a weak retroflex affricate. There are only a few instances of /dʐ/ in a Mongolic word in the data: *dʐidʐuan* 'thick', *dʐaŋʤaʤɨ* 'farmer'. In addition, /dʐ/ occurs in Chinese place names, e.g. *landʐu:*, Lanzhou (city) (Chinese: *lánzhōu* 兰州), *xudʐu*, Huzhu (county) (Chinese: *hùzhù* 互助), and in Tibetan loan words, e.g. *ndʐawa* 'guest', WT *gru-bo* 'id'.

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[54] Written Tibetan (Literary Tibetan) as given by Róna-Tas (1966).

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III.2.3.8 /dʐ/ - Comparative data

As for /ts/, /tʂ/, and /dz/, Georg (2003:290) lists /dʐ/ as one of the phonemes occurring "mostly in Chinese and Tibetan loans". This is also the case for Karlong (cf. section III.2.3.7 above).

III.2.3.9 /tɕ/

/tɕ/ is a strong alveo-palatal affricate. In some cases /tɕ/ is in free variation with /dʑ/, for example 'old' is both /xu:tɕin/ and /xu:dʑin/.

III.2.3.10 /tɕ/ - Comparative data

In general, /tɕ/ in Karlong corresponds to /tɕ/ in other Mongghul varieties. However, there is at least one instance where /tɕ/ in other varieties corresponds to [ɕ] in Karlong: 'yesterday': KL *ɕgudɨr*, Zhao *tɕigudur*, DH *qugudur*i, LK *qigu dur*, SMN *tɕigudur*, TDV *ʧigudur*, WM *øʧygedyr* 'id'. Most likely /tɕ/ becomes [ɕ] in Karlong because the vowel between /tɕ/ and /g/ has been deleted, and /tɕg/ sequences are not permissible in Karlong. The affricate-stop sequence /tɕG/ dissimilates to a fricative stop sequence /ɕG/.

III.2.3.11 /dʑ/

/dʑ/ is a weak alveo-palatal affricate.

dʑ → ø / ɕ _ (optional)

E.g. /ɕdʑo:sɨ/ [ɕtɕo:sɨ] ~ [ɕo:sɨ] 'tree'.

III.2.3.12 /dʑ/ - Comparative data

Generally, Karlong /dʑ/ corresponds to /dʑ/ in other Mongghul varieties. However, there is some variation across varieties (and within Karlong, cf. section III.2.3.9) between /dʑ/ and /tɕ/ (ʧ in TDV, who does not distinguish alveo-palatal and retroflex sounds in most cases), as illustrated in the table below.

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Table 6. /tɕ/ ~ /dʑ/ Variations

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
old (things)	—	xauudʑin	hauqin	xu:tɕin ~ xu:dʑin	χu:dʑin	xudʒin	qaɣutʃin	—
cheek	—	xadʑar	hajar	xdʑer	χadʑiær	xatʃir	qatʃar	—
speech, language	hgaqa	—	gaqaa	xgadʑa:	gadza ~ sgedʑiæ	gatʃa	—	skad-ǧha

III.2.4 Fricatives

III.2.4.1 /f/

/f/ is a strong labiodental fricative. It can optionally be pronounced as a bilabial fricative [ɸ].

III.2.4.2 /f/ - Historical and comparative data

In general, the literature explains Mongghul [f] as a development of a fricative before rounded vowels. Generally the fricative is assumed to be the development from Proto-Mongolic *x < *p, which in Mongghul developed into [ɕ] before /i/, [f] before rounded vowels, and [h] elsewhere (Georg 2003:291, cf. also Khelimskiy 1984:27). But cf. also e.g. Khelimskiy (1984:27, Georg 2003:292) on an explanation of initial fricatives not reflecting the Proto-Mongolic *x (see section on /x/).

/f/ in Karlong corresponds to /f/ in all other Mongghul varieties.

III.2.4.3 /s/

/s/ is a strong alveolar fricative.

/s/ can vary with /x/ before /g/: 'sound, voice' is both *xgar* and *sgar*. It can also vary with /dz/, e.g. /dabsi/ [tapsi] ~ [taptsi] 'salt'. See section III.2.3.1 on /ts/ for discussion of /s/ ~ [tsʰ] variations.

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III.2.4.4 /s/ - Comparative data

Karlong /s/ generally corresponds to /s/ in other Mongghul varieties. However, the /x/ ~ /s/ variation noted for Karlong in section III.2.4.3 also appears in other varieties: KL *xgar ~ sgar* 'sound, voice', DH *hgari*, LK *sgar ~ hgar*, SMN *sgar ~ sgad*, LT *skad* 'id'. There are also variations and correspondences with /ʂ/ and /fu/, e.g. KL *sʤu* 'water', DH *sʤu*, Zhao *ʂʤu*, LK *fuzu ~ szu*, SMN *fuʤu*, TDV *fuʤu ~ sʤu*, WM *usu* 'id'.

III.2.4.5 /ʂ/

/ʂ/ is a strong retroflex fricative.

ʂ → s / _ ʤ (optional)

E.g. /ʂʤin/ [stsin] ~ [ʂtsin] 'nine'.

In general, /ʂ/ and /ɕ/ seem to be in complementary distribution: /ɕ/ never appears before /d/, whereas almost all cases of /ʂ/ are before /d/. However, there are some complicating factors. There seems to be at least one near-minimal pair /ʂʤin/ 'nine' and /ɕʤi:/ 'dust'. And in some cases /ʂ/ and /ɕ/ seem to be in free variation, e.g. 'big' is both [ɕke] and [ʂke].

III.2.4.6 /ʂ/ - Comparative data

/ɕ/ varies with /ʂ/ within dialects, and /ɕ/ and /ʂ/ correspond to each other across dialects, e.g. Karlong *rde ʂaŋ* 'bolt', DH *udeshang*, LK *ude shong ~ ude xong*, Chinese *shuān* 闩 'id'. Also Karlong *ʂɢei ~ ɕɢei* 'leg', DH *shghai ~ xghai* 'id'.

There is also at least one case with a variation between /ʂ/ and /f/ in Karlong: [ʂtsi:] ~ [ftsi:] 'dust'.

III.2.4.7 /ɕ/

/ɕ/ is a strong alveo-palatal fricative.

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III.2.4.8 /ɕ/ - Comparative data

Generally /ɕ/ in Karlong corresponds to /ɕ/ in other Mongghul varieties, but cf. III.2.2.4.

III.2.4.9 /x/

This phoneme appears as a strong velar fricative and a strong glottal fricative. [x] and [h] appear to be allophones of the same phoneme in free variation.

III.2.4.10 /x/ - Comparative data

According to Georg (2003:291), for (Halchi) Mongghul h ~ x has two sources: *k "[b]efore original back vowels", and Proto-Mongolic *x before /a/. Georg also states that /h/ "can phonetically freely vacillate between" [x] and [h]. KL does not differ from Halchi in the distribution of this phoneme.

In Tianzhu, /x/ possibly has two allophones, or at least a variation that might develop into allophones: [x] tend to occur before /u/, and [χ] tend to occur before [ə].

A source of Monguor initial /h/ is described by Khelimskiy (1984:27). He proposes that if a word contains a medial voiceless consonant, the voicelessness of the consonant is split off and moved to word-initial position. If the word begins with a vowel, the voicelessness manifests as an initial /h/. This explains Monguor words beginning with /h/ (or /ɕ/, /s/, or /f/) which correspond to Written Mongolian words without the fricative, e.g. WM *altan* 'silver', Monguor *xarDan*[55], or WM *øki/n* 'girl', but Monguor *fuDŽün ~ sDŽün* (Karlong *ɕdʑun*). In some cases, as in the word 'girl' the vowel between the fricative and the stop is in the process of being lost. Khelimskiy further proposes that moving the voicelessness of a medial consonant to the beginning of a word which originally started with a weak consonant, this consonant is devoiced. This is illustrated by the word 'god'[56] in Karlong, WM *burqan* 'Buddha', Karlong *pirɢa:n* 'god'.

[55] Khelimskiy is using data from de Smedt & Mostaert (1933).
[56] This example is not from Khelimskiy.

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Similarly, Svantesson (2003:6) notes that Monguor has a process of aspiration dissimilation, whereby the second of two aspirated consonants (stops and affricates) is deaspirated. Initial **s* and **h* also cause deaspiration of the next stop or fricative. He cites the following examples: Old Mongolian *kʰøitʰen* vs. Monguor *kʰuiten* 'cold', and Old Mongolian *sykʰe* and Monguor *suko* 'axe'. Svantesson also notes that Monguor has an "aspiration flip-flop", which affects aspirated consonants followed by unaspirated ones. In this case, the aspiration moves from the first to the second consonant, e.g. Old Mongolian **tøčʰin* vs. Monguor *tʰičin* 'forty' (2003:7). In addition, citing Khelimksiy (1984), Svantesson states that the aspiration of a medial consonant can move in front of an initial vowel, creating an initial fricative, e.g. Old Mongolian *ykʰy* vs. Monguor *xuku* 'to die'.

In all the examples given by Khelimskiy (1984) and Svantesson (2003), as well as in my own data, the process of "aspiration flip-flop" between two consonants, or between the beginning of the word and a consonant, occurs only when there are at most a vowel and a liquid between the two positions.

III.2.5 Nasals

Nasalization of vowels before nasals takes place only before velar nasals, and only for /a/. Vowels are not nasalized before alveolar and bilabial nasals. Vowels following nasals are also not nasalized. For more details on nasalization of vowels before /ŋ/, see sections III.2.5.4 and III.3.7.1 below.

III.2.5.1 Nasals - Comparative data

Generally, there is little variation between nasals across or within varieties.

In Tianzhu, /ŋ/ can only occur word-finally, and it seems to be the only nasal that occurs word-finally. Often the final nasal seems to be realized mainly by nasalization of the final vowel, with little or no oral closure following.

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III.2.5.2 /m/

/m/ is a (voiced) bilabial nasal.

ø → b / m _ l (consonant cluster created by vowel deletion): /amɨla/ 'apple' becomes /ambla/ [ampla] (S26).

Final /m/ can vary with final /n/ for different speakers of Karlong, e.g. /ni:tam/ [ni:t^{h}am] 'wet' (S13 /ni:ten/, S20 /ni:tan/).

III.2.5.3 /n/

/n/ is a (voiced) alveolar (or dental) nasal.

n → m / _ labial C (optional)

E.g. /handɨ/ [handɨ] ~ [hamdɨ] 'together'.

n → ŋ / _ velar C, uvular C

E.g. /tɕanxei/ [tɕ^{h}aŋxei] 'shoes', /danɢual/ [taŋqual] 'earth clod'

n → ø / _ # (optional)

E.g. /fɨla:n/ [fɨla:] ~ [fɨla:] 'red', /ni:man/ [ni:mæ] 'eight', /ŋgan/ [ŋkæ] 'he'.

III.2.5.4 /ŋ/

/ŋ/ is a (voiced) velar nasal.

ŋ → n / _ alveolar

E.g. /ɕaŋʤu/ [ɕãntsu] 'soap'[57]. That the nasal here is underlyingly /ŋ/ and not /n/ is shown by the change to the preceding vowel: /a/ becomes [ã] only before /ŋ/.

ŋ → ø / ã _ #

E.g. /rlaŋ/ [rlã] 'cloud'. This rule is critically order after the rule for nasalizing /a/ before /ŋ/, as described in section III.3.7.1.

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[57] Chinese *xīangzào* 香皂.

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III.2.6 Liquids

III.2.6.1 Liquids - Comparative data

In general, there is fairly little variation in liquids across dialects (but see discussion below, and cf. III.5.1.2).

In some cases liquids have undergone metathesis in Karlong as compared to other dialects of Huzhu and Written Mongolian. For example, 'flour' is WM *ɣulir*, but Karlong *ɢuril*, and similar forms, with only slight differences in the vowels, in other dialects of Mongghul. There is also metathesis of /l/ and /m/ in Karlong, in the word 'apple', Karlong *amila* and Tianzhu *amila*, but DH (Halchi) *alima*, TDV *alima*, SM (Naringhol) *alima*, WM *alima*.

Ha & Stuart (2006:55) note that in Tianzhu, liquids can be deleted at the end of the word, e.g. *dee* 'clothes' (all other varieties of Huzhu *de:l*), or *ghoo* 'two' (in other dialects *ɢo:r*) This is also the case in the data I collected, e.g. Tianzhu *ge* 'house' (as opposed to KL *ger*).

III.2.6.2 /r/

/r/ is pronounced in a number of different ways: as an alveolar trill [r], as a alveo-palatal fricative close to [ʐ] (/ɕire:/ [ɕiʐe:] 'table with short legs for the kang'), or as a retroflex approximant between a [ɻ] and a [ʂ]. In my transcription this last sound is represented by [ɹ]. However, the rules of distribution are not clear, and it seems that for the most part [r] and [ɹ] are in free variation. For example, 'horse' is pronounced as [morɨ] as well as [moɹɨ] by the same speaker.

r → ʂ / V _ d, dʐ

E.g. /ɢadʐer-di/ [qadʐeʂ-ti] 'on the ground' (ground-DAT), /ko:rdʐix/ [k^{h}uaʂtsix] 'foam'

r → ɕ, ʂ / V _ dʑ

E.g. /gur-dʑa/ [kuɕ-tɕa] ~ [kuʂ-tɕa] 'braided', /rdʑa/ [ɕtɕa] 'look', /rdʑawu:/ [ɕtɕawu:] 'emperor'.

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In slow speech the first part of [ʂ] before /d/ or /ʤ/ can stay a retroflex liquid, or can even be a pronounced trill, e.g. /tar-da/ [tʰaʂ-ta] 'throw (a stone)', /gur-ʤa/ [kurʂ-ʨa] 'braided'.

r → d / _ # (in some words, for some speakers)

E.g. (for S26): *nad* 'sick' (S13 and also S20 *nar*), and *ʨʤu:nud* 'breast' (S13 and S20 *ʨʤu:nur*).

Initially, /r/ contrasts with /ʂ/ before /d/, cf. /rde/ [ɹte] 'eat' and /ʂde:/ [ʂte:] 'mend'.

III.2.6.3 /r/ - Comparative data

Janhunen (2001:66) states that for Mongghul (and Bonan) "the phonological distinction between the preinitials [ʂ] and [r] is, just as in Amdo Tibetan, *not* contained in the preinitials themselves, but in the following initials." Following Janhunen's approach, the phonemic form of 'eat' would be /rde/, and the phonemic form of 'mend' would be /ʂte:/. Janhunen suggests that there might be a phonetic difference in the initials (e.g. the second member of the consonant cluster). I have not been able to find a difference in the recordings of my Karlong data, so the situation in Karlong might be different.

Zhaonasitu notes for Halchi that /d/ is in free variation with /r/ word-finally.

III.2.6.4 /l/

/l/ is a (voiced) lateral approximant.

III.2.6.5 /l/ - Historical data

Initial /l/ appears in KL in the following cases: words where the initial vowel or syllable(s) has been deleted, for example *la*, 'mountain', WM *ayula*, and in loanwords, e.g. *lakə* 'pull' (Chinese, *lā* 拉) and *laɢaŋ* 'temple' (Tibetan *lha-khaṅ*).

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III.2.7 Glides

III.2.8 /w/

/w/ is a voiced labio-velar glide. This sound appears as [w] and also as the weak labio-dental fricative [v]. The two sounds are in free variation.

III.2.8.1 /w/ - Comparative data

In some cases, syllable-initial /w/ in Karlong corresponds to /b/ in other Huzhu varieties, e.g. KL *wadzer* 'city', DH *bazari*, Zhao *badzar*, LK *bazar*, SMN *badzar ~ wadzar*, TDV *badzar*, WM *basar* 'id', and also within varieties, e.g. 'tie' Karlong *banla ~ wanla ~ anla*, LK *bangla ~ wangla*, Chinese *bǎng* 绑 'id'.

III.2.9 /j/

/j/ is a (voiced) alveo-palatal glide.

III.2.9.1 /j/ - Comparative data

Some of the initial /j/ in KL correspond with /b/, /w/ and /j/ in other dialects. There is also variation within dialects. However, Karlong always has /j/ in these words. In some cases the correspondence is /je/ in Karlong vs. /i/ or /u/ in another variety. In all cases, the corresponding sound in WM is /b/.

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Table 7. /b/ ~ /w/ ~ /j/ Variations

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
grass	vesə	wusi	yesi ~ usi ~ wesi	jesɨ	jese ~ wese	jese ~ vese	ebesy/n
wife	beere	yiri ~ beeri	beeri	jerɨ	jeri ~ bieri	beri ~ veri ~ jeri[58]	beri
horn	ver	yari	yer ~ wer	jer	ujer	ver ~ jer	eber
knee	vudeg	yiidog	udig ~ idag	jedɨg	udig ~ idig	vedeɢ	ebydyg
pain	idə	—	udi ~ idi	jedɨ	idi	udi ~ idi ~ jidi ~ vidi	ebed

Poppe (1955:99) notes that **b* in Monguor has become *j* before **i*. It seems that a similar process has taken place before /e/ in Mongghul, since in all of the words in the table above at least one variety has /j/. It is not clear what has motivated this change. /b/ ~ /w/ variations, on the other hand, are extremely common in Mongghul varieties.

III.2.10 Retroflex and Alveo-Palatal Consonants - Comparative data

According to Slater (p.c., Fall 2006), under Chinese influence the Mongolic [Qinghai-Gansu region] postalveolar consonants are splitting into alveo-palatals and retroflexes, but there might be dialectal, or even individual differences in where each word goes. In Karlong, and Mongghul in general, evidence for individual differences in the split of postalveolar consonants can be found in the fricatives (see discussion in sections III.2.2 and III.2.3 above).

III.2.11 Velar and Uvular Weak Stops - Comparative Data

According to Slater (p.c. Fall 2006) the distinction between /g/ and /ɢ/ is being lost in Minhe Mangghuer. It appears that this is also happening in Mongghul. Evidence for this is the fact that different dialects of Huzhu do not always agree on this sound. Also, in Karlong /g/ and /ɢ/ in some positions (finally, between vowels, and between a vowel and a sonorant) are being neutralized to [x] (and possibly to [ɣ]) (cf. III.2.2.11 and III.2.2.13).

[58] *невестка* 'bride'

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Ha and Stuart (2006:55) also note that the distinction between /g/ and /ɢ/ is being lost in Tianzhu, e.g. *gha ~ gar* 'hand'. My own investigation of Tianzhu showed that the /g/ vs. /ɢ/ contrast does exist in some cases (cf. /ɢe/ 'fire' vs. /ge/ 'house'), but that /ɢ/ is not always found in the same words where it is found in other Huzhu varieties, e.g. Tianzhu /gu/ 'two', KL /ɢuar/.

In Tianzhu, /ɢ/ changes to a fricative intervocalically, [ɣ], which is often difficult to distinguish from /x/, because there is a tendency to voice /x/ between vowels.

Table 8. Uvular vs. Velar Distinction

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
short	xɢuar	hguari	hughur	xɢuar	xuɢuor	xugor	oqur
throw	—	hgala	hghala ~ hgala	xɢala ~ xgala	xaɢala	xaɢala	—
wash	ŋɢuaa	gua	nghua	ŋɢua:	ŋɢua:	ŋɢua:	uɣa

III.3 VOWELS

Unlike other Mongolic languages, Karlong (and Huzhu as a whole) does not have vowel harmony, except to a very limited extent. Suffixes appear in only one shape with regard to their vowel, that is, the vowel does not change depending on the vowels in the stem. A certain degree of vowel harmony is retained in stems, where it has not been obscured by sound change.

The Karlong dialect has a long-short vowel contrast. Only [i̞] does not have a long counterpart.

The following sections discuss Karlong vowels, their allophones, and comparisons with other varieties.

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III.3.1 Vowel Inventory

The following vowels can be found in my recorded data of Karlong.

i	ɨ	u	i:	u:
e		o	e:	o:
	a		a:	

The following sections describe allophonic variations found in Karlong vowels, and discuss correspondences other Mongghul dialects.

III.3.2 Short High Vowels

The following rules hold for all short high vowels in Karlong:

$$\text{ø} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{j} \\ \text{w} \end{bmatrix} / \#_ \begin{bmatrix} \text{i} \\ \text{u} \end{bmatrix} \text{ (optional)}$$

E.g. /ulan/ [wulan] ~ [ulan] 'many', /uri:/ [wuri:] 'late', /itɕian/ [jitɕʰian] 'before' (Chinese *yǐqián* 以前), /ile:/ [jile:] 'ghost'. The vowel [ɨ] never occurs word-initially.

hi V → glide / _ non-rounded V

E.g. /gua/ [kwa] 'not', /gui:/ [kwi:] 'run', /noxuei/ [noxwei] 'dog', /fi:lio:/ [fi:ljo:] 'fertilizer'. The vowel [ɨ] never occurs before another vowel.

hi V → V̥ / strong C _ $ (open, non-final, non-stressed syllable)

E.g. /tɕura/ [tɕʰu̥ra] 'cheese', /xudʑi/ [xu̥tɕi] 'lips', /pidʑig/ [pʰi̥tɕik] 'book', /tidʑin/ [tʰi̥tɕin] 'forty', /kidi/ [kʰi̥ti] 'how, many', /tsidzi/ [tsʰi̥tsi] 'blood', /tɕiɢa:n/ [tɕʰi̥qa:n] 'white', /ɕini/ [ɕi̥ni] 'new'. An exception to this rule is /tɕimi/ [tɕimi] 2SG.DAT. It is possible that in other words [ɨ] is devoiced in this environment. However, it is very difficult to distinguish between [i̥] and [ɨ].

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In addition to devoicing of high vowels after strong consonants, Karlong short high vowels are generally reduced, and often completely deleted, in the following environments (especially if the following syllable contains a long vowel):

stop _ liquid (e.g. /di̥ra:la/ [tra:la] 'love', /bi̥li:/ [pli:^{h}] 'child', /bi̥ra:ɢa/ [pra:qa] 'finish', /ki̥le/ [k^{h}le:] 'speak')

stop _ fricative (e.g. /pi̥se:/ [p^{h}se:] 'belt')

fricative _ nasal (e.g. /ɕine:/ [ɕne:] 'laugh')

fricative _ liquid (e.g. /ɕilaŋ/ [ɕlaŋ] 'night, evening', /fi̥la:n/ [fla:n] 'red', /fi̥re:/ [fre:] 'seed', /turgu/ [t^{h}rgu] 'push')

III.3.2.1 /i/

/i/ is a high, front, tense, unrounded vowel.

III.3.2.2 /i/ - Comparative data

A large number of /i/ appearing in DH do not appear in Karlong, or in the varieties described by Zhaonasitu (Halchi) and Li Keyu (mostly Naringhol). In these cases, the consonant preceding the /i/ in DH is in most cases /r/, /l/, and in some cases /s/. The consonant following /i/ is in most cases /g/ or /ɢ/ (in the following syllable), and often the /i/ is at the end of the word. Sometimes /i/ is followed by /d͡z/ or /d/.

Some examples are listed in the following table.

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Table 9. /i/ in DH

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
lamb	hurigha	xurɢan	hurgha	xurɢa	xorɢa	xurɢa	quraɣa/n	—
push	turigu	turgu	turgu	turgu	turgu	turgu	tyri	—
iron	timuri	təmur	tumur	timir	timur	temur	temyr	—
left (side)	sulighui	solɢuai	solghui	salɢuei	sorɢue:	solɢue:	soluɣai	—
winter	rguli	rgul	rgul	rgul	ugur	rgul	—	dgun
borrow	asighua	—	asghu	asɢua	asɢu	—	aɣsu	—
ice	malizi	molsə	molsi	malsi	mordze	molse	mølsy/n	—
fight	beghalidi	—	baghaldu	baɢaldi	baɢardi	—	—	—

In some cases, /i/ is possibly a vowel preserved from Middle Mongolian; in other cases it seems to have been inserted in the variety of Halchi reflected in DH.

There are also cases (between /ɕ/ and /n/) in which the variety reflected in DH has lost /i/ where it is present in other varieties:

Table 10. Zero - /i/ Correspondences

Gloss	DH	Zhao	Li Keyu	Karlong	SMN	TDV	WM
new	xni	ɕinə	xini	ɕini	ʂeni	ʃeni	sine
yellow	xra	ɕira	xira	ɕira	ɕira	ʃira	sira
laugh	xnii	ɕinee	xinee	ɕine:	ʂenie	—	inije

III.3.2.3 /u/

/u/ is a high, back, tense, rounded vowel. /u/ and /o/ are frequently difficult to distinguish (see discussion of /o/ in section III.3.5.3).

u → y / alveo-palatal C _

E.g. /ɕʤun/ [ɕʧyn] 'girl'[59]. A complication is presented by the word 'milk' /sun/. In some recordings the pronunciation is close to [ɕyn]. The [ɕ] is not expected here, since WM has /s/, and there are no other cases of WM /s/ developing into KL /ɕ/. However, once the consonant is ɕ, fronting of the vowel is expected. Interestingly, WM has *syn*. However, fronted round vowels

[59] Apparently [y] may then be unrounded to [i], as in the optional variant [ɕʤindu:] 'younger sister'.

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were not preserved in Monguor, so it is likely that the vowel developed from /y/ to /u/, and then again to /y/.

III.3.2.4 /u/ - Comparative data

In Halchi (cf. Chaolu Wu (1994), Zhaonasitu (1981) and Georg (2003)), /u/ also becomes [y] after alveo-palatals. In Tianzhu, /u/ is in most cases pronounced as [ʊ]. It also becomes [y] after /ʤ/, e.g. ɕʤyn 'girl'. Ha and Stuart (2006:55)[60] note that in Tianzhu, /u/ is deleted at the end of the word.

Many cases of /u/ in other dialects correspond to [ɨ] in Karlong (see section on [ɨ]). /u/ is easily deleted, so sometimes it is missing in some dialects, but appears in others, although not necessarily in the same position. For example, 'to carry on the back' is *rgu* in Zhao, *rugu* in DH, *urgu* or *rgu* in KL, and *urgu* or *rgu* in LK.

The table below gives examples of /u/ being deleted only in Karlong, but present in Halchi and Naringhol.

Table 11. Deleted /u/

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
cry	ulaa	ulaa	ulaa	la:	ula:	la:	uila
mountain	ula	ula	ula	la	ula	ula	aɣula/n
blind	sughua	suGor	sughur	sGuar	soGuor	soGor	soqur

There are also cases where the vowel is deleted in Karlong and in DH, but present in Zhaonasitu and Naringhol (LK), e.g. Karlong *na:* 'fall', DH *naa*, Zhao *unaa*, LK *unaa*, SMN *una:*, TDV *una:*, WM *una* 'id'.

III.3.3 [ɨ]

The sound transcribed as 'ɨ' here is a short vowel which is midway between [ɨ], [ɪ] and [ə].

[60] Sound changes noted by Ha and Stuart (2006) are in the speech of younger speakers of Tianzhu as compared with Mongghul as spoken in the Huzhu area.

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It is not clear whether in Karlong this sound is an allophone of another phoneme or other phonemes, or a separate phoneme. Zhaonasitu describes the sound as a separate phoneme for Halchi. However, the sound is not mentioned as a phoneme in another description of Halchi, Chaolu Wu (1994). The Halchi dictionary of DH and the Naringhol dictionary of LK also contain only five short vowel phonemes: /a/, /i/, /e/, /u/, and /o/.

In some cases Karlong [ɨ] varies with /i/ or /u/ for the same speaker, e.g. /te:ru/ [tʰjerɨ] ~ [tʰjeru] 'hold in one's arms', with the latter appearing in careful speech.

Table 12. Distribution of /i/, /u/ and [ɨ] in Karlong

	[ɨ]	[i]	[u]
Word-initially position	Not attested.	Not attested (only /i:/ occurs in this position).	E.g. [urku] 'carry on back'
Word-initial open syllable	f _ n _ d _ m _ b _ ɕ _ #	Never after /f/ n _ ɕ _ m _	b _ No instances of [mu] No instances of [fu]
Word initial closed syllable	p _ r n _ m	n _ ŋ ɕ _ l	k _ n
Final open	r _ # n _ # d _ #	before alveo-palatals	No instances.
Final closed	dz _ n d _ n d _ r w _ n	No instances of [tin] No instances of [tir]	k _ n w _ n

There is no clear pattern in the distribution of [ɨ] versus /i/ and /u/, and there seems to be some overlap. In some cases, especially after alveo-palatal sounds, it is difficult to determine whether

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the sound is [ɨ] or [i]. Some words have [ɨ] in most cases, but [i] before an alveo-palatal sound, e.g. [ɕinɨ] 'new', but [ɕini jerɨ] 'bride'.

The situation is complicated by the fact that high vowels in open, non-final syllables are often extremely reduced, making it very difficult to decide whether the vowel in question is [u], [i], or [ɨ]. Especially the difference between [i] and [ɨ] is often unclear in this environment.

There are no minimal pairs for [ɨ] vs. [i] and [ɨ] vs. [u].

III.3.3.1 [ɨ] - Comparative data

Janhunen (p.c. March 2006) pointed out to me that in second syllables, e.g. *modu/n 'tree', or the dative suffix *-DU, the sound "*U is normally preserved in Shirongolic as /u/, but in Shira Yughur and some Huzhu Mongghul (?) dialects it has merged with *i > /i/, so we have the modern forms modun vs. modin, or the like." In the position mentioned by Janhunen, but also in other positions, WM *u often corresponds to Karlong [ɨ] (see table below for examples).
[ɨ] in KL often corresponds to /ə/ in Zhao (Halchi), where /ə / is a separate phoneme with the following allophones[61]:

ə → ɿ / ʤ, ʦ, s _ C

ə → ɿ, ə / ʤ, ʦ, s _ (optional)

ə → i / alveo-palatal _ C

ə → ɣ / elsewhere

The following table shows some correspondences of Karlong [ɨ] with other varieties.

[61] A similar variation may exist in KL. For example, the sound after ɕ in *labɕɨ* 'leaf' is definitely higher than the sound after n in *boɢonɨ* 'low'.

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Table 13. Correspondences with Karlong [ɨ]

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	DM	WM
eye	nudu	nudi	nudu	nɨdɨ	nudu	nudu	nudu	nidy/n
seed	fure	furai	furee	fɨre:	furie:	furie:	huru	yre
fox	funəge	finiga	funige ~ hunige	finiga	funige	funige	—	ynegen
blood	tɕisə	qizi	qisi	tɕidʑɨ	tsedzu	tʃise	chuzi	tʃisu/n
smoke	funə	funii	fune ~ funi	fɨnɨ	funi	—	huni	unijar ~ ynijer
finger	xurə	huri	huri	xurɨ	xuri	xuri	khuru	quruɣu/n
play	naadə	nadi	naadi	na:dɨ	na:di	na:da	nadu	naɣadu
ride	funə	—	funi	fɨnɨ	funi	—	—	unu
write	dʑiuurə	jiuri ~ juri	juuri	dʑu:rɨ	dʑiu:ri	ʤuri	zhuru	ʤuri
flour	ɢurəl	ghurili	ghuril	ɢorɨl	ɢurir	ɢuril	ghuru	ɣulir
deaf	dəlii	dili	dulii	dɨli:	duli:	duli:	dula	dylei
know	mude	mude	mude	mɨda	mudie	mude	miedie	mede
front	—	muxi	muxi	mɨçɨ	mieʂe	meʃe	mieshi	emyne
I	bu	bu	bu	bu ~ bɨ	bu	bu	bi	bi
tooth	ʂde	shdi	shdi	ʂdɨ	ʂdi	ʃdi	shudu	sidy/n
hold in arms	—	—	teeri	te:ru ~ te:rɨ	—	—	—	—

The above table shows that the correspondences of Karlong [ɨ] with other dialects are not regular.

The following correspondences can be found:

Table 14. Correspondences with Karlong [ɨ] - Summary

Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	DM	Wm
u	u	u	ɨ	u	u	u	i
u	u	u	ɨ	u	—	u	u
u	i	u	ɨ	u	u	u	y
ə	i	i	ɨ	u	e	i	u
ə	i	i	ɨ	i	a	u	u
ə	ii	e ~ i	ɨ	i	—.	i	i
ə	i	i	ɨ	i	i	u	i
ə	i	u	ɨ	u	u	u	y
u	u	u	ɨ	ie	e	ie	e
u	u	u	u ~ ɨ	u	u	i	i
e	i	i	ɨ	i	i	u	y

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It can be seen from these correspondence sets, that very few generalizations can be made:

/ə/ in Zhao (Halchi) always corresponds to 'i' or 'ii' in DH (Halchi) (but not vice versa)

/u/ in Zhao (Halchi) always corresponds to 'u' in LK (Naringhol) (but not vice versa)

/u/ in Zhao (Halchi) always corresponds to /u/ in SMN, but not vice versa

'u' in DH (Halchi) always corresponds to /u/ in Zhao (Halchi) (but not vice versa)

'u' in DH (Halchi) always corresponds to 'u' in LK (Naringhol) (and vice versa)

It is possibly that in KL (in some environments) short /i/ and short /u/ are both reduced to [ɨ], and that in these cases the difference between /i/ and /u/ has been neutralized.

III.3.4 Long High Vowels

The following rule applies to both long high vowels (as well as to /i/ and /u/, see section III.3.2):

ø → glide / $ _ hi V: (optional)

E.g. /i:gua/ [ji:kwa] ~ [i:kwa] 'every, all', /u:/ [wu:] ~ [u:] 'wide', /rʤau:/ [ʐʈʂawu:] ~ [ʐʈʂau:] 'emperor'

hi V: → hi V^{aspiration} / _ # (optional)

E.g. /dali:/ [tali:^{ɕ}] ~ [tali:] 'shoulder', /ɕiru:/ [ɕiru:^{h}] ~ [ɕiru:] 'earth'. In these examples, a voiceless fricative is added after high vowels at the end of a word. The fricative is [ɕ] after /i:/, and [x] after /u:/.

III.3.4.1 /i:/

A near minimal pair for /i/ vs. /i:/ is /ʤila:/ 'lamp' vs. /ʤi:la/ 'hate'.

Word-initial [j] which is often inserted before /i:/ is sometimes also pronounced [ʐ] or even [z], e.g. /i:gua/ [ji:kwa] ~ [ʐi:kwa] 'every, all', /i:sɨn/ [zi:sɨn] 'doctor' (Chinese *yīshēng* 医生 'id').

III.3.4.2 /u:/

A near minimal pair for the /u/ vs. /u:/ contrast is /ɕʤu:r/ 'root' vs. /dur/ 'day'.

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In some cases [u:] of S20 and S26 corresponds to [ɨ:^{h}] or [ɯ:^{h}] of S13, for example /du:/ 'younger sibling' S13 [tɯ:^{h}], S20 and S26 [tu:], /lu:xan/ [lɯ:^{h}xan] vs. [lu:xan] 'husband'[62]. Generally [ɯ:^{h}] in S13 corresponds to /iu/ in Halchi (cf. III.3.11.7).

III.3.5 Short Mid Vowels

III.3.5.1 /e/

This is a mid, front, tense, unrounded vowel. In some environments, it is difficult to distinguish between /e/ and /a/.

e → ə / _ $ (non-final, unstressed syllables)

E.g. /teŋgeɾɨ/ [t^{h}eŋkəɾɨ] 'sky' in S13; in S20 this sound is more like [a]: [t^{h}eŋkaɾɨ].

e → ɛ, æ, a / _ (C)#

E.g. /nige/ [nikɛ] ~ [nikæ] 'one'. For S13, and especially for S20, this sound often comes very close to [a]: [nika]. For S26 the sound says closest to [e]: [nike].

III.3.5.2 /e/ - Comparative data

According to Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003), both describing Halchi, /e/ becomes [ie] after /b/, /m/, /d/, /t/, /n/, and /l/. Zhaonasitu (1981:7), who also describes Halchi, approaches this variation differently, stating that /d/, /t/, /n/, and /l/ become palatalized before /e/.

This pattern does not exist in Karlong. There is one occurrence of [je] after /m/, /mieŋgu/ [mjeŋku] 'silver', and there are no occurrences of [e] after /m/. There is one instance of [je] after /t/, /tier/ [t^{h}jer] 'Tibetan', but there are also many cases of [e] after /t/, e.g. /teŋgeɾɨ/ [t^{h}eŋkəɾɨ] 'sky'. There is one instance of [nje], in /niexaŋ/ [njexɑ̃] 'kitchen', but there is also, for example, /neɕʣa:/, [neɕtsa:] 'dinner'.

[62] also 'crow' [tɕaŋlɯ:^{h}]

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In Tianzhu, /e/ is generally realized as a sound intermediate between [ɛ] and [ə]. As in Karlong, it is often difficult to distinguish between /e/ and /a/ in final syllables. After /d/, and /l/, /e/ changes to [je][63].

III.3.5.3 /o/

This vowel is a mid, back, tense, rounded vowel. It is in most cases extremely difficult to distinguish between /u/ and /o/. Basing the decision on correspondences found in other Mongghul varieties is not an alternative, since sometimes different authors describing other varieties of Mongghul do not agree whether the sound is /u/ or /o/ (see section III.3.5.4). In addition, there are variations even within Karlong, e.g. S13 [qorɨl], S20 [qurɨl], S26 [qorɨl] 'flour'. It is possible that the /u:/ - /o:/ distinction is being neutralized in Karlong.

III.3.5.4 /o/ - Comparative data

According to Zhaonasitu (1981:4), /o/, like /a/ becomes [ɑ̃] before /ŋ/. I am not sure how he decides when the phoneme is /a/ and when it is /o/, whether the decision is made on the basis of historical data, comparative data, or phonetic differences.

In Karlong, I find no differences in pronunciation between [ɑ̃ŋ] and [ɑ̃] (see sectionIII.1.1) which correspond to /aŋ/ in other dialects, and those which correspond to /oŋ/ in other dialects. There is also disagreement between the different wordlist and dictionaries whether a word has /aŋ/ or /oŋ/, e.g. 'bolt' Karlong /rde ʂaŋ/, DH *udeshang*, LK *ude shong,* SMN *ʂoŋʤe* 'id'. Also: Karlong *waraŋ* 'right', Zhao *varoŋ*, LK *barang ~ warong*, SMN *baro:ŋ ~ waro:ŋ*, TDV *baroŋ*, WM *barayun* 'id'.

In Karlong, there are no /ko/ sequences, and no /go/ sequences. Where other varieties of Mongghul have /ko/, Karlong has /kua/ [k^hwa][64]. In some cases DH also has /ua/.

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[63] But not in all cases; possibly the instances of /e/ that do not become [je] are actually instances of another phoneme, such as /a/.

[64] This might be related to the realization of /o:/ as [ua] found in Karlong, except that [wa] here is not a diphthong, but clearly a glide followed by a vowel.

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Table 15. /o/ - /ua/ Correspondences

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
foot	kol	kol	kol	/kual/ [k^{h}wal]	kuor	kol	køl	—
hole	noko	nukua	nuko	/nukua/ [nuk^{h}wa]	nukuo	noke	nyke/n	—
freeze	—	kuara	kori	/kuarɨ/ [k^{h}warɨ]	kuori	—	køry	—
fog	—	—	sumuko	/semagua/ [semakwa]	sumukuo	—	—	smug-po
monastery	—	—	rgomba	/ŋguamba/ [ŋkwamba]	rguomba	ŋguo	—	dgon-pa
blue	kugo	—	kugo	/kuguo/ [k^{h}ukwa]	kuguo	kuguo	køke	—

III.3.6 Long Mid Vowels

III.3.6.1 /e:/

A near minimal pair for /e/ vs. /e:/ is /rde/ 'eat' vs. /ʂde:/ 'mend'.

e: → je: (optional), e.g. /ɕine:/ [ɕinje:] 'laugh', /fɨre:/ [fɨrje:] 'seed'.

III.3.6.2 /e:/ - Comparative data

/e:/ in Karlong does not always correspond to /e:/ in the other dialects. The difference is usually one of quality, not quantity (see table below).

Table 16. Karlong /e:/ Correspondences

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	Karlong	SMN	TDV	WM
laugh	xnii	ɕinee	xinee	ɕine:	ʂenie	—	inije
wet	neeten	niiten	neeten	ni:ten	ni:tiæn	ni:ten	noitan
seed	fure	furai	furee	fɨre:	furie:	furie:	yre

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III.3.6.3 /o:/

A near minimal pair for /o/ vs. /o:/ is/mori/ 'horse' vs. /mo:di/ 'wood'.

As with short /u/ and /o/, long /u:/ and /o:/ are often difficult to distinguish. Sometimes different speakers of Karlong have different sounds. For example, is /bo:ldʑa-/ 'vomit' for S13 and S20, but /bu:ldʑa-/ for S26.

o: → ua (optional, except for final syllables closed by /n/), e.g. /to:la/ [t^huala] ~ [t^hoala] 'to count', /dalo:n/ [taluan] 'seven'. This sound also appears as [oə] and [uə] I am treating this sound as a diphthong and not as a sequence of two separate vowels, because when it is in the final syllable, the stress in on the first part, the [u]. If the sequence was two sounds in separate syllables, the stress, which is final in KL, should be on the last part, the [a].

The degree of diphthongization is not equal in all words, and not the same for all speakers. S26 almost always diphthongizes /o:/, and almost always the result is [ua]. In fact, in some cases where S26 does not diphthongize, the sound is [u:] instead of [o:]. S20 almost never diphthongizes. S13 is somewhere in the middle, with the result usually being [oa]. /o:/ always becomes [ua] for all speakers in final syllables before /n/.

III.3.6.4 /o:/ - Comparative and historical data

The long vowels /o:/ and /u:/ correspond across the different varieties of Huzhu, and sometimes vary within the same variety. Frequently /o:/ in Karlong corresponds to /u:/ in the variety of Halchi reflected in DH.

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Table 17. Karlong /o:/ Correspondences

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
dry	huusinni	xoosən	hoosin	xo:sɨn [xuasɨn]	—	—	qaɣurai
fat (n.)	ooku	fuugu	foogi	/fo:gu/ [fuaku]	fo:ke	—	øgeky/n
green	noɢoon	nughuun	nughoon	/noɢo:n/ [noquan]	noɢo:n	noɢo:n	noɣuɣan
feather	foodə	fuudi	foodi	/fo:dɨ/ [fuatɨ]	fo:di	—	ødy/n
oil	toosə	tuusi	toosi	to:sɨ [tuasɨ]	to:se ~ to:dze	to:dze	tosu/n

The change of /o:/ to [ua] is only mentioned in one other source, Hasbaatar (1985:18), who notes that sometimes /u/ can have the 'color' [ua]. DH shows [ua] in one word where Karlong has [ua] (/o:/): KL /tɕogo:n/ [tɕ^{h}okuan] 'few', DH *quguan*, Zhao *tɕoon*, LK *qoogon*, SMN *tɕo:n* ~ *tɕo:guœn*, Todaeva *tʃio:n*, WM *tʃøgyken* 'id'.

In some cases, it may be possible to postulate that the diphthong [ua] in Karlong represents the earlier sound, which has become [o:], optionally in many words in Karlong, and always in other varieties of Mongghul. This is the case for example in 'seven', which is *doluɣa/n* in WM, /dalo:n/ [taluan] in Karlong, but *doloon* in Zhao and *duloon* in LK. However, sometimes KL [ua] corresponds to a monophthong in Written Mongolian, e.g. KL /to:sɨ/ [t^{h}uasɨ] 'oil', WM *tosu/n*.

Examples for correspondence sets with [ua] in Karlong are given in the table below.

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Table 18. Karlong /o:/ ([ua]) Correspondences

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
count	—	—	toola ~ toolo	/to:la/ [t^{h}uala]	to:la	to:la	toɣala
vomit	boolʤo	bolija	booljo	/bo:lʤa/ [pualʨa]	bo:rʤiæ	bo:lʤe	bøgelʤi
star	foodə	—	foodi	/fo:dɨ/ [fuatɨ]	fo:di	fo:di	odu/n
feather	foodə	fuudi	foodi	/fo:dɨ/ [fuatɨ]	fo:di	—	ødy/n
louse	boosə	bosi	boosi	/bo:sɨ/ [puasɨ]	bo:se	—	bøgesy/n
oil	toosə	tuusi	toosi	/to:sɨ/ [t^{h}uasɨ]	to:se ~ to:dze	to:dze	tosu/n
kidney	booro	bora	booro	/bo:ra/ [puara]	bo:ro	bo:ro	bøgere
throat	xoolo	huula	hoolo	/ho:la/ [huala]	xo:lo	xo:lo	qoɣulai
few	ʨoon	quguan	qoogon	/ʨo:go:n/ [ʨ^{h}o:kuan]	ʨio:n ~ ʨio:guæn	ʧio:n	ʧøgyken
two	ʁoor	ghoori	ghoor	/ʁo:r/ [quar]	ʁo:r	ʁo:r	qojar
soft	ʤoolon	julan	jiloon	/ʤilo:n/ [ʨiluan]	ʤio:luon	ʤio:lon	zøgelen
wood	—	muudi	moodu	/mo:dɨ/ [muatɨ]	mo:di	mo:di	modu/n
road	moor	moori	moor	/mo:r/ [muar]	mo:r	mo:r	mør
fat (n.)	ooku	fuugu	foogi	/fo:gu/ [fuaku]	fo:ke	—	øgeky/n
green	noʁoon	nughuun	nughoon	/noʁo:n/ [noquan]	noʁo:n	noʁo:n	noɣuɣan
seven	doloon	—	duloon	/dalo:n/ [taluan]	dolo:n	dolo:n	doluɣa/n
six	ʤirʁoon	—	jurghoon	/ʤirʁo:n/ [ʨirquan]	ʤirʁo:n	ʤirʁo:n	ʤirɣuɣa-n

III.3.7 Short Low Vowel

III.3.7.1 /a/

/a/ is a low, central, lax, unrounded vowel.

ɨa ⇒ a:

E.g. /nɨdɨ amsɢua/ [nɨta:mqua] 'eyebrows, eyelashes', or /tɨnɨ a:ba/ [tʰɨna:ba] 'your father', /bɨ xurɢaŋgɨ awua/ [pɨ xurqaŋka:wua] 'I bought a lamb', /tɕɨ andʑɨ su:dʑi:/ [tɕʰa:ntɕi su:tɕi] 'where do you live'. In fast speech, this process can make it difficult to make certain grammatical distinctions. For example, whether [nta:nɨ xqeina:lata] is /nda:nɨ xɢeina: aladʑa/, '(someone) killed my own pig', or /nda:nɨ xɢeinɨ aladʑa/, '(someone) killed my (accusative) pig'.

a → ɨ / _ $ (open, non-final, non-stressed) (optional)

E.g. /maɕɨ/ [mɨɕɨ] ~ [maɕɨ] 'read'.

a → ɑ / _ ɢ, x $

E.g. /maxdɨr/ [mɑxtɨr] 'blunt', /relaɢ/ [relɑq] 'stick'.

a → e, æ / _ n$ (optional)

E.g. /kuitan/ [kʰuitʰæn] ~ [kʰuitʰen] ~ [kʰuitʰan] 'cold', /ju:tan/ [ju:tʰæn] ~ [ju:tʰen] ~ [ju:tʰan] 'narrow', /tandɨ/ [tʰæntɨ] ~ [tʰentɨ] ~ [tʰantɨ] 3SG.DAT.

Because /a/ is often raised to [æ] or [e] before /n/, it is difficult to determine whether [en] or [æn] sequences should be /en/ or /an/. For example, 'thin' is pronounced [niŋkæn] or sometimes [niŋken]. It is not clear whether the vowel is an /a/ that has been raised before /n/, or an /e/ that has been lowered. Another example is [ni:tʰæn] ~ [ni:tʰan] 'wet'.

a → ɑ̃ / _ ŋ$

E.g. /tɕaŋgaŋ/ [tɕʰɑ̃ŋgɑ̃] 'window' (Chinese *chuānghu* 窗户)

When the sequence /aŋ/ occurs at the end of the word, /ŋ/ is deleted, e.g. /rlaŋ/ [rlɑ̃] 'cloud'. /ŋ/ is not deleted when it precedes a consonant. When an /aŋ/ sequence precedes a consonant within the

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same word, the /a/ preceding the /ŋ/ changes to [ɑ̃] as expected. However, the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant: /ɕaŋʣu/ [ɕɑ̃ntsu] 'soap'. This means that the rule changing /aŋ/ to [ɑ̃ŋ] is critically ordered before the assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant, as well as before the rule deleting /ŋ/ at the end of the word, described in section III.2.5.4.

III.3.7.2 /a/ - Comparative data

According to Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003), /a/ becomes [æ] after the alveo-palatal consonants /ʤ/, /ʧ/, and /ɕ/. I have not been able to observe this for Karlong. In Karlong, [a] follows /ʤ/ in *xuʤadi* 'sharp', *nʤasi* 'plow', and *a:ʤa* 'older brother'. It follows /ʧ/ in *ʧadzi* 'snow', *xgualʧax* 'boy', and *nʧa:* 'sleep'. It follows /ɕ/ in *ɕa:ɕi* 'sand'.

The change of /a/ to [ɑ̃] before /ŋ/ is mentioned by Chaolu Wu (1994), and Zhaonasitu (1981). In KL the pattern is similar, except that in some cases /ŋ/ is deleted.

In many of the cases where Karlong has [æ], SM also show 'æ', e.g. KL [kʰuitʰæn] 'cold' SMN *kui:diæn*, KL [ju:tʰæn] 'narrow' SMN *ju:tæn*, KL [niŋkæn] 'thin' SMN *niæŋgæn*, KL [ni:tʰæn] 'wet' SMN ni:tiæn. The transcription in SM's dictionary is phonetic, so it is not clear whether in the dialect described by SM this sound is a separate phoneme or not. However, in Karlong (and possibly in the dialect documented by SM) the occurrence of [æ] is not predictable, which makes it likely that it is a separate phoneme[65].

In some words where other dialects of Mongghul have /a/, Karlong has /e/, e.g. *sʤer* 'gold'. It is *szari* in DH, and *szar* in Li Keyu (LK). I addition, there are variations between /i/ (or [ɨ]) and /a/ in the different dialects, e.g.: Karlong [nara] ~ [nɨra] 'name', *nəre* in Zhao, *nira* in DH, *nire* in LK, *niere* in SMN, and *nere* in TDV. /a/ ~ /e/ ~ /i/ variations are reflected in, KL *jeda:* 'tired', DH *yida*, Zhao *jadaa*, LK *idaa*, SMN *jada:* ~ *ida:*, TDV *jada*, WM *jada* 'id'.

[65] Thanks to Davied Stampe for pointing this out.

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III.3.8 Long Low Vowel

III.3.8.1 /a:/

(Near) minimal pairs for /a/ vs. /a:/ are: 'mountain' /la/ vs. 'cry' /la:/, and 'hate' /ʤi:la/ vs. 'lamp' /ʤila:/.

III.3.8.2 /a:/ - Comparative data

Dialects of Huzhu do not always agree on /a:/ in terms of quantity, for example 'play' KL *nadi*, Zhao *naadi*, DH *nadi*, LK *naadi*, SMN *na:da*, TDV *na:di*, WM *nayadu* 'id'.

III.3.9 Long Vowels - Comparative Data

According to the literature on Monguor, Huzhu Mongghul has long vowels, while Minhe Mangghuer does not (cf. Todaeva 1973:15).

Long vowels do not always correspond across different Huzhu dialects or different authors. In general, words from DH are the ones who are most likely to show a short vowel when other varieties show a long vowel.

In general, long vowels in KL correspond to VgV or VjV sequences in WM, e.g. Karlong *na:di* 'play', WM *nayadu* 'id', or Karlong *ɕine:* 'laugh', WM *inije* 'id', or they correspond to WM diphthongs. But in many cases, long vowels in Karlong (and other Mongghul dialects) correspond to short vowels in WM, e.g. Karlong *fire:* 'seed', WM *yre* 'id', or Karong *to:si* 'oil', WM *tosu/n* 'id'.

III.3.10 Back Vowels - Comparative Data

In a number of cases, the different varieties of Huzhu vary with respect to which of the back vowels - /a/, /o/, or /u/ - appear in a word.

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Table 19. Back vowels

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
left (side)	sulighui	solɢuai	solghui	salɢuei	sorɢue:	solɢue:	soluɣai
ice	malizi	molsə	molsi	malsɨ	mordze	molse	mølsy/n
head	tulighui	tolɢuai	tolghui	talɢui:	torɢue:	tolɢue:	toluɣai
read	muxi	moɕə	moxi	maɕɨ	moʂe	moʃe	ungsi

III.3.11 Diphthongs

There are seven dipthongs in KL. They are /ui/, /ui:/, /uei/, /uo/, /ua/, /ie/, and /ia/. Halchi according to Zhaonasitu 1981 has twelve diphthongs and triphthongs, while Chaolu Wu (1994:3) lists seven only diphthongs.

III.3.11.1 /ui/ and /ui:/

This diphthong occurs in a number of words, mostly Chinese loanwords, such as *tuile* 'cleanse' (Chinese *táo* 淘), *tʂui* 'hammer' (Chinese *chuí* 锤) but also in *xuiti a:ma* 'step-mother'. The long diphthong /ui:/ is much more common, e.g. *moɢui:* 'snake', *salɢui:* 'left'. It often varies with /uei/ (see section III.3.11.2 for more discussion and examples).

III.3.11.2 /ui/ - Comparative data

DH shows 'ui' sequences, but since the writing system used here is based on pinyin, this spelling most likely represents the pronunciation [wei]. All cases which are spelled with 'ui' in DH for which data is available in KL, are pronounced either [wei] or [wi:] in KL. Many instances of [ei]~[i:] in Karlong have /ai/ as the corresponding vowel in publications on other Mongghul varieties. The remaining ones have /ui/. /ɢ/ historically appears only before back vowels (cf. Georg 2003:291), which means that originally some of the Karlong [ei] were /ai/.

In general, dialects other than Karlong have either a sound spelled 'ui', and one spelled 'uai', so between [wei] and [wai].

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Table 20. [wai] ~ [wei] ~ [wi:] Correspondences

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
insect/worm	huarighi	xorGuai	hurghai	xurGuei ~ xurGui:	xorGui:	—	qoruqai
dog	nuhui	noxuai	nohui	noxui:	noxue:	noxue:	noqai
elbow	—	tughuii	tughui	tuGuei ~ tuGui:	tuGui:	tuGui:	toqai ~ toqui
shoes	qanhai	—	qanghai	tɕanxei	—	—	—
pig	hgai	xGaii	hghai	xGei	xaGe:	xaGe:	ɣaqai
run	gui ~ guai	guai	guai	gui: ~ guei	gue:	gui:	gyjy

[wei] and [wi:] vary across different speakers of Karlong . Most instances of [i:] are found in S26, and most instances of [ei] are found in S13, but both speakers also have the other sound.

All instances of [uei] or [ui:] follow either a velar or uvular consonant.

III.3.11.3 /ua/

This diphthong appears fairly frequently. Some examples are: *i:guala* 'all, every', *ntsua* 'lake', *suani* 'night'.

III.3.11.4 /ia/

Examples for the diphtong /ia/ are *geliaŋ* 'dried barley bread', *liaŋ* 'quantity, measure', *liaŋ* 'two', and *niaŋʈa* 'home of married woman's parents'. All examples of /ia/ occur in Chinese loans.

III.3.11.5 /uo/

The diphthong /uo/ appears in some Chinese loanwords, e.g. *guoʈa* 'country' (Chinese *guójiā* 国家 'id'). Sometimes it also appears are a variant of [ua], e.g. /trua/ [t^hruo] ~ [t^hrua] 'in'.

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III.3.11.6 /ie/

The diphthong /ie/ appears in words of Mongolic, Chinese and Tibetan origin. Examples are *mieŋxan* 'thousand' WM *miŋɣa/n* 'id', ʤiexunla 'get married', Chinese *jiéhūn* 结婚 'id', *niexaŋ* 'kitchen', WT *mye-khaṅ* 'id'.

III.3.11.7 Comparative data: diphthongs in other varieties - /iu/

Words which have /iu/ in other Huzhu varieties usually correspond to /u:/ in Karlong (in some instances [ɯ:^{h}] in S13):

Table 21. /iu/ Correspondences in Karlong

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
face	niuri	niuur	niur	nu:r	niu:r	niu:r	niɣur
today	niuduri	niuudur	niudur	nu:dir	niu:dur	—	ønygedyr
younger sibling	diu	diuu	diu	du:	diu:	diu:	degyy

In some cases 'iu' in DH corresponds to /auu/ in Zhao, /au/ in LK, and /u:/ in Karlong:

Table 22. Other /iu/ Correspondences

Gloss	DH	Zhao	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
walk	yiu	jauu	yau	ju:	ju:	ju:	jabu
bite	jiu	ʤauu	jau	ʤu:	ʤiu:	ʤu:	ʤaɣu

In these cases, Zhao (Halchi) and LK (Naringhol) are closer to the original Written Mongolian, while DH (Halchi) and KL have changed the sound. Cf. also Karlong *wu:* 'wide', DH *wuudi*, LK *uu*, SMN *u:*, TDV *u:*, but Zhao *aau*, with WM *uu* and *ayuu* 'id'.

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III.4 PHONOTACTICS

The following sections discuss which sound sequences are permissible within the same syllable.

III.4.1 Stops

All stops can appear syllable-initially before vowels: *pirɢa:n* 'god', *baɢaldi* 'fight', *to:la* 'count', *de:l* 'garment, clothes', *ki:* 'wind', *giga:* 'small', *ɢuran* 'three'. /p/ occurs medially only in two cases: *nimpda* 'spit' and *nimpidzi* 'tear (n.)'. /ɢ/ appears only before non-front vowels, e.g. *ɢuran* 'three', *moɢoli* 'round', and *ɢal* 'fire', with one exception: *ʤalɢi:* 'path'. The range of vowels that can appear after /k/ is also limited: /a/ or /a:/, e.g. *ka:rda* 'domesticated animal', /i:/ as in *ki:* 'wind', [ɨ], in the suffix -kɨ which is added to loanwords to form verbs, e.g. *la:kɨ* 'pull' (Chinese *lā* 拉 'id'), and /u/ or /u:/ as in *kurɨ* 'arrive', and *ku:* 'son'. /k/ never occurs before mid vowels[66]. For a discussion of /ko/ sequences in other dialects of Mongghul, see section III.3.5.4. /g/ never appears before /o/[67].

Of the strong stops, only /t/ can appear in consonant clusters, and only preceding /r/, e.g. *trua* 'in'. All weak stops can form consonant clusters. They can all appear preceded by nasals, e.g. *mba:* 'right', *ndur* 'high', *ŋgan* 'he', *ŋɢua:* 'wash'. All of them except /g/ can be preceded by /ʂ/, e.g. *ʂbaŋ* 'grass sod', *ʂdur* 'long', *ʂɢei* 'leg'. All of them except /d/ can be preceded by /s/, e.g. *sbi:* 'barley', *sgɨ* 'wait', and *sɢal* 'beard'. /d/ and /g/ can be preceded by /r/, e.g. *rde* 'door' and *rgul* 'winter'. /g/ and /ɢ/ can be preceded by /x/ and /ɕ/, e.g. *xgaʤa* 'language', *xɢei* 'pig', *ɕge* 'big' and *ɕɢei* 'leg' (as a variant of *ʂɢei*).

III.4.2 Affricates

All affricates can occur syllable-initially before vowels, e.g. *ʧadzi* 'snow', *ʤigasɨ* 'fish', *ʦuan* 'ship', *dzidzuan* 'thick'. All affricates except /dz/ can also occur word-initially. /ts/ occurs word-

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[66] One possible exception is: S13 [ko:gɨ] 'knock', Chinese *kòu* 扣 'id', however, the vowel here may be [ou] or [u:].

[67] Or before /o:/, since all /o:/ become [ua] in this environment.

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initially only in one case, where it varies with /tɕ/: /tɕidzɨ/ [ts^{h}itsɨ] or [tɕ^{h}itsɨ] 'blood'. /ts/ and /tʂ/ never occur word-medially. No affricates occur syllable-finally. All affricates except /tʂ/ can appear in consonant clusters. Of the consonants that can appear in consonant clusters, only /dz/ can not be preceded by /n/: *ntsua* 'lake', *ntɕa:* 'sleep', *ndʑasɨ* 'plow', *ndʑawa* 'guest'. /dʑ/ and /dz/ form consonant clusters with preceding /ɕ/: ɕdʑun 'girl', ɕdzi: 'dust'. /dʑ/ can form consonants clusters with /x/ and /r/: *xdʑer* 'face', *rdʑe* 'look'. /dz/ can form consonant clusters with /ʂ/ and /s/: *ʂdzɨn* 'nine' and *sdzu* 'water'.

III.4.3 Fricatives

All fricatives can appear syllable-initially before vowels, e.g. *fɨnɨ* 'smoke', *se:ɢan* 'beautiful', *ʂaŋul* 'noon', *ɕambalɕdʑi* 'butterfly', *xura* 'rain'. Only /s/ and /ɕ/ appear word-medially, e.g. *rasɨ* 'skin', *ɕa:ɕɨ* 'sand'. Fricatives never appear at the end of the word. All fricatives except /f/ can form consonant clusters. All consonant-cluster forming fricatives can appear in consonant clusters with /ɢ/, e.g. *sɢal* 'beard', *ʂɢei* ~ *ɕɢei* 'beard', *xɢei* 'pig'. All fricatives that form consonant clusters except /x/ appear with /dz/, e.g. *sdzu* 'water', *ʂdzɨn* 'nine', *ɕdzi:* 'dust'. /s/, /ɕ/, and /x/ can form consonant clusters with /g/, e.g. *sge* 'see', *ɕge* 'big', *xgatɕa* 'language'. /ɕ/ and /x/ can form consonant clusters with /dʑ/, e.g. *ɕdʑun* 'girl' and *xdʑer* 'cheek'. /ʂ/ and /x/ form consonant clusters with /d/, e.g. *ʂda:* 'cook' and *xdaŋ* 'hard'. /s/ can form the most varied consonant clusters, appearing also with /b/, /n/, and /l/, e.g. *sbi:* 'barley', *snaɢua* 'rainbow', and *slaŋɢua* 'rainbow'.

In almost all instances the vowel following /f/ is either a rounded vowel or [ɨ]. Some exceptions are *fi:* 'forest' and *fan* 'year'.

III.4.4 Nasals

The nasals /m/ and /n/ can appear syllable-initially before vowels, e.g. *maxa* 'meat', *nara* 'sun'. /ŋ/ appears syllable-initially only when preceding a weak velar or uvular stop, e.g. *ŋguamba* 'monastery', *ŋɢua:* 'wash'. All nasals can appear word-finally, e.g. *pɨrɢa:n* 'god', *rlaŋ* 'cloud'.

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Word-final /m/ are infrequent, but do occur, in Tibetan and in Mongolic words, e.g. *kadam* 'wolf' (Tibetan *kha-dam* 'id'), *xorim* 'banquet' (WM *xurim* 'id'). Nasals can form syllable initial consonant clusters with obstruents with the same or similar place of articulation, e.g. *mba:* 'swim', *ntɕa:* 'sleep', *ntsua* 'lake' *ndʑasɨ*, 'plow', *ndige* 'egg', *ŋɢuasɨ* 'fur'. In additional, /n/ can form a consonant cluster with a preceding /s/: *snaɢua* 'rainbow'

As illustrated by the data above, nasal-consonant (NC) sequences within the same syllable are always homorganic. There is also a strong tendency for NC sequences to be homorganic across syllable boundaries. This pattern is especially strong for /ŋ/, which never appears before sound which are not velar or uvular, except for /l/ and /r/, which can be preceded by /ŋ/ in a different syllable. At this time I am not sure why the alveolar liquids /l/ and /r/ can follow the velar nasal /ŋ/.

Table 23. NC Sequences

Nasal	Preceding consonants	Following consonants	Examples
m	-	p, b	nimpida- 'spit' mba:- 'swim' ŋguamba 'monastery'
n	s	tɕ, dʑ, d, dz	snaɢua 'rainbow' ntɕa:- 'sleep' ndʑasɨ 'plow' ndasgu '(hot) drink' bambandzɨ 'board'
ŋ	--	ɢ, g, x, l, r	ŋɢua:- 'wash' ŋguamba 'monastery' mieŋxan 'thousand' daŋlur 'lantern' saŋra: 'hip'

III.4.5 Liquids

Liquids can appear syllable-initially before a vowel, e.g. *rawa* 'hair', *nara* 'sun', *lalaŋ* 'young'. They can appear syllable-finally and word-finally, e.g. *ger* 'house', *jimal* 'saddle'. /r/ can form syllable-initial consonant clusters with /d/, /g/, /dʑ/, and /l/, e.g. *rde* 'eat', *rgul* 'winter', *rdʑi:*

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'wing' and *rlaŋ* 'cloud'. /l/ can only form a consonant cluster with a preceding /r/ or /s/, e.g. *rlaŋ* 'cloud', *slaŋɢua* 'rainbow'.

III.4.6 Glides

Glides can appear syllable-initially before a vowel, e.g. *wɖer* 'city', *wir* 'steam', *wosgu* 'lungs', *ɕawer* 'mud', *jasi* 'bone', *najan* 'eighty', *jeri* 'wife', *ju:* 'walk'. A number of syllable-initial medial /w/ appear in Tibetan loan words, e.g. *mba:wag* 'frog', WT *sbal-pa ~ sbal-ba* 'id', *rawa* 'hair', WT *ral-pa* 'id'. /w/ never appears before /i/. /j/ never appears before /o/.

III.4.7 Vowels

There are only a few restrictions on the distribution of vowels in Karlong. /i/ never appears after /w/ and /o/ never appears after /j/. /o/ never appears after velar stops. Mid vowels never appear word-initially.

III.5 Syllable Structure

In the following sections, I discuss the syllable structure of Karlong.

III.5.1 Onset

In Karlong, the maximum number of consonants in the onset is two. The following is a table of consonant clusters which can appear word-initially.

Table 24. Initial Consonant Clusters

Preinitial	Initial
s	ʤ, ɢ, g, n, l
ʂ	d, ʤ, ɢ
ɕ	dz, ʤ, g
m	b
n	d, ʨ, ʤ, ts
ŋ	g, ɢ
r	d, l, ʤ, g
x	d, ʤ, g, ɢ

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There is only one word which has an initial consonant cluster consisting of three consonants: *ndre:* 'here'.

In order to avoid trans-syllabic consonant clusters that are not allowed, consonants can be deleted at a morpheme boundary, e.g. *xaran* 'ten' and *ʂdzin* 'nine', but *xaraʂdzin* 'nineteen'.

III.5.1.1 Comparative data - Initial consonant clusters

According to Róna-Tas (whose work is based on Mongghul data), the initial consonant clusters of Monguor are due not just to loss of vowels due to the shift of the stress, but also to the fact that a neighboring language (Tibetan) has initial consonant clusters. Róna-Tas notes that only those initial consonant clusters that exist in neighboring Tibetan dialects can be found in Monguor (1960:267). In other words, the shift of the stress to the end of the word did not cause the loss of the vowel in the first syllable unless the resulting consonant cluster was permissible in a neighboring Tibetan dialect.

It seems that Karlong is in the process of developing new consonant clusters (i.e. consonant clusters not permitted in other dialects of Mongghul). High vowels in initial (non-stressed) syllables are often extremely reduced, and frequently cannot be found at all in the recording, especially in the following environments:

Table 25. New Consonant Clusters

Preinitial	Initial
p	s, tɕ, dʑ
b	l, r
t	r
d	r
k	l
f	l, r
ɕ	n, l

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III.5.1.2 Variations in preinitial-initial sequences

Certain initial consonant clusters are quite unstable across different dialects of Mongghul, and even within the dialects. The following table illustrates the most common variations of preinitial-initial sequences:

Table 26. Preinitial-Initial Sequences

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
door	ude	ude ~ rde	ude	rde ~ de	udie	rdie ~ udie	egyde/n	—
look	udʑe	uje ~ rje	uje	rdʑa	udʒiæ	udʒe	udʒe	—
monastery	—	—	rgomba	ŋguamba	rguomba	ŋguo	—	dgon-pa
frog	sbaavaG	bawog	sbaawag ~ shbaawag	mba:wax	sba:waG	sba:vaG	—	sbal-pa sbal-ba

Similar variations can be found in Tibetan loans which do not contain consonant clusters, e.g. KL *ʐaG* 'side' DH *rog*, LK *rog ~ xog ~ yog*, SMN *roG ~ joG ~ dʑiaG*, TDV *roG ~ joG* 'id', WT *logs*.

Janhunen (2001:66) notes that rather than assuming that consonant clusters where innovated only once, in an ancestor of the Mongolic languages of the Amdo area (it being "still unclear whether the Mongolic languages concerned represent a single branch at all, although this appears likely"), it is more likely that "clusters were formed separately in several Mongolic languages and even dialects on the basis of their individual contacts with Tibetan, and with each other." This would explain the differences in preinitials between the different dialects of Mongghul.

III.5.1.3 Nasals Preceding Weak Stops and Affricates

In a number of cases, word-initial weak stops in Karlong are optionally preceded by homorganic nasals, e.g. *gan ~ ŋgan* 'he', reflexive pronoun *dʑina: ~ ndʑina:*. This happens especially when

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words are elicited in isolation. In some cases the nasal is not optional, e.g. *ŋɢwa* 'wash', *ndʑasi* 'plow'.

III.5.1.4 Comparative data

The nasal preceding weak stops and affricates in Karlong is also present in other Mongghul varieties, except in the variety reflected in DH (Halchi) (see table below).

Table 27. Nasals Preceding Weak Stops

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
wash	ŋɢuaa	gua	nghua	ŋɢua:	ŋɢua:	ŋɢua:	uɣa
fur, wool	ŋɢuaasə	ghuasi	nghuasi	ŋɢuasi	ŋɢuase	ŋɢua:se	ungɣasu/n
plow	ndʑasə	jasi	njasi	ŋdʑasə	ndʑiæse	ndʒase	andʒisu/n
egg	ndəge	dige	ndige ~ dige	ndige	ndige	ndige	ødegen
high	ndur	duri	ndur	ndur	ndur	ndur	øndyr

Comparing with Written Mongolian, not all words that have an initial nasal in KL have one in WM, for example *andʒisu(n)* 'plow' does have a nasal before the consonant, but WM *uɣa* 'wash' does not. Possibly nasals are inserted before some weak obstruents because of analogy with words which did have a nasal in this position historically and still retains it.

For Tianzhu, Ha and Stuart (2006:55) note that /n/ is lost initially before /d/, e.g. Huzhu Mongghul 1sg.dat. *ndaa* vs. Tianzhu *daa.*

III.5.2 Nucleus

The nucleus of a syllable can consist of a short or long vowel, or a diphthong. Examples: *ger* 'house', *ki:* 'wind', *tɕiɢa:n* 'white', *xɢei* 'pig'. If the nucleus of a syllable is a diphthong, the syllable cannot have a coda, unless the word is a loan word, or the diphthong is an allophone of another phoneme. Examples of allowed diphthongs with codas: *tʂuan* 'ship' (Chinese *chuàn* 船 'id'), *niaŋdʑa* 'home of married woman's parents' (Chinese *niángjiā* 娘家 'id') /dalo:n/ [taluan] 'seven'. Even in loanwords, there seems to be a tendency to avoid diphthongs in syllabes with

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codas, e.g. *juanwei* 'official' appears as both [juænwej] and [jænwei]. Syllables with long vowels as their nucleus can have codas.

III.5.3 Coda

Only the following consonants can appear syllable-finally: nasals, liquids, /g/, /ɢ/, and /b/. Of these, all but /b/ can appear word-finally. /b/ can occur at the end of a syllable in the middle of a word, e.g. *dabsɨ* 'salt', /d/ can occur word-finally as a variant of /r/, e.g. *nad* ~ *nar* 'sick', /ɢ/ can appear word-finally: *bo:daɢ* 'rope'. There are no consonant clusters in codas.

III.6 Stress

For Monguor languages (and other Shirongolic languages), stress is generally described as being word-final. This differentiates Monguor from all other Mongolic languages which have initial stress. For Minhe, Slater states that stress, which "consist of higher pitch and greater amplitude" (2003:72) in Mongolic words "falls reliably on the final syllable of a word, after suffixes and phrasal enclitics have been added" (200:73). For Mongghul, Georg (2003:292) states that "word accent...falls invariably on the last syllable". Todaeva also writes that stress in Monguor falls on the last syllable of the word[68] (1963:17). Final stress is one of the factors that have led to the development of initial consonant clusters in Mongghul (see section III.5.1.1 for more discussion).

Stress in KL is final. Stressed syllables in Karlong are louder and often higher pitched than non-stressed syllables. However, it is not always the syllable that carries the highest pitch that is also the loudest, which often makes it difficult to determine where exactly the stress is located. For example: /ˈxɢal-ˈdi-ʤ-a/ 'break-v.s.-PERF-OBJ', where the first syllable (last syllable of the stem) is the loudest, and the second syllable the one with the highest pitch. But since the last syllable of the word is often neither the loudest nor the one with the highest pitch, it is fairly certain that stress is not always on the last syllable of the word. In some cases stress seems to be

[68] "ударение падает в последний слог слова"

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on the last syllable of the stem[69]. Sometimes the evidence whether a certain suffix can carry stress is unclear, e.g. /laŋlaŋdzɨ-ˈŋge/ 'basket-SG', but /tɨrˈge-ŋge/ 'basket-SG'.

Stress on final syllable of stem: /marˈda-di-n-a/ 'forget-n.s.-NPT-OBJ', /rda aˈda-n-a/ 'eat cannot-NPT-OBJ'.

Stress on final syllable of word: /ʤu:-ˈʤ-a/ 'bite-PERF-OBJ'.

Compared with Halchi and Naringhol, final stress has caused more deletions in Karlong. In addition to deleting high vowels (initially and medially), there are also instances where an initial syllable found in other dialects is not present in Karlong.

Table 28. Deletion of Initial Syllables in Karlong

Gloss	Zhao	DH	Li Keyu	KL	SMN	TDV	WM
swim	xumba	hunba	szu humbaa	mba:	xumba:	xumba	umba
correct	nəmba	ninba	nimbaa	mba:	numba:	numba:	nimbai

The exact position of stress in Karlong needs to be investigated in more detail, if possible taking into account Karlong songs, which may contain clues for the location of word stress.

III.7 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Certain alternations take place only at morpheme boundaries. These altenations are discussed in this chapter. In the illustrative examples given in the following chapters, unless it is explicitly stated otherwise, surface representations are given for all allomorphs. Please refer to this section for clarifications of seeming irregularities.

III.7.1 Degemination

Where suffixes joined to a stem would otherwise create a geminate consonant, one of the consonants is deleted, so geminate consonants are never formed. For example:

[69] I would like to thank David Stampe for pointing out that, based on the recording he listened to, it is unlikely that stress in Karlong is **word**-final.

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gadʑer 'city' + *-ri* LOC is *gadʑeri*

ŋgan 3SG + *-ni* GEN is *ŋgani*

moŋgual 'Monguor' + *-la* INST is *moŋguala*

III.7.2 Consonant Assimilation

If the final consonant of the stem is an /r/, it assimilates to the first sound of the suffix (assimilation to place of articulation) if that sound is /dʑ/. For example, *jeri* 'find' + *-dʑi* (imperfective) becomes *jeɕdʑi* (after deletion of the high vowel).

III.7.3 Vowel Deletion

Vowels at the end of a stem are deleted when certain suffixes are attached. Adding the terminative suffix *-wa* to a stem ending in a vowel results in the deletion of the final vowel of the stem and changes [wa] to [ua] in the following cases:

1. for stems ending in liquid-d-vowel sequences, e.g. 'eat' *rde* + *-wa* becomes *rdua*, reciprocal forms, stem + *-ldi-* + *-wa* become stem + *-ldua.*
2. When the final consonant of the stem (in the basic form, or after deletion of a final high vowel) is /l/, e.g. *uli* 'find' + *-wa* becomes *ulua.*

Final high vowels are always deleted when the follow /w/, /r/, /l/ or /ɕ/ in the stem, when a suffix beginning with /d/, /dʑ/, /g/ or /w/ is added.

III.7.3.1 Stems in -w (high vowel)

awu- 'take, buy' + *-wa* PERF becomes *awua.*

III.7.3.2 Stems in -r (high vowel)

jeri- 'find' + *-dʑi* IMPERF becomes *jeɕdʑi* (with assimilation of the /r/ to the following /dʑ/).

wari- 'make, do' + *-gun-a* GEN.FUT-OBJ is *warguna*, but *wari-* + NPT obj. *-n-a* is *warina.*

tari- 'plant' + *-dʑ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *taɕdʑa.*

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tari- 'plant' + *-gun-a* GEN.FUT-OBJ becomes *targuna.*

III.7.3.3 Stems in -l (high vowel)

xudali- 'cut' + *-wa* PERF becomes *xudalua.*

xudali- 'cut' + *-ʤ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *xudalʤa.*

uli- 'become' + *-ʤ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *ulʤa.*

III.7.3.4 Stems in -ɕ (high vowel)

ɕi- 'go' + *-gu* PART.FUT becomes *ɕgu,*

ɕi- 'go' + *-ʤ-a* PERF-OBJ becomes *ɕʤa,* but 'go' + *-lɢa* CAUS becomes *ɕilɢa,* and 'go' + *-ma* ASSERT becomes *ɕima.*

III.8 CONCLUSION

Karlong phonology is relatively similar to the phonology of the other Mongghul dialects. There are some differences, but a number of the differences across dialects also appear as variations within Karlong. Examples are variations between aspirated and unaspirated, e.g. /tɕ/ ~ /ʤ/, and variations between retroflex and alveo-palatal, e.g. /ʂ/ ~ /ɕ/. Differences between Karlong and other dialects of Mongghul unclude the greater number of consonant clusters in Karlong, and differences in preinitials in consonant clusters.

The results of both Chinese and Tibetan influence can be seen in Karlong phonology (and the phonology of Monggul as a whole). The split of Mongolic post-alveolar consonants into retroflex and alveo-palatal consonants is most likely due to Chinese influence, while the formation of initial consonant clusters is due to Tibetan influence.

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III.9 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The status of [ɨ] in Karlong (and of /ə/ in Halchi) is not entirely clear. Is it an allophone of /i/ and /u/ and possibly other short vowels, in certain environments, or is it a separate phoneme? More research is needed to resolve this issue.

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CHAPTER IV. NOMINALS

IV.1 INTRODUCTION

Karlong, like the other Mongghul dialects, and like Mongolic languages as a whole, has SOV as its basic word order. In general, modifiers (adjectives, numerals, adverbial phrases) precede the modified item.

In the following three chapters, I will discuss nominals, verbals, and other parts of speech (adverbs, particles, interjections, conjunctions).

IV.2 PARTS OF SPEECH

The following parts of speech exist in Karlong: nominals, verbs, particles, suffixes, connectives and interjections.

In this chapter, I will discuss nominals, their subtypes and their morphology. The following chapter (chapter V) will deal with verb and their subtypes and morphology. In chapter V I will disuss the remaining parts of speech.

IV.3 NOMINALS

Karlong has the following nominals: nouns, pronouns, numerals, adjectives, and postpositions. What follows is a short description of the properties of each of these. More detailed descriptions with examples follow in the second part of this chapter.

When a nominal element has more than one suffix, the order of suffixes is as follows:

Noun + case + reflexive or possessive + number

IV.3.1 Nouns

Nouns can appear with number marking case suffixes, the possessive suffix *-ni*, the reflexive suffix *-na:*, and number suffixes. Proper nouns can be preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. *te ger*

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'that house', by adjectives, e.g. *ɕge ger* 'big house', or by genitive personal pronouns, e.g. *mini ger* 'my house'.

IV.3.2 Pronouns

Karlong has the following types of pronouns: personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and a reflexive pronoun. Pronouns can replace a noun phrase in a sentence. Different from nouns, pronouns in my data do not appear with locative case marking.

IV.3.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns distinguish three persons (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) and three numbers (singular, dual, and plural). Personal pronouns appear with case endings.

IV.3.2.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns can replace any other nominal or a noun phrase in a question. They can take case endings except the locative case. Certain interrogative pronouns also distinguish subjective and objective perspective.

IV.3.2.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns appear in the position immediately preceding lexical nouns or noun phrases. When a demonstrative acts as a noun phrase, it can take case endings.

IV.3.2.4 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is n*ɖzina:* ~ *ɖzina:*. It appears before the noun it modifies.

IV.3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives generally appear before the noun they modify when used attributively, and at the end of the clause with a copula when used predicatively. The copula may be left out in predicative

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usage. Adjectives can be modified by the adverb *xudɨ* 'very', which precedes the adjective and by the suffix *-gula* 'very'.

IV.3.4 Postpositions

Postpositions are listed in this chapter since a number of them, like nominals, take case marking. Postpositions fall into two classes: those that modify a noun in the genitive case, which will be called "quasi-postpostions" in this dissertation, since they behave more similarly to nouns, and those that modify a noun in the nominative or ablative case, which will be called "postpositions".

Postpositions provide information about location in time and space, and about other relationships between nominals. If they are used to modify a noun or nouns, they immediately follow the noun or nouns.

IV.4 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

This part of the chapter discusses the Karlong nominal morphology.

IV.4.1 Number

Karlong has three numbers, singular, plural, and a dual which is used mainly with personal pronouns.

IV.4.1.1 Singular: -ŋge

Singulars can be unmarked, or marked with *-ŋge* ~ *-ge*, which is derived from the numeral *nige* 'one'. *-ŋge* appears with nouns ending in vowels, and *-ge* generally appears with nouns ending in consonants, e.g. *fu:ŋge* 'a book', but *dalurge* 'a lantern'. However, *-ge* can also appear with nouns ending in vowels, e.g. *dzaŋdʑana:ge*, 'our crops'.

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-ŋge with word ending in a vowel:

1. a: di: **jeri-ŋge** i:-gun-a

   INTJ then woman-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ

   Ah, then there was **a** woman.

2. bi hulidzi-**ŋge** aw-ua

   1SG bamboo basket-**SG** buy-PERF

   I bought **a** bamboo basket.

-ge with word ending in a consonant:

3. nda:-ni ɕʤildʤa alaɢ **de:l-ge** aw-ʤa

   1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN daughter multi-colored garment-SG buy-PERFOBJ

   My daughter bought **a** multi-colored garment.

-ge with word ending in a vowel:

4. di: xɢei da gaga: **xɢei-ge** tiʤe: ʂda-ʤin draŋ ju: ... tio:ʤen

   then pig also small pig-SG feed can-PART.AG also have condition

   si:n a be:

   good COP PTCL

   And a pig, if [you are one who] can also feed **a** little pig, conditions are good.

In my data *-ŋge* ~ *-ge* and *nige* never appear with the same noun in the same sentence:

5. bi ŋgaŋ-di fu:-**ŋge** ɢ-wa

   1SG 3PL.OBL.STEM-DAT book-**SG** give-PERF

   I gave them a book.

6. bu ŋgaŋ-di **nige** fu: ɢ-wa

   1sg 3PL.OBL.STEM-DAT **one** book give-PERF

   I gave them a book.

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(But cf. Georg 2003:295, who states that they can appear together to mark a definite specific object).

In addition to functioning as a singular marker, *-ŋge ~ -ge* also sometimes means 'some', for example:

7. e: dʑu: fuzu dʑa-di da andʑ-i: dʑu:si ʁada-sa
   INTJ just rich family-DAT and where-SUBJ just outside-ABL
   xarʁal-**ge** tuŋgu-dʑ-i: gu:gi nien xa
   dried.manure-**SG** collect-PERF-SUBJ celebrate year PTCL
   Yeah, so, the rich families collected **some** manure from outside to celebrate the New Year.

The singular marker may be combined with the reflexive suffix, e.g.

8. ja ja malʁa-**na:-ŋge** dʑo:-ja
   INTJ INTJ hat-**REFL-SG** put.on-VOL1
   Yeah, yeah, let me put on **my** hat.

9. ja ja tɕaŋxei-**na:-ŋge** misi-ja
   INTJ INTJ shoe-**REFL-SG** put.on-VOL1
   Yeah, yeah, let me put on **my** shoes.

IV.4.1.2 Plural: various suffixes

Plurals are formed by adding a number of different suffixes: *-sgi ~ -si*, or *-ŋula ~ -ŋgula ~ -ŋ ~ -la, -maŋge*, and *-sila*. In my data, *-sgi ~ -si* is the most widely used plural suffix. It is used with both animate and inanimate nouns, e.g. *ger-sgi* 'house-PL', *kun-si ~ kun-sgi* 'person-PL', 'people'. The variant *-si* does not seem to be phonologically conditioned.

There are few examples of plural suffixes in the data, apart from personal pronouns. In most cases plural is expressed by adding numbers, or it is implied. *-si* appears in connected speech in the following two sentences:

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10. do bɨda-ŋgula li:la-san kun-**sɨ** da ʤinxu: eimɨ
now 1PL be.left.over-PART.PERF person-**PL** also after children
ʤu: xo:lai-la-gun-i di: dzuʤun-nɨ sge-di-ʤ-a
just later-VRBL-GEN.FUT-SUBJ then benefit.ACC see-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
be: do
PTCL now
Now we people who are left over (from the bad times), now, after (all this) we see a benefit from our children.

11. xara ul-ʤ-a xa nda:-nɨ bɨli:-**sɨ** ɕuetaŋ-sa
dark become.PERF-OBJ PTCL 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN child-**PL** school-ABL
rɨ-ʤ-a
come.PERF-OBJ
When it got dark, my children came home from school.

In my data, *-ŋula* appears only with animate, e.g. *xɢeiŋula* 'pigs', and it appears for nouns only in elicited vocabulary. This plural morpheme also has the allomorph [ɑ̃ŋla], e.g. [bɨli:ɑ̃ŋla] 'children' (only one example):

12. xɢeila su:-sa bɨli:-**aŋla** i:gua-la ɕuetaŋ-dɨ ɢari ɕi-n-a
alone sit-COND child-**PL** all-COLL school-DAT go.out go-NPT-OBJ
While I stayed (home) alone, the children all went to school.

When attached to personal pronouns to form plural pronouns, the plural suffix *-ŋula* is either *-ŋgula* or *-ŋla*. In almost all cases it is the shorter form *-ŋla* that appears, while *-ŋgula* surfaces only in extremely careful and slow speech, when the personal pronoun is pronounced in isolation. For example *ŋgaɴ* 'he', *ŋgaŋgula ~ ŋgaŋla* 'they'.

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13. bɨda-**ŋla** ne gugutɕa:a:r-ɨ su:-san-a tigi: ɕendʑin

1PL.STEM-**PL** this valley-LOC sit-PAST-OBJ like.that modern

a be:

COP PTCL

We lived in these valleys and have become modern like that.

For more in-depth discussion on personal pronoun plural forms, see section on personal pronouns (IV.4.3).

The suffix *-maŋge* is used to express plural with the meaning 'and things like that', e.g.,

14. dʑu:-**maŋge** war-dʑ-a bei

sew-**PL** do-PERF-OBJ PTCL

(I) did some embroidery **and things like that.**

15. do sdzun-dɨ dʑu: ɕge pɨdʑaG-**maŋge** sarɨmsaG-**maŋge** tar-dʑ-a

now water-DAT just big bean-**PL** garlic-**PL** plant-PERF-OBJ

di: dʑu: ɕaɕindɨ dʑu: bu:dɨ tar-gun-a be:

then just extra just wheat plant-GEN.FUT-OBJ PTCL

Now in the water (fields) (we) just plant broad beans and garlic **and things like that**, then additionally (we) will plant wheat.

16. di: la-dɨ dʑu: ka:rda xo:lama xGei xo:lama gi:dzɨ-**maŋge**

then mountain-DAT just livestock feed pig feed oilseed-**PL**

tar-gun-a be:

plant-GEN.FUT-OBJ PTCL

Then, on the mountain (we) will just plant livestock feed, pig feed, oilseed, **and things like that**.

Nouns do not require a plural morpheme when they occur with a numeral.

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17. **a:ɢadu: ɢura:n** i:

brother three COP

(I) have **three brothers**.

18. **dalo:n ajil-di dalo:n ku:** xuaʤi su:-sa-n-a gi-ma

seven village-DAT **seven son** separate sit-PAST-OBJ have-ASSERT

Seven sons settled in **seven villages.**

19. nige bambandzi-ri **dalo:n nukua** i: ja:n-i:

one board-LOC **seven hole** COP what-SUBJ

In a board there are **seven holes**. What is it?[70]

The suffix *-sila* as a plural marker is found only in personal pronouns: *bidasila* 'we'. This suffix is most likely a combination of the reduced plural suffix *-la* with the contracted form of *-si*.

IV.4.1.3 Dual: -ɢula

Duals are marked with *-ɢula*, from *ɢo:r ~ ɢu:r* 'two' + the instrumental-comitative suffix *-la*. In extremely careful speech, only in isolation, dual personal pronouns have a form with *-ɢu:rla*, e.g. *bidaɢu:rla* 'we two'. Dual forms are used only for animate nouns and pronouns. The meaning is always that two people are doing something together.

Pronoun with dual suffix:

20. e: buda-**ɢula** niŋge leki-di-ʤa

INTJ 1PL.STEM-**DL** then divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

Eh, then we **two** divorced.

[70] The solution to the riddle is *nu:r* 'face'.

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21. do da-**Gula** ja:n-i: ʂan-ki-ldi-ja dzʐaŋʤa do wa be:
now 1PL-**DL** what-SUBJ talk-VRBL-RECIP-VOL1 crops now COP PTCL
Now let's the **two** of us talk, (about) crops.

Nouns with dual suffix:

22. menszʐen da a:ma-**Gula**-na: kunan a xa, erʂisan-di
menzhen and mother-**DL**-REFL difficult COP PTCL twentythree-DAT
dzuja a:nie da:bila guli nigi:ʤe lidaŋ da gu-a
kitchen god offer say a.little gift also NEG.AUX-OBJ
Menzhen and his mother were **both** very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god on the 23rd (of the twelfth lunar month).

23. di: a:nie-**Gula** ʨge da maŋli:-sa do:ra-ʤi daŋlur-la
then grandmother-**DL** big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM
nige i:-sa-ŋge // jeri-ŋge sara su: ge:-ʤ-a be:
one look-COND-SG // woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL
ʨge da busGua-ni ko:-la nige
big door threshold-POSS lean-VRBL one
then when (he) and the grandmother **both** came down from the lintel of the front gate and took a look with the lantern, a woman who had just given birth was leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

24. bi nda:-ni ʨʤundu:-**Gula**-na: rd-ua
1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.sister-**DL**-REFL eat-PERF
I ate **with** my younger sister.

The sufix *-Gula* can be attached to singular forms and to plural forms of the personal pronouns, for example *ʨi bidaGula* 'you (sg.) and I', *bu ʨiGula* 'I and you (sg.)'. It is interesting here that while *ʨi* is the 2nd person singular pronoun, *bida-* is the 1st person plural stem.

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25. maɢaɕi tɕi bida-**ɢula** handi-la utɕi-ja[71]

tomorrow 2SG 1PL.STEM-**DL** together-INST.COM drink-VOL1

Let's eat[72] together you **and** I tomorrow

26. bi tɕi-**ɢula** rd-ua

1SG 2SG-**DL** eat-PERF

I ate **with** you (sg.).

It can be seen from these examples that this marker functions very similarly to the instrumental-comitative marker *-la* in its comitative function. Since it is used only with animate nouns, *-ɢula* can never have an instrumental function.

IV.4.1.4 Number - Comparative and historical data

Markers for number are fairly similar across dialects, with only minimal phonetic variations (or differences in transcription). The marker *-maŋge* may not appear in all varieties (I cannot find it in SM 1964, Chaolu Wu 1994, Zhaonasitu 1981, or Todaeva 1973). The marker *-tang* listed by Chaolu Wu (1994:5) does not appear in any of these sources, and was not accepted by any of my language consultants. The plural marker *-luena* found in Tianzhu is most likely a form of the word *luan* 'many' (Karlong *wulan*, WM *olan*).

[71] The word *utɕi-*, literally 'drink', is often used to mean 'eat a meal'.

[72] The verb *utɕi* 'drink' is often used with the sense 'to eat a meal'.

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Table 29. Number Suffixes

Function	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964 (Naringhol)	Todaeva 1973	Zhaonasitu 1981 (Halchi)	Georg 2003 (Halchi)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)
Singular	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Singular	-ŋge			-ŋge ~ -ge (p. 43)	-ŋge (p. 18)	-ŋge ~ -ge	-gɜ/ -ŋgɜ (p. 5)
Plural	-sgɨ	-hgɨna (personal pronouns)	-sɢi	-sge (HG) -sge, -se (FN) -sge (-hge) (NG)	-sge (p.18)	-sge ~ -sgi (Halchi) -hgi (Naringhol) (p. 295)	-sgɜ / -xgɜ (p. 5)
Plural	—		-s (with dative and ablative) (p. 12)	—	—	—	-s (p. 5)
Plural	-sɨ	-hɨna	—	—	—	—	-si (p. 5)
Plural	-ŋula	—	—	-ngula (HG) -ngula, -ngu (FN)	-ŋgula (p.18)	-ŋu ~ -ŋgu ~ -ŋula ~ -ŋgula (p. 295)	-ŋgula / -nŋɢula / -gula (p. 5)
Plural	-maŋge	—	—	—	—	-maŋe (p. 295)	—
Plural	-ŋgula (-la)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plural	-sɨla	—	—	—	—	—	—
Plural	—	—	—	—	—	—	-tang (p. 5)
Plural	—	-luena	—	—	—	—	—

IV.4.2 Case Marking

Karlong has seven cases: nominative (ø), genitive (*-ni*), dative (*-di*), accusative (*-ni*), locative (*-ri*), ablative (*-sa*), and instrumental-comitative (*-la*).

IV.4.2.1 Nominative: -ø

The nominative case is used for subjects of sentences. Nominative case is represented by the bare stem of the noun.

27. simʤaŋla **noxuei** ʤu:-gun-a
    careful **dog** bite-GEN.FUT-OBJ
    Be careful, **the dog** will bite.

28. **bi** tɕandzar-i su:-ʤ-i:
    1SG Qianzuo-LOC sit-PERF-SUBJ
    I live in Qianzuo.

29. **liaŋ ku:dzi** nʤigila-ʤi gu-a
    couple be.harmonious-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ
    The couple did not get along (lit. was not harmonious).

30. **ne de:l** alaG a
    this clothing multi-colored COP
    This piece of clothing is multi-colored.

The nominative is also used as the vocative case (only two examples in the data):

31. **a:gu** xgaʤa mba: sa:
    young.woman language correct PTCL
    Young woman, are (my) words true?

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32. **a:diedie** ger-di ra kan-i:

grandfather house-DAT come who-SUBJ

Grandfather, who is coming to the house?

IV.4.2.2 Genitive: -ni

The genitive case marker is *-ni*. It is used to mark possessors and part-whole relationships.

33. xgile-ʤi juanwei-**ni** den-di giʂ-gun-a xa

beg-IMPERF official-**GEN** door-DAT step.on-NARR.PAST-OBJ PTCL

Begging, (she) arrived at the door **of** an official.

34. o:la do ta-ŋla-**ni** amin si:n a

INTJ now 2PL.STEM-PL-**GEN** life good COP

Right, now your life is good.

35. mini bandaŋ-**ni** kual xɢara:-ʂʤ-a

1SG chair-**GEN** leg break-PERF-OBJ

The leg of **my** chair broke.

IV.4.2.3 Dative: -di

The dative case, -di, is used for a number of different functions: location (in space and time), goal, recipient, for possessive constructions, and to mark the complement of certain verbs, e.g.:

Location in space:

36. bu ne ger-**di** su:-ʤ-i:

1SG this house-**DAT** sit-PERF-SUBJ

I live **in** this house.

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37. e: moritɕaŋ xa di: te ɢual-**di** ʂdara wa

INTJ Moriqang PTCL then that valley-**DAT** water.mill COP

Yeah, then, (about) Moriqang (place name), there is a watermill **in** that valley.

38. di: te sxu:-**di** ne andʑi:-**di** do:tʂu: ne nige ʂenlin di: dun

then that time-DAT this where-**DAT** everywhere this one forest then east

san ɕi san i:gua fi: bi kile su:-dʑ-i:

mountain west mountain all forest 1SG say sit-PERF-SUBJ

Then, at that time, everywhere was forest; east mountain, west mountain, everything was forest, I am telling (you)!

Location in time:

39. ne ɢa-**di** do si:n a

this time-**DAT** now good COP

Nowadays (things) are good.

40. ne-sa miɕi-ni itɕien-ɢula-**di**-ni i:-n-a

this-ABL before-GEN early-INTENS-**DAT**-POSS COP-NPT-OBJ

Before now, much earlier, (we) had (it).

41. saŋmaŋ xaran ni:man dur-**di** ɢo:r sara-ni

Qingming eighteen day-**DAT** two month-POSS

The Qingming festival is **on** the 18th day of the second month.

Goal:

42. ŋgan guadindi ɕuetaŋ-**di** ɕi-ma

3SG daily school-**DAT** go-ASSERT

S/he goes **to** school every day.

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43. xɢeila su:-sa bɨli:-aŋla i:gua-la ɕuetaŋ-**dɨ** ɢari ɕi-n-a

alone sit-COND child-PL all-COLL school-**DAT** go.out go-NPT-OBJ

While I stayed (home) alone, the children all went **to** school.

44. a:nie-ɢula juen truo … kudɨ-na: juendzɨ-**dɨ** bu: ɕge

grandmother-DL garden inside … home-REFL garden-**DAT** go.down big

da-na: ne: niŋge wa

door-REFL open after COP

(He and) the grandmother both inside the garden...went down **into** their home, into the garden and opened the front gate.

Note that certain words do not need a dative suffix when they act as the goal or the location of an event. Below are examples for *kudɨ* 'home', which never occurs with a dative suffix. Other words can optionally take a dative suffix, but can also appear without one, e.g. *wadzer* 'city' (cf. example 66).

45. nda:-nɨ **kudɨ** nu:dɨr xgɨlandʑin-ge rɨ-dʑ-a

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN **home** today beggar-SG come-PERF-OBJ

A beggar came **to** my **house** today.

46. ta-ŋla nda:-nɨ **kudɨ** utɕɨ-dʑ-a

2PL.STEM-PL 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN **home** drink-PERF-OBJ

You ate **at** my **house**.

47. ŋgan **kudɨ** ʂda:-la ɕ-dʑ-a

3SG **home** cook-PURP go-PERF-OBJ

She went **home** to cook.

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Recipient:

48. bɨ tɕim-ɨ nige fu: ɢ-wa

1SG 2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT one book give-PERF

I gave you a book.

49. bɨ nda:-nɨ du:-**dɨ**-na: fu-ŋge

1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother-**DAT**-REFL book-SG

ɢua-di-wa

give-COMPL-PERF

I gave a book **to** my younger brother.

50. nda: kurge:-tala nda:-nɨ a:manɨ **nda:** nige

1SG.ACC get.married-TERM 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN mother-POSS **1SG.DAT** one

ʤil baɢu:r ɢ-ʤ-a

kind bracelet give-PERF-OBJ

When I got married, my mother gave **me** a bracelet.

Karlong (as the other Mongghul dialects) does not have a verb 'to have'. Possessive constructions in Karlong are therefore formed with the possessor in the dative case, with the possession in the nominative case, and with the copula *i:*. In all examples in my data these elements appear in this order.

51. gan-**dɨ** ɕge ger-ge i:-n-a

3SG-**DAT** big house-SG COP-NPT-OBJ

He has a big house.

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52. ʤaŋ-ge kun-**di** nige pise: i: ja:n-i:

hundred-SG person-**DAT** one belt COP what-SUBJ

A hundred people have one belt. What is it?[73]

53. di: gan kile-san-a gan-**di** ʤapu i:-n-a be:

then 3SG say-PAST-OBJ 3SG-**DAT** family.record COP-NPT-OBJ PTCL

Then, he said he has a family record.

Complement of some verbs, e.g. 'see' and 'ask':

54. ja:n-**di** sge-n-a be:

what-**DAT** see.NPT-OBJ PTCL

(We) see all kinds of things.

55. bu ʧim-**i** sge-wa

1SG 2SG.OBL.STEM-**DAT** see-PERF

I saw you.

But there are also instances of 'see' with accusative:

56. bu ŋgan-**i** sge-wa

1SG 3SG-**ACC** see-PERF

I saw him/her.

Accusative is also used with 'see' for the 2nd and 3rd person plural: *bu taŋlan**i** sgewa* 'I saw you', *bu ŋgaŋnan**i** sgewa* 'I saw them'.

For the first person singular pronoun, dative and accusative have the same form:

[73] The solution to the riddle is *mani* 'prayer beads'.

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57. ŋga-ŋla **nda:** sge-ʤ-a

3PL.STEM-PL **1SG.DAT/ACC** see-PERF-OBJ

They saw me.

Dative case with the verb *sɢa* 'ask':

58. bu ta-ŋ-**di** sɢa-ja

1SG 2PL.STEM-PL-**DAT** ask-vol1

Let me ask you.

Dative case with the verb *ʤiefaŋla* 'liberate':

59. e: tigi:ŋge-la su:-ʤ-a tani ʐʤi-gu **nda:**

INTJ like.that-INST.COM sit-PERF-OBJ 3SG-ACC look.PART.FUT **1SG.DAT/ACC**

xu:le: ʤiefaŋ-la-di niŋge a: do ʤu: nara

after liberate-VRBL-COMPL then INTJ also just sun

bu:-di-ʤ-a be:

rise-COMPL-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Yeah, things where like that, compared to that after we were liberated, then (it was like) the sun rose.

mo: dʐuɕi ʤu:si wanmin-**di** ʤiefaŋ-la di: nige di: ʤu:

Mao chairman exactly people-**DAT** liberate-VRBL then one then just

si:na-la-di-ʤ-a

good-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

(With) chairman Mao, all the people were liberated, then (things) just became good.

As Written Mongolian, Karlong has a fleeting */n* which surfaces in some nouns. In Written Mongolian, some nouns have a fleeting or "variable" **n**, which sometimes surfaces in the nominative, definitive accusative, and instrumental (Grønbech & Krueger 1993:15, cf. also Poppe

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1954:73-76). In Karlong, the fleeting */n* surfaces in the dative case. The following example illustrates this with the word 'water', which is *usu/n* in written Mongolian.

60. e: la-di **sdzun-di** tiɢa:n ɢaʤer tari-ma
INTJ hill-DAT **water-DAT** that.much field plant-ASSERT
Yeah, on the hill (and) **in the water** (fields we) plant that many fields.

sdzu 'water' does not have a final *-n* in the nominative case (or in other cases):

61. **sdzu** ɢu:r dan-la-ʤi ra
water two carry.on.shoulders-VRBL-IMPERF come
(I) come carrying two (buckets of) **water** on (my) shoulder,

In other dialects of Huzhu, the fleeting */n* also surfaces in the ablative case (cf. Georg 2003:295-296, SM 1964:18, 22).

IV.4.2.4 Accusative: -ni

The accusative marker is *-ni*. In Karlong (and in all other Mongghul dialects) the genitive suffix and the accusative suffix have the same form. However, genitive and accusative are distinguished in personal pronouns (see detailed discussion in section IV.4.3 on personal pronouns).

The accusative is used to mark direct objects. It can also be used to mark the causee in causative sentences (cf. Todaeva 1973:100-101). When the suffix *-ni* is attached to a word ending in *-n*, no geminate is created, but one of the /n/'s is deleted (see example 62 below).

Accusative case marking a direct object:

62. bu ŋgan-i sge-wa
1SG 3SG-**ACC** see-PERF
I saw him/her.

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63. **kudujer-ni** tari-di-sa ta:win ʤirgo:n sara

fenugreek-ACC plant-COMPL-COND five six month

ul-sa ɢari ra-n-a bei

become-COND come.out come-NPT-OBJ PTCL

After (you) plant **fenugreek**, when five, six months have passed (it) comes out.

64. **maxa-ni** aw-ʤi ra

meat-ACC take-IMPERF come

Come take **the meat**!

65. ne fu:-**ni** maʨi

this book-**ACC** read

Read this book!

Direct objects may also be unmarked for case if they are indefinite, for example, but not limited to, fixed expression such as *sdzer dzaŋla* 'to make money'.

66. wadzer **sdzer** dzaŋ-la-sa ʧural a

city **gold** earn-VRBL-COND easy COP

It is easy to make **money** in the city.

67. **kudujer** tari-n-a buda-ŋ tre:

fenugreek plant-NPT-OBJ 1PL.STEM-PL there

We plant **fenugreek** there.

68. rgul-di **a:si** **basi** ʂda:-n-i

winter-DAT **cattle** **dung** burn-NPT-SUBJ

In the winter (we) burn **cattle dung**.

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69. ŋgan **moadɨ** jeɕ-ʤɨ ɕi niŋge ɢal ʤa:la-ma

3SG **wood** collect-IMPERF go after fire make.fire-ASSERT

After s/he goes to collect **wood** she makes fire.

Accusative used to mark the causee (person caused to do the action) of sentences with causative verbs (only two examples with animate causees):

70. ŋgan ɕi-gu dɨra:la-sa **ŋgan-ɨ** ɕi-lɢa

3SG go-PART.FUT like-COND **3SG-ACC** go-CAUS

If he wants to go, let **him** go.

71. **gan-ɨ** dze:la-ɢa ʂda-n gu-a xa mei lɨ caŋ

3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCLcoal inside hide

ʤin gɨ-ʤɨ

gold QUOT-IMPERF

(The official) could not force **him** to receive (gifts), so (he) said "hide gold in coal."

IV.4.2.5 Locative: -rɨ

Location in space and goal can be marked by the locative suffix *-rɨ*, as well as by the dative *-dɨ*. Compared to *-dɨ*, which can also be used for recipients, possessors, location in time, and the object of certain verbs, the uses of *-rɨ* are much more limited. The locative suffix can only be used for location in space, and spacial goals.

When the locative suffix is attached to a word ending with /r/, one of the two /r/ is deleted (e.g. examples 73, 74 and 75).

Location in space:

72. ɢajer ɕʤo:sɨ-**rɨ** na:dzɨ ɢaɕ-ʤ-a

spring tree.**LOC** bud come.out-PERF-OBJ

In the spring buds came out **on** the trees. (In the spring, trees were budding.)

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73. bi tɕandzar-i su:-dʑ-i:

1sg. Qianzuo-**LOC** sit-PERF-SUBJ

I lived **in** Qianzuo.

Goal:

74. kidi fan ku:-la niŋge di: i:xge wadzer-i ʁarɕi ra

several year son-INST.COM after then only.then city-**LOC** go.out come

durdindi dʑu: ti: lisgaŋ wari-ma

every.day just like.that work work-ASSERT

After several years, only then I came **to** the city with my son to do this kind of work every day.

75. tɕandzar-i ɕi niŋge jaŋ ku:-la nige liam mu:ni-ʁula

Qianzuo-**LOC** go after again son-INST.COM one luck bad-EMPH

dʑu: niŋge wari

part after work

After I went **to** Qianzuo again with my son, life was very hard, and I worked.

76. e: di: xuina-sa ʁadin-di tɕandzar-i ɕ-dʑ-a

INTJ then after-ABL in-laws-DAT Qianzuo-**LOC** go-PERF-OBJ

Yeah, then, after that I went **to** the Qianzuo in-laws.

The locative suffix is also the last element in the words *ndre:* 'here' and *tre:* 'there'. SM (1964:57) explain the long vowel in the locative suffix in these cases by a switch of vowel length, e.g. *nde:* 'here' + -re becomes *nderie:*. In Karlong the shortened vowel is dropped completely. See section III.3.3 for a discussion of Karlong [i] and its correspondences in other dialects.

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IV.4.2.6 Ablative: -sa

The ablative case is formed by suffixing *-sa*. When in an unstressed (non-final) position, it can be pronounced *-si*. The ablative suffix is used to mark locational sources, temporal source and the standard of comparison.[74] It is also used to mark the complement of some verbs.

Locational source, e.g.

77. gan te ger-**sa** ri-ʤ-a
    3sg. that house-**ABL** come-PERF-OBJ
    He came **from** that house.

78. bi fila:n nira-**sa** ri-wa
    1SG Fulaan Nara-**ABL** come-PERF
    I am **from** Fulaan Nara (place name).

79. di: a:nie-ɢula ɕge da maŋli:-**sa** do:ra-ʤi daŋlur-la
    then grandmother-DL big door lintel-**ABL** go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM
    nige i:-sa-ŋge
    one look-COND-SG
    then when (he) and the grandmother both came down **from** the lintel of the front gate and took a look with the lantern,

    jeri-ŋge sara su: ge:-ʤ-a be: ɕge da busɢua-ni
    woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL big door threshold-POSS
    ko:-la nige
    lean-VRBL one
    a woman who had just given birth was leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

---

[74] In Tianzhu, comparisons optionally use the Chinese *bǐ* (比) [*bʒ*]: *nje bo bʒ gesa boɢwanə* 'This tree is smaller than the house'.

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Temporal source:

80. e: di: xuina-**sa** ɢadin-di tɕandzar-i ɕ-dʑ-a

INTJ then after-**ABL** in-laws-DAT Qianzuo-LOC go-PERF-OBJ

Yeah, then, after that I went to the Qianzuo in-laws.

81. saŋmaŋ-**sa** tɕe:n ersi tien tiɢa:nge di: tar-sa di:

Qingming-**ABL** before twenty day that.much then plant-COND then

di: baŋdʑan a ba

then approximately COP PTCL

If (you) plant as many as twenty days before the Qingming festival, (that's) about (it), isn't it?

82. ne-**sa** miɕi-ni i:tɕien-ɢula-di-ni i:-n-a

this-**ABL** before-GEN early-INTENS-DAT-POSS COP-NPT-OBJ

Before now, much earlier, (we) had (it).

Standard of comparison:

83. tɕi nda:-**sa** ɕge wa

2SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-**ABL** big COP

You are taller **than** me.

84. nanige ɕdʑo:si te ger-**sa** mila: wa

this tree that house-**ABL** small COP

This tree is smaller **than** that house.

85. ta-ni ger-ni tɕi-ni ger-**sa** mila: wa

3SG-GEN house-POSS 2SG-GEN house-**ABL** small COP

Her house is smaller **than** your house.

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Ablative suffix with the verb *aji* 'fear' (only two examples in the data):

86. bi jile:-**sa** xudi aji-n-a
1SG ghost-**ABL** INTENS fear-NPT-OBJ
I am very afraid of ghosts.

87. nda:-ni du: lisga-**sa** aji-ma
1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother work-**ABL** fear-ASSERT
My younger brother is afraid of work.

IV.4.2.7 Instrumental-comitative: -la

The instrumental-comitative case is formed with the suffix *-la.* It marks the instrument of an action, or the person with which an action is undertaken, that is, it can be used as instrumental or as comitative.

Instrumental function:

88. ŋgan xɢei-ni tɕidaɢu-**la** ala-di-ʤ-a
3sg. pig-POSS knife-**INST.COM** kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
He killed the pig **with** a knife.

89. fila:n ʂda:si-**la** wari kidi samba-**la** wari-n-a
red thread-**INST.COM** work several kind-**INST.COM** work-NPT-OBJ
(I) work **with** red thread, (and also) work **with** several kinds (of thread).

90. aja: moŋɢual a xa moŋɢual xgatɕa-**la**-na:
INTJ Monguor COP PTCL Monguor language-**INST.COM**-REFL
Aya, if (you) are a Monguor, (speak) **with** our Monguor language.

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Comitative function:

91. ŋgaŋ-la buda-ŋla-**la** utɕi-ʤ-a

3SG-PL 1PL.STEM-PL-**INST.COM** drink-PERF-OBJ

They ate **with** us.

92. kidi fan ku:-**la** niŋge di: i:xge wadzer-i ʁarɕi ra

several year son-**INST.COM** after then only.then city-LOC go.out come

durdindi ʤu: ti: lisgaŋ wari-ma

every.day just like.that work work-ASSERT

After several years, only then I came to the city **with** my son to do this kind of work every day.

93. ʁada-gu kun-**la** nige rin taŋɕa:-la

outside-n.s. people-**INST.COM** one moment chat-VRBL

chat a moment **with** people outside,

The instrumental-comitative can optionally appear with some words that have a meaning of plurality, e.g. *i:gua ~ i:guala* 'all', *hamdi ~ hamdila* 'together'.

94. **i:gua-la** nda: du:ra:-ʤ-a sila:-ʤ-a

all-INST.COM 1SG.ACC imitate-PERF-OBJ water-PERF-OBJ

Everybody imitated me in watering (their fields).

95. e: geʤo:men **i:gua** ɕinjaŋ-la-di-ʤ-a bei

INTJ everybody **all** believe-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Everybody believed (it).

A variant of the instrumental-comitative suffix with a long vowel, *-la:* (WM *-luɣa / -lüge*), is used with nouns denoting time to express the meaning 'during', e.g. *dur* 'day', *durla:* 'during the day'.

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96. dur-**la:** maxa tɨlɨm xaraulʤɨ ki: tɨlɨm ja:n-i:

day-**COM** meat bag night wind bag what-SUBJ

During the day a meat bag, during the night a wind bag. What is it?[75]

IV.4.2.8 Case - Comparative and historical data

On the whole, case marking in Karlong is not very different from case marking in other Huzhu dialects. There are, however, some differences.

The limitive (*-xɔŋ/-lɔŋ/-dɔŋ*) case markers listed by Chaolu Wu (1994) could not be found in the Karlong data. Also, Karlong does not have the range of connective (genitive-accusative) suffixes shown by Chaolu Wu (1994). The comitative suffix *-di:* or *-de:* given by SM (1964), Todaeva (1973), Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003) also does not appear in the Karlong data (or in my data of Tianzhu). The same is the case for the directive suffix listed by Chaolu Wu (1994) (*-ʤɨə*) and by Georg (2003) (*-ji*).

According to Georg (2003:295-296), "the unstable */n of Proto-Mongolic occasionally appears in some stems in the dative and ablative". There are no examples of */n surfacing in front of the ablative suffix in Karlong.

Georg (2003:295) lists the connective, dative, and locative suffixes as *-ni*, *-di*, and *-ri* respectively, but notes that while the vowel "is written as **i** in the literary language...[it] also appears as **e** [ə] in non-standard materials." The sound found in Karlong is definitely closer to [ə]. Note that Chaolu Wu (1994:5) gives the sound in question as [ɵ] for (some cases of) connective and dative, and as [ɜ] for locative.

Some recent publications combine genitive and accusative case into one category, since the suffixes are identical. Georg (2003:296) uses the term 'connective' case. The connective suffix is *-nɨ* for genitive and accusative case together. Chaolu Wu (1994:5) only gives the genitive case

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[75] The solution to the riddle is *ʧaŋxei* 'shoes'.

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in his table, but states in a footnote that "this suffix is used as both genitive and accusative case suffix".

Todaeva (1973) distinguishes between genitive and accusative, and lists both *-ne* and *-ni* for accusative, but only *-ne* for genitive.

SM (1964:21) also distinguish between genitive and accusative (both forms given here under connective), noting that the two are "phonetically identical".

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Table 30. Case Suffixes

Function	KL	Tianzhu	SM (1964:15-27) (Naringhol)	Todaeva (1973:47-55) (Halchi)	Zhaonasitu (1981:18-21) (Halchi)	Georg (2003:295) (Halchi)	Chaolu Wu (1994:5) (Halchi)
Nominative	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø		Ø
Genitive	-ni	-ni -nə -na	-ni (-n)	-ne (HG, FN)			-nɵ (-na/-no/lɵ/-rɵ/-ni)
Connective					-nə (领宾格)	-ni	
Dative	-di	-də	-du	-de	-də	-di -du (NG)	-dɵ/-du
Accusative	-ni	-ni -nə	-ni (-n)	-ne (HG, FN) -ni (NG)			
Ablative	-sa	-sa	-dza -sa (in neighboring dialects)	-sa (HG, FN) -dza (NG)	-sa	-sa -za (NG)	-sa
Instrumental	-la	-la	-ra	-la	-la	-la -ra (NG)	-la
Comitative	-la	-la	-la -de: (sometimes) (comitatif-sociatif)	-la (соединительный падеж) -de: (совместный падеж) (HG)	-dii (连同格)	-dii	-di:
Locative	-ri	-təra	-re	-ra (-re)	—	-ri	-rɜ
Directive	—	—	—	—	—	-ji	-ʤɵ
Limitive	—	—	—	—	—		-xɔŋ/-lɔŋ/-dɔŋ

IV.4.3 Personal Pronouns

There is some variation in the pronouns used in the Karlong variety. Especially for plural forms, there are a number of possible forms. The variations in the plural are due to two factors: use of different plural suffixes and variations of the plural suffixes, and use of different stems. There are also variations in the singular forms, some of them due to different stems being used, some of them due to variations in pronunciation.

There are three different forms of plural personal pronouns in use. One is formed with *-sgɨ*, another with *-sɨla*[76], and a third with *-ŋgula*. In all cases the suffixes are attached to the following stems: 1st person: *bɨda-*, 2nd person: *ta-*, and 3rd person: *ŋgan-*.

The plural pronouns formed with *-ŋgula* are often reduced, as can be illustrated with the example of the first person plural: [bɨdaŋgula] ~ [bɨdãŋgula] ~ [bɨdaŋla] ~ [bɨdãŋla]. The vowel /a/ preceding /ŋ/ in sometimes nasalized and sometimes not. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is that sometimes /ŋ/ belongs to the preceding syllable, where it cases the vowel to nasalize, and sometimes it belongs to the following syllable. The other possibility is that sometimes the nasal is interpreted by the speaker as being /n/ which assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant. Since the same speaker can produce forms with [ã] and forms with [a], this seems to be a change in progress.

When case suffixes are attached to plural personal pronouns, often the plural is reduced to *-ŋ*. However, case-marked personal pronouns with the full form of the plural suffix occur for the genitive, dative, and accusative cases.

In contrast to lexical nouns, genitive and accusative cases are formally distinguished for personal pronoun.

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[76] This form was elicited only from S26.

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Table 31. Karlong Personal Pronouns

CASE	1SG	2SG	3SG	1DL	1PL	2DL	2PL	3DL	3PL
NOM	bɨ bu	tɕɨ	ŋgan ta tanige	bidaɢu:rla bidaɢula bida daɢula	bidaŋgula bidaŋ bidasgɨ bidasɨla daŋla	taɢu:rla taɢula	taŋgula tasgɨ tasɨla	ŋgaŋɢu:rla ŋgaŋɢula	ŋgan ŋgasgɨ ŋgasɨla taŋgula
GEN	nda:nɨ mɨnɨ	tɕɨnɨ tanɨ	ŋganɨ tanɨ	—	bidaŋnɨ bidaŋgula	—	tasgɨnɨ taŋgulanɨ taŋnanɨ	—	—
DAT	nda:	tɕɨmɨ	ŋgandɨ tandɨ tanigedɨ	—	bidaŋdɨ bidaŋguladɨ bidaŋla	—	taŋguladɨ taŋdɨ	—	ŋgaŋdɨ
ACC	nda:	tɕɨmu	ŋganɨ tanɨ	—	—	taɢu:rnɨ	taŋgulanɨ	—	ŋgaŋnanɨ
ABL	nda:sa	tɕɨmɨsa	ŋgansa	—	—	—	taŋsa	—	ŋgaŋsa
INST.COM	—	tɕɨmɨla	ŋgaŋla	—	bidaŋgulala	—	taŋla	—	ŋgaŋla

IV.4.3.1 1st person singular

The forms of the 1st person singular are based on two forms: *bu* ~ *bi*, and *nda:*, with the latter based on Common Mongolic dative **nama-da* (Georg 2003:298)

The form of the nominative is *bi* (or *bu*). The stem for all oblique forms is *nda:*-, with suffixes added for the ablative and instrumental-comitative cases. The dative and accusative cases are both *nda:*. *nda:* is also the oblique stem. Two forms can be used for the genitive case: *nda:ni* or *mini*. *nda:* can be pronounced [na:] in fast speech. *mini* becomes [min] before a word starting with an alveolar stop, but the vowel may resurface in careful speech.

Examples for the two forms of the genitive:

97. **mini** nira lamikar i:
1SG.GEN name Lamikar COP
My name is Lamikar.

98. ne **nda:-ni** kudi ʤu: ra-di-sa do lamanʧuŋ
this **1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN** home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent
gui:ren-ge gi-ʤi
important.person-SG QUOT-IMPERF
"If he comes into **my** house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

Dative case, used in the possessive construction:

99. **nda:** ɢura:n a:ʤa i:
1SG.DAT three older.brother COP
I have three older brothers.

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IV.4.3.2 2nd person singular

The nominative form of the 2nd person singular is *tɕi* and the genitive is *tɕini*. The stem for some oblique forms (dative and accusative) is *tɕim-*. The stem for the other oblique forms except genitive (ablative, instrumental-comitative) is *tɕimi-*, which corresponds to the dative case.

Genitive:

100. **tɕi-ni** nara ja:n-i:
2SG-GEN name what-SUBJ
What is **your** name

Dative:

101. **tɕim-i** kidi bili: i:
2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT how.many child COP
How many children do **you** have?

Accusative:

102. bu **tɕim-u** jeɕ-dʑi ul-ua
1SG **2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC** find-IMPERF become-PERF
I found **you**.

IV.4.3.3 3rd person singular

For the 3rd person singular, there are three different forms in use. The most common one is *ŋgan* (also *gan*). The demonstrative pronoun *ta* can be used interchangeably with *ŋgan*. Lastly, the demonstrative *tanige* (that one) can also be used. In the genitive and accusative cases, the pronoun is *ŋgani* (or [ŋgini]), and there is one instance of *tani* (sometimes reduced to [tini]). The stem for dative and ablative is *ŋgan-*, with *-di* and *-sa* added respectively. For the instrumental-comitative, the stem takes the form *ŋgaŋ-*: *ŋgaŋla*. There is also one instance of *ta* appearing in the dative case: *tandi*.

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Accusative case:

103. bu **ŋgan-i** sge-wa

1SG **3SG-ACC** see-PERF

I saw him/her.

Dative case:

104. **tan-di** ɕge nige ʤen ger i:-n-a

that-DAT big one CL house COP-NPT-OBJ

He has a big house.

105. **ŋgan-di** i:-na

3SG-DAT COP-NPT-OBJ

She has (one).

IV.4.3.4 Dual personal pronouns

The first person dual pronoun is *budaGu:rla* (or *budaGula*, but cf. section IV.4.1.3 on *-Gula*) and *daGula*. For the second person, the form is *taGu:rla* (or *taGula*). The third person dual is *ŋgaŋGu:rla* or *ŋGaŋGula*. It is not completely clear how these pairs of forms are related with each other. One possibility is that the forms in *-Gula* are reduced versions of those in *-Gu:rla*. *-Gu:rla* is composed of *Go:r* 'two'[77] and *-la*, the instrumental-comitative suffix. Only first person dual pronouns appear in the data in connected speech:

[77] 'Two' is *Go:r, Gu:r* or *Guar*, but the dual marker is clearly *-Gula*.

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106. maɢaɕi tɕi buda-**ɢula** handila utɕi-ja

tomorrow 2SG 1PL.STEM-**DL** together drink-VOL1

Let's the **two** of us eat together tomorrow.

107. a:ga di: da-**ɢula** ja: ʂan-ki-ja

uncle then 1PL.STEM-**DL** INTJ discuss-VRBL-VOL1

Uncle, let's the **two** of us have a discussion.

IV.4.3.5 1st person plural

There are two stems for the 1st person plural pronoun: *bida- ~ buda-*, historically the inclusive form of the 1st person pronoun, and *da-*, a shortened form.

Nominative case:

108. e: do **bida** li ʤa kun

INTJ now **1PL** Li family person

Yeah, now **we** are Li family people.

109. taʂ-gu gadi-n-i bei **da-ŋla** tar-la ɕ-ʤ-a

plant-PART.FUT harvest-NPT-SUBJ PTCL **1PL.PL** plant-VRBL go-PERF-OBJ

We planted and harvested, planted.

Genitive case:

110. e: di: buda-ŋ-**ni** ɢual do:ra-ni dere:n ajil i:

INTJ then 1P-PL-**GEN** valley under-GEN four village COP

Yeah, then here in **our** valley are four villages.

Dative case:

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111. bida-ŋ-**di** ʤapu gu-a

1PL.STEM-PL-**DAT** family.record NEG.AUX-OBJ

We don't have a family record.

Ablative case:

112. ta-ŋla buda-ŋ-**sa** bije ʒge wa

2PL-PL 1SG-PL-**ABL** body big COP

You are taller **than** us.

IV.4.3.6 2nd person plural

The stem for the 2nd person plural is *ta-*. Case endings are attached after the plural suffix, which, as for the other plural personal pronouns, is often contracted to *-ŋ*.

113. **ta-ŋgula** ŋga-ŋgula handi utʃi-ʤ-a

2PL.STEM-PL 3PL.STEM-PL together eat-PERF-OBJ

You ate together with them.

114. o:la do ta-ŋla-**ni** amin si:n a

INTJ now 2PL.STEM-PL-**GEN** life good COP

Right, now your life is good.

115. bu **ta**-ŋ-di fu:-ŋge ɢ-wa

1SG **2PL**.STEM-PL.DAT book-SG give-PERF

I gave **you** a book.

IV.4.3.7 3rd person plural

The stem of the 3rd person plural pronoun is *ŋga-* and *ta-*. Instances of 3rd person plural pronouns in connected speech are few.

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116. **ŋga-ŋla** ju:-di niŋge gundzuo-la-di-ʤ-a

3PL.STEM-PL go-COMPL then work-VRBL-v.s.-PERF-OBJ

They went and worked.

117. nda: ʨʤundu: ɢu:r i: **ta-ŋla** xudzu su:-ʤ-a

1SG.DAT younger.sister two COP **3PL.STEM-PL** Huzhu sit-PERF-OBJ

I have two younger sisters. **They** live in Huzhu.

IV.4.3.8 Personal pronouns - comparative and historical data

The main difference between Karlong and other dialects of Huzhu is that in Karlong the 1st person plural pronouns are almost exclusively based on the stem *buda-*, whereas other varieties also used the stem *nda:-*. Another difference is the almost exclusive use of *ŋgan* for the 3rd person, as opposed to the demonstrative pronoun *te*.

Table 32. Tianzhu Personal Pronouns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	ʨi	te	da:hina	tahina	tjehina
GEN	mini muni	ʨini ʨina	tjeni	da:hgini da:hgina	tihgini tigini tahina tagini tiginin	tjehgini tjegini tahina tagini tigini
DAT	da:	ʨimi:	tjedi tjendi	da:gidi	tigidi	tigidi
ACC	da:	ʨimi:	tjeni	da:hinani	tahinani	tjehinani
ABL	da:sa	ʨimi:sa	gansa			tjehgsa
INST.COM		ʨimila	tjela	da:hgila	tahgila tahinala	tjehinala

In Tianzhu, there is some overlap between the 2nd and 3rd person plural in the genitive and dative cases. This could be due to the phonological similarity: the 2nd person plural stem is *ta*, and the 3rd person plural stem is *tje*.

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Compared with Karlong, there are also some other noticeable differences. For one, *gan* for the third person surfaces only in one case (3rd person singular ablative). In all other cases the third person is represented by *tje* (or *ti*). The plural is always marked by *-hgina* (or the shortened or reduced *-hgini*, *-gini* or *-hini*). In the dative, ablative, and sometimes n the instrumental-comitative case, the *-ni / -na* is dropped. Also note that the initial /n/ in the first person pronouns has been lost. And, the most noticeable difference with Karlong is the exclusive use of the stem *(n)da:-* for the first person plural.

Table 33. Naringhol Personal Pronouns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	tɕi	tie	buda budasgi	ta tasgi	tiesgi
GEN	muni	tɕini	tieni	nda:ni (nda:sgini, budasgini)	tani (tasgini)	tiesgini
DAT	nda:	tɕimi:	tiedu	nda:sdu (nda:sgidu) budasdu (budasgidu)	tasdu (tasgida)	tiesgidu
ACC	nda:	tɕimi:	tieni	nda:sgini budasgini	tasgini	tiesgini
ABL	nda:dza	tɕimi:dza	tiedza	nda:sdza (nda:sgidza) budasdza (budasgidza)	tasdza (tasgidza)	tiesgidza
INST	nda:ra	tɕimi:ra	tiera	nda:sgira budasgira	tasgira	tiesgira
COM.SOC	nda:la	tɕimi:la	tiela	nda:sgila budasgila	tasgila	tiesgila
LOC	munire	tɕinire	tiere	nda:nire	tanire	tiesgire

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Table 34. Halchi Personal Pronouns, Georg (2003)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu ndaa	qi	te gan	buda(sge) ndaa(sge)	ta(sge)	tesge
GEN	muni ndaani	qini	teni	budasgeni nda(sge)ni	ta(sge)ni	tesgeni
DAT	ndaa	qimii	tendi	budasgedi ndaas(ge)di	tas(ge)di	tesgedi
ACC	ndaa	qimu	teni	budasgeni nda(sge)ni	tasgeni	tesgeni
ABL	ndaasa	qimasa	tensa	budas(ge)sa ndaas(ge)sa	tas(ge)sa	tesgesa
COM	ndaala	qimula	tela	budas(ge)sa ndaas(ge)sa	tas(ge)la	tesgela
DIR	ndaaji	qimiji	tendiji	bdasgediji ndaasgediji	tasgediji	tesgeji

Georg (2003:289) mentions that *gan* is also used as a 3rd person pronoun, but does not provide its declination. Most likely the declination is regular in Halchi. He also states that the form of it in earlier Mongghul sources is *rgen ~ rgan*. The preinitial has become /ŋ/ in Karlong (for a discussion of preinitials see section IV.5.1.2).

For the plural forms, Georg also notes that other plural markers besides *-sge* are possible: the shortened form *-s*, and also *-hgi* and *-ngula* (2003:298).

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Table 35. Halchi Personal Pronouns - Zhaonasitu (1981)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	tɕə	te rgen	buda budaŋgula, budasge ndaaŋgula, ndaasge	ta taŋgula tasge	teŋgula, tesge rge(n)ŋgula, rgensge
GEN	munə	tɕənə	tenə rgenə	ndaanə budaŋgulanə, budasgenə ndaaŋgulanə, ndaasgenə	tanə taŋgulanə tasgenə	teŋgulanə, tesgenə rge(n)ŋgula-nə, rgensgenə
DAT	ndaa	tɕəmu (tɕəmii)	tendə rgendə	budaŋguladə, budasgedə ndaaŋguladə, ndaasgedə	taŋguladə tasgedə	teŋguladə, tesgedə rge(n)ŋguladə, rgensgedə
ACC	ndaa	tɕəmu (tɕəmii)	tenə rgenə	budaŋgulanə, budasgenə ndaaŋgulanə, ndaasgenə	taŋgulanə tasgenə	teŋgulanə, tesgenə rge(n)ŋgula-nə, rgensgenə
ABL	ndaasa	tɕəmusa	tensa rgensa	budaŋgulasa, budasgesa ndaaŋgulasa, ndaasgesa	taŋgulasa tasgesa	teŋgulasa, tesgesa rge(n)ŋgulasa, rgensgesa
INST	ndaala	tɕəmula	tenla rgenla	budaŋgulala, budasgela ndaaŋgulala, ndaasgela	taŋgulala tasgela	teŋgulala, tesgela rge(n)ŋgulala, rgensgela
COM	ndaadii	tɕəmudii	tendii rgendii	budaŋguladii, budasgedii ndaaŋguladii, ndaasgedii	taŋguladii tasgedii	teŋguladii, tesgedii rge(n)ŋguladii, rgensgedii

On the whole, the pronouns found in Zhaonasitu (1981) are the same as those described by Georg (2003).

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Table 36. Halchi Personal Pronouns, Todaeva (1973)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
NOM	bu	ʧi	te	buda budasge, budangula nda:sge, nda:ngula	ta tasge tangula	tesge, tengula
GEN	mune	ʧine	tene	nda:ne budasgene, budangulane nda:sgene, nda:ngulane	tane tasgene, tangulane	tesgene, tengulane
DAT	nda:	ʧimi	tende	budasde budasgede, budangulade nda:sde nda:sgede, ndaa:ngulade	tasgede tasgede, tangulade	tesgede, tengulade
ACC	nda:	ʧimu	tene	budasgene, budangulane nda:sgene, nda:ngulane	tasgene, tangulane	tesgene, tengulane
ABL	nda:sa	ʧimusa	tensa	nda:sa budasgesa, budangulasa nda:sgesa, nda:ngulasa	tasgesa, tangulasa	tesgesa, tengulasa
INST.COM	nda:la	ʧimula	tela	budasgela, budangulala nda:sgela, nda:ngulala	tasgela, tangulala	tesgela, tengulala

Todaeva (1973) notes that in Naringhol, the plural suffix *-sge* can take the shape *-xge*. The plural suffix *-ngula* does not appear in her Naringhol data. She also states that the demonstrative pronoun *ne* may also function as a third person pronoun, although it is used less frequently than *te* (1974:82).

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IV.4.4 Possessive Marker: -ni

The possessive marker -ni is used to mark the possessed noun in noun phrases. The possessor is marked with the genitive case.

118. ta-ni tɕire:-**ni** ne
that-GEN edge-**POSS** this
This is the edge of that one.

Case markings precede the possessive marker:

119. tɕi ŋgan-ni tada-**sa-ni** ju:-di-dʑ-a
2SG 3SG-GEN near-**ABL-POSS** walk-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
You went away from her.

120. tu:li:-ni rasi-**ni-ni** xu:la-la ra
rabbit-GEN skin-**ACC-POSS** peel-PURP come
Come skin the rabbit.

121. ne-sa miɕi-ni itɕien-ɢula-**di-ni** i:-n-a
this-ABL before-GEN early-INTENS-**DAT-POSS** COP-NPT-OBJ
Before now, much earlier, (we) had (it).

When the copula *a* ~ *wa* appears after the possessive suffix *-ni*, the possessive suffix and the copula contract to *-na* (*-ni* + *a*, no /w/ is inserted).

122. tɕi bida gu:r-ni ɕdʑi:-di-**na**
2SG 1PL two-GEN middle-DAT-**POSS.COP**
You are between the two of us.

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IV.4.4.1 Comparative data

In other dialects of Huzhu, the possessive suffix can only be used with third person possessors (cf. Georg 2003:298, SM 1964:29). There is at least one counter-example in Karlong:

123. nda: kurge:-tala **nda:-ni** a:ma-**ni** nda: nige
1SG.ACC get.married-**TERM** **1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN** mother-**POSS** 1SG.DAT one
ʤil baʁu:r ʁ-ʤ-a
kind bracelet give-PERF-OBJ
When I got married, **my** mother gave me a bracelet.

IV.4.5 Reflexives

Reflexives are formed by adding the reflexive pronoun *(n)ʤina:* between the possessor and the possessed noun, and/or attaching the reflexive marker *–na:* to the end of the possessed noun. If there is case marking on the possessed noun, the reflexive marker follows the case marking. The reflexive suffix also follows the dual suffix. Suffixes for number follow the reflexive suffix.

The reflexive suffix cannot always be translated as 'own', but the interpretation is always that the subject of the sentence is the possessor.

Reflexive pronoun and reflexive suffix:

124. bi **nʤina:** xʁei-**na:** ala-di-wa
1SG **REFL.PRON** pig-**REFL** kill-COMPL-PERF
I killed **my own** pig.

125. naŋ fire: ʧi i:gua-**na:** **nʤina:** lu:ki-ʤ-i: ba
this.year seed 2SG all-REFL REFL.PRON have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ PTCL
This year you had a surplus for **yourself** from **your** seeds?

Reflexive pronoun without reflexive suffix:

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126. **ndʑina:** nige pidʑig gu-a fu:-ri i:-san-i

REFL.PRON one book NEG.AUX-OBJ book-LOC see-PAST -SUBJ

piɕ-a tɕaŋla-san-i tiŋfu-ŋge

NEG.AUX-OBJ hear-PASTSUBJ hear.told-SG

I don't have a book **myself**, I haven't seen it in a book, I heard it, heard it told.

Reflexive suffix with dative case:

127. bi nda:-ni du:-di-**na:** fu-ŋge ɢua-di-wa

1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother-DAT-**REFL** book-SG give-COMPL-PERF

I gave my younger brother a book.

Reflexive suffix with instrumental-comitative case:

128. tiɢu: xudʑi-**la-na:** nda:-ni ɢar dʑu:gi-dʑ-a

chicken beak-**INST.COM-REFL** 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN hand bite-PERF-OBJ

The chicken pecked my hand **with its** beak.

Reflexive suffix with ablative case:

129. ka:rda paŋ-**sa-na:** nige ɢar-ɢa

livestock stable-**ABL-REFL** one come.out-CAUS

letting the livestock **out of** the stable,

Reflexive suffix with dual suffix:

130. bu nda:-ni ɕdʑundu:-**gula-na:** rd-ua

1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.sister-**DL-REFL** eat-PERF

I ate **with my** younger sister.

Reflexive suffix with singular marker:

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131. ja ja malɢa-**na:-ŋge** ʤo:-ja

INTJ INTJ hat-REFL.SG put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on **my** hat.

The following table illustrates combinations of the reflexive marker -na: with case suffix, using *malɢa* 'hat' as an example.

Table 37. Reflexive Marker - Case Combinations

Case	Form
Nominative	malɢana:
Genitive	malɢan:ni
Dative	malɢan:di
Accusative	malɢan:ni
Ablative	malɢan:sa
Instrumental-Comitative	malɢan:la
Locative	malɢan:ri

IV.4.5.1 Reflexives - Comparative data

There are some differences in the use of reflexive markers across different dialects of Mongghul. Georg (2003:299) gives the reflexive pronoun as *njee-*, stating that this "pronoun can also receive the reflexive marker" *-naa.* This implies that the reflexive pronoun may also appear alone, but there are no examples illustrating this.

Chaolu Wu (1994:5) gives the reflexive suffix as *-na:/-la:/-ra:*.

Todaeva gives the reflexive suffix as *-na:* (1973:58), and the reflexive pronoun as *nʤie:na:* (1973:86).

In Tianzhu the reflexive pronoun is *ʤi:na:(na:)*. For example: *bu ʤi·na·na: xɢeini alagwi*, 'I am going to kill my own pig'. It is not completely clear what the *-na:* attached to *ʤi:na* is. Possibly *ʤi:na:* has been reanalyzed as non-reflexive, and the *-na:* is added to make it reflexive.

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IV.4.6 Interrogative Pronouns

Karlong has the following interrogative pronouns: *kani / kana* 'who', *andʑi: / andʑa* 'where', *ja:ni: / ja:na* 'what', *kidi* 'how many', *tiga:n* 'how much', *ali* 'which' (e.g. *alisxu:di* 'when', 'at what time'), *kɕe:* 'when', *amagidʑa* 'how'. Some of these pronouns (e.g. 'who', 'where', 'what') distinguish between subjective and objective perspective.

kani 'who':

132. a:diedie ger-di ra **kan**-i
grandfather house-DAT come **who**-SUBJ
Grandfather, **who** is coming to the house?

andʑi: / andʑa 'where':

133. tɕi su:-san-i **andʑ**-i:
2SG sit-PAST-SUBJ **where**-SUBJ
Where do you live?

134. tɕi **andʑ**-i: su:-dʑ-i:
2SG **where**-SUBJ sit.PERF-SUBJ
Where do you live?

135. ŋgan **andʑ**-a
3SG **where**-OBJ
Where is s/he?

jani 'what':

136. tɕi-ni nara **ja:n**-i
2SG-GEN name **what**-SUBJ
What is your name?

kidi 'how many':

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137. tɕi **kidi** nasi wa

2SG **how.many** age COP

How old are you?

138. tɕim-i **kidi** bili:

2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT **how.many** child

How many children do you have?

tiɢa:n 'how much':

139. do tɕi le: tigi:ŋge do **tiɢa:n** ɢadʑer tari-n-i

now 2SG PTCL like.that now **how.much** field plant-NPT-SUBJ

Now **how much** field area do you plant?

kɕe 'when':

140. ŋgan **kɕe** ra-sa-ni bu mide-dʑi gu-i:

3SG **when** come-COND-ACC 1SG know-IMPERF NEG.AUX-SUBJ

I don't know **when** he will come.

IV.4.7 Demonstrative Pronouns

Karlong has two demonstrative pronouns: *ne ~ na* 'this'/'these' and *te ~ ta* 'that'/'those'. Both of them can be used as personal pronouns, although *ta* is more frequent in this function (cf. Todaeva 1973:82). Number is not distinguished in demonstrative pronouns.

In a noun phrase, the position of the demonstrative pronoun is in the beginning of the noun phrase, before the noun:

141. **te** ger ʑge wa

that house big COP

That house is big.

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142. bi **ne** ɕʤo:si-ni manta-di-ja

1SG **this** tree-ACC dig-COMPL-VOL1

Let me dig out **this** tree.

When used as a personal pronoun, *ne* and *ta* often precede *nige* 'one':

143. **na** **nige** nda:-ni du: wa ŋgan wadzer-i

this **one** 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother COP 3SG city-LOC

su:-ʤ-a

live-PERF-OBJ

This (one) is my younger brother. He lives in the city.

144. bi **ta** **nige**-di fu:-ŋge ɢ-wa

1SG **that** **one**-DAT book-SG give-PERF

I gave **him** a book.

In the dative and the ablative case, the unstable */n appears with the demonstrative pronoun *ta ~ te.*

145. **tan-di** ɕge nige ʤen ger i:-n-a

that-DAT big one CL house COP-NPT-OBJ

He has a big house.

IV.4.8 Derivational Denominal Morphology

The following sections discuss the denominal derivation suffixes found in the data.

IV.4.8.1 Denominal suffix -di

There is one instance of this suffix in the data. The suffix is used to create adjectives from nouns:

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146. ŋgan ʂda:-san nefdza: **funirdi** wa

3SG cook-PART.PERF dinner **fragrant** COP

The food she made is very **tasty** (fragrant).

IV.4.8.2 Suffix -la

The suffix *-la* is attached to nouns to create verbs, e.g. *nasi* 'age', and *nasila* 'to be a certain age', 'to be X years old'. Loanwords from Chinese that are used as verbs in Karlong have to have either the suffix *-la* or the suffix *-ki*, whether or not the word in question is a verb in Chinese. For example, Chinese *jiéhūn* 结婚 'to get married' becomes *ʤiehunla* in Karlong. There does not seem to be a limit to the kinds of constructions that can be loaned from Chinese and made into a verb in Karlong. The following is an interesting example *beihuaʧifaŋla*, from Chinese *bǎihuā qífàng* 百花齐放 'a hundred flowers bloom'.

nasi 'age', and *nasila* 'to be a certain age', 'to be X years old':

147. bu tiʤin ɢu:r nasi-**la**-ʤ-a

1SG forty two age-**VRBL**-PERF-OBJ

I am forty-two years old.

ʤu:din 'dream', and *ʤu:dila* 'to dream':

148. ku:-ŋge tora-ʤ-a truo yanweidzi mide-ʤi gu-a

son-SG give.birth-PERF-OBJ inside official know-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ

ʤu:di-**la** ʤu:ne

dream-**VRBL** just this

(When she) gave birth to a son, the official inside did not know, (but) he just dreamed, this (dream).

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The following example illustrates both *-la* and *-ki*:

149. ndʑasi-na: dan-**la** i:gua-na: wari ka:rda-na:
plow-REFL carry.on.shoulders[78]-**VRBL** all.REFL do livestock-REFL
la:-**ki** tari bira:-na
pull[79]-**VRBL** plant finish-NPT-OBJ
Carrying the plow on my shoulders, (I) do everything, pull (in) the livestock, and finish planting.

IV.4.8.3 Denominal suffix -da

This suffix is used to create verbs form nouns, e.g. *ɢal* 'fire', *ɢalda* 'to make fire'.

150. e: xo:di di: ʤe: xo:di-ri ri-ʤi e: ɢal ɢal**da**
INTJ fireplace then PTCL fireplace-LOC come-IMPERF INTJ fire make.fire
ɢal-ge ʤala-ma
fire-SG make.fire-ASSERT
Yeah, the fireplace, go to the fireplace and make fire, make a fire.

Also *pu:da* 'shoot', from *pu:* 'gun':

151. tu:li:-ni pu:**da**-la ra
rabbit-ACC shoot-PURP come
Come and shoot the rabbit!

IV.4.8.4 -gu

This suffix is used to create modifiers from nouns and postpositions. For example, *ɢadagu kun*, 'the person/people who is/are outside'.

---

[78] Chinese: *dān* 担.
[79] Chinese: *lā* 拉.

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152. ɢada-**gu** kun-la nige rɨn taŋɕa:-la

outside-n.s. people-INST.COM one moment chat-VRBL

chat a moment with people outside,

153. rlaŋ ʤu:ro-**gu** nara xalaŋ xuitɨ a:ma-nɨ xalɢa xdaŋ

cloud between-n.s. sun hot step mother-GEN palm hard

Sun between clouds is hot, and the step-mother's hand is hard.

154. ɢarɨ-sa ɢar tiɢa:n ndur-**gu** rgu-di

come.out-COND hand that.much high-n.s. tie.up-COMPL

ʤu: ɢar-la sa:ra warɨ nige

just hand-INST.COM pull.out do one

When it comes (out) as high as the size of a hand, tie it up and pull it out a little with (your) hand.

IV.4.8.5 Suffix -ra:, -ro:

These suffix creates verbs from adjectives, e.g. *xu:ʧin* 'old' - *xu:ʧira:* 'to get old', *noɢo:n* 'green' - *noɢo:ro:* 'become green'. Note that the final *-n* of the stem is deleted. In my data, there are no examples of this suffix in connected speech.

IV.4.8.6 Occupations with -ʧɨ

Nouns describing occupations are formed by attaching the suffix *-ʧɨ* (nomen actoris) to the verbal stem, e.g. *xonima:ʧɨ* 'shepherd', *gundzuoʧɨ* 'worker'. In my data, there are no examples of this suffix in connected speech.

IV.4.9 Numerals

Numerals can take the instrumental-comitative suffix *-la* to form collectives. They can also take the reflexive suffix and case marking when they are the last or only element of a noun phrase.

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Generally, numerals appear before the noun they modify. If there is a classifier, it appears right after the numeral (see discussion on classifiers below). However, the order of modifier and modified is fairly free, and in conversation numerals may appear after the noun they modify. Note that 157 and 158, for example, are basically the same structure, except for the order of numeral and noun.

Numeral preceding noun:

155. nda: **ɢu:r** **bili:** i:
1SG.DAT **two** **child** COP
I have **two children**.

156. **nige** **kun**-di **nige** **ʤaŋ** **pise:** i:-gun-a
one **person**-DAT **one** **hundred** **belt** COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ
One person has **one hundred belts.**[80]

157. nda: **ɢura:n a:ʤa** i:
1SG.DAT three older.brother COP
I have **three older brothers**.

Numeral following noun:

158. nda: **ʧundu:** **ɢu:r** i:
1SG.DAT younger.sister two COP
I have **two younger sisters**.

159. **ʧundu:** **ɢu:r**-ni kurge:-di-ʤ-a
younger.sister **two**-ACC marry-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
The **two younger sisters** are married.

[80] The solution to the riddle is *mani* 'prayer beads'.

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Note that in this last example (example 159), the numeral appears with connective case marking, since 'two sisters' is the direct object of the transitive verb 'marry' (literally 'send').

IV.4.9.1 Cardinal Numerals

The following is a table of the Karlong cardinal numerals.

Table 38. Cardinal Numerals

1 nige	11 xaran nige	
2 ɢu:r	12 xaran ɢu:r	20 xorɨn
3 ɢura:n	13 xaran ɢura:n	30 xudʑin
4 dere:n	14 xaran dere:n	40 tidʑin
5 tawun	15 xaran tawun	50 tajin
6 dʑirɢo:n	16 xaran dʑirɢo:n	60 dʑiren
7 dalo:n	17 xaran dalo:n	70 dalan
8 nimen	18 xaran nimen	80 najen
9 ʂdzɨn	19 xara ʂdzin	90 jerin
10 xaran		100 nigedʑoŋ
		1000 nige mieŋxan

As opposed to Minhe, where all numerals except 'one' (and in some cases 'two', cf. Slater 2003:94-95) have been replaced by Chinese words, Huzhu still retains the Mongolic numerals. However, in the dialect of Tianzhu, there is some confusion for the upper decimals, and it seems that decimals over 20 are no longer known to younger speakers.

In my data, Chinese numbers are used especially where the numeral directly precedes a Chinese loan word, e.g.

160. la-dɨ **ʂɨji mu** ɢadʑer-ge tari-ma
mountain-DAT **eleven mu** field-SG plant-ASSERT
On the mountain (we) plant an **11 mu** (亩) field. (Chinese: *shíyī mǔ* 十一亩[81])

[81] Chinese land measure.

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161. ɕʤu:si di: … ʤu: **ji** **liaŋ** **tɕien** **kuei** tiɢa:ŋge ʂda-ma nige fan

tree then just **one** **two** **thousand** **yuan** that.much can-ASSERT one year

Now trees…**one or two thousand yuan**, (one) can make that much in one year. (Chinese: *kuài* 块)

162. saŋmaŋ-sa tɕe:n **erʂi** **tien** tiɢa:nge di: tar-sa di:

Qingming-ABL before **twenty** **day** that.much then plant-COND then

di: baŋʤan a ba

then approximately COP PTCL

If (you) plant as many as twenty days before the Qingming festival, (that's) about (it), isn't it? (Chinese: *tiān* 天 'day')

IV.4.9.2 Classifiers

In some cases, numerals appear with classifiers. When classifiers are used, they appear directly after the numeral. Usually the modified noun follows the classifier, but there is some variation. The few classifiers that appear in the data are borrowed from Chinese, e.g. *ʤen*, used as a measure word for buildings, Chinese *jiān* 间.

Classifier following the numeral and preceding the modified noun:

163. ŋgaŋ-la nige **ʤen** ger pas-ɢa-ʤ-a

3PL.STEM one **CL** house stand.up-CAUS-PERF-OBJ

They built a house.

Numeral and classifier following the noun:

164. nda: ɕge ger **nige** **ʤen** i:

1SG.DAT big house **one** **CL** COP

I have a big house.

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This last sentences, and the following sentence, are elicited sentences, with the person eliciting the sentence using Qinghaihua (the variety of Mandarin spoken in Qinghai). That the elicitation did not necessarily have an influence on which measure word was used in the KL sentence is shown by the following example, which was elicited using *ge* (个):

165. ɢuar **ʤen** ger
two **CL** house
two houses

However, classifiers also appear freely in non-elicited speech, e.g. example 160 above.

IV.4.9.3 Collectives

Collectives are formed by attaching the instrumental-comitative suffix *-la* to the numeral.

166. a:ɢadu: **ɢo:r-la** ʤiehun-la-di-ʤ-a
brother **two-COLL** marry-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
The **two** brothers got married.

If the suffix *-la* is attached to a word ending with /n/, this final /n/ is deleted[82]:

167. bida **ɢura:-la**
1PL.STEM **three-COLL**
we **three**

Collectives with numerals greater than three are not attested in connected speech in the data. The following appears in isolation: *dalo:-la* 'seven-COLL'.

[82] I only have data where the suffix *-la* is attached to words ending in /n/ corresponding to fleeting *n* in Written Mongolian. As a result I do not know if Karlong /n/ corresponding to non-fleeting *n* would also be deleted.

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IV.4.10 Adjectives

Adjectives can be used attributively and predicatively. When used attributively, they always precede the noun they modify:

168. **fila:n** ʂda:si-la wari kidi samba-la wari-n-a
red thread-INST.COM work several kind-INST.COM work-NPT-OBJ
(I) work with **red** thread, (and also) work with several kinds (of thread).

169. do **ʂge** ʂʈʂo:si-di daldi bira:-ʈʂ-a
now **big** tree-DAT sell finish-PERF-OBJ
Selling the **big** trees is finished.

170. **fila:n** bili: **xara** a:ma ja:n-i:
red child **black** mouth what-SUBJ
A **red** child, a **black** mouth, what is it?[83]

When used as a predicate, adjectives appear after the noun and are often followed by the copula *wa*, e.g.:

171. ne ger **ʂge** **wa**
this house **big** **COP**
This house **is big**.

172. ne basi xudi **se:xan** **a**
this cloth very **beautiful** **COP**
This cloth **is** very **beautiful**.

[83] It is the *ji:kaŋ* 'kang' (with a black firehole and the 'red child' the fire inside).

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173. tɕi-ni tɕidaɢua **maxdir** **a**

2SG-GEN knife **blunt** **COP**

Your knife **is blunt.**

There are a number of ways in which an adjective can be intensified. Intensification with *xudi* 'very' has already been illustrated in example 172. The suffix *-ɢula* can also be used:

174. teŋgeri ura-n-a kuidan-**ɢula**

sky rain-NPT-OBJ cold-**INTENS**

It is raining (and) it is **very** cold.

175. ʂdima dʑaŋ-la-tala wu:r ɕge-**ɢula**

bread steam-VRBL-TERM steam big-**INTENS**

When (you) steam bread, there is **a lot** of steam. (lit. 'the steam is big')

176. ne ger-di tɕaŋgaŋ gu-a xa xaranɢo-**ɢula**

this house-DAT window NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL dark-**INTENS**

There are no windows in this room, so it's **very** dark.

Adjectives can also be intensified by adding *draŋ* before the adjective: *draŋ xara* 'very black'. The adjective can be reduplicated to express intensification: *xara xara* 'very black'. And lastly, word *hen* 'very', borrowed from Chinese (*hěn* 很), can be used:

177. e: na-sa dʑatiŋ **xen** kunan a

INTJ this-ABL family **very** poor COP

Yeah, so the family is **very** poor.

The use of the Chinese intensifier in this sentences is most likely triggered by the use of the other Chinese words: *dʑatiŋ* 'family' (Chinese *jiātíng* 家庭) and *kunan* 'poor', 'difficult' (Chiese *kùnnan* 困难). There is only this one instance of *xen* being used as an intensifier.

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IV.4.11 Postpositions

On the whole, postpositions in Karlong behave like nouns. Most postpositions can take case suffixes and the possessive marker. Postpositions differ in which case they require of the noun they modify.

IV.4.11.1 Postpositions

The following postpositions occur in my Karlong data: *tada* 'near', *ɢada* 'outside', *hueina ~ hui:na* 'behind', 'after', *miɕi* 'in front', 'before', *handi ~ hamdi* 'together', *ɕʤidi* 'between', *xula* 'far from', *do:ra* 'under'.

tada 'near' (ablative case and possessive suffix, with a genitive noun):

178. tɕi ŋgan-ni **tada-sa-ni** ju:-di-ʤ-a
2SG 3SG-GEN **near-ABL-POSS** walk-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
You walked **away from** him.

ɢada 'outside' (ablative case, without a noun):

179. e: ʤu: fuzu ʤa-di da anʤ-i: ʤu:si **ɢada**-sa
INTJ just rich family-DAT and where-SUBJ just **outside**-ABL
xarɢal-ge tuŋgu-ʤ-i: gu:gi nien xa
dried.manure-SG collect-PERF-SUBJ celebrate year PTCL
Yeah, so, the rich families collected some manure from **outside** to celebrate the New Year.

du:ra 'under' (nominative case, with nominative noun):

180. bu fu:r **du:ra** talɢuei mirgu-wa
1SG grave **under** head bow-PERF
I kowtowed **at** the grave. (lit. **under** the grave)

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The postpositions *hueina ~ hui:na* 'behind', 'after', and *miʂi* 'in front', 'before' can be used for both locations in time and locations in space. In these examples, both of these postpositions require the modified noun to be in the ablative case.

181. a: **ten-sa** **hueina** do dʐou ʈʂa su:-gun-a waŋ ʈʂa
INTJ **that-ABL** **after** now Zhou family sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ Wang family
su:-gun-a
sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ
Ah, now **after that** the Zhou family (came to) stay and the Wang family (came to) stay.

182. **ne-sa** **miʂi-ni** itʂien-gula-di-ni i:-n-a
this-ABL **before**-GEN early-INTENS-DAT-POSS COP-NPT-OBJ
Before now, much earlier, (we) had (it).

handi ~ hamdi 'together' (with instrumental-comitative suffix, and with a nominative noun):

183. ŋga-ŋgula **hamdi-la** utʂi-ma
3PL.STEM-PL **together-COLL** drink-ASSERT
They ate together.

handi ~ hamdi 'together' (with instrumental-comitative suffix, and without a noun):

184. **handi** tari-n-i
together plant-NPT-SUBJ
(We) plant (those plants) **together**. ('together' refers to the plants.)

IV.4.11.2 Quasi-postpositions

As can be seen in the following examples, noun - quasi-postposition sequences are treated to a certain degree as if the postposition was possessed by the noun: the postposition has a possessive suffix, although the preceding noun does not always appear in the genitive case.

Karlong has the following quasi-postpositions: *trua* 'in', *dera* 'in', 'on', and *ʈʂu:ra* 'between'.

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trua 'in' (nominative case and possessive suffix, with a genitive noun):

185. tigi: ɢual-ge-ni **trua-ni** bili:-ŋge ɕuldʑa-n-i ja:n-i:
like.that valley-SG-GEN **inside-POSS** child-SG swing-NPT-SUBJ what-SUBJ
In a valley a child is swinging back and forth. What is it?[84]

186. da:len-i **dera-ni** laŋxo dzaŋ-la-dʑ-i:
saddle.bag-GEN **in-POSS** bottle put.in-VRBL-PERF-SUBJ
(We) put a bottle **in** the saddle bag.

dʑu:ra 'between' (nominative case, with genitive noun):

187. e: tigi:ŋge xa ne ʂdara:-ni amagidʑa gi-sa
INTJ like.that PTCL this mill-GEN how QUOT-COND
dʑu:ra-ni do lamantɕun bo:dʑun ɢari ɕ-dʑ-a
between-POSS now excellent treasured.steed go.out go-PERF-OBJ
Yeah, like that, how to say it, from between the mills went out an excellent treasured steed.

The distinction between postpositions and quasi-postpositions is not completely clear-cut. There is also one instance of *trua* 'in' with a nominative noun:

188. ɦila:n ɢual-ge **trua-ni** nige ban tɕiɢa:n xurɢa kide:
red valley-SG **inside-POSS** one group white lamb lie.down
su:-dʑ-i: ja:n-i:
sit-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ
In a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?[85]

dera 'in', 'on' (nominative case, with genitive noun):

[84] The solution to the riddle is 'uvula'.
[85] The mouth with the teeth.

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IV.5 Conclusion

On the whole, nominal morphology is fairly regular in Karlong. There seems to have been a selection of pronouns from the set available in other dialects of Mongghul, narrowing the choices to one stem and one plural suffix in most instances.

Case marking for nouns is very regular, with the only exception the re-surfacing of the unstable */n in the dative and ablative for some words. Case marking for the personal pronouns is more idiosyncratic, with different stems used for different cases.

Marking of number is not completely stable; the choice between different phonological shapes is partially optional.

Besides a smaller set of personal pronouns in Karlong, there are only a few differences in nominal morphology between Karlong and other dialects. Most noticeable is the lack of the directive (found in Chaolu Wu (1994) and Georg (2003)) and limitive case markers (found only in Chaolu Wu (1994)), and the fact that Karlong has only one comitative case marker. All descriptions of Halchi, as well as SM (1964) list a second comitative marker not found in Karlong.

IV.6 Recommendations for Future Research

An interesting area for further research in nominal morphology might be an in-depth investigation into the use of different plural markers.

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CHAPTER V. VERBS

V.1 PARTS OF SPEECH - VERBS

There are two types of verbs in Karlong: regular verbs and irregular verbs.

Regular verbs can take any mood, tense, aspect suffixes and non-finite suffixes, and behave in a predictable manner with regard to morphophonology. Finite verbs generally appear at the end of the sentence. Non-finite verbs appear at the end of the clause. The suffix *-ki* can be used to identify verbs, since it only appears with verbs. It is used to derive verbs from Chinese loanwords, e.g. *laki* 'pull', Chinese *lā* 拉.

Irregular verbs are either defective in terms of verbal morphology, or do not behave predictably in terms of morphophonology. Auxiliaries in Karlong fall into the first category, while *gua* 'give' falls into the second.

V.1.1 Auxiliaries

There are four types of auxiliaries in Karlong: existential auxiliaries (copulas), negative auxiliaries, auxiliaries of manner, and quotative auxiliaries.

V.1.1.1 Copulas

There are two copulas in Karlong, *i:* and *a*, which show the existence of a noun or property, and which are added to verbal suffixes to create subjective and objective perspective marking (see discussion on perspective).

V.1.1.2 Negative auxiliary

There are two negative auxiliaries in Karlong: *gu-i:* and *gu-a*, subjective and objective respectively.

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V.1.1.3 Auxiliaries of manner

Certain verbs can be used as auxiliaries in Karlong. They are inflected as a regular verb, but appear after the main verb of the sentence and add a specific meaning, such as movement into a certain direction.

V.1.1.4 Quotative auxiliaries

There are two quotative auxiliaries in Karlong: *gɨ-* and *ʤo:*.

V.1.2 Morphophonologically irregular verbs

There is only one verb in this class: *ɢua* 'give'.

V.2 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The following sections are a discussion of finite and non-finite verbal inflections in Karlong, as well as deverbal morphology.

V.2.1 Order of Verbal Suffixes

If more than one verbal suffix is attached to the same root, they take the following order:

[root + derivational suffixes (*-kɨ, -la*) + caus. + *-di*[86]] + non-finite suffixes + finite suffixes

In this dissertation, I will use the term "root" to refer to the root of the verb without any suffixes, either derivation, non-finite, or finite, and the term "stem" to refer to the root with derivational suffix, causative suffix, and the suffix *-di* (all the material within angled brackets).

All suffixes, including non-finite suffixes, can be used finally, that is, at the end of the word. The only possible exception is the reciprocal suffix *-ldɨ*. There are no instances in my data where this suffix occurs word-finally.

[86] For a discussion of *-di*, see section V.1.1.

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V.2.2 Finite Verbal Forms - Perspective Marking

Karlong, like the other dialects of Mongghul, as well as Minhe Mangghuer, has evidentiality marking on the verb. In descriptions of Monguor languages the term "perspective", as opposed to "evidentiality", is often employed (cf. Georg 2003, Slater 2003). Other authors use the term "mood" (cf. Chaolu Wu 1994[87], Chingeltei 1989). In this dissertation I will use the term "perspective".

V.2.2.1 Forms

There are two forms of perspective markers: endings in *-i* or *-i:*, and endings in *-a*. Suffixes in *-i* or *-i:* are generally called "subjective", while suffixes in *-a* are generally called "objective". These two different shapes are created by adding the copula *i:* or the copula *a ~ wa* to a neutral tense-aspect suffix or a base suffix.

For the general future/narrative past (*-gun-i/-gun-a*), and the past tense (*-san-i/-san-a*), the relationship between the base form and the subjective and objective forms is straightforward. The base forms are the future participle (*-gu*) and the perfective participle (*-san*) respectively. The pattern of the negative auxiliary is also straightforward; it is possible to isolate a base form *gu-*, with the subjective and objective suffix added to the base.

For the non-past tense (*-n-i/-n-a*) and the perfective (*-ʤ-i:/-ʤ-a*) suffixes, the neutral form is not directly related to the subjective and objective forms. The subjective and objective forms of the non-past tense are based on *-n-*, while the neutral form is *-m*. The subjective and objective forms of the perfective are based on *-ʤ-*, while the neutral form is *-wa*.

V.2.2.2 Form - Comparative data

The following table shows subjective and objective forms and their neutral bases in the different Mongghul dialects.

[87] Chaolu Wu (1994:6) distinguishes between subjunctive and objective mood. I assume that "subjunctive" is a misspelling of "subjective".

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Table 39. Neutral, Subjective and Objective Forms

LABEL	Base	Karlong	Georg (2003:302)	Todaeva (1973:122)	Zhaonasitu (1981:38, 42-43)	SM (1964:86, 88, 132)
NEG.AUX	gu-	gu-i: / gu-a	gu-i / gu-a		guii / guaa	ugui: ~ gui: / ugua: ~ gua:
NPT	(NPT -m)	-n-i / -n-a	-n-ii / -n-a	-ni / -na	-n ii / -n a	-ni / -na
PERF	(PERF -wa)	-ʤ-i: / -ʤ-a	-j-i / -j-a	-ʤi / -ʤa	-ʤ(ə) ii / -ʤ(ə) a	-ʤi / -ʤa
GEN.FUT, NARR.PAST	PART.FUT. -gu	-gun-i / -gun-a	-gu(n)-i / -gu(n)-a	-guni / -guna	-gun ii / -gun a	-guni / -guna
PAST	PART.PERF -san	-san-i / -san-a	-san-i / -san-a	-sani / -sana	-san ii / -san a	-sani / -sana
PART.AG	—	—	-jin-n-i / -jin-n-a	-ʤini / -ʤina	-ʤin ii / -ʤin a	-ʤini / -ʤina

Georg (2003:302) notes the difference between the neutral form on the one hand, and the subjective and objective form on the other hand of the non-past tense ("narrative") and the perfective ("terminative"). He suggests that for the *-n-* of the non-neutral forms of the non-past tense and the *-ʤ-* of the non-neutral forms of the perfective come from Common Mongolic durative **-nA* and resultative **-ji* respectively, or from the forms of modal converb **-n* and the imperfective converb **-ji* respectively, combined with the two different copulas.

Zhaonasitu (1981:41) seems to interpret the subjective and objective forms of the perfective as combinations of the respective copulas with the imperfective suffix.

Chingeltei (1989:67) classifies *i:* and *a* as auxiliary verbs, added to the predicate. SM (1964:86) treat *-a* and *-i* as copulas, which are attached to the various tense suffixes. Todaeva (1973) also classifies *a* and *i* as copulas.

Chaolu Wu (1994:6) lists *-ni:/-i:* and *-na/-a* as mood suffixes. Function

The following sections describe the function of perspective in Karlong.

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V.2.2.3 Subjective form with first person and objective form with non-first person

In Karlong, most instances of subjective forms occur with 1st person subjects, and most instances of objective forms occur with 2nd and 3rd person subjects.

Subjective form with 1st person subject:

189. **nda:** bi:jan **gu-i:**

1SG.DAT coin **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

I don't have coins.

190. nda:-ni kudi ça: gu:r **tidʑe:-dʑ-i:**

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home deer two **feed-PERF-SUBJ**

(I) fed two deer at my home.

Objective form with 2nd person subject:

191. **tçi** dʑina: xgei-na: **ala-di-dʑ-a**

2SG REFL.PRON pig-REFL **kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ**

You killed your own pig.

192. **ta-ŋgula** ŋga-ŋgula handi **utçi-dʑ-a**

2PL.STEM-PL 3PL.STEM-PL together **eat-PERF-OBJ**

You ate together with them.

193. **tçi** ŋgan-ni tada-sa-ni **ju:-di-dʑ-a**

2SG 3SG-GEN near-ABL-POSS **walk-COMPL-PERF-OBJ**

You went away from her.

Objective form with 3rd person subject:

194. **çirgualdʑaŋ** mini gar-di nige **dʑu:-dʑ-a**

ant 1SG.GEN hand-DAT one **bite-PERF-OBJ**

An ant bit my hand.

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195. xara-ul-**ʤ**-a xa nda:-n**i** **bili:-si** **ʂ**uetaŋ-sa

dark-become-PERF-OBJ PTCL 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN **child-PL** school-ABL

r-ʤ-a

come-PERF-OBJ

(When) it became dark, my **children came** from school.

196. **teŋgulaŋ** ʂda:si **tʂida-ʤ-a**

spider thread pull-**PERF-OBJ**

The spider made a web. (Lit. 'pulled threads'.)

Since subjective forms are usually associated with 1st person subjects, and objective forms with non-first person subjects, the form of the perspective marking on the verb can often be used as a guideline for determining the subject in sentences in which the subject is not overt. This is illustrated in the following examples.

Subjective form with covert 1st person subject:

197. e: **ʤ**in tio: **ɢ-ʤi** gu-**i:**

INTJ gold CL give-IMPERF NEG.AUX-**SUBJ**

"Yeah, (**I**) didn't give (you) any gold."

198. rgul-d**i** a:s**i** bas**i** ʂda:-n-**i**

winter-DAT cattle dung burn-NPT-**SUBJ**

In the winter (**we**) burn cattle dung.

Objective form with covert 2nd person subject:

199. di: xar**ili** **ʂ**-gun-**a**

then return go-NARR.PAST-**OBJ**

So (**he**) gave it back.

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200. xgile-dʑi juanwei-ni den-di giʂ-gun-**a** xa

beg-IMPERF official-GEN door-DAT step.on-NARR.PAST-**OBJ** PTCL

Begging, **(she)** arrived at the door of an official.

In the examples above (189 - 200), in the most basic form of its usage, perspective marking functions as a kind of person marking.[88]

While use of the subjective form with the 1st person and objective form with the 2nd and 3rd person is the general case, there are certain conditions under which the subjective form appears with non-first person agents, and the objective form appears with first agents. Below I describe some of these cases.

V.2.2.4 Use of perspective in questions

Objective forms can appear with 1st person subjects when there is some degree of uncertainty, e.g. in questions (only one example in the data):

201. **bi** draŋ **war-gun-a** nu:

1SG also do-GEN.FUT-OBJ INTERR

Should **I continue** doing (this)?

Generally, the subjective form appears with 2nd person subjects in questions. In some cases this can be explained by the fact that the speaker is fairly certain about the answer to a question s/he is asking, for example:

202. naŋ fire: **tʂi** i:gua-na: ndʑina: **lu:ki-dʑ-i:** ba

this.year seed **2SG** all-REFL REFL.PRON **have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ** PTCL

This year you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

The expected answer in this situation was that the listener has in fact had a surplus this year.

[88] Thanks to Robert Blust for pointing this out.

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However, not in all questions in my data can it be assumed that the speaker knows the answer, but when the subject of an interrogative sentence is the second person, subjective perspective is always used.

203. **tɕi** **i:ŋgela-san-i** ja:n-i:
2SG **carry.in.clothes-PAST-SUBJ** what-SUBJ
What did you bring in your clothes?

204. **tɕi** **andʑ-i:** **su:-dʑ-i:**
2SG **where-SUBJ** **sit.PERF-SUBJ**
Where do you **live**?

205. do **tɕi** le: tigi:ŋge do tiɢa:n ɢadʑer **tari-n-i**
now **2SG** PTCL like.that now how.much field **plant-NPT-SUBJ**
Now how much field area do **you plant**?

In all but one case in my data, the question 'what' in riddles, which has a (covert) third person subject, appears in subjective perspective. For example,

206. tɕi nda:-ni kudi ɕi-m bi ta-ni kudi ɕi-m
2SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home go-NPT 1SG 2SG-GEN home go-NPT
ja:n-i:
what-SUBJ
You go to my home, I go to your home. **What is it**?[89]

207. nige bambandzi-ri dalo:n nukua i: **ja:n-i:**
one board-LOC seven hole COP **what-SUBJ**
In a board there are seven holes. **What is it**?[90]

---

[89] The solution to the riddle is *xamtɕi* 'sleeves'.
[90] The solution to the riddle is *nu:r* 'face'.

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208. dʑaŋ-ge kun-di nige pise: i: **ja:n-i:**

hundred-SG person-DAT one belt COP **what-SUBJ**

A hundred people have one belt. **What is it?**[91]

It can be assumed that in the cases of riddles the speaker knows the answer to the question, which may be what is causing the use of subjective perspective here.

V.2.2.5 Other uses of perspective

With verbs which inherently do not allow the agent to control the event, such as 'forget', objective perspective is used with 1st person subjects:

209. **bi** kɕe:-di-da ja:n-ge-na: **marda:-di-n-a**

1SG when-DAT-any something-SG-REFL **forget-COMPL-NPT-OBJ**

I always forget something.

210. bu tiɕin ɢu:r **nasi-la-dʑa**

1SG forty two age-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

I am forty-two years old.

211. bi tɕirgua nige sa:gaŋdzi sana-dʑ-a

1SG hot.water one tea.cup want-PERF-OBJ

I want a cup of hot water.

If the verb does allow control by the subject of the sentences, but objective perspective is nevertheless used with a 1st person subject, it implies that the event was unexpected, or the subject did not have control over the event, for example, in the sentence below, the divorce was not planned or intended.

[91] The solution to the riddle is *mani* 'prayer beads'.

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212. e: **buda-ɢula** niŋge **leki-di-ʤ-a**

INTJ 1PL.STEM then divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

Eh, then we two divorced.

The following is a sentence one might say when bumping into someone accidentally:

213. ojo: **bu** sge-ʤi **gu-a**

INTJ **1SG** see-IMPERF **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

Oh, I didn't see (you).

In the sentence below, the person did not break the bottle on purpose:

214. bi guŋgulag-ni xɢal-di-**ʤ-a**

1SG bottle-ACC break-COMPL-**PERF-OBJ**

I broke the bottle.

Use of subjective perspective with a 3rd person subject implies that the speaker is very certain about the statement. The following example was uttered at the end of a discussion on the seven brothers who were the ancestors of people in the region.

215. e: **na dalo:n a:ɢadu:** dalaŋ **su:-san-i** gi-ʤi

INTJ **this seven brother** individually **sit-PAST-SUBJ** QUOT-IMPERF

Yeah, these seven brothers settled down separately.

The speaker of this sentence takes it as an established fact that the seven brothers did indeed settle down, and they did so separately, that is, each in a different location (but in the same general area).

V.2.2.6 Function - Comparative data

Exactly what the function of the two perspectives is, is still being investigated. In earlier works, *-i* (*-i:*) and *-a* were usually described as person markers, with *-i:* used for the first person, and *-a*

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used for the second and third person (cf. Todaeva 1973). More recent approaches explain the difference in terms of evidentiality, volition, and control.

For Minhe, Slater (2003:317) describes the difference between subjective and objective as "pragmatic choices made by the speaker" in terms of "involvement with the event" or "commitment to the truth of the claim being made". For Mongghul, Georg (2003:303) states that the difference "may roughly be described as the declared presence or absence of complete knowledge concerning the content of the predication on the part of the speaker."

Chingeltei proposes that the subjective auxiliary is used to express intentional behavior by the first person, and well-known behavior, "addition of subjective imagination and subjective determination to the behavior" or "inquiry of the subjective behavior or desire" of the addressee (1989:76). The objective auxiliary is used for narration of "objective behavior or objective happening" of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person (1989:73). In Chingeltei's approach, objective mood used for the third person denotes that something is a fact know by the speaker, while subjective mood used for third person denotes something the speaker knows or guesses.

V.2.2.7 Perspective in Karlong - Summary

The use of perspective in Karlong can be summarized as follows. In the most basic function, subjective perspective is used with first person subjects, and objective perspective is used with non-first person subjects. Subjective perspective is used with second person subject questions. In addition, perspective marking is used as evidentiality marking. Subjective marking is used, regardless of the person of the subject, when the speaker is particularly certain about or has control over the state or event described by the sentence. Objective marking is used when the speaker is not certain, or does not have control over the state or event described.

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V.2.3 Other Finite Verbal Forms

The structure of this section is as follows: first, I give a chart of finite verbal suffixes used in Karlong, with their label and function. Then follows a discussion of the suffixes with examples. For verbal suffixes which have both a subjective and an objective form, the subjective form is given first, and the objective form second.

Table 40. Finite Verbal Suffixes

Morpheme	Label	Abbreviation
-i(:)	Subjective Perspective	SUBJ
-a	Objective Perspective	OBJ
-ø	Imperative Mood	IMP
-ja	Voluntative Mood (1st person)	VOL1
-laxgi	Hortative Mood	HORT
-m	Non-past tense	NPT
-n-a / -n-i	Non-past tense subjective and objective	NPT-SUBJ, NPT-OBJ
-wa	Perfective	PERF
-ʤ-i: / -ʤ-a	Perfective subjective and objective	PERF-SUBJ, PERF-OBJ
-gun-a / -gun-i	General future subjective and objective, Narrative past tense subjective and objective	GEN.FUT-SUBJ/OBJ or NPT.PAST-SUBJ/OBJ
-sanɨ / -san-a	Past tense subjective and objective	PAST-SUBJ, PAST-OBJ
-ma	Assertive	ASSERT
-gi	Future	FUT

V.2.3.1 Imperative: -ø

In Karlong, the verbal stem functions as the imperative:

216. warɨ **bɨra:ga** niŋge utʂi-la **ra**

work **finish** then drink-PURP **come**

Finish your work and come eat!

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217. mila: de:l[92]-na: misi-la **ra**

pants-REFL put.on-PURP **come**

Come put on your pants!

218. ne fu:-ni **maʂi**

this book-ACC **read**

Read this book!

As can be seen in the examples above, the subject generally remains unexpressed on the surface, but it possible to have an overt subject:

219. tʂi nda: **gua**

2SG 1SG.DAT **give**

You, **give** (it) to me!

220. tʂi **sdzaga**

2SG **ask**

You, **ask**!

The final particle *sa* can be added to form a more polite imperative (see section VI.2.4.1 on final particles for more discussion):

221. tar-la **tarda** **sa**

stone-INST.COM **throw** **PTCL**

Throw a stone. (Why don't you.)

V.2.3.2 Voluntative 1st person: –ja

The voluntative of the 1st person is formed by attaching the suffix *-ja* to the verb. The meaning is close to 'let me' or 'let us'.

---

[92] The word *de:l* means 'garment, piece of clothing', *mila: de:l* means 'pants, trousers' (lit. 'small garment').

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222. buda-ŋgula tan-di sɢa-**ja**

1PL.STEM-PL 3SG-DAT ask-**VOL1**

Let us ask him.

223. a:diediepo:po: niŋge kɨle-**ja**

a:diediepo:po: then say-**VOL1**

Let me tell (you) about "A:diediepo:po".

224. ja ja pɨse:-na:-ŋge pɨse:-la-**ja**

INTJ INTJ belt-REFL-SG belt-VRBL-**VOL1**

Yeah, yeah, **let** me put on my belt.

V.2.3.3 Hortative: - laxgi

This suffix is used to express the voluntative of the third person, with the meaning of 'let him/her/them'. There is only one example in the data:

225. maɢaɕɨ ju:-**laxgi**

tomorrow walk-**HORT**

Let him go tomorrow.

V.2.3.4 Non-past tense: -m

The neutral non-past tense suffix *-m* is used to express present tense and general statements that hold true about the present and the future.

General statements:

226. teŋgeɾɨ ura-sa buda-ŋla ɢaɕ-ʤi: li: ɕi-**m**

sky rain-COND 1PL.STEM go.out NEG go.**NPT**

If it rains, we **will** not go out. / If it rains, we **are** not going out.

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227. i: xgɨla-**m**

NEG want-**NPT**

(I) don't want (it).

Present:

228. ge:bian-la nige andʑ-i:-mada-dɨ ɕira:-**m** gu-a

change-VRBL one where-SUBJ-any-DAT burn-**NPT** NEG.AUX-OBJ

ɕendzai danɢual

now earth.clod

(Things) change, now (they) don't burn earth clods anywhere.

229. xana xa:dzɨ-nɨ ama-nɨ-nɨ ne:-di-sa xa: ada-**m**

every box-GEN opening-ACC-POSS open-COMPL-COND close cannot-NPT

xa:-di-sa ne: ada-m ja:n-i:

close-COMPL-COND open cannot-NPT what-SUBJ

When (you) have opened the box you cannot close it, and when (you) have closed it you cannot open it. What is it?[93]

230. ɕendzai-nɨ ɢar-ɢa-**m** gu-a

now-ACC go.out-CAUS-**NPT** NEG.AUX-OBJ

Nowadays (we) do not take (it) out. (Speaking about earth-clods burnt for fertilizer.)

V.2.3.5 Non-past tense subjective and objective: -n-i / -n-a

The non-past tense subjective and objective forms are *-n-i* and *-n-a* respectively. It can be used for events that are taking place in the present, events that will take place in the future, or to express general facts. In some cases, verbs with *-n-i/-n-a* can be translated into English using a gerund with the copula.

[93] The solution to the riddle is *ndige* 'egg'.

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Present tense:

231. buda-ŋla nessa: utɕi-**n-i**

1PL.STEM dinner drink-**NPT-SUBJ**

We are eating dinner.

232. ji: liaŋ tɕien tigi:ŋge mba: nu:

one two thousand like.that correct INTERR

Like one or two thousand, right? (That's what you are expecting).

o:la tiɢa:ŋge mu:kɨ-**n-i**

right that.much seek-VRBL-NPT-SUBJ

Right, we are seeking that much.

233. tigi: ɢual-ge-nɨ trua-nɨ bɨli:-ŋge ɕuldɕa-**n-i** ja:n-i:

like.that valley-SG-GEN inside-POSS child-SG swing-NPT-SUBJ what-SUBJ

In a valley a child is swinging back and forth. What is it?[94]

234. ne ɢa-dɨ-nɨ di: wadzer da:gun-la-**n-a**

this time-DAT-POSS then city work.for.money-VRBL-**NPT-OBJ**

Right now (I am) working for money in the city.

Future event (only one example):

235. xueina nige sara bɨda-ŋla kudɨ-na: xorum xu-**n-i**

after one month 1PL.STEM-PL home-REFL banquet give.a.banquet-**NPT-SUBJ**

In one month we will give a banquet in our home.

[94] The solution to the riddle is 'uvula'.

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V.2.3.6 Perfective: -wa

This suffix is used to express actions and events that took place in the past. Generally it expresses actions that are completed.

236. tɕi kidi sdzu sila:-**wa**
2SG how.many water water-**PERF**
How many (fields) did you water?

237. bi i:dʑudir nde: ri-**wa**
1SG day.before.yesterday here come-**PERF**
I came here the day before yesterday

238. bi nu:dir lisga wulan wari-**wa**
1SG today work much work-**PERF**
I did a lot of work today.

The suffix has a number of allomorphs, depending on its environment. When it is attached to verbs ending in syllables consisting of a simple onset and a short vowel, it becomes [ua], replacing the last vowel of the root, e.g. *awu* 'buy' + perfective *-wa* is [awua], *ra* 'come' + *-wa* is [rua], and *xudali* 'cut' + *-wa* is [xudalua].

/wa/ > [ua]:

239. bi xulidzi laŋlaŋdzi-ŋge **aw-ua**
1SG bamboo basket-SG **buy-PERF**
I **bought** a bamboo basket.

V.2.3.7 Perfective subjective and objective: -dʑ-i: /-dʑ-a

Like the neutral perfective suffix, the subjective and objective versions of this suffix are used to indicate past tense, completed events.

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240. ta mini xurɢa-na: aw-**ʤ-a**

3SG 1SG.GEN lamb-REFL buy-**PERF-OBJ**

He bought my lamb.

241. e: sara su:-di-**ʤ-a** ku:-ŋge tora-**ʤ-a** be:

INTJ month sit-COMPL-**PERF-OBJ** son-SG bear.**PERF-OBJ** PTCL

Yeah, (she) was in confinement (gave birth) and delivered a son.

242. nda:-ni ajil-di gaga: tirga-ŋge ri-**ʤ-a**

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN village-DAT small car-SG come-**PERF-OBJ**

A small car came to our village.

243. mendʐen da a:ma-ɢula-na: do ʂaver-la nige surg-**ʤ-a** be:

Menzhen and mother-DL-REFLnow mud-INST.COM one smear-**PERF-OBJ** PTCL

Now Menzhen and his mother smeared (the door) with mud (instead of putting up lucky papers, because they were so poor).

However, the perfective subjective and objective forms can also be used to express present tense.

In the following sentences, this form is used to express events that (may) have started in the past but still hold true in the present.

244. bu ne ger-di su:-**ʤ-i:**

1sg. this house-DAT sit-**PERF-SUBJ**

I live in this house.

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245. amɨla bal-**ʤ-a**

fruit ripen-**PERF-OBJ**

The fruit ripened / is ripe.

246. ʧasɨ ɕindɨre:-**ʤ-a**

snow thaw-**PERF-OBJ**

The snow has thawed.

There are also some instances of [-hʤa] and [-ɕʤa] in the data (primarily in elicited sentences). However, it is not clear when the [h] or [ɕ] is inserted. Zhaonasitu (1981: 13) mentions that the sequence /sə/ in a verb stem may become [ɕ] before suffixes beginning in /ʤ/, resulting in a [ɕʤ] sequence, however, the process taking place in Karlong is not the same, since these verb stems do not contain /sə/. For example:

247. ta-ŋla nda:-nɨ xɢei-na: ala-**ɕʤ-a**

2P-PL 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN pig-REFL kill-**PERF-OBJ**

You killed my pig.

It seems unlikely that insertion of the fricative is phonetically conditioned by the preceding vowel. Also, it does not seem that this is a case of *ɕi-* 'go' functioning as an auxiliary of manner.

V.2.3.8 General future tense subjective and objective: -gun-i / -gun-a

When the subjective and the objective suffix are attached to the future participle suffix (with an additional *-n*), the resulting form is used finitely, to express future tense. It can also be used to express events or actions which begin in the present but continue into the future. In stories and songs, this suffix is used to express past tense.

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Future:

248. ŋgan maʁaɕi ju:-**gun-a**

3SG tomorrow go-**GEN.FUT-OBJ**

He **will** leave tomorrow.

249. nara da:-**gun-a**

sun rise-**GEN.FUT-OBJ**

The sun **will** rise.

Action beginning in the present, continuing into the future:

250. bi draŋ wari-**gun-a** nu:

1SG also do-**GEN.FUT-OBJ** INTERR

Should I continue doing (this)?

251. a draŋ kudi xʁei-la ɕi-ŋge draŋ da:ldi-**gun-a** bei a

INTJ also home pig-VRBL go-SG also sell-**GEN.FUT-OBJ** PTCL INTJ

(You) can also raise some pigs at home and also sell them.

Past tense:

252. a:die no:ri ntɕa:-ʤi i:-**gun-a**

grandfather sleep sleep-IMPERF COP-**GEN.FUT-OBJ**

Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

253. di: xarili ɕ-**gun-a**

then return go-**NARR.PAST-OBJ**

Then he gave it back.

254. a:ma-di-na: ɕin-la-**gun-a** be:

mother-DAT-REFL visit.relatives.on.new.year-VRBL-**NARR.PAST-OBJ** PTCL

(He) paid a New Year's visit to his mother.

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V.2.3.9 Past tense subjective and objective: -san-i /--san-a

Subjective and objective suffixes attached to the perfective participle form the past tense, which can be used finitely.

255. ʤu:din-di bu:-**san-a**

dream-DAT come.down-**PAST-OBJ**

It was revealed in a dream.

256. baɢaldi niŋge di: ju:ren sge-**san-a** a:

fight while then some.people see-**PAST-OBJ** PTCL

While (they) were fighting, some people saw (it).

257. di: gan kile-**san-a** gan-di ʤapu i:-n-a be:

then 3SG say-**PAST-OBJ** 3SG-DAT family.record COP-NPT-OBJ PTCL

Then, he said he has a family record.

258. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi **ri-san-i** ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL hold-IMPERF come-**PAST-SUBJ** what-SUBJ

What have you brought?

There is one sentence in which the past tense subjective marker is used to express present tense:

259. ʧi su:-**san-i** anʤ-i:

2SG sit-**PAST-SUBJ** where-SUBJ

Where **do** you live?

Since there is only one example, it is not clear whether the subjective and objective past tense markers can generally be used to express present tense, or whether this one sentence, and possibly this one verb, is an exception. This exception may also be due to an error in translation.

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V.2.3.10 Assertive: -ma

This suffix occurs in the data only with 3rd person subjects, or with zero subjects, which can be interpreted as a general 'people', 'one', or 'you'. Sentences containing this suffix do not express any particular tense, although they can be interpreted as present tense. Rather, what is expressed is things that generally hold true, that happen regularly, or that are done by everybody.

-ma with expressed 3rd person subject; event happens regularly, as a rule:

260. ŋgan guadɨndɨ ɕuetaŋ-dɨ **ɕi-ma**
3SG daily school-DAT go-**ASSERT**
S/he goes to school every day.

261. hana ili-la nanige go:nien-la-sa de
everybody all-INST.COM this.one celebrate.new.year-VRBL-COND door
bi:ri-ri-na: draŋ ɕi fila:n ʈɕaldzɨ duidzɨ naɢa-**ma** bei
frame-LOC-REFL also go red paper lucky writing glue-**ASSERT** PTCL
When they celebrate the New Year, everybody just glues red pieces of paper, lucky writings, on the door frame.

262. mini talɢuei durdɨndɨ jedɨ-**ma**
1SG.GEN head every.day pain-**ASSERT**
My head hurts every day.

263. sdzu urasɨ-**ma**
water flow-**ASSERT**
Water flows.

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-ma with expressed 3rd person subject (ongoing event):

264. ɢada ki: baɢa-**ma**

outside wind blow-**ASSERT**

Outside the wind is blowing.

265. ʤaŋ nara ɢaɕ-ʤi ra-**ma**

only sun go.out-IMPER come-**ASSERT**

The sun is just rising now.

-ma without overt subject; expressing an event that usually happens in this manner:

266. ɕa:la niŋge di: i:xge ɢaʤer-di ʤu: rgu-ʤi

scatter then then just field-DAT just carry.on.back-IMPERF

ɢar-ɢa-**ma** fi:lio: wa

go.out-CAUS-**ASSERT** fertilizer COP

Then (you) scatter (it), just carry it up to the field, it's fertilizer.

267. xo:-di-**gu** nidi niŋge di: ʂdima-ri ʤu:

dry-COMPL-**PART.FUT** grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just

nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma

one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT

After it is dried, (we) grind it, then (we) build it layer by layer into the bread.

268. ɕʤu:si di: … ʤu: ji liaŋ ʧien kuei tiɢa:ŋge ʂda-**ma** nige fan

tree then just one two thousand yuan that.much can-**ASSERT** one year

Now trees…one or two thousand yuan, (one) can make that much in one year.

In sentences with *-ma* where there is no overt subject, it is sometimes possible to translate the sentence into English using a passive, e.g. for sentence 266 above: 'then it is scattered, just carried up to the fields, and it's fertilizer.' This is the closest to a passive that occurs in Mongghul.

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I could not find this suffix in any other source.

V.2.3.11 Future: -gi

This suffix is used to express future tense. The following are all the examples of this suffix that appear in the data.

269. bu tɕinaɢda a:ma-na: i:ʤi-la **ɕ-gi**

1SG day.after.tomorrow mother-REFL see-PURP go-**FUT**

I will go visit my mother the day after tomorrow.

270. bi filaːn tirima:-la xumi: ʤaŋ-la-**gi**

1SG red turnip-INST.COM steamed.bun steam-**VRBL-FUT**

I will make steamed buns with carrots.

271. i:ʤi-la ɕ-gi

see-PURP go-FUT

(I) will go to see (him/her).

272. bi niu:-di-gi

1SG hide-COMPL-FUT

I will hide.

Todaeva (1973:119) mentions a suffix *-gi* which she regards as a variant of *-guni*. In my data this suffix appears only with first person subjects (see examples above), which makes it likely that it is a subjective form. SM (1964:114) describe a suffix *-gui:* which is used for future tense (*"futur 1er"*). This might be the same suffix.

V.2.4 Non-Finite Verbal Forms

This section consists of a chart of non-finite verbal suffixes, followed by a discussion of the suffixes with examples.

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Table 41. Non-Finite Verbal Suffixes

Morpheme	Label	Function
-gu	Future Participle	PART.FUT
-gula	Successive	SUCC
-san	Perfective Participle	PART.PERF
-ʤin	Agentive Participle	PART.AG
-n	Gerund of absolute subordination	SUBORD
-tala	Terminative	TERM
-sa	Conditional	COND
-sada	Concessive	CONC
-la	Purposive	PURP
-ʤi	Imperfective	IMPERF
-di	Completive	COMPL
-ɢa / -lɢa	Causative	CAUS
-ldi	Reciprocal	RECIP
-ŋge	Diminutive	DIM

V.2.4.1 Future participle: -gu

The future participle suffix can be used for a number of different functions. It can be used in constructions like "want to X-*gu*", and in other embedded clauses. It can also be used in lists of clauses of which only the final one has to have a finite verb.

Want to X-*gu* (only one example in the data):

273. ŋgan **ɕ-gu** **dira:la**-sa ŋgan-i ɕi-lɢa

3SG **go-PART.FUT** **like**-COND 3SG-ACC go-CAUS

If he **wants to go**, let him go.

Action happening before main clause (see also the examples in the section on bare verb stems V.2.4.10):

274. xo:-di-**gu** nidi niŋge di: ʂdima-ri ʤu:

dry-COMPL-**PART.FUT** grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just

nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma

one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT

After it is dried, (we) grind it, then (we) build it layer by layer into the bread.

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275. taʂ-**gu** gadi-n-i bei da-ŋla tar-la ɕ-dʑ-a

plant-**PART.FUT** harvest-NPT-SUBJ PTCL 1PL.PL plant-VRBL go-PERF-OBJ

We planted and harvested, planted.

V.2.4.2 Successive: -gula

This suffix is used to express the meaning 'as soon as'. There is only one occurrence in the data.

276. nara ɢar-**gula** bi ʂda:-wa

sun come.out-**SUCC** 1SG cook-PERF

As soon as the sun rose I cooked.

V.1.1 Perfective participle: -san

The perfective participle is formed by attaching the suffix *-san*. In my data, verbs with the suffix *-san* are used in clauses modifying a noun:

277. ŋgan ʂda:-**san** nefdza: funirdi wa

3SG cook-**PART.PERF** dinner fragrant COP

The food she made is very tasty (fragrant).

278. do bida-ŋgula li:la-**san** kun-si da dʑinxu: eimi

now 1PL be.left.over-**PART.PERF** person-PL also after children

dʑu: xo:lai-la-gun-i di: dzudʑun-ni sge-di-dʑ-a

just later-VRBL-GEN.FUT-SUBJ then benefit.ACC see-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

be: do

PTCL now

Now later we people who are left over (from the bad times), afterwards (we) see a benefit from (our) children.

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279. da dzɨfaŋ su:-**san** di: gen ɕendʑin a be:
big place sit-**PART.PERF** then even.more modern COP PTCL
(People who) live in the cities are even more modern.

V.2.4.3 Agentive participle: -dʑin

To form the agentive participle, *-dʑin* is attached to the verbal stem. This verbal form is used to create forms of the verb which modify another noun. These constructions can be translated into English as relative clauses.

280. nige gundzuo-ni i: dira:la-**dʑin** kun
one work-ACC not like-**PART.AG** person
a person who dislikes work

Sometimes the entity that is being modified is not overtly expressed in the sentence:

281. di: xɢei da gaga: xɢei-ge tidʑe: ʂda-**dʑin** draŋ ju: ... tio:dʑen
then pig also small pig-SG feed can-**PART.AG** also have condition
si:n a be:
good COP PTCL
And a pig, if [you are one who] can also feed a little pig, conditions are good.

282. e: ju:di tɕimsaŋ-ni di: ne ho:pen-di-ri gan gaga: ɢal-ge
INTJ some family-GEN then this fireplace-DAT-LOC 3SG small fire-SG
di: ʂda:-**dʑin** do dʑu: bajan tɕimsaŋ wa
then burn-**PART.AG** now just rich family COP
Yeah, some families (who) can make a small fire in the fireplace, then (they) are a rich family.

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V.2.4.4 Gerund of absolute subordination: -n

The gerund of absolute subordination in *-n* is used to describe in what manner something is done. Often, but not always, the verb is reduplicated when it appears with this suffix (there are only two examples of this in the data):

283. ŋgan **tɕiɢra:-n** **tɕiɢra:-n** nefdza: ʂda:-**ʤ**-a
3SG **sing-SUBORD** **sing-SUBORD** dinner cook-PERF-OBJ
S/he cooked the food **singing**.

284. tɕim-u **xgila-n** **xgila-n** tora-sa
2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC **beg-SUBORD** **beg-SUBORD** give.birth-COND
na: gi**ʤ**i
INTJ QUOT
"When I gave birth to you **begging** (for food)" she said.

V.2.4.5 Terminative: -tala

This morpheme is used to express that the action happens before or during the event of the main clause.

285. nda: kurge:-**tala** nda:-ni a:mani nda: nige
1SG.ACC get.married-**TERM** 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN mother-POSS 1SG.DAT one
ʤil baɢu:r ɢ-**ʤ**-a
kind bracelet give-PERF-OBJ
When I got married, my mother gave me a bracelet.

286. ʂdima **ʤ**aŋ-la-**tala** wu:r ɕge-ɢula
bread steam-VRBL-**TERM** steam big-INTENS
When (you) steam bread, there is a lot of steam.

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This suffix can also take case marking, in one sentence in the data it appears with the locative case marker:

287. bi nefdza: ʂa:-**tala-ri** nda:-ni bili: mo:dan na:di-ma
1SG dinner cook-**TERM-LOC** 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN child ball play-ASSERT
When I cook dinner, my child plays ball.

There are only a few occurrences of this suffix in the data, and the suffix is used only by one speaker.

I have not been able to find this suffix described for Huzhu Mongghul. The terminative gerund, which fulfils the same function, is described for other dialects of Huzhu as *-dela:*. Todaeva (1973) gives the Fulaan Nura form of this suffix as *-dela:ŋge* (*-daŋge*). The Written Mongolian equivalent is *-tala / -tele*.

According to Slater (2003:254) the suffix *-tala* does occur in Minhe Mangghuer, although it is infrequent there as well. Slater's data contained only two instances of this suffix, one denoting a prior event, the other one used with the meaning 'rather than', as a metaphorical extension of 'before' (2003:254). Slater further writes that the suffix *-tula* seems to be "a dialectal variant of *-tala*" occurs four times in the data, with the same meaning (2003:255).

V.2.4.6 Conditional converb: -sa

The conditional converb expresses the condition for, or time of, an action or event.

Condition for event:

288. ŋgan ɕ-gu dira:la-**sa** ŋgan-ni ɕi-lɢa
3SG go-PART.FUT like-**COND** 3SG-ACC go-CAUS
If he wants to go, let him go.

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289. tɕi mini sdzer-ni i: xari-**sa** bi iɕi dʑi:la dʑo:

2SG 1SG.GEN money NEG return-**COND** 1SG very become.angry QUOT

If you don't return my money I will become very angry.

290. te-sa ʁar ɕi-**sa** faŋtu: wa be: a

that-ABL go.up go-**COND** Fangtu COP PTCL PTCL

If (you) go up from there, there is Fangtu (place name).

Time of event:

291. ʁari-**sa** ʁar tiʁa:n ndur-gu rgu-di

come.out-**COND** hand that.much high-n.s. tie.up-COMPL

dʑu: ʁar-la sa:ra wari nige

just hand-INST.COM pull.out do one

When it comes (out) as high as the size of a hand, tie it up and pull it out a little with (your) hand.

292. kire: xe:la-**sa** kun hugu-ma

crow cry-**COND** person die-ASSERT

When a crow crows, a person dies.

293. buda-ŋla i:dʑi-**sa** de:lge wa

1PL-PL look-**COND** coarse.rope COP

When we look it is a coarse rope.

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V.2.4.7 Concessive: -sada

This suffix is used to express the meaning 'although':

294. noxui: xudʑa-**sada** kun-ni li: dʑu:-m
dog bark-**CONC** person-ACC NEG bite-NPT
Although the dog barks, it will not bite people.[95]

295. do gan-i ger-di-ni su:-**sada** bida-ŋla bida-ŋla-na:
now 3SG-GEN house-DAT-GEN sit-**CONC** 1PL.STEM-PL 1PL.STEM-PL-REFL
seŋxu: uli-ja be:
life obtain-VOL1 part
Now, **although** we live in his house, we will have our own life.

296. di: Gula tende: dʑa:l-di nde: dʑa:l-di ɕen sin andʑi:
then two there law-DAT here law-DAT township province where
dʑa-**sada** gan janwei rin-ki-dʑi gu-a na
look-**CONC** 3SG official admit-VRBL-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ this
mendʑen gen ne nige sdzer-ni li: ʂu: Gu-n-a
Menzhen even.more this one gold-ACC NEG receive receive-NPT-OBJ
nien Gu-n-a
need give-NPT-OBJ
Then, **although** the two went to see every court of law, here and there, in the township and the province, the official did not admit (that he had given the gold), but he (Menzhen) really didn't accept the gold, so had to give it back.

In one example the concessive suffix can be translated as "even if":

---

[95] I elicited this sentences based on the example given by Georg (2003:301) for Halchi: **nohui huja-sa=da kuni lii juum** 'although the dog barks, it will not bite people'. The shape of the sentence is identical in Halchi and Karlong.

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297. e: sge-sada pidʑig-u gu buda-ŋ-di

INTJ see-CONC book-n.s. NEG.AUX 1PL.STEM-PL-DAT

Even if we see, we still don't have books.

Only these four examples of sentences containing the concessive suffix can be found in the data.

V.2.4.8 Purposive: -la

The suffix *-la* is used to express the purpose of an action: 'X in order to Y-la'.

298. wari bira:ga niŋge utɕi-**la** ra

work finish then drink-**PURP** come

Finish your work and come **to** eat!

299. tɕanxei-na: misi-**la** ra

shoe-REFL put.on-PURP come

come put on your shoes!

300. xgila-**la** ɕi sa

ask-**PURP** go PTCL

Go ask for (it)!

301. bu tɕinagda a:ma-na: ʑdʑi-**la** ɕ-gi

1SG day.after.tomorrow mother-REFL see-**PURP** go-FUT

I will go visit my mother the day after tomorrow.

302. bi tʂensi-ni i:-**la** ri-wa

1SG city-ACC look-**PURP** come-PERF

I came to look at the city.

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V.2.4.9 Imperfective: -ʤi

Like *-gu*, *-ʤi* can be used to link non-finite clauses to each other and to finite clauses, marking events that take place before the main event or at the same time as the main event. In the latter case, the verb with *-ʤi* modifies the main verb, the construction 'v-*ʤi* V' expressing the meaning 'to do V while v-ing', or 'to V v-ing'. For *-ʤi* used to link events occurring one after the other, see the examples in the section on clause linking using the bare stem (section V.2.4.10).

Non-finite clause describing an event happening at the same time as the main event described by the finite verb:

303. ʂa:la niŋge di: i:xge ɢaʤer-di ʤu: rgu-**ʤi**
scatter then then just field-DAT just carry.on.back-**IMPERF**
ɢar-ɢa-ma fi:lio: wa
go.out-CAUS-ASSERT fertilizer COP
Then (you) scatter (it), just carry it up to the field, it's fertilizer. (Literally: 'go out to the field carrying on the back'.)

304. xgile-**ʤi** juanwei-ni den-di giʂ-gun-a xa
beg-**IMPERF** official-GEN door-DAT step.on-NARR.PAST-OBJ PTCL
Begging, (she) arrived at the door of an official.

The imperfective suffix is also frequently used with negative auxiliaries (see section V.3.1.3) and with manner auxiliaries (see the examples in the next section, section V.2.4.10).

V.2.4.10 Clause linking using the bare stem

In addition to using the future participle *-gu* or the imperfective *-ʤi* to link clauses which succeed one another in time, Karlong also uses the verbal stem without verbal suffixes.

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305. sdzu ɢu:r dan-la-ʤi **ra** // naŋsa:-na: **ʂda:**

water two carry.on.shoulders-VRBL-IMPERF **come** // breakfast-REFL **cook**

ɕa:dzi-na: **ɕu:** // i:gua-na: tui-la niŋge // ka:rda

courtyard-REFL **sweep** // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock

paŋ-sa-na: niŋge **ɢar-ɢa** // ɢaʤer **ra** ɢaɕi ɕi-n-i

stable-ABL-REFL then **go.out-CAUS** // field **come** go.out go-NPT-SUBJ

(I) **bring** in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder, **cook** my breakfast and **sweep** my courtyard, after cleaning everything out, then **letting** the livestock out of the stable, (I) go out to the field.

Note that in the preceding, a combination of clause linking strategies is used: imperfective marking together with bare stems, and the discourse particle *niŋge* 'then'.

306. xɢei-na: **tiʤe:** // neɕdza:-na: **ʂda:** // **utɕi** // toa-na: **ŋɢua:** ɢada

pig-REFL **feed** // dinner-REFL **cook** // **drink** // dish-REFL **wash** outside

xaŋ nige rendzi // **ɕirgɕe** **ɢaɕi** ɕ-a bei

walk one moment // **go.around** **go.out** go-PERF PTCL

(I) fed my pig, cooked my dinner, drank (ate a meal), washed the dishes, went out for a little while, and walked around outside.

V.1.1 The Completive Suffix *-di*

The completive suffix *-di* is attached directly after the stem, before non-finite and finite verbal suffixes, but after derivation suffixes and the causative suffix. It can be used with bare stems, e.g. *ɢuadi* 'give!' as an imperative.

Verbs with perfective suffixes which also carry the suffix *-di* are interpreted as past tense, while verbs with perfective suffixes without *-di* can be interpreted as present tense as well as past tense:

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307. nda: ɕʥundu: ɢu:r i: ta-ŋla xudʐu su:-**ʥ-a**

1SG.DAT younger.sister two COP 3PL.STEM-PL Huzhu sit-**PERF-OBJ**

I have two younger sisters. They **live** in Huzhu.

308. e: sara su:-**di-ʥ-a** ku:-ŋge tora-**ʥ-a** be:

INTJ month sit-**COMPL-PERF-OBJ** son-SG bear-**PERF-OBJ** PTCL

Yeah, (she) **was** in confinement (**gave** birth) and delivered a son.

When suffix *-di* is used with the conditional suffix *-sa*, it indicates that the action has been completed or will be completed (examples 309 and 310), while *-sa* without *-di* is usually interpreted as 'when' or 'while', when used in its temporal sense (example 311, 312 and 313).

309. kudujer-nɪ tarɪ-**di-sa** ta:wɪn ʥirɢuan sara

fenugreek-ACC plant-**COMPL-COND** five six month

ul-**sa** ɢarɪ ra-n-a bei

become-COND come.out come-NPT.OBJ PTCL

After (you) plant fenugreek, **when** five, six months have passed (it) comes out.

310. xana xa:dzɨ-nɨ ama-nɨ-nɨ ne:-**di-sa** xa: ada-m

every box-GEN opening-ACC-POSS open-**COMPL-COND** close cannot-NPT

xa:-**di-sa** ne: ada-m ja:n-i:

close-**COMPL-COND** open cannot-NPT what-SUBJ

When (you) **have** opened the box you cannot close it, and **when** (you) **have** closed it you cannot open it. What is it?[96]

[96] The solution to the riddle is *ndige* 'egg'.

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311. hana ili-la nanige go:nien-la-**sa** de

everybody all-INST.COM this.one celebrate.new.year-VRBL-**COND** door

bi:ri-ri-na: draŋ ɕi fila:n tɕaldzi duidzi naɢa-ma bei

frame-LOC-REFL also go red paper lucky writing glue-ASSERT PTCL

When they celebrate the New Year, everybody just glues red pieces of paper, lucky writings, on the door frame.

312. xarili-**sa** janwei li: rin-ki-gun-a ʤe tɕi-mi bu:di

return-**COND** official NEG admit-VRBL-NARR.PAST INTJ 2SG-DAT wheat

ɢ-wa

give-PERF

When he returned (it), they official did not admit (that he gave Menzhen the gold), "I gave you wheat!" (he said).

313. xɢeila su:-**sa** bili:-aŋla i:gua-la ɕuetaŋ-di ɢari ɕi-n-a

alone sit-**COND** child-PL all-COLL school-DAT go.out go-NPT.OBJ

While I stayed (home) alone, the children all went to school.

The completive morpheme can be attached to transitive verbs and intransitive verbs, and can be used with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person subjects.

-di with first person subject and intransitive verb:

314. e: **buda-ɢula** niŋge leki-**di**-ʤ-a

INTJ **1PL.STEM** then divorce-**COMPL**-PERF-OBJ

Eh, then **we two** divorced.

-di with second person subject and transitive verb:

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315. **tɕi** **ʤina:** xɢei-na: ala-**di-ʤ**-a

2SG REFL.PRON pig-REFL kill-**COMPL**-PERF-OBJ

You killed your own pig.

-di with third person subject and intransitive verb:

316. **a:ɢadu:** **ɢo:r-la** **ʤ**iehun-la-**di-ʤ**-a

brother **two-COLL** get.married-VRBL-**COMPL**-PERF-OBJ

Two brothers got married.

The suffix *-di* cannot be attached to certain verbs which express actions not under the control of the subject, e.g. *dige* 'live', or *na:* 'fall'. However, *-di* is not an agentive or voluntative suffix, since there are other non-control verbs which regularly appear with *-di*, e.g. *marda-:di* 'forget-COMPL', *jerdi-di* 'feel pain-COMPL', *hugu-di* 'die-COMPL' and *jerda:-di* 'be tired-COMPL'.

-di with verbs which cannot be controlled by the subject:

317. bida-ŋla **jeda:-di-ʤ-a** nige xambura:-ja

1PL.STEM-PL **tire-COMPL-PERF-OBJ** one rest-VOL1

We are **tired**, let's take a break. / We are **tired**, let's rest for a little while.

318. e: ke:la-di **jedi-di-ʤ-a**

INTJ belly-DAT **hurt-COMPL-PERF-OBJ**

Yeah, (her) belly **hurt**.

319. bi kɕe:dida ja:nge-na: **marda:-di-n-a**

1SG always something-REFL **forget-COMPL-NPT-OBJ**

I always **forget** something.

In my data, the suffix *-di* co-occurs mostly with the following finite verbal suffixes: *-ʤ-a* (perfective objective) and *-wa* (perfective). For non-finite suffixes, *-di* most often co-occurs with *-sa*. There are only a few instance of *-di* occurring with other suffixes: with *-n-a* (non-past

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tense objective) (in example 319 above, and in example 322 below), with *-gu* (future participle, only one example), and with *-gi* (future tense, only one example).

320. xo:-**di-gu** nɨdɨ niŋge di: ʂdima-rɨ ʤu:
dry-**COMPL-PART.FUT** grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just
nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma
one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT
After it is **dried**, (we) grind it, then (we) build it layer by layer into the bread.

321. bɨ niu:-**di-gi**
1SG hide-**COMPL-FUT**
I **will** hide.

322. ta-nɨ war-**di-n-a** timir ʨinʤir-la baŋ-la ge:-ʤ-a
3SG-ACC take-**COMPL-NPT-OBJ** iron chain-INST.COM tie-VRBL put-PERF-OBJ
They **arrested** him and tied him with an iron chain.

V.2.4.11 Completive -di - Comparative data

So far I have not found any discussion to the suffix *-di* in the literature on other Mongghul dialects. While the suffix -di is not discussed in descriptions of other dialects of Mongghul, it does appear in the data. I know from discussions with Ha Mingzong and from my own data collection that this suffix also occurs in Tianzhu. The suffix also appears as parts of dictionary entries in DH. The following is a list of dictionary entries from DH containing the suffix (written as *-dii*), and, where available, comparisons with the same word without the suffix.

waridii - 'hold it' vs. *wari* - 'hold'

kengini nudiniini hadii 'close one's eyes' vs. *ha* 'close'

hgualadiija 'get broken' vs. *hguali* 'break'

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bangladii 'bind', and *bangla* 'bind'

hujadii 'tie' (vs. Karlong *hudʑɪ* 'tie')

This is only a small amount of data, but some observations can be made. In two of the cases ('hold' and 'close'), the difference between presence and absence of the suffix depends on whether or not a direct object is expressed. In one case ('break'), the presence of the suffix (together with the perfective objective suffix) is interpreted as a passive form. In the case of 'bind', there is no difference between the presence and the absence of the suffix, and for 'tie', the form without the suffix is not given.

In Karlong, the presence or absence of *-di* is not related to the presence or absence of a direct object. *-di* can appear with intransitive verbs as well as transitive verbs, and adding *-di* does not increase the valency of the verb.

-di with used with intransitive verbs:

323. ne nda:-ni kudi ʤu: ra-di-sa do lamantɕuŋ
this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent
gui:ren-ge gi-ʤi
important.person-SG QUOT-IMPERF
"If he comes into my house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

324. tɕi ŋgan-ni tada-sa-ni ju:-**di**-ʤ-a
2SG 3SG-GEN near-ABL-POSS walk-**COMPL**-PERF-OBJ
You walked away from him.

There are also no examples in Karlong where the addition of the suffix *-di* makes the verb passive.

So far I have not been able to find examples of the suffix *-di* in Zhao, LK, TDV, or SMN.

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V.2.4.12 Causative: -ɢa / -lɢa

The causative morpheme attaches directly to the stem, before tense inflections, but after derivational suffixes such as *-la* and *-ki*. The causative suffix gives the verb the meaning 'to make V', and also 'to let V'. The causative suffix has two forms: *-lɢa*, which is used with verbs ending in vowels, and *-ɢa*, which is used with verbs ending in consonants. When the causative suffix is attached to verbs ending in *-ri*, the final *-i* of the verb is deleted, and the causative suffix takes the shape *-ɢa*, e.g. *ɢari* 'come out', *ɢaɾɢa* 'let out, make come out' and 'take out'. The agent of the action that is being caused (the causee) is in the accusative case.

Causative with the meaning 'let':

325. ŋgan ʂ-gu dɨra:la-sa ŋgan-ɨ ʂi-**lɢa**
3SG go-PART.FUT like-COND 3SG-ACC go-**CAUS**
If he wants to go, **let** him go.

Causative with the meaning 'make':

326. ʂda:sɨ-nɨ pi:-kɨ-**lɢa**-ŋge
thread-ACC match-VRBL-**CAUS**-SG
Make the threads match.

A number of words which are expressed by transitive verbs in English are formed with causatives in Karlong. For example: *xo:* 'dry' (intr.) - *xo:lɢa* 'dry' (tr.).

Also:

327. ŋgaŋ-la nige ʤen ger pɨs-**ɢa**-ʤ-a
3PL.STEM-PL one class house stand-**CAUS**-PERF-OBJ
They built a house. (Literally: 'they **made** the house stand up.')

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V.2.4.13 Reciprocal: -ldɨ

Reciprocity is expressed with the suffix *-ldɨ*, which is attached directly to the stem. It expresses the meaning 'each other' or 'with one another'.

328. e: nienbi: ɕen-ɨ fudzɨ bɨda-ŋla xamdɨ hansɨnɨ lɨʂɨ
INTJ Nianbai town-GEN vice.leader 1PL.STEM-PL together also history
ʂaŋke-**ld**-ua
discuss-**RECIP**-PERF
Yeah, the vice-leader of Nianbai town and we talked about the history of Handi with **each other**.

V.2.4.14 -ŋge used with verbs

The suffix *-ŋge* is usually used with nouns, either as a singular marker, or as a diminutive marker. However, it can also be used with verb. When used with verbs, it functions similarly to a diminutive: it has the meaning 'a little', or it weakens the strength of the statement.

Suffix *-ŋge* used to weaken an imperative:

329. ʂda:sɨ-nɨ pi:-kɨ-lɢa-**ŋge**
thread-ACC match-VRBL-CAUS-**SG**
Make the threads match.

Both instances of *tiŋfu* 'to hear told' (Chinese *tīngshuō* 听说) in the data occur with *-ŋge*:

330. bɨ tigi: tiŋfu:-**ŋge**
1SG like.that hear.told-**DIM**
I heard it like that.

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331. ndʑina: nige pidʑig gu-a fu:-ri i:-san-i

REFL.PRON one book NEG.AUX-OBJ book-LOC see-PAST-SUBJ

piɕ-a tɕaŋla-san-i tiŋfu-**ŋge**

NEG.AUX-OBJ hear-PAST-SUBJ hear.told-**SG**

I don't have a book myself, I haven't seen it in a book, I heard it, heard it told.

Suffix *-ŋge* used to mean 'a little' or 'some', or otherwise weakening the statement:

332. draŋ kudi xɢei-la ɕi-**ŋge** draŋ da:lidi-gun-i be: a:

also home pig-VRBL go-**DIM** also sell-GEN.FUT-SUBJ PTCL PTCL

Also, if (you) raise **some** pigs at home, (you can) sell (them).

333. di: a:nie-ɢula ɕge da maŋli:-sa do:ra-dʑi daŋlur-la

then grandmother-DL big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM

nige i:-sa-ŋge

one look-COND-SG

then when (he) and the grandmother both came down from the lintel of the front gate and **took a look** with the lantern,

jeri-ŋge sara su: ge:-dʑ-a be: ɕge da busɢua-ni

woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL big door threshold-POSS

ko:-la nige

lean-VRBL one

a woman who had just given birth was leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

V.2.5 Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

The following is a table of verbal inflections which can be found in various sources on Halchighol and Naringhol, with some information on Fulaan Nura from Todaeva (1973). The table also contains the verbal inflections found in my Karlong data.

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Table 42. Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasitu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Imperative	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø	-ø (imp., imp.)	-ø
Voluntative 1st person	-ja	-je	-ja	-ja	-ja	-ya (vol., vol. 1p.)	-ja (imp., vol.)	-y-a, -y-e (voluntative 1st person plural)
Hortative	-laxgi		-ragi	-ge -laxge	-lagə	-la(h)gi (vol., conc.)	-laxgɵ/-lagɵ (imp., conc.)	—
Subjective			-i (first person)	-i (first person)			-ni:/-i: (subjunctive [*sic*])	
Objective			-a (non-first person)	-a (non-first person)			-na/-a (objective)	
Non-past tense	-m		-m	-m	-m	-m (narr., non-past tense)	-m/-n (TA, non-past)	-m, -mu(i), -mü(i) (first narrative present, present and future tense)
Non-past tense subjective / objective	-n-i / -n-a	-ni / -na (non-past tense)	-ni / -na	-ni / -na	-n ii / -n a	-n-ii / -n-a (narr. subj./obj., dur.)	-ni:/-na (TA, progressive)	— (Georg: Common Mongolic durative *-*nA* or modal converb *-*n* + copulas)

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasitu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Perfective	-wa	-wa (past tense)	-wa	-wa	-va	-wa (term., past tense)	-ʊa (TA, past)	-ba(i), -be(i) (past tense, perfective referring to recent past)
Perfective, subjective and objective	-ʤ-i: / -ʤ-a	-ʤi / -ʤe	-ʤi / -ʤa	-ʤi / -ʤa	-ʤ (ə) ii / -ʤ (ə) a	-j-i / -j-a (term. subj./obj., res.)	-ʤa/-ʤi: (TA, perfective)	— (Georg: Common Mongolic resultative *-*ji*, or imperfective converb *-*ji* + copulas) (Zhaonasitu: imperfective) (SM: preterite imperfective, from imperfective -ʤi)
General future, narrative past	-gun-i / -gun-a	-guni / -guna (future)	-guni / -guna	-guni / -guna	-gun ii / -gun a	-gu(n)-i / -gu(n)-a (part.fut. subj./obj.)		— (cf. -qu / -kü (nomen futuri, future, or any time other than future))

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasitu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Past tense, subjective and objective	-san-i / -san-a		-dzani / -dzana	-sani / -sana (HG) -dzani / -dzana (NG)	-san ii / -san a	-san-i / -san-a (part.perf. subj./obj.)		— (c.f. -ɣsan / -gsen (nomen perfecti, completed past action))
Assertive	-ma		—	—	—	—	—	—
Future	-gi		-gui:	-gi (<-guni)	-gu ii / -gu aa	—	—	—
Future participle	-gu	-gu	-gu	-gu (-gun)	-gu	-gu/n (imperfective)		-qu / -kü (nomen futuri, future, or any time other than future)
Successive	-gula	-gula	-gula	-gula: (HG, NG, FN) (последовательное деепричастие)	-gulaa	-gu-la(a) (part.fut. + com., successive)	-gula (conv., sucessive)	-qula / -küle (SM: nom de future + comitatif-sociatif -luɣa)
Perfective participle	-san	-san	-dzan	-san (HG) -dzan (NG)	-san	-san (-zan) (part.perf., perfective)		-ɣsan / -gsen (nomen perfecti, completed past action)
Agentive participle	-ʤin	-ʤin	-ʤin	-ʤin (-ʧin)	-ʤin	-jin (part.ag., habitive)		(SM: from WM -či; suffix denoting person acting)

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasitu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Gerund of absolute subordination	-n	-n	-n	-n (HG, NG) (-neŋge) (FN) (слитное деепричастие)	-n	-n (conv.mod., modifying)	-n (conv., modal)	-n (converbum modale) (Grønbech & Krueger: gerund of absolute subordination)
Terminative	-tala	—	—	—	—			-tala, -tele (converbum terminale)
Concessive	-sada	—	—	—	-sada	-sa=da (-za=da) (conv.cond. + particle, concessive)	-sada (conv., concessive)	—
Purposive	-la	-la	-ra	-la (HG, NG, FN) (деепричастие цели)	-la	-la (conv.fin., final)	-la (conv., final)	-r-a (converbum finale, purpose of action)
Imperfective	-ʤi	-ʤi	-ʤi	-ʤi (HG, NG, FN) (соединительное деепричастие)	-ʤə	-ji (conv.imperf., anterior)	-ʤө (conv., imperfective)	-ǰu, -ǰü (converbum imperfecti, action simultaneous with main action)

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasitu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
Causative	-lɢa/-ɢa	-ɢa	-ɢa-, -rɢa-	-lɢa/-ɢa	-lɢa		-lɢa/-ɢa (causative voice)	-ɣa-, -ge-, -lɣa-, -lge- (factive verbs, "to cause to do something")
Reciprocal	-ldɨ	—	-rdi ~ -di (p. 96)	-lde (-de) (p.102-103)	-ldə		-ldɵ/-ldu (reciprocal voice)	-ldu-, -ldü- (reciprocal)
Dimunitive	-ŋge	—	—	—	—			nige/n
Nomen actoris	-tɕɨ / -dʑi		-tɕi, -tɕin	—	—			-či (names of vocations)
Completive	-di	-di	—	—	—	—	—	—
(Dubitative)*	—		-gu-dʑiæ	—	—	-gu(l)jee (dub., dub.)	-gudʑe:/ -guidʑe: (imp., dub.)	—
(Final converb)	-gunda is not accepted by Karlong speakers, who use -la instead.	—	—	—	—	-gun-da (part.fut. + refl.dat., final converb)		—

* Labels in parenthesis are taken from Georg (2003).

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Table 42. (Continued) Verbal Inflection - Comparative Data

Label	KL	Tianzhu	SM 1964	Todaeva (1973)	Zhaonasitu (1981)	Georg 2003 (Halchi) (label, function)	Chaolu Wu 1994 (Halchi)	Written Mongolian Poppe (1954)
(Agentive participle, subj. and obj.)	—	-ʤina (habitual)	-ʤini / -ʤina	-ʤini / -ʤina (-ʧini / -ʧina)	-ʤin ii / -ʤin aa	-jin-n-i / -jin-n-a (part.ag. subj./obj.)	-ʤinni:/-ʤinna (TA, habitual)	—
(Perfective converb)	According to Karlong speakers, the form in -nu is not used in KL, only in Halchi	-wanə	-a:	-a:, -a:nu -va:, -va:nu (HG, NG) -a:, -e:d (FN) (-ja:, -ja:nu) (MG) (соединительное деепричастие)	-aa ~ -aanə / -ee ~ -eenə / -oo ~ -oonə / -vaa ~ -vaanə	-aa (-aanu) (conv.perf., anterior)	-a: / -e: / -o: / -a:ne / -e:n / -o:nɵ / -va: / -va:nɵ (conv., perfective)	
(Abtemporal converb)	-sa:r not accepted by Karlong speakers, -n with reduplication is used instead.	—	—	-sa:r (HG, NG, FN) (продолжительное деепричастие)	—	-saar (conv.abtemp, progressive)	-sa:r (conv., abtemporal)	—
(Terminative converb)	-dela: not accepted by Karlong speakers.	—	-dela: (-dera:)	-dela: (HG, NG) -dela:ŋge (-daŋge) (FN) (деепричастие предела)	-delaa	-delaa (conv.term., simultaneous)	-dɵla: (conv., terminal)	—

V.2.6 Potential

Potential or ability is expressed with the verb *ʂda* 'can, be able to'. Inability is expressed with *ada* 'cannot'. Both of these verbs take non-finite clauses as their complements.

Examples of *ada*:

334. ki: baɢ-sa tu: ɕi-m tɕabʤi-ʤi sala **ada-m**
wind blow-COND blow go-NPT cut-IMPERF separate **cannot-NPT**
ja:n-i:
what-SUBJ
The wind can blow it away, but you **cannot** cut it off. What is it?[97]

335. bi tɕura: da **ada-n-a**
1SG cheese eat **cannot-NPT-OBJ**
I **cannot** eat cheese.

Examples of *ʂda*:

336. renʤun tiɢa:nge ʂu:la **ʂda-n-a**
average.person that.much have.income **can-NPT-OBJ**
The average person **can** make that much (money).

337. ɕʤu:si di: … ʤu: ji liaŋ tɕien kuei tiɢa:ŋge **ʂda-ma** nige fan
tree then just one two thousand yuan that.much **can**-ASSERT one year
Now trees…one or two thousand yuan, (one) **can** make that much in one year.

338. jaŋ-sa sarimsaɢ-ŋge taŋ-di nigi:ʤe kuri **ʂda-n** **gu-a**
also-ABL garlic-SG 2PL-DAT a.little arrive **can-SUBORD** **NEG.AUX-OBJ**
Also, (our) garlic **cannot** compare to yours. (i.e. it is inferior)

---

[97] The solution to the riddle is *fini* 'smoke'.

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V.3 IRREGULAR VERBS

The following sections discuss irregular verbs in Karlong.

V.3.1 Auxiliaries

The following sections discuss copulas, negative auxiliaries, and auxiliaries of manner.

V.3.1.1 Copulas: i: and wa

There are two copulas in Monguor: *i:* and *wa*. They differ in their function and suffixation.

The copula *i:* is used as an auxiliary verb with non-finite regular verb, and as a copula to express possession. In my data it appears with the suffixes *-n-a* (NPT-OBJ) and *-gun-a* (GEN.FUT-OBJ). The copula *wa* is used as an existential verb. In my data it never appears with any suffixes.

The following examples illustrate the used of the copula *i:*.

Possession:

339. nda: ɕge nige ʤen ger **i:**[98]

1SG.DAT big one CL house **COP**

I have a big house.

340. ŋgan-di **i:**-n-a

3SG-DAT **COP**-NPT-OBJ

She has (one).

When following words ending in /i/ or [i], the initial glide of the copula is deleted, and the two high vowels merge into one long high vowel, e.g. X-*ʤi* + *i:guna* is X-[ʤi:guna].

341. a:die no:ri ntɕa:-ʤi **i:**-gun-a

grandfather sleep sleep-IMPERF **COP**-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

---

[98] Tianzhu: *bu ʂge ge veina* 'I have a big house'

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The examples below illustrate the use of the copula *wa*.

Copula use with adjective:

342. dudu:sa nem ɕge **wa**

one-clove.garlic price big **COP**

One-clove garlic is expensive.

343. ne xaŋxuar du:di **wa**

this bell resonant COP

This bell **is** resonant.

344. tu:gu **wa**

raw COP

It is raw.

Copula use to express the existence of a noun:

345. na nige nda:-ni du: **wa**

this one 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother **COP**

This **is** my younger brother.

346. firi ʤu: nige ne jaŋ ʤa **wa** be:

down just one this Yang family **COP** PTCL

On the bottom (of the valley) **is** the Yang family.

The copula *wa* has two allomorphs: [wa] (see above) and [a], with the latter appearing after words ending in /r/, /l/ and /n/:

347. ne ger ʂdur **a**

this house high **COP**

This house **is** tall.

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348. di: baŋʤan **a** ba

then approximately **COP** PTCL

(That) **is** about right, isn't it?

349. mini de:l gui:ni de:l **a**

1SG.GEN clothes expensive clothes **COP**

My clothes are expensive clothes.

V.3.1.2 Copulas - comparative data

In the literature on other Mongghul dialects, there are two ways of representing the copulas *i:* and *wa.* In most sources, they are represented as independent words, e.g. Georg (2003), Chaolu Wu (1994), Zhaonasitu (1981), Todaeva (1973). de Smedt & Mostaert (1964) represent them as suffixes added to the stem.

Georg labels *ii* and *wa* as subjective and objective copula respectively (2003:302). In my data, the difference between the two forms, when used independently, is not one of perspective. This is clearly shown by the fact that the "subjective" copula *i:* can take objective verbal suffixes like *-n-a* and *-gun-a.*

Zhaonasitu (1981:42) lists the following copulas: *ii*, *a~va*, and *vaii*. He shows that verbal endings in *-ii* and *-a* respectively are formed by adding the particles[99] *ii* and *a* to the ending (1981:38).

Todaeva (1973:138) lists the copulas (*глаголи-связки*) as *i:-* and *ve:-*, stating that the latter is fairly infrequently used in Huzhu. Todaeva lists *-i* and *-a* as the second part of certain verbal suffixes, noting that they are doubtlessly of verbal origin (1973:112).

SM (1964) list *i:-* and *we:-* under auxiliary verbs (*verbe auxiliaire*) (p. 123), and *-i* and *-a ~ -wa* under copulas (p. 86). For *-a*, SM (1964:86) note that it becomes *-wa* when attached to words ending in vowels or consonants other than /n/ or /r/.

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[99] Zhaonasitu (1981:42): *zhùcí* 助词.

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Table 43. Copulas - Comparative Data

Karlong	Todaeva (1973: 138)	Zhaonasitu (1981:42)	SM (1964:86, 132)	Georg (2003:302)
i:	i:-	ii	i:-, -i	ji:
wa	ve:-	a ~ va	-a ~ -wa	wa
—	—	vaii	we:-	—

V.3.1.3 Negative auxiliary subjective and objective: -gu-i: / -gu-a

The negative auxiliary is *gu-i:* and *gu-a* for subjective and objective perspective respectively. The negative auxiliary is used to negate the existence of a noun or a property, or to negate a verb. There is no neutral form of this marker, it is always either subjective or objective.

Negation of possession:

350. nda: aba: **gu-i:**
1SG.DAT father **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**
I don't have a father.

351. nda:-ni kudi ka:rda asi ja-mada **gu-i:**
1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home domesticated.animal cattle what-any **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**
I don't have any livestock in my house.

Negation of finite verb:

352. ge:bian-la nige andʑ-i:-mada-di ʂira:-**m** **gu-a** ʂendzai dangual
change-VRBL one where-SUBJ-any-DAT burn-**NPT** NEG.AUX-OBJ now earth.clod
(Things) change, now (they) **don't** burn earth clods anywhere.

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353. ɕendzai-ni ʁar-ʁa-**m** **gu-a**

now-ACC go.out-CAUS-**NPT** **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

Nowadays (we) do not take (it) out. (Speaking about earth-clods burnt for fertilizer.)

354. ta-ni taraxɕi:-ni si:n a gu-a

3SG-GEN brain-POSS good COP **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

His/her brain isn't good. (S/he is stupid.)

Negation of non-finite verb:

355. bi suju-ni utɕi-**n** **gu-i:**

1SG butter-ACC drink-**SUBORD** **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

I **don't** eat butter.

356. ku:-ŋge tora-ʤa truo yanweidzi mide-**ʤi** **gu-a**

son-SG give.birth-PERF-OBJ inside official know-**IMPERF** **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

ʤu:di-la ʤu:ne

dream-VRBL just this

(When she) gave birth to a son, the official inside did **not** know, (but) he just dreamed, this (dream).

357. liaŋ ku:dzi nʤigila-**ʤi** **gu-a**

couple be.harmonious-**IMPERF** **NEG.AUX-OBJ**

The couple did **not** get along (lit. was not harmonious).

V.3.1.4 Negative auxiliaries - comparative data

Different sources on Mongghul show relatively little variation of the negative auxiliary. Notable it that SM (1964:88) give them as *ugua:* and *ugui:*, with the short forms *-gua:* and *-gui:*. The long forms are not found in any other source.

Some sources also list variant forms of *puɕi:* and *puɕa* ('not, no') in this category.

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Table 44. Negative Auxiliaries - Comparative Data

Negative Auxiliary	Karlong	Zhaonasitu (1981:43)	SM (1964:88)	Georg (2003:302)
NEG.AUX-SUBJ	gu-i:	guii	ugui: ~ gui:	gu-i
NEG.AUX-OBJ	gu-a (gu-a:)	guaa	ugua: ~ gua:	gu-a
NEG.AUX-SUBJ	—	puɕii	buɕi:	—
NEG.AUX-OBJ	ptɕa	puɕa	buɕia:	—

V.3.1.5 Manner auxiliaries

As in other dialects of Huzhu, number of verbs can function as auxiliaries in Karlong. They carry finite verbal suffixes and are added after the embedded verb.

ge: 'put' takes a bare stem as its complement verb:

358. ɕira:-sa ʂbaŋni manta nige ʤu: tigi: ɕge-ni ʁar-ʁa
burn-COND grass.sod dig one just like.that big.ACC go.out-CAUS
ge:-n-a bei
put-NPT-OBJ PTCL
When (you) burn, you dig the grass sod, then take out (one) that size.

The auxiliary *ge:* is used to intensify the meaning of the verb. In the following sentence, the speaker not only used the auxiliary *ge:*, but also placed stress on the verb *baŋla* 'tie':

359. ta-ni war-di-n-a timir ɕinʤir-la baŋ-la **ge:**-ʤ-a
3SG-ACC take-COMPL-NPT-OBJ iron chain-INST.COM tie-VRBL **put**-PERF-OBJ
They arrested him and tied him with an iron chain.

su: 'sit', expressing a stationary event, also takes a bare verbal stem as its complement:

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360. fila:n ɢual-ge trua-ni nige ban tɕiɢa:n xurɢa kide:

red valley-SG inside-POSS one group white lamb lie.down

su:-ʤi-i: ja:n-i:

sit-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ

In a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?

ɕi 'go', expressing movement away from the speaker, appears with a bare verbal stem as its complement:

361. ki: baɢ-sa tu: **ɕi**-m tɕabʤi-ʤi sala ada-m

wind blow-COND blow **go**-NPT cat-IMPERF separate can-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

The wind can blow it away, but you cannot cut it off. What is it?[100]

362. ŋgan kuʤa: landzu: ɢari **ɕ**-ʤ-a

3SG already Lanzhou go.out **go**-PERF-OBJ

He already went to Lanzhou.

363. o: ne-ni i:-sa di: tɕida-ʤi li: **ɕ**-gun-a

INTJ this-ACC look-COND then escape-IMPERF NEG **go**-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Oh, it looks like she will not run away.

ra 'come' expresses movement toward the speaker, or towards a point in space which is considered central. *ra* takes a verbal stem with the imperfective suffix *-ʤi*.

364. sdzu ɢu:r dan-la-ʤi **ra**

water two carry.on.shoulders **come**

(I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder,

[100] It is *fini* 'smoke'.

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365. bu:-ʤi **ra** nige de utʂi

go.down-IMPERF **come** one eat drink

(I) come home and eat and drink a little,

The auxiliary *ra* can also take a bare stem as its complement:

366. kudujer-ni tari-di-sa ta:win ʤirgo:n sara

fenugreek-ACC plant-COMPL-COND five six month

ul-sa gari **ra**-n-a bei

become-COND come.out **come**-NPT-OBJ PTCL

After (you) plant fenugreek, when five, six months have passed (it) comes out.

Manner auxiliaries can be combined:

367. ta la-di pa:la **gari** ʂ-ʤ-a

3SG mountain-DAT climb **go.up** **go**-PERF-OBJ

He climbed up the mountain.

368. nige maʂi **gari** **ri**-ʤ-a

one read **go.out** **come**-PERF-OBJ

One (of them) has come out from reading (i.e. has finished going to school).

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V.3.1.6 Manner auxiliaries - comparative data

The following table shows manner auxiliaries listed for other dialects of Huzhu.

Table 45. Manner Auxiliaries - Comparative Data

Auxiliary	Karlong	Todaeva (1973:140-143)	Zhaonasitu (1981:45)	SM (1964:134-135)
go	ɕi	ʃʤi-	ɕə- (ɕʤə-)	ɕʤi-
come	ra	re-	re-	re-
sit	su:	su:-	sauu-	su:-
throw	—	ge:-	—	ge:-
put	ge:	ge:-	gee-	te:- (ti:-)
give	—	uGu-	oGo-	—
stand up	—	bos-	—	—
kill	—**	—	ala-	ala-
go out, go up	Gari	—	Garə-	Gari-
make go out	—	—	—	GarGa-
lose	—	—	alda-	—
take	—	—	awu-[101]	—
obtain	—	—	olə-	—

V.3.1.7 Quotative auxiliaries

The two quotative auxiliaries in Karlong are *gi-* and *ʤo:*. They are both morphologically defective. In my data gi- appears only with the verbal suffixes *-ʤi*, *-sa*, and *-san*, all of them non-finite. *ʤo:* never appears with any suffixes.

The quotative auxiliary *gi-* is added after clauses of reported speech, but can also be used for emphasis. The quotative auxiliary *gi-* is often extremely reduced phonologically.

Quotative with reported speech:

369. buru: gu-a da **gi-ʤi**

calf NEG.AUX-OBJ also **QUOT**-IMPERF

"The calf is not here", he says.

[101] Zhaonasitu (1981:45): *yāo* 要.

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370. gan-i dze:la-ga ʂda-n gu-a xa mei li ɕaŋ

3SG receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL coal in hide

ʤin **gi-ʤi**

gold **QUOT**-IMPERF

(The official) could not force him to receive (gifts), so (he) said "hide gold in coal."

371. ne nda:-ni kudi ʤu: ra-di-sa do lamantɕuŋ

this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent

gui:ren-ge **gi-ʤi**

important.person-SG **QUOT**-IMPERF

"If he comes into my house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

372. e: tigi:ŋge xa ne ʂdara:-ni amagiʤa **gi**-sa ʤu:ra-ni

INTJ like.that PTCL this mill-GEN how **QUOT**-COND between-POSS

do lamantɕun bo:ʤun ɢari ɕ-ʤ-a

now excellent treasured.steed go.out go-PERF-OBJ

Yeah, like that, how to say it, from between the mills went out an excellent treasured steed.

Sometimes *gi-* is used as a filler:

373. e: mori dila-ʤin **gi**-san tigi:ge ʤa-ŋge be:

INTJ horse herd-PART.AG **QUOT**-PART.PERF like.that family-SG PTCL

Yeah, there is a family like that (who) herds horses.

The distribution of *ʤo:* is almost entirely restricted to occurring with verbs of verbal activity: *kila* 'say', *xe:la* 'cry (as a bird)', *du:la* 'sing', *ʤi:* 'announce'. *ʤo:* takes the bare stem of the verb as a complement.

374. ja bi nantar-ge kila **ʤo:** a:

INTJ 1SG story-SG say **QUOT** PTCL

Yeah, I will tell a story. / Yeah, let me tell a story.

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375. ja do bi kile **ʤo:** a:

INTJ now 1SG say **QUOT** PTCL

Yeah, now I will tell (it).

376. ʧi mini a:ma-di kila **ʤo:**

2SG 1SG.GEN mother-DAT say **QUOT**

You will tell my mother.

377. ja:n-i: dandog di: xe:la **ʤo:**

what-SUBJ matter then cry (as a bird) **QUOT**

What will (you) sing about?

There is one sentence in the data where *ʤo:* appears with a word other than a word of speech:

378. ʧi mini sdzer-ni i: xari-sa bi iʧi ʤi:la **ʤo:**

2SG 1SG.GEN money NEG return-COND 1SG very become.angry **QUOT**

If you don't return my money I will become very angry.

V.3.2 Morphophonologically irregular verb Gua 'give'

Not all verbs follow (all) the morphonological rules described in sections II.5. There is one exception: *Gua* 'give'.

The stem *Gua* appears in the imperative, but it is reduced to *G-* in front of all suffixes except *-di, -ja* and *-n-*: *G-ʤ-a* 'gave' (give-PERF-OBJ) *G-wa* 'gave' (give-PERF), but *Gua-di-wa* 'gave' (give-COMPL-PERF) and *Gua-n-i* 'give(s)' (give-NPT-SUBJ). With the voluntative suffix, the stem is *Go-*: *Go-ja* 'let me/us give' (give-VOL1).

379. bi ʧim-i nige fu: **G-wa**

1SG 2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT one book **give-PERF**

I **gave** you a book.

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380. bu gan-di nige pidʑig **ɢ-dʑ-a**

1SG 3SG-DAT one book **give-PERF-OBJ**

I **gave** him a book.

381. bi nda:-ni du:-di-na: fu-ŋge **ɢua-di-wa**

1SG 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN younger.brother-DAT-REFL book-SG **give-COMPL-PERF**

I gave my younger brother a book.

382. bi tɕim-i ɢo-ja

1SG 2SG.OBL.STEM-DAT give-VOL1

Let me give (it) to you.

V.4 DEVERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The following is a short discussion of deverbal morphology found in the data.

V.4.1 Nomen Actoris: -tɕi

This non-finite form is used to create words for professions, e.g. *gundzuo-tɕi* 'worker', *da:l-tɕi* 'merchant'.

383. nige xonima-**tɕi**

one sheep-**NOM.ACT**

a shepherd

V.5 CONCLUSION

Karlong has suffixes for tense, aspect, mood, and perspective (evidentiality), as well as a number of indefinite verbal suffixes. Karlong has two different copulas, two negative auxiliaries, a quotative auxiliary, as well as a number of manner auxiliaries.

Karlong verbal morphology is fairly similar to the verbal morphology of other dialects of Mongghul, with a few exceptions. One exception is the assertive suffix *-ma*, which does not seem

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to occur in other dialects. And while *-di* does occur in other dialects of Mongghul, its function in these dialects is not completely clear.

V.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A promising area for future research is an extended comparison of verbal morphology, especially for those suffixes which do not seem to occur in all dialects of Mongghul, such as the completive marker *-di*, the assertive marker *-ma*, and the converbs in *-gunda*, *-aanu*, *-sa:r*, and *-dela:* (see Table 42).

The terminative suffix *-tala* also needs further investigation. The co-occurrence of this suffix in Karlong and Minhe might be due to the fact that the areas where Karlong and Minhe are spoken are fairly close to each other (the Fulaan Nura and Ledu areas are closer to Minhe than Halchighol or Naringhol).

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CHAPTER VI. OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

VI.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

In addition to the parts of speech discussed in the last two chapters, Karlong also has the following parts of speech: adverbs, conjunction, interjections, and particles.

VI.1.1 Adverbs

Karlong has the following adverbs: locational adverbs, temporal adverbs, and adverbs of manner.

VI.2.1 Conjunction

Karlong uses the connective *da*, 'and', 'also'.

VI.3.1 Interjections

Interjections appear at the beginning of a sentence and express a state of mind.

VI.4.1 Particles

Karlong has several different types of particles: final particles, adverbial particles, discourse particles, negative particles, and interrogative particles.

VI.2 DISCUSSION

The following sections contain discussion of the parts of speech introduced above, including examples.

VI.1.2 Adverbs

The following sections discuss locational, temporal, and manner adverbs.

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VI.2.1.1 Locational adverbs

The following locational adverbs occur in the data: *ndre:* 'here', *tre:* 'there'.

Examples:

384. bi i:ʤudir **nde:** ri-wa

1SG day.before.yesterday **here** come-PERF

I came **here** the day before yesterday.

385. kudujer tari-n-a buda-ŋ **tre:**

fenugreek plant-NPT-OBJ 1PL.STEM-PL **there**

We plant fenugreek **there.**

VI.2.1.2 Temporal adverbs

The following temporal adverbs occur in the data: *i:xge* 'just, only then', *nu:dir* 'today', *malaŋ* and *maʁaʂi* 'tomorrow', *ʂʁudir* 'yesterday', *naŋ* 'this year', *ʂdanaŋ* 'last year', *ʧinaʁda* 'day after tomorrow', *i:ʤidir* 'day before yesterday', *durdindi* 'every day', *guadindi* 'daily', *ʂde ~ ʂda* 'early', and *wuri:* 'late'.

Examples:

386. bi **kʂe:dida** ja:nge-na: marda:-di-n-a

1SG **always** something-REFL forget-COMPL-NPT-OBJ

I **always** forget something.

387. nda:-ni kudi **nu:dir** xgilanʤin-ge ri-ʤ-a

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home **today** beggar-SG come-PERF-OBJ

A beggar came to my house **today.**

388. **naŋ** fire: ʧi i:gua-na: nʤina: lu:ki-ʤ-i: ba

this.year seed 2SG all-REFL REFL.PRON have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ PTCL

This year you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

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VI.2.1.3 Manner adverbs

The following manner adverbs occur in the data: *tiŋgiʤi ~ tigi:ŋge~ ti:ŋge ~ tigi: ~ ti:* 'like that', *i:diŋ* 'certain(ly)'.

Examples:

389. bida-ŋla ne gugutɕa:tɕa:r-ri su:-san-a **tigi:** ɕenʤin
1PL.STEM-PL this valley-LOC sit-PAST-OBJ **like.that** modern
a be:
COP PTCL
We lived in these valleys and have become modern **like that**.

390. do tɕi le: **tigi:ŋge** do tiGa:n Gaʤer tari-n-i
now 2SG PTCL **like.that** now how.much field plant-NPT-SUBJ
Now how much field area to you plant?

391. e: **tigi:ŋge** xa ne ʂdara:-ni amagiʤa gi-sa ʤu:ra-ni
INTJ **like.that** PTCL this mill-GEN how QUOT-COND between-POSS
do lamantɕun bo:ʤun Gari ɕ-ʤ-a
now excellent treasured.steed go.out go-PERF-OBJ
Yeah, **like that**, how to say it, from between the mills went out an excellent treasured steed.

VI.2.2 Conjunction

Only one conjunction appears in my data of Karlong: *da*, which has the meaning 'and, also'.

392. di: xGei **da** gaga: xGei-ge tiʤe: ʂda-ʤin draŋ ju: ... tio:ʤen
then pig **also** small pig-SG feed can-PART.AG also have condition
si:n a be:
good COP PTCL
And a pig, if [you are one who] can **also** feed a little pig, conditions are good.

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393. ɕargaŋ-ge **da** ʂda-ʤi gu-a be:

shrine-SG **also** can-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL

(They) **also** couldn't (build) a shrine for the god.

394. menszen **da** a:ma-ɢula-na: kunan a xa erʂisan-di

menzhen **and** mother-DL-REFL difficult COP PTCL twenty-three-DAT

dzuja a:nie da:bila guli nigi:ʤe lidaŋ da gu-a

kitchen god offer say a.little gift also NEG.AUX-OBJ

Menzhen **and** his mother were both very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god on the 23rd (of the twelfth lunar month).

395. mendzen **da** a:ma-ɢula-na: do ɕaver-la nige surg-ʤ-a be:

Menzhen **and** mother-DL-REFL now mud-INST.COM one smear-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Now Menzhen and his mother smeared (the door) with mud (instead of putting up lucky papers, because they were so poor).

VI.3.2 Interjections

A number of interjections are used in Karlong, especially in story telling and conversation. Interjections are very infrequent in elicited speech. They usually appear as the very first element in a sentence, or, less frequently, in the clause.

The following interjections can be found in the data (the English "translations" are approximations):

e: 'eh, yeah' - used to introduce sentences, especially when telling a story. This interjection could also be translated as 'so, well now, then'. This is the most common interjection in the data.

Examples of *e:* in the data:

396. **e:** dziran-ge tigi:gi

INTJ natural-SG like.that

Yeah, naturally, like that. (this is how it's done.)

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397. **e:** moritɕaŋ xa di: te ɢual-di ʂdara wa

INTJ Moriqang PTCL then that valley-DAT water.mill COP

Yeah, then, (about) Moriqang (place name), there is a watermill in that valley.

398. **e:** la-di sdzun-di tiɢa:n ɢadʑer tari-ma

INTJ hill-DAT water-DAT that.much field plant-ASSERT

Yeah, on the hill (and) in the water (fields we) plant that many fields.

a: 'ah, yeah'.

399. **a:** di: jeri-ŋge i:-gun-a

INTJ then woman-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ

Ah, then there was a woman.

400. **a:** ten-sa hueina do dzou dʑa su:-gun-a waŋ dʑa

INTJ that-ABL after now Zhou family sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ Wang family

su:-gun-a

sit-NARR.PAST-OBJ

Ah, now after that the Zhou family (came to) stay and the Wang family (came to) stay.

401. e: tigi:ŋge-la su:-dʑ-a tani rdʑi-gu nda:

INTJ like.that-INST.COM sit-PERF-OBJ 3SG-ACC look.PART.FUT 1SG.DAT/ACC

xu:le: dʑiefaŋ-la-di niŋge **a:** do dʑu: nara

after liberate-VRBL-COMPL then **INTJ** also just sun

bu:-di-dʑ-a be:

rise-AG-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Yeah, things were like that, compared to that after we were liberated, then (it was like) the sun rose.

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ja ~ ja:'yeah'.

402. **ja** **ja** ɢaç-ʤi ra-n-i

INTJ **INTJ** go.out-IMPERF come-NPT-SUBJ

Yeah, yeah, I am coming out.

403. **ja** bi nantar-ge kila ʤo: a:

INTJ 1SG story-SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, I will tell a story. / Yeah, let me tell a story.

404. **ja** do bi kile ʤo: a:

INTJ now 1SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, now I will tell (it).

405. a:ga di: da-ɢula **ja:** ʂan-ki-ja

uncle then 1PL.STEM-DL **INTJ** discuss-VRBL-VOL1

Uncle, let's the two of us have a discussion.

o:la 'right, yeah' - this interjection can also stand alone, meaning, 'right, yes'. There are only two examples in my data, but this interjection is very frequent in everyday conversation.

406. **o:la** do ta-ŋla-ni amin si:n a

INTJ now 2PL.STEM-PL-GEN life good COP

Right, now your life is good.

407. **o:la** tiɢa:ŋge mu:ki-**n-i**

right that.much seek-VRBL-NPT-SUBJ

Right, we are seeking that much (money).

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aja 'really!' - expresses slight annoyance (only one example in the data).

408. **aja:** moŋGual a xa moŋGual xgatɕa:-la-na:
INTJ Monguor COP PTCL Monguor language-INST.COM-REFL
Aya, if (you) are a Monguor, (speak) with our Monguor language.

o: 'oh' - expresses slight surprise (only one example).

409. **o:** ne-ni i:-sa di: tɕida-dʑi li: ɕ-gun-a
INTJ this-ACC look-COND then escape-IMPERF NEG go-GEN.FUT-OBJ
Oh, it looks like she will not run away.

dʑe - expresses surprise (only one example).

410. sdzer-ni **dʑe** dzuakidʑi gu-i: a
gold-ACC **INTJ** grasp-VRBL-IMPERF NEG.AUX-SUBJ PTCL
(He) did not grasp the gold!

VI.4.2 Particles

The following sections discuss the particles found in Karlong: final, adverbial, and discourse particles, as well as negative and interrogative particles. Only a few particles in the data can take a suffix, e.g. the adverbial particle *jaŋ* 'again' and the discourse particle *tigi:ŋge* 'like that'.

VI.2.4.1 Final particles

Final particles are non-changeable words which appear at the end of the sentence or clause and add meaning such as imperative, suggestion, or emphasis to the sentence, or are used to elicit a response from the listener. The following final particles, appear in Karlong: *sa, ba, xa, be: ~ bei,* and *le:*.

The final particle *sa* expresses a suggestion, or invites agreement from the listener. It can be used to form polite imperatives, or to ask questions.

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Final particle *sa* used in imperative:

411. tar-la tarda **sa**

stone-INST.COM throw **PTCL**

Throw a stone.

412. ɕira: **sa**

bake **PTCL**

Bake (it).

sa used to make a polite request:

413. ne-ni do ʤu: a:die tɕi nda: tɕi nige ʂaŋ-ki **sa**

this.ACC now just grandfather 2SG 1SG.DAT 2SG one tell-VRBL **PTCL**

Now, grandfather, could you tell me a little about this?

When the particle *sa* is used to elicit agreement from the listener, it is often used together with words like 'right', 'correct', like *nimba: ~ mba:*, for example:

414. dzɻaŋʤa-na:-ge ʂaŋ-ki-ldi-ja **mba:** **sa**

crop-REFL-SG talk-VRBL-RECIP-VOL1 **right** **PTCL**

Let's talk about our crops, **OK**?

sa used to ask questions:

415. di: ne-ge jer-di sdza-gun-a tɕi ɕin **sa** miŋ **sa**

then this-SG woman-DAT ask-NARR.PAST-OBJ 2SG Xin **PTCL** Ming **PTCL**

wa gi-sa di: da

COP QUOT-COND then also

Then they asked this woman: "are you a Xin or a Ming?"

The particle *ba* is used to elicit agreement from the listener, or to politely express an opinion. It is most likely borrowed from Chinese (*ba* 吧).

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ba used to elicite agreement:

416. di: baŋʤan a **ba**

then approximately COP **PTCL**

(That's) about it, **isn't it**?

ba used to politely express an opinon:

417. te ʂdada gu-a **ba** o:

that early NEG.AUX-OBJ **PTCL** PTCL

That is not early.

Asking a question about the answer of which one is fairly certain:

418. naŋ fire: tɕi i:gua-na: nʤina: lu:ki-ʤ-i: **ba**

this.year seed 2SG all-REFL REFL.PRON have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ **PTCL**

This year you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

The particle *xa* is used to express emphasis.

419. xgile-ʤi juanwei-ni den-di giɕ-gun-a **xa**

beg-IMPERF official-GEN door-DAT step.on-NARR.PAST-OBJ **PTCL**

Begging, (she) arrived at the door of an official.

This particle can also be used to link to clauses, where the first clause is the cause or reason for the event described in the second clause:

420. e: do ɕendzai-ni xuʤinto: dʐuɕi su:-ʤ-a **xa** do ta

INTJ now current-GEN Hu Jintao chairman sit-PERF-OBJ **PTCL** now that

nientɕinren-ni do amin ʤu: bidelio: a

young.people-GEN now life just terrific COP

So now Chairmain Hu Jintao is in office **and** life is terrific for those young people.

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421. gan-i dze:la-ga ʂda-n gu-a **xa** mei li caŋ

3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-SUBJ **PTCL** coal inside hide

ʤin giʤi

gold QUOT

(The official) could not force him to receive (gifts), (**so** he) said "hide gold in coal.[102]"

422. da busgua-ni dirle-ʤ-a **xa** limendzen a

door threshold-ACC use.as.a.pillow-PERF-OBJ **PTCL** Li Menzhen COP

giʤi juanwei ʂasa nera awu-gun-a.

QUOT official give.name name take-NARR.PAST-OBJ

Because he had used the threshold as a pillow, he received the name "Li Menzhen" (李门珍) from the official.

423. ne ger-di ʧaŋgaŋ gu-a **xa** xarango-gula

this house-DAT window NEG.AUX-OBJ **PTCL** dark-INTENS

There are no windows in this room, **so** it's very dark.

The particle *be: ~ bei* is extremely frequent in stories, and also appears in conversation. It almost never appears in elicited sentences. The meaning of this particle is to emphasis the statement.

424. firi ʤu: nige ne jaŋ ʤa wa **be:**

down just one this Yang family COP **PTCL**

On the bottom (of the valley) is the Yang family. (There is no doubt about it, everybody knows it.)

[102] The official then goes on to hide some gold in seed grains that he loans to the reluctant beneficiary.

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425. jeri-ŋge sara su: ge:-ʤ-a **be:** ɕge da busɢua-ni
woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ **PTCL** big door threshold-POSS
ko:-la nige
lean-VRBL one
A woman had just given birth, leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

426. ne:dzaŋ ʤa deidu: wa **be:**
poor family most COP **PTCL**
Most families were poor.

427. di: xɢei da gaga: xɢei-ge tiʤe: ʂda-ʤin draŋ ju: // tio:ʤen
then pig also small pig-SG feed can-PART.AG also have // condition
si:n a **be:**
good COP **PTCL**
And a pig, if [you are one who] can also feed a little pig, conditions are good.

428. ʤinkuei fuzu tɕilai-la-ʤ-a **be:**
quick rich become-VRBL-PERF-OBJ **PTCL**
(They) became rich very quickly.

429. na si ɕaŋfu wa **be:**
this is live.in.comfort COP **PTCL**
This is living in comfort.

The particle *a* can be used to express surprise:

430. sdzer-ni ʤe dzuakiʤi gu-i: **a**
gold-ACC INTJ grasp-VRBL-IMPERF NEG.AUX-SUBJ **PTCL**
(He) did not grasp the gold!

There are only a few instances of *le:* in the data. Its use corresponds to the Chinese *ne* 呢:

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431. tɕi **le:**

2SG **PTCL**

How about you?

432. ɕdʑo:si **le:** nige fan tiɢa:n da:ldi sdzer ʂdan-a

tree **PTCL** one year how.much sell money can-NPT-OBJ

As for trees, how much money can you (make) in one year from selling them?

VI.2.4.2 Adverbial particles

Adverbial particles[103] are particles which modify the verb in some way e.g. *jaŋ* 'again', *draŋ* 'also', 'still', *hansi* 'still', *dʑu:* 'just'. Their position in the sentence is fairly free.

jaŋ 'again':

433. tɕandzar-ri ɕi niŋge **jaŋ** ku:-la nige liam mu:ni-ɢula

Qianzuo-LOC go after **again** son-INST.COM one luck bad-EMPH

dʑu: niŋge wari

part after work

After I went to Qianzuo **again** with my son, life was very hard, and I worked.

When the form *jaŋsa* is used, the meaning is not exactly 'again' but can also be interpreted as 'then':

434. **jaŋ-sa** tigi: nige ntsowa nige ntsowa-ni **jaŋ-sa** //

again-ABL like.that one village one village-ACC **again-ABL** //

jaŋ-sa dalo:n ajil i:-n-a sa

again-ABL seven village COP-NPT-OBJ PTCL

Then, one village next to the other … then there are seven villages, aren't there?

[103] I am using this term following Slater 2003:149.

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draŋ 'also':

435. bɨda-ŋla xaran kidɨ nasɨ-nɨ ɢadɨ-nɨ **draŋ** danɢual

1PL.STEM-PL ten several age-GEN time-POSS **also** earth.clods

ɕira:-n-i

burn-NPT-SUBJ

When I was about ten years old, we **also** burnt earth clods.

draŋ 'still':

436. nda:-nɨ a:nie **draŋ** dɨge-ʤa

1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN grandmother **still** live-PERF-OBJ

My grandmother is **still** alive.

VI.2.4.3 Negative particles

There are three negative particles in use in Karlong: *li:* and *i:*, which negate assertions and statements, and the prohibitive particle *bi:*, which negates imperatives. In my data, *li:* does not occur with non-finite verbs.

Prohibitive particle *bi:*:

437. e: do i:la-la fɨn fɨla-gun-a dzuja a:nie-dɨ tɕɨ

INTJ now all-COLL order order-NARR.PAST-OBJ kitchen.god-DAT 2SG

tienkun-di ɢaɕ-ʤɨ sa njoŋʤa sa e: si: xgaʤa-nɨ

heaven-DAT go.up-IMPERF PTCL niangjia[104] PTCL INTJ good word-ACC

e: nigi:ʤe ʂankɨ-sa da mu: xgaʤa nige **bi:** kɨla

INTJ a.little speak-COND and bad word one **PRHB** say

Yeah, now, everybody together ordered the kitchen god: "go up to the heaven, to the home of your parents, (and) say some good words (for) us when you speak; don't say any bad words."

[104] Chinese: *niángjiā* 娘家, home of married woman's parents.

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Negative particle *li:* with finite verbs:

438. teŋgeri ura-sa buda-ŋla ɢaɕ-ʤi: **li:** ɕi-m

sky rain-COND 1PL.STEM go.out **NEG** go.NPT

If it rains, we will **not** go out. / If it rains, we are **not** going out.

439. noxui: xuʤa-sada kun-ni **li:** ʤu:-m

dog bark-CONC person-ACC **NEG** bite-NPT

Although the dog barks, it will **not** bite people.

440. **li:** oɢua-n-i

NEG give-NPT-SUBJ

(They) **don't** give (it to me).

441. o: ne-ni i:-sa di: ʧida-ʤi **li:** ɕ-gun-a

INTJ this-ACC look-COND then escape-IMPERF **NEG** go-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Oh, it looks like she **will** not run away.

Negative particle *i:* with finite verbs:

442. **i:** xgila-m

NEG want-**NPT**

(I) **don't** want (it).

Negative particle *i:* and prohibitive *bi:*:

443. nu: nu: gi-sa **i:** nu: **bi:** nu: **bi:** nu:

touch touch QUOT-COND **NEG** touch **PRHB** touch **PRHB** touch

gi-sa nu: ja:n-i:

QUOT-COND touch what-SUBJ

If (you) say "touch, touch!" (it) **doesn't** touch, if (you) say "**don't** touch, **don't** touch!" (it) touches. What is it?

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Negative particle *i:* with non-finite verb:

444. nige gundzuo-ni **i:** dira:la-ʤin kun

one work-ACC **NEG** love-PART.AG person

a person who does **not** like to work

445. ʧi mini sdzer-ni **i:** xari-sa bi iʧi ʤi:la ʤo:

2SG 1SG.GEN money **NEG** return-COND 1SG very become.angry QUOT

If you **don't** return my money I will become very angry.

VI.2.4.4 Negative particles - comparative data

There is fairly little variation in the negative particles across the different dialects of Mongghul, as illustrated in the table below.

Table 46. Negative Particles - Comparative Data

Negative Particle	Karlong	Todaeva (1973:151)	Zhaonasitu (1981:48)	SM (1964:66, 137)	Georg (2003:303)
negative	i:	i:		i:	ii (NG)
negative	li:	li:	lii	li	li:
prohibitive	bi:	bi:	bii	bi:	—
negative	—	se	sii	se	—

VI.2.4.5 Interrogative particles

There are three forms of the interrogative particle in Karlong. *nu:*, after words ending in the objective suffix *-a, ju:*, after words ending in the subjective suffix *-i:*, and *u:*, which is used after words ending in other vowels, including /a/ which is not the objective suffix. Short high vowels are deleted before the interrogative particle *u:*.

Yes/no questions can be formed by using the interrogative particle, or by combining the interrogative particle with a negative auxiliary.

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Interrogatives with interrogative particle only:

446. ɕge pɨse: sge-ʤ-a **nu:** tɕɨ

big belt see-PERF-OBJ **INTERR** 2SG

Have you seen a big belt?

447. sge-ʤɨ gu-a **nu:**

see-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ **INTERR**

(You) haven't seen (one)?

448. ʂda ul-ʤa nu:

early become-PERF

449. tɕɨ bɨda-ŋ-nɨ sge **u:**

2SG 1PL.STEM-PL-ACC see **INTERR**

Did you see us?

450. tɕɨ ʤiehun-la **u:**

2SG marry-VRBL **INTERR**

Are you married?

Interrogatives with interrogative particle and negative auxiliary:

451. tɕɨ utɕ **u:** **gu-i:**

2SG drink **INTERR** **NEG.AUX-SUBJ**

Have you eaten **or not?**

Example of the interrogative particle *ju:* (only example in the data):

452. genben mbi: **ju:** pʤi: **ju:** bɨ je wabɨtɕin

true correct INTERR wrong INTERR 1SG also not.clear

I am also not sure whether it is true or not.

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Table 47. Interrogative Particles - Comparative Data

Interrogative Particle	Karlong	Todaeva (1973:153)	Zhaonasitu (1981:57)	SM (1964:88)	Georg (2003:303)
interrogative particle	u:	u:—	—	-u ~ -u:	uu
interrogative particle	nu: (after -a)	nu: (after words ending in vowels)	nu: (after the copula a ~ va)	-nu ~ - nu: (after -a, -wa)	-nuu
interrogative particle	ju: (after -i:)	ju: (with i: and ve:)	jiuu (after guii, nəmbii, and puɕii)	-yu ~ -yu: (after -i)	yuu (after copulas)

VI.2.4.6 Discourse particles

These are words which connect sentences and clauses within a conversation or story. Among them are *do* 'now'', 'also', *di:* 'then', *niŋge* 'then, after', *ʤu:* 'just' (Chinese *jiù* 就), and *nige* 'one'. These markers are extremely frequent, especially in story telling. The particles are often combined.

Use of *do* 'now', 'also', *di:* 'then', *niŋge* 'then, after, while', *nige* 'one' and *ʤu:* 'just' in one utterance:

453. e: tigi:ŋge-la su:-ʤ-a ta-ni rʤi-gu nda:
INTJ like.that-INST.COM sit-PERF-OBJ 3SG-ACC look.PART.FUT 1SG.DAT/ACC
xu:le: ʤiefaŋ-la-di **niŋge** a: **do** ʤu: nara bu:-di-ʤ-a be:
after liberate-VRBL-COMPL **then** INTJ **also** just sun rise-AG-PERF-OBJ PTCL
Yeah, things where like that, compared to that **after** we were liberated, **then** (it was like) the sun rose.

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mo: dʐuʂi ʤu:si wanmin-di ʤiefaŋ-la **di:** nige **di:** **ʤu:**

Mao chairman exactly people-DAT liberate-VRBL **then** one **then** **just**

si:na-la-di-ʤ-a

good-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

(With) chairman Mao, all the people were liberated, **then** (things) **just** became good.

Use of *do* 'now', 'also':

454. o:la **do** ta-ŋla-ni amin si:n a

INTJ **now** 2PL.STEM-PL-GEN life good COP

Right, **now** your life is good.

455. ja **do** bi kile ʤo: a:

INTJ **now** 1SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, **now** I will tell (it).

456. do ʧi le: tigi:ŋge **do** tiɢa:n ɢaʤer tari-n-i

now 2SG PTCL like.that **now** how.much field plant-NPT-SUBJ

Now how much field area do you plant?

The particle *niŋge* is used for actions which happen in a sequence, or at the same time. When there is only one clause in the sentence, *niŋge* means 'then':

457. e: buda-ɢula **niŋge** leki-di-ʤ-a

INTJ 1PL.STEM-DL **then** divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

Eh, **then** we two divorced.

Todaeva (1973:129) gives *-neŋge* as the Fulaan Nura equivalent of the Halchi modal converb[105] in *-n*. She explains the shape of the suffix as *-n* + inserted *-e-* + singular suffix *-ŋge*. She gives the following example: *te uroʤi reneŋge su:va*, 'he sat down, as soon as he entered the house.'

[105] Todaeva (1973) calls this form *слитное деепричастие*.

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In most cases, *niŋge* in my data behaves very similarly as *-neŋge* described by Todaeva. For example:

458. wari bira:ga **niŋge** utɕi-la ra
work finish **after** drink-PURP come
Finish your work and (**then**) come eat!

However, in some cases it does not seem that the word I interpret as a discourse particle *niŋge* is the same as Todaeva's modal converb. For one, in some sentences in my data, *niŋge* connects two clauses which do not have the same agent. The modal converb always connects two clauses which have the same agent.

459. baɢaldi **niŋge** di: ju:ren sge-san-a a:
fight **while** then some.people see-PART. PERF-OBJ PTCL
While (they) were fighting, some people saw (it).

Another difference is that in my data the position of *niŋge* is not restricted to immediately after the verb. *niŋge* can appear in almost any position.

460. e: buda-ɢula **niŋge** leki-di-ʤɕ-a
INTJ 1PL.STEM-DL **then** divorce-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
Eh, **then** we two divorced.

461. xo:-di-gu nidi **niŋge** di: ʂdima-ri ʤɕu:
dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar **after** then bread-LOC just
nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma
one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT
After it is dried, (we) grind it, then (we) just build it layer by layer into the bread.

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The particle *di:* can generally be interpreted as 'then' or 'so':

462. **di:** ndre: wadzer da:gun-la-la ʁari-ʤ-a

then here city make.money-VRBL-PURP go.out-PERF-OBJ

Then I came out here to the city in order to make money.

Sometimes *di:* is used as a filler

463. da dzifaŋ su:-san **di:** gen ʨenʤin a be:

big place sit-PART.PERF **then** even.more modern COP PTCL

(People who) live in the cities are even more modern.

464. e: **di:** bu **di:** jaŋ ʨaŋ-san ʤu: tiʁange a:

INTJ **then** 1SG **then** also hear-PART.PERF just that.much PTCL

So, (what) I heard is just that much.

The particle *ʤu:* generally has the meaning 'just':

465. xo:-di-gu nidi niŋge di: ʂdima-ri **ʤu:**

dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC **just**

nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma

one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT

After it is dried, grind it, then **just** build it layer by layer into the bread.

The use of *nige* 'one' generally adds the meaning 'a little', e.g.

466. **nige** ŋʁua: xo:-lʁa **nige**

one wash dry-CAUS **one**

Wash it and dry it **a little**.

467. bida-ŋla jeda:-di-ʤ-a **nige** xambura:-ja

1PL.STEM-PL tire-COMPL-PERF-OBJ **one** rest-VOL1

We are tired, let's take **a** break. / We are tired, let's rest for **a little while**.

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VI.3 Conclusion

In this section I have discussed adverbs, the conjunction, interjections, and particles. Adverbs are used to describe where, when, and how an event takes places. The conjunction *da* is used to connect nouns and clauses. Interjections express the state of mind of the speaker. Negative particles are used for the formation of negative and prohibitive sentences, while interrogative particles are used in question formation. Discourse particles help maintain the flow of the conversation, often illustrating the flow of time in the events discussed. Final particles add emphasis, or involve the addressee in some way: by making the sentence an imperative or a suggestion, or by eliciting a response.

VI.4 Recommendations for Future Research

More work is necessary to investigate more detailed nuances of interjections and particles, especially final and discourse particles. More information is also needed about conjunctions. Although conjoining nouns and clauses in Karlong (and Mongghul as a whole) is usually achieved using suffixes, the conjunction *da* is used in Karlong, however, the range of its uses is not clear at this time.

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CHAPTER VII. SYNTAX

VII.1 WORD ORDER - DISCUSSION

In Karlong word order in general is SOV, in indicative as well as interrogative sentences. The following is an example of a simple sentence with typical word order:

468. bu ŋgan-i sge-wa
1SG 3SG-ACC see-PERF
I saw him/her.

In sentences that have both a direct and an indirect object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

469. bu ta-ŋ-di fu:-ŋge ɢ-wa
1SG 2PL.STEM-PL.DAT book-SG give-PERF
I gave you a book.

Adverbs generally precede the verb:

470. bi i:ʤudir nde: ri-wa
1SG day.before.yesterday here come-PERF
I came here the day before yesterday

However, there are exceptions. In the following sentence, the subject and the adverb both follow the verb:

471. kudujer tari-n-a buda-ŋ tre:
fenugreek plant-NPT-OBJ 1PL.STEM-PL there
We plant fenugreek there.

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In sentence 472, the direct object follows the verb:

472. ge:bian-la nige andʑ-i:-mada-di ɕira:-m gu-a
change-VRBL one where-SUBJ-any-DAT burn-NPT NEG.AUX-OBJ
ɕendzai danɢual
now earth.clod
(Things) change, now (they) don't burn earth clods anywhere.

In sentence 473, the subject appears at the end of the sentence:

473. ɕge pise: sge-ʤ-a nu: tɕi
big belt see-PERF-OBJ INTERR 2SG
Have you seen a big belt?

Adverbial phrases also generally precede the item they modify. However, there is a certain amount of flexibility. For example, adverbial phrases may follow or precede the direct object:

474. ŋgan xɢei-ni tɕidaɢu-la ala-di-ʤ-a
3SG pig-ACC knife-INST.COM kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
He killed the pig with a knife.

475. ŋgan tɕidaɢu-la xɢei-na: ala-di-ʤ-a
3SG knife-INST.COM pig-REFL kill-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
He killed his pig with a knife.

Temporal adverbs generally precede the verb, and in most cases they follow the subject, if a subject is expressed in the sentence:

476. bi **nu:dir** lisga wulan wari-wa
1SG **today** work much work-PERF
I did a lot of work **today**.

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477. ŋgan **maɢaɕi** ju:-gun-a

3SG **tomorrow** go-GEN.FUT-OBJ

He will leave **tomorrow**.

478. bu **tɕinaɢda** a:ma-na: i:ʤi-la ɕ-gi

1SG **day.after.tomorrow** mother-REFL see-PURP go-FUT

I will go visit my mother the **day after tomorrow**.

479. bi **i:ʤudir** nde: ri-wa

1SG **day.before.yesterday** here come-PERF

I came here the **day before yesterday**.

480. bi **kɕe:dida** ja:nge-na: marda:-di-n-a

1SG **always** something-REFL forget-COMPL-NPT-OBJ

I **always** forget something.

The temporal adverb may also precede the subject and may appear at the very beginning of the sentence:

481. **maɢaɕi** tɕi bida-ɢula handi-la utɕi-ja[106]

tomorrow 2SG 1PL.STEM-DL together-INST.COM drink-VOL1

Let's eat together you and I **tomorrow**

482. **naŋ** fire: tɕi i:gua-na: nʤina: lu:ki-ʤ-i: ba

this.year seed 2SG all-REFL REFL.PRON have.a.surplus-PERF-SUBJ PTCL

This year you had a surplus for yourself from your seeds?

Like all modifiers, numerals as a rule also precede their nouns, with any classifiers between the numeral and the noun. However, there are also variations here. For more discussion see section IV.4.9.

[106] The word *utɕi-*, literally 'drink', is often used to mean 'eat a meal'.

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VII.2 Conclusion

The basic word order for Karlong is SOV, with modifiers preceding the items they modify. However, there is a certain amount of flexibility. Subjects can appear after verbs and objects, and modifiers can follow modified items.

VII.3 Directions for Future Research

More research is needed to determine which factors cause changes in word order in Karlong, and whether there is special meaning associated with different positions, e.g. the end of the sentence, where some elements are moved when they are not in their usual position.

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CHAPTER VIII. LEXICON

VIII.1 SOURCES OF LOANWORDS IN KARLONG

Non-Mongolic words in Mongghul (and Karlong) have at least three different sources: Tibetan, Chinese, and Turkic. According to Georg (2003:304), some Mongghul vocabulary "may derive from yet another unknown language".

The following is a list of the Tibetan, Chinese and Turkic[107] words in Karlong which are in the Swadesh-200 wordlist:

a:ma 'mother' - Written Tibetan or Amdo Tibetan

a:ba 'father' - Amdo Tibetan

semagua 'fog' - Amdo Tibetan

rawa 'hair' - Amdo Tibetan

radaG 'hunt' - Amdo Tibetan

ntsua 'lake' - Amdo Tibetan

la:ki 'pull' Chinese (*lā* 拉 + KL *-ki*)

ʂa:ʂi 'sand' - Chinese (*shāzi* 砂子 or QHH)

pu:da 'shoot' - Chinese (*pào* 炮 + KL *-da*)

giga: 'small' - Chinese (QHH *ga*)

tʂo:ki 'stab' - Chinese (*chuō* 戳 + KL *-ki*)

ʂi:ki 'suck' - Chinese (*xī* 吸+ KL *-ki*)

waŋla 'tie' - Chinese (*bǎng* 绑 + KL *-ki*)

a:dʐi 'older sister' - Chinese (QHH *adʐi*)

dʐofi: 'swim' - Chinese (QHH *dʐofi*)

andʐi: 'where' - Chinese (QHH *ardʐi*)

ʂu: 'bird' - Chinese (QHH *ʂur*)

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[107] Like Nugteren (1998) I am not counting Turkic loanwords which are found in all Mongolic languages.

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taʂi 'stone' - Turkic (Salar)

VIII.2 PERCENTAGE OF LOANWORDS

There is some evidence that the percentages of Tibetan and Chinese words varies across varieties. Ha and Stuart mention the replacement of Mongghul words by Chinese for Tianzhu (2006:56). As noted in the introduction, Dr. Li (p.c.) states that Halchi has little Tibetan influence and Karlong has strong Tibetan influence.

However, I found no significant differences in percentage of Tibetan and Chinese loanwords in a list of words based on the Swadesh-200 wordlist. If there is a difference in percentage, it is not found in the most basic vocabulary, but on other types of vocabulary. It would be interesting to see if there were any significant differences in a list of 300 or 500 words, but that is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

VIII.3 USE OF LOANWORDS

While Karlong may not have significantly more Tibetan loanwords than other dialects of Huzhu, it does have these loanwords. They are fully incorporated into the language and can easily take Mongghul suffixes. Chinese loanwords in Mongghul, if they are verbs, are treated somewhat differently than Mongolic verbs. They always have to have either one of the derivational suffixes (verbalizers) *-ki* or *-la*. The following are some examples of Chinese and Tibetan loanwords as they appear in texts.

483. xo:-di-gu nidi niŋge di: ʂdima-ri ʤu:
dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just
nige **saŋ** nige **saŋ** ta:la-ma
one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT
After it is dried, (we) grind it, then (we) just build it **layer** by **layer** into the bread.

Chinese: *céng* 层 'layer'.

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484. **bei** **dʑa** **dzɻenmin**-la-di-dʑ-a be:

hundred **family** **prove**-VRBL-COMPL-PERF-OBJ PTCL

Many families proved (it) (that is possible to get rich).

Chinese: *bǎijiā* 百家 'many households' (lit. 'hundred houses'), *zhèngmíng* 证明 'prove'

485. sdzu ɢu:r **dan**-la-dʑi ra // **naŋsa:**-na: ʂda:

water two **carry.on.shoulders**-VRBL-IMPERF come // breakfast-REFL cook

ɕa:dzi-na: ɕu: // i:gua-na: **tui**-la niŋge // **ka:rda**

courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL **clean**-VRBL after // **livestock**

paŋ-sa-na: niŋge ɢar-ɢa // ɢadʑer ra ɢaɕi ɕi-n-i

stable-ABL-REFL then go.out-CAUS // field come go.out go-NPT-SUBJ

(I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder, cook my breakfast and sweep my courtyard, after cleaning everything out, then letting the livestock out of the stable, (I) go out to the field.

Chinese: *dān* 担 'to carry, to shoulder'; *táo* 淘 'to clean'; *péng* 棚 'shed'

Tibetan: WT *nan-za*; WT *khal-rta* 'pack horse'

Chinese and Tibetan loanwords often exist alongside each other and their Mongolic equivalents, and may be used in the same conversation, for example: *dʑuan* (Chinese *zhuāng* 庄) and *ajil* (WM *ayil*), both 'village'.

The following sentences were uttered by the same person within the same conversation:

486. e: dʑu: **fuzu** **dʑa**-di da andʑ-i: dʑu:si ɢada-sa

INTJ just **rich** **family**-DAT and where-SUBJ just outside-ABL

xarɢal-ge tuŋgu-dʑ-i: gu:gi nien xa

dried.manure-SG collect-PERF-SUBJ celebrate year PTCL

Yeah, so, the **rich families** collected some manure from outside to celebrate the New Year.

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487. e: ju:di **tɕimsaŋ**-ni di: ne ho:pen-di-ri gan gaga: gal-ge

INTJ some **family**-GEN then this fireplace-DAT-LOC 3SG small fire-SG

di: ʂda:-ʤin do ʤu: **bajan tɕimsaŋ** wa

then burn-PART.AG now just **rich** **family** COP

Yeah, some **families** (who) can make a small fire in the fireplace, then (they) are a **rich family**.

VIII.4 Conclusion

Although the results of language contact are also found in the phonology and morphology of Karlong, they are most easily seen in the lexicon. In a sample of 200 words (the Swadesh-200 wordlist), there are eleven Chinese loans, six Tibetan loans, and 1 Turkic loan. Tibetan words (and the Turkic loan) are treated no differently than Mongolic words. Chinese nominals are also fully incorporated into the language, although there is a tendency for Chinese numerals and classifiers to appear with Chinese nouns. Chinese verbs are treated differently from Mongolic verbs in that they always have to appear with one of the two verbalizers.

VIII.5 Directions for Future Research

Further research is necessary to determine to what extent the different dialects of Mongghul differ in terms of their content of Tibetan and Chinese loanwords.

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CHAPTER IX. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

IX.1 MONGGHUL AND CHINESE

Already in 1931, Mostaert stated that "the day is not very far off when the Monguors will have abandoned their idiom and will have adopted that of their neighbors" (1931:88). Monguor varieties are still spoken today, but the number of speakers is declining, and in some villages only a small percentage of children speak the language.

A number of factors combine to contribute to the endangered status of Mongghul as a whole. The most important are: lack of education in Mongghul, a small number of speakers, scarcity of Mongghul literature, and, possibly, language attitudes.

According to Kevin Stuart (p.c.), most speakers of Mongghul varieties are to some degree bilingual in Chinese, but there are very few Mongghul speakers who speak Amdo Tibetan. This is also what I observed in Qinghai and Gansu. Almost all Monguor I met speak the local variety of Chinese. Young people also speak Mandarin Chinese to a certain degree, depending on the amount of schooling they have received. Men over 40 are more likely than women over 40 to have attended school. Women over 40 frequently have not attended school, so they cannot read or write (except for a few characters) but they speak Qinghai Chinese, and have some understanding of Mandarin. Only some very old people do not speak Chinese.

In many cases Monguor is now being replaced by Chinese, a trend that obviously started many years ago. Already Schram (1954) noted the on-going sinicization of the Monguor (pp.56, 130-131). He (1954:56) states that "Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole", and that because many Monguor "are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin,...they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese".

However, Chinese is not replacing Mongghul to the same degree in all areas. In the areas in which Karlong is spoken, all children still speak grow up learning the language, and speak it.

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Almost all education takes place in Chinese. There are probably very few or no students receiving any education in their native Mongghul varieties, and very few people speak Mongghul as a second language (Kevin Stuart, p.c.). Students generally have to go to boarding schools starting with middle school. The language of instruction is Mandarin Chinese. Children among themselves mostly speak Qinghaihua (in Qinghai). However, I have been told that in some areas primary school teachers speak Chinese in class, as required, and then translate into Mongghul, because the students do not yet speak Chinese.

Ha and Stuart (2006:53) note that in Tianzhu, Gansu, interaction in school is in Chinese, which students then also begin to speak at home.

I am aware of only two tv programs in Mongghul: one is a program on health issues done by Limusishiden. The other one was a program for learning Mongghul in English, which appeared on tv twice in the late 1990s by the Huzhu County Television station (Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al. 1996:79)

Tibetan has had a strong influence on the Mongghul language. However, today few people speak it, unless they have learned it in school as a second language. Many wedding songs are in Tibetan, but the people who perform them generally sing them from memory. Some singers have a general understanding what the songs are about, but I only met one speaker who could translate them, Mr. Wang from Tianzhu, age 76, who is a professional story teller, and can sing the entire Geser epos.

IX.2 Literacy

There is an existing orthography for Mongghul. According to Georg (2003:288), the orthography is based on the Pinyin Romanization of Mandarin Chinese. Georg also states that this romanization has been used in a number of publications (over twenty), and "is based on the Halchighol dialect, but with the incorporation of some typical Naringhol features". Other than for publications, this orthography is used by almost none of the speakers of Mongghul (Kevin Stuart,

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p.c.). Some speakers of Mongghul are literate in Chinese. However, according to Kevin Stuart (p.c.), about fifty percent of Tu (Monguor) are illiterate.

Some publications in Mongghul are Chileb, Li Keyu's dictionary, and Limusishiden's book on basic health care[108].

The degree of endangerment for varieties of Mongghul, as well as Mongghul as a whole, is very high. The fact that very little, if any, education takes place in Mongghul, makes it more likely that future generations will acquire Mongghul to a lesser extent then is already the case. This makes it even more important to document the undocumented varieties of Mongghul now, while there are still fluent native speakers.

IX.3 Mutual Intelligibility

There are no real problems for speakers of different Mongghul varieties to understand each other, although there are occasional problems when there are lexical differences. However, speakers are aware of phonological and grammatical differences, and will point them out when asked.

Mongghul and Mangghuer are not generally mutually intelligible. Some speakers of one variety who have worked extensively with the other variety can understand the other variety to varying degrees. However, in general, speakers of one variety, when asked, will state that they do not understand the other variety.

Monguor speakers from Nianduhu can understand speakers of the Baoan variety, and vice versa. However, there is no mutual intelligibility between Nianduhu/Baoan on the one hand, and Wutun on the other hand. Neither of these varieties has mutual intelligibility with Mongghul or Mangghuer.

In other words, in terms of mutual intelligibility, Mongghul, Mangghuer, Nainduhu/Baoan and Wutun have to be viewed as separate languages. This matches with Ha and Stuart (2006:46),

[108] Limusishiden. 2004. Mongghulla Sman Wuile Surighuaguni - Teaching Basic Health Education in Mongghul - 土语基础医学和识讲座。

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who state that "[t]he Monguor language consists of Minhe, Huzhu, Tongren (Rebgong), Shaowa Wo, and Wutun dialects that, while sharing commonalities, are mutually unintelligible".

IX.4 DEGREES OF ENDANGERMENT

Mongghul is more endangered in the "outlying" communities, that is, in Datong and Tianzhu. As mentioned before, while there are people classified as Tu in Datong, Mongghul is most likely no longer spoken there. There are speakers of Mongghul in Tianzhu, but not many young speakers. It seems that of people under the age of 20, only about 10% speak the language fluently. Younger people often do not know songs or traditional folktales in Mongghul.

In the Fulaan Nura area, children are still learning Mongghul and speaking it at home. In Maqang village, all people speak Mongghul, including little children and the two local Chinese families.

IX.5 CONCLUSION

While most of the sociolinguistic factors that hold for Karlong contribute to its level of endangerment, there are is also at least one positive factor. The population is not very large, with probably about 50,000 speakers of Mongghul as a whole, and 18,000 speakers of Karlong. There is widespread bilingualism in Chinese, and all schooling takes place in Chinese. An orthography for the language does exist, however, it is in limited use, and is based mostly on the Halchighol dialect. In addition, the knowledge of folk tales seems to be limited to older people.

However, children are still learning the language at home, and in some cases speak Karlong exclusively before entering school. It remains to be seen whether the situation for Karlong will remain stable, or whether young speakers will turn to Chinese at the exclusion of Karlong, raising the next generation as speakers of Chinese.

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CHAPTER X. TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION

X.1 HUZHU DIALECTS

Following the approach taken by most authors, Halchighol, Naringhol, and Karlong (Fulaan Nura) can be classified as sister dialects. Janhunen (2006a) adds to that the variety Mongghuor, as a variety between Mongghul and Mangghuer. This variety, documented by de Smedt and Mostaert, is spoken in the Naringhol area, and is classified as a dialect of Huzhu by other authors (Todaeva 1973, SM 1964, Georg2003).

Within each of these dialects, there are differences on the township level (and possibly on the village level). Exactly what the differences are will need further research to determine. Currently it is not always clear whether differences found in two descriptions of the same dialect (e.g. data from DH and data from Zhao, both Halchi) are due to idiosyncrasies in the transcriptions, to individual differences, or due to real dialectal differences not confined to one person or one family. If possible, a unified wordlist would need to be collected from several people in each township (or possibly) each village, to study the exact differences.

X.2 MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY

In terms of mutual intelligibility, Minhe Mangghuer and Huzhu Mongghul need to be classified as different languages. Both are obviously closely related, and form the Monguor subgroup in the branch of Mongolic referred to as Shirongolic (Monguor, Baoan and Dongxiang).

Within Mongghul, Tianzhu and Datong varieties are closely related to Halchi, since many of their speakers have ancestors in that region. Since there are no known descriptions of Datong, it is difficult to say anything beyond that with any amount of certainty. For Tianzhu, there has probably been some dialect mixing, and over the last five or six generations there have been changes differentiating it somewhat from Halchi.

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X.3 COMPARING PHONOLOGY

Although there are differences between the varieties reflected in DH, Zhaonasitu, and Li Keyu, they are more like each other than they are to Karlong and the varieties described by Todaeva, and by de Smedt and Mostaert (in the following I will call this variety Naringhol). According to Limusishiden, Li Keyu's dictionary is based mostly on Naringhol, but if that is the case, it cannot be the same "Naringhol" as that described by de Smedt and Mostaert.

The data given in Todaeva's (1973) word collection closely resembles the data in SM's (1929-1931) dictionary, although Todaeva's dictionary is based mostly on Halchi. Still, phonologically Todaeva and SM are closer to each other than they are to other varieties described by other authors mentioned in this chapter. The main differences between Todaeva and SM are that Todaeva has /l/ where Halchi has /l/, whereas SM has /r/ in some cases, resembling Minhe. This is illustrated in the following examples:

Table 48. Huzhu /l/ vs. Minhe and SM /r/

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	DM	WM
left (side)	sulighui	solɢuai	solghui	salɢuei	sorɢue:	solɢue:	serghai	soluɣai
ice	malizi	molsə	molsi	malsi	mordze	molse	mersi	mølsy/n
flour	ɢurəl	ghurili	ghuril	ɢoril	ɢurir	ɢuril	ghuru	ɣulir
head	tulighui	tolɢuai	tolghui	talɢui:	torɢue:	tolɢue:	terghai	toluɣai
vomit	booldʑo	bolija	booljo	bo:ldʑa	bo:rʤiæ	bo:ldʑe	berjie	bøgeldʑi
foot	kol	kol	kol	kual	kuor	kol	khuer	køl

There are some similarities between SM's data and Karlong. SM always has the diphthong [uo] where Karlong has the diphthong /ua/. Halchi as described by DH sometimes has a diphthong /ua/ in these cases, the other Halchi do not. This diphthong is a new development, not reflected in Middle Mongolian.

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Table 49. Karlong /ua/ and SM /uo/

Gloss	Zhao	DH	LK	KL	SMN	TDV	WM	WT
foot	kol	kol	kol	kual	kuor	kol	køl*	—
hole	noko	nukua	nuko	nukua	nukuo	noke	nyke/n	—
freeze	—	kuara	kori	kuarɨ	kuori	—	køry	—
fog	—	—	sumuko	semagua	sumukuo	—	—	smug-po
monastery	—	—	rgomba	ŋguamba	rguomba	ŋguo	—	dgon-pa
blind	sughua	suGor	sughur	sGuar	soGuor	soGor	soqur	—
blue	kugo	—	kugo	kugua	kuguo	kuguo	køke**	—

Another parallel between Karlong and SM is the sound [æ] found in some words (cf. section III.3.7.1).

On the whole, there are enough variations within the different varieties of Halchi to make classification very difficult. It does seem from the data that the variety described by SM is closer to Minhe than any of the other varieties, at least in its phonology. In this I agree with Janhunen, who sees this variety as "intermediate between Mongghul and Mangghuer" (2006a:6). A striking parallel of Naringhol with Minhe is found in the liquids. Minhe often has /r/ where Huzhu (except the dialect described by SM) has /l/. This is illustrated in Table 48 above.

X.4 GEOGRAPHY

In terms of geographic location, the order of river valleys where Huzhu is spoken, from west to east, is: Naringhol, Halchighol, Hongyazigou (Fulaan Nura), Shuimoguo (Ledu), and Tianzhu further east in Gansu. Minhe is located south-east of Ledu. However, the situation is not completely straightforward. According to Limusishiden (p.c.), the actual township where Naringhol is spoken is Dongshan township. This township is surrounded by places where Halchi is spoken (Halazhigou, Danma, Donggou, Donghe, Taizi, Wufeng, Weiyuan region), but is a little

* Middle Mongolian: *kol* (data from Haenisch 1939).
** *koko* (Haenisch 1939)

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closer to Fulaan Nura (Hongyazigou) and Shuimoguo (Ledu) than the Naringhol river. Still, it is separated from Minhe by part of the Halchi region, as well as Fulaan Nura and Ledu.

Karlong and Halchi are also not clearly separated geographically. There are villages in the Halchi region where Fulaan Nara is spoken (Limusishiden, p.c.).

X.5 CONCLUSION

The data discussed in this dissertation is not conclusive for an exact dialectal classification of Huzhu varieties. Phonological variations within "dialects" are fairly great; sometimes as great as variations across dialects. It is possible that some of the phonological differences are not confined to certain dialects with sharp borders, but that there is a dialect chain, with phonological differences blending into each other from village to village and township to township.

However, there are differences between the various dialects, and speakers are aware of them. In the data I collected these differences were most noticeable in the morphology, where speakers of Karlong pointed out which suffixes were used in Halchi, but not in their own dialect.

At this time, I can only provide a preliminary classification of Mongghul. In the following diagram, varieties which are connected with lines to the same node on a higher level are genetically 'siblings'. Varieties that are close to each other, but not necessarily connected to the same node on a higher level are similar to each other.

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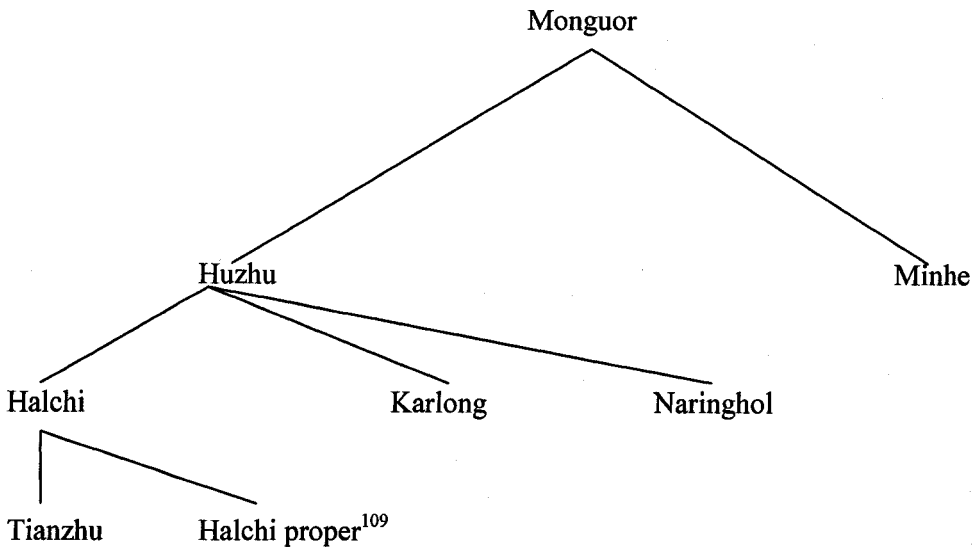


Figure 6. Tentative Monguor Family Tree

The variety of Mongghul which was spoken in Datong should probably be listed as another daughter language of Huzhu, since most Monguor in Datong originally came from the Huzhu area.

While I still classify Naringhol as described by de Smedt and Mostaert as a dialect of Huzhu, it is closer to Minhe in its phonology than any other dialect of Huzhu. One striking similarity between SM's Naringhol and Minhe is the fact that many words of Naringhol have /r/ where Minhe also has /r/ and the other dialects of Huzhu have /l/. Karlong is intermediate between Naringhol and Halchi.

[109] I am using the term "Halchi proper" to mean Halchi spoken in the Halchighol area.

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CHAPTER XI. CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have given a concise description of Karlong, a dialect of the Mongghul language. I have also compared Karlong with descriptions of other Huzhu varieties in an attempt to determine how many dialects there are, and how they differ from each other.

Karlong is influenced by Chinese in its vocabulary, and by Tibetan in its phonology, vocabulary, and grammar (having borrowed the category of perspective from Tibetan). People who are bilingual in Mongghul and Chinese use Chinese words, and sometimes whole phrases, freely in their speech. There are some sentences in my data in which the majority of words are of Chinese origin, although they carry Mongghul suffixes. Fewer people speak Tibetan than speak Chinese.

Karlong does not differ from other varieties of Huzhu to a degree that would make mutual intelligibility difficult. Intra-dialectal phonological variation is often as great as inter-dialectal variation. There are some differences in morphology, and also in lexicon. However, there does not seem to be a really significant difference in the percentage of Chinese and Tibetan loan words found in the different varieties of Huzhu.

The sociolinguistic situation of Karlong is similar to that of Halchi: children are still learning the language, even to the degree of being monolingual Karlong speakers for the first several years of their lives. However, younger people have less knowledge of traditional songs and stories.

More work on Karlong, and Huzhu Mongghul as a whole, is still needed. The following are some suggestions for what kinds of data might be helpful in answering some of the questions that are still unanswered.

In order to determine more clearly exactly where the dialectal borders are, if there are any clear borders, how many varieties of Huzhu exist, and how they differ from each other in detail, it would be necessary to collect data from at least every township in Huzhu and Ledu county, as well as Ping'an and Datong (if speakers can be found) county, Qinghai province, and also Tianzhu county in Gansu province. In order to make the data more comparable, it should be

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collected in as uniform a manner as possible. Ideally there should be at least a unified wordlist, as well as a list of sentences designed to elicit as many different grammatical forms as possible. The data should be recorded as audio, and transcribed in a uniform manner, if possible in IPA. Ideally all the data would be collected by the same person, or by people working together very closely. In my opinion, one of the problems with comparing data of Huzhu currently available is the fact that they very different. They are transcribed using different methods (pinyin, IPA, other special symbols, and combinations of these systems), and they are collected over a long span of time. While this makes the data interesting from a historical point of view, it is not always clear whether differences are due to dialectal differences or to separation in time. For example, de Smedt and Mostaert collected some of their data in the 1920s, Todaeva collected hers in the 1960s, and the data in Dpal-ldan-bkra-shis et al (1996) is from the 1990s. Are similarities between Todaeva's and SM's materials due to the fact that they are both older versions of Huzhu, or are they due to geographical factors, or something else?

In addition to wordlists and sentences, all effort should also be made to collect as many riddles, proverbs, folktales, and songs as possible, before this part of the language is lost.

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APPENDIX I. TOPONYMS AND ETHNONYMS

Names used for Mongghul and Mangghuer, as well as varieties of these two languages, differ over time, from author to author, as well as from language to language. This is also the case for the languages thought to belong to the subgroup of Mongolic of which Monguor is a member. The following is a list of different terms used in the literature.

I.1 MONGUOR

- official Chinese name: 土族語 [tǔzúyù]
- Mongguor
- Монгорский язык
- широнгол-монгольский (given as variant name by Todaeva 1997)
- Dolot (Poppe 1955). According to Georg (2003:286), a traditional term for Mongghul)
- Dschiahour (Huc 1850)
- Monguol (Schröder 1959)
- tsigan Moŋguol ("weisse Mongolen", Schröder 1964)
- T'u-jen (Schröder 1964)
- Tu ren (Tafel 1914)
- Karlung (Georg 2003:286, Tibetan term for Mongghul and Mangghuer)
- hJahur (Georg 2003:286, WT: rGya.Hor, "Chinese Mongols", terms used by Tibetans for Monguor)
- Dalden (according to Schröder 1964, used by Przewalski and Grum-Gržimajlo)
- Dolden (according to Schröder 1964, used by Przewalski and Grum-Gržimajlo)
- Daldy (according to Schröder 1964, used by Przewalski and Grum-Gržimajlo)
- Dolot (according to Mostaert (1931:78) this is the term used for the Monguor by "[c]ertain Mongols in Mongolia".

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- Daldis (according to Mostaert (1931:84) used by Przewalski). These preceding five terms are most likely based on doldi, which is a derogatory term used by the Tibetans for the Monguor living in Tongren county.
- Shirongol (Potanin 1893. Poppe 1955: a variety of the Monguor group. According to Georg (2003:286), an early term for "all Mongolic groups of the Gansu-Qinghai region with the exception of the Shira Yughur and the Qinghai Oirat")

I.2 MONGUOR LANGUAGES

I.2.1 Mongghul

- Huzhu (county in Qinghai)
- Хуцзу
- Huzhu Mongghul
- 互助 [hùzhù]
- Huchu (Schröder 1964)
- Hou-tchou (MS 1964:x)
- Wei-yüan-bu (Tafel 1914). According to http://fallingrain.com: Huzhu ("Other names: Wei-yuan-chen,Weiyuanbu,Ujam-bu,Hu-chu-t'u-tsu-tzu-chih-hsien,Wei-yüan-pao,Khuchzhu,Huzhu,Hu-chu-hsien-t'u-tsu-tzu-chih-ch'ü,Weyyuan',Wei-yüan-chen,Ugampu,Wei-yuan-pao,Hu-chu,Hu-chu-hsien-t'u-tsu-tzu-chih-ch'u"[128])
- Wu-yang-pu (Potanin 1893). Same as Wei-yüan-bu?
- Wēiyuǎn 威远

I.2.2 Mangghuer

- Minhe
- Минхэ

[128] http://fallingrain.com/world/CH/6/Weiyuan.html, 01/03/2007

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- Minhe Mangguer
- Minhe Mongguor
- 民和 [mínhé]
- Minho (Schröder 1964)
- Min-ho (MS 1964:x)
- According to Dr. Li (pc), Minhe Monguors are also called *Shantang*

I.3 MONGGHUL VARIETIES

I.3.1.1 Halchighol

- Georg (2003:286) "left tributary of the Huangshui"
- Khalči gol (MS 1964:x)
- Xardzi guor
- Xaltši gol
- Халчигол
- Haliqi (Limusishiden)
- Tughuan Village, Danma Town (According to Dr. Li, this is in the haliqi area)
- harʤi guor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Ha la tcheu keou (SM 1929-1931:125)
- 哈拉直沟乡 Halazhigou

I.3.1.2 Naringhol

- Georg (2003:286) "left tributary of the Huangshui"
- Narin gol
- Narin guor (MS 1964:vii)
- Naringuor (MS 1964:2)
- Nalin keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

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- Naringol (MS 1964:x)
- narin goul "narrow valley" (Schram 1954)
- наринГол
- Nariŋ guol (Schröder 1964)

I.3.1.3 Karlong

- Fulan Nura
- Fulan nura guor
- Fulan nura (MS 1964:x)
- Fulan Nuraghol (Georg 2003:286, "a tributary of the Huangshui")
- фулан нура
- Fulaan Nara
- Fulaan Nura
- Karilang
- Karloŋ (according to Schröder (1964), this is what the Tangut call all Monguor)
- rGya hor (also a term used for Monguor by Tangut people, according to Schröder (1964))
- Kerlung
- spoken in the area of the river 紅崖子禡 [hóng yái zi gōu]
- fula:n nura ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Houng ngai tseu keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

I.3.1.4 Datong

- 大通 [dàtōng]
- Tatung (Schröder 1964)
- Tat'ung (Schram 1954)
- Датун

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- According to Dr. Li (pc), Datong Monguors are also called *Serkung*
- Xilog (Li Keyu 1988:643)

I.3.1.5 Tianzhu

- Monguors originally from the Huzhu area, now living in Gansu province
- According to Dr. Li (p.c.), Tianzhu Monguors are also called *Jilagol*
- County in Gansu province

I.4 MANGGHUER

I.4.1 Sanchuan

- Poppe 1955, a variety of the Monguor group
- according to Mostaert & de Smedt (1964): Minhe
- 三川 [sānchūan] (Three Valleys)
- san-tch'uan (MS 1964:x)
- San-ch'uan (according to Mostaert (1931:79) north of Kuan-t'ing)
- region in Minhe territory (Georg, 2003:287)

I.5 OTHER GANSU-QINGHAI MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

I.5.1.1 Santa

- Dongxiang
- Dunsyan
- дунсянский
- Dungsiyang
- Tung hsiang
- Toung-hiang (MS 1964:ix)

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- Sant'a (MS 1964:xi)
- Salar (Schram 1954. Note, however, that Salar is actually a Turkic language spoken in the Qinghai-Gansu region)
- 東鄉 [dōngxiāng]

I.5.1.2 Shira Yughur

- Shira Yughur (Georg 2003)
- Shera Yögur (Poppe 1955)
- East Yugur (Linguist List)
- Eastern Yugur (Nugteren 1998)
- Shera Yogur (Nugteren 1997)
- Ouigour Jaunes (MS 1964:xiii)

I.5.1.3 Bao'an

- Bao'an (e.g. Nugteren 1997)
- Bonan (e.g. Janhunen 2003a)
- баоаньский
- Tongren
- Pao-ngan (MS 1964:ix)
- T'oung-jen
- 同仁 [tóngrén]
- 保安 [bǎoān]
- Тунжэнь

I.5.1.4 Aragwa

- Poppe 1955, a variety of the Monguor group

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- according to Mostaert (1931:78), the name of a group of Mongols living northwest of Mao-pai-sheng
- aragva (Sinor 1952)

I.6 OTHER GANSU-QINGHAI LANGUAGES

I.6.1 Tangut

- Tangud, Tangot, plural of Tang, term used by Mongols for northern Tibetans (Schram 1954:21)
- Tibeto-Burman language, possibly extinct.

I.7 GANSU-QINGHAI AREAS, CITIES, TOWNSHIPS AND VILLAGES

I.7.1 Qinghai

- 'blue lake'
- province of Northern China
- Цинхай
- Ch'inghai (Schram 1954)
- Tsinghai (Schröder 1964)
- Kokunor, Kuku Nor (Mongolian term)
- Kukunor (Schröder 1964, Schram 1954)
- Kokonor (Janhunen 2003a)

I.7.1.1 Gansu

- province of Northern China
- Гансу
- Kansu (Schröder 1964, Schram 1954, Mostaert 1931)

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- Kan-sou (MS 1964:ix)

I.7.1.2 Xining

- river in Qinghai
- capital city of Qinghai province
- Hsining (Schram 1954)
- Hsi-ning (Mostaert 1931)
- Sining

I.7.1.3 Shdarzi

- sda:rdze ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Chouei mouo keou (SM 1929-1931:125)
- Shuimogou [水磨沟]

I.7.1.4 Maqang

- matɕaŋ
- moritɕaŋ
- 马羌 and 马昌 (Li Keyu 1988)

I.7.1.5 Xonitsi paŋ

- Yang-chüan (Schröder 1964)
- also: xonitɕi ɢuor (SM 1929-1931:125)
- lang kiuen keou (SM 1929-1931:125)

I.7.1.6 Alima Hangshar

- Alima xaŋšar (Mostaert 1933, MS 1964), according to MS (1964:vii) in Naringhol, north-east of Xining.

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- southeast of county center of Huzhu (Georg 2003:287)

I.7.1.7 Seruchung

- Sérutchong (D'Ollone 1912)
- valley south of Lhabrang and north of the Anyemaqen mountain range where D'Ollone collected some Mongolic data
- Seirachong (cf. Mostaert 1931:84)
- Seruchung (cf. Mostaert 1931:84)
- in Qinghai province

I.7.1.8 Suonan

- Souonapa (D'Ollone 1912)
- other names: So-nan-chen, Dongxiangzu, Zizhixian, Soloba, So-lo-pa, Tung-hsiang, Tung-hsiang-tsu-tzu-chih-hsien, So-nan-pa, Dongxiangzu, Suonanba. source: http://www.fallingrain.com/world/CH/15/Suonan.html, 7/10/06
- Gansu province

I.7.1.9 Ledu

- Nianbai
- Nien-pai (Mostaert 1931:84)
- other names: Nienpaihsien, Nien-po-chen, Nien-po, Ledu, Lo-tu-hsien, Nyan'bo, Lo-tu, Le-tu. source: http://www.fallingrain.com/world/CH/15/Suonan.html, 7/11/06
- county in Qinghai province

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APPENDIX II. TEXTS

II.1 A DAY IN THE VILLAGE

In this text, the female speaker (13) describes what she did during the course of the day when she lived in the country side.

1. taʂ-gu gadɨ-n-i bei da-ŋla tar-la ʨ-ʥ-a
   plant-PART.FUT harvest-NPT-SUBJ PTCL 1PL.PL plant-VRBL go-PERF.OBJ
   We planted and harvested, planted.

2. ta ger-di-nɨ bu xʁaxeila su:-n-i:
   that house-DAT-POSS 1SG alone sit-NPT-SUBJ
   I lived alone in that house.

3. xʁeila su:-sa bɨli:-aŋla i:gua-la ʨuetaŋ-dɨ ʁari ʨi-n-a
   alone sit-COND child-PL all-COLL school-DAT go.out go-NPT.OBJ
   While I stayed (home) alone, the children all went to school.

4. ʁari ʨi-sa bu xʁa:la tarla sa
   go.out go-COND 1SG alone manage PTCL
   When (they) go out, I alone manage (everything).

5. ʂdala-ʥɨ pas-ʥɨ ʁaʨ-ʥɨ rɨ-gu
   early-IMPERF stand.up-IMPERF go.out-IMPERF come-PART.FUT
   In the morning (I) get up and go out,

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6. sdzu ɢu:r dan-la-ʤi ra // naŋsa:-na: ʂda:
water two carry.on.shoulders-IMPERF come // breakfast-REFL cook

ʨa:dzi-na: ʨu: // i:gua-na: tui-la niŋge // ka:rda
courtyard-REFL sweep // all-REFL clean-VRBL after // livestock

paŋ-sa-na: niŋge ɢar-ɢa // ɢaʤer ra ɢaʨi ʨi-n-i
stable-ABL-REFL then go.out-CAUS // field come go.out go-NPT-SUBJ
(I) bring in (carry) two (buckets of) water on (my) shoulder, cook my breakfast and sweep my courtyard, after cleaning everything out, then letting the livestock out of the stable, (I) go out to the field.

7. gurʤig-na: waʂ-ʤi ɢaʨi ʨi guari:-na: saʤi ʨi bu:-ʤi ra
shovel-REFL take-IMPERF go.out go animal.dung-REFL strew go go.down come
(I) take my shovel and go out, strew down animal dung.

8. bu:-ʤi ra nige de utʨi
go.down come one food drink
(I) come home and eat a meal,

9. xuafi:-na: kurge:-ʤi ʨi i:gua-na: ɢaʤer-i saʤi ra
chemical.fertlizer take.to-IMPERF go all-REFL field-LOC strew come
(I) take the chemical fertilizer and strew it all on the field,

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10. bu:-dʑi ra ndʑasi-na: dan-la i:gua-na: wari ka:rda-na:
go.down come plow-REFL carry.on.shoulders-VRBL all.REFL do livestock-REFL

la:-ki tari bira:-n-a
pull[110]-VRBL plant finish-NPT.OBJ
(I) go back home, carrying the plow on my shoulders, (I) do everything, pull (in) the livestock, and finish planting.

11. tari bira:-gu ɢadʑer-na: mo:la // kalag-na: baɢa
plant finish-PART.FUT field-REFL harrow(?) // earth.clods-REFL beat

bu:-dʑi ra // ka:rda-na: la: xudʑi ʂa: // jesi-ŋge
go.down-IMPERF come // livestock-REFL pull tie.to tie // grass-SG

ɢua // jesi-ni rde ba:ɢala-gu nige sula: // dʑi:xu: //
give // grass-ACC eat finish-PART.FUT one water // after //

di: i:xge kudi-gu-na: jaŋ xɢei noxuei-na: tidʑe:-dʑi //
then only.then home-n.s.-REFL again pig dog-REFL feed-IMPERF //

ʂirua xara ul-dʑ-a bei
afternoon dark become PTCL
(I) finish planting, harrow (?) my field, beat the lumps of earth, go home, pull the livestock (home) and tie (them) up, give (them) some grass, after (they)finish eating the grass (I) give (them) some water, after that, only then (I) go home and feed the pig and the dog, (then) in the afternoon it gets dark.

[110] Chinese: *lā* 拉

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12. xɢei-na: tiʤe: // neɕdza:-na: ʂda: // utɕi // toa-na: ŋɢua: ɢada
pig-REFL feed // dinner-REFL cook // drink // dish-REFL wash outside

xaŋ nige rendzi // ɕirgɕe ɢaɕi ɕ-a bei
walk one moment // walk.around go.out go-PERF PTCL
(I) fed my pig, cooked my dinner, drank (ate a meal), washed the dishes, went out for a little while, and walked around outside.

13. ɕirgɕe ɢaɕi ɕi // ɢada-gu kun-la nige rin taŋɕa:-la
walk.around go.out go // outside-n.s. people-INST.COM one moment chat-VRBL

// ura-ʤi ra // ʤu:-maŋge war-ʤ-a bei
// go.in-IMPERF come // sew-PL do-PERF.OBJ PTCL
(I) went out, walked around, chatted a moment with people outside, come back in, and did some embroidery and things like that.

14. ʤusi-na: wari nu:g ʂ-gu no:r ntɕa:-ʤ-a bei
all-REFL do become sleepy-PART.FUT sleep sleep-PERF.OBJ PTCL
(After I) do it all, I become sleepy and fall asleep.

II.2 Planting and Preparing Fenugreek

The leaves of the fenugreek plant (Chinese *xīangdòu* 香豆) are dried and added to the dough of some breads, adding layers of tasty green. The speakers here are a younger woman from Tianzhu (1) and one of the speakers from Fulaan Nura (13). Speakers are indicated in ( ) in front of the free translations.

15. a: bi tɕi sɢa gu-i:
INTJ 1SG 2SG ask NEG.AUX-SUBJ
(1) How should I ask you?

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16. kudujer tari-ma-n-i gu-a xensi g-ʤi

fenugreek plant-ASSERT-NPT-SUBJ NEG.AUX-OBJ still QUOT-IMPERF

(13) Don't you still plant fenugreek?

17. a:gu tari-m tere: kudeje tari-n-a nu: gu-a

aunt plant-NPT there fenugreek plant-NPT.OBJ INTERR NEG.AUX-OBJ

(1) Aunt, do you plant fenugreek there or not?

18. kudujer tari-n-a buda-ŋ tre:

fenugreek plant-NPT.OBJ 1PL.STEM-PL there

(13) We plant fenugreek there.

19. kudujer-ni tari-di-sa ta:win ʤirgo:n sara

fenugreek-ACC plant-COMPL-COND five six month

ul-sa gari ra-n-a bei

become-COND come.out come-NPT.OBJ PTCL

(13) After (you) plant fenugreek, when five, six months have passed (it) comes out.

20. gari-sa gar tiga:n ndur-gu rgu-di

come.out-COND hand that.much high-n.s tie.up-COMPL

ʤu: gar-la sa:ra wari nige

just hand-INST.COM pull.out do one

(13) When it comes (out) as high as the size of a hand, tie it up and pull it out a little with (your) hand.

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21. nige ŋgua: xo:-lga nige

one wash dry-CAUS one

(13) Wash it and dry it a little.

22. xo:-di-gu nidi niŋge di: ʂdima-ri ʤu:

dry-COMPL-PART.FUT grind.in.mortar after then bread-LOC just

nige saŋ nige saŋ ta:la-ma

one layer one layer build.layers-ASSERT

(13) After it is dried, grind it, then (we) build it layer by layer into the bread.

23. tiŋgiʤe kungo:dzima ʨira:-gu ʤaŋ-la-sa da tarda

like.that bread bake.PART.FUT steam-VRBL-COND and like.that

ti:ni

like.that

(13) Like that, (you) put it in like that when baking and steaming bread.

24. ti:ŋge

like.that

(13) Like that.

II.3 BURNING EARTH FOR FERTILIZER

Until about thirty years ago, farmers in the Huzhu and Ledu areas burnt grass sods with earth in order to create fertilizer. The earth and grass sods were piled up on top of burning materials, burnt for several days, and then spread on the fields before planting. Here one speaker from Fulaan Nura speaks about this practice. The speakers here are a younger woman from Tianzhu (1) and one of the speakers from Fulaan Nura (13).

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25. a:gu te-ni tere:-ni ne kidi fan tigi:ni vei-ni nu:
aunt that-ACC there-ACC this several year like.that COP-NPT INTERR

e: daŋhuei ʂira:-n-a gi-ʤi tigi:ni
INTJ earth.clod burn-NPT-OBJ QUOT-IMPERF like.that
(1) Aunt, these (last) several years, did you do burning of earth clods there (at your place)?

26. ne kidi fan gu-a
this several year NEG.AUX-OBJ
(13) Not these (last) several years.

27. ne-sa miʂi-ni itʂian-ɢula-di-ni i:-n-a
this-ABL before-GEN early-INTENS-DAT-POSS COP-NPT.OBJ
Before now, much earlier, (we) had (it).

28. bida-ŋla xaran kidi nasi-ni ɢadi-ni draŋ danɢual
1PL.STEM-PL ten several age-GEN time-POSS also earth.clods

ʂira:-n-i
burn-NPT-SUBJ
When I was about ten years old, we also burnt earth clods.

29. ʂira:-sa ʂbaŋni manta nige ʤu: tigi: ʂge-ni ɢar-ɢa
burn-COND grass.sod dig one just like.that big.ACC go.out-CAUS
ge:-n-a bei
put-NPT.OBJ PTCL
When (you) burn, you dig the grass sod, then take out (one) that size.

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30. ʁar-ʁa-di-sa di: xo:-di-sa rdzaŋ-ni

go.out-CAUS-COMPL-COND then dry-v.s.-COND basket-ACC

rgu-ʤi ɕi niŋge ʁaʤer do:ra-ʤi // te-la

carry.on.back-IMPERF go then field go.down-IMPERF // that-INST.COM

niŋge lo:-la niŋge dalan ʁar-ʁa di: te-ni ɕira:

after stack.up-VRBL then while go.out-CAUS then that-ACC burn

fili-ʁa-di-sa // ɕa:la niŋge di: i:xge ʁaʤer-di ʤu:

red-CAUS-COMPL-COND // scatter then then just field-DAT just

rgu-ʤi // ʁar-ʁa-ma fi:lio: wa

carry.on.back-IMPERF // go.out-CAUS-ASSERT fertilizer COP

After (you) take it out and dry it, then (you) go down to the field carrying the basket, after that (you) pile it up and then burn it (until it is) red, then (you) scatter (it), just carry it up to the field, it's fertilizer.

31. ɕendzai-ni ʁar-ʁa-m gu-a

now-ACC go.out-CAUS-NPT NEG.AUX-OBJ

Nowadays (we) do not take (it) out.

32. ge:bian-la nige anʤi:-mada-di ɕira:-m gu-a

change-VRBL one where-SUBJ-any-DAT burn-NPT NEG.AUX-OBJ

ɕendzai danʁual

now earth.clod

(Things) change, now (they) don't burn earth clods anywhere.

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II.4 RIDDLES

The following is a collection of riddles, from one of the Fulaan Nura language consultants (13). The first riddle is sung, all others are spoken.

33. ɢual ɢual du:di dalan najan saŋ ʈʂa:ldzi ja:n-i:
valley valley call seventy eighty layer paper what-SUBJ
The valley calls, seventy or eighty layers of paper. What is it?

pudzɻaŋdzi
Firecracker

34. nige kun-di nige ɖʐaŋ pise: i:-gun-a ja:n-i:
one person-DAT one hundred belt COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ what-SUBJ
One person has one hundred belts. What is it?

mani
Prayer beads.

35. tigi: ɢual-ŋge-ni trua-ni ʈʂiɢa:n xurɢa du:ru su:-ɖʐ-i:
like.that valley-SG-GEN inside-POSS white lamb full sit-PERF-SUBJ

ja:n-a
what-OBJ
Like that, in a valley there are many white lambs sitting there. What is that?

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a:ma, ʂdɨ

Mouth and teeth.

36. fɨla:n bɨli: xara a:ma ja:n-i:

red child black mouth what-SUBJ

A red child, a black mouth, what is it?

i:kaŋ

Kang (with a black firehole and the 'red child' the fire inside).

37. xana xa:dzɨ-nɨ ama-nɨ-nɨ ne:-di-sa xa: ada-m

every box-GEN opening-ACC-POSS open-COMPL-COND close cannot-NPT

xa:-di-sa ne: ada-m ja:n-i:

close-COMPL-COND open cannot-NPT what-SUBJ

When (you) have opened the box you cannot close it, and when (you) have closed it you cannot open it. What is it?

ndige

Eggs.

38. tigi: ɢual-ge-nɨ trua-nɨ bɨli:-ŋge ɕulʤa-n-i ja:n-i:

like.that valley-SG-GEN inside-POSS child-SG swing-NPT-SUBJ what-SUBJ

In a valley a child is swinging back and forth. What is it?

Uvula.

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II.5 RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

These riddles are from the other language consultant from Fulaan Nura (20).

39. nige bambandzi-ri dalo:n nukua i: ja:n-i:
one board-LOC seven hole COP what-SUBJ
In a board there are seven holes. What is it?

Your face.

40. ʤaŋ-ge kun-di nige pise: i: ja:n-i
hundred-SG person-DAT one belt COP what-SUBJ
A hundred people have one belt, what is it?

mani
Prayer beads.

41. dur-la: maxa tilim xaraulʤi ki: tilim ja:n-i:
day-COM meat bag night wind bag what-SUBJ
During the day a meat bag, during the night a wind bag. What is it?

ʧaŋxei
Shoes.

42. fila:n ɢual-ge trua-ni nige ban ʧiɢa:n xurɢa kide:
red valley-SG inside-POSS one group white lamb lie.down

su:-ʤ-i: ja:n-i:
sit-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ
In a red valley a group of white lambs are lying down. What is it?

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a:ma, ʂdɨ

Mouth and teeth.

43. ki: baɢ-sa tu: ɕi-m tɕabdʑɨ-dʑɨ sala ada-m

wind blow-COND blow go-NPT cat-IMPERF separate can-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

The wind can blow it away, but you cannot cut it off. What is it?

fɨnɨ

Smoke.

44. tɕi nda:-nɨ kudɨ ɕi-m bɨ ta-nɨ kudɨ ɕi-m

2SG 1SG.STEM-GEN home go-NPT 1SG 2SG-GEN home go-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

You go to my home, I go to your home. What is it?[111]

xamtɕi

Sleeves.

45. nu: nu: gɨ-sa i: nu: bi: nu: bi: nu:

touch touch QUOT-COND NEG touch PRHB touch PRHB touch

gɨ-sa nu: ja:n-i:

QUOT-COND touch what-SUBJ

If (you) say "touch, touch!" (it) doesn't touch, if (you) say "don't touch, don't touch!" (it) touches. What is it?

---

[111] *xamtɕi* 'sleeves'

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xudʑi

Lips.

46. tʂuendzi jur-di wa:r ɕala-dʑ-i: ja:n-i:

tilebetween-LOC tile scatter-PERF-SUBJ what-SUBJ

Between the rafters there are tiles. What is it?

xuri, tɕimdzi

Fingers and fingernails.

47. dur-la: ul-sa ɕi ra-di-m // xara ul-sa

day-COM become-COND go come-COMPL-NPT // dark become-COND

hamdi-la ri-m ja:n-i:

together-COLL come-NPT what-SUBJ

During the day they go apart, and during the night they come together. What is it?

amɕdʑax

Ties for boots.

48. xara ul-sa adalasi-m // dur-la: tasasi-m

dark become-COND be.horizontal-NPT // day-COLL be.vertical-NPT

ja:n-i:

what-SUBJ

Horizontal at night and vertical during the day. What is it?

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rda ʂaŋ

Door bolt (longish piece of wood that hang down on a rope during the day).

49. rlaŋ ʤu:ro-gu nara xalaŋ // xuiti a:ma-ni xalɢa xdaŋ
cloud between-n.s. sun hot // step mother-GEN palm hard
Sun between clouds is hot, and the step-mother's hand is hard.

50. ke:la go:ra-ni sgil go:ra // moɢuei go:ra-ni ʤalɢi: go:ra
belly other-GEN heart other // snake other-GEN path other
Different people's hearts are different, and different snakes' paths are different.

II.6 ADIEDIEPOOPOO SONG

This is a question and answer song, sung by Speaker 13.

51. ja bi nantar-ge kila ʤo: a:
INTJ 1SG story-SG say QUOT PTCL
Yeah, I will tell a story. / Yeah, let me tell a story.

52. a:diediepo:po: niŋge kile-ja
a:diediepo:po: then say-VOL1
Let me tell (you) about "Aadiediepoopoo".

53. a:die-ŋge i:-gun-a // bu:ʤa a:gu-ŋge
grandfather-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ // bu:ja paternal.aunt-SG

i:-gun-a
COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ
There was a grandfather, and a paternal aunt Buuja.

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54. a: di: jeri-ŋge i:-gun-a

INTJ then woman-SG COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ

Ah, then there was a woman.

55. a:die no:ri ntɕa:-ʤi i:-gun-a

grandfather sleep sleep-IMPERF COP-GEN.FUT-OBJ

Grandfather has already gone to sleep.

56. ja do bi kile ʤo: a:

INTJ now 1SG say QUOT PTCL

Yeah, now I will tell (it).

57. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xuʤa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

58. ja ja de:l-a:-ŋge masi ʤo: a:

INTJ INTJ garment-REFL-SG put.on QUOT PTCL

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my clothes.

59. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xuʤa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

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60. ja ja mɨla: de:l-a-ŋge misɨ-ja

INTJ INTJ small garment-SG put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on pants (lit. 'small garment').

61. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xudʑa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

62. ja ja pɨse:-na:-ŋge pɨse:-la-ja

INTJ INTJ belt-REFL-SG belt-VRBL-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my belt.

63. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xudʑa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calf exist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

64. ja ja malɢa-na:-ŋge dʑo:-ja

INTJ INTJ hat-REFL-SG put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my hat.

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65. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xudʑa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calfexist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

66. ja ja tɕaŋxei-na:-ŋge misi-ja

INTJ INTJ shoe-REFL-SG put.on-VOL1

Yeah, yeah, let me put on my shoes.

67. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xudʑa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calfexist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

68. ja ja ɢaɕ-dʑi ra-n-i

INTJ INTJ go.out-IMPERF come-NPT-SUBJ

Yeah, yeah, I am coming out.

69. a:diedie po:po: alaɢ noxuei xudʑa-ma ɕira buru:

a:diedie po:po: multi.colored dog bark-ASSERT yellow calfexist

jo: gu-i:

NEG.AUX-SUBJ

Aadiediepoopoo, the multi-colored dog is marking and the yellow calf is not here.

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70. ojo: gaʂ-ʤi r-ua gi-ʤi

INTJ go.out-IMPERF come-PERF QUOT-IMPERF

"Oyo, I am out", he says.

71. buru: gu-a da gi-ʤi

calf NEG.AUX-OBJ also QUOT-IMPERF

"The calf is not here", he says.

72. a:diedie ger-di ra kan-i: // bu:ʤa a:gu i:

grandfather house-DAT come who-SUBJ

Grandfather, who is coming to the house? It's Aunt Buuja.

73. bu:ʤa ra sa

buuja come PTCL

Bu:ja, come!

74. noxuei ʤu:-n-a

dog bite-NPT-OBJ

The dog will bite.

75. kalag-ula tala ʂda sa

earth.clod-COLL throw can PTCL

Try to hit it with a clod of earth.

76. kalag gu-a

earth.clod NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) don't have a clod of earth.

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77. tar-la tarda sa

stone-INST.COM throw PTCL

Throw a stone. (Why don't you.)

78. tar gu-a

stone NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) don't have a stone.

79. tɕi i:ŋgela-san-i ja:n-i:

2SG carry.in.clothes-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring in your clothes?

80. tu:gu ʂdima i:

raw bread COP

I have some unbaked bread.

81. rda sa

eat PTCL

Eat (it).

82. tu:gu wa

raw COP

It is raw.

83. ɕira: sa

bake PTCL

Bake (it).

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84. ɢal gu-a

fire NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) have no fire.

85. xgɨla-la ɕɨ sa

ask.for-PURP go PTCL

Go ask for it.

86. li: oɢua-n-i

NEG give-NPT-SUBJ

(They) don't give (it to me).

87. tɕɨ su:-da-sa nu: ja:n-i:

2SG armpit-n.s.-[?] INTERR what-SUBJ

What are you holding in your armpit?

88. mu: nɨke: i:

bad fur.coat COP

(I) have a bad fur coat.

89. masɨ sa

wear PTCL

Wear (it).

90. bo:sɨ i:-n-a

louse COP-NPT-OBJ

There are lice (in it).

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91. ala sa

kill PTCL

Kill (it).

92. nidi ma: wa

eye blind COP

(My) eyes are blind.

93. tiɢu:-di teŋgu-lɢa sa

chicken-DAT collect-CAUS PTCL

Let the chicken eat them (lit. let the chicken collect).

94. tiɢu: i: teŋgu-n-a

chicken NEG collect-NPT-OBJ

The chicken are not eating (them) (lit. the chicken are not collecting).

II.7 Li Menzheng

This story about the Li Menzhen (李门珍) ancestor of the Shdarzi area is told by Li Gendenshjia (speaker 23).

95. mi mendʐen-ni kile-gu

1SG Menzhen-ACC speak-PART.FUT

I will speak about Menzheng.

96. na: mi ner-sa kile-gu

INTJ 1SG this-ABL speak-PART.FUT

I will speak from here.

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97. e: i:tɕen ne nige ʤu:si nda:-ni moŋɢuol-i ɕʤun-ge
INTJ before this one exactly 1SG.PL.STEM-GEN Monguor-ADJ girl-SG
Yeah, long ago, there was a Monguor girl.

98. e: ke:la ɕge i:tɕen do di: tende: nde: kunan xueiʤin do
INTJ belly big before now then there here difficult while now
Yeah, then when she got pregnant, things were very difficult.

99. di: xgile-ʤi da-ni gi do be:
then beg-IMPERF eat-NPT QUOT now PTCL
Then (she has to) beg for food.

100. xgile-ʤi juanwei-ni den-di giɕ-gun-a xa
beg-IMPERF official-GEN door-DAT step.on-NARR.PAST-OBJ PTCL
Begging, (she) arrived at the door of an official.

101. e: ke:la-di jedi-di-ʤ-a
INTJ belly-DAT hurt-COMPL-PERF-OBJ
Yeah, (her) belly hurt.

102. e: di: janwei-ni ɕge da busɢua-ni dirle niŋge
INTJ then official-GEN big door threshold-ACC use.as.pillow then
Yeah, then, (she) used the threshold of the official's front gate threshold as a pillow.

103. e: sara su:-di-ʤ-a ku:-ŋge tora-ʤ-a be:
INTJ month sit-COMPL-PERF-OBJ son-SG bear.PERF-OBJ PTCL
Yeah, (she) was in confinement (gave birth) and delivered a son.

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104. ku:-ŋge tora-ʤa truo yanweidzi mide-ʤi gu-a

son-SG give.birth-PERF-OBJ inside official know-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ

ʤu:di-la ʤu: ne

dream-VRBL just this

(When she) gave birth to a son, the official inside did not know, (but) he just dreamed, this (dream).

105. ʤu:di-la-di-sa nda:-ni ʂge da busgua-ri-ni

dream-VRBL-COMPL-COND 1SG.PL.STEM-GEN big door threshold-LOC-POSS

nanige

this

When (he) dreamt that (it) was on the threshold of his front gate,

106. basi gual gual mini-ge dirle su:-ʤ-a mini

tiger young young 1SG.GEN-SG use.as.pillow sit-PERF-OBJ 1SG.GEN

i:diŋ si ge gui:ren nimba: be:

certainly be (是) CL (个) important.person correct PTCL

(he thought) "The young tiger sitting (there) using (the threshold) as a pillow must surely be an important person."

107. ka-ma ne bu jantʂuen daŋlur-ge da:le nige a:nie-na:

who-any this not (不) tell lantern-SG carry one grandmother-REFL

fa:du-la nige

send-VRBL one

Without telling anybody (about) this, he sent the grandmother (his wife) with a lantern.

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108. ʤe ɢula ne ger maŋli:-sa do:ra-ʤ-a

look two this house lintel-ABL come.down-PERF-OBJ

She took a look down from the lintel.

109. e: nige nige-na: du:da-ʤi bu: ge: da

INTJ one one-REFL call-IMPERF come.down put also

(They) called to each other to come down.

110. ne gui:rin-i draŋ ʨu:-ɢula bi: ʨ-ɢa kaŋkaŋ

this important.person-ACC also dirty-INTENS PROHIB go-CAUS careful

war-di sa

take-COMPL PTCL

Don't let this important person get dirty and take (him) carefully.

111. ne nda:-ni kudi ʤu: ra-di-sa do lamanʨuŋ

this 1SG.OBL.STEM-GEN home just come-COMPL-COND now excellent

gui:ren-ge gi-ʤi

important.person-SG QUOT-IMPERF

"If he comes into my house, this is an excellent guest", he said.

112. ʤu:din-di bu:-san-a

dream-DAT come.down-PAST-OBJ

It was revealed in a dream.

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113. di: a:nie-ɢula ɕge da manɻli:-sa do:ra-ʤi̵ daɳlur-la
then grandmother-DL big door lintel-ABL go.down-IMPERF lantern-INST.COM

nige i:-sa-ŋge // jeri̵-ŋge sara su: ge:-ʤ̵-a be:
one look-COND.SG // woman-SG month sit put-PERF-OBJ PTCL

ɕge da busɢua-ni̵ ko:-la nige
big door threshold-POSS lean-VRBL one

Then when (he) and the grandmother **both** came down from the lintel of the front gate and took a look with the lantern, a woman who had just given birth was leaning on the threshold of the front gate.

114. o: ne-ni̵ i:-sa di: ʨida-ʤi̵ li: ɕ-gun-a
INTJ this-ACC look-COND then escape-IMPERF NEG go-GEN.FUT-OBJ

"Oh, it looks like she will not run away."

115. a:nie-ɢula juen truo // kudi̵-na: juendzi̵-di̵ bu: ɕge
grandmother-DL garden inside // home-REFL garden-DAT go.down big

da-na: ne: niŋge wa
door-REFL open after COP

(He and) the grandmother both inside the garden...went down into their home, into the garden and opened the front gate.

116. ne nige
this one

This one...

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117. sara su:-sa jeri da bli:-ni te:ri niŋge

month sit-COND woman also child-ACC carry.in.arms then

After she had given birth, the woman held the child in her arms.

118. di: ŋgan-di di juanwei fu // ger ulan-i gu: do be:

then 3SG-DAT then official rich // house many-SUBJ enough now PTCL

The official, rich... had many houses.

119. di: dze:di ger-di e: sara-tɕi kun-i lamantɕun

then other house-DAT INTJ month-NOM.ACT person-POSS excellent

dʐo:gu:-la-dʑ-a

take.care.of-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

Then, in another house, they took excellent care of the woman who had just given birth.

120. tenige kun-di si:n-di ...

that person-DAT good-DAT ...

That good person...

121. di: ne-ge jer-di sdza-gun-a tɕi ɕin sa miŋ sa

then this-SG woman-DAT ask-NARR.PAST-OBJ 2SG Xin PTCL Ming PTCL

wa gi-sa di: da

COP QUOT-COND then also

Then (they) asked this woman: "are you a Xin or a Ming?"

122. bi tɕaŋla-san-a li dʑa wa

1SG hear-PAST-OBJ Li family COP

I heard (she) is (from the) Li family.

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123. huina nige kun tɕaŋla-san-a tɕi-ni hualioma ly dʑa wa ma

after one person hear-PAST-OBJ 2SG-GEN words Lü family COP PTCL

Later an(other) person heard, like your words, that (she) was (from the) Lü family.

124. di: ly ju: li i:-gun-a bi ja wabitɕin

then Lü or Li COP-NARR.PAST-OBJ 1SG also not.clear [挖不清]

I am not sure whether (she) was a Lü or a Li.

125. bi tɕaŋla-san-a li dʑa wa

1SG hear-PAST-OBJ Li family COP

I heard (she) is (from the) Li family.

126. tigi:ŋge xa // e: ne-ni nere-ni ma sa //

like.that PTCL // INTJ this-GEN name-POSS PTCL PTCL //

a:ma-ni li dʑa wa xa ne-nige li dʑu:si

mother-POSS Li family COP PTCL this-one Li exactly

Like that, yeah, that was his name, wasn't it? Since his mother was of the Li family, he was also a Li.

127. da busɢua-ni dirle-dʑ-a xa limendʐen a

door threshold-ACC use.as.a.pillow-PERF-OBJ PTCL Li Menzhen COP

gidʑi juanwei ɕasa nera awu-gun-a.

QUOT official give.name name take-NARR.PAST-OBJ

Because he had used the threshold as a pillow, he received the name "Li Menzhen" (李门珍) from the official.

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128. limendʐen gɨga: sxu:-dɨ a:ma do dʑu:sɨ dei-la-dʑ-i:

Li Menzhen small time-DAT mother now exactly take.care-PERF-SUBJ

juanwei-nɨ xudu ɢua-nɨ dzʐaŋ-kɨ-dʑ-a

official-GEN very benefit-ACC receive-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

When Li Menzhen was young, his mother took care of (him), and (they) received many benefits from the official.

129. nigi:dʑe ɕge ul-dʑ-a dʑaŋdʑu:ge dunʂi-la-dʑ-a

a.little big become-PERF-OBJ a.little.bit become.intelligent-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

xa le:

PTCL PTCL

(He) grew up and (began) to understand a little.

130. nda:-nɨ tʂu:sin ja: tʂu:sin a

1PL.STEM-GEN domestic.animal what domestic.animal COP

"Which animals are our animals?"

131. a:ba di: // kan-a gɨ-dʑɨ di: a:ba gu-a be:

father then // who-OBJ QUOT-IMPERF then father NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL

A father, then...He said "who is it? I don't have a father."

132. e: di: tʂu:sɨn-a: ...

INTJ then domestic.animal ...

Yeah, their domestic animals...

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133. tɕim-u xgila-n xgila-n tora-sa

2SG.OBL.STEM-ACC beg-SUBORD beg-SUBORD give.birth-COND

na: gidʑi

INTJ QUOT

"When I gave birth to you begging (for food)" she (the mother) said.

134. tigi:ŋge xa ne mendzen kila-gun-a a:ma-di-na: a:ju:

like.that PTCL this Menzhen say-NARR.PAST-OBJ mother-DAT-REFL INTJ

di: janwei tigi:ŋge dzo:gu:-la-dʑ-a ma

then official like.that take.care.of-VERBL-PERF-OBJ PTCL

"If it is like that," Menzhen said to his mother, "Alas, (then) the official took care of me."

135. ti: ŋgan-i-ni negidʑi de-dʑi utɕi li: ogu-n-a

like.that 3SG-GEN-POSS a.little eat-IMPERF drink NEG receive-NPT-OBJ

(We) shouldn't receive food and drink from him like that.

136. do gan-i ger-di-ni su:-sada bida-ŋla bida-ŋla-na:

now 3SG-GEN house-DAT-GEN sit-CONC 1PL.STEM-PL 1PL.STEM-PL-REFL

seŋxu: uli-ja be:

life obtain-VOL1 part

Now, although we live in his house, we will have our own life.

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137. xgɨla-ʤɨ da de-ja

beg-IMPERF also eat-VOL1

We will beg for food.

138. e: dʐaŋʤa da nigi:ʤe gi-ja

INTJ crops also a.little do-VOL1

We will do a little farming.

139. di: dʐaŋʤa ma da gi-ʤ-a

then crops PTCL also do-PERF-OBJ

Then (they) did (some) farming.

140. xgɨla-di-ʤ-a de-ʤ-a

beg-COMPL-PERF-OBJ eat-PERF-OBJ

(They) begged for food.

141. dʐaŋʤa nigi:ʤe g-san dɨranɨ gan ja:n gɨ-ʤ-a be:

crop a.little plant-PART.PERF while 3SG what QUOT-PERF-OBJ PTCL

When they did a little farming he spoke like this.

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142. nigi:ʤe fire: bu:di fire:-ŋge jeʂ-ʤi li: ul-gun-a xa

a.little seed wheat seed-SG find NEG become-NARR.PAST-OBJ PTCL

jaŋ janwei-ni baʤie-la-ʤ-a

again official-ACC ask.for-VRBL-PERF-OBJ

Since (they) couldn't (some) seeds, wheat seeds, they again asked the official (for seeds).

143. nda: bu:di fire:-na: do san wu ʂeŋ-ge nige

1SG.DAT/ACC wheat seed-REFL now three five CL-SG one

asGua-ʤi gi-sa bu Gaʤer nigi:ʤe-ge tari-ja

borrow-IMPERF QUOT-COND 1SG field a.little-SG plant-VOL1

"If I ask to borrow three to five shang[112] of wheat seeds, I can plant a little in the field."

144. feŋxu: da gudi[113] gu-a a:ma-Gula

life also good NEG-OBJ mother-DL

His life with his mother was not good.

145. di: janwei henbudi-ge nige dʐo:gu:-la-gun-a ja

then official as.much.as.possible-SG one take.care-VRBL-NARR.PASTA-OBJ PTCL

Then the official (planned to) take care (of them) as much as possible.

146. gan-i dze:la-Ga ʂda-n gu-a xa mei li caŋ

3SG-ACC receive-CAUS can-SUBORD NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL coal inside hide

ʤin gi-ʤi

gold QUOT-IMPERF

(The official) could not force him to receive (gifts), so (he) said "hide gold in coal."

---

[112] Chinese *shǎng* 晌, 'area that can be sown in one day'.

[113] I cannot find an equivalent of this word in any of my other notes, and in any other dialect, so I am not completely certain about the meaning.

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147. te nige bu:di-ri bu:di fire: wa be:

that one wheat-LOC wheat seed COP PTCL

In that wheat, they are wheat seeds.

148. mei li caŋ ʤin a ʤin tio:-ge-ni ʤaŋ-la niŋge

coal in hide gold COP gold CL-SG-ACC put.in-VRBL then

It is "hide gold in coal," then (he) put (a) tiao of gold in (the coals).

149. ʧi a:ma-Gula bu:di fire: nige ura-Ga-ʤ-a xa ʤin tio:

2SG mother-DL wheat seed one enter-CAUS-PERF-OBJ PTCL gold CL

Gari-ʤ-a

come.out-PERF-OBJ

So when he and his mother put in the wheat seed, a tiao of gold came out. (Lit. 'you and your mother')

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150. ʤin tio: ʁari ʂ-ʤ-a a:ma-ni kila-gun-a ʧi

gold CL come.out go-PERF-OBJ mother-POSS say-NARR.PAST-OBJ 2SG

na nige // bili: ʧi ŋgan-i sdzer-ni-ni dʐua-ki-ʤ-a be:

this one // child 2SG 3SG-GEN gold-ACC-POSS grasp-VRBL-PERF-OBJ PTCL

The gold came out, and his mother said: "You, this...child, you took his gold!"

151. e: mendʐen kila-gun-a ʤe sdzer-ni // ne bu:di fire:

INTJ Menzhen say-NARR.PAST-OBJ INTJ gold-ACC // this wheat seed

asʁ-ua di: // sdzer-ni ʤe dʐua-ki-ʤi gu-i: a

borrow-PERF then // gold-ACC INTJ grasp-VRBL-IMPERF NEG.AUX-SUBJ PTCL

Yeah, Menzhen said: "the gold...I borrowed these wheat seeds!", so then (he) did not grasp the gold!

152. di: xarili ʂ-gun-a

then return go-NARR.PAST-OBJ

So (he) gave it back.

153. xarili-sa janwei li: rin-ki-gun-a ʤe ʧi-mi bu:di

return-COND official NEG admit-VRBL-NARR.PAST INTJ 2SG-DAT wheat

ʁ-wa

give-PERF

When he returned (it), they official did not admit (that he gave Menzhen the gold), "I gave you wheat!" (he said).

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154. e: ʤin tio: ɢ-ʤi gu-i:

INTJ gold CL give-IMPERF NEG.AUX-SUBJ

"Yeah, (I) didn't give (you) any gold."

155. di: ɢula tende: ʤa:l-di nde: ʤa:l-di ʨen sin anʤi:

then two there law-DAT here law-DAT township province where

ʤa-sada gan janwei rin-ki-ʤi gu-a na

look-CONC 3SG official admit-VRBL-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ this

mendzʅen gen ne nige sdzer-ni li: ʂu: ɢu-n-a

Menzhen even.more this one gold-ACC NEG receive receive-NPT-OBJ

nien ɢu-n-a

need give-NPT-OBJ

Then, although the two went to see every court of law, here and there, in the township and the province, the official did not admit (that he had given the gold), but he (Menzhen) really didn't accept the gold, so had to give it back.

156. na nige mei tsaŋ-di mei ʤin nige wa

this one coal hide-n.s. coal gold one COP

This is the "hiding coal in gold".

157. tigi: nige ʨi-ni hualioma

like.that one 2SG-GEN word

It's just like what you said.

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158. e: na-sa ʤatiŋ xen kunan a

INTJ this-ABL family very poor COP

Yeah, so the family is very poor.

159. kunan a xa i:la-la na nige dzu:ja a:nie-na: eiʂisan-di

poor COP PTCL all-COLL this one kitchen god-REFL twenty-three-DAT

da:bila-ma

offer-ASSERT

(They) were poor. Everybody offers to the kitchen god on the 23rd.

160. menʐen da a:ma-ɢula-na: kunan a xa erʂisan-di

menzhen and mother-DL-REFL difficult COP PTCL twenty-three-DAT

dzuja a:nie da:bila guli nigi:ʤe lidaŋ da gu-a

kitchen god offer say a.little gift also NEG.AUX-OBJ

Menzhen and his mother were both very poor, so they had no gifts to offer the kitchen god on the 23rd (of the twelfth lunar month).

161. hana ili-la nanige go:nien-la-sa de

everybody all-INST.COM this.one celebrate.new.year-VRBL-COND door

bi:ri-ri-na: draŋ ʨi fila:n ʧaldzi duidzi naɢa-ma bei

frame-LOC-REFL also go red paper lucky writing glue-ASSERT PTCL

When they celebrate the New Year, everybody just glues red pieces of paper, lucky writings, on the door frame.

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162. mendʐen da a:ma-ɢula-na: do ɕaver-la nige surg-dʑ-a be:
Menzhen and mother-DL-REFL.now mud-INST.COM one smear-PERF-OBJ PTCL
Now Menzhen and his mother smeared (the door) with mud (instead of putting up lucky papers, because they were so poor).

163. di: na nige eiʂisan-di ʂda-dʑi gu-a eiʂisi-di
then this one twenty-four-DAT can-IMPERF NEG.AUX-DAT twenty-four-DAT

di: jaŋ da:ɢa gula-gun-a
then again send.up need-NARR.PAST-OBJ
(Because) they could not offer (anything) on the 23rd, they had to send (the kitchen god) up on the 24th.

164. da:ɢa-sa ne dzuja a:nie-ni tʂido:-la-ɢa-dʑ-a bei
send.up-COND this kitchen god-ACC arrive.late-VRBL-CAUS-PERF-OBJ PTCL
When (they) send up the kitchen god, (they) had made (her) arrive late.

165. e: di: xansi ge ne laŋdzi nigidʑe to:si ɕara-ge ɢura:n-ge
INTJ then still one this green.grass a.little oil circle-SG three-SG

xuambar[114]-la dzuja a:nie dabila-ma be:
type-INST.COM kitchen god offer-ASSERT PTCL
Finally, when the grass was (already) green, they offered the kitchen god three kinds of oil bread.

[114] In all other instances, the word for 'type, kind' in Karlong is samba. Possibly this is a variation of this word. /x/ ~ /s/ alternations do occur in Karlong, however, at the moment I have no explanation for the /u/ and the final /r/ appearing here.

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166. ɕargaŋ-ge da ʂda-ʤi gu-a be:
shrine-SG also can-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL
(They) also couldn't (build) a shrine for the god.

167. e: do i:la-la fin fila-gun-a dzuja a:nie-di tɕi
INTJ now all-COLL order order-NARR.PAST-OBJ kitchen.god-DAT 2SG

tienkun-di ɢaɕ-ʤi sa njoŋʤa sa e: si: xgaʤa-ni
heaven-DAT go.up-IMPERF PTCL niangjia[115] PTCL INTJ good word-ACC

e: nigi:ʤe ʂanki-sa da mu: xgaʤa nige bi: kila
INTJ a.little speak-COND and bad word one PRHB say
Yeah, now, everybody together ordered the kitchen god: "go up to the heaven, to the home of your parents, (and) say some good words (for) us when you speak; don't say any bad words."

168. e: draŋ na nige dʐenjue tʂu:ji danien tʂu:ji pirɢa:n
INTJ also this one first.lunar.month first.day new.year first.day god

dze:-la-gun-a dzuja a:nie dze:-la-ma be:
welcome-VRBL-NARR.PAST-OBJ kitchen god welcome-VRBL-ASSERT PTCL
Yeah, then on the first day of the first lunar month, on New Year's Day, (people) welcome the god, (they) welcome the kitchen god.

[115] Chinese: *niángjiā* 娘家, home of married woman's parents.

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169. dze:-la-sa tɕi ra-sa xai jo:-n-a eisun

welcome-VRBL-COND 2SG come-COND also need-NPT-OBJ grandson

e: mardʑi e: do nige de:-la-dʑi ra gi-sa

INTJ property INTJ now one carry-VRBL-IMPERF come QUOT-COND

When (they) welcomed (the god), (they) said "When you come, (we) also need a grandson, and bring some property (for us)."

170. ku: ɕdʑun-mama ɕdʑun-ge de:-la-dʑi ra

son daughter-PL daughter-SG carry-IMPERF come

"Sons and daughters - bring (us) a daughter."

171. xana niŋgidʑi fin fi-la-ma be:

everybody like.this order order-VRBL-ASSERT PTCL

Everybody orders (the god) like this.

172. ne-ri ne nige janwei tɕi-ni tɕieku

this-LOC this one official 2SG--GEN benefit[116]

Then the official (said) "you will get a benefit."

173. e: maʁaɕi do na a:ma-di-na:

INTJ tomorrow now this mother-DAT-REFL

ɕin-la-gun-a be:

visit.for.new.year's.day-VRBL-GEN.FUT-OBJ PTCL

"Yeah, now, tomorrow (you) will pay a New Year's Day visit to your mother."

[116] This word was translated as 'benefit' by my translator, but I cannot find it anywhere else in my notes, and there are no correspondences in other dialects of Mongghul.

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174. daŋlur do:ra-ni do: e: u:ʂi liaŋ-ni bo:wu gi-ʤi

lantern under-POSS now INTJ fifty measure-POSS treasure QUOT-IMPERF

da kila-ma

also say-ASSERT

He says "Now, under the lantern (is) a treasure of fifty measures."

175. u: liaŋ-ni bo:wu gi-ʤi kila-ma

five measure-POSS treasure QUOT-IMPERF say-ASSERT

He says "a treasure of five measures."

176. fandzʂen tien tsi mendzʂen i:din i:-n-a

anyway sky bestow Menzhen certainly COP-NPT-OBJ

"Anyways, (we) have Menzhen (because) he was bestowed by heaven."

177. teŋgeri ɢ-san jin a gi-ʤi

sky give-PART.PERF silver COP QUOT-IMPERF

"It is silver that was given by heaven."

178. te daŋlur do:ra-ni kurge: ɕi-lɢa ge:-lɢa-di-ʤ-a

that lantern under-POSS send go-CAUS put-CAUS-COMPL-PERF-OBJ

(He) sent it and had it put under that lantern.

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179. maɢa ʂdadʑi limendzʐen a:ma-di-na:

tomorrow early Li Menzhen mother-DAT-REFL

ʑin-la-gun-a daŋlur-na: ne ge:

visit.for.new.year's.day-VRBL-GEN.FUT-OBJ lantern-REFL this put

ʑin-la-gun-a xa i: din jin i:-n-a

visit.for.new.year's.day-VRBL-GEN.FUT-OBJ PTCL one ingot silver COP-NPT-OBJ

If Li Menzhen pays a New Year's Day visit to his mother tomorrow morning, there will certainly be silver under his lantern.

180. nige rdʑi-sa ma xa o:

one look-COND PTCL PTCL INTJ

If (he) takes a look.

181. ne tien tsi mendzʐen i: din jin a

this heaven bestow Menzhen one ingot silver COP

Menzhen (who) was bestowed by heaven is like an ingot of silver.

182. na:li na:li na nige ja:n di: mo: ju: be:

where where this one what then not have PTCL

Where, where is it? There isn't anything here.

183. dzuja a:nie di: mieŋgu kurge:-dʑi r-gu di: ɢu da

kitchen god then silver send-IMPERF come-PART.FUT then time also

li-gu-di wa

become-PART.FUT-DAT COP

It is the time when the kitchen god brings silver.

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184. ne janwei do ɕinbuken-la-ʤi guanɕin-la-ʤi
this official now disagree-VRBL-IMPERF take.care-VRBL-IMPERF

janwei-ni sdzer-ni [unintelligible] // mieŋgu-ni
official-GEN gold-POSS [unintelligible] // silver-POSS
Now the official disagreed and took care (of them), [unintelligible] the officials gold … silver.

185. do ne pien tse: bu fi tɕun min ren-gi da-ŋge ge:
now this wrong wealth not belong poor destiny person-SG also-SG put

ja: janwei-ni fu:randzi xɢala-ɢa-ʤi gi-ma
INTJ official-GEN courtyard throw-CAUS-IMPERF do-ASSERT
Now "Dishonestly gotten wealth is not meant for people whose destiny is to be poor", so they throw it into the official's courtyard.

pien tse: - Chinese *piāncái* 偏财, *bu* - Chinese *bù* 不, *fi* - Chinese *shǔ* 属, *tɕunmin* - Chinese *qióngmìng* 穷命, *ren* - Chinese *rén* 人.

186. ne liaŋ ʤen la: nige caŋ li mei ʤin a nige-ni nige
this two CL INTJ one hide in coal gold COP one-GEN one

e: tien tsi mendʐen ji: din jin a
INTJ heaven bestow Menzhen one ingot silver COP
There are these two: "hide gold in coals" and "Menzhen is an ingot of silver bestowed by the heavens."

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187. ne ʁur-la-la gan giga:-la minʂin gu:tsi ra

this two-COLL-INST.COM[117] 3SG small-INST.COM fame appear come

ʁar-ʤʂ-a

come.out-PERF-OBJ

These two (sayings); (already) when he was young his fame appeared.

minʂin - Chinese *míngshēng* 名声.

188. e: te sxu:-di dzi ji: ʤʂa tʂinguan limendzʐen a

INTJ that time-DAT ORD one CL honest.leader Li Menzhen COP

dzi ei ʤʂa tʂinguan-i ku:le:gune

ORD two CL honest.leader-POSS Ku:le:gune

At that time, the first honest leader was Li Menzhen, the second honest leader was Kuuleegune.

dzi - Chinese *dì* 第, *tʂinguan* - Chinese *qīngguān* 清官.

189. dzi san ʤʂa tʂinguan bo:wungun gi-ʤʂi

ORD three CL honest.leader bo:wungun QUOT-IMPERF

The third honest leader was Boowungun.

190. ne limendzʐen do xudi tʂinguan-ge-ni kila-ma

this Li Menzhen now very honest.leader-SG-POSS say-ASSERT

It is said that Li Menzhen was a very honest leader.

[117] Most likely the order is COLL-INST.COM, but there are no other instances of combinations of collective marking and case, so I can't be completely certain.

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191. e: di: ju:ri jaŋ-sa tɕi-ni hualioma jaŋ ma

INTJ then have[118] again-ABL 2SG-GEN word again PTCL

tigi: samba-di kila-gu la:li[119]-ge-di i:-dʑin do

like.that kind-DAT say-PART.FUT meaning-SG-DAT COP-PART.AG now

Yeah, again, your words, there might be a meaning for this kind of thing.

192. e: tɕi-ni hualioma tɕien li sun // ne nige //

INTJ 2SG-GEN word thousand in send // this one //

tɕu li sun tan da limenʐen liogsa nimba:

snow li send coal also Li Menzhen say correct

Just like you words: "send one thousand li…" this one "send coals in snow", this is also something Li Menzhen said.

tɕien - Chinese *qiān* 千, *li* - Chinese *lǐ* 里, *tɕu* - Chinese *xuě* 雪, *sun* - Chinese *sòng* 送, *li* - Chinese *lǐ* 里, *tan* - Chinese *tàn* 炭.

193. e: hua lio jiʂaŋ mo hua ren-di limendʐen liogsa

INTJ change CMPL clothes not change person-DAT Li Menzhen say[120]

gi-dʑ-a mba:

QUOT-PERF-OBJ correct

Yeah "changing the clothes does not change the person" was also said by Li Menzhen, right.

---

[118] My translator translated this word as 'have'. It is possible that it is a combination of the Chinese *yǒu* 有 and a Karlong suffix.

[119] This is the only instance of this word; I am not completely certain about the meaning.

[120] This is possibly a combination of a Qinghaihua word [lio], followed by the Karlong quotative particle with the conditional suffix.

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194. e: di: bu dʑaŋ tɕaŋ-san dʑu: tiɢaŋge

INTJ then 1SG only hear-PART.PERF just that.much

Yeah, what I heard is only that much.

195. di: ja:n gu-a

then what NEG.AUX-OBJ

So, (there) isn't anything.

196. ndʑina: nige pidʑig gu-a fu:-ri i:-san-i

REFL.PRON one book NEG.AUX-OBJ book-LOC see-PAST-SUBJ

piɕ-a tɕaŋla-san-i tiŋfu-ŋge

NEG.AUX-OBJ hear-PAST-SUBJ hear.told-SG

I don't have a book myself, I haven't seen it in a book, I heard it, heard it told.

197. genben mbi: ju: pdʑi: ju: bi je wabitɕin

true correct INTERR wrong INTERR 1SG also not.clear

I am also not sure whether it is true or not.

198. di: nige ne nige // buda-ŋla // e: ʂdardzi fi:

then one this one // 1PL.STEM-PL // INTJ ʂdardzi water

mo:-gu-ni tɕi da dzaŋ wa be:

mill-n.s.-POSS seven big village COP PTCL

So, this one...we...yeah, the watermill of Shdarzi, there are seven big villages.

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199. nige ntsowa[121] wa be:

one area COP PTCL

It is an area.

200. ne ntsowa-ri-ni ma deiʂindzi li ʤa wa

this area-LOC-POSS PTCL majority Li family COP

In this area, most (people) are Li's.

201. e: di: waŋ ʤa je: ʤa ʤige i:-n-a ja sa

INTJ then Wang family Ye family some COP-NPT-OBJ INTJ PTCL

li ʤa deidu: wa

Li family most COP

Yeah, there are also some Wang's and some Ye's, (but) most are Li's.

[121] According to one of my translators, it literally means 'herdsman's herding enclosure in grassland', but the meaning in this text seems to be closer to 'area'.

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202. ne amagidʑa gi-sa // e: lidʑiŋwo-ni ʂisan

this how QUOT-COND // INTJ Li Jingwo-GEN thirteen

teibo:-ri-ni ma buda-si dzi liu ge teibo:-ni //

child[122]-LOC-POSS PTCL 1PL.STEM-PL ORD six CL child-POSS //

e: beiçin a gi-dʑi

INTJ common.people COP QUOT-IMPERF

How to say this? Yeah, Li Jingwo had thirteen children; we are (descendants) of the sixth child; yeah, common people.

203. bi tigi: tiŋfu:-ŋge

1SG like.that hear.told-DIM

I heard it like that.

204. dzi wu ge teibo:-ni ma si ma ne nige handziwan lodu

ORD five CL child PTCL be PTCL this one Handiwan Ledu

handziwan a gi-dʑi-di-ni liʂugui kila-san-a

Handiwan COP QUOT-IMPERF-DAT-POSS Li Shugui say-PAST-OBJ

The fifth child is this Handiwan, Handiwan of Ledu, Li Shugui said.

[122] Or possibly 'descendant'.

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205. buda-ŋla namtar ʂaŋ-ki-ldi niŋge di: buda-sgi ʤapu

1PL.STEM-PL story tell-VRBL-RECIP then then 1PL.STEM-PL family.record

gu-a

NEG.AUX-OBJ

We tell the story to each other, (but) we don't have a family record.

206. nienbi: ɕen-i fudzi da-ŋla sa

Nianbei town-GEN vice.leader 1SPL.STEM-PL PTCL

We (together with) the vice-leader of Nianbei?

207. e: nienbi: ɕen-i fudzi bida-ŋla xamdi hansini liʂi

INTJ Nianbai town-GEN vice.leader 1PL.STEM-PL together also history

ʂaŋke-ld-ua

discuss-RECIP-PERF

Yeah, the vide-leader of Nianbai town and we talked about the history of Handi with each other.

208. ʂaŋke-ld-ua

discuss-RECIP-PERF

(We) talked with each other.

209. e: niŋge-ld-ua xa

INTJ after-RECIP-PERF

Yeah, (when we talked) with each other, then...

210. di: gan kile-san-a gan-di ʤapu i:-n-a be:

then 3SG say-PAST-OBJ 3SG-DAT family.record COP-NPT-OBJ PTCL

Then, he said he has a family record.

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211. handziwan a be:

Handiwan COP PTCL

It is of Handiwan. (the family record)

212. bida-ŋ-di dʑapu gu-a xa dzi liu men a

1PL.STEM-PL-DAT family.record NEG.AUX-OBJ PTCL ORD six CL COP

tigi: ma

like.that PTCL

We don't have a family record. (We) are the sixth ones, like that.

213. di liu men mbi: gu-a

ORD six CL correct NEG.AUX-OBJ

(We) are the sixth, right?

214. te-ŋge-ni e: di: xansi gu:dzi wa

that-SG-GEN INTJ then still count COP

(We) still measure like that.

215. e: tɕinsi nedʑi nidi-la sge-dʑi gu-a

INTJ own[123] like.this eye-INST.COM see-IMPERF NEG.AUX-OBJ

(I) didn't see it with (my) own eyes.

[123] Possibly from the Chinese *zìjǐ* 自己.

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216. e: sge-sada pidʑig-u gu buda-ŋ-di

INTJ see-CONC book-n.s. NEG.AUX 1PL.STEM-PL-DAT

Even if we see, we still don't have books.

II.8 WEDDING SCOLDING SONG

This wedding song is sung by Lamikar (Speaker 13). In this song, the bride's party is scolding the groom's party about the poor quality of the gifts they have brought.

217. aw-dʑi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did (you) bring?

218. ta-ŋla aw-dʑi ri-san-i malɢa

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ hat

You brought a hat.

219. ta-ŋla rdʑi-sa malɢa-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND hat-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a hat.

220. bida-ŋla rdʑi-sa kuari-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND basket.for.hulling.grain-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a basket for hulling grain.

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221. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ wa

Dorong COP

Shameless, the groom's village, and embarrassed, the bride's family.

222. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF. come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

223. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ɕantu

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ veil

You brought a veil.

224. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa ɕantu-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND hat-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a veil.

225. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa mawi-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND rag-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a rag.

226. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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227. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

228. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i de:gi

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ veil.fastener

You brought a veil fastener.

229. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa de:gi-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND veil.fastener-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a veil fastener.

230. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa tɕaŋɕi-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND small.bowl-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a small bowl.

231. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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232. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

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233. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i dzaŋri

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ metal.hairpin

You brought metal hairpins.

234. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa dzaŋri-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND metal.hairpin-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a metal hairpin.

235. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa ʂu:r niŋgi lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND chopstick-GEN like.this appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like chopsticks.

236. ʂʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ʂine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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237. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

238. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i tu:ʂaŋ

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ hair.ribbon

You brought hair ribbons.

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239. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa tu:ɕaŋ-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND hair.ribbon-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a hair ribbon.

240. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa bo:daɢ-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND rope-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a rope.

241. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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242. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

243. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i su:ga

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ ear.ring

You brought ear rings.

244. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa su:ga-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND ear.ring-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like an ear ring.

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245. bɨda-ŋla rʤɨ-sa di:rua-nɨ lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND ring.for.fastening.rope-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a ring for fastening rope.

246. ʨʤi:-gu gu-i:-nɨ ʤaŋʤa mba: ʨine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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247. ta-ŋla aw-ʤɨ ri-san-i kanʤar

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ woman's.vest

You brought woman's vest.

248. ta-ŋla rʤɨ-sa kanʤar-nɨ lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND woman's.vest-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a woman's vest.

249. bɨda-ŋla rʤɨ-sa guadzi-nɨ lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND lined.vest-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a lined vest.

250. ʨʤi:-gu gu-i:-nɨ ʤaŋʤa mba: ʨine:-lɢa-wa-nɨ

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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251. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

252. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ʨe:ʤi

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ long.woman's.garment

You brought a long woman's garment.

253. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa ʨe:ʤi-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND long.woman's.garment-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a long woman's garment.

254. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa mpara-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND worn.out.clothing-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like worn-out clothing.

255. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ wa

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256. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

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257. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ɨse:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ belt

You brought a belt.

258. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa ɨse:-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND belt-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like a belt.

259. bɨda-ŋla rʤi-sa de:lge-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND coarse.rope-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a coarse rope.

260. ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni doroŋ wa

laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS Dorong COP

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261. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

262. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i xormi:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ embroidered.shirt

You brought an embroidered shirt.

263. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa xormi:-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND embroidered.shirt-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like an embroidered shirt.

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264. bɨda-ŋla rʤɨ-sa ɕara-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND piece.of.cloth.used.for drying.grain.on-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a piecfe of cloth used for drying grain on.

265. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-nɨ ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ wa

Dorong COP

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266. ta-ŋla aw-ʤɨ ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

267. ta-ŋla aw-ʤɨ ri-san-i tɕanxei

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ shoe

You brought shoes.

268. bɨda-ŋla rʤɨ-sa tɨli-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND bag-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a bag.

269. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-nɨ ʤaŋʤa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

doroŋ wa

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270. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

271. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ʨa:wa

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ brick.tea

You brought some brick tea.

272. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa rdzaŋ-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND sheep.dung-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like sheep dung.

273. ʨʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ʨine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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274. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

275. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i dira:si

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ liquor

You brought liquor.

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276. ta-ŋla rʤi-sa dira:si-ni lo: wa

2PL.STEM-PL look-COND liquor-GEN appearance COP

When you look at it, it looks like liquor.

277. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa sdzu-niŋgi lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND water-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like water.

278. ʨʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤaŋʤa mba: ʨine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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279. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

280. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i to:si

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ oil

You brought oil.

281. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa ʨaver niŋgi lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND mud-GEN like.this appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like mud.

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282. ɕʥi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʥaŋʥa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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283. ta-ŋla aw-ʥi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

284. ta-ŋla aw-ʥi ri-san-i sam a

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ comb COP

You brought a comb.

285. bida-ŋla rʥi-sa ma:ʥir-ni

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND comb.used.for.combing.wool.out.of.goats-GEN

lo:g a

appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like a comb used for combing wool out of goats

286. ɕʥi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʥaŋʥa mba: ɕine:-lɢa-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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287. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i ja:n-i:

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ what-SUBJ

What did you bring?

288. ta-ŋla aw-ʤi ri-san-i dordaŋ

2PL.STEM-PL take-IMPERF come-PAST-SUBJ tassel

You brought a tassel.

289. bida-ŋla rʤi-sa gelian-ni lo: wa

1PL.STEM-PL look-COND dried.barley.bread-GEN appearance COP

When we look at it, it looks like dried barley bread.

290. ɕʤi:-gu gu-i:-ni ʤanʤa mba: ɕine:-lga-wa-ni

shame-n.s. NEG.AUX-SUBJ-POSS Zhangjia correct laugh-CAUS-PERF-POSS

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APPENDIX III. DICTIONARY

a

ada *v.* cannot (unable to). *buneng* 不能. *[WM* jada*]*

aja *n.* handful. *yiba* 一把.

aji *v.* be afraid of.*haipa* 害怕. *[WM* aju*]*.

aji *v.* fear.

ajil *n.* village. *cunluo* 村落. *[WM* ail*]*

ala *v.* kill. *sha* 杀. *[WM* ala*]*.

alaɢ *adj.* variegated, multicolored.*banhua* 斑花. *[WM* alaɣ*]*.

alɨ *pron.* which. *[WM* ali(n)*]*.

alɨsxu:dɨ *pron.* when.

ama *pron.* how.

amagɨʤɨ *pron.* how. *shenmeyangde* 什么样的. *[WM* jambar, Lessing (426): 'what; what kind, type, or class of?'*]*

amɨla *n.* apple. *pinguo* 苹果. *[WM* alima*]*

amɨla *n.* fruit. *shuiguo* 水果. *[WM* alima, Lessing: 'apple'*]*.

amɨn *n.* life. *shengming* 生命. *[WM* ami(n)*]*.

anʤa *pron.* where.

anʤi: *pron.* where. *nali* 哪里.

anʤi:mada *adv.* anywhere.

aŋla *v.* tie.

ʤaŋna *n.* bee. *mifeng* 蜜蜂. *[WT* sbraṅ-ma*]*.

arɨn *adj.* clean. *ganjingde* 干净的, *qingjiede* 清洁的. *[WM* ariɣun*]*.

asɢua *v.* borrow. *jie* 借. *[WM* aɣsu, Lessing: 'to trade, exchange; to lend or borrow money at interest'*]*.

asɨ *n.* cattle. *niu* 牛. *[WM* aduɣusu(n), Lessing: animal*]*.

awu *v.* buy. *mai* 买.

awu *v.* take. *na* 拿. *[WM* bari*]*.

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a:

a:ba *n.* father.*baba* *爸爸*. *[WM* abu, aba*]*.

a:die *n.* grandfather.

a:ʤa *n.* older brother. *gege* *哥哥*. *[WM* aqa*]*.

a:ʤi *n.* older sister.*jiejie* *姐姐*. *[WM* egetʃi*]*.

a:gu *n.* paternal aunt.

a:gu *n.* unmarried woman. *guinü* *闺女*.

a:ɢadu: *n.* brother. *xiongdi* *兄弟*. *[WM* aqa degyy*]*.

a:linige *adv.* every. *meige* *每个*. *[WM* ele*]*.

a:ma *n.* mother. *mama* *妈妈*. *[WM* eke*]*.

a:ma *n.* mouth. *kou* *口*. *[WM* ama(n)*]*.

a:nie *n.* grandmother. *[WT* a-ne*]*.

b

ba *n.* scar. *shangba* *伤疤*. *[WT* lba*]*.

ba *part.* particle indicating suggestion. *ba* *吧*.

baʤie *v.* ask for. *bajie* *巴结*.

baɢa *v.* beat. *da* *打*.

baɢa *v.* hit. *da* *打*.

baɢaldi *v.* fight. *dazhang* *打仗*.

baɢani *adj.* low. *di* *低*. *[WM* boɣuni*]*.

baɢu:r *n.* bangle (bracelet).*shouzhuo* *手镯*.

baja:n *adj.* rich.*fuyude* *富裕的*.

bal *v.* ripen. *shu* *熟*.

bambandzi *n.* board. *changmuban* *长木板*.

bandaŋ *n.* chair. *yizi* *椅子*.

baŋʤan *adv.* approximately. *chabuduo* *差不多*.

baŋla *v.* tie. *bang* *绑*.

baraxçi: *n.* hen. *muji* *母鸡*.

basi *n.* tiger. *hu* *虎*.

basi *n.* cloth. *bu* *布*.

ba:tir *n.* hero.*yingxiong* *英雄*.

be: *ptcl.* particle indicating conviction, emphasis.

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bei *num.* hundred. *bai 百.*

bei *ptcl.* particle indicating conviction, emphasis.

beihuatɕifaŋla *v.* a hundred flowers bloom. *baihua qifang 百花齐放.*

ho:pen *n.* fireplace. *huopen 火盆.*

bie *n.* body. *shenti 身体. [WM* beje*].*

bi: *ptcl.* don't. *bie 别.*

bi:jen *n.* coin (money). *zhubi 铸币.*

bi *pron.* 1SG. *wo 我. [WM* bi*].*

bidaŋgula *pron.* 1PL. *women 我们. [WM* bida, bide(n)*].*

bidelio: *adj.* terrific. *liaobuqi 了不起.*

bila: *v.* bury. *mai 埋. [WM* bula, Lessing: 'to conceal; to plant; to bury' *]*

bili: *n.* child. *xiaohaizi 小孩子. [WM* byly, Lessing: 'cousins (of children of two sisters only)', *WT* bu-lo*].*

bira: *v.* finish. *wan 完.*

bo:daɢ *n.* rope. *shengzi 绳子. [WM* boɣudasu(n), Lessing: band, string; ribbon; bundle, bunch, package; wrapping; scarf for the head, kerchief; puttees (111)*].*

bo:dʑun *n.* treasured steed. *baojun 宝骏.*

bo:ldʑa *v.* vomit. *outu 呕吐. [WM* bøgeldʒi*].*

bo:li *n.* glass. *boli 玻璃.*

bo:ra *n.* kidney. *shen 肾. [WM* bøgere*].*

bo:si *n.* louse. *shizi 虱子. [WM* bøgesy(n)*].*

bo:wu *n.* treasure. *baowu 宝物.*

bu *ptcl.* not. *bu 不.*

budaŋ *pron.* 1PL.

burge *n.* flea. *zao 蚤.*

buru: *n.* calf. *xiaoniu 小牛. [WM* biraɣu(n), Lessing: 'calf in its second year'*].*

busɢua *n.* threshold. *[WM* bosuɣa, Lessing: doorsill, threshold (122)*].*

bu: *v.* go down.

bu: *v.* shine. *zhao 照.*

bu:di *n.* wheat. *xiaomai 小麦.*

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ɕal *n.* mirror. *jingzi* 镜子.

ɕambalaɕʤi *n.* butterfly. *hudie* 蝴蝶. *[WM* erbegekei*]*.

ɕantu *n.* veil.

ɕaŋfu *v.* live in comfort. *xiangfu* 享福.

ɕaŋʤu: *n.* soap. *zao* 皂.

ɕara *n.* piece of cloth used for drying grain on.

ɕaver *n.* mud. *nitu* 泥土.

ɕa: *n.* deer. *lu* 鹿.

ɕa: *v.* tie. *shuan* 拴.

ɕa:ɕi *n.* sand. *sha* 砂.

ɕa:dzi *n.* courtyard.

ɕa:la *v.* scatter. *sa* 撒.

ɕʤaŋ *n.* felt. *zhan* 毡.

ɕʤa: *v.* load. *tuo* 驮. *[WM* atʃi*]*.

ɕʤildʒax *n.* daughter. *nüzi* 女子. *[WM* økin*]*.

ɕʤi: *n.* middle. *zhong* 中.

ɕʤi: *n.* shame.

ɕʤi: *postp.* between. *zhongjian* 中间.

ɕʤo:si *n.* tree. *shu* 树.

ɕʤo:si rasi *n.* bark (tree). *shupi* 树皮.

ɕʤo:si xalʤi *n.* bark (tree). *shupi* 树皮.

ɕʤun *n.* girl. *nühaizi* 女孩子. *[WM* økin*]*.

ɕʤundu: *n.* younger sister. *meimei* 妹妹. *[WM* økin degyy, degyy*]*

ɕʤu: *n.* chest (body part).

ɕʤu:r *n.* root. *gen* 根. *[WM* iʤaɣur*]*.

ɕen *n.* township. *xiang* 乡.

ɕendzai *adv.* now. *xianzai* 现在.

ɕenʤin *v.* advance. *xianjin* 先进.

ɕge *adj.* big. *da* 大. *[WM* jeke*] adj.* big.

ɕge piʤaɢ *n.* broad bean. *candou* 蚕豆.

ɕgeɕʤi *n.* thumb. *damuzhi* 大拇指. *[WM* erekei.

ɕgə *adj.* tall. *gao* 高. *[WM* øndyr*]*.

ɕgudir *adv.* yesterday. *zuotian* 昨天. *[WM* øtʃygedyr*]*.

ɕɢei *n.* leg.

ɕi *v.* go. *qu* 去.

ɕigadi *v.* swell. *zhong* 肿, *pengzhang* 膨胀.

ɕilaŋ *n.* night. *wanshang* 晚上, *ye* 夜.

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ɕilge *n.* liver. *gan 肝. [WM* elige*].*

ɕina:ʤi: *n.* sister-in-law (wife of older brother). *saosao 嫂嫂.*

ɕina:lʤi *adj.* anxious.

ɕindire: *intr. v.* thaw.

ɕinʤir *n.* chain. *lian 链.*

ɕine: *v.* laugh.*xiao 笑. [WM* inije*].*

ɕini *adj.* new. *xinde 新的. [WM* sine*].*

ɕini a:gu *n.* bride.*xinniang 新娘.*

ɕinjaŋ *v.* believe.

ɕinla *v.* visit one's relatives during new year.

ɕira *adj.* yellow. *huangse 黄色. [WM* sira*].*

ɕira: *v.* bake.

ɕira: *v.* burn. *shao 烧.*

ɕire: *n.* table. *zhuozi 桌子. [WM* sirege(n)*]*

ɕirgɕe *v.* go around.

ɕirgi *v.* turn. *xuanzhuan 旋转.*

ɕirgualʤin *n.* ant. *mayi 蚂蚁. [WM* siryulʤi(n)*].*

ɕirua *adv.* afternoon. *xiawu 下午.*

ɕiru: *n.* ground (earth). *tu 土. [WM* sirui*].*

ɕi:ki *v.* suck. *xi 吸. [WM* sime*].*

ɕi *n.* west. *xi 西.*

ɕuetaŋ *n.* school.

ɕu: *v.* sweep. *sao 扫.*

ɕu: *n.* bird. *niao 鸟. [WM* sibaɣu(n)*].*

ɕu: *v.* sew. *feng 缝.*

ɕu:r *n.* chopsticks. *kuaizi 筷子.*

ɕu:su: *n.* sleeve. *xiuzi 袖子. [WM* qantʃui*].*

d

da *conj.* and. *he 和.*

da *n.* door

dabɕʤin *adv.* next year. *mingnian 明年.*

dabsi *n.* salt. *yan 盐. [WM* dabusu(n)*].*

daɕʤaɢ *n.* flag.

dala *v.* build. *da 搭.*

dalan *num.* seventy. *qishi 七十.*

dalani *postp.* while.

dali: *n.* ocean, sea. *hai 海. [WM* dalai*].*

dalo:n *num.* seven. *qi 七. [WM* doluɣa(n)*].*

dambura: *n.* drop (of water).

danien tʂu:ji *n.* New Year's Day.

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danian chuyi 大年初一.

danla *v.* carry on a shoulderpole. *dan 担.*

daŋgual *n.* earth clod. *tukuai 土块.*

daŋlur *n.* lantern.

darla *v.* grow, prosper. *zhang 长.*

da: *v.* endure. *renshou 忍受.*

da: *v.* set (of the sun).

da: limoa *n.* women's summer hat. *limao 礼帽.*

da:bila *v.* pray, offer. *qidao 祈祷.*

da:gunla *v.* work (for money, as opposed to farming). *dagong 打工.*

da:ga *v.* send up.

da:ldidi *v.* sell. *mai 卖. [WM* qudaldu*].*

da:len *n.* saddle bag.

da:li: *n.* shoulder. *jianbang 肩膀. [WM* dalu, Lessing: 'shoulder balde, scapula'*].*

de *n.* door. *men 门. [WM* egyde(n)*].*

deidu: *adv.* many, most.

dera *postp.* on.

dere:n *num.* four. *si 四 . [WM* dørbe(n)*].*

de:gi *n.* veil fastener.

de:l *n.* clothes. *yifu 衣服. [WM* debel*].*

de:la *v.* carry.

de:la *v.* go instead. *daiti 代替.*

de:lge *n.* coarse rope.

de:si *n.* rope. *shengzi 绳子.*

-di *v.s.* completive.

din *cl.* ingot. *ding 铤.*

dirle *v.* use something as a pillow. *zhen 枕.*

di: then.

di:rua *n.* ring for fastening rope.

di:tu: *n.* enemy. *duitou 对头.*

-di *n.s.* dative.

didekun *v.* man. *nanren 男人.*

dige *v.* live. *shenghuo 生活; huo 活.*

digа: *v.* follow. *gensui 跟随.*

dila *v.* herd.

dili: *adj.* deaf. *erlongde 耳聋的. [WM* dylei*].*

dirani *postp.* while.

dira:la *v.* love. *xihuan 喜欢, ai 爱. [WM* durala, Lessing: to wish, desire ardently', 'to fall in love with'*].*

dira:la *v.* want. *xiangyao 想要. [WM* durala, Lessing: to wish, desire

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ardently', 'to fall in love with'].

dra:sɨ *n.* liquor. *jiu* 酒.

do *adv.* so, then, now. *xianzai* 现在.

dordaŋ *n.* tassel.

do: *adv.* so, then, now.

do:ra *postp.* under. *xiamian* 下面. [*WM* douɣur].

do:ra *v.* go down. *xia* 下.

do:tʂu: *adv.* everywhere. *daochu* 到处.

draŋ *ptcl.* also. *ye* 也.

draŋ *ptcl.* still. [*WT* da-ruṅ].

dua *v.* pass. [*WM* daba, Lessing (211): 'to climb, climb over, cross over; to ascend; to transgress'].

dun *n.* meal. *dun* 顿.

dun *n.* east. *dong* 东.

dunda *n.* middle. *zhong* 中. [*WM* dumda].

dunʂila *v.* become intelligent.

dur *n.* day. *baitian* 白天. [*WM* edyr].

durdindɨ *adv.* every day. *meitian* 每天.

durgun *n.* lunch. *zhongfan* 中饭.

du: *n.* younger brother. *didi* 弟弟. [*WM* degyy].

du:di *adj.* resonant. *xiangliang* 响亮.

du:dɨ *v.* call. *dasheng shuo* 大声说.

du:la *v.* sing. *chang* 唱. [*WM* daɣula].

du:ra: *v.* imitate. *mofang* 模仿.

du:ru *adj.* full. *man* 满. [*WM* dygyreng].

dz

dzandʑina *adj.* intelligent. *congming* 聪明.

dzaŋla *v.* earn.

dzaŋmar *n.* copper. *tong* 铜. [*WT* zaṅs-dmar].

dzaŋrɨ *n.* hair pin.

dze:dɨ *adj.* other.

dze:la *v.* welcome.

dzɨfaŋ *n.* place. *difang* 地房.

dzuja a:nie *n.* kitchen god.

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dzaŋfaŋ *n.* tent. *zhangpeng 帐篷.*

dzaŋki *v.* pretend. *zhuang 装.*

dzaŋki *v.* receive.

dzaŋla *v.* put something in something. *zhuang 装.*

dzenjue *n.* first lunar month. *zhengyue 正月.*

dzenminla *v.* prove. *zhengming 证明.*

dzidzuan *adj.* thick. *hou 厚. [WM* ʤuʤaɣan*].*

dzigɑ: *adj.* beautiful. *meilide 美丽的.*

dzo:gu:la *v.* take care of, look after. *zhaogu 照顾.*

dzuaki *v.* grasp. *zhua 抓.*

dzuci *n.* chairman. *zhuxi 主席.*

dzula *v.* stay, stop. *tingzhi 停止.*

ʤa *n.* family. *jia 家.*

-ʤ-a *v.s.* perfective objective.

ʤabʤigɑ *n.* pocket for needles.

ʤaʤo: *n.* family, household. *jiazu 家族.*

ʤalgi: *n.* path.

ʤaŋ *ptcl.* only.

ʤaŋdzemin *n.* Jiang Zemin. *jiang zemin 江泽民.*

ʤaŋʤu:ge *n.* a little bit. *shaowei 稍微.*

ʤaŋla *v.* steam. *zheng 蒸.*

ʤapu *n.* family record.

ʤa:l *n.* law. *[WM* ʤaɣali, cf. ʤaryu, ʤaryu, Lessing: lawsuit, litigation (p. 1037)*].*

ʤa:la *v.* make (fire).

ʤen *cl.* measure word for buildings. *jian 间.*

ʤiefaŋla *v.* liberate. *jiefang 解放.*

ʤiexunla *v.* get married.

ʤige *n.* donkey. *lü 驴.*

ʤigɑ: *adj.* slow. *man 慢. [WM* ʧibdaɣ, Lessing: sluggish, slow; trickling, flowing in a thin stream; stingy,

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miserly (174)*]*.

ʤila: *n.* lamp. *deng 灯*. *[WM* ʤula*]*.

ʤilo:n *adj.* smooth. *[WM* gilung, zøgelen, Lessing: 'soft'*]*.

ʤinkuei *adj.* as quickly as possible. *jinkuai 尽快*.

ʤinxu: *adv.* in the future. *jinhou 今后*.

ʤiran *num.* sixty. *liushi 六十*. *[WM* ʤira(n)*]*.

ʤirge *n.* heart. *xinzang 心脏*. *[WM* ʤiryke(n)*]*.

ʤirgo:n *num.* six. *liu 六*. *[WM* ʤiryuya(n)*]*.

ʤi:la *v.* become angry.

ʤi:la *v.* hate. *taoyan 讨厌*. *[WM* ʤigsi*]*.

ʤi:xu: *postp.* after that.

ʤiga *n.* collar (of a garment). *lingzi 领子*. *[WM* ʤaqa*]*.

ʤigadi *postp.* on. *shangmian 上面*.

ʤigasi *n.* fish. *yu 鱼*. *[WM* ʤiyasu(n)*]*.

ʤo *v.* swim. *youyong 游泳*.

ʤo: *v.* wear. *dai 戴*.

ʤu: *ptcl.* emphasizing particle.

ʤu: *adj.* old. *jiu 旧*.

ʤu: *adv.* just. *jiu 就*.

ʤu: *n.* needle. *zhen 针*.

ʤu: *v.* bite. *yao 咬*. *[WM* qaʤa, ʤayu*]*.

ʤu:dila *v.* dream. *zuo meng 做梦*.

ʤu:din *n.* dream. *meng 梦*.

ʤu:ʤa *n.* heel.

ʤu:ri *v.* write. *xie 写*. *[WM* ʤuri, Lessing: 'to draw (as a line or picture)'*]*.

ʤu:si *adj.* exactly. *jiushi 就是*.

e

eimi *n.* children, sons and daughters. *ernü 儿女*.

eisun *n.* grandson. *sunzi 孙子*.

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e:

e: *intj.* interjection.

f

fan *n.* year. *nian 年. [WM* on*].*

fandʐen *ptcl.* anyway. *fanzheng 反正.*

fa:dula *v.* send.

feŋxu: *n.* life. *shenghuo 生活.*

fi:lio: *n.* fertilizer. *feiliao 肥料.*

fila:n *adj.* red. *hong 红. [WM* ulaɣan*].*

fila:n dangual *n.* burnt earth fertilizer.

fila:n tirma *n.* carrot. *huluobo 胡萝卜.*

filiga *v.* make red.

fin fila *v.* order. *fen 吩.*

fini *n.* smoke. *yan 烟. [WM* unijar, Lessing: 'mist, haze, vapor', ynijer, Lessing: 'mist, haze, vapor'*].*

fini *v.* ride. *qi 骑. [WM* unu, Lessing: 'to sit or ride astride'*].*

finiga *n.* fox. *huli 狐狸. [WM* ynege(n)*].*

finirdi *adj.* fragrant. *xiangde 香的.*

finirdi *adj.* delicious. *meiweide 美味的.*

fire: *n.* seed. *zhongzi 种子. [WM* yre*].*

firi *n.* down. *xiangxia 向下. [WM* uruɣu, Lessing (886): 'downward'*].*

firi *n.* south. *nan 南.*

fodʐo: *n.* Buddhism. *fojiao 佛教.*

fo:di *n.* feather. *yumao 羽毛. [WM* ødy(n)*].*

fo:di *n.* star. *xing 星. [WM* odu(n)*].*

fo:gu *n.* fat. *zhifang 脂肪. [WM* øgeky(n)*].*

fuzu *adj.* rich. *fuzu 富足.*

fu: *n.* book. *shu 书.*

fu:ʂdʐa *adj.* rotten. *fulande 腐烂的. [WM* y, Lessing: 'to rot'*].*

fu:r *n.* grave. *fenmu 坟墓.*

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ganti: *n.* leg. *tui 腿.*

gaŋʤi: *n.* rooster. *gongji 公鸡.*

gaŋma *n.* mane (of a horse). *mazong 马鬃.*

ge *cl.* a, an. *ge 个.*

-ge *n.s.* singular.

geʤidu: *n.* sister. *[WM* egetʃi degyy*].*

geʤo:men *n.* everybody.

geliaŋ *n.* dried barley bread.

gen *adj.* even more. *geng 更.*

genben *adj.* true.

ger *n.* house. *fangzi 房子. [WM* ger*].*

ge: *v.* put.

ge:bienla *v.* change. *gaibian 改变.*

gi *v.* do. *zuo 做.*

gi:dzi *n.* oil seed.

giʨgi *v.* step on. *cai 踩.*

gidasi *n.* intestines. *changzi 肠子. [WM* gedesy(n)*].*

giga: *adj.* short (of a person). *ai 矮.*

giga: *adj.* small. *xiao 小.*

gige:n *adj.* light (not dark). *mingliangde 明亮的.*

go:ra *adj.* other. *lingwaide 另外的. [WM* øgere*].*

-gu *v.s.* future participle.

gu-a *aux.* objective negative auxiliary. *meiyou 没有.*

guadzi *n.* vest.

gualgua *n.* young (of an animal).

guari: *n.* animal dung.

gua:dindi *adv.* daily. *meitiande 每天的.*

guʤie *n.* stomach. *wei 胃.*

guʤi *n.* incense. *xiang 香.*

guʤi *n.* neck. *bozi 脖子. [WM* kyʤygyy*].*

gugutʂa:tʂa:r *n.* valleys.

gu-i: *aux.* subjective negative auxiliary. *meiyou 没有.*

gui: *v.* run. *paobu 跑步. [WM* gyjy*].*

gui:ren *n.* important person. *guiren 贵人.*

gula *v.* need.

gundzo:la *v.* work. *gongzuo 工作.*

guŋgulag *n.* bottle. *pingzi 瓶子.*

guoʤa *n.* country. *guojia 国家. [WM* ulus*].*

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gurʤa *v.* braid. *babiancheng bianzi* 把。。。编成辫子.

gurʤig *n.* shovel. *tie qiao* 铁锹. *[WM* kyrʤe*]*.

gurua *v.* lie down. *wo* 卧, *tang* 躺.

gu:dzi *v.* count.

gu:gi nien *v.* celebrate the new year. *guonian* 过年.

G

Ga *n.* time. *shihou* 时候.

Gada *postp.* outside. *waimian* 外面. *[WM* ɣadaɣa*]*.

Gada *v.* sew on. *za* 扎.

Gada: *n.* cliff. *xuanya* 悬崖. *[WM* qada(n)*]*.

Gadimni a:ʤa *n.* brother-in-law (husband's older brother). *neixiong* 内兄.

Gadimni du: *n.* brother-in-law (husband's younger brother). *xiaoshuzi* 小叔子, *neidi* 内弟.

Gadin *n.* in-laws. *pojia* 婆家, *yuejia* 岳家. *[WM* qadum, Lessing (903): 'in-law relatives from the point of view of the husband or wife'*]*.

Gadinni a:ba *n.* father-in-law. *yuefu* 岳父, *gonggong* 公公. *[WM* qadum etʃige*]*.

Gadinni a:ma *n.* mother-in-law. *popo* 婆婆. *[WM* qadum eke*]*.

Gaʤer *n.* field. *tiandi* 田地.

Gaʤer *n.* place (location). *difang* 地房. *[WM* ɣaʤar*]*.

Gaʤi *v.* spoil. *lan* 烂.

Gajer *adv.* summer. *xiatian* 夏天.

Gal *n.* fire. *huo* 火. *[WM* ɣal*]*.

Galda *v.* make fire. *fanghuo* 放火.

Galʤi *n.* lightening.

Galʤu: *adj.* crazy. *fengdian* 疯癫.

Gar *n.* hand. *shou* 手. *[WM* ɣar*]*.

Gar ganʤi *n.* arm. *bi* 臂. *[WM* ɣar*]*.

GarGa *v.* let out. *fang* 放.

GarGa *v.* take out.

Gari çi *v.* go out, rise. *[WM* ɣar, Lessing: 'to go or come out'*]*.

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Gari *v.* come out. *chuqu* 出去.

Goril *n.* flour. *mianfen* 面粉. *[WM* ɣulir*]*.

Go:r *num.* two. *er* 二. *[WM* qojar*]*.

Gua *v.* give. *gei* 给. *[WM* øg*]*.

Gual *n.* valley. *gou* 沟. *[WM* ɣoul, Lessing: river; river bed; valley; large lake (rare) (362)*]*.

-Gula *n.s.* intensifier.

Gura:n *num.* three. *san* 三. *[WM* ɣurba(n)*]*.

Gura:n dere:n sara *n.* spring (season). *chuntian* 春天.

i:

i: *ptcl.* not. *bu* 不.

i: *num.* one. *yi* 一.

i: *aux.* be.

i: *v.* look.

i:ɕi *ptcl.* very. *hen* 很.

i:diŋ *adv.* certain. *yiding* 一定.

i:ʤidir *adv.* day before yesterday. *qiantian* 前天.

i:gua *adv.* all. *quanbu* 全部.

iguala *adv.* all. *quanbu* 全部.

i:kaŋ *n.* kang. *kang* 炕.

i:la *adv.* like, with. *tong* 同.

i:la *n.* together, all. *tong* 同.

i:ŋgela *v.* carry in one's clothes.

i:sin *n.* doctor. *yisheng* 医生.

i:tɕien *adv.* before. *yiqian* 以前.

i:xge *ptcl.*just.

j

ja *ptcl.* also. *ye* 也.

jantɕuen *v.* tell. *gao* 告.

jaŋ *ptcl.* again. *you* 又, *zai* 再.

ja: *pron.* what. *shenme* 什么. *[WM* jaɣu(n)*]*.

ja:ba *adj.* dumb. *yaba* 哑巴.

jeɕʤi ula *v.* find. *zhaodao* 找到.

jeda: *v.* be tired. *lei* 累. *[WM* jada, Lessing: to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be in need; to suffer, to be unable (422)*]*.

jedi *v.* be in pain. *tengtong* 疼痛. *[WM* ebed*]*.

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jedɨg *n.* knee. *xigai* 膝盖. *[WM* ebydyg*]*.

jelam *adj.* blue. *lan* 兰.

jer *n.* horn (animal). *jiao* 角. *[WM* eber*]*.

jerɨ *n.* wife. *xifu* 媳妇. *[WM* beri, Lessing: 'daughter-in-law; bride'*]*.

jerɨ awu *v.* marry a woman.

jerɨkun *n.* woman. *nüren* 女人. *[WM* beri, Lessing: 'daughter-in-law', 'bride'*]*.

jerɨn *num.* ninety. *jiushi* 九十. *[WM* jere(n)*]*.

jeru: *n.* chin. *han* 颔, *ke* 颏, *xiaba* 下巴. *[WM* eregyy, erey*]*.

jesɨ *n.* grass. *cao* 草. *[WM* ebesy(n)*]*.

jesɨɢ *n.* bone. *gutou* 骨头. *[WM* jasu(n)*]*.

jile: *n.* ghost. *gui* 鬼.

jimal *n.* saddle. *ma'an* 马鞍, *anzi* 鞍子. *[WM* emegel*]*.

jima: *n.* goat. *shanyang* 山羊.

jin *n.* silver. *yin* 银.

ji:ga *n.* bowl. *wan* 碗.

jo: *v.* need. *yao* 要.

juanwei *n.* official.

ju: *conj.* or. *huo* 或.

ju: *v.* have. *you* 有.

ju: *v.* walk. *zou* 走. *[WM* jabu*]*.

ju:dɨ *pron.* some. *youde* 有的.

ju:tan *adj.* narrow. *xiazhaide* 狭窄的. *[WM* uitan*]*.

k

kadam *n.* wolf.*lang* 狼. *[WM* ʧinua*]*.

kala *n.* lump (of earth).

kama *n.* someone.*youren* 有人.

kana *pron.* who. *shei* 谁. *[WM* ken*]*

kandʑa:r *n.* women's sleeveless vest.

karlaŋ *n.* Karlong.

ka:rda *n.* domesticated animal. *shengchu* 牲畜. *[WT* khal-rta'pack horse'*]*.

kɕe: *pron.* when. *heshi* 何时. *[WM* keʤije*]*

kɕe:dɨda *adv.* always. *zongshi* 总是.

ke:la *n.* belly. *duzi* 肚子. *[WM* kebeli*]*.

kifaŋ *n.* living room, guest room. *kefang* 客房.

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ki: *n.* wind. *feng 风. [WM* kei*].*

kide: *v.* lie down.

kidi *adj.* several. *jige 几个.*

kidi *ptcl.* how much, how many. *duoshao 多少. [WM* kedy(n)*].*

kila *n.* tongue. *shetou 舌头. [WM* kele(n)*].*

kile *v.* say, speak. *shuo 说. [WM* kele*].*

kire: *n.* crow.

ko:la *v.* lean. *kao 靠.*

kual *n.* foot. *jiao 脚. [WM* køl*].*

kual la: *n.* sole (of foot). *jiaozhang 脚掌. [WM* ula*].*

kual xuri *n.* toe. *zuzhi 足趾. [WM* kølyn quruɣu(n)*].*

kuari *v.* freeze. *jiebing 结冰. [WM* køry*].*

kudi *n.* family. *jiating 家庭.*

kudi *n.* home. *[WM* qota(n), Lessing: city, town, village; enclosure, fortress, citadel, city wall (p.972), qotu(n)*].*

kudujer *n.* fenugreek. *xiangdou 香豆.*

kudʒa: *adv.* already. *yijing 已经.*

kugua *adj.* blue. *lanse 蓝色. [WM* køke*].*

kuidan *adj.* cold. *lengde 冷的. [WM* kyiten*].*

kumarga *n.* chest (for storage). *xiangzi 箱子, guizi 柜子.*

kun *n.* person. *ren 人. [WM* kymyn*].*

kundin *adj.* heavy. *zhongde 重的. [WM* kyndy*].*

kungo:dzi *n.* kind of bread.

kunan *adj.* hard, difficult. *kunnan 困难.*

kurgeen *n.* son-in-law. *nüxu 女婿.*

kurge: *v.* marry a man. *jia 嫁.*

kuri *v.* arrive. *daoda 到达. [WM* kyr*].*

ku: *n.* son. *erzi 儿子. [WM* kybegyn*].*

ku: jeri *n.* daughter-in-law. *xifu 媳妇.*

l

la *n.* mountain. *shan 山. [WM* aɣula(n)*].*

-la *n.s.* instrumental.

labçdʒi *n.* leaf. *yezi 叶子. [WM* nabʧi(n)*].*

labdzi *n.* mountain deity altar. *aobao 敖包. [WT* lab-ce*].*

laɢaŋ *n.* temple. *miao 庙.*

laɢa: *v.* choose. *xuanze 选择, tiaoxuan 挑选.*

lalaŋ *adj.* young. *nianqingde 年轻的,*

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qingnian 青年.

lama *n.* shape.

lamadi: *n.* lama.

lamantɕun *adj.* excellent. *youxiu 优秀.*

lan *adj.* lazy. *landuode 懒惰的.*

laŋdzɨ *n.* green grass.

laŋlaŋdzɨ *n.* basket. *lanzi 篮子.*

laŋxɵ *n.* bottle. *pingzi 瓶子. [WM* longqu*].*

largu: *n.* gloves. *shoutao 手套.*

laxɕi: *n.* head scarf. *toujin 头巾.*

la: *v.* cry. *ku 哭. [WM* uila*].*

la:kɨ *v.* pull. *la 拉. [WM* tata*].*

lekɨ *v.* divorce.

liam *n.* luck.

liaŋ *n.* measure, quantity. *liang 量.*

liaŋ *num.* two. *liang 两.*

liaŋ ku:dzɨ *n.* couple (husband and wife). *liang kouzi 两口子.*

lio: *v.* cook.

lisgaŋ *n.* work.

liʂi *n.* history. *lishi 历史.*

li:la *v.* remain. *sheng 剩.*

lisga warɨ *v.* work.

lo: *n.* appearance.

lo:la *v.* pile up. *luo 摞.*

lo:su *adj.* difficult. *nande 难的.*

lo:sula *v.* bother. *darao 打扰.*

lo:xan *n.* old man. *laohan 老汉.*

lusa *n.* mule. *luo 骡. [WM* luusa*].*

lu: *n.* dragon. *long 龙. [WM* luu*].*

lu:kɨ *v.* make a profit, have a surplus. *yingli 盈利.*

lu:xan *n.* husband. *zhangfu 丈夫.*

m

ma *ptcl.* take it.

-ma *v.s.* assertive.

maɕɨ *v.* read. *yuedu 阅读. [WM* ungsi*].*

maɢaɕɨ *adv.* tomorrow. *mingtian 明天. [WM* maɣasi*].*

maɢdɨr *adj.* blunt. *dunde 钝的. [WM* muxur*].*

maɢuasɨ *n.* wall. *[WM* balɣasu(n), Lessing (80): 'city, town'*].*

malɢa *n.* hat. *maozi 帽子.*

malsɨ *n.* ice. *bing 冰. [WM* mølsy(n)*].*

mani: *n.* prayer beads. *nianzhu 念珠.*

manta *v.* dig. *wa 挖. [WM* malta*].*

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-maŋge *n.s.* PL.

maŋli: *n.* forehead. *qian'e 前额. [WM* manglai*].*

marda:di *v.* forget. *wangji 忘记. [WM* umarta*].*

mardʑi *n.* property.

marnag *v.* purple. *zise 紫色.*

mawi *n.* rag (for cleaning).

maxa *n.* flesh. *rou 肉. [WM* miqa(n)*].*

maxa *n.* meat. *rou 肉. [WM* miqa(n)*].*

ma: *adj.* blind. *xia 瞎.*

ma:dʑir *n.* comb used for combing wool out of goats.

ma:dʑi *v.* scratch. *sao 搔. [WM* maɣadʑi*].*

ma:li: *adj.* fast. *kuai 快.*

mba: *ptcl.* yes. *shi 是. [WM* nimbai, Lessing: 'precise', 'accurate'*].*

mba: *adj.* correct. *shi 是. [WM* nimbai*].*

mba: *v.* swim. *youyong 游泳. [WM* umba*].*

mba:wax *n.* frog. *wa 蛙. [WT* sbal-ba, sbal-pa*].*

menʐen *n.* Menzhen.

mieŋgu *n.* silver. *yinzi 银子. [WM* mønggy(n)*].*

mindzu *n.* ethnic group. *minzu 民族.*

miʂi *postp.* before. *yiqian 以前.*

miʂi *postp.* in front. *qianmian 前面. [WM* emyne*].*

mide *v.* know. *zhidao 知道. [WM* mede*].*

mila: *adj.* small. *xiao 小.*

misi *v.* wear.

mitʂin *n.* monkey. *hou 猴. [WM* beci(n), Lessing: [= meci(n), bici(n), fr. Sogdian] n. Ape, monkey (93)*].*

mogolu: *adj.* round. *yuan 圆. [WM* muquliɣ, Lessing: 'rounded, ball-shaped, globular'*].*

moɢ *n.* snake. *she 蛇. [WM* moɣai*].*

moŋɢual *n.* Monguor.

mori *n.* horse. *ma 马. [WM* mori(n)*].*

mori da:xa *n.* foal. *xiaoma 小马. [WM* daɣa(n), Lessing: 'colt between one and two years'*].*

mori kual *n.* hoof (animal). *tizi 蹄子.*

mo: *ptcl.* not.

mo:dan *n.* ball. *qiu 球.*

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mo:di *n.* wood. *mutou 木头. [WM* modu(n)*]*.

mo:ki *v.* rub. *mo 摩. [WM* nuqu*]*.

mo:la *v.* harrow (v.). *mo 耧.*

mpara *n.* worn-out clothing.

muar *n.* road. *lu 路. [WM* mør*]*.

mu: *adj.* bad. *huaide 坏的. [WM* maɣu*]*.

mu: *adj.* ugly. *[WM* maɣu, Lessing: bad, evil; unfavorable, abominable'*]*.

mu: *cl* for fields. *mu 亩. mw.*

mu:çi *n.* cat. *mao 猫.*

mu:ki *v.* plan, seek. *mou 谋 .*

n

na *dem.* this. *zhege 这个. [WM* ene*]*.

-n-a *v.s.* non-past tense objective.

najan *num.* eighty. *bashi 八十. [WM* naja(n)*]*.

nango: *adj.* sad.

nanige *pron.* this.*zhege 这个.*

nantar *n.* story. *gushi 故事.*

naŋ *adv.* this year.

naŋsa: *n.* breakfast. *zaofan 早饭. [WT* nań-za*]*.

nar *adj.* sick. *bing 病.*

nara *n.* name. *mingzi 名字. [WM* nere*]*.

nara *n.* sun. *taiyang 太阳. [WM* nara(n)*]*.

nara da: *v.* the sun sets. *riluo 日落.*

narla *v.* fall ill. *deibing 得病.*

nasi *n.* age. *nianling 年龄.*

nasi *v.* fly. *feixiang 飞翔. [WM* nis*]*.

nasila *v.* aged (be of a certain age).

naxdu:r *n.* bridle. *longtou 笼头. [WM* noɣtu, Lessing: 'halter'*]*.

na: *v.* fall. *luoxia 落下. [WM* una*]*.

-na: *n.s.* reflexive.

na:di *v.* play. *wan 玩. [WM* naɣadu*]*.

na:din kile *v.* joke. *xiaohua 笑话. [WM* naɣadum, Lessing (556): 'game, play; stage play; amusement, entertainment; festival, celebration, especially the national sport festival in Mongolia'*]*.

na:dzi *n.* bud. *ya 芽.*

na:li where. *nali 哪里.*

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nda: *pron.* 1SG.DAT/ACC.

nda: *pron.* 1SG.OBL.STEM.

nde: *adv.* here. *zheli* 这里. *[WM* ende*]*.

-ndi *n.a.* dative.

ndige *n.* egg. *jidan* 鸡蛋. *[WM* ømdyge(n), ødege(n)*]*.

ndog *n.* color. *yanse* 颜色. *[WM* øngge(n), *WT* mdog*]*.

ndre: *adv.* here. *zheli* 这里. *[WM* ende*]*.

ndur *adj.* high. *gao* 高. *[WM* øndyr*]*.

ndzawa *n.* guest. *keren* 客人. *[WT* gru-ba*]*.

ndzasi *n.* plow. *li* 犁. *[WM* andʒisu(n)*]*.

ndzina: *pron.* reflexive pronoun.

ndzigila *v.* be harmonious.

ne *pron.* this. *zhe* 这.

nedza: *n.* dinner. *wanfan* 晚饭. *[WT* nub-za*]*.

neki *v.* weave. *zhi* 织. *[WM* neke, Lessing: 'to knit; to weave'*]*.

ne: *v.* open. *dakai* 打开. *[WM* nege*]*.

ne:dzaŋ *adj.* poor. *pinqiong* 贫穷.

ne:ki *v.* hold. *wo* 握.

nie *n.* year. *nian* 年.

niem *n.* price. *jiage* 价格.

nientsinren *n.* young people. *nianqing ren* 年轻人.

niexaŋ *n.* kitchen. *chufang* 厨房. *[WT* mye-khaṅ*]*.

nige *num.* one. *yi* 一. *[WM* nige(n)*]*.

nige mieŋxan *num.* thousand. *qian* 千. *[WM* minɣa(n)*]*.

nigedzaŋ *num.* one hundred. *yibai* 一百. *[WM* dʒaɣu(n)*]*.

nigi:dze *n.* a little. *yidiar* 一点儿.

nike: *n.* coat (of animal skin).

niŋgan *adj.* thin. *bao* 薄. *[WM* nimgen*]*.

niŋge *adv.* then, after.

niŋgen *adj.* thin. *bao* 薄. *[WM* nimgen*]*.

niŋgidzi *adv.* like this.

niaŋdza *n.* home of married woman's parents. *niangjia* 娘家.

-n-i: *v.s.* non-past tense subjective.

ni:man *num.* eight. *ba* 八. *[WM* naima(n)*]*.

ni:man sedzin sara *n.* autumn. *qiutian* 秋天.

ni:ta:lga *v.* sneeze. *dapenti* 打喷嚏. *[WM*

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naita*]*.

ni:ten *adj.* wet. *shide 湿的*. *[WM* noitan, Lessing: wet, damp; humid; dampness (589)*]*.

-nɨ *n.s.* genitive, accusative.

-nɨ *n.s.* possessive.

nidɨ *n.* eye. *yanjing 眼睛*. *[WM* nidy(n)*]*.

nidɨ *v.* grind in mortar.

nidɨ amsɢua *n.* eyebrows. *mei 眉*. *[WM* anisqa*]*.

nɨgi:ʤe *adj. s*ome.

nɨkua *n.* hole. *dong 洞*. *[WM* nyke(n), Lessing: hole, pit, chink, crevice, opening, orifice (597)*]*.

nimba: *adj.* correct. *zhengquede 正确的*. *[WM* nimbai, Lessing: 'precise', 'accurate'*]*.

nɨmpɨda *v.* spit. *tutuomo 吐唾沫*.

[WM nilbu*]*.

nɨmpɨdzɨ *n.* tear. *yanlei 眼泪*. *[WM* nilbusu(n)*]*.

nɨrda *v.* spit. *wen 闻, xiu 嗅*. *[WM* ynys, Lessing (1010) 'to kiss; to smell (obs.)'*]*.

nɨrɨ *n.* back (body part). *bei 背*. *[WM* niruɣu(n)*]*.

nogʂʤil *n.* thunder.

noɢo:n *adj.* green. *lüse 绿色*. *[WM* noɣuɣan*]*.

nox *n.* dog. *gou 狗*. *[WM* noqai*]*.

no:r ntʂa: *v.* sleep. *shui 睡*. *[WM* umta*]*.

ntsowa *n.* area.

ntsowa *n.* herding enclosure.

ntsua *n.* lake. *hu 湖*. *[WM* naɣur*]*.

ntʂa: *v.* sleep. *shui 睡*. *[WM* umta*]*.

nukua *n.* cave. *shandong 山洞*.

nu: *v.* touch.

nu:di *v.* hide. *yinman 隐瞒*. *[WM* niɣu*]*.

nu:dɨr *adv.* today. *jintian 今天*. *[WM* ønygedyr*]*.

nu:r *n.* face. *lianmian 脸面*. *[WM* niɣur*]*.

ŋ

ŋgan *pron.* 3SG. *ta 他*.

ŋgaŋgula *pron.* 3PL. *tamen 他们*.

-ŋge *n.s.*. singular.

ŋgrie *v.* burn. *shao 烧*.

ŋguamba *n.* monastery. *siyuan 寺院*. *[WM*

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syme, dgon-pa*]*.

ŋguei *adv.* other. *qitade 其他的. [WM* nøgyge*]*.

ŋGuasɨ *n.* wool. *yangmao 羊毛. [WM* ungɣasu(n)*]*.

ŋGua: *v.* bathe. *xizao 洗澡.*

ŋGua: *v.* wash. *xi 洗. [WM* ugija, uɣa*]*.

-ŋula *n.s.* PL.

p

pala *v.* basket. *lanzi 篮子.*

paŋ *n.* stable. *peng 棚.*

pasɨ *v.* stand.

pasi *v.* stand up. *qilai 起来.*

pasɨlGua *n.* threshold. *menkan 门槛. [WM* bosuɣa, Lessing: doorsill, threshold (122)*]*.

pa:la *v.* climb. *pa 爬.*

pidʐig *n.* book. *shu 书. [WM* bitʃig, Lessing: anything written*]*.

pi: *n.* bed, kang. *chuang 床, kang 炕.*

pi:kɨ *v.* match. *pei 配.*

pi:la *v.* blow. *chui 吹. [WM* ylije*]*.

pidag *adj.* dirty.*zangde 脏的. [WM* burtaɣ*]*.

pidʐa *aux.* not. *wu 勿, bushi 不是.*

pidʐaG *n.* bean. *dou 豆. [WM* burtʃaɣ*]*.

pirGa:n *n.* god. *shen 神. [WM* burqan, Lessing: 'Buddha, god, deity'*]*.

pise: *n.* belt. *yaodai 腰带.*

pise:la *v.* belt. *yong dai fuzhu 用带缚住.*

pitʂa *aux.* not. *wu 勿, bushi 不是.*

pitʂa *n.* mistake. *cuowu 错误.*

pudʐaŋdzɨ *n.* firecracker.

pu:da *v.* shoot. *sheji 射击.*

r

ra *v.* come. *lai 来. [WM* ire*]*.

radaG *v.* hunt. *dalie 打猎.*

rasɨ *n.* fur.

rasɨ *n.* skin. *pizi 皮子. [WM* arasu(n)*]*.

rasɨ xu:la *v.* skin. *bopi 剥皮.*

rawa *n.* hair. *mao 毛, fa 发. [WM* ysy(n), *WT*

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ral-pa*]*.

ra:l *n.* river. *he* 河. *[WM* møren, Lessing: large river or lake*]*.

rde *n.* door. *men* 门. *[WM* edyge(n)*]*.

rde *v.* eat. *chi* 吃. *[WM* ide*]*.

rdeguni *n.* food. *fan* 饭. *[WT* za-ma*]*.

rdzaŋ *n.* basket.

rdzaŋ *n.* sheep dung.

rʤawu: *n.* emperor. *huangdi* 皇帝.

rʤawu:ni jeri *n.* queen. *huanghou* 皇后.

rʤi:r *n.* wing. *chibang* 翅膀. *[WM* ʤigyr*]*.

rʤi *v.* look. *kan* 看. *[WM* uʤe, Lessing: 'to see, behold, look at'*]*.

relaɢ *n.* stick. *zhitiao* 枝条.

rgu *v.* carry on back. *bei* 背.

rgu *v.* tie up.

rgul *n.* winter. *dongtian* 冬天. *[WM* ebyl, dgun*]*.

-ri *n.s.* locative.

rigo:si *n.* thorn. *ci* 刺. *[WM* cicigyr, Lessing: thorn; prickle; a pointed piece of wood or metal used for piercing, awl (176)*]*.

rin *n.* moment.

rinki *v.* admit. *chengren* 承认.

rkuli *v.* know.

rlaŋ *n.* cloud. *yun* 云. *[WM* egyle(n)*]*.

ru:ki *v.* rub. *mo* 摩.

s

-sa *v.s.* conditional.

-sa *n.s.* ablative.

saʤi *v.* strew. *sa* 撒.

sala *n.* branch (of a tree). *fenzhi* 分枝. *[WT* ral-ga*]*.

sala *v.* separate. *fenli* 分离.

salɢui: *adj.* left (directional). *zuobiande* 左边的. *[WM* soluɣai, Lessing: left side or hand; left-handed; awkward; wrong, faulty (726)*]*.

sam *n.* comb. *shuzi* 梳子. *[WM* sam*]*.

samba *n.* kind (type).

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samla *v.* comb. *shuli 梳理. [WM* samla, samna*]*.

san *n.* mountain. *shan 山.*

sana *v.* think. *xiang 想. [WM* sana*]*.

saŋ *n.* layer. *ceng 层.*

saŋmaŋ *n.* Qingming Festival. *qingmingjie 清明节.*

saŋra: *n.* hip. *tunbu 臀部.*

sara *n.* month. *yue 月. [WM* sara(n)*]*.

sara *n.* moon. *yueliang 月亮. [WM* sara(n)*]*.

sara su: *v.* be in confinement. *zuo yuezi 坐月子.*

sa:gaŋdzɨ *n.* tea cup. *chabei 茶杯.*

sa:gɨ *v.* rub. *mo 摩.*

sa:ra *v.* pull out. *ba 拔.*

sbi: *n.* barley. *qingke 青稞. [WM* arbai*]*.

sdzaga *v.* ask. *xunwen 询问. [WM* asaɣu*]*.

sdzer *n.* gold. *jin 金. [WM* alta(n), gser*]*.

sdzer *n.* money. *qian 钱.*

sdzu *n.* water. *shui 水. [WM* usu(n)*]*.

semagua *n.* fog. *wu 雾. [WT* smug-po*]*.

seŋxu: *n.* life. *shenghuo 生活.*

serin *adj.* cool. *liangkuaide 凉快的.*

se:gan *adj.* beautiful. *meilide 美丽的. [WM* saiqan*]*.

sge *v.* see. *jian 见. [WM* siqaɣa, Lessing: 'to peer, look intently or searchingly'*]*.

sgɨ *v.* see. *deng 等. [WM* saɣa, Lessing: 'delay', saɣata, Lessing: 'to be delayed, detained'*]*.

-sgɨ *n.s.* PL.

sgɨl *n.* heart. *xin 心.*

sga *v.* ask. *wen 问. [WM* asaɣu*]*.

sgal *n.* beard. *huxu 胡须.*

sguar *adj.* blind. *xiade 瞎的. [WM* soqur*]*.

si:n *adj.* good. *hao 好. [WM* sain*]*.

si:nala *v.* become good.

sɨ *v.* is. *shi 是.*

-sɨ *n.s.* PL.

sɨlgua *n.* bucket. *shuitong 水桶.*

sɨman *n.* medicine. *yao 药. [WT* sman*]*.

sɨmʤaŋla *v.* be careful. *xiaoxin 小心.*

sɨmɨ *n.* arrow. *jian 箭. [WM* sumu(n)*]*.

sɨn *n.* province. *sheng 省.*

sɨnerde *v.* hear. *tingjian 听见. [WM*

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sonus*]*.

snaɢua *n.* rainbow. *hong 虹. [WM* solungɣa*]*.

so:la *v.* sew together.

suani *n.* night. *ye 夜. [WM* søni*]*.

sula: *v.* water.

sun *n.* milk. *nai 奶. [WM* syn*]*.

surgi *v.* smear.

su: *v.* sit. *zuo 坐. [WM* saɣu*]*.

su:da *v.* hold in one's armpit. *jia zai ye xia 夹在腋下.*

su:dura *n.* armpit. *yewo 腋窝. [WM* suɣu(n)*]*.

su:ga *n.* ear ring.

su:l *n.* tail. *yiba 尾巴. [WM* segyl*]*.

sxu: *n.* time. *shihou 时候.*

ʂ

ʂbaŋ *n.* sod of grass.

ʂda *v.* can (be able to). *neng 能, hui 会.*

ʂdada *v.* be early.

ʂdanaŋ *adv.* last year. *qunian 去年. [WM* nidunun ʤil*]*.

ʂda: *v.* cook. *shao 烧.*

ʂda:si *n.* thread. *xian 线. [WM* utasu(n)*]*.

ʂdeʤi *adv.* early. *zao 早. [WM* erte(n)*]*.

ʂde: *v.* mend. *bu 补.*

ʂdi *n.* tooth. *ya 牙. [WM* sidy(n)*]*.

ʂdima *n.* bread (steamed). *mianbao 面包.*

ʂdo:gu *adj.* old (of people). *lao 老. [WM* øtegy, Lessing: 'old man; senior'*]*.

ʂduali *v.* age. *laohua 老化.*

ʂdur *adj.* long. *chang 长. [WM* urtu*]*.

ʂdurʂdi *v.* stretch. *shenzhan 伸展.*

ʂehuei *n.* society. *shehui 社会.*

ʂenlin *n.* forest. *senlin 森林.*

ʂeŋ *cl.* area that can be sown in one day. *shang 晌.*

ʂɢei *n.* leg. *tui 腿. [WM* qa, Lessing: the part of the foreleg of an animal between the shoulder and the knee (895), køl*]*.

ʂʤi: *n.* dust. *huitu 灰土.*

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ʂidʑi *num.* about ten.

ʂdʑin *num.* nine. *jiu 九. [WM* jisy(n)*].*

t

ta *pron.* that. *nage 那个. [WM* tere*].*

taɕi *n.* stone. *shitou 石头. [WM* tɕilaɣu(n)*].*

tada *postp.* near. *jin 近. [WM* døte*].*

tadadi *postp.* next to.

taɢu:rla *pron.* 2DL. *nimen liangge 你们俩个.*

tajin *num.* fifty. *wushi 五十. [WM* tabi(n)*].*

talɢuei mirgu *v.* kowtow. *ketou 磕头.*

talɢui: *n.* head. *tou 头. [WM* toluɣai, terigyn*].*

tanige *pron.* that. *nage 那个.*

taŋgula *pron.* 2PL. *nimen 你们.*

taŋxa:la *v.* chat. *liaotian 聊天.*

tar *n.* stone. *shitou 石头. [WM* tɕilaɣu(n)*].*

taraxɕi: *n.* brain. *nao 脑.*

tarda *v.* throw. *pao 抛. [WM* tara, Lessing: 'to disperse, scatter'*].*

tarɢua *adj.* fat. *feide 肥的.*

tari *v.* plant. *zhongzhi 种植.*

ta:ɕdʑa *n.* ash. *hui 灰. [WM* ynesy(n)*].*

ta:la *v.* expand.

ta:win *num.* five. *wu 五. [WM* tabu(n)*].*

tebɕdʑin *adj.* straight.

tende: *adv.* there. *nali 那里. [WM* tende*].*

teŋgeri *n.* sky. *tian 天. [WM* tenggeri, tngri*].*

teŋgeri ura *v.* rain. *xiayu 下雨.*

te:ri *v.* hold in one's arms. *lou 搂.*

tidʑe: *v.* feed. *weiyang 喂养. [WM* tedʒiye*].*

tidʑin *num.* forty. *si shi 四十. [WM* døtʃi(n)*].*

tien *n.* heaven. *tian 天.*

tienkun *n.* heaven. *tiankong 天空.*

tier *n.* Tibetan (person). *zangzu 藏族.*

tigi: *adv.* like that.

tigi:ge *adv.* like that.

tiɢa:n *adv.* that size. *name daxiao 那么大小.*

tiŋfu: *v.* hear told. *tingshuo 听说.*

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tiŋgiʤi *adv.* like that. *nayangde 那样的.*

tio:ʤen *n.* condition. *tiaojian 条件.*

ti: *adv.* like that.

ti: *v.* exist.

ti:la *v.* carry. *tai 抬.*

ti:ŋge *adv.* like that.

ti *pron.* 2SG.OBL.STEM.

tiGu: *n.* chicken. *ji 鸡. [WM* takija(n)*].*

tilGua *n.* pillar. *zhuzi 柱子.*

tilim *n.* bag. *daizi 袋子.*

timir *n.* iron. *tie 铁. [WM* temyr*].*

tirge *n.* cart. *che 车. [WM* terge(n)*].*

tirge *n.* silk. *si 丝.*

tjebʧi *n.* button. *niuzi 纽子. [WM* tobʧi*].*

tjeri *v.* embrace. *lou 搂.*

toa *n.* plate. *diezi 碟子.*

tora *v.* bear (give birth). *shengchu 生出.*

to:la *v.* count. *shu 数. [WM* toɣala*].*

to:si *n.* fat, oil. *you 油.*

tre: *adv.* there. *nali 那里. [WM* tende*].*

truo *postp.* in. *limian 里面, nei 内. [WM* dotura*].*

tsi *v.* bestow. *ci 赐.*

tʂaŋ *ptcl.* probably.

tʂido:la *v.* arrive late. *chidao 迟到.*

tʂo:gi *v.* stab. *chuo 辍.*

tʂuan *n.* ship. *chuan 船.*

tʂuan *v.* wear. *chuan 穿.*

tʂui *n.* hammer. *chui 锤. [WM* aluqa(n)*].*

tʂu:ji *n.* first day of lunar month. *chuyi 初一.*

tʂu:sin *n.* domestic animal. *chusheng 畜牲.*

tuGuei *n.* elbow. *zhou 肘. [WM* toqai, toqui*].*

tuile *v.* clean. *tao 掏.*

tuŋgu *v.* collect. *shoucun 收存.*

tura *v.* be born. *chusheng 出生. [WM* tøry*].*

turgu *v.* push. *tui 推. [WM* tyri, Lessing: 'to push forward'*].*

tu:ʧaŋ *n.* hair ribbon.

tu:gu *adj.* uncooked, raw. *shengde 生的.*

tu:li: *n.* rabbit. *tuzi 兔子.*

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tɕa *n.* tea. *cha* 茶.

tɕadzɨ *n.* snow. *xue* 雪. *[WM* ʧasu(n)*]*.

tɕandza *n.* Qianza (place name). *Qianzuo* 前座.

tɕanxei *n.* shoes. *qianxie* 茜鞋.

tɕaŋɕi *n.* small bowl.

tɕaŋgaŋ *n.* window. *chuanghu* 窗户. *[WT* dra-ma*]*.

tɕaŋlɨ *n.* crow. *wuya* 乌鸦.

tɕaŋla *v.* listen. *ting* 听, *wen* 闻.*[WM* ʧingla, ʧingna*]*

tɕa:bɕa *n.* grasshopper. *mazha* 蚂蚱.

tɕa:ldzɨ *n.* paper. *zhi* 纸. *[WM* ʧaɣasu(n), ʧaɣalsun*]*.

tɕa:wa *n.* brick tea.

tɕe:ʤɨ *n.* long women's garment.

tɕida *v.* pull. *la* 拉. *[WM* tata*]*.

tɕidaɢua *n.* knife. *dao* 刀. *[WM* qutaɣa, qutuɣa, kituɣa*]*.

tɕidaɢuanɨ amanɨ *n.* blade. *daoren* 刀刃.

tɕidar *n.* Chinese (person). *zhongguoren* 中国人. *[WM* kitad*]*.

tɕida: *v.* exert. *chuli* 出力.

tɕiʤɨ *n.* north. *bei* 北. *[WM* umara*]*.

tɕiʤiɢ *n.* flower. *hua* 花. *[WM* ʧeʧeg*]*.

tɕigɨ *n.* ear. *erduo* 耳朵. *[WM* ʧiki(n)*]*.

tɕiɢa:n *adj.* white. *bai* 白. *[WM* ʧaɣan*]*.

tɕiɢa:n rawa *n.* grey hair. *baifa* 白发.

tɕiɢa:n to:sɨ *n.* butter. *huangyou* 黄油. *[WM* tosu(n)*]*.

tɕimɨ *pron.* 2SG-DAT.

tɕimʤɨ *n.* fingernail, claw. *zhijia* 指甲. *[WM* kimusu(n), qumusun*]*.

tɕimsaŋ *n.* family. *jiating* 家庭.

tɕinaɢda *adv.* day after tomorrow. *houtian* 后天.

tɕire: *n.* edge, border. *bianyuan* 边缘.

tɕirgua *n.* boiled water. *kaishui* 开水.

tɕirɢua *n.* lock. *suozi* 锁子.

tɕirual *adj.* cheap. *pianyi* 便宜.

tɕirual *adj.* easy. *rongyi* 容易. *[WM* kilbar*]*.

tɕɨ *pron.* 2SG. *ni* 你. *[WM* ʧi*]*.

tɕimi- *pron.* 2SG.OBL. STEM.

tɕo:go:n *adj.* few. *shao* 少. *[WM* ʧøgyken, ʧøgen, ʧøgeken*]*.

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tɕura *n.* cheese (sour). *naizha* 奶渣

u

uli *v.* become. *chengwei* 成为.

ura *v.* enter. *jinru* 进入, *ru* 入.

urasi *v.* flow. *liu* 流. *[WM* urus*]*.

utɕi *v.* drink. *he* 喝. *[WM* uu, uɣu*]*.

u:

u: *ptcl.* interrogative particles. *ma* 吗.

w

wabitɕin *adj.* not clear. *wabuqing* 挖不清.

wadʑer *n.* city. *chengshi* 城市. *[WM* basar, Lessing: 'inhabited place, hamlet, village'*]*.

wanki *v.* knit. *bianzhi* 编织.

wanmin *n.* all the people. *wanmin* 万民.

waŋla *bang* 绑. *v.* tie.

waraŋ *adj.* right (directional). *you* 右. *[WM* baraɣun*]*.

wari *v.* hold. *wo* 握. *[WM* bari*]*.

wir *n.* steam. *zhengqi* 蒸汽.

wir *n.* air (gas). *kongqi* 空气. *[WM* kei*]*.

wir ɕi:ge *v.* breathe. *qixi* 气息.

wosgu *n.* lungs. *fei* 肺. *[WM* aɣuʃgi(n)*]*.

wulan *adj.* many. *duo* 多. *[WM* olan*]*.

wuri: *adv.* late. *chi* 迟. *[WM* orui*]*.

wu: *adj.* wide. *kuankuo* 宽阔. *[WM* uu, aɣuu, Lessing: 'vast', 'immense'*]*.

x

xalaŋ *adj.* hot. *rede* 热的. *[WM* qalaɣun*]*.

xalgaɕdʑi *n.* palm (of hand). *shouzhang* 手掌. *[WM* alaɣa(n)*]*.

xalgua *n.* step. *bu* 步. *[WM* alqu*]*.

xambura: *v.* rest. *xiuxi* 休息. *[WM* amura*]*.

xamtɕi *n.* sleeve. *xiuzi* 袖子. *[WM* qantʃui*]*.

xana *n.* everybody. *dajia* 大家.

xana: *v.* cough. *kesou* 咳嗽.

xaŋjen *n.* tobacco. *yancao* 烟草.

xaŋguar *n.* bell. *ling* 铃. *[WM* qongqu*]*.

xaŋsa *n.* tobacco pipe. *yandou* 烟斗.

xara *adj.* black. *hei* 黑. *[WM* qara*]*.

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xaran *num.* ten. *shi 十. [WM* arba(n)*].*

xaran dere:n *num.* fourteen. *shi si 十四.*

xaran ɢur *num.* twelve. *shi er 十二. [WM* arban qojar*].*

xaran ɢuran *num.* thirteen. *shi san 十三.*

xaran nige *num.* eleven. *shi yi 十一.*

xaraŋɢu *adj.* dark. *hei'ande 黑暗的. [WM* qaranɣui*].*

xarɢal *n.* dried manure. *ganfen 干粪. [WM* arɣal, Lessing (52): 'argal, dry dung of animals used as fuel'*].*

xarɨlɨ *v.tr.* return, give back.

xawer *n.* nose. *bizi 鼻子. [WM* qabar*].*

xa: *ptcl.* so, since, now.

xa: *v.* close. *guan 关. [WM* qaɣa*].*

xʤer *n.* cheek. *mianjia 面颊. [WM* qatʃar*].*

xeila *adj.* alone. *gudude 孤独的. [WM* ɣaɣtʃaɣar*].*

xe:la *v.* cry (of birds). *ming 鸣.*

xensi *ptcl.* still.

xgaʤa: *n.* language. *yuyan 语言. [WT* skad-ɢ̌ha*].*

xgar *n.* sound, voice. *shengyin 声音. [WT* skad*].*

xgar ʂge *adj.* loud. *dasheng 大声.*

xgatʂa: *n.* language. *yuyan 语言. [WT* skad-ɢ̌ha*].*

xgɨlanʤɨn *n.* beggar. *qigai 乞丐.*

xgɨla *v.* ask for, beg, want. *tao 讨.*

xgɨrba *n.* back (body part). *bei 背.*

xgualtʂax *n.* boy. *nanhaizi 男孩子.*

xgualtʂax *n.* son. *erzi 儿子.*

xɢala *v.* throw. *pao 抛. [WM* qaja*].*

xɢalɨ *v.* break. *nongpo 弄破. [WM* qaɣal*].*

xɢalɨ *v.* split. *pikai 劈开. [WM* qaɣal, Lessing: to break, split, chip, cut through (chiefly hard objects) (906)*].*

xɢara: *intr. v.* break. *polie 破裂.*

xɢara: *v.* split. *pikai 劈开.*

xɢei *n.* pig. *zhu 猪. [WM* ɣaqai*].*

xɢei paŋ *n.* pigsty.

xɢuar *adj.* short. *duan 短. [WM* oqur*].*

xonɨ *n.* sheep. *mianyang 绵羊. [WM* qoni(n)*].*

xorɨm *n.* banquet. *yanhui 宴会. [WM* xurim, Lessing: celebration, fest, fete, banquet; wedding; gift (obs.)*].*

xorɨn *num.* twenty. *er shi 二十. [WM* qori(n.

xormi: *n.* embroidered shirt.

xo: *intr.v.* dry. *gan 干.*

xo:di *n.* fireplace. *huodi 火地.*

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xo:la *n.* feed (for animals). *liao 料.*

xo:la *n.* throat. *houlong 喉咙. [WM* qoɣulai*].*

xo:lga *tr. v.* dry. *liang 晾, gan 干.*

xo:rɨn *num.* twenty. *ershi 二十. [WM* qori(n)*].*

xo:sɨn *adj.* dry. *gande 干的. [WM* qaɣurai*].*

xo:sɨn *adj.* empty. *kongde 空的.*

xuadʑɨ *adj.* seperate.

xuafi: *n.* chemical fertilizer. *huafei 化肥.*

xudalɨ *v.* cut. *qie 切, geduan 割断. [WM* oɣtul*].*

xudɨ *adv.* very. *hen 很.*

xugu *v.* die. *si 死. [WM* yky*].*

xudʒa *v.* bark (of a dog). *goufei 狗吠.*

xudʒadɨ *adj.* sharp. *ruili 锐利. [WM* qurʧa*].*

xudʒin *num.* thirty. *san shi 三十. [WM* ɣuʧi(n)*].*

xudʒinto: *n.* Hu Jintao. *Hu Jintao 胡锦涛.*

xudʒɨ *n.* lips. *zui 嘴.*

xudʒɨ *v.* tie to. *guo 裹.*

xudʐu *n.* Huzhu. *huzhu 互助.*

xuidɨ a:ba *n.* stepfather.

xuei *adj.* bad. *huai 怀.*

xuina *postp.* after. *yihou 以后. [WM* qoina, Lessing: 'in the rear', back, 'after', 'later', 'behind'*].*

xuina *postp.* behind. *houmian 后面. [WM* qoina, Lessing: 'in the rear', back, 'after', 'later', 'behind'*].*

xui: ta:lga *v.* guess a riddle. *cai meir 猜谜儿.*

xuitɨ a:ma *n.* stepmother. *houmu 后母..*

xula *adj.* far. *yuan 远. [WM* qola*].*

xulidzɨ *n.* bamboo. *zhu 竹. [WM* qulusu(n), Lessing (985): 'rush, reed, bamboo'*].*

xuma: *n.* black sesame. *huma 胡麻.*

xumi: *n.* dumpling (stuffed and steamed). *baozi 包子.*

xuni *n.* sheep. *yang 羊. [WM* qoni(n)*].*

xunima: *n.* sheep. *yang 羊. [WM* qoni(n)*].*

xura: *n.* rain. *yu 雨. [WM* qura*].*

xura: *v.* gather. *caiji 采集. [WM* qura*].*

xurga *n.* lamb. *mianyanggao 绵羊羔. [WM* quraɣa(n)*].*

xurguei *n.* worm. *ruchong 蠕虫. [WM* qoruqai, Lessing: 'insects and worms in general'*].*

xurɨ *n.* finger. *shouzhi 手指. [WM* quruɣu(n)*].*

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xurɨn *num.* twenty. *ershi* 二十. *[WM* qori(n)*]*.

xu:le: *adv.* afterwards. *houlai* 后来.

xu:tɕin *adj.* old (of things). *jiu* 旧. *[WM* qaɣutʃin, Lessing (908): 'old (mostly of inanimate objects and abstract concepts)'*]*

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APPENDIX IV. MAP

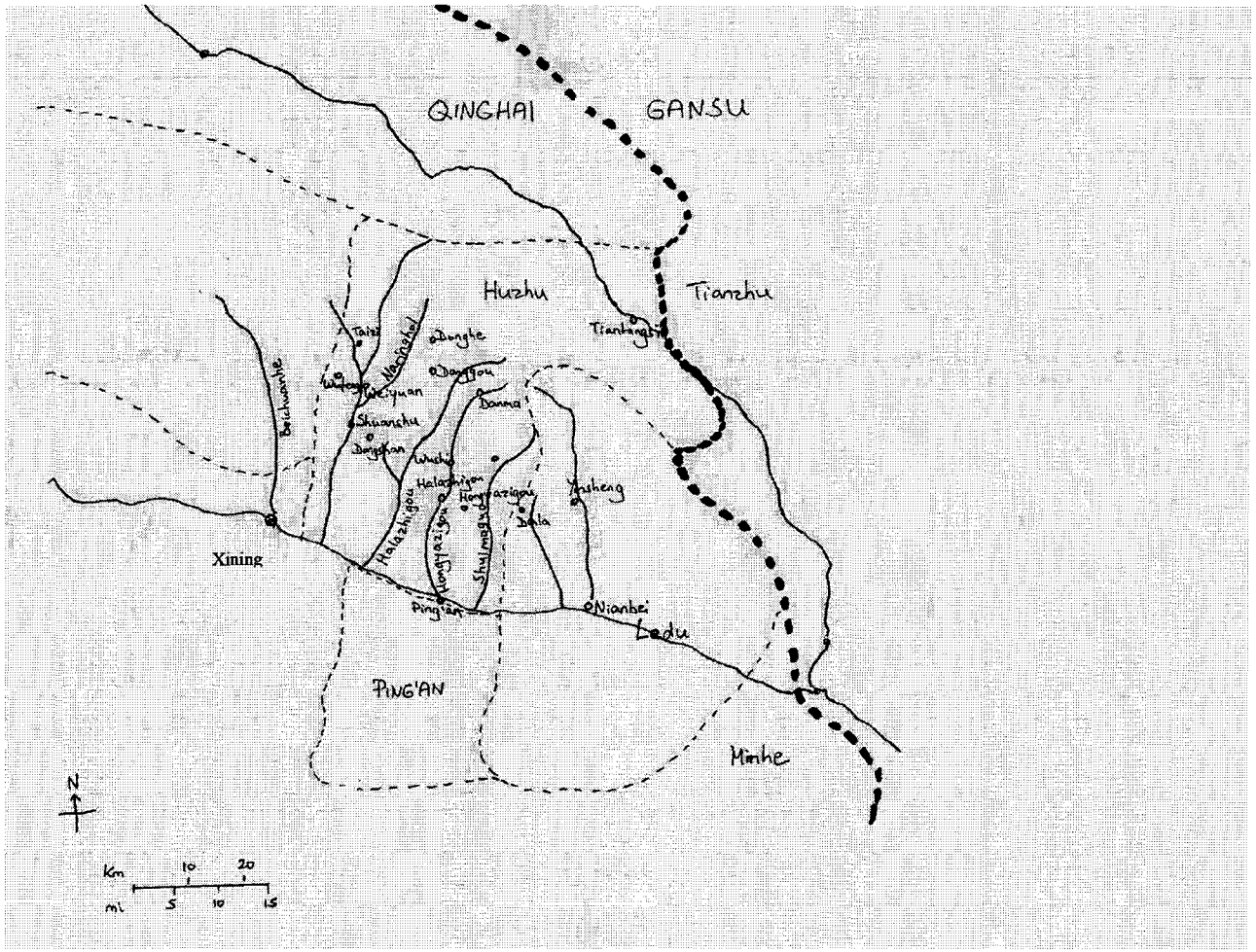


Figure 7. Map of Qinghai and Gansu (not to scale)

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